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# ANCIENT RECORDS OF EGYPT



# ANCIENT RECORDS

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# ANCIENT RECORDS OF EGYPT

## HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PERSIAN CONQUEST, COLLECTED  
EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH COMMENTARY

BY

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VOLUME I

THE FIRST TO THE SEVENTEENTH DYNASTIES

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MARY H. WILMARTH

## PREFACE

In no particular have modern historical studies made greater progress than in the reproduction and publication of documentary sources from which our knowledge of the most varied peoples and periods is drawn. In American history whole libraries of such sources have appeared or are promised. These are chiefly in English, although the other languages of Europe are of course often largely represented. The employment of such sources from the early epochs of the world's history involves either a knowledge of ancient languages on the part of the user, or a complete rendition of the documents into English. No attempt has ever been made to collect and present all the sources of Egyptian history in a modern language. A most laudable beginning in this direction, and one that has done great service, was the *Records of the Past*; but that series never attempted to be complete, and no amount of editing could make consistent with themselves the uncorrelated translations of the large number of contributors to that series.

The author is only too well aware of the difficulties involved in such a project. In mere bulk alone it has been a considerable enterprise, in view of the preliminary tasks made necessary by the state of the published texts. These I have indicated briefly in the chapter on the sources herein (Vol. I, §§ 27-32). Under these circumstances, the author's first obligation has been to go behind the publications to the original documents themselves, wherever necessary. The method pursued has also been indicated herein (Vol. I, §§ 33-37). The task has consumed years, and demanded protracted sojourn among the great col-

lections of Europe. In this work a related enterprise has been of the greatest assistance. A mission to the museums of Europe to collect and copy their Egyptian monuments for a commission of the four Royal Academies of Germany (Berlin, Leipzig, Göttingen, and Munich), in order to make these documents available for an exhaustive *Egyptian Dictionary* endowed by the German Emperor, enabled the author to copy from the originals practically all the historical monuments of Egypt in Europe. The other sources of material, and particularly the papers of the *Dictionary* just mentioned, have enabled the author to base the translations in these volumes directly, or practically so, upon the originals themselves in almost all cases.

Unfortunately, the possession of these materials is but the beginning of the difficulties which beset such an enterprise. In the preface to the first edition of his *English Dictionary*, Noah Webster complains of the difficulties caused by the new meanings taken on by English words as they are modified by the new environment which envelops them in America. If such changes are involved in the voyage across the Atlantic, and the lapse of a few generations, how much wider and deeper is the gulf due to the total difference between the semitropical northern Nile valley of millenniums ago, and the English-speaking world of this twentieth century! The psychology of early man is something with which we have as yet scarcely begun to operate. His whole world and his whole manner of thinking are sharply differentiated from our own. His organization, socially, industrially, commercially, politically; his tools, his house, his conveniences, constantly involve institutions, adjustments, and appliances totally unknown to this modern age and this western world. In the translation of the New Testament for the tribes of Alaska, I am

told, there has been great difficulty in the rendition of the term "Good Shepherd," for the reason that many of these people never saw a sheep and never heard of a shepherd. Similarly, how shall one rehabilitate this ancient world of the Nile-dweller, and put his documents into intelligible English, when the ideas to be rendered are often unknown to the average modern and western reader, and, needless to say, there are no corresponding terms in the English language?

Another constant source of difficulty has been the lack of those indispensable helps, the legion of concordances, glossaries, handbooks, and compilations for ready reference, which the worker in Greek or Hebrew has constantly at his hand. In spite of the colossal industry of Brugsch, we are still without a dictionary of Egyptian to which one can turn with any hope of finding other examples of a rare word. Hardly any Old Kingdom documents at all were employed by Brugsch in the compilation of his dictionary, and, grateful as we are for what he was able to furnish us, we must still await the great Berlin *Dictionary* before we shall possess an exhaustive compendium of the language. I was able to employ the alphabetically arranged materials of the *Dictionary* here and there, but the compilation was not sufficiently far advanced at the conclusion of my work to be of much service. Wherever I have drawn examples from it, they are carefully acknowledged in the footnotes. A good many distinctions in the meanings of words have become evident to me in the course of the work upon the documents. Wherever such have become clear late in the progress of the work, it was impossible to go through the translations and revise the entire manuscript for the sake of such words alone. I have tried to control these cases as far as possible in the proofs, but I am confident that some such

changes have been overlooked as the accumulation of alterations demanded in the proofreading was quite beyond my powers of observation in so large a mass of materials. Thus, for example, the common word *sr* is usually translated "prince," and this is undoubtedly sometimes the meaning of the word; but it very frequently means "official," a fact which I did not observe until far along in the progress of the work.

Some danger of confusion also arises from the fact that titles indicative of rank or office suffer great change in meaning in the lapse of several thousand years. Thus the *h<sup>3</sup>ty* or "count" of the feudal and pre-feudal ages becomes a mere magistrate or town-mayor in the Empire, although in sporadic cases the word still retains its old meaning. The translation of titles has perhaps been the greatest source of difficulty in the entire course of the work. Many of the offices found cannot be determined with precision. We have as yet no history of titles—one of the most needed works in the entire range of Egyptian studies. Under these circumstances, it has been impossible always to define with precision the range and scope of a given office. Even when these were determinable, the corresponding term was often wanting in English, and could not be devised without the use of a whole phrase. In some cases awkward combinations have been necessary in the renderings of titles. Thus the compound "king's-son" was adopted because it is occasionally followed in the original by a pronoun referring to "king," which made the rendering "royal son" impossible. For this reason a series of such compounds has been employed: "king's-son," "king's-daughter," "king's-wife," "king's-mother," "king's-scribe," and the like. It is hoped to render all such matters clear in the index.

In general, the effort has been to render as literally as



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possible without wrenching English idiom. In this latter particular I probably have not always succeeded; but I have deliberately preferred this evil to a glib rendering which reads well and may be a long distance from the sense of the original. We have had so much of so-called "paraphrasing," which does not even remotely resemble the purport of the original, that I have felt justified in gratifying a righteous horror of such romancing, even at the cost of idiomatic English. The reader has a right to expect that the subjective fancies of the translator have been rigidly excluded, and a right to demand that he may put implicit dependence both upon the individual words and the general sense of the renderings. At the same time, the author would distinctly disclaim any desire to give to these translations the authority of monographs. The extent of the materials, and the amount of time expended in the collection, collation, and correction of the original texts before doing anything toward a formal version, have made it impossible to devote to the translation of each document as much time as one would deem necessary for the production of a monograph upon it. While the most conscientious attention has been given to the versions, and they have sometimes been revised three times (always once), yet it is undoubtedly the case that, in the course of rendering such a mass of materials, errors have crept in. Notice of any that may be observed by my fellow-workers in this field will be gratefully received, and utilized should a future edition of these volumes ever appear.

For the benefit of the general reader, it should be noted that a complete revolution in our knowledge of the Egyptian grammar has taken place in the last twenty-five years. The exhaustive study of syntax and of verbal forms which has been in progress for generations in the classic languages,

or even in the Semitic group, has been going on for only a little over a quarter of a century in Egyptian. This is no reflection on the work of the first two generations of Egyptologists, for such work was impossible in their day. In this quarter-century, immense progress has been made and certain definite results have been attained. It cannot be said that these results have yet been applied to the understanding of the historical documents of Egypt as a whole. One of the main purposes of this work has been the attainment of this end. Indeed, its chief object may be indicated in this connection as: first, the attainment of copies which in correctness adequately reproduce the original document; and, second, an English version which shall embody our modern knowledge of the language. Every effort has been made to realize these two aims, and only in such degree as they may have been attained will these volumes form a contribution to knowledge.

In the selection of documents there has sometimes been difficulty in deciding what should and what should not be included by the term "historical document." All purely religious compositions, as well as all exclusively literary documents (*belles-lettres*), all science, like mathematics and medicine, and in most cases all business documents, have been excluded. In the Old Kingdom, however, the last have been included, in view of the limited materials surviving from that distant age. It is hoped that these other classes of documents will appear in further volumes of this series. In all cases, however, where the other classes of documents were of vital historical importance—that is, bore directly on events and conditions closely touching the career of the Egyptian state—they have been included here. These volumes, therefore, include the entire series of written documents from which we draw our knowledge

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of the career of the Nile valley peoples as a nation, until the beginning of permanent foreign domination at the advent of the Persians in 525 B. C.

Besides furnishing an English version of these documents, the scope of this work also includes the proper introduction of the reader to their intelligent study; hence the versions are accompanied by notes and introductions. These are threefold in character. Firstly, in a footnote appended to the title of each document, the reader will find a brief description of it, indicating whether it is of stone or papyrus, a stela, a relief, an obelisk, or whatever it may be, with statement of its size and material whenever the data were obtainable. The state of preservation is noted, and then all the publications in which the text of the monument has appeared. In a word, this footnote contains the *lower* criticism of the document. No attempt has been made to add to the bibliography the various treatments and discussions of the monument which have at various times appeared. The bulk of these essays are long since obsolete, and the time has certainly come when we can detach our usable bibliography from this incumbering inheritance, without at the same time failing to recognize with gratitude the great service which it once rendered to the science. Furthermore, it has seemed a duty to indicate to the reader in this footnote, the comparative value of the more important publications of the text. If an edition of the text has proved inaccurate and untrustworthy, it is but right that it should be known as such. In a purely objective and impersonal manner, therefore, such materials have been characterized in these introductory footnotes.

Secondly, each monument is supplied with a usually short introduction, setting forth the historical significance of the document, its character, and, where necessary, a

résumé of its content. It therefore contains in brief compass the *higher* criticism of the document. Much of the historical background, and literary value of the more important documents will be found set forth more fully in the author's *History of Egypt*,<sup>a</sup> which is based upon the documentary sources in these volumes. As a further aid in gaining a comprehensive idea of the content, the version of each document itself has been divided into logical paragraphs, each with a subtitle. It is intended that by this plan a given passage of the document may be referred to by number, thus furnishing a very brief system of reference to all the monuments, by means of the volume number (Roman) followed by the paragraph number (Arabic).

Thirdly, the version of each monument is accompanied by running footnotes explaining obscure matters in the text as far as possible. It has been impossible to make these any fuller, although the author is quite aware that many details requiring explanation have been left without comment. It has been his especial endeavor to adduce in the footnotes, or at least call attention to, all related matter, whether in this series of translations or elsewhere among the monuments of Egypt. It has often been more convenient to introduce a very brief or fragmentary inscription of a few words in a footnote attached to a related passage in some larger document, than to give such flotsam and jetsam independent heads as separate documents. It is expected to render these all easily discoverable in the index. The maps necessary to an understanding of the geography of the monuments will also appear with the index.

I have attempted to solve the unwelcome problem of the transliteration of Egyptian words and names by giving

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<sup>a</sup>*A History of Egypt*, large 8vo, 640 pp., 200 illustrations, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1905.

the proper names where necessary in two forms: first, a vocalized form for the layman; and, second, a purely consonantal transliteration placed after it in parentheses. As the layman for whom the first is intended knows nothing of Egyptian orthography, it is not important that he shall be able to recognize in the forms the consonants of the original. This vocalized form should, however, as nearly as possible reproduce the consonants upon which it is based, without introducing elements unintelligible to the layman. Hence I have ignored <sup>3</sup> and <sup>c</sup>, *y* becomes *i* or *γ*, and *w* is indicated by *u* or *w*. The consonantal transliteration adopted is the most nearly satisfactory system yet evolved, viz., that of the Berlin school, with some slight modifications. It is as follows:

<sup>3</sup> = Semitic א	<i>n</i> = Semitic נ	<i>š</i> = Semitic ש
<i>y</i> = " י	<i>r</i> = " ר or ל	<i>k</i> = " ק
<i>w</i> = " ו	<i>h</i> = " ה	<i>k</i> = " כ
<i>c</i> = " ע	<i>h</i> = " ה, ח	<i>g</i> = " ג
<i>b</i> = " ב	<i>h</i> = " ה, ח, ע	<i>t</i> = " ת
<i>p</i> = " פ	<i>h</i> = " ה, ח, ע	<i>t</i> = " ט
<i>f</i> = our <i>f</i>	<i>s</i> = " s <sup>a</sup>	<i>d</i> = " ד
<i>m</i> = Semitic מ	<i>s</i> = " ש	<i>q</i> = " ז

In the so-called "syllabic orthography" employed by the Egyptians in writing foreign words, only the first consonant of each biconsonantal sign has any significance. The second has no phonetic value in such words.

This is not the place to discuss the closer equivalences of these consonants. It is probable the <sup>3</sup> (Eagle) diverges

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<sup>a</sup>The nature of the difference between this and the following *š* is entirely obscure. From the Middle Kingdom on, they represent the same sound. Herein the distinction has been consistently indicated only in the Old Kingdom.

slightly from the pure *aleph* of the Semitic languages, while the initial *y* has frequently become an *aleph*. It has not seemed wise to burden a work of this character with such distinctions, and the *y* appearing in these volumes at the beginning of a word merely indicates that the initial consonant of the original word is "reed-leaf" without predicating anything as to whether its sound is ך or א.

To the numerous colleagues in Europe who have been so ready with assistance whenever called upon, I would here publicly express the deepest obligation. For untrammelled access to their collections, and never-failing co-operation, my sincere acknowledgments are due to the authorities of the museums at Berlin, London (British Museum, University College, Petrie Collections), Paris (Louvre, Bibliothèque Nationale, Musée Guimet), Vienna (Hofmuseum), Leyden, Munich, Rome (Vatican, and Capitoline), Florence (Museo Archæologico), Bologna, Naples, Turin, Pisa, Geneva, Lyons, Liverpool, and some others. It is with the greatest pleasure that I recall the years of work in the Berlin Museum to which these volumes have called me. It would be impossible, were I to attempt it, to enumerate the daily kindnesses or tell of the constant co-operation which I have enjoyed there. For daily access to the materials of the academic *Dictionary*, already mentioned, I would express to Professor Erman, and the gentlemen of the *Dictionary* staff, my hearty thanks. For never-failing personal counsel and aid my thanks are also due to Erman, Schaefer, and Sethe; while Steindorff, Borchardt, Spiegelberg, Gardiner, Bissing, Weigall, Newberry, Petrie, and Legrain have placed valuable copies, collations, photographs, or reports at my disposal. The unremitting labors of Maspero and Wiedemann have given us indispensable bibliographies of the historical documents, and these have been of great service to me—a service

for which I would express to them my sincere thanks. I did not, however, depend solely upon these works, but made an independent bibliography from the beginning—a plan which not infrequently turned up invaluable old sources not before employed.

To my friend, President William R. Harper, for his interest in this enterprise, and his unflinching support in arranging for my repeated absence in Europe for the prosecution of these studies, I owe a debt of gratitude. Likewise to the Board of Trustees of the University of Chicago, for the same privileges, it is an agreeable duty to express my appreciation here.

Finally my thanks are due the staff of the University of Chicago Press for unremitting attention to the difficult typographical work of these volumes—an attention to which the appearance of the work is of itself sufficient evidence. I should add that circumstances entirely beyond my control have obliged me to read the proofs of the volumes very rapidly, and it is probable that they contain more typographical errors due to this fact than I could wish. For great assistance in reading the proofs I am indebted to my brother-in-law Dr. R. S. Padan, and for like aid to my wife and her sister, Miss Imogen Hart.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED.

WILLIAMS BAY, WIS.,  
September 22, 1905.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### VOLUME I

	§§
THE DOCUMENTARY SOURCES OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY . . . . .	1-37
CHRONOLOGY . . . . .	38-57
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE . . . . .	58-75
THE PALERMO STONE: THE FIRST TO THE FIFTH DYNASTIES . . . . .	76-167
I. Predynastic Kings . . . . .	90
II. First Dynasty . . . . .	91-116
III. Second Dynasty . . . . .	117-144
IV. Third Dynasty . . . . .	145-148
V. Fourth Dynasty . . . . .	149-152
VI. Fifth Dynasty . . . . .	153-167
THE THIRD DYNASTY . . . . .	168-175
Reign of Snefru . . . . .	168-175
Sinai Inscriptions . . . . .	168-169
Biography of Methen . . . . .	170-175
THE FOURTH DYNASTY . . . . .	176-212
Reign of Khufu . . . . .	176-187
Sinai Inscriptions . . . . .	176
Inventory Stela . . . . .	177-180
Examples of Dedication Inscriptions by Sons . . . . .	181-187
Reign of Khafre . . . . .	188-209
Stela of Mertityôtes . . . . .	188-189
Will of Prince Nekure, Son of King Khafre . . . . .	190-199
Testamentary Enactment of an Unknown Official, Establishing the Endowment of His Tomb by the Pyramid of Khafre . . . . .	200-209
Reign of Menkure . . . . .	210-212
Debhen's Inscription, Recounting King Menkure's Erec- tion of a Tomb for Him . . . . .	210-212
THE FIFTH DYNASTY . . . . .	213-281
Reign of Userkaf . . . . .	213-235



	§§
Testamentary Enactment of Nekonekh . . . . .	213-215
I. The Priesthood of Hathor . . . . .	216-219
II. The Mortuary Priesthood of Khenuka . . . . .	220-222
III. Nekonekh's Will . . . . .	223-225
IV. Nekonekh's Mortuary Priesthood . . . . .	226-227
V. Nekonekh's Mortuary Statue . . . . .	228-230
Testamentary Enactment of Senuonekh, Regulating His Mortuary Priesthood . . . . .	231-235
Reign of Sahure . . . . .	236-241
Sinai Inscriptions . . . . .	236
Tomb Stela of Nenekhsekhet . . . . .	237-240
Tomb Inscription of Persen . . . . .	241
Reign of Neferirkere . . . . .	242-249
Tomb Inscriptions of the Vizier, Chief Judge, and Chief Architect Weshptah . . . . .	242-249
Reign of Nuserre . . . . .	250-262
Sinai Inscription . . . . .	250
Tomb Inscriptions of Hotepiryaqhet . . . . .	251-253
Inscription of Ptahshepses . . . . .	254-262
Reign of Menkuhor . . . . .	263
Sinai Inscription . . . . .	263
Reign of Dedkere-Isesi . . . . .	264-281
Sinai Inscriptions . . . . .	264-267
Tomb Inscriptions of Senezemib, Chief Judge, Vizier, and Chief Architect . . . . .	268-277
Mortuary Inscription of Nezemib . . . . .	278-279
Tomb Inscription of the Nomarch Henku . . . . .	280-281
THE SIXTH DYNASTY . . . . .	282-390
Reign of Teti . . . . .	282-294
Inscriptions of Sabu, Also Called Ibebi . . . . .	282-286
Inscription of Sabu, Also Called Thety . . . . .	287-288
Inscription of an Unknown Builder . . . . .	289-290
Inscription of Uni . . . . .	291-294
I. Career under Teti (l. 1) . . . . .	292-294
II. Career under Pepi I (ll. 2-32) . . . . .	306-315
III. Career under Mernere (ll. 32-50) . . . . .	319-324
Reign of Pepi I . . . . .	295-315
Hammamat Inscriptions . . . . .	295-301

	§§
I. The King's Inscriptions . . . . .	296
II. The Expedition's Inscription . . . . .	297-298
III. Chief Architect's Inscription . . . . .	299
IV. Inscription of the Treasurer of the God Ikhi . . . . .	300-301
Sinai Inscription . . . . .	302-303
Inscription in the Hatnub Quarry . . . . .	304-305
Inscription of Uni: II Career under Pepi I . . . . .	306-315
Reign of Mernere . . . . .	316-336
Inscriptions at the First Cataract . . . . .	316-318
I. Northern Inscription . . . . .	317
II. Southern Inscription . . . . .	318
Inscription of Uni: III Career under Mernere . . . . .	319-324
Inscriptions of Harkhuf . . . . .	325-336
Inscriptions of Harkhuf (continued) . . . . .	350-354
Reign of Pepi II . . . . .	337-385
Conveyance of Land by Idu, Called Also Seneni . . . . .	337-338
Sinai Inscription . . . . .	339-343
Stela of the Two Queens, Enekhnes-Merire . . . . .	344-349
Inscriptions of Harkhuf (continued from § 336) . . . . .	350-354
Letter of Pepi II . . . . .	350-354
I. Dates and Introduction . . . . .	351
II. Acknowledgment of Harkhuf's Letter . . . . .	351
III. Harkhuf's Rewards . . . . .	352
IV. King's Instructions . . . . .	353-354
Inscriptions of Pepi-Nakht . . . . .	355-360
Inscriptions of Khui . . . . .	361
Inscriptions of Sebni . . . . .	362-374
Inscriptions of Ibi . . . . .	375-379
Inscription of Zau . . . . .	380-385
Reign of Ity . . . . .	386-387
Hammamat Inscription . . . . .	386-387
Reign of Imhotep . . . . .	388-390
<b>THE NINTH AND TENTH DYNASTIES . . . . .</b>	<b>391-414</b>
Inscriptions of Siut . . . . .	391-414
I. Inscription of Tefibi . . . . .	393-397
II. Inscription of Kheti I . . . . .	398-404
III. Inscription of Kheti II . . . . .	405-414

	§§
<b>THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY . . . . .</b>	<b>415-459</b>
The Nomarch, Intef . . . . .	419-420
Mortuary Stela . . . . .	419-420
Reign of Horus-Wahenekh-Intef I . . . . .	421-423
Royal Tomb Stela . . . . .	421-423
Reign of Horus-Nakhtneb-Tepnefer-Intef II . . . . .	423A-423G
Stela of Thethi . . . . .	423A-423G
Reign of Nibhotep-Mentuhotep I . . . . .	423H
Temple Fragments from Gebelen . . . . .	423H
Reigns of Intef III and Nibkhrure-Mentuhotep II . . . . .	424-426
Relief near Assuan . . . . .	424-426
Reign of Senekhkere-Mentuhotep III . . . . .	427-433
Hammamat Inscription of Henu . . . . .	427-433
Reign of Nibtowere-Mentuhotep IV . . . . .	434-459
Hammamat Inscriptions . . . . .	434-459
I. The First Wonder . . . . .	435-438
II. The Official Tablet . . . . .	439-443
III. The Commander's Tablet . . . . .	444-448
IV. The Second Wonder . . . . .	449-451
V. Completion of the Work . . . . .	452-456
Stela of Eti . . . . .	457-459
<b>THE TWELFTH DYNASTY . . . . .</b>	<b>460-750</b>
Chronology of Twelfth Dynasty . . . . .	460-462
Reign of Amenemhet I . . . . .	463-497
Inscription of Khnumhotep I . . . . .	463-465
Hammamat Inscription of Intef . . . . .	466-468
Inscription of Nessumontu . . . . .	469-471
Inscription of Korusko . . . . .	472-473
The Teaching of Amenemhet . . . . .	474-483
Dedication Inscription . . . . .	484-485
The Tale of Sinuhe . . . . .	486-497
Reign of Sesostri I . . . . .	498-593
The Building Inscription of the Temple of Heliopolis . . . . .	498-506
Inscription of Meri . . . . .	507-509
Wadi Halfa Inscription of Mentuhotep . . . . .	510-514
Inscription of Amenemhet (Ameni) . . . . .	515-523
Stela of Ikudidi . . . . .	524-528
Inscription of Intefyoker . . . . .	529

	§§
Inscriptions of Mentuhotep . . . . .	530-534
The Contracts of Hepzefi . . . . .	535-538
I. First Contract . . . . .	539-543
II. Second Contract . . . . .	544-548
III. Third Contract . . . . .	549-553
IV. Fourth Contract . . . . .	554-558
V. Fifth Contract . . . . .	559-567
VI. Sixth Contract . . . . .	568-571
VII. Seventh Contract . . . . .	572-575
VIII. Eighth Contract . . . . .	576-581
IX. Ninth Contract . . . . .	582-588
X. Tenth Contract . . . . .	589-593
Reign of Amenemhet II . . . . .	594-613
Inscription of Simontu . . . . .	594-598
Inscription of Sihathor . . . . .	599-605
Sinai Inscription . . . . .	606
Stela of Khentemseti . . . . .	607-613
Reign of Sesostri II . . . . .	614-639
Inscription of Hapu . . . . .	614-618
Inscription of Khnumhotep II . . . . .	619-639
Reign of Sesostri III . . . . .	640-748
The Conquest of Nubia . . . . .	640-672
I. The Canal Inscriptions . . . . .	642-649
I. First Inscription . . . . .	643-645
II. Second Inscription . . . . .	646-648
II. The Elephantine Inscription . . . . .	649-650
III. The First Semneh Stela . . . . .	651-652
IV. The Second Semneh Stela . . . . .	653-660
V. Inscription of Ikhnofret . . . . .	661-670
VI. Inscription of Sisetet . . . . .	671-673
See also . . . . .	676 ff. and 687
Hammamat Inscription . . . . .	674-675
Stela of Sebek-Khu, called Zaa . . . . .	676-687
Inscriptions of Thuthotep . . . . .	688-706
Hammamat Inscriptions . . . . .	707-712
Inscriptions of Sinai . . . . .	713-738
I. Wadi Maghara . . . . .	713-723
I. Inscriptions of Khenemsu . . . . .	714-716

	§§
II. Inscription of Harnakht . . . . .	717-718
III. Inscription of Sebekdidi . . . . .	719-720
IV. Inscription of Ameni . . . . .	721-723
II. Sarbût el-Khadem . . . . .	724-738
I. Inscription of Sebek-hir-hab . . . . .	725-727
II. Inscription of Ptahwer . . . . .	728-729
III. Inscription of Amenemhet . . . . .	730-732
IV. Inscription of Harurre . . . . .	733-738
Turra Inscription . . . . .	739-742
Inscription of Schetepibre . . . . .	743-748
Reign of Amenemhet IV . . . . .	749-750
Kummeh Inscription . . . . .	749
Sinai Inscriptions . . . . .	750
FROM THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY TO THE HYKSOS . . . . .	751-787
Reign of Sekhemre-Khutowe . . . . .	751-752
Records of Nile-Levels . . . . .	751-752
Reign of Neferhotep . . . . .	753-772
Great Abydos Stela . . . . .	753-765
Boundary Stela . . . . .	766-772
Reign of Nubkheprure-Intef . . . . .	773-780
Coptos Decree . . . . .	773-780
Reign of Khenzer . . . . .	781-787
Inscriptions of Ameniseneb . . . . .	781-787

## VOLUME II

	§§
THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY . . . . .	1-1043
Reign of Ahmose I . . . . .	1-37
Biography of Ahmose, Son of Ebana . . . . .	1-3
I. Career under Ahmose I (ll. 1-24) . . . . .	4-16
II. Career under Amenhotep I (ll. 24-29) . . . . .	38-39
III. Career under Thutmose I (ll. 29-39) . . . . .	78-82
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet . . . . .	17-25
I. Ahmose's Campaigns [Continued § 40] . . . . .	18-20
II. Ahmose's Rewards . . . . .	21-24
III. Ahmose's Summary . . . . .	25

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xxv

	§§
Quarry Inscription . . . . .	26-28
Karnak Stela . . . . .	29-32
Building Inscription . . . . .	33-37
Reign of Amenhotep I . . . . .	38-53
Biography of Ahmose, Son of Ebana . . . . .	38-39
II. Career under Amenhotep I (ll. 24-29) . . . . .	38-53
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet . . . . .	40-42
Career under Amenhotep I . . . . .	40-42
Biography of Ineni . . . . .	43-46
I. Career under Amenhotep I . . . . .	44-46
II. Career under Thutmose I . . . . .	99-108
III. Career under Thutmose II . . . . .	115-118
IV. Career under Thutmose III and Hatshepsut . . . . .	340-343
Stela of Harmini . . . . .	47-48
Stela of Keres . . . . .	49-52
Reign of Thutmose I . . . . .	54-114
Coronation Decree . . . . .	54-60
Biographical Inscription of Thure . . . . .	61-66
Tombos Stela . . . . .	67-73
Inscriptions at the First Cataract . . . . .	74-77
I. Sehel Inscription . . . . .	75
II. Sehel Inscription . . . . .	76
III. Assuan Inscription . . . . .	77
Inscription of Ahmose, Son of Ebana . . . . .	78-82
III. Career under Thutmose I (ll. 29-39) . . . . .	78-82
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet . . . . .	83-85
Career under Thutmose I . . . . .	83-85
Karnak Obelisks . . . . .	86-89
Abydos Stela . . . . .	90-98
Biography of Ineni . . . . .	99-108
II. Career under Thutmose I (ll. 4-14) . . . . .	99-108
Stela of Yuf . . . . .	109-114
Reign of Thutmose II . . . . .	115-127
Biography of Ineni . . . . .	115-118
III. Career under Thutmose II . . . . .	115-118
Assuan Inscription . . . . .	119-122
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet . . . . .	123-124
IV. Career under Thutmose II . . . . .	123-124

	§§
Campaign in Syria . . . . .	125
The Ebony Shrine of Der el-Bahri . . . . .	126-127
Reign of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut . . . . .	128-390
Introduction . . . . .	128-130
Inscription of the Coronation; Buildings and Offerings	131-166
Semneh Temple Inscriptions . . . . .	167
I. Renewal of Sesostris III's List of Offerings . . . . .	168-172
II. Dedication to Dedun and Sesostris III . . . . .	173-176
Biography of Nebwawi . . . . .	177
I. The Statue Inscription . . . . .	178-183
II. Abydos Stela . . . . .	184-186
The Birth of Queen Hatshepsut . . . . .	187-191
I. The Council of the Gods . . . . .	192
II. Interviews Between Amon and Thoth . . . . .	193-194
III. Amon with Queen Ahmose . . . . .	195-198
IV. Interview Between Amon and Khnum . . . . .	199-201
V. Khnum Fashions the Child . . . . .	202-203
VI. Interview Between Thoth and Queen Ahmose . . . . .	204
VII. Queen Ahmose is Led to Confinement . . . . .	205
VIII. The Birth . . . . .	206-207
IX. Presentation of the Child to Amon . . . . .	208
X. Council of Amon and Hathor . . . . .	209
XI. The Nursing of the Child . . . . .	210
XII. Second Interview of Amon and Thoth . . . . .	211
XIII. The Final Scene . . . . .	212
Statue of Enebni . . . . .	213
Vase Inscription . . . . .	214
The Coronation of Queen Hatshepsut . . . . .	215
I. The Purification . . . . .	216
II. Amon presents the Child to All the Gods . . . . .	217-220
III. The Northern Journey . . . . .	221-225
IV. Coronation by Atum . . . . .	226-227
V. Reception of the Crowns and the Names . . . . .	228-230
VI. Proclamation as King before Amon . . . . .	231
VII. Coronation before the Court . . . . .	232-239
VIII. Second Purification . . . . .	240-241
IX. Concluding Ceremonies . . . . .	242
Southern Pylon Inscription at Karnak . . . . .	243-245

	§§
The Punt Reliefs . . . . .	246-295
I. Departure of the Fleet . . . . .	252-253
II. Reception in Punt . . . . .	254-258
III. The Traffic . . . . .	259-262
IV. Loading the Vessels . . . . .	263-265
V. The Return Voyage . . . . .	266
VI. Presentation of the Tribute to the Queen by the Chiefs of Punt, Irem and Nemyew . . . . .	267-269
VII. The Queen Offers the Gifts to Amon . . . . .	270-272
VIII. Weighing and Measuring the Gifts to Amon . . . . .	273-282
IX. Formal Announcement of the Success of the Expedition before Amon . . . . .	283-288
X. Formal Announcement of the Success of the Expedition to the Court . . . . .	289-295
Inscription of the Speos Artemidos . . . . .	296-303
The Karnak Obelisks . . . . .	304-307
I. Shaft Inscriptions; Middle Columns . . . . .	308-311
II. Shaft Inscriptions; Side Columns . . . . .	312-313
III. Base Inscription . . . . .	314-321
Reliefs of Transportation of Obelisks . . . . .	322
I. Transport . . . . .	323-329
II. Reception in Thebes . . . . .	330-335
III. Dedication of the Obelisks . . . . .	336
Rock Inscription in Wadi Maghara . . . . .	337
Building Inscription of Western Thebes . . . . .	338-339
Biography of Ineni . . . . .	340-343
IV. Career under Thutmose III and Hatshepsut . . . . .	340-343
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet . . . . .	344
Conclusion of Summary . . . . .	344
Inscriptions of Senmut . . . . .	345-368
I. Inscriptions on the Karnak Statue . . . . .	349-358
II. Assuan Inscription . . . . .	359-362
III. Inscriptions on the Berlin Statue . . . . .	363-368
Inscription of Thutiy . . . . .	369-378
Inscriptions of Puemre . . . . .	379
I. Statue of Inscription . . . . .	380-381
II. Tomb Inscriptions . . . . .	382-387
Inscriptions of Hapuseneb . . . . .	388-390



	§§
Reign of Thutmose III . . . . .	391-779
The Annals . . . . .	391-405
The Annals: Conspectus of Campaigns . . . . .	406
I. Introduction . . . . .	407
II. First Campaign (Year 23) . . . . .	408-443
Wadi Halfa Inscription . . . . .	411-437
Fragment on the Siege of Megiddo . . . . .	438-443
III. Second Campaign (Year 24) . . . . .	444-449
IV. Third Campaign (Year 25) . . . . .	450-452
V. Fourth Campaign . . . . .	453
VI. Fifth Campaign (Year 29) . . . . .	454-462
VII. Sixth Campaign (Year 30) . . . . .	463-467
VIII. Seventh Campaign (Year 31) . . . . .	468-475
IX. Eighth Campaign (Year 33) . . . . .	476-487
X. Ninth Campaign (Year 34) . . . . .	488-495
XI. Tenth Campaign (Year 35) . . . . .	496-503
XII. Eleventh Campaign (Year 36) . . . . .	504
XIII. Twelfth Campaign (Year 37) . . . . .	505
XIV. Thirteenth Campaign (Year 38) . . . . .	506-515
XV. Fourteenth Campaign (Year 39) . . . . .	516-519
XVI. Fifteenth Campaign . . . . .	520-523
XVII. Sixteenth Campaign . . . . .	524-527
XVIII. Seventeenth Campaign . . . . .	528-539
XIX. Conclusion . . . . .	540
Feasts and Offerings from the Conquests . . . . .	541-573
Biography of Amenemhab . . . . .	574-592
Fragments of Karnak Pylon VII . . . . .	593-598
Great Karnak Building Inscription . . . . .	599-608
Building Inscription of the Karnak Ptah-Temple . . . . .	609-622
Obelisks . . . . .	623
I. Karnak Obelisks . . . . .	624-625
II. Lateran Obelisks . . . . .	626-628
III. Constantinople Obelisk . . . . .	629-631
IV. London Obelisk . . . . .	632-633
V. New York Obelisk . . . . .	634-636
Medinet Habu Building Inscriptions . . . . .	637-641
Heliopolis Building Inscriptions . . . . .	642-643
Nubian Wars . . . . .	644-654

	§§
I. Canal Inscription . . . . .	649-650
II. Inscriptions of Nehi, Viceroy of Kush . . . . .	651-652
III. Offerings from the South Countries . . . . .	653-654
Hymn of Victory . . . . .	655-662
Tomb of Rekhmire . . . . .	663-759
I. Appointment of Rekhmire as Vizier . . . . .	665-670
II. Duties of the Vizier . . . . .	671-711
III. The Sitting of the Vizier . . . . .	712-713
IV. Reception of Petitions . . . . .	714-715
V. Inspection of Taxes of Upper Egypt . . . . .	716
A. Above Thebes . . . . .	717-728
B. Below Thebes . . . . .	729-745
VI. Reception of Dues to the Amon-Temple . . . . .	746-751
VII. Inspection of Daily Offerings and of Monuments . . . . .	752
VIII. Inspection of Craftsmen . . . . .	753-755
IX. Inspection of Sculptors and Builders . . . . .	756-759
X. Reception of Foreign Tribute . . . . .	760-761
XI. Accession of Amenhotep II . . . . .	762
Stela of Intef the Herald . . . . .	763-771
Tomb of Menkheperreseneb . . . . .	772-776
Stela of Nibamon . . . . .	777-779
Reign of Amenhotep II . . . . .	780
Asiatic Campaign . . . . .	780-798
I. Karnak Stela . . . . .	781-790
II. Amâda and Elephantine Stelæ . . . . .	791-798
III. Karnak Chapel . . . . .	798A
Turra Inscription . . . . .	799-800
Tomb of Amenken . . . . .	801-802
Karnak Building Inscription . . . . .	803-806
Biography of Amenemhab . . . . .	807-809
Reign of Thutmose IV . . . . .	810-840
Sphinx Stela . . . . .	810-815
Asiatic Campaign . . . . .	816-822
Konosso Inscription . . . . .	823-829
Lateran Obelisk . . . . .	830-838
Stela of Pe'aoke . . . . .	839-840
Reign of Amenhotep III . . . . .	841-931
Birth and Coronation . . . . .	841

	§§
Nubian War . . . . .	842-855
I. Stela at First Cataract . . . . .	843-844
II. Stela of Konosso . . . . .	845
III. Bubastis Inscription . . . . .	846-850
IV. Semneh Inscription . . . . .	851-855
Tablet of Victory . . . . .	856-859
The Commemorative Scarabs . . . . .	860-869
I. Marriage with Tiy . . . . .	861-862
II. Wild Cattle Hunt . . . . .	863-864
III. Ten Years Lion-Hunting . . . . .	865
IV. Marriage with Kirgipa . . . . .	866-867
V. Construction of a Pleasure Lake . . . . .	868-869
Jubilee Celebrations . . . . .	870-874
Quarry and Mine Inscriptions . . . . .	875-877
Building Inscription . . . . .	878-892
I. Introduction (ll. 1-2) . . . . .	882
II. Temple of the (Memnon) Colossi (ll. 2-10) . . . . .	883-885
III. Luxor Temple and Connected Buildings . . . . .	886-887
IV. Sacred Barge of Amon (ll. 16-20) . . . . .	888
V. Third Pylon of Karnak (ll. 20-23) . . . . .	889
VI. Temple of Soleb (ll. 23-26) . . . . .	890
VII. Hymn of Amon to the King (ll. 26-31) . . . . .	891-892
Building Inscriptions of the Soleb Temple . . . . .	893-898
Great Inscription of the Third Karnak Pylon . . . . .	899-903
Dedication Stela . . . . .	904-910
I. Speech of the King (ll. 1-13) . . . . .	905-908
II. Speech of Amon (ll. 14-20) . . . . .	909
III. Speech of the Divine Ennead (ll. 20-24) . . . . .	910
Inscriptions of Amenhotep, Son of Hapi . . . . .	911-927
I. Statue Inscription . . . . .	913-920
II. Mortuary Temple Edict . . . . .	921-927
Statue of Nebnefer . . . . .	928-931
Reign of Ikhnaton . . . . .	932-1018
Quarry Inscription at Silsileh . . . . .	932-935
Tomb of the Vizier Ramose . . . . .	936-948
The Tell El-Amarna Landmarks . . . . .	949-972
Assuan Tablet of the Architect Bek . . . . .	973-976
The Tell El-Amarna Tombs . . . . .	977-1018

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xxxi

	§§
Tomb of Merire II . . . . .	981
Tomb of Merire I . . . . .	982-988
Tomb of Eye . . . . .	989-996
Tomb of Mai . . . . .	997-1003
Tomb of Ahmose . . . . .	1004-1008
Tomb of Tutu . . . . .	1009-1013
Tomb of Huy . . . . .	1014-1018
Reign of Tutenkhamon . . . . .	1019-1041
Tomb of Huy . . . . .	1019-1041
I. Investiture of the Viceroy of Kush . . . . .	1020-1026
II. Tribute of the North . . . . .	1027-1033
III. Tribute of the South . . . . .	1034-1041
Reign of Eye . . . . .	1042-1043

LIST OF FIGURES

	PAGE
Plan of Punt Reliefs . . . . .	105

VOLUME III

	§§
THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY . . . . .	1-651
Reign of Harmhab . . . . .	1-73
Tomb of Harmhab . . . . .	1-21
I. Leyden Fragments . . . . .	2-9
I. Stela with Adoration Scene . . . . .	2-5
II. Reward of Gold . . . . .	6-9
II. Vienna Fragment . . . . .	10-12
III. Alexandria Fragments . . . . .	13
IV. British Museum Fragments . . . . .	14-19
I. Doorposts . . . . .	14-17
II. Stela with Three Hymns . . . . .	18-19
V. Cairo Fragments . . . . .	20-21
Coronation Inscription . . . . .	22-32
Graffiti in the Theban Necropolis . . . . .	32A-32C
The Wars of Harmhab. . . . .	33-44
I. In the North . . . . .	34-36
II. In the South . . . . .	37-44
Edict of Harmhab. . . . .	45-67

	§§
I. Introduction (ll. 1-10) . . . . .	49
II. Introduction: The King's Zeal for the Relief of the People (ll. 10-14) . . . . .	50
III. Enactment Against Robbing the Poor of Dues for the Royal Breweries and Kitchens (ll. 14-17)	51
IV. Enactment Against Robbing the Poor of Wood Due the Pharaoh (ll. 17-18) . . . . .	52
V. Enactment Against Exacting Dues from a Poor Man Thus Robbed (ll. 18-20) . . . . .	53
VI. Against Robbing the Poor of Dues for the Harem or the Gods by the Soldiers (ll. 20-24) . . . . .	54
VII. Enactments Against Unlawful Appropriation of Slave Service (ll. 22-24) . . . . .	55
VIII. Enactment Against Stealing of Hides by the Soldiers (ll. 25-28) . . . . .	56-57
IX. Against Connivance of Dishonest Inspectors with Thievish Tax-Collectors, for a Share of the Booty (ll. 28-32) . . . . .	58
X. Enactment Against Stealing Vegetables Under Pretense of Collecting Taxes (ll. 32-35) . . . . .	59
XI. Enactments too Fragmentary for Analysis (ll. 35- 39) and Right Side (ll. 1, 2) . . . . .	60-62
XII. Narrative of the King's Reforms, Containing Also an Enactment Against Corrupt Judges (ll. 3-7) . . . . .	63-65
XIII. Narrative of the King's Monthly Audiences and Largesses (ll. 7-10) . . . . .	66
XIV. Laudation of the King, and Conclusion (Left Side) . . . . .	67
Tomb of Neferhotep . . . . .	68-73
Reign of Ramses I . . . . .	74-79
Wadi Halfa Stela . . . . .	74-79
Reign of Seti I . . . . .	80-250
Karnak Reliefs . . . . .	80-156
Scene 1. March through Southern Palestine . . . . .	83-84
Scene 2. Battle with the Shasu . . . . .	85-86
Scene 3. Capture of Pekanán . . . . .	87-88
Scene 4. Capture of Yenoam . . . . .	89-90

	§§
Scene 5. Submission of the Chiefs of Lebanon . . . . .	91-94
Scenes 6 and 7. Binding and Carrying Away Prisoners . . . . .	95-97
Scene 8. Reception in Egypt . . . . .	98-103
Scene 9. Presentation of Shasu Prisoners and Precious Vessels to Amon . . . . .	104-108
Scene 10. Presentation of Syrian Prisoners and Precious Vessels to Amon . . . . .	109-112
Scene 11. Slaying Prisoners Before Amon . . . . .	113-119
Scene 12. First Battle with the Libyans . . . . .	120-122
Scene 13. Second Battle with the Libyans . . . . .	123-132
Scene 14. Return from Libyan War . . . . .	133-134
Scene 15. Presentation of Libyan Prisoners and Spoil to Amon . . . . .	135-139
Scene 16. Capture of Kadesh . . . . .	140-141
Scene 17. Battle with the Hittites . . . . .	142-144
Scene 18. Carrying off Hittite Prisoners . . . . .	145-148
Scene 19. Presentation of Hittite Spoil and Prisoners to Amon . . . . .	149-152
Scene 20. Slaying Prisoners before Amon . . . . .	153-156
Wadi Halfa Stela . . . . .	157-161
Inscriptions of Redesiyeh . . . . .	162-198
I. First Inscription . . . . .	169-174
II. Second Inscription . . . . .	175-194
III. Third Inscription . . . . .	195-198
Building Inscriptions . . . . .	199-250
I. First Cataract Inscription . . . . .	201-204
1. Assuan Inscription . . . . .	201-202
2. Elephantine Stela . . . . .	203-204
II. Silsileh Quarry Stela . . . . .	205-208
III. Gebelên Quarry Inscription . . . . .	209-210
IV. Mortuary Temple at Thebes (Kurna) . . . . .	211-221
V. Temple of Karnak . . . . .	222-224
VI. Mortuary Temple at Abydos . . . . .	225-243
VII. Temple Model of Heliopolis . . . . .	244-246
VIII. Miscellaneous . . . . .	247-250
Reign of Ramses II . . . . .	251-568
Great Abydos Inscription . . . . .	251-281
Kubbân Stela . . . . .	282-293

	§§
The Asiatic War . . . . .	294-391
I. Beginning of the Hittite War . . . . .	296-351
I. First Campaign . . . . .	297
II. Second Campaign: The Battle of Kadesh . . . . .	298-351
<i>a.</i> Poem of the Battle of Kadesh . . . . .	305-315
<i>b.</i> Official Record of the Battle of Kadesh . . . . .	316-327
<i>c.</i> The Reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh. . . . .	328
I. The Council of War . . . . .	329-330
II. The Camp . . . . .	331-332
III. Ramses' Messengers . . . . .	333-334
IV. The Battle . . . . .	335-338
V. The Defense of the Camp . . . . .	339-340
VI. After the Battle . . . . .	341-347
VII. Presentation of Captives to Amon . . . . .	348-351
III. Palestinian Revolt . . . . .	352-362
I. Reconquest of Southern Palestine . . . . .	353-355
II. Reconquest of Northern Palestine . . . . .	356-362
IV. Campaign in Naharin . . . . .	363-391
I. Conquest of Naharin . . . . .	364-366
II. Treaty with the Hittites . . . . .	367-391
Relations of Egypt with the Hittites after the War . . . . .	392-491
I. The Blessing of Ptah . . . . .	394-414
II. Marriage Stela . . . . .	415-424
III. Message of the Chief of Kheta to the Chief of Kode . . . . .	425-426
IV. Coptos Stela . . . . .	427-428
V. Bentresh Stela . . . . .	429-447
Nubian Wars and References to Northern Wars . . . . .	448-491
I. Abu Simbel Temple . . . . .	449-457
II. Bet el-Walli Temple . . . . .	458-477
III. Assuan Stela . . . . .	478-479
IV. Luxor Temple . . . . .	480-484
V. Abydos Temple . . . . .	485-486
VI. Tanis Stelæ . . . . .	487-491
Building Inscriptions . . . . .	492-537
I. Great Temple of Abu Simbel. . . . .	495-499
II. Small Temple of Abu Simbel. . . . .	500-501
III. Temple of Serreh . . . . .	502

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xxxv

	§§
IV. Temple of Derr . . . . .	503
V. Temple of Sebûc'a . . . . .	504
VI. Temple of el Kab . . . . .	505
VII. Temple of Luxor . . . . .	506-508
VIII. Temple of Karnak . . . . .	509-513
IX. The Ramesseum . . . . .	514-515
X. Temple of Kurna . . . . .	516-522
XI. Seti I's Temple at Abydos and Great Abydos Inscription . . . . .	262-267
XII. Ramses II's Temple at Abydos . . . . .	524-529
XIII. Memphis Temples . . . . .	530-537
1. Great Abydos Inscription (l. 22) . . . . .	260
2. Blessing of Ptah (ll. 32, 35) . . . . .	412-413
XIV. City of Tanis (Blessing of Ptah (ll. 16-18) . . . . .	406
Stela of the Year 400 . . . . .	538-542
Royal Jubilee Inscriptions . . . . .	543-560
I. First Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	552
II. Bigeh Inscription . . . . .	553
III. Second Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	554
IV. Third Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	555
V. Fourth Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	556
VI. Sehel Inscription . . . . .	557
VII. El Kab Inscription . . . . .	558
VIII. Fifth Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	559
IX. Sixth Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	560
Inscription of Beknekhonsu . . . . .	561-568
Reign of Merneptah . . . . .	569-638
The Invasion of Libyans and Mediterranean Peoples . . . . .	569-617
I. The Great Karnak Inscription . . . . .	572-592
II. The Cairo Column . . . . .	593-595
III. The Athribis Stela . . . . .	596-601
IV. The Hymn of Victory . . . . .	602-617
Inscriptions of the High Priest of Amon, Roy . . . . .	618-628
Daybook of a Frontier Official . . . . .	629-635
Letter of a Frontier Official . . . . .	636-638
Reign of Siptah . . . . .	639-650
Nubian Graffiti . . . . .	639-650



LIST OF FIGURES		PAGE
Fig. 1.	Plan of the Reliefs of Seti I, on the North Wall of the Great Hall of Karnak . . . . .	39
Fig. 2.	Seti I on the Route through Southern Palestine (Scene 1) . . . . .	44
Fig. 3.	Showing Two Superimposed Figures . . . . .	61
Fig. 4.	Inserted Figure of "First King's-Son" . . . . .	61
Fig. 5.	An Unknown Prince Following the Chariot of Seti I (Scene 14) . . . . .	66
Fig. 6.	Figure of an Unknown Prince Inserted in a Fragmentary Scene (§ 130) . . . . .	66
Fig. 7.	Map of the Orontes Valley in the Vicinity of Kadesh . . . . .	126
Fig. 8.	March to Kadesh: First Positions . . . . .	128
Fig. 9.	Battle of Kadesh: Second Positions . . . . .	130
Fig. 10.	Battle of Kadesh: Third Positions . . . . .	130
Fig. 11.	Battle of Kadesh: Fourth Positions . . . . .	130
Fig. 12.	Battle of Kadesh: Fifth Positions . . . . .	130
Fig. 13.	The Modern Mound of Kadesh . . . . .	152

#### VOLUME IV

		§§
THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY . . . . .		1-603
Reign of Ramses III . . . . .		1-456
Medinet Habu Temple . . . . .		1-150
Building and Dedication Inscriptions . . . . .		1-20
Historical Inscriptions . . . . .		21-138
I. Treasury of Medinet Habu Temple . . . . .		25-34
II. First Libyan War, Year 5 . . . . .		35-58
1. Great Inscription in the Second Court (Year 5) . . . . .		36-58
III. Northern War, Year 8 . . . . .		59-82
1. Great Inscription on the Second Pylon, Year 8 . . . . .		61-68
2. Relief Scenes Outside North Wall and in Second Court, Year 8 . . . . .		69-82
IV. Second Libyan War . . . . .		83-114

	§§
1. Great Inscription on the First Pylon (Medinet Habu) . . . . .	85-92
2. Poem on Second Libyan War . . . . .	93-99
3. Relief Scenes on First Pylon and Outside North Wall (Medinet Habu) . . . . .	100-114
4. Papyrus Harris . . . . .	405
V. The Syrian War . . . . .	115-135
VI. The Nubian War . . . . .	136-138
Medinet Habu Temple Calendar . . . . .	139-145
Act of Endowment of the Temples of Khnum . . . . .	146-150
Papyrus Harris . . . . .	151-412
Discussion of . . . . .	151-181
Content:	
I. Introduction . . . . .	182-183
II. Theban Section . . . . .	184-246
III. Heliopolitan Section . . . . .	247-304
IV. Memphite Section . . . . .	305-351
V. General Section (Small Temples) . . . . .	352-382
VI. Summary . . . . .	383-396
VII. Historical Section . . . . .	397-412
Record of the Royal Jubilee . . . . .	413-415
Records of the Harem Conspiracy . . . . .	416-456
I. Appointment of the Court . . . . .	423-424
II. The Condemned of the First Prosecution . . . . .	425-443
III. The Condemned of the Second Prosecution . . . . .	444-445
IV. The Condemned of the Third Prosecution . . . . .	446-450
V. The Condemned of the Fourth Prosecution . . . . .	451-452
VI. The Acquitted . . . . .	453
VII. The Practicers of Magic . . . . .	454-456
Reign of Ramses IV . . . . .	457-472
Hammamat Stela . . . . .	457-468
I. The First Stela . . . . .	457-460
II. The Second Stela . . . . .	461-468
Abydos Stela . . . . .	469-471
Building Inscription of the Khonsu Temple . . . . .	472
Reign of Ramses V . . . . .	473
Tomb Dedication . . . . .	473
Reign of Ramses VI . . . . .	474-483

	§§
Tomb of Penno . . . . .	474-483
Reign of Ramses VII . . . . .	484-485
Stela of Hori . . . . .	484-485
Reign of Ramses IX . . . . .	486-556
Inscriptions of the High Priest of Amon, Amenhotep	486-498
I. Building Inscriptions . . . . .	488-491
II. Records of Rewards . . . . .	492-498
The Records of the Royal Tomb-Robberies . . . . .	499-556
I. Papyrus Abbott . . . . .	509-535
II. Papyrus Amherst . . . . .	536-541
III. Turin Fragment . . . . .	542-543
IV. Mayer Papyri . . . . .	544-556
Reign of Ramses XII . . . . .	557-603
The Report of Wenamon . . . . .	557-591
Records of the Restoration of the Royal Mummies . . . . .	592-594
Letter to the Viceroy of Kush . . . . .	595-600
Building Inscriptions in the Temple of Khonsu . . . . .	601-603
<b>THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY . . . . .</b>	<b>604-692</b>
The Twenty-First Dynasty . . . . .	604-607
Reign of Hrihor . . . . .	608-626
Inscriptions of the Temple of Khonsu . . . . .	608-626
Reign of Nesubenedbed . . . . .	627-630
Gebelên Inscription . . . . .	627-630
Reign of the High Priest and King Paynozem I . . . . .	631-649
I. Paynozem I as High Priest . . . . .	631-635
Building Inscriptions . . . . .	631-635
Records on the Royal Mummies . . . . .	636-642
II. Paynozem I as King . . . . .	643 ff.
Records on the Royal Mummies . . . . .	643-647
Building Inscriptions . . . . .	648-649
High Priesthood of Menkheperre . . . . .	650-661
Stela of the Banishment . . . . .	650-658
Record of Restoration . . . . .	659
Karnak Graffito . . . . .	660
Records on the Royal Mummies . . . . .	661
High Priesthood of Paynozem II . . . . .	662-687
Records on the Priestly Mummies . . . . .	662-663
Records on the Royal Mummies . . . . .	664-667

	§§
Record of Paynozem II's Burial . . . . .	668
Stela of the "Great Chief of Me," Sheshonk . . . . .	669-687
High Priesthood of Pesibkhenno . . . . .	688-692
Records on Mummy-Wrappings . . . . .	688
Burial of Nesikhonsu . . . . .	689
Records on the Royal Mummies . . . . .	690-692
<b>THE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY . . . . .</b>	<b>693-792</b>
Records of Nile-Levels at Karnak . . . . .	693-698
Reign of Sheshonk I . . . . .	699-728
Records on Mummy-Bandages of Zeptahefonekh . . . . .	699-700
Building Inscription . . . . .	701-708
Great Karnak Relief . . . . .	709-722
Presentation of Tribute . . . . .	723-724
Karnak Stela . . . . .	724A
Dakhel Stela . . . . .	725-728
Reign of Osorkon I . . . . .	729-737
Record of Temple Gifts . . . . .	729-737
Reign of Takelot I . . . . .	738-740
Statue of the Nile-God Dedicated by the High Priest, Sheshonk . . . . .	738-740
Reign of Osorkon II . . . . .	742-751
Flood Inscription . . . . .	742-744
Statue Inscription . . . . .	745-747
Jubilee Inscriptions . . . . .	748-751
Reign of Takelot II . . . . .	752-755
Graffito of Harsiese . . . . .	752-754
Stela of Kerome . . . . .	755
Reign of Sheshonk III . . . . .	756-777
Annals of the High Priest of Amon, Osorkon . . . . .	756-770
I. East of Door . . . . .	760-761
II. West of Door . . . . .	762-770
First Serapeum Stela of Pediese . . . . .	771-774
Record of Installation . . . . .	775-777
Reign of Pemou . . . . .	778-781
Second Serapeum Stela of Pediese . . . . .	778-781
Reign of Sheshonk IV . . . . .	782-792
Stela of Weshtehet . . . . .	782-784

	§§
Serapeum Stela of Harpeson . . . . .	785-792
<b>THE TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY.</b> . . . .	793-883
Records of Nile-Levels at Karnak . . . . .	793-794
Reign of Osorkon III . . . . .	795
Will of Yewelot . . . . .	795
Reign of Piankhi . . . . .	796-883
The Piankhi Stela . . . . .	796-883
<b>THE TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY</b> . . . . .	884
Reign of Bocchoris . . . . .	884
Serapeum Stelæ . . . . .	884
<b>THE TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY</b> . . . . .	885-934
Records of the Nile-Levels at Karnak . . . . .	885-888
Reign of Shabaka . . . . .	889
Building Inscription . . . . .	889
Reign of Taharka . . . . .	892-918
Tanis Stela . . . . .	892-896
Building Inscription in Large Cliff-Temple of Napata	897-900
Inscription of Mentemhet . . . . .	901-916
Serapeum Stela . . . . .	917-918
Reign of Tanutamon . . . . .	919-934
Stela of Tanutamon . . . . .	919-934
<b>THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY</b> . . . . .	935-1029
Reign of Psamtik I . . . . .	935-973
Adoption Stela of Nitocris . . . . .	935-958
Statue Inscription of the Chief Steward, Ibe . . . . .	958A-958M
First Serapeum Stela . . . . .	959-962
Second Serapeum Stela . . . . .	963-966
Statue Inscription of Hor . . . . .	967-973
Reign of Necho . . . . .	974-980
Serapeum Stela . . . . .	974-979
Building Inscription . . . . .	980
Reign of Psamtik II . . . . .	981-983
Statue Inscription of Neferibre-Nofer . . . . .	981-983
Reign of Apries . . . . .	984-995
Serapeum Stela . . . . .	984-988
Stela of the Divine Consort Enekhnesneferibre . . . . .	988A-988J
Inscription of Nesuhor . . . . .	989-995

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xli

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	§§
Reign of Amasis (Ahmose II). . . . .	996-1029
Elephantine Stela . . . . .	996-1007
Serapeum Stela . . . . .	1008-1012
Statue Inscription of the General Ahmose . . . . .	1013-1014
Statue Inscription of Pefnefdineit . . . . .	1015-1025
Mortuary Stelæ of the Priest Psantik . . . . .	1026-1029

LIST OF FIGURES

	PAGE
Plan of Scenes and Inscriptions in Medinet Habu Temple . . . . .	5
INDEX . . . . .	521

## EXPLANATION OF TYPOGRAPHICAL SIGNS AND SPECIAL CHARACTERS

1. The introductions to the documents are in twelve-point type, like these lines.

2. All of the translations are in ten-point type, like this line.

3. In the footnotes and introductions all quotations from the documents in the original words of the translation are in *italics*, inclosed in quotation marks. *Italics* are not employed in the text of the volumes for any other purpose except for titles.

4. The lines of the original document are indicated in the translation by superior numbers.

5. The loss of a word in the original is indicated by —, two words by — —, three words by — — —, four words by — — — —, five words by — — — — —, and more than five by —————. A word in the original is estimated at a “square” as known to Egyptologists, and the estimate can be but a very rough one.

6. When any of the dashes, like those of No. 5, are inclosed in half-brackets, the dashes so inclosed indicate not lost, but uncertain words. Thus [—] represents one uncertain word, [— —] two uncertain words, and [————] more than five uncertain words.

7. When a word or group of words are inclosed in half-brackets, the words so inclosed are uncertain in meaning; that is, the translation is not above question.

8. Roman numerals I, II, III, and IV, not preceded by the title of any book or journal, refer to these four volumes of Historical Documents. The Arabic numerals following such Romans refer to the numbered paragraphs of these volumes. All paragraph marks (§ and §§, without a Roman) refer to paragraphs of the same volume.

9. For signs used in transliteration, see Vol. I, p. xv.

THE DOCUMENTARY SOURCES OF  
EGYPTIAN HISTORY



## THE DOCUMENTARY SOURCES OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY

1. The general course and the gradual development of Egyptian civilization are in some respects roughly traceable in its surviving material documents, in the products of the artist and the craftsman, which we are accustomed to assign to the domain of the archæologist. With these invaluable material documents the present volumes of course do not deal. They purpose to present only those written documents from which the career of the Nile valley peoples may be drawn at the present day. A rapid survey of the materials herein presented may enable the non-Egyptologist to gain some preliminary conception of their general character.

2. Comparatively speaking, but very little of the rich and productive civilization which flourished for at least five millenniums before Christ on the banks of the lower Nile, has survived in written documents for our enlightenment. Accident has preserved but here and there the merest scrap of the vast mass of written records which the incessant political, legal, administrative, religious, industrial, commercial, and literary activities filling the life of this ancient people, were constantly putting forth. We may make one exception: the religious literature, doubtless the least instructive, as a whole, of all their literary documents, has survived in an incalculable mass of temple inscriptions and papyri, which have never even been adequately published, much less exhaustively studied.

3. It is with those documents in which the national career as a whole can be traced that we have here to deal. From the pre-dynastic age onward the kings kept a series of

annals, recording in each year the great deeds and achievements of the Pharaoh which he thought worthy of perpetuation. Of such annals only two fragments have survived: the Palermo Stone, part of a record extending from the earliest times down into the Fifth Dynasty; and the annals of Thutmose III's wars, of which a few extracts were excerpted by a priestly scribe and recorded on the walls of the Karnak temple. Had we the annals of the Pharaohs in complete form, we might perhaps write almost as full a history of Egypt as it is possible to do for the Middle Ages of European history. Without these, we are dependent upon a miscellaneous mass of documents of the most varied character and value, which chance and circumstance have preserved from destruction these thousands of years. In general, such documents show more literary character and picturesqueness than the Assyro-Babylonian records; but the latter dry and formal annals possess greater historical value, and exhibit a preciseness which induces them with a rare availability as sources. The Egyptian records which chance has preserved to us are, as a whole, so vague and indefinite in their references to peoples, localities, persons, and the character of events, that they are often tantalizing in what they do not tell us. Thus in records of whole campaigns of Thutmose III in Syria the hostile Syrian king is designated merely as "*that foe*" (lit. "*fallen one*"), and we are uncertain whether the king of Kadesh, of Mitanni, of Aleppo, or of some other realm is meant. The real excerpts from Thutmose III's Annals (II, 391 ff.), however, show that such records contained an elaboration of detail not less precise and historically available than the cuneiform annals. So much the more must we deplore their loss.

4. How hazardous was the life of such a document may be well illustrated by the great building inscription, upon a

huge stone stela, erected by Sesostris I nearly two thousand years before Christ, in his new temple at Heliopolis. The great block itself has since perished utterly; but the practice-copy made by a scribe, who was whiling away an idle hour in the sunny temple court, has survived, and the fragile roll of leather (§§ 498 ff.) upon which he was thus exercising his pen, has transmitted to us what the massive stone could not preserve.

5. That we possess any documents at all from the Old Kingdom (2980-2400 B. C.) is chiefly due to the massive masonry tombs of that age, in which they were recorded. The exceptions are inscriptions on foreign soil, and a few scanty fragments of papyrus containing accounts and letters. The vast quantity of such papyrus documents which once existed is evidenced by the constant appearance of the scribe with his rolls, his pens, and his ink palette, in the tomb reliefs. Such hints from the numerous reliefs in the tombs of this age are the source of our knowledge of the material culture of the time. The chief inscriptions which accompany them consist almost exclusively of the name and many titles of the owner of the tomb. Now and again the legal enactment by which the tomb was endowed and maintained is recorded on the wall. Such wills and conveyances are, of course, invaluable cultural documents.

6. Gradually the nobles were inclined to add a few biographical details to the series of bare titles. The first of such scanty biographies appears at the end of the Third Dynasty (§§ 170 ff.), after which there is a growing fondness for recording at least the chief honors received by the deceased from the Pharaoh, especially the furnishing and equipment of his tomb at the king's expense. The daily intercourse of the deceased with the king, the privileges which he enjoyed in connection with the royal person, or now and then the copy

of a letter from the king to his favorite—all these serve to make such biographies of inestimable value in completing our picture of the culture of the time. In the Sixth Dynasty these biographies become real narratives of the career of the departed noble, or at least of his most notable achievements in the service of the Pharaoh. The most important documents of this character are the biographies of Uni (§§ 291 ff.), and the nobles of Elephantine (§§ 325 ff., 355 ff., 362 ff.), one of whom has included therein a personal letter from the king (§§ 350 ff.).

7. As the aggressiveness of the Pharaohs increased, their foreign enterprises found record on the rocks in a number of distant regions (outside of Egypt proper), where they still exist. In the Peninsula of Sinai they appear in the First Dynasty (began 3400 B. C.); by the Fifth Dynasty (ended by 2580 B. C.) the officials who led such expeditions commenced to add their own records below the mere relief depicting the triumphant king, a scene to which heretofore only the name of the king was appended. From the Fourth Dynasty such memorials begin to appear in the alabaster quarries of Hatnub, behind Amarna; and from the reign of Isesi, in the Fifth Dynasty, they become more and more numerous in the quarries of Hammamat in the eastern desert, on the road from Coptos to the Red Sea. Practically all that we know, for example, of the power and deeds of the Eleventh Dynasty (2160–2000 B. C.) is drawn from records in these quarries.

8. They soon become so regular that their stoppage is almost certain evidence of an interruption in the orderly course of government in the Nile valley. Similar inscriptions on the rocks at the first cataract (§§ 316 ff.) begin in the time of Mernere, of the Sixth Dynasty (2625–2475 B. C.). The earliest inscription (§§ 472, 473) above the cataract in

Nubia itself dates from the reign of Amenemhet I, the first king of the Twelfth Dynasty (2000-1788 B. C.). Under the Empire such records on foreign soil appear also in Syria and Palestine (III, 297). Quarry inscriptions within the borders of Egypt do not begin until the Middle Kingdom, when we find them in the limestone quarries of Ayan (Turra-Ma'sara) just south of Cairo (§§ 739, 740); at the sandstone quarries of Silsileh they first appear under the Empire.

9. From the Middle Kingdom (2160-1788 B. C.) on, the memorial stelæ at Abydos are exceedingly valuable.<sup>a</sup> Officials on various commissions, whose business carried them to the holy city, improved the opportunity to erect memorial stones craving the favor of Osiris, the great god of the dead, for themselves and their relatives. Now and again such an officer narrates the circumstances which called him to Abydos; thus Ikhernofret, the treasurer of Sesostri III, records on his stela (§§ 661-70) not only the occasion of his visit, but also a copy of the royal letter which contained the command dispatching him thither.

10. In this age the tomb biographies become extremely valuable, because of their tendency to fulness and family details—a tendency already visible in the Tenth Dynasty tombs at Siut (§§ 391 ff.). But unfortunately only the tombs of Middle Egypt, chiefly at Benihasan (§§ 619 ff.), are preserved. Royal monuments with inscribed records become more plentiful, especially in Nubia, where the boundary stelæ of Sesostri III (§§ 651-60) are especially noteworthy; and in the quarries of Hammamat and the mines of Sinai. Papyri of any kind in the Middle Kingdom are still none too plentiful. Literary papyri are well represented by

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<sup>a</sup>The great Old Kingdom inscription of Uni at Abydos hardly belongs to the class of memorial stelæ here designated. The inscription of Zau (§§ 344-49), of the Sixth Dynasty, however, should probably be included in this class; but it is unique in its time.

several magnificent manuscripts. Of business and administrative documents, like letters, bills, accounts and tax lists, we have examples in the Kahun Papyri, of which the second find, now at Berlin, is still unpublished. But papyrus documents of strictly historical import, such as we can include here, are still rare in this age.

11. Under the Empire (1580-1150 B. C.) the available documents both in quantity and quality for the first time approach the minimum which in European history would be regarded as adequate to a moderately full presentation of the career of the nation. Scores of important questions, however, still remain unanswered, in whatever direction we turn. Nevertheless, a rough framework of the governmental organization, the constitution of society, the most important achievements of the kings, and to a limited extent the spirit of the imperial age, may be discerned and sketched, in the main outlines, with clearness and fair precision, even though it is only here and there that the sources enable us to fill in the detail.

12. It is especially royal monuments which are more plentiful in the Empire, as compared with earlier times. The first and most important class of such documents is found in the temples—a source which in the earlier periods has totally perished. It was customary already at the beginning of the dynasties for the king to commemorate his victories in the temples. This custom led in the Empire to extensive and magnificent records on the temple walls, on a scale not before attempted. Such documents were less records than triumphal memorials, and as historical sources they are therefore very insufficient. They dealt with events with which all were familiar at the time of their erection, and hence specific references to the said events are rare, or, if present at all, are couched in such vague and

general terms that little can be drawn from them at the present day.

13. They consist chiefly in extensive reliefs on the temple walls, depicting the victorious Pharaoh in battle, capturing prisoners, or presenting prisoners and spoil to Amon. They are accompanied by descriptive and explanatory inscriptions, which unfortunately consist, for the most part, in conventional phrases in laudation of the Pharaoh as a mighty ruler. As the temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty have to a large extent perished, the priceless records of that imperial family have perished with them. We have three great series of reliefs: one representing the birth of Queen Hatshepsut (II, 187 ff.), and a duplicate depicting the birth of Amenhotep III (II, 841 ff.), while the third pictures the voyage of Hatshepsut to the land of Punt (II, 246 ff.). More valuable are the extracts from the annals of Thutmose III on the walls of the Karnak temple (II, 391 ff.), already mentioned, and a similar record of his son Amenhotep II on a large stela at Karnak (II, 780 ff.). The temple records of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties are much more plentiful; but they are almost exclusively of the unprecise character above described. Besides the great record of Merneptah's Libyan war, (III, 569-617), which is a much better source, they are chiefly memorials of the wars of Seti I (III, 80-156), of his son, Ramses II (IV, 294-391, 448-91), and of Ramses III, of the Twentieth Dynasty (IV, 1-145).

14. Another class of temple records is the building inscriptions. Apart from their value as records of building enterprises, they contain valuable references to the history of the builder. In a number of cases the early career of the builder and the manner in which he came to the throne are prefixed as an introduction to the record of the building itself. This is observable as far back as the building

inscription of Sesostris I, in the Twelfth Dynasty (§§ 498 ff.); in the Eighteenth Dynasty (1580-1350 B. C.) we gain invaluable hints of the early life of Thutmose III from his great building inscription in the Karnak temple (II, 131 ff.). Such building records not infrequently also contain priceless references to the wars and campaigns of the Pharaoh, whence he may have obtained the wealth for the edifice in question. Notable examples of this class are the stela of Thutmose III in the Ptah temple at Karnak (II, 609 ff.), and the great summary of the buildings of Amenhotep III left by him on a stela in his mortuary temple at Thebes (II, 878 ff.).

15. Records of restorations are not less valuable. The restoration record of Hatshepsut at Benihasan (II, 296 ff.) throws a significant sidelight on the reasons necessitating such restoration of the temples, after their neglect by the Hyksos; while the short remarks of Harmhab and Seti I, recording their restorations after the revolution of Ikhnaton, are invaluable indications of the widespread activity of the latter (II, 878). Again, we gain a hint of the anarchy following this revolution, from the record of Harmhab's restoration of the mummy of Thutmose IV, after its violation by tomb-robbers (III, 32 A ff.).

16. Stelæ dedicating the finished temple to the god were set up in the holy of holies, at the place where the king stood in the performance of the royal ritual. Some of these were of enormous size, that of Amenhotep III in his temple behind the Memnon colossi being no less than thirty feet high, and hewn of a single block (II, 904 ff.). The content of these dedication stelæ does not differ essentially from that of the building inscriptions; they likewise contain references to the wars of the kings erecting them. The most important of these now surviving are the two in duplicate erected by Amenhotep II at Amâda and Elephantine



(II, 791 ff.). The temple obelisks also occasionally bear inscriptions of historical importance, and among these the inscriptions of Hatshepsut (II, 304 ff.), of Thutmose III (II, 623 ff.), and of Thutmose IV (II, 830 ff.) furnish very useful data.

17. All these temple records, being for the glory of the Pharaoh, are couched in language very poetic and highly colored, although the poetic form is not always discernible. Among them, however, are found poems in praise of the sovereign, exhibiting strictly poetic structure, with rigid division into strophes. Some of these contain references and allusions which, in view of the scantiness of our materials, may be employed historically. Such hymns probably existed from the earliest days of the dynasties, but the earliest example preserved is dedicated to the praise of Sesostris III, of the Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>a</sup> In the Empire the most notable example celebrates the fame of Thutmose III (II, 655 ff.). It is the earliest of such poems possessing real historical importance.

18. Royal records not of this class of temple memorials are not numerous. Of actual state documents we possess very few. The viceroy of Kush recorded on stone the decree in which Thutmose I announced his coronation, and of this rescript we possess two copies (II, 54 ff.). At the opening of the Nineteenth Dynasty (1350-1205 B. C.) we have the royal decree instituting the administrative reforms of Harmhab; it is possibly in its original form (III, 45-67). Another great example of a state document is the famous treaty between Ramses II and the Hittite king Khetasar (III, 367-91). The remarkable report of the unfortunate envoy to Syria, Wenamon, may also be a few pages from the

<sup>a</sup>Its historical references are too vague and general to warrant its insertion in this series.

royal archives at Thebes (IV, 557 ff.). A few letters from the king personally (e. g., §§ 350 ff., 664, 665) and some legal records (IV, 499-557) complete the list of state documents. The remaining royal documents are of a miscellaneous character, like the unique memorial scarabs of Amenhotep III (II, 860 ff.), or the huge stelæ erected as landmarks by Ikhnaton for the purpose of demarking the limits of his new capital at Amarna (II, 949 ff.). Finally, the greatest of all royal documents is the enormous Papyrus Harris, recording the good deeds of Ramses III (1198-1167 B. C.) to gods and men, compiled for his tomb, as a title to consideration at the hands of the gods in the future life (IV, 151-412).

19. The private monuments of the Empire are also more numerous than before and contribute greatly to our knowledge of it. The tombs of the Pharaoh's grandees have now become more personal monuments than ever before. These men, who were guiding Egypt on her imperial career, delighted to perpetuate in their tombs some record of the brilliant part which they were playing in these great events. The generals and administrative officials who under the Pharaoh governed the Empire, now sleep in rock-hewn tombs at Thebes, the chambers of which still bear magnificently painted scenes from their active and adventurous lives. Here we behold the reception of tribute from the remotest limits of the Empire, borne on the shoulders of Palestinians, Syrians, or northern islanders, the whole being accompanied by explanatory inscriptions. The various duties and activities of the greatest officials of the government are here depicted, and from these scenes and the appended inscriptions we can draw fuller data respecting the Empire and its organization than from any other source.

20. These tomb chapels, besides the Amarna Letters,

are also the only surviving contemporary source for the civilization of Syria and Palestine in the second millennium before Christ. The most important of such tombs is that of Rekhmire, the vizier of Thutmose III (II, 663-762). The biographies of the generals preserved in these tomb chapels are not infrequently our only source for entire wars of the Pharaoh, of which we should not otherwise have known anything at all—not even that they took place. Besides these tomb inscriptions, the nobles also recorded their biographies, or at least some of their achievements, on the statues accorded them by the Pharaoh in the Karnak temple. Examples of such records are the statue of Senmut (II, 345 ff.), or that of Beknekhonsu (III, 561 ff.). After the Eighteenth Dynasty the Empire abounds in papyri: letters, bills, receipts, administrative and legal documents, memoranda, numerous literary compositions, scientific treatises like those on medicine, mathematics, or astronomy, religious documents, and innumerable ostraca, or potsherds and flakes of limestone bearing receipts, letters, memoranda, or literary fragments. These, for the most part, fall outside of the scope of the present volumes and will appear in later series of these *Ancient Records*.

21. Such are the main sources for the history of the Empire; there are, of course, numerous unimportant miscellaneous monuments which we have not mentioned; nor do we recall all the classes of documents already referred to in the older epochs, like the inscriptions abroad, which now become very plentiful. Indeed, the rocks of the first cataract under the Empire became a veritable visitors' register of the officials and functionaries who, passing on some commission in Nubia, left a record of the errand, or merely name and titles, engraved on the rocks above the reach of the inundation (e. g., II, 675 ff.). Inscriptions of the

emperors are found in Nubia as far south as the island of Tombos, and mere cartouches with titles up to the fourth cataract.

22. With the decline of Thebes in the Decadence (1150-663 B. C.), and the transference of the seat of power to the North, the great mass of records of the royal houses was produced, and their monuments were erected, in the Delta, where almost the whole has perished forever, with the destruction of the exposed Delta cities, overwhelmed by invasion after invasion from abroad, and gradually engulfed by the rising soil as deposited from century to century by the inundation. The fortunes of the northern dynasties can therefore be traced only in the scanty monuments of Thebes, in which the Pharaohs no longer built largely, and at Memphis, where we have a series of dated stelæ recording Apis burials in the Serapeum. These are of great value from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. At Thebes the records of the restoration of royal mummies extend from the last generation of the Twentieth into the Twenty-second Dynasty (IV, 592 ff., 636 ff., 661 ff., 664 ff., 688 ff., 690 ff., 699 f.); and a series of dated Nile levels on the quay at Karnak continues from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (IV, 693 ff.). We have at Thebes also a few temple records from the priest-kings of the Twenty-first Dynasty (1090-945 B. C.), a series of decrees of Amon (IV, 614 ff., 650 ff., 669 ff.), and some not very important building records of the high priests of Amon, during the same period. The same is true in the Twenty-second Dynasty (945-755 B. C.), through the brief Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Dynasties (755-712 B. C.), and the Ethiopian period (Twenty-fifth Dynasty, 712-663 B. C.). At this point, fortunately, the scanty monuments of the Delta are supplemented by the historical stelæ erected by

the Ethiopians at Gebel Barkal (Napata). Among these, the narrative of his conquest of Egypt by Piankhi is one of the most remarkable documents of ancient Egypt (IV, 796-883).

23. The paucity of documents, so painfully evident during the Decadence, is even worse under the Restoration (Twenty-sixth Dynasty, 663-525 B. C.). Besides the great adoption stela of Psamtik I at Thebes (IV, 935 ff.), a few Serapeum stelæ, important for the chronology, a small number of statue inscriptions of noblemen of the time, and some miscellaneous stelæ of little importance, we possess almost nothing from the Restoration. Unhappily, the papyri, which are so plentiful during the Nineteenth, Twentieth, and Twenty-first Dynasties, are few and unimportant throughout the remainder of the Decadence and the whole of the Restoration. Fortunately, Herodotus, and the Greek historians after him, enter at this point with invaluable accounts of the history and civilization of the Restoration epoch; but these foreign sources do not fall within the province of these volumes.

24. Besides these contemporary native sources, we possess also a series of later native versions of important events in the history of the nation. These documents are either merely folk-tales, of course differing strikingly in form from the more formal contemporary records; or they are products of the later priesthoods, which, in the form of a tale, give an account of some earlier event, which they so interpret or so distort as to bring reputation, or even material gain, to their sanctuaries. Of the folk-tales we have three of importance: Papyrus Westcar, relating the prodigies attending the birth of the first three Fifth Dynasty kings; Papyrus Sallier I, narrating the cause of the war with the Hyksos; and Papyrus Harris 500, in which is told the story of the capture of

Joppa by one of Thutmose III's generals, named Thutiy. As tales these documents have no place in this series, although each is based on some actual historical incident, which may be obscurely discerned in the narrative. The priestly tales are likewise three in number: the Sehel inscription, recounting the gift of the Dodekaschoinos at the first cataract to Khnum by King Zoser of the Third Dynasty; the Sphinx Stela (II, 810 ff.), recording the accession of Thutmose IV to the kingship, because as prince he cleared the Sphinx of sand; and finally the Bentresh Stela, containing a tale in honor of one of the Theban Khonsus, by showing that he was carried to a distant Asiatic kingdom in order to heal its king's daughter, in the days of Ramses II (III, 429-47). The last two stories seemed of sufficient importance to be included here. It was with tales in common circulation like these that Herodotus' informants regaled him, and the narrative portions of Manetho's history were largely made up of just such stories, of which further examples from Ptolemaic times have survived in Demotic dress.

25. It will be seen that the great mass of the documents available are found in Upper Egypt, and but a scanty few in the Delta. This unfortunate fact makes all our knowledge one-sided, and the history of the Delta, the civilization of which must have risen at a very remote date, remains for the most part unknown to us. Our loss is here like that in Greek history, in which we know almost nothing of the great civilization in the powerful cities of Asia Minor, from which the culture of the early states in Greece drew so much.

26. The documents thus briefly surveyed have reached us, with very few exceptions, in a state of sad mutilation. This mutilation and gradual destruction are a ceaseless process, which, if not as rapid as formerly, nevertheless proceeds without cessation at the present day. In Egypt,

the exposed monuments, like the great geographical list of Sheshonk I, are perishing with appalling rapidity, and many of them without ever having been properly copied or published. Even the portable stone monuments at present in the museums of Europe suffer more or less; and I have seen valuable stelæ so attacked by the moist air of northern Europe that whole layers might be blown from the inscribed surface by a whiff of the breath. Such an inscription is doomed to disappear in a few years. Papyri when mounted between hermetically sealed glass plates survive indefinitely.

27. These monuments, as employed in Egyptological science, are, for the most part, not accessible in the originals, but are consulted chiefly in publications. Such publications, to omit earlier and cruder attempts, began as far back as the colossal report issued in huge folios by the members of Napoleon I's expedition. Notable and useful as this great work was, its copies of the inscriptions are now quite unusable. To copy an inscription of any kind with accuracy is not easy. So close and fine an observer of material documents as Ruskin, could copy a short Latin inscription with surprising inaccuracy. In his incomparable *Mornings in Florence*<sup>a</sup> he reproduces the brief inscription on the marble slab covering the tomb which he so admired in the church of Santa Croce; and in his copy of these eight short lines, which I compared with the original, he misspells one word, and omits two entire words ("et magister") of the mediæval Latin.

28. This experience of the great art critic is not infrequently that of the schooled and careful paleographer as well. The best-known of the Politarch inscriptions appeared in eight different publications,<sup>b</sup> each of which diverges in

<sup>a</sup>Third edition, 1889, 16.

<sup>b</sup>See Burton, *American Journal of Theology*, II, 600-604.

some more or less important respect from all the rest, before a correct copy was obtained. The Greek and Latin inscriptions on the bronze crab from the base of the New York obelisk were long incorrectly read, and the mistake in the date led Mommsen to a false theory of the early Roman prefects of Egypt.<sup>a</sup> In working on a mutilated inscription, the best of copyists will now and again overlook traces which his successors may discover and utilize, while now and then he will "nap," and be guilty of some egregious blunder of omission or misreading in a clear and perfectly preserved passage. Under these circumstances, an inexperienced or careless copyist will commit the most incredible blunders, and every line of his copy will contain many such. In the early days of Egyptology, when a reading knowledge of hieroglyphic was still impossible, it required a copyist of exceptional ability to produce a copy which can be used at the present day.

29. This difficulty was sorely felt by accurate and discerning scholars as far back as the days of Chabas, who in 1872 remarked, concerning the inscriptions of Ramses III: "Ces deux publications [Rosellini and Burton] sont très imparfaites; et les signes inexactement reproduits ajoutent à la difficulté causée par les lacunes."<sup>b</sup> The introduction of hieroglyphic type, while very useful in some respects, has also proved disastrous to accuracy, and the persistence of the old loose methods was bemoaned by Brugsch in the introduction to the last volume of his *Thesaurus* thirteen years ago. Brugsch already showed surprising appreciation of the necessity of modern methods in such work. He wrote:

The indispensable demands upon the publisher of known or unknown texts may be comprehended in a few words. In the first place, it is not a task to be undertaken by laymen and mere amateurs . . . but

<sup>a</sup>See II, 632, note.

<sup>b</sup>*Études sur l'antiquité historique*, 227 f.



only by the schooled specialist, who is thoroughly familiar with the language and writing of the ancient Egyptians, and with the researches and results in all departments of Egyptological investigation. How largely such a conviction is still lacking is proved . . . by a number of publications by Egyptological tyros [*Halbwisser*] and laymen, who do not yet seem to have learned that Egyptology has ceased to be the pursuit of amateurs, and has become a very serious study, demanding a man's entire strength and entire time.<sup>a</sup>

30. Not long after this, Griffith called attention to the hurried, inaccurate, and insufficient methods still often observable, so that numerous publications could only be regarded as provisional.<sup>b</sup> Two years later he referred to such work in these words: "Too often almost every third sign in the printed texts has had to be corrected according to probabilities by the would-be reader."<sup>c</sup> This condition of things has gone so far that we have had publications issued at government expense, containing texts in vertical columns copied with the lines numbered backward, and even translated in this inverted order of the lines.<sup>d</sup> It is safe to say that such a condition of things cannot be found in any other branch of paleographical science.

31. This is not the place to discuss the proper methods to be observed in the publication of ancient documents, but there is no doubt that better methods are constantly gaining ground. From decade to decade the publication of inscriptions has steadily improved, but it is only within the last ten or fifteen years that Egyptian documents on stone have in some cases appeared in a form which satisfies the demands of modern paleographic accuracy. With the exception of

<sup>a</sup>*Thesaurus*, VI, vi.

<sup>b</sup>*Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report*, 1893-94, 10, 11.

<sup>c</sup>*Ibid.*, 1895-96, 21.

<sup>d</sup>In the old publications plenty of examples of such inversion exist, especially in Mariette's books; nor are instances lacking in which modern scholars have employed such texts without discovering the inversion.

such perfectly preserved rolls as the great Papyrus Harris, which was long ago accurately published, the same remark is in general true of the papyri also.

32. The result of all this is that many of the most important documents of ancient Egypt are at present accessible to the Egyptologist only in publications so incorrect that in many cases they are absolutely unusable. It will be evident, therefore, that he who wishes to know exactly what the original documents of ancient Egypt state cannot work exclusively in his library, but must go behind the publications and turn back to the originals themselves, in Egypt and the museums of Europe.

33. For the purposes of these volumes it was therefore absolutely indispensable in most cases to go back of the publications. The author, therefore, made and repeatedly revised his own copies of practically all the historical monuments in Europe, before the originals themselves. In the few cases where the original was not accessible, good squeezes and photographs supplied the deficiency, or professional colleagues furnished from the originals specially collated readings of doubtful passages. Of the monuments in Egypt the author copied a great many at all the more important sites, especially Thebes and Amarna, where he made a complete copy of all the historical inscriptions; and in the museum at Cairo (formerly Gizeh). Of monuments in Egypt not included in the author's copies, squeezes were in most cases found in the enormous collection made by Lepsius, and now in the Berlin Museum. Where none of these sources furnished the desired monument, the author had access to the extensive collations made for the Berlin Egyptian Dictionary; and where these failed, he was able, in all important cases, to secure large-scale photographs of the originals. The final remainder of monuments for which the

author was dependent upon the publications alone is very small, and in most such cases the publication was one made on modern methods and almost as good as the original itself.

34. Nevertheless, it must not be supposed that the old publications, however inaccurate, can be ignored. Some monuments have perished entirely since publication, and almost all have lost more or less important portions of the text. In the case of all the longer and more important texts, often reproduced in the old folios, the author took the best copy as a basis and collated with it all the other publications, noting in parallel columns all the variant readings. By this laborious means, some readings were secured which have since disappeared from the original, and all that is now available, whether in publications or in the original, was thus incorporated in the final composite copy, from which the translation was made. In a few cases the author was spared this labor by the industry of a modern editor of the document, as in the publication of the Benihasan tombs or those of Siut; but ordinarily the modern editor has not given himself this trouble, as in the last publication of Der el-Bahri.

35. The dangers involved in such neglect are evident. Thus so careful a scholar as Chabas discussed the so-called "eclipse inscription" (IV, 756 ff.) of Takehot II, using only the publication of Lepsius; whereupon Goodwin<sup>a</sup> called his attention to the fact that the very conscientious plate of Lepsius had nevertheless introduced confusion into the text by the accidental misplacement of a piece of the paper squeeze from which his copy was made, thus inverting the proper order of two sections of the very obscure text. Had Chabas also employed Young's otherwise obsolete copy of the original, this embarrassing error would not have occurred.

<sup>a</sup>*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1868, 25 ff.

36. Chabas<sup>a</sup> himself convicted Lenormant of a similar error in discussing Ramses II's victory over the Hittites at Kadesh. Lenormant<sup>b</sup> employed only the Abusimbel version of the report of the battle, not noticing that the ancient Egyptian scribe had omitted an entire line of the document, as is shown by the Ramesseum version. This omitted line happens to be of vital importance to a proper understanding of the battle, and the failure to observe its omission is fatal to any discussion of the conflict. The same error, nevertheless, has since been repeated in at least one notable modern treatise on the same battle.<sup>c</sup> Further examples might be adduced in illustration of the danger incurred in making a study of any inscription as found in a single publication of the text.

37. The translations in the following volumes, we repeat, are therefore based upon all the available material for the reconstruction of each document, whether in the original or in old publications made at a time when the original was possibly in a better state of preservation. In no other way can all the available material be obtained, and scholars who would compare the renderings herein with the original documents themselves will in many cases be able to do so only by reconstructing the text in the same way.

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<sup>a</sup>*Revue archéologique*, XV<sup>2</sup> (1858-59), 573 ff., 701 f.

<sup>b</sup>*Correspondant*, VII (February, 1858), second article.

<sup>c</sup>See my *Battle of Kadesh*, 4, 5.

## CHRONOLOGY

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38. The state of our modern chronology of early Egyptian history is so confused that a brief presentation of the system herein employed seemed indispensable, although space will not permit even partial discussion of the materials upon which it is based. The following presentation,<sup>a</sup> moreover, will attempt nothing more than an explanation of the elementary factors of the problem, as even these are unknown to some who have nevertheless arbitrarily rejected their invaluable data.

39. The Egyptians, as far back as the fifth millennium before Christ, had discovered approximately the length of the year. They, like all other peoples, had suffered from the vexatious fact that the lunar month is not an even divisor of the year. Instead of attempting to adjust this obstinate incommensurability by constant and complicated intercalations, they showed amazing appreciation of the practical demands which a calendar should satisfy, and boldly abandoned the lunar month as the basis of the calendar. Believing the year to be 365 days long, they divided it into twelve months of thirty days each, and an intercalated period of five days at the end of the year. The creation of this convenient and practical, though artificial, calendar was an achievement unparalleled in any other ancient civilization. It was as useful to men of science as to civil life in general, and for this reason it was in later times

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<sup>a</sup>Since this brief discussion was written, the admirable essay of Meyer (*"Aegyptische Chronologie," Abhandlungen der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie, 1904*) has appeared, from which the author has frequently added valuable observations to the above presentation. The literature of the subject is large, but Meyer's invaluable treatise furnishes a compendium of the whole obscure and difficult field.

adopted by the Greek astronomers as the basis of all their computations.

40. The Egyptian began his year at the advent of the inundation, and this event, by a happy accident, approximately coincided with the reappearance of Sirius (Sothis) at sunrise on the eastern horizon, after he had been for some length of time invisible. This occurred each year on July 19<sup>a</sup> (Julian). The interval between such heliacal risings of Sothis was thus fortunately approximately a solar year.<sup>b</sup> The feast of the Rising of Sothis on July 19 was therefore the New Year's feast of the Egyptians. The year was also arbitrarily divided into three seasons, each containing four months of thirty days each. These were: the season of verdure, or the inundation; the season of winter or sowing; and the season of summer or harvest. When this remarkably rational calendar was introduced, it of course coincided with the seasons as determined for the people by the sun and the inundation. But the Sothic year was almost exactly, and in 3231 B. C.<sup>c</sup> was exactly, a quarter of a day longer than the new calendar year of 365 days. Every four years, therefore, the calendar reached the end of the year and began the next year one day too soon, so that the rising of Sirius fell on the second day of the new year. As this process continued, and each calendar New Year's Day arrived earlier and earlier, it finally passed gradually around the whole year and again fell on the astronomical New Year's Day. This process consumed four times as many years as

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<sup>a</sup>It took place on July 19 (Julian) as the normal date, in the latitude of Memphis, for many thousands of years B. C., until far down in the last thousand years B. C., when the Sothic year had sufficiently lengthened to shift the heliacal rising of Sothis to July 20. (See Meyer, *op. cit.*, 1904, 17 ff.)

<sup>b</sup>Neither the solar nor the Sothic year is constant in length, and at present they are slowly diverging.

<sup>c</sup>Meyer, *op. cit.*, 14.

there were days in the calendar year; that is, 1,460 years; or we may say: 1,461 calendar years = 1,460 Sothic (Julian) years.

Without knowing it, the Egyptian was thus dealing with three different years: <sup>a</sup>

1. His calendar year of 365 days, by which most of the business of civil life was transacted and all documents were dated.

2. The Sothic (or Julian) year of  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days, on the first of which the people celebrated the feast of the Rising of Sothis.

3. The solar (or Gregorian) year of a little less than  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days (which was therefore slowly diverging from the Sothic year).

41. The Egyptian, as we have intimated, never learned that the Sothic (Julian) and the solar years were not identical; the divergence<sup>b</sup> was so slow, and so slight, that it was entirely imperceptible to the masses, or possibly even to the learned, of the time. On the contrary, the difference between his calendar and the feast of the heliacal Rising of Sothis (that is, 1 and 2) must have been early observed. Nevertheless, the actual shift within an average lifetime was not so great as to occasion inconvenience. Thus each generation accepted the place of the calendar in the seasons as they found it, and without remark considered it as a matter of course that the beginning of the inundation, or the advent of summer heat, fell on about such and such a day of a certain month. Both these events had occurred

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<sup>a</sup>See Meyer, *op. cit.*, 16.

<sup>b</sup>In 4231 B. C. the summer solstice fell on July 28 (Julian); but as it was always eighteen hours and forty minutes earlier than the Sothic rising each century, it had advanced thirty-one days, to June 27, by 231 B. C. In the thirty-first century (3001-3100) B. C. it coincided with the Sothic rising on July 19 (Julian). (See Meyer, *op. cit.*, 14 f.)



at about that time since their earliest remembrance. A peasant of fifty or sixty—that is, at the end of an average life—hardly remarked that the seasons were now ten or twelve days later in the calendar than when he was a lad of ten. Unfortunately, references to the place of the seasons, or of astronomical events, in the calendar are rare; nevertheless, there are enough of such references to trace the gradual revolution of the calendar on the seasons.

42. In the Sixth Dynasty, Uni, a nobleman who had been sent to Assuan to procure granite from the quarries there, narrates that he succeeded in landing his cargo at the king's pyramid, although it was in the eleventh month, when, he adds (as everyone knew), there was no water for such transportation. The time of advancing low water, terminating heavy transportation of this sort, normally in the eighth to the ninth month of the calendar, thus fell two months later in Uni's time (§ 323).<sup>a</sup> In the Middle Kingdom a hitherto misunderstood inscription (§§ 735 ff.) narrates how an unfortunate official, dispatched to the mines of Sinai, arrived there in the third month of (calendar) winter, when he and his men suffered greatly from the summer heat! This shows a divergence of seven or eight months; as we should expect, in the centuries which have elapsed since the Old Kingdom the calendar had shifted several months. A letter<sup>b</sup> from a priest in the 120th year of the Twelfth Dynasty, notifying his subordinates that the feast of the Rising of Sothis would occur on the fifteenth of the eighth month,<sup>c</sup> shows us the exact amount of the shift at that

<sup>a</sup>[Later: Practically the same interpretation of the inscription has now appeared in Meyer's essay (*Aegyptische Chronologie*).]

<sup>b</sup>Among papyri found at Kahun, now at Berlin (Borchardt, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 99 ff.).

<sup>c</sup>Temple entries from the same papyri, recording the offerings made at the Sothis feast, are dated the next day.

time; for the feast thus fell exactly 225 days (seven months and fifteen days) after New Year's Day in the calendar.

43. The divergence steadily increased, and in the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, in the ninth year of Amenhotep I, it was exactly 308 days.<sup>a</sup> A Sothic date somewhere between 47 and 101 years later, in the reign of Thutmose III, shows that it had then increased to 327 days (II, 410, note). It is, furthermore, roughly indicated by the dates of his campaigns in Syria (II, 409 ff.), which, as we know, always occurred from April to October. His son Amenhotep II's campaigns carry the divergence a little farther, and some 150 years later its continuance is shown by the dates of Ramses II's campaigns (III, 307). For nearly six centuries after this we have no indication of the place of the calendar,<sup>b</sup> but in the third year of Shabataka, about 700 B. C., the first day of high Nile is recorded at Thebes as occurring on the fifth of the ninth month of the calendar (IV, 887). The calendar had thus completed its revolution around the seasons, and had also shifted nearly 180 days in another revolution, since the reign of Thutmose III. The shift of the calendar can thus be traced for some 2,000 years, as determined by six different dates of astronomical or seasonal events, and a series of other significant occurrences, in terms of the calendar.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Calendar of Papyrus Ebers.

<sup>b</sup>The date of the high water in the reign of Osorkon II, in the Twenty-second Dynasty (IV, 742 ff.), will be of assistance when the correct date is known; but as given by Daressy (*Recueil*, 18, 181) it has certainly been incorrectly transliterated from the hieratic. The calendar of Ramses III (largely copied from an almost completely lost original of Ramses II), which places the Rising of Sothis on New Year's Day, is of course a normal calendar intended to avoid constant readjusting of its long list of dates from time to time. Such a calendar of feasts could be perpetually used without alteration, by merely allowing in each date for the then amount of the divergence.

<sup>c</sup>The conjecture (*eo ipso* very improbable) that the calendar was at irregular intervals readjusted to the astronomical year, is completely disproved by the procession exhibited by the above series.

44. These data are of significance and value in two respects. In the first place, they demonstrate the very early advance of the Egyptians in the discernment and calculation of astronomical and calendrical phenomena. For we know from the use of the Egyptian year by classic astronomers and mathematicians that the calendar coincided with the Sothic year, and that a new Sothic cycle began, some time in the period 140/41 to 143/44 A. D.<sup>a</sup> It must therefore also have coincided with the Sothic year 1,460 years earlier; that is, in 1320 B. C.; and still earlier, in 2780 B. C.<sup>b</sup> Now, it is impossible that this calendar was first introduced so late as the twenty-eighth century, in the midst of the highest culture of the Old Kingdom. Moreover, the five intercalary days at the end of the year, proving the use of the shifting year of 365 days, are mentioned in the pyramid texts, which are far older than the Old Kingdom.

45. The calendar, therefore, existed before the Old Kingdom; but if this be true, we must seek its invention at a time when its three seasons coincided roughly with those of nature, as they must have done at its introduction. This carries us 1,460 years back of their coincidence in the Old Kingdom; that is, the calendar was introduced in the middle of the forty-third century B. C. (4241 B. C.). This is the oldest fixed date in history. This fact demonstrates not only a remarkable degree of scientific knowledge in that remote age, but also stable political conditions, and a wide recognition of central authority, which could gradually introduce such an innovation. The date employed was that for the rising of Sothis in the latitude of Memphis or the southern Delta, and this fact is a significant indication of the high culture prevailing in the north at this time.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Censorinus, 21, 10, and Meyer, *op. cit.*, 28.

<sup>b</sup>For convenience, ignoring the uncertainty of four years.

<sup>c</sup>See Meyer, *op. cit.*, 38 ff.

46. In a second respect the calendar is of inestimable value to us in establishing the chronology of Egyptian history. Where the heliacal rising of Sothis is recorded in terms of the calendar, it is a matter of the simplest arithmetic<sup>a</sup> to determine, within a margin of four years, in what year B. C. the rising occurred. As we have seen, three such dates are preserved to us, two of which each give the year of the king's reign, and from these the entire Twelfth Dynasty, and the reign of Amenhotep I in the Eighteenth Dynasty, are established within four years in terms B. C. They show that the Twelfth Dynasty began in 2000 B. C., and the reign of Amenhotep I in 1557 B. C., thus determining the accession of the Eighteenth Dynasty as 1580 B. C.<sup>b</sup> The third Sothic rising, in the reign of Thutmose III, is not dated in a particular year of the reign, so that it furnishes only a rough approximation of the date of his reign, proving that the year 1470 B. C. fell within his reign. This approximation may be rendered precise by a computation based upon the feasts of the New Moon, which Thutmose III is recorded to have celebrated in his twenty-third and twenty-fourth years (II, 430). These new-moon dates<sup>c</sup> establish the date of Thutmose III's reign as May 3, 1501, to March 17, 1447 B. C.<sup>d</sup> The two other early dates are chiefly of

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<sup>a</sup>Thus: The rising of Sothis at the beginning occurs on the first day of the calendar year. From a given calendar date of its rising the amount of the shift of the calendar can be computed in an instant. In the 120th year of the Twelfth Dynasty Sothis arose 225 days after New Year's Day. As the shift occurred at the rate of one day in four years, the 225 days' shift had taken place in 900 years since the calendar coincided with nature; that is, since 2780 B. C. The 120th year of the Twelfth Dynasty was thus 1880 B. C., and the dynasty began in 2000 B. C. (or between 2000 and 1996 B. C.).

<sup>b</sup>Meyer, *op. cit.*, 46 ff.

<sup>c</sup>The phases of the moon occupy the same position in the calendar every nineteen years. The date of Thutmose III's reign being roughly determined by the Sothic rising, the new-moon dates can then be employed to place this reign more precisely. Without the Sothic date the new-moon dates would be of no use, as they merely present conditions recurring every nineteen years.

<sup>d</sup>Meyer, *loc. cit.*

significance in demonstrating the fact of the shift of the calendar in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, but are not precise enough to determine with exactness the date B. C.

47. Besides the above astronomical method, minimum dates as far back as the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty can be determined by dead reckoning back from a fixed starting-point. The result thus obtained, without reference to the astronomically determined dates, can then be compared with these, for the sake of testing both. The dates by dead reckoning are obtained by simply adding together the totals of reigns and dynasties, and with these reckoning back from the accession of the Persians in 525 B. C. In this process I have employed only the testimony of the contemporary monuments.<sup>a</sup>

48. Our first task is to determine the length of the dynasties preceding the invasion of the Persians; that is, the Eighteenth to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The method is first to seek the highest known date in each reign of a dynasty, and thus to determine the minimum length of the dynasty. In the use of royal dates given in years of the reign only, there is danger both of over- and of under-reckoning. Thus Ramses III reigned thirty-one years and forty days; but a date from his thirty-second year might lead one to think he had reigned thirty-two years, which is nearly a year in excess of the truth. As the newly crowned successor to the throne began to number his years from the death of his predecessor, it will be seen that the remainder of what would have been Ramses III's complete thirty-second year is included in the reign of his successor.<sup>b</sup> If counted in both reigns, it is therefore counted twice. It has therefore

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<sup>a</sup>Wherever he can be controlled, Manetho is generally wrong in his figures, and any chronology based on his data is hopelessly astray.

<sup>b</sup>This is supposing that, as in the Eighteenth Dynasty, the years of a king began with the day of his accession, and not on the New Year's Day preceding his accession, as in the Middle Kingdom and the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

been thought necessary to deduct one year for every transfer of the crown.<sup>a</sup> This method, however, is extreme, as we shall show. In the first place, it applies only when the maximum date preserved is actually the respective king's last year. Again, it does not always apply even then. Thutmose III reigned fifty-four years lacking thirty-four days. The reign of his successor, therefore, included only the last thirty-four days of what would have been Thutmose III's complete fifty-fourth year. To deduct a year at this transfer of the crown is as extreme as to count the thirty-second year of Ramses III's reign. It is evident that the last year of a king's reign is as likely to be nearly complete as it is to be scarcely begun; hence the only fair method of reduction for double counting at the transfers of the crown is to count the number of transfers in an entire dynasty, and for each transfer to deduct a half-year; that is, a mean between the two extremes of deducting a whole year for each transfer, or of deducting nothing. In the course of a whole dynasty the errors both ways will probably compensate each other.<sup>b</sup>

49. In the following table I have made no deduction for transfer of the crown either to or from a king from whose reign we have no dates, but in all such reigns (marked *x*) such deduction has been included in the estimate of the reign. It is needless to add that in cases of coregency such deduction is unnecessary. In estimating the *x*, or unknown years in a given reign, the historical facts of the reign, if any, have been duly considered, though there has not always

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<sup>a</sup>Mahler, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 32, 104 f.; Lehmann, *Zwei Hauptprobleme*, 56.

<sup>b</sup>This method can apply with certainty only in the Eighteenth Dynasty, in which the king's year begins with his accession. I have supposed, however, that this system of numbering continued until the end of the Ethiopian period. In the Twelfth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties such allowance must be differently computed.

been space to note the said facts. That this is absolutely necessary will be evident. Thus Sheshonk I took out the stone from the Silsileh quarry for his Karnak building in his twenty-first year. The vast forecourt of the Karnak temple of Amon, or the enormous front pylon, was then built by him. Yet his highest date is that of the said quarry operations in the twenty-first year. It is clear, therefore, that he must have ruled several years more, and no fair chronological reckoning can disregard these years.

50. Observing the above precautions, we obtain as a minimum for the Empire and following dynasties, down to the accession of the Persians, the following figures:<sup>a</sup>

Eighteenth Dynasty . . . . .	230	years
Nineteenth Dynasty . . . . .	145	"
Interim . . . . .	5	"
Twentieth Dynasty . . . . .	110	"
Twenty-first Dynasty . . . . .	145	"
Twenty-second Dynasty . . . . .	200	"
Twenty-third Dynasty . . . . .	23	"
Twenty-fourth Dynasty . . . . .	6	"
Twenty-fifth Dynasty . . . . .	50	"
Twenty-sixth Dynasty . . . . .	138	"
Total . . . . .	1,052	"

As the accession of the Persians occurred in 525 B. C., the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty will have been 1,052 years earlier, or about 1577 B. C.<sup>b</sup>

51. Our second task is now to compare with this result the dates in the Eighteenth Dynasty obtained by astronomi-

<sup>a</sup>A detailed table by reigns will be found §§ 58-75; and for the Twenty-first, Twenty-second, and Twenty-sixth Dynasties still further details will be found in IV, 604-7, 693-98, 959, 974, 984, 1026, 1027.

<sup>b</sup>This result of a dead reckoning from minimum dates cannot be brought down any later. Mr. Cecil Torr's attempt (*Memphis and Mycenæ*) to establish a much later date for the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty by the same process was extreme in method, and rested upon incomplete material.

cal means, which place the accession of Ahmose I within the four years from 1580 on.<sup>a</sup> It will be seen that the result of the astronomical calculation is remarkably corroborated by the dead reckoning with minimum dynastic totals. It should be noted, however, that the above date for the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, based upon the Sothic date in the ninth year of Amenhotep I, is corroborated, not only by the above dead reckoning, but also by the Sothic and new-moon dates in the reign of Thutmose III, a calculation from which places this king's reign at just the right remove from that of Amenhotep I, as determined by the Sothic date (see § 46).

52. The existing contemporary monuments do not suffice to determine by dead reckoning the length of the obscure period which preceded the Eighteenth Dynasty, including the Hyksos. It should be noted, however, that these monuments do not indicate a long<sup>b</sup> period. They are few and scanty. There is nothing to show that the long list of kings which the Turin Papyrus places in this period were not partially contemporaneous. The same document gives no indication in its enumeration of the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty that they were partially contemporary; and it is only in the sum-total of the dynasty that parallel years are deducted. The same was evidently done for this long series of kings between the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties. Two hundred years is ample for the whole period, including the Hyksos.<sup>c</sup> The Sothic date from the Twelfth

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<sup>a</sup>There is no choice between these limits; but as a round number is convenient, I have taken 1580, which brings the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty to 1350 B. C.

<sup>b</sup>The figures given in Manetho's scanty notes are not worthy of the slightest credence.

<sup>c</sup>Under the Moslems 77 viceroys held the throne of Egypt in 118 years, from 750 to 868 A. D. In Europe some 80 Roman emperors after Commodus ruled in a period of 90 years (193-283 A. D.; see Meyer, *op. cit.*). The 118 kings enumerated in this confused age by the Turin Papyrus may have ruled no more than 150 years; 100 years is ample for the Hyksos, of which 50 years may be contemporary with the native dynasts.



Dynasty, placing its fall in 1788 B. C., determines the maximum length of the period as 208 years.<sup>a</sup> The Eleventh Dynasty, as shown herein (§§ 415-18), lasted at least 160 years, so that the second dark age, between the Old and Middle Kingdoms, terminated about 2160 B. C.

53. The data for determining the length of the dark period preceding the Middle Kingdom are scanty. Its beginning, in Manetho's so-called Seventh Dynasty, is hopelessly obscure, but fortunately the time during which this Seventh Dynasty ruled, as well as the length of the Eighth Dynasty also, is included by the Turin Papyrus in a summation of the time which elapsed from the rise of the Sixth Dynasty to the fall of Memphis (180 years),<sup>b</sup> and also in a grand total of the length of the whole period from the accession of Menes to the close of Memphite supremacy, which terminated with the fall of the Eighth Dynasty. The Heracleopolitan rule, which falls between the end of Memphite and the beginning of Theban domination, is therefore the uncertain factor. Manetho divides the Heracleopolitans into two dynasties, the Ninth and the Tenth. The Turin Papyrus had a dynasty of eighteen kings immediately preceding the Eleventh, and these must be the Heracleopolitans, as is shown by the occurrence of Manetho's second Akhthoes, near the beginning of the series. We have no means of determining how long these eighteen Heracleopolitans ruled, for Manetho's data (with nineteen kings

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<sup>a</sup>The proposal to push back the said Sothic date by a whole Sothic cycle, thus lengthening the above period between the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties by 1,460 years, is hardly worthy of a serious answer. It involves the assumption that nearly fifteen hundred years of history have been enacted in the Nile valley without leaving a trace behind! It is like imagining that in European history we could insert at will a period equal to that from the fall of Rome to the present!

<sup>b</sup>That this summation includes the Eighth Dynasty is shown by the fact that the Heracleopolitans (the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties) immediately follow. So also Meyer, *op. cit.*, 171 ff.

in each of his Heracleopolitan dynasties), like most of his figures, are not to be accepted, unless clearly supported by the contemporary monuments. These eighteen Heracleopolitans vouched for by the Turin Papyrus, if given sixteen years each (a sum below the customary average, in a long period of time<sup>a</sup> under orderly conditions of government), reigned, in round numbers, 285 years. It will be evident that this estimate is extremely uncertain. The period is the only undetermined epoch in the dynastic chronology, and it introduces a margin of uncertainty of several generations in all dates back of the Eleventh Dynasty.

54. The Turin Papyrus gives the length of the Sixth Dynasty (with which it merges the Eighth, ignoring the Seventh<sup>b</sup>) as 181 years. The length of the Fourth and Fifth together is determined by the Turin Papyrus and the contemporary monuments as follows: The royal favorite Mertityôtes, after having been in the harem of Snefru and Khufu successively, was still living under Khafre (§§ 188 ff.). Prince Sekhemkere lived under Khafre, Menkure, Shepseskaf, Userkaf, and Sahure.<sup>c</sup> With Snefru counted in the Third Dynasty, and Userkaf and Sahure (together nineteen years<sup>d</sup>) falling in the Fifth, the length of the Fourth cannot have been more than 150 years, as measured by part of two successive human lives. A third lifetime connects the latter part of the Fourth and the first part of the Fifth. Thus Ptahshepses, the son-in-law of

<sup>a</sup>The Fourth and Fifth Dynasties (including Snefru at the beginning of the Fourth) show an average of 16.6 years for each ruler (Meyer, *op. cit.*, 151); that is, 18 kings ruled 300 years. Again, at the beginning of the dynastic age 18 kings (First and Second Dynasties) ruled 420 years—an average of over 23 years each. The first 53 kings of the Turin Papyrus (from the First to the Eighth Dynasty) ruled 995 years—an average of nearly 19 years. But among these, it should not be forgotten, there are 15 reigns of less than 10 years each, footing up to only 70 years.

<sup>b</sup>See § 53.

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 42; Rougé, *Six premières dynasties*, 77.

<sup>d</sup>See Meyer's reconstruction of the Turin Papyrus (*op. cit.*, plate opposite p. 145).

King Shepseskaf, was born under Menkure and lived into the reign of Nuserre, the sixth king of the Fifth Dynasty (§§ 254 ff.). Now, granting him a long life, he could not have lived more than 40 or 50 years in the Fifth Dynasty. The Turin Papyrus has preserved the length of the reigns at the end of the Fifth Dynasty from Nuserre on, making a total, including him, of about 100 years. If Ptahshepses survived 10 years under Nuserre, the length of the dynasty was at most 130 years, more probably 125 years. The lengths of seven out of the nine reigns are preserved in the Turin Papyrus, and make a total of 122 years +  $x$ .

55. The overlapping of these three lifetimes is very significant:

	Snefru		
	Khufu		} Lifetime of Mertityôtes
	Dedefre		
	Khafre		
Fourth Dynasty	Menkure		} Lifetime of Sekhemkere
	Shepseskaf		
	Short reigns		
	Userkaf		} Lifetime of Ptahshepses
	Sahure		
	Neferirkere		
	Shepseskere		
	Khaneferre		
	Nuserre		

Three lifetimes somewhat overlapping, a matter of 200 years at most, run parallel, as stated above, with the end of the Third Dynasty, the whole Fourth, and the first half of the Fifth. The Fourth and Fifth Dynasties thus lasted together not more than 300 years.

56. Now, the Turin Papyrus has preserved the length of the reigns in the Third Dynasty, and they foot up to about 80 years (including Snefru). The Palermo Stone insures at least 500 years for the first three dynasties, leaving about

420 years for the first two dynasties. This gives us a total of 950–75 years for the entire period from the beginning of the dynasties to the final fall of Memphis. Now, it is practically certain that the total of 955 years on a fragment of the Turin Papyrus is a summary of the same period,<sup>a</sup> belonging at the end of the Memphite kings. Deducting the length of the Memphite dynasties (535 years) from this total of 955 years, we have left 420 years for the preceding Thinite period (First and Second Dynasties), just as shown by the Palermo Stone. We thus reach the date 3400 B. C. for the beginning of the dynasties, and 3400 to 2980 B. C. as the Thinite age, the first two dynasties. It is highly improbable that future discovery will shift these dates more than a century in either direction.

57. To recapitulate, in the following table it should be remembered that the dates in the Twelfth Dynasty are astronomically computed and correct within three years. The early part of the Eighteenth is closely correct (all dates astronomically established are starred), and the latter part probably within a decade of error. The margin of error is doubtless somewhat greater between the close of the Eighteenth and the accession of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, where the dates are again accurate. Back of the Middle Kingdom, the unknown length of the dark age (from the Seventh to the Tenth Dynasty) produces the wide limits of uncertainty affecting all the preceding dynasties (from the First to the Tenth), the end of which period fell about 2160 B. C. It is back of 2160 B. C., therefore, that our chronology of Egyptian history becomes unstable and exhibits a margin of uncertainty of at most two centuries; that is, a century either way.

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<sup>a</sup>Frag. No. 44. It was already placed here by Seyffarth; a study of the possibilities shows clearly that this position is correct. [Later: This is also the opinion of Meyer (*op. cit.*).]

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

<b>58.</b>	INTRODUCTION OF CALENDAR . . . . .	4241 B. C.	
	ACCESSION OF MENES AND BEGINNING OF DYNASTIES . . . . .	3400	"
	FIRST AND SECOND DYNASTIES . . . . .	3400-2980	"
	(Eighteen kings, 420 years)		
	THIRD DYNASTY		
	Zoser to Snefru . . . . .	80 years	2980-2900 B. C.
	FOURTH DYNASTY <sup>a</sup>		
<b>59.</b>	Khufu . . . . .	23 years	
	Dedefre . . . . .	8	"
	Khafre . . . . .	x	"
	Menkure . . . . .	x	"
	..... <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	x	"
	..... <sup>c</sup> . . . . .	18	"
	Shepseskaf . . . . .	4	"
	..... <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	2	"
	Total . . . . .	150 years	2900-2750 B. C.
	FIFTH DYNASTY <sup>e</sup>		
<b>60.</b>	Userkaf . . . . .	7 years	
	Sahure . . . . .	12	"
	Neferirkere . . . . .	x	"
	Shepseskere <sup>f</sup> . . . . .	7	"
	Khaneferre <sup>g</sup> . . . . .	x	"
	Nuserre . . . . .	30 <sup>h</sup>	" (+x)
	Menkuhor . . . . .	8	"
	Dedkere-Isesi . . . . .	28	"
	Unis . . . . .	30	"
	Total . . . . .	122 years + x	
	Minimum . . . . .	125	" 2750-2625 B. C.

<sup>a</sup>As reconstructed by Meyer from the Turin Papyrus, the Sakkara and Abydos lists, and Manetho. The years are from the papyrus.

<sup>b</sup>Lost in Turin Papyrus; Manetho's Ratoises.

<sup>c</sup>Lost in Turin Papyrus; Manetho's Bikheris. The years may be 28.

<sup>d</sup>Lost in Turin Papyrus; Manetho's Thamphthis.

<sup>e</sup>As restored by Meyer (*op. cit.*, 145 ff.).

<sup>f</sup>Same as Neferefre of the Abydos list.

<sup>g</sup>Only in Sakkara list, but spacing shows room for him in the Turin Papyrus.

<sup>h</sup>Numeral in Turin Papyrus is either 10, 20, or 30 (+ units?), and, as Nuserre celebrated his thirty-years' jubilee, doubtless 30 is correct.

## SIXTH DYNASTY

61. Teti II . . . . .	$x$	years	
Userkere <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	$x$	"	
Pepi I . . . . .	20	"	
Mernere I . . . . .	4	"	
Pepi II . . . . .	90 <sup>b</sup>	"	(+ $x$ )
Mernere II <sup>c</sup> . . . . .	1	"	
Total . . . . .	115	years	+ $x$
Minimum . . . . .	150	"	2625-2475 B. C.

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH DYNASTIES<sup>d</sup>

62. Total . . . . .	30	years	2475-2445 B. C.
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## NINTH AND TENTH DYNASTIES

18 Heracleopolitans, estimated . . . . .	285	years	2445-2160 B. C.
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ELEVENTH DYNASTY<sup>e</sup>

63. Horus Wahenekh-Intef I . . . . .	50	years	+ $x$
Horus Nakhtneb-Tepnefer-Intef II . . . . .	$x$	"	
Nibhotep-Mentuhotep I . . . . .	$x$	"	
Vassal Intef III (Shaṭṭ er-Regâl) . . . . .	$x$	"	
Nibkhrure-Mentuhotep II . . . . .	46	"	+ $x$
Senekhkere-Mentuhotep III . . . . .	28	"	+ $x$
Nibtowere-Mentuhotep IV . . . . .	2	"	+ $x$
Total . . . . .	126	years	+ $x$
Known total . . . . .	160 <sup>f</sup>	"	2160 <sup>g</sup> -2000 B. C.

<sup>a</sup>Only in the Abydos list; Meyer suggests that he is the same as Ity of whom we have a quarry inscription at Hammamat (§ 386).

<sup>b</sup>Probably 94, as given also by Manetho.

<sup>c</sup>From the Abydos list, instead of Nitokris formerly assigned here on a misplaced fragment of the Turin Papyrus. (See Meyer, *op. cit.*, 164.)

<sup>d</sup>The Seventh Dynasty of Manetho (70 Memphites ruling 70 days) cannot be found in the lists or on contemporary monuments. The ephemeral Eighth Dynasty is given 7 kings in the Turin Papyrus, of whom the reigns of 4 are preserved (2 years, 4 years, 2 years, 1 year). The Eighth Dynasty is passed over in the Sakkara list, but is given 17 kings in the Abydos list.

<sup>e</sup>See reconstruction, §§ 415-18; also my essay, *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie*, 1904 (in Meyer's essay, *Aegyptische Chronologie*, 156-61); and also my remarks in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, XXI, April.

<sup>f</sup>From Turin Papyrus; the units are lost.

<sup>g</sup>From here on approximately accurate chronology.

TWELFTH DYNASTY<sup>a</sup>

64. Amenemhet I . . . . .	30 years	2000*-1970* B. C.
Sesostris I . . . . .	45 "	1980*-1935* "
Amenemhet II . . . . .	35 "	1938*-1903* "
Sesostris II . . . . .	19 "	1906*-1887* "
Sesostris III . . . . .	38 "	1887*-1849* "
Amenemhet III . . . . .	48 "	1849*-1801* "
Amenemhet IV . . . . .	9 "	1801*-1792* "
Sebeknefrure . . . . .	4 "	1792*-1788* "
Total . . . . .	228 years	
Allowance for coregencies . . . . .	15 "	
Final total . . . . .	213 <sup>b</sup> years	2000*-1788* B. C.

## THIRTEENTH TO SEVENTEENTH DYNASTIES

(Including the Hyksos)

65. 208 <sup>c</sup> years . . . . .	1788*-1580 B. C.
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## EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

66. Ahmose . . . . .	22 <sup>d</sup> + $x$ years	1580-1557* B. C.
Amenhotep I . . . . .	10 <sup>e</sup> + $x$ } 56 <sup>f</sup> "	1557*-1501* "
Thutmose I . . . . .	30 <sup>g</sup> + $x$ }	
Thutmose III . . . . .	54 <sup>h</sup> "	1501*-1447* "

(Including Thutmose II and Hatshepsut)

<sup>a</sup>A fuller statement of this dynasty, especially of the Sothic date and of the coregencies, will be found in §§ 460 ff.

<sup>b</sup>This total is given by the Turin Papyrus (§ 461) as exactly 213 years, 1 month, and 17 days.

<sup>c</sup>See § 52. <sup>d</sup>II, 27.

<sup>e</sup>*Recueil*, IX, 94. Accession is astronomically established (Meyer, *op. cit.*, 46 ff.).

<sup>f</sup>Determined by the two limits: the accession of Amenhotep I in 1557 and that of Thutmose III in 1501, both these dates being astronomically fixed.

<sup>g</sup>He celebrated his thirty-years' jubilee, and, as he was never crown prince, he must have ruled at least 30 years. He reached old age (II, 64).

<sup>h</sup>Really a little less (see II, 592). The date of this reign is astronomically established by means of a Sothic date and two calendar dates of the new moon in Thutmose III's Annals (II, 430). Mahler computes his accession as 1504 (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1888, 97); Lehmann noticed that such a calculation must be based on the actual appearance of the new moon, and not on a calculation of when it astronomically occurred. Lehmann thus dated the accession of Thutmose III in 1515 (*Zwei Hauptprobleme*, 154-58). Meyer accepted Lehmann's method, but showed a slight error in L.'s figures, thus finally placing the date of Thutmose III's accession in 1501 B. C. (Meyer, *op. cit.*, 50). The exact limits are May 3, 1501, to March 17, 1447 B. C.

Amenhotep II . . . . .	$26^a + x$ years	1447*-1420 B. C.
Thutmose IV . . . . .	$8^b + x$ "	1420-1411 "
Amenhotep III . . . . .	$36^c$ "	1411-1375 "
Amenhotep IV . . . . .	$17^d + x$	} $25^e$ " 1375-1350 "
(or Ikhnaton, 1375-1358)		
Sakere . . . . .	$x$	
Tutenekhamon . . . . .	$x$	
Eye . . . . .	$3^f + x$	
Total . . . . .	$227 + 4x$ years	
Allowance for double counting (3 transfers and 1 coregency, 1 year) . . . . .	$3$ "	
Final total . . . . .	$224 + 4x$ years	
Minimum . . . . .	$230$ years	1580-1350 B. C.

## NINETEENTH DYNASTY

67. Harmhab . . . . .	$34^g + x$ years	1350-1315 B. C.
Ramses I . . . . .	$2^h$ "	1315-1314 "
Seti I . . . . .	$21^i + x$ "	1313-1292 "

<sup>a</sup>Petrie, *Six Temples*, Plate V; about one year coregent with Thutmose III (II, 184).

<sup>b</sup>II, 825.

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 71 c-d; and *Amarna Letters*, 20.

<sup>d</sup>Petrie, *Amarna*, Plates XXII ff., pp. 32 ff.

<sup>e</sup>In the reign of Ramses II, in the records of a legal suit, reference is made to legal proceedings in year 59 of Harmhab. As it is evident that Harmhab was not a young man at his accession, it is exceedingly improbable that he reigned nearly 60 years. The highest known date on any monument of his reign is year 21. It is therefore probable that in the early Nineteenth Dynasty, when the chronology for the government files of the immediately preceding reigns was being made up, the series of Ikhnaton and his successors was added to the reign of Harmhab, and the names of the kings at any time implicated in the Aton heresy were swept from the records. We thus have at least 59 years from year 1 of Ikhnaton to the end of Harmhab's reign, of which at least 25 must be credited to Ikhnaton and his successors (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 39, 10, l. 8).

<sup>f</sup>II, 1043.

<sup>g</sup>See preceding note on Ikhnaton and successors. Estimating 25 years for Ikhnaton and successors, we have  $34 + x$  years for Harmhab.

<sup>h</sup>Total length; maximum of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years (III, 74).

<sup>i</sup>See III, 131.



Ramses II . . . . .	67 <sup>a</sup> years	1292-1225 B. C.
Merneptah . . . . .	10 <sup>b</sup> + <i>x</i> "	1225-1215 "
Amenmeses . . . . .	<i>x</i> "	1215 "
Siptah . . . . .	6 <sup>c</sup> + <i>x</i> "	1215-1209 "
Seti II . . . . .	2 <sup>d</sup> + <i>x</i> "	1209-1205 "
Total . . . . .	142+6 <i>x</i> years	
Allowance for 4 transfers (= 2 years) and 1 coregency	3 "	
Final total . . . . .	139+6 <i>x</i> years	
<i>Minimum</i> . . . . .	145 years	1350-1205 B. C.

## INTERIM

68. Anarchy and reign of Syrian usurper <sup>e</sup> . . . . .	5 years	1205-1200 B. C.
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TWENTIETH DYNASTY<sup>f</sup>

69. Setnakht . . . . .	1 <sup>g</sup> (+ <i>x</i> ) years	1200-1198 B. C.
Ramses III . . . . .	31 <sup>h</sup> "	1198-1167 "
Ramses IV . . . . .	6 <sup>i</sup> "	1167-1161 "
Ramses V . . . . .	4 <sup>j</sup> + <i>x</i> "	1161-1157 "

<sup>a</sup>Total length (IV, 471). The attempts to determine the accession of Ramses II astronomically have been unsuccessful.

<sup>b</sup>Papyrus Sallier I, 3, 4; 8, 8; see Erman, *Westcar*, II, 37. I am unable to find any confirmation of Brugsch's remark (*Reiseberichte*, 194) that Merneptah's highest date was not less than 25 nor more than 33. In Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 2, plan of "Temple A" at a place marked *h* is the remark, "Datum des Merneptah," which perhaps refers to Brugsch's remark, but Lepsius has no reference to the date in his text.

<sup>c</sup>See III, 650.

<sup>d</sup>Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 258, and Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, II, Plate 39, and p. 95. He built a temple at Karnak, and another at Eshmunên (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 24, 86).

<sup>e</sup>Papyrus Harris, 75, 2-4 (IV, 398), States that the anarchy lasted "*many years*;" then followed the rule of the Syrian. Five years for all this is a minimum.

<sup>f</sup>I accept in this reconstruction the results of Sethe (*Untersuchungen*, I, 59-63).

<sup>g</sup>Papyrus Sallier, I, 6.

<sup>h</sup>Exactly 31 years and 40 days (IV, 153).

<sup>i</sup>Papyrus Turin; Pleyte and Rossi, Plates 51-60; Spiegelberg, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1891, 73 ff., on Plate 54, ll. 12, 13; Maspero, *Momies royales*, 663.

<sup>j</sup>Ostrakon in Turin, Maspero, *Recueil*, II, 116, 117.

Ramses VI . . . . .	$x$ years	} 15 <sup>a</sup> years	1157-1142 B. C.
Ramses VII . . . . .	$x$ "		
Ramses VIII . . . . .	$x$ "		
Ramses IX . . . . .	19 <sup>b</sup>	"	1142-1123 "
Ramses X . . . . .	1 <sup>c</sup> + $x$	"	1123-1121 "
Ramses XI . . . . .	$x$	"	1121-1118 "
Ramses XII . . . . .	27 <sup>d</sup> + $x$	"	1118-1090 "
Total . . . . .	104+5 $x$ years		
Allowance for 1 transfer and 1 coregency . . . . .	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ "		
Final total . . . . .	102 $\frac{1}{2}$ +5 $x$ years		
<i>Minimum</i> . . . . .	110 years		1200-1090 B. C.

TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY<sup>e</sup>

70. Nesubenedbed . . . . .	} $x$ years	1090-1085 B. C.
Hrihor . . . . .		
Pesibkhenno I . . . . .	17+ $x$ "	1085-1067 "
Paynozem I . . . . .	40+ $x$ "	1067-1026 "
Amenemopet . . . . .	49+ $x$ "	1026-976 "
Siamon . . . . .	16+ $x$ "	976-958 "
Pesibkhenno II . . . . .	12+ $x$ "	958-945 "
Total . . . . .	134+6 $x$ "	
<i>Minimum</i> . . . . .	145 years	1090-945 B. C.

TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY<sup>f</sup>

71. Sheshonk I . . . . .	21 (+ $x$ ) years	945-924 B. C.
Osorkon I . . . . .	36 (+ $x$ ) "	924-895 "
Takelot I . . . . .	23 <sup>g</sup> (+ $x$ ) "	895-874 "

<sup>a</sup>For this period we have no dates, but it is limited by the following facts: (1) the term of Setau as high priest at El Kab (IV, 415); (2) the succession of the high-priests of Amon; Amenhotep, known as high priest under Ramses IX at least from year 10 (IV, 487) to year 17 (Papyrus Amherst, ed. Newberry, No. VII, p. 1, l. 5), was the son of Ramsesnakht, high-priest known under Ramses IV, year 3. The term of Setau will not permit lengthening the uncertain interim beyond 15 years; nor is it likely to have been less in view of the succession of high-priests.

<sup>b</sup>IV, 535. <sup>c</sup>IV, 535. This year is a coregency with Ramses IX.

<sup>d</sup>Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 62 = *Catalogue général d'Abydos*, No. 1173, pp. 442 f.

<sup>e</sup>A fuller statement of this dynasty will be found in IV, 604 ff.

<sup>f</sup>A fuller statement of this dynasty will be found in IV, 693 f.

<sup>g</sup>See IV, 693, and Daressy (*Recueil*, XV, 174-75), who is undoubtedly correct in recognizing Takelot I on a stela of year 23.

Osorkon II . . . . .	30 (+ <i>x</i> ) years	874-853 B. C.
Sheshonk II . . . . .	∞	died about 877 "
(Died during coregency with Osorkon II)		
Takehot II . . . . .	25 + <i>x</i> years	860-834 "
(7 years coregent with Osorkon II)		
Sheshonk III . . . . .	52	" 834-784 "
Pemou . . . . .	6 + <i>x</i>	" 784-782 "
Sheshonk IV . . . . .	37 + <i>x</i>	" 782-745 "
Total . . . . .	230 + 6 <i>x</i> <sup>a</sup> years	
Allowance for transfers and coregencies . . . . .	30	"
Final total . . . . .	200 + 6 <i>x</i> years	
<i>Minimum</i> . . . . .	200 years	945-745 B. C.

TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY<sup>b</sup>

72. Pedibast . . . . .	23 <sup>c</sup> + <i>x</i> years	745-722 B. C.
Osorkon III . . . . .	14 + <i>x</i>	"
Takehot III <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	<i>x</i>	"
Total . . . . .	37 + 3 <i>x</i> years	
<i>Minimum</i> . . . . .	27 <sup>e</sup> years	745-718 B. C.

## TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY

73. Bekneranef . . . . .	6 <sup>f</sup> years	718 <sup>g</sup> -712 B. C.
<i>Minimum</i> . . . . .	6 years	718-712 B. C.

<sup>a</sup>The *x* at the end of Osorkon II's reign falls outside of this total, as his son's reign is counted from his own year 23.

<sup>b</sup>This dynasty will be found fully discussed, with table, in the introduction to the Piankhi Stela (IV, 811 ff.).

<sup>c</sup>IV, 794, 4.

<sup>d</sup>Only known as coregent with Osorkon III. The years between Osorkon III and Bekneranef may be filled up by Takehot III or by the two kings, Psammus and Zet, placed by Africanus after Osorkon III.

<sup>e</sup>Africanus gives a total of 89 years, and Syncellus 44, to this dynasty. The 27 is merely the amount necessary to fill up the gap between the end of the Twenty-second Dynasty and Bekneranef.

<sup>f</sup>IV, 884.

<sup>g</sup>From here on, the date B. C. is obtained by dead reckoning back from the accession of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty in 663 B. C.

## TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY

74. Shabaka . . . . .	12 <sup>a</sup> years	712-700 B. C.
Shabataka . . . . .	12 <sup>b</sup> "	700*-688 "
Taharka (Tirhaka) . . . . .	26 <sup>c</sup> "	688-663 "
Total . . . . .	50 years	
<i>Minimum</i> . . . . .	50 years	712-663 B. C.

## TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY

75. Psamtik I . . . . .	54 <sup>d</sup> years	663-609 B. C.
Necho . . . . .	16 <sup>e</sup> "	609-593 "
Psamtik II . . . . .	5 <sup>f</sup> "	593-588 "
Apries (Hophra) . . . . .	19 <sup>g</sup> "	588-569 "
Ahmose II (Amasis) . . . . .	44 <sup>h</sup> "	569-525 "
Psamtik III . . . . .	a few months	525 "
Total . . . . .	138 years	
<i>Known total, 138 years and a few months</i> . . . . .		663-525 B. C.

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, V, 1, e.<sup>e</sup>See IV, 984-5.<sup>b</sup>IV, 885.<sup>f</sup>*Ibid.*<sup>c</sup>A little over 26 years (IV, 959).<sup>g</sup>IV, 984 ff.<sup>d</sup>IV, 974 ff.

<sup>h</sup>IV, 1026-7. This date is found in a contemporary inscription in Hammamat (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 275<sup>b</sup>); as Herodotus also gives 44 as the length of this reign, there is evidently no doubt that we have in it the highest date of the reign.

#### ADDENDUM ON CHRONOLOGY (§ 42)

A letter from Eduard Meyer calls my attention to a fragmentary relief in the tomb of Thutnakht (*El Bersheh*, II, Pls. 8 and 9) which shows that the flax harvest in the middle of the twentieth century B. C. took place between the twenty-third and twenty-seventh of the fourth month. This harvest at the present day in the province of Minieh occurs during the early part of April. Thus the 113th-117th days of the calendar, which normally fell between November 9 and 13 (Julian), then fell in early April, showing a shift of the calendar of over 200 days, and corresponding completely with the shift of 225 days indicated by the Kahun Sothic date (§§ 42, 46). The date of the Twelfth Dynasty is thus confirmed beyond a doubt.

**THE PALERMO STONE**  
**FIRST TO THE FIFTH DYNASTIES**

## THE PALERMO STONE<sup>a</sup>

76. The content of this document, remarkable as it is, is perhaps not more valuable than the revelation it furnishes of the existence of royal annals of an official character, regularly kept by the kings of Egypt in the Old Kingdom and extending back into the time of the two kingdoms of the North and South. They reveal a great and powerful kingdom from the beginning of the dynasties, enjoying ordered government under a highly developed and aggressive state, and exhibiting a high degree of culture and civilization such as we could not have anticipated in this remote age.

77. While a translation of the document, owing to its unique and archaic character, is accompanied by many uncertainties, yet the whole is of an importance which justifies a sufficient presentation of the content to make clear the character, scope, and arrangement of these oldest annals of Egypt.<sup>b</sup> The voluminous commentary necessary for the explanation of many obscure references and allusions is unavoidably omitted here; but the obscurity of these par-

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<sup>a</sup>A fragment of "Diorite anfibolica," 6.5 cm. thick, 0.435 m. high, and 0.25 m. wide; since 1877 in the Museum of Palermo, and commonly known as the "Palermo Stone." It was published by Pellegrini (*Archivio storico Siciliano*, nuova serie, anno XX, 297-316, and 3 plates); by Schaefer, who first recognized its real character (*Ein Bruchstück altaegyptischer Königsannalen* [Anhang zu den *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie*, 1902], with 2 plates); and by Naville (*La pierre de Palerme*, Rec. XXV, 1-20, with 2 plates). Besides the interpretations of the above scholars, see Maspero (*Revue critique*, 1899, I, 1, and 1901, I, 383), who was the first to recognize the character of the year-names; also Spiegelberg, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XXXV, 10.

<sup>b</sup>The following translation is largely an editing of the rendering of Schaefer and Sethe; but, although space and time for commentary fail me, I have made some changes and additions, like the expedition of Snefru to Syria.

ticular points does not affect the significance of the whole document, which will be clear to everyone.

78. The fragment herewith presented was broken out of the middle of a large slab some seven feet long and over two feet high, as it stood on the long edge. It was inscribed on both sides with a series of royal annals, beginning with the predynastic kings of the period before the union of the North and the South, and continuing into the dynastic age to the middle of the Fifth Dynasty. The arrangement of these records can be best understood from the figure (—). The upper line of the front contains at present nine names of predynastic kings of Lower Egypt (the Delta).<sup>a</sup> If the line was full, there were possibly some 120 predynastic kings here enumerated, each rectangle of line 1 (front) containing one name, with no indication of how long each king reigned.<sup>b</sup> In the Fifth Dynasty, therefore, the predynastic kings, the last of whom had reigned some seven centuries before the preparation of this table, were already merely a series of names. Other reasons for the mere citation of the bare names are, however, quite conceivable, such as lack of interest in the predynastic kings on the part of the scribe.

79. But, while the length of the predynastic reigns remains totally uncertain, the date of the beginning of the dynastic period is certainly established by this monument within narrower limits than ever before; and the period from the accession of Menes to the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty is determined within reasonable margins for the first time. The dynastic kings are probably arranged as

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<sup>a</sup>Meyer has identified the place of these kings of Lower Egypt in the Turin Papyrus, where no corresponding kings of Upper Egypt were included, and in Manetho (*Aegyptische Chronologie*, 199 ff., 203 f.). They follow the gods and precede the "Worshippers of Horus," the immediate predecessors of the dynasties.

<sup>b</sup>Meyer believes that this row must have begun with the gods (*ibid.*, 203).



follows: <sup>a</sup>the First Dynasty occupied ll. 2 and 3, following directly upon the predynastic kings; ll. 4 and 5 contained the Second Dynasty; there is some uncertainty about the disposition of reigns in l. 6, but as the first line of the back contained the end of the Fourth Dynasty, the last two lines<sup>b</sup> (7 and 8) of the front must have contained the bulk of the Fourth, which in all probability throws the Third Dynasty back to l. 6,<sup>c</sup> including possibly the end of l. 5. The larger part of the back was occupied with the three reigns of the Fifth Dynasty, which filled up ll. 2-5, and perhaps continued (in two lines) into the reign of Nuserre.

80. The arrangement of each reign (except l. 1, front) was so that in the narrow horizontal space above each line the name of the king was placed, while below it the years of his reign were distributed in successive rectangles, one year in each rectangle. As the space occupied by the years of each reign far exceeded the length of the king's name, the latter was placed over the middle, thus:

KING'S NAME								
Year	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year

81. The vertical line on the right of each rectangle has the form of the hieroglyphic sign for "year." Each year-rectangle contains the chief events which occurred in that year, one of which furnished the official name for that year. Thus we have the "*Year of the Battle and Smiting*

<sup>a</sup>The Turin Papyrus of kings shows no clear dynastic division for this period, and hence such division rests solely on the lists of Manetho. But Sethe has shown (*Untersuchungen*, III) that such division is practically certain in our monument, and Meyer indicates that it is probable in the Turin Papyrus.

<sup>b</sup>Or three lines may have followed l. 6.

<sup>c</sup>See § 86.

of the Northerners," dating a jar of King Besh (*Bš*) in Philadelphia; or the "*Year of Smiting the Troglodytes*" in our fragment (front, l. 6, § 104). This was parallel with the same usage in early Babylonia, as has been long known. As time passed, it became more and more common to name the year after the corresponding fiscal enumeration, thus: "*Year of the Second Occurrence of the Numbering of all Large and Small Cattle of the North and the South*" (§ 339), or "*Year of the Seventh Occurrence of the Numbering of Gold and Lands*" (front, l. 5, § 135). This was often abbreviated to "*Year of the x'th Occurrence of the Numbering*," or still more to "*Year of the x'th Occurrence*."

82. All other events were then gradually abandoned as designations of the years, and by the Fifth Dynasty the fiscal numberings were almost exclusively used. These occurred every two years, in uninterrupted sequence, irrespective of the changes in reign, and hence it was necessary to call a year when no numbering took place, the "*Year after the x'th Occurrence (of the Numbering)*." Finally, when the numberings became annual, each year received the name of a new numbering, and this was the system of dating in Egypt from the Sixth Dynasty on. It amounted to numbering the years themselves, and gradually became nothing else. The Palermo stone thus furnishes us the origin of the Egyptian system of dating.

83. In addition to the chief events of the year, each year-rectangle contained, at the bottom in the middle, a datum giving a number of cubits, palms, and fingers, which have been thought to be the height of the inundation<sup>a</sup> for each year; but this is very uncertain.

<sup>a</sup>Measured from some fixed point only a few cubits below high water; but the fine subdivisions in the measurements (down to fractions of a finger-breadth) are against the theory.

84. In ll. 2-5 (front), containing the First and Second Dynasties, the events of each year are for the most part celebrations of religious feasts and the like, and in the latter part the "numberings" appear. With the Third Dynasty (l. 6) the events known to the chronicler become more numerous, increasing and making irregular in size the year-rectangles. They become still larger in the Fourth and Fifth. Small as are the rectangles of the First and Second Dynasties, they are in each line of the same size, and this offers the basis for a rough estimate of the number of years in these dynasties, if we can gain even a distant approximation of the total length of the stone.

85. An examination of the back shows that from one-tenth to one-eighth of the total length of the lines is preserved on the fragment. This insures roughly five hundred years for the length of the first three dynasties, of which only about eighty would belong to the Third Dynasty.<sup>a</sup>

86. In this computation the stone offers little for determining the length of the Third Dynasty. This is, however, shown by the Turin Papyrus to have been only fifty-five years before Snefru; or, with Snefru, seventy-nine years,  $x$  months; or, in round numbers, eighty years. That Snefru belonged to the Third Dynasty is favored by the arrangement of the stone, although the Manethonian tradi-

<sup>a</sup>The first attempt at restoring the length of the stone was made by Sethe, who obtained the following results:

First Dynasty (ll. 2-3).....	253 years
Second Dynasty (ll. 4-5).....	302 years
Third Dynasty (l. 6).....	maximum, 100-110 years

These pioneer results have been modified by Meyer (*Aegyptische Chronologie*) to the following:

First Dynasty (ll. 2-3).....	210 years
Second Dynasty (ll. 4-5).....	243 years

The possible difference is thus about a century. Meyer's results are certainly a minimum, and Sethe's a maximum, but the principle employed by Meyer would now doubtless be accepted by Sethe.

tion perhaps placed him at the head of the Fourth Dynasty. It should be remembered that this difficulty with the Third Dynasty is not peculiar to any theory of restoration of the stone. We cannot, on any scheme of restoration, push the Third Dynasty back into l. 5 (front), for the birth of Khasekhemui, a king of the latter part of the Second Dynasty, is recorded in l. 5 (No. 4). Nor can we assume that Snefru is here reckoned with the Fourth Dynasty, which would leave only the first half of l. 6 for the whole Third Dynasty. Finally, as Snefru is reckoned with the Third Dynasty, and we know that he was its last king (for he was the predecessor of Khufu), all his predecessors in the dynasty, as well as at least six years of his own reign, must have been included in the first half of l. 6. If all the rectangles of the first half of l. 6 were as small as those of l. 2, this would leave perhaps fifty years for his predecessors in the dynasty. The supposition that more lines are lost at the bottom would not at all affect the Third Dynasty. Again, any great prolongation of the lines is forbidden by the back.

87. The stone offers little aid as to the length of the Fourth Dynasty, as most of that dynasty is lost at the bottom of the front, but it furnishes valuable hints as to the close of the Fourth and the first half of the Fifth Dynasty. The short reigns at the close of the Fourth are fragmentarily indicated in l. 1, and the lengths of the short reigns of the first three kings of the Fifth Dynasty roughly corroborate those indicated in the Turin Papyrus.

88. It will be seen that the monument is invaluable as a source for the chronology of the earliest dynasties. Accepting 2900 B. C. as the date for the accession of the Fourth Dynasty, the Palermo Stone furnishes us an assured minimum of 3400 B. C. as the beginning of the dynastic period and the accession of Menes. This date is only affected by

the uncertainty attending all our dates back of the Hera-  
cleopolitan rule. Future discovery may reduce the date of  
Menes by at most a century.

89. The content of these annals is also of great importance,  
but, as they are themselves only a summary, we cannot  
epitomize them here. Such facts as the dispatch of a  
fleet of forty vessels to bring cedar from Lebanon under  
Snefru are, of course, invaluable.

#### I. PREDYNASTIC KINGS

##### *Kings of Upper Egypt (?) or the Gods (?)*

90. <sup>1</sup>\_\_\_\_\_

##### *Kings of Lower Egypt*

—pu (—-pw); Seka (*Šk?*); Khayu (*H<sup>2</sup>-y<sup>w</sup>*); Teyew (*Ty<sup>w</sup>*);  
Thesh (*Tš*); Ne<sup>h</sup>eb<sup>1</sup> (*N<sup>h</sup>hb<sup>1</sup>*); Wazenez (*W<sup>2</sup>d<sup>-c</sup>nd*); Mekh (*Mh*);  
—a (—<sup>2</sup>); \_\_\_\_\_<sup>a</sup>

#### II. FIRST DYNASTY

##### KING T<sup>b</sup> (NAME LOST)

*x years*

91. <sup>2</sup>\_\_\_\_\_

*Year x+1*

Worship of Horus.<sup>c</sup>

Birth of Anubis.<sup>c</sup>

*Year x+2*

92. 6 months and 7 days.<sup>d</sup>

##### KING U<sup>e</sup> (NAME LOST)

*Year 1*

93. Fourth month, thirteenth day.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup>At least four more names followed.

<sup>b</sup>Either Menes or his successor, Atothis.      <sup>c</sup>Name of a feast.

<sup>d</sup>This is the fraction of the king's last year which was interrupted by his death and left incomplete.

<sup>e</sup>Either Atothis or his successor.

<sup>f</sup>This is the date of the king's accession, and the following name is the regular designation of a king's first year.

Union of the Two Lands.  
Circuit of the Wall.<sup>a</sup>  
6 cubits.<sup>b</sup>

*Year 2*

**94.** Worship of Horus.  
Feast of Desher (*Dšr*).

*Year 3*

**95.** Birth of the two children of the King of Lower Egypt.  
4 cubits, 1 palm.

*Year 4*

**96.** Worship of Horus.  
[— — —]

*Year 5*

**97.** 'Design' of the House (called): "Mighty-of-the-Gods" (*Šym-nṯrw*).

Feast of Sokar.  
5 cubits, 5 palms, 1 finger.

*Year 6*

**98.** Worship of Horus.  
Birth of the goddess Yamet (*Yḏm·t*).  
5 cubits, 1 palm.

*Year 7*

**99.** Appearance<sup>c</sup> of the King of Upper Egypt.  
Birth of Min.  
5 cubits

*Year 8*

**100.** Worship of Horus.  
Birth of Anubis.  
6 cubits, 1 palm.

*Year 9*

**101.** First occurrence of the Feast of Zet (*Dt*).  
4 cubits, 1 span.

<sup>a</sup>Name of a feast.

<sup>b</sup>See explanation, § 83.

<sup>c</sup>Or "coronation" (*hṯ*); it is a feast probably in commemoration of the king's coronation.

*Year 10*102. —————<sup>a</sup>

## LOST KINGS

3—————

## KING V

*King's Name*103. —————<sup>b</sup> [I<sup>h</sup>born of Me]ret-[I<sup>h</sup>Neit].*Year x+1*Station (in)<sup>c</sup> the temple of Saw (*S<sup>w</sup>*) in Heka— (*Hk<sup>w</sup>*—).

3 cubits, 1 palm, 2 fingers.

*Year x+2*104. Smiting of the Troglodytes (*Yntyw*).

4 cubits, 1 span.

*Year x+3*

105. Appearance of the King of Upper Egypt.

Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.

Sed jubilee.

8 cubits, 3 fingers.

*Year x+4*106. (Numbering of)<sup>d</sup> all people of the nomes of the west, north, and east.

3 cubits, 1 span.

*Year x+5*107. Second occurrence of the Feast of Zet (*Dt*).

5 cubits, 2 palms.

<sup>a</sup>At least sixteen years more of this reign are lost, as the king's name was placed in the middle over the horizontal line of years. Our fragment does not reach to the middle; hence over ten years more are lost at the other end, besides six which stood under the name. This makes a minimum total of twenty-six years for this king; but the restoration of the stone shows that he (Atothis) probably reigned some fifty years.

<sup>b</sup>We should probably restore the name of King Miebis; see Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, III, 47.

<sup>c</sup>The omission of such prepositions is common in these archaic texts.

<sup>d</sup>Or is the plant sign (*h<sup>w</sup>*) an incorrectly made plant of the South? This would give us all the cardinal points.

*Year x+6*

**108.** 'Design' of the House (called): "Thrones-of-the-Gods."  
Feast of Sokar.  
5 cubits, 1 palm, 2 fingers.

*Year x+7*

**109.** Stretching of the Cord (for) the House (called): "Thrones-of-the-Gods," (by) the priest of (the goddess) Seshat ( $\dot{S}\dot{s}^{\circ}t$ , Sefkhet).  
Great Door.  
4 cubits, 2 palms.

*Year x+8*

**110.** Opening of the Lake of the House (called): "Thrones-of-the-Gods."  
Shooting of the Hippopotamus.  
2 cubits.

*Year x+9*

**111.** Station (at) the lake of the temple of Harsaphes ( $\dot{H}ry\text{-}\dot{s}\text{-}f$ ) in Heracleopolis.  
5 cubits.

*Year x+10*

**112.** Voyage (to) Sahseteni ( $\dot{S}^{\circ}h^{\circ}l\text{-}stny$ ).  
Smiting of Werka ( $Wr\text{-}k^{\circ}$ ).  
4 cubits, 1 span.

*Year x+11*

**113.** Birth of Sed ( $\dot{S}d$ ).  
6 cubits, 1 palm, 2 fingers.

*Year x+12*

**114.** Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.  
First occurrence of "Running-of-Apis."<sup>a</sup>  
2 cubits, 1 span.

*Year x+13*

**115.** Birth of Seshat ( $\dot{S}\dot{s}^{\circ}t$ ) and Mefdet ( $M^{\circ}fd\text{-}t$ ).  
3 cubits, 5 palms, 2 fingers.

<sup>a</sup>Some unfamiliar Apis ceremony. Schaefer calls attention to Manetho's statement that the Apis-cult began under King Kaiechos.



*Year x+14<sup>a</sup>*

116. [Appearance] of the King of Upper Egypt.  
Birth of —.

III. SECOND DYNASTY

KING NETERIMU

*Lost Reigns*

117. 4 — — —

*King's Name*

Horus: Neterimu (*Ntry-mw<sup>b</sup>*) son of —

*Year 1*

118. — — — —

*Year 2*

[First occurrence of the numbering.]

*Year 3*

*Year 4*

[Second occurrence of the numbering.]

[First occurrence of the Feast of Sokar.]<sup>c</sup>

*Year 5*

*Year 6<sup>d</sup>*

Worship of Horus.

[Third occurrence of the numbering.]

*Year 7*

119. Appearance of the King of Upper Egypt.

<sup>a</sup>There must have been fourteen years on the other side of the royal name. Of these twenty-eight, two fall under the royal name. There were at least two or three more under it, making a minimum of thirty or thirty-one years for this king.

<sup>b</sup>On the reading of the name see Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, III, 40.

<sup>c</sup>This feast occurred at intervals of six years; see years 10 and 16.

<sup>d</sup>This may be the fifth year, as the first numbering may have taken place in the first year.

Stretching of the Cord (for) the House (called) Hor-Ren (*Hr-rn*).  
3 cubits, 4 palms, 2 fingers.

*Year 8*

**120.** Worship of Horus.  
Fourth occurrence of the numbering.  
4 cubits, 2 fingers.

*Year 9*

**121.** Appearance of the King of Upper Egypt.  
Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.  
Running of Apis.  
4 cubits, 1 palm, 2 fingers.

*Year 10*

**122.** Worship of Horus.  
Fifth occurrence of the numbering.  
4 cubits, 4 palms.

*Year 11*

**123.** Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.  
Second occurrence of the Feast of Sokar.  
3 cubits, 4 palms, 2 fingers.

*Year 12*

**124.** Worship of Horus.  
Sixth occurrence of the numbering.  
4 cubits, 3 fingers.

*Year 13*

**125.** First occurrence of the Feast: "Worship-of-Horus-of-Heaven"  
(*Dw<sup>3</sup>-Hr-pt*).  
Hacking up of the city: Shem-Re (*Sm-R*).  
Hacking up of the city: "House-of-the-North."  
4 cubits, 3 fingers.

*Year 14*

**126.** Worship of Horus.  
Seventh occurrence of the numbering.  
1 cubit.

*Year 15*

**127.** Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.

Second occurrence of "Running-of-Apis."

3 cubits, 4 palms, 3 fingers.

*Year 16*

**128.** Worship of Horus.

Eighth occurrence of the numbering.

3 cubits, 5 palms, 2 fingers.

*Year 17*

**129.** Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.

Third occurrence of the Feast of Sokar.

2 cubits, 2 fingers.

*Year 18*

**130.** Worship of Horus.

Ninth occurrence of the numbering.

2 cubits, 2 fingers.

*Year 19*

**131.** Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.

the Feast of Zet (*Dt*).

3 cubits.

*Year 20*

**132.** Worship of Horus.

Tenth occurrence of [the numbering].

*Year 21<sup>b</sup>*

LOST KINGS

KING W (NAME LOST)

*Year 12<sup>c</sup>*

**133.** Worship of Horus.

Sixth occurrence of the numbering.

2 cubits, 4 palms, 1½ fingers.

<sup>a</sup>Schaefer: "Opfer (?) . . . Göttin *Nhbt* . . . *Dt*-Fest."

<sup>b</sup>Of these twenty-one years, sixteen were before the royal name; sixteen more, therefore, followed it; five are under it, making a total of at least thirty-seven.

<sup>c</sup>Or possibly year 11, according to the beginning of the numbering in year 1 or year 2.

*Year 13*

**134.** Appearance of the King of Upper Egypt.  
 Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.  
 (The temple called): "The-Goddess-Abides" was built (of) stone.  
 2 cubits, 3 palms, 1 finger.

*Year 14*

**135.** Worship of Horus.  
 Seventh occurrence of the numbering of gold and lands.  
 $3\frac{2}{3}$  cubits.

*Year 15*

**136.** Birth of Khasekhemui ( $H^c-s\dot{h}mwy$ ).  
 1 cubit, 6 palms,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  fingers.

*Year 16*

**137.** Worship of Horus.  
 Eighth occurrence of the numbering of gold and lands.  
 4 cubits, 2 palms,  $2\frac{2}{3}$  fingers.

*Year 17*

**138.** Fourth occurrence of bringing the wall of Dewazefa ( $Dw^2-\dot{d}j^2$ ).  
 Shipbuilding.  
 4 cubits, 2 palms.

*Year 18*

**139.** 2 months, 23 days.<sup>a</sup>

## KING X (NAME LOST)

*Year 1*

**140.** Appearance of the King of Upper Egypt.  
 Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.  
 Union of the Two Lands.  
 Circuit of the Wall.  
 4 cubits, 2 palms,  $2\frac{2}{3}$  fingers.

*Year 2*

**141.** Appearance of the King of Upper Egypt.

<sup>a</sup>The total length of this reign was thus either sixteen or seventeen years, two months, and twenty-three days.

Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.  
 [Introduction<sup>1</sup> of the King into the double Senut<sup>a</sup>-house.  
 4 cubits,  $1\frac{2}{3}$  palms.

Year 3

**142.** Worship of Horus.  
 Birth of Min.  
 2 cubits, 3 palms,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  fingers.

Year 4

**143.** Appearance of the King of Upper Egypt.  
 Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.  
 Stretching of the Cord (for) the House (called): "Shelter-of-the-Gods" (*Kbh-ntrw*).  
 3 cubits, 3 palms, 2 fingers.

Year<sup>b</sup> 5

**144.** Worship of Horus.  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 3 cubits, — —, — —.

#### IV. THIRD DYNASTY

##### LOST REIGNS

6 \_\_\_\_\_

##### KING SNEFRU

**145.**

Year  $x+1$ <sup>c</sup>

\_\_\_\_\_ [Birth of] the two children of the King of Lower Egypt.  
 [Sixth occurrence of the numbering.]

Year  $x+2$

**146.** Building of 100-cubit<sup>d</sup> dewatowe-ships (*Dw<sup>3</sup>-t<sup>3</sup>wy*) of meru (*mr*) wood, and of 60 sixteen<sup>e</sup>-barges of the king.

<sup>a</sup>The senut (*snwt*) are flag-staves on a temple front

<sup>b</sup>At least eleven years more may be added to this reign.

<sup>c</sup>As the numberings are irregular in this reign, it is not safe to compute the year from the two given.

<sup>d</sup>This refers to the length, which was thus some 167 feet.

<sup>e</sup>This numeral refers to a dimension or to the number of oars in each barge, or something similar. Schaefer relevantly recalls the "eights" (ships) of Uni (§ 322, l. 41).

Hacking up the land of the Negro.  
 Bringing of 7,000 living prisoners, and 200,000 large and small cattle.  
 Building of the wall of the Southland and Northland (called)  
 "Houses-of-Snefru."  
 Bringing of 40 ships filled (with) cedar wood.<sup>a</sup>  
 2 cubits, 2 fingers.

*Year x+3*

**147.** Making 35 houses.<sup>b</sup>  
 1—1 of 122 cattle.  
 Building of a 100-cubit dewatowe-ship (*Dw<sup>3</sup>-t<sup>3</sup>wy*) of cedar wood,  
 and 2 100-cubit ships of meru wood.  
 Seventh occurrence of the numbering.  
 5 cubits, 1 palm, 1 finger.

*Year x+4*

**148.** Erection of:  
 "Exalted-is-the-White-Crown-of-Snefru-upon-the-Southern-Gate."<sup>c</sup>  
 "Exalted-is-the-Red-Crown-of-Snefru-upon-the-Northern-Gate."<sup>c</sup>  
 Making the doors of the king's palace of cedar wood.  
 Eighth occurrence of the numbering.  
 2 cubits, 2 palms, 2 $\frac{3}{4}$  fingers.

*Year<sup>d</sup> x+5*

**149.** \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

<sup>a</sup>This is an expedition by sea to Lebanon. The omission of the prepositions (here *m*, "with") is common in this inscription, having been copied without change by the Fifth Dynasty scribe, from the ancient original of Snefru's time, in which, as commonly in the archaic inscriptions, the prepositions were lacking.

<sup>b</sup>Some particular kind of building is meant.

<sup>c</sup>These are the names of two gates or parts of the palace of Snefru: one for the South and one for the North. We have thus the double name of a double palace, which, like the organs of the government, was double, to correspond with the old kingdoms of South and North. These two gates are still preserved in the palace of the Empire as seen in the Amarna tombs. The palace front was always referred to as the "double façade" or "double gate" (*Rwtj*); hence also the dual determinative of *pr-c<sup>3</sup>*. The state temples also were double; each had a "double façade," and the hypostyle was divided into north and south by the central aisle. The division of the palace audience hall will have been the same. That the two names in § 148 do not refer to two separate buildings is shown by the record of the making of the doors in the next remark, as in the year 7 of Miebis.

<sup>d</sup>After the year-sign, the sign for king and, below, the cubit-sign are visible.

## V. FOURTH DYNASTY

## LOST REIGNS

?\_\_\_\_\_

## KING Y

*King's Name*

\_\_\_\_\_a

## LOST REIGNS

rb\_\_\_\_\_

KING MENKURE (?)<sup>c</sup>*Year x*— [months], 24 days.<sup>d</sup>

## KING SHEPSESKAF

*Year 1***150.** a) Month 4 (+x), eleventh day.<sup>e</sup>

b) Appearance of the King [of Upper Egypt].

Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.

Union of the Two Lands.

Circuit of the Wall.

Seshed (*Sšd*) Feast.<sup>f</sup>

Birth of Upwawet.

The king worships the gods who united the Two Lands.

**151.** c) ——— selection of the place of the pyramid (called):  
"Shelter-of-Shepseskaf."**152.** d) ——— 20 [—] of the South and North every day.e) ——— 1,624<sup>g</sup>—; ——— 600 —.

4 cubits, 3 palms, 2½ fingers.

<sup>a</sup>The determinative after the name of his mother and the tip of one sign before it are all that remains of his reign.

<sup>b</sup>Beginning of the back.

<sup>c</sup>Possibly one of the three ephemeral kings placed by the Sakkara list and Manetho at the close of the Fourth Dynasty. See Meyer, *Aegyptische Chronologie*, 195.

<sup>d</sup>Meyer (*ibid.*) would see in the vacant space left by the scribe before this note an evidence of the illegitimacy of this king; it would seem, however, that a number of the exigencies of space might have produced such a vacancy.

<sup>e</sup>The date of his accession.

<sup>f</sup>Confer the coronation of Hatshepsut, II, 240.

<sup>g</sup>These numerals, like those in ll. 2-4, are the numbers of the stat of land in the temple endowments of that year.

## VI. FIFTH DYNASTY

## KING USERKAF

*Years 1-3***153.** ———*Year 4*

Third occurrence of the finding of —.

*Year 5<sup>a</sup>***154.** The King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userkaf; he made (it) as his monument for:**155.** The spirits of Heliopolis: 20 offerings of bread and beer at every [—] and every [—] feast; 36 stat of land [— —] in the domain of Userkaf.

- 156.** 1. The gods of the sun-temple (called): Sepre (*Sp-R*):  
24 stat of land in the domain of Userkaf;  
2 oxen, 2 geese every day.
2. Re: 44 stat of land in the nomes of the Northland;
3. Hathor: 44 stat of land in the nomes of the Northland.
4. The gods of the House of [—] of Horus: 54 stat of land; erection of the shrine of his temple (in) Buto of the nome of Xoïs;
5. Sepa (*Sp*<sup>2</sup>): 2 stat of land; building of his temple.
6. Nekhbet in the sanctuary (*ntry*) of the South: 10 offerings of bread and beer every day.
7. Buto in Pernu (*Pr-nw*): 10 offerings of bread and beer every day.
8. The gods of the sanctuary (*ntry*) of the South: 48 offerings of bread and beer every day.
- 157.** Year of the third occurrence of the numbering of large cattle.  
4 cubits, 2½ fingers.

*Year 6***158.** [The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkaf; he made (it) as his monument for]:—————<sup>b</sup>: 1,700 stat [— —] in the North; ———

<sup>a</sup>This may be year 6, according as the numbering began in year 1 or 2; but the restoration of the stone rather favors year 5.

<sup>b</sup>Some god's name.



## KING SAHURE

3. ———

*Year 5<sup>a</sup>*

**159. a)** The King of [Upper] and Lower Egypt, Sahure; he made (it) as his monument for:

1. — in Heliopolis; ——— 200 [—], ——— divine barque  
——— [—].

2. Nekhbet, mistress of Perwer (*Pr-wr*): 800 daily offerings of bread and beer;

3. Buto, mistress of Perneser (*Pr-nsr*): 4,800 daily offerings of bread and beer;

4. Re in the Senut-house (*Šnw*): 138 daily offerings of bread and beer;

5. Re in the Sanctuary (*ntry*) of the South: 40 daily offerings of bread and beer;

6. Re in Tep-het (*Tp-h*): 74 daily offerings of bread and beer;

7. Hathor in the sun-temple, Sekhet-Re (*Šht-R*): 4 daily offerings of bread and beer;

8. Re of the sun-temple, Sekhet-Re: 12,000 [—] stat of land in the nome of 'Xois';

9. Mes (*Mš*): 2 stat of land in the nome of Busiris;

10. Sem (*Šm*): 2 stat of land in the nome of Busiris;

11. Khent-yawetef (*Hnt-y<sup>3</sup>wf*): 2 [— —] stat of land in the Memphite nome;

12. Hathor in Ro-she (*R<sup>3</sup>-š*) of Sahure: 2 [— —] stat of land in the East;

13. Hathor in (the temple of) the pyramid, "The-Soul-of-Sahure-Shines": 1 stat of land in the Libyan nome;

14. The White Bull: 13 [— —] stat of land in the eastern Khent nome (XIV).

15. *b)* Third occurrence of the finding of [— —]

Year of the second numbering.

2 cubits, 2½ fingers.

*Year 6*

**160.** The King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Sahure; he made it as his monument for]:

<sup>a</sup>It is the second numbering, and may be year 4.

## The Divine Ennead,

*Year 13<sup>a</sup>*

161. 4[The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sahure; he made it as] his monument for:

1. ————
2. Re Ꞗ—Ꞗ: — [stat] of land in the North and South;
3. Hathor: — [stat] of land in the North and South;
4. —: — [stat] of land in the North and South;
5. —: ———— all things.
6. There were brought from:
7. The Malachite-country, — — Ꞗ6,000Ꞗ —.
8. Punt, 80,000 measures of myrrh, Ꞗ6,000Ꞗ — of electrum, 2,600 Ꞗ—Ꞗ staves, Ꞗ—Ꞗ.

Year after the ꞖseventhꞖ<sup>b</sup> numbering.

*Year 14*

162. Ꞗ9Ꞗ months, Ꞗ6Ꞗ days.

## KING NEFERIRKERE

*King's Name*

163. Horus: *Wsr-hꞖw*;Ꞗ King of Upper and Lower Egypt; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: *HꞖw-m-shmw* ————.

*Year 1*

164. Second month, seventh day.

Birth of the Gods.

Union of the Two Lands.

Circuit of the Wall.

<sup>a</sup>The "numbering" is uncertain, being either 6 or 7. The year may be anywhere from 11 to 15, according as the first numbering was in the year 1 or year 2, or the numbering be the sixth or seventh. Meyer's results make 13 the most probable here.

<sup>b</sup>The number is unfortunately not quite certain, but the margin of uncertainty is not great. The Turin Papyrus gives Sahure twelve years, and Manetho gives him thirteen, both of which numbers might be practically correct, as one might take account of the nine months of the last year, and count the thirteenth year as complete.

<sup>c</sup>"*Rich in Diadems.*"

165. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferirkere (*Njr-yr-kꜣ-Rꜣ*); he made (it) as [his] monument [for]:

1. The Divine Ennead in [—] of the Senut-house (*Šmwꜣt*): [—] stat of land in the city (called): “Neferirkere-Beloved-of-the-Divine-Ennead,” under<sup>a</sup> the House of Neferirkere in [—];

2. The Spirits of Heliopolis and the Gods of Khereha (*Hr-ꜣhꜣ*): [—] stat of land in the city (called): “Neferirkere-Beloved-of-the-Spirits-of-Heliopolis;” 251 (+x) stat of land in the eastern Khent nome (XIV) — under the two high-priests of Heliopolis, the prophets and [officials] of his house [—————]

3. Re: an altar;

4. Hathor: an altar; [— — — —]; [210] divine offerings, 203 offerings of bread and beer; there was made [— —] peasant serfs [—].

5. There was fashioned [—] of electrum, (for) Ihi (*Yhy*), a statue, followed to the house of Hathor, [mistress] of the sycamore, in Meret-Snefru;

6. Re of Tep-het (*Tp-ht*); tner was done for him the like —————

3 cubits, — — , — — .

5 —————

*Year 9<sup>b</sup>*

166. [The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferirkere; he made it as his monument for]:

1. —————

2. [—————]

3. Re in the sun-temple: “Favorite-Seat-of-Re;” there was made for him a feast of the Circuit-[of-the-Wall] —————.

King Setneh (*Stnh*):<sup>c</sup> — stat of land.

Year of the fifth occurrence [of the numbering].

*Year 10*

167. 1. Appearance of the King of Upper Egypt.

Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.

—————

<sup>a</sup>Under charge of?

<sup>b</sup>Or possibly 10; Meyer's results make 9 more probable.

<sup>c</sup>An ancient king, also mentioned in the tomb of Methen; he was perhaps a king of Upper Egypt.

2. Erection of the wall of the sun-barque at the south side [of the sun-temple: "Favorite-Seat-of-Re"].<sup>a</sup>

3. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferirkere; he made (it) as [his] monument [for]:

4. Re in the sun-temple: "Favorite-Seat-of-Re": 18 —<sup>1</sup> loaves: for the evening sun-barque —; and for the morning sun-barque —.

5. The Souls of Heliopolis: — — — of electrum;

6. Ptah, "South-of his-Wall": — stat ———.

7. Buto of the South: — — — of electrum.

8. ———

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<sup>a</sup>This is a sun-barque like that found at Abusir beside the sun-temple of Nuserre by the excavations of the Berlin Museum.

## THE THIRD DYNASTY

## REIGN OF SNEFRU

### SINAI INSCRIPTIONS<sup>a</sup>

168. Although the Pharaohs had operated in the copper region of Sinai as far back as the First Dynasty, Snefru was later regarded as the great founder of the Egyptian mining there. He became a patron god of the region (§ 722), he gave his name to the roads and stations of the eastern Delta (§ 493, l. 9), and officials boasting of their achievements there claimed that nothing like them had been done since the time of Snefru (§ 731).

Being the only existing inscriptional record of achievement by Snefru, this document is of especial importance. The relief to which the inscriptions belong is as important as they. It represents the king in the etef-crown, with upraised war-club about to smite a Bedwi, whom he has forced to kneel, holding him by the hair of his head.<sup>b</sup> This, of course, symbolizes Snefru's victory over the Bedwin of this region, during his mining operations here.

169. The inscriptions contain only titles and names of Snefru; they are:

King of Upper and Lower Egypt; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Lord of Truth; Golden Horus: Snefru. Snefru, Great God, who is given Satisfaction, Stability, Life, Health, all Joy forever.

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<sup>a</sup>Engraved on the rock-walls of the Wadi Maghara in the Peninsula of Sinai. Text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 2 a; Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée*, Pl. 5, No. 4; Laval, *Voyage dans la Péninsule Arabique*, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, Pl. 3, No. 1; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1492 (inscriptions only); Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 7, 8; Morgan, *Recherches*, I, 233; Weill, *Sinai*, 103.

<sup>b</sup>This form of relief is as old as the early First Dynasty. Such a scene had already been left here by King Semerkhet, of the early dynastic age (Weill, *Revue archéologique*, II [1903], 231); and an ivory tablet shows King Usephais, of the First Dynasty, smiting a Bedwi native in the same way (Macgregor Collection, Spiegelberg, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XXXV, 8).

Horus: Lord of Truth.<sup>a</sup>  
 Smiter of Barbarians.

A second, similar relief of Snefru in the Wadi Maghara is near the above.<sup>b</sup>

#### BIOGRAPHY OF METHEN<sup>c</sup>

170. This is the earliest biography which we possess, and it clearly betrays its primitive character. It is impossible to determine with certainty the succession of the parts distributed on the different walls, and the language is so bald, abbreviated, and obscure that some of the narrative remains unintelligible. Apart from the fact that it is our earliest document of the kind, and the only one from the Third Dynasty, the biography is especially valuable because it deals with the geography and government of the North, narrating Methen's activity in the Delta, of the administration of which at this early period we otherwise know almost nothing. The narrative tells of his gradual rise, from a beginning as scribe and overseer of a provision magazine, until he governs a considerable number of towns and districts in the Delta. He also obtained in Upper Egypt the rule of the eastern part of the Fayum and the Anubis nome (Seventeenth). He was liberally rewarded with gifts of lands, became master of the hunt, and tells us the size of his house, with some account of the grounds; all of which, from an age so remote, is of especial interest. He died in the reign of Snefru; all his affiliations were with the families preceding Snefru, and he was naturally buried beside the terraced pyramid of Zoser, of the earlier part of the Third Dynasty.

<sup>a</sup>In the palace façade, the so-called "banner."

<sup>b</sup>Weill, *Sinai*, 104.

<sup>c</sup>From his mastaba-chamber, found by Lepsius at Sakkara, and now in Berlin (Nos. 1105, 1106); published by Lepsius in *Denkmäler*, II, 3-7, 120, *a-e*; Schaefer, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus dem Königlichen Museum zu Berlin*, I, 68, 73-87; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 1-7.

*Death of Methen's Father*

171. <sup>1</sup>There were presented to him the things of his father,<sup>a</sup> the judge and scribe Anubisemonekh; there was no grain or anything of the house, (<sup>1</sup>but<sup>1</sup>) there were people<sup>b</sup> and small cattle.

*Methen's Career*

172. <sup>2</sup>He was made chief scribe of the provision magazine, and overseer of the things of the provision magazine. <sup>3</sup>He was made [————] <sup>4</sup>becoming local governor of Xoïs (Ox-nome), and inferior field-judge of Xoïs. <sup>5</sup>He was appointed [—]<sup>c</sup>-judge, he was made overseer of all flax of the king, <sup>6</sup>he was made ruler of Southern Perked (*Pr-kd*), and <sup>7</sup>deputy<sup>1</sup>, <sup>7</sup>he was made local governor of the people of Dep, <sup>8</sup>palace-ruler of Miper (*My<sup>1</sup>-pr*) and Persepa (*Pr-sp<sup>2</sup>*), and local governor of the Saitic nome, <sup>9</sup>ruler of the stronghold of Sent (*Snt*). <sup>1</sup>deputy<sup>1</sup> of nomes, <sup>10</sup>ruler of Pershesthet (*Pr-šst<sup>1</sup>*), ruler of the towns of the palace, of the Southern Lake.<sup>d</sup> <sup>11</sup>Sheret-Methen (*Šrt-Mtn*) was founded, <sup>1</sup>and the domain which<sup>e1</sup> his father Anubisemonekh presented to him.

*Honors and Gifts*

173. <sup>1</sup>Administrator<sup>1</sup>, nomarch, and overseer of commissions in the Anubis nome,<sup>f</sup> overseer of [—] of <sup>2</sup>the Mendesian nome, [— —] <sup>4</sup>stat<sup>18</sup> of land, (with) people and everything . . . . <sup>3</sup>. . . . <sup>4</sup>There were founded for him the 12 towns of Shet-Methen (*Št-Mtn*) in the Saitic nome, in the Xoite nome, and the Sekhemite nome. . . . , <sup>5</sup>There were conveyed to him as a reward 200 stat of lands by numerous royal [—]; <sup>6</sup>a <sup>1</sup>mortuary<sup>1</sup> offering of 100 loaves every day from the mor-

<sup>a</sup>Supply a *t*, which clearly has been lost or omitted.

<sup>b</sup>See the same expression, § 175, l. 18. These are the serfs attached to the land and conveyed with it.

<sup>c</sup>*Nht-hrw*, lit. "strong-voiced," an administrative position having to do with lands.

<sup>d</sup>The Southern Lake occurs also next to Nomes XX and XXI (combined) of Upper Egypt in a Tehneh tomb, *Annales* III, 76.

<sup>e</sup>Or "when his father A. gave (it) to him."

<sup>f</sup>Seventeenth nome of Upper Egypt.

<sup>g</sup>On the doubtful character of the measure here, see Griffith, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XIV, 412.



tuary temple of the mother of the king's children, Nemathap (*N-m<sup>o</sup>c · t-h<sup>o</sup> p*); <sup>7</sup>a house 200 cubits long and 200 cubits wide, built and equipped; fine trees were set out, a very large lake was made therein, figs and vines were set out. <sup>8</sup>It was recorded therein according to the king's writings; their names were according to the decree (*sr*) of the king's writings. <sup>9</sup>Very plentiful trees and vines were set out, a great quantity of wine was made therein. <sup>10</sup>A vineyard<sup>a</sup> was made for him: 2,000 stat of land within the wall; trees were set out, (fin<sup>l</sup>) <sup>b</sup>Imeres (*Yy-mrs*), Sheret-Methen (*Šr-Mtn*), Yat-Sebek (*Y<sup>o</sup> t-Sbk*), Shet-Methen (*Št-Mtn*).

*Methen's Offices*

- 174.** <sup>1</sup>Ruler<sup>c</sup> of Southern Perked (*Pr-ḳd*);  
<sup>2</sup>Ruler<sup>d</sup> of Perwersah (*Pr-wr-s<sup>o</sup> ḥ*);  
<sup>3</sup>Ruler and local governor of the stronghold, Hesén (*Hsn*); in the Harpoon nome;  
<sup>4</sup>Palace-ruler and local governor in Sekhemu (*Šḫmw*) of Xoís (Ox-nome).  
<sup>5</sup>Palace-ruler and local governor in Dep (Buto);<sup>e</sup>  
<sup>6</sup>Palace-ruler and local governor in Miper (*Myl-pr*), of the Saite nome;<sup>f</sup>  
<sup>7</sup>Palace-ruler and local governor in Two Hounds, of the Mendesian nome;  
<sup>8</sup>Palace-ruler in Heswer (*Hs-wr*); ruler of fields in the west of the Saitic nome;<sup>g</sup>  
<sup>9</sup>Palace-ruler of the Cow stronghold;<sup>h</sup> local governor in the desert, and master of the hunt;  
<sup>10</sup>Ruler of fields, <sup>1</sup>deputy<sup>1</sup> and local governor in the Sekhemite nome;<sup>i</sup>  
<sup>11</sup>Nomarch, <sup>1</sup>administrator<sup>1</sup>, and deputy in the eastern Fayum;  
<sup>12</sup>Field-judge, palace-ruler of the west of the Saitic nome, leader of <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>a</sup>The first vineyard seems to have been in the garden around his house; the second is a large vineyard by itself.

<sup>b</sup>The connection of these four towns is not evident.

<sup>c</sup>*Hk<sup>o</sup>*. <sup>d</sup>Var., "Palace-ruler."

<sup>e</sup>Var., "Local governor of Dep, local governor of the people of Dep."

<sup>f</sup>He was also "Palace-ruler and local governor in Mesezui (*Msdwt*), of the Saitic nome."

<sup>g</sup>Var., "Palace-ruler of fields, and local governor in the Saitic nome."

<sup>h</sup>Var., "Local governor of the Cow stronghold;" this was one of the oases.

<sup>i</sup>Second nome of Lower Egypt.

*Gifts of Land*

175. <sup>13</sup>There were conveyed to him, as a reward, 200 stat of land by the numerous royal 1—1.

<sup>14</sup>There were conveyed to him 50 stat of land by (his) mother Neb-sent (*Nb-sm*); <sup>15</sup>she made a will thereof to (her)<sup>a</sup> children; <sup>16</sup>it was placed in their possession by the king's writings (in) every place.

<sup>17</sup>Ruler of 1—1 of the Sekhemite nome. There were given to him 12 stat of land, with<sup>b</sup> his children; <sup>18</sup>there were people and small cattle.<sup>c</sup>

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<sup>a</sup>Not "my children," see l. 7, where "the people of Dep" is written in the same way.

<sup>b</sup>That is: "and to his children likewise."

<sup>c</sup>With the land; see §171.

## THE FOURTH DYNASTY

## REIGN OF KHUFU

### SINAI INSCRIPTIONS<sup>a</sup>

#### I

176. The relief is like that of Snefru,<sup>b</sup> except that the god Thoth is here added in the place of the Horus-name, and the king wears the double crown. Similarly also the inscriptions consist only of titles of the king. They are:

Khnum-Khufu,<sup>c</sup> Great God, Smiter of the Troglodytes ———.  
All protection and life are with him.

#### II<sup>d</sup>

Consists only of titles of Khufu.

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### INVENTORY STELA<sup>e</sup>

177. The references to the Sphinx, and the so-called temple beside it in the time of Khufu, have made this monument from the first an object of great interest.

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<sup>a</sup>Cut into the rock-walls of the Wadi Maghara. Text and relief: Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie*, Pl. 5, No. 2; Laval, *Voyage dans la Péninsule Arabique*, Insc. hiér., I, No. 2; II, No. 1; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 2, b, c; *Ordnance Survey*, III, 5; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1493 (inscriptions only); Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 8; Weill, *Sinai*, 105.

<sup>b</sup>See §§ 168, 169.

<sup>c</sup>The full form of Khufu's name; it means: "*Khnum protects me.*" For the omission of the god's name cf. the similar usage in Hebrew, e. g., Nathan and Nathaniel. See Müller, *Recueil*, IX, 176.

<sup>d</sup>Immediately on the right of 1, and published with it.

<sup>e</sup>Discovered by Mariette during his excavations of the Sphinx and vicinity (September, 1853, to 1858), in the little temple of Isis built by Pesebkheno, east of the great pyramid; now in Cairo. Text: Mariette, *Album*, Pl. 27; *Monuments divers*, 53; Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, 413; Rougé, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux VI premières dynasties*, 46; Birch, *Egyptian Texts*, 5, 6; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, 2d ed., V, 719-21. See also Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, 90, 100; Meyer, *Geschichte des alten Aegyptens*, 207, 208; and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1231.

These references would be of the highest importance if the monument were contemporaneous with Khufu; but the orthographic evidences of its late date are entirely conclusive, and the reference to the temple of a goddess whose cult arose as late as that of Isis, as well as the title of Isis, viz., "*mistress of the pyramid*," prove conclusively that the present stela is not a copy of an older document.<sup>a</sup> The fact that the priests of Pesebkenno's time regarded the building beside the Sphinx, as the temple of "*Osiris of Rosta*" (*R<sup>2</sup>-st<sup>2</sup>*) is, however, of great interest, but does not determine for us the original character of that structure.<sup>b</sup>

**178.** <sup>c</sup>He made (it) for his mother, Isis, Divine Mother; Hathor, Mistress of 'Nun'.<sup>d</sup> The investigation<sup>e</sup> was placed on a stela. He gave to her an offering anew, and he built her temple of stone again. He found these gods in her place.<sup>f</sup>

**179.** The inscription in the lowermost section of the sunken panel is also of importance in connection with § 180.

<sup>a</sup>Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, 364, n. 8.

<sup>b</sup>It is well to recall that in the Empire the true character of the Sphinx had been forgotten or misunderstood. The same might equally well have happened in the case of the building alongside it. [Later: It is now known that the building is a monumental portal, the entrance to the causeway leading up to the second pyramid.]

<sup>c</sup>Top and left side; introduction same as top and right side (§ 180).

<sup>d</sup>Text has the three *mw* signs used in writing *Nun*.

<sup>e</sup>Of her titles to the land? It is probably this remark which led Maspero to conclude that this stela is a copy of an older document. The word translated "*investigation*" (*sp' t* for *s' yp' t*) occurs also in Dümichen, *Bauurkunde des Dendera-tempels*, 16, in the same connection; cf. Brugsch, *Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch*, 1206, and a better example in Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1223, top line (time of Ramses II).

<sup>f</sup>A reference to the statues of the gods enumerated in the sunken panel. The stela is really an inventory of such statues; see § 180.

The district of the Sphinx of Harmakhis (*Hr-m-g<sup>2</sup>hw<sup>1</sup>t*) is on the south of the house of Isis, Mistress of the Pyramid; on the north of<sup>a</sup> Osiris, Lord of Rosta (*R<sup>2</sup>-st<sup>2</sup>*). The writings [of the goddess<sup>b</sup> of] Harmakhis, were brought, in order to investigate.<sup>c</sup>

— may he grow; may he live forever and ever, [looking]<sup>d</sup> toward the east.

180. The sunken panel occupying the greater part of the stela contains only reliefs<sup>d</sup> representing the statues of gods, belonging to the temple, and texts giving their names, the materials of which they were made, and their dimensions. The following texts occupy the raised margin and the edge:

<sup>e</sup>Live the Horus: Mezer (*Md[r]*), King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Khufu, who is given life. He found the house of Isis, Mistress of the Pyramid,<sup>f</sup> beside the house of the Sphinx of <sup>g</sup>[Harmakhis] on the north-west of the house of Osiris,<sup>h</sup> Lord of Rosta (*R<sup>2</sup>-st<sup>2</sup>w*). He built his pyramid beside the temple of this goddess, and he built a pyramid for the king's-daughter<sup>i</sup> Henutsen (*Hmw<sup>1</sup>-sn*) beside this temple.<sup>j</sup>

<sup>a</sup>One expects "house of."

<sup>b</sup>Isis?

<sup>c</sup>The connection between this sentence and the preceding is probably that the limits of "*The district of the Sphinx*" were investigated as found recorded in "*the writings* (viz., the records) *of the goddess*." (It is possibly this statement also which leads Maspero to believe the document is a copy of an older one.) The same word (*syp*) is used in reference to the investigation of old titles, e. g., in Khnum-hotep's tomb, Benihasan (§ 625, l. 44.).

<sup>d</sup>But see § 179.

<sup>e</sup>Top and right side.

<sup>f</sup>This is also her title in the sunken panel.

<sup>g</sup>The genitive *n* shows that "*Harmakhis*" as found in the same phrase in the sunken panel, has been omitted.

<sup>h</sup>That this would identify the so-called "temple of the Sphinx" as the temple of "*Osiris of Rosta*" was early noticed by Mariette (cf. *Le Sérapéum*, p. 99); but the fact seems to have been unnoticed, and does not find mention in any of the archæologies. The mere statement that the king "*found*" the Isis temple is unusual; one expects *mw*: "*in ruins*" as so very often, and this is confirmed by the statement of the left side: "*He built her temple again*."

<sup>i</sup>According to Herodotus, the middle of the three small pyramids east of the Great Pyramid, belonged to Khufu's daughter (Herodotus, II, 126). Henutsen is mentioned in a contemporary tomb at Gizeh (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1231).

<sup>j</sup>According to this statement, the little Isis-temple east of the Great Pyramid was standing on the Gizeh plateau before any of the pyramids were built! If Maspero accepts this statement, he should add this Isis-temple to the buildings which he believes were the predecessors of the pyramids on the Gizeh plateau (Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, 365, n. 2).

## EXAMPLES OF DEDICATION INSCRIPTIONS BY SONS

181. Many of the larger mastabas of the Old Kingdom contain long inscriptions by the sons of the deceased nobles relating their pious solicitude for the tombs of their departed fathers. In some cases the tomb was even built by the son after the father's death. All these longer inscriptions will be found herein; the following are only the more important shorter ones. They are all from the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties.

182. <sup>a</sup>By his eldest son, the chief mortuary priest and scribe, Ptah: "I came that I might do this for him, when he was buried in the beautiful west, according to that which he spake about it, while he was [alive] upon his two feet."

183. <sup>b</sup>One whose son shall do this for him, when he is in the west,<sup>c</sup> Ikhi (*Yhy*), he saith: "I did this for my father, when he journeyed to the west upon the beautiful ways, whereon the revered (dead) journey."

184. <sup>d</sup>By his son, the overseer of the pyramid, "Great-is-Khafre," the king's-confidant, Thethi (*Tty*), who made (this) for his father and his mother, when they were both buried in the western highland.

185. <sup>e</sup>Revered by the great god, king's-confidante, Henutsen. It was her eldest son, the field-judge, who made (it) for her, to make mortuary offerings to her therein.

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<sup>a</sup>From the tomb of Thenti (*Tnty*) at Gizeh; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 34, *d*; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 538; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 8 (from drawing No. 282, Berlin Museum).

<sup>b</sup>From a false door seen in the hands of a dealer; published by Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 9, from Berlin squeeze, No. 1675.

<sup>c</sup>A reminder to the son of the pious son, by recalling what the latter did for his father.

<sup>d</sup>Mastaba at Gizeh; now in British Museum, No. 80; published by Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, 8D; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 15 (collated with Berlin squeeze, No. 661).

<sup>e</sup>Cairo, No. 1691; published by Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 5; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 34 (copy by Erman).

**186.** <sup>a</sup>By the Pharaoh's<sup>b</sup> treasurer of the god, Zezemonekh, who made this<sup>c</sup> for his wife Nubhotep. He buried her in this beautiful tomb.

<sup>a</sup>The Pharaoh's<sup>b</sup> treasurer of the god Zezemonekh. I made this<sup>c</sup> for my eldest son, the treasurer of the god, Theshen (*Ts-hn*), while he was a child.

**187.** <sup>d</sup>Sole companion of love, leader of the palace-hall, overseer of the baths of the palace, overseer of the bounty of the king's field of offerings, revered by his lord every day, governor of the Cow stronghold, Kam. (This tomb is) what his eldest son, his revered, the judge and inferior scribe Hotep, made for him, that he (the son) might be revered by him (the father) when he (the son) journeyed to his (own) ka (viz., died).

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<sup>a</sup>From the tomb of Zezemonekh, priest of Kings Userkaf and Sahure; Cairo, Nos. 1415, 1417; published by Mariette, *Mastabas*, 201 (K. 1417), 200 (K. 1415); Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 33 (collated by Erman).

<sup>b</sup>Or simply "palace-treasurer, etc."

<sup>c</sup>A false door.

<sup>d</sup>Mariette, *Mastabas*, 160; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 33 f.



## REIGN OF KHAFRE

### STELA OF MERTITYÔTES<sup>a</sup>

188. This document is especially useful as indicating the place of Snefru with relation to the first kings of the Fourth Dynasty, and was long ago so employed by E. de Rougé.

189. <sup>b</sup>Kings-wife, his beloved, devoted to Horus,<sup>c</sup> Mertityôtes (*Mrtt-yt' s*).

<sup>d</sup>King's-wife, his beloved, Mertityôtes; beloved of the Favorite of the Two Goddesses; <sup>e</sup>she who says anything whatsoever and it is done for her.<sup>e</sup>

Great in the <sup>f</sup>favor of Snefr[u] (*Sn/r-*) — — —; great in the favor of Khuf[u] (*H/f[w]*), devoted to Horus,<sup>c</sup> honored under Khafre (*H' c f-R' c*), Mertit[tyôt]es.

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### WILL OF PRINCE NEKURE, SON OF KING KHAFRE<sup>g</sup>

190. A new date of Khafre is the contribution furnished by Sethe's collation of this inscription. The twelfth "numbering" as the numberings took place at this time twice a year, indicates the twenty-fourth year of Khafre. This surprisingly confirms the Turin Papyrus, which gives twenty-

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<sup>a</sup>Limestone false door of the usual type noted in the *Appendice* (p. 565) of Mariette's *Mastabas*, but without text. According to the headline of the page, the tomb stands on the "Plaine de Gizeh;" the false door has never been removed. The text is published by Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, I, 62; Rougé, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux VI premières dynasties*, 36 f.

<sup>b</sup>At the top.

<sup>c</sup>The king.

<sup>d</sup>Right side.

<sup>e</sup>An obscure title of the queens of Egypt, extending from the Old Kingdom down into the Empire. Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 36, 143 f.; cf. also Naville, *ibid.*, 142.

<sup>f</sup>Left side.

<sup>g</sup>In his tomb at Gizeh; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 15, a; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 16, 17 (collated with Berlin drawing, No. 253, and Berlin squeezes, Nos. 35 and 38).

four years as the length of Khafre's reign. The king's son, Nekure, was then old enough to feel the necessity of making a will. It is the only document of the kind from the Old Kingdom, which has survived in such excellent preservation.

191. The fortune which Prince Nekure bequeathed to his heirs consisted of fourteen towns, and two estates in the pyramid-city of his father. The latter doubtless consisted of his "town-house" and gardens. These he had left to a daughter, but she had evidently died, and on the reversion of the legacy to himself he left it to his wife. The fourteen towns he distributed among five heirs, of whom one was his wife, and three were his children, while the name of one is lost. Eleven of the fourteen towns are named after Khafre, and there is no reason to doubt that the other three were also so named, but they are now unreadable. Besides these fourteen towns, Prince Nekure had at least twelve<sup>a</sup> towns in the mortuary endowment of his tomb, of which nine were named after Khafre. It is impossible to determine whether these had belonged to the prince's estate, or whether they were given by the reigning king at the prince's death.

*Date*

192. <sup>1</sup>Year of the twelfth [occurrence] of the numbering of large and sm[all] cattle.

*Introduction*

193. <sup>2</sup>King's son, Nekure (*R<sup>c</sup>-n-k<sup>3</sup>w*) — — he makes the (following) [command],<sup>b</sup> (while) living upon his two feet without ailing in any respect.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 15, *b*. There could not have been more than fourteen towns, as no more than two are broken out.

<sup>b</sup>The determinative of a document is visible at the end of the lacuna; "*command, edict*" (*wḏ·i-md·t*) is usual after "*make*" or "*made*" in this connection.

<sup>c</sup>"*Being of sound mind.*" This line (2) is engraved horizontally over the following columns, and is evidently the prescript or title of the will. There are eight of the subjoined columns, each column being headed by the name of an heir, below which is entered the legacy bequeathed him. Each legacy is a town or towns; the district or nome is given first and then the town-name, or names, each of which is compounded with that of Khafre, the king.

*First Legacy*

194. <sup>3</sup>I have given to the king's-confidant, Nekennebti (*N-k<sup>2</sup>-n-nbty*), (in) —,<sup>a</sup> (the towns<sup>b</sup> of) "Khafre- —," and "Khafre- —."

*Second Legacy*

195. <sup>4</sup>His son, the king's-confidant, Nekure (in) the eastern back-land, (the towns of) ["Khafre-1 —," "Khafre<sup>1</sup>- —" and "Khafre<sup>1</sup>- —"].<sup>d</sup>

*Third Legacy*

196. <sup>5</sup>His daughter, the king's-confidant, Hetephires, (in) the eastern district, (the town of) "Khafre- —;" (in) the eastern back-land, (the town of) "Khafre- —."

*Fourth Legacy*

197. <sup>6</sup>[His son] the king's-confidant, Kennebtiwer (*K<sup>2</sup>-n-nbty-wr*) (in) —, (the town of) "Great-is-[the-Fame]-of-Khafre;" (in) the Mendesian nome, (the towns of) "Khafre- —," and "Khafre- —."

*Fifth Legacy*

198. <sup>7</sup>— — — —, (in) the Mendesian nome, (the towns of) "Khafre- —" and "Khafre- —."

*Sixth Legacy*

199. <sup>8</sup>His beloved wife, the king's-confidante, Nekennebti (*N-k<sup>2</sup>-n-nbty*), (in) the nome of the Cerastes-Mountain, (the town of) "Beautiful-is-Khafre;" (in) the nome of <sup>e</sup>Upper (the town of) "Brilliant<sup>1</sup>-is-Khafre" (*H<sup>c</sup>-j-R<sup>c</sup>-[b]<sup>c</sup>*); (in) the pyramid-town) "Great-is-Khafre," the estate of his daughter, — and —.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup>A nome-name is lost.

<sup>b</sup>Two towns at least.

<sup>c</sup>The formula "*I have given*" is omitted after its occurrence once for all in l. 3; hence "*his son*" instead of "*my son*."

<sup>d</sup>Three towns, from the size of the lacuna.

<sup>e</sup>Twentieth nome of Upper Egypt.

<sup>f</sup>Two small subcolumns, each containing a designation of some piece of property, but they are no longer legible; it is doubtless the estate, or part of the estate, of a deceased daughter, which, after its reversion to him, he now leaves to his wife. Hence her occurrence twice in the will.

THE TESTAMENTARY ENACTMENT OF AN UNKNOWN  
OFFICIAL, ESTABLISHING THE ENDOWMENT OF  
HIS TOMB BY THE PYRAMID OF KHAFRE<sup>a</sup>

200. As a revelation of the legal organization of this remote age, this document, like the similar instrument of Senuonekh<sup>b</sup> (§§ 231 ff.), is of great interest. Economically it is of importance to note that the king gives whole towns as mortuary endowment, to keep the tomb of the deceased constantly supplied with offerings.

*Introduction*

201. <sup>1</sup>—————<sup>c</sup> while he was alive upon his two feet, even the sole companion, lord of Nekhen, member of the king's court every day . . . local governor of "Praise-of-Horus-First-of-Heaven,"<sup>d</sup> <sup>2</sup>————— these mortuary priests forever<sup>e</sup> —————<sup>f</sup>.

*Endowment is Entailed*

202. <sup>3</sup>— — — This is the [dec]ree which I made concerning it: I have not empowered — — any of [my brothers], <sup>4</sup>my sisters, or my daughter's children, inferior mortuary priests, or assistant mortuary priests, [to take lands], <sup>5</sup>people, or anything which I have conveyed to them, for making mortuary offerings to me therewith, whether their man-servant [or their maid-servant], <sup>6</sup>their brothers or their sisters, save to make mortuary offerings [to me therewith, in the cemetery in] <sup>7</sup>my eternal tomb which is at the pyramid, "Great-is-Khafre;" according to the portion of lands, people, and [everything, which I have conveyed to them, for making mortuary offerings to me] <sup>8</sup>therewith.

<sup>a</sup>Stela in Cairo (No. 1432); published by Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1210 ff.; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 11-15 (collated with Berlin squeeze, No. 1597).

<sup>b</sup>Whence the restorations below are drawn.

<sup>c</sup>The lost introduction will be found in the preceding will (§ 193).

<sup>d</sup>Name of a vineyard estate founded by Zoser of the Third Dynasty; see Sethe, in Garstang's *Bet-Khallâj*, 21. I have omitted before this title a repetition of titles already mentioned.

<sup>e</sup>Probably so rather than "endowment;" for "these mortuary priests of the endowment" is expressed by *hn-k> dt (y)pn* (Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 36, l. 1).

<sup>f</sup>Probably a lacuna of more than one line.

*Line of Entailment*

**203.** I have not empowered any mortuary priest of the endowment, to give the lands, people or [anything which I have conveyed to them, for making mortuary offerings to me] <sup>9</sup>therewith, in payment to any person; or to give as property to any person, except that [they] shall give [it to their children], <sup>10</sup>entitled to the division of it with any mortuary priest among these mortuary priests.<sup>a</sup>

*Violation of Endowment*

**204.** Whatsoever mortuary priest of the endowment shall violate, — — — — <sup>11</sup>of my mortuary offerings, which the king gave to honor me, the portion in his possession shall be taken from him — — — — <sup>12</sup>.<sup>b</sup>

*Endowment not Involved in Suits of Priests*

**205.** <sup>13</sup>Whatsoever mortuary priest of the endowment shall institute legal proceedings against his fellow, and he shall make a writ of his [claim] against the mortuary priest, by which [the] (the defendant?) [forfeits] the portion] <sup>14</sup>in his possession; the lands, people and everything shall be taken from him,<sup>c</sup> which I gave to him for making mortuary offerings to me therewith — — — — <sup>15</sup>therewith. It shall be conveyed back to him because of not instituting proceedings before the officials, [concerning the lands, people and everything, which I conveyed] <sup>16</sup>to the mortuary priests of the endowment, for making mortuary offerings to me therewith, in my eternal tomb, which is in the cemetery at [the pyramid: "Great-is-Khafre"].

*Transfer of Priests to Other Service*

**206.** <sup>17</sup>Whatsoever mortuary priest of the endowment shall go forth to other service, in the presence of the officials, — — — — <sup>18</sup>the

<sup>a</sup>Not all their children were entitled to a share in the division, but only those who became mortuary priests; hence the document distinguishes particularly those "entitled to (lit. belonging to) the division of it (the property) with any given (*ymn*) mortuary priest of these mortuary priests" (viz., those endowed by this document). The paragraph occurs again in the enactment of Senuonekh (§ 233).

<sup>b</sup>Sethe suggests for the lacuna; "for or by the (priestly) order, to which he belongs," as in l. 17.

<sup>c</sup>Of course, read *nḥm m c j* as in l. 11. See the similar clause in the decree of Senuonekh, § 235.

officials, he shall go forth to other service and the portion in his possession shall revert to the (priestly) order to which he belonged. — — — — —  
<sup>18</sup>of lands, people and everything, which I conveyed [to] them, for making mortuary offerings to me therewith, in my tomb which is in [the cemetery at the pyramid: "Great-is-Khafre"]; <sup>19</sup>he shall go forth with his meat.

*Land Given by King*

**207.** As for this field, which the king gave to me, to honor me — — — — — <sup>20</sup>for making mortuary offerings to me therewith in the cemetery.

*Alienation of Endowment*

**208.** As for whatsoever shall be paid out, of that which I gave to them, [I will enter into judgment with them in the place] <sup>21</sup>wherein judgment is had. The portion which remains afterward, shall belong, by tenths, to these (priestly) orders to [whom] I have conveyed this — — — — — [the portion] <sup>22</sup>which remains, for making mortuary offerings to me therewith, in the cemetery in my eternal tomb, which is at [the pyramid: "Great-is-Khafre."]

*Towns of the Endowment*

**209.** [As for the towns] <sup>23</sup>of the (mortuary) endowment, which the king gave to me, to honor me, which are maintained for my mortuary offerings, according to the list — — — — — <sup>24</sup>forever, wherewith mortuary offerings are made to me, in my eternal tomb which is in the cemetery at the pyramid: "Great-is-Khafre," — [lands, people,] <sup>25</sup>and everything which I conveyed to them.

As for the towns of the (mortuary) endowment of the purification, wherewith purification is made ————. <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>At least three lines are lost at the end.

## REIGN OF MENKURE

### DEBHEN'S INSCRIPTION, RECOUNTING KING MENKURE'S ERECTION OF A TOMB FOR HIM<sup>a</sup>

210. The unfinished condition of this interesting inscription renders it extremely fragmentary. But mutilated as it is, it tells us plainly enough of the king's visit to the Gizeh cemetery to inspect the work on his family pyramids, and of his detailing fifty men to build a tomb for Debhen. Later the king orders his own people, who are bringing limestone for a temple, to bring also the necessary false doors, etc., for Debhen's tomb from the quarry at Troja.

#### *The Royal Command*

211. <sup>1b</sup>———. <sup>2</sup>He saith:

As for this tomb, it was the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkure, [living forever], who caused that it be [made], when [his majesty] was [upon] the road beside the pyramid, Hir<sup>c</sup> (*Hir*), <sup>3</sup>in order to inspect the work [on] the pyramid: "Divine-is-Menkure."

— — — [[there came<sup>1</sup>] the [naval] commander and the two high priests of Memphis, and the [work]men,<sup>d</sup> <sup>4</sup>standing upon it,<sup>e</sup> to inspect

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<sup>a</sup>From his tomb (No. 90 on Lepsius' plan) at Gizeh; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 37, *b*; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 18-21 (collated with Berlin drawing, No. 284). The inscription was left unfinished by the sculptor. The artist had drawn all the hieroglyphs in ink, but they were only partially cut, and the uncut portions of the lines disappeared.

<sup>b</sup>This line contained his titles, as the sole remaining sign shows.

<sup>c</sup>Name of pyramid usually supposed to be that of Menkure. It is, however, evidently one of the smaller three beside his own pyramid, the name of which here follows. "*Hir*" will have belonged to one of his family. That the two pyramids were close together is evident from the text. The king stands on the road by the Hir-pyramid to inspect the other. This disposes of the idea that the former was in Abu Roash (Petrie, *History of Egypt*, I, 56).

<sup>d</sup>Only the plural determinative of "*men*" is visible.

<sup>e</sup>The pyramid.

the work [on<sup>1</sup>] [the pyramid, "Divine-is-Menkure"]. — 50 men were assigned to do the work on it<sup>a</sup> every day, besides [exacting<sup>1</sup>] of them, <sup>5</sup>that which the [—<sup>1</sup>] desired. His majesty commanded that [no man should be taken<sup>b</sup>] for any forced labor, except to do the work on it,<sup>a</sup> to his satisfaction.

*Building of the Tomb*

212. <sup>6</sup>His majesty commanded to [clear<sup>1</sup>] the place of [rubbish<sup>1</sup>] — — — this tomb. His majesty commanded to [hack<sup>1</sup>] — — — — — <sup>7</sup>in order to [clear<sup>1</sup>] the [rubbish<sup>1</sup>] — — — — —. [His majesty commanded] that the two treasurers of the god should come; [said his majesty to them] — — <sup>8</sup> — — — — — given to them — — — — — <sup>9</sup> — — — — — men, whom his majesty judged, that he should go around the work [exacted<sup>1</sup>] <sup>10</sup> — — — — — in his — that there be brought stone from Troja (*R<sup>3</sup>-<sup>3</sup>w*) to clothe<sup>c</sup> with limestone the temple there,<sup>d</sup> <sup>11</sup>together with two false doors, and a front for this tomb, by the naval commander and the two high priests of Ptah, together with the king's master-builder, who came <sup>12</sup> — — — — — [that there] be [brought] for me a statue [much greater than<sup>1</sup>] life <sup>13</sup> — — — — — every — every day. It is today [—<sup>1</sup>] upon its highland, together with the pure house. <sup>14</sup> — — — — — together with two statues of the assistant, of which one was — — — — — [the other was] — — — — — <sup>15</sup> — — — — — feast of Apis in the temple <sup>16</sup> — — — — — [He did] this, in [order] that I might be his revered one by his lord <sup>17</sup> — — — — — for my [father] and my mother, for whom I have maintained <sup>18</sup> — — — — — green cosmetic, eye-paint — [—<sup>1</sup>] — — — — — <sup>19</sup>outside of the place. Then [I be]sought [[from my lord]] [—<sup>1</sup>] in the Northland, of the cattle in this place [—<sup>1</sup>]. There was issued <sup>20</sup>a command of the king to the chief of [all works of the king to take<sup>1</sup>] people to make it, a tomb of — cubits in its length, <sup>21</sup>by 50 [cubits<sup>1</sup>] in [its width,<sup>1</sup>] by — cubits [in its height<sup>1</sup>] — — according to [that which<sup>1</sup>] this my father did, while he was living. Then the king caused <sup>22</sup> — — — — —.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Debhen's tomb.

<sup>b</sup>Read *yn' t*.

<sup>c</sup>Verb *c yn*, meaning "to build or clothe with limestone of Ayan (*c yn*)."

<sup>d</sup>The expedition to the quarry which brought stone for the temple, brought also the false doors, etc., for Debhen's tomb. The temple meant is probably the pyramid-temple of Menkure.

<sup>e</sup>The remainder of the inscription was never executed.



**THE FIFTH DYNASTY**

## REIGN OF USERKAF

### TESTAMENTARY ENACTMENT OF NEKONEKH<sup>a</sup>

213. Besides being the most elaborate document of the kind preserved to us, there are important historical facts contained in these inscriptions. They chiefly concern the disposal of two parcels of land of sixty stat each, given by King Menkure: the one as endowment of the temple of the local Hathor of Royenet (Tehneh); the other as a wakf or endowment of the tomb of Khenuka, a nobleman of Menkure's time. Both endowments were administered by one priesthood, who served at the same time as priests of Hathor and as mortuary priests of Khenuka. At the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty, its first king had honored one of his favorites, a steward of the palace named Nekonekh, by conveying to his single person the offices of priest of Hathor at Tehneh and of mortuary priest of Khenuka. In so doing—though, of course, nothing is said about it in these inscriptions—Userkaf, as the first king of the Fifth Dynasty was plainly dispossessing some supporter of the old dynasty, and strengthening his own house by winning the allegiance of another noble family. *a. c. l.*

214. Nekonekh, having the right to bequeath the two land-endowments to whom he will, now makes a will, stating the origin of both endowments in Menkure's time, and his own title to them by appointment from Userkaf, and decreeing that they shall now be distributed among his

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<sup>a</sup>From his tomb in Tehneh, excavated and copied by G. Fraser in 1890; published by him in 1902 in *Annales*, III, 122-30, and Pls. II-V (see also Maspero, *ibid.*, 131-38); again from Fraser, with useful restorations and corrections by Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 24-32.

children, acting corporately as his successor in both offices. Each child is annually to serve one month as priest of Hathor, and another month as mortuary priest of Khenuka. For this purpose twelve children were required, and, as Nekonekh had thirteen, he gave to eleven a month each, and divided the remaining month between two. The income from the land was also divided, each of the eleven children receiving the income from five stat for the Hathor temple, and five stat for Khenuka, while the remaining two each received half of this. The twelve months of the year were thus all provided for, the sixty stat belonging to each endowment were completely disposed of, and the thirteen children all made legatees. It is of importance to notice that the mortuary endowment, established in the latter half of the Fourth Dynasty, is still respected and continued in the Fifth Dynasty.

215. Nekonekh's will disposing of his own estate is also among the inscriptions in the tomb (§§ 223-25), though very fragmentary. Another document establishes and adjusts his own mortuary priesthood (§§ 226, 227), and in conclusion he and his wife, probably after decease, receive mortuary statues from two of their children (§§ 228-30).

## I. THE PRIESTHOOD OF HATHOR

### *Introduction*

216. <sup>1</sup>Steward<sup>a</sup> of the Palace, governor of the New Towns, superior prophet of Hathor, mistress of Royenet, king's-confidant, Nekonekh (*N-k<sup>2</sup>-c n<sup>h</sup>*); <sup>5</sup>his wife [Hezethekenu (*H<sup>dt</sup>-hknw*)], revered by [Hathor].

<sup>8</sup>He makes a decree to his children, to be priests of Hathor, mistress of Royenet.

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<sup>a</sup>The lines are too short at the beginning to number them all.

*List of the Priests of Hathor*

217. <sup>9</sup>These are the prophets whom I have made, of my children, of the endowment,<sup>a</sup> to be priests of Hathor. Now, it was King Menkure who conveyed two pieces<sup>b</sup> of land, to these prophets to be priest therewith.

<sup>10</sup>King's-confidant, steward of the Palace, Nekonekh; his wife, the king's-confidante, Hezethekenu; her children.

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<sup>a</sup>Read *dt*; the *n* is misread from the hieratic, as commonly in this word; e. g., Sebni, l. 4 (Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 136). Maspero's correction, *wdtny*, producing a feminine relative form, is ungrammatical, for it follows a masculine noun. The endowment meant is probably that of Khenuka, which the same children administered.

<sup>b</sup>This was probably not a unit of measure, for the document afterward assigns 120 stat, 60 for the Hathor temple, and 60 for the mortuary service of Khenuka; and these 120 stat are obviously the itemization of the two pieces of land above mentioned (the 5 stat of l. 21 are not to be counted).

## 218.

		Five intercalary days		Land
		1st month	First Season <sup>a</sup>	
<sup>11</sup> King's-confidante, Hezethekenu, revered (woman) <sup>b</sup>		1st month	First Season <sup>a</sup>	5 stat
<sup>12</sup> Scribe of the King's records, Henhathor (man)		2d month		5 stat
<sup>13</sup> Shepseshathor, †priest <sup>1</sup> (man)		3d month		5 stat
<sup>14</sup> Nessuhathoryakhet (man)		4th month	Second Season	5 stat
<sup>15</sup> Shepseshathor, †priest <sup>1</sup> (man)		1st month		5 stat
<sup>16</sup> Webkuhathor ([W <sup>c</sup> b-k <sup>o</sup> w-] Hthr) (man)		2d month		5 stat
<sup>17</sup> Kisuthathor (K <sup>o</sup> -y <sup>s</sup> wt-Hthr) (man)		3d month		5 stat
<sup>18</sup> Khebuathor (H <sup>c</sup> -b <sup>o</sup> w-Hthr) (man)		4th month		5 stat
<sup>19</sup> Khentisuthathor (Hnt-y <sup>s</sup> wt-Hthr) (disappeared)		—	Third Season	5 stat
<sup>20</sup> Royenet (R <sup>o</sup> -yn <sup>o</sup> t) (disappeared)		—		5 stat
<sup>21</sup> Left vacant (disappeared)		—		5 stat <sup>c</sup> sic!
<sup>22</sup> — meat, his tenth of all that is paid [into] the temple, beside the rations of bread and beer. Prophet, Henhathor (man with libation vase)		3d month		5 stat
<sup>23</sup> Mortuary Priest	Mer — (man)	4th month		5 stat
<sup>24</sup> Mortuary Priest	†Keksire (K <sup>o</sup> k-s <sup>o</sup> Re) <sup>1</sup> (man)			

<sup>a</sup>Written <sup>b</sup>h<sup>o</sup>t and determining the reading of this season. [Later: See Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 41, 89.]

<sup>b</sup>In the original, the names are arranged in perpendicular columns, and a figure of the person named is depicted below each name. I have added the sex of the person in each case. The first column is therefore the priests, the second (double) column is the time of service for each priest, and the third is the amount of land from which each draws the necessary income.

<sup>c</sup>This is an error of the scribe as the other table shows, for in it the entire line, date and all are vacant.

*The Decree*

219. <sup>25</sup>It was the majesty of Userkaf who commanded that I should be priest<sup>a</sup> of Hathor, mistress of Royenet; whatsoever was paid<sup>b</sup> into the temple, it was I who was priest over everything that came into the temple. <sup>26</sup>Now, it is these my children who shall act as priests of Hathor, mistress of Royenet, as I myself did, while I journey to the beautiful west, as one revered, — — in charge of these my children.

II. THE MORTUARY PRIESTHOOD OF KHENUKA

*List of Priests of Khenuka*

220. <sup>27</sup>Now, it is these people<sup>c</sup> who make the mortuary offerings to the king's-confidant, Khenuka (*Hnw-kʿ*), his father, his mother his children, and all his 'house'.

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<sup>a</sup>The text is perfectly clear and correct; emendation is entirely unnecessary.

<sup>b</sup>Read *wḏb* (as Sethe has done) after the inscription of Persen (*Urkunden*, I, 37).

<sup>c</sup>The priests of Hathor just mentioned.

## 221.

<sup>a</sup> Five intercalary days		
<sup>28</sup> 1st month	First Season	
<sup>29</sup> 2d month		Prophet, Henhathor
<sup>30</sup> 3d month		Royenet ( <i>R<sup>o</sup></i> -[ <i>yn' t</i> ])
<sup>31</sup> 4th month		Khentisuthathor
<sup>32</sup> 1st month	Second Season	Khebuhathor
<sup>33</sup> 2d month		Kisuthathor
<sup>34</sup> 3d month		Webkuhathor
<sup>35</sup> 4th month		Shepseshathor, 'priest' <sup>1</sup>
<sup>36</sup> 1st month	Third Season	Nessuhathoryakhet
<sup>37</sup> 2d month		Shepseshathor, 'priest' <sup>1</sup>
<sup>38</sup> Vacant		Left vacant
<sup>39</sup> 3d month		Scribe of the king's records, Henhathor
<sup>40</sup> 4th month		King's-confidante, Hezethekenu

<sup>a</sup>This table corresponds exactly with the preceding, and as it contains no column for the land, it is probable that the land column of the first table was intended to serve for both instead of repeating it. Thus both parcels of land mentioned in l. 9 were used: one for Hathor, and one for Khenuka.

*The Decree*

222. <sup>41</sup>Now, it is these my children who make the mortuary offerings to the king's-confidant, Khenuka, his father, his mother, and all his 'house', at the feast of Wag, the feast of Thoth, and every feast-day.

III. NEKONEKH'S WILL

223. The document is largely lost; the fragments beside the statues are possibly not parts of it, but are relevant, as showing Nekonekh's own enactments regarding these persons.

*Introduction*

224. The steward of the Palace, king's-confidant, Nekonekh, revered; the king's-confidante, Hezethekenu; — said — — — [to] his children, while he was upon his two feet, alive before the king ———.

*By Two Statues of Henhathor*

225. — the scribe of the king's records, Henhathor (*Hn-Hthr*) is my heir upon my seat, and lord of all my possessions.

— her<sup>a</sup> eldest son, honored of his father, scribe of the king's records, Henhathor.

— property; they shall deliver to this my heir, as they did ['to'] myself.

— 'given' to her 'for' the ration of bread and beer as property, 'while' upon my seat, — — as property. May they deliver the [ration of] bread and beer to this my heir, as they did ['to'] myself.

IV. NEKONEKH'S MORTUARY PRIESTHOOD

*Scene*

226. The deceased Nekonekh sits before a table of food-offerings, while his eight mortuary priests approach from behind in pairs, each pair being designated as under the authority of one of Nekonekh's sons.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>This figure is doubtless beside the mother, the other beside the father. Fraser's description is not explicit in this particular.

<sup>b</sup>Only one pair is perfectly preserved, and one is entirely lost, but the remains indicate that all four pairs were alike.



*The Decree*

227. [These mortuary priests<sup>a</sup>] are under the authority of these my children. I have not empowered [any] person<sup>b</sup> to take them for any forced labor, save to make mortuary offerings which are divided in this house — — — these mortuary priests. As for these my children, who shall do any work with these mortuary priests, and as for any man who shall violate (this will), I will enter into judgment with him.

## V. NEKONEKH'S MORTUARY STATUE

228. A man and woman, the latter the daughter of Nekonekh, had three statues made, representing Nekonekh and themselves. The inscriptions are these:

*Dedication*

229. His daughter and his son, who made this for him, according to his honor with him.

*Over the Three Figures*

230. The revered by Hathor, king's-confidante, Ikhnoubet (*Y<sup>o</sup> h-nb·t*);

Inferior scribe of the king's records, king's-confidant, Nonekhsesi (*N-<sup>c</sup> nb-ssy*).

Nekonekh, revered by the great god.

TESTAMENTARY ENACTMENT OF SENUONEKH, REGULATING HIS MORTUARY PRIESTHOOD<sup>c</sup>

231. Senuonekh was a priest of Userkaf and Sahure. This decree from his tomb closely resembles and, in some parts, is identical with the decree of Khafre's unknown official (§§ 200–209), but it is better preserved, and also clearer in the wording.

<sup>a</sup>Sethe's very probable restoration.

<sup>b</sup>The connection renders Sethe's restoration certain.

<sup>c</sup>From his tomb; published by Mariette, *Mastabas*, 318; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 36 f.

*Installation of Priests and Descendants*

232. <sup>1</sup>These mortuary priests of the endowment, and their children and further the children of their children whom they shall bear forever, are —————

*Entailment of Endowment*

233. <sup>2</sup>I have not empowered them [to give] (it)<sup>a</sup> in payment as property to any person; but they shall give (it) to their children, entitled to the division of [it with any mortuary priest of these mortuary priests].<sup>b</sup>

*Transfer of a Priest*

234. <sup>3</sup>As for any mortuary priest among them who shall [default], or who shall be taken for other service, everything which I have given to him shall revert to the mortuary priests who are in his (priestly) order. I have not em[powered] — — — — —

*Endowment not Involved in Suits*

235. <sup>4</sup>As<sup>c</sup> for any mortuary priest among them who shall institute legal proceedings against his fellow, everything which I have given to him shall be taken away, and shall then be given to the mortuary priest against whom he instituted legal proceedings. I have not empowered —————.

<sup>a</sup>The mortuary endowment.

<sup>b</sup>With this compare the similar precautionary clause of the unknown official of Khafre (§ 203, ll. 8, 9), and see also explanatory note, *ibid.*

<sup>c</sup>See similar clause in decree of an unknown official under Khafre (§ 205).

## REIGN OF SAHURE

### SINAI INSCRIPTIONS<sup>a</sup>

#### *Relief*

**236.** King in the crown of Upper Egypt, smites kneeling Bedwi as in §§ 168, 169.<sup>b</sup>

The texts, as in §§ 168, 169, and 176, contain only names and titles of the king:

Horus: Lord of Diadems; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Sahure (*S<sup>o</sup> ḥw-R<sup>c</sup>*); who is given life forever.

Smiler of all countries.

The Great God smites the Asiatics (*mntw*) of all countries.

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### TOMB STELA OF NENEKHSEKHMET<sup>c</sup>

**237.** The stela is a well-executed false door of Turra limestone, contrasting strikingly with the poor material and mediocre workmanship of the modest tomb to which it belonged. The cause of this contrast is indicated in the inscription, viz., that the stela was a gift from the king.

#### *The Request*

**238.** The chief physician, Nenekhsekhmet (*Shmt-n-<sup>c</sup>nh*) spoke before his majesty: "May thy person, beloved of Re, command that there be given to me a false door of stone for this my tomb of the cemetery."

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<sup>a</sup>Cut into the rocks of the Wadi Maghara in the Peninsula of Sinai. Text and relief: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 39, *a*; Laval, *Voyage dans la Péninsule Arabique*, insc. hiér., Pl. 2, No. 2; Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie*, 5, No. 3; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1494 (inscriptions only); Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 32; Weill, *Sinai*, 106.

<sup>b</sup>Two gods stand behind the king.

<sup>c</sup>From a mastaba at Sakkara, excavated by Mariette; text: Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 12, 203, 204; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 38-40. Erman's manuscript copy collated with original; Maspero, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, 309. Translated by Maspero (*ibid.*), with discussion of architectural terms; treated by Erman, *Aegypten*, 431.

*King's Compliance*

239. His majesty caused that there be brought for him two false doors<sup>a</sup> from Troja (*R<sup>2</sup>-<sup>2</sup>w*) of stone, that they be laid in the audience-hall<sup>b</sup> of the house (called): "Sahure-Shines-with-Crowns," and that the two high priests of Memphis and the artisans of the [—] be assigned to them, that the work on them might be done in the presence of the king himself. The stone-work<sup>c</sup> went on every day; there was an inspection of that which was done on them in the court daily. His majesty had [color] put on them, and had them painted in blue.

*Presentation of the Gift*

240. His majesty<sup>d</sup> said to the chief physician Nenekhsekhmet: "As these my nostrils enjoy health, as the gods love me, mayest thou depart into the cemetery at an advanced old age as one revered." I praised the king greatly and lauded every god for Sahure's sake, for he knows the desire of the entire suite. When anything goes forth from the mouth of his majesty, it immediately comes to pass. For the god has given to him knowledge of things that are in the body,<sup>e</sup> because he is more august than any god. If ye love Re, ye shall praise every god for Sahure's sake, who did this for me. I was his revered one; never did I do anything evil toward any person.

TOMB INSCRIPTION OF PERSEN<sup>f</sup>

241. This inscription is over a scene showing people in the act of bringing mortuary offerings of food for Persen's tomb. According to the inscription, these offerings are

<sup>a</sup>Erman suggests that a double false door is meant. The same reference to a double false door is found in the tomb of Debhen (*Dbhn*). This is the same word (*rwty*) used later for a temple façade, which would explain the dual.

<sup>b</sup>*D<sup>2</sup> dw*, see § 501, l. 2.

<sup>c</sup>Read *št*, which I have rendered "quarry-service" in the Empire (II, 935, l. 6). In the Old Kingdom it retains its literal meaning, "stone-cutting." There was an "overseer of stone-cutting," or quarry service, in the Old Kingdom (§ 343).

<sup>d</sup>The following is the presentation of the false doors by the king.

<sup>e</sup>Of anyone else, "body" or "belly" being the seat of the mind, as we use "heart."

<sup>f</sup>Limestone slab in Berlin (15004); published by Mariette, *Mastabas*, 300; Schaefer, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus dem Königlichen Museum zu Berlin*, I, 22.

drawn from the income of the queen mother, Neferhotepes, coming to her from the temple of Ptah.

The bringing of the mortuary offerings to Pharaoh's overseer, Persen, being the payment of heth(*ht*)-loaves, pesen(*psn*)-loaves, and sefet(*sf*)-oil, which comes from the temple of Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, for the king's-mother, Neferhotepes, every day, as a perpetual offering, which he gave for making mortuary offerings there-with in the time of Sahure.

## REIGN OF NEFERIRKERE

### TOMB INSCRIPTIONS OF THE VIZIER, CHIEF JUDGE, AND CHIEF ARCHITECT WESHPTAH<sup>a</sup>

242. It is much to be regretted that this unusually interesting inscription has suffered so sadly at the hands of time. Weshptah was the greatest man at the court of Neferirkere, being vizier, chief judge, and chief architect. His son Mernuterseteni was called upon to build his father's tomb, and thus narrates how this happened. The king, his family and the court were one day inspecting a new building in course of construction under Weshptah's superintendence as chief architect. All admire the work, and the king turns to praise his faithful minister, when he notices that Weshptah does not hear the words of royal favor. The king's exclamation alarms the courtiers, the stricken minister is quickly carried to the court, and the priests and chief physicians are hurriedly summoned. The king has a case of medical rolls brought; but all is in vain; the physicians declare his condition hopeless. The king is smitten with sorrow, and retires to his chamber, where he prays to Re. He then makes all arrangements for Weshptah's burial, ordering an ebony coffin made and having the body anointed in his own presence. Weshptah's eldest son, Mernuterseteni, was then empowered to build the tomb, the king furnishing and endowing it. The son therefore erected it by the pyramid of Sahure, and, as we have said, recorded the whole story on its walls.

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<sup>a</sup>From his tomb at Abusir; blocks in Cairo (Nos. 1569, 1570, 1673, 1702); published by Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 40-45 (from a copy by Erman).

*Erection of the Tomb by His Son*

243. <sup>1</sup>[It was] his eldest [son], first under the king, <sup>1</sup>advocate of the people<sup>1</sup>, Mernuterseteni (*Šiny-mr-ntr*), who made (it)<sup>a</sup> for him, while he was in his tomb of the cemetery.

*King Visits a New Building*

244. <sup>2</sup>———— Neferirkere (*Njr-yr-k<sup>2</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>*) came to see the beauty of<sup>b</sup> ————— when he came forth upon them <sup>4</sup>————. His majesty [caused] that it be <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> <sup>5</sup>———— the royal children [s]aw <sup>6</sup>———— and they <sup>1</sup>wondered<sup>1</sup> very greatly beyond <sup>7</sup>[everything]. Then, lo, his majesty praised him because of it.<sup>c</sup>

*Weshptah's Sudden Illness*

245. His majesty saw him, however, that [he] heard not. <sup>8</sup>———— <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup>.<sup>d</sup> When the royal children and companions, who were of the court, heard, great fear<sup>e</sup> was in their hearts.

*He is Conveyed to Court, and Dies*

246. <sup>1</sup>— — — — — [[He was conveyed to<sup>1</sup>] the court, and his majesty had the royal children, companions, ritual priests, and chief physicians come <sup>2</sup>————. His majesty [had] brought for him a case of writings<sup>f</sup> — <sup>3</sup>————. They said before his majesty that he was lost<sup>g</sup> <sup>4</sup>————. [[The heart of his majesty<sup>1</sup> was] exceedingly [[sad<sup>1</sup>] beyond everything; his majesty said that he would do everything according to his heart's desire, and returned to the privy chamber.

*King Furnishes Him Sepulture*

247. <sup>5</sup>———— he prayed to Re <sup>6</sup>———— [[put<sup>1</sup>] into writing on his tomb <sup>7</sup>————. [[His majesty commanded that there be

<sup>a</sup>This inscription.

<sup>b</sup>Evidently some new building in course of erection by Weshptah should here follow, as Sethe has surmised.

<sup>c</sup>The fine tomb.

<sup>d</sup>A speech of the king is lost in the lacuna, as is shown by a pronoun of the second person singular still discernible.

<sup>e</sup>Lit. "fear beyond everything."

<sup>f</sup>This is, of course, a medical papyrus, like the great Papyrus Ebers. This confirms the claim of this papyrus that some of its recipes were made and used already in the Old Kingdom.

<sup>g</sup>Mortally sick.

made for him a<sup>1</sup> coffin of ] ebony wood, sealed. Never [was it done to one like him before<sup>1</sup>] ——— laid therein. <sup>9</sup>——— these — of the northern <sup>10</sup>———. His majesty had him anointed by the side of his majesty.

*His Eldest Son Builds the Tomb*

248. <sup>1</sup>[It was] his eldest son, etc.,<sup>a</sup> ——— <sup>2</sup>——— there was [made<sup>1</sup>] for him a flight of steps <sup>3</sup>———plenty. When <sup>4</sup>——— that he [might be consigned<sup>1</sup>] therein to the earth <sup>5</sup>——— he had him come <sup>6</sup>——— all — from the court <sup>7</sup>——— one caused that it be put into writing upon <sup>8</sup>[his tomb]<sup>b</sup> ——— [His majesty praised him<sup>c</sup>] on account of it, and he praised the god for him (thanked him) exceedingly.

*King Endows His Tomb*

249. From the scanty fragments of a fourth inscription<sup>d</sup> of the same length, it is evident that the king established a mortuary endowment for Weshptah's tomb "*which was by the pyramid: The-Soul-of-Sahure-Shines.*"

<sup>a</sup>As above § 243, l. 1.

<sup>b</sup>See l. 6, § 247.

<sup>c</sup>The son.

<sup>d</sup>Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 44, 45. D.



## REIGN OF NUSERRE

### SINAI INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

#### *Relief*

**250.** King in crown of Upper Egypt smiting a Bedwi as in § 168. The texts, as in the similar Sinai tablets, contain only names and titles of the king.

Great God, Lord of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Favorite (*Yš·t-yb*);<sup>b</sup> Golden Horus: Nuter (*Nṯr*); Nuserre (*N-wšr-R*)<sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup>; . . . . . Smiter of all countries.

Horus: Favorite of the Two Lands (*Yš·t-yb-tꜣwy*), Nuserre, who is given life forever; smiter of the Asiatics of every country.

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### TOMB INSCRIPTIONS OF HOTEPHIRYAKHET<sup>e</sup>

**251.** Hotephiryakheth was a priest of Neferirkere and of the sun-temple of Nuserre at Abusir. The motive which he proposes to future visitors in his tomb, to induce

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<sup>a</sup>Cut on the rocks of the Wadi Maghara in the Peninsula of Sinai. Text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 152, *a*; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1495 (inscriptions only); Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 53, 54; Weill, *Sinai*, 107.

<sup>b</sup>Elsewhere *Yš·t-yb-tꜣwy*, meaning "Favorite of the Two Lands."

<sup>c</sup>This name is to be read *N-wšr-R*. It is of the same formation as the name of Amenemhet III: *N-mꜣc-t-R* for which we have the Greek *Δαμαρῆς*. It is a common formation in proper names, e. g., *N-kꜣw-Re*, *N-kꜣw-Pth*, *N-cnḫ-Sḫm·t*, etc., in all of which the divine name, written first, is to be read last.

<sup>d</sup>There is uncertainty in the arrangement of signs here; the title "Son of Re," inserted at this point, is later followed by the name "Yn" (Cf. Rougé, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux VI premières dynasties*, 88, 89), and the cartouche containing it perhaps stood under the title in the space now broken away. Likewise the following "Buto" must belong to something lost below. The order of the fivefold titulary of the Middle Kingdom has not yet developed.

<sup>e</sup>Mariette, *Mastabas*, 342; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 49-51.

them to make mortuary offerings to him, is of especial interest. He offers to commend them to the god, just as Seti I later intercedes with the gods for Ramses II, his son (III, 253), and as Ramses III also did for his son (IV, 246 *et passim*).

252. <sup>1</sup>Judge, attached to Nekhen, Hotepiryakhet (*y<sup>o</sup> h<sup>w</sup> t-h<sup>t</sup>p-h<sup>r</sup>*); he saith:

“I have made this tomb as a just possession, and never have I taken a thing belonging to any person. <sup>2</sup>Whosoever shall make offering to me therein, I will do (it) for them; I will commend them to the god for it very greatly; I will do this for them, <sup>3</sup>for bread, for beer, for clothing, for ointment, and for grain, in great quantity. Never have I done aught <sup>4</sup>of violence toward any person. As the god loves a true matter, I was in honor with the king.

253. <sup>1</sup>Judge, eldest of the hall, Hotepiryakhet; he saith:

“I have made this my tomb upon the western arm in a pure place. There was no <sup>2</sup>tomb of any person therein, in order that the possessions of him, who has gone to his ka, might be protected. As for any people who shall enter into <sup>3</sup>this tomb as their mortuary property or shall do an evil thing to it, judgment shall be had with them for it, <sup>4</sup>by the great god. I have made this tomb as my shelter; I was honored by the king, who brought for me a sarcophagus.”

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#### INSCRIPTION OF PTAHSHEPSES<sup>a</sup>

254. This document is especially important for the concluding history of the Fourth Dynasty, and the chronology of the first half of the Fifth. Ptahshepses was born under Menkure, of the Fourth Dynasty, and was still living under Nuserre, the fifth king of the Fifth Dynasty;<sup>b</sup> thus deter-

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<sup>a</sup>From a false door in his mastaba, discovered at Sakkara by Mariette, published by Mariette, *Mastabas*, 112, 113; Rougé, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux VI premières dynasties*, 66-73; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 79-80; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 51-53.

<sup>b</sup>He was priest in Nuserre's sun-temple (Mariette, *Mastabas*).

mining that the period from the last years of Menkure to the first of Nuserre was not longer than a man's lifetime. Unfortunately, the upper ends of the eight vertical lines containing the inscription are broken off at the top. The first two lines are occupied by two reigns, showing that Ptahshepses is narrating his life by reigns. Now, ll. 4, 5, 6, and 7 all begin alike at the point where the loss at the top ends. It is perfectly clear, therefore, that they each contain a reign.<sup>a</sup> Line 3 is different and has "*his majesty*" so close to the top that it can hardly refer to a new king, but probably continues the reign of Shepseskaf from l. 2. As we know that Ptahshepses lived into the reign of Nuserre, we must insert this king at the top of the last line. Omitting the brief reign of Shepseskaf's successor, and the probably equally brief reign of Khaneferre in the Fifth Dynasty,<sup>b</sup> the kings enumerated by Ptahshepses were not improbably as in following section.

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<sup>a</sup>Confer the same wording in the reigns of Menkure and Shepseskaf.

<sup>b</sup>Ptahshepses has omitted two reigns between Menkure and Shepseskaf, hence the other omissions assumed are not wholly arbitrary.

255.

FOURTH DYNASTY			FIFTH DYNASTY				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Birth and childhood	Menkure (preserved)						
Youth	Shepseskaf (preserved)						
Marriage		“his majesty,” or Shepseskaf continued					
Manhood			Userkaf (name lost)				
Manhood				Sahure (name lost)			
Manhood					Neferirkere (name lost)		
Manhood						Neferire (name lost)	
Old age							Nuserre (from Ptahshepes's titles)

*Reign of Menkure*

256. <sup>1</sup> — — —<sup>a</sup> [in] the time of Menkure (*Mn-k<sup>2</sup>w-R<sup>c</sup>*); whom he educated among the king's-children, in the palace of the king, in the privy chamber, in the royal harem; who was more honored before the king than any child (*hrd*); Ptahshepes (*Pth-špsš*).

*Reign of Shepseskaf*

257. <sup>2</sup> — — — [in] the time of Shepseskaf (*špsš-k<sup>2</sup>f*); whom he educated among the king's-children, in the palace of the king, in the privy chamber, in the royal harem; who was more honored before the king

<sup>a</sup>Probably: “I was born in the time of M.”

than any youth (*yd*), Ptahshepses<sup>3</sup> — — —. His majesty gave to him the king's eldest daughter, Matkha (*M* <sup>3</sup> *c* *t-k* <sup>c</sup>) as his wife, for his majesty desired that she should be with him more than (with) anyone; Ptahshepses.

*Reign of Userkaf*

**258.** <sup>4</sup>[Attached<sup>a</sup> to Userkaf, high priest of Memphis,] more honored by the king than any servant. He descended into every ship of the court; he entered upon the ways of the southern palace<sup>b</sup> at all the Feasts-of-the-Coronation;<sup>c</sup> Ptahshepses.

*Reign of Sahure*

**259.** <sup>5</sup>[Attached<sup>a</sup> to Sahure, more honored by the king than<sup>a</sup>] any servant, as privy councilor of every work which his majesty desired to do; who pleased the heart of his lord every day; Ptahshepses.

*Reign of Neferirkere*

**260.** <sup>6</sup>[Attached<sup>a</sup> to Neferirkere, more honored by the king than] any servant; when his majesty praised him for a thing, his majesty permitted that he should kiss his foot, and his majesty did not permit that he should kiss the ground; Ptahshepses.

*Reign of Neferefre*

**261.** <sup>7</sup>[Attached to Neferefre, more honored by the king than] any servant; he descended into the sacred barge at all Feasts-of-the-Appearance;<sup>d</sup> beloved of his lord; Ptahshepses.<sup>e</sup>

*Reign of Nuserre*

**262.** <sup>8</sup>———— attached<sup>f</sup> to the heart of his lord, beloved of his lord, revered of Ptah, doing that which the god desires of him, pleasing every artificer under the king; Ptahshepses.

<sup>a</sup>Following Sethe, after Mariette, *Mastabas*, 375.

<sup>b</sup>Cf. the parallel in tomb of Sebu (Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 95) which renders the reading certain here.

<sup>c</sup>The appearances in public of the king at anniversaries of his coronation.

<sup>d</sup>The appearance of the gods in festal procession on the river.

<sup>e</sup>The remaining three lines contain chiefly conventional phrases and titles.

<sup>f</sup>Ptahshepses is now an old man; hence the change in form.

## REIGN OF MENKUHOR

### SINAI INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

263. The relief, if there was any, has cracked off. The text is as follows:

Horus: Menkhu (*Mn-h<sup>c</sup>w*); King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Menkuhor (*Mn k<sup>o</sup>w-Hr*), who is given life, stability [like Re, forever].

Commission of [the king],<sup>b</sup> which —<sup>c</sup> executed.

The inscription is the earliest in Sinai in which the leader of the expedition has ventured to insert a commemoration of himself beside that of the king. Such a record of the leader and his followers now becomes customary.

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<sup>a</sup>Cut in the rocks of Wadi Maghara on the Peninsula of Sinai; text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 39, *e*; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1493 (inscriptions only); Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 54; Weill, *Sinai*, 109.

<sup>b</sup>Cf. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 39, *d*, where the same phrase occurs uninjured (§ 264).

<sup>c</sup>The lacuna contained the name of the official who executed the commission.

## REIGN OF DEDKERE-ISESI

### SINAI INSCRIPTIONS

#### I<sup>a</sup>

264. The relief, if any existed, has disappeared. At the top appears the titulary of the king, as follows:

Horus: Dedkhu (*Dd-h<sup>c</sup>w*), Son of Re, who lives forever. ———  
Dedkere (*Dd-k<sup>2</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>*), beloved of Buto and the souls of [Pe], [who is given] life, health, [all] joy [forever].

Commission of the king, which —<sup>b</sup> executed.

#### II<sup>c</sup>

265. There was apparently no relief; the text is both uncertain and owing to the crudity of the signs is very difficult. It furnishes an excellent example of the old method of dating by the fiscal census.

266. Year after the fourth occurrence of the numbering of all large and small cattle,<sup>d</sup> when the god caused<sup>e</sup> that costly stone be found in the secret mine [—] a [stela] with writing of the god himself;<sup>f</sup> (under)

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<sup>a</sup>Cut into the rocks of Wadi Maghara, Sinai; text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 39, *d*; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1494 (inscriptions only); Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 55; Weill, *Sinai*, 118.

<sup>b</sup>Name of official has fallen out; “*hw — hk —*” is still preserved.

<sup>c</sup>Also in the Wadi Maghara; published by Birch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1869, 26 f.; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1494, No. 20 (incomplete); Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 55, 56 (from a collation of a squeeze in the British Museum by R. Weill).

<sup>d</sup>Compare § 340 (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 116, *a*); we have here dates according to the fiscus.

<sup>e</sup>Infinitive in a date? Read *dy' i ntr*.

<sup>f</sup>I take it that the whole of this is a date, followed by the name of the king, and then the event below. A “*writing of the god himself*” is the customary designation of any ancient document. Some stela of their ancestors led them to the desired vein.

Horus: Dedkhu ( $\overline{Dd}$ - $\overline{h}^c$ - $w$ ); king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Dedkhu; Golden Horus: Ded ( $\overline{Dd}$ ); Dedkere ( $\overline{Dd}$ - $\overline{k}^c$ - $R^c$ ) Isefi, living forever.

Royal commission sent with the ship-captain, Nenekh-Khentikhet ( $N$ - $\overline{c}$ - $\overline{nh}$ - $\overline{Hnty}$ - $\overline{ht}$ )<sup>a</sup> to the terrace,<sup>b</sup> the name of which is "Malachite."<sup>c</sup>

A list of the members of the expedition followed.<sup>d</sup>

### III<sup>e</sup>

267. The king is shown smiting a Bedwi; beside him the words:

Smiter of all countries.

[The Great God]<sup>f</sup> smites the [Asiatics].<sup>f</sup>

### IV<sup>g</sup>

Same scene repeated; inscription:

Smiter of all countries.

Perhaps belonging to these scenes is the date:<sup>h</sup>

Year of the ninth occurrence of the numbering of large cattle

### TOMB INSCRIPTIONS OF SENEZEMIB, CHIEF JUDGE, VIZIER, AND CHIEF ARCHITECT<sup>i</sup>

268. The most powerful man at Isefi's court here narrates his favors with the king, in the course of which he includes verbatim two letters from his lord, one of which his

<sup>a</sup>A name of the same form as Nenekhsekhmet ( $N$ - $\overline{c}$ - $\overline{nh}$ - $\overline{Shm}$ - $\overline{t}$ ).

<sup>b</sup>Confirming my note (*New Chapter*, p. 29, n. b).

<sup>c</sup> $\overline{Fk}^c$ - $\overline{t}$  as in the Pyramid Texts; see also the duplicate of Pepi II (§ 342).

<sup>d</sup>Weill, *Sinai*, 110, and possibly also 114.

<sup>e</sup>Also in Wadi Maghara; published by Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1494, 21; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 56; Weill, *Sinai*, 119.

<sup>f</sup>So Sethe.

<sup>g</sup>Wadi Maghara; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1494, 19.

<sup>h</sup>Sethe, *ibid.*; Weill, *Sinai*, 118.

<sup>i</sup>From his mastaba-tomb by the pyramid of Khufu at Gizeh; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 76, c-f (cf. Text, I, 55, 56); Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 59-67 (collated with drawings in Berlin Museum, Nos. 366, 367).



majesty wrote with his own hand. A lake of 1,200 cubits' length is planned for by the architect, and the king expresses his delight with the plan. Unfortunately, the fragmentary state of the inscription renders the narrative very obscure.

269. The closing inscriptions were the work of Senezemib's son, who after his father's death recorded in the tomb the mortuary endowment of his father, and the presentation of the sarcophagus by the king.

*Senezemib's Fidelity and Honors*

270. <sup>a1</sup>[I was one who pleased the king<sup>1</sup> as mas]ter of secret things of his majesty, as favorite of his majesty in everything, <sup>2</sup>— — As for any work which his majesty commanded to do, I did (it) according to the desire of his majesty's heart toward it <sup>3</sup>—— his majesty, while he was in the place<sup>b</sup> of writings. When it came to pass <sup>4</sup>—— his majesty caused that I be anointed with fat <sup>5</sup>[by the side of his majesty]<sup>c</sup> —— [Neve]r [was done] the like by the side of the king for anyone <sup>6</sup>——. [His majesty] himself wrote with his (own) fingers,<sup>d</sup> in order to praise me <sup>7</sup>[[because I did every work which his majesty commanded to do<sup>1</sup>] well and excellently according to the desire of his majesty's heart toward it.

*Letter by the King's Own Hand*

271. <sup>8</sup>Royal command (to)<sup>e</sup> the chief judge, vizier, chief scribe of the king's writings, <sup>9</sup>chief of all works of [the king, Senezemib].

<sup>10</sup>My majesty has seen this thy letter, which thou hast sent to inform me that <sup>11</sup>—— for (the building called:) "Beloved-of-Isesi," which is built — for the palace of — —, <sup>1</sup>being truly<sup>1</sup> Senezemib — — — <sup>12</sup>in rejoicing the heart<sup>f</sup> of Isesi . . . . . ; [[for thou

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 76, d, Sethe, A. A horizontal line may have preceded this, and contained Senezemib's name and titles.

<sup>b</sup>The king thus visited the public archives in company with the vizier, Senezemib.

<sup>c</sup>The restoration is certain; see Weshptah (§ 247, l. 10).

<sup>d</sup>Dual; this is the letter given below, ll. 8-16.

<sup>e</sup>Omitted also in the second letter and in the letter of Harkhuf (§ 351).

<sup>f</sup>Senezemib's name means "Rejoicing the heart," and the king is punning on his official's name.

canst<sup>1</sup>] <sup>13</sup>speak that which Isesi loves, better than any men who are in this [whole land] — — — <sup>14</sup>. When indeed — — — every vessel — — — <sup>15</sup>it rejoices the heart of Isesi<sup>a</sup> — true — — — <sup>16</sup>most excellent — — —.

*King Isesi Counsels with Senezemib<sup>b</sup>*

272. <sup>1</sup>———. “Thou shalt make a lake according as he saith in — <sup>2</sup>——— his lord —. [My majesty] greatly desires to hear this thy word <sup>3</sup>——— my majesty — everything — — —.” Said the chief of all works of <sup>4</sup>[the king, Senezemib]<sup>c</sup> ———.

*Second Letter from the King*

273. <sup>7</sup>Royal command (to)<sup>d</sup> the chief judge, vizier, chief of all works of the king, <sup>8</sup>chief scribe of the king's writings, Senezemib.

<sup>9</sup>My majesty has seen the plan of this command —— <sup>10</sup>for the palace of Isesi (called): Nehbet<sup>e</sup> —— <sup>11</sup>— [length] 1,200 cubits, [width] 221<sup>f</sup> cubits, according to that which was commanded to [thee] — [—] — — —. <sup>12</sup>Now, the god hath made thee the favorite of Isesi [more than any men] <sup>13</sup>who are in this whole land —. I will do every great thing<sup>g</sup> ———.

*Endowment of Tomb*

274. In the next section<sup>h</sup> Senezemib's son, Senezemib, called Mehi (*Mhy*) says that “*a command was issued*” to “*gather the princes*” and other people. The command evidently concerned the endowment of his father's tomb, called “*this his tomb which I made for him in only one year and*”

<sup>a</sup>Senezemib's name means “*Rejoicing the heart,*” and the king is punning on his official's name.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 76 f.; Sethe, B.

<sup>c</sup>Here followed the reply of Senezemib in three lines, but it has almost entirely disappeared; the words “*whom Re loves*” still visible, show that he is addressing the king.

<sup>d</sup>See § 271, and note.

<sup>f</sup>May be a few units more.

<sup>e</sup>Sethe suggests a garden of the palace.

<sup>g</sup>Fragments of two more lines.

<sup>h</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 76, c; Sethe, C.

‘three<sup>1</sup> months, while he was in ‘— — —’ in the eternal house<sup>a</sup> which is at the pyramid: ‘Isesi <sup>4</sup>-is-[Beautiful].’”

The son then adds: *There was brought grain from the accounting of the divine offerings, from the North and the South, with a reference, after a break in the text, to the continuance of the offerings “until today as new. Then his majesty caused decrees to be sealed ‘with<sup>1</sup> the seal of writings,”* of course for the perpetuation of the mortuary offerings. A long lacuna doubtless contained other benefactions, after which we find, “*he appointed mortuary priests [of the endowment], and I had it put into writing.*” The record of it was placed in the tomb where “*it was ‘engraved<sup>1</sup> by the artists.*” The mortuary priests were “*divided into phyles,*” and the son then asked the king to give the equipment and furniture of the tomb, referring to the well-known quarry of Troja, whence came so much of the stone used in the Old Kingdom cemeteries.

#### *Sarcophagus*

275. Another inscription,<sup>b</sup> now very fragmentary, narrates the bringing of the sarcophagus, etc., for which the son had asked. After a statement of the king’s command, we find the usual officials “*on a ferry-boat. Everything was done by these sailors, according to that which had been [commanded]<sup>9</sup> concerning it in the court. <sup>10</sup>———. This sarcophagus, together with [its lid], arrived at the pyramid: ‘Horizon-of-Khufu,’*” where the tomb of Senezemib was located. The officers who conducted the work were praised by the king, and “*this sarcophagus*” was conveyed to its “*place.*”

<sup>a</sup>A temporary resting-place, while the tomb was being built.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 76, e; Sethe, D.

*Relief*

276. This inscription is accompanied by a relief, showing the transport of the sarcophagus across the river. Over the relief are the words:

The great <sup>r</sup>tow<sup>l</sup>-boat, the name of which is "Mighty-is-Isesi."

Three men on the bow are designated as: *Overseer of ten*; [*naval*] *commander*; *overseer of* <sup>r</sup>—<sup>1</sup> (*sb*<sup>2</sup>); while one in the stern is called "*captain*." The sarcophagus and lid are shown, accompanied by the words "*sarcophagus*" and "*lid*."

*Son's Inscription*

277. The son Senezemib, called Mehi, left in his father's tomb a short inscription<sup>a</sup> stating that he placed the above records on the walls of his father's tomb. Only the ends of the three lines remain, but the son closes the record of his pious work with a reminder to his own son by referring to himself as one "*whose son shall do the like for him*."

MORTUARY INSCRIPTION OF NEZEMIB<sup>b</sup>

278. A short mortuary prayer, interesting for its quaint claim that the deceased was never beaten! Nezemib (*Ndm-yb*) was probably a private citizen of the middle class, from whom very few monuments have descended to us.

279. O ye living who are (yet) upon earth, who pass by this tomb; let water be poured out for me, for I was a master of secret things. Let a mortuary offering of that which is with you come forth for me, for I was one beloved of the people. Never was I beaten in the presence of any official since my birth; never did I take the property of any man by violence; (but) I was a doer of that which pleased all men.

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 78, b; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 67.

<sup>b</sup>Cairo, 1732; published by Mariette, *Mastabas*, 417; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1212; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 75.

TOMB INSCRIPTION OF THE NOMARCH HENKU<sup>a</sup>

280. This nomarch, with his brother, was ruler of the Cerastes-Mountain nome, the twelfth nome of Upper Egypt, opposite the Lycopolite, or thirteenth, nome. He flourished late in the Fifth or early in the Sixth Dynasty, and his descendants enjoyed the favor of the Sixth Dynasty Pharaohs (§§ 344 ff.). So little is known of the nomarchs of the Old Kingdom that the meager data of this inscription are of importance. Especially noteworthy are the statements regarding the settlement of people from other nomes in his nome. Besides being much mutilated, the inscription is frequently very obscure. I have only rendered the more important passages and those which are most intelligible.<sup>b</sup>

281. <sup>1</sup>O all ye people of the Cerastes-Mountain; O ye great lords of other nomes, who shall pass by this tomb, I, Henku (*Hnkw*), tell good things:

. . . . .<sup>11</sup>. . . . .  
 I gave bread to all the hungry of the Cerastes-Mountain; <sup>12</sup>I clothed him who was naked therein. I filled its shores <sup>13</sup>with large cattle, and its <sup>14</sup>lowlands<sup>1</sup> with small cattle. <sup>14</sup>I satisfied the wolves<sup>c</sup> of the mountain and the fowl of heaven with <sup>15</sup>flesh<sup>1</sup> <sup>15</sup>of small cattle . . . . . <sup>16</sup>I was lord and overseer of southern grain in this nome . . . . . <sup>18</sup>I settled the <sup>17</sup>feeble<sup>1</sup> towns in this nome with the people of other nomes;

<sup>a</sup>In a cliff-tomb at Der el-Gebrāwi; published by Davies, *Deir-el-Gebrāwi*, II, Pls. 24, 25; Sethe (from Davies), *Urkunden*, I, 76-79.

<sup>b</sup>See Davies' excellent remarks on Henku, *ibid.*, 42.

<sup>c</sup>This general beneficence toward man and beast includes here the animals sacred in Henku's locality. Across the river the jackal was the sacred animal, while in Henku's own nome the hawk was sacred. It is no accident that these are just the two animals which Henku fed, for the word translated "wolf," should be more general, designating all wild animals of the canine family and the like. We have here then the first symptoms from which the belief in the sacredness of whole classes of animals (as opposed to one member only) afterward grew up. The same thing in a later stage is observable in the Saite time. On a stela in Miramar a man says: "I gave bread to the hungry, water [to] the thirsty, clothing to the naked; I gave food to the ibis, the hawk, the cat, and the jackal" (Bergmann, *Hieroglyphische Inschriften*, Pl. VI, ll. 9, 10).

<sup>19</sup>those who had been peasant-serfs therein, I made their offices as officials (*šr*). <sup>20</sup>I never oppressed one in possession of his property, so that he complained of me because of it to the god of my city; (but) I spake, and told that which was good; <sup>21</sup>never was there one fearing because of one stronger than he, so that he complained because of it to the god.

I arose then <sup>22</sup>to be ruler (*ḥkꜣ*) in the Cerastes-Mountain, together with my brother, the revered, the sole companion, ritual priest, Re-am (*Rꜥꜣꜣ mꜣ*), <sup>23</sup>I was a benefactor to it (the nome) in the folds of the cattle, in the settlements of the fowlers. I settled its every district <sup>24</sup>with men and cattle — — small cattle indeed. I speak no lie, <sup>25</sup>for I was <sup>26</sup>one beloved of his father <sup>27</sup>praised of his mother, <sup>28</sup>excellent in character to his brother, <sup>29</sup>and amiable to [his sister]. . . . .<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup>Seven short lines are omitted.

## THE SIXTH DYNASTY

## REIGN OF TETI

### INSCRIPTIONS OF SABU, ALSO CALLED IBEBI<sup>a</sup>

**282.** Sabu, called also Ibebi, was a favorite official at the courts of Unis, the last king of the Fifth, and Teti, the first king of the Sixth Dynasty. Under both he held the important office of high priest of Ptah at Memphis, and to this oft-repeated title he adds also his other offices, mingled with a long series of self-laudatory epithets and phrases. Of these the inscriptions chiefly consist, but he gives us also a few interesting statements which throw light on the career of such a noble at court. The inscriptions are rendered below with all repetitions, as an unaltered example of such records in the Old Kingdom. In some phrases Sabu's inscription is identical with that of Ptahshepses (§§ 254 ff.).

#### *Career under Unis<sup>b</sup>*

**283.** Attached to (King) Unis, high priest of Ptah, more honored by the king than any servant. He<sup>c</sup> descended<sup>d</sup> into every barge; a member of the court, [when he entered] the ways of [the southern palace] at feasts,<sup>e</sup> Sabu (*S<sup>3</sup>bw*), whose beautiful name was Ibebi (*Ybbj*).

**284.** <sup>e</sup>Honored by the king, doing his pleasure, one whom his lord

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<sup>a</sup>From his mastaba-tomb at Sakkara; the publications will be found with each section below.

<sup>b</sup>Mariette, *Mastabas*, 375 D; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 81 A, at the entrance on the right.

<sup>c</sup>Compare Ptahshepses, § 258, l. 4.

<sup>d</sup>*H>j* is evidently past tense here, as Unis was deceased when the inscription was made.

<sup>e</sup>Mariette, *Mastabas*, 375 C; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 81 B; at the entrance on the left.



loves, high priest of Ptah, attached to the Double House, feast-day attendant, prophet of Ptah, prophet of Sokar, Sabu, etc.<sup>a</sup>

*Career under Teti*

**285.** <sup>b</sup>Today in the presence of the Son of Re: Teti, living forever, high priest of Ptah, more honored by the king than any servant, as master of secret things of every work which his majesty desired should be done; pleasing the heart of his lord every day, high priest of Ptah, Sabu. <sup>2</sup>High priest of Ptah, cup-bearer of the king, master of secret things of the king in his every place, honored by the king, high priest of Ptah, attached to the Double House, feast-day attendant, pleasing every artificer, honored by every sovereign, a member of his court, attached to the heart of his lord, the favorite of his lord's heart, beloved of his lord, revered of Ptah, doing that which the god desired of him every day in the king's presence.

**286.** <sup>c</sup>Today in the presence of the Son of Re: Teti, living forever; high priest of Ptah, more honored in the king's presence than any servant. He descends<sup>d</sup> into any barge; a member of the court when he enters upon the ways of the southern palace at the "Feasts-of-the-Coronation," high priest of Ptah, feast-day attendant, Sabu. When his majesty favored me, his majesty caused that I enter into the privy chamber, that I might set for him the people<sup>e</sup> into every place; where I found the way.<sup>f</sup> Never was done the like to any servant like me, by any sovereign, because his majesty loved me more than any servant of his; because I did that which he praised every day, because I was honored in his heart. I was useful in his majesty's presence, I found a way in every secret matter of the court, I was honored in his majesty's presence.

<sup>a</sup>As above, § 283.

<sup>b</sup>False door now in Cairo Museum, No. 1565, right side; published by Mariette, *Mastabas*, 413, 414; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 82, 83 (from copy by Erman).

<sup>c</sup>Same false door, left side; published by Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 95; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 412-414; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 83, 84 (from copy by Erman).

<sup>d</sup>As Teti was still living at the time the inscription was made, the verbs are evidently present tense; but in Ptahshepses (§ 258, l. 4) they are past.

<sup>e</sup>The people (*ꜥnhw*) of the court, to whom he assigned their places.

<sup>f</sup>As he pleased? The sense is doubtful, as there are several possible renderings of the construction.

INSCRIPTION OF SABU, ALSO CALLED THETY<sup>a</sup>

287. This Sabu was the successor of Sabu, called also Ibebi (§§ 282 ff.), as High Priest of Ptah.<sup>b</sup> His inscription is of importance as showing that before his time there were always two high priests of Ptah.

288. ———. Today in the presence of his majesty. His majesty appointed me [as High Priest of Memphis alone]<sup>c</sup> ———. [The temple] of "Ptah-South-of-His-Wall" in its every place was under my charge, although there never was [a single High Priest of Ptah before]<sup>a</sup> ——— Sokar in Shetyt (*Št*), all the sacred possessions and all duties which two high priests of Ptah did. ——— although never was the like done by any high priest of Ptah in the time of [any king] ——— of the house of the crown-possessions as an honor from his majesty. His majesty appointed me ——— under my charge, although their offices were like (those of) [their] fathers ——— under my charge, which was done in the whole land; the heart of his majesty being mightier than anything that is done therein.

INSCRIPTION OF AN UNKNOWN BUILDER<sup>d</sup>

289. The unknown, a mere fragment of whose tomb inscription here follows, was perhaps the builder of the pyramid-temple of Teti, for he relates a royal commission to conduct the work on a ka-temple (*ht-k<sup>3</sup>*) for which the materials came from the Troja quarry, opposite the Sak-kara cemetery where Teti's pyramid stands.

<sup>a</sup>Fragment of a false door in Cairo Museum, Nos. 1709, 1756; published by Mariette, *Mastabas*, 390; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 84, 85 (from copy by Erman).

<sup>b</sup>Still another Sabu, a third of the name, was called "Sabu the black" (*S<sup>3</sup> bw km* Mariette, *Mastabas*, C 23), perhaps to distinguish him from the other two, for he was also high priest of Ptah.

<sup>c</sup>So restored by Sethe; and, in view of the following context, the restoration is very probable.

<sup>d</sup>Fragment in Cairo, No. 1433, published by Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 86, 87 (from copy by Erman).

290. I did so that his majesty praised me on account of it [— —] ———. [His majesty caused that I enter] into the privy chamber, and that I become a member of the sovereign's court ———. . . . . Today in the presence of (king) Teti, my lord ———. His majesty sent me to conduct the works in the ka-temple made — — and in (the quarry) of Troja ——— I made a false door there, conducting [the work] ———. . . . . His majesty caused that I come down-stream ———. . . . .

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#### INSCRIPTION OF UNI<sup>a</sup>

291. This is the longest narrative inscription and the most important historical document from the Old Kingdom. Uni's career is narrated from its beginning under King Teti, through the entire reign of Pepi I, to its termination under Mernere. Besides the general instructiveness of the life of a great lord of the court in the Old Kingdom, Uni's narrative tells us of the only important wars of the Old Kingdom of which we are informed.

The biography falls into three parts:

- I. Career under Teti (l. 1), §§ 292-94.
- II. Career under Pepi I (ll. 2-32), §§ 306-15.
- III. Career under Mernere (ll. 32-50) §§ 319-24.

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<sup>a</sup>From his mastaba-tomb, discovered by Mariette at Abydos. It occupies a single block of limestone 1<sup>m</sup>, 10 high and 2<sup>m</sup>, 70 wide, which formed one of the walls of the exterior chapel of the mastaba (*Catalogue général d'Abydos*, 84, No. 522). It is now in Cairo. Published by de Rougé, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et belles-lettres*, XXV, (Paris, 1866); Rougé, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux VI premières dynasties*, VII-VIII; Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 44; Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 1-27 (text collated with copies by Brugsch and Golénischeff); a collation of Erman with the original by Piehl, *ibid.*, 1888, 111 f.; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1470-77; Grébaut, *Musée*, Pl. 27, 28 (photo.); Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 98-110. Grébaut's photograph and Sethe's copy from the Berlin squeeze (No. 1541) are the only correct texts. Beside Sethe, I had also a copy collated with the original by Erman and Borchardt.

## I. CAREER UNDER KING TETI

292. Under this king Uni passed his childhood and entered upon his official career at the bottom of the ladder as an under-custodian of a royal domain.

*Introduction*

293. [Count, governor of the South], chamber-attendant, attached to Nekhen, lord of Nekheb, sole companion, revered before Osiris, First of the Westerners, Uni (*Wny*). He says:

*Beginning of Career*

294. <sup>a</sup>[I was a child]<sup>a</sup> who fastened on the girdle under the majesty of Teti (*Tty*); my office was that of supervisor of [—] and I filled<sup>b</sup> the office of inferior custodian of the domain of Pharaoh.<sup>c</sup>

[Continued §§ 306 ff.]

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<sup>a</sup>Restored from the stela of Simontu (§ 597, l. 5); that we are to read "*girdle*" here, and not "crown" (Maspero, *Dawn*, 417), is shown by a pyramid passage (Pepi I, l. 428); see Erman; also Piehl, *Sphinx*, II, 134. Hence, the current description of the garland-wearing children is without support from the inscriptions.

<sup>b</sup>Lit.: "*made*," as often elsewhere.

<sup>c</sup>Perhaps a word lost at end of line here.

## REIGN OF PEPI I

### HAMMAMAT INSCRIPTIONS<sup>a</sup>

295. It is a question whether these inscriptions are the record of three expeditions or of one. If only one party left these records, it is probable that the jealousies between the bureau service and the practical craftsmen can be discerned in them.<sup>b</sup> They are further interesting, because the master pyramid-builder accompanied the expedition, the object of which must therefore have been the securing of the hard and costly stone for the finer portions of Pepi I's pyramid and its temple at Sakkara.<sup>c</sup>

### I. THE KING'S INSCRIPTIONS

296. The royal memorial of this expedition occurs twice: in the first<sup>d</sup> the king's figure appears twice, back to back, enthroned in the jubilee-hall, accompanied by his titulary and the words: "*First occurrence of the Sed Jubilee.*" The second<sup>e</sup> shows the king with staff and war-club standing before the ithyphallic Min; above is his titulary, and in front: "*Beloved of the lord of Coptos (Min).*" Behind the king: "*First occurrence of the Sed Jubilee.*"

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<sup>a</sup>Engraved on the rocks of the Hammamat quarry; on this place, see Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 472. They are published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 115, a, b, c, e, g, i, k; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 93-96.

<sup>b</sup>See Schaefer, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XL, 75-77.

<sup>c</sup>See Schaefer, *loc. cit.*

<sup>d</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 115, a; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 96 A.

<sup>e</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 115, e; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 96 B. Three other inscriptions on vessels made for the jubilee celebration, and merely bearing the king's name and the words, "*First occurrence of the Sed Jubilee,*" will be found in Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 97 C, D, E.

II. THE EXPEDITION'S INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

297. This is the inscription recording the expedition as a whole, led by the chief architect and the two treasurers of the god.

298. Year<sup>b</sup> after the eighteenth occurrence (of the numbering), third month of the third season (twelfth month), day 27 of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Merire (Pepi I), who lives forever; first occurrence of the Sed Jubilee. Royal commission which the chief of all works of the king, the sole companion, master-builder of the king, attached to the Double House, Merire-meriptah-onekh; his son, the ritual priest, Merire-meriptah-onekh; and the treasurers of the god, Ikhi (*Yhy*) and Ihu (*Yhw*), carried out.

The names of five "*assistant artisans*" and of three "*king's-confidants and master-builders*" are then recorded below.

III. CHIEF ARCHITECT'S INSCRIPTION<sup>c</sup>

299. This record places all the bureau officers first and the two treasurers of the god last.

Year after — — —.

Royal commission which the chief of all works of the king, sole companion, master-builder of the king, attached to the Double House, Merire-meriptah-onekh, carried out.

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 115, g; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 93 (collated with drawing by Lepsius' expedition.)

<sup>b</sup>The date of the Sinai inscription, which is also coincident with the Sed Jubilee, is eleven days later. The discrepancy is easily explained by the fact that these expeditions were both sent out to secure materials for monuments in the year of this festival; the dates given were not intended to indicate its exact day. If the numberings took place every two years, then the first Sed festival occurred in the thirty-sixth or thirty-seventh year, which we know is impossible. Meyer supposes that the numberings had now become more frequent (*Aegyptische Chronologie*, 169-70), which is probable. See also Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, III.

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 115, k; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 94.

Overseer of the administration of divine offerings, attached to the Double House, first under the king, judge, inferior scribe, Sesi (*Ssy*).

Scribe of the king's records, Khenu (*Hnw*).

Judge, attached to Nekhen, Khui (*Hwy*).

Treasurer of the god, Ihu.

Treasurer of the god, Ikhi.

#### IV. INSCRIPTION OF THE TREASURER OF THE GOD, IKHI<sup>a</sup>

300. One of the two treasurers of the god, perhaps incensed at being placed at the foot of the list in the preceding inscription, has in this inscription recorded himself alone as the leader of the expedition, omitting the chief architect and the bureau officials entirely, and even his colleague, Ihu.

At the extreme right, framed between two scepters and the sign for heaven at the top, is the titulary of Pepi I, accompanied by the words: "*First occurrence of the Sed Jubilee.*" At the left of this appears the inscription:

301. Royal commission which the treasurer of the god, Ikhi (*Yhy*), carried out.

His son, the ship-captain Ikhi.

Below appear the names of five "*assistant artisans of the palace*" and the "*master pyramid-builder, Thethi.*"<sup>b</sup>

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#### SINAI INSCRIPTION<sup>c</sup>

302. 1. The titulary of the king in one line at the top is: "*King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Favorite of the Two Goddesses; Merikhet (Mry-ht); Merire (Mry-R<sup>c</sup>), Pepi I,*

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<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 115, c; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 94, 95.

<sup>b</sup>Another inscription (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 115, b) contains only the names of the sons of some of the officials.

<sup>c</sup>Engraved on the rocks at Wadi Maghara; text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 116, a; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1496, No. 26; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 91-92 (from squeeze); Morgan, *Recherches*, I, 235; Weill, *Sinai*, 121.

*given all life forever.*" It surmounts two reliefs: that on the right contains the Horus-name of the king: "*Meri-towe (mryy-t<sup>3</sup>wi, 'Beloved of the Two Lands')*," and the figure of the king striding as at a ceremonial, preceded by the words: "*First occurrence of the Sed Jubilee.*" *Establishment<sup>a</sup> of the field* [— —]. The relief on the left shows Pepi I smiting the Asiatics in the manner conventional since prehistoric times.

303. 2. Below the reliefs is the inscription of the officers of the expedition, as follows:

Year after the eighteenth occurrence (of the numbering), fourth month of the third season (twelfth month), day 6. Commission which the commander of the army Ibdw (*Ybdw*),<sup>b</sup> son of the commander of the troops Merire-onekh, carried out.

Then follows a list of fifteen subordinate officials and members of the expedition; such a list, better preserved will be found in § 343.

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#### INSCRIPTION IN THE HATNUB QUARRY<sup>c</sup>

304. In the year of the twenty-fifth numbering, Pepi I sent an expedition to the alabaster quarries of Hatnub, back of Tell el-Amarna, under charge of the nomarch of the Hare nome (XV) of Upper Egypt. Attached to the king's name is the phrase "*First occurrence of the Sed Jubilee,*" and on any theory of the Sed Jubilee this date is in glaring contradiction of Pepi I's Sed Jubilee in the year of the eighteenth

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<sup>a</sup>(W)d "*put*" or "*place,*" perhaps an endowment of land is indicated.

<sup>b</sup>Or "*Ibdw's son . . . Merire-onekh.*"

<sup>c</sup>Blackden-Fraser, *Hieratic Graffiti*, Pl. 15, 1; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 95, 96, after Blackden-Fraser, but with useful corrections of evident errors; whence also the restorations.



numbering. Is it used here at Hatnub only as an epitheton ornans, in recollection of the feast?

**305.** Horus: Beloved of the Two Lands (*mrꜣꜣ-tꜣwy*); king of Upper and Lower Egypt: Merire (Pepi I), given life forever. First occurrence of the S[ed Jubilee]. Year of the twenty-fifth occurrence (of the numbering), first (month) of the first season, [day] —.

[Royal commission which] the sole companion, chief [of the six courts of justice], — — —, first under the king, master of se[cret things] — — —, marshal of the two thrones, governor of the palace, 'real' governor of the South, great lord of the Hare nome, Khuu's (*Hꜣꜣꜣꜣ*) son, Nenekhseskhnum (*Hnm-n-ꜣnh-ss*), [executed].

#### INSCRIPTION OF UNI

[Continued from § 294]

#### II. CAREER UNDER PEPI I

**306.** Pepi I promoted the obscure under-custodian of the royal domains, to be a judge of the Nekhen court; at the same time giving him rank among the courtiers and an income as inferior prophet of the pyramid-temple. As judge he soon gained the confidence of his superiors. The king granted him the equipment for his tomb, which was brought from the Troja quarry for him, and then promoted him to a superior custodianship of the royal domain. He rapidly gained royal favor, and when it became necessary to prosecute one of the king's wives, probably for conspiracy, he was chosen to hear the case with only one colleague. He was then called upon to organize an army for a campaign against the Bedwin north of Sinai, and five times he was sent to quell revolts in this region. He finally pushed up into southern Palestine, which is the first Egyptian invasion of that country known in history.

*Appointment as Judge*

307. <sup>2</sup>— — — [I was] eldest of the [—] chamber under the majesty of Pepi (*Ppy*). His majesty appointed me to the rank of companion and inferior prophet of his pyramid-city. While my office was — <sup>3</sup>his [majesty made me] judge attached to Nekhen (*Nhn*). He loved me<sup>a</sup> more than any servant of his. I “heard,”<sup>b</sup> being alone with (only) the chief judge and vizier,<sup>c</sup> in every private matter <sup>4</sup>— in the name of the king, of the royal harem and of the six courts of justice,<sup>d</sup> because the king loved me<sup>a</sup> more than any official of his, more than any noble of his, more than any servant of his.

*Equipment of His Tomb by the King*

308. <sup>5</sup>Then I [be]sought — the majesty of the king<sup>e</sup> that there be brought for me a limestone sarcophagus from Troja (*R<sup>2</sup>-<sup>3</sup>w*).<sup>f</sup> The king had the treasurer of the god ferry over, together with a troop <sup>6</sup>of<sup>1</sup> sailors under his hand, in order to bring for me this sarcophagus from Troja; and he arrived with it, in a large ship belonging to the court, together with [its] lid, <sup>7</sup>the false door; the [setting], two [—], and one offering-tablet.<sup>g</sup> Never was the like done for any servant, for I was excellent to the heart of his majesty, <sup>8</sup>for I was pleasant to the heart of his majesty, for his majesty loved me.

*Appointment as Superior Custodian*

309. While I was judge, attached to Nekhen, his majesty appointed me as sole companion and superior custodian of the domain of Pharaoh, and [—]<sup>h</sup> of the four superior custodians of the domain of Pharaoh, who were there. I did so that his majesty praised me, when preparing

<sup>a</sup>Lit.: “his heart was filled with me.”

<sup>b</sup>Meaning: heard cases in court as judge.

<sup>c</sup>One person; this vizier, whose name is not mentioned, was perhaps Zau (§§ 344 ff.).

<sup>d</sup>Lit.: “six great houses.”

<sup>e</sup>Lit.: “the majesty of the lord.”

<sup>f</sup>Quarries opposite Memphis, five or six miles south of Cairo.

<sup>g</sup>Cf. note on l. 40, § 322. *Gmhw* is connected by Lemm with *gmh't* “wick,” and thought to be an oil basin (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1887, 115).

<sup>h</sup>*N* with a strange determinative; see Gardiner, *Inscription of Mes*, p. 25, n. 2.

court,<sup>a</sup> when preparing the king's journey (or) when making stations. I did throughout <sup>10</sup>so that his majesty praised me for it above everything.

*Prosecution of the Queen*

310. <sup>b</sup>When legal procedure was instituted in private<sup>b</sup> in the harem against the queen,<sup>c</sup> Imtes (*Ymts*)<sup>d</sup> his majesty caused me to enter, in order to hear (the case) alone. No <sup>11</sup>chief judge and vizier at all, no prince at all was there, but only I alone, because I was excellent, because I was pleasant to the heart of his majesty; because his majesty loved me. I alone was the one who put (it) in writing, <sup>12</sup>together with a single judge attached to Nekhen; while my office was (only) that of superior custodian of the domain of Pharaoh. Never before had one like me heard the secret of the royal harem, except that the king caused <sup>13</sup>me to hear (it), because I was more excellent to the heart of his majesty than any official of his, than any noble of his, than any servant of his.

*War against the Bedwin*

311. His majesty<sup>e</sup> made war on<sup>e</sup> the Asiatic Sand-dwellers (<sup>c</sup>*m-hryw-š*) and <sup>14</sup>his majesty made an army of many ten thousands: in the entire South, southward to Elephantine,<sup>f</sup> and northward to Aphroditopolis; in the Northland on both sides<sup>g</sup> entire <sup>15</sup>in the 'stronghold',<sup>h</sup> and in the midst of the 'strongholds', among the Irthet (*yrtt*) negroes, the Mazoi (*Md*) negroes, the Yam (*Ym*) negroes, <sup>16</sup>among the Wawat (*W*) negroes, among the Kau (*K*) negroes, and in the land of Temeh (*Tmh*).<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup>There is a contrast here between his duties at the fixed court and making preparations for the king's journeys. The third reference is perhaps to the duty of assigning court stations to noblemen according to rank.

<sup>b</sup>Lit.: "When the matter was contested." Cf. similar phrase, note l. 14 and note l. 29.

<sup>c</sup>Lit.: "great king's-wife." <sup>d</sup>Acc. to Sethe, *ym* (Verbum I).

<sup>e</sup>Lit.: "repulsed the matter of the A" (*hsj yh't*), which Erman holds to be an idiom for "punish" (*Gespräch*, 72).

<sup>f</sup>See § 320, l. 33 and note. <sup>g</sup>See Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, II, 21.

<sup>h</sup>Some particular stronghold is apparently meant; Erman suggests "the old fortress in the eastern part of the Delta," but this is a conjecture.

<sup>i</sup>This list of Nubian lands has been treated by Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 30-36; Cf. also Lepsius, *Nubische Grammatik*, lxxxvii ff. The discovery of the Harkhuf inscription has thrown light on the location of Yam, showing that the journey thither and return occupied seven months.

*Uni Leads the Campaign*

312. His majesty sent me at the head of this army <sup>17</sup>while the counts, while the wearers of the royal seal, while the sole companions of the palace, while the nomarchs and commanders of strongholds belonging to the South and the Northland; the companions, the caravan-conductors, <sup>18</sup>the superior prophets belonging to the South and the Northland, the overseers of the crown-possessions, were (each) at the head of a troop of the South or the Northland, of the strongholds and cities which they commanded, and of the negroes of these countries. <sup>19</sup>I was the one who made for them the plan while my office was (only) that of superior custodian of the domain of Pharaoh of [— — —]. Not one thereof [—]<sup>a</sup> with his neighbor; <sup>20</sup>not one thereof plundered [dough]<sup>1</sup> (or) sandals from the wayfarer; not one thereof took bread from any city; <sup>21</sup>not one thereof took any goat from any people. I despatched them from the Northern Isle, the Gate of Ihotep (*y-hitp*), the bend<sup>b</sup> of Horus, Nibmat<sup>c</sup> (*Hr-nb-m<sup>3</sup>ct*, Snefru).<sup>d</sup> While I was of this rank <sup>22</sup>— — — everything, I [inspected]<sup>e</sup> the number of these troops, (although) never had any servant inspected.<sup>e</sup>

*Return of the Army*

313. This army returned<sup>f</sup> <sup>23</sup>in safety, (after) it had hacked up the land of the Sand-dwellers; this army returned in safety, (after) it had destroyed the land of the Sand-dwellers; <sup>24</sup>this army returned in safety, (after) it had overturned its strongholds; this army returned in safety, (after) it had cut down <sup>25</sup>its figs and its vines; this army returned in

<sup>a</sup>Verb. <sup>b</sup>A river bend, or a district.

<sup>c</sup>See Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XXX, 62.

<sup>d</sup>Are these three places in apposition or are they three different localities? Erman (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1891, 120, n. 1) thinks we should, as in some other analogous cases, consider the two following names as partitive appositions denoting two places located in the "northern isle." The latter is, I think, the same as the "Isle of Snefru," reached by Sinuhe on his flight through the same region (§ 493, l. 9). In view of the "bend of Snefru" above, this is at least very probable. The name is of course due to the activity of Snefru in this frontier region necessitated by his opening the mines in the Sinai peninsula.

<sup>e</sup>*wb*ḡ. It occurs also in Harkhuf inscriptions, § 334, where the meaning is modified to "explore."

<sup>f</sup>This verb is regularly used of the return from Asiatic campaigns in the Empire, and must have the same meaning here.

safety, (after) it had thrown fire in all its [troops]; this army returned<sup>26</sup> in safety, (after) it had slain troops therein, in many ten thousands; this army returned in safety (after) [it had carried away<sup>a</sup>] <sup>27</sup>therefrom a great multitude as living captives. His majesty praised me on account of it above everything.

*Revolts of the Bedwin*

**314.** His majesty sent me to despatch [this army] <sup>28</sup>five times, in order to traverse the land of the Sand-dwellers at each of their rebellions, with these troops. I did so that [his] majesty praised me [on account of it].

*Campaign in Southern Palestine*

**315.** <sup>29</sup>When it was said there were revolters because of a matter among these barbarians in the land of Gazelle-nose,<sup>b</sup> I crossed over <sup>30</sup>in troop-ships with these troops, and I voyaged to<sup>c</sup> the back of the height of the ridge<sup>d</sup> on <sup>31</sup>the north of the Sand-dwellers. When this army had been [brought] in the highway, I came and smote them all <sup>32</sup>and every revolter among them was slain.<sup>e</sup>

[Continued §§ 319 ff.]

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<sup>a</sup>There was probably a first object before *ymj*, with which "multitude" was in apposition.

<sup>b</sup>*m šrt* [—]. The reading "Tiba" for this name, given by Maspero (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 64) is not supported by the careful collation of Erman and Borchardt, nor by Piehl (*ibid.*, 26, 112); nor by Sethe.

<sup>c</sup>The same use of *m* as in Harkhuf, ll. 6 and 8, *et passim* in that text.

<sup>d</sup>The Palestinian highlands; Maspero in placing this region between Gaza and the Serbonis Lake seems to have overlooked the word "ridge;" there are no highlands in the locality defined by him. Uni must have landed a little farther north and reached the highlands of southern Palestine. See also Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 33.

<sup>e</sup>The end of Uni's career under Pepi I is marked by a line of separation on the stone.

## REIGN OF MERNERE

### INSCRIPTIONS AT THE FIRST CATARACT

316. These important inscriptions, which record a visit of Mernere to the region immediately above the first cataract, are supported in their statement that the Nubian chiefs came to do him obeisance, by the biography of Uni (ll. 46-47, § 324), whom Mernere sent to excavate a channel through the cataract. The same negro tribes who furnished the wood for Uni's quarry-boats, here do reverence to his king. This visit and his construction of the canal, are important evidences of Mernere's activity on the Nubian frontier, thus preparing the way for the conquest of lower Nubia in the Twelfth Dynasty.

#### *Northern Inscription<sup>a</sup>*

317. The king stands leaning upon his staff, with the lion's tail as his only symbol of royalty. Behind him is the god Khnum, and before him the chiefs of Nubia.<sup>b</sup> Over his head are the usual name and titles:<sup>c</sup> "*King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mernere;*" behind him the words:<sup>d</sup> "*Beloved of Khnum, Lord of the Cataract;*" below him the date: "*Year 5, second month of the third season<sup>e</sup> (tenth month), day 28.*"

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<sup>a</sup>Roughly cut on a block of granite south of the first cataract "on the eastern bank of the Nile, facing the southern extremity of the island of El-Hesseh;" (not "on" the island as stated, *Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report*, 1903-1904, 12); text by Sayce, *Recueil*, XV, 147; manuscript copy by Borchardt; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 110.

<sup>b</sup>There must be a row of Nubian chiefs before him (not noticed by Sayce) as in § 318.

<sup>c</sup>The treasurer's seal at the beginning is probably an error in the reading.

<sup>d</sup>Belonging to the lacking Khnum figure, for undoubtedly there is a figure of Khnum at the left of this column, not noticed by the copyists.

<sup>e</sup>Sayce has *ḥ.t*.

Before the king is a column of text, as follows:<sup>a</sup>

The coming of the king<sup>b</sup> himself, standing<sup>c</sup> behind the hill-country, while the chiefs of<sup>d</sup> Mazoi (*Mꜣꜣ*),<sup>e</sup> Irthet (*Yrtt*), and Wawat (*Wꜣwꜣt*), did obeisance<sup>f</sup> and gave great<sup>g</sup> praise.

*Southern Inscription*<sup>h</sup>

318. This is practically a duplicate of the preceding, but there is no date; one of the Nubian chiefs is still visible standing before the king, and the accompanying record is slightly fuller, thus:

The coming of the king himself, appearing behind the hill-country, that he might<sup>i</sup> see that which is in the hill-country, while the chiefs of, etc. (as above).<sup>i</sup>

INSCRIPTION OF UNI

[Continued from § 315]

III. CAREER UNDER MERNERE

319. By Mernere Uni is at length appointed to exalted office, for this king made him governor of the South. As such he was entrusted by the king with the expedition to the granite quarries at the first cataract to secure the neces-

<sup>a</sup>This text contains apparently only the beginning of this column; for the rest we fortunately possess a duplicate in Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, XIII, 338. See § 318.

<sup>b</sup>"King" is from Petrie, *Season in Egypt*. <sup>c</sup>Read *ꜥꜥ*.

<sup>d</sup>So far Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, is parallel and must be corrected to *st ꜥꜥꜣw* *ww*; the copyists could read no farther, as the line is badly preserved.

<sup>e</sup>The final *t* is of course misread from the determinative. Later: Verified by Borchartd's copy.

<sup>f</sup>*sn-tꜣ* "smelled the earth;" Sayce has misread the *tꜣ*-sign as *n*.

<sup>g</sup>Adverb *wꜣt*.

<sup>h</sup>On the rocks, "road valley near Philae," Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, XIII, 338 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 116, *b*=de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 17, No. 78. Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 111 (from the publications); de Morgan's text is simply a copy of Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, with all the mistakes; the best copy is Petrie, *Season in Egypt*.

<sup>i</sup>But only the *m* of "mazoi" and part of the word "praise" can be read.

sary stone for the royal pyramid. Likewise he led another expedition to the quarry of Hatnub, back of Amarna, to procure an alabaster altar of vast size for the pyramid-temple. He then canalized the first cataract, excavating five channels, probably the first ever made there. This is in accordance with the interest in Nubia, displayed by Mernere, who visited the cataract in person and received the homage of the lower Nubian chiefs (§§ 316 ff.). Finally, under Mernere, short as his reign was, Uni seems to have died.

*Appointment as Governor of the South*

320. When I was [master of the footstool]<sup>1</sup> of the palace and sandal-bearer, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mernere (*Mr-n-R*), my lord, who lives forever, made me count (*h<sup>2</sup> ty-<sup>9</sup>*), and governor of the South, <sup>33</sup>southward to Elephantine, and northward to Aphroditopolis;<sup>a</sup> for I was excellent to the heart of his majesty, for I was pleasant to the heart of his majesty, for his majesty loved me.

<sup>34</sup>When I was [master of the footstool]<sup>1</sup> and sandal-bearer, his majesty praised me for the watchfulness<sup>b</sup> and vigilance, which I showed in the place of audience, above his every official, above [his every] noble, <sup>35</sup>above his every servant. Never before was this office conferred upon any servant. I acted as governor of the South to his satisfaction.<sup>c</sup> Not one therein [—]<sup>d</sup> with [his] neighbor. <sup>36</sup>I accomplished all tasks; I numbered everything that is counted<sup>e</sup> to (the credit of) the court in this South twice; all the corvée that is counted to (the credit of) the court in this South twice. I performed the [— — 37 — —]<sup>f</sup> in this

<sup>a</sup>The northern and southern limits of Upper Egypt. See Griffith, *Ptahhotep*, II, p. 25.

<sup>b</sup>Read *hr rsw* (with determinative of staff and hide) these determinatives make it certain that we have the word *rs* "watch" as in Harkhuf (Letter l. 14, also with the hide).

<sup>c</sup>Lit.: "for him . . . to satisfaction." <sup>d</sup>Same verb as in l. 19.

<sup>e</sup>For the same use of "count to" see Rekhmire, II, 717.

<sup>f</sup>This obscure sentence is plainly parallel with the preceding, thus:

1. *ypp yht nb ypt n hnw m rs pn.*

2. *yry srt yrt kd m rs pn*; this suggests the rendering: "I exercised the *princship* that is exercised [—] in this South." *Sr t* would then be a feminine abstract from *sr* "prince;" but *kd* remains a problem. Possibly *my* has been omitted before it.



South; never before was the like done in this South. I did throughout so that his majesty praised me for it.

*Expedition to the Southern Quarries*

**321.** His majesty sent me <sup>38</sup>to Ibhet<sup>a</sup> (*Ybhꜣꜣt*), to bring the sarcophagus (named): "Chest-of-the-Living," together with its lid and the costly, splendid pyramidion for the pyramid (called): "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful," of the queen.<sup>b</sup>

**322.** <sup>39</sup>His majesty sent me to Elephantine<sup>c</sup> to bring a false door of granite,<sup>d</sup> together with its offering-tablet, doors and <sup>1</sup>settings<sup>1</sup> of granite; <sup>40</sup>to bring doorways and offering-tablets<sup>e</sup> of granite, belonging to the upper chamber of the pyramid (called): "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful," of the queen.<sup>b</sup> Then I sailed down-stream <sup>41</sup>to the pyramid (called): "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful," with 6 cargo-boats, 3 <sup>1</sup>tow<sup>1</sup>-boats and 3 <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup>boats to only one warship. Never had Ibhet

<sup>a</sup>This unknown quarry must be in the vicinity of Assuan, where black granite is found; the material of the sarcophagus (not given here) as discovered in Mernere's pyramid at Sakkara in January, 1881, by Mariette (just a few days before his death) is a fine black granite. (See Maspero, *Recueil*, IX, 178, and *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, 312). Brugsch however says: "aus rothgesprenkeltem Granit" (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1881, 4, and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1478). Maspero is corroborated by Petrie (*History of Egypt*, I, 97). The lid mentioned in our text is pushed back, but still lying on the sarcophagus, within which Mariette's native assistant, Mustapha, found the body of the king Mernere, now in Cairo Museum.—The "*pyramidion*" or final capstone of the pyramid was of finer material than the other masonry; it is no longer preserved, but tomb paintings often show this final block colored black by the artist. Cf. Maspero, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, 312.

<sup>b</sup>The exact place and meaning of the last three words are uncertain; possibly they refer to a burial place of the queen in connection with the pyramid.

<sup>c</sup>This voyage was made in connection with the preceding, as Ibhet could not have been far from Elephantine (see l. 42).

<sup>d</sup>Lit.: "*Granite, a false door.*"

<sup>e</sup>These terms have been compared with the pyramid as existent today by Maspero (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, 304-17). The meaning of *rwꜣt* "*false door*" and *stꜣ* "*offering-tablet*" had already been established by Erman (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 22 and *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 431); the *cꜣw* or "*doors*" Maspero thinks are the three portcullises found in the entrance passage; and the *rwꜣꜣt*, he thinks are the granite settings in the side walls in which the portcullises played. His identification of the "*upper chamber*" with the exterior chapel is obvious (so also Erman).

and <sup>42</sup>Elephantine<sup>a</sup> been visited<sup>b</sup> in the time of any kings with only one warship. Whatsoever his majesty commanded me I carried out<sup>c</sup> completely according to all that his majesty commanded me.

*Expedition to the Alabaster Quarry at Hatnub*

323. His majesty sent me to <sup>43</sup>Hatnub (*Ht-nb*) to bring a huge offering-table of hard stone<sup>d</sup> of Hatnub. I brought down this offering-table for him in only 17 days, it having been quarried<sup>e</sup> in Hatnub, and I had it proceed down-stream in this<sup>f</sup> cargo-boat. <sup>44</sup>I hewed for him a cargo-boat of acacia wood of 60 cubits in its length, and 30 cubits in its breadth, built<sup>g</sup> in only 17 days, in the third month of the third season (eleventh month). Although there was no <sup>45</sup>water on the 1—<sup>h</sup>, I landed in safety at the pyramid (called): “Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful;” and the whole was carried out by my hand, according to the mandate which the majesty of my lord had commanded me.

*Second Expedition to Southern Quarries*

324. His majesty sent [me]<sup>i</sup> to dig five canals<sup>j</sup> <sup>46</sup>in the South and to make 3 cargo-boats and 4 <sup>1</sup>tow<sup>l</sup>-boats of acacia wood of Wawat

<sup>a</sup>Showing both were visited on one trip.

<sup>b</sup>Lit.: “*been made or done*,” this rare idiom “*to do a place*” meaning “*to visit it*” occurs also in Harkhuf (Letter l. 9); and Khui (§ 361); see Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, May, 1901, 237–39.

<sup>c</sup>*Hpr* transitive.

<sup>d</sup>*Rwd·t* “*enduring or hard stone*” (not *šs*, alabaster, which is masculine) is applied to the stone of Hatnub in the Middle Kingdom also; (see § 696, l. 2).

<sup>e</sup>This word *wh* is used of cutting grain, papyrus, plucking grapes, separating blocks from the quarry, and the like. It is used (in pseudo-participle) exactly as here, in the Hammamat inscription of the official Sesostris (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 138, e): *twt . . . wh> m rnp·t tn*, “*a statue . . . quarried in this year*,” and often in the quarry inscriptions. The meaning “*suppression*” given it in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, 315, does not exist.

<sup>f</sup>The boat of which the description follows.

<sup>g</sup>Lit.: “*bind*” (*sp*), taken from the binding of reed boats, cf. Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, May, 1901, 238 f., note. It occurs also in Pepinakht, l. 12 (§ 360).

<sup>h</sup>This uncertain word (*tsw*) = perhaps “*flats*,” a pure guess. Maspero guesses “*dos de sable*.” The word also occurs in Ikhnofret’s stela (§ 669, l. 21). Petrie has made our passage the basis for reckoning the date of the period (*Season*, 19–21); but see § 43 above.

<sup>i</sup>Omitted in text.

<sup>j</sup>These must be for passing the cataracts; cf. the canal of Sesostris III (§§ 642 ff.).

(*W<sup>3</sup>w<sup>3</sup>.t*). Then the negro chiefs of Irthet (*Yrrt*), Wawat, Yam (*Y<sup>3</sup>m*) and Mazoi (*Md<sup>3</sup>*)<sup>a</sup> 47 drew timber therefor, and I did the whole in only one year. They were launched and laden with very large granite blocks for the pyramid (called): "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful." I then [—]<sup>b</sup> 48 for the palace in all these 5 canals, because I honored, because I [—], because I praised the fame of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mernere, who lives forever, more than all gods, and because I carried out everything <sup>49</sup>according to the mandate which his ka commanded me.

I was one beloved of his father, and praised of his mother; first-born <sup>50</sup>— pleasant to his brothers, the count, the real governor, of the South, revered by Osiris, Uni (*Wny*).

#### INSCRIPTIONS OF HARKHUF<sup>c</sup>

325. The important inscriptions of this tomb inform us more fully than any other source, of the commercial relations of the Old Kingdom with the Negro peoples of the extreme

<sup>a</sup>The same chiefs do obeisance to King Mernere at Assuan in the year 5. See §§ 316 ff.

<sup>b</sup>*snds.*

<sup>c</sup>The tombs of the Assuan nobles were first noticed (1885) and excavations in them were begun by Mustafa, British consular agent at Assuan. They were then excavated by Gen. Sir F. W. Grenfell (1885), assisted by Budge in 1886. See Budge, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, X, 4-40, and Bouriant, *Recueil*, X, 181-98 (supplemented by Scheil, *Recueil*, XIV, 94-96), who published the shorter texts, discovered before the end of 1886. The entire series of inscribed tombs discovered up to date has been published with plans by de Morgan (*Catalogue des monuments*, 141-201). They are seventeen in number, and unfortunately de Morgan's copyists have collated so carelessly that the more difficult texts are worthless. Only three of the tombs have furnished texts of length or great historical importance: that of Sebni (§§ 362 ff.), of Pepi-nakht (§§ 355 ff.), and Harkhuf. Curiously enough, the fellahin on the island of Elephantine discovered a mass of correspondence on papyrus belonging to the same noblemen who are interred in the cliffs opposite. These papyri of the Old Kingdom are in a very fragmentary condition, but will be published by the Berlin Museum, where they now are. One letter has already been translated by Erman in *Aus den Papyrus der Königlichen Museen*, Berlin, 1899, 91, 92.

The inscriptions of Harkhuf were first noticed by Schiaparelli and published by him in *Memorie della Reale Accad. dei Lincei anno CCLXXXIX*, Ser. 4<sup>a</sup>, Vol. I, Part I, 21-53 (1892). It was discussed by Maspero, *Revue Critique*, 1892, II, 357-66;

south, involving indirect traffic with the Sudan. Harkhuf was the most successful of the energetic caravan-leaders among the Assuan nobles. He made four journeys to the distant southern Nubian country of Yam and finally thence westward into unknown regions. Three of these journeys were under Mernere (§§ 332-35) and the last under Pepi II (§§ 350 ff.). His inscriptions and those of the other Assuan nobles, for the first time reveal to us the active commerce with the south conducted by these nobles residing on the southern frontier.

326. Harkhuf's full titles were:<sup>a</sup> "Count (*h<sup>3</sup>ty-<sup>c</sup>*), governor of the South,<sup>b</sup> wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, ritual priest, caravan-conductor." Besides these offices, he was also, "chamber-attendant, attached to Nekhen, lord of Nekheb."

327. He first enumerates some of the less important incidents of his life, in connection with some of the qualities of his character.

328. I came today from my city, I descended from my nome, I built a house, I set up the doors. I dug a lake, and I planted trees. The king praised me. My father made a will for me, (for) I was excellent ——— [one beloved] of his father, praised of his mother,

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translated and discussed by Erman, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XLVI, 574-79; with text, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1892, 78-83 (journeys), and *ibid.*, 1893, 65-73 (letter). The entire tomb with plan and texts is published by de Morgan (*Catalogue des monuments*, I, 162-73), but very inaccurately. As Erman's text (in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*) is based on indistinct photographs, no accurate text has yet been published. The accompanying translation is based upon my copy of the Berlin squeezes, photographs by Borchart, and Erman's recent collation of the original, which he kindly placed at my disposal.

Since writing the above, the excellent text of Sethe has appeared (*Urkunden*, I, 120-31).

<sup>a</sup>This and the following statement of his virtues are inscribed over the door of the tomb. See also the list of titles introducing the journeys.

<sup>b</sup>Harkhuf must have succeeded Uni in this office, who held it under Mernere also, dying under this king; but it was now becoming merely a rank.

whom all his brothers loved. I gave bread to the hungry, clothing to the naked, I ferried him who had no boat.

**329.** O ye living, who are upon earth, [who shall pass by this tomb whether] going down-stream or going up-stream, who shall say: "A thousand loaves, a thousand jars of beer for the owner of this tomb;" I will [—] for their sakes in the nether world. I am an excellent, equipped spirit, a ritual priest, whose mouth knows.<sup>a</sup>

**330.** As for any man who shall enter into [this] tomb [as his mortuary possession, I will seize<sup>b</sup>] him like a wild fowl; he shall be judged for it by the great god.

**331.** I was one saying good things and repeating what was loved. Never did I say aught evil, to a powerful one against any people, (for) I desired that it might be well with me in the great god's presence. Never did I [judge two brothers<sup>c</sup>] in such a way that a son was deprived of his paternal possession.

#### *Introduction<sup>d</sup>*

**332.** <sup>1</sup>Count, sole companion, ritual priest, chamber-attendant, judge attached to Nekhen, lord of Nekheb, wearer of the royal seal, caravan-conductor, privy councilor of all affairs of the South (*tp-rsy*), favorite of his lord, Harkhuf (*Hr-hw*), <sup>2</sup>. . . . .<sup>e</sup> who brings the products of all the countries to his lord, who brings the tribute of the royal ornaments, governor of all countries of the South (*tp-rsy*), who sets the terror of <sup>3</sup>Horus<sup>f</sup> among the countries, who does that which his lord praises,<sup>e</sup> . . . . . the revered by Ptah-Sokar, Harkhuf.

#### *First Journey*

**333.** <sup>4</sup>He says:

The majesty of Mernere (*Mr-n-R*<sup>c</sup>) my lord, sent me, together with my father, the sole companion, and ritual priest, Iri (*Yry*) to Yam (*Y'm*), in order to explore a road to this country. <sup>5</sup>I did it in only seven

<sup>a</sup>This is again a promise to intercede with the powers of the hereafter on behalf of the living who repeat a prayer for the sake of the deceased; as in § 252.

<sup>b</sup>See Seneni, § 338, l. 4.

<sup>c</sup>See Pepinakht, § 357, ll. 3, 4.

<sup>d</sup>At the right of the door in fourteen columns on the façade, before the figure of Harkhuf with staff.

<sup>e</sup>Some of the same titles repeated.

<sup>f</sup>The king.

months,<sup>a</sup> and I brought all (kinds of) gifts from it [— —]. I was very greatly praised for it.

*Second Journey*

**334.** His majesty sent me a second time <sup>6</sup>alone; I went forth upon the Elephantine road, and I descended<sup>b</sup> from Irthet (*Yrtt*), Mekher (*M<sup>c</sup>hr*), Tereres (*Trrs*), Irtheth (*Yrtt*), being an affair of eight months. When I descended<sup>b</sup> <sup>7</sup>I brought gifts from this country in very great quantity. Never <sup>8</sup>before was the like brought to this land.<sup>c</sup> I descended from the dwelling of the chief of Sethu<sup>d</sup> (*Stw*) and Irthet (*Yrtt*), <sup>9</sup>after I had explored<sup>e</sup> these countries. Never had<sup>f</sup> any companion or caravan-conductor who went forth to Yam (*Y<sup>3</sup>m*) <sup>10</sup>before this, done (it).<sup>g</sup>

*Third Journey*

**335.** His majesty now sent me a third time to Yam; <sup>11</sup>I went forth from [—] upon the Uhet (*Wh<sup>3</sup>t*)<sup>h</sup> road, and I found the chief of Yam <sup>12</sup>going to the land of Temeh (*Tmh*)<sup>i</sup> to smite Temeh <sup>13</sup>as far as the western corner of heaven. I went forth after him to the land of Temeh, <sup>14</sup>and I pacified him, until he praised all the gods for the king's sake.

<sup>a</sup>This is the length of the entire journey to and from his destination, including his stay there.

<sup>b</sup>"Descend" usually means "return," but it is uncertain whether it has this meaning in both cases here, though it certainly does in the second.

<sup>c</sup>Egypt.

<sup>d</sup>See Maspero (*Recueil*, XV, 103 f.), who places Sethu on both sides of the river south of Keneset, which is the first district south of Assuan.

<sup>e</sup>*wh<sup>3</sup>*, cf. § 312, Uni, l. 22, note. <sup>f</sup>*Gmyy* is perhaps a participle.

<sup>g</sup>The conclusion of this journey describes the unusual road taken to reach home, after he has already narrated the journey out, and the gifts brought back.

<sup>h</sup>According to the analogy of l. 6 ("Elephantine road"), Uhet must be the starting-point of the road. Hence Griffith's proposal to identify this word with *wh<sup>3</sup>t* "oasis," seems to me improbable (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XVI, 50). The verb *wh<sup>3</sup>* commonly means "to quarry stone;" may this not be a word for "quarry," and the road is then the old quarry road still used at the cataract? Harkhuf then later crosses to the west side.

<sup>i</sup>Same as later Temeh (*Tmh*) or Temehu (*Tmhw*).

*Supplement to Third Journey*<sup>a</sup>

336. 1—————<sup>b</sup>t,<sup>c</sup> *Yam* (*Y<sup>o</sup>m*) who followed — — in order to inform the majesty of Mernere, my lord, 2—————<sup>b</sup> after the chief of Yam. Now when I had pacified that chief of Yam 3————— below<sup>d</sup> Irthet (*Yrtt*) and above Sethu (*Stw*), I found the chief of Irthet, Sethu, and Wawat 4— — 1— — 1.

I descended with 300 asses laden with incense, ebony, heknu, grain, <sup>5</sup>panthers, — —, ivory, <sup>1</sup>throw-sticks<sup>1</sup>, and every good product. Now when the chief of Irthet, Sethu, <sup>6</sup>and Wawat saw how strong and numerous was the troop of Yam, which descended with me to the court, and the soldiers who had been sent with me, (then) <sup>7</sup>this [chief] brought and gave to me bulls and small cattle,<sup>e</sup> and conducted me to the roads of the highlands of Irthet, because I was more excellent, vigilant, and — <sup>8</sup>than any count, companion or caravan-conductor, who had been sent to Yam before. Now, when the servant<sup>f</sup> there was descending to the court, one<sup>g</sup> sent the —, <sup>9</sup>sole companion, the master of the bath, Khuni (*Hwny*),<sup>h</sup> up-stream with a vessel laden with date-wine, <sup>1</sup>cakes<sup>1</sup>, bread, and beer. <sup>10</sup>The count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, ritual priest, treasurer of the god, privy councilor of decrees, the revered, Harkhuf.

[Continued §§ 350 ff.]

<sup>a</sup>In horizontal lines from right to left, on the left side of the door (on the façade). Below it Harkhuf's son, Zemi (*Dmy*), offers him incense.

<sup>b</sup>Over one-third line. Harkhuf evidently sent a messenger to inform the Pharaoh that he had gone "*after the chief of Yam.*"

<sup>c</sup>Either Wawat or Irthet preceded, as determinative shows.

<sup>d</sup>He is here giving his return route. <sup>f</sup>Modest for "I."

<sup>e</sup>Or gazelles; not asses.

<sup>g</sup>The king.

<sup>h</sup>Or *R<sup>c</sup>-wny*, the *R<sup>c</sup>* or *h*-sign is possibly a hole; one is tempted to find our old friend Uni here.

## REIGN OF PEPI II

### CONVEYANCE OF LAND BY IDU, CALLED ALSO SENENI<sup>a</sup>

337. Idu, or Seneni, was priest of Pepi I, Mernere, and Pepi II. This document recorded in his tomb constitutes a gift of land to his wife, apparently as her mortuary endowment, though it is not so called. Strangely enough, the location, size, and limits of the field are not given.

338. <sup>1</sup>Seneni, he saith:

<sup>2</sup>“As for this field, which I have conveyed ———— <sup>3</sup>which I have given to my beloved wife, Disnek (*Dyy·s-nk*) [<sup>4</sup>it is her<sup>1</sup>] true [<sup>5</sup>possession. As for any persons<sup>1</sup>] <sup>4</sup>who shall take it from this Disnek, they shall be —<sup>b</sup> for it by the great god, <sup>5</sup>lord of heaven, and I will seize them [like<sup>c</sup>] wild fowl. I am (now) an — and excellent spirit. I know <sup>6</sup>———— . . . . . <sup>7</sup>[I have done] this for this Disnek, because she was so greatly honored in <sup>10</sup>my heart; she said nothing to oppose my heart . . . . .”

Disnek, she saith:

“I was one amiable — —, beloved of her entire city. As for any persons who shall take this land from me, I will enter into judgment with them, by<sup>d</sup> the great god.”

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### SINAI INSCRIPTIONS<sup>e</sup>

339. There is no relief with the king's titulary, but the queen-mother is depicted with her inscription. The

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<sup>a</sup>Inscription in his cliff-tomb in Kasr-es-Saiyâd; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 114, a; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 115-117.

<sup>b</sup>Some verb of condemnation is lost.

<sup>c</sup>See Harkhuf, § 330.

<sup>d</sup>We expect “before.”

<sup>e</sup>Cut on the rocks of Wadi Maghara; text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 116, a, and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1496, No. 25; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 112, 113; Morgan, *Recherches*, 236; Weill, *Sinai*, 126; see Rougé, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux VI premières dynasties*, 130, 131.



date, the royal names and titles occupy four vertical columns, and beneath these is the inscription of the officers and officials who conducted the expedition.

*Date*

**340.** Year of the second numbering of all large and small cattle of the North and South.<sup>a</sup>

*King's Name*

Horus: Nuterkhu, Neferkere (*Ntr-ḥ<sup>c</sup>-w, Nfr-k<sup>2</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>*), who lives forever; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Golden Horus: Kherep; Neferkere, who lives forever, like Re.

*Queen's Name*

**341.** King's-mother, attached to<sup>b</sup> the pyramid: "Neferkere-Remains-Living," king's-wife, his beloved, attached to the pyramid: "Merire-Remains-Beautiful," Enekhnes-Merire, whom all the gods love.

*Leader of the Expedition*

**342.** Royal commission, sent with the treasurer of the god, Hepi (*H<sup>2</sup>py*), to the terrace, the name of which is "Malachite."<sup>c</sup>

*Members of the Expedition*

**343.** Captain, Bekneptah.

Overseer of stone-work,<sup>d</sup> Uzai (*Wd<sup>2</sup>y*).

Chief scribe, Senezem.

Captain and                    } { Merire-onekh.

Caravan-conductor } { Neke-onekh (*N-k<sup>2</sup>-c-nḥ*).

<sup>a</sup>Cf. the same fiscal date under Isesi (§ 266). It is remarkable that we find "North" placed first here.

<sup>b</sup>This is not a simple genitive *n(y)t* belonging to the preceding as it has always been rendered, but an independent title: *n(y)t Nfr-k<sup>2</sup>-R<sup>c</sup> mn c-nḥ* = "One who belongs to the pyramid, etc.;" compare the title of the princess Henetre: *n(y)t Wnys nfr yswt* (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 360). *N* masculine is employed in the same way with kings' names, as in Sabu's tomb (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 375).

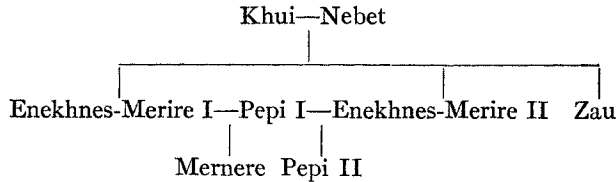
<sup>c</sup>See duplicate under Isesi (§ 266).

<sup>d</sup>Read *št*, see § 239, note.

Captain	}	{	Yekerib ( <i>Ykr-yb</i> ).
and Chief			Khnum-enkhef ( <i>Hnm-<sup>c</sup>nh·f</i> ).
Overseer	}	{	Hemukhrow ( <i>Hmw-hrw</i> ).
Judge and			Zaty ( <i>D<sup>3</sup>tyy</i> ).
Scribe	}	{	— khet.
Leader of the			}
Crew of	Senezem.		
Recruits	}	{	
Caravan-conductor, — khuf, — khuf, — khuf			(— <i>hwf</i> ).

STELA OF THE TWO QUEENS, ENEKHNES-MERIRE<sup>a</sup>

344. The history of the royal family disclosed by this stela is of great interest as well as of historical importance. Zau, the vizier and chief justice under Pepi II, and perhaps earlier, erected the monument in memory of his brothers and sisters at Abydos. He was the son of a prince, named Khui, and his mother's name was Nebet. Both his sisters married king Pepi I; one became the mother of Mernere, the other of Pepi II, so that besides being half-brothers, the two kings were on the mother's side also cousins. The family tree appears thus:



With both his sisters queens and likewise successively the mother of the king, we can see how Zau became vizier

<sup>a</sup>Tablet found built into a well at Abydos by Mariette, now in Cairo, No. 1431; complete text: Mariette, *Abydos*, I, 2; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 153, 154; see also Mariette, *Catalogue général d'Abydos*, No. 523, and Rougé, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux VI premières dynasties*, 129-84; I also had access to Erman's collation for the lexicon, which corrected a number of mistakes in the published texts. This collation is now published by Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 117-19.

and chief justice under Pepi II; Pepi II's mother Enekhnes-Merire II was much honored by him, and appears with him in the dating of his Sinai inscription (§ 339).

*Inscription over First Queen*

**345.** King's-wife, (attached to)<sup>a</sup> the pyramid (called): "Merire-Remains-Beautiful," very amiable, very favored, 'great in possessions', companion of Horus,<sup>b</sup> '—' of Horus,<sup>b</sup> king's-mother, (attached to) the pyramid (called): "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful," Enekhnes-Merire.

*Inscription over Second Queen*

**346.** King's-wife, (attached to) the pyramid (called): "Merire-Remains-Beautiful," very amiable, very favored, daughter of the god, 'great in possessions,' companion of Horus,<sup>b</sup> '—' of Horus, king's-mother, (attached to) the pyramid (called): "Neferkere-Remains-Alive," Enekhnes-Merire.

*Inscription over Man*

**347.** Their brother, the chief justice and vizier, Zau (*D<sup>c</sup>w*).

Below the preceding is Zau's dedicatory inscription introduced by an enumeration of his five brothers, all of whom bore the name Zau. Thus, the whole family, six brothers Zau, and two sisters Enekhnes-Merire, are all commemorated.

*Dedicatory Inscription*

**348.** Their brother, the real hereditary prince, count (*h<sup>2</sup>ty-<sup>c</sup>*) and governor of the pyramid-city, chief justice and vizier, overseer of the king's records, prophet of the gods of Buto, prophet of the gods of Nekhen, chief ritual priest, sem priest and master of all wardrobes, wearer of the royal seal, judge '—', revered by the god, Zau.

**349.** I made this in Abydos of Thinis, as one in honor with the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkere, who lives

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<sup>a</sup>That the pyramid names in these titles are to be so rendered is made certain by the Wadi Maghara inscription of Pepi, I (§§ 302 ff.), where they occur also, but with *n(y)t* preceding; see note, *ibid.*

<sup>b</sup>The king.

forever, with the majesty of King<sup>a</sup> Merire and King<sup>a</sup> Mernere, out of love for the nome in which I was born by the favorite of the king, Nebet (*Nb' t*), to my father the hereditary prince, count, (meri-nuter) priest, honored by the great god, Khui (*Hwy*). O ye living, who are upon earth, every superior prophet, every prophet, every [—], of the temple of the majesty of my lord, Osiris (*Hnty ymntyw*); as the king lives for you,<sup>b</sup> ye shall take for me the mortuary offerings from the income of this temple, of that which I have conveyed by a decree, and of that which ye convey for yourselves, when ye see my offices with the king; because I was more honored by my lord than [any] noble

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### INSCRIPTIONS OF HARKHUF

[Continued from § 336]

#### LETTER OF PEPI II

350. Harkhuf has made a fourth voyage to Yam, and having sent word to the king of his safe return with many products of the south and especially a dancing dwarf, the king writes him a letter of thanks, promising great rewards, etc., if the dwarf is safely brought to court. This letter, Harkhuf had engraved on the façade of his tomb, which was already complete, so that a further space for the letter had to be smoothed on the extreme right of the façade, where none of the other Assuan tombs has any inscriptions at all. Thus was preserved to us the only complete royal letter of the Old Kingdom.<sup>c</sup> It is as follows:

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<sup>a</sup>Same as preceding title of Neferkere. Both these kings were deceased at this time, as they do not receive the predicate "*who lives forever*."

<sup>b</sup>An oath.

<sup>c</sup>With the exception of the Berlin papyrus fragments (§ 325, note) and the fragmentary letters (§§ 271, 273), it is the only letter of any kind surviving from the Old Kingdom.

*Date and Introduction*

**351.** <sup>1</sup>Royal seal, year 2, third month of the first season, (third month), day 15.

<sup>2</sup>Royal decree (to)<sup>a</sup> the sole companion, the ritual priest and caravan-conductor, Harkhuf (*Hr-hw*).

*Acknowledgment of Harkhuf's Letter*

<sup>3</sup>I have noted the matter of this thy letter, which thou hast sent to the king, to the palace, in order that one<sup>b</sup> might know that thou hast descended <sup>4</sup>in safety from Yam with the army which was with thee. Thou hast said [in] this thy letter, that thou hast brought <sup>5</sup>all great and beautiful gifts, which Hathor, mistress of Imu (*Ym<sup>33</sup>w*) hath given to the ka of the <sup>6</sup>king of Upper and Lower Egypt Neferkere (*Njr-k<sup>2</sup>-R<sup>9</sup>*), who liveth forever and ever. Thou hast said in this thy letter,<sup>c</sup> that thou hast brought a dancing dwarf<sup>d</sup> <sup>7</sup>of the god from the land of spirits, like the dwarf which <sup>8</sup>the treasurer of the god Burded (*B<sup>2</sup>-wr-dd*) brought from Punt in the time of Isesi (*Yssy*). Thou hast said to my majesty: "Never <sup>9</sup>before has one like him been brought by any other who has visited<sup>e</sup> Yam."

*Harkhuf's Rewards*

**352.** Each year <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> thee <sup>2</sup>doing that which thy lord desires and praises; thou spendest day and night <sup>1</sup>with the caravan<sup>1</sup> in doing that which <sup>11</sup>thy lord desires, praises and commands. His majesty will make <sup>12</sup>thy many excellent honors to be an ornament for the son of thy son forever, so that all people will say <sup>13</sup>when they hear what my majesty doeth for thee: "Is there anything like this<sup>f</sup> which was done for the sole companion, Harkhuf, <sup>14</sup>when he descended from Yam, because of the

<sup>a</sup>Omitted also in both the letters to Senezemib (§§ 271, 273).

<sup>b</sup>Circumlocution for "the king."

<sup>c</sup>By emending in accordance with the preceding sentence.

<sup>d</sup>Lit.: "a dwarf of dances;" cf. the same usage in Hebrew syntax. See Erman's explanation, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1893, 72, 73, and Pietschmann, *ibid.*, 73, 74.

<sup>e</sup>The verb is *yry* "to make or do" with Yam as direct object; the reading is certain. The same usage occurs in Uni (l. 41), and Khui (§ 361); see Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, May, 1901, 237-39.

<sup>f</sup>*Nj*.

vigilance which he showed, to do that which his lord desired, praised and commanded!"

*King's Instructions*

**353.** <sup>15</sup>Come northward<sup>a</sup> to the court immediately; [—] <sup>16</sup>thou shalt bring this dwarf with thee, which thou bringest living, prosperous and healthy from the land of spirits, <sup>17</sup>for the dances of the god, to rejoice and <sup>18</sup>gladden<sup>1</sup> the heart of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkere, who lives forever. <sup>18</sup>When he goes down with thee into the vessel, appoint excellent people, who shall be beside him <sup>19</sup>on each side of the vessel; take care lest he fall into the water. When [he] sleeps at night appoint excellent people, <sup>20</sup>who shall sleep beside him in his tent;<sup>b</sup> inspect ten times a night. <sup>21</sup>My majesty desires to see this dwarf more than the gifts of Sinai<sup>c</sup> and <sup>22</sup>of Punt (*Pwnt*). If thou arrivest at court this dwarf being with thee <sup>23</sup>alive, prosperous and healthy, my majesty will do for thee a greater thing than that which was done for the treasurer of the god, Burded (*B<sup>3</sup>-wr-dd*) <sup>24</sup>in the time of Isesi (*Yssy*), according to the heart's desire of my majesty to see this dwarf.

**354.** <sup>25</sup>Commands have been sent to the chief of the New Towns,<sup>d</sup> the companion, and superior prophet, to command that sustenance<sup>e</sup> be taken <sup>26</sup>from him in every store-city and every temple, without stinting therein.

INSCRIPTIONS OF PEPI-NAKHT<sup>f</sup>

**355.** This nobleman of Elephantine was of high rank, and was entrusted with important commissions by King Pepi II.

<sup>a</sup>It is not necessary to emend *dh't* to *dp't*; undoubtedly *hd't*, infinitive of *hd* "sail down-stream" is meant; *hd* makes feminine infinitive in early texts; see Sethe, *Verbum*, I, 238.

<sup>b</sup>This word (*hn*) is certain from Merneptah's Karnak text, l. 62 (III, 589), where it also means "tent."

<sup>c</sup>*By<sup>3</sup>*, the name of a mining region in Sinai; as it is sometimes used with the demonstrative (*pn*, "this"), I have rendered it "mine" in the inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom, where it is not uncommon.

<sup>d</sup>See § 628.

<sup>e</sup>*ss<sup>3</sup>* = lit.: "a causing to be satisfied;" the reference is to the provisioning of the expedition by the places passed as it returns. The king has sent orders to the proper officer in each place that he shall furnish such provision.

<sup>f</sup>From his cliff-tomb opposite Assuan (see § 325, note, on the excavation of this tomb); it is No. 9 in de Morgan's plan (*Catalogue des monuments*, 142). The inscription occupies the façade, seven columns on each side of the door; and

He led two campaigns in Nubia (§§ 358, 359), and a remarkable expedition to the north Red Sea for the rescue of the body of a nobleman bound for Punt, who had been killed by the Sand-dwellers while building his ship for the voyage (§ 360).

356. His titles were as follows:<sup>a</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Custodian of the domain, scribe of the phyle of the pyramid (called): "Neferkere-Remains-Alive," wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, Hekib (*Hkꜣ-yb*);<sup>b</sup> governor of the pyramid-city: "Pepi-Remains-Beautiful," sole companion, ritual priest, caravan-conductor, who brings the products of the countries to his lord, Pepi-nakht; <sup>3</sup>chief of the phyle of the pyramid: "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful;" who sets the terror of Horus [among] the countries, the revered Hekib, <sup>4</sup>count, sole companion, chamber-attendant, judge attached to Nekhen, lord of Nekheb, revered by the great god, Pepi-nakht.

One more title: "*Governor of foreign countries*," is found in column 14.

357. His narrative inscription<sup>c</sup> is as follows:

1. . . . .<sup>d</sup>

#### *Pepi-nakht's Character*

<sup>2</sup>I was one who said that which was good, and repeated that which was loved. Never did I say anything evil to a powerful one against any people, (for) I desired that it be well with me in <sup>3</sup>the great god's presence. I gave bread to the hungry, and clothing to the naked. Never

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originally four lines of titles at the top on each side, but only two remain on the north (right) side. The texts (with plan of tomb) are published in de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 174-76, but de Morgan's copyists (see 325, note) have failed of the correct reading in all difficult passages. The accompanying translation is based upon my copy of the Berlin squeezes; a collation of the original by Erman and Steindorff, very kindly placed at my disposal. [Later: Sethe's collation with the squeezes has since been published by him (*Urkunden*, I, 131-35).]

<sup>a</sup>Four lines at the top, south side, omitting repetitions.

<sup>b</sup>North side, last upper line states that this was Pepi-nakht's "*beautiful name*."

<sup>c</sup>Seven columns on each side of the door; we take the right side first.

<sup>d</sup>Titles (next the door); numbering then passes to outside (right) and proceeds toward the door.

did I judge two brothers <sup>4</sup>in such a way that a son was deprived of his paternal possession. I was one beloved of his father, praised of his mother, <sup>5</sup>whom his brothers and sisters loved.

*First Nubian Expedition*

358. The majesty of my lord sent me, to hack up Wawat (*W<sup>2</sup>w<sup>2</sup>·t*) and Irthet (*Yrtt*). I did <sup>6</sup>so that my lord praised me. I slew a great number<sup>a</sup> there consisting of chiefs' children and excellent commanders of [—]. I brought <sup>7</sup>a great number of them to the court as living prisoners<sup>b</sup>, while I was at the head of many mighty soldiers as a hero. <sup>8</sup>The heart of my lord was satisfied with me in every commission with which he<sup>c</sup> sent me.

*Second Nubian Expedition*

359. Now, the majesty of my lord sent me to pacify these countries. <sup>9</sup>I did so that my lord praised me exceedingly, above everything. I brought the two chiefs of these countries to the court in safety, <sup>10</sup>bulls and live [goats] which they [—] to the court, together with chiefs' children, and the two commanders of [—], who were with them. <sup>11</sup>— — that which the lords of the South do, because I was excellent in watchfulness and because I did that which my lord desired.

*Expedition against Asiatics*

360. Now the majesty of my lord sent me <sup>12</sup>to the country of the Asiatics (*c<sup>2</sup>m[w]*) to bring for him the sole companion, [commander]<sup>d</sup> of the sailors, the caravan-conductor, Enekhēt (*c<sup>2</sup>n-c<sup>2</sup>nht*), who was building a ship there for Punt, <sup>13</sup>when the Asiatics (*c<sup>2</sup>mw*) belonging to the Sand-dwellers<sup>e</sup> (*hr(y)w-š<sup>c</sup>*) slew him, together with a troop of the army which was with him<sup>f</sup> <sup>14</sup>. . . . .<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup>*tr* a variant of *tnw*.

<sup>b</sup>Determinative of men and women.

<sup>c</sup>The pronoun (*f*) is in the joint of the masonry.

<sup>d</sup>Some such title must have been in the lacuna; this title and the preceding (*smr*) "*companion*" are written beside the column. The whole is totally unrecognizable in de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*.

<sup>e</sup>The Sand-dwellers have either pushed very far south at this time (if able to disturb the building of ships for the Punt voyage) or these ships were built in the extreme northern Red Sea. The former supposition is the more probable.

<sup>f</sup>An idiom for: "*under his command*."

<sup>g</sup>Pepi-nakht's name and titles.



15\_\_\_\_\_a 16\_\_\_\_\_ 17among his people. I [—] and I slew  
 people among them, (I) and the troop of the army which was with me.  
 .....<sup>b</sup>

#### INSCRIPTION IN THE TOMB OF KHUI<sup>c</sup>

**361.** One of the pillars contains the following text over Khnemhotep, one of the officials so commonly called *hrp-sh*, who is carrying offerings to Khui (*Hwy*):

The *hrp-sh*, Khnemhotep, says: "I went forth with my lord, the count and treasurer of the god, Thethi (*Tty*) to Kush, and (my lord the count and treasurer of the god), Khui<sup>d</sup> (*Hwy*), to Punt, [11] times. I was brought back in safety after I had visited<sup>e</sup> these countries.

#### INSCRIPTIONS OF SEBNI<sup>f</sup>

**362.** The adventure which Sebni engraved upon the façade of his tomb is not merely a tale of the greatest interest, but also very important for its religious, geographical, ad-

<sup>a</sup>It is probable that this fragment of four lines (of which only two are preserved) form the conclusion of the expedition against the Asiatics. Sethe has also inserted them here.

<sup>b</sup>Pepi-nakht's name and title.

<sup>c</sup>In the cliffs opposite Assuan; No. 9 on de Morgan's plan (*Catalogue des monuments*, 142); texts, *ibid.*, 157, 158, but so badly that it is very difficult to use them, and I unfortunately had no other copy (for this tomb was overlooked by both Budge and Bouriant, see § 325, note on excavation), for my note (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, May, 1901, 238), where text is also published, Sethe has since published the same text (*Urkunden*, I, 140, 141), and his explanation is more probable than mine, though it does not affect the conclusions of my note.

<sup>d</sup>It is quite incomprehensible that Khui's name should not appear here as the lord of Khnemhotep. Hence Sethe's restoration is very probable. This Thethi's tomb is located in the same cliff (de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 199); besides the titles above, he bore the title: "who brings the products of the southern countries to the king," which we should expect of one who voyaged to Kush.

<sup>e</sup>Lit.: "done," as in Uni, § 322, l. 41 and Harkhuf, Letter, § 351, l. 9.

<sup>f</sup>From his tomb hewn in the cliffs on the west shore at Assuan (for the excavation see § 325, note); it bears the No. 26, and is called No. 2 on de Morgan's plan (*Catalogue des monuments*, 14). It is the largest tomb at Assuan. It is described by Budge with plan (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, X, 16-23) and by Bouriant (*Recueil*, X, 182-85) both of whom took squeezes and

ministrative, and historical data, coming from a period of which we know so very little. Unfortunately, we possess only the second half of the narrative, and this in a condition so fragmentary that a general outline is necessary in order to make the contents clear.

363. The first half, now no longer legible, must have contained the narrative of an expedition into Nubia by Sebni's father, Mekhu. On this expedition Mekhu in some way meets his death.<sup>a</sup> Here the surviving portion of the inscription begins; information of Mekhu's death is brought to his son Sebni, and he sets out with troops and 100 asses, laden with presents to rescue his father's body for embalmment; otherwise of course there would be no life hereafter for Mekhu (ll. 1-3). He sent messengers to the king to inform

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promised (1887) soon to publish the long text. It was finally published (1893) by de Morgan (*Catalogue des monuments*, 147, 148), but his copyists have clearly spent no time on the difficult collation, and the publication is unusable; the inscription has never been translated or treated. The long text occupies nineteen columns on the right of the door; these are the continuation from the beginning on the left of the door, which has now unfortunately almost totally disappeared. The nineteen columns are crossed by six wide horizontal cracks, some of which were filled up and did not interrupt the scribe's writing, and some of which he jumped over. It is always a question whether the crack has caused a lacuna, e. g., in ll. 11-17 in the third crack from the top there are no lacunæ. Moreover, the whole text is very badly weathered, and one can sit for hours pouring over one line in varying lights, without being certain of the reading. The accompanying translation is based on my copy of the Berlin squeezes, collated with Erman's collation of the original; Erman and I then spent an entire day going over the doubtful passages in the squeezes together, and it is to be hoped that the text is now fixed. Sethe has since published all our readings and his own collation of the squeeze (*Urkunden*, I, 135-40).

<sup>a</sup>It is certainly remarkable that of the three narrative inscriptions of Assuan, two contain accounts of the death of a nobleman on a foreign expedition and the rescue of the body: Mekhu in Nubia and Enekheth on the northern shores of the Red Sea (§ 360). For the tomb of an Egyptian buried in Sinai, see Borchartd, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1897, 112. Another Egyptian who apparently perished in the desolate quarries of Hammamat is commemorated on the rocks as follows: "O ye living, the ones who come to this land, who desire to return to the king, bearing their gifts to their lord; say ye, '1000 loaves, 1000 jars of beer, etc., etc., for the wearer of the royal seal, etc., Sheme (Šm?).'" Text in Golénisheff, *Hammamat*, III, No. 1.

him of his departure and the purpose of his journey (l. 3). He reached Wawat, and pacified it and its further neighbors, secured the body of his father and started upon the return (ll. 3-6). On reaching Wawat again, he sent the officer Iri and two companions to the court with some of the native products which his father had acquired (ll. 6, 7). They were evidently instructed to return with embalmers and equipment for embalming the deceased Mekhu, for as Sebni descended the river he met Iri returning from the court with all the people and paraphernalia necessary for the embalment (ll. 8-10). Iri brought also written instructions from the king to Sebni, containing promises of great reward for his pious deed (ll. 10-12). Sebni then buried his father and proceeded to Memphis with the Nubian products which his father had gotten (ll. 12, 13). He was highly praised by the king, and given very rich gifts (ll. 14-16). Later a communication from the vizier reached him, conveying to him a gift of land, either as a further reward for his good deed to refund him his expenses, or as an endowment of his father's tomb (ll. 17-19).

364. Sebni's titles are:<sup>a</sup> *Count, wearer of the royal seal, governor of the South, sole companion, ritual priest, Sebni* (*S<sup>3</sup> bny*).

365. The long text is as follows:

*Information of Mekhu's Death*

1-----<sup>b</sup> [[Then came<sup>1</sup>] the ship captain, Intef (*Yntf*), and the overseer of -----<sup>1</sup> Behkesi (*Bhksy*),<sup>c</sup> to give information<sup>d</sup> that the sole companion, and ritual priest <sup>2</sup>Me[khu] [[was dead<sup>1</sup>].

<sup>a</sup>De Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 146, omitting repetitions.

<sup>b</sup>One-third line.

<sup>c</sup>Probably the name of a Nubian; it is determined by the soldier, but bearing an *c<sup>3</sup>m*-club; a similar club is before the *y* (!) which renders the reading questionable. Of course, one thinks of *nh<sup>3</sup>sy*, but we have the wrong *s*.

<sup>d</sup>*rd' t r<sup>h</sup> ntt*.

*Departure of Sebni*

366. [Then I took<sup>1</sup>] a troop of my estate, and 100 asses with me, bearing ointment, honey, clothing, oil (*ihnt*) and [—] of every sack,<sup>a</sup> in order to [make presents [in]<sup>1</sup> these countries [and I went out to]<sup>1</sup> these countries of <sup>3</sup>the negroes.

*Sebni's Message to the King*

367. ———<sup>b</sup> [Then I sent<sup>1</sup>] people<sup>c</sup> who were in the Door,<sup>d</sup> and I made letters to give information that I had gone out to bring this my father, from Wawat (*W<sup>3</sup>w<sup>3</sup>·t*), and Utheth (*Wt̄t̄*).

*Expedition of Sebni*

368. I pacified <sup>4</sup>these countries ———<sup>e</sup> [in<sup>1</sup> the countries of [—] the name of which is Mether (*Mtr*). [I loaded<sup>1</sup>] the body of this sole companion upon an ass, and I had him carried by the troop of my estate. <sup>5</sup>I made for him a coffin ———<sup>f</sup> I brought [—] — — — in order to bring him out of these countries. Never did I send [—] or any negro-caravan <sup>6</sup>———<sup>g</sup>. I was greatly praised on account of it.

*Return of Sebni*

369. I descended to Wawat and Uthek (*Wtk*)<sup>h</sup> and I [sent<sup>1</sup>] the royal attendant Iri (*Yry*) with two people of my estate as [—],<sup>i</sup> bearing incense, clothing,<sup>j</sup> ———,<sup>k</sup> 3 cubits long, one tusk, in order to give information that my [best one<sup>1</sup>] was 6 cubits long; one [hide<sup>1</sup>], and that I had brought this my father and all kinds of gifts from these countries.

<sup>a</sup>Or "every equipment" (*c pr*) or "every costume" (*ḏb*)?

<sup>b</sup>One-third line.

<sup>c</sup>The determinative and plural ending are all that is visible.

<sup>d</sup>Elephantine is often called the "Door of the South;" and it is probably meant here.

<sup>e</sup>One-quarter line.

<sup>f</sup>One-quarter line, followed by fragmentary words.

<sup>g</sup>One-quarter line.

<sup>h</sup>Or "Uthek of Wawat." The *t̄* of Uthek is doubtful.

<sup>i</sup>It is possible that this curious word contains the names of the two people.

*imnh' t-ntr.*

<sup>k</sup>One-fifth line.

*Embalment of Mekhu*

370. <sup>8</sup>When I descended to give information ———<sup>a</sup> from the bend, (*W<sup>c</sup>r·t*) behold, Iri [‘‘came’’] from the court, [‘‘as I’’] came, to embalm<sup>b</sup> the count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, ritual priest, <sup>9</sup>this Mekhu (*Mḥw*). He brought ——— embalmers, the chief ritual priest, *ymy-w<sup>c</sup>b*, — *shḏ*,<sup>c</sup> the mourners and all offerings of the [‘‘White’’] House. He brought festival oil from the double White House <sup>10</sup>and secret things from the double *w<sup>c</sup>b·t*-<sup>d</sup>house, ——— from the *ḥ*-house, clothing of the double White House, and all the burial equipment which is issued from the court, like the issuance for the hereditary prince, Meru.

*Sebni’s Letter from the King*

371. Now, when this <sup>11</sup>Iri arrived, he brought to me a command (also), [‘‘to’’] praise me on account of it. It was said in<sup>e</sup> this command: ‘‘I will do for thee every excellent thing, as a reward for this great deed, because of bringing thy [father]<sup>f</sup> ———. <sup>12</sup>[N]ever<sup>g</sup> has the like happened before.

*Mekhu’s Burial*

I buried this my father in his tomb of the necropolis; never was one of his rank<sup>h</sup> (so) buried [before].

*Sebni’s Honors at Court*

372. I [went north] to Memphis<sup>i</sup> bearing the gifts <sup>13</sup>of these countries which this count<sup>j</sup> had brought. I deposited every gift which this my father deposited — before this my army and the negroes [— —]. <sup>14</sup>The servant<sup>k</sup> there was praised at the court, and the servant there [‘‘gave praise’’] to the king, because the servant there was so greatly favored

<sup>a</sup>One-fifth line.

<sup>c</sup>Titles of funeral functionaries.

<sup>b</sup>Or ceremoniously to receive.

<sup>d</sup>The ‘‘*pure*’’ house.

<sup>e</sup>r as in the letter of Harkhuf, § 351, l. 7.

<sup>f</sup>The determinative of ‘‘*father*’’ is still visible.

<sup>g</sup>The negative *n* is not visible either on the squeeze or original.

<sup>h</sup>Lit.: ‘‘*his equal*.’’ Zau affirms the same regarding his father (§ 382); there is a remarkable resemblance between this and the inscription of Zau.

<sup>i</sup>Lit.: ‘‘*the wall*,’’ a designation for Memphis, e. g., several times in Papyrus Harris.

<sup>j</sup>His father.

<sup>k</sup>Common circumlocution for ‘‘I.’’

by [the king<sup>1</sup> <sup>15</sup>f—]. There was given to me a chest of carob wood, — containing — and containing ointment; there was given [to me] [—] — — with clothing; <sup>16</sup>there was given to me the gold of praise; there were given to me rations, meat, and fowl. Now, when [—] — — [—] — — <sup>17</sup>by my lord.

*Sebni's Reward*

373. Said the servant <sup>a</sup>there: "There came to me a command of the chief judge — — — [lord of] Nekheb, <sup>18</sup>the inferior prophet Ini (*Yny*) while he was [—] in Per<sup>b</sup>-Hathor-Resit (*Pr-Hthr-rsy't*) [saying: that I might bring<sup>c1</sup>] this [my father<sup>1</sup>] immediately <sup>19</sup>that I might bury this [my father<sup>1</sup>] in his tomb north of Nekheb.

*Sebni's Reward*

374. There were given to me 30 (+<sup>d</sup>x) stat of land in the North and Southland, in the domain<sup>e</sup> of the pyramid: "Neferkere-Remains-Alive," — — in order to honor the servant there.

INSCRIPTIONS OF IBI<sup>f</sup>

375. The nomarch, Ibi, begins the history of a new family in the twelfth nome, whose relations with the royal house are especially instructive. In all probability Ibi was the son of the powerful Zau of Abydos (§§ 344 ff.), nomarch of the Thinite nome, whose two sisters became the queens of Pepi I. Ibi was a contemporary of Pepi I, Mernere, and Pepi II during the first part of his reign. Although Mernere appointed him to the nomarchy of the Cerastes-Mountain, it

<sup>a</sup>Common circumlocution for "I."

<sup>e</sup>I see traces of *nd* on the squeeze.

<sup>b</sup>See II, 728.

<sup>d</sup>Not more than 70.

<sup>e</sup>Or possibly "as custodian of the domain of the pyramid, etc.;" meaning that he received the gift by virtue of his office.

<sup>f</sup>From his tomb in the southern necropolis of Der el-Gebrāwi; published by Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir-el-Gebrāwi*, Pl. 23 and 7; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 142-5 (from Davies).

is also probable that he was appointed to it in confirmation of his title to it through his marriage to a lady named Rahenem (*R<sup>c</sup> hnm*), in whom we may recognize the heiress to the said nome. He thus became the head, not only of his hereditary nome of Thinis, the ancient capital of Egypt, but also of the twelfth nome. To the latter for some reason he transferred his residence. It is possible that he had not at first received the Thinite nome, and that on his marriage, he went to the Cerastes-Mountain first, as his only nome, and remained there even after his appointment to the Thinite nome. But it is his office in the latter of which he is most proud.

**376.** The office of “*great lord*” or at least that of “*count*” (*h<sup>2</sup> ty-<sup>c</sup>*) of a nome, was at this time evidently one of appointment by favor of Pharaoh. The royal house thus maintained control of the landed lords, who were the descendants of the local governors of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties.

Ibi introduced a severe and effective discipline into the organization of the nome, and must have prospered greatly from its revenues. His son Zau-Shemai succeeded him in both nomes.<sup>a</sup> (§ 380)

**377.** <sup>a</sup>Wearer<sup>b</sup> of the royal seal, commander of a stronghold, sole companion, great lord of the Thinite nome, Ibi (*Yby*); he saith:

“I was a youth who bound on the gir[dle under] [the majesty] [of] the King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Merire (Pepi I)].”

[“The majesty of] <sup>3</sup>my lord, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mernere, living — [— —] [appointed me] as count (*h<sup>2</sup> ty-<sup>c</sup>*), sole companion, and great lord of the nome of the Cerastes-Mountain.”

**378.** “The majesty of my lord, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Nefkere (Pepi II)], appointed me governor of the South.”

The real governor of the South, <sup>4</sup>Ibi; he saith: “As for any people who shall enter into this tomb [as] their mortuary property, [I] will

<sup>a</sup>Davies, *ibid.*, 33, 34.

<sup>b</sup>Over the east wall, on the left, Davies, Pl. 23.

seize [them] <sup>5</sup>like wild fowl. I am an excellent, equipped soul, I know every charm and the secrets of the court, the [—] which is in the nether world. I was <sup>6</sup>one beloved of [his] father [praise]d of his mother, honored by the king, honored by his city-god, possessed of love, Ibi.”

<sup>a</sup>———— “Now, I gave [bread] to [the hungry], clothing <sup>5</sup>to the naked . . . . . of grain, <sup>6</sup>of oxen, and of the peasants of my domain.

**379.** <sup>1</sup>. . . . . <sup>b</sup> I have made this<sup>c</sup> from the towns of my domain as a mortuary possession, and from the royal mortuary offering which the majesty of my lord gave to me; in order to make for me —————  
<sup>2</sup>with peasants of my domain, filled with bulls, goats, and asses, as [—]  
—, except the possessions of my father, while I was commander of the stronghold of the granary: 203 stat of land [which] the majesty of my lord gave [to me], to make me rich.

#### INSCRIPTION OF ZAU<sup>d</sup>

**380.** This nomarch of the Cerastes-Mountain was the grandson of Ibi whom Mernere had appointed to this nome. Ibi's son Zau-Shemai died early, and his son Zau succeeded him. He was a contemporary of Pepi II, under whom he held the office of “*keeper of the door of the South*,” an office usually belonging to the nobles of Elephantine. At his father's death he was obliged to petition the king that he might succeed to the paternal nomarchy.<sup>e</sup> His account

<sup>a</sup>Over the east wall, on the right; Davies, Pl. XXIII.

<sup>b</sup>On the east wall over the scenes of cattle and under women bringing offerings (Davies, Pl. VII). The omitted introduction contains only name and titles of Ibi, preceded by “*For [the k> of]*.”

<sup>c</sup>The endowment from which the offerings depicted before him are drawn. It includes eleven villages or settlements.

<sup>d</sup>In the Gebel Marâg, marked on the Fund map (Pl. IV) as “Dêr-el-Gebrâwi Tombs,” north of Assiut on the east side of the river. Text copied by Sayce and published in *Recueil*, XIII, 65-67; comments by Maspero, *ibid.*, 68 ff. Corrections by Sayce, *ibid.*, XX, 170 ff.; better by Davies, *Deir-el-Gebrâwi*, II, Pl. XIII, but unfortunately the inscription suffered much in the interim between Sayce's and Davies' visits; Sethe (from Davies), *Urkunden*, I, 145-47. See also Newberry, *Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report*, 1892-1893, 14, 15.

<sup>e</sup>See Davies, *ibid.*, II, 35 ff.



of his construction of a common tomb for his father, and himself, is the most remarkable expression of sentiment which this remote age has bequeathed us. He seems to have been the last of his line.

*Introduction*

**381.** <sup>1</sup>His eldest son, his beloved, of his body; — — <sup>2</sup>his favorite, his darling, <sup>a</sup> prince of the palace, wearer of the royal seal, commander of a stronghold, <sup>3</sup>real sole companion, great lord<sup>b</sup> of the nome of Cerastes-Mountain,"<sup>c</sup> Zau (*D*<sup>c</sup>*w*). I say: "I <sup>4</sup>was one beloved of his father, praised of his mother, <sup>5</sup>whom his brothers and sisters loved.

*Father's Burial*

**382.** I buried <sup>6</sup>my father the count, Zau, beyond the splendor, beyond the goodliness of any [<sup>7</sup>equal] of his <sup>7</sup>who was in this South. I requested as an honor<sup>d</sup> <sup>8</sup>from the majesty of my lord, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkere (Pepi II), who lives forever, that <sup>9</sup>there be taken<sup>e</sup> a coffin, clothing, and festival perfume <sup>10</sup>for this<sup>f</sup> Zau. His majesty caused <sup>11</sup>that the custodian of the royal domain should bring a coffin of wood, festival perfume, <sup>12</sup>(*s*<sup>g</sup>*l*-)oil, clothing, 200 (pieces) of prime (*h*<sup>h</sup><sup>g</sup>*tyw*) linen, <sup>13</sup>and of fine southern linen of [<sup>14</sup>—], taken from the double White House <sup>14</sup>of the court for this Zau. Never had it been done <sup>15</sup>to another of his rank.

*Son's Burial*

**383.** Now, I caused that I should be buried in the same tomb <sup>16</sup>with this Zau, in order that I might be with him in one place; <sup>17</sup>not, however, because I was not in a position<sup>g</sup> to make a second tomb; but I did this in order that <sup>18</sup>I might see this Zau every day, in order that I might be with him in one place."

<sup>a</sup>Lit.: "in his heart, belonging to the place of his heart."

<sup>b</sup>The rule that this title (*hry-d*<sup>g</sup>*d*<sup>g</sup>-*c*<sup>g</sup>) is to be found only in the Middle Kingdom (*Bersheh*, II, 4) does not hold. The title arose in the Sixth Dynasty.

<sup>c</sup>Name of the Antaeopolite nome.

<sup>d</sup>The same rare word *s*<sup>g</sup>*r* "honor" as in Harkhuf, Letter, § 352, l. 11.

<sup>e</sup>*šd*; it occurs in precisely the same connection in the Abydos inscription of *D*<sup>g</sup>*w*, see § 349, and is the regular word for legally collecting.

<sup>f</sup>The demonstrative is customary in referring to the dead; cf. the deceased Mekhu in the Sebni inscription or the pyramid texts *passim*.

<sup>g</sup>*h*<sup>g</sup>*r*-*c*; lit.: "having the hand" or "power."

*Zau's Prayer*

384. The count, commander of a stronghold, sole companion,<sup>19</sup>Zau; I say: "O ye living, who are upon earth, servants like me; those whom the king shall love <sup>20</sup>and their city-god shall favor, are they who shall say: 'A thousand loaves, beer, oxen, geese, clothing for Zau, son of Zau.'"

*Zau Succeeds His Father*

385. I requested <sup>21</sup>[fro]m [his majesty]<sup>a</sup> that I might fulfil the office of count, of this Zau. His majesty caused that there be issued (lit., made) the decree appointing him<sup>b</sup> count, as an offering which the king gives.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Something similar must have been in the lacuna (nearly one-third line); there is not room for "*as an honor from,*" as in ll. 7, 8.

<sup>b</sup>The change of person is very sudden, but Zau can be referring to no other than himself, from the standpoint of the command issued.

<sup>c</sup>The mode of obtaining the office of *h<sup>21</sup>ty-c* "*count*" at this time, points clearly to its source in the royal favor. The designation of the appointment as "*an offering which the king gives.*" the usual term for a mortuary gift of the king, certainly indicates that this term did not originally designate solely a mortuary gift, but must have at first enjoyed a wider application, which in course of time was narrowed to exclusively funerary largesses of the king. [Later: A letter from Eduard Meyer suggests that the rank of count was given to the deceased father after his death as a mortuary honor. This would explain its designation as a mortuary gift, and the pronoun "*him.*"]

## REIGN OF ITY

### HAMMAMAT INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

**386.** This is the only inscription of King Ity known. His pyramid mentioned in the inscription has never been found<sup>b</sup> and the place of the king in the series of Pharaohs is uncertain. The inscription is dated in his first year, and records an expedition which was sent to procure the finer stone necessary for the king's pyramid.

**387.** Year of the first occurrence (of the numbering), fourth month of the first season, day 2.

— Ihy (*Yhy*); Khufu (*Hwf*); commander of the army — Yakhetirni (*Y<sup>3</sup> h' t yrn(y)*).<sup>c</sup>

Came the ship captain, Ipi (*Ypy*), and Nekuptah (*Pth-n-k<sup>3</sup>w*) to do the work on the pyramid (called): "Fame-of-Ity" (*Yty*); together with 200 soldiers and 200 workmen, making<sup>1</sup> 200 (sic!).

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<sup>a</sup>Cut on the rocks in the Wadi Hammamat; text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 115 f.; partially Golénischeff. *Hammamat*, VII; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 148; see Maspero, *Recueil*, 17, 56 ff.

<sup>b</sup>See Maspero, *ibid.*, 56 ff.

<sup>c</sup>These names were perhaps later inserted between the date and the following.

## REIGN OF IMHOTEP

### HAMMAMAT INSCRIPTION

388. This unknown king, from whom we have no other documents, sent his eldest son Zaty, who held the office of treasurer of the god, as well as that of general in the army, to the Hammamat quarries to procure a monument, possibly a statue for the king. Zaty left the following record of the enterprise:

389. <sup>1</sup>Commission which the eldest king's-son, the treasurer of the god, commander of the army, Zaty (*D<sup>2</sup>ty*), called Kenofer (*K<sup>2</sup>-n/r*) executed.

390. <sup>2</sup>I was at the front of the people (*h<sup>2</sup>m*) in the day of battle, <sup>3</sup>I controlled the going in the day of attack, by my counsel. <sup>4</sup>I was exalted above multitudes, I made this work of Imhotep<sup>a</sup> <sup>5</sup>with <sup>6</sup>1,000 men of the palace, <sup>7</sup>1,200 'soldiers' and <sup>8</sup>50 '—'. <sup>8</sup>His majesty sent this numerous troop <sup>9</sup>from the court. <sup>10</sup>I made this work while '—' in every '—', while his majesty gave <sup>11</sup>50 oxen and 200 asses<sup>b</sup> every day.

Palace-overseer, Intef.

Scribe of the marine, Mereri.

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<sup>a</sup>The name is in a cartouche with the determinative of a king.

<sup>b</sup>For the transport of the monument.

THE NINTH AND TENTH DYNASTIES

## INSCRIPTIONS OF SIUT<sup>a</sup>

391. Of the five inscribed tombs of Siut, three<sup>b</sup> date from the period of the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties, and form our only contemporary source of information for that obscure epoch. They belonged to three princes of the Lycopolite nome: Tefibi (§§ 393-97), his son Kheti I (§§ 398-404), and another Kheti (II) (§§ 405-14), whose relation to the two others is not clear. These princes as nomarchs all bore the same titles: "*Hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, superior prophet of Upwawet, lord of Siut.*" They were the continual friends and supporters of the weak Heracleopolitan kings, forming a buffer state, warding off the attacks of the rebellious Theban princes, who are the ancestors of the Eleventh Dynasty.<sup>c</sup> Unfortunately, they do not mention any of the Thebans against whom they fought, and only one of the Heracleopolitans whom they served—Merikere.

392. The language of these texts is exceedingly obscure and difficult; these hindrances, together with the very

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<sup>a</sup>In an upper row of three tombs, side by side, high up in the face of the cliffs overlooking the modern city of Assiut (or Siut). First copied by the expedition of Napoleon, they were almost wholly neglected till late in last century, having in the interim been frightfully mutilated (serving as a stone quarry!). Finally, after repeated visits, from 1886 to 1888, Mr. F. Ll. Griffith published a careful text, not only of the difficult original, but, where necessary, also of all existing earlier fragmentary copies (*The Inscriptions of Siut and Dêr Rîzeh*, London, 1889). Mr. Griffith furnished an account of his edition, and a digest of the content of the texts in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, III, 121-29, 164-68, 174-84, 244-52, where he also gives an exhaustive bibliography. Maspero (*Revue critique*, II (1889), 410-21) reviewed Griffith's work and gave a very free paraphrase of the texts, some of which is repeated, *Dawn*, 456-58.

<sup>b</sup>For the remaining two, which belong to the Twelfth Dynasty, see §§ 535 ff.

<sup>c</sup>See §§ 415 ff.

fragmentary state of the texts, often make translation quite impossible. The restorations make no claim to reproduce the lost words, but merely indicate the probable connection.

#### I. INSCRIPTION OF TEFIBI<sup>a</sup>

**393.** The conflict with the South is here clearer than anywhere else, but unfortunately the unfinished condition of the inscription (see l. 16, n., § 396) breaks all continuity. The content in outline is as follows: Tefibi adjures all passers-by to pray for him (l. 1). He sets forth the beneficence of his rule—a rule without distinction of persons, maintaining the security of all, even if abroad at night (ll. 2–12). Because of his beneficent rule his son, when a child, succeeded him without opposition (ll. 13–15). On his (Tefibi's) first campaign, the southern nomes from Elephantine to an uncertain point on the north were united against him (l. 16). He defeated them first on the west shore, driving them as far as "*the fortress of the port of the South*" (Abydos? ll. 16–18). He then crossed to the east shore, where he defeated a second army of the enemy (ll. 19–22) and also discomfited a hostile fleet (ll. 23, 24). He thus suppressed rebellion and had opportunity to promote deserving officers (ll. 25–27). The result was widespread respect for his energetic government, prosperity of the temples, and envy of the evil-minded (ll. 36–40).

#### *Address to Passers*

**394.** O ye living! O ye who are upon earth, children who shall be born; those who shall sail down-stream, those who shall sail up-stream,

<sup>a</sup>Tomb III. The southernmost of the three tombs on the same terrace, north wall east of pillars. Published by Griffith, *Sit*, 11, 12. See above, § 391, note.

those who shall come in the following of Upwawet, lord of Siut, those who shall pass by this bend,<sup>a</sup> those who shall enter into this tomb, those who shall see that which is in it; as Upwawet, lord of Siut and Anubis, lord of the 'cave', live for you, ye shall pray for the mortuary offering for the prince Tefibi.

*Tefibi's Kind Rule*

395. <sup>2</sup>The hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, superior prophet of Upwawet, lord of Siut, Tefibi (*Tj-yby*), says: ———<sup>b</sup> 3f—<sup>1</sup>. Hearken to me, ye who are to come. I was openhanded to everyone, [— —] ———<sup>b</sup> 4f— —], I was one of excellent plans, one useful to his city, one [—] of face toward a petition, ———<sup>b</sup> 5f— — —] one of open face to the widow. . . . . I was a Nile<sup>c</sup> ———<sup>b</sup> 6f for his people. . . . . 7. . . . .<sup>d</sup> 10When night came, he who slept on the road gave me praise, for he was like a man in his house; the fear of my soldier was his protection. . . . .<sup>13</sup>. Then<sup>e</sup> came my son in my place, the officials were 'under' his 'authority'. He ruled as a child<sup>f</sup> of a cubit (high); the city rejoiced over him, she remembered <sup>14</sup>the good.<sup>g</sup> Because, any noble who shall do good to the people, who shall surpass the virtue of him that begot him, he shall be — <sup>15</sup>blessed in the hereafter, his son shall abide in his father's house, his memory shall be pleasant in the city, his statue shall be glorified and 'carried'<sup>h</sup> by the children of his house.

<sup>a</sup>Used alike of the cliffs or the river.

<sup>b</sup>About one-third line.

<sup>c</sup>Amenhotep IV also calls himself a Nile for his people.

<sup>d</sup>The omissions contain obscure phrases, chiefly referring to Tefibi's kindness to his people.

<sup>e</sup>See Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1893, 108.

<sup>f</sup>The text has "person." The stature indicated, "1 cubit," is that of a newborn child, as shown by Papyrus Westcar (X, 10), where the three children are each "of one cubit" at birth. The same statement is made of Khety II (§ 413, l. 21), where it is confirmed by the context, and seems to be a favorite boast of such princes: in Benihasan (Tomb 13), the owner, Khnumhotep, boasts of being one "whose place was advanced while he was a child." The Pharaohs make the same boast.

<sup>g</sup>Meaning the good his father had done, as the following shows.

<sup>h</sup>It shall receive the proper ceremonies and be carried in the festal processions. Cf. the contracts of Hepzefi, §§ 535 ff.



*War with the South*

396. <sup>16a</sup>The first time that my soldiers fought with the southern<sup>b</sup> nomes, which came together southward as far as Elephantine and northward as far as <sup>16c</sup> ———, [“they smote them”] as far <sup>17</sup>as the southern boundary.<sup>d</sup> <sup>17</sup> — — the west side.<sup>e</sup> When I came to the city,<sup>f</sup> I overthrew [“the foe”] ———<sup>g</sup> [“I drove him”] <sup>18</sup> — as far as the fortress of the port of the South.<sup>h</sup> He gave to me land, while I did not restore his town ———<sup>g</sup> <sup>19</sup> — — I I reached the east side, sailing up-stream; [“there came”] another,<sup>i</sup> like a jackal <sup>19</sup> — — ———<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Lines 16–40 were never finished; the lower third was never cut (my restorations chiefly indicate the probable connection). Moreover, they were plastered over, and a new inscription containing the conventional encomium was painted on the plaster. As the content of this very portion of the text is political, this must have been the motive for effacing it. See Griffith, *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, III, 128. As the effacement was done before the inscription was finished, it would seem that there was interference from the south during the construction of the tomb.

<sup>b</sup>The word “southern” is broken and not quite certain. It exactly fits the remaining traces as well as the context, and later course of the war.

<sup>c</sup>Maspero reads “Gaou” (*Kau*), (*Revue critique*, 1889, II, 416), but wisely adds? The same name occurs at Benihasan (§ 620, note), but cannot be located.

<sup>d</sup>The southern boundary of the Heracleopolitan kings (?), which was then not far north of Abydos; cf. § 423. In this case there would have been an invasion of the Heracleopolitan kingdom by the Thebans, who were then driven out.

<sup>e</sup>A reference to his campaign on the west shore of the river; the east shore follows in l. 19.

<sup>f</sup>This must have been a city on the frontier between the territory of the north and south, for he has just passed “the southern boundary,” and in the next line reaches “the fortress of the port of the South.”

<sup>g</sup>About one-third line.

<sup>h</sup>See Erman (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1891, 120), who suggests that *tp ršy* is really the south, and *šm* middle Egypt. This distinction is apparently maintained in these Siut texts, and is clear at this point, where Tefibi drives his enemy as far as the southern (*ršy*) border of the Northern Kingdom, and then “as far as the fortress of the port of the South (*tp ršy*).” The northernmost point to which *tp ršy* is applied is the Thinite nome. Now, the Theban king, Intef (Horus: *Wꜥḥ ꜥnḥ*), states that he captured all of the Thinite (Abydos) nome, and “opened all her fortresses” (§ 423), using the very word for fortress (*ytḥ*) employed in l. 18, above. He also made the Aphroditopolite nome (just north of the Thinite nome) “the door of the North” (*ibid.*). Remembering that Tefibi’s campaign is thus far confined to the west shore, one would suspect that Tefibi’s “port of the South” is Intef’s “door of the North.” All the indications, therefore, point to this region as the southern extremity of Tefibi’s campaign.

<sup>i</sup>With the determinative of a person.

<sup>20</sup>with another army from his confederacy. I went out against him with one —. There was no fear ———<sup>a</sup> <sup>21</sup>He hastened to battle like the [light]; the Lycopolite nome — like a bull going forth ———<sup>a</sup> <sup>22</sup>— forever. I ceased not to fight [to the end [making use<sup>1</sup> of the south wind] as well as the north wind, of the east wind as well as [of the west wind] ———<sup>a</sup> <sup>23</sup>— —]. He fell in the water, his ships ran aground, his army were like bulls, ———<sup>a</sup> [when attacked by wild beasts, and running] <sup>24</sup>with tails to the front.<sup>b</sup> [— —] — — — fire was put ———<sup>a</sup> <sup>25</sup>— — — —] I drove out rebellion by —, by the plan of Upwawet, ———<sup>a</sup> <sup>26</sup>of a mighty bull. When a man did well, [I placed] him at the head of my soldiers ———<sup>a</sup> <sup>27</sup>for his lord.<sup>c</sup> . . . . . ———<sup>a</sup> <sup>36</sup>Heracleopolis. The land was under the fear of my soldiers; no highland was free from fear. If he made ———<sup>a</sup> <sup>37</sup>fire in the southern nomes. He did it as an affair of his land, to equip ———<sup>a</sup>

#### Conclusion

397. <sup>38</sup>The temples were made to flourish, offerings were made to the gods; the wicked saw it, ———<sup>a</sup> <sup>39</sup>he put not eternity before him, he looked not to the future, he saw evil ———<sup>a</sup> <sup>40</sup>. . . . .

#### II. INSCRIPTION OF KHETI I<sup>d</sup>

398. Kheti (called I<sup>e</sup> to distinguish him from Kheti II of the next tomb) was the son of Tefibi of the preceding tomb. He inherited the lands and titles of his father, being a nomarch by inheritance from his mother (l. 8). Besides the usual functions of the Assiut nomarchs, he was also

<sup>a</sup>About one-third line.

<sup>b</sup>Of the pursuer.

<sup>c</sup>The following lines, to l. 35, inclusive, are very fragmentary and obscure. In l. 28 there is reference to "the South" ("Oh, speak a word to the South (*tp ršy*)"). In l. 33 the goddesses "Bast of the South" (*B<sup>3</sup> stt nt tp-ršy*) and Hereret (*Ḥrri*) are mentioned, and the following lines (to l. 35, inclusive) consist of epithets in the feminine, referring to one of them. In l. 35 there is reference to Middle Egypt (*šm c*) and the building of "its fortresses."

<sup>d</sup>In the middle tomb (IV) of the three on the same terrace, on the north wall, opposite the scene of the soldiers with large shields. Text in Griffith, *Siut*, Pls. 13, 14, 20. See also § 391.

<sup>e</sup>Griffith, *Siut*, IV, 75; cf. Kheti II's title, § 410.

“*military commander of the whole land.*” His inscription is of great importance for the inner history of the Heracleopolitan kingdom, but is unfortunately fragmentary and obscure. After some references to Kheti’s services to the king, Merikere (ll. 1-7), and the ancient origin of Kheti’s family (ll. 7-9), it is stated that he has chastised Middle Egypt for the king’s sake (l. 10), a clear indication of insurrection within the Heracleopolitan kingdom. This trouble quelled, Kheti conducts the king up-river, probably to receive the homage of the kingdom, which, including the nobles of Ehnas, was in great fear, as Kheti’s enormous fleet passed up (ll. 10-15). Returning to Ehnas-Heracleopolis, the king is received with acclamation by old and young (ll. 16, 17). Kheti now returns to his home and is commissioned to restore the ancient temple of Upwawet, which, at the present day, lies somewhere beneath the modern buildings of Siut (ll. 17-31). The people lived in peace and security during the remainder of Kheti’s reign (ll. 31-34).

399. Of the first seven lines only the upper portion (from a third to a half line) is preserved. The content was important, but only the merest scraps are now intelligible. They show that the text is an address to the deceased Kheti, of historical import, and are as follows: “—————  
*a stock<sup>a</sup> of ancient time* —————<sup>3</sup>. . . . .  
*King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Merikere (Mry-k<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>)*  
 . . . . . <sup>6</sup>*of Heracleopolis. Thou overthrowest*  
*the rebels. . . . .* ————— <sup>7</sup>*lord of the two regions,*  
*beloved of the god, shade of the whole land.”* These last epithets (l. 7) refer to the king; and probably Kheti’s services to him in overthrowing the rebels, furnish the connection. The text now becomes more connected, though still very obscure in places.

<sup>a</sup>Referring to the ancient origin of Kheti’s family; see also l. 8.

*Kheti's Lineage*

400. [Heir]<sup>8</sup> of a ruler, ruler of rulers,<sup>a</sup> son of a ruler, son of the daughter of a ruler, an ancient stock —————<sup>b</sup> [son of] the daughter of a ruler, <sup>9</sup>— of the beginning, a noble [without] an equal. . . . .  
<sup>10</sup>. . . . .<sup>c</sup> for thou hast put [fear] in the land, thou hast chastised Middle Egypt for his<sup>d</sup> sake alone.

*Services for the King*

401. Thou didst convey him up-river, the <sup>11</sup>heaven cleared for him,<sup>e</sup> the whole land was with him, the counts of Middle Egypt, and the great ones of Heracleopolis, the district<sup>f</sup> [of] the queen<sup>g</sup> of the land, who came <sup>12</sup>to repel the evil-doer. The land trembled, Middle Egypt [feared], all the people were in terror, the villages in [panic], <sup>13</sup>fear entered into their limbs. The officials of Pharaoh were (a prey) to fear, the favorites to the terror of Heracleopolis. <sup>14</sup>The land burned in its<sup>h</sup> flame

<sup>a</sup>Griffith (*Babylonian and Oriental Record*, III, 164) and later Maspero (*Revue critique*, II [1889], 413) have interpreted this passage as indicating that Kheti was the descendant of five princes. It seems to me there are two convincing objections to this: (1) five princes could be written in Egyptian only by employing the usual construction with the numeral 5, not by repeating the word "prince" (*hk*) five times! (2) The usual method of indicating a line of descent is the one employed in this very passage, by repeating the paternity of the parent (*s s t hk*); hence a male descent through five generations of princes would be written (*s hk*) "son of a ruler," repeated five times. (I have rendered the politically very unprecise title *hk* by the equally unprecise "ruler;" it is probably synonymous with nomarch in this passage.) Of the 5 *hk*-signs, the first is genitive after a lost noun preceding, as shown by the surviving *n*; the second is *nomen regens* of a genitive construction in which the following plural of *hk* (written three times as often) is *nomen rectum*. The last construction, written in the same way with four *hk*-signs, is found in Sirepowet's tomb (Assuan, de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 185, l. 8), and often with other words, e. g., in the name of Amenhotep IV's queen (*njr-njrw* with four *njr*-signs).

<sup>b</sup>About one-third line.

<sup>c</sup>King Merikere's benefits to Kheti are referred to.

<sup>d</sup>The king's sake.

<sup>e</sup>See Erman (*Gespräch*, 69, 70), who makes the verb transitive: "he cleared the heavens."

<sup>f</sup>Lit.: "(river)-bend" (many different localities are so designated) apparently in apposition with Heracleopolis. See Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1891, 120, and Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, II, 21, and *infra index*.

<sup>g</sup>Some protecting goddess.

<sup>h</sup>The pronoun refers to Heracleopolis.

.....<sup>15</sup>..... Never was the front of a fleet brought into Sheshotep, while its rear was still at [—]<sup>1a</sup>.....<sup>16</sup>..... They descended by water and landed at Heracleopolis. The city came, rejoicing over [Ther] lord, the son of her lord; women <sup>17</sup>mingled with men, old men and children.

#### *Old Age*

402. <sup>b</sup>The ruler's (*hḳꜣ*) son, he reached his city, entering into the house of his father. He saw the <sup>18</sup>approach<sup>1</sup> to their house,<sup>c</sup> his sarcophagus, his old age. When a man is in his place (his tomb), the city [— —] <sup>19</sup>of eternity [— —].

#### *Building the Temple*

403. Thy city-god loves thee, Tefibi's son, Kheti. He hath <sup>1</sup>presented<sup>1</sup> thee, that he might look to the future in order to <sup>20</sup>restore his temple, in order to raise the ancient walls, the original places of offering, to [—] the venerable ground, <sup>21</sup>[— — —] which Ptah built with his fingers, which Thoth founded, for Upwawet, lord of Siut,<sup>d</sup> <sup>1</sup>by<sup>1</sup> command of the king, <sup>22</sup>the ruler (*hḳꜣ*) of the Two Lands, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Merikere, to make a monument for the souls of Anubis, the great god; that he (the king) might spend for him (the god) millions of years, that he might repeat Sed Jubilees; <sup>23</sup>under the leadership<sup>e</sup> of the confidant of the king, Tefibi's son, Kheti, great lord of Middle

<sup>a</sup>The reading of this second locality is unfortunately quite uncertain. Maspero reads "Hou" (*Revue critique*, II (1889), 418). Sheshotep is the modern Shatb (Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 205), just south of Assiut, while Hou is 125 miles farther up-river. It is impossible that the fleet should have been 125 miles long. Moreover, the direction of the fleet's movement (l. 10) is up-river, so that the rear must have been at a place below Sheshotep. The return down-river is narrated in l. 16 following. [Since writing the above, I notice that Maspero (*Dawn*, 457) has changed "Hou" to "Gebel-Abufodah," which would make the fleet about 30 miles long; but this is a guess like "Hou."]

<sup>b</sup>As the preceding paragraph closes very abruptly, it is possible that the following paragraph contains the words of the rejoicing multitude to the king as he enters the city.

<sup>c</sup>His own approach to the house, meaning the tomb of his ancestors; hence his death.

<sup>d</sup>This "by" would of course not refer to the building by the gods, but to the proposed restoration.

<sup>e</sup>Meaning that the building of the temple is to be under Kheti's leadership.

Egypt. Behold, thy<sup>a</sup> name shall be forever in the temple <sup>24</sup>of Upwawet, thy memory shall be beautiful in the colonnade. Some shall communicate it to others,<sup>b</sup> [—] the future [—] <sup>25</sup>in years, one hundred after another hundred,<sup>c</sup> of added life upon earth; thou shalt (still) be among them that dwell on [earth].<sup>1</sup> . . . . . <sup>31</sup>. . . . .<sup>d</sup>

*Peaceful Rule*

**404.** How beautiful is that which happens in thy time, the city is satisfied with thee. That which was concealed from the people, <sup>32</sup>thou hast done it [openly], in order to make gifts to Siut, — by thy plan alone. Every [official] was at his post, <sup>33</sup>there was no one fighting, nor any shooting an arrow. The child was not smitten beside his mother, (nor) the citizen beside his wife. There was no evil-doer <sup>34</sup>in [—], nor any one doing violence against his house [—]. Thy city-god, thy father who loveth thee, [leadeth] thee.

III. INSCRIPTION OF KHETI II<sup>e</sup>

**405.** Kheti II's relation to the two preceding nomarchs is not quite certain, but the unmolested rule which he enjoyed would seem to indicate that he lived before the war with the Thebans, and hence before Tefibi. His inscription curiously inverts the order of his life, placing his youth last, but does not mention the name of his father.<sup>f</sup> On the death of his maternal grandfather, who was lord of the Lycopolite nome, Kheti's mother ruled until he grew up to succeed to his maternal heritage (ll. 40-25). Meantime, he was educated with the royal children by the king (ll.

<sup>a</sup>Pronoun refers to Kheti.

<sup>b</sup>The text has a dittography of *n kt*.

<sup>c</sup>See Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1893, 113.

<sup>d</sup>The intervening lines contain praise of Kheti as builder of the temple. The text then proceeds to the government of the nome.

<sup>e</sup>In tomb V, the northernmost of the three tombs on the same terrace, in a false door on the back wall (ll. 1-24) and on the south wall, inner half. Text, Griffith, *Siut*, Pl. 15. See § 391.

<sup>f</sup>On his mother's name, see note on l. 38.

22, 23), and was installed in his nome at an early age (l. 21). His life was peaceful and prosperous, and devoted to the development of the material resources of the nome. He dug a much-needed irrigation canal, conducting the water to land unreached by the inundation (ll. 1-8). He was rich in grain, which he dispensed to the people (ll. 9, 10). He remitted taxes (ll. 10, 11), and his herds greatly multiplied (ll. 11-14). He built in the temple, increased its offerings (ll. 14-16), was a good soldier, and, as military commander of Middle Egypt, he raised a troop (ll. 16-18); like Kheti I, he had a navy (ll. 18, 19). His people and those of Heracleopolis were pleased with his government, and recognized the instruction of a king in it (ll. 23, 24). It is possible that Kheti II became an official of the contemporary Theban king (Eleventh Dynasty) after the triumph of Thebes and the consolidation of the country (see note on l. 38).

406. The inscription opens with the usual titles of the Siut nomarchs,<sup>a</sup> and Kheti states that there is no falsehood in his narrative, but that all which he did was done in the face of the people (ll. 1, 2); and then proceeds:

*New Canal*

407. I brought a gift for this city, in which there were no families of the Northland, nor people<sup>b</sup> of Middle Egypt (*šm*);<sup>c</sup> making a monument in ———<sup>c</sup> I substituted a channel of ten cubits.<sup>d</sup> I excavated for it upon the arable land. I equipped a gate<sup>f</sup> for<sup>1</sup> its ———<sup>e</sup> it

<sup>a</sup>See § 391.

<sup>b</sup>The determinative shows that people of some sort are meant, parallel with "*families*." The remarkable statement perhaps means that no forced labor was employed on the canal, from any part of Egypt composing the Heracleopolitan kingdom, viz., the "*Northland*" (Delta) and "*Middle Egypt*."

<sup>c</sup>About one-third line is lost; it doubtless contained some reference to an insufficient canal. Kheti's gift to the city, is a larger canal "*of 10 cubits*," probably in breadth.

<sup>d</sup>A little over 17 feet.

<sup>e</sup>About one-third line.

in the ground of [—] in one building, free from [—]. I was liberal as to the monument [—] s[—] ———. <sup>a</sup> [I sustained] the life of the city, I made the [—]<sup>b</sup> with grain-food, to give water at [mid]day, <sup>c</sup>to [— —] ———. <sup>a</sup> [I supplied water] in the highland district, I made a water-supply<sup>c</sup> for this city<sup>d</sup> of Middle Egypt in the [mountain],<sup>e</sup> which had not seen water. <sup>7</sup>I secured the borders — — — [—]. I made the elevated land a swamp. I caused the water of the Nile to flood over the ancient [landmarks], <sup>8</sup>I made the arable land — — water. Every neighbor was [supplied with water, and every citizen had] Nile water to his heart's desire; I gave waters to his neighbors, and he was content with them.

#### *Wealth and Generosity*

408. <sup>9</sup>I was rich in grain. When the land was in need, I maintained the city with kha<sup>f</sup> and with heket.<sup>f</sup> I allowed <sup>10</sup>the citizen to carry away for himself grain; and his wife, the widow and her son. I remitted <sup>11</sup>all imposts which I found counted by my fathers. I filled the [pastures] with cattle, <sup>12</sup>[every] man had many colors;<sup>g</sup> the cows<sup>h</sup> brought forth twofold, the folds were full of <sup>13</sup>calves. I was kind to the cow, when she said, "It is [—]."<sup>i</sup> I was one rich in bulls <sup>14</sup>— his ox; — — he lived well.

<sup>a</sup>About one-third line.

<sup>b</sup>The determinative is a man. The word itself *hsb* means "to reckon." Maspero says: "*Hobsou* (reading the root as *hbs*) est l'homme qui paie la redevance annuelle, le contribuable" (*Revue critique*, II (1889), 413, n. 3), and hence renders "sujet," but I cannot find any such usage elsewhere. Furthermore, the grammatical construction is not clear.

<sup>c</sup>The same word (*c-mw*) is used in enumerating the duties of the vizier (II, 698), among which was care of the water-supply in the whole land.

<sup>d</sup>This means Siut. Maspero (*loc. cit.*, 414, n. 2) calls it Thebes. But *šm c* in these inscriptions means Middle Egypt, not South; and "this city" in a nomarch's inscription means his own city; see II, 11.

<sup>e</sup>The sign for mountain is certain, but an uncertain sign precedes it; the parallelism with "*highland*" demands a word like "mountain."

<sup>f</sup>*ḥḥ*<sup>3</sup> and *ḥḥ' t* are measures of capacity referring here to grain. See Griffith, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*. XIV, 425.

<sup>g</sup>Doubtless referring to breeds of cattle.

<sup>h</sup>The text has "bulls" (!) misread from l. 13, where the word "bulls" occurs with "many" before it, as in this line.

<sup>i</sup>Compare the talking cows in Papyrus d'Orbigny.



*Kheti's Monuments*

**409.** I was one rich in monuments of the temple, <sup>15</sup>—————<sup>a</sup> [who  
 'increased'] that which he found, who repeated offerings. I was a favor-  
 ite, <sup>16</sup>—————<sup>b</sup>.

*His Army*

**410.** I was one strong with the bow, mighty with his sword, <sup>17</sup>great  
 in fear among his neighbors. I made a troop of soldiers —————<sup>a</sup>  
<sup>18</sup>as commander<sup>c</sup> of Middle Egypt.

*His Fleet*

**411.** I had goodly ships, — — — — a favorite of the king <sup>19</sup>when  
 he sailed up-river.<sup>d</sup>

*His Tomb*

**412.** I was one 'vigilant' in that which he said; with a 'determined'  
 heart on the evil ['day']. I had a lofty <sup>20</sup>tomb with a wide stair before  
 the chamber.

*Kheti's Childhood*

**413.** I was a favorite of the king, a confidant of his princes, his  
 'exalted ones' <sup>21</sup>before Middle Egypt. He caused that I should rule as  
 a child of a cubit<sup>e</sup> (in height); he advanced my seat as a 'youth'<sup>f</sup>.  
<sup>22</sup>He had me instructed in swimming along with the royal children. I  
 was one correct of 'speech', <sup>23</sup>free from 'opposition' to his lord, who  
 brought him up as a child. Siut was satisfied with <sup>24</sup>my administra-  
 tion; Heracleopolis praised god for me. Middle Egypt and the North-  
 land (Delta) said: "It is the instruction of a king."<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup>About one-half line.

<sup>b</sup>About two-thirds line.

<sup>c</sup>The title (*h<sup>3</sup>-tpy*) was also borne by Kheti, son of Tefibi (§ 398), but with the addition "of the whole land."

<sup>d</sup>From Heracleopolis to Siut.

<sup>e</sup>See note, § 395, l. 13.

<sup>f</sup>The phrase is literally "as a hairy one," and the parallelism demands a word like "child" or "youth." It is possibly a reference to the lock of childhood.

<sup>g</sup>The description of Kheti's childhood is now continued in the fragmentary lower ends (mostly less than half the height) of sixteen columns on the south wall (Griffith, p. 11; but on the west wall according to Pl. 15). Originally there were twenty-four columns. The numbering of the lines on Pl. 15 (ll. 25-40) must be reversed, but I have retained it for convenience, beginning with 40 and going back to 25. The probable connection between the fragments is indicated as usual in brackets, but without pretense to even approximate restoration for which the basis is lost. For the interpretation of these lines, see § 405.

*Death of Kheti's Grandfather*

414. 40Saith [Kheti] ——— 39f.—1 ——— born of 38Si[t]<sup>a</sup> —  
 ——— night watch 37 ——— in glorifying his<sup>b</sup> name.

36 ——— [Then mourned<sup>1</sup>] the king himself, all Middle Egypt  
 and the Northland (Delta) 35 ———. The king himself and the  
 counts were gathered together 34 [for the burial. He was interred in  
 his tomb of the<sup>1</sup>] highlands.

*Regency of Kheti's Mother*

The son of his daughter made his name to live and glorified 33[him].  
 ——— [His daughter ruled in<sup>1</sup> Si]ut, the worthy stock<sup>c</sup> of her father  
 32[reigned in the city<sup>1</sup>] ——— beloved of Upwawet, rejoicing<sup>d</sup> in  
 doing good to her city<sup>1</sup> 31 ——— . . . . .<sup>e</sup> 30 ———  
 beloved<sup>f</sup> of the king, his favorite.<sup>f</sup> The city was satisfied with that  
 which she said. 29 ——— [She acted as<sup>1</sup>] lord, until her son became  
 strong-armed<sup>g</sup> 28 . . . . . 25 . . . . .<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup>The Kheti who appears with an unidentified Intef offering homage to Nib-  
 khru-Re=Mentuhotep at Shatt er-Regâl (cf. § 425) is elsewhere an official of the  
 same king (§ 426), and his mother's name is Sitre. This renders it possible that  
 he is the same as the Siut Kheti of our text whose mother was "Si[t] —." Our  
 Kheti II may therefore have become an official of the Theban Mentuhotep II  
 after the subjugation of the North. His tomb and inscriptions would then have  
 been made before the union of North and South, and show no trace of it.

<sup>b</sup>The deceased is the grandfather of Kheti.

<sup>c</sup>With a feminine determinative. <sup>d</sup>Feminine ending.

<sup>e</sup>This obscure phrase occurs also, Griffith, *Siut*, III, 7.

<sup>f</sup>Feminine. <sup>g</sup>See Sethe, *Verbum*, § 366, 2.

<sup>h</sup>The remaining fragments are apparently the usual encomium, but too dis-  
 connected for translation.

**THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY**

## THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY

415. The plan of these volumes does not include dynastic discussion, but a few reasons must nevertheless be offered for the order of the kings here adopted.<sup>a</sup> Any arrangement of the Eleventh Dynasty must proceed from the fact that the war between the Heracleopolitans and Thebans was still going on in the reign of Horus-Wahenekh-Intef. Now, a great-grandson of a Thinite official of this king erected his tombstone at Abydos in the thirty-third year of Sesostris I (§§ 529 ff.). It was therefore not less than four generations from the reign of the said Intef to the thirty-third year of Sesostris I. Allowing 40 years to the generation, this period was some 160 years in length, of which 53 years fell in the Twelfth Dynasty. The close of this Intef's reign was therefore not later than about 100 years before the accession of the Twelfth Dynasty. The war between Thebes and the North, therefore, continued perhaps as late as 100 years before the accession of the Twelfth Dynasty, and Wahenekh-Intef's accession was not later than 150 years before the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, as we know that he reigned at least 50 years (§ 423).

416. Now, the Turin Papyrus gives 160 years as the length of the Eleventh Dynasty,<sup>b</sup> which corresponds admirably with the above result, viz., that the Eleventh Dynasty must have succeeded the Heracleopolitans at the latest 150 years before the rise of the Twelfth Dynasty. The Turin Papyrus had

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<sup>a</sup>Other indications will be found in connection with the following translations. See also my essay, "New Light on the History of the Eleventh Dynasty," *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, XXI, 163 ff.

<sup>b</sup>The number is  $160+x$ , the  $x$  not being more than 9 years, of course. That this total refers to the Eleventh Dynasty is perfectly certain; it immediately precedes the heading of the Twelfth Dynasty, and does not reach back to a beginning point behind the Eleventh Dynasty, because there is a summation preceding the seven kings of the Eleventh Dynasty. See Wilkinson, *fragg.* 61 and 64.

seven kings in the Eleventh Dynasty, of whom Nibkhrure-Mentuhotep, Senekhkere-Mentuhotep, and a lost name at the end were the last three. The last king, whose name is lost, was, of course, one who ruled the whole country, and whose reign shows no trace of war with the North. Among the remaining kings of the time the only one who clearly fulfils these conditions is Nibtowere-Mentuhotep. The second half of the dynasty is thus fairly certain. Working back from Nibkhrure-Mentuhotep, we find that he was suzerain of a vassal king, Intef (§ 424), giving us then an Intef and three Mentuhoteps as the order of this group, thus:

Intef (other names unknown),  
 Nibkhrure-Mentuhotep,  
 Senekhkere-Mentuhotep,  
 Nibtowere-Mentuhotep.

417. The first and second of these three Mentuhoteps reigned not less than 74 years.<sup>a</sup> The third had a prosperous reign, as the inscriptions of his second year in Hammat show; so that the above three Mentuhoteps may easily have reigned in all 80 years, and the whole group more than this. Now, Horus-Wahenekh-Intef was still reigning some 100 years before the end of the dynasty. He therefore did not long precede the above group of four. But he never ruled north of Abydos, for on his tombstone in his fiftieth year he tells of having established his northern frontier there (§ 423), and his treasurer, Thethi, corroborates this (§ 423D). He must therefore have preceded Nibhotep-Mentuhotep, who openly boasts of having gained the Two Lands by conquest. But as Wahenekh-Intef was succeeded by his son, a second Intef, both these Intefs must have preceded Nibhotep-Mentuhotep, forming a group of three which evidently immediately preceded the above group of four. The only other ruler of the period remaining is the

<sup>a</sup>See table on p. 197.

nomarch Intef, who of course should head the line;<sup>a</sup> but he was not included in the Turin Papyrus.

418. We thus obtain seven names in the dynasty, as the Turin Papyrus prescribes. As four of these are Mentuhoteps, we have another proof that there were not more than three Intefs in the Eleventh Dynasty.<sup>b</sup> Thus reconstructed, the dynasty is as follows:

	Years
Horus-Wahenekh-Intef I . . . . .	50 <sup>c</sup> (+x)
Horus-Nakhtneb-Tepnefer-Intef II . . . . .	x
Nibhotep-Mentuhotep I . . . . .	x
Intef III (Shatt er-Regâl) <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	x
Nibkhrure-Mentuhotep II . . . . .	46 <sup>e</sup> (+x)
Senekhkere-Mentuhotep III . . . . .	28 <sup>f</sup> (+x)
Nibtowere-Mentuhotep IV . . . . .	2 <sup>g</sup> (+x)
Total . . . . .	126 (+x)

As the Turin Papyrus gives at least 160 years to the dynasty, we have at least 34 years to be distributed among the seven above *x*'s.

<sup>a</sup>As in the erratic Karnak list, Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, I: better in *Zwölfte Dynastie*; Prisse, *Monuments*, I; Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica*, I. The publications are all very inaccurate; Prisse being probably the best. I had my own copy of the original in the Bibliothèque Nationale. That there may have been a series of Theban kings preceding the list of the dynasty as given in the Turin Papyrus, is perhaps probable, in view of the Intefs and the Mentuhotep who follow the nomarch Intef in the Karnak list.

<sup>b</sup>Steindorff has shown that we have contemporary monuments from only three Intefs before the Twelfth Dynasty (besides the nomarch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1895, 77-96). No one without preconceived opinions will appeal to the Karnak list to prove that the Intefs all ruled before the Twelfth Dynasty. If we are to depend on the Karnak list, then Sesostri I ruled immediately before or after the Seventeenth Dynasty! And such absurdities abound in this list. But accepting this preposterous list as usable, we find that it puts *Nb-hpr (w)-Re*, Intef either just before or just after the Seventeenth Dynasty. Hence Petrie's statement (*History of Egypt*, I, 5th ed., xxi) that "the ancient lists are entirely against" the above arrangement of the Intefs must be rejected. All the other evidence, moreover, is in favor of dividing the Intefs into two groups.

<sup>c</sup>I, 423.

<sup>d</sup>Eduard Meyer writes me that he would not include this vassal king in the dynasty, but would gain the seven kings demanded by the Turin Papyrus, by inserting a Mentuhotep before Intef I, as in the Karnak list. This would give us five Mentuhoteps, thus: Mentuhotep I, two Intefs and four Mentuhoteps in succession; but the value of the erratic Karnak list seems to me very dubious.

<sup>e</sup>Turin Stela of Meru, No. 1447, Cat. I, 117.

<sup>f</sup>His highest date is the year 8; his successor celebrated a Sed Jubilee in his second year, and must therefore have been appointed crown prince 30 years earlier by Mentuhotep III, who thus reigned at least 28 years.

<sup>g</sup>I, 435.

## THE NOMARCH, INTEF

### MORTUARY STELA<sup>a</sup>

419. The Karnak list<sup>b</sup> places as first of the Intefs a nomarch, without royal title.<sup>c</sup> He is the founder of the Theban line, and is so recognized by Sesostris I, who dedicated a statue to him in Karnak with the inscription: "*The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkere (Sesostris I); he made it as his monument for his father, the hereditary prince (rꜥꜥꜣ ty), Intefo, . . . . . born of Ikuī (Ykwy).*"<sup>d</sup> The following mortuary stela probably belonged to him.

420. At the top is a three-line inscription, beginning with the usual mortuary formula, for the benefit of

The hereditary prince, count, great lord of the Theban nome, satisfying the king as keeper of the Door<sup>e</sup> of the South, great pillar of him,<sup>f</sup> who makes his Two Lands<sup>f</sup> to live, superior prophet, . . . . . Intef.

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<sup>a</sup>Limestone stela, discovered by Mariette, in Draḥ abu-ḥn-Neggah, now in Cairo, Cat. 20009; also published by him in *Monuments Divers*, 50, b, and p. 16; also Maspero, *Guide*, pl. and p. 34; *Dawn*, 115; Petrie, *History of Egypt*, I, 126.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, I. (See § 417, note.)

<sup>c</sup>The family came from Hermonthis, where they were nomarchs. Inscriptions from the tomb of an Intef, one of these nomarchs, are in Copenhagen and Berlin (No 13272; see Lange, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 34, 25-35, and plate).

<sup>d</sup>Discovered by Legrain, in March, 1899 (*Recueil*, XXII, 64). The addition of o (ꜥ), "great," is not found in the royal list of Karnak with the name of the Rꜥꜥꜣ ty Intef; but as there is only one rꜥꜥꜣ ty in the Karnak list, the two must be identical.

<sup>e</sup>See Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1887, 35, and Brugsch, *ibid.*, 1884, 93 f. The title continued from the Sixth Dynasty, into Saite times (IV, 995).

<sup>f</sup>This participial epithet is usually applied to Intef, but this is impossible; for Intef, who acknowledges a king in the phrase, "satisfying the king," cannot speak of himself, a mere nomarch, as "making his two lands live." Nor can "two lands," so commonly in parallelism with the title "King of Upper and Lower Egypt," be made to mean the two shores of the river in Intef's nome. Compare, e. g., § 441, l. 8. Šꜥꜥꜣ nḥ-tꜣwy is an epithet, like šꜥꜥꜣ mnḥ-sw, designating the king. It is in excellent parallelism with "king," and indeed serves as king Senekhkere's Horus-name. This Intef therefore ruled before the rebellion against the North, and the "king" referred to is an Heracleopolitan.

## REIGN OF HORUS-WAHENEKH-INTEF I

### ROYAL TOMB STELA<sup>a</sup>

421. This is the stela referred to in the remarkable passage in the Papyrus Abbott (IV, 514), where it is described as bearing a figure of the king standing with one of his dogs. The name of the dog given in the papyrus, Behka, is still preserved on the stela. It is a Berber name,<sup>b</sup> and the stela accompanies it with a translation into Egyptian. The king stands on the right with his five dogs; before him were seven columns of inscription, of which only the lower half is preserved. The first two lines were occupied with an account of the king's good works for the gods; among these we may discern the following:

I filled his (Amon's) temple with august vases, in order to offer libations. . . . . I built their temples, wrought their stairways, restored their gates, established their divine offerings for all eternity. I 'found' ———.

<sup>a</sup>Lower portion of a large limestone stela, now about 80 cm. high and 130 cm. wide; now in Cairo, No. 20512. It was discovered in 1860, by Mariette, in the brick pyramid of Intef II, at Drah abu-<sup>3</sup>n-Neggah (Thebes). After making an incomplete and inaccurate copy, Mariette left the stela where he found it, to be taken by a fellah, twenty years later, and broken up for use in a sâkieh. Two years later some of the fragments were rescued with much difficulty by Maspero, and installed at Bulâq (now Cairo; cf. *Guide du Visiteur*, 67, and Mariette, *Monuments divers*, Texte, 15; *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, IV, 193, 194). Apparently no search has ever been made on the spot for the upper portion, already lacking in Mariette's time. His copy was published in *Monuments divers*, 49 (p. 15 also); another copy by E. de Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 161, 162). I have collated these with a careful copy of the original in Schaefer's manuscript of the Cairo catalogue.

<sup>b</sup>On the Berber name of one of these dogs, see Maspero, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, V, 127, and *Etudes de mythologie et d'archéologie*, III, 331). The others also bore foreign names, and the ancient scribe has appended a translation to each. Daressy (*Recueil*, XI, 79, 80) found a fifth dog; Basset (*Sphinx*, I, 87-92) admits a second name as possibly Berber; see also Birch, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, IV, 172-86. Finally, Maspero explains another name as Berber (*Recueil*, XXI, 136).



422. The statement of his good works is followed by a narrative of his conquest of territory on his northern frontier. He does not state against whom he contended, but it is of course against the Heracleopolitans, defended by the princes of Siut (see § 391). It is the only distinct reference in the Eleventh Dynasty inscriptions to the geographical location of the northern enemy in the civil wars which raged between North (Heracleopolis) and South (Thebes) for at least several generations before the overthrow of the Heracleopolitans.

423. <sup>3</sup>———— her northern boundary as far as the nome of Aphroditopolis.<sup>a</sup> I drove in the mooring-stake<sup>b</sup> in the sacred valley, I captured the entire Thinite nome, I opened all her fortresses, I made her the Door of the North.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>4</sup>———— like a flood, great in possessions, like a sea, splendid for the glory of Thebes (*nw' t*), great for the [— — —] of this land, which I myself have bequeathed to my son,<sup>d</sup> [—] <sup>5</sup>————. There is no lie that has come forth from my mouth, there is no word like that which I have spoken. There was no [violence] for one (dwelling) upon his sandy land, nor —<sup>e</sup> for one in possession of his paternal property, nor — — <sup>6</sup>———— them forever and ever.

Year 50, when this stela was set up [—] by — Horus, Wahenekh (*W<sup>3</sup> h-<sup>c</sup> n h*), King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Son of Re, In[tef], the great (*Yn[tf-]<sup>c</sup>*).<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Read the serpent and feather. That this is the proper reading is rendered almost certain by the connected data. King Intef is here speaking of the establishment of his northern boundary. The inscription of Intefoker (§§ 529 ff.) shows that he ruled as far north as Akhmim, which is directly across the river from the nome of Aphroditopolis, and the latter is just north of the Thinite nome.

<sup>b</sup>This simply means "I landed," as in § 612, l. 14; and Papyrus Ebers, 58, 9. Cf. Sethe, *Verbum*, I, 257.

<sup>c</sup>This is parallel with the phrase "Door of the South" applied to Elephantine. Thus the Aphroditopolite nome under this Intef occupied the same frontier position in the North as the region of the first cataract in the South (see § 396, l. 18, note). I have retained the gender of the pronouns to show this; the Thinite nome is masculine.

<sup>d</sup>This is corroborated by the treasurer Thethi (§ 423G).

<sup>e</sup>Partially broken out; read *c h c*; it is evidently a synonym of the first word (*c r* with determinative of bowstring), rendered "violence," with which it is parallel.

<sup>f</sup>This is the proper reading of the name as shown by l. 7, where it occurs as above restored, preceded by the same Horus-name.

REIGN OF HORUS-NAKHTNEB-TEPNEFER-  
INTEF II

STELA OF THETHI<sup>a</sup>

423A. This new and important document contains the autobiography of Thethi, the chief treasurer of Intef I and II. It is the first document from the Eleventh Dynasty clearly narrating the succession of the kingship from father to son,<sup>b</sup> and it also places for us the Horus-name of Intef II for the first time.<sup>c</sup> Besides these facts it also gives us the northern and southern boundaries of Intef I's kingdom, although the southern limit given cannot be identified with certainty as yet. The northern boundary is given as Thinis, corroborating Intef I's tomb stela (§ 423); but as Thethi's stela was made after Intef I's death, it is evident that this king never reigned north of that point. The account of Thethi's appointment and duties is also of the greatest interest.

*Introduction*

423B. '[Live] Horus: Wahenekh; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Son of Re, Intef (I), fashioner of beauty, living like Re forever.

*Thethi's Titles*

423C. His real and favorite servant, having an advanced seat in the house of his lord, great and favorite official, knowing the private

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<sup>a</sup>Stela seen by G. C. Pier in the hands of a native dealer in 1903. Mr. Pier was able to make only a hurried copy, which he published in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, April, 1905, 159 ff. The text is in places, therefore, still uncertain. The following translation was also first published, *ibid.*, 163 ff.

<sup>b</sup>But see § 423, l. 4.

<sup>c</sup>In my publication of the text, I overlooked the earlier occurrence of this Intef's Horus-name on a stela at Abydos (Mariette, *Catalogue d'Abydos*, 96, No. 544).

affairs of his lord, following him at all his goings, <sup>1</sup>great<sup>1</sup> hearted <sup>2</sup>— in very truth, head of the grandees of the palace, in charge of the seal in the privy office, one whom his lord trusted more than the grandees, who delighted the heart of Horus (the king) with that which he desired, favorite of his lord, his beloved, chief treasurer, in charge of <sup>3</sup>the privy office which his lord loved, chief treasurer, first under the king, the revered, Thethi (*Tty*), says:

*Career under Intef I*

**423D.** I was one beloved of his lord, his favorite every day. I passed a long period of years under the majesty of my lord, Horus, Wahenekh, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, <sup>4</sup>Son of Re, Intef, this land being under his authority up-river as far as <sup>1</sup>Thes<sup>1</sup> and down-river as far as Thinis; while I was his servant, his subject, his real subordinate. He made me great, he advanced my seat, he set me in his <sup>5</sup>confidential office, in his palace because of <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup>; the treasury was put in my charge (*m c y*), under my seal-ring, as one chosen for the sake of every good thing brought to the majesty of my lord, from South and from North at every <sup>1</sup>accounting<sup>1</sup>; for the sake of pleasing (the king) with the tribute of this whole land; because of his apprehension lest <sup>6</sup>this land diminish that which was brought to the majesty of my lord from the sheiks<sup>a</sup> who are in the Red Land; and because of his apprehension lest the highlands diminish. Then he gave this (office) to me, recognizing the excellence of my ability. Then I reported it to him; never was anything lacking <sup>7</sup>therein <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup>,<sup>b</sup> because of my great wisdom.

**423E.** I was one who was a real favorite of his lord, a great and favorite official, the coolness and the warmth in the house of his lord, [<sup>1</sup>to whom<sup>1</sup>] the arms were drooped (in respect) among the grandees, I did not <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1c</sup> behind <sup>8</sup>the two <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup>, for which men are hated. I was one loving good, and hating evil, a character beloved in the house of his lord, attending to every procedure according to the <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1d</sup> of the desire of my lord. Now, at every procedure on account of which he (the king) commanded me to arise <sup>9</sup>. . . . .<sup>e</sup> I did not exceed

<sup>a</sup>Compare § 429.

<sup>b</sup>*Nt hsf.*

<sup>c</sup>*Wd*, "put, place."

<sup>d</sup>If this is *d> dw*, "audience-hall," then *sm t*, "going" (rendered above "procedure"), is literal, viz., "every going to the audience-hall at the desire, etc."

<sup>e</sup>When the king dismissed him, the court arose as he went out. The following dozen obscure words indicate the compliments of the court as Thethi passed out.

the number<sup>a</sup> which he commanded me; I did not put one thing in the place of another<sup>b</sup> [ — — — ]<sup>10</sup> I did not take a thing from a legacy, (but) every procedure was attended to. Now, as for all royal food which the majesty of my lord commanded to give to him, I made for it a list of all that his ka desired; then I rendered it to him; I carried out successfully all their administration; never<sup>11</sup> was a thing lacking therein, because of my great wisdom.

*Death of Intef I*

423F. I made a barge<sup>c</sup> for the city, and a boat<sup>d</sup> for following my lord.<sup>e</sup> I was counted with the grandees at every time of [ — — ], while I was honored and great. I supplied [myself — ]<sup>12</sup> with my own things, which the majesty of my lord gave to me because he so greatly loved me, (even) Horus, Wahenekh, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Son of Re, Intef (I), living like Re, forever; until he journeyed to his horizon<sup>f</sup> (tomb).

*Career under Intef II*

423G. Then, when his son assumed his place,<sup>13</sup> (even) Horus, Nakht-neb-Tepnefer, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Son of Re, Intef (II), fashioner of beauty, living like Re, forever, I followed him to all his good seats of pleasure. Never did he [ — — ] therein, because of my great wisdom. He gave me the function<sup>14</sup> which I had in the time of his father, making it to prosper under his majesty, without anything being lacking therein. I passed all my time on earth, as first under the king, his subject; being mighty and great under his majesty. I was one fulfilling his character, whom his lord praised every day.

<sup>a</sup>In treasury business.

<sup>b</sup>Perhaps meaning that in the count he did not substitute less valuable for more valuable things.

<sup>c</sup>*Mb*. <sup>d</sup>*Shy*.

<sup>e</sup>One for official use at Thebes, and another for use when the king was on a journey.

<sup>f</sup>This is the brick pyramid-tomb on the western plain of Thebes, containing his mortuary stela (§§ 421, 422); the same tomb which the Ramessid inspectors investigated a thousand years later than this and found uninjured (IV, 514). It has now disappeared.

## REIGN OF NIBHOTEP-MENTUHOTEP I

### TEMPLE FRAGMENTS FROM GEBELEN<sup>a</sup>

423H. These scanty fragments tell a remarkable story, not yet noticed, as far as I know, in any of the histories. The first block bears the Horus-name of the king, and thus identifies him as Nibhotep-Mentuhotep<sup>b</sup> (I). It represents him smiting an enemy bearing the inscription: "*Chief of Tehenu and* 1—1." The second block represents the king again smiting the enemy, four in number. The king bears the inscription: "*Son of Hathor, Mistress of Dendera, Mentuhotep.*" The first enemy is without inscription, but represents an Egyptian!<sup>c</sup> The other three are designated as: "*Nubians, Asiatics (sttyw), Libyans.*"<sup>d</sup> Over the whole is the inscription: "*Binding the chiefs of the Two Lands, capturing the South and Northland, the highlands and the two regions, the Nine Bows and the Two Lands*" (sic!). The king makes no distinction between his victories over foreign foes and his conquest of Egypt itself, and actually places the figure of the conquered Egyptian among those of the barbarians on the temple wall. Mentu-

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<sup>a</sup>Inscribed blocks, now in Cairo, from a temple of Mentuhotep I at Gebelen, which had been rebuilt into a Ptolemaic temple wall. They have been very inaccurately published by Daressy (*Recueil*, XIV, 26, and XVI, 42); much better by Frazer (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XV, 409, Pl. XV). Fortunately, I also found Erman's copy of them among the Lexicon manuscripts.

<sup>b</sup>The Intef-custom of putting "*Son of Re*" within the cartouche is observable here.

<sup>c</sup>Overlooked by Daressy; and seemingly not identified by Frazer.

<sup>d</sup>Of these three, the first two are the same in appearance; the Libyan as usual wears a feather. They symbolize the foes of Egypt on south, east, and west, in harmony with the same king's inscription on the Island of Konosso (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 150, b = de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 73, 44) which states: "*all countries are beneath his feet.*"

hotep I therefore acquired the land of Egypt by conquest, and made no effort to conceal the source of his title by pretense to legitimacy. It was evidently this conquest which overthrew the Heracleopolitans of the Tenth Dynasty. Hence the reign of Mentuhotep I marks the conclusion of the war with the North. The place of his reign is clearly after Intef II, and before the last three Mentuhoteps who controlled the whole country.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup>Schaefer states that similar representations were found by Borchardt in the temple of Nuserre at Abusir. The conception may therefore be more general than I have supposed above. See also Papyrus Anastasi II, II, 7, for similar statements concerning Ramses II.

## REIGNS OF INTEF III AND NIBKHRURE- MENTUHOTEP II

### RELIEFS NEAR ASSUAN

424. The Intef whom we have called the third, appears in no other monuments which can be identified as his, because we do not know his other names. He can hardly be the same as the preceding Intef II, from whom he is separated by Mentuhotep I. He was obliged to give way to another member of the family, Mentuhotep II, who permitted him to reign as a vassal.

425. The most important of Mentuhotep II's monuments<sup>a</sup> is the relief on the rocks at Shatt er-Regâl, near Assuan,<sup>b</sup> where, accompanied by his mother, a lady not of royal lineage, he receives the homage of this vassal, King Intef, who is ushered into the royal presence by Mentuhotep II's chief treasurer, Kheti. This Kheti was an important officer, who appears again on the rocks near Assuan in the presence of Mentuhotep II, with the following inscription:<sup>c</sup>

426. Year 41,<sup>d</sup> under (the majesty of) Nibkhrure (*Nb-ḥrw-R*), came the wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, chief treasurer, Kheti, born of Sitre,<sup>e</sup> triumphant; and ships to Wawat 𓏏 — — — 𓏏.

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<sup>a</sup>See list, Maspero, *Dawn*, 462, n. 1.

<sup>b</sup>*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1881, 99, 100; Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, XVI, 489; not in de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*; *Dawn*, 463.

<sup>c</sup>Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, VIII, No. 213. I had also a photograph, kindly loaned me by Professor Petrie.

<sup>d</sup>His highest date, "year 46," is on the tablet of Meru at Turin (No. 1447, *Catalogue Turin*, I, 117).

<sup>e</sup>This Kheti may be the same as Kheti II at Assiut. See § 405, and § 414, l. 38, note.

This was doubtless an expedition against the Nubians of Wawat. Mentuhotep II's inscriptions are elsewhere not infrequent, but contain only a word or two, chiefly his titles. His appearance on the monuments of later generations is such as to show that he was regarded as the first great king of the Theban line.



## REIGN OF SENEKHKERE-MENTUHOTEP III

### HAMMAMAT INSCRIPTION OF HENU<sup>a</sup>

427. As the only document of Mentuhotep III, this inscription is of great historical importance. The lists of Sakkara and Abydos show him as the immediate predecessor of the Twelfth Dynasty and the successor of the powerful Mentuhotep II; but the Turin Papyrus has after his, a lost name belonging to the last king of the dynasty. Mentuhotep III's minister, Henu, drew men for this Hammamat expedition from territory between Oxyrrhyncus and Gebelen (l. 10), which shows that practically all of Egypt above the Delta was under this king's rule. The Delta was also certainly subject to Senekhkere, for Henu calls himself (l. 8) one "*who quells the Hau-nebu,*" the peoples of the distant north in the Mediterranean, who could only be reached in the Delta.

#### *Introduction*

428. <sup>1</sup>Year 8, first month of the third season (ninth month), day 3; <sup>2</sup>his real favorite servant, who does all that he praises every day, wearer of the royal seal, [sole] com[panion], — overseer of that which is and that which is not, overseer of the temples, overseer of the granary and White House, <sup>3</sup>overseer of horn and hoof, chief of the six courts of justice, high-voiced in proclaiming the name of the king on the day of warding off [—] who judges the prisoner according to his desert. . . . .  
. . . . . <sup>7</sup>. . . . .<sup>b</sup> Satisfying the heart of the king as keeper of

<sup>a</sup>Cut on the rocks in the Wadi Hammamat. Text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 150, *a*; better, Golénischeff, *Hammamat*, XV–XVII. For old literature, see Maspero, *Dawn*, 495, n. 1. I had also a collation of the Berlin squeeze by Mr. Alan Gardiner, which he kindly permitted me to use.

<sup>b</sup>The omitted lines contain similar but exaggerated epithets indicating Henu's high rank and great power; but no formal titles; omissions of similar character follow.

the Door of the South; over the <sup>8</sup>administration of the nomes of the South, chief treasurer . . . . . who quells (*s'bdš*) the Haunebu (*H<sup>2</sup>-nbw*), to whom the Two Lands come bowing down, to whom every office reports; wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, <sup>9</sup>the steward, Henu says:

*Preparation for the Expedition*

429. [My lord, life, prosperity],<sup>a</sup> health! sent me to dispatch a ship to Punt to bring for him fresh<sup>b</sup> myrrh from the sheiks over the Red Land, by reason of the fear of him in the highlands. Then I went<sup>c</sup> forth from Koptos <sup>10</sup>upon the road, which his majesty commanded me. There was with me an army of the South from —<sup>d</sup> of the Oxyrrhyncus nome, the beginning thereof<sup>e</sup> as far as Gebelen; the end thereof as far as [—]<sup>f</sup>; every office of the king's house, those who were in town and field, united, came after me. The army [—] cleared the way <sup>11</sup>before, overthrowing those hostile toward the king, the hunters and the children of the highlands<sup>g</sup> were posted as the protection of my limbs. Every official body of his majesty was placed under my authority. They reported messengers to me, as one alone commanding, to whom many hearken.

*Departure and Provisions*

430. I went forth with an army of 3,000 men. <sup>12</sup>I made the road a river, and the Red Land (desert) a stretch of field,<sup>h</sup> for I gave a leathern bottle, a carrying pole (*sšs*), 2 jars<sup>i</sup> of water and 20 loaves to each one among them every day.<sup>j</sup> The asses were laden with sandals [— — —].

<sup>a</sup>Restored from Hammamat inscription of Amenemhet (vizier), § 446, l. 7 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 149. e, l. 7.

<sup>b</sup>Read *w>g*.

<sup>c</sup>No lacuna as in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*.

<sup>e</sup>Read *š>ym*.

<sup>d</sup>See same phrase, § 442, l. 13.

<sup>f</sup>Read *š>bt*.

<sup>g</sup>This passage indicates a campaign before the expedition, in order to clear the country of the Troglodytes.

<sup>h</sup>See a similar statement by the vizier Amenemhet (§ 447, l. 10). The same rare phrase "*stretch or tract of field*" (*c>d*) occurs also in Sinuhe (Berlin, ll. 9, 10).

<sup>i</sup>Read *gš* later *dš*.

<sup>j</sup>The loaves are small like the German "Brödchen." The "*every day*" doubtless applies only to the last two articles, the rest being intended for carrying the rations. At the rate of 60,000 loaves a day, this expedition (which could not have lasted less than a month) consumed 1,800,000 loaves, which they must have brought with them from Coptos. Water skins could be replenished at the quarries. See the elaborate arrangements of Ramses IV for provisioning his expedition (IV, 467).

*Wells Dug*

431. Now, I made 12 wells<sup>a</sup> in the bush, <sup>13</sup>and two wells in Idehet (*Yd<sup>2</sup>ht*), 20 <sup>1</sup>square cubits<sup>b</sup> in one, and 31 <sup>1</sup>square cubits<sup>b</sup> in the other. I made another in Iheteb (*Y<sup>2</sup>htb*), 20 by 20 cubits on each side [— — — —].

*Ship Built and Sent*

432. Then I reached the (Red) Sea; then I made this ship, and I dispatched it<sup>c</sup> with everything, when I had made for it a great oblation of cattle, bulls and <sup>14</sup>ibexes.

*Return and Quarrying at Hammamat*

433. Now, after my return from the (Red) Sea, I executed the command of his majesty, and I brought for him all the gifts, which I had found in the regions of God's-Land. I returned through the <sup>1</sup>valley<sup>d</sup> of Hammamat, I brought for him august blocks for statues belonging to the temple. Never was brought down the like thereof for the king's court; never <sup>15</sup>was done the like of this by any king's-confidant sent out since the time of the god. I did this for the majesty of my lord because he so much loved me. . . . .<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Mr. Griffith (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XIV, 420), has read the sign before 12 as a measure of area; giving "a well of 12 — ?" As this would leave the word "well" without either determinative or feminine ending, it is improbable. The sign in question is more probably a part of the word for well (*nm*), giving *hnm*t as usual.

<sup>b</sup>See Mr. Griffith, *ibid.*

<sup>c</sup>Henu only equipped and dispatched the ship, but did not accompany it to Punt; he then returned to Egypt by way of Hammamat (l. 14).

<sup>d</sup>Possibly *W<sup>2</sup>g*, another land.

<sup>e</sup>Further asseverations of the king's favor follow. The same obscure phrases also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 149, e, l. 13 = Golénischeff, *Hammamat*, XIII l. 13.

## REIGN OF NIBTOWERE-MENTUHOTEP IV

### HAMMAMAT INSCRIPTIONS<sup>a</sup>

434. These are among the most important of the Hammamat inscriptions. Besides their unusual archæological interest, they throw great light on the reign of Nibtowere-Mentuhotep (IV), from whom we have no other inscriptional material. They show clearly that the wars with the North (Heracleopolis), had long ceased, and that the North was now united under his rule; for he had an army of 3,000 men from the Delta to transport the lid block of his sarcophagus to Egypt (§ 453, l. 21; similar indications in § 451, 3, ll. 8-10). The only place that he can have held in the series of Eleventh Dynasty kings is therefore at the end of that dynasty. The place of Mentuhotep II and III is certain from the Turin Papyrus. Our Mentuhotep cannot precede Mentuhotep II, who supplanted an Intef; nor does the Turin Papyrus permit him to follow Mentuhotep II. The only place open after the close of the war with the North is at the end of the dynasty after Mentuhotep III, where the Turin Papyrus shows a lost name.

#### I. THE FIRST WONDER<sup>b</sup>

435. A relief shows the king offering wine before Min of Coptos; behind the king are the words: "*First occurrence*

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<sup>a</sup>Cut on the rock-walls of the Wadi Hammamat. Text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 149, *c* to *g*; Golénisheff, Hammamat, X-XV; and partially in the manuscripts of Nestor l'Hôte in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. I had also collations of the Berlin squeezes by Mr. Alan Gardiner, of which he very kindly gave me the use.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 149, *c* = Golénisheff, *Hammamat*, X. Copy in manuscript of Nestor l'Hôte; translated by Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1891, 60.

of the Sed Jubilee; at the top the date: Year 2,<sup>a</sup> second month of the first season (second month), day 3.”

436. Then the following:

<sup>1</sup>This wonder which happened to his majesty: that the beasts<sup>b</sup> of the <sup>2</sup>highlands came down to him; there came a gazelle great with young, going with her face toward the people before her, <sup>3</sup>while her eyes looked <sup>1</sup>backward<sup>1</sup>; (but) she did not turn back, until she arrived at this august mountain,<sup>4</sup>at this block, it being still in its place, (intended) for<sup>c</sup> this lid of this sarcophagus. She dropped her young upon it while this army of <sup>5</sup>the king was looking. Then they cut off her neck <sup>1</sup>before<sup>1d</sup> it (the block) and brought fire. <sup>6</sup>It descended in safety.<sup>e</sup>

437. Now, it was the majesty of this august god, <sup>7</sup>lord of the highlands, who gave the offering (*m<sup>2c</sup>*) to his son, Nibtowere (*Nb-t<sup>2</sup>wy-R<sup>c</sup>*), Mentuhotep IV, living forever, in order that his heart might be joyful, that he might <sup>8</sup>live upon his throne forever and forever, that he might celebrate millions of Sed Jubilees.

438. <sup>9</sup>The hereditary<sup>f</sup> prince, count, governor of the city and vizier, chief of all nobles of judicial office, supervisor of that which heaven gives, the earth creates, and the Nile brings, supervisor of everything in this whole land, the vizier, Amenemhet.

## II. THE OFFICIAL TABLET<sup>g</sup>

439. The above prodigy, which doubtless occurred soon after their arrival, found record twelve days before the official record of the expedition, which is as follows:

<sup>a</sup>This king was therefore nominated as crown prince 28 years before his father's death, as he celebrates his 30-years' jubilee in his second year. Thus Mentuhotep III reigned at least 28 years.

<sup>b</sup>Suggested by Gardiner; Erman: "*Gebirgs (arbeiter)*."

<sup>c</sup>Undoubtedly this explanation of Erman is correct.

<sup>d</sup>Read *hnt-hrj*? l'Hôte shows a *šms*-sign before *hr'j*; and Gardiner saw a similar sign. The soldiers sacrificed the gazelle upon the block.

<sup>e</sup>That is, the block reached Egypt in safety.

<sup>f</sup>The leader of the expedition here adds his name and titles. A double line separates them from the king's inscription above them.

<sup>g</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 149, *d*=Golénischeff, *Hammamat*, XI.

*Date*

440. <sup>1</sup>Year 2, second month of the first season, day 15, <sup>2</sup>(of) Nibtowere-Mentuhotep<sup>a</sup> (IV) living forever.

*Erection of Stela*

441. <sup>3</sup>His majesty commanded to erect<sup>b</sup> this stela to his father Min, lord of the highlands in this <sup>4</sup>august, primeval mountain, . . . . .  
<sup>5</sup>. . . . .<sup>6</sup>. . . . .<sup>c</sup> in order that his ka may be satisfied and that the god may [—] in his desire, as <sup>7</sup>does a king who is upon the great throne, first in thrones; enduring in monuments, excellent god, lord of joy, <sup>8</sup>mighty in fear, great in love, heir of Horus in his Two Lands, whom <sup>9</sup>the divine Isis, Min, and Mut, the great sorceress reared for the dominion <sup>10</sup>of the two regions of Horus, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nibtowere (Mentuhotep IV), living like Re, forever; <sup>11</sup>he says:

*Dispatch of Expedition*

442. My majesty sent forth the hereditary prince, governor of the city and vizier, chief of <sup>12</sup>works, favorite of the king, Amenemhet, with an army of 10,000<sup>d</sup> men <sup>13</sup>from the southern nomes, Middle<sup>e</sup> Egypt, and the [—]<sup>f</sup> of the Oxyrrhyncus <sup>14</sup>nome; to bring for me an august block of the pure costly stone which is in this mountain, <sup>15</sup>whose<sup>g</sup> excellent things<sup>1</sup> Min makes; for a sarcophagus, an eternal memorial, and for monuments <sup>16</sup>in the temples of Middle Egypt,<sup>h</sup> according as a king over the Two Lands sends <sup>17</sup>to bring for himself the desire of his heart, from the highlands of his father Min.

<sup>a</sup>Full five-name titulary.

<sup>b</sup>The word "erect" (lit., "cause to stand") is here loosely used from habit, although the inscription is cut on a natural wall of rock, which could not have been "erected."

<sup>c</sup>Eulogistic epithets of the god.

<sup>d</sup>Gardiner gives the sign as certain; Golénischeff also has apparently a finger (= 10,000); both give the top pointing wrong, but this is a peculiarity of the Hammamat inscriptions (cf. Henu, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 150, a, l. 7, thrice!) and is only one of many instances of the influence of the hieratic in these texts. This peculiarity occurs frequently also in the Assiut texts of the same period. Cf. the 8,368 men of a later expedition, IV, 466.

<sup>e</sup>Šm c' w, perhaps "South."

<sup>f</sup>Hnty written only with the nose; determinative house.

<sup>g</sup>Referring to "stone" (feminine). <sup>h</sup>Šm c' w, perhaps "South."

*Dedication*

443. He made (it) as his monument for his father Min of Koptos, lord of the highlands, head of the Troglodytes, in order that he (the king) might celebrate very many [Sed Jubilees], living like Re, forever.<sup>a</sup>

III. THE COMMANDER'S TABLET<sup>b</sup>

444. On the same day, Amenemhet, the commander of the expedition, engraved his own record of the achievement, as follows:

*Date and Introduction*

445. <sup>1</sup>Year 2, second month of the first season, day 15. Royal commission, executed by the hereditary prince, count, governor of the city, chief judge, favorite of the king, chief of works, distinguished in his office, great in his rank, with advanced place in <sup>3</sup>the house of his lord, commanding the official body, chief of the six courts of justice, judging the people (*p<sup>c</sup>·t*) and the inhabitants (*r<sup>h</sup>y·t*), and hearing<sup>1</sup> causes; to whom the great come bowing down, <sup>4</sup>and the whole land, prone upon the belly; whose offices his lord advanced; his favorite, as keeper of the Door of the South; conducting for him millions of the inhabitants (*r<sup>h</sup>y·t*) to do for him the desire of his heart <sup>5</sup>toward his monuments, enduring on earth; magnate of the King of Upper Egypt, great one of the King of Lower Egypt, conductor of the palace, [— —] in stretching the measuring-cord; judging without partiality, governor of the whole South, to whom is reported <sup>6</sup>that which is and that which is not; conducting the administration of the Lord of the Two Lands; <sup>1</sup>zealous<sup>1</sup> of heart upon a royal commission; commander of those that command, conductor of overseers; the vizier of the king, at his audiences, Amenemhet, <sup>7</sup>says:

*Choice of Amenemhet*

446. My lord, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nibtowere (*Nb-t<sup>3</sup>wy-R<sup>c</sup>*, Mentuhotep IV) living forever, sent me, as one sending, in whom are divine members; to establish his monument in <sup>8</sup>this land. He chose me before his city, I was preferred before his court.

<sup>a</sup>There is an appendix here of the twenty-seventh or twenty-eighth day, which is the latest date in the series; it is translated at the end (§§ 452, 453).

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 149, *e* = Golénischeff, *Hammamat*, XII, XIII; manuscripts of Nestor l'Hôte.

*Personnel of Expedition*

447. Now, his majesty commanded that there go forth to this august highland <sup>a</sup>an army with me, men of the choicest of the whole land: miners, artificers, quarrymen, artists, draughtsmen, stonecutters, gold-workers<sup>l</sup>, <sup>10</sup>treasurers of Pharaoh, of every department of the White House, and every office of the king's-house, united behind me. I made the highlands a river, and the upper valleys <sup>11</sup>a water-way.<sup>a</sup>

*Return with Sarcophagus*

448. I brought for him a sarcophagus, an eternal memorial, an everlasting reminder. Never descended its like in this highland since the time of the god. <sup>12</sup>My soldiers descended without loss; not a man perished, not a troop was missing, not an ass died, not a workman was enfeebled. It happened for the majesty of my lord <sup>13</sup>as a distinction, which Min wrought for him because he so much loved him, that his ka might endure upon the great throne in the kingdom of the two regions of Horus. <sup>14</sup>He made (it) as something greater than it.<sup>b</sup> I am his favorite servant, who does all that he praises every day.

IV. THE SECOND WONDER<sup>c</sup>

449. Eight days after the erection of the two preceding records, a second wonder occurred, which was immediately recorded on the rocks, as follows:

*Date*

450. <sup>1</sup>King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nibtowere (*Nb-t<sup>3</sup>wy-R<sup>c</sup>*, Mentuhotep IV) who liveth forever, born of the king's mother, Imi (*Ymy*), second month of the first season, day 23.

<sup>a</sup>Referring to the desert march. See the similar, but more explicit, statement of Henu on the same march, § 430, l. 12. According to the figures given there, this expedition consumed 200,000 loaves a day! (See note, *ibid.*)

<sup>b</sup>Grammatically, the sentence is clear, but its meaning? The same phrase in Henu, l. 16.

<sup>c</sup>Golénischeff, *Hammamat*, XIV=Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 149 f.



*Rain and a Well*

451. One set<sup>a</sup> to work <sup>2</sup>in this mountain on the 'lid' block<sup>b</sup> of the sarcophagus. The wonder was repeated, rain was made, the forms of this god appeared, <sup>3</sup>his fame was shown to men, the highland was made a lake,<sup>c</sup> the water went to the 'margin' of the stone,<sup>d</sup> a well was found in the midst of the valley, <sup>4</sup>10 cubits by 10 cubits on its every side, filled with fresh water, to its edge, undefiled, kept pure and cleansed from gazelles, concealed <sup>6</sup>from Troglodyte barbarians. Soldiers of old, and kings who had lived aforetime, went out and returned by its side, no eye had seen it, the face of man had not fallen upon it, (but) to his majesty himself it was revealed. . . . .<sup>8</sup>. . . . .<sup>e</sup> Those who were in Egypt (*T<sup>3</sup>-mry*) heard it, <sup>9</sup>the people who were in Egypt (*Km·t*), South and Northland (Delta),<sup>f</sup> they bowed their heads to the ground, <sup>10</sup>they praised the goodness of his majesty forever and ever.

V. COMPLETION OF THE WORK <sup>g</sup>

452. On the twenty-eighth day of the month the work was completed, and the following appendix was added to the king's official stela:

453. <sup>19</sup>Day 28. The lid of this sarcophagus descended, being a block 4 cubits, by 8 cubits, by 2 cubits,<sup>h</sup> <sup>20</sup>on coming forth from the work. Cattle were slaughtered, goats were slain, incense was put <sup>21</sup>on the fire. Behold, an army of 3,000 sailors of the nomes of the Northland (Delta) followed it in safety to Egypt.

<sup>a</sup>Lit.: "*laying the hand on the work.*" The form is an infinitive, the same construction continuing to the end of l. 5.

<sup>b</sup>I am not quite certain that this rendering is correct; it is lit.: "*laid or set block of the sarcophagus.*"

<sup>c</sup>Water in the highland was always remarkable; compare Kheti's feat (§ 407) who "*made the elevated land a swamp*" by means of a canal.

<sup>d</sup>Might also be "*lake.*"

<sup>e</sup>Obscure references to the discovery as a favor to the king.

<sup>f</sup>It is clear that Nibtowere governs all Egypt.

<sup>g</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 149, *d*=Golénischeff, *Hammamat*, XI.

<sup>h</sup>About 6 feet, 9 inches wide, 13 feet, 9 inches long, and 3 feet, 5 inches thick.

TABLET OF SENEKH<sup>a</sup>

454. This tablet does not belong to the same expedition as the preceding, but it narrates the attempts to settle with people the desert stations in Hammamat, and along the road from Coptos to the Red Sea.

455. Nibtowere (Mentuhotep IV), living forever. Commander of troops in the highlands, steward in Egypt, commander of [—] on the river, Senekh (*S<sup>c</sup>nh*), says:

456. I was commander of the troops of this entire land in this highland, equipped with water skins<sup>b</sup> (*šdw*), [baskets,<sup>1</sup> with bread, beer, and every fresh vegetable of the South. I made its valleys green, and its heights pools of water; settled with children throughout, southward to Thau (*T<sup>3</sup>cw*) and northward to Menet-Khufu (*Mn<sup>c</sup>t-Hfw*). I went forth to the sea (Red Sea), I hunted adults, I hunted cattle. I went forth to this highland with 60 people of years, and 70 young ones of the children<sup>c</sup> of one (woman). I did all correctly for Nibtowere (Mentuhotep IV), living forever.

STELA OF ETI<sup>d</sup>

457. This biography of an active official is of interest as showing the agricultural and industrial conditions in the Middle Kingdom, when the skilful administration of resources by the governing princes was necessary to prevent a famine. Eti was so successful in this respect that he even conveyed surplus grain to neighboring towns, and Thebes, sent to him for supplies.

<sup>a</sup>Cut on the rocks at Wadi Hammamat; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 149, g; and Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, II, 18 (where the translation is misleading). I had also a collation of the Berlin squeeze, kindly loaned to me by Mr. Alan H. Gardiner.

<sup>b</sup>Gardiner.

<sup>c</sup>Or: "I went forth to this desert as a man of 60 years, and 70 little children, the offspring of one (woman);" "offspring" or "children" (*ms'w*) is of course used in sense of "descendants."

<sup>d</sup>Limestone stela (0.47 m. by 0.75 m.) from Gebelên, now in Cairo, *Catalogue*, 20001; also published by Daressy, *Recueil*, XIV, 21.

458. An interesting reference in ll. 7, 8, where Eti states, “*I followed my great lord, I followed my small lord,*” may possibly indicate that we are to refer this document to the early Eleventh Dynasty, when the Theban princes ruled above Thebes, but were not yet kings. The powerful Theban prince would then be Eti’s “*great lord,*” and the local nomarch his “*small lord.*” In accordance with this, his field of activity did not extend below Thebes.

459. <sup>1</sup>The assistant treasurer Eti<sup>a</sup> (*Yty*); he says:

“I was an excellent citizen (*nds*), achieving with his strength, the great pillar <sup>2</sup>in the nome of Thebes, Nehebkauf<sup>b</sup> in the upper country (*hnty·t*). I sustained (*s·c·nh*) <sup>3</sup>Gebelên<sup>c</sup> during unfruitful years, there being 400 men <sup>4</sup>in distress<sup>1</sup>. <sup>4</sup>But I took not the daughter of a man, I took not his field. I made ten herds of goats, <sup>5</sup>with people in charge of each herd; I made two herds of cattle and a herd of asses. I raised all (kinds of) small cattle. I made 30 ships, (then) <sup>6</sup>30 other ships, and I brought grain (*rsy*) for Eni (*Yny*)<sup>d</sup> and Hefat<sup>e</sup> (*Hj·t*), after Gebelên was sustained. The nome of Thebes <sup>7</sup>went up-stream.<sup>f</sup> Never <sup>8</sup>did one below or above Gebelên bring to another district.<sup>g</sup> I followed <sup>8</sup>my great lord, I followed my small lord, and nothing was lost therein. I built a house <sup>9</sup>—<sup>1</sup>, filled with every luxury. The people said: “He is innocent of violence to another.”

His beloved eldest son,<sup>h</sup>— made it for him.

<sup>a</sup>He was also “*wearer of the royal seal, and sole companion.*”

<sup>b</sup>An uncertain epithet, “*who controls his ka’s,*” also applied to a well-known mortuary god.

<sup>c</sup>*Yw-mytrw.*

<sup>d</sup>Eni is probably Esneh (*Yny·t*).

<sup>e</sup>Tuphium. Same as the Ophieion of the Cornelius Gallus inscription at Philae; see Sethe, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1896, 482; it is located on the east bank of the Nile, between Thebes and Hermonthis.

<sup>f</sup>Probably for supplies.

<sup>g</sup>Or: “*never did Gebelên send down-stream or up-stream (‘dy<sup>1</sup> hd hnt) to another district*” (namely, to procure supplies).

<sup>h</sup>The name of the son is lacking, but one surviving sign would indicate that it was also *Yty*.

**THE TWELFTH DYNASTY**

## CHRONOLOGY OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY

460. As the chronology of the Twelfth Dynasty is more fully and accurately known to us than that of any dynasty in or before the Empire, it has seemed necessary to insert a statement of it, with a reconstruction based on the latest data from the monuments. The contemporary monuments and the Turin Papyrus enable us to make the following table<sup>a</sup> of the dynasty (excluding coregencies):

Amenemhet I . . . . .	20 <sup>b</sup> years
(10 years more with his son) <sup>c</sup>	
Sesostris I . . . . .	42 <sup>d</sup> "
(at least 3 years more with his son) <sup>e</sup>	
Amenemhet II . . . . .	32 <sup>f</sup> "
(at least 3 years more with his son) <sup>f</sup>	
Sesostris II . . . . .	19 <sup>g</sup> "
Sesostris III . . . . .	38 <sup>h</sup> "
(coregency of uncertain length with son)	
Amenemhet III . . . . .	48 <sup>i</sup> "
(coregency of uncertain length with his son) <sup>j</sup>	
Amenemhet IV . . . . .	9 y., 3 m., 27 d. <sup>k</sup>
Sebeknefrure . . . . .	3 y., 10 m., 24 d. <sup>k</sup>

<sup>a</sup>See Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 41, 38 ff.

<sup>b</sup>The stela of Intef in Cairo bears the double date: "Year 30 of Amenemhet I, Year 10 of Sesostris I" (Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 22 = Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, VIII = Rougé, *Album photographique*, No. 146; = Mariette, *Catalogue général d'Abydos*, 104, No. 558).

<sup>c</sup>Amenemhet I died in the thirtieth year of his reign. See Tale of Sinuhe (§ 491).

<sup>d</sup>The stela of Upwaweto at Leyden (V., 4) bears the double date: "Year 44 of Sesostris I = Year 2 of Amenemhet II" (Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, Pl. 10; Lepsius, *Zwölfte Dynastie*, II, No. 4; also my own photograph of the original; and the Turin Papyrus gives him 45 years, so that he must have ruled 3 years with his son.

<sup>e</sup>On the stela of Simontu (§ 594), Sesostris I is still living in the third year of Amenemhet II.

<sup>f</sup>The inscription of Hapu at Assuan (§ 614).

<sup>g</sup>Kahun papyri of the second find, fragment transliterated by Borchardt and distributed in private copies at the Congress of Orientalists, Rome, 1899.

<sup>h</sup>The highest date on the monuments is year 33 (Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, II, 85). Sethe's reconstruction of the Turin Papyrus proves that 38 is to be restored.

<sup>i</sup>The highest date is year 46 (*ibid.*, 86); 48 is certain from Sethe's reconstruction.

<sup>j</sup>Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, 10; Prisse, *Monuments égyptiens*, 9; its length is unknown.

<sup>k</sup>Turin Papyrus, see above.

461. The Turin Papyrus gives 213 years, 1 month, and 17 days, as the total length of the dynasty.

The Sothis date in the Kahun Papyri enables us to establish the date of the accession of Amenemhet I as 2000 B. C.<sup>a</sup>

462. We may then construct the following table:<sup>b</sup>

	Length	Date B. C.	Coregencies
Amenemhet I. . . . .	30 years	2000-1970	{ 2000-1980 alone 1980-1970 with his son 1980-1970 with his father
Sesostris I. . . . .	45 "	1980-1935	
Amenemhet II. . . . .	35 "	1938-1903	{ 1970-1938 alone 1938-1935 with his son 1938-1935 with his father 1935-1906 alone 1906-1903 with his son 1906-1903 with his father
Sesostris II. . . . .	19 "	1906-1887	
Sesostris III. . . . .	38 "	1887-1849	{ 1903-1887 alone Uncertain period with son Uncertain period with father <sup>c</sup>
Amenemhet III. . . . .	48 "	1849-1801	
Amenemhet IV <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	9 "	1801-1792	
Sebeknefrure . . . . .	4 "	1792-1788	

<sup>a</sup>Borchardt, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 99 ff.; Mahler, *ibid.*, 40, 83; Meyer's calculation (*Aegyptische Chronologie*, 51, 52, 57, 58) has slightly modified the date as calculated by Borchardt and Mahler, without affecting the principle employed, carrying back the beginning of the dynasty to 2000 B. C.

<sup>b</sup>This table differs considerably in the last four reigns from that given by Mahler (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 83-85, and *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, June, 1902, 248 f.), as he unfortunately has overlooked the higher dates in the reigns of Sesostris III and Amenemhet III, found since the publication of Brugsch's and Meyer's tables, upon which Mahler depends.

<sup>c</sup>The coronation of Amenemhet III as coregent with his father was narrated on the walls of a temple probably that of Crocodilopolis in the Fayûm. Fragments of the inscription are preserved in Berlin (Nos. 15801-4), and published in *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen*, III, 138. The coronation inscription of Hatshepsut at Der el-Bahri was copied from this of Amenemhet III. I am indebted for these facts to my friend, Mr. Alan H. Gardiner, who kindly called my attention to them.

<sup>d</sup>The length of his coregency with his father is unknown, and hence not indicated in years.

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The opposite table is as nearly correct as the astronomical data will permit, the most nearly accurate of all the Egyptian dynasties back of the Twenty-sixth, and the earliest series of absolute dates known in history, in spite of the margin of four years within which each date falls.

## REIGN OF AMENEMHET I

### INSCRIPTION OF KHNUMHOTEP I<sup>a</sup>

463. Khnumhotep I was the first of the powerful Benihasan nobles in the Twelfth Dynasty of whom we have any account. He was evidently of service to Amenemhet I during that king's final and successful struggle for the mastery and the crown of Egypt. The text is in such a fragmentary state that much must be read between the lines. It is, however, clear that Khnumhotep accompanied the king on an expedition in which "20 ships of cedar" were engaged, which resulted in expelling a certain foe from Egypt (l. 5). This foe, referred to only by the pronoun "*him*," whom it was necessary to expel from Egypt, must almost certainly have been one of Amenemhet's rivals for the crown. Then follows the submission of foreign foes, the Asiatic in the North and the Negro in the South, and of highland and lowland alike ("*the two regions*," l. 6). This accomplished, the king rewards his faithful adherents, and Khnumhotep is made "*count of Menet-Khufu*" (l. 7) where he ruled to the complete satisfaction of the king.

464. His titles are:<sup>b</sup> "*Hereditary prince and count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, [—] great lord of the Oryx nome [— —], attached to Nekhen (judge).*" This shows that he was later intrusted with the entire principality of the Oryx, in agreement with the statements of his grandson, Khnumhotep II, whose long inscription narrates the

<sup>a</sup>Tomb No. 14 at Benihasan; first noticed and copied by Newberry and published by Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pl. XLIV; see also p. 84 and II, 7, 8. The text is painted on the west wall, and is exceedingly fragmentary.

<sup>b</sup>*Ibid.*, II, Pl. XLIV, l. 1.



same appointments of his grandfather and follows the history of the family (§§ 619 ff.) in this fief for several generations.

465. I came out from my city, I went to [my nome]. Never did I commit evil against a man. . . . . 4. . . . . Then appointed me [my lord] the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, <sup>5</sup>Sehetepibre (*Shṭp-yb-R<sup>c</sup>*), Son of Re: Amenemhet (I) living forever and ever, to the 'office' — —. I went down with his majesty to '—',<sup>a</sup> in twenty ships of cedar 'which' he 'led', coming to —. He expelled him from the two regions (Egypt). <sup>6</sup>Negroes '— —', Asiatics, fell; he seized the lowland, the highlands, in the two regions '— —' with the people — remain in their positions '— —' — — — '— —' 7 — — —. Then his majesty appointed me as count of Menet-Khufu. My administration was excellent in the heart of his majesty, pleasant in —. Then I '—' my city, I benefited my people. His majesty caused to be done for me, that which my mouth uttered '— — —' <sup>8</sup> — the — were —, the — were —, its taxpayers were —, the citizens were servants. . . . .

#### HAMMAMAT INSCRIPTION OF INTEF<sup>b</sup>

466. This inscription records the only official expedition of Amenemhet I to Hammamat of which we know anything.<sup>c</sup> Only one block is mentioned, for which Intef spent eight days in a vain search, and only succeeded in finding it after propitiating the local gods.

<sup>a</sup>There must have been a geographical name here, which is corrupt in the original or has been imperfectly read.

<sup>b</sup>Cut on the rocks of Wadi Hammamat; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 118, *d* = Golénischeff, *Hammamat*, VIII = Maspero, *VIIIe Congrès International des Orientalistes, Section africaine*, 50-54. I had also a collation of the Berlin squeeze, kindly loaned me by Gardiner. It is, like all the Hammamat inscriptions, strongly influenced by the hieratic; the graver, who did not know hieratic, has then so corrupted the scribe's sketch that much of it is unintelligible.

<sup>c</sup>The other Hammamat inscription bearing his name (Golénischeff, *Hammamat*, II, 4 = Maspero, *ibid.*, 156), is incomplete; it does not record an official, but a private expedition, and the introduction, containing references to the safe conduct of the expedition ("*I returned . . . . none missing, none dead*") does not

467. Above is the full titulary of Amenemhet I, without further date. Then follow the titles of Intef:<sup>a</sup> “*Hereditary prince and count, wearer of the royal [seal], sole companion, royal messenger, superior prophet of Min.*” After the conventional series of personal epithets (ll. 2–6), his narrative then proceeds:

468. 6. . . . . My lord sent me to Hammamat, to bring this august stone; never was brought its like since the time of the god. There was no hunter who knew 7the marvel of it, none that sought it reached it. I spent 8 days searching this highland; I knew not the 1place1 wherein it was. I prostrated myself to Min, to Mut, to 1—1 Great-in-Magic, and all the gods of this highland, giving to them incense upon the fire. The land brightened at early morning,<sup>b</sup> I 1—1 8to go forth to the mountain 1—1 Hammamat, the 1—1 being behind me, and the 1—1 people scattered upon the mountains, searching this whole [desert].<sup>c</sup> Then I found it, and the 1—1 were in festivity, the 1entire1<sup>d</sup> army was praising, it rejoiced with 1obeisance1;<sup>e</sup> I gave praise to Montu.<sup>f</sup>

mention the name of the leader as usual. Then follows (l. 3): “*Fourth month of the third season, day 3; came the wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, inferior prophet, privy councilor of the treasurer of the god, Idi (Ydy), (l. 4) to bring down stone for the merinuter priest, the hereditary prince, ritual priest, sole companion, superior prophet, governor of the South [superior prophet of Min] (restored from Golénischeff, Hammamat, III, 3, l. 3), Putoker (P>wt-ykr) (l. 5). I brought down for him 2 blocks, each one (l. 6) 10 cubits (over 17 feet) in length, — cubits in its width.*” Idi has another inscription in the vicinity (Golénischeff, Hammamat, III, 3 = Maspero, *ibid.*, 157) as follows: “*Year 1—1, third month of the third season, day 1—1; came the . . . . . (titles) Idi, to bring down stone for . . . . . (titles) Putoker. I brought down for him a block of 12 cubits (about 20 feet, 6 inches), with 200 men. I brought 2 oxen, 50 asses, 1—1 5 1—1*”. It is clear that Idi is here executing the commissions of Putoker, an official of high rank, not those of the king.

<sup>a</sup>According to l. 6, his name may have been Sebeknakht, and his father’s name Intef.

<sup>b</sup>Read *dw> dw>*, as in Sinuhe, l. 248.

<sup>c</sup>Suggested by Gardiner.

<sup>d</sup>Read *r dr’ f?*

<sup>e</sup>Read *sn-t>?*

<sup>f</sup>The last line was omitted by Lepsius, and it is possible that even in Golénischeff’s copy the conclusion is lacking, for the concluding phrase above is very abrupt.

INSCRIPTION OF NESSUMONTU<sup>a</sup>

469. The stela is dated at the top in the "year — 4" of Amenemhet I, and adds the titulary of Sesostris I. As Sesostris I was associated with his father in the twentieth year of the latter, we must restore the above date as "year 24."

470. The stela contains the conventional mortuary texts and representations, but in the lower right-hand corner adds nine short columns of historical content:<sup>b</sup> showing that Nessumontu led expeditions against the Bedwin ("Sand-dwellers") and other Asiatics at the north end of Egypt's eastern frontier.

471. <sup>1</sup>Respecting [every] word of this tablet, it is truth, <sup>2</sup>which happened by my arm, it is that which I did in <sup>3</sup>reality.<sup>c</sup> There is no deceit, and there is no lie therein. <sup>4</sup>I [defeated] the Asiatic Troglodytes, the Sand-<sup>5</sup>dwellers. I overthrew the [strongholds<sup>d</sup>] of the <sup>6</sup>nomads<sup>1</sup>, as if [they had never] been. [I] <sup>7</sup>coursed<sup>e</sup> through <sup>8</sup>the field, I went

<sup>a</sup>Stela in Louvre (C 1); the top lines containing the date are published by Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, 10, and Lepsius, *Zwölfte Dynastie*, II, 3. The entire text: Maspero in *Report of First International Congress of Orientalists at Paris*, 1873, II, 48–61, and again in Maspero, *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie*, III, 153–64; Pierret, *Inscriptions*, 2, 27; Gayet, *Stèles*, I. All these are inaccurate. A good text is given by Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, I–II, but he unfortunately overlooked the nine lines of historical text and copied them from Maspero. Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, VI, 1467) copied them from Pierret. These nine lines alone have been carefully given by Müller (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1900, 47–48), who, however, does not consider his copy "einen völlig abschliessenden Text." I therefore carefully copied and collated the original (in January, 1901, for the Berlin Dictionary) under excellent light, which insured some additional readings, and it is probable that my text may be regarded as final. I have since published it, *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, XXI, 153 ff. Müller also gives a translation, from which mine differs in several places, but is indebted to him for several suggestions.

<sup>b</sup>It is unfortunately only this important corner of the stela which is badly broken and weathered, seriously mutilating the text.

<sup>c</sup>*Yr(y) i' n' y pw m wn' m' c.*

<sup>d</sup>The word cannot be *hn*, "tent," as Müller suggests, for it ended in feminine *t*, while *hn*, "tent," is masculine, as shown by Harkhuf, *Letter*, l. 20. The feminine form cited by Müller from the Israel stela is not "tent," but "water skin" (*hn't*). I connect our word with *hn't*, "prison."

<sup>e</sup>Read *hns*; see Müller, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, III, 433.

forth 1 before those who were 1 behind 2 their defenses, without [my] equal therein, 3 by command of Montu, to him who followed the plan of —.

#### INSCRIPTION OF KORUSKO<sup>b</sup>

472. The Nubian conquests of the Twelfth Dynasty, were already begun by Amenemhet I, and the place where the following inscription was discovered, over half-way up to the second cataract, indicates that the statement in the king's "Teaching" (§ 483) is trustworthy.

473. Year 29,<sup>c</sup> of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sehetepibre (*Shtp-yb-R<sup>c</sup>*, Amenemhet I), living forever. We came to overthrow Wawat — —

#### THE TEACHING OF AMENEMHET<sup>d</sup>

474. This composition purports to be the practical injunctions of the old king, Amenemhet I, to his son and coregent, Sesostris I. Maspero thinks they were posthu-

<sup>a</sup>*Nn sn'y ym.*

<sup>b</sup>Cut on a rock at the entrance of the valley road leading from Korusko to Abu Hamed. It was discovered by Dr. Lüttge in 1875, and by him shown to Brugsch (*Geschichte*, 117, 118), who published it seven years later, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 30; and in *Thesaurus*, V, 1213.

<sup>c</sup>Maspero's statement (*Dawn*, 478, n. 2) that this inscription belongs to the "XXXth year" must be an oversight.

<sup>d</sup>The text is preserved in seven hieratic manuscripts of the Empire, mostly incomplete, as follows:

1. Millingen Papyrus (original lost), published from copy of Peyron, by Maspero, *Recueil*, II, 70, and XVII, 64.
2. Papyrus Sallier, II, 1-3, British Museum.
3. Papyrus Sallier, I, 8, Verso (=Millingen, I, II, 1).
4. Ostrakon, British Museum, 5623 (=Millingen, I, II, 6).
5. Ostrakon, British Museum, 5638 (=Millingen, II, 5-11); Dümichen, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1874, 30 ff.
6. Papyrus, Berlin, 3019 (Millingen, I, 9 to II, 11).
7. Leather Manuscript Louvre, 4920, "now completely spoiled." "All these appear to be of about one period, perhaps from the end of the reign of Ramses II to the reign of Seti II" (Griffith, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 34, 36; Millingen

mous,<sup>a</sup> but Griffith does not agree.<sup>b</sup> It can hardly be doubted that the composition is a work of the Twelfth Dynasty, and there is no serious reason why it should not be attributed to the old king, whose "teaching" the introduction distinctly states it is. Griffith regards the occasion of the work as the attempt on his life when the king determines "to announce his son's succession in a formal manner." This would date the work from the beginning of the coregency in the twentieth year of Amenemhet I. There is a reference in the document, however, which would indicate a later date. In III, 2, the king speaks of his campaign against Nubia. Now, the only campaign of Amenemhet I in Nubia known to us was in his twenty-ninth year (§ 473).<sup>c</sup> This reference, therefore, would date the work not long before the king's death in his thirtieth year, and is an indication that we have in it his final instructions to his son.

475. Its chief purpose was to warn the young Sesostris against any confidences or intimate associations with those about him. To enforce this warning, the old king dwells on the kindness and beneficence, the order and prosperity, of his reign; in contrast with which he bitterly depicts the treachery and ingratitude which have been his reward. There is an element of pathos in these words of the old man, which do not fail of their effect even after nearly four thousand years.

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may be later), and are in a frightful state of corruption. The best manuscript, Mil-lingen, is unfortunately incomplete, almost all of the third page being lost. The latest and best treatment and text, employing all the manuscripts, are by Griffith (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 34, 35-49), from whom the above statement of materials is taken. An excellent translation of the clearer passages by Erman also in *Aus den Papyrus des königlichen Museums zu Berlin*, 44, 45. To both these the present version is much indebted. The older "translations" are very free paraphrases; for bibliography of them, see Maspero, *Dawn*, 467, n. 2.

<sup>a</sup>*Dawn*, 466.

<sup>b</sup>*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 34, 38.

<sup>c</sup>An earlier campaign is not impossible, but remains an assumption.

476. The composition is in poetic form, and the lines are separated as usual in the New Kingdom by a dot at the end of each line.<sup>a</sup> It must have been a favorite composition, to judge from the number of manuscripts which have survived. They are all, however, so excessively corrupt that much is unintelligible, and has been omitted in the version below.

477. Whether the historical statements in the document are authentic or not, there is no reason to doubt their truth; on the contrary, all but the attempt upon the king's life are corroborated by conclusive external evidence. These statements, in the order of their occurrence, are as follows: (1) the attempt on the king's life (I, 11—II, 4); (2) Sesostris I's coregency (II, 5, 6); (3) the king's reorganization of Egypt (II, 10, 11); (4) the agricultural prosperity (II, 11—III, 1); (5) foreign conquests in Nubia and among the Bedwin (III, 2, 3); (6) building of a palace (III, 2—6). There seems to be no chronological order in this enumeration, for the reorganization of the country took place in the first years, long before the coregency. It is fair to conclude, however, that the attempt on the king's life was the cause of the association of Sesostris on the throne.

478. I. <sup>b</sup>Beginning with the teaching, which the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt; Sehetepibre, Son of Re: Amenemhet (I) triumphant, composed.

He saith, <sup>2</sup>while distinguishing truth,  
 For his son, the All-Lord;  
 He saith: "Shine as a god!  
 Hearken to that which I say to thee,  
 That thou mayest be king of the earth,  
 That thou mayest be ruler of <sup>3</sup>the lands,

<sup>a</sup>The paragraph division, retained in the accompanying translation, is also indicated by rubrics.

<sup>b</sup>Numbering of pages (Roman numerals) and lines (Arabic numerals) from Papyrus Millingen, after Griffith.

That thou mayest increase good.  
**479.** <sup>1</sup>Harden<sup>1</sup> thyself against all subordinates.  
 The people give heed <sup>4</sup>to him who terrorizes them;<sup>a</sup>  
 Approach them not alone.  
 Fill not thy heart with a brother,  
 Know not a friend,  
 Nor make <sup>5</sup>for thyself intimates,  
 Wherein there is no end.  
 When thou sleepest, guard for thyself thine own heart;  
 For a man has no people,  
 In the <sup>6</sup>day of evil.  
 I gave to the beggar, I nourished the orphan;  
 I admitted the insignificant as well as him who <sup>7</sup>was great of account.<sup>b</sup>  
 (But) he who ate my food made insurrection,  
 He, to whom I gave my hand, aroused fear therein;  
 They who put <sup>8</sup>on my fine linen looked upon me as <sup>1</sup>—<sup>3</sup>.  
 They who anointed themselves with my myrrh, <sup>1</sup>defiled <sup>9</sup>me<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>—<sup>3</sup>  
 . . . . . <sup>10</sup>. . . . . <sup>11</sup>. . . . .

**480.** It was after the evening meal, night had come.  
 I took <sup>12</sup>an hour of heart's ease.  
 Lying upon my couch, I relaxed;  
 II <sup>1</sup>My heart began to follow slumber.  
<sup>1</sup>Behold, weapons were flourished<sup>1</sup>,  
<sup>1</sup>Council was held against me,<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>1</sup>While I was like a serpent of <sup>2</sup>the desert.<sup>1</sup>  
 I awoke to fight, utterly alone.  
 . . . . . <sup>3</sup>. . . . .  
 As I quickly grasped the weapons in my hand,  
 I hurled back the wretches . . . . .  
<sup>4</sup>. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .

<sup>a</sup>But see Gardiner's careful grammatical analysis of this line (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 24, 353 f.). He renders: "That cometh to pass, to whose terrors no thought has been given." This is grammatically better than the above rendering, although it does not fit either the preceding or following context.

<sup>b</sup>Lit.: "*him who was not, as well as him who was.*" Compare the saying of the unjust official: "*The name of a poor man is mentioned, by reason of his lord*" (*Eloquent Peasant*, Berlin, 3023, l. 20).

481. <sup>5</sup>Behold, the abomination occurred, while I was without thee,  
While the court had not (yet) heard that I had delivered to thee  
(the kingdom).

While I had not yet sat with thee.

<sup>6</sup>Let me adjust thy administration;

For I do not terrify them, I do not think of them,

My heart does not endure the slackness of servants.

7. . . . . 9. . . . . <sup>a</sup>

482. <sup>10</sup>I sent to Elephantine,

I reached the Delta,

I stood on the borders of the land,

<sup>11</sup>I inspected its interior,

I carried forward the boundaries of valor by my bravery, by my  
deeds.

483. I was one who cultivated <sup>12</sup>grain, and loved the harvest-god;<sup>b</sup>

The Nile greeted me in every <sup>1</sup>valley<sup>1</sup>;

None was hungry in my years, none thirsted (III) <sup>1</sup>then;

One dwelt (in peace) through that which I did; conversing concern-  
ing me.

All that I commanded was correct.

I <sup>1</sup>captured<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>lions, I took crocodiles,

I <sup>1</sup>seized<sup>1</sup> the people of Wawat,

I captured the people of Mazoi.

<sup>3</sup>I caused the Bedwin to go like hounds.<sup>c</sup>

I made a <sup>1</sup>palace<sup>1</sup> decked <sup>4</sup>with gold,

Whose ceilings were of lazuli, <sup>1</sup>and the walls therein<sup>1</sup>.

The floors <sup>1</sup>— —<sup>1</sup>,

<sup>5</sup>The doors were of copper,

The bolts were of bronze,

<sup>6</sup>Made for everlastingness,

At which eternity fears.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup>The general sense is: the conspiracy was formed in the palace.

<sup>b</sup>Bebi, in whose inscription Brugsch thought to find references to Joseph's famine (*Geschichte*, 246), uses verbatim the same words (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1527, l. 11) regarding himself.

<sup>c</sup>This line is slightly doubtful, but compare similar phrase, *Piankhi*, l. 3.

<sup>d</sup>Not being able to destroy it. The remainder of p. III, for which Papyrus Millingen is wanting, is too corrupt for translation.



DEDICATION INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

484. A relic of Amenemhet I's building activity at Karnak, is preserved in this dedication, found on the base of a shrine from the Karnak temple of Amon, whence it had been taken to the Ptah-temple:

Amenemhet I; he made it as his monument for his father Amon-Re, lord of Thebes (*Ns' wt-<sup>l</sup>wy*), making for him a shrine of pink granite, that he may thereby be given life forever.

485. Another dedication<sup>b</sup> at Bubastis runs as follows:

Amenemhet I; he made it as his monument for his mother Bast, making for her<sup>c</sup> a gate —————.

THE TALE OF SINUHE<sup>d</sup>

486. The tale of Sinuhe is a highly artificial piece of "fine writing" in poetical form,<sup>e</sup> most of which is lost to our modern taste. It is, however, so rational and sober throughout, and breathes such an air of reality, that it is not to be disregarded as a historical source.

<sup>a</sup>*Annales*, III, 102.

<sup>b</sup>Naville, *Bubastis* I, Pl. 33A.

<sup>c</sup>An *s* has been omitted, either in the publication or by the ancient scribe.

<sup>d</sup>The bulk of this tale (311 lines) is preserved in a hieratic papyrus of the Middle Kingdom, now in Berlin (P. 3022), published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, VI, 104-7. The beginning, lacking in the Berlin Papyrus, is preserved in a hieratic ostrakon (a large flake of limestone) discovered in a Twentieth Dynasty tomb by Maspero (now in Cairo, No. 27149), and published by him in *Mémoires de l'Institut égyptien*, II, 1-23, and Pls. I, II, 1886. This fragment, excessively corrupt, is supplemented by eleven lines from the Amherst Papyrus (Newberry, *Amherst Papyri*, Pl. I), which have been incorporated with the Cairo ostrakon and published in transcription by Griffith (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XIV, 453, 454). The whole has been translated by Erman in *Aus den Papyrus des königlichen Museums zu Berlin*, 14-29. My materials were: all the above publications except Maspero's (which was not accessible), the Berlin original, and especially a transcription of the Cairo ostrakon, made by Erman from the original, which he kindly placed at my disposal.

<sup>e</sup>The Cairo ostrakon containing the beginning separates the lines by red dots, and divides into stanzas. The above translation preserves these lines and stanzas as far as the ostrakon goes, after which the division is uncertain.

487. The hero, Sinuhe, a noble of high rank, is with the young coregent, Prince Sesostris I, in the western Delta, on a campaign against the Libyans, when the message announcing the death of the old king, Amenemhet I, reaches the camp. Sesostris I does not allow the news to be made public, but secretly returns to the royal residence, in order firmly to establish himself as king before any pretender can precede him. Sinuhe accidentally overhears the message, and, evidently for political reasons, immediately flees the country, making Palestine his goal. Here he spends many years, experiencing manifold adventures, until in old age, after becoming rich and powerful, he is pardoned by Sesostris I, and permitted to return to Egypt.

488. The date of Amenemhet's death, given in the tale as in the thirtieth year of his reign, is corroborated by the monuments, where his highest date is also the thirtieth year;<sup>a</sup> hence the introductory narrative may probably be accepted as essentially historical. Moreover, the style of the writing in the Berlin papyrus shows that the document could not have been written very much later than the reign of Sesostris I, when the historical facts were still well known.

489. The geography of the flight<sup>b</sup> is correct as far as traceable, but the error of Upper Tenu for Upper Retenu, the Empire term for Palestine, shows unfamiliarity with one of the most important, and later the most frequent, designations in the Egyptian's geography of Asia.<sup>c</sup> But it is the earliest occurrence of the name; for the tale offers us

<sup>a</sup>The stela of Intef bears the joint date: "*Year 30 of Amenemhet I, year 10 of Sesostris I*" (Cairo, Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 22=Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, VIII=Rougé, *Album photographique*, No. 146; Mariette, *Catalogue général d'Abydos*, 104, No. 558).

<sup>b</sup>See especially Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 38-47.

<sup>c</sup>Retenu was, however, known in the Middle Kingdom, and is mentioned in a Sinai inscription (see Weill, *Sinai*).

the oldest account of pre-Israelitish Palestine from any source. This account appears to be essentially true to the facts, and shows us how superior was the Egyptian of this time, to the Bedwin of Palestine.

**490.** Hereditary prince, count,  
Wearer of the royal seal, sole companion,  
Judge, local governor,  
King [among] the Bedwin,  
Real confidant of the king, his beloved,  
The attendant, Sinuhe, saith:

I was one who follows his lord,  
A servant of the royal [harem] of the queen,  
Rich in praise,

. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .<sup>a</sup>

**491.** In year 30, second month of the first season, on the 7th day,  
Departed the god into his horizon,  
The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sehetepibre.  
He ascended [to] heaven, joined with the sun;  
The divine limbs were mingled with him that begat him.  
In the court, silence [ — — — ].  
The great double doors were closed,  
The court sat (in mourning),  
The people [bowed down in] silence.

**492.** Behold, his majesty had sent out  
A numerous army to the land of the Libyans;  
The eldest son was commander thereof,  
The Good God<sup>c</sup> Sesostris.  
Now, just as he was returning, having taken  
Living captives of the Libyans,  
And all cattle, without limit;  
The companions of the court,  
They sent to the west side,<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>These three lines are totally corrupt; the names of Amenemhet and Sesostris, and the pyramid-city, Kenofer (*K<sup>o</sup>-n/r*) are mentioned.

<sup>b</sup>Toward Libya.

In order to inform the king<sup>a</sup>  
 Of their plan, conceived in the cabinet chamber.  
 The messengers found him on the way,  
 They reached him at the time of evening.

. . . . .  
 The hawk,<sup>b</sup> he flew, together with his following,  
 Without letting his army know <sup>†</sup>it<sup>†</sup>.

Then sent the royal children,  
 Who followed this army;  
 No one had called <sup>c†</sup>to<sup>†</sup> one of them.<sup>d</sup>

Behold, I stood; I heard his voice  
<sup>2</sup>As he spoke, while I <sup>†</sup>— —<sup>†</sup>,  
 My heart cleaved, <sup>3</sup>my arms opened,  
 While trembling fell on all my members.

I stole away <sup>4†</sup>— —<sup>†</sup> —,  
 To seek for myself a place of concealment.

I placed <sup>5</sup>myself between two bushes,  
 To <sup>†</sup>avoid<sup>†</sup> the way which they went.

I <sup>6</sup>proceeded up-stream,  
<sup>7</sup>Not intending (however) to reach the court;  
 I thought there was fighting (there).

. . . . .  
**493.** <sup>8</sup>I reached <sup>†</sup>—<sup>†</sup> in the region of Sycomore,  
<sup>9</sup>I arrived at the Isle of Snefru.<sup>e</sup>

I tarried in a stretch <sup>10</sup>of field,<sup>f</sup>  
 It grew light, I went on, when it was day.  
 I came upon a man, standing <sup>11</sup>in <sup>†</sup>—<sup>†</sup> the way;  
 He saluted me, and was afraid.

<sup>12</sup>When the time of the evening meal<sup>g</sup> drew on,  
 I reached the city of <sup>13</sup>the Ox (*Ng<sup>2</sup>w*).  
 I ferried over, in a vessel without a rudder,

<sup>a</sup>Sesostris I.

<sup>b</sup>Poetical designation of the prince, Sesostris, who now secretly leaves the camp and hastens to the royal residence, to be crowned.

<sup>c</sup>The Berlin papyrus begins here; the line numbers refer to that manuscript.

<sup>d</sup>To inquire after the absent Sesostris.

<sup>e</sup>See § 312, l. 21, note.

<sup>f</sup>See § 430, l. 12, note.

<sup>g</sup>Compare the same meal in § 480.

<sup>14</sup>[By means of] a wind of the west.<sup>a</sup>  
 I passed by on the east of the quarry,  
<sup>15</sup>Past the highland goddess, mistress of the Red Mountain.<sup>b</sup>  
 As I gave <sup>16</sup>the way to my feet, [going northward],<sup>c</sup>  
 I came to <sup>17</sup>the Walls of the Ruler,  
 Made to repulse the Bedwin,  
 [And to smite the sand-rangers]<sup>d</sup>  
 I bowed <sup>18</sup>down in the bushes,  
 For fear the sentinels <sup>19</sup>on the fort,  
 Who belonged to its day (-watch), should see me.  
 I went on <sup>20</sup>at time of evening,  
 As the earth brightened, I arrived at Peten (*Ptn*).<sup>e</sup>  
<sup>21</sup>When I had reached the lake of Kemwer (*Km-wr*),<sup>f</sup>  
 I fell down for thirst, <sup>22</sup>fast came 'my' breath,  
 My throat was hot,  
<sup>23</sup>I said: This is the taste of death.  
 I upheld my heart, I <sup>24</sup>drew my limbs together,  
 As I heard the sound of the lowing of <sup>25</sup>cattle,  
 I beheld the Bedwin.  
<sup>26</sup>That chief among them, who had been in Egypt, recognized me.  
<sup>27</sup>He gave me water, he cooked for me milk.<sup>g</sup>  
 I went <sup>28</sup>with him to his tribe,  
 Good was that which they did (for me).  
 One land sent me on to <sup>29</sup>another,  
 I loosed<sup>h</sup> for Suan (*Swn*),<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup>This shows clearly the eastward direction of his flight.

<sup>b</sup>This is the mountain of red conglomerate just northeast of modern Cairo. It is still called the Red Mountain (Gebel el-Aḥmar), and is still used as a quarry. See Baedeker, 74, and Murray, 418.

<sup>c</sup>Only in Empire text.

<sup>d</sup>Found only in the Empire text. <sup>e</sup>Unknown land.

<sup>f</sup>Lit.: "the great black," the earlier northern extension of the Gulf of Suez. See Maspero, *Dawn*, 351, n. 3, and 471, n. 3, who renders "the very (*wr't*) black," although the writing is always *wr* (= "great," without *t*); and Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 39-43.

<sup>g</sup>Here the Cairo ostrakon stops, and the verse division is from here on uncertain.

<sup>h</sup>Perhaps a nautical term.

<sup>i</sup>From "swn," "to trade," evidently a trading-post on the Asiatic frontier, like *Swn* (Assuan) on that of Nubia.

I arrived at Kedem<sup>a</sup> (*Kdm*);  
I spent <sup>30</sup>a year and a half there.

**494.** Emuienshi, that sheik <sup>31</sup>of Upper Tenu,<sup>b</sup> brought me forth  
Saying to me: "Happy art thou with me,  
(For) thou hearest the speech <sup>32</sup>of Egypt."  
He said this, (for) he knew my character,  
He had heard of <sup>33</sup>my wisdom;  
The Egyptians <sup>34</sup>who were there with him, bare witness of me.

**495.** Emuienshi now questions Sinuhe as to the reason  
of his flight, and the latter responds evasively, merging  
his reply into a long hymn in praise of the king (ll.  
34-77). Whereupon Emuienshi replies:

**496.** <sup>78</sup>"Behold, thou shalt now abide with me;  
Good is that which I shall do for thee."  
He put me at the head of his children,  
He married me <sup>79</sup>to his eldest daughter,  
He made me select for myself of his land,  
<sup>80</sup>Of the choicest of that which he had,  
On his boundary with <sup>81</sup>another land.  
It was a goodly land, named Yaa (*Y>>*);<sup>c</sup>  
There were figs <sup>82</sup>in it and vines,  
More plentiful than water was its wine,  
Copious was <sup>83</sup>its honey, plenteous its oil;  
All fruits were upon its trees.  
<sup>84</sup>Barley was there, and spelt,  
Without end all <sup>85</sup>cattle.  
Moreover, great was that which came to me,  
Which came for love <sup>86</sup>of me,  
When he appointed me sheik of the tribe,

<sup>a</sup>Long misread "Edom;" first corrected by Erman, in 1885, *Aegypten*, 495. The region was east of Jordan and the Dead Sea, and receives the same name in the Old Testament.

<sup>b</sup>This is the first occurrence of Upper [Re]tenu, the usual designation, in the Empire for the higher portions of Palestine. That the text has omitted an *r* is almost certain. See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 47.

<sup>c</sup>An unknown district in Palestine; it is written as if it were the name of some plant.

From the choicest of <sup>87</sup>his land.  
I portioned the daily bread,  
And wine <sup>88</sup>for every day,  
Cooked flesh, and fowl <sup>89</sup>in roast;  
Besides the wild goats of the hills,  
Which were trapped <sup>90</sup>for me, and <sup>1</sup>brought<sup>1</sup> to me;  
Besides that which my dogs captured for me.  
<sup>91</sup>There was much — made for me,  
And milk in <sup>92</sup>every sort of cooked dish.  
I spent many years,  
My children <sup>93</sup>became strong,  
Each the mighty man of <sup>94</sup>his tribe.  
The messenger going north,  
Or passing southward to the court,<sup>a</sup>  
<sup>95</sup>He turned in to me.  
For I had all men turn in (to me).

497. The tale now proceeds with examples of the personal prowess of Sinuhe, but the remainder of over 200 lines contains nothing of historical importance.<sup>b</sup>

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<sup>a</sup>The court of Egypt is meant.

<sup>b</sup>The remainder of the story can be read in the latest and far the best translation by Erman, *Aus den Papyrus des königlichen Museums zu Berlin*, 20–29 (German), or a very free paraphrase by Maspero, *Contes populaires*, or an English version after Maspero, by Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*.

## REIGN OF SESOSTRIS I

### THE BUILDING INSCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLE OF HELIOPOLIS<sup>a</sup>

498. This building inscription in its present form has a very interesting history. It is not preserved to us upon a great stela, to which such inscriptions were usually intrusted, but has reached us on more fragile material—a roll of leather. This had been used by a scribe in the third year of Amenhotep II<sup>b</sup> for scratching down various data, either for the sake of practice or for temporary preservation; for they were often washed off and replaced by others. At present we can read, although half washed out, part of the legal proceedings of a sculptor against his own son, and notes regarding the receipt and issue of lumber.<sup>c</sup> To one of these notes he has fortunately fixed the date, as given above. On the other side of the leather our scribe copied the beginning of the dedicatory building inscription of Sesostris I, placed by him on a great stone stela<sup>d</sup> in his temple at Heliopolis. In the time of our scribe the stela had already been standing five hundred years. It has since utterly perished, with the temple in which it stood, and thus the great king's building inscription has survived only in the accidental copy of a humble scribe.

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<sup>a</sup>A hieratic manuscript, written in two columns on one side of a piece of leather; bought in Thebes by Brugsch, 1858 (*Geschichte*, 123); first published by Stern, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1874, 85 ff.; then by Birch, *Egyptian Texts*, 49–58. It has been translated by Stern, *Records of the Past*, XII, and by Erman, *Aus den Papyrus des königlichen Museums zu Berlin*, 59–63. My materials were the original now in Berlin (P. 3029) and a transcription by Erman. The above translation depends, with a few exceptions, upon his version in *loc. cit.*

<sup>b</sup>Not Amenhotep IV, as read by Stern.

<sup>c</sup>See Erman, *Aus den Papyrus des königlichen Museums zu Berlin*, 87, 88.

<sup>d</sup>See § 501, l. 5.



499. In form the inscription was a poem, and its lines have been separated by the scribe by red dots, as usual in the Empire. The content is obscured by elaborate phraseology, but its drift is nevertheless evident. In his third year Sesostris I called together his court, and announced his purpose of erecting a temple to the sun-god at Heliopolis (§§ 501-3). The court responds with the conventional encomium (§ 504), and the king then deposes the treasurer to undertake the building (§ 505). An interval of time having elapsed of which there is no indication in the narrative, the ground plan of the building is laid out with the customary ceremony (§ 506). As usual in such inscriptions, there must have followed some description of the construction, material, and furniture of the temple, but the scribe unfortunately copied no farther.

500. This was of course not the first temple at Heliopolis, but an extension of the old, undoubtedly on a much larger scale. A fragment of a building inscription<sup>a</sup> from the same temple perhaps belonged to Sesostris I. It shows that he, or one of his name, built throughout Egypt. It reads:

<sup>1</sup>(For) ————— a *mšn·t*-stone necklace, a necklace (*mny·t*), many great seals [—] ————— <sup>2</sup>————— many great — [—] —. (For) Anuket: a *mšn·t*-stone necklace, a seal — a silver vase,<sup>b</sup> a golden vase, a bronze vase, two copper vases, an ebony censer, a silver censer. (For) First of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos (Osiris): ————— <sup>3</sup>————— a bronze vase, two copper vases, an ebony censer. (For) Onouris: in Thinis: a silver vase, a golden vase, a bronze vase, two copper vases, an ebony censer, a silver<sup>c</sup> censer. (For) Min (*Ypw*): a silver vase, a golden vase, a bronze vase, two copper vases, an ebony censer, a silver

<sup>a</sup>Engraved on two sides of a piece of a red grit-stone door-post, now in a native house by the Mosque of el-Azhar in Cairo. Published by Daressy, from a copy by Ahmed bey Kamal, in *Annales* IV.

<sup>b</sup>*Hs*; all the vases herein recorded are of this form.

<sup>c</sup>The published text is evidently to be so corrected.

[censer] ——— 4———. (For) ——— a necklace. (I) built a temple for Satet, for Anuket and Khnum, lord of the cataract, of <sup>1</sup>sculptured<sup>1a</sup> stone. (I) built a temple for Horus of Nubia (*T<sup>2</sup>-p<sup>d</sup>·t*) in the (nome of) Apollinopolis Magna (*W<sup>t</sup>s-Hr*)<sup>b</sup> ——— 5———. He [made] (it) as his monument for Atum, lord of Heliopolis: silver vessels ———<sup>6c</sup> ——— a golden *dwd·t*, a silver ——— 7——— a royal statue of —<sup>d</sup> for Sais. Buto, mistress of Pe and Dep, was fashioned, a copper bowl <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup>. A royal statue of Sesostris (III) for Pe <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> Nephthys ——— 8———. (For) the Nine Gods in Kher-eha (*Hr·<sup>c</sup>h<sup>2</sup>*): a copper bowl; Hapi was fashioned. (I) sailed upstream to Elephantine, offering-tables were given to the southern gods. (For) Hathor, mistress of Dendera: a golden ——— 9——— a *hm<sup>2</sup>g·t*-stone necklace, — — a — stone necklace — —. (For) Hathor, mistress of Cusae: a *hm<sup>2</sup>g·t*-stone necklace, a *m<sup>s</sup>n·t*-stone necklace ———.

This list of the king's good works for the gods doubtless comes from the Heliopolis temple, the building of which is recorded in our leather roll, as follows:

501. <sup>1</sup>Year 3

Third month of the first season, day —, under  
The majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkere,  
Son of Re, Sesostris (I), triumphant.<sup>e</sup>  
Living forever and ever.

<sup>2</sup>When the king appeared in the double crown,  
Occurred the sitting in the audience-hall,<sup>f</sup>  
One took counsel with his suite,  
The companions of <sup>3</sup>the court,

<sup>a</sup>*S<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>*, see IV, 231, ll. 6, 8, and 11; possibly we should render *S<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>* here with its usual meaning, "erect," and regard the following sign (the builder), as the determinative, and render "I erected."

<sup>b</sup>Second nome of Upper Egypt.

<sup>c</sup>The inscription here passes around the corner of the block; it is uncertain whether the two faces should be connected as above.

<sup>d</sup>Remains of a cartouche.

<sup>e</sup>Inserted by the Empire scribe.

<sup>f</sup>This hall (*d<sup>2</sup>dw*) is mentioned also in the reign of Sahure (see § 239), where it was part of a house called: "*Sahure-Shines-or-Appears-With-Crowns.*" The name also occurs in the Fourth Dynasty in the same connection (Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 22, l. 14), and must be an audience-hall.

The princes at the place of [—].  
 One<sup>a</sup> commanded, while they heard,  
 One took counsel, while <sup>4</sup>making them reveal:  
 “Behold, my majesty is exacting a work,  
 And taking thought in an excellent matter.  
 For <sup>5</sup>the future I will make a monument,  
 And set up an abiding stela for Harakhte.

502. He begat me <sup>6</sup>to do that which he did,  
 To execute that which he commanded to do.  
 He appointed me shepherd of this land.  
 He recognized [him who should defend] <sup>7</sup>it,  
 He hath given to me that which he protects,  
 And that which the eye,<sup>b</sup> that is in him, illuminates.  
 [Doing throughout]<sup>c</sup> as he desires.  
 I have [rendered] <sup>8</sup>that which he exacted [—].<sup>d</sup>  
 I am a king of his character,  
 A sovereign, to whom he [—] not.  
 I conquered as <sup>9</sup>a lad,  
 I was mighty in the egg.

. . . . .<sup>e</sup>  
 He appointed me lord of the two halves,<sup>f</sup>  
 As a child, <sup>10</sup>before the swaddling-clothes were loosed for me,  
 He appointed me lord of mankind,  
 [—] <sup>11</sup>in the presence of the people.  
 He perfected me to be occupant of the palace,  
 As a youth, before my two [—] came forth.  
 He gave his length and his breadth [to me].  
 Who have been brought up <sup>12</sup>in his character, which he took.  
 To whom was given the land; I am its lord.  
 My fame<sup>g</sup> has reached <sup>13</sup>the height of heaven,  
 My excellence [—————].  
 . . . . .

<sup>a</sup>The king.

<sup>b</sup>The sun; that which the eye illuminates is, of course, the earth.

<sup>c</sup>It is all obedient to him?

<sup>d</sup>A very uncertain line.

<sup>f</sup>Upper and Lower Egypt.

<sup>e</sup>A mutilated line.

<sup>g</sup>Lit.: “*Fame for me . . . . .*”

<sup>14</sup>He has commanded me to conquer that which he conquered,  
 𓂏 — Horus, who have<sup>a</sup> numbered 𓂏his limbs.<sup>1</sup>

**503.** I have established the offerings of <sup>15</sup>the gods,  
 I will make a work, namely, a great house,  
 For my father Atum.  
 He<sup>b</sup> will make it broad, according as he has caused me to conquer.  
<sup>16</sup>I will victual his altars on earth,  
 I will build my house in the 𓂏.<sup>c</sup>  
 My beauty shall be remembered <sup>17</sup>in his house,  
 My name is the pyramidion, and my name is the lake,<sup>d</sup>  
 Eternity is that excellent thing which 𓂏I have made;  
 The king <sup>18</sup>dies not, who is mentioned by reason of his achievements.

. . . . .  
 It is my name 𓂏 which is mentioned <sup>19</sup>in reality,  
 Which passes not away because of eternal things.  
 That which I make is that which shall be,  
 That which I seek is <sup>20</sup>the excellent things.  
 Excellent food is 𓂏.  
 It is vigilance in eternal things.”

**504. II.** <sup>1</sup>Then spake these companions of the king,  
 And they answered before their god:<sup>e</sup>  
 “Hu is [in] thy mouth, and Esey<sup>f</sup> 𓂏is behind thee.  
 O sovereign, it is thy plans which are realized,  
 O king, who shinest as Favorite of the Two Goddesses,  
 To <sup>3</sup>𓂏 in thy temple.  
 It is excellent to look to the morrow,  
 And with excellent things, to (coming) time.

<sup>a</sup>First person.

<sup>b</sup>We expect “I,” viz., “I will make it broad according as he has made my kingdom broad.”

<sup>c</sup>*S>h*, which occurs also as the place where a temple is built, in II, 890, l. 24.

<sup>d</sup>Meaning that these accessories of the temple will be memorials of his name. By a curious accident, the only witness to the king's building surviving on the spot is his solitary obelisk (at Maṭarīyeh-Heliopolis), surmounted as usual by the “*pyramidion*.”

<sup>e</sup>The king.

<sup>f</sup>Hu and Esey are the deities of taste and wisdom.

The multitude completes nothing <sup>4</sup>without thee,<sup>a</sup>  
 For thy majesty is the two eyes of all people.  
 Thou art great that thou mayest make thy monument,  
<sup>5</sup>In Heliopolis, the dwelling of the gods.  
 Before thy father, the lord of the great house,  
 Atum, the bull of the gods.  
 Let thy house arise, <sup>6</sup>that it may offer to the oblation-tablet;  
 That it may do the service for its favorite statue,  
 For thy figure in all <sup>7</sup>eternity.

**505.** The king himself said

To the wearer of the royal seal, the sole companion,  
 The overseer <sup>1</sup>of<sup>1</sup> the double <sup>8</sup>White House,  
 The privy councilor of <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup>:  
 It is thy counsel, which shall cause the work to be done.  
 Of which my majesty desires, <sup>9</sup>that it should be;  
 Thou art the commander belonging to it,  
 Who shall do, according to that which is in my heart,  
 . . . . . <sup>10</sup>vigilance,  
 That it may come to pass without laxity,  
 That all the work . . . . . <sup>11</sup> . . . . .  
 . . . . . <sup>12</sup> . . . . . <sup>b</sup>  
<sup>13</sup>I have commanded those who work,  
 To do according as thou shalt exact.

**506.** The king was crowned with the diadem,

<sup>14</sup>All the people were following him,  
 The chief ritual priest and scribe of the sacred book stretched <sup>15</sup>the cord,  
 . . . . . the <sup>1</sup>stake<sup>1</sup> in the earth,<sup>c</sup>  
<sup>16</sup>— was done in this temple,  
 His majesty had <sup>17</sup>a royal scribe go <sup>1</sup>before<sup>1</sup> the people,  
<sup>18</sup>Who were gathered [in] one place, south and north,  
<sup>19</sup>. . . . .

<sup>a</sup>Text has *nb* for *k*—a mistake which could have been made only from the hieroglyphic, thus showing that the scribe certainly had the stone original before him.

<sup>b</sup>Four verses are omitted.

<sup>c</sup>This is a description of the usual measuring and staking out of the ground plan of the temple, which was a sacred ceremony conducted by the king in person.

INSCRIPTION OF MERI<sup>a</sup>

507. The usual texts of the Middle Kingdom mortuary stelæ are here preceded by seven lines referring to the building of Sesostris I's pyramid-chapel, which was intrusted to Meri. The mention of columns and gates may indicate that only the chapel, and not the pyramid entire, is meant.<sup>b</sup> If the date at the top is, as we may suppose, that of Meri's death, then Sesostris I had completed his mortuary chapel, and perhaps his pyramid at Lisht, by his ninth year.

508. <sup>1</sup>Year 9, second month of the first season, day 20, <sup>2</sup>under the majesty of Sesostris I,<sup>c</sup> living like Re, forever. <sup>3</sup>His real servant, his favorite, who does all that which he praises every day, <sup>4</sup>the revered assistant treasurer, Meri (*Mry*), born of Menkhet (*Mnh·t*), says:

509. I was a zealous servant, great in character, amiable in love. <sup>5</sup>My lord sent me with a commission, because I was so very zealous, to execute for him an eternal dwelling,<sup>d</sup> greater in name than Rosta, and more excellent<sup>e</sup> in appointments <sup>6</sup>than any place, the excellent district<sup>f</sup> of the gods. Its columns<sup>g</sup> pierced heaven; the lake which was dug, it reached<sup>h</sup> the river; the gates,<sup>i</sup> towering <sup>7</sup>heavenward, were of limestone of Troja. Osiris, First of the Westerners, rejoiced over all the monuments of my lord; I myself rejoiced, and my heart was glad at that which I had executed.

<sup>a</sup>Mortuary stela in the Louvre (C 3), published by Pierret, *Inscriptions*, II, 104, 105; Gayet, *Stèles*, IV, V; Maspero, *Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne*, II, 221 f.; again Maspero, *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie*, III, 208 f.; and Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, II-IV. Of these, the only careful copy is Piehl's. He also offers an excellent translation (*ibid.*, 3-5).

<sup>b</sup>This chapel and pyramid at Lisht were excavated by J. E. Gautier (*Mémoire sur les jouilles de Licht* par J. E. Gautier et G. Jéquier [Cairo, 1902], 3-43; in *Mémoires de l'Institut*, VI, fasc. 1).

<sup>c</sup>Full titulary.

<sup>d</sup>The pyramid; it is lit., "an eternal seat."

<sup>e</sup>Lit.: "More advanced."

<sup>f</sup>Read *wc·r·t*, originally a bend in the cliffs or river. Maspero reads *whm·t*, "repeating, reproducing the excellences of the gods." Compare Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, 4.

<sup>g</sup>Piehl's text has "walls."

<sup>h</sup>This may be figurative, viz., "reached," in the sense of "equaled," which suits the context.

<sup>i</sup>Belonging to the chapel on the east side.

WADI HALFA INSCRIPTION OF MENTUHOTEP<sup>a</sup>

510. This carries the Nubian wars of Sesostris I to their southernmost point.<sup>b</sup> It was set up in the eighteenth year, by the general, Mentuhotep.<sup>c</sup>

At the top is a relief showing Sesostris I standing, facing "Montu, Lord of Thebes," who says: "I have brought for thee all countries which are in Nubia ( $T^2$ - $pd \cdot t$ ), beneath thy feet, Good God." Suiting these words, the god leads and presents to the king a line of bound captives, symbolizing Nubian towns. The head and shoulders of each captive surmount an oval, containing the name of the town represented. There were originally ten of these towns (of which four have disappeared),<sup>d</sup> as follows: (1)  $k^2 s$ , (2)  $y$  [—],

<sup>a</sup>A sandstone stela found in the sanctuary of the northernmost of the two temples on the west shore opposite Wadi Halfa village. First noticed by Ricci, it was taken out by Champollion and Rosellini in 1829, who failed to notice that they had left the lower portion in situ under the sand. This upper portion has been in Florence for many years (No. 1542). Some sixty years later, (1893) Captain Lyons took out the lower portion, and it is now in Florence; only one intermediate line has been lost, for the two parts fit together, at one corner. The upper portion has often been published, but with no approach to accuracy: Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, XXV, 4; Champollion, *Monuments*, I, 1; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 34-36; II, 692; Schiaparelli, *Catalogue*, I, 243-46; Berend, *Monuments du Musée égyptien de Florence*, 51, 52; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1444 f.; a photograph in Petrie's *Italian Photographs*, No. 46. The lower portion was published by Pellegrini in *Bessarione*, Anno V, Vol. IX, Nos. 59, 60. I photographed and copied both portions (the readings from my copy were incorporated in Pellegrini's publication), repeatedly collated the original, and the Berlin squeeze (A 1375) of the upper portion, as well as the old publications for signs now lost, and published the whole in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, May, 1901, 231-35, and three plates.

<sup>b</sup>Another expedition under Sesostris I, which extended an uncertain distance southward, was accompanied by the nomarch of Elephantine, Sirenpowet. It is recorded in his Assuan tomb (de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 183), but is so fragmentary and so badly published, that very little can be made of it. The following is discernible: "His majesty [*sent me or came*] to overthrow K[*ush*] the vile . . . . . His majesty [*came*] bringing . . . . ." Before the latter phrase an elephant is mentioned, to which there is probably reference in the last line: "Four men brought him ———."

<sup>c</sup>The date and name of the officer are furnished by the newly discovered lower portion (§ 512).

<sup>d</sup>All ten were still partially readable in Champollion's time, and he gives the complete list (*Notices descriptives*, II, 693); the later publications all give only six, and do not add Champollion's material.

(3) *prw*w, (4) *ym*<sup>3</sup>*w*, (5) *h*<sup>r</sup>—<sup>1</sup>, (6) *w*<sup>3</sup>*w*,<sup>a</sup> (7) *yhrkyn*, (8) *š*<sup>3</sup>*c*·*t*, (9) *hš*<sup>3</sup>*y*, (10) *šmyk*. The Kummeh temple of Thutmose III was built of “good white stone of *š*<sup>3</sup>*c*·*t*,”<sup>b</sup> the eighth district in this list, which must therefore have been in the vicinity of Kummeh, some thirty-seven miles above Wadi Halfa where our monument was set up. It is safe to conclude that none of the others, although little known, was far south of Kummeh. Thus the conquests of Sesostris I had already reached the southern limit, later marked, and fortified by Sesostris III (§§ 651–60).

511. Below the relief were two inscriptions; the first belonging to the king—the second to Mentuhotep. Of the king’s inscription only fragments of six lines survive, showing the titulary of Sesostris I, followed by the epithet, “Horus who seizes in an instant” (l. 1).<sup>c</sup> Other phrases discernible are: “*[Light]* of the eyes, star<sup>d</sup> of the South, illuminating the Two Lands, white Bull, trampling the Troglodytes” (l. 2); and in l. 4 is a reference to “*smiting Nubia*.” On the lower, more recently recovered portion, two more, fragmentary lines, continue similar epithets of the king.<sup>e</sup>

512. Mentuhotep’s inscription begins with his titles, as follows:

<sup>8</sup>Hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, favorite of the king ————<sup>f</sup> <sup>9</sup>local governor, attached to Dep, lord

<sup>a</sup>According to Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, but the original shows the goose as the last sign, and not *w*; *w*<sup>3</sup> with *w* and eagle is also suspicious.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 67, *b*; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1444.

<sup>c</sup>Preserved completely in Champollion, *Monuments*, but misplaced at the beginning of l. 1, although it belongs at the end after the royal name.

<sup>d</sup>See Thutmose III’s Hymn of Victory (II, 658, l. 15).

<sup>e</sup>The king’s inscription is in horizontal lines, and the following inscription of Mentuhotep is in vertical lines.

<sup>f</sup>The numbering of lines is continued from the inscription of the king on this fragment. There is an uncertain amount lost at the end of each line, and even the portions above the final break are very fragmentary.



of Pe. . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . .<sup>a</sup> commander of recruits, commander of the army, ———<sup>12</sup> Sesostri I made me ———. <sup>13</sup> Year 18, first (month) of the second season, day 8, the day of ———<sup>14</sup> broad in stride, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Kheper]ke[re] (Sesostri I). <sup>16</sup> Their life is finished,<sup>b</sup> slain, ———<sup>17</sup> fire in the tents<sup>c</sup> ———. <sup>18</sup> Her grain cast to the Nile,<sup>d</sup> ———<sup>19</sup> zealous, not transgressing [the command of the palace] ———<sup>20</sup> a man in the strength of his ka, in ———<sup>21</sup> forever, the Son of Re, Sesostri (I) ———<sup>22</sup> I myself swear, this happened in<sup>e</sup> <sup>23</sup> very truth; I, the general of the army, <sup>24</sup> Amu's son, (<sup>c</sup>mw) Mentuhotep.

513. It is clear that ll. 12 and 13, and probably two lines before, contained important historical statements, of which the merest fragments are now discernible. The description is similar to the one on the second Semneh stela of Sesostri III (§§ 655-60).

514. Below at the left was the figure of Mentuhotep, of which only the top of the head is preserved. This is not the only place where his figure appeared on the stela. In the upper relief behind the king is the figure of a hawk-headed deity, very rudely done and not of the same workmanship as the other figures. A close examination reveals hieroglyphics under this figure. Over its head is a fan, the handle of which cuts across the head and shoulders of the figure.<sup>f</sup> It is clear, then, that this hawk-headed figure is not original, but was cut in later to displace the figure of

<sup>a</sup>Conventional epithets.

<sup>b</sup>This phrase is common in the Twentieth Dynasty; hence the reading here with *km*-sign inverted is certain.

<sup>c</sup>The determinative is lost; it may be that we have Yam (*Y>m*).

<sup>d</sup>This phrase (*k>m n ytr*) occurs also in Papyrus Westcar (IV, 10), where the unfaithful wife is burned and "cast to the Nile," and on the Mentuhotep stela (§ 748), l. 19.

<sup>e</sup>I read *m wm m c>*; there is no loss at the end of l. 17; for it is like ll. 18 and 19, which are stopped by Mentuhotep's head, the top of which can barely be seen under the lines, the rest of the head and figure being lost.

<sup>f</sup>None of this appears in any of the old publications.

a fan-bearer, who could have been no one else but Mentuhotep. He must have fallen into disfavor, and for some reason have been displaced from his position of honor behind the king.

INSCRIPTION OF AMENEMHET<sup>a</sup> (AMENI)

515. Amenemhet was one of the most powerful of the Benihasan<sup>b</sup> princes. He succeeded his father (I, 465, ll. 7-8) Khnumhotep I, the founder of the Benihasan family, in the eighteenth year of Sesostris I, and ruled twenty-five years. He records three royal expeditions, the first of which he accompanied as commander of the military contingent from his nome, in a war against Nubia. It cannot be certainly identified with any of the Nubian expeditions of Sesostris I recorded in other sources.

516. The second and third expeditions were both for the purpose of bringing gold; the destination of the third was the mines back of Coptos,<sup>c</sup> and that of the second, although not stated, was probably the same.

517. The inscription concludes with an interesting and important description of Amenemhet's administration of his principality.

518. <sup>1</sup>Year 43 under the majesty of <sup>2</sup>Sesostris I,<sup>d</sup> living forever and ever; <sup>3</sup>corresponding to year 25<sup>e</sup> in the Oryx nome with the heredi-

<sup>a</sup>Carved on the jambs of the doorway of his cliff-tomb in Benihasan (No. 2), copied by Champollion in 1828 and published (*Monuments*, 395, 399; *Notices descriptives*, II, 427-30); copied by Hay in 1828 (British Museum, *Add. Manuscript* No. 29813, 84, 85); by Wilkinson in 1834 (*Manuscripts*, II, 22-26); by Lepsius in 1842, published (*Denkmäler*, II, 122); from Lepsius by Birch, *Egyptian Texts*, 7-11; and Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, 2d ed., V., 724 f.; finally by Newberry (*Beni Hasan*, I, Pl. VIII; see his bibliography, 24).

<sup>b</sup>On the Benihasan princes and Amenemhet's place therein, see §§ 620 ff.

<sup>c</sup>For the mines of Wadi Foakhir, on the Coptos road, see Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 463, and Wilkinson-Birch, II, 238.

<sup>d</sup>Full titulary.

<sup>e</sup>This fixes the accession of Amenemhet in the Oryx nome, in the eighteenth year of Sesostris I.

tary prince, count, [—] Amen[emhet],<sup>a</sup> triumphant. <sup>4</sup>Year 43, second month of the first season, day 15. O ye who love life and hate <sup>5</sup>death, say ye, 1,000 loaves and beer, 1,000 oxen and geese <sup>6</sup>for the ka of the hereditary prince, count, [—], great lord of the Oryx nome, [—], attached to Nekhen, lord of Nekhbet, chief of prophets, Ameni, triumphant.

*First Expedition*

519. I followed my lord when <sup>7</sup>he sailed southward to overthrow his enemies among the four<sup>b</sup> barbarians. I sailed southward, as the son of a count, wearer of the royal seal, and commander in chief of the troops of <sup>8</sup>the Oryx nome, as a man represents his old father,<sup>c</sup> according to [his] favor in the palace and his love in the court. I passed Kush, <sup>9</sup>sailing southward, I advanced the boundary of the land, I brought all gifts; my praise, it reached heaven. Then <sup>10</sup>his majesty returned in safety, having overthrown his enemies in Kush the vile. I returned, following him, with ready face.<sup>d</sup> <sup>11</sup>There was no loss among my soldiers.

*Second Expedition*

520. I sailed southward, to bring gold ore for the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkere (Sesostris I), living forever and ever. <sup>12</sup>I sailed southward together with the hereditary prince, count, oldest son of the king, of his body, Ameni.<sup>e</sup> I sailed southward, with a number, 400 of all the choicest of <sup>13</sup>my troops, who returned in safety, having suffered no loss. I brought the gold exacted of me; I was praised for it in the palace;<sup>f</sup> <sup>14</sup>the king's-son praised god for me.

<sup>a</sup>The full form of this nomarch's name is Amenemhet (*Ymn-m-h* · *t* = "Amon is in front"). In place of this, another form of name is frequently used in these inscriptions, viz., Ameni (*Ymny* = "Belonging to Amon"), sometimes defectively written "Amen."

<sup>b</sup>Compare the "four eastern countries," § 675, l. 9.

<sup>c</sup>This shows that he must have succeeded his father in the Oryx nome. Although his father's name is lacking here, it must have been Khnumhotep (I), the first of the Benihasan family (see § 627, l. 56).

<sup>d</sup>Orders were always given "in the face of" an officer; an officer prepared for efficient service is therefore "ready of face" in the Egyptian idiom.

<sup>e</sup>This is the crown prince, who afterward became King Amenemhet II; his name, like that of our nomarch Amenemhet often, is here in the form Ameni.

<sup>f</sup>The inscription here proceeds to the left (north) door jamb.

*Third Expedition*

521. Then I sailed southward to bring ore, to the city of Coptos, together with the hereditary prince, count, governor of the city and vizier, Sesostris. I sailed southward with a number, 600 <sup>15</sup>of all the bravest of the Oryx nome. I returned in safety, my soldiers uninjured; having done all that had been told me.

*Ameni's Able Administration*

522. I was amiable, and greatly loved, a ruler beloved of his city. Now, I passed years <sup>16</sup>as ruler in the Oryx nome. All the imposts of the king's house passed through my hand. The gang-overseers of the crown possessions of the shepherds of the Oryx nome gave to me<sup>a</sup> 3,000 bulls in their yokes. I was <sup>17</sup>praised on account of it in the palace each year of the loan-herds. I carried all their dues<sup>b</sup> to the king's house; there were no arrears against me in any office of his. The entire Oryx nome labored<sup>c</sup> for me <sup>18</sup>in <sup>19</sup>— —<sup>d</sup>.

*Ameni's Impartiality and Benevolence*

523. There was no citizen's daughter whom I misused, there was no widow whom I oppressed, there was no <sup>1</sup>peasant<sup>1</sup> whom I repulsed,<sup>e</sup> there was no shepherd whom I repelled, <sup>19</sup>there was no overseer of serf-laborers whose people I took for (unpaid) imposts, there was none wretched in my community, there was none hungry in my time. When years of famine came <sup>20</sup>I plowed all the fields of the Oryx nome, as far as its southern and northern boundary, preserving its people alive

<sup>a</sup>This means that Amenemhet received a herd of 3,000 cattle from the royal herds, to be maintained by him on shares. He kept them so well that he was praised for it each year when his payments fell due. The cattle of the king on the estate of Thuthotep (*Bersheh*, I, Pl. XII) are also clearly distinguished from his own; thus: ". . . . . great numbers of his cattle from the king, and his cattle of the estate in the districts of the Hare nome;" his own cattle being those of "the estate."

<sup>b</sup>The dues for the herds which he had received. On this entire transaction, see Müller, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1885, 85, 86.

<sup>c</sup>To labor or work for a king or nobleman is to pay him an impost from the results or products of one's labor. It is used of entire countries in the Empire.

<sup>d</sup>"In extended goings," probably meaning in widely extended activity.

<sup>e</sup>Read *hsj(w)·n·y*=relative form.

and furnishing its food so that there was none hungry therein. I gave to the widow as (to) her who had a husband; <sup>2</sup>I did not exalt the great above the small in all that I gave. Then came great Niles,<sup>a</sup> possessors of grain<sup>b</sup> and all things, (but) I did not collect the arrears of the field.<sup>c</sup>

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STELA OF IKUDIDI<sup>d</sup>

524. This stela was erected at Abydos on the occasion of Ikudidi's visit there, while on an expedition to the oases which lie in the desert behind Abydos. It is the mention by him of the occasion of his visit which makes his stela of importance; for this is the earliest expedition to these peoples of which we know anything.

The inscription is very crude and difficult, and contains many hieratic signs which the artist could not put into hieroglyphic.

*Date*

525. <sup>1</sup>Year 34 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkere, the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of <sup>2</sup>Offering, Beloved of All Gods, Son of Re, Sesostris (I), living forever and ever.

*Prayer*

526. <sup>3</sup>An offering which the king gives, etc., . . . . .<sup>4</sup>. . . .<sup>e</sup> for the revered one <sup>5</sup>before the great god, the lord of heaven, the steward, Ikudidi (*Ykw-dydy*).

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<sup>a</sup>Inundations.

<sup>b</sup>Meaning that the inundations brought these things; two kinds of grain were apparently mentioned.

<sup>c</sup>Meaning that he did not collect the balance due after the short payments of taxes during the unfruitful years.

<sup>d</sup>Stela from Abydos in the Berlin Museum, No. 1199, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 89. I used a copy kindly furnished me by Schaefer.

<sup>e</sup>The usual mortuary prayer in the name of Osiris.

*Expedition*

527. I came from Thebes, as a king's-confidant, <sup>6</sup>doing all his pleasure, in command of the youth of the recruits, to visit the <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> of the land of the Oasis-<sup>7</sup>dwellers, as an excellent official, whom his lord knows, effective in plan, <sup>8</sup>whom the officials of the palace exalt.<sup>a</sup>

*Tomb*

528. I have made this tomb at the stairway of the great god, in order that I may be among <sup>9</sup>his followers, while the soldiers who follow his majesty give to my ka of his bread <sup>10</sup>and his <sup>1</sup>provision<sup>1</sup>, just as the king's-messenger does, who comes inspecting the boundaries of his majesty.

INSCRIPTION OF INTEFYOKER<sup>b</sup>

529. In striking corroboration of the stela of Intef I is that of Intefyoker. Above is the date: "*Year 33 under the majesty of Kheperkere (Sesostris I), living forever.*" The usual mortuary offering is then invoked:

"For the revered, scribe of <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup>,<sup>c</sup> supervisor of fields in the Thinite, nome of the South (*tp ršy*),<sup>d</sup> Imsu (*Ymsw*), southward as far as the Crocodile nome,<sup>e</sup> northward as far as the Panopolite nome.<sup>e</sup> The

<sup>a</sup>Or: "*who exalts the officials of the palace,*" their position being subject to him.

<sup>b</sup>Mortuary stela, in Leyden Museum (V, 3; Leemans, *Description raisonnée des monuments égyptiens à Leide*, 264-66). The historical portion was first published by de Rougé, *Revue archéologique*, 1st ser., VI, 560; then completely by Piehl, *Inscriptions*, III, XXI-XXII. I had also an excellent copy from the original by Sethe, which he kindly loaned me.

<sup>c</sup>Brugsch (*Geographical Inscriptions*, I, 211) states that this is the "Hinterland" of the Thinite nome.

<sup>d</sup>See § 396, l. 18, note.

<sup>e</sup>In the list of Ramses II at Abydos (Mariette, *Abydos*, I, 11, a) and in the oldest of all the lists, discovered February, 1900 (MS. Borchardt's *Tagebuch*) by Borchardt at Abusir, the Crocodile nome occupies the sixth place from Elephantine, and the order is Thebes, Coptos, Crocodile (end of Abusir list), Diospolis parva, Abydos, Akhmim. Hence the ancient Thinite (Abydos) nome was bounded on the north by the Panopolite (Akhmim) nome, and on the south by the Crocodile nome; the nome of Diospolis parva being a later division.

father's father of my father<sup>a</sup> was field-scribe in the waters of Abydos of the Thinite nome, since the time of Horus: Wahenekh (*W<sup>3</sup> h-<sup>c</sup> nb*), King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Son of Re, Intef (I)."<sup>b</sup>

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INSCRIPTIONS OF MENTUHOTEP<sup>c</sup>

530. The inscriptions of Mentuhotep contain little of historical importance, but were regarded as so excellent in style and content that they were partially copied<sup>d</sup> on the mortuary stela of Sehetepibre, a nobleman living under Sesostris III and Amenemhet III. Their favor continued even into the Empire, when a nobleman under Queen Ahhotep also copied them on his stela.<sup>e</sup> The text on the front, beginning with the names of Sesostris I, proceeds as follows:

531. Hereditary prince, vizier and chief judge, attached to Nekhen, prophet of Mat (goddess of Truth), giver of laws, advancer of offices, confirming<sup>f</sup> the boundary records, separating a land-owner from his neighbor, pilot of the people, satisfying the whole land, a man of truth before the Two Lands, 'accustomed' to justice like Thoth, his like in satisfying the Two Lands, hereditary prince in judging the Two Lands,

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<sup>a</sup>Imsu's great-grandfather was therefore a contemporary of King Intef I. Allowing 40 years for a generation, this Intef was still living over 100 years before Amenemhet I. Cf. § 415 and Steindorff, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1895, 90, 91, and Birch, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, IV.

<sup>b</sup>The king's name is not inclosed in a cartouche.

<sup>c</sup>On his mortuary stela found at Abydos, now in Cairo (No. 20539); published by Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 23 (very inaccurate; *Catalogue général d'Abydos*, 144, No. 617) = Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 303, 304; Daressy has added the verso, *Recueil*, X, 144-49. I had also a copy of the original by Schaefer, which he kindly loaned me.

<sup>d</sup>The form of the representations in the arch of the stela was also adopted. See Daressy, *Recueil*, X, 144.

<sup>e</sup>The text on the verso was the one copied. It is much mutilated. Daressy has published all three in a parallel arrangement.

<sup>f</sup>Or: "recording."

supreme head in judgment, putting matters in order, wearer of the royal seal, chief treasurer, Mentuhotep.

Hereditary prince, count, chief of all works of the king, making the offerings of the gods to flourish, setting this land [— —] according to the command of the god. [————], sending forth two brothers satisfied with the utterances of his mouth, upon whose tongue is the writing of Thoth, more accurate than the weight, likeness of the balances, fellow of the king in counseling [— —], giving attention to hear words, like a god in his hour, excellent in heart, skilled in his fingers, exercising an office like him who holds it, favorite of the king before the Two Lands, his beloved among the companions, powerful among the officials, having an advanced seat to approach the throne of the king, a man of confidences to whom the heart opens.

532. Hereditary prince over the [—] of the (royal) castle (*wsh·t*), finding the speech of the palace, knowing that which is in every body (heart), putting a man into his real place, finding matters in which there is irregularity, giving the lie to him that speaks it, and the truth to him that brings it, giving attention, without an equal, good at listening, profitable in speaking, an official loosening the (difficult) knot, whom the king (lit., god) exalts above millions, as an excellent man, whose name he knew, true likeness of love, free from doing deceit, whose steps the court heeds, overthrowing him that rebels against the king, hearing the house of the council of thirty, who puts his 'terror' among the barbarians (*h<sup>2</sup> s' tyw*), when he has silenced the Sand-dwellers, pacifying the rebels because of their deeds, whose actions prevail in the two regions, lord of the Black Land and the Red Land, giving commands to the South, counting the 'number' of the [—] of the Northland, in whose brilliance all men move, pilot of the people, giver of food, advancing offices, lord of designs, great in love, associate of the king in the great castle (*wsh·t*), hereditary prince, count, chief treasurer, Mentuhotep, he says:

533. "I am a companion beloved of his lord, doing that which pleases his god daily, prince, count, sem priest, master of every wardrobe of Horus, prophet of Anubis of [— —], the *hry ydb*, Mentuhotep, prince in the seats of 'Splendor,'<sup>a</sup> at whose voice they (are permitted to) speak in the king's-house, in charge of the silencing of the courtiers, unique one of the king, without his like, who sends up the truth to the

<sup>a</sup>Name of a building.



palace, great herald of good things, alone great, sustaining alive the people. One to whom the great come in obeisance at the double gate of the king's-house; attached to Nekhen, prophet of Mat, pillar 'before' the Red Land, overseer of the western highlands, leader of the magnates of South and North, 'advocate of the people, — —', merinuter priest, prophet of Horus, master of secret things of the house of sacred writings, '— —', governor of the (royal) castle, prophet of Harkefti, great lord of the royal wardrobe, who approaches the limbs of the king, '————', overseer of the double granary, overseer of the double silver-house, overseer of the double gold-house, master of the king's writings of the (royal) presence, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, master of secret things of the 'divine words' (hieroglyphics), chief treasurer, Mentuhotep." He says: . . . . .

534. Here follows a mortuary prayer, after which the concluding lines (22, 23) refer specifically to his building commissions at Abydos, as follows: "*I conducted the work in the temple, built his<sup>a</sup> house (pr), and dug the lake; I masoned the well, by command of the majesty of Horus.*" The back<sup>b</sup> also contains references to buildings at Abydos:

I conducted the work in the temple, built of stone of Ayan. . . . .  
I conducted the work on the sacred barque (*nšm t*), I fashioned its colors.  
. . . . . ——— offering-tables of lapis lazuli, of bronze, of electrum, and silver; copper was plentiful without end, bronze without limit, collars of real malachite, ornaments (*mn-njr t*) of every kind of costly stone. — — — of the choicest of everything, which are given to a god at his processions, by virtue of my office of master of secret things.

<sup>a</sup>This must refer to the king or the god.

<sup>b</sup>The text of the back as copied very copiously by Schetepibre, has been translated only once, to save space (see §§ 746 ff.). Only the references to building are translated here. The back begins with a royal decree, commanding that there be built for Mentuhotep "*a tomb at the stairway of the great god, lord of Abydos, recording all thy offices and all the pleasing things which thou didst.*" It was to be furnished with statues and endowments; but the conclusion is illegible.

THE CONTRACTS OF HEPZEFI<sup>a</sup>

535. Legal documents from civil, as distinguished from criminal, processes of early Egypt are so rare, and the contracts of Hepzefi also throw so much light on both political and social conditions in the Middle Kingdom, that it seemed necessary to include them in these historical translations. They offer nothing in the political history of the family of the Siut nobles, and it is not possible to connect the nomarch, Hepzefi, in any way with the earlier generations, known to us at Siut in the Tenth and Eleventh Dynasties (§ 391). He doubtless marks a new family installed here by the powerful Twelfth Dynasty, in preference to the earlier family, which had been friendly to the northern dynasty.

The ten contracts were made solely to secure to Hepzefi, after his death, certain ceremonies and offerings from the priesthoods of Siut. Similar contracts were customarily made with the priests of Abydos. Mentuhotep and Sehetepibre, nobles of the same time, say on their Abydos tombstones: "*I gave contracts for the remuneration of the prophets of Abydos*"<sup>b</sup> (§ 746). The kings did the same (§ 765).

536. The form of the contracts is sufficiently clear; but the language is very involved, and burdened with an excess of relative clauses. Space will not permit the full commentary which they need in many places;<sup>c</sup> but attention

<sup>a</sup>Engraved upon the east wall of the great hall in Hepzefi's cliff-tomb at Assiut (see § 391 and note). The only complete copy is that published by Mr. Griffith (F. L. Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siut and Dêr Râjeh*, London, 1889), which is a model of care and accuracy. It is unnecessary to refer to the earlier publications, as Mr. Griffith has collated them all. The first adequate treatment was that of Erman, written, unfortunately, before the appearance of Mr. Griffith's text (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 159-84), which fact necessitated leaving some obscure passages unrendered. Cf. also Maspero, *Etudes de mythologie et d'archéologie*, I, 62-74.

<sup>b</sup>Reverse of the well-known Mentuhotep stela, *Recueil*, X, 146.

<sup>c</sup>The general reader should refer to Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 145-47, 497, 498.

should at least be called to the sixth contract which Hepzefi as count made with himself as superior prophet of Upwawet.

Two facts in the socio-political organization of the time are brought out by these contracts: (1) The property of the prince was held under two different titles, viz., (a) by inheritance from his father, the property being called the "paternal estate" (*nw-pr-yt*), which he could bequeath at will; and (b) by virtue of his appointment<sup>a</sup> as "count" (*h<sup>3</sup>ty-<sup>c</sup>*) by the king, the property being called the "count's estate" (*pr-h<sup>3</sup>ty-<sup>c</sup>*), which he could not legally bequeath. The distinction between these two estates is clearly maintained throughout, and whenever Hepzefi bequeathes anything from his "count's estate" he concedes that such a title can endure only so long as his successors are willing to recognize it, and by appeal to the common feeling in such matters, he urges his successors to recognize it (e. g., § 547, ll. 280, 281) (2) There are in the contracts four classes of society: the "count" (*h<sup>c</sup>ty-<sup>c</sup>*), or nomarch; the official (*sr*); the "citizen" (*nds*, lit., "the small"), and the "peasant" (*y<sup>c</sup>hty*), lit., "belonging to the field," enumerated in descending scale. The interrelations of the four are not wholly discernible. The "citizen," like the count, gives to the temple from fields called "his field," which he therefore either owned or held in rental. The peasant is called "his (the citizen's) peasant," and may therefore have been his serf or slave. He cultivated the field for the citizen, and carried the harvest offering to the temple for him (cf. ll. 280, 281). The "official" (*sr*) may have been of the same social class as the "citizen."

The importance of these contracts in a study of the mortuary customs and beliefs is evident, but a discussion of

<sup>a</sup>On such appointment by the king, see § 385.

these questions does not fall within the scope of the present translations.<sup>a</sup>

537. There is a title above (l. 260):<sup>b</sup> “*The command, which the hereditary prince and count, etc., Hepzefi, made,*” which belongs to an introduction, giving instructions to Hepzefi’s mortuary priest, as follows:

538. <sup>269</sup>The hereditary prince and count, the superior prophet, Hepzefi; he says to his mortuary priest:<sup>c</sup> “Behold, all these things, which I have secured by contract from these priests, are under thy charge. For, behold, it is the mortuary priest of a man, who should maintain his possessions and maintain his offering.

<sup>270</sup>Behold, I have informed thee; (as for) these things, which I have given to these (*w<sup>c</sup>b-*) priests, as compensation for these things, which they have given to me, take heed lest anything among them be lacking. (As for) every word of my lists, which I have given to them, let thy son hear it, thy heir, <sup>271</sup>who shall act as my mortuary priest. Behold, I have endowed thee with fields, with people, with cattle, with gardens (and) with everything, as every count of Siut (does), in order that thou mayest make offerings to me with contented heart. Thou standest over all my possessions, which I have put <sup>272</sup>under thy hand. Behold, they are before thee in writing.<sup>d</sup> These things shall belong to thy particular son, whom thou lovest, who shall act as my mortuary priest, before thy (other) children, as food which I have [bequeathed] to him; not permitting that he divide them to his children, (but) according to this word which I have commanded thee.”

#### I. FIRST CONTRACT

##### *Title*

539. <sup>273</sup>Contract which the count, the superior prophet, Hepzefi, triumphant, made, with the lay priests of the temple of Upwawet, lord of Siut, to-wit:

<sup>a</sup>See Erman’s treatment, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 163–65.

<sup>b</sup>The numbering of lines follows Griffith’s edition.

<sup>c</sup>Lit., “*servant of his ka*” (*k*), indicating his office very clearly as a mortuary one; hence the above rendering.

<sup>d</sup>Referring either to these inscriptions or papyrus originals in possession of the mortuary priest.

*What Hepzefi Receives*

540. There shall be given<sup>a</sup> to him: A white loaf per individual (*w<sup>c</sup>b-*) priest, for his statue, which is in the temple of Anubis, <sup>274</sup>lord of Rekreret (*Rkrret*) on the first of the 5 intercalary days, when Upwawet, lord of Siut, proceeds to this temple.

*What He Pays*

541. He hath given<sup>a</sup> to them for it his share in the bull offered to Upwawet, lord of Siut, in this temple, when <sup>275</sup>he proceeds to it, consisting of his quarter, due to the count.

*Source of Payment*

542. Lo, he spake to them, saying: "Behold ye, I have given to you this quarter due to me from this temple, in order that this white bread may be endowed, <sup>276</sup>which ye give to me." Lo, they had given to him the inherited portion of the bull, for his statue, (which is) in charge of his mortuary priest, before he gave to them of this quarter.

*Conclusion*

543. Lo, they were satisfied with it.

## II. SECOND CONTRACT

*Title*

544. <sup>277</sup>Contract, which the count, the superior prophet, Hepzefi, triumphant, made with the lay priests of the temple of Upwawet, lord of Siut, to-wit:

*What Hepzefi Receives*

545. There shall be given to him:

(a) White bread by each one among them, for his statue, (which is) in charge of his mortuary priest, in the first month of the first season on the first day, <sup>278</sup>New Year's Day, when the house makes gifts to its lord, when the fire is kindled in the temple.

<sup>a</sup>The verbal forms are regularly in the first clause an infinitive (lit., "concerning giving to him") and in the second a relative form ("what he hath given").

(b) And they shall<sup>a</sup> go forth following his mortuary priest, at his glorification, until they reach the northern corner of the temple, as they do, when they glorify their own noble ones,<sup>b</sup> <sup>279</sup>on the day of kindling the fire.

*What He Pays*

546. He hath given to them for it a heket of grain from every field of the estate (*pr-dt*), from the first of the harvest of the count's estate; as every citizen of Siut does, from the first of his harvest. Now, behold, he begins <sup>280</sup>with having his every peasant give it into this temple, from the first of his field.

*Injunction to Future Nomarchs*

547. Lo, he said: "Behold, ye know that, as for anything which any official (*sr*) or any citizen gives into the temple, from the first of his harvest, it is not agreeable to him, that there should be lack <sup>281</sup>therein. Therefore shall no future count diminish to future priests, that which is secured by contract of another count. This grain shall belong to the lay priests, each by himself; <sup>282</sup>no priest, who shall give to me this white bread, shall divide (it) to his colleagues; because they give this white bread, each by himself."

*Conclusion*

548. Lo, they were satisfied with it.

III. THIRD CONTRACT

*Title*

549. <sup>283</sup>Contract which the count, the superior prophet, Hepzefi, triumphant, made, with the official body of the temple, to-wit:

*What Hepzefi Receives*

550. There shall be given to him bread and beer in the first month of the first season, on the eighteenth day, the day of the Wag-feast. List of that which shall be given:

<sup>a</sup>An infinitive construction continued from the first clause (lit., "besides the going forth on their part").

<sup>b</sup>The dead.

<sup>284</sup> Register of Names	( <i>Kby</i> -) Jars of Beer	Flat Loaves	White Loaves
Superior prophet.....	4	400	10
Announcer.....	2	200	5
Master of secret things.....	2	200	5
Keeper of the wardrobe <sup>1</sup> .....	2	200	5
Overseer of the storehouse.....	2	200	5
Keeper of the wide hall.....	2	200	5
Overseer of the house of the ka.....	2	200	5
Scribe of the temple.....	2	200	5
Scribe of the altar.....	2	200	5
Ritual priest.....	2	200	5

*What He Pays*

551. He hath given to them for it, 22 temple-days, from his property of his paternal estate, but not from the property of the count's estate: <sup>285</sup>4 days to the superior prophet, and 2 days to each one among them.

*Definition of "Temple-Day"*

552. Lo, he hath said to them: "Behold, as for a temple-day, it is  $\frac{1}{360}$  <sup>286</sup>of a year. When ye therefore divide everything that comes into this temple, consisting of bread, of beer, and of meat for each day, that which makes <sup>287</sup> $\frac{1}{360}$  of the bread, of the beer, and of everything, which comes into this temple, is the unit <sup>b</sup>in these temple-days which I have given to you. <sup>288</sup>Behold, it is my property of my paternal estate, but it is not the property of the count's estate; for I am a priest's (*w<sup>c</sup>b*) son, like each one of you. Behold, <sup>289</sup>these days shall belong to every future official staff of the temple, since they deliver to me this bread and beer, which they give to me."

*Conclusion*

553. Lo, they were satisfied with it.

IV. FOURTH CONTRACT

*Title*

554. <sup>290</sup>Contract which the count, the superior prophet, Hepzefi, triumphant, made with the lay priests of Upwawet, lord of Siut, to wit:

<sup>a</sup>I do not understand the *hnt* inserted here.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "the *per unum*" (*hr w<sup>c</sup>*), as we use per centum; *hr* is here the distributive preposition as in all the passages, indicating the individual priest.

*What Hepzefi Receives*

**555.** There shall be given to him:

(a) A white loaf per each individual among them, for his statue, which is in the temple, in the first month of the first season, on the eighteenth day, <sup>291</sup>the day of the Wag-feast.

(b) And they shall go forth, following his mortuary priest, at his glorification, when the fire is kindled for him, as they do when they glorify their own noble ones, on the day of kindling the fire in the temple. Now, <sup>292</sup>this white bread shall be under the charge of my mortuary priest.

*What He Pays*

**556.** He hath given to them for it:

(a) A khar<sup>a</sup> (*ḥ<sup>c</sup>r*) of fuel for every bull, and an uhet<sup>a</sup> (*wḥ<sup>2</sup>·t*) of fuel for every goat, which they give into the storehouse of the count, when each bull and each goat is offered to the temple, <sup>293</sup>as ancient<sup>b</sup> (dues) which they give into the storehouse of the count. Lo, he hath remitted it to them, not collecting it from them.

(b) And hath given to them 22 jars (*ḥby*) of beer and 2,200 flat loaves which the official body of the temple give to him in the first month of the first season, on the eighteenth day, <sup>294</sup>as compensation, for their giving white bread per each individual among them, from that which is due to them from the temple, and (as compensation for) his glorification.

*Further Specification*

**557.** Lo, he spake to them, saying: "If this fuel be reckoned against you<sup>c</sup> by a future <sup>295</sup>count; behold, this bread and beer shall not be diminished, which the official body of the temple deliver to me, which I have given to you. Behold, I have secured it by contract from them."

<sup>a</sup>Measures of bulk. The meaning of this clause is obscure; but probably it means that each bull or goat due the prince (of those offered to the temple) is given him by the priests together with fuel. This latter he now remits as part payment for the white bread.

<sup>b</sup>Or: "as recompense for that which they give, etc."

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "reckoned from you," probably meaning: "as due from you." The fuel, etc., could not be legally conveyed by the count, because they belonged to the count's and not to the paternal estate. If payment of the fuel, etc., should be ultimately exacted, the lay priests would still have the bread and beer which the prince has secured by contract from the "official body" of the Upwawet temple (see third contract).



*Conclusion*

558. Lo, they were satisfied with it.

## V. FIFTH CONTRACT

*Title*

559. <sup>296</sup>Contract, which the count, the superior prophet, Hepzeſi, triumphant, made with the 'keeper of the wardrobe' of the temple, concerning:

*What Hepzeſi Receives*

560. Three 'wicks' with which the fire is kindled for the god.

*What He Pays*

561. While he (the count) has given to him (the keeper) for it: 3 temple-days. Now, these 3 temple-days shall be due to every future 'keeper of the wardrobe', because <sup>297</sup>these 3 'wicks' are due to him (the count).

*Disposition of Wicks*

562. 1. Lo, he spake to him, saying: "One of them shall be given to my mortuary priest, when he goes forth, kindling the fire with it for the god, on the fifth of the 5 intercalary days, New Year's<sup>a</sup> night, by the 'keeper of the wardrobe'. He shall 'deliver' it <sup>298</sup>to my mortuary priest after he does that which he does with it in the temple."

563. 2. "He shall give another on New Year's Day, in the morning, when the house makes gifts to its lord, when the lay priests of the temple give to me this white bread, which they give to me per individual priest (*w<sup>c</sup>b*), on New Year's Day. It shall be due <sup>299</sup>from my mortuary priest at my glorification."

564. 3. "He shall give another in the first month of the first season on the eighteenth day, the day of the Wag-feast, at the same time with the white bread, which they give to me per individual priest (*w<sup>c</sup>b*). This 'wick' shall be due from my mortuary priest when glorifying me, together with the lay priests."

Lo, he said to him:

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<sup>a</sup>Really the evening before New Year's Day.

*Definition of "Temple-Day"*

**565.** <sup>300</sup>"Behold, as for a temple-day, it is  $\frac{1}{360}$  of a year.<sup>a</sup> When ye<sup>b</sup> therefore divide everything that comes into the temple, consisting of bread, beer, and everything for each day, that which makes  $\frac{1}{360}$  of the bread, of the beer, and of everything which comes into this temple, is the unit in these temple-days which I have given <sup>301</sup>to thee. Behold, it is my property, of my paternal estate, but not of the count's estate."

*Future Validity of Agreement*

**566.** "Now, these 3 temple-days shall belong to every future [keeper of the wardrobe,<sup>1</sup>] because these 3 [wicks<sup>1</sup>] are due to him, which thou hast given to me for these 3 temple-days, which I have given to thee."

*Conclusion*

**567.** Lo, he was satisfied with it.

## VI. SIXTH CONTRACT

*Title*

**568.** <sup>302</sup>Contract which the count, the superior prophet, Hepzefi, triumphant, made with the superior prophet of Upwawet,<sup>c</sup> concerning:

*What Hepzefi Receives*

**569.** The roast of meat which is due upon the altar, which is placed upon the oblation-table, for every bull which is slaughtered in the temple.

And one (*st<sup>2</sup>*-) jar for (every) (*ds*-) jar of beer every day <sup>303</sup>of a procession; which shall be due to every future superior prophet.

*What He Pays*

**570.** He (the count) hath given him (the superior prophet) for it, 2 temple-days from his property, of his paternal estate, but not from the property of the count's estate.

<sup>a</sup>See the same computation in the second contract.

<sup>b</sup>Although speaking to the keeper of the wardrobe, as the conclusion (l. 301) shows.

<sup>c</sup>That is, with himself! In his capacity as count he makes a contract with himself in his capacity as superior prophet of Upwawet.

*Disposition of Meat*

571. Lo, the count Hepzefi spake, saying: "When <sup>304</sup>this roast of meat and this (*st<sup>2</sup>-*) jar of beer come for every day of a procession, they are due to my statue, (which is) in charge of my mortuary priest."

*Conclusion*

Lo, he was satisfied therewith, in the presence of the official body of the temple.

## VII. SEVENTH CONTRACT

*Title*

572. <sup>305</sup>Contract which the count, the superior prophet, Hepzefi, triumphant, made, with the great (*w<sup>c</sup>b-*) priest of Anubis, concerning:

*What Hepzefi Receives*

573. Three <sup>1</sup>wicks<sup>1</sup> due to him, with which the fire is kindled in the temple of Anubis:

One on the fifth of the 5 intercalary days, the New Year's night.

Another on New Year's Day.

Another <sup>306</sup>in the first month of the first season, on the seventeenth day, the night of the Wag-feast.

*What He Pays*

574. He hath given to him for it: 1,000 (*h<sup>2</sup>·t*)-measures of land in <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup>,<sup>a</sup> from the fields of his father, as compensation for these 3 <sup>1</sup>wicks<sup>1</sup>, which he gives to my mortuary priest, in order to kindle the light for me therewith.

*Conclusion*

575. Lo, he was satisfied therewith.

## VIII. EIGHTH CONTRACT

*Title*

576. <sup>307</sup>Contract which the count, the superior prophet, Hepzefi, triumphant, made, with the lay priests of the temple of Anubis; to-wit:

<sup>a</sup>*Sm<sup>2</sup>-r<sup>2</sup>y* = "the southern union," a designation of some locality in Hepzefi's estate.

*What Hepzefi Receives*

**577.** There shall be given to him:

(a) A white loaf per each individual among them, for his statue, in the first month of the first season, on the seventeenth day, the night of the Wag-feast.

(b) And that they shall go forth, following his mortuary priest, and kindle for him (the count), the fire at <sup>308</sup>his glorification, until they reach the lower steps of his tomb, just as they glorify their noble ones, on the day of kindling the fire.

(c) And that the priest belonging in each month shall give <sup>1</sup>— of bread (*p<sup>3</sup> k*) and a jar of beer for his statue, which is on the lower steps of his tomb, when he comes forth from offering in <sup>309</sup>the temple<sup>a</sup> every day.

*What He Pays*

**578.** He hath given to them for it: grain from the first of the harvest of every field of the count's estate, as every citizen of Siut does from the first of his harvest. Now, behold, he begins with having his every peasant give it from the first of his field into the temple of <sup>310</sup>Anubis.

*Injunction to Future Nomarchs*

**579.** Lo, the count, Hepzefi, said: "Behold, ye know, that, as for every official (*šr*) and every citizen, who gives the first of his harvest into the temple, it is not agreeable to him, that there should be lack therein. Therefore shall no future count diminish to future priests that which is secured by contract of another count."

*Individual Payment and Remuneration*

**580.** <sup>311</sup>This grain shall belong to the lay priests, per each individual<sup>b</sup> priest, who shall give to me this white bread. He shall not divide it to his colleagues, because they give this white bread, each by himself.

<sup>a</sup>This would imply that the temple of Anubis was close to the necropolis and Hepzefi's tomb, a similar indication is seen in the fact that the officials of the necropolis receive the wicks from the "great priest" of Anubis to be carried to the mortuary priest. The temple of Upwawet was, on the contrary, in the town. See Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 165.

<sup>b</sup>Heretofore this idea has been expressed by the distributive preposition *hr*, "per;" but in this passage a remarkable idiom appears, lit., "by the mouth of the head of each priest."

*Conclusion*

581. Lo, they were satisfied therewith.

## IX. NINTH CONTRACT

*Title*

582. <sup>312</sup>Contract which the count, the superior prophet, Hepzefi, triumphant, made, with the overseer of the necropolis, and with the mountaineers,<sup>a</sup> to-wit:

*What Hepzefi Receives*

583. There shall be given:<sup>b</sup>

(a) That they go to the house of Anubis, on the fifth of the 5 intercalary days, (being) New Year's night, and on New Year's Day, to receive 2 'wicks', which the great priest (*w<sup>c</sup>b*) of Anubis gives to the count, Hepzefi.

(b) And that they go, at his glorification, until they reach <sup>313</sup>his tomb.

(c) And that they give this one 'wick' to his mortuary priest, after they glorify him, just as they glorify their noble ones.

*What He Pays*

584. He hath given to them for it:

(a) 2,200 (*h<sup>2</sup>·t-*) measures of land in the '—',<sup>c</sup> from his property of the paternal estate, but not of the count's estate:

<sup>314</sup> Register of Names	( <i>H<sup>2</sup>·t-</i> ) Measures
Overseer of the Necropolis	400
Chief of the Highland	200
Eight mountaineers	1,600

(b) Besides giving to them the foot of the leg of every bull, that shall be slaughtered upon this highland, in every temple.

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "those who are upon the mountain" (*tpyw-dw*); they must also be connected with the necropolis, and receive their name from its location in the mountainous cliffs.

<sup>b</sup>The usual "to him" is omitted.

<sup>c</sup>*W<sup>2</sup>b·t.*

*What Hepzefi Further Receives*

585. They have given to him:<sup>a</sup>

The Overseer of the Necropolis, 2 (*ds-*) jars of beer; 100 flat loaves; 10 white loaves.

The Chief of the Highland, 1 (*ds-*) jar of beer; 50 flat loaves; 5 white loaves.

<sup>315</sup>Eight mountaineers, 8 (*ds-*) jars of beer; 400 flat loaves; 40 white loaves.

For his statue, (which is) in charge of his mortuary priest, in the first month of the first season, on the first day, (being) New Year's Day, when they glorify him.

*Future Validity of Contract*

586. Lo, he said to them: "Behold, these (*h<sup>2</sup>-t-*) measures of land, which I have given to 'you',<sup>b</sup> shall belong to <sup>316</sup>every overseer of the necropolis, to every chief of the highland, and to every mountaineer who shall come (hereafter), because they shall deliver to me this bread and beer."

*Additional Stipulation*

587. <sup>317</sup>"And ye shall be behind [my] statue which is in my garden, following it when ————,<sup>c</sup> <sup>318</sup>at every feast of the beginning of a season, which is celebrated in this temple."

*Conclusion*

588. Lo, they were satisfied therewith.

## X. TENTH CONTRACT

*Title*

589. <sup>319</sup>Contract which the count, the superior prophet, Hepzefi, made, with the overseer of the highland, to-wit:

<sup>a</sup>The addition of a second stipulation of payments to the count is in violation of the usual form.

<sup>b</sup>Mr. Griffith saw traces of *j* ("*him*") in this place, which is broken, but the context demands "you."

<sup>c</sup>From l. 316 on, the lines are shorter, so that not more than five or six words are lost here.

*What Hepzeft Receives*

**590.** There shall be given to him 1 (*hbn' t-*) jar of beer, <sup>320</sup>1 large (*— rrt-*) loaf, 500 flat loaves, and 10 white loaves, for his statue, (which is) in charge of his mortuary priest, in the first month of the first season, on the seventeenth day, the night of the Wag-feast.

*What He Pays*

**591.** <sup>321</sup>He hath given to him for it:

(a) 1,000 (*h' t-*) measures of land in [—],<sup>a</sup> from his property of his paternal estate, but not from the property of the count's estate.

(b) And <sup>322</sup>a quarter of every bull that is slaughtered on this highland in every temple.

*Future Validity of Contract*

**592.** Lo, he said to the overseer of the highland: <sup>323</sup>“Behold, these (*h' t-*) measures of land shall belong to every future overseer of the highland, because he delivers to me this <sup>324</sup>bread and beer.”

*Conclusion*

**593.** Lo, he was satisfied therewith.

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<sup>a</sup>W b' t.

## REIGN OF AMENEMHET II

### INSCRIPTION OF SIMONTU<sup>a</sup>

594. Besides determining the succession of the first three kings of the Twelfth Dynasty, this stela is also important because it shows that Sesostris I was living in the third year of his son, Amenemhet II's reign. They were therefore coregent at least that long.

#### *Date*

595. <sup>1</sup>Year 3 <sup>2</sup>under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nubkure (*Nb-k<sup>2</sup>w-R<sup>c</sup>*, Amenemhet II), living like Re.

#### *Simontu's Titles*

596. <sup>3</sup>Hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, favorite of Horus, lord of the palace, who does that which his lord praises <sup>4</sup>every day, royal scribe, Simontu (*S<sup>2</sup>-Mn<sup>t</sup>w*), the revered; he saith:

#### *Simontu's Birth and Childhood*

597. I was born<sup>5</sup> in the time of the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sehetepibre (Amenemhet I) triumphant. I was a child who fastened on the girdle<sup>b</sup> under his majesty (Amenemhet I), <sup>6</sup>when he departed in peace.<sup>c</sup>

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<sup>a</sup>On a stela in the British Museum (No. 828, also called "Anastasi 17"); published by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 697; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, I, 83; from Sharpe by Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, 2d ed., V, 724 f.; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1250; Maspero, *Etudes de mythologie et d'archéologie*, I, 39, 40; Piehl, *Sphinx*, II, 131-36 after Brugsch. None of these texts is without considerable divergence from the rest. A collation of the Berlin squeeze (No. 1083), and later of the original in London, shows that no copy is without error.

<sup>b</sup>See the same phrase § 294, l. 1.

<sup>c</sup>Piehl has shown from the well-known parallel examples of the Old Kingdom (*Sphinx*, II, 135) that the words here: "*proceeded, departed, or passed on in peace*," mean "died." This is undoubtedly correct, but the question is: Whose death is referred to? It cannot be the death of Sesostris I, who is called "*living forever*,"



*Career under Sesostri I.*

598. The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkere (Sesostri I), living forever; his majesty appointed me scribe <sup>7</sup>of the harem <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup>;<sup>a</sup> he praised me on account of it very greatly.

His majesty appointed me scribe <sup>8</sup>of <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup>; his majesty praised me on account of it very greatly.<sup>b</sup>

His majesty made me grain-registrar <sup>9</sup>in South and North; his majesty praised me on account of it very greatly.

His majesty appointed me scribe of the great harem; <sup>10</sup>his majesty praised me on account of it very greatly.

His majesty appointed me royal scribe and chief of works <sup>11</sup>in the entire land; his majesty praised me because I was silent,<sup>c</sup> he loved me, because I repelled the <sup>1</sup>inflamed<sup>1</sup>,<sup>d</sup> I never repeated any evil word.

The revered royal scribe, Simontu.

INSCRIPTION OF SIHATHOR<sup>e</sup>

599. Sihathor's sole title is that of "*assistant treasurer*," an office which he really administered, and one which called him to varied enterprises of historical importance, the chief of which were his expeditions to Nubia and Sinai. After the usual mortuary formularies follow the biographical remarks.

and was therefore still living when the inscription was made. Grammatically, it is also impossible to accept Sesostri as subject of the verb, when verb and adverbial phrase precede the subject. Hence the verb must be a pseudo-participle, in a temporal clause, belonging to the preceding sentence. This leaves Sesostri without a verb, so that it must be an anticipatory subject, in apposition with "*his majesty*," of l. 6.

<sup>a</sup>Is this the official called *sgm* in the Empire?

<sup>b</sup>"*Greatly*," omitted in all the copies, is clear on the squeeze.

<sup>c</sup>*Gr*, as shown by the squeeze against all the copies, which have *hr* (except Sharpe).

<sup>d</sup>See the clever explanation of Piehl, *Sphinx*, II, 135 f.

<sup>e</sup>Mortuary stela from Abydos, now in the British Museum (No. 569), published by Sharpe, *Inscriptions*, II, 74; Birch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1874, 112 f., and *Egyptian Texts*, 21-24. These texts are so bad that it is difficult to use them at all. The translation is made from my own copy of the original. See also Brugsch, *Geschichte*, 136 ff.

*Sihathor's Many Commissions*

600. I was real "beloved of his lord," the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nubkure (*Nb-k<sup>3</sup>w-R<sup>c</sup>* Amenemhet II), living forever. He commanded, he sent me many times on every excellent commission, the things which his majesty desired should be done according to the desire of the heart of his majesty.

*Pyramid Statues*

601. His majesty commanded that I should be brought to the pyramid: Amenu-kherep (*Ymnw-hr<sup>p</sup>*),<sup>a</sup> living forever, to superintend the work on his 16<sup>b</sup> statues of hard stone of millions of years, which happened [within]<sup>c</sup> a day of two months. Never happened the like with any superintendent [—————].

*Expeditions to Sinai and Nubia*

602. I visited<sup>d</sup> the Mine-land (Sinai) as a youth, and I forced the (Nubian) chiefs to wash gold. I brought malachite,<sup>e</sup> I reached Nubia (*t<sup>3</sup>-pd<sup>3</sup>t*) of the negroes. I went, [overthrowing]<sup>f</sup> by the fear of the Lord of the Two Lands; I came [to] He (*H<sup>3</sup>*),<sup>g</sup> I went around its islands, I brought away its produce.

603. The real beloved of his lord, his favorite, saying the good and repeating that which is loved, doing that which the Lord of the Two Lands praises, communicating his design, not [knowing]<sup>1</sup> the [—] hearted, free from blemish, defending his boundary, watching his possessions, watchful without laxity, the assistant treasurer Sihathor, triumphant.

<sup>a</sup>This is the pyramid of Amenemhet II. A similar reference to him, with name Ameni for Amenemhet, occurs at Benihasan (§ 520). (See Griffith, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XIV, 39 f.) The name of the pyramid is also written Ameni-kherep on the Stela No. 839 in the British Museum.

<sup>b</sup>So the original; the publications all have 15.

<sup>c</sup>*Hm n.*

<sup>d</sup>On the verb *yr<sup>y</sup>* ("make") in the sense of "visit," see § 351, l. 9, note. The Mine-land (*By<sup>3</sup>*) is here written with feminine *t*; it is elsewhere masculine, so that it is possible that we should render it merely "mine."

<sup>e</sup>*F<sup>3</sup> k<sup>3</sup> t* is of course to be read *mf<sup>3</sup> k<sup>3</sup> t* as in the Pyramid Texts, see the same writing § 266. This is equivalent to saying "I visited Sinai," and this gives us a second antithetic parallelism with Sinai and Nubia; that is, north and south, as the extremes.

<sup>f</sup>Read *hr s<sup>hr</sup> t*?

<sup>g</sup>Birch's and Brugsch's reading "*Heha*" is impossible, otherwise one would identify the place with Heh (*Hh*) = Semneh. It is near Abu Simbel; see III, 496.

INSCRIPTION OF KHENTKHETWER<sup>a</sup>

604. The tablet is of particular importance, having been found on the Red Sea at Wadi Gasus, of which it furnishes the Egyptian name, "Sewew" (*S<sup>2</sup>w<sup>w</sup>*), to which place an expedition led by Khentkhetwer returned from Punt, in the twenty-eighth year of Amenemhet II.

605. Above is Amenemhet II offering a libation to Min of Coptos; below is the figure of Khentkhetwer with arms uplifted in worship, accompanied by the following inscription:

<sup>1</sup>Giving divine praise and laudation to Horus [—], to Min of Coptos, <sup>2</sup>by the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, the master of the judgment-hall <sup>3</sup>Khentkhetwer (*Hnt-ht-wr*) after his arrival in <sup>4</sup>safety from Punt; his army being <sup>5</sup>with him, prosperous and healthy; and his ships having landed <sup>6</sup>at Sewew (*S<sup>2</sup>w<sup>w</sup>*). <sup>7</sup>Year 28.

SINAI INSCRIPTION<sup>b</sup>

606. The inscription records the opening of a new mine in the twenty-fourth year of Amenemhet II.

Year 24, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Amenemhet II.

Mine-chamber which the real king's-confidant . . . . .<sup>c</sup> the captain of sailors,<sup>d</sup> Men, born of Mut, triumphant and revered, excavated.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup>On a stela discovered by Burton (Wilkinson, *General View*, 364) in the Wadi Gasus on the coast of the Red Sea opposite Coptos; now in the Museum of Alnwick Castle (No. 1935); published first by Erman from a squeeze, in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 204, 205; then by Birch, *Catalogue Alnwick Castle*, pl. III, 268 ff. Cf. Brugsch, *Völkertafel*, 54, 55, and 68; Schweinfurth, *Wadi Gasus*, 11, n. 2.

<sup>b</sup>Cut on the rocks near the great reservoir in the Sarbût el-Khadem; published from British Museum squeeze, No. 99, by Weill, *Sinai*, 158.

<sup>c</sup>Conventional epithets, but the text is unsafe. <sup>d</sup>*Mr-c prw*.

<sup>e</sup>Verb of the relative clause; a similar record under the same king, but without the year, is in the vicinity (Weill, *Sinai*, 159).

STELA OF KHENTEMSEMETI<sup>a</sup>

607. This stela is chiefly occupied with a pompous recitation of honors, such as is characteristic of the time. Many of the noble's functions in connection with the royal person—he had charge of the king's wardrobe—are entirely unintelligible. The interest and importance of the monument lie in Khentemseteti's meager record of a journey of inspection among the temples of Egypt, undertaken by command of the king. He went up the river as far as Elephantine, and on his return stopped at Abydos, where he improved the opportunity of his official visit, as so many other functionaries did, to erect a memorial stela at the sanctuary of the great god of the dead. This is the stela with which we are dealing.

*Introduction*

608. <sup>1</sup>Amenemhet II, beloved of Osiris, First of the Westerners; given life. <sup>2</sup>His real favorite servant, master of secret things of the king's wardrobe, Khentemseteti (*Hnt-m-sm'y'ty*); he says:

*His Honors*

609. "His majesty set me <sup>3</sup>at his feet in youth, my name was mentioned before my equals. His majesty greeted <sup>4</sup>me, he <sup>5</sup>— a daily marvel, and I was verily <sup>6</sup>—; I was praised <sup>7</sup>today more than yesterday. I became real king's-confidant, and his majesty received my approaches. When the officials were placed in their stations, <sup>8</sup>I <sup>9</sup>held<sup>1</sup> office before them <sup>10</sup>— — — —; priest of the Southern Crown, (of) the Northern Crown, <sup>11</sup>(of) Khnum; servant of the royal toilet, adjusting (the crown called) "Great-in-Magic," supporting the White Crown in the "Great House" (*Pr-wr*). Great lord of Nekheb (El Kab), servant <sup>12</sup>of Neit in the northern palace, to whom (the goddess)

<sup>a</sup>From Abydos; now in British Museum, No. 574; published by Sharpe, *Inscriptions*, I, 79; Piehl, *Inscriptions*, III, XV, XVI. I had my own copy of the original.

<sup>b</sup>At royal audiences.

Rekhet gives the hand, one whose approach is avoided, when adjusting the Red Crown, when <sup>9</sup>bringing forth in splendor, Horus, lord of the palace. Nurse of the god (Pharaoh) in the private chamber [————]. Chief of Sais, <sup>10</sup>in the administration of private affairs, lord of fear in the houses of Neit, great companion in the gold-house, at the birth of the god in the morning.

*His Appointment to Inspect Temples*

610. <sup>11</sup>I came at the front in the presence of his majesty, he had me inspect the divine fathers,<sup>a</sup> to expel evil and to prosper the fashion <sup>12</sup>of their work, in eternal affairs.<sup>b</sup> I commanded to fashion<sup>c</sup> their offering-tables (*wḏh*), the electrum was under <sup>13</sup>my seal.

*Arrival at Elephantine*

611. I reached Elephantine according to this command; I kissed the earth before the lord of the cataract (Khnum).

*Return to Abydos*

612. I returned by <sup>1</sup>the way<sup>1</sup> over which I had passed. <sup>14</sup>I drove in the mooring-stake<sup>d</sup> at Abydos.

*Erection of Stela*

613. I fixed my name <sup>15</sup>at the place where is the god Osiris, First of the Westerners, lord of eternity, ruler of the West, (the place) <sup>16</sup>to which all that is, flees, for the sake of the benefit therein, in the midst of <sup>17</sup>the followers of the lord of life, that I might eat his loaf, and come forth by day; that my spirit might enjoy <sup>18</sup>the ceremonies of people, kind in heart toward my tomb, and in hand <sup>19</sup>toward my stela. For I have not done [—]; that the god may <sup>1</sup>be favorable<sup>1</sup> to me in <sup>20</sup>judgment, when I am “there;”<sup>e</sup> that I may labor, being a spirit in the necropolis-cliff, <sup>21</sup>the ruler of eternity; that I may operate the rudder, that I may descend into the sacred barque (*nšm' t*); that I may smell <sup>22</sup>the earth before Upwawet. Khentemseti, triumphant, lord of reverence.

<sup>a</sup>Priests.

<sup>b</sup>Temple matters.

<sup>c</sup>*Nb*, the verb used especially of metal-work; the determinative is probably a man with a blow-pipe.

<sup>d</sup>Meaning “I landed,” as in § 423.

<sup>e</sup>A designation of the abode of the dead.

## REIGN OF SESOSTRIS II

### INSCRIPTION OF HAPU<sup>a</sup>

**614.** The following inscription contains a double date, showing that Sesostris II was associated as coregent with his father in the latter's thirty-second year, the coregency continuing at least three years. It also shows that the forts in Nubia were subject from time to time to inspection by officers especially sent thither for the purpose; but, unfortunately, not all have recorded their mission on the rocks as did the officer Hapu.

**615.** On the right is the name of Amenemhet II, "beloved of Satet, mistress of Elephantine;" on the left is the name of Sesostris II, "beloved of Khnum, lord of the cataract region;" between them is the following inscription:

**616.** Made in the year 3, under the majesty of Horus: Seshmutowe (Sšmw-t<sup>3</sup>wy=Horus-name of Sesostris II), corresponding to the year 35<sup>b</sup> under the majesty of Horus: Hekenemmat (Hkn-m-m<sup>c3</sup>t=Amenemhet II). The r-<sup>1</sup>,<sup>c</sup> Hapu (H<sup>3</sup>pw) came, in order to make an inspection in the fortresses of Wawat.<sup>d</sup>

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<sup>a</sup>Cut on the rocks near Assuan; published by Young, *Hieroglyphics*, Pl. 61 (very bad); Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, 10 (copied from Young); Lepsius, *Zwölfte Dynastie*, II; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 123, e (good), and de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 25, No. 178 (date wrong). I also had Lepsius' squeeze (No. 360, a) which I collated with all the publications; the text of de Morgan, *ibid.*, is almost as bad as Young's.

<sup>b</sup>So all the texts except de Morgan's (*Catalogue des monuments*, 25), which has 36! As we have a double date here, this would increase the reign of Amenemhet II by an entire year, if correct. The squeeze is quite clearly 35; this was also the opinion of Sethe, who examined the squeeze with me.

<sup>c</sup>An uncertain title (r-<sup>1</sup>kf<sup>3</sup>-yb), which occurs also with Hapu's figure below the inscription; see Bergmann, *Recueil*, VII, 187.

<sup>d</sup>The original has the mountain-determinative against de Morgan's hill-country.

INSCRIPTION OF THE TREASURER KHNUMHOTEP<sup>a</sup>

617. Above stands Sesostris II, before the god Soped, from whom he receives the symbol of life. Below stands Khnumhotep, accompanied by the following inscription:

618. <sup>1</sup>Year 1, his monument in God's-Land was executed. <sup>2</sup>The treasurer<sup>b</sup> of the god, real king's-confidant, his beloved, his favorite, the darling of his lord, <sup>3</sup>knowing the law, discreet in executing (it); <sup>4</sup>zealous for him<sup>c</sup> who favors him; <sup>5</sup>not trespassing against the injunction of the palace, the command of the court; <sup>6</sup>favorite of the crown, being in the palace, praiser of <sup>7</sup>Horus, Lord of the Two Lands; presenting the court to the king, <sup>8</sup>truly accurate like Thoth, master of the double cabinet, Khnumhotep.

INSCRIPTION OF KHNUMHOTEP II<sup>d</sup>

619. The inscription of Khnumhotep II is our fullest and most important source for a study of the relations between the powerful nomarchs, the local counts or barons of the Twelfth Dynasty, and their contemporary kings. Like the nobles of El Kab at the rise of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the princes of Benihasan were a mainstay of the royal house in the early Twelfth. Their domain was the principality of

<sup>a</sup>Stela found at Wadi Gasus on the Red Sea, opposite Coptos; now in the collection of Alnwick Castle (No. 1935); first published by Erman from a squeeze, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 204, 205; then by Birch, *Catalogue Alnwick Castle*, Pl. IV, 268-70. Cf. Brugsch, *Völkertafel*, 54, 58, and 68; Schweinfurth, *Wadi Gasûs*, 11, n. 2; Wilkinson, *General View*, 364.

<sup>b</sup>This title is at the left of the second line (first vertical line), and appears only in Birch's text.

<sup>c</sup>The king.

<sup>d</sup>Cut on the walls of the superb chapel chamber in his tomb at Benihasan; published by Burton (*Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, 33, 34); by Champollion (*Notices descriptives*, II, 418-22); by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, II, 124, 125); by Brugsch (*Monuments de l'Égypte*, 15-17; and *Thesaurus*, VI, 1513-25); and by Newberry (*Beni Hasan*, I, Pls. XXV, XXVI). The last, the publication of the Archæological Survey of the Egypt Exploration Fund, contains in two volumes the entire Benihasan necropolis. Its text of the great inscription of Khnumhotep II

the Oryx (the sixteenth nome of Upper Egypt), which included both banks of the river between the Hare nome on the south and the Jackal nome on the north. The desert cliffs are not far from the river on the east shore, and the narrow strip thus inclosed was sometimes detached from the Oryx nome, as a separate principality, known as "*Horizon of Horus*," designated usually by its chief town, Menet-Khufu, the birthplace of the great Fourth Dynasty king, Khufu. The sole witnesses to the ancient power and prosperity of this principality are its tombs, those of the Middle Kingdom being located at Benihasan, 169 miles above Cairo.

620. The first of the family in this principality, Khnumhotep II's grandfather, Khnumhotep I, was appointed by Amenemhet I; at first as count only of Menet-Khufu, and finally of the entire Oryx nome (§§ 625, 626). The narrative of the appointment refers significantly to Amenemhet I's personal visit to the principality, establishing the boundary lines, "*when he cast out evil*," meaning of course rebellion, or at least of unjust aggression, the last expiring struggles of other ambitious noblemen in their opposition to the new dynasty,<sup>a</sup> marking the close of the long obscure period of such wars, between the Old and the Middle Kingdom. As

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is much the best. The texts of Maspero (*Recueil*, I, 169-81) and Krebs (*De Chnemoth's nomarchi inscriptione aegyptiaca commentatio*, Berlin, 1890) are taken from the publications. The original text contains many patent blunders of the scribe, which render certain parts unintelligible; Mr. Griffith furnishes some useful emendations of such passages (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1890, 263-68), and some others I have added, which will be evident from the notes. The lines of the original are so short, that the translation could not be so often divided, and only every fifth line is there numbered. It has not been practicable to cut up the inscription, and assign each portion to the reign which it concerns; hence the whole has been put in the reign from which it dates.

<sup>a</sup>The reference is not so clear as those in the inscription of Ahmose of El Kab, who narrates three rebellions against King Ahmose I at the rise of the Eighteenth Dynasty (II, 11, 15, 16).



a special favor of the king, Sesostris I, Khnumhotep I's sons received the same domain; Nakht being appointed to Menet-Khufu (§ 627), and Amenemhet<sup>a</sup> receiving the Oryx nome, in the king's eighteenth year (§§ 518, ll. 1-3, and 627). At the same time, the sister of these two princes, Khnumhotep I's daughter Beket, married a powerful official at the court, the vizier and governor of the royal residence city. Nehri, who was also probably prince of the neighboring Hare nome (§ 628). Of this union was born Khnumhotep II, who received Menet-Khufu as his just claim through his mother, on the death of his predecessor, his uncle, Nakht,<sup>b</sup> in the nineteenth year of Amenemhet II. He ruled with great prosperity until at least the sixth year of Sesostris II,<sup>c</sup> in which year a party of thirty-seven Bedwin visited him, bringing gifts and probably desiring traffic.<sup>d</sup> Khnumhotep II greatly strengthened his family by marrying Kheti, the eldest daughter of the prince of the Jackal nome. His eldest son, Nakht, was therefore appointed to the principedom of the Jackal nome as his inheritance from his mother,<sup>e</sup> while his next son, Khnumhotep (III), after honors at

<sup>a</sup>Amenemhet (Ameni) is not mentioned by Khnumhotep II's great inscription. See note, l. 56.

<sup>b</sup>Nakht had held the principality, therefore, 43 years.

<sup>c</sup>This is the latest date in the tomb (Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pl. XXXVIII), so that Khnumhotep II ruled at least nineteen years. If born not long after his uncle Nakht's accession, he would have been not less than forty years of age at his own accession, and nearly sixty years old at the above latest date in his tomb.

<sup>d</sup>This is the subject of the famous scene in his tomb, naïvely identified by early Egyptologists with Abraham's visit to Egypt, with which, it is needless to say, it had nothing to do. The accompanying inscription is as follows: "*The arrival, bringing eye-paint, which 37 Asiatics bring to him*" (Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pl. XXX). Their leader is called: "*Sheik of the highlands, Ibshe (Yb-š)*," a good Hebrew name. The report handed in by Khnumhotep's secretary dates the event in the sixth year of Sesostris II, and calls them "*Asiatics of the desert*" (C<sup>o</sup>mw n šw, *ibid.*, Pl. XXXVIII).

<sup>e</sup>For a similar inheritance through the mother, of the grandfather's office at Siut, see §§ 413 ff.

court, was appointed to his father's countship of Menet-Khufu.<sup>a</sup>

621. We are thus able to trace the history of the family through four generations in this great inscription, but the Benihasan tombs do not carry the career of these princes farther, and, perhaps because of increasing power and centralization on the part of the kings, these tombs cease abruptly at this point in the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty.

#### *Introduction*

622. <sup>1</sup>The hereditary prince, count, king's-confidant, whom his god loves, governor of the eastern highlands, Nehri's (*Nḥry*) son, Khnumhotep, triumphant; born of a count's (*ḥꜣty-ꜥ*) daughter, the matron, Beket (*Bꜣḳꜣt*), triumphant.

#### *The Tomb, its Paintings and Inscriptions*

623. He made (it)<sup>b</sup> as his monument; his first virtue was in adorning <sup>5</sup>his city, that he might perpetuate his name forever, and that he might establish it for eternity in his tomb of the necropolis; that he might perpetuate the name of his official staff, establishing (them) according to their offices: the excellent ones, who were in <sup>12</sup>his household, whom he raised over <sup>11</sup>his peasant-slaves (*mrꜣt*); every office that he sustained; all artificers according to their kind.<sup>c</sup>

#### *His Appointment as Count of Menet-Khufu*

624. His mouth saith: <sup>14</sup>"The majesty of . . . . ."<sup>d</sup>  
Amenemhet (II), who is given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, for-

<sup>a</sup>This is not stated in the great inscription, but is referred to in a hunting scene (Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pl. XXXII): "to whom was given the rule (*ḥḳꜣꜣt*) of Khnumhotep (II) triumphant, in Menet-Khufu, when his son was appointed to the rule of I—1." To whom the last son refers is not clear, and the name of the principality is unknown. It occurs also at Siut (§ 396, l. 16), as the northern limit from which the troops of the south were mustered against Siut, and must therefore be south of Siut, and not near Benihasan.

<sup>b</sup>The tomb in which the inscription is found.

<sup>c</sup>All his favorite servants and officials of his estate are represented in the superb tomb paintings, engaged in their various duties, with their names added; it is this "perpetuation" which is meant in ll. 7-12.

<sup>d</sup>Full fivefold titulary.

ever, appointed me to be hereditary prince, count, governor of the eastern highlands, priest of Horus, and [priest] of Pakht; to the inheritance of my mother's father in <sup>20</sup>Menet-Khufu (*Mn<sup>c</sup>·t-Ḥwfw*).<sup>a</sup> He established for me the southern landmark;<sup>b</sup> he perpetuated the northern, like the heavens. He divided the great river along its middle, as was done for the father <sup>25</sup>of my mother, by command which came forth from the mouth of the majesty of . . . . .<sup>c</sup> Amenemhet I, who is given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever.

*His Grandfather Appointed Count of Menet-Khufu*

**625.** <sup>30</sup>He appointed him to be hereditary prince, count, governor of the eastern highlands in Menet-Khufu. He established the southern landmark, perpetuating the northern, like the heavens; he divided the great river along its middle; its eastern side <sup>35</sup>of the "Horizon of Horus,"<sup>d</sup> was as far as the eastern highland; at the coming of his majesty, when he cast out evil, shining like Atum himself, when he restored that which he found ruined; that which a city had taken <sup>40</sup>from its neighbor; while he caused city to know its boundary with city, establishing their landmarks like the heavens, distinguishing their waters according to that which was in the writings, investigating according to <sup>45</sup>that which was of old, because he so greatly loved justice.

*His Grandfather Appointed Prince of Oryx Nome*

**626.** Lo, he appointed him to be hereditary prince, count, [—], great lord of the Oryx nome. He established the landmarks: the southern on his boundary as far as <sup>50</sup>the Hare nome; his northern as far as the Jackal nome. He divided the great river along its middle: its water, its fields, its trees, its sand as far as the western highlands.<sup>e</sup>

*Khnumhotep II's Uncle, Nakht, Made Count of Menet-Khufu*

**627.** He (the king) appointed his (Khnumhotep I's) eldest son, Nakht (I) <sup>55</sup>triumphant, revered, to the rule (*hk<sup>2</sup>*) of his inheritance in

<sup>a</sup>The chief town of the countship. It means "Nurse of Khufu," and was located in the region of Benihasan. See note, § 625.

<sup>b</sup>Lit.: "tablet."      <sup>c</sup>Full fivefold titulary.

<sup>d</sup>The "county" or principality of which Menet-Khufu was the chief town (see note on ll. 19, 20, § 624). It occupied the east side of the valley to the cliffs.

<sup>e</sup>The principality, or nome, therefore occupied the western side of the valley to the cliffs.

Menet-Khufu<sup>a</sup> as a great favor of the king, by the command which issued [from] the mouth of the majesty of king . . . . .<sup>b</sup> <sup>61</sup>Sesostris I, who is given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever.

*Khnumhotep II's Birth*

**628.** This my chief nobility is my birth, my mother having gone to be hereditary <sup>65</sup>princess, and countess, as the daughter of the ruler (*hkꜣ*) of the Oryx nome, to Hat-Sehetepibre<sup>c</sup> . . . . . to be the wife of the hereditary prince, count, ruler (*hkꜣ*) of the "New Towns," the <sup>1</sup>rd of the king of Upper Egypt, the <sup>1</sup>rd <sup>7</sup>o of the king of Lower Egypt, <sup>1</sup>in<sup>1</sup> his rank of governor of the residence city, Nehri (*Nhry*), triumphant, revered.

*His Appointment as Count of Menet-Khufu*

**629.** The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nubkure (Amenemhet II), who is given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever, brought me, being the son of a count (*hꜣty-ꜣ*), into the inheritance of the rule (*hkꜣꜣt*) of my mother's father, because <sup>75</sup>he so greatly loved justice. He is Atum himself, Nubkure (Amenemhet II), who is given life, stability, satisfaction, gladness of his heart, like Re, forever. He appointed me to be count (*hꜣty-ꜣ*) in the year 19, in Menet-Khufu.

*His Buildings and Piety*

**630.** Then I adorned <sup>80</sup>it, and its treasures<sup>e</sup> grew in all things. I perpetuated the name of my father; I adorned the houses of the ka's

<sup>a</sup>Although the fact remains for some reason not mentioned here, it is clear that the Oryx nome, that is, the bulk of the principality, goes to Amenemhet, who began his rule in the eighteenth year of Sesostris I (§ 518, ll. 1-3), for the Oryx nome here remains unaccounted for, during the life of Nakht I.

<sup>b</sup>Fivefold titulary,

<sup>c</sup>The name of the city where Nehri lived; it means: "House of Amenemhet I," and is followed by the usual royal salutations. As Nehri was "governor of the residence city," this must be the name of the city where the king lived. The residence city of Amenemhet I was Ithtowe (*Yt-tꜣwy*) between Medum and Memphis, and probably that of Sesostris I, also. Griffith thinks therefore that Hat-Sehetepibre is simply another name for Ithtowe (Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, II, 88), a very plausible conclusion.

<sup>d</sup>Both unknown titles, here parallel.

<sup>e</sup>As emended by Griffith (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1890, 263).

and the dwelling thereof; I followed my statues<sup>a</sup> to the temple; I devoted for them <sup>85</sup>their offerings: the bread, beer, water, wine, incense, and joints of beef credited to the mortuary priest. I endowed him with fields and peasants; I commanded the mortuary offering of bread, beer, oxen, and geese, at every feast <sup>90</sup>of the necropolis: at the feast of the first of the year, of New Year's Day, of the great year, of the little year, of the last of the year, the great feast, at the great Rekeh, at the little Rekeh,<sup>b</sup> at the feast of the 5 intercalary days, at [— —], <sup>95</sup>at the 12 monthly feasts, at the 12 mid-monthly feasts; every feast of the happy living, and of the dead.<sup>c</sup> Now, as for the mortuary priest, or any person, who shall disturb them, he shall not survive, his son shall not survive in his place.

*Khnumhotep II's Honors at Court*

**631.** Greater <sup>100</sup>was my praise at the court than (that of) any sole companion. He (the king) exalted me above his nobles, I was placed<sup>d</sup> before those who had been before me. [—]<sup>e</sup> <sup>105</sup>the official body of the palace, giving praise according to my appointment, according to (my) favor which came to pass in the (royal) presence, the command of the king <sup>110</sup>himself. Never happened the like to servants [————]. He knew the manner of my tongue, the [moderation] of my character. <sup>115</sup>I was an honored one with the king; my praise was with his court, my popularity was before his "companions." The hereditary prince, count, <sup>120</sup>Nehri's son, Khnumhotep, revered.

*Appointment of K. II's Son, Nakht, as Prince of Jackal Nome*

**632.** Another honor accorded me (was): my eldest son, Nakht, born of Kheti<sup>f</sup> was appointed to the rule (*hk*<sup>g</sup>) of the Jackal nome, to the inheritance of his mother's father; <sup>125</sup>made sole companion; appointed to be forefront of Middle Egypt.<sup>g</sup> There were given to him

<sup>a</sup>He means the statues of his ancestors.

<sup>b</sup>Rekeh (*Rkḥ*) means "heat."

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "every feast of the happy one in the (valley-) plain, and of the one on the mountain;" those who are on the plain still live, but those on the mountain are the dead in the cliff-tombs.

<sup>d</sup>Read *dy*.

<sup>f</sup>One of Khnumhotep II's two wives.

<sup>e</sup>The verb.

<sup>g</sup>Or possibly: "the South."

all ranks of nobility by the majesty of<sup>a</sup> . . . . .<sup>130</sup>. . . Sesostris II, who is given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever. He (the king) made his monuments in the Jackal nome, restoring that which he found obliterated, that which a city had taken from its neighbor; causing him to know<sup>135</sup> his boundary according to the 'record', investigating according to that which was of old, putting a landmark at his southern boundary, perpetuating the northern like the heavens, establishing on the fields<sup>140</sup> of the low ground,<sup>b</sup> a total amounting to 15 landmarks;<sup>c</sup> establishing upon its northern fields its boundary as far as Oxyrrhyncus. He divided the great river along its middle, <sup>145</sup>its western side (going) to the Jackal nome as far as the western highlands; when the hereditary prince, count, Khnumhotep's son, Nakht, triumphant, revered, petitioned, saying: "My waters know not the great favor of <sup>150</sup>the king's<sup>d</sup> presence."

*Honors of Khnumhotep II's Second Son, Khnumhotep*

**633.** Another prince (*wr*) is counselor, sole companion, great 'among' the sole companions, of numerous gifts to the palace,<sup>e</sup> sole companion. <sup>155</sup>There is not one possessed of his virtues; to whom the (*sdm w-*) officers hearken, the unique mouth,<sup>f</sup> closing (other) mouths, bringing advantage to its<sup>g</sup> possessor, keeper of the door of the highlands,

<sup>a</sup>Full fivefold titulary.

<sup>b</sup>Rendered by Krebs *campus hostium*, and treated as a proper name. The determinative of *hrw* is not that of the enemy as in Krebs' text, but merely a falling man, as might be expected after the root *hr*. It has a second determinative of land, and the word is not unknown as "low land," the best, most fertile land, next the river.

<sup>c</sup>The passage was rendered with essential correctness thirty years ago by Maspero (*Recueil*, I, 166) giving "quinze stèles-frontières" and "Ouob" = Oxyrrhyncus. It is therefore an oversight as now rendered in his history (*Dawn*, 524), recording the gift to Khnumhotep of fifteen nomes extending "from Aphroditopolis to Thebes," thus making one nomarch ruler of three-fourths of Upper Egypt. The careful establishment of the northern boundary by erecting 15 landmarks was natural, as Oxyrrhyncus is in the vicinity of the home of the hostile northern families, the descendants of the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties who fought the rising Thebans of the Middle Kingdom (see §§ 391 ff.).

<sup>d</sup>Meaning the king had not yet determined the limits in this nome, and the settling of the limits just mentioned was a result of this request.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., "numerous of gifts of the palace;" the word "gifts" indicating "that which is brought;" cf. the Arabic *hādīyyātūn*.

<sup>f</sup>Meaning "unique counselor."

<sup>g</sup>"Its" refers to "advantage," not to "mouth."

Khnumhotep, son of Khnumhotep, son of Nehri, <sup>160</sup>who was born of the matron, Kheti.

*His Restoration of Ancestors' Tombs*

634. I kept alive the name of my fathers, which I found obliterated upon the doorways,<sup>a</sup> (making them) legible<sup>b</sup> in [form<sup>1</sup>]; accurate in reading, not <sup>165</sup>putting one in the place of another.<sup>c</sup> Behold, it is an excellent son, who restores the name of the ancestors; Nehri's son, Khnumhotep, triumphant, revered.

*His Father's Mortuary Buildings*

635. <sup>170</sup>My chief nobility was: I executed a cliff-tomb, (for) a man should imitate that which his father does.<sup>d</sup> My father made for himself a house of the ka in the town of Mernofret, of <sup>175</sup>good stone of Ayan, in order to perpetuate his name forever and establish it eternally; that his name might live in the mouth of the people and abide in the mouth of the living, <sup>180</sup>upon his tomb of the necropolis, in his excellent house of eternity, his seat of everlastingness; according to the favor of the king's presence, his love in the court.

*His Father's Excellent Administration*

636. He ruled his city as a babe, <sup>185</sup>before he was loosed from swaddling-clothes;<sup>e</sup> he executed a royal commission, and his two<sup>f</sup> plumes danced, as a child not yet circumcised; [for<sup>1</sup>] the king knew<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup>The doorways of the tombs, where it was customary to engrave the name and titles; for similar restorations by posterity, see §§ 688, 689.

<sup>b</sup>*Rh* in the negative is used in the sense of "undiscernible, illegible" on a stela, of Sabako, in the British Museum (No. 135), see Breasted, *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, 39, Pls. I, II, 1. 2.

<sup>c</sup>He means he was careful and accurate in reading the names, not introducing confusion among them, by restoring a name in the wrong place.

<sup>d</sup>He begins to tell of the construction of his own tomb, but is diverted by the reference to his father, whose tomb and early favor at court he recounts, before he again reverts to his own tomb and other buildings (l. 192).

<sup>e</sup>There is no doubt that this is the same word used in the description of Sesotris I's youth (§ 502, ll. 9, 10), although much corrupted.

<sup>f</sup>His plumes of office.

<sup>g</sup>Read *rh stny*, as shown by Griffith (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1890, 267).

the manner of his tongue, the [moderation] of his character, <sup>190</sup>Sebek-enekh's son, Nehri, triumphant, revered, whom he exalted before his nobles to be ruler (*hkꜣ*) of his city.

*His Own Buildings*

**637.** The achievements of the count, Khnumhotep: I made a monument in the midst of my city; I built a colonnaded hall which I found <sup>195</sup>in [ruin];<sup>a</sup> I erected it with columns anew, inscribed with my own name. I perpetuated the name of my father upon them.<sup>b</sup> I [recorded] my deeds upon <sup>200</sup>every monument.

I made a door of 7 cubits, of cedar wood without [—] for the first doorway of the tomb; double doors for<sup>c</sup> an opening of 5 cubits, 2 palms, for the shrine of the august chamber, which is in this tomb.<sup>d</sup> A prayer <sup>205</sup>for offerings, the mortuary oblations of bread, beer, oxen, geese, was upon every monument, which I made. I . . . . .<sup>e</sup> greater in monuments [in] this city than the fathers; <sup>210</sup>a child of this city, more excellent in monuments of its burial place than the ancestors, [in the buildings] made before me.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup>This stands in place of the usual *m ws* "in ruin," and probably means something similar. (See Loret, *Revue égyptologique*, X, 87-94.) What this building in the city was, it is impossible to say; all city buildings having perished. Compare also the work of Kheti another member of the family, as recorded thus: "Prince and count, sole companion, [—] great lord of the Oryx nome, who made eternal monuments in the temple (*ht-ntr*) of Khnum, lord of Herur (*Hr-wr*)" (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 354).

<sup>b</sup>*N* and plural strokes are lost in the lacuna; the feminine *s* could not have stood alone, for the building is masculine.

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "of."

<sup>d</sup>"The first doorway" is, as we should expect, the main entrance to the tomb chapel. A comparison of the height of the "door" given above (7 cubits) with the surviving doorway shows that the door was enough higher than the doorway to lap slightly at top and bottom. The second doorway was for double doors; the only double doors in the tomb of Khnumhotep are those of the shrine containing his statue, in the back wall of the chapel chamber. A comparison of the height of this doorway, given by the inscription, with the surviving doorway itself, shows exact correspondence. On the whole passage, see Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXII, 88-90.

<sup>e</sup>These lines are unintelligible.

<sup>f</sup>The syntax of both these comparisons is doubtful in several places; it is clear in both that he is comparing his own building activity with that of his ancestors; the first comparison referring to his works in the city, and the second to those in the highland of the necropolis.



*Crafts Encouraged*

**638.** I was munificent in monuments; I taught every craft <sup>215</sup>which had been [neglected] in this city, in order that my name might be excellent upon every monument which I [made], . . . . .<sup>a</sup>

*Conclusion*

**639.** <sup>220</sup>The hereditary prince, count, Nehri's son, Khnumhotep, born of Beket, triumphant, revered.

<sup>22</sup> Foreman of the tomb, the chief treasurer, Beket.<sup>b</sup>

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<sup>a</sup>Unintelligible.

<sup>b</sup>This is the architect's "fecit," the signature of the official who conducted the work.

## REIGN OF SESOSTRIS III

### THE CONQUEST OF NUBIA

640. Sesostris III completed the conquest of Nubia, begun by his predecessors nearly one hundred years before, and was known in the Empire as the real conqueror of the region between the first and second cataracts. He conducted not less than four campaigns in this district, and probably more; and by his canalization of the cataract passages, and the erection of fortresses at strategic points, he made this country a permanent possession of the Pharaohs, which was never lost except for a time during the Hyksos period, until the dissolution of the Empire. Important material documents, like the fortresses of Kummeh and Semneh, are graphic witnesses of the character and permanence of this conquest.<sup>a</sup>

641. The documentary materials for Sesostris III's operations in Nubia are as follows:

- I. The Canal Inscriptions (§§ 642-48).
- II. The Elephantine Inscription (§§ 649, 650).
- III. The First Semneh Stela (§§ 651-52).
- IV. The Second Semneh Stela (§§ 653-60).
- V. Inscription of Ikhernofret (§§ 661-70).
- VI. Inscription of Sisetet (§§ 671, 672; see also §§ 676 ff., and 687).

#### I. THE CANAL INSCRIPTIONS

642. In order to establish unbroken water communication with the country above the first cataract, Sesostris III

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<sup>a</sup>A further reference to one of these Nubian campaigns of Sesostris III is found in the life of Sebekkhu (§§ 676 ff.).

cleared a channel<sup>a</sup> which permitted the passage of his war fleets, and later doubtless of much commerce also. Although this enterprise had been begun in the Sixth Dynasty, it was now over five hundred years since Uni's attempts to pierce the cataract (§ 324). Sesostris III's achievement was recorded in the two following inscriptions, cut on the rocks of the Island of Sehel. The first, recording the "making" of the canal, is undated, but as the second states, he repaired ("made anew")<sup>b</sup> the canal in the eighth year, it must have been made before this date, and probably in anticipation of the campaign of that year.

*First Inscription<sup>c</sup>*

643. A scene above, represents the king, Sesostris III, standing before the goddess Anuket, exactly as below (§ 646) before Satet; below them is the inscription:

644. He made (it) as his monument for Anuket, mistress of Nubia (*T<sup>3</sup>·-p<sup>d</sup>·t*) — — —, making for her a canal, whose name is: "Beautiful-Are-the-Ways-of-Khekure" (Sesostris III), that he may live forever.

645. In the eighth year the channel was already in need of repair, and had to be cleared for the passage of the expedition of that year. This is recorded in the

<sup>a</sup>Mr. Wilbour and Mr. Somers Clarke found a rock-cut canal south of Sehel, but its dimensions do not coincide with those given in the inscription (see *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1894, 63, 64).

<sup>b</sup>But it should be remembered that "anew" may possibly mean "for the first time" as it later sometimes does.

<sup>c</sup>Text published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 136, b=de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 87, No. 39. This inscription was known fifty years before Mr. Wilbour's discovery below, but the name of the canal was misunderstood as that of a city (e. g., Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Geschichte*, 252). The inscription did not become clear until the publication of Mr. Wilbour's discovery (cf. quotation of Erman's letter, *Recueil*, XIII, 203). The old misunderstanding still survives, and the canal appears as "an emporium" bearing the name "Ways of Khâkeri" in some publications.

*Second Inscription*<sup>a</sup>

646. In a scene at the top stands the king, Sesostris III, wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, and bearing the (*w<sup>3</sup>s-*) scepter and (*hrp-*) baton. The goddess "*Salet, mistress of Elephantine,*" stands before him, presenting him with life; while behind him is the "*chief treasurer . . . . chief of works.*"<sup>b</sup> Below is the following inscription:

647. Year 8 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Khekure (*H<sup>c</sup>-k<sup>3</sup>w-R<sup>c</sup>*, Sesostris III), living forever. His majesty commanded to make the canal anew,<sup>c</sup> the name of this canal being: "Beautiful-Are-the-Ways-of-Khekure-[Living]-Forever," when his majesty proceeded up-river to overthrow Kush, the wretched.

Length of this canal, 150 cubits; width, 20; depth, 15.

648. The canal was still in use in the New Kingdom, and was cleared again by Thutmose I and III (II, 75, 76, 649, 650).

II. ELEPHANTINE INSCRIPTION<sup>d</sup>

649. In addition to the great works on the canal, Sesostris III also gave some attention to the fortress<sup>e</sup> of Elephantine as he passed southward on the campaign of the eighth year. The work was recorded there by Ameni, the officer commissioned to do it, in the following inscription:

<sup>a</sup>Discovered by Mr. Charles Wilbour, and published by him in *Recueil*, XIII, 202-4; later by de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 86, No. 20.

<sup>b</sup>He has been omitted by Wilbour, and his name is lacking in de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*.

<sup>c</sup>Or possibly: "*for the first time.*"

<sup>d</sup>From a small stela now in the British Museum (No. 852); it was published by Birch (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1875, 50), and again, *Egyptian Texts*, 12, 13. I used my own copy of the original, as that of Birch contains a number of inaccuracies.

<sup>e</sup>The fortress is supposed by Maspero (*Recueil*, XIII, 204) to be the wall connecting Assuan and Philæ, of which there are considerable remains at the present day.

650. Year 9,<sup>a</sup> third month of the third season under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khekure (Sesostris III) beloved of Satet, mistress of Elephantine, living forever. Command of his majesty to the Magnate of the South, Ameni, [to make] a doorway in the fortress of Elephantine, to make a [—] (a building) for the crown-possessions<sup>b</sup> of the South — — the — people in the region of Elephantine; when [my lord, life! prosperity! health! journeyed to overthrow the wretched Kush.

### III. THE FIRST SEMNEH STELA<sup>c</sup>

651. Sesostris III, having, in his eighth year, pushed his southern advance above the second cataract, to a point about thirty-seven miles south of Wadi Halfa, set up his landmark, the stone marking the southern boundary of his realm. His great-grandfather, Sesostris I, had already conquered to this point (§§ 510 ff.), but Sesostris III was now prepared to maintain the conquest.

652. <sup>1</sup>Southern<sup>d</sup> boundary, made in the year 8, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khekure (Sesostris III), who is given life forever <sup>2</sup>and ever; in order to prevent that any Negro should cross it, by water or <sup>3</sup>by land, with a ship, (or) any herds of <sup>4</sup>the Negroes; except a Negro who shall come to do trading in Iken<sup>e</sup> (*Ykn*), <sup>5</sup>or with

<sup>a</sup>Birch has 8, but the original has 9: the last unit on the left is very faint, and was therefore overlooked. This is doubtless the date on which the work was finished, the order having been given as the king passed, a year previously. It is hardly probable that there was another campaign in the ninth year after that of the eighth.

<sup>b</sup>Cf. § 522, l. 16.

<sup>c</sup>A red granite stela discovered by Lepsius at Semneh on the west bank of the Nile. It is now in Berlin (No. 14753); published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 136, *i*, and (copied therefrom) Lemm, *Lesestücke*, 62. On its strange history, see § 653, note, p. 294.

<sup>d</sup>At the top of the stela is the single word "*West*," indicating on which side of the river it belonged. There must have been another on the other side, but it has never been found.

<sup>e</sup>Unknown place.

a commission. Every good thing<sup>a</sup> shall be done with them, but without allowing <sup>6</sup>a ship of the Negroes to pass by Heh<sup>b</sup> (*Hh*), going downstream, forever.

#### IV. THE SECOND SEMNEH STELA<sup>c</sup>

653. After the campaign of the eighth year, it was again necessary in the twelfth year to chastise the Nubians. Of this expedition only the meagerest record has reached us in an inscription<sup>d</sup> on the rocks at Assuan, of which, beside the date and the name of Sesostris III, we can read only the following: "*His majesty journeyed to overthrow Kush.*"

654. Already in the sixteenth year further disturbances in Kush again called the king thither, and this expedition is twice recorded: on the second Semneh stela; and on a duplicate found on the island of Uronarti, just below Semneh.<sup>e</sup> The duplicate contains in the first line, after the

<sup>a</sup>Read *yh·t*, "thing," the hieratic for which was mistaken by the copyist for *tw* (Erman).

<sup>b</sup>Modern Semneh (see Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 379), on the west side of the river, about thirty-seven miles above Wadi Halfa. Here and at Kummeh, on the eastern side, Sesostris III erected two fortresses for enforcing the blockade above decreed.

<sup>c</sup>Red granite stela set up on the west shore at Semneh in the temple in the fortress of Sesostris III (see § 640). It has had a remarkable history since its discovery by Lepsius in July, 1844. Broken into two pieces, the upper portion after packing, was forgotten by Lepsius' workmen, and with the "First Semneh Stela" (§§ 651 f.) was left in Semneh, so that only the lower portion of the "Second Stela" reached Berlin. Some forty years later (1886) the forgotten pieces were found by Insinger on the banks of the river, still in Lepsius' boxes. They were taken to Cairo, where they remained in the Gizeh (Bulak) collection for many years, but were at last secured by the Berlin Museum, and the two portions of the "Second Semneh Stela" were rejoined in 1899, after a separation of over fifty years (Berlin, No. 1157). Published by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, II, 136, *h*); I also had a copy from the original, kindly loaned me by Professor Erman.

<sup>d</sup>Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, XIII, 340. It has been omitted in de Morgan's *Catalogue des monuments*.

<sup>e</sup>It was discovered by Steindorff, Borchardt, and Schaefer in March, 1900. It is not yet published, and I collate the variants from a copy by Borchardt, cited in the note as U. An account of it, with a copy of the title, is given by Steindorff in *Berichte der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königlichen Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Juni, 1900, p. 233.

king's name, a variant of great historical importance, as follows: "*Stela made in the year 16, third month of the second season, when the fortress: 'Repulse-of-the-Troglodytes'*<sup>a</sup> *was built.*"

655. It was on this campaign, therefore, that the Uronarti fortress was built. The temple in the Semneh fortress was already built for a feast, likewise called "*Repulse-of-the-Troglodytes,*"<sup>b</sup> doubtless in commemoration of this victory, which was celebrated in it on the twenty-first of Pharmuthi, a month later. This feast continued to be celebrated in the Empire, and the enactments for offerings upon it, and the other feasts of this temple, were reinstated by Thutmose III (see II, 167 ff.).

656. The "Second Semneh Stela" is as follows:<sup>c</sup>

*Introduction*

<sup>1</sup>Live the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, <sup>2</sup>Sesostris III,<sup>d</sup> who is given life, stability, satisfaction forever.

*Boundary Established*

657. <sup>3</sup>Year 16, third month of the second season,<sup>e</sup> (occurred) his majesty's making the southern boundary as far as Heh<sup>e</sup> (*Hh*). <sup>4</sup>I

<sup>a</sup>This is certainly the name of the fortress on Uronarti; we could render: "*the fortress which repulses the T.,*" for which we have the parallel: "*the walls of the prince, made to repulse the Bedwin*" (§ 493); but the fact that a feast of Sesostris III, probably celebrating this victory, was also called "*Repulse-of-the-Troglodytes*" (II, 171), is clear evidence that we have here a name for the fortress. Moreover, another fortress of Sesostris III is mentioned in the same way in the inscription (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 151, c) of an officer of one of the first Sebekhoteps, cut on the neighboring rocks to record the height of the Nile (§§ 751, 752).

<sup>b</sup>There was another feast celebrating a similar victory in this temple, called "*Binding-of-the-Barbarians*" (see II, 171, l. 12), at which offerings were made to the queen, "*great king's-wife Merseger.*"

<sup>c</sup>The variants in the duplicate are chiefly of grammatical importance, but where they clear up the meaning, I have adduced them in the notes.

<sup>d</sup>Text has full titulary.

<sup>e</sup>This phrase is lacking in U; and in its place appears the statement above (§ 654) regarding the fortress.

have made my boundary beyond<sup>a</sup> (that) of my fathers; I have <sup>5</sup>increased that which was bequeathed to me.<sup>b</sup> I am a king who speaks and executes; that which my heart conceives <sup>6</sup>is that which comes to pass by my hand; (one who is) eager to possess, and <sup>7</sup>powerful to <sup>7</sup>—; not allowing<sup>c</sup> a matter to sleep in his heart . . . . . <sup>8</sup>. . . . . <sup>8</sup> attacking him who attacks<sup>1</sup>, silent in a matter,<sup>d</sup> or <sup>9</sup>answering a matter according to that which is in it; since, if one is silent after attack, it strengthens <sup>10</sup>the heart of the enemy. Valiance is eagerness, cowardice is to slink back; he is truly a craven <sup>11</sup>who is repelled upon his border; since the Negro hearkens <sup>12</sup>to<sup>1</sup> the <sup>12</sup>— of the mouth; <sup>12</sup>it is answering him which drives him back; when one is eager against him, he turns his back; when one slinks back, he begins to be eager. <sup>13</sup>But they are not a people of might, they are poor and broken<sup>e</sup> in heart. <sup>14</sup>My majesty has seen them; it is not an untruth.

*Plundering of Nubia*

**658.** I captured their women, I carried off<sup>15</sup> their subjects, went forth to their wells, smote their bulls; I reaped<sup>f</sup> their grain, and <sup>16</sup>set fire thereto. (I swear) as my father lives for me, I speak<sup>g</sup> in truth, without a lie<sup>h</sup> therein, <sup>17</sup>coming out of my mouth.

*Future Maintenance of Boundary*

**659.** Now, as for every son of mine who shall maintain this boundary, <sup>18</sup>which my majesty has made, he is my son, he is born to my

<sup>a</sup>Lit., “*in front of*,” which is to an Egyptian the same as “southward of.”

<sup>b</sup>At this point the narrative is interrupted by an encomium on himself by the king, which is in poetic parallelism, and in parts is unintelligible. It merges into satire on the Negroes, and continues to l. 14, where the narrative is resumed.

<sup>c</sup>U has *tm ssgr*, lit., “*not causing a matter to sleep*.”

<sup>d</sup>U has *gr mdi*.

<sup>e</sup>U has *sd·w* “*broken, pierced*,” heretofore known only in connection with a wall, an egg, or the like; it has nothing to do with “tails,” as rendered, Petrie, *History of Egypt*, I, 180.

<sup>f</sup>This word does not mean “destroy,” as so often rendered, but is used of gathering the harvest, the vintage, or even getting stone from a quarry, e. g., inscription of Uni (§ 323, l. 43). U has the finite form: *wh>·ny*, “*I reaped*.”

<sup>g</sup>U has “*I have spoken*” (*dd-ny*).

<sup>h</sup>U has: *hn ym n cbc*, in which we are to read *hn n cbc* together like *hn-n-mdwt*; *hn n* is a pleonastic phrase before nouns indicating speech (see Erman, *Glossar*, s. v.).



majesty, the likeness of a son who is the champion of his father, <sup>19</sup>who maintains the boundary of him that begat him, Now, as for him who shall relax it, and shall not fight <sup>20</sup>for it; he is not my son, he is not born to me.

*Royal Statue at Boundary*

660. Now, behold, my majesty caused a statue<sup>a</sup> <sup>21</sup>of my majesty to be made upon this boundary, which my majesty made; in<sup>b</sup> order that ye might prosper because of it, and in order that ye might fight for it.<sup>c</sup>

V. INSCRIPTION OF IKHERNOFRET<sup>d</sup>

661. The following commission of Ikhernofret to Abydos, of great interest and importance in many respects, is inserted here especially for its bearing on the Nubian wars of Sesostri III. It is not dated, but we are able to date it from another source with considerable probability. Ikhernofret was accompanied to Abydos by one of his officials, Sisatet;<sup>e</sup> each of the two men erected a stela there on this occasion, and that of Sisatet states that the visit was made "*when . . . . . Sesostri III journeyed to overthrow the wretched Kush, in the year 19.*" The gold taken from Kush (ll. 3, 4) was therefore probably captured in the campaign of the sixteenth year (§ 657). We have nowhere else any record of the campaign of the nineteenth year.

662. Ikhernofret narrates how he executed the king's commission, and adds a statement of the functions which

<sup>a</sup>No trace of this statue has ever been found.

<sup>b</sup>U has the proper genitive *n*.      <sup>c</sup>Or: "*upon it,*" the boundary.

<sup>d</sup>On his memorial tablet erected at Abydos; now in Berlin (No. 1204, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 90, 91); published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 135, *h*. It is in bad condition, and full of gaps. I had a copy made from the original, which Schaefer kindly placed at my disposal; it filled nearly all of the gaps in Lepsius' *Denkmäler*. Schaefer has since published it, with full translation and commentary, in Sethe's *Untersuchungen*, IV, but I have not yet seen it.

<sup>e</sup>§§ 671 ff.

he fulfilled at the feasts of Osiris and the celebration of the sacred drama, re-enacting incidents from the myth of the god. Among these duties, there is one of the greatest interest, viz., the conduct of Osiris "to his tomb before Peker." This is, of course, none other than the tomb of the hoary old King Zer, which already at this time was misunderstood as the tomb of Osiris.

*Introduction*

**663.** <sup>1</sup>Live the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khékure (Sesostri III),<sup>a</sup> who is given life forever and ever.

*Royal Letter; Introduction*

**664.** <sup>2</sup>Royal command to the hereditary prince, count, —, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, lord of the double gold-house, lord of the double silver-house, chief treasurer, Ikhernofret (*yy-hr-n/r' t*), revered:

*Commission to Abydos*

**665.** <sup>3</sup>"My majesty commands that thou shalt be sent up-river to Abydos,<sup>b</sup> to make monuments for my father Osiris, First of the West-erners, to adorn his secret place with the gold, <sup>4</sup>which he<sup>c</sup> caused my majesty to bring from Upper Nubia in victory and in triumph. Lo, thou shalt do this in <sup>5</sup>— for offering, in satisfying my father Osiris, since my majesty sendeth thee, my heart being certain of thy doing everything <sup>6</sup>according to the desire of my majesty; since thou hast been brought up in the teaching of my majesty; thou hast been in the training of my majesty, <sup>7</sup>and the sole teaching of my palace. My

<sup>a</sup>Full fivefold titular.

<sup>b</sup>The reference shows the royal residence was down-river, that is, northward from Abydos. An inscription of the king's sixth year, hitherto unnoticed, furnishes further indication of his interest in the Abydos temple. The mortuary stela of a certain Sebekhotep (British Museum, No. 257) after the usual prayer, states: "His majesty commanded to dispatch the servant (the deceased) to the crown possessions of Thinis of the South (*tp ršy*), to cleanse the temples. He did them; <sup>1</sup>cleansed<sup>1</sup> that they might be pure for the monthly feast, and clean for the half-monthly feast." At the top is the date.

<sup>c</sup>Probably Osiris.

majesty appointed thee —, while thou wast a young man (*hwn*) of 26 years. My majesty hath done this, <sup>8</sup>(because) I have seen thee to be one excellent in character (*sbr*), ready of tongue on coming forth from the body, and sufficient in speech. My majesty [sendeth]<sup>a</sup> thee <sup>9</sup>to do this, (since) my [majesty] has recognized that no one doing it possesses thy good qualities. Quickly go thou, and do thou according to all that my majesty has commanded.”

*Execution of the Commission*

666. <sup>10</sup>I did according to all that his majesty commanded, by adorning all that my lord commanded for his father, Osiris, First of the Westerners, lord of Abydos, great, mighty one residing in Thinis.

*Temple Monuments and Utensils*

667. <sup>11</sup>I acted as “Son, Whom He Loves,” for Osiris, First of the Westerners, I adorned the great — forever and ever. I made for him <sup>12a</sup>a portable shrine,<sup>b</sup> the “Bearer-of-Beauty” of the “First-of-the-Westerners,” of gold, silver, lazuli, fragrant woods, carob wood, and meru wood. (I) fashioned the gods <sup>13</sup>belonging to his divine ennead, (I) made their shrines anew.

*Priestly Duties*

668. I caused the lay priests to [know how] to do their duties, (I) caused them to know <sup>14</sup>the stipulation of every day, the feasts of the beginnings of the seasons. I superintended the work on the sacred barque (*nšm[˙t]*), I fashioned (its) chapel.<sup>c</sup> <sup>15</sup>I decked (*šhkr*) the body of the lord of Abydos with lazuli and malachite, electrum, and every costly stone, among <sup>16</sup>the ornaments of the limbs of a god. I dressed (*db˙*) the god in his regalia (*h˙w*) by virtue of my office as master of secret things, and of my duty as (*wtb˙*) priest. <sup>17</sup>I was pure-handed in decking the god, a (*sm-*) priest of clean fingers.

<sup>a</sup>Only the determinative of a verb of going or motion is preserved.

<sup>b</sup>*Knyw*.

<sup>c</sup>This word (*snlyy*, perhaps *snȳ˙t*, as on the Piankhi stela,) has a determinative exactly like the chapel or cabin in the determinative of *nšm˙t*.

*Osirian Festival Drama*

**669.** I celebrated the (feast of) "Going Forth" of Upwawet, when he proceeded to champion his father. <sup>18</sup>I repelled the foe from the sacred barque (*nšm·t*), I overthrew the enemies of Osiris. I celebrated the "Great-Going-Forth,"<sup>a</sup> following the god at his going. <sup>19</sup>I sailed the divine boat (*dp·t*) of Thoth upon ——. I equipped the barque (called): "Shining-in-Truth" of the lord of Abydos, with a chapel. <sup>20</sup>(I) put on his regalia when he went forth to — Peker; I led the way of the god to his tomb<sup>b</sup> before Peker; I <sup>21</sup>championed Wennofer at "That Day of the Great Conflict;" I slew all the enemies upon the [flats]<sup>c</sup> of Nedyt (*Ndy·t*). I conveyed him <sup>22</sup>into the barque (called): "The Great," when it bore his beauty; I gladdened the heart of the eastern highlands; I —ed the rejoicing in the western highlands. <sup>23</sup>When they saw the beauty of the sacred barge, as it landed at Abydos, they brought [Osiris, First of the Westerners, lord] of Abydos to his palace, and I followed the god into his house, <sup>24</sup>to attend to his —, when he [resumed] his seat. I loosed the knot in the midst of — — — — his [attendants], among his courtiers.

**670.** Below appear five of Ikhernofret's relatives, among them Sisatet, whose stela follows herein (§§ 671–73), Sitameni, the mother, is also mentioned, as she is likewise on the stela of Sisatet.<sup>d</sup>

VI. INSCRIPTION OF SISATET<sup>e</sup>

**671.** After a prayer for the benefit of Sisatet's father, Ameni, follows a long list of his near relatives, beginning

<sup>a</sup>This is the designation of a funeral procession "going forth" to the necropolis, as is evident from the description in Bergmann, *Hieroglyphische Inschriften*, VI, l. 12. It refers above to the funeral procession of Osiris in the drama.

<sup>b</sup>This is unquestionably the tomb of Zer, already in the Twelfth Dynasty mistaken for the tomb of Osiris.

<sup>c</sup>This is the word (*tsw*) used in Uni (§ 323, l. 45; see note) for "flats" or the like.

<sup>d</sup>Ikhernofret's mortuary stela, erected at Abydos on his death, is now in Cairo (Catalogue No. 20310). It contains nothing of historical importance.

<sup>e</sup>On his family mortuary stela, from Abydos, now in the Museum of Geneva; published by Maspero in *Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne*, II, 217–19, and again, Maspero, *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie*, III, 211–15. I had also my own copy of the original.

with his mother, Sitameni. The inscription of Sisetet then follows, giving the occasion of his visit to Abydos, during which, of course, he erected this stela to secure for his family the favors of Osiris in the next world. It is as follows:

672. Master of the double cabinet,<sup>a</sup> Sisetet; he saith: "I came to Abydos, together with the chief treasurer, Ikhernofret, to carve (a statue of) Osiris, lord of Abydos, when the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khekure (Sesostris III), living forever, journeyed, while overthrowing the wretched Kush, in the year 19."

673. Some nineteen years later, perhaps at Sisetet's death, his own memorial stela<sup>b</sup> was erected at Abydos. The inscription above begins:

"Year 1, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nematre (*N-m*<sup>d</sup>*t-R*<sup>c</sup>, Amenemhet III), living forever and ever. Stela which the master of the double cabinet of the office of the chief treasurer, Sisetet, made, in order that his name might endure at the stairway of the great god.

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#### HAMMAMAT INSCRIPTION<sup>c</sup>

674. The principal interest attaching to this inscription arises from the destination of the stone taken out, which is stated to be Ehnas Heracleopolis. The text is so barbarously cut that much is unintelligible:

675. <sup>1</sup>Year 14, fourth month of the first season, day 16, under the majesty of . . . . . <sup>2</sup> . . . . . the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khekure (Sesostris III), living forever and ever, <sup>3</sup>beloved of Min-Hor of Coptos. Behold, his majesty commanded to dispatch me to

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<sup>a</sup>His title on his own mortuary stela is: "*Master of the double cabinet of the office of the chief treasurer.*"

<sup>b</sup>Now in the Louvre (C 5); published by Gayet (*Sitèles*, VIII-IX, very inaccurate).

<sup>c</sup>Engraved on the rocks in the Wadi Hammamat; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 136, a.

<sup>4</sup>Hammamat, to bring a monument, which his majesty commanded to make <sup>5</sup>for Harsaphes (*Hr-š*), lord of Heracleopolis, for the sake of the life of <sup>6</sup>the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khekure, living forever and ever; being a beautiful block of <sup>7</sup>black basalt.<sup>a</sup> He sent me as foreman of the work, because I was valuable in the opinion of his majesty, a true leader <sup>1</sup>— <sup>1</sup>for his lord, smiting for him the four eastern countries,<sup>b</sup> bringing for him the good products of Tehenu, by the greatness of his majesty's fame; saying good things, and reporting pleasing things, at the utterances of whose mouth there is satisfaction; knowing the place of his —, free from lying, kind-hearted, void of <sup>1</sup>—, excellent in speech, — hearted, reporting to the king; one whose foot is firm, real king's-confidant, his beloved, his favorite, steward of the storehouse of the leader of works, Khui (*H<sup>c</sup>wy*) born of Hapi (*H<sup>2</sup>py*)."

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STELA OF SEBEK-KHU, CALLED ZAA<sup>c</sup>

**676.** This stela, as furnishing the only mention of an invasion of Syria by any Pharaoh of the Middle Kingdom, is of great importance. Sebek-khu, who states at the top of the stela that his other or "*beautiful name*" was Zaa (*d<sup>22</sup>*), gives a brief outline of his career on this mortuary stela which he erected at Abydos. He was born in the twenty-seventh year of Amenemhet II (l. 11), at whose death he was therefore five years old.

**677.** Of his life during the nineteen years' reign of Sesostris II he says nothing, but with the accession of Sesostris III, Sebek-khu, who was now twenty-four years old, was

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<sup>a</sup>This stone (*bhn*) is the same as the two obelisks in the British Museum (*Description*, V, 21, 22), which are stated by the inscription to be *bhn*. An examination, kindly made by Mr. Gardiner, shows that the obelisks are of the black basaltic rock of Hammamat.

<sup>b</sup>Compare the four countries in the inscription of Ameni, § 519, l. 7.

<sup>c</sup>A small limestone stela discovered at Abydos (Arábah) by Mr. John Garstang, and published by him (*El Arábah*, Quaritch, London, 1901, Pls. IV, V), with a translation by Newberry (*ibid.*, 32, 33); see also Müller, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, VI, 448, 449.

made an attendant of the king (l. 13), with six men under him (l. 14). He was presently promoted among the personal troops of the king as "*attendant* (lit., *follower*) of the ruler" (l. 14), and commanded sixty men on an expedition of the same king into Nubia. Which one of Sesostri III's Nubian campaigns (§§ 640-73) this was, it is impossible to say, but Sebek-khu's gallantry won him a promotion as a "*commander*" (*šḥd*) of the king's personal troops, with one hundred men under him.

678. His next expedition was against a region called Sekmem (*Skmm*) in Retenu, or Syria.<sup>a</sup> We are unfortunately unable to locate this Sekmem with certainty, but it could hardly have been very far northward.<sup>b</sup> A battle occurred here (l. 2), during which Sebek-khu commanded the reserves (l. 3). When finally his men mingled in the fight (l. 3) he personally captured a prisoner (l. 4), whom he delivers to two of his men, to be disarmed. Continuing the battle (l. 4), he is finally rewarded by the king with a rich gift of arms, as well as the weapons of his prisoner.<sup>c</sup> There is no evidence that this, the only Syrian campaign known under the Twelfth Dynasty, gained anything more than plunder for Sesostri III, or that any attempt was made to hold the territory of the conquered Sekmem.<sup>d</sup>

679. Sebek-khu now became "*commandant*" (*w<sup>c</sup>rtw*) of the (*residence*) city," the office which he held when he

<sup>a</sup>This campaign was so important in Sebek-khu's life that he places it at the beginning of his autobiography, though it chronologically belongs toward the end.

<sup>b</sup>Müller (*l. c.*) suggests Shechem, and would explain the second *m* as the plural ending of a nisbe, which is of course exceedingly doubtful.

<sup>c</sup>Compare the same gifts to brave officers of the Eighteenth Dynasty kings; this is the earliest example of the custom.

<sup>d</sup>This Syrian expedition is not likely to have been the only one made by this dynasty. The language of Sinuhe, exiled in Syria, just before Sebek-khu's time, shows that the power of the Pharaoh was known and feared there, this implies similar expeditions thither under the first kings of the dynasty.

erected this stela (ll. 7 and 10), some time before the death of Sesostris III. He doubtless, like so many officials visiting Abydos, erected the stela himself, hence it does not contain the end of his career. A number of years later, in the ninth year of Amenemhet III, when Sebek-khu could not have been less than sixty-six years old, he appears superintending the king's observations of the height of the inundation at the second cataract.<sup>a</sup> He then held the rank of "commandant<sup>1</sup> of the ruler," but of the end of his career we know nothing.

#### *Asiatic Campaign*

**680.** <sup>1</sup>His majesty proceeded northward, to overthrow the Asiatics (*Mntyw-Sṯt*). His majesty arrived at a district, Sekmem (*Škmm*)<sup>b</sup> was its name. <sup>2</sup>His majesty led the good way<sup>c</sup> in proceeding to the palace<sup>d</sup> of "Life, Prosperity, and Health," when Sekmem had fallen,<sup>e</sup> together with Retenu (*Rṯnw*) the wretched, <sup>3</sup>while I was acting as rear-guard.

#### *Sebek-khu's Valor*

**681.** Then the citizens<sup>f</sup> (*ḥnw*) of the army mixed in, to fight with the Asiatics (*ḥmw*). Then <sup>4</sup>I captured an Asiatic (*ḥm*), and had his weapons seized by two citizens (*ḥnw*) of the army, (for) one did not

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 136, b.

<sup>b</sup>Possibly *Škmm*.

<sup>c</sup>This idiom (*dy·j·tp·j·nfr*) is parallel with the similar one common in the Empire (*šp·tp·w·t·nfr·t*). It has no connection with *tp·nfr* "good conduct," an inseparable compound, into which *j* could not be inserted.

<sup>d</sup>The successful outcome of the adventure and the return home are indicated at the beginning, as is common in oriental narrative. Moreover, the following battle may have occurred on the return march.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., "Sekmem, it had fallen."

<sup>f</sup>These men (*ḥnw*) are of the class to which belong the men under Sebek-khu (who with the bodyguard is in the rear), as is shown by l. 4, where two of them are under his command. They now rush forward into action. (See also wild-cattle hunt of Amenhotep III, II, 864, and especially Decree of Harmhab, III, 51, 57, 59); they are always spoken of as "of the army."



turn back from the fight, (but) my face was to the front, and I gave not my back to the Asiatic (<sup>c</sup>m).<sup>a</sup>

*His Rewards*

682. As Sesostris lives, <sup>5</sup>I have spoken in truth. Then he gave to me a staff of electrum into my hand, a bow, and a dagger wrought with electrum, together with his<sup>b</sup> weapons.

*His Titles*

683. <sup>6</sup>The hereditary prince, count, firm of sandal, satisfied in going, treading the path of him that favors him, <sup>7</sup>whose plenty the Lord of the Two Lands has furnished, whose seat his love has advanced, the great <sup>1</sup>commandant<sup>1c</sup> of the (residence) city, Zaa (<sup>D</sup>ꜣ).

*His Tomb*

684. <sup>8</sup>He says: "I have made for myself this splendid tomb; its place is inserted at the stairway of <sup>9</sup>the great god, lord of life, presider over Abydos, at the bend: 'Lord-of-Offerings,' and at the bend: 'Mistress-of-Life';<sup>d</sup> <sup>1</sup>that I may<sup>1</sup> smell the incense <sup>10</sup>that comes forth from this — as the odor of the god."

*His Career; Birth*

685. The chief attendant of the (residence) city, Zaa; <sup>11</sup>he says: "I was born [in] the year 27 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebkure (Amenemhet II), triumphant.

*Commander of Six*

686. <sup>12</sup>The majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khekure (Sesostris III), triumphant, appeared with the double diadem upon the

<sup>a</sup>He means that as the fight kept on he was unable to disarm his prisoner, and therefore turned him over to two privates, while he himself continued fighting. There is also a touch of boasting in it, as it took two men to manage the prisoner he had captured alone.

<sup>b</sup>Those of the Asiatic whom he had captured.

<sup>c</sup>*W c rtw*. This uncertain title is shown to be, here at least, that of the officers of the king's personal troops; but the frequent defining additions show that it was a title of general meaning, like "chief," or "leader," (see Müller's useful note *Recueil*, IX, 173, 1).

<sup>d</sup>Evidently two promontories of the desert margin in the cemetery of Abydos.

Horus-throne of the living. <sup>13</sup>His majesty caused that I should render service as a warrior, behind and beside his majesty, with six men of <sup>14</sup>the court.

*Campaign in Nubia*

687. Then I made ready at his side, (and) his majesty caused that I be appointed to be an 'attendant of the ruler.' <sup>15</sup>I furnished<sup>a</sup> sixty men when his majesty proceeded southward to overthrow the <sup>16</sup>Troglodytes of Nubia. Then I captured a Negro in —<sup>b</sup> alongside my city.<sup>c</sup> <sup>17</sup>Then I proceeded northward, following with six<sup>d</sup> of the court; then he appointed (me) commander of the attendants, and gave to me 100 men<sup>e</sup> as a reward."

INSCRIPTIONS OF THUTHOTEP<sup>f</sup>

688. Thuthotep and his line were nomarchs of the Hare nome, the chief city of which was Khmunu (Hermopolis, Eshmunen) nearly opposite el-Bersheh, where the tombs of the family are located. Their immediate neighbors on the north were the princes of the Oryx nome, with whom they were probably related. Thuthotep's family was an ancient

<sup>a</sup>Or. "commanded sixty men (lit., heads)."

<sup>b</sup>Geographical, as shown by the determinative.

<sup>c</sup>It is inconceivable that Zaa's city should have been in Nubia. He probably means the city where he held command temporarily in Nubia.

<sup>d</sup>The original six of his command, the sixty during the Nubian campaign being a temporary command.

<sup>e</sup>Lit.: "heads."

<sup>f</sup>From his tomb at el-Bersheh. The scene of the transport of the colossus early drew attention to this tomb (discovered by English travelers in 1817), but beyond this scene very little in the el-Bersheh group was copied. After many years of neglect, during which they suffered lamentable mutilation, the tombs were exhaustively copied and surveyed by the Archaeological Survey of the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1891-92, and published in two volumes: *Bersheh*, I (Newberry and Fraser), *Bersheh*, II (Griffith, Newberry, and Fraser), London. This work has consulted and collated all the earlier publications. The scene of the transport will also be found: Rosellini, *Monumenti civili*, II, 48, 1; Wilkinson Birch, *Manners*, II, 305; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 134, 135; Chabas, *Mélanges égyptologiques*, III, Pl. V (long inscription only); and often in the later histories. See full account of literature and existing manuscripts in *Bersheh*, 5. ~^.

one, and regarded the hoary Sixth Dynasty princes, who were buried in the neighboring tombs of Shekh Sa<sup>c</sup>id, as their ancestors. Their interest in these remote predecessors of theirs was such that at least two of them repaired their ancestors' fallen tombs at Shekh Sa<sup>c</sup>id, and recorded the pious deed in the following words:<sup>a</sup>

689. He made (it) as his monument for his fathers, who are in the necropolis, the lords of this promontory; restoring what was found in ruin and renewing what was found decayed, the ancestors, who were before, not having done it. By the count, [marshal of the two thrones], superior prophet, overseer of the king's-house, governor of the South, great lord of the Hare nome, great in his office, great in his rank, of advanced position in the king's-house, Thutnakht, born of Teti.

690. It is, however, very difficult to trace back the earlier family.<sup>b</sup> The neighboring alabaster quarry of Hatnub contains a number of inscriptions (hieratic graffiti) recording the incessant activity of the family there, in which the princes frequently boast of their wealth and power. These records also show that the princes of the Hare nome were not merely provincial nobles, but that they sometimes held high offices under the king. Only one royal date, however (thirty-first year of Sesostris I), occurs in these quarry inscriptions; otherwise they are dated according to the year of the nomarchy, which is a striking indication of the inde-

<sup>a</sup>This inscription occurs four times in the tombs of Shekh Sa<sup>c</sup>id; three times with the name of Thutnakht (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 112, e, and 113, b, c); and once with the name of Ihe (Yh<sup>2</sup>) (*Bersheh*, II, 10), both of whom were themselves buried at el-Bersheh. See also Davies, *Shekh Said*, Pl. XXX, and cf. *ibid.*, Pl. XXIX. The same inscription occurred at least once at el-Bersheh also (*ibid.*, 11), showing the restoration of pre-Middle Kingdom tombs there also. At Kasr-es-Sayad there are also records of the restoration of Sixth Dynasty tombs by Twelfth Dynasty nobles (Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 216).

<sup>b</sup>The material from the tombs of el-Bersheh and the quarry of Hatnub has been carefully sifted in an interesting reconstruction of the family tree by Griffith *Bersheh*, II, 4-14. The following data have been taken thence.

pendence of these princes at some time, probably before the Twelfth Dynasty. Probably at least four generations lived during the Eleventh Dynasty. Two of these earlier princes say: "*I rescued my city in the day of violence from the [—] terrors of the royal house,*"<sup>a</sup> which may be a reference to the aggression of the Eleventh Dynasty as it pushed northward.

691. The tomb of Thuthotep is the only one at el-Bersheh, in which royal names have been preserved. It contains the names of Amenemhet II and Sesostris II and III, under whom Thuthotep lived. His appointment as prince of the Hare nome, in which he succeeded his grandfather, is referred to in the tomb as follows:<sup>b</sup>

692. His utterance before his father, that he might [establish] the name of him from whom he came forth. Are not these praises very great before my father and before my god, in that he appoints me chief of his city and great lord of the Hare nome, as successor of him who begat him? He was the staff of the old age of this<sup>c</sup> his father, and he hath appointed me as chief of his city.

693. His father calls upon the people to rejoice, and adds:

See this! which my lord has done for me; hear<sup>d</sup> this! which my

<sup>a</sup>Graffiti Nos. I and VIII. Blackden and Fraser, *Hatnub*, transliterated by Griffith, *Bersheh*, II, Pl. XXII.

<sup>b</sup>Inscription of the shrine, *Bersheh*, I, Pl. XXXIII (=Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 134), accompanying Thuthotep and his father Key, who stand facing each other; essentially Mr. Griffith's rendering (*ibid.*, II, 13).

<sup>c</sup>"*This his father*" is of course Key's father; the use of "*this*" implying that he was now deceased. His name was Nehri. Thus Nehri lived to a very advanced age, and Key was so old at his father's (Nehri's) death that he immediately resigned the succession to his own son. This would explain the succession from grandfather to grandson, in which Key seems to have the appointing power. The references to the father and son (Key and Thuthotep) as together deserving the praise of the people (§§ 700-704) are thus explained by the fact that Key survived his son Thuthotep's accession.

<sup>d</sup>*Sgm*, not *hsb* "*reckon*" (as in the Survey notes).

god has done for me, in that he hath appointed my son as chief of his city, great lord of the Hare nome, as successor of him that begat me.<sup>a</sup>

694. The well-known scene of the transport of the colossus has made the tomb famous. The only other inscriptions of historical importance are those connected with this scene. They throw much light upon the power and organization of the government in a Middle Kingdom nomarchy, and, of course, the whole scene is of unusual archæological interest.

695. The quarries from which the great block for the statue was cut are located ten miles from the river in the desert back of el-Amarna.<sup>b</sup> The difficult road from the quarries over the desert, down the cliffs, and across the plain to the river at the modern village of Hagg-Kandîl, had been in use since the days of Khufu, and Uni had transported stone upon it (§ 323). Along this road the block was transported to the river,<sup>c</sup> and then floated down-stream to Hermopolis-Eshmunen, where the statue was sculptured.

<sup>a</sup>"*Him that begat me*" is the grandfather Nehri. He may be the same Nehri who was the father of Khnumhotep II.

<sup>b</sup>They were first seen by Mr. Newberry, who was taken there by natives in 1891. Excellent map by Petrie (*Amarna*, XXXIV) and very useful description (*ibid.*, 3, 4); also by Fraser (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, XVI, 73 ff.). They contain numerous graffiti published by Blackden and Fraser (*Collection of Hieratic Graffiti from the Alabaster Quarries of Hatnub*).

<sup>c</sup>That the statue would be sculptured in the desert quarry, nearly a day's journey from water and supplies, then to run the risk of the long and dangerous transportation to Eshmunen, as is usually supposed, is *a priori* exceedingly improbable. The inscription is also clearly against this supposition. The scene depicts the arrival of the statue at its destination, and naturally the inscription begins with that event, which it describes in six lines. Then (l. 6) it reverts to the work of getting the stone from the quarry, and says distinctly that on leaving the quarry the statue was "*a squared block*." After this the ships for the river transport are referred to, and then Thuthotep mentions his arrival "*in the district of this city*" (doubtless Eshmunen). Similarly the statue of Amenhotep III, now lying unfinished at the Assuan quarry, was merely roughed out to reduce its weight for transportation (de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 62 f.).

It was then conveyed to its destination, some building<sup>a</sup> in the city where it was permanently deposited. This event is depicted with great detail in the famous scene of the transportation. Behind the statue march the “*foremen of the work on this statue*” and other officials, who are followed by Thutotep himself; accompanied by the following inscription:

**696.** <sup>1</sup>Following a statue of 13 cubits,<sup>b</sup> of stone of Hatnub. Lo, the way, upon which it came, was very difficult, beyond anything. Lo, <sup>2</sup>the dragging of the great things upon it was difficult for the heart of the people, because of the difficult stone of the ground,<sup>c</sup> being hard stone.

**697.** I caused <sup>3</sup>the youth, the young men of the recruits to come, in order to make for it (the statue) a road, together with shifts of necropolis-miners and of quarrymen, the foremen and the wise. The people of strength said: “We come to bring it;”<sup>d</sup> while my heart was glad; the city was gathered together rejoicing; very good it was to see <sup>5</sup>beyond everything. The old man among them, he leaned upon the child; the strong-armed together with the tremblers, their courage rose. <sup>6</sup>Their arms grew strong; one of them put forth the strength of 1,000 men.

**698.** Behold, this statue, being a squared block on coming forth from the great mountain,<sup>e</sup> was <sup>7</sup>more valuable than anything. Vessels were equipped, filled with supplies, <sup>8</sup>in advance<sup>1</sup> of my army of recruits, the youth <sup>9</sup>bore <sup>10</sup>— in advance of<sup>1</sup> it. Their words were laudation, and my praises from the king. My children <sup>11</sup>— adorned were behind me.

<sup>a</sup>Perhaps the “*house of the ka*” (*h't-k*), which appears as part of the temple at Siut and at Benihasan. See also the contracts of Hepzefi (§ 535 ff.) for the services and ceremonies due to such statues.

<sup>b</sup>Over 22 feet, indicating the height. It would weigh toward 60 tons, and is the largest alabaster statue known. The immense alabaster statue of Amon found in 1899 by Legrain at Karnak may have been nearly as large.

<sup>c</sup>The stony ground through which the road passed; such stone would be alabaster at the quarry, and limestone afterward. *Rwd't* (“*hard stone*”) is applied to the stone of Hatnub also in Uni (§ 323, l. 42); it is later “*sandstone*.”

<sup>d</sup>Another possible rendering is: “. . . *the foremen, and the wise; saying: 'O people of strength, come to me to bring it.'*”

<sup>e</sup>This is a reference to the crude block which was brought from the quarry.

My nome shouted praise. I arrived in the district of this city, <sup>10</sup>the people were gathered together, praising; very good it was to see, beyond everything. The counts who were of old; the judge and local governor who were appointed for <sup>11</sup>— in this city, and established for the [—] upon the river, their hearts had not thought of this which I had done, [in that I made] for myself <sup>12</sup>— established for eternity, after that this my tomb was complete<sup>a</sup> in its everlasting work.

699. The statue is drawn by 172 men in four double rows,<sup>b</sup> manning four ropes. The middle two rows consist of the priests and the soldiers; the outside two, of the youths from the two banks of the river.<sup>c</sup> Each row is accompanied by an inscription as follows:

*First Row*

700. The<sup>d</sup> youths of the west of the Hare nome come in peace. Utterance: "The west is in festivity, their hearts are glad, when they see the monuments of their lords, the heir who comes in their midst, his house and the house of his father when he was a child. — — —."

*Second Row*

701. The youths of the warriors of the Hare nome arrive in peace. Utterance of the recruits of the youths whom their lord mustered, the heir who prospers in the favor of the king, the lord: "Let us come, let us prosper his children after him! Our hearts are glad at the favor of the king who abides permanently."

<sup>a</sup>The text is poetic and has, lit., "*had rested from its everlasting work.*" Thuthotep means that after the work on his tomb was complete, he had the great statue made for it, and that his ancestors had never conceived such a great enterprise.

<sup>b</sup>A man, standing on the knees of the statue, beats time for the men at the ropes. He has the inscription: "*Beating time for the soldiers by the [foreman] [of] Thuthotep, beloved of the king.*" Before him is a man offering incense, whom the inscription calls the artist of this tomb. Beneath are men of the "*estate*" "*carrying water,*" and with them workmen "*carrying planks for the dragging.*" For further details, see the *Archæological Survey* volumes.

<sup>c</sup>On the social relations of these men, see Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, II, 24, 25.

<sup>d</sup>From above.

*Third Row*

**702.** The courses of the priests of the Hare nome come in peace. Utterance: "He whom Thoth loves, Thuthotep, beloved of the king, he whom his city loves, whom all its gods praise; the temples are in festivity; their hearts are glad, when they see thy favor with the king."

*Fourth Row*

**703.** The youths of the east of the Hare nome come in peace. Utterance: "My lord hath proceeded to Thereti (*Trty*), the god rejoices over him; his fathers are in festivity, their hearts are glad, rejoicing over his beautiful monuments."

**704.** Over the men at the ropes are platoons of youths bearing (palm?) branches; inscription:

The Hare nome is in festivity, its heart is glad; its old men are children, its youths are refreshed, its children jubilate; their heart is in festivity, when they see their lord, the son of their lord as a favor of the king, making his monument.

**705.** In advance of all these, oxen are being slaughtered, and rows of servants approach laden with offerings; inscription:

Bringing forward the chief offerings which the districts that are in the Hare nome have brought, for this statue of the count, Thuthotep.<sup>a</sup>

**706.** A doorway appears behind these people, which is intended to be the entrance of the building for which the statue is destined. It bears the name and titles of Thuthotep and the name of the building itself: "*The love of Thuthotep abides in the Hare nome.*"<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>This inscription clearly settles whose the statue is, and there is no ground for the supposition that it was a statue of the king.

<sup>b</sup>In the doorway at one side appears the figure of Thuthotep standing with staff. This is the usual figure, cut on the thickness of the doorway, which is here swung out, as it were, like a door, that it may be seen.



HAMMAMAT INSCRIPTIONS<sup>a</sup>

**707.** Already in his second year Amenemhet III carried on work at Hammamat, under an officer named Amenemhet. His inscription<sup>b</sup> is dated: *Year 2, third month of the first season, day 1*, and is followed by ten lines of self-praise, in which we find the only phrases of historical value: “*smiting the Negro, opening the land of the Asiatic*” (l. 7). His titles occupy two lines (ll. 11, 12): “*commander of troops (mnjy't), commander (shḏ) of followers, Amenemhet, son of Ibeb (Ybb), triumphant; his father was Aabu (c<sup>3</sup>bw).*” At the end there is only the following meager record of one line: “*I came to this highland in safety with my army by the power of Min, lord of the highlands.*” Exactly a year and two days later four officers recorded the date and their names.<sup>c</sup> The chief expedition was in the nineteenth year, of which we have three records. The material taken out was intended for a place or building called Enekh-Amenemhet, “*Life of Amenemhet.*” We naturally think of his pyramid-temple at Hawara. The first record,<sup>d</sup> is as follows:

**708.** <sup>1</sup>Year 19, first month of the second season, [day] 15; <sup>2</sup>the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offering, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nematre (Amenemhet III), who is given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever.

**709.** <sup>3</sup>His majesty sent to bring for him(self) monuments from <sup>4</sup>the valley of Hammamat, of beautiful black (basaltic) stone<sup>e</sup> as <sup>5</sup>far as “Enekh-Amenemhet,”<sup>f</sup> living forever and ever; at <sup>6</sup>the house of Sebek, of Crocodilopolis:<sup>g</sup> 10 statues of 5 cubits,<sup>h</sup> upon a throne,

<sup>a</sup>Besides the publications I had also for these inscriptions a collation of the Berlin squeezes, kindly furnished by Mr. Alan Gardiner.

<sup>b</sup>Cut on the rocks in Wadi Hammamat; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 138, *a*.

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 138, *b*.

<sup>e</sup>See § 675, note.

<sup>d</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 138, *e*.

<sup>f</sup>See above, § 707.

<sup>g</sup>An adjective (*nisbe*) belonging to Sebek; it does not necessarily show that the temple was in Crocodilopolis.

<sup>h</sup>Five cubits high (8½ feet) when seated.

<sup>7</sup>quarried in this year by the real "beloved of his lord" . . . . .<sup>a</sup>  
the overseer of the 1-1 (gs) of the miners, Sesostris.

710. Another official<sup>b</sup> has left a record<sup>c</sup> of the same expedition, in which he also refers to the "10 statues of 5 (cubits)."<sup>d</sup> He also adds the numbers of the men in the expedition: "His soldiers of the necropolis, 20; quarrymen, 30; sailors, 30; a numerous army, 2,000."<sup>e</sup>

711. Still another officer<sup>f</sup> dates an inscription<sup>g</sup> in the nineteenth year of Amenemhet III, which doubtless refers to the same expedition. The date occupies one line, the usual phrases in eulogy of self thirteen lines, and the following record is in the last line: "He came to this inaccessible highland of Hammamat, on a commission of Horus, lord of the palace (the king), to bring a monument for his majesty."

712. The latest and only other record<sup>h</sup> is dated: Year 20, third month of the first season, day 13.

## INSCRIPTIONS IN SINAI

### I. WADI MAGHARA

713. The earliest inscription of Amenemhet III in the peninsula of Sinai, is that of Khenemsu<sup>i</sup> in the Wadi Maghara. It is as follows:

<sup>a</sup>The usual encomium of self, made up of obscure phrases.

<sup>b</sup>His name is uncertain, but may have been "Meri's son, Hu (Ḥw)" according to l. 8.

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 138, c = Golénischeff, *Hammamat*, IX, No. 1. It is very obscure and uncertain, but seems to refer to difficulties in getting out the blocks for the ten statues.

<sup>d</sup>He omits the word "cubits," l. 13.

<sup>e</sup>Lines 14, 15.

<sup>f</sup>His name is likewise uncertain (it is at the beginning of l. 14).

<sup>g</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 138, d = Golénischeff, *Hammamat*, IX, No. 2.

<sup>h</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 138 f.

<sup>i</sup>Cut on the rocks in the Wadi Maghara; published by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 689 = Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica*, XII = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 137, c = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1492 = Laval, *Voyage dans la Péninsule Arabique*,

*Inscriptions of Khenemsu*

Year 2 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nematre (*N-m<sup>ḥ</sup>c-t-R*), Son of Re, Amenemhet (III), living forever and ever. The treasurer of the god, master of the double cabinet, chief of the treasury, Khentkhetihotep-Khenemsu was dispatched, in order to bring malachite and copper. List of his soldiers: 734.

714. Below stands the king before Thoth and Hathor, and three petty officers have appended a mortuary prayer at the bottom.

715. Khenemsu's expedition (§§ 713, 714) also operated in Sarbût el-Khadem in the same year,<sup>a</sup> and his officers have left their names on the rocks, surmounted by the date and a relief showing Amenemhet III before "*Hathor, mistress of the malachite country.*"<sup>b</sup>

716. Below<sup>c</sup> are the figures of four officers accompanied by their names:

1. Treasurer of the god, master of the double cabinet, chief of the treasury, Khenemsu.
2. Deputy of the chief treasurer, Ameniseneb.
3. —seneb, son of Stira (*Sty-r<sup>ḥ</sup>*) —————.
4. Master of the double cabinet of the treasury, Sebeko, son of Metenu.

*Inscription of Harnakht*

717. The following inscription<sup>d</sup> of Harnakht, a subordinate treasury official, evidently connected with the preceding

Pl. 5, No. 2 = Weill, *Sinai*, 129; see last for British Museum squeeze and manuscript sources. An official of the same expedition named Sesostri-Seneb dates a prayer on the rocks in the year 2 (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1487); Weill, *Sinai*, 131, 132. Below is a list of his workmen (*l. c.*).

<sup>a</sup>Another inscription at Sarbût el-Khadem, of the year 20, shows only the date (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 137).

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 137, a.

<sup>c</sup>Back of the king stood the chief treasurer, but his figure is now gone, and only a portion of his titles is still visible.

<sup>d</sup>Wadi Maghara; published by Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1488; better by Spiegelberg, after squeeze by Euringer, *Recueil*, 21, 51; and Weill, *Sinai*, 134.

expedition, is of especial interest as showing that the journey to Wadi Maghara was made by water. Even if the customary point of departure was at the extreme north end of the Gulf of Suez, a wearisome desert journey in Sinai was thus avoided.

**718.** Year 2 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nematre (Amenemhet III), living forever. The chosen before his subjects, who treads the path of his benefactor, (says): "I crossed over the sea, bearing luxuries<sup>a</sup> (*špšš*), by commission of Horus, lord of the palace (Pharaoh)." Official of the treasury (*yry-<sup>c</sup>t-n-pr-ḥd*), chief fowler,<sup>b</sup> Harnakht (*Ḥr-nḥt*); his beautiful name, Harnetamehu (*Ḥr-n-t<sup>2</sup>-mḥw*).

*Inscription of Sebekdidi*

**719.** An inscription of the year 41<sup>c</sup> records an expedition in the Wadi Maghara, which was conducted by a palace official named Sebekdidi-Ranefseneb. It reads:

Year 41 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Nematre (*N-m<sup>2</sup>-<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup>*, Amenemhet III), given life, like Re, forever.

**720.** The real king's-confidant, his beloved, his favorite, conductor of the palace, Sebekdidi-Ranefseneb. May Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, and Hathor,<sup>d</sup> mistress of the malachite country, love him who shall say: "An offering which the king gives for the ka of the treasurer, the assistant of the chief treasurer, Sesostris — (*S[n]-Wsr't* ———).

Below is a short list of subordinate officers.

<sup>a</sup>The connection would indicate that these were offerings from the Pharaoh to be presented to the local Hathor; although *špšš.w* are frequently the costly stones of Sinai.

<sup>b</sup>This not uncommon title (*ḥb-<sup>c</sup>*, with determinative of a goose), has been strangely misunderstood in the last two editions of the text.

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 137 f. = *Ordnance Survey*, III, Pl. 3 = Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica* XII; Weill, *Sinai*, 137, 138. A short inscription of the year 30 is in Weill, *Sinai*, 135; it is without historical content beyond the statement of the official: "I worked (*yry'ny*) the gmy and the malachite therein."

<sup>d</sup>Misread by Weill.

*Inscription of Ameni*

721. In the year 42 there was evidently an important expedition in the Wadi Maghara, for which the following meager record is our only source:<sup>a</sup>

Year 42, under the majesty of the king, Lord of the Two Lands, Nematre (Amenemhet III), living forever, [beloved]<sup>b</sup> of Hathor, mistress of the malachite country.

722. The master of the double cabinet, chief of the White House (*wr pr ḥd*), Ameni, triumphant, beloved of Hathor, mistress of the malachite country.

The treasurer,<sup>c</sup> assistant of the chief treasurer, Sesostris—seneb-Sebekkhi, favorite of Hathor, mistress of the malachite country, of Soped, lord of the east, of Snefru,<sup>d</sup> lord of the highlands, and of the gods and goddesses who are in this land.

723. There were made for Hathor, all beautiful (mine)-chambers.

May he be beloved and arrive in safety who shall say: "An offering which the king gives for the ka of the treasurer, the assistant of the chief treasurer, Sebekhotep, beloved of Hathor, mistress of the malachite country; the storeroom-keeper, Yatu (*y<sup>2</sup>-tw*); — — — mmu (*— mmw*); the chief of the house of Pharaoh, Senebtefi; and 20<sup>e</sup> (+*x*) quarrymen ————.

Another expedition left a short inscription in the year 43.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 690 = Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica*, XII = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 137, *g* = *Ordnance Survey*, III, Pl. 3 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1490 (inaccurate) = Weill, *Sinai*, 140, with full literature. There is another inscription of the same year at this place, but only the date, king's name, and epitheta, with two signs at the top of each of three lost vertical lines, are preserved.

<sup>b</sup>Omitted by the scribe; see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 137, *h*.

<sup>c</sup>It is clear that this official, who has attached the longest blessing to his name, was the personal leader of the expedition.

<sup>d</sup>Snefru as a god of Sinai. His name is here in a cartouche (with Horus-hawk as determinative); he appears in the same way with Soped, and Hathor in an inscription of Amenemhet III's sixth year (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1491, No. 9).

<sup>e</sup>Not more than thirty; a list of subordinate workmen followed, but it is now broken off.

<sup>f</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 137, *i* = Weill, *Sinai*, 142.

## II. SARBÛT EL-KHADEM

724. Amenemhet III began work here as early as the year 2,<sup>a</sup> and dated inscriptions of the years 20,<sup>b</sup> 30,<sup>b</sup> and 38<sup>c</sup> indicate its continuance, although they are without historical content, and show only the date and the king's name.

*Inscription of Sebek-hir-hab*

725. In the year 44, however, the king opened a new mine, and Sebek-hir-hab, the official in command, has left a record of the event there, which he had engraved in the form of a stela,<sup>d</sup> on the walls of the reservoir furnishing the water-supply of the expedition. The place of the stela indicates some connection between the expedition of Sebek-hir-hab and the completion of the reservoir.

Opening of the mining chamber<sup>e</sup> successfully; "Flourish-its-Army-Which-Delivers-That-Which-is-in-it," is its name.

Year 44 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, . . . . . Amenemhet III, beloved of Hathor, mistress of malachite, given life, like Re, forever. O ye who live upon earth, who shall come to this Mine-land! As your king has established you, as your gods favor you, that ye may arrive (at home) in safety, so say ye: "A thousand loaves, jars of beer, cattle, fowl, incense, ointment, and everything on which the gods live, for the ka of the master of the double cabinet of

<sup>a</sup>List of his officials in that year (perhaps the same expedition recorded in Wadi Maghara in that year, § 713), in Weill, *Sinai*, 163.

<sup>b</sup>Weill, *Sinai*, 164.

<sup>c</sup>*Ibid.*, 165.

<sup>d</sup>Copied by Ricci, and from his copy, by Champollion, as published in *Notices descriptives*, II, 691. Birch says of it: "Tablet engraved on the rock inside of the large reservoir, which is one mile due south of the Sarbût el Khadem" (*Ordinance Survey*, I, 183, 184). Published much better, from British Museum squeezes, by Weill, *Sinai*, 166.

<sup>e</sup>The word used (*ht' t*) is the usual one for a quarrying or mining excavation; but as the inscription is cut on the wall of an excavated reservoir, it might be the reservoir which is here meant. Against this is the name of the excavation, which refers to its valuable content. Hence some new mine in the vicinity is probably meant.

the treasury, Sebek-hir-hab (*Sbk-hr-hb*), living again happily, repeating a happy life (*whm<sup>c</sup> nh<sup>c</sup> njr*), born of the matron Henut (*Hnwt*), triumphant."

726. Master of the double cabinet, Sebek-hir-hab; he says: "I excavated a mine-chamber for my lord, and my youths returned<sup>a</sup> in full quota, all of them. There was none that fell among them."

This official, he says: "O ye king's-grandeess, companions of the palace! Give praise to the king, exalt [his] fame, laud the king, and watch that which belongs to him. The mountains bring forth what is in them ——— and the hills bear their wealth.<sup>b</sup> His father Keb,<sup>c</sup> he gives it, because of —.

727. Sebek-hir-hab then closes with an account of his offerings to Hathor:

I brought for her offering-tables of mesnet stone, linen (*pk<sup>2</sup>·t*)  
 ——— I presented to her divine offerings, bulls, 'fowl' ———.  
 She 'led' me 'in' by her gracious going '—' ——— to the — terrace,  
 which I made for her. I swear, I have spoken in truth.

*Inscription of Ptahwer*

728. The last dated inscription<sup>d</sup> of Amenemhet III at the Sarbût el-Khadem is of the year 45, and it reads as follows:

Year 45 under the majesty of the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Nematre (Amenemhet III), given life forever, beloved of Hathor.

['I was one sent<sup>1</sup>] to bring plentiful — from the land of —,<sup>e</sup> ready in his reports to his lord, [delivering] Asia (*Sit*) to him who is in the palace (the Pharaoh), bringing Sinai (*Mntw*) at his heels, traversing inaccessible valleys, bringing unknown extremities (of the world), the master of the double cabinet, chief of the treasury, Ptahwer, triumphant, born of Yata (*Y<sup>2</sup>-t<sup>2</sup>*).

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "came."

<sup>b</sup>Similar phrases, Weill, *Sinai*, 178, and again, 179.

<sup>c</sup>The earth-god. A similar idea is found in the Kubbân Stela (III, 288, ll. 17, 18).

<sup>d</sup>Weill, *Sinai*, 168.

<sup>e</sup>Lost name ending in *kwy*.

729. An undated inscription<sup>a</sup> of this reign records the opening of a mine called "*Vision-of-the-Beauty-of-Hathor*;" and another<sup>b</sup> contained a memorandum of a month's supplies delivered: "1 measure of grain, 23 large and small cattle, 2 w<sup>3</sup>d-fowl, 30 mny't-geese," followed by a list of six petty officials.

*Inscription of Amenemhet<sup>c</sup>*

730. The king who dispatched this officer to the Sarbût el-Khadem, where his inscription is engraved, is not mentioned, but as the officer's name is Amenemhet, he certainly belongs under a Twelfth Dynasty Pharaoh. The reference to Snefru is of interest, and, besides this, it is evident that Amenemhet worked somewhere else, evidently Maghara, before going to Sarbût el-Khadem. This conclusion is corroborated by the same thing observable in the expedition of Harurre (§§ 733-38).

*Work in Wadi Maghara (?)*

731. This god dispatched the treasurer of the god, the master of the double cabinet, leader of recruits, companion of the palace, Amenemhet, to bring splendid, costly stone for his majesty. This treasurer of the god says: "I came to the mine of Ka<sup>d</sup> (*K<sup>3</sup>*); I exacted the impost (*bkw*), I attended to the levying of the impost of malachite, being 1—<sup>10</sup> for 1 every<sup>1</sup> 5<sup>f</sup> men every day correctly 1— — 1. Never had the like been done since the time of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Snefru, triumphant.

<sup>a</sup>Weill, *Sinai*, 169.

<sup>b</sup>*Ibid.*, 170.

<sup>c</sup>Niebuhr, *Reisen nach Arabien*, I, Tab. XLV; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 144, 9 = Laval, Pl. IV, 5; mentioned by Birch, *Ordnance Survey*, I, 185, but is not among the photographs of the Survey.

<sup>d</sup>The name of the man in charge, who was evidently responsible for a fixed amount each season.

<sup>e</sup>Here was evidently the amount exacted from each gang of men daily.

<sup>f</sup>Or possibly 15.



*Work in Sarbût el-Khadem*

732. Then I arrived at this land,<sup>a</sup> and I completed the work successfully. The might of the king ————. It is a 'command' of his majesty ————.

*Inscription of Harurre<sup>b</sup>*

733. This interesting stela is unfortunately not dated, but it is unquestionably of the Middle Kingdom, and is here provisionally placed in the reign of Amenemhet III. It is of importance because it shows that expeditions were not customarily sent to Sinai in summer. Harurre, treasurer of the god, in the service of an unknown king, erected our stela to inform future generations, who might come in the same unfavorable time of year, that he had survived the heat, when "*the mountains brand the skin*," and had brought more than the amount of ore exacted of him. He arrived at Maghara in the seventh month; then later transferring his force to Sarbût el-Khadem,<sup>c</sup> he completed the work in the ninth month. These two months of the civil calendar fell in summer, thus corroborating the place of the calendar furnished by the Kahun Sothis date.

734. The language of the monument is in a number of places very obscure and difficult, chiefly in the speeches, so that the general sense of the whole document is fortunately not in doubt. The remarkable use of the word *ynm* "*skin*," which appears four times—three times with a meaning

<sup>a</sup>That is Sarbût el-Khadem; the malachite mine was therefore in another locality, which he had first visited.

<sup>b</sup>Stela in Sarbût el-Khadem (Niebuhr, *Reisen nach Arabien* [4to, Kopenhagen, 1778], Tab. XLV; Laval, IX, 2; *Ordnance Survey*, III, 10 [photograph]; Weill, *Sinai*, 174, after manuscript copy by Burton, and squeeze in British Museum). I had also a photograph by Borchardt, which gives more in the last line than Weill.

<sup>c</sup>The sudden statement that he "*arrived in this land*" (Sarbût) long after the account of his arrival in Sinai, can be explained in this way only. The same thing is observable in the inscription of Amenemhet (§§ 730-32).

evidently quite unusual—is noteworthy. What its meaning may be is not evident. I have not burdened the translation with conjectures in any of the questionable passages.

*Work in Maghara (?)*

**735.** <sup>1</sup>The majesty of this god dispatched the treasurer of the god, master of the double cabinet ꜥ—ꜥ, Harurre (*Hr-ꜥwr-Rꜥ*) <sup>2</sup>to this Mine-land (*Byꜥ*); I arrived in this land in the third month of the second season (*prꜥt*), although it was not the season for going <sup>3</sup>to this Mine-land.

**736.** This treasurer of the god saith to the officials who shall come to this Mine-land at this season:<sup>a</sup> <sup>4</sup>“Let not your faces flinch on that account;<sup>b</sup> behold, Hathor will turn it <sup>5</sup>to profit. I looked to myself, and I dealt<sup>c</sup> with myself; when I came from Egypt, <sup>6</sup>my face flinched, and it was hard for me ꜥ—<sup>d</sup> — —ꜥ. The highlands are hot <sup>7</sup>in summer, and the mountains brand the skin ꜥ—ꜥ. When morning dawns, <sup>8</sup>a man is ꜥ— —ꜥ. I addressed the workmen concerning it: <sup>9</sup>“How favored is he who is in this Mine-land!” They said: “There is malachite <sup>10</sup>in this eternal mountain; it is ꜥ—<sup>11</sup>ꜥ to seek (it) at this season.<sup>e</sup> <sup>12</sup>One like us hears the like of (such) marvels,<sup>f</sup> coming at this season. It is ꜥ—<sup>13</sup>ꜥ <sup>14</sup>to ꜥ—ꜥ for it in this evil summer-season.”

*Work in Sarbūt el-Khadem*

**737.** Now, when <sup>15</sup>I was dispatched to this Mine-land; the souls of the king put it in my heart. <sup>16</sup>Then I arrived in this land, and I began the work prosperously. <sup>17</sup>My army arrived in full quota, all of it, there was none that fell among them. My face flinched not <sup>18</sup>before the work.

<sup>a</sup>Viz., the hot season.

<sup>b</sup>Viz., because they have come in the wrong season.

<sup>c</sup>Lit., “*did something with myself*,” probably meaning: “I struggled with myself.”

<sup>d</sup>*Ynm* (with the sign of a skin); but it evidently is here a folk-etymology for something quite different from “*skin*,” the usual meaning of the word.

<sup>e</sup>Summer time.

<sup>f</sup>Or: “*Our hearing is like a marvel, etc.*”

738. I succeeded in mining the good sort,<sup>a</sup> and I finished in the first month <sup>17</sup>of the third season (*šmw*). I brought genuine costly stone for the luxuries, more than <sup>18</sup>any one who came (hither), and (more than) all the exactions [— — — <sup>19</sup>— — —]. It was better than the accustomed seasons thereof. Offer ye, <sup>20</sup>offer ye to the mistress of heaven, appease ye Hathor; if ye do it, it will be profitable <sup>21</sup>for you. If ye increase to her, it shall be well among you. <sup>22</sup>I led my army very kindly, and I was not loud-voiced <sup>23</sup>toward the workmen. I acted before all the army and the recruits, <sup>24</sup>and they rejoiced in me, — official <sup>25</sup>———. <sup>b</sup>

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TURRA INSCRIPTION<sup>c</sup>

739. At the top is the date: “*Year 43,*”<sup>d</sup> beneath which, with accompanying names of Ptah, Anubis, and Hathor, is the name of the king: “*Son of Re, Amenemhet;*” this must be the third, for no other Amenemhet ruled so long.

740. <sup>1</sup>Quarry-chambers were opened anew,<sup>e</sup> to quarry<sup>2</sup> fine limestone of Ayan (*ʿyn*), for the temples of <sup>1</sup>this prophet,<sup>f</sup> of millions <sup>3</sup>of years. Executed under the hand of the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal [seal], sole companion <sup>4</sup>———<sup>g</sup> <sup>5</sup>———.

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<sup>a</sup>The same statement is found in two other inscriptions at Sarbūt el-Khadem (Weill, *Sinai*, 179 and 180).

<sup>b</sup>Possibly one more line lost.

<sup>c</sup>Cut in the walls of the quarry at Turra; published by Vyse (*Operations*, III, opp. p. 94) and Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, II, 143, *i*).

<sup>d</sup>Omitted by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*.

<sup>e</sup>The *n* after *m-w* *t* is an error for the book-roll; cf. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 3, *a*.

<sup>f</sup>This remarkable phrase (quite clear in both texts) designates the king, for in the Turra inscription of Ahmose (II, 26 ff.) we have “*his* (the king’s) *temples*” as a parallel; but this is so unusual that an error in the text is more probable, possibly for “*this god?*”

<sup>g</sup>The name of the official is lost. Cf. the similar inscription of Ahmose (II, 26 ff.) at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. They are so similar that one cannot imagine the usually accepted lapse of one thousand years between them.

EL KAB STELA<sup>a</sup>

741. If the “*Wall of Seshmu-towe*” is a designation of the stronghold of El Kab, then its famous wall is the work of Sesostris II, whose Horus-name is Seshmu-towe. This stela was found at El Kab. The only place there which could conceivably contain a temple inclosure is the town within the wall. This document, therefore, shows that Sesostris II should be regarded as the builder of the famous wall of El Kab.

Above are the Horus- and throne-names of Amenemhet III, “*beloved of Nekhbet, mistress of heaven;*” and below is the following inscription:

742. Year 44, under the majesty of this god. He made (it) as his monument; his majesty commanding to build the inclosure wall, which is in “*Wall of Seshmu-towe,*”<sup>b</sup> triumphant ———.

INSCRIPTION OF SEHETEPIBRE<sup>c</sup>

743. Besides a meager record of works, which he executed for Amenemhet III at Abydos, Sehetepibre also placed upon his mortuary stela a very interesting poem containing

<sup>a</sup>Found at El Kab by Rev. H. Stobart in 1854–55; it has since disappeared; published in *Egyptian Antiquities Collected on a Voyage Made in Upper Egypt, etc.*, by Rev. H. Stobart, M.A. (Paris and Berlin, 1855), Pl. I, and from Stobart by Legrain, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, March, 1905.

<sup>b</sup>In cartouche; it is a designation of the king, meaning “*Leader or administrator of the Two Lands,*” the Horus-name of Sesostris II. There is nothing unique in the use of the Horus-name in a cartouche. M. Legrain’s recent explanation of the name as “*Samou*” (reading “*two lands*” as *m*, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, March, 1905, 106 ff.) is impossible, as the horizontal *m* does not occur until long after the Twelfth Dynasty.

<sup>c</sup>Mortuary stela discovered by Mariette at Abydos, now in Cairo (No. 20538); published very inaccurately by him, *Abydos*, II, 25 (= *Catalogue général d’Abydos*, No. 670). It is accurately published by Piehl, *Inscriptions*, III, Pls. IV–VII. I was also able to use a collation of the Berlin squeeze by Sethe, and afterward a copy of the original by Schaefer.

instructions to his children regarding the proper plan of life. It consists simply in serving the king faithfully and cultivating his favor. With the exception of this instruction, a large portion of the inscriptions was copied from the stela of Mentuhotep,<sup>a</sup> a powerful official under Sesostris I.

744. Above<sup>b</sup> is the Horus-name of Amenemhet III, surmounted by the Horus receiving life from Osiris; below is the following inscription, which is a good example of the exaggerated titular epithets conventionally applied to the Middle Kingdom noble of power and favor at court.

*Titles and Honors*

745. <sup>1</sup>The hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion in love, magnate of the King of Upper Egypt, great one of the King of Lower Egypt, prince at <sup>2</sup>the head of the people, overseer of horn, hoof, and feather,<sup>c</sup> [<sup>3</sup>overseer<sup>1</sup>] of the two pleasure-marshes,<sup>d</sup> whose coming is heeded by the court, <sup>3</sup>to whom the bodies tell their affairs, whose excellence the Lord of the Two Lands sees, whom he hath exalted before the two regions, possessed <sup>4</sup>of silver and gold, mighty in costly stones,<sup>e</sup> a man of truth before the Two Lands, a truthful witness <sup>5</sup>like Thoth, master of secret things<sup>f</sup> in the temples, chief of all works of the king's-house, more accurate than the weight, <sup>6</sup>the likeness of the balances, taking thought,<sup>g</sup> excellent in counsel, speaking that which is good, repeating that which is loved, <sup>7</sup>taking thought, without his like, good at listening, excellent in speaking, a prince who

<sup>a</sup>See §§ 530 ff.; compare Daressy (*Recueil*, X, 144-49), who arranges both parallel. He unfortunately uses Mariette's inaccurate text of Sehetepibre without revision.

<sup>b</sup>Recto.

<sup>c</sup>The live-stock of the royal estate.

<sup>d</sup>These are the "preserves" of fish, wild fowl, etc. There were officially two, in deference to the conventional fiction, one for Upper and one for Lower Egypt.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., "*Belonging to silver, etc.*;" these and the epithets in l. 2 are poetical references to his office.

<sup>f</sup>This has no reference to esoteric teachings, for Sehetepibre was not a priest, but refers simply to the secret chambers of the temples, containing costly images, etc.

<sup>g</sup>Lit., "*putting the heart*" (exactly parallel with the Hebrew קים לב I find it used in parallelism with שׁבּ = "remember" (e. g., Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 149, e, l. 10).

looses the knot,<sup>a</sup> whom his lord exalts <sup>8</sup>before millions, real image of love, free from acting deceit, favorite of the heart of the king, to whom is assigned (the office of) "Pillar of the South" <sup>9</sup>in<sup>b</sup> the king's-house, who follows his lord at his goings, entering into his heart before the court; belonging behind his lord, being the favorite of the Horus, <sup>10</sup>excellent in the palace; the real favorite of his lord; to whom secret matters are told, who finds the word of counsel, <sup>11</sup>sweetening misfortune, doing things by good rule, the wearer of the royal seal, overseer of royal property, deputy of the chief treasurer, Sehetepibre; he saith:<sup>c</sup> . . . . .

*Abydos Tomb*

**746.** <sup>1d</sup>Now, I made this excellent tomb, <sup>2</sup>and beautified its place. I gave contracts for the remuneration of the prophets <sup>3</sup>of Abydos. I acted as "Son-Whom-He-Loves" in the conduct of the house of gold, in the secrets of the lord of Abydos. <sup>4</sup>I conducted the work on the sacred barque, I fashioned its colors, I acted as Hakro (*H<sup>3</sup>k-r<sup>2</sup>*) <sup>5</sup>of his Lord (at) every procession of Upwawet, making for him all the festal offerings, which the prophet read. I clothed the god at his processions by virtue of my office as master of secret things, and my duty as [— 7—]. I was one whose two hands were [—] in adorning the god, a (*sm-*) priest with pure fingers.<sup>e</sup> May I be a follower of the god, <sup>8</sup>in order that I may be glorious and mighty at the stairway of the lord of Abydos.

*The Instruction*

**747.** The beginning of<sup>f</sup> the teaching which he composed before his children. <sup>9</sup>I speak great things, I cause you to hear, I cause you to know the eternal manner, the true manner of <sup>10</sup>life<sup>g</sup>—the passing of life in peace.

<sup>a</sup>Referring to difficult matters; compare our "knotty problem."

<sup>b</sup>Mentuhotep has: "*of the king's-house.*"

<sup>c</sup>A mortuary prayer follows.

<sup>d</sup>This new numbering begins on the verso.

<sup>e</sup>The reference is to the festal processions in which the god appeared in public. The festal decoration of the figure was the work of Sehetepibre, and for this duty he possessed the requisite ceremonial purity.

<sup>f</sup>Lit., "*The beginning with the teaching,*" the usual introduction of such compositions.

<sup>g</sup>*N-m<sup>3</sup>c w-R<sup>c</sup>*, a pun on the following name of the king, *N-m<sup>3</sup>c t-R<sup>c</sup>*; but its meaning is not certain.

Adore the king, Nematre (Amenemhet III), living forever, in the midst <sup>11</sup>of your bodies;

Enthroned his majesty in your hearts.

He is Esye<sup>a</sup> (Sy<sup>2</sup>) in the hearts;

His two eyes, they search <sup>12</sup>every body.

He is the Sun, seeing with his rays;<sup>b</sup>

He illuminates the Two Lands more than the sun-disk.

He makes the Two Lands green <sup>13</sup>more than a great Nile;

He hath filled the Two Lands with strength.

(He is) life, cooling the nostrils;

When he begins <sup>14</sup>to rage,<sup>c</sup> he is satisfied to [—].

The treasures<sup>d</sup> which he gives are food for those who are in his following;

He feeds those who tread <sup>15</sup>his path.

The king is food (*k<sup>2</sup>*),

His mouth is increase.

He is the one creating that which is;

He is the Khnum<sup>e</sup> of <sup>16</sup>all limbs;

The Begetter, who causes the people to be.

He is Bast protecting the Two Lands.

He who adores <sup>17</sup>him shall [escape] his arm,

He is Sekhmet<sup>f</sup> toward him who transgresses his command.

He is [gentle] toward him who has [—].

**748.** Fight for his name,

<sup>18</sup>Purify yourselves by his oath.

And ye shall be free from trouble.

The beloved of the king shall be <sup>19</sup>blessed;

There is no tomb for one hostile to his majesty;

But his body shall be thrown<sup>g</sup> to the waters.

Do ye this, and your limbs shall be sound;

Ye shall be glorious [—] forever.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup>God of wisdom and knowledge. The argument is: honor the king in your innermost hearts, for he knows your hearts.

<sup>b</sup>Or: "by whose rays there is seeing" (passive participle).

<sup>c</sup>Or: "He is far from raging, he is satisfied, etc."

<sup>d</sup>Read *h<sup>c</sup>w* "heaps;" but it possibly belongs to preceding.

<sup>e</sup>One of the gods, who created man. *gKm<sup>2</sup> n*, see § 512, l. 18.

<sup>f</sup>Goddess of war and terror.

<sup>h</sup>Another mortuary prayer follows.

## REIGN OF AMENEMHET IV

### KUMMEH INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

749. All of the few dated records of Amenemhet IV are beyond the borders of Egypt. The earliest is the rock inscription of Kummeh, recording the height of the Nile there.

Height (r<sup>2</sup>) of the Nile of the year 5, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makhrure (*M<sup>2</sup>c-hrw-R<sup>c</sup>*, Amenemhet IV), living forever and ever.

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### SINAI INSCRIPTIONS

750. Amenemhet IV continued the exploitation of the Sinaitic mines at least as late as his sixth year. At Wadi Maghara his officials have left two records, the first<sup>b</sup> containing only the date and the leader's titles, as follows:

Year 6 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makhrure (Amenemhet IV), given life forever, — beloved of Soped, [lord of the East] and Hathor, mistress of malachite.

—————<sup>c</sup> desire, treading the way of him (the king) who favors him; whom the soldiers love, [—] his designs, giving attention, [— — —] storeroom-keeper of the palace, Kheye (*H<sup>c2</sup>y*), [born of] Henut (*Hnw[t]*).

A further inscription<sup>d</sup> also bears the same date, but contains only a mortuary prayer.

At Sarbût el-Khadem two inscriptions<sup>e</sup> contain only the Pharaoh's name.

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<sup>a</sup>Engraved on the rocks above the river at Kummeh; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 152 f.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 137, d; Weill, *Sinai*, 145.

<sup>c</sup>Titles of the official.

<sup>d</sup>Weill, *Sinai*, 148.

<sup>e</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 140, o. p.; Weill, *Sinai*, 171, 172.



FROM THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY TO  
THE HYKSOS

## REIGN OF SEKHEMRE-KHUTOWE

### RECORDS OF NILE-LEVELS<sup>a</sup>

751. These four inscriptions are the latest of the well-known records on the rocks at Semneh, above the second cataract, which mark the maximum level of the river. They begin under Amenemhet III, and continue into the reign of Sekhemre-Khutowe, when they abruptly cease with these four, here discussed, which thus possess a certain importance. These Nile records are indeed our only historical inscriptions from the reign of this obscure king,<sup>b</sup> and the first ray of light after the fall of the Twelfth Dynasty. They continue uninterruptedly from the year 1 to the year 4, inclusive, but only that of the year 3<sup>c</sup> contains more than the words, "*Height of the Nile of the year —;*" it is as follows:

752. Height of the Nile of the year 3, under the majesty of King Sekhemre-Khutowe (*Shm-R<sup>c</sup>-hw-t<sup>3</sup>wy*), living forever; when the wearer of the royal seal, the commander of the army, Renseneb (*Rn snb*), was commanding in the fortress: "Mighty-is-Khekure" (Sesostris III).<sup>d</sup>

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<sup>a</sup>Inscribed on the rocks above Semneh; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 151, *a-d*.

<sup>b</sup>Administrative documents from his first, and probably also his second and fifth years, are found in the Kahun Papyri (Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, Pl. X, ll. 1, 3; and Pl. IX, l. 9; see Griffith's remarks, p. 86). Blocks bearing his name were found also at Bubastis. There is no evidence connecting this king with the name Sebekhotep.

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 151, *c*.

<sup>d</sup>This is evidently either the fortress of Semneh or that of Kummeh opposite.

## REIGN OF NEFERHOTEP

### GREAT ABYDOS STELA<sup>a</sup>

753. As the only considerable document of this king, containing more than his name or those of his family, this inscription is of great importance; but, besides this, its unique content renders it of especial interest. Neferhotep was the son of a priest, “*the divine father, Ha-enkhej (h<sup>2</sup>-nhj)*” and “*the royal mother, Kemi (Kmy)*,”<sup>b</sup> through whom he possibly inherited royal blood, although he is more likely to have usurped the throne, thus giving his mother her title. Like the ephemeral Khenzer, he gave special attention to the maintenance of the Abydos temple, and this stela, erected to testify to his zeal, tells how he investigated the ancient records at Heliopolis to ascertain exactly what was due to Osiris, particularly the proper form for the divine statue, as it was at the beginning of the world.

754. In order to carry out what he had found in the records, he proceeded in person to Abydos, sending a mes-

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<sup>a</sup>A sandstone stela, nearly 6 feet high and over 3 feet wide, set up on the wall of the road leading to the Middle Kingdom Osiris-temple. It was in such bad condition that Mariette left it in situ; but, after years of exposure to weather and vandalism, it has now been brought to the Cairo Museum. It was evidently exceedingly indistinct and difficult to copy, and the two copies of Mariette and Devéria, from which the text is published (Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 28-30; *Catalogue général d'Abydos*, 233, 234, No. 766) contained many errors, only a portion of which it is possible to correct. These and the frequent lacunæ render a complete translation impossible, but enough has been given to make the essential progress of the narrative clear. A better text is now hardly a possibility.

<sup>b</sup>Family list cut on the rocks at Assuan (Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, XIII, No. 337=Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 151, *e=Text*, IV, 126) and on Sehel at the first cataract (Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 70, 3); also on several scarabs (Petrie, *Scarabs*, Nos. 293-98.

senger thither before him, to bring forth the statue of the god to meet him. The divine image was carried in festal procession to the sacred barge, which sailed out on the canal, probably to the Nile, seven miles away, where the king was met and accompanied back to the temple amid a celebration in which the incidents of the Osiris-myth were dramatically enacted by the priests. On his arrival the king personally carried out all that he had discovered in the records of Atum. He then admonished the priests to vigilance and pronounced a curse on those who should disregard his established offerings.

*Introduction*

755. <sup>1</sup>Year 2, under the majesty of King Neferhotep,<sup>a</sup> born of the royal mother, Kemi (*Kmy*), who is given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever. <sup>2</sup>His majesty appeared<sup>b</sup> upon the throne of Horus in the palace, "Structure<sup>1</sup>-of-Beauty."<sup>c</sup> His majesty spake to the nobles, and companions, who were in his suite, the real scribes of the hieroglyphs, the masters of all secrets:

*King's Speech*

756. "My heart hath desired to see the ancient writings of Atum;<sup>d</sup> open ye for me for a great investigation; let the god know concerning his creation, and the gods concerning their fashioning, their offerings and their<sup>1</sup> oblations . . . . . (let) me know the god<sup>4</sup> in his form, that I may fashion him as he was formerly, when they made the statues<sup>1</sup> in their council, in order to establish their monuments upon earth.<sup>e</sup> They have given to me the inheritance of Re as far as<sup>1</sup> the

<sup>a</sup>Full fivefold titulary.

<sup>b</sup>Read *ḥꜥꜥ*, lit., "the appearance of his majesty . . ."

<sup>c</sup>Or: "Bearer (*wꜥs*)-of-beauty," which must be the name of the palace.

<sup>d</sup>The sanctuary of Atum was at Heliopolis, and his writings would be there; this explains why the messenger of the king journeys southward to Abydos (l. 14), whereas he would have gone northward from the royal residence in Thebes.

<sup>e</sup>The reference is apparently to a council of the gods in which the form of the god's statue was determined once for all. This the king expects to find in the ancient writings.

circuit of the sun <sup>5</sup> . . . . . I will increase that which I shall have investigated,<sup>a</sup> and they shall [increase<sup>1</sup> love for me — to <sup>6</sup>do according to that which they command.”

*Reply of Court*

757. These companions said: “That which thy ka hath [commanded<sup>1b</sup> is that which happens, O sovereign and lord. Let thy majesty proceed to the libraries,<sup>c</sup> and let thy majesty see every hieroglyph.”

*Examination of Ancient Rolls*

758. His majesty proceeded <sup>7</sup>to the library. His majesty opened the rolls together with these companions. Lo, his majesty found the rolls of the House of Osiris, First of the Westerners, lord of Abydos.

*King's Purpose*

759. His majesty said to these companions: “My majesty <sup>8</sup>hails my father Osiris, First of the Westerners, lord of Abydos. I will fashion [him, his limbs — his face, his fingers<sup>1</sup> according to that which my majesty has seen in the rolls [— —] his [form<sup>1</sup> as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, at his coming forth from the body of Nut.<sup>d</sup> <sup>9</sup>. . . . .  
<sup>12</sup>. . . . .<sup>e</sup>”

*Messenger Sent to Abydos*

760. His majesty had the king's-confidant, who was in his majesty's suite, called to him; his majesty said [to] him: <sup>13</sup>“Betake thyself southward — — [together with] troops<sup>1</sup> and marines. Sleep not night nor day until thou arrivest at Abydos; cause the First of the Westerners

<sup>a</sup>Or: “*that which is assigned to me.*” He means he will increase what his investigation shows is demanded in the ancient writings.

<sup>b</sup>The emendation is almost certain. Cf. the similar statement in the instruction to the priests of Abydos (II, 91, l. 5).

<sup>c</sup>Lit., “*houses of writings or rolls.*”

<sup>d</sup>He means he has found in the writings the original form of the god as king at his birth.

<sup>e</sup>The remainder of the king's speech contains only conventional phrases, in the course of which, reference is again made to “*making the monuments of Osiris and perpetuating the name of Wennofer*” (l. 10). The answer of the courtiers is very short (occupying the first half of l. 12) and very fragmentary.

(Osiris) to proceed (forth).<sup>a</sup> May I make his monuments according to "the beginning."<sup>b</sup>

*Reply of Court*

761. These companions said: "That which thou commandest [is that which happens, O sovereign]<sup>c</sup> and lord; thou doest all — in Abydos for thy father, First of the Westerners."

*Messenger Departs*

762. This official betook himself southward<sup>d</sup> [to do] "that which his majesty commanded him. He arrived at [Abydos] [—] — —. The majesty of this god came to the sacred barge of the lord of eternity [—] — — the banks of the river were flooded [with his fragrance and with] "the odors of Punt."<sup>e</sup> [The majesty of this god] arrived in the midst — — —. One came to inform his majesty, saying: "This god has proceeded in peace."

*King Goes to Abydos*

763. His majesty proceeded [in] "the sacred ship . . . . . together with this god, causing that sacred offerings be presented to his father, the First of the Westerners: myrrh — "and sacred things for Osiris, First of the Westerners, in all his names . . . . . those hostile to the sacred barge were overthrown. Lo, the majesty of this god appeared in procession,<sup>h</sup> his ennead united [with him]. "Upwawet was before him, he opened the ways<sup>i</sup> . . . . .

<sup>a</sup>In order to meet the king at his coming to Abydos, as the conclusion shows.

<sup>b</sup>The original form as at the beginning of the world, which he learned from the rolls.

<sup>c</sup>Restored from l. 6.

<sup>d</sup>Because the royal party is at Heliopolis (see note, l. 3) there is no reason here to suppose that the royal residence is in the north.

<sup>e</sup>There is no trace of an expedition to Punt here, as frequently stated; the description is the usual one accompanying the bodily approach of a god; see that of Amon, II § 196.

<sup>f</sup>Evidently the meeting of the king and the god occurred at this point; there is a reference to the "head of the canal," probably the canal on which the god voyaged in his barge to meet the king. See Great Abydos Inscription of Ramses II, l. 29.

<sup>g</sup>A series of incidents in the myth of the god are now dramatically enacted by the priests as the procession of the king and the god moves toward Abydos.

<sup>h</sup>He leaves the barge, to return in procession to the temple.

<sup>i</sup>The name of the god Upwawet (*Wp-w>wt*) means: "Opener of the ways." One of the priests, wearing a jackal mask, acts the part of Upwawet.

*King Executes Temple Works*

764. Lo, his majesty caused that this god should proceed<sup>1</sup> to f—<sup>1</sup> that he should rest [on] his throne in the house of gold; in order to fashion the beauty of his majesty<sup>a</sup> and his ennead, his oblation-tables — — — of <sup>2</sup>every splendid, costly stone of God's-Land. Behold, [the king] himself led the work on them — gold, (for) his majesty was pure with the purity of a god . . . . .<sup>b</sup>

*King's Concluding Speech*

765. <sup>33</sup>. . . . . Be ye vigilant for the temple, look to the monuments <sup>34</sup>which I have made. I put the eternal plan before me, I sought that which was useful for the future by putting this example in your hearts, which is about to occur in this place, which the god made, because of my desire <sup>35</sup>to establish my monuments in his temple, to perpetuate my contracts<sup>c</sup> in his house. His majesty loves that which I have done for him, he rejoices over that which I have decreed to do, (ffor<sup>1</sup>) triumph has been given<sup>1</sup> to him. <sup>36</sup>I am his son, his protector, he giveth to me the inheritance of the earth.<sup>d</sup> [I] am the king, great in strength, excellent in commandment. He shall not live who is hostile to me; he shall not breathe <sup>37</sup>the air who revolts against me; his name shall not be among the living; his ka shall be seized before the officials; he shall be cast out for this god, [together with<sup>1</sup>] him who shall disregard the command of my majesty and those who shall not <sup>38</sup>do according to this command of my majesty, who shall not exalt me to this august god, who shall not honor that which I have done concerning his offerings [who shall not] give to me praise <sup>39</sup>at every feast of this temple, of the entire [lay priesthood]<sup>e</sup> of the sanctuary of this temple, and every office of Abydos. Behold, my majesty has made these monu-

<sup>a</sup>The god; he is taken to the workshop of the goldsmith, that a new statue may be made.

<sup>b</sup>The further execution of the work is narrated in a few very fragmentary sentences, in which is the interesting statement: "No scribe who was in the suite of his majesty had ever found it" (l. 21), referring doubtless to the king's discovery in the rolls. The continuation merges (l. 22) into a long speech of the king, addressed to the god; at l. 27 begins a prayer of the king, which merges at l. 32 into an address to the court.

<sup>c</sup>See § 535.

<sup>d</sup>"The estate of the earth," literally.

<sup>e</sup>Restored from Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, XXI, l. 15.

ments, for my father, Osiris, First of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos, <sup>40</sup>because I so much loved him, more than all gods; that he might give to me a reward for this [which I have done], — — —<sup>a</sup> consisting of millions of years . . . . .

---

BOUNDARY STELA<sup>b</sup>

**766.** This stela was one of two, erected one at each end of a part of the Abydos cemetery, and bearing a decree of Neferhotep forbidding all public access to this part of the necropolis.

*Dedication*

**767.** He made (it) as his monument for his father Upwawet, lord of Tazoser.

*Entrance Prohibited*

**768.** Year 4. My majesty, L. P. H., decrees that the cemetery (Tazoser) south of Abydos shall be protected and defended<sup>c</sup> for his father Upwawet, lord of Tazoser, as Horus did for his father Osiris-Wennofer; not permitting any persons to set foot in this cemetery (Tazoser).

*Stelæ Bearing Decree*

**769.** Two<sup>d</sup> stelæ are set up at its south and at its north, engraved with the great name of my majesty, L. P. H. The southern (stela) is made in addition<sup>e</sup> to these stelæ,<sup>f</sup> which are as far as the south, and the northern (stela) in addition<sup>e</sup> to these stelæ, which are as far as the north.

---

<sup>a</sup>The reward consists of millions, etc.

<sup>b</sup>Limestone stela, round-topped, found by Mace at Abydos; published by him, *El Amrah*, Pl. XXIX.

<sup>c</sup>All sacred things, including the king's person, are "*protected and defended*" (*hwy mky*) by the gods; cf. IV, 424, 528, l. 7, the last also of a cemetery.

<sup>d</sup>One at each end.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., "*upon*."

<sup>f</sup>Which were already there; other stelæ already existed, and the two bearing this decree are added to the former.



*Penalties*

770. As for him<sup>a</sup> whom anyone shall find within these stelæ, whether a craftsman or a priest at his business, he shall be branded.<sup>b</sup>

As for any official, who shall have a tomb made for himself within this cemetery (*ys·t-dsr·t*), he shall be reported, and the law shall be executed upon him, and the necropolis-custodian as on this day.<sup>c</sup>

*People's Burial Place*

771. Now, as for any addition to this cemetery (*ys·t-dsr·t*), (in) the place where the people make tombs for themselves, there shall they be buried.

*Benediction*

772. May he (the king) be thereby given life, stability, satisfaction, health; may his heart be glad together with his ka, upon the throne of Horus, like Re, forever.

---

<sup>a</sup>See another example of *nty-tw* in *Recueil*, XV, 84, l. 8.

<sup>b</sup>See same word, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 257, a, l. 36.

<sup>c</sup>Or: "from this day"?

## REIGN OF NUBKHEPRURE-INTEF

### COPTOS DECREE<sup>a</sup>

773. In addition to its significant content, this decree is important as showing beyond doubt that one of the Intefs lived after the Twelfth Dynasty, for it is engraved upon a doorway of Sesostri I, and must, of course, be later than his reign.<sup>b</sup>

774. The document itself decrees the degradation from office of a count of Coptos, with the loss of all income appertaining to the office, both to himself and his posterity; and the appointment of another to the position. The crime thus punished, vaguely called "*an evil thing*," is, of course, treason, and is doubtless one of the many attempts at rebellion such as produced the downfall of the Middle Kingdom. Teti, the traitor deposed, had he succeeded, would have become one of the ephemeral kings, whose names make up the long list of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties in the Turin Papyrus. The remarkable reference to mercy or favor being shown him by other rulers can hardly designate future kings, but is doubtless an indication of the divided state of the country under a number of petty kings reigning contemporaneously with Intef of our decree. The history of the whole period from the fall of the Twelfth Dynasty to the rise of the Eighteenth owes its paucity of monuments to the endless wars growing out of such

---

<sup>a</sup>Cut on a doorway of Sesostri I at Coptos; found by Petrie and published in *Coptos*, VIII.

<sup>b</sup>There can be no doubt that the *Nb-hpr-Rc* placed just before the Seventeenth Dynasty in the Karnak list, is this Intef.

attempts, complicated eventually by the invasion of the Hyksos. The plotting and revolts of local princes continued into the reign of Ahmose who, suppressed at least three such (§§ 11, 15, 16), and the name of the rebel in the third case was Teti-en (§ 16, l. 23), almost the same as that of the traitor in this decree.

*Date*

775. <sup>1</sup>Year 3, third month of the second season, day 25, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nubkheprure (*Nb-ḥprw-R*), Son of Re, Intef, who is given life, like Re, forever.

*Title of Decree*

776. Royal decree to:  
 The wearer of the royal seal, the count of Coptos, <sup>2</sup>Minemhet;  
 The king's-son, commandant of Coptos, Kinen (*Ky-nn*);  
 The wearer of the royal seal, the priest of Min, scribe of the temple, Neferhotepur;  
 The whole army of Coptos,  
 And the entire lay priesthood of the temple.

*Discovery of Culprit*

777. Behold, <sup>3</sup>there is brought to you this decree, to let you know: that my majesty, L. P. H., has sent the scribe of the sacred treasury of Amon, Siamon, and the <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> Amensere (*Ymn-wsr-ḥ*), <sup>4</sup>to make an inspection in the temple of Min; and that the lay priesthood of the temple of my father, Min, applied to my majesty, L. P. H., saying: "An evil thing is about to happen in this <sup>5</sup>temple. Foes have been <sup>1</sup>stirred up<sup>1</sup> by, a curse to his name! Teti, son of Minhotep.

*Punishment of Culprit*

778. Cause him to be deposed<sup>a</sup> from the temple of my father, Min; cause <sup>6</sup>him to be<sup>1</sup> cast out of his temple office, from son to son, and heir to heir;<sup>b</sup> <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> upon the earth; take away his bread, his <sup>1</sup>food<sup>1</sup>, and

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "Cause him to be put upon the ground;" to put upon the ground is to annul, and is used, for example, of remitting taxes (§ 408, ll. 10, 11).

<sup>b</sup>The penalty is entailed upon his posterity.

his joints of meat.<sup>a</sup> His name shall not be remembered in this temple, according as it is done toward one like him, <sup>b</sup>who is hostile toward the enemies of his god.<sup>b</sup> His entries<sup>c</sup> shall be cast out from the temple of Min, from the treasury, and on every book likewise.

*No King or Dynast to Show Him Mercy*

**779.** As for any king <sup>8</sup>or any ruler,<sup>d</sup> who shall be merciful to him, he shall not receive the white crown, he shall not wear the red crown, he shall not sit upon the Horus-throne of the living, the two patron goddesses shall not be gracious to him <sup>9</sup>as their beloved. As for any commandant or any official who shall apply to the king, L. P. H., to be merciful to him (the traitor), his (the applicant's) people, his goods, his fields shall be given to the sacred property of <sup>10</sup>my father, Min, lord of Coptos.

*Culprit's Office Given to Minemhet*

**780.** No one of his connections, or of the family of his father or of his mother shall be inducted into this office, <sup>11</sup>but this office shall be given to the wearer of the royal seal, the overseer of royal property, Minemhet. Its bread, its <sup>1</sup>food<sup>1</sup> and its<sup>c</sup> joints of meat shall be given to him, established for him in writing, in the temple <sup>12</sup>of my father Min, lord of Coptos, from son to son and heir to heir.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup>The income of his office.

<sup>b</sup>There are no difficulties of lexicon or grammar in this clause, but the meaning when rendered, is uncertain.

<sup>c</sup>The registration of temple dues to be paid him.

<sup>d</sup>*Šm-yrj*. The indication is strong that the king is not here referring to future kings, his successors, but to contemporary rulers of Egypt.

<sup>e</sup>The possessive pronouns refer to "this office" and indicate the income belonging to it, formerly paid to the traitor.

<sup>f</sup>The office is hereditary.

## REIGN OF KHENZER

### INSCRIPTIONS OF AMENISENEB<sup>a</sup>

781. Ameniseneb was commissioned by the vizier in the time of King Khenzer to cleanse the temple of Abydos, a task which he accomplished so well that he was appointed to direct all inspections in the temple during the rest of his life. These honors he therefore recorded in the following interesting inscriptions, one of which refers to the work of Sesostri I on the Abydos temple over two hundred years before Ameniseneb's time.

782. The first stela<sup>b</sup> begins with the usual mortuary prayer "for the ka of the chief of a priestly phyle of Abydos, Ameniseneb, triumphant, son of Emku (<sup>c</sup>*m-k<sup>w</sup>*), born of the matron Nebetyotej (*Nb · t-ytj*)." It then proceeds as follows:

#### *Commission by the Vizier*

783. <sup>3</sup>He saith: "The scribe of the vizier, Seneb,<sup>c</sup> the son of the vizier, came to call me, by order of <sup>4</sup>the vizier. Then I went with him, and I found the governor of the residence city, the vizier, <sup>5</sup>Enkhu<sup>d</sup> (<sup>e</sup>*nḥw*) in his hall. Then this official laid upon me a command, saying: 'Behold, <sup>6</sup>it is commanded, that thou cleanse this temple of Abydos.

---

<sup>a</sup>On his two stelæ from the Middle Kingdom temple of Abydos, now in the Louvre (C 11 and C 12). Published by Horrack (*Mélanges égyptologiques*, 3<sup>me</sup> ser., Vol. II, Pl. XIV, XV), and Sharpe (*Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 24). Neither is accurate. I had also a text collated with the Berlin squeeze by Sethe, and my own copy of the original.

<sup>b</sup>Louvre, C 12.

<sup>c</sup>Seneb is the scribe's name, and in apposition with "son."

<sup>d</sup>This vizier is mentioned in other documents of the time: the Account Papyrus (Cairo, No. 18, Pl. XVI, l. 3); a stela in St. Petersburg (Lieblein, *Dictionnaire*, No. 1542); and a stela in Budapest (noted by Pieper). His statue was found at Karnak by Legrain in the great *cache*.

Artificers shall be given to thee for the contract thereof, together with the lay priesthood of the 'districts' of the storehouse of offerings.'"

*Commission Executed*

784. "Then I cleansed it in the <sup>8</sup>lower house and the upper house, <sup>a</sup> on <sup>b</sup> its walls, behind, and within; the painters filling with color, <sup>9</sup>with [—]<sup>10</sup> and with [—], <sup>c</sup> restoring that which <sup>10</sup>the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkere (Sesostris I), triumphant, made."<sup>d</sup>

*Ameniseneb's Rewards*

785. "Then came 'the protector of the oil tree'<sup>e</sup> <sup>11</sup>to assume his place in this temple,<sup>f</sup> while the deputy of the chief treasurer, Sionouris (*S<sup>2</sup>-ym-hr*'*t*) followed him. Then <sup>13</sup>he thanked<sup>g</sup> me greatly, beyond everything, saying: 'How prosperous is he who has done <sup>14</sup>this for his god!' Then he gave to me a 'heap'<sup>h</sup> of 10 deben (weight), supplied with <sup>15</sup>dates and half an ox."

"Then came the official (*sr*) of [—] <sup>16</sup>down-stream; then were seen these works; <sup>17</sup>then was rejoicing thereat exceedingly, beyond everything."

786. The other stela<sup>i</sup> furnishes the name of the king for whom Ameniseneb executed the foregoing commission, and

<sup>a</sup>Doubtless the upper and lower story; the upper story can only be the roof of the temple, over which awnings were drawn.

<sup>b</sup>Or: "*in*." <sup>c</sup>*Tyt* and *ym*; the latter is probably paste.

<sup>d</sup>Whether this indicates the whole of the temple or not, it is impossible to say. It cannot be said that this passage makes Sesostris I the founder of a new Abydos temple, as is often affirmed. On the commission to Abydos, intrusted by him to Mentuhotep, see § 534.

<sup>e</sup>This (*hw-b<sup>2</sup>k*) is doubtless a name of the cultus image of the god.

<sup>f</sup>The image of the god had been removed during the work in the holy place, and was now carried back to his place.

<sup>g</sup>Lit., "*he praised the god for me*."

<sup>h</sup>"Heap" (*hc*) is a term commonly designating a pile of offerings, and regularly used of a group of articles of food when thus presented. Cf. § 747, l. 14, n. The insignificant weight is not the weight of the objects received, but their value in metal, weighing 10 deben (nearly 2½ pounds, troy). What metal is meant is not stated, but the weight clearly shows that copper is meant.

<sup>i</sup>Louvre, C 11.

## THIRTEENTH DYNASTY: KHENZER

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records the rewards decreed him by the king. At the top is the titulary, as follows:

The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offering, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nematre-Nekhe[re],<sup>a</sup> who is given life forever; Bodily Son of Re, Khenzer,<sup>b</sup> who is given life, stability, satisfaction forever.

The text then proceeds:

787. <sup>1</sup>It was commanded to charge the chief of a priestly phyle of Abydos, Ameniseneb, triumphant, saying: "Behold, <sup>2</sup>these works which thou hast done have been seen; the king praises thee, his ka praises thee. <sup>3</sup>Spend thy good old age in this temple of thy god." Then it was commanded <sup>4</sup>to give to me the hind quarters of an ox, and it was commanded to charge me, saying: "Conduct <sup>5</sup>every inspection which takes place in this temple." I did according to all that was commanded; <sup>6</sup>I had every [shrine] (*mnkb*) of every god, who is in this temple, restored, <sup>7</sup>their altars renewed with cedar, and the great [oblation-table] which was in the presence.<sup>c</sup> <sup>8</sup>I executed my desire, it pleased my god; the king praised me.

---

<sup>a</sup>*N-m>c·t-R<sup>c</sup> N-b<sup>c</sup>*, in which the *R<sup>c</sup>* is perhaps to be twice read.

<sup>b</sup>Rather than *R<sup>c</sup>-ndr* (Nezerre).

<sup>c</sup>Of the god; or possibly "*which was formerly there.*"

### ADDENDUM

The reading of the name of Nibkhrure-Mentuhotep has been shown to be *Nb-hp·t-R<sup>c</sup>* (instead of *Nb-hrw-R<sup>c</sup>* as used above) by the recent excavations at Der el-Bahri. I owe this note to the kindness of Mr. Alan H. Gardiner.

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EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH COMMENTARY

BY

JAMES HENRY BREASTED, PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF EGYPTOLOGY AND ORIENTAL HISTORY  
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

VOLUME II

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### VOLUME I

	§§
THE DOCUMENTARY SOURCES OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY . . . . .	1-37
CHRONOLOGY . . . . .	38-57
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE . . . . .	58-75
THE PALERMO STONE: THE FIRST TO THE FIFTH DYNASTIES	76-167
I. Predynastic Kings . . . . .	90
II. First Dynasty . . . . .	91-116
III. Second Dynasty . . . . .	117-144
IV. Third Dynasty . . . . .	145-148
V. Fourth Dynasty . . . . .	149-152
VI. Fifth Dynasty . . . . .	153-167
THE THIRD DYNASTY . . . . .	168-175
Reign of Snefru . . . . .	168-175
Sinai Inscriptions . . . . .	168-169
Biography of Methen . . . . .	170-175
THE FOURTH DYNASTY . . . . .	176-212
Reign of Khufu . . . . .	176-187
Sinai Inscriptions . . . . .	176
Inventory Stela . . . . .	177-180
Examples of Dedication Inscriptions by Sons . . . . .	181-187
Reign of Khafre . . . . .	188-209
Stela of Mertityôtes . . . . .	188-189
Will of Prince Nekure, Son of King Khafre . . . . .	190-199
Testamentary Enactment of an Unknown Official, Establishing the Endowment of His Tomb by the Pyramid of Khafre . . . . .	200-209
Reign of Menkure . . . . .	210-212
Debhen's Inscription, Recounting King Menkure's Erec- tion of a Tomb for Him . . . . .	210-212
THE FIFTH DYNASTY . . . . .	213-281
Reign of Userkaf . . . . .	213-235

v

53112

	§§
Testamentary Enactment of Nekonekh . . . . .	213-215
I. The Priesthood of Hathor . . . . .	216-219
II. The Mortuary Priesthood of Khenuka . . . . .	220-222
III. Nekonekh's Will . . . . .	223-225
IV. Nekonekh's Mortuary Priesthood . . . . .	226-227
V. Nekonekh's Mortuary Statue . . . . .	228-230
Testamentary Enactment of Senuonekh, Regulating His Mortuary Priesthood . . . . .	231-235
Reign of Sahure . . . . .	236-241
Sinai Inscriptions . . . . .	236
Tomb Stela of Nenekhsekhmet . . . . .	237-240
Tomb Inscription of Persen . . . . .	241
Reign of Neferirkere . . . . .	242-249
Tomb Inscriptions of the Vizier, Chief Judge, and Chief Architect Weshptah . . . . .	242-249
Reign of Nuserre . . . . .	250-262
Sinai Inscription . . . . .	250
Tomb Inscriptions of Hotephiyakhmet . . . . .	251-253
Inscription of Ptahshepses . . . . .	254-262
Reign of Menkuhor . . . . .	263
Sinai Inscription . . . . .	263
Reign of Dedkere-Isesi . . . . .	264-281
Sinai Inscriptions . . . . .	264-267
Tomb Inscriptions of Senezemib, Chief Judge, Vizier, and Chief Architect . . . . .	268-277
Mortuary Inscription of Nezemib . . . . .	278-279
Tomb Inscription of the Nomarch Henku . . . . .	280-281
THE SIXTH DYNASTY . . . . .	282-390
Reign of Teti . . . . .	282-294
Inscriptions of Sabu, Also Called Ibebi . . . . .	282-286
Inscription of Sabu, Also Called Thety . . . . .	287-288
Inscription of an Unknown Builder . . . . .	289-290
Inscription of Uni . . . . .	291-294
I. Career under Teti (l. 1) . . . . .	292-294
II. Career under Pepi I (ll. 2-32) . . . . .	306-315
III. Career under Mernere (ll. 32-50) . . . . .	319-324
Reign of Pepi I . . . . .	295-315
Hammamat Inscriptions . . . . .	295-301

	§§
I. The King's Inscriptions . . . . .	296
II. The Expedition's Inscription . . . . .	297-298
III. Chief Architect's Inscription . . . . .	299
IV. Inscription of the Treasurer of the God Ikhi . . . . .	300-301
Sinai Inscription . . . . .	302-303
Inscription in the Hatnub Quarry . . . . .	304-305
Inscription of Uni: II Career under Pepi I . . . . .	306-315
Reign of Mernere . . . . .	316-336
Inscriptions at the First Cataract . . . . .	316-318
I. Northern Inscription . . . . .	317
II. Southern Inscription . . . . .	318
Inscription of Uni: III Career under Mernere . . . . .	319-324
Inscriptions of Harkhuf . . . . .	325-336
Inscriptions of Harkhuf (continued) . . . . .	350-354
Reign of Pepi II . . . . .	337-385
Conveyance of Land by Idu, Called Also Seneni . . . . .	337-338
Sinai Inscription . . . . .	339-343
Stela of the Two Queens, Enekhnes-Merire . . . . .	344-349
Inscriptions of Harkhuf (continued from § 336) . . . . .	350-354
Letter of Pepi II . . . . .	350-354
I. Dates and Introduction . . . . .	351
II. Acknowledgment of Harkhuf's Letter . . . . .	351
III. Harkhuf's Rewards . . . . .	352
IV. King's Instructions . . . . .	353-354
Inscriptions of Pepi-Nakht . . . . .	355-360
Inscriptions of Khui . . . . .	361
Inscriptions of Sebni . . . . .	362-374
Inscriptions of Ibi . . . . .	375-379
Inscription of Zau . . . . .	380-385
Reign of Ity . . . . .	386-387
Hammamat Inscription . . . . .	386-387
Reign of Imhotep . . . . .	388-390
<b>THE NINTH AND TENTH DYNASTIES . . . . .</b>	<b>391-414</b>
Inscriptions of Siut . . . . .	391-414
I. Inscription of Tefibi . . . . .	393-397
II. Inscription of Kheti I . . . . .	398-404
III. Inscription of Kheti II . . . . .	405-414

	§§
<b>THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY</b> . . . . .	415-459
The Nomarch, Intef . . . . .	419-420
Mortuary Stela . . . . .	419-420
Reign of Horus-Wahenekh-Intef I . . . . .	421-423
Royal Tomb Stela . . . . .	421-423
Reign of Horus-Nakhtneb-Tepnefer-Intef II . . . . .	423A-423G
Stela of Thethi . . . . .	423A-423G
Reign of Nibhotep-Mentuhotep I . . . . .	423H
Temple Fragments from Gebelen . . . . .	423H
Reigns of Intef III and Nibkhrure-Mentuhotep II . . . . .	424-426
Relief near Assuan . . . . .	424-426
Reign of Senekhkere-Mentuhotep III . . . . .	427-433
Hammamat Inscription of Henu . . . . .	427-433
Reign of Nibtowere-Mentuhotep IV . . . . .	434-459
Hammamat Inscriptions . . . . .	434-459
I. The First Wonder . . . . .	435-438
II. The Official Tablet . . . . .	439-443
III. The Commander's Tablet . . . . .	444-448
IV. The Second Wonder . . . . .	449-451
V. Completion of the Work . . . . .	452-456
Stela of Eti . . . . .	457-459
<b>THE TWELFTH DYNASTY</b> . . . . .	460-750
Chronology of Twelfth Dynasty . . . . .	460-462
Reign of Amenemhet I . . . . .	463-497
Inscription of Khnumhotep I . . . . .	463-465
Hammamat Inscription of Intef . . . . .	466-468
Inscription of Nessumontu . . . . .	469-471
Inscription of Korusko . . . . .	472-473
The Teaching of Amenemhet . . . . .	474-483
Dedication Inscription . . . . .	484-485
The Tale of Sinuhe . . . . .	486-497
Reign of Sesostris I . . . . .	498-593
The Building Inscription of the Temple of Heliopolis . . . . .	498-506
Inscription of Meri . . . . .	507-509
Wadi Halfa Inscription of Mentuhotep . . . . .	510-514
Inscription of Amenemhet (Ameni) . . . . .	515-523
Stela of Ikudidi . . . . .	524-528
Inscription of Intefyoker . . . . .	529



	§§
Inscriptions of Mentuhotep . . . . .	530-534
The Contracts of Hepzefi . . . . .	535-538
I. First Contract . . . . .	539-543
II. Second Contract . . . . .	544-548
III. Third Contract . . . . .	549-553
IV. Fourth Contract . . . . .	554-558
V. Fifth Contract . . . . .	559-567
VI. Sixth Contract . . . . .	568-571
VII. Seventh Contract . . . . .	572-575
VIII. Eighth Contract . . . . .	576-581
IX. Ninth Contract . . . . .	582-588
X. Tenth Contract . . . . .	589-593
Reign of Amenemhet II . . . . .	594-613
Inscription of Simontu . . . . .	594-598
Inscription of Sihathor . . . . .	599-605
Sinai Inscription . . . . .	606
Stela of Khentemseti . . . . .	607-613
Reign of Sesostris II . . . . .	614-639
Inscription of Hapu . . . . .	614-618
Inscription of Khnumhotep II . . . . .	619-639
Reign of Sesostris III . . . . .	640-748
The Conquest of Nubia . . . . .	640-672
I. The Canal Inscriptions . . . . .	642-649
I. First Inscription . . . . .	643-645
II. Second Inscription . . . . .	646-648
II. The Elephantine Inscription . . . . .	649-650
III. The First Semneh Stela . . . . .	651-652
IV. The Second Semneh Stela . . . . .	653-660
V. Inscription of Ikhnofret . . . . .	661-670
VI. Inscription of Sisetet . . . . .	671-673
See also . . . . .	676 ff. and 687
Hammamat Inscription . . . . .	674-675
Stela of Sebek-Khu, called Zaa . . . . .	676-687
Inscriptions of Thuthotep . . . . .	688-706
Hammamat Inscriptions . . . . .	707-712
Inscriptions of Sinai . . . . .	713-738
I. Wadi Maghara . . . . .	713-723
I. Inscriptions of Khenemsu . . . . .	714-716

	§§
II. Inscription of Harnakht . . . . .	717-718
III. Inscription of Sebekdidi . . . . .	719-720
IV. Inscription of Ameni . . . . .	721-723
II. Sarbût el-Khadem . . . . .	724-738
I. Inscription of Sebek-hir-hab . . . . .	725-727
II. Inscription of Ptahwer . . . . .	728-729
III. Inscription of Amenemhet . . . . .	730-732
IV. Inscription of Harurre . . . . .	733-738
Turra Inscription . . . . .	739-742
Inscription of Sehetepibre . . . . .	743-748
Reign of Amenemhet IV . . . . .	749-750
Kummeh Inscription . . . . .	749
Sinai Inscriptions . . . . .	750
<b>FROM THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY TO THE HYKSOS . . . . .</b>	<b>751-787</b>
Reign of Sekhemre-Khutowe . . . . .	751-752
Records of Nile-Levels . . . . .	751-752
Reign of Neferhotep . . . . .	753-772
Great Abydos Stela . . . . .	753-765
Boundary Stela . . . . .	766-772
Reign of Nubkheprure-Intef . . . . .	773-780
Coptos Decree . . . . .	773-780
Reign of Khenzer . . . . .	781-787
Inscriptions of Ameniseneb . . . . .	781-787

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VOLUME II

	§§
<b>THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY . . . . .</b>	<b>1-1043</b>
Reign of Ahmose I . . . . .	1-37
Biography of Ahmose, Son of Ebana . . . . .	1-3
I. Career under Ahmose I (ll. 1-24) . . . . .	4-16
II. Career under Amenhotep I (ll. 24-29) . . . . .	38-39
III. Career under Thutmose I (ll. 29-39) . . . . .	78-82
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet . . . . .	17-25
I. Ahmose's Campaigns [Continued § 40] . . . . .	18-20
II. Ahmose's Rewards . . . . .	21-24
III. Ahmose's Summary . . . . .	25

	§§
Quarry Inscription . . . . .	26-28
Karnak Stela . . . . .	29-32
Building Inscription . . . . .	33-37
Reign of Amenhotep I . . . . .	38-53
Biography of Ahmose, Son of Ebana . . . . .	38-39
II. Career under Amenhotep I (ll. 24-29) . . . . .	38-53
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet . . . . .	40-42
Career under Amenhotep I . . . . .	40-42
Biography of Ineni . . . . .	43-46
I. Career under Amenhotep I . . . . .	44-46
II. Career under Thutmose I . . . . .	99-108
III. Career under Thutmose II . . . . .	115-118
IV. Career under Thutmose III and Hatshepsut . . . . .	340-343
Stela of Harmini . . . . .	47-48
Stela of Keres . . . . .	49-52
Reign of Thutmose I . . . . .	54-114
Coronation Decree . . . . .	54-60
Biographical Inscription of Thure . . . . .	61-66
Tombos Stela . . . . .	67-73
Inscriptions at the First Cataract . . . . .	74-77
I. Sehel Inscription . . . . .	75
II. Sehel Inscription . . . . .	76
III. Assuan Inscription . . . . .	77
Inscription of Ahmose, Son of Ebana . . . . .	78-82
III. Career under Thutmose I (ll. 29-39) . . . . .	78-82
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet . . . . .	83-85
Career under Thutmose I . . . . .	83-85
Karnak Obelisks . . . . .	86-89
Abydos Stela . . . . .	90-98
Biography of Ineni . . . . .	99-108
II. Career under Thutmose I (ll. 4-14) . . . . .	99-108
Stela of Yuf . . . . .	109-114
Reign of Thutmose II . . . . .	115-127
Biography of Ineni . . . . .	115-118
III. Career under Thutmose II . . . . .	115-118
Assuan Inscription . . . . .	119-122
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet . . . . .	123-124
IV. Career under Thutmose II . . . . .	123-124

	§§
Campaign in Syria . . . . .	125
The Ebony Shrine of Der el-Bahri . . . . .	126-127
Reign of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut . . . . .	128-390
Introduction . . . . .	128-130
Inscription of the Coronation; Buildings and Offerings	131-166
Semneh Temple Inscriptions . . . . .	167
I. Renewal of Sesostris III's List of Offerings . . . . .	168-172
II. Dedication to Dedun and Sesostris III . . . . .	173-176
Biography of Nebwawi . . . . .	177
I. The Statue Inscription . . . . .	178-183
II. Abydos Stela . . . . .	184-186
The Birth of Queen Hatshepsut . . . . .	187-191
I. The Council of the Gods . . . . .	192
II. Interviews Between Amon and Thoth . . . . .	193-194
III. Amon with Queen Ahmose . . . . .	195-198
IV. Interview Between Amon and Khnum . . . . .	199-201
V. Khnum Fashions the Child . . . . .	202-203
VI. Interview Between Thoth and Queen Ahmose . . . . .	204
VII. Queen Ahmose is Led to Confinement . . . . .	205
VIII. The Birth . . . . .	206-207
IX. Presentation of the Child to Amon . . . . .	208
X. Council of Amon and Hathor . . . . .	209
XI. The Nursing of the Child . . . . .	210
XII. Second Interview of Amon and Thoth . . . . .	211
XIII. The Final Scene . . . . .	212
Statue of Enebni . . . . .	213
Vase Inscription . . . . .	214
The Coronation of Queen Hatshepsut . . . . .	215
I. The Purification . . . . .	216
II. Amon presents the Child to All the Gods . . . . .	217-220
III. The Northern Journey . . . . .	221-225
IV. Coronation by Atum . . . . .	226-227
V. Reception of the Crowns and the Names . . . . .	228-230
VI. Proclamation as King before Amon . . . . .	231
VII. Coronation before the Court . . . . .	232-239
VIII. Second Purification . . . . .	240-241
IX. Concluding Ceremonies . . . . .	242
Southern Pylon Inscription at Karnak . . . . .	243-245

	ii
The Punt Reliefs . . . . .	246-295
I. Departure of the Fleet . . . . .	252-253
II. Reception in Punt . . . . .	254-258
III. The Traffic . . . . .	259-262
IV. Loading the Vessels . . . . .	263-265
V. The Return Voyage . . . . .	266
VI. Presentation of the Tribute to the Queen by the Chiefs of Punt, Irem and Nemyew . . . . .	267-269
VII. The Queen Offers the Gifts to Amon . . . . .	270-272
VIII. Weighing and Measuring the Gifts to Amon . . . . .	273-282
IX. Formal Announcement of the Success of the Expedition before Amon . . . . .	283-288
X. Formal Announcement of the Success of the Expedition to the Court . . . . .	289-295
Inscription of the Speos Artemidos . . . . .	296-303
The Karnak Obelisks . . . . .	304-307
I. Shaft Inscriptions; Middle Columns . . . . .	308-311
II. Shaft Inscriptions; Side Columns . . . . .	312-313
III. Base Inscription . . . . .	314-321
Reliefs of Transportation of Obelisks . . . . .	322
I. Transport . . . . .	323-329
II. Reception in Thebes . . . . .	330-335
III. Dedication of the Obelisks . . . . .	336
Rock Inscription in Wadi Maghara . . . . .	337
Building Inscription of Western Thebes . . . . .	338-339
Biography of Ineni . . . . .	340-343
IV. Career under Thutmose III and Hatshepsut . . . . .	340-343
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet . . . . .	344
Conclusion of Summary . . . . .	344
Inscriptions of Senmut . . . . .	345-368
I. Inscriptions on the Karnak Statue . . . . .	349-358
II. Assuan Inscription . . . . .	359-362
III. Inscriptions on the Berlin Statue . . . . .	363-368
Inscription of Thutiy . . . . .	369-378
Inscriptions of Puemre . . . . .	379
I. Statue of Inscription . . . . .	380-381
II. Tomb Inscriptions . . . . .	382-387
Inscriptions of Hapuseneb . . . . .	388-390

	§§
Reign of Thutmose III . . . . .	391-779
The Annals . . . . .	391-405
The Annals: Conspectus of Campaigns . . . . .	406
I. Introduction . . . . .	407
II. First Campaign (Year 23) . . . . .	408-443
Wadi Halfa Inscription . . . . .	411-437
Fragment on the Siege of Megiddo . . . . .	438-443
III. Second Campaign (Year 24) . . . . .	444-449
IV. Third Campaign (Year 25) . . . . .	450-452
V. Fourth Campaign . . . . .	453
VI. Fifth Campaign (Year 29) . . . . .	454-462
VII. Sixth Campaign (Year 30) . . . . .	463-467
VIII. Seventh Campaign (Year 31) . . . . .	468-475
IX. Eighth Campaign (Year 33) . . . . .	476-487
X. Ninth Campaign (Year 34) . . . . .	488-495
XI. Tenth Campaign (Year 35) . . . . .	496-503
XII. Eleventh Campaign (Year 36) . . . . .	504
XIII. Twelfth Campaign (Year 37) . . . . .	505
XIV. Thirteenth Campaign (Year 38) . . . . .	506-515
XV. Fourteenth Campaign (Year 39) . . . . .	516-519
XVI. Fifteenth Campaign . . . . .	520-523
XVII. Sixteenth Campaign . . . . .	524-527
XVIII. Seventeenth Campaign . . . . .	528-539
XIX. Conclusion . . . . .	540
Feasts and Offerings from the Conquests . . . . .	541-573
Biography of Amenemhab . . . . .	574-592
Fragments of Karnak Pylon VII . . . . .	593-598
Great Karnak Building Inscription . . . . .	599-608
Building Inscription of the Karnak Ptah-Temple . . . . .	609-622
Obelisks . . . . .	623
I. Karnak Obelisks . . . . .	624-625
II. Lateran Obelisks . . . . .	626-628
III. Constantinople Obelisk . . . . .	629-631
IV. London Obelisk . . . . .	632-633
V. New York Obelisk . . . . .	634-636
Medinet Habu Building Inscriptions . . . . .	637-641
Heliopolis Building Inscriptions . . . . .	642-643
Nubian Wars . . . . .	644-654

	§§
I. Canal Inscription . . . . .	649-650
II. Inscriptions of Nehi, Viceroy of Kush . . . . .	651-652
III. Offerings from the South Countries . . . . .	653-654
Hymn of Victory . . . . .	655-662
Tomb of Rekhmire . . . . .	663-759
I. Appointment of Rekhmire as Vizier . . . . .	665-670
II. Duties of the Vizier . . . . .	671-711
III. The Sitting of the Vizier . . . . .	712-713
IV. Reception of Petitions . . . . .	714-715
V. Inspection of Taxes of Upper Egypt . . . . .	716
A. Above Thebes . . . . .	717-728
B. Below Thebes . . . . .	729-745
VI. Reception of Dues to the Amon-Temple . . . . .	746-751
VII. Inspection of Daily Offerings and of Monuments . . . . .	752
VIII. Inspection of Craftsmen . . . . .	753-755
IX. Inspection of Sculptors and Builders . . . . .	756-759
X. Reception of Foreign Tribute . . . . .	760-761
XI. Accession of Amenhotep II . . . . .	762
Stela of Intef the Herald . . . . .	763-771
Tomb of Menkheperreseneb . . . . .	772-776
Stela of Nibamon . . . . .	777-779
Reign of Amenhotep II . . . . .	780
Asiatic Campaign . . . . .	780-798
I. Karnak Stela . . . . .	781-790
II. Amâda and Elephantine Stelæ . . . . .	791-798
III. Karnak Chapel . . . . .	798A
Turra Inscription . . . . .	799-800
Tomb of Amenken . . . . .	801-802
Karnak Building Inscription . . . . .	803-806
Biography of Amenemhab . . . . .	807-809
Reign of Thutmose IV . . . . .	810-840
Sphinx Stela . . . . .	810-815
Asiatic Campaign . . . . .	816-822
Konosso Inscription . . . . .	823-829
Lateran Obelisk . . . . .	830-838
Stela of Pe'aoke . . . . .	839-840
Reign of Amenhotep III . . . . .	841-931
Birth and Coronation . . . . .	841

	§§
Nubian War . . . . .	842-855
I. Stela at First Cataract . . . . .	843-844
II. Stela of Konosso . . . . .	845
III. Bubastis Inscription . . . . .	846-850
IV. Semneh Inscription . . . . .	851-855
Tablet of Victory . . . . .	856-859
The Commemorative Scarabs . . . . .	860-869
I. Marriage with Tiy . . . . .	861-862
II. Wild Cattle Hunt . . . . .	863-864
III. Ten Years Lion-Hunting . . . . .	865
IV. Marriage with Kirgipa . . . . .	866-867
V. Construction of a Pleasure Lake . . . . .	868-869
Jubilee Celebrations . . . . .	870-874
Quarry and Mine Inscriptions . . . . .	875-877
Building Inscription . . . . .	878-892
I. Introduction (ll. 1-2) . . . . .	882
II. Temple of the (Memnon) Colossi (ll. 2-10) . . . . .	883-885
III. Luxor Temple and Connected Buildings . . . . .	886-887
IV. Sacred Barge of Amon (ll. 16-20) . . . . .	888
V. Third Pylon of Karnak (ll. 20-23) . . . . .	889
VI. Temple of Soleb (ll. 23-26) . . . . .	890
VII. Hymn of Amon to the King (ll. 26-31) . . . . .	891-892
Building Inscriptions of the Soleb Temple . . . . .	893-898
Great Inscription of the Third Karnak Pylon . . . . .	899-903
Dedication Stela . . . . .	904-910
I. Speech of the King (ll. 1-13) . . . . .	905-908
II. Speech of Amon (ll. 14-20) . . . . .	909
III. Speech of the Divine Ennead (ll. 20-24) . . . . .	910
Inscriptions of Amenhotep, Son of Hapi . . . . .	911-927
I. Statue Inscription . . . . .	913-920
II. Mortuary Temple Edict . . . . .	921-927
Statue of Nebnefer . . . . .	928-931
Reign of Ikhnaton . . . . .	932-1018
Quarry Inscription at Silsileh . . . . .	932-935
Tomb of the Vizier Ramose . . . . .	936-948
The Tell El-Amarna Landmarks . . . . .	949-972
Assuan Tablet of the Architect Bek . . . . .	973-976
The Tell El-Amarna Tombs . . . . .	977-1018



TABLE OF CONTENTS

xvii

	§§
Tomb of Merire II . . . . .	981
Tomb of Merire I . . . . .	982-988
Tomb of Eye . . . . .	989-996
Tomb of Mai . . . . .	997-1003
Tomb of Ahmose . . . . .	1004-1008
Tomb of Tutu . . . . .	1009-1013
Tomb of Huy . . . . .	1014-1018
Reign of Tutenkhamon . . . . .	1019-1041
Tomb of Huy . . . . .	1019-1041
I. Investiture of the Viceroy of Kush . . . . .	1020-1026
II. Tribute of the North . . . . .	1027-1033
III. Tribute of the South . . . . .	1034-1041
Reign of Eye . . . . .	1042-1043

LIST OF FIGURES

	PAGE
Plan of Punt Reliefs . . . . .	105

VOLUME III

	§§
THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY . . . . .	1-651
Reign of Harmhab . . . . .	1-73
Tomb of Harmhab . . . . .	1-21
I. Leyden Fragments . . . . .	2-9
I. Stela with Adoration Scene . . . . .	2-5
II. Reward of Gold . . . . .	6-9
II. Vienna Fragment . . . . .	10-12
III. Alexandria Fragments . . . . .	13
IV. British Museum Fragments . . . . .	14-19
I. Doorposts . . . . .	14-17
II. Stela with Three Hymns . . . . .	18-19
V. Cairo Fragments . . . . .	20-21
Coronation Inscription . . . . .	22-32
Graffiti in the Theban Necropolis . . . . .	32A-32C
The Wars of Harmhab . . . . .	33-44
I. In the North . . . . .	34-36
II. In the South . . . . .	37-44
Edict of Harmhab . . . . .	45-67

	§§
I. Introduction (ll. 1-10) . . . . .	49
II. Introduction: The King's Zeal for the Relief of the People (ll. 10-14) . . . . .	50
III. Enactment Against Robbing the Poor of Dues for the Royal Breweries and Kitchens (ll. 14-17)	51
IV. Enactment Against Robbing the Poor of Wood Due the Pharaoh (ll. 17-18) . . . . .	52
V. Enactment Against Exacting Dues from a Poor Man Thus Robbed (ll. 18-20) . . . . .	53
VI. Against Robbing the Poor of Dues for the Harem or the Gods by the Soldiers (ll. 20-24) . . . . .	54
VII. Enactments Against Unlawful Appropriation of Slave Service (ll. 22-24) . . . . .	55
VIII. Enactment Against Stealing of Hides by the Soldiers (ll. 25-28) . . . . .	56-57
IX. Against Connivance of Dishonest Inspectors with Thievish Tax-Collectors, for a Share of the Booty (ll. 28-32) . . . . .	58
X. Enactment Against Stealing Vegetables Under Pretense of Collecting Taxes (ll. 32-35) . . . . .	59
XI. Enactments too Fragmentary for Analysis (ll. 35- 39) and Right Side (ll. 1, 2) . . . . .	60-62
XII. Narrative of the King's Reforms, Containing Also an Enactment Against Corrupt Judges (ll. 3-7) . . . . .	63-65
XIII. Narrative of the King's Monthly Audiences and Largesses (ll. 7-10) . . . . .	66
XIV. Laudation of the King, and Conclusion (Left Side) . . . . .	67
Tomb of Neferhotep . . . . .	68-73
Reign of Ramses I . . . . .	74-79
Wadi Halfa Stela . . . . .	74-79
Reign of Seti I . . . . .	80-250
Karnak Reliefs . . . . .	80-156
Scene 1. March through Southern Palestine . . . . .	83-84
Scene 2. Battle with the Shasu . . . . .	85-86
Scene 3. Capture of Pekanán . . . . .	87-88
Scene 4. Capture of Yenoam . . . . .	89-90

	§§
Scene 5. Submission of the Chiefs of Lebanon . . . . .	91-94
Scenes 6 and 7. Binding and Carrying Away Prisoners . . . . .	95-97
Scene 8. Reception in Egypt . . . . .	98-103
Scene 9. Presentation of Shasu Prisoners and Precious Vessels to Amon . . . . .	104-108
Scene 10. Presentation of Syrian Prisoners and Precious Vessels to Amon . . . . .	109-112
Scene 11. Slaying Prisoners Before Amon . . . . .	113-119
Scene 12. First Battle with the Libyans . . . . .	120-122
Scene 13. Second Battle with the Libyans . . . . .	123-132
Scene 14. Return from Libyan War . . . . .	133-134
Scene 15. Presentation of Libyan Prisoners and Spoil to Amon . . . . .	135-139
Scene 16. Capture of Kadesh . . . . .	140-141
Scene 17. Battle with the Hittites . . . . .	142-144
Scene 18. Carrying off Hittite Prisoners . . . . .	145-148
Scene 19. Presentation of Hittite Spoil and Prisoners to Amon . . . . .	149-152
Scene 20. Slaying Prisoners before Amon . . . . .	153-156
Wadi Halfa Stela . . . . .	157-161
Inscriptions of Redesiyeh . . . . .	162-198
I. First Inscription . . . . .	169-174
II. Second Inscription . . . . .	175-194
III. Third Inscription . . . . .	195-198
Building Inscriptions . . . . .	199-250
I. First Cataract Inscription . . . . .	201-204
1. Assuan Inscription . . . . .	201-202
2. Elephantine Stela . . . . .	203-204
II. Silsileh Quarry Stela . . . . .	205-208
III. Gebelên Quarry Inscription . . . . .	209-210
IV. Mortuary Temple at Thebes (Kurna) . . . . .	211-221
V. Temple of Karnak . . . . .	222-224
VI. Mortuary Temple at Abydos . . . . .	225-243
VII. Temple Model of Heliopolis . . . . .	244-246
VIII. Miscellaneous . . . . .	247-250
Reign of Ramses II . . . . .	251-568
Great Abydos Inscription . . . . .	251-281
Kubbân Stela . . . . .	282-293

	§§
The Asiatic War . . . . .	294-391
I. Beginning of the Hittite War . . . . .	296-351
I. First Campaign . . . . .	297
II. Second Campaign: The Battle of Kadesh . . . . .	298-351
a. Poem of the Battle of Kadesh . . . . .	305-315
b. Official Record of the Battle of Kadesh . . . . .	316-327
c. The Reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh. . . . .	328
I. The Council of War . . . . .	329-330
II. The Camp . . . . .	331-332
III. Ramses' Messengers . . . . .	333-334
IV. The Battle . . . . .	335-338
V. The Defense of the Camp . . . . .	339-340
VI. After the Battle . . . . .	341-347
VII. Presentation of Captives to Amon . . . . .	348-351
III. Palestinian Revolt . . . . .	352-362
I. Reconquest of Southern Palestine . . . . .	353-355
II. Reconquest of Northern Palestine . . . . .	356-362
IV. Campaign in Naharin . . . . .	363-391
I. Conquest of Naharin . . . . .	364-366
II. Treaty with the Hittites . . . . .	367-391
Relations of Egypt with the Hittites after the War . . . . .	392-491
I. The Blessing of Ptah . . . . .	394-414
II. Marriage Stela . . . . .	415-424
III. Message of the Chief of Kheta to the Chief of Kode . . . . .	425-426
IV. Coptos Stela . . . . .	427-428
V. Bentresh Stela . . . . .	429-447
Nubian Wars and References to Northern Wars . . . . .	448-491
I. Abu Simbel Temple . . . . .	449-457
II. Bet el-Walli Temple . . . . .	458-477
III. Assuan Stela . . . . .	478-479
IV. Luxor Temple . . . . .	480-484
V. Abydos Temple . . . . .	485-486
VI. Tanis Stelæ . . . . .	487-491
Building Inscriptions . . . . .	492-537
I. Great Temple of Abu Simbel. . . . .	495-499
II. Small Temple of Abu Simbel. . . . .	500-501
III. Temple of Serreh . . . . .	502

	§§
IV. Temple of Derr . . . . .	503
V. Temple of Sebûa . . . . .	504
VI. Temple of el Kab . . . . .	505
VII. Temple of Luxor . . . . .	506-508
VIII. Temple of Karnak . . . . .	509-513
IX. The Ramesseum . . . . .	514-515
X. Temple of Kurna . . . . .	516-522
XI. Seti I's Temple at Abydos and Great Abydos	
Inscription . . . . .	262-267
XII. Ramses II's Temple at Abydos . . . . .	524-529
XIII. Memphis Temples . . . . .	530-537
1. Great Abydos Inscription (l. 22) . . . . .	260
2. Blessing of Ptah (ll. 32, 35) . . . . .	412-413
XIV. City of Tanis (Blessing of Ptah (ll. 16-18) . . . . .	406
Stela of the Year 400 . . . . .	538-542
Royal Jubilee Inscriptions . . . . .	543-560
I. First Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	552
II. Bigeh Inscription . . . . .	553
III. Second Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	554
IV. Third Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	555
V. Fourth Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	556
VI. Sehel Inscription . . . . .	557
VII. El Kab Inscription . . . . .	558
VIII. Fifth Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	559
IX. Sixth Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	560
Inscription of Beknekhonsu . . . . .	561-568
Reign of Merneptah . . . . .	569-638
The Invasion of Libyans and Mediterranean Peoples . . . . .	569-617
I. The Great Karnak Inscription . . . . .	572-592
II. The Cairo Column . . . . .	593-595
III. The Athribis Stela . . . . .	596-601
IV. The Hymn of Victory . . . . .	602-617
Inscriptions of the High Priest of Amon, Roy . . . . .	618-628
Daybook of a Frontier Official . . . . .	629-635
Letter of a Frontier Official . . . . .	636-638
Reign of Siptah . . . . .	639-650
Nubian Graffiti . . . . .	639-650

LIST OF FIGURES		PAGE
Fig. 1.	Plan of the Reliefs of Seti I, on the North Wall of the Great Hall of Karnak . . . . .	39
Fig. 2.	Seti I on the Route through Southern Palestine (Scene 1) . . . . .	44
Fig. 3.	Showing Two Superimposed Figures . . . . .	61
Fig. 4.	Inserted Figure of "First King's-Son" . . . . .	61
Fig. 5.	An Unknown Prince Following the Chariot of Seti I (Scene 14) . . . . .	66
Fig. 6.	Figure of an Unknown Prince Inserted in a Fragmentary Scene (§ 130) . . . . .	66
Fig. 7.	Map of the Orontes Valley in the Vicinity of Kadesh . . . . .	126
Fig. 8.	March to Kadesh: First Positions . . . . .	128
Fig. 9.	Battle of Kadesh: Second Positions . . . . .	130
Fig. 10.	Battle of Kadesh: Third Positions . . . . .	130
Fig. 11.	Battle of Kadesh: Fourth Positions . . . . .	130
Fig. 12.	Battle of Kadesh: Fifth Positions . . . . .	130
Fig. 13.	The Modern Mound of Kadesh . . . . .	152

#### VOLUME IV

		§§
THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY . . . . .		1-603
Reign of Ramses III . . . . .		1-456
Medinet Habu Temple . . . . .		1-150
Building and Dedication Inscriptions . . . . .		1-20
Historical Inscriptions . . . . .		21-138
I. Treasury of Medinet Habu Temple . . . . .		25-34
II. First Libyan War, Year 5 . . . . .		35-58
1. Great Inscription in the Second Court (Year 5) . . . . .		36-58
III. Northern War, Year 8 . . . . .		59-82
1. Great Inscription on the Second Pylon, Year 8 . . . . .		61-68
2. Relief Scenes Outside North Wall and in Second Court, Year 8 . . . . .		69-82
IV. Second Libyan War . . . . .		83-114

	§§
1. Great Inscription on the First Pylon (Medinet Habu) . . . . .	85-92
2. Poem on Second Libyan War . . . . .	93-99
3. Relief Scenes on First Pylon and Outside North Wall (Medinet Habu) . . . . .	100-114
4. Papyrus Harris . . . . .	405
V. The Syrian War . . . . .	115-135
VI. The Nubian War . . . . .	136-138
Medinet Habu Temple Calendar . . . . .	139-145
Act of Endowment of the Temples of Khnum . . . . .	146-150
Papyrus Harris . . . . .	151-412
Discussion of . . . . .	151-181
Content:	
I. Introduction . . . . .	182-183
II. Theban Section . . . . .	184-246
III. Heliopolitan Section . . . . .	247-304
IV. Memphite Section . . . . .	305-351
V. General Section (Small Temples) . . . . .	352-382
VI. Summary . . . . .	383-396
VII. Historical Section . . . . .	397-412
Record of the Royal Jubilee . . . . .	413-415
Records of the Harem Conspiracy . . . . .	416-456
I. Appointment of the Court . . . . .	423-424
II. The Condemned of the First Prosecution . . . . .	425-443
III. The Condemned of the Second Prosecution . . . . .	444-445
IV. The Condemned of the Third Prosecution . . . . .	446-450
V. The Condemned of the Fourth Prosecution . . . . .	451-452
VI. The Acquitted . . . . .	453
VII. The Practicers of Magic . . . . .	454-456
Reign of Ramses IV . . . . .	457-472
Hammamat Stela . . . . .	457-468
I. The First Stela . . . . .	457-460
II. The Second Stela . . . . .	461-468
Abydos Stela . . . . .	469-471
Building Inscription of the Khonsu Temple . . . . .	472
Reign of Ramses V . . . . .	473
Tomb Dedication . . . . .	473
Reign of Ramses VI . . . . .	474-483

	§§
Tomb of Penno . . . . .	474-483
Reign of Ramses VII . . . . .	484-485
Stela of Hori . . . . .	484-485
Reign of Ramses IX . . . . .	486-556
Inscriptions of the High Priest of Amon, Amenhotep	486-498
I. Building Inscriptions . . . . .	488-491
II. Records of Rewards . . . . .	492-498
• The Records of the Royal Tomb-Robberies . . . . .	499-556
I. Papyrus Abbott . . . . .	509-535
II. Papyrus Amherst . . . . .	536-541
III. Turin Fragment . . . . .	542-543
IV. Mayer Papyri . . . . .	544-556
Reign of Ramses XII . . . . .	557-603
The Report of Wenamon . . . . .	557-591
Records of the Restoration of the Royal Mummies . . . . .	592-594
Letter to the Viceroy of Kush . . . . .	595-600
Building Inscriptions in the Temple of Khonsu . . . . .	601-603
<b>THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY . . . . .</b>	<b>604-692</b>
The Twenty-First Dynasty . . . . .	604-607
Reign of Hrihor . . . . .	608-626
Inscriptions of the Temple of Khonsu . . . . .	608-626
Reign of Nesubnebded . . . . .	627-630
Gebelên Inscription . . . . .	627-630
Reign of the High Priest and King Paynozem I . . . . .	631-649
I. Paynozem I as High Priest . . . . .	631-635
Building Inscriptions . . . . .	631-635
Records on the Royal Mummies . . . . .	636-642
II. Paynozem I as King . . . . .	643 ff.
Records on the Royal Mummies . . . . .	643-647
Building Inscriptions . . . . .	648-649
High Priesthood of Menkheperre . . . . .	650-661
Stela of the Banishment . . . . .	650-658
Record of Restoration . . . . .	659
Karnak Graffito . . . . .	660
Records on the Royal Mummies . . . . .	661
High Priesthood of Paynozem II . . . . .	662-687
Records on the Priestly Mummies . . . . .	662-663
Records on the Royal Mummies . . . . .	664-667



	§§
Record of Paynozem II's Burial . . . . .	668
Stela of the "Great Chief of Me," Sheshonk . . . . .	669-687
High Priesthood of Pesibkhenno . . . . .	688-692
Records on Mummy-Wrappings . . . . .	688
Burial of Nesikhonsu . . . . .	689
Records on the Royal Mummies . . . . .	690-692
<b>THE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY . . . . .</b>	<b>693-792</b>
Records of Nile-Levels at Karnak . . . . .	693-698
Reign of Sheshonk I . . . . .	699-728
Records on Mummy-Bandages of Zeptahefonekh . . . . .	699-700
Building Inscription . . . . .	701-708
Great Karnak Relief . . . . .	709-722
Presentation of Tribute . . . . .	723-724
Karnak Stela . . . . .	724A
Dakhel Stela . . . . .	725-728
Reign of Osorkon I . . . . .	729-737
Record of Temple Gifts . . . . .	729-737
Reign of Takelot I . . . . .	738-740
Statue of the Nile-God Dedicated by the High Priest, Sheshonk . . . . .	738-740
Reign of Osorkon II . . . . .	742-751
Flood Inscription . . . . .	742-744
Statue Inscription . . . . .	745-747
Jubilee Inscriptions . . . . .	748-751
Reign of Takelot II . . . . .	752-755
Graffito of Harsiese . . . . .	752-754
Stela of Kerome . . . . .	755
Reign of Sheshonk III . . . . .	756-777
Annals of the High Priest of Amon, Osorkon . . . . .	756-770
I. East of Door . . . . .	760-761
II. West of Door . . . . .	762-770
First Serapeum Stela of Pediese . . . . .	771-774
Record of Installation . . . . .	775-777
Reign of Pemou . . . . .	778-781
Second Serapeum Stela of Pediese . . . . .	778-781
Reign of Sheshonk IV . . . . .	782-792
Stela of Weshtehet . . . . .	782-784

	§§
Serapeum Stela of Harpeson . . . . .	785-792
<b>THE TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY.</b> . . . .	<b>793-883</b>
Records of Nile-Levels at Karnak . . . . .	793-794
Reign of Osorkon III . . . . .	795
Will of Yewelot . . . . .	795
Reign of Piankhi . . . . .	796-883
The Piankhi Stela . . . . .	796-883
<b>THE TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY</b> . . . . .	<b>884</b>
Reign of Bocchoris . . . . .	884
Serapeum Stelæ . . . . .	884
<b>THE TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY</b> . . . . .	<b>885-934</b>
Records of the Nile-Levels at Karnak . . . . .	885-888
Reign of Shabaka . . . . .	889
Building Inscription . . . . .	889
Reign of Taharka . . . . .	892-918
Tanis Stela . . . . .	892-896
Building Inscription in Large Cliff-Temple of Napata	897-900
Inscription of Mentemhet . . . . .	901-916
Serapeum Stela . . . . .	917-918
Reign of Tanutamou . . . . .	919-934
Stela of Tanutamou . . . . .	919-934
<b>THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY</b> . . . . .	<b>935-1029</b>
Reign of Psamtik I . . . . .	935-973
Adoption Stela of Nitocris . . . . .	935-958
Statue Inscription of the Chief Steward, Ibe . . . . .	958A-958M
First Serapeum Stela . . . . .	959-962
Second Serapeum Stela . . . . .	963-966
Statue Inscription of Hor . . . . .	967-973
Reign of Necho . . . . .	974-980
Serapeum Stela . . . . .	974-979
Building Inscription . . . . .	980
Reign of Psamtik II . . . . .	981-983
Statue Inscription of Neferibre-Nofer . . . . .	981-983
Reign of Apries . . . . .	984-995
Serapeum Stela . . . . .	984-988
Stela of the Divine Consort Enekhnesneferibre . . . . .	988A-988J
Inscription of Nesuhor . . . . .	989-995

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xxvii

---

	ii
Reign of Amasis (Ahmose II). . . . .	996-1029
Elephantine Stela . . . . .	996-1007
Serapeum Stela . . . . .	1008-1012
Statue Inscription of the General Ahmose . . . . .	1013-1014
Statue Inscription of Pefnefdineit . . . . .	1015-1025
Mortuary Stelæ of the Priest Psantik . . . . .	1026-1029

LIST OF FIGURES

	PAGE
Plan of Scenes and Inscriptions in Medinet Habu Temple . . . . .	5
INDEX . . . . .	521

## EXPLANATION OF TYPOGRAPHICAL SIGNS AND SPECIAL CHARACTERS

1. The introductions to the documents are in twelve-point type, like these lines.

2. All of the translations are in ten-point type, like this line.

3. In the footnotes and introductions all quotations from the documents in the original words of the translation are in *italics*, inclosed in quotation marks. *Italics* are not employed in the text of the volumes for any other purpose except for titles.

4. The lines of the original document are indicated in the translation by superior numbers.

5. The loss of a word in the original is indicated by —, two words by — —, three words by — — —, four words by — — — —, five words by — — — — —, and more than five by —————. A word in the original is estimated at a “square” as known to Egyptologists, and the estimate can be but a very rough one.

6. When any of the dashes, like those of No. 5, are inclosed in half-brackets, the dashes so inclosed indicate not lost, but uncertain words. Thus [—] represents one uncertain word, [— —] two uncertain words, and [————] more than five uncertain words.

7. When a word or group of words are inclosed in half-brackets, the words so inclosed are uncertain in meaning; that is, the translation is not above question.

8. Roman numerals I, II, III, and IV, not preceded by the title of any book or journal, refer to these four volumes of Historical Documents. The Arabic numerals following such Romans refer to the numbered paragraphs of these volumes. All paragraph marks (§ and §§, without a Roman) refer to paragraphs of the same volume.

9. For signs used in transliteration, see Vol. I, p. xv.

## THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

## REIGN OF AHMOSE I

### BIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE, SON OF EBANA<sup>a</sup>

1. This inscription contains the biography of a naval officer, Ahmose, a nobleman of El Kab, who served with distinction under three successive kings: Ahmose I, Amenhotep I, and Thutmose I, his father having served under the predecessor of Ahmose I, Sekenenre. It is especially important, because it is our only contemporary source for the expulsion of the Hyksos, and forms, with the biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet (§§ 17 ff.), our only source for the wars of the early Eighteenth Dynasty; for the royal records of this critical period have totally perished. The family of nomarchs at El Kab<sup>b</sup> were strong supporters of the rising dynasty, and it is clear that such loyalty was liberally rewarded with the gifts of slaves and land,<sup>c</sup> of which both the El Kab Ahmoses boast. It was by thus cementing a firm friendship with such local nobility that the first kings

---

<sup>a</sup>On the wall of Ahmose's cliff-tomb at El Kab; in two parts: the first, of 31 lines on the right-hand wall, and the second, of 8 lines, on the door-wall at the left of door. Text: Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 655-57, only 26 lines, and very inaccurate; first completely published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 12, *a* and *d*; thence inaccurately copied by Rheinisch, *Chrestomathie*, Pl. 6, omitting *d*; and equally incorrectly, Lemm, *Lesestücke*, 67; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, 2d ed., V, 732, 733 (beginning only). I have collated the excellent Berlin squeeze (No. 172), which mostly sustains Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, but furnishes some important corrections. Valuable discussion of difficult passages by Piehl, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XV, 256-58, and *Sphinx*, III, 7-12.

<sup>b</sup>The family is far older than the Empire, and already under the Thirteenth Dynasty enjoyed the favor of the king (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 14, *b*); but it is impossible to trace the line back of Ahmose, son of Ebana's grandmother.

<sup>c</sup>A boundary stone marking one limit of such a gift by Thutmose I was acquired by the Berlin Museum in 1899. It reads: "Southern boundary of the fields given as a favor of the royal presence, to the orderly (*snn*) of his majesty, Nekri (*Nkry*); 150 stat." See a similar tablet in Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 47A, under Thutmose IV.

of the Eighteenth Dynasty maintained themselves during their long and exhausting wars. The royal children were even intrusted to these El Kab princes, to be reared under their charge,<sup>a</sup> and they finally ruled from El Kab to Esneh.<sup>b</sup>

2. The ten campaigns in which Ahmose took part are treated in the respective reigns under which they fall, as follows:

I. Career under Ahmose I, ll. 1-24 (§§ 4 ff.).

II. Career under Amenhotep I, ll. 24-29 (§§ 38 ff.).

III. Career under Thutmose I, ll. 29-39 (§§ 78 ff.).

3. The immediate authorship of the inscription is established by the neighboring relief. Ahmose is represented as standing at the left, and before him is his grandson, Pahari (*P<sup>h</sup>-hry*), accompanied by the following words:

By the son of his daughter the conductor of the works in this tomb, perpetuating the name of the father of his mother, the draughtsman<sup>c</sup> of Amon, Pahari,<sup>d</sup> triumphant.

The long inscription was therefore executed by Ahmose's grandson, Pahari, who was a draughtsman.

#### I. CAREER UNDER AHMOSE I

[Ll. 1-24; continued §§ 38 ff.]

4. After an introduction and a few words about his youth and parentage, Ahmose plunges directly into his first

<sup>a</sup>See *Tomb of Pahari*, "Eleventh Memoir," Egyptian Exploration Fund, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 10, b and 11, b.

<sup>b</sup>Pahari, grandson of Ahmose, son of Ebana, was "prince of Esneh (*Yny't*), governor of the southern lands (*h't*), satisfying the excellent heart of his lord from the House of Hathor to El Kab." Tylor, *Tomb of Pahari*, Pl. III.

<sup>c</sup>See Goodwin, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1872, 21.

<sup>d</sup>His tomb is the most interesting one at El Kab; see *The Tomb of Pahari at El Kab*, by Griffith and Tylor, "Eleventh Memoir," of Egyptian Exploration Fund.

campaign, with an account of a siege of the city of Hatwaret (*ht-w<sup>c</sup> r·t*). This can be no other than the city called Avaris by Manetho (Josephus, *Contra Apion*, I, 14), where, according to him, the Hyksos make their last stand in Egypt.<sup>a</sup> It is also mentioned as the residence of the Asiatics (*mw*, § 303, l. 37) by Hatshepsut, and by a papyrus of the late Nineteenth Dynasty,<sup>b</sup> as the residence of an Apophis; so that there is no doubt about the identification with Avaris. The siege, which must have lasted many years, was interrupted by the rebellion of some disaffected noble in Upper Egypt; but the city was finally captured, and the Hyksos, fleeing into Asia, were pursued to the city of Sharuhem (Josh. 19:6). Here they were besieged for six years by Ahmose I, and this stronghold was also captured. It was probably at the conclusion of this siege that Ahmose I pushed northward and invaded Syria, as narrated by Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet (§ 20), probably still in pursuit of the last remnants of the Hyksos.

5. The king now returned, and carried his army to the other extreme of his domain, invading Nubia. He was recalled from a successful campaign there, to quell two successive rebellions, the last of the internal dissensions which had distracted the country since the fall of the Middle Kingdom. At this point the wars, and probably the reign, of Ahmose I closed, Ahmose, son of Ebana, having gained distinction in all his campaigns.

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<sup>a</sup>According to *Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report* (1900-1901, 13), there is in Cairo a stela containing a reference to this war with the Hyksos, but I have been unable to gain any information concerning it. It is probably § 30.

<sup>b</sup>Sallier I, 1-3; it contains a folk-tale narrating the cause of the war between a Hyksos king, Apophis in Avaris, and a Sekenenre, who was ruler (*hk<sup>2</sup>*) in Thebes. Unfortunately, only the beginning is preserved. Most of the current translations and interpretations of this document are largely the products of a vivid imagination.



*Introductory Address*

6. <sup>1</sup>Chief of the sailors, Ahmose (*Y<sup>c</sup> h-mš*), son of Ebana (*ʔ-bʔ-nʔ*), triumphant; <sup>2</sup>he says: "I will tell you, O all ye people; I will cause you to know the honors which came to me. I was presented with gold seven times<sup>a</sup> in the presence <sup>3</sup>of the whole land; male and female slaves likewise. I was endowed with very many fields." The fame of one valiant in his achievements shall not perish <sup>4</sup>in this land forever.<sup>b</sup>

*His Youth*

7. He speaks as follows: "I spent my youth in the city of Nekheb<sup>c</sup> (*Nḥb*), my father being an officer of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sekenenre (*Sḳnyn R<sup>c</sup>-*), triumphant, Baba (*Bʔbʔ*), <sup>5</sup>son of Royenet, (*Rʔ-yn-t*), was his name. Then I served as an officer in his stead, in the ship 'The Offering' in the time of the Lord of the Two Lands, Nebpehtire (*Nb-ḫty-R<sup>c</sup>*, Ahmose I), triumphant, <sup>6</sup>while I was (still) young, not having taken a wife,<sup>d</sup> and while I was still sleeping in the [—] garment.<sup>e</sup> Then after I set up a household, I was transferred <sup>7</sup>to the northern fleet, because of my valor. I followed the king on foot<sup>f</sup> when he rode abroad in his <sup>8</sup>chariot.

*Campaign against the Hyksos; Siege of Avaris*

8. One besieged the city of Avaris (*Ḥt-w<sup>c</sup> r-t*); I showed valor on foot<sup>f</sup> before his majesty; then I was appointed <sup>9</sup>to (the ship) 'Shining-in-Memphis.'<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Ahmose has recorded elsewhere in his tomb (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 12, c) a list of the gifts he received, making a total of 9 men and 10 women; the total of land is lost. This does not agree with his narrative, which does not summarize, but in different gifts mentions in all 9 men and 7 women received from the king, and 8 men and 7 women captured.

<sup>b</sup>This last statement is probably a proverbial phrase; see Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XXVI, 41, 42.

<sup>c</sup>El Kab.

<sup>d</sup>See Müller, *Liebespoesie*, 3.

<sup>e</sup>This is, of course, some garment worn by a youth; cf. the girdle of Uni's youth (I, 294, l. 1).

<sup>f</sup>Lit., "on my two feet;" this is emphasized as land service, Ahmose being a naval officer.

<sup>g</sup>Reward after the first battle at Avaris.

*Second Battle of Avaris*

9. One fought on the water in the canal: Pezedku (*P<sup>3</sup>-ḏdkw*) of Avaris. Then I fought hand to hand, <sup>10</sup>I brought away a hand.<sup>a</sup> It was reported to the royal herald. One gave to me the gold of valor.<sup>b</sup>

*Third Battle of Avaris*

10. Then there was again fighting in this place; I again fought hand to hand <sup>11</sup>there; I brought away a hand. One gave to me the gold of bravery in the second place.<sup>c</sup>

*First Rebellion, Interrupting Siege of Avaris*

11. One fought in this Egypt,<sup>d</sup> south of this city; <sup>12</sup>then I brought away a living captive, a man; I descended into the water; behold, he was brought<sup>e</sup> as a seizure upon the road of this <sup>13</sup>city,<sup>e</sup> (although) I crossed with him over the water. It was announced to the royal herald. Then one presented<sup>f</sup> me with gold in double measure.<sup>g</sup>

*Capture of Avaris*

12. One <sup>14</sup>captured Avaris; I took captive there one man and three women, total four heads, his majesty gave them to me for slaves.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Cut off as a trophy, from a slain enemy.

<sup>b</sup>Reward after the second battle.      <sup>c</sup>Reward after the third battle.

<sup>d</sup>There can be no doubt that the word (*km't*) means here, as always elsewhere, "Egypt;" "this city" is then El Kab, for the word "south" is an adjective feminine agreeing with "Egypt." The phrase can only be translated into a language like Greek or German, thus: "in diesem südlich von dieser Stadt befindlichen Aegypten." The siege of Avaris is therefore interrupted by a rebellion in upper Egypt, similar to the two later ones (§§ 15, 16), and for this reason the narrative particularly specifies "this Egypt, south, etc." See also § 13, l. 15.

<sup>e</sup>Contrast with this the two men "captured as a seizure upon the ship of the enemy" (l. 21). There is no ground for the fanciful rendering, indicating that he lost his way! Ahmose means that, although obliged to descend to and cross over the water (of some canal) with his prisoner, he brought him away as safely as one seized upon the road of the city.

<sup>f</sup>Read *hr* for *myk* (confusion from hieratic?), as in l. 28.

<sup>g</sup>Reward after the fourth battle.

<sup>h</sup>Reward after the fifth battle; apparently Avaris was captured on the fourth assault; but these brief references to fighting may each one indicate a whole season of the siege, which would then have lasted four years, as that of Sharuhē lasted six. See § 13.

*Siege of Sharuhen*

13. <sup>15</sup>One besieged Sharuhen<sup>a</sup> (Š<sup>2</sup>-r<sup>2</sup>-h<sup>2</sup>-n<sup>2</sup>) for 6 years,<sup>b</sup> (and) his majesty took it. Then I took captive there two women and one hand. <sup>16</sup>One gave me the gold of bravery, [besides] giving me the captives for slaves.

*Campaign against Nubia*

14. Now, after his majesty had slain the Asiatics (*Mntyw Stt*), <sup>17</sup>he ascended the river to Khenhennofer (*Hnt-hn-nfr*), to destroy the Nubian Troglodytes;<sup>c</sup> his majesty made a great slaughter among them. <sup>18</sup>Then I took captive there, two living men, and three hands. One presented me with gold in double measure, [besides] giving to me two female slaves.<sup>d</sup> <sup>19</sup>His majesty sailed down-stream, his heart joyous with the might of victory, (for) he had seized Southerners and Northerners.

*Second Rebellion*

15. <sup>20</sup>There came an enemy of the South; his fate, his destruction approached; the gods of the South seized him, and his majesty found him in Tintto-emu (*Tynt-t<sup>2</sup>-mw*).<sup>e</sup> His majesty carried him off <sup>21</sup>a living prisoner, and all his people carried captive. I carried away two

<sup>a</sup>Cf. Josh. 19:6.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, has "5," which has been generally accepted; Champollion's text and Brugsch's translation have "6." I repeatedly examined the squeeze for this point with especial care; it has a clear "6." The correctness of the rendering "for 6 years" rather than "in the year 6" has been clearly demonstrated by Piehl (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XV, 258). Another proof is that *m*, the preposition here, is used all through the Beknekhonsu inscription (Munich) for "during" or "for" a period of years. This throws a new light on the whole Asiatic campaign, for the stubbornness of the besieged and the persistence of Ahmose are almost certainly an indication that the siege is an extension of the campaign against the Hyksos, who, having retreated to Sharuhen, are here making their last stand. We may suppose, therefore, that the siege of Avaris itself also lasted many years, allowing opportunity for a rebellion in Upper Egypt. See § 11, l. 11.

<sup>c</sup>Cf. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 21.

<sup>d</sup>These slaves being women, are not the two captives just taken, as the translations of Renouf and Petrie indicate.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., "She of the land of the water-supply" (*c-mw*, "water-supply," occurs at Siut, I, 407, l. 6, and in Rekhmire, § 698, l. 25); possibly the district of the first cataract is meant, as the rebellion was in the South. The name is elsewhere unknown.

archers<sup>a</sup> as a seizure in the ship of the enemy;<sup>b</sup> one <sup>22</sup>gave to me five heads besides pieces of land (amounting to) five stat (*st<sup>2</sup>t*)<sup>c</sup> in my city.<sup>d</sup> It was done to all the sailors likewise.

*Third Rebellion*

16. Then came that fallen one,<sup>e</sup> <sup>23</sup>whose name was Teti-en (*Tty-c n*);<sup>f</sup> he had gathered to himself rebels.<sup>g</sup> His majesty slew him and his servants,<sup>h</sup> annihilating<sup>i</sup> them. There were given <sup>24</sup>to me three heads, and fields (amounting to) five stat<sup>j</sup> in my city.

[Continued §§ 38 ff.]

BIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE-PEN-NEKHBET

17. This El Kab nobleman, like Ahmose, son of Ebana (§§ 1-16), served under the first kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but he lived to a greater age. Beginning his career under Ahmose I, he continued under Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, II, and III, and died enjoying the favor of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut. He has separated his

<sup>a</sup>This hitherto uncertain word (*myg* <sup>2</sup>) is rendered tolerably certain by a scene in the tomb of Harmhab (*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, Pl. III, foll. p. 434; see also 420), where it bears the determinative of shooting, and stands over a man with a bow, with the title "*chief archer (myg <sup>2</sup>) of his majesty.*"

<sup>b</sup>The determinative indicates an enemy, not a proper name, but the meaning of the word (*2<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>*) is unknown. The rendering "fiévreux" from Chabas is based on an impossible etymology. See Piehl, *Sphinx*, III, 11.

<sup>c</sup>A land measure containing about seven-tenths acres, here in apposition with "*pieces of land.*"

<sup>d</sup>El Kab.

<sup>e</sup>Term of contempt for a foe.

<sup>f</sup>There is no reason for supposing that this is not the rebel's real name. On the contrary, this very name was especially common at this period; see the ushebtis published by Borchardt (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 32, pp. 113 f.).

<sup>g</sup>Lit., "*the wicked of heart.*"

<sup>h</sup>Written feminine(!) in the text.

<sup>i</sup>Lit., "*as that which exists not.*"

<sup>j</sup>A land measure containing about seven-tenths of an acre, here in apposition with "*pieces of land.*"

biography into three parts: his campaigns,<sup>a</sup> his rewards,<sup>b</sup> and a summary.<sup>c</sup>

#### I. AHMOSE'S CAMPAIGNS<sup>d</sup>

[Continued § 40]

18. He enumerates his campaigns and his captures under Ahmose I, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I and II.

##### I. Career under Ahmose I

19. His meager reference to a campaign of Ahmose I in Zahi is our sole source of knowledge for that event. It probably followed the capture of Sharuhén.

##### Campaign in Syria

20. <sup>1</sup>Hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal,<sup>e</sup> chief treasurer, herald <sup>1</sup>of his Lord,<sup>f</sup> —<sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>Ahmose, called Pen-Nekhbet (*Pn-Nḥb·t*), triumphant; he says: "I followed King Nebpehtire (*Nb-phṯy-R* <sup>c</sup>, Ahmose I), triumphant. <sup>3</sup>I captured for him in Zahi (*D<sup>2</sup>-hy*) a living prisoner and a hand."

[Continued § 40]

<sup>a</sup>Campaigns, three originals: (1) statue-base belonging to Mr. Finlay, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 77, 78; (2) statue-base in the Louvre, Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XIV A; Prisse, *Monuments égyptiens*, IV; (3) Ahmose's tomb-wall at El Kab, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 43, a (lower left-hand corner), and Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 85. All sources have been collated.

<sup>b</sup>Rewards, two originals: (1) statue-base belonging to Mr. Finlay, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 78; (2) statue-base in the Louvre, Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XIV B; Prisse, *Monuments égyptiens*, IV.

<sup>c</sup>Summary, Ahmose's tomb-wall in El Kab, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 43, a, ll. 10-20; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 85, corrected and revised; and partially, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 46.

<sup>d</sup>The translation of the campaigns is distributed under the different reigns, under which he lived, because they furnish very important historical events, but his rewards and the summary, being more purely personal, are given in this reign.

<sup>e</sup>All except the Finlay text insert other titles here, but, except the first, "*sole companion*," they are illegible.

<sup>f</sup>All the other texts have *whm kf* <sup>c</sup>, which would mean "*repeating captures*." This unusual title was also in the rewards (l. 4).

<sup>g</sup>Lines numbered from the Finlay statue text.

## II. AHMOSE'S REWARDS

21. <sup>1</sup>. . . . . <sup>2</sup>. . . . . <sup>3</sup>. . . . . <sup>4</sup>. . . . .<sup>a</sup> Ahmose, called Pen-Nekhbet; he says: "By the <sup>5</sup>sovereign, who lives forever! I was not separated from the king upon the battlefield, from (the time of) <sup>6</sup>King Nebpehtire (Ahmose I), triumphant, to King Okhepernere (Thutmose II), triumphant; I was in the favor <sup>7</sup>of the king's presence, until King Menkheperre (Thutmose III), living forever.<sup>b</sup>

22. King Zeserkere (Amenhotep I), triumphant, gave to me, <sup>8</sup>of gold: two bracelets, two necklaces, an armlet, a dagger, a headdress, a fan, and a mekhtebet.

23. <sup>9</sup>King Okheperkere (Thutmose I), triumphant, gave to me, of gold: two bracelets, four necklaces, one armlet, six flies,<sup>c</sup> <sup>10</sup>three lions;<sup>d</sup> two golden axes.

24. King Okhepernere (Thutmose II),<sup>e</sup> triumphant, gave to me of gold: three bracelets, six necklaces, three armlets, a mekhtebet; a silver axe."

III. AHMOSE'S SUMMARY<sup>f</sup>

25. <sup>10g</sup>He says, "I followed the Kings <sup>11</sup>of Upper and Lower Egypt, the gods; I was with <sup>12</sup>their majesties when they went to the South and North country, in every place where they went; [from] <sup>13</sup>King Nebpehtire (Ahmose I), triumphant, King Zeserkere (Amenhotep I) [triumphant], King <sup>14</sup>Okheperkere (Thutmose I), triumphant, King

<sup>a</sup>Unimportant titles of Ahmose (see § 20, l. 1) very fragmentary; lines are numbered according to text in Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*.

<sup>b</sup>This phrase shows that Thutmose III is still alive at this time, but Ahmose is now too old to be "upon the battlefield," under him.

<sup>c</sup>These are golden flies, like those among Ahhotep's jewelry at Cairo. They were a decoration of honor. The word has been mistranslated "helmets." See Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1900, pp. 94, 95.

<sup>d</sup>Cf. inscription of Amenemhab, § 585.

<sup>e</sup>Finlay text, according to Maspero's copy, has Thutmose I; corrected by Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 239, n. 1, as above.

<sup>f</sup>Ahmose's tomb-wall in El Kab; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 43, a, ll. 10-20; *ibid.*, Text, IV, 46; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 85, corrected and revised, most of the lacunæ restored from Lepsius' papers and his squeeze.

<sup>g</sup>The summary does not begin until l. 10; ll. 1 and 2 contain an adoration of Re by Ahmose, and his titles occupy ll. 3-9. These 9 lines lack half their length.

Okhepernere (Thutmose II), triumphant, until this Good God, King Menkheperre (Thutmose III) <sup>15</sup>who is given life forever.<sup>a</sup>

I have attained a good old age, having <sup>16</sup>had a life<sup>b</sup> of royal favor, having had<sup>b</sup> honor under their majesties and the love of me having been in the court."

[Concluded in § 344]

#### QUARRY INSCRIPTION<sup>c</sup>

26. The inscription records the work of Neferperet, an official of Ahmose I, who, in the latter's twenty-second year, took out stone from the Ma <sup>c</sup> sara quarry, for the temples of Ptah and of Amon. The inscription is important, because it is the last dated document of Ahmose I, because it records the first resumption of building after the expulsion of the Hyksos, and for its reference to the Fenkhu, whose cattle were captured on some Asiatic campaign.

Above, in a position of significant prominence in the queen's case, are the names and titles of Ahmose I, and his queen, Ahmose-Nefretiri (*Y<sup>c</sup> h-mš, nfr t-ryr*).

27. <sup>1</sup>Year 22 under the majesty of the king, Son of Re, Ahmose, who is given life. <sup>2</sup>The quarry-chambers were opened a[ne]w; good limestone <sup>3</sup>of Ayan (<sup>c</sup> *nw*) was taken out for his temples of myriads of [years],<sup>d</sup> the temple of Ptah, the temple of Amon in southern Opet (*Yp't*, Luxor), and all the monuments which his majesty made [for him].

<sup>a</sup>This phrase after Thutmose III's name shows that he was living at the time of this inscription; all the others were at this time "*triumphant*" (deceased). Hence Ahmose, now an old man, died under Thutmose III.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "*having been in a life*," and "*having been in honor*."

<sup>c</sup>On the wall of the limestone quarry of Ma <sup>c</sup> sara, just southeast of Cairo. Published by Vyse, *Operations*, III, 99; Young, *Hieroglyphics*, 88; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 3, *a* = Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 488 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, I, 15; and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 3, *b*; the text of the last is the same as the preceding, but it represents a second inscription. Both are badly broken, but they supplement each other, so that practically nothing is lost.

<sup>d</sup>A conventional phrase applied to all temples, and referring, of course, to their durability.

The stone was dragged with oxen<sup>a</sup> which his m[a]jesty captured [in his] victories [among]<sup>b</sup> the Fenkhu (*Fnhw*).

28. The assistant, the hereditary prince ———, [vigilant]<sup>c</sup> one of the Lord of the Two Lands in restoring the monuments of e[ternity], greatly [satisfying] the heart of the Good God; the wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, chief treasurer, Neferperet (*Njr-pr't*).

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KARNAK STELA<sup>d</sup>

29. Among Ahmose's pious works for the temples was the restoration of the furniture, utensils, and the like, belonging to the ritual of the Karnak temple of Amon. He recorded this work upon a splendid stela, containing thirty-two lines of inscription, of which only the last six are devoted to the record of his benefactions, while the other twenty-six contain only conventional eulogy of himself. In the course of this tedious succession of phrases, there is a vague reference to his wars:

30. The Asiatics approach with fearful step together, standing at his judgment-hall; his sword is in Khenthennofer, his terror is in the Fenkhu-lands, the fear of his majesty is in this land like Min (l. 12).

31. He was thus as much feared in Egypt as in Nubia or Asia. The introduction closes with the names of Ahmose I and the queen Ahhotep, after which follows the record of the work in Karnak (ll. 27-32):

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<sup>a</sup>It is not the Fenkhu themselves who are employed in the quarry (as sometimes stated, e. g., Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 93; also Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 36), but only the oxen captured.

<sup>b</sup>The horizontal lines in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, a, l. 5, indicate an *m* = "in," or "among;" indeed, the entire phrase, "which his majesty captured in his victories in —," is so common that the restorations are probable.

<sup>c</sup>[R5]-ḏ > ḏ >, lit., "of watchful head."

<sup>d</sup>A white limestone stela over 7½ feet high and nearly 3½ feet wide; found by Legrain by Pylon VII at Karnak. It was below the pavement of Thutmose III, and had been buried before Ikhnaton's time. Published in *Annales*, IV, 27-29.



32. Now, his majesty commanded to make monuments for his father Amon-Re, being: great chaplets of gold with rosettes of genuine lapis lazuli; seals<sup>a</sup> of gold; large vases (*hs·t*) of gold; jars (*nms·t*) and vases (*hs·t*) of silver; tables (*wḏh·w*) of gold, offering-tables (*dbḥ·t ḥtp*) of gold and silver; necklaces of gold and silver combined with lapis lazuli and malachite; a drinking-vessel for the ka, of gold, its standard of silver; a drinking-vessel for the ka, of silver rimmed with gold, its standard of silver; a flat dish (*ḥnyw*) of gold; jars (*nms·t*) of pink granite, filled with ointment; great pails (*wšmw*)<sup>b</sup> of silver rimmed with gold, the [handles]<sup>c</sup> thereon of silver; a harp of ebony,<sup>c</sup> of gold and silver; sphinxes of silver; a [—]<sup>d</sup> with gold; a barge of the "Beginning-of-the-River" called "Userhetamon,"<sup>e</sup> of new cedar of the best of the terraces, in order to make his voyage [therein]. I erected columns of cedar — — likewise; I gave ———.

#### BUILDING INSCRIPTION<sup>f</sup>

33. This document discloses to us the name of the mother of Ahmose I's father and mother. She was a queen Tetisheeri, and although she is called a "*king's-mother and great king's-wife*," she is not designated as king's daughter. She was doubtless the wife of the last Sekenenre, and her daughter Ahmose I's mother, was, of course, the famous Queen Ahhotep. The latter's brother-husband, the father of Ahmose I, was probably Kemose.

<sup>a</sup>Or: "*seal rings*."

<sup>b</sup>These are the ceremonial pails with bucket handles, swelling or bulbous below, with more or less pointed bottom. Schaefer calls my attention to the example on the Ethiopian stela in the Louvre, l. 11 (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1895, Pl. V). There are many examples in bronze in the museums.

<sup>c</sup>I suspect that a word has been omitted at this point, as the repetition of the preposition indicates.

<sup>d</sup>*špt*, Schaefer suggests the *špd* which appears in the Mentuhotep coffin at Berlin.

<sup>e</sup>Meaning "*mighty is the front of Amon*." This is the usual name of the sacred barge of Amon.

<sup>f</sup>Stela about 6½ feet high and 3 feet wide, found by Petrie at Abydos; published by him in *Abydos*, III, Pl. LII.

The inscription is so picturesque, and unconventional in form, as to be unique. In content it records the king's determination to erect further mortuary buildings for his grandmother, Queen Tetisheri.

#### *Introduction*

34. <sup>1</sup>Now, it came to pass that his majesty sat in the audience-hall, (even) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebpehtire, Son of Re, Ahmose (I), given life; <sup>2</sup>while the hereditary princess, great in favor, great in amiability, king's-daughter, king's-sister, divine consort, great king's-wife, Ahmose-Nefretiri, who liveth, was with his majesty.

#### *The Conversation*

35. One spoke <sup>3</sup>with the other, seeking benefactions for<sup>a</sup> the departed (dead), to present libations of water, to offer upon the altar, <sup>4</sup>to enrich the offering-tablet at the first of every season, at the monthly feast of the first of the month, the feast of the coming forth of the sem, <sup>5</sup>the feast of the night-offerings on the fifth of the month, the feast of the sixth of the month, the feast of Hakro<sup>b</sup> (*H<sup>3</sup> k-r<sup>3</sup>*), the feast of Wag (*W<sup>3</sup> g*), the feast of Thoth, and at the first <sup>6</sup>of every season of heaven, and of earth. His sister spake and answered him: "Wherefore has this been remembered? <sup>7</sup>And why has this word been spoken? What has come into thy heart?"

#### *Ahmose's Purpose*

36. The king himself spake to her: "I, <sup>8</sup>it is, who have remembered the mother of my mother, and the mother of my father, great king's-wife and king's-mother, Tetisheri (*Tty-šry*), triumphant. <sup>9</sup>(Although) she already has a tomb (*yš*) and a mortuary chapel<sup>c</sup> (*m<sup>c</sup> h<sup>c</sup> t*) on the soil of Thebes and Abydos, I have said this to thee, in that <sup>10</sup>my majesty has desired to have made for her (also) a pyramid and a house (*h' t*) in

<sup>a</sup>The negative *n* is to be read as the preposition *n*; see the converse confusion in l. 14.

<sup>b</sup>The *r<sup>3</sup>* has been overlooked in the publication?

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "Her tomb and her chapel are at this moment (*m ty* (sic!) *» t*) on the soil, etc." I can only understand this clause as concessive, and that the new buildings planned by Ahmose are in addition to the ones in l. 9.

Tazeser, as a monumental donation of my majesty. Its lake shall be dug, its trees shall be planted, <sup>11</sup>its offerings shall be founded, equipped with people, endowed with lands, presented <sup>12</sup>with herds, mortuary priests and ritual priests having their duties, every man knowing his stipulation.”

37. <sup>13</sup>Lo, his majesty spake this word, while this was in process of construction. His majesty did <sup>14</sup>this because he so greatly loved her, beyond everything. Never did former kings the like of it for <sup>15</sup>their mothers. Lo, his majesty extended his arm, and bent his hand;<sup>a</sup> he pronounced for her a mortuary prayer. . . . .<sup>b</sup>

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<sup>a</sup>A posture of prayer.

<sup>b</sup>Here follow three fragmentary lines, giving the names of the gods appealed to, and the usual objects in such an offering.

## REIGN OF AMENHOTEP I

### BIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE, SON OF EBANA<sup>a</sup>

[Ll. 24-29, continued from § 16; concluded §§ 78 ff.]

#### II. CAREER UNDER AMENHOTEP I

38. Under this king Ahmose commands the royal transports in a campaign against Kush. The enemy is defeated, Ahmose fighting at the head of the Egyptian troops. He brings the king back to Egypt in two days, and is given "the gold," and a title of honor: "Warrior of the Ruler." The campaign extended to the Middle Kingdom frontier, for a rock inscription of Amenhotep's eighth year has been found on the island of Uronarti, just below Semneh.<sup>b</sup>

39. I sailed the King Zeserkere (*Dšr-k<sup>2</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>*, Amenhotep I), triumphant, when he ascended the river to Kush (*Kš*), in order to extend <sup>25</sup>the borders of Egypt. His majesty captured that Nubian Troglodyte in the midst of his army, ————— who were brought away as prisoners, none of them missing. [— —] thrust <sup>26</sup>aside<sup>c</sup> like those who are annihilated. Meanwhile I was at the head of our<sup>d</sup> army; I fought incredibly;<sup>e</sup> his majesty beheld my bravery. I brought off two hands, <sup>27</sup>and took (them) to his majesty. One pursued his people and his cattle. Then I brought off a living prisoner, and took (him) to his majesty. I brought his majesty in two days to

<sup>a</sup>Bibliography, etc., p. 3, n. a.

<sup>b</sup>Steindorff, *Berichte der Philologisch-historischen Classe der Königlichen Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft*, Leipzig, Sitzung vom 18. Juni, 1900, p. 233.

<sup>c</sup>Same phrase, Tombos Inscription (§ 71, l. 7).

<sup>d</sup>This and § 81 are the only places in all the historical texts of Egypt, where "our troops" are spoken of. It is a real touch of patriotism.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., "I fought more than what is true."

Egypt <sup>28</sup>from the upper well;<sup>a</sup> one presented me with gold. Then I brought away two female slaves, in addition to those which I had taken <sup>29</sup>to his majesty. One appointed me 'Warrior of the Ruler.'

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BIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE-PEN-NEKHBT<sup>b</sup>

[Continued from § 20; continued §§ 83 ff., and 344]

II. CAREER UNDER AMENHOTEP I

40. Ahmose-Pen-Nekhbet accompanied the king on two campaigns: one against the Nubians, of which we have a fuller account in the biography of Ahmose, son of Ebana (§ 39); and the other against the Libyans; this biography being our only source for this war of Amenhotep I in Libya. For his valor on these occasions he was rewarded by the king.

*Campaign in Kush*

41. I <sup>4</sup>followed King Zeserkere (*Dsr-k<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>*, Amenhotep I), triumphant; I captured for him <sup>5</sup>in Kush, a living prisoner.

*Campaign in Libya*

42. Again I served for King Zeserkere, triumphant; <sup>6</sup>I captured for him on the north of Imukehek (*Y<sup>3</sup>mw-khk*), three hands.

[Continued §§ 83 ff., and 344]

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BIOGRAPHY OF INENI<sup>c</sup>

43. This official served under four kings: Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, Thutmose II, and Thutmose III, reigning with

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<sup>a</sup>In view of Amenhotep I's inscription at the second cataract, we are probably correct in concluding that the second cataract is meant here.

<sup>b</sup>Bibliography on p. 10, n. a.

<sup>c</sup>From a Theban tomb at Abd el-Kurna, first noted by Champollion (*Notices descriptives*, I, 492-94), and then by Brugsch, who published some fragments (*Recueil de monuments*, I, 36, 1-3, tree list, etc., and Pl. 65, 4-5); also Piehl. *Inscriptions*, I, Pls. 129 Q-130 and pp. 105, 106. The long text is found in *Recueil*,

Hatshepsut. He evidently died under this joint reign; his biography was composed at this time, and is the most important of all sources for the history of the succession of the Thutmosids. Ineni was:

Hereditary prince, count, chief of all works in Karnak; the double silver-house was under his charge; the double gold-house was on his seal; sealer of all contracts in the House of Amon; excellency, overseer of the double granary of Amon.<sup>a</sup>

These offices brought him the superintendence of many of the most important works executed in Thebes by the kings whom he served. His career is divided as follows:

- I. Career under Amenhotep I (§§ 44-46).
- II. Career under Thutmose I (§§ 99-108).
- III. Career under Thutmose II (§§ 115-18).
- IV. Career under Thutmose III and Hatshepsut (§§ 340-43).

#### I. CAREER UNDER AMENHOTEP I

44. The beginning, containing the name of the king, is lost, and the narrative begins in the middle of the account of a building probably Amenhotep I's gate on the south of the Karnak temple, found below the later pavement, of which the two dedications read:<sup>b</sup>

1. "Amenhotep I; he made (it) as his monument for his father Amon, lord of Thebes (*ns-wt-t' wy*), erecting for him a great gate of 20 cubits (in height) at the double façade of the temple, of fine limestone of Ayan, which the Son of Re, Amenhotep, living forever, made for him."

XII, 106, 107, where it is inaccurately published by Bouriant. (See also, *ibid.*, XIV, 73, 74.) The first "7 or 8 lines" are wanting, according to Bouriant, and also the ends of the first 14 remaining lines; following these are 6 complete lines. The wall scenes and plans of the tomb (also the long inscription) have been published by an architect, H. Boussac (*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, XVIII). To the Egyptologist the publication is little more than worthless, and the work must be done again. But the long inscription has now disappeared.

<sup>a</sup>One of Boussac's plates; he has not numbered them!

<sup>b</sup>Legrain, *Annales*, IV, 15 ff.

2. [Amenhotep I]; . . . . .<sup>a</sup> building his house, establishing his temple, erecting the southern gate, made high, even 20 cubits, of fine white limestone ———.

It is important to note that this gate was erected in celebration of the king's first Sed Jubilee. Turning again to Ineni, his inscription begins:

*Buildings<sup>b</sup>*

45. ——— <sup>1</sup>Hatnub (*Ht-nb*), its doors were erected of copper made in one sheet; the parts thereof were of electrum. I inspected that which his majesty made ——— <sup>2</sup>bronze, Asiatic copper, collars, vessels, necklaces. I was foreman of every work, all offices were under my command. ——— <sup>3</sup>at the feasts of the beginning of the seasons; likewise for his father Amon, lord of Thebes; they were under my control. Inspection was made for me, I was the reckoner. ——— 4r-1.

*Death of Amenhotep I*

46. His majesty having spent life in happiness and the years in peace, went forth to heaven; he joined the sun, he associated (with him) and went forth ———.

[Continued §§ 99-108]

STELA OF HARMINI<sup>c</sup>

47. Harmini (*hr-myny*) prefixes no other title to his name than "scribe," but he was no less a man than the chief magistrate of Nekhen-Hieraconpolis. This impor-

<sup>a</sup>As in the first, as far as "Thebes."

<sup>b</sup>Possibly also the mortuary temple of Amenhotep I, found by Spiegelberg in 1896 at Drah abu-'n-Neggah on the west side at Thebes (see Spiegelberg, *Zwei Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie der thebanischen Nekropolis im Neuen Reich* (Strassburg, 1898; and Sethe, *Götting'sche Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1902, No. 1, 29-31). The temple is referred to as "House of Zeserkere (Amenhotep I) on the west of Thebes" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 238). See also Sethe, *loc. cit.*, 30.

<sup>c</sup>Mortuary stela of unknown provenience (probably Abydos), now in the Florence Museum, No. 1567; published in *Catalogue*, 288-90; Pichl, *Recueil*, II, 122-24. I had also my own photograph of the original.

tant post on the original Nubian frontier either resulted in his promotion to the governorship of Wawat in lower Nubia, or his Nekhen appointment involved jurisdiction in Wawat, in view of the fact that earlier Nubia began in the vicinity of Nekhen. In any case, he had charge of the "tribute" from Wawat, which was later in the hands of the "king's-son of Kush" (§§ 1034 ff.). Although the inscription mentions no king, it clearly belongs to the Eighteenth Dynasty before the first appointment of a "governor of the south countries, and king's-son of Kush," by Thutmose I (§§ 61 ff.). Hence we are not far wrong in placing it under Amenhotep I, though Harmini must of course have served under Ahmose I, also.

48. After the usual mortuary prayer, the inscription continues, in Harmini's own words:

I passed many years as mayor (*h<sup>2</sup> ty-<sup>c</sup>*) of Nekhen (Hieraconpolis). I brought in its tribute to the Lord of the Two Lands; I was praised, and no occasion was found against me. I attained old age in Wawat, being a favorite of my lord. I went north with its tribute for the king, each year; I came forth thence justified; there was not found a balance against me.

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#### STELA OF KERES<sup>a</sup>

49. Keres, like his contemporary, Yuf (§§ 109 ff.), was in the service of one of the queen-mothers. The question arises here whether the "king's-mother Ahhotep," whom Keres served, was Ahhotep (II), wife of Amenhotep I, in whose tenth year her command was issued, or Ahhotep (I), mother of King Ahmose. As Ahhotep II was never the mother of a king, it must have been Ahhotep I, who had a tomb

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<sup>a</sup>Limestone stela, 0.82 m. high, from Drah abu-'n-Neggah, now in Cairo, without a number. Published by Bouriant, *Recueil*, IX, 94 f., No. 74 (his text is excessively incorrect); much better by Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1888, 117 f. I am also indebted to Schaefer for a carefully collated copy made from the original.



erected at Abydos for Keres. We thus see this queen, from whom the Eighteenth Dynasty sprang, still living in the tenth year of the second king of the dynasty.

50. Keres, who was her herald, has not only preserved for us the old queen's command, honoring him with a tomb and a statue at Abydos, but has also added a loose enumeration of his duties as her herald, which resembles that of the herald, Intef (§§ 763-71).

51. <sup>1</sup>Year 10, first month of the third season (ninth month), first day, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt; Zeserkere, Son of Re, of his body: Amenhotep (I), beloved of Osiris, given life.

52. <sup>2</sup>Command of the king's-mother to the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, overseer of the gold-house, overseer of the silver-house, chief steward of the king's-mother, <sup>3</sup>Ahhotep, who liveth; the herald (*whm·w*), Keres (*K·rs*). The king's-mother has commanded to have made for thee a tomb <sup>4</sup>at the stairway of the great god, lord of Abydos, confirming thy every office and every favor. There shall be made for thee thy <sup>5</sup>statues, abiding in the temple, among the followers of ————<sup>a</sup> their virtues in writing <sup>6</sup>in — — —.<sup>a</sup> There shall be made for thee mortuary offerings (*hꜣp dy stny*), as the king's-wife does for the one whom she has loved, for the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, the steward, the herald, Keres (*Krs*), only favorite united <sup>7</sup>with the limbs of Sekhmet, following his queen (*hnw·t*) at her going. He <sup>8</sup>before the people, the real <sup>9</sup>confidant<sup>1</sup> of his queen, to whom secret things are told, <sup>8</sup>experienced<sup>1</sup> in the plans of his queen, transmitting affairs to the palace, finding <sup>9</sup>solutions, making agreeable unpleasant matters, one upon whose word his queen depends, approaching the truth, knowing the affairs of the mind, profitable in speech to his queen, <sup>10</sup>great in respect in the house of the king's-mother, weighty in affairs, excellent in speech, secretive in mind, administering the palace, <sup>11</sup>sealing (his) mouth concerning that which he hears, official who solves knotty problems, chief steward, Keres (*Krs*), vigilant administrator for the king's-mother, <sup>12</sup>not more lax<sup>b</sup> by night than by day, the herald, Keres (*Krs*).

<sup>a</sup>Cut out.

<sup>b</sup>Read *wsj*.

53. He says: "O ye mayors, scribes, ritual priests, <sup>13</sup>attendants, citizens (<sup>c</sup> *nh·w*) of the army, as your city-gods favor you, and love you, as ye would bequeath your office(s) to your children <sup>14</sup>after old age; verily so shall ye say: 'An offering which the king gives; ————,<sup>a</sup> king, of the two lofty plumes, lord of life, giver of that which is desired, <sup>15</sup>lord of burial after old age. May he give bread, beer, oxen, geese, everything good and pure, that comes forth upon the table of <sup>16</sup>the All Lord, for the *ka* of . . . .<sup>b</sup> Keres, a man of truth, before the Two Lands, really honest, free <sup>17</sup>from lying, [—] in deciding matters, protecting the weak, defending him who is without <sup>18</sup>him (sic!), sending forth two men, reconciled by the utterance of his mouth, accurate like a pair of balances, <sup>19</sup>the like [of Thoth] in [—] the name, inclining the heart to hear matters, the likeness of a god in his hour, real [confidant]<sup>3</sup> <sup>20</sup>of his queen, whom the queen of the Two Lands has advanced. . . . Keres."

<sup>a</sup>Name of Amon cut out in time of Ikhnaton.

<sup>b</sup>His titles.

## REIGN OF THUTMOSE I

### CORONATION DECREE<sup>a</sup>

54. This unique document is a royal decree issued on the king's coronation day to the viceroy of Nubia, Thure, informing him of the king's accession, fixing the full titulary, the royal name to be used in offering oblations, and the royal name to be used in the oath. Thure's official residence was doubtless Elephantine, for he is charged to offer oblations to the gods of that city, and it was he who put up the records of Thutmose I's return from his Nubian campaign, at the first cataract (§§ 74 ff.). He then caused the decree to be cut on stelæ and set up in Wadi Halfa,<sup>b</sup> Kubbân, and probably also Elephantine.

#### *Superscription*

55. Royal<sup>c</sup> command to the king's-son, the governor of the south countries, Thure (*Tw-r*) triumphant.

#### *Announcement of Accession*

Behold, there is brought to thee this [command]<sup>d</sup> of the<sup>d</sup> king in order to inform thee that my majesty has appeared<sup>e</sup> as King of Upper

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<sup>a</sup>In two copies: (1) a sandstone (?) stela, 72 by 84 cm., found at Wadi Halfa, now in Cairo, published from a copy of Brugsch by Erman (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 29, 117 = Erman, *Aegyptische Grammatik*, 37\*–38\*); (2) a sandstone stela, 67 by 76 cm., found by Borchardt at Kubbân (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 36, 26, n. 1), now in Berlin (No. 13725, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 131), unpublished. The beginning is lost on the Cairo stela, and the end on the Berlin stela; the two thus furnish a practically complete text. The relief at the top is lost on both. I used my own copy of the Berlin text.

<sup>b</sup>Not Elephantine, as stated (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 29, 117). See *ibid.*, 36, 3, n. 1.

<sup>c</sup>See the similar introduction to Pepi II's letter to Harkhuf (I, 351, l. 2).

<sup>d</sup>Supplied from the Story of Sinuhe, 180, 181.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., "dawned;" the same word is used for the rising sun, and is transferred without change to the king. It is regularly used also of his appearance in public.

and Lower Egypt upon the Horus-throne of the living, without his like forever.

*Titulary*

56. Make my titulary as follows:

Horus:<sup>a</sup> "Mighty Bull, Beloved of Mat;"

Favorite of the Two Goddesses:<sup>a</sup> "Shining in the Serpent-diadem, Great in Strength;"

Golden Horus:<sup>a</sup> "Goodly in Years, Making Hearts Live;"

King of Upper and Lower Egypt:<sup>a</sup> "Okheperkere;"

Son of Re:<sup>a</sup> "[Thutmose], Living forever, and ever."

*Name to be Used in the Cultus*

57. Cause thou oblations to be offered to the gods of Elephantine of the South,<sup>b</sup> as follows:<sup>c</sup> "Performance of the pleasing ceremonies<sup>d</sup> on behalf of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere, who is given life."

*Name to be Used in the Oath*

58. Cause thou that the oath be established in the name of my majesty, born of the king's-mother, Seniseneb, who is in health.

*Conclusion*

59. This is a communication to inform thee of it; and of the fact that the royal house is well and prosperous — —.

*Date*

60. Year 1, third month of the second season (seventh month) twenty-first day; the day of the feast of coronation.

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<sup>a</sup>These five titles are common to all Middle Kingdom and Empire kings; only the names following each title are individual.

<sup>b</sup>Cf. Erman (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 29, 117).

<sup>c</sup>This preposition (*m*) introduces the title or designation of the ceremony of presenting oblations by the priest on the king's behalf.

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "doing of the pleasing things."

BIOGRAPHICAL INSCRIPTION OF THURE<sup>a</sup>

61. In this inscription the name of the author is lost. He served under Ahmose, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, by whom he was appointed viceroy of Kush (l. 6), Thutmose II, and Thutmose III (l. 14, note). He is supposed by Brugsch (*Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 135), and by Maspero (*Struggle of the Nations*, 230, n. 2) to be the same as Nehi, the viceroy of Kush, who also served under Thutmose III, and has also placed his inscription on the façade of the Semneh temple (§§ 651 ff.).

Now, Nehi was still in office in Thutmose III's fifty-second year, and if he began his official career under Ahmose, he would have been over 117 years old<sup>b</sup> at that time! The identity with Nehi, which was at best an assumption, is therefore impossible. Another identification is, however, certain. This unknown was appointed viceroy of Kush by Thutmose I, at whose accession he was in his prime. He is therefore the same as the viceroy, Thure, whom we find at Elephantine in Thutmose I's first year (§ 55), being the earliest viceroy of Kush whom we know. That he survived into Thutmose III's reign is shown by a tomb at Silsileh, where he is mentioned under Hatshepsut.<sup>c</sup>

*Service under Ahmose I*

62. <sup>1</sup>——— under the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebpehtire (Ahmose I); he made me overseer of the — <sup>2</sup>——— of very good character in his heart, not careless in — <sup>3</sup>——— his court.

<sup>a</sup>Inscribed on the south wall (façade) of Thutmose III's Semneh temple; text: Young, *Hieroglyphics*, 91; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 47, c. The upper half of all the lines has been cut away for a later relief of Thutmose III. I am indebted to Steindorff for the use of his collation of the original.

<sup>b</sup>If he was 25 at Ahmose I's death, we must then add 10 for Amenhotep I, 30 for Thutmose I, and 51 for Thutmose III—a total of 117 years.

<sup>c</sup>Griffith, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XII, 104. See also note on l. 14 in the translation, *infra*.

*Service under Amenhotep I*

63. Favor was repeated by his son, King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Zeserke]re (Amenhotep I) <sup>4</sup>———— the granary of Amon, to conduct the works in Karnak — — <sup>5</sup>———— [‘I did’] for him the excellent things of (his)<sup>a</sup> heart; he favored me for doing his<sup>a</sup> truth — — <sup>6</sup>————.

*Service under Thutmose I*

64. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere (Thutmose I); he appointed me to be king’s-son of [Kush] — — — <sup>7</sup>———— of gold; an armlet the second time — — — — <sup>8</sup>———— gave me of gold: a vase, two bracelets — — — — <sup>9</sup>———— he — me more than the magnates of the palace, he recognized the excellence of — — — — <sup>10</sup>———— <sup>11</sup>———— in the place of satisfying the heart. He attained old age — — — <sup>12</sup>————.

*Service under Thutmose II*

65. The first of the repetition of the favor of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okhepernere (Thutmose II); he made [‘me’] ————— <sup>13</sup>———— with a royal message, recording ————— <sup>14</sup>————.<sup>c</sup>

*Service under Thutmose III*

66. [King Thutmose III]; he magnified me in the midst —————.

TOMBOS STELA<sup>d</sup>

67. Three important facts are preserved to us in this inscription:

<sup>a</sup>Both these pronouns refer to Amon; the same thought occurs in Suti and Hor’s tablet (British Museum, 826), ll. 16, 17.

<sup>b</sup>The portion preserved is hopelessly obscure.

<sup>c</sup>Here are the remains of a royal oval, which certainly contained the name of Thutmose III; in this king’s second year, a viceroy of Kush is mentioned in this same temple (§ 170, l. 2), but the name is unfortunately broken out. He is doubtless the same as our viceroy.

<sup>d</sup>Engraved on the rocks on the island of Tombos, just above the third cataract of the Nile; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 5, *a*, and thence Piehl, *Petites études égyptologiques*. The Berlin squeeze (No. 284) permitted some important corrections, but the publication (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*) is a brilliant example of correctness in the form of the signs, as drawn by M. Weidenbach.

1. In the second year Thutmose I defeated the Nubians and conquered the country as far as the third cataract<sup>a</sup> (cf. ll. 6 and 7, and the location of the inscription);

2. He then built a fortified station for his troops at Tombos, remains of which still survive, and thus established his southern frontier at this point (cf. l. 10).<sup>b</sup>

3. His empire extended from this point on the south to the Euphrates on the north (cf. l. 13); the Asiatic peoples are already subdued (cf. ll. 3, 4, and 16), but his Asiatic campaign did not take place until after this Nubian expedition (see § 81, l. 35). Hence we must suppose, either that he had already made an Asiatic campaign of which no account has survived; or that his predecessors had already made the conquest of the country as far as Euphrates, and thus he could refer to it as in his domain. The latter is the more probable supposition.

68. Other interesting data are the fact that the oath, even in the foreign provinces, is made in the name of the king (l. 14), according to the instructions in his coronation announcement (cf. § 58); and the curious reference to the Euphrates as "*that inverted water which goes down-stream in going up-stream*" (cf. l. 13, note).

Unfortunately, this important inscription offers no sober narrative of the events which it commemorates, but is written in that fulsome style so often found in victorious hymns of the Pharaohs. This is a style so overloaded with far-fetched figures and unfamiliar words that it is often quite unintel-

<sup>a</sup>An unpublished inscription of his, on the Island of Arko (Wilkinson, *Thebes*, 472, note) shows that he pushed some forty miles south of the third cataract.

<sup>b</sup>This expedition left another inscription at Tangûr, about seventy-five miles above the second cataract, but we possess only a partial copy by a layman, from which it is impossible to make out much. It is dated "*Year 2, first month of third season*," which shows that it was made on the way out (Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 41), about five months before the Tombos inscription.

ligible.<sup>a</sup> It is at its worst in ll. 5-9, where some phrases containing only exaggerated epithets applied to the king have necessarily been left untranslated.

#### *Introduction*

69. <sup>1</sup>Year 2, second month of the first season, fifteenth day, under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Beloved of Mat (*M<sup>3</sup>c·t*); Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Shining in the Serpent-diadem, Mighty<sup>b</sup> in Strength; Golden Horus: Goodly in Years, Making hearts live; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Okheperkere, who is given life; Son of Re: Thutmose (I, living) forever, eternally.<sup>c</sup>

#### *Hymn of Victory*

70. [— —] of his induction <sup>2</sup>his coronation as Lord (*hry-ḏ<sup>3</sup> ḏ<sup>3</sup>*) of the Two Lands, to rule the circuit of the sun; South and North land as ruler of the portions of Horus and Set,<sup>d</sup> the Uniter of the Two Lands. He has seated himself upon the throne of Keb, wearing <sup>3</sup>the radiance of the double crown, the staff<sup>e</sup> of his majesty; he hath taken his inheritance, he hath assumed the seat of Horus, in order to extend the boundaries of Thebes and the territory of Khaftet-hir-nebes;<sup>f</sup> so that the Sand-dwellers and the barbarians shall labor for her.<sup>g</sup> <sup>4</sup>An abomination<sup>1</sup> of the god are the Haunebu; bound are the Ekbet (*ḥḥt*); the Southerners come down<sup>h</sup>-river, the Northerners come up<sup>h</sup>-river, and all lands are together bringing their tribute <sup>5</sup>to the Good God, the primordial, Okheperkere (Thutmose I), who liveth forever, the mighty one,

<sup>a</sup>There is a good example on the second Semneh stela (I, 657).

<sup>b</sup>The coronation letter has "*great in strength*," the usual form.

<sup>c</sup>Cf. the titulary given by the king himself in the coronation letter (§ 56).

<sup>d</sup>The myth of Horus and Set states that they divided the Nile country between them; over both these domains the Pharaoh rules, and hence follow the words: "*uniter, etc.*," It is possible that "*Horus and Set*" should be translated only "*the two lords*;" see Piehl, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XX, 199, 200.

<sup>e</sup>For the same phrase applied to a successor, see I, 692.

<sup>f</sup>The goddess of western Thebes.

<sup>g</sup>The pronoun refers to Thebes; the foreign captives are to be employed on her buildings.

<sup>h</sup>To Thebes, the royal residence.



Horus, Lord of the Two Lands, [— — —]. The [Sand]-dwellers, chiefs of their tribes [—] to him, bowing down; the [interior]<sup>1a</sup> peoples<sup>b</sup> send to his majesty, doing obeisance to that which is on his front.<sup>c</sup>

*Victory in Nubia*

71. He hath overthrown the chief of the [Nubians]<sup>1</sup>; the Negro is [helpless, defenseless]<sup>1</sup> in his grasp. He hath united the boundaries <sup>7</sup>of his two<sup>d</sup> sides, there is not a remnant among the Curly-Haired,<sup>e</sup> who come to attack him; there is not a single survivor among them. The Nubian Troglodytes fall by the sword, and are thrust aside in their lands; <sup>8</sup>their foulness, it floods their valleys; the [—]<sup>1</sup> of their mouths is like a violent flood. The fragments cut from them are too much for the birds,<sup>f</sup> carrying off the prey to another place. <sup>9g</sup>. . . . . the sole staff of Amon; Keb, divine begetter, whose name is hidden, <sup>10</sup>reproducer, Bull of the divine ennead, chosen emanation of the divine members who doeth the pleasure of the Spirits of Heliopolis.

*Tombos Fortress Built*

72. The lords of the palace have made a fortress for his army, (called) "None-Faces-Him-<sup>11</sup>Among-the-Nine-Bows-Together;"<sup>h</sup> like a young panther among the fleeing cattle; the fame of his majesty blinded them.

*Universal Triumph*

73. (He) brought the ends of the earth into his domain; (he) trod its two extremities <sup>12</sup>with his mighty sword, seeking battle; (but) he

<sup>a</sup>*Hwtwyw*, with a hide as the first determinative.

<sup>b</sup>The interior peoples of the neighboring lands.

<sup>c</sup>This means the sacred uraeus serpent on his forehead, as the determinative shows.

<sup>d</sup>See I, 311, l. 14.

<sup>e</sup>An epithet for the Negro, used also by Amenhotep II (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 61), by Seti I (III, 155, l. 4); and again in the Nineteenth Dynasty, *Recueil*, XXII, 107, ll. 7, 8. See Piehl, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XV, 261 f., and *Sphinx*, VI, 19 f.

<sup>f</sup>Determinative is an eagle.

<sup>g</sup>The first half of line 9 is a series of obscure epithets of praise applied to the king.

<sup>h</sup>It is doubtful whether this is the name of the fortress. It is probably the same fortress which is referred to by Thutmose II in his Assuan inscription (§ 121, l. 7).

found no one who faced him.<sup>a</sup> (He) penetrated valleys which <sup>13</sup>the (royal) ancestors knew not, which the wearers of the double diadem had not seen. His southern boundary is as far as the frontier of this land,<sup>b</sup> (his) northern as far as that inverted water<sup>c</sup> which goes down-stream in going up-stream.<sup>d</sup> <sup>14</sup>The like has not happened to other kings; his name has reached as far as the circuit of heaven, it has penetrated the Two Lands as far as the nether world;<sup>e</sup> the oath is taken<sup>f</sup> by it (viz., his name) in all lands, because of the greatness of the fame of his majesty. <sup>15</sup>They (viz., the lands) were not seen in the archives of the ancestors since the Worshipers of Horus,<sup>g</sup> who gives his breath to the one that follows him, his offerings to the one that treads <sup>16</sup>his way. His majesty is Horus, assuming his (Horus's) kingdom of myriads of years, <sup>1</sup>subject<sup>1</sup> to him are the isles of the Great Circle (*\$n[w]-wr*, Okeanos), the entire earth is under his two feet; <sup>17</sup>bodily son of Re, his beloved, Thutmose (I), living forever and ever. Amon-Re, king of gods is his father, the creator of his beauty, <sup>18</sup>beloved of the gods of Thebes, who is given life, stability, satisfaction, health, joy of his heart upon the throne of Horus, <sup>1</sup>leading<sup>1</sup> all the living like Re, forever.

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#### INSCRIPTIONS AT THE FIRST CATARACT

74. Some eight months after the preceding expedition passed Tangur, about seventy-five miles above the second cataract, on the way out, they had reached Assuan on the return—a fact which was recorded by Thure, the viceroy of Kush, in two inscriptions on the island of Sehel and one at Assuan.

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<sup>a</sup>See Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 967.

<sup>b</sup>Nubia.

<sup>c</sup>The Euphrates.

<sup>d</sup>For the Egyptian on the Nile north was “down-stream,” and south was “up-stream.” It seemed very curious to him that in another country as here on the Euphrates, one went south in going down-stream; hence the anomaly of the text, which becomes clear, if we substitute “south” for “up-stream.” See also IV, 407.

<sup>e</sup>Heaven, earth, and the nether world, include the entire Egyptian universe.

<sup>f</sup>In the coronation announcement the form of the king's title to be used in the oath is given (see § 58).

<sup>g</sup>The pre-dynastic kings, now mythical demigods.

I. SEHEL INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

75. On arriving at the first cataract, the king found the canal of Sesostris III (see I, 642 ff.) stopped up. He cleared it, and the viceroy made the following records:

Year 3, first month of the third season, day 22, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere (Thutmose I), who is given life. His majesty commanded to dig this canal, after he found it [stopped up] with stones, (so that) no [ship sailed upon it]. He [sail]ed [down-stream] upon it, his heart [glad, having slain his enemies].<sup>b</sup> The king's-son, [Thure].<sup>c</sup>

II. SEHEL INSCRIPTION<sup>d</sup>

76. Above are the Horus-, throne- and personal-names of Thutmose I; and below, the following:

Year 3, first month of the third season, day 22. His majesty sailed this canal in victory and in power, at his return from overthrowing the wretched Kush.

The king's-son, Thure.

III. ASSUAN INSCRIPTION<sup>e</sup>

77. On the same day the king arrived at Assuan, where he left a similar record:

Year 3, first month of the third season, day 22, under the majesty of Thutmose (I).<sup>f</sup> His majesty arrived from Kush, having overthrown the enemy.

<sup>a</sup>De Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 85, No. 13.

<sup>b</sup>The preceding restorations are from Thutmose III's copy of this inscription (see §§ 649 f.).

<sup>c</sup>Restored from the following inscription. Thure, also § 55.

<sup>d</sup>Discovered by Wilbour, and published in *Recueil*, XIII, 202; better, de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 85, No. 19.

<sup>e</sup>De Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 41, No. 185.

<sup>f</sup> Full titulary.

INSCRIPTION OF AHMOSE, SON OF EBANA<sup>a</sup>

[Ll. 29-39; concluded from § 39]

III. CAREER UNDER THUTMOSE I

78. Ahmose's career under Thutmose I is still one of active service in campaigning. He first sails the royal transport in the campaign against Nubia (§ 80), resulting in his appointment to the head of the naval forces. They returned in triumph with the Nubian foe hanged head downward at the bow of the royal barge.

79. It was not until after this Nubian campaign that the famous expedition to Naharin set out. Our only sources for this event are the biographies of the two El Kab Ahmoses. Thutmose III states that he set up his boundary tablet beside that of his father (§ 478), and it must have been on this campaign that this first boundary tablet was set up by Thutmose I.<sup>b</sup> For it is always supposed that this campaign was the only Asiatic expedition of Thutmose I; but as the Tombos inscription (§§ 67 ff.) speaks of the conquest of Asia as far as the Euphrates, before the Asiatic campaign narrated by the two Ahmoses, we must suppose either that Thutmose I had already made a still earlier campaign in Syria; or that his predecessors, Ahmose I and Amenhotep I, had achieved greater conquests in Asia than our scanty sources for their reigns would indicate.

*Campaign against Nubia*

80. I sailed the King Okheperkere (Thutmose I), triumphant, when he ascended the river to Khenthennofer (*Hnt-hn-njr*),<sup>30</sup> in order to cast

<sup>a</sup>For bibliography, see p. 3, note a.

<sup>b</sup>The inscription of Hatshepsut's childhood (§ 225, l. 11) mentions her father's (Thutmose I's) survivals among the chiefs of Retenu, meaning those he had left.

out violence in the highlands, in order to suppress the raiding<sup>a</sup> of the hill region. I showed bravery in his presence in the bad water, in the [passage] of <sup>31</sup>the ship by the bend. One appointed me chief of the sailors. His majesty was ———. <sup>b</sup>

<sup>32</sup>His majesty was furious thereat, like a panther;<sup>c</sup> his majesty cast his first lance, which remained in the body of that fallen one.<sup>d</sup> This was — — — —<sup>e</sup> <sup>33f</sup>—<sup>1</sup> powerless before his flaming uraeus,<sup>f</sup> made [so] in an instant of destruction; their people were brought off as living prisoners. <sup>34</sup>His majesty sailed down-river, with all countries in his grasp, that wretched Nubian Troglodyte being hanged head downward at the [prow]<sup>g</sup> of the ba[rge] of his majesty, and landed <sup>35</sup>at Karnak.

#### *Asiatic Campaign*

**81.** After these things<sup>h</sup> one journeyed to Retenu (*Rṯnw*) to wash his heart<sup>i</sup> among the foreign countries.

His majesty arrived at Naharin (*N ḥ ḥ ry-n ḥ*) <sup>36</sup>his majesty found that foe when he was [planning] destruction; his majesty made a great slaughter<sup>j</sup> among them. <sup>37</sup>Numberless were the living prisoners, which his majesty brought off from his victories. Meanwhile I was at

<sup>a</sup>The flying raids into the valley of the Nile made by the barbarians inhabiting the desert behind the hills on either side of the valley. The account of the battle is very obscure, but the weakness of the enemy makes the result certain.

<sup>b</sup>The text ends here in the middle of a sentence, and proceeds around the corner of the wall with what seems to be the account of another incident in the same Nubian campaign.

<sup>c</sup>This is precisely what is said of Thutmose II in his Nubian war (Assuan Inscription, l. 9, II, 121) when the announcement of revolt was brought to him, hence a similar incident probably should precede here.

<sup>d</sup>Cf. Sinuhe's weapon which "*remained in his (his foe's) neck.*"

<sup>e</sup>It is possible that there is no lacuna here, as the squeeze shows not a trace of a sign in the last 9 inches of the line.

<sup>f</sup>The sacred serpent which crowns the royal forehead.

<sup>g</sup>The restoration is from the Amâda tablet of Amenhotep II, II, 797, l. 17, where the same phrase occurs.

<sup>h</sup>This phrase shows clearly that the Nubian campaign took place before the Asiatic campaign. The same order is observed in the biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet (§§ 84, 85). The usual supposition that the Asiatic preceded the Nubian campaign is based on a false conclusion from the Tombos inscription (§§ 67 ff.).

<sup>i</sup>An idiom for taking revenge or obtaining satisfaction.

<sup>j</sup>From the squeeze; cf. also l. 17.

the head of our troops,<sup>a</sup> and his majesty beheld my bravery. <sup>38</sup>I brought off a chariot, its horses, and him who was upon it as a living prisoner, and took them to <sup>b</sup>his majesty.<sup>b</sup> One presented me with gold in double measure.

*His Old Age*

82. <sup>39</sup>When I grew old, and had attained old age, my honors were as at their beginning.<sup>c</sup> —————<sup>d</sup> a tomb, which I myself made.

BIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE-PEN-NEKHBET<sup>e</sup>

[Continued from § 42; concluded §§ 123-4, 344]

III. CAREER UNDER THUTMOSE I

83. In this reign Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet took part in the campaign in Nubia; and also accompanied the Asiatic campaign to Naharin, of which Ahmose, son of Ebana, furnishes a fuller account (§ 81). He was then richly rewarded for his valor by the king.

*Campaign in Kush*

84. I <sup>7</sup>followed the King Okheperkere (Thutmose I), triumphant; I captured for him <sup>8</sup>in Kush, two living prisoners, beside three living prisoners, whom I brought off <sup>9</sup>in Kush, without counting them.<sup>f</sup>

*Campaign in Naharin*

85. Again<sup>g</sup> I served <sup>10</sup>for King Okheperkere (Thutmose I), triumphant; I captured for him in the country of Naharin (*N<sup>2</sup>-h-ry-n<sup>2</sup>*), <sup>11</sup>21 hands, one horse, and one chariot.

<sup>a</sup>See note on l. 26, § 39.

<sup>b</sup>From the squeeze; cf. also l. 27.

<sup>c</sup>He continued to receive rewards as at the beginning.

<sup>d</sup>Nearly one-third line is lacking.

<sup>e</sup>Bibliography, p. 10, note a.

<sup>f</sup>Perhaps meaning that they were not included in the official count.

<sup>g</sup>Showing clearly that the Asiatic campaign took place after the Nubian campaign.

KARNAK OBELISKS<sup>a</sup>

86. This pair stood before the pylon (IV) of Thutmose I in the great Karnak temple; the northern obelisk, which Pococke saw still standing, has since fallen. Their erection by Thutmose I is narrated by the chief architect in charge, Ineni (see § 105). Both Ineni and the standing obelisk refer to "two great obelisks," so that there can be no doubt that Thutmose I erected both.<sup>b</sup> The work must have been done just before his demission of the crown—an event which left the northern obelisk still uninscribed. It is certainly very significant that it was later inscribed by Thutmose III! If he did not reach the throne until after the reigns of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut, the northern obelisk remained uninscribed for some twenty-three years at least! This is improbable, and the fact that the northern obelisk was not usurped by Thutmose II or Hatshepsut would indicate that they had no opportunity to do so, because Thutmose III, having succeeded Thutmose I for a few years, had already taken possession of it himself (see Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 36, 39 f.).

Only the middle columns of the standing obelisk are the inscriptions of Thutmose I; the side columns are later additions by Ramses IV and Ramses VI of the Twentieth Dynasty. The middle columns of the north and south sides contain only the elaborate titulary of Thutmose I; those of the east and west, his dedication, as follows:

<sup>a</sup>Text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 6; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 127 f.; Champollion, *Monuments*, IV, 312-313; Rougé, *Album photographique*, 50, 53, 54, 68. See also Pococke, *Description of the East*, I, 95; and Brugsch, *Reiseberichte*, 159.

<sup>b</sup>See Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXII, 90. The two additional bases noted in Baedeker (1902, 253) probably belong to some other king, perhaps Amenhotep III, who mentions obelisks (§ 903, l. 57); or to Thutmose III.

87. <sup>a</sup>Horus: Mighty bull, beloved of Truth; King of Upper and Lower Egypt; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Shining with the Serpent-diadem, great in strength; Okheperkere, Setepnere; Golden Horus: Beautiful in years, who makes hearts live; Bodily Son of Re, Thutmose (I), Shining-in-Beauty.

He made (it), as his monument for his father Amon, Lord of Thebes, Presider over Karnak, that he might be given life like Re, forever.

88. <sup>b</sup>Horus: Mighty bull, beloved of Truth, King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Okheperkere, Setep-Amon (Thutmose I).

He made (it) as his monument for his father Amon-Re, chief of the Two Lands, erecting for him<sup>c</sup> two great obelisks<sup>c</sup> at the double façade of the temple. The pyramidions were of ————.<sup>d</sup>

89. A fragment of an obelisk<sup>e</sup> on the island of Elephantine also refers to Thutmose I's jubilee. It still bears the words:

————— Thutmose (I); Shining-in-Beauty; he made (it) as his monument to his father, Khnum; making for him two obelisks of granite. First occurrence.<sup>f</sup> That he may be given life forever.

#### ABYDOS STELA<sup>g</sup>

90. This stela recorded the king's works in the Abydos temple of Osiris. In the lost introduction he has apparently held an audience and declared his intention of exe-

<sup>a</sup>Middle column, east side.

<sup>b</sup>Middle column, west side.

<sup>c</sup>See Ineni, ll. 9-11, § 105.

<sup>d</sup>About one-third of the line is flaked off; the material of the pyramidions crowning the obelisks was usually copper or bronze.

<sup>e</sup>Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1220. The epithet, "*Shining-in-Beauty*," is found on Thutmose I's Karnak obelisk, and is not used by other Thutmosids. Hence the obelisk certainly belongs to Thutmose I.

<sup>f</sup>Referring, of course, to the royal jubilee.

<sup>g</sup>Sandstone stela from Abydos, now in Cairo; published by Mariette (*Abydos*, II, 31) and by de Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 19-22). Only the lower portion is preserved, the relief above being broken off, and probably a considerable fraction of the text.



cutting certain works for the god; whereupon the priests reply in the words with which the preserved portion begins. The chief treasurer is then instructed to execute the said works, which, he states, he did. On their completion the king delivers an address to the priests like that of Thutmose III (§§ 571 ff.).

*Address of the Priests*

91. <sup>2</sup>—<sup>a</sup> “How pleasant is this in the hearts of the people! How beautiful is this in the sight of the gods! Thou makest a monument for Osiris, thou beautifiest the First of the Westerners, the great god of the beginning, whose place Atum advanced, whom he magnified before <sup>3</sup>his — — his heart, for whom kings have labored since this land was founded. As for thee, thou wast born to him; he made thee in the uprightness of his heart, to do that which he did in the earth, to restore <sup>4</sup>the sanctuaries of the gods, [to] — their temples. Thou art gold, thine is the silver, Keb<sup>b</sup> has opened for thee that which is in him, Tatenen<sup>c</sup> has given to thee his things. All the countries labor for thee, all the lands are under thy rule. <sup>5</sup>Every costly stone is [collected]<sup>1</sup> — in thy house; [if there is]<sup>1</sup> a wish in thee, it must be done; it is that which thy ka desires which happens.

*Royal Instructions to the Chief Treasurer*

92. His majesty commanded the chief treasurer: “Conduct the work, causing to come <sup>6</sup>— — — — every prepared one of his workmen, the best of his lay priests, who knows the directions and is skilful in that which he knows, who does not transgress what was commanded him, <sup>7</sup>[to erect] the monument of his father [Osiris], to equip his everlasting statue. Execute the very secret things, no one seeing, no one beholding, no one knowing his body. Make for him the portable chapel-barque (*wts-nfr w*) of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, black copper, <sup>8</sup>every splendid costly stone.”

*Words of the Chief Treasurer*

93. I executed for him the offering-tables, — (*sh̄m-*) sistrums and (*šsy t-*) sistrums, necklace-rattles (*mny wt*), censers, [a flat dish]<sup>1</sup> (*tnyw*),

<sup>a</sup>The number of lines lost before this point is uncertain.

<sup>b</sup>The earth-god.

<sup>c</sup>Ptah.

a great oblation there. I did not [remove] them. I did not discontinue them.

*The Sacred Barge*

94. I built<sup>a</sup> the august [barge] of new cedar of the best of the terraces; its bow and its stern being of electrum, making festive the lake;<sup>b</sup> to make his voyage therein at his feast of the "District of Peker" (*Pky*).

*Statues of the Gods*

95. Furthermore, <sup>19</sup>[his majesty] commanded to shape<sup>c</sup> (statues of) the great ennead of gods dwelling in Abydos; (each) one of them is mentioned by his name; Khnum, lord of Hirur, dwelling in Abydos; Khnum, lord of the cataract, dwelling in Abydos; Thoth, leader of the great gods, <sup>11</sup>presider over Hesret; Horus, presider over Letopolis; Harendotes; Upwawet of the South, and Upwawet of the North; mysterious and splendid were their bodies. The standards<sup>d</sup> thereof were of <sup>12</sup>electrum, more excellent than their predecessors; more splendid were they than that which is in heaven; more secret were they than the fashion of the nether world; more — were they than the dwellers in Nun.

*Words of the King*

96. <sup>13</sup>My majesty did these things for my father Osiris, because I loved him so much more than all gods, in order that my name might abide and my monuments endure in the house of my father, Osiris, First of the Westerners, <sup>14</sup>lord of Abydos, forever and ever.

*Address to the Priests*

97. [I say to] you, divine fathers<sup>e</sup> of this temple, priests (*w<sup>c</sup> b·w*), ritual priests, dwellers in the place of the hand,<sup>f</sup> <sup>15</sup>all the lay priests of the temple; offer ye to my tomb, present ye to my oblation-tablet; maintain ye the monuments of my majesty; mention ye my name;

<sup>a</sup>Read: *ḳḫ* as in Ineni (§ 105, l. 10).

<sup>b</sup>Meaning it was reflected in the water; see same idea more clearly (§ 888, l. 20).

<sup>c</sup>*Ms.*, "to shape," with a following name of a god, is not uncommon (cf. I, 672).

<sup>d</sup>These are the standards upon which the statues were borne.

<sup>e</sup>Priestly title.

<sup>f</sup>An order of priests of whom we know nothing.

remember ye my titulary; give ye <sup>16</sup>praises to my likeness; praise ye the statue of my majesty; set my name in the mouth of your servants, my memory among your children. For <sup>17</sup>I am a king excellent because of what he has done; the unique in might through the (mere) mention of his name <sup>18</sup>— —<sup>a</sup> which I made in this land, till ye know it. There is no lie before you, nor exaggeration <sup>18</sup>therein. I have made monuments for the gods; I have beautified their sanctuaries for the future; I have maintained their temples, I have restored that which was ruinous, I have surpassed <sup>19</sup>that which was done before. I have informed the priests (*w c b w*) of their duties, I have led the ignorant to that which he did not know. I have increased the work of others, the kings <sup>20</sup>who have been before me; the gods had joy in my time, their temples were in festivity.

*Universal Triumph*

98. I made the boundaries of Egypt (*t<sup>2</sup>-mry*) as far as that which the sun encircles. I made <sup>21</sup>strong those who were in fear; I repelled the evil from them. I made Egypt the superior of every land <sup>22</sup>— — — —<sup>1</sup> favorite of Amon, <sup>22</sup>Son of Re, of his body, his beloved Thutmose (I), Shining like Re, beloved of Osiris, First of the Westerners; Great God, lord of Abydos, ruler of eternity; given life, stability, satisfaction, and health, while shining as King upon the Horus-throne of the living; and joy of his heart, together with his ka, like Re, forever.

BIOGRAPHY OF INENI<sup>b</sup>

[Continued from § 46; continued § 115]

II. CAREER UNDER THUTMOSE I (LL. 4-14)

99. The career of Ineni, which began under Amenhotep I, continues here under Thutmose I. The king's name and the narrative of his accession unfortunately fall in the lacunæ at the ends of the lines (probably l. 4). The biography then narrates the wide dominion of the king, and the rich tribute therefrom (§ 101); Ineni's advancement to

<sup>a</sup>Read *r-d' t*.

<sup>b</sup>Bibliography on p. 18, note c.

superintendence of the king's building projects (§ 102) especially the construction of the Karnak pylons of Thutmose I, and the erection before them of his two obelisks, one of which still stands (§§ 103-5); also the excavation of the king's cliff-tomb and improvements in the necropolis of Thebes (§ 106); Ineni's rewards in serfs and treasury dues (§ 107); and the death of the king (§ 108).

100. The Karnak hall, which Ineni constructed, is of great historic interest, as it was the first hall on entering the building, and served as the chief hypostyle, or colonnaded hall, of the temple throughout the reign of Thutmose I. It was in this hall that Thutmose III was proclaimed king by the priests of Amon (§§ 131 ff.), thus putting aside either its builder, Thutmose I, or the weakling Thutmose II, and in this hall Hatshepsut erected her two great obelisks. The description of the erection of the hall itself is unfortunately lost in the lacuna at the end of l. 7, and l. 8 begins with a reference to the "*great pylons on its either side,*" the erection of which follows. But Thutmose III informs us of the interesting fact that he replaced with stone columns the cedar columns erected by Thutmose I in this hall (§ 601). Indeed, Thutmose I himself was obliged to replace the northernmost two of his cedar columns by stone ones before the end of his reign.<sup>a</sup> The fact is recorded by him on one of the new columns (see Piehl, *Actes du 6<sup>me</sup> congrès des orientalistes à Leide*, 1883, IV<sup>me</sup> partie, section 3, 203-19). This inscription is unfortunately now only a series of disconnected fragments, of which little is intelligible. The dedication on one of the columns is as follows: "*Thutmose I, he made (it) as his monument for his father Amon-Re, chief of the Two Lands,*

<sup>a</sup>This is a hint as to the length of his reign; he must have reigned long enough for the wooden colonnade to begin to decay.

*making for him an august colonnade, which adorns the Two Lands with its beauty.*" (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1311, and Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 163.) On the further career of this historic hall, only begun here, see §§ 599 ff.; 803 ff.

*Accession and Power of Thutmose I*

101. ——— 5the Good God, who smites the Nubians, lord of might, who overthrows the Asiatics. He made his boundary as far as the 6Horns of the Earth,<sup>a</sup> and the marshes in Kebeh (*Kbh*) ——— 6r— —<sup>1</sup> Elephantine. The Sand-dwellers bore their tribute like the impost of the South and the North; his majesty forwarded them to Thebes, for his father Amon, each year. Everything was made to prosper<sup>b</sup> for me under ———.

*Ineni's Promotion*

102. 7He filled his heart with me,<sup>c</sup> I was brought to be a dignitary, overseer of the granary; the fields of divine offerings were under my authority; all<sup>d</sup> the excellent works together were under my administration.

*Karnak Pylons*

103. I inspected the great monuments<sup>e</sup> which he made ——— 8great pylons on its either side of fine limestone of Ayan (<sup>c</sup> *nw*); august flagstaves were erected at the double façade of the temple of new cedar of the best of the Terraces;<sup>f</sup> their tops were of electrum.<sup>g</sup> I inspected ——— 9wrought with electrum.

<sup>a</sup>The same phrase occurs in Assuan inscription of Thutmose II (§ 120, l. 4), where it refers to the south; the marshes above must therefore be those of the Euphrates in the north, also used by Thutmose II, *loc. cit.*

<sup>b</sup>Such a passive is often a respectful circumlocution to indicate an act of the king.

<sup>c</sup>An idiom signifying favor with the king.

<sup>d</sup>Read: *nb' t*.

<sup>e</sup>The following is the description of the erection and adornment by Ineni of the hall and two pylons of Thutmose I at Karnak (IV and V), and the two obelisks before them, of which one still stands.

<sup>f</sup>Meaning the slopes of Lebanon; cf. the "*Myrrh-terraces*."

<sup>g</sup>Four such flagstaves, set in channels cut for them in the faces of the pylons, usually adorned the temple façade.

*Karnak Portal*

104. I inspected the erection of the great doorway (named): "Amon-Mighty-in-Wealth;"<sup>a</sup> its huge door was of Asiatic copper whereon was the Divine Shadow,<sup>b</sup> inlaid with gold.

*Karnak Obelisks*

105. I inspected the erection of two<sup>c</sup> obelisks ———— <sup>10d</sup>built the august boat<sup>d</sup> of 120 cubits in its length, 40 cubits in its width,<sup>e</sup> in order to transport these obelisks. (They) came in peace, safety<sup>f</sup> and prosperity, and landed at Karnak ———— <sup>11</sup>of the city. Its [track] was laid with every pleasant wood.

*Thutmose I's Cliff-tomb*

106. I inspected the excavation of the cliff-tomb of his majesty, alone, no one seeing, no one hearing.<sup>g</sup> I sought out the excellent <sup>h</sup>things upon ———— <sup>12f</sup>—<sup>1</sup> I was vigilant<sup>i</sup> in seeking that which is excellent. I made fields of clay, in order to plaster their tombs of the necropolis; it was a work such as the ancestors had not done which I was obliged to do there [— — —] <sup>13</sup>I sought out for those

<sup>a</sup>The name is not among the ten gates given by Mariette, *Karnak*, 38.

<sup>b</sup>Explained § 889, note.

<sup>c</sup>Hence Petrie, depending on Mariette's plan (*Karnak*, 2) is under misapprehension in attributing one of these obelisks to Thutmose III (Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 67). The standing obelisk of this pair distinctly refers to the erection of "two great obelisks" (§ 88); hence Thutmose III must have appropriated the now fallen obelisk after it was up, and before the inscriptions were cut.

<sup>d</sup>The same words are used of the transport of Hatshepsut's obelisks; see § 326, note.

<sup>e</sup>*Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report*, 1895-96, 9 and 10, where Naville gives the equivalents of the above dimensions rather inaccurately. One hundred and twenty royal cubits = 206.6 feet, and 40 royal cubits = 68.86 feet.

<sup>f</sup>Read *hṯp*, c *nd*, *wḏ* 2.

<sup>g</sup>The same phrase: "no one seeing, no one hearing," occurs on the statue of Sennefer, British Museum, 48. See also § 92. This remarkable statement indicates the secrecy with which the vast rock-cut tombs of the Emperors were excavated, in order to avoid the tomb-robberies, which finally forced the removal of the royal mummies to Der el-Bahri. Another officer, Hapuseneb (§ 389, ll. 7, 8), also states that he worked on the king's "cliff-tomb" (*hr' t*), see Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 23, 59. See Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXII, 90-94. The construction of such a tomb is described in the last twelve lines of Sinuhe; see Goodwin, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1872, 21 ff.

<sup>h</sup>The various supplies for the tomb. <sup>i</sup>Lit., "My head was watchful."

who should be after me. It was a work of my heart, my virtue was wisdom; there was not given to me a command by an elder. I shall be praised because of my wisdom after years, by those who shall imitate that which I have done, ———<sup>14</sup>while I was chief (*r<sup>2</sup>-hry*) of all works.

*Ineni's Rewards*

107. My praise endured in the palace, my love among the court. His majesty endowed me<sup>a</sup> with peasant-serfs, and my income was from the granary of the king's estate on each day.

*Death of Thutmose I*

108. The king rested from life, going forth to heaven, having completed his years in gladness of heart.

[Continued §§ 115-18]

STELA OF YUF<sup>b</sup>

109. This official served under Queen Ahhotep, the mother of King Ahmose I, and administered her property in Edfu. He also repaired for her there a ruined tomb belonging to her ancestor, the queen Sebekemsaf, who was the wife of one of the Thirteenth Dynasty Intefs.<sup>c</sup> He says nothing of any subsequent connection with the royal house under the following reign of Amenhotep I, but he was later in the service of Queen Ahmose, the favorite wife of Thutmose I, and mother of Hatshepsut. His career therefore extended through at least part of four generations of the royal house.

<sup>a</sup>The same rare phrase in Ahmose, son of Ebana (§ 6, l. 3).

<sup>b</sup>Sandstone stela, 0.62 m. high, from Edfu, now in Cairo, old No. 238; published by Bouriant, *Recueil*, IX, 92, 93, No. 72. I had also a carefully revised copy, kindly loaned me by Schaefer.

<sup>c</sup>See Newberry, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXIV, 285-89. Maspero supposed (*Momies royales*, 625-28) that Sebekemsaf was a deceased daughter of Ahhotep, but Newberry has clearly shown that she was an ancestor of Ahhotep.

*Relief*

110. In the middle is an offering-table, before which on the left are two women sitting, and on the right a man, standing, accompanied by his son. Before the first woman are the words: "*Divine consort, great king's-wife, Ahhotep, triumphant*"; before the second: "*King's-wife, king's-sister [Sebek]emsaf<sup>a</sup> —.*"

Before the first man is a mortuary prayer for "*thy (fem.) ka,*" but his name is illegible; before the son: "*His son, prophet of the dues (š<sup>2</sup>w), Harhotep, triumphant.*" Below is the following inscription:

*Mortuary Prayer*

111. <sup>1</sup>An offering which the king gives; Horus of Edfu, Osiris and Isis; may they give bread, beer, oxen, geese, everything good and pure for the ka of the great king's-wife, <sup>2</sup>the king's-mother, Ahhotep, triumphant; and her son Nebpehtire (Ahmose I), triumphant.

*Restoration of Sebekemsaf's Tomb*

112. She gave to me.<sup>b</sup> The <sup>1</sup>second<sup>1c</sup> prophet of the dues (š<sup>2</sup>w) of the altar, <sup>3</sup>the door-keeper of the temple, the priest, Yuf (*Yw' f*), son of Iritset (*Yry' t-s' t*), he says: "I repaired this tomb (*ysy*) of <sup>4</sup>the king's-daughter, Sebekemsaf, after finding it beginning to go to ruin."

*Favor under Queen Ahhotep*

113. Then this priest said: "<sup>5</sup>O ye who pass by this stela, I will tell you, and I will cause you to hear my favor with the great king's-wife, Ahhotep. She appointed <sup>6</sup>me to offer to her; she intrusted me with the statue of her majesty. She gave to me bread: <sup>7</sup>100 (*by' t-*) loaves, and 10 persen loaves; <sup>2</sup> (*ds-*) jars of beer, and a joint (*pnsw*) from every ox. I was endowed<sup>d</sup> [with] <sup>8</sup>upland, and with lowland.

<sup>a</sup>Of course, Sebekemsas is meant.

<sup>b</sup>The connection of this phrase is not clear; the following list of titles terminating with the name of the owner of the stela can hardly be connected with the preceding. Perhaps the stela is the gift meant.

<sup>c</sup>Two strokes, perhaps misunderstood from hieratic determinative for a man.

<sup>d</sup>S<sup>2</sup> h' kwy, as in Ahmose, § 6, l. 3.



She repeated to me another favor, she gave to me all her property in Edfu, <sup>9</sup>to administer<sup>a</sup> it for her majesty.

*Favor under Queen Ahmose*

114. Another favor of the great king's-wife, Ahmose, triumphant, whom king <sup>10</sup>Okheperkere (Thutmose I), triumphant, loves. She appointed me to be scribe of the assistant treasurer. She intrusted me with <sup>11</sup>the statue of her majesty, she gave to me 100 loaves of bread, 2 (*ds-*) jars of beer, and a joint (*w<sup>c</sup> b<sup>t</sup>*) from every ox. <sup>12</sup>I was endowed with upland, and with lowland.

Field-scribe<sup>b</sup> of Horus of Edfu, Denereg (*Dnrg*).

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<sup>a</sup>*Hrp*; hence we may possibly render: "to present it (the income?) to her majesty."

<sup>b</sup>Evidently the subscript of the scribe who made the document.

## REIGN OF THUTMOSE II

### BIOGRAPHY OF INENI<sup>a</sup>

[Continued from 108; concluded §§ 340 ff.]

#### III. CAREER UNDER THUTMOSE II

**115.** According to this biography, Thutmose II succeeded directly at the death of Thutmose I;<sup>b</sup> under the new reign, Ineni enjoyed the greatest favor, until the death of Thutmose II.

#### *Succession of Thutmose II*

**116.** The Hawk<sup>c</sup> in the nest<sup>d</sup> [appeared as]<sup>d</sup> the <sup>15</sup>King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okhepernere (<sup>c</sup>*ḥpr-n-R*<sup>c</sup>, Thutmose II), he became king of the Black Land<sup>e</sup> and ruler of the Red Land,<sup>e</sup> having taken possession of the Two Regions in triumph.

#### *Ineni's Favor*

**117.** I was a favorite of the king<sup>f</sup> in his every place; greater was that which he did for me than<sup>g</sup> those who preceded (me). I attained the old age of the revered, I possessed the favor of his majesty every day. I was supplied from the table of the king <sup>16</sup>with bread of oblations for

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<sup>a</sup>Bibliography on p. 18, note c.

<sup>b</sup>This seems unfavorable to Sethe's theory that Thutmose III succeeded Thutmose I and reigned for a short time before the accession of Thutmose II. But Sethe offers very cogent arguments in explanation of Ineni's silence on this point. See Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 19, § 29, and 39, § 52; and *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 36.

<sup>c</sup>This is a poetical designation of the crown prince as Horus, who also succeeded his father, Osiris.

<sup>d</sup>Ermann's restoration. Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 40, n. 1.

<sup>e</sup>The cultivable land and the desert.

<sup>f</sup>Lit., "one who filled the heart of the king."

<sup>g</sup>Supply of course: "than that which he did for those who, etc.;" or "than that which those did who, etc.," meaning he received greater favor than from preceding kings.

the king, beer likewise, meat, fat-meat, vegetables, various fruits, honey, cakes, wine, oil. My necessities were apportioned in health and life, as his majesty himself said, for love of me.

*Death of Thutmose II*

118. (He) went forth to heaven, having mingled with the gods.<sup>a</sup>

[Concluded §§ 340-43]

ASSUAN INSCRIPTION<sup>b</sup>

119. This inscription narrates: (1) the arrival of a messenger who announces to his majesty a rebellion in Kush, and mentions a frontier fortress of the king's father, Thutmose I (see § 72) (ll. 5-9); (2) the anger of the king (ll. 9-11); (3) his dispatch of an army thither (ll. 11, 12); (4) the overthrow of Kush, and the capture of one of the chief's children with some other prisoners (ll. 12-15); (4) the complete pacification of the country (ll. 15-17). The inscription is dated on the day of the king's accession, and, according to l. 7, his father, Thutmose I, was living at the time, thus proving the coregency of the two.

*Protocol*

120. <sup>1</sup>Year 1, second month of the first season, day 8, coronation day<sup>c</sup> under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Powerful in Strength; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Divine in kingship; Golden Horus: Powerful in Being; <sup>2</sup>King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Okheperne, Son of Re: Thutmose (II), Beautiful in diadems, upon the Horus-

<sup>a</sup>See also Senmut's reference to his death (§ 368, ll. 7, 8).

<sup>b</sup>Cut into the rock on the road from Assuan to Philæ; text in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 16, a; de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 3, 4, and Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 250, 251; but the best text is revised from a squeeze by Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 81; translation, 38.

<sup>c</sup>The "appearance" (lit., *dawning*) of a king is his coronation; it is to be construed with "upon, etc.," after the names of the king. As this is the king's first year, the coronation is not an anniversary, but the very first day of the reign.

throne of the living; his father, Re, is his protection, and Amon, lord of Thebes; <sup>3</sup>they smite for him his enemies. Lo, his majesty is in the palace, (¶but<sup>1</sup>) his fame is mighty; the fear of him is in the land, [his] terror in the lands of the Haunebu; <sup>4</sup>the two divisions of Horus and Set<sup>a</sup> are under his charge; the Nine Bows together are beneath his feet. The Asiatics come to him bearing tribute, and the Nubian Troglodytes bearing baskets. His southern boundary is as far as the Horns of the Earth<sup>b</sup> (his) <sup>5</sup>northern as far as the ends; <sup>c</sup>the marshes of Asia<sup>c</sup> are the dominion of his majesty, the arm of his messenger is not repulsed among the lands of the Fe[n]khu.

*Announcement of Rebellion*

121. One came to inform<sup>d</sup> his majesty as follows: "The wretched Kush <sup>6</sup>has begun to rebel, those who were under the dominion of the Lord of the Two Lands purpose hostility, beginning to smite him. The inhabitants of Egypt are about to bring away the cattle behind this <sup>7</sup>fortress<sup>e</sup> which thy father built in his campaigns, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere (Thutmose I), living forever,<sup>f</sup> in order to repulse the rebellious barbarians, the Nubian Troglodytes of Khenthennofer, for those who are <sup>8</sup>there on the north of the wretched Kush [— — —]<sup>g</sup> with the two Nubian Troglodytes among the children of the chief of the wretched Kush who [—] before the Lord of the Two Lands <sup>9</sup>— [— — —] 1." His majesty was furious thereat, like a panther, when he <sup>10</sup>heard it. Said his majesty, "I swear,<sup>h</sup> as Re loves me, as my father, lord of gods, Amon, lord of Thebes, favors me, I will not let live anyone among their males [—] <sup>11</sup>among them."

<sup>a</sup>Cf. § 70, l. 2.

<sup>b</sup>Cf. § 101, l. 5; and Index V.

<sup>c</sup>See Index V, s. v.

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "to make prosperous the heart of his majesty," which is the conventional form for introducing a matter to a superior in letter-writing.

<sup>e</sup>These are the cattle of Egyptians who have settled in Nubia beyond the frontier military station, and are thus in danger of being pillaged by the rebellious Nubians.

<sup>f</sup>This epithet indicates that Thutmose I is still living.

<sup>g</sup>Sethe: "neigen zum Bündniss?"

<sup>h</sup>Compare the same royal oath in the obelisk inscription of Hatshepsut (§ 318, l. 2, north side) and in the Megiddo campaign of Thutmose III (§ 422, l. 40).

*The Campaign*

122. Then his majesty dispatched a numerous army into Nubia (*T<sup>2</sup>-pd·t*) on his first occasion of a campaign, in order to overthrow all those who were rebellious against his majesty or hostile to the Lord of the Two Lands. <sup>12</sup>Then this army of his majesty arrived at wretched Kush [—————].<sup>a</sup> This army <sup>13</sup>of his majesty overthrew those barbarians; they did [not]<sup>b</sup> let live anyone among their males, according to all the command of his majesty, except one of those children of the <sup>14</sup>chief of wretched Kush, who was taken away alive as a living prisoner with their people to<sup>c</sup> his majesty. They were placed under the feet of the Good God; for his majesty had appeared upon his throne when <sup>15</sup>the living prisoners were brought in, which this army of his majesty had captured. This land was made a subject of his majesty as formerly, the people <sup>16</sup>rejoiced, the chiefs were joyful; they gave praise to the Lord of the Two Lands, they lauded this god, excellent in examples of his divinity. It came to pass on account of the fame of his majesty, <sup>17</sup>because his father Amon loved him so much more than any king who has been since the beginning. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Okhepernere, Son of Re: Thutmose (II), Beautiful in Diadems, given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever.

BIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE-PEN-NEKHBET<sup>d</sup>

[Concluded from § 85; see also § 344]

## IV. CAREER UNDER THUTMOSE II

123. The conclusion of the long military career of this officer, at least in so far as he has recorded it, was a campaign of Thutmose II against the Shasu-Bedwin, of which this is our only record. It is probable that this defeat of the Shasu was only an incident in the northward march

<sup>a</sup>Partially broken away.

<sup>b</sup>The negative is broken out in the text, but may certainly be supplied from l. 10.

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "to a place under his majesty" = the place where his majesty was.

<sup>d</sup>Bibliography on p. 10, note a.

against Niy (§ 125).<sup>a</sup> This last campaign also brought its reward of valor from the king (§ 24).

*Campaign against the Shasu*

124. I followed King Okheperner<sup>b</sup> (Thutmose II), triumphant; there were brought off for me in Shasu (*Š<sup>2</sup>-sw*) very many living prisoners; I did not count them.

[See also § 344]

CAMPAIGN IN SYRIA<sup>c</sup>

125. The great importance of this fragment has been overlooked in all the histories, and was first noticed by Sethe.<sup>d</sup> It records a campaign of Thutmose II in "*Retenu, the Upper*" and as far probably as Niy.

<sup>1</sup>e[Gifts which were brought to]<sup>e</sup> the fame of the king, Okheperner (Thutmose II)<sup>f</sup> [from his vic]<sup>2</sup>tories ———— <sup>3</sup>elephant[s]<sup>g</sup> ———— <sup>4</sup>horse[s] ———— [Retenu] <sup>5</sup>the Upper ———— [the land] <sup>6</sup>of Niy ———— <sup>7</sup>kings ———— <sup>8</sup>his majesty in ———— <sup>9</sup>[when] he came out of ————.

<sup>a</sup>The reign of Thutmose II was so short that we can hardly suppose that he made more than one campaign into Asia, in addition to his Nubian campaign (§§ 119-22).

<sup>b</sup>Published by Maspero (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 78) as "Thutmose I;" corrected as above, Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 239, n. 1.

<sup>c</sup>Fragment from the Der el-Bahri temple, middle colonnade, toward the right end of the Punt reliefs (§ 272). Only the extreme tops of nine lines are preserved. Text: Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 7; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 17; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 102 and 40. Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 80. Besides this inscription, there is a short building inscription of Thutmose II in the Der el-Bahri temple, giving the usual dedication of a doorway which he erected there (Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 69, 1).

<sup>d</sup>Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 40.

<sup>e</sup>As the inscription accompanies a relief representing gifts, the beginning is undoubtedly to be restored according to numerous analogies, as Sethe has done, *Untersuchungen*, I, 40.

<sup>f</sup>In Naville's text the end of the name is lost; hence Naville, not having collated the old publications, is unable to identify the name, but says "it seems to be that of Thothmes I" (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 17). Both Mariette and Dümichen give Thutmose II.

<sup>g</sup>Cf. the elephant hunt in the same region here mentioned, in Amenemhab (ll. 22-25, § 588) under Thutmose III.

THE EBONY SHRINE OF DER EL-BAHRI<sup>a</sup>

126. The left side-panel of an ebony shrine, unearthed by Naville in the temple of Der el-Bahri, contains the following dedication written thrice on the outside. It is in the name of Thutmose I and II, but the feminine pronoun occurs thrice, and the feminine verbal ending four times;<sup>b</sup> hence Hatshepsut was certainly the author of the monument. Moreover, one of Hatshepsut's partisans, Thutiy, states that he made just such an ebony shrine in her time (§ 375, l. 24). It was therefore later usurped by the two Thutmoses, showing that Hatshepsut reigned for a time before them.

127. The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, lord of offering, lord of diadems, who hath taken the crown of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okhepernere, Bodily Son of Re, Thutmose (II)<sup>c</sup>; he made (it) as his monument for his<sup>d</sup> father, Amon-Re, making for him an august shrine of ebony of the best of the highlands, that she<sup>e</sup> might live and abide<sup>f</sup> for him<sup>g</sup> like Re, forever.

<sup>a</sup>Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, II, xxv-xxix.

<sup>b</sup>The feminine occurs continually in the other inscriptions on the shrine also, as Sethe has shown (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 8, 9).

<sup>c</sup>Right-hand column has Thutmose I!

<sup>d</sup>The column on the edge has "her!"

<sup>e</sup>Naville has not noted this feminine, which occurs in two of the three texts; he offers an impossible masculine in his translation.

<sup>f</sup>"Live" and "abide" are both feminine forms. They are ignored by Naville; Pl. XXVII is very inaccurate in reproducing the alterations evident in the original.

<sup>g</sup>Or: "through him."

## REIGN OF THUTMOSE III AND HATSHEPSUT

### INTRODUCTION

**128.** The close of Thutmose I's independent reign was followed by years of conflict and strife among the Thutmosids, in which the parties of Thutmose I (not yet deceased), Thutmose II, Thutmose III, and Hatshepsut were all pushing the claims of their respective candidates for the throne at the same time. As they all succeeded for longer or shorter periods, there is the greatest confusion of royal names on the monuments dating from this period. It seems to the author that Sethe's explanation of the problem is the first correctly to solve the difficulty. It is the first, and thus far the only, scientific study of the problem employing and reckoning with all the materials. Sethe maintains the following propositions:

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 together with 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.

**129.** The real succession on the first fall of Thutmose I was therefore probably thus:

1. Thutmose III reigns for a time alone.



2. Hatshepsut's party forces her upon Thutmose III as coregent.

3. About year 6 of Thutmose III, Thutmose I and II together gain the throne, for a brief coregency, but are not able to suppress Thutmose III, who, on the disappearance (probably death) of Thutmose I, regains the throne, and rules as coregent with Thutmose III, till the latter's death,<sup>a</sup> which followed shortly, about year 8 of Thutmose III's reign (numbered from his first accession).

4. Thutmose III, with Hatshepsut now associated with him permanently, holds the throne, and they rule together at least twelve years more, till the death of the queen, when Thutmose III finally holds undivided possession. He numbered his years from his first accession, ruling at least thirty-four years more, till the year 54.<sup>b</sup>

130. It will be seen that in this readjustment of the reigns practically all of the reign of Thutmose I falls before, and the bulk of Thutmose III's reign after, the period of the family conflict; while the reign of Thutmose II falls in the midst of this period of conflict that lies between. Hence the old numbering of these three kings need not be changed, and for this reason also their inscriptions are taken up in the old order. It should be noted that a number of difficulties

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<sup>a</sup>Fragments of a statue from the temple of Wazmose at Thebes, as published by Daressy (*Annales du service*, I, 99) bear the date: year 18 of Thutmose II! In view of Daressy's numerous errors in publishing the short inscription, this is not to be accepted without examination of the original which, according to Borchardt, is stated by Daressy to be missing at Cairo. The date is probably year 18 of Thutmose I.

<sup>b</sup>It is impossible here to discuss the large mass of evidence which favors the above conclusions. Some of it will be found in the following translations. For the rest, the student is referred to Sethe's first treatise (*Untersuchungen*, I), his discussion with Naville (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 35, 36, and 37), and Breasted, *A New Chapter in the Life of Thutmose III* (Leipzig, 1900, or *Untersuchungen*, II). For year 20 of Hatshepsut, see Petrie, *Catalogue . . . Sinai*, p. 19.

beset any theory of the Thutmosid struggle. The above reconstruction, in view of recent discoveries, is perhaps not to be regarded as finally demonstrated, but it at least deals with and attempts to solve the otherwise insuperable difficulties of the current traditional theory.

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INSCRIPTION OF THE CORONATION; BUILDINGS AND OFFERINGS<sup>a</sup>

131. This inscription contains historical material of the highest importance, which has been overlooked in all the histories. On the occasion of the completion of one of his numerous additions to the Karnak temple, sometime between the years 15 and 22 (l. 17), Thutmose III held an audience and addressed his court, informing them that he owed his crown 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 intro-

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<sup>a</sup>In the Karnak temple of Amon, on the exterior of the south wall of the chambers south of the sanctuary; three fragments were first published in 1863 by Brugsch (*Recueil de Monuments*, I, Pl. XXVI), then entire by Mariette (*Karnak*, 14-16) in 1875, with lines numbered backward and incorrect arrangement of fragments; then more accurately, but less completely and without the fragments, by de Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 165-74) in 1879, with lines numbered correctly; then much better than either, with correct arrangement of fragments, by Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, 1281-90); finally I published the coronation portion alone, based on the old publications (*New Chapter*, 6-9). But I have since secured much better materials, especially a careful copy of the original by my friend, Mr. Alan Gardiner, which he kindly placed at my disposal; also, through the kindness of Mr. Newberry, two large photographs made by Dr. Page May; and finally two more, which I owe to the thoughtfulness of Borchardt. These materials add much to the publications, and show that Brugsch made numerous restorations in the lacunae, without indication that the added signs were not found on the original. The inscription is in forty-nine vertical lines, and as the upper courses of masonry have perished, the upper half of all the lines has been lost, except ll. 36-49, where fragments with the tops of these lines have survived, though with lacuna: below them.

duction to a three-fold list of the king's benefactions to the god: first, his buildings (ll. 25–36); second, his offerings of the field, and the herds, besides gifts of lands (ll. 36–41); third, temple utensils and the like (ll. 42–48). A short peroration concludes the record (ll. 48–49).

132. The introductory speech of the king begins with an account of his youth and of how he was named king. In the course of these reminiscences, the king in one phrase only (l. 3) compares himself to the youthful Horus in the Delta marshes. This very common comparison of the king with Horus<sup>a</sup> in the Delta, together with the following context,<sup>b</sup> was misunderstood by Brugsch as literal.<sup>c</sup> This error was exposed by Maspero<sup>d</sup> in 1880, and since then the inscription was left for twenty years untouched, as if its significance and content had been finally settled. This conclusion, however, is hardly to be justified if we notice that the inscription as used in all the histories now current, is translated backward!<sup>e</sup>

133. Translating the king's speech in the proper direction, it becomes coherent in spite of the loss of the first half of each line, and tells a remarkable story. The king states, with protestations of his truthfulness, that he was a lad in the temple of Amon, before he had received his appointment as priest (*hn-ntr*, "prophet,"<sup>f</sup> l. 2); and that he later

<sup>a</sup>See, for example, the identical statement with reference to Amenmeses, 111, 642, note (Lepsius, *Denkmaler*, 111, 201, c).

<sup>b</sup>It was the following context which misled Brugsch, for he remarks that such comparisons were an "oft wiederkehrende Redensart junger Konige" (365).

<sup>c</sup>*Geschichte*, 365, and 288, 289; for the same error recently repeated, see *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1904, 37.

<sup>d</sup>*Revue critique*, 1880, I, 107, n. 1; and *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 133.

<sup>e</sup>Brugsch, the entire inscription, beginning with the last line, and ending with the first. As far back as 1879 the publication of the admirable de Rougé had added the proper numbering to the lines; Brugsch has it in his *Thesaurus* (1891).

<sup>f</sup>Of course, this appointment must have followed later.

occupied the priestly office of “*Pillar of his Mother*” (l. 3). On the occasion of a great feast the young priest was stationed by the god in the northern hypostyle (l. 3). The splendid procession of the god appeared (l. 4), with the then king (who is unfortunately not named) offering incense and conducting the ceremonies (l. 5). The procession passed around the hall where the young priest was, while the god” sought for him (l. 6). As he stopped before the young priest the latter fell down before him in adoration, but was raised up and placed before the god (l. 7).

134. Then followed the oracle<sup>b</sup> of the god, proclaiming him king; it is unfortunately lost in the lacuna, but immediately following is a reference to the “*secrets in the hearts of the gods*” now revealed, namely, their intention to make him king (l. 8).<sup>c</sup> At this juncture in their coronation by the gods, Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III proceed to Heliopolis to be crowned by the sun-god, as was the immemorial custom (cf. §§ 221 ff.). But the young priest, Thutmose, is more highly favored; for him the gates of heaven are opened, he flies thither to be received by the sun-god (l. 9), who then crowned him (ll. 10, 11), and fixed his four royal names<sup>d</sup> (in addition to the fifth, Thutmose, which he already bore), in accordance with divinely conferred qualities (ll. 12–14). Thus he is installed in the kingship, and his authority established at home and abroad (ll. 15, 16), in

<sup>a</sup>Or possibly the then king.

<sup>b</sup>This oracle is referred to by the court in their reply (l. 23), and by Thutmose III himself in his inscription of year 23 at Halfa: “*He (the god) hath assigned to him his inheritance as a body which he begat; he uttered an oracle concerning him (nd: j r > hr: f) that his coronation might be established for him (as) king upon the Horus-throne of the living*” (ll. 3, 4, from a photograph by Steindorff).

Compare the designation of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III as king by the gods before their coronation (§ 231).

<sup>d</sup>Harmhab's names are declared at his divine coronation at precisely the same juncture (ll. 29, l. 19).

order that he may offer the wealth of the earth to Amon (ll. 16, 17), erect him buildings, and present him offerings like the present ones (ll. 17–22).

135. This remarkable narrative, under a cloak of alleged divine interposition, like that in the life of Harmhab (111, 22 ff.), records the elevation of Thutmose III from a position of humble rank in the priesthood of the Karnak temple of Amon to the throne of Egypt. This is unquestionable fact. The only difference between this elevation of Thutmose III and that of Harmhab is that Harmhab reached it after a long official career, culminating in great political power, while Thutmose III rose to it directly from his priestly rank in the temple. Any attempt to explain this is to pass distinctly from fact to theory. Suppose that Thutmose III was the oldest son of Thutmose I, born before the latter's accession; his mother being, as we know, a lady not of royal blood, named Iṣiṣ. This would explain why we find him as a priest in the Amon temple. When his father, Thutmose I, after marrying the royal princess Ahmose, gained the throne, and Hatshepsut, his daughter by her, grew up, she (Hatshepsut) was given in marriage to the king's eldest son, still a priest in the temple. Thus was the young priest immediately invested with a future claim upon the throne—a claim which a young man of the ability which we know he possessed, would surely make effective. Queen Ahmose dies, and with her perishes Thutmose I's right to the throne. The young priest immediately claims his right to reign, through his wife, precisely as his father, Thutmose I, had done.<sup>a</sup> And now we pass from theory to fact again.

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<sup>a</sup>Harmhab also gained his right to the throne through his wife, a royal princess, who is referred to in his coronation inscription (111, 28, l. 15).

136. On the occasion of a great feast, when the god appears in procession, the future Thutmose III has all arranged so that the god shall stop before him as he stands in his place among the ranks of priests in the colonnaded hall, and shall indicate him as the future king. The plan is carried out successfully, and a superb stroke of imagination adds also the visit to the celestial realm there to be crowned and 'named by Re, the sun-god himself. Thus Thutmose III succeeded his father; and of his wife, the royal heiress, Hatshepsut, in whose right he ruled, we hear not a word in the whole transaction.<sup>a</sup> The later buildings and gifts are also all in his own name.

137. The inscription refers to offerings of the fifteenth year; it is important to note that already at this time, between this date and the beginning of his great campaigns (year 22), Thutmose III possessed forest domains in Syria (l. 34), from which he drew cedar for his temple doors. He was also receiving captives and the children of native princes from Syria at this time. These facts indicate that he was still holding his father's conquests, at least as far north as Lebanon;<sup>b</sup> and it was to suppress a widespread and persistent revolt that he began his campaigns in Syria at the close of the year 22.<sup>c</sup>

#### *Birth and Youth of Thutmose III*

138. I ————<sup>d</sup> *my* — is he; I am his<sup>e</sup> son, whom he commanded that I should be upon his throne, while I was one dwelling in his

<sup>a</sup>This coincides with Sethe's conclusion that Thutmose III succeeded Thutmose I for a time alone, before the legitimists forced Hatshepsut upon him as coregent.

<sup>b</sup>Where his forest domains of cedar must have been located.

<sup>c</sup>For a full exposition of the historical and other data in this remarkable inscription, see the author's *A New Chapter in the Life of Thutmose III* (in Sethe's *Untersuchungen*), Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1900.

<sup>d</sup>The king in the relief is represented enthroned at the left, holding audience. There is little doubt that l. 1 began "year *x*, month *x*, day *x*, occurred the sitting (*hpr hms't*)", as, e. g., at Der el-Bahri (§ 292). The audience now begins with a speech from the throne.

<sup>e</sup>The god's; see "his temple" (l. 2).

nest;<sup>a</sup> he begat me in uprightness of heart <sup>2</sup>———— there is no lie therein; since my majesty was a stripling, while I was a youth in his temple, before occurred my installation to be prophet <sup>3</sup>———— my majesty. I was in the capacity<sup>b</sup> of the “Pillar of his Mother,”<sup>c</sup> like the youth Horus in Khemmis. I was standing in the northern hypostyle<sup>d</sup> <sup>4</sup>————,

### *The Feast*

**139.** ————— the splendors of his horizon.<sup>e</sup> He made festive heaven and earth with his beauty; he received the great marvels;<sup>f</sup> his rays were in the eyes of the people like the “Coming forth of Harakhte.” The people, they gave to him <sup>5</sup>[praise] ————— the <sup>1</sup>altar of his temple. His majesty placed for him incense upon the **fire**, and offered to him a great oblation consisting of oxen, calves, mountain goats, <sup>6</sup>—————

### *Search and Discovery*

**140.** ————— [the god]<sup>g</sup> made the circuit of the hypostyle<sup>h</sup> on both sides<sup>i</sup> of it, the heart of those who were in front did not comprehend his actions, while searching for my majesty in every place. On recognizing me, lo, he halted <sup>7</sup>————— [I threw myself on] the pave-

<sup>a</sup>A common figure for the young king, conceived as the young Horus-hawk; see § 116.

<sup>b</sup>Or: “*rôte*.”

<sup>c</sup>A title of the god Horus, and then of a priest; (see *New Chapter*, 12 and 30) as it was an office which could be held by a high priest (*ibid.*, 30), this indicates promotion of Prince Thutmose from the rank of “*prophet*.”

<sup>d</sup>This is the northern half of the colonnaded hall built by Thutmose I in the ~~Karnak~~ temple between his two Pylons (IV and V, see § 99 and my *New Chapter*, 12–14, 30, 31). As it was later dismantled by Hatshepsut for the erection of her obelisks in it, we have here also a terminus ad quem for the date of Thutmose III’s coup d’état. On the later history of the hall, see §§ 600, 601, and 803 ff.

<sup>e</sup>A common poetic designation for the temple of a god; to or from the temple at this juncture the sacred procession is moving, as the following three sentences show. In the lacuna opening the next line, he reaches “*his temple*,” these being the first words of the line which are preserved.

<sup>f</sup>Doubtless the things offered to him.

<sup>g</sup>Or the procession.

<sup>h</sup>Where Prince Thutmose has already been stationed by the god (l. 3).

<sup>i</sup>Meaning the colonnades on either side of the central aisle; Prince Thutmose is standing in the left, or “*northern*,” colonnade.

ment, I prostrated myself in his presence. He set me before his majesty;<sup>a</sup> I was stationed at the "Station of the King."<sup>b</sup> He was astonished at me<sup>8</sup>——— without untruth. Then they [revealed]<sup>1</sup> before the people the secrets in the hearts of the gods, who know these his —; there was none who knew them, there was none who revealed them<sup>9</sup> [beside him].

#### *Ascent to Heaven*

141. [He opened<sup>1</sup> for] me the doors of heaven; he opened the portals of the horizon of Re. I flew to heaven<sup>c</sup> as a divine hawk, beholding<sup>d</sup> his form in heaven; I adored his majesty<sup>10</sup>——— feast. I saw the glorious forms of the Horizon-God upon his mysterious ways in heaven.

#### *Coronation in Heaven*

142. Re himself established me, I was dignified with the diadems which [we]re upon his head, his serpent-diadem, rested upon "[my forehead] —— [he satisfied] me with all his glories; I was sated with the counsels<sup>e</sup> of the gods, like Horus, when he counted his body at the house of my father, Amon-Re. I was [present]<sup>1</sup>ed with the dignities of a god, with<sup>12</sup>——— my diadems.

#### *Fixing Titulary<sup>f</sup>*

143. His own titulary was affixed for me.

<sup>a</sup>Probably "his majesty"—"himself;" viz., he raised me up and set me before himself.

<sup>b</sup>The "*Station of the King*" is the place in the holy of holies where the king stood in the performance of the prescribed state ritual. One is known in Amâda, in Elephantine, in Thebes (temple of Memnon colossi), and, as above, at Karnak. (See Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XX, 50, and my *New Chepter*, 16, 17.) I have since found another at Memphis (111, 532). The placing of Prince Thutmose at this official "*Station of the King*" is a public recognition of him as king.

<sup>c</sup>The usual meaning of this phrase applied to a king is that he died, but this is clearly not its meaning here, where the king on the throne uses the phrase himself in addressing his courtiers.

<sup>d</sup>So Brugsch, but Gardiner and photographshave only a lacuna for "beholding."

<sup>e</sup>𓄏𓄚𓄚𓄚," see Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 24, 83–85; it occurs also in Harmhab's coronation, ll. 3 and 11.

<sup>f</sup>Compare the fixing of the titulary by the gods in the coronation of Hatshepsut and that of Amenhotep III (§§ 230, 239).



*First Name*

He fixed my Horus upon the **standard**;<sup>a</sup> he made me mighty as a mighty bull. He caused that I should shine in the midst of Thebes <sup>13</sup>[in this my name, Horus: “Mighty Bull, Shining in Thebes”].<sup>b</sup>

*Second Name*

**144.** [He made my kingship enduring, like Re in heaven, in]<sup>c</sup> **this** my [name], Favorite of the Two Goddesses: “Enduring in Kingship, like Re in Heaven.”

*Third Name*

**145.** He formed me as a Horus-hawk of gold, he gave to me his might and his strength and I was splendid with these his diadems, in this my name, <sup>14</sup>[Golden Horus: “Mighty in Strength, Splendid in Diadems”].

*Fourth Name*

**146.** ——— [in this my name], King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: “Menkheperre” (the being of Re abides).

*Fifth Name*

**147.** I am his' son who came forth from him, a likeness fashioned like the presider over **Hesret**;<sup>d</sup> he beautified all my forms, in this my name, Son of Re: “Thutmose, Beautiful of Form,” living forever and ever.

*Recognition of His Authority*

**148.** <sup>15</sup>——— my —; he caused that [the princes of] all [coun]-tries [should come], doing obeisance because of<sup>e</sup> the fame of my majesty; my terror was in the hearts of the Nine Bows; all lands were under my sandals. He gave victory by my arms, in order to widen <sup>16</sup>[the boundaries of Egypt] ——— because — so much — — — him. He

<sup>a</sup>This is the Horus-hawk which surmounts the so-called standard or banner (really the façade of a building) containing the Horus-name of the king.

<sup>b</sup>Restored from the name of the king, as it occurs elsewhere.

<sup>c</sup>This restoration is not literally certain, but something similar must have occupied the lacuna.

<sup>d</sup>That is, Thoth, with whose name “Thutmose” (or Thothmose) is compounded.

<sup>e</sup>Or: “to.”

rejoiced in me, more than (in) any king who had been in the earth since it was loosened.<sup>a</sup>

*Purpose of His Choice*

**149.** I am his son, beloved of his majesty, whom his double desires <sup>f</sup>to cause<sup>1</sup> that I should present this land at the place, where he is. I cause to encompass <sup>17</sup>———— which he established, to make a monument abiding in Karnak. I requited his beauty with something greater than it by magnifying him more than the gods. The recompense of him who does excellent things is a reward for him of things more excellent than they. I have built his house as an eternal work. <sup>18</sup>———— my [<sup>f</sup>father] caused that I should be divine, that I might extend the throne of him who made me; that I might supply with food his altars upon earth; that I might make to flourish for him the sacred slaughtering-block with great slaughters in his temple, consisting of oxen and calves without limit. <sup>19</sup>———— descending <sup>f</sup>for<sup>3</sup> things, of those which were paid anew, — the dues therefor. I filled for him his granaries with barley and spelt without limit. I increased for him the divine offerings, I gave to him increase, <sup>20</sup>———— for this temple of my father Amon, at all feasts; <sup>b</sup>of the sixth day (of the month)<sup>b</sup> satisfied with that which he desired should be. I know that it is forever; that Thebes is eternal. Amon, Lord of Karnak, Re of Heliopolis of the South (Hermonthis), his gloriouseye which is in this land <sup>21</sup>————.

*Erection of This Monument*

**150.** I made my monument, I recorded my commands at the stairway of the lord of Karnak, of the fashioner of all that is or exists. Everything shall remain forever, that is therein <sup>f</sup>———— **1 22** ————— a libation, together with the things of his gods, when the god is satisfied with his things. The monument is a work in the temple for a memorial of my beauty in his house, and I shall endure in the mouth<sup>c</sup> forever.

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<sup>a</sup>That is, loosened (*w<sup>h</sup> c*) and separated from the heavens at the beginning, as in the Pyramid Texts.

<sup>b</sup>So Brugsch; it is not now visible on the wall.

<sup>c</sup>Of the people.

*Reply of the Court*

151. These companions, they said: <sup>23</sup>“——— 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 endure upon the great throne. The oracle of the god himself,<sup>a</sup> is like the word of Re at the first beginning. Thoth is he who makes the writing speak,<sup>b</sup> <sup>24</sup>——— rejoicing. His kingship is assigned to thee; established is thy coronation upon the Horus-throne, and recorded are thy annals as King of Upper and Lower Egypt. He has united for thee the Two Lands in peace, all countries in subjection.”

*A New Chapel<sup>c</sup>*

152. <sup>25</sup>——— anew, together with a “Divine Abode,” a monument of fine white sandstone. The king himself performed with his two hands the stretching of the cord and the extension of the line, putting (it) upon the ground, and furnishing on this monument the exaction of work, according to the command of <sup>26</sup>——— enduring work of their hands.

*A Holy of Holies*

153. Behold, my majesty erected for him an august Holy of Holies: the favorite place of Amon (named): “His-Great-Seat-is-Like-the-Horizon-of-Heaven,” of sandstone of the Red Mountain.<sup>e</sup> Its interior was wrought with electrum <sup>27</sup>———

*Three Portals*

154. I [erected] the first portal, (named:) “Menkheperre-is-Splendid-in-the-Opulence-of-Amon;” the second portal, (named:) “Menkhe-

<sup>a</sup>Evidently a reference to the oracle which decreed Thutmose III king. Compare the “*oracle of the god himself*” in the Punt reliefs (§ 285, l. 5).

<sup>b</sup>See Papyrus Ebers, I, 8.

<sup>c</sup>Here the audience of the court seems to have been concluded, and the list of buildings and offerings begins.

<sup>d</sup>The form of the determinative *is* like the shrine of Saft-el-Henneh.

<sup>e</sup>Near Cairo (cf. Baedeker’s *Egypt*, 1902, 77; wrongly stated to be near Syene in *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 176), about two miles east of the city. It yields a reddish, sandy conglomerate called “gritstone.” This passage shows the elastic character of the word rendered “sandstone” (*rwḏ:t*); it indicated only gritty, hard stone, and usually sandstone. See also Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 478, n. 1.

perre-is-Abiding-in-Favor-with-Amon;" [the third<sup>a</sup> portal, (named:) "Menkheperre,]<sup>b</sup>is-the-Great-One-of-the-Souls-of-Amon ;" wrought with real electrum, through which Mat<sup>c</sup> enters for him <sup>28</sup> making festive the monument. He rejoiced in his praise, he did that which he desired, he united his (sic) majesty with satisfying life, and joy of heart forever.

#### *Pylon VI*

155. My majesty [erect]ed an august pylon<sup>d</sup> of the interior in front of <sup>29</sup>[the holy of holies] — — I erected for him a great door, fashioned of new cedar, wrought with gold, mounted with real black copper, — with copper. The great name upon it was of electrum, doubly [refined<sup>1</sup>] gold and black copper <sup>30</sup> the [—<sup>1</sup>] thereof were of doubly [refined<sup>1</sup>] gold made in the likeness of the horizon of heaven. It was more beautiful than [[anything]] that has (ever) been.

My majesty further made for him these three portals<sup>e</sup> <sup>31</sup>

#### *Shrines and Statues*

156. — the northern —; shrines of stone, (with) doors of new cedar thereto; <sup>f</sup>the statues of [my majesty] belonging thereto, and the statues<sup>g</sup> of my fathers, the kings <sup>32</sup>[of Egypt who were before me].

<sup>a</sup>Mariette found six gates bearing the name of Thutmose III in Karnak; but of the three above named he could only find the last (*see* Mariette, *Karnak*, Textes, 58, and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1311, 1312, 1315. The first was found by Legrain in 1901 (*Annales du service*, 11, 227); the second has never been found.

<sup>b</sup>Inserted by Brugsch, but no longer visible on original.

<sup>c</sup>Goddess of truth.

<sup>d</sup>This pylon of the interior is, of course, the pylon (VI) of Thutmose III, behind the two pylons (IV and V) of his father, Thutmose I, and just in front of the holy of holies. The back of this pylon is occupied by the conclusion of the Annals and the record of feasts and offerings (§§ 541 ff.), and the front by Nubian lists.

<sup>e</sup>Apparently a further reference to the three portals mentioned before (§ 154).

<sup>f</sup>So Brugsch, but it is probably one of his tacit restorations, as there is no trace of it on the wall.

<sup>g</sup>These statues were those of his ancestors mentioned in the list in one of the rear chambers of the Karnak temple and now in Paris (*see* §§ 604 f.).

*A Restoration<sup>a</sup>*

**157.** ——— [for] my father Amon-Re in Karnak, by making for him a monument anew, — upon — the ancestors, by beautifying for him his temple which built<sup>b</sup> for him <sup>33</sup>[my majesty] ———. Behold, my majesty found this (made) of brick,<sup>c</sup> very ruinous, of the work of the ancestors. My majesty himself wrought with his two hands, at the feast of “Stretching-the-Cord,” upon this monument <sup>34</sup>——— Its beautiful name which my majesty made was: “Menkheperre-(Thutmose-111)-Adored-of-the-People-is-Great-in-the-Strength-of-Amon.” Its great door was of cedar of the royal domain: wrought with [copper; the great name upon it]<sup>e</sup> was of electrum. <sup>35</sup>———

*Conclusion of Buildings*

**158.** He [‘did’] more than any king who has been since the beginning. There was none beyond his majesty in knowledge of everything in every handicraft, exacting<sup>f</sup> — — — —<sup>36</sup> — — — —<sup>f</sup> when there was an “Appearance”<sup>g</sup> at ——— of very great monuments, excellent in work according to the desire of his majesty concerning them, because he so much loved his father Amon [‘lord of Thebes’].

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<sup>a</sup>It is impossible to identify this structure, but it must have been a considerable building, as a special ceremony of laying out the plan was held. It may have been the chambers attributed to Hatshepsut, on the south wall of which the inscription stands. As this is the last building in the list, its conclusion or dedication is doubtless the occasion of the audience of the court and the introductory speech of the king.

<sup>b</sup>Egyptian order preserved, to indicate division of lines.

<sup>c</sup>In contrast with his restoration of it in stone (which here falls into the following lacuna); cf. Thutmose III’s Ptah-temple at Karnak, which bears the inscription: “His majesty found this temple of brick — — he made this temple of sandstone” (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1188).

<sup>d</sup>This domain must have been in Syria, for cedar did not grow in Egypt. **This** indicates that Thutmose III maintained his authority there before the beginning of his great campaigns (see my *New Chapter*, 28, 29).

<sup>e</sup>So Brugsch; evidently another tacit restoration.

<sup>f</sup>At this point begins a part of the lost upper portions of the lines, preserved on two blocks at the top of the wall. They have been set on wrong by Mariette, and should be shifted two lines to the right. From here to the end, the average loss is from one-quarter to one-half line.

<sup>g</sup>Of the god, in procession.

*New Offerings*

159. The king himself commanded to make divine offerings, <sup>37</sup>anew for his father Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, ——— 30 jars of —, 100 bundles of vegetables, 3 (*hbn·t-*) jars of wine, (*ht·c·*) fowl, fruit, white loaves, <sup>a</sup>1 *nd*<sup>2</sup> of (<sup>2</sup>*h-*) herb and 1 *nd*<sup>2</sup> of dates.<sup>a</sup>

*Live Offerings*

160. My majesty furthermore commanded <sup>38</sup>to present an offering, consisting of oxen, calves, of bulls, of gazelles, ———

*Vegetable Garden and Lands*

161. My majesty made for him a garden anew, in order to present to him vegetables and all beautiful flowers. My majesty furthermore gave lands, <sup>39</sup>2800 stat<sup>b</sup> to be fields of divine offerings; many lands in South and North, —<sup>c</sup> [stat].

*Foreign Slaves*

162. ——— supplied with people. I filled it with [captives] from the south and north countries, being children <sup>40</sup>[of] the chiefs of Retenu<sup>d</sup> and children [of the chiefs] of Khenthennofer, according as my father [Amon] commanded ——— milk therein, each day for these vessels<sup>e</sup> (*m[hr]w*) of silver, gold, and bronze, which my majesty made for him <sup>41</sup>anew.

*Another New Offering*

163. Year 15, first (month) of the third season, day 27; my majesty commanded to found a great divine offering anew ——— [in the year]<sup>f</sup> for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of my majesty, in order that the altars of my father Amon may be supplied for all eternity.

<sup>a</sup>See same two items together in feasts and offerings (§ 571, l. 30, and note).

<sup>b</sup>See Griffith, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XIV, 412.

<sup>c</sup>Numeral is lost.

<sup>d</sup>See *New Chapter*, 28.

<sup>e</sup>They are mentioned from l. 42 on, § 164.

<sup>f</sup>So Brugsch, but there is now no trace of it.

*Small Monuments,<sup>a</sup> Utensils, Etc.*

164.<sup>42</sup>My majesty furthermore presented to him [very many]<sup>b</sup> monuments: a great vase (*hs·t*) of electrum, of 7 cubits<sup>c</sup> ——— of silver, gold, bronze, and copper, they shone over the (sacred) lake; the Two Lands were flooded with their brightness,<sup>43</sup>like the stars in the body of Nut, while my statue followed. Offering-tables of electrum of ——— real —, which my majesty exacted anew. I made it for him out of the conceptions of my heart,<sup>d</sup> by the guidance of the god himself,<sup>44</sup>being the work of the hands of “Him-Who-is-South-of-His-Wall.”<sup>e</sup> Never was made the like in this land since the time of the an[cestors] ——— beyond everything! My majesty furthermore presented to him 2 great (*hbn·t*) jars, as the first of this great oblation,<sup>45</sup>which my majesty founded anew, for my father Amon, lord of Thebes, ——— at all his feasts forever. My majesty furthermore [made] many †chambers<sup>f</sup> wrought with electrum and black copper,<sup>g</sup> erecting an †enclosure<sup>1</sup>, a seat<sup>46</sup> ———

*A Harp, Etc.*

165. [My majesty made]<sup>h</sup> a splendid harp wrought with silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, and every splendid costly stone,<sup>47</sup>for the praise of the beauty of his majesty’ at his appearances in the names ——— gold, bronze, and every costly stone, a hall as in the beginning; (*mnh·t*) linen, made anew, supplied with all that belongs thereto;<sup>48</sup>two chambers (*yswy*) containing splendid ointment for [†my father Amon] ——— [†which] I [†exact]ed for it.

*Conclusion*

166. My majesty did this for my father Amon, †lord [of Thebes], as recompense for the permanence of<sup>49</sup>the statues of my majesty which are in [this] temple ——— the limbs, as an everlasting work, to make his voyage therein, at his great feasts of the New Year.

<sup>a</sup>The Egyptian uses the word “monument” also for smaller works, vessels, utensils, etc., of which a list begins here.

<sup>b</sup>So Brugsch, but Gardiner has the *mh*-sign and a lacuna.

<sup>c</sup>If this refers to the height, as seems certain, it was of the astonishing height of twelve feet!

<sup>d</sup>The same phrase (*km ʔ-n-yb*) occurs in Papyrus Harris (IV, 308, l. 4).

<sup>e</sup>An epithet of Ptah, patron of handicrafts. <sup>f</sup>*Sbh·t*.

<sup>g</sup>See Building Inscription of Amenhotep III, ll. 3, 11, and 22 (§§ 883, 886, and 889).

<sup>h</sup>So Brugsch; no trace on original. <sup>i</sup>The god.

SEMNEH TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS<sup>a</sup>

167. The temple of Semneh was rebuilt of stone from the ground up, by Thutmose III, with the pious intention of restoring the brick sanctuary of his great ancestor (at least officially so), Sesostris III, in whose fortress of Semneh the temple stands. Of Sesostris III's original temple nothing has ever been found, unless the "Second Semneh Tablet" (I, 653-60) was a part of it. This tablet Thutmose III piously set up in the wall of his new temple; and also had recorded on the new walls the old list of feasts and offerings which he found among the inscriptions of Sesostris III. More than this the old temple was sacred to Khnum and Dedun; but Thutmose III adds to them Sesostris III, now apotheosized as the hero who conquered Nubia<sup>b</sup> (see I, 640 ff.). There is here a noble regard for the greatest king of the Middle Kingdom, which contrasts very strikingly with the shameful desecration of which the Nineteenth Dynasty was guilty.

Thutmose III completed his new temple early in his second year, and the original sculptures show not a trace of Queen Hatshepsut's regnancy.<sup>c</sup>

## I. RENEWAL OF SESOSTRIS III'S LIST OF OFFERINGS-

*Scenes*

168. On the right Sesostris III is enthroned under a baldachin. Before him at the extreme left stands Thutmose III.

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 111, 47, a-56, b; Young, *Hieroglyphics*, 91-95. Steindorff's collation of Lepsius with the original shows that the latter's plates are very accurate.

<sup>b</sup>This apotheosis of Sesostris III doubtless took place earlier than this, but we have no earlier evidence.

<sup>c</sup>On later traces of her in the reliefs, see Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 36, 59-63, and Pls. VI-X.

<sup>d</sup>On the east wall, outside (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 111, 55, a-b).



*Inscription*

169. <sup>1</sup>Year 2, second month of the <sup>2</sup>third season (tenth month), day 7 under the majesty of . . . . .<sup>a</sup> <sup>2</sup>Thutmose (111), given life.

*Decree of Renewal*

170. That which was spoken by<sup>b</sup> the majesty of the Court, L. P. H., to the wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, king's-son, governor of the southern countries —<sup>c</sup>: <sup>3</sup>“Cause that there be engraved the divine offerings, which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offering, Khekure (Sesostris III)<sup>d</sup> . . . . . made — — — <sup>4</sup>in the temple of his father Dedun, presider over Nubia, the avenging son; that he might do excellent things for his fathers who begat him; and the festal offerings, that This name might be mentioned in the house of<sup>e</sup> his father] <sup>5</sup>Khnum, binder of the (Nine) Bows, smiter of the Shasu (*ššꜣw*); while the king, Khekure (Sesostris III) was among the living, while he lived — — — <sup>6</sup>the gods; causing that there be offered divine offerings to the gods and the mortuary offering to the dead by his majesty. Divine offerings were made anew — — — <sup>7</sup>in the house of his father Dedun, that his name might be mentioned in the house of his father Khnum, binder of the (Nine) Bows, smiter of the Shasu.

*Sesostris III's List*

171. There shall be given: southern grain and spelt<sup>f</sup> for them, and the water of Wawat — — — — <sup>8</sup>for his father Dedun, presider over Nubia, a festal offering of the beginning of the seasons: of southern grain, 15 heket; <sup>9</sup>for his father Dedun, presider over Nubia: of southern grain, 645 heket; of spelt, 20; — — — — [for his father], <sup>10</sup>Khnum, binder of the (Nine) Bows: a festal offering of the beginning of the seasons: southern grain, 50 heket; southern grain, 425 heket; <sup>11</sup>of spelt, 20; each year for his father Khnum, binder of the (Nine) Bows: a bull of the herd for the New Year (*wꜣ-rꜣꜣꜣꜣ*); for his father

<sup>a</sup>Full titulary.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., “from” (*m*).

<sup>c</sup>The name of the official is lost, but it is almost certainly the viceroy of Kush, who was appointed by Thutmose I (§§ 61 ff.), whose name was probably Thure.

<sup>d</sup>His Horns-name follows.

<sup>e</sup>Restored after I 7.

<sup>f</sup>See Griffith (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XIV, 430).

<sup>g</sup>The offerings are separated by a semicolon.

Dedun: a bull — — — — <sup>10</sup>a bull of the herd for the feast, (named:) “Repulse-of-the-Troglodytes,”<sup>a</sup> which occurs in the fourth month of the second season, on the twenty-first day, <sup>b</sup>a festal offering of the beginning of the seasons;<sup>b</sup> southern grain, 50 heket; southern grain, 202<sup>c</sup> heket; of spelt, 15; each year at (the feast) “Repulse-of-the-Troglodytes:” royal linen, 8 — — — — [for] <sup>11</sup>the feast, which occurs in the first of the third season<sup>d</sup> (ninth month): a bull of the herd; for his father Khnum, binder of the (Nine) Bows, smiter of the Shasu: southern grain, 26 heket; each year for the king’s-wife: ———, <sup>12</sup>southern grain, 26 heket; each year for the great king’s-wife, Merseger (*Mr-sgr*), at (the feast) “Binding-of-the-Barbarians:”<sup>e</sup> southern grain, 135 heket; of spelt, 10; each year for the king, Khekure (Sesostris 111): ———

172. <sup>13</sup>His majesty enjoined them upon the chiefs, and governors of the fortresses of Elephantine of the South, as dues of each year to abide and to endure: ———

#### 11. DEDICATION TO DEDUN AND SESOSTRIS III

##### *Scene<sup>f</sup>*

173. Sacred barque, containing a shrine with statue of Sesostris III; behind this Thutmose III and Dedun standing, the god embracing the **king**.

##### *Words of Dedun*

174. **My** beloved son, Menkheperre, how beautiful is this beautiful monument, which thou hast made for my beloved son, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khekure (Sesostris 111). Thou hast perpetuated his name forever, that thou mayest live.

<sup>a</sup>See I, 654.

<sup>b</sup>The season feast and the feast of victory seem to have fallen together.

<sup>c</sup>There is a small lacuna after the units; the number is probably 205.

<sup>d</sup>Probably Thutmose III’s coronation feast, which occurred on the fourth of this month.

<sup>e</sup>There is no doubt that this is another feast introduced by *r*, “at,” as in I. 10.

<sup>f</sup>Inside, on the west wall (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 48, b-49, e). There is a **similar** scene on the newer portion of the same wall, farther north.

175. On the opposite wall in a similar scene<sup>a</sup> Dedun adds :

Thou hast renewed his birth<sup>b</sup> a second time in a monument in **memoriam**.<sup>c</sup> Thou hast presented to him many offering-tables of silver and gold, bronze, and Asiatic copper. The reward thereof for thee is satisfying life, like Re, forever.

176. The dedication inscription in full is as follows:<sup>d</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The Good God, Menkheperre (Thutmose 111). He made (it) as his monument for his father Dedun, presider over Nubia (*T<sup>2</sup>-p<sup>d</sup>·t*), and for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khekure (Sesostris 111); making for them a temple <sup>2</sup>of fine white stone of Nubia (*T<sup>2</sup>-p<sup>d</sup>·t*) although my majesty found (it) of ruinous brick; as a son does, <sup>1</sup>according to<sup>1</sup> the desire which his father desired, <sup>3</sup>who assigned to him the Two Regions, who brought him up to be Horus, lord of this land. I have set it in my divine heart that I should make his monument; that I should make him mighty according as he gave <sup>4</sup>—; that I should perpetuate his house forever, according as he has become greater than any god. He hath given to me all life, stability and satisfaction like Re, forever.

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#### BIOGRAPHY OF NEBWAWI

177. This official enjoyed a long career, beginning early in the reign of Thutmose III and continuing under Amenhotep II. The narrative of his career was evidently distributed upon a number of monuments,<sup>e</sup> some of which are lost, so that we now possess only the story of his earliest and latest years, the former on a statue, the latter on a stela, both of which were gifts from the king.

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<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 111, 50, b.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "repeated birth for him."

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "a monument of putting the heart," that is, of putting in mind, reminding. Compare Hebrew, לֵב לֵב.

<sup>d</sup>On the outside of the west wall; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 52, b; see also Young, *Hieroglyphics*, 93.

<sup>e</sup>Perhaps four (see Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XIX, 99).

I. THE STATUE INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

**178.** This text narrates the career of Nebwawi during the first nine years of Thutmose III; during which he rises to be High Priest of Osiris at Abydos. It is significant that Hatshepsut is not referred to until the ninth year, and even then not by name.

At this point the narrative is abruptly concluded, as if to be continued on another monument.

*Introduction*

**179.** <sup>1</sup>Given as a favor of the king, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose 111), living forever, to the High Priest of Osiris, Nebwawi (*Nb-w<sup>c</sup>wy*). He saith: "I was a servant, useful to his lord, zealously serving<sup>b</sup> him who favored him.

*First Period*

**180.** I filled the first office in the house of my father, Osiris; I was made chief in the — of the temple. A royal command came before me every day ———<sup>c</sup> in the secret of the lord of Abydos. I ———<sup>c</sup> This period was until the year 13<sup>1,d</sup> My lord, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose 111), praised me for it.

*Second Period*

**181.** I was appointed to be High Priest of my father Osiris; every office of this house was placed under the authority of the king's-servant. Another time it was commanded me, that I should go, to <sup>e</sup>bring forth in procession<sup>e</sup> his father, Harendotes, in the house of Min, lord of

<sup>a</sup>On a statue in the hands of a native dealer in Luxor; seen and copied by Spiegelberg and published, *Recueil*, XIX, 97, 98; thence by Révillout, *Revue égyptologique*, VIII, 132. Unfortunately, the dealer allowed Spiegelberg only a few moments to copy it, and he was unable to secure a reliable text. See the translation and full discussion by Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 36, 71 ff.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "pressing (*i.e.*, following) the way of, etc."

<sup>c</sup>An entire line is lost; its length is not given as published.

<sup>d</sup>It is almost certain that Spiegelberg's 10 is to be read 2; giving 3.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., "to cause to dawn."

Panopolis, at all his feasts in Panopolis, I being there as chief of the prophets and **all** the workmen of the entire temple. This period was until the year 6. It was the occasion — — — — in the Thinite nome. The majesty of my lord praised me.

### *Third Period*

**182.** I was appointed to be chief in the — — of his father, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebpehtire (Ahmose I); his treasuries were upon my seals; I came forth therefrom, safe and prosperous, until the year 9.

**183.** I conducted the work on the ship.<sup>a</sup> I repulsed him that rebelled against her majesty<sup>b</sup> (fern.).

### 11. ABYDOS STELA<sup>c</sup>

**184.** This monument takes up the life of Nebwawi after a long interruption at the close of Thutmose III's reign, after the coregency of Amenhotep II had begun, for it carries the narrative into the reign of Amenhotep 11, although the monument is a gift of Thutmose III.<sup>d</sup> This conclusion is corroborated by the epithet "*living forever*" after the name of Thutmose III, in the reign of Amenhotep 11. Nebwawi was called to the court, and probably died there during the coregency.

<sup>a</sup>This is the sacred barge used in the drama of the Osiris-myth; see the same connection in the inscription of Pefnefdineit (IV, 1023).

<sup>b</sup>Read "*his majesty*;" the feminine was doubtless inserted by Spiegelberg as consistent with the rest of the inscription. Osiris is referred to.

<sup>c</sup>Stela found at Abydos, now in Cairo; Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 33, = Birch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1876, 5, 6 (very bad) = Rougé, *Album photographique*, No. 151. I have not seen the last, but used Berlin squeeze (A 1628). Translated by Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XIX, 99.

<sup>d</sup>On the coregency, see Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 55. It must have begun late in the year 53, or early in 54, for we find Thutmose III still alone in year 52 (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 45, e; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 23, n. 2), and Amenhotep II already alone in his third year. As the campaign in Asia was already over by Amenhotep II's third year, and it was certainly made necessary by Thutmose III's death, it is clear that Amenhotep II reigned his first year with Thutmose III, fought out his war in Asia in his second year, and went to Nubia in his **third** (§§ 780-4

*Reign of Thutmose III*

185. <sup>1</sup>Given as a favor of the king's presence, the King Menkheperre, living forever, <sup>2</sup>to the High Priest of Osiris, Nebwawi.

He saith: "I conducted many works in <sup>3</sup>the house of my father Osiris, of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, and every splendid costly stone. <sup>4</sup>All these were upon my seal, (for) he knew that I was excellent of heart <sup>5</sup>toward him. I administered the 'affairs' of my lord, as protector of the house of my father. <sup>6</sup>I attained reverence<sup>a</sup> under the favor of the king's presence. I was 'summoned' <sup>7</sup>to his house of gold, and my place was made among his princes. <sup>8</sup>My feet strode in the splendid place;<sup>b</sup> I was anointed with the best ointment, <sup>9</sup>a wreath (*w<sup>3</sup> h*) was at my throat, as the king does to him whom he has favored.

*Reign of Amenhotep II*

186. His son repeated to me favor, <sup>10</sup>the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheprure (Amenhotep II), living forever. He gave to me a statue of his father, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, <sup>11</sup>Menkheperre (Thutmose III), living forever; his likeness of millions of years in the house of his father Osiris; divine offerings; <sup>12</sup>lands of the royal domain. Every writing remained 'in force' for the L. P. H. of the Son of Re, his beloved <sup>13</sup>Amenhotep (II), beloved of Osiris, First of the Westerners, lord of Abydos, given life, like Re, forever."<sup>c</sup>

THE BIRTH OF QUEEN HATSHEPSUT<sup>d</sup>

187. Beginning with the Fourth Dynasty, every Egyptian king might bear the title, "*Son of Re*," the sun-god. It is not an accident therefore, that the interesting folk-tale preserved to us in the Papyrus Westcar narrates

<sup>a</sup>Old age.

<sup>b</sup>The halls of the palace.

<sup>c</sup>Here follow seven lines containing the usual mortuary prayer.

<sup>d</sup>A series of reliefs and inscriptions in the Der el-Bahri temple, occupying the north half of the middle colonnade (corresponding to the Punt reliefs on the south half, §§ 246 ff.). They were uncovered by the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund under Naville, which began excavating the temple in 1894. Published in Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, II, 46-55.

that the three children of a priest's wife, begotten by Re, and born among astonishing prodigies, became the first three kings of the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>a</sup> The rise of the title, "*Son of Re*," on the Fifth Dynasty monuments thus corresponds remarkably with the legendary tale current a thousand years later among the common people.<sup>b</sup> As Re had once ruled as king of Egypt, lineal descent from him through intervening kings was claimed by all Pharaohs from this time on, and was sufficient to justify the assumption of the title; but in its strictest sense the title indicated that the king was immediately and physically the offspring of the god and a mortal mother. It is probable that this interpretation was pressed at first only by kings whose claims to the throne through their mortal parents were questionable. Naturally, there gradually grew up around so fruitful a theme a literary version of the story, as well as pictures of the various incidents in the drama. These finally took stereotyped form, and the pictures,<sup>c</sup> accompanied by explanatory text, made up of fragmentary quotations from the story in poetic form, have been preserved to us by Hatshepsut at Der el-Bahri and by Amenhotep III at Luxor.

188. The Papyrus Westcar,<sup>b</sup> dating from the rise of the Eighteenth Dynasty, has preserved to us the charming

<sup>a</sup>See Petrie, *History of Egypt*, I, 69 f.

<sup>b</sup>The Papyrus Westcar (see Erman, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, Berlin, 1890; Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 373 ff., and *Aus den Papyrus des königlichen Museums zu Berlin*, 38, 39) is from 700 to 1,000 years later than the birth of the three kings which it narrates.

<sup>c</sup>That these pictures are composed of conventionally current scenes is shown by the fact (1) that both Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III used almost identically the same scenes in their birth reliefs; (2) that the sculptor of Hatshepsut's scenes, copied his traditional models in every detail, including the sex of the child (of course, a boy! This was not to conceal the child's sex, for all the pronouns in the accompanying texts are feminine!); had he been sketching something new, prompted by this particular occasion, his sketches would have been made to suit the occasion.

folk-tale in which the state fiction found expression and circulated among the common people. The explanatory texts, accompanying the reliefs of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III, unfortunately furnish us only the merest fragments of the fine poem in which the court and the higher classes heard the story of the monarch's divine paternity. The meagerness of the surviving fragments of the court poem makes a comparison with the folk-tale a very brief matter, but enough of the former is preserved to show that one quotes from the other, or both quote from a common source in traditional stock phrases long orally current. For the same gods figure at the birth in both, and at least in two incidents the same words are employed by both.

189. Later every king claimed Amon (successor of Re) as his physical father, and in Ptolemaic times the incidents in the divine birth of the king were regularly depicted in the temple reliefs.<sup>a</sup> The most notable example in late times, Alexander the Great, who journeyed to the Oasis of Amon that he might be recognized as the god's son, was therefore merely acting in harmony with a state fiction as old as the Fifth Dynasty. He thus became the legitimate king of Egypt by the only possible means.

190. In the case of Hatshepsut, it was, of course, a violent wrenching of the traditional details to apply the fiction to a woman, for the entire legend was fitted only to a man. The result was in some cases startling inconsistency (e. g., § 202). Undoubtedly, this tale of Hatshepsut's divine

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<sup>a</sup>For example, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 11, 59-61; Champollion, *Monuments*, 11, 145 sext. ff.; these late representations have not been collected and published; to put them all, early and late, together would be a very useful piece of work. Much material, especially with reference to Alexander the Great, has been collected by Maspero (*Comment Alexandre devint dieu en Egypte*, Ecole des hautes études, annuaire 1897).

<sup>b</sup>See Mahaffy, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 15, 16.



paternity, designing her before her birth for the throne, was intended by her supporters to enforce her claims to the kingship. The whole was therefore sculptured in a series of magnificent reliefs at Der el-Bahri, which have suffered sadly from a twofold attack: by the triumphant Thutmose III, who erased the figure and inscriptions of the queen; and by the Amon-hating Amenhotep IV, who did likewise for those of Amon. Hence it has been necessary to employ also the duplicate by Amenhotep III in Luxor.<sup>a</sup>

191. The reliefs begin at the south end of the colonnade, proceed northward (lower row) without interruption, and conclude at the north end.

#### I. THE COUNCIL OF THE GODS<sup>b</sup>

##### *Scene*

192. Amon enthroned at the right, before twelve gods<sup>c</sup> in two rows at the left.

##### *Inscription*

The long inscription of probably twenty-one lines<sup>d</sup> between Amon and the gods contained the words of the gods (three lines at the left) and those of Amon (all the rest) in which he has evidently prophesied the birth of Hatshepsut and promises her great power; for we can still read:

I will unite for her the Two Lands in peace. . . . . I will give *to* her all lands, all countries.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup>See §§ 841 ff. I have arranged the Der el-Bahri and Luxor texts in parallel columns, and find that they largely supplement each other. They are practically identical.

<sup>b</sup>Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 11, 46 (Luxor, Gayet, 73 (66), fig. 189).

<sup>c</sup>Osiris, Isis, Harsiese, Nephthys, Anubis, Hathor, Montu, Tum, Shu, Tefnut, Keb, and Nut.

<sup>d</sup>Including two lines behind Amon; all have *been* carefully hacked *away*, and only the tops of the lines have escaped destruction. In front of Amon is Ramses II's clumsy note: "*Restoration of the monument which King Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses ZZ) made, for his father Awn.*" The note has been cut directly over the old inscription!

<sup>e</sup>Amenhotep III has Thoth before this council of gods at Luxor.

My soul is hers, my <sup>1</sup>bounty<sup>1</sup> is hers, my crown <sup>1</sup>is hers,<sup>1</sup> that she may rule the **Two Lands**,<sup>a</sup> that she may lead all the living —————<sup>b</sup>

IV. INTERVIEW BETWEEN AMON AND KHNUM<sup>c</sup>

199. Amon now calls in the aid of the god Khnum, who created man.

*Scene*

Amon stands on the left before Khnum on the right. The following inscriptions accompany them :

*Instructions of Amon*<sup>d</sup>

200. Utterance of Amon, presider over Karnak: “Go, to make her, together with her **ka**, from these limbs which are in me; **go**, to fashion her better than all gods; <sup>1</sup>shape for me,<sup>1e</sup> **this** my daughter, whom **I** have begotten. **I** have given to her all life and satisfaction, all stability, all joy of heart from me, all offerings, and **all** bread, like Re, forever.”

*Reply of Khnum*

201. “**I** will form this [thy] daughter [Makere] (Hatshepsut),<sup>f</sup> for life, prosperity and health; for offerings ————— for love of the beautiful mistress. Her form shall be more exalted than the gods, in her great dignity of King of Upper and Lower Egypt.”

V. KHNUM FASHIONS THE CHILD<sup>g</sup>

*Scene*

202. Khnum is seated before a potter’s wheel, upon which he is fashioning two male (!) children,<sup>h</sup> the first being

<sup>a</sup>Luxor adds: “*like Re, forever*” and ends here.

<sup>b</sup>Nearly two lines of conventional promises, in a very fragmentary state, follow here.

<sup>c</sup>Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 11, 48 (=Luxor, 63 (71), Fig. 203).

<sup>d</sup>They have all disappeared but one line. The rendering is partially from Luxor, with corresponding changes of gender. In fashioning the child (at Der el-Bahri, Pl. 48), Khnum repeats the instructions he has received from **Amon**, which can thus be reconstructed from this source, also. I have arranged the three sources in parallel columns, and employed all.

<sup>e</sup>Read *twt ny?*

<sup>f</sup>Luxor adds: “*together with all his (Amenhotep III’s) ka’s.*”

<sup>g</sup>Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 11, 48 (=Luxor, 63 (71), Fig. 202).

<sup>h</sup>This would indicate that the reliefs were made according to old and traditional sketches in which, of course, a female child had no place. All the pronouns used by Khnum in addressing the child are feminine!

11. INTERVIEW BETWEEN AMON AND THOTH<sup>a</sup>

Scene

193. Amon stands at the left before Thoth on the right.<sup>b</sup>*Inscriptions*<sup>c</sup>

The words of Amon are almost totally illegible, the record of Ramses II's restoration being placed over the lower half. Without them, it is difficult to discern the exact purpose of the interview. The words of Thoth are better preserved:

*Words of Thoth*<sup>d</sup>

194. ——— thou<sup>e</sup> maiden whom thou hast mentioned. Lo, [— —] an old man.<sup>f</sup> Ahmose is her name, the beneficent, mistress of ——— in this whole land, She is the wife of the king [O]kheperkere (Thutmose I), given life forever. While his majesty is in [—], go thou ——— to her.

Amon and Thoth are now seen<sup>g</sup> proceeding to the queen.III. AMON WITH QUEEN AHMOSE<sup>h</sup>

Scene

195. Amon and Queen Ahmose are seated facing each other; the god extends to her the symbols of life. They

<sup>a</sup>Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 11, 47 (Luxor, Gayet, 62 (72)).

<sup>b</sup>The Luxor scene shows one feature omitted in Der el-Bahri, viz., the queen and Hathor standing between Amon and Thoth. Hathor embraces the queen, and the fragmentary inscription would indicate that the goddess is informing the queen of what is to befall her.

<sup>c</sup>Between and over the gods.

<sup>d</sup>By combining Der el-Bahri and Luxor.

<sup>e</sup>End of an optative imperative?

<sup>f</sup>Possibly a reference to the fact that the king is old as a reason that Amon should become the father of Hatshepsut?

<sup>g</sup>On the right of the preceding scene (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 11, 47; Luxor, 63 (71)).

<sup>h</sup>Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 11, 47, Luxor, Gayet, 63 (71); a much better text than Gayet's, although with impossible conjectures in the lacunæ, is by Bouriant, *Recueil*, IX, 84, 85.

are sitting upon the heavens,<sup>a</sup> symbolic of the exalted character of the interview, supported by two female divinities who are seated upon a couch.<sup>b</sup> The inscriptions are as follows:

*The Interview<sup>c</sup>*

**196.** Utterance of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak.<sup>d</sup> He made his form like the majesty of this husband, the King Okheperkere (Thutmose I). He found her as she slept in the beauty of her palace. She waked at the fragrance of the god, which she smelled in the presence of his majesty. He went to her immediately, coivit cum ea, he imposed his desire upon her, he caused that she should see him in his form of a god. When he came before her, she rejoiced at the sight of his beauty, his love passed into her limbs, which the fragrance of the god flooded; all his odors were from Punt.

*Words of the Queen<sup>e</sup>*

**197.** Utterance by the king's-wife and king's-mother Ahmose, in the presence of the majesty of this august god, Amon, Lord of Thebes: "How great is thy fame!<sup>f</sup> It is splendid to see thy front; thou hast united my majesty (fern.) with thy favors,<sup>g</sup> thy dew is in all my limbs." After this, the majesty of this god did all that he desired with her.

*Words of Among*

**198.** Utterance of Amon, Lord of the Two Lands, before her: "Khmet-Amon-Hatshepsut shall be the name of this my daughter, whom I have placed<sup>h</sup> in thy body,<sup>i</sup> this saying which comes out of thy mouth.' She shall exercise the excellent kingship in this whole land.'<sup>j</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Plainer in Luxor.

<sup>b</sup>Upon which the interview really took place.

<sup>c</sup>Text behind Amon.

<sup>d</sup>The following is not really the words of Amon.

<sup>e</sup>Behind the queen.

<sup>f</sup>Luxor has a different text here: "— — — the plans which thou hast made; thy [heart] is satisfied with my majesty" (feminine).

<sup>g</sup>Next to the right; four lines.

<sup>h</sup>Read *wd'ny*.

<sup>i</sup>The connection is not clear.

<sup>j</sup>This announcement of the god to Hatshepsut's mother is strikingly like the announcement of Re to Rededet, the mortal mother of his three unborn children in Papyrus Westcar (IX, 10, 11): "He (Re) hath said to her: 'They shall exercise this excellent office in this whole land.'"

My soul is hers, my <sup>1</sup>bounty<sup>1</sup> is hers, my crown <sup>1</sup>is hers,<sup>1</sup> that she may rule the **Two Lands**,<sup>a</sup> that she may lead all the living —————<sup>b</sup>

IV. INTERVIEW BETWEEN AMON AND KHNUM<sup>c</sup>

199. Amon now calls in the aid of the god Khnum, who created man.

*Scene*

Amon stands on the left before Khnum on the right. The following inscriptions accompany them :

*Instructions of Amon*<sup>d</sup>

200. Utterance of Amon, presider over Karnak: "Go, to make her, together with her **ka**, from these limbs which are in me; **go**, to fashion her better than all gods; <sup>1</sup>shape for me,<sup>1e</sup> **this** my daughter, whom **I** have begotten. **I** have given to her all life and satisfaction, all stability, all joy of heart from me, all offerings, and **all** bread, like Re, forever."

*Reply of Khnum*

201. "I will form this [thy] daughter [Makere] (Hatshepsut),<sup>f</sup> for life, prosperity and health; for offerings ————— for love of the beautiful mistress. Her form shall be more exalted than the gods, in her great dignity of King of Upper and Lower Egypt."

V. KHNUM FASHIONS THE CHILD<sup>g</sup>

*Scene*

202. Khnum is seated before a potter's wheel, upon which he is fashioning two male (!) children,<sup>h</sup> the first being

<sup>a</sup>Luxor adds: "*like Re, forever*" and ends here.

<sup>b</sup>Nearly two lines of conventional promises, in a very fragmentary state, follow here.

<sup>c</sup>Navigle, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 11, 48 (=Luxor, 63 (71), Fig. 203).

<sup>d</sup>They have all disappeared but one line. The rendering is partially from Luxor, with corresponding changes of gender. In fashioning the child (at Der el-Bahari, Pl. 48), Khnum repeats the instructions he has received from **Amon**, which can thus be reconstructed from this source, also. I have arranged the three sources in parallel columns, and employed all.

<sup>e</sup>Read *twt ny?*

<sup>f</sup>Luxor adds: "*together with all his (Amenhotep III's) ka's.*"

<sup>g</sup>Navigle, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 11, 48 (=Luxor, 63 (71), Fig. 202).

<sup>h</sup>This would indicate that the reliefs were made according to old and traditional sketches in which, of course, a female child had no place. All the pronouns used by Khnum in addressing the child are feminine!

Hatshepsut and the second her ka. The frog-headed goddess Heket,<sup>a</sup> kneeling on the right, extends the symbol of life to the two children.

*Inscription*

203. Khnum repeats the instructions he has received from Amon, putting them now in the first person.

Utterance of Khnum, the potter, lord of Hirur (*Hr-wr*): “I have formed thee of these limbs of Arnon, presider over Karnak. I have come to thee (fern.), to fashion thee better than all gods.<sup>b</sup> I have given to thee (fern.) all life and satisfaction, all stability, all joy of heart with me; I have given to thee (fern.) all health, all lands; I have given to thee (fern.) all countries, all people;<sup>c</sup> I have given to thee (fern.) all offerings, all food; I have given to thee (fern.) to appear upon the throne of Horus like Re, forever; ———<sup>d</sup> I have given to thee (fern.) to be before the ka’s of all the living, while thou (fern.) shinest as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, of South and North, according as thy (fern.) father who loves thee (fern.) has commanded.

VI. INTERVIEW BETWEEN THOTH AND QUEEN AHMOSE<sup>e</sup>

*Scene*

204. Queen Ahmose standing on the right is saluted by Thoth, who stands with outstretched arm at the left.

*Inscriptions*

They unfortunately contain only titles and epithets of praise, so that the purpose of the interview is not clear.

VII. QUEEN AHMOSE IS LED TO CONFINEMENT<sup>f</sup>

*Scene*

205. Khnum and Heket appear on each side of the queen leading her by either hand. Before them nine divinities in three rows of three. All are led by Amon.

<sup>a</sup>At Luxor it is Hathor.

<sup>b</sup>In Papyrus Westcar (X, 14) Khnum “*makes sound his limbs.*”

<sup>c</sup>Unimportant variants in Luxor. <sup>d</sup>Two short lines lost.

<sup>e</sup>Navigle, *Deir-el-Bahari*, II, 48 (=Luxor, 64 (69), Fig. 197).

<sup>f</sup>Navigle, *Deir-el-Bahari*, II, 49 (=Luxor 64 (69), Fig. 198).

*Inscriptions*

They again offer only titles and epithets of praise; the inscription of Heket,<sup>a</sup> however, did contain some references to the scene; we can discern: “*Thou didst conceive immediately after this, thou [—] a child [Go] with him<sup>b</sup> to the court, to [—];*” but the bulk of her speech is hacked out or covered by Ramses II's renewals. Before Amon a long inscription of thirteen lines, now completely hacked out, doubtless contained the description of the scene.

VIII. THE BIRTH<sup>c</sup>*Scene*

206. The queen<sup>d</sup> sits enthroned in the middle of the upper row, holding the child; before her are four female divinities, acting as midwives and extending their arms for the child.<sup>e</sup> Behind her are five goddesses;<sup>f</sup> the foremost, extending to the queen the sign of life. The entire row rests upon a couch. In the middle row, which also rests upon a couch, we see directly under the queen two genii of myriads of years; and on either side of them the genii of the east and west.<sup>g</sup> The bottom row shows: on the left, the genii of the north and south; on the right, Bes and

<sup>a</sup>Her titles are also interesting: “*Heket, mistress of Hirur, White One of Nekhen, deliverer*” (at births), in which she is identified with Eileithuia because of similar functions.

<sup>b</sup>Khnum or Amon?

<sup>c</sup>Navelle, *Deir-el-Bahari*, II, 51 (=Luxor, 65 (70), Fig. 199).

<sup>d</sup>She bears the name of Hatshepsut! But in Luxor the corresponding position is occupied by the mother of the child, and there can be no doubt of the identity here.

<sup>e</sup>In Luxor, one of these midwives is passing the child to the next.

<sup>f</sup>Among them Isis and Nephthys; these two, together with Khnum and Heket who led in the queen, and Meskhenet, who sits at the right, are the same five divinities who figure at the birth of the children of Re in Papyrus Westcar (IX, 23).

<sup>g</sup>Navelle, *Deir-el-Bahari*, II, 16.

Teweret, with a blank space which contained an inscription now totally gone.<sup>a</sup> At the extreme right sits Meskhenet, the goddess of births, directing the midwives.

*Inscriptions*

207. The divinities on the right in the upper row and Meskhenet all utter the conventional promises, **as** in the speech of Khnum<sup>b</sup> (§ 203).

IX. PRESENTATION OF THE CHILD TO AMON<sup>c</sup>

208. The child is now presented to her father by Hathor.

*Scene*

1. Hathor, enthroned on the right, extends the child to Amon, who is standing on the left.

*Inscriptions*

2. The brief words of Hathor have almost disappeared; one can still read: “*she extends her arm before his majesty.*”

*Words of Amon*

3. Utterance of [Amon]. . . . . **d** ——— to see **his** daughter, his beloved, the king, Makere (Hatshepsut), living, after she was born, <sup>e</sup>while his heart was exceedingly **happy**.<sup>e</sup>

Utterance<sup>f</sup> of [Amon to] his bodily daughter [Hatshepsut]: “**Glorious** part which has come forth from me; king, taking the Two Lands, upon the Horus-throne forever.”

<sup>a</sup>It is better preserved at Luxor, but I can see no connection with chap. 137 of the *Book of the Dead*, to which Naville finds a resemblance (*Deir-el-Bahari*, II, 16).

<sup>b</sup>In Papyrus Westcar (X, 13, 14). Meskhenet says: “A **king**, who shall exercise the kingship in this whole land.”

<sup>c</sup>Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, II, 52 (=Luxor, 65 (70), Fig. 200).

<sup>d</sup>The usual promises.

<sup>e</sup>Exactly the same phrase (*ndm yb*) is used by the divinities in Papyrus Westcar (XI, 5), as they announce the birth of **his** children to **Rawoser**, saying: “*Let thy heart be happy, Rawoser; behold three children are born to thee.*”

<sup>f</sup>Under his extended arm.



## X. COUNCIL OF AMON AND HATHOR

*Scene*

209. Amon is enthroned at the left holding the child before Hathor, enthroned at the right. Behind the latter is the goddess Serek,<sup>a</sup> who is perhaps summoning the child to its nourishment in the following scene.

*Inscriptions*

They are unfortunately so defaced that little more **than** the conventional promises can be made out.<sup>b</sup>

XI. THE NURSING OF THE CHILD<sup>c</sup>*Scene*

210. On a couch at the left (above) sits Queen Ahmose, supported by a goddess, and before her the child and its ka are nursed by two cow-headed Hathors. Below the couch are two Hathor cows, suckling the child and its ka.<sup>d</sup> On the right are the ka's, twelve in number, which have already been suckled and are being passed on to the Nile-god and an obscure deity named Heku (*hk<sup>3</sup>w*), who present them to three enthroned divinities.

*Inscription*

It has almost all been hacked out, but we can discern the words: "*Nursing her majesty (fern.) together with all her ka's.*"

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<sup>a</sup>She is lacking at Luxor.

<sup>b</sup>Luxor is no better.

<sup>c</sup>Naveille, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 11, 53 (=Luxor, 66 (67), Figs. 192 and 193, and 67 (68), Fig. 194).

<sup>d</sup>The children have been hacked out, but they are clear in Luxor. There is a splendid granite statue of such a Hathor cow in Florence, suckling the infant King Harmhab.

## XII. SECOND INTERVIEW OF AMON AND THOTH

*Scene*

211. Amon and Thoth stand facing each other, and hold between them the child<sup>a</sup> and its ka.<sup>a</sup>

*Inscriptions*

Only the conventional promises; the purpose of the interview is perhaps the arrangement of the child's future.

XIII. THE FINAL SCENE<sup>b</sup>*Scene*

212. At the left Khnum and Anubis advance, the latter rolling a large disk before him. Before them two female divinities in the upper row present the child and its ka to a kneeling god (the Nile-god?), and in the lower row the same scene appears before another unknown divinity. Behind (at the right) stands Sefkhet, keeping record, accompanied by an attendant god.

*Inscriptions*

Only the conventional promises; it is therefore impossible to explain the purpose of this scene. The child is now launched upon its career.

STATUE OF ENEBNI<sup>c</sup>

213. A statue upon which the nobleman Enebni refers to Thutmose III as "*her* (Hatshepsut's) *brother*."

<sup>a</sup>Hacked out.

<sup>b</sup>Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 11, 55 (=Luxor, 67 (68), Fig. 195, and 64 (69), Fig. 196.

<sup>c</sup>Statue in the British Museum. Inscription: Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, 17; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 123, e, and cf. also 6, 7, and 51; also Maspero, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XIV, 170 ff.

Made as a favor<sup>a</sup> of the Good Goddess, Mistress of the Two Lands, Makere (Hatshepsut), living and abiding like Re, and her brother the Good God, Lord of Offering, Menkheperre (Thutmose 111), who is given life like Re, forever.

An "offering-which-the-king-gives" ———<sup>b</sup> for the ka of the only excellent one, the favored of his god, the beloved of his lord, because of his excellence; the follower of his lord on his journeys in the South country and the North country,<sup>c</sup> the king's-son, chief of the archers, master of the royal weapons, Enebni (<sup>ʿ</sup>*nbny*), triumphant before the great ennead of gods.

VASE INSCRIPTION<sup>d</sup>

214. A small jar, presented by Hatshepsut to her mother, Ahmose, bears the words:

Divine Consort, Great King's-Wife,<sup>e</sup> Hatshepsut; she made (it) for her mother, Great King's-Wife, Ahmose, triumphant before Osiris.

THE CORONATION OF QUEEN HATSHEPSUT<sup>f</sup>

215. The scenes and inscriptions in this series are in uninterrupted continuation of the birth series (§§ 187–212).

<sup>a</sup>The usual formula has: "Given as a favor, etc.," see, e. g., Senmut statue (§ 366).

<sup>b</sup>The usual formulary—in the name of Amon, Osiris, and Anubis—is omitted.

<sup>c</sup>This suggests unknown campaigns of Thutmose III, while he was still hampered by the association with Hatshepsut.

<sup>d</sup>In Gizeh; text in Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 48, d 1; Maspero, *Momies royales*, 633, n. 4; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, I, Pl. 36, 4, and p. 49; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 122, 6, 20.

<sup>e</sup>Showing clearly that the queen for a time after her accession bore the usual titles of the king's legitimate wife, with no pretense of being king herself. See Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, § 31 and § 36, where another vase inscription shows the same fact.

<sup>f</sup>Reliefs and inscriptions on the wall of the northern half of the middle colonnade in the Der el-Bahri temple; they begin on the south end-wall (directly over the first scene of the birth series, which they continue), proceed northward along the west wall, and conclude on the north end-wall (directly over the last scene of the birth series). They were uncovered by the Fund excavations under Naville, and published by Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 111, 56–64.

They represent the child consecrated to the kingship by the gods; then grown to maidenhood and crowned by them; and finally crowned by her father, Thutmose I, before the assembled court. This is followed by some concluding ceremonies by the gods. The birth series of Amenhotep III at Luxor continues to furnish a parallel as far as the coronation by Atum (III) and the reception of names and crowns (IV). The entire series has been more or less defaced and systematically hacked out by the queen's political enemies. The historical value of the different sections is discussed as they are taken up.

#### I. THE PURIFICATION<sup>a</sup>

##### *Scene*

216. The child<sup>b</sup> stands between Amon on the right and Khonsu on the left, who are pouring water over her head.

##### *Inscriptions*

Both the gods utter the following words:<sup>c</sup>

Thou art pure, together with thy ka, [for] thy great dignity of King of Upper and Lower Egypt, living.

#### 11. AMON PRESENTS THE CHILD TO ALL THE GODS<sup>d</sup>

##### *Scene*

217. Amon, enthroned at the left, fondles the child upon his knees; before him stand six figures: three (above) representing "*all the gods of the South,*" and three (below) representing "*all the gods of the North.*"

<sup>a</sup>Middle terrace, northern half, on the south end-wall, upper row, over the first scene in the birth series; published by Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 56 (=Luxor, 75 (64), Fig. 186).

<sup>b</sup>The figure has totally disappeared at Der el-Bahri, but is preserved at Luxor.

<sup>c</sup>Same in Luxor.

<sup>d</sup>Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 56 (=Luxor 73 (66), Fig. 190).

*Inscriptions*

218. They have as usual been hacked out and further obscured by the barbarous restorations of Amon's name where it did not belong, by Ramses 11.

*Words of Amon*

219. Utterance of Amon-Re, lord of <sup>a</sup>[heaven to] the gods:" "Behold ye, my daughter [Hatshepsut]<sup>b</sup> living; be ye loving toward her, and be ye satisfied with her."

He shows<sup>c</sup> her to all the gods of South and North, who come to look upon her, <sup>f</sup>doing obeisance before her<sup>1</sup>.

*Words of the Gods*

220. 'Utterance of all the gods, [to] Amon-[Re]: "This thy daughter [Hatshepsut], who liveth, we are satisfied with her in life and peace. <sup>2</sup>She is now thy daughter of thy form, whom thou hast begotten, prepared. Thou hast given to her thy soul, thy <sup>f</sup>—, thy <sup>f</sup>bounty<sup>1</sup>, the magic powers of the diadem.<sup>d</sup> <sup>3</sup>While she was in the body of her that bare her, the lands were hers, the countries were hers;<sup>e</sup> all that the heavens cover, all that the sea encircles. Thou hast now done <sup>4</sup>this with her, for thou knowest the two æons.' Thou hast given to her the share of Horus in life, the years of Set in satisfaction. We have given to her<sup>g</sup> . . . . .

III. THE NORTHERN JOURNEY<sup>h</sup>

221. With this incident in the queen's childhood we pass out of pure fiction into a narrative which possibly contains

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<sup>a</sup>Ramses II's restoration renders this uncertain.  
<sup>b</sup>In the blank where the name of the queen had been cut out, Ramses II has inserted "Amon."  
<sup>c</sup>Lit., "he causes them to see her."  
<sup>d</sup>See the same statement by Amon himself in the birth scenes (§ 198).  
<sup>e</sup>Read *h* s' t (or *nt*) and *ns ymy* = "belonging to."  
<sup>f</sup>Periods of 60 years.  
<sup>g</sup>Ramses II has again put in a restoration of Amon in the wrong place. After that follow the conventional promises of life, satisfaction, etc.  
<sup>h</sup>Text first published by Naville, *Recueil*, 18, Pl. 1, and corrections, *ibid.*, 19, 209-11. Later and much more correctly Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 57.

a kernel of fact. Having actually, during her father's lifetime, made a journey with him to the north, she now slightly warps its purpose (of which we really know nothing) and represents the journey as the occasion of an acknowledgment of her coming kingship by all the gods of Egypt as she proceeds to Heliopolis to be crowned by Atum. According to the date of her jubilee (year 15), she must have spent fifteen years as crown prince (being nominated thirty years before the jubilee).<sup>a</sup> After references to her godlike appearance and blooming beauty, having grown from childhood to maidenhood, the journey is barely mentioned, but it is stated that all the gods came to her as she journeyed northward. Following this, over half of the inscription (ll. 8–15) is occupied with the splendid promises of the gods regarding the greatness of her future kingdom. That this journey northward is represented as primarily in order to visit Heliopolis, and there be acknowledged and crowned by Atum, is shown by the accompanying scene, in which she is crowned in his presence.

222. The same incident occurs in the coronation of Amenhotep III. This was undoubtedly an old custom, for Atum was the solar deity, who was always associated with the kingship; and, as we noticed in the preceding birth series, Atum's successor at Heliopolis, Re, became the father of all mortal kings of Egypt. In accordance with this old custom, Amenhotep III also visited Atum, and was crowned by him, before his accession. The visit of Piankhi (IV, 871) was due to the same custom, and Thutmose III's ascension to heaven (§ 141) to be crowned and receive his royal names is but a splendid variation of the customary fiction.

<sup>a</sup>See Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 36, 65.

*The Queen's Growth and Beauty*

. 223. <sup>1</sup>Her majesty saw all this thing<sup>a</sup> herself, which she told to the people, who heard, falling down for terror among them. <sup>2</sup>Her majesty grew beyond everything; to look upon her was more beautiful than anything; her <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> was like a god, her form was like a god, she did <sup>3</sup>everything as a god, her splendor was like a god; her majesty (fern.) was a maiden, beautiful, blooming, Buto in her time. <sup>4</sup>She made her divine form to flourish, a <sup>1</sup>favor of<sup>1</sup> him that fashioned her.

*The Journey*

224. Her majesty (fern.) journeyed <sup>5</sup>to the North country after her father, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere, who liveth forever. There came<sup>b</sup> her mother, Hathor, patroness of Thebes; Buto, mistress of Dep; Amon, lord of Thebes; <sup>6</sup>Atum, lord of Heliopolis; Montu, lord of Thebes; Khnum, lord of the Cataract; all the gods that are in Thebes, all the gods of the South and North, and approached <sup>7</sup>her. They traversed for her, pleasant ways, (they) came, and they brought all life and satisfaction with them, they exerted their protection behind her; one proceeded <sup>8</sup>after another of them, they passed on behind her every day.

*Promises of the Gods*

225. They said, "Welcome, daughter of Amon-Re; thou hast seen thy administration in the land, thou shalt set <sup>9</sup>it in order, thou shalt restore that which has gone to its ruin,<sup>c</sup> thou shalt make thy monuments in this house, thou shalt victual the offering-tables of him who begat thee, thou shalt pass through the land<sup>d</sup> and thou shalt embrace <sup>10</sup>many countries. Thou shalt strike among the Tehenu, thou shalt smite with the mace the Troglodytes; thou shalt cut off the heads of the soldiers, thou shalt seize <sup>11</sup>the chiefs of Retenu, bearing the sword, the survivals<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup>What thing is meant is not clear; possibly it refers to the preceding presentation to the gods, which she narrates now to the people. Then follow her growth into youth and beauty, and the journey.

<sup>b</sup>*Yw hr* is a *sdm hr*-form.

<sup>c</sup>This is a clear reference to the queen's restoration of the temples recorded at Benihasan (§§ 296 ff.), and plainly indicates the late date of the coronation reliefs, which are thus evidently later than the temple restorations.

<sup>d</sup>Read *hms t t* (*t* for two land-signs).

<sup>e</sup>Meaning those whom her father Thutmose I had left; hence this *is* further evidence of his Asiatic campaign.

of thy father. Thy tribute is myriads of men, the captives of thy valor; thy 'reward' is <sup>12</sup>thousands of men for the temples of the 'Two Lands! Thou givest offerings in Thebes, the steps of the king, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes. <sup>13</sup>The gods have [endowed] thee with years, they 'present' thee with life and satisfaction, they praise thee, for their heart hath given understanding to the egg<sup>a</sup> which <sup>14</sup>[they] have fashioned. They shall set thy boundary as far as the breadth of heaven, as far as the **limits** of the twelfth hour of the night; the Two Lands shall be **filled** with children —, thy numerous children <sup>15</sup>are (as) the number of thy grain, 'which' thou '—' in the hearts of thy people; it is the daughter of the bull of his **mother**,<sup>b</sup> — beloved.

#### IV. CORONATION BY ATUM<sup>c</sup>

**226.** The queen on the left is led by Hathor<sup>d</sup> into the presence of Atum standing on the right. In Luxor, after being led in by Sekhmet, the king (corresponding to the queen in Der el-Bahri) kneels before Atum enthroned." Before them stands Thoth, of whose inscription only the following has survived:

##### *Words of Thoth*

**227.** Set his diadem upon his head; put — — — — — titulary — — — — before the gods. . . . . f

#### V. RECEPTION OF THE CROWNS AND THE NAMES~

**228.** The coronation before Atum is followed by a similar ceremony before Amon.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Meaning the queen. <sup>b</sup>Amon-Kamephis.

<sup>c</sup>Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 111, 57, 58 (=Luxor, 73 (66), Fig. 191, and 74 (65), Fig. 188).

<sup>d</sup>There is another divinity before the queen, and there were others behind Hathor, but all have disappeared.

<sup>e</sup>It is probable that this scene was also in the Der el-Bahri series in the erased space immediately following the above introduction to Atum.

<sup>f</sup>The conventional phrases.

<sup>g</sup>Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 4, where only an account of the scene is given with a few sentences of text, as the whole is almost completely hacked out. At Luxor the scene of the **crowns** is well preserved (Gayet, 75 (64), Fig. 184 incomplete; better Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 75, c), but the scene of names is omitted.

<sup>h</sup>This is of course a later custom, as Amon himself is a later **god**.



*Scene*

The queen,<sup>a</sup> standing, is embraced by Amon, enthroned at the left; from the right approach two goddesses,<sup>b</sup> one bearing the crown of Upper and the other the crown of Lower Egypt, and behind them are the genii of the cardinal points.

*Inscriptions*

229. Presented to thee is this red crown, which is upon the head of Re; thou shalt wear the double crown, and thou shalt take the Two Lands by this its name

Presented to thee is this white crown, mighty upon thy head; thou shalt take the lands by its diadem, by this its name.

*Reception of Names*

230. There was here a scene (wanting in Luxor), representing the reception by the queen of her new royal names, conferred by the gods." The scene is totally destroyed, with the exception of the figures<sup>d</sup> of Sefkhet and Thoth (?) on the right accompanied by the words:

Writing the name, Golden Horus: Divine of Diadems. Writing the name, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere.

VI. PROCLAMATION AS KING BEFORE AMON<sup>e</sup>

*Scene*

231. The queen, in king's costume, with the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, stands before Amon, enthroned on the left. Behind the queen are the genii of the cardinal points, and behind these again Sefkhet and Thoth are keeping record.

<sup>a</sup>From Luxor, where, of course, it is the king.

<sup>b</sup>From the Der el-Bahri inscription it is evident that they are Nekhbet and Buto, the goddesses of South and North, as we should expect.

<sup>c</sup>See the conferring of names upon Thutmose III (§§ 143 ff.) by the gods. Later, when the queen's names are really conferred by the officials, it is naively explained that they have been revealed to the officials by the god (§ 239).

<sup>d</sup>Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 59.

<sup>e</sup>Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 59, 60.

*Inscriptions*

The accompanying inscriptions are either destroyed or, where preserved, show only conventional phrases. That the coronation before the gods is complete is seen from the fragmentary words of Thoth: "*Thou hast set these thy diadems [upon thy head].*"

VII. CORONATION BEFORE THE COURT<sup>a</sup>

232. We now reach the alleged real coronation of the queen, which is represented as taking place before the court, at the command of Thutmose I, who retires from the throne in Hatshepsut's favor. As she bore the title "*great king's-wife*," for some time after her accession,<sup>b</sup> it is clear that she did not immediately succeed her father in the kingship as here represented.

233. This fact alone shakes one's confidence in the truth of the coronation inscription; but to this fact we must add another still more decisive. The date of the coronation is given as the first of Thoth, New Year's Day, of itself a remarkable coincidence. The selection of this date is explained as intentional on the part of Thutmose I in a passage, which states:<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>First published by Naville in *Recueil*, 18, Pl. III; corrections, *ibid.*, 19, 211, 212; finally, much better (but not without errors) in Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 111, 60-63.

<sup>b</sup>See Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, § 31 and § 36, and *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 36, 67.

<sup>c</sup>Naville's rendering is as follows: "at (r) the festival day (*h*-disk) of her coronation; when the first day of the year and the beginning of the seasons should be united, etc." (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 7, l. 33). The *h*-disk cannot be read as the sun-disk ("*day*"), for it lacks the stroke, never lacking with the sun-disk in this inscription (e. g., in the neighboring lines twice, l. 27 and l. 29). We must read *rh-j*, "*he knew, recognized.*" *Nfr* follows in the usual construction with *n*. There is not a shadow of doubt as to the correct rendering. Later: Naville's later altered rendering, in a recent number of *Sphinx*, is grammatically impossible.

“He (Thutmose I) recognized the auspiciousness of a coronation on<sup>a</sup> New Year’s Day as the beginning of the peaceful years and of the spending of myriads (of years) of very many jubilees.”<sup>b</sup>

Thutmose I therefore ostensibly selected New Year’s Day as the most auspicious day for his daughter’s coronation. But if we examine her obelisk inscription (§ 318, l. 8), we find that, as she actually reckoned, the beginning of her regnal year fell somewhere between the first of the sixth and the thirtieth of the twelfth month, and not on New Year’s Day. Finally, this account of the coronation in the Der el-Bahri temple, is taken verbatim from the account of the coronation of Amenemhet III in the Middle Kingdom temple at Arsinoe,<sup>c</sup> and deserves no more credence than the geographical lists of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, which have been copied from the lists of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. It is clear that this entire coronation of Hatshepsut, like the supernatural birth, is an artificial creation, a fiction of later origin, prompted by political necessity. As such it is closely paralleled by the similar representations of Ramses II in his great Abydos inscription (III, 251–81), with the sole difference that his father is stated to have remained as coregent on the throne.

#### *Scene*

234. Thutmose I is enthroned at the left, with his daughter standing before him; in their presence three rows of courtiers standing on the right.

<sup>a</sup>Lit., “*of*,” making the phrase, “*New Year’s coronation*.”

<sup>b</sup>§ 239, ll. 33, 34.

<sup>c</sup>Fragments in Berlin (Nos. 15801–4; see *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Heft III, 138). I owe the knowledge of the character of these fragments to my friend, Mr. Alan Gardiner, who kindly called my attention to them.

*Inscriptions<sup>a</sup>*

They furnish the only surviving account of such a coronation, in the presence of the superseded monarch and the court.

*Thutmose I Summons His Daughter to be Crowned*

235. <sup>1</sup>There saw her<sup>b</sup> the majesty of her father, this Horus;<sup>c</sup> how divine is her great fashioner! Her heart is glad, (for) great is her crown; <sup>2</sup>she advocates her cause <sup>3</sup>in<sup>1</sup> truth, <sup>4</sup>exalter<sup>1</sup> of her royal dignity, and of that which her ka does. <sup>5</sup>The living were set before her<sup>d</sup> <sup>6</sup>in his palace<sup>e</sup> of <sup>7</sup>—<sup>1</sup>. Said his majesty to her: “Come, glorious one;<sup>f</sup> I have placed (thee) before me; that <sup>8</sup>thou mayest see thy administration<sup>g</sup> in the palace, and the excellent deeds of thy ka’s<sup>h</sup> that thou mayest assume thy royal dignity, glorious <sup>9</sup>in thy magic, mighty in thy strength. Thou shalt be powerful in the Two Lands; thou shalt seize the rebellious; <sup>10</sup>thou shalt appear in the palace, thy forehead shall be adorned with the double diadem, resting upon the head of the heiress of Horus, whom I begat, <sup>11</sup>daughter of the white crown, beloved of Buto. The diadems are given to thee by him who presides over the thrones of the gods.

*Thutmose I Summons the Court*

236. <sup>1</sup>My majesty caused that there be brought to him the dignitaries of the king, the nobles, the companions, <sup>2</sup>the officers of the court,<sup>i</sup> and the chief of the people,<sup>j</sup> that they may do homage,<sup>k</sup> to set the maj-

<sup>a</sup>They are in vertical lines, divided into three groups by the king’s throne and the group of courtiers. The language is in many respects unusual, the whole is difficult and sometimes uncertain.

<sup>b</sup>Hatshepsut.

<sup>c</sup>Meaning King Thutmose I, to whom all the following epithets are applied.

<sup>d</sup>Referring to the court spectators.

<sup>e</sup>Of course, read: *ḥ c-f-n-ys’t* as in l. 10.

<sup>f</sup>Addressed to his daughter, the queen.

<sup>g</sup>She has already seen it in the land at large on the northern journey (§ 224, l. 8).

<sup>h</sup>That which the ka does, is to reign; the phrase is not uncommon.

<sup>i</sup>Of course, correct to *ḥny’t*.

<sup>j</sup>*Rḥy’t*, a class of people not yet closely defined.

<sup>k</sup>*Nḏ’t-ḥr*.

esty of <sup>10</sup>the daughter of this Horus<sup>a</sup> before him in his palace of <sup>11</sup>—<sup>12</sup>,<sup>b</sup> There was a sitting<sup>c</sup> of the king himself, <sup>13</sup>in the audience-hall of the right of the <sup>14</sup>court<sup>d</sup>, while these people prostrated themselves<sup>e</sup> in the court.

*Thutmose I's Address to the Court*

237. Said<sup>e</sup> his majesty before them: "This my daughter, Khnemet-Amon, Hatshepsut, who liveth, I have appointed [her] — —; she is my successor<sup>f</sup> <sup>13</sup>upon my throne, she it assuredly is who shall sit upon my wonderful seat.<sup>14</sup> She shall command the people<sup>g</sup> in every place of the palace; she it is who shall lead you; <sup>15</sup>ye shall proclaim her word, ye shall be united at her command. He who shall do her homage shall live, he who shall speak evil in <sup>16</sup>blasphemy of her majesty shall die. Whosoever proclaims with unanimity the name of her majesty (fem.), <sup>17</sup>shall enter immediately into the royal chamber, just as it was done by the name of this Horus (viz., by my name).<sup>h</sup> For <sup>18</sup>thou art divine, O daughter of a god, for whom even the gods fight; behind whom they exert their protection every day according to the command of her father, the lord of the gods.<sup>i</sup>

*The Court and People Acknowledge the New Queen*

238. <sup>19</sup>The dignitaries of the king, the nobles and the chief of the people<sup>j</sup> hear <sup>20</sup>this command for the advancement of the dignity of

<sup>a</sup>Meaning the king, Thutmose I.

<sup>b</sup>See l. 3 (note). Possibly referring to the tomb-temple of Der el-Bahri, where the scene is engraved. In this case, the events narrated took place in the Der el-Bahri temple itself.

<sup>c</sup>See sitting of year 9, Punt relief (§ 292, l. 1).

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "*were upon their bellies.*"

<sup>e</sup>At this point the inscription is interrupted by the scene representing the king seated in a pavilion, etc.

<sup>f</sup>This word (*ys'ty*) is very important; for it indicates, not association as coregent, but accession as successor. It is used in the same sense, precisely, by the nomarch Key (I, 692).

<sup>g</sup>Lit., "*She shall command matters to the people (rhy't).*"

<sup>h</sup>That is, the name of the new queen is to be as effective in securing entrance as had been that of the king, her father.

<sup>i</sup>Here the text is interrupted by the bas-relief of the three rows of officials named in ll. 8, 9.

<sup>j</sup>See § 236, l. 9, n. f.

his daughter, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut) living forever. They kissed the earth at his feet, when the <sup>21</sup>royal word fell among them; they praised all the gods for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere (Thutmose I), living forever. They went forth, their mouths <sup>22</sup>rejoiced, they published his proclamation [to] them. All the people<sup>a</sup> of all the dwellings <sup>23</sup>of the court heard; they came, their mouths rejoicing, they proclaimed (it) beyond everything, dwelling on dwelling <sup>24</sup>therein was announcing (it) in his name; soldiers on soldiers [—],<sup>b</sup> they leaped and they danced <sup>25</sup>for the double joy of their hearts. They [proclaimed], they [proclaimed]<sup>c</sup> the name of her majesty (fem.) as king; while her majesty (fem.) was a youth, while the great god was <sup>26</sup>turning<sup>1</sup> their hearts to his daughter, Makere (Hatshepsut), living forever, when they recognized that it was the fa[ther] of the divine daughter, and <sup>27</sup>thus they were excellent in her great soul beyond everything. As for any man who shall love her in his heart, and shall do her homage every day, <sup>28</sup>he shall shine, and he shall flourish exceedingly; [but] as for any man who shall speak against the name of her majesty, the god shall determine his death immediately, <sup>29</sup>even by the gods who exercise protection behind her every day. The majesty of this her father hath published this, all the people<sup>d</sup> have united upon <sup>30</sup>the name of this his daughter for king. While her majesty was a youth, the heart of his majesty inclined to [her] exceedingly.

*Proclamation of the Queen's Names*

**239.** <sup>31</sup>His majesty commanded that the ritual priests be brought to [proclaim] her great names that belonged to the assumption of the dignities of her royal crown and for insertion in (every) work and every seal of the <sup>32</sup>Favorite of the Two Goddesses, who makes the circuit north of the wall,<sup>e</sup> who clothes all the gods of the Favorite of the Two Goddesses. <sup>33</sup>He has recognized the auspiciousness of the coronation on New Year's Day as the beginning of the peaceful years and of the

<sup>a</sup>See § 236, l. 9, n. f.

<sup>b</sup>A verb of shouting is lacking, as it is construed with *hr*.

<sup>c</sup>Written twice, cf. note a.

<sup>d</sup>See § 236, n.

<sup>e</sup>Some ceremony unknown to us. The whole line refers to ceremonies in which the official name of the monarch must be used (see § 57).

spending of myriads (of years) of <sup>34</sup>very many jubilees. They proclaimed her royal names, for <sup>35</sup>the god caused that it should be in their hearts to make her names according to the form with which he had made them before:<sup>a</sup>

<sup>36</sup>Her great name, Horus: [Wosretkew (*wsr·t-k>w*)],<sup>b</sup> forever;

<sup>37</sup>Her great name, Favorite of the Two Goddesses: "Fresh in Years,"<sup>c</sup> good goddess, mistress of offering;

<sup>38</sup>Her great name, Golden Horus: "Divine of diadems;"<sup>d</sup>

<sup>39</sup>Her great name of King of Upper and Lower Egypt: "Makere, who liveth forever."<sup>e</sup>

It is her real name which the god made beforehand.

#### VIII. SECOND PURIFICATION<sup>f</sup>

240. After the public coronation, further ceremonies of the gods follow.

##### *First Scene*

The queen is led away by the god Kheseti. α . C . L .

##### *Inscriptions*

<sup>g</sup>The first (day) of the first season, New Year's Day, the first of the peaceful years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Favorite of the Two Goddesses, who makes the circuit north of the wall, the Feast of Shed . . . . .<sup>h</sup>

<sup>i</sup>The leading away to enter the "Great House" (ʔbyʔ) the "Pillar of his Mother,"<sup>j</sup> of the "Great House" (ʔfor theʔ) purification of the "Great House."

<sup>a</sup>They were inspired to announce the same names which the god had already conferred upon her before (§ 230). This is to explain how the officials knew the same names already conferred by the god.

<sup>b</sup>"Mighty of doubles."

<sup>c</sup>*W> q't rnp' wt.*      <sup>d</sup>*Ntr·t-k>w.*

<sup>e</sup>The complete titulary should contain five names of which the last is here lacking. This last fifth name was her personal name, Hatshepsut, which she had already received in childhood.

<sup>f</sup>Naviile, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 63.

<sup>g</sup>Over the queen.

<sup>i</sup>Over the god.

<sup>h</sup>Cf. I, 150. Titulary of the queen.      <sup>j</sup>A priestly title.

*Second Scene*

241. The god Kheseti, standing at the right, holds over the queen, who stands at the left, a vessel in the form of the sign of life.

*Inscription*

Over the queen, merely her name with epitheta; over the god, the following:

I have purified thee with these waters of all satisfying life, all stability, all health, all joy of heart, to celebrate very many jubilees, like Re, forever.

IX. CONCLUDING CEREMONIES<sup>a</sup>

242. The queen is now led away by Horus, and several ceremonies follow, which are too nearly destroyed to be clear, but one of them was the "*making of the circuit north of the wall,*" in accordance with the title of the queen used above.<sup>b</sup> The coronation is now regarded as complete, for Horus says: "*Thou hast established thy dignity as king, and appeared upon the Horus-throne.*"

SOUTHERN PYLON INSCRIPTION AT KARNAK<sup>c</sup>

243. There is a distinct tendency on the part of Hatshepsut to show especial respect to her father, Thutmose I. The evident purpose of the following inscription is to make clear that her father recognizes her right to rule as king. It represents him shortly after her accession, as praying for

<sup>a</sup>Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 63, 64.

<sup>b</sup>In § 240, and elsewhere.

<sup>c</sup>On the north side of the third southern pylon, left wing, below; text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 18; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 113, 114; translated by de Rougé, *Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne*, I, 46 f.; Sethe, *ibid.*, I, 27, 28 (cf. also p. 1). The inscription is very mutilated, and some omissions have been necessary.



the blessing and favor of the gods upon her reign,<sup>a</sup> and the entire document is of course, the work of the queen herself.

244. The accompanying scene shows Thutmose I standing on the right before Amon, Mut, and Khonsu, the Theban triad on the left; the inscription of twenty lines occupies the space between. Over half of it is occupied with the names, titles, and fulsome epithets of Thutmose I, and the translation omits these, beginning in the middle of l. 11, with the king's address to the three divinities.

245. <sup>11</sup>. . . . . I come to thee, lord of gods; I do obeisance<sup>b</sup> [before] thee, in return for this that [thou hast put]<sup>c</sup> <sup>12</sup>the Black and the Red Land<sup>d</sup> under (the dominion of) my daughter, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere<sup>e</sup> (Hatshepsut), who lives forever, just as thou didst put (it) under (the dominion of) my majesty . . . . . <sup>13</sup>. . . Thou hast given to me the kingdom of every land in the presence of the Two Lands, exalting my beauty while I was a youth . . . [the Black Land] <sup>14</sup>and the Red Land are under my dominion. I am satisfied with victories, thou hast placed every rebellious land under my sandals which thy serpent-diadem has bound, bearing their gifts; thou hast strengthened the fear [of me] ———— <sup>15</sup>their limbs tremble, I have seized them in victory according to thy command; they are made my subjects; [they come to me] doing obeisance, and all countries with bowed head. Tribute ———— <sup>16</sup>. . . . . <sup>17</sup>. . . . the heart of my majesty is glad because of her . . . . . <sup>18</sup>[the petition] concerning my daughter Wosretkew,<sup>g</sup> King of Upper and Lower Egypt, of whom thou hast desired, that she be associated with [thee]<sup>h</sup> — 'that' thou mightest

<sup>a</sup>Sethé has shown (*Untersuchungen*, I, 28) that it does not record the installation of Hatshepsut as coregent.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "smell the ground."

<sup>c</sup>Sethé's emendation, *Untersuchungen*, I, 113.

<sup>d</sup>The black land of the valley and the red of the desert hills.

<sup>e</sup>The name has been changed to that of Thutmose II, but the queen's name can still be read.

<sup>f</sup>The conventional praise of the king; in the following lines which are very fragmentary, only the references to the queen are translated.

<sup>g</sup>Horus-name of Hatshepsut.

<sup>h</sup>Apparently a play on her name, "Associate of Amon" (Khnetmet-Amon).

assign [this] land [to] her grasp. Make her prosperous as King ———  
<sup>19</sup>mayest thou [grant] for me the prayer of the first time, my petitions  
concerning [my] beloved (fem.) ——— <sup>20</sup>. . . . . under her  
majesty (fem.).

#### THE PUNT RELIEFS<sup>a</sup>

**246.** These are undoubtedly the most interesting series of reliefs in Egypt, and form almost our only early source of information for the land of Punt. They are as beautiful in execution as they are important in content. They record an important expedition of the queen thither, which was successfully concluded just before her ninth year (§ 292, l. 1).

**247.** The only earlier evidences of intercourse with Punt are as follows: In the Fourth Dynasty a Puntite negro appears as the slave of one of the sons of King Khufu,<sup>b</sup> in the Fifth, King Sahure sent an expedition thither (I, 161, 8),

<sup>a</sup>In the Der el-Bahri temple, occupying the south half of the middle terrace (corresponding to the Birth and Youth on the north half, §§ 187 ff.). See accompanying plan (p. 105). First copied by Dümichen and published by Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 8-20, and *Fleet*, 1-3, and 18, a; then by Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 5-10. The excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund since 1894 have for the first time uncovered all the Punt reliefs, and they have all now appeared in the superb publication of the Egypt Exploration Fund (Naville, *The Temple of Deir-el-Bahari*, Introductory Memoir, Pls. 7-10, and Vol. III, Pls. 69-86). Unfortunately, the old publications have not been collated and the portions since lost, added. It is therefore still necessary to collate Mariette and Dümichen; I have placed all copies in parallel columns as a basis for the present translation. The inscriptions and reliefs have suffered, not merely from the hand of time and modern vandalism, but the inscriptions and figures of Hatshepsut were hacked out by her political enemies after her fall, and the figure and neighboring inscriptions of Amon, wherever occurring, were later erased by Amenhotep IV. The faint traces remaining on the wall are difficult to read; hence the numerous errors in the old publications. The most useful treatments are Erman (*Life in Ancient Egypt*, 505 ff.), Maspero (*Struggle of the Nations*, 247-53, with very full citation of the older bibliography); and for Punt especially see Müller (*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, III, 42; also *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, II, 416) and Krall (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Blemyer und Nubier*, "Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie," Philologisch-historische Classe, Vol. XLVI, 4te Abhandlung) to which is added an excursus on Punt).

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 23; see Erman, *Aegypten*, 670.

and King Isesi sent another, which brought back a dancing dwarf (I, 351); in the Sixth, an officer of Pepi II, named Enenkhet, was killed by the Sand-dwellers on the coast, while building a ship for the Punt voyage (I, 360), and another expedition thither under the same king was led by the assistant treasurer, Thethy (I, 361); in the Eleventh Dynasty, Henu, chief treasurer of King Senekhkere-Mentuhotep III, dispatched an expedition to Punt, which he accompanied only to the coast of the Red Sea (I, 430); in the Twelfth Dynasty, an officer of Amenemhet II, named Khentkhetwer, records his safe return from Punt (I, 604-6);<sup>a</sup> and finally there was also an expedition under Sesostris II (I, 618). None of these sources contains more than the meagerest reference to the fact of the expedition.

248. The reliefs illustrating her expedition, which Hatshepsut had carved in her beautiful Der el-Bahri temple, are therefore, as stated, the first and only full source for a study of ancient Punt and the voyage thither. The expedition, like those of Henu<sup>b</sup> and of Khentkhetwer, may have left the Nile at Koptos, and proceeded by caravan to Wadi Gasûs on the Red Sea, where the ships may have been built.<sup>c</sup> But as no shift of cargo is mentioned, and the same ships depicted as sailing the Red Sea are afterward shown on the Nile, it is possible that the canal through the Wadi Tumulât connecting the Nile and the Red Sea had existed from the Twelfth Dynasty, having been made by one of the Sesostrises.<sup>d</sup> The question of the location of Punt is too large for dis-

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<sup>a</sup>A fairy-tale in a St. Petersburg papyrus of the Middle Kingdom, in possession of M. Golénischeff, narrates the adventures of a shipwrecked sailor on a voyage to Punt.

<sup>b</sup>As Henu returned by way of Hammamat, he must have sent his expedition from the Red Sea terminus of the Koptos-Hammamat road.

<sup>c</sup>Cf. the ship of Enenkhet (I, 360).

<sup>d</sup>Strabo, XVII, 1, 26.

cussion here, but it was certainly in Africa, and probably was the Somali coast.

249. The successive scenes and the accompanying inscriptions tell the story of the expedition so clearly that no introductory outline is necessary.

250. Historically, it is important to note that Thutmose III appears only once in the Punt reliefs, and that in a subordinate position, so that, as far as this source is concerned, the queen is the author of the expedition, which she undertakes in accordance with an oracle of Amon (§ 284).

251. The arrangement of the reliefs on the wall is interesting; Punt is at the extreme south (left) on the end wall of the colonnade (see plan), and the fleet bound thither is placed by the artist with prows literally toward the south, while the returning fleet is correspondingly represented with stern toward Punt in the south and bows to the north. The successive scenes then proceed northward (to the right) and conclude on the north end-wall.

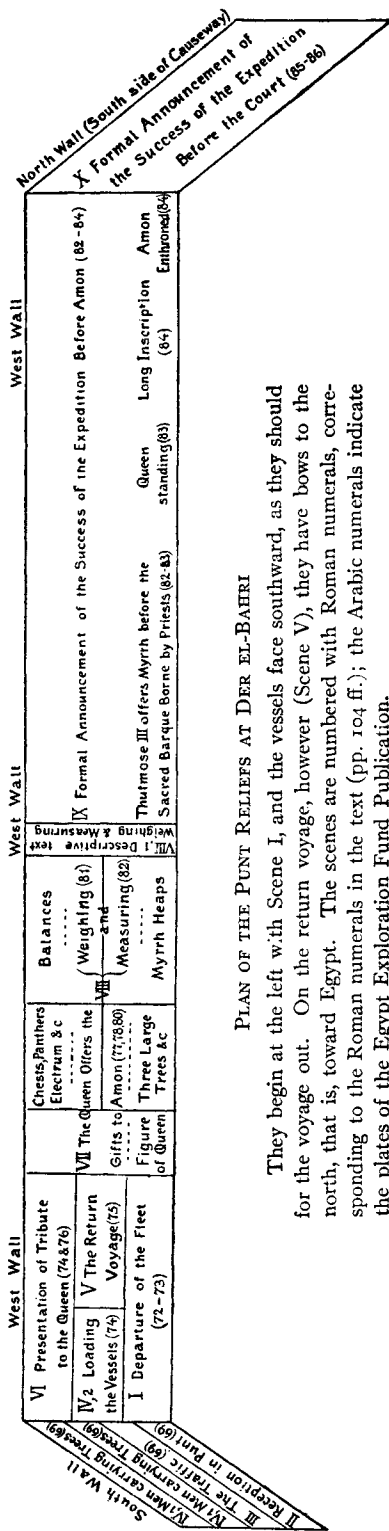
#### I. DEPARTURE OF THE FLEET<sup>a</sup>

##### *Scene*

252. Five vessels, two of which are still moored, the rest already under sail. The last vessel bearing over its stern the pilot's command, "*Steer<sup>b</sup> to port.*" A small boat lashed to a tree has above it the words: "*(An offering) for the life, prosperity, and health of her majesty (fem.), to Hathor, mistress of Punt [————] that she may bring wind;*"

<sup>a</sup>First scene on the west wall, lower row; Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 6 below; Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 63; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 11; Dümichen, *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, 1; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 72, 73.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "*make.*"



PLAN OF THE PUNT RELIEFS AT DER EL-BAHARI

They begin at the left with Scene I, and the vessels face southward, as they should for the voyage out. On the return voyage, however (Scene V), they have bows to the north, that is, toward Egypt. The scenes are numbered with Roman numerals, corresponding to the Roman numerals in the text (pp. 104 ff.); the Arabic numerals indicate the plates of the Egypt Exploration Fund Publication.

showing that a propitiatory offering is being made ashore as they leave.<sup>a</sup>

*Inscriptions*

253. <sup>1</sup>Sailing in the sea, <sup>2</sup>beginning<sup>b</sup> the goodly way toward God's-Land, journeying <sup>3</sup>in peace to the land of Punt, by <sup>4</sup>the army of the Lord of the Two Lands, according to the command<sup>c</sup> <sup>5</sup>of the Lord of Gods, Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak, <sup>6</sup>in order to bring for him the marvels of <sup>7</sup>every country, because he so much loves <sup>8</sup>the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Makere (Hatshepsut)],<sup>d</sup> <sup>9</sup>for his father Amon-Re, lord of heaven, lord of earth, <sup>10</sup>more than the other kings <sup>11</sup>who have been <sup>12</sup>in this land <sup>13</sup>forever.

II. RECEPTION IN PUNT<sup>e</sup>

254. The voyage has been safely made, and the expedition has landed.

*Scene<sup>f</sup>*

On the right the "king's-messenger" advances at the head of his soldiers. A pile of necklaces, hatchets, daggers, etc., before him, ostensibly an offering to Hathor, are for trade with the Puntites, whose chief, "Perehu," advances from the left to meet the Egyptians. Behind him follow his abnormally fleshy wife,<sup>g</sup> "Eti," their children—two sons<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Cf. Erman, *Aegypten*, 675. Henu in the Eleventh Dynasty made a similar offering as he dispatched his Punt expedition (I, 432; see also III, 423).

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "taking the head of the way."

<sup>c</sup>See Oracle, § 285.

<sup>d</sup>The queen's name has been cut out; later Ramses II inserted his name over the old erasure; the following clause, to the word "earth," is also due to him; hence "his father" and the entire loss of connection with l. 10.

<sup>e</sup>On the south wall, lowest two rows; Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 5; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 8 and 10; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 69. As Naville has unfortunately not added the now lacking portions contained in the old publications, it is necessary here to employ them also.

<sup>f</sup>Lowest row.

<sup>g</sup>Only in the old publications, as this block has been stolen from the wall; see Dümichen, *Resultate*, LVII; photograph in Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 62.

and a daughter<sup>a</sup>—and three Puntites<sup>a</sup> driving the “*ass which bears his wife*.” Behind these is a landscape in Punt, showing among the trees the houses of the Puntites set on poles (*Pfahlbauten*). Below the whole is a line of water, showing that the scene is near the sea or the haven in which the Egyptians have landed. The inscriptions are these:

*Over the Egyptians*

255. [The arrival] of the king’s-messenger in God’s-Land, together with the army which is behind him, before the chiefs of Punt; dispatched with every good thing from the court, L. P. H., for Hathor, mistress of Punt; for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of her majesty.

*Before the Puntites*

256. The coming of<sup>b</sup> the chiefs of Punt, doing obeisance, with bowed head, to receive this army of the king; they give praise to the lord of gods, Amon-Re ———.<sup>c</sup>

*Over the Puntites*

257. They say, as they pray for peace: “Why have ye come thither<sup>d</sup> unto this land, which the people<sup>e</sup> know not? Did ye come down upon the ways of heaven, or did ye sail upon the waters, upon the sea of God’s-Land? Have ye trodden (<sup>†</sup>the way of<sup>†</sup>)<sup>f</sup> Re? Lo, as for the King of Egypt, is there no way to his majesty, that we may live by the breath which he gives?”

*Before the Leader of the Puntites*

258. The chief of Punt, Perehu (*P<sup>3</sup>-r<sup>3</sup>-hw*).

<sup>a</sup>Only in the old publications.

<sup>b</sup>Egyptian “by.”

<sup>c</sup>Here evidently the name of the queen originally stood; it was then erased by Thutmose III, and in the time of Ramses II the blank was mistaken for an erasure of Amon’s name by Amenhotep IV, which name was then inserted. Traces of the old inscription are visible at the end.

<sup>d</sup>Lit., “Why have ye reached this?”

<sup>e</sup>The people of Egypt (*rm*). See the oracle, § 285, l. 10.

<sup>f</sup>The text has “Re” as the direct object of “trodden;” something must be supplied.

*Before His Wife*

His wife, Eti (ꜥ ty).<sup>a</sup>

*Over the Ass*

The ass which bears his wife.

III. THE TRAFFIC<sup>b</sup>*Scene<sup>c</sup>*

259. At the right is the tent of the “king’s-messenger,” who stands before it. Before him are the products of Punt, and approaching from the left is a long line of Puntites, bearing similar products; at their head, as before, the chief and his enormous wife. At the extreme left the Puntite landscape, as in II.

*In the Tent*

260. Pitching the tent of the king’s-messenger and his army, in the myrrh-terraces of Punt on the side<sup>d</sup> of the sea, in order to receive the chiefs of this country. There are offered to them bread, beer, wine, meat, fruit, everything found in Egypt, according to that which was commanded in the court, L. P. H.

*Before the Egyptian*

261. Reception of the tribute of the chief of Punt, by the king’s-messenger.

*Before the Puntites*

262. The coming of<sup>e</sup> the chief of Punt bearing tribute at the side of <sup>f</sup>the sea before the king’s-[messenger]<sup>f</sup> —————.

<sup>a</sup>Before the two sons who follow her: “*His son*,” before the daughter: “*His daughter*.”

<sup>b</sup>South wall; references as for II. <sup>c</sup>Second row from below.

<sup>d</sup>The Egyptian has a dual, “*on the two sides of*,” from which Dümichen (*Geschichte*, 120) would locate Punt on both sides of the Red Sea, but this dual is a common idiom, meaning no more than a singular. See § 262, where it is absurd to suppose that the chief of Punt is bringing his gifts “*at both sides of the sea!*” Dümichen’s translation “*von beiden Seiten*” is, moreover, impossible, for the text has “*upon*,” not “*von*.”

<sup>e</sup>Egyptian “*by*.”

<sup>f</sup>These words extend over the Puntites; it is uncertain how much has been lost at the end.



IV. LOADING THE VESSELS<sup>a</sup>*Scene*

263. Two vessels heavily laden with myrrh trees, sacks of myrrh, ivory, woods, apes; on shore<sup>b</sup> and ascending the gang-planks, men carrying sacks and trees.

*Over Men with Trees on Shore*

264. (Look to<sup>1</sup>)<sup>c</sup> your feet, ye people! Behold! the load is very heavy!

<sup>d</sup>Prosperity [be<sup>1</sup>] with [us,<sup>1</sup>] for the sake of the myrrh tree in the midst of God's-Land, for the house of Amon; there is the place [where<sup>1</sup>] it shall be made to grow for Makere, in his temple, according to command.

*Over the Vessels*

265. <sup>1</sup>The loading of the ships very heavily with marvels of <sup>2</sup>the country of Punt; all goodly fragrant woods of God's-Land, heaps of <sup>3</sup>myrrh-resin, with fresh myrrh trees, <sup>4</sup>with ebony<sup>e</sup> and pure ivory, with green gold <sup>5</sup>of Emu, (<sup>c</sup> *mw*), with cinnamon wood, <sup>6</sup>khesyt wood,<sup>f</sup> with ihmut-incense, <sup>7</sup>sonter-incense, eye-cosmetic, <sup>8</sup>with apes, <sup>9</sup>monkeys, <sup>10</sup>dogs, <sup>11</sup>and <sup>12</sup>with skins <sup>13</sup>of the southern panther, <sup>14</sup>with natives and <sup>15</sup>their children. Never was brought <sup>16</sup>the like of this for any king who has been since the beginning.

<sup>a</sup>South wall, uppermost row; first scene on the west wall, upper row; Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 5 and 6; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 9 and 12; *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, 2; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 69 above, and 74 below.

<sup>b</sup>At the left, over the scene of the traffic.

<sup>c</sup>A guess; the words are broken away, and some similar exclamation on the part of the men carrying the trees is to be expected. Note the Puntites represented as speaking Egyptian!

<sup>d</sup>Words of a second man.

<sup>e</sup>Fragments of the Punt wall show the felling of the ebony trees, with the inscription: "*Cutting the ebony in great quantities*" (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 70).

<sup>f</sup>Sweet wood, used in making incense.

V. THE RETURN VOYAGE<sup>a</sup>*Scene<sup>b</sup>*

266. Three vessels under full sail, with the cargo enumerated in § 265.

*Inscriptions<sup>c</sup> over the Vessel*

Sailing, arriving in peace, journeying to Thebes<sup>d</sup> with joy of heart, by the army of the Lord of the Two Lands, with the chiefs of this country<sup>e</sup> behind them. They have brought that, the like of which was not brought for other kings, being marvels of Punt, because of the greatness of the fame of this <sup>f</sup>revered god, Amon-Re, Lord of Thebes.<sup>f</sup>

VI. PRESENTATION OF THE TRIBUTE TO THE QUEEN BY THE CHIEFS OF PUNT, IREM, AND NEMYEW<sup>g</sup>*Scene<sup>h</sup>*

267. At the right the cartouches of the queen, badly defaced; approaching from the left, two lines of men with gifts, led by four lines of kneeling chiefs, being the chiefs of Punt (two lower lines), “*the chiefs of Irem*”<sup>i</sup> (upper middle line) and “*the chiefs of Nemyew*”<sup>i</sup> (*Nm<sup>2</sup>yw*, upper line, negroes). Behind them approach Egyptians and Puntites with myrrh trees and other products of Punt.

<sup>a</sup>Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 6; *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 63; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, 13; *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, 3; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 75.

<sup>b</sup>At the right of the vessels loading. <sup>c</sup>Beginning at the right.

<sup>d</sup>This scene is therefore upon the Nile, not upon the Red Sea.

<sup>e</sup>Punt.

<sup>f</sup>Restored by Ramses II, supposing that the name of Amon had been here erased by Amenhotep IV. In reality, it was the name of Hatshepsut which had been erased.

<sup>g</sup>Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 6; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, 14, 15; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 74 and 76.

<sup>h</sup>Over the loading of the ships and the return voyage.

<sup>i</sup>The location of these two countries is uncertain; Nemyew is entirely unknown, and it is a question whether Irem is one of the inland Nubian countries or on the Red Sea coast north of Punt.

*Inscriptions<sup>a</sup>*

268. <sup>1</sup>———— [Kis]sing the earth to Wosretkew<sup>b</sup> (Hatshepsut) by the chiefs of Punt <sup>2</sup>———— the Nubian Troglodytes of Khenthenofer, every country — of <sup>3</sup>———— doing obeisance with bowed head, bearing their tribute to the place where her majesty (fem.) is <sup>4</sup>———— ways not trodden by others <sup>5</sup>———— every country is dominion of her majesty and counted <sup>6</sup>———— lord of Thebes, as tribute each year <sup>7</sup>which her father Amon [appointed] for her, <sup>d</sup>who hath set all the lands beneath her sandals, living forever.

*Over the Chiefs of Punt<sup>c</sup>*

269. They say as they pray for peace from her majesty (fem.): "Hail to thee, king (*sic*) of Egypt, Re (fem.),<sup>f</sup> who shines like the sun, your sovereign, mistress of heaven ————. Thy name reaches as far as the circuit of heaven, the fame of [Makere (Hatshepsut)]<sup>g</sup> encircles the [sea]<sup>h</sup> ————.

VII. THE QUEEN OFFERS THE GIFTS TO AMON<sup>h</sup>*Scene*

270. The queen stands at the left; before her the products of Punt and Irem (lower row), brought back by the expedition, mingled with those of Nubia (upper row).

*Before the Queen*

271. The King himself, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut); presentation<sup>i</sup> of the marvels of Punt, the treasures

<sup>a</sup>By the queen's cartouches.

<sup>b</sup>The queen's Horus-name: "*Mighty in ka's*."

<sup>c</sup>More probably a short lacuna here. <sup>d</sup>Referring to Amon.

<sup>e</sup>The remains of a similar inscription are visible over the chiefs of Nemyew.

<sup>f</sup>Feminine; cf. the similar "*female Horus*" (obelisk-base, south, l. 1, § 314; Senmut statue, § 354; etc.).

<sup>g</sup>Traces of the cartouche in Naville, (Pl. 74); the determinative for "*sea*" is also probable, and suits the context admirably.

<sup>h</sup>Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 7, 8; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 16, 17; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 77, 78, and 80.

<sup>i</sup>An absolute infinitive used as the title of the scene, the preceding royal name being the date.

of God's-Land, together with the gifts of the countries of the South, with the impost of the wretched Kush,<sup>a</sup> the baskets of the Negro-land, to<sup>b</sup> Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak, for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut), that she may live, abide, and her heart be joyful; that she may rule the Two Lands like Re, forever.

*By the Trees*<sup>c</sup>

272. Thirty-one fresh myrrh trees, brought as marvels of Punt for the majesty of this god, Amon, lord of Thebes; never was seen the like since the beginning.

*Under the Trees*<sup>c</sup>

Electrum; eye-cosmetic; throw-sticks of the Puntites; ebony; ivory, shells<sup>1</sup> (*k* 3 §).

*With Panther*<sup>d</sup>

A southern panther alive, captured<sup>e</sup> for her majesty (fem.) in the [south] countries.

*Miscellaneous Objects*

Electrum;<sup>f</sup> many panther-skins; 3,300 (small cattle).<sup>g</sup>

VIII. WEIGHING AND MEASURING THE OFFERINGS<sup>h</sup>

273. This scene is closely connected with the preceding presentation scene, of which it forms the unbroken continuation. It is accompanied by the following descriptive text:<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup>By an evident emendation.

<sup>c</sup>Lower row.

<sup>b</sup>Construe with "*presentation*."

<sup>d</sup>Upper row.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., "*brought*" (*ynty*); it is regularly used of prisoners and apparently also of wild beasts, e. g., also the lions captured by Amenhotep III (§ 865). Two more panthers show fragments of a similar inscription.

<sup>f</sup>With four chests, probably made by Thutiy (§ 376, l. 31).

<sup>g</sup>Over a gap among these offerings is the inscription recording the Asiatic campaign of Thutmose II (§ 125).

<sup>h</sup>On the right of the preceding scene in two rows; Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 8; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 18, 19; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 79, 81, 82.

<sup>i</sup>At the extreme right in five columns, behind the figure of Thutmose III offering incense (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 82).

274. <sup>1</sup>The king himself, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut).<sup>a</sup> Taking the measure (*hk't*) of the electrum, laying the hand on the <sup>1</sup>— of the heaps, first instance of doing the good things. Measuring of the fresh myrrh unto Amon, lord of Thebes, lord of heaven, the first of the harvest <sup>2</sup>— — — of the marvels of the countries of Punt. The lord of Khmunu (Thoth) records them in writing; Sefkhet counts the numbers. Her<sup>b</sup> majesty (fem.) <sup>3</sup>herself, is acting with her two hands, the best of myrrh is upon all her limbs, her fragrance is divine dew, her odor is mingled with Punt, her skin is gilded<sup>c</sup> with electrum, <sup>4</sup>shining as do the stars<sup>d</sup> in the midst of the festival-hall, before the whole land. There is rejoicing by all the people; they give praise to the lord of gods, <sup>5</sup>they laud Makere (Hatshepsut) in her divine qualities, because of the greatness of the marvels which have happened for her. Never did the like happen under any gods<sup>e</sup> who were before, since the beginning. May she be given life, like Re, forever.

*Measuring Scene<sup>f</sup>*

275. Two huge heaps of myrrh are being scooped into measures by four men; a fifth, whose figure has been carefully erased, is Hatshepsut's favorite, "*the scribe and steward, Thutiy*" (§§ 369 ff.), who is keeping record of the measure for the queen; while the god Thoth at the extreme right performs a similar office for Amon.

*Over the Myrrh Heaps*

276. Heaps of myrrh in great quantities.

*Over the Men Measuring*

277. Measuring the fresh myrrh, in great quantities, for Amon, lord of Thebes; marvels of the countries of Punt, treasures of God's-Land, for the sake of the life, prosperity and health ———.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup>The date.

<sup>b</sup>Read -s for -j.

<sup>c</sup>A bold figure referring to the yellow hue of the women of ancient Egypt.

<sup>d</sup>Yellow stars painted on a blue field form a common ceiling decoration. For comparison of the king with a star, not so common as with the sun, see I, 510 ff., l. 2.

<sup>e</sup>That is, "*kings*."

<sup>f</sup>Lower row (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 79).

<sup>g</sup>The queen's name has been erased.

*Before Thoth*

278. Recording in writing, reckoning the numbers, summing up in millions, hundreds of thousands, tens of thousands, thousands and hundreds; reception of the marvels of Punt, <sup>a</sup>for Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, lord of heaven.<sup>a</sup>

*Weighing Scene<sup>b</sup>*

279. A huge pair of balances piled on one side with commercial gold in large rings, against weights in the form of cows on the other side, is presided over by the gods Horus and Dedun of Nubia,<sup>c</sup> standing at the left. At the right is Sefkhet, the goddess of letters, keeping record. Round and cow "weights," and quantities of "electrum" in bars and rings, are piled up beside the balances.

*Over the Balances*

280. The balances, accurate and true, of Thoth, which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Make]re (Hatshepsut), made for her father, Amon, lord of Thebes, in order to weigh the silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, and every splendid costly stone, for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of her majesty (fem.) ———.<sup>d</sup>

*Under the Balances*

281. Weighing the gold and electrum, — the impost of the southern countries, for Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, ———, presider over Karnak ———.<sup>d</sup>

*Before Sejkhet*

282. Recording in writing, reckoning the numbers, summing up in millions, hundreds of thousands, tens of thousands, thousands, and hundreds. Reception of the marvels of the South countries, for Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak.

<sup>a</sup>Amon is here not properly restored by Ramses II; see end of 9.

<sup>b</sup>Upper row (Naviile, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 81).

<sup>c</sup>Because the gold comes from Nubia.

<sup>d</sup>The name of the queen has been erased.

IX. FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE SUCCESS OF THE EXPEDITION BEFORE AMON<sup>a</sup>*Scene*

283. The queen stands at the extreme left, staff in hand, before Amon, enthroned at the extreme right. Behind the queen is the sacred barque of Amon borne by priests,<sup>b</sup> before which Thutmose III<sup>c</sup> offers “*of the best of fresh myrrh.*”

*Inscription*

284. This long text in vertical lines between the queen and Amon falls into two parts. The first contains the titulary and encomium of the queen (ll. 1-4), followed by the oracle of Amon (ll. 4-6), in accordance with which the expedition was made. It is here repeated, in order to enforce the statement that all that was commanded has been done (l. 6). To this favorable statement Amon replies with praise (ll. 7-9), and reverts to a description of former times when the “*myrrh-terraces*” were not visited by Egyptians, but their products were obtained only through intermediaries (ll. 10-12). The success of future expeditions is promised, and his guidance of the expedition just successfully carried out is mentioned. The inscription closes with further praise of the queen, which gradually becomes too mutilated for translation.

<sup>a</sup>At the extreme right; Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 10; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 20; through some confusion in Dümichen's papers his l. 10 and l. 11 have exchanged places, and Mariette has the same mistake! It is clear, therefore, that Mariette's text is drawn from Dümichen, an astonishing number of errors having crept in during the process. From these sources Sethe constructed a skilfully emended text (Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 103, 104), which is sustained in almost all cases by the last and best text (Navelle, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 84), which is undoubtedly very nearly correct. The entire inscription has been carefully hacked away; hence the numerous errors in the old publications, a collation of which demonstrates the superiority of Navelle's texts.

<sup>b</sup>Navelle, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 83.

<sup>c</sup>*Ibid.*, 82.

*Titles and Encomium of Hatshepsut*

**285.** <sup>a1</sup>Horus: Mighty in Ka's; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Fresh in Years; Golden Horus: Divine in Diadems; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Makere (Hatshepsut), — of Amon, whom he loves, who is upon his throne, for whom he has made to flourish the inheritance of the Two Lands, the kingdom of the South and North, <sup>2</sup>to whom he hath given that which the sun encompasses, that which Keb and Nut inclose. She hath no enemies among the Southern, she hath no foes among the Northern; the heavens and every country which the god hath created, they all labor for her. <sup>3</sup>They come to her with fearful heart, their chiefs with bowed head, their gifts upon their back. They present to her their children that there may be<sup>b</sup> <sup>4</sup>given to them the breath of life, because of the greatness of the fame of her father, Amon, who hath set all lands beneath her sandals.

*The Oracle*

The king himself, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut). The majesty of the court made supplication at the steps<sup>c</sup> of the <sup>5</sup>lord of [gods]; a command was heard from the great throne, an oracle of the god himself, that the ways to Punt should be searched out, that the highways to the Myrrh-terraces should be penetrated: <sup>6</sup>“I<sup>d</sup> will lead the army on water and on land, to bring marvels from God's-Land for this god, for the fashioner of her beauty.” It was done, according to all that the majesty of this revered god commanded, according to the desire of her majesty (fem.), in order that she might be given life, stability, and satisfaction, like Re, forever.

*Promises of Amon*

**286.** <sup>7</sup>Utterance of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes: “Welcome!<sup>e</sup> my sweet daughter, my favorite, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt,

<sup>a</sup>The first line at the left before the queen. This first part comprises six lines.

<sup>b</sup>Read [m] *yswt*? Compare § 804, l. 3.

<sup>c</sup>The steps leading up to his throne, which have been hacked away in the relief, but are shown to have existed by the lower ends of the lines of text which shorten by steps in front of the throne (Navelle, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 84).

<sup>d</sup>The first person in the same sentence where the god occurs in the third person is of course very strange.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., “Come! Come! in peace.”



Makere (Hatshepsut), who makes my beautiful monuments, who purifies the seat of the great ennead of gods for my dwelling, as a memorial of her love. <sup>8</sup>Thou art the king, taking possession of the Two Lands, Khnemet-Amon, Hatshepsut, great in oblations, pure in food-offerings. Thou satisfiest my heart at all times; I have given thee all life and satisfaction from me, all stability from me, all health from me, all joy from me, I have given to thee all lands and all countries, wherein thy heart is glad. I have long intended them for thee, and the æons shall behold them until those myriads of years of usefulness which I have thought to spend<sup>1</sup>. <sup>10</sup>I have given to thee all Punt as far as the lands of the gods of God's-Land."

*Punt in Former Time*

287. "No one trod the Myrrh-terraces, which the people (*rmṯ*) knew not; it was heard of from mouth to mouth <sup>11</sup>by hearsay of the ancestors —. The marvels brought thence under thy fathers, the Kings of Lower Egypt, were brought from one to another, and since the time of <sup>12</sup>the ancestors of the Kings of Upper Egypt, who were of old, as a return for many payments;<sup>a</sup> none reaching them<sup>b</sup> except thy carriers."

*Punt under the Queen*

288. "But I will cause thy army to tread them,<sup>b</sup> <sup>13</sup>I have led them on water and on land, to explore<sup>c</sup> the waters of inaccessible channels, and I have reached the Myrrh-terraces."

"It is a glorious region of God's-Land; it is indeed my place of delight. I have made it for myself, in order to<sup>d</sup> <sup>14</sup>divert<sup>1</sup> my heart, together with Mut, Hathor, Wereret, mistress of Punt, the mistress, 'Great in Sorcery,'<sup>e</sup> mistress of all gods. They<sup>f</sup> took myrrh as they wished, they loaded the vessels to their hearts' content, <sup>15</sup>with fresh myrrh trees, every good gift of this country, Puntites whom the people (*rmṯ*) know not, Southernns of God's-Land. I conciliated them by<sup>g</sup> love

<sup>a</sup>Meaning that in going from hand to hand many successive prices were paid.

<sup>b</sup>The Myrrh-terraces.

<sup>c</sup>This is the word (*wb* >) used long before of exploring unknown countries in the Old Kingdom by Harkhuf (I, 333, 334) and employed again by the queen in her speech (§ 294, l. 11).

<sup>d</sup>Read *r* for *yr*.

<sup>f</sup>Hatshepsut's people.

<sup>e</sup>Isis.

<sup>g</sup>Lit., "because of."

that they might give <sup>16</sup>to thee praise, because thou art a god, because of thy fame in the countries. I know [them], I am their wise lord, [—] I am the begetter, Amon-Re; my daughter, who binds the lords, is the king [Makere] (Hatshepsut). I have begotten her for myself. I am thy father, who sets thy fear <sup>17</sup>among the Nine Bows, while they come in peace to all gods. They have brought all the marvels, every beautiful thing of God's-Land, for which thy majesty<sup>a</sup> sent them: heaps of <sup>18</sup>gum of myrrh, and enduring trees bearing fresh myrrh, united in the festival-hall, to be seen of the lord of the gods. May thy majesty cause them to grow.<sup>b</sup> ——— my temple, <sup>19</sup>in order to delight my heart among them. My name is before the gods, thy name<sup>c</sup> is before all the living, forever. Heaven and earth are flooded with incense; odors are in the Great House. Mayest thou offer them to me, pure <sup>20</sup>and cleansed, in order to express the ointment for the divine limbs, to offer myrrh, to make ointment, to make festive my statue with necklaces, while I am making <sup>21</sup>libations for thee. My heart is glad because of seeing thee." . . . . .<sup>d</sup>

X. FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE SUCCESS OF THE  
EXPEDITION TO THE COURT<sup>e</sup>

*Scene*

289. The queen is enthroned at the left in a splendid kiosk, and before her are the figures of three noblemen (see § 348). All the figures have been hacked out.

<sup>a</sup>Feminine! The *ḫ* of the second feminine singular suffix is visible under the scourge; the *ḫ* of "majesty" (*ḫn'ḫ*) should be over the scourge, as in l. 18.

<sup>b</sup>The verb is *s'rwḏ'k* with nominal subject (*sḏm'k* form, Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 434).

<sup>c</sup>Read: *rn'ḫ pw*. That this is the proper emendation is shown by the Semneh inscription of Thutmose III (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 52, *b*, line before goddess).

<sup>d</sup>The remainder, consisting of four short and two long lines, is very fragmentary and contains only the conventional promises of the gods.

<sup>e</sup>On the south side of the causeway which ascends through the center of the middle terrace. The date and a few random words were published by Dümichen (*Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, 18, *a*); but the first complete text by Naville (*Recueil*, 18, Pl. III, corrections, *ibid.*, 19, 212, 213; much better, Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 85, 86.

*Inscriptions*

290. The texts with the noblemen are as follows:

*With the First Man*

Behold, it was commanded, as follows: "They shall give the court,<sup>a</sup> L. P. H., to the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, chief treasurer, Nehsi,<sup>b</sup> to dispatch the army [to] Punt."

*With the Two Other Men*

Over both are the words: "*The king's-dignitaries, the companions of the court, L. P. H.,*" and over the man in the middle: "*Steward of Amon, Senmut,*" the well-known favorite of the queen (see §§ 345 ff.). The third man bears no individual inscription.<sup>c</sup> All three figures have been hacked out by political enemies after the triumph of Thutmose III.

*The Long Inscription<sup>d</sup>*

291. This is perhaps the most interesting inscription in the Punt series. It furnishes the date ("year 9") when the expedition had already safely returned. The queen, having publicly exhibited the results of the expedition (VIII), and having announced its success to Amon himself (IX), now holds ceremonious court, to announce in a speech from the

<sup>a</sup>The meaning of the phrase is not clear, but it seems as if "court" were here used for "decree of the court."

<sup>b</sup>This man has therefore been identified as "*the king's-messenger*" (§§ 260, 261) who commanded the Punt expedition. But this conclusion does not follow; the word "*dispatch*" (*sby*) does not mean to conduct, as we may see in the exactly parallel case of Henu (I, 427 ff.; especially § 432, ll. 13, 14), who conducted the expedition only to the sea and then dispatched (*sby*) it to Punt, returning then, not from Punt, but merely "*from the sea.*" Hence we have no evidence that Nehsi did more than accompany the expedition to the sea, and the "*king's-messenger*" is probably a different man.

<sup>c</sup>He is supposed by Spiegelberg (*Recueil*, 22, 115-25) to be Thutiy (§§ 369 ff.).

<sup>d</sup>In 22 columns before the queen; it has all been more or less hacked out, the last six lines (excluding one phrase) and the upper fourth of lines 6-16 completely so.

throne to her nobles the unprecedented success of the expedition. She glorifies herself as having made a Punt for Amon in Egypt<sup>a</sup> (ll. 14 and 16), and exhorts them to maintain in the future the increased offerings which she has established (ll. 8 and 15). This last was apparently the practical purpose of the session.

#### *Introduction*

292. <sup>1</sup>Year 9, occurred the sitting in the audience-hall,<sup>b</sup> the king's-appearance with the etef-crown, upon the great throne of electrum, in the midst of the splendors of his<sup>c</sup> palace. The grandees, the companions of the court, came to hear; a command was brought, a <sup>2</sup>royal edict to his<sup>c</sup> dignitaries, the divine fathers, the companions of the king, the grandees:

#### *Queen's Speech*

293. "I shine forever in your faces through that which my father hath desired.<sup>d</sup> Truly, it was greatly my desire in doing, that I should make <sup>3</sup>great him that begat me; and in assigning to my father, that I should make splendid for him all his offerings; that which my fathers, the ancestors knew not, I am doing as the Great One<sup>e</sup> (did) <sup>4</sup>to the Lord of Eternity; I am adding increase to that which was formerly done. I will cause it to be said to posterity: 'How beautiful is she,

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<sup>a</sup>In the weighing and measuring scene the trees, of which there were three, appear planted in tubs; and again they appear planted in the ground, and thus a "*Punt*" was made for the god. It is possible that not only the trees, but also the terraces of the temple are a part of this "*Punt*," and that the terraced structure of the temple planted with myrrh trees thus reproduced the "*myrrh-terraces*." This could not be better described in the text than by calling it "*a Punt*." The fact that the temple is a reproduction of the small terraced temple of Mentuhotep III does not prohibit us from supposing that the queen was conscious of the resemblance above noted. The service and equipment of the temple receive some light from the mention of its High Priest, with twelve subordinate priests in four orders (see note, § 679).

<sup>b</sup>See I, 239, and note.

<sup>c</sup>These masculine pronouns simply represent the word "*king*" here, (*ḥꜥ-stny* and *šps'w-stny* is what is meant), and do not refer personally to the queen.

<sup>d</sup>"I shine as king, because my father Amon willed it so."

<sup>e</sup>"*Great One*" is feminine and means Isis, referring to that which Isis did for the deceased Osiris, "*the Lord of Eternity*."

through whom this has happened,' because I have been so very excellent to him, and the heart<sup>a</sup> <sup>5</sup>of my heart<sup>a</sup> has been replete with that which is due to him. I am his splendor 'on high, and in the nether world'. I have entered into the qualities of the august god, he hath opened <sup>6</sup>———. He hath recognized my excellence, that I speak a great thing 'which' I set among you; it shall shine for you upon the land of the living <sup>7</sup>——— ye may grasp my virtues. I am the god, the beginning of being, nothing fails that goes out of my mouth, beloved <sup>8</sup>——— that which he desired. Ye shall fulfil according to that which I have exacted. Your lifetime is the life 'that is' in my mouth<sup>b</sup> '— —' <sup>9</sup>——— for the future. I have given a command of my majesty that the offerings of him who begat me should be made splendid, that the ointment should be increased <sup>10</sup>——— of prime ointment of the pure ox, in order to supply with offerings <sup>11</sup>———."

*Punt Expedition Commanded*

294. "——— [a decree of] my majesty commanding to send to the Myrrh-terraces, to explore his ways 'for him,' to learn his circuit, to open his highways, according to the command of my father, Amon. <sup>12</sup>——— for choice ointment, in order to express ointment for the divine limbs, which I owed to the lord of gods, in order to establish the laws of his house. Trees were taken up in God's-Land, and set in the ground in <sup>13</sup>[Egypt]<sup>c</sup> ——— for the king of the gods. They were brought<sup>d</sup> bearing myrrh therein for expressing ointment for the divine limbs, which I owed to the lord of Gods."

*Punt in Egypt*

295. Said my majesty (fem.): "I will cause you to know that which is commanded me, I have hearkened to my father <sup>14</sup>——— that which he hath — commanding me to establish for him a Punt in his

<sup>a</sup>Two different words in Egyptian, but the distinction between them, if any, is not clear; see the thirtieth chapter of the "Book of the Dead." One expects "for his heart."

<sup>b</sup>My words control your lives?

<sup>c</sup>The pits in which certain trees had been planted were found by the Fund excavations before the lower terrace at the inner end of the dromos. They contained earth and tree stumps which proved to be of the *Mimusops*, that is, the *Persea* (Naville, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 52).

<sup>d</sup>Read: *yn' tw*.

house, to plant the trees of God's-Land beside his temple, in his garden, according as he commanded. It was done, in order to endow the offerings which I owed. <sup>15</sup>—— I was [not] neglectful of that which he needed. Ye shall fulfil according to my regulations without transgression of that which my mouth hath given. He hath desired me as his favorite; I know all that he loveth; he is a god <sup>16</sup>—— his desire and that which he loveth [—]. I have made for him a Punt in his garden, just as he commanded me, for Thebes. It is large for him, he walks abroad in it."<sup>a</sup> <sup>17</sup>——<sup>b</sup> . . . . . <sup>22</sup>—— Hathor, mistress of myrrh; she hath opened to thee (fem.) her two arms with resin — — — —.

#### INSCRIPTION OF THE SPEOS ARTEMIDOS<sup>c</sup>

296. In this remarkable document the energetic queen has left a record of her systematic restorations in the temples which had been desolated by the barbarities of the Hyksos, and had remained so down to her reign. There is a reference to the Punt expedition (l. 13), so that the inscription dates from some time after the ninth year. Its references to the Hyksos coincide remarkably with the account of their treatment of the temples as recorded by Manetho. The Hyksos are called "*Asiatics*" (<sup>c</sup> *mw*), and their city is "*Avaris (h·t-w<sup>c</sup> r·t) of the Northland.*" The building of the cliff-temple of Pakht, on whose front the inscription is cut, is mentioned only incidentally with the queen's other pious works. The language is often unusual, and the whole is so badly preserved that there are necessarily many omissions in the translation.

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "*under it,*" referring to the trees.

<sup>b</sup>Ll. 17-21 are so completely hacked out that not a sign can be read.

<sup>c</sup>Cut high up on the front of the cliff-temple of Pakht, excavated at Benihasan by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, called Speos Artemidos by the Greeks, Stabl Antar by the modern natives. The inscription was discovered and published by Golénischeff (*Recueil*, VI, 20; see also *ibid.*, III, 1-7). It is in a bad state of preservation, and the copy is evidently a hurried one.

*The Queen's Power*

297. <sup>1</sup>. . . . . <sup>2</sup>He hath established her great name like the heavens. She hath made excellent the <sup>1</sup>records<sup>1</sup> of her might over the Red Land of the Goddess of the Mountain<sup>a</sup> as far as the rising <sup>3</sup>— — —<sup>1</sup> set his flame behind the two hill-countries.

*Restoration of the Temples*

298. The altars are opened, the sanctuaries <sup>4</sup>are enlarged — the desire of all gods; every one is in possession of the dwelling which he has loved, his ka rests upon his throne . . . <sup>5</sup>. . . . . their colonnades . . . . . <sup>6</sup>. . . . .<sup>b</sup> Every [statue] is overlaid on its body with electrum of Emu.<sup>c</sup> Their feasts are permanent at the division of the time, <sup>7</sup>the festival offering [is made] at its time by the <sup>1</sup>authority<sup>1</sup> of the command of my<sup>d</sup> maker; the regulations of the commandant are perpetuated, which he made in this <sup>8</sup>— —. My divine heart searches for the sake of the future; [my] heart — that which it had not known forever, because of the command which the hidden persea tree, lord of myriads (of years), communicates.

*The Queen's Piety and Power*

299. <sup>9</sup>I have made bright the truth which he loved, [I] know that he liveth by it (the truth);<sup>e</sup> it is my bread, I eat of its brightness,<sup>f</sup> I am <sup>10</sup>a likeness from [his] limbs, one with him. He hath begotten me, to make strong his might in this land. — <sup>1</sup>lord<sup>1</sup> — Atum <sup>11</sup>in —; Khepri doing that which Re exacted at the foundation (of the world). The lands together are under my authority, the Black and the Red are under my authority. <sup>12</sup>My fame makes the great ones of the countries to bow down, while the uraeus upon my forehead —<sup>g</sup> all lands. The

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<sup>a</sup>See Sinuhe, I, 493, l. 15.  
<sup>b</sup>The passage refers to rebuilding the temples.  
<sup>c</sup>Written here 'm > mw; cf. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 119.  
<sup>d</sup>Beginning with l. 7, the first person appears and continues to the end of the inscription, the queen being the speaker.  
<sup>e</sup>In the sun-hymn of Sute and Hor (British Museum, 826, l. 16), Sute says to the sun-god, "I acted as an effective leader among thy monuments, performing the truth of thy heart, I know thou restest in truth."  
<sup>f</sup>An extraordinary idea, but clearly in the text.  
<sup>g</sup>Doubtless a verb of subjugating or the like.

land of <sup>13</sup>Reshu<sup>a</sup> and the land of Yu,<sup>b</sup> they cannot 'hide' from my majesty; Punt is mine, and the fields of <sup>14</sup>sycamore bearing fresh myrrh, the highways which were closed up, and the two ways. <sup>15</sup>My soldiers smote that which was '— — —' since my appearance as king.

*Restoration of the Temple of Cusae*

**300.** The temple of the Mistress of Cusae<sup>c</sup> which had begun to fall to ruin, the ground had swallowed up its august sanctuary, so that the children played upon its house; <sup>17</sup>the serpent,<sup>d</sup> it caused no fear; the poor counted the '—' in the 'covering',<sup>e</sup> <sup>18</sup>no processions 'marched'. I adorned it, having been built anew, I overlaid its image with gold; <sup>19</sup>in order to protect its city . . . . .

*Building of the Temple of Pakht*

**301.** Pakht the great, who traverses the valleys in the midst of the eastland, <sup>20</sup>whose ways are 'storm-beaten' . . . . . I made her temple with that which was due <sup>21</sup>to her ennead of gods. The doors were of acacia wood, fitted with:bronze. ————<sup>f</sup> <sup>22</sup>at the seasons. The priests knew this; her city '— — —' ————<sup>f</sup> <sup>23</sup>I made divine their temples, furnished with that which comes forth '—' ————<sup>f</sup> . . . <sup>24</sup>. . . . . ———— the offering-table [was wrought] with <sup>25</sup>silver, and gold, chests of linen, every vessel that abides in the place. . . . .

*Restoration of an Unknown Temple<sup>g</sup>*

**302.** . . . . . <sup>26</sup>. . . . . in whose house there was no understanding; the divine fathers . . . . . <sup>27</sup>. . . . . He gave readiness to the arms of the god.<sup>h</sup> I built his great temple of limestone of Ayan, its '—' were <sup>28</sup>of alabaster of Hatnub, the doors were of copper, the '—'

<sup>a</sup>R 2-3 2 w probably for R 2-3 2-4 y; see Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 133.

<sup>b</sup>Y w w.

<sup>c</sup>Fourteenth nome of Upper Egypt, whose goddess was a local Hathor.

<sup>d</sup>Perhaps referring to the serpent of the goddess.

<sup>e</sup>Possibly: "The poor counted the breaches in the wall;" but this is a mere guess.

<sup>f</sup>Nearly one-half line.

<sup>g</sup>The paragraph deals with another divinity and his temple; it is not clear who he may be.

<sup>h</sup>This must refer to the queen herself.



thereon were of electrum, splendid with "Him-of-the-Two-Lofty-Feathers."<sup>a</sup> [— —] ————. I [honor]ed <sup>29</sup>the majesty of this god with feasts [— —] the feast of Thoth; I added to him [offerings] anew <sup>30</sup>. . . . . I doubled for him the offerings, an <sup>31</sup>increase upon that which had been previously; as I did for the Eight, for Khnum in [all] his forms, for Heket, Reneret and <sup>32</sup>Meskhene together, in order to build ———— [Neh]emewi and Nehebkew, . . . . . <sup>33</sup>. . . . . great in <sup>34</sup>walls, and in foundation. I equipped it; I made it festive, I gave houses to the lord . . . . . <sup>35</sup>whom Amon has made to appear as king himself upon the throne of Horus.

*Restoration of the Desolation of the Hyksos*

**303.** Hear ye, all persons! ye people as many as ye are! I have done this according to the design of my <sup>36</sup>heart.<sup>b</sup> . . . . . I have restored that which was ruins, I have raised up that which was unfinished<sup>c</sup> <sup>37</sup>since the Asiatics (<sup>c</sup> *mw*) were in the midst of Avaris of the Northland, and the barbarians<sup>d</sup> were in the midst of them, <sup>38</sup>overthrow-

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "the lofty of two feathers," a title of Min, a figure of whom was therefore on the door. The "shadow," which was often put on the door, has the determinative of Min's figure; hence there is no doubt that it is such a "shadow," which is meant here.

<sup>b</sup>This rare phrase (*m kꜣꜣ ybꜣy*) occurs also on the statue of Senmut (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 25, *i*, correct *nb* to *k*), and in a clear passage over vases "of costly stone, which his majesty made according to the design (*kꜣꜣ*) of his own heart" (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1187) among offerings of Thutmose III. See Breasted, *Proceedings of the Biblical Society of Archaeology*, May, 1901, 237.

<sup>c</sup>*štp-hꜣ ty-c*, lit., "begun;" cf. use of *štp* in beginning a journey.

<sup>d</sup>The same term is applied by Thutmose III to his foes in Lebanon (II, 548). W. M. Müller (*Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1898, Heft 3, p. 7), would recognize in this term (*šmꜣ mw* or *šꜣ mw*) a class or nationality different from the Hyksos; but if the word means simply strangers (Coptic "shemmo"), as Müller thinks, it indicates no distinction at all, for the Hyksos were also "strangers." The construction of the whole context shows that it is one of those poetic passages common in such inscriptions, the parallelism is evident:

"I have restored that which was ruins,  
I have raised up that which was unfinished,  
Since the Asiatics were in the midst of Avaris of the Northland,  
And the barbarians were in the midst of them."

"Them" is therefore parallel with the "Northland," and does not refer to the "Asiatics." That a land or a part of it should be resumed by a plural pronoun is very common in the inscriptions of Egypt.

ing that which was made, while they ruled in ignorance<sup>a</sup> of Re. He<sup>b</sup> did not do according to the divine command until my majesty (fem.). When I was <sup>39</sup>firm upon the throne of Re, I was ennobled until the two periods of years<sup>c</sup> [— — —] I came as Hor-watit<sup>d</sup> <sup>40</sup>flaming against my enemies. I removed the abomination of the great god, [I] captured the land of their sandals.<sup>e</sup> It is a regulation of the <sup>42</sup>fathers . . . . . I have commanded that my [titulary] abide like the mountains; when the sun <sup>42</sup>shines, (its) rays are bright upon the titulary of my majesty; my Horus is high upon the standard [—] forever.

#### THE KARNAK OBELISKS<sup>f</sup>

304. Of the queen's four obelisks at Karnak, one pair has entirely disappeared from the temple; their position is unknown, and only the summit of one is now preserved in Cairo (§ 320 and *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 30, Pl. II); of the surviving pair one still stands behind the great Nineteenth Dynasty hypostyle hall, and the summit of its fallen companion lies near by.

#### *Standing Obelisk*

The standing survivor is now the largest obelisk in Egypt, being 97½ feet high.<sup>g</sup> The history of these two important monuments can be followed for a long period. Work upon them was begun on the first of Mechir (sixth month) in the

<sup>a</sup>*M hm*, or it may mean "without."

<sup>b</sup>A sudden change of number; the individual ruler of the Hyksos is meant.

<sup>c</sup>Each sixty years long.

<sup>d</sup>Meaning: "the only Horus," and of the feminine gender.

<sup>e</sup>The land which they trod.

<sup>f</sup>Inscriptions on standing obelisk: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 22-24, *d*; Champollion, *Monuments*, IV, 314; *Notices descriptives*, II, 133 ff.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, I, 31 ff. Fallen obelisk: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 24, *a-c*; *Recueil*, X, 142; 23, 195 f.; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 136.

<sup>g</sup>Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 131 (Neville's statement that they are the largest known (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 52) is an error; the obelisk of Thutmose III, before the Lateran in Rome, is the highest known; see § 626).

queen's fifteenth year<sup>a</sup> by Senmut, the queen's favorite (§§ 345 ff.). The quarry work of clearing the enormous shafts from the granite at Assuan was completed on the last of Mesore (twelfth month) of the queen's sixteenth year, seven months after beginning. Transported to Thebes on a huge barge, drawn by a large fleet of galleys (see §§ 322 ff.), they were destined for erection, not before a temple, as is customary, but in the historic hall built between his two Karnak pylons,<sup>b</sup> by the queen's father, Thutmose I, the hall where, fifteen years before, her father had been supplanted by Thutmose III. Whether this fact influenced her in the following procedure is, of course, purely conjectural, but in order to introduce her obelisks into this hall, she broke away the southern wall, removed all the cedar columns of Thutmose I on the southern side and four on the northern, of course unroofing all but the northern quarter of the hall,<sup>c</sup> and thus totally dismantling the place, which could no longer be employed for religious ceremonial.

305. A relief<sup>d</sup> on a few fragmentary blocks at Karnak shows the queen presenting two obelisks to Amon of Karnak; these may be the pair with which we are now dealing. Before the queen is the following inscription:

The king himself;<sup>e</sup> erection of two great obelisks for her (sic!) father, Amon-Re, in front of the august colonnade, wrought with exceedingly plentiful electrum. Their height pierces to heaven, illuminating the Two Lands like the sun-disk. Never was done the like since the beginning; that she might be given life.

<sup>a</sup>Base, north side, § 318, l. 8.

<sup>b</sup>IV and V. See § 317, ll. 7-8.

<sup>c</sup>Thutmose III restored the northern half (§§ 600-2), and Amenhotep II, the southern (§§ 803 ff.).

<sup>d</sup>Found by Legrain, and reported by Naville at the Congress at Rome (see *Revue égyptologique*, IX, 108-10); partially published by Naville (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 53) and fully by Naville and Legrain (*Annales du Musée Guimet*, XXX, Pl. XII, A).

<sup>e</sup>The relation of this phrase to the following is difficult.

306. On erection, the obelisks were supplied with the usual single, central column of inscription on each face. Later, side columns were added. Some time before the completion of the side-column inscriptions, the obelisks were surrounded by masonry up to the fifth scene from the top, and the inscriptions never were finished (see Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 54, 55). During the extermination of the Amon cult by Amenhotep IV, he had the name of Amon erased from them,<sup>a</sup> and two or three generations afterward the name of the dishonored god was recut by Seti I.<sup>b</sup>

307. The inscriptions on the shaft will be clear from the translation below; those of the base are of unusual interest. They furnish the date of the obelisks, viz., the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth year of the queen's reign. Their erection celebrates "*the first occurrence*" of the queen's jubilee, a feast marking the thirtieth anniversary of the sovereign's appointment as crown prince. This would place the queen's appointment fifteen years before her accession to the throne.

#### I. SHAFT INSCRIPTIONS; MIDDLE COLUMNS

##### *South Side*

308. Horus: Wosretkew, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Makere, brilliant emanation of Amon, whom he has caused to appear as king upon the throne of Horus before the splendors<sup>c</sup> of the Great House, whom the great ennead of gods have brought up to be mistress of the circuit of the sun. They have united her with life, satisfaction, and joy of heart before the living; Son of Re, Khnemet-Amon, Hatshepsut, beloved of Amon-Re, king of gods, who is given life, like Re, forever.

<sup>a</sup>Only down to the surrounding masonry on the standing obelisk (see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 21 f.).

<sup>b</sup>Side columns of the shaft inscriptions, south and west sides (§ 312).

<sup>c</sup>The meaning of this phrase is clear from the last scene in the Punt reliefs (§ 292, l. 1).

*West Side*

**309.** Horus: Wosretkew; Favorite of the Two Goddesses; Fresh in Years; Golden Horus; Divine of Diadems; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Lord of the Two Lands, Makere. She made (it<sup>a</sup>) as her monument for her father Amon, lord of Thebes, erecting for him two great obelisks at the august gate (named): "Amon-is-Great-in-Terror,"<sup>b</sup> wrought with very much electrum; which illuminate the Two Lands like the sun; never was the like made since the beginning. May the Son of Re, Khnemet-Amon, Hatshepsut, be given life through him, like Re, forever.

*North Side*

**310.** Like the west side as far as Makere, then:

Her father Amon hath established her great name; Makere upon the august Ished tree; her annals are myriads of years, possessing life, stability, and satisfaction. Son of Re, Khnemet-Amon, Hatshepsut, beloved of Amon-Re, king of gods— — — — —. (¶When<sup>1</sup>) she celebrated [¶for<sup>1</sup>] him the first occurrence of the royal jubilee, in order that she may be given life forever.

*East Side*

**311.** Like the south side as far as Makere, then:

Beloved of Amon. Her majesty (fem.) made the name of her father established upon this monument, and abiding, when favor was shown to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Okheperkere (Thutmose I), by the majesty of this god,<sup>c</sup> when the two great obelisks were erected by her majesty (fem.) on the first occurrence;<sup>d</sup> the lord of the gods said: "Thy father, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, gave command to erect obelisks,<sup>e</sup> and thy majesty (fem.) will repeat<sup>f</sup> the monuments, in order that thou mayest live forever."

<sup>a</sup>The obelisk.

<sup>b</sup>This is the gate of Pylon V.

<sup>c</sup>The "*favor*" shown to her father consisted in the honor paid him in that the following oracle of Amon came to the queen regarding her father.

<sup>d</sup>Of the jubilee.

<sup>e</sup>These are the two obelisks before the Karnak pylon of Thutmose I (see §§ 86 ff.).

<sup>f</sup>That is, she will build obelisks as her father had done.

II. SHAFT INSCRIPTIONS; SIDE COLUMNS<sup>a</sup>

312. These represent thirty-two oblation scenes, eight on each side of the shaft; of each eight (beginning at the top), the second and seventh represent Thutmose III, the fourth Thutmose I, and the rest the queen, all offering to Amon, with the exception that on the west and south sides Seti I has cut out the queen's name in the fifth scene and inserted the inscription: "*Son of Re, Seti-Merneptah, who restored the monument of his father Amon-Re, lord of heaven.*"<sup>b</sup>

313. The pyramidion at the top contains a fourfold representation of Amon blessing and crowning the queen.<sup>c</sup>

## III. BASE INSCRIPTION

*Titulary and Encomium of the Queen*

314. <sup>d1</sup>Live the female Horus . . . . .<sup>e</sup> daughter of Amon-Re, his favorite, <sup>2</sup>his only one, who exists by him, the splendid part of the All-Lord, whose beauty the spirits of Heliopolis fashioned; who hath taken the land like Irsu,<sup>f</sup> whom he hath created to wear his diadem, <sup>3</sup>who exists like Khepri<sup>g</sup> (*Hpry*), who shines with crowns like "Him-of-the-Horizon," the pure egg, the excellent seed, whom the two Sorceresses<sup>h</sup> reared, whom Amon himself caused to appear <sup>4</sup>upon his

<sup>a</sup>These are later additions.

<sup>b</sup>This is on the south side; the west side has: "*Renewal of the monument, which the lord of diadems, Seti-Merneptah, made.*" This is the restoration by Seti I of the name of Amon, erased by Amenhotep IV. This erasure is found only in the five upper scenes, showing that the obelisk was surrounded by masonry up to that point; cf. Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 54, 55. Cf. similar restoration by Seti I, § 878.

<sup>c</sup>See Sethe's plate (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 36, Pl. II).

<sup>d</sup>South side.

<sup>e</sup>Here follows the full titulary of the queen; cf. coronation inscription (§ 239).

<sup>f</sup>A god's name, lit., "*He who made him*" (*yr-sw*), a common term for "his father." See also § 985.

<sup>g</sup>God of continued existence; this and the following phrase show threefold paronomasia: *hpr i hprw my hpry, h c i h c w my y c h wty*.

<sup>h</sup>A divine name, lit., "*two great in sorcery*," here referring to Isis and Nephthys; it is more often applied to Isis alone; the reference is to their similar rearing of Horus in the mythology.

throne in Hermonthis, whom he chose to protect Egypt, to 'defend' the people; the female Horus, avengeress of her father, the oldest (daughter)<sup>a</sup> of the "Bull-of-his-Mother,"<sup>b</sup> whom Re<sup>c</sup> begat to make for himself excellent seed upon earth for the well-being of the people; his living portrait, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut), the electrum of kings.<sup>d</sup>

*Queen's Dedication*

315. <sup>e</sup>She made (them)<sup>e</sup> as her monument for her father, Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak, making for him two great obelisks of enduring granite of the South,<sup>f</sup> (their) summit[s] being of electrum of the best of every country, which are seen on both [sides] of the river. Their rays flood the Two Lands when the sun rises between them,<sup>g</sup> as he dawns in the horizon of heaven.

*Speech of the Queen*

316. <sup>h</sup>"I have done this from a loving heart<sup>i</sup> for my father Amon; I have entered upon his [project] of the first occurrence,<sup>j</sup> I was wise by his excellent spirit, I did not forget anything of that which he exacted. <sup>k</sup>My majesty (fem.) knoweth that he is divine. I did (it) under his command, he it was who led me; I conceived not any works without his do[ing], <sup>l</sup>he it was who gave the directions. I slept not because of his temple, I erred not from that which he commanded, my heart was

<sup>a</sup>Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 46.

<sup>b</sup>An old title of the self-begetting sun-god, Kamephis.

<sup>c</sup>These are old conventional phrases; of course, Amon is the father of the queen (see §§ 187 ff.), but he has gradually been identified with Re.

<sup>d</sup>See a similar epithet applied to the queen in the Punt reliefs (§ 274, l. 3). The long list of epitheta is here ended, and the real matter now begins.

<sup>e</sup>The obelisks; this is the usual form of dedication in which the object dedicated is not represented by a pronoun, being regarded as a matter of course; cf. "fecit."

<sup>f</sup>The quarries at Assuan.

<sup>g</sup>This simply shows that the obelisks stood in a general north-and-south line.

<sup>h</sup>The queen herself begins to speak, and continues to l. 4, west side.

<sup>i</sup>See similar phrase in Speos Artemidos inscription (§ 303, l. 35).

<sup>j</sup>The first occurrence of the jubilee; or the beginning of time, the primeval plan.

<sup>k</sup>West side begins.

wise<sup>a</sup> before my father, I entered <sup>3</sup>upon<sup>b</sup> the affairs of his heart, I did not turn my back upon the city of the All-Lord, but turned to it the face. I know that Karnak is the horizon<sup>c</sup> on earth, <sup>4</sup>the August Ascent of the beginning, the sacred eye of the All-Lord, the place of his heart, which wears his beauty,<sup>d</sup> and encompasses those who follow him.”

*Origin of the Obelisks*

**317.** The king himself, he saith, <sup>5</sup>“I set (it) before the people, who shall be <sup>1</sup>after<sup>1</sup> two æons,<sup>e</sup> those whose heart shall consider<sup>f</sup> this monument, and that which I have made for my father, <sup>6</sup>those who shall speak <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> and who shall look to the future.<sup>g</sup> I sat in the palace, I remembered him who fashioned me, <sup>7</sup>my heart led me to make for him two obelisks of electrum, whose point[s]<sup>h</sup> mingled with heaven, in the august colonnade between <sup>8</sup>the two great pylons<sup>i</sup> of the king, the mighty bull, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere (Thutmose I), the deceased Horus. Now, my heart took — — — — — words.”

*Oath to Posterity*

**318.** “O ye people, <sup>1</sup>who shall see my monument after years, those who shall speak of that which I have made, beware (lest) ye say, ‘I know not, I know not <sup>2</sup>why this was made, (and) a mountain fashioned entirely from gold like anything <sup>1</sup>which happens<sup>1,k</sup> I swear<sup>1</sup> as Re

<sup>a</sup>Lit., “my heart was the god *Esye* (*Sy*);” a divinity whose name means the “wise one.”

<sup>b</sup>Same construction as in § 316, l. 8.

<sup>c</sup>The word (*y* > *hw-t*) usually translated “horizon” is not yet fully understood. It indicates the abiding-place of the solar gods, a region of light or something similar.

<sup>d</sup>This phrase, “Bearer of his beauty” (*wts t-nrw*), is usually the appellation of the sacred barque, in which the image of the god was borne.

<sup>e</sup>Two periods of sixty years each are meant.

<sup>f</sup>Lit., “whose heart shall be behind this monument.”

<sup>g</sup>Rather the opposite, the past is to be expected here.

<sup>h</sup>The word indicates the pyramidal top of the shaft, the pyramidion.

<sup>i</sup>These are Pylons IV and V, between the ruins of which the obelisk stands, surrounded by the fallen columns of the colonnade.

<sup>j</sup>North side begins.

<sup>k</sup>As if it were an everyday occurrence.

<sup>1</sup>Compare the same royal oath in the Assuan inscription of Thutmose II (§ 121, l. 10), or Megiddo campaign of Thutmose III (§ 422, l. 40).



loves me, as <sup>3</sup>my father Amon favors me, as my nostrils are filled with satisfying life, as I wear the white crown, as I appear in the red crown, as Horus<sup>a</sup> and Set have united for me <sup>4</sup>their halves, as I rule this land like the son of Isis,<sup>b</sup> as I have become strong like the son of Nut,<sup>c</sup> as Re sets in the evening-barque, as he rises<sup>d</sup> in <sup>5</sup>the morning-barque, as he joins his two mothers<sup>e</sup> in the divine barque, as heaven abides, as that which he hath made endures, as I shall be unto eternity like an 'Imperishable,'<sup>f</sup> as I shall go down <sup>6</sup>in the west like Atum,<sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup>(so surely) these two great obelisks which my majesty hath wrought with electrum for my father, Amon, in order that <sup>7</sup>my name may abide, enduring in this temple forever and ever, (so surely) they are of one block of enduring granite without seam or <sup>8</sup>joining <sup>i</sup>—<sup>1</sup>. My majesty exacted work<sup>i</sup> thereon from the year 15, the first of Mechir (sixth month), until<sup>j</sup> the year 16, the last of Mesore (twelfth month) making seven months of exaction in the mountain.

### History

**319.** <sup>k1</sup>" I did (it) for him in <sup>1</sup>fidelity<sup>1</sup> of heart, <sup>2</sup>as<sup>1</sup> a king to every god. It was my desire to make them for him, gilded with electrum; I laid <sup>2</sup>their side upon their <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup>; I thought how the people would say my mouth was excellent by reason of that which issued from it, (for) I did not turn back from that which I had said. <sup>3</sup>Hear ye! I gave for them of the finest electrum, which I had measured by the heket<sup>1</sup> like sacks (of grain). My majesty appointed the numbers<sup>m</sup> more than <sup>4</sup>the entire Two Lands had (ever) seen. The ignorant like the wise knoweth it."

<sup>a</sup>The text has two Horus birds; the reference is explained in the note on l. 2 of the Tombo's inscription of Thutmose I (§ 70, l. 2).

<sup>b</sup>Horus.

<sup>c</sup>Osiris.

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "visit or approach" (*s'w>h*). See Papyrus Prisse, 9, 7.

<sup>e</sup>Isis and Nephthys, by a confusion and mingling of the solar and Osirian myths.

<sup>f</sup>Name of a star.

<sup>g</sup>Sun-god.

<sup>h</sup>Here the long introduction to the oath closes and the real asseveration begins.

<sup>i</sup>See Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXII, 92.

<sup>j</sup>Meaning it continued "until," etc.

<sup>k</sup>East side begins.

<sup>1</sup>A grain measure (nearly 5 liters); this is literally true, for Thutiy records the measurement of electrum by the heket under his supervision, and gives the total between 13 and 14 bushels! (§ 377, l. 38).

<sup>m</sup>The quantity of precious metals, but cf. Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 48.

*Conclusion*

“Let not him who shall hear this say it is a lie which I have said, but say, ‘How like her it is! [who is] truth[ful] in the sight of her father!’ The god knew it in me,<sup>a</sup> Amon, lord of Thebes; he caused that I should reign over the Black and the Red Land as a requital therefor. I have no enemy in any land, all countries are my subjects, he has made my boundary to the extremities of heaven, the circuit of the sun has labored for me, which he has given to the one who is with him<sup>b</sup> (for) he knew that I would offer it to him. I am his daughter of a truth, who glorifies him, — that which he exacted; my [—] is with my father; life, stability, and satisfaction, upon the Horus-throne of all the living, like Re, forever.

320. The shaft of the fallen obelisk, of which only the uppermost section has survived,<sup>c</sup> bears only fragments of the queen’s titulary,<sup>d</sup> which has been altered into that of Thutmose III. The base, however, carried an interesting inscription, of which the following fragments<sup>e</sup> are still visible:

321. 1— — — — —<sup>f</sup> excellent —, beloved of his majesty.<sup>g</sup> He hath made my kingdom, the Black Land, and the Red Lands are united under my feet. My southern boundary is as far as the lands of Punt, and — — — — —; my eastern boundary is as far as the marshes of Asia, and the Asiatics are in my grasp; my western boundary is as far as the mountain of Manu, and I rule — — — — —; [my northern boundary is as far as —], and my fame is among the Sand-dwellers altogether.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Viz., knew that I would erect these obelisks.

<sup>b</sup>Meaning the queen herself.

<sup>c</sup>A fragment has been found at Abutig (*Recueil*, X, 142; see *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 30, Pl. II).

<sup>d</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 24, a-c; *Recueil*, X, 142; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 136.

<sup>e</sup>*Recueil*, 23, 195 f.

<sup>f</sup>The amount of loss at the beginning of each line varies from one-fifth to one-eighth of the total length of the line, increasing gradually from beginning to end.

<sup>g</sup>Amon?

<sup>h</sup>It looks as if the scribe had here confused the northern and eastern boundaries.

The myrrh of Punt has been brought to me 1— — — 4———— all the luxurious marvels of this country were brought to my palace in one collection, which the Asiatics presented 5———— malachite in the country of Reshet. They have brought to me the choicest products of 1—<sup>a</sup> consisting of cedar, of juniper, and of meru wood. 6———— all the good sweet woods of God's-Land. I brought the tribute of Tehenu, consisting of ivory and 700 tusks 1which were there1. 7———— numerous panther-skins of 5 cubits along the back and 4 cubits in his girth,<sup>b</sup> of the southern panther; besides all the tribute of this country 8———— . . . . .<sup>c</sup>

RELIEFS OF TRANSPORTATION OF OBELISKS<sup>d</sup>

322. The queen had reliefs representing the transportation and dedication of two obelisks carved on the wall of the lower colonnade; and, as in the Punt reliefs, the vessels of the transport are actually represented with bows to the north, as they should be in sailing from Assuan; while farther northward is the dedication in Thebes. The identity of these obelisks is uncertain; Wilkinson<sup>e</sup> says that he saw the bases of two obelisks at the termination of the long avenue of sphinxes leading to the temple door, and one would think that the representation in Der el-Bahri

<sup>a</sup>A country.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., circumference = the girth of the beast before the skin was removed?

<sup>c</sup>The usual wishes for the monarch's welfare follow, with all pronouns and endings in the feminine.

<sup>d</sup>Scenes and inscriptions in the Der el-Bahri temple on the west wall of the lower colonnade, in the south half; the transportation published by Naville (in *Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report*, 1895-96, Pl. and pp. 6-13).

<sup>e</sup>*Thebes and General View*, 90, published in 1831. Naville denies the existence of obelisks at Der el-Bahri; but he once unreservedly accepted their existence. (*Deir-el-Bahari, Introductory Memoir*, 10) on Wilkinson's testimony. It is difficult to suppose that so good an observer as Wilkinson mistook the pits in which trees were planted for obelisk-bases, as Naville states (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 52). It is possible that they have either been broken up since Wilkinson's day, or that Naville's search has missed them. The map of the French expedition in the *Description* shows a block of granite on the very spot where the right-hand obelisk would have stood.

would concern the obelisks of that temple. But Naville's excavations on the spot failed to turn up the bases seen by Wilkinson; and the transport inscriptions speak of landing on the east side (§ 329). This last datum would indicate Karnak as the destination of the transports, and in this case it is impossible to say which of the queen's two pairs in Karnak is meant (§§ 304 ff.).<sup>a</sup>

## I. TRANSPORT

*Scene<sup>b</sup>*

323. A large tow-boat with the obelisks<sup>c</sup> lying trussed upon it, is being towed by three rows of oared barges,<sup>d</sup> nine in a row; each row headed by a pilot-boat. The tow-boat is accompanied by an escort of three boats, in which religious ceremonies are being performed.

*Inscriptions<sup>e</sup>*

324. The following is the long text in the upper row; it contains:

- a) Titulary and encomium of the queen (ll. 1-?).
- b) The command to gather material and build the vessel needed in the transport (three lines).
- c) The command to muster men and troops for the transport (four lines).
- d) The transport (ten lines).

<sup>a</sup>It is difficult to understand how Naville can maintain that the queen erected only two obelisks at Karnak (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 52), when three obelisk-summits of hers are still in existence.

<sup>b</sup>The whole scene is very fragmentary, and as it was put together from squeezes, there is no doubt that some blocks are put together in questionable places.

<sup>c</sup>Only one can be seen, but the inscription refers to two.

<sup>d</sup>Of these three rows of barges the lowest is still in situ (cf. Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 11, Dümichen, *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, IV); below this in one long row are the marines (on the right) and the offering scene (on the left), with priests and officials approaching (§§ 333-35).

<sup>e</sup>The texts are badly mutilated.

*Titulary and Encomium of Queen*

325. [Live] the Horus: Wosretkew; Favorite of the Two Goddesses; Fresh in Years; Golden Horus: Divine of Diadems; <sup>2</sup>splendid part of [her] father, Amon-Re, lord of [heaven], who has not been far removed from the father of all gods, <sup>3</sup>shining in brightness like "The-Horizon-God" (Y<sup>2</sup> *hwty*); Rayet (*R<sup>c</sup> y<sup>t</sup>*)<sup>a</sup> she illuminates <sup>4</sup>like the sun, vivifying the hearts of the people, who is exalted in name (so that) it hath reached <sup>5</sup>heaven. Her fame has encompassed the 'Great Circle' (Okeanos) ————— <sup>b6</sup>their tribute presented to the palace ————— <sup>7</sup>chief —————<sup>c</sup>.

*Building the Tow-Boat*

326. Give ye ————— | sycamores from the whole land ————— | the work of building a very great boat,<sup>d</sup> finished —————.

*Muster of Men<sup>e</sup> and Troops*

327. ————— | orders the whole army before ————— |, in order to load the two obelisks in Elephantine<sup>f</sup> ————— | the people in Aphroditopolis and the entire Two Lands were gathered in [one] place ————— | in every way; the young men were mustered —————.

*The Transport*

328. ————— | sailed down-stream with gladness of heart ————— | took the [tow-rope]<sup>1</sup>, rejoicing ————— | [rejoiced]<sup>1</sup> the marines and the crew ————— | — — jubilee, the Two Lands | ————— in peace.

<sup>a</sup>Feminine of Re, the sun-god.

<sup>b</sup>Half a line is lost.

<sup>c</sup>An uncertain number of lines is now lacking, and numbering is impossible from this point. Lines are separated by |, the second half of each line being gone.

<sup>d</sup>The wanting end of the line is not long enough for the dimensions of the boat; but we find Ineni (§ 105) giving the size of the boat on which he moved the Karnak obelisks of Thutmose I. His boat was 206.6 feet long and 68.86 feet wide for an obelisk about 75 feet (Murray) high; hence the boat of the queen (if these are the large Karnak pair) on the same proportion would have been about 268½ feet long and 89½ feet wide. The proportion between width and length is 1 to 3. See *Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report*, 1895-96, 9, 10.

<sup>e</sup>Confer the muster of men for the el-Bersheh colossus (I, 697 ff.).

<sup>f</sup>Referring to the embarkation of the obelisks at the granite quarries of Assuan. They were dragged on board the barges on sledges. The sledge is still under the obelisk on the barge—a fact which has been overlooked in the explanation of the reliefs (*ibid.*).

The king himself, he took the lead<sup>a</sup> ————| Amon-Re with praise, Khnum. ————| of Amon ————| in this monument, which they have established<sup>b</sup> ————| they have increased years at the jubilee of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ————| . . . . .

*Over the Pilot-Boats<sup>c</sup>*

329. Landing in peace at "Victorious Thebes,"<sup>d</sup> heaven is in festival, earth in rejoicing; — 'they' receive joy of heart (when) they behold this monument which [Makere] has established for her father [Amon].<sup>e</sup>

II. RECEPTION IN THEBES

*Scene<sup>f</sup>*

330. On shore appear the marines and the recruits (on the right), mustered to unload the obelisks. At the opposite end (the left) is an offering scene in celebration of the arrival of the obelisks, with priests and officials approaching.

<sup>a</sup>This may also be "the bow-rope," but the determinative is broken off.

<sup>b</sup>Possibly: "[Her name is established], in this monument, and fixed; which she has given to thee." Cf. east side, middle line (§ 311).

<sup>c</sup>The lowermost boat; the other two bore similar inscriptions, but they have now perished.

<sup>d</sup>Thebes on the east bank.

<sup>e</sup>Over the three escort-boats in the lower right-hand corner is a fragment of text, mentioning the bow and stern cables (as in Ineni, l. 17, § 341) and "sailing from Elephantine to ————." Other fragments of interest are: over the three men in the bow of the obelisk-barge, three names: "Steward of the King's-Wife, the scribe, Telem-Re (Tty-m-R); overseer of the granary, Minnose (Mn-ms); count of Thinis (Tny), Sitepeh (S<sup>2</sup>-tp-yh)." The last person, Sitepeh, is known on a tablet of Abydos, where he appears with the same titles; cf. Mariette, *Catalogue général d'Abydos*, 393. These names are not original, but are cut over others now illegible. The original names are very likely to have been those of Senmut, the queen's favorite, in charge of the obelisks (§§ 345 ff.), and the other two partisans of the queen, Thutiy and Nehsi, who already appear in Der el-Bahri (§§ 275, 289), and have been erased in the Punt reliefs.

<sup>f</sup>In one long row immediately below the transport scene; published by Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 11; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 21, and *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, 4, 7, 8; see also Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 104, 105, where both the texts are combined.

*Inscriptions*

331. They record the rejoicing of the troops mustered from the North, South, and Upper Nubia, to assist in the work of the obelisks.<sup>a</sup> It is important to note that their acclamations also mention Thutmose III, but after the queen.

*Rejoicing of Marines and Recruits*

332. The rejoicing by the royal marines of the ship of the king —.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>c</sup>They say, "Hark the acclamation! Heaven is in [joy, the earth] hath rejoicing. [Amon] <sup>d</sup>increased the years of his daughter who maketh his monuments, upon the Horus-throne of the living, like Re, forever.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>e</sup>The acclamation by the recruits of the South and North, the young men of Thebes, the youths of Khenthennofer (*Hnt-hn-njr*), for the sake of the life, prosperity and health of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ———.<sup>f</sup> (and) for the sake of the life, prosperity and health of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose III), who giveth life; that their heart may be glad, like Re, forever."

*With the Offering*

333. An offering for thy ka, O lord of gods, that thou mayest make healthy ———.<sup>g</sup> at this (feast) of "Myriad-of-Years"<sup>h</sup> of her who liveth forever.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup>See the mustering at Elephantine, to load the obelisks (§ 327).

<sup>b</sup>Cartouche cut out; undoubtedly that of the queen.

<sup>c</sup>Over the troops marching toward the left.

<sup>d</sup>The same phrase occurs on the Berlin block (No. 1636, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 17, a; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 21; and *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, IV, top row). Its inscriptions are as follows: (over the forward ship) "Landing at 'The West' with joy of heart, the whole land is in rejoicing at this beautiful feast of this god; they acclaim, they give praise, they celebrate the king, the Lord of the Two Lands." The titles have been inserted in place of the queen's name. Then follows: "Rejoicing by the marines of the ship of the king, Okhepernere (Thutmose II), 'Star-of-the-Two-Lands;' they say: 'This beautiful feast of — (queen's cartouche cut out) whereon Amon appears, increasing the years of his son, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose III), upon the Horus-throne of the living, like Re, forever.'" It is possible that all this belongs to the same feast, at the landing of the obelisks. The block was found on the upper terrace.

<sup>e</sup>Over the soldiers marching toward the right.

<sup>f</sup>Cartouche of the queen cut out.

<sup>g</sup>A name is cut out, undoubtedly that of Hatshepsut.

<sup>h</sup>Name of royal jubilee or feast.

<sup>i</sup>Words of two other priests in the same place are too mutilated for translation.

*Rejoicing of the Priests*

334. That which the priests of Karnak say: "O king, beautiful<sup>a</sup> of monuments —. As she is, so they are for eternity."

*Rejoicing of the Court*

335. The companions, the dignitaries, the officials, the soldiers of the whole land, say: "Happy is thy heart ——— thy heart; this thy desire, it has come to pass."

III. DEDICATION OF THE OBELISKS<sup>b</sup>

336. "On the corresponding wall of the northeast side<sup>c</sup> two obelisks are dedicated to Amunre, by the monarch who founded this building and who erected the great obelisks of Karnak; but from the following translation of the little that remains of their hieroglyphics, it is evident they differ widely from those of the great temple of Diospolis<sup>d</sup> and will probably have stood on the pedestals of the dromos above alluded to.<sup>e</sup> The inscription after the name of Pharaoh Amunneitgori<sup>f</sup> continues: "— She has made (this) *her* work for *her* father Amunre, lord of the regions, (and) erected to him two fine obelisks of granite . . . . *she* did this (who is) the giver of life, like the sun."<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Should be feminine to suit the context.

<sup>b</sup>Not yet published, and probably partially lost since seen by Wilkinson. Hence I can only offer Wilkinson's remarks (*Thebes and General View*, 92).

<sup>c</sup>The right-hand end of the colonnade on the northeast (practically north) side of the ascent to the next terrace.

<sup>d</sup>The Karnak temple. So good an observer as Wilkinson is to be trusted in a remark like this; there must have been some striking difference in the inscription, distinguishing it from those of Hatshepsut's standing obelisk at Karnak; it is therefore improbable that these obelisk reliefs refer to the said Karnak pair.

<sup>e</sup>The obelisk-pedestals which he saw before the temple portal.

<sup>f</sup>This is Khnemet-Amon, Hatshepsut; Wilkinson adds the following note: "I am uncertain as to the precise reading of this name, but cannot adopt the Amen-the of M. Champollion. I suppose her to have been a queen." This was written seventy-five years ago.

<sup>g</sup>This old translation is without a flaw, except in the last sentence, which should be "*that she may be given life, etc.*," and even this change, with the exception of the "final" construction, was suspected by Wilkinson (p. 94, n. 1).



ROCK INSCRIPTION IN WADI MAGHARA<sup>a</sup>

337. Above is a bas-relief in which Thutmose III worships Hathor, and Hatshepsut worships Soped; over this is the inscription: "*Year 16 under the majesty of,*" which is to be connected with the names in the relief. Below is a much-mutilated inscription of three short lines:

[Came]<sup>b</sup> the king's[messenger] at the head of his army, to traverse the [inaccessible<sup>c</sup>] valley[s,] [to please<sup>d</sup>] Horus who is in the palace, by bringing that which exists to his majesty ———, <sup>e</sup> living again, revered.

BUILDING INSCRIPTION OF WESTERN THEBES<sup>f</sup>

338. Above is a relief showing Hatshepsut worshipping before Amon-Re, with Thutmose III standing behind her. An inscription of five lines below records repairs in the fortress of the necropolis by Hatshepsut. Hence the goddess of western Thebes, Khafet-hir-nebes, stands behind Thutmose.

339. <sup>1</sup>Live the Horus: Wosretkew; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Fresh in Years; Golden Horus: Divine of Diadems, Ruler of South and North; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere; <sup>2</sup>Son of Re, of his body, his beloved Khnemet-Amon, Hatshepsut. She made (it) as her monument for her father, Amon, lord of Thebes; erecting for him <sup>3</sup>the fortress of Khafet-hir-nebes anew as a work for eternity. Its

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 28, 2; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 122; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1491; Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée*, Pl. 8, No. 4; Laval, *La Péninsule Arabique*, Pl. 2, No. 4; Weill, *Sinai*, 152.

<sup>b</sup>Restored from Senmut's Assuan inscription, see § 362.

<sup>c</sup>Restored from I, 728.

<sup>d</sup>Cf. Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 122 and 51.

<sup>e</sup>Fragments, among them the determinative belonging to the lost name of the messenger.

<sup>f</sup>Stela in the Vatican (No. 130); published by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 700, 701; Piehl, *Recueil*, II, 129; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 110. I had also my own copy of the original, a collation of which furnished some corrections.

1—<sup>1a</sup> was 1built1 4of beautiful stone of Ayan (c *nw*).<sup>b</sup> It was according to the ancient plan; never was done the like since the beginning. 5Her majesty (fem.) did this, because she loved her father Amon so much more than all gods, in order that she might be given life, like Re, forever.

#### BIOGRAPHY OF INENI<sup>c</sup>

[Concluded from § 118]

#### IV. CAREER UNDER THUTMOSE III AND HATSHEPSUT

340. After outliving three kings, Ineni himself dies under the joint reign of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut. His account of their accession upon the death of Thutmose II unfortunately does not refer to Thutmose III by name, although there can be no doubt that he is meant by “*his son*” (l. 16). The position of Hatshepsut is described in such a way as to give the impression that she is really the ruling power, and “*his son*” merely a figurehead.

##### *Accession of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut*

341. His<sup>d</sup> son stood in his place as king of the Two Lands, having become ruler upon the throne of the one who begat him. 17His sister the Divine Consort, Hatshepsut, settled the 1affairs<sup>1e</sup> of the Two Lands by reason of her plans. Egypt was made to labor with bowed head for

<sup>a</sup>Original has c *hm' t*, with wedge determinative of land, a rare word occurring also in similar connection in Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, cxxix, Q B; it doubtless designates some inclosure or wall.

<sup>b</sup>The original shows *ynr nfr n c nw* (heretofore misread), though it is very faint and confused with the paint of a modern incorrect restoration.

<sup>c</sup>Bibliography on p. 18, note c.

<sup>d</sup>Thutmose II's son; this passage would prove that Thutmose III was the son (and not the brother) of Thutmose II, but see Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 7 ff. Cf. also Maspero, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XIV, 178, and Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 78, and Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 42, 43.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., “*made the land-affairs (mhr) of the Two Lands.*” This rare phrase occurs in the Annals on the eve before the battle of Megiddo: “*the affairs (mhr-w) of the chiefs were settled (yr-tw).*” (§ 429, l. 2). The “*mhr-w of the Two Lands*” is also found in Rekhmire's tomb (Newberry, Pl. VII, l. 13) applied to Thutmose III. Ramses II also “*made the mhr of the land*” (Blessing of Ptah, III, 411, l. 31).

her, the excellent seed of the god, which came forth from him. The bow-rope<sup>a</sup> of the South, the mooring-stake of the Southerners; the excellent stern-rope<sup>a</sup> of the Northland is she; the mistress of command, whose plans are excellent, who satisfies the Two Regions, when she speaks.

*Ineni's Favor and Rewards*

342. Her majesty praised me, she loved me, she recognized my worth at the court, she presented me with things, she magnified me, she filled my house with silver and gold, with all beautiful stuffs of the royal house.

*Ineni's Good Character*

343. I (can) not tell (it), I increased beyond everything, I will tell you, ye people; hear ye, do ye the good that I did; <sup>19</sup>do ye likewise. I continued powerful in peace, I met no misfortune,<sup>b</sup> my years were (passed) in gladness of heart, I showed no treachery, I did not inform against, I did no evil, I did no wrong. I was the foreman of the foremen, I did not fail; an excellent one for the heart of his lord, devoid of hesitancy, I was one who hearkened to that which his superior said. My heart was not deceitful toward the great ones in the palace. I did that which the god of the city loved. I was devoid of blasphemy toward sacred things. As for the one who <sup>1</sup>passes<sup>1</sup> the years as a favorite, his soul shall live <sup>1</sup>with<sup>1</sup> the All-Lord, his good name shall be in the mouth of the living, his memory and his excellence shall be forever. The revered dignitary, the overseer of the granary of Amon, the scribe, Ineni (*Y<sup>o</sup> nn(y)*), triumphant.

BIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE-PEN-NEKHBET<sup>c</sup>

[Concluded from § 25]

*Conclusion of Summary*

344. <sup>18</sup>The Divine Consort, the Great King's-Wife, Makere (*M<sup>o</sup> c<sup>o</sup> t-k<sup>o</sup> R<sup>c</sup>*, Hatshepsut), triumphant, repeated honors to me. <sup>19</sup>I

<sup>a</sup>These strange epithets will be quite clear to one who has seen a Nile boat, moored at bow and stern, with a fierce current holding both ropes taut. The ship is of course the state, of which the queen is the mooring-lines. Note that the vessel faces southward, the usual position in determining directions.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "my misfortune was not;" all the following negative clauses show the same construction.

<sup>c</sup>Bibliography on p. 10, note c.

reared her eldest daughter, the Royal Daughter, Nefrure (*Nfrw-R*), triumphant, while she was a <sup>20</sup>child upon the breast. . . . .<sup>a</sup>

#### INSCRIPTIONS OF SENMUT

345. Senmut was the most powerful noble among the group of influential state officials who supported Hatshepsut. He was her architect in Karnak, Luxor, Der el-Bahri, and Hermonthis; and in Karnak<sup>b</sup> and Der el-Bahri statues of him have been found. In the latter temple, also, he appears in an adoration scene on the wall of the Southern Speos,<sup>c</sup> with the inscription: "*Giving praise to Hathor, for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of Makere (Hatshepsut), by the steward of Amon, Senmut.*"<sup>d</sup> This is a remarkable evidence of his power. Among his works in Karnak he erected the queen's great obelisks (§§ 304 ff.), the largest now in Egypt, and went personally to the granite quarries at Assuan to secure the two vast blocks, leaving on the rocks a record of his visit there (§§ 359 ff.).

346. He was prominent in the Punt expedition; being overseer of the storehouse of Amon, he would naturally have much to do with the products of that expedition, which were

<sup>a</sup>The remainder of the line, and of several lines now broken away, contained titles of Ahmose, § 25, note.

<sup>b</sup>The base of a black granite statue, as yet unpublished (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, "Preliminary Report," 19).

<sup>c</sup>Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 310. The building inscriptions or dedications of this temple have not survived. The fragmentary end of such an inscription was seen by Brugsch (*Recueil de monuments*, 69, 6), which is as follows: "\_\_\_\_\_ of fine white (lime)stone of Ayan; its splendid seat of the first time, which (former) kings knew not \_\_\_\_\_." Still another, where the name of Thutmose II has been inserted over that of the queen, is preserved toward the end: "\_\_\_\_\_ making for him a great temple of myriads of years (named) 'House-of-Amon-Most-Splendid;' of fine white limestone of Ayan, in his seat, etc.," Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 93.

<sup>d</sup>Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 34 = Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 109.

for the most part devoted to Amon. He therefore appears with Nehsi (§ 289), the commander of the expedition in the presence of the queen, praising her on the success of the enterprise.

347. He was selected by the queen to rear her daughter and heiress to the throne, the princess, Nefrure, sharing this honor with Ahmose-Pen-Nekhbet (§ 344). His statue, now in Berlin, shows him with the infant princess (§§ 363 ff.).

348. Judging from the titles on the Karnak statue (§§ 349 ff.), he controlled many of the functions of the vizier himself, and all but held that office. There is no doubt that the queen's remarkable career as king in opposition to Thutmose III was in some measure due to him, and in great measure to the coterie of legitimists, of which he was the most powerful member. It is only on this supposition that we can explain the fact that both he and they were exposed to the same persecution suffered by their queen. On Senmut's Berlin statue, on his Karnak statue, in his tomb,<sup>a</sup> on his tombstone,<sup>b</sup> and in the Punt reliefs, his name is everywhere chiseled out. In the Punt relief his entire figure, and those of his two companions, Nehsi and Thutiy (? see § 289), likewise ardent supporters of the queen, are chiseled out. The same persistent persecution is evident in the tomb of Thutiy (§§ 369 ff.), who was hardly second in power to Senmut; in that of Senmen,<sup>c</sup> Senmut's brother; in that of an unknown man,<sup>c</sup> next to the tomb of Senmut; and in that of a "chief steward"<sup>d</sup> of the queen at Silsileh. In all these the

<sup>a</sup>Discovered by Steindorff and Newberry at Thebes (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 310).

<sup>b</sup>Now in Berlin (No. 2066; *Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 160); published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 25 bis a; see also Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 111.

<sup>c</sup>Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 128 f.

<sup>d</sup>*Ibid.*, 84, § 11, e. His name cannot be read.

name of the owner is chiseled out, and this common persecution is quite sufficient to show that these men formed the queen's party of legitimists opposed to Thutmose III, who has therefore treated their monuments and their memory as he did hers.<sup>a</sup>

#### 1. INSCRIPTIONS ON THE KARNAK STATUE<sup>b</sup>

349. This statue was presented to Senmut by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (§ 350) as a token of honor, for the special purpose of being set up in the temple of Mut at Karnak. The inscriptions contain chiefly his many titles, and epithets of honor, showing clearly that he was little, if any, below the vizier himself in power.

##### *Statue was Presented by Queen<sup>c</sup>*

350. 4[Given as a favor of the king's-presence, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut), who is given [life, to 2the hereditary prince, count], wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, steward of Amon, Senmut, triumphant; in order to be in the temple<sup>d</sup> of 3[I]shru; in order to receive the plenty that comes forth from before the presence of this great goddess.

4[Given] as a favor of the king's-presence, extending the period of life to eternity, with a goodly memory among 5the people after the years that shall come; to<sup>e</sup> the prince and count, overseer of the granary of Amon, Senmut, triumphant.

<sup>a</sup>Small objects from Senmut's tomb, see Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, 19, 91; and Newberry, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXII, 63, 64; full list by Newberry, Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 310.

<sup>b</sup>Discovered by Misses Benson and Gourlay in 1896 in the Temple of Mut at Karnak (M. 852). The inscriptions are published by Benson and Gourlay in *The Temple of Mut in Asher* (London, 1899), 299-309. I had also an excellent copy made for the Berlin Lexicon by Borchardt, the corrections and additions from this copy are inserted without remark in the translation below.

<sup>c</sup>On the back, Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 301-3.

<sup>d</sup>The statue was found in this temple, and its purpose is here noted. The lacuna in Borchardt's copy is not large enough for "*Mut, mistress of,*" which we would expect.

<sup>e</sup>Construe with "*given.*"

*His Duties as Architect*

351. <sup>6</sup>[It was]<sup>a</sup> the chief steward, Senmut, who conducted all the works of the king: in Karnak, in Hermonthis, [in] <sup>7</sup>Der el-Bahri, of Amon, in the temple of Mut, in Ishru, in southern Opet of Amon (Luxor), in [the presence] <sup>8</sup>of this august god, while maintaining the monuments of the Lord of the Two Lands, enlarging, restoring — <sup>9</sup>works, without deafness, (but) according to all that was commanded at the court, L. P. H. It was commanded him that [the] should be — <sup>10</sup>because he was so excellent for the heart (of the king). It came to pass in every respect,<sup>b</sup> as was commanded by doing according to the desire of his majesty concerning it. <sup>11</sup>His true servant, without his like;<sup>c</sup> strong-hearted, not lax concerning the monuments of the lord of gods; wearer of the royal seal, prophet of Amon, <sup>12</sup>[Se]nmut.

*His Praise of Himself; His Offices*

352. He says: "I was the greatest of the great in the whole land; one who heard the hearing alone in the privy council, steward of [Amon], <sup>13</sup>Senmut, triumphant."

"I was the real favorite of the king, acting as one praised of his lord every day, the overseer of the cattle of Amon, Senmut."

"I was <sup>14</sup>— of truth, not showing partiality; with whose injunctions the Lord of the Two Lands was satisfied; attached to Nekhen, prophet of Mat, Senmut."

"I was one who entered in [love], <sup>15</sup>and came forth in favor, making glad the heart of the king every day, the companion, and master of the palace, Senmut."

"I commanded <sup>16</sup>in the storehouse of divine offerings of Amon every tenth day; the overseer of the storehouse of Amon, Senmut."

"I conducted — <sup>17</sup>—<sup>d</sup> of the gods every day, for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of the king; overseer of the <sup>18</sup>— of Amon, Senmut."

"I was a foreman of foremen, superior of the great, <sup>18</sup>[overseer] of all [works] of the house of silver, conductor of every handicraft, chief of the prophets of Montu in Hermonthis, Senmut."

<sup>a</sup>Read *yn* (Sethe).

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "very, very much" (*wr wr mnḥ*).

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "without one possessed of his qualities."

<sup>d</sup>The first word shows traces of the sign for "feast."

“I was one <sup>19</sup>to whom the affairs of the Two Lands were [repor]ted; that which South and North contributed was on my seal, the labor of all countries <sup>20</sup>was [under] my charge.”

“I was one, whose steps were known in the palace; a real confidant of the king, his beloved: overseer of the gardens of Amon, Senmut.”

*Address to the Living, and Prayer*

**353.** <sup>21</sup>“O ye living upon earth, lay priests of the temple, <sup>a</sup> who shall see my statue, which I have formed as a likeness, <sup>b</sup> <sup>22</sup>that I may be remembered in the nether world; may your great goddess (Mut) praise you, because ye say: ‘A royal offering, which Mut of I[shru] gives! <sup>c23</sup>May she give the going in and out in the nether world [in] the following of the just; for the ka of Senmut, <sup>d</sup> who repeats the utterance of the king to the “companions;” the one useful to the king, <sup>e24</sup>faithful to the god, without his [blemish] before the people; steward of Amon, Senmut. May he (Amon) grant to come forth <sup>25</sup>as a living soul; to breathe the sweet north wind, to the [ka of] the steward of Amon, [Senmut]; <sup>26</sup>to receive loaves (*sn·w*) from the table of Amon, at every feast of heaven and earth, <sup>f27</sup>for the ka of the citizen, mighty in his arm; who followed the king in the South, North, East, and West countries, [— — — —], <sup>g</sup> to whom was given the gold of praise, <sup>h28</sup>— Senmut. May he come forth as a living soul; may he follow the god, lord of gods; may he be presented with the two regions of Horus; may his name not perish forever; breath for the mouth, splendor for the dead; this is not a thing under which one should [be lax].”

<sup>a</sup>The temple of Mut, in which the statue was set up.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., “*which I have likened.*”

<sup>c</sup>Newberry begins a new numbering here (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 309) as the inscription proceeds at this point to the left side of the top of the base, but there is no break.

<sup>d</sup>Title omitted.

<sup>e</sup>Goes to the front of the top of the base (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 308).

<sup>f</sup>Goes to the right side of the top of the base (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 309).

<sup>g</sup>“*Pure of limb between the two bows*” (?), Sethe.

<sup>h</sup>Goes to the front and sides of the base (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 309).



"I was a noble, to whom one hearkened; moreover, I had access to all the writings of the prophets; there was nothing which I did not know of that which had happened since the beginning.<sup>a</sup> [—————].

*Statue was Presented by Queen and King*

354. <sup>b1</sup>[Given] as a favor of the king's-presence [to] the hereditary prince, count, steward of Amon, Sen[mut], triumphant, <sup>2</sup>steward of the female Horus: Wosretkew,<sup>c</sup> favorite of Horus: "Shining-in-Thebes,"<sup>d</sup> when maintaining their monuments <sup>3</sup>forever, firm in favor with them every day.

<sup>4</sup>Overseer of the fields of Amon, Senmut, triumphant.

<sup>5</sup>Overseer of the gardens of Amon, Senmut.

<sup>6</sup>Overseer of the cattle of <sup>7</sup>Amon, Senmut, triumphant.

<sup>8</sup>Chief steward of <sup>9</sup>Amon, Senmut, triumphant.

<sup>10</sup>Chief steward of the king, Senmut, triumphant.

<sup>11</sup>Chief of the peasant-serfs of Amon, Senmut, triumphant.

*Prayers for Food-Offerings*

355. <sup>e1</sup>The oblations in the South for the ka of the magnate of the South and North, Senmut. May she (Mut) give <sup>2</sup>the food-offerings in the Northland to the ka of the greatest of the great, the noblest of the noble, <sup>3</sup>[Se]nmut. May she (Mut) give all that comes forth from her table in Karnak, <sup>4</sup>[in] the temples of the gods of the South and North, to the ka of the master of secret things in the temple, <sup>5</sup>Senmut.

*Prayers for Food-Offerings*

356. May she (Mut) give the mortuary offering of bread, beer, oxen, geese; and to drink <sup>6</sup>water at the living stream; to the ka of the

<sup>a</sup>In this connection it is interesting to note that on his tombstone Senmut placed an archaic text long forgotten, and no longer used in his day (*Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 160).

<sup>b</sup>Above the knees and arms on the sistrum; Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 300.

<sup>c</sup>Horus-name of Hatshepsut (read *Hr' t*, not *t*), as published.

<sup>d</sup>Horus-name of Thutmose III (read *h s*, not *t*, as published). This important correction is due to Sethe, who made it in Borchardt's manuscript (containing the same mistake), and it was afterward verified by Borchardt from the original.

<sup>e</sup>Left side of sistrum (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 305 f.); it is evidently to be connected with one of the verbs "to give" in the other texts.

chief steward of Amon, <sup>7</sup>[Se]nmut, triumphant; <sup>8</sup>overseer of the cattle of <sup>9</sup>Amon, Senmut; <sup>10</sup>filling the magazines, <sup>11</sup>supplying<sup>1</sup> the storehouses, <sup>12</sup>overseer of the storehouse of <sup>13</sup>Amon, <sup>14</sup>Senmut, <sup>15</sup>triumphant; <sup>16</sup>overseer of the gardens of Amon, Senmut, triumphant.

*He Carries the Goddess in Processions*

357. <sup>a1</sup>[Master<sup>1</sup>] of all people, chief of the whole land, steward of Amon, Senmut, triumphant, <sup>2</sup>chief [steward] of the king, Senmut; revered by the great god. When he carries Hathor, <sup>3</sup>sovereign of Thebes, and Mut, mistress of Ishru, he causes her to appear,<sup>b</sup> <sup>4</sup>he bears her beauty, for the life, prosperity, and health of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut), living forever.

*Prayer for Goodly Burial*

358. <sup>5</sup>May he (Osiris) give: goodly burial in the western highland, <sup>6</sup>[as one revere]d by the great god; to the ka of the privy councilor of the right hand, Senmut; <sup>7</sup>splendor in heaven, <sup>8</sup>power on earth; <sup>9</sup>to the ka of the overseer of the <sup>1</sup>temples<sup>1</sup> (*h·wt*) <sup>10</sup>of Neit, Senmut, <sup>11</sup>begotten of Ramose, <sup>12</sup>born of <sup>13</sup>Henofer (*H<sup>2</sup>·n/r*).

II. ASSUAN INSCRIPTION<sup>c</sup>

359. Engraved on the rocks at Assuan by Senmut, to commemorate his commission by Queen Hatshepsut to cut out the two Karnak obelisks erected by her (§§ 304 ff.). He appears in relief doing reverence to the queen, with the following inscriptions:

*Titles Accompanying the Queen*

360. Hereditary princess, great in favor and kindness, great in love — — Re, the kingdom of heaven, who is true in the midst of the divine ennead, the King's-Daughter, the King's-Sister, the Divine Consort, the

<sup>a</sup>Right side of the sistrum (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 307).

<sup>b</sup>The idiom for "bring out in procession."

<sup>c</sup>Text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 25 bis q; better, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 116; de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 41, No. 181 bis (copied from Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, with all mistakes!); corrected by Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 82.

Great King's-Wife,<sup>a</sup> Hatshepsut, who liveth, the beloved of Satet, mistress of Elephantine, the beloved of Khnum, lord of the Cataract.

*Accompanying Senmut*

**361.** Ascription of [honor] to the Divine Consort, Sovereign of the entire Two Lands, by the wearer of the royal seal, companion, great in love, chief steward, Senmut (*Sn-Mw' t*).

*Record beneath the Two Figures<sup>b</sup>*

**362.** Came the hereditary prince,<sup>c</sup> count, who [greatly] satisfies the heart of the Divine Consort, who pleases the Mistress of the Two Lands by his injunction, chief steward of the Princess, Nefrure (*Nfrw-R<sup>c</sup>*), who liveth, Senmut, in order to 'conduct' the work of two great obelisks<sup>d</sup> of a "Myriad-(of-Years)".<sup>e</sup> It took place according to that which was commanded; everything was done; it took place because of the fame of her majesty (fem.).

III. INSCRIPTIONS ON THE BERLIN STATUE<sup>f</sup>

**363.** This statue, like the Karnak statue, was a royal gift (§ 350, l. 2). It represents Senmut in a squatting posture, holding between his knees the daughter and heir of the queen, the infant princess Nefrure, whom he reared. The inscriptions contain a most important reference to the death of Thutmose II (§ 368, ll. 7, 8).

<sup>a</sup>The same titles on an alabaster vase in Alnwick Castle, Birch catalogue 176, corrected by Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 122 and 25.

<sup>b</sup>With corrections from M. Weidenbach's copy as given by Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 82.

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "The coming by the hereditary prince, etc."

<sup>d</sup>It is not entirely certain that these are the two Karnak obelisks, between Pylons IV and V.

<sup>e</sup>The name of a feast, see above, § 333.

<sup>f</sup>Certainly from Thebes, but probably not from his tomb; now in Berlin (No. 2296, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 137-39); published by Sharpe (*Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 107) and Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, III, 25); corrections by Sethe (*Untersuchungen*, I, 111); partial translation (*ibid.*, 50, 51).

*Senmut, Tutor of the Princess*

364. <sup>a</sup>Senmut, triumphant, not found [among the writings] of the ancestors, <sup>b</sup> great father-tutor of the king's-daughter, Sovereign of the Two Lands, Divine Consort, Nefrure, <sup>c</sup> [— —] which I did according to the thought<sup>d</sup> of my heart [— — —].

*Mortuary Prayer*

365. <sup>e</sup>A royal offering, which Amon-Re and the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere, give; may they<sup>f</sup> grant the mortuary oblation of bread, beer, oxen, geese, linen, incense, ointment.

*A Royal Gift*

366. <sup>2</sup>Given as a favor of the king's-presence [to] the hereditary prince, count, companion, great in love, steward of Amon, Senmut.

*Mortuary Prayer*

367. <sup>3</sup>A royal offering which Osiris, lord of Abydos gives; may he grant all that cometh forth from his table every day <sup>4</sup>for the ka of the hereditary prince — [—], who greatly satisfies the heart of the Lord of the Two Lands, the favorite of the Good God, the overseer of the granary of Amon, Senmut.

*Senmut's Favor with King and Queen*

368. <sup>5</sup>He says, "I was a noble, beloved of his lord, who entered<sup>g</sup> upon the wonderful plans of the Mistress of the Two Lands. He<sup>h</sup> exalted me before the Two Lands, he appointed me <sup>6</sup>to be chief of his

<sup>a</sup>Beside the princess.

<sup>b</sup>This very ambiguous phrase has been rendered: "[whose] ancestors were not found in writing," a rendering not at all certain; possibly the word "like" has been omitted, and we should translate: "Whose like was not found among, etc.," more nearly parallel to the common statement.

<sup>c</sup>The daughter of the queen, whom Senmut is holding between his knees.

<sup>d</sup>See Speos Artemidos Inscription, l. 35, § 303 and note.

<sup>e</sup>On the front.

<sup>f</sup>Corrected from my own copy.

<sup>g</sup>An idiom meaning "to support, be in sympathy with;" cf. obelisk of Hatshepsut, base, south, § 316, l. 8.

<sup>h</sup>According to Sethe, the masculine pronoun refers to Thutmose III. Cf. Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 50; this supposition is rendered very probable by the Karnak statue (§§ 349 ff.).

estate 'throughout' the entire land. I was the superior of superiors, the chief of 'chiefs of works. I was in this land under his command since the occurrence of the death of his <sup>8</sup>predecessor.<sup>a</sup> I was in life under the Mistress of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut), who liveth forever."<sup>b</sup>

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INSCRIPTION OF THUTIY<sup>c</sup>

369. Thutiy was a loyal supporter of Queen Hatshepsut (see § 348), and hence throughout his tomb his name and that of the queen have been entirely erased. He was the successor of Ineni (§§ 340 ff.) as "*overseer of the double gold- and silver-houses*," and this brought him many monumental enterprises, for which he furnished the metals, at the same time having the construction of a large number of such monuments under his charge. He was probably the builder of the queen's ebony shrine (l. 24 and § 126 ff.); he furnished the metal-work on two great obelisks (l. 28), superintended many other monuments, and was charged with the measuring of the splendid returns in precious metal from the queen's southern expeditions, particularly the famous one to Punt (ll. 33-38). That Thutiy is strictly veracious in this statement is most strikingly shown by the scene of weighing and measuring in the Punt reliefs (§ 275), where the traces of his figure, busily engaged in taking his notes, is identifiable by means of his name and title, "*Scribe and*

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<sup>a</sup>This probably refers to the death of Thutmose II, the predecessor of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut. See Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 50.

<sup>b</sup>On the feet are engraved the titles of Senmut, and the two sides contain the one hundred and sixth and fifty-fourth chapters of the "Book of the Dead."

<sup>c</sup>Stela on the façade of Thutiy's tomb, in the southern part of Drah-abu-'n-Neggah on the west shore at Thebes. First seen by Lepsius, who published two lines (*Denkmäler*, III, 27, 10); later lost and rediscovered by the Marquis of Northampton, Newberry, and Spiegelberg, in 1898; published by Spiegelberg in *Recueil*, 22, 115-25, with translation.

steward, *Thutiy*," which accompany his figure.<sup>a</sup> Both figure and inscription have been carefully obliterated as in the tomb.

*Prayer for the King and Queen*

370. <sup>1</sup>Giving praise to Amon-[Re, king of] gods; adoring his majesty every day at his rising in the eastern heavens, for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of King Makere (Hatshepsut), given life forever, and King Menkheperre (Thutmose III), given life, stability, satisfaction, health, like Re, forever.

*Titles of Thutiy*

371. <sup>2</sup>Hereditary prince, count, overseer of the double silver-house, overseer of the double gold-house, great favorite of the Lord of the Two Lands, Thutiy.

<sup>3</sup>Hereditary prince, count, chief of prophets in Hermopolis, Thutiy.

<sup>4</sup>Hereditary prince, count, sealing the treasures in the king's-house, Thutiy.

<sup>5</sup>Hereditary prince, count, who gives instruction to<sup>b</sup> the craftsmen how to work, Thutiy.

<sup>6</sup>Hereditary prince, count, who reveals [to]<sup>c</sup> him who is skilled in work, Thutiy.

<sup>7</sup>[Hereditary prince, count] — — who gives regulations, Thutiy.

<sup>8</sup>[Hereditary prince, count], — — the head in indolence, Thutiy.

<sup>9</sup>Hereditary prince, count, [vigilant<sup>1</sup> when] commissions are commanded him, Thutiy.

<sup>10</sup>[Hereditary prince, count], executing the plans that are commanded him, Thutiy.

<sup>11</sup>[Hereditary prince, count], not forgetful of that which is commanded him, Thutiy.

<sup>a</sup>Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 79.

<sup>b</sup>Spiegelberg "anleitet;" lit., "who opens the face to, etc."

<sup>c</sup>The parallelism clearly demands "to" (*n*), thus:

(l. 5) . . . . . *sb* > *hr n wb* > *w r yr t*

(l. 6) . . . . . *wn [hr n] sš* > *m yrw t*

Spiegelberg has supplied the *hr* ("face") in the lacuna, but overlooks the *n* ("to"), necessarily common to both lines: "who opens the face to (two different words for "open," *sb* > and *wn*). Compare *wb* > -*yb* on Lateran obelisk (side lines, § 836).

<sup>12</sup>Hereditary prince, count, knowing the useful things that are established forever, Thutiy.

<sup>13</sup>Hereditary prince, count, favorite of Horus, lord of the palace, Thutiy.

<sup>14</sup>Hereditary prince, count, of sweeping step<sup>a</sup> in the court, Thutiy.

<sup>15</sup>Hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, overseer of every handicraft of the king, Thutiy.

<sup>16</sup>Hereditary prince, count, great companion of the Lord of the Two Lands, the excellent scribe, active with his hands, Thutiy.

*List of Works*

372. <sup>17</sup>He says: "I acted as chief (*r<sup>2</sup>-hr*), giving the directions; I led the craftsmen to work in<sup>b</sup> the works, in:<sup>c</sup>

*Second Nile-Barge*

373. <sup>18</sup>the great barge of the "Beginning-of-the-River" (named): "Userhet-Amon,"<sup>d</sup> wrought with gold of the best of the highlands; it illuminated the Two Lands with its rays.

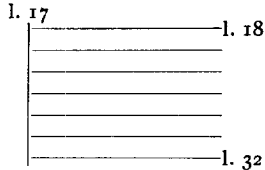
*Unknown Shrine*

374. <sup>19a</sup>a shrine, the horizon of the god, his great seat, of electrum of the best of the highlands, in work established for eternity.

<sup>20</sup>Seret-mat<sup>e</sup> (*s<sup>c</sup> r<sup>c</sup> t-m<sup>2</sup> c<sup>c</sup> t*); its august façade of electrum, great — — [Amon].

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "jar of foot."  
<sup>b</sup>That this is the proper rendering is shown by the words of Amenhotep, son of Hapi (§ 917, l. 38). Spiegelberg's rendering: "nach dem Vorbild der Arbeiten," demands a word ("Vorbild") not in the original, and makes Thutiy represent himself as merely working after the patterns of someone else.

<sup>c</sup>This line (17) is vertical, extending along the ends of ll. 18-32 like an embracing bracket, thus:



Before each of the fifteen works enumerated in ll. 18-32 we are to understand the last sentence of l. 17: "I led the craftsmen to work, etc., on" —. The preposition "on" must be changed to "in" according as a small monument or a temple follows, a difference not necessary in Egyptian.

<sup>d</sup>See § 32.  
<sup>e</sup>Lit., "sending up (exhibiting) truth," probably the name of a shrine.

*Works in Der el-Bahri*

375. <sup>21</sup>“Most Splendid”<sup>a</sup> the temple of myriads of years; its great doors fashioned of black copper,<sup>b</sup> the inlaid figures of electrum.

<sup>22</sup>Khikhet,<sup>c</sup> the great seat of Amon, his horizon in the west; all its doors of real cedar, wrought with bronze.

<sup>23</sup>the house<sup>d</sup> of Amon, his enduring horizon of eternity; its floor wrought with gold and silver; its beauty was like the horizon of heaven.

<sup>24</sup>a great shrine<sup>e</sup> of ebony of Nubia (*T ʿ-pd' t*); the stairs beneath it, high and wide, of pure alabaster of Hatnub.

<sup>25</sup>a palace<sup>f</sup> of the god, wrought with gold and silver<sup>g</sup>; it illuminated the faces (of people) with its brightness.

*Works in Karnak*

376. <sup>26</sup>great doors, high and wide in Karnak; wrought with copper and bronze; the inlaid figures<sup>h</sup> of electrum.

<sup>27</sup>magnificent necklaces, large amulets of the great seat, of electrum and every costly stone.

<sup>28</sup>two great obelisks;<sup>i</sup> their height was 108 cubits; wrought throughout with electrum; which filled the Two Lands with their brightness.

<sup>29</sup>an august gate (named): “Terror-of-Amon,”<sup>i</sup> fashioned of copper in one sheet; its likenesses likewise.

<sup>a</sup>Name of Der el-Bahri temple.

<sup>b</sup>The making of metal doors may be seen in the tomb of Rekhmire, ed. Newberry, Pl. XVIII.

<sup>c</sup>Meaning “*Shining of the horizon*” (*H c -y ʿ hwt*). According to Spiegelberg, this is another name for Der el-Bahri; it is, however, strange that the doors of this temple should be mentioned twice. Possibly the “*great doors*” of l. 21 are the huge entrance doors, and those of l. 22 the inner doors.

<sup>d</sup>Possibly some part of the Der el-Bahri temple.

<sup>e</sup>This is very probably the ebony shrine found in the Der el-Bahri temple (see § 126).

<sup>f</sup>A structure not met with elsewhere in the inscriptions. Its purpose and character are unknown.

<sup>g</sup>Read: *h'pw*.

<sup>h</sup>There is no doubt that these obelisks were in Karnak, but the height given far exceeds that of Hatshepsut's surviving obelisk in Karnak. The theory that the height of the pair has been combined in one datum receives some confirmation from the discovery that the two obelisks on the barge in Hatshepsut's relief lie end to end; but the total is 10 feet less than twice the height of the Karnak obelisk.

<sup>i</sup>There is a Karnak gate called “*Amon-Great-in-Terror*” (Mariette, *Karnak*, 38, a, 8); but none is known of the above name.



<sup>30</sup>many offering-tables of Amon in Karnak, of electrum without limit; of every costly stone —.

<sup>31</sup>magnificent chests,<sup>a</sup> wrought with copper and electrum; every vessel; linen; of every precious stone of the divine members.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>32</sup>a great seat, a shrine, built of granite; its durability is like the pillars of heaven; its work is a thing of eternity.

*Measuring of the Punt Tribute, Etc.*

**377.** <sup>33</sup>Behold, all the marvels and all the tribute of all countries, the best of the marvels of Punt, were offered<sup>c</sup> to Amon, lord of Karnak [for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of the King Makere (Hatshepsut), 'given life, stability, health.'] He (Amon) hath given the Two Lands, <sup>34</sup>(for) he knew that he (the king) would offer them to him. Now, I was the one who counted them, because I was so excellent in his heart; my praise was — with him; — — — — me more than his suite <sup>35</sup>— my 'integrity' of heart for him. He recognized me, as one doing that which is spoken, concealing my speech concerning the affairs of his palace. He appointed me to be leader of the palace, knowing that I was instructed in work. <sup>36</sup>— — — the double silver-house; every splendid costly stone in the temple of Amon in Karnak, filled with his tribute to their roof. The like has not happened since the time of the ancestors. His majesty commanded to make <sup>37</sup>—<sup>d</sup> of electrum of the best of the highlands, in the midst of the festival-hall; measured<sup>e</sup> by the heket for Amon in the presence of the whole land.

<sup>a</sup>A number of such chests are shown in the Punt reliefs (Navelle, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 80).

<sup>b</sup>The line has been cut wrong, was filled with stucco, and cut again; the stucco has fallen out, revealing the old mistakes and producing confusion.

<sup>c</sup>This is the offering scene in the Punt reliefs (Navelle, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 77), in which the inscription (§ 289) agrees strikingly with this. The official offering is "for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of the king," and is usually conducted by someone else (see § 57); hence the impersonal passive here.

<sup>d</sup>It is possible that the word "balance" should be supplied here, for the inscription over the balance in the scene of the weighing in the Punt reliefs (§ 280, although it does not mention electrum particularly) would indicate that the balance had been made especially for the purpose. In Papyrus Harris (IV, 256) the balance is also of electrum. Spiegelberg conjectures "eine grosse Haufe," but it is only the myrrh which appears in "heaps" in the Punt reliefs.

<sup>e</sup>One of the frequent pseudo-participles in building and similar inscriptions, referring back to nouns mentioned long before; it refers here to the tribute in l. 33.

Statement thereof: of electrum  $88\frac{1}{2}$  heket,<sup>a</sup> making: <sup>38</sup>— ( $x+$ )  $57\frac{1}{2}$  deben; for the life, prosperity, and health of the king [Makere (Hatshepsut), who is given] life forever.

*Conclusion*

**378.** I received (*snw*-) loaves from that which comes forth before Amon, lord of Karnak. All these things happened in truth; no deceitful utterance [came from my mouth]. <sup>39</sup>I — them; I was vigilant, my heart was excellent for my lord; that I might rest in the highland of the blessed who are in the necropolis; that my memory might abide on earth; that my soul might live with the lord of eternity; that he<sup>b</sup> may not be repelled <sup>40</sup>[by] the porters who guard the gates of the nether world; that he may come forth at the cry of the offerer<sup>c</sup> in my tomb of the necropolis; that he may [abound] in bread; that he may overflow with beer, that he may drink at the living water of the river. <sup>41</sup>May I go in and out like the glorious ones, who do that which their gods praise; may my name be goodly among the people who shall come<sup>d</sup> after years; may they give to me praise at the two seasons with the praise [— —].

INSCRIPTIONS OF PUEMRE

**379.** One of the important architects under Hatshepsut, and later under Thutmose III, was Puemre, who has left some references to his building activity, in his tomb inscriptions and on his statue.

I. STATUE INSCRIPTION<sup>e</sup>

*Construction of Ebony Shrine*

**380.** I inspected the erection of a great shrine of ebony, wrought with electrum, by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut), for her mother Mut, mistress of Ishru.

<sup>a</sup>Eleven four-fifths bushels.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., "the one who places the things."

<sup>b</sup>His soul.

<sup>d</sup>Read: *yw' ty' sn*.

<sup>e</sup>On a statue discovered in the temple of Mut, at Karnak; published by Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 315, 316.

*Uncertain Building*

381. I inspected the erection of a —<sup>a</sup> of fine white (lime)stone of Ayan by . . . . .<sup>b</sup>

II. TOMB INSCRIPTIONS<sup>c</sup>*Relief Scene*

382. 1. At the left sits Puemre receiving reports from six “*overseers of workmen*,” behind whom are two obelisks (see § 624). The inscriptions are as follows:

*Over Puemre*

383. 2. Inspection of the great and excellent monuments, which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre (Thutmose III) made for his father Amon, in Karnak,<sup>d</sup> of silver, gold, and every splendid, costly stone; by the hereditary prince, count, divine father, Puem[re].

*Before the Overseers*

384. 3. The approach of the officials, the chiefs of works; they say before this official, “Thy heart is glad because all the works have reached their positions for thee.”

*On the Obelisk<sup>e</sup>*

4. . . . .<sup>f</sup> Thutmose (III); [he] made (it) [as] his monument for his father, Amon-Re, that he might be given life forever.

*Relief Scene<sup>g</sup>*

385. 5. Puemre stands at the left, staff and baton in hand, receiving three lines of chiefs bringing tribute, which three scribes are recording.

<sup>a</sup>Possibly a doorway.

<sup>b</sup>Continued as in preceding paragraph.

<sup>c</sup>From his tomb at Abd el-Kurna; partially published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 39, *c*, and *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 243, 244. It is stated by Newberry (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 315, note) to be a peculiarly fine tomb, and he promises its full publication, which has not yet appeared.

<sup>d</sup>This shows that the obelisks were erected in Karnak.

<sup>e</sup>Only the base of the second obelisk has survived, and its inscription is of course lost.

<sup>f</sup>Horus-, throne-, and S<sup>2</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>-names.

<sup>g</sup>On the left wall; published by Dümichen, *Die Oasen der Libyschen Wüste*, Pl. I; see also pp. 22 f.

*Inscription before Puemre*

6. Reception of the tribute of the [products]<sup>1</sup> of the marshes of Asia, of Watet-Hor<sup>a</sup> and the tribute of the southern and northern oases; presentation for the king, to the temple — — — — — by the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion ————— Puemre, triumphant.

*Upper Row*

386. 7. <sup>b</sup>— the tribute of the ends of Asia.

*Middle Row*

8. <sup>b</sup>Recording the tribute of Watet-Hor.

9. <sup>c</sup>The chief of the vineyards of this god, Amon —.

*Lower Row*

10. <sup>b</sup>Recording the tribute of the oasis-region.

11. <sup>c</sup>The chiefs of the southern and northern oases.

*Fragment<sup>d</sup>*

387. 12. Inspection of the weighing of great heaps of myrrh —————, <sup>e</sup> ivory, ebony, electrum of Emu (<sup>c</sup> *m<sup>o</sup>w*), all sweet woods ————— <sup>e</sup> living captives, which his majesty brought from his victories ————— <sup>e</sup> Menkheperre (Thutmose III).

INSCRIPTIONS OF HAPUSENEB<sup>f</sup>

388. Hapuseneb, vizier under Hatshepsut, was architect of a royal tomb, probably that of Hatshepsut,<sup>g</sup> and super-

<sup>a</sup>*W<sup>o</sup>-tt-Hr*, "way of Horus" (in Sinuhe, it is written *w<sup>o</sup>-wt Hr*, "ways of Horus," but other texts write as above; read *W<sup>o</sup>ty't?*). As used in Sinuhe it must be on or near the Asiatic frontier of the Delta; but as it sends tribute, it must be in Asia. There was an Egyptian governor there in the Eighteenth Dynasty. His title was *ymy-r<sup>o</sup> ys't m W<sup>o</sup>-tt-Hr* (Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, I, 56, statue of <sup>o</sup> *nbny*).

<sup>b</sup>With the scribe.

<sup>c</sup>With the man (lower row, men) before the scribe.

<sup>d</sup>Accompanying a weighing scene not given by Dümichen.

<sup>e</sup>Unknown amount lost.

<sup>f</sup>Statue in the Louvre, published by Newberry (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXII, 31-36). I had also my own copy of the original, which added a few readings. Another statue, with unimportant inscriptions, Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 312-15. A further record of his services on a statue in Bologna has been hacked out by Hapuseneb's enemies. I was unable to secure any important data from a study of the original.

<sup>g</sup>Against my own former opinion (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXII, 94).

vised the construction of other royal monuments. His works are recorded on his Louvre statue, but the inscriptions are in a sadly fragmentary state, and the name of Thutmose II has been inserted over that of Hatshepsut, as the feminine endings show.<sup>a</sup>

Hapuseneb was the most powerful man in Hatshepsut's party, being not merely vizier, but also "*High Priest of Amon, and chief of the prophets of South and North*,"<sup>b</sup> besides a number of positions which he held in the treasury. He thus united in his person all the power of the administrative government with that of the strong sacerdotal party. The formation of the priesthood of the whole land into a coherent organization, with a single individual at its head, appears here for the first time. This new and great organization was thus through Hapuseneb enlisted on the side of Hatshepsut.

#### *Introduction*

**389.** <sup>1</sup>Made as a favor of the king's presence, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Okheperne]re ——— (Thutmose II), beloved of Amon-Re, king of all gods.

<sup>2</sup>The majesty (fem.!) of the King Okhepernere, given life, commanded ——— sandstone and with every splendid costly stone, <sup>3</sup>. . . . ——— for the hereditary prince, count, <sup>4</sup>great lord in the South, (*sm-*) priest of [Heliopolis], governor of the city, vizier, overseer of the tem[ples]. <sup>5</sup>Lo, his majesty was in his palace [— — —] of the king's-house, ———<sup>d</sup> [whom] <sup>6</sup>her (sic!) majesty — before millions; whom she magnified among the people, because of the greatness of the excellence of — over ———.

#### *Cliff-Tomb*

<sup>7</sup>He saith: "The good god, King Okhepernere, praised me [—] in the temple. [He appointed me] <sup>8</sup>to conduct the work upon his cliff-

<sup>a</sup>I found the cartouches also sunken, showing the effect of cutting out the first name.

<sup>b</sup>Louvre statue.

<sup>c</sup>Down the front of the legs.

<sup>d</sup>Here the name of Hapuseneb, of course, occurred, to which belong the following two relative clauses.

tomb (*hr t*), because of the great excellence of my plans. <sup>1</sup>My lord appointed me, — <sup>2</sup>King Okhepernere, and I was made chief (*Hry*) in Karnak, in the house of Amon, <sup>3</sup>in every <sup>1</sup>of Amon, <sup>4</sup>of gold. . . . .  
<sup>1</sup>I made <sup>11</sup>the mortuary offerings of Amon-Re, king of gods, before his temple in Karnak, in Hermonthis ——— <sup>12</sup>——— . . . . . He commanded that I should be ——— <sup>13</sup>——— should be appointed at the going out of ———.

*Various Works*

**390.** <sup>b14</sup>By the majesty (fem.) of the king, the Lord of the Two Lands, Okhepernere, the living.<sup>c</sup> Lo, I was leader (*hr p*) of the works [on] <sup>15</sup>——— [in Kar]nak, wrought with gold; <sup>16</sup>———chief, of silver, gold, and black copper; <sup>17</sup>———<sup>d</sup>wrought of <sup>1</sup>copper<sup>1</sup>, the great name upon it was of electrum;<sup>e</sup>

<sup>18</sup>—— [a shrine] of —<sup>f</sup> and ebony, wrought with gold; <sup>19</sup>—— a <sup>1</sup>chamber for<sup>1</sup> everything and that which is in its inclosure; <sup>20</sup>—— many offering-tables of gold, silver, and lapis lazuli, vessels, and necklaces; <sup>21</sup>the making of two doors of copper, of a single stone; the great name upon them being of electrum; <sup>22</sup>the erection of a temple of fine limestone of Ayan (named): “Thutmose II-is-Divine-of-Monuments;” <sup>23</sup>———<sup>g</sup> of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, malachite, every splendid, costly stone, and every sweet wood.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Amon has been restored, and perhaps where it does not belong.

<sup>b</sup>Right side; the arrangement of this and the following lines is the same as in the stela of Thutiy (§ 372, ll. 17 ff.; see note); l. 14 above is numbered 26 in the publication, and is to be understood before all the works enumerated, one in each of the following lines.

<sup>c</sup>Feminine participle!

<sup>e</sup>Not silver, as in the publication.

<sup>d</sup>This monument is a door.

<sup>f</sup>A kind of wood is broken out.

<sup>g</sup>The last three words are lost.

<sup>h</sup>Ll. 24 and 25 are broken off, and possibly still a third line.

## REIGN OF THUTMOSE III

### THE ANNALS<sup>a</sup>

391. This document, containing no less than 223 lines, is the longest and most important historical inscription in Egypt, and forms the most complete account of the military achievements of any Egyptian king. It demonstrates the injustice of the criticism that the Egyptians were incapable of giving a clear and succinct account of a military campaign, for it shows plainly that at least in this reign careful, systematic records were made and preserved in the royal archives,

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<sup>a</sup>They occupy the inside of the walls inclosing the corridor which surrounds the granite holy of holies of the great Karnak temple of Amon. These walls were built by Thutmose III, forming a large sandstone chamber (into which the granite holy of holies was finally inserted by Phillip Arrhidæus) about 25 meters in length from east to west, and 12 meters wide. The east end was left bare. The Annals, beginning at the northeast corner, read westward along the north wall, and southward along the west wall, terminating at the door in the center of this wall. At the other side of this door terminate also the presentation scenes and inscriptions (§§ 541 ff.) which read from east to west along the south wall, and northward along the west wall to the said door. Or, as Mariette says: “. . . . après avoir enjambé sur la paroi dans laquelle se trouve la porte d'entrée (in middle of east wall) vont se rejoindre en se terminant aux deux scènes d'adoration qui forment l'encadrement de cette porte” (in middle of west wall; scene, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 30, a. See Mariette, *Revue archéologique*, 1860<sup>2</sup>, I, N. S., 30). Of the Annals walls, he further says: “Elle se décompose en trois parties qui sont les suivantes:

“1<sup>o</sup>. Un texte de 19 lignes qui se termine par: *comme le soleil à toujours*, ce qui prouve que l'inscription n'allait pas plus loin. (voy. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, b; M. Lepsius n'a connu que 11 lignes; voy. aussi Birch, *The Annals of Thothmes III*, dans les *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXV, 121).

“2<sup>o</sup>. Un seconde chapitre de 110 lignes qu'une porte latérale (la porte nommée *Ra-men-Kheper Amen (ouer biou)* coupe en deux en laissant 67 lignes d'un côté (voy. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, 6, b; . . . . .), et 43 de l'autre côté (M. Lepsius n'en donne que 39; voy. *ibid.*, 32; . . . . .).

“3<sup>o</sup>. Un troisième chapitre de 94 lignes, dont 74 occupent la moitié ouest de la paroi nord à la suite des 110 lignes précédentes, et les 20 dernières sont gravées sur la paroi à gauche de la porte d'entrée. Ces 20 lignes sont publiées dans Lepsius, *Abth.*, III, Bl. 30, a. . . . . Quant aux 74 premières lignes, elles se décomposent en 54 lignes qui sont à Paris et qui commencent le chapitre (Lepsius, *Auswahl*, taf. XII; . . . . .), en 6 lignes qui suivent celles-ci et qui sont perdues, et enfin en

giving a detailed account of each invasion in language indicating the strategic operations of the army in each of its many campaigns.

392. The existence of such records is indicated in the account of the first campaign (ll. 11, 12, § 433):

Now, all that his majesty did to this city, to that wretched foe and his wretched army, was recorded each day by its (the day's) name under the title of: [—] recorded upon a roll of leather<sup>a</sup> in the temple of Amon to this day.

Elsewhere the king also speaks of “*recording for the future*” (§ 568, l. 22). We even know the official, named Thaneni, who kept these records. His tomb, on the west shore at Thebes, first noticed by Champollion, contains, among others, biographical inscriptions in which he states:<sup>b</sup>

14 autres lignes que M. Lepsius a publiées imparfaitement (Lepsius, *Denkmäler* III, 31, a; . . . .).”

Mariette then appends the following table summarizing the above:

1 <sup>er</sup> chapitre:	19 lignes	.	.	.	.	Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> , III, 31, b
2 <sup>e</sup> chapitre:	110 lignes	{	67 lignes	.	.	Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> , III, 31, b
			43 lignes	.	.	Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> , III, 32
			6 lignes perdues			
3 <sup>e</sup> chapitre:	94 lignes	{	14 lignes	.	.	Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> , III, 31, a
			20 lignes	.	.	Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> , III, 30, a
Total:	223 lignes					

Mariette gives 233 as the total, but refers to 223 (*loc. cit.*, 32).

They are in a very bad state of preservation, the upper courses having mostly disappeared, and with them the upper parts of the vertical lines of the inscription. The translation begins at the extreme northeast corner on the north wall and proceeds to the left.

The complete text of the Annals has never been edited together; being scattered through several publications (see conspectus below) none of which is accurate except Bissing. These texts must be supplemented and corrected by fragments in Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 154-58; Young, *Hieroglyphics*, 41-44; *Description de l'Égypte*, Pl. 38 (No. 26, 27, 29); Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, Pl. 56, Nos. 5-7; de Rougé, *Revue archéologique*, N. S., II, Pl. 16; Griffith, Corrections from an early copy (about 1825) by James Burton, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XXXIII, 125.

<sup>a</sup>On the use of leather, which was very common, see Birch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1871, 104 and 117; and Pietschmann, *Leder und Holz als Schreibmaterialien bei den Aegyptern* (from *Beiträge zur Theorie und Praxis des Buch- und Bibliothekswesens*, Heft 2).

<sup>b</sup>See Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 487, 831, 832; Brugsch, *Thesaurus* V, 1151.



"I followed <sup>12</sup>the Good God, Sovereign of Truth, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose III); I beheld the victories of the king which he won in every country. He brought the chiefs of Zahi as living prisoners to Egypt; he captured all their cities; he cut down their groves; no country remained — — —. I recorded the victories which he won in every land, putting (them) into writing according to the facts.

There is no doubt that we have here the author of some of the ephemerides referred to in the Annals.<sup>a</sup>

393. The character of these ephemerides space will not permit us to discuss here, further than to note that in the account of the first, or Megiddo, campaign (§§ 408 ff.) we have a somewhat full excerpt from them, in which the strategic details, like the line of march, the dispositions in battle, etc., are given with such clearness that it is possible to draw a plan of the field of battle. Unfortunately, this fulness in excerpting is confined to the Megiddo campaign, and even toward its end the abbreviation and omission<sup>b</sup> already begin. That the excerpts are much abbreviated is distinctly stated in the account of the seventh expedition (l. 13, § 472), with reference to the supplies furnished to the "*harbors*:"

<sup>a</sup>A comparison of the phrases and words used by Thaneni, above, with those of the accounts in the Annals makes this certain. This is evident even in the English. It is a question whether Thaneni could have been the author of the earliest campaign records, for he is still in active service under Thutmose IV (see *Recueil*, IV, 130), so that, supposing he began with the Megiddo campaign at twenty-five years of age, he would have been over eighty years old at the accession of Thutmose IV, under whom he completed a census of the people and live-stock in all Egypt (see Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 487), which is recorded as follows: "*Mustering of the whole land before his majesty, making an inspection of everybody, knowing the soldiers, priests, royal serfs, and all the craftsmen of the whole land, all the cattle, fowl, and small cattle, by the military scribe, beloved of his lord, Thaneni.*" On his wide powers, see also the inscription in Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 66, 2, a. On his tomb, see Bouriant, *Recueil*, XI, 156-59; Champollion, *ibid.*, I, 484-87, 831, 832; further inscriptions also by Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, CVII, D-CVIII, E.

<sup>b</sup>The omission in the later campaigns, evident anyway, may be clearly seen by a comparison with the narrative of Amenemhab (§§ 574 ff.).

“They (the supplies) remain in the daily register of the palace, the statements of them not being given in this inscription, in order not to multiply words.<sup>a</sup>

394. The excerpting scribe, being a priest, is more interested in the booty than the strategic operations which led to its capture, because this booty was largely given to his temples; hence he pares down his extracts to the meagerest statement of the king's whereabouts, adding a tolerably full summary of the booty and tribute. Indeed, it may be said that, although the king did command that this permanent record of his campaigns should be made on the temple wall, yet the entire record which we call the Annals serves as little more than an introduction to the list of feasts and offerings (§§ 541 ff.) by which the Annals are continued. They merely explain whence came the magnificent offerings to Amon.<sup>b</sup> It is therefore frequently impossible to distinguish between a serious campaign<sup>c</sup> like that of Megiddo and mere expeditions for inspection.

395. The conquests recorded in the Annals involved the most serious military projects undertaken by any Egyptian king—projects so successfully carried out by Thutmose III that he is to be regarded as unquestionably the greatest military leader of ancient Egypt. Thutmose I had been able to march to the Euphrates without meeting any serious

<sup>a</sup>This register of daily supplies is, of course, not the ephemerides of Thaneni; but the fact of excerpting is equally clear, nevertheless. This interesting statement finds a parallel in the tomb of Hui, where it is said concerning his praises: “*One mentions them (one) time (each) by its name, (for) they are too numerous to put them in writing*” (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 117 = *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 302).

<sup>b</sup>There is on this same wall a relief showing Thutmose III presenting to Amon a magnificent array of costly gifts in gold and silver. Many of the objects mentioned in the Annals may be seen here (Champollion, *Monuments*, IV, 316, 317; and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1185 ff.). The whole scene is of the greatest interest (§§ 543 ff.); it also contains the two obelisks of § 624.

<sup>c</sup>The word regularly used (*wḏy' t*) really means “*expedition*.”

coalition of his foes, so far as we know. The results of his conquest had not been permanent; that is, they could not endure indefinitely without further campaigning, especially in the extreme north. This Hatshepsut had not done, although the Lebanon or a part of it was still held in the year 15. Then the kingdom and city of Kadesh, on the upper Orontes, quietly organized a formidable revolt, which united all Egypt's Asiatic enemies from Sharuhén on the south to the Euphrates on the north. It is clear also that the powerful kingdom of Mitanni assisted this general revolt with men and means. For the Mitannian king naturally feared to see the armies of the Pharaoh in Naharin at his very threshold. Early in the year 23, Thutmose III met and overthrew the allied Syrians at Megiddo, which he besieged and captured, and although he marched northward to the southern end of Lebanon, he was far from able to reach and punish Kadesh. But he established a fortress in the southern Lebanon, to prevent another southward advance by the king of Kadesh, and then returned home.

396. Of the next eighteen years the summers of sixteen were spent campaigning in Syria, making a total of seventeen campaigns. The next three campaigns (2, 3, and 4) are meagerly recorded,<sup>b</sup> but in the year 29, on the fifth campaign, we find the king plainly making preparations for the conquest of Kadesh, by first securing the coast and getting possession of the harbors of Phœnicia. He then returned to Egypt for the first time by water, and hereafter the army is regularly transported to Syria by the fleet.

397. The next year, therefore, the king disembarked his

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<sup>a</sup>The decree of Harmhab incidentally shows that Thutmose III was back in Egypt each year by the time of the feast of Opet (I, 58, ll. 29-31), early in October. See Breasted, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 39, 60, 61.

<sup>b</sup>The record of the fourth is lost.

army in some Phœnician harbor, and marched upon Kadesh, which he captured and chastised, returning then to the coast at Simyra, and going north to punish Arvad again. The foothold in north Syria necessary for an advance into the Euphrates country had now been gained, and Kadesh, the dangerous enemy who would have threatened his rear on such a march, had been subdued. The next year (31) was therefore spent in equipping the Phœnician harbors with supplies and quelling any smouldering embers of rebellion there.

**398.** It was not until the second year (33) after these preparations that the great king landed in Phœnicia for his march into the heart of Naharin. Already in the year 24, as a result of the great Megiddo victory, the king of Assur had sent presents, but now the Egyptians were again to plunder the Euphrates countries—a feat which had not been repeated since Thutmose I. The long and arduous march<sup>a</sup> was successfully made, the king of Mitanni, who had, with Kadesh, been the heart and soul of the Syrian resistance, was totally defeated, Carchemish<sup>b</sup> was reached and taken, the Euphrates was crossed, and at last Thutmose III sets up his boundary tablet, marking the northern limits of his empire, beside that of his father, Thutmose I. Before he has left the region the envoys from the king of Babylon and the king of the Hittites, having doubtless started at the news of his invasion, appear with their gifts. On his return to the coast the king arranges that the princes of Lebanon shall keep the harbors supplied with all provisions.

**399.** The conquest of all Syria has consumed exactly ten

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<sup>a</sup>On the arrangements of Thutmose III's herald Intef, to provide the king with a dwelling, supplies, etc., on such marches, see the Stela of Intef (§§ 771, ll. 24-27).

<sup>b</sup>Amenemhab, § 583.

years, but revolt has still to be reckoned with. Only a voyage of inspection along the Phœnician coast was required in the next year (34), but the revolt of the king of Mitanni called Thutmose into Naharin in the following year, and after a decisive defeat the people of Naharin were again brought under the Egyptian yoke. The records of the next two years (36 and 37) are lost, but in the year 38 we find the king punishing the princes of the southern Lebanon region, in order to protect the road north between the Lebanons. On this occasion, for the first time, he receives gifts from the prince of Cyprus, and also Arrapachitis, the later Assyrian province.

400. The punishment of the raiding Bedwin of southern Palestine forms a preliminary to the usual journey of inspection in the next year (39), and the record of the next two years (39 and 40) is too fragmentary to show more than that the tribute was paid as usual.

401. Finally, the long series of revolts in Syria culminates in a last desperate rebellion, in which Thutmose's arch-enemy, the source of most of his trouble in Syria, Kadesh, is the leader. Naharin sends allies, and Tunip likewise, so that the whole of north Syria, at least inland, is again combined against Thutmose. In the year 42 he proceeded first against Tunip, and after its subjugation besieged Kadesh, which was finally captured. Thus the nearly twenty years of Syrian campaigning was concluded, as it had begun, by the humiliation of Kadesh, which during all that time had been Egypt's thorn in the flesh. This last downfall was final; Kadesh no longer stirred revolt in Syria,<sup>a</sup> and Thutmose III could relax his ceaseless efforts continued during seventeen campaigns.

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<sup>a</sup>When the campaigns of the Nineteenth Dynasty begin in northern Syria, it is Tunip, the old ally of Kadesh, that plays the leading rôle.

402. The extent of these campaigns is further indicated by two lists of conquered Asiatic cities left by Thutmose III in the great Karnak temple. Those belonging to the first campaign, preserved in triplicate,<sup>a</sup> are 119 in number, and embrace, in general, the region from the northern limits of Palestine southward an uncertain distance into Judea (southern Judea being at that time already under Egyptian control; cf. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 144, 154, 155), as well as Damascus and its district. Many Old Testament names have been recognized in it. It is introduced by the superscription:

List of the countries of Upper Retenu which his majesty shut up in the city of Megiddo (*My-k-ty*) the wretched, whose children his majesty brought as living prisoners to the city of Suhen-em-Opet,<sup>b</sup> on his first victorious campaign, according to the command of his father Amon, who led him to excellent ways.

The third copy of the list (Mariette, *Karnak*, 19) has the same superscription, with the variant:

to the city of Thebes, in order to fill the storehouse<sup>c</sup> of his father Amon, [presider over] Karnak, on his first, etc.

The second copy of the list has a different superscription:

<sup>a</sup>The first copy is on the west side of the Pylon VI, north end; the other two are, one on the north side and the other on the south side of the Pylon VIII, Baedeker's Karnak, or the VIIth, Mariette, *Karnak*). Text: *ibid.*, 17-20; important corrections by Golénischeff, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XX, Pls. V and VI, and more fully by Maspero, *Recueil*, VII, 94-97. Treatments by Maspero, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XXIX, 119-31, and Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 156-64, 144, and 154 f.; less critical Tomkins, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, IX, 257-80 (with text).

<sup>b</sup>*Swhn m Yp't* means "Castle (or Prison) in Thebes," a place of confinement or dwelling for the foreign princes residing in Thebes as hostages. In the sixth campaign (§ 467) the purpose of thus keeping them is given.

<sup>c</sup>It is not infrequently distinctly stated that such disposal was made of these children; cf. Building Stela of Amenhotep III, front, ll. 6, 7 (§ 884), and Papyrus of Capture of Joppa, III, ll. 11, 12, where, after the fall of the city, Thutiy says to Thutmose III: "Let people come, to take them as captives; fill thou the house of thy father Amon-Re, . . . . with male and female slaves."

All inaccessible lands of the marshes of Asia,<sup>a</sup> which his majesty brought as living captives — — — they had never been trodden by the other kings, beside his majesty —,

a title which would indicate that some of the places belong farther north than the limits above indicated.

403. The second list<sup>b</sup> embraced 248 names (of which many are lost) of cities in northern Syria and also perhaps as far east as the Chaboras River,<sup>c</sup> but our geographical knowledge of this region is too meager as yet to identify any number of the places included.

404. In addition to these materials the great list of "Feasts and Offerings from the Conquests" (§§ 547 ff.), the Building Inscription of the Karnak Ptah-Temple (§§ 609 ff.), the king's obelisks (§§ 629 ff.), and his "Hymn of Victory" (§§ 655 ff.), furnish important references to the campaigns. The great portal of Pylon VII at Karnak also bore a long recital of his wars, of which only scanty fragments have survived (§§ 593 ff.).

405. The tombs of the contemporary officials in the Theban cemetery also contain very valuable supplementary material. The career of Amenemhab, the most important of these, is translated below (§§ 574 ff.). Next to these are the representations in the tomb of Rekhmire (§§ 760 ff.), which show many of the objects mentioned in the tribute lists of the Annals, besides a reference to Thutmose III's campaigns (§ 755). The tomb of Menkheperreseneb shows

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<sup>a</sup>See also the "Hymn of Victory" (§§ 655 ff.).

<sup>b</sup>On the Pylon VIII at Karnak as an appendix to the third copy of the first list (Baedeker's *Karnak*; seventh in Mariette, *Karnak*; cf. B, 252, Mariette). Text: Mariette, *Karnak*, 20, 21; Tomkins, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, IX, Pls. III, IV; the best treatment, Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 286-92; Tomkins, *ibid.*, IX, 227-54, depends too much on modern names for his identifications.

<sup>c</sup>See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 287.

the tribute of Asia (§§ 772 ff.). The tomb of Puemere contains a relief showing the reception of tribute from “*the ends of Asia*” (§ 385), and that of Imnezeh<sup>a</sup> (*Y ʿ m-ndḥ*) a similar scene of tribute from “*Retenu the wretched*.” Finally, among the most interesting of these contemporaries is the court herald, Intef, who tells how he preceded Thutmose III on the march and prepared the Syrian palaces for his reception (§§ 771, ll. 24-27).

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#### CONSPECTUS OF CAMPAIGNS

#### 406. FIRST CAMPAIGN, YEARS 22 AND 23 (§§ 408-43, 593 ff., 616)

(Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, b, ll. 1-67; *ibid.*, III, 32, ll. 1-32=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1153-66, ll. 1-79, and 1-21; Bissing's unpublished collation.<sup>b</sup>)

Battle of Megiddo; captured: Megiddo, Yenoam, Nuges, Herenkeru; built fort in Lebanon; tribute and booty of these.

#### [SECOND CAMPAIGN] YEAR 24 (§§ 444-49)

(Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 32, ll. 32-39=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1166-68, ll. 21-28; Bissing's unpublished collation.)

Tribute of Assur and Retenu.

#### [THIRD CAMPAIGN] YEAR 25 (§§ 450-52)

(Mariette, *Karnak*, Pls. 28 and 31.)

Plants of Retenu.

#### [FOURTH CAMPAIGN, YEARS 26-28] (§ 453)

Lost.

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<sup>a</sup>*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, 356 f.

<sup>b</sup>This is incorporated in the Berlin Dictionary, and I owe to von Bissing my sincere thanks for permission to use it.



## FIFTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 29 (§§ 454-62)

(Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, ll. 1-7; Mariette, *Karnak*, 13, ll. 1-6=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1168-70, ll. 1-7=Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 1-7.)

Second caption; campaign in Zahi; capture of "W<sup>o</sup> r——1"; sacrifice to Amon; spoil of city; capture of Arvad; list of tribute received "on this expedition;" sailed home.

## SIXTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 30 (§§ 463-67)

(Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, ll. 7-9; Mariette, *Karnak*, 13, ll. 7, 8=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1170, 1171, ll. 7-9=Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 7-9.)

Capture of Kadesh; tribute of Retenu; punishment of Arvad.

## [SEVENTH CAMPAIGN], YEAR 31 (§§ 468-75)

(Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, ll. 9-17; Mariette, *Karnak*, 13, ll. 9-16=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1171-73, ll. 9-17=Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 9-17.)

Capture of Ullaza; tribute of Retenu; supplies for the harbors; harvest of Retenu; tribute of Genebteyew; impost of Wawat.

## [EIGHTH CAMPAIGN], YEAR 33 (§§ 476-87)

(Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, ll. 17-29; Mariette, *Karnak*, 13, ll. 17-28=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1173-75, ll. 17-29=Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 17-29.)

Conquest of Naharin; battle in Naharin; the booty (capture of Carchemish); crossing of Euphrates; boundary tablets; tribute of Naharin, supplies for the harbors; tribute of Babylon; tribute of Hittites; Punt expedition; impost of Wawat.

## [NINTH CAMPAIGN], YEAR 34 (§§ 488-95)

(Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, ll. 29-37; Mariette, *Karnak*, 13, ll. 29-35=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1175-77, ll. 29-37=Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 29-37.)

Surrender of Zahi towns; tribute of Retenu; supplies for the harbors; tribute of Cyprus; impost of Kush and Wawat.

TENTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 35 (§§ 496-503)

(Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, ll. 37-41; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, a, ll. 1-3=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1177, 1178, ll. 37-44, and l. 2=Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 37-44.)

Revolt of Naharin; battle in Naharin, king's booty; army's booty; impost of Kush and Wawat.

[ELEVENTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 36] (§ 504)

Lost.

[TWELFTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 37] (§ 505)

Lost.

[THIRTEENTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 38] (§§ 506-15)

(Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, a, ll. 3-10=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1178-81, ll. 2-9.)

Capture of Nuges; booty of same; tribute of Syria; harbor supplies; tribute of Cyprus and Arrapakhitis; products of Punt; impost of Kush and Wawat.

FOURTEENTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 39 (§§ 516-19)

(Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, a, ll. 10-14=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1181-1182, ll. 9-13.)

Defeat of Shasu; Syrian tribute; harbor supplies.

[FIFTEENTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 40] (§§ 520-23)

(Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 30, a, ll. 1-4=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1182, ll. 1-4; photograph by Borchardt.)

Tribute of Cyprus; impost of Kush and Wawat.

[SIXTEENTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 41] (§§ 524-27)

(Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 30, a, ll. 4-10=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1182, 1183, ll. 4-10; photograph by Borchardt.)

Tribute of Retenu; tribute of Hittites; impost of Kush and Wawat.

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

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

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

## I. INTRODUCTION

407. <sup>1</sup>Horus: "Mighty Bull, Shining in Thebes; ————.

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

II. FIRST CAMPAIGN (YEAR 23)<sup>g</sup>

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

<sup>a</sup>Omitted by Brugsch's text.

<sup>b</sup>The lacking portion of the conventional fivefold titulary may be found *passim*.

<sup>c</sup>Restored from Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, second horizontal line (§ 455).

<sup>d</sup>Really temple wall; more often this word (*wḏ*) means a stela or slab of stone set up by itself.

<sup>e</sup>This line is unfortunately also broken away in Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII; the restoration is probable, but conjectured.

<sup>f</sup>Restored from Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, second horizontal line.

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

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

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

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<sup>a</sup>§§ 541 ff.

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

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

410. In less than 148 days, roughly five months, Thutmose III fought the Battle of Megiddo, completely invested with a wall the powerful fortress of Megiddo itself, and captured it; marched northward seventy-five miles to the Lebanon region, captured three cities, and built a fortress there; completed the return to the Delta coast and the voyage up-river to Thebes; and celebrated his first feast of victory there. The entire campaign from the departure from Tharu to the arrival in Thebes lasted a maximum of 175 days; that is, in five months and twenty-five days from the day on which he left Tharu he was celebrating his great Feast of Amon at Thebes. Fortunately, we are able to locate this period approximately in the astronomical calendar and tell in what month he went and returned.<sup>a</sup> (See § 409,

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

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

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

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

413. <sup>12</sup>The king himself, he led the way of his army, mighty at its head, like a flame of fire, the king who wrought with his sword. He went forth, none <sup>13</sup>like him, slaying the barbarians, smiting Retenu (*Rtnw-t, sic!*), bringing their princes as living captives, their chariots wrought <sup>14</sup>with gold, bound to their horses. The countries of Tehenu do obeisance because of the fame of his majesty, with their tribute upon

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

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

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

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

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

*At the Frontier in Tharu*

415. Year 22, fourth month of the second season (eighth month), on the twenty-fifth<sup>a</sup> day [his majesty was in] 7Tharu (*T<sup>2</sup>-rw*) on the first victorious expedition to [extend] <sup>8</sup>the boundaries of Egypt with might

*Revolt in Asia*

416. <sup>9</sup>Now, (at) that period<sup>b</sup> [the Asiatics had fallen into] <sup>10</sup>dis-agreement,<sup>1</sup> each man [fighting<sup>c</sup>] against [This neighbor] ————. <sup>11</sup>Now, it happened [that the tribes<sup>1</sup> — — the people, who were there <sup>12</sup>in the city of Sharuhen (*S<sup>2</sup>-r<sup>2</sup>-h<sup>2</sup>-n*); behold, from Yeraza<sup>d</sup> (*Y-r<sup>2</sup>-d<sup>2</sup>*) <sup>13</sup>to the marshes of the earth,<sup>d</sup> (they) had begun to revolt against his majesty.

*Arrival in Gaza, Feast of Coronation*

417. Year 23, first (month) of the third season (ninth month), on the fourth day,<sup>e</sup> the day of the feast of the king's coronation, (he arrived) <sup>14</sup>at the city, <sup>f</sup>the possession of the ruler,<sup>f</sup> Gaza<sup>g</sup> (*G<sup>2</sup>-d<sup>2</sup>-tw*).

<sup>a</sup>The day is lacking in Lepsius and Brugsch, but is preserved by Champollion's early copy (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 154).

<sup>b</sup>Or: "Now, at the time of these [events, during years]," there are traces of the last two words (*m rnp' wt*) at the end, before the lacuna.

<sup>c</sup>Restored from the determinative.

<sup>d</sup>That is, from northwestern Judea to beyond the Euphrates.

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

<sup>f</sup>This is possibly a proper name, made up of a verb (in relative form) and a noun, meaning: "Which the ruler seized" (*mh' n p<sup>2</sup> hk<sup>2</sup> ?*).

<sup>g</sup>About 125 miles from the starting-point in nine days.

*Departure from Gaza*

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

*Arrival at Yehem*

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

*Council of War*

420. [His majesty] ordered <sup>19a</sup>a consultation with his valiant troops, saying as follows: "That [wretched] enemy, [the chief] <sup>20</sup>of Kadesh (*Kd-šw*), has come and entered into Megiddo (*My-k-ty*); he [is there] <sup>21</sup>at this moment. He has gathered to himself the chiefs of [all] the countries [which are] <sup>22</sup>on the water of Egypt,<sup>b</sup> and as far as Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*), consisting of [the countries] of <sup>23</sup>the Kharu (*H<sup>2</sup>-rw*), the Kode (*Kdw*), their horses, their troops, ————— <sup>24</sup>thus he speaks, 'I have arisen to [fight against his majesty] <sup>25</sup>in Megiddo (*My-k-ty*).<sup>c</sup> Tell ye me —————.'<sup>c</sup>

*Advice of the Officers*

421. They spoke in the presence of his majesty, "How is it, that [we] should go upon this road, <sup>27</sup>which threatens to be narrow? While they [come] <sup>28</sup>and say that the enemy is there waiting, [hold]ing the <sup>29</sup>way against a multitude. Will not horse come behind [horse<sup>d</sup> and man behind<sup>e</sup>] <sup>30</sup>man likewise? Shall our [advance-guard] <sup>31</sup>be fighting while our [rear-guard]<sup>f</sup> is yet standing yonder <sup>32</sup>in Aruna (*c<sup>2</sup>-rw-n<sup>2</sup>*) not having fought? There are yet two (other) roads: <sup>33</sup>one road, behold, it [will] — us, for it comes forth at <sup>34</sup>Taanach

<sup>a</sup>The king of Kadesh.

<sup>b</sup>An idiom for "dependent upon" or "subject to."

<sup>c</sup>The king's demand upon his officers is for information concerning the road, as the subsequent developments show.

<sup>d</sup>See § 424, l. 55.

<sup>e</sup>The end is the restoration of Maspero (*Recueil*, II, 52) suggested probably by that of Brugsch (*Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 155).

<sup>f</sup>Maspero, *Recueil*, II, 52; the determinative of men is still preserved after "rear-guard."



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

*Decision of the King*

422. Then —<sup>b</sup> <sup>38</sup>messengers<sup>1</sup> concerning [this] design <sup>39</sup>which they had uttered, in view of what had been said <sup>1</sup>by<sup>1</sup> the majesty of the Court, L. P. H.: “I [swear], as Re loves me, as my father Amon, favors me, as my [nostrils] are rejuvenated with satisfying life, my majesty will proceed upon this road of <sup>42</sup>Aruna (*c-2-rw-n*). Let him who will among you, go upon those <sup>43</sup>roads ye have mentioned, and let him who will <sup>44</sup>among you, come in the following of my majesty. Shall they think among those <sup>45</sup>enemies whom Re detests: ‘Does his majesty proceed upon <sup>46</sup>another road? He begins to be fearful of us,’ so will they think.”

*Submission of the Officers*

423. <sup>47</sup>They spoke before his majesty: “May thy father Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak, <sup>1</sup>grant thee life<sup>1</sup>. <sup>48</sup>Behold, we are the following of thy majesty in every place, whither [thy majesty] proceedeth; <sup>49</sup>as the servant is behind [his] master.”

*Departure from Yehem*

424. <sup>50</sup>[Then his majesty] commanded the entire army [to march] ——— [upon] <sup>51</sup>that road<sup>c</sup> which threatened to be [narrow].<sup>d</sup> His majesty <sup>52</sup>swore, saying: “None shall go forth [in the way] <sup>53</sup>before my majesty, in ———.” <sup>54</sup>He went forth at the head of his army himself, <sup>1</sup>showing [the way] <sup>55</sup>by his (own) footsteps;<sup>e</sup> horse behind<sup>f</sup> [horse], [This majesty]<sup>g</sup> being <sup>56</sup>at the head of his army.

<sup>a</sup>The same word (*st*) is applied to the road upon which the great block for the el-Bersheh colossus (I, 696, l. 1) was brought. It means “inaccessible” or “difficult;” it is also used by Thutmose III of the celestial road of the sun (§ 141).

<sup>b</sup>Verb lost.

<sup>c</sup>Text has an Amon wrongly restored here.

<sup>d</sup>Cf. l. 27, above.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., “steps of marching.”

<sup>f</sup>The army here enters the mountain pass.

<sup>g</sup>Or possibly: “[the vanguard,] being of the best of his army.”

*Arrival at Aruna*

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

*Battle in the Mountains*

426. [The enemy] went forth ———— <sup>62</sup>in numerous battle array ————. <sup>63</sup>The southern wing was in Taa[nach] (*Tꜣꜥꜣ* [-*n ꜣ-k ꜣ*]), <sup>64</sup>the northern wing was on the ground south of ————. <sup>d</sup> <sup>65</sup>His majesty cried out to them before ———— <sup>66</sup>they fell; behold, that wretched foe<sup>e</sup> ———— <sup>67</sup>——— <sup>68</sup>——— of [the city of]<sup>f</sup> <sup>69</sup>Aruna (ꜥꜣ-*rw-n*).

<sup>a</sup>Perhaps we should supply: “*life, prosperity, and health*,” as in Ramses II’s march to Kadesh (l. 1); but above, the said phrase is used after “*tent*,” to express the adjective “*royal*,” and would hardly appear twice in the same phrase.

<sup>b</sup>Three days after the arrival at Yehem, Aruna, lying in the midst of the mountains, is reached. Here they spent the night of the nineteenth and marched on the twentieth (l. 58).

<sup>c</sup>Restored from § 430, l. 3.

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

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

<sup>f</sup>There is a loss of five lines here, before l. 69, but it is not indicated in the publications.

*Danger of the Rear*

427. Now, the rear of the victorious army of his majesty was at the city of <sup>70</sup>Aruna (<sup>c</sup><sup>2</sup>-rw-n<sup>2</sup>), the front was going forth to the valley of —;<sup>a</sup> <sup>71</sup>they filled the opening of this valley. Then [they] said in the presence of his majesty, L. P. H.: <sup>72</sup>“Behold, his majesty goeth forth with his victorious army, and it has filled <sup>73</sup>the hollow of the valley; let our victorious lord hearken to us this time<sup>b</sup> and <sup>74</sup>let our lord protect for us the rear of his army and his people. <sup>75</sup>Let the rear of this army come forth to us behind; then shall they (also) fight against <sup>76</sup>these barbarians; then we shall not (need to) take thought for the rear of our <sup>77</sup>army.” His majesty halted outside and waited <sup>78</sup>there, protecting the rear of his victorious army.

*Exit from the Mountains*

428. Behold, when the front had reached the exit upon this road, the shadow had turned,<sup>c</sup> and when <sup>d1</sup>his majesty arrived at the south of Megiddo (*My-k-ty*) on<sup>e</sup> the bank of the brook of Kina (*Ky-n*<sup>2</sup>), the seventh hour<sup>f</sup> was turning, (measured) by the sun.

*Camp in Plain of Megiddo*

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

<sup>a</sup>Proper name ending in *n*.

<sup>b</sup>Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 106. <sup>c</sup>It was past midday.

<sup>d</sup>A new enumeration of twenty-eight longer lines begins here.

<sup>e</sup>The army here emerges in safety upon the plain in the afternoon of the twentieth, and camps unmolested that night, to go forth to battle in the morning of the twenty-first.

<sup>f</sup>About one o'clock P. M. <sup>g</sup>The text has the impersonal “one.”

<sup>h</sup>See § 341, l. 17, for the same rare phrase.

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

*Battle of Megiddo*

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

*The Spoil*

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

<sup>a</sup>Restored from § 428, l. 1.

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

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "with or in the faces of fear."

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "one."

<sup>e</sup>Megiddo. The two kings of Kadesh and Megiddo are meant.

<sup>f</sup>Read *m ys-h > k* (Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 700), and compare the same phrase year 31, l. 10 (§ 470).

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

#### *The Rebuke*

432. [Then spake his majesty <sup>1</sup>on hearing<sup>1</sup> the words of his army, saying: “Had ye captured [this city] afterward, behold, I would have given ———— <sup>e</sup> Re this day; because every chief of every country that has revolted is within it; and because it is the capture of a thousand cities, this capture of Megiddo (*My-k-ty*). Capture ye <sup>1</sup>mightily, mightily<sup>f</sup> — — 9———.”

#### *Siege of Megiddo*

433. [His majesty commanded<sup>1</sup>] the <sup>1</sup>officers<sup>1</sup> of the troops to go — —, [<sup>1</sup>assigning to<sup>1</sup>] each his place. They measured this city, [<sup>1</sup>surrounding it<sup>1</sup>] with an inclosure, walled about with green timber of all their pleasant trees.<sup>h</sup> His majesty himself was upon the fortification east of this city, [<sup>1</sup>inspect]ing<sup>1</sup> <sup>10</sup>———. <sup>i</sup>

It was [wa]lled about with a thick wall — — — <sup>j</sup> with its thick wall.<sup>k</sup> Its name was made: “Menkheperre (Thutmose III)-is-the-Surrounder-

<sup>a</sup>About a quarter of l. 7 is lacking.

<sup>b</sup>Or: “*the — of his majesty were exalting, etc.*”

<sup>c</sup>Cut off from the slain.

<sup>d</sup>About one-fourth of l. 8 is lacking.

<sup>e</sup>Three or four words are lacking, probably: “[*very many offerings to*] *Re this day,*” or something similar.

<sup>f</sup>The lacuna doubtless contained the exhortation to begin the siege.

<sup>g</sup>Ll. 9–19 generally lack about one-third their length at the beginning.

<sup>h</sup>Thutmose III describes the trees in his own garden of Amon, in the same way (§ 567). Possibly fruit trees are meant, as the word rendered “*pleasant*” (*bnr*) literally means “*sweet*.”

<sup>i</sup>About one-third line lacking.

<sup>j</sup>Five or six words are lacking.

<sup>k</sup>The same thick wall is also referred to in the building inscription of the Ptah-temple (§ 616, l. 11) and the fragment on this campaign (§ 596, l. 7).

of-the-Asiatics." People were stationed to watch over the tent of his majesty; to whom it was said: "Steady of heart! Watch ———." <sup>a</sup> His majesty <sup>11</sup>[commanded, saying: "Let not <sup>b</sup>one among them [come forth] outside, beyond this wall, except to come out in order to <sup>1</sup>knock at the door of their fortification." <sup>c</sup>

Now, all that his majesty did to this city, to that wretched foe <sup>d</sup> and his wretched army, was recorded on (each) day by its (the day's) name, under the title of: "1 — — — e" <sup>12</sup> ———. <sup>f</sup> Then it was recorded upon a roll of leather in the temple of Amon this day. <sup>g</sup>

#### *Surrender of Megiddo*

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

<sup>a</sup>Cf. § 429, l. 2; but there is not room here to restore as there indicated. So Maspero, *Recueil*, II, 145.

<sup>b</sup>The lacuna is slightly longer than this.

<sup>c</sup>Probably meaning to offer themselves as prisoners (Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 108).

<sup>d</sup>The king of Kadesh.

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

<sup>f</sup>Almost one-third line lacking.

<sup>g</sup>The royal secretary Thaneni was apparently the one who kept this record (see § 392).

<sup>h</sup>Lit., "to smell the earth."

<sup>i</sup>Almost one-third line lacking.

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

<sup>k</sup>Almost one-third line lacking.

*Spoil of Megiddo*

435. ———<sup>a</sup> 340 living prisoners; 83 hands; 2,041 mares;<sup>b</sup> 191 foals; 6 stallions; — young —; a chariot, wrought with gold, (its) [pole<sup>1</sup> of gold, belonging to that foe;<sup>c</sup> a beautiful chariot, wrought with gold, belonging to the chief of <sup>15</sup>[Megiddo];<sup>d</sup> ———<sup>e</sup> 892 chariot[s] of his wretched army; total, 924<sup>f</sup> (chariots); a beautiful [suit<sup>1</sup> of bronze armor, belonging to that foe;<sup>g</sup> a beautiful [suit<sup>1</sup> of bronze armor, belonging to the chief of Megiddo (*M-k-ty*); ———<sup>h</sup> 200 suits of armor, belonging to his wretched army; 502 bows; 7 poles of (*mry*) wood, wrought with silver, belonging to the tent of that foe. Behold, the army of [his majesty] took <sup>16</sup>———<sup>i</sup> 297 —, 1,929 large cattle, 2,000 small cattle,<sup>j</sup> 20,500 white small cattle.<sup>k</sup>

*Plunder of the Lebanon Tripolis, Megiddo, Etc.*

436. List of that which was afterward taken by the king, of the household goods of that foe who was in [the city of] Yenoam (*Y-nw-c<sup>2</sup>-mw*), in Nuges (*Yn-yw-g-s<sup>2</sup>*), and in Herenkeru (*Hw-r-n-k<sup>2</sup>-rw*),<sup>1</sup>

<sup>a</sup>The determinative sign of a foreign country is the first sign at the end of the lacuna before the list.

<sup>b</sup>This word (*ssmw<sup>1</sup>t*) I have elsewhere translated "horses" for what seem to me sufficient reasons, but in this context we have a clear distinction between mares and stallions.

<sup>c</sup>The king of Kadesh.

<sup>d</sup>Restored from the list of armor following.

<sup>e</sup>About one-third line lacking.

<sup>f</sup>There must be 30 chariots therefore, mentioned in the lacuna, which would probably be those of the officers or other chiefs.

<sup>g</sup>The king of Kadesh.

<sup>h</sup>Here followed the armor of the officers, as in the case of the chariots above.

<sup>i</sup>Almost one-third line lacking.

<sup>j</sup>Sheep?

<sup>k</sup>Goats?

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

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

*Harvest of the Plain of Megiddo*

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

<sup>a</sup>About one-third line lacking.

<sup>b</sup>Brugsch, 39.

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

<sup>d</sup>About one-third line lacking; the numeral belonging to the preceding objects is lost in this lacuna.

<sup>e</sup>Hebrew, כֶּלֶח.

<sup>f</sup>Restored from the 87 in l. 17.

<sup>g</sup>191.1 pounds, total of gold in the preceding list of articles.

<sup>h</sup>235.46 pounds.

<sup>i</sup>About one-third line lacking.

<sup>j</sup>In Egyptian the word (*kny*) often means a kind of open sedan chair.

<sup>k</sup>*Hdmw*, Hebrew, חֲמֹשׁ.

<sup>l</sup>From this point on, four lines are again nearly complete.

<sup>m</sup>About one-fifth of the line is lacking.



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

FRAGMENT ON THE SIEGE OF MEGIDDO<sup>c</sup>

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

*The Insurrection*

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

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

<sup>b</sup>About one-fifth line lacking. For the continuation of the campaign, see the record of "Feasts and Offerings," §§ 541 ff.

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

<sup>d</sup>This dates the offering to Amon as occurring after the defeat of Retenu, and as the following shows, on the first campaign.

<sup>e</sup>This is the insurrection referred to in § 416. The battle of Megiddo is then rapidly passed over, and l. 5 begins the siege of Megiddo.

*Siege of Megiddo*

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

*Surrender of Megiddo*

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

*The Inhabitants Shown Mercy*

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

*Further March*

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

III. SECOND CAMPAIGN (YEAR 24)<sup>c</sup>

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

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "Give our occasion."

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

<sup>c</sup>End shows determinative of foreigners.

<sup>d</sup>Ll. 17-21 are entirely lost.

<sup>e</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 32, ll. 32-39 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1166-68, ll. 21-28.

445. [List of the tribute of Assur and of] the chiefs of Retenu in the year 24.<sup>a</sup>

*Tribute of Assur*

446. The tribute<sup>b</sup> of the chief of Assur (*Ys-sw-r*): genuine lapis lazuli, a large block, making 20 deben, 9 kidet; genuine lapis lazuli, 2 blocks; total, 3;<sup>c</sup> and pieces, [making] 30 deben; total, 50 deben and 9 kidet;<sup>d</sup> fine lapis lazuli from Babylon (*Bb-r*); vessels of Assur (*ys-sw-r*) of (*hrtl-*) stone in colors,<sup>e</sup> — — — — <sup>22</sup>very many.

*Tribute of Retenu*

447. The tribute of the chiefs of Retenu: the daughter of a chief, (with) ornaments of — gold, lapis lazuli of t[his] country;<sup>f</sup> 30 [‘slaves’] belonging [‘to her’]; 65<sup>g</sup> male and female slaves of his tribute; 103 horses; 5 chariots, wrought with gold, (with) [‘poles’] of gold; 5 chariots, wrought with electrum, (with) [‘poles’] of <sup>c</sup> *g·t*; total, 10; 45 bullocks<sup>h</sup> (‘and’) calves; 749 bulls; 5,703 small cattle; flat dishes of gold<sup>i</sup> <sup>23</sup>which could not be weighed; flat dishes of silver, and fragments, (making) 104 deben, 5 kidet;<sup>j</sup> a gold [‘horn’] (*mk-r<sup>2</sup>-dy-n*), inlaid with lapis lazuli; a bronze corselet (*h<sup>2</sup>-n-rrw*), inlaid with gold, [‘ornamented’] ———<sup>k</sup> many — of silver — in battle ———<sup>k</sup> <sup>24</sup>823 (*mn-*) jars of incense; 1,718 (*mn-*) jars of honeyed wine;<sup>l</sup> [—] <sup>c</sup> *g·t*<sup>m</sup> and much two-colored

<sup>a</sup>Brugsch (with sic!), Champollion, Lepsius, and Bissing, all have 40, in which 4 units have unquestionably been miswritten by the ancient copyist, for 2 tens — an easy error. Griffith does not give Burton’s reading. The emendation to 24 is certain from l. 25, dated year 24.

<sup>b</sup>These are, of course, only gifts, but the text uses the same word as in the case of the chiefs of Retenu. It is at the head of the list, for it reached him early as a result of the Megiddo victory in the preceding year.

<sup>c</sup>This total of “blocks” is thrust in between as a parenthesis.

<sup>d</sup>12.40 pounds.

<sup>e</sup>So the texts of Champollion and Bissing.

<sup>f</sup>Or: “of the foreigners” (*h<sup>2</sup> styw*).

<sup>g</sup>These 65 slaves are not among the tribute of Assur, as Müller indicates, being misled by Champollion *Notices descriptives*, 158 (Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 278).

<sup>h</sup>So Lepsius, Champollion, and Bissing; Brugsch, 55.

<sup>i</sup>There is possibly a lost word or even two at the end of the line (22).

<sup>j</sup>25.47 pounds.

<sup>l</sup>Or: “wine and honey.”

<sup>k</sup>About one-third of the line.

<sup>m</sup>Two sorts of <sup>c</sup> *g·t*.

<sup>c</sup> *g't*,<sup>a</sup> ivory, carob wood, *mrw* wood,<sup>b</sup> *psgw* wood, many 'bundles' of fire wood, all the luxuries of this country ————<sup>c</sup> <sup>25</sup>to every place of his majesty's circuit, (where) the tent was pitched.<sup>d</sup>

*Appendix*

**448.** YEAR 24. List of the tribute brought to the fame of his majesty in the country of Retenu.

*Second Tribute of Assur*

**449.** Tribute of the chief of Assur (*Ys-sw-r*): h[<sup>f</sup>orses<sup>g</sup>] ————.<sup>e</sup>  
<sup>26</sup>A <sup>f</sup>—<sup>f</sup> of skin of the *M-h*<sup>2</sup>-*w*<sup>g</sup> as the 'protection' of a chariot, of the finest<sup>h</sup> of — wood; 190(+*x*) wagons ————<sup>e</sup> <sup>27</sup>— wood, *nhb*<sup>i</sup> wood, 343 pieces; carob wood, 50 pieces; *mrw* wood, 190 pieces; *nby* and *k*<sup>2</sup> *nk* wood, 206 pieces; 'olive wood', ————<sup>e</sup> <sup>28</sup>———.j

IV. THIRD CAMPAIGN (YEAR 25)<sup>k</sup>

**450.** The Annals contain no account of the third campaign, which was evidently a peaceful tour of inspection. The record of its results required more room than the wall of the Annals afforded, hence it was transferred to a chamber in the rear of the temple, and recorded in a long series of reliefs representing the flora and fauna of Syria, brought

<sup>a</sup>Two sorts of *g't*.

<sup>b</sup>Same as "*mery wood*."

<sup>c</sup>Ll. 24-28 lack considerably over half their length below.

<sup>d</sup>The statement undoubtedly was that the tribute was brought to the king wherever he was in his circuit.

<sup>e</sup>Over half the line is wanting.

<sup>f</sup>*Mšwy*, perhaps the leathern front of a chariot. See also Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 278, n. 3.

<sup>g</sup>An unknown animal.

<sup>h</sup>Or: "<sup>f</sup>with<sup>l</sup> heads of — wood."

<sup>i</sup>So Lepsius; Brugsch, *neheb*; unknown.

<sup>j</sup>A few numerals and fragments of words are visible, in which "3,000 various 'trees'" (or objects of wood) appear.

<sup>k</sup>Reliefs and inscriptions on the walls of the first chamber north of the second (rear) sanctuary of Karnak (marked *Y'* on Mariette's plan, Pl. 5); published by Mariette, *Karnak*, 28-31.

back from this campaign. They are accompanied by the following inscriptions:<sup>a</sup>

**451.** <sup>b</sup>YEAR 25, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose III), living, forever. Plants which his majesty found in the land of Retenu.

<sup>c</sup>All plants that 'grow', all flowers that are in God's-Land<sup>d</sup> [which were found by] <sup>2</sup>his majesty when his majesty proceeded to Upper Retenu, to subdue [all] the countrie[s,] <sup>3</sup>according to the command of his father, Amon, who put them beneath his sandals, from [the year 1] <sup>4</sup>to myriads of years.

**452.** His majesty said: "I swear, as Re [loves me] <sup>5</sup>as my father, Amon, favors me, all these things happened in truth —. <sup>6</sup>I have not written fiction as that which really happened to my majesty;<sup>e</sup> I have 'engraved' the excellent [deeds] <sup>7</sup>—1. My majesty hath done this from desire to put them <sup>8</sup>before my father Amon, in this great temple of Amon, (as) a memorial forever and ever."

#### V. FOURTH CAMPAIGN

**453.** The account of this campaign, if any existed, is lost; it was not recorded on the wall of the Annals, and may have been put elsewhere, like the third.

<sup>a</sup>The only other inscription of year 25 is a stela cut on the rocks of the Sarbût el-Khadem, and dated in the "year 25." Above is a relief showing Thutmose III offering a libation to "*Hathor, mistress of malachite*," behind the king stands the "*chief treasurer, Ray*" (*R* > *y*), who conducted the expedition hither. An inscription of eight horizontal lines contains only titular and praise of Thutmose III. Below stands Ray again with an inscription in eight vertical lines, which has almost wholly disappeared. The following may be discerned: "*He appointed him at the head of his army, to bring that which his majesty desired, of products of the lands of the gods, malachite without number, . . . . he exceeded that which was commanded him, and that which was exacted. . . . .*" A reference to "*the sea*" (*w* > *q*-*wr*) at the end doubtless indicates the way in which the journey was made.

<sup>b</sup>Vertical line on the east wall; text, Mariette, *Karnak*, 31.

<sup>c</sup>Eight vertical lines on the north wall, left of the door; numbered from right to left; text, Mariette, *Karnak*, 28.

<sup>d</sup>Showing that *T* > *nt*r ("*God's-Land*") is sometimes applied to Asia; same in inscription of Thaneni (§ 820), and in § 888.

<sup>e</sup>Text has: "*the souls of my majesty*."

VI. FIFTH CAMPAIGN (YEAR 29)<sup>a</sup>

454. The first campaign extended no farther northward than the Tripolis of the southern Lebanon, and this was inland. The second and third campaigns were not aggressive, and apparently did not push far north; the record of the fourth campaign is lost, and it is not until the fifth, in the year 29, that we have certain information of an advance beyond the northern limits of the first campaign, and along the coast. This fifth campaign begins with a new caption, as if a new period of the wars had begun here, and it is clear that the revolt suppressed in the south in the year 23 was after six years not yet subdued in the cities of Zahi, which the king had not yet visited. The wars in the Annals are thus divided into two great groups, the first group being in the south, and the second group, beginning in the year 29, being the wars in the north.

After the capture of a city the name of which is lost (*W*<sup>2</sup>—), which was supported by troops from Tunip, contained a sanctuary of Amon, and yielded rich plunder, the king proceeded southward and captured Arvad. The rich gardens and fields, now in the season of fruitage, were plundered, and the army spent the days in rioting and feasting. The king seized some Phœnician ships, and the expedition returned by water. This had perhaps been done by earlier expeditions, but the fifth is the first in which it is certain.

<sup>a</sup>The text here returns to the main sanctuary, where the annals are resumed, beginning at the jog in the north wall (see Mariette, *Karnak*, Pl. 13). Only the lower ends of the lines are still in situ, the rest having been barbarously quarried out by Salt; this section is now in the Louvre. Text of Louvre section and part of lines *in situ*, Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, ll. 1-7; lower ends of same lines, Mariette, *Karnak*, 13, ll. 1-6; both, Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1168-70, ll. 1-7 = Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, xxvii f., ll. 1-7.

*Introduction*

455. <sup>a</sup>His majesty commanded to cause that the victories which his father [Amon] had given him should be recorded upon the stone wall in the temple which his majesty made anew [for his father Amon, setting forth each<sup>1</sup> expedition]<sup>b</sup> by its name,<sup>c</sup> together with the plunder which his majesty brought therefrom. It was done according to [all the command which his father, Re, gave to him<sup>d</sup>] ———.

*Campaign in Zahi*

456. <sup>1</sup>YEAR 29. Behold, [his] majesty was [in Za]hi subduing the countries revolting against him, on the fifth victorious campaign.

*Capture of Unknown City*

457. Behold, his majesty captured the city of Wa — (W<sup>2</sup>——)<sup>e</sup> ———. This army offered acclamations to his majesty,<sup>f</sup> giving praise to <sup>2</sup>[Amon] for the victories which [he gave to] his son. They were pleasing to the heart of his majesty above everything.

*Sacrifices to Amon*

458. After this his majesty proceeded to the storehouse of offering[s], to give a sacrifice to Amon and to Harakhte<sup>g</sup> consisting of oxen, calves, fowl, [for the life, prosperity, and health of<sup>h</sup>] Menkheperre (Thutmose III), who giveth life forever.

<sup>a</sup>Horizontal line at the top; cf. same beginning in the introduction to the Megiddo campaign, § 407, l. 3 (=Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, b, 3 ff.).

<sup>b</sup>Excepting the word "*expedition*," this part is also broken out in the Introduction (l. 5, § 407).

<sup>c</sup>Apparently this means by its number, for from now on the expeditions are numbered: see year 29.

<sup>d</sup>Restored from § 407, l. 6 (=Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, b, l. 6).

<sup>e</sup>Young shows that the name ended in *t*. About five or six words are lacking.

<sup>f</sup>As after the battle of Megiddo.

<sup>g</sup>Bissing (*Statistische Tafel*, XV) makes the obvious comparison with the mention of the presence of the gods of Egypt in "*Dunip*" (*Amarna Letters*, ed. Winckler, 41, 9, 10) in the Amarna letters.

<sup>h</sup>Seven or eight words are lacking.

*Spoil of the City*

**459.** List of the plunder taken out of this city, from <sup>3</sup>the infantry of that foe of Tunip (*Tw-np*), the chief of this city, 1; (*T-h-r*)<sup>a</sup> warriors, 329; silver, 100 deben;<sup>b</sup> gold, 100 deben;<sup>b</sup> lapis lazuli, malachite, vessels of bronze and copper.

*The Return Voyage*

**460.** Behold, ships were taken — — — laden with everything, with slaves, male and female; copper, lead, emery<sup>1</sup>, (and) <sup>4</sup>everything good. Afterward his majesty proceeded southward<sup>c</sup> to Egypt, to his father. Amon-Re, with joy of heart.

*Capture of Arvad*

**461.** Behold, his majesty overthrew the city of Arvad (*ʔ-rʔ-ty-wt*), with its grain, cutting down all its pleasant trees.<sup>d</sup> Behold, there were found [the products<sup>1</sup>] of all Zahi. Their gardens were filled with their fruit, <sup>5</sup>their wines were found remaining in their presses as water flows,<sup>e</sup> their grain on the terraces<sup>f</sup> upon —; it was more plentiful than the sand of the shore. The army were overwhelmed with their portions.

*Tribute on This Expedition*

**462.** List of the tribute brought to his majesty on this expedition: 51 slaves, male and female; 30 horses; 10 flat dishes of silver; <sup>6</sup>incense, oil, 470 (*mn-*) jars of honey, 6,428 (*mn-*) jars of wine, copper, lead, lapis lazuli, green felspar, 616 large cattle, 3,636 small cattle, loaves, various

<sup>a</sup>Text has only “— *hr*,” I am indebted for the restoration to Erman; see also Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 360, n. 5).

<sup>b</sup>24.37 pounds.

<sup>c</sup>The return of the king is here prematurely narrated. It was, of course, by water, as the preceding context shows that Phœnician ships were seized for the purpose.

<sup>d</sup>See § 433 (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 32, l. 20) where the same was done for Megiddo.

<sup>e</sup>Cf. Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, 16 ff., who makes the passage too difficult; and Piehl, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1889-90, 376, whose emendation is not necessary. Precisely the same figure, with the same grammatical construction occurs in Papyrus Harris (IV, 213 and 216=7, 11 and 8, 6).

<sup>f</sup>The sloping fields of the mountain side.



(*njr' t-*) loaves, clean grain in kernel and ground — —. All good fruit of this country. Behold, the army of his majesty was drunk and anointed with oil every day as at a feast in Egypt.

VII. SIXTH CAMPAIGN (YEAR 30)<sup>a</sup>

463. This year the expedition went by water and landed at Simyra,<sup>b</sup> the most convenient port for reaching Kadesh. This city had been the leader in the great coalition of revolters, defeated at Megiddo in the first campaign seven years before. It was doubtless also constantly supporting revolt in the Phœnician coast cities, as Tunip had done in the preceding year (29), causing the king to direct his forces thither in that year. Finally in the year 30 the king succeeded in reaching the source of the disturbance, capturing and severely punishing Kadesh,<sup>c</sup> a feat in which Amenemhab assisted. He returned to his fleet at Simyra, proceeded to Arvad and punished it as in the preceding year. On his return to Egypt he took with him the children of the native princes to be educated in friendship toward Egypt, that they might be sent back gradually to replace the old hostile generation of Syrian princes.

464. YEAR 30. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Retenu on the sixth victorious expedition<sup>d</sup> of his majesty.

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, ll. 7-9, and Mariette, *Karnak*, 13, ll. 7, 8; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1170, 1171, ll. 7-9; Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 7-9.

<sup>b</sup>This is not stated in the Annals, but as he returned to the coast at Simyra, and as Simyra was the port nearest Kadesh, the objective of his campaign, there can be little doubt about the place of landing.

<sup>c</sup>Although it still remained the center of Syrian rebellion and revolted again in year 42 (§§ 531, 532). Amenemhab refers to both conquests (§ 585 and §§ 589 f.).

<sup>d</sup>The word is in this case determined with a ship indicating the manner in which the king proceeded to Syria (cf. Wiedemann, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 32, 128; also Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, 19).

*Punishment of Kadesh and Arvad*

465. (He) arrived at the city of Kadesh (*Kd-šw*), overthrew it,<sup>a</sup> cut down its groves, harvested its grain. (He) came to the land of Š—y—wt,<sup>b</sup> arrived at the city of Simyra (*ḏ<sup>2</sup>-my-r<sup>2</sup>*), arrived at the city of Arvad (*ṛ<sup>2</sup>-ṛ<sup>2</sup>-t-wt*), doing likewise<sup>c</sup> to it.

*Tribute*

466. List of the tribute <sup>8</sup>brought to the souls of his majesty by the chiefs of Retenu in this year.

*Capture of Children of Chiefs*

467. Behold, the children of the chiefs (and) their brothers were brought to be in strongholds in Egypt.<sup>d</sup> Now, whosoever died among these chiefs, his majesty would cause his son to stand in his place. List of the children of chiefs brought in this year: (x+)<sup>2</sup><sup>e</sup> persons; 181 slaves, male and female; 188 horses; 40 chariots, <sup>9</sup>wrought with gold and silver (and) painted.

VIII. SEVENTH CAMPAIGN (YEAR 31)<sup>f</sup>

468. The king again directs his attention to the coast cities of Phoenicia, and it is clear that he proceeds thither by water, first capturing Ullaza, a coast city in the vicinity of Simyra, when he receives the tribute and homage of the submissive Syrian kinglets. He then sailed along the coast from harbor to harbor, forcing submission, and laying up

<sup>a</sup>The language does not unequivocally state the capture of the city, but its capture is clearly stated by Amenemhab (§ 585, ll. 13, 14).

<sup>b</sup>This fragmentary name must indicate the country north of Kadesh, for, according to Amenemhab (§ 584), Thutmose went to Senzar on this Kadesh campaign.

<sup>c</sup>As he had done to Kadesh.

<sup>d</sup>They were kept in a special place of confinement or dwelling at Thebes, explained in § 402; cf. also Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 268.

<sup>e</sup>The first part of the number is broken out.

<sup>f</sup>Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, ll. 9-17, and Mariette, *Karnak*, 13, ll. 9-16 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1171-73, ll. 9-17 = Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 9-17.

in each the necessary supplies for his garrisons and his future operations. After receiving reports on the harvest of Retenu, he returned to Egypt, where he found messengers bringing tribute from the southern tribe of the Genebteyew. The record here appends the annual taxes of the Nubian Wawat.

**469.** YEAR 31, first (month) of the third season, day 3. List of that which his majesty captured in this year.

*Capture of Ullaza*

**470.** Booty brought from the city of Ullaza (<sup>2</sup>*n-r<sup>2</sup>-tw*), which is upon the shore of Zeren (<sup>1</sup>*D<sup>1</sup>r-n<sup>2</sup>*),<sup>a</sup> 490 living captives; [3] <sup>1</sup>—<sup>b</sup> of the son of that foe of Tunip (<sup>1</sup>*T<sup>1</sup>w-n[*p*]*); chief of the <sup>1</sup>—, who was there, 1; total, 494 persons. Twenty-six horses; 13 chariots,<sup>10</sup> and their equipment of all the weapons of war. Verily, his majesty captured this city in a short hour, and all its property was spoil.<sup>c</sup>

*Tribute of Submissive Princes*

**471.** Tribute of the princes of Retenu, who came to do obeisance to the [souls] of his majesty in this year: — <sup>d</sup>slaves, male and female; 72 — — — of this country; silver, 761 deben, 2 kidet;<sup>e</sup> 19 chariots, wrought with silver; <sup>11</sup>the equipment of their weapons of war; 104 oxen with bullocks;<sup>f</sup> 172 calves and cows; total, 276; 4,622 small cattle; native copper, 40 blocks; lead, ————<sup>g</sup> 41 golden bracelets, figured with <sup>1</sup>—; together with all their produce and all the fine fragrant <sup>12</sup>woods of this country.

<sup>a</sup>As corrected by Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, 22. It has the determinative of a body of water.

<sup>b</sup>*Hnty*.

<sup>c</sup>Compare a similar phrase in year 23, l. 6 (§ 431), and "Hymn of Victory," l. 9 (§ 657); the identical phrase in Ahmose-si-Ebana, l. 21 (§ 15). Cf. Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 70.

<sup>d</sup>Numeral lost.

<sup>e</sup>185.5 pounds.

<sup>f</sup>Cf. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 32, l. 33.

<sup>g</sup>Not more than five words lacking, and about the same in l. 12.

*The Harbors*

472. Now, every harbor<sup>a</sup> at which his majesty arrived was supplied with (*njr*-) loaves and with assorted loaves, with oil, incense, wine, honey, f[ruit] — — — — abundant were they beyond everything, beyond the knowledge of his majesty's army; (it) is no fiction, <sup>13</sup>they remain in the daily register<sup>b</sup> of the palace, L. P. H., the list of them not being given in this inscription, in order not to multiply words, and in order to furnish <sup>1</sup>their circumstances<sup>1</sup> in this place<sup>c</sup> —————<sup>d</sup>

*Harvest of Retenu*

473. The harvest of the land of Retenu was reported, consisting of much clean grain, <sup>14</sup>grain in the kernel,<sup>c</sup> barley, incense, green oil, wine, fruit, every pleasing thing of the country; they shall<sup>f</sup> apportion it to the treasury, according as the impost of the — is counted ———— 33 various —, together with green <sup>1</sup>stone<sup>1</sup>, every costly stone of this country, and many stones <sup>15</sup>of <sup>1</sup>sparkle<sup>1</sup>;<sup>g</sup> [all the] good [things] of this country.

<sup>a</sup>That these are the harbors on the Phœnician coast, there is no doubt. The word is a feminine noun (*mny'wt*) from *mny*, "to land," and sometimes has a ship as determinative (Papyrus Anast., IV, 15, 4). Some of the supplies with which these *mny'wt* were equipped were ships and spars (§ 492). These cannot apply to inland stations! When we notice that it is always Lebanon chiefs who furnish the supplies, the conclusion is clear. A new meaning is thus given the words of Abdkhiba of Jerusalem: "As long as ships were upon the sea, the strong arm of the king occupied Nahrima (Naharin) and Kas" (Babylonia) (*Amarna Letters*, ed. Winckler, 182, 32 f.). This observation throws a flood of light on Thutmose III's campaigns, and shows that his military operations were later regularly conducted from some harbor as a base. He therefore employed his navy in these campaigns to a far greater extent than we had supposed, regularly transporting his army to Syria by water, and even probably conducting the above campaign by water, sailing from harbor to harbor. See note, § 483, l. 24.

<sup>b</sup>*Hrwyt*. The word is rare, but occurs also in the Decree of Harmhab (III, 63, l. 4), indicating a writing containing laws.

<sup>c</sup>Meaning, perhaps, that there is room on the wall only for offering the circumstances under which the spoil was taken, without enumerating the same.

<sup>d</sup>Over one-third of the line is broken out, and this is the case with each line as far as l. 35.

<sup>e</sup>Not ground.

<sup>f</sup>The tense shows that we have here the very words of the government scribe's books.

<sup>g</sup>The word has the fire determinative; same word in forty-second year, l. 14, § 533; and Papyrus Harris three times (not four, as given in Piehl's *Dictionnaire*, 21, 22), each time referring to costly stones. Hence Bissing's conjecture that it means a founder's mould of stone is impossible (Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, 28).

*Tribute of the Genebteyew*

474. When his majesty arrived in Egypt, the messengers of the Genebteyew (*Gnb'tyw*) came bearing their tribute, consisting of myrrh, [gum<sup>1</sup> ——— 6 —; 10 male negroes for attendants; 113 oxen <sup>16</sup>(and) calves; 230 bulls; total, 343; besides vessels laden with ivory, ebony, skins of the panther, products ———.

*Impost of Wawat*

475. [List of the impost of Wawat (*W<sup>2-w 3-t</sup>*): 5 — of Wawat; 31 oxen and calves; 61 bulls; total, 92; <sup>17</sup>besides vessels laden with all things of this country; the harvest of Wawat, likewise.

IX. EIGHTH CAMPAIGN (YEAR 33)<sup>a</sup>

476. In this year the king carries out the greatest campaign of his Asiatic wars, viz., the conquest of the Euphrates country. He has been long preparing for it, in the preceding campaigns, overthrowing Kadesh in the Orontes valley, subduing the coast cities, and filling them with provisions for his garrisons and his future operations. The story is unfortunately briefly told, and not always chronological. The voyage to Simyra,<sup>b</sup> and the long march thence down the Orontes and to the Euphrates, are entirely omitted. The crowning act of the campaign, the erection of his boundary tablet east of the Euphrates, and another in the vicinity beside that of his father, Thutmose I, is immediately narrated. The operations which led to this culmination are then recorded in the meagerest words. While marching northward, plundering as he went, probably not far from the Euphrates, he meets the king of Mitanni, defeats and

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, ll. 17-29; Mariette, *Karnak*, 13, ll. 17-28 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1173-75, ll. 17-29 = Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 17-29.

<sup>b</sup>He must have landed at Simyra, for, according to the fragment of Pylon VII (§ 598) he conquered Ketne on this campaign. Ketne was in the Orontes valley behind Simyra (Meyer, *Aegyptiaca*, 68; Petrie's location of it by Damascus seems to me impossible. See *Syria and Egypt*, s. v.).

drives him in flight, capturing a great booty on the battlefield. Amenemhab mentions three battles on this campaign, of which the last, that at Carchemish, is probably, the one here mentioned in the Annals. Probably Carchemish marks the northern limit of the advance in this campaign, and the two other battles mentioned by Amenemhab occurred on the march thither (§§ 581, 582). The king then crossed the Euphrates, set up his boundary tablets, and, as he marched southward to Niy on his return, he was met by the subordinate princes, who immediately submitted and brought their tribute. Even far-off Babylon sends gifts, which, of course, the king calls tribute, and also the Hittites, who here make their first appearance in history. It is now arranged that the Lebanon princes shall keep the king's harbors supplied with provisions <sup>a</sup>

On the king's return, an expedition of his to Punt arrives with magnificent returns from "*God's-Land*." The impost of Wawat is paid as usual.

**477.** YEAR 33. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Retenu; [he] arrived ———.

*Boundary Tablet on the Euphrates*

**478.** [He set up a tablet] east of this water;<sup>b</sup> he set up another beside the tablet of his father, <sup>18</sup>the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere (Thutmose I).

*Battle in Naharin*

**479.** Behold, his majesty went north<sup>c</sup> capturing the towns and laying waste the settlements of that foe<sup>d</sup> of wretched Naharin (*N-h-ry-n* ?)

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<sup>a</sup>This is narrated out of its place before the tribute of Babylon and the Hittites.

<sup>b</sup>This is the Euphrates; see also note on pursuit, ll. 18, 19.

<sup>c</sup>See Amenemhab, § 583, ll. 8, 9.

<sup>d</sup>The king of Mitanni.

———— he [pursu]ed after them an iter (*ytr*)<sup>a</sup> of sailing; not one looked <sup>19</sup>behind him, but (they) fled, <sup>b</sup>forsooth, <sup>b</sup>like a [herd] of mountain goats; yea, the horses fled ———.

*The Booty*

**480.** [List of the booty taken] among the whole army, consisting of: princes, 3; <sup>20</sup>their wives, 30; men taken, 80; 606 slaves, male and female, with their children; those who surrendered (and) their wives, ——— (he) harvested their grain.

*Arrival at Niy*

**481.** His majesty arrived at the city <sup>21</sup>of Niy (*Nyy*), going southward, when his majesty returned, having set up his tablet in Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*)<sup>c</sup>, extending the boundaries of Egypt.<sup>d</sup> ———.

*Tribute of Naharin*

**482.** [List] of the tribute brought to his majesty by the chiefs of this country: <sup>22</sup>513 slaves, male and female; 260 horses; gold, 45 deben,  $\frac{1}{3}$  kidet;<sup>e</sup> silver vessels of the workmanship of Zahi (*D<sup>2</sup>-hy*) ——— [chariots] with all their weapons of war; 28 oxen, <sup>23</sup>calves, and bullocks; 564 bulls; 5,323 small cattle; incense, 828 (*mn-*) jars; sweet oil and [green oil] ——— every pleasing [thing] of this country; all fruits in quantity.

<sup>a</sup>In view of the parallel passage in the Semneh stela of Amenhotep III, where the words, "*ytr of sailing*," are followed by a numeral, the word must be the linear measure, *ytr*, and not the word *ytr*, "*river*." Hence the rendering of Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 254): "er (überschritt) den Fluss des Rundfahrens (?)" must be given up. There is no statement of a crossing of the Euphrates here, but that Thutmose III really crossed this river is stated on his Constantinople obelisk (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 60, W.): "*Thutmose (III) who crossed the Great Bend of Naharin (N-h-r-n) with might and with victory at the head of his army*" (§ 631). That this crossing of the river was on this campaign is not to be doubted, and the second tablet of l. 17 was therefore set up on the "*east*" of the Euphrates. A further striking corroboration of the crossing is in the "Hymn of Victory" (§ 656, ll. 7, 8).

<sup>b</sup>A rare New Egyptian particle, *m-dwn*; cf. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* (§ 94, 2).

<sup>c</sup>As above narrated.

<sup>d</sup>The remainder of the campaign must have been very brief, as it occupied only the lacuna (about one-third of the line).

<sup>e</sup>Nearly eleven pounds, troy.

*The Harbors*

483. Behold, <sup>24</sup>these harbors were supplied with everything according to their dues, according to their contract of each year, together with the impost of Lebanon<sup>a</sup> (*R<sup>2</sup>-mn-n*) according to their contract of each year with the chiefs of Lebanon (*R<sup>2</sup>-mn-n*) ——— 2 unknown [birds]; 4 wild fowl <sup>25</sup>of this country, which [—] every day.

*Tribute of Babylon*

484. The tribute of the chief of Shinar (*S<sup>2</sup>-n-g-r<sup>2</sup>*);<sup>b</sup> real lapis lazuli, 4(+*x*) deben; artificial lapis lazuli, 24 deben; lapis lazuli of Babylon (*B-b-r<sup>2</sup>*) ——— of real lapis lazuli; a ram's head<sup>c</sup> of real lapis lazuli; <sup>26</sup>15 kidet; and vessels ———.

*Tribute of the Hittites*

485. The tribute of Kheta (*H-t<sup>2</sup>*) the Great, in this year: 8 silver rings, making 401 deben;<sup>d</sup> of white precious stone, a great block; (*t<sup>2</sup>-gw-*) wood ——— [returning] to Egypt, at his coming from <sup>27</sup>Naharin (*N-h-ry-n<sup>2</sup>*), extending the boundaries of Egypt.

*Products of Punt*

486. Marvels brought to his majesty in<sup>e</sup> the land of Punt in this year: dried myrrh, 1,685 heket;<sup>f</sup> gold ——— gold, 155 deben, 2 kidet; 134 slaves, male and female; 114 oxen, <sup>28</sup>and calves; 305 bulls; total, 419 cattle; beside vessels laden with ivory, ebony, (skins) of the panther; every good thing of [this] country ———.

<sup>a</sup>The harbors lying at the foot of the Lebanon along the Phœnician coast would naturally be supplied by the Lebanon princes. It is to be noted that these supplies were collected as "*impost*" (not "*tribute*"), and probably by an Egyptian officer, as was the "*impost*" of Nubia.

<sup>b</sup>Identified long ago by Brugsch (*Gr. Oase*, 91) with the biblical Shinar (*Šn c r*), an identification which was overlooked in favor of Meyer's identification with Singara. Meyer (*Aegyptiaca*, 63) now sees in *S<sup>2</sup>-n-g-r<sup>2</sup>* the Sanhar of the Amarna letters (*Amarna Letters*, ed. Winckler, 25, 49), which also leads him to recognize Shinar in both, although Brugsch's identification of *S<sup>2</sup>-n-g-r<sup>2</sup>* with Shinar seems not to have been noticed.

<sup>c</sup>Text really has "*face*," but the wall paintings show complete heads in such cases.

<sup>d</sup>97.74 pounds.

<sup>e</sup>Or possibly "*from*" (*hr*); it is noticeable that in the year 38 (§ 513) the preposition is *m*, "*from*." Hence perhaps an expedition here; but see § 616, l. 9.

<sup>f</sup>About 223 $\frac{2}{3}$  bushels.



*Impost of Wawat*

487. [Impost of Wawat]: ——— 13 male [negro] slaves; total, 20;<sup>a</sup> 44 oxen and calves; 2060 bulls; total, 104; beside vessels laden with every good thing of this country; the harvest of this place likewise.

X. NINTH CAMPAIGN (YEAR 34)<sup>b</sup>

488. The king confines himself this year to little more than a voyage of inspection to Zahi, receiving the surrender of submissive towns, and the tribute of Retenu, and Cyprus. The harbors are stocked with supplies as usual, including a fleet of foreign vessels laden with timber.

The annual impost of Kush and Wawat is recorded as usual.

489. YEAR 34. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Zahi (*D<sup>2</sup>-hy*).

*Surrender of Zahi Towns*

490. ——— he surrendered fully to his majesty with 'fear'. List of <sup>30</sup>the towns captured in this year: 2 towns, (and) a town which surrendered in the district of Nuges (*2 n-yw-g-s 2*); total, 3. Captives brought to his majesty ——— taken captive 90, those who surrendered, their wives <sup>31</sup>and their children ———; <sup>c</sup> 40 horses; 15 chariots, wrought with silver and gold; golden vessels and gold in rings, 50<sup>d</sup> deben, 8 kidet; <sup>d</sup> 'silver' vessels of this country and rings, 153 deben; <sup>e</sup> copper ———; <sup>f</sup> 326 heifers; 40 white goats; 50 small goats; 70 asses; a quantity of (*2-gw-*) wood; <sup>32f</sup>many<sup>32g</sup> chairs of black wood (and) carob wood; together with 6 tent-poles, wrought with bronze and set with costly stones; together with every fine wood of this country.

<sup>a</sup>Seven other persons therefore were mentioned in the lacuna.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, 29-37; Mariette, *Karnak*, 13, ll. 29-35 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1175-77, ll. 29-27 = Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 29-37.

<sup>c</sup>Only the number is lost; von Bissing gives no lacuna.

<sup>d</sup>About twelve and one-quarter pounds, troy.

<sup>e</sup>About thirty-seven and three-tenths pounds.

<sup>f</sup>The fragment marked ll. 55-62 (in Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII) nearly fills out completely the gap between Lepsius' text and Mariette's (see Mariette, *Karnak*, 13).

<sup>g</sup>Possibly "many" belongs here, which might then give "many tree-trunks."

*Tribute of Retenu*

491. Tribute of the chiefs of Retenu in this year: —<sup>a</sup> horses; 31 (+*x*) [chariots,] wrought with silver and gold, and painted; 70<sup>†</sup>+3<sup>‡</sup> slaves, male and female; gold, 55 deben, 8 kidet; various silver vessels<sup>33</sup> of the workmanship of the country, — deben, 6 kidet; gold and silver; (*mnw*-) stone; vessels of every costly stone; native copper, 80 blocks; lead, 11 blocks; colors, 100 deben; dry myrrh, <sup>†</sup>feldspar<sup>†</sup>; green <sup>†</sup>stone<sup>†</sup> <sup>†</sup>— 13 oxen and calves; 530 bulls; 84 asses; bronze —; a quantity of wood; numerous vessels of copper; incense, 693 (*mn*-) jars; <sup>34</sup>sweet oil and green oil, 2,080 (*mn*-) jars; wine, 608 (*mn*-) jars; 3<sup>b</sup> chariots of (<sup>†</sup>*g-w*-) wood, carob wood, <sup>†</sup>logs<sup>†</sup> of every wood of this country.

*The Harbors Supplied*

492. Behold, all the harbors of his majesty were supplied with every good thing of that <sup>†</sup>which<sup>†</sup> [his] majesty received [in] Zahi (*D<sup>2</sup>-hy*), consisting of Keftiyew ships, Byblos ships, and Sektu (*Sk-tw*) ships<sup>c</sup> of cedar laden with poles, and masts, together <sup>35</sup>with great trees for the <sup>†</sup>—<sup>d</sup> of his majesty.

*Tribute of Cyprus*

493. Tribute of the chief of Isy (*Ysy*) in [this year]: 108 blocks of pure copper (or) 2,040 deben;<sup>e</sup> 5(+*x*) blocks of lead; 1,200 <sup>†</sup>pigs<sup>†</sup> of lead; lapis lazuli, 110 deben; ivory, 1 tusk; 2 staves of — wood.

*Impost of Kush*

494. Impost of Kush the wretched: gold, 300 (+*x*) deben; 60 negroes;<sup>g</sup> the son<sup>h</sup> of the chief of Irem (*Yrm*) <sup>i</sup>— — <sup>36</sup>total, 64; oxen,

<sup>a</sup>Only the number is lacking.

<sup>b</sup>The three strokes may, of course, be the plural strokes.

<sup>c</sup>W. M. Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 339) inserts a lacuna between the initial *S* of this word and the end; but a glance at the neighboring lines (Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII; and Mariette, *Karnak*, 13), especially 56 (= 32), will show that there is room for only the *sk*-sign in the lacuna. The place is unknown. See also Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, l. 34.

<sup>d</sup>Some construction of wood. <sup>†</sup>*Nws*; see Papyrus Harris, *passim*.

<sup>e</sup>About 408 pounds. <sup>g</sup>Persons of some sort.

<sup>h</sup>Maspero has daughter (*Struggle of the Nations*, 267; so also Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 118).

<sup>i</sup>Three persons must have been mentioned in this lacuna; but Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, has no lacuna.

[95; calves,] 180; total, 275; besides [vessels] laden with ivory, ebony and all products of this country; the harvest of Kush likewise.

*Impost of Wawat*

495. The [impost] of Wawat; gold, 254<sup>a</sup> deben; 10 negro slaves, male and female; — oxen, and calves [besides vessels laden with] <sup>37</sup>every good thing of [this country].

XI. TENTH CAMPAIGN (YEAR 35)<sup>b</sup>

496. It was now the second year since the invasion of Naharin, and the kings of that region had revolted. Thutmose marched thither from the Phœnician coast, defeated the rebels who had united under some prince who is called the “*foe of Naharin*.” This may have been the king of Aleppo. The allies were defeated in a battle at Araina, possibly in the land of Tikhsi, as mentioned by Amenemhab (§ 587, l. 19), and Thutmose took great spoil. The tribute of the Syrian princes is not mentioned; it was doubtless paid as usual; the impost of Kush and Wawat are noted.

497. YEAR 35. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Zahi (*D<sup>2</sup>-hy*) on the tenth victorious expedition.

*Revolt in Naharin*

498. When his majesty arrived at the city of Araina (*2-r 2-y 2-n*),<sup>c</sup> behold, that wretched foe [of Naharjin (*[N-h-r]y-n*)] had collected horses and people; [his] majesty — — — <sup>38</sup>of the ends<sup>d</sup> of the earth. They were numerous — — they were about to fight with his majesty.

<sup>a</sup>The numeral may have contained more hundreds; as it is, it amounts to 61.91 pounds.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, ll. 37-41; *Denkmäler*, III, 31, a, ll. 1-3 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1177-79, ll. 37-44, and l. 2 = Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 37-44.

<sup>c</sup>Not Aruna, as sometimes supposed; it is an unidentified city, but was perhaps situated in the land of Tikhsi, where Amenemhab (§ 587) mentions a battle.

<sup>d</sup>Lit., “*hinder parts*;” see Thutmose III’s “Hymn of Victory” (§ 661, l. 20).

*Battle in Naharin*

499. Then his majesty advanced [to fight]<sup>a</sup> with them; then the army of his majesty furnished an example of attack,<sup>b</sup> in the matter<sup>c</sup> of seizing and taking.<sup>b</sup> Then his majesty prevailed against [these] barbarians by the souls of [his] f[ather] A[mon] ———— <sup>39</sup>of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*). They fled headlong, falling one over another, before his majesty.

*Booty of the King*

500. List of booty which his majesty himself brought away from these barbarians of Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*): ———— 2 [suits of] armor; bronze —<sup>d</sup> deben —.

*Booty of the Army*

501. List of booty which the army of his majesty brought away from [these foreigner]s: 10 living prisoners; 180 horses; 60 chariots; ———— <sup>41</sup>——— 13 inlaid corselets; 13 bronze [suits] of armor —; 5 bronze helmets for the head; 5 bows of Kharu (Palestine); captures made in other [countries] ———— <sup>e42</sup>———<sup>f</sup> 226 —; a chariot, wrought with gold; 20(+x) chariots, wrought with gold and silver, ———— together with ———— <sup>43</sup>——— 21 (*mn*-) jars ————; sweet oil, 954[+x] (*mn*-) jars ———— <sup>44</sup>——— work of ————<sup>g</sup> <sup>h1</sup>——— gold ———— <sup>a</sup>[rings], bracelets, (*ybht y-*) stone, eye cosmetic — wild goats, fire wood.

*Impost of Kush*

502. Impost of the wretched Kush: gold, 70 deben, 1 kidet; slaves, male and female, — — — — — oxen, calves, ———— [besides vessels

<sup>a</sup>This seems to have been omitted here. Cf. the Megiddo battle (l. 1, § 429).

<sup>b</sup>Piehl suggests: "pendant une suspension du pillage" (*Sphinx*, II, 109).

<sup>c</sup>*Hn* as in *hn-n-mdw.t*.

<sup>d</sup>Numeral lost.

<sup>e</sup>The block containing the tops of ll. 42-54 in Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, should be pushed to the left at least the width of three lines. This is evident from the text in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, *a*, and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1178-84, with which we begin a new numbering of the above block.

<sup>f</sup>After the transfer of above block as above noted, the tops of ll. 42-44 are of course wanting.

<sup>g</sup>Probably several lines are wanting here.

<sup>h</sup>Numbered according to Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, *a*.

laden] <sup>3</sup>with ebony, ivory, all the good products of this country, together with the harvest of [Kush, likewise].<sup>a</sup>

*Impost of Wawat*

503. [Impost of Wawat] ——— 34 negro slaves, male and female; 94 oxen, calves, and bulls; besides ships laden with every good thing; the harvest of Wawat, [likewise].

XII. ELEVENTH CAMPAIGN (YEAR 36)

504. Lost.

XIII. TWELFTH CAMPAIGN (YEAR 37)

505. Lost.

XIV. THIRTEENTH CAMPAIGN (YEAR 38)<sup>b</sup>

506. The king directs his attention to the southern Lebanon region of Nuges again, where he is obliged to subjugate the local princes, who controlled the road northward between the two Lebanons at the seaward bend of the Litâny River. The regular Syrian tribute and the supplying of the harbors are mentioned, as usual; followed for the first time by the tribute of Cyprus and Arrapachitis, later known as an Assyrian province. The products of Punt are then followed by the usual impost of Kush and Wawat.

507. [YEAR 38. Behold, his majesty was in ———] <sup>4</sup>on the thirteenth victorious expedition. Behold, his majesty was overthrowing ———<sup>c</sup> [in] the district of Nuges (<sup>2</sup> *n-yw-g-s* <sup>2</sup>).

*Booty of Nuges District*

508. List of booty which the army of his majesty brought away from the district of Nuges: 50 living captives; — horses; — 3 chariots; — — — with [their weapons] <sup>5</sup>of war; — people who surrendered of the region of Nuges — — — —.

<sup>a</sup>Brugsch's restoration (*Thesaurus*, 1179) to Wawat is an error, as the harvest of Wawat is mentioned in the next paragraph.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, a, ll. 3-10 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1178-81, ll. 2-9.

<sup>c</sup>Nearly one-quarter line lacking.

*Syrian Tribute*

509. Tribute which was brought to the fame of his majesty in this year: 328 horses; 522 slaves, male and female; 9 chariots, wrought with silver and gold; 61 painted (chariots); total, 70; a necklace of real lapis lazuli — — — — a (two-handled  $\text{ʔ-k}^{\text{ʔ-n}^{\text{ʔ-}}$ ) — vase; 3 flat dishes; heads<sup>a</sup> of goats, head of a lion, vessels of all the work of Zahi — — — — copper, 2,821 [deben],  $3\frac{1}{2}$  kidet; of crude copper, 276 blocks; lead, 26 blocks; incense, 656 (*hbn-t*)-jars; sweet oil and green oil, (*sj-t*) oil, 1,752 (*mn-*) jars; wine, 156 (jars);<sup>b</sup> 12 oxen; — — — 46 asses; 5 heads of 7tooth ivory; tables of ivory (and) of carob wood; white (*mmw-*) stone, 68 deben — — — — bronze spears, shields, bows, — all weapons of war; sweet wood of this country, all the good product(s) of this country.

*The Harbors Supplied*

510. Behold, every harbor was supplied with every good thing according to their agreement of each year, in going [northward or]<sup>c</sup> southward; the impost of Lebanon (*Rʔ-mn-n*)<sup>d</sup> <sup>8</sup>likewise; the harvest of Zahi, consisting of clean grain, green oil, incense, [win]e.

*Tribute of Cyprus*

511. Tribute of the prince of Isy (*Ysy*): crude copper —; horses.<sup>e</sup>

*Tribute of Arrapachitis*

512. Tribute of the country of Arrapachitis ( $\text{ʔ-r}^{\text{ʔ-r}^{\text{h}}}$ )<sup>f</sup> in this year: slaves, male and female; crude copper, 2 blocks; carob trees, 65 logs; and all sweet woods of his country.

*Product of Punt*

513. [Marvels] brought<sup>g</sup> to the fame of his majesty from Punt: <sup>9</sup>dried myrrh, 240 heket.

<sup>a</sup>The word *hnn* (written out phonetically at end of l. 6) means "head," not "face," as the graphic writing might indicate.

<sup>b</sup>Text has omitted the word.

<sup>c</sup>Restored from l. 13, fourteenth expedition.

<sup>d</sup>From which the harbors were supplied.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., "spans."

<sup>f</sup>Probably  $\text{ʔ-r}^{\text{ʔ-r-p-h}}$  = Arrapachitis, is meant. See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 279.

<sup>g</sup>In the year 33 the gifts of Punt are introduced by the words: "Marvels brought to his majesty, etc., (see § 486); hence restoration. There is no expedition this time, as the preposition is "from," not "in," as in § 486.

*Impost of Kush*

514. Impost of the wretched Kush: gold, 100 [+x]<sup>a</sup> deben, 6 kidet; 36 negro slaves, male and female; 111 oxen, and calves; 185 bulls; total, 306 (sic!),<sup>b</sup> besides vessels laden with ivory, ebony, all the good products of this country, together with the harvest of this country.

*Impost of Wawat*

515. Impost of Wawat: [gold], 2,844 [deben, — kidet]; 16 negro slaves, male and female; 1077 oxen and calves; besides [vessels] laden with every good product of this country.

XV. FOURTEENTH CAMPAIGN (YEAR 39)<sup>c</sup>

516. This campaign was introduced by an excursion to punish the raiding Bedwin on the northeastern frontier of Egypt, also referred to by Amenemhab (§ 580), after which the king proceeded northward, to receive the usual Syrian tribute and ensure supplies for the harbors.

*Defeat of Shasu*

517. YEAR 39. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Retenu on the fourteenth victorious expedition, after [his] going [to defeat] the fallen ones of Shasu (Š<sup>2-sw</sup>).

*Syrian Tribute*

518. List of [the tribute of] — — — 197 slaves, male and female; 11229 horses; 2 flat dishes of gold; together with rings (of gold), 12 deben, 1 kidet; — real lapis lazuli, 30 deben; a flat dish of silver; a (two-handled) vase (ʔ-k ʔ-n ʔ) of silver; a vessel with the head of an ox; 325 various vessels (of silver): together with silver in rings, making 1,495 deben, 1 kidet;<sup>d</sup> a chariot ——— made [with] 12 white costly stone, white (mnw-) stone; natron, (mnw-) stone, all the various costly stones of [this] country; incense, sweet oil, green oil, (sf t-) oil, honey 264<sup>e</sup> [+x jars]; wine, 1,405 (mn-) jars; 84 bulls; 1,183 small cattle;<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup>There is room for several hundreds more.

<sup>b</sup>The total should be 296, the scribe has made an error of 10.

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 31, a, ll. 10-14 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1181, 1182, ll. 9-13.

<sup>d</sup>364.43 pounds.

<sup>e</sup>The hundreds may be increased indefinitely.

<sup>f</sup>So Lepsius; Brugsch, 1193.

bronze ———;<sup>a</sup> <sup>13</sup>the pleasant — and the perfume of this country, together with all good products of this country.

*The Harbors Supplied*

519. Behold, every harbor was supplied with every good thing according to their agreement of each [year];<sup>b</sup> in going northward [or southward]<sup>c</sup> — — likewise; the harvest of [Lebanon]<sup>d</sup> ———<sup>a</sup> [the harvest] <sup>14</sup>of Zahi, consisting of clean grain, incense, oil, — w[in]e] ———.<sup>e</sup>

XVI. FIFTEENTH CAMPAIGN<sup>f</sup>

520. The fragments of the wall at this place show only the tribute-list of Cyprus and the impost of Kush and Wawat.

<sup>1</sup>[YEAR 40] ———.<sup>g</sup>

*Tribute of Cyprus*

521. [Tribute of the chief] of Isy (*Ysy*): ivory, 2 tusks; copper, 40 bricks; lead, 1 brick.

<sup>a</sup>Nearly half a line is wanting.

<sup>b</sup>The scribe has omitted the word "year;" restored from l. 7, p. 210.

<sup>c</sup>Restored from l. 7, thirteenth expedition.

<sup>d</sup>Lebanon and Zahi are regularly mentioned together in connection with the harbors.

<sup>e</sup>All the rest (about nine-tenths) of the line is wanting; it is the last line on the north wall, and the inscription here turns to the left, to follow the west wall (the back of Pylon VI) southward to the door. It doubtless concluded with the impost of Kush and Wawat, which could not have occupied more than the rest of this line.

<sup>f</sup>The Annals are now continued on the back of Pylon VI. The visitor on the spot will notice that only the lower third (or less) of these twenty vertical lines on the pylon (north of door) is preserved; hence the first date is lost, and unfortunately also all the others on this wall section. The text in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 30, a = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1182-85. The fragment certainly contains data from three different expeditions; it must remain somewhat uncertain whether the first of the three is the conclusion of the fourteenth expedition in year 39 or part of a fifteenth in year 40. It seems probable that the long lacuna (nearly the whole l. 1, west wall) contains the conclusion of the fourteenth expedition, which must otherwise have occupied more space than either of the campaigns before or after it. Line 1 of the west wall, therefore, begins the fifteenth expedition. Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 54) sees difficulties in this arrangement, which are not apparent to me. See further notes on text.

<sup>g</sup>Contained the tribute of some unknown country, probably Retenu; the restored date is almost certain.



*Impost of Kush*

522. Tribute of <sup>2</sup>———. <sup>a</sup> [Impost of the wretched Kush in] this year: gold, 144 deben, 3 kidet; 101 negro slaves, male and female; oxen <sup>3</sup>———. <sup>b</sup>

*Impost of Wawat*

523. [Impost of Wawat]: —— 35 calves; 54 bulls; total, 89; besides vessels laden <sup>4</sup>[with ebony, ivory, and all the good products of this country<sup>c</sup>] ———. <sup>b</sup>

## XVII. SIXTEENTH CAMPAIGN

524. The record contains only tribute-lists.

[YEAR 41. <sup>d</sup> Tribute of] —— <sup>e</sup> rings.

*Tribute of Retenu*

525. List of the tribute of the chiefs of Retenu, brought to the fame of his majesty in <sup>5</sup>[this year]<sup>f</sup> —— 40[+x] blocks —— a sword of flint<sup>1</sup>, bronze spears — <sup>6</sup>———. <sup>b</sup>

[Tribute of — in] this [yea]r: ivory, 18<sup>g</sup> tusks; carob wood, 242 logs; 184 large cattle; — small cattle <sup>7</sup>———. <sup>b</sup> <sup>h</sup>incense likewise.

*Tribute of the Hittites*

Tribute of the chief of Kheta (*H-t*<sup>2</sup>) the Great, in this year: gold — <sup>8</sup>———.

<sup>a</sup>Contained the tribute of some unknown country followed by the impost of Kush, for "*tribute of*" at end of l. 1 cannot refer to Kush, for which *bk'w*, "*impost*," is always used. Kush is certain from the negroes in the list.

<sup>b</sup>See note f, p. 212.

<sup>c</sup>At least this is the usual continuation. Possibly, the tribute of some other country intervenes in the following lacuna.

<sup>d</sup>As the impost of Kush and Wawat usually concludes the year's list, it is evident that we should begin another year at this point, as usual, with Retenu; probably year 41.

<sup>e</sup>So Lepsius; Brugsch has "*second time*."

<sup>f</sup>Brugsch's restoration, "*this land*," is not according to the parallels.

<sup>g</sup>So Lepsius; Brugsch, 26.

<sup>h</sup>Probably the tribute of another country, also, is lost in the lacuna.

*Impost of Kush*

526. [Impost of Kush<sup>a</sup> the wretched in this year; gold,  $x+$ ] 94<sup>b</sup> deben, 2 kidet; 8 negro slaves, male and female; 13 male (negroes), brought for following;<sup>c</sup> total, 21; oxen, 9—————.<sup>d</sup>

*Impost of Wawat*

527. [Impost of Wawat]:<sup>e</sup> gold, 3,144<sup>f</sup> deben, 3 kidet; 35 oxen and calves; 79 bulls; total, 114; besides vessels laden with ivory 10—————.<sup>d</sup>

XVIII. SEVENTEENTH CAMPAIGN<sup>g</sup>

528. The last campaign, which happened not later than the year 42, shows the old king, now probably over seventy years of age, suppressing a revolt of Tunip and Kadesh, who are supported by auxiliaries from Naharin. He marched from the northern coast of Syria, after capturing the coast city of Erkatu,<sup>h</sup> directly against Tunip. Having subjugated it, he then marched up the Orontes against his old enemy, Kadesh, whose prince led the allied forces, which Thutmose III had routed at Megiddo on the first campaign, nearly twenty years before. There was a stubborn defense, but, according to the narrative of Amenemhab, the walls of the city were breached, and it was taken by storm (§ 590). From it and surrounding towns great plunder was secured, among which were the Naharin auxiliaries and their horses.

<sup>a</sup>Restored from the character of the tribute.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, 83. Brugsch, 86; the photograph indicates 94 as probable.

<sup>c</sup>As *pedessequii*.

<sup>e</sup>Restored after § 539.

<sup>d</sup>See note f, p. 212.

<sup>f</sup>766.35 pounds.

<sup>g</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 30, a, ll. 10-20 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1183-85, ll. 10-20.

<sup>h</sup>Erkatu (*ḥ-r-ḫ-tw*) must have been on the coast somewhere between the mouth of the Orontes and the Nahr el-Kebir. As it is the same as Irkata of the *Amarna Letters* (see § 529, note), it was not far from Simyra. Thutmose may have landed at Simyra, as he had evidently often done before, and hence he marched upon the "coast road" against Erkatu.

Long tribute-lists, the harbor supplies, and the impost of Kush and Wawat conclude the Annals.

*Overthrow of Erkatu*

529. [YEAR 42.]<sup>a</sup> ——— the Fenkhu (*[F]nḥw*). Behold,<sup>b</sup> his majesty was upon the coast road, in order to overthrow the city of Erkatu<sup>c</sup> (*r-ḫ<sup>2</sup>-tw*) and the cities of <sup>11</sup>d———— Kana (*K<sup>2</sup>-n<sup>2</sup>*) ———; this city was overthrown, together with its districts.

*Overthrow of Tunip*

530. (His majesty) arrived at Tunip (*Tw-np<sup>e</sup>*), overthrew that city, harvested its grain, and cut down its groves <sup>12</sup>———— the citizens of the army.

*Overthrow of Cities of Kadesh District*

531. Behold, (he) came in safety, arrived at the district of Kadesh (*Kd-šw*),<sup>f</sup> captured the cities<sup>g</sup> therein.

*Booty of Kadesh District*

532. List of the booty brought from there — <sup>13</sup>————<sup>d</sup> of the wretched Naharin (*N-h-ry-n<sup>2</sup>*) who were as auxiliaries among them,

<sup>a</sup>Here a new year should begin for the same reason as in l. 4; see note. That its number should be 42 is clear from the date in the last line of this section; see note, § 540.

<sup>b</sup>Read *yst* instead of “*Amon*,” incorrectly restored by Harmhab.

<sup>c</sup>This important name is given by Lepsius as *r-ḫ<sup>2</sup>-n-tw*, inserting an *n* before *tw*; in this he is followed by Brugsch, who evidently published (*Thesaurus*, V, 1183) an old copy of his made from Lepsius; for the original (in the photograph) shows no trace of *n* and no room for it. The signs are perfectly preserved, and the feet of the eagle in *ḫ<sup>2</sup>* practically touch the head of the *w*-bird in *tw*, leaving absolutely no room for *n* in the vertical column between *ḫ<sup>2</sup>* and *tw*. Neither is there any trace on the back of the eagle of *n* (horizontal). This makes the identity of our word, with *Irkata* of the *Amarna Letters* a certainty. See also Eduard Meyer, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 69, n. 2; and compare above § 528, note.

<sup>d</sup>See note f, p. 212.

<sup>e</sup>To strike Tunip on turning inland, Erkatu must have been well to the north of Arvad, unless, of course, Thutmose's northward march is lost in the lacuna.

<sup>f</sup>He is therefore marching up the Orontes.

<sup>g</sup>Including, of course, Kadesh itself.

together with their horses; 691 people;<sup>a</sup> 29 hands;<sup>b</sup> 44 horses;<sup>c</sup>  
 14\_\_\_\_\_d

*Tribute of Unknown Country*

533. [List of the tribute of —] in this year: 295 slaves, male and female;<sup>e</sup> 68 horses; 3 golden flat dishes;<sup>f</sup> 3 silver flat dishes;<sup>f</sup> (two-handled ʔ-kʔ-nʔ-) vases, 3;<sup>f</sup> ʔsparklingʔ stones,<sup>g</sup> together with silver  
 15\_\_\_\_\_d

*Tribute of Tunip?*

534. [List of the tribute (or booty) of ʔTunipʔ<sup>h</sup>]: ———— lead, 47 bricks; lead, 1,100 deben; colors, ʔemeryʔ, all beautiful costly stones of this country; bronze ʔsuitsʔ of armor; weapons of war 16\_\_\_\_\_i  
 [all the] pleasant [things] of this country.

*The Harbors Supplied*

535. Behold, every harbor was supplied with every good thing according to their agreement of each year; the harvest of this country 17[likewise] \_\_\_\_\_d

*Tribute of Unknown Country*

536. [The tribute of —] ———— together with flat dishes, heads of bulls,<sup>j</sup> making 341 deben, 2 kidet; genuine lapis lazuli, 1 block, making 33<sup>k</sup> kidet, a fine (tʔ-gw-) wood staff, native copper 18\_\_\_\_\_.

<sup>a</sup>So Lepsius; Brugsch, 690; photograph, 691.

<sup>b</sup>Of the slain, as usual.

<sup>c</sup>So Lepsius; Brugsch, 48; photo shows room for a much larger number.

<sup>d</sup>See note f, p. 212.

<sup>e</sup>So Lepsius; Brugsch, 195.

<sup>f</sup>It is possible that these are simply plurals without numerals.

<sup>g</sup>Same word (*wḏḥ*) in § 473, l. 15, *q. v.* and note.

<sup>h</sup>Above (l. 12) some captives were taken from Tunip, but the spoil of Tunip is perhaps not yet enumerated. Among the following list the rare emery occurs, which is found in the spoil taken from the Tunip auxiliaries in the unknown city of “*Wa*\_\_\_\_\_” (year 29, § 461); hence this list may here belong to Tunip.

<sup>i</sup>Possibly another nation has been introduced in the lacuna; see note f, p. 212.

<sup>j</sup>Meaning that the bulls' heads were a decoration upon the vessels, as depicted in the reliefs.

<sup>k</sup>Lepsius, 41; Brugsch, 33; he is sustained by the photograph.

*Tribute of Tinay*

537. [The tribute of the chief] of Tinay (*Ty-n<sup>2</sup>-y*):<sup>a</sup> a silver (*§<sup>2</sup>-w<sup>2</sup>-b-ty*)<sup>b</sup> vessel of the work of Keftiyew (*Kf-tyw*), together with vessels of iron,<sup>c</sup> 4 hands of silver, making 56 deben, 1 kidet; ———.

*Impost of Kush*

538. [The impost of the wretched Kush in this year]: ———  
[besides vessels laden] with every good thing of this country; the harvest of the wretched Kush, likewise.

*Impost of Wawat*

539. The impost of Wawat<sup>d</sup> in this year: gold, 2,374 deben,<sup>e</sup> 1 kidet,  
<sup>20</sup> ———<sup>f</sup> [the harvest of Wa]wat.

## XIX. CONCLUSION

540. Behold, his majesty commanded to record the victories which he won from the year 23<sup>g</sup> until the year 42, when this inscription was recorded upon this sanctuary;<sup>h</sup> that he might be given life forever.

<sup>a</sup>So Lepsius; Brugsch, *Ty-n-my*.

<sup>b</sup>See Bissing, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 34, 166, who identifies this vessel with the *suibdu* (of stone) mentioned in an Amarna letter (Winckler, *Amarna Letters*, 393, l. 61).

<sup>c</sup>*By<sup>2</sup>*.

<sup>e</sup>Over 578 pounds.

<sup>d</sup>One *wa* has been omitted in Lepsius' text.

<sup>f</sup>See note f, p. 212.

<sup>g</sup>Of course, 22 or 23 is to be read, the reading is based on: (1) our knowledge of the date when the campaigns began; (2) the fact that 22 is clear and there is only room in the possible lacuna for one unit more; (3) the fact that the list of offerings from the Asiatic wars (§§ 541 ff.) also begins in the year 23. This date, as well as the terminal date "year 42" (for which both Lepsius and Brugsch give 32), has been the subject of much discussion. The following remarks of Mariette in a letter to de Rougé which have been mostly overlooked, should settle the question (*Revue archéologique*, 1860<sup>2</sup>, N. S., I, 32):

"La première de ces deux dates, à la vérité, est un peu détruite; mais la planche de M. Lepsius rapporte fidèlement l'arrangement des chiffres, et vous voyez qu'il n'y a place là que pour l'an 22, ou l'an 23; . . . . Quant à la date donnée pour la dernière de ces campagnes, elle est celle de la quarante-deuxième année du règne de Thouthmès. Comme cela arrive fréquemment pour les textes gravés en relief très-mince sur le grès, l'un des chiffres *di*x a presque disparu par une sorte de dissolution spontanée de la pierre et il est évident que si M. Lepsius a fait sa publication sur un estampe, il a dû lire 32. Mais le chiffre qui tend à s'effacer est encore parfaitement clair, et c'est sans contredit l'an 42 qu'il faut voir. . . . ." These statements are confirmed by the photograph, although the space for the fourth ten (in 42) is absolutely smooth.

<sup>h</sup>*Sh-ntr*, with masculine demonstrative.

FEASTS AND OFFERINGS FROM THE CONQUESTS<sup>a</sup>

541. In this inscription Thutmose III records the new feasts and additional offerings which he established during the period of his splendid conquests in Asia. The record, therefore, begins with his return from the first campaign in the year 23, and continues till the year 42, when his campaigning ceased.<sup>b</sup> In order to connect the record with the occurrence of the first campaign, it goes back to the march to Lebanon after the fall of Megiddo, refers to a fortress which he built there, and proceeds then to his return and landing at Thebes. All this leads up to the establishment of three great "Feasts of Victory," for which it furnishes the motive. After fixing the calendar of these three feasts, with the lists of oblations to be offered at their celebration, the king proceeds to the gifts which he made to Amon at the feast of his voyage to southern Opet, which are exceedingly rich and numerous, including the three cities just captured in the Lebanon, fields and gardens, slaves, precious metals and stones, and the doubling of some of the old offerings (ll. 5-14). It would seem as if this feast was the first celebrated by the king after his return from the first campaign, for it is among its gifts that the acquisitions of that campaign appear.

<sup>a</sup>Wall inscription in the Karnak temple on the back of the south half of Pylon VI (Baedeker, plan opp. p. 239). It therefore by its position (as well as by its content) shows that it is really a continuation of the Annals, which are concluded at the door on the back of the north half of the same pylon. It is in vertical lines, and as a considerable amount of the pylon is lost at the top clear across, the tops of all the lines are lacking. Published by Lepsius, (*Denkmäler*, III, 30, *b*) and Brugsch (*Recueil des monuments*, I, 43, 44; last five lines omitted). Lepsius offers a more accurate text, but not so full in indistinct places. I collated the Berlin squeeze for the important historical portion (ll. 1-6) and a photograph by Borchardt for the whole.

<sup>b</sup>The date of the beginning is clearly shown in several places; that of the end by the list of Asiatic and Nubian slaves, which continues "*till the recording of this tablet,*" which is stated at the end of the Annals (§ 540) to be "*year 42.*"

542. The other offerings due to Amon, now richly increased, are then successively enumerated (ll. 14-25), and the long inscription closes with the king's exhortation to the priests, like that to the priests of Abydos (§§ 97 ff.) to be true to their duties and to offer the mortuary oblations due him, a list of which follows.

543. A splendid array of these gifts is depicted in a wall relief<sup>a</sup> in the corridor of the Annals. Chief among them are the two Karnak obelisks, one of which is now at Constantinople (§§ 629 ff.),<sup>b</sup> and two pairs of flagstaves for the temple façade, of course of cedar, tipped with electrum. But the relief shows the widest range of temple furniture: chests, a varied array of exquisite vessels; altars, and temple doors; besides ornaments for the divine statue, chiefly elaborate necklaces; the whole series being of gold, silver, bronze, and costly stones, especially lapis lazuli. The vessels bear the general inscription:

Very numerous; from the yearly dues (*htr*).

544. The purpose of the gifts is indicated by such accompanying inscriptions as the following:

Over a jar:

(Of) alabaster; filled with pure ointment of the divine things.

By rich necklaces:

Ornaments of the "Appearance Festival;"<sup>c</sup> amulets upon the divine limbs.

<sup>a</sup>On the south wall of the passage south of the sanctuary; published by Champollion, *Monuments*, IV, 316, 317; partially by Rosellini, *Monumenti*, Text, III, 1, plate opp. p. 125; and Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, 57; partially by Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica*, 29; and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1185 ff.; and see Birch, *Archaeologia*, XXXV, 155.

<sup>b</sup>In the relief, this obelisk bears the complete dedication, of which only the first half is preserved on the original in Constantinople. See Breasted, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 39, 55 ff., and *infra*, § 630, where the entire dedication will be found.

<sup>c</sup>When the god appears in procession.

545. The source of the gifts also appears thus:

Over armlet, necklace, etc.:

(Of) gold, and much costly stone; ornaments of his majesty.

Over a vase:

(Of) costly stone, which his majesty made according to the design of his own heart.<sup>a</sup>

546. Before these gifts, on the right, Amon sits enthroned, receiving them from Thutmose III on the left, before whom are the words:

Presentation of monuments by the king — — —, that he may be given life like Re, forever.<sup>b</sup>

547. It is clear from this and the following document that the beginning of Thutmose III's conquests in Asia marks a sudden and profound change in the cultus of Amon, occasioned by the enormous and entirely disproportionate wealth which from now on is poured into his treasury. We see here the beginning of that power and wealth to which the most remarkable witness is the Papyrus Harris (IV, 182-412).

*Fortress in Lebanon*

548. '———— in the land of Retenu (*Rtnw*) as a fortress which his<sup>c</sup> majesty built in his victories<sup>d</sup> among the chiefs of Lebanon (*R-mn-n*), the name of which is: "Menkheperre (Thutmose III)-is-the-Binder-of-the-Barbarians."

<sup>a</sup>The making of these vessels is depicted in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb, accompanied by the same remark (§ 775), showing that they were really designed by Thutmose III himself, and that the fact was thought worthy of remark there as well as here. He says the same thing in § 164, l. 43.

<sup>b</sup>There are other such short inscriptions of a single word or more, but they are as yet inadequately published. One is of especial interest. Over an offering-table made of four *hsp*-signs, precisely like the great alabaster altar recently found at Abusir, are the words: "(Of) 'shining' alabaster of Hatnub."

<sup>c</sup>The text has "my."

<sup>d</sup>These victories in the Lebanon must have been won on first the expedition after the Megiddo victory, for they are here referred to as preceding the king's return to Egypt from that expedition (l. 2). The three cities which he captured in the Lebanon are enumerated in the First Campaign, l. 16 (§ 436). Of the historians only Brugsch (*Geschichte*, 328) and Meyer (240) have noted this march to Lebanon.



*Arrival in Thebes*

549. Behold, he landed at Thebes,<sup>a</sup> his father, Amon, being  
<sup>2</sup>———. My majesty established for him a "Feast of Victory"<sup>b</sup> for the  
 first time, when my majesty arrived from the first victorious expedition,<sup>c</sup>  
 overthrowing wretched Retenu (*Rtṇw*) and widening the borders of  
 Egypt in the year 23,<sup>d</sup> by the victories which he<sup>e</sup> decreed to me, lead-  
 ing — <sup>3</sup>———.

*First Feast of Victory*

550. [The first "Feast of Victory" was celebrated at (the feast)  
 ———<sup>f</sup>] the first feast of Amon, in order to make it of five days' dura-  
 tion.<sup>g</sup>

*Second Feast of Victory*

551. The second "Feast of Victory" was celebrated at (the feast):  
 "Day-of-Bringing-in-the-God,"<sup>h</sup> the second feast of Amon, in order to  
 make it of five days' duration.

*Third Feast of Victory*

552. The third "Feast of Victory" was celebrated at the fifth feast  
 of Amon in (the temple): "Gift-of-Life,"<sup>i</sup> the day of j— <sup>4</sup>———  
 [in order to make it of 'five days'<sup>1</sup> duration].

<sup>a</sup>Squeeze and photograph.

<sup>b</sup>As the next line shows, there were three "Feasts of Victory," but the first is here referred to as celebrated on his arrival. On these feasts, see Breasted, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 123 ff.

<sup>c</sup>§§ 408 ff.

<sup>d</sup>Brugsch has "22," which is, of course, an error.

<sup>e</sup>Amon.

<sup>f</sup>The restoration is certain from the other feasts; only the name of the Feast of Amon, with which the first feast of victory coincided, being unknown.

<sup>g</sup>Lit., "in order to cause that it take place during (m) 5 days."

<sup>h</sup>This is the feast mentioned by Piankhi (IV, 836, l. 26), who gives the date as the second of Hathor, which thus determines the date of the second Feast of Victory.

<sup>i</sup>This is the name (*ḥnk-t-ṇb*) of the mortuary temple (Memnonium) of Thutmose III on the west shore at Thebes (cf. *Recueil*, XIX, 86-89). It stood at the northeast end of the line of temples (see Baedeker, "Necropolis of Thebes," opp. p. 254); as the earliest known reference to this building, it is particularly interesting, because it shows that already in his twenty-third year, Thutmose III's mortuary temple was complete and in use (see also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 139).

<sup>j</sup>The name of the Amon Feast here followed, the order being different from that in the first two feasts.

*Offerings for the Feasts of Victory*

553. [My<sup>a</sup> majesty established] a great oblation for the "Feast of Victory," which my majesty made for the first time, consisting of bread, beer, bull-calves, bulls, fowl, antelopes, gazelles, ibexes, incense, wine, fruit, white bread, offerings of everything good <sup>5</sup>————.

*Amon's Voyage to Luxor*

554. [Year 23, second<sup>b</sup> month] of the first season, (day) 14, when the majesty of this august god proceeded, to make his voyage<sup>c</sup> in his southern Opet (Luxor); my majesty established for him a great oblation for this day at the entrance into Luxor, consisting of bread, bull-calves, bulls, fowl, incense, wine, <sup>6</sup>————<sup>d</sup> from the first of the victories which he (Amon) gave me, in order to fill his storehouse, [—] peasant-serfs, in order to make for him royal linen (*šs*), white (*pk'-t-*) linen, (*šhr'-w-*) linen, (*wm'-t-*) linen; — peasants performed the work of the fields, in order to make the harvest, to fill the storehouse of my father [Amon] <sup>7</sup>———— to the goodly way.

*Gifts of Slaves*

555. Statement of the Asiatics, male and female, the negroes and negresses, which my majesty gave to my father Amon, from the year 23 until the recording of this tablet upon this sanctuary:<sup>e</sup> 1,578 Syrians (*H'-rw*) <sup>8</sup>————.

<sup>a</sup>Having enumerated the three feasts, with their dates, he now proceeds to the celebration and the oblations to be offered.

<sup>b</sup>The numeral is partially broken out; but it can be clearly proven to be two. See Breasted, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 125 f. This date is very important, as it shows at what time Thutmose III was already in Thebes on his return from the first campaign, the length of which is thus determined. See the calendar of the campaign in § 409.

<sup>c</sup>This is the beautiful ceremony of the god's voyage in his sacred barge, called at Thebes "Userhetamon" (for a description of the barge made for this purpose by Ramses III, see IV, 209). It was probably on the above occasion that the officer Amenemhab officiated (see his inscription, § 809, ll. 33, 34). It was on the day of the return to Karnak from this voyage, called the "Day-of-Bringing-in-the-God," that the Second "Feast of Victory" began. It therefore continued for five days after the return, during which the Second Amon Feast also continued (see *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 126).

<sup>d</sup>The "[spoil] from the first, etc.," was probably mentioned as part of the oblation.

<sup>e</sup>The concluding words of the annals are: "from the year XXI[II] until the year [X]XXXII, when this tablet was recorded upon this sanctuary;" hence the year 42 was probably also the year when the feast inscription was recorded.

*Gifts of Cattle*

556. ——— of the south and north: 3 loan-cows of the cattle of Zahi; 1 loan-cow of the cattle of Kush; total, 4 loan-cows; in order to draw the milk thereof into jars of electrum each day, and to cause (it) to be offered [to] my father 9[Amon].

*Gift of Three Cities*

557. My majesty gave to him<sup>a</sup> three cities in Retenu the Upper: Nuges (<sup>2</sup>*n-yw-g-s*<sup>2</sup>) was the name of one, Yenoam (*Y-nw-c*<sup>2</sup> *-mw*) was the name of another, Herenkeru (*Hw-r-n-k*<sup>2</sup> *-rw*) was the name of another. The dues consisting of the <sup>b</sup>impost of the fiscal year,<sup>b</sup> the divine offerings, [of] my father Amon —.

*Gifts of Precious Metals and Stones*

558. <sup>10</sup>——— all [‘things’] of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite. My majesty presented to him gold, silver, lapis lazuli, malachite, copper, bronze, lead, colors, <sup>1</sup>emery,<sup>1</sup> in great quantity, in order to make every monument of my father, Amon. — <sup>11</sup>———.

*Gifts of Poultry*

559. My majesty formed for him flocks of geese to fill the (sacred) pool, for the offerings of every day. Behold, my majesty gave to him <sup>2</sup>c fattened geese each day, as fixed dues forever, for my father, Amon. — <sup>12</sup>——— [‘the former offering to Amon consisted’] of various loaves, 1,000.

*Ancient Offerings Increased*

560. My majesty commanded to multiply this offering of 1,000 various loaves after the arrival of my majesty from smiting Retenu on the first victorious expedition, in order to gain favor<sup>d</sup> in the great house (called): “Menkheperre<sup>e</sup> (Thutmose III)-is-Glorious-in-Monuments.” <sup>13</sup>——— various —; 632 — from the daily income of every day, as an increase of that which was formerly.

<sup>a</sup>Amon.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., “the work (impost) of the affairs of the year.”

<sup>c</sup>Brugsch, 3; photograph, 2.

<sup>d</sup>Of the god.

<sup>e</sup>This is the name of Thutmose III's Karnak halls; see § 599, note, and IV, 754, note.

*Gifts of Lands*

561. I took for him numerous fields, gardens, and plowed lands, of the choicest of the South and North,<sup>a</sup> to make fields, in order to offer him clean grain<sup>b</sup> — 14————.

*Further Offerings*

562. ——— yearly; consisting of loaves, bull-calves, bulls, fowl, incense, wine, fruit, every good thing of the dues of each year. My majesty established divine offerings, in order to gain the favor of (my) father, Harakhte, when he rises <sup>15</sup>———— my majesty [established for] him a divine offering of barley, in order to perform the ceremonies therewith, at the feast of the new moon, at the feast of the sixth day (of the month); and as a daily (income) of each day, according to that which was done in Heliopolis. Behold, my majesty found it very good to plow the barley in — — 16————.

*Offerings for Obelisks*

563. ——— divine offerings for four great obelisks<sup>c</sup> which my majesty made for the first time, for my father [Amon], consisting of various loaves, and 4 (*ds-*) jars of beer, which were for each one of these obelisks; 25 (loaves) of bread, 1 (*ds-*) jar of beer.

*Offerings for Statues*

564. My majesty added divine offerings for the statues<sup>d</sup> of 17———— the opening<sup>e</sup> of this portal.

*Evening Offering*

565. My majesty founded for him an evening offering of bread, beer, fowl, incense, wine, loaves, white loaves, offerings of every good thing each day. My majesty added for him increase of things in 18————.

<sup>a</sup>Sinuhe's land in Palestine is described in the same words (I, 496, l. 80).

<sup>b</sup>The gifts connected with the Southern Opet festival continue to this point. The gifts of slaves (ll. 7, 8) are brought down to the end of the campaigns (year 42), but he goes back again after that to the return from the first campaign, mentioning the three cities in Lebanon captured on that campaign (l. 9) and mentioning the return (l. 12).

<sup>c</sup>See §§ 623 ff.; also Legrain, *Annales*, V, which arrived too late for use here.

<sup>d</sup>In l. 27 it is written phonetically. These are the statues of the older Pharaohs, preserved in the temple (see § 604).

<sup>e</sup>*Tph'it?*

*Feast of Peret-Min*

566. My majesty founded an offering for the feast of the "Going-Forth-of-Min" consisting of oxen, fowl, incense, wine, loaves, everything good; 120 "heaps<sup>a</sup> of offerings supplied with everything;" for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of my majesty. I commanded the addition of 6 great jars (*hbn' t*) of wine <sup>19</sup>———— [each] year as an increase of that which was formerly.

*A New Garden*

567. My majesty made for him a garden for the first time, planted with every pleasant tree, in order to offer vegetables therefrom for divine offerings of every day, which my majesty founded anew as increase of that which was formerly <sup>20</sup>———— with maidens<sup>b</sup> of the whole land.

*Wise Administration*

568. Behold, my majesty made every monument, every law, (and) every regulation which I made, for my father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak, because I so well knew his fame. I was wise in his excellence, resting in the midst of the body;<sup>c</sup> while I knew <sup>21</sup>———— that which he commanded to do, of the things which he desired should be, of all things which his ka desired that I do them for him, according as he commanded. My heart led me, my hand performed (it) for my father, who fashioned me, performing every excellent thing for my father <sup>22</sup>[Amon] ————. My majesty found all excellent things, while enlarging monuments, as a record for the future; by enactments,<sup>d</sup> by purifying, by regulations, by supplying with offerings this house of my father, Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak; [when] passing by <sup>23</sup>———— his desire every day.

*Feasts of the Seasons*

569. Behold, my majesty supplied with offerings the feasts of the beginning of the seasons yearly, and of the appearance (of the god)

<sup>a</sup>These are the heaps so often seen in the reliefs. See I, 785 and note h.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "beauties" (*nfr' wt*).

<sup>c</sup>Meaning where the most secret affairs of the god were, as it is frequently said of the king, "he knows the bodies," or that which is in the bodies of men, that is, their thoughts.

<sup>d</sup>Or possibly: "by recording for the future in documents."

therein in the midst of the house of my father, Amon, presider over Karnak, after<sup>a</sup> my majesty found that offerings were made there, consisting of libation, incense, <sup>24</sup>———— the dues of each year.

*Truth of the Record*

570. I have not uttered exaggeration, in order to boast of that which I did, saying: "I have done something," although my majesty had not done it. I have not done (anything) to people, against which contradiction might be uttered. I have done this for my father <sup>25</sup>[Amon] ——— saying something which was not done; because he<sup>b</sup> knoweth heaven, and knoweth earth, he seeth the whole earth hourly. I swear<sup>c</sup> as Re loves me, as my father [Amon] praises me, as my nostrils are filled with satisfying life, I have done this — <sup>26</sup>————.

*Instructions to Priests*

571. ———<sup>d</sup> Be ye vigilant concerning your duty, be ye not careless concerning any of your rules; be ye pure, be ye clean concerning divine things, [take heed] concerning matters of transgression, guard your heart lest your speech [—], every man [looking to his own steps therein]. <sup>27</sup>———— to my statues, for the [well-being] of the monuments which I have made. Bring ye up for me that which came forth<sup>e</sup> before, for I made festive his house; put on the garments of my statues, consisting of (šs-) linen, for I filled the mortuary oblations of (p̄k' t-) linen — <sup>28</sup>———— offer ye to me of all fruit, for I consecrated a garden anew; give ye me — shoulders of beef, for I endowed the beginning of the seasons with bulls; fill ye for me the altar with milk, let incense be <sup>29</sup>———— tables of silver and gold —; give ye to my statues according as I supplied those who were before me;<sup>f</sup> bring forth my statues on the day when your hands row,<sup>g</sup> giving praise [to] my father.

<sup>a</sup>In addition to that which he found already being offered.

<sup>b</sup>This must be Amon, who, says the king, sees and knows everything and would detect a lie.

<sup>c</sup>Compare the oath on Hatshepsut's obelisk (§ 318).

<sup>d</sup>Compare similar instructions to the priests of Abydos (§§ 97 ff.). The lists which follow are the mortuary offerings for the king, to which he exhorts the priests.

<sup>e</sup>The offerings.

<sup>f</sup>The statues of the earlier kings, set up in the temple.

<sup>g</sup>In the periodic voyage of the god upon the Nile or sacred lake.

He will count it for the 'well-being' of that which I have made in —<sup>a</sup>  
<sup>30</sup>———— anew daily as an increase of that which was before: 3,305<sup>b</sup>  
 various loaves of the divine offering; 132 (*ds-*) jars of beer; of grain,  
 two white loaves; 2 *nd*<sup>30</sup> of (<sup>2</sup> *h-*) herb; 2 *nd*<sup>30</sup> of dates; — fattened  
 (*ht-c*<sup>31</sup>-) fowl <sup>31</sup>———— many<sup>d</sup> (*ht-c*<sup>31</sup>-) fowl; 5 vesselfuls of incense;  
 2 (*mn-*) jars of wine; 4 (*pg-*) vessels of honey; 2 (*mn-*) jars of '—'; 1  
 (<sup>c</sup> *h c-*) jar of beer; 2 white loaves of *dk*, 15 white loaves in oblations;  
 — roasts of fresh fat; <sup>32</sup>———— 2 —; 6 ibexes; 9 gazelles; 125  
 fattened (*ht-c*<sup>31</sup>-) fowl; 1,100 'mated' (*ht-c*<sup>31</sup>-) fowl; 258 flocks of (*sd-*)  
 birds; 5,237 flocks of 'mated' birds; 1,440 (jars) of wine; incense.

*Offerings for Four Obelisks*

572. (For the) four obelisks: incense, 318 white loaves; — incense  
<sup>33</sup>———— 104 heket of [in]cense, making 334 *pd·t* of incense; 21  
 (*mn-*) jars of green incense; 5 heket of myrrh; 236 bull-cakes; 258  
 dressed-geese cakes; 24 obelisk-cakes;<sup>e</sup> 562 white-loaf cakes; <sup>34</sup>————.

573. Restoration<sup>f</sup> which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt,  
 Zeserkheperure, Setepnere (Harmhab) made, for his father, Amon-Re,  
 lord of Thebes, that he might be granted life through him like Re, forever.

BIOGRAPHY OF AMENEMHAB<sup>g</sup>

574. This inscription is an account of the services and  
 adventures of an officer named Amenemhab on the Asiatic

<sup>a</sup>Brusch's text stops here.

<sup>b</sup>These lists contain many uncertain things which require special investigation;  
 the following version is merely given for the sake of completeness.

<sup>c</sup>Apparently an unknown measure of bulk (see also § 159, l. 37).

<sup>d</sup>There is a "two" after "fowl" which is not clear, possibly "pairs."

<sup>e</sup>These are cakes in the shape of the top of an obelisk; in the Berlin Kahun  
 papyri occur pyramidion (*bmbn*) loaves of white bread. The other two varieties  
 were doubtless also made in the shape indicated by the name.

<sup>f</sup>This refers to the re-insertion of Amon's name throughout the inscription by  
 Harmhab, after its erasure by Amenhotep IV.

<sup>g</sup>Engraved upon the walls of his tomb in the necropolis of Thebes, which was  
 noted by Champollion (*Notices descriptives*, I, 505, Tomb 12; hence not "dis-  
 covered" by Ebers, as he stated (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen  
 Gesellschaft*, 30, p. 391). Ebers, however, did discover and publish the text:  
 first in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1873, 3-9 (corrections by Ebers and

campaigns of Thutmose III (ll. 3-32), and his subsequent favor and service under Amenhotep II (§§ 807 ff., ll. 32-46). It forms a very important supplement to the Annals of Thutmose III, but unfortunately does not insert the dates of the campaigns nor follow a chronological order.

The old soldier seems to have narrated to some scribe, who recorded them, the more important incidents and adventures of his career as they occurred to him, without attempt at order, beyond the involuntary association of events that belong to the same campaign. This narrative he had engraved beside his own figure on the wall of his tomb, as he is represented standing in the presence of Amenhotep II, to whom this recital of his life is evidently directed.

575. Beginning with a battle in the Negeb (year 39), he proceeds to three battles in Naharin, and the capture of Senzar (year 33), followed by the capture of Kadesh (year 30). The name of the next country (—*h*<sup>2</sup>) is mutilated, and this is followed by a battle in Tikhsi (probably year 35), and the elephant hunt at Niy (year 33); while the whole series concludes, as it should, with the siege of Kadesh on the last campaign of Thutmose III in the year 42. Arranged in chronological order, Amenemhab records the following campaigns:

SIXTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 30—

Capture of Kadesh (§ 585).

Stern, *ibid.*, 63, 64); again by Chabas, *Mélanges égyptologiques*, III, Pls. XVI-XVII (from *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, corrections by Stern, *ibid.*, 1875, 174). Again by Ebers more accurately in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 30, 391-416 and 3 plates; *ibid.*, 31, 439 ff.; very incorrectly also by Virey, "Sept tombeaux Thebains de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie," in *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, 238-40; corrections by Sjöberg, *Sphinx*, I, 18-20. See also Pichl, *Inscriptions*, I, CIX, F-CXIII, G, and Pls. CXXV, O-CXXVII, P and pp. 87-92. I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Newberry for a careful scale copy of the inscription, which adds some new readings.



## EIGHTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 33—

Capture of Senzar; three battles in Naharin (§§ 581-84, and 588), and elephant hunt at Niy (§ 588).

## TENTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 35—

Battle in Tikhsi (§ 587).

## FOURTEENTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 39—

Battle in the Negeb (§ 580).

## SEVENTEENTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 42—

Siege of Kadesh (§ 589).

Following the campaigning is a feast at Thebes, possibly that of the fourteenth of Pakhons, on Thutmose III's return from his first campaign (§ 550). The death of the old king is then narrated with the date, from which we may compute the exact length of his reign—fifty-three years, ten months, and twenty-six days.

576. This biography affords us fleeting glimpses of the arduous tasks which beset the remarkable campaigns of Thutmose III, of which the Annals offer us little or nothing. The first campaign in Naharin (year 33) brought three successive battles in which Amenemhab distinguished himself; of these the Annals mention only one, without referring to the place where it occurred.

577. These adventures of Amenemhab are, of course, typical of a host of others, which fell to the lot of the Egyptian soldier in Syria. Some of them found place in folk-tales, and one has survived in the story of the capture of Joppa by Thutiy, one of Thutmose III's generals,<sup>a</sup> whose

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<sup>a</sup>Part of the reverse (the first three pages) of the British Museum papyrus, known as Harris 500. Text first published by Maspero, *Études égyptologiques*, I, Pls. I-III, with transliteration and notes, pp. 53-66; it had already been translated by Goodwin, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, III, 340-48; then by Maspero, *ibid.*, I, 53-66; paraphrase based on Maspero by Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, II, 1-7.

reality is vouched for by his tomb and other contemporaneous monuments of his.<sup>a</sup> The manuscript of the story is about 200 years later.

578. Besides his biography, Amenemhab's tomb contained a series of scenes showing him in the exercise of certain of his functions as a deputy of the army, especially introducing the officers of the commissariat to the king to report (?) on the maintenance of the army.<sup>b</sup> His tomb also contains other references to his career, like those inserted among his titles:

Attendant of his lord on his expeditions in the countries of the south and north, not separated from the Lord of the Two Lands on the battlefield in the hour of repelling millions of men.<sup>c</sup>

He was evidently a favorite of Thutmose III, and may have owed his favor to his wife, who was the royal nurse, possibly of Thutmose III himself.

#### *Introduction*

579. The officer, Amenemhab; he says:

<sup>1</sup>"I was the very faithful one of the sovereign, L. P. H., the wise-hearted of the King of Upper Egypt, the excellent-hearted of the King of Lower Egypt. I followed <sup>2</sup>my lord on his expeditions in the northern and the southern country. He desired that I should be the companion of his feet, while he was <sup>3</sup>upon the battlefield<sup>d</sup> of his victories, while his valor fortified the heart."

<sup>a</sup>A list of them in Maspero, *Études égyptologiques*, I, 68 f. See also Devéria, *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, IV, 35 ff. The tomb is now unknown, but must have been known to the natives early in the last century, when it was plundered.

<sup>b</sup>This scene is repeated in the tomb of Pehsukher, whose office was similar to that of Amenemhab (*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, 289).

<sup>c</sup>*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, 245.

<sup>d</sup>Restored from text in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1876, 100, l. 2. Piehl has preceded me in this restoration, *ibid.*, 1885, 61, where the particle *ty*, "while," introducing a nominal clause, was not yet understood (it has nothing to do with *mn*, "remain").

*Battle in Negeb*

580. "I fought hand to hand in the land of <sup>4</sup>Negeb (*N-g-b*).<sup>a</sup> I brought off three men, Asiatics, as living prisoners."

*Battle in Naharin*

581. "When his majesty came to Naharin (*N-h-r-n*)<sup>b</sup> <sup>5</sup>I brought off three men from the fight there; I set them before thy majesty as living prisoners."

*Battle in Wan*

582. "Again I fought hand to hand (on) that expedition in the land of 'The-Height-of-Wan' (*W-c-n*)<sup>c</sup> on the west of Aleppo (*H<sup>o</sup>-r<sup>o</sup>-bw*). I brought off <sup>7</sup>13 Asiatics as living prisoners, 13 men; 70 living asses; 13 bronze 'spears';<sup>d</sup> the bronze was wrought with gold — 8—."

*Battle of Carchemish*

583. "Again I fought (on) that expedition in the land of Carchemish (*K<sup>o</sup>-ry-k<sup>o</sup>-my-c-š<sup>o</sup>*).<sup>e</sup> I brought off — 9— as living prisoners. I

<sup>a</sup>This is clearly the Hebrew Negeb="south country," the fourteenth campaign of the Annals was against the Bedwin (Shasu) of this region.

<sup>b</sup>The following three battles all took place on a campaign in Naharin, probably that of year 33 (§§ 476-87), as he later mentions another in Naharin, which would correspond with that of year 35.

<sup>c</sup>Identified by Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 259 f.), with the heights (Mons Casius) on the south shore of the seaward stretch of the Orontes by Antioch. But *št* ("height") does not mean "Ufer," and Mons Casius could have been much more easily identified by the scribe by mentioning the Orontes, rather than the distant Aleppo. Evidently some height not far from Aleppo is meant, for which Gebel Sim<sup>c</sup>an (2,700 feet high) answers admirably. It is but slightly north of west of Aleppo, but the Egyptian did not carry a compass, and any traveler of today would speak of it as west of Aleppo, and refer to his table of bearings for the exact direction. But there is a ruin by Dâna directly west of Aleppo, on a height of nearly 1,100 feet, which will do equally well.

<sup>d</sup>The rendering of Brugsch (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1873, 144): "13 Wurfspiesse von Eisen und mit Gold ausgelegt," is entirely unjustifiable. The material (*hsmn*) precedes as usual; then follows the object made of it, viz., *ynb*, which is some article of which each of the thirteen captured men carried one. Bronze helmets are mentioned in Annals (year 35, l. 41), and perhaps it is not an accident that "13 inlaid corselets and 13 bronze suits of armor" are also mentioned in the Naharin campaign of year 35, l. 41 (§ 501).

<sup>e</sup>This was on the northern march described in the Annals (§ 479, l. 18).

crossed over the water of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*), while they were in my hand, to <sup>a</sup>—<sup>10</sup>—; I [set] them before my lord. He rewarded me with a great reward; list thereof:<sup>b</sup> —<sup>11</sup>—.”

*Battle in Senzar*

**584.** “I beheld the royal victories of the King Menkheperre (Thutmose III), given life, in the country of Senzar (*Sn-ḏ<sup>3</sup>-r<sup>3</sup>*),<sup>c</sup> when he made a [great] sl[ughter] <sup>12</sup>[among] them. I fought hand to hand before the king, I brought off a hand there. He gave to me the gold of honor; list thereof: —<sup>13</sup>— two silver rings.”

*Capture of Kadesh*

**585.** “Again I beheld his bravery, while I was among his followers. [He] captured [the city of] <sup>14</sup>Kadesh (*Kd-šw*);<sup>d</sup> I was not absent from the place where he was; I brought off two men,<sup>e</sup> lords (*m-r<sup>2</sup>-y-n<sup>2</sup>*), as [living prisoners; I set them] <sup>15</sup>before the king, the Lord of the Two Lands, Thutmose (III), living forever. He gave to me gold because of bravery, before the whole people — — —; <sup>16</sup>list thereof: of the finest gold: a lion; 2 necklaces, 2 flies,<sup>f</sup> 4 arm rings.”

*Campaign in Unknown Country*

**586.** “I saw my lord in — — — <sup>17</sup>— — — in all his forms in the country of the ends<sup>g</sup> of [the earth] — — — <sup>18</sup>Ha — (*H<sup>2</sup>* —). Then I was raised to be the — — —<sup>1</sup> of the army, like — — .”

<sup>a</sup>Ahmose, son of Ebana, had a similar adventure, see § 11.

<sup>b</sup>Restored from l. 16.

<sup>c</sup>Zinzar of the *Amarna Letters*, it is the modern Kal<sup>c</sup> at Seidjar on the Orontes below Hamath; see Meyer (*Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 71), Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 185, n. 3), and Maspero (*Struggle of the Nations*, 264). It was taken in the year 33, on the Naharin campaign.

<sup>d</sup>This occurred in the year 30 (see *Annals*, § 465).

<sup>e</sup>Apposition with “lords.”

<sup>f</sup>See Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, March, 1900, 7 f. Ebers' corrected text (in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 30, Taf. II, l. 16) has <sup>c</sup>*dj*, an error for <sup>c</sup>*ff*, as in l. 21.

<sup>g</sup>See *Annals*, year 35, l. 38 (§ 498), and “Hymn of Victory” (§ 661, l. 20). This was probably on the march from the coast to Naharin, on the second campaign against that country.

*Battle in Tikhsi*

587. <sup>19</sup>“Again I beheld his victory in the country of Tikhsi (*Ty-h-sy*) the wretched, in the city of Mero— (*Mr-yw* —). <sup>20</sup>I fought hand to hand therein before the king. I brought off Asiatics, 3 men, as living prisoners. <sup>21</sup>Then my lord gave to me the gold of honor; list thereof: 2 golden necklaces, 4 arm rings, 2 flies, a lion, a female slave, and a male slave.”

*Elephant Hunt in Niy*

588. <sup>22</sup>“Again [I beheld] another excellent deed which the Lord of the Two Lands did in Niy (*Nyy*). He hunted 120 elephants, for the sake of their tusks and <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup>. <sup>23</sup>I engaged the largest which was among them, which fought against his majesty; I cut off his hand<sup>a</sup> while he was alive <sup>24</sup>[before] his majesty, while I stood in the water between two rocks.<sup>b</sup> Then my lord rewarded me with gold; <sup>25</sup>[he] gave — — and 3 changes of clothing.”

*Siege of Kadesh*

589. “The prince of Kadesh<sup>c</sup> sent forth a mare<sup>d</sup> <sup>26</sup>before [the army]; in order to — <sup>1</sup>them,<sup>1</sup> she entered among the army. I pursued after her <sup>27</sup>on foot, with my sword, and I ripped open her belly; I cut off her tail, I set <sup>28</sup>it before<sup>e</sup> the king; while there was thanksgiving to god for it!<sup>f</sup> He gave (me) joy, it filled my body, (<sup>1</sup>with<sup>1</sup>) rejoicing, he ended my limbs.”

*Assault on Kadesh*

590. <sup>29</sup>“His majesty sent forth every valiant man of his army, in order to pierce the wall for the first time, which Kadesh had made.

<sup>a</sup>Doubtless the trunk is meant.

<sup>b</sup>He was perhaps pursued by the wounded elephant, and took refuge between the rocks.

<sup>c</sup>On the last campaign of Thutmose III in year 42 (§ 531) and the last mentioned by Amenemhab.

<sup>d</sup>For the purpose of exciting the stallions of the Egyptian chariotry and thus confusing their line of battle; but Amenemhab leaps down from his chariot, and, pursuing her “*on foot*,” slays her. See Borchardt, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 31, 62 f.

<sup>e</sup>The preposition is incomplete.

<sup>f</sup>The phrase occurs not infrequently, denoting the thanks of a king for the faithfulness of a servant; e. g., Amenemhet (I, 520, l. 14) The impersonal form merely indicates that it was the king who gave thanks.

I <sup>30</sup>was the one who pierced it, being the first of all the valiant; no other before me did (it). I went forth, I brought off <sup>31</sup>2 men,<sup>a</sup> (*m-r* - *y-n*?) lords, as living prisoners. Again my lord rewarded me because of it, with <sup>32</sup>every good thing for satisfying the heart, of the king's-presence."

*Feast at Thebes*

**591.** "I made this capture while [I] was an officer of the navy ———  
<sup>33</sup>I was the commander of [—] [his vessel] — I was the chief of his associates <sup>34</sup>on the voyage — — — at his beautiful Feast<sup>b</sup> of Opet, when all the land was in acclamation."

*Death of Thutmose III*

**592.** <sup>35</sup>"Lo, the king completed his lifetime of many years, splendid in valor, in [migh]t, <sup>36</sup>and in triumph; from year 1 to year 54, third month of the second season, the last day<sup>c</sup> (of the month) under [the majesty of] <sup>37</sup>King Menkheperre (Thutmose III), triumphant. He mounted to heaven, [he] <sup>d</sup>joined the sun; the divine limbs mingling with him who begat him."

[Concluded §§ 807-809]

FRAGMENTS OF KARNAK PYLON VII<sup>e</sup>

**593.** From the data thus far given by Legrain, it is impossible to put together all the fragments heretofore found;

<sup>a</sup>Apposition.

<sup>b</sup>This is perhaps the celebration of the Feast of Southern Opet on the fourteenth of Paophi, after the return from the first campaign (§ 550), which Amenemhab here relates after the campaigns exactly as the inscription of Feasts and Offerings continues the Annals.

<sup>c</sup>That is the thirtieth of the seventh month (Phamenoth); as he was crowned on the fourth of the ninth month (Pakhons), he lacked one month and four days of concluding his fifty-fourth year, dying on the seventeenth of March, while his fifty-fourth year would have been completed on the nineteenth of the following April (his coronation day coming over thirteen days earlier than when he was crowned fifty-four years earlier). If born before his father's accession, as seems probable, he was at least eighty-four years old at his death.

<sup>d</sup>This phrase is rendered by Brugsch (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1873, 134): "es ging unter die Sonnenscheibe," for which he gives excellent reasons; but in Ineni (§ 46, l. 4), the pronoun "he" is expressed, rendering B's translation impossible. See also IV, 988 E and 988 G.

<sup>e</sup>Fragments of a great granite doorway some forty feet high through the center of Pylon VII (Baedeker's plan), the northernmost of the southern pylons, were

but even from the fragments the great historical value of the monument is evident. It contained a record of Thutmose III's military career as an explanation of the sources of the costly materials used on this pylon and other good works in the Karnak temple. It begins with his coronation, passes to the reign of Thutmose II, and furnishes our most important proof of Thutmose III's coregency with Thutmose II,<sup>a</sup> whom, as his predecessor, he officially calls his "*father*," as was customary on the monuments in referring to deceased Pharaohs. The record then proceeds to the first campaign, the battle of Megiddo, the siege of Megiddo, its capture, the prisoners, and the disposal of the prisoners and plunder in Karnak. Whether the succeeding campaigns were now taken up is uncertain. In any case, the record now included some account of the important eighth campaign, of the year 33, when Thutmose III first conquered the Euphrates country.

With some omissions of mutilated portions, necessitated by the exceedingly fragmentary character of some of the material, the fragments are as follows:

*First Fragment*<sup>b</sup>

594. Year 1, first month of the third season (ninth month), the fourth day,<sup>c</sup> occurred the coronation of the king's-son ———.

*Second Fragment*<sup>d</sup>

595. ———<sup>e</sup> before me into the —. There was assigned to me the sovereignty of the Two Lands upon the throne of Keb, the office

found by Legrain in September-October, 1901, and published by him in the *Annales du Service*, II, 272-79, IV, Pl. III. The inscription is in vertical lines, of which there were at least fourteen, computed by Legrain to have had a combined length (if set end to end) of 200 meters. Of all this the surviving fragments contain but a small fraction.

<sup>a</sup>A lintel block, found by Petrie at Abydos in 1902 (*Abydos*, I, Pl. LXI, 2; LXIV, and p. 30), shows their two names together, as having been coregent during work on the Eighteenth Dynasty Abydos temple.

<sup>b</sup>Legrain's E. 279.

<sup>c</sup>See Annals, § 417.

<sup>d</sup>Legrain's combination of several fragments, 276, 277.

of Khepri by the side of my father, the Good God, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okhepernere (Thutmose II), given life forever . . . . .  
4. . . . .

*Spoil of First Campaign*

596. His majesty commanded to build stone ——— 5— it with electrum. The divine shadow was the likeness of a ram, whose name was made: “Menkheperre — — Monuments.” It is the favorite place of the lord of the gods. . . . . All its vessels were of electrum, gold, [every] costly stone, ——— 6 [‘‘captured when his majesty went to<sup>1</sup>] Retenu, to repel the northern countries, on his first victorious campaign, which Amon decreed to him. . . . . 7— put in front of their wall, surrounding it with a firm rampart. My majesty besieged it<sup>a</sup> like a terrible lion. As for him who [‘‘came’] upon it by night, ——— 8— . Lo, my majesty carried off the wives of that vanquished one, together with [‘‘his’] children, and the wives of the chiefs who were [there, together with their] children. My majesty placed these women ——— 9— the name of another. Their impost was brought into the temple of my father, Amon, as the dues of Retenu — — — — these wives of the vanquished chief of Kadesh ——— 10— of Egypt, extending the boundaries, forever. — — — My majesty made this equipment to overlay — — [a barge] of the “Beginning-of-the-River” (named): “Userhet,”<sup>b</sup> hewn [of cedar] ——— 11. . . . . 12— with all [products] of the northern countries, when my majesty returned from these countries.

*Third Fragment<sup>c</sup>*

597. ——— their horses ——— the great chiefs of this country who came to fight ——— their — into the temple of Amon. Then my majesty commanded ——— my [father] Amon dues as yearly impost. Lo, ——— Lo, my majesty furnished an example of might,

<sup>a</sup>Meaning, of course, Megiddo; the preceding being a reference to his siege works; compare Annals, § 433, ll. 9-11.

<sup>b</sup>For “*Userhetamon*.” Of course, we are to read *h 3 t* instead of Legrain’s *c t*; see Lateran Obelisk (§§ 838).

<sup>c</sup>Legrain’s, I, 274. According to Legrain, these sections of seven lines belong to ll. 8-14, presumably referring to his numbering of the second fragment; but they are too far separated from that fragment to be here placed in connection with it. They evidently refer to the king’s prowess in some battle.



with my own sword, in the midst of ——— Bekhu (*Bhw*).<sup>a</sup> None stood before [me] ——— anew for my father, Amon.

*Fourth Fragment*<sup>b</sup>

598. ——— of Ketne (*Kd-n*) on the eighth victorious campaign, to repel ———.<sup>c</sup>

GREAT KARNAK BUILDING INSCRIPTION<sup>d</sup>

599. This inscription contained the record of Thutmose III's buildings, erected after the beginning of his wars.<sup>e</sup> In particular, it recounts the erection of one of his extensive additions to the east end of the great Karnak temple. The inscription is unfortunately badly mutilated, only the introductory lines being preserved, but we see that it recorded the erection of Thutmose III's splendid colonnaded halls and sanctuary, which form the eastern extension of the Karnak temple;<sup>f</sup> for it was a building so extensive that an old shrine of Nun had to be removed farther eastward.

600. There was a reason, hitherto overlooked, for the erection of these eastern halls by Thutmose III, which

<sup>a</sup>With a foreign determinative.

<sup>b</sup>Legrain's G, 279.

<sup>c</sup>There are two more lines, of which the first seems to contain some reference to making bows.

<sup>d</sup>A large granite stela, found by Mariette in the great Karnak temple, now in Cairo; fragments of only seventeen lines are preserved; text: Mariette, *Karnak*, 12.

<sup>e</sup>The record of his Theban buildings before his wars is contained in the great coronation inscription (§§ 131 ff.). Of his buildings elsewhere, he has left but slight record: a fragmentary dedication at El Kab (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 37); a similar fragment at Erment (*ibid.*, IV, 1); and a record of his share in the Pasht speos at Benihasan (Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 149), which is chiefly of religious character. Further building records also in §§ 609-22; 637-43.

<sup>f</sup>According to an altar found at Karnak, this building was called: "*Menkheperre-is-Glorious-in-Monuments*" (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1870, 137). An altar with the same inscription was reported at Salonichi (*ibid.*, 1868, 78 ff.), and is possibly identical with the first. See also § 560 for the only other occurrence of the name in Thutmose III's time. This name of Thutmose III's sanctuary was still in use in the reign of Takelot II, 650 years later (IV, 753).

must be noted here. The colonnaded hall built by Thutmose I between his two pylons (IV and V) formed the entrance-hall to the Karnak temple, and at this time was the largest hall in the building, the only one sufficiently large for a procession of the god, such as that which took place there when Thutmose III was installed as king by the priests. Now, this hall had been rendered unfit for use by Hatshepsut's strange insertion of her obelisks there (§ 304); it now stood roofless, with a small group of six columns at its northern end. Of these, four were the original cedar columns of Thutmose I, which Thutmose III now renews, recording the renewal on one of them, as follows:<sup>a</sup>

601. <sup>1</sup>He (Thutmose III) made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, erecting for him [4 columns] of sandstone set up<sup>b</sup> [in] the hypostyle, as [a renewal of that which<sup>1</sup>] his [father had made<sup>1</sup>], the Good God, Lord of Offering (viz., Thutmose I), shaped of cedar.<sup>c</sup> My majesty [added<sup>1</sup>]<sup>d</sup> 4 columns to the two columns<sup>e</sup> in the north side, together 6; wrought with —, established with — — <sup>2</sup>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<sup>f</sup> of sandstone. The height thereof was made 30 cubits,<sup>g</sup> on both sides of the great august portal,<sup>h</sup> — — throughout. They illuminated Karnak

<sup>a</sup>Published by Piehl, *Actes du 6<sup>me</sup> congrès international des orientalistes tenu en 1883 à Leide, IV<sup>me</sup> partie, section 3, pp. 203-19*. The text is badly broken, and unessential fragments have been omitted.

<sup>b</sup>Read: *smn*.

<sup>c</sup>This reference is the first mention of wooden columns in an Egyptian temple, and shows that Thutmose I built his hall with cedar columns. (See my *New Chapter*, 31, note b).

<sup>d</sup>Piehl.

<sup>e</sup>That is, the two columns of stone already inserted by Thutmose I (§ 100 and note).

<sup>f</sup>Three passive participles agree with "4 columns," viz., "wrought," "established," and "shaped." This mention of the material is in contrast with "shaped of cedar" (l. 1), referring to the wooden predecessors of the four new stone-columns.

<sup>g</sup>Over fifty-one feet.

<sup>h</sup>Northern portal; see plan, *New Chapter*, 13.

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 was found<sup>a</sup> going to ruin among them, my majesty established it with sandstone, in order that this temple might be established — <sup>3</sup>— like the heavens, abiding upon their four pillars, as a monument, great, excellent and useful 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,<sup>b</sup> I made it] anew in the north side, being an increase of that which my father had made.

602. Thus the north end of the hall, the end where Thutmose III had been stationed when he was proclaimed king, was repaired by him, but the south end was still without columns and roofless, and the obelisk-bases had usurped the room of eight columns, over a third of the entire colonnade. The hall could not be made fit for great ceremonies, with the obelisks preventing the replacement of over a third of the roof. Thutmose III therefore built a masonry sheathing around each of the obelisks, covering the inscriptions of Hatshepsut, and desisted<sup>c</sup> from any further attempt to restore the hall where he had been raised to the throne. But as such a great ceremonial hypostyle was of course indispensable, he built the splendid colonnaded halls still standing at the other or east end of the temple. On his return from the second<sup>d</sup> campaign, in the year 24, the building was begun, and on the thirtieth of Mekhir, that is, in the latter part of February, some two months before his departure for Syria on the third campaign, the brilliant

<sup>a</sup>Read: *gmy'it*?

<sup>b</sup>Restored from the common form of royal oath, e. g., Hatshepsut's obelisk inscription, § 318, l. 2.

<sup>c</sup>This is clear from the fact that his son Amenhotep II, erected the columns of the south end (§ 805).

<sup>d</sup>Not the first campaign, as I have incorrectly stated in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 39, 61.

celebration of the foundation ceremonies took place. On his return from the third campaign, in the year 25, the building was sufficiently far advanced to record on the walls of one of its chambers, the plants and flowers which he brought from Syria<sup>a</sup> in that year (§§ 450 f.).

603. The architraves of the building bear the following dedications:<sup>b</sup>

<sup>c</sup>He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, erecting for him an august central hypostyle<sup>d</sup> anew, of fine white sandstone (variant, fine limestone of Ayan).

Another form of this dedication is an epitheton attached to Thutmose III's name:

Establishing the house of his father, Amon-Re, of fine white limestone of Ayan.

604. Another dedication designates the hall<sup>e</sup> in the temple which was set apart by Thutmose III for the mortuary service of his ancestors. It is as follows:

f. . . . . making for them a great dwelling of myriads of years, anew<sup>g</sup> of fine limestone of Ayan, shining like the horizon of heaven, established as an eternal work. His majesty commanded to record the names of his fathers, to increase their offerings, and to fashion statues [— —]<sup>h</sup> to establish for them divine offerings anew, as increase of [what was formerly].

605. In one of the chambers to which this hall gave access, Thutmose had recorded on the walls a list<sup>i</sup> of the

<sup>a</sup>This is the earliest extract from his annals; the extracts around the sanctuary were, of course, made after the conclusion of his campaigns.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 31; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 159 f., 162; and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1313.

<sup>c</sup>Preceded by the titulary of Thutmose III.

<sup>d</sup>*Hry' t-yb*.

<sup>e</sup>Z in Mariette's Plan (*Karnak*, Pl. V).

<sup>f</sup>Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1313; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 168; Mariette, *Karnak*, 32, h; titulary and usual introduction are omitted.

<sup>g</sup>Or: "for the first time."

<sup>h</sup>"Of their bodies?"

<sup>i</sup>Removed by Prisse to Paris, where it now is, in the Bibliothèque Nationale. This is the famous Karnak list of kings. See I, p. 197, note a.

Pharaohs, his ancestors who were worshiped in this temple, and whose statues were set up in it. It is to this list that the dedication inscription refers.

This ancestral character of the temple is also referred to in another inscription<sup>a</sup> of Thutmose III, which designates the temple as “*a monument for his father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Thutmose I, and a monument of his fathers, the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt.*”

The architect in charge of these great additions was the first prophet of Amon, Menkheperreseneb, who briefly recounts his connection with them in his tomb inscriptions (§§ 772 ff.).

The great building inscription on our granite stela is as follows:

*The Oracle*

606. ¹ . . . . .<sup>b</sup> The king himself commanded to put in ²writing, according to the statement of the oracle,<sup>c</sup> to execute monuments before those who are on earth —. My majesty desired to make a monument to my father, Amon-Re, in Karnak, erecting a dwelling, beautifying the horizon, adorning for him Khaftet-hir-nebes, the favorite place of my father ³from the beginning, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes. I made it for him upon this block of enduring stone,<sup>d</sup> exalting and magnifying greatly, since — — — water to the shrine<sup>e</sup> of Nun, on arriving at his seasons.

*Old Buildings Removed*

607. I built it for him according to (his) desire, I satisfied him by that which I made for him (as) at first, building ⁴a shrine at the east of

<sup>a</sup>Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1315.

<sup>b</sup>The usual titulary of Thutmose III complete.

<sup>c</sup>This is doubtless the same as the oracle in the Punt inscriptions (§ 285, l. 5, *nd·t-r* ²) commanding the expedition. So also Thutmose III is building in response to an oracle.

<sup>d</sup>Mariette states that this tablet is of “granite gris” (Mariette, *Karnak*, Texte, 47); so that *rwd·t* cannot mean “sandstone” here.

<sup>e</sup>As Brugsch has supposed (*Egypt under the Pharaohs*, p. 180), this temple, or shrine of Nun, was in the way of enlarging the Amon-temple. It seems, therefore, to have been taken down and rebuilt farther eastward.

this temple. Behold, my majesty found the encircling wall of mud brick, — — [I removed the wall of] mud [brick,] in order to extend <sup>a</sup>this temple.<sup>a</sup> I cleansed it, I overthrew its ruinous (parts), and removed the inclosure, which was by its side, which went up <sup>s</sup>[to] the house. I built this place where the encircling wall was, in order to erect this monument upon it — — — — Karnak. I made (it) anew,<sup>b</sup> I fulfilled that which was prescribed, I did not appropriate the monument of another. My majesty spake this in truth for the information of <sup>6</sup>every one, my great abomination is to speak lies, there is no fiction in — — — — really. I know that he is pleased therewith.<sup>c</sup>

#### Foundation Ceremonies

**608.** My majesty ordered that the <sup>d</sup>foundation ceremony<sup>d</sup> should be prepared [at the approach of] the day of the Feast of the New Moon,<sup>e</sup> <sup>7</sup>to extend the measuring-line upon this monument. In the year 24, second month of the second season, the last day (of the month), on the day of the tenth feast of Amon in —————<sup>f</sup> the god rested (on) his great throne. After this, I proceeded [after] (my) father, <sup>8</sup>Amon; the god proceeded at his going to celebrate this his beautiful feast. The majesty of this god marveled —————;<sup>g</sup> this god [assum]ed the station [for] the extension of the [measuring-line]. He set his majesty before him at this monument, which his majesty had exacted. <sup>9</sup>The majesty of this god rejoiced in this monument —————<sup>f</sup> [the majesty] of this god proceeded; the beautiful feast was celebrated [for] my lord. Then I went to do the extending of the measuring-line upon that which —————<sup>h</sup> <sup>10</sup>before him. He led <sup>i</sup>[ — — — ]<sup>i</sup> the first feast of extending the line. Behold, the majesty of this revered god desired to do the extending of the line himself <sup>11</sup>—————<sup>j</sup> [ ————— ]<sup>k</sup> <sup>12</sup>————— all that he made.

<sup>a</sup>By a slight emendation of the text.

<sup>b</sup>Or: "for the first time."

<sup>c</sup>Viz., with the truth; a common idea.

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "the line extension," as in l. 7, following.

<sup>e</sup>See Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, VI, 1290 f.).

<sup>f</sup>About one-third line.

<sup>g</sup>Less than one-third line.

<sup>h</sup>Over one-half line. The remaining short ends of eight lines still have to do with this building, but offer nothing decisive by which to identify it.

<sup>i</sup>Partially broken.

<sup>j</sup>Nearly two-thirds line.

<sup>k</sup>See Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, VI, 1291); I do not understand the passage, and his explanation does not seem to me probable.

His majesty rejoiced exceedingly when he saw the great marvels which his father [Amon] had performed for him. <sup>13</sup>————<sup>a</sup> My heart dilated at every beautiful approach to begin this monument, enduring <sup>14</sup>————<sup>b</sup> all the names of the great gods who are in Karnak and of the gods and goddesses <sup>15</sup>————<sup>a</sup> All the people made jubilee. After this <sup>16</sup>————<sup>c</sup> electrum, which [my majesty] made for him <sup>17</sup>————<sup>d</sup>

BUILDING INSCRIPTION OF THE KARNAK PTAH-TEMPLE<sup>e</sup>

609. This inscription records how Thutmose III found the Ptah-temple, just north of the great hypostyle in Karnak, built of brick, with wooden columns and doorposts, falling to ruin. The occasion of rebuilding, or at least of new offerings, was the return from the first campaign, and the inscription contains interesting references (§ 616) to the investment and capture of Megiddo on that campaign. From the plunder thus obtained the temple was also newly and richly furnished. As this temple was one of the stopping-places of Amon, when his processions moved out from the Karnak temple, on all feast days, offerings are provided for Amon on such occasions (§§ 615, 617). At such times also the lay priesthood was to receive an offering, as well as the royal statue which was carried in procession (§ 618); and the usual daily offering was made to Ptah (§ 619), increased by certain new offerings now established for the first time

<sup>a</sup>Over two-thirds line.

<sup>b</sup>About three-fourths line.

<sup>c</sup>About four-fifths line.

<sup>d</sup>The remainder of the tablet must have contained at least as many more lines as the above.

<sup>e</sup>Large granite stela 1.50 m. high, 0.74 m. wide, and 0.32 m. thick, found in the Ptah-temple at Thebes; now in Cairo, thus far without number. It was published and translated by Maspero, *Comptes rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 1900, Tome I, 113-23, with facsimile plate; and again by Legrain, *Annales*, III, 107-11. I had also a copy of the original, kindly loaned me by Schaefer.

(§ 620). These were further increased on the king's return from a subsequent campaign late in September (§ 621). With offerings for Mut-Hathor (§ 622), the inscription closes.

These offerings are all "*for the sake of life, prosperity, and health*" of the Pharaoh; that is, they are the official sacrifices in his behalf, which were begun as soon as a king was crowned (cf. § 57).

610. The stela was badly defaced, when the persecution of Ikhnaton caused the chiseling out of the entire relief and every occurrence of the names of other gods. This defacement is important as showing that the persecution of Ikhnaton was not confined to Amon. The restorers of Seti I at Thebes were so accustomed to inserting the name of Amon that they have here inserted it where the titles clearly show that Ptah was original.

611. The dedication inscription on the wall of the Ptah-temple also attributes the building to Thutmose III, of whom it says:<sup>a</sup>

[He made (it) as his monument]<sup>b</sup> for his father, Ptah, the beautiful of face, lord of "Life of the Two Lands," presiding over the great seat; erecting for him the house of Ptah anew [of] fine white sandstone, doors of new cedar of the best of the terraces. It is more beautiful than it was before. Lo, my majesty found this house of brick — — — of the ancestors. His majesty commanded to make for him this temple of sandstone, established as an eternal work, made to flourish, an abiding monument — —,<sup>c</sup> which the Son of Re, Thutmose (III), makes for him.

612. Our stela inscription is surmounted by a relief,<sup>d</sup> down the middle of which is the following record of Seti I's restoration:

<sup>a</sup>Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1188=Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 7=Legrain, *Annales*, III, 98, 99.

<sup>b</sup>The restoration in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, is not correct; and that of Legrain is impossible.

<sup>c</sup>Name of Ptah erased by Ikhnaton; see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 8.

<sup>d</sup>This entire relief was chiseled out by Ikhnaton.



Restoration of the monument, which King Menmare (Seti I) made, in the house of his father, Ptah.

On the right, Thutmose III offers wine to Ptah. Behind the king is the divine wife (*hm·t ntr*) Sityoh (*S<sup>ḥ</sup>·t y<sup>c</sup> h*),<sup>a</sup> offering ointment. On the left, before the same god, Thutmose III, offering a libation of water, is followed by the same princess,<sup>b</sup> again offering ointment.

The inscription below the relief is as follows:

*Introduction*

613. <sup>1</sup>Live Horus . . . . . Thutmose III, beloved of Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, in Thebes, given life forever.

*Building the New Temple*

614. <sup>2</sup>My<sup>c</sup> majesty commands that there be built the temple of Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, in Thebes, which is a station (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>·t*) of my father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, wherein he [—]<sup>d</sup> on the day of "Bringing-in-the-God," and all his feasts <sup>3</sup>during the year, when he proceeds to the treasury of the south (*tp rsy*). Lo, my majesty found this temple built of brick and wooden columns,<sup>e</sup> and its doorway of wood, beginning to go to ruin. <sup>4</sup>My majesty commands to stretch the cord upon this temple anew, erected of fine white sandstone, and the walls around it<sup>f</sup> of brick, as a work enduring for eternity. <sup>5</sup>My majesty erected for it doors of new cedar of the best of the terraces, mounted with Asiatic copper, <sup>1</sup>corresponding to<sup>1</sup> (*h/t*) the house of Ptah anew, in the name of my majesty. <sup>6</sup>Never was done for him the like, before my majesty.

*New Equipment of the Temple*

615. My majesty made him rich, and I made him greater than before. I overlaid for him his great seat with electrum of the best of

<sup>a</sup>The name is perhaps wrongly restored, and Maspero affirms he has seen traces of the name Merytre; but of this Schaefer saw nothing.

<sup>b</sup>Her name is here original.

<sup>c</sup>The text has a Horus-hawk on the standard, used for the first person when the king speaks, in the rest of the inscription.

<sup>d</sup>We expect some verb like "rests" or "turns aside," but the text shows only the verb "give" and a very small lacuna.

<sup>e</sup>On wooden columns in a temple, see § 100.

<sup>f</sup>That is, the walls of the temple inclosure.

the countries. <sup>7</sup>All vessels were of gold and silver, and every splendid, costly stone, clothing of fine linen, white linen, ointments of divine ingredients, to perform his pleasing ceremonies at the feasts of <sup>8</sup>the beginnings of the seasons, which occur in this temple, when my majesty caused him to proceed, to assume his throne.

*Offerings on Return from First Campaign*

**616.** I filled his temple with every good thing, with oxen, geese, incense, wine, offerings of <sup>9</sup>all sorts of fruit, at the return of my majesty from (*hr*) the country of Retenu (*Rtnw*), on the first victorious campaign, which<sup>a</sup> my father, Amon, gave to me, when he gave to me all the allied countries of Zahi<sup>b</sup> (*D<sup>3</sup>-hy*), <sup>10</sup>shut up in one city. The fear of my majesty entered their hearts, (they) fell,<sup>c</sup> (they) slunk back; when I reached them, there was not one left <sup>11</sup>who stirred (*wtwt*) among them. I snared them in one city, I built around them with a rampart of thick wall, to —<sup>d</sup> their nostrils of the breath of life, by the fame of <sup>12</sup>my father, Amon, who guides me into a prosperous way by all his good designs, which he has wrought for my majesty. He has made great the victories of my majesty above (those of) any king who has been before.

*New Offerings for Amon*

**617.** <sup>13</sup>My majesty commanded that his altar should be supplied with every good thing. My majesty commanded that offerings be added anew for my father, Amon, in Karnak, <sup>14</sup>when he rested there: <sup>12</sup> <sup>e</sup>“heaps of offerings<sup>e</sup> supplied with everything,” for the day of “Bringing-in-the-God” and every feast of Amon, being<sup>f</sup> an increase of what was before, for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of my majesty —<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup>This relative clause (*rdyn ny yt'y*) is common. Maspero's rendering, “Je fis en effet ces dons à mon père, etc.,” is possible only by overlooking one of the *n*'s.

<sup>b</sup>This shows the wide extent of Zahi, evidently far beyond the limits of Phoenicia.

<sup>c</sup>The text has been restored here, and may be corrupt; “fell” (*hr*) may be the particle “then, so.”

<sup>d</sup>Some verb like “deprive.”

<sup>e</sup>This is a cultus term for a kind of oblation. See § 566.

<sup>f</sup>Emend after l. 19.

<sup>g</sup>Amon is here wrongly restored in an erasure extending over from the next line. The ancient restoration “my majesty” (*hn-y*) is quite right, as is shown by l. 19; Maspero (*Comptes rendus*, 1900, I, 115) corrects the restoration, and appeals to l. 19 as supporting his correction; but his quotation of l. 19 overlooks *hn*.

*Offerings for the Priesthood and Royal Statue*

618. Now, <sup>15</sup>when the majesty of this august god is satisfied with his offering (*yh' t*), let one cause a "heap of offerings, supplied with everything" to be issued to the lay priests of the temple of my father, Amon, in Karnak; <sup>16</sup>and 6 "heaps of offerings, supplied with everything"<sup>a</sup> and with bread of<sup>b</sup> the "Coming Forth" (to be issued) before the statue of millions of years of my majesty, which follows to this temple, which is in the domain of the majesty of <sup>17</sup>this august god, for the sake of this offering, <sup>c</sup>the name of which is: "Menkheperre-is-Great-in-Offerings."

*Offerings for Ptah*

619. Now, when this statue is satisfied with this offering, there shall be issued for the temple of <sup>18</sup>Ptah, lord of truth, South-of-His-Wall, in Thebes, according to the measure of the customary<sup>d</sup> offering, which is in this temple.

*New Offerings for Ptah*

620. My majesty has moreover commanded to found divine offerings anew for my father, <sup>19e</sup>Ptah-South-of-His-Wall in Thebes, consisting of 60 various loaves, 2 jars (*ds*) of beer, — — vegetables, bread of the daily offering of every day, as an increase of that which was before, for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of my majesty.

<sup>20</sup>Now, when the god is satisfied with his offerings, let this [offering] be placed before [this] statue of my majesty, when the lay priesthood of the temple of Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, in Thebes, go forth. My majesty [commands]<sup>f</sup> <sup>21</sup>to have executed every contract of the court, for his father, Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, in Thebes ——— Amon in Karnak.

<sup>a</sup>This is interpreting the loaf as determinative of the whole group; it is possible to separate it, as Maspero does, and read "six loaves from the bread of, etc."

<sup>b</sup>Or: "for the Coming Forth;" in which case the parenthesis must be inserted after "bread," thus: ". . . bread (to be issued) for the Coming Forth, etc."

<sup>c</sup>This relative clause, as the gender shows, does not belong to "offering," but to "temple!" The order of words above is as in the original, which is very confused. Such royal statues are depicted in reliefs "following" in procession to the temple.

<sup>d</sup>For another example of this use of this word (*mit*), see § 798; and the Treaty, III, § 377, l. 14.

<sup>e</sup>The restorer has absurdly inserted Amon here before Ptah!

<sup>f</sup>The restoration has probably omitted this word.

*Further Addition to Ptah's Offerings*

**621.** First (month) of the first season (first month), twenty-sixth day.<sup>a</sup> My majesty hath founded for him: <sup>22</sup>a bull, —<sup>b</sup> jars (*mnw*) of wine, 2 geese, 4 great ᵀ—, 5 measures (*ḏny' t*) of fruit, grain for 6 white loaves, 2 [bundles of vegetables],<sup>c</sup> 20 (*t' b-*) jars and 10 (*ds-*) jars of beer, 5 table fowl, <sup>23</sup>200 various loaves of the divine offerings from the house (*pr*) of Amon, 4 measures of incense, — cakes, 20 white loaves, <sup>d</sup>for the sake of<sup>d</sup> the life, prosperity, and health of Pharaoh, fixed as annual dues, burned in the presence of this god <sup>24</sup>every day.

*Offerings for Mut-Hathor*

**622.** My [majesty commands] to have executed every contract of the court for Mut-Hathor, mistress of Thebes, on the day of the "Altar-of-the-Feast," which takes place<sup>e</sup> on the last day of the third month of the third season (eleventh month). <sup>25</sup>[My majesty] has [founded ᵀdivine offerings of] — jars of wine, 1 goose, 2 great ᵀ—, 4 measures (*ḏny' t*) of fruit, grain for four white loaves, 2 bundles of vegetables, 2 (*t' b-*) jars of beer. <sup>26</sup>5 table-fowl, 25 [various loaves of the divine]<sup>f</sup> offerings, ᵀ— of the garden, and every plant, burned<sup>g</sup> in the presence of this goddess, every day.

<sup>27</sup>[It is] my [majesty] who does all the things to be done in this house in this good hour ᵀexactly<sup>l</sup>, in which is the burning. It is my majesty who makes anew ———.

<sup>a</sup>This is about the twenty-third of September and was, of course, the time of the king's return with the plunder from some campaign of the preceding summer (see §§ 409 ff.).

<sup>b</sup>The numeral has been corrupted in the restoration.

<sup>c</sup>To be restored from l. 25.

<sup>d</sup>Maspero restores: *nw* = "of;" but the context demands the usual connection, viz., "for the sake of (*hr-ḏ' ḏ'?*), etc.," which Schaefer read; and this is shown by the photograph to be correct.

<sup>e</sup>Maspero has "fête de faire être;" but the phrase "cause to be" is usual for the taking place of a feast. See *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 124 f., where it occurs three times, and the Elephantine appendix to the Amāda stela, § 798.

<sup>f</sup>Restored from l. 23.

<sup>g</sup>A participle referring to the entire preceding series of offerings; the same above in l. 23.

OBELISKS

623. In celebration of the usual jubilee on the thirtieth anniversary of his being proclaimed crown prince, and on recurrences<sup>a</sup> of the same feast, Thutmose III erected a series of at least seven<sup>b</sup> obelisks, of which five were in Thebes and two in Heliopolis. The first of these feasts must have taken place in his thirtieth year as king, because his proclamation as crown prince was coincident with his coronation. He had no prospect of succeeding until he was crowned. These obelisks are chronologically important, and bear inscriptions, some of which possess great historical value.

I. KARNAK OBELISKS

624. If we exclude those of Hatshepsut, there are now no obelisks erected by Thutmose III remaining in Karnak; for that of Thutmose I which he appropriated was not erected by Thutmose III (see §§ 105, 86 ff.), but only inscribed by him. In the year 42, however, he had already erected in Karnak four obelisks, for which he decreed offerings (§§ 563, 572). Whether he later erected more, we cannot tell, but it can hardly be an accident that other sources also refer to four at Karnak, two being recorded by the king

<sup>a</sup>A record of the celebration of a jubilee on the second of Pauni in year 33 is found in a tablet at el-Bersheh (Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 47; again less accurately, II, 33). The monument is now destroyed.

<sup>b</sup>That is:

Mentioned in texts at Karnak	4
(Includes Constantinople obelisk)	
Lateran obelisk	1
Heliopolis obelisks	2
Total	7

The Lateran obelisk was, of course, not completed by Thutmose III. There is a small obelisk of his at Sion house; see Birch, *History*, 102. A new obelisk of "Thotmes" (not stated which one) is mentioned in *Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report*, 98, 99, 22. See Breasted, "The Obelisks of Thutmose III and His Building Season in Egypt" (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 39, 55-61). Legrain's recent discoveries at Karnak (*Annales*, V) arrived too late for use here.

himself and two mentioned in the tomb of Puemre (§§ 382 ff.) The former two are represented in a relief<sup>a</sup> where Thutmose III is presenting to Amon a magnificent array of costly gifts in gold and silver and the like. Among these appear two obelisks each inscribed with titles, etc., of Thutmose III, followed on the one by the words:

He made (it) as his monument [for his father, Amon, lord of Thebes],<sup>b</sup> erecting for him two great and mighty obelisks of granite; the pyramidions (being) of electrum;<sup>c</sup> at the double façade of the temple.

As the inscription is different from that upon the obelisks in the tomb of Puemre, they must be a different pair.<sup>d</sup> The inscriptions in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb also refer to “*many obelisks and flagstaves*”<sup>e</sup> erected by him for Thutmose III at Thebes.

625. A scarab,<sup>f</sup> issued in celebration of the erection of obelisks in Karnak, bears the words:

Thutmose III, whose obelisks abide in the house of Amon.

In addition to these four, for which we have chiefly inscrip-tional evidence, Thutmose III had at least one more

<sup>a</sup>In the corridor of the Annals in the great Karnak temple; published by Champollion, *Monuments*, IV, 316, 317; partially by Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, Text, III, 1, plate opposite p. 125; partially by Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica*, 29, and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1185 ff.

<sup>b</sup>Brugsch and Rosellini represent this as erased, but Champollion has it in full, having doubtless inserted it from similar dedications.

<sup>c</sup>See Ineni (§ 103, l. 8); Lepsius says of the obelisk in tomb of Puemre: “das pyramidion ist gelb gemalt,” of course representing electrum (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 244). On the other obelisk the same inscription with the variant “*obelisks*” (for the dual).

<sup>d</sup>None of these can be the Lateran obelisk, for it was not one of a pair; but the Constantinople obelisk is one of the first pair above mentioned, for the position, of the representations and the wording of the inscriptions tally exactly (the only difference is the omission of *ḡsr-ḥ w* in the Golden Horus name in the Karnak relief). See *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 39, Tafel III, 1 and 2 (opp. p. 56), and p. 57.

<sup>e</sup>Virey, *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, 209, l. 15.

<sup>f</sup>Berlin, No 3530, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 417.

obelisk in Karnak, which has itself survived, though far from its original site, viz., the Lateran Obelisk.

## II. LATERAN OBELISK<sup>a</sup>

626. This obelisk has had an interesting history. It was intended by Thutmose III probably for the forecourt before his southern pylon (VIII) in Karnak.<sup>b</sup> But he apparently died after it had reached its site, but before it was erected or inscribed. There it lay for thirty-five years in "*the hands of the craftsmen*" until it was piously erected and properly inscribed with Thutmose III's dedication, etc., by his grandson, Thutmose IV, who adds also his own inscription with an account of the monument's history thus far. It is herein distinctly stated that this is the first time that a single obelisk was erected.<sup>c</sup> The next date of its history is that of its erection by Constantius in the Circus Maximus at Rome in 357 A. D. In 1587 it was discovered there broken into three pieces, and was set up on its present site in the next year by Pope Sixtus V.

The inscriptions of Thutmose III occupy the middle

<sup>a</sup>In the piazza of the Lateran in Rome; published in *Interpretatio Obeliscorum Urbis . . . digesta per A. M. Ungarellium*, Romæ, MDCCCXLII, Tab. I; Birch, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2d ser., II, 228; de Horrack, *Revue Archéologique*, N. S., 1864, IX, 45 (incomplete); Marucchi, *Gli obelischi egiziani di Roma*, Tav. I and II.

<sup>b</sup>Thutmose III says it was set "*in the forecourt of the temple over against Karnak*;" Thutmose IV refers three times to its location: (1) when found it was lying "*on the south side of Karnak*;" (2) it was erected "*in Karnak*;" (3) it was erected "*at the upper portal of Karnak*." Taken altogether, these data show that in No. 3 the southern entrance through Pylon VIII is meant, and there the obelisk stood. There is a reference to the same portal in the inscription of Beknekhonsu (III, 567, l. 5), where it is also called the "*upper portal*." In both cases the same word (*hr*) is used for "*upper*." It is unusual in this sense, viz., referring to the river, but occurs twice in the same way in the inscription of Zoser (Sehel, ll. 16 and 30).

<sup>c</sup>Hence it was not paired with the Constantinople obelisk, as Wiedemann states (*Aegyptische Geschichte*, 365).

lines, those of Thutmose IV the side lines.<sup>a</sup> All have suffered much from restoration by the papal architect at the last erection.

*Dedication (South Side)*

627. . . . .<sup>b</sup> Thutmose (III). He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, erecting for him a single obelisk in the forecourt (*wb*<sup>2</sup>) of the temple over against (*r-h*<sup>2</sup> *w*) Karnak, as the first beginning of erecting a single obelisk in Thebes; that he might be given life.

*North Side*

. . . . . (Thutmose III), son of Amon, of his body, whom Mut bore to him in Ishru, of the same limbs as he who fashioned him, Son of Re, Thutmose, Beautiful of Form, beloved of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, given life, like Re.

*East Side*

628. . . . . (Thutmose III), rich in monuments in the house of Amon; making his monuments greater than that which the ancestors made, who were before; exceeding that which ever was, not resembling the likeness of anything that was made in the house of his father, Amon, that the son of Re, Thutmose, Ruler of Heliopolis, may be given life through him (*ni*).

*West Side*

. . . . . (Thutmose III), who praises Amon, when he rises in Karnak. He sends Amon to rest in the house, "Bearer-of-Diadems," while his (Amon's) heart is glad at the monuments of his beloved son, "Enduring in Kingship."<sup>c</sup> Cause him to endure and to repeat for thee the celebration of this million of jubilees; Son of Re, Thutmose, Beautiful of Form, given life.

### III. CONSTANTINOPLE OBELISK<sup>d</sup>

629. This obelisk was removed by the emperor Theodosius from Egypt to Constantinople.<sup>e</sup> It originally stood

<sup>a</sup>These latter will be found under his reign (§§ 830 ff.).

<sup>b</sup>Full five-name titulary, as in §§ 143 ff.

<sup>c</sup>Second name of Thutmose III.

<sup>d</sup>In Constantinople, published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 60; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 65. Only the upper portion is preserved.

<sup>e</sup>Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 365.



somewhere in Karnak,<sup>a</sup> and is shown with its fellow in a relief there, in which the king offers the pair to Amon. The exact location of these obelisks, or of the pair erected by Puemre, is doubtless indicated by an inscription on a fragment of a sphinx found near Thutmose III's southern pylon (VII) at Karnak, which reads: "*He presented two obelisks of stone, one on each side of it*" (*Annales*, IV, 9), evidently meaning the door of the pylon. The inscriptions on the Constantinople obelisk<sup>b</sup> are as follows:

*Dedication (South Side)*

**630.** . . . . .<sup>c</sup>(Thutmose III); he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes; erecting <sup>d</sup>[for him very great obelisks of red granite, the pyramidions of electrum; that he may be given life, like Re, forever].

*North Side*

. . . . . (Thutmose III), whom Atum reared as a child, in the arms of Neit, Divine Mother, to be king; who has taken all lands, the extent of time; lord of jubilees (*hb-sd*) ———.

*East Side*

**631.** . . . . . (Thutmose III), lord of victory, binder of every land, who makes his boundary as far as the Horns of the Earth, the marshes as far as Naharin (*N-h-r-n*) ———.

*West Side*

. . . . . (Thutmose III), who crossed the "Great Bend" of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*)<sup>e</sup> with might and with victory at the head of his army, making a great slaughter [among them] ———.

<sup>a</sup>See § 624 and note.

<sup>b</sup>Petrie (*History of Egypt*, II, 131 ff.) has shown that this obelisk must have been very high. He would for this reason identify it with the great obelisks of Thutiy's inscription (§ 376), but those obelisks belonged to Hatshepsut, and, as we have seen, the Constantinople obelisk is certainly one of those shown in the Karnak relief (§ 624 and note).

<sup>c</sup>Full titulary except last fifth name.

<sup>d</sup>The Karnak relief (§ 543) furnishes the lost conclusion of this dedication.

<sup>e</sup>This is the campaign of the thirty-third year. See §§ 477 ff.

IV. LONDON OBELISK<sup>a</sup>

632. This obelisk, with its fellow, now in New York, stood in the temple of Heliopolis. Removed to Alexandria, they were erected before the temple of the Cæsars there, in 13-12 B. C.,<sup>b</sup> by the Roman<sup>c</sup> (?) architect Pontius, while Barbarus was prefect. The London obelisk, which had fallen early in the fourteenth century, was removed<sup>d</sup> thither in 1877 and landed in England in January, 1878. It is 68½ feet high (Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 127).

633. Its inscriptions<sup>e</sup> are not of great historical importance; the dedication is as follows:

. . . . . Thutmose (III); he made (it) as his monument for his father, Harakhte, erecting for him two great obelisks; with pyramidion of electrum, at the fourth<sup>f</sup> occurrence of the jubilee (*hb-sd*), because he so much loved 'his father.' May the Son of Re, Thutmose (III), be [given life] through him (*nf*).

<sup>a</sup>Stands on the Thames embankment in London; published in *Description, Antiquités*, V, 32, 33 (partially and badly); Champollion, *Monuments*, IV, 445, 446; Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica*, 51; phototype, Gorringer, *Egyptian Obelisks*; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 11, 30 (dedication only); King, *Cleopatra's Needle* (London, 1886).

<sup>b</sup>The current date, 22 B. C., is an error, to be corrected from the revised text of Merriam (*The Greek and Latin Inscriptions on the Obelisk-Crab*, by A. C. Merriam, New York, 1883) on the bronze crabs which were inserted under the obelisks at their re-erection. Those under the fallen London obelisk had, of course, disappeared; on a claw found under the other (New York) obelisk, and now in the Metropolitan Museum (New York), both the Greek and Latin versions are preserved. Merriam's copy reads:

L IH KAIΞAPΞ	A[N]NO XVIII CAESARIS
BAPBAPOΞ ANEΘHKKE	BARBARUS PRAEF
APXITEKTONOYNTOΞ	AEGYPTI POSUIT
ΠONTIOY	ARCHITCTANTE PONTIO

(Ligatures and missing portions of broken letters I have not indicated).

<sup>c</sup>If he be the same as the "Pontios" of the fountain in the garden of Mæcenas (Merriam, *Obelisk-Crab*, 47), he was an Athenian.

<sup>d</sup>See Gorringer.

<sup>e</sup>The middle lines are by Thutmose III; the side lines by Ramses II.

<sup>f</sup>On the Thames embankment, in 1901, I could see only three strokes of the numeral; nor (with an opera-glass) could I discern room for a fourth; but Brugsch read it when it was prostrate (*Thesaurus*, V, 1130) as four.

V. NEW YORK OBELISK<sup>a</sup>

634. It was removed to New York<sup>b</sup> with admirable skill and success by Lieutenant-Commander Goringe,<sup>c</sup> landing in July, 1880. Unfortunately, the dedication inscription<sup>d</sup> is illegible, and the others contain only the conventional praise of the king. They are as follows:

*East Side*

635. Horus: Mighty Bull, Shining in Thebes; Favorite of the Two Goddesses; Enduring in Kingship like Re in Heaven; <sup>e</sup>Born of Atum, Lord of Heliopolis, Son of his body, whom Thoth fashioned;<sup>e</sup> whom they fashioned in the Great House in the beauty of their limbs, knowing that he would exercise a kingship enduring forever, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose III), beloved of Atum, the great god, and the divine ennead; given life, stability, and satisfaction, like Re, forever.

*North Side*

636. Horus: 'Taking' the white crown; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre; Golden Horus: satisfied in smiting the rulers of the countries 'approaching' him, according as his father, Re, has decreed for him victory<sup>f</sup> against every land, and might of the sword by his arms, in order to widen the boundaries of Egypt; Son of Re, Thutmose (III) — —.

<sup>a</sup>Central Park, New York. See introduction to London Obelisk; published in *Description, Antiquités*, V, 32, 33 (incomplete); Champollion, *Monuments*, IV, 444; Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica*, 52; Goringe, *Egyptian Obelisks*; Moldenke, *The New York Obelisk* (New York, 1891).

<sup>b</sup>For its earlier history, see § 632.

<sup>c</sup>See his excellent account of the achievement in *Egyptian Obelisks*, by H. Goringe (New York, 1882). It contains useful descriptions of the transport of the London, Paris, and other obelisks.

<sup>d</sup>The inscriptions of Thutmose III occupy the middle lines; the side lines are by Ramses II, as in London.

<sup>e</sup>This is all in one cartouche, and the words *ms* and Thoth, appearing together below, are perhaps intended to be joined as "Thutmose," although they belong to the two separate lines, "*Born . . . . . fashioned*," above.

<sup>f</sup>See Lateran Obelisk, north side, right line (§ 831).

MEDINET HABU BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS<sup>a</sup>

637. The small Eighteenth Dynasty temple of Medinet Habu, on the west shore at Thebes, is so shut in by the larger buildings later erected around it that it is little noticed by the modern visitor. It was begun by Thutmose I. Although Hatshepsut certainly had a share in it, the dedication inscriptions attribute its erection to Thutmose III, but refer to an earlier temple on the spot, meaning the work of Thutmose I. They are as follows:

638. <sup>b</sup>. . . . . He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re,<sup>c</sup> king of gods, making for him a great temple upon the [—] district of the West of Thutmose III (called): “Splendid-is-the-Seat-of-Amon;”<sup>d</sup> of fine white sandstone; that he might therefore be given life, forever.

639. . . . . He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over “Splendor-of-the-West,” erecting for him a splendid adytum of fine white sandstone, (<sup>e</sup>in<sup>f</sup>) his accustomed place of the first beginning. My majesty established it anew, that he might therefore be given life forever.

640. <sup>e</sup>. . . . . erecting for him his splendid seat of the first beginning, establishing it as an eternal work, his majesty having found it beginning to fall to ruin; that he might be given life like Re, forever.

641. <sup>f</sup>. . . . . making for him “Splendor-of-the-West,” to shelter its lord and these lords of the district of Thamut (*T<sup>3</sup>-mw<sup>3</sup>t*) . . . . .

<sup>a</sup>See Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1304–6.

<sup>b</sup>The following three texts are from Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 38, *c*, and *d*. I have omitted in all the full fivefold titulary of Thutmose III.

<sup>c</sup>Chiseled out and restored.

<sup>d</sup>Or: “*Amon-is-Splendid-in-Throne*” (as to his throne), *Ymn-ḏsr-ys<sup>3</sup>t*. It is abbreviated as *ḏsr-ys<sup>3</sup>t*, and probably also as *Ymn-ḏsr* on a set of foundation deposit tools (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1298, 1299). Another name of the temple or district is “*Splendor-of-the-West*.”

<sup>e</sup>Titulary and introduction are omitted. On this form see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 156, as Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 38, *d*, is wrongly reconstructed.

<sup>f</sup>Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 130, and Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, xxxvi; titulary and introduction omitted as above. The other two are also from the same sources.

He made "Chamber-of-the-Cemetery" for his fathers, the lords of the splendid region. . . . .

He made "Possessed-of-Eternity" for his father Ptah-Tatenen of "Lord-of-Life". . . . .<sup>a</sup>

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#### HELIOPOLIS BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

**642.** A round-topped stela<sup>b</sup> bears in the upper two-thirds a relief showing Thutmose III, offering an oblation to Harakhte. Below the relief is the following inscription:

Year 47, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Menkheperre; Son of Re: Thutmose (III), [living] forever.

His majesty commanded to encircle this temple with a thick wall of stone-work, for his father Re-Harakhte forever, when he cleansed Heliopolis, the house of Re — — — — —.<sup>c</sup>

**643.** A doorpost<sup>d</sup> in Cairo bears a dedication of Thutmose III, as follows:

He made (it) as his monument for his father Atum, lord of Heliopolis, making for him a doorway of benut (*bnw' t*) stone, (called): "Pure-are-the-Offerings-of-Menkheperre-Beloved-of-the-Gods-of-Heliopolis."

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#### NUBIAN WARS

**644.** The records of Thutmose III's conquests in Nubia are very meager; although he had evidently been early active there, as is shown by his building of the Semneh temple (§§ 167 ff.), yet the first mention of a Nubian campaign is in his fiftieth year, when in passing through the canal at the first cataract he was obliged to clear it of stones, as recorded in his inscription, cut there at the time (§§ 649 ff.).

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<sup>a</sup>Two others add: "for the father of his fathers, all the gods of the splendid region;" and "for his father, Amon-Re."

<sup>b</sup>Stela found by Lepsius at Heliopolis; limestone, 96 cm. high, now in Berlin, No. 1634. Published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 29, b; I had also my own photograph of the original, and the copy for the Berlin dictionary.

<sup>c</sup>One line, and perhaps more, lacking.

<sup>d</sup>Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 34.

645. Besides this, the king commemorated his victories in Nubia by having engraved upon the front of each tower of one of his pylons<sup>a</sup> at Karnak a list<sup>b</sup> of seventeen names of towns and districts captured there. Over one list is a relief,<sup>c</sup> now in a very fragmentary state, representing the king sacrificing his Nubian foes before Amon. The scene is accompanied by the words:

————— 'bringing<sup>1</sup> the living prisoners to Egypt, all their herds being led to Egypt. He has filled the storehouse of his father, the lord of gods with — — — of the chiefs 'whom<sup>1</sup> he has 'conquered<sup>1</sup>. The kings have not done it (before) in this land. His name shall abide forever and ever.

Over the other list was a similar inscription, now too fragmentary for translation.

646. A further and much fuller list was placed by the king in duplicate, one on each of the two towers of the sixth Karnak pylon, a list which contains no less than 115<sup>d</sup> names of the towns and districts of the Nubian regions conquered.<sup>e</sup> One of these lists was surmounted by a relief showing the Nubian god Dedun leading and presenting to Thutmose III the towns, etc., enumerated in the list. Over both the lists is the following inscription:

List of these south<sup>f</sup> countries, the Nubian Troglodytes of Khenthenofer, whom his majesty overthrew, making a great<sup>g</sup> slaughter among them, (whose) number is unknown, and carrying away all their subjects as living captives to Thebes, in order to fill the storehouse of his father,

<sup>a</sup>Bouriant does not indicate clearly which pylon is meant, but says it is in front of the sanctuary.

<sup>b</sup>Daressy, *Recueil*, XI, 154, 155.

<sup>c</sup>South of door.

<sup>d</sup>Mariette's 116 is an error.

<sup>e</sup>Mariette, *Karnak*, 22, 23; Maspero, *Recueil*, VII, 99, 100; Golénischeff, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 145-48, and Taf. VI; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 37; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1544-53.

<sup>f</sup>The duplicate has "south and north!" but as the two lists are duplicates, and the Nubian god Dedun presents them to the king, "north" is certainly an error.

<sup>g</sup>"Great" is from the duplicate.

Amon-Re, lord of Thebes. Lo, all lands are the subjects of his majesty, according as his father, Amon, has commanded.

647. Finally, on his southern pylon (VII) at Karnak, the king recorded a table of nearly, and possibly more than, 400 names of towns, districts, countries, etc., conquered in Nubia.<sup>a</sup> It was accompanied by the same inscription as that over the lists on Pylon VI. The geography of Nubia is too little known to determine the limits of the territory included in these lists, and it is uncertain how far up the Nile Thutmose III's conquests extended. As his son Amenhotep II reached the extreme southern limit at Napata, it is probable that Thutmose III's wars at least prepared the way thither, if they did not include Napata.

648. A short inscription<sup>b</sup> in the tomb of Ineni refers to captives and spoil from Nubia:

———— among the negroes, given from chiefs and living captives, [—] for divine offerings of Amon, when Kush, the wretched, was overthrown; together with the tribute of all countries, which his majesty gave to the temple of Amon as yearly dues, for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of King Thutmose III.<sup>c</sup>

The above document is corroborated by a record of such offerings placed by the king in the Karnak temple (§§ 541 ff.).

#### I. CANAL INSCRIPTION<sup>d</sup>

649. On this expedition into Nubia, the king found the old Middle Kingdom canal of Sesostris III (I, 642 ff.)

<sup>a</sup>Mariette, *Karnak*, 24-26; Maspero, *Recueil*, VII, 97-99; Golénischeff, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 145-48, and Taf. VI; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1544-53 (where material from this list is combined with others, especially the 115 names of Pylon VI).

<sup>b</sup>Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, 129, Q-130, and p. 105.

<sup>c</sup>Piehl's copy has *Hpr-k* >R<sup>c</sup>, which would be Sesostris I; but *mn* of *Mn-hpr-k* >R<sup>c</sup> has certainly fallen out, as offerings "for the sake of the life, etc." were made only for living kings.

<sup>d</sup>Cut on the rock of the island of Sehel, at the first cataract. It was discovered by Mr. E. C. Wilbour in 1889, and published in *Recueil*, XIII, 202 f.; again, inaccurately, in de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 85, No. 18.

stopped up, although it had been cleared by his father, Thutmose I (§§ 74 ff.). He ordered it cleared, and was able to sail through without trouble on his return. He put up a record of the clearance, beside that of his father and in the identical language;<sup>a</sup> he also made the fishermen of Elephantine responsible for the yearly clearance of the passage in the future.

650. Year 50, first (month) of the third season (ninth month), day 22, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose III), given life.

His majesty commanded to dig this canal, after he had found it<sup>b</sup> stopped up with stones, (so that) no ship sailed upon it. He sailed down-stream upon it, his heart glad, having slain his enemies.

The name of this canal is: "Opening-of-This-Way-in-the-Beauty<sup>c</sup>-of-Menkheperre-Living-Forever." The fishermen of Elephantine shall clear this canal each year.

## II. INSCRIPTIONS OF NEHI, VICEROY OF KUSH

651. Nehi held the office of "*King's-son*," or viceroy of Kush, in the second half of the reign of Thutmose III (see § 61), beginning not later than the year 23, when he erected Thutmose III's record of victory at Wadi Halfa (§§ 411 ff.). He was evidently in charge of the alterations in the Semneh temple, later undertaken by Thutmose III. A mutilated inscription<sup>d</sup> of his in this temple speaks of "*bringing stone . . . . . in restoring the monument — of eternity —*"

<sup>a</sup>This probably indicates that we are not to understand literally the identical statements made by his father as to his actually sailing on the canal. Thutmose III was now an old man of eighty years at least, and it is impossible that he should have accompanied the expedition himself.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "*after his finding (infinitive) it.*"

<sup>c</sup>It is, of course, the same as the Middle Kingdom canal, but is given a new name by each king.

<sup>d</sup>Outside, south wall, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 47, a, below, at the right of the door; the "*governor of the south countries*," whose name is lost on the left of the door, belongs to the Ramsessid period, as he is adoring Ramses III.



— — [*Governor of the*] *south [countries]*, *Nehi (Nhy)*.” Another record<sup>a</sup> of his on the latest portion of the building, the northern addition,<sup>b</sup> is too fragmentary for translation.

652. The grotto at Ellesiyeh<sup>c</sup> dates from the fifty-second year<sup>d</sup> of Thutmose III, and contains the following inscription<sup>e</sup> of Nehi:

Bringing<sup>f</sup> the tribute of the south countries, consisting of gold, ivory, and ebony, [by] the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, satisfying the heart of the king at the Horns of the Earth,<sup>g</sup> having access to the king, pleasant to the divine limbs; companion, approaching the mighty sovereign, vigilant for the lord of the palace, king's-son, governor of the south countries, Nehi.

He saith: “I am a servant useful to his lord, filling his house with gold, giving tribute to —, consisting of the impost of the south countries; [whose] praise comes forth in the presence of his lord;<sup>h</sup> the king's-son, governor of the south countries, Nehi.”<sup>i</sup>

Another inscription<sup>j</sup> of Nehi, containing only his name and titles, is on the island of Sai, one hundred miles above Semneh.

### III. OFFERINGS FROM THE SOUTH COUNTRIES<sup>k</sup>

653. A relief shows Amon enthroned, and receiving from Thutmose III, who stands before him, a great array of offer-

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 56, *a*.

<sup>b</sup>See Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 21 f.

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 45, *e*.

<sup>d</sup>See Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 23, n. 1.

<sup>e</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 46, *c* = Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 80.

<sup>f</sup>The inscription of course accompanied a representation of the Nubians bringing the tribute before Nehi.

<sup>g</sup>See Index.

<sup>h</sup>Read: *nb'f*.

<sup>i</sup>This inscription has been understood by Wiedemann as belonging to the tomb of Nehi; for he refers (*Aegyptische Geschichte*, 362) to this inscription to prove the statement that the Tomb of Nehi was at Silsileh (confusion with Ellesiyeh?). The tomb of Nehi is unknown, as far as I have been able to find.

<sup>j</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 59, *b*.

<sup>k</sup>A relief with inscription in one of the rear rooms in Thutmose III's portion of the Karnak temple; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 165 f.

ings, including cattle, fowl, flowers, bread, all sorts of fruit, together with metal libation-vessels, necklaces, amulets, and pendants. The whole is accompanied by the following inscription:

654. Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, [making] for him divine possessions, presenting to him all divine offerings, and very great feasts, which his majesty made for the first time as an increase of that which was before: giving an oblation of vessels of very plentiful [fullness]; necklaces, amulets, and pendants of real<sup>a</sup> electrum, brought to his majesty from the south countries as their yearly impost; that he may live forever.

#### HYMN OF VICTORY<sup>b</sup>

655. At the top, occupying over one-fourth of the stela, are two scenes of worship, in each of which Thutmose III, accompanied by the goddess of the Theban necropolis, Khafet-hir-nebes (*ḥjt t-ḥr-nbs*), offers to Amon, with the usual superscriptions.<sup>c</sup>

The hymn itself in twenty-five lines occupying the remainder of the stela, is the best specimen of its class, and was later partly copied by scribes of Seti I for the wall of the great Karnak temple<sup>d</sup> in which this tablet was set up. The hymn is of sufficient historical importance to be included here; although due allowance must be made for its rhetorical style, it is a very helpful supplement to the Annals.

<sup>a</sup>Text has *m*, "new."

<sup>b</sup>A black granite tablet 180 cm. in height, discovered by Mariette in a chamber northwest of the main sanctuary room of Karnak, now in Cairo. Text: Rougé, from a copy by Devéria, *Revue archéologique*, N. S., IV, 1861, opposite p. 196; Mariette, *Album photographique*, Pl. 32; Mariette, *Karnak*, Pl. 11. Mariette's text is very incorrect and must be compared with the photograph.

<sup>c</sup>The whole of both scenes was hammered out by Amenhotep IV, and has then been restored.

<sup>d</sup>Copied by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 96, republished by Maspero, *Du genre épistolaire*, 90, and Guicysse, *Recueil*, XI, 64, 65. See III, 117.

656. <sup>1</sup>Utterance of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes:

Thou comest to me, thou exultest, seeing my beauty,  
O my son, my avenger, Menkheperre, living forever.

I shine for love of thee,

My heart <sup>2</sup>is glad at thy beautiful comings into my temple;

(My) two hands furnish thy limbs with protection and life.

How pleasing is thy pleasantness toward my body.<sup>a</sup>

I have established <sup>3</sup>thee in my dwelling,

I have worked a marvel for thee;

I have given to thee might and victory against all countries,

I have set thy fame (even) the fear of thee in all lands.

Thy terror as far as the <sup>4</sup>four pillars of heaven;

I have magnified the dread of thee in all bodies,

I have put the roaring of thy majesty among the Nine Bows.

The chiefs of all countries are gathered in thy grasp,

<sup>5</sup>I myself have stretched out my two hands,

I have bound them for thee.

I have bound together the Nubian Troglodytes by tens of thousands  
and thousandš,

The Northerners by hundreds of thousands as captives.

<sup>6</sup>I have felled thine enemies beneath thy sandals,

Thou hast smitten the <sup>7</sup>hordes<sup>1</sup> of rebels according as I commanded  
thee.

The earth in its length and breadth, Westerners and Easterners are  
subject<sup>b</sup> to thee,

<sup>7</sup>Thou tramplest all countries, thy heart glad;

None presents himself<sup>c</sup> before thy majesty,

While I am thy leader, so that thou mayest reach them.

Thou hast crossed the water of the Great Bend<sup>d</sup> of <sup>8</sup>Naharin (*N-h-r-n*)  
*r-n*) with victory, with might.

<sup>a</sup>Referring to the king's adornment of the divine image as prescribed by the ritual.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "are under the place of thy face," an idiom for "subject."

<sup>c</sup>Exactly the same phrase is found in Seti I's Syrian campaign (*Recueil*, XI, 59), III, 86; it is explained by the Tombos tablet, ll. 11, 12, § 73.

<sup>d</sup>Euphrates. On the obelisk of Thutmose III in Constantinople the same phrase is applied to him: "who crossed the Great Bend of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*) with might and with victory" (§ 631). This statement is therefore not merely poetic hyperbole, and coincides with the Annals, §§ 477 ff.

657. I have decreed for thee that they hear thy roarings and enter into caves;

I have deprived their nostrils of the breath of life.

<sup>9</sup>I have set the terrors of thy majesty in their hearts,

My serpent-diadem upon thy brow, it consumes them,

It makes<sup>a</sup> captive by the hair<sup>b</sup> the Kode-folk,

<sup>10</sup>It devours those who are in their marshes with its flame.

Cut down are the heads of the Asiatics (<sup>c</sup> *mw*), there is not a remnant of them;<sup>c</sup>

Fallen are the children of their mighty ones.

<sup>11</sup>I have caused thy victories to circulate among all lands,

My serpent-diadem gives light to thy dominion.

There is no rebel of thine as far as the circuit of heaven;

They come, bearing tribute upon their backs,

<sup>12</sup>Bowing down to thy majesty according to my command.

I have made powerless the invaders who came before thee;

Their hearts burned, their limbs trembling.

658. <sup>13</sup>I have come, causing thee to smite the princes of Zahi (*D<sup>3</sup> h*);

I have hurled them beneath thy feet among their highlands.

I have caused them to see thy majesty as lord of radiance,

So that thou hast shone in their faces like my image.

<sup>14</sup>I have come, causing thee to smite the Asiatics,<sup>d</sup>

Thou hast made captive the heads of the Asiatics<sup>e</sup> of Retenu.

I have caused them to see thy majesty equipped with thy adornment,

When thou takest the weapons of war in the chariot.

<sup>15</sup>I have come, causing thee to smite the eastern land,

Thou hast trampled those who are in the districts of God's-Land.

I have caused them to see thy majesty like a circling star,<sup>f</sup>

When it scatters its flame in fire, and gives forth its dew.

659. <sup>16</sup>I have come, causing thee to smite the western land,

Keftiyew (*Kf-tyw*) and Cyprus (*Ysy*) are in terror.

I have caused them to see thy majesty as a young bull,

<sup>a</sup>This phrase is explained in Annals, year 31, l. 10, § 470, note; for *ys-h<sup>3</sup> k*, see Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 700.

<sup>b</sup>"Hair" is without determinative; it occurs with determinative on Tombos tablet, ll. 6, 7, § 71, q. v.

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "their remnant is not."

<sup>d</sup>*Ymyw-si-t*.

<sup>e</sup>*mw*.

<sup>f</sup>See I, 511, l. 2.

Firm of heart,<sup>a</sup> ready-horned, irresistible.

<sup>17</sup>I have come, causing thee to smite those who are in their marshes,  
The lands of Mitanni (*My-t-n*) tremble under fear of thee.

I have caused them to see thy majesty as a crocodile,  
Lord of fear in the water, unapproachable.

**660.** <sup>18</sup>I have come, causing thee to smite those who are in the isles;  
Those who are in the midst of the Great Green (Sea) hear<sup>b</sup> thy roar-  
ings.

I have caused them to see thy majesty as an avenger (*nd·ty*)  
Who rises upon the back of his slain victim.

<sup>19</sup>I have come, causing thee to smite the Tehenu (Libyans),  
The isles of the Utentyew<sup>c</sup> are (fsubject<sup>l</sup>) to the might of thy prowess.  
I have caused them to see thy majesty as a fierce-eyed lion,  
Thou makest them corpses in their valleys.

**661.** <sup>20</sup>I have come, causing thee to smite the uttermost ends of the  
lands,

The circuit<sup>d</sup> of the Great Circle (Okeanos) is inclosed in thy grasp.  
I have caused them to see thy majesty as a lord of the wing,<sup>e</sup>  
Who seizeth upon that which he seeth, as much as he desires.

<sup>21</sup>I have come, causing thee to smite those who are in front<sup>f</sup> of their  
land.

Thou hast smitten the Sand-dwellers as living captives.  
I have caused them to see thy majesty as a southern jackal,  
Lord of running, stealthy-going, who roves the Two Lands.

<sup>22</sup>I have come, causing thee to smite the Nubian Troglodytes,  
As far as r—<sup>g</sup> (they) are in thy grasp.

<sup>a</sup>See a bead of Amenhotep II, bearing a bull, with the words: "*Firm of heart*" (Petrie, *Historical Scarabs*, XVIII, No. 1119); not uncommon.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "*are under thy roarings.*"

<sup>c</sup>*Wtntyw*; unknown.

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "*That which the Great Circle encircles.*"

<sup>e</sup>A designation of the hawk.

<sup>f</sup>This is in contrast with the "*back-lands*" of l. 20; Maspero's rendering, "*duars*" = protected inclosures, is a conjecture which ignores the word "*land*," written here with a single stroke, very easily to be overlooked. The text thus contrasts the nearest and the remotest Asiatic enemies of Egypt. Chabas (*Etudes sur l'antiquité historique*, 183) emends to read the same as the word for river- and harbor-mouths (*h > wt*) under Ramses III.

<sup>g</sup>*Š > t*, name of an uncertain Nubian country.

I have caused them to see thy majesty as thy two brothers,<sup>a</sup>  
 I have united their two arms for thee in ṛv[ictory]  
**662.** <sup>23</sup>Thy two sisters,<sup>b</sup> I have set them as protection behind thee,  
 The arms of my majesty are above, warding off evil.  
 I have caused thee to reign, my beloved son,  
 Horus, Mighty Bull, Shining in Thebes, whom I have begotten, in  
 [uprightness of heart]<sup>c</sup>.  
<sup>24</sup>Thutmose, living forever, who hast done for me all that my ka  
 desired;  
 Thou hast erected my dwelling as an everlasting work,  
 Enlarging and extending (it) more than the past which had been.  
 The great doorway — — —.  
<sup>25</sup>Thou hast fêted the beauty of Amon-Re,  
 Thy monuments are greater than (those of) any king who has been.  
 When I commanded thee to do it, I was satisfied therewith;  
 I established thee upon the Horus-throne of millions of years;  
 Thou shalt continue life — — —.

#### TOMB OF REKHMIRE<sup>d</sup>

**663.** This tomb is the most important private monument of the Empire. The scenes and inscriptions on its walls depict and narrate the career of Rekhmire, who was prime minister, or vizier, of Egypt and governor of the residence

<sup>a</sup>Horus and Set.

<sup>b</sup>Isis and Nephthys.

<sup>c</sup>See § 138, l. 1.

<sup>d</sup>A cliff-tomb in the hill of Shekh Abd el-Kurna, on the west shore at Thebes; it attracted attention as early as 1819, when some scenes were copied by Cailliaud, and later published in "*Recherches sur les arts et métiers, les usages de la vie civile et domestique des anciens peuples de l'Égypte, de la Nubie et de l'Éthiopie*," par F. Cailliaud (Paris, 1831-37). Later various scenes were published by Wilkinson, *Manners*, I, Pl. IV, etc.; Champollion, *Monuments*, 161, 164 ff.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, 52-54; Hoskins, *Travels in Ethiopia* (London, 1835), 328; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 40, 41, and Text, III, 270 f.; Prisse, *Histoire de l'art égyptien*, 1863 (plates not numbered); Piehl, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 113, 114, pp. 92, 93. The first attempt to publish the entire tomb was made by M. Ph. Virey. It was published by him in 1889 (*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, "*Le Tombeau de Rekhmara*"), but his work is so incomplete and incorrect, both in the drawings and the texts, that it is unusable; indeed, Virey himself translated from it the great inscription on the duties of the vizier backward! Thus this priceless monument steadily deteriorated during the last century, without a serious effort being made to preserve it in its entirety, until it was finally rescued by Mr.

during the latter half of the reign of Thutmose III, the period of Egypt's greatest power. He came of eminent family, having succeeded his uncle Woser in the vizierate,<sup>a</sup> and as his career brought him the highest post in the state during the most stirring years of Thutmose III's great conquests, he has put much of it in his tomb. We find in it the fullest known source for the study of the constitution of the state and the administration of the Pharaoh's government under the Empire, beside the best known representations in color of the peoples and products of Punt, Keftiyew, Retenu, and Nubia.

664. Incidentally, Rekhmire also throws light upon the character of Thutmose III. After modestly remarking of himself that "*there was nothing of which he was ignorant in heaven, in earth, (or) in any quarter of the nether world;*"<sup>b</sup> and again: "*I was a noble, second to the king;*" he says of the king: "*Lo, his majesty knew that which occurred; there was nothing which he did not know —, he was Thoth in everything, there was no affair which he did not complete.*"

#### I. APPOINTMENT OF REKHMIRE AS VIZIER<sup>c</sup>

665. The following inscription narrates Rekhmire's appointment to the highest office in the kingdom. The

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Newberry, who published the first instalment of his complete copies in 1900 (*The Life of Rekhmara*, by Percy E. Newberry, London, 1900). From this careful work, for which we are much indebted, the following translations have been made; the plate numbers referred to are always those of Newberry's work.

<sup>a</sup>For a full account of his life, see Newberry, 13-20.

<sup>b</sup>He is, of course, referring to the affairs of his office, and to political matters. These extracts are all taken from a long inscription, too fragmentary for full translation (Pls. VII and VIII).

<sup>c</sup>Pls. IX and X. I had also the fragmentary copies of the same text in the tombs of Woser and Amenhotep (Newberry, 34), for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Alan H. Gardiner. They fill up some lacunæ and furnish some corrections, cited as "Dupl.," but I have not added this remark merely to indicate the filling up of a lacuna. [Later: Mr. Gardiner has now published the text and duplicates, with an excellent rendering and commentary (*Recueil*, XXVI), from which I have incorporated a number of valuable points in the above.]

relief shows Thutmose III enthroned, before whom, in accordance with the statement of the inscription, Rekhmire appears for appointment.<sup>a</sup> The king then gives him instructions regarding the administration of his office. Unfortunately, these instructions, which occupy twenty long lines, are very fragmentary, and at the same time extremely obscure. The following version omits a number of passages which may not be safely rendered, and even so translates much more than can be understood, without a longer commentary than it is possible to offer here. It will be seen that the vizier is exhorted: to legal (l. 8), just (l. 8), and impartial (l. 15) decisions; not to be excessively forbidding, but still to keep himself aloof from the people (ll. 18, 19); finally, that his office is really to be administered according to the instructions given (l. 22). The instructions are remarkably humane in temper and show a surprisingly high appreciation of justice. As they present the fundamentals of Egyptian government, it is greatly to be regretted that they are so fragmentary and difficult. These were apparently the conventional instructions customarily delivered at the appointment of every vizier, for they were delivered to Woser, the uncle of Rekhmire, at his appointment, and also to Hapu, vizier under Thutmose IV.<sup>b</sup>

**666.** <sup>1</sup>Regulation laid upon the vizier, Rekhmire. <sup>2</sup>The officials were brought to the audience-hall, [his majesty] commanded that <sup>3</sup>the vizier, Rekhmire,<sup>c</sup> be presented [for] appointment for the first time.

<sup>4</sup>His majesty spake before him: [“Take heed”] to thyself for the hall of the vizier; <sup>5</sup>be watchful over all that is done therein. Behold, it is a support<sup>d</sup> of the whole land; behold, as for the vizier, behold, he is not sweet, behold, bitter<sup>d</sup> is he, when he addresses — — <sup>6</sup>of copper is

<sup>a</sup>His figure has been intentionally erased.

<sup>b</sup>Newberry, *Rekhmara*, p. 34.

<sup>c</sup>Name intentionally erased from the wall.

<sup>d</sup>See Gardiner.



he, a wall of gold for the house of his —. Behold, he is not one setting his face toward the officials and councilors, neither one making [brethren] of all the people. Behold, — — — <sup>7</sup>a man is in the dwelling of his lord, he [does] good for him; behold [he] does not — — for another.

667. Behold, the petitioner of the South, [the North] and the whole land, shall come, supplied — — — —. <sup>8</sup>Mayest thou see to it for thyself,<sup>a</sup> to do everything after that which is in accordance with law; to do everything according to the right thereof. Do not — — — that he may be just. Behold, as for an official, when he has reported <sup>9</sup>water and wind of all his doings, behold, his deeds shall not be unknown — — — [ — — — ] — — —; he is not brought in because of the speech of the responsible officer, [but] it is known <sup>10</sup>by the speech of his messenger<sup>b</sup> as the one stating it;<sup>b</sup> he is by the side of the responsible officer as the speaker; he is not one lifting up the voice, a messenger petitioning — — — — <sup>11</sup>or an official. Then one shall not be ignorant of his deeds; lo, it is the safety<sup>c</sup> of an official to do things according to the regulation, by doing that which is spoken by the petitioner. . . . .<sup>d</sup>

668. <sup>15</sup>It is an abomination of the god to show partiality. This is the teaching: thou shalt do the like, shalt regard him who is known to thee like him who is unknown to thee, and him who is near to — like him who is far <sup>e</sup> — — — — <sup>16</sup>an official who does like this, then shall he flourish greatly in the place. Do not [avoid] a petitioner, nor nod thy head when he speaks. As for him who draws near, who will approach to thee, do not — — — — <sup>17</sup>the things which he saith in speaking. Thou shalt punish him when thou hast let him hear that on account of which thou punishest him. Lo, they will say, the petitioner loves him who nods the head [ — — — ] — — —.

669. <sup>18</sup>Be not enraged toward a man unjustly, but be thou enraged concerning that about which one should be enraged; show forth the fear of thee; let one be afraid of thee, (for) a prince is a prince of whom one is afraid. Lo, the true dread of a prince is to do <sup>19</sup>justice. Behold, if a man show forth the fear of him a myriad of times, there is some-

<sup>a</sup>An ethical dative which might be omitted in the translation. Dupl. has *m<sup>3</sup> k nk*.

<sup>b</sup>Or: "Tell it not, (for) he is, etc." <sup>c</sup>Lit., "refuge."

<sup>d</sup>In l. 13 there is a reference to an unjust vizier Khety, but in what connection is uncertain.

<sup>e</sup>For a similar antithesis of *tkn*, "be near," and *w<sup>3</sup> y*, "be far," see *Hierat. Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, II, 36, l. 8.

thing of violence in him. Be not known to the people; and they shall not say: "He is (only) a man."<sup>a</sup>

670. <sup>20</sup>He who speaks a lie shall go forth according to his docket,<sup>b</sup> Lo, [—] thou shalt do thy office, as thou doest justice. Lo, one shall desire to do justice . . . . .<sup>21</sup>. . . . . Lo, one shall say of the chief scribe of the vizier: "A scribe of justice," shall one say of him. Now, as for the hall, wherein thou holdest hearings there shall be a broad-hall therein ———. [He who dispenses<sup>1</sup> <sup>22</sup>justice before all the people, he is the vizier. Behold, a man shall be in his office, (as long as) he shall do things according to that which is given to him. Lo, a man is [—] when he shall act according to that which has been told him. Do not — thy — in — — <sup>23</sup>that thou knowest the law thereof. Lo, let one [—] to the proud-hearted;<sup>c</sup> the king loves the fearful more than the proud-hearted. Do thou according to [that which is given<sup>1</sup> to thee; lo, ——— <sup>24</sup>. . . . . ———.

## II. DUTIES OF THE VIZIER<sup>d</sup>

671. This, the most important inscription known on the organization of the state under the Eighteenth Dynasty, is unfortunately incomplete. Two duplicates<sup>e</sup> found by Newberry fill out many of the lacunæ, but the last fifth of the text is very fragmentary. This is especially unfortunate, as the latter part of the inscription is by far the most intelligible and deals with functions easily understood.

672. The inscription is an outline of the duties of the vizier, of the greatest interest. After prescribing the external arrangements for the vizier's daily sitting in his "*hall*," as his office is termed, the document proceeds to the daily conference of the vizier with the king, and, immediately

<sup>a</sup>This is the same advice given by Amenemhet I to his son Sesostris I (I, 479, ll. 3-5).

<sup>b</sup>See Duties of Vizier, § 683, l. 14.

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "*mighty-hearted*."

<sup>d</sup>Pls. II and III.

<sup>e</sup>From the tomb of Woser, belonging to the early part of Thutmose III's reign; and the tomb of Amenemopet, belonging to Amenhotep II's reign (see Newberry, 25 f.).

subsequent to this, the daily reports of the chief treasurer and the vizier to each other, and of the chief officials to the vizier. These daily duties are now followed by a long list of exceedingly varied functions to be discharged by the vizier, making in all at least thirty. There seems to be no logical order in the enumeration, and the varied character of the list will be evident from a reading of the marginal heads, which may serve in lieu of a table of content here. It will be seen that the vizier is grand steward of all Egypt, and that all the activities of the state are under his control. He has general oversight of the treasury, and the chief treasurer reports to him; he is chief justice, or head of the judiciary; he is chief of police, both for the residence city and the kingdom; he is minister of war, both for army and navy; he is secretary of the interior and of agriculture, while all general executive functions of state, with many that may not be classified, are incumbent upon him. There is, indeed, no prime function of the state which does not operate through his office. He is a veritable Joseph, and it must be this office which the Hebrew writer has in mind in the story of Joseph. The only person other than the king to whom he owes any respect is the chief treasurer, to whom he seems to offer a daily statement that all is well with the royal possessions. Such power is, of course, possible only in a highly centralized state, and Egypt is shown by this inscription to be in the Empire simply a vast estate of the Pharaoh, of which the vizier is chief steward. The vizier's functions are distributed promiscuously throughout the document, as follows:

- I. Judiciary (§§ 675, 681, 685-6, 688-91, 700, 704, 705).
- II. Treasury (§§ 676, 680, 706, 708).
- III. War  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Army (§§ 693-95, 702).} \\ \text{Navy (§§ 710, 687).} \end{array} \right.$

- IV. Interior (§§ 677, 687, 697, 707).
- V. Agriculture (§§ 698, 699).
- VI. General Executive (§§ 692, 701, 703).
- VII. Advisory and Unclassified (§§ 678, 679, 682, 684, 696, 709, 711).

673. It is impossible to discuss this inscription without raising the question of its origin and exact character. The fact that it is known to exist in two other tombs also, would suggest that it was not an informal enumeration of the vizier's duties drawn up by himself especially for his tomb, but a close examination of the document itself shows that it could not possibly have been a state document to the decrees of which the vizier was amenable. It was evidently no more than we have suggested, viz., a list of the vizier's duties, compiled by himself, for recording in his tomb. It must, of course, have been based upon the existent laws, from which it may, in places, contain extracts. In any case, it contains the purport of certain of the laws in force at the time, some of which, like those regulating the criminal docket, are very interesting and important. The only other surviving example of the laws of Egypt are in the Decree of Harmhab (III, 45 ff.), for of the "40 skins," undoubtedly rolls containing "*this law which is in his hand*" mentioned by our inscription, nothing has ever been found. Such law was, of course, the codified fiat of the Pharaoh, as is evident in the Decree of Harmhab.

674. The language of the document is very difficult, and demonstrates how helpless our incomplete knowledge of the Egyptian dictionary leaves us as soon as we pass from the conventional language of the few classes of monuments familiar to us, to some untrodden path. Especially the legal enactments of the first half of the inscription abound in technical terms, most of which are totally unknown

to us. These render a final translation impossible, in many places.

*External Arrangement of the Sitting*

**675.** <sup>1</sup>Arrangement of the sitting<sup>a</sup> of the governor of the (residence) city, and vizier of the Southern City, (and) of the court, in the hall of the vizier. As for every act<sup>b</sup> of this official, the vizier while hearing in the hall of the vizier, he shall sit upon a chair,<sup>c</sup> with a rug upon the floor, and a dais upon it, a cushion<sup>d</sup> under his back, a cushion under his feet, a — upon it, <sup>2</sup>and a baton at his hand; the 40 skins<sup>e</sup> shall be open before him. Then the magnates of the South<sup>f</sup> (shall stand) in the two aisles before him, while the master of the privy chamber is on his right, the [receiver of income] on his left, the scribes of the vizier at his (either) hand; one<sup>g</sup> [corresponding] to another, with each man at his proper place. One shall be heard after another, without allowing one who is behind to be heard before <sup>3</sup>one who is in front. If one in front says: "There is none being heard at my hand," then he shall be taken by the messenger of the vizier.<sup>h</sup>

*Intercourse of Palace with Outside World*

**676.** There shall be reported to him the sealing of the sealed chambers up to (that) hour and the opening of them up to (that) hour. There shall be reported to him the affairs of the fortresses of the South and

<sup>a</sup>This is not the title of the entire document, but refers only to the opening paragraph.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "every doing" (inf.!).

<sup>c</sup>Evidently a particular kind of chair called *phdw*, a word not occurring elsewhere.

<sup>d</sup>Erman; original has *šd*, "a skin," evidently meaning a leathern cushion so common on Egyptian furniture. "Back" is, of course, a euphemism.

<sup>e</sup>This word (*šsm*) is new; it has the determinative of leather. The 40 *šsm* are depicted in the accompanying scene lying on the floor before the vizier (§ 712). Erman suggests they may have been the leather cases in which the rolls of the papyrus were preserved; but such state documents were written on leather, e. g., the records of Thutmose III (§ 433).

<sup>f</sup>Only the magnates of the South, as the vizier with whom we are dealing is the southern vizier.

<sup>g</sup>"One" refers to the entire company before him; each shall occupy his proper place with reference to the other.

<sup>h</sup>Meaning that as soon as a petitioner in front sees no one before him ("at his hand"), he may say so, and be taken to the vizier by his messenger.

North. The going out of all that goes out of the king's-house shall be reported to him; and the coming in of all that comes into the king's-house shall be reported to him.<sup>a</sup> Now, as for everything going in (and) everything going out on the floor of the court, they shall go out (and) they shall go in through his messenger, who shall cause (them) to go in (and) go out.

*Reports of Overseers*

677. The overseers of hundreds and the overseers of [—]<sup>b</sup> shall report to him their affairs.

*Daily Report to Pharaoh*

678. <sup>5</sup>Furthermore, he shall go in to take counsel on the affairs of the king, L. P. H., and there shall be reported to him the affairs of the Two Lands in his house every day. He shall go in to Pharaoh, before the chief treasurer; he<sup>c</sup> shall wait at the northern flagstaff. Then the vizier shall come, proceeding from the gate of the great double façade.

*Report of Treasurer and Vizier to Each Other*

679. Then <sup>6</sup>the chief treasurer, he shall come to meet him (the vizier) and shall report to him, saying: "All thy affairs are sound and prosperous; every responsible incumbent has reported to me, saying: 'All thy affairs are sound and prosperous, the king's-house is sound and prosperous.'" Then the vizier, he shall report to the chief treasurer, saying: "All thy affairs are sound and prosperous; every seat of the court is sound and prosperous."<sup>d</sup> There have been reported to me

<sup>a</sup>The "king's-house" is a whole, of which the "court" is but one part, in which the king lived. Entrance to the "king's-house" was only reported to the vizier, while entrance to the "court" could be gained only under conduct of his "messenger."

<sup>b</sup>*Mr-hrp.*

<sup>c</sup>The chief treasurer; the front of the palace was decorated, like the temple façades, with flagstaves, and near one of these the treasurer is to wait.

<sup>d</sup>On a fragment in the Louvre (without a number) is a relief showing a line of twelve priests: three of the "first order," three of the "second order," three of the "third order," and three of the "fourth order." Over their heads are fragments of two lines, as follows: "———— in the temple of Amon, in 'Most-Splendid-of-Splendors' (name of Der el-Bahri temple), by the High Priest of Amon in 'Most-Splendid-of-Splendors,' Senu (Snw), triumphant ————— of Amon and of Hathor, Mistress of Thebes. They praise thee, they love thee, for all thy affairs are sound and prosperous in this temple." The High Priest of Hatshepsut's temple of Der el-Bahri is thus eulogized in the formal terms for a faithful officer's report. See the same words in the report of the lay priests at Illahun, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 97.

the sealing of the sealed chambers to this hour (and) the opening of them to (this) hour, by every responsible incumbent.”<sup>a</sup>

*Daily Opening of the King's-House*

680. Now, after each has reported to the other, of the two officials, then the vizier shall send <sup>8</sup>to open every gate of the king's-house, to cause to go in all that goes in, (and) [to go out]<sup>b</sup> all that goes out likewise, by his messenger, who shall cause it to be put in writing.

*Irregularities among the Princes*

681. Let not any official be empowered to judge <sup>†</sup>against a superior<sup>‡</sup> in his hall. If there be any assailant<sup>c</sup> against <sup>9</sup>any of these officials in his hall, then he shall cause that he<sup>d</sup> be brought to the judgment-hall. It is the vizier who shall punish him, in order to expiate his fault. Let not any official have power to punish in his hall. There shall be reported [to<sup>†</sup>] him every judgment which is against the hall, <sup>†</sup>when he repairs thereto.<sup>1</sup>

*Duties and Treatment of the Vizier's Messengers*

682. As for every messenger <sup>10</sup>whom the vizier sends with a message for an official, from the first official to the last, let him not be <sup>†</sup>swerved<sup>†</sup>, and let him not be conducted; the official shall repeat his vizierial message while he<sup>e</sup> stands before <sup>11</sup>the official, repeating his message and going forth to wait for him. His messenger shall seize the mayors and village sheiks for the judgment-hall; his messenger shall give the [regulation<sup>†</sup>] ——— his messenger gives answer, saying: “I have been sent <sup>12</sup>with a message for the official so and so; he caused that I be conducted, and

<sup>a</sup>It will be seen that the vizier reports on the “court,” while the treasurer reports on the “king's-house.” Now, the vizier possesses the reports concerning the “king's-house” (mentioned in ll. 3 and 4), by which he is enabled to control the report of the treasurer on the “king's-house.” Similarly, if we possessed a list of the treasurer's duties, we should doubtless find that he received daily reports on the matters of the “court,” by means of which he was enabled to control the vizier's report on the “court,” which the vizier conducted directly by means of his messenger.

<sup>b</sup>The publication shows no lacuna, but the sense demands the inserted phrase.

<sup>c</sup>Sk.

<sup>d</sup>The confusion of pronouns is also in the original.

<sup>e</sup>The messenger.

he caused that something be entrusted to me.<sup>a</sup> Hear [the affair<sup>1</sup>] of this official ——— expiate those things, about which there has been litigation by the vizier in <sup>13</sup>his hall, in every [crime<sup>1</sup>], with greater<sup>b</sup> punishment than by cutting off a limb.

#### *Criminals*

683. Now, as for every act of the vizier, while hearing in his hall; and as for every one who shall — — — — [He shall record<sup>1</sup>] everything concerning which he hears him. He who has not disproved the charge<sup>c</sup> at <sup>14</sup>his hearing, which takes place [—], then it shall be entered in the criminal docket. He who is in the great prison,<sup>d</sup> not able to disprove the charge of his<sup>e</sup> messenger, likewise; when their case comes on another time, then one shall report and determine whether it is in the criminal docket, <sup>15</sup>and there shall be [executed<sup>1</sup>] the things concerning which entry was made, in order to expiate their offense.

#### *Loan of Vizier's Records*

684. As for any writing sent [by the vizier<sup>1</sup>] to any hall, being those which are not confidential,<sup>f</sup> it shall be taken to him<sup>g</sup> together with the documents of the keepers <sup>16</sup>thereof under seal of the (*sḏm·w-*) officers, and the scribes thereof after them; then he shall open it; then after he has seen it, it shall return to its place, sealed with the seal of the vizier. (But) if he furthermore ask for <sup>17</sup>a confidential writing, then let it not be taken by the keepers thereof.

#### *Summons of Petitioner*

685. Now,<sup>h</sup> as for every messenger whom the vizier sends on account of any petitioner, he shall cause that he go to him.

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "put upon my neck." This message evidently furnishes the formula to be used by the messenger in reporting the replies of the officials to whom he has been sent.

<sup>b</sup>Ermann; lit., "with an increase upon punishment by, etc."

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "warded off the evil."

<sup>d</sup>On our scanty knowledge of the prisons, see Spiegelberg, *Studien*, 64 ff.

<sup>e</sup>Of the vizier.

<sup>f</sup>Lit., "wrapped up."

<sup>g</sup>The official desiring to consult the document.

<sup>h</sup>On this and the following paragraph, see Gardiner, *Inscription of Mes.* 37, 38.



*Real Estate Cases*

686. Now, as for every petitioner to the vizier concerning lands, he shall dispatch him (the messenger) to him, in addition to a hearing of <sup>18</sup>the land-overseer and the local council<sup>a</sup> of the <sup>19</sup>district.<sup>b</sup> He shall decree a stay for him of two months for his lands in the South or North. As for his lands, however, which are near to the Southern City and to the court, he shall decree a stay for him of three days, being <sup>19</sup>that which is according to law; (for) he shall<sup>c</sup> hear every petitioner according to this law which is in his hand.

*Reports of District Officials*

687. It is he who brings in the officials of the district; it is he who sends them out; they report [to] him the affairs of their districts.

*Wills, Etc.*

688. Every property-list<sup>d</sup> is brought to him; it is he who seals it.

*Settlement of Registered Boundaries*

689. <sup>20</sup>It is he who administers the <sup>21</sup>gift<sup>1</sup>-lands<sup>e</sup> in all regions. As for every petitioner who shall say: "Our boundary is unsettled;" one shall examine whether it is under the seal of the official thereof; then he shall seize the seizures<sup>f</sup> of the local council who unsettled it.

*Treatment of Unregistered Boundaries*

690. Now, as for every remarkable case,<sup>g</sup> and everything pertaining thereto; do not look <sup>22</sup>at anything therein.

<sup>a</sup> *D> d> t*. Whether this is a hearing before the vizier or a local hearing under the charge of "messenger," is not clear.

<sup>b</sup> *Tm* >

<sup>c</sup> The verbal form (*sdmt*) seems to be incorrect.

<sup>d</sup> Such a property-list is frequently a will. A will, with the registration docket of the vizier's office upon it, is preserved to us; it reads: "(Date); *Done in the office* (lit., *hall*) *of the vizier in the presence of the governor of the city and vizier Khety, by the seal-scribe of the people's-bureau, Amenemhet-Ameny.*" A remark, probably indicating the payment of the tax on the transfer, follows (Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, Pl. XIII, ll. 9-12). The document is from the Middle Kingdom.

<sup>e</sup> These lands (*šd*) are thought by Moret to be the divisible lands held by tenantry as distinguished from indivisible tracts held by nobles (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 39, 36).

<sup>f</sup> Meaning ?

<sup>g</sup> Unregistered land? Erman.

*Manner of Petition*

**691.** One shall put every petition<sup>a</sup> in writing, not permitting that he petition orally.<sup>b</sup> Every petitioner to the king shall be reported to him,<sup>c</sup> after he puts (it) in writing.

*Intercourse between Court and Local Authorities*

**692.** It is he who dispatches every messenger of the king's-house, L. P. H., who is sent to the mayors and village sheiks. It is he who dispatches <sup>22</sup>every circuit messenger, every expedition of the king's-house. It is he who acts as the one who — — [in] the South and North, the Southern Frontier (*tp rsy*) and Abydos (*T<sup>2</sup> -wr*). They shall report to him all that happens among them, on the first day of every four-month season; they shall bring to him the writing thereof, in their hands, together with their local council.

*Mustering King's Escort*

**693.** <sup>23</sup>It is he who gathers the troops, moving in attendance upon the king, in journeying northward or southward.

*Garrison of Residence City*

**694.** It is he who stations the rest who remain in the Southern City, (and) in the court, according to the decision in the king's-house, L. P. H.

*General Army Orders*

**695.** The commandant of the ruler's table<sup>d</sup> is brought to him, to his hall, together with <sup>24</sup>the council of the army, in order to give to them the regulation of the army.

*Advisory Functions*

**696.** Let every office, from first to last,<sup>e</sup> proceed<sup>f</sup> to the hall of the vizier, to take counsel with him.

*Felling Timber*

**697.** It is he who dispatches to cut down trees according to the decision in the king's-house.

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "petitioner," strange as it seems; hence "he" in the next clause.

<sup>b</sup>Egyptian: "by hearing." <sup>c</sup>The vizier.

<sup>d</sup>A district commandant who delivered game and supplies for the prince's table. In the Middle Kingdom the nomarchs also had such officers.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., "every first office to every last office."

<sup>f</sup>Only the determination of a verb of motion occupies the place where the verb should be.

*Water-Supply*

698. It is he who dispatches <sup>25</sup>the official staff, to attend to the water-supply<sup>a</sup> in the whole land.

*Annual Plowing*

699. It is he who dispatches the mayors and village sheiks to plow for harvest time.

*Overseers of Labor?*

700. It is he who [appoints] the overseers of hundreds in the hall of the king's-house.

*Audience for Town Authorities*

701. It is he who [arranges] the hearing of the mayors and village sheiks who go forth in his name, of South and North.

*Administration of Fortresses*

702. <sup>26</sup>Every matter is reported to him; there are reported to him the affairs of the southern fortress; and every arrest which is for seizing

*Nome Administration, Boundaries, Etc.*

703. It is he who makes the [—] of every nome; it is he who "hears" it. It is he who dispatches the [district] soldiers and scribes to carry out the [administration] of the king. <sup>27</sup>The records of the nome are in his hall. It is he who hears concerning all lands. It is he who makes the boundary of every nome, the field [—], all divine offerings<sup>b</sup> and every contract.

*Record of Depositions, Etc.*

704. It is he who takes every deposition; it is he who hears the rejoinder when a man comes for argument with his opponent.<sup>c</sup>

*Appointment of Courts for Special Cases, Etc.*

705. It is he who appoints every appointee <sup>28</sup>to the hall of judgment, when any litigant comes to him from the king's-house.<sup>d</sup> It is he who hears every edict.

<sup>a</sup>See I, 407, l. 6.

<sup>b</sup>Temple income.

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "comes to words with his second." This evidently refers to argument of plaintiff and defendant before the vizier. See Gardiner, *Inscription of Mes*, 36, 37.

<sup>d</sup>He appoints members of special courts for cases where a member of the king's household is concerned.

*Sacred and Royal Revenues in Residence City and Court*

**706.** It is he who hears concerning the "Great Beauty" of every divine offering. It is he<sup>a</sup> who levies all taxes of the income, and who gives it to him [—] ——— every — in the Southern City, (and) in the court. It is he who seals <sup>29</sup>it under his seal. It is he who hears every matter; it is he who makes the distribution of the tribute to the crown possessions. The great council shall report to him their dues ——— every — that is brought to <sup>30</sup>the judgment-hall, and every offering to the judgment-hall, he shall hear concerning it. It is he who opens the gold-house, together with the chief treasurer. It is he who inspects the tribute of [all] lands<sup>b</sup> ——— <sup>31</sup>chief steward, together with the great council (*d' d' t wr t*). It is he who makes the [lists of] all bulls, [of] which a [list] is made.

*Canal Inspection (?) in Residence City*

**707.** It is he who inspects the [water-supply] (*swr t*)<sup>c</sup> on the first of every ten-day period [—] ——— <sup>32</sup>concerning every matter of the judgment-hall.

*Revenues from Local Authorities*

**708.** The mayors, village sheiks, and every man shall report to him, all their tribute. Every district supervisor, and every [overseer of] hundreds, they shall report to him every litigation [—] ——— <sup>33</sup>they shall report to him furthermore, monthly, in order to control the tribute. The treasurers and the (*k' yb-*) officials shall ———.

*Observation of Sirius and High Nile*

**709.** ——— the rising of Sirius, and the [—] of the Nile. There shall be reported to him the high (Nile)<sup>d</sup> ——— [— — —] <sup>34</sup>—.

*Administration of Navy*

**710.** It is he who exacts the ships for every requisition made upon him. It is he who dispatches every messenger of the king's-house to ———. When the king is with the army, it is he who makes report

<sup>a</sup>Read: *ntf*.

<sup>b</sup>This function of the vizier is depicted with great detail in a splendid series of wall scenes in this tomb (§§ 760 ff.).

<sup>c</sup>See Florence Stela, No. 1774.

<sup>d</sup>Similar duties are referred to in the tomb of Min (*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, 368), but the context is unfortunately broken. The following is visible: "——— concerning the affairs of the king's-house, conducting the work — — — of the high Nile."

———. <sup>35</sup>Report is made to him by all the officials of the head of the navy, from the highest to the lowest. It is he<sup>a</sup> who seals the edicts —— [—] of the keeper of [—] who is dispatched with a message of the king's-house.

*Method of Reporting to Vizier*

711. Every report shall be reported to him by <sup>36</sup>the doorkeeper of the judgment-hall, who reports [on his part] all that he (the vizier) does while hearing in the hall of the vizier.

III. THE SITTING OF THE VIZIER<sup>b</sup>

*Scene*

712. The vizier sits enthroned at one end of the hall; before him are the "*Magnates of the South*" and the "*scribes of the vizier*," in two rows on each side of the central aisle; in this aisle, directly in front of the vizier, are the forty rolls of the law (see § 675, l. 2). Two deputies are leading petitioners down the aisle, and outside are other deputies or door-keepers receiving the petitioners as they arrive.

*Inscription*

713. Sitting, in order to hear the petitioners, in the hall of the vizier; by the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, (*mr t-ntr-*) priest, chief of the six courts of justice, a mouth giving satisfaction in the whole land; (*sm-*) priest, [master of every wardrobe], judging justly, not showing partiality, sending two men forth satisfied, judging the weak and the powerful, not [bringing sorrow] to the one who petitioned him; satisfying the heart of the king before the Two Lands, prince before the people, companion approaching the sovereign, favorite of him who is in the palace.

IV. RECEPTION OF PETITIONS<sup>c</sup>

714. The following scene has unfortunately almost entirely disappeared; it portrayed the reception of petitions, from the people, regulated in the "*Duties of the Vizier*" (§§ 685 and 691).

<sup>a</sup>Text has *nj*; I emend to *ntj*.

<sup>b</sup>Pl. IV. See the description of the sitting in the first three lines of the preceding inscription (§ 675).

<sup>c</sup>Pl. XV.

*Scene*

Rekhmire stands leaning upon his staff, while scribes pass out among the people, where they receive and register complaints and petitions. Over Rekhmire is the following:

*Inscription*

715. Going forth over the land every morning to do the daily favors, to hear the matters of the people, the petitions of the South and the North; not preferring the great above the humble, rewarding the oppressed [— —], bringing the evil to him who committed it; by ——— [Rekhmire].

## V. INSPECTION OF TAXES OF UPPER EGYPT

716. These important scenes,<sup>a</sup> representing the only tax-lists we possess, show the local officials of Upper Egypt paying their dues (*yp·w*) to the vizier. Just what part of the total revenues of Upper Egypt these dues formed, it is impossible to state; but that they were only a part is certain. For the inscription clearly indicates that they are only the dues exacted from the local officials (as a tax upon their offices), and not the taxes paid by the people, for which we find a different designation (*bk·w*), from that employed here. This tax (*yp·w*) upon the officials is the one remitted by Harmhab (III, 63). It was collected by the vizier, while the tax (*bk·w*) upon the people was, of course, collected by the chief treasurer. It is noticeable that the vizier has charge of these revenues (*yp·w*) only in Upper Egypt, showing clearly the extent of his fiscal jurisdiction. There was, of course, another vizier for Lower Egypt from below Assiut to the sea.<sup>b</sup>

Owing to the loss of a large portion of the lower rows, it is impossible to summarize and determine the total income

<sup>a</sup>Pls. V and VI. They are published for the first time by Newberry, having been passed over by all previous students of the tomb. We are therefore much indebted to him for their rescue.

<sup>b</sup>A relief at Berlin, for example, shows the two viziers (No. 12411); see additional references, Newberry, 17, n. 3, and a full statement, Gardiner, *Inscription of Mes*, 33. It is probable that the office was not divided before the Empire, and probably not before Thutmose III.

of the crown from this source in Upper Egypt. Gold, silver, cattle, and linen form the most valuable items; of the others many are uncertain, and have therefore only been transliterated. The list begins with the fortresses of Bigeh and Elephantine at the first cataract, and extends as far north as Assiut. Some of the place-names are unknown, and have been merely transliterated below. The list is divided into two parts: the first from the cataract to Thebes, and the second from Thebes to Assiut; that is, the first above, the second below Thebes.

A. ABOVE THEBES

*Scene*

717. Rekhmire, at the right, receives the local officials, who advance in four lines, bringing their dues.<sup>a</sup> Over their heads are inscribed their titles, the names of the towns or localities to which they belong, and the amounts of their dues.

*Over Rekhmire*

Inspection of the taxes (*yp w*) counted to<sup>b</sup> (the credit of) the hall of the vizier of the Southern City, and counted against the mayors, the town-rulers, the district officials, the recorders of the districts, their scribes, and their field-scribes, who are in the South (*Tp-ršy*); beginning with Elephantine and the fortress of Bigeh; made according to the writings of ancient time, by the hereditary prince. . . . .<sup>c</sup> [Rekhmire].

	OFFICIAL AND PLACE	TAX
718.	Commandant of the fortress of Bigeh ( <i>Sn-mw t</i> )	20 deben of gold 5 good hides apes; 10 bows 20 large staves of [cedar] wood

<sup>a</sup>There are thirty-one officials still preserved; of five of these the inscriptions with names and dues are lost. Besides this, at least three more, with their inscriptions, have been lost in the lower row; that is, nearly one-fourth of the officials with their dues are lost. How many names of localities are lost is uncertain.

<sup>b</sup>The two prepositions "to" or "for" (*n*) and "against" (*r*) are correlative, and antithetic, the first being the preposition of advantage, the second of disadvantage. This is precisely as in Arabic, where *li* and *‘alā*(*y*) have the same relation; thus: *li dāyūn* = "A debt is (owing) to me" (lit., "to me is a debt") is opposed to: *‘alāyyā dāyūn* = "I owe a debt" (lit., "against me is a debt"). See Uni, l. 36 (I, 320) for the same use of *yp n*, "count to."

<sup>c</sup>Omitted titles.

	OFFICIAL AND PLACE	TAX
719.	Commandant of the fortress of Elephantine	40 deben of gold, tribute weight 1 chest of ( <i>mt-</i> ) linen ——— 6 deben of gold, in tribute weight a pedet of raiment a large 'bolt' <sup>1</sup> 2 deben of gold; 2 pedet of raiment; a large 'bolt' <sup>1</sup> ; 1 chest of ( <i>mt-</i> ) linen 1 deben of gold; 2 oxen ( <i>ng<sup>2</sup>·w</i> )
	Scribe of the recorder of Elephantine	
	Kenbeti of Elephantine	
	Scribe of Elephantine	
720.	Recorder of Ombos	2 deben of gold; ——— 1 deben of gold, in tribute weight 3 large bolts; ——— — deben of silver, in tribute weight 4 deben of gold, in tribute weight 1 ox; 1 two-year-old
	Scribe of the Recorder of Ombos	
	Kenbeti of Ombos	
721.	Mayor of Edfu	8 deben of gold, tribute weight a great 'bolt' <sup>1</sup> gold (amount ?) 1 ox
	His scribe	
	Recorder of Edfu	
	Town-Ruler of <i>Pr-mr-yw</i> <sup>a</sup>	1 deben of gold 1 chest of ( <i>mt-</i> ) linen; 2 oxen
722.	Mayor of Nekhen	4 deben of gold 3 deben of silver 1 ox 1 two-year-old 3 deben of gold, in tribute weight 1 bead necklace ['of' gold] 2 oxen 1 chest of ( <i>mt-</i> ) linen; 1 chest of ( <i>d<sup>2</sup>w-</i> ) linen
	Kenbeti of Nekhen	
	(Name lost, top row)	Garments, 2 ( <i>pdt-</i> ) bolts (Linen) 1 great ( <i>sm<sup>2</sup>·t-</i> ) 'bolt' <sup>1</sup> gold (amount ?)
	(Name lost, top row)	1 ( <i>wn-dw-</i> ) ox, 2 yearlings Gold, linen

<sup>a</sup>An uncertain town.



	OFFICIAL AND PLACE	TAX
723.	Town-Ruler of Esneh	— of silver 8 of gold 2 oxen; grain, linen
	Scribe of the Islands of Esneh	2 deben of gold $\frac{1}{2}$ deben of silver 1 bead necklace <sup>of</sup> gold 1 ( <i>wn-dw</i> -) ox, 1 yearling; linen ( <i>d'w</i> -) linen
	Kenbeti of Esneh <sup>a</sup>	2 chests of ( <i>mt</i> -) linen grain 2 calves, 2 oxen ( <i>s'</i> )
724.	Recorder of Gebelen	1 deben of gold; $\frac{1}{2}$ deben of silver
725.	Scribe of the District of <sup>1</sup> —	Gold, bead necklace, linen, yearlings; two-year-olds; (numbers lost)
726.	Scribe of the Islands which are in the South ( <i>tp-rsy</i> )	2 deben of gold 30 pigeons <sup>c</sup> <i>nb-<del>tm</del>'t</i> 2 oxen, 5 yearlings 1 chest of ( <i>mt</i> -) linen
727.	Recorder of Hermonthis	3 deben of gold 10 <sup>c</sup> <i>nb-<del>tm</del>'t</i> 1 chest of ( <i>mt</i> -) linen
	Scribe of the Recorder of Hermonthis	Gold (amount lost) ( <i>d'w</i> -) linen
	Scribe of — the District of Hermonthis	2 deben of gold 1 chest of ( <i>mt</i> -) linen 40 pigeons 5 firstlings of the year 2 oxen, 5 yearlings Grain, honey
	Kenbeti of the District of Hermonthis	4 deben <sup>of</sup> gold 1 deben of silver 1 bead necklace <sup>of</sup> gold 1 chest of ( <i>mt</i> -) linen ( <i>d'w</i> -) linen
728.	Recorder of House of Hathor ( <i>Pr-Hthr</i> )	(Lost)

<sup>a</sup>Only the end of the name is preserved. In the second row next to Esneh there is another Kenbeti, whose place-name is lost. He brings gold (amount?), 1 chest of (*mt*-) linen, 2 heket of grain, and 1 heket of grain (sic!).

## B. BELOW THEBES

729. The scene is the same as before.<sup>a</sup>*Over Rekhmire*

Inspection of the taxes (*yp'w*) counted to (the credit of) the hall of the vizier of the Southern City (and) counted against the mayors, the town-rulers, the district officials, the recorders of the districts, their scribes and the — of their fields, from above Koptos to below S[ut], by the hereditary prince . . . . . [Rekhmire].

	OFFICIAL AND PLACE	TAX
730.	— in the midst of the City (Thebes)	1 deben of silver 3 deben of gold 1 chest of ( <i>mt</i> -) linen 2 two-year-olds 3 yearlings
731.	Scribe of the District of <i>Rs-nj't</i>	1 chest of ( <i>mt</i> -) linen Honey 3 heket of grain 3 yearlings 3 two-year-olds 2 full-grown (oxen) gold (amount lost); bead necklace
732.	— of Cusae	3 deben of gold 1 bead necklace [of] gold _____ _____ _____
	— of Cusae	— deben of gold — deben of silver _____ _____ _____

<sup>a</sup>The two lower rows have mostly disappeared; twenty-four figures of officials are visible, and the tribute of two more is partially preserved. Of these twenty-six, the dues of one are totally lost, while five more figures (at least) with their dues have also disappeared; thus the dues of about one-fifth of the officials have been lost; the number of place-names lost (if any) is uncertain.

	OFFICIAL AND PLACE	TAX
733.	Kenbeti of the District of of Coptos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 deben of silver</li> <li><math>\frac{1}{2}</math> deben of gold</li> <li>10 measures of (<math>y^c h</math>-) grain</li> <li>1 heket of grain</li> <li>1 (<math>hbn' t</math>-) jar of honey; calves</li> </ul>
734.	Kenbeti of the District of Dendera	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 deben of gold</li> <li>— — of silver</li> <li>(<math>y^c h</math>-) grain</li> <li>10 heket of grain</li> <li>1 (<math>hbn' t</math>-) jar of honey</li> <li>5 calves</li> <li>— two-year-olds</li> <li>1 ox</li> </ul>
735.	Mayor of Haturt-Amen- emhet ( $Ht-wr' t-Ymn-$ $m-h' t$ )	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5 deben of gold</li> <li>1 deben of silver, tribute weight</li> <li>200 (<math>kw</math>-) loaves</li> <li>1,000 (<math>shl</math>-) loaves</li> <li>-3 <math>wdn</math></li> <li>10 sacks of [—]</li> <li>3 <math>tm</math></li> <li>5 calves</li> <li>3 yearlings</li> <li>3 two-year-olds</li> <li>2 (full-grown) oxen</li> <li>500 pigeons</li> </ul>
736.	Recorder of $W^3 h-ys' t$  Scribe of the Recorder of $W^3 h-ys' t$	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><math>\frac{1}{2}</math> deben of gold</li> <li>1 chest of (<math>mt</math>-) linen</li> <li>1 (<math>hbn' t</math>-) jar of honey</li> <li>1 two-year-old</li> <li>1 bolt of (<math>d^3 -w</math>-) linen</li> <li>cattle</li> </ul>
737.	Recorder of Diospolis Parva ( $Ht-shm$ )  Scribe of the Recorder of Diospolis Parva	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5 deben of gold</li> <li>1 heket of (<math>tb</math>-) grain</li> <li>(<math>\\$^c</math>-) grain</li> <li>1 measure of (<math>y^c h</math>-) grain</li> <li>1 measure of (<math>sw' t</math>-) grain</li> <li>3 measures of southern grain</li> <li>1 measure of southern grain</li> <li>pigeons, linen (many items lost)</li> <li>3 deben of gold</li> </ul>

	OFFICIAL AND PLACE	TAX
738.	Recorder of Abydos His scribe Scribe of the District of Abydos Kenbeti of Abydos	1 deben of gold ( <i>mt-</i> ) linen ( <i>ḡ<sup>w</sup>-</i> ) linen 1 ( <i>hbn t-</i> ) jar of honey 1 two-year-old 1 deben of gold 3 two-year-olds 1 deben of gold 1 bead necklace [of] gold 1 heket of grain 2 heket of southern grain oxen
739.	Mayor of Thinis	6 deben of gold $\frac{1}{2}$ deben of silver ( <i>y<sup>c</sup> h-</i> ) bread, 20 ( <i>ḡw-</i> ) loaves 10 sacks of [—] 10 <sup>c</sup> <i>nb-ḡm<sup>c</sup> t</i> 2 heket of grain 50 heket 10 heket of grain 1 ( <i>hbn t-</i> ) jar of honey 5 calves 6 yearlings 3 two-year-olds 2 (full-grown) oxen
740.	Scribe <sup>a</sup> of the District of the city of Min (Akhmim)	2 deben of gold 1 deben of silver 2 bead necklaces [of] [gold] 200 [—] 2 heket of grain —1 calves — two-year-olds 1 (full-grown) ox
741.	Recorder of Itfit His scribe	3 heket of southern grain 1 measure of grain 1 ( <i>hbn t</i> ) jar of honey 2 (full-grown) oxen
742.	Mayor of <i>Pr-Ḥr</i>	1 heket of southern grain 10 measures of ( <i>sw t-</i> ) grain 1 ( <i>wn-dw</i> ) ox 1 two-year-old ( <i>šw-</i> ) rolls

<sup>a</sup>Behind him was a figure now lost, with considerable tribute of grain, bread and cattle; the gold, if any, is lost. This may also belong to Akhmim.

	OFFICIAL AND PLACE	TAX
743.	Mayor —	1,000 ( <i>sht-</i> ) loaves ( <i>sw t-</i> ) grain 3 measures of grain southern grain 2 heket of grain 10 ( <i>kw-</i> ) loaves 1 ( <i>hbn t-</i> ) jar of honey <i>im c t</i> 1 yearling 1 (full-grown) ox
744.	Scribe of the District of <i>c nt</i> —	5 deben of gold 2 heket of grain 1 chest of ( <i>mt-</i> ) linen 1 chest of ( <i>d w-</i> ) linen — [deben] of gold 1 chest of ( <i>mt-</i> ) linen 1 chest of ( <i>d w-</i> ) linen
745.	Scribe of the Recorder of Siut <sup>a</sup>  Kenbeti of Siut	Grain 1 ( <i>hbn t-</i> ) jar of honey _____ _____ _____

VI. RECEPTION OF DUES TO THE AMON-TEMPLE<sup>b</sup>

746. In this scene is represented the reception of the products of the field, including honey, due to the temple of Amon. The products of a Punt expedition and the annual tribute of North and South, so often recorded in the Annals, are mentioned.

*Scene*

747. Rekhmire, with his suite behind him, is enthroned at the right. Before him, in three registers, are officials and servants, presenting, storing, recording, and preparing

<sup>a</sup>There are two scribes, the name occurring with each.

<sup>b</sup>Pls. XII-XIV.

for use the products of Egypt and her tributary countries. Throughout this scene are distributed the following inscriptions:

*Over Rekhmire*

**748.** Reception of grain ( $y^c h$ ) and honey in the White House of the temple; sealing of all treasures in the [temple of Amon], by virtue of his office of master of secret things; by the hereditary prince, . . . . . the vizier, Rekhmire.

*Over Grain Scene*

**749.** Reception of grain ( $y^c h$ ) in the [temple of Amon].

*Over Trituration of Grain*

Pounding grain ( $y^c h$ ) in the White House of the [temple of Amon], in order to make an oblation [at] every feast, which his majesty established anew.

*Over Flour-Sifting*

Servants of the date-storeroom. "Haste thee every matter . . . . . thou shalt cause that we be praised."

*Over Bakers*

Making [loaves] for the oblation of the divine offerings. Doing safely and well the baking of the cake.

*Over Men Doing Reverence*

**750.** Speech of the fleet-captains: "According to the desire of thy heart, O prince! [Thy] every matter is very good; the treasuries are overflowing with the tribute of all countries: oil, incense, wine, . . . . . everything, all the products of Punt; bags and sacks bearing every good thing — — — in a myriad of hundred thousands, for King Menkheperre (Thutmose III), given life. May thy favor with his ka be every day.

*Over Men Carrying Tribute*

**751.** Introduction of wine into the storehouses ( $w\bar{d}$ ) by the vizier, Rekhmire. Reception of the tribute of the South country, together with the tribute of the Northland before . . . . . Rekhmire.

*On the Storehouses*

Gold-houses of the temple. Storehouse ( $w\bar{d}$ ) of the temple. Double gold-house.

VII. INSPECTION OF DAILY OFFERINGS AND OF MONUMENTS<sup>a</sup>*Scene*

752. Rekhmire, (figure erased) stands inspecting two lines of men with food-offerings, and two rows of statues of the king, behind which are weapons, temple furniture, and utensils.

*Inscription over Rekhmire*

Inspection of food of the divine offerings of every day; inspection of his —, and the beautiful monuments, which he executed for the Sovereign, the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre (Thutmose III), given life forever, for the temple of Amon, and the temples which are in his —; by . . . . . [Rekhmire].

VIII. INSPECTION OF CRAFTSMEN<sup>b</sup>

753. We here see Rekhmire inspecting the artificers, who are making for the temple of Amon various vessels, doors, furniture, etc., from the precious metals and other costly materials captured in Thutmose III's wars in Asia.

*Scene*

Rekhmire stands leaning on his staff; behind him are his suite, and before him are long lines of craftsmen in leather, wood, stone, and various metals, busily engaged at their work. Over them are the following inscriptions:

*Over Rekhmire*

754. Inspection of every craft ————,<sup>c</sup> in order to cause every man to know his duty according to the stipulation of every affair, by the hereditary prince, count, who gives the regulation to the prophets, who directs the priests to their duty, governor of the (residence) city, chief of the six courts of justice, Rekhmire.

<sup>a</sup>Pl. XXII.<sup>b</sup>Pls. XVI-XVIII.<sup>c</sup>The lacuna here and at the beginning of the following inscription would indicate that the name of Amon had been erased in both places.

*Over Gold Weighing*

ᵀReckoningᵀ of the gold ———, in order to fulfil all business of the daily stipulation. Their number is myriads of hundred-thousands; before the vizier . . . . . Rekhmire.

*Over Goldsmiths and Silversmiths*

Making all vessels for the divine limbs; multiplying vases of gold and silver in every (style of) workmanship that endures forever.

*Over Coppermiths*

755. Bringing the Asiatic copper which his majesty captured in the victories in Retenu, in order to ᵀcastᵀ the [two doors<sup>a</sup>] of the temple of Amon in Karnak. Its pavement was overlaid with gold like<sup>b</sup> the horizon of heaven; by the governor of the (residence) city, and vizier.

They say: "The king, beautiful in monuments, Menkheperre (Thutmose III), given life forever; (as) he is (so) they are forever. . . . . He repeats monuments in the house of his father."

*Over Cabinet-makers*

Making chests of ivory, ebony, carob wood, meru wood, and of cedar of the best of the terraces; by this official who gives the regulation, guiding the hands of his craftsmen.

IX. INSPECTION OF SCULPTORS AND BUILDERS<sup>c</sup>

756. The heavier works of the Amon-temple are here under inspection by Rekhmire. Of particular interest are the Semitic foreigners, who appear among the brickmakers, of the "*captivity which his majesty brought for the works of the temple of Amon.*" This is, of course, precisely what was afterward exacted of the Hebrews.

<sup>a</sup>These words are in Virey's copy (*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, Pl. XV), but had been lost before Newberry's was made.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "*in likeness to*" (*m sn't r*), a circumlocution not uncommonly used for the simple "*like*" (*my*).

<sup>c</sup>Pls. XX and XXI.



*Scene*

Rekmire stands leaning on his staff, his suite behind him; and before him, at work, are stonemasons, sculptors, brickmakers, and builders. The inscriptions are as follows:

*Over Rekmire*

**757.** Inspection of all works of divine offerings of Amon in Karnak; causing every man to know his way, by virtue of his office as chief of works; by the hereditary prince, count, who establishes laws in the temples of the gods of the South and North . . . . ——— [Rekmire].

*By Bricklayers<sup>a</sup>*

**758.** The layer of brick who brings the field,<sup>b</sup> the very numerous [—]; building with ready fingers, skilled<sup>c</sup> in his duty, causing vigilance among the [conquered],<sup>d</sup> who hear the sayings of this official, skilful<sup>e</sup> in bui[lding] of works, giving regulation to their chiefs. [They say]: "He [supplies] us with bread, beer, and every good sort; he leads us, with a loving heart for the king, amiable — — King Menkheperre (Thutmose III), who builds the sanctuary of [the gods]; may they grant to him a reward therefor with myriads of years.

The taskmaster,<sup>f</sup> he says to the builders: "The rod is in my hand; be not idle."

*By Brickmakers<sup>g</sup>*

**759.** Captivity which his majesty brought, for the works of the temple of Amon.

*By Bricklayer*

Laying the brick, in order to build the storehouse anew, [in the temple of Amon] of Karnak.

<sup>a</sup>Pl. XX. The beginning of the inscription is very difficult and a little doubtful.

<sup>b</sup>A similar reference to a "clay-field" in Ineni (§ 106, l. 12).

<sup>c</sup>*Wn-hr*, *wb 3-hr*, and *šs 3-hr* are not uncommon, meaning "experienced, instructed, skilful."

<sup>d</sup>The captives of war shown in the same scene?

<sup>e</sup>The adjectives now refer to the prince.

<sup>f</sup>*Dy-rs-ḏ 3 ḏ 3* = lit., "he who causes to be vigilant."

<sup>g</sup>Some of these are clearly Semitic foreigners.

*By Builders*

Let your hands build, ye people. Let us do the pleasure of this official in restoring the monuments of his lord in the house of his father Amon. His name is upon them, abiding, permanent, for both æons of years. The overseer of works, he saith to those bringing stone: "Strengthen your hands, ye people. Let us lay [the foundation] of stone, of work [—] — —."

X. RECEPTION OF FOREIGN TRIBUTE<sup>a</sup>

760. This is one of the most important scenes preserved in ancient Egypt. Similar scenes will be found in other Theban tombs, but none contains so elaborate, detailed, and extensive representations of the wealth of the Asiatic peoples, which was now flowing as tribute into the treasury of the Pharaohs. The pride of the Egyptian vizier, which led him to depict these official incidents in his career, has thus been the means of preserving to us much of the early civilization of Asia, which on its native soil has perished utterly.

*Scene*

761. At the right stands Rekhmire, while the foreigners, carrying their tribute, approach in five long lines from the left. At the head of each line is a scribe, who records their tribute as it is deposited in splendid profusion before him.

*Inscription*

Reception of the tribute of the south country, besides the tribute of Punt, the tribute of Retenu (*Rṯnw*), the tribute of Keftiyew, besides the booty of all countries which the fame of his majesty, King

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<sup>a</sup>This scene has not yet been published by Newberry; I had only Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 505-10; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1110-1113 (whose description is taken bodily from Champollion); and the two plates in Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, I, Pl. II A and II B.

Menkheperre (Thutmose III), brought; by the hereditary prince . . . . .<sup>a</sup> Rekhmire.<sup>b</sup>

A weighing scene<sup>c</sup> shows the reckoning of “*this great heap of electrum, which is (measured) by the heket, making 36,692<sup>d</sup> deben.*”

#### XI. ACCESSION OF AMENHOTEP II

762. This scene is not yet published, but Newberry describes it (*op. cit.*, 20) as showing Rekhmire after having sailed down-river to Hatsekhem to meet his new sovereign, presenting to him “the royal insignia.”

#### STELA OF INTEF THE HERALD<sup>e</sup>

763. This splendid stela was erected by the “*royal herald*” of Thutmose III, whose important offices were the following:

Hereditary prince and count, companion, great in love, count of Thinis of the Thinite nome, lord of the entire oasis region, great herald of the king.

<sup>a</sup>Titles, etc., of Rekhmire.

<sup>b</sup>An inscription over each of the five rows begins in each case: “*Arrival in peace, of the chiefs of X*” (Punt, Retenu, etc., as the case may be). To Keftiyew is added “*and of the isles in the midst of the sea,*” and to Retenu: “*all the northern countries of the ends of the earth.*” This introductory formula is followed by the conventional acclamations of the foreigners; but these inscriptions are not readable in Wilkinson’s plates. Champollion gives only the introductory formula of each row, and Newberry’s second volume containing these scenes has not yet appeared.

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 39, *d*.

<sup>d</sup>About 8,943 pounds (troy).

<sup>e</sup>Now in the Louvre (C. 26), being doubtless the finest stela in that great collection. It is nearly 6 feet high by nearly 4 feet in width, and of the finest workmanship (see de Rougé, *Notices des monuments*, 84–89). It was published by Gayet, *Stèles de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie*, Pl. XIX, and the long inscription (partially) by Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, VI, 1479–85). Owing simply to the name of its owner, “Intef,” it has always been attributed to the early Middle Kingdom. It has long been evident, both from its language and content, however, that it belongs to the Eighteenth Dynasty. The discovery of Intef’s tomb at Thebes by Newberry shows that this conclusion is correct, and that Intef lived in the reign of Thutmose III. The important conclusions regarding the oases in the Middle Kingdom, often drawn from this inscription (e. g., Maspero, *Dawn*, 432, n. 3, and *ibid.*, 459, n. 3), are therefore to be given up.

Or again:

Hereditary prince and count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, favorite of the Good God, excellent scribe of computation, first herald of the king.

Again:

First herald of the judgment-hall (<sup>c</sup> *rry' t*).<sup>a</sup>

It would thus appear that the Oases, at least those of the Theban region, were dependents of the Thinite princes,<sup>b</sup> who have survived into the Eighteenth Dynasty and taken office at the court of the Pharaoh.

764. The stela contains, in a less formal list than the "Duties of the Vizier" (§§ 675 ff.), a similar statement of the duties of the "royal herald" (*whm-stny*<sup>c</sup> = lit., "royal reporter or repeater"). This statement, far from being an extract from the government archives, is but a random rehearsal, in a boastful style, of the powers of the court herald. It is evident that his office is only partially expressed by our word herald, for the duties of the Egyptian herald show him to have been of ministerial power and importance; they were the following:

1. The management of the formalities and ceremonies of court and palace (ll. 4-7, only part of l. 5).
2. Communication of the messages of the people and affairs of the land to the king<sup>d</sup> (l. 5).

<sup>a</sup>All the above titles are from the head of the stela; others will be found in the following translation.

<sup>b</sup>For another Thinite prince, who was also lord of the oasis, see *Recueil*, X, 141.

<sup>c</sup>So in Ahmose-pen-Nekhbet (ll. 10 and 13), but in Intef's inscription "*whm-n-stny*."

<sup>d</sup>Here he seems to cover the same ground as the vizier (Duties, 4, l. 5); but the vizier evidently reported larger affairs of state, while the herald communicated personal matters, of which we have an example in the brave deeds of Ahmose, which are regularly reported to the king by the "royal herald" (§§ 9 ff.).

3. Messenger of the judgment-hall (*ʿry·t*), or general administrative office of the Pharaoh (l. 6).

4. The communication to the people of all commissions laid on them by the Pharaoh (l. 7).

5. The communication, both to Egyptians and foreign countries, of the amount of their taxes, and verification of same (l. 8, and l. 27 end). This is but a specialization of 4.

6. To be in general the mouthpiece of the palace (l. 9).

7. To exercise a kind of police control, wherever the Pharaoh proceeded (ll. 10-12).

765. This unsystematic list of powers is followed by an enumeration of Intef's good qualities (ll. 13-20), to which is added, after an asseveration of its truth (ll. 20-22), a remarkable statement of the source of his success (ll. 22-24).

Finally, a rapid statement of the herald's duties abroad while accompanying the Pharaoh on his Syrian campaigns, completes the inscription (ll. 24-27). As the Pharaoh, in this instance, was Thutmose III, these brief references are of the greatest interest, showing the herald, as they do, preceding the great commander from town to town, and preparing his residence in the palaces of the Syrian princes.

*Intef's Address to Passers-by*

766. <sup>2</sup>He says: "O ye that live upon earth, all people (*ʿrhy·t*), every priest, every scribe, every ritual priest, who shall enter into this tomb of the necropolis; if ye love life, and think not on death, if your native gods shall favor you, if ye would not taste the fear of another land, <sup>3</sup>if ye would be buried in your tombs, if ye would bequeath your offices to your children; whether (ye be) one that readeth these words upon this stela, being a scribe; or one that heareth them, so shall ye say: 'An offering which the king gives, etc. . . . .'"

*Intef's Duties*

767. <sup>4</sup>For the ka of the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, favorite of the king, as leader of his army, who levies

the official staffs and the soldiers, who counts the companions, who conducts the nobles, who makes the king's-confidants approach their places, leader of leaders, <sup>5</sup>guide of millions of men, superior of advanced offices, advanced in place, excellent in the (royal) presence, who sends up the words of the people (*rhy' t*), who reports the affairs of the Two Lands, who discourses concerning matters in the secret place, who enters with good things and comes out with favor, <sup>6</sup>who places every man upon his father's seat, who makes glad the heart and favors the favorites, at whose words the great arise, who does the errands of the judgment-hall (*ry' t*), who originates the regulations in the palace, L. P. H., who makes every man to know his duties, who gives the administration in the —, [great] <sup>7</sup>in power in the great seat (i. e., the palace), who silences the voice, and originates honors, who guards the foot from the place of silence, the counterpoise of the balances of the Good God, who conducts the people to that which they do, who says: "Let it be done," and it is done on [the instant], <sup>8</sup>like that which comes out of the mouth of a god; who lays commands on the people (*hnm' t*), to number their work (impost) for the king, who fixes the [reckoning] of every country, who furnishes the [supplies] of their princes, great in affairs at the counting of the numbers, prepared — <sup>9</sup>— — to do, knowing that which is in the heart of the king, L. P. H., the speaking tongue of him who is in the palace (i. e., the king), the eyes of the king, the heart of the lord of the palace, the instruction of the whole land, who binds the rebellious, who quiets the —, <sup>10</sup>— — from the hostile, strong-armed toward robbers, applying violence to them that apply violence, mighty-hearted against the mighty-hearted, who brings down the arm <sup>11</sup>of him whose — is high, who [shortens] the hour of the [cruel-hearted], who causes the evil-hearted to perform the regulation of the laws, although his heart is unwilling, great in terror among criminals, lord of fear among rebellious-<sup>12</sup>hearted, who binds the adversary, and repels the violent, the safety of the palace, the establisher of its laws, who quiets the multitude for their lord, the chief herald of the judgment-hall, count of Thinis of the Thinite nome, chief of all the oasis country, excellent scribe, solving writings, Intef, triumphant.

*Intef's Qualities*

**768.** <sup>13</sup>The only wise, equipped with knowledge, the really safe one, distinguishing the simple from the wise, exalting the craftsman, turning his back upon the ignorant, [—] in mind, very [complete] in mind, giving attention to hear the man of truth, <sup>14</sup>void of deceit, useful to his lords,

accurate-minded, with no lie in him, experienced in every way, protector of the seemingly, hearer of his prayer, gentle toward the cold-hot one, interceding for him, who does according to his plans, not — <sup>15</sup>the truthful, understanding the heart,<sup>a</sup> knowing the thoughts, when nothing has come forth from the lips, speaking to wit: according to his thought; there is none, whom he hath not known, turning his face to him that speaks the truth, disregarding him that speaketh lies, who does [—] to — — ,<sup>16</sup>not mild toward the [loquacious], but opposing him by doing the truth, content with giving satisfaction, not exalting him that knew not above him that knew, going about after the truth, giving attention to hear petitions, judging — <sup>17</sup>for him who is without offense and for the liar, free from partiality, justifying the just, chastising the guilty for his guilt, servant of the poor, father of the fatherless, — — <sup>18</sup>of the orphan, mother of the fearful, [dungeon] of the turbulent, protector of the weak, advocate of him who has been deprived of his possessions by one stronger than he, husband of the widow, shelter of the orphan [making] the weep<sup>19</sup>er rejoice, [— — —], who is praised on account of his character, for whom the worthy thank god, because of the greatness of his worth, for whom health and life are besought by all people (*rhy t*), great herald of the judgment-hall, <sup>20</sup>chief steward, overseer of the double granary, leader of all works of the king's L. P. H. estate, to whom all offices report, who counts the impost of the leaders, the mayors and the village sheiks of the South and the North excellent scribe, Intef, triumphant.

*Intef's Asseveration*

**769.** He says: "Those were my qualities, of which <sup>21</sup>I have testified; there is no deceit therein; these were my excellencies in very truth, there is no exception therein. Nor was there any likening of words to boast for myself with lies, but that was my color, <sup>22</sup>which I showed; that was my office in the king's L. H. P. estate, that was my service at the court L. P. H., that was my [duty] in the judgment-hall.

*Intef's Explanation of His Success*

**770.** <sup>b</sup>It was my heart which caused that I should do it, by its leading of my affairs; it is — — <sup>23</sup>an excellent witness, I did not violate its

<sup>a</sup>On this passage, cf. my article, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 39, 47.

<sup>b</sup>On this remarkable passage, see my article, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 39, 47.

speech, I feared to transgress its leading; I prospered on account of it exceedingly. I was excellent by reason of that which it caused that I should do, I was valuable by reason of its leading. 'Lo, — — —,'<sup>24</sup> said the people, 'it is an oracle of the gods, which is in every body. He is a counsellor, whom it has led to the goodly way of achievement.' Lo, thus I was.

*Intef's Duties Abroad*

771. I followed the King of the Two Lands, I struck into his tracks in the countries, — —<sup>25</sup> — the earth, I arrived at its end, being at the heels of his majesty, L. P. H., my valor was like the lords of strength, and I captured like his brave ones. Every palace in a country — —<sup>26</sup> — before the troops, at the head of the army. When my lord arrived in safety where I was, I had prepared it (the palace), I had equipped it with everything that is desired in a foreign country, made better than the palaces of Egypt, <sup>27</sup>purified, cleansed, set apart, their mansions adorned, (each) chamber for its proper purpose, I made the king's heart satisfied with that which I did, — — —. I numbered the tribute of the rulers dwelling in every country, consisting of silver, gold, oil, incense, wine."

TOMB OF MENKHEPPERSENEB<sup>a</sup>

772. This tomb is one of the most interesting and important at Thebes. Menkheperreseneb, besides being High Priest<sup>b</sup> of Amon under Thutmose III, was also "*overseer of the gold-house and overseer of the silver-house,*" as well as chief architect in the temple of Amon, and "*chief of the overseers of craftsmen.*" As treasurer, he is depicted in his tomb receiving the tribute of Asia, and the treasure from the mines of Africa; while as architect and chief of the master-craftsmen, we find him in charge of Thutmose

<sup>a</sup>In the cliff of Shekh Abd-el-Kurna at Thebes, published by Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, Pl. 127 P-129 and 102-5; Virey, *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, 197 ff. I had also a copy of the building inscription, kindly furnished me by Mr. Newberry.

<sup>b</sup>See his statue (*Annales*, IV, 8, 9) found at Karnak, according to which he was a son of Rekhmire.



III's great works in the Karnak temple, recounted in this king's building inscriptions (§§ 599 ff.).

*Scene of Asiatic Tribute*

773. Two lines of Asiatics bring forward splendid and richly chased vessels of gold, silver, etc. The Asiatics are designated as "*the chief of Keftiyew, the chief of Kheta, the chief of Tunip (Tnḫw), the chief of Kadesh.*" Before them is an inscription:

Giving praise to the Lord of the Two Lands, obeisance to the Good God, by the chiefs of every land. They acclaim the victories of his majesty; their tribute is upon their backs, being every [product] of God's-Land: silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, every splendid, costly stone . . . . .

A line of superscription contains the acclamations of the Asiatics; the bulk of it is lost:

——— the sea; thy fear is in all lands. Thou hast overthrown the lands of Mitanni (*My-tn* —); thou hast hacked up their cities, their chiefs are in caves — —.

*Reception of Gold*

774. Another scene shows the deceased receiving shipments of gold, from the "*captain of the gendarmes of Coptos*" and the "*governor of the gold-country of Coptos.*"

Reception of gold of the highland of Coptos, besides gold of Kush the wretched, being the yearly dues — —; by Menkheperreseneb.

*Inspection of Workmen*

775. Again we see the deceased inspecting the work of the craftsmen, accompanied by the words:

Viewing the workshop of the temple of [Amon], the work of the craftsmen, in real lapis lazuli, and in real malachite, which his majesty made after the design of his heart,<sup>a</sup> to be [monuments] for his father,

<sup>a</sup>These very works are shown in the great relief depicting the presentation of monuments to Amon by Thutmose III at Karnak (§ 545), accompanied by the same words, showing that Thutmose III himself furnished the design to the craftsmen.

Amon, in [the house of Amon], abiding, flourishing as eternal works; by the hereditary prince, count, pleasing the king as the establisher of his monuments, chief of the overseers of craftsmen, chief of works in the [house of] Amon, first prophet of [Amon], Menkheperreseneb. He says:

*A Shrine*

"I inspected when the lord, King Thutmose III, erected [a shrine,] called 'Thutmose-III-is-the-Wearer-of-the-Diadem-of-Amon,' of enduring granite, in one block,<sup>a</sup> upon the [canal] —————<sup>b</sup>wrought with electrum, the [hall] being of sandstone, wrought with gold of the best of the hills ————— wrought with gold."

*A Second Shrine*

776. "I inspected, when his majesty erected a great<sup>c</sup> shrine of electrum (called): 'Thutmose-III-is-Great-in-Love-in-the-House-of-Amon.'"

*Colonnade*

"I inspected when his majesty made a great colonnade,<sup>d</sup> [wrought] with electrum — — —."

*Obelisks and Flagstaves*

"I inspected when his majesty erected obelisks and numerous flagstaves for his father, Amon. I pleased his majesty while conducting the work on his monuments. I did these things, without being unpleasant to the heart of —————."

STELA OF NIBAMON<sup>e</sup>

777. This official lived at Thebes under the early Thutmoseids, and finally became steward of Nebetu, one of

<sup>a</sup>A monolithic chapel of granite, such as still exists, for example, at Edfu.

<sup>b</sup>The following is either a different building, the account of which began in the preceding lacuna, or the hall in which the shrine stood.

<sup>c</sup>So Piehl; Newberry, "*beautiful*."

<sup>d</sup>This is doubtless the building at the east end of the Karnak temple; but may be the attempted restoration of the hall dismantled for Hatshepsut's obelisks.

<sup>e</sup>Stela in his tomb in the hill of Drah-abu-'n-Neggah, at Thebes; published by Bouriant, *Recueil*, IX, 95-97.

Thutmose III's wives, and chief captain of the king's fleet. His tomb stela is chiefly devoted to the usual mortuary prayers, in the midst of which he refers to his favor under the first three Thutmoseids. The name of Thutmose I is evidently lost in one of the numerous lacunæ; but Nibamon seems to have received gifts of land and cattle from this king. He then says:

*Favor under Thutmose II*

**778.** <sup>17</sup>My lord, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okhepernere (Thutmose II), triumphant, repeated favors to me; he appointed me overseer of the hall (*h<sup>3</sup>*) of the king.

*Favor under Thutmose III*

**779.** My lord, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose III), given life, repeated favors to me; he magnified <sup>18</sup>me until I was at the front; he appointed me as steward of the king's-wife, Nebetu (*Nb<sup>3</sup> t-w*), triumphant. My lord, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, <sup>19</sup>given life, repeated favors to me; he appointed me to be captain of all the ships of the king. There happened no oversight of mine, nor was there found any neglect of mine. I <sup>1</sup>was not associated with <sup>20</sup>evil, but I attained a revered old age, being in the favor of the king's presence.

Then follows a final prayer, addressed to the living.

## REIGN OF AMENHOTEP II

### ASIATIC CAMPAIGN

780. Syria, of course, revolted on the death of Thutmose III, and already in his second year we find his energetic son, Amenhotep II, on the march into northern Syria to quell the rebellion. Doubtless the harbor cities had also rebelled, and hence the young king is forced to proceed by land. Leaving Egypt in April, as his father had done on the first campaign thirty-three years before, he had already in early May won a battle at Shemesh-Edom in northern Palestine. On the twelfth of May he crossed the Orontes, and gained a skirmish near the river. He celebrated a feast of thanksgiving to Amon there, and fourteen days later (May 26) he arrived at Niy, which opened its gates to him and received him with acclamation. June 5 he reached and punished the rebellious city of Ikathi, which was plotting against its Egyptian garrison. Somewhere in Naharin he set up his tablet of victory,<sup>a</sup> as his father and grandfather had done before him. Here the sources fail, and the further course of the campaign is unknown until the king's return to Egypt; but it is clear that the coalition against Egypt was crushed in Tikhsi, probably at the battle on the Orontes, for on his return in the autumn the king brought back with him to Thebes "*the seven princes who were in the district of Tikhsi*," and sacrificed them himself before Amon. Early in the following July we find the king in Nubia, arranging the completion of his father's temples at Elephantine and Amâda. In both he set up a

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<sup>a</sup>Turra inscription of Minhotep (§ 800).

tablet bearing the same inscription, recording the building and mentioning the seven princes, six of whom he says he hanged on the walls of Thebes, and the seventh on the walls of Napata. At Napata or above it he set up a tablet marking his southern boundary (§ 800). It is perhaps on his return from this last errand that he stops at Amâda for the foundation ceremonies of the temple.

The said Amâda and Elephantine stelæ, another at Karnak, and a Karnak chapel are the only sources for this campaign.<sup>a</sup>

#### I. KARNAK STELA<sup>b</sup>

781. Above is a relief in two parts, each showing the king offering to Amon-Re. Between the two parts is a vertical line of text recording the restoration of the monument by Seti I, just as on the Building Inscription of Amenhotep III.

##### *Date and Introduction*

782. 1[Year 2]° ——— under the majesty of:

°Horus: Mighty Bull, Great of Strength; ——— Part of Atum;

<sup>a</sup>An inscription from a tomb at Shekh Abd-el-Kurna probably refers to his campaigns in calling the deceased "a follower of the king on his journeys on water, on land, and in every country; to whom has been given favors of the king's-presence, consisting of rings of electrum" (Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 135).

<sup>b</sup>A pink granite stela, found by Champollion against the second of the southern pylons at Karnak, in a deplorably fragmentary condition. Text: Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 185, 186 (only ll. 1-10; l. 9 is not omitted as indicated); Maspero, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XVII, 56, 57 (only ll. 3-10, copying Champollion); Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 175, 176; Bouriant, *Recueil*, XIII, 160, 161; Wiedemann, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, 422, 423; a new fragment by Legrain, *Annales*, IV. The text is corrupt, being full of errors, like the omission of the determinative (important emendations by Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1889, 39-41). The reason for these errors is the careless restoration of the text after its erasure by the emissaries of Ikhnaton. See Legrain, *Annales*, IV.

<sup>c</sup>The tablet of Amâda below (§§ 791 ff.), dated in year 3, speaks of an Asiatic campaign already completed; it can hardly refer to any other than this campaign to Niy. Hence the latter would have taken place in the year 1 or 2, more probably the latter. The lacuna at the beginning of each line is four or five words long.

<sup>d</sup>The complete titulary of Amenhotep II.

Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Mighty in Opulence, Who is Crowned in Thebes;

Golden Horus: Who Seizes by His Might in all Lands;

<sup>2</sup>[King of Upper and Lower Egypt] ——— Opet: Okheperure, Lord — of the Sword, Who Binds the Nine Bows;

Son of Re, of his Body, Lord of All Countries: Amenhotep (II), Divine Ruler of Heliopolis, Giver of Life, Forever, like Re.<sup>a</sup>

*Battle of Shemesh-Edom*

783. <sup>3</sup>[His majesty was] in the city of Shemesh-Edom (*Š-m-šw-y-tw-my*);<sup>b</sup> his majesty furnished an example of bravery there; his majesty himself fought hand to hand. Behold, he was like a fierce-eyed lion, smiting the countries of Lebanon (*[R-m]-n-n*)<sup>c</sup> <sup>4f</sup> — — — — — *-s-ḥw*<sup>d</sup> was his name.

*Booty*

List of that which his majesty himself captured on this day: Asiatics, 18 living persons; 16 horses.<sup>e</sup>

*Battle on the Orontes*

784. First month of the third season (ninth month), day 26; his majesty crossed over the ford of the Orontes<sup>f</sup> on this day, caused to cross *šf* — — — — — *ḥ* — — — — — like the might of Montu of Thebes. His majesty raised his arm, in order to see the end of the

<sup>a</sup>The complete titulary of Amenhotep II.

<sup>b</sup>A town of northern Palestine, which occurs in the first of Thutmose III's town-lists as: *Š ḏ-my-š ḏ-y-t ḏ-my* (No. 51).

<sup>c</sup>The undoubtedly correct restoration of Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1889, 39. Wiedemann's variants only show the decay of the stone since Champollion.

<sup>d</sup>Remnant of the name of a chief or a country.

<sup>e</sup>All the texts but de Rougé have "oxen," but "horses" is certainly confirmed by the context.

<sup>f</sup>Texts all have *y-r ḏ-s-ḥ*, but Brugsch read "Arinath," hence the wavy-lined *n*, which is straight in hieratic, has been transferred to the stone straight; it has been read as an *s* by all modern copyists but Brugsch. There is no question, therefore, concerning the emendation to *n* first made by Maspero. Geographically, the emendation is also convincing. From a northern Palestinian city the king marches northward to Lebanon; this course continued would bring him to the Orontes. Moreover, the identical phrase, "crossed over the channel of the Orontes," with the same rare word (*mšd' t*) for "channel" (or "ford?") occurs in Ramses II's Kadesh campaign (III, 308, l. 12). The objections of Bissing (*Statistische Tafel*, 34) are not convincing. Petrie's identification with Harosheth on the

earth;<sup>a</sup> his majesty descried a few Asiatics (*Sṭtyw*) coming on horses ḫr—<sup>1</sup> coming at a ḫgallop<sup>1</sup> (*rkrk*). Behold, his majesty was equipped with his weapons of battle, his majesty conquered with<sup>b</sup> the might ḫof Set<sup>1</sup> in his hour. They retreated when his majesty looked at one ḫof<sup>c</sup> them. Then his majesty himself overthrew their ḫ—<sup>1d</sup>, with his spear ḫ— — —<sup>1</sup>. Behold, he carried away this Asiatic ḫ—<sup>1</sup>, <sup>8</sup>his horses,<sup>e</sup> his chariot, and all his weapons of battle. His majesty returned with joy of heart [to]<sup>f</sup> his father, Amon; he (his majesty) gave to him a feast ḫ—<sup>1</sup>.

*Booty*

785. List of that which his majesty captured on this day:<sup>g</sup> ḫhis horses, 2; chariots, 1; a coat of mail; 2 bows; a quiver, full of arrows; a corselet; and ḫ—<sup>1h</sup>.

*Arrival at Niy*

786. Second month of the third season<sup>i</sup> (tenth month), day 10; passing <sup>10</sup>southward toward Egypt, his majesty proceeded by horse to

Kishon (Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 155) is impossible, for the king is already in the Lebanon, and has left the Kishon far behind. The route by which Amenhotep advanced northward from Shemesh-Edom is not certain, but the crossing of the Orontes is doubtless the last one as he turned toward the Euphrates. This would be most naturally at Senzar. He would then march by way of Aleppo to Niy, which was about 175 miles from Senzar. That he reached Senzar is shown by his list in § 798A. This suits his marching speed also, as he would have made about 12½ miles a day from Senzar to Niy.

<sup>a</sup>There may be a reference here to the common designation of this remote region as the "end of the earth," but it more probably refers merely to the king's shading his eyes that he might scan the horizon.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "behind."

<sup>c</sup>Legrain's lacuna of 24 cm. is of course impossible; it is improbable also at the head of the next two lines.

<sup>d</sup>*ḫntw*. <sup>e</sup>Lit., "his span" (*ḫtry*).

<sup>f</sup>Restore *n*, "to," according to Amāda tablet, ll. 16, 17 (§ 797).

<sup>g</sup>There is no line omitted here, as Champollion indicates.

<sup>h</sup>The same word (*ḫntw*) applied to the corselet (*ḫḫ nr*) is found in Thutmose III's first campaign, l. 23 (*ḫntw-ty*?).

<sup>i</sup>The texts of de Rougé, Bouriant, Wiedemann, and Brugsch's translations show "month II," not III, as usually read from Champollion. That Shemu (not 'akhet) is to be read here is clear from the determinative and the other dates (ll. 4 and 13; note, l. 13). Maspero now accepts this (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 291), although he formerly read 'akhet. Petrie's date (Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 155) is therefore about five months too late; for had this date been in another year, the year must have been added. The arrival at Niy is therefore fourteen days after the crossing of the Orontes.

the city of Niy. Behold, these Asiatics of this city, men as well as women, were upon their walls praising his majesty, <sup>11</sup>— — — to the Good God.

*Revolt of Ikathi*

787. Behold, his majesty heard saying, that some of those Asiatics (*Sṯ tyw*) who were in the city of Ikathi (*Y-kʷ-ty*) had [plotted<sup>1</sup> (*ngm gm*) to make a plan for casting out the infantry<sup>a</sup> of his majesty <sup>12</sup>[who were]] in the city, in order to overturn — — — who were loyal to his majesty. Then [his] majesty put them in [— — —] in this city <sup>13</sup>— — he —<sup>b</sup> them immediately, and he pacified [this] city ——— against the entire country —.<sup>c</sup> Second month<sup>d</sup> of the third season (tenth month),<sup>d</sup> day 20 (+x). <sup>14</sup>— [—————], made the city of Ikathi [*Y-kʷ*]-ṯ<sup>2</sup> ————— <sup>15</sup>————— <sup>16</sup>—————.

788. The remainder as far as l. 29 shows but a few scattered traces, of which the following are significant: “of his children. Statement of that which [his majesty] captured” (l. 21); “his chariot” (l. 26); “list of captives” (l. 27); “[weapon]s of war without number” (l. 28); “his majesty was adorned with [his] regalia” (l. 29). The record then becomes more connected:

*Overthrow of Khatithana*

789. <sup>30</sup>————— His majesty —<sup>e</sup> the tribe of Khatithana (*Hʷ-ty-ṯ<sup>2</sup>-nʷ*) united <sup>31</sup>— —. Behold, the chief<sup>f</sup> — — — — the city, for fear of his majesty. His chiefs, his wives, his children were carried captive, <sup>32</sup>and all his people likewise. Statement of that which his majesty himself captured — — — — his horses.

<sup>a</sup>Probably the Egyptian garrison of the town.

<sup>b</sup>Verb.

<sup>c</sup>Possibly the name of the country, containing *kh*.

<sup>d</sup>This date is very important, showing (1) that we must read Shemu (the third season, not *ḥt*, the first season) in l. 10 above, and (2) that we must read second month (in l. 10) with all the copies (except Champollion).

<sup>e</sup>Verb.

<sup>f</sup>The position of the introductory words (before the lacunæ) in ll. 31 and 32 is not certain.



*Return to Egypt*

790. <sup>33</sup>— — day 27; his majesty went forth from the house of the Beautiful-of-Face (Ptah)<sup>a</sup> and proceeded [to] — Memphis, bearing the plunder which he had taken in the country of Retenu. List of that which was taken:

Nobles ( <i>my-r 2-y-n</i> ) <sup>2</sup> alive	34550 (+x)
Their [wiv]es	240
[Vessels wrought] of gold	6,800 <sup>b</sup> deben
Copper	500,000 <sup>c</sup> deben
<hr/>	
Horses	210
Chariots	300

The whole land beheld the victories of his majesty.

<sup>35</sup>By the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offerings — — — —<sup>d</sup> beloved of Amon, protector of him who is in Thebes, celebrator of the feasts of the house of Amon, lord of Thebes, [— —], Son of Re, Thutmose (IV),<sup>e</sup> given life [forever] and ever.

II. AMÂDA<sup>f</sup> AND ELEPHANTINE<sup>g</sup> STELÆ

791. Both are dedication tablets, the upper half of which is occupied by an oblation scene: at Amâda, Amenhotep II offering wine to Harakhte and Amon-Re, all in a sacred boat; at Elephantine, the king once with Amon and

<sup>a</sup>Or: "the beautiful house, proceeding" (*hr wd*), etc.

<sup>b</sup>1,657½ pounds, troy.                      Nearly 100,000 pounds.

<sup>d</sup>Royal name is lost.

<sup>e</sup>If this is correct, the stela was erected by Thutmose IV, son of Amenhotep II.

<sup>f</sup>On the interior of the back wall of the sanctuary of the temple of Amâda. Text: Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 105-7 (very imperfectly and incorrectly copied); Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 65, a; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1280 (only ll. 12-20). I had also the Berlin lexicon copy, collated by Erman with the squeeze of Lepsius, and a collation of the original by Steindorff.

<sup>g</sup>From a similar position in the Elephantine temple (now perished); the upper part with the relief and parts of thirteen lines of text is in Vienna (No. 141); the lower portion is in Cairo (No. 158). I had: my own photograph and von Bergmann's publication (*Recueil*, IV, 33 ff.) of the Vienna fragment; two copies of the Cairo fragment, one by Steindorff and one by Schaefer, which they kindly loaned me; and a photograph by Borchardt.

Anuket and once before Khnum, receiving “*life and stability*.” Both tablets were intended to mark the “*station of the king*,” both record similar buildings in the year 3 (material at Elephantine is better), and the same facts regarding the Asiatic princes. The differences in wording are almost nil. The Elephantine stela has an interesting addition from the year 4.

*Date and Introduction*

792. <sup>1</sup>Year 3, third month of the third season (eleventh month), day 15,<sup>a</sup> under the majesty of . . . . .<sup>b</sup> Amenhotep<sup>c</sup> (II), beloved of Harakhte and Amon, lord of Thebes, <sup>2</sup>Good God, creation of Re, sovereign who came forth from the body, mighty; likeness of Horus upon the throne of his father; great in strength, whose like does not exist; of whom a second is not found. He is a king very weighty of arm; there is not one who can draw his bow<sup>d</sup> among his army <sup>3</sup>among the hill-country sheiks (or) among the princes of Retenu, because his strength is so much greater than (that of) any king who has ever existed; raging like a panther, when he courses through the battlefield; there is none fighting before him; an archer mighty in smiting; <sup>4</sup>a wall protecting Egypt; firm of heart, [—] in the hour of [conflict]; trampling down those who rebel against him; [instantly] prevailing against all the barbarians with people and horses,<sup>e</sup> when they came with myriads of men, while they knew not that Amon-Re was <sup>5</sup>his ally, (nor) that he would be seen to [approach] instantly, strength in his limbs;<sup>f</sup> likeness of Min

<sup>a</sup>The date of the Elephantine tablet is lost; but it was earlier than the “*year 4*,” in which an addition was made to it.

<sup>b</sup>Full five-name titulary.

<sup>c</sup>Chiseled away and reinserted (Steindorff).

<sup>d</sup>This is the basis for the well-known legend of Herodotus (III, 21), which represents Cambyses as unable to draw the bow of the king of Ethiopia (Schaefer, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 38, 66 f.). It is a not uncommon statement. Curiously enough, the bow of Amenhotep II was found in his tomb; it bears an inscription designating him as “*smiter of the Troglodytes, overthrower of Kush, hacking up [their] cities . . . . . the great wall of Egypt, protector of his soldiers*” (Cairo, *Catalogue*, 24120).

<sup>e</sup>This is not a generality, but doubtless specifically refers to a battle with the Asiatics in the campaign of the previous year.

<sup>f</sup>The god's strength in the king's limbs.

in the year of terror. There is not one that saves himself from him; he makes a [slaughter] among his enemies, the Nine Bows likewise. All lands and all rebellious countries pay him impost, <sup>6</sup>for he is a king [————]. There is not one who makes a boundary with him;<sup>a</sup> (but) they live by his breath. King of kings, ruler of rulers, who captures the boundaries <sup>7</sup>of [— —]; the only mighty one, whose fame is exalted<sup>b</sup> until Re in heaven knows it, (and) the one who faces him<sup>1</sup> in the day of smiting. There is no boundary made for him toward all countries united, (or) toward all lands together; (but) they fall instantly because of his flaming crest, like ———— <sup>8</sup>—————. There is none among them that escapes from the overthrow, like the foes of Bastet on the road of Ir-Amon.<sup>c</sup> It is a happy chance for all those who know that he is his real son, who came forth from (his) limbs, one <sup>9</sup>with him, in order to rule that which the sun encircles, all the lands, and countries which he knew, that he might seize them immediately with victory and power.

*Buildings and Offerings*

**793.** He is a king with heart favorable to the buildings of all gods, being one who builds their temples (and) fashions their statues. The divine offerings <sup>10</sup>are established for the first time, loaves and beer in plenty and (*ht-c*) fowl in multitude as a daily offering every day, forever; large cattle and small cattle at their seasons, without [—].<sup>d</sup> He gave the house to its lord, supplied with everything, with oxen,<sup>11</sup> calves, young cattle, fowl [without] limit, this temple being supplied throughout with loaves and wine. He established [revenues] for the first time [for] (his) fathers, the gods,<sup>e</sup> to be seen of the people, <sup>12</sup>to be known of all.

*Completion of Temple*

**794.** Behold, his majesty beautified<sup>f</sup> the temple which his father, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose III), had

<sup>a</sup>It is all his own matter where a boundary shall be.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "of exalting his fame."

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "begotten of Amon" = the king (Erman).

<sup>d</sup>See long Khnumhotep inscription (I, 637, l. 201).

<sup>e</sup>Elephantine: "*Khnum*."

<sup>f</sup>"Beautified" means here (as on the Lateran and Popolo obelisks) "to supply with inscriptions," the monument having been left uninscribed by Thutmose III.

made for (his) fathers, all the gods,<sup>a</sup> built of stone as an everlasting work. The walls around it are of brick,<sup>b</sup> the doors of [cedar of the best<sup>c</sup>] <sup>13</sup>of the Terraces; the doorways are of sandstone,<sup>b</sup> in order that the great name of his father, the Son of Re, Thutmose (III), may remain in this temple forever and ever.

*Foundation Ceremony*

**795.** The majesty of this Good God, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Okheprure (Amenhotep II) extended the line and loosened the [—] for all the fathers,<sup>d</sup> [the gods] <sup>14</sup>making for it<sup>e</sup> a great pylon of sandstone opposite<sup>f</sup> the hall of the <sup>15</sup>sacred chamber<sup>1</sup> in the august dwelling;<sup>g</sup> surrounded by columns of sandstone as an everlasting work; many tables<sup>h</sup> with vessels of silver and bronze, oblation-standards, <sup>16</sup>altars, fire-pans, <sup>17</sup>oblation-vessels<sup>1</sup>, oblation-tablets, [—].

*Erection of the Tablet*

**796.** Then his majesty caused that this tablet should be made and set up in this temple in the place of the Station of the King,<sup>i</sup> and engraved with the great name of the Lord of the Two Lands, <sup>16</sup>the Son of Re, Amenhotep (II), Divine Ruler of Heliopolis in the house of the fathers, the gods,<sup>j</sup> after the return<sup>k</sup> of his majesty from Retenu the Upper, having overthrown all his enemies, extending the boundaries of Egypt, on the first victorious campaign.

<sup>a</sup>Elephantine: "*Khnum, lord of the cataract, his mother, Satet, mistress of Elephantine, and Anuket, presider over Nubia (T> pd·t).*"

<sup>b</sup>Elephantine: "*the doors of cedar, wrought with copper, the portals of enduring granite.*"

<sup>c</sup>Restored from Ineni, l. 8. (§ 103).

<sup>d</sup>Elephantine: "*Khnum.*"

<sup>e</sup>The temple.

<sup>f</sup>Elephantine: *Hjt-hr*. The first pylon and the colonnaded hall behind it are referred to; but these, with the exception of the back row of columns, were all inscribed by Thutmose IV, and must have been left unfinished by Amenhotep II.

<sup>g</sup>Elephantine: "*in the august colonnade.*"

<sup>h</sup>The account merges into a list of temple furniture given by the king without any syntactical connection with the preceding.

<sup>i</sup>His ceremonial position. See § 140, l. 7, and note.

<sup>j</sup>Elephantine: "*Khnum, lord of the cataract.*"

<sup>k</sup>If he arrived at about the time of Thutmose III's return from the first campaign (§ 409), the Amâda stela is then dated about nine and a half months later than his arrival; for it is impossible to suppose that this Shemu of the Asiatic campaign is the same as the Shemu of the Amâda stela, which would then be only twenty-five days later than the last date readable in the Asiatic campaign.

*Sacrifice of Asiatic Princes*

797. When his majesty returned <sup>17</sup>with joy of heart to his father, Amon, he slew with his own weapon the seven princes,<sup>a</sup> who had been in the district of Tikhsi (*Ty-k-sy*), and had been placed head downward at the prow of his majesty's barge, the name of which was: "Okheprure (Amenhotep II)-<sup>18</sup>is-the-Establisher-of-the-Two-Lands." One hanged the six men of those fallen ones, before the wall of Thebes; those hands likewise. Then the other fallen one was taken up-river to Nubia and hanged <sup>1</sup>on the wall of <sup>19</sup>Napata (*Npt*), in order to cause to be manifest the victories of his majesty, forever and ever in all lands and countries of the land of the Negro; since he had taken the South-erners and bound the Northerners, the back-lands of <sup>20</sup>the whole earth, upon which Re shines; that he might make his boundary as far as he desired, none opposing his hands, according to the command of his father Re, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes; in order that the Son of Re, of his body, his beloved, Amenhotep<sup>b</sup> (II), divine ruler of Heliopolis, might be given life, stability, satisfaction, joy of heart, through him, like Re, forever and ever.

798. The Elephantine stela<sup>c</sup> here adds enactments for the sacred feasts there, as follows:

Year 4. His majesty commanded to have the sails<sup>d</sup> made for the voyages of these gods dwelling in Elephantine; large sails, each one of 10 cubits, while they were (formerly) small sails of 3 cubits.

His majesty commanded to add one day for his mother, Anuket, to her feast of Nubia (*Pd-ut*), at her voyage of the "Beginning-of-the-River." The supplies are: bread, beer, oxen, geese, wine, incense, fruit, every good and pure thing, as dues each year, as an increase upon

<sup>a</sup>These unfortunate kings were sacrificed by the Pharaoh himself before the god, as so often represented in the temple reliefs.

<sup>b</sup>Chiseled away and reinserted (Steindorff).

<sup>c</sup>An obelisk of Amenhotep II was also found at Elephantine; it is now in the collection at Alnwick Castle, England. It bears the inscription: "*Amenhotep II; he made (it) as his monument for his father Khnum, making for him two obelisks of the altar of Re; that he might be given life forever.*" The pyramidion shows the king worshipping before "*Khnum, residing in Elephantine*" (Birch, *Catalogue Alnwick*, 345; Bonomi, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, New Ser., 1843, I, 170).

<sup>d</sup>The usual sign for linen fabric is used, so that anything of linen may be meant.

the 3 days of her customary<sup>a</sup> feast, in order to make her great feast of the first (month) of the third season (ninth month) of 4 days<sup>b</sup> duration, to abide and to endure; that he may be given life forever.

### III. KARNAK CHAPEL<sup>c</sup>

**798A.** This monument, of which only a few fragments have survived, bears a relief showing Amenhotep II leading seventy Asiatic prisoners to Amon. They are accompanied by the words:

List of those countries which his majesty smote in their valleys, overthrown in [their] blood ——— that he might be given life forever.

Twenty-four prisoners in two rows bear the names of the countries they represent. The following are still legible:

1. Retenu [the Upper]; 2. Retenu [the Low]er; 3. Kharu; 12. Kadesh; 13. Aleppo; 14. Niy; 15. Sezar<sup>d</sup> ( $\text{S}^{\text{2}}-\text{g}^{\text{2}}-\text{r}^{\text{2}}$ ); 16. Thenew (*Tnw*); 17. Ketne.

### TURRA INSCRIPTION<sup>e</sup>

**799.** Above is a relief showing the king before two rows of divinities, thirteen in number, for whose buildings the quarry-chambers have been opened. A dedication at the left side is as follows:

He made (it) as his monument for the gods and goddesses, for whose temples of a [million of years] the quarry-chamber was opened, in order to quarry fine limestone of Ayan.

<sup>a</sup>For a similar use of this rather rare word (*nty*), see § 619, l. 18, and III, 377, note.

<sup>b</sup>That is, one day has been added. Cf. the same formula in the feasts of victory (§§ 550-52).

<sup>c</sup>Found by Legrain near Pylon V at Karnak; published by him, *Annales*, V, 34, 35.

<sup>d</sup>The same as Senzar of § 584; see § 784, note, where it is shown that Senzar was a natural point of departure from the Orontes for Niy.

<sup>e</sup>Cut in the rock walls of the limestone quarry of Turra, south of Cairo. Published by Vyse, *Pyramids*, III, 95; less fully by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, I, 20.

800. Below the relief is the following record:

<sup>1</sup>Year 4, under the majesty of the king, Okheprure, Son of Re [Amenhotep II], given life.

His majesty commanded [to open] the quarry-chambers anew, <sup>2</sup>in order to quarry fine limestone of Ayan, in order to build his temples of a million of years; after his majesty found [the quarry-chambers which are in Troja]<sup>a</sup> <sup>3</sup>beginning to go to ruin since the times that were before. It was my majesty who made (them) anew, that he might be given satisfying life, like Re, forever.

<sup>4</sup>Made under the hand of the hereditary prince, count, satisfying the king by maintaining his monuments; vigilant for the temples; who erected tablets <sup>5</sup>in the land of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*)<sup>b</sup> and in the land of Karoy (*K-r-y*),<sup>c</sup> overseer of works in the temples of the gods of the South and North, king's-scribe, Min[hotep].

#### TOMB OF AMENKEN<sup>d</sup>

801. The tomb of Amenken,<sup>e</sup> a treasurer of Amenhotep II, whose name is everywhere erased, shows a remarkable scene representing the production before the king of the New Year's gifts intended for his favorites.<sup>f</sup> He sits enthroned at the right, and the gifts are brought before him in magnificent array for his inspection.

<sup>a</sup>Restored from the inscription of Amenhotep III (§ 875).

<sup>b</sup>This was on the Asiatic campaign (§§ 780 ff.); and makes at least four such tablets in Naharin, one of Thutmose I, two of Thutmose III, and one of Amenhotep II.

<sup>c</sup>Region around Napata; see § 1020.

<sup>d</sup>Relief scenes and inscriptions in a Theban tomb, at Shekh Abd-el-Kurna; published, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 63, 64, and Text, III, 274; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 500 f.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, 121; Mond, *Annales*, V, 97 ff.

<sup>e</sup>The name is not found in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, but is given by Newberry, Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 328, and Mond, *Annales*, V, 97 ff.

<sup>f</sup>They are not presents from the noblemen to the king, as Erman supposed (*Aegypten*, 177); one of the statues bears the words: "Given as a favor of the king's-presence," the usual formula upon gifts from the king, e. g., Nebwawi (§ 186, l. 10) received as a gift from this same king, Amenhotep II, a statue of the king's father, Thutmose III, it being customary for the king to present such royal statues to his favorites.

*Inscription before the King*

<sup>1</sup>First occasion of doing the pleasant deed in the great palace — —.  
<sup>2</sup>Production of the New Year's gifts: <sup>3</sup>chariots of silver <sup>4</sup>and gold;  
 statues of ivory <sup>5</sup>and ebony; necklaces of every costly stone; weapons  
<sup>6</sup>of warfare, works of all craftsmen . . . . .<sup>9</sup>. . . . .<sup>a</sup>

802 The following are the gifts ranged before the king: 13 statues of the king;<sup>b</sup> 7 sphinx portraits of the king; 1 standing statue of his mother, Hatshepsut-Meretre; 8 necklaces; 7 shields, over the last three are the words: "*Leather of [—] 680*;" 10 quivers, the last three bearing the words: "*Leather — — 230*;" 6 battle axes, 2 coats scale armor; 6 (*ḥpš-*) swords, bearing the words: "*360 bronze (ḥpš-) swords*;" "*140 bronze daggers*;" 3 ebony staves tipped with silver and gold, marked: "*30 staves*;" 6 whips, bearing the words: "*220 gold, ivory, and ebony whips*;" 7 elaborate chests; sun shades, chairs, vases, and numerous small objects. Except in the case of the statues, it is not the number of times that an object is represented that is significant, but the accompanying numeral. Before the accompanying inscriptions the name of Amenhotep II appears.<sup>c</sup>

KARNAK BUILDING INSCRIPTION<sup>d</sup>

803. After interesting references in the introduction to his conquests in Asia, particularly Mitanni, the king narrates the erection of the columns in the southern half of the

<sup>a</sup>Titles of the noblemen.

<sup>b</sup>One marked "*Thutmose I*;" eight standing, two sitting, three kneeling; for description, see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 276 f.

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 277.

<sup>d</sup>On a column in the hypostyle of Thutmose I between pylons IV and V at Karnak; published Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 157, 158; Piehl, *Actes du Congrès à Leyde*, 1883, IV<sup>me</sup> partie, section 3, 203-19; and Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 38.



hypostyle of Thutmose I, pulled down by his mother Hatshepsut to introduce her obelisks (§ 304). The northern colonnade had already been restored by Thutmose III (§§ 600 ff.). A description of the king's wealth from his wars follows.<sup>a</sup>

*Universal Sway*

**804.** Live the Horus: Mighty Bull, Great in Strength; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Mighty in Opulence; Made to Shine in Thebes; Golden Horus: Seizing by his Might in all Lands, Good God, Likeness of Re, Splendid Emanation of Atum, —<sup>b</sup> Son, whom he begat, whom he made to shine in Karnak. He appointed him to be king of the living, to do that which his ka did; his avenger, seeking excellent things; great in marvels, <sup>2</sup>creative in knowledge, wise in execution, skilful-hearted like Ptah; king of kings, ruler of rulers, valiant, without his equal, lord of terror among the southern lands, great in fear at the end of the north. Every land comes to him bowing down; their chiefs bearing their offerings; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheprure (Amenhotep II), given life; victorious lord, who takes every land, whom [Horus] has magnified because of his strength. The chiefs of Mitanni (*My-tn*) come to him, their tribute <sup>3</sup>upon their backs, to beseech his majesty that there may [be given to them]<sup>c</sup> his sweet breath of life. A mighty occurrence, it has never been heard since the times of the gods. This country which knew not Egypt beseeches the Good God. <sup>d</sup>“It is my father Re who commands that I do it; [he] is the fashioner of my beauty. He appointed me to be protector of this land, (for) he knew that I would offer it to him. He assigned to me that which is with him, which the eye of his uraeus illuminates, <sup>4</sup>all lands, all countries, every circuit, the Great Circle (Okeanos); they come to me in submission like every subject of my majesty; Son of Re, Amenhotep (II), Divine Ruler of Thebes, living forever, only vigilant one, begotten of the gods.”

<sup>a</sup>Of his other buildings the king has left us no narrative. His small temple between the two southernmost pylons at Karnak is without building inscription. His mortuary temple on the west shore at Thebes was just north of the Ramesseum and alongside that of his father, Thutmose III (see Baedeker, Map, 260), but it has utterly perished. See Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XVI, 30, and XIX, 88, 89; also Petrie, *Six Temples*.

<sup>b</sup>Probably the name of Amon is cut out here.

<sup>c</sup>Restored after Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 84, ll. 3, 4; *infra*, § 285, ll. 3, 4.

<sup>d</sup>The king speaks.

*Dedication*

**805.** He made (it) as his monument for his father [Amon], making for him the august columns of the southern hypostyle, wrought with electrum very plentifully, as an eternal work. I made for him a monument in <sup>st</sup>—1. It was more beautiful than that which had been; I increased that which was before; I surpassed that which the ancestors made. He appointed me to be<sup>a</sup> lord of the people (*rhyt*), while I was a youth in the nest; he gave to me the two halves; he caused that my majesty should assume the throne, as one does a useful thing for his father. I rested upon his throne; he gave to me the land <sup>r</sup>— —1. I have no enemies <sup>6</sup>in all lands.

*Temple Equipment*

**806.** I made for him an adytum (*shn*) of gold; its floor was of silver. I made for him many vessels; they were more beautiful than the bodies of the stars. His silver-house, it inclosed treasures of the tribute of every country. His granaries were bursting with clean grain, rising upon the walls. I founded for him divine offerings. I restored the things of him that begat me, that the Son of Re [Amenhotep II], Divine Ruler of Heliopolis, might be given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever.

## BIOGRAPHY OF AMENEMHAB

[Concluded from § 592]

**807.** A scene<sup>b</sup> in the tomb shows Amenhotep II standing before the deceased Thutmose III enthroned as Osiris. This is in accord with the copy of the "Book of the Dead" found with Thutmose III's body, which also testifies to Amenhotep's piety; for it bears the title:<sup>c</sup> "*Amenhotep II,*<sup>d</sup> *he made (it) as his monument for his father, Thutmose III,*<sup>d</sup> *making for him a book of glorifying the soul.*" Behind

<sup>a</sup>Read: *dhn n j wy r nb*.

<sup>b</sup>*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, 245.

<sup>c</sup>Maspero, *Momies royales*, 548.

<sup>d</sup>Double name.

Amenhotep II appear Amenemhab and his wife bearing flowers and food. The biography continues, after the death of Thutmose III, as follows:

*Accession of Amenhotep II*

808. "When the morning brightened, <sup>38</sup>the sun arose, and the heavens shone, King Okheprure, Son of Re, Amenhotep (II), given life, <sup>39</sup>was established upon the throne of his father, he assumed the royal titulary. He [— —] all, he mingled with [—]<sup>a</sup> in —, <sup>40</sup>the Red Land; he cut off the heads of their chiefs.<sup>b</sup> Diademed as Horus, son of Isis, [he] took ——— <sup>41</sup>——— [—]<sup>c</sup> the Kenemetyew (*Knm tyw*), every land, bowed down because of his fame; with their tribute upon their backs, <sup>42</sup>[that he might grant] to them the breath of life."

*Favor Shown Amenemhab*

809. <sup>42</sup>"His majesty noticed me rowing won[derfully] with him in <sup>43</sup>[his] vessel; 'Khammat' was its name. I was rowing [with] both hands at his beautiful feast of Luxor, likewise to the splendors <sup>44</sup>———. I was brought to the midst of the palace, one caused that I should stand before [the king, O]khepru[re] (Amenhotep II), — <sup>45</sup>———. I bowed down immediately before his majesty; he said to me, 'I know thy character; I was abiding in the nest, while thou wert in <sup>46</sup>the following of my father. I commission thee with office that thou shalt be deputy of the army as I have said, watch thou the élite troops<sup>d</sup> of the king.' The deputy, Mahu, executed (all) that his lord said."<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> $\overline{K}^{\prime}t$ , with plural strokes and determinative of a prisoner or enemy. It is not Kehek with whom it was identified as formerly restored (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 290).

<sup>b</sup>See Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1888, 115, n. 3. Amenemhab doubtless refers to the sacrifice of the seven kings of Tikhsi.

<sup>c</sup> $p^{\prime}n wntyw$ , Newberry; he also has *nb* instead of *k*, as the first sign of the following word.

<sup>d</sup>The élite troops as in l. 29; *k* is to be corrected to *nb* in Eber's copy, as in l. 29.

<sup>e</sup>So, after Newberry's copy, which unfortunately does not support Piehl's excellent suggestion (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1885, 61, 62).

## REIGN OF THUTMOSE IV

### SPHINX STELA<sup>a</sup>

810. This remarkable document purports to be a votive stela of Thutmose IV, recording how he had been raised to the throne by Harmakhis, the Sphinx, in recognition of his clearance of the great image from the encumbering sands, in response to the god's appeal to him as a young prince, to whom he appeared in a vision as the youth, weary with the chase, slept at noonday in his shadow. The form and content of the document are strikingly unlike the official or royal records of the Pharaohs. It is besides filled with errors and striking irregularities in orthography, and exhibits a number of suspicious peculiarities not to be expected in a monument of this class. It is therefore to be regarded as a late restoration,<sup>b</sup> and it is a great question to what extent it reproduces the content of the monument of which

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<sup>a</sup>A huge red granite tablet, standing between the paws of the Great Sphinx, made from one of the architraves of the neighboring (so-called) Temple of the Sphinx. It is 11 feet 10 inches high, and 7 feet 2 inches wide. The lower third of the face has flaked off, so that over half the inscription is lost. It was uncovered by Caviglia in 1818, copied by Salt in 1820; his manuscript text is in the British Museum, *Memoirs on the Pyramids and the Great Sphinx*, fol. 1820; it was published from this manuscript in Young's *Hieroglyphics* (London, 1823), Pl. 80; again from the same manuscript inaccurately in Vyse Appendix to *Operations Carried on at the Pyramids of Gizeh* (London, 1842), III, 115; more accurately than any of these, but with further lacunæ, in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 68; repeated partially by Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1876, 89-92. Finally a collation of all texts by Erman, *Sitzungsberichte Königlichen Akademie*, Berlin, VI, 428-37. I had collated all old publications and Berlin squeeze, and my readings have now been confirmed by Erman's text.

<sup>b</sup>Erman has now put together the reasons for the same conclusion, which he also has reached. He would date the document between the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasty and Saitic times. Spiegelberg's objections to this conclusion (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1904) would explain the mistakes and peculiarities in the orthography as due to the erasure of the inscription under Ikhnaton

it is a restoration. Some such current incident during the youth of Thutmose IV may possibly have prompted it; but the form of the narrative as now on the monument is that of a folk-tale.

811. Moreover, a similar incident was narrated of a prince named Amenmose, son of Thutmose I. It was on a monument<sup>a</sup> by the Sphinx, of which the following fragments are preserved:

Year 4, under the majesty of Thutmose I, beloved of Harmakhis<sup>b</sup> [given life] like Re, forever.

—————<sup>c</sup> There went forth the eldest king's-son, commander in chief of the army of his father, Amenmose, living forever, to take a pleasure walk<sup>d</sup> —————.

Evidently the priests were striving by such tales as these to enhance the reputation of the Sphinx.

The upper third of the Sphinx stela is occupied by an adoration scene in which Thutmose IV offers to Harmakhis in form of a sphinx. Below is the inscription, as follows:

*Introduction*

812. <sup>1</sup>Year 1, third month of the first season, day 19, under the majesty of Horus: Mighty - Bull - <sup>1</sup>Begetting<sup>1</sup> - Radiance; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Enduring - in - Kingship - like - Atum; Golden Horus: Mighty-of-Sword, Repelling-the-Nine-Bows; King of Upper and Lower Egypt; Menkheprure (*Mn - hpr [w] - R<sup>c</sup>*), Son of Re: [Thutmose IV, Shining] in Diadems; beloved of —, given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever. <sup>2</sup>Live the Good God, son of Atum, Pro-

and the subsequent careless restoration, as in the Theban stelæ (e. g., §§ 878 ff.). That this objection cannot hold is evident; for the Sphinx is a sun-god, and the monuments of the sun-gods, especially of the Horuses, were respected by Ikhnaton, and not erased. It is impossible to conceive that Ikhnaton would erase the inscription to a god called "*Harmakhis-Khepri-Re-Atum*" (l. 9) in said inscription.

<sup>a</sup>A stone vessel in the Louvre, of which only a fragment, inscribed on two faces, survives. From my own copy of the original. See Erman, *ibid.*, 1063.

<sup>b</sup>The Sphinx. <sup>c</sup>Other face.

<sup>d</sup>*R swtwt hr šd > hr*, as on Sphinx stela.

tector of Harakhte, living image of the All-Lord; sovereign, begotten of Re; excellent heir of Khepri; beautiful of face like<sup>a</sup> his father; who came forth [—] equipped with the form of Horus upon him;<sup>b</sup> a king who — the gods; who — favor with the ennead of gods; who purifies Heliopolis, <sup>3</sup>who satisfies Re; who beautifies Memphis; who presents truth to Atum, who offers it to Him-Who-is-South-of-His-Wall (Ptah); who makes a monument by daily offering to Horus; who does all things, seeking benefits for the gods of South and North; who builds their houses of limestone; who endows all their offerings; son of Atum, of his body, Thutmose (IV), Shining in Diadems, like Re;<sup>c</sup> <sup>4</sup>heir of Horus upon his throne, Menkheprure, given life.<sup>c</sup>

*Youth of Thutmose*

**813.** When his majesty was a stripling like Horus, the youth in Khemmis, his beauty was like the <sup>d</sup>protector of his father,<sup>d</sup> he seemed<sup>e</sup> like the god himself. The army rejoiced because of love for him, the king's-children and all the nobles. Then his strength overflowed him, and he <sup>5</sup>repeated the circuit of his might like the son of Nut.<sup>f</sup>

*Hunting Expedition*

Behold, he did a thing that gave him pleasure<sup>g</sup> upon the highlands of the Memphite nome, upon its southern and northern road,<sup>h</sup> shooting at a target with copper<sup>i</sup> bolts, hunting lions and wild goats, coursing in his chariot, his horses being swifter <sup>6</sup>than the wind; together with two of his followers, while not a soul knew it.

*Midday Rest*

**814.** Now, when his hour came on for giving rest to his followers, (it was always) at the <sup>7</sup>shoulder<sup>7</sup> of Harmakhis, beside Sokar in Rosta,

<sup>a</sup>Read *my* for *my hk* ?.

<sup>b</sup>He was born with the royal insignia upon him, as in Papyrus Westcar.

<sup>c</sup>The usual predicate is here cut in two, with half of it after each name; the two names are in inverted order also. This could only have happened from the scribe's use of an original in which the two names were in two vertical lines, with the predicate under them (Erman).

<sup>d</sup>Harendotes, a title of Horus.

<sup>e</sup>Passive of "see;" cf. *videri*.

<sup>f</sup>So also Erman.

<sup>g</sup>*Sg* occurs also in the hunting inscription of Imunzeh (*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, 355).

<sup>h</sup>Or: "*side*."

<sup>i</sup>Not bronze, as in all the versions.

Renutet in ʿ— —<sup>a</sup> in heaven, Mut — — of the northern — the mistress of the Wall of the South, Sekhmet ʿpresider (fem.) over Khas ( $\overline{H}^{\circ} s$ ) ʿ— —<sup>1</sup> the splendid place of the <sup>b</sup>beginning of time, over against the lords of Khreha ( $\overline{H}r^{\circ} \overline{h}^{\circ}$ ), the sacred road of the gods to the necropolis<sup>c</sup> west of On (Heliopolis). Now, the very great statue<sup>d</sup> of Khepri, rests in this place;<sup>e</sup> the great in prowess, the splendid in strength; upon which the shadow of Re tarries. The quarters of Memphis and all the cities which are by him come to him, (raising)<sup>f</sup> their hands for him in praise to his face, <sup>g</sup>bearing great oblations for his ka.

*The Vision*

815. One of those days<sup>g</sup> it came to pass that the king's-son, Thutmose, came, coursing at the time of midday, and he rested in the shadow of this great god.<sup>h</sup> A ʿvision<sup>1</sup> of sleep seized him at the hour (when) the sun was in the zenith, <sup>2</sup>and he found the majesty of this revered god speaking with his own mouth, as a father speaks with his son, saying: "Behold thou me! See thou me! my son Thutmose. I am thy father, Harmakhis-Khepri-Re-Atum, who will give to thee my kingdom <sup>3</sup>on earth at the head of the living.<sup>i</sup> Thou shalt wear the white crown and the red crown upon the throne of Keb, the hereditary prince. The land shall be thine in its length and breadth, that which the eye of the All-Lord shines upon. The food of the Two Lands shall be thine, the great tribute of all countries, the duration of a long period of years. My face is thine, my desire is toward thee. Thou shalt be to me a protector <sup>4</sup>(for) my manner is as I were ailing in all my limbs ʿ—<sup>1</sup>. The sand of this desert upon which I am, has reached me; turn to me, to

<sup>a</sup>The first two words indicate grains, a meaning which suits Renutet, a harvest goddess.  $\overline{T}^{\circ} mwt$  is also the name of a Theban region (Djéme); it occurs e. g., Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, I, 11, 1).

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "the first time."

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "horizon." If Giseh was the necropolis of Heliopolis, it is probable that the Fourth Dynasty kings may have actually resided in Heliopolis.

<sup>d</sup>The Great Sphinx.

<sup>e</sup>This is a resumption of the object, which preceded in the foregoing clauses.

<sup>f</sup>Lit., "give."

<sup>g</sup>It would seem that the preceding lines narrate the hunting expedition(s?) as customary, and on "one of those days" the following incident of the dream occurred.

<sup>h</sup>The Sphinx.

<sup>i</sup>Young:  $\overline{tp} \overline{t}^{\circ} \overline{hnt}^{\circ} \overline{nh}^{\circ} w$ .

have that done which I have desired, knowing that thou art my son, my protector; <sup>1</sup>come hither, behold, I am with thee, I am <sup>2</sup>thy leader." When he had finished this speech, this king's-son <sup>3</sup>awoke hearing this — —; he understood the words of this god, and he kept silent in his heart. <sup>4</sup>He said: <sup>5</sup>"Come, let us hasten to our house in the city; they shall protect the oblations for this god <sup>6</sup>which we bring for him: oxen <sup>7</sup>— and all young vegetables; and we shall give praise [to] Wennofer, <sup>8</sup> — — — Khaf[re], <sup>9</sup> the statue made for Atum-Harmakhis <sup>10</sup>—————, <sup>11</sup>

#### ASIATIC CAMPAIGN

**816.** The records of Thutmose IV's Asiatic war or wars are scanty and scattered. It is clear, however, that he still maintained the empire at its former northern limits. Naharin paid tribute, although a campaign thither had been necessary.

**817.** The king left a record referring to the first war in Asia in a list of offerings from his victories, which he had made in Karnak, <sup>1</sup> in which nothing more concerning the campaign can be seen than that there were among these offerings, things "*which his majesty captured in Naharin<sup>2</sup> (—————<sup>3</sup>) the wretched, on his first victorious campaign.*"

<sup>a</sup>All from Young.

<sup>b</sup>Brugsch's text.

<sup>c</sup>Or: "*we?*" "*that we may protect . . . and that we may bring*" (so Erman).

<sup>d</sup>All from Young.

<sup>e</sup>This mention of King Khafre has been understood to indicate that the Sphinx was the work of this king—a conclusion which does not follow; Young has no trace of a cartouche.

<sup>f</sup>Young shows two fragments, each bearing a few words (from the middle of ll. 16 and 17 and ll. 18 and 19) which probably refer to further offerings.

<sup>g</sup>Fragmentary lower ends of ten vertical lines east side of the wall surrounding Hatshepsut's obelisk; published Mariette, *Karnak*, 33=Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 164; photograph by Borchardt.

<sup>h</sup>Mariette read only the final '(aleph), but Rougé read *n<sup>3</sup>* at the end. This reading is also perfectly clear on the photograph. Brugsch's "*Kheta*" (*Geschichte*, 393) must therefore be given up. See also Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 321, n. 2.



**818.** This is corroborated by the inscription of Amenhotep, a bodyguardsman of Thutmose IV, whose tomb stela<sup>a</sup> calls him:

Attendant of the king on his expeditions in the south and north countries; going from Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*) to Karoy (*K<sup>3</sup>-r-y*) behind his majesty, while he was upon the battlefield; companion of the feet of the Lord of the Two Lands, chief of the stable of his majesty, high priest of Onouris, Amenhotep, triumphant.

**819.** In harmony with these data, we find depicted on the two following monuments the tribute of Naharin and Retenu; the first is in the tomb of Khamhet,<sup>b</sup> who was a powerful noble, and served as chief treasurer under Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III.<sup>c</sup> His tomb contains three scenes of historical importance, of which one<sup>d</sup> belongs to the reign of Thutmose IV. It shows the king seated in a "naos" at the left; before him are magnificent vessels of Asiatic workmanship in gold and silver, and quantities of these metals in large rings. Behind these are Asiatic princes bowing to the earth, over whom is the inscription:<sup>e</sup>

Bringing in the tribute of Naharin (*N-h-ry-n<sup>3</sup>*) by the princes of this country, in order to crave that the breath of life be granted to them. Obeisance to the great Lord of the Two Lands, when they come, bearing their tribute to the Lord of the Two Lands, (saying:) "Grant us breath, which thou givest, O mighty king."

<sup>a</sup>Sharpe, *Inscriptions*, I, 93.

<sup>b</sup>In the cliff of Abd el-Kurna (No. 120) at Thebes; published entire by Loret, *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, I, 113-32; partially, Prisse, *Histoire de l'Art*; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 76, 77; Champollion, *Monuments*, 160, 1; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, 498 f., 839 f. The entire tomb is now being broken up by natives, part of the reliefs having reached Berlin (1899). A useful summary in Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 282, where the tomb is inadvertently placed in the reign of Amenhotep IV.

<sup>c</sup>See §§ 870 ff.

<sup>d</sup>Champollion, *Monuments*, 160, 1; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, 498 f., 839 f. It has been incorrectly attributed to Amenhotep III by Wiedemann (*Aegyptische Geschichte*, 381).

<sup>e</sup>Champollion, *Monuments*, 160, 1; the remainder from Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 839 f.

820. A similar scene in the tomb of Thaneni is accompanied by the following inscription:<sup>a</sup>

Bringing in the tribute of Retenu, presentation of the northern countries; silver, gold, malachite, every costly stone of God's-Land; by the princes of all countries. They come, to [make gifts] to the Good God, to ask for breath for their nostrils; by the real king's-scribe, his beloved, commander of troops, scribe of recruits, Thaneni.

821. A tablet<sup>b</sup> of the king, erected in his mortuary temple at Thebes, records the settlement of Syrians in the temple inclosure:

Settlement of the "Fortress of Menkheprure," with Syrians (*H<sup>3</sup> -rw*), which his majesty captured in the city of *K<sup>3</sup> -d<sup>3</sup>* — ('Gezer').

822. Finally, on the Lateran Obelisk (§ 838), the king refers to the cedar which he cut in the land of Retenu; and on the stela of Semen (*Smm*) in the Louvre (C 202),<sup>c</sup> he is twice called the "conqueror of Syria" (*sksk h<sup>3</sup> rw*), a title which must have been won in successful Syrian wars.

#### KONOSSO INSCRIPTION<sup>d</sup>

823. This inscription contained perhaps the most interesting record of all the many Nubian wars, and its content has never been historically employed; but it is so incorrectly published that it is difficult to follow. While engaged in the ceremonies of the Theban temple, on the second of Phamenoth, in the year 8, Thutmose IV receives a message

<sup>a</sup>Scheil, *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, 601.

<sup>b</sup>Petrie, *Six Temples*, I, 7.

<sup>c</sup>De Rougé, *Notice des monuments*, 153; and text, Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1461, No. 113.

<sup>d</sup>Cut on the rocks of the peninsula (high-water island) of Konosso by Philæ. It was first very incorrectly published by Bouriant (*Recueil*, XV, 178, 179); again, still worse, in de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 66, 67. The inscription contained 40 lines, of which the latter portion is much destroyed; only 23 lines are published.

reporting a revolt in Wawat. The next morning the king solemnly proceeds to the temple to consult the god, and is granted an oracle promising success. The expedition now embarks and moves southward, stopping on the way at all the great temples, where the divinities come forth to meet the king, and gird him for battle.<sup>a</sup> The result of the battle,<sup>b</sup> fought doubtless somewhere in Wawat, is of course a foregone conclusion, and the enumeration of the spoil begins, as the published portion comes to an end.

824. The prisoners whom the king brought back on his return were settled in his mortuary temple at Thebes, and the quarter was marked with a tablet<sup>c</sup> bearing the words:

Colony of Kush the wretched, which his majesty brought back from his victories.

The Konosso inscription is as follows:

*Introduction*

825. <sup>1</sup>Live Horus: . . . . .<sup>d</sup> the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Menkheperure (Thutmose IV), who is given life, forever. <sup>2</sup>Year 8, third month of the second season, day 2.

*Announcement of Nubian Rebellion*

826. Behold, his majesty was in the Southern City, at the town of Karnak. His two hands were pure with the purity<sup>e</sup> of <sup>3</sup>a king, and he

<sup>a</sup>A tablet (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 69 e = Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 164) on Konosso, dated year 7, on the eighth of the same month, shows the king before the god Dedun, smiting his enemies.

<sup>b</sup>There is a reference to the victory in the king's architrave inscription at Amâda (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 69, f. 5), and campaigning in Nubia (Karo) is mentioned by the king's bodyguardsman, Amenhotep (§ 818).

<sup>c</sup>Found by Petrie in the temple inclosure; it is now in Haskell Oriental Museum, of the University of Chicago (*Six Temples*, I).

<sup>d</sup>Full titulary, lacking only s' - R' c - name.

<sup>e</sup>He was ceremonially pure, for carrying out the temple ritual; the emendation is certain, cf. "*His majesty was pure with the purity of a god*," on the construction, see Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 725.

performed the pleasing ceremonies of his father Amon, because he had given to [him]<sup>a</sup> eternity as king, everlastingness while abiding upon the Horus-throne. One came to say to his majesty: "The Negro descends <sup>4</sup>from above Wawat; he hath planned revolt against Egypt. He gathers to himself <sup>5</sup>all the barbarians and the revolvers of other countries."

*Oracle of Amon*

**827.** The king proceeded in peace to the temple at the time <sup>6</sup>of morning, to cause that a great oblation be offered to his father, the fashioner of his beauty. <sup>7</sup>Behold, his majesty, he himself petitioned in the presence of <sup>7</sup>the ruler of the gods (Amon), that he might counsel him concerning the <sup>8</sup>affair of his going<sup>1</sup> — and inform concerning that which should happen to him; leading for him upon a goodly road <sup>9</sup>to do that which his ka desired, as a father speaks to his son,<sup>b</sup> <sup>10</sup>— — —. He went forth from him, his heart <sup>11</sup>rejoicing <sup>12</sup>— — — (for) he sent him with might and victory.

*Voyage Southward*

**828.** After these things his majesty <sup>13</sup>proceeded to overthrow the <sup>14</sup>Negro<sup>1</sup> in Nubia (*T<sup>2</sup> -p<sup>d</sup> t*); mighty in his barge of <sup>15</sup>— like Re when he shows himself<sup>c</sup> in the celestial barque <sup>16</sup>.....<sup>d</sup> His army <sup>17</sup>of his victories, was with (him) on both banks, while the recruits were upon its (one) shore, and the ship was equipped with his attendants,<sup>e</sup> <sup>18</sup>as the king proceeded up-stream like <sup>19</sup>Orion.<sup>1</sup> He illuminated the South with his beauty; <sup>20</sup>men shouted because of his kindness, <sup>21</sup>women

<sup>a</sup>Of course omitted by the copyist.

<sup>b</sup>The same phrase is used of the god's speaking to Thutmose IV, on the Sphinx Stela (l. 9, § 815).

<sup>c</sup>A common phrase of the sun-hymns, e. g., Berlin Stela, No. 7316, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 108.

<sup>d</sup>About one-half line mere fragments. The other half is very uncertain. The subject is the embarkation, with the same obscure phrases used in the transportation of the el-Bersheh colossus (§ 698, ll. 7, 8), but "*horses*" appear here in the place of "*the youth*" there.

<sup>e</sup>Apparently we have here the disposition of troops as the king embarked; the veterans ("*of his victories*") on either bank, the young recruits on one bank, and the bodyguard in the royal barge.

<sup>f</sup>Compare the southward advance of Sesostris I (I, 511, l. 2), also compared with a star in the same way.

danced at the message. Montu<sup>a</sup> was in Erment as the protection of [his] every limb; Irerti (*Yrrty*)<sup>b</sup> led before; every god of the South <sup>15</sup>bore the [—] before him; Nekbet, the White, of El Kab, she<sup>c</sup> fastened the adornments of my majesty,<sup>d</sup> her two hands were behind [me], she bound for me the Nine Bows together <sup>16</sup>. . . . .<sup>e</sup> I stopped in the city of Edfu, the beautiful god come forth<sup>f</sup> like Montu in all his forms, <sup>17</sup>girded with his arms and weapons, [raging]<sup>g</sup> like Set of Kom Ombo . . . . .<sup>18</sup>. . . . .

*The Battle*

**829.** His army came to him, <sup>19</sup>numerous — with his mighty sword. The fear of him entered into every body; Re put the fear of him among the lands, like Sekhmet in the year of <sup>20</sup>the dew. . . . . He coursed through the eastern highland, he traversed the ways like <sup>21</sup>a jackal . . . . . He found all [his] foes [scattered] in inaccessible valleys. . . . .

The remainder is published too badly for translation; one can make out a reference to “*their cattle* [their tribute]<sup>h</sup> upon their backs.”

LATERAN OBELISK<sup>i</sup>

**830.** Although this obelisk belongs to Thutmose III (§§ 626 ff.), the inscriptions added by Thutmose IV as side columns are more interesting and important than the dedication in Thutmose III's name. They state that after

<sup>a</sup>There is no doubt of the emendation. The advance up-river is marked by references to the gods of the larger places passed. Hermonthis (Erment) is the first place south of Thebes; then follow El Kab, Edfu, and Kom Ombo in the proper order.

<sup>b</sup>Apparently a goddess.

<sup>d</sup>An abrupt change to the first person.

<sup>c</sup>Read *smn'n's*.

<sup>e</sup>A reference to some feast.

<sup>f</sup>To meet the king; cf. the same occurrence at Abydos (I, 763).

<sup>g</sup>Read *nšn?*

<sup>h</sup>Of course, some such word is omitted in the publication.

<sup>i</sup>For bibliography, see § 626.

lying neglected and unfinished for thirty-five<sup>a</sup> years, the obelisk was found by Thutmose IV, erected and inscribed by him.

*North Right*

**831.** . . . . .<sup>b</sup> (Thutmose IV) who seizes by his might, like the lord of Thebes; great in strength, like Montu; whom his father, Amon, has made victorious against all countries; to whom unknown lands come, his fear being in their bodies; Son of Re, Thutmose (IV), Shining in Diadems, beloved of Amon, Kamephis, given life.

*North Left*

**832.** King of Upper and Lower Egypt, beloved of the gods; whose excellence the ennead of gods praise; who sends Re to rest in the evening-barque; who praises Atum in the morning-barque; Lord of the Two Lands, Menkheprure (Thutmose IV), who beautifies Thebes, forever; who makes monuments in Karnak. The ennead of gods of the house of Amon is satisfied with that which he has done; Son of Atum, of his body, his heir upon his throne, Thutmose (IV), Shining in Diadems, beloved of Amon-Re.

*South Left*

**833.** . . . . . Thutmose (IV), Begotten of Re, beloved of Amon. It was his majesty who beautified<sup>c</sup> the single, very great obelisk, being one which his father,<sup>d</sup> the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose III) had brought, after his majesty had found this obelisk, it having spent 35 years lying upon its side in the hands of the craftsmen, on the south side of Karnak. My father commanded that I should erect it for him, I, his son, his savior.

*South Right*

**834.** Son of Re, Thutmose (IV), Shining of Diadems. He erected it in Karnak, making its pyramidion of electrum, (so that) its beauty illu-

<sup>a</sup>Accepting Thutmose III's death as the probable cause of the unfinished condition of the monument, we should have an important chronological datum, if only Thutmose IV had given us the year of his own reign in which he found it. But as it is, the datum indicates only that Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV together reigned at least thirty-five years.

<sup>b</sup>Full titulary except last name, which comes at the end of this line.

<sup>c</sup>That is, finished and inscribed it.

<sup>d</sup>Really his grandfather, but any ancestor of a king may be called his father.

minated Thebes. It was graven with the name of his father, the Good God, Menkheperre (Thutmose III). The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Menkheprure (Thutmose IV), Beloved of Re, did this, in order to cause that the name of his father might abide and endure in the house of Amon-Re, that the Son of Re, Thutmose (IV), Shining in Diadems, may be given life through him (*n*).

*West Right*

835. . . . . (Thutmose IV), whom Amon has chosen before the people [whom Mut] bore [to him], [whom] he [loves] more than any king, to see whose beauty he rejoices, because he has so fully set him in his heart; under whose authority he has placed the Southerners and the Northerners, doing obeisance to his fame. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, erecting for him a very great obelisk at the upper portal<sup>a</sup> of Karnak, over against Thebes, that the Son of Re, his beloved Thutmose (IV), Shining of Diadems, may be given life through him (*n*).

*West Left*

836. . . . . Menkheprure, eldest son, useful to him who begat him; doing that which satisfies the lord of gods; (since) he knows the excellence of his plans. It is he who has led him to pleasant ways, and who hath bound for him the Nine Bows beneath his feet. Behold, his majesty was vigilant in beautifying the monument of his father. The king himself was the one who gave direction, being skilfully-minded like "Him-Who-is-South-of-His-Wall" (Ptah). He erected it [at the completion of time]. He rejoiced the heart of the one who fashioned him; Son of Re, Thutmose (IV), Shining in Diadems, — —.

*East Right*

837. Good God, Mighty in Strength, Sovereign, seizing by his victories, who sets his terror among the Asiatics, and his roaring among the Nubian Troglodytes, whom his father, Amon, reared to exercise an enduring kingship, while the princes of all countries do obeisance to the fame of his majesty; who spoke with his mouth and executed with

<sup>a</sup>The entrance to the Karnak temenos on the south side, to which the four southern pylons lead. It is mentioned on the statue of Beknekhonsu (III, 567, l. 5), where it is also called "*upper portal*" (*sb 3-hry*).

his hands. All that he commanded happened; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheprure (Thutmose IV), of abiding name in Karnak, given life.

*East Left*

838. . . . . Menkheprure, who multiplied monuments in Karnak, of gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, every splendid costly stone; the great barge of the "Beginning-of-the-River"<sup>a</sup> (named): Userhet-Amon, shaped of new cedar, which his majesty cut<sup>b</sup> in the land of Retenu, wrought with gold throughout; all its adornments were fashioned for the first time, to receive the beauty of his father, Amon, on his voyage of the "Beginning-of-the-River." May the Son of Re, Thutmose (IV), Shining in Diadems, be given life through him.

STELA OF PE'AOKE<sup>c</sup>

839. The mortuary stela of the standard-bearer (*t<sup>3</sup>-sr t*) of the royal barge, Pe'aoke (*P<sup>3</sup>-c<sup>2</sup>-c<sup>2</sup> k*), after the usual prayers, records the arrival of a royal messenger at Abydos, to attend to the conveyance to Osiris of certain property of the people. The nature of these payments is not at all clear, and the purpose of their record is only incidental, being doubtless to explain the occasion on which Pe'aoke visited Abydos and executed his stela there. His reference to Ahmose shows that Thutmose IV increased his ancestor's mortuary endowment. A stela in the British Museum<sup>d</sup> mentions a "palace (*h t*) of Thutmose IV, given life, in Abydos," which would indicate that he occasionally resided

<sup>a</sup>The same in Thutiy (l. 18, § 373). It was some feast on the river, perhaps that of the fourteenth of Paophi.

<sup>b</sup>The same statement by Amenhotep III (§ 888, ll. 16, 17).

<sup>c</sup>Stela in the Louvre, C 53; see de Rougé, *Notices des monuments*, 100. I had my own copy of the original.

<sup>d</sup>No. 148; it is the mortuary stela of Neferhet (*Nfr-h t*), the chief of works in the palace (from my own copy of the original).



there, and Pe'aoke's record of the gifts of cattle and lands would indicate great interest in Abydos on the part of Thutmose IV.

840. There came a royal messenger of King Menkheprure (Thutmose IV), who is given life, to his father, Osiris, lord of Abydos, to give to him all his property which was with all the people (*rḥy' t*), being bulls, oxen, wild cattle, fowl, and all his 'property' which was therein.

Again one came to give the lands of Osiris to him,<sup>a</sup> which were [with] all the people (*rḥy' t*); the stat (*st' t*) being 1,200.

Again came the like for the Good God, Nebpehtire (Ahmose I),<sup>b</sup> in order to give [to] him all the lands [— —].

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<sup>a</sup>The order of words is unusual; the dative should precede the direct object.

<sup>b</sup>Referring to a mortuary endowment; but the form of expression is unusual for this idea.

## REIGN OF AMENHOTEP III

### BIRTH AND CORONATION<sup>a</sup>

841. The scenes and inscriptions representing Amenhotep III's supernatural birth and his coronation by the gods, which he had placed upon the walls in one of the chambers of his Amon-temple at Luxor, are taken from the same sources as those of Hatshepsut, and have already been treated under her reign (§§ 187-212, 215-42). For Ahmose, the mother of Hatshepsut there, one must here substitute Mutemuya, the mother of Amenhotep III; and for Hatshepsut, Amenhotep III.

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### NUBIAN WAR

842. In his fifth and sixth years, Amenhotep III found it necessary to invade Nubia as far as Karoy,<sup>b</sup> the district conquered by his grandfather, Amenhotep II (§§ 797), and his great-grandfather, Thutmose III, and probably much farther. He has left us a list of the Nubian regions

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<sup>a</sup>In the Luxor temple of Amon in the first chamber on the east of the holy of holies, on the west wall. Partially published by Champollion, *Monuments*, IV, 339, No. 2-341; Rosellini (*Monumenti Storici*, 38-41), and Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, III, 74, c-75). First completely by Gayet, *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, XV, Pl. 62-68 and 75. Besides errors innumerable in the texts, every plate bears two numbers, and on these plates every figure bears two numbers; in each case only one is correct! The errors in the texts, evident everywhere, can be demonstrated easily by a comparison with the texts of the queen's interview with Amon, which have also been published by Bouriant (*Recueil*, IX, 84, 85).

<sup>b</sup>Karoy is not mentioned in the records of the campaign, but is referred to, as reached on the first campaign, in the building inscription (§ 889, l. 23).

subjugated, presumably on this campaign, on a colossal granite statue, now in the Louvre.<sup>a</sup>

#### I. STELA AT FIRST CATARACT<sup>b</sup>

843. The upper third of the stela is occupied with a scene showing the king trampling down an Asiatic and smiting two Negroes; before him are Amon and Khnum; behind him, Ptah. The inscription of twelve lines is very fragmentary (having been mutilated by Amenhotep IV in erasing the name of Amon, which has afterward been restored), but shows clearly that, owing to a revolt in Nubia, Amenhotep III was obliged to invade the country, and crush the rebels in his fifth year.<sup>c</sup>

844. <sup>1</sup>Year 5, third month of the first season (third month), day 2, the coronation (day)<sup>d</sup> under the majesty of

Horus: Mighty Bull, Shining in Truth;

Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Establisher of Laws, <sup>2</sup>Quieter of the Two Lands;

Golden Horus: Great in Strength, Smiter of the Asiatics, Good God, Ruler of Thebes, Lord of Strength, Mighty of Valor;

<sup>3</sup>King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Nibmare (*Nb-m* <sup>3</sup>c <sup>1</sup>t-R <sup>3</sup>c).

<sup>a</sup>This statue (A 18) was usurped by Amenhotep III; it belonged perhaps to a king of the Twelfth Dynasty. See Maspero, *Dawn*, 491, n. 6. I have verified this usurpation on the original. The list is published by Sharpe (*Inscriptions*, II, 26).

<sup>b</sup>Cut in the rock on the road from Assuan to Philæ. Text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 81, g; de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 254; de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 4.

<sup>c</sup>A second stela in the same locality, also relating to this war, is too fragmentary for translation (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 81, h; de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 5).

<sup>d</sup>Based on an ostrakon in London (No. 5637, Birch, *Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character*, Pl. 15). His coronation is usually dated on the thirteenth of the eleventh month, see Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 213. Sethe, however, has shown (*Untersuchungen*, I, 12, n. 1) that this ostrakon does not specify which Amenhotep is meant, and rightly refers it to some one of the three other Amenhoteps.

Son of Re: Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes; beloved of Amon-Re, King of Gods, and Khnum, Lord of the Cataract (*Kbh*), who giveth life.

<sup>4</sup>One came<sup>a</sup> to tell his majesty: "The foe of Kush the wretched, <sup>5</sup>has planned<sup>1</sup> rebellion in his heart."

<sup>5</sup>His majesty led on unto his victory, he completed it on his first victorious campaign.<sup>b</sup> His majesty went forth <sup>6</sup>— like — Horus, like Montu (*Mntw*) [— — —] — [—————] 7. . . . .<sup>c</sup> <sup>9</sup>He knew not this lion which was before him; Nibmare (Amenhotep III) was a <sup>10</sup>fierce-eyed lion, he seized [—] Kush. [All<sup>1</sup> the chiefs were overthrown <sup>11</sup>in their valleys, cast down in their blood, one upon another — <sup>12</sup>. . . . .<sup>d</sup>

## II. STELA OF KONOSSO<sup>e</sup>

**845.** A scene above shows Amon presenting four southern regions<sup>f</sup> to Amenhotep III. The inscription commemorates the same Nubian campaign as the preceding stela.

<sup>1</sup>. . . . .<sup>g</sup> <sup>5</sup>Year 5; his majesty returned, having triumphed on his first victorious campaign in the land <sup>6</sup>of Kush the wretched; having made his boundary as far as he desired, as far as the four pillars which bear the heaven. He set up <sup>7a</sup> tablet of victory as far as "Pool of Horus" (*Kbhwt-Hr*); there was no king of Egypt <sup>8</sup>who did the like beside his majesty, the mighty, satisfied with victory, Nibmare (*Nb-m* <sup>9</sup>*t-R* <sup>c</sup>, Amenhotep III) is he. . . . .<sup>9</sup>. . . . .<sup>14</sup>. . . . .<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Compare a similar announcement of a revolt in Nubia, to Thutmose II on the Assuan stela (§ 121, ll. 9-11), and to Thutmose IV on the Konosso stela (§ 826).

<sup>b</sup>A rock inscription near Assuan shows an official doing homage to the names of Amenhotep III, and dates the event as occurring "on his first victorious campaign in Kush" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 119; de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 28, No. 8).

<sup>c</sup>These two lines are very obscure and fragmentary, but refer to the king's valor and the overthrow of Kush.

<sup>d</sup>Titles and usual epitheta of the king.

<sup>e</sup>Cut on the rocks of the little island of Konosso at the north end of Philæ; text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 82, a; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 164, 165; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1218, 1219; de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 67, 68.

<sup>f</sup>These are: Kush (*Kš*), Irem (*Yr-m*), *Wrm* (?) and *rk*.

<sup>g</sup>Full titulary of Amenhotep II.

<sup>h</sup>Contains only the usual conventional epithets; ll. 10-11 have: "He (Amon) hath given to him the south <sup>11</sup>as well as north, west, and east."

III. BUBASTIS INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

846. The fragment preserved to us belonged to an historical inscription of unusual interest, containing the account of an advance into Nubia, with descriptions of the battles and the stages of the advance in the same style as that of the Annals of Thutmose III. Indeed, it is not unlikely that the walls of the Bubastis temple contained annals of the wars of the Empire in Nubia, like those of the conquest of Syria on the walls of Karnak.

The fragment unfortunately contains no royal name, and has been conjecturally assigned to Sesostris III.<sup>b</sup> This is impossible, for the orthography<sup>c</sup> shows beyond doubt that the inscription dates from the Empire. Moreover, its content indicates a time when the Egyptian conquest extended far into the upper regions of Nubia, that is, from Amenhotep II on. A hitherto unnoticed reference to the coronation anniversary is here of great service. It is mentioned (l. 6) as occurring just after the first battle and before the advance to "*the height of Hua*" began. They reached this point in the third month of the first season (l. 11); the coronation anniversary therefore occurred not long before. Now, the coronation of Amenhotep III occurred in the third month of the first season on the second day; and the above inscriptions (§§ 844 ff.) show that he also celebrated a coronation festival on his Nubian campaign.<sup>d</sup> It is

<sup>a</sup>On a block of granite found at Bubastis; published by Naville (*Bubastis*, XXXIV, A). The block is from the middle of an inscription in vertical lines; not merely the beginning and end of the inscription are lost, but also the upper and lower portions of the lines, of which this block bears the middle portions.

<sup>b</sup>By Naville (*Bubastis*, 9).

<sup>c</sup>It contains the horizontal *m* which never occurs before the Eighteenth Dynasty; see Calice, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 35, 170.

<sup>d</sup>Thutmose II also mentions a coronation festival in an inscription narrating his Nubian campaign, but this merely dates the arrival of the news of the revolt,

extremely probable, therefore, that this Bubastis fragment belongs to Amenhotep III, and describes the advance into Karoy, or the distant country beyond.

847. The expedition is very difficult to follow in the scanty fragment preserved to us, but its course was probably as follows:

Early in October, when the river is high, the army is already far up in Nubia. Before a battle the king makes a speech to his troops, after which the battle occurs, the king personally taking part in it (ll. 1-5). The expedition then started southward for the "*height of Hua*" on the coronation anniversary; reference is made to the first camp (l. 6). The king commanded that people (Nubians?) furnish certain things for the expedition<sup>a</sup> (l. 7), and reference is made to former troops; his majesty held a council (l. 8). A branch expedition of 124 men was sent out from the river to a certain well (l. 9); whether to destroy the well or attack the villages which would naturally be found near a well<sup>b</sup> is uncertain, but it was evidently the customary procedure to go out to these outlying wells, for in his expedition of the sixteenth year, Sesostris III "*went forth to their wells*"<sup>b</sup> (I, 658, l. 15); here also the purpose is not stated. The expedition then proceeded southward for "*the height of Hua*" (l. 10), taking captives and spoil on the way (l. 11). They were favored by a high north wind, and not more than a month after the coronation feast the desired "*height*

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whereas Amenhotep III apparently actually celebrated the feast in Nubia (§ 844, l. 5). The question arises whether the cataract stela (§§ 843 ff.) represents the party as having actually arrived at the first cataract on the return from the campaign, on coronation day. If so, we then have two different expeditions of Amenhotep III. In attributing both inscriptions to the same expedition, I am assuming that the cataract inscription gives the date of the battle, which is coronation day in both.

<sup>a</sup>Compare the muster of Nubian troops by the viceroy Mermose (§ 852, ll. 1-4).

<sup>b</sup>Many villages in Nubia are unreached by the water of the Nile, and are supported by wells.

of *Hua* . . . . *came forth*," that is, rose from the horizon (l. 12). They passed to the southward of "the height of *Hua*," and, having reached the land of Uneshk (*W<sup>1</sup> nšk*), they rested in a camp there (l. 13).

848. It would be of great importance to identify the countries mentioned and determine the southern limit of this expedition. Both *Hua* (*hw<sup>c</sup>*) and the land of Khesekhet (*h<sup>2</sup> sh<sup>2</sup> t*) occur close together in the lists of the regions of Khenthennofor, placed on the Karnak walls by Thutmose III (see §§ 645 ff);<sup>a</sup> the occurrence of Punt along with these names, and the narrative of the expedition, would indicate that they denote localities in the extreme south beyond Karoy on the Nile (above the Atbara?).

849. <sup>1</sup>———— Negroes ————— <sup>2</sup>———— this army, while their hearts were [eager] to fight quickly, beyond anything — came ————— <sup>3</sup>———— Ye [see] nothing has been done to you. Now, behold, as for your affair [which my majesty mentions] ————— <sup>4</sup>———— [—] of the Negroes who fell, in order that my [majesty]<sup>b</sup> might know, because ye do [this] ————— <sup>5</sup>———— it was not commanded for them. His majesty smote them himself with the baton which was in [his] hand ————— <sup>6</sup>———— the height of *Hua* (*Hw<sup>c</sup>*) on the coronation day of the king, behind western Khesekhet.<sup>c</sup> Behold, the army was made to camp ————— <sup>7</sup>———— all — very numerous beyond anything. His majesty issued a command to these people, to make them.<sup>d</sup> They

<sup>a</sup>*W<sup>1</sup>nšk* (l. 13) I have not found in any of the lists. *Hw<sup>c</sup>* occurs in the Karnak list as *Hw<sup>c</sup> t* (Mariette, *Karnak*, Pl. 22, No. 89); *H<sup>2</sup> sh<sup>2</sup> t* (*ibid.*, No. 95). *Hw<sup>c</sup> t* also occurs with Punt in the list of Ramses III (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 209).

<sup>b</sup>That which Naville has read as *t* with a lacuna over it is possibly the sign for *hn*, "majesty;" but the book-roll?

<sup>c</sup>The preceding last context perhaps contained some statement like: "[The army departed for] the height of *Hua*," etc. It cannot be the arrival, for that does not occur until l. 12. The unknown land of Khesekhet (*H<sup>2</sup> sh<sup>2</sup> t*) occurs in the southern lists of Thutmose III (Mariette, *Karnak*, Pl. 22, No. 95, and Pl. 25, No. 95), and is usually rendered simply "barbarians." It is however a proper name, having nothing to do with *h<sup>2</sup> s<sup>2</sup> ty*, "barbarian."

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "a command of making them." Such a use of the genitive is common, especially in Papyrus Ebers receipts.

gave pra[ise 'to his majesty'] —————<sup>8</sup>————— infantry of the army which was of old, 'when' they were brought up from the court. His majesty took counsel, —————<sup>9</sup>————— [the place] in which they were, doing everything.

850. His majesty commanded, that 124<sup>a</sup> men of the army be dispatched, going forth to the well which is in<sup>b</sup> —————<sup>10</sup>—————<sup>c</sup> southward to see the height of Hua, to make known the ways of sailing —————<sup>11</sup>————— living captives which they found among them: negroes, 113<sup>d</sup> cattle, male and female; 11 asses, male and female. Third month of the first season —————<sup>12</sup>————— the north wind, was very high for the coming forth of the height of Hua; the coming forth of this height was in safety, sailing —————<sup>13</sup>————— Uneshk (*W<sup>1</sup>mšk*)<sup>e</sup> was its name, south of the height of Hua, resting in the camp made there —————.

#### IV. SEMNEH INSCRIPTION<sup>f</sup>

851. The date of this inscription is lost, but it doubtless refers to the campaign in Nubia. A revolt having occurred in Ibhet, the viceroy, Mermose, levies an army in lower Nubia, marches into Ibhet, and quells the rebellion. The beginning of the inscription is lacking, but it apparently contained the announcement of the revolt.

<sup>a</sup>The rendering (*Bubastis*, 10) "123" is incorrect.

<sup>b</sup>The name of some land followed. See § 847.

<sup>c</sup>This lacuna probably contained some further remark that the expedition advanced "southward," etc. Evidently "the height of Hua" is the point by which the course of the ship was governed! The "coming forth" of the height indicates its rise into view on the horizon. The whole description sounds so much like a sea-voyage that, were it not for the mention of "western *Khesekhet*" (l. 6), one might see in it a voyage along the Red Sea coast to Punt.

<sup>d</sup>Naville's "203" (*ibid.*) is incorrect.

<sup>e</sup>Has the determinative of a foreign country, and of course indicates some region visited.

<sup>f</sup>Stela in British Museum, published by Birch, *Archæologia*, XXXIV, facing p. 388; see also *Archæological Journal*, VIII, 399. I collated Birch's text with the Berlin squeeze (No. 1097), and afterward with the original in the British Museum, and found a number of important corrections were necessary.



*Muster of the Army*

852. <sup>1</sup>—————<sup>a</sup> <sup>2</sup>— — — occurred the reaping of the harvests of the <sup>3</sup>foe<sup>1</sup> of Ibhet (*Ybh·t*). Every man <sup>4</sup>reported<sup>b</sup> and one mustered <sup>5</sup>[an army of] Pharaoh, L. P. H., which was under command of this king's-son. He made troops, commanded by commanders, each man with<sup>c</sup> his village; <sup>6</sup>from the fortress of Beki (*Bky*)<sup>d</sup> to the fortress of Taroy (*T<sup>3</sup>-r<sup>3</sup>-y*), making 52 iters (*ytr·w*) of sailing.

*Defeat of Ibhet*

853. <sup>5</sup>The might of Nibmare took them in one day, in one hour, making a great slaughter ——— <sup>6</sup>their cattle; not one of them escaped; each one of them was brought — — — fear. The might of Amenhotep took them; <sup>7</sup>the barbarians among them, male as well as female, were not separated; by the plan of Horus, Lord of the Two Lands, King Nibmare, mighty bull, strong in might. Ibhet had been haughty,<sup>e</sup> <sup>8</sup>great things were in their hearts, (but<sup>1</sup>) the fierce-eyed lion, this ruler,<sup>f</sup> he slew them by command of Amon-Atum, his august father; it was he who led him <sup>9</sup>in might and victory.

*List of Prisoners and Killed*

854. List of the captivity which his majesty took in the land of Ibbet, the wretched:

Living negroes	150 heads
Archers ( <i>mygy</i> )	110 heads
Negresses	250 heads
<sup>10</sup> Servants ( <i>sḏm-ꜥꜥ</i> ) of the negroes	55 heads
Their children	175 heads
Total	740 living heads
Hands thereof	312
United <sup>11</sup> with the living heads	1,052

<sup>a</sup>A few fragmentary words and signs can be discerned. Several lines before this have probably been lost.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "went down to his opposite, or opposite him," which, in view of the connection, is perhaps a technical term for "report for duty."

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "opposite his village," as above in preceding note.

<sup>d</sup>Near Kubbân; Taroy is uncertain. See Griffith, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XIV, 408 f.; but accepting an iter as about 1.4 miles, the distance, some 75 miles, would put Taroy in the vicinity of Ibrim.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., "was high-voiced."

<sup>f</sup>In a cartouche.

*Words of the Viceroy*

**855.** The king's-son, vigilant for his lord, favorite of the Good God, governor of the entire land of Kush, king's-scribe, Mermose. He saith: "Praise to thee! <sup>12</sup>O Good God! Great is thy might against him that fronts<sup>a</sup> thee; thou causest them that are rebellious against thee to say: 'The fire that we have made rages against us.' Thou hast slain all thy enemies, overthrown beneath thy feet."

TABLET OF VICTORY<sup>b</sup>

**856.** This tablet was set up by Amenhotep III in his mortuary temple at Thebes, to commemorate his victories in the north and south. Above is a relief twice showing Amenhotep III before Amon. Both figures of Amon were cut out by Ikhnaton and restored by Seti I, with the usual legend:

Restoration of the monument, which the Son of Re, Seti-Merneptah, made for his father, Amon.

**857.** Below is a second relief, in which Amenhotep III appears twice in his chariot. On the right he drives over the fallen of Kush, with the chiefs bound upon his horses, over which is the legend:

The Good God ———<sup>c</sup> lord of the sword, mighty in dragging them (at his chariot), annihilating the heir of the wretched Kush, bringing their princes as living prisoners.

**858.** In the same way he drives over the Syrians on the left; above the princes bound on the horses, are the words:

The Good God, Golden [Horus], Shining in the chariot,<sup>d</sup> like the

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "reaches thee," meaning in battle.

<sup>b</sup>Limestone stela discovered by Petrie in the mortuary temple of Merneptah at Thebes, whither it had been carried by this king from the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III; text: Petrie, *Six Temples*, X.

<sup>c</sup>Traces of the cartouche.

<sup>d</sup>Text seems to show chariot and horses; possibly only horses!

rising of the sun; great in strength, strong in might, mighty-hearted like him who dwells in Thebes (Montu); smiting Naharin (*N-h-r-ny*, sic!) with his mighty sword.

A line of inscription runs across the bottom, as follows:

———— [every] country, all people (*rhyt*'), all populations (*hnm̄t*), Naharin (*N-h-r-ny*, sic!), the wretched Kush, Retenu the Upper and Retenu the Lower are at the feet of this Good God, like Re, forever.

859. A scarab published by Frazer (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXI, Pl. III, facing p. 155), gives to Amenhotep III the epithet: "*Captor of Shinar*" (*S<sup>2</sup>-n-g-r*). The Amarna Letters show that no significance is to be attached to this epithet. The decorations on the columns at Soleb show captive figures representing Shinar, Naharin, Hittites, Kadesh, Tunip, Ugarit, Keftiyew, Carchemish, Asur, and Arrapachitis.<sup>a</sup> But such decorations are far from showing that Amenhotep III had conquered or maintained his conquest in these far-off regions.

#### THE COMMEMORATIVE SCARABS

860. On five different occasions, in commemoration of events in his personal history, Amenhotep IV issued a series of scarabs inscribed on the under side, recording the following matters:

- I. Marriage with Tiy;
- II. Wild Cattle Hunt;
- III. Ten Years' Lion-Hunting;
- IV. Marriage with Kirgipa;
- V. Construction of Pleasure Lake.

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 88. The above are all that can safely be identified. See also fragment of a list at Karnak (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 9), containing also Naharin (?) and Shinar.

As far as we know, he was the only king who did this, although small scarabs referring in two or three words to great events were issued by other kings; e. g., Thutmose III thus refers to the erection of obelisks (§ 625) and the capture of Kadesh.

#### I. MARRIAGE WITH TIY<sup>a</sup>

861. This marriage took place before the year 2 when Tiy is already queen (see next scarab). The origin of the powerful Tiy is obscure; Maspero thinks her a native Egyptian,<sup>b</sup> and this is the most probable conclusion, but the persistent publication of the names of her untitled parents<sup>c</sup> on these and other scarabs is in that case remarkable, although paralleled by scarabs of the Thirteenth Dynasty. This difficulty is, however, not relieved by supposing her of foreign birth. It is incredible that anyone could identify her with Kirgipa,<sup>d</sup> on whose marriage scarab she already appears in the titulary as queen. She is the first queen who is thus recognized by the regular insertion of her name in the titulary. The innovation was continued by Amenhotep IV, who inserted his queen's name in the same way. His ephemeral successors show the same inclination, and the whole period from the time of Amenhotep III to the close of the Eighteenth Dynasty is characterized by the

<sup>a</sup>At least twelve of these scarabs are in the different collections of Europe; see list, Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 393, n. 6; text: Mariette, *Album de Boulaq*, Pl. 36; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 44; Budge, *The Mummy*, 242, 234; Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 315; translated from the last three.

<sup>b</sup>Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 315, n. 1, where full bibliography is given.

<sup>c</sup>The tomb of these two people, Yuya and Thuya, was discovered this year (1905) in the Valley of the Kings' Tombs at Thebes by Mr. Theodore M. Davis of Newport. It was filled with the most magnificent mortuary furniture, and still contained the bodies of Yuya and Thuya.

<sup>d</sup>The absurd story of the king's meeting and falling in love with Tiy on a hunting expedition in Mesopotamia, which has been added to the English edition of Brugsch's *Egypt under the Pharaohs* (214), it is hardly necessary to say is totally without documentary foundation.

mention and prominent representation of the queens on all state occasions, in such a manner as is never found later.

**862.** Live . . . .<sup>a</sup> King Amenhotep (III), who is given life, (and) the Great King's-Wife Tiy (*Tyy*), who liveth. The name of her father is Yuya (*Ywy*), the name of her mother is Thuya (*Twy*). She is the wife of a mighty king whose southern boundary is as far as Karoy (*K-r-y*) (and) northern as far as Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*).

## II. WILD CATTLE HUNT<sup>b</sup>

**863.** This scarab records the first hunting achievements of the chase-loving Amenhotep III. Unfortunately, the region<sup>c</sup> where the hunt took place cannot be identified with certainty, but as it was reached in a night's voyage on the king's Nile barge, it was not some remote district like the scene of Thutmose III's elephant hunt in Naharin. As the voyage was northward, it is likely to have been some district in the Delta which could be reached in a night from Memphis. The method of hunting consisted in surrounding and driving the wild cattle into a huge encircling inclosure.<sup>d</sup> They thus inclosed 170 animals, of which the king killed not less than 75 on two different days.

**864.** Year 2 under the majesty of King Amenhotep (III)<sup>e</sup> given life, and the great king's-wife Tiy, living like Re.

<sup>a</sup>Full titulary.

<sup>b</sup>Only one specimen of this scarab is published; it is in the collection of Mr. G. W. Frazer, and was published by him (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXI, Pl. III, opp. p. 155), with a good translation by Mr. Griffith (*ibid.*, 156); and again, *A Catalogue of the Scarabs Belonging to George Frazer* (London, 1900), frontispiece, Pl. XVI, and p. 56. Another specimen is said to be in the collection of Rev. W. MacGregor of Tamworth.

<sup>c</sup>It may be read either *Štꜣ* or *Štꜣ*. The first determinative indicates a body of water, and the second the desert highlands. This would suit some spot in the Delta with its network of canals, near the margin of the desert.

<sup>d</sup>Such an inclosure, made with a net, may be seen at Benihasan (Newberry, *Beni Hasan*).

<sup>e</sup>Full titulary.

Marvel which happened to his majesty. One came to say to his majesty: "There are wild cattle upon the highlands, as far as the region<sup>a</sup> of 'Sheta' (𓆎𓆏𓆑)." His majesty sailed down-stream in the royal barge, Khammat (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓) at the time of evening, beginning the goodly way, and arriving in safety at the region of 'Sheta' (𓆎𓆏𓆑) at the time of morning.

His majesty appeared upon<sup>b</sup> a horse, his whole army being behind him. The commanders and the citizens<sup>c</sup> of all the army in its entirety and the children with them were commanded<sup>d</sup> to keep watch over the wild cattle. Behold, his majesty commanded to cause that these wild cattle be surrounded<sup>d</sup> by a wall with an inclosure.<sup>d</sup> His majesty commanded to count<sup>e</sup> all these wild cattle. Statement thereof: 170 wild cattle. Statement of [that which] his majesty [captured]<sup>f</sup> in the hunt on this day: 56 wild cattle.

His majesty tarried 4 days — — to give fire<sup>g</sup> to his horses. His majesty appeared upon a horse [a second time]. Statement of these wild cattle, which he captured in the hunt: 20 (+x) wild cattle. [Total]<sup>h</sup> 75 (+x) wild cattle.

### III. TEN YEARS' LION-HUNTING<sup>i</sup>

**865.** In his tenth year, the king issued a large number of these scarabs, to commemorate his success in lion-hunting.

<sup>a</sup>Read *rwn*, as in l. 7; the *t* probably belongs to the *sm·t* in the preceding line.

<sup>b</sup>This is the strange preposition used when the king is in his chariot, for he did not ride horseback. See the Amarna Landmark Stelæ (§ 960, ll. 5-6). The hunting reliefs at Medinet Habu show that wild cattle were hunted from the chariot.

<sup>c</sup>See I, 681, ll. 3, 4, and note.

<sup>d</sup>The same words for "surround" (*ynk*), "wall" (*sbty*), and "inclosure" (*šdy*) are used together in the same way in Thutmose III's description of the investiture of Megiddo (§ 433).

<sup>e</sup>Read *hsb* instead of *r*, which has customarily been read heretofore.

<sup>f</sup>Restored from lion-hunt scarab.

<sup>g</sup>This is literal; it perhaps means "spirit," as Griffith has rendered.

<sup>h</sup>This is the total from the two hunts; the sum of the two days is not less than 75, nor more than 85.

<sup>i</sup>At least thirty of these scarabs are in European museums, and three in the Art Institute of Chicago; they have been often published; e. g., Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 298; *Biblical World*, June, 1896, 449 (with translation), Pierret, *Recueil d'Inscriptions*, I, 88; a list of them is in Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 381, n. 6. The above translation is based on a comparison of several originals.

Live . . . . .<sup>a</sup> Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes, Given life, (and) the Great King's-Wife: Tiy, who liveth.

Statement of lions which his majesty brought down with his own arrows from year 1 to year 10: fierce lions, 102.<sup>b</sup>

IV. MARRIAGE WITH KIRGIPA<sup>c</sup>

866. This scarab records the marriage of the princess Kirgipa, daughter of Satirna, a king of Naharin, to Amenhotep III. When Brugsch published this scarab for the first time, in 1880, he expressed the hope<sup>d</sup> that the cuneiform literature might some time be able to throw some light on the origin of this princess. Curiously enough, the discovery of the Amarna correspondence in 1887 has done so.<sup>e</sup> In a letter<sup>f</sup> from Dushratta, king of Mitanni, she appears as his sister Gilukhipa; their father<sup>g</sup> was Shuttarna, king of Mitanni.<sup>h</sup> A mistranslation of Birch (*Records of the Past*,

<sup>a</sup>Full titular.

<sup>b</sup>Some have 110 (e. g., Louvre, No. 580), an easy error for 102; Maspero's 112 (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 298) is not corroborated by his accompanying text.

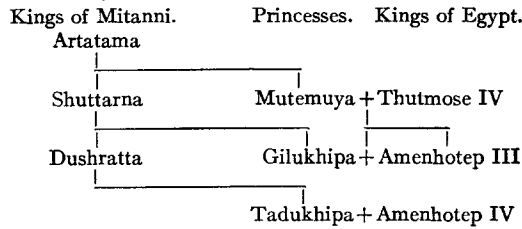
<sup>c</sup>The specimens are in private hands. Mr. Frazer (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXI, 155) speaks of "two or three;" first published by Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1880, 81-87; then by Maspero, *Recueil*, XV, 200; finally Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1413; another specimen, *Recueil*, XVI, 62.

<sup>d</sup>*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1880, 86.

<sup>e</sup>Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1890, 112; Evetts, *ibid.*, 113; Jensen and Winckler, *ibid.*, 114.

<sup>f</sup>Winckler, *Amarna Letters*, 16, 5, and 41, 42. <sup>g</sup>*Ibid.*, 21, 18, 19.

<sup>h</sup>The marriages between this Asiatic family and the Pharaohs, as shown in the Amarna letters, are as follows:



See Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 281.

1st Series, XII, 39) has resulted in confusing Kirgipa with Tiy, who is quite another person (see § 861).

**867.** <sup>1</sup>Year 10 under the majesty of <sup>2</sup>. . . . <sup>5</sup>. . . . <sup>a</sup>the Son of Re, Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes, who is granted life; (and) the Great King's-Wife, Tiy, who liveth; the name of whose father was Yuya (*Ywy*), the name of whose mother was Thuya (*Twy*).

Marvels brought to his majesty, L. P. H.:<sup>b</sup> Kirgipa (*Ky-r-gy-p*), the daughter of the chief of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*), Satirna (*S<sup>2</sup>-ty-r-n*); (and) the chief of her harem-ladies, (viz.,) 317 persons.

#### V. CONSTRUCTION OF A PLEASURE LAKE<sup>c</sup>

**868.** This scarab records the construction of a pleasure lake by Amenhotep III, for his queen Tiy, in a town or a city quarter (*dmy*), called Zerukha (*d<sup>c</sup>r-wh*), otherwise unknown. It is not unlikely that this is the lake of which the remains, called Birket Habu, are clearly visible south of Medinet Habu, beside the palace of Amenhotep III,<sup>d</sup> an exceedingly probable situation. But this lake varies considerably in dimensions from those given on the scarab.

The opening of the lake was doubtless in connection with the coronation anniversary, which fell on the next day<sup>e</sup> after orders for constructing the lake were given.

<sup>a</sup>The usual full titulary.

<sup>b</sup>This heads the list; we should expect the usual word "statement," as, e. g., in the lion-hunt scarabs.

<sup>c</sup>Four copies of this scarab are known: (1) in the Vatican (Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 44, No. 2 = Stern, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1877, 87, n. 2 = Marucchi, *Bessarione*, 1899, 122); (2) private collection of W. Golénischeff (privately distributed photographs); (3) collection in Alnwick Castle (Birch, *Catalogue*, No. 1030, 137); (4) fragment in University College, London (not published). The first three of the above were collated and published by Steindorff (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1901, 63).

<sup>d</sup>Cf. Steindorff, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1901, 64.

<sup>e</sup>§ 844, l. 1; Lieblein (*Sphinx*, VI, 113 ff.) has calculated the date of this opening in terms of our calendar as September 26, Julian, or November 5, Gregorian.



869. Year 11, third month of the first season, day 1, under the majesty of . . . . .<sup>a</sup> Amenhotep III, given life; and the Great King's-Wife, Tiy, who liveth.

His majesty commanded to make a lake for the Great King's-Wife, Tiy, in her city of Zerukha (*D<sup>c</sup> r-wḥ*).<sup>b</sup> Its length is 3,700 cubits; its width, 700<sup>c</sup> cubits. His majesty celebrated the feast of the opening of the 'lake', in the third month of the first season, day 16,<sup>d</sup> when his majesty sailed thereon in the royal barge: "Aton-Gleams."<sup>e</sup>

### JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS

870. Amenhotep III celebrated at least three royal jubilees: the first in the year 30; the second, although not recorded, probably like that of Ramses II, in the year 34; and the third in the year 36. The celebration of the first jubilee is recorded in the tomb of Khamhet,<sup>f</sup> in two remarkable reliefs.

871. The first shows the king enthroned in state at the right; before him is the inscription:<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Full fivefold titulary.

<sup>b</sup>This name was long misread "Zaru," with which it has nothing to do (cf. Steindorff, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1901, 64; and Breasted, *ibid.*, 65, 66). The statements regarding the presentation of "Zaru" to Tiy, current in the histories, are all to be rejected.

<sup>c</sup>Vatican copy has 600, the others 700. Steindorff reads here "upper arms" (*rmn*) instead of "cubits" (*mḥy*). This distinction, although evident on the surviving cubit rods, is not carried through on the monuments. At Benihasan, the *rmn*-sign occurs in door dimensions, where it is clear that the cubit is meant; see my remarks (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, March, 1900, 88-90).

<sup>d</sup>Thus the lake must have been completed in fifteen days!

<sup>e</sup>Cf. further examples by Spiegelberg (*Rechnungen*, Text, 81-86), who has compiled a very useful list of these barges, also Breasted, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1901, 66.

<sup>f</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 76, 77, and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1121-23; for full bibliography, see § 819, where also the inscriptions under the reign of Thutmose IV are given. For a scarab referring to the jubilees, see Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, VI, 1456).

<sup>g</sup>Among his titles both inscriptions add that of: "Lord of the Jubilee."

Appearance of the king upon the great throne, to receive the report of the harvest of the South and North.

Before the king stands Khamhet reading to him a document; over Khamhet's head the following inscription in five vertical lines:

Communication of the report of the harvest of the year 30<sup>a</sup> in the presence of the king, consisting of the harvest of the great inundation of the jubilee [which] his majesty [celebrated]; by<sup>b</sup> the stewards of the estates<sup>c</sup> of Pharaoh, L. P. H., together with the chiefs of the South and North, from this land of Kush the wretched, as far as the boundary of Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*).

Under the document are the words: "*Total: 33,333,300.*"<sup>d</sup>

872. As a consequence of this favorable report, the treasury officials are now rewarded, as shown in the following scene.<sup>e</sup>

The king is seated in state in a splendid pavilion at the left; before him, the inscription:

Appearance of the king upon the great throne, to reward the chiefs of the South and North.

Before the king stands Khamhet with the inscription:

Hereditary prince, count, who satisfies the heart of the king in the whole land, the two eyes of the king in the cities of the South, his two ears in the nomes of the Northland, king's-scribe ——— (named), Khamhet.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup>So Brugsch, but Lepsius has a lacuna.

<sup>b</sup>To be connected with "*communication.*"

<sup>c</sup>Or possibly better "*income,*" see Spiegelberg, *Studien*, 55 and note 227, who, however, does not refer to our passage.

<sup>d</sup>These are probably only plurals of the numeral signs.

<sup>e</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 76.

<sup>f</sup>His titles are written more fully in Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 840; "*Hereditary prince, count, who fills the heart of his lord, favorite of the Good God, to whom are told all the affairs of the palace — — companion of the feet of the Lord of the Two Lands in every place which he treads, chief of the archers of the Good God*"

Behind Khamhet are three lines of officials praising the king; the upper line is receiving rich gifts; inscription:

Reward of the stewards of the [estates]<sup>1</sup> of Pharaoh, L. P. H., together with the chiefs of the South and the North after the statement<sup>a</sup> of the overseer of the granary concerning them: "They have increased the harvest of year 30."

873. The records of the second Jubilee have perished, but the third is mentioned in the tomb of Kheruf,<sup>b</sup> in the following heading:

"Year 36. Conducting the companions for presentation in the (royal) presence at the third (*hb-sd*) jubilee of his majesty.<sup>c</sup>

874. The ceremony of erecting the symbol of Osiris, the curious column, which is also the symbol of stability, was performed on the morning of the traditional royal jubilee feast day (first of Tybi). Amenhotep III is shown personally erecting this column on the morning of one of his jubilee days, in the reliefs in a Theban tomb.<sup>d</sup>

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#### QUARRY AND MINE INSCRIPTIONS

875. New chambers in the Turra quarry were opened by the king in his first year,<sup>e</sup> and recorded in an inscription<sup>f</sup> identical in content with another<sup>g</sup> recording similar work

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<sup>a</sup>Read *dd* with Brugsch; not *jd* as in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*.

<sup>b</sup>Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1120.

<sup>c</sup>That this is Amenhotep III is shown by the mention of Queen Tiy in the titulary.

<sup>d</sup>Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1190-96.

<sup>e</sup>The quarries at el-Bersheh were also opened in the "year 1," as recorded there in a mutilated inscription (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, IX, 195); much better, Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, 26, 151, 152). It records the erection of a monument of uncertain character in the Thoth temple at Hermopolis.

<sup>f</sup>Cut on the walls of the limestone quarry at Turra; published Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 71, *a-d*, and Vyse, *Pyramids*, III, 96, Nos. 3 and 4.

<sup>g</sup>This second inscription of the same content, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 71, *b*. Compare the similar inscription of Ahmose in the same quarry (§§ 26-28).

in the second year. The latter is surmounted by an offering scene, and is as follows:

<sup>1</sup>Year 2, under the majesty of . . . . <sup>2</sup>. . . . <sup>a</sup>Amenhotep (III) . . . . .; his majesty commanded to open the quarry-chambers anew, in order to quarry fine limestone of Ayan (<sup>c</sup>*n*), in order to build his temples <sup>3</sup>of a million of years, after his majesty found the quarry-chambers which are in Troja (*R*<sup>3</sup>-<sup>3</sup>*wy*), beginning to be very ruinous since the <sup>4</sup>times which were before. It was my majesty who made (them) anew, in order that he might be given life, stability, satisfaction, health, like Re, forever.

876. The granite quarry at Assuan was visited by an official of this king, for the purpose of cutting out a colossal statue of his lord. This officer has had carved in relief<sup>b</sup> on the rock his own figure standing in homage before the names of Amenhotep III. Below are the words:

[Homage] to the Good God, when was made the great statue of his majesty (called): "Sun-of-Rulers."

Near by is an overturned, unfinished, colossal statue, to which the inscription doubtless refers.

877. A stela<sup>c</sup> of the year 36 in Sarbût-el-Khadem in Sinai, records an expedition thither in that year, in which the commanding official refers to the "sea (*the Great Green*)" in a connection<sup>d</sup> which would indicate that he crossed to Sinai by the sea route, but the inscription is too fragmentary for translation.

<sup>a</sup>The full titulary, but omitting the Golden Horus-name.

<sup>b</sup>Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 39; de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 63.

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 71, *c*=*Ordnance Survey*, III, Pl. 14.

<sup>d</sup>The connection is broken by an interfering fragment of rock which the photographer of the *Ordnance Survey* failed to remove. Another stela of the year 36 shows Amenhotep III offering to Amon and Hathor (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 71, *d*; not in *Ordnance Survey*).

BUILDING INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

878. This monument has had an interesting career. Erected by Amenhotep III in his temple behind the Memnon colossi, to record his buildings in honor of Amon, its inscription was almost totally obliterated by the reforming zeal of his son, Amenhotep IV.<sup>b</sup> It was restored by Seti I, who recorded his restoration thus: "*Restoration of the monument which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmare (Seti I), made for his father Amon-Re, King of all Gods.*"<sup>c</sup> In restoring the monument, the sculptor of Seti found the old lines sufficiently traceable to be recut with tolerable certainty, not without some glaring errors, which cannot always be corrected. Four or five generations later, Merneptah demolished the splendid temple of Amenhotep III, containing this stela, and used the material, including the stela<sup>d</sup> in a building of his own, where it fell down and remained until taken out by Petrie in February, 1896.

879. The upper third is occupied by a scene twice showing Amenhotep III with the usual legends, offering a libation to Amon. The inscription of thirty-one lines records Amen-

<sup>a</sup>Discovered by Petrie in February, 1896, on a black granite stela lying in the ruins of the Theban mortuary temple of Merneptah; this stela is 10 feet 3 inches by 5 feet 4 inches, and 13 inches thick. See *Contemporary Review*, May, 1896, 619; *Century Magazine*, August, 1896, 501 (view of stela in situ). Text: Photographic reproduction and transcription with translation and excellent commentary by Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XX, 37-54; finally in Petrie, *Six Temples*, Pl. XI, XII. I have used a photograph, kindly sent me by E. Brugsch-Bey shortly after the discovery of the monument, at which time I made the translation; later notes drawn from Spiegelberg I have carefully credited to him. Important suggestions in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1898, No. 5, 156, 157.

<sup>b</sup>One can clearly see in the photograph that the inscription has been hammered out, as far as the end of l. 22, including also parts of lines 23-28, leaving the last three lines untouched (see, e. g., photographs in *Recueil*, XX, and *Century Magazine*, August, 1896, 501). Excepting the two figures of the king, the scene at the top was also erased.

<sup>c</sup>Cut between the two figures of Amon at the top of the monument; similar restorations by Seti often, e. g., on the obelisk of Hatshepsut.

<sup>d</sup>He cut on the back of it the hymn of victory, mentioning Israel: see III, 602 ff.

hotep III's chief buildings and other pious works in honor of Amon:

1. Introduction, ll. 1-2 (§ 882).
2. Temple of the (Memnon) Colossi, ll. 2-10 (§§ 883-85).
3. Luxor Temple and Connected Buildings (§§ 886, 887).
4. Sacred Barge of Amon, ll. 16-20 (§ 888).
5. Third Pylon of Karnak, ll. 20-23 (§ 889).
6. Temple of Soleb, ll. 23-26 (§ 890).
7. Hymn of Amon to the King, ll. 26-31 (§§ 891, 892).

880. The architectural data given by the scribe are very important, but are as usual, very general and vague, showing great, if not total, lack of technical knowledge of the subject. The treatment of temple floors with silver (ll. 3, 11, and 22) and the walls with gold or electrum (ll. 3, 11), although very vaguely described, is important. The settlement of Syrians around the temple of the (Memnon) Colossi is historically of importance also. The king's selection of his Soleb temple in Nubia, to be mentioned in preference to his Egyptian temples outside of Thebes,<sup>a</sup> shows his strong interest in the region above the second cataract, where he was so active, and where he caused himself to be worshiped. It is furthermore noticeable that the king makes no reference to his other Theban buildings, the temple of Mut and the temple at the northern gate of the Karnak inclosure, of either of which very little now remains.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Thus he omits all reference to his Memphis temple, where he was evidently worshiped, for he appears with Ptah as one of the gods of Memphis (Papyrus Sallier, IV; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 961, No. 23); and his temple there was called "*House of Nibmare*" (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 963). A cultus statuette which he dedicated to himself as a god in this Memphis temple is in Alnwick collection; it bears the dedication: "*Nibmare (Amenhotep III); he made it as his monument for his living image in 'The House of Nibmare'*" (Birch, *Catalogue Alnwick Castle*, 56-58). The El Kab temple, which he is often stated to have built, was erected by Thutmose IV, his father, for whom he only decorated it, as the inscription states: "*Lo, the majesty of King Nibmare decorated this monument of his father, Thutmose IV, forever and ever*" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 80, b = J. J. Tylor, *The Temple of Amenhotep III*, Pl. 10; again Pl. 8 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 43).

<sup>b</sup>This is to be explained by the fact that the stela records only buildings of Amon.

Part of the dedicatory inscription of the latter is still preserved,<sup>a</sup> and contains data of importance. It is introduced by the king's titulary, to which is appended:

**881.** Who raises a monument in Karnak, a marvelous thing, unlimited in — of gold, plentiful in gold, unlimited in malachite and lazuli; a place of rest for the lord of gods, made like his throne that is in heaven, that he (the king) might be thereby given satisfying life like Re forever. —<sup>b</sup> an inclosure made to flourish with monuments, made to shine with all flowers, filled with slaves (*mr't*) due from the (*hshb*-) officials, being children of the chiefs of all countries, coming in obeisance to his fame. The Son of Re, Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes, made it for the chosen of Re, because he loved his father, Amon, lord of Thebes, so much more than all the gods. He has been given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever.

Of all this the great building stela makes no mention. It is as follows:

*Introduction*

**882.** <sup>1</sup>Live . . . . .<sup>c</sup> Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes; beloved of Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak; given life, joy of his heart, that he may rule the Two Lands like Re, forever; <sup>2</sup>the Good God, possessor of joy, who is very vigilant for him that begat him, Amon, king of gods; who hath made great his (Amon's) house,<sup>d</sup> who hath satisfied his beauty<sup>d</sup> by doing that which his ka desires.

*Temple of the Memnon Colossi<sup>e</sup>*

**883.** Behold, the heart of his majesty was satisfied with making a very great<sup>f</sup> monument; never has happened the like since the beginning.

<sup>a</sup>Published by Bouriant, *Recueil*, XIII, 171-73.

<sup>b</sup>This section is covered by a Roman wall.

<sup>c</sup>Full five-name titulary.

<sup>d</sup>Not in Spiegelberg's transcription, *Recueil*, XX, 40.

<sup>e</sup>The colossi known as the Memnon colossi (cf. ll. 4, 5) still stand, but the temple, the entrance of which they flanked, has disappeared; see above, § 878. It was the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III, of which there is a further account inscribed on a huge stela now lying in the scanty ruins behind the colossi (§§ 904 ff.). For an account of the excavation around this temple, see Petrie, *Six Temples in Thebes*; the temple itself has never been excavated. View of the colossi, Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 57, or my *Egypt through the Stereoscope*, No. 64.

<sup>f</sup>Although the adjective is plural, I translate singular, for in l. 4 it is also plural where it clearly should be singular.

He made (it) as <sup>3</sup>his monument for his father, Amon, lord of Thebes, making for him an august temple<sup>a</sup> on the west of Thebes, an eternal, everlasting fortress<sup>b</sup> of fine white sandstone, wrought with gold throughout; its floor is adorned with silver, <sup>4</sup>all its portals with electrum;<sup>c</sup> it is made very wide and large, and established forever; and adorned with this very great monument.<sup>d</sup> It is numerous in royal statues, of Elephantine granite, of costly gritstone, of every splendid costly stone, <sup>5</sup>established as everlasting works.<sup>e</sup> Their stature shines more than the heavens, their rays are in the faces (of men) like the sun, when he shines early in the morning. It is supplied with a "Station of the King,"<sup>f</sup> wrought with gold and many costly stones. <sup>6</sup>Flagstaves<sup>g</sup> are set up before it, wrought with electrum; it resembles the horizon in heaven when Re rises therein. Its lake is filled with the great Nile, lord of fish and fowl, pure in [—]

*Its Wealth*

**884.** Its storehouse is filled with male and female slaves, <sup>7</sup>with children of the princes of all the countries of the captivity of his majesty.

<sup>a</sup>Called "*House-of-Amon-on-the-West-of-Thebes*" in the inscription on a black granite statue of Amenhotep III at Erment, published by Daressy, *Recueil*, XIX, 14, and Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XX, 49.

<sup>b</sup>The temple regarded as a stronghold; cf. remarks of Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XX, 48.

<sup>c</sup>Just how the metals were used on floor, walls, and doorways is not clear from these vague data, but they materially augment our ideas of the splendor of the Egyptian temple.

<sup>d</sup>Probably the stela on which this text is cut.

<sup>e</sup>Spiegelberg (*Recueil*, XX, 49) calls attention to the fact that the French expedition found eighteen of these statues on the west shore still in situ, some of which are now in the museums: in the British Museum one of black granite (Arundale and Bonomi, *Gallery*, Pl. 35); two heads (*ibid.*, 107); also a black granite statue at Erment, first published by Daressy (*Recueil*, XIX, 14). Spiegelberg thinks it strange that the two Memnon colossi are not given separate mention, but they are clearly mentioned in the reference to "*costly gritstone*," which is the material of the colossi. Moreover, they are distinctly mentioned in the Dedication Inscription (l. 4, § 906). In further corroboration of the inscription, note the statement: "there were many of these statues which stood fronting the great colossi in the intervals of the front columns of the propylon" (Arundale and Bonomi, *Gallery*, 107), noted by Spiegelberg.

<sup>f</sup>The enormous stela lying overthrown behind the Memnon colossi (§ 904 ff.). The word "*station*" is here determined with a stela, showing that, as at Amada (§ 796, l. 15), the "*station of the king*" was marked by the stela against the back wall of the holy of holies.

<sup>g</sup>Cf. similar staves in the inscription of Ineni, § 103.



Its storehouses contain all good things, whose number is not known. It is surrounded with settlements of Syrians ( $\text{H}^{\text{p}}-rw$ ), colonized with children of princes, its cattle <sup>8</sup>are like the sand of the shore, they make up millions.

*Western Pylon*

885. The bow-rope of the Southland [in it] and the stern-rope of the Northland,<sup>a</sup> even his majesty revealed<sup>b</sup> himself like Ptah, was skilful-minded like Him-South-of-His-Wall (Ptah), searching out excellent things for his father, Amon-Re, King of Gods, making for him <sup>9</sup>a very great pylon<sup>c</sup> over against Amon. Its beautiful name which his majesty made was: "Amon-Has-Received-His-Divine-Barque,"<sup>d</sup> a place of rest for the lord of the gods at his "Feast of the Valley" on the western voyage of Amon to behold the western gods, in order that he may endow <sup>10</sup>his majesty with satisfying life.

*Luxor Temple<sup>e</sup>*

886. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Nibmare, Heir of Re; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes, is satisfied with a building for his father Amon-Re,

<sup>a</sup>Inscription of Ineni (l. 17, § 341) has: "the bow-rope of the South . . . . the stern-rope of the North is she," as epithets of Hatshepsut. It seems to me that Spiegelberg (*Recueil*, XX, 50) has overlooked the determinative (a rope) in his rendering "Bug" and "Spiegel," "bow" and "stern." (Cf. Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 52). In view of the Ineni passage, his rejection of the genitive signs seems to me impossible.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "opened himself;" cf.  $wb^{\text{p}}sw$ , a synonymous phrase (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 18, l. 3), which Müller renders "sich zeigen" (*Recueil*, IX, 162).

<sup>c</sup>This is probably the pylon which flanked the Memnon Colossi, but is now entirely gone.

<sup>d</sup>The literal meaning of the phrase used for the barque is: "Bearer of his beauty;" it was a portable shrine.

<sup>e</sup>The well-known temple at modern Luxor, of which the southern portion is due to Amenhotep III. The architrave inscriptions (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 73, and Text, III, 80, 81) offer a short account of the building: "He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, again erecting for him Luxor anew, of fine white sandstone, made very, very high and wide, adorned with electrum throughout, and all splendid, costly stones; a rest for Amon, a place of rest for the lord of gods, made like unto his horizon in heaven. That he might be given life." Statements like: "who built temples — — sculptured their statues; that which was of brick was (re)built of stone;" or: "who again erected Luxor anew," of course refer to the older Middle Empire temple which Amenhotep III enlarged or rebuilt. On the entire history of the Luxor temple, see Borchardt, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1896, 122-38.

lord of Thebes, in Southern Opet (Luxor), of fine white sandstone, made very wide and large <sup>11</sup>and its beauty increased. Its walls are of electrum, its floor<sup>a</sup> is of silver, all the portals are wrought with [—], its towers reach<sup>b</sup> heaven, and mingle with the stars. When the people see it, <sup>12</sup>they give praise to his majesty.

It is the king Nibmare who hath satisfied<sup>c</sup> the heart of his father, Amon, lord of Thebes, who hath assigned to him every country, the Son of Re, Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes, Brilliance of Re [—]

*Buildings Near Luxor*

**887.** His majesty made another monument, for his father, Amon; making for him an [inclosure] as a divine offering over against Southern Opet; <sup>13</sup>a salubrious place for my<sup>d</sup> father at his beautiful feast. I erected a great temple<sup>e</sup> in its midst<sup>f</sup> like Re when he rises in the horizon. It is planted with all flowers; how beautiful is Nun in his pool at every season; <sup>14</sup>more is its wine<sup>g</sup> than water, like a full Nile, born of the lord of eternity. Many are the goods of the place, the impost of all countries is received, numerous tribute is brought before my father, being the offerings of all lands. He hath assigned to me the princes of the south countries; <sup>15</sup>the Southerners are like the Northerners, and each one is<sup>h</sup> like his neighbor; their silver, their gold, their cattle, every splendid costly stone of their countries, by millions, hundred thousands, ten thousands, and thousands. I have done (it) for the one who begat me, in the uprightness<sup>i</sup> of my heart, according as <sup>16</sup>he appointed me to be the sun of the Nine Bows.

<sup>a</sup>Corrected from l. 3, at the end.

<sup>c</sup>Lit., “*washed*.”

<sup>b</sup>Restored from l. 22.

<sup>d</sup>A sudden change to the first person.

<sup>e</sup>The only “*great temple*” of Amenhotep III which is “*over against*” Luxor is the temple of Mut, which could hardly be referred to here without some reference to the goddess. Hence there may be some undiscovered building of Amenhotep III in the unexplored ground between Luxor and Karnak, to which reference is here made.

<sup>f</sup>Spiegelberg, p. 41, n. 6.

<sup>g</sup>Lit., “*more to it is wine*,” a common phrase; text is corrupt, read: “*wr nj yr p*.”

<sup>h</sup>By an emendation drawn from a repetition of the very same phrase on the Luxor architrave (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 73, d, l. 3). This renders invalid the objections of Spiegelberg to the emendation (*Recueil*, XX, 51).

<sup>i</sup>Lit., “*correctness*,” Erman has treated the phrase (*Gespräch eines Lebensmüden*, 62).

*Sacred Barge of Amon<sup>b</sup>*

888. King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Nibmare, Part of Re; Son of Re: Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes. I made another monument for him who begat me, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, who established <sup>1</sup>me upon his throne, making for him a great barge<sup>a</sup> for the "Beginning-of-the-River" (named): "Amon-Re-in-the-Sacred-Barge,"<sup>b</sup> of new cedar <sup>17</sup>which his majesty cut in the countries<sup>c</sup> of God's-Land. It was dragged over the mountains of Retenu (*Rtww*) by the princes of all countries. It was made very wide and large, there is no instance of doing the like. Its <sup>18</sup>— is adorned with silver, wrought <sup>18</sup>with gold throughout, the great shrine is of electrum so that it fills the land with its <sup>19</sup>brightness;<sup>d</sup> its bows,<sup>e</sup> they repeat the <sup>19</sup>brightness<sup>1</sup>; they bear great crowns, whose serpents twine along its two sides; <sup>20</sup>they exercise protection behind them.<sup>1</sup> <sup>19</sup>Flagstaves are set up before it<sup>f</sup> wrought with electrum, two great obelisks are between them; it is beautiful everywhere. The gods of Pe make jubilee to it; the gods of Nekhen praise it; the two Nile-gods of the South and the North, <sup>20</sup>they embrace its beauty, its bows<sup>e</sup> make Nun to shine<sup>g</sup> as when the sun rises in heaven, to make his beautiful voyage at his feast of Opet on his western voyage of a million of millions of years.

*Third Karnak Pylon<sup>h</sup>*

889. King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Nibmare, Son of Re: Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes, <sup>21</sup>who is vigilant to seek that which is

<sup>a</sup>A similar barge with details of measurements in the Harris Papyrus (*infra*, IV, 209).

<sup>b</sup>Egyptian Userhet, "wsw-h 3 1."

<sup>c</sup>The same statement by Thutmose IV on Lateran obelisk (§ 838).

<sup>d</sup>As it stands, the text is certainly corrupt; the rendering of Spiegelberg ("die ganze Erde") seems impossible, in view of the *m* for *r*. This *m* indicates the above rendering, which is a common idea in respect of monuments of electrum; cf. e. g., obelisk of Hatshepsut, base inscription, south side, l. 7 (§ 315). Since making the above remark, I find the same suggestion (by Müller?) in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, May, 1898, 158, n. 2, where I also find a good suggestion for the conclusion of the phrase.

<sup>e</sup>Plural, as often in English.

<sup>f</sup>The shrine, which was set up amidships; it is here regarded as a temple, and equipped therefore with flagstaves and obelisks.

<sup>g</sup>Referring to the reflection in the water, here called Nun, as above in l. 13; the same in the Abydos Stela of Thutmose I (§ 94) and Papyrus Harris (IV, § 189, Pl. 4, l. 3).

<sup>h</sup>This is the ruined pylon behind the great hall of columns, known as Pylon III.

useful, the king, who has erected another monument for Amon, making for him a very great portal over against Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, wrought with gold throughout. The Divine Shadow,<sup>a</sup> as a ram, is inlaid with real lazuli wrought with gold and many costly stones; there is no instance of doing the like. <sup>22</sup>Its floor is adorned with silver; <sup>1</sup>towers<sup>1</sup> (*sbhꜣ t*) are over against it. Stelæ of lazuli are set up, one on each side. Its pylons reach heaven like the four pillars of heaven; its flagstaves shine more than the heavens, wrought <sup>23</sup>with electrum. His majesty brought gold for it in the land of Karoy (*Kꜣ-rꜣ-y*) on the first victorious campaign,<sup>b</sup> slaying<sup>c</sup> the wretched Kush.<sup>d</sup>

#### *Temple of Soleb*

**890.** King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Nibmare, beloved of Amon-Re; Son of Re: Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes. I made other monuments for Amon, <sup>24</sup>whose like hath not been. I built for thee thy<sup>e</sup> house of millions of years in the <sup>1</sup>—<sup>f</sup> of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes (named): Khammat (*Hꜣ-c-m-mꜣ-cꜣ t*),<sup>g</sup> august in electrum, a resting-place for my father at all his feasts. It is finished with fine white sandstone; it is wrought <sup>25</sup>with gold throughout; its floor is adorned with

<sup>a</sup>The immaterial or intangible part of a god conceived as a shadow, a common conception both for gods and men (see Birch, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, VIII, 386-97; Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, 108). The hieroglyph and symbol for this shadow is a sunshade, often figured in mortuary vignettes; it is this which is thus referred to in Ineni (§ 104, l. 9): "*its huge door was of Asiatic bronze, whereon was the Divine Shadow* (det. with ithyphallic Min) *inlaid with gold.*" In the above it is also connected with a door, but seems to be in the form of a ram; cf. also Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XX, 53. Another similar reference to the "shadow" of the god is on one of the Soleb rams (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 89, e), but the context is broken off. A similar reference to the divine figure in connection with the door is found on the shrine of Saft: "*The doors upon it* (the shrine) *are of black copper, inlaid with gold, the image upon it is of —*" (Navielle, *The Shrine of Saft-el-Henneh*, Pl. 6, l. 1).

<sup>b</sup>See the two stelæ of the Nubian War, §§ 844, 845, l. 5 in each; and scarab of marriage with Tiy, § 862.

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "*campaign . . . of slaying.*"

<sup>d</sup>Text has *Kny*, which is, of course, an error.

<sup>e</sup>Emended.

<sup>f</sup>Same word (*sꜣ h*) in I, § 503, l. 16.

<sup>g</sup>This is the name of the Soleb temple in Nubia; it means: "*Shining (or rising) in (or as) Truth,*" which is also one of Amenhotep III's names, either in the full titulary, or alone, e. g., "*which his son Khammat made for him*" [east side of south tower, third pylon, Karnak (Mariette, *Karnak*, 34, l. 29)].

silver, all its portals are of gold. Two great obelisks<sup>a</sup> are erected, one on each side. When my father rises between them, I <sup>b</sup>am among his following. I have offered <sup>26</sup>to him thousands of oxen, <sup>1</sup>limbs<sup>1</sup> for the choicest of hind quarters.

*Hymn of Amon*

**891.** Utterance of Amon, king of gods:

My son, of my body, my beloved, Nibmare,  
My living image, whom my limbs created,  
Whom Mut, mistress of Ishru in Thebes, bore to me,  
Mistress of the Nine Bows who brought thee up <sup>27</sup>as sole lord of the people.

My heart greatly rejoices when I see thy beauty,  
I work a wonder for thy majesty, and thou renewest youth,  
According as I have set thee as the Sun of the Two Lands.

When I turn my face to the south, I work a wonder for thee  
I cause <sup>28</sup>the chiefs of Kush, the wretched, to turn to thee,  
Bearing all their tribute upon their backs.

When I turn my face to the north, I work a wonder for thee;  
I cause the countries of the ends of Asia to come to thee,  
Bearing all their tribute upon their backs.  
They present themselves to thee <sup>29</sup>with their children,  
In order that thou mayest give to them the breath of life.

**892.** When I turn my face to the west, I work a wonder for thee;  
I cause thee to seize the Tehenu (*Tyhnw*), (so that) there is no remnant of them.

(<sup>1</sup>They<sup>1</sup>) are building<sup>c</sup> in this fortress in the name of <sup>30</sup>my majesty;  
Surrounded with a great wall reaching to heaven,  
Settled with children of the chiefs of the Nubian Troglodytes.

When I turn my face to the orient,<sup>d</sup> I work a wonder for thee;  
I cause to come to thee the countries of Punt,

<sup>a</sup>These obelisks are not shown on Lepsius' plan (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, I, 117), but they are also mentioned in the ram inscriptions, § 894.

<sup>b</sup>The particle *ty*, introducing a nominal sentence; cf. Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 36, p. 71, n. 3.

<sup>c</sup>As slaves?

<sup>d</sup>The usual word for east is not employed, but a term meaning "sunrise."

Bearing all the pleasant sweet woods <sup>31</sup>of their countries,  
To crave peace with him (sic!), and breath of thy giving.

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of the Two Lands, Nibmare, Son of Re, his beloved Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes, with whose monuments the heart of the gods is satisfied; that he may be given life, stability, satisfaction, health; that his heart may be joyful, like Re, forever.

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#### BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SOLEB TEMPLE

**893.** This Nubian temple, dedicated by Amenhotep III to the worship of himself, as well as of Amon, contains a number of building records. Among other things, they preserve the interesting name of the temple, which is not found in the account of the building given by the king in his great Theban building inscription (§ 890). The architrave dedications are not preserved, but only those upon the sculptures adorning the temple, the rams lining the avenue of approach, and the famous lions in the British Museum.

**894.** The inscriptions on the rams<sup>a</sup> are these:

<sup>b</sup>Live the Good God, Nibmare, Son of Re, Amenhotep (III). [He made] (it) as his monument for his image,<sup>c</sup> Nibmare, Lord of Nubia (*T<sup>3</sup> -pd<sup>3</sup> t*), great god, lord of heaven; making for him an excellent fortress, surrounded with a great wall, whose battlements shine more than the heavens, like the great obelisks, which the king, Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes, made for a million of million of years, forever and ever. Live the Good God . . . .<sup>d</sup> He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon, lord of Thebes; making for him an august temple, made very wide and large, and its beauty increased. Its pylons reach heaven, and the flagstaves, the stars of heaven; it is seen (on) both sides of the river, illuminating the Two Lands.

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<sup>a</sup>One now in Berlin (*Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 23, 24). They were found by Lepsius at Gebel Barkal, whither they had been removed from Soleb by the Ethiopians; published, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 89, 90.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 89, a.

<sup>c</sup>See below.

<sup>d</sup>Continued as above.

895. On another ram,<sup>a</sup> the temple is said to be “*in the fortress Khammat* ( $h^c-m-^{\circ}c-t$ ),”<sup>b</sup> and is dedicated to Amon (as in the great Building Inscription, § 890), and the king’s ka. Another ram inscription<sup>c</sup> thus describes the building:

Making for him an august temple of fine white sandstone; all its portals are of electrum, their radiance is in the faces (of men), the Divine Shadow — — — — .”

896. The famous lions<sup>d</sup> contribute important historical data, from the state of their inscriptions. The dedications of Amenhotep III were cut out during the religious revolution of Ikhnaton, showing that the persecution of that king extended as far south as Soleb, and included even his own father as a god. They were restored by Tutenkhamon, who prefixed to the restored dedications a record of the restoration thus:

———— rest the gods, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offering [Nebkheprure],<sup>e</sup> Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Tutenkhamon, restorer of the monument of his father, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Nibmare, Son of Re, Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes. He made (it) as his

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 89, c.

<sup>b</sup>On this name, see note, § 890. (Great Building Inscription, l. 24).

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 89, e.

<sup>d</sup>These two magnificent animal figures were later carried away from Soleb and erected in Gebel Barkal (Napata) by the Ethiopians. That there should ever have been any doubt about this, especially in the minds of the British Museum authorities, (see Budge, *History*, IV, 112; VI, 100) is, to say the least, surprising. Not only do the above dedications show that the lions were originally erected at Soleb (Khammat), but the breast of one bears the inscription of the Ethiopian, stating that he removed it, as follows: “*Good God, Lion of Rulers, fierce-eyed Lion when he spies his foes treading his path* — (cartouche, name lost), *who brought it.*” Below this, is the double name: “*King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Enekhneferibre* ( $^c n h - n j r - y b - R ^ c$ ), *Son of Re, Amenisru* ( $Y m n - y s - r - w ^ c$ ).” (Published Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XIII; I had also my own copies of the originals.) See a similar removal record, IV, 649.

<sup>e</sup>Cartouche with name erased. The name has been inserted by Lepsius (*Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XIII), but is not discernible on the original.

monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, Atum, lord of Heliopolis, and Yoh<sup>a</sup> (*Y<sup>c</sup> h*), that he might be given life, like Re, forever.

897. On the other lion, the original inscription of Amenhotep III is better preserved,<sup>b</sup> as only the name of the king (containing Amon) has been expunged, and later incorrectly restored, thus:

Horus, Mighty Bull ——— Nibmare, Son of Re, Nibmare<sup>c</sup> (sic!). He made (it) as his monument for "His Living Image on Earth, Nibmare, Lord of Nubia in the Fortress of Khammat."<sup>d</sup>

898. Finally, a doorpost of the temple bears the following dedication:<sup>e</sup>

He made (it) as his monument for "His Living Image upon Earth, Nibmare, Lord of [Khenthen]nofer;"<sup>d</sup> making for him temples of fine white sandstone. All its portals are of electrum — — — — —.

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#### GREAT INSCRIPTION OF THE THIRD KARNAK PYLON<sup>f</sup>

899. This pylon, now the rear wall of the great Karnak hypostyle, was erected by Amenhotep III before the obelisks of Thutmose I as the front of the temple, which it continued to be until the famous hypostyle hall was built in front of it by the Nineteenth Dynasty kings. It is referred to in

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<sup>a</sup>Thoth, the moon-god.

<sup>b</sup>The inscription occurs twice on this lion, once in front and again behind. In front (facing the avenue) it has been completely hacked out, but behind the iconoclasts of Ikhnaton have hastily cut out only the royal names.

<sup>c</sup>Incorrect restoration by Tutenkhamon; it should be, of course, "*Amenhotep*."

<sup>d</sup>Cultus-name of the deified Amenhotep III. <sup>e</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 87, a.

<sup>f</sup>On the east face of the southern tower of the third pylon, in 71 vertical lines, of which only the lower ends have survived, the ends of the last 23 lines containing but two or three words each. It was seen and excerpted by Champollion (*Notices descriptives*, II, 126). The text was published by Mariette (*Karnak*, 34, 35) and by Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, II, 39); both number the lines backward, and are also excessively inaccurate; Dümichen even mixes up the lines, and evidently his papers were in confusion. I had excellent photographs of the original by Borchardt.



Amenhotep III's Building Inscription (§ 889), and its southern tower still bears the remnant of a long and magnificently cut inscription referring to the erection of the pylon. This inscription has the following content:

1. Laudation of the king (§ 900, ll. 1-24);
2. Offerings to Amon (§ 901, ll. 24-34).
3. Presents and Buildings (§ 902, ll. 24-39).
4. Third Pylon and Connected Monuments (§ 903, ll. 39-71).

The inscription is so fragmentary that much of it is unintelligible, but enough remains to show that the third pylon must have been a monument of the greatest richness and beauty.

*Laudation of the King*

900. <sup>1a</sup>———— luxuries and benefactions of the lord of eternity which he levied in God's-Land, abiding like the heavens, shining [—] <sup>2</sup>———— . . . . . <sup>b</sup> Amenhotep III <sup>3</sup>———— in his beauty like him who created him; the hearts rejoice in the bodies at beholding him. <sup>4</sup>———— their — with one <sup>c</sup>accord<sup>d</sup>. He whom he hath chosen is prepared, exalted above millions to lead on the people forever. <sup>5</sup>———— His eye is the sun, making brightness for all men. How prosperous is he who beholds him, his sun, rising <sup>6</sup>———— of the sun forever. His two hands hold<sup>e</sup> might, his word bears victory, in order to present to him (Amon) the whole earth, with the impost thereof <sup>7</sup>———— whose path <sup>f</sup>sends away<sup>g</sup>, whose name repels, whose <sup>f</sup>word<sup>h</sup> created him, [—] with his form to be the Sole Lord, whose doing hath led <sup>8</sup>———— satisfied with victory, the leader of his soldiers, the first of millions. He is one who taketh thought, who maketh wise with knowledge <sup>9</sup>———— his stride is swift, a star of electrum when he circles upon his horse, a victorious archer, shooting the <sup>f</sup>target<sup>i</sup> <sup>10</sup>———— living captives, without his like, the good shepherd, vigilant

<sup>a</sup>This is l. 71 in Mariette's publication, as he numbered the lines backward, and this translation proceeds from l. 71 to l. 1, as numbered in his publication.

<sup>b</sup>Full titulary of Amenhotep III.

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "are in might."

for all people, whom the maker thereof has placed under his authority, lord of plenty, <sup>11</sup>—— beholding benefactions is his satisfaction, 'doing that which occurs is' his thriving forever; loving examples of truth, rejoicing in plans <sup>12</sup>—— searching bodies, knowing that which is in the heart, whose fame apprehends the 'evil' —, protector of the fearful, whose decree is the breath of life, prosperity, and health <sup>13</sup>—— [—] in his body all his 'brightness' to the form of the majesty of Re; his divine and beautiful emanation which he made for — <sup>14</sup>—— like Thoth, who gives the Two Lands to the balances.<sup>a</sup> There are no rebels, (for) his strength is like the might of the son of Nut; there are no millions — <sup>15</sup>—— protecting them, in order to do all that their ka's desire and to make Egypt flourish as in the beginning, by the plans of Truth, because she does <sup>16</sup>—— adorning the splendid Great House of him who begat him, with monuments of beauty and splendor forever, which he decreed for his son <sup>17</sup>—— the wealth of Ptah,<sup>b</sup> great in his form. He created him as his son, endowed with his beauty <sup>18</sup>——. He gave to him the thought of every day as a benefaction, in 'magnifying' the wonders of — — He rejoices in remembering <sup>19</sup>—— joy of heart. He created me before him, while I was a youth therein. How beautiful is the [—] before the throne <sup>20</sup>—— it in the beginning. His accustomed splendid seat, wherein he alighted [—] <sup>21</sup>—— him in his form in Thebes, they made rejoicing for love of him <sup>22</sup>—— [— —]. I am his first born son [— —] <sup>23</sup>—— I — under his authority, I was endowed with his might, I was endued with his power <sup>24</sup>—— 'bringing' all works 'from' his temple.

*Offerings to Amon*

901. My majesty founded for him (Amon) very great divine offerings anew <sup>25</sup>—— in the land, true and pure in the (divine) presence in the great seat, which I have supplied with food <sup>26</sup>—— that he might multiply my years in joy of heart. I produced fulness of food and provision from my presence <sup>27</sup>—— my subjects under my feet by the might and victory which he decreed for me <sup>28</sup>—— food in thy house filled with supplies, which the [—] established in the horizon, the vessels of him who made the things that are <sup>29</sup>—— to him to be mighty in gifts to him, 'assigning' them to him; the king,

<sup>a</sup>To be weighed as tribute.

<sup>b</sup>Read *rsy ynb' f.*

the unique one of the gods<sup>a</sup> so that they are satisfied every day <sup>30</sup>—— true, pure and flourishing with divine offerings of every day, abiding and fixed in his house forever. <sup>31</sup>—— with millions, as a fierce-eyed lion, sated in the place [—] of the morning, taking captive <sup>32</sup>—— My face works terror — — [when it fronts] those who rebel against me, every time that occurs in <sup>33</sup>—— [— — —] my grasp. I reported my message to him that sent me; I presented it in the presence of my august father <sup>34</sup>—— him that begat him.

*Presents and Buildings*

902. He is divine in my heart at all times, that I may present flowers <sup>35</sup>—— according as he creates them, I bring to him silver, gold, genuine lapis lazuli, malachite <sup>36</sup>—— every costly stone, every splendid vessel of electrum without limit of number. <sup>37</sup>—— in his seat of truth. He hath made for himself splendid things which the maker made. He made me <sup>38</sup>—— his — in every august land, the good things of every land and the impost thereof together, that I may present <sup>39</sup>——

*Third Pylon and Connected Monuments*

903. —— in the splendid place, in which he loves to be, wrought of sandstone <sup>40</sup>—— all flowers which he gathered, all food at all times. If there be the like <sup>41</sup>—— all — in [pleasing] him, restored and established as he desires it. The weight of this monument:

<sup>42b</sup> ——	——
Malachite:	4,820 deben.
[—] ( <i>hnt</i> ) <sup>c</sup>	3,623 deben.
<sup>43</sup> ——	——

—— flourishing and established, which his son, Khammat (Amenhotep III) made for him. The number of these things is: <sup>44</sup>—— flourishing in every garden, sweet in fragrance of all flowers, [— — —] <sup>45</sup>—— a great [pylon] over against the temple, [its door] made high and wide, of cedar of <sup>46</sup>—— it illuminates this whole

<sup>a</sup>The word "gods" was chiseled out in the time of Ikhnaton.  
<sup>b</sup>Here follows a statement of the weight of some monument, above mentioned.  
<sup>c</sup>This unknown substance appears as a basket of red kernels in the tomb of Rekhmire (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1111, and Wilkinson, *Manners*, I, Pl. IIA).

land, its beauty seems like the horizon of heaven <sup>47</sup>———. He  
 [made] wide for him its extent, an august judgment-hall of <sup>48</sup>———  
 an august — for this portal [of the maker of his majesty as my father]  
<sup>49</sup>——— desires them — — — monument for him who raised  
<sup>50</sup>——— real lapis lazuli, 3,000 (+x) deben <sup>51</sup>——— 3,631½ —  
<sup>52</sup>——— chiefs of all countries, monuments <sup>53</sup>——— great door-  
 way of electrum <sup>54</sup>——— of the land that sees it, every land [— —]  
<sup>55</sup>——— as leader of them in <sup>56</sup>——— of new cedar of the royal  
 domain <sup>57</sup>——— august — of electrum, obelisk[s]<sup>a</sup> <sup>58</sup>———  
 .....<sup>b</sup>

#### DEDICATION STELA<sup>c</sup>

904. This stela contained the dedication of the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III, which stood behind the (Memnon) Colossi at Thebes. It stood in the usual place, the “*Station of the King*,” which it marked, being erected, like the similar stelæ of Amenhotep II at Elephantine and Amâda (§ 791 ff.), against the inside of the rear wall of the holy of holies.<sup>d</sup> Here it proclaimed the king’s gift of the temple to the god, on the spot where the king stood in officially absolving the ceremonies of the ritual.

The upper third of the stela is occupied by two conventional scenes, showing the king, Amenhotep III, and his

<sup>a</sup>These obelisks probably stood in front of this pylon (III); they must have been removed to build the great hypostyle; the only obelisks of Amenhotep III now known at Karnak are in the northern temple, but only fragments have survived (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 2). Perhaps they stood on the two bases referred to in Baedeker’s *Egypt*, 1902, 253.

<sup>b</sup>Ll. 59–71 contain only an incoherent word or two at the end; indeed, ll. 62 and 69–71 are entirely gone.

<sup>c</sup>An enormous sandstone stela about 30 feet high and 14 feet wide, still lying a few hundred feet behind the colossi of Amenhotep III at Thebes; text, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 72.

<sup>d</sup>The stela is directly referred to in another building inscription of Amenhotep III in this same temple (§ 883, l. 5), where it is called “*a station of the king, wrought with gold and many costly stones*.” The word “*station*” is here determined with a stela, and the text would indicate that it was overlaid and incrustated.

queen, Tiy, before “*Sokar-Osiris*” (on the left) and “*Amon-Re*” (on the right).

The text of twenty-four lines represents: (1) the king delivering the temple which stood behind the Colossi to Amon in a presentation address<sup>a</sup> (ll. 2-13); (2) Amon accepting it with words of praise to the king (ll. 14-20); (3) the “Divine Ennead” calling upon the god to enter his temple, while they praise him and the king (ll. 20-24).<sup>b</sup> The text is badly broken and certainly corrupt in a number of places.

#### I. SPEECH OF THE KING (LL. 1-13)

##### *Temple*

905. <sup>1</sup>Live . . . . .<sup>c</sup> King Amenhotep (III). <sup>2</sup>He saith: “Come thou, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak; thou hast seen thy house which I have made for thee in <sup>d</sup>the west of Thebes.<sup>d</sup> Its beauty mingles with Manu (*M<sup>2</sup> -nw*), when thou sailest over the heavens to set therein. <sup>3</sup>When thou risest in the horizon of heaven, it shines<sup>e</sup> with the gold of thy face, (for) its face is toward the east [—————]<sup>f</sup> thou shinest in the morning every day; thy beauty is in its midst without ceasing. I made it <sup>4</sup>in excellent work, of fine white sandstone.

##### *Colossal Statues*

906. My majesty filled it with monuments, with my [statues]<sup>g</sup> from the mountain of gritstone. When they are seen (‘in’) their place,

<sup>a</sup>The erection of the same temple is recorded in ll. 2-10 in the preceding building inscription, §§ 883, 884.

<sup>b</sup>It is therefore not merely a dialogue between the god and the king, as stated by Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 207.

<sup>c</sup>The usual full titulary.

<sup>d</sup>*dys’t wr’t nt W<sup>2</sup> s’t* probably designates “the west of Thebes,” found in l. 3 of the preceding building inscription (*ymy-wr’t nt w<sup>2</sup> s’t*).

<sup>e</sup>Though causative, this verb may be used intransitively, e. g., l. 24 below.

<sup>f</sup>The parallelism of “because thou risest” and “because thou sellest” is all that can be made of this phrase.

<sup>g</sup>This restoration is probable, for the (Memnon) colossi before this temple are of gritstone.

there is great rejoicing because of their size.<sup>a</sup> I made <sup>5</sup>likewise a [—]<sup>b</sup> upon the stone; it is of alabaster, pink and black granite; my majesty made a double pylon,<sup>c</sup> seeking excellent things for my father; statues coming forth [— —] they were shaped, <sup>6</sup>— throughout. Great was that which I made, of gold, stone, and every splendid costly stone without end. I gave to them the directions to do that which pleases thy ka, [—] satisfied with<sup>d</sup> an august dwelling like 7— — — —.

#### Offerings

907. I made for them<sup>e</sup> offerings — — — — —. My majesty hath done<sup>f</sup> these things for millions (of years), and I know that they will abide in the earth for my father <sup>8</sup>— — — all that was due him; I made for thee a shadow<sup>g</sup> for thy voyage across the heavens as Atum, coming forth with all the [gods], while the divine ennead who are behind thee and the Sacred Apes praise thy rising and thy appearing in <sup>9</sup>— the horizon. The divine ennead rejoice, they give exaltation to Khepri; the Sacred Apes give praise to thee<sup>h</sup> when thou settest in Enekh<sup>i</sup> in the west.

#### Obelisks

908. I made <sup>10</sup>obelisks there [— — —]. Thou hast shown favor for<sup>j</sup> all that my majesty made there in the likeness of a chapel of thy majesty [— — — — —]<sup>k</sup> <sup>11</sup>Again I made for thee monuments on the

<sup>a</sup>The so-called Memnon colossi are about 58 feet high (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 141 ff.), but this height is reduced nearly 5 feet by the accumulated Nile mud. They bear, or at least the southern statue bears, the dedication (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 144): “*He made (it) as his monument for his father Amon; making for him a great statue of costly gritstone . . . . .*” There is among the titles of the king also a reference to the monument as “*brought from Northern Heliopolis to Southern Heliopolis.*” The quarry of red gritstone, whence the statues were taken, is at the Gebel el-Ahmar near Cairo (see I, 493, l. 15, note) and Heliopolis; Southern Heliopolis is modern Erment, south of Thebes.

<sup>b</sup>Read *ky*, “*form;*” the *b* as determinative?

<sup>d</sup>Or: “*resting in.*”

<sup>c</sup>Translated from the determinative only.

<sup>e</sup>For the statues.

<sup>f</sup>There is a superfluous personal ending here.

<sup>g</sup>This is probably not the “*Divine Shadow,*” but a sunshade to protect the god on festival processions, or, as the text has it, when he crosses the heavens.

<sup>h</sup>Lit., “*to thy face,*” or before thee.

<sup>i</sup>Meaning “*life,*” a euphemism for the place of the dead.

<sup>j</sup>Lit., “*of.*”

<sup>k</sup>A little over one-third line.

west of the Great [Sea]t<sup>1</sup>;<sup>a</sup> I exacted all works [—————]<sup>b</sup> in order to furnish my impost by the [hand] of my army. I rejoiced <sup>12</sup>when I had done (it) for my father.

I [foun]ded for thee offerings every day at the beginning of the seasons and oblations at their times, d[ues for] thy temple; its prophets, its priests from the greatest and choicest of <sup>13</sup>the whole land. . . . . Accept that which I have made, revered father, Amon, of the beginning of the world.”

## II. SPEECH OF AMON (LL. 14-20)

909. <sup>14</sup>Utterance by Amon-Re, . . . . .<sup>c</sup> “Come, my son Amenhotep,<sup>d</sup> <sup>15</sup>I hear what thou sayest; I have seen thy monument, I am thy [fath]er, creator of thy beauty . . . . .<sup>20</sup>. . . .<sup>e</sup> I accept the [monument] which thou hast made for me.”

## III. SPEECH OF THE DIVINE ENNEAD (LL. 20-24)

910. Utterance by the Divine Ennead: f. . . . .<sup>f</sup>: <sup>21</sup>“Come — — — into thy eternal temple. It is Nibmare, thy son, who has done this for thee.<sup>g</sup> . . . . .<sup>23</sup>. . . .<sup>g</sup> Thou art in heaven, <sup>24</sup>thou shinest for the earth; he (the king) is on earth, administering thy kingdom <sup>g</sup>. . . . .<sup>g</sup>

## INSCRIPTIONS OF AMENHOTEP, SON OF HAPI

911. This famous official, who lived under Amenhotep III, was a descendant of an old noble family, the ancient nomarchs of Athribis, and still maintained the office of chief of the prophets of the temple at that place, which went with his ancient rank. He acquired a great reputation for

<sup>a</sup>The name of this temple was “*House-of-Amon-on-the-West-of-Thebes*,” see § 883, note.

<sup>b</sup>Five or six words.

<sup>c</sup>Half a line of titles.

<sup>d</sup>Both names.

<sup>e</sup>About one-fourth of the omitted portion is broken out, the remainder contains only the conventional praise of the king by the god.

<sup>f</sup>One-third line.

<sup>g</sup>Much broken, and contains only the conventional phrases of praise to Amon or the king.

wisdom. On the temple of Der el-Medineh at Thebes an inscription says of him: "*His name shall abide forever, his sayings shall not perish.*" These sayings were thought to be referred to in the papyrus of Heter at Gizeh,<sup>a</sup> but this has been clearly shown to be an error.<sup>b</sup> The attribution of a mortuary papyrus<sup>c</sup> to him is also very questionable.<sup>d</sup> The only wisdom unquestionably assigned to him, though it is probably a pseudepigraphon, is found in an eighteen-line Greek scrawl of the third century B. C., on a limestone ostrakon belonging to the Egypt Exploration Fund.<sup>e</sup> It contains nine fragmentary sayings, of which Wilcken has found three also among the "Proverbs of the Seven Wise Men."<sup>f</sup> Amenhotep was long supposed to have built the original temple on the site of the present Der el-Medineh temple;<sup>g</sup> Sethe has shown the error of this supposition.<sup>h</sup> He was long ago pointed out by Brugsch, on the basis of his statue inscription, as the architect<sup>i</sup> of the Memnon colossi on the Theban plain—an error which a careful translation of the inscription immediately exposes.<sup>j</sup>

912. He lived to be at least eighty years old, when the king granted him a statue<sup>k</sup> in the Karnak temple of Amon with the following dedication:

<sup>a</sup>By Maspero, *Mémoire sur quelques papyri du Louvre*, 23.

<sup>b</sup>By Sethe, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 113, 114.

<sup>c</sup>Mariette, *Papyri de Boulaq*, No. 5.

<sup>d</sup>Sethe, *ibid.*

<sup>e</sup>Published by Wilcken, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 142-46. For other material which may be his, see Daressy, *Annales*, III, 43, 61, 62, where he appears as a god in the Ptah-temple of Karnak in the time of Tiberius.

<sup>f</sup>Wilcken, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 144, 145.

<sup>g</sup>By Brugsch (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1875, 125-27) on the basis of the Mortuary Temple Edict below, §§ 921 ff.

<sup>h</sup>*Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 110-12.

<sup>i</sup>*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1876, 96 ff.

<sup>j</sup>See § 917.

<sup>k</sup>*Annales*, II, 272, 281-84; IV, Pl. V, IV. The long inscription has nothing of historical value. See another Karnak statue of him, *Recueil*, 19, 13, 14.



[Given as a favo]r of the king's-presence to the temple of Amon in Karnak, for the hereditary prince, count, sole companion, fan-bearer on the king's right hand, chief of the king's works even all the great monuments which are brought, of every excellent costly stone; steward of the king's-daughter of the king's-wife, Sitamon, who liveth; overseer of the cattle of Amon in the South and North, chief of the prophets of Horus, lord of Athribis, festival leader of Amon, Amenhotep, son of Hapi, born of the lady Yatu (*Y<sup>ḏ</sup> tw*), triumphant.

Having thus attained the age of eighty years, he prays (on this statue) for the usual 110 years. In later ages he gradually gained recognition as a god, for the first time probably under Ptolemy Euergetes II;<sup>a</sup> so that already in Manetho's time, this historian could say of him that he seemed to partake of the divine nature.<sup>b</sup>

#### I. STATUE INSCRIPTION<sup>c</sup>

913. This inscription is very difficult and obscure. The introduction (ll. 1-26) consists solely of eulogistic epithets and phrases applied to the deceased, and of mortuary texts, of no historical value. The remainder (ll. 26-43) contains his official career through three promotions, as follows:

Introduction, § 914, ll. 26-27.

First Promotion, to be Inferior Royal Scribe, § 915, ll. 27-29.

Second Promotion, to be Superior Royal Scribe, § 916, ll. 29-37.

Third Promotion, to be Minister of all Public Works, § 917, ll. 37-43.

<sup>a</sup>Sethe, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 116.

<sup>b</sup>Josephus, *Contra Apion*, I, 26.

<sup>c</sup>The third statue of Amenhotep at Karnak; discovered there by Mariette. Published by Mariette, *Karnak*, 36, 37; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, XXIII-XXVIII; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1292-98. I had also a copy of the original by Borchardt for the Berlin dictionary.

*Introduction*

914. <sup>26</sup> . . . . . The king's-scribe, Amenhotep, triumphant; he saith: "I was great, at the head of the great, skillful in the divine words<sup>a</sup> in <sup>27</sup>the [council] of understanding, following the plans of the king; one whose ka the sovereign, L. P. H., advanced.

*First Promotion*

915. The Good God, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nibmare (Amenhotep III), firstborn son of Harakhte, praised me. I was appointed to be inferior king's-scribe; <sup>28</sup>I was introduced into the divine book, I beheld the excellent things of Thoth; I was equipped with their secrets; I opened<sup>c</sup> all their [passages]; one took counsel with me <sup>29</sup>on all their matters.

*Second Promotion*

916. My lord again showed favor to me; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nibmare, he put all the people subject to me, and the listing of their number under my control, as superior king's-scribe<sup>d</sup> over recruits. <sup>30</sup>I levied the (military) classes of my lord, my pen reckoned the numbers of millions; I put them in [classes] in the place of their [elders]; the staff of old age<sup>e</sup> as his beloved son. <sup>31</sup>I taxed the houses with the numbers belonging thereto, I divided the troops (of workmen) and their houses, I filled out the subjects<sup>f</sup> with the best of the captivity, which his majesty had captured <sup>32</sup>on the battlefield. I appointed all their troops (*ts' t*), I levied — — — I placed troops at the heads of the way(s) to turn back the foreigners in their places. <sup>33</sup>The two regions were surrounded<sup>g</sup> with a watch scouting for the Sand-rangers. I did likewise at the heads of the river-mouths,<sup>h</sup> which were

<sup>a</sup>Term for hieroglyphics. <sup>b</sup>*Sꜣ-stny-hry q > q*.

<sup>c</sup>The same phrase (*pg > ny*) for opening sacred books in Neferhotep (I, 758).

<sup>d</sup>*Sꜣ-stny-hry-q > q*.

<sup>e</sup>Same phrase, I, 692. There is a reference here to the replacement of old by new levies, but the technical terms are not yet fully understood.

<sup>f</sup>The native-born Egyptians.

<sup>g</sup>Or: "which surrounded the Two Lands."

<sup>h</sup>Lit., "at the head(s) of the shore of the front mouths;" the mouths of the Nile are indicated. The meaning "river-mouths" or "harbor-mouths" is clearly determined by the use of the word (*r-h'wt*) in the wars of Ramses III (year 5,

closed under <sup>34</sup>my troops except to the troops of royal marines. I was the guide of their ways, they depended upon my command.

I was the chief at the head of <sup>35</sup>the mighty men, to smite the Nubians and the Asiatics<sup>1</sup>,<sup>a</sup> the plans of my lord were a refuge behind me; when I wandered<sup>1</sup> his command surrounded me; his plans embraced all lands <sup>36</sup>and all foreigners who were by his side. I reckoned up the captives<sup>b</sup> of the victories of his majesty, being in charge of them. I did according to that which he (the king) said, I followed according to the things which he commanded <sup>37</sup>me, I found them excellent things for the future.

### *Third Promotion*

917. My lord a third time showed favor<sup>c</sup> to me; Son of Re, Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes, the sun-god is he, to whom hath been given an eternity of his jubilees without end. <sup>38</sup>My lord made me chief of all works. I established the name of the king forever, I did not imitate that which had been done before. I fashioned for him a mountain of gritstone, for he is the heir of Atum.<sup>d</sup> <sup>39</sup>I did according to my desire, executing his likeness in this his great house,<sup>e</sup> with every precious stone, enduring like the heavens; there was not one<sup>f</sup> who had done it (the like) since the time of the founding of his Two Lands. <sup>40</sup>I con-

l. 53, IV, 44; year 8, l. 20, IV, 65). Maspero's "custom-houses erected at the mouths of the Nile" (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 299), while hardly derivable from this passage alone, are amply corroborated by the Amarna Letters, which show that there were custom-houses on the coast of the Delta (*Amarna Letters*, 29; 32 and 33).

<sup>a</sup>Possibly "the Nubians of the cataract region."

<sup>b</sup>Ys-h > k't.

<sup>c</sup>Text has "my favor."

<sup>d</sup>See note on l. 40, where the mountain is again connected with Atum, in whose district it was.

<sup>e</sup>The temple of Karnak where our nobleman's statue was found; hence the statue of the king here referred to must be in this temple, and cannot have been one of the Memnon colossi, as Piehl thinks possible (*Petites études*, 37). [Later: Since making the above note, I notice that Sethe has published the same remark (*Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 109).] It is therefore clear that Brugsch is wrong in concluding from this inscription that Amenhotep, the son of Hapi, necessarily erected the Memnon colossi; as the passage refers clearly to a statue in the Karnak temple, where there actually still is a statue of Amenhotep III of the stone of Gebel el-Ahmar (cf. Sethe, *ibid.*, 109).

<sup>f</sup>The rendering, "there was not a king, etc.," of Brugsch (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1876, 98) and Piehl (*Petites études*, 37), is due to the misreading of the particle *swt* as *stn(y)*, "king;" cf. Erman, *Aegyptische Grammatik*, § 320.

ducted the work of his statue,<sup>a</sup> immense in width, taller than his column, its beauty marred the pylon. Its length was 40<sup>b</sup> cubits in the august mountain<sup>c</sup> of gritstone at the side of Re-Atum. <sup>4</sup>I built an eight-vessel, I brought it (the statue) up-river;<sup>d</sup> it was set up in [this] great house, enduring as heaven. My witnesses are ye, ye who shall come <sup>4</sup>after us; the entire army was as one under my control, they wrought with joy, their hearts were glad, rejoicing and praising the Good God; <sup>4</sup>they landed at Thebes with rejoicing, the monuments rested in their places forever ————.<sup>e</sup>

*Service with the King*

918. <sup>3</sup>f ———— I [saw] him<sup>g</sup> fighting hand to hand upon the battlefield, while he was like Min in the year of [—]. I recorded the [numbers] of his [captives] as subjects of the temples ———— <sup>4</sup> ———— while I was apportioner of ointment. I was versed in her art [— — —] and she knew (it), while I was in front with my lord, and I was great before him. I did that which men loved and gods praised ———— <sup>5</sup> ————.

*Benefits for Athribis*

919. Behold ye, I did excellent things; do (so) to me, and it shall be done (likewise) to you; for I am an heir who furnished his city, and expelled its [—] (*tw*<sup>2</sup>) from every place. My lord<sup>g</sup> did benefactions for my god<sup>h</sup> [—] ———— <sup>6</sup> ————. My lord [dug] his southern lake

<sup>a</sup>Text has plural, but the singular pronouns show the error.

<sup>b</sup>A statue of Amenhotep III of the Gebel el-Ahmar stone before Harmhab's pylon at Karnak was about 15 meters high, and is probably the one referred to; for it is not stated that the statue was 40 cubits high, but the block in the quarry was 40 cubits "long." A similar reference to the block in the mountain in I, 698, l. 6.

<sup>c</sup>The same as the "Red Mountain" of Mariette, *Karnak*, 15, 24 (I, 493, l. 15, note) near Cairo, and still called Red Mountain (Gebel el-Ahmar) cf. Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 74. The phrase "at the side of Re-Atum" refers to its location near the Heliopolis sanctuary of Re. Sethe notes similar phrases on the Sphinx tablet, ll. 6 and 7 (§ 814).

<sup>d</sup>From the quarry near Cairo to Thebes.

<sup>e</sup>About one-half line.

<sup>f</sup>Another, shorter inscription on the same statue, Mariette, *Karnak*, 37, b. Ll. 1 and 2 have almost entirely disappeared.

<sup>g</sup>The king.

<sup>h</sup>The god of his city, Athribis. He calls on the people of the place to pray for him because he had used his influence with the king, to secure royal benefits for the local god and temple of Athribis.

and his northern lake, brightened with flowers upon their shores. I — their —, and led them, because I was one [— —] his city. He made the house of my god, and my [city]. How beautiful is ——— 7 ——— because of his daily offerings. My lord magnified my city greatly, and my family [— —] on earth.

*Royal Favor*

920. I buried my father, doing again that which “The-Son-Whom-He-Loves” did. I interred my mother ———<sup>8</sup>———. My lord — my necessities, causing me to receive bread [after] the feasts. Men said to me : “[—] it hath come to thee through the Lord of the Two Lands. There is no citizen (*\$w\$*) to whom the like has been done.” I executed truth ———<sup>9</sup>———. . . . .<sup>a</sup>

II. MORTUARY TEMPLE EDICT<sup>b</sup>

921. This document legally establishes in perpetuity an endowment for the maintenance of Amenhotep’s mortuary cult. It was publicly read in his mortuary temple at Thebes to the more important officers of state assembled there in the king’s presence, who are adjured to respect it, or suffer under the most dreadful curses. The surviving original is a late copy of the original of Amenhotep’s day.

*Date*

922. <sup>1</sup>Year 31,<sup>c</sup> fourth month of the first season, sixth day, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Nibmare, L. P. H.; Son of Re, of his body, Lord of Diadems, Amenhotep (III), L. P. H.

<sup>a</sup>Two lines of self-praise.

<sup>b</sup>Hieratic text, being a copy of very late date, on a limestone stela in the British Museum, No. 138, published in transliteration by Birch (Chabas, *Mélanges égyptologiques*, II sér., 324-43); again by the same author in facsimile (*Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character*, XXIX). I collated the original exhaustively and found the latter publication very inaccurate. It was translated by Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1875, 125-27; Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 148 (*Aegypten*, 214, 215); the present translation is much indebted to Erman’s version.

<sup>c</sup>Not 11, as Brugsch has it; even 41 is possible.

*The Assembly*

923. On this day, one (=the king) was in the ka-chapel<sup>a</sup> of the hereditary prince, count, king's-scribe, Amenhotep. There were brought in: the governor of the city, and vizier, Amenhotep; the overseer of the treasury, Meriptah, and the king's-scribes of the army.

*Establishment of Chapel*

924. One said to them in the presence of his majesty, L. P. H.: "Hear the command which is given, to furnish the ka-chapel of the hereditary prince, the royal scribe, Amenhotep, called Huy, Son of Hapu, whose excellence is extolled<sup>b</sup> in order to perpetuate his ka-chapel with slaves, male and female, forever; son to son, heir to heir; in order that none trespass upon it forever. It is commended to Amon-Re, king of gods, as long as it is upon earth; he is the king of eternity, he is the protector of the dead.

*Curses on Violators*

925. As for the general and scribe of the army who shall follow after me and shall find the ka-chapel beginning to decay, together with the male and female slaves who are cultivating (the field) for my endowment, and shall take away a man therefrom in order to put him (to) any business of Pharaoh, L. P. H., or any commission, may his body be accursed<sup>c</sup>. Then if another trespasses upon them, and does not answer in their behalf, he shall suffer the destruction of Amon, lord of Thebes, he (the god) shall not permit them to be satisfied with the office of king's-scribe of the army, which they have received for me. He (Amon) shall deliver them into the flaming wrath of the king on the day of his anger; his serpent-diadem shall spit fire upon their heads, shall consume their limbs, shall devour their bodies, they shall become like Apophis on the morning of New Year's Day. They shall be engulfed in the sea, it shall hide their corpses. They shall not receive the mortuary ceremonies of the righteous; they shall not eat the food of them that dwell in Keret; the waters by the flood of the river shall not be poured out for them. Their sons shall not be put into their places,

<sup>a</sup>Not the "temple of Kak," as usually rendered; see Sethe, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 111.

<sup>b</sup>Brugsch: "dessen Tugenden wohlbekannt sind;" but this is very doubtful.

<sup>c</sup>It is possible that this is the case of those who do respect the endowment; while the case of those who do not respect it begins with l. 7.

<sup>10</sup>their wives shall be violated while their eyes see it. The nobles shall not set foot in their houses as long as they are upon earth; the leaders of the two sides<sup>a</sup> shall not introduce them, nor shall they hear the words of the king in the hour of gladness. <sup>11</sup>They shall belong to the sword on the day of destruction, they shall be called enemies; when their bodies be consumed, they shall hunger, without bread, and their bodies shall die. If the vizier, overseer of the treasury, chief overseer of the estate, superintendent of the granary, <sup>12</sup>high priests, divine fathers, and priests of Amon, to whom has been read this edict, issued for the ka-chapel of the hereditary prince, the king's-scribe, Amenhotep, son of Hapu, shall not show solicitude <sup>13</sup>for his ka-chapel, the edict shall touch them, and them especially.

*Blessings on Preservers of Chapel*

926. But if they shall show solicitude for the ka-chapel, with the male and female slaves who are cultivating (the field) for my <sup>14</sup>endowment, then all favor shall be shown them. Amon-Re, king of gods, shall reward them<sup>b</sup> with prosperous life.<sup>c</sup> The king of your day, shall <sup>15</sup>reward<sup>1</sup> you <sup>15</sup>as he <sup>15</sup>rewards<sup>1</sup> —.<sup>d</sup> There shall be doubled for you office upon office, ye shall receive from son to son and heir to heir. They shall be sent on as messengers, and the king of their day will reward them. <sup>16</sup>Their<sup>1</sup> bodies shall (rest) <sup>16</sup>in the West after (a life of) 110 years, doubled to you shall be the mortuary oblations likewise.

*Warning to Gendarmes*

927. As for the officers of the gendarmes, <sup>17</sup>belonging to<sup>1</sup> the district of the mayor of the west side, in Khaft(et)-hir-nebes, who <sup>17</sup>shall not protect my endowment each day, and on my feast-days on the first of the month, the edict shall touch them, and their bodies shall not <sup>18</sup>escape<sup>1</sup>. <sup>18</sup>But if they shall hear all the edict, issued as a command, and they shall obey and shall not forsake it, good shall happen to them as (to) the just. <sup>19</sup>They shall rest in the cemetery after years of old age.

Codicil. The mayor of the west side is he who <sup>19</sup>—<sup>1</sup> my servants during a single day.

<sup>a</sup>The people on the two sides of the central aisle in formal assemblies; the leaders (*sšm 'w*) or ushers of such assemblies were the heralds (*whm 'w*).

<sup>b</sup>Original shows a correction from "you" to "them."

<sup>c</sup>There is no lacuna here nor in the next line, as indicated in the publication.

<sup>d</sup>The text has omitted the object.

STATUE OF NEBNEFER<sup>a</sup>

928. This statue was probably dedicated in the chapel of Prince Wazmose; at least, there is a reference to this prince among the inscriptions which it bears. On the back, however, there is an historical inscription apparently recording the promotion of Nebnefer and the appointment of one Hui to his old place. The promotion was by special message of the king, which Nebnefer himself brought, and it was confirmed by a special formulary pronounced by the High Priest and witnessed by all four "*prophets*" for the temple, and one witness for the incumbent beside himself. The document thus furnishes us with interesting and important procedure in such temple appointments, which are as yet unknown in any other source.

*Date*

929. <sup>1</sup>Year 20, second month of the first season, under the majesty of King Amenhotep III, beloved of Amon <sup>2</sup>. . . . .<sup>b</sup>

*Royal Message*

On this day, behold [his majesty <sup>3</sup>was in the temple]<sup>c</sup> of Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, lord of Life-of-the-Two-Lands. Message, concerning which the king's-scribe, the steward, Khampet, came to the chief treasurer, the High Priest of Amon, <sup>4</sup>[Meriptah]<sup>d</sup> ——— from the Pharaoh, L. P. H., (saying): "Let the chief measurer of the storehouse of divine offerings be <sup>1</sup>brought —<sup>1</sup> before his fathers; <sup>5</sup>——— Hui being put into his place in the storehouse of divine offerings of Amon."

<sup>a</sup>Fragment of limestone sitting statue, now in the Museum of Brussels; published by Capart and Spiegelberg in *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, Tome XVII, 1<sup>re</sup> et 2<sup>me</sup> liv., 1903, 19-28.

<sup>b</sup>Double name of the king and conventional epithets.

<sup>c</sup>This was probably not Memphis, but the temple of Ptah at Karnak, which bore the same names as the Ptah-temple at Memphis.

<sup>d</sup>Supplied from l. 8; the middle three lines evidently extended higher up the plinth than the others, and were an uncertain amount longer.



*Installation*

930. Then it was done according to [all] that [his majesty] said  
 6———— [the High Priest of Amon, Meriptah, triumphant, to the  
 king's-scribe, the steward Khampet: <sup>a</sup>“As for that which is done of  
 thy father Amon, lord of Thebes, <sup>7</sup>in all his commands, as heaven  
 endures,<sup>b</sup> so shall that which he does endure, enduring and permanent  
 forever.”

*Witnesses*

931. Done in the presence of the chief treasurer, the High Priest of  
<sup>8</sup>Amon, Meriptah; the second prophet, Enen (<sup>c</sup> *nn*); the third prophet,  
 Amenemhet; the fourth prophet,<sup>c</sup> Simut; the king's-scribe, Kham-  
 pet; the steward, Sebeknakht.

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<sup>a</sup>The following is evidently the formulary of confirmation in office, pronounced  
 by the High Priest to the incumbent.

<sup>b</sup>The phrase is common; hence the remark of the authors, “Le passage semble  
 être fautif,” is strange.

<sup>c</sup>The four prophets (the High Priest's title really reads “*first prophet*”) repre-  
 sent the temple, and for the incumbent there are only himself and one more.

## REIGN OF IKHNATON

### QUARRY INSCRIPTION AT SILSILEH<sup>a</sup>

932. This inscription is among the earliest surviving documents of the great revolution under Ikhnaton. It records the opening of quarry-chambers at Silsileh to obtain stone for the king's first temple<sup>b</sup> to his new god, whose cult already seems to be in full development. Although Amon is not yet banished, Aton has his formal name, but not yet in the cartouches, in which it later always appears. The king is however, "*High Priest*" of his new god, whose sanctuary he is about to erect. Of this temple not one stone was left upon another by the king's enemies at his death. The materials have been found at Thebes, but scattered in various structures from Karnak to Erment, chiefly, however, in the Karnak pylons of Harmhab.<sup>c</sup> The name of this temple was: "*Aton-Is-Found<sup>1</sup>-in-the-House-of-Aton,*"<sup>d</sup>

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<sup>a</sup>Tablet fourteen feet high, cut on the quarry wall at Silsileh; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 110, *i*; Legrain, *Annales*, III, 263.

<sup>b</sup>On the Aton-temples at Akhetaton (Amarna), see tomb of Hui (§§ 1016 ff.); and on the ones at Heliopolis, Hermonthis, and elsewhere, *ibid.* On the Aton-temples in general, see my remarks in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 110 ff.

<sup>c</sup>See Nestor l'Hôte, *Papiers inédits*, III, 80, 96, 97, 101, 104, 105 (not seen); Prisse, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2d Ser., I., 76-92, and again Prisse, *Monuments égyptiens*, V and XI; following Prisse, J. S. Perring, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2d Ser., I, 140 ff.; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, Pl. 57, 2, *a-k*; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 110, *c* and *g*; Bouriant, *Recueil*, VI, 51 ff.; and a letter by Piehl (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1884, 41), which also refers to the names of Tutenkhamon and Eye as occurring in blocks rebuilt into this pylon. Blocks reused in repairs on the temple of Amenhotep II (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 50); in Karnak (*ibid.*, 52); in town of Luxor (*ibid.*, 89).

<sup>d</sup>See tomb of Ramose, § 941, note.

and it must have been a large and imposing sanctuary.<sup>a</sup> It was erected early in the Aton schism, for the surviving fragments show a reference to Horus and Set. The name of Aton occurs without the cartouches,<sup>b</sup> and the king still bears his old name.<sup>c</sup> This last fact shows that the temple was built before the sixth year. It is also referred to in the tomb of Hatey (*h<sup>3</sup> t-y<sup>3</sup> y*) at Thebes (Kurna), who was "scribe, overseer of the granary in the house (*h·t*) of the Aton,"<sup>d</sup> at a time when the Amon cult was still unrepressed. Thebes as a whole was now apparently called "*City (nw·t)-of-the-Brightness-of-Aton*," and the temple quarter was known as "*Brightness-of-Aton-the-Great*."<sup>e</sup>

933. <sup>f</sup>The quarry inscription informs us that the highest officials of the court served in superintending the work of transportation. The date of the inscription must be very early in the king's reign, because the materials taken from the quarry were built into the temple, completed, and inscribed before the sixth year. The work in the quarry was therefore probably done in the first or second year. Over the inscrip-

<sup>a</sup>In the heart of Harmhab's pylon I found blocks of Ikhnaton's masonry of considerable dimensions; one cornice was 32 inches high. The king's leg, in a fragmentary relief, was 20 inches across at the lower edge of the apron; the *k*-vessel was 13 inches long; the *dy*-loaf was 12 inches high. The names of Aton and the king had been expunged before the destruction of the building.

<sup>b</sup>From my own copies of blocks deep in Harmhab's pylon. I found there also a date which might have settled this question, but unfortunately the year is lost, and only the season and the day remain. [Later: This date is now published in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 52.]

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 110, *d*. The old name, "*Amenhotep*," continued until the fifth year of his reign (Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, Pl. 38 and pp. 91 and 92). In the sixth year we find the new name, "*Ikhnaton*," on the boundary stelæ at Amarna (§§ 949 ff.). The Theban temple must, therefore, have been built and sculptured before the sixth year.

<sup>d</sup>Daressy, *Annales*, II, 2-4; Legrain, *ibid.*, III, 265.

<sup>e</sup>On Canopics published by Legrain (*Annales*, IV, 17-19).

<sup>f</sup>Legrain's arguments for dating the temple, or a temple of Aton at Thebes, before Ikhnaton's reign are inconclusive (*Annales*, III, 265).

tion was a relief<sup>a</sup> showing the king worshiping before Amon, but it has been erased, probably by Ikhnaton himself. The inscription below is as follows:

934. <sup>1</sup>Live the Horus: Mighty Bull, Lofty of Plumes; Favorite of the Two Goddesses; Great in Kingship in [Karnak];<sup>b</sup> Golden Horus: Wearer of Diadems <sup>2</sup>in the Southern Heliopolis; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, High Priest of Harakhte-Rejoicing-in-the-Horizon, in His Name: "Heat-Which-is-in-Aton:" Neferkhepure<sup>c</sup>-Wanre; <sup>3</sup>Son of Re [Amenhotep,<sup>d</sup> Divine Ruler of Thebes], great in his duration, living forever and ever; [Amon]-<sup>e</sup> Re, lord of heaven, ruler of eternity.<sup>f</sup>

935. First occurrence of his majesty's giving command to — — <sup>4</sup>— — — to muster all the workmen<sup>g</sup> from Elephantine to Samhudet<sup>h</sup> (*Sm* <sup>2</sup> -*Hwd* <sup>1</sup> *t*), and the leaders of the army, <sup>5</sup>in order to make a great breach for cutting out sandstone, in order to make the great sanctuary (*bnn*)<sup>i</sup> of Harakhte in his name: "Heat-Which-is-in-<sup>6</sup>Aton," in Karnak.

<sup>a</sup>Not shown on Lepsius' plate, but given by him in his notes (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 96, 97).

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius has incorrectly restored Akhetaton in this lacuna. This mention of the city in the first or second year had caused me much difficulty; but the publication of this stela by Legrain (*Annales*, III, 263) shows that "Akhetaton" is an error. We should restore "Karnak" as in the contemporaneous Zernik stela (*ibid.*, 260 f.). This fragmentary stela recorded similar quarry-work in the cliffs opposite and above Esneh. The king bears his old name, and the god's name also is as in the Silsileh stela; it is undated, but is clearly from the same time as the Silsileh stela, and the expedition recorded was carried out by Eye, afterward king. There is another stela beside Eye's, showing the "chief of quarrymen, Neferonpet," worshiping Amon (*ibid.*, 261 f.).

<sup>c</sup>This is the Napkhourya of the Amarna Letters; it means: "Beautiful is the Being of Re." Wanre, the second part of the name, means, "Unique One of Re."

<sup>d</sup>This old form of the king's name has been erased because it contained the name of Amon.

<sup>e</sup>Erased.

<sup>f</sup>The connection of the god's name is uncertain, but probably "beloved of" has been omitted before it (after it in original).

<sup>g</sup>The text has "works," but Brugsch has a similar example (*Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch, Supplement*, 1337), with "the people" as object of the verb, showing clearly what is meant here.

<sup>h</sup>Like the Hebrew "from Dan to Beersheba." On Samhudet, see Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 704-6. Elephantine was, of course, at the first cataract, and Samhudet was in the Delta.

<sup>i</sup>Determined with an obelisk.

Behold, the officials, the companions, and the chiefs of the fan-bearers, were the chiefs of the quarry-service,<sup>a</sup> for the transportation of stone.

TOMB OF THE VIZIER RAMOSE<sup>b</sup>

936. This tomb contains reliefs and inscriptions which are among the most important documents of this reign, because among other facts they furnish contemporary and conclusive evidence of the identity of Amenhotep IV and Ikhnaton, the great religious revolutionary.

Ramose, the owner of the tomb, was an official high in the favor of the king and of exalted rank. He was:

“Governor of the (residence) city, vizier;” “hereditary prince, count ——— of Horus in his house; a doer of truth, a hater of deceit, ——— wearer of the royal seal, chief of works among the great monuments, chief of prophets of North and South, vizier, just judge; sole companion, approaching his lord, whom the Lord of the Two Lands loved because of his remarkable traits, who enters the palace, and comes forth with favor, with the utterances of whose mouth one (= the king) is satisfied;” “(mr t-ntr-) priest, the mouth that makes content in the whole land, (sm-) priest, master of all wardrobes, entering into the secrets of heaven, of earth [and of the nether world];” “master of secret things of the palace;” “attached to Nekhen, prophet of Mat, chief justice.”<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>See Hammamat Stela of Ramses IV, l. 14 (IV, 466); also Brugsch (*Aegyptologie*, 216 f., note). In Papyrus Hood there is a “chief of the quarry-service of the whole land” (p. 216).

<sup>b</sup>A cliff-tomb in the hill of Shekh Abd-el-Kurna on the west shore at Thebes, known as Stuart’s Tomb, No. 108. It was discovered by one “Mustapha Noak” in 1860, and opened successively by Ebers in 1872 and Villiers Stuart in 1879 (see Wiedemann, *Recueil*, XVII, 9). It was inadequately published by Stuart in *The Funeral Tent of an Egyptian Queen*, 89 ff.; and *Egypt after the War*, Pl. 27, and pp. 386–88. Bouriant has some notes on the tomb in *Revue archéologique*, 1882, N. S., XXIII, 279–84. and *Recueil*, VI, 55, 56. Nearly all the inscriptions were published by Piehl with great accuracy in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 127–30; 1887, 37–39. I excavated the unpublished inscriptions and recopied the whole in December, 1894. Some signs had been lost since Piehl made his copies. The accompanying translations are based upon a collation with Piehl, and upon my own copies alone, where Piehl had not copied.

<sup>c</sup>These are all the titles in the tomb, as found in my copies.

937. Ramose, as head of the religious, judicial, and administrative organization, must have been the most powerful official at the court of Ikhnaton. He had been vizier under the king's father, Amenhotep III;<sup>a</sup> he was early won over to the Aton faith, and the particular value of his tomb lies in the fact that we may trace in it this conversion of Ramose at a time when Ikhnaton still called himself Amenhotep, and still permitted references to Amon and "*the gods.*" This last term, as well as the name of Amon, has been expunged<sup>b</sup> at a later date. The materials in the tomb are as follows:

*Relief Scene<sup>c</sup>*

938. A king sits enthroned on the right, his face and figure executed in the usual conventional style; behind him the goddess Mat; before him, with upraised arms, Ramose.

<sup>a</sup>It must be the same Ramose who, in an inscription on the island of Sehel, is called: "*Hereditary prince, the two eyes of the king in the whole land, governor of the (residence) city and vizier, Ramose*" (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1216, gg = de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 90, No. 79). See also Wiedemann, *Recueil*, 17, 9; Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 70, No. 21; *ibid.*, 72, No. 50; and Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, 13, No. 334.

<sup>b</sup>This expungement is very significant; for it is not the name of a particular god, but the word "*gods.*" which is expunged. I have found this same erasure of the word "*gods.*" at Karnak in the long offering inscription of Amenhotep III on Pylon III, and in the Coronation Inscription of Thutmose III; also on a number of Eighteenth Dynasty monuments in European museums. With this fact compare the erasure of the gods' names at Karnak as noted by Lepsius: "Auch hier [Temple of Ptah, northern Karnak] waren die Namen des Ptah und Amon wie auch der Hathor und ihre Figuren alle ausgekratzt; so auch auf dem Architrav der Thüre die Namen des Ptah. Ebenso sind sämtliche Götter im Tempel zu Med. Habu und in dem hinteren Theile des grossen Tempels von Karnak ausgekratzt; die Götterverfolgung muss also nicht nur dem Amon gegolten haben, sondern viel allgemeiner gewesen sein."—Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, Text, III, 8; read also end of section), and see *ibid.*, 31. By comparing Leyden Stela, V, 26, and Vienna Stela, 53, it will be seen that the wife of a certain "*overseer of the cattle of Amon*" was a "*musician of Upwarwet.*" but when her husband became "*overseer of the cattle of the house of Aton.*" she was obliged to drop her title (see Baillet, *Notice sur la collection égyptienne de l'Abbé Desnayers*, 40, and *Recueil*, 23, 144; also Bergmann, *Recueil*, IX, 42). The persecution therefore included all the gods. See Breasted, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 108–10.

<sup>c</sup>Inner wall, first chamber, left of door.

939. The accompanying inscriptions are:

*Over the King<sup>a</sup>*

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, — re, given life, Son of Re, his beloved, Amenhotep, God, Ruler of Thebes, great in his duration.

*Over Mat*

Mat, daughter of Re, presider over the palace, mistress of heaven, ruler of the gods. She gives myriads of years.

*Over Ramose<sup>b</sup>*

940. Utterance of the governor of the (residence) city, the vizier, Ramose, triumphant, for the benefit of thy ka: "An adjuration to thy father, 'Harakhte-Rejoicing-in-the-Horizon, in his name: Heat-Which-is-[in]-Aton,'<sup>c</sup> that he may praise thee, that he may love thee, that he may establish thee, that he may give to thee myriads of years (so that) thy annals may be jubilees; that all lands may be under thy feet, that he may fell thy foes, dead or alive; that all joy may be with thee, all health with thee, all life with thee, and that thou mayest abide upon the throne of Re forever."

*Relief Scene<sup>d</sup>*

941. Under the radiating sun-disk stand a king and<sup>e</sup> queen, worshipping, all in the peculiar Amarna style. They are in a building, doubtless a part of the Theban Aton-temple. Outside are groups of bowing officials.

942. The inscriptions are these:

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<sup>a</sup>In two lines; a third mutilated line is omitted above. Over the king's head is also the winged sun-disk, with its usual inscription: "*The Edjuan (Horus) great god, etc.*" This disappears entirely during the later Aton movement.

<sup>b</sup>This entire speech of Ramose to the king appears twice over his head, with slight variants.

<sup>c</sup>This and the mention in the Silsileh inscription are the earliest occurrences of Aton's name; it is not yet in the cartouche.

<sup>d</sup>Inner wall, first chamber, right of door.

<sup>e</sup>There are no children present as usual in such scenes so common at Amarna. This is perhaps another indication of the early date of this tomb in the reign.

*By the Sun-Disk*

<sup>a</sup>“Harakhte-Rejoicing-in-the-Horizon; in his name: Heat-Which-is-in-Aton,” residing in “Aton-fis-Found<sup>l</sup>-in-the-House-of-Aton.”<sup>b</sup>

*By the King*

Lord of the Two Lands, Nefer[khepru]re —, given life, Lord of Diadems, Amenhotep, God, Ruler of Thebes, great in his duration.

*Over the Queen*

Great King's-wife, his beloved, Mistress of the Two Lands, — — living, flourishing.

943. These two reliefs show, first: that the Aton faith was in full swing under an Amenhotep whose prenomen begins like that of Ikhnaton; second, a king with the unmistakable features of Ikhnaton, worshiping the latter's peculiar god, appearing in public with his queen, as only Ikhnaton did, bears the name “Amenhotep.” This is proof positive of the identity of Ikhnaton and Amenhotep IV.

944. The remaining reliefs illustrate the high favor of Ramose with the king.

*Scene*

The king stands at the left holding audience; before him in successive moments appears Ramose, kissing the earth, kneeling, standing decorated with gold, departing with servants bearing the gold collars just received from

<sup>a</sup>The god's two names are here in cartouches.

<sup>b</sup>This is the name of the Aton-temple at Thebes, in which the reliefs represent the king and queen as standing. The phrase “red image of Aton” (Bouriant, *Le Tombeau de Ramsès à Chêikh-abd-el-Gournah*, p. 7) is due to reading the bird here as the “red” bird (*dšr*), but even then the translation is impossible, for the word “image” is lacking. “*Gem-Aton*” is of uncertain meaning, but the name was also applied by Ikhnaton to a new city founded by him for the Aton-worship in Nubia, in the central cataract region. This Nubian city survived a thousand years under the name “*Gem-Aton*,” and is mentioned several times on the Nastesen Stela (see my remarks, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 106 ff.).



the king, and finally issuing from the palace, when he is met by congratulating friends, rejoicing and carrying flowers.

*Inscriptions*

945. The inscriptions were very brief, and are now mostly too fragmentary for translation, but the speech of the king to Ramose contains interesting references to the origin of the Aton faith, unfortunately much broken. It is as follows:

“<sup>a</sup>The words of Re are before thee, ——— of my august father, who taught me their ‘essence’, — — them to me. All that is, his — since he equipped the land ——— in order to ‘exalt’ me since the time of the god. It was known in my heart, opened to my face, I understood — — — —.”

946. The king is evidently referring to the revelation of the Aton faith directly to himself. To this Ramose makes the following remarkable reply:

“Thy monuments shall endure like the heavens, for thy duration is like Aton therein. The existence of thy monuments is like the existence of the heavens; thou art the Only One of [Aton], in possession of his designs. Thou hast led the mountains; their secret chambers, the terror of thee is in the midst of them, as the terror of thee is in the hearts of the people; they hearken to thee as the people hearken.”<sup>b</sup>

947. An inscription in the doorway might indicate that Ramose was later buried in this tomb; it runs thus:

“I have arrived in peace at my tomb, possessed of the favor of the Good God. I did the pleasure of the king in my time; I did not disregard a regulation which he commanded, I practiced no deceit against the people, in order that I might gain my tomb (*hr' t*), upon the great West of Thebes.”

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<sup>a</sup>These accompanying inscriptions are directly below the upper row, depicting the decoration, and belong with a lower band connected with the same incident. They are only in ink and very faded; I believe my copy of them is the first made. They have never been published.

<sup>b</sup>See similar idea, Kubbân Stela, l. 6 (III, 285).

But doubtless this language is only conventional, for the tomb was never finished, and there is at Amarna the tomb<sup>a</sup> of a Ramose, perhaps the same man who has followed his king to the new capital.

948. This tomb at Thebes is in arrangement, style, and subject of reliefs exactly like those of Amarna, for which it doubtless served as a model. The rich gifts to Ramose which it depicts show how Ikhnaton gained his officials to his cause, while similar scenes upon the walls of almost every Amarna tomb show how he kept them faithful.

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#### THE TELL EL-AMARNA LANDMARKS<sup>b</sup>

949. Having finally broken with the Theban priesthood of Amon, Ikhnaton abandoned Thebes as capital and royal residence, and determined to found a new city devoted exclusively to the service of Aton, the new solar god. The site selected for the new residence and holy city was about one hundred and sixty miles above modern Cairo, on the east bank of

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<sup>a</sup>No. 11 in Daressy's list (*Recueil*, XV, 50); I copied the inscriptions in the tomb (doorway, thickness, right hand), and they give this Ramose the titles: "*Commander of the army of the Lord of the Two Lands, 'overseer of the White House' of Amenhotep III,*" which do not correspond with those of the Theban Ramose; but the rapid and sudden changes of the time may have transferred him to the head of the army. See also Wiedemann (*Recueil*, XVII, 9, 10) who opposes the identity.

<sup>b</sup>These fourteen landmarks are huge stelæ varying in size from K, which "is 5 feet wide and 8 feet 3 inches high," to U, which is "14½ feet wide and about 26 feet high." They are cut into the limestone cliffs, and the quality of the stone is such that they have suffered extremely from wind and weather. No one stela contains a completely preserved text, but by combining all those thus far published, a complete text of the second class of stelæ (the original six) was obtained. Professor Petrie has lettered all these stelæ on his map (*Tell el-Amarna*, Pl. XXXIV), and furnished the first complete account of them. I have followed his lettering. Of the fourteen stelæ (one more discovered since Petrie's map was made) I was able to secure copies of eight, as follows:

1. A (northwest corner); Prisse, *Monuments égyptiens*, XIV, ll. 20-25 (end); Daressy, *Recueil*, XV, 61.
2. B (middle, west side, Gebel Tûne); Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 91, a-f (only

the Nile, at a point where the cliffs, suddenly retreating some three miles from the river, and as suddenly approaching it again, over five miles lower down, thus with the river inclose a roughly semicircular plain about three miles wide by five miles long. In this plain he built his new city,<sup>a</sup> called Akhetaton, "*Horizon of Aton*," but it was his design from the first to consecrate and devote to the city and its god's service a large domain around it.

950. For this purpose he established, above and below the two points where the cliffs leave the river, a northern and southern boundary line, the two being about eight miles apart, and running from cliff to cliff clear across the Nile valley, which here varies from twelve to seventeen and a half miles in width. The boundaries were then marked by fourteen splendid stelæ cut into the cliffs, some of them being as high as twenty-six feet. As the cliffs formed a natural boundary on the east and west, the northern and southern lines were of chief importance; hence the east and west ends of these two lines, where they struck the cliffs, were marked by four large stelæ cut in the rocks. But, probably owing to the irregularity of the cliff lines, another pair were placed opposite each other in the eastern and western cliffs, midway between the northern and south-

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reliefs and accompanying names, date, etc.); Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 321 f.

3. F (southwest corner); hand copy by Petrie.
4. J (southernmost on river front, east side); hand copy by Petrie.
5. K (just north of J); Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 110, b.
6. S (southeast corner); best preserved of all; photograph and copy by Daressy, *Recueil*, XV, 52; Prisse, *Monuments égyptiens*, XIII.
7. U (middle east side); Prisse, *ibid.*, XII, and hand copy by Petrie.
8. X (close by Shekh Sa'îd, matching K on the south); recently discovered by Mr. N. de G. Davies, to whose kindness I am indebted for a squeeze. Professor Petrie kindly placed his copies of F, J, and U at my disposal.

<sup>a</sup>The modern name, "Tell el-Amarna," now universally applied to the locality, is a corruption of "El Amarieh;" see Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, 2.

ern lines<sup>a</sup> (U and B). Finally, the irregularity of the cliffs forced the erection of no less than eight more, all on the east side, chiefly where the cliffs are broken by incoming valleys, across which the new stelæ carry the line (total, fourteen). It is not improbable that there are others yet undiscovered.

951. In form these stelæ are practically all of one design, showing at the top a relief scene in which appear the king, queen, and either two or three daughters, standing before an altar and adoring Aton, whose rays, terminating in hands, extend to them the symbol of life. All, including the god, are accompanied by their names in cartouches, and their titles. The inscription, beginning in the relief-field with a few vertical lines, continues below in horizontal lines. On either side of the stelæ were often altars with statues of the king and his family.

The stelæ (called "*landmarks*" in the translation) fall, according to content, into two classes.

952. The first class is represented by two stelæ,<sup>b</sup> containing a detailed endowment of the god, probably not confined to the gift of Akhetaton. They were of great length, containing nearly eighty lines each, but are so fragmentary that only a few detached phrases in the first half can be discerned.

953. After the date,<sup>c</sup> the introduction, the account of the king's first visit to Akhetaton, and the oblation, all being identical with the beginning of the stelæ of the second class

<sup>a</sup>See conclusion of Stela A (§ 971), which is different from that of the others, and clearly defines the position of the original six stelæ.

<sup>b</sup>These two stelæ (K and X) occupy important positions: one at the north and the other at the south end of the semicircle, where the cliffs approach to the river-bank above and below the city on the east bank.

<sup>c</sup>The date is lost on X; in K, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, has "*year 4*," with signs of weathering; but the month, which is the same as on all the second class of stelæ (which are all of year 4), shows that Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, has misread 6 as 4.

(§§ 959 ff.), these two stelæ proceed with a glorification of the king:

All [lands], all countries, the Haunebu [come to him] bearing their impost, their tribute upon their backs, [for] him who makes their life.

954. Then follows apparently the king's solemn asseveration, in which he proclaims the gift of Akhetaton to Aton:

His majesty raised his hand to heaven, to him who made him, even Aton, [saying: "This is my testimony], forever, and this is my witness forever, this landmark . . . . . I have made Akhetaton for my father as a dwelling for —. I have [demarcated] Akhetaton on its south, on its north, on its west, on its east. I shall not pass beyond the southern landmark of Akhetaton toward the south, nor shall I pass beyond the northern landmark of [Akhetaton toward the north],<sup>a</sup> . . . . . He has made its circuit for his own —; he hath made his [altar] in its midst, whereon I make offering to him; this is it."

955. Then follows the statement that Akhetaton shall be a new capital, where he will hold audience for all the land (cf. III, 63, Harmhab):

"The whole land [shall come hither] for the beautiful seat of Akhetaton shall be another seat, and I will give them audience,<sup>b</sup> whether they be north, or south, or west, or east. . . . ."

956. After a short break, the text proceeds with the building of the temple:

"I have made Akhetaton in this [place] — — — — that he may be satisfied therewith, forever and ever. I have made a temple of Aton for Aton, my father, in Akhetaton in this [place]. I have made — — [for Aton], my father, in Akhetaton in this place. I have made the 'Shadow-of-Re,' [for Aton, my father, in Akhetaton in this place] . . . . ."<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>The only two stelæ bearing this text stand at the extreme north and south.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "hearing."

<sup>c</sup>Still another of these phrases follows here, but the object made is lost; possibly each refers to a different temple at Akhetaton, of which there were at least three called "Shadow of Re" (see §§ 1017 ff.).

957. From here on the text is in such fragmentary condition that little can be made out. It is probable that these thirty-seven lines contained the decree endowing Aton with lands and revenues outside of Akhetaton. This is practically certain in the following fragment:

“As for my [ground] in every town (*ṛdmꜣ*) of the north, of the south, of the west, or of the east, it is my — —; it shall be brought — my — for Akhetaton.”

In l. 45 “*Kush*” is mentioned, and it may be that the decree here passes from the gift of lands in Egypt to those in Kush.

958. The second class of stelæ, of which there are twelve,<sup>a</sup> are not so long, but to them belong the original six, three on each side of the river, which were later increased to twelve. After the date and titulary they record the king's presence in Akhetaton on that day, on his first visit there (ll. 1-4), his exploration of the city, and oblation to Aton (ll. 5-8) in celebration of the foundation of the city, exactly as in the first class of stelæ (§§ 952 ff.). The king then proceeds to the southeastern stela (S), where, after a few words in praise of his queen and the princesses, his daughters, he declares the boundaries of his new city, marked by six stelæ, four at the eastern and western ends of the northern and southern boundary lines (§ 962 and § 964), and two more (§ 963), one in the eastern and one in the western cliffs, midway between the northern and southern boundary lines. The size of the inclosure is then indicated (§ 965),

<sup>a</sup>They occupy both sides of the river, three on the west and nine on the east bank. The three on the west are the three original stelæ, matching three original stelæ on the east side, which were later increased to nine on the east side. The northernmost of the original eastern three has never been found; X, at present the northernmost on the east side, belongs to the first class, and not to the second class, to which the original six belong. The six are: (1) on the west side: A, B, and F; (2) on the east side: S, U, and the northeast stela still undiscovered. A differs in its conclusion from the others (see §§ 970-72).

and the whole is solemnly conveyed as a permanent gift to Aton (§ 966), the other landmarks being appealed to as containing a similar record (§ 967), which will in all cases be renewed in case it has suffered defacement or erasure from any cause (§ 968). A later note (§ 969) in conclusion records an inspection by the king in the year 8.

#### *Introduction*

959. Year 6, fourth month of the second season, thirteenth day.

<sup>1</sup>Live the Good God, satisfied with truth, lord of heaven, lord of Aton; live the great one who illuminates the Two Lands; live my father; live "Harakhte-Rejoicing-in-the-Horizon, in his name: Heat-Which-is-in-Aton," who is given life forever and ever.

Live Horus: Mighty-Bull, Beloved-of-Aton; Favorite of the Two Goddesses:<sup>a</sup> Great-in-Kingship-in-Akhetaton; Golden Horus: Bearer-of-the-Name-of-Aton; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Living in Truth, Lord of the Two Lands: [Neferkhepru]re-Wanre;<sup>b</sup> Son of Re, Living in Truth, Lord of Diadems: Ikhnaton (*Y<sup>3</sup> ḥ-n-Yin*), great in duration, <sup>2</sup>given life forever and ever; Good God — whose beauty Aton created, the really good-hearted toward Irsu,<sup>c</sup> satisfying him with that which pleases his ka, doing that which is useful for him that begat him; <sup>3</sup>offering the earth to him that placed him upon his throne, supplying his eternal house with millions and hundred-thousands of things, exalter of Aton, magnifier of his name; who causes that the earth should belong to Irsu, <sup>4</sup>Ikhnaton.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup>In Egyptian one word *nb'ty*, a feminine dual noun, with an adjectival ending, so that the whole means "he who belongs to, or is protégé of, the two goddesses," but the word for the latter is not as prominent as in English; hence Ikhnaton retained the old royal titulary without change, even including this somewhat compromising title, to preserve the old titulary complete. This is one of the few compromises with a traditional form by Ikhnaton. That he no longer retained a belief in the two goddesses is shown by the fact that the vulture, which regularly appears with wings outspread in protection over the heads of the other kings, is never found with Ikhnaton, but it is replaced by the sun-disk enveloping Ikhnaton in its rays.

<sup>b</sup>The first part is the Napkhurīya of the Amarna Letters; the whole means: "Beautiful is the Being of Re; the Unique One of Re."

<sup>c</sup>*Yr-sw* = "He that made him."

<sup>d</sup>Last two names of the titulary are repeated in full, as in l. 1.

Hereditary princess, great in the palace, lovely of face, beautiful in the double plume, lady of joy, abounding in favor, at the sound of whose voice there is rejoicing;<sup>a</sup> the Great King's-Wife, his beloved, the Mistress of the Two Lands, Nefernefruaton-Nofretete.

*Founding of the City*

960. <sup>5</sup>On this day one was in Akhetaton in the pavilion of <sup>1</sup>woven stuff<sup>1</sup> which his majesty, L. P. H., made in Akhetaton, the name of which is: "Aton-is-Satisfied." His majesty, L. P. H., appeared upon a great chariot<sup>b</sup> <sup>6</sup>of electrum, like Aton, when he rises in the horizon; he filled the Two Lands with his loveliness. On beginning the goodly way to Akhetaton, at the first exploration of it<sup>c</sup> which his majesty, L. P. H., made, in order to found it as a monument to Aton, according to the command <sup>7</sup>of his father Aton,<sup>d</sup> who is given life forever and ever; in order to make for him a monument in its midst. One caused that a great oblation should be offered, consisting of bread, beer, oxen, calves, cattle, fowl, wine, <sup>1</sup>gold<sup>1</sup>, incense, all beautiful flowers. On this day <sup>8</sup>was founded Akhetaton for the living Aton, that favor and love might be received, on behalf of King Ikhnaton.<sup>e</sup>

*King Goes to Southeastern Landmark*

961. As one proceeded <sup>9</sup>southward, his majesty halted in his chariot in the presence of his father Aton, upon the southeastern<sup>f</sup> mountain of Akhetaton, while the rays of <sup>10</sup>Aton were upon him in satisfying life, making youthful his limbs every day. Vivat<sup>g</sup> which the king, Ikhnaton,

<sup>a</sup>Compare the description of Mutemuya (British Museum Boat, No. 43), "*Filling the hall with the fragrance of her dew.*" See also § 995.

<sup>b</sup>S has: "*upon a span of horses (and) upon a chariot, etc.*"

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "*at the first time of finding it.*"

<sup>d</sup>The full double name is used here and later.

<sup>e</sup>Under the orthodox régime offerings were officially made "*on behalf of*" (*hr d>d*) the king (see § 57). We see here that their specific object was "*favor and love;*" of course, those of the god. It is this which is referred to in the stereotyped form of the royal oath: "*As Re loves me, as Amon favors me.*" Cf. IV, 958D.

<sup>f</sup>This stela (S), from which this translation is made, is at the southeast corner. The other stelæ vary the text to suit their respective locations.

<sup>g</sup>This rendering of the word *nh* here is made certain by the introduction to the second date (l. 25): "*Repetition of the vivat (nh),*" followed by the date. The full vivat is the *nh*, followed by the entire titulary of the god, as we have it at the beginning of the inscription; but to save space the second date is introduced merely by the words: "*Repetition of the vivat,*" which are thus a kind of abbreviation of the full introduction.



spake: "Live my father, <sup>11</sup>Aton, who is given life forever! My heart is joyous over the king's-wife and over her children, who bring long life for<sup>a</sup> the Great King's-Wife, Nofretete, living forever and ever, <sup>12</sup>with the myriad of years. She is under the hand of the Pharaoh, L. P. H., who brings long life; the king's-daughter, Meretaton; the king's-daughter, Meketaton, her children, being under the hand of the King's-Wife, <sup>13</sup>their mother, forever and ever. It is my oath by the truth, (namely), that which my heart shall speak; (and) that which I do not speak is falsity; forever and ever.<sup>b</sup>

*East and West Ends of Southern Boundary Lines*

962. <sup>14</sup>As for the southern landmark, which is upon the eastern mountain of Akhetaton, it is the landmark of Akhetaton, as far as which I make a stand;<sup>c</sup> I shall not pass beyond it toward the south, forever and ever.<sup>d</sup> <sup>15</sup>The southwestern landmark is made over against it, upon the [western] mountain of Akhetaton, opposite.

*Middle of Eastern and Western Boundary Lines*

963. As for the middle landmark which is upon the eastern mountain of Akhetaton, it is the landmark of Akhetaton, <sup>16</sup>as far as which I make a stand,<sup>c</sup> upon the eastern mountain of Akhetaton; I shall not pass beyond it toward the east, forever and ever. The middle landmark which is upon the western mountain of Akhetaton is made over against it, opposite.

*East and West Ends of Northern Boundary Line*

964. As for the northeastern landmark of Akhetaton, as far as which I make a stand;<sup>c</sup> it is the northern landmark <sup>17</sup>of Akhetaton;<sup>e</sup> I shall not pass beyond it toward the north, forever and ever. The northern landmark, which is upon the western mountain of Akhetaton is over against it, opposite.

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "who cause that the great king's-wife N. should grow old," in a good sense, meaning attain old age.

<sup>b</sup>The divergent conclusion of Stela A begins here (see § 970).

<sup>c</sup>Or a "halt."

<sup>d</sup>This formula, repeated on all the stelæ of the second class (except A), may be either a traditional one taken from the legal form used in establishing boundaries; or it may be an extraordinary statement peculiar to this remarkable king, asserting that he will never pass beyond the boundaries of Akhetaton, but remain within his god's domain all his life.

<sup>e</sup>The order of phrases differs slightly from that in the preceding two clauses.

*Area Contained*

965. <sup>18</sup>Now, as for Akhetaton, from the southern landmarks to the northern landmarks measured between landmark and landmark upon the eastern mountain of Akhetaton, it makes 6 iter, <sup>19</sup>1 khet, 1 half-khet, 1 quarter-khet,<sup>a</sup> and 4 cubits. Likewise, from the southwestern landmark of Akhetaton to the [north]western landmark upon the western mountain of Akhetaton, it makes 6 iter, 1 khet, 1 half-khet, 1 quarter-khet, and 4 cubits; being the same on both sides.

*Deed of Gift to Aton*

966. <sup>20</sup>Now, as for the area within the four landmarks, from the [eastern] mountain [to the western mountain of<sup>b</sup>] Akhetaton opposite, it belongs to my father, Aton, who is given life, forever and ever; whether mountains, <sup>21</sup>or cliffs, or marshes, or <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1c</sup> or uplands, or fields, or waters, or towns, or shores, or people, or cattle, or trees, or anything <sup>22</sup>which Aton, my father, has made, . . . . . I have made it for Aton, my father, forever and ever.

*Citation of the Other Landmarks*

967. Moreover, <sup>23</sup>it is recorded upon the landmark of stone, at the southeastern limit, and at the northeastern limit of Akhetaton likewise. It is recorded upon the western landmark of stone, at the southwestern limit likewise — — <sup>24</sup>of Akhetaton.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup>The khet (*kt*) contained 100 cubits, but the iter varies in different localities; here it can be computed, for it is clear that these measurements concern only the original six stelæ, the only ones known to the maker of this text. There is no doubt regarding which stelæ are meant, as some have averred. The discovery of the northeastern stela, high above the river at Shekh Sa'îd, by Mr. Davies, gives us the northern terminus on the east side for the first time. Previous calculations, starting at the next stela southward (V), have been based on too short a total measurement. The discovery of the Shekh Sa'îd stela makes the east and west sides of Akhetaton of about the same length as the stela states they were, viz., some 45,830 feet, roughly, over 8 $\frac{2}{3}$  miles. This makes the iter here used equal some 4,400 cubits, or 7,587 feet = roughly, 1 $\frac{1}{3}$  miles. This is longer than the iter as given by Griffith (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XV, 303-6), and Sethe (*Untersuchungen*, II, 3, 11) could now strike out his minimum of 1 $\frac{1}{3}$  km. But these calculations antedate the discovery of the northeast stela, which was also unknown to Levy, *Recueil*, XVI, 162-72. See also Loret, *Sphinx*, VII, and Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 41, 58-60.

<sup>b</sup>The word "opposite" renders the restoration practically certain.

<sup>c</sup>*M ʿ wt*, a kind of land.

<sup>d</sup>For some reason, perhaps by oversight, the northwestern corner is omitted.

*Permanence of the Record*

968. It shall not be erased, it shall not be washed out, it shall not be abraded, it shall not be encumbered with detritus, [it] shall not be —. If it should disappear, if it should wear away, if <sup>25</sup>the stela upon which it is, should fall, I will restore it again anew in this place in which it is.

*Inspection Two Years Later*

969. Repetition of the vivat.<sup>a</sup> In the year 8, in the first month of the second season, the eighth day, <sup>26</sup>one (i. e., his majesty) was in Akhetaton; the Pharaoh, L. P. H., halted, shining in the great chariot of electrum, while inspecting these landmarks of Aton, which are in the eastern mountain, at the southeastern limit of Akhetaton, established forever and ever for the living Aton.

970. The stela at the northwest corner (A) follows the conventional text of all the other stelæ of the second class for thirteen lines,<sup>a</sup> but then proceeds with the position of the stelæ, the demarcation, etc., in a form quite different from all the others of the second class. It runs thus:

*Landmarks and Boundaries*

971. Said the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Neferkheprure-Wanre], Son of Re, living in truth, Ikhnaton, great in his duration, when setting up these landmarks <sup>21</sup>— — — (cartouche) given life, forever and ever: "As for these [<sup>6</sup> landmarks] which I have set up at the boundaries of Akhetaton, the 3 landmarks upon the eastern mountain of Akhetaton, together with the 3 landmarks opposite them: <sup>22</sup>[the southern landmark which is upon the eastern mountain of]<sup>d</sup> Akhetaton as far as the [landmark upon] the western [mountain] of Akhetaton shall be for the southern boundary of Akhetaton; the northern land-

<sup>a</sup>See above note on l. 10, § 961.

<sup>b</sup>As numbered on Stela S.

<sup>c</sup>The numeral is broken away, except two strokes.

<sup>d</sup>The restoration is clear from the word "*likewise*" at the end of the definition of the northern boundary (l. 23); Daressy has not left room for it in his publication, but the length of other lines (like 24) shows that enough is lost for this restoration. The northernmost and southernmost eastern and western stelæ form the eastern and western termini of the northern and southern boundaries.

mark which is upon the eastern mountain of Akhetaton, <sup>23</sup>going to the landmark [upon] the western [mountain] of Akhetaton, shall be the northern boundary of Akhetaton likewise; the middle landmark which is upon the eastern mountain of Akhetaton, likewise the middle landmark which is opposite it upon the western mountain of Akhetaton.”<sup>a</sup>

*Deed to Aton*

972. “Now, as for the width of Akhetaton, mountain to mountain <sup>24</sup>from its eastern horizon to its western horizon, it shall belong to my father, Aton,<sup>b</sup> given life, forever and ever; whether its mountains, or its cliffs, — — —, or its —, or all its people, or all its cattle, or anything which Aton causes to exist, upon which his rays shine, <sup>25</sup>or anything — — — of Akhetaton, they shall belong to my father, the living Aton, for the temple of Aton in Akhetaton, forever and ever. They shall be offered to his ka, the beautiful rays receiving them ————.”

ASSUAN TABLET OF THE ARCHITECT BEK<sup>c</sup>

973. The presence of Ikhnaton’s architect and master-sculptor at Assuan is, of course, to be explained by the fact of the quarries there, from which he was taking stone for the temples at Akhetaton.<sup>d</sup> It therefore bears the same relation to the Amarna temple as the Silsileh quarry inscription bears to the Theban Aton-temple. The expungement of Ikhnaton’s figure from the relief shows that the persecution of his memory was extended as far south as the cataract,<sup>e</sup> and the fragments found at Memphis,<sup>f</sup> Heliopolis,<sup>g</sup> and

<sup>a</sup>This list gives the position of all the six stelæ and the limits thus marked; the territory thus inclosed is then taken up.

<sup>b</sup>Only the god’s double cartouche is preserved.

<sup>c</sup>Cut on the rocks at Assuan; published by Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 26, u = de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 40, No. 174. Neither is accurate, and the relief faces opposite directions in the two publications.

<sup>d</sup>See tomb of Hui, §§ 1016 ff.

<sup>e</sup>See also § 896.

<sup>f</sup>See “On Some Remains of the Disk Worshipers Discovered at Memphis,” by Sir Charles Nicholson, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* (Read, May 20, 1868); and *ibid.*, VIII, 308; also Bouriant, *Recueil*, VI, 52, 53.

<sup>g</sup>Bouriant, *Recueil*, VI, 53.

the Delta cities, show the northern limit of the persecution. The temple for which his Amarna architect labored has been razed to the ground, like all of Ikhnaton's buildings at Amarna, as well as elsewhere. The tablet is as follows:

*Relief Scene*

974. Before an altar, embraced by the hands terminating the rays of the sun which is above it, stands Bek at the right in gala costume, with a large bouquet of flowers. The space before Bek, on the left of the altar, contained the figure of Ikhnaton, as the inscription over Bek shows; but this figure has been obliterated<sup>a</sup> by the king's enemies. The scene is accompanied by the following inscriptions:

*On Each Side of the Sun*

975. <sup>b</sup>———— Living, great Aton, celebrator of jubilees, lord of heaven, lord of earth, lord of every circuit of Aton, lord of the house of Aton in Akhetaton.

*Over Bek*

Giving praise to the Lord of the Two Lands, obeisance to Wanre (Ikhnaton), by the chief of works in the Red Mountain,<sup>c</sup> the assistant (*hr-ꜥ*) whom his majesty himself taught, chief of sculptors on the great and mighty monuments of the king, in the house of Aton in Akhetaton, Bek (*Bk*), son of the chief of sculptors, Men (*Mn*), born of the matron, Royenet (*Rꜥ -yn·t*).

976. Beside this relief appears Bek's father, "*Men, chief of works in the Red Mountain, chief of sculptors on the great and mighty monuments of the king,*" presenting a food-offering to a statue of Amenhotep III,<sup>d</sup> under whom he, of

<sup>a</sup>The left half of the relief, which doubtless contained more inscriptions, and another figure is weathered off.

<sup>b</sup>Two cartouches, with content erased. They, of course, contained the god's two names.

<sup>c</sup>See I, 493, l. 15, note.

<sup>d</sup>This is not necessarily an apotheosis of Amenhotep III, as has been supposed, and is therefore not in conflict with the Aton cult.

course, held the offices which his son inherited. To the titles of these offices, when inherited by Bek, he added the necessary phrases to make them fit the new régime of Ikhnaton.

#### THE TELL EL-AMARNA TOMBS<sup>a</sup>

977. Like all ancient Egyptian cities, the life of Akhetaton, so much of it as has survived, must be sought rather in the city of the dead than in the city of the living; and far more of Akhetaton has survived in its cemetery than in its streets. The tombs are themselves the product of the king's bounty, and we find frequent statement of this in such remarks as this of a relative of the deceased official: "*We see the good things which the Good Ruler hath done for his table-scribe (Ani), commanding for him goodly burial in Akhetaton.*"<sup>b</sup> The tombs are themselves therefore tangible evidence of the royal favor in claiming which, each of the owners of these tombs has used so much space on their walls.

<sup>a</sup>These tombs are cut into the limestone cliffs surrounding the plain of Amarna on the east side of the river. They are twenty-five in number, and fall into two groups, a northern (six) and a southern (nineteen). See Petrie's map, *Tell el-Amarna*, Pl. XXXV; and excellent description, Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 195-99. The hymns here translated are usually engraved on the thickness or edge of the doorway (see Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, I, Pl. V); Davies, *Amarna*, I, 47, 48). The relief scenes occupy the walls of the chambers. Neither scenes nor inscriptions have ever been completely published. Lepsius published twenty-one plates of selected material (*Denkmäler*, III, 91-111), the first basis for study of Amenhotep IV's reign. The French Mission Archéologique au Caire spent a few days there and published some new material (Bouriant, *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, I, 1 ff.), but it is not reliable. Finally Daressy has furnished a useful sketch of the tombs with some new material (*Recueil*, XV, 36-50). Many scenes have also appeared in the old publications (see list in Davies, *Amarna*, I, 3 ff.). On the basis of the above publications I published a study of the hymns: *De Hymnis in Solem sub Rege Amenophide IV Conceptis* (Berlin, 1894). For the following translations, I had also my own copies of all the hymns at Amarna, made in the winter of 1894-95. A full and accurate publication of all the tombs has been begun by N. de G. Davies, for the Egyptian Exploration Fund, and two volumes have appeared.

<sup>b</sup>Tomb of Ani (*Recueil*, XV, 45). Such a practice is very old (see e. g. I, 242 ff.), but is nowhere so frequently mentioned as at Amarna.

978. But the walls also carry graphic evidence of that favor. Of the inscribed tombs at Amarna many show the owner standing before Ikhnaton and receiving rich decorations and gifts of gold. It is clear that Ikhnaton was holding all his great officials faithful to his reform, only by such means. These tombs contain, besides these scenes, many pictures from the life of the town, as illustrated in the functions of this or that official: the houses and gardens, the palaces and temples, even such a scene as that of the chief of the gendarmes bringing in prisoners.<sup>a</sup> All such scenes have been studied, and their inscriptions as far as possible, or useful, translated below.

979. The long inscriptions contain all that we know of the Aton faith, in the form of hymns. These hymns are of two classes: (1) those recited by the king; (2) those recited by his officials. The hymns of the first class are of chiefly religious interest, and contain almost exclusively praise of Aton. Those of the second class, besides praise of Aton, contain also encomiums of the king and queen, mingled with an account of the reciter's faithfulness and favor with the king, prayers for the king, as well as for prosperity and "goodly burial" for the reciter himself. Facts of historical importance are thus brought out. These hymns, therefore, have been included herein as historical documents; but the hymns of the first class, although they contain the religious ideas which characterized a great historical movement, have not been translated here.<sup>b</sup>

980. The following six hymns of the second class include all such hymns not too fragmentary for translation. Nu-

<sup>a</sup>Tomb of Mahu.

<sup>b</sup>The longer will be found in the author's *De Hymnis in Solem sub Rege Amenophide IV Conceptis*, with Latin translation, and thence translated by Griffith in Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 215-18, and in the author's *History of Egypt* (New York, 1905); and also in the section devoted to religion, which will later appear in this series.

merous short and mutilated hymns, not included here, have been studied and employed wherever applicable or useful. The relief scenes, wherever accompanied by historically important inscriptions, have likewise been employed.

*Tomb of Merire II*

981. One of the most important scenes<sup>a</sup> at Amarna, unaccompanied by inscriptions, is in the tomb of Merire II. It shows Ikhnaton, his queen, and six daughters, in a kiosk, or covered dais. The king and queen enthroned side by side have just stepped from their sedan chairs, which are set down before the dais. With trumpet sounding, Egyptian troops defile before them, and on either side of the military appear foreign embassies with their tribute: Nubians, Syrians, Libyans, and especially Hittites, who are here depicted for the first time on an Egyptian monument. They bear elaborately decorated vessels, undoubtedly of gold and silver.

TOMB OF MERIRE I<sup>b</sup>

982. The reliefs and inscriptions in this tomb are of unusual interest. The king, proceeding to the temple of Aton, is shown riding in his chariot, accompanied by four daughters, by soldiers and officials.<sup>c</sup> Before its door are the priests, who greet him with cries of "*Welcome!*" and one

<sup>a</sup>In tomb No. 2 (northern group), belonging to a certain Merire (not to be confused with Merire of tomb No. 4, who is earlier: Davies, *Amarna*, I), whom we call Merire II. Published from a sketch by Nestor l'Hôte, in Amélineau, *Histoire de la sépulture*, Pl. XCVI; and in Davies, *Amarna*, II, Pls. XXXVII-LX, 38-42.

<sup>b</sup>A cliff-tomb (No. 4) in the northern group of Amarna (Lepsius, No. 3); partially published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 92-97, d; superb sketches by Nestor l'Hôte, in Amélineau's *Histoire de la sépulture*, II, Pl. 85, 92.; plans, also Prisse, *Histoire de l'art égyptien*, and often, e. g., Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*. The entire tomb has been published by Davies, *Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, Part I, "Tomb of Meryra" (London, 1903). I had also my own copies.

Davies, *Amarna*, I, Pls. X-XX.



may distinguish a reference to “*the first impost of Aton in the Aton-temple in Akhetaton.*” The occasion is, therefore, the celebration of the reception of the first dues of the god in the new capital; hence the temple<sup>a</sup> shows a richly crowded altar in the court and many chambers filled with food and drink. Such scenes are naturally depicted in the tomb of Merire, who was “*High Priest*” or “*great seer*” (*wr-m<sup>3</sup>*), of Aton—a title adopted from the sun-temple of Heliopolis. His appointment to this exalted office is recorded in the tomb. The king, with the queen and daughters, is shown upon the balcony<sup>b</sup> of his palace before which appear Merire and his friends, acclaiming the praise of the king and queen:

983. “He trains<sup>c</sup> the youth and the generations;<sup>d</sup> the good ruler! As surely as the Aton rises, he shall be forever.”

The “great seer” of the Aton in the Aton-temple in Akhetaton, Merire, triumphant, says: “How numerous are the things which the Aton is able to give, satisfying his heart.”

984. A lady of the household of Merire, named Tenr, doubtless his wife, sings praise of Aton and the royal family:<sup>e</sup>

“Thy rising is beautiful, O <sup>f</sup>“Living-Sun, Horizon-Ruler, Rejoicing-in-the-Horizon,<sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup>in his name: Heat-Which-is-in-Aton,<sup>g</sup> who is given life, forever and ever. O living Aton, beside whom there is no other, who heals the eyes with his rays, the maker of all things that are. When

<sup>a</sup>For an account of these representations of the Aton-temple, see especially Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 285 ff.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 97, *b*; only the edge of the balcony is shown in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, without the royal pair. The complete scene is published by Davies, *Amarna*, I, Pls. VI-VIII.

<sup>c</sup>*š·hpr*, see III, 565.

<sup>d</sup>Or: “*classes*” (*ḡ·mw*); see IV, 402.

<sup>e</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 97, *a*; Davies, *Amarna*, I, xxxvi: she does not belong to the company before the king, but her words well suit the occasion, especially her reference to the queen’s presence beside the king. Her hymn or song was common property, for much of it appears also verbatim on the tomb doorposts of Ahmose (§§ 1004 ff.), and assists in correcting the errors in this tomb of Merire. I had also my own copy, but the inscription has been much mutilated since Lepsius’ day.

<sup>f</sup>First cartouche.

<sup>g</sup>Second cartouche.

thou risest in the eastern horizon of heaven, to make live all that thou hast made, even men, cattle, them that fly and them that (only) flutter, and all reptiles that are in the earth, they live when they see thee, they sleep when thou settest. Grant thou thy beloved son, living in truth, Lord of the Two Lands, Neferkheprure-Wanre (Ikhnaton) that he may live with thee forever, that the Great King's-Wife, his beloved, Mistress of the Two Lands, Nefernefruaton-Nofretete, living forever and ever, may be by his side, doing that which pleases thy heart, seeing all that thou hast made every day. May he rejoice at the sight of thy beauty; grant to him eternity as king of the Two Lands."

The great favorite of the Mistress of the Two Lands, Tenr (*Ty-n-r*), triumphant; she says: "Praise to thee, O [fashioner] of years, creator of months, maker of days, reckoner of hours, lord of duration, by [whom] reckoning is made. [Grant] thou thy duration as Aton, to thy son, Wanre (Ikhnaton)."

985. The king proclaims from the balcony his appointment of Merire as High Priest ("great seer") of Aton thus:

*King's Speech*

<sup>a</sup>Said the king, living in truth, Lord of the Two Lands: Neferkheprure-Wanre, to the "great seer" of the Aton, Merire: "Behold, I am appointing thee for myself, to be 'great seer' of the Aton in the temple of Aton in Akhetaton, <sup>b</sup>Irsu of thy beloved<sup>b</sup>, saying: "O my hearer of the call (*šdm* <sup>c</sup>š), who hears the teaching. As for any commission with which thou art charged, my heart is satisfied therewith; I give to thee the office, saying: 'Thou shalt eat the food of Pharaoh, L. P. H., thy lord in the house of Aton.'"

986. In another scene<sup>c</sup> the reliefs depict further honors received from the king by Merire. Leaning on his staff as he stands before one of the richly filled magazines of the temple, and accompanied by the queen and his daughters,

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 97, b; Davies, *Amarna*, I, VIII.

<sup>b</sup>"*Irsu*" (*Yr-sw*), or "he that made him," is a circumlocution for "father," often applied to a god; "thy beloved" is the king himself. The whole is therefore probably an epithet of the god meaning "father of the king." "Doing it for love of thee" is an attractive rendering, but forbidden by the grammar.

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 97, e; Davies, *Amarna*, I, xxv, xxix-xxxiii.

the king commands that Merire be decorated with gold. The fortunate official stands in the royal presence with arms upraised in praise, while attendants hang golden collars upon his neck, and four scribes record the gifts. The inscriptions furnish us with the words<sup>a</sup> of the king and his favorite:

*Words of the King*

987. <sup>b</sup>Speech of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, living in truth, Lord of the Two Lands, Neferkheprure-Wanre, [to] the overseer of the silver-house, [concerning] the officer (*wꜣw*), "great seer" of the Aton in Akhetaton, Merire: "Put gold at his throat and at his back, and gold on his legs, because of his hearing the teaching of Pharaoh, L. P. H., concerning every saying in<sup>c</sup> these beautiful seats which Pharaoh has made in the sanctuary<sup>d</sup> in the Aton-house of Aton in Akhetaton, filled with every good thing, with much corn and southern grain, the Aton<sup>e</sup>-offerings of the Aton."

*Merire's Reply*

988. "Great seer" of the Aton in the Aton-temple in Akhetaton, fan-bearer on the right of the king, favorite of the Lord of the Two Lands, Merire; he says: "Health —, the beautiful youthfulness of the Aton; grant that he may attain this age,<sup>f</sup> set him forever and ever.

TOMB OF EYE<sup>g</sup>

989. Eye, who afterward became king, has left a fine scene in his tomb, showing the royal family on the palace

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, *ibid.*; Davies, *ibid.*, xxx.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 97, e; Davies, *Amarna*, I, xxx.

<sup>c</sup>Possibly "concerning" (*hr*). <sup>d</sup>*Hꜣt-bnbn*.

<sup>e</sup>The old word, "god" (*ntr*), is evidently avoided here, for in the old term, "divine offerings" (*hꜣt-ntr*), we have *ntr* replaced by Aton, thus: *hꜣt-Ytn*. There was thus an evident attempt to introduce the word Aton in place of the old word for "god" and "divine;" this accounts also for the term, "Aton-house (*pr-Ytn*) of the Aton," where the old texts have *Hꜣt-ntr* ("god's-house" = temple).

<sup>f</sup>Lit., "make this age," viz., the age of the god; that is, may he live as long a life as the god.

<sup>g</sup>Cliff-tomb (No. 25) at Amarna (No. 1) in the southern group; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 103-6, a, and 107, a-109. (These scenes [107, d-109] are

balcony, throwing down collars and vessels of gold to Eye and his wife Tiy. Unfortunately, the inscriptions such as we find in a similar scene in Merire's tomb (§§ 982 ff.) are here wanting. Only the comments of Eye's servants in the rear of his house have been recorded.<sup>a</sup> Eye had received a similar honor before his marriage with Tiy, and this is likewise depicted in his tomb, but without inscriptions. He was not an official of high rank, being only "*Fan-bearer on the right of the king, master of all the horses of his majesty, his truly beloved scribe, the divine father, Eye (ꜥy)*." His favor was doubtless due to his zeal in the new faith and his marriage with Tiy, the "*great nurse, nourisher of the god, adorer of the king,*" that is, she had been Ikhnaton's nurse in his childhood.

990. Further indications of his favor<sup>b</sup> are thus recorded:

I was one favored of his lord every day, great in favor from year to year, because of the exceeding greatness of my excellence in his opinion. He doubled for me my favors like the number of the sand; I was the first of the officials at the head of the people . . . . . I am a 'true' witness, devoid of evil; my name has penetrated into the palace, because of my usefulness to the king, because of my hearing his teaching. . . . .

O everyone that liveth upon earth, every generation that is to be, I will tell you the way of life. I bear you witness that I was praised for what I said, I was 'content' by reason of what I did; I was truthful upon earth, making praise to the living Aton.

given by Lepsius as from a second tomb [No. 3] of the same man; this is an error which has been perpetuated in the modern histories. Eye had but one tomb at Amarna; it contains all the material given by Lepsius as from two tombs. See Breasted, *The Dial*, Chicago, May 1, 1897, 283.) The two long hymns were published by Bouriant, *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, I, 2-5, and Daressy, *Recueil*, XV, 46, 47; both are excessively incorrect. The following translation (of Daressy's hymn) is based on my own copy of the original. Unfortunately, I had not yet made these copies when I published my *De Hymnis in Solem sub Rege Amenophide IV Conceptis*.

<sup>a</sup>Erman gives an excellent description of the whole scene, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 119-21.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 107, d.

*Hymn to Aton and the King*

991. <sup>2a</sup>Praise to thee! When thou risest in the horizon, O living Aton, lord of eternity. Obeisance to thy rising in heaven, to illuminate every land, with thy beauty. Thy rays are upon thy beloved son. Thy hand <sup>3</sup>has a myriad of jubilees for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkheprure-Wanre, thy child who came forth from thy rays. Thou assignest to him thy lifetime and thy years. Thou hearest <sup>4</sup>for him that which is in his heart. He is thy beloved, thou makest him like Aton. When thou risest, eternity is given him; when thou settest, thou givest him everlastingness. Thou begetteth him in the morning like thine own forms; thou formest him as thy emanation, <sup>5</sup>like Aton, ruler of truth, who came forth from eternity, son of Re, wearing his beauty, who offers to him the product of his rays; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, living in truth, Lord of the Two Lands, Neferkheprure-Wanre; the Great King's-Wife, Nefernefruatton-Nofretete; living forever and ever.

*Hymn to Aton and the King*

992. <sup>6</sup>The divine father, favorite of the Good God, fan-bearer at the right of the king, master of all the horses of his majesty, truly beloved scribe of the king, Eye. He saith: "Praise to thee! O living Aton, rising in heaven. He inundates the hearts, and all lands are in festivity because of his rising; their hearts <sup>7</sup>are happy with the joy of their lord, Irsu<sup>b</sup> who shineth upon them. Thy beloved son presents truth before thy beautiful face; thou rejoicest when thou seest him, (for) he came forth from thee; son of eternity, who came forth from <sup>8</sup>Aton, spirit of his spirit, gratifying the heart of Aton. When he rises in heaven, he rejoices in his son; he embraces him with his rays; he gives to him eternity as king, like the <sup>9</sup>Aton; Neferkheprure-Wanre, this god, who made me, who caused my ka to be. Grant that I may be satisfied with seeing thee without ceasing; this lord who forms like Aton; rich in possessions <sup>10</sup>a full Nile every day, making Egypt live. Silver and gold are like the sand of the shore; the land awakens to mighty rejoicing in his ka, the offspring of the Aton. Thou art eternal, Neferkheprure-Wanre; living and sound art thou, for he begat thee."

\*L. 1 contains the usual title: "*Praise of Aton, the king and the queen*," indicating the content of the hymn.

<sup>b</sup>See § 985.

*Self-Praise*

993. <sup>11</sup>The divine father, etc., Eye; he saith: "I am the truthful one of the king whom he created, the upright one of the Lord of the Two Lands, useful to his lord, following the ka of his majesty, like his favorite, who sees <sup>12</sup>his beauty when he 'appears' in his palace. I am at the head of the princes, the companions of the king, the first of all the followers of his majesty. He put truth in my body, and my abomination is lying. I know that Wanre rejoices in it (truth), this lord, <sup>13</sup>wise like Aton, knowing the truth. He doubles to me my favors in silver and gold; I am first of the officials, at the head of the people (*rḥy' t*). <sup>14</sup>the lord <sup>15</sup>me. I have carried out his teaching."

*Prayer for Self*

994. "May I live praising his ka, may I be satisfied following him; (for) my breath of life is in him, this north wind, this myriad of high Niles every day, Neferkheprure-Wanre. <sup>15</sup>Grant me long life in thy favor. How prosperous is thy favorite, O son of the Aton! All that he does endures and prospers, and the ka of the Lord of the Two Lands is with him forever, so that he is satisfied with life, when he reaches <sup>16</sup>old age. O lord, who forms the people, and creates duration, who performs the pleasant obligation to his favorite, (whose) heart is satisfied with truth, whose abomination is lying. How prosperous is he who hears thy teaching of life, of life; he is satisfied with seeing thee without ceasing, <sup>17</sup>and his two eyes see Aton every day. Grant to me a good old age like thy favorite; grant to me goodly burial by thy command in my house, wherein thou commandest me to rest, in the mountain of Akhetaton, the place of the favorite. May I hear thy sweet voice <sup>18</sup>in the sanctuary<sup>a</sup> when thou performest the pleasant ceremonies<sup>b</sup> of thy father, the living Aton."

*Prayer for King and Queen*

995. "May he set thee forever and ever; may he endow thee with jubilees like the numbers of the shore, when measured with an ipet-rod; like reckoning the sea when measured with <sup>19</sup>zawets, (or) a statement of the numbering of the mountains when weighed in balances; (or) the feathers of the birds, <sup>20</sup>(or) the leaves of the trees, in jubilees for the king, Wanre (Ikhnaton), forever and ever as king; and <sup>21</sup>for the Great

<sup>a</sup>*H' t-bnbn.*

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "doest the pleasing things."

King's-Wife, his beloved, abounding in her beauty;<sup>a</sup> her who sends the Aton to rest<sup>b</sup> with <sup>22</sup>a sweet voice, and with her two beautiful hands, bearing <sup>23</sup>two sistrums, the Mistress of the Two Lands, Nefernefruaton-Nofretete, living forever and ever. May she be by the side of <sup>24</sup>Wanre (Ikhnaton) forever and ever as the heavens abide <sup>25</sup>under that which is in them. Thy father Aton rises in heaven, to protect thee <sup>26</sup>every day, for he begat thee."

*Prayer for Self*

996. Grant me to kiss the pure ground, to come forth in thy presence with <sup>27</sup>offerings for thy father, Aton, of that which thy ka gives. Grant that <sup>28</sup>my mortuary priest may abide and flourish for me, (as) for one who is on earth following thy ka, <sup>29</sup>who has been exalted<sup>1</sup> for 'my' name's sake, to the place of the favorites, wherein thou makest one to rest. My mouth <sup>30</sup>is full of truth, my name is mentioned because of it, for thou hast commanded that I be like thy every favorite who follows thy ka. May I go on, enjoying thy favor after old age.

For the ka of Eye<sup>c</sup> the revered, who lives again.

TOMB OF MAI<sup>d</sup>

997. Mai was one of the most powerful officials at the Amarna court, as is shown by his titles:

Hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, — — his Two Lands, commander of the army of the Lord of the Two Lands, overseer of the "House-of-Sending-Aton-to-Rest;" king's-attendant in his august barge, master of the suite behind the Lord of the Two Lands, chief of all works of the king.

<sup>a</sup>See § 959, l. 4.

<sup>b</sup>There was a "*house for sending Aton to rest*," at Amarna, of which Mai was overseer (*mr*). Here doubtless the vesper service in the daily ritual was held at sunset.

<sup>c</sup>His titles, as usual in the original, are omitted above.

<sup>d</sup>Cliff-tomb (No. 14) in the southern group at Amarna (not numbered by Lepsius); published by Daressy, *Recueil*, XV, 38-41, where the name of the owner of the tomb is stated to be illegible. I found his name twice; it is certainly Mai (*M c y*). Daressy's copy is inaccurate; I have used my own for the translation. The tomb is unfinished, but it contains, besides the above hymn (left doorpost), an address by Mai (right doorpost), beginning: "*Hear ye my speech, all ye people*," in five columns, very faint, and still unpublished; and two prayers published by Daressy, from which some of above titles of Mai are taken.

998. He has left a long hymn, containing some of the most interesting references to the king and his “*teaching*” which have survived to us.

*Hymn to Aton*

999. <sup>3a</sup>Thy rising is beautiful in the horizon of heaven, O living Aton, beginning of life. When thou risest in the horizon, thou fillest the earth with thy beauty. Thou art beautiful, great, brilliant, high over every hand. Thy rays <sup>4</sup>embrace the lands, even all that thou hast made. Thou art Re, and thou takest them all captive; thou bindest them for thy beloved son.

*Praise of the King and Akhetaton*

1000. Thy rays are upon thy glorious emanation, the ruler of truth, who came forth from eternity. <sup>5</sup>Thou grantest to him thy lifetime and thy years; thou hearest for him that which is in his heart. He is thy beloved; thou makest him<sup>b</sup> like Aton; thy child, who came forth from thy rays, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkheprure-Wanre, who hath made for thee the mighty Akhetaton, <sup>6</sup>great in loveliness, mistress of pleasant ceremonies, rich in possessions, the offerings to Re in her midst; at the sight of her beauty there is rejoicing. She is lovely and beautiful; when one sees her, it is like a glimpse at heaven; her number cannot be calculated. When the Aton rises in her, he fills her with his rays, <sup>7</sup>and he embraces his beloved son, son of eternity who came forth from Aton, and offers the earth to him who placed him on his throne, causing the earth to belong to Irsu.<sup>c</sup>

*Praise of Aton and King*

1001. Every land is festive at his rising; they assemble, making oblations to his ka, to Aton, rising in the horizon every early morning. <sup>8</sup>Thy<sup>d</sup> son presents truth to thy beautiful face; thou rejoicest when thou seest him, (for) he came forth from thee. Thou settest ¶him<sup>1</sup> as king like the Aton, Neferkheprure-Wanre, living and sound, like the Aton.

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<sup>a</sup>Ll. 1 and 2 contain the usual title (“*Praise of Aton, the king and queen*”), which characterizes the content; although this does not contain any praise of the queen, as in Eye (§§ 989 ff.).

<sup>b</sup>Read *sw*, as in Eye, § 991, l. 4.

<sup>c</sup>See § 985, note.

<sup>d</sup>Original has “*his*.”



*Selj-Praise*

1002. Hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, <sup>9</sup>— — his Two Lands, commander of the army of the Lord of the Two Lands, overseer of the house of sending [the Aton] to rest, [Mai (*M<sup>c</sup> y*)]; he saith:

“I am his servant, whom he created; upright for the Lord of the Two Lands, one useful to his lord, who put truth in my body; (my) abomination is lying. <sup>10</sup>I know that the son of the Aton, Neferkheprure-Wanre, rejoices because of it, (for) he hath doubled to me my favors like the numbers of the sand. I am the head of the officials at the head of the people (*rhy't*). <sup>11</sup>My lord has advanced me, (because) I have carried out his teaching, and I hear his word without ceasing. My eyes behold thy beauty every day.”

*Prayer for Selj*

1003. “O my lord, wise like Aton, satisfied with truth. How prosperous is <sup>12</sup>he who hears thy teaching of life! May he be satisfied with seeing thee, when he reaches old age. Grant me goodly burial, of that which thy ka gives, in the house wherein thou commandest me to rest, [in] the mountain of Akhetaton, <sup>13</sup>the place of the favorites. O thou Myriad of full Niles every day, Neferkheprure-Wanre, god, that madest me, through whose ka I<sup>1</sup> live; grant that I may be satisfied with following thee without ceasing, O <sup>14</sup>child of the Aton. Thou art for eternity, O thou Myriad of — — beseeching Wanre (Ikhnaton). How prosperous is he <sup>15</sup>who follows thee! Grant him, that all that he does may abide forever. May his lord give him burial, (for) his mouth was full of truth.”

TOMB OF AHMOSE<sup>a</sup>

1004. Ahmose was “*real king's-scribe, his beloved, jan-bearer on the right of the king, master of the judgment-hall, steward of the estate of Neferkheprure-Wanre (Ikhnaton).*”

<sup>a</sup>Cliff-tomb (No. 3) at Amarna, northern group (Lepsius, No. 4); the hymns are on the doorposts: left-hand, Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, Pl. VII (very bad), and my own copy. I found this doorpost much mutilated since Sharpe's time, and could not check all he copied. Right-hand: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 98, a; this doorpost is now so mutilated that I made no attempt to copy, in view of the short time at my disposal.

He has left the usual composite hymn upon the doorposts of his tomb.

1005. The two portions of this hymn, one introduced by praise to the rising, the other by praise to the setting, sun, form really one hymn, of the usual character above described (§ 979). The introductory praise of the god, the king, and the queen, is verbatim identical with the hymn of Tenr (§ 984), to which the reader is referred for the translation. Ahmose's hymn then proceeds with a tribute to the universality of the king's power, as follows:

*Praise of the King*

1006. — — — <sup>1</sup>the praise<sup>1</sup> of all that thou hast encircled. ——— presenting them to thy ka. <sup>5</sup>Thy child whom thou thyself didst beget — — — —. The south, as well as the north, the west and the east, [and the isles] in the midst of the sea <sup>6</sup>are in jubilation to his ka. His southern boundary is as far as the wind, and (his) northern as far as the shining of Aton. All their princes make supplication, whom his fame has cowed <sup>7</sup>through his beautiful ka, who makes festive the Two Lands, who supplies the needs of the whole land. Place him with<sup>a</sup> thyself forever, according as he has loved to behold thee. <sup>8</sup>Grant him very many jubilees of peaceful years. Grant him the love of thy heart, like the sands of the shore, like the scales of the <sup>9</sup>fish in the river, (or) the hair <sup>10</sup>of the cattle. . . . . May I be a follower of the Good God until he assigns the burial which he gives.

*Hymn to Aton*

1007. <sup>b</sup>Thy setting is beautiful, O living Aton, lord of lords, ruler of the Two Lands, — — — in the peace of the Two Lands. The people are in rejoicing before thee, giving praise to him who formed them, doing obeisance [to him who created] them, [—] to thy beloved son, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, living in truth, Neferkheprure-

<sup>a</sup>Read *hn c -k*.

<sup>b</sup>The second portion (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 98, a, right doorpost) begins here. It is clearly the second half of one hymn, the first half containing the praise of god, king, and queen; the second chiefly the prayer of the deceased as usual.

Wanre (Ikhnaton). The whole land, every country in thy every circuit, at thy appearance shall make jubilee to thy rising and to thy setting likewise, O god, living in truth before the eyes. Thou art the maker of that which is not, the maker of all these things that come forth from thy mouth.

*Prayer for Selj*

**1008.** Grant to me advancement before the king every day, without ceasing; goodly burial after old age, on the highland of Akhetaton, when I have finished life in prosperity. May I be a follower of the Good God, when he treads any place he desires; may I be the companion of his two feet, for he trained me, when I was a child, until [I] attained revered age in peace and joy, a follower of the ruler, when he was at the feast, every day.

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TOMB OF TUTU<sup>a</sup>

**1009.** Tutu (*Tw-tw*) was an imi-khentit (*ymy-hnty t*) in Akhetaton. He was decorated with gold, like most of his colleagues, and has recorded some remarkable statements concerning his king in the following hymn:

*Hymn to Aton and the King*

**1010.** 1— — —<sup>b</sup> O Aton, given life forever and ever. As for thy son, the king, living in truth, Lord of the Two Lands [Neferkheprure-Wanre, thy child, who came forth from thy rays, thou establishest him in thy office of King of Upper and Lower Egypt, as ruler of the circuit of Aton. Thou givest him eternity, as thou hast made thyself, (for) thy son is thy emanation; spending for [thee] thy lifetime; Son of Re, great in duration; Great King's-Wife [Nefernefru]aton-[Nofretete], living forever. 2— — — forever, Lord of the Two Lands. Thy rays

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<sup>a</sup>Cliff-tomb (No. 8) in the southern group at Amarna (Lepsius, No. 2); Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 107, a; Lepsius' squeeze of the same text; and my own copies of the original. The tomb contains, besides the above hymn, also a long and magnificent text (too long to be copied in the time at my disposal) and the short form of the great hymn.

<sup>b</sup>This beginning is apparently not a title, as in the other hymns, but a direct address.

are upon thy beloved son; thy hand carries satisfying life. Thy love is great, immense, [—], by thy august skin, when thou floodest heaven and earth with thy beauty. (Then) thy son, who came forth from thy limbs, adores thee, thou hearest for him that which is in his heart, (and) thou doest according to that which comes forth from his mouth. He is thy beloved, thou makest him like Aton. Although thou art in heaven, thy rays are upon [earth].<sup>a</sup> <sup>3</sup>As thou begettest thyself every day without ceasing, (so) thou hast formed him out of thine own rays to spend the lifetime of Aton. When thou sailest the heavens, his eye [sees] thy beauty, rejoicing with joy at beholding thee, O living Aton, (for) he is thy favorite. Those who are under the heavens, even all that see thy rays, — — —, for thou hast made them, that he might satisfy thy heart therewith. <sup>4</sup>— — — — great in duration.

*Hymn to Aton*

**1011.** I come with praise to Aton, the living, the only god, lord of radiance, who makes light when he rises in heaven, who illuminates the Two Lands. When he made to live all that he created, he drove away the darkness. When he sends out his rays, every land is filled with his love. The herbage and the trees start up before thee; the denizens of the water spring up at thy shining; all people arise in their places. (When) [their limbs]<sup>b</sup> are washed [they take]<sup>b</sup> their clothing, [they do]<sup>b</sup> all work, they make their products. Thou hast awakened the Two Lands, when thou risest in thy form of living Aton. Their mouths are filled with that which thou givest. All small cattle rest upon their herbage; thou expellest evil and hast given health. Every one lifts himself up because thou risest: they have seen their lord (when) he appears

*Praise of the King*

**1012.** As for thine only son who came forth from thy body, thou embracest him with thy beautiful rays. <sup>6</sup>— — — — — in thy form of Aton, every land trips to thy rising. Thy rays bear a myriad of jubilees for thy son, living in truth, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkheprure-Wanre, my god, my fashioner, and my creator.

<sup>a</sup>Restored from Eye's great hymn (see my *De Hymnis in Solem sub Rege Amenophide IV Conceptis*, 19, v. 11).

<sup>b</sup>*Ibid.*, 34 and 36.

*Prayer and Self-Praise*

1013. Grant me that my eye may see him, that [my] hands may adore him, that my ear may hear his voice, that his ka may be before me without ceasing. I am the favorite servant, who [hears] his teaching, and his marvelous things are in my body without ceasing. I will speak truth to his majesty, (for) I know that he lives therein . . . . .<sup>8</sup>. . . . . I do not that which his majesty hates, (for) my abomination is lying in my body, [— — —]. I have sent up truth to his majesty, (for) I know that he lives therein. Thou art Re, begetter of truth; thou hast given<sup>9</sup> ————. My voice was not [lifted up] in the king's house, nor was my step too broad in the palace. I took not the reward of lying, nor expelled the truth for the violent; but it was the truth [which] I executed by his (the king's) might before me; I was mighty through the ka of Wanre, I was honored with reward — — —<sup>10</sup> — . . . . . I set not lying in my body . . . . . He glorified my teachableness every day, because I so fully carried out his teaching, not transgressing by any evil thing<sup>11</sup>. . . . . May I be one who may adore his majesty; may I be his follower. Grant that I may be satisfied with seeing thee . . . and assign to me — burial<sup>12</sup> after old age — — in the mountain of Akhetaton. . . . .<sup>a</sup>

TOMB OF HUY<sup>b</sup>

1014. In Huy we have the usual favorite of Ikhnaton. His offices were responsible and important ones; for he was "*Overseer of the royal harem, overseer of the White House, steward in the house of the [—],<sup>c</sup> great king's-wife, Tiy (Tyy).*" The events depicted in his tomb are naturally those connected with his offices. As "*overseer of the White House*" he had charge of incoming tribute. A scene<sup>d</sup> in the tomb shows the king on a splendid throne-chair, borne

<sup>a</sup>Ll. 12-15 are mere fragments, showing that the prayers usual in these hymns form the conclusion.

<sup>b</sup>Cliff-tomb (No. 1) at Amarna, in the northern group (No. 7); published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 100-102; sketches by Nestor l'Hôte in Amélineau, *Histoire de la sépulture*, Pls. 100-103; and my own copies.

<sup>c</sup>See § 1017.

<sup>d</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 100, b.

on the shoulders of eighteen soldiers, and accompanied by fan- and shade-bearers. The fragmentary inscription shows that he is going to inspect the incoming foreign tribute of the twelfth year.

1015. Year 12, second month of the second season, day 8. Live my father, [Aton],<sup>a</sup> given life forever and ever; [live] the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Ikhnaton] and the Great King's-Wife, Nefernefruaton-Nofretete, living forever, at the arrival — — — — the tribute of Kharu ( $\overline{H}^3$ -*rw*) and Kush, the west and east — — united in one head, the isles [in the midst] of the sea — on the side —, the tribute — — — the great storehouse of Akhetaton for receiving the impost of —, [that he may give to] them the breath of life.

1016. As steward of the queen-mother Tiy, we see him in charge of a feast,<sup>b</sup> doubtless in her house, at which she entertains the king, his queen, and three daughters. On another occasion Huy stands in the door of a temple ushering into it the king, who is leading the queen-mother Tiy, followed by the princess Bekateton and the court. Before them are the words:

Conducting the great king's-wife, [—], Tiy, to show to her her "Shadow-of-Re."

1017. This sanctuary, called here "*Shadow-of-Re*,"<sup>c</sup> is the queen-mother's temple; for besides being called "*hers*" above, the titles of Aton in the same temple have twice appended to them the words:<sup>d</sup> "*in the 'Shadow-of-Re' of [—],<sup>e</sup> the Great King's-Wife, Tiy.*" It is perhaps the smaller of the two temples<sup>f</sup> found by Petrie at Amarna. As the relief shows, it was magnificently equipped with colonnades, statues, and cultus materials. Another temple of Aton, erected by the king's-daughter Meretaton, is similarly

<sup>a</sup>Two cartouches, contents erased.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 100, c.

<sup>c</sup>See *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XV, 213, 214.

<sup>d</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 102.

<sup>e</sup>Uncertain title of the queen, also in the preceding inscription and in § 1014.

<sup>f</sup>Petrie, *Amarna*, 7 and Pl. XXXV.

referred to on an altar (?) block<sup>a</sup> dedicated by the princess. It refers to Aton "in the 'Shadow-of-Re' of the king's-daughter . . . . . Meretaton . . . . . in the chamber (called): 'Rejoicing-of-the-Aton' in the Aton-temple in Akhetaton."

1018. What was probably another sanctuary is referred to in an unpublished hymn<sup>b</sup> from the tomb of Merire:

The singers and musicians are rejoicing with joy in the broad-hall (*wsh·t*) of the house: "Shadow-of-Re," thy temple in Akhetaton, the place wherein thou art pleased.

This is probably the king's own official sanctuary, and "Shadow-of-Re"<sup>c</sup> is thus not a proper name, but a designation of any Aton-temple.<sup>d</sup> The temple of Aton at Heliopolis was called "Exaltation-of-Re-in-Heliopolis."<sup>e</sup> This was perhaps the first of the Aton-temples. Another Aton-temple erected at Hermonthis,<sup>f</sup> was called: "Horizon-of-Aton- (*y<sup>3</sup> h<sup>w</sup>·t-n-ytn*)-in-Hermonthis (*ymw šm<sup>c</sup>*)." Still another, in Memphis, was called simply: "The-House-of-the-Aton."<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup>British Museum, 1000; from my own copy; published by Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 48; also *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2d Ser., I, Pl. II; and *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XV, 200-11.

<sup>b</sup>My own copy; this passage is also found in the tomb of Apy, which fact enabled me to correct the Merire passage, which is corrupt. The Apy passage uses "h·t-bnbn" in place of "Shadow-of-Re," as given in Merire's tomb. (Piehl, *Inscriptions*, 1st Ser., Pl. CXCI = Bouriant, *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, I, 11, 12, ll. 6 and 7.) These passages show clearly that "Shadow-of-Re" is the name of the Akhetaton temple, and not of the god's statue, as supposed by some.

<sup>c</sup>Temples called "Shadow-of-Re" were found in the sacred districts of all the divinities of Egypt in the Twentieth Dynasty (IV, 363). Such a temple is known under Ramses II and also in the Twenty-first Dynasty; see Spiegelberg (*Recueil*, 17, 159, 160), who thinks these later ones were in the necropolis.

<sup>d</sup>On the Aton-temples at Amarna and elsewhere, see my article in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 106 ff. [Later—too late for insertion above, I have received the discussion of Davies (*Amarna*, II, 20-28) on the Amarna temples.]

<sup>e</sup>*Ts-R<sup>c</sup>-m-Ymw*, possibly also "Re-is-Exalted-in-Heliopolis" (*Recueil*, XVI, 123, CIX).

<sup>f</sup>*Recueil*, 23, 62.

<sup>g</sup>Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, Taf. XVI, l. 4; Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 56 = Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 54; fragments of inscriptions from this temple are in Mariette, *ibid.*, 34, e.

## REIGN OF TUTENKHAMON

### TOMB OF HUY<sup>a</sup>

1019. So little is known of the immediate successors of Ikhnaton that the tomb of Huy, viceroy of Kush under Tutenkhamon, is of the greatest importance. We know that this king marked the transition from the Aton faith back to Amon, having changed his name from Tutenkhaton to Tutenkhamon;<sup>b</sup> but on returning to Thebes he extended the temple of Aton.<sup>c</sup> Nevertheless, he was forced by the priestly party to begin the restoration of the monuments defaced by Ikhnaton, and to recut the inscriptions and dedications to Amon, which they bore.<sup>d</sup> We might infer that the Egyptian power in Asia was not wholly broken by Ikhnaton's reform, in view of the rich tribute of Syria shown in the following document; but see the remarks below. That of Nubia naturally continued without interruption,<sup>e</sup> as the scenes in this tomb likewise indicate. These scenes fall into three series:

- I. Investiture of the Viceroy of Kush.
- II. Tribute of the North.
- III. Tribute of the South.

---

<sup>a</sup>Hewn into the cliff of Kurnet-Murraï on the west side at Thebes; published partially by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 477-80; by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 115-18; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 301-6; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1133-41; and Piehl, *Inscriptions*, Pls. 144, A-145; a good account of the scenes, Baedeker, *Egypt*, 288, 289. These scenes are among the most gorgeous and elaborate of the Empire.

<sup>b</sup>The old form, Tutenkhaton, occurs on a Berlin stela, No. 14197 (*Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 128); see Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 38, 112.

<sup>c</sup>Fragments of his extension are now rebuilt in the pylon of Harmhab at Karnak, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, a-b; Bouriant, *Recueil*, VI, 51 ff.; and Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1884, 41. The name of Eye is found on similar reused blocks also.

<sup>d</sup>See II, 896.

<sup>e</sup>See also II, 896.



I. INVESTITURE OF THE VICEROY OF KUSH<sup>a</sup>

1020. The interesting and important ceremony depicted in this series of scenes throws light on a number of obscure points in the administration of Kush by the Pharaohs. We here learn its limits, viz., from El Kab on the north to Napata on the south. For Napata appears (§ 1025) the important variant Karoy, thus locating this otherwise unknown region, designated by the Eighteenth Dynasty kings as their southern boundary.<sup>b</sup>

*Scene*

1021. King Tutenkhamon is enthroned at the left in a kiosk; before him are two lines of men in groups, representing successive incidents in the ceremony:

*Reception of Huy*

1022. An officer standing with back to the king receives Huy as he advances, accompanied by several courtiers. The inscriptions are these:

*Over the Officer*

The overseer of the White House; he says: "This is the seal<sup>c</sup> from the Pharaoh, L. P. H., who assigns to thee (the territory) from Nekhen to Napata."

*Over Huy*

1023. King's-son of Kush ———.

*Words of Courtiers*

"Thou art the Son of Amon ———;<sup>d</sup> he causes that the chiefs of all countries come to thee, bearing every good and choice thing of their countries."

<sup>a</sup>Scenes and inscriptions copied by Erman, and published from his notes by Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, V, 1133-41).

<sup>b</sup>This had been already noticed by Erman (*Aegypten*, 666), and was not new, as I supposed when I called attention to it in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 108.

<sup>c</sup>Reading the *my*-sign as the usual determinative of *hm*, "seal;" see Piehl (*Inscriptions*, I, 112, n. 5).

<sup>d</sup>Cartouche with name illegible.

*Investiture of Huy*

1024. Huy stands before an officer who holds a small object, perhaps an étui containing the seal, which is to be delivered to Huy. No inscriptions. Immediately beside this scene appears an official who extends to Huy the seal of office. The inscriptions are:

*Over Official*

1025. [‘Take’] the seal of office, O king’s-son of [Kush].

*Over Huy*

The office is assigned to the king’s-son of Kush, Huy, from Nekhen to Karoy.

1026. Another scene shows Huy’s reception by his family and officials (among whom are the “inspectors” (*rwḏ w*)), as he issues from the palace.

*Over Huy*

The coming forth, favored, from the court, having been appointed in the presence of the Good God to be king’s-son and governor of the southern countries, Huy. He accounts Khenthennofer, included under his authority, to offer it to the Lord of the Two Lands, like every subject of his majesty.

## II. TRIBUTE OF THE NORTH

1027. It is evident in this series that the administration of Kush now requires two viceroys, for Huy’s brother, Amenhotep, here appears as “*King’s-son of Kush.*” For reasons not evident in the inscriptions, these two viceroys of the South appear presenting to the king the tribute of the North. This circumstance looks suspicious. What should the viceroy of Kush have to do with the tribute of the North? Moreover, we know from the Amarna Letters that Egyptian power in Asia was at an end under Ikhnaton. One might be inclined to think, therefore, that the frequent

representation of the tribute of the South and North in earlier Theban tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty induced Huy to add the tribute of the North as a pendant to the tribute of the South which he actually collected. But it should not be forgotten that one of Ikhnaton's successors carried on war in Asia (III, 20), and this can hardly have been any other than Tutenkhamon. He may thus have been able to collect some northern tribute.

*Scene*

1028. King Tutenkhamon is enthroned at the left under a splendid kiosk. Before him bows the viceroy of Kush, Huy, behind whom comes a second viceroy of Kush, Huy's brother, Amenhotep, bearing gifts. These two officials are introducing four lines of Asiatics who bring a magnificent array of tribute, chiefly gold and silver vessels, costly stones, and horses.

1029. The following inscriptions accompany the scene:

*Over Huy*

King's-son of Kush, governor of the south countries, fan-bearer at the right of the king, Huy (*Hwy*), triumphant; he says: "May thy father, Amon, protect thee during myriads of jubilees (*hb-sd*). May he give to thee eternity as king of the Two Lands, everlastingness as ruler of the Nine Bows. Thou art Re, and thy emanation is his emanation. Thou art heaven,<sup>a</sup> abiding like its four pillars, the earth sits beneath thee, because of thy permanence, O good ruler."

*With Amenhotep*

1030. Bringing in all the tribute to the Lord of the Two Lands, the presents of Retenu (*Rtmw*) the wretched; by the king's-messenger to every country, the king's-son of Kush, governor of the southern countries, Amenhotep, triumphant.

---

<sup>a</sup>Meaning, as enduring as heaven.

*With Vessels*

1031. Vessels of all the choicest of the best of their countries, in silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, every splendid costly stone.

*With an Official Receiving Asiatics*

1032. All the chiefs of the 'north' countries '— —'; they say: "How great is thy fame, O Good God! how mighty thy strength! there is none living in ignorance of thee."

The chiefs of [all countries] that knew not Egypt since the time of the god, are craving peace from his majesty that it may not be. "Give to us the breath which thou givest, etc., (as below)."

*Over Asiatics*

1033. The chiefs of Retenu (*Rnw*) the Upper, who knew not Egypt since the time of the god, are craving peace from his majesty. They say: "Give to us the breath which thou givest, O 'lord'. Tell us<sup>a</sup> thy victories; and there shall be no revolvers in thy time; but every land shall be in peace."

III. TRIBUTE OF THE SOUTH<sup>b</sup>

1034. In this series the two viceroys present to the king the tribute of the lands under them. This ceremony took place in the temple, from which Huy then goes forth to embark for Nubia, and is received on his dahabiyeh by his local officials, who have accompanied him to Thebes.

*Scene*

1035. King Tutenkhamon is enthroned as in the previous scene, with Huy before him. In the king's presence a magnificent array of tribute; chiefly commercial gold and silver, gold and silver vessels, a chariot, shields, and furniture.

<sup>a</sup>The two *n*'s (dative?) are probably an error for one, viz., "that we may tell, etc."

<sup>b</sup>See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 301-6; where the inscriptions are much more accurate than in the folio of Lepsius.

A second part of the scene shows Huy receiving three lines of Negroes, and a line of Egyptians below. In the top line of Negroes are children of the Kushite chiefs, among them a princess in a chariot drawn by oxen. The negro chiefs wear Egyptian clothing;<sup>a</sup> they bring similar tribute, and also curiously decorated cattle. Behind all, we see six Nile boats landing. With the exception of the king's names, the inscriptions are confined to the second part of the scene.

*Before Huy*

**1036.** The arrival in peace — from the house of the hereditary prince, count, (*mry-ntr-*) priest, king's-son of Kush, Huy [having received] the favor of the Lord of the Two Lands, [who ordered] gold [to be put] upon his neck and his arms. "How many are the<sup>3</sup> examples<sup>b</sup> of thy favor, O Nebkheprure (Tutenkhamon)! One mentions them (one) time (each) by its name; they are too numerous to put them into writing.

*Over the Upper Line of Negroes*

**1037.** The chief of Miam<sup>c</sup> (*My<sup>c</sup> m*), good ruler.<sup>d</sup> The chiefs of Wayet (*w<sup>3</sup> y' t*).<sup>e</sup> The children of the chiefs of all countries.

*Over the Middle Line of Negroes*

The chiefs of Kush, they say: "Hail to thee, O king of Egypt, Sun of the Nine Bows! Give to us the breath which thou givest. Men live by thy love."<sup>f</sup>

*Over the Egyptians*

**1038.** The coming forth of the people of the king's-son, to receive him, when he received the favor of the Lord of the Two Lands; (<sup>3</sup>from<sup>3</sup>)

<sup>a</sup>Under Thutmose III they still wore native costume; see tomb of Rekhmire.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "Examples upon very many examples, and great is thy favor, etc."

<sup>c</sup>Country around Ibrim; see tomb of Penno (IV, 474).

<sup>d</sup>The presence of these chiefs shows that the country was still under its native rulers, and that the Egyptian administrative officers were not in sole control.

<sup>e</sup>As in Champollion (*Notices descriptives*, I, 478).

<sup>f</sup>Very much the same inscription is over the lower row of Negroes (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 303).

the house<sup>a</sup> of the king's-son of Kush, king's-scribe, Amenhotep — — living again.

They say: "O ruler, L. P. H., good, mighty in creation, for whom the sun rises; many are the things [which] [his two hands] [accomplish]."

*Over the Boats*

Arrival from Kush bearing this good tribute of all the choicest of the best of the south countries. Landing at the city of the South (Thebes) by the king's-son of Kush, Huy.

*Scene*

1039. Huy leans on his staff; behind him are the members of his family; before him a richly decorated dahabiyeh with sail spread, and another with sail furled, bearing a chariot and horses. On the boats approaching Huy, are four rows of officials under Huy, followed by sailors and women with tambourines. The inscriptions show that the presentation ceremonies depicted above have just been completed in the temple, and Huy is now doubtless embarking for his post. The inscriptions are these:

*Over Huy*

1040. The coming from the temple of Amon after the pleasing ceremonies before him, to offer this land to thee;<sup>b</sup> by the hereditary prince, count, sole companion, great in [his office], great [in his ra]nk, great —, — king's-scribe, ——— Amenhotep — —.

*Over Huy's Family*

The inscriptions are nearly vanished, but the words: "*His son*" (twice); "*his mother*," and "*his sister*," may be distinguished.

---

<sup>a</sup>The door of the house from which they come is seen behind them; on it are the cartouches of Tutenkhamon.

<sup>b</sup>The change of person is difficult.

*Over Officials*

1041. 1. Deputy of Kush. 2. Mayor of Khammat (Soleb) 3. Overseer of cattle. 4. ———. 5. Deputy of the fortres: (called): "Neb[khepr]ure<sup>a</sup>-Satisfier-of-the-Gods,"<sup>b</sup> Penno. 6. Mayor of "Satisfier-of-the-Gods." 7. His brother, 'prophet' of —<sup>c</sup> [in] the fortress; "Satisfier-of-the-Gods," Mermose; 8. Priest of —,<sup>c</sup> residing in the fortress: "Satisfier-of-the-Gods." 9. ———.

---

<sup>a</sup>Tutenkhamon's throne-name.

<sup>b</sup>S' htp-nr'w.

<sup>c</sup>Cartouche.

## REIGN OF EYE

### LANDMARK OF EYE<sup>a</sup>

1042. Documents of this king are rare. This stela shows the king, in relief at the top, offering flowers to "*Hathor, mistress of Hotep*." The exclusive worship of Aton had therefore been abandoned by him at this date, year 3. The inscription records a gift of land by the king to one of his officials, whose name is no longer visible, and to the latter's wife, Mutnezmet.

1043. Year 3, third month of the third season (eleventh month), first day, of King Eye,<sup>b</sup> given life, while he was in Memphis.

His majesty commanded to endow him with lands, a reward for the king's —, —,<sup>c</sup> and for his wife, Mutnezmet. It was laid out in the district called: "Field-of-the-Kheta," in the fields of the "House-of-Okheperkere (Thutmose I)" and the "House-of-Menkheprure (Thutmose IV)," a field of 154 stat.

The south is the "House-of-Menkheprure (Thutmose IV);" the north is the "House-of-Ptah" and the "House-of-Okheperkere (Thutmose I)," between his 1—1; the west is [the "House-of-Okheperkere (Thutmose I)"];<sup>d</sup> the east is the "House-of-Menkheprure (Thutmose IV)" between his 1—1.

There came<sup>e</sup> the chief king's-scribe, the steward, Ramose; the scribe, Merire; — Thay. Command was given to the — attendant, Re, to transfer it.<sup>f</sup>

---

<sup>a</sup>Stela now in Cairo; found by the Great Pyramid, in the chapel of Pesibkhenno; published by Daressy (*Recueil*, 16, 123) and from Daressy by Spiegelberg (*Rechnungen*, 36).

<sup>b</sup>Full fivefold titulary is used in the original.

<sup>c</sup>The lacuna contained the remainder of a royal official's title, and his name, which latter ended in *nj*.

<sup>d</sup>The land, as already stated, lay in the fields of the House-of-Thutmose I and the House-of-Thutmose IV; the southern and eastern boundaries were formed by the House-of-Thutmose IV, and the northern boundary by the House-of-Thutmose I. Hence it is probable that the western boundary was also formed by the House-of-Thutmose I, and that Daressy has overlooked it in his copy, owing to its identity with the preceding boundary.

<sup>e</sup>As witnesses? Spiegelberg renders "those who came," but the *nt* which he renders as the relative pronoun occurs above, with the first, "*his* 1—1 (*nwy*)," and must therefore belong to *nwy* here.

<sup>f</sup>The land.



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FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PERSIAN CONQUEST, COLLECTED  
EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH COMMENTARY

BY

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### VOLUME I

	§§
THE DOCUMENTARY SOURCES OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY . . . . .	1-37
CHRONOLOGY . . . . .	38-57
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE . . . . .	58-75
THE PALERMO STONE: THE FIRST TO THE FIFTH DYNASTIES	76-167
I. Predynastic Kings . . . . .	90
II. First Dynasty . . . . .	91-116
III. Second Dynasty . . . . .	117-144
IV. Third Dynasty . . . . .	145-148
V. Fourth Dynasty . . . . .	149-152
VI. Fifth Dynasty . . . . .	153-167
THE THIRD DYNASTY . . . . .	168-175
Reign of Snefru . . . . .	168-175
Sinai Inscriptions . . . . .	168-169
Biography of Methen . . . . .	170-175
THE FOURTH DYNASTY . . . . .	176-212
Reign of Khufu . . . . .	176-187
Sinai Inscriptions . . . . .	176
Inventory Stela . . . . .	177-180
Examples of Dedication Inscriptions by Sons . . . . .	181-187
Reign of Khafre . . . . .	188-209
Stela of Mertityôtes . . . . .	188-189
Will of Prince Nekure, Son of King Khafre . . . . .	190-199
Testamentary Enactment of an Unknown Official, Establishing the Endowment of His Tomb by the Pyramid of Khafre . . . . .	200-209
Reign of Menkure . . . . .	210-212
Debhen's Inscription, Recounting King Menkure's Erec- tion of a Tomb for Him . . . . .	210-212
THE FIFTH DYNASTY . . . . .	213-281
Reign of Userkaf . . . . .	213-235

	§§
Testamentary Enactment of Nekonekh . . . . .	213-215
I. The Priesthood of Hathor . . . . .	216-219
II. The Mortuary Priesthood of Khenuka . . . . .	220-222
III. Nekonekh's Will . . . . .	223-225
IV. Nekonekh's Mortuary Priesthood . . . . .	226-227
V. Nekonekh's Mortuary Statue . . . . .	228-230
Testamentary Enactment of Senuonekh, Regulating His Mortuary Priesthood . . . . .	231-235
Reign of Sahure . . . . .	236-241
Sinai Inscriptions . . . . .	236
Tomb Stela of Nenekhsekhmet . . . . .	237-240
Tomb Inscription of Persen . . . . .	241
Reign of Neferirkere . . . . .	242-249
Tomb Inscriptions of the Vizier, Chief Judge, and Chief Architect Weshptah . . . . .	242-249
Reign of Nuserre . . . . .	250-262
Sinai Inscription . . . . .	250
Tomb Inscriptions of Hotephyakhet . . . . .	251-253
Inscription of Ptahshepses . . . . .	254-262
Reign of Menkuhor . . . . .	263
Sinai Inscription . . . . .	263
Reign of Dedkere-Isesi . . . . .	264-281
Sinai Inscriptions . . . . .	264-267
Tomb Inscriptions of Senezemib, Chief Judge, Vizier, and Chief Architect . . . . .	268-277
Mortuary Inscription of Nezemib . . . . .	278-279
Tomb Inscription of the Nomarch Henku . . . . .	280-281
THE SIXTH DYNASTY . . . . .	282-390
Reign of Teti . . . . .	282-294
Inscriptions of Sabu, Also Called Ibebi . . . . .	282-286
Inscription of Sabu, Also Called Thety . . . . .	287-288
Inscription of an Unknown Builder . . . . .	289-290
Inscription of Uni . . . . .	291-294
I. Career under Teti (l. 1) . . . . .	292-294
II. Career under Pepi I (ll. 2-32) . . . . .	306-315
III. Career under Mernere (ll. 32-50) . . . . .	319-324
Reign of Pepi I . . . . .	295-315
Hammamat Inscriptions . . . . .	295-301

TABLE OF CONTENTS

vii

	§§
I. The King's Inscriptions . . . . .	296
II. The Expedition's Inscription . . . . .	297-298
III. Chief Architect's Inscription . . . . .	299
IV. Inscription of the Treasurer of the God Ikhi . . . . .	300-301
Sinai Inscription . . . . .	302-303
Inscription in the Hatnub Quarry . . . . .	304-305
Inscription of Uni: II Career under Pepi I . . . . .	306-315
Reign of Mernere . . . . .	316-336
Inscriptions at the First Cataract . . . . .	316-318
I. Northern Inscription . . . . .	317
II. Southern Inscription . . . . .	318
Inscription of Uni: III Career under Mernere . . . . .	319-324
Inscriptions of Harkhuf . . . . .	325-336
Inscriptions of Harkhuf (continued) . . . . .	350-354
Reign of Pepi II . . . . .	337-385
Conveyance of Land by Idu, Called Also Seneni . . . . .	337-338
Sinai Inscription . . . . .	339-343
Stela of the Two Queens, Enekhnes-Merire . . . . .	344-349
Inscriptions of Harkhuf (continued from § 336) . . . . .	350-354
Letter of Pepi II . . . . .	350-354
I. Dates and Introduction . . . . .	351
II. Acknowledgment of Harkhuf's Letter . . . . .	351
III. Harkhuf's Rewards . . . . .	352
IV. King's Instructions . . . . .	353-354
Inscriptions of Pepi-Nakht . . . . .	355-360
Inscriptions of Khui . . . . .	361
Inscriptions of Sebni . . . . .	362-374
Inscriptions of Ibi . . . . .	375-379
Inscription of Zau . . . . .	380-385
Reign of Ity . . . . .	386-387
Hammamat Inscription . . . . .	386-387
Reign of Imhotep . . . . .	388-390
<b>THE NINTH AND TENTH DYNASTIES . . . . .</b>	<b>391-414</b>
Inscriptions of Siut . . . . .	391-414
I. Inscription of Tefibi . . . . .	393-397
II. Inscription of Kheti I . . . . .	398-404
III. Inscription of Kheti II . . . . .	405-414



	§§
<b>THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY</b> . . . . .	415-459
The Nomarch, Intef . . . . .	419-420
Mortuary Stela . . . . .	419-420
Reign of Horus-Wahenekh-Intef I . . . . .	421-423
Royal Tomb Stela . . . . .	421-423
Reign of Horus-Nakhtneb-Tepnefer-Intef II . . . . .	423A-423G
Stela of Thethi . . . . .	423A-423G
Reign of Nibhotep-Mentuhotep I . . . . .	423H
Temple Fragments from Gebelen . . . . .	423H
Reigns of Intef III and Nibkhrure-Mentuhotep II . . . . .	424-426
Relief near Assuan . . . . .	424-426
Reign of Senekhkere-Mentuhotep III . . . . .	427-433
Hammamat Inscription of Henu . . . . .	427-433
Reign of Nibtowere-Mentuhotep IV . . . . .	434-459
Hammamat Inscriptions . . . . .	434-459
I. The First Wonder . . . . .	435-438
II. The Official Tablet . . . . .	439-443
III. The Commander's Tablet . . . . .	444-448
IV. The Second Wonder . . . . .	449-451
V. Completion of the Work . . . . .	452-456
Stela of Eti . . . . .	457-459
<b>THE TWELFTH DYNASTY</b> . . . . .	460-750
Chronology of Twelfth Dynasty . . . . .	460-462
Reign of Amenemhet I . . . . .	463-497
Inscription of Khnumhotep I . . . . .	463-465
Hammamat Inscription of Intef . . . . .	466-468
Inscription of Nessumontu . . . . .	469-471
Inscription of Korusko . . . . .	472-473
The Teaching of Amenemhet . . . . .	474-483
Dedication Inscription . . . . .	484-485
The Tale of Sinuhe . . . . .	486-497
Reign of Sesostri I . . . . .	498-593
The Building Inscription of the Temple of Heliopolis . . . . .	498-506
Inscription of Meri . . . . .	507-509
Wadi Halfa Inscription of Mentuhotep . . . . .	510-514
Inscription of Amenemhet (Ameni) . . . . .	515-523
Stela of Ikudidi . . . . .	524-528
Inscription of Intefyoker . . . . .	529

	§§
Inscriptions of Mentuhotep . . . . .	530-534
The Contracts of Hepzefi . . . . .	535-538
I. First Contract . . . . .	539-543
II. Second Contract . . . . .	544-548
III. Third Contract . . . . .	549-553
IV. Fourth Contract . . . . .	554-558
V. Fifth Contract . . . . .	559-567
VI. Sixth Contract . . . . .	568-571
VII. Seventh Contract . . . . .	572-575
VIII. Eighth Contract . . . . .	576-581
IX. Ninth Contract . . . . .	582-588
X. Tenth Contract . . . . .	589-593
Reign of Amenemhet II . . . . .	594-613
Inscription of Simontu . . . . .	594-598
Inscription of Sihathor . . . . .	599-605
Sinai Inscription . . . . .	606
Stela of Khentemseti . . . . .	607-613
Reign of Sesostri II . . . . .	614-639
Inscription of Hapu . . . . .	614-618
Inscription of Khnumhotep II . . . . .	619-639
Reign of Sesostri III . . . . .	640-748
The Conquest of Nubia . . . . .	640-672
I. The Canal Inscriptions . . . . .	642-649
I. First Inscription . . . . .	643-645
II. Second Inscription . . . . .	646-648
II. The Elephantine Inscription . . . . .	649-650
III. The First Semneh Stela . . . . .	651-652
IV. The Second Semneh Stela . . . . .	653-660
V. Inscription of Ikhernofret . . . . .	661-670
VI. Inscription of Sisetet . . . . .	671-673
See also . . . . .	676 ff. and 687
Hammamat Inscription . . . . .	674-675
Stela of Sebek-Khu, called Zaa . . . . .	676-687
Inscriptions of Thuthotep . . . . .	688-706
Hammamat Inscriptions . . . . .	707-712
Inscriptions of Sinai . . . . .	713-738
I. Wadi Maghara . . . . .	713-723
I. Inscriptions of Khenemsu . . . . .	714-716

	§§
II. Inscription of Harnakht . . . . .	717-718
III. Inscription of Sebekdidi . . . . .	719-720
IV. Inscription of Ameni . . . . .	721-723
II. Sarbût el-Khadem . . . . .	724-738
I. Inscription of Sebek-hir-hab . . . . .	725-727
II. Inscription of Ptahwer . . . . .	728-729
III. Inscription of Amenemhet . . . . .	730-732
IV. Inscription of Harurre . . . . .	733-738
Turra Inscription . . . . .	739-742
Inscription of Schetepibre . . . . .	743-748
Reign of Amenemhet IV . . . . .	749-750
Kummeh Inscription . . . . .	749
Sinai Inscriptions . . . . .	750
FROM THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY TO THE HYKSOS . . . . .	751-787
Reign of Sekhemre-Khutowe . . . . .	751-752
Records of Nile-Levels . . . . .	751-752
Reign of Neferhotep . . . . .	753-772
Great Abydos Stela . . . . .	753-765
Boundary Stela . . . . .	766-772
Reign of Nubkheprure-Intef . . . . .	773-780
Coptos Decree . . . . .	773-780
Reign of Khenzer . . . . .	781-787
Inscriptions of Ameniseneb . . . . .	781-787

## VOLUME II

	§§
THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY . . . . .	1-1043
Reign of Ahmose I . . . . .	1-37
Biography of Ahmose, Son of Ebana . . . . .	1-3
I. Career under Ahmose I (ll. 1-24) . . . . .	4-16
II. Career under Amenhotep I (ll. 24-29) . . . . .	38-39
III. Career under Thutmose I (ll. 29-39) . . . . .	78-82
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet . . . . .	17-25
I. Ahmose's Campaigns [Continued § 40] . . . . .	18-20
II. Ahmose's Rewards . . . . .	21-24
III. Ahmose's Summary . . . . .	25

	§§
Quarry Inscription . . . . .	26-28
Karnak Stela . . . . .	29-32
Building Inscription . . . . .	33-37
Reign of Amenhotep I . . . . .	38-53
Biography of Ahmose, Son of Ebana . . . . .	38-39
II. Career under Amenhotep I (ll. 24-29) . . . . .	38-53
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet . . . . .	40-42
Career under Amenhotep I . . . . .	40-42
Biography of Ineni . . . . .	43-46
I. Career under Amenhotep I . . . . .	44-46
II. Career under Thutmose I . . . . .	99-108
III. Career under Thutmose II . . . . .	115-118
IV. Career under Thutmose III and Hatshepsut . . . . .	340-343
Stela of Harmini . . . . .	47-48
Stela of Keres . . . . .	49-52
Reign of Thutmose I . . . . .	54-114
Coronation Decree . . . . .	54-60
Biographical Inscription of Thure . . . . .	61-66
Tombos Stela . . . . .	67-73
Inscriptions at the First Cataract . . . . .	74-77
I. Sehel Inscription . . . . .	75
II. Sehel Inscription . . . . .	76
III. Assuan Inscription . . . . .	77
Inscription of Ahmose, Son of Ebana . . . . .	78-82
III. Career under Thutmose I (ll. 29-39) . . . . .	78-82
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet . . . . .	83-85
Career under Thutmose I . . . . .	83-85
Karnak Obelisks . . . . .	86-89
Abydos Stela . . . . .	90-98
Biography of Ineni . . . . .	99-108
II. Career under Thutmose I (ll. 4-14) . . . . .	99-108
Stela of Yuf . . . . .	109-114
Reign of Thutmose II . . . . .	115-127
Biography of Ineni . . . . .	115-118
III. Career under Thutmose II . . . . .	115-118
Assuan Inscription . . . . .	119-122
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekbet . . . . .	123-124
IV. Career under Thutmose II . . . . .	123-124

	§§
Campaign in Syria . . . . .	125
The Ebony Shrine of Der el-Bahri . . . . .	126-127
Reign of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut . . . . .	128-390
Introduction . . . . .	128-130
Inscription of the Coronation; Buildings and Offerings	131-166
Semneh Temple Inscriptions . . . . .	167
I. Renewal of Sesostris III's List of Offerings . . . . .	168-172
II. Dedication to Dedun and Sesostris III . . . . .	173-176
Biography of Nebwawi . . . . .	177
I. The Statue Inscription . . . . .	178-183
II. Abydos Stela . . . . .	184-186
The Birth of Queen Hatshepsut . . . . .	187-191
I. The Council of the Gods . . . . .	192
II. Interviews Between Amon and Thoth . . . . .	193-194
III. Amon with Queen Ahmose . . . . .	195-198
IV. Interview Between Amon and Khnum . . . . .	199-201
V. Khnum Fashions the Child . . . . .	202-203
VI. Interview Between Thoth and Queen Ahmose . . . . .	204
VII. Queen Ahmose is Led to Confinement . . . . .	205
VIII. The Birth . . . . .	206-207
IX. Presentation of the Child to Amon . . . . .	208
X. Council of Amon and Hathor . . . . .	209
XI. The Nursing of the Child . . . . .	210
XII. Second Interview of Amon and Thoth . . . . .	211
XIII. The Final Scene . . . . .	212
Statue of Enebni . . . . .	213
Vase Inscription . . . . .	214
The Coronation of Queen Hatshepsut . . . . .	215
I. The Purification . . . . .	216
II. Amon presents the Child to All the Gods . . . . .	217-220
III. The Northern Journey . . . . .	221-225
IV. Coronation by Atum . . . . .	226-227
V. Reception of the Crowns and the Names . . . . .	228-230
VI. Proclamation as King before Amon . . . . .	231
VII. Coronation before the Court . . . . .	232-239
VIII. Second Purification . . . . .	240-241
IX. Concluding Ceremonies . . . . .	242
Southern Pylon Inscription at Karnak . . . . .	243-245

	§§
The Punt Reliefs . . . . .	246-295
I. Departure of the Fleet . . . . .	252-253
II. Reception in Punt . . . . .	254-258
III. The Traffic . . . . .	259-262
IV. Loading the Vessels . . . . .	263-265
V. The Return Voyage . . . . .	266
VI. Presentation of the Tribute to the Queen by the Chiefs of Punt, Irem and Nemyew . . . . .	267-269
VII. The Queen Offers the Gifts to Amon . . . . .	270-272
VIII. Weighing and Measuring the Gifts to Amon . . . . .	273-282
IX. Formal Announcement of the Success of the Expedition before Amon . . . . .	283-288
X. Formal Announcement of the Success of the Expedition to the Court . . . . .	289-295
Inscription of the Speos Artemidos . . . . .	296-303
The Karnak Obelisks . . . . .	304-307
I. Shaft Inscriptions; Middle Columns . . . . .	308-311
II. Shaft Inscriptions; Side Columns . . . . .	312-313
III. Base Inscription . . . . .	314-321
Reliefs of Transportation of Obelisks . . . . .	322
I. Transport . . . . .	323-329
II. Reception in Thebes . . . . .	330-335
III. Dedication of the Obelisks . . . . .	336
Rock Inscription in Wadi Maghara . . . . .	337
Building Inscription of Western Thebes . . . . .	338-339
Biography of Ineni . . . . .	340-343
IV. Career under Thutmose III and Hatshepsut . . . . .	340-343
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet . . . . .	344
Conclusion of Summary . . . . .	344
Inscriptions of Senmut . . . . .	345-368
I. Inscriptions on the Karnak Statue . . . . .	349-358
II. Assuan Inscription . . . . .	359-362
III. Inscriptions on the Berlin Statue . . . . .	363-368
Inscription of Thutiy . . . . .	369-378
Inscriptions of Puemre . . . . .	379
I. Statue of Inscription . . . . .	380-381
II. Tomb Inscriptions . . . . .	382-387
Inscriptions of Hapuseneb . . . . .	388-390

	§§
Reign of Thutmose III . . . . .	391-779
The Annals . . . . .	391-405
The Annals: Conspectus of Campaigns . . . . .	406
I. Introduction . . . . .	407
II. First Campaign (Year 23) . . . . .	408-443
Wadi Halfa Inscription . . . . .	411-437
Fragment on the Siege of Megiddo . . . . .	438-443
III. Second Campaign (Year 24) . . . . .	444-449
IV. Third Campaign (Year 25) . . . . .	450-452
V. Fourth Campaign . . . . .	453
VI. Fifth Campaign (Year 29) . . . . .	454-462
VII. Sixth Campaign (Year 30) . . . . .	463-467
VIII. Seventh Campaign (Year 31) . . . . .	468-475
IX. Eighth Campaign (Year 33) . . . . .	476-487
X. Ninth Campaign (Year 34) . . . . .	488-495
XI. Tenth Campaign (Year 35) . . . . .	496-503
XII. Eleventh Campaign (Year 36) . . . . .	504
XIII. Twelfth Campaign (Year 37) . . . . .	505
XIV. Thirteenth Campaign (Year 38) . . . . .	506-515
XV. Fourteenth Campaign (Year 39) . . . . .	516-519
XVI. Fifteenth Campaign . . . . .	520-523
XVII. Sixteenth Campaign . . . . .	524-527
XVIII. Seventeenth Campaign . . . . .	528-539
XIX. Conclusion . . . . .	540
Feasts and Offerings from the Conquests . . . . .	541-573
Biography of Amenemhab . . . . .	574-592
Fragments of Karnak Pylon VII . . . . .	593-598
Great Karnak Building Inscription . . . . .	599-608
Building Inscription of the Karnak Ptah-Temple . . . . .	609-622
Obelisks . . . . .	623
I. Karnak Obelisks . . . . .	624-625
II. Lateran Obelisks . . . . .	626-628
III. Constantinople Obelisk . . . . .	629-631
IV. London Obelisk . . . . .	632-633
V. New York Obelisk . . . . .	634-636
Medinet Habu Building Inscriptions . . . . .	637-641
Heliopolis Building Inscriptions . . . . .	642-643
Nubian Wars . . . . .	644-654

	§§
I. Canal Inscription . . . . .	649-650
II. Inscriptions of Nehi, Viceroy of Kush . . . . .	651-652
III. Offerings from the South Countries . . . . .	653-654
Hymn of Victory . . . . .	655-662
Tomb of Rekhmire . . . . .	663-759
I. Appointment of Rekhmire as Vizier . . . . .	665-670
II. Duties of the Vizier . . . . .	671-711
III. The Sitting of the Vizier . . . . .	712-713
IV. Reception of Petitions . . . . .	714-715
V. Inspection of Taxes of Upper Egypt . . . . .	716
A. Above Thebes . . . . .	717-728
B. Below Thebes . . . . .	729-745
VI. Reception of Dues to the Amon-Temple . . . . .	746-751
VII. Inspection of Daily Offerings and of Monuments . . . . .	752
VIII. Inspection of Craftsmen . . . . .	753-755
IX. Inspection of Sculptors and Builders . . . . .	756-759
X. Reception of Foreign Tribute . . . . .	760-761
XI. Accession of Amenhotep II . . . . .	762
Stela of Intef the Herald . . . . .	763-771
Tomb of Menkheperreseneb . . . . .	772-776
Stela of Nibamon . . . . .	777-779
Reign of Amenhotep II . . . . .	780
Asiatic Campaign . . . . .	780-798
I. Karnak Stela . . . . .	781-790
II. Amâda and Elephantine Stelæ . . . . .	791-798
III. Karnak Chapel . . . . .	798A
Turra Inscription . . . . .	799-800
Tomb of Amenken . . . . .	801-802
Karnak Building Inscription . . . . .	803-806
Biography of Amenemhab . . . . .	807-809
Reign of Thutmose IV . . . . .	810-840
Sphinx Stela . . . . .	810-815
Asiatic Campaign . . . . .	816-822
Konosso Inscription . . . . .	823-829
Lateran Obelisk . . . . .	830-838
Stela of Pe'aoke . . . . .	839-840
Reign of Amenhotep III . . . . .	841-931
Birth and Coronation . . . . .	841



	§§
Nubian War . . . . .	842-855
I. Stela at First Cataract . . . . .	843-844
II. Stela of Konosso . . . . .	845
III. Bubastis Inscription . . . . .	846-850
IV. Semneh Inscription . . . . .	851-855
Tablet of Victory . . . . .	856-859
The Commemorative Scarabs . . . . .	860-869
I. Marriage with Tiy . . . . .	861-862
II. Wild Cattle Hunt . . . . .	863-864
III. Ten Years Lion-Hunting . . . . .	865
IV. Marriage with Kirgipa . . . . .	866-867
V. Construction of a Pleasure Lake . . . . .	868-869
Jubilee Celebrations . . . . .	870-874
Quarry and Mine Inscriptions . . . . .	875-877
Building Inscription . . . . .	878-892
I. Introduction (ll. 1-2) . . . . .	882
II. Temple of the (Memnon) Colossi (ll. 2-10) . . . . .	883-885
III. Luxor Temple and Connected Buildings . . . . .	886-887
IV. Sacred Barge of Amon (ll. 16-20) . . . . .	888
V. Third Pylon of Karnak (ll. 20-23) . . . . .	889
VI. Temple of Soleb (ll. 23-26) . . . . .	890
VII. Hymn of Amon to the King (ll. 26-31) . . . . .	891-892
Building Inscriptions of the Soleb Temple . . . . .	893-898
Great Inscription of the Third Karnak Pylon . . . . .	899-903
Dedication Stela . . . . .	904-910
I. Speech of the King (ll. 1-13) . . . . .	905-908
II. Speech of Amon (ll. 14-20) . . . . .	909
III. Speech of the Divine Ennead (ll. 20-24) . . . . .	910
Inscriptions of Amenhotep, Son of Hapi . . . . .	911-927
I. Statue Inscription . . . . .	913-920
II. Mortuary Temple Edict . . . . .	921-927
Statue of Nebnefer . . . . .	928-931
Reign of Ikhnaton . . . . .	932-1018
Quarry Inscription at Silsileh . . . . .	932-935
Tomb of the Vizier Ramose . . . . .	936-948
The Tell El-Amarna Landmarks . . . . .	949-972
Assuan Tablet of the Architect Bek . . . . .	973-976
The Tell El-Amarna Tombs . . . . .	977-1018

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xvii

	§§
Tomb of Merire II . . . . .	981
Tomb of Merire I . . . . .	982-988
Tomb of Eye . . . . .	989-996
Tomb of Mai . . . . .	997-1003
Tomb of Ahmose . . . . .	1004-1008
Tomb of Tutu . . . . .	1009-1013
Tomb of Huy . . . . .	1014-1018
Reign of Tutenkhamon . . . . .	1019-1041
Tomb of Huy . . . . .	1019-1041
I. Investiture of the Viceroy of Kush . . . . .	1020-1026
II. Tribute of the North . . . . .	1027-1033
III. Tribute of the South . . . . .	1034-1041
Reign of Eye . . . . .	1042-1043

LIST OF FIGURES

	PAGE
Plan of Punt Reliefs . . . . .	105

VOLUME III

	§§
THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY . . . . .	1-651
Reign of Harmhab . . . . .	1-73
Tomb of Harmhab . . . . .	1-21
I. Leyden Fragments . . . . .	2-9
I. Stela with Adoration Scene . . . . .	2-5
II. Reward of Gold . . . . .	6-9
II. Vienna Fragment . . . . .	10-12
III. Alexandria Fragments . . . . .	13
IV. British Museum Fragments . . . . .	14-19
I. Doorposts . . . . .	14-17
II. Stela with Three Hymns . . . . .	18-19
V. Cairo Fragments . . . . .	20-21
Coronation Inscription . . . . .	22-32
Graffiti in the Theban Necropolis . . . . .	32A-32C
The Wars of Harmhab . . . . .	33-44
I. In the North . . . . .	34-36
II. In the South . . . . .	37-44
Edict of Harmhab . . . . .	45-67

	§§
I. Introduction (ll. 1-10) . . . . .	49
II. Introduction: The King's Zeal for the Relief of the People (ll. 10-14) . . . . .	50
III. Enactment Against Robbing the Poor of Dues for the Royal Breweries and Kitchens (ll. 14-17)	51
IV. Enactment Against Robbing the Poor of Wood Due the Pharaoh (ll. 17-18) . . . . .	52
V. Enactment Against Exacting Dues from a Poor Man Thus Robbed (ll. 18-20) . . . . .	53
VI. Against Robbing the Poor of Dues for the Harem or the Gods by the Soldiers (ll. 20-24) . . . . .	54
VII. Enactments Against Unlawful Appropriation of Slave Service (ll. 22-24) . . . . .	55
VIII. Enactment Against Stealing of Hides by the Soldiers (ll. 25-28) . . . . .	56-57
IX. Against Connivance of Dishonest Inspectors with Thievish Tax-Collectors, for a Share of the Booty (ll. 28-32) . . . . .	58
X. Enactment Against Stealing Vegetables Under Pretense of Collecting Taxes (ll. 32-35) . . . . .	59
XI. Enactments too Fragmentary for Analysis (ll. 35- 39) and Right Side (ll. 1, 2) . . . . .	60-62
XII. Narrative of the King's Reforms, Containing Also an Enactment Against Corrupt Judges (ll. 3-7) . . . . .	63-65
XIII. Narrative of the King's Monthly Audiences and Largesses (ll. 7-10) . . . . .	66
XIV. Laudation of the King, and Conclusion (Left Side) . . . . .	67
Tomb of Neferhotep . . . . .	68-73
Reign of Ramses I . . . . .	74-79
Wadi Halfa Stela . . . . .	74-79
Reign of Seti I . . . . .	80-250
Karnak Reliefs . . . . .	80-156
Scene 1. March through Southern Palestine . . . . .	83-84
Scene 2. Battle with the Shasu . . . . .	85-86
Scene 3. Capture of Pekanán . . . . .	87-88
Scene 4. Capture of Yenoam . . . . .	89-90

	§§
Scene 5. Submission of the Chiefs of Lebanon . . . . .	91-94
Scenes 6 and 7. Binding and Carrying Away Prisoners . . . . .	95-97
Scene 8. Reception in Egypt . . . . .	98-103
Scene 9. Presentation of Shasu Prisoners and Precious Vessels to Amon . . . . .	104-108
Scene 10. Presentation of Syrian Prisoners and Precious Vessels to Amon . . . . .	109-112
Scene 11. Slaying Prisoners Before Amon . . . . .	113-119
Scene 12. First Battle with the Libyans . . . . .	120-122
Scene 13. Second Battle with the Libyans . . . . .	123-132
Scene 14. Return from Libyan War . . . . .	133-134
Scene 15. Presentation of Libyan Prisoners and Spoil to Amon . . . . .	135-139
Scene 16. Capture of Kadesh . . . . .	140-141
Scene 17. Battle with the Hittites . . . . .	142-144
Scene 18. Carrying off Hittite Prisoners . . . . .	145-148
Scene 19. Presentation of Hittite Spoil and Prisoners to Amon . . . . .	149-152
Scene 20. Slaying Prisoners before Amon . . . . .	153-156
Wadi Halfa Stela . . . . .	157-161
Inscriptions of Redesiyeh . . . . .	162-198
I. First Inscription . . . . .	169-174
II. Second Inscription . . . . .	175-194
III. Third Inscription . . . . .	195-198
Building Inscriptions . . . . .	199-250
I. First Cataract Inscription . . . . .	201-204
1. Assuan Inscription . . . . .	201-202
2. Elephantine Stela . . . . .	203-204
II. Silsileh Quarry Stela . . . . .	205-208
III. Gebelên Quarry Inscription . . . . .	209-210
IV. Mortuary Temple at Thebes (Kurna) . . . . .	211-221
V. Temple of Karnak . . . . .	222-224
VI. Mortuary Temple at Abydos . . . . .	225-243
VII. Temple Model of Heliopolis . . . . .	244-246
VIII. Miscellaneous . . . . .	247-250
Reign of Ramses II . . . . .	251-568
Great Abydos Inscription . . . . .	251-281
Kubbân Stela . . . . .	282-293

	§§
The Asiatic War . . . . .	294-391
I. Beginning of the Hittite War . . . . .	296-351
I. First Campaign . . . . .	297
II. Second Campaign: The Battle of Kadesh . . . . .	298-351
a. Poem of the Battle of Kadesh . . . . .	305-315
b. Official Record of the Battle of Kadesh . . . . .	316-327
c. The Reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh. . . . .	328
I. The Council of War . . . . .	329-330
II. The Camp . . . . .	331-332
III. Ramses' Messengers . . . . .	333-334
IV. The Battle . . . . .	335-338
V. The Defense of the Camp . . . . .	339-340
VI. After the Battle . . . . .	341-347
VII. Presentation of Captives to Amon . . . . .	348-351
III. Palestinian Revolt . . . . .	352-362
I. Reconquest of Southern Palestine . . . . .	353-355
II. Reconquest of Northern Palestine . . . . .	356-362
IV. Campaign in Naharin . . . . .	363-391
I. Conquest of Naharin . . . . .	364-366
II. Treaty with the Hittites . . . . .	367-391
Relations of Egypt with the Hittites after the War . . . . .	392-491
I. The Blessing of Ptah . . . . .	394-414
II. Marriage Stela . . . . .	415-424
III. Message of the Chief of Kheta to the Chief of Kode . . . . .	425-426
IV. Coptos Stela . . . . .	427-428
V. Bentresh Stela . . . . .	429-447
Nubian Wars and References to Northern Wars . . . . .	448-491
I. Abu Simbel Temple . . . . .	449-457
II. Bet el-Walli Temple . . . . .	458-477
III. Assuan Stela . . . . .	478-479
IV. Luxor Temple . . . . .	480-484
V. Abydos Temple . . . . .	485-486
VI. Tanis Stelæ . . . . .	487-491
Building Inscriptions . . . . .	492-537
I. Great Temple of Abu Simbel. . . . .	495-499
II. Small Temple of Abu Simbel. . . . .	500-501
III. Temple of Serreh . . . . .	502

	§§
IV. Temple of Derr . . . . .	503
V. Temple of Sebûca . . . . .	504
VI. Temple of el Kab . . . . .	505
VII. Temple of Luxor . . . . .	506-508
VIII. Temple of Karnak . . . . .	509-513
IX. The Ramesseum . . . . .	514-515
X. Temple of Kurna . . . . .	516-522
XI. Seti I's Temple at Abydos and Great Abydos Inscription . . . . .	262-267
XII. Ramses II's Temple at Abydos . . . . .	524-529
XIII. Memphis Temples . . . . .	530-537
1. Great Abydos Inscription (l. 22) . . . . .	260
2. Blessing of Ptah (ll. 32, 35) . . . . .	412-413
XIV. City of Tanis (Blessing of Ptah (ll. 16-18) . . . . .	406
Stela of the Year 400 . . . . .	538-542
Royal Jubilee Inscriptions . . . . .	543-560
I. First Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	552
II. Bigeh Inscription . . . . .	553
III. Second Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	554
IV. Third Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	555
V. Fourth Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	556
VI. Sehel Inscription . . . . .	557
VII. El Kab Inscription . . . . .	558
VIII. Fifth Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	559
IX. Sixth Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	560
Inscription of Beknekhonsu . . . . .	561-568
Reign of Merneptah . . . . .	569-638
The Invasion of Libyans and Mediterranean Peoples . . . . .	569-617
I. The Great Karnak Inscription . . . . .	572-592
II. The Cairo Column . . . . .	593-595
III. The Athribis Stela . . . . .	596-601
IV. The Hymn of Victory . . . . .	602-617
Inscriptions of the High Priest of Amon, Roy . . . . .	618-628
Daybook of a Frontier Official . . . . .	629-635
Letter of a Frontier Official . . . . .	636-638
Reign of Siptah . . . . .	639-650
Nubian Graffiti . . . . .	639-650

LIST OF FIGURES		PAGE
Fig. 1.	Plan of the Reliefs of Seti I, on the North Wall of the Great Hall of Karnak . . . . .	39
Fig. 2.	Seti I on the Route through Southern Palestine (Scene 1) . . . . .	44
Fig. 3.	Showing Two Superimposed Figures . . . . .	61
Fig. 4.	Inserted Figure of "First King's-Son" . . . . .	61
Fig. 5.	An Unknown Prince Following the Chariot of Seti I (Scene 14) . . . . .	66
Fig. 6.	Figure of an Unknown Prince Inserted in a Fragmentary Scene (§ 130) . . . . .	66
Fig. 7.	Map of the Orontes Valley in the Vicinity of Kadesh . . . . .	126
Fig. 8.	March to Kadesh: First Positions . . . . .	128
Fig. 9.	Battle of Kadesh: Second Positions . . . . .	130
Fig. 10.	Battle of Kadesh: Third Positions . . . . .	130
Fig. 11.	Battle of Kadesh: Fourth Positions . . . . .	130
Fig. 12.	Battle of Kadesh: Fifth Positions . . . . .	130
Fig. 13.	The Modern Mound of Kadesh . . . . .	152

#### VOLUME IV

		§§
THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY . . . . .		1-603
Reign of Ramses III . . . . .		1-456
Medinet Habu Temple . . . . .		1-150
Building and Dedication Inscriptions . . . . .		1-20
Historical Inscriptions . . . . .		21-138
I. Treasury of Medinet Habu Temple . . . . .		25-34
II. First Libyan War, Year 5 . . . . .		35-58
1. Great Inscription in the Second Court (Year 5) . . . . .		36-58
III. Northern War, Year 8 . . . . .		59-82
1. Great Inscription on the Second Pylon, Year 8 . . . . .		61-68
2. Relief Scenes Outside North Wall and in Second Court, Year 8 . . . . .		69-82
IV. Second Libyan War . . . . .		83-114

	§§
1. Great Inscription on the First Pylon (Medinet Habu) . . . . .	85-92
2. Poem on Second Libyan War . . . . .	93-99
3. Relief Scenes on First Pylon and Outside North Wall (Medinet Habu) . . . . .	100-114
4. Papyrus Harris . . . . .	405
V. The Syrian War . . . . .	115-135
VI. The Nubian War . . . . .	136-138
Medinet Habu Temple Calendar . . . . .	139-145
Act of Endowment of the Temples of Khnum . . . . .	146-150
Papyrus Harris . . . . .	151-412
Discussion of . . . . .	151-181
Content:	
I. Introduction . . . . .	182-183
II. Theban Section . . . . .	184-246
III. Heliopolitan Section . . . . .	247-304
IV. Memphite Section . . . . .	305-351
V. General Section (Small Temples) . . . . .	352-382
VI. Summary . . . . .	383-396
VII. Historical Section . . . . .	397-412
Record of the Royal Jubilee . . . . .	413-415
Records of the Harem Conspiracy . . . . .	416-456
I. Appointment of the Court . . . . .	423-424
II. The Condemned of the First Prosecution . . . . .	425-443
III. The Condemned of the Second Prosecution . . . . .	444-445
IV. The Condemned of the Third Prosecution . . . . .	446-450
V. The Condemned of the Fourth Prosecution . . . . .	451-452
VI. The Acquitted . . . . .	453
VII. The Practicers of Magic . . . . .	454-456
Reign of Ramses IV . . . . .	457-472
Hammamat Stela . . . . .	457-468
I. The First Stela . . . . .	457-460
II. The Second Stela . . . . .	461-468
Abydos Stela . . . . .	469-471
Building Inscription of the Khonsu Temple . . . . .	472
Reign of Ramses V . . . . .	473
Tomb Dedication . . . . .	473
Reign of Ramses VI . . . . .	474-483



	§§
Tomb of Penno . . . . .	474-483
Reign of Ramses VII . . . . .	484-485
Stela of Hori . . . . .	484-485
Reign of Ramses IX . . . . .	486-556
Inscriptions of the High Priest of Amon, Amenhotep	486-498
I. Building Inscriptions . . . . .	488-491
II. Records of Rewards . . . . .	492-498
The Records of the Royal Tomb-Robberies . . . . .	499-556
I. Papyrus Abbott . . . . .	509-535
II. Papyrus Amherst . . . . .	536-541
III. Turin Fragment . . . . .	542-543
IV. Mayer Papyri . . . . .	544-556
Reign of Ramses XII . . . . .	557-603
The Report of Wenamon . . . . .	557-591
Records of the Restoration of the Royal Mummies . . . . .	592-594
Letter to the Viceroy of Kush . . . . .	595-600
Building Inscriptions in the Temple of Khonsu . . . . .	601-603
THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY . . . . .	604-692
The Twenty-First Dynasty . . . . .	604-607
Reign of Hrihor . . . . .	608-626
Inscriptions of the Temple of Khonsu . . . . .	608-626
Reign of Nesubenedbed . . . . .	627-630
Gebelên Inscription . . . . .	627-630
Reign of the High Priest and King Paynozem I . . . . .	631-649
I. Paynozem I as High Priest . . . . .	631-635
Building Inscriptions . . . . .	631-635
Records on the Royal Mummies . . . . .	636-642
II. Paynozem I as King . . . . .	643 ff.
Records on the Royal Mummies . . . . .	643-647
Building Inscriptions . . . . .	648-649
High Priesthood of Menkheperre . . . . .	650-661
Stela of the Banishment . . . . .	650-658
Record of Restoration . . . . .	659
Karnak Graffito . . . . .	660
Records on the Royal Mummies . . . . .	661
High Priesthood of Paynozem II . . . . .	662-687
Records on the Priestly Mummies . . . . .	662-663
Records on the Royal Mummies . . . . .	664-667

	§§
Record of Paynozem II's Burial . . . . .	668
Stela of the "Great Chief of Me," Sheshonk . . . . .	669-687
High Priesthood of Pesibkhenno . . . . .	688-692
Records on Mummy-Wrappings . . . . .	688
Burial of Nesikhonsu . . . . .	689
Records on the Royal Mummies . . . . .	690-692
<b>THE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY . . . . .</b>	<b>693-792</b>
Records of Nile-Levels at Karnak . . . . .	693-698
Reign of Sheshonk I . . . . .	699-728
Records on Mummy-Bandages of Zeptahefonekh . . . . .	699-700
Building Inscription . . . . .	701-708
Great Karnak Relief . . . . .	709-722
Presentation of Tribute . . . . .	723-724
Karnak Stela . . . . .	724A
Dakhel Stela . . . . .	725-728
Reign of Osorkon I . . . . .	729-737
Record of Temple Gifts . . . . .	729-737
Reign of Takelot I . . . . .	738-740
Statue of the Nile-God Dedicated by the High Priest, Sheshonk . . . . .	738-740
Reign of Osorkon II. . . . .	742-751
Flood Inscription . . . . .	742-744
Statue Inscription . . . . .	745-747
Jubilee Inscriptions . . . . .	748-751
Reign of Takelot II . . . . .	752-755
Graffito of Harsiese . . . . .	752-754
Stela of Kerome . . . . .	755
Reign of Sheshonk III . . . . .	756-777
Annals of the High Priest of Amon, Osorkon . . . . .	756-770
I. East of Door . . . . .	760-761
II. West of Door . . . . .	762-770
First Serapeum Stela of Pediese . . . . .	771-774
Record of Installation . . . . .	775-777
Reign of Pemou. . . . .	778-781
Second Serapeum Stela of Pediese . . . . .	778-781
Reign of Sheshonk IV . . . . .	782-792
Stela of Weshtehet . . . . .	782-784

	§§
Serapeum Stela of Harpeson . . . . .	785-792
<b>THE TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY.</b> . . . .	<b>793-883</b>
Records of Nile-Levels at Karnak . . . . .	793-794
Reign of Osorkon III . . . . .	795
Will of Yewelot . . . . .	795
Reign of Piankhi . . . . .	796-883
The Piankhi Stela . . . . .	796-883
<b>THE TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY</b> . . . . .	<b>884</b>
Reign of Bocchoris . . . . .	884
Serapeum Stelæ . . . . .	884
<b>THE TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY</b> . . . . .	<b>885-934</b>
Records of the Nile-Levels at Karnak . . . . .	885-888
Reign of Shabaka . . . . .	889
Building Inscription . . . . .	889
Reign of Taharka . . . . .	892-918
Tanis Stela . . . . .	892-896
Building Inscription in Large Cliff-Temple of Napata	897-900
Inscription of Mentemhet . . . . .	901-916
Serapeum Stela . . . . .	917-918
Reign of Tanutamon . . . . .	919-934
Stela of Tanutamon . . . . .	919-934
<b>THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY</b> . . . . .	<b>935-1029</b>
Reign of Psamtik I . . . . .	935-973
Adoption Stela of Nitocris . . . . .	935-958
Statue Inscription of the Chief Steward, Ibe . . . . .	958A-958M
First Serapeum Stela . . . . .	959-962
Second Serapeum Stela . . . . .	963-966
Statue Inscription of Hor . . . . .	967-973
Reign of Necho . . . . .	974-980
Serapeum Stela . . . . .	974-979
Building Inscription . . . . .	980
Reign of Psamtik II . . . . .	981-983
Statue Inscription of Neferibre-Nofer . . . . .	981-983
Reign of Apries . . . . .	984-995
Serapeum Stela . . . . .	984-988
Stela of the Divine Consort Enekhnesneferibre . . . . .	988A-988J
Inscription of Nesuhor . . . . .	989-995

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xxvii

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	§§
Reign of Amasis (Ahmose II). . . . .	996-1029
Elephantine Stela . . . . .	996-1007
Serapeum Stela . . . . .	1008-1012
Statue Inscription of the General Ahmose . . . . .	1013-1014
Statue Inscription of Pefnefdineit . . . . .	1015-1025
Mortuary Stelæ of the Priest Psantik . . . . .	1026-1029

LIST OF FIGURES

	PAGE
Plan of Scenes and Inscriptions in Medinet Habu Temple . . . . .	5
INDEX . . . . .	521

## EXPLANATION OF TYPOGRAPHICAL SIGNS AND SPECIAL CHARACTERS

1. The introductions to the documents are in twelve-point type, like these lines.

2. All of the translations are in ten-point type, like this line.

3. In the footnotes and introductions all quotations from the documents in the original words of the translation are in *italics*, inclosed in quotation marks. *Italics* are not employed in the text of the volumes for any other purpose except for titles.

4. The lines of the original document are indicated in the translation by superior numbers.

5. The loss of a word in the original is indicated by —, two words by — —, three words by — — —, four words by — — — —, five words by — — — — —, and more than five by —————. A word in the original is estimated at a “square” as known to Egyptologists, and the estimate can be but a very rough one.

6. When any of the dashes, like those of No. 5, are inclosed in half-brackets, the dashes so inclosed indicate not lost, but uncertain words. Thus [—] represents one uncertain word, [— —] two uncertain words, and [————] more than five uncertain words.

7. When a word or group of words are inclosed in half-brackets, the words so inclosed are uncertain in meaning; that is, the translation is not above question.

8. Roman numerals I, II, III, and IV, not preceded by the title of any book or journal, refer to these four volumes of Historical Documents. The Arabic numerals following such Romans refer to the numbered paragraphs of these volumes. All paragraph marks (§ and §§, without a Roman) refer to paragraphs of the same volume.

9. For signs used in transliteration, see Vol. I, p. xv.

**THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY**

## REIGN OF HARMHAB

### TOMB OF HARMHAB<sup>a</sup>

1. This splendid limestone tomb was built by the general, Harmhab, who afterward became King Harmhab. His career before he gained the throne is openly narrated in his Coronation Inscription (§§ 22 ff.); but the first step in the study of his life is the demonstration of the identity of the general and the king. This was first proved by the observation that the Vienna fragment may be fitted upon the Leyden blocks<sup>b</sup> (§§ 2-13). The construction of the tomb and execution of the reliefs belong to a period either just before or just after the Aton heresy of Ikhnaton; for Harmhab, in praising King Ikhnaton, states that he owes his kingdom to Amon<sup>c</sup> (§ 8); furthermore, the gods of Heliopolis—Horus, Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and Hathor—are mentioned. As Amon is not erased in the tomb, this, with the mention of the other gods, would indicate that the tomb was constructed under Ikhnaton's weak successors, after the resumption of the Amon-worship, at a time when the commemoration of Harmhab's favor under Ikhnaton was not yet a political *faux pas*. But this is not certain.

---

<sup>a</sup>It originally stood in Sakkara, but has been ruthlessly destroyed. The few fragments which have survived are now in six different museums.

<sup>b</sup>See my remarks, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 38, 47 ff.

<sup>c</sup>This has little or no bearing on the date of the event depicted in the relief, but only on the date of the execution of the relief. The later insertion of the uraeus shows that an anachronism like the assumed mention of Amon in Ikhnaton's presence might easily be perpetrated after the worship of Amon had been resumed.

I. LEYDEN FRAGMENTS<sup>a</sup>I. STELA WITH ADORATION SCENE<sup>b</sup>

2. The hawk-headed Re, enthroned, is worshiped by the deceased, standing, who "shows in his body exactly those deformities by which the king Chu-en-Aten is to be recognized. The belly projects forward prominently, and heavy masses of fat are distributed along the entire body. His hair is curled, and about the neck he wears the braided necklace with which Chu-en-Aten was accustomed to reward his most faithful servants." The inscription of twelve very short vertical lines over the heads of the figures, is as follows:

*Over the God*

3. 1. Harakhte! Great god, lord of heaven, lord of earth; who cometh forth from the horizon. He illuminateth the Two Lands, the sun of darkness, as the great one, as Re.

*Over Harmhab*

4. Praise to thee! Re, lord of truth, great god, sovereign of Heliopolis! May he grant a fortunate life, <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> in eternity, glory in heaven, favor in earth, for the ka of the commander in chief of the army, Harmhab, triumphant.

5. The content of the inscription, like the reliefs, shows plain traces of the influence of Ikhnaton's movement; although Aton is not mentioned. The following reliefs show clearly the relation of Harmhab to Ikhnaton.

<sup>a</sup>These fragments have never been published entire.

<sup>b</sup>Leyden Museum, V, 29; a rectangular tablet, the text of which was published by Wiedemann (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1885, 80, 81) without the reliefs of which he offers the above description.



2. REWARD OF GOLD<sup>a</sup>

6. These reliefs are in two series,<sup>b</sup> both representing Harmhab receiving the reward of gold from his king.

7. In the first series, the figure of the king (at the extreme right) is lost. Harmhab, wearing the uraeus, and with hands raised in rejoicing, is loaded with collars of gold; behind him (at the left) approach two long double lines of Asiatics, each pair led by two Egyptians; over these were lines of horsemen!<sup>c</sup>

8. In the second series, the lower portion of the king's figure (at the extreme left) is preserved and shows unmistakably the peculiar characteristics found only in the representations of Ikhnaton. His queen stands behind him, as in the similar scenes at Amarna, and showing the same peculiarities of style. Below is Harmhab alone,<sup>d</sup> his neck loaded with golden collars, having before him the lower ends of three lines of inscription, as follows:

<sup>1</sup>[Speech] ——— in his presence, by the hereditary prince, count, sole companion, king's-scribe, Harmhab, triumphant. He says, while he answers <sup>2</sup>[the king] ——— [The kingdom is thine] forever and ever; Amon has assigned it to thee. They muster [every] country <sup>3</sup>——— in their heart as one. Thy name is a fire <sup>4</sup>———.

9. Adjoining this scene on the right is a continuation,

<sup>a</sup>These reliefs have never been published. I secured photographs of them through the kindness of Dr. Pleyte. They are described by Leemans, *Description raisonnée des monuments égyptiens*, 40-41, C, 1-3; see also Leemans, *Monuments du Musée d'Antiquités*, I, 31-34.

<sup>b</sup>The upper portion, containing the inscriptions in each series, is unfortunately lost, and the extreme lower ends of a few lines remain.

<sup>c</sup>Only a long line of prancing horses' feet are visible; as there are no chariot wheels among them, and no human feet of men leading them (except at the extreme front), we may suppose that we have here a unique scene on an Egyptian monument—a troop of Asiatic horsemen. That the horses are being driven in a loose herd in the presence of the king is also possible.

<sup>d</sup>The head is lost, but of course it would show the uraeus, as everywhere else in the tomb.

showing Harmhab (on the left) received with acclamation by his household servants<sup>a</sup> (on the right), as he returns wearing his newly received collars of gold. Besides his two Egyptian servants appears a group of Asiatics,<sup>b</sup> like those in the first scene, all in postures of extravagant joy.<sup>c</sup>

## II. VIENNA FRAGMENT<sup>d</sup>

10. The block contains a text of eight vertical lines above a relief scene, representing a group of Egyptian officials bowing (toward the left) to their superior, Harmhab (his figure is lost on the left), who is giving them instructions regarding the disposition of certain Asiatics, whose town has been attacked, plundered, and destroyed. The whole description shows that we have in these Asiatics, fugitives from the conditions in Palestine described in the Amarna Letters at this time. The arrival of these people must have fallen under the reign of Ikhnaton or his immediate successors. They desire a home in Egypt, as they say, "*after the manner of your fathers' fathers since the beginning.*" This, with the letter in Papyrus Anastasi<sup>e</sup> (VI, 4, 13 ff., and 5, 1 ff.), makes quite certain the custom of allowing the Asiatic Bedwin the privilege of settling in Egypt, to pasture their herds in the eastern Delta in times of distress, and is

<sup>a</sup>The same in the tomb of Eye at Amarna.

<sup>b</sup>Two Libyans are among them.

<sup>c</sup>One of them is on his back, and one on his belly. This explains the greeting in the Amarna letters: "At the feet of my lord the king . . . . seven times and seven times with breast and back, I throw myself" (ed. Winckler, p. 285, No. 158, ll. 9-13). No. 157 has: "with belly and back."

<sup>d</sup>In the imperial collection; published by Wiedemann, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, 425; and Bergmann, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XXVII, 125-27. Neither publishes the reliefs, for which I had my own photograph and collation of the original. I have published the photograph showing the relief in *ibid.*, 38, 47.

<sup>e</sup>§§ 637 ff.

an interesting parallel to the similar favor shown to Abraham and the kindred of Joseph.

11. These seven lines read:

1————<sup>a</sup> Asiatics; others have been placed in their abodes  
 2———— they have been destroyed, and their town laid waste, and fire  
 has been thrown 3————;<sup>b</sup> [they have come to entreat<sup>3</sup>] the Great in  
 Strength to send his mighty sword before 4————. Their countries  
 are starving, they live like goats of the mountain, [their] children<sup>c</sup> 5————  
 saying: “A few of the Asiatics, who knew not how they should live,  
 have come 6[‘begg’]ing [‘a home in the domain’]<sup>d</sup> of Pharaoh, L. P. H.,  
 after the manner of your<sup>e</sup> fathers’ fathers since the beginning, under  
 7————. Now, the Pharaoh, L. P. H., gives them into your<sup>e</sup> hand,  
 to protect their borders.”

12. Behind the officials receiving these instructions stood the Asiatics mentioned, as is shown by the fragment of one line of their inscription still surviving. It reads:

———— their boundaries — — [‘Lord’] of the Two Lands. They  
 give praise to the Good God, the Great in Strength, Zeserkheprure  
 (Harmhab).

Now, as this Vienna block has been shown to belong to the Leyden reliefs,<sup>f</sup> the conclusion would be that the royal figure in the Leyden reliefs must be King Harmhab. But the royal figure is clearly that of Ikhnaton. The difficulty is solved by the explanation of another incongruity in the tomb. Throughout its reliefs the figure of the general, Harmhab, wears the uraeus. This uraeus, as has been

<sup>a</sup>An uncertain amount is lacking at the beginning of each line; this is left unindicated by Wiedemann.

<sup>b</sup>Probably, “*fire has been thrown [into their grain];*” see I, 658, ll. 15, 16.

<sup>c</sup>An obvious emendation.

<sup>d</sup>The restoration is exceedingly uncertain, but something similar must be supplied.

<sup>e</sup>Plural.

<sup>f</sup>I have published the Vienna block and the adjoining Leyden fragments in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 38, 47.

clearly proved,<sup>a</sup> is a later insertion after the reliefs were finished. Hence the name of King Harmhab is a similar later insertion, and the Asiatics bowing, of course, like the officials, originally to the general Harmhab, are now represented as giving praise to the king Harmhab. The identity of the general and the king is thus demonstrated.

### III. ALEXANDRIA FRAGMENTS<sup>b</sup>

13. The text recounted a journey of Harmhab to the upper Nile, as messenger of some king—a journey from which he returned successfully, bringing tribute which the king publicly inspected. Under this text is the figure of Harmhab wearing the uraeus and leaning on a staff.

1 ——— 2[—] He was sent as royal messenger as far as Aton shines, coming 3[—] no land stood before him; 4he captured it in the passing of a moment. His name shall be remembered in 5the land of [— —] He sailed northward. Behold, his majesty 6appeared upon a dais (used) at the bringing<sup>c</sup> in of tribute 7and the [tribute] 8of south and north was brought in. 9Behold, the prince, 10Harmhab, triumphant, 11stood by the side of ———.

### IV. BRITISH MUSEUM FRAGMENTS

#### I. DOORPOSTS<sup>d</sup>

14. These monuments are chiefly of a religious nature, but the movement of Ikhnaton was so largely religious that

<sup>a</sup>*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 38, 49, 50. The fan which Harmhab carries in his hand, has been shifted to one side and distorted. The old lines still visible show that in its original position, the top of the fan would have interfered with the uraeus; hence it was shifted aside to insert the uraeus.

<sup>b</sup>In the Collection Zizinia; published by Wiedemann, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, 424; it contains portions of eleven lines, the first and last very broken, and the beginning of all the lines wanting.

<sup>c</sup>Egyptian idiom, "a dais of the bringing in of tribute."

<sup>d</sup>Nos. 550 and 552; Birch, *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries*, 36; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 92; excellent photographs by Clark and Davies, London; I had also my own copy.

such texts from the transition period are historically important. Furthermore, the titles of Harmhab which they contain indicate unusual powers and connect the owner of this tomb with the Harmhab of the Turin inscription (§§ 22 ff.), thus confirming the identity of the general and the king, Harmhab.

15. Each of the doorposts has below a figure of Harmhab in adoration, wearing the uraeus as usual, and having strapped to his back his fan, as insignium of his office. His form clearly shows traces of the style of art which prevailed under Ikhnaton, e. g., the thin ankles, above which the limbs thicken too suddenly.

16. The texts are in six vertical lines above and before the figures, one being a Sun-Hymn, as follows:

<sup>1</sup>Utterance of the hereditary prince, Harmhab, triumphant, when he worships Re at his rising, saying:

“Praise to thee! who becomest<sup>a</sup> every day,

“Who begetteth thyself<sup>a</sup> each morning,

“Who comest<sup>a</sup> forth from the body of thy<sup>a</sup> mother without ceasing.

“The two regions come to thee bowing down,

“They give to thee praise, when thou risest,

“When thou hast illuminated the earth with brightness.

“<sup>2</sup>Thy divine limbs flame as a mighty one in the heavens,

“Excellent god, eternal king,

“Lord of brightness, ruler of light,

“Upon his throne in the Morning-Barque,

“Great in brilliance in the Evening-Barque,

“Divine youth, heir of eternity,

“Who begetteth himself, who generateth himself.

“The great ennead worship thee,

“<sup>3</sup>The lesser ennead exult to thee;

“They praise thee in thy beautiful forms,

“With thy brilliance in the Evening-Barque,

“As when the sacred apes spy thee.

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<sup>a</sup>The Egyptian idiom requires third person here.

"4Rise thou, thy heart glad,  
 "With thy diadems in the horizon of heaven;  
 "Grant thou glory in heaven,  
 "Power in earth,<sup>a</sup>  
 "That I may go forth among thy followers <sup>5</sup>of every day;  
 "That my heart may be satisfied with all offerings,  
 "May receive flower-offerings, from the sanctuary (*h' t-bnbn*),  
 "Upon the table of the lords of Heliopolis."

<sup>6</sup>By the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, privy councilor of the palace, superior in the whole land, fan-bearer at the right of the king, general of the Lord of the Two Lands, real king's-scribe, his beloved, the hereditary prince, Harmhab.

17. The other doorpost bears the usual prayer to Osiris (but is important for the titles of Harmhab), as follows:

<sup>1</sup>Praise to thee! Presider over the west; Osiris, ruler of eternity; Wennofer, lord of Tazoser; Anubis, lord of Rosta; the gods, lords of the necropolis. May they grant bread, beer, oxen, fowl, libations of water, wine and milk for the hereditary prince, the general in chief of the Lord of the Two Lands, king's-scribe, <sup>2</sup>scribe of recruits, fan-bearer at the right hand of the king, overseer, giving satisfaction in the whole land, great in his office, great in rank, the two eyes of the king in the Two Lands, favorite of Horus in the palace, satisfying the heart of the king, <sup>3</sup>with all monuments, overseer of works in the mountain of grit-stone,<sup>b</sup> deputy of the king, presiding over the Two Lands, Harmhab, triumphant; he saith: "Homage to thee! Presider over the west, Osiris in the midst of Abydos. <sup>4</sup>I have come to thee (extending) my two hands in adoration of the beauty of thy majesty. Set thou me among thy followers, like the glorious ones who enter <sup>5</sup>the nether world, who live in truth every day. May I be one among them, (for) my abomination was lying, I executed <sup>6</sup>truth upon earth without neglecting it.

"For the ka of the hereditary prince, real king's-scribe, his beloved, deputy of the king in the whole land, general in chief, Harmhab, triumphant."

<sup>a</sup>Cf. the prayer on the second Leyden fragment.

<sup>b</sup>Cf. Inscription of Amenhotep, son of Hapi (II, 917, l. 40).

2. STELA WITH THREE HYMNS<sup>a</sup>

18. Above, occupying about one-third of the stela, is a relief showing the divinities Harakhte, Thoth, and Mat, standing, before whom stands Harmhab worshipping. His head is (in the photograph) almost wholly destroyed, and the uraeus, if present, cannot be discerned. Over Re are the words: "*Harakhte, only god, king of the gods; he rises in the west, he sendeth his beauty — —.*" Thoth and Mat bear the usual titles, while before Harmhab is a magical prayer.

19. The text of twenty-five lines addresses one after the other, Re, Thoth, and Mat, with the usual praise and prayers. These show clearly that the old traditional views are in full sway, although Aton is mentioned in l. 2: "*Thou art beautiful, youthful, as Aton before thy mother Hathor.*" The hymn is very interesting, but not historically important.

## V. CAIRO FRAGMENTS

20. Two blocks,<sup>b</sup> apparently doorposts, contain the following important titles of Harmhab above his figure on each block seated at an offering-table and wearing the uraeus. Each column begins with: "*Hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion;*" and then proceeds with the further titles:

<sup>1</sup>Privy councilor of the palace (*pr-stny*), great in love with his lord, chief prophet of Horus, lord of Sebi (*Sby*);<sup>c</sup> for the ka of the general in chief, Harmhab. <sup>2</sup>Prince of the greatest of the companions, confidant of especial confidants (conclusion as in l. 1); <sup>3</sup>king's-follower on his expe-

<sup>a</sup>Published by Meyer, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1877, 148 ff.; photograph by Clark and Davies; I had also my own copy from the original.

<sup>b</sup>Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 74 = Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, CVII-CVIII.

<sup>c</sup>The place is unknown, but is probably connected, if not identical, with Alabastronpolis, the patron deity of which was also Horus; this Horus is the one whom the king claims as his special patron at his coronation (§ 27). The title, "*chief prophet*," is an old nomarch title, and of course descended to Harmhab from his ancestors at Alabastronpolis.

ditions in the south and north country (conclusion as in l. 1). <sup>4</sup>Great-est of the great, mightiest of the mighty; great lord of the people (conclusion as in l. 1). <sup>5</sup>King's-messenger at the head of his army, to the south and north country (conclusion as in l. 1). <sup>6</sup>Chosen of the king, presider over the Two Lands, in order to carry on the administration of the Two Lands, general of generals of the Lord of the Two Lands; for the ka of the real king's-scribe, his beloved, Harmhab. <sup>7</sup>Giving satisfaction in the entire land, privy councilor of the palace, unique in his qualities, recorder of the troops; for the ka of the chief steward, Harmhab. <sup>8</sup>Companion of the feet of his lord upon the battlefield on that day of slaying the Asiatics (*St tyw*)<sup>a</sup> (conclusion as in l. 1).

21. Several other fragments in Cairo contain the conventional mortuary prayers<sup>b</sup> and show Harmhab wearing the uraeus<sup>c</sup> and kneeling before various divinities, chiefly Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys. Finally there are two fragments in Bologna not noted heretofore; one<sup>d</sup> shows him wearing the uraeus, and plowing in the fields of Yaru in the hereafter; the other<sup>e</sup> contains part of an historical scene, showing the presentation of Negro captives, and mentioning the tribute of Palestine.

#### CORONATION INSCRIPTION

22. This important inscription relates: (1) the youth (ll. 1-5); (2) career at court (ll. 5-12); (3) coronation in

<sup>a</sup>It is impossible to suppose that Ikhnaton is the king meant here; it must be one of his successors, probably Tutenkhaton, by whom tribute was received from the north.

<sup>b</sup>Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, CIV-CVI.

<sup>c</sup>Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 75 = Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, XXXVI f.

<sup>d</sup>No. 1885. The fragment does not bear the name of Harmhab anywhere, but is identical in style with the known fragments of his tomb, and as the uraeus is clearly a later insertion throughout the fragment (six lines), it is undoubtedly another hitherto unnoticed wanderer from Harmhab's tomb.

<sup>e</sup>No. 1165. The style is unquestionably sufficient to identify this piece as belonging to the same tomb.

<sup>f</sup>Engraved "on the back of a black granite group of two seated statues in the



Thebes (ll. 12-21); and (4) the early reign (ll. 21-26) of Harmhab. It shows clearly this king's obscure origin and his rise, through continued favor at court, to the kingship. The king who favored him is not mentioned; but the Leyden tomb reliefs (§§ 2 ff.) show that he was a favorite of Ikhnaton. It is possible that he is to be found among Ikhnaton's favorites at Amarna as Patonemhab.<sup>a</sup> He also enjoyed the favor of Tutenkhamon,<sup>b</sup> and it must have been one of these two kings of whom he speaks; probably the latter. He was the descendant of an old nomarchical house at Alabastronpolis. Rising from such beginnings, throughout the precarious reigns of Ikhnaton's successors, Harmhab skilfully maintained himself, and gradually gained a position of such power that by conciliating the priestly party of Amon, which was then again in the ascendant, he finally succeeded in seizing the throne. Thus, after their long struggle with the Aton heresy, we see the Amonite priests seating a second Pharaoh on the throne, as they had seated Thutmose III. From his home in Alabastronpolis he is led by Horus, as the piously veiled language of the inscription puts it, into the presence of Amon at Thebes, where he is crowned and his

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Museum of Turin," representing Harmhab and his wife, Mutnezmet. The two sides also contained texts, which have disappeared, with the exception of nineteen signs on the lady's side, among which her name occurs. The statues are described by Birch (*Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, III, 486 ff.), who gives other references. The text of twenty-six lines was published by Birch (*ibid.*, facing p. 486) from a sketch by Bonomi, which the latter made from a squeeze taken by himself. It is very inaccurate, as Birch evidently worked from the squeeze in translating, and did not revise Bonomi's sketch. It was published again by Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, V, 1073-78), also very inaccurately. I have copied the original in Turin and collated the copy with the Berlin squeeze (No. 1253). This I again collated with the original in Turin.

<sup>a</sup>*Recueil*, XV, 50. The tomb of this man is at Amarna. Such a change of name, involving the substitution of Aton for Horus (Har), is common at this time. But I am more inclined to find in Patonemhab the man who was won to Harmhab's cause and became high priest of Re at Heliopolis, with the name Premhab (*Recueil*, XVI, 123 f.).

<sup>b</sup>Sayce, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXI, 141.

titulary fixed by the gods. To make his claim on the crown legitimate, however, he next proceeds to the palace of the princess, Mutnezmet, the sister of Ikhnaton's queen, Nefernefruaton-Nofretete, who, although advanced in years, was a princess of the royal line, and is there recognized as her husband.

23. After the celebration of a feast in Luxor, the king proceeds northward, to restore the temples of the gods—an interesting indication of the destructive work of Ikhnaton's reform, in abolishing the old cults. Thus the old order and, particularly, the unchecked domination of Amon are restored. The calendar of feasts was immediately resumed and before he left Thebes, he celebrated the Feast of Ptah in his Theban temple. He left a record<sup>a</sup> of it in the Ptah-temple there:

Year 1, fourth month of the first season, day 22, of the King Harmhab,<sup>b</sup> the day of the feast of "Ptah-South-of-His-Wall," lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands" in Thebes; at his feast were founded [the offerings] of the ancestors ————."c

This record enables us to determine that Harmhab remained in Thebes at least two months; for it is to be inferred that he was present at the above feast, which is about two months later than the Feast of Opet, during which he arrived at Thebes for his coronation.

#### *Youth*

24. 1 ————<sup>d</sup> [Horus: Mighty Bull, Ready in Plans; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Great in Marvels in Karnak; Golden Horus: Sat-

<sup>a</sup>Mariette, *Karnak*, Pl. 47, D; Legrain, *Annales*, III, 100.

<sup>b</sup>Double name.

<sup>c</sup>Doubtless a list of the restored offerings followed. A stela commemorating Harmhab's pious works in this temple has suffered too much to discern its content (*Annales*, III, 111, 112).

<sup>d</sup>The lacuna contained either: (1) the date, followed as usual by "*under the majesty of*" and the royal titulary; or (2) the frequent opening formulary, "*Live the Horus,*" followed by the titulary.

is]²fied with Truth, Creator of the Two Lands;<sup>b</sup> King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Zeserkheprure, Setepnere;<sup>c</sup> Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Beloved of Amon, Harmhab,<sup>d</sup> [Beloved of] Horus, lord of Alabastronpolis<sup>e</sup> — —<sup>f</sup> 2 —————<sup>g</sup> Bull of his mother, Amon, king of gods, was the one who brought him up; Har-si-ese, his guardian was the protector of his limbs. He came forth from the body, clothed with strength; the hue of a god was upon him; he made — — 3 —————<sup>h</sup> the arm was dropped to him as a child, obeisance among great and small, [—] him food and eatables, while he was a child, without his counsel 4 —————<sup>i</sup> great before all the land; the form of a god was in his color, before the beholder of his form, the strength of his father, Horus. He set himself behind him; he that created him exerted his protection. The people brought all [—] — 5 —————<sup>j</sup> he knew the day of his satisfaction, to give to him his kingdom.

*Appointment to Office*

25. Behold, this god exalted his son before all the land;<sup>k</sup> he desired to extend his steps, until the coming of the day of his receiving his office, that he might give 6 —————<sup>l</sup> of his time. The heart of the king was satisfied with his affairs; (he) rejoiced at his choice; he appointed him to be chief (*r*² -*hry*) of the land, to administer the laws of the Two Lands as hereditary prince of all this land; he was unique, without his second. The plans 7 —————<sup>m</sup>. [He astonished] the people, by that which came out of his mouth. When he was summoned before the king, the palace, it began to fear. When he opened his mouth, when he replied to the king, he pleased him with that which came out of his mouth. The only excellent one, without 8 [his 'second'] —————<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>a</sup>The lacking portion of the full titulary is restored from the Karnak pylons of Harmhab, cf. Brugsch-Bouriant, *Le livre des rois*, 56, 57.

<sup>b</sup>Incorrectly copied as a *t* by Birch.

<sup>c</sup>Meaning: "*Splendid (is) the being of Re, Chosen of Re.*"

<sup>d</sup>Meaning: "*Horus at the feast.*"

<sup>e</sup>This shows that the statue came from Alabastronpolis; it is omitted by Brugsch.

<sup>f</sup>Birch adds "*Good God,*" but it is not in his text. <sup>h</sup>About one-third line.

<sup>g</sup>About one-third line. <sup>i</sup>Over one-quarter line.

<sup>j</sup>Over one-quarter line. The subject of the verb is some god, as is evident from the next sentence.

<sup>k</sup>With the determinative of people.

<sup>l</sup>Over one-quarter line. <sup>m</sup>About one-quarter line.

His every plan was in the footsteps of the Ibis.<sup>a</sup> His decisions were<sup>b</sup> in accord with<sup>b</sup> the Lord of Hesret;<sup>a</sup> rejoicing in accustomed usage like Thoth, pleased of heart therewith like Ptah. When he woke in the morning, he presented her 'due'; 'the way' <sup>9</sup>—————<sup>c</sup> his affairs. As for one who walks in her<sup>d</sup> way, it is she who protects him on earth forever.

*Appointed Deputy*

26. Behold, he administered the Two Lands during a period of many years; there reported [to him]<sup>e</sup> <sup>10</sup>—————<sup>c</sup> there [bowed down] to him the council in obeisance at the front of the palace, there came to him the chiefs of the Nine Bows, South as well as North; their hands were spread out in his presence, they offered praise to his face as (to) a god. All that was done was done under command <sup>11</sup>[from him]<sup>f</sup> —————<sup>c</sup>. When he came, the fear of him was great in the sight of the people; prosperity and health<sup>g</sup> were besought for him; he was greeted: "Father of the Two Lands, excellent counsel of divine gift,<sup>h</sup> in order to administer <sup>12</sup>—————<sup>c</sup>"<sup>c</sup>

*Coronation in Thebes*

27. [Now, when many days had]<sup>i</sup> passed by, while the eldest son of Horus was chief and hereditary prince in this whole land, behold, this august god, Horus, lord of Alabastronpolis, his heart desired to establish his son upon his eternal throne, and [he] commanded <sup>13</sup>————— of the —<sup>j</sup> of Amon. Horus proceeded with rejoicing to Thebes, city of the lord of eternity, (and with) his son in his embrace to Karnak, to introduce him before Amon, to assign to him his office of king, to pass his life (as such). Behold, <sup>14</sup>—————<sup>k</sup> [<sup>1</sup>they came<sup>l</sup> with rejoicing at his beautiful feast in Luxor. He<sup>l</sup> saw the majesty of this god, Horus, lord of Alabastronpolis, his son being with him as king, introduced in

<sup>a</sup>Thoth.            <sup>b</sup>Lit., "a part of."            <sup>c</sup>About one-quarter line.

<sup>d</sup>The feminine pronoun in this passage refers to "usage" (l. 8).

<sup>e</sup>Compare the duties of the vizier, Rekhmire, § 692, l. 22, and § 706, l. 29.

<sup>f</sup>Or only the suffix, "his."            <sup>g</sup>A greeting accorded only to royalty.

<sup>h</sup>Lit., "of that which the god gives."

<sup>i</sup>The phrase so common in the folk-tales.

<sup>j</sup>Birch has "house," but it is not to be gotten from his text.

<sup>k</sup>About one-eighth line.            <sup>l</sup>Amon.

order to give to him<sup>a</sup> his office and his throne. Behold, Amon-Re was filled<sup>b</sup> with joy when he saw <sup>15</sup>[him coming] on the day of giving his offerings. Then he presented himself to this prince, the hereditary prince, head (*hr-d<sup>3</sup> d<sup>3</sup>*) of the Two Lands, Harmhab.

*Marriage to Mutnezmeh*

28. He proceeded to the palace, he brought him before him to the shrine<sup>c</sup> of his revered eldest daughter <sup>16</sup>— — —. [She did] obeisance to him, she embraced his beauty, and placed herself before him.

*Rejoicing of the Gods*

The gods, the lords of the [fire-chamber] were in exultation because of his coronation; Nekhbet, Buto, Neit, Isis, Nephthys, Horus, Set, all the ennead of gods who preside over the great throne <sup>17</sup>lifted praises to the height of heaven, rejoicing at the satisfaction of Amon: "Behold, Amon hath come, his son before him, to the palace, to set his crown upon his head, to lengthen his whole life. We have gathered together, that we might establish for him <sup>18</sup>—. Let us count for him the adornments<sup>d</sup> of Re; let us praise Amon on his behalf: "Thou hast brought to us our protector; grant to him the royal jubilees of Re, the years of Horus as king; for it is he who shall satisfy thy heart in the midst of Karnak, likewise Heliopolis and Memphis; it is he who shall make them splendid."

*The Gods Fix the Titulary*

29. <sup>19</sup>Let the great name of this Good God, and his titulary be made like (that of) the majesty of Re, as follows:

1. Horus: Mighty Bull, Ready in Plans;
2. Favorite of the Two Goddesses; Great in Marvels in Karnak;
3. Golden Horus: Satisfied with Truth, Creator of the Two Lands;
4. King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Zeserkheprure, Setepnere;
5. Son of Re: Mernamon, Harmhab, given life.

<sup>a</sup>The ambiguity of the pronouns in this and following sentences is also in the original.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "permeated."

<sup>c</sup>*Pr-wr*. There was, therefore, a shrine or chapel of the "Divine Consort" in the king's palace.

<sup>d</sup>Which Re once wore as King of Egypt.

*Festival in Luxor*

30. Then came forth to the <sup>20</sup>ofrear<sup>1</sup> in the palace the majesty of this august god, Amon, king of gods, his son being before him. He embraced his beauty crowned with the royal helmet, in order to assign to him the circuit of the sun.<sup>a</sup> The Nine Bows are beneath his feet. Heaven is in festivity, earth hath joy. The ennead of gods of Egypt, their hearts are happy. <sup>21</sup>Behold, all the land was in joy, they cried out to heaven; great and small, they took up the jubilation; the whole land was rejoicing. After the completion of this feast in Luxor, Amon, king of gods, returned in peace to <sup>22</sup>Thebes<sup>b</sup> (*W<sup>3</sup> s<sup>3</sup> t*).

*Restoration of the Temples*

31. His majesty sailed down-stream as the image of Harakhte. Behold, he organized this land; he adjusted according to the time of Re. He restored the temples (from) the pools of the marshes<sup>c</sup> to Nubia (*T<sup>3</sup> - p d<sup>3</sup> t*). He shaped all their images <sup>23</sup>in number<sup>1</sup> more than before, increasing the beauty in that which he made. Re rejoiced when he saw them, which had been found ruined aforetime. He raised up their temples. He fashioned 100 images with all (their) bodies correct, and with all splendid costly stones. <sup>24</sup>He sought the precincts<sup>d</sup> of the gods, which were in the districts in this land; he furnished them as they had been since the time of the first beginning. He established for them a daily offering every day; all the vessels of their temples <sup>25</sup>were wrought of silver and gold. He equipped them with priests (*w<sup>c</sup> b<sup>3</sup> w*), with ritual priests, and with the choicest of the army. He transferred to them lands and cattle, supplied with all equipment.

*Prayer for the King*

32. They rise early to sing to Re in the morning <sup>26</sup>every day: "Mayest thou exalt <sup>e</sup>for us<sup>e</sup> the kingdom of thy son who satisfies thy heart, Zeserkheprure, Setepnere (Harmhab). Mayest thou give to him a

<sup>a</sup>Aton.

<sup>b</sup>The palace was therefore at Luxor; the god has been at Luxor during the feast; he went in procession to the palace, and now returns from Luxor to Karnak.

<sup>c</sup>In the Delta; hence, from the Delta to Nubia. These temples had been neglected since the reform of Amenhotep IV.

<sup>d</sup>This rare word (*b<sup>3</sup> k<sup>3</sup> y<sup>3</sup> t*) will be found applied to the sacred precinct of the cemetery at Abydos (Mariette, *Abydos*, I, Pl. 19, e).

<sup>e</sup>Birch has *m* (for *nm*), but as he also renders "*for us*," it shows clearly that he never revised Bonomi's text of the inscription for publication.

myriad of royal jubilees, and cause him to be victorious over all lands, like Har-si-ese, according as he satisfied thy heart in Heliopolis, united with thy divine ennead."

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GRAFFITI IN THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS<sup>a</sup>

32A. The significance of these graffiti does not consist alone in the light which they throw upon the history of the robbery of the royal tombs at Thebes, showing that their violation began at least two centuries earlier than we had supposed; but they reveal to us also the state of anarchy which followed the religious revolution of Ikhnaton. It is only at that time that such an act could have taken place at Thebes, and we thus discern the turbulent conditions from which Harmhab rescued the country.

32B. Year 8, third month of the first season (third month), day 1, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Zeserkheprure-Setepnere, Son of Re, Harmhab-Mernamon.

Command of his majesty, L. P. H., to commission the fan-bearer on the king's right hand, king's-scribe, overseer of the treasury, chief of works in the "Eternal Seat" (necropolis), leader of the feast(s) of Amon in Karnak, Meya (*My*), son of the judge, Yui (*Ywy*), born of the matron, Weret, to restore the burial of King Menkheprure (*Mn-hprw-R*, Thutmose IV), triumphant, in the august house<sup>b</sup> on the west of Thebes.

32C. Beneath is the name of Meya's assistant and the latter's parents:

His assistant, steward of the Southern City (Thebes), Thutmose, son of Hatey (*H<sup>2</sup> t-y<sup>2</sup> y*). His mother, Yuh (*Ywh*), of the City (Thebes).

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<sup>a</sup>Written with ink on the wall of one of the lower chambers in the tomb of Thutmose IV in the Valley of the Kings' Tombs at Thebes; published in *The Tomb of Thutmose IV* (Mr. Theodore M. Davis' excavations), by Carter and Newberry, London, 1904, pp. xxxiii-iv, Figs. 7 and 8.

<sup>b</sup>His tomb.

## THE WARS OF HARMHAB

33. Very little is recorded of Harmhab's relations with the foreign world. The scattered references on the surviving monuments are gathered here, recording his wars: I, in the North (§§ 34-36); II, in the South (§§ 37-44).

## I. IN THE NORTH

34. The character and extent of these wars are very uncertain. The only sources are: (1) a list<sup>a</sup> of names, of which remains of eleven are preserved, among which appears Kheta; and (2) a relief<sup>b</sup> showing Harmhab leading three lines of captives and presenting them to Amon, Mut, and Khonsu. The costumes of the captives and their physiognomy indicate Asiatics. The inscription<sup>c</sup> with the middle<sup>d</sup> row is as follows:

35. The wretched princes of the Haunebu; [they say: "Hail to] thee! Thy name has encircled the two ends of the earth, among all lands; every land fears because of thy fame; thy fear is in their heart."

36. The lower row has the following:

The wretched princes of —; [they] say: "Hail to thee! like the great ———; [fear] has entered into their bodies, terror is in their hearts."

## II. IN THE SOUTH

37. An expedition to Punt, probably of a peaceful nature, is recorded on the wall connecting Harmhab's two Karnak pylons.<sup>e</sup> A relief shows the king at the right, holding

<sup>a</sup>On the north side of Karnak Pylon XI; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 178, and *Recueil*, XVI, 42. See Müller, *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1897, III, 276-78.

<sup>b</sup>*Recueil*, XVI, 42 f.

<sup>c</sup>Published also by Wiedemann, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, 423.

<sup>d</sup>That of the upper row is lost.

<sup>e</sup>Relief and inscriptions on the inside (west side) of the wall north of the door in the middle.



audience, receiving the chiefs of Punt approaching from the left, bearing sacks of gold dust, ostrich feathers, etc.<sup>a</sup> Their words are given in an accompanying inscription<sup>b</sup> as follows:

38. Speech of the great chiefs of Punt: "Hail to thee, King of Egypt, Sun of the Nine Bows! By thy ka! We knew not Egypt; our fathers had not trodden it. Give us the breath which thou givest. All lands are under thy feet."

39. Another scene<sup>c</sup> represents Harmhab presenting the newly acquired products of Punt to Amon, as indicated in the accompanying inscription:

Bringing the tribute, by his majesty, to his father Amon; being the tribute of Punt. "—————<sup>d</sup> by thy victorious might. Thou hast set their chiefs in tumult, because of thy terror ————— bearing all their tribute upon their backs. Great is thy might in every country."

40. A campaign in Kush is recorded in a series of superb reliefs in the temple which the king had cut in the rocks at Silsileh.

*Scene<sup>e</sup>*

41. The king, accompanied by a fan-bearer and two sunshade-bearers, is seated on his throne, which is borne upon the shoulders of six soldiers. Before him march a priest offering incense, the Negro captives, and three lines of soldiers, whose trumpeter blows a fanfare in salutation of the king.

<sup>a</sup>Only the line of Puntite chiefs is published (Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 88).

<sup>b</sup>Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 88; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, II, 57, 3 = *Recueil*, XVII, 43.

<sup>c</sup>Nowhere published; Wiedemann (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, 424) says: "a fragment lying quite near the wall alludes to them [Harmhab's victories], showing flowers and other gifts." He then adds the lower ends of the inscription long ago published, Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 180, but without comment. It is translated above, § 39.

<sup>d</sup>An address of Amon to the king begins in the lacuna.

<sup>e</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 121, a-b.

*Words of the Bearers*

42. "All health is with thee, O Lord of the Two Lands! Re is the protection of thy limbs."

*Description of the Scene*

The Good God comes, he triumphs over the princes of every country. His bow is in his hand like the lord of Thebes (Montu), puissant king, mighty in strength, who carries away the princes of wretched Kush, King Zeserkheprure (Harmhab),<sup>a</sup> given life. His majesty came from the land of Kush, with the captives which his sword had made, according as his father Amon commanded him.

*Scene<sup>b</sup>*

43. The king stands before Amon, both grasping a wand between them.

*Inscription: Words of Amon*

I have given to thee triumph over the South, victory over the North.

*Scene<sup>c</sup>*

44. A line of Negro captives advancing toward the first scene.

*Words of the Negroes*

"Hail to thee, King of Egypt, Sun of the Nine Bows! Thy name is great in the land of Kush, thy battle-cry is in their abodes. It is thy might, O good ruler, that makes the countries into heaps, O Pharaoh, L. P. H.! Thou Sun!"

EDICT OF HARMHAB<sup>d</sup>

45. This is the most important edict which has come down to us from ancient Egypt, and it is much to be regretted

<sup>a</sup>Usual double name and titles.

<sup>b</sup>Below at the left, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 20, b.

<sup>c</sup>Below at the right; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 120, a.

<sup>d</sup>A large stela discovered by Maspero in February or March, 1882. It is, or when complete was, about five meters high by three wide, and stands against one

that its very fragmentary state, together with the execrable manner in which it has been published, has deprived us of so many of its important data.

The edict contains the practical legislation of Harmhab by means of which he intended to prevent the oppressive abuses connected with the collection of taxes from the common people, who were continually robbed and impoverished by the fiscal officers. This legislation consists of a series of enactments, each of the following form:

a) Statement of the abuse as it existed before this legislation and the king's displeasure at it.

b) Statement of a hypothetical commission of the offense by the officials concerned.

c) Declaration of the penalty to be inflicted.

46. A very interesting question is whether these enactments have preserved on the stela the form and language of the original edict in the royal archives. It seems probable that, beginning with l. 13 (§ 50), we have the *ipsissima verba* of the original document, and that it continued to and included l. 2 (§ 62), although Müller is doubtful on this point.<sup>a</sup>

47. The content of the entire inscription is as follows:

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of the pylons of Harmhab at Karnak. Over a third of the stone has broken off. The inscription occupies the face and the side edges. It has been copied and published very inaccurately by Bouriant, *Recueil*, VI, 41 ff.; important corrections, which unfortunately include only part of the inscription, by Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1885, 86 f.; see also *Revue égyptologique*, VIII, 106-9. I am greatly indebted to my friend, Mr. A. H. Gardiner, for a careful copy of the original on the spot. His copy corrects the incredibly numerous errors of Bouriant's publication, and fills out many of the lacunæ therein, though the stone shows loss since Bouriant's copy. Some fragments still surviving when Bouriant made his copy, Mr. Gardiner states, are now missing entirely. An exhaustive study by Müller, with translation and notes, in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1888, 70-94. The present translation owes much to Müller, for which I make general acknowledgment here.

<sup>a</sup>*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1888, 75.

*Front*

Above was an adoration scene,<sup>a</sup> showing Harmhab worshipping before Amon.

I. Introduction (ll. 1-10, § 49).

II. Introduction: the king's zeal for the relief of the people (ll. 10-14, § 50).

III. Enactment against robbing the poor of dues for the royal breweries and kitchens (ll. 14-17, § 51).

IV. Enactment against robbing the poor of wood due the Pharaoh (ll. 17, 18, § 52).

V. Enactment against exacting dues from a poor man thus robbed (ll. 18-20, § 53).

VI. Enactment against robbing the poor of dues for the harem or the gods by the soldiers (ll. 20-22, § 54).

VII. Enactment against unlawful appropriation of slave service (ll. 22-24, § 55).

VIII. Enactment against stealing of hides by the soldiers (ll. 25-28, §§ 56, 57).

IX. Enactment against connivance of dishonest inspectors with thievish tax-collectors for a share of the booty (ll. 28-32, § 58).

X. Enactment against stealing vegetables under pretense of collecting taxes (ll. 32-35, § 59).

XI. Enactments too fragmentary for analysis (ll. 35-39; right side, ll. 1, 2, §§ 60-62).

XII. Narrative of the king's reforms, containing also an enactment against corrupt judges (ll. 3-7, §§ 63-65).

XIII. Narrative of the king's monthly audiences and largesses (ll. 7-10, § 66).

XIV. Laudation of the king, and conclusion (left side, § 67).

<sup>a</sup>Very fragmentary; it is the only source from which we gain the name of the king who issued the edict; Pl., *Recueil*, VI. Mr. Gardiner states that it is now missing.

48. In the translation it has been necessary to indicate the connection between the beginnings of the lines, a large portion of the ends having been lost.<sup>a</sup> These connecting insertions contain only what was probably the intervening thought, without any attempt to reproduce the lost words.<sup>b</sup>

#### I. INTRODUCTION

49. <sup>1</sup>. . . . . <sup>10</sup>. . . . . <sup>c</sup>

#### II. INTRODUCTION: THE KING'S ZEAL FOR THE RELIEF OF THE PEOPLE (LL. 10-14)

50. His majesty took counsel with his heart [how he might<sup>1</sup>] ————<sup>d</sup> <sup>11</sup>[exp]el evil and suppress lying. The plans of his majesty were an excellent refuge,<sup>e</sup> repelling violence behind ————<sup>d</sup> [and delivering the Egyptians from <sup>12f</sup>the oppressions<sup>1</sup>] which were among them. Behold, his majesty spent the whole time seeking the welfare of Egypt and searching out instances <sup>g</sup>[of oppression in the land].<sup>g</sup> ————<sup>d</sup> [I came the scribe<sup>1</sup>] <sup>13</sup>of his majesty. Then he seized palette and roll; he put it into writing according to all that his majesty, the king himself said. He spoke as follows: "[My majesty] commands ———— [concerning all<sup>1</sup>] <sup>14</sup>instances of oppression in the land.

<sup>a</sup>Bouriant says: "Des lignes visibles aujourd'hui les quatre premières ne présentent plus que quelques signes très mutilés et ne pouvant fournir aucun sens; les vingt-deux suivantes ont perdu environ les deux tiers de leur longueur primitive, quelques-unes même ont perdu plus encore. A partir de la vingt-sixième, les lignes gagnent en longueur mais elles sont coupées de lacunes fréquentes. . . ." This is verified by Mr. Gardiner's scale copy. After l. 31 they rapidly decrease in length, and become so fragmentary that a coherent rendering is impossible.

<sup>b</sup>They often follow Müller, but I have carefully verified his conclusions in every case.

<sup>c</sup>See Bouriant's remark above (note a); the lines contained the usual eulogistic introduction with names and titles of the king. Its length, one-fourth of the entire inscription, is unusual.

<sup>d</sup>About two-thirds of a line.

<sup>e</sup>Same phrase applied to Amenhotep III (II, 916, l. 35).

<sup>f</sup>Müller inserts here a fragment containing the ends of three lines, which should conclude ll. 11, 12, and 13. These ends fit 13 very well, 11 fairly, and 12 not at all; for some reason Müller has ignored the end of l. 12, or it would have been apparent that the alleged fragment of the end of l. 12 does not connect with the beginning of l. 13.

<sup>g</sup>Restored from l. 14.

III. ENACTMENT AGAINST ROBBING THE POOR OF DUES FOR  
THE ROYAL BREWERIES AND KITCHENS (LL. 14-17)

51. If the poor man made for himself a craft with its sail, in order to be able to serve the Pharaoh, L. P. H., [loading it with the dues for the breweries and kitchens of the Pharaoh, and he was robbed of the craft and<sup>1</sup>] <sup>15</sup>the dues, the poor man stood reft of his goods and stripped of his many labors<sup>1</sup>. [This is wrong, and the Pharaoh will suppress it by<sup>1</sup>] <sup>16</sup>his excellent measures. If there be<sup>a</sup> a [poor man<sup>1</sup>] who pays the dues of the breweries and kitchens of the Pharaoh, L. P. H., <sup>17</sup>to the two<sup>1</sup> deputies, [and he be robbed of his goods and his craft, my majesty commands: that every officer who seizeth the dues<sup>1</sup>] <sup>17</sup>and taketh the craft of any citizen (<sup>c</sup> *nḥ*) of the army or of any person who is in the whole land, the law shall be executed against him, in that his nose shall be cut off, and he shall be sent to Tha[ru].<sup>b</sup>

IV. AGAINST ROBBING THE POOR OF WOOD DUE THE  
PHARAOH (LL. 17, 18)

52. [Furthermore, concerning the impost of wood, my majesty commands that if any officer find<sup>1</sup>] <sup>18</sup>a poor man without a craft, then let him bring to him a craft for his impost from another, and let him send him to bring for him the wood; thus he<sup>c</sup> shall serve [the Pharaoh].

V. AGAINST EXACTING DUES FROM A POOR MAN THUS  
ROBBED (LL. 18-20)

53. [Furthermore, my majesty commands that if any poor man be oppressed by<sup>1</sup>] [robbery, <sup>19</sup>his cargo be emptied by theft of them, and the poor man stand reft of hi[s goods], [no further exactions for dues shall be made from him<sup>1</sup>] <sup>20</sup>when he has nothing. For it is not good, this report of very great injustice. My majesty commands that restitution be made to him; behold, ———.

<sup>a</sup>Text has "stand."

<sup>b</sup>This is a remarkable corroboration of Strabo, who mentions Rhinocolura as "so called from the colonists, whose noses had been mutilated. Some Ethiopian invaded Egypt and, instead of putting the malefactors to death, cut off their noses and settled them at Rhinocolura. . . ." (XVI, II, § 31; translation of Hamilton and Falconer, III, 176). See also Herodotus, II, 137, and Diodorus, I, 60 and 65; and Müller, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1888, 81.

<sup>c</sup>The ambiguity of the pronouns is also in the original.

VI. AGAINST ROBBING THE POOR OF DUES FOR THE HAREM  
OR THE GODS BY THE SOLDIERS (LL. 20-22)

54. [Furthermore, as for those who<sup>1</sup>] ———— <sup>21</sup>and those who bring to the harem, likewise for the offerings of all gods, paying dues to the [two<sup>1</sup>] deputies of the army and ———— [my majesty commands that if any officer is guilty of extortions or thefts<sup>1</sup>], <sup>22</sup>the law [shall be executed] against him, in that his nose<sup>a</sup> shall be cut off, and (he) shall be sent to Tharu [T<sup>2</sup> -rw] likewise.

VII. AGAINST UNLAWFUL APPROPRIATION OF SLAVE  
SERVICE (LL. 22-24)

55. When the officers (*sdm'w*) of the Pharaoh's house of offerings have gone about tax-collecting in the towns, to take [katha (*k<sup>2</sup> -f<sup>2</sup>*)-plant], [they have seized the slaves of the people, and kept them at work<sup>1</sup>] <sup>23</sup>for 6 days or 7 days, without one's being able to depart from them [afar<sup>1</sup>], so that it was an excessive detention indeed. It shall be done likewise<sup>b</sup> [against them<sup>1</sup>]. If there be any place [where the stewards shall be tax-collecting, and any one<sup>1</sup>] <sup>24</sup>shall hear, saying: "They are tax-collecting, to take katha-plant [for themselves,<sup>1</sup>" and another shall come to report, saying: "My man slave (or) my female slave has been taken away [and detained many days at work by the stewards;" it shall be done likewise against them<sup>1</sup>].

VIII. AGAINST STEALING OF HIDES BY THE SOLDIERS  
(LL. 25-28)

56. <sup>25</sup>The two divisions<sup>c</sup> of troops which are in the field, one in the southern region, the other in the northern region, stole hides in the whole land, not passing a year, without applying the [brand<sup>1d</sup> of [the

<sup>a</sup>See note on l. 17.

<sup>b</sup>The same punishment inflicted as in §§ 51 and 54; this is not the place for the penalty, which heretofore has followed, not after the narrative of the crime, but after a second, hypothetical statement of the crime. It is therefore anticipatory, and hence the full statement of the penalty, as in §§ 51 and 54, may have been repeated in the lacuna at the end.

<sup>c</sup>This important statement defines the two great divisions of the army, and shows that Herodotus' division of the Egyptian army of his time into Kalasiries and Hermotybies is not a late arrangement. See Müller, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1888, 82-84, and Wiedemann, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, 573-77.

<sup>d</sup>Text has "fire."

royal house to cattle which were not due to them, thereby increasing<sup>1</sup> <sup>26</sup>their<sup>1</sup> number, and stealing that which was stamped from them. They went out from house to house, beating and <sup>1</sup>plundering<sup>1</sup> without leaving a hide for <sup>1</sup>the people ———. Then the officer<sup>1</sup> of Pharaoh went about <sup>1</sup>to each one,<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>to collect the hides charged against him, and came to the people demanding<sup>1</sup> <sup>27</sup>them<sup>1</sup>, but the hides were not found with them (although<sup>1</sup>) the <sup>1</sup>amount charged<sup>1</sup> against them could be established. They satisfied them,<sup>a</sup> saying: "They have been stolen from us." A wretched case is this, <sup>1</sup>therefore<sup>1</sup> it shall be [done] likewise.<sup>b</sup>

57. When the overseer of the cattle of Pharaoh, L. P. H., goes about to attend to the loan-herds<sup>c</sup> in the whole land, and there be not brought to him the hides of the —<sup>d</sup> which are on the <sup>1</sup>lists<sup>1</sup>,<sup>e</sup> <sup>1</sup>he shall not hold the people responsible for the hides if they have them not, but they shall be released by command of his majesty,<sup>1</sup> <sup>28</sup>according to his just purposes.<sup>f</sup> As for any citizen (<sup>c</sup> *nh*) of the army, (concerning) whom one shall hear, saying: "He goeth about stealing hides," beginning with this day, the law shall be executed against him, by beating him a hundred blows, opening five wounds, and taking from him by force the hides which he took.<sup>g</sup>

IX. AGAINST CONNIVANCE OF DISHONEST INSPECTORS WITH  
THIEVISH TAX-COLLECTORS, FOR A SHARE OF THE  
BOOTY (LL. 28-32)

58. Now, as for this other instance of evil which the <sup>1</sup>official staff<sup>h</sup> were accustomed to commit, when they held inspection<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>in the land, of that which happened<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>against the law<sup>1</sup>, [the table-scribe of] <sup>29</sup>the queen and the table-scribe of the harem went about after the official staff,

<sup>a</sup>The officers, here pluralized.

<sup>b</sup>The same punishment inflicted as in §§ 51 and 54.

<sup>c</sup>Herds of the Pharaoh which were contracted to be maintained by private individuals; see also Ameni (I, 522, ll. 16, 17; cf. Müller, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1888, 85-86).

<sup>d</sup>Only the determinative of the fallen enemy or criminal is preserved.

<sup>e</sup>Only an *r* is visible; perhaps to be read *rh't*, "list."

<sup>f</sup>The meaning probably is that the cattle loaned on contract by the Pharaoh sometimes died, in which case the people must show the hides. These the corrupt officials often stole before the overseer of cattle arrived.

<sup>g</sup>Lit., "thievishly;" but see Spiegelberg, *Studien*, 68.

<sup>h</sup>*Khnb't?*

<sup>i</sup>Fragment placed by Müller.



punishing<sup>a</sup> them and investigating the 'affair'<sup>b</sup> — — of the one who sailed down- or up-river. One investigated it among the officials in the time of the King Menkheperre (Thutmose III).<sup>c</sup> Now, when the one who sailed down- or up-river whom they took; and when [the superior officials of] [the king],<sup>d</sup> Menkheperre, went about<sup>d</sup> [after these officials] <sup>3e</sup>each year,<sup>1</sup> [that they might make an] expedition to the 'city,<sup>1</sup> and that these superior officials might come to these officials, saying: "Give thou [to us] the consideration for the careless expedition;"<sup>e</sup> then, behold, the Pharaoh, L. P. H., made the expedition at the feast of Opet<sup>f</sup> each year without carelessness. One prepared the way before the Pharaoh [and questioned the local magistrate, wherever he] landed,<sup>d</sup> [concerning the <sup>32</sup>corrupt official] causing him to [— —] what he (the corrupt official) was like. As for the one who goes about again, afterward, to seek the consideration — —, then these officials shall go about with the expedition<sup>g</sup> concerning the affairs of these poor people ——— <sup>32</sup>———. <sup>h</sup> My majesty commands to prevent that one shall do thus, beginning with this day ———<sup>i</sup> the landing; he is the one against whom one shall prosecute it.

X. AGAINST STEALING VEGETABLES UNDER PRETENSE OF COLLECTING TAXES (LL. 32-35)

59. Likewise the 'collection' of vegetables for the breweries [and kitchens of the Pharaoh and] ——— [Extortion was practiced, <sup>33</sup>and the officials plundered] the poor, taking the best of their vegetables, saying: "They are for the impost [of the Pharaoh]." [Thus they] robbed the poor of their 'labors,<sup>1</sup> so that a double [impost was levied. Now, my majesty commands that as for any officials who come to] collect vegetables [for] the impost of Pharaoh, L. P. H., in the

<sup>a</sup>Read \*c\* and see Gardiner, *Inscription of Mes*, 21, note 59; also p. 40.

<sup>b</sup>Müller supplies *nkt*, "affair," which is exceedingly probable.

<sup>c</sup>The following is a description of the conditions under Thutmose III.

<sup>d</sup>Fragment.

<sup>e</sup>The meaning is: "We have gone about carelessly, intentionally overlooking your extortions; now divide with us."

<sup>f</sup>Early in October, when he had returned from the summer's campaign in Syria (see II, 409, 410).

<sup>g</sup>Meaning perhaps the expedition of the king, thus preventing collusion.

<sup>h</sup>About ten or twelve words.

<sup>i</sup>Eight or ten words.

arbors,<sup>a</sup> and the — houses of the estates of Pharaoh, L. P. H., and the — of Pharaoh which contain vegetables,<sup>b</sup> (concerning whom<sup>c</sup>) one shall hear, saying: “They — for any [—]<sup>d</sup> of any citizen (<sup>c</sup> *nḥ*) of the army, or [any] people, [beginning with this day, the law shall be executed against them]<sup>e</sup> ———— 35 — — — transgressing commands.

XI. ENACTMENTS TOO FRAGMENTARY FOR ANALYSIS (LL. 35-39, AND RIGHT SIDE, LL. 1 AND 2)

60. The fragmentary condition of ll. 35-39 makes any coherent rendering impossible. They contain, however, a new enactment of the greatest interest regarding taxation of grain, in which there is an apparent contrast between the property owners, or citizens of the city, and the poor, thus:

61. Now as for these officials of the [herds]<sup>1</sup>, who go about [— —] in the southern region or the northern region collecting grain from the [citizens]<sup>f</sup> of the city<sup>g</sup>. . . . .<sup>36</sup>. . . . going about . . . . . in the southern region or northern region collecting . . . .<sup>g</sup> from the poor. . . .<sup>h</sup>

62. <sup>i</sup> ———— going about taking possession to bring every citizen,<sup>j</sup> to cause them to see ———— (concerning whom) one shall hear, (saying) “<sup>2</sup> ———— a crime, ———— collectors of the harem who go about in the [towns tax-collecting]<sup>1</sup> ———— the [—] of the fishermen ———— carrying the ———— .

<sup>a</sup>Doubtless to be read: *wt n(t)-ḥt*, like the *t-nt-ḥt* of IV, 194, 264; and IV, 1021.

<sup>b</sup>Vegetable products in general are thus designated.

<sup>c</sup>The antecedent is “officials” (end of l. 33); see l. 28.

<sup>d</sup>Judging from l. 28, one would expect: “They steal vegetables, etc.,” but Mr. Gardiner’s copy clearly forbids.

<sup>e</sup>After l. 28. <sup>f</sup>The following context shows that we must read *nḥ w*.

<sup>g</sup>Indications of measurements are given here, which need special study.

<sup>h</sup>Fragments of three lines more are visible.

<sup>i</sup>Proceeding to the right side (miscalled left by Bouriant). This text is so fragmentary that I have made no attempt to indicate the length of the lost portions, or my own omissions.

<sup>j</sup>*Tw*.

XII. NARRATIVES OF THE KING'S REFORMS, CONTAINING  
ALSO AN ENACTMENT AGAINST CORRUPT JUDGES  
(LL. 3-7)

*Appointment of Two Judges*

63. <sup>3</sup>I have improved this entire land — — — I have sailed it, as far as south of the wall,<sup>a</sup> I have given ———, I have learned its whole interior, I have traveled it entirely in its midst,<sup>b</sup> I have searched in ——— <sup>4</sup>[[and I have sought two officials<sup>1</sup>]]<sup>c</sup> perfect in speech, excellent in good qualities, knowing how to judge the innermost heart,<sup>d</sup> hearing the words of the palace, the laws of the judgment-hall. I have appointed them to judge the Two Lands, to satisfy those who are in ———. [[I have given to each one<sup>1</sup>]] his seat; I have set them in the two great cities<sup>e</sup> of the South and the North; every land among them cometh to him<sup>f</sup> without exception; I have put before them regulations in the daily register [of the palace]<sup>g</sup> ——— st. — <sup>1</sup>I have directed [them] to the way of life, I lead them<sup>h</sup> to the truth, I teach them,<sup>h</sup> saying: "Do not associate with others of the people;<sup>i</sup> do not receive the reward of another, not hearing — — — —. How, then, shall those<sup>1</sup> like you judge others, while there is one among you committing a crime against justice.

Now, as to the obligation of silver and gold — <sup>6</sup>— — [my] majesty remits it, in order that there be not collected an obligation of anything from the official staff (*knb·t*) of the South and North.<sup>j</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Probably not a reference to Ptah, but to some southern limit of the kingdom.

<sup>b</sup>See similar statements by Amenemhet III (I, 482, ll. 10, 11).

<sup>c</sup>The reference to "*him*" (in l. 4) shows that there were but two of these judges, one in each of the two cities. The two viziers must be meant. Mr. Gardiner, however (*Inscription of Mes*, 34), regards the passage as referring to the two great courts of the South and North (*knb·t c·t*).

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "*that which is in the body*" (Coptic *makt*, "viscera"), meaning the thoughts of a man.

<sup>e</sup>Thebes and either Memphis or Heliopolis, probably the latter.

<sup>f</sup>That is, every man with a complaint comes for redress to the official in whose jurisdiction he lives.

<sup>g</sup>Restored from Annals, (year 31, II, 472, l. 13). <sup>h</sup>Omitted by Müller.

<sup>i</sup>Just what misdeed is implied in this first admonition is not clear. See l. 35 of the front, and Müller, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1888, 92.

<sup>j</sup>Müller thinks this refers to a percentage paid the state by the judges from the income of their office. (This is shown to be a fact by the inscriptions of Rekh-

*Punishment of Bribery*

64. Now, as for any official or any priest (concerning whom) it shall be heard, saying: "He sits, to execute judgment among the official staff (*knb' t*) appointed for judgment, and he commits a crime against justice therein;" it shall be against him a capital crime.<sup>a</sup> Behold, my majesty has done this, to improve the laws of Egypt, in order to cause that another should not be — — <sup>b7</sup>————.

*Appointment of Local Courts*

65. [Behold, my majesty appointed<sup>1</sup>] the official staff (*knb' t*) of the divine fathers, the prophets of the temples, the officials (*h' tyw*) of the court (*h' nw*) of this land and the priests of the gods who comprise the official staff (*knb' t*) out of desire that they shall judge the citizens (*c' nh' w*) of every city. My majesty is legislating for Egypt, to prosper the life of its inhabitants; when he<sup>c</sup> appeared upon the throne of Re. Behold, the official staffs (*knb' t*) have been appointed in the whole land — all — to comprise the official staffs (*knb' t*) in the cities according to their rank.

## XIII. THE KING'S AUDIENCES AND LARGESES (LL. 7-10)

66. <sup>8</sup>———— They<sup>d</sup> went around — times a month, [which<sup>1</sup> he made<sup>1</sup> for them like a feast; every man sat down at a portion of every good thing, of good bread, and meat of the storehouses, of royal provision —————;<sup>e</sup> their voices reached heaven, praising all benefits — the heart of all the soldiers of the army. <sup>9</sup>[The king appeared to the people<sup>1</sup>] — — throwing (gifts) to them from the balcony<sup>f</sup> while every man was called by his name by the king himself. They came forth from the presence rejoicing, laden<sup>g</sup> with the provision of the royal

mire, II, 716 ff.) Owing to the strict prohibition of bribery, the king now remits this payment, allowing the judges to keep all their income from the people.

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "a great crime of death."

<sup>b</sup>See Spiegelberg, *Studien*, 50 f.

<sup>c</sup>As the king is speaking, the first person is to be expected here.

<sup>d</sup>These must be the inspecting officials who are thus so liberally provided for that they have no occasion to accept bribes, etc.

<sup>e</sup>Five or six broken words.

<sup>f</sup>The palace balcony; cf. Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah (§ 587, l. 48, and note).

<sup>g</sup>Lit., "victualled."

house; yea, they took 'grain-heaps' in the granary, every one of them 'bore' barley and spelt, there was not found one who had nothing ———— 'their cities. 'If' they did not complete the circuit therein within three days, '— —' their khetkhet-officers hastened after them to the place where they were immediately. They were found there ————.

#### XIV. LAUDATION OF THE KING, AND CONCLUSION<sup>a</sup>

67. Little can be made out of these nine lines. In line 9, the conclusion of the whole edict can be discerned:

Hear ye these commands which my majesty has made for the first time governing the whole land, when my majesty remembered these cases of oppression<sup>b</sup> which occur before this land.

#### TOMB OF NEFERHOTEP<sup>c</sup>

68. This beautiful tomb, so well known to the tourist visitors at Thebes, contains wall scenes and inscriptions of great importance for the study of religious and mortuary customs. But it also contains one scene of historical importance, depicting the honors received by Neferhotep at the hands of his king, Harmhab.

##### Scene

69. At the right, in a balcony, stands King Harmhab, wearing a helmet, and carrying the royal scourge. He is accompanied by two attendants. Before him is a court

<sup>a</sup>Nine lines on the left side (incorrectly called right by Bouriant). According to Mr. Gardiner, there were originally ten lines.

<sup>b</sup>See ll. 12 and 14 (front), § 50.

<sup>c</sup>In the cliff of Assasif at Thebes; published by Bénédict in *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, 489-540, and Pls. I-VI; partially by Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, xl, to xl, e, and *Flotte*, XXX and XXXIII; and Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, I, Pl. 37. This tomb is not to be confused with that of another Neferhotep in the cliff of Shekh Abd-el-Kurna, and published by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 546-51, 853 f.; Champollion, *Monuments*, 172 ff.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, 130, 131, 134; and Wilkinson, *Manners*.

marshal, accompanied by the two viziers, and behind these Neferhotep, with arms uplifted in rejoicing, is being decorated with golden collars by two attendants. Golden collars and bracelets, also intended for him, are lying on a table before the balcony. The accompanying inscriptions are these:

*Over King's-Attendants*

70. Superintendent of a royal domain, king's-butler, king's-attendant in every place.

*Before King*

71. Year 3 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Zeserkheprure-Setepnere (Harmhab).

Lo, his majesty appeared, like the sun in his palace of satisfying life, after offering bread to his father, Amon. At his coming forth from the Gold-House, acclamation passed through the whole land; and rejoicing, it reached heaven. The divine father of Amon, Neferhotep was summoned to receive the favor of the king's-presence: myriads of everything, of silver, gold, garments, ointment, bread, beer, meat, and cakes, at the command of my lord Amon, who secures my favor in the (royal) presence.

72. The ritual priest, pleasing the heart of Amon, Neferhotep; he says: "How many are the possessions of him who knows the gifts of that god, the king of gods. Wise is he who knows him, favored is he who serves him, there is protection for him who follows him, he is the sun of his body, the Aton who is his, [forever]<sup>a</sup> and ever.

73. After the presentation, Neferhotep, wearing his collars of gold, is met by his brother, Amenemyenet. Over his head is his name with the words: "*Rewarded with silver and gold by the king himself.*" He is followed by another priest, wearing similar collars, and accompanied by the following words:

Arrival in peace, bearing the favor of the king, by the divine father of Amon, Perennefer, triumphant.

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<sup>a</sup>*Nhh* must have fallen out here, but it is lacking in both publications.

## REIGN OF RAMSES I

### WADI HALFA STELA<sup>a</sup>

74. This stela was erected by Ramses I in commemoration of his pious works at the temple of Horus of Bohem (Halfa). These works consisted of new offerings, an increase in the number of priests and servants, and an addition to the temple building. Seti I, in recording on a second stela his own works in this temple, uses the identical form and words of his father's stela,<sup>b</sup> with the exception of the new building record which Seti, who built nothing here, omits. The occurrence of Seti I's name as king at the bottom shows that he was coregent with his father in the latter's second year. His father died not more than six months after the erection of this stela (§ 157), and reigned a maximum of two and a half years.

75. The reference to the "*captivity of his majesty*" (l. 8) would indicate that Ramses I had somewhere in Nubia carried on war; but as the inscription places him in Memphis, the occurrence of Seti I's name at the bottom may indicate that he (Seti) carried on the campaign, evidently in Nubia.

#### *Introduction*

76. <sup>1</sup>Year 2, second month of the second season, twentieth day. Live the Horus: Mighty Bull, Flourishing in Kingship; Favorite of the

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<sup>a</sup>Discovered by Champollion in 1829 in the southernmost of the two temples at Wadi Halfa (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 32), and published by him (*Monuments*, I, 1, No. 2, and partially, *Notices descriptives*, I, 32-34); again by Rosellini (*Monumenti Storici*, 45, No. 1), and finally by Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, V, 1233 f.). Now in the Louvre (C 59), where I made the copy of it used in the accompanying translation.

<sup>b</sup>As both monuments are fragmentary, it is possible to fill up all the lacunæ in Ramses I's monument by reference to Seti's, except one. The brackets in the translation therefore represent restorations from Seti's stela.

Two Goddesses: Shining as King, like — [Golden Horus]: ———  
<sup>2</sup>in the Two Lands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Menpehtire;  
 Son of Re: Ramses (I), beloved of Amon, lord of Thebes and Min-  
 si-ese, <sup>3</sup>appearing upon the Horus-throne of the living, like his father,  
 Re, every day.

*Establishment of Offerings*

77. Lo, his majesty was in the city [of Memphis (*H·t-k<sup>2</sup>-Pth*)] per-  
 forming the ceremonies <sup>4</sup>of his father, Amon-Re, Ptah-South-of-His-  
 Wall, lord of “Life-of-the-Two-Lands,” and all the gods of Egypt  
 (*T<sup>2</sup>-mry*), according as they gave to him [might and victory over all  
 lands], <sup>5</sup>united with one heart in praising thy ka. All lands, all coun-  
 tries, the Nine Bows are overthrown ———. <sup>6</sup>His majesty, the  
 King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Menpehtire (Ramses I), given life,  
 commanded to establish divine offerings for his father, Min-Amon,  
 residing in B[ohen, the first<sup>a</sup> of] his [establishment] <sup>7</sup>in his temple:  
 12 (*pr·t-s*) loaves; 100 (*by<sup>2</sup>t*) loaves; 4 (*ds*) jars of beer; 10 bundles  
 of vegetables.

*Establishment of Priests*

78. Likewise [this temple was filled with prophets, ritual priests]  
<sup>8</sup>and priests (*w<sup>c</sup>b*); his storehouse was filled with male and female  
 slaves, of the captivity of his majesty, the King of Upper and Lower  
 Egypt, Menpehtire (Ramses I), [given life, like Re, forever and ever].

*New Building*

79. <sup>9</sup>His majesty was — watchful, he was not slothful in seeking  
 exce[llent things to do them for his father] <sup>10</sup>Min-Amon, residing in  
 Bohen (*Bhny*), making for him a temple like the horizon of heaven,  
 wherein Re [rises].

Here follows the double name of Seti I without connection  
 with the preceding; it concludes the inscription.

<sup>a</sup>This was possibly not “first” in Ramses I’s inscription; but it probably was  
 so, or the number of his establishment would not be mentioned at all.



## REIGN OF SETI I

### KARNAK RELIEFS<sup>a</sup>

80. These reliefs form the most important document surviving from Seti I's reign, being practically our only source for his wars. Unfortunately, their function was a religious one; they furnish us a series of scenes presenting the wars of Seti I in their religious aspect, accompanied by a few meager explanatory inscriptions annexed to the principal actors in each scene. These scenes, like the Annals of Thutmose III, again illustrate the nature of the compact between the Pharaoh and his god: on the one hand, the god grants the Pharaoh the might which prevails over all the nations; on the other, the Pharaoh offers to the god the captives and the plunder thus gained. According to these scenes, the wars of Seti have but one aspect, and that is religious. Even in the arrangement of the scenes on the wall this is evident. Distributed symmetrically on each side of the temple door (see Fig. 1), the action of the suc-

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<sup>a</sup>This, the most extensive series of war reliefs in Egypt, occupies the exterior of the entire northern wall of the great hypostyle hall in Karnak, and extends also eastward around the corner onto the eastern face of the eastern wall of the hall. The reliefs are arranged in three rows, one above the other, all of the top row being lost except one scene (see Fig. 1). They have been often published, and a statement of the publications will be found inserted in each scene (Fig. 1). But none of the publications meets the demands of modern epigraphic accuracy. I arranged all the inscriptions as given by the several publications in parallel columns, and checked these to some extent by photographs; but my photographs were unfortunately made after the lower row was again encumbered by débris. What purports to be an accurate publication of the inscriptions collated with photographs is given by Guieysse (*Recueil*, XI, 52-77). I collated over half of Guieysse's publication, and found it so excessively inaccurate that it was useless to insert its variants, and I did not employ it further. (See my note, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 139, n. 5.) On the princes in these reliefs, see my remarks, *ibid.*, 37, 130-39.

cessive scenes converges on that door, until the final scenes on each side of it represent the culminating sacrifice in the temple itself in the presence of the god. At the two extreme ends, as far from the door as possible, are the battles and marches of the war in distant lands; moving toward the door follow the capture and deportation of prisoners, the arrival in Egypt, the presentation of prisoners and spoil to Amon, and finally on either side of the door itself the slaying of captive princes, who are thus sacrificed in the temple by the king himself in the presence of Amon.

81. The only date in these reliefs is that of the year 1, which occurs only with the reliefs of the Shasu campaign. It is absurd to suppose that Seti I completed a war with the Libyans, a campaign against the Shasu, the conquest of Palestine and some of southern Syria, and a war with the Hittites, and finally accomplished the return to Thebes, all in one year.

In the opinion of the present writer, the arrangement above described indicates at least two great periods of war, each made by the artist to culminate in a human sacrifice before Amon.<sup>a</sup> The first (east of the door, Scenes 1-11) is a war in the year 1<sup>b</sup> against the Shasu, followed by a

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<sup>a</sup>This does not overlook the fact that the geographical list accompanying each sacrificial scene is identically the same. The whole series of scenes was planned after the completion of Seti's conquests, and the total territory gained could not, of course, then be cut up and assigned to different campaigns. Moreover, these two lists are only intended to convey the impression of vast conquest, and are so full of mistakes and repetitions as to show clearly that their compiler had no definite idea of the territory covered.

<sup>b</sup>This date occurs only on the east side of the door (thrice, Scene 3, Scene 8, and Scene 9, all in the Shasu row), and dates both beginning and end of of Seti's first campaign. There is no more reason for supposing that the Syrian campaign on the west side of the door, which bears no date, necessarily took place in year 1, than that two contiguous undated campaigns of Thutmose III must belong to the same year.

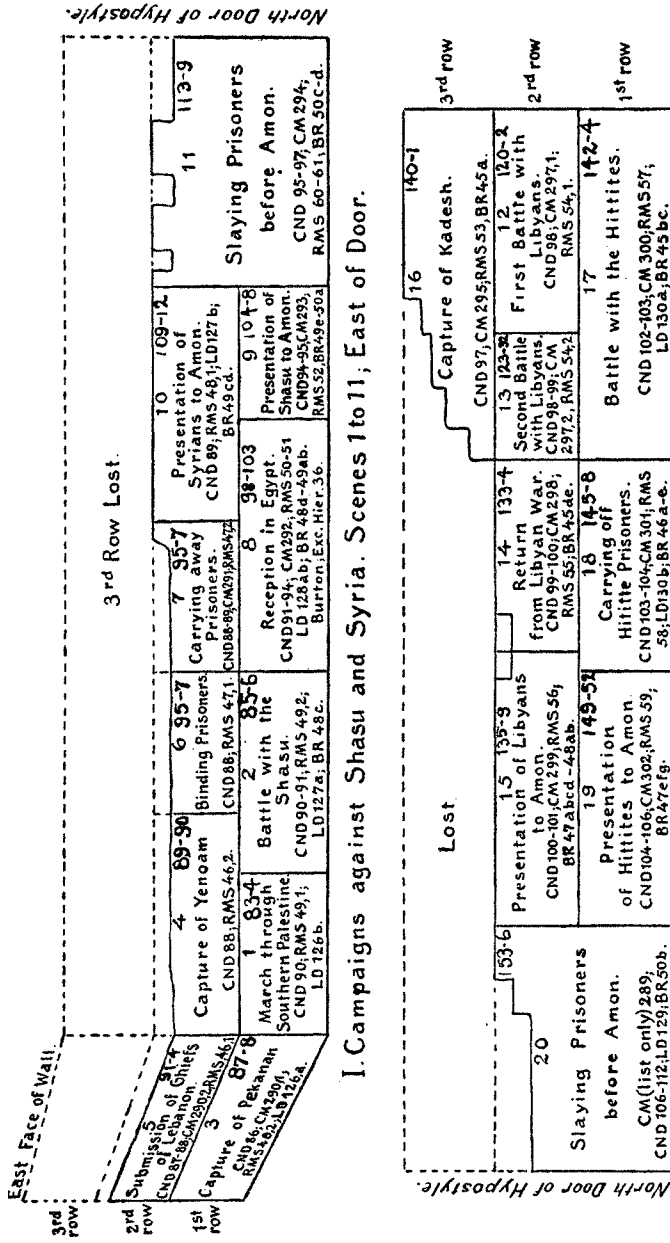


FIG. 1.—Plan of the Reliefs of Seti I, on the North Wall of the Great Hall of Karnak (each scene is numbered in the middle at the top; the numbers in the upper right-hand corners are the paragraphs of the translations herein. The abbreviations of the publications are: CND = Champollion, *Notices descriptives*; CM = Champollion, *Monuments*; RMS = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*; LD = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*; BR = Brugsch, *Receuil de monuments*).

campaign to the north as far east as the Hauran;<sup>a</sup> thence westward along the Phœnician coast, perhaps as far as Simyra, and Ullaza; the second, preceded by a subordinate campaign against the Libyans, is the further prosecution of the Syrian conquest. The method pursued is exactly that of Thutmose III in his conquest of 130 years before (II, 396), viz., first to gain control of the Phœnician coast, and thoroughly establish connection with Egypt by sea, so that reinforcements and supplies for the next campaign might land at one of the Phœnician harbors from which as a base he could move upon the interior of Syria, especially the Orontes valley.<sup>b</sup> From the coast the war was now carried inland and northward between the Lebanons, where the Egyptians met the Hittites for the first time in battle.<sup>c</sup> It

<sup>a</sup>Professor G. A. Smith discovered a monument showing Seti I worshipping Amon and Mut in the Hauran, in 1901, at "Tell-esh-Shihâb" (*Athenæum*, July 6, 1901; *Académie des Inscriptions*, October 18, 1901). But see § 140.

<sup>b</sup>That Seti follows the method of Thutmose III is evident at every step. His first campaign, like that of Thutmose III, is through southern Palestine; then, like Thutmose III, he moves northward through Palestine and subdues the Lebanon. Before Thutmose III can move upon Kadesh, he secures the Phœnician coast (fifth campaign), and attacks Kadesh the next season. It can be no accident that the campaign of Seti's first year subdues Lebanon and the Phœnician coast, while the (undated) campaign west of the door shows him in the Hittite country on the Orontes. The undated Hittite campaign here clearly bears the same relation to the coast campaign as in the case of Thutmose III.

<sup>c</sup>A glance at Fig. 1 will show that the arrangement of the wars on each side of the door strikingly indicates that they fall into two groups. One row on each side is a preliminary campaign near home, while the other rows on each side are the more important distant battles and conquests, thus:

Lost	Door	Lost	Kadesh
Syria (without date)		Libya (without date)	
Shasu (year 1)		Hittites (without date)	

We thus get two groups of wars: (1) Shasu-Syrian wars; (2) Libyan-Hittite wars. The further question now arises, whether each row does not represent a separate war. This is clearly the case with the two lower rows on the right-hand

is possible that Seti at this time reached even as far north as Naharin, as he claims in his lists;<sup>a</sup> but the Hittite power was evidently not broken, and Seti could not push his permanent northern boundary beyond an east-and-west line running through the Phœnician coast (probably well south), eastward into the Hauran, and his son, Ramses II, was obliged to spend long years in the struggle for the upper Orontes valley (§§ 294 ff.).<sup>b</sup>

82. 1. In harmony with the supposition of several campaigns in Asia is the fact that Seti numbered his campaigns, or at least began to do so. Furthermore, on returning from the campaign of the year 1, a rebellion is announced to him, as in the case of Thutmose IV (II, 826) for example, calling for a further campaign. A stela,<sup>c</sup> erected in the Ptah-temple at Karnak in his first year after his return from the first campaign, runs thus:

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side of the door; on the left-hand side it is probable, for only the Shasu war is dated, and he returns from that war (Scene 8) by land, of course, whereas he would more probably return by sea (as did Thutmose III), had he pushed on directly from the Shasu war into Syria, and gained possession of the Phœnician coast. If, therefore, each row represents a different war, Seti fought at least four Asiatic campaigns (besides the Libyan war), of which one is in the south and three in the north.

<sup>a</sup>It must not be forgotten that, with the exception of the scene of the capture of Kadesh (Scene 16, Fig. 1), the entire uppermost row of Seti's reliefs (that is, about one-third of them) is lost. As the capture of Kadesh shows, this uppermost row dealt with his northernmost advance inland. We may therefore have lost in this row full corroboration of the northern advance claimed in the lists.

<sup>b</sup>Other references to Seti's conquests are few in number: (1) The Wadi Halfa Stela (§§ 157 ff.). (2) The stela of Hori from Abydos (Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 51, which is incorrectly numbered 57), where Seti is seen before Osiris saying: "*I have made for thee great herds of cattle from the captivity of my might.*" Hori's titles were: "*Overseer of herds of the house (h't) of Menmare, (named): 'The-Heart-is-Satisfied-in-Abydos,' and mayor, Hori, belonging to 'The-Tower (bhn)-of-Ramses.'*" The last is some fortified place (cf. Scene 3) established or named by Seti's father, Ramses, from which Hori came. (3) The Elephantine Stela (§§ 203, 204); (4) He is called: "*Slayer of Palestine, smiter of Kush,*" in a rock inscription at Silsileh (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 141, g). (5) The list on the north wall, Karnak (*loc. cit.*, III, 144; see note on Scene 11, § 114, note).

<sup>c</sup>Legrain, *Annales*, III, 112, 113.

<sup>1</sup>Year 1 under the majesty of Seti I . . . .<sup>5</sup> . . .<sup>a</sup> His majesty returned with glad heart from his first victorious campaign, <sup>6</sup>when his onset passed over every country, and he took captive the rebellious countries by the puissance of his father, Amon, who decreed to him victorious might. He puts himself before him with glad heart <sup>7</sup>furnishing <sup>1</sup>protection<sup>1</sup> for his son, assigning to him South, North, West, and East. They who invade his border are gathered together and delivered into his hand. There is none that thrusts aside his hand, carrying away their chiefs <sup>8</sup>as living captives, with their tribute upon their backs, presenting them to his august father, Amon, and his associate gods, in order to fill their storehouse with male and female slaves, <sup>9</sup>the captivity of every country. Lo, his majesty was at the Southern City (Thebes), performing the pleasing ceremonies of his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes —————.

2. The announcement of hostilities,<sup>b</sup> by a messenger who found the king thus engaged, unquestionably followed. This cannot be the announcement of the Shasu invasion of the year 1, which is already past. It can only be that of the Libyans, who are now invading the Delta. This supposition becomes extremely probable, if not a certainty, when we note that Seti I spent the next year in the Delta, as proved by the bills<sup>c</sup> for the maintenance of his court during year 2 and part of year 3. They show that Seti spent practically the whole of the year 2 in the Delta,<sup>d</sup> Memphis, or Heliopolis. This would indicate that he fought the Libyan war in that year.

<sup>a</sup>Full title and several lines of conventional encomium.

<sup>b</sup>As so frequently in such inscriptions, e. g., II, 826.

<sup>c</sup>Papyri in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, published by Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Seti I*. The numbers used are his.

<sup>d</sup>In year 2 he was at Memphis from the second to the fourth of the first month (Bill 2); in the eastern Delta on the seventh, and in the same place from the fourteenth of the first month to the thirtieth of the fourth month (Bill 2), with the exception of the twenty-third and twenty-eighth of the fourth month, when he was in Memphis (Bill 5). On the sixteenth of the sixth month he was in Heliopolis (Bill 7); and from the seventh of the fourth month (with the above exceptions) to the seventeenth (?) of the eleventh month he was in the eastern Delta (Bill 3).

In the following treatment each scene is numbered as in Fig. 1, where its position on the wall can be instantly determined.

SCENE I. MARCH THROUGH SOUTHERN PALESTINE<sup>a</sup>

83. On leaving Tharu, his last station in Egypt, Seti strikes into the desert south of and merging into Palestine. Here he finds only fortified water stations<sup>b</sup> at intervals along the way, which are depicted (Fig. 2), each with its name added, in the relief. The interspersed inscriptions are these:

*Over King, Left of Sun*

Lord of the Two Lands: Menmare; Lord of Diadems [Seti-Mer-neptah].

*In Fortress*

84. Town (*dmy*) —.

*Over Horses*

Great first span of his majesty: "Amon-Assigns-to-Him-the-Victory," also called: "Anath (<sup>c</sup> *n-ty-t*)-is-Satisfied."

*Over Horses Each Side of Fortress*

<sup>1</sup>The Good God achieving with his arms, an archer like Montu, residing in Thebes, ———, smiting <sup>2</sup>the Asiatics, making his boundary as far as his desire places it; his arm is not repulsed <sup>3</sup>in all the lands; the king who protects <sup>4</sup>Egypt, who pierces <sup>5</sup>the wall <sup>6</sup>in the rebellious countries. <sup>7</sup>He causes the chiefs of Kharu (*H<sup>3</sup> -rw*) <sup>8</sup>to cease every contradiction of their mouths. His mighty sword <sup>9</sup>is his<sup>c</sup> valor; his might is like the son of Nut.

*Over Princes, behind Chariot*

———— every country beneath [thy] sandals ———.

<sup>a</sup>Bibliography in Fig. 1.

<sup>b</sup>See Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 134).

<sup>c</sup>The second arm is probably to be corrected to the possessive *f*, as Guieysse has done.

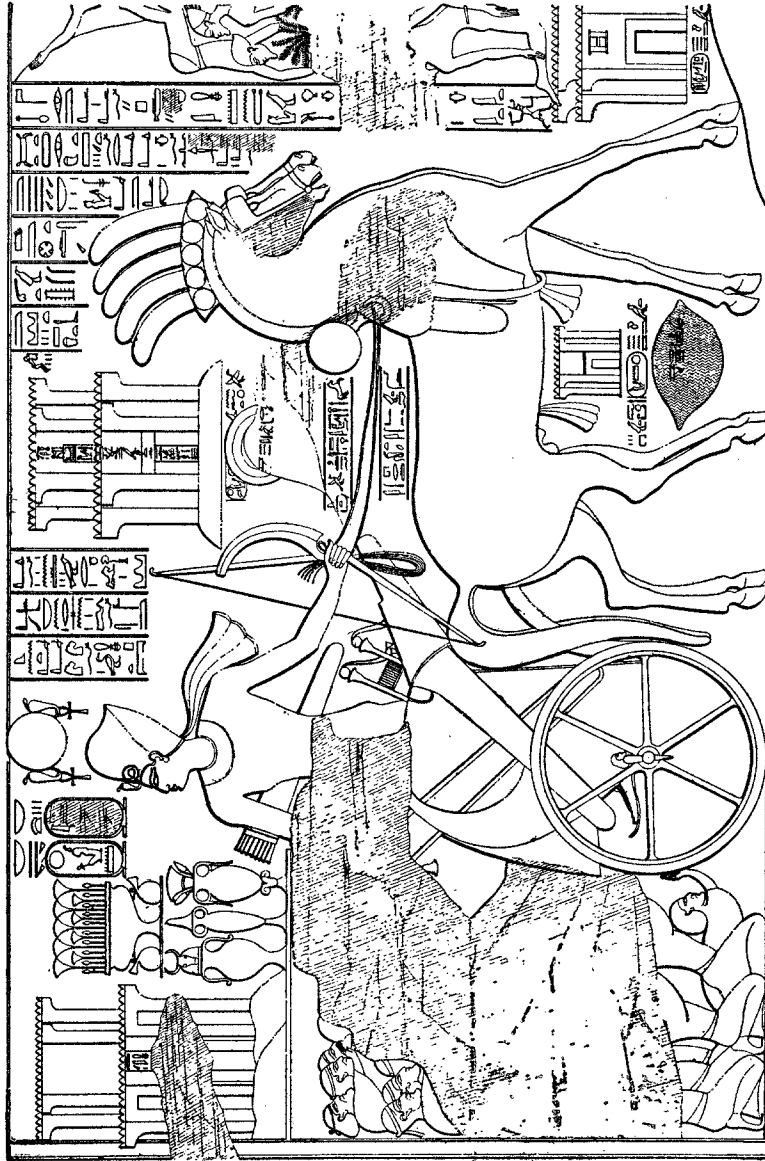


FIG. 2.—Seti I on the Route through Southern Palestine (Scene I, §§ 83, 84).  
 (This example may serve to illustrate the character of this series of reliefs.)



*In Fort, over Horses*

Town [*dmy*], which his majesty built anew at the well of Hu — ti (*Hw — ty*).<sup>a</sup>

*Under Fort, over Horses*

The victory ——— Menmare, heir of Re.  
 ——— [H]arabat ([*H*]<sup>2</sup> -*r*<sup>2</sup> -*b*<sup>2</sup> -*ty*, with determinative of a well.)

*Under Fort, under Horses*

The well: "Menmare-is-Great-in-Victory."

*In Pool, under Horses*

The pool: "Sweet."

SCENE 2. BATTLE WITH THE SHASU<sup>b</sup>

85. Pushing along this road in the Negeb, the king scatters the Shasu, who from time to time gather in sufficient numbers to meet him. One of these actions is depicted in this relief as taking place on the desert road, with the neighboring fortified stations indicated as in the preceding scene (§§ 83, 84).

*In King's Bow*


86. Menmare, Seti-Merneptah.

*In Fortress, Right End*

The stronghold (*bhn*) of Menmare (called): "The — His-Protection."

*Under Same*

"The Fortress (*nhtw*) of Seti-Merneptah."

<sup>a</sup>The restoration of Guieysse, viz., *bw-r*<sup>2</sup> between *Hw* and *ty*, is merely a guess. It is more likely we should restore according to the broken line under the fort, where a word of which the beginning is lacking has also the determinative of a well (like the broken word in the fortress), thus: [*H*]<sup>2</sup> -*r*<sup>2</sup> -*b*<sup>2</sup> -*ty* (and determinative of well). The *H* is uncertain, but exceedingly probable. Thus our word in the fortress is probably *Hw* - [*r*<sup>2</sup> -*b*<sup>2</sup>] - *ty*, though two of the copies (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*) show the beginning of a bird with a stroke (*b*<sup>2</sup>?), as the sign after *hw*. This is surely , "desert" or "ruin."

<sup>b</sup>For bibliography, see Fig. 1.

*Middle Fortress*

Town (*dmj*) which [his] majesty [buil]t a[new].

*In Pool*

The pool: "Ibsekeb" (*Yb-s ˆ -k ˆ -b ˆ*).

*Under Fortress, Left End*

The well of Seti-Merneptah.

*Over Battle*

The Good God, Sun of Egypt, Moon of all lands, Montu in the foreign countries; irresistible, mighty-hearted like Baal, there is none that approaches him on the day of drawing up the battle-line. He has extended the boundaries of Egypt as far as the heavens on every side. The rebels, they know not how they shall [flee];<sup>a</sup> the vanquished of the Shasu, who were —, — — his majesty; [becoming like] that which exists not.

SCENE 3. CAPTURE OF PEKANAN<sup>b</sup>

87. The fighting with the Shasu, as depicted in the preceding scene, continued until Seti reached Canaan. Somewhere on the frontier, not far into Asia, Seti apparently meets a fortified town, to which the relief gives the name "Pekanan" or "*the Canaan*." Exactly what this name means here is not certain. Pekanan is used in the text (§ 88) to indicate the limits of the war with the Shasu since the king has left Tharu, his last stop in Egypt. "*The town of Pekanan*" would seem, therefore, to indicate the place of his arrival in Canaan, as Müller thinks (*Asien und Europa*, 205); but this is not certain. The Egyptians called the entire west of Syria-Palestine "Canaan,"<sup>c</sup> and it

<sup>a</sup>Determinative of legs is preserved.

<sup>b</sup>For publications, see Fig. 1, to which may be added Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 48.

<sup>c</sup>*Pekanan*; "Pe" is the article, the whole being "*the Canaan*" as we say "the Levant."

is only certain that Seti is now fighting somewhere in that country.

*Over King*

88. King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Menmare, Son of Re: Seti-Merneptah, given life, like Re, beloved of Menhyt.

*Fortress*

Town (*dmj*) of Pekanan ( $P^{\circ} - k^{\circ} - n^{\circ} - n^{\circ}$ ).

*Over Horses*

Great first span of his majesty: "Victory-in-Thebes."

*Over Enemy*

<sup>1</sup>Year 1. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmare (Seti I). The destruction <sup>2</sup>which the mighty sword of Pharaoh, L. P. H., made among the <sup>3</sup>vanquished of the Shasu ( $\check{S}^{\circ} - sw$ ) from <sup>4</sup>the fortress of Tharu ( $\check{T}^{\circ} - rw$ ) to <sup>5</sup>Pekanan ( $P^{\circ} - k^{\circ} - n^{\circ} - n^{\circ}$ ), when his majesty <sup>6</sup>marched against them like a fierce-eyed lion, <sup>7</sup>making them carcasses in their <sup>8</sup>valleys, overturned in their blood like <sup>9</sup>those that exist not. Everyone that escapes his fingers <sup>10</sup>says: "His might toward distant countries is <sup>11</sup>the might of his father, Amon, who hath assigned to him<sup>a</sup> <sup>12</sup>victorious valor in the countries ( $h^{\circ} s^{\circ} wt$ )."

SCENE 4. CAPTURE OF YENOAM

89. Seti has now traversed the entire length of Palestine. His lists (§ 114) show that after crossing Carmel he captured Peher and Bethshael, both in the plain of Jezreel, and then proceeded to Akko, whence he marched along the Phœnician coast to Tyre and Othu. Our relief represents the capture of Yenoam, which lies a short distance inland from the last two cities. It is depicted surrounded by forest, as we should expect.

*Name in Fortress*

90. Town of Yenoam ( $Y^{\circ} - nw - c^{\circ} - mw$ ).

<sup>a</sup>Guieysse, "to thee."

SCENE 5. SUBMISSION OF THE CHIEFS OF LEBANON<sup>a</sup>

91. Leaving Tyre and Othu, Seti now pushed northward, and advanced along the coast of Phœnicia, as indicated by his lists (§ 114). As he passes Lebanon, he receives the submission of its local dynasts, and secures cedar<sup>b</sup> for his temples in Egypt. This the Syrians are depicted as felling, while one of Seti's officers assures him of their submission. The name of this officer is not given, but he has been identified by Wiedemann with the prince appearing in the Libyan campaign, for which there is no evidence.<sup>c</sup>

92. According to Seti's lists (§ 114), he advanced northward along the coast past Simyra and Ullaza, but the upper row of reliefs, which contained the northernmost conquests,<sup>d</sup> has unfortunately been lost, and we are unable to control the lists or trace this coast march in detail. If Seti really reached Simyra and Ullaza, it was only the intervening mountains on the east which prevented a collision with the Hittites.

93. Having secured the coast,<sup>e</sup> as did his great ancestor, Thutmose III, Seti returned home with his plunder. He was now certain of a harbor for his sea connection with Syria on the next campaign—a connection which would greatly facilitate future operations in the North.

*In Fortress*

94. Town (*dmy*) of Kader ( $\overline{K}^{\text{D}}$  -*dw-rw*) in Ṗemehtem ( $P^{\text{D}}$  -*mḥ-t^{\text{D}}* -*m^{\text{D}}*)<sup>1, f</sup>

<sup>a</sup>For bibliography, see Fig. 1.

<sup>b</sup>See my *New Chapter*, 28, 29.

<sup>c</sup>See my remarks, "Ramses II and the Princes in the Karnak Reliefs of Seti I," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 136, 137.

<sup>d</sup>As shown by the one scene (the capture of Kadesh) preserved in this uppermost row.

<sup>e</sup>It is difficult to say just where Seti attempted to fix his northern boundary in Phœnicia; if Ramses II's stela at Beyrut are boundary marks, as seems probable, then Seti's boundary is almost certain to have been south of Beyrut, as Ramses would probably not mark off less than his father held.

<sup>f</sup>So Guieysse, but Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, omits *t^{\text{D}}*, and Champol-

*Before and behind King*

[Inspection of the chiefs of] Lebanon, who are cutting down [cedars for]<sup>a</sup> the great barge of the "Beginning-of-the-River," ——— likewise for the great flagstaves of Amon, ——— building ——— with satisfying life ——— [like] Re, every day ———, Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Uhem-mesut. ——— Mightiest of Bows ——— Seti-Merneptah, given life.<sup>b</sup> ———satisfied with victory; the chiefs ——— his might ——— his ——— [he loves an hour of battle] more than a day [of rejoicing] ——— he sees <sup>1</sup>them<sup>1</sup>, his lord ——— his heart is satisfied, making the boundaries of Egypt ——— to fill the storehouses ——— heir ——— in —.

*Before Egyptian Officer*

Said the fan-bearer at the right of the king in his answer to the Good God: "It shall be done according to all that thou hast said, O Horus, Vivifier of the Two Lands. Thou art like Montu in every country; when the chiefs of Retenu (*Rtṛw*) see thee, the fear of thee is in their limbs.

*Over Chiefs of Lebanon*

The great chiefs of Lebanon; they say in praising the Lord of the Two Lands, in magnifying his might: "Thou seemest like thy father, Re; there is life in seeing thee."

SCENES 6 AND 7. BINDING AND CARRYING AWAY PRISONERS<sup>c</sup>

95. The return to Egypt has begun, and we see the king in two symbolical scenes binding and carrying away the captives.

*Before and behind King*

96. 6. ——— all countries; he carries them off as living captives ——— Hartema, Lord ——— felling ——— his enemies.

lion, *Monuments*, and Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, have *P<sup>2</sup>-hn-m<sup>2</sup>*. On Kader, which is the Hebrew "Gader," a "stockade" or "inclosure," see Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 202, 203.

<sup>a</sup>For the restorations, see my *New Chapter*, 29, note a.

<sup>b</sup>These fragments of Seti I's complete titulary may be restored from Redesiyeh (§§ 169, l. 1).

<sup>c</sup>For bibliography, see Fig. 1.

*Over Horses*

97. 7. Great first span of his majesty: "Great-in-Victory."

*Over Prisoners*

Great chiefs of Retenu (*Rtṃw*), whom his majesty carried off as living captives.

SCENE 8. RECEPTION IN EGYPT<sup>a</sup>

98. Seti has now reached Egypt, and nears the frontier city, Tharu, driving and leading his prisoners. On the Egyptian side of the canal which passes by the city stands a body of officials acclaiming the victorious Pharaoh.<sup>b</sup>

99. The most important item in this scene is the long inscription (§ 101), which informs us of the reason of Seti's chastisement of the Shasu. It was reported to him that the Bedwin (Shasu) were making common cause against the Palestinians (Kharu), and that this invasion had resulted in the complete overthrow of all authority in Palestine. That these Bedwin are the Khabiri<sup>c</sup> of the Amarna Letters there can be no doubt. The conditions which confronted Seti I in Palestine are exactly those which we should expect in view of what we learn from the letters of Abdkhiba of Jerusalem. There is also further evidence of the same conditions, in the tomb of Harmhab (§§ 10 ff.). The attempt of the Hebrews to gain a footing in Palestine is undoubtedly involved in the larger movement of the Bedwin, which Seti here records.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup>For bibliography, see Fig. 1, to which may be added Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, I, Pl. 48.

<sup>b</sup>The prince who marches behind the Pharaoh whose name is lost (§ 102 *infra*), has been identified by Wiedemann with the crown prince of Scene 13; for which there is no evidence, and against which there is conclusive evidence. See *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 27, 136, 137.

<sup>c</sup>See Ed. Meyer, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 75, 76.

<sup>d</sup>See Meyer, *loc. cit.*

*Over King*

100. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands. Menmare; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Seti-Merneptah, given life, like Re.

*Under Vulture*

Nekhet, the white goddess of Nekhen, may she give life, stability, and satisfaction, like Re.

*In Canal*

The bridge.

*In Fort, by Canal*

The fortress (*h̄tm*) of Tharu (*T<sup>3</sup>-rw*).

*Fort under Horses*

The store-chamber: "The Lion."

*In Fort behind Horses*

The Tower (*M-k-ty-r<sup>2</sup>*) of Menmare.

*Beside Pool of Fort*

The Pool of Hepen (*Hw-p<sup>2</sup>-n<sup>2</sup>*).<sup>a</sup>

*Fort behind Horses*

Buto of Seti-Merneptah.

*Pool under Fort*

The pool of the water-<sup>1</sup>supply<sup>1</sup>.

*Over Horses*

Great first span of his majesty, L. P. H.: "Amon-He-Giveth-Might."

*Over Horses at Top*

101. Year 1 of Uhem-mesut<sup>b</sup> <sup>2</sup>King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmare, given Life.

<sup>a</sup>This occurs in two places according to Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 128, but the one placed by these two authorities on the right side of the canal is not to be found in my photograph. The reading *Hw-t<sup>2</sup>-y-n<sup>2</sup>* (Anast., 1, 27) would indicate that we should read *Hw-t<sup>2</sup>-na* here, but the texts all have *p<sup>2</sup>*. See Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 134), who, however, has not gone back of the publications.

<sup>b</sup>Part of the second name in Seti I's fivefold titulary, see *infra*, Redesiyeh, § 169, l. 1.

<sup>3</sup>One came to say to his majesty: <sup>4</sup>"The vanquished Shasu ( $\text{Š}^{\text{D}}\text{-sw}$ ), they plan <sup>5</sup>rebellion<sup>1</sup>. Their tribal chiefs <sup>6</sup>are gathered together, rising<sup>2</sup> against the Asiatics of Kharu<sup>a</sup> ( $\text{H}^{\text{D}}\text{-rw}$ ). <sup>7</sup>They have taken to cursing, and quarreling, each of them <sup>8</sup>slaying his neighbor, and they disregard the laws of the <sup>9</sup>palace."

The heart of his majesty, L. P. H., was glad on account of it. <sup>10</sup>Lo, as for the Good God, he rejoices <sup>11</sup>to begin battle, he is delighted to <sup>12</sup>enter<sup>b</sup> into it, his heart is satisfied <sup>13</sup>at seeing blood, he cuts off <sup>14</sup>the heads of the rebellious-hearted, he loves <sup>15</sup>an hour of battle more than a day of rejoicing. His majesty slays them at one time. He leaves not a limb among them, and he that escapes his hand as a living captive, is carried off to Egypt.

*Over Prince<sup>c</sup> behind Chariot*

**102.** Following the king on his marches in the countries of Retenu ( $\text{R}^{\text{t}}\text{nw}$ ), by the hereditary prince, great in invocation<sup>d</sup> by ———— real king's-scribe, his beloved ———— king's-son, of his body, his beloved ———— <sup>e</sup>

*Over Rejoicing Egyptians*

**103.** Prophets, nobles, and officials ( $\text{h}^{\text{D}}\text{-tyw}$ ) of the South and North, coming to acclaim to the Good God, at his return from the country of Retenu ( $\text{R}^{\text{t}}\text{nw}$ ) with very numerous captivity. <sup>2</sup>Never was seen the like of it, since <sup>3</sup>the time of the god. They say, in <sup>4</sup>praising his majesty, in magnifying <sup>5</sup>his might: "Welcome art thou, from <sup>6</sup>the countries which thou hast subdued; <sup>7</sup>thou art triumphant, and thy enemies are <sup>8</sup>beneath thee. Thy duration as king <sup>9</sup>is like Re in heaven, while gratifying thy heart <sup>10</sup>on the Nine Bows. When Re made thy

<sup>a</sup>Or: "standing (gaining a foothold) in the Kharite (Horite) regions of Asia."

<sup>b</sup>Or: "when one transgresses against him."

<sup>c</sup>See also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 19.

<sup>d</sup>My explanation in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* (XXXVII, 136, n. 5) is incomplete, if not incorrect; *sh*, or *sw* <sup>2</sup>, means "to bless or curse," these meanings being derived from a common idea, viz., "to invoke divine powers," a meaning used in magical texts.

<sup>e</sup>This fragmentary name contained the syllable *nb* or *hb*; hence Lefebvre restores Harmhab (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XII, 447); while Wiedemann at first favored Nebwa ( $\text{Nb-w}^{\text{D}}$ ) (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XII, 258 ff.), and later thinks it was Amon-nefer-nebef (*Recueil*, XVIII, 121). See my note, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* (37, 137, note 1).



boundary, his two arms <sup>10</sup>were a protection behind thee. Thy sword was in the midst of <sup>11</sup>every land, and their chiefs fell by thy blade."

SCENE 9. PRESENTATION OF SHASU PRISONERS AND  
PRECIOUS VESSELS TO AMON<sup>a</sup>

104. Seti appears before Amon presenting him with slaves and costly vessels from his campaign against the Shasu, though the victories are stated to have been in Retenu, and the upper row of captives is affirmed to be from Retenu.

*Over Amon*

105. Utterance of Amon-Re, Lord of Thebes: "O my beloved son, Lord of the Two Lands: Menmare, I have caused that thou shouldst be [victorious] over every country, that thou shouldst rule over their chiefs, so that they come to thee, gathered together with a burden (tribute) upon their backs, for fear of thee."

*Over Tribute*

106. [Presentation of the tribute by his majesty to his father, Amon],<sup>b</sup> at the return from the country of Retenu (*Rt<sup>nw</sup>*). The chiefs of the country are living prisoners, their tribute upon their back, consisting of every vessel, the choicest of their countries, of gold, silver, lapis lazuli | — — which thou givest me in every country ———.

*Over Prisoners, Upper Line*

107. Chiefs of countries which knew not Egypt, which his majesty carried away, from his victories in the country of Retenu (*Rt<sup>nw</sup>*) the wretched. They say, in magnifying his majesty, in acclaiming his victories: "Hail to thee! How great is thy name, how mighty thy power! The countries rejoice to be subject to thee, and they that transgress thy boundary are bound. By thy ka! We knew not Egypt, nor had our fathers trodden it. Give to us the breath that thou givest."

*Over Prisoners, Lower Line*

108. Captivity which his majesty carried off from the Shasu (*Š<sup>3</sup> -sw*), whom his majesty himself overthrew, in the year 1 of Uhem-mesut (Seti I).

<sup>a</sup>For bibliography, see Fig. 1.

<sup>b</sup>Restored from Scene 10.

SCENE 10. PRESENTATION OF SYRIAN PRISONERS AND  
PRECIOUS VESSELS TO AMON

109. A scene like that in the preceding relief, but with Syrians in place of Shasu.

*Over Amon*

110. Utterance of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes: "Thou comest in peace, O Good God, Lord of the Two Lands: Menmare, I have set thy might in every country, thy fear in the hearts of the Nine Bows. Their chiefs come to thee as one man, with a burden (viz., tribute) on their backs. I have placed for thee the lands under thy fear, bowing down in terror of thee."

*Over Vessels*

111. Presentation of the tribute by his majesty, to his father, Amon, at his return from the country of Retenu (*Rtnw*), the wretched; consisting of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, 1—1, and every splendid, costly stone. The chiefs of the countries are inclosed in his grasp, in order to fill the storehouse of his father, Amon, by the might that thou hast given to me (sic!).

*Over Prisoners, Upper Row*

112. Arrival of his majesty from Retenu (*Rtnw*) the Upper, extending the boundaries of Egypt ———.

*Over Prisoners, Lower Row*

Chiefs of countries that knew not Egypt, whom his majesty carried off as living captives.

SCENE 11. SLAYING PRISONERS BEFORE AMON<sup>a</sup>

113. This bloody ceremony, which is of very ancient origin, is the king's final recognition of his power as coming from the god, before whom he now sacrifices a number of the foes, whom the god has enabled him to vanquish. The fulsome praise and promises of the god are taken from earlier sources. The first portion (§ 116) is plagiarized

<sup>a</sup>For bibliography, see Fig. 1.

from the great stela of Amenhotep III recounting his buildings (II, 891, 892). Seti I had restored this splendid stela after its defacement by Ikhnaton (II, 878), and apparently at its restoration it was found to be so pleasing by Seti that he appropriated its form for his own use, but with many changes. Seti's form of it was then again used by Ramses III on his Medinet Habu temple (IV, 137). The other part of Amon's discourse (§ 117) is taken from a still earlier composition, the great Hymn of Victory of Thutmose III (II, 658 ff.), but again with some changes.

114. The title over the captive towns and countries led by Amon and a Theban genius, is restored from Scene 20, where it is repeated. This list of the towns and countries gained in these conquests was appended to each of the two sacrificial scenes (11 and 20) concluding the two great series. Both lists are totally confused, even the stereotyped "Nine Bows" being broken up into two fragments. Evidently little reliance can be placed upon them, as they are placed here to serve a conventional function, viz., merely to convey the idea of vast conquests. Fortunately, a more careful list of Seti's conquests is preserved upon a sphinx in his temple at Kurna,<sup>a</sup> which is as follows: 1-9, the "Nine Bows;" 10, Kheta (*ḥt*<sup>2</sup>); 11, Naharin (*N-h-r-ny*); 12, Alasa (*2-r<sup>2</sup>-s<sup>2</sup>*); 13, Akko (*c-k<sup>2</sup>*); 14, Simyra (*d<sup>2</sup>-my<sup>2</sup>*;<sup>b</sup> *r<sup>2</sup>*); 15, Peher (*P<sup>2</sup>-h-r<sup>2</sup>*); 16, Bethshael (*B<sup>2</sup>-t-š<sup>2</sup>-r<sup>2</sup>*); 17, Khamehem (*ḥ<sup>2</sup>-my-h-mw*); 18, Yenoam (*Y-nw<sup>2</sup>-mw*);<sup>c</sup> 19, Ullaza (*2-n-n-r<sup>2</sup>-t<sup>2</sup>*); 20, Kemed (*K<sup>2</sup>-my-dw*); 21, Tyre (*d<sup>2</sup>-rw*); 22, Othu (*Yw-tw*); 23, Bethanath (*B<sup>2</sup>-t<sup>2</sup>-n-t<sup>2</sup>*); 24, Keremim (*k<sup>2</sup>-r<sup>2</sup>-my-mw*);<sup>c</sup> The remaining

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 131, a. See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 191-95.

<sup>b</sup>Text "ty," which is clearly to be corrected to *r<sup>2</sup>* (Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 187, n. 2).

<sup>c</sup>Perhaps to be corrected, as Müller does (*Asien und Europa*, 195), to *K<sup>2</sup>-r<sup>2</sup>-t<sup>2</sup>-n-t<sup>2</sup>*.

names (25-43) are haphazard selections<sup>a</sup> of the famous towns and districts, chiefly of Asia, familiar to the Egyptians from earlier conquests. Only the towns in the northern plain of Jezreel, and in Phœnicia are grouped together (Nos. 13-24), but within the group they occur at haphazard. Not even such a grouping can be discovered in the aimless, confused conclusion (Nos. 25-43).<sup>b</sup>

115. In harmony with the claims of these lists the words accompanying the king's action claim for him the great domain of his predecessors of the Eighteenth Dynasty, viz., from the "*Horns of the Earth*,"<sup>c</sup> on the south, to the "*marshes of Naharin*," (§ 118) on the north. This is still literally true for the southern boundary, but is unquestionably an exaggeration in the case of the northern boundary. If Seti ever carried his arms as far as Naharin, he was unable to establish his boundary there, or hold anything inland, north of Galilee.

*Over Amon*

116. <sup>1</sup>Utterance of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes: "O my son, of my body, <sup>2</sup>my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands: Menmare, lord of might in every country! <sup>3</sup>I am thy father; I set thy terror in Retenu, the Upper and <sup>4</sup>the Lower. The Nubian Troglodytes are slain beneath thy feet.

I bring <sup>5</sup>to thee the chiefs of the southern countries, that they may

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<sup>a</sup>They do not seem to be taken from Scenes 11 and 20, as Müller states (Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 191, n. 1), but are equally orderless and methodless selections from the names known to the compiler.

<sup>b</sup>A relief on this same north wall of Karnak shows Amon presenting to an uncertain king a series of thirty captured towns. Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 164-66) has shown that this list includes some towns in the west of central Palestine. He has attributed the relief to Ramses II, but the location of the document, where only Seti I's inscriptions are found would indicate that it belongs to the latter.

<sup>c</sup>A stela at Ibrim contains similar references (Sayce, *Recueil*, 16, 170 f.); the southern boundary is given as the "*Horns of the Earth*," and, referring to the northern, the king is called the "*crusher of Retenu, carrying off their chiefs as living prisoners*." Then follow the conventional references to the submission of South and North.

make thee to receive the tribute, being <sup>6</sup>every good product of their countries, to hasten <sup>7</sup>————.

[I turn] my face to the north,<sup>a</sup> I work a wonder <sup>8</sup>[for thee] — — — snaring the rebels in their nests by the power of thy might. I bring to thee <sup>9</sup>countries that know not Egypt, with their tribute borne, consisting of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, every splendid costly stone of God's-Land.

<sup>10</sup>I turn my face to the east, I work a wonder for thee, I bind them all for thee, gathered in thy grasp. I gather together all the countries <sup>11</sup>of Punt, all their tribute, of gum of myrrh (<sup>c</sup> *nty*), cinnamon, and all the pleasant sweet woods of God's-Land, <sup>12</sup>[fragrant] before thee, and thy uraeus.

I turn my face to the west, I work a wonder for thee, consuming for thee every land of Tehenu (*Tyhnuw*). <sup>13</sup>They come bowing down [to thee],<sup>b</sup> falling upon their knees for terror of thee. The chiefs of <sup>14</sup>———— to give to thee praise.

I turn my face to heaven, I work a wonder for thee; the gods of the horizon of heaven acclaim <sup>15</sup>to thee, when Re is born every morning; thou flourishest like Re, when he has brought midday.

I turn my face to the earth, <sup>16</sup>[I work a wonder for thee, I appoint for thee victories in every country]. The gods rejoice in thee, in their temples; thou shalt spend eternity as king upon the throne of Keb.

*Before Amon*

**117.** <sup>1</sup>I have caused them to see thy majesty as lord of radiance, so that thou hast shone in their faces like my image.

<sup>2</sup>I have caused them to see thy majesty, arrayed in thy regalia, when [thou] takest the weapons of war in the chariot.

<sup>3</sup>I have caused them to see thy majesty like a circling star, which scatters its flame in fire and gives forth its dew.

<sup>4</sup>I have caused them to see thy majesty as a young bull, firm of heart, ready-horned, irresistible.

<sup>5</sup>I have caused them to see thy majesty as a crocodile, terrible on the shore, unapproachable.

<sup>a</sup>The god should first face south, as in the original text of Amenhotep III (II, 891), from which our text of Seti I is plagiarized.

<sup>b</sup>Corrected from Medinet Habu; Guieysse has totally confused the two texts, his Medinet Habu text being incorrect.

<sup>6</sup>I have caused them to see thy majesty like a flame of fire, like the very being of Sekhmet, in her tempest.

<sup>7</sup>I have caused them to see thy majesty as [a fierce-eyed lion, so that thou makest] them corpses in their valleys.

<sup>8</sup>I have caused them to see thy majesty as a —, great in strength, irresistible in heaven or in earth.

*Before Amon's Sword*

Take to thyself the sword (*hꜣš*), O mighty king, whose mace smites the Nine Bows.

*Before the King*

118. Slaying of the Asiatic Troglodytes (*Ynw-Mn't yw*), all inaccessible countries, all lands, the Fenkhu of the marshes of Asia, the Great Bend (*phr wr*) of the sea (*wꜣ ḏ-wr*).

*Over King*

Smiting the Troglodytes, beating down the Asiatics (*Mn't yw*), making his boundary as far as the "Horns<sup>1</sup> of the Earth," as far as the marshes of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*).

*Line below King*

119. List of those southern and northern lands, which his majesty smote, making a great slaughter among them, of unknown number. [Their subjects are]<sup>a</sup> carried away [as living captives, to fill the storehouse of his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, all countries] ———.

SCENE 12. FIRST BATTLE WITH THE LIBYANS<sup>b</sup>

120. With this scene we pass to the other side of the door (cf. Fig. 1), to a group of nine scenes where there is no date preserved; and as shown above (§§ 80 ff.), they do not necessarily belong to the wars of year 1 on the east side of the door, but may have occurred at any time subsequent to the year 1. As we have shown above (§ 82), Seti spent practically his entire second year in the Delta, and he may well have fought the Libyan war in that year.

<sup>a</sup>Restored from Scene 20.

<sup>b</sup>For bibliography, see Fig. 1.

121. As Seti's first war in Asia was introduced by a minor campaign against the Bedwin of Sinai and the Negeb, so now his second Asiatic war is preceded by a campaign against the Libyans. It is evident that the pressure of the Libyans into the Delta, which became so serious under Seti's grandson, Merneptah (§§ 569 ff.), already began under Seti himself. He was, therefore, unable to continue his conquests in Asia without chastising them. Unfortunately, the scene is purely conventional, and the descriptive texts contain nothing but general terms.

*Before King*

122. Lord of the Two Lands: Menmare; Lord of Diadems: Seti-Merneptah.

*Behind King*

Hartema, Lord of achievement.

*Over Horses*

<sup>1</sup>——— <sup>2</sup>devastating, seizing in every country, <sup>3</sup>brave without his like, achieving with his <sup>4</sup>sword, till the Two Lands know it, till the <sup>5</sup>whole earth sees it. He is like Baal, <sup>6</sup>he traverses the mountains, <sup>7</sup>his terror has penetrated the countries, his name <sup>8</sup>is victorious, <sup>9</sup>his sword <sup>10</sup>is mighty, <sup>11</sup>there is none <sup>12</sup>that stands before him.

SCENE 13. SECOND BATTLE WITH THE LIBYANS<sup>a</sup>

123. This second battle scene in addition to the strength and vigor which give it value as an artistic composition, is of great importance because of the two princes, whom it represents as participating in the battle. One of them (behind Seti) bears the name of Ramses, and is of course, he who later became Ramses II. This fact has had great weight in the study of the reigns of Seti and of Ramses II, and has

<sup>a</sup>For bibliography, see Fig. 1, to which Prisse, *Histoire de l'art égyptien* (plates unnumbered), may be added.

materially modified the chronology of both reigns.<sup>a</sup> But let it be noted, in the first place, that this figure of Ramses is in a scene of the Libyan war, without a date, far from the scenes of the Shasu war of year 1, on the other side of the door. This appearance of Ramses with his father was therefore not necessarily in his father's first year, as has been so often assumed.

124. Furthermore, a close examination of the accompanying figures will show, first, that this scene is no proof that Ramses ever appeared with his father in battle at all; and, second, that Ramses was not the first heir to Seti's throne.<sup>b</sup> Behind the Libyan chief whom Seti hurls backward stands an Egyptian prince (Fig. 4, broken lines), facing toward the left, and watching, or possibly taking part in, the conflict. Behind Seti stands Prince Ramses (Fig. 3, dotted lines), facing toward the right, and likewise watching the conflict. Fig. 4 cannot also be Ramses, for he could not appear twice in the same scene. Its accompanying inscription<sup>c</sup> is as follows: "*Hereditary prince, first king's-son, of his body* ————," in which, unfortunately, the name is wanting; where it could have stood before its disappearance is a question, for the skirt of the prince projects under the titles, and the name must therefore have been pushed to

<sup>a</sup>Thus Maspero (*Struggle of the Nations*, 369, n. 3) concludes that Seti I married Ramses II's mother, Tuya, under Harmhab, and (*ibid.*, 387, n. 5) that Seti I could not have reigned longer than fifteen to twenty years (possibly only twelve or fifteen), because Ramses II appears "as a stripling in the campaign of Seti's first year."

<sup>b</sup>A full discussion of these questions by the present writer will be found in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 130-39, from which the accompanying figures are taken.

<sup>c</sup>It is very faint and has been overlooked in Champollion, *Monuments*, 297, 2, and in Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 54, 2; the only publication containing it is Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, 99. Every sign is traceable in the photograph which I used for making the drawing.



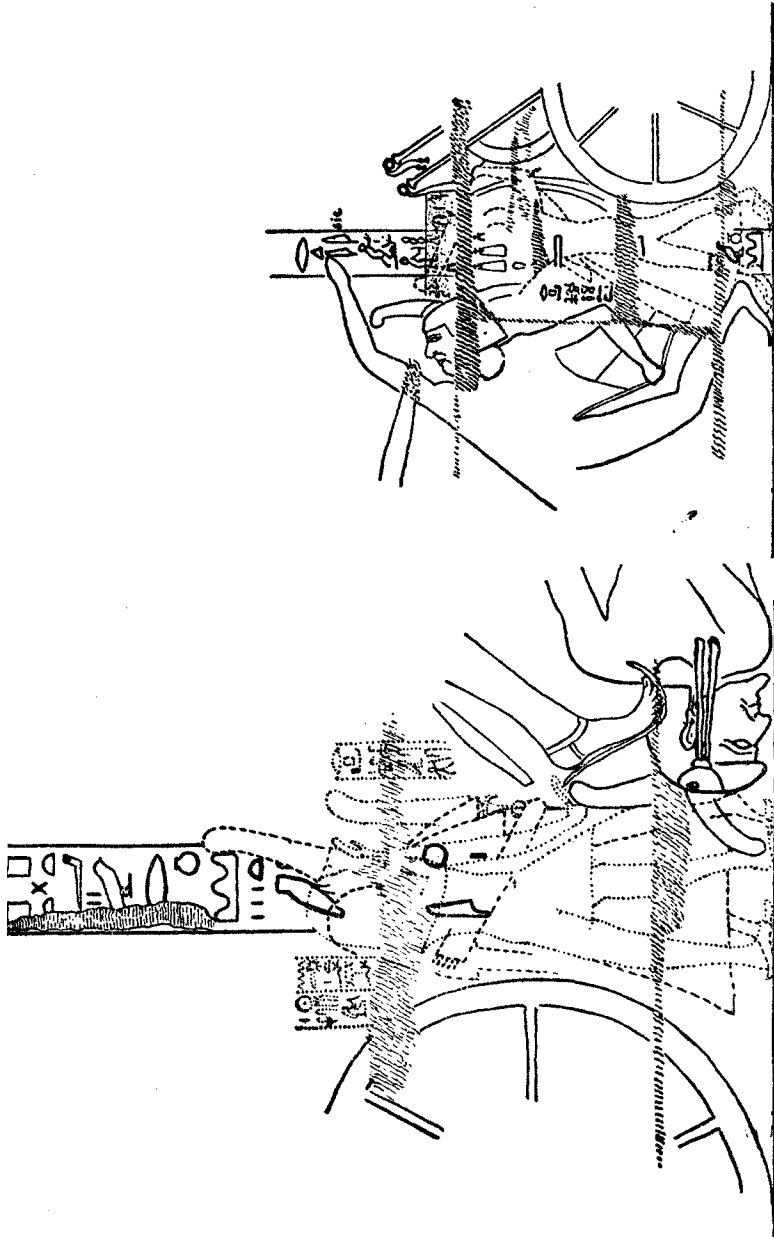


FIG. 3.—Showing Two Superimposed Figures (dotted lines facing left; broken lines facing right);

(Figures 3 and 4 are taken from opposite ends of the same scene. Omitted in the middle is the colossal figure of Seti I. His foot is shown trampling the head of a Libyan in Fig. 3. His arm appears in Fig. 4 overthrowing a Libyan (with bow in hand), but Fig. 4 is on a smaller scale than Fig. 3.)

the left (under the Libyan chief's elbow).<sup>a</sup> The historical conclusion here is important: the "*first king's-son*" of Seti I was not his successor, Ramses; that is, that Ramses II had an older brother, who did not reach the throne.

125. But a further examination of this scene discloses the fact that this figure of Ramses' elder brother (Fig. 4) is not original and does not belong where it stands. The first glance shows that the contracted space between the chariot wheel (belonging to the next scene to the right) and the leg of the falling Libyan is too narrow for another figure, and the artist has barely been able to squeeze the prince in. Thus he is as much in one scene as the other, an anomalous arrangement! He stands with fan upraised in his right hand, as if to smite the falling Libyan. The fan runs directly across the vertical line of text! It is difficult to say where the right arm is; it seems to have been raised, and it may be that he was seizing his father's foe, as his father is doing. Passing through the fan, the large column of text extends down through the prince's head and body, to the bottom. It is clear, therefore, that at some time after Seti had completed these reliefs his eldest son had himself inserted here, as taking part in Seti's Libyan campaign. It is clear also that someone desired his removal, for his figure has been rudely chiseled away. Champollion speaks of him<sup>b</sup> as a "prince martelé et surchargé avec débris de légende" (his titles follow), showing that also his accompanying inscription has been hammered out. The person to whom the figure of the eldest son would be most unwelcome, and who

---

<sup>a</sup>There is now no trace of it there, owing to a large fissure in the stone. I am unfortunately obliged to work from photographs, as I did not study these reliefs when at Karnak, and the figures of the princes are now nearly covered with débris again.

<sup>b</sup>*Notices descriptives*, II, 99.

would therefore be most desirous to remove it, is of course, the other prince in the same scene, Ramses. We are certainly correct in attributing the mutilation to him. Moreover, it is quite certain that he did this in order to have the figure of himself inserted in the same scene, for his own figure (Fig. 3, dotted lines) is not original to this scene.

126. In the first place, we notice in Fig. 3, as in Fig. 4, the narrowness of the space into which the prince's figure has been squeezed, so that his left foot passes through the feather of the fallen Libyan, whom Seti is trampling, and his left hand collides with the other feather. Further, we again notice a column of text extending down through the prince's head into his body.<sup>a</sup> Ramses stands with right hand raised palm outward, as usual in salutation, and carrying his fan vertically before him in the left hand. A joint in the masonry has obliterated shoulders and face. The accompanying text is partly in one scene and partly in the next. It is as follows: "*Prince (r<sup>p</sup><sup>c</sup> · ty), king's-son, crown prince, of his body, his beloved, Ramses.*" The historical conclusions to be derived from this text will be taken up later.

127. A closer inspection of Ramses' figure shows that, in having himself inserted here, he at the same time improved the opportunity to efface another figure, which we will call X, over which his own has been cut. The motives for this second effacement are undoubtedly the same as for the first, and X was therefore Ramses' elder brother. But, as the elder brother has already been once effaced in this scene, we should expect that this second occurrence of his figure belonged to another scene, and such is clearly the case. Under Ramses' figure appears a second pair of feet striding in the

<sup>a</sup>These signs are so clear that they were copied by Rosellini, but in his publication (*Monumenti Storici*, 54, 2) he has shifted the column above too far to the right.

opposite direction (the left; see broken lines); behind Ramses is the front point of a skirt; behind him is a third arm; across his figure is a quiver<sup>a</sup> with the opening to the left; above him is a fan<sup>b</sup>, with the tip of the feather turned to the left.<sup>c</sup> All these belong, of course, to the figure X (broken lines), facing to the left. A comparison of X with the prince in Fig. 5 shows clearly that X was striding in the same way after the chariot behind which he is. Especially characteristic are his left foot poised for the next step, the arm hanging down in front, and the fan over the shoulder. X therefore belongs to the scene to the left, representing Seti's triumphant return (Scene 14) from the Libyan war, riding in his chariot and driving his prisoners before him, like the prince following Seti in his return from the first Syrian war (Fig. 5). This is what we should expect; before Ramses' interference, the figure of his elder brother appeared once in each of the two scenes: the battle with the Libyans (Fig. 4) and the return (Fig. 3). Ramses preferred to appear in the battle and had himself inserted facing the right.

128. But if the figure of Ramses is a later insertion, that of his brother (X) is equally so; the latter's fan, quiver, and indeed his whole figure cut directly into the original column of text, as the figure of Ramses does. X has had himself inserted here. It is this fact which renders certain the identity of X and Seti's eldest son (Fig. 4); both desired

<sup>a</sup>The quiver was always carried on the left side, with the opening in front; hence in this case belonging to a person facing the left.

<sup>b</sup>The fan was always borne with the tip of the feather pointing toward the front, as in Ramses' figure and in Fig. 5.

<sup>c</sup>The feet and the quiver were seen and copied by Rosellini and Champollion, and appear in their publications (Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 54; Champollion, *Monuments*, 297, 2), but seem to have remained unnoticed since.

to appear in Seti's Libyan war, both were the object of Ramses' hatred, and both were effaced by him.

129. To recapitulate, we find thus far three stages on this wall:

1. An uninterrupted column of text on each side of the battle scene; and no princes in either it or the scene of the return.

2. Seti's eldest son inserts his own figure at the right of the battle scene and at the right of the return.

3. Prince Ramses effaces the figure of his elder brother in both places, but over that of his brother in the return scene he inserts his own figure, so facing as to belong to the battle scene.

130. There are evidences of a similar insertion (Fig. 6) at the top of this same wall, on a few isolated blocks at the left of the capture of Kadesh (Scene 16). Here we see a figure (Fig. 6, broken lines) with uplifted arm, like that of Ramses in the battle scene, and wearing a quiver. Before this figure are the arms of a captive bound behind his back, showing that the man follows the king's chariot (as in Fig. 5), behind which, however, the king leads a line of captives. But this figure is likewise a later insertion, for a column of text extends down through it, and the head of the Syrian, who has fallen beneath the chariot, projects into the skirt. It is impossible to decide whether this figure is that of Ramses or his brother.

131. The historical results to be drawn from the above facts are not numerous, but are important. It is clear, in the first place, that these reliefs offer no evidence whatever that Ramses II ever took part in any campaign of his father, of whatever year. It is therefore no longer necessary to shorten the reign of Seti in order that Ramses may be sufficiently young at his (Ramses') accession, as Maspero con-

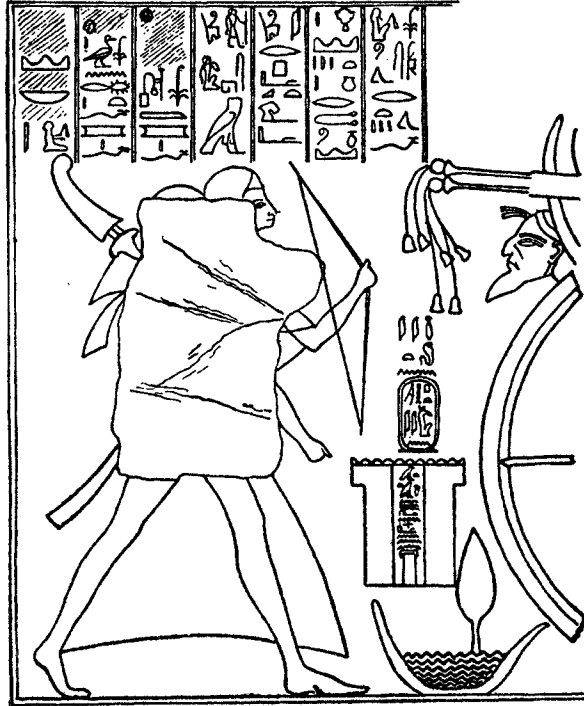


FIG. 5.—An Unknown Prince Following the Chariot of Seti I  
(Scene 14).

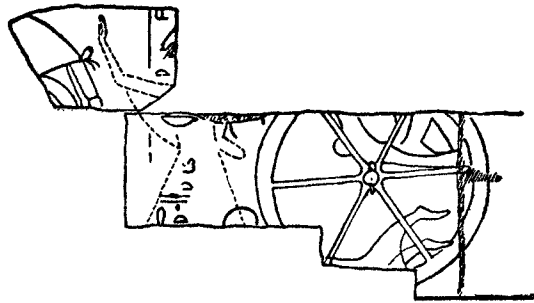


FIG. 6.—Figure of an Unknown Prince Inserted in a  
Fragmentary Scene (§ 130).

sidered unavoidable. As far as these reliefs are concerned, Ramses might even have been born after Seti's accession. The fact alone that Ramses was obliged to insert his own figure in his father's battle scenes, in order to appear there at all, of course creates a strong suspicion that he had nothing to do with the events they depict;<sup>a</sup> and thus Seti's reign may have been considerably longer than is usually attributed to him. He was about to celebrate his jubilee when he died, having left an obelisk unfinished, so that it was completed by his son, Ramses II (§§ 544 ff.). If his father reigned two and a half years, Seti's jubilee might have fallen in the middle of his twenty-eighth year. But as he did not live to complete the obelisk and celebrate the jubilee, he may have died a few years before the jubilee, after a reign of over twenty years. A greater maximum is improbable, for the reason that Setau, viceroy of Kush in Seti I's second year,<sup>b</sup> is known also in Ramses II's thirty-eighth year, which, if Seti reigned twenty years, makes Setau's term of office at least fifty-seven years—an extraordinary tenure of office. For the extensive building which Seti I accomplished, twenty years are none too long a reign.

*Over the Foe*

132. <sup>1</sup>———— [overth]rowing his enemies, smiting <sup>2</sup>———— among them, <sup>3</sup>———— their chiefs fall <sup>4</sup>———— [beneath] the two feet of Horus, <sup>5</sup>[the King of Upper and Lower Egypt], Men[mare]; <sup>6</sup>[the Son of Re, Seti-Me]rn[eptah], given satisfying life, like Re.

*Before King*

Smiting the chiefs of Tehenu (*Tyḥnw*).

<sup>a</sup>See the discussion of Ramses II's youth, §§ 254, 283.

<sup>b</sup>Papyrus in Bibliothèque Nationale, 209, in Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, Pl. X, col. 4, l. 3.

*Over Fan*

Hartema, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offering, smiting every country.

*Under Fan*

All protection, life, stability, satisfaction are behind him, like Re, lord of might, smiting the Nine Bows.

*Left of Fan*

The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Might, Menmare, smites the chiefs of the countries.

*With Prince behind King*

The hereditary prince (*rp<sup>c</sup> · ty*), the king's-son, crown-prince, of his body, his beloved, Ramses.

*With Prince behind Enemy*

Prince (*rp<sup>c</sup> · ty*), first king's-son, of his body ———.

*Over Horses*

Great first span of his majesty (named): "Smiter-of-Foreigners."

SCENE 14. RETURN FROM LIBYAN WAR<sup>a</sup>

133. We here see Seti returning from the Libyan war in the same manner as he is shown returning from his Syrian war of the year 1. Behind Seti's chariot, in this scene, his eldest son had himself inserted following the chariot, as does the prince behind the chariot in the return from Syria (Scene 8). The prince's figure is here cut in over a column of inscription (see Fig. 3), showing that it is not a part of the relief as left by Seti. It was afterward erased and replaced by the figure of Ramses II, who faces the other way and belongs to the preceding scene (13).

*Over King*

134. Lord of the Two Lands: Menmare, Lord of Diadems, Seti-Merneptah, given life.

<sup>a</sup>For bibliography, see Fig. 1.



*Over Horses*

Great first span of his majesty: "Mighty-is-Amon."

*Over Prisoners, Upper Line*

———— he causes them to cease standing upon the meadow, unable to take up the bow, passing the day in the caves, hidden like wolves for fear of his majesty ————— their hearts ————— might.

*Over Prisoners, Lower Line*

———— as living prisoners in the country of Tehenu (*Tyhny*), by the might of his father, Amon.

SCENE 15. PRESENTATION OF LIBYAN PRISONERS AND SPOIL  
TO AMON<sup>a</sup>

135. This presentation does not differ from those depicted east of the door. The inscription over the Libyan prisoners in the upper line referring them to "*Retenu*" and calling them "*Asiatics*"(!), only shows the subordinate character of the Libyan campaign, and the exclusive importance of the Asiatic victories. It may also indicate that this presentation of Libyan spoil did not take place till after the second Asiatic war; but as these reliefs were not put on the temple wall until the close of Seti's wars, all the campaigns in Retenu are then past, and could be referred to.

*Over Amon*

136. <sup>1</sup>Utterance of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes: "<sup>2</sup>O Son of my body, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, <sup>3</sup>Menmare; my heart is glad <sup>4</sup>for love of thee, I rejoice to look on <sup>5</sup>thy beauty. I set the terror of <sup>6</sup>thy majesty in every country ————— <sup>7</sup>over their chiefs, [they] come <sup>8</sup>to thee together, to Egypt, <sup>9</sup>with all their possessions <sup>10</sup>borne upon their backs.

*Before Mut*

Mut, mistress of Ishru ————— mistress of heaven, queen of all gods, ————— eternity as king of the Two Lands, while thou appearest as Re.

<sup>a</sup>For bibliography, see Fig. 1.

*Before Khonsu*

Khonsu in Thebes, Beautiful Rest, Horus, lord of joy (and) Thoth, lord of Karnak.

*Below*

I give to thee might against the south, victory against the north.

*Over Spoil*

137. Presentation of tribute by his majesty <sup>2</sup>to his father, Amon-Re, consisting of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, <sup>3</sup>every splendid costly stone, from the might which thou givest to me in every country. <sup>4</sup>King of Upper and Lower Egypt. Lord of Offering: Menmare; <sup>5</sup>Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Seti-Merneptah, given life, like Re.

*Before King*

138. <sup>1</sup>Presentation of tribute by the Good God to his father, Amon, from the rebellious chiefs of the countries that knew not <sup>2</sup>Egypt. Their tribute is upon their backs, in order to fill thy storehouse with slaves, male and female; <sup>3</sup>from the victories which thou givest me in every country.

*With Prisoners, Upper Line*

139. <sup>1</sup>His majesty arrived from the countries ——— when he had desolated <sup>2</sup>Retenu (*Rṯnw*) and slain their chiefs, causing <sup>3</sup>the Asiatics (<sup>c</sup> *mw*) to say: <sup>4</sup>“See <sup>5</sup>this! He is <sup>6</sup>like a flame <sup>7</sup>when it goes forth and <sup>8</sup>no water is brought.” He causes <sup>9</sup>all rebels to cease <sup>10</sup>all contradiction <sup>11</sup>of their mouths, <sup>12</sup>when he has taken away <sup>13</sup>their breath. <sup>14</sup>——— When one approaches the boundaries, he is like Montu, <sup>15</sup>———, he is like the son of Nut; no country stands before <sup>16</sup>[him].

*Over Prisoners, Lower Line*

Chiefs of the countries of Tehenu (*Tyhṯw*) ———.

SCENE 16. CAPTURE OF KADESH<sup>a</sup>

140. The campaign against Libya being concluded, we find Seti again in Syria. Like the Annals of Thutmose III, the campaigns of which so often begin, “*His majesty was in the land of X,*” so our reliefs offer no statement of the

<sup>a</sup>For bibliography, see Fig. 1.

route of the army, but show it at once in the midst of the enemy's country, where he attacks the Galilean Kadesh.<sup>a</sup> The crossing of the Jordan valley and the erection of a boundary stela in Hauran (see § 81) may perhaps be connected with this campaign instead of with that against the coast cities.

*Beside City*

141. Town (*dmy*) of Kadesh (*Kdš*).

*In Fortress*

The charge which Pharaoh, L. P. H., made to devastate the land of Kadesh (*Kdš*), of the land of the Amor (*Y-m-r*).

*Over Battle*

1 ——— rage 2 — — heaven, Montu upon 3 — — his right, valor  
4 — — battle of myriads 5 — — his army; a wall for millions 6 — —  
when he sees multitudes, [he does] not 7 [consider]<sup>b</sup> myriads united,  
charging 8 — — of the Asiatics, making them 9 — — smiting the towns  
10 — — destroying the settlements 11 — — his [w]ay, smiting ———.

SCENE 17. BATTLE WITH THE HITTITES<sup>c</sup>

142. Seti's advance between the Lebanons necessarily brings him into collision with the Hittites, and we see him here in the first battle between Egyptians and Hittites known to us. Unfortunately, no details of the conflict are given.

<sup>a</sup>Müller sees in this city the Kadesh on the Orontes (*Asien und Europa*, 217); but there seem to me conclusive reasons against this identification: (1) The relief shows a city on rocky heights, while Kadesh is in a low valley surrounded by moats (Müller thinks this due to the artist's looseness). (2) It is said to be "of the land of Amor." Now, Kadesh on the Orontes clearly did not belong to the land of the Amorites (see Meyer, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 69), and the purpose of the addition, "of the land of Amor," is precisely to distinguish the Galilean Kadesh from its more powerful neighbor in the north. (3) Müller's argument that Seti failed to capture the city, which would be impossible if it were a small Galilean town, is refuted by the fact that *ḥ* is used by Ramses II of a whole list of captured cities (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 156, with metathesis *ḥj*).

<sup>b</sup>See § 148, l. 8; and Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 76, 77.

<sup>c</sup>For bibliography, see Fig. 1.

*Over King*

**143.** The Good God, the mighty Lord of the Two Lands; Menmare; Lord of Diadems: Seti-Merneptah, chosen of the favor of Re.

*Over Enemy*

The wretched land of the Hittites (*Ht<sup>o</sup> w*), among whom his majesty, L. P. H., made a great slaughter.

*Over Battle*

**144.** <sup>1</sup>Horus: Mighty Bull, Shining in Thebes, Vivifier of the Two Lands, <sup>2</sup>King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Menmare; Son of Re: Seti-Merneptah; <sup>3</sup>Good God, mighty in strength, brave like Montu, <sup>4</sup>mightiest of the mighty, like him that begat him, illuminating the Two Lands like the horizon-god, <sup>5</sup>great in strength like the son of Nut, victorious, the double Horus <sup>6</sup>by his 'own' hand, treading the battlefield like Set, <sup>7</sup>great in terror like Baal in the countries. Favorite of the Two Goddesses, <sup>8</sup>while he was in the nest, (for) his might protected Egypt. Re made <sup>9</sup>for him his boundary as far as the limits of that which Aton illuminates. <sup>10</sup>Divine Hawk, bright of plumage, sailing the heavens <sup>11</sup>like the majesty of Re; prowling Wolf circling this land <sup>12</sup>within an hour; fierce-eyed Lion, tramping the inaccessible ways of every <sup>13</sup>country; mighty Bull, [ready]-horned, [mighty]-hearted, smiting the Asiatics, <sup>14</sup>beating down the Hittites (*Ht<sup>o</sup> (w)*), slaying <sup>15</sup>their chiefs, overthrown in <sup>16</sup>their blood, charging <sup>17</sup>among them like a tongue of <sup>18</sup>fire, making them as that which is not.

SCENE 18. CARRYING OFF HITTITE PRISONERS<sup>a</sup>

**145.** As in the other wars, Seti now carries off his prisoners. The reference to Tehenu (Libya, § 147) would indicate that, as we have already concluded, the Libyan war preceded the Hittite campaign.

*Before King*

**146.** Lord of the Two Lands: Menmare; Lord of Diadems: Seti-Merneptah.

<sup>a</sup>For bibliography, see Fig. 1.

*Over Horses*

Great first horse of his majesty (called): "Amon-Giveth-to-Him-the-Might."

*Over Prisoners in Front, Upper Line*

147. Good God, mighty in being, great in strength like Montu, residing in Thebes, youthful Bull, ready-horned, <sup>5</sup>firm-hearted, smiting myriads; mighty Lion, tramping the inaccessible <sup>10</sup>ways in every country; the prowling southern Wolf, circling this land within an hour, sm[iting] his [enemies] in every country, mighty warrior without his like, <sup>15</sup>an archer skilful of hand, setting his fame like a mountain of copper, furnishing their nostrils with his breath. Retenu (*Rt<sup>mw</sup>*) comes to him bowing down, the land of Tehenu (*Tyhy*, sic) on its knees. He establishes <sup>20</sup>seed as he wishes in this wretched land of Kheta (*Ht<sup>2</sup>-t<sup>2</sup>*, sic); their chiefs fall by his blade, becoming as that which is not. His prowess is among them <sup>24</sup>like fire, (when) he destroys their towns (*dm<sup>y</sup>*).

*Over Prisoners in Front, Lower Line*

148. Chiefs of the countries that knew not Egypt, whom [his] majesty brought as living captives. They bring upon their backs of all the choicest of their countries.

*Over Prisoners Behind*

<sup>1</sup>Victorious king, great in strength; his terror is like (that of) the son of <sup>2</sup>Nut. The victor returns, when he has devastated the countries. He has smitten <sup>3</sup>the land of Kheta (*Hy-t<sup>2</sup>*), causing the cowardly rebels <sup>4</sup>to cease. Every country has become peaceful, <sup>5</sup>(for) the fear of his majesty has entered <sup>6</sup>among them, his <sup>7</sup>odor<sup>3</sup> has penetrated into their hearts. <sup>7</sup>The chiefs of the countries are bound <sup>8</sup>before him, he considers not myriads united together.

SCENE 19. PRESENTATION OF HITTITE SPOIL AND PRISONERS TO AMON<sup>a</sup>

149. The captive Hittites and their spoil are now presented to Amon, as in the other wars; but there is unfortunately no additional information in the inscriptions as to the character or extent of the campaign.

<sup>a</sup>For bibliography, see Fig. 1.

*Over King*

**150.** Good God, great in victory, King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Menmare; Son of Re: Seti-Merneptah, chosen of Re, in the barque of Re.

*Over Amon*

<sup>1</sup>[Utterance: "I give to thee] all might and all victory."

<sup>2</sup>Utterance: "I give to thee all lands, all countries beneath thy sandals."

<sup>3</sup>Utterance: "I give to thee the duration of Re, the years of Atum."

<sup>4</sup>Utterance: "I give to thee an eternity of jubilees, like Re."

<sup>5</sup>Utterance: "I give to thee all food-offerings."

<sup>6</sup>Utterance: "I give to thee all life, stability, satisfaction; all health."

<sup>7</sup>Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak.

*Over Bast*

<sup>1</sup>Mut, the great Bast, ruler of Karnak, mistress of amiability and love.

*Over Khonsu*

Khonsu in Thebes, Beautiful Rest, Horus, lord of joy.

*Over Mat*

Utterance of Mat, daughter of Re: "O my son, of my body, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, lord of might, Menmare."

*Over Spoil*

**151.** <sup>1</sup>[Presentation of] the tribute by the Good God, <sup>2</sup>to his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, when he returned from the country of Kheta (*Ht*), <sup>3</sup>devastating the [rebellious] countries, smiting the Asiatics, <sup>4</sup>[taking] their possessions of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, <sup>5</sup>and [every] splendid, [costly stone], according as he decreed to him might and victory against every country.

*Over Prisoners, Upper Lines*

**152.** <sup>1</sup>Great chiefs of Retenu (*Rtww*) the wretched, whom his majesty <sup>2</sup>carried off in his victories in the country of Kheta (*Ht*), <sup>3</sup>in order to fill the storehouse of his august father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, <sup>4</sup>according as he has given to him might against the south and victory against the north. <sup>5</sup>The chiefs of the countries, they say in acclaiming his majesty, L. P. H., <sup>6</sup>in magnifying his might: "Hail to thee, O king of

Egypt, Sun <sup>7</sup>of the Nine Bows. Great is thy fame, O lord of gods, (for) thou hast carried away all<sup>a</sup> the countries, <sup>8</sup>thou bindest them beneath the two feet of thy son Horus, Vivifier of the Two Lands.”

*Over Prisoners, Lower Line*

Great is thy fame, O victorious king; how great is thy might! Thou art Montu in every country; thy strength is like his form.

SCENE 20. SLAYING PRISONERS BEFORE AMON<sup>b</sup>

153. This scene on the right of the door forms the symmetrical pendant of the like scene (11) on the left of the door, from which it differs only in the inscriptions. The account of Scene 11 (§§ 113 ff.) may serve equally well for this scene.

*Before King*

154. Good God, great in might, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offering: Menmare, achieving with his sword —; Son of Re, smiting myriads, Lord of Diadems: Seti-Merneptah, smiter of —, given life, like Re.

*Behind King*

All protection, life, stability, satisfaction, all health, are behind him, like Re. The living king's-ka, Lord of the Two Lands, presiding over the *db<sup>2</sup>-t*-hall, presiding over the *dw<sup>2</sup>-t*-hall;<sup>c</sup> he is given all life. Mighty Bull, Shining in Thebes, Vivifier of the Two Lands.

*Over King*

Hartema, lord of offering, smiting the countries, overthrowing his enemies.

*Under Vulture*

She gives victory, like Re; she gives all life, and satisfaction, like Re.

<sup>a</sup>On the use of *r<sup>c</sup>*, see my *De Hymnis in Solem sub Rege Amenophide IV Conceptis*, 22-25; but my explanation of the phrase in the sun-hymn, “*yn<sup>c</sup> k r<sup>c</sup> -sn*” (*ibid.*), is to be modified in view of this Seti passage. *R<sup>c</sup>* is here clearly equivalent to “number,” as so often in the great Papyrus Harris, and is used like *tnw*, “number,” in the sense of “all.” “*Yn*,” being parallel with “*w<sup>c</sup> f*, seize or bind,” is clearly used as usual with the meaning: “carry away captive.”

<sup>b</sup>For bibliography, see Fig. 1.

<sup>c</sup>See IV, 410, l. 1.

*Before and behind Amon*

155. 1[Utterance of Amon:] ——— the Two Lands, my son, of my body, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands: Menmare, brilliant in diadems ——— 2——— his enemies. Thou hast carried away all countries; he who approaches [thy] boundaries ——— 3——— it is on the north of him; thy excellent fame is all that he (the sun) encircles; thy fear has penetrated ——— 4——— thy victories. I put the fear of thee in their hearts so that thou cuttest down the Curly-Haired<sup>a</sup> ——— 5——— thy — in order to make me lord of their heads. The Sand-dwellers (*Hry w-š*) ——— 6——— I — my mace as 7——— thee, subduing for thee the rebe<sup>8</sup>[llious-hearted] ——— 9——— their chiefs [come] to thee with all their good tribute of their countries. I have given to thee Egypt (*T<sup>3</sup>-mry*) 10——— [captives for thy treasury. I cause the South to come to thee, doing obeisance, and the North bowing down. 11——— before thy face. I have given to thee a kingdom established on earth, I make thy terror to circulate in 12——— the sea 1bring1 his 1wealth1; I have opened for thee the highways of Punt. 13——— who is there. I give to thee Inmutef<sup>b</sup> (*Yn-mw t [f]*) to lead thee, Khonsu and Horus-Soped, 14——— as thy followers, I make for thee his two hands as a cool retreat of the countries, 15——— [the countries that knew] not Egypt. I cause thy majesty to tread it like one — faced, like the wolf 16———. I give to thee the possessions of Horus and Set, and their victories. The portions of the two gods are made thy portions.

*Over List of Captives*

156. List of those southern and northern lands, which his majesty smote, making a great slaughter among them of unknown number. Their subjects are carried away as living captives to [fill] the storehouse of his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, all countries —.

*Under Amon's Foot*

——— I give to thee all lands, every country is beneath thy sandals.

<sup>a</sup>For *rd* read *nd*, as in Tombos Inscription, l. 8 (II, 71).

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "Pillar of his Mother." See II, 133 and 138, note.



WADI HALFA STELA<sup>a</sup>

157. As stated above (§ 74), this monument is practically a duplicate of a stela erected by Seti I at the same place six months before, recording his father's pious works in the southernmost of the two temples at Wadi Halfa. It was perhaps erected by Seti after his campaign of the first year, as it is dated in that year, and refers at the same time to "*the captivity of his majesty.*"<sup>b</sup> The king is only confirming the offerings established by his father, as they are identical with those on Ramses I's stela (§§ 74 ff.), and this identity, and the absence of Ramses I's name, make it certain that Ramses I had died in the interval between the two stelæ. Moreover, both stelæ are of Seti I's first year; on the first his father is still living; on the second, six months later, he is not mentioned. Hence he died in Seti's first year, and probably in his own second year; at most he reigned two and a half years.

*Introduction*

158. <sup>1</sup>Year 1, fourth month of the third season, the last day. Live Seti I<sup>c</sup> . . . . <sup>2</sup>. . . . given life, beloved of <sup>3</sup>Amon, lord of Thebes, and Min-si-ese, appearing upon the Horus-throne of the living, like his father, Re, every day.

*Establishment of Offerings*

159. Lo, his majesty was <sup>4</sup>i[n the c]ity of Memphis (*H·t-k·Pth*) performing the ceremonies of his father, Harakhte, Ptah, the great, South-of-His-Wall, lord of Life-of-the-Two-Lands, Atum, lord of the

<sup>a</sup>Sandstone stela in the British Museum (No. 1189); published by Turajeff, St. Petersburg, 1902. The above translation is from my own copy of the original; the brackets contain restorations from Ramses I's stela (§§ 74 ff.).

<sup>b</sup>This captivity might possibly refer to some raid of Seti's among the Nubians, for in an inscription at Silsileh (Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 165-67), otherwise consisting of conventional phrases only, he is called: "*bringer of the limits of the land of the Negroes as living captives.*" Moreover, as the stela reproduces that of his father merely, the phrase may be only an inadvertent repetition.

<sup>c</sup>The full fivefold titulary, as at Redesiyeh (§ 169).

Two Lands of Heliopolis <sup>5</sup>and all [the gods] of Egypt (*T<sup>3</sup>-mry*), according as they gave [to him] might and victory over all lands, united with one heart under thy sandals. 1— — 1 <sup>6</sup>[His majesty<sup>a</sup> commanded] to found [divine offerings for his father Min-] Amon residing in Bohén (*Bhn·t*), his first foundation in his temple: 12 (*pr·t-s*) loaves; <sup>7</sup>[100 (*by<sup>3</sup>·t*) loaves; 4 (*ds*) jars of beer; 10 bundles of vegetables.]<sup>b</sup>

*Priests and Servants*

160. [Likewis]e this temple was filled with prophets, ritual priests, priests (*w<sup>c</sup> b*); <sup>8</sup>his storehouse was filled with male and female slaves from the captivity of his majesty, L. P. H., [the King of Upper and Lower Egypt] Menmare (Seti I), given life, like Re, forever and ever.

161. <sup>9</sup>Lo, his majesty sought excellent things to do them for his father Min-A[mon] <sup>10</sup>residing in Bohén; he made a great, august stela of good sandstone for the — place ———— <sup>11</sup>of [his father], Amon, for the beautiful birth-house of the ennead, where appears the lord of gods, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ————.

INSCRIPTIONS OF REDESIYEH<sup>c</sup>

162. The reliefs in the vestibule contain two stereotyped scenes, showing the king overthrowing the people of the north and south. These evidently do not refer to specific victories of Seti, but are of the conventional order. They are as follows:

163. <sup>d</sup>Amon, leading ten peoples captive, extends the

<sup>a</sup>There is not room for the cartouche, as on Ramses I's stela (l. 6).

<sup>b</sup>Determinative preserved, showing with the first item that Seti's list was identical with Ramses I's (l. 7). Turajeff inserts all the items and numbers, probably from the stela of Ramses I.

<sup>c</sup>In the temple usually given the same name, although it is located in the desert thirty-seven miles east of the modern Redesiyeh (Baedeker, 347 f.), which is on the Nile about five miles above Edfu. It was discovered by Cailliaud in 1816. The inscriptions have never been completely published; the most important ones by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, III, 139-41, *d*, copied thence by Rheinisch, *Chrestomathie*, Taf. 9); the long ones much better by Golénischeff (*Recueil*, XIII, Pl. I and II). See also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 75-84.

<sup>d</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 139, *a*.

(*hps*-) sword to Seti, who slays a group of Kushites before the god. Interspersed are the following inscriptions:

*Over Amon*

164. Utterance of Amon: "Take to thyself the sword, O mighty king, Horus of the bows, in order to overthrow the chiefs of Kush, the wretched; in order to cut off their heads. Thy terror enters into their bodies, like Sekhmet when she rages."<sup>a</sup>

*By the King*

Smiting the chiefs of Kush the wretched.

*Scene*<sup>b</sup>

165. Same as above, only with Horus<sup>c</sup> in place of Amon, and Asiatics in place of Kushites; inscriptions as follows:

*Over Horus*

Utterance of Horus of Edfu: "Take to thyself the sword, O mighty King, Horus, shining in Thebes, in order to smite the rebellious countries, that violate thy boundaries. Thy fame is among them forever; (they) fall in their blood by the might of thy father, Amon, who hath decreed thee might and victory."

166. In addition to these unimportant scenes, the temple contains three inscriptions<sup>d</sup> of great importance as indicating the revival of intercourse with the Red Sea region, and the exploitation of the gold mines in the Gebel Zebâra district<sup>e</sup>. According to these inscriptions, the road to the mines eastward though the desert, was so lacking in water that the working of the mines in Seti's time had languished. Seti undertook to establish communications by digging a well on

<sup>a</sup>The list of ten names in the ovals of the captives is entirely conventional.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 140, a.

<sup>c</sup>The god here leads only six countries, of which Shinar, Shasu, Kadesh, Ashur, and Megiddo are certain.

<sup>d</sup>Cut on the face of the rock in which the temple is excavated.

<sup>e</sup>See Lepsius, *Metalle*, 36, 37.

this road thirty-seven miles from the Nile, claiming that he was the first to do so, although the name of a "*king's-son*" under Amenhotep III, named "*Mermose*,"<sup>a</sup> still surviving, cut on the rocks in the vicinity, proves the use of the station already in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

167. The first inscription, dated in the year 9, narrates the successful completion of the well and also the erection of a temple and establishment of a settlement at this station. The heretofore unnoticed motive for all this elaborate equipment is stated in the king's words to be (l. 13): "*on behalf of my beautiful house in Abydos.*" This is, of course, Seti's famous temple at Abydos, which he says was erected "*by oracle of the god*" (l. 13). It is to endow the king's mortuary service in this temple that he is now restoring communications with the eastern gold regions. He therefore prays, as he worships for the first time in the new temple at the newly established station on the road to the mines, that the god may instruct coming generations of kings and princes to respect his establishment, presumably both at Abydos, and at the new station by which communication with the source of revenue for Abydos was to be maintained. This explains why the next inscription of nineteen lines, the longest of the three, is devoted almost exclusively to warnings and curses addressed to those who may in future interfere with the arrangements by which Seti hopes to perpetuate the income of his Abydos temple from the gold mines. Hence at its close (l. 19) he calls down the vengeance of Osiris, Isis, and Horus upon the person, wife, and children of any official of the necropolis (of course, at Abydos) who shall disregard ("*avert the face from*") "*the command of Osiris.*" But, notwithstanding these solemn adjurations of Seti, he had

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<sup>a</sup>*Recueil*, XIII, 79, and Pl. IV, No. 1.

not been dead a year when his mortuary endowments at Abydos were suspended (§ 263). They were then re-enacted by his son, Ramses II (§ 271, ll. 73-75; § 272, 77-89).

168. The third inscription records the gratitude of the king's people who use the new station and the road thus rendered easy. They call him "*the good shepherd*"<sup>a</sup> (l. 2), and it is not accidental that in the dedicatory inscription of Seti's Abydos temple, he is likewise called the "*mighty shepherd*,"<sup>b</sup> indicating that particular activity of the king, to which the temple owed its income.

### I. FIRST INSCRIPTION<sup>c</sup>

#### *Introduction*

169. 1Year 9, third month of the third season, the twentieth day, under the majesty of Horus: Mighty-Bull-Shining-in-Thebes-Vivifier-of-the-Two-Lands; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Uhemmesut,<sup>d</sup> Mighty of Sword, Expelling-the-Nine-Bows; Golden Horus: Repeating-Coronations, Mightiest-of-Bows-in-All-Lands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Menmare (*Mn-m<sup>3</sup>c-t-R<sup>c</sup>*); Son of Re: Seti-Merneptah, given life forever and ever.

#### *Seti's Excursion in the Desert*

170. On this day, 10, as his majesty inspected the hill-country as far as the region of the mountains, his heart desired <sup>2</sup>to see the mines from which the electrum<sup>e</sup> is brought. Now, when his majesty had

<sup>a</sup>Read the standing man, with the staff and sack (?), as *s<sup>3</sup>*, e. g., Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1435. The same phrase (*s<sup>3</sup> nfr*) applied to the king occurs in Mariette, *Karnak*, 35, l. 62 (corrected from photo); and compare also Libyan war of Merneptah (§ 580, l. 16). See also Bergmann, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1890, 40, n. 2.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 138, d.

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 140, b = Golénischeff, *Recueil*, XIII, Pl. 1.

<sup>d</sup>*Whm-msw't* = "Begetting again," or "Begotten (or born) again."

<sup>e</sup>Gold was commonly found with so large an admixture of silver as often to be thus spoken of; and in this same temple the god says to Seti: "*I have given to thee the gold-countries, giving to thee what is in them of electrum, lapis lazuli and malachite.*" Lepsius, *Metalle*, 45, and *Denkmäler*, III, 141, b. The same in Ramses III's treasury (IV, 28).

ascended from the signs of numerous water courses, he made a halt in the road, in order to devise counsel with his heart, and he said: "How evil is the way without water! It is as with a traveler <sup>3</sup>whose mouth is parched. <sup>1</sup>How<sup>1</sup> shall their (sic!) throats <sup>1</sup>be cooled<sup>1</sup>, how shall he (sic!) quench their thirst; for the lowland is far away, and the highland is vast. The thirsty man cries out for himself against a fatal country. Make haste! Let <sup>4</sup>me take counsel of their needs. I will make for them a supply <sup>2</sup>for preserving them alive, so that they will thank god in my name, in after years. They shall come, and the generations which are to be, shall come to charm by me, because of my might and because that, lo, I am kind-hearted, inclining toward <sup>5</sup>the circuit runners."

*The Successful Well*

**171.** Now, after his majesty had spoken these his words, in his own heart, he coursed through the highland seeking a place to make a water-station. Lo, the god led him, in order to grant the request which he desired. Then were commanded workmen <sup>6</sup>in stone, to dig a well upon the mountains, that he might sustain the fainting, and cool for him the burning heart in summer. Then this place was built in the great name of Menmare (*Mn-m<sup>7</sup>c<sup>7</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup>*, Seti I), and the <sup>7</sup>water inundated it in very great plenty like the two caves<sup>b</sup> of Elephantine.

*Plan for a Settlement and Temple*

**172.** Said his majesty: "Behold, the god has performed my petition and he has brought to me water upon the mountains. Since the gods the way has been dangerous, (but) it has been made pleasant in my glorious reign. <sup>8</sup>The districts of the colporteurs are refreshed, the land is extended, my reign is with might in every respect. It has not been known — — — under me. Another good thought has come into my heart, at command of the god, even the equipment of a town, <sup>9</sup>in whose august midst shall be a resting-place, a settlement, with a temple. I will build a resting-place in this spot, in the great name of my fathers, the gods. May they grant that what I have wrought abide, that my name prosper, circulating through the hill-country."

<sup>a</sup>This is the same as *\*-mw*, "water-supply," in the Assiut inscriptions (I, 407), but the *mw* is here omitted, as also sometimes elsewhere. See also II, 698.

<sup>b</sup>Text has *tph<sup>1</sup>t* and *krt<sup>y</sup>*, from which the Krophî and Mophî, given by Herodotus as the Nile sources, were doubtless corrupted.

*Construction of the Temple*

173. Then his majesty commanded <sup>10</sup>that the leader (*hrp*) of the king's workmen be commissioned, and with him the quarrymen, that there should be made by digging (*š 3 d*)<sup>a</sup> in this mountain, this temple, wherein is Amon, in whose midst is Re, in whose great house are Ptah, Osiris, Horus, Isis, Menmare (Seti I), and the divine ennead <sup>11</sup>belonging in this temple.

*Seti Worships in the New Temple*

174. Now, after the stronghold was completed, adorned and its paintings executed, his majesty came to worship his fathers, all [the gods]. He said: "Praise to you, O great gods! who furnished heaven and earth according to their mind. May ye favor me <sup>12</sup>forever, may ye establish my name eternally. As I have been profitable, as I have been useful to you, as I have been watchful for the things which ye desire, may ye speak to those who are still to come (*yw ty sn*), whether kings, or princes or people (*rhy t*), that they establish <sup>13</sup>for me my work in the place, on behalf of my beautiful house in Abydos, made by the oracle of the god, the existent one, that they may not subvert his plan. Say ye, that it was done by your oracle, for that ye are the lords. I have spent my life and my might for you, <sup>14</sup>to attain my acceptability from you. Grant that my monuments may endure for me, and my name abide upon them."

II. SECOND INSCRIPTION<sup>b</sup>*Address to Earlier Kings*

175. <sup>1</sup>King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Menmare (Seti I), Son of Re: Seti-Merneptah. He saith to his fathers, all the Kings of Upper Egypt, the Kings of Lower Egypt, the rulers<sup>c</sup> and the people (*rhy t*): "Hearken to me, ye chiefs of bowmen of the Land of Egypt (*T 3 -mry*); may ye hear <sup>2</sup>the things, O may ye —. I have desired to requite your virtues alike, ye being like gods; a lord is counted among the divine ennead. I have said this for the [guidance] of my caravaneers of the gold-washers to my temple, to set them carrying <sup>3</sup>for my house ——— my temple."

<sup>a</sup>All except the vestibule of the temple is excavated in the side of the mountain.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 140, c = Golénischeff, *Recueil*, XIII, Pl. II.

<sup>c</sup>It is possible to render also: "rulers of the people."

*Warning to Caravaneers on the Inviolability of Gold*

**176.** As for gold, it is the limbs of the gods;<sup>a</sup> not your possession. Take care lest ye say <sup>1</sup>that which<sup>1</sup> Re said at his beginning of speech: "My skin is of pure electrum."

*Warning to Caravaneers concerning Earlier Endowments*

**177.** "Now, Amon, the lord of my temple <sup>4</sup>———. His two eyes are upon his possessions. They do not desire to be deprived of their belongings. Take heed against the incursions of their people, because they are like them that taste his —. Make not <sup>5</sup>joy ——-. As for the one who trespasses upon the matter of another, there shall come to him an end, by doing likewise; the monument of the violator shall be violated, and there shall not remain an example of the deceivers — — <sup>6</sup>the king."

*Seti's New Plans*

**178.** "——— to let you know that I have inaugurated a way, in order to save you; I have made the caravaneers into gold-washers in — <sup>7</sup>in my name —— my — by my virtues. I have made them into caravaneers anew, in order that they might remain under me. I have not brought from other <sup>8</sup>caravaneers —— among the children of my temple, or among the mountaineers of my sanctuary."

*Exhortation and Good Wishes to Future Kings*

**179.** "As for any king who shall be after me, he shall establish my work, <sup>9</sup>in order to cause to abide —— conveying his impost to the house of Menmare (Seti I), to gild all their images, made by Amon, Harakhte, Ptah-<sup>10</sup>Ta[te]nen —— they flourish. May they rule the lands with gladness of heart, may they overthrow the Red Lands and Nubia; may their ka's abide; may their food-offerings endure. May he satisfy <sup>11</sup>those who are upon earth; may Re hear ——."

*Warning to Kings Who Shall Disregard Seti's Establishments*

**180.** —— saying: "Now, as for any king, who is to come, who shall overthrow any of my plans with me, he is one of whom the lands after me shall say, that I and they were as they are <sup>12</sup>with him; an evil

<sup>a</sup>Compare the words of Ptah in his address to Ramses II (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 194; § 401, l. 7).



matter for the heart of the gods. Behold, one shall answer him in Heliopolis ———. They shall make answer concerning their affairs. They shall redden like flame of fire, and they shall consume their limbs, (because) they <sup>13</sup>hearkened not to me. They shall consume the violator of my plans, in order to place him in the dungeon of the gate.”<sup>a</sup>

*Good Will for the King Who Respects Seti's Establishments*

190.<sup>b</sup> “[As for him who respects] our affairs, cause to save him, void of his offense; <sup>1</sup>for he is<sup>3</sup> another who derives <sup>14</sup>understanding from the divine ennead; they shall abide with him.”

*Blessing on Seti's Officials, Who Shall Survive Him*

191. Now, as for any official who shall survive to (the time of) a king after me, he shall cause to remember good, in order to establish the matter which I have done in my name. May the god give reverence for him on earth; may his end be satisfaction <sup>15</sup>brought to his ka.

*Curse on Disregardful Officials Surviving Seti*

192. Now, as for any official who shall bring near this thought to his lord, in order to take away the (*hsb'w*) people,<sup>c</sup> to give them to another, [—] by counsels of evil testimony; the fire shall burn his glowing limbs, the flame shall <sup>16</sup>devour his members, because his majesty made all these things for their ka, the lords of my house. An abomination of the god is the transgression against his people. None turns away the violating hand except it be the caravaneers <sup>17</sup>of the gold-washing, which I have made for the house of Menmare, protected and defended. It shall not be made to fall by any people who are in the whole land, by any chief archer of the gold, or by any inspector of the highlands.

*Further Warning to Respect Endowment*

193. Now, as for anyone who shall transgress against the people therein, <sup>18</sup>putting (them) into another place, the gods and goddesses, the lords of my house shall execute upon him the appropriate penalty. (For) there is none <sup>d</sup>to oppose that any of my property in the inventory

<sup>a</sup>The prison at Thebes was at the gate of the temple of Amon (IV, 541).

<sup>b</sup>Intentional omission of nine in numbering sections.

<sup>c</sup>Some kind of official people in Seti's new establishment, whom Seti now warns their superiors not to take away, in disregard of his endowment.

<sup>d</sup>The negative *n* is to be read.

should be beneath their feet, forever and ever; except it be the chief archer of the caravaneers of the gold-washing of the house of <sup>19</sup>Menmare, by his hand, presenting their impost of gold to the house of Menmare.

*Curse on One Disregarding Command of Osiris*

**194.** As for anyone who shall avert the face from the command of Osiris, Osiris<sup>a</sup> shall pursue<sup>b</sup> him, Isis shall pursue his wife, Horus shall pursue his children, among all the princes of the necropolis, and they shall execute their judgment with him.

III. THIRD INSCRIPTION<sup>c</sup>

**195.** <sup>1</sup>Horus: Mighty-Bull-Shining-in-Thebes, Vivifier-of-the-Two-Lands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Menmare (Seti I)]; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, and his divine ennead; making for them a temple anew:<sup>d</sup> wherein the gods are satisfied; before which he dug a well. Never was made <sup>2</sup>the like of it by any king, save by the king, the maker of glorious things, the Son of Re, Seti-Merneptah, the good shepherd,<sup>e</sup> who preserves his soldiers alive, the father and mother of all. They say from mouth to mouth: "O Amon, give to him eternity; double to him everlastingness. Ye gods dwelling in the well,<sup>f</sup> <sup>3</sup>give ye to him your duration; for he hath opened for us the way to march in; (when) it was closed up before us. We proceed<sup>g</sup> and are saved; we arrive and are preserved alive. The difficult way, which is in our memory, <sup>4</sup>has become a good way. He (the king) has caused the mining of the gold to be like the sight of the Horus-hawk.<sup>h</sup> All generations that are to be, beseech for him eternity, that he may celebrate jubilees like Atum, that he may flourish like the Edfuan Horus,

<sup>a</sup>A second *ws*-throne has been omitted in the original; "Osiris" must be read twice, as the parallels following show.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "be behind;" cf. English "be after."

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 140, *d* = Golénischeff, *Recueil*, XIII, Pl. II.

<sup>d</sup>Or: "for the first time." <sup>e</sup>See § 168 and note.

<sup>f</sup>The formal name of each god, as patron of the temple and well, was: "Amon or Horus (or any god in the ennead) dwelling in the well of Menmare" (see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 139, *b, c, e, f*).

<sup>g</sup>"*T* <sup>3</sup>*wmm hr, etc.*," and "*T* <sup>3</sup>*wn hr, etc.*," are parallel, the first being a miswriting of the auxiliary verb.

<sup>h</sup>An obscure comparison; Golénischeff thinks it refers to the swiftness of the hawk's eye.

<sup>5</sup>for he has made monuments upon the highlands for all the gods; he hath dug for water upon the mountains, (although) far<sup>a</sup> from men, the supply of every messenger that traverses the highlands, with the life, stability, and satisfaction<sup>b</sup> of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmare (Seti I), beloved of Amon-Re, king of gods.

196. On the neighboring rocks three of the officials intrusted by Seti with the establishment or administration of the station have left inscriptions. In the first two<sup>c</sup> the official's name is no longer legible, though in the second one may discern the words:

197. "Made by the officer of marines ——— commissioned to dig (*šd t*) 'The Well of Seti-Merneptah.'"

198. The third<sup>d</sup> was made by Iny (*Yny*), an official of high rank, who is shown praising Seti I, thus:

"Praise to thy ka, O good and beautiful ruler, child of Amon, the sun (*šw*), in seeing whom one lives. O ka of every house, my god, who fashioned me, in order to make me; grant thou the food of the great. How prosperous is he who follows thee daily. [For the] ka of the chief of the stable, of the 'Stable of Seti-Merneptah,' charioteer of [his] majesty, king's-son of Kush —, chief of the gendarmes, Ini (*Yny*)  
—————."

#### BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

199. Seti I has not left us any long record of his buildings, like those which we find in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Of his notable activity as a builder the only inscripational witnesses are several quarry stelæ, and the architrave and other dedication formulæ still to be found in the buildings themselves. Besides erecting new temples, Seti was active in

<sup>a</sup>Meaning the water; it was formerly far from men in this place.

<sup>b</sup>That is, "*in the service*" of the king.

<sup>c</sup>Golénischeff, *Recueil*, XIII, Pl. III.

<sup>d</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 138, *n*; corrections by Golénischeff, *Recueil*, XIII, 79.

restoring the old. Throughout the country he had his sculptors at work restoring the defacement of the gods' names which had taken place under Ikhnaton, especially that of Amon. Examples of these restorations will be found frequently, as in the temple of Amenhotep III at El Kab,<sup>a</sup> on the great building record of Amenhotep III at Thebes (II, 878); or on the obelisks of Hatshepsut (II, 312). They are usually recorded thus:

**200.** Restoration of the monument which King Seti I made in the house of — (name of a god).

Taking up first the quarry stelæ, the following are the building inscriptions of Seti I:

#### I. FIRST CATARACT INSCRIPTIONS

##### I. ASSUAN INSCRIPTION<sup>b</sup>

**201.** In his ninth year, Seti I sent an expedition to Assuan, to obtain granite for his obelisks and colossi; the expedition left a record of its work on the rocks, showing Seti offering to Khnum, Satet, and Anuket, in a relief at the top, below which is the following inscription:

**202.** Year 9 under the majesty of<sup>c</sup> . . . . . Seti I. . . . .<sup>d</sup>

His majesty, L. P. H., commanded to execute numerous works, in order to make very great obelisks<sup>e</sup> and great and marvelous statues, with the name of his majesty. . . . .<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 138, g, and Text, IV, 45.

<sup>b</sup>On the rocks on the route from Philæ to Assuan; published from inaccurate copies in de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 7. The text is, according to de Morgan, "très mal gravée," so that the concluding lines are untranslatable in his publication.

<sup>c</sup>Full titulary. <sup>d</sup>A series of conventional epithets of the king are omitted.

<sup>e</sup>See his only surviving obelisk, from Heliopolis (§§ 544 ff.), and the mention of them on his temple model (§ 246).

<sup>f</sup>The remainder is totally unintelligible in the publication. A mutilated and badly copied rock inscription of Seti from the same locality (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 141, i), doubtless contained similar information as the above text, for it is also dated in "year 9" and begins: "*His majesty, L. [P.] H., commanded to make great obelisks for Egypt. Then his majesty found ———*" (remainder lost).

2. ELEPHANTINE STELA<sup>a</sup>

203. Above, Seti I worships Amon and Khnum; below, an inscription of eighteen lines, containing a prayer of the king to Khnum. It is very fragmentary, and the only data of historical importance are these:

204. <sup>14</sup>———— Thou hast flooded thy temple with their food-offerings ————— <sup>15</sup>———— of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, and malachite; thou hast filled [thy] storehouse ————— <sup>16</sup>————. Thou hast given to me the South as well as the North, the West and the East, beneath [my sandals].<sup>b</sup>

II. SILSILEH QUARRY STELA<sup>c</sup>

205. In his sixth year Seti I sent an expedition of one thousand men to Silsileh to procure blocks of sandstone for his temples. He records with pride his humane treatment

<sup>a</sup>A stela set up at one corner of one of the Elephantine temples; copied and published by Champollion (*Notices descriptives*, I, 223, 224), but since probably covered up again, as it was not copied by de Morgan's expedition.

<sup>b</sup>These are conventional terms, and may not apply to any particular conquests of Seti. A neighboring rock shows him in the ancient traditional style smiting the southern enemy, while the viceroy of Kush adores him. The latter is accompanied by the following inscription: "*Fan-bearer on the king's right hand, governor of the Southern Country, king's-son, Amenemopet*" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 141, *h* = de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 28-5). This viceroy of Kush has left his name several times in this locality, e. g., on the island of Schel (*ibid.*, 103, No. 53; also Mariette, *Monuments divers*, No. 53). Farther up the river he has left a considerable inscription (Sayce, *Recueil*, 16, 170 ff.). "Above the inscription is a representation of the Pharaoh in the act of slaying an enemy; behind him is a chariot drawn by two horses which are galloping away from the scene of combat, while to the left is a standing human figure. On the left-hand side of the last seven lines of hieroglyphic text are three vertical lines of inscription recording the name of Amen-mapet, the royal son of Kush, to the left of which again is the figure of a man kneeling on one knee and holding a 'fan' in his hand." This is Amenemopet, as the inscription beside him shows: the long inscription referred to contains only conventional praise of Seti I, in which occur the phrases: "*Valiant king, making his boundary to the limits in the 'Horns of the Earth.' . . . hacking up their town . . . . The Southerners come to him in obeisance, and the Northerners with prostrations.*"

<sup>c</sup>On the east shore at Silsileh in the sandstone quarry, published by Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 263-65, and Griffith, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, Pl. IV; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 98; cf. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 141, *e* (also *f* and *g*) and Text, IV, 97.

of his workmen, and the bountiful character of the rations which he issued to them.

*Dispatch of the Expedition*

**206.** <sup>1</sup>Year 6, fourth month of the first season, first day, under the majesty of Seti I.<sup>a</sup> . . . . . <sup>4</sup>. . . . . On this day, lo, his majesty, L. P. H., was in the Southern City,<sup>5</sup> performing the pleasing ceremonies<sup>b</sup> of his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, spending the night awake in pursuit of benefactions for the gods, the lords of Egypt. When the land brightened <sup>6</sup>and [<sup>7</sup>day] came, [his majesty], L. P. H., commanded to send a king's-messenger of [his] majesty, L. P. H., with a body of citizens of the army, being 1,000 men <sup>7</sup>——— in troops to transport the monuments of his father Amon-Re-Osiris and his divine ennead, of fine sandstone.

*Rations of the Troops*

**207.** His majesty, L. P. H., <sup>8</sup>increased that which was furnished to the army in ointment, ox-flesh, fish, and plentiful vegetables without limit. <sup>9</sup>Every man among them had 20 deben<sup>c</sup> of bread daily, <sup>12</sup>1 bundles of vegetables, a roast of flesh; and <sup>12</sup>1 linen garments monthly. (Thus) they worked <sup>10</sup>with a loving heart for his majesty, L. P. H., his plans were pleasing in the mouth of the people who were with the king's-messenger of his majesty, L. P. H.

*Rations of the King's-Messenger and Standard-Bearers*

**208.** <sup>11</sup>That which he had: good bread, ox-flesh, wine, sweet oil, (<sup>1</sup>olive) oil, <sup>1</sup>fat<sup>1</sup>, honey, figs, <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup>, fish, and vegetables every day. Like-wise the wreath<sup>d</sup> <sup>12</sup>of his majesty, L. P. H., which was paid him from the House of Sebek, lord of Silsileh, daily; 20 linen garments were paid to the magazine of the standard-bearers of his army <sup>13</sup>in like manner. . . . .<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup>After the date nearly four lines are occupied by the names, titles, and epitheta of Seti I; they are very much mutilated.

<sup>b</sup>The original is corrupt; it must contain the usual *hr' yr t hss't*, etc., occurring in this connection, e. g., on the Assuan stela of Thutmose IV (II, 826).

<sup>c</sup>Nearly four pounds.

<sup>d</sup>Mr. Alan Gardiner has called my attention to the occurrence of this word (<sup>c</sup> *nh*) here.

<sup>e</sup>Usual conventional phrases attached to the names of the king in conclusion.

III. GEBELËN QUARRY INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

209. The fragmentary record of Seti's quarrying operations at Gebelên shows that he took out stone there for his mortuary temple at Thebes, on the west side by Kurna.

210. <sup>b</sup>———— to search out [—] — — Hathor, in order to cut out very much stone therein, (for) the "House-of-Menmare (Seti I)-of-Millions-of-Years-upon-the-West-of-Thebes." Then he came to his majesty, L. P. H., saying ————— an opportunity of making his name to flourish in the whole land. On this day, the overseer of [the treasury], Thutmose — who — — — gave silver and gold of one time,<sup>c</sup> to prosecute his work ————— to cut out very much stone (for) the "House-of-Menmare (Seti I)," while working — —. He said: "— plan — the king protect —" — regulation of the impost, to assign their [overseer] who is in charge of "Lord-of-Life;"<sup>d</sup> the people — the work. It is his father, Amon ————— telling thee the desires of the heart [since] the time of the god. For the ka of the scribe, who conducts the monuments of the Lord of the Two Lands, the chief of works, Hui.

## IV. MORTUARY TEMPLE AT THEBES (KURNA)

211. Besides the quarry inscription at Gebelên, Seti has recorded the erection of his beautiful mortuary temple at Kurna in a series of dedication inscriptions in the building itself. Several show that the temple was also dedicated to the mortuary ritual of his deceased father:

212. <sup>e</sup>Seti I; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Osiris-Ramses I [triumphant; making for him a house] of millions of years, the "Temple-of-the-Spirit-of-Seti-Merneptah-in-the-House-of-Amon-on-the-West-of-Thebes;" and fashioning his barque, [built] of electrum, in

<sup>a</sup>In one of the quarries, on the rocks at Gebelên; found there and published by Daressy, *Recueil*, X, 134.

<sup>b</sup>Here are visible the fragments of Seti I's titulary, which was doubtless preceded by the date and followed by the words: "His majesty commanded, etc."

<sup>c</sup>A kind of gold.

<sup>d</sup>The name of the mountain on the west of Thebes; also the word for "*sarcophagus* *l'id.*"

<sup>e</sup>Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 705.

order to carry his beauty in the procession of the lord of gods, at his feast of the valley.

**213.** <sup>a</sup>Seti I; he made (it) as his monument for his father, the Good God, Menpehtire (Ramses I), making for him a place of coolness forever.

<sup>b</sup>. . . . . making for him a Great House of silver, wrought with electrum ———.

<sup>b</sup>. . . . . making for him an august palace of eternity.

<sup>b</sup>. . . . .<sup>c</sup> making for him a house of millions of years on the west of Thebes.

**214.** The name of the temple: "*Temple-of-the-Spirit-of-Seti-Merneptah-in-the-House-of-Amon-on-the-West-of-Thebes*"<sup>d</sup> shows clearly that it was also Seti's own mortuary temple. Hence I have also found six dedications to himself alone or to Amon:

**215.** 1.<sup>e</sup> Seti I; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, — — of Karnak, making for him a great palace, an august holy of holies, for the divine ennead, a place of rest for the lord of the gods at his beautiful feast of the valley; which the son of Re, Seti I, given life, like Re, forever, made for him.

**216.** 2.<sup>e</sup> Seti I; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, making for him a house of millions of years, on the west of Thebes, over against Karnak, of fine white sandstone, made very high and great, which the son of Re, etc. . . . .<sup>f</sup>

**217.** 3.<sup>g</sup> Seti I; he made it as his monument for his father, Amon-

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 131, *b*; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 707.

<sup>b</sup>Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 52, 3; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 132, *g*, *h*. Usual introduction omitted.

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 131, *c* and *d*; also *ibid.*, 132, *h*.

<sup>d</sup>Seti I's temple at Memphis was also called: "*Temple-of-the-Spirit-of-Seti-Merneptah-in-the-House-of-Ptah*" (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1223).

<sup>e</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 132, *a*; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 696, 697.

<sup>f</sup>As in No. 1; but the name here is that of Ramses II, according to Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 696.

<sup>g</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 132, *e*, and again 152.



Re, lord of Thebes, residing in the "Temple-of-the-Spirit-of-Seti-Merneptah-in-the-House-of-Amon-on-the-West-of-Thebes," making for him a house of millions of years, of fine, white sandstone, a place of appearance for the lord of gods, to behold the beauty of Thebes. The doors thereof are of real cedar, wrought with Asiatic copper, made high and large.

218. 4.<sup>a</sup> . . . . . making for him a wide hall, shining in the midst of his house, a place for the appearance of his august image at his beautiful "Feast of the Valley." The great divine ennead who are in Tazeser, their hearts are satisfied ———.

219. 5.<sup>b</sup> He made (it) as his monument for his fathers, the gods and goddesses residing in the temple (called): "Spirit (*y<sup>3</sup> b*)-of-Seti-Merneptah-in-the-House-of-Amon-on-the-West-of-Thebes," making for them an august palace as a house of the holy of holies for the gods. When they rest in its palace, Amon-Re is at the front ———."

220. 6.<sup>c</sup> . . . . . making for him a house of millions of years on the west of Thebes, over against Karnak, of fine white sandstone, made very high and large. . . . .<sup>d</sup>

221. The temple was not finished at Seti's death, but was completed by his son, Ramses II, who has left in it more dedication inscriptions (§§ 516-22) than did his father.

#### V. TEMPLE OF KARNAK

222. The northern half of the great hypostyle hall, including the nave, with both its rows of columns and also the first row south of the nave, are the work of Seti I. The pylon in front of the hall was at least begun under Ramses I. Seti's portion of the hall contains architrave inscriptions and dedications, recording the building as his work, though it was finished under his son, Ramses II. Its name was:

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 132, *d*; and 152, *d*; the latter is fuller and better preserved; the omitted introduction is the same as No. 3.

<sup>b</sup>"Chambre latérale, côté est de la grande salle" (Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 51, 4).

<sup>c</sup>Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 697; usual introduction is omitted.

<sup>d</sup>Conclusion as in No. 1.

*“Temple-of-the-Son-of-Seti-Mernamon-in-the-House-of-Amon.”*

223. <sup>a</sup>Seti I; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes (*Ns'wt-t'wy*); making for him a great and splendid temple of fine sandstone. . . . ———. Utterance of Amon-Re, king of gods: “O my son, of my body, my beloved, lord of the Two Lands, Menmare (Seti I), Begotten of Re. How beautiful is this monument which thou hast made! O Uhem-mesut! Thou hast made festive my house a[*new*]; how exalted, how greatly extended are the august precincts,<sup>b</sup> which existed before the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt. No god put it into their hearts to make [the like of that which thou hast made].”

224. Seti I, king, shining upon the steed like the son of Isis; archer, mighty of arm like Montu; a great wall of bronze, protecting his army; <sup>c</sup> upon the <sup>c</sup>field in the day of battle; he did not consider<sup>c</sup> millions gathered together, by the might of Amon, who assigns to him victory and might over every land. . . . .<sup>d</sup>. . . Seti I, maker of monuments in the House of Amon <sup>c</sup>, in order to make for him who begat him in the great and august precinct of Karnak, a beautiful, divine resting-place wherein Amon might rest, a place of appearance for the lord of the gods at his feast of the First of the Year.

Other references like: “*maker of monuments with a loving heart in the house of his father, Amon,*”<sup>e</sup> occur in several places.

#### VI. MORTUARY TEMPLE AT ABYDOS

225. This, in decoration the most beautiful temple in Egypt, was chiefly the work of Seti I.<sup>f</sup> While serving as a

<sup>a</sup>Architrave inscription over the columns of the north side; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 79, 80.

<sup>b</sup>*S'wt*, lit., “ground, pavement;” it is possible that we should understand it literally here, the reference being to the rise and extension of the site, which, according to Legrain, rose over a meter from Sesostris I to Seti (*Annales*, IV, 32, 33).

<sup>c</sup>Meaning “he despised.” <sup>d</sup>Fuller titular.

<sup>e</sup>Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 78.

<sup>f</sup>Views of the temple, Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, I, Pls. 19-34, and the author's *Egypt through the Stereoscope* (Nos. 43-45).

mortuary temple for himself, sacred to all the gods of Egypt, it was also closely identified with the mortuary cult of the remote kings of the earliest dynasties, with whose tombs in the desert behind, it was connected by a pylon and a causeway. All Egypt was conceived as participating in and contributing to this service of the gods and the early kings; hence the nomes of all Egypt are represented at its doors in personified form.

226. The first and second pylons, with all of the first and most of the second court, have perished, and with them the dedication inscriptions of the architraves.<sup>a</sup> Those which remain are connected with the seven chapels devoted to the king and six great divinities, which form a row across the rear of the second hypostyle hall. In the center is Amon; on the right, Osiris, Isis, and Horus; on the left, Harakhte, Ptah, and the king himself. Thus the right is devoted to the Osirian triad, and the center and left to the three great state-gods of Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis, with whom is naturally associated the king himself as head of the state. The seven aisles leading to these chapels each bear inscriptions devoted to the divinity to whose chapel the respective aisle leads. These aisles pass through the first and second hypostyle, and the connecting doors between the two hypostyles bore dedications each to the divinity to whose chapel the respective aisle leads. These dedications of Seti I were erased by Ramses II, who inserted his own;<sup>b</sup> only four<sup>c</sup> are still legible:

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<sup>a</sup>A long inscription in one of the rear chambers represents the goddess Sakhthabui as describing the temple, but it can hardly be called a dedication or building inscription (Mariette, *Abydos*, I, Pl. 50, 51), being chiefly of religious significance. On the foundation ceremony in this inscription, see Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, VI, 1268 f.).

<sup>b</sup>He erased the name of Seti throughout the first hypostyle (Mariette, *Abydos*, I, 14, 37).

<sup>c</sup>Mariette, *Abydos*, I, Pl. 13, c, d, e. The fourth (b), not read by Mariette,

**227.** King Seti I, given life. He made (it) as his monument for his mother Isis, the great, the divine mother; making for her a doorway of electrum (named): "Menmare-is-Rich-in-Food."

**228.** This formula was repeated at each of the doors, with only the necessary change in the name of the god and the door. The recesses for the opened double doors also bore each a dedication of the chapel itself, which was six times repeated on each doorway, varying only in the name of the chapel:

**229.** <sup>a</sup>Seti I; he made it as his monument for his father, Horus, residing in "House (*h't*)-of-Menmare;" making for him a Great House (*h't-c't*) of gold, that he may be given life.

**230.** In the five repetitions on this door we find in place of "Great House" above: (2) *Doorway*; (3) *Divine Monument*; (4) *Great House (pr wr)*; (5) *August Palace*; and (6) *Place of the Heart's Rest*. In the aisle of Ptah the chapel is called:<sup>b</sup>

(1) Great House (*pr wr*) Adorned with Electrum; (2) Splendid Palace like the Horizon of Heaven; (3) Temple made Festive with Provisions; (4) Glorious Temple upon the Excellent Seat; (5) August Temple of Gold; (6) Great Seat by the Side of 'Rosta'.

**231.** The chapels themselves also bear dedications. Three<sup>c</sup> of these refer to the temple as a whole, and mention only Osiris:

**232.** 1. He made (it) as his monument for Osiris, residing in "House (*h't*)-of-Menmare;" making for him a temple like heaven; its

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is furnished by Borchardt's copies. The four are dedicated to Horus, Isis, Osiris, and Harakhte. Another dedication to Amon-Re, king of gods, Harakhte, Ptah of Memphis, and Osiris is published partially by Daressy (*Recueil*, 21, 6). See also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 138, *b-f*.

<sup>a</sup>*Ibid.*, Pl. 14, *a*.

<sup>b</sup>*Ibid.*, *b*. The designations may, of course, apply to the second hypostyle. Mariette published only the two given above.

<sup>c</sup>Along the ceilings; Mariette, *Abydos*, I, Pl. 19, *b, c, d*, and p. 17, § 49.

divine ennead are like the stars in it; its radiance is in the faces (of men) like the horizon of Re rising therein at early morning ———.

233. 2. . . . .<sup>a</sup> making for him an august temple, the most pure [house] of eternity, splendid seat of everlastingness, fronted by images and figures of all gods.

234. 3. . . . .<sup>a</sup> making for him a temple, beautiful, pure, glorious and excellent upon the divine soil of the lords of Tazeser, the cool seat of Wennofer, the rest — —.

235. The dedications on the chapel doorposts refer to the individual chapels, and mention on each one only the divinity to whom the respective chapel was devoted. The six<sup>b</sup> are as follows:

236. 1a. HORUS. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Horus, son of Isis, residing in "House-of-Menmare;" making for him a great seat shining in the faces (of men), its door is like a great illumination, by the side of his mother, Isis, (named): "Menmare-is-the-Protector-of-His-Father."

237. 1b. . . . .<sup>c</sup>in his house of millions of years; door (named): . . . . .<sup>d</sup>

2a. ISIS. . . . . making for her a Great Seat, its door glittering with every splendid costly stone, its door is gilded with electrum, giving forth radiance like the sun; (named): "Menmare-is-Enduring-in-Monuments."

2b. . . . . making for her a great house — [—] house of millions of years; (named): . . . . .

3a. OSIRIS. . . . . making for him a Great Seat, over against the lord of Tazeser, a great house (*pr wr*), gilded with electrum, its door [expels] darkness like the sun, when he appears in the morning; (named): "Menmare-is-the-Enricher-of-Abydos."

3b. . . . . making for him a very radiant —, its doorway gilded with electrum, its door — — adorned with every splendid, costly stone; (named): . . . . .

<sup>a</sup>Same as No. 1.

<sup>b</sup>Mariette, *Abydos*, I, Pl. 18, *a-f*. Each dedication is double, one on each doorpost. One is fuller than the other. I have rendered the fuller form (*a*), adding the shorter as a variant (*b*).

<sup>c</sup>Same as 1a, as far as "Isis."

<sup>d</sup>As in 1a.

4a. AMON. (Lost.)

4b. (Only fragments.)

5a. HAKHTE. . . . . making for him a Great Seat, adorned with electrum, its door gilded with electrum (named): "Menmare-the-Emanation-of-Re-is-the-Satisfier-of-Re-in-Abydos."

5b. (The same.)

6a. PTAH. . . . . making for him a Great Seat, a chapel of the august 'god', its door gilded with electrum (named): "Menmare-Ruler-of-Thebes-is-Great-in-Might."

238. In each of the chapel doorways is a further fivefold dedication, each formula containing a different name for the respective chapel.<sup>a</sup>

239. The colonnaded hall behind the Osiris-chapel contains a series of dedications inscribed on the columns. They begin with the usual formulary as above, but continue with various designations<sup>b</sup> of the temple as a whole, each beginning with "*making for him;*" thus:

240. 1. a pure palace anew, of fine limestone of Ayan.  
 2. a temple anew in the glorious seat of eternity.  
 3. a divine palace in the place which his heart loved.  
 4. an august adytum in the district of the lords of Tazoser.  
 5. an august adytum in the nome of the lord of Tazoser.  
 6. a great house (*h' t' c' t*), a splendid seat of the lords of eternity.  
 7. horizon of eternity, place for performing the pleasing ceremonies in the presence.  
 8. a pure audience-hall, excellent forever.  
 9. a palace, a door of the dwellers in the Nether World.  
 10. the great seat of the 'sanctuary'.  
 11. a pure dwelling in the precinct of Tazoser.  
 12. a house like the heavens, its beauty illuminating the Two Lands.  
 13. a glorious seat, excellent for giving jubilees to the king.  
 14. this monument, beautiful, pure, flourishing, and excellent.  
 15. the favorite place of Wennofer by the side of Tazoser.

<sup>a</sup>These thirty dedications were not copied by Mariette; but from Borchardt's copies it is evident that they contain for the most part the conventional designations, and need not be repeated here. There are some repetitions.

<sup>b</sup>Mariette, *Abydos*, I, Pl. 19, e.

241. The seventh chapel, devoted in large measure to the king, was, after all, sacred to the gods in general, as the following dedications<sup>a</sup> show:

242. He made (it) as his monument for his fathers, the gods residing in "House-of-Menmare," making for them an august Great House (*pr wr*) in my house of millions of years, my great seat beside their majesties; (named): "Menmare-Equips-Abydos."

243. The other dedication begins with the same words, and proceeds: *making for them — — my door of millions of years (named): "King Menmare — —."* A. C. S.

#### VII. TEMPLE MODEL<sup>b</sup> OF HELIOPOLIS

244. This unique monument was the base block of a model temple and accessory monuments executed by Seti I at Heliopolis. It shows the sockets in which were set up the side walls, the pylons, colossal statues, a pair of obelisks, and the last pair of the avenue of sphinxes between which are the steps leading up to the temple. It was clearly not an architect's working model, but served some religious purpose in the temple, like the model tools and implements always found in the temple foundation deposit, or the model temple offered by the kings to the gods. Supplementing the model, the inscriptions on the right and left edge mention the making of a holy of holies, which by metonymy may mean an entire temple; two pylons, doorways, two "*pairs*," and two obelisks. Now the materials given are such as are never used for such purposes in a real temple, and the inscriptions therefore unquestionably refer to the model

<sup>a</sup>Mariette, *Abydos*, I, Pl. 28, *e*.

<sup>b</sup>A single block of gritstone about 34½ by 44½ inches, and 9½ inches thick, "discovered at a village near Cairo in 1875," now in the possession of Commander H. H. Gorrige, U. S. N. It was published by Emil Brugsch in *Recueil*, 7-9, Pls. III and IV, and by Gorrige in his *Egyptian Obelisks* (New York, 1882), Pl. XXXII.

itself and to its parts. The model itself is the “*holy of holies*” (*sh̄m*), also called “*temple*” (*h̄ t-ntr*) of conglomerate; the two miniature pylons were of some costly white stone, the doorways of bronze, the flagstaves (the “*pairs*”) of mesdet stone, and the obelisks of diorite. These valuable materials have long since been stolen, but the base block of conglomerate has survived, because of its ordinary material.

245. Although this model, as the inscriptions show,<sup>a</sup> had its own religious function, it suggests real buildings of Seti I, at Heliopolis. As a matter of fact, he did erect at least one obelisk there, which now stands in the Piazza del Popolo in Rome. But it was still uninscribed at Seti I’s death, and its present inscriptions were placed upon it by his son, Ramses II (§§ 544-49), who reserved for himself one side of the obelisk, where he states the fact. He also affirms that Seti “*filled Heliopolis with obelisks.*”<sup>b</sup> But no others have survived. A doorpost from Heliopolis bears the following dedication:<sup>c</sup>

Seti I, beloved of Shu and Tefnut; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Atum, lord of Heliopolis; making for him a gate of grit-stone, the doors thereof of cedar, wrought with —, established as an eternal work, which his majesty made, because he ‘so much’ desired ‘—’ — for the gods of Heliopolis.

246. The building inscriptions on the model are as follows:

<sup>d</sup>[He made (it) as] his monument for his father, Re-Atum-Khepri, by making for him an august holy of holies in the likeness of the horizon of heaven, a resting-place of the two horizons, in which the lords of Heliopolis rest, like Atum — — —.

<sup>e</sup>The Good God, making monuments for his father, Re-Harakhte,

<sup>a</sup>On the edge, Seti I is eight times shown offering.

<sup>b</sup>See the record of Seti’s work on obelisks in the Assuan quarry (§ 201 f.); and an altar of his at Heliopolis (*Annales*, II, 95, 96).

<sup>c</sup>Now in Alexandria; Legrain, *Annales*, V, 121.

<sup>d</sup>Left edge.

<sup>e</sup>Right edge.



making for him in the temple, of good (red) gritstone, two pylons of white costly stone, doorways of bronze, pairs<sup>a</sup> of mesdet (*msd' t*) stone, two obelisks of black basalt (*bhnw*), established in Heliopolis, the horizon of heaven;<sup>b</sup> the gods of Heliopolis exult at seeing (them).

#### VIII. MISCELLANEOUS

247. Finally there are two more short dedications: one at Wadi Halfa, and one at Benihasan in the Speos Artemidos.

##### *Wadi Halfa*

248. <sup>c</sup>[Seti I] seeking monuments for his father, Min-Amon, residing in Bohen; making for him a temple like the horizon of heaven, wherein Re rises.

##### *Benihasan*

249. <sup>d</sup>Seti I; he made (it) as his monument for his mother, Pakhet, the great, mistress of Benihasan, in her temple of the secret valley, the 'cleft' of the cliff.

250. There are also a dedication inscription from an uncertain monument, possibly an obelisk found at Kantara;<sup>e</sup> and one or two minor references to buildings, of slight importance.

<sup>a</sup>The "pairs" (here *snsn* or *snwy*) are the tall flagstaves set up against the pylon-towers. In the temples they are of cedar, capped with metal (see II, § 103).

<sup>b</sup>All the preceding contains only participles agreeing with Good God, viz., the king.

<sup>c</sup>Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 705; besides the confirmation of his father's pious works there (§§ 73 ff.).

<sup>d</sup>Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 332; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 60; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 138, h.

<sup>e</sup>Prisse, *Monuments égyptiens*, 19.

## REIGN OF RAMSES II

### GREAT ABYDOS INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

251. This is the longest inscription of Ramses II's reign. Together with the Kubbân Stela, it has been regarded as the most important source for his youth and early regency. It shows us the young king in his first year journeying to Thebes,<sup>b</sup> and in mentioning a statue of his father erected by Ramses on that occasion at Thebes, the narrator takes occasion to summarize the king's works in provision for his father (ll. 22-26).<sup>c</sup>

252. Ramses now sails to Abydos (ll. 26-32), where he finds Seti I's beautiful temple (Baedeker, 218-23) unfinished, and its endowments violated (ll. 32, 33). He immediately summons his court and officials (ll. 33, 34), who come in with the usual fulsome adulation demanded by court etiquette (ll. 34-40), after which Ramses announces to them his intention to complete his father's buildings (ll. 40-43), and takes

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<sup>a</sup>Cut on the wall of the portico behind the colonnade at the rear of the first court in the famous temple of Seti I at Abydos. The inscription is in 116 vertical lines, the first 21 of which accompany a relief and are shorter. Numerous lacunæ break the text. Published by Maspero (from a copy by Devéria): *Essai sur l'inscription dédicatoire du temple d'Abydos*, par G. Maspero (Paris, 1867); again by Mariette in 1880 (*Abydos*, I, 5-9). I also had a collation of Mariette with the original for the Berlin dictionary by Borchardt.

<sup>b</sup>Whence he came is quite uncertain. Maspero (*Struggle of the Nations*, 387) states that he came from Ethiopia, but for this I find no evidence. On the contrary, the mention of the statue erected in Memphis (l. 22) may indicate that he came from the north.

<sup>c</sup>Ll. 1-21 contain only the dialogue between the divinities (ll. 1-17) in the relief and Ramses (ll. 18-21). The translation begins with the words of Ramses (ll. 18-21). The works summarized in ll. 22-26 are (except the statues) not yet undertaken at the time of the visit to Thebes; but, being complete at the time of the composition of this inscription, the narrator inserts the summary here, forgetting that they were not complete at the time of which he is writing.

occasion to recall to his courtiers how his father had him publicly crowned coregent while a mere child, giving him extensive authority and a harem (ll. 43-48). He proceeds to describe his administration as coregent (ll. 48-50), and reiterates in conclusion his determination to complete his father's buildings (ll. 51-55). Hereupon the courtiers fairly outdo themselves in a long-winded eulogy of the dutiful son (ll. 55-69). The narrator now recounts the summons to the architects, artists, and workmen, who are commissioned to complete Seti I's temple. At the same time the king re-enacts and reorganizes his father's endowments for the maintenance of the temple and its mortuary service (ll. 69-75).

253. When all is done, Ramses addresses his deceased father, calling attention to all these pious works for his father's welfare in the hereafter (ll. 75-93), and showing how it will be to his father's interest to ensure unbroken continuance of these favors, by inducing the gods, among whom he now is, to grant Ramses a long reign. Ramses assures his father that his (Seti's) mortuary offerings shall be maintained as long as he (Ramses) continues on the throne (ll. 93-98). To this remarkable compact Seti, in reply, agrees, intercedes with the gods, and assures Ramses that the gods have decreed<sup>a</sup> him an eternal reign, and that he himself enjoys the greatest felicity because of his son's provision for him (ll. 98-116).

254. The inscription, it will be observed, is historically very important, as well as interesting in several respects. The statements regarding Ramses' coregency in youth are detailed and circumstantial. His appearance in public for coronation, in the presence of his father, reminds us of the

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<sup>a</sup>See similar prayer of Seti, quoted with l. 103, p. 115, n. b.

similar account of Hatshepsut's coronation (II, 215 ff.). But the evidence of the Karnak reliefs (§§ 123 ff.) is so conclusively against his ever having been so chosen by Seti that, like the said story of Hatshepsut's coronation, we must regard it as a fabrication.<sup>a</sup> Such a fiction could hardly have been published immediately on Seti's death, and when we remember Ramses' extraordinary compact with his deceased father, the question arises whether the inscription is a later product of Ramses' reign, and his long life is the source which suggested the fiction of the compact, to which the narrator now attributes Ramses' remarkable longevity.<sup>b</sup> In any case, the inscription was written after the completion of his works for his father, and after some of his foreign campaigns (l. 93).

255. The king's visit to Thebes in his first year is corroborated by an independent document in the Theban tomb of the High Priest of Amon, Nebunef (*Nb-wm-nf*).<sup>c</sup> A relief in this tomb shows Ramses II, accompanied by his queen, Mutnofret, and the court, addressing Osiris. Before the god is the following inscription:

256. Year 1, third month of the first season, —<sup>d</sup> when his majesty went north from the Southern City, ¶having<sup>1</sup> celebrated the pleasing ceremonies of his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes . . . . .,<sup>e</sup> [Mut] . . . . .,<sup>e</sup> Khonsu in Thebes, Beautiful Rest, and the Divine Ennead

<sup>a</sup>See also introduction to Kubbân inscription (§ 283), and my "Ramses II and the Princes in the Karnak Reliefs of Seti I" (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 138 f.).

<sup>b</sup>Against this is the motive for the account of his appointment as coregent—a motive which would have been influential only immediately after his accession, when he desired to support the legitimacy of his reign.

<sup>c</sup>Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 535, 851, 852; and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*; Text, III, 239.

<sup>d</sup>The space for the day is left vacant in the original.

<sup>e</sup>Further titles of Amon and Mut, omitted by Champollion.

dwelling in Thebes; at his beautiful feast of Opet (named): "Returning-Thence-with-Praise."

257. As Nebunnef was High Priest, this great feast of Amon is naturally recorded in his tomb. It is the same feast, celebrated in the month Hathor, by Thutmose III<sup>a</sup> on his return from his first campaign (II, 541, 550), and, this being the first celebration of it in Ramses' reign, it naturally called him to Thebes, whose powerful priesthood he could not fail to conciliate by appearing at their temple in person on such an important occasion.

258. Returning now to our great document, we find in the relief scene preceding the long inscription that the young King Ramses II appears offering an image of the goddess Mat (Truth) to Osiris, Isis, and his deified father, Seti I. The speeches of the divinities are of solely religious interest. The speech of Ramses, which merges into the long inscription itself, is of historical importance, and begins the following translation:

*Speech of Ramses*

259. <sup>18</sup>Utterance of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II) in the presence of his father, Osiris: "I champion thee, <sup>19</sup>like thy son, Horus; I have done according to [his]<sup>b</sup> doing. I repeat for thee monuments in the necropolis, <sup>20</sup>I double offerings for thy ka. I answer on behalf of my father, he being in the Nether World (*Dwꜣt*), in the place [— —], <sup>21</sup>for the son becomes the champion of his father, like Horus, when he championed his father, forming him that formed him, fashioning him that fashioned him, making to live the name of him that begat him, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ramses (II), given life, like Re, forever, beloved of Osiris, lord of Abydos."

*Voyage to Thebes, Summary of Ramses' Works for His Father*

260. <sup>22</sup>When the Lord of the Two Lands arose as king, to act as champion of his father, in the year 1, on his first voyage to Thebes, he fashioned

<sup>a</sup>Also by Piankhi (IV, 836).

<sup>b</sup>Cf. l. 43.

statues of his father; King Menmare (Seti I) was he; one in Thebes, another in Memphis, in the temple which he built for them, <sup>23</sup>an addition to the beauty of that which was in Abydos of Towêr, which he loved, which his heart has desired since he was on earth, the soil of Wennofer (Osiris). He repeated the restoration of the monuments of his father, which are in the cemetery, making his name live, fashioning his statues, giving offerings abiding <sup>24</sup>for his august ka — his house, supplying his altars, upbuilding that which was fallen in the house which he loved, erecting the seats in his temple, laying its walls, setting up its doorways, erecting the ruins in the seat of<sup>a</sup> his father, in the district of Osiris ——— <sup>25</sup>the double façade made therein, in everything which the Great in Victory, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ramses (II), given life, made for his father, Osiris, the King Menmare (Seti I), triumphant. He established for him possessions, supplied with food of the [— —] his heart <sup>26</sup>being kindly disposed toward him that begat him, his feelings inclining toward him that brought him up.

*Ramses Sails from Thebes to Abydos*

**261.** On one of these days it happened in the year 1, the third<sup>b</sup> month of the first season, the twenty-third day, at the [‘feast’]<sup>c</sup> ——— after the return of Amon to Karnak, that he (the king) came forth, favored with might and victory from Amon-Atum in Thebes, and he rewarded him with myriads of years, even to the duration of Re in heaven. Hear ——— [‘exalted’] forever and ever. He raised his hand, bearing the censer, to the horizon of him who abides in the West, his offering being excellent and acceptable to his [‘father’], the lord of love. His majesty departed from the Southern City ——— Re.

(He) began the way,<sup>d</sup> to make the voyage, while the royal barges illuminated the flood, turning down-stream to the seat of might, “House<sup>e</sup>-

<sup>a</sup>There is a superfluous *n* here which suggests “*seat of truth, for his father,*” etc.

<sup>b</sup>Borchardt has only one month-sign.

<sup>c</sup>Even in Ramses III’s day the Feast of Opet closed at least eight days before this; this must have been the Feast of Hathor, at which Amon also celebrated; but the king must have been at Thebes during the great Feast of Opet, which just preceded.

<sup>d</sup>For the usual form of this phrase, see Amarna Landmarks (II, 960, l. 6), or Scarab of Wild Cattle Hunt (II, 864).

<sup>e</sup>This is the earliest occurrence of the city of “Ramses.” It is not clear why it should be mentioned, unless the king was going farther north to the Delta.

of-Ramses-Meriamon-Great-in-Victory." His majesty entered, to see his father, the voyage of the waters of the canal of Abydos<sup>a</sup> (*Nj-wr*), in order to found offerings for Wennofer, consisting of every good thing, that which his ka loves, in order to praise<sup>30</sup> — — — for his brother, Onouris, son of Re in truth, like himself.

*Ramses Finds Cemetery Buildings in Ruins*

262. He found the buildings of the cemetery belonging to former kings, their tombs<sup>b</sup> in Abydos, beginning to be in ruin. The half of them were in process of construction<sup>31</sup> — — — in the ground, their walls [lying] incomplete, not one brick touching<sup>c</sup> another. That which was only begun<sup>d</sup> had become mere rubbish. There was no one building — — — who was carrying out according to his plans, since their lord had flown to heaven. There was no<sup>32</sup> other son, who renewed the monuments of his father, which were in the cemetery.

*Seti I's Temple Unfinished, Its Endowments Violated*

263. Lo, the house of Menmare (Seti I), its front and its rear were in process of construction, when he entered into heaven. Its monuments were not finished, its columns were not set up on its [platform], its statue was upon the ground, it was not<sup>33</sup> fashioned after the regulation for it, of the gold-house. Its divine offerings had ceased, the lay priesthood likewise. That which was brought [from] its fields was taken away, their boundaries were not fixed in the land.<sup>e</sup>

*Ramses Summons His Court and Officials*

264. Said his majesty to the wearer of the royal seal who was at his side: "Speak thou, call<sup>34</sup> the court, the king's-grandeens, all the commanders of the army, all the chiefs of works, and the keepers of the

<sup>a</sup>Abydos lies seven miles from the river, and is evidently connected with it by a canal which the king here enters. Compare the same voyage of King Neferhotep (I, 763, ll. 16, 17).

<sup>b</sup>These can hardly be anything else than the tombs of the First Dynasty kings. That some of them should be in course of construction may mean that chapels were being erected for these kings (their halls in Seti's temple) or that repairs were going on.

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "embracing."

<sup>d</sup>*Mshn* means "birth- or nursing-chamber," which may be figurative for "beginning," that which was incipient. Suggested by Erman.

<sup>e</sup>See Seti I's solemn adjuration to respect his endowment of this very temple (§ 180, ll. 11-13, 15-19).

house of rolls (books).” They were brought before his majesty, their noses were bowed in the dust, their knees were on the earth <sup>35</sup>in adoration, smelling the earth; their hands were uplifted to his majesty, they praised this Good God, magnifying his beauty in the presence. They told the story according to that which he had done, they likened his brave deeds, as they were; every word which came out of their mouths, was that which the Lord of the Two Lands had actually done. <sup>36</sup>They were upon their bellies, <sup>1</sup>wallowing upon the earth before his majesty, saying:

*The Court Eulogizes the King*

**265.** “We come to thee, lord of heaven, lord of earth, Re, life of the whole earth, lord of duration, of fruitful revolution,<sup>a</sup> Atum for the people, lord of destiny, creator of Renenet,<sup>b</sup> Khnum <sup>37</sup>who fashioned the people (*rhy' t*), giver of breath into the nostrils of all, making all the gods live, pillar of heaven, support of earth, [—] adjusting the Two Lands, lord of food, plentiful in grain, in whose footsteps is the harvest goddess, <sup>38</sup>maker of the great, fashioner of the lowly, whose word produces food, the lord vigilant when all men sleep, whose might defends Egypt, valiant in foreign lands, who returns when he has triumphed, whose sword protects the Egyptians, beloved of truth, in which he lives <sup>39</sup>by his laws, defender of the Two Lands, rich in years, great in victory, the fear of whom expels foreign lands, our king, our lord, our Sun, by the words of whose mouth Atum lives. Lo, we are now before thy majesty, that thou mayest decree to us the life that thou givest, <sup>40</sup>Pharaoh, L. P. H., breath of life, who makes all men live when he has shone on them.”

*Ramses Announces His Intention to Complete His Father's Buildings*

**266.** Said his majesty to them: “Behold, I have caused that they call you, because of a plan that is before me. I have seen that the buildings of the cemetery, the tombs that are in Abydos, <sup>41</sup>and the works therein, are in an unfinished state, since the time of their lord until this day. When a son arose in the place of his father, the monuments of him that begat him were not restored. Then I conversed with my own heart: ‘It is a happy example, to provide for <sup>42</sup>them that have

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<sup>a</sup>The king is often called the source of the land's fruitfulness; hence the same here, where he is called Re, the sun.

<sup>b</sup>Goddess of birth, destiny, and good fortune.



passed away, excellent to behold good — — 'Horus who shaped' the thought of the son, that he should incline the heart after his father. My heart leads me in doing excellent things for Merneptah (Seti I). I will cause it to be said forever and ever: "It was his son, who made his name live." May my father, Osiris, <sup>43</sup>favor me with the long life of his son, Horus, according as I do that which [he] did; I do excellent things, as he did excellent things, for him who begat me."

*Ramses Relates His Appointment as Coregent*

267. "I came forth from Re, [although] ye say, from Menmare (Seti I), who brought me up.<sup>a</sup> <sup>44</sup>The All-Lord himself made me great, while I was a child, until I reigned. He gave to me the land while I was in the egg; the great smelled the earth before me, when I was installed as eldest son, as hereditary prince upon the throne of Keb. I reported <sup>45</sup>— —<sup>b</sup> as lord (*hry-d' d'*) of infantry and chariotry. When my father appeared to the public, I being a child between his arms. [He] sa[id] concerning me: "Crown him as king, that I may see his beauty while I live <sup>46</sup>with him." [Thereupon approached] the courtiers (*ymyw-hnty*), to set the double diadem upon my head. "Place for him the crown upon his head," so spake he concerning me, while he was upon earth. "Let him organize this land, let him administer —, let him show his face to the people," so spake he <sup>47</sup>— because the love of me was so great in his bowels.<sup>c</sup> He equipped me with 'household' women, a royal harem, like the beauties of the palace, he chose for me wives, after —, taking the concubines <sup>48</sup>of — his —, seizing [—]<sup>d</sup> and female companions."

*Ramses Describes His Administration as Coregent*

268. "Lo, I was Re over the people (*rhy' t*), those of the South and North were under my feet — it was I, who [set] them to <sup>49</sup>[building] —. I fashioned my father in gold anew, in the first year of my

<sup>a</sup>Or: "I came forth from Re, [so] say ye, while Menmare brought me up."

<sup>b</sup>Maspero's (Devéria's) text cannot be correct here; Borchardt shows only the canal-sign (*mr*) with the land-wedge.

<sup>c</sup>On the following passage, see Müller, *Liebespoesie*, 5. The different terms for harem-women are not exactly determined as yet.

<sup>d</sup>Müller, "Abgeschlossene."

appearance (as king).<sup>a</sup> I commanded that his temple be prepared, I established his fields ———. I founded for him offerings for his ka.  
<sup>50</sup>——— wine, incense, all fruit, I cultivated trees, growing for him. Lo, his house was under my charge, all its works were under my authority, since — — — as a child.”

*Ramses Repeats His Intention to Complete His Father's Buildings*

269. “<sup>51</sup>——— my father; I will enlarge them anew. As for the monuments, I will not neglect his seat, after the manner of those children who forgot [their] father. ——— speak of — <sup>52</sup>——— a son doeth excellent things. My mighty deeds for my father as a child, I will now complete, being Lord of the Two Lands; I will [—] in them in the proper way ——— <sup>53</sup>——— I will lay the walls in the temple of him that begat me. I will charge the man of my choice, to conduct this work therein. I will mason up therein the br[eaches] in its walls <sup>54</sup>———, its pylon-towers of — —. I will cover its house, I will [erect] its columns, I will set stones in the places of the lower foundation, making monument upon monument, two excellent things at one time, bearing my name<sup>b</sup> and the name of my father, for the son <sup>55</sup>is like him that begat him.”

*The Court Responds with an Eulogy of the King*

270. Then spake the royal companions, and they answered the Good God: “Thou art Re, thy body is his body. There has been no ruler like thee, (for) thou art unique, like the son of Osiris, thou hast achieved the like of his designs <sup>56</sup>Isis [hath not loved] a king since Re, except thee and her [son]; greater is that which thou hast done than that which he did when he ruled after Osiris. The laws of the land proceed according to his position. The son is compassionate to him that made him, the divine seed — — <sup>57</sup>him who created him [in the] [egg] — it<sup>c</sup> inclines to the august guardian. None hath done that which Horus did for his father to this day, except thy majesty —. Thou

<sup>a</sup>This is evidently the statue of l. 72, and the reference to it by the king here, as a thing of the past, made in the year 1, is an anachronism of which a scribe, composing the inscription at a time when all the events it narrates were past, could easily be guilty.

<sup>b</sup>Ramses II's name is, indeed, upon many portions of the building which Seti built; Seti's name has even been erased to make room for it.

<sup>c</sup>Viz., the egg; that is, the young King Ramses II.

hast increased that which has been done; what <sup>58</sup>example of excellence  
 ——— that we may introduce it, to tell it in the (royal) presence?  
 Who shall come, that he may recall a thing proposed to thee<sup>a</sup>? (but)  
 thou hast led the ignorant abroad ———. ——— mild, thy heart  
 is kindly toward thy father, Menmare (Seti I), <sup>59</sup>the divine father, the  
 beloved of a god, Seti-Merneptah, triumphant. Since the time of the god,  
 since the kings have taken the crown, there has been no other like thee,  
 neither seen in face nor heard in speech. [No other] son has repeated  
 monuments for his father. Not one has arisen, <sup>60</sup>that he might cham-  
 pion his father, (but) every man deals for himself, on behalf of his own  
 name, except thee and Horus, for thou art like the son of Osiris. Behold,  
 thou art a goodly heir like him; as for his kingdom, thou administertest  
 it in like manner. <sup>61</sup>As for him who doeth that which the god did, he  
 shall have the length of life which he enjoyed. Re in heaven [is joyous-]  
 hearted, his divine ennead is glad, the gods are satisfied with Egypt  
 since thy coronation as king of the Two Lands. Beautiful ———  
 is thy —, excellent is thy truth, it has reached <sup>62</sup>heaven, thy plans are  
 right in the estimation of Re, Atum is delighted — —, Wennofer is in  
 triumph at that which thy majesty has done for his ka. He says:  
 ‘— — — [I give] to thee the duration of heaven, his two heavens;’  
<sup>63</sup>the gods of the secret place of the lord of the nether world say: ‘Thou  
 shalt be upon earth like Aton.’ Glad is the heart of Merneptah (Seti I),  
 his name shall live again, (for) thou hast fashioned him in gold and  
 real costly stones, ——— his — of electrum <sup>64</sup>——— his —, thou  
 buildest it anew, bearing thy name. As for every king<sup>b</sup> who is in heaven,  
 whose buildings are in course of construction, there has been no son  
 (of theirs) doing what thou hast done, since Re until <sup>65</sup>[this day]. ———  
 Thy majesty — him; that which he did, thou hast remembered, when it  
 was forgotten. Thou hast restored monuments in the cemetery. As for  
 every plan that was neglected, thou hast carried it out in the proper way  
 ——— <sup>66</sup>——— passes away, another comes. Thy majesty is  
 King of Upper Egypt and King of Lower Egypt, for thou doest excellent  
 things, and thy heart is satisfied in doing truth. Those things which are  
 done in the presence of the gods, shall be heard ——— <sup>67</sup>———  
 when [thou] rise[st to] heaven, when thy beauty ascends to the horizon,  
 the eyes see thy excellent deeds before gods and men. Thou art the one

<sup>a</sup>The king is the one who originates and proposes.

<sup>b</sup>This is doubtless a reference to the list of kings in the Abydos temple.

who doest it; thou art the one who repeatest monument on monument for the gods, according as thy father, Re, commanded <sup>68</sup>that thy name should be [known] in every land, from Khenthennofer of the South, northward, from the [shores] of the sea to the countries of Retenu (*Rtmo*), and among the settlements and strongholds of the king, the towns colonized and supplied with people<sup>a</sup> <sup>69</sup>—— every city [should know] that thou art the god of all people, that they may awake, to give to thee incense at the command of thy father, Atum; that Egypt as well as the Red Land may adore thee.”

*Ramses Completes and Endows His Father's Temple*

271. Now, after <sup>70</sup>—— these utterances which these nobles [had spoken] in the presence of their lord, his majesty commanded to commission the chiefs of works; he set apart soldiers, workmen, carvers with the chisel, <sup>71</sup>—— draughtsmen, all ranks of artificers, to build the holy place of his father, to erect that which was in ruins in the cemetery, the mortuary house of his father. Lo, <sup>72</sup>he [began] to fashion his statue in the year 1;<sup>b</sup> while the offerings were doubled before his ka, his temple was properly victualed, and he supplied his necessities. He established his ritual roll of fields, peasant-slaves (*mry' t*) and cattle. <sup>73</sup>He appointed priests over their affairs, a prophet to upraise the hands — — — his people under — — — — to conduct affairs — — under him; his numerous granaries with grain <sup>74</sup>—— his possessions. The great officials in South and North are under the authority of his steward, being an act of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Setepnere; Son of Re, Meriamon-Ramses (II), given life, like Re, forever and ever, for his father, King Menmare (Seti I), triumphant, <sup>75</sup>—— — — [under] the authority of Wennofer. He did it again for his ka in Thebes,<sup>c</sup> Heliopolis, and Memphis<sup>d</sup> (where) his statues rested in their places in all his [stations]<sup>e</sup> of the [—].

<sup>a</sup>See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 269, 270.

<sup>b</sup>Doubtless at the same time that he set up one in Thebes and another in Memphis (l. 22).

<sup>c</sup>A reference to Ramses II's work on the Theban mortuary temple of Seti I at Kurna.

<sup>d</sup>If Seti I had temples at Heliopolis and Memphis, they have now utterly vanished; but this remark may apply only to his statues.

<sup>e</sup>Where a statue stopped when carried in festival processions? But Spiegelberg (*Rechnungen*, 58) thinks it means “bazaar, market, or court.”

*Ramses Addresses His Father, Narrating His Good Deeds to Him*

272. Then spake the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ramses II,<sup>a</sup> given life, <sup>76</sup>sending up<sup>b</sup> that which he had done for his father, the Osiris, King Menmare (Seti I), triumphant; saying: "Awake thou, (lift) thy face to heaven, that thou mayest see Re, O my father, Merneptah (Seti I), who art a god. Behold, I am making thy name to live, I have protected thee, I give attention to thy temple, <sup>77</sup>thy offerings are established. Thou restest in the Nether World (*Dw'ꜣt*), like Osiris, while I shine as Re for the people, being upon the great throne of Atum, like Horus, son of Isis, who protected his father. <sup>78</sup>How [happy] for thee, who begattest me — — since thou comest as one living again. I have fashioned thee, I have built the house thou lovest, wherein is thy statue in the cemetery of Abydos, region of eternity. I have founded offerings <sup>79</sup>[for] thy s[atues], the daily offerings come to thee. [I] am he that doeth that which is lacking to thee; I do it for thee, every desire of thy heart, the excellent thing in thy name. I assess for thee the 'officials' (*mꜣ dy' w*) <sup>80</sup>— works for thy ka, in order to offer<sup>c</sup> for thee upon the ground, with bread and drink. I have come myself, myself (sic!), in order to see thy temple beside Wennofer, sovereign of eternity. I have 'finished' the work in it, I have laid out the 'ground', <sup>81</sup>I — that which thou desirest, making thy every house wherein I have established thy name forever. [I] am he that doeth according to truth, that it (truth) may flourish."

273. "I have given to thee the Southerners, offering gifts to thy temple, and the Northerners, <sup>82</sup>(bringing) their tribute before thy beautiful face. I have collected all them that owe thee dues, united in one body, under the administration of the prophet of thy temple, in order to make thy property a permanent whole,<sup>d</sup> to be brought <sup>83</sup>[to] thy temple [—] forever."

274. "I made splendid thy treasury, filled with possessions, the heart's desire, which I have given to thee, together with thy dues. I have given to thee a ship (*mnš*), bearing cargoes upon the sea, conveying to thee <sup>84</sup>the great [marvels] of God's-Land, and the merchants doing merchandising, bearing their wares and their impost therefrom in gold, silver, and copper."

<sup>a</sup>Full double name.    <sup>b</sup>Viz., to heaven.    <sup>c</sup>Lit., "sprinkle" or "sow."  
<sup>d</sup>Lit., "causing thy property to become abiding in one body."

275. "I have made for thee calculations of the fields, which had been only verbal <sup>85</sup>—— on high [land], calculated in fields. I equipped them with inspectors, together with husbandmen, to produce clean grain for thy divine offerings. I have given to thee barges with crews, and artisans hewing <sup>86</sup>— without ceasing to sail to thy temple."

276. "I have formed for thee herds of all small cattle, faithfully to supply thy offerings. I levied for thee wild fowl from the [inclosed] marsh; others <sup>87</sup>— — live geese for maintaining those that were hatched. I put fishermen on the waters, on every pool, in order to furnish for thee imposts by the shipload."

277. "I equipped thy temple with every office <sup>88</sup>— — of my majesty. Thy lay priesthood of the temple has its full complement of heads.<sup>a</sup> The peasant-slaves are assessed for woven stuff, for thy wardrobe, and (as for) thy serfs of the fields of every district, every man brings <sup>89</sup>their (sic!) impost, to fill thy house."

278. "Lo, thou hast entered into heaven, thou followest Re, thou minglest with stars and moon. Thou restest in the nether world, like those who are therein, beside Wennofer, lord of eternity; <sup>90</sup>thy two [arms] draw Atum in heaven and in earth, like the unresting stars and the imperishable<sup>b</sup> stars, while thou art on the prow of the barque of myriads of years. When Re rises in heaven, thy two eyes are upon his beauty; <sup>91</sup>when Atum [enters]<sup>c</sup> into the earth, thou art among his followers. Thou hast entered into the hidden chamber before its lord; thy going is afar in the midst of the Nether World; thou hast associated thyself with the mortuary gods. Lo, <sup>92</sup>[I] pray for the breath of thy august nostrils. I mention thy name many times daily, I — my father [ — — ] — — — <sup>93</sup>— I tell of thy valor, when I am in a foreign country.<sup>d</sup> I lay down for thee gifts, my hand bears offerings for thy name, for thy — in thy every place."

<sup>a</sup>Viz., "people," often referred to as "heads," like our "head of cattle."

<sup>b</sup>The two names literally mean: "those who cannot rest," and "those who cannot perish." They are probably the stars of the southern and northern heavens (Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, 321).

<sup>c</sup>Only the determinative of a verb of going is visible.

<sup>d</sup>There is no indication that this is a reference to a particular campaign, and the statement that it refers to Ramses II's Ethiopic campaign (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 387), in which it is averred he was engaged at his father's death, lacks foundation.

*Ramses Prays His Father to Intercede in His Behalf*

279. "Mayest thou speak to Re — — — —<sup>94</sup>— life to his son, Wennofer, with a loving heart. Grant lifetime upon lifetime, united in jubilees for Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), given life. It will be well for thee, that I should be king forever,<sup>95</sup>(for) thou wilt be — by a good son, who remembers his father; (for) I will take counsel for thy temple, every day, and for the affairs of thy ka, in every matter. If I hear of any damage<sup>96</sup>about to happen, I will command to remove it instantly in every matter. Thou shalt be as if thou livedst, while I reign. I shall look to thy house every day. <sup>97</sup>— I have —, my heart shall incline after thee, I shall champion thee and thy name, while thou art in the nether world. Excellent indeed shall it be for thee, while I am; while Ramses, given life, like Re, forever,<sup>98</sup>[the son] of Re, lives."

*The Deceased Seti I Replies to His Son's Prayer*

280. Then was King Menmare (Seti I), triumphant (*m<sup>3</sup>c-hrw*), an excellent soul (*b<sup>3</sup>*), like Osiris, rejoicing over all that which his son, the doer of excellent things, King<sup>99</sup>Ramses II,<sup>a</sup> had done, and praising all his beauty, to Re-Harakhte, and to the gods who are in the nether world, while he spoke in [—] <sup>100</sup>as a father on earth speaks with his son, saying:

281. "Let thy heart be very glad, O my beloved son, Usermare-Setepnere, given life, in — — giving to thee [myriads] of years, eternity upon the Horus-throne <sup>101</sup>of the living. Osiris has besought for thee the duration of heaven, wherein thou risest like Re at early morning. Life and prosperity shall be with thee, — truth, might, and joy of heart, for him who is rich in years. <sup>102</sup>Thine shall be might and victory, O thou great in victory; health shall be for thy limbs like (those of) Re in heaven. Joy and rejoicing shall be in thy every abode, O king, defending Egypt, binding the barbarians, spending the eternity <sup>103</sup>of thy lifetime as King of Upper Egypt, and as King of Lower Egypt, as Atum flourishes at rising and setting. Behold, I say to Re<sup>b</sup> with a

<sup>a</sup>Full double name, with the usual salutations after it, which have been omitted in the translation, in order to show more clearly the connection.

<sup>b</sup>A similar prayer of Seti's is found at Kurna (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 150, a), in which he addresses Amon thus: "Grant thou to him (Ramses II) eternity, that he may make my name to live, by reason of the command that comes out of thy mouth." Here we see the same compact as in the Abydos inscription.

loving heart: 'Grant to him<sup>a</sup> eternity upon earth <sup>104</sup>like Khepri.' I have repeated to Osiris when I entered before him: 'Double thou for him the duration of thy son, Horus.' Behold, Re said in the horizon of heaven: 'Grant eternity, everlastingness, myriads of years <sup>105</sup>of royal jubilees for the son of his body, the beloved Meriamon-Ramses, given life, doer of excellent things.' Atum has decreed to thee his duration as king. Might and victory shall be united <sup>106</sup>behind thee. Thoth writes them at the side of the All-Lord, and the Great Ennead say: 'Re, in his barque, lord of the morning-barque, collects them for him; his eye sees <sup>107</sup>that which thou hast so excellently done. When he sails the heavens with the wind every day, great joy is behind him, because he remembers thy beauty; until Atum <sup>108</sup>sets in the land of the West, thy love is in his body every day.' Behold, Wennofer is lord of triumph (*m<sup>o</sup>c-hrw*) through that which thy majesty has done in the place of truth. I [Horus]<sup>b</sup> awake him at the reminder of thy goodness; my heart hath joy indeed, because of the eternity which he has decreed for thee. Behold, I have received the things which thou hast given to me: my bread and my water with gladness of heart, breath <sup>110</sup>[reaches my, nostrils, because of the deeds of a son, whose heart chooses to protect, free from negligence, knowing that which is seemly. Thou hast repeated monument on monument for Osiris under my authority in the presence <sup>111</sup>— — [in] the midst of Abydos (*Njw-wr*). I am magnified because of all that which thou hast done for me; I am placed at the head of the abode of the dead, I am transformed, I have become a god more <sup>112</sup>beautiful than before, since thy heart has inclined to me, while I am in the nether world. I am thy true father, who am a god; I have mingled with the gods, following Aton; I <sup>113</sup>[know] him who dwells in the barque — — like one in — — — who is in — — —. <sup>114</sup>He [remembers thy beauty — — —. Behold, thou hast a long life, Re has decreed to thee — — —, forever, like — — —. Thou art the living — of Atum, thy every word <sup>115</sup>comes to pass like (that of) the All-Lord. Thou art the favorite egg of Khepri, the water of a god [which came forth] from him. What thou begettest is that which Re himself has made; he said to thee: '— — — [as the maker of] — — — <sup>116a</sup>a guar-

<sup>a</sup>Text has "to thee," but as Seti here speaks to Re in direct discourse, as the imperative shows, this is clearly an error for "to him," as found in the speech to Osiris, in the next line.

<sup>b</sup>Emendation suggested by Erman.



dian, thou comest as living Re to the people; the Southland and Northland [are beneath] thy feet, beseeching myriads of royal jubilees for Usermare-Setepnere, the duration of the All-Lord, when [he] rises  
 \_\_\_\_\_.”

KUBBÂN STELA<sup>a</sup>

282. This document records the attempt of Ramses II to supply with water the desert road leading from the Nile at Kubbân to the gold-bearing regions on the east in the great Wadi 'Alâki.<sup>b</sup> It is similar to the records of like attempts by Seti I at Redesiyeh (§§ 162-98), with which it should be compared. Seti I, indeed, had made a futile attempt to find water on this same road, having dug a well there 200 feet deep, as our document informs us (l. 21). In spite of this fact, Ramses makes another attempt, and sends out the viceroy of Kush for the purpose. He presently reports success at a depth of only 20 feet.

283. A statement in the ceremonious address of the court (ll. 13-19) has always been regarded as of great historical importance. It affirms that Ramses had held important official positions in the land since he was a lad in the tenth year of his age (l. 17). But this statement, we should remember, is found in the midst of a fulsome eulogy abounding

<sup>a</sup>This stela was discovered in the ruins on the south of the village of Kubbân, by Prisse d'Avennes. It is now in the château of the Count St. Ferriol at Uriage, near Grenoble. It was published by Prisse (*Monuments égyptiens*, XXI), but his text is excessively incorrect. The first twenty-five lines were then much more accurately published by Chabas (*Les inscriptions des mines d'or*), and again without change by Rheinisch (*Chrestomathie*, Taf. 10). The last fourteen lines (ll. 25-38) have lost the first two-thirds of their length. These have been republished with collation of the Louvre squeeze by Virey (*Recueil*, XIV, 97, 98); his restorations are mostly gratuitous, and often grammatically impossible. An exhaustive copy of the original is very much needed.

<sup>b</sup>See Linant, *Carte de l'Elbâye ou pays habité par des Arabes Bisharis*, comprenant les contrées des mines d'or connues des anciens sous le nom d'Olaki, publiée par le dépôt de la guerre, 1854.

in the most absurd exaggerations. It is probable, in view of these statements, however, that Ramses early developed administrative ability, which he was given opportunity to exercise while still very young. This was doubtless a privilege granted to many princes of the royal house; it does not indicate that Ramses came to the throne while a child, nor do the courtiers here make any such claim,<sup>a</sup> though their words have been so misunderstood.<sup>b</sup>

284. A relief above the inscription shows Ramses II offering incense to "*Horus, lord of Bek (B<sup>o</sup> k),*" and "*wine to Min residing in the mountain,*" resulting in the usual promises from the god. Then follows below the long inscription:

*Introduction*

285. <sup>1</sup>Year 3, first month of the second season, day 4, under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Beloved of Truth; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Defender of Egypt, Binder of the Barbarians; Golden Horus: Rich in years, Great in Victory; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere; Son of Re: Meriamon-Ramses (II), given life, forever and ever, beloved of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, and presider over Karnak; <sup>2</sup>shining upon the Horus-throne of the living, like his father, Re, every day; Good God, lord of the Southland, Horus of Edfu, of brilliant plumage, beautiful hawk of electrum. He protects Egypt with his wing, making shade for the people, as a wall of might and victory. When he went forth <sup>3</sup>from the body,<sup>c</sup> he was (already) terrible for capture, while his might was extending his boundaries; color was given to his limbs like the might of Montu. (He is) the double lord,<sup>d</sup> on the day of whose birth there was exultation in heaven; the gods said: "Our seed is in him." <sup>4</sup>The goddesses said: "He hath come forth from us to exercise the kingship of Re." Amon

<sup>a</sup>See *infra*, Figs. 3 and 4, and §§ 123 ff.

<sup>b</sup>E. g., by Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 419; and by Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1890, 34 f.

<sup>c</sup>At birth.

<sup>d</sup>Written with the figures of Horus and Set.

said: "I am Irsu,<sup>a</sup> I have put justice into its place." The earth is established, heaven is satisfied, the divine ennead is content with his qualities, the Bull, mighty against Kush the wretched, smiting <sup>5</sup>the rebels<sup>b</sup> as far as the land of the Negro. His hoofs trample the Troglodytes, his horn goes into them; his fame is mighty in Khenthennofer; as for his terror, it has reached Karoy (*K* <sup>7</sup>*r* *y*). His name circulates among <sup>6</sup>all lands, because of the victories which his two hands have wrought. Gold comes forth from the mountain at his name,<sup>c</sup> like (that of) his father, Horus, lord of Bek (*B* <sup>7</sup>*k* <sup>7</sup>),<sup>d</sup> great in love in the southern countries, like Horus in the land of Miam (*M* *y* <sup>c</sup> *m* <sup>7</sup> *m*),<sup>e</sup> lord of Bohén (*B* *whn*); the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere; <sup>7</sup>Son of Re, of his body, Lord of Diadems: Meriamon-Ramses (II), given life forever and ever, like his father, Re, every day.

*Investigation of the Land of Akita*

286. Now, when his majesty was in Memphis, performing the pleasing ceremonies of his fathers, all the gods of South and North, according as they gave to him might and victory, and long life of myriads <sup>8</sup>of years; on one of these days it came to pass that, lo, his majesty was sitting upon a great throne of electrum, diademed with the double-feathered crown, recounting the countries, from which gold is brought, and devising plans for digging <sup>9</sup>wells on a road lacking in water, after hearing said that there was much gold in the country of Akita (<sup>7</sup>*k* <sup>7</sup>*y* <sup>t</sup>), whereas the road thereof was very lacking in water. If a few of <sup>10</sup>the caravaneers of the gold-washing went thither, it was only half of them that arrived there, (for) they died of thirst on the road, together with the asses which they drove before them. There was not found for them their necessary supply of <sup>11</sup>drink, in ascending and descending, from the water of the skins.<sup>f</sup> Hence no gold was brought from this country for lack of water.

<sup>a</sup>"Irsu" (*Yr-sw*), lit., "he who made him," a not uncommon designation of the god as father of the king (II, 985, note).

<sup>b</sup>Cf. Guieyssè (*Recueil*, X, 64 ff.), whose rendering is grammatically impossible.

<sup>c</sup>The same remarkable idea referring to Amenhotep IV (II, 946).

<sup>d</sup>District in which the ancient town at Kubbân was situated. See Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 31 f.

<sup>e</sup>*M* <sup>7</sup> *m* as often for <sup>7</sup> *m*. Miam is the ancient name of Derr; see Tomb of Penno (IV, 474 ff.), and Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 31.

<sup>f</sup>Going from the Nile into the desert is regularly "ascending," and the return is

*Court is Summoned*

287. Said his majesty to the wearer of the royal seal, who was at his side: "Call the princes of the court, <sup>12</sup>his majesty would counsel with them concerning this country, (how) I may take the necessary measures." They were immediately brought before the Good God, their hands uplifted to his ka, acclaiming and smelling the earth before his beautiful face. One (=the king) told them the character of this country, counseling <sup>13</sup>with them concerning the plan of opening a well upon the road thereof.

*Address of the Court*

288. They said before his majesty: "Thou art like Re in all that thou doest; that which thy heart wishes comes to pass. If thou desirest a matter in the night, in the morning it quickly comes to pass. We have been <sup>14</sup>beholding a multitude of thy marvels, since thy appearance as king of the Two Lands; we have not heard, neither have our eyes seen,<sup>a</sup> (yet) do they come to pass as they are.<sup>a</sup> As for everything that comes out of thy mouth, it is like the words of Harakhte. Thy tongue is a pair of balances, more accurate are thy two lips <sup>15</sup>than the correct weight of Thoth. What is that which thou knowest not? Who is the finisher of it like thee? Where<sup>b</sup> is the place, which thou hast not seen? There is no country which thou hast not trodden. All matters pass through thy ears, <sup>16</sup>since thou hast exercised authority over this land. Thou didst make plans while thou wast (still) in the egg, in thy office of child of a prince.<sup>c</sup> The affairs of the Two Lands were told thee, while thou wert a child wearing the curl;<sup>d</sup> no monument was executed, which was not under thy authority; <sup>17</sup>there was no commission without thy knowledge. Thou wast chief<sup>e</sup> of the army while thou wast

"*descending*;" the workmen were unable to carry in the skins sufficient water for the round trip.

<sup>a</sup>See the same idea in l. 22. This method of flattery by courtiers is not unique. The same assumption of a mysterious origin of completed works of the king is found regarding Hatshepsut's obelisks, and the statue of Amenhotep III erected by Amenhotep, son of Hapi.

<sup>b</sup>*Yw-t* = **יהוה** (Bondi, *Lehnwörter*, 31).

<sup>c</sup>*Rp* = *ty*. <sup>d</sup>The well-known sidelock of youth.

<sup>e</sup>*R* = *hry*, lit., "*superior mouth*;" this is the phrase used in l. 13 where the king asks for advice = lit., "*mouth*" where "*mouth*" is, of course, a metonymy for "counsel." The exact military rank indicated is not certain. It should be

a boy of the tenth year. Every work that was carried out, it was thy hand which made the foundation thereof. If thou sayest to the water: 'Come upon the mountain,' the flood comes forth <sup>18</sup>quickly after thy word, for thou art Re in limbs, and Khepri with his true form. Thou art the living image on earth of thy father, Atum of Heliopolis. Taste is in thy mouth, intelligence<sup>a</sup> in thy heart; the seat of thy tongue is the shrine of truth, the god sits upon thy two lips.<sup>b</sup> Thy words come to pass every day, <sup>19</sup>thy heart is made into the likeness of (that of) Ptah, the creator of handicrafts.<sup>c</sup> Thou art forever, it shall be done by thy plans, all that thou sayest is heard, O Sovereign, our lord."

*Statement of the Viceroy of Kush*

289. "As for the country of Akita, this is said concerning it," said the king's-son of Kush the wretched, <sup>20</sup>concerning it before his majesty, "that it has been in this manner lacking in water, since the time of the god. They die therein of thirst, and every earlier king desired to open a well therein, but did not succeed.<sup>d</sup> <sup>21</sup>King Menmare (Seti I) did the like, and caused to be dug a well of 120 cubits<sup>e</sup> depth in his time. It is (however), forsaken on the road, (for) no water came out of it. (But) if thou thyself say to thy father Hapi,<sup>f</sup> <sup>22</sup>the father of the gods: 'Let water be brought upon the mountain,' he will do according to all that thou hast said, like all thy designs, which come to pass before us, (although) they have not been heard in conversation; because thy fathers, all the gods love thee, more than any king, <sup>23</sup>who has been since Re."

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observed that the courtiers here (ll. 16, 17) make no claim that Ramses became king at ten years of age, as is so often stated. They affirm no more than the assumption of great trusts by Ramses at a very early age; there is no hint of coregency.

<sup>a</sup>This is the same idea as in the Memphite system; ideas come from the heart (=mind). See my "Philosophy of a Memphite Priest" (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 39, 39 ff.).

<sup>b</sup>This notion is also found in the Memphite system (*ibid.*, pp. 46-48).

<sup>c</sup>In the address of Ptah to Ramses II (Abu Simbel Stela, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 194, ll. 14, 15), Ptah says: "I cause the mountains to shape for thee great, mighty, lofty monuments; I cause the highlands to fashion for thee [all] splendid costly stones."

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "Their prosperity (=success) did not happen."

<sup>e</sup>Two hundred feet.

<sup>f</sup>The Nile-god.

*Ramses Determines to Dig a Well in Akita*

290. Said his majesty to these princes: "How true is all that which ye have said [—], that no water has been dug in this country since the time of the god, as ye say. (But) I will open a well there, [furnishing] water every day as in <sup>24</sup>[the valley of] the Nile, at command of my father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, and all the gods of Nubia, according as their heart is satisfied with the things desired. I will cause it to be said in the land — — — <sup>25</sup>— —."

291. [Then these princes] praised their lord, smelling the ground, throwing themselves upon their bellies in the presence, exulting to the height of heaven.

Said his majesty to the chief king's-scribe —: "<sup>26</sup>—— of the road to Akita. Let a month become a day,<sup>a</sup> when [thou] sendest <sup>27</sup>——." [Then the chief king's-scribe communicated to the king's-son of Kush]<sup>b</sup> according as it had been commissioned him. Lo, he mustered the people for <sup>28</sup>[digging the well] ———. [But they said: "What] then is it which the king's-son shall do? Shall the water <sup>29</sup>[which is in the nether world hearken to him?"]<sup>c</sup> Then they dug the well on] the road to the country of Akita. Never was done the like since the kings who were aforetime <sup>30</sup>——<sup>d</sup> he puts fish in the pools of the regions of [—] of the Delta marshes, pleasing his heart in creating <sup>31</sup>—— like a rudder in the wind.<sup>e</sup>

*A Letter Announcing Success from the Viceroy of Kush*

292. One came, bearing a letter from the king's-son of Kush the wretched, saying: <sup>32</sup>"—— [The] well [is finished]; that which thy majesty spake with his own mouth has come to pass; the water has come forth from it<sup>f</sup> at 12 cubits, being 4 cubits therein in depth. <sup>33</sup>—— it outside, as a god does, in satisfying the heart with that

<sup>a</sup>That is, let a month of preparation become as short as a day.

<sup>b</sup>This scribe must have communicated the commission to the viceroy of Kush, for it is the latter who executes the task in Akita, as is shown by ll. 28 and 31.

<sup>c</sup>Cf. l. 35.

<sup>d</sup>The subject is uncertain; possibly the Nile-god is meant, being here doubtless the one who brings the water to Ramses' well.

<sup>e</sup>Virey's text has "*shore*" instead of "*wind*."

<sup>f</sup>Feminine pronoun, referring to "*well*" (fem.), which must have been mentioned in the preceding lacuna.

which thou desirest. Never was done <sup>34</sup>[the like since the time of the god] ——— Akita rejoices with great joy, those who are far away <sup>35</sup>——— the ruler. The water which is in the nether world hearkens to him, when he digs water upon the mountain <sup>36</sup>———.”

*Conclusion*

293. ——— to him from the king's-son, announcing that which he had done. They were glad because of<sup>a</sup> [it] — <sup>37</sup>——— excellent in plans, good in [— —] ——. <sup>38</sup>[His majesty ordered to call the name of] this [we]ll: “The-Well-of-Meriamon-Ramses-Mighty-[in-Victory].”

THE ASIATIC WAR

294. Ramses II, with his two predecessors, inherited a very dangerous situation in Syria. Seti I had not succeeded in relieving that situation, and upon Ramses II fell the critical task of confronting and checking the southward advance of the Hittites, in their process of absorbing the Egyptian conquests in Syria. They were the most powerful people which Egypt had ever met, and the conflict lasted nearly twenty years, during which we may discern three periods. In the first of these we find Ramses, after having pushed his Phœnician boundary northward to Beyrut, marching down the Orontes against the Hittites at Kadesh. The remarkable battle which followed was without beneficial result. The second period finds Ramses battling for the recovery of Palestine, where there had arisen a general revolt, undoubtedly incited by the Hittites. This revolt suppressed, the third period finds him again in the Hittite country, conquering Naharin as far north as Tunip, where his progress was such that the Hittites were willing to resign all projects of further conquest in Syria and negotiate a

<sup>a</sup>Or: “*They* (the reports) *were agreeable to [the heart of the king].*”

permanent compact in a treaty, in arranging which no mention of the boundary<sup>a</sup> adopted is made.

295. The materials for the three periods are very scanty, except for the battle of Kadesh and the treaty. These materials are as follows:<sup>b</sup>

I. Beginning of the Hittite War.

1. First campaign: three illegible stelæ on the Nahr-el-Kelb near Beirut (§ 297).

2. Second campaign, battle of Kadesh:

*a*) Poem on the battle of Kadesh (§§ 305-15).

*b*) Official record of the battle of Kadesh (§§ 316-27).

*c*) Reliefs of the battle of Kadesh (§§ 328-51).

II. Palestinian revolt.

1. Reconquest of southern Palestine: a relief at Karnak showing the storming of Askalon (§§ 353-55).

2. Reconquest of northern Palestine: a short list of towns taken in the eighth year (§ 356); a relief at the Ramesseum, of the storming of Deper (§§ 356-62); a relief in the Hauran (§ 358).

III. Close of the Hittite War.

1. Conquest of Naharin: a small fragment at the Ramesseum, from an inscription describing the capture of Tunip (§§ 363-65); two short lists of conquered countries (§ 366).

2. Treaty with the Hittites: entire text of the document (§§ 367-91).

I. BEGINNING OF THE HITTITE WAR

296. Like his great predecessors, Seti I and Thutmose III, Ramses II began his operations for the conquest of northern Syria by first securing the coast and then moving against

<sup>a</sup>This boundary will not have been far south of Hamath, which marks the southern limit of Hittite remains.

<sup>b</sup>Besides these materials, see also Nubian War, etc. (§§ 448-91).



the interior, where for the first time he comes into contact with the Hittites.

#### I. FIRST CAMPAIGN

297. Ramses II's first campaign was directed along the Phœnician coast, and extended as far as Beyrut, near which he erected a stela on the Nahr el-Kelb (Dog River) in his fourth year. Another stela, dated "year 2"<sup>a</sup> is called uncertain by Lepsius,<sup>b</sup> and is probably to be read "year 10;" for the first<sup>c</sup> is clearly 4; and there was but one campaign before that of the "year 5,"<sup>d</sup> against Kadesh. A third stela is without date. These stelæ<sup>e</sup> are so weathered that the records of the campaigns which they doubtless contained, are most totally illegible.<sup>f</sup> The location of the stela near the northern boundary of the conquests of Ramses' father, Seti I, is significant. They of course mark the advance boundary of Ramses II's northern conquests.

#### II. SECOND CAMPAIGN: THE BATTLE OF KADESH<sup>g</sup>

298. This battle, in which Ramses meets the Hittites for the first time, forms the culmination of Ramses II's second

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 197, c.

<sup>b</sup>*Briefe*, 403.

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 197, b.

<sup>d</sup>Which is called the second campaign, Record, l. 1.

<sup>e</sup>Published by Bonomi, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 1st ser., II, pl.; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 197; see also Boscawen, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, VII, 331 ff.

<sup>f</sup>These stelæ are cut in the limestone of the hillside, and have so weathered that visitors unaccustomed to reading such inscriptions have declared they contained none. One (Boscawen's No. 1, farthest north) was smoothed off by the French, and a record of the French occupation (1860-61) inscribed upon it. The Egyptian inscription was, of course, totally obliterated (Boscawen, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, VII, 336).

<sup>g</sup>Three sources: (1) the so-called "Poem of Pentaur" (referred to above as "Poem"); (2) the Official Record (called "Record"); (3) the Reliefs. The bibliography, etc., will be found with the introduction to each document. In general, see my *Battle of Kadesh*, "Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago," V, 81-127.

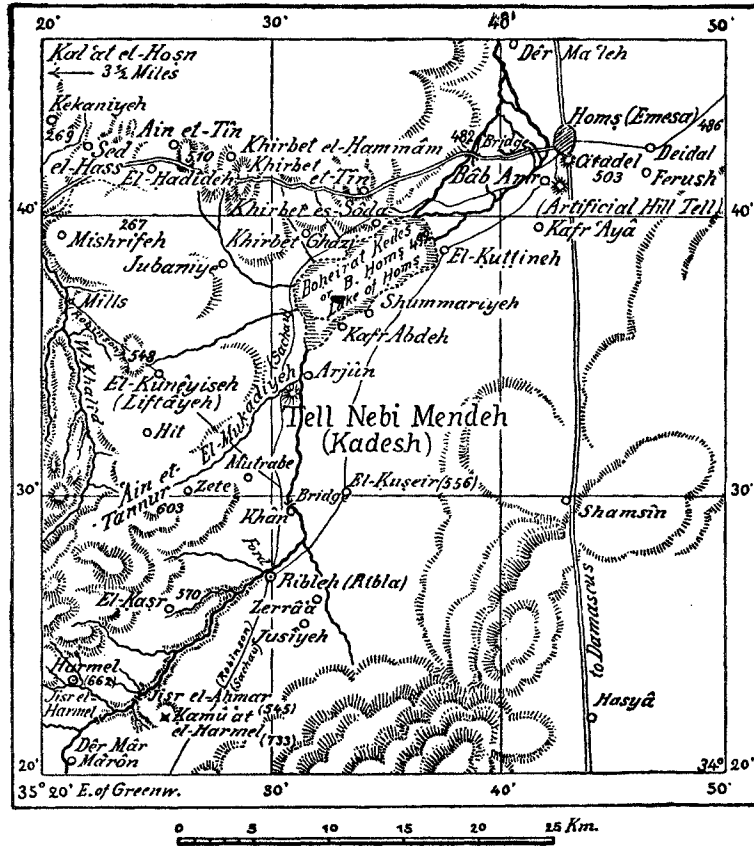


FIG. 7.—Map of the Orontes Valley in the Vicinity of Kadesh, 1:500,000 (after Blanckenhorn)

Syrian campaign, and furnishes nearly all we know of the beginning of his Syrian war. It is of especial interest, being the first battle in history of which we may follow the tactics and the disposition of both armies.<sup>a</sup> About the end of

<sup>a</sup>Rev. H. G. Tomkins' study of this battle (*Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, VII, 390 ff.) was unfortunately made without all the data to be gained from the texts, but shows good use of what he had. Failure to observe the sequence of events made any clear outline of movements impossible. Maspero's account of it in his one volume, *Histoire*, is excellent, but this account was altered in his

April, Ramses marched northward from the fortress of Tharu on the Egyptian frontier, with an army of probably about 20,000 men, in four divisions: the division of Amon, which formed the advance, under the immediate command of the Pharaoh; and the divisions<sup>a</sup> of Re, of Ptah, and of Sutekh, which followed that of Amon in the order given. Marching through Palestine,<sup>b</sup> and along the Phœnician coast road, Ramses passed into Amor, where he formed his van of picked men, on the "*shore in the land of Amor*" (Poem, l. 18). Thereupon he left the coast, perhaps marching up the valley of the Litâny, and reached the last elevation on the east side of the Orontes, where the high valley (the Bukâ<sup>c</sup> a) drops to the level of the plain around Kadesh, about a day's march south of it.<sup>c</sup> Here he camped (Poem, ll. 11, 12; Record, l. 2), without finding trace of the enemy. He therefore pushed on the next day, and as he reached the ford just south of Shabtuna, later Ribleh,<sup>d</sup> a small town, some seven and a half miles south of Kadesh, he was informed by two Shasu-Bedwin, sent out by the Hittite king for this purpose, that the Asiatics had retreated far northward to the district of Aleppo, beyond Tunip (Record, ll. 2-6). With the division of Amon, therefore, Ramses crossed to the west side of the Orontes at Shabtuna (Poem, l. 12), leaving the other three divisions on the east side, dis-

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larger history. Meyer is the only later historian who has shown a correct understanding of the general plan of the battle. On the literature of the subject, see my *Battle of Kadesh*, 4, 5.

<sup>a</sup>This word, which I render "*division*," is in Egyptian "*army*" (*mš* c), but it was probably about the size of a modern army division (see p. 153, note).

<sup>b</sup>The route is uncertain in Palestine (see Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 220), but must have been along the coast when he reached southern Phœnicia. It is barely possible, therefore, that Ramses embarked his army, after leaving Tharu, and landed at some Phœnician port.

<sup>c</sup>*Battle of Kadesh*, 19-21; see *infra*, Figs. 7 and 8.

<sup>d</sup>*Battle of Kadesh*, 21, 22.

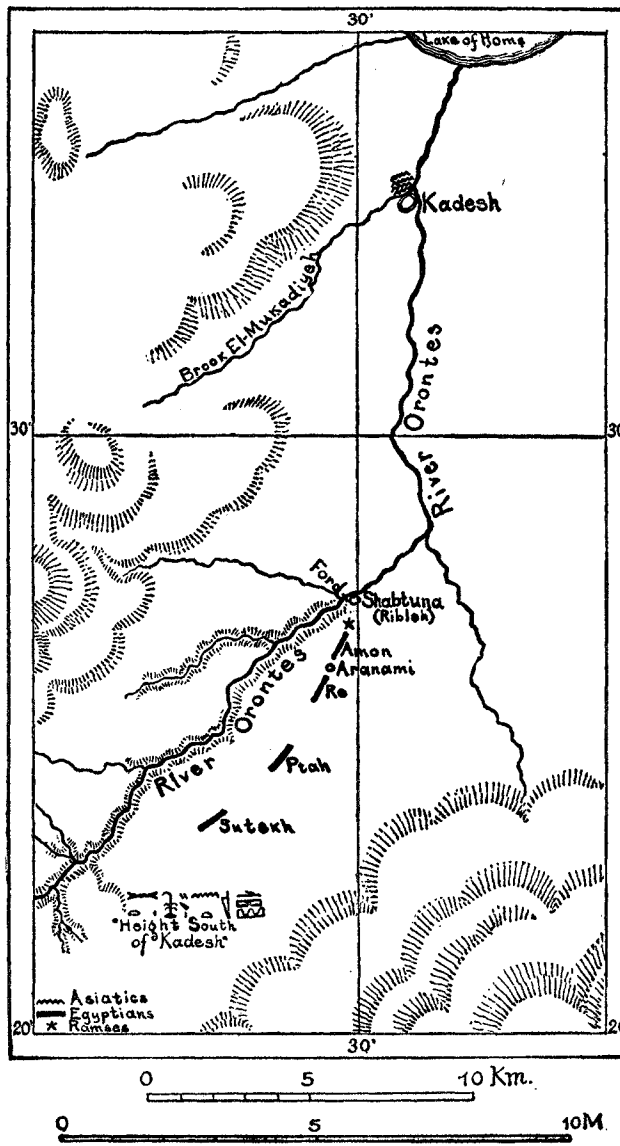


FIG. 8.—March to Kadesh. First Positions

tributed along the road to the south. The division of Re, however, soon crossed at the same ford, with about a mile and a half between its van and the rear of the division of Amon<sup>a</sup> (Fig. 9). With these two divisions following him in a long line, Ramses continued rapidly northward, leaving the other two (Ptah and Sutekh) marching slowly south of Shabtuna, till there was a wide gap between the two halves of his army.

299. Meanwhile the Asiatics (Poem, l. 17), with an army of probably 20,000 men, the combined forces of the north Syrian princes, under the Hittite king, together with a large proportion of mercenaries from states in Asia Minor, adjacent or subject to the Hittites<sup>b</sup>—all these were concealed on the northwest of Kadesh, hidden from the Egyptians by the city. The Hittite king now uses the city to mask his movements, and as Ramses pushes northward on the west side of Kadesh, the Hittite commander shifts his position rapidly eastward and southward,<sup>c</sup> all the time keeping the

<sup>a</sup>From this point on consult the battle plans (Figs. 9 to 12). They are taken from my *Battle of Kadesh*. The four Egyptian divisions are marked by their names: Amon, Re, Ptah, and Sutekh.

<sup>b</sup>Poem, ll. 1, 2, 13-16, and 24; Record, ll. 6, 7. The language of the inscriptions puts the Syrian contingents in the same category with those of Asia Minor, but it is clear that the latter are only mercenaries, called "warriors" (*tw-hy-r*), i. e., professional soldiers, who are in the service of the Hittite king for hire (Poem, l. 16), under their own native commanders, whom the Poem represents as their princes. The Syrians, on the other hand, are real allies of the Hittites, and their kings are really present.

<sup>c</sup>No direct statement of this movement is made in the sources, but after stating that the Hittites are "on the northwest of Kadesh" (Poem, ll. 16, 17), while Ramses is still south of Kadesh, they further state that the Asiatics emerged for the attack "from the southern side of Kadesh" (Poem, l. 20; Record, l. 20), when Ramses is in camp northwest of Kadesh. The Hittites could not have shifted from the northwest of Kadesh to the south of it, along the west side, for here Ramses was marching northward. They must have passed eastward and southward on the east side of the city (Fig. 10), keeping themselves constantly "behind Kadesh," from Ramses' point of view. They could, of course, have passed through Kadesh if the gates were in such positions as to permit. But as they crossed the Orontes

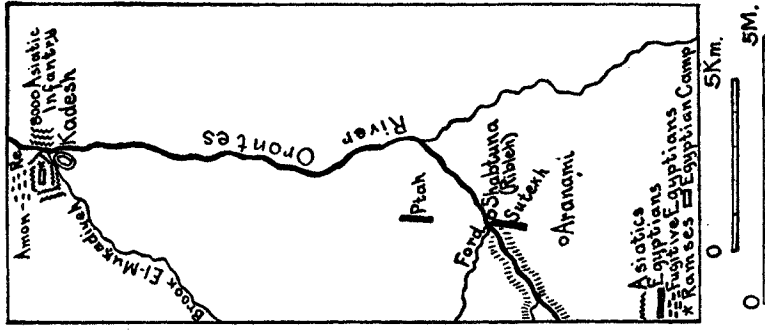


FIG. 12.—Fifth Positions

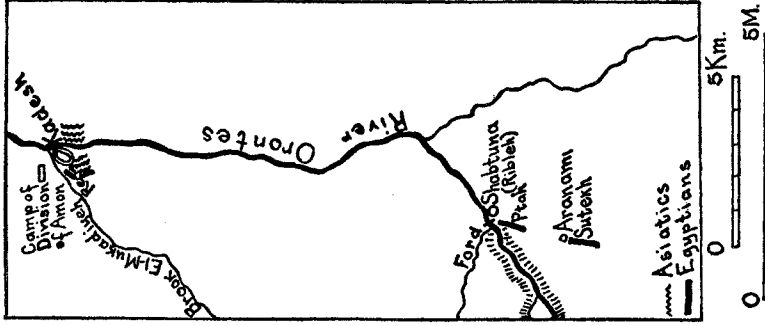


FIG. 11.—Fourth Positions

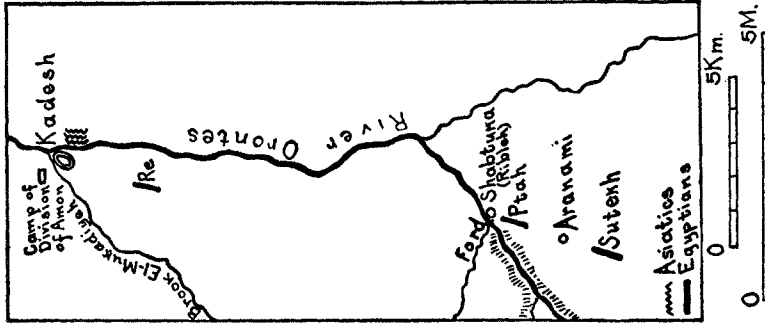


FIG. 10.—Third Positions

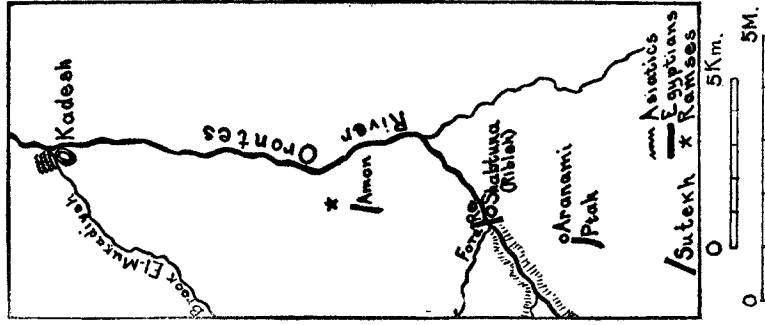


FIG. 9.—Second Positions

city between him and the advance of the Egyptians. To do this, he was obliged to transfer his army across the Orontes. Ramses, now quite unsuspecting, advances alone with only his household troops, and deliberately goes into camp northwest of the city (Poem, ll. 12 and 21; Record, ll. 7, 8; Reliefs, § 336, ll. 3, 4; Fig. 10). Thus the Asiatics, with a strong fortress on their right for refuge in case of defeat, by their remarkably skilful maneuvering, have gained a position on Ramses' right flank, which, properly utilized, means his destruction.

300. As the division of Amon comes up and is settling in camp around the tent of Ramses (Reliefs, § 331), an Egyptian scout brings in two of the enemy's scouts, who are beaten (Reliefs, § 330) into confessing the proximity of the foe (Record, § 321). Thoroughly alarmed, Ramses commands the vizier to order up the troops from the south of Shabtuna (§ 324), and the vizier, besides sending a horseman to hasten them, probably goes also himself in a chariot (Record, § 324; Reliefs, §§ 333 f.). Meanwhile the threatening catastrophe becomes a fact: remaining with his infantry, the king of the Hittites sends his chariotry (Poem, ll. 18, 19) to the attack; they "*came forth from the southern side of Kadesh, and they cut through the division of Re in its middle, while they were marching, without knowing, and without being drawn up for battle*" (Poem, § 311). Totally unprepared, caught thus in marching order, the Egyptians fled northward<sup>a</sup> toward Ramses' camp (Record, l. 21), while a messenger was sent to acquaint him with the disaster. But

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to make the attack (Record, l. 20), they must have come from the east side of the river; and while on the northwest of Kadesh, they were certainly on the west side; hence the two crossings are certain.

<sup>a</sup>This is evidently the northern half of the division of Re, which thus retreats; the southern half apparently fell back southward on the marching division of Ptah.

the Hittite chariotry, which made the attack, pressed the retreating Egyptians northward so rapidly that, while Ramses was sitting in his tent chiding his officers for their ignorance of the enemy's whereabouts, some members of the royal family were driven in headlong flight over the western barricade into the camp by the most advanced of the Hittite chariots (Record, ll. 19, 20; Reliefs, § 332, *a, b*). These first hostile intruders were dragged from their chariots by the Egyptian foot in the camp and slain.<sup>a</sup> The fleeing troops of the division of Re<sup>b</sup> now arrive and sweep the camping division of Amon into panic and flight, while the advancing Hittite chariotry rapidly enfold Ramses between their extended wings (Poem, l. 23; Record, l. 22; Reliefs, § 336, *a*, ll. 7, 8, and scene),<sup>c</sup> being 2,500 in number, and representing a force of 7,500 men. Ramses, having with him only his bodyguard,<sup>d</sup> now saw the extended wings of the enemy close completely around him on four sides, seeming like four bodies of chariotry<sup>e</sup> (Poem, l. 23; Record, ll. 21, 22; Reliefs, § 336, *a*, l. 8). For the moment, he is thus isolated, even from the troops which had accompanied him to the north of Kadesh.

301. On the west side, where the royal fugitives have just

<sup>a</sup>*Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. I.

<sup>b</sup>These are the northern portion of the division of Re. As the Hittites succeeded in cutting directly through this division, the southern portion of it should be represented on the plan (Fig. 12) somewhere south of Kadesh between Kadesh and the division of Ptah; but as their position succeeding the attack is quite uncertain, I have not attempted to indicate it.

<sup>c</sup>This enfolding or flanking movement is clearly evident in the relief, where the Hittite chariots, with three men in each, may be easily distinguished from the Egyptian, which carry only two. See also Fig. 12.

<sup>d</sup>It is this circumstance which has given rise to the proud boast, so often repeated in the Poem and in the Reliefs, that he was utterly alone, and won the battle single-handed.

<sup>e</sup>They can be seen thus in the relief scene (*Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. V); see also Fig. 12.



been driven in, the enemy is already pressing into the camp. On the east the enfolding wing of the enemy is evidently weakest. Ramses did not hesitate an instant, but immediately rallied his household troops and charged into the invaders of his camp, in the endeavor to cut his way out, to rejoin his southern divisions. This unexpected onset gained him a moment's respite, during which he perceived how the enemy was massed against him on the south, and he therefore turned against the enemy's thin line on their extreme right, before they should have time to strengthen it after their rapid advance northward. He charged eastward into the scanty opposing line of chariots so impetuously that he drove them into the Orontes north of the city.<sup>a</sup> In so doing he forsook his camp, which immediately fell into the hands of the enemy. It is unquestionably the rich plunder in Ramses' camp which diverts the Hittites for the moment and saves Ramses from being pushed into the river in his turn.

302. A body of troops, which it is difficult to connect with any of Ramses' four divisions, now unexpectedly arrives and begins his rescue. They are called "*recruits (n<sup>c</sup> ryn)*," and are said to arrive from Amor.<sup>b</sup> They enter the camp and slay the plundering Hittites to the last man (§ 340).

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<sup>a</sup>It is this episode which the reliefs depict so vivaciously in the battle scene (§ 335).

<sup>b</sup>*Battle of Kadesh*, 37, 38. Since reading my account of the incident, Eduard Meyer suggests to me that these troops may be reinforcements from the coast, which have landed at one of the Phœnician harbors, far enough south to be in Amor. It is not possible that these are infantry reinforcements belonging to the troops south of Shabtuna, although they are spoken of as arriving "*from Amor*," for the text mentioning them clearly distinguishes them from the divisions of Re and Ptah. But the course of the battle and the disposition of the troops are from this point quite uncertain. Ramses' desperate assault with his bodyguard is the subject and the *raison d'être* of all these documents, and they depict the whole victory as consisting in this one heroic incident. This over, the subsequent course of the battle between the opposing forces, in which the king is no longer so conspicuous, is of little importance to any of the three documents.

The fleeing troops of Ramses now rallied, and together with the “*recruits*” just mentioned, the Egyptian force engaged was no longer a mere handful.

303. It is apparently at the head of these forces that Ramses now charges six times into the mass of the Hittite chariotry that lies between him and the reinforcements approaching from the south, and brings the enemy to a stand.<sup>a</sup> The Hittite king now sent in an additional thousand chariots from his reserves.<sup>a</sup> Ramses has maintained himself for some three hours and at this juncture, while he is holding his own against fearful odds, the vizier arrives with the division of Ptah, and coming in from the south, quite unexpectedly strikes the Asiatics in the rear.<sup>b</sup> After Ramses’ stubborn stand this unforeseen blow in the rear quickly decides the contest, and the Hittite chariotry breaks and flees into the city. Caught between the closing lines of the Egyptians, some of them were taken prisoners and many slain;<sup>c</sup> and the Hittite king was forced to see the day, begun so auspiciously for him, now lost, without being able to throw in against the Egyptian chariots the 8,000 or 9,000 foot which for some reason he held in reserve to the end on the other shore.<sup>d</sup>

304. Whether Ramses attempted an assault upon this Asiatic infantry or not, is a question upon which our documents throw no light. The poem claims that there was another battle on the next day, which is extremely doubtful<sup>e</sup> In any case, it is clear that Kadesh is not taken,<sup>f</sup> and Ramses,

<sup>a</sup>*Battle of Kadesh*, 39.

<sup>b</sup>The Luxor relief shows this approach in the rear of the Asiatic chariotry, which is seen retreating into the city. It is clear that the Hittites were forced by Ramses’ strong stand to put in all their chariotry against him, and were unable to prevent the advance of the division of Ptah.

<sup>c</sup>Reliefs, *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. V.

<sup>d</sup>*Battle of Kadesh*, 40.

<sup>e</sup>*Battle of Kadesh*, 46, 47.

<sup>f</sup>See p. 142, note b.

happy in his remarkable escape from destruction, and proud of the personal reputation gained, having won the battle with but a portion<sup>a</sup> of his army, is glad to return to Egypt for a time, where he offers his prisoners to Amon.<sup>b</sup> But Syria as far south as Kadesh, if not farther, remains in the hands of the Hittites.

a. *Poem on the Battle of Kadesh*<sup>c</sup>

305. This poem, long called the "Poem of Pentaur," is our most important document for a study of the battle of Kadesh. It is, fortunately for us, introduced by a sober and careful prose account of Ramses' departure from Egypt, his march to Kadesh, and the position of his four divisions up to the moment of the Asiatic attack. Supplemented by the

<sup>a</sup>The entire division of Sutekh was too far away to reach the field in time.

<sup>b</sup>Reliefs, §§ 348-51.

<sup>c</sup>For fuller statement of bibliography, see my *Battle of Kadesh*, 6, 7. The texts are of two kinds: hieroglyphic and hieratic. The hieroglyphic text has been found in three copies on temple walls: at Luxor (Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, IV, 232-48; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, II, 40-42; lower ends, Daressy, *Revue égyptologique*, IX, 58); Karnak (Rougé, *ibid.*, IV, 206-31; Brugsch, *ibid.*, II, 29-32; Mariette, *Karnak*, 48-51); and Abydos (Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 4, 5). All these originals are excessively fragmentary, especially the one at Abydos, of which only the lower ends of the vertical lines have survived. Of the publications the Karnak copies of Brugsch and Mariette are so incomplete as to be unusable, and Rougé's copies are neither accurate nor exhaustive. Besides the above publications, I had a collation of Abydos by Borchardt, and photographs of Karnak also by Borchardt, for which I am indebted to the Berlin dictionary. Of the hieratic text there are two papyri, both belonging to the same roll; Papyrus Raifet, containing only one page of ten lines (published by Rougé, *Recueil*, I, and Papyrus Sallier III (select Papyrus I, 24-34), containing eleven pages. Raifet precedes Sallier III, but the beginning is lost. I arranged all the texts in parallel columns, and this quadruplex was then carefully collated with the original Papyrus Sallier III, in the British Museum, by Professor Erman. The texts were once similarly put together by E. de Rougé and published by J. de Rougé (*Revue égyptologique*, III-IX), but without the Abydos copy, the lower part of Luxor, or a collation of the original Papyrus Sallier III. The addition of Abydos has filled a considerable number of lacunæ, and the collation of Sallier III has likewise cleared up many difficulties. As a long passage is misplaced in the hieratic text, and it lacks also the beginning (ten lines), it was necessary to adopt the line numbering from the hieroglyphic for which the Luxor text was chosen. All passages on movements connected with the battle are published in my *Battle of Kadesh*.

official record of the battle (§§ 316 ff.), we are able to trace in it all Ramses' movements, immediately before and leading up to the battle.

The discussion of the poem as a literary composition does not fall within the scope of this volume.<sup>a</sup>

#### *Introduction*

**306.** <sup>1</sup>bBeginning of the victory of King Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), [who is given life], forever, which he achieved in the land of Kheta (*Ht*), and Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*), in the land of Arvad (*Y-r-tw*),<sup>c</sup> in Pedes (*Py-d-s*), in the Derden (*D-r-d-ny*), in the land of <sup>2</sup>Mesa (*M-s*), in the land of Kelekesh (*[K]-r-[k]y-š*, sic!), —, Carchemish (*K-[r]-k-my-š*), Kode (*Kdy*), the land of Kadesh (*Kdš*), in the land of Ekereth (*ʿ-k-r-t*), and Mesheneth (*Mw-š-n-t*).  
3. . . . . 8. . . . .<sup>d</sup>

#### *Preparations and March to the Frontier at Tharu*

**307.** Behold, his majesty prepared his infantry and his chariotry, the Sherden (*Š-r-dy-n*) of the captivity of his majesty from the

<sup>a</sup>It will be found complete with translation and notes in a later volume of this series.

<sup>b</sup>The conventional phrase for beginning a literary composition.

<sup>c</sup>This location of the battle in all these lands is probably a loose way of indicating that the land in which it took place was then in the possession of these nationalities. Of the old Syrian enemies of Egypt, we see in this list (also ll. 13-15 and 24): Naharin, Arvad, Carchemish, Kode, Kadesh, Nuges, Ekereth (Ugarit of Amarna Letters), Aleppo, and perhaps Mesheneth. The others, Kheta, Pedes, Derden, Mesa, Kelekesh, Kezweden, and Luka (or Lukat), are the Hittites and their neighbors in Asia Minor. Of the latter the Luka are almost certainly the Lycians, the Kelekesh, probably the Cilicians, the Derden, perhaps the Dardanians, and the Mesa, the Mysians. Kezweden was a part of the Hittite kingdom. The remnant is entirely uncertain, though many indentifications have been proposed. See Müller's treatment (*Asien und Europa*, 334 f. and 355 ff.), and Hall (*Annals of British School at Athens*, VIII, 157).

<sup>d</sup>Hymn of praise of the king's valor.

<sup>e</sup>Earliest mention of these mercenaries in an Egyptian document, although they were used at the close of the Eighteenth Dynasty, as shown by *Amarna Letters*, (ed. Winckler) where they were called Shirdana. They are identified with the Sardinians (Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 372 ff., where the Shirdana, of the *Amarna Letters*, are still unknown).

victories of his sword [— —] 9————<sup>a</sup> they gave the plan<sup>b</sup> of battle. His majesty proceeded northward, his infantry and his chariotry being with him. He began<sup>c</sup> the goodly way, to march. Year 5, the second month of the third season (tenth month), on the ninth day,<sup>d</sup> his majesty passed the fortress of Tharu (*T<sup>3</sup> -rw*) 10————<sup>e</sup> [like] Montu when he goes forth. Every country trembled before him, [fear] was in their hearts; all the [rebels] came bowing down for fear of the fame of his majesty, when his [army] came 11 upon the [narrow]<sup>f</sup> road, being like one who is upon the highway of —.

*March from Tharu to the Region of Kadesh*

**308.** Now, after many<sup>g</sup> days after this, behold, his majesty was in "Usermare-Meriamon,"<sup>h</sup> L. P. H., the city of —————<sup>i</sup> cedar. His majesty proceeded northward, and he then 12 arrived at the highland<sup>j</sup> of Kadesh (*Kdš*). Then his majesty, L. P. H., marched before, like his father, Montu lord of Thebes, and crossed over the channel

<sup>a</sup>Lacuna of uncertain length.

<sup>b</sup>Compare Uni, l. 19 (I, 312).

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "took the head of the goodly way," a phrase regularly used when a king sets out on an enterprise, like Queen Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt, Amenhotep III's wild cattle hunt, or Amenhotep IV's inspection of the Amarna boundaries (II, 960, l. 6).

<sup>d</sup>About the end of April.

<sup>e</sup>Lacuna of uncertain length.

<sup>f</sup>This word (*g<sup>3</sup> wt*) is a little uncertain; the meaning given is that of Brugsch, who states (*Dictionnaire géographique*, 995) that it designates here the narrow road between the Mediterranean and the lake of Serbonis. The meaning fits this passage well, but there is only one other example of the word (which is not decisive). Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 216) refers it above to the narrow way in the valley (*Buḫa c a*) between the Lebanons, but the "many days'" march leading to the Lebanon region is still in the future (ll. 11, 12), not in the past, as Müller states (*ibid.*, 216, n. 3).

<sup>g</sup>Papyrus Raifet begins here.

<sup>h</sup>Some unknown city named after the king, and apparently reached after the departure from the coast. Müller places it near southern Lebanon (*Asien und Europa*, 273, 7).

<sup>i</sup>Lacuna of uncertain length, containing of course, some reference to the arrival among the cedars of Lebanon.

<sup>j</sup>This highland is "south of Kadesh," according to the Record (l. 2), and as he crosses to the west side of Orontes later on (l. 12), where the battle took place, the highland must be some hill on the east side. The plain between Orontes and Anti-Lebanon is here some twenty miles wide (*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Report*, 1881, 166), and the highland referred to is that of Kamū c at el-Harmel (Fig. 7 and *Battle of Kadesh*, 19-21).

of the Orontes<sup>a</sup> (ꜥ-ꜣ-ꜥ-ꜥ), there being with him the first division of Amon<sup>b</sup> (named): "Victory-of-King-Usermare-Setepnere-L.-P.-H."

*The Coalition of the Prince of Kheta*

309. When his majesty, L. P. H., reached the city,<sup>c</sup> behold, <sup>13</sup>the wretched, vanquished chief of Kheta (*Ht*ꜥ) had come, having gathered together all countries from the ends of the sea to the land of Kheta, which came entire: the Naharin (*N-h-ꜣꜣ-n*) likewise, and Arvad (ꜥ-ꜣꜥ-ꜥ-ꜥ), <sup>14</sup>—, <sup>d</sup>Mesa (*M*ꜥ-ꜥ-ꜥ), Keshkesh (*Kš-kš*),<sup>d</sup> Kelekesh (*K*ꜥ-ꜣꜥ-ꜥ-ꜥ), Luka (*Rw-k*ꜥ), Kezwen (*K*ꜥ-ꜥ-ꜥ-ꜥ-ꜥ-ꜥ), Carchemish (*K-ꜣꜥ-ꜥ-k-my-š*ꜥ),<sup>e</sup> Ekereth (ꜥ-ꜥ-ꜥ-ꜥ-ꜥ), Kode (*Kdy*), the entire land of Nuges (*Nw-g-s*), Mesheneth (*Mw-š*ꜥ-ꜥ-ꜥ), and Kadesh (*Kdš*). <sup>15</sup>He left not a country which was not brought, to[gether with] their chiefs<sup>f</sup> who were with him, every man bringing his chariotry, an exceeding great multitude, without its like. They covered the mountains and the valleys; they were like grasshoppers with their multitudes. <sup>16</sup>He left not silver nor gold<sup>g</sup> in his land (but) he plundered it of all its possessions and gave to every country, in order to bring them with him to battle.

<sup>a</sup>Compare the same phrase on Amenhotep II's Syrian campaign (II, 784, l. 4). This is the crossing at the ford south of Shabtuna, where the Pharaoh was met by the two Shasu-Bedwin, with the false report (Record, ll. 2, 3).

<sup>b</sup>The rest of the army being some distance in the rear on the other side of the river. When the whole army is with him, the usual phrase is: "*his infantry and his chariotry being with him*;" e. g., l. 9. Ramses is therefore already far in advance of the other three divisions, just as he was later when the Hittites attacked him.

<sup>c</sup>Kadesh.

<sup>d</sup>In place of these two names the hieroglyphic texts all have *Pꜣ-dꜥ-ꜥ* and *Yr-wn*. *Kškš* is supposed by Müller to be a corruption of *Kꜥ-ꜣꜥ-ꜥ-ꜥ*, but as it has a different *k* and occurs in the Papyrus side by side with Kelekesh, the supposition is doubtful, if not improbable. On the list as a whole, see p. 136, n. c.

<sup>e</sup>Instead of Ekereth, Raifet has Kadesh, which is, of course, senseless repetition, like that of the other texts in repeating Kadesh at the end of the list.

<sup>f</sup>It is incredible that the larger kingdoms of Asia Minor should have been represented at this battle by their kings (*wꜣ-w*). These mercenaries of the Hittite king had, of course, their commanders; the Syrian princes were some of them really present, and the Egyptians were glad to class the mercenary commanders as similar princes, to the greater glory of the Pharaoh's victory. The close of this section (§ 309) shows clearly how these mercenaries were enlisted.

<sup>g</sup>Karnak, the only hieroglyphic text preserved here, has: "*he left no silver at all (hꜥ nb)*." This may point to the more plentiful use of silver in Asia Minor, where it was produced.

*The Positions of the Two Armies*

310. Behold, the wretched, vanquished chief of Kheta, together with the numerous allied countries, were stationed<sup>a</sup> in battle array, concealed on the northwest of the city of Kadesh,<sup>b</sup> while his majesty<sup>17</sup> was alone by himself,<sup>c</sup> [with] his bodyguard,<sup>c</sup> and the division of Amon was marching behind him. The division of Re crossed over the river-bed on the south side of the town of Shabtuna (*Š<sup>3</sup>-b-tw-n*),<sup>d</sup> at the distance of an iter<sup>e</sup> from the [division of Amon]; ——— the division of Ptah was on the south of<sup>18</sup> the city of Aranami<sup>f</sup> (*ʿ-r<sup>3</sup>-n<sup>3</sup>-m*); and the division of Sutekh was marching upon the road.<sup>g</sup> His majesty had formed the first rank of all the leaders of his army, while they were on the shore in<sup>h</sup> the land of the Amor (*ʿ-m-w-r<sup>3</sup>i*). Behold, the

<sup>a</sup>So Raifet. The hieroglyphic texts have: "were stationed, concealed in battle array, [behind] the city of Kadesh."

<sup>b</sup>See plan (Fig. 9) for the following positions.

<sup>c</sup>Raifet has in place of this phrase: "none other was with him;" but the above text (Karnak) is more probably correct.

<sup>d</sup>Raifet has *Š<sup>3</sup>-bw-dw-n<sup>3</sup>*, and says "west side." It is the town later called Ribleh (*Battle of Kadesh*, 21, 22). The location of this town is clear from the references given by the Poem and the Record. After camping on the "highlands south of Kadesh" (Record, l. 2), Ramses advances toward Kadesh, and on the way thither passes Shabtuna (Record, l. 3), which is near a ford over the Orontes, as our above passage shows. Shabtuna was therefore on the Orontes a few miles south of Kadesh. [Conder (*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Report*, 1881, 169 ff.) was not furnished with proper data from the inscriptions, for the location of Shabtuna.] Ramses, having hitherto advanced on the east side of Orontes, is now moving on the west side, while half his force is still on the east side (Fig. 9).

<sup>e</sup>This variable measure does not exceed 1½ miles (see II, 965).

<sup>f</sup>Raifet has: "the division of Ptah was opposite them." This indicates that Aranami was on the east side of the Orontes. It is certain that Aranami is south of Shabtuna, for the division of Ptah, here marching northward, while just south of Aranami, was still south of Shabtuna when sent for by Ramses after the attack of the Asiatics (Record, ll. 18, 19). See *Battle of Kadesh*, 22, 23.

<sup>g</sup>A very indefinite indication, showing only that this division was far away somewhere on the road. It is not mentioned again, and did not get up in time for the battle.

<sup>h</sup>Raifet has "of."

<sup>i</sup>The "shore of Amor" is the Mediterranean coast, at some point in southern Lebanon, where Ramses turned inland. (Cf. Meyer, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 69, n. 2); it was long mistranslated "lake." This detail of Ramses' manipulation of his troops, therefore, refers back to an earlier stage of the campaign like a similar remark on the arrangement of the Hittite king's troops (at end of l. 19).

wretched <sup>19</sup>vanquished chief of<sup>a</sup> Kheta was stationed in the midst of the infantry which was with him, and he came not out to fight, for fear of his majesty. Then he made to go the people of the chariotry, an exceedingly numerous multitude like the sand, being three people to each span.<sup>b</sup> Now, they had made their combinations (thus): among every three youths was one man of the vanquished of Kheta,<sup>c</sup> <sup>20</sup>equipped with all the weapons of battle. Lo, they had stationed them in battle array, concealed on the northwest<sup>d</sup> the city of Kadesh.

*The Attack of the Asiatics*

**311.** They came forth from the southern side of Kadesh, and they cut through the division of Re in its middle, while they were marching without knowing and without <sup>21</sup>being drawn up for battle. The infantry and chariotry of his majesty, L. P. H., retreated before them. Now, his majesty had halted on the north of the city of Kadesh, on the western side of the Orontes (*ḥ-r-n-t*). Then came one to tell<sup>e</sup> it to his majesty, L. P. H.

*Ramses' Attack*

**312.** His majesty, L. P. H., shone like his father <sup>22</sup>Montu, when he took the adornments of war; as he seized his coat of mail, he was like Baal in his hour. The great span which bore his majesty, L. P. H., called: "Victory-in-Thebes," from the great stables of Ramses (II),

<sup>a</sup>Here Papyrus Raifet ends and Papyrus Sallier begins.

<sup>b</sup>With every two of the mercenaries was one Hittite, each three thus formed being in one chariot. This is omitted in the hieroglyphic texts.

<sup>c</sup>Sallier adds: "*without number*;" but this is a misunderstanding by the ancient copyist.

<sup>d</sup>So the Papyrus. The hieroglyphic versions have only "*behind*," but as the Egyptian army is south and southeast of Kadesh, "*behind Kadesh*" is for them the north and northwest.

<sup>e</sup>This messenger doubtless found the king already engaged in battle. At any rate, the messenger could only confirm what Ramses had already learned from the two Hittite scouts. Had he arrived earlier, the torture of the scouts would have been unnecessary. Their torture, therefore, shows that this messenger had not yet arrived. The attack in the south, therefore, which cut in two the marching division of Re, being at the most not more than a few miles from Ramses' camp, could not have taken place very long before the attack on said camp. This would indicate the rapidity with which the Egyptians were driven northward into Ramses' camp.



<sup>a</sup>was in the midst of the leaders.<sup>a</sup> His majesty halted in the rout;<sup>b</sup> then <sup>23</sup>he charged into the foe, the vanquished of Kheta, being alone by himself and none other with him. When his majesty went to look behind him, he found 2,500 chariotry surrounding him, in his way out, <sup>24</sup>being all the youth of the wretched Kheta, together with its numerous allied countries: from Arvad ( $\rho$ - $r$ <sup>2</sup>- $tw$ ), from Mesa ( $M$ <sup>2</sup>- $s$ <sup>2</sup>), from Pedes ( $Py$ - $d$ <sup>2</sup>- $s$ <sup>2</sup>), from Keshkesh ( $Kk$ - $kk$ ), from Erwenet<sup>c</sup> ( $Yr$ - $wn$ <sup>2</sup>- $t$ , sic!), from Kezwenen ( $K$ <sup>2</sup>- $d$ <sup>2</sup>- $w$ <sup>2</sup>- $d$ <sup>2</sup>- $n$ <sup>2</sup>), from Aleppo ( $H$  $y$ - $r$ <sup>2</sup>- $bw$ ), Eketeri ( $\rho$ - $k$ <sup>2</sup>- $t$ - $r$ - $y$ , sic!), Kadesh ( $Kd$ ), and Luka ( $Rw$ - $k$ <sup>2</sup>- $t$ <sup>d</sup>), being three men to a span, acting in unison.

313. Now follow highly idealized and sometimes purely imaginary incidents, the creation of the poet, in which nothing is historical save the one fact that Ramses holds his own until the arrival of his southern army. He first calls upon Amon for help in his unequal battle. Amon responds and strengthens him against the foe. The king of the Kheta is obliged to summon his allied commanders and send them into the fray. Ramses addresses a scathing rebuke to his own troops, and when his charioteer is dismayed because they are entirely surrounded, he encourages him and charges six times into the hostile ranks, thus holding the enemy in check until his reinforcements from the south can come up.<sup>e</sup>

314. At evening the captives of every country are brought to the king's tent, and the next morning the plain is seen

<sup>a</sup>This phrase is not in Luxor (the only hieroglyphic text preserved at this point), and the connection in the hieroglyphic version was apparently: "*The great span etc., . . . . . was called, etc.*"

<sup>b</sup>The same word ( $y/d$ ) is used of the headlong flight of the Syrians before Thutmose III at the battle of Megiddo (II, 430, l. 4).

<sup>c</sup>By Brugsch identified with Ilios! Müller would read the first syllable ( $Yr$ ) as  $y$ , producing Yawan, or Ionians. For this reading the evidence is insufficient.

<sup>d</sup>The last six names are omitted by the hieroglyphic texts; hence the incorrect writings, as the papyrus is inaccurate.

<sup>e</sup>There is no reference to the arrival of the "*recruits*," who began the rescue.

covered with the dead, especially of the family of the prince of Kheta.<sup>a</sup> The army comes to the king's tent and celebrates his victory in a hymn of praise. But the king responds, reminding them of their cowardice, and reproaching them that they did not depend upon him to lead and protect them. The next (?) morning Ramses drew up his battle lines and renewed the attack with such effect that the prince of Kheta sent a humble letter suing for peace, which the king read in triumph before his assembled troops, who thereupon gave him another ovation.<sup>b</sup> Pleased with this flattery, he marches southward, and returns in peace to Thebes, where, of course, he is received with triumphant jubilation by the people.

315. The last three lines of Papyrus Sallier III (XI, 9-11), which is the only text in which the conclusion is preserved, furnish the date of "*this writing, in the year 9, second month of the third season, day —, [under the majesty] of King Ramses II.*" This particular copy was one "*which the scribe, Pentewere<sup>c</sup> (Pn-t<sup>3</sup>-wr·t) made*" (XI, 11), a mere copyist, who was not the author of the poem, as is still usually stated.

*b. Official Record of the Battle of Kadesh<sup>d</sup>*

316. This document is appended to the wall scenes (§§ 328-47), and seems to have been an official record of

<sup>a</sup>This is corroborated by the reliefs.

<sup>b</sup>Even the Poem makes no claim that Ramses captured Kadesh, as is so often stated in the histories. It seems incredible, furthermore, that there should have been a successful battle on the next day, of which the reliefs and inscriptions should show not a single trace. It is possible to conclude with Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 216, n. 1) that the entire conclusion of the poem, recounting the Hittite king's letter proposing peace, is to be referred to the actual arrangements for peace in year 21; but see my *Battle of Kadesh*, 46. In any case, the poem is clearly wrong in placing a treaty of peace after the battle of Kadesh, for Ramses continued the conflict with the Hittites until long after this.

<sup>c</sup>Usually called "Pentaur;" that he was not the author of the poem, as formerly supposed, was shown by Erman (*Neuägyptische Grammatik*, 7).

<sup>d</sup>See my *Battle of Kadesh*, 7, for fuller discussion of bibliography. Three originals:

the battle. It is not as full as the Poem on the marches and positions of the two armies, but it narrates fully the inside history which led to Ramses' incautious advance to the north of Kadesh, furnishing an account of the earliest military ruse known in history. Of all this the Poem says nothing.

*Date*

317. <sup>1</sup>Year 5, third month of the third season, day 9;<sup>a</sup> under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Beloved of Truth; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere; Son of Re; Ramses-Meriamon, given life forever.

*Camp South of Kadesh*

318. Lo, his majesty was in Zahi (*D<sup>3</sup> -hy*)<sup>b</sup> on his second victorious campaign. The goodly watch<sup>c</sup> in <sup>2</sup>life, prosperity and health, in the tent of his majesty, was on the highland south of Kadesh.

*False Message of the Shasu near Shabtuna*

319. When his majesty appeared like the rising of Re, he assumed the adornments of his father, Montu. When the king proceeded

1. ABU SIMBEL (Champollion, *Monuments*, 27-29; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 100-102; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 187, c-e. I had also photographs by Grünau, kindly loaned me by Steindorff.

2. RAMESSEUM (Lepsius, *ibid.*, III, 153; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, 2d part, 52).

3. LUXOR (Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, II, 53; Champollion, *Monuments*, 127 bis; Rosellini, *ibid.*, 106).

Of these Luxor is not given by Champollion and Rosellini, but was copied by Brugsch. Furthermore, the Abu Simbel text is bad, sometimes omitting whole passages. Champollion and Rosellini's copy of this text is unusable, two whole lines being omitted and often the sand-covered lower ends. Although I collated the Abu Simbel text exhaustively, the translation is based chiefly on the Ramesseum. For this text I had only Lepsius, *Denkmäler*; for Sharpe's copy is totally worthless. Though all the originals show lacunæ, I found these disappeared on arranging them in parallel columns. A combined text by Guieysse (*Recueil*, VIII, 126-31) I found unreliable. The line numbers herein refer to the Ramesseum text. All passages on movements of the battle are also published in my *Battle of Kadesh*.

<sup>a</sup>This is about the end of May (see Breasted, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 129), just one month after leaving the Egyptian frontier at Tharu (Poem, l. 9).

<sup>b</sup>This shows that Zahi was not confined to Phœnicia, this passage making it extend inland over Lebanon and the Orontes valley. See also II, 616, ll. 9, 10.

<sup>c</sup>Compare Thutmose III's camp at Aruna (II, 425, ll. 56, 57).

northward, and his majesty had arrived at the locality south of <sup>3</sup>the town of Shabtuna<sup>a</sup> ( $\text{Š}^{\text{D}}$  -*b-tw-n*), there came two<sup>b</sup> Shasu, to speak to his majesty as follows: "Our brethren, who belong to the greatest of the families with the vanquished chief of Kheta, have made us come to <sup>4</sup>his majesty, to say: 'We will be subjects of Pharaoh, L. P. H., and we will flee from the vanquished chief of Kheta; for the vanquished chief of Kheta sits<sup>c</sup> in the land of Aleppo ( $\text{Ḥy-r}^{\text{D}}$  -*bw*), on the north of Tunip (*Tw-n-p*). He fears <sup>5</sup>because of Pharaoh, L. P. H., to come southward.'" Now, these Shasu spake these words, which they spake to his majesty, falsely, (for) the vanquished chief of Kheta made them come to spy <sup>6</sup>where his majesty was, in order to cause the army of his majesty not to draw up for fighting him,<sup>d</sup> to battle with the vanquished chief of Kheta.

*Positions of the Two Armies*

**320.** Lo, the vanquished chief of Kheta came with every chief of every country, their infantry and their chariotry, <sup>7</sup>which he had brought with him by force,<sup>e</sup> and stood, equipped, drawn up in line of battle behind Kadesh the Deceitful, while his majesty knew it not. Then his majesty proceeded northward and arrived on the northwest<sup>f</sup> of Kadesh; <sup>8</sup>and the army of his majesty [made camp] there.

*Examination of Hittite Scouts*

**321.** Then, as his majesty sat upon a throne of gold, there arrived a scout who was in the following of his majesty, and he brought two scouts of <sup>9</sup>the vanquished chief of Kheta. They were conducted into the pre-

<sup>a</sup>On the location of Shabtuna, see *Battle of Kadesh*, 21, 22, and *infra*, p. 139, n. d; and the plans of the battle (Figs. 7, 8).

<sup>b</sup>Abu Simbel has "two," but Ramesseum has "three," which, of course, may be merely the plural strokes.

<sup>c</sup>So Abu Simbel; Ramesseum has "is." The former omits "the land of."

<sup>d</sup>That is, to keep the Egyptians in marching order, that he might surprise and find them unprepared for battle, as he actually did.

<sup>e</sup>Or: "from victories."

<sup>f</sup>He had now passed northward along the west side of Kadesh, and camped on the northwest of the city ("north," Poem, l. 21). The text over the battle (§ 336, ll. 3, 4) also says he camped on "the northwest of Kadesh." In any case, the general location of his camp is certain. L. 8 perhaps began with some reference to the position of Ramses' three divisions, far in his rear, which is so carefully noted in the Poem (ll. 17, 18), but the restoration above is more probable.

sence, and his majesty said to them: "What are ye?" They said: "As for us, the vanquished chief of the Kheta has caused that we should come to spy out where his majesty is." Said his majesty <sup>10</sup>to them: "He! Where is he, the vanquished chief of Kheta? Behold, I have heard, saying: 'He is in the land of Aleppo (*H̄y-r̄-b̄*).'" Said they: "See, the vanquished chief of Kheta is stationed, together with many countries, <sup>11</sup>which he has brought with him by force,<sup>a</sup> being every country which is in the districts of the land of Kheta,<sup>b</sup> the land of Naharin (*N-hy-r-n*), and all Kode (*Kd*).<sup>c</sup> They are equipped with infantry and chariotry, bearing their <sup>12</sup>weapons; more numerous are they than the sand of the shore. See, they are standing, drawn up for battle, behind<sup>d</sup> Kadesh the Deceitful."

#### *The Council of War*

322. Then his majesty had the princes called into the presence, <sup>13</sup>and had them hear every word which the two scouts of the vanquished chief of Kheta, who were in the presence, had spoken. Said his majesty to them: "See ye the manner wherewith the chiefs (*mr*) of the peasantry<sup>e</sup> (*yw̄-c̄-ty*) and <sup>14</sup>the officials under whom is the land of Pharaoh, L. P. H., have stood, daily, saying to the Pharaoh: 'The vanquished chief of Kheta is in the land of Aleppo (*H̄y-r̄-b̄-y*); he has fled before his majesty, <sup>15</sup>since hearing that, behold, he came.' So spake they to his majesty daily. But see, I have held a hearing in this very hour, with the two scouts of <sup>16</sup>the vanquished chief of Kheta, to the effect that the vanquished chief of Kheta is coming, together with the numerous countries [that are with] him, being people and horses, like the multitudes of the sand. They are stationed behind Kadesh the

<sup>a</sup>Or: "in victory."

<sup>b</sup>Clearly showing the composite character of the Hittite kingdom at this time.

<sup>c</sup>This is a clear indication of the extent of Kode; all the rest of the countries from Arvad to Asia Minor are included in the term "*all Kode*." But see Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 242, 48.

<sup>d</sup>"*Behind Kadesh*," from Ramses' present position in his camp on the north of Kadesh is, of course, south of Kadesh, where the Hittites moved out for the attack on the division of Re.

<sup>e</sup>Or: "*infantry*;" these officials are parallel with "*the governors of the (foreign) countries*" in l. 17. It is clear that the king is chiding the officials in authority both in Asia and Egypt, that is, both his provincial and Egyptian officers.

Deceitful. But <sup>17</sup>the governors of the countries and the officials under whose authority is the land of Pharaoh, L. P. H., were not able to tell it to us."

323. Said the princes who were in the presence of his majesty: "It is a great fault, which the governors of the countries and the officials of Pharaoh, L. P. H., have committed <sup>18</sup>in not informing that <sup>a</sup>the vanquished chief of Kheta was near the king;<sup>a</sup> and (in) that they told his<sup>b</sup> report to his majesty daily."

*The Divisions in the South Are Ordered Up*

324. Then the vizier was ordered to hasten<sup>c</sup> <sup>19</sup>the army of his majesty, while they were marching on the south of Shabtuna<sup>d</sup> (*Š<sup>2</sup> -b-tw-n*), in order to bring them to the place where his majesty was.

*The Attack of the Asiatics*

325. Lo, while his majesty sat talking<sup>e</sup> with <sup>20</sup>the princes, the vanquished chief of Kheta came,<sup>f</sup> and the numerous countries, which were with him. They crossed over the channel<sup>g</sup> on the south of

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "that the vanquished chief of Kheta was where the king was."

<sup>b</sup>Viz., the false report of the Hittite which he sent out by the two Shasu (II. 3, 4).

<sup>c</sup>The vizier sent the message by a horseman, and probably went also by chariot himself (§§ 333-4).

<sup>d</sup>This is one of the most important statements in the documents on this battle. It shows that, while Ramses is in camp on the north of Kadesh the main body of his army is south of Kadesh on the march in the vicinity of Shabtuna (see Fig. 11). Besides the division of Amon, which is with Ramses, only the division of Re has passed Shabtuna.

<sup>e</sup>The messenger announcing the attack on the division of Re in the south had up to this point not yet arrived, and Ramses apparently receives no notice of the attack until it is upon him.

<sup>f</sup>So Ramesseum; Abu Simbel has: "with [his] infantry and his chariotry likewise;" but this is incorrect; the entire battle was one of chariotry, as the reliefs show.

<sup>g</sup>This channel is, of course, that of Orontes, the Hittite king having previously led his forces from the west to the east side, now goes back to the west side, in order to get around the city, while keeping it between him and the Egyptians. Being a city which he commanded, he could, of course, go through it, and emerge for his attack on the south side, unless prevented by lack of gates at the proper points. But this would probably have exposed his issuing forces to the view of the marching division of Re, as the city wall was necessarily clearly in view across the moat. In any case, there must have been some cover south of the city from which the Asiatics emerged for the attack.

Kadesh, and charged into the army of his majesty while they were <sup>21</sup>marching, and not expecting it. Then the infantry and chariotry of his majesty retreated before them, northward to the place where his majesty was. Lo, the foes <sup>22</sup>of<sup>a</sup> the vanquished chief of Kheta surrounded<sup>b</sup> the bodyguard of his majesty, who were by his side.

*Ramses' Personal Attack*

326. When his majesty saw them, he was enraged against them, like his father, Montu, lord of Thebes. He seized the adornments of battle, <sup>23</sup>and arrayed himself in his coat of mail. He was like Baal in his hour. Then he betook himself to his horses, and led quickly on, being alone by <sup>24</sup>himself. He charged into the foes of the vanquished chief of Kheta, and the numerous countries which were with him. His majesty was like Sutekh, the great in strength, smiting and slaying among them; his majesty hurled them <sup>25</sup>headlong, one upon another into the water of the Orontes.<sup>c</sup>

*Ramses' Own Statement*

327. "I charged all countries, while I was alone, my infantry and my chariotry having forsaken me. Not one among them stood to turn about. I swear, as Re loves me, as my father, Atum, favors me, that, as for every matter which his majesty has stated, I did it in truth, in the presence of my infantry and my chariotry."

*c. The Reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh<sup>d</sup>*

328. The pictured story of the battle of Kadesh presented in these reliefs, like the great epic poem on the battle, was a source of such gratification to Ramses, that he had them reproduced six times in the temples of Upper Egypt and

<sup>a</sup>Viz., "belonging to."

<sup>b</sup>The Hittite king, having effected the isolation of Ramses and a portion of his troops, now enfolds between his two wings the camp of Ramses, toward, and of course past, which the latter's fleeing troops have retreated (see l. 25).

<sup>c</sup>Ramses evidently attacked the enemy's right wing, before it was sufficiently strong to withstand him, and drove the enemy directly eastward into the river; see Fig. 12.

<sup>d</sup>Cut on the walls of Ramses II's temples at Abydos, Thebes (three times), Derr, and Abu Simbel:

1. ABYDOS.—On the outside of the north, west, and south walls; nearly the whole has perished, and the remains are still unpublished. Short inscriptions

Nubia, and doubtless also several times in the vanished temples of Lower Egypt. As will be seen, owing to the primitive character of Egyptian topographical and architectural drawing, these scenes cannot be made to coincide with the data of the inscriptions, but they furnish invaluable side lights on the battle, and the accompanying inscriptions add facts of the greatest importance.

#### I. THE COUNCIL OF WAR<sup>a</sup>

329. Ramses sits enthroned, with his officers before him, in consultation. Below, the two Hittite scouts are being beaten, to force them to disclose the location of the enemy.

(Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 10, 11) and three scenes (Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, Pl. 30-32 and p. 72).

##### 2. THEBES.

a) *Ramesseum*, first pylon: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 153-55, 157-61; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, 870-72.

b) *Ramesseum*, second pylon: Champollion, *Monuments*, 328-30; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, 585-89, 873, 874; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 109, 110; Lepsius, III, 164, 165.

c) *Luxor*, on the first pylon: Champollion, *Monuments*, 323, 324, 327-327 bis (last two incorrectly marked *Ramesseum*); Rosellini, *ibid.*, 104-7; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 53 (inscriptions only); *Description, Antiquités*, III, 3-6. (None at Karnak, as stated by Guieysse, *Recueil*, VIII, 126, note 1.)

d) *Karnak*, chiseled out in antiquity: Breasted, *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. VIII, 45, 46.

3. DERR.—Now destroyed; seen by Champollion (Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 434, note 5).

4. ABU SIMBEL.—In the great temple, first hall, north wall: Champollion, *Monuments*, 17 bis-33; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 64-66; Rosellini, *ibid.*, 87-103; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 187, c-e.

The inscriptions from all these reliefs have been combined (from the publications) by Guieysse (*Recueil*, VIII, 120-42) in a handy form for reference, but it is not reliable. An exhaustive publication of the combined originals is very much needed. For the following translations I arranged my own combined text, placing all the publications of all the originals in parallel columns. These are published, in so far as they concern the movements of the armies, in my *Battle of Kadesh*. All the reliefs are also published there, Pl. I-VII.

<sup>a</sup>1. RAMESSEUM, first pylon: Champollion, I, 870; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 153.

2. LUXOR: Champollion, *Monuments*, 327 bis; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 106; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. IV.

3. ABU SIMBEL: Champollion, *Monuments*, 29; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 66; Rosellini, *ibid.*, 102; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. VI.



The whole scene is evidently located in the tent visible as a rectangle in the center of the camp on the northwest of Kadesh.

*Beating Spies*

330. <sup>1</sup>The arrival of the scout of Pharaoh, L. P. H., bringing the two scouts of the vanquished chief <sup>2</sup>of Kheta into the presence of Pharaoh, L. P. H. They are beating them, to make them tell <sup>3</sup>where the wretched chief of Kheta is.

*Over Horses*

Great first span of his majesty: "Victory-in-Thebes," of the great stable: "Usermare-Setepnere-Beloved-of-Amon."

II. THE CAMP<sup>a</sup>

331. In the midst of a rectangular inclosure, barricaded with shields, appears the royal tent,<sup>b</sup> surrounded by the small tents of the officers and the animated life of the camp, which the "*first<sup>c</sup> division*," that of Amon, is engaged in arranging. This is the camp north or northwest of Kadesh (Record, l. 7; Poem, l. 21). Within the royal tent, Ramses sits, chiding his officers for their neglect, when suddenly the extreme north end of the Hittite right wing bursts in at the

<sup>a1</sup>. RAMESSEUM: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 154, 155; Prisse, *Histoire de l'art égyptien* (plates unnumbered); *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. I.

<sup>2</sup>. LUXOR: Champollion, *Monuments*, 326, 327 (no text); Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 106, 107 (no text); *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. IV.

<sup>3</sup>. ABU SIMBEL: Champollion, *Monuments*, 30, 31; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 65, 66; Rosellini, *ibid.*, 98-99; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. VI.

<sup>b</sup>The lion behind the king's tent is his personal pet. He is shown at Luxor fettered; at Abu Simbel (Champollion, *Monuments*, 15) with the Pharaoh on the march; at Bet-Walli beside the Pharaoh's throne (Champollion, *Monuments*, 62); and finally at Derr in two scenes (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 183, *b*, and 184, *a*), where the king is sacrificing prisoners to Amon-Re. In these last scenes he is accompanied by the inscription: "*The lion, follower of his majesty, slayer of his enemies*" (cf. Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 90); and he is biting one of the prisoners. There is no basis in all this for the current statement that this lion accompanied his master in the battle, where (Champollion, *Monuments*, 25, and Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 87) a lion in the decoration of the chariot has been mistaken for the Pharaoh's pet (see *Battle of Kadesh*, 44, 45).

<sup>c</sup>Evidently so called because of its position in the line of march.

eastern end of the barricade (upper right-hand corner), driving some members of the royal household before them. These hostile intruders are quickly dispatched by the household troops of Ramses, who are to be seen on foot poniarding them.

*Over Prince in Chariot*

332. <sup>1</sup>Fan-bearer on the king's right hand, —, <sup>2</sup>king's-scribe, army commander — <sup>3</sup>———— <sup>4</sup>his majesty the — <sup>5</sup>on his right hand —.

*Over Official in Chariot*

<sup>1</sup>Arrival of <sup>2</sup>the — of Pharaoh, L. P. H., at — — <sup>3</sup>the mother of the royal children, together with the <sup>4</sup>— of the divine mother <sup>5</sup>— — — fleeing to <sup>6</sup>the west [side] of the <sup>7</sup>camp <sup>8</sup>— — <sup>9</sup>before the foe.

*At Top*

The first division of Amon (named): "He-Gives-Victory-to-Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II)-Given-Life," with which Pharaoh is engaged in making camp.

III. RAMSES' MESSENGERS<sup>a</sup>

333. These messengers are the ones sent southward by the vizier (Record, § 324, ll. 18 and 19) to hasten the forces still in the south near Shabtuna. To carry such a message, they must either make a wide detour westward, to go around the enemy's lines, or hazard the dangerous passage through them. To render the arrival of the orders more certain, the vizier dispatches a horseman, and goes himself<sup>b</sup> in a chariot. Their orders seem to concern only the division of

<sup>a</sup>1. LUXOR: Champollion, *Monuments*, 323; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 106; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. IV.

2. ABU SIMBEL: Champollion, *ibid.*, 18; Rosellini, *ibid.*, 95; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. VI.

<sup>b</sup>The Luxor relief contains a fragment of inscription showing that the vizier himself probably went. Among the approaching reinforcements hastening up in the rear of the Hittites to relieve Ramses, appear the words: "*Arrival of the vizier to [assist] the army of [his majesty]*" (Champollion, *Monuments*, 324, incorrectly numbered 314). This shows that the vizier got through, and brought up the reinforcements himself.

Ptah. This is because the southern half of the division of Re was, of course, aware of the attack, and the division of Sutekh was evidently too far away for Ramses to hope to bring them up in time.

*Before Horseman*

334. <sup>1</sup>The scout of the army of Pharaoh, L. P. H., <sup>2</sup>going to hasten the division of Ptah, <sup>3</sup>saying: "March on! <sup>4</sup>Pharaoh, L. P. H., your lord, <sup>5</sup>stands ———."

IV. THE BATTLE<sup>a</sup>

335. We here see the city of Kadesh, by which the battle was fought, so thoroughly moated that it seems to lie in the very Orontes itself, rather than on it. The four drawings of the city preserved show great differences among themselves;<sup>b</sup> and it is evident that no clear idea of the relative positions of city and combatants can be gained from them.<sup>c</sup> We must remember that, according to the inscriptions, the Pharaoh is north of the city. It would seem that a bend in the river enables him to charge directly toward the city, viz., southward, and to drive the enemy into the river. But if the side of the Egyptian drawing where the Pharaoh is, is north, then it represents him as on the east side of the river. Or again, if, as the texts state, he should be on the west side of the river in the Egyptian drawing, then the drawing represents him as south of the city and charging northward.

<sup>a</sup>1. RAMESSEUM, first pylon: Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 872; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 157-61; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. II.

2. RAMESSEUM, second pylon: Champollion *Monuments*, 328-30; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 586-89, 873, 874; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 109, 110; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 164, 165; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. III.

3. LUXOR: Champollion, *Monuments*, 323, 324; Rosellini, *ibid.*, 104, 105; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. V.

4. ABU SIMBEL: Champollion, *Monuments*, 18-26; Rosellini, *ibid.*, 88-95; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. VI.

<sup>b</sup>See Müller's useful comparison of the four (*Asien und Europa*, 214, 215).

<sup>c</sup>I have discussed the value of the reliefs fully in my *Battle of Kadesh*, 40-46.

In no way can any of the four ancient drawings of this battle-field be made to coincide with the data of the inscriptions. This is not remarkable when we remember that they do not coincide with each other. In these, as in all Egyptian



FIG. 13.—The Modern Mound of Kadash (from Koldewey)

drawings, each part is drawn largely irrespective of its relations to any of the other parts. We can here gain no true conception of the plan of the battle. Some facts stated in the inscriptions may be clearly seen in the reliefs however. We observe the Hittite chariotry (above and below) enfold- ing Ramses within its extended wings. We see also how he

drives into the river those in his immediate front, including many prominent allies, officials, and even relatives of the Hittite king. The king of Aleppo is held head downward by his soldiers on the farther shore, that he may disgorge the water which he has swallowed. Here also stands the Hittite king with 8,000 foot,<sup>a</sup> which he makes no effort to bring into action. The inscriptions are these:

*Over King's Horses and Chariot*

336. <sup>1</sup>The Good God, mighty in valor, great in victory, crushing <sup>2</sup>all countries, King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere; Son of Re; Ramses-Meriamon. <sup>3</sup>The stand which his majesty made while he was camping on the north<sup>4</sup>west of Kadesh. He charged into the midst of the foe <sup>5</sup>belonging to the vanquished chief of Kheta, while he was alone <sup>6</sup>by himself, and no other with him. <sup>7</sup>He found surrounding him <sup>8</sup>2,500 horse in four bodies on his every side. <sup>9</sup>He slaughtered them, making <sup>10</sup>(them) heaps beneath his horses. <sup>11</sup>He slew <sup>12</sup>all the chiefs of all the countries, <sup>13</sup>the allies of the vanquished chief of Kheta, together with his own great chiefs, <sup>14</sup>his infantry and his chariotry. He overthrew them <sup>15</sup>prostrate upon their faces, and hurled them down, one upon another into the waters <sup>16</sup>of the Orontes. His majesty was behind them like a fierce-eyed lion <sup>17</sup>———— in their place. Lo, the vanquished chief of Kheta <sup>18</sup>stood extending backward his arms in praise of the Good God.

*Among the Fleeing Enemy*

337. Tergen — (*Ty-r<sup>2</sup>-g<sup>2</sup>-n —*).

Tergenenes (*Ty-r<sup>2</sup>-g<sup>2</sup>-n-n<sup>2</sup>-s<sup>2</sup>*), charioteer of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

The great horse of his majesty: "Victory-in-Thebes;" of the great stable: "Usermare-Setepnere,-Beloved-of-Amon."

<sup>a</sup>So Ramesseum; Abu Simbel has: "Other warriors (*tw-hy-r<sup>2</sup>*) — before him, 9,000." The "other" is to distinguish them from the troops in battle. Luxor has merely: "[The army] of the vanquished chief of Kadesh, very numerous in men and horses." As the 2,500 Hittite chariots had (three men each) 7,500 men, we get 16,000, to 17,000 men as the total Asiatic force. Ramses will possibly have had about 20,000, and thus each of his four divisions was about 5,000 strong, or about equal to a modern army division. A body of troops mentioned in the Anastasi Papyrus No. 1, as belonging to Ramses II, contained 5,000 men, all foreign mercenaries. See *Battle of Kadesh*, 9.

Kemeth ( $K^{\circ} -my-t^{\circ}$ ), chief of the Warriors ( $Tw-hy-r^{\circ}$ ).  
 ———es (————— $-s^{\circ}$ ), charioteer of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Tergetetethes ( $Ty-r^{\circ} -g^{\circ} -ty-t-t^{\circ} -s^{\circ}$ ) chief of the archers of the Thebes ( $\overline{K}bsw$ ).

Kherpesar ( $H\overline{y}-r^{\circ} -p^{\circ} -s^{\circ} -r^{\circ}$ ), scribe of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Egem ( $^{\circ} -g-m$ ), chief of the archers of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Teyeder ( $Ty-y^{\circ} -dw-r^{\circ}$ ), chief of the bodyguard of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Peyes ( $P^{\circ} -y-s^{\circ}$ ), charioteer of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Gerbetes ( $G-r-b^{\circ} -tw-s^{\circ}$ ), chariot-warrior of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Semretes ( $S^{\circ} -my-r^{\circ} -tw-s^{\circ}$ ) ———.

Peyes ( $P^{\circ} -y-s^{\circ}$ ), charioteer of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Teder ( $T^{\circ} -d^{\circ} -r^{\circ}$ ), chief of the warriors ( $Tw-hy-r^{\circ}$ ).

Methrem ( $My-t^{\circ} -ry-m^{\circ}$ ).

Rebesnen ( $R^{\circ} -b^{\circ} -sw-n-n^{\circ}$ ), chief of the archers of Enenes ( $^{\circ} n-n^{\circ} -s^{\circ}$ ).

Septher ( $S^{\circ} -p^{\circ} -t^{\circ} -r^{\circ}$ ), brother of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Thewethes ( $\overline{T}^{\circ} -w^{\circ} -t^{\circ} -s^{\circ}$ ), chief of the country of Tenes ( $T^{\circ} -ny-s^{\circ}$ ).

Rebeyer ( $R^{\circ} -b^{\circ} -yw-r$ ).

The wretched chief of Aleppo ( $H\overline{y}-r^{\circ} -b^{\circ}$ ) turned upside down by his soldiers, after his majesty hurled him into the water.

Warriors ( $Tw-hy-r^{\circ}$ ), who are in front of the 'commander', 8,000. Town of Kadesh.

*By the King of Kheta*

**338.** <sup>1</sup>The vanquished, wretched chief of Kheta, <sup>2</sup>standing before his infantry and chariotry <sup>3</sup>with his face turned round, and his heart afraid. <sup>4</sup>He went not forth to battle, for fear of his majesty, <sup>5</sup>after he saw his majesty prevailing [against the vanquished chief] <sup>6</sup>of Kheta and all the chiefs of all the countries <sup>7</sup>[who] were with him. His majesty — — — <sup>8</sup>he overthrew them — — —. <sup>9</sup>[The vanquished chief of Kheta] said: "He is like <sup>10</sup>Sutekh, great in might; Baal is <sup>11</sup>in his limbs."

V. THE DEFENSE OF THE CAMP<sup>a</sup>

339. While Ramses was at the front early in the battle, his camp was entered by the Hittite advance; but on the arrival of the "recruits" from Amor, the latter fell upon these spoilers and slaughtered them.

*In Front of Troops*

340. <sup>1</sup>The arrival of the recruits of Pharaoh, L. P. H., from the land of Amor (<sup>2</sup>*-m-w-r*). They found that the force of the vanquished chief of Kheta had surrounded the <sup>3</sup>camp of his majesty on its western side. His majesty had been camping alone, no army with him, [awaiting the] arrival of his [officers] <sup>4</sup>and his army and the division with which Pharaoh, L. P. H., was, had not finished setting up the camp. Now the division <sup>5</sup>of Re and the division of Ptah were on the march; they had not (yet) arrived, and their officers were in the <sup>6</sup>forest of Bewey (*B* <sup>7</sup>*-w-y*). Then the recruits <sup>8</sup>cut off the foe belonging to the vanquished chief of Kheta, while they (the foe) were entering into the camp, and Pharaoh's officers <sup>9</sup>slew them; they left not a single survivor among them. Their hearts were filled with the mighty valor of Pharaoh, <sup>10</sup>their good lord; he was behind them like a steward of —, like a wall of iron, forever and ever.

VI. AFTER THE BATTLE<sup>c</sup>

341. This relief shows us the king after the battle is over, enjoying his triumph. As he stands in his chariot, his officers throw down before him the hands of the slain, cut off as trophies. The relief on the Abydos temple (unpublished), though very fragmentary, contained a fuller repre-

<sup>a</sup>1. RAMESSEUM: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 155; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. I.

2. LUXOR: Champollion, *Monuments*, 327; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 107; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. IV.

3. ABU SIMBEL: Champollion, *ibid.*, 32; Rosellini, *ibid.*, 97; Lepsius, *ibid.*, 187; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. VI.

<sup>b</sup>*Sgm' w-c š.*

<sup>c</sup>1. ABYDOS: Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 10, 11.

2. ABU SIMBEL: Champollion, *Monuments*, 18; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 95; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. VI.

sentation of Ramses' triumph than the meager scene at Abu Simbel. It showed the king receiving the prisoners, captured according to the accompanying inscriptions, by himself! These inscriptions<sup>a</sup> are as follows:

*Ramses' Officers Bringing Captives before Him*

**342.** Bringing in prisoners before his majesty, being those which [he] brought off in the victory of his sword in this wretched land of Kheta, when his majesty caused to be [announced to] his infantry and his chariotry, saying: "[Behold, these are] the prisoners of my own capture, while I was alone, no infantry being with me, nor any prince with me, nor any chariotry."

*Beside a Group of Prisoners*

**343.** List (*shwy*) of those countries which his majesty slew, while alone by himself: Corpses, horses, and chariots, bows, swords, all the weapons of warfare.

*Beside Another Group of Prisoners*

**344.** Receiving the prisoners which his majesty brought off, in the victory of his sword in this wretched land of Kheta and this wretched land [of] Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*), together with the chiefs of all countries who came with the vanquished chief of Kheta, <sup>b</sup>as living captives.<sup>b</sup>

*Over Fleeing Chariots*

**345.** Warriors (*Tw-hy-r*<sup>2</sup>) of [— —] the chariots of the camp of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

The texts at Abu Simbel are not so full; they are the following:

*Behind Chariot*

**346.** <sup>1</sup>The Good God, who fought for his army, whose sword repulsed the Nine Bows; king, mighty in victory, <sup>2</sup>who hath not his like; charging into the multitudes of every country, making them prostrate bodies. <sup>3</sup>His face is fierce-eyed before the chief of Kheta, and the countries of Naharin [— —].

<sup>a</sup>Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 10, 11.

<sup>b</sup>This phrase is to be construed with "brought off."



*Over Horses*

347. Great first span of his majesty (named): "Mut-is-Satisfied," of the great stable: "Usermare-Setepnere-Beloved-of-Amon."

VII. PRESENTATION OF CAPTIVES TO AMON<sup>a</sup>

348. As his father, Seti I, is seen presenting captives and spoil to Amon, on the north wall of the great Karnak hypostyle, so Ramses appears in a like capacity on its south wall. Here he leads and presents to Amon, Mut, and Khonsu, three rows of prisoners, accompanied by inscriptions<sup>b</sup> which show that they are captives taken at the battle of Kadesh:

349. List of the chiefs of Kheta, which his majesty, L. P. H., brought as living captives to the house of his father, Amon: Derden (*D-r<sup>o</sup>-d-n-y*), Pedes (*P-y-d-s<sup>o</sup>*), Kele[kesh] (*K-y-r<sup>o</sup>-[k-y-š<sup>o</sup>]*) ———.

350. These are followed by four short lines of prisoners, each led by one of Ramses' sons:

- a) ——— [behind his majesty, by the] ——— scribe, commander in chief of the army, Amenhirkhepeshef.
- b) ——— [behind] his majesty, by the king's-son, Khamwese.
- c) ——— behind his majesty, by the king's-son, Meriamon.
- d) ——— behind his majesty, by the king's-son, Seti.

351. All these are designated as:

Captives from the northern countries, who came to overthrow his majesty, whom his majesty slew, and whose subjects he brought as living captives, to fill the storehouse of his father, Amon.

## III. PALESTINIAN REVOLT

352. At some time between the fifth and eighth years all Palestine, doubtless incited by the Hittites, revolted<sup>c</sup> against

<sup>a</sup>Relief on the exterior of the south wall of the hypostyle of the great Amon-temple at Karnak; published by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 122, 123; accompanying inscription also, Brugsch, *Recueil de Monuments*, I, Pl. 29.

<sup>b</sup>Over the lowermost of the three rows. The inscriptions of the other two, as well as the figures of the captives, have perished. A portion of the middle row is, however, still visible.

<sup>c</sup>It is supposed that Ramses must have met with serious reverses between the fifth and the eighth years, for the Palestinian princes down to the Shephelah to have dared to revolt.

Ramses II, and he was obliged to take up the reconquest of his Asiatic possessions, at his very door, in the later Philistine country with the siege of Askalon.<sup>a</sup>

#### I. RECONQUEST OF SOUTHERN PALESTINE<sup>b</sup>

353. A relief at Karnak represents the storming of the city of Askalon, and the accompanying inscription refers to its rebellion. Of course, Askalon did not revolt alone, but must have been in league with the other cities of Palestine.

354. In the relief we see the king in his chariot charging the bearded defenders, lined up outside a battlemented city, which is located on an elevation. The storming ladders are up, and an Egyptian officer is demolishing the city gate with an ax, while the inhabitants appear on the walls, beseeching mercy. By the city is the following inscription:

355. The wretched city (*dmy*), which his majesty captured, when it rebelled, Askalon (ʿ-*s-k-rw-n*). It (the city) says: "It is joy to be subject to thee, and delight to cross thy boundaries. Take thou the heritage, that we may speak of thy valor in all unknown countries."

Over the king's horses appears the usual glorification of his valor.

#### II. RECONQUEST OF NORTHERN PALESTINE

356. By the eighth year Ramses has reached northern Palestine again, and captures the cities of western Galilee.

<sup>a</sup>The place of this siege in Ramses II's wars is uncertain; but as western Galilee revolted in his eighth year, it is not unlikely that the revolt of Askalon is to be connected with that of west Galilee. Indeed, one name in the list of the eighth year may be Askalon (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 871, I, No. 2 [-----] *r-n*). The date "IXth year" (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 400) for the capture of Askalon is without any documentary support.

<sup>b</sup>Relief and inscription on the exterior of the south wall of the great hypostyle hall at Karnak; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 195 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 145, *c*.

The only document is a list<sup>a</sup> showing rows of battlemented cities from which Egyptian officers drive prisoners. Each city bears an inscription beginning: "*City which his majesty plundered in the year 8;*" after which appears the name of a city.<sup>b</sup> Only a few of these names have survived, among which are: a "*city on the mount of Bethanath* ( $B^{\text{r}}-y\text{-ty}^{\text{c}}-n\text{-ty}$ )," named Kerpet ( $K^{\text{r}}-r^{\text{r}}-pw\text{-}[t^{\text{r}}]$ ); Merem ( $M^{\text{r}}-r^{\text{r}}-m$ , Hebrew, Marôm "Height"); and Sherem ( $S^{\text{r}}-r^{\text{r}}-m$ , Hebrew, Salôm, "Greeting"). The only place not in the west Galilean region is a city "*in the land of Amor* ( $^{\text{r}}-m-w-r^{\text{r}}$ ), *Deper* ( $D^{\text{r}}-pw-r^{\text{r}}$ )," which carries us over to the region of Tabor.<sup>c</sup> The capture of this city has been depicted with great spirit and much detail in a splendid relief at the Ramesseum.<sup>d</sup> It shows Ramses' sons<sup>e</sup> playing a prominent part in the battle.

357. The accompanying inscriptions unfortunately contain almost exclusively the conventional praise of the king's valor. They disclose, however, the important fact that the

<sup>a</sup>On the west side of the northern tower of the first pylon of the Ramesseum; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 870, 871; Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica*, 16; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 156, and Text, III, 127, 128. Another series of cities, on the outside of the south wall of the great hypostyle at Karnak, evidently bore inscriptions of the same form, though none is now complete; see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 20, and Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 120.

<sup>b</sup>There were originally at least eighteen, and possibly twenty-four of these cities. They have been studied best by Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 220-22), who is followed above.

<sup>c</sup>But see Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 221), who places it farther north. It seems to me that its place in this list is a good argument for a position farther south.

<sup>d</sup>*Description*, II, 31 = Champollion, *Monuments*, 331 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 108 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 166 = Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 59 = Prisse, *Histoire de l'art égyptien* = Meyer, *Geschichte*, 290 (colored). Long inscription also Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 54, 1, and the first five lines also, Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 51.

<sup>e</sup>On the inhabitants of the city coming forth with their children and household goods, compare the great tablet in front of the Abu Simbel temple (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 195, a, ll. 11 f.): "*their gifts are of the varieties of the products of their lands, their soldiers and their children are before them, to crave peace from his majesty.*"

Hittites have pushed southward since the battle of Kadesh and temporarily occupied the Tabor region, from which Ramses now ejects them (ll. 11-13). This is the extreme southern limit of the Hittite advance, and was, of course, purely transitory, as their remains are not found south of Hamath. This extreme advance is undoubtedly to be connected with the revolt in Palestine.

**358.** It was perhaps at this time that the northern trans-Jordan region, the Hauran, again<sup>a</sup> came under the control of Ramses, and some official erected a memorial relief<sup>b</sup> of him there, representing him offering to one of the local gods, with possibly a Semitic name.

The Deper scene, which is our longest document on this period, contains the following inscriptions:

**359.** <sup>1</sup>Said the vanquished of Kheta in praising the Good God: "Give to us the breath that thou givest, O good ruler. Lo, we are under thy sandals; thy terror, <sup>2</sup>it has penetrated the land of Kheta. Its chief <sup>3</sup>is fallen, because of thy fame; we are like herds <sup>4</sup>of horses, when the fierce-eyed lion <sup>5</sup>attacks them."

**360.** <sup>6</sup>The Good God, mighty in valor in the countries, stout-hearted <sup>7</sup>in the array, firm on the steed, <sup>8</sup>beautiful in the chariot, when he has taken the bow, shooting, <sup>9</sup>(or) fighting hand to hand, — firm, whom none escapes, — — taking the <sup>10</sup>beautiful corselet — — — in the array, and returning when he has triumphed over <sup>11</sup>the vanquished chief of Kheta. When he overthrew him, he scattered him like <sup>12</sup>straw before the wind, (so that) he forsook his city, <sup>13</sup>for fear of him. He (Ramses) set his fame therein for every day. His might was in his limbs <sup>14</sup>like fire; a bull fighting upon his boundary, seizing <sup>15</sup>upon the things <sup>16</sup>which he has captured, a survivor of his hand he has not left. <sup>17</sup>He is a tempest in the countries, great in tumult; bringing <sup>18</sup>the storm-cloud against the chiefs, to desolate their cities, making all their places

<sup>a</sup>This region of course revolted with the rest of Palestine.

<sup>b</sup>Known as the "Job-stone;" discovered by Schumacher (*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, XIV, 142 ff.) at the modern village of Sa c dtych, east of the Lake of Genesaret. It was published by Erman (*ibid.*, XV, 205-11).

<sup>18</sup>into desert regions. His arrows are behind them like Sekhmet <sup>19</sup>when the wind seizes <sup>a</sup> — — the wretched land <sup>20</sup>of Kheta, which is his enemy. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Setepnere, <sup>21</sup>Son of Re, Ramses-Meriamon.

*Over Horses' Heads and again over Their Backs*

361. Great first span of his majesty (named): "Meriamon," of the great stable of Ramses-Meriamon.

*Six Princes, Beginning at Left*

362. 1. King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Khamwese.  
 2. King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Montu —.  
 3. King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Meriamon.  
 4. King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Amenemuya.  
 5. King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Seti.  
 6. King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Setepnere.

*In City*

———— [D]eper [D]<sup>2</sup> -pw-rw).

IV. CAMPAIGN IN NAHARIN

363. Having thus, in the Palestinian war, recovered Palestine, Ramses again pushed northward and advanced into Naharin.<sup>b</sup>

I. CONQUEST OF NAHARIN

364. In a fragment<sup>c</sup> at the Ramesseum we find him fighting at Tunip. He has, it would seem, already held this important city of the north, and had set up in it a statue of himself. The city had then revolted, and Ramses is now recapturing it. The inscription evidently narrated some personal exploit of Ramses without his coat of mail.

<sup>a</sup>Or: "taking the breath — — —." Brugsch shows some impossible words in this lacuna.

<sup>b</sup>Although this campaign in Naharin is not dated, it is impossible to place it between the battle of Kadesh (year 5) and the recovery of Galilee (year 8). It can only have followed the campaign of year 8.

<sup>c</sup>Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 888; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, II, 54, 2; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 51.

365. <sup>1</sup>King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere, Son of Re: Ramses-Meriamon, given life. The king himself, he says: "I swear as Re loves me, as my father Atum favors me, as my nostrils are rejuvenated with satisfying life <sup>2</sup>——— the [palace].<sup>1</sup>" As for this [overthrow], they stood fighting the city of Kheta, wherein the statue of his majesty, L. P. H., was. His majesty made it <sup>3</sup>——— his infantry and his chariotry. His majesty was at the front of his infantry and his chariotry <sup>4</sup>——— the vanquished of Kheta, who were in the districts of the city of Tunip (*Tw-n-p*) in the land of N[aharin]. His majesty took his coat of mail <sup>5</sup>——— twice.<sup>a</sup> He stood fighting the city of the vanquished of Kheta, at the front of his infantry and his [chariotry] —— [not having<sup>1</sup> his] coat of mail upon him. [His] majesty came to take his coat of mail again. It was placed upon him, when <sup>7</sup>——— [the vanquished] of Kheta, who were in the districts of the city of Tunip (*Tw-n-p*) in the land of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*), while his coat of mail was not upon [him].

366. In harmony with this fragment, we find that the lists<sup>b</sup> of cities and countries, which Ramses claims to have conquered, mention Naharin, Lower Retenu, Arvad, Keftiyew, and Ketne<sup>c</sup> in the Orontes valley. The fact that these northern regions had to some extent already been under Ramses' control indicates long and arduous campaigning against the Hittites. The revolt of these regions, evident from the Ramesseum fragment just translated, was therefore undoubtedly late in the Asiatic war, and probably had something to do with Ramses' willingness to make peace, later sealed by a treaty of alliance with the Hittites in the year 21, seventeen years after the beginning of the war.

<sup>a</sup>The date "year 12," usually read here is impossible; it is not supported by any of the three copies.

<sup>b</sup>On a colossus at Karnak (Mariette, *Karnak*, 38) and another at Abydos (Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 2). The list on the north wall of Karnak (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 119; Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, II, 75; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 144) attributed by Müller to Ramses II, I have credited to Seti I (p. 57, n. b). See also Daressy, *Recueil*, XX, 119.

<sup>c</sup>The mention of Shinar (Babylonia), Assur, Cyprus, and the like, can, of course, only mean the receipt of gifts from the kings of those countries, as under Thutmose III, who controlled none of them but probably Cyprus.

II. TREATY WITH THE HITTITES<sup>a</sup>

367. After possibly fifteen years of warfare in Syria, Ramses II consents to a peace with the Hittites. This peace is sealed in a treaty of alliance which forms one of the most remarkable documents which have survived from ancient Egypt. The copy preserved to us is clearly a translation from an original in a foreign language,<sup>b</sup> and in his rendering the Egyptian translator has not always succeeded too well.

368. For recording upon the temple walls, the royal scribe has prefixed: (1) the date (l. 1); (2) the account of the arrival of two Hittite messengers with the treaty on a silver tablet; and (3) the heading of the copy as preserved in the royal archives. In content the treaty which follows is clear and well arranged. After a title or caption, it proceeds with the following eighteen paragraphs:

1. Review of the former relations of the two countries, the immemorial peace of earlier times, and the later war.

<sup>a</sup>There are two originals: (1) At Karnak on wall extending south of the great hypostyle, published by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 195-204 (only 30 lines); Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 116; Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica*, 17 (not used); Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 146; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, I, 28 (ll. 1-20); Bouriant, *Recueil*, XIII, 153-60; collation of the geographical names by Sayce, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXI, 194 ff.; Müller, *Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft*, VII, 5, Taf. I-XVI; I had also photographs by Borchardt. (2) At the Ramesseum; only fragments of the last 10 lines; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 585, 586; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 50; Bouriant, *Recueil*, XIV, 67-70. In spite of the mutilated condition of the two monuments, the frequent repetitions make restoration certain in almost all cases. Müller's edition is the only one which is done with care and accuracy; a number of readings may be added to Müller's text from Sharpe's copy, which seems to have escaped him. The following translation was already in my manuscript when Müller's publication appeared. His text added a few new readings, but otherwise the translation remains unchanged.

<sup>b</sup>In view of Amarna Letter No. 35, from the Hittite king, Seplul (see Knudtzon, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 35, 141 f.), in Babylonian writing and language, the original of this treaty may have been in the same form.

2. Formal declaration of the new peace pact, which is made binding upon future generations.<sup>a</sup>
3. Mutual resignation of all projects for further conquest in Syria, but without any statement of the boundary adopted.
4. Reaffirmation of the former treaty of the time of Khetasar's grandfather, Seplel,<sup>b</sup> which had continued till interrupted by the war with Khetasar's brother, Metella; but with no restatement of its articles.
5. Egypt makes a defensive alliance with Kheta, depending upon the latter's assistance against all foreign foes.
6. Egypt is to enjoy the co-operation of Kheta in the chastisement of rebellious Syrian (?) subjects.
7. Analogous to 5, in Kheta's favor.
8. Analogous to 6, in Kheta's favor.
9. Extradition of Egypt's political fugitives to Kheta.
10. Extradition of emigrants from Egypt to Kheta.
11. Extradition of Kheta's political fugitives to Egypt.
12. Extradition of emigrants from Kheta to Egypt.
13. The witness of the gods of Kheta and Egypt.
14. Curse on the violator of the treaty.
15. Blessing on the observer of the treaty.<sup>c</sup>
16. Appendix exacting humane treatment of persons

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<sup>a</sup>It was kept by them in fact, as is shown by the relations of Merneptah with Kheta (§ 580, l. 24).

<sup>b</sup>Knudtzon (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 35, 141 f.) has found in the Amarna collection a cuneiform letter (No. 35) from this king (called *Šu-ub-bi-lu-li-u-ma*) to a king of Egypt, called Khuri[ya], who, from the content of the letter, is certainly Napkhuriya, the cuneiform for Neferkheprure (Amenhotep IV). Seplel desires, in this letter, to continue with the Pharaoh the friendly relations hitherto existing between himself (S.) and the Pharaoh's father, who has just died. This is clearly Amenhotep III, to whom we may therefore carry back the first treaty between Egypt and Kheta. But the Amarna letters show how badly the Hittites observed the treaty. On the chronological difficulty, see p. 167, n. c.

<sup>c</sup>These two paragraphs form a frequent conclusion of documents intended to be valid in perpetuity, and they mark the logical conclusion here.



extradited from Kheta, who are to suffer no injury in person, family, or property.

17. The same regarding those extradited from Egypt.

18. This final paragraph belongs only to the copy, and not to the treaty. It describes the figures and seals on the silver tablet, and records the words accompanying these seals.

369. Space does not permit further discussion of this remarkable document,<sup>a</sup> but it will be evident that, notwithstanding Ramses' conquest of such northern cities as Tunip in Naharin (§§ 344 f.), he never succeeded in breaking the power of the Hittites. Evidently his complete success in stopping the further southward advance of so powerful an invader was no small reason for congratulation.

#### *Date*

370. <sup>1</sup>Year 21, first month of the second season, twenty-first day, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere, Son of Re: Ramses-Meriamon, given life, forever and ever, beloved of Amon-Re-Harakhte, Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," Mut, mistress of Ishru, and Khonsu-Neferhotep; shining upon the Horus-throne of the living, like his father, Harakhte, forever and ever.

#### *Arrival of the Hittite Messengers*

371. <sup>2</sup>On this day, lo, his majesty was at the city (called): "House-of-Ramses-Meriamon," performing the pleasing ceremonies of his father, Amor-Re-Harakhte-Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis; Amon<sup>b</sup> of Ramses-Meriamon, Ptah<sup>b</sup> of Ramses-Meriamon, "— great in strength, son of Mut," according as they gave to him eternity in jubilees, everlastingness in peaceful years, all lands, and all countries being prostrate beneath his sandals forever. <sup>3</sup>There came the king's-messenger,

<sup>a</sup>See discussion of special points by W. M. Müller (*Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft*, VII, 215-40).

<sup>b</sup>Forms of Amon and Ptah, worshiped in Ramses' temple at Tanis.

the deputy and butler —,<sup>a</sup> together with the king's-messenger —<sup>a</sup> [bringing<sup>1</sup> to the king] Ramses II [the messenger<sup>1</sup>] of [Kheta<sup>1</sup>, Ter]teseb and the [second messenger<sup>1</sup>] of Kheta [bearing<sup>1</sup> a silver tablet<sup>b</sup>] <sup>4</sup>which the great chief of the Kheta, Khetasar ( $\overline{H-t}^{\circ}-s^{\circ}-r^{\circ}$ ) [caused]<sup>b</sup> to be brought to Pharaoh, L. P. H., to crave peace [from] [the majesty] of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ramses II,<sup>c</sup> given life, forever and ever, like his father, Re, every day.

*Heading of the Copy*

**372.** Copy of the silver tablet, which the great chief of Kheta, Khetasar ( $\overline{H-t}^{\circ}-s^{\circ}-r^{\circ}$ ) caused to be brought to Pharaoh, L. P. H., by the hand of his messenger, <sup>5</sup>Terteseb ( $T^{\circ}-r^{\circ}-ty-s-bw$ ), and his messenger, Ramose, to crave peace from the majesty of Ramses II, the Bull of rulers, making his boundary as far as he desires in every land.

*Caption of the Treaty*

**373.** The treaty which the great chief of Kheta, Khetasar, the valiant, the son of Merasar ( $M-r^{\circ}-s^{\circ}-r^{\circ}$ ), <sup>6</sup>the great chief of Kheta, the valiant, the grandson<sup>d</sup> of Seplel ( $S^{\circ}-p^{\circ}-[rw-rw]$ ), [the great chief of Kheta, the valiant, made, upon a silver tablet for Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), the great ruler of Egypt, the valiant, the son of Menmare (Seti I), the great ruler of Egypt, the valiant, the grandson of Menpehtire (Ramses I), <sup>7</sup>the great ruler of Egypt, the valiant; the good treaty of peace and of brotherhood, setting peace [between them<sup>e</sup>], forever.

<sup>a</sup>The names of two Egyptian envoys have here disappeared. Whence they came is not clear. They may have gone out to meet the two Hittite envoys a day's journey or two; or they may have been the Egyptian commissioners who had negotiated the treaty at the court of Kheta.

<sup>b</sup>The restoration is based on l. 4, where we have a verbatim repetition of this connection.

<sup>c</sup>Double name.

<sup>d</sup>There is no word for "grandson" in Egyptian; text has "son of the son."

<sup>e</sup>The loss is greater than this by several words. In view of the preceding words ("setting peace") and similar phrases frequent in the treaty (e. g., ll. 9, 10), it seems to me that Müller (*Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft*, VII, 215-21) overemphasizes the alliance side of the document. It is not only a treaty of alliance, but also a treaty of peace, and the war evidently continued until the negotiations for the treaty began, which could hardly have been earlier than a year before the date of the arrival of the messengers in Egypt. They reached Egypt in late winter or early spring (twenty-first of Tybi), somewhere around the first of February; and the preceding summer may have seen the last of the hostilities. The treaty distinctly states (ll. 8, 9) that it marks the beginning of a relation designed by the gods to conclude hostilities between the two nations.

*Former Relations of the Two Countries*

374. 1. Now, at the beginning, since eternity, the relations of the great ruler of Egypt with the great chief of Kheta were (such) that the god prevented hostilities between them, by treaty. Whereas, in <sup>8</sup>the time of Metella (*Mw-t-n-r* <sup>2</sup>), the great chief of Kheta, my brother, he fought w[ith Ramses II],<sup>a</sup> the great ruler of Egypt, yet afterward, beginning with this day, behold, Khetasar, the great chief of Kheta, is [in] a treaty-relation for establishing the relations which the Re made, and which Sutekh made,<sup>b</sup> for the land of Egypt, <sup>9</sup>with the land of Kheta, in order not to permit hostilities to arise between them, forever.

*The New Peace Pact*

375. 2. Behold then, Khetasar, the great chief of Kheta, is in treaty relation with Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), the great ruler of Egypt, beginning with this day, in order to bring about good peace and good brotherhood between us forever, <sup>10</sup>while he is in brotherhood with me, he is in peace with me; and I am in brotherhood with him, and I am in peace with him, forever. Since Metella (*Mw-t-n-r* <sup>2</sup>), the great chief of Kheta, my brother, succumbed to his fate,<sup>c</sup> and Khetasar sat as

<sup>a</sup>A cartouche is visible.

<sup>b</sup>Re and Sutekh are here the gods of Egypt and Kheta respectively.

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "departed (*hnn*) after his fate," this, of course, indicates his death. The succession of his brother justifies the suspicion that his death was due to his brother; but this is not certain. Furthermore, this death of Metella is clearly the occasion of the peace, and not the occasion of the war with Ramses II, as often stated (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 389). Thus the opponent of Ramses II was Metella (l. 8), and Khetasar hastens to make peace soon after his accession (l. 10). We may roughly reconstruct thus:

Amenhotep III, end of reign	}	Seplel, father of	} brothers
Ikhnaton			
Ikhnaton's ephemeral successors	}	Merasar, father of	
Harmhab			
Ramses I	}	Metella	
Seti I			
Ramses II to about year 20	}	Khetasar	
Ramses II from year 20 on			

The three generations of Hittite kings ruled accordingly over 110 years—over 37 years each—an exceptionally high average for three successive kings in the orient. This would indicate some uncertainty as to the identity of Seplel and Šubbiluliuma of Amarna Letter No. 35, which carries him back to Amenhotep III (see note, p. 164). He may therefore possibly be no earlier than Harmhab, and, as Müller has suggested (*op. cit.*, 226), the Amarna letter may be from an earlier Seplel.

<sup>11</sup>great chief of Kheta upon the throne of his father, behold, I am together with Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, and he is [[with<sup>a</sup> me in] our peace and our brotherhood. It is better than the former peace and brotherhood which were in the land. Behold, I, even the great chief of Kheta, am with <sup>12</sup>[Ramses II], the great ruler of Egypt, in good peace and in good brotherhood. The children of the children of the great chief of Kheta shall be in brotherhood and peace with the children of the children of Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, being in our relations of brotherhood and our relations <sup>13</sup>[of peace], that the [land of Egypt] may be with the land of Kheta in peace and brotherhood like ourselves, forever.

*Mutual Renunciation of Further Conquests*

**376.** 3. There shall be no hostilities between them, forever. The great chief of Kheta shall not pass over into the land of Egypt, forever, to take anything therefrom. Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not pass over into the land <sup>14</sup>[of Kheta, to take anything] therefrom, forever.

*Reaffirmation of the Former Treaties*

**377.** 4. As for the former<sup>b</sup> treaty which was in the time of Seplel (*S<sup>2</sup>-p<sup>2</sup>-rw-rw*), the great chief of Kheta, likewise the former<sup>b</sup> treaty which was in the time of Metella (*Mw-t-n-r<sup>2</sup>*), the great chief of Kheta, my father,<sup>c</sup> I will hold to it. Behold, Ramses-Meriamon, the great

<sup>a</sup>So Müller, but he does not give room for "with."

<sup>b</sup>This word (*mtj*) has not been hitherto understood in this connection; there is no doubt about its meaning, "customary, usual, habitual," and then "former." Compare Amada Stela (II, 798), where a new four-day list of offerings is established for Anuket "as an increase upon the 3 days of her customary (*mtj*) feast;" or II, 619; after new offerings are presented, the old ones are to be offered "according to the measure of the customary (*mtj*) offering which is in this temple;" after a feast a god returns to his "customary (*mt(t)*) seat" (*Recueil*, 16, 56, l. 6, above).

<sup>c</sup>"Father" is either used here as in Egypt, where any predecessor on the throne is called "father;" or the name "Metella" is an error for Merasar, who was certainly the father of Metella and Khetasar. Now, as Khetasar has already (ll. 7, 8) referred to the ancient peace as continuing down to, but broken under, Metella, a new treaty under Metella above mentioned (l. 14) is surprising. He may be marking the beginning and end of the same treaty: beginning under Seplel and ending, because broken, under Metella. The Pharaoh with whom Metella's treaty was maintained can hardly be any other than Seti I. (See "it," ll. 14, 15.)

ruler of Egypt, will hold <sup>15</sup>[to it] with us <sup>1</sup>together<sup>1</sup>, beginning with this day. We will hold to it, and we will deal in this former manner.<sup>a</sup>

*Egypt's Defensive Alliance with Kheta*

378. 5. If another enemy come against the lands of Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), the great ruler of Egypt, and he shall send to the great chief of Kheta, saying: "Come with me as reinforcement against him," the great chief of Kheta shall <sup>16</sup>[come], and the great chief of Kheta shall slay his enemy. But if it be not the desire of the great chief of Kheta to come, he shall send his infantry and his chariotry, and shall slay his enemy.

*Chastisement of Syrian Subjects*

379. 6. Or if Ramses-Meriamon, <sup>17</sup>[the great ruler of Egypt], be provoked against <sup>1</sup>delinquent<sup>1</sup> subjects,<sup>b</sup> when they have committed some other fault against him, and he come to slay them, then the great chief of Kheta shall act with the lord of Egypt <sup>1</sup>— —<sup>1</sup>.

*Kheta's Defensive Alliance with Egypt*

380. 7. If another en[emy come] against the great chief of Kheta, [and he shall send] to the great chief (sic!) [of Egypt], Usermare-Setepnere <sup>18</sup>[<sup>c</sup>for reinforcements<sup>1</sup> then he] shall come to him as reinforcement, to slay his enemy. But if it be [not]<sup>d</sup> the desire of Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, to come, he shall [send his infantry and his chariotry <sup>1</sup>and shall slay his enemy<sup>1</sup>]. <sup>1</sup>Or<sup>1</sup> ———— <sup>19</sup>— seeing them, besides returning answer to the land of Kheta.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup>The stipulations of the former treaty, as known to both parties, are not stated.

<sup>b</sup>This word (modified by *s w*, which Müller regards as a conjunction) must refer to Asiatic subjects of Egypt, who rebel or fail to pay tribute. Kheta is not, in such a case, to interfere in Egypt's attempts at punishment, but is to act in harmony with Egypt. Egypt's obligation in the corresponding clause is much more elaborate, but is unfortunately not clear, owing to its fragmentary condition. Evidently the two clauses mean that both are to act in harmony in Syria; each is to assist the other there, and not take advantage of any revolt in the other's dependencies, for self-aggrandizement.

<sup>c</sup>There is not room for the message, as in the corresponding paragraph.

<sup>d</sup>Omitted in original.

<sup>e</sup>There is evidently a second alternative of some kind here, to which the Egyptian king may resort, which is not found in the corresponding clause defining the Hittite obligation.

*Chastisement of Syrian Subjects*

**381.** 8. Now if subjects of the great chief of Kheta transgress against him, and Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, shall ——— the land of Kheta and the land of Egypt <sup>20</sup>— — — [— — —], that is to say: “I will come after [their punishment,<sup>1a</sup> to Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, living forever, — — — the land of Kheta. . . . .  
 . . . . .<sup>b</sup> their appointing him for them, to be lord, to cause that Usermare-Setepnere, the great ruler of Egypt, shall be silent from his speech forever.<sup>c</sup> If he — his — — the land of Kheta, and he shall turn back [again to] the great chief of Kheta ———.

*Extradition of Political Fugitives in Kheta*

**382.** 9. [If any great<sup>d</sup> man of the land of Egypt shall flee and shall come to] the great chief of Kheta, from either a town <sup>22</sup>[or] — of the lands of Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, and they shall come to the great chief of Kheta, then the great chief of Kheta shall not receive them, (but) the great chief of Kheta shall cause them to be brought to Usermare-Setepnere, the great ruler of Egypt, t[heir] lord therefor.

*Extradition of Emigrants to Kheta*

**383.** 10. Or if there flee a man, or two men who are unknown <sup>23</sup>—, and they shall come to<sup>e</sup> the land of Kheta, to become foreign subjects, then they shall not be settled in the land of Kheta, but they shall be brought to Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt.

<sup>a</sup>Or: “*jate*,” have we here: *hr-s > -p > yf* (or *p > ysn*) *š > y*, as in l. 10?

<sup>b</sup>A few unintelligible fragments are omitted; about one-fifth line.

<sup>c</sup>This last is the legal phraseology of receipts, by which all future claim is renounced. From the end of l. 19 on we have additional enactments not found in the corresponding clause of the Hittite obligations.

<sup>d</sup>The persons who flee are of two classes: “*great men*” and “*men who are not known*,” viz., people of no consequence from the Egyptian point of view, but merely mechanics, artisans or servants.

<sup>e</sup>These, being people of no rank, come only “*to the land of Kheta*,” but the “*great men*” go personally “*to the great chief of Kheta*.” The verb used for the “*great men*” shows also the distinction between the two classes; it is *šsp*, “*receive*,” whereas, referring to the unknown persons, we find *w > h* (possibly “*admit*”), probably “*settle*,” that is, allow them to settle down (but *w > h* is also used once of the “*great men*,” l. 24).

*Extradition of Political Fugitives in Egypt*

**384.** 11. Or if any great man shall flee from the land of Kheta, [and he shall come to] Usermare-Setepnere, the great ruler of Egypt, (from) either a town or a district,<sup>a</sup> or <sup>24</sup>[any region of] those belonging to the land of Kheta, and they shall come to Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, then Usermare-Setepnere, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not receive them, (but) Ramses - Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, shall cause them to be brought to the great chief of Kheta. They shall not be settled.

*Extradition of Emigrants to Egypt*

**385.** 12. Likewise, if there flee a man, or two, or three, <sup>25</sup>[who are not] known, and they shall come to the land of Egypt, to become foreign subjects, then Usermare-Setepnere, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not settle them, (but) he shall cause them to be brought to the great chief of Kheta.

*The Witness of the Gods of Kheta and Egypt*

**386.** 13. As for the words of this 'contract'<sup>b</sup> of the great chief of Kheta, with Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler <sup>26</sup>[of Egypt], written upon this silver tablet; as for these words, a thousand gods of the male gods and of the female gods, of those of the land of Kheta, together with a thousand gods, of the male gods and of the female gods of those of the land of Egypt, they are with me as witnesses [to] these words: the Sun-god, lord of the heavens, the Sun-god, of the city of Ernen<sup>c</sup> (<sup>2</sup> -r-n-n<sup>2</sup>), <sup>27</sup>Sutekh, the lord of the heavens, Sutekh of Kheta, Sutekh of the city of Ernen, Sutekh of the city Zepyerened (<sup>D</sup> -pw-y<sup>2</sup> -r<sup>2</sup> -n-d<sup>2</sup>), Sutekh of the city of Perek (<sup>P</sup> -y-r<sup>2</sup> -k<sup>2</sup>), Sutekh of the city of Khesesep (<sup>H</sup> -y-s<sup>2</sup> -s<sup>2</sup> -p<sup>2</sup>), Sutekh of the city Seres (<sup>S</sup> -ry-sw), Sutekh of the city of Aleppo (<sup>H</sup> -y-r<sup>2</sup> -p<sup>2</sup>), Sutekh of the city of Rekhsen (<sup>R</sup> -p<sup>2</sup> -sy-n<sup>2</sup>), Sutekh <sup>28</sup>[of the city of —], ——— [—], Sutekh of the

<sup>a</sup>Cf. the use of this word (*k c k*, "corner") for a distant region in Harkhuf (I, 335), and for any district as here, in the Twenty-second Dynasty, Dakhel stela (IV, 726, l. 2), and two more examples (*ibid.*, note).

<sup>b</sup>We expect here the name of the Hittite king; hence the above (Müller) is very uncertain.

<sup>c</sup>A city in the district called by the Assyrians "Kammanu . . . on the border of the territory of the Cappodocian Comana," according to Sayce (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 23, 98).

city of Sekhpen ( $S^{\circ} - y - \dot{h}y - p^{\circ} y - n^{\circ}$ ), Antheret ( $^c n^a - \dot{t} - r^{\circ} - ty$ ) of the land of Kheta, the god of Zeyethekhrer ( $D^{\circ} y - y^{\circ} - \dot{t} - \dot{h}y - r - ry$ ), the god of Kerzet — ( $K^{\circ} - r - \dot{d}^{\circ} y - \dot{t}^{\circ} -$  —), the god of Kherpenteres ( $\dot{H} - r - p^{\circ} - n - ty - ry - s^{\circ}$ ), <sup>29</sup>the goddess of the city of Kerekhen — n — ( $K^{\circ} - r - \dot{h} - n - - n - -$  —), the goddess of 'Khewek' ( $\dot{H}^1 - w^{\circ} - \dot{r} - k^{\circ}$ ), the goddess of Zen — ( $D^{\circ} - y - n -$  —), the god of Zen — wet ( $\dot{D}^{\circ} - n - - \dot{r} - w^1 - ty$ ), <sup>c</sup> the god of Serep ( $S^{\circ} - r^{\circ} - p^{\circ}$ ), <sup>d</sup> the god of Khenbet ( $\dot{H} - n - b^{\circ} - \dot{t}^{\circ}$ ), <sup>e</sup> the queen of the heavens, gods, lords of swearing, the goddess, the mistress of the soil, the mistress of swearing, Teskher ( $T^{\circ} - s^{\circ} - \dot{h} - r^{\circ}$ ), the mistress of <sup>30</sup>the mountains, and the rivers of the land of Kheta, the gods of the land of Kezweden ( $Ky - \dot{d}^{\circ} - w^{\circ} - \dot{d}^{\circ} - n^{\circ}$ ), Amon, the Sun-god, Sutekh, the male gods and the female gods of the mountains and the rivers of the land of Egypt, of the heavens, the soil, the great sea, the wind, and the storms.

*Curse on the Violator of the Treaty*

**387.** 14. Now, these words, <sup>31</sup>which are upon this silver tablet, are for <sup>f</sup>the land of Kheta and for the land of Egypt. As for him who shall not keep them, the thousand gods of the land of Kheta, and the thousand gods of the land of Egypt shall desolate his house, his land, and his subjects.

*Blessing on the Observer of the Treaty*

**388.** 15. Now as for him who shall keep these words, which are upon this silver tablet, whether they<sup>g</sup> be of Kheta, or whether they be people <sup>32</sup>of Egypt, and they shall not devise (aught) against them; the thousand gods of the land of Kheta, together with the thousand gods of the land of Egypt, shall preserve his health, and his life, together with his issue, with his land,<sup>h</sup> and his subjects.

<sup>a</sup>Müller corrects to *s* and reads Astarte, which is probable.

<sup>b</sup>Sayce's reading  $\dot{h}^{\circ}$ , with  $\dot{h}$  and  $^{\circ}$  is, of course, impossible.

<sup>c</sup>So Bouriant and Müller; Sayce has  $D^{\circ} - y - ty - ty$ .

<sup>d</sup>So the old texts; Müller has a lacuna for  $S^{\circ}$ .

<sup>e</sup>Uncertain.

<sup>f</sup>The fragments of the Ramesseum duplicate begin here; but Bouriant's reconstruction begins with l. 33.

<sup>g</sup>The change of number is in the original.

<sup>h</sup>According to Müller, this word is omitted in the original, and he is corroborated by the photograph.



*Treatment of Extradited Persons by Kheta*

389. 16. If a man flee from the land of Egypt, or two or three, and <sup>33</sup>come<sup>a</sup> to the great chief of Kheta, the great chief of Kheta shall seize upon them, and shall cause them to be brought back to Usermare-Setepnere, the great ruler of Egypt. Now, as for the man who shall be brought (back) to Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, let not his crime be set up against him; let not <sup>34</sup>his house be injured, nor his wives, nor his children, [let] him [not be killed], and let no injury be done to his eyes, to his ears, to his mouth, nor to his feet. Let not any crime be set up against him.

*Treatment of Extradited Persons by Egypt*

390. 17. Likewise if a man flee from the land of Kheta, be it one, be it two, (or) be it three, and they shall come to Usermare-Setepnere, <sup>35</sup>the great ruler of Egypt, let Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, seize [upon them, and let him cause] that they be brought to the great chief of Kheta; and the great chief of Kheta shall not set up their crime against them; let not his house be injured, nor his wives, nor his children, let him not be killed, and let no injury be done to his ears, <sup>36</sup>to his eyes, to his mouth, nor to his feet. Let not any crime be set up against him.

*Figures and Seals on the Front of the Silver Plate*

391. 18. <sup>b</sup>That which is in the middle of this silver tablet: on its front side is a figure<sup>c</sup> in the likeness of Sutekh embracing the likeness of the great chief of Kheta, surrounded by the following [words]: "The seal of Sutekh, the ruler of the heavens; the seal of the treaty which Khetasar, the great chief <sup>37</sup>of Kheta, the valiant, the son of Merasar (*M-r 2 -s 2 -r 2*), the valiant, the great chief of Kheta, the valiant, made."

<sup>a</sup>From here on, see Bouriant's reconstruction, *Recueil*, XIV, 68, 69.

<sup>b</sup>That this phrase begins the description of the silver plate is self-evident; but is rendered still more clear by the parallel phrase in l. 37 and l. 38.

<sup>c</sup>This word (*hpyw*) is the usual one for inlay-figures in descriptions of Egyptian monuments; it may equally well mean "design" or "device." The sculptures of Boghazköi show a figure of the Hittite ruler embraced by his god (see Messerschmidt, *Corpus Inscriptionum Hittiticarum*, Taf. 27 E; di Cara, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 13, 196; and Müller, *Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft*, VII, 233 f.). [Later: Krall's review of Müller's publication of the text contains the same explanation of the figures on the plate.]

That<sup>a</sup> which is in the midst of the surrounding design<sup>b</sup> is the seal [of Sutekh, the ruler of the heavens]. [That which is [in the middle<sup>3</sup> on] its other side is a figure, in the likeness of [—]<sup>c</sup> of Kheta, embracing the figure of the princess of Kheta, surrounded by the following words: "The seal of the <sup>38</sup>Sun-god of the city of Ernen (<sup>ꜥ</sup>-<sup>r</sup>-<sup>n</sup>-<sup>n</sup>), the lord of the land; the seal of Petkhep (<sup>Pw</sup>-<sup>tw</sup>-<sup>ky</sup>-<sup>p</sup>), the princess<sup>d</sup> of the land of Kheta, the daughter of the land of Kezweden (<sup>Ky</sup>-<sup>d</sup>-<sup>w</sup>-<sup>d</sup>-<sup>n</sup>), the — — — of Ernen, the mistress of the land, the votress of the goddess. That which is in the midst of the surrounding design is the seal of the Sun-god of Ernen, the lord of every land."

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#### RELATIONS OF EGYPT WITH THE HITTITES AFTER THE WAR

392. Ramses II regarded the conclusion of his war with the Hittites as a triumph for himself. Peace once established, he referred to himself continually as the conqueror of the Hittites.<sup>e</sup> Especially at Abu Simbel is this noticeable, where his inscriptions speak of him as one:

"Who has made the land of Kush as if it had not existed; who has caused the land of Kheta to cease the contradiction of its mouth . . . . smiter of the land of Kheta . . . . smiter of the land of Kheta, which is made heaps of dead."<sup>f</sup>

This attitude is also evident in his obelisk inscriptions, e. g., at Tanis he is spoken of as "*carrying off the chiefs of Retenu as living prisoners, crushing the land of Kheta;*"

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<sup>a</sup>So here and in l. 38, as the duplicate (Sharpe's copy) shows.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "*the surrounding of the design;*" the same also in the last line.

<sup>c</sup>Some female divinity, as the word for figure (*ꜥpy't*) shows.

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "*chieftainess;*" being the feminine (*wr't*) of the word which we render "*chief*" (*wr*), lit., "*great one.*"

<sup>e</sup>Besides the following, it should be noticed that the latest copies of the Kadash Poem represent Ramses in the same light (see Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 216, n. 1; and *infra*, § 314, n.).

<sup>f</sup>Stela on the front of the Abu Simbel temple (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 195, a, portions of ll. 2-9).

and again, "*penetrating this land of Kheta, capturing it with valor, making a great slaughter among his heroes.*"<sup>a</sup>

393. This is the light then, in which the Egyptians chose to represent their relations with Kheta. But the peace was not broken, and we are able to trace the amicable relations between the two nations through the thirty-fifth year of Ramses' reign, and we know it continued also into that of his successor. The documents are:

I. Blessing of Ptah (§§ 394-414).

II. Marriage Stela (§§ 415-24).

III. Message of the Chief of Kheta to the Chief of Kode (§§ 425, 426).

IV. Coptos Stela (§§ 427, 428).

V. Bentresh Stela (§§ 429-447).

#### I. THE BLESSING OF PTAH<sup>b</sup>

394. This remarkable document contains a long address of Ptah to Ramses II, which promises him all possible good fortune (ll. 3-28). To this Ramses replies by enumerating some of his good works for the god (ll. 29-37). The document is chiefly of religious interest, but both addresses contain references to historical events of importance.

395. The speech of Ptah mentions his building of the

<sup>a</sup>All of Ramses II's obelisks were erected at least nine years after the close of the Hittite war; the above texts are translated from Petrie, *Tanis*, I, VII, No. 45, and VIII, No. 49.

<sup>b</sup>Engraved on a large stela in the first hall of the great Abu Simbel temple, and is published by Champollion, *Monuments*, 38 (without relief at top); Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 194, from which Rheinisch, *Chrestomathie*, XIII, is copied; Naville, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, VII, 119 ff. and plate, made from a squeeze. The document was later appropriated by Ramses III and engraved by him upon the first pylon of the Medinet Habu Temple, published by Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, 7-10; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, II, 131-38. The translation herein is made with constant reference to the later version (called M), which is very useful, as the older text (called A) omits the first person singular ending frequently and is in places corrupt. Important variants from M are given in the notes.

residence city, Tanis (ll. 16-18), and the visit of the Hittite king (ll. 24-28), bringing his eldest daughter, which had occurred in the year 34, a year before the erection of our stela. It furnishes us with a shorter account of the incident than the Marriage Stela (§§ 415-24). It is interesting to note that the visit is attributed to the influence of Ptah (ll. 15 and 25), just as in the Coptos Stela (§§ 427, 428), which refers to the same or a similar incident.

**396.** The reply of Ramses mentions in particular his temple buildings at Memphis (ll. 32-34) and their endowment (ll. 34, 35).

**397.** A relief at the top of the stela shows Ramses II smiting three Asiatic enemies before Ptah-Tatenen, who is leading to him six captives, one of whom is a Negro, and the rest are bearded; but, as the names show, the latter should be Negroes (p. 202, n. c). The inscription below, of thirty-seven lines, is as follows:

*Date*

**398.** <sup>1</sup>Year 35, first month of the second season, day 13, under the majesty of . . . . . <sup>2</sup>. . . . . Ramses II,<sup>a</sup> given life.

*Introduction*

**399.** Utterance of Ptah-Tatenen, of lofty plumes and ready horns, begetter of the gods, to his son, his beloved, <sup>3</sup>firstborn of his body, the divine god, sovereign of the gods, great in royal jubilees like Tatenen, King Ramses II, given life:<sup>b</sup>

*Speech of Ptah; Birth of Ramses*

**400.** "I am thy father, who begat thee as the gods, all thy limbs are of the gods. I assumed my form as the Ram, lord of <sup>4</sup>Mendes,<sup>c</sup> and begat thee in thy august mother,<sup>c</sup> since I knew that thou wouldst be

<sup>a</sup>Full fivefold titulary.

<sup>b</sup>Double titulary.

<sup>c</sup>M has: "I cohabited with thy august mother, in order to fashion thy form (ky) as lord of [the Two Lands]."

my champion, that thou wouldst indeed do profitable things for my ka. I fashioned thee to rise like Re, exalted thee before the gods, King Ramses II, given life. The companions of <sup>5</sup>Ptah jubilate,<sup>a</sup> thy Meskhenet<sup>b</sup> rejoices in jubilation since <sup>c</sup>they have seen me, <sup>f</sup>a likeness to<sup>1c</sup> my august, great, and mighty body. The priestesses<sup>d</sup> of the house of Ptah, the Hathors<sup>b</sup> of the house of Atum are <sup>6</sup>in festivity, their hearts are in joy. Their hands are uplifted in acclaim since they have seen thy beautiful form. Thy amiability is like my <sup>f</sup>majesty<sup>1</sup>; the gods and goddesses acclaim thy beauty, praising, <sup>7</sup>and assigning to me laudation, saying: "Thou art our august father, who hast fashioned for us a god like thee, Ramses II, given life."

*Ptah Promises Happiness*

401. "When I see thee my heart rejoices, and I receive thee in an embrace of gold, I enfold thee with <sup>8</sup>permanence, stability and satisfaction; I endow thee with health and joy of heart; I immerse thee in rejoicing, joy, gladness of heart, and delights, — forever."

*Ptah Promises Wisdom*

402. "I make thy heart divine like me, I choose thee, I weigh thee, I prepare thee, that thy heart may discern, that thy utterance may be profitable. There is nothing <sup>9</sup>whatever which thou dost not know, (for) I have completed thee <sup>e</sup>this day and before, that thou mayest make all men live by thy instruction,<sup>e</sup> O King Ramses II, given life."

*Ptah Promises Power*

403. "I have set thee as everlasting king, ruler established forever. I have wrought <sup>10</sup>thy limbs of electrum, thy bones of copper, thy organs of iron. I have given to thee the divine office, that thou mayest rule the Two Lands <sup>f</sup>like the King of Upper and Lower Egypt."<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Following M, which the parallelism shows to be more probably correct, A has: "The companions of Ptah are (thy) nurses."

<sup>b</sup>Goddess of birth.

<sup>c</sup>Following M; a lacuna makes A unintelligible. M would mean that in seeing Ramses they see Ptah.

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "great, august ones," a title of these priestesses.

<sup>e</sup>M has: "in the counsels of life, that thou mayest make others live by thy designs."

<sup>f</sup>M: "as thy kingdom."

*Ptah Promises Agricultural Wealth*

404. "I give thee a great Nile, I endow for thee the Two Lands with wealth, produce, food, and luxuries, giving <sup>11</sup>plenty<sup>a</sup> in every place where thou treadest. I give to thee constant harvests, to feed the Two Lands at all times; the sheaves<sup>b</sup> thereof are like the sand of the shore, their granaries approach heaven, and their grain-heaps are like mountains. There is joy and laudation <sup>12</sup>at seeing thee, (for) plenty of fish and fowl are under thy feet.<sup>c</sup> The South and North are satisfied with thy ka.<sup>c</sup> Heaven is given to thee and that which is in it; earth<sup>d</sup> is led to thee and that which is in it; <sup>e</sup>the pool comes to thee bearing its fowl.<sup>e</sup> Harsekha<sup>f</sup> <sup>13</sup>bears her provisions, the best of the ka of Re; Thoth has set them on thy every side, that thou mayest open thy mouth, to enrich whom thou pleasest, according as thou art the living Khnum, and thy dominion is in victory and might like (that of) Re when he ruled <sup>14</sup>the Two Lands, O King Ramses II, given life."

*Ptah Promises Mineral and Industrial Wealth*

405. "I cause the mountains to shape for thee great, mighty, perfected monuments; I cause the countries to fashion for thee [all] splendid, costly stone, for <sup>1</sup>employment<sup>1</sup> in monuments in thy name. <sup>2</sup>I make profitable for thee all works;<sup>g</sup> I cause all labor<sup>h</sup> to serve thee, everything that goes on two legs, (or) upon four legs, everything that flies, and all that soars. I put it into the heart of every land <sup>i</sup>to offer and to labor for thee<sup>i</sup> themselves;<sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup>chiefs, great and small,<sup>k</sup> with <sup>6</sup>one accord do profitable things for thy ka, King Ramses II, given life."

<sup>a</sup>Read *sdj*.

<sup>b</sup>M: "grain."

<sup>c</sup>M.

<sup>d</sup>Original has "Keb," the earth-god.

<sup>e</sup>In M the word "pool" is determined with a wild fowl, and it reads: "the (bird-) pools lead to thee the fowl of heaven" (*yry'w-pt*). A similar notion is found in IV, 265, l. 2.

<sup>f</sup>A rare goddess of unknown functions.

<sup>g</sup>Perhaps: "workmen."

<sup>h</sup>Lit., "all artisanship" (fem.); but M shows as determinative a man.

<sup>i</sup>M: "to offer their labor (impost) to thee."

<sup>j</sup>The same idea is found in the Coptos stela of Ramses II (§ 428).

<sup>k</sup>Possibly: "chiefs and petty kings;" M has only "great and small."

*Ramses' Residence City and its Buildings*

406. "Thou hast made an august residence, to make strong the boundary of the Two Lands (named): "House-of-Ramses-Meriamon-Given-Life," <sup>a</sup>that it may flourish on earth like the four pillars <sup>17</sup>of heaven — — — a sovereign therein, <sup>a</sup> that thou mayest celebrate the royal jubilees that I celebrated therein. I put on thy crown with my own two hands, when thou appearest upon the great double staircase. Men and gods acclaim thy name <sup>18b</sup>like mine when thou celebratest the royal jubilees.<sup>b</sup> Thou fashionest the statues, thou buildest their holy places as I<sup>c</sup> did at the first beginning."

*Ptah Promises Long Life and Prosperity*

407. "I give to thee years of royal jubilees, my rule, my place, my throne. I endow thy limbs with life, satisfaction and protection behind thee, <sup>d</sup>with <sup>19</sup>prosperity and health. I protect Egypt under thy authority, the Two Lands are diffused with the satisfying life of<sup>d</sup> Ramses II, given life."

*Ptah Promises Power*

408. "I have set for thee the might, victory, and strength of thy sword in every land, I have bound for thee the hearts of all lands, <sup>e</sup> <sup>20</sup>I have set them beneath thy feet. When thou appearest every day, <sup>f</sup>the captives of the Nine Bows<sup>f</sup> are brought to thee, the great chiefs of every land present to thee their children, I assign them to thy mighty sword, to do what thou pleasest with them, <sup>21</sup>O King Ramses II, given life. I have put thy terror in every heart, thy love in every body; I have set thy might in every country, thy fear encircles the mountains, and the

<sup>a</sup>M has: "plentiful in provisions for Egypt, flourish[ing] like [the four pillars of] heaven; thy majesty abides in its palace, that I may build the wall of my seat therein."

<sup>b</sup>M has: "when thou appearest at the jubilees, like me."

<sup>c</sup>Compare the great Ptah inscription of Memphis, which says of him: "He made likenesses of their (the gods') bodies to the satisfaction of their hearts, he made the gods enter into their bodies of every wood, of every costly stone, of every metal" (l. 60); also: "He formed the gods . . . . he set the gods in the holy places" (ll. 59, 60; *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1901, Taf. I, II).

<sup>d</sup>M has: "As the protection of (thy) limbs. Victorious art thou, every land is under thee, Egypt is diffused with thy beauty."

<sup>e</sup>M has: "the lands of the Asiatics (Sṯ tyw)."

<sup>f</sup>M has: "the captives of thy two hands."

chiefs tremble at the mention of thee. Thy majesty flourishes, <sup>22</sup>steadfast as their head; they come to thee, crying out together, to crave peace from thee. Thou lettest live whom thou wilt, and thou slayest whom thou wilt. Lo, the throne of every land is under thy authority."

*Ptah the Author of Ramses' Prosperity*

409. "I cause to befall thee <sup>23</sup>thy <sup>a</sup>great<sup>a</sup> wonders, and every good thing to happen to thee. The Two Lands<sup>b</sup> under thee are in acclamation, Egypt flourishes, rejoicing, O Ramses II, given life. I have transferred my dignity to thee; thy great and marvelous <sup>24</sup>excellence approaches heaven; the Two Lands are in joy, they who are therein rejoice at that which has happened to thee. As for the mountains, the waters, and the buildings upon the land, they remove at thy good<sup>c</sup> name, when they behold this command."

*Visit of the Hittites*

410. "I have made <sup>25</sup>for thee the <sup>d</sup>land of Kheta<sup>d</sup> into subjects of thy palace; I have put it into their hearts to present themselves, with fearful steps to thy ka, bearing their impost which their chiefs have captured, all their possessions as tribute to <sup>26</sup>the fame of his majesty, L. P. H. His eldest daughter is in front thereof, to satisfy the heart of the Lord of the Two Lands, King Ramses II, given life. <sup>e</sup>It<sup>e</sup> is a mysterious marvel; she knows not the excellent matter which I have done at thy desire, <sup>27</sup>that thy great name should be excellent forever. The success of the victorious hero is a great mystery for which he prays. It has not been heard since (the time of) the gods; the mysterious records have been in the house of books from the time of Re until thy majesty, <sup>28</sup>L. P. H., (but) the relation of Kheta in one accord with Egypt has not been known. Lo, it was commanded to slay them beneath thy feet, in order to make thy name live forever, O King Ramses II, given life."

<sup>a</sup>M.

<sup>b</sup>M has: "the lands."

<sup>c</sup>M has: "victorious."

<sup>d</sup>M modifies these statements to suit the times of Ramses III; it has: "every land" here; and in place of "his eldest daughter, etc." (l. 26), it has: "their sons and their daughters as slaves to thy palace."

<sup>e</sup>Possibly: "she;" all this is omitted in M.



*Reply of Ramses*

411. <sup>20</sup>Utterance of the divine king, Lord of the Two Lands, <sup>21</sup>lord of the form of<sup>a</sup> Khepri, in whose limbs is Re, who came forth from Re, whom Ptah-Tatenen begat, King Ramses II, given life; to his father, from whom he came forth, Tatenen, <sup>30</sup>father of the gods: "I am thy son whom thou hast placed upon thy throne. Thou hast assigned to me thy kingdom, thou hast fashioned me in thy likeness and thy form, which thou hast assigned to me and hast created. I shall do again every good thing that thou desirest, while I am sole lord, as thou wast, to settle the 'affairs'<sup>b</sup> of the land. I have created Egypt for thee anew, I have made it as at the beginning, I have wrought the gods' forms from thy limbs, even to their color and to their bodies; I have equipped Egypt according to their desire, I have built it up with <sup>32</sup>temples."

*Building of Memphis Temple*

412. "I have enlarged thy house in Memphis,<sup>c</sup> protected with everlasting works, with excellent labor, in stone, wrought with gold and genuine costly stones, I constructed thy forecourt <sup>33</sup>on the north with an august double façade before thee. Their doors are like the horizon of heaven, causing (even) strangers to praise thee. I made for thee an august temple in the midst of the inclosure. Thou god, 'whom I have' fashioned, art in its secret chapel, <sup>34</sup>resting upon its great throne."

*Endowment of Memphis Temple*

413. "It is equipped with priests, prophets, peasant-slaves, lands, and cattle. It is made festive with innumerable divine offerings consisting of all things. I have celebrated thy great feast of royal jubilees, <sup>35</sup>as thou commandest them me. All things that are, are brought to thee in great offerings, at thy desire: bulls (*wn-dw*), cattle beyond limit. I have brought all their number in millions; as for the fat thereof, it has reached heaven, and the dwellers in heaven have received it."

<sup>a</sup>So M; A has: "*becoming as (= like, or merely introducing the predicate) Khepri.*"

<sup>b</sup>See Ineni, l. 17, note (II, 341).

<sup>c</sup>See §§ 530-37.

*Foreign Conquests*

414. <sup>36</sup>“I have caused every land to see the beauty in the monuments which I have made for thee. I have branded the people of the Nine Bows and the whole land with thy name, they belong to thy ka, forever, for thou art the creator of them; by command of this thy son, who is upon thy throne, <sup>37</sup>lord of gods and men, sovereign celebrating the jubilees like thee [when thou] bearest the two sistrums, <sup>a</sup>son of the white crown, heir of the red crown, <sup>a</sup>possessing the Two Lands in peace, Ramses II, given life, forever and ever.”

II. MARRIAGE STELA<sup>b</sup>

415. This monument enables us to trace more fully the further relations between Egypt and the Hittites after the peace had been negotiated. A relief at the top shows the king of the Hittites and his daughter in the presence of Ramses. Before the daughter are the words: “*Matnejrure, c daughter of the chief of Kheta.*” A mutilated inscription accompanying the two visitors contained their words of praise to Ramses II. The beginning is entirely lost for five lines, where it proceeds:<sup>d</sup>

*Speech of King of Kheta*

Thou didst command the land of Kheta, thou takest captive the people — with all their possessions, the eldest<sup>e</sup> daughter being at their

<sup>a</sup>Amend so; see Naville's commentary.

<sup>b</sup>Cut in the face of the south wall of the excavated court in front of the temple of Abu Simbel. The lower half being covered by sand, Lepsius saw only the relief at the top and eighteen lines (of the forty-one lines) below; this much he published (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 196), but without indication that it was not the whole. The entire inscription, without the relief, was published by Bouriant (*Recueil*, XVIII, 164-66). In ll. 36-39, I was able to control Bouriant's publication by the copy of Steindorff, which he kindly placed at my disposal. The original is much mutilated, and so indistinct that some passages have been omitted as too uncertain in text for translation.

<sup>c</sup>Misread by Lepsius; for proper reading, see § 417.

<sup>d</sup>Bouriant did not copy this; the following translation is made from Steindorff's copy of the original.

<sup>e</sup>As the Hittite king is speaking, one expects “my daughter” as in l. 32 of the long inscription, which repeats these words.

head, to ——— before thy beautiful face. Thou commandest them — — under thy feet forever and ever, together with the whole land of Kheta. While thou shinest upon the throne of Re, every land is under [thy] feet, forever.

416. Below the relief is a long inscription of forty-one lines beginning with the date “*year 34*,” Three-fourths (twenty-nine lines) of this inscription are devoted to an extravagant encomium of the Pharaoh, containing only the hackneyed phrases of conventional praise, relieved by two references to the defeat of Kheta. The last fourth of the document (ll. 30-41) then proceeds with an incident, of which the mutilated condition of the monument and the excessively inaccurate publication permit us to gain only the meagerest outline. After a reference to the treaty of peace, the king of the Hittites is represented as reverting to their defeat by Ramses, and he apparently proposes that they proceed to Egypt. This they do, bringing rich gifts, and the news soon reaches Ramses, who is filled with delight, and prepares to receive his visitors; the chiefs of Kheta, Kode, and “*the chiefs of every land*.” He seems to be concerned for their arrival in the uncertainties of winter travel, and offers an oblation to Sutekh on their behalf. When finally, with the escort he had sent to meet them, they arrive in safety, they appear with the Hittite king’s eldest daughter at their head, the troops of Egypt “*mingling with the foot and horse of Kheta*.” A great feast seems to have been immediately held, where those who had once faced each other in combat now eat and drink together, while the Asiatic princes approach the Pharaoh in audience.

417. It is probably at this feast that the Hittite princess thus brought to Egypt was married to Ramses. The historical character of this marriage is further evidenced by the colossus of Ramses II at Tanis, attached to which is a statue of a queen bearing the inscription:<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Mariette, *Recueil*, IX, 13; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 74; Petrie, *Tanis*, I, 24, Pl. 5, 36 B.

“Great king’s-wife, mistress (*hn·t*) of the Two Lands: Matnefrure (*Mᵛ·t-nfr·w-Rᶜ*),<sup>a</sup> daughter of the great chief of Kheta.”

This inscription, therefore, renders unquestionable the main facts of the following narrative on the Marriage Stela.

*The Treaty of Peace*

**418.** <sup>30</sup>. . . . . The chief of Kheta sent, asking of me permanent<sup>b</sup> peace. Never did he — for them. Now <sup>1</sup>afterward<sup>1</sup> . . . . . <sup>31</sup>under the great fame of the Lord of the Two Lands, King Ramses (II).

*The Chief of Kheta Counsels with His Officers*

**419.** Then spake the chief of the land of Kheta to his <sup>1</sup>army<sup>3c</sup> and his nobles, saying: “Now is our land devastated; Sutekh <sup>1</sup>is<sup>1</sup> our lord to <sup>1</sup>protect us<sup>1</sup>, (but) [The has<sup>1</sup>] not . . . . . <sup>32</sup>fighting with them. We have been taken captive with all our possessions; my eldest daughter being before them<sup>d</sup> . . . . .”

*They Proceed with Gifts to Egypt*

**420.** Then they [<sup>1</sup>came<sup>1</sup>] with [their] possessions, and [their] splendid [<sup>1</sup>gifts<sup>1</sup>] before <sup>33</sup>them, of silver and gold, marvels many and great, horses to — them, — living things . . . . .

*The News Reaches Ramses*

**421.** . . . . . to delight the heart of his majesty, saying: “Behold, the great chief of Kheta comes, <sup>34</sup>bringing his eldest daughter, bearing much tribute, being everything . . . . . The chief of Kheta, together with the chief of [<sup>1</sup>Kode<sup>e</sup> and people<sup>1</sup>] of Kheta, are bringing them. They have traversed many mountains and difficult ways, that they

<sup>a</sup>Meaning: “*She who sees the beauty of Re*” (the sun). It is the name of the last hour of the night (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, IV, 845; Petrie, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXVI, 36).

<sup>b</sup>*N rnḫ·t n rnḫ·t*, “year by year?”

<sup>c</sup>The word is lost except the determinative of men and plural strokes; of course, the first *f* is a misread *n*.

<sup>d</sup>These words are among those used by the chief of Kheta in addressing the Pharaoh in the relief above (§ 415).

<sup>e</sup>This restoration, in view of the letter in *Anastasi*, II (§§ 425, 426), is exceedingly probable.

might reach the boundaries of his majesty. . . . <sup>35</sup>. . . .” His majesty received the ‘word’ — — [in] the palace, with joy of heart.

*Ramses Makes Preparations to Receive Them*

422. When he heard such strange and unexpected matters . . . . . he commanded <sup>36</sup>the army and the princes to receive in front of them in haste.

*Ramses’ Sacrifices to Sutekh for Good Weather*

423. Then his majesty took counsel ‘for’ the army<sup>a</sup> with his own heart, saying: “What are these newcomers like! When there goes not a messenger<sup>b</sup> to Zahi (*D<sup>3</sup>-h<sup>3</sup>*) in these days of flood <sup>37</sup>on the upper ‘heights’<sup>c</sup> in winter.”<sup>d</sup> Then [he] offered an oblation for ‘—’ and for Sutekh. Then he came [‘pray’]ing, saying: “Heaven is — and earth is under ‘thy feet’. That which thou commandest is all that happens. Thou — to make the flood and the cold upon the ‘heights’ . . . . . <sup>38</sup>. . . . which thou hast assigned to me, King Ramses (II).” Then his father, Sutekh, heard every [wor]d . . . . .

*Arrival of Ramses’ Escort with the Visitors*

424. . . . . his army came, their limbs being sound, and they were long in stride <sup>39</sup>. . . . . The daughter of the great chief of Kheta marched in [‘front’] of the army . . . . . of his majesty in following her. They were mingled with foot and horse of Kheta; they were <sup>40</sup>warriors<sup>e</sup> as well as regulars; they ate and they drank ‘not’ fighting face to face . . . . . between them, after the manner of the

<sup>a</sup>This is probably the “army” escort of the visitors, by which term (“army”) Ramses refers to the whole expedition now on the way to Egypt.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., “they go not by messenger,” or “as a messenger.”

<sup>c</sup>Bouriant has miscopied the word, as is shown by its second occurrence in this same line; it is perhaps *k<sup>3</sup>*, “height.”

<sup>d</sup>It is evident that Ramses expresses to himself here his wonder that these visitors are coming in the winter rainy season, when hardly a state messenger could reach Zahi; though the language he uses is obscure and difficult. He now offers to Sutekh a gift for the sake of good weather and the safe arrival of the visitors. The similar reference in the poem (§ 426) on the same occasion to Ramses’ power over rain and storm is hardly accidental. The author of the poem knew of the Abu Simbel Stela. For a similar offering for favorable weather on a voyage, see Punt Expedition (II, 252).

<sup>e</sup>Mercenaries.

god himself, King Ramses (II). The great chiefs of every land came; they were bowed down, turning back in fear, when they saw [this majesty; the chief of] Kheta [came] among them, [to seek the favor] of King Ramses (II).

III. MESSAGE OF THE CHIEF OF KHETA TO THE CHIEF OF  
KODE<sup>a</sup>

425. This poetic fragment perhaps indicates that Ramses II invited the chief of Kheta and other Asiatic chiefs, at least the chief of Kode, to Egypt, and this invitation a court poet of course regards as a command (Poem below, l. 2). To this invitation the Abu Simbel stela (§§ 415-24) makes no reference, and the whole ten-line poem, being of course only the fancy of a court poet to embellish his description of the glories of Ramses' capitol, to which the Hittite visitors came, may have no foundation in fact. Such a visit, however, and the marriage alliance which it consummated, as we know from the Amarna Letters, must have occasioned much preliminary correspondence, of which this poem offers us a hint.

426. The great chief (*wr-<sup>c2</sup>*) of Kheta sent to the chief (*wr*) of Kode (saying):

“Equip thyself that we may proceed to Egypt,  
That we may say: ‘The behest of the god comes to pass;’  
Let us make overtures to Ramses II, L. P. H.,  
For he gives breath to whom he will,  
And every country lies at his disposition.  
Kheta is in his power alone,  
If the god accepts not his offering,  
It (Kheta) sees no rain,<sup>b</sup>  
For it is in the power of Ramses (II), L. P. H.,  
The Bull, loving valor.”

<sup>a</sup>Papyrus Anastasi II, Pl. II. ll. 1-5 = *ibid.* IV, Pl. VI, ll. 7-10. Their connection with the Hittite king's visit was first noted by Erman, *Aegypten*, 707.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., “*water of heaven*,” it can hardly be an accident that the prose account (§ 423) also narrates an instance of Ramses' power with the god in respect of rain and storm.

IV. COPTOS STELA<sup>a</sup>

427. This document recorded the visit to Egypt of a number of the Asiatic princes bearing gifts for the Pharaoh. It is a visit precisely like that of the Hittite king (§ 410) and his neighbors, and reference is made to "*his other daughter*," as if another princess were being brought to Ramses in marriage. As the mention of this princess occurs directly after a reference to Keshkesh, one of the allies of the Hittite king; as the envoys are later (l. 13) said to be "*the children of the great chiefs of the land of Kheta*," and as there is a reference to a coming "*to Egypt for the second time*," this may possibly be the account of Ramses' marriage to a second Hittite princess. The pious priests attribute both the visit and the gifts, to the gods (l. 9), and particularly, among the gods of Egypt, to Ptah, precisely as is done in the Blessing of Ptah in referring to the visit of the Hittite king with his daughter (§ 410, l. 25).

428. <sup>3b</sup>———— [chiefs of]<sup>c</sup> all countries conveying their tribute, <sup>4</sup>———— of much gold, of much silver, of all costly stones, <sup>5</sup>———— very many captives of Keshkesh (*Kš-kš*), many captives <sup>6</sup>[of] ————— in writing for King Ramses (II) <sup>7</sup>———— many [herds] of goats, many herds of small cattle<sup>d</sup> before his other daughter <sup>8</sup>———— Ramses II, given life, to Egypt for the second time. It was not troops who brought them; it was not <sup>9</sup>———— [the god]s of the land of Egypt,

<sup>a</sup>A "black quartzose" stela found by Petrie in the Coptos temple; it had contained an older, probably Middle Kingdom, inscription, which Ramses II had dressed off for the reception of his own inscription (Petrie, *Coptos*, 15). It has been broken so that about half the document is missing, the line of breakage being from the beginning of the first to the end of the last line. Text, *ibid.*, XVIII; I had also a copy by Schaefer, which added a little at the broken edge, and furnished one correction.

<sup>b</sup>The extreme ends of the first two lines show remains of the titulary.

<sup>c</sup>Both the following context and the remains seen by Schaefer render this restoration probable, if not certain.

<sup>d</sup>The published *c nḥ't*, "goats," is an error; original has *y w't* (Schaefer's copy).

the gods of every country, while they caused the great chiefs of every country to convey <sup>10</sup>——— their — themselves to King Ramses (II), given life. <sup>11</sup>——— to convey their gold, to convey their silver, to convey their vessels of green <sup>12</sup>[stone to King] Ramses (II), given life; to bring their herds of horses, to bring their herds of <sup>13</sup>——— their herds of goats, to bring their herds of large cattle. The children of the great chiefs of the land of Kheta <sup>14</sup>came<sup>a</sup> bearing them themselves, from the boundaries of the lands of King Ramses (II), given life, <sup>15</sup>——— themselves. It was not a prince who came to bring them, it was not the infantry who came to bring them, it was not the chariotry who came to bring them, it was not <sup>16</sup>the [mercenaries] who went to bring them; it was Ptah, father of the gods, who has put all lands, and all countries under the feet of this Good God, forever and ever.

#### V. BENTRESH STELA<sup>b</sup>

429. It is clear that the visit of the Hittite king to Egypt was for the purpose of personally presenting his daughter to Ramses II in marriage. This marriage made a great impression upon the people, and the story of it circulated among them as the introduction to a legend which had grown up from another incident closely connected with the marriage. In the Eighteenth Dynasty, Dushratta, king of Mitanni, sent to Egypt the goddess Ishtar of Ninevah, in the year 35 or 36 of Amenhotep III,<sup>c</sup> doubtless for the sake

<sup>a</sup>Remains of the determinative of the verb of going may be seen.

<sup>b</sup>Discovered by Rosellini in a small temple of Græco-Roman age now perished, which stood by the Khonsu-temple at Karnak (Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 58; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, II, 48 f.; but when first seen by Champollion it was in the "ruines du Sud-Est" (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 280). It was carried to Paris by Prisse, and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. It was published by him (*Monuments égyptiens*, XXIV) afterwards from Champollion's copy (*Notices descriptives*, II, 280-90); Birch, *Egyptian Texts*, 77-81; Rougé, *Etude sur une stèle égyptienne appartenant à la Bibliothèque Impériale*, Paris, 1858 (*extrait du Journal Asiatique*, August, 1856; August, 1857, June and August to September, 1858; Rheinisch, *Chrestomathie*, Taf. 12; finally Ledrain, *Les monuments Eg. de la Bib. Nat.*, Pl. 36-44. The publications contain a number of inaccuracies, and it was possible to correct a good many errors from my own copy of the original, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

<sup>c</sup>*Amarna Letters*, ed. Winckler, 20, 13-29.



of the old king's health;<sup>a</sup> she had likewise gone to Egypt in the time of Dushratta's father. The chief of Kheta sent in like manner to Egypt, desiring that Khonsu be brought to Kheta for the purpose of healing his daughter, the younger sister of Ramses' queen, Matnefrure. This was done,<sup>b</sup> and although no contemporary record of the incident has survived, it gradually found place among the folk-tales of the time.

430. Some eight or nine hundred years later, in Persian or early Greek times, the priests of Khonsu at Thebes determined to record the story to the greater glory of their god. They put the current tale into language as archaic as they could command, and engraved it upon a stela, which is now our source for the document.<sup>c</sup> In doing this they evidently found some difficulty. The current version, of course, spoke of the king only as Ramses or Ramses-Meriamon. The priests, desiring to lend an official air to their stela, attempted to prefix to the king's name his full titulary, and in doing so used that of Thutmose IV! Nor was their knowledge sufficient to correct the errors or remove the absurdities of the popular version of the story. They consistently carry through seventeen months as the length of time necessary to go from Egypt to Bekhten<sup>d</sup> (*Bkhtn*), a land otherwise unknown; Nefrure, a corruption of Matnefruré, the real name of the Hittite chief's daughter; a date before the year 23 for the marriage of Matnefrure, which

<sup>a</sup>See Meyer, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 65, 66.

<sup>b</sup>A tradition of the visit of an Egyptian god in Syria is preserved in Macrobius; see Birch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1874, 67 f.

<sup>c</sup>The real age and origin of the Bentresh Stela were first noticed by Erman (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 54 ff.), but as the earlier case of Ishtar (*Amarna Letters*, ed. Winckler, 20) was then unknown, Erman naturally denied the content of the stela much of an historical basis.

<sup>d</sup>A corruption of Bactria?

really took place in the year 34—these and other errors, which will be evident to the reader, were calmly accepted by the priestly editors. Incidentally, this document therefore shows clearly how utterly ignorant of earlier Egyptian history were these late priests; and suggests caution in the use of the priest Manetho's work, who lived at about the time when this tale was put into writing.

431. The upper fourth of the stela is occupied by a relief, showing on either side the two sacred barques of the Khonsu's borne on the shoulders of priests. That on the right is Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest, to whom Ramses II is offering incense; while that on the left belongs to "*Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes, Great God, Smiter of Evil Spirits.*" Before him his priest, offering incense, is accompanied by the inscription:

432. The name of the prophet, priest of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes, is Khonsuhetneterneb (*Hnsw-h<sup>2</sup> t-ntr-nb<sup>1</sup> t*, sic!).<sup>a</sup>

Below the relief is the long inscription, as follows:

*Introduction*

433. <sup>1</sup>Horus: Mighty Bull, Likeness of Diadems, Abiding in Kingship, like Atum; Golden Horus: Mighty of Strength, Expelling the Nine Bows;<sup>b</sup> King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Setepnere; Son of Re, of his Body: Ramses-Meriamon, <sup>2</sup>beloved of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, and all the gods of Thebes. . . .  
4. . . . .<sup>c</sup>

*Tribute in Naharin*

434. Lo, his majesty was in Naharin (*N-h-r-[n]*) according to his yearly custom, while the chiefs of every country came bowing down in

<sup>a</sup>Meaning: "*Khonsu is chief of all gods.*" The form, both of this name and this short inscription, is unknown in the time of Ramses II.

<sup>b</sup>These three names (the second title, "*Favorite of the Two Goddesses,*" has been omitted before "*Abiding, etc.*") are those of Thutmose IV! The last two, however, show clearly that Ramses II is meant.

<sup>c</sup>The usual epitheta of the kings, running through ll. 2-4 (beginning).

peace, because of the fame of his majesty. From the marshes<sup>a</sup> was their tribute; silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite and every sweet wood of God's-Land were upon their backs, each one leading his neighbor.

*Marriage of Ramses and Chief of Bekhten's Daughter*

435. Then the chief of Bekhten (*Bh̄tn*) caused his tribute to be brought, and he placed his eldest daughter in front thereof,<sup>b</sup> praising his majesty, and craving life from him. Now, she was exceedingly beautiful to the heart of his majesty, beyond everything. Then they affixed<sup>c</sup> her titulary as: "Great King's-Wife, Nefrure (*Nj̄r'w-R̄*)."<sup>d</sup> When his majesty arrived in Egypt, she fulfilled all the functions of king's-wife.

*Arrival of the Messenger from Bekhten*

436. When the year 23, the tenth month, the twenty-second day, came, while his majesty was in Thebes, the victorious, the mistress of cities, performing the pleasing ceremonies of his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, at his beautiful feast of Southern Opet (Luxor), his favorite seat, of the beginning (of the world), came one to say to his majesty: "A messenger of the chief of Bekhten has come, bearing many gifts for the King's-Wife." Then he was brought<sup>e</sup> before his majesty together with his gifts. He said, praising his majesty: "Praise to thee, Sun of the Nine Bows! Give us life from thee." So spake he, smelling the earth before his majesty. He spake again before his majesty: "I come to thee, O king, my lord, on account of Bentresh (*B-n-t-r-š*), thy great<sup>e</sup> sister of the King's-Wife, Nefrure. Sickness has penetrated into<sup>f</sup> her limbs. May thy majesty send a wise man to see her."

<sup>a</sup>At the northern limits of the earth. The division may be wrong here; "from the marshes" goes better with the verb "came," but too much seems to intervene. The following would then be: "Their tribute, silver, etc., were upon their, etc."

<sup>b</sup>Exactly as in the documents on the coming of Matnefrure, especially the Ptah Stela (§ 410), with which the above passage is also in verbal agreement.

<sup>c</sup>To all seals and documents; that is, she takes an official Egyptian name on becoming a queen. On the use of this word "affix" (*wd*), see my *New Chapter* (Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, II, 2, 19, 20).

<sup>d</sup>This is, of course, an error of the late priests for *M' t-nj̄r'w-R̄*, the real name of the Hittite king's daughter (§ 417).

<sup>e</sup>Possibly to be rendered "oldest."

<sup>f</sup>Lit., "has mingled with."

*Dispatch of the Wise Man to Bekhten*

437. Then said his majesty: "Bring to me the sacred scribes<sup>a</sup> and the officials <sup>10</sup>of the court." They were led to him immediately. Said his majesty: "Let one read to you, till ye hear this thing. Then bring to me one experienced in his heart, who can write with his fingers, from your midst." The king's-scribe, <sup>11</sup>Thutemhab,<sup>b</sup> came before his majesty, and his majesty commanded that he go to Bekhten together with this messenger.

*Arrival of the Wise Man in Bekhten*

438. The wise man arrived in Bekhten; he found Bentresh in the condition of one possessed of a spirit. He found <sup>12</sup>her<sup>c</sup> [unable<sup>d</sup>] to contend with him.

*Message of the Chief of Bekhten to Ramses*

439. The chief of Bekhten repeated in the presence of his majesty,<sup>d</sup> saying: "O king, my lord, let his majesty command to have this god brought ———."<sup>e</sup> [Then the wise man whom his majesty had sent, returned<sup>f</sup>] <sup>13</sup>to his majesty in the year 26, the ninth month, at the feast of Amon,<sup>f</sup> while his majesty was in Thebes.

<sup>a</sup>*Ḥt nt pr ˁ nh* = lit., "those in charge of the writings of the house of life," a title especially common in Ptolemaic times. In the Canopus Decree it is rendered by the Greek *οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς*.

<sup>b</sup>A man of this name and of the same office lived in the time of Ramses II, and his stela is in Leyden (Lieblein, 884; Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 55).

<sup>c</sup>*Su* for *sy*; several words, now no longer visible on the stone here, were seen and copied by Prisse, but more correctly by Rheinisch.

<sup>d</sup>This alone would indicate that the chief of Bekhten, finding the wise man unable to cast out the spirit, went himself to Egypt to ask that the god be sent to do so. The loss between the two parts of the stela, just below this point, makes it difficult to trace the connection, but it seems more probable that the words of the chief of Bekhten are a message, sent by the returning wise man to Ramses, for it is clear that he received some message at the beginning of l. 13; and, further, the chief of Bekhten is found in Bekhten by the god on his arrival there. The chief therefore certainly remained in Bekhten.

<sup>e</sup>Lacuna of uncertain length, between the two fragments of the stela.

<sup>f</sup>As the god later consumes one year and five months (l. 17) in going to Bekhten, the round trip between Egypt and Bekhten should take some thirty-four months. This exactly suits the above passage, according to which the returning wise man has been absent nearly three years, which allows for a short stay in Bekhten.

*Ramses' Interview with the Two Khonsu's*

440. Then his majesty repeated (it) before Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest, saying: "O my good lord, I repeat before thee concerning the daughter of the chief of Bekhten." <sup>14</sup>Then they led Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest to Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker, the great god, smiting the evil spirits. Then said his majesty before Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest: "O thou good lord, if thou inclinest thy face to Khonsu-<sup>15</sup>the-Plan-Maker, the great god, smiting the evil spirits, he shall be conveyed to Bekhten." There was violent nodding. Then said his majesty: "Send thy protection with him, that I may cause his majesty<sup>a</sup> to go to Bekhten, to save the daughter of the chief of Bekhten." <sup>16</sup>Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest nodded the head violently. Then he wrought the protection of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes, four times.

*Departure of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker*

441. His majesty commanded to cause Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes to proceed to a great ship, five transports (*kḫ't*), numerous chariots <sup>17</sup>and horses of the west and the east.

*Arrival of the God in Bekhten*

442. This god arrived in Bekhten in a full year and five months. Then the chief of Bekhten came, with his soldiers and his nobles, before Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker. He threw himself <sup>18</sup>upon his belly, saying: "Thou comest to us, thou art welcome with us, by command of the King Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II)."

*Cure of Bentresh*

443. Then this god went to the place where Bentresh was. Then he wrought the protection of the daughter of the chief of Bekhten. She became well <sup>19</sup>immediately.

*Conciliation of the Spirit*

444. Then said this spirit which was in her before Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes: "Thou comest in peace, thou great god, smiting the barbarians. Thy city is Bekhten, thy servants are its people, I am thy servant. <sup>20</sup>I will go to the place whence I came, to satisfy thy

<sup>a</sup>Meaning the god.

heart concerning that, on account of which thou comest. (But) let thy majesty command to celebrate a feast-day with me and with the chief of Bekhten." Then this god nodded to his priest, saying: <sup>21</sup>"Let the chief of Bekhten make a great offering before this spirit." While these things were happening, which Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes wrought with the spirit, the chief of Bekhten stood with his soldiers, and feared very greatly. Then <sup>22</sup>he made a great offering before Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes and the spirit; and the chief of Bekhten celebrated a feast-day <sup>1</sup>with them. Then the spirit departed in peace to the place he desired, by command of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes, <sup>23</sup>and the chief of Bekhten rejoiced very greatly, together with every man who was in Bekhten.

*Retention of the God in Bekhten*

**445.** Then he took counsel with his heart, saying: "I will cause this god to remain with me in Bekhten; I will not permit that he return to Egypt." <sup>24</sup>Then this god tarried three years and nine months in Bekhten.

*Vision of the Chief of Bekhten*

Then the chief of Bekhten slept upon his bed, and he saw this god coming to him, to forsake his shrine; he was a hawk of gold, and he flew upward toward Egypt. <sup>25</sup>He (the chief) awoke in fright.

*Departure of the God for Egypt*

**446.** Then he said to the priest of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes: "This god, he is still with us; let him depart to Egypt; let his chariot depart to Egypt." <sup>26</sup>Then the chief of Bekhten caused this god to proceed to Egypt, and gave to him very many gifts of every good thing, very many soldiers and horses.

*Arrival of the God in Egypt*

**447.** They arrived in peace at Thebes. Then came the city of Thebes, and <sup>27</sup>the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes to the house of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest. He set the gifts which the chief of Bekhten had given to him, of good things, before Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest, (but) he gave not every thing thereof into his house. Khonsu-the-

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\*Khonsu has probably been omitted by mistake.

Plan-Maker-in-Thebes arrived <sup>28</sup>[at] his [plac]e in peace in the year 33, the second month, the ninth day,<sup>a</sup> of King Usermare-Setepnere; that he might be given life like Re, forever.

#### NUBIAN WARS AND REFERENCES TO NORTHERN WARS

448. The temples of Nubia contain many references of an indefinite character to Ramses II's Nubian wars, from which it is impossible to gain any idea of them, the localities conquered, or the date of the campaigns. These references are often so mingled with those of the northern wars against the Asiatics and Libyans that it is not possible to separate and classify them all. They are continued through the temples of Egypt also.<sup>b</sup> Of the Libyan war we learn little more than the fact, though the Tanis Stela furnishes an important hint of an alliance of the Libyans with the Sherden and a naval battle<sup>c</sup> (§ 491). To our knowledge of

<sup>a</sup>The round trip consumed 34 months (1 year and 5 months each way, l. 17), and he had remained in Bekhten 45 months (l. 24), a total absence of 79 months, or 6 years and 7 months. As he left Egypt in the ninth month of the year 26 (l. 13, date of wise man's return to summon him), if that date be late in the year 26, an absence of 6 years and 7 months would put his return in the year 33, as the priestly author of the inscription has done.

<sup>b</sup>Scenes showing Ramses sacrificing foreign captives of the north and south are found in practically all his temples; e. g., at the Ramesseum (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 159, b), where we find beside the scene the words: "*Slaying their chiefs, making them as if they had not been;*" and again: "*The chiefs of the countries of the south and the north, whom his majesty carried away as living captives.*" On his obelisks also there are very general references to his wars; thus at Tanis (Petrie, *Tanis*, I, VII, No. 45) he is called one, "*capturing Nubia by his valor, wasting Tehenu;*" and "*great in valor like a bull in Retenu;*" again (*ibid.*, No. 47): "*carrying off the chiefs of Retenu as living prisoners, crushing the land of Kheta.*" At Kurna, in the temple, some divinity addressed Ramses thus (Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, 145 A): "*the gods of Khenthennojer and Wawat in their nomes, and lands; the chiefs of God's-Land, who fashion every splendid costly stone for their son, Ramses II lapis lazuli of Tejrer, every costly stone that is in the two mountains, the products of Nun. The subjects of the Negroes come to thee by land and water, bringing down-stream all the reckonings of Nubia in the records of Thoth, in order to make festive the temple of thy father, Amon, lord of gods.*" (See also Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 38.)

<sup>c</sup>The hymn to Ramses II, in Papyrus Anastasi II, says: "*Libya falls before his sword*" (III, 4).

the Asiatic wars nothing definite is added. The materials are:

- I. Abu Simbel Temple (§§ 449-57).
- II. Bet el-Walli Temple (§§ 458-77).
- III. Assuan Stela (§§ 478, 479).
- IV. Luxor Temple (§§ 480-84).
- V. Abydos Temple (§§ 485, 486).
- VI. Tanis Stelæ (§§ 487-91).

#### I. ABU SIMBEL TEMPLE

449. The following scenes<sup>a</sup> in the great temple at Abu Simbel contain references to Ramses II's Asiatic wars, a war against the Libyans, and the Nubian war.

##### *Scene<sup>b</sup>*

450. Ramses II, with bow and sword in hand, rides slowly in his chariot, evidently accompanying his army on the march. Beside his horses runs his tame lion, while an orderly with bow, quiver, and staff, his sandals strung on his arm, marches at the horses' heads. Before them are driven two lines of bound Negro prisoners.

##### *Inscription*

451. Good God [—], who smites the south, who crushes the north; king, fighting with his sword, carrying off the furthest ends<sup>c</sup> of those who transgress his inviolable [places]. When his majesty arrives in the countries, he overthrows myriads; he desolates them. He has — Retenu, slaying their chiefs; he causes the Negroes to say: "Away! He is like flame, when it comes forth, and there is no water to quench

<sup>a</sup>The publications will be found with each scene. The great battle scene of Kadesh will be found in §§ 335-38.

<sup>b</sup>Champollion, *Monuments*, 15, 16 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 84, 85; Champollion, *Monuments*, also adds (Pl. 16 bis) two Negro heads, in full size of original.

<sup>c</sup>There is possibly a lacuna here.



it." He makes the rebels to cease the contradiction which their mouths offered, when he took them.

*Scene<sup>a</sup>*

452. Ramses II, with bow in hand, leads two lines of captive Negroes, and presents them to Amon, Mut, and Khonsu.

*Inscription over Ramses and Negroes*

453. The bringing of the tribute, by the Good God, to his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, after his arrival from the country of Kush, overthrowing the rebellious countries, crushing the Asiatics in their place; consisting of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, and every splendid costly stone, according as he decreed for him might and victory against every country.

The wretched chiefs of Kush, whom his majesty brought from his victories in the country of Kush, in order to fill the storehouse of his august father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, according as he gave might against the south, victory against the north, forever and ever.

*Scene<sup>b</sup>*

454. Ramses II, with drawn bow, stands in his chariot, charging a Syrian city, situated on a hill. The inhabitants on the city walls are nearly all pierced with arrows; just outside, a fleeing Syrian drives off his cattle to refuge in the city. Behind Ramses, three princes dash forward, each in his chariot.

*Inscription over Ramses*

455. Good God, valiant son of Amon, lord of the sword, protector of his army [in] battle, mighty in strength, knowing where to place his hand, firm in the chariot like the lord of Thebes, lord of victory, fighting millions, mighty Bull among multitudes, piercing through the allies,

<sup>a</sup>Champollion, *Monuments*, 35 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 86 (both without inscription over Ramses and Negroes); Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 66; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 188, a.

<sup>b</sup>Champollion, *Monuments*, 12-14 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 80-82 = Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, 61.

crushing the rebellious upon the mountains; they enter into their valleys like grasshoppers. Thou makest the sword to cut off their place, 'where' thy enemies come forth, O king, mighty of sword.

*Over Three Princes*

456. King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Amenhirkhepeshef.  
King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Ramses.  
King's-son, of his body, his beloved Pehirunamef.

*Scene<sup>a</sup>*

457. Ramses II, standing over a fallen Libyan, hurls backward another Libyan, whom he is thrusting through with his spear.

*Inscription*

The Good God, slaying the Nine Bows, crushing the countries of the north, — valiant in the countries, a mighty swordman, like Montu, bringing the land of the Negroes to the land of the north, the Asiatics (<sup>c</sup> *m·w*) to the land of Nubia. He has placed the Shasu (<sup>S</sup> *-s*) into the land of —, he has settled the Tehenu on the heights, filling the strongholds, which he built, with the captivity of his mighty sword, 'slaying' Kharu (<sup>H</sup> *-rw*), 'wasting' Retenu (*Rtnw*), which his sword overthrew.

II. BET EL-WALLI TEMPLE<sup>b</sup>

458. The impressive reliefs in this temple represent the northern and southern wars of Ramses II: the northern wars, against Asiatics and Libyans, are on the northern wall of the forecourt, and the southern wars, against the

<sup>a</sup>Champollion, *Monuments*, 17 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 83. The scene is copied from that of Seti I on the north wall of Karnak (Scene XIII, §§ 123-32).

<sup>b</sup>These scenes are cut on the rock side-walls of the excavated forecourt of the Bet el-Walli temple. Young published the complete series from drawings by Wilkinson (*Hieroglyphics*, 81-87, *b*). An effective colored reproduction of the ensemble is given by Bonomi-Arundale, *Antiquities*, Pl. 38, Figs. 155, 156; the separate scenes are published by Champollion, *Monuments*, 63-73, 92, No. 4; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 154; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 65-75; Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, 12, 14, 15; and fragments, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 176, *a, b, d, e, f, g*.

Nubians, are on the southern wall. Thus each series indicates by its position the locality where the wars it depicts took place. In each series the movement of events is toward the temple door, where the king sits in both final scenes, receiving the captives from his wars.

#### I. NORTHERN WARS

459. The scenes in this series are chiefly, if not exclusively, symbolical, and therefore do not depict specific events. They were evidently devised to form a pendant to the other series on the southern wall, which does depict an actual Nubian campaign.

##### *Scene<sup>a</sup>*

460. Ramses II, charging in his chariot, leans over and seizes two of the enemy by the turban, and cuts them down with his sword; before him the mass of the enemy flees. They are bearded, and are undoubtedly Semites.

##### *Inscription*

461. ——— valiant son of Amon, lord of the sword, protector of his army in battle, mighty against — — — his hand, firm in the chariot, like the lord of Thebes, ——— victorious, fighting millions, mighty Bull among myriads, ——— smiting the rebellious ———.

##### *Scene<sup>b</sup>*

462. A symbolic scene showing an Asiatic city, on the walls of which the inhabitants gather, with hands uplifted, beseeching mercy. The city chief or petty prince in the citadel is seized by the gigantic Ramses, who stands over him with upraised sword. A prince (with sidelock) advances to the gate with a battle axe.

<sup>a</sup>Champollion, *Monuments*, 64 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 67 = Bonomi-Arundale, *Antiquities*, Pl. 38, Fig. 156 = Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, 12, 14, 3.

<sup>b</sup>Champollion, *Monuments*, 65 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 68 = Bonomi-Arundale, Pl. 38, Fig. 156 = Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, 12, 14, 3.

*Inscriptions*

463. The inscriptions have all perished<sup>a</sup> except the words of the captured chief:

*By the Citadel*

Said the wretched chief,<sup>b</sup> in magnifying the Lord of the Two Lands: “[— —] there is no other like Baal, O ruler, his real son, forever.”

*Scene<sup>c</sup>*

464. Ramses II slays with the sword a Libyan<sup>d</sup> whom he has seized by the hair and forced to the knees. A hound leaps upon the Libyan's hip. Approaching Ramses in front, with uplifted arms, are two rows of officials, now almost vanished.

*Inscription behind Ramses*

465. O Good God, great in terror, victorious lion, lord of the sword, embracing the rebellious lands of Tehenu (*Tḥnw*); thy sword has overthrown the Nine Bows, slaying him who is beneath thy sandals, like Re, every [day] forever and ever.

*Before Officials, Upper Row*

466. Said the princes who are in the presence of his majesty, in magnifying the Lord of the Two Lands: “— — — [migh]ty in valor, victorious when thou hast shown thy might among the rebellious — — the sun shines not because of thy rage therein . . . . . ———.”

*Before Official, Lower Row*

467. Said the fan-bearer on the right of the king, prince, — real king's-scribe, his beloved, king's-son, Amenhirunamef, in [“celebrating”]

<sup>a</sup>Fragments of three columns over the city show the main inscription to have been of the usual conventional character.

<sup>b</sup>The absence of the name shows the purely typical character of the scene.

<sup>c</sup>Champollion, *Monuments*, 63 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 66 = Bonomi-Arundale, *Antiquities*, Pl. 38, Fig. 156 = Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, 12, 14, 2.

<sup>d</sup>A similar scene within the temple (rear wall, Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 151; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 176, c) bears the words: “Good God, slaying Tehenu.”

the praise of his lord, in magnifying his might: "——— in the countries. Thou hast slain their chiefs ——."

*Over Hound*

Anath (<sup>c</sup> *nty*)-is-Protection.

*Scene<sup>a</sup>*

468. Ramses II, standing, battle axe and bow in hand, grasps three Syrians by the hair, as they kneel before him. A king's-son (from his dress), doubtless Amehirunamēf, leads up a line of prisoners, consisting of a Libyan and three Asiatics.

*Inscriptions*

469. The inscriptions have all disappeared except two short lines:

*Behind Ramses*

Thy might and thy victory are in all lands and all countries; thy terror is in their hearts.

*Scene<sup>b</sup>*

470. Ramses II, enthroned in state, with his tame lion by his side, gives audience to his vizier (from the costume), followed by six officers; and to his son, Amehirunamēf, leading Asiatic prisoners.

*Inscription before Vizier*

471. Said the princes, who are in the presence of his majesty: "Praise to thee, O good and amiable ruler, son of Amon, who came forth from his limbs. When thou camest forth upon earth, thou wast like Re on high . . . .<sup>c</sup> Black land (Egypt) and Red land (desert)

<sup>a</sup>Champollion, *Monuments*, 66, 67 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 69, 70 = Bonomi-Arundale, *Antiquities*, Pl. 38, Fig. 156 = Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, 12, 14, 1.

<sup>b</sup>Champollion, *Monuments*, 62 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 65 = Bonomi-Arundale, *Antiquities*, Pl. 38, Fig. 156 = Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, 12, 14, 2.

<sup>c</sup>Conventional praise.

are under thy sandals; Palestine and Kush are in thy grasp. Egypt rejoices, O 'good' ruler, because thou hast extended their borders, forever."

*Over King's-Son*

The fan-bearer on the right of the king, prince, real king's-scribe, his beloved, Amenhirunaméf.

II. SOUTHERN WAR

472. This series evidently depicts particular events in Ramses II's Nubian war. When this war took place it is difficult to say with certainty,<sup>a</sup> but it was under the administration of Amenemopet as viceroy of Kush, and must, therefore, have fallen in the first half of Ramses' reign.<sup>b</sup> The scene of the war is equally uncertain. The three lists<sup>c</sup> of conquered Nubian countries consist of unfamiliar names, from which little can be obtained as to the locality of the war. Brugsch thinks that the Abu Simbel list does not extend above Napata.<sup>d</sup>

*Scene<sup>e</sup>*

473. Ramses, standing in his chariot with drawn bow, charges the Negroes, who flee in a horde before him into a palm grove, in which two Negroes lead away a wounded

<sup>a</sup>There is a current statement that Ramses II was viceroy of Ethiopia before Seti I's death, and that the battle depicted in our reliefs took place then. Not only is there no evidence that Ramses II was ever viceroy of Kush, but our reliefs further show that Amenemopet was viceroy at this time.

<sup>b</sup>The Assuan stela (§§ 478, 479), which is dated in the year 2, may possibly have been erected on this campaign.

<sup>c</sup>Mariette, *Abydos*, II, Pl. 2, a, b, Pl. 3; and a list of six names at Abu Simbel (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 194), which are those of Negro peoples, in spite of the beards (see Brugsch, *Geschichte*, 529, and 346 f. Nos. 25, 28, and 77). Southern countries are also mentioned on the Karnak wall (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 148, d).

<sup>d</sup>Brugsch, *Geschichte*, 529, note.

<sup>e</sup>Champollion, *Monuments*, 71, 72 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 74, 75 = Bonomi-Arundale, *Gallery*, Fig. 155; and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 176, a, b.

comrade to his family. Behind him charge two princes in their chariots.<sup>a</sup>

*Inscriptions*

474. An inscription over the enemy has disappeared, except the words: "——— *those who transgress his boundaries.*" Two others have survived:<sup>b</sup>

*Over First Prince*

Said the fan-bearer on the right of the king, the hereditary prince, the king's-son, of his body, his beloved, Amenhirunamef: ". . . . . in the South; I rejoice, my heart is joyful, (for) my father smites his enemies; he puts forth the might of his strength against the Nine Bows."

*Over Second Prince*

The king's-son, of his body, his beloved, the divine water that came forth from the Mighty Bull, Khamwese.

*Scene<sup>c</sup>*

475. On the right sits Ramses enthroned; approaching from the left are two long lines of Negroes, bringing furniture of ebony and ivory, panther hides, gold in large rings, bows, myrrh, shields, elephants' tusks, billets of ebony, ostrich feathers, ostrich eggs, live animals, including monkeys, panthers, a giraffe, ibexes, a dog, oxen with carved horns, an ostrich. At the end are also two Negro women, one carrying her children in a basket. Led by two Egyptians

<sup>a</sup>A scene inside the temple shows Ramses II smiting a Negro, with the words: "*Good God, repulsing the Nine Bows, smiting the chiefs of Kush, the wretched.*" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 176, d.)

<sup>b</sup>In Bonomi-Arundale are the fragments of a text over the palm grove in which one may discern: "——— *ruler like Baal,*" probably belonging to words of the Negroes.

<sup>c</sup>Champollion, *Monuments*, 68-70 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 71-73 = Bonomi-Arundale, Fig. 155; and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 176, e, f = Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, 15.

at the head of the lower line are two bound Negroes. The lower line is introduced by the vizier, and two officials, followed by the viceroy of Kush, bearing a table hung with skins and decorated with flowers. At the head of the upper row (which represents the scene a moment after that of the lower row) is the king's-son, Amenhirunamef, presenting the gifts which together with the splendid table have been placed on the ground. Behind the table which he has just set down appears the viceroy of Kush, receiving decorations for good service.

*Inscriptions*

476. Behind Ramses are four columns containing an elaborate titulary, in which is the phrase: "*making boundaries as he pleases in Retenu.*" The other texts are brief and fragmentary.

*Over Viceroy of Kush, Lower Row*

477. King's-son of Kush, Amenemopet, son of Peser, triumphant.

*Over King's-Son, Top Row*

The fan-bearer on the right hand of the king, real king's-scribe, his beloved, hereditary prince, first king's-son, of his body, Amenhirunamef, triumphant, revered (sic!).

*Over Viceroy of Kush, Top Row*

King's-son of Kush, Amenemopet, son of Peser, triumphant.

III. ASSUAN STELA<sup>a</sup>

478. This monument contains only a fulsome eulogy of Ramses II, in which reference is made to all his wars. Its position at the Nubian frontier would indicate that it was

<sup>a</sup>Cut on the rocks at Assuan; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 175, g = Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 252, 253, = de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 6.



erected on some Nubian expedition of Ramses II, and its date, "year 2," may, therefore, be that of the Nubian war, recorded at Bet el-Walli.

479. 1. Year 2, eleventh month, twenty-sixth<sup>a</sup> day, under the majesty of <sup>2</sup>Ramses II,<sup>b</sup> beloved of Amon-Re, king of Gods, and Khnum, lord of the cataract region.

<sup>3</sup>Live the Good God, Montu of millions, mighty like the son of Nut, fighting for [—], strong-hearted lion. He has overthrown <sup>4</sup>myriads in the space of a moment; great wall of his army in the day of battle, whose fear has penetrated all lands. <sup>5</sup>Egypt rejoices when the ruler is among them (i. e., the lands); he has extended its boundaries forever, plundering the Asiatics (*Sṯ tyw*) and capturing their cities. <sup>6</sup>He has crushed the foreigners of the north, the Temeh<sup>c</sup> have fallen for fear of him, the Asiatics are anxious for breath from him, <sup>7</sup>who sends Egypt on campaigns; their hearts are filled with his designs, as they sit in the shadow of his sword, and <sup>8</sup>they fear not any country. He plunders the warriors (<sup>c</sup> *h ṣ w*) of the sea, the great lake of the north, while they lie sleeping. <sup>9</sup>A vigilant king, accurate in design; there fails not anything that he has said. The foreigners come to him carrying their children, to ask <sup>10</sup>the breath of life; his battle-cry is mighty 'in' the land of Nubia (*T ṣ -p d t*), his strength repels the Nine Bows; Babylon (*S ṣ -[n-]g ṣ -r ṣ*), Kheta and A— (*ṣ —*)<sup>d</sup> come to him, bowing down, because of his fame.

#### IV. LUXOR TEMPLE

480. Besides the reliefs and inscriptions relating to the battle of Kadesh (§§ 305–51), the Luxor temple contains a number of references to Ramses II's wars, conquests, and relations with foreign countries. On a granite statue,<sup>e</sup> under a list of northern and southern countries, is the usual statement of the extent of Pharaoh's power, including the

<sup>a</sup>Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, has 27.

<sup>b</sup>Full titulary.

<sup>c</sup>Text has *Ty-m-h-ww*! It may be that Tehenu is meant.

<sup>d</sup>Probably Arvad or Isy-Cyprus.

<sup>e</sup>*Recueil*, 16, 50, 51.

"Great Circle (*šn wr*), the sea, the southern countries of the land of the Negro as far as the marsh lands, as far as the limits of the darkness, even to the four pillars of heaven."

481. More important is a scene among the reliefs which portrays the presentation of annual dues<sup>a</sup> by the king's sons and the chief officials of the kingdom. These dues consist of both "tribute" (*yn-w*) and taxes or impost (*bk·w*), besides "dues" (*hsb·t*); and they come from Nubia, Asia, and Egypt. At the head of the procession are seventeen sons of Ramses, of whom the first four are:

482. 1. Hereditary prince, king's-son, crown prince, of his body, commander in chief of the army, Amonhirkhepeshef.

2. King's-son, of his body, commander of the army<sup>b</sup> of the Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses.

3. Captain of archers, master of horse, Perehirunamēf.<sup>c</sup>

4. Khamwese.

483. These are all well known elsewhere, especially Khamwese, as they took part in the king's wars (§ 362). The thirteenth in the row is Merneptah, who, on the death of his twelve elder brothers and his father, became king.

Behind the princes is a line of men bearing "des offrandes, conduisant des bœufs à cornes singulières comme à Abydos." Above them all is an inscription, designating them as:

484. The hereditary prince [of the palace], king's-son, crown prince; [the king's-sons], the grandees of the palace [—<sup>d</sup> their lord, their father, Ramses II, given life. The governors of the city and

<sup>a</sup>Relief and accompanying inscriptions in the first court of the Luxor temple, south side; *Recueil*, XIV, 31, L, but without the reliefs.

<sup>b</sup>Personal troops of the king.

<sup>c</sup>A list of seventeen daughters is on the west wall of this court (*Recueil*, XIV, 32). They are preceded by the first three sons above, but No. 3 has the title, "First charioteer of his majesty." The queen Nefretiri heads the line.

<sup>d</sup>Some verb like "come to" has here been miscopied, as is evident from the parallelism with the second group, also followed by the name of Ramses after a verb of coming.

viziers,<sup>a</sup> companions, treasurers of the palace, overseers of the silver- and gold-house, commanders of the army, commanders of 'infantry' (*mnjy't*), captains of archers, 'master builders', governors of southern and northern countries, chief treasurers, chief mayors, stewards, leaders of leaders, and town commandants, overseers of horns,<sup>b</sup> overseers of hoofs,<sup>b</sup> overseers of feathers,<sup>b</sup> '—' of Egypt, the marshal of the two thrones of Upper and Lower Egypt, the counts, and superior prophets, coming with bowed head, bearing their tribute of the impost of Nubia (*T'p-d't*), every product of Asiatic countries, the dues (*hsb't*) of Egypt, to behold the beauty of their lord, King Ramses II.

#### V. ABYDOS TEMPLE<sup>c</sup>

485. Ramses II's mortuary temple at Abydos, as we have already noted, contains reliefs from the Kadesh series (§ 328), as well as a copy of the Kadesh poem (§§ 305-15). Besides these, the mortuary reliefs also contain references to his wars.<sup>d</sup> These reliefs show a long procession of priests and officers, bringing an immense and varied array of offerings for Ramses II's mortuary temple, in which these reliefs appear. Like others of their class, these scenes are of purely religious and mortuary significance, except the last.<sup>e</sup> This represents a section of the procession headed by a superb bull, and an ibex; these animals, with their attendants and some lesser offerings, face a long procession in a double line of Egyptian troops who are summoned by a

<sup>a</sup>"Governors" is clearly plural, but "vizier" is not so written; the relief would probably determine whether we have here the two viziers.

<sup>b</sup>Live-stock and poultry.

<sup>c</sup>A series of mortuary reliefs on the walls of the first court; published by Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 6-10.

<sup>d</sup>Mariette indicates other historical materials in this temple; he says: "La face antérieure du pylône semble présenter un résumé des campagnes de Ramsès. Le roi a la hache, la masse d'armes, et l'enseigne de victoire. Des officiers lui amènent des prisonniers. Aucun personnage n'est visible en entier. On croit cependant reconnaître des Lybiens, des nègres et des Asiatiques."

<sup>e</sup>Mariette, *Abydos*, II, Pl. 10; long inscription also Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1222, 1223.

trumpeter. Four men at the head of the troops are followed by a royal span drawing an empty chariot, accompanied by an orderly with sandals strung on his arm as usual. Behind the troops who follow the chariot are Negroes, Asiatics, Puntites, and perhaps Libyans. Over the whole is an inscription in one long line, the beginning of which is very fragmentary; scattered among the figures were also some inscriptions, most of which have now disappeared:

*Over Chariot Horses*

486. Great span of his majesty, L. P. H., (named): "Beloved-  
\_\_\_\_\_."

*Over Asiatics*

Chiefs of the countries \_\_\_\_\_.

*Long Inscription*

.....<sup>a</sup> Utterance of the Son of Re, Ramses-Meriamon: "O ye Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, who shall come after, who shall assume the double crown upon the throne of Horus, who shall desire Abydos, region of eternity; may your ka's exist for you without ceasing, may your time be happy like my time, may the full Nile come for you at his season, may valor be yours without flinching, like the victories of my sword in every country, may ye take captive those that rebel against Egypt, may ye put those whom ye capture in them, into my august temple. Lo, as for a king, he is the divine seed,<sup>b</sup> while he is a dweller in heaven, as when he was on earth; he assumes the forms, which he desires, like the Moon-god. Establish ye the offerings of this my temple of Osiris, whose august image rests therein, the divine ennead which follows him, being united at his side; (then) shall favors be craved from them, making sound your limbs. An excellent reward shall be his who doeth it, according as ye protect my house for its gods, and hearken to the Good God, Ramses II, given life."

<sup>a</sup>The mutilated beginning contained an address to Ramses II.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "divine water."

## VI. TANIS STELÆ

487. The Tanis temple contained at least four large granite stelæ commemorating Ramses II's prowess in war. Of two<sup>a</sup> of these only insignificant fragments have survived; and the third<sup>b</sup> contains a conventional encomium much mutilated. At the end was the narrative of some specific event, of which the following is discernible:

He (Ramses II) said to the king's-messenger ——— fortresses equipped with everything for ———.

488. The fourth stela<sup>c</sup> is almost entirely the conventional praise of the king's valor; but the last three lines contained a reference to rebellious Sherden and ships of war, which would indicate a naval battle in connection with the Libyan war, with whom the Sherden were, of course, allied.

*Ramses' Valor*

489. <sup>1</sup>Live the Horus, Mighty Bull . . . . . Ramses (II), given life, <sup>2</sup>forever, victorious king, valiant in the array, mighty, fighting myriads, overthrowing on his right, slaying on his left, like Set in his hour of rage, <sup>3</sup>mighty Bull, shaking every opposing country with the victories of his sword; protector of Egypt, repulsing the Nine Bows. Every land fears before him; he is like <sup>4</sup>a lion when he has tasted combat; no land can stand before him, King Ramses II; charging into the array, <sup>5</sup>he turns not back, he is the first of the front rank of his army; valiant upon the steed, when he takes his bow, shooting on his right, and he who stands in the rear<sup>d</sup> escapes him not; mighty in strength, <sup>6</sup>with victorious arm, bearing the mace and the shield; crushing the chiefs beneath his feet; no one is able to sustain the combat, every country flees before him, the terror of him is like fire behind them.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Petrie, *Tanis*, II, Pl. II, 76, 77.

<sup>b</sup>*Ibid.*, 78, *bis*.

<sup>c</sup>Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 68-70 = Petrie, *Tanis*, II, Pl. II, 78. Both publications show many errors, for which each furnishes control of the other; Rougé has even omitted half a line (l. 8).

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "behind the land."

<sup>e</sup>*Tanis*, II, has: "in their heart."

*Triumphs in Asia and Nubia*

490. <sup>7</sup>King Ramses II, given life; capturing the lands of the Asiatics (*St' tyw*) with his sword, carrying off their chiefs as living captives; <sup>8</sup>great ruler, — — — — by the might of his youthful strength; <sup>a</sup>brave-hearted<sup>7</sup> before the mighty, valiant like Montu, defender of the land, <sup>9</sup>husband of Egypt, rescuing her from every country. His fame is mighty in — — — — the land of the Negro, with valor, slaying the Troglodytes of wretched Kush <sup>10</sup>in the victories of his mighty sword. He causes Egypt to be joyful, and sets gladness of heart in Tomeri (Egypt), King [Ramses II] ————; <sup>11</sup>plundering the chiefs of the Asiatics in their land. He has wasted the inheritance of —, making them to be ————, <sup>12</sup>slain under his feet, whose great sword is mighty among them.

*Triumphs in the West*

491. He has captured the countries of the West, causing them to be as that which [is] not ———— <sup>13</sup>[Sute]kh on his right, of the battle, King Ramses II. [He] has ferried over<sup>b</sup> ———— [come] <sup>14</sup>to him, bearing their tribute; [his] fear [penetrates<sup>7</sup>] their heart. The rebellious-hearted Sherden<sup>c</sup> (*Š<sup>3</sup> -r<sup>3</sup> -d-ny*) ———— <sup>15</sup>them; mighty — — — — ships of war in the midst of the [sea] <sup>16</sup>——— before them.

## BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

492. Although the name of Ramses II is more widely found upon the monuments of Egypt than that of any other king, no comprehensive building record of his, such as those

<sup>a</sup>The remainder of l. 8 from this point on was omitted by Rougé, who passes to the second half of l. 9 which he represents as the beginning of l. 9 ("the land of the Negro, etc.").

<sup>b</sup>This is the word used for crossing a river; it probably refers to a crossing of one of the branches of the Nile in the western Delta by Ramses or his western foes (see IV, p. 49, n. b).

<sup>c</sup>The Kadesh poem refers to the capture of Sherden before that campaign (§ 307); and Papyrus Anastasi II mentions "the Sherden whom thou hast taken in thy might" (V, 2), who have been sent as Egyptian mercenaries against the "tribes of the desert." The reference to the "Sherden of the sea, who are of the captivity of his majesty," may belong to the reign of Merneptah (Anastasi II, verso of Pl. 8, l. 1).

of the Eighteenth Dynasty, has survived to us. The great inscription of Abydos concerns almost solely Seti I's temple there, which is chiefly the work of Seti himself. The account of Ramses I's buildings preserved in his inscriptions is therefore but a slight indication of the vast extent of his building achievements; and this fact must be clearly borne in mind, in using the following inscriptions.<sup>a</sup>

493. They comprise:

- I. Great Temple of Abu Simbel (§§ 495-99).
- II. Small Temple of Abu Simbel (§§ 500, 501).
- III. Temple of Serreh (§ 502).
- IV. Temple of Derr (§ 503).
- V. Temple of Sebû<sup>c</sup> a (§ 504).
- VI. Temple of el Kab (§ 505).
- VII. Temple of Luxor (§§ 506-8).
- VIII. Temple of Karnak (§§ 509-13).
- IX. The Ramesseum (§§ 514, 515).
- X. Temple of Kurna (§§ 516-22).
- XI. Seti I's Temple at Abydos and Great Abydos Inscription (§§ 262-77).
- XII. Ramses II's Temple at Abydos (§§ 524-29).
- XIII. Memphis Temples (§§ 530-37) and further:
  1. Great Abydos Inscription (§ 260, l. 22).
  2. Blessing of Ptah (§§ 412-413, ll. 32, 35).
- XIV. City of Tanis (Blessing of Ptah, § 406, ll. 16-18).<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>For example, in Nubia Ramses II built at least six new temples: (1) Bet el-Walli; (2) Gerf Husen; (3) Es-Sebû<sup>c</sup> a; (4) Derr; (5) Abu Simbel (large temple); (6) Abu Simbel (small temple). Of these I was able to find the dedication inscriptions of the last four only.

<sup>b</sup>Poetical description of the city by an Egyptian scribe: Papyrus Anastasi II, Pl. I, l. 1-Pl. II, l. 5 = *ibid.*, IV, Pl. V, Pl. VI, ll. 1-10. It is in this passage that the message of the chief of Kheta (§§ 425, 426) to the chief of Kode is found (cf. Chabas, *Mélanges égyptologiques*, 2<sup>e</sup> sér., 151. Maspero, *Du genre épistolaire*, 102; Erman, *Aegypten*, 242). A longer description of the city in a similar vein is found in Papyrus Anastasi III, Pl. I, l. 11-Pl. III, l. 9 (cf. Chabas, *op. cit.*, 132-34; Maspero, *op. cit.*, 103-6; Brugsch, *Geschichte*, 545-48).

494. Besides the above, there are occasional unimportant doorway inscriptions, giving the building record in the conventional form as at Bet el-Walli, Kalabsheh<sup>a</sup> or a similar statue dedication as at Sebû<sup>c</sup>a. There must also be a number of architrave dedication inscriptions, like those of the Ramesseum, which are still unpublished.

#### I. GREAT TEMPLE OF ABU SIMBEL<sup>b</sup>

495. This, the most remarkable of the grotto temples of Egypt, was already far advanced in its construction, in the reign of Seti I. It is impossible to find any other explanation of the fact that an inscription of Ramses II's first year<sup>c</sup> is found in the doorway at the rear of the first hall, which connects it with the second hall.

496. The building inscription accompanies a relief<sup>d</sup> showing Ramses II enthroned, with an official named Ramses-eshahab (*R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw-<sup>c</sup>š<sup>2</sup>-hb*) bowing before him. The inscription shows that Ramses II is instructing him to build a temple in honor of Horus of He,<sup>e</sup> which may be some other temple than that of Abu Simbel. There is no mention of any previous work by Seti I; and the interesting references to the use of foreign prisoners in the work might imply that it was done after the wars of Ramses had begun.

<sup>a</sup>Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 59.

<sup>b</sup>See Champollion, *Monuments*, 3-37; *Notices descriptives*, 43-77; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 114; Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, 57-61; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 185-193; Dümichen, *Der ägyptische Felsentempel von Abu Simbel*, 1869.

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 189, a.

<sup>d</sup>This relief has been published (with inscription) only in Champollion, *Monuments*, 9, where the text is plainly very badly copied. Wiedemann (*Aegyptische Geschichte*, 452, 453) would refer this inscription to some other as yet undiscovered building.

<sup>e</sup>This may be the temple of Ramses II at Serreh (called Aksche, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 191, m, n), ten miles north of Wadi Halfa (Sayce, *Recueil*, XVII, 163). It occurs also in the Middle Kingdom; see I, 602.



Before the said officer are the words:

King's-butler of his majesty, L. P. H., Ramses-eshahab, triumphant; he says: "As for all that comes out of thy mouth, it is like the words of Harakhte."

497. A longer inscription above and behind him is introduced by the full fivefold titulary of Ramses II, accompanied by poetic epithets, such as "*he who spreads out his wings over his army*," and closing appropriately with "*maker of monuments in the house of Horus, his august father*." The inscription then proceeds:

498. Behold, as for his majesty, L. P. H., he is vigilant in seeking every profitable occasion, by doing excellent things for his father, Horus, <sup>12</sup>lord of He (*H<sup>2</sup>*), <sup>a</sup>making for him his house of myriads of years, by excavating in this mountain of He, [which no] one before [did], except the son of <sup>13</sup>Amon, lord of —. His might is in all lands; bringing for him multitudes of workmen from the captivity of his sword in every country. He has filled the houses (*pr·w*) of the gods <sup>14</sup>with the children of <sup>b</sup>Retenu (*Rtnw*). <sup>1</sup>Afterward he <sup>3</sup>gave orders <sup>c</sup>to the king's-butler, Ramses-eshahab, to equip the land of Kush anew in the great name of his majesty, L. P. H. He said: "Praise to thee! O valiant king of Egypt, sun of the Nine Bows. There is no rebel in thy time, every land is pacified. Thy father, Amon, has decreed for thee that every land be beneath thy feet; he gives to thee south as well as north, west and east, and the isles in the midst of the sea.

499. A dedication <sup>d</sup>to Harakhte is as follows:

Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Harakhte, <sup>e</sup>great god, lord of Nubia (*T<sup>2</sup>-pd·t*).

## II. SMALL TEMPLE OF ABU SIMBEL

500. The smaller grotto temple on the north of the large temple was made by Ramses II for his queen, Nefretiri, as the divinity to whom it was dedicated:

<sup>a</sup>Name of the region in which Abu Simbel is located (see I, 602).

<sup>b</sup>"*The chiefs of*," is probably omitted.

<sup>c</sup>Read *rdy m hr n*.

<sup>d</sup>Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 29; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 187, a, b.

<sup>e</sup>Variant: "*Amon-Re, king of gods*."

<sup>a</sup>Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for the Great King's-Wife, Nefretiri, beloved of Mut —, a house hewn in the pure mountain of Nubia (*T<sup>2</sup>-pd·t*), of fine, white and enduring sandstone, as an eternal work.

Its origin is sometimes also ascribed to the queen herself.

<sup>b</sup>The Great King's-Wife, Nefretiri, beloved of Mut; she made a house in the pure mountain.

501. Other references to the construction of the monument are these:

<sup>c</sup>Ramses-Meriamon, beloved of Amon, like Re, forever, made a house of very great monuments, for the Great King's-Wife, Nefretiri, fair of face — —.

His majesty commanded to make a house in Nubia (*T<sup>2</sup>-pd·t*), hewn in the mountain. Never was done the like before.

### III. TEMPLE OF SERREH<sup>d</sup>

502. "Southward of the village of Serreh, . . . on the western bank of the Nile, and about ten miles north of Halfa, are the foundations of a temple built by Ramses II." The architrave dedications have perished, but one of the doors still bears the words (twice):

Great door of Usermare-Setepnere; he made (it) as his monument for his living image in the land of Nubia (*T<sup>2</sup>-pd·t*); its beautiful name, which his majesty made, is: "Usermare-is-Splendid-in-Strength."

Ramses II was thus himself the god of this temple, as Amenhotep III was at the Nubian temple of Soleb.

### IV. TEMPLE OF DERR

503. This temple was dedicated to Re-Harakhte by Ramses II. On its later history, see IV, §§ 474-83.

<sup>a</sup>Dedication from the hypostyle (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 192, *d*); variations of it in abbreviated form appear on the front, between the statues.

<sup>b</sup>Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 58; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 192, *c*.

<sup>c</sup>On façade; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 192, *b*.

<sup>d</sup>Sayce, *Recueil*, XVII, 163 f.

<sup>a</sup>Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Harakhte; making for him the "House<sup>b</sup> of Usermare-Meriamon in the House of Re."

Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes (*Ns'wt-t'wy*); making for him a temple in the House of Re.

#### V. TEMPLE OF SEBÛ<sup>c</sup> A

504. A so-called hemispeos, by the village of Sebû<sup>c</sup> a, built by Ramses II, who called it "*House of Amon*." He was himself one of the deities worshiped in it.

The dedications are as follows:

<sup>c</sup>Ramses II; he made (it) as a monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods.

A pillar in the forecourt bears the following:<sup>d</sup>

Ramses-Meriamon in the House of Amon; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, making for him a great and august pillar, adorned with every splendid costly stone; that he might be given life, stability, and satisfaction, like Re, every day.

#### VI. TEMPLE OF EL KAB

505. A small temple to Nekhbet, built within the city wall by Ramses II, bears the following dedication:

<sup>e</sup>[<sup>f</sup>Ramses II<sup>g</sup>; he made (it) as his monument for his mother, Nekhbet], making for her a great pylon, — [—] of fine white sandstone, its length is 15 cubits; its door is of cedar, the [mounting<sup>h</sup>] thereof of copper; [with<sup>i</sup>] the great name of [my majesty<sup>j</sup>] —————.

<sup>a</sup>Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 94 (first 94, there are two!); Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 183, a.

<sup>b</sup>Also called "*Temple of Ramses in the House of Re*;" Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 91.

<sup>c</sup>Twice in the cella; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 180.

<sup>d</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 182, b.

<sup>e</sup>Along bottom of the left pylon of sandstone; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 37.

VII. TEMPLE OF LUXOR<sup>a</sup>

506. Ramses II built a peristyle court in front of the Eighteenth Dynasty Luxor temple, with a façade of two large pylon-towers. To do this, he destroyed a beautiful granite chapel of Thutmose III, which had stood in front of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple. The architect was the High Priest of Amon, Beknekhonsu, who has left a brief record of the building on his statue (§§ 561-68). The king's only building record, as far as published, is contained in the following dedication inscriptions:

507. <sup>b</sup>Mighty Bull, exalter of Thebes, Favorite of the Two Goddesses, establishing monuments in Luxor for his father, Amon, who placed him upon his throne; Golden Horus, seeking excellent things for him who fashioned him; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, making for him the "Temple (*ht-ntr*)-of-Ramses-Meriamon<sup>c</sup>-in-the-House (*pr*)-of-Amon," of fine white sandstone, which the Son of Re, Ramses-Meriamon, given life, like Re, forever, made for him.

508. The other two dedications are substantially the same as far as the words: "*house of Amon*," one<sup>d</sup> then proceeds:

In front of Luxor, erecting for him a pylon (*bḥn·t*) anew; its flag-staves approach heaven; which the Son of Re, etc. (as above).

The other continues:<sup>e</sup>

Its beauty is unto the height of heaven, a place of the appearance for the lord of the gods, at his feast of (Luxor).

<sup>a</sup>On the history and construction of this temple, see the paper by Borchardt (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1896, 122-38); and Daressy, *Notice explicative des ruines du temple de Louxor* (Le Caire, 1893).

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 149, a.

<sup>c</sup>The words "*Possessed of Eternity*" are added to Ramses' name in the name of this temple in at least one other occurrence of it (northwest corner, letter from Borchardt).

<sup>d</sup>Champollion, *Monuments*, 338, and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1241.

<sup>e</sup>Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1242; verified from a photograph.

## VIII. TEMPLE OF KARNAK

509. Ramses II brought to completion at Karnak the works begun by his two predecessors. He erected all of the columns in the southern half of the great hypostyle hall, except the two short rows immediately south of the nave, Seti I having completed the northern half, the nave with both rows of flower-columns and the first row of bud-columns of the southern half. Ramses II further built a girdle wall entirely around the Eighteenth Dynasty temple, to widen it to the increased width of the new hall in front. The Nineteenth Dynasty Karnak temple thus became the largest temple ever erected in the history of building, whether ancient or modern.

510. Although the conception, and for the most part the erection, of the great hall belong to Seti I and his father, the dedication inscriptions were largely added by Ramses II in his own name.

<sup>a</sup>Ramses II, mighty king, making monuments in the house of his father, Amon, building his house in eternal work, established forever. Lo, the Good God inclined his heart to make monuments, sleeping or waking, he ceased not seeking to do excellent things. It was his majesty who gave the regulations, and led the work on his monuments. All his plans come to pass immediately, like those of his father, Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, a likeness indeed of that which the excellent maker, the maker of excellent things, made, which his majesty made ——— of excellent and eternal work. Every country is beneath thy feet, O king, ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses II. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes (*Ns'wt t'wy*), making for him the "Temple-of-the-Spirit- (*Y' h*)-of-Ramses-Meriamon-in-the-House-of-Amon-over-against-Karnak (*Yp' t-ys'wt*)," of fine white sandstone; a resting-place for the lord of gods, a beautiful refuge for the divine ennead; surrounded by — columns; the walls thereof are like the two mountains of Aphroditopolis,

<sup>a</sup>Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 66-68.

established, made very [—]; its beauty (reaches) to the height of heaven.

*Amon Speaks to the Gods*

511. <sup>a</sup>“Behold ye, this beautiful, pure and enduring monument, which my son, of my body, my beloved, King Ramses II, hath made for me; whom I brought up from the womb, to make excellent things for my house; whom I have begotten in the fashion of my (own) limbs, to celebrate the ‘Going Forth’ of my ka. Ye shall endow him with satisfying life, ye shall form his protecting suite, and be his associate when he is with you. He shall be a spirit as ye are spirits; his name shall flourish as your names flourish to the end of the two periods (of sixty years) and forever; according to that which he has built for Karnak for the first time, of fine white sandstone. He hath given joy to my dwelling more than (his) predecessors have done. . . . .”

512. Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, making for him the “Temple-of-the-Spirit-of-Ramses-Meriamon-in-the-House-of-Amon,” of fine white sandstone. Its beauty (reaches) to the height of heaven, over against Karnak; its august columns are of electrum, made like every place that is in heaven. (It is) mistress of silver, queen of gold, it contains every splendid costly stone. “I have made it for thee with a loving heart, as a profitable son does for his father, by enlarging the monuments of him that begat him, and establishing the house of him that caused him to take the whole land.”

<sup>b</sup>Live the Good God, who makes monuments for his father, Amon-Re.

513. The dedications on the architraves<sup>c</sup> of the nave, above the windows, are also of Ramses II, and only repeat the above dedications. The architect who erected the gigantic columns of the hypostyle was Hatey, who reverts to his achievement among his titles<sup>d</sup> thus:

<sup>a</sup>Architrave of first row of columns on the right; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 83, 84.

<sup>b</sup>Columns of the first row on the left, Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 79.

<sup>c</sup>Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 85.

<sup>d</sup>Statue in Lady Meux's collection; see *Some Account of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities in the Possession of Lady Meux*, by E. A. Wallis Budge, 143. I am indebted to Mr. Alan Gardiner for the reference.

Great chief of works on all the monuments of his majesty, erecting great columns in the House of Amon.

#### IX. THE RAMESSEUM

514. The beautiful mortuary temple of Ramses II on the west side at Thebes, known as the Ramesseum, was combined with a palace<sup>a</sup> which has since perished. The temple itself, while it has preserved some of the most important historical records of Ramses II's reign contains no building inscription except the usual dedication<sup>b</sup> on the architraves:

515. Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, making for him a great and august broad-hall (*wsḥ't*) of fine white sandstone, its nave<sup>c</sup> of great flower-columns, surrounded by bud-columns: a place of rest for the lord of gods at his beautiful "Feast of the Valley;" that he might, through him, be given life ———<sup>d</sup> shaping his sacred barque like the horizon-god, founding daily offerings, doing the things which please his father, causing that his house should be for him like Thebes, supplied with every good thing, granaries reaching heaven, an august treasury containing silver, gold, royal linen, every real costly stone, which King Ramses II brought for him.

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 159, shows an "Appearance of the king, like Re, in his palace (*ḥ'c*) which is in the temple (*ḥ't ntr*)." This fact was already noticed by Erman, *Aegypten*, 107, 108.

<sup>b</sup>Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 53; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 53, No. 2; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 134 (see also 133). The name of the Ramesseum was: "The-House (*ḥ't*)-of-Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II),-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon" (Wiedemann, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 34); also mentioned on a stela at Vienna (*Recueil*, IX, 50, 51). An architect of the Ramesseum is mentioned on his fragmentary statue at Cairo (Daressy, *Recueil*, 22, 143); its treasurer (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 249); and its deputy (*ibid.*, 250).

<sup>c</sup>The text has *ḥft ḥrs*, evidently meaning "its center," as the columns of the Ramesseum hypostyle are so arranged, and no other colonnades are thus placed in this temple. It is not an error, for it is repeated on another architrave (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 134, with a slight mistake).

<sup>d</sup>The connection has been omitted by Sharpe, but it is evidently the conclusion of a second dedication.

## X. TEMPLE OF KURNA

516. This mortuary temple of Seti I was left unfinished by him, and his son, Ramses II, states the fact in his inscriptions, narrating also that he completed it for his father; in doing which he made his own dedication inscriptions more prominent than those of his father.

517. <sup>a</sup>He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes, restoring the house of his father, King Seti I, triumphant. Behold, he went to his retreat, he attained heaven, he joined Re in heaven; while this his house was in course of construction. Its doors were in ruin at their stations, and all its walls of stone and brick; no work therein was finished, neither inscriptions nor sculpture. Then his son, the Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses II, commanded to build the works in his house of millions of years, over against Karnak, and [to fashion] his<sup>b</sup> image resting in his house, gilded with electrum, when the god sails in [person] at his feast of the valley to rest in<sup>c</sup> his house, as the first of the kings.

518. <sup>d</sup>Utterance of the gods and goddesses who are in the Northland, to their son, King Ramses II, given life: "We have come to thee, our arms bearing offerings, and supplied with provision and food. We have gathered to thee every good thing of all that grows upon earth,<sup>e</sup> in order to make festive the house of thy father. As thou art his beloved son, so art thou like Horus, the protector of his father, in taking the inheritance of the Two Lands. How goodly is the [son] who restores what is ruined! Thou hast built the house of thy father, completed in its work, thou hast fashioned his image for ———— of gold ———— thou hast — divine offerings ———— I have — that

<sup>a</sup>Devéria, *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, IV, 292, 293; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 694; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 51, 3; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 152, a; beginning also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 91.

<sup>b</sup>From here on, this text is found also in Devéria, *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, IV, 293, 294.

<sup>c</sup>See Piehl (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1887, 38), whose reading is confirmed by the duplicate.

<sup>d</sup>See also Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 693.

<sup>e</sup>The following, to the word "gold," is also in Devéria, *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, IV, 294, 295.



which thou hast done [again for<sup>1</sup>] the house of their father. Thou hast endowed it with satisfying life; as a benevolent son is, so art thou.

519. <sup>a</sup>Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak; restoring the house of his father, King Seti I. ——— they erected all its walls of — stone; no work therein was finished,<sup>b</sup> neither inscriptions nor sculpture . . . . .<sup>c</sup>

520. <sup>d</sup>Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, restoring for him the house of his father, King Seti I. Lo, (he is) in heaven ——— its doors are of real cedar, surrounded with walls of brick established forever, which the Son of Re, Ramses-Meriamon, made for him.<sup>e</sup>

521. Ramses II recognized the temple, however, as sacred also to his grandfather, as he indicates in these dedications:

<sup>f</sup>Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father's father, the Good God, Ramses I, triumphant.

<sup>f</sup>Renewal of the monument which King Ramses II made for his father's father, the Good God, Ramses I, in the monument of his father, the Lord of the Two Lands, Seti I.

<sup>g</sup>Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, the Good God, Menpehtire (Ramses I), making for him a house of millions of years on the west of Thebes, of good white sandstone, wherein Amon rests, like Re, in the horizon of heaven.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, 145 A f.

<sup>b</sup>Restored from the duplicate passage in § 517.

<sup>c</sup>From here on, as in duplicate (§ 517).

<sup>d</sup>Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 296; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 152, b; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 51, 1.

<sup>e</sup>Another fragmentary dedication, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 100; and a fragmentary door-dedication, Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 51, 2.

<sup>f</sup>Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 307 and 704; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 52, 5; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 152, g; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 94, 95.

<sup>g</sup>Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 705; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 152, f, also *e* with slight variant.

<sup>h</sup>See further, Wilkinson, *Materia hieroglyphica*, Pl. I.

522. While acknowledging thus the original dedication of the temple to the mortuary service of his father and grandfather, Ramses added also a series of dedications in his own name alone. These are as follows:

<sup>a</sup>Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument to his father, for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, making for him a house of millions of years on the west of Thebes, (of) fine white sandstone, the doors thereof of real cedar, which [the Son of Re], Ramses-Meriamon, given life, like Re, made for him.

. . . . .<sup>b</sup> making for him a broad-hall of appearance in front of his Great House, a place of appearance for the lord of gods at the "Feast of the Valley" —————.

#### XI. SETI I'S TEMPLE AT ABYDOS

523. See Great Abydos Inscription (§§ 262–77).

#### XII. RAMSES II'S TEMPLE AT ABYDOS<sup>c</sup>

524. This inscription contains a brief record of the building and endowment of Ramses II's mortuary temple at Abydos.

525. Lo, his majesty, L. P. H., was "Son-Whom-He-Loves," the champion of his father, Wennofer, by making for him a beautiful, august temple, established for eternity, of fine limestone of Ayan; a great double pylon of excellent work; portals of granite, the doors thereto of copper, wrought with figures in real electrum; a great seat of alabaster, mounted in granite, his excellent seat of the beginning; a mesken-chamber for his divine ennead, his august father who rests therein, and Re when he has reached heaven. His protecting image is beside him that fashioned him, like Horus, upon the throne of his father.

526. (He) established for him permanent daily offerings, at the beginnings of the seasons, all feasts at their times, offered to his ka.

<sup>a</sup>Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 696.

<sup>b</sup>Omitting introductory formula, which is as in preceding.

<sup>c</sup>Inscription engraved on the exterior of the south wall of Ramses II's temple at Abydos; published by Mariette, *Abydos*, II, Pl. 3 (cf. *ibid.*, II, § 139); see also Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, I, 29.

He filled it with every thing, overflowing with food and provision, bulls, calves, oxen, geese, bread, wine, fruit; (it) was filled with peasant-slaves, doubled in fields, made numerous in herds; the granaries were filled to bursting, the grain-heaps approached heaven, —<sup>a</sup> for the storehouse of divine offerings, from the captivity of his victorious sword.

527. His treasury was filled with every costly stone, silver, gold in blocks; the magazine was filled with every thing from the tribute of all countries. He planted many gardens, set with every (kind of) tree, all sweet and fragrant woods, the plants of Punt. The Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Ramses-Meriamon, beloved of Osiris, First of the Westerners, great god, lord of Abydos, made (it) for him.

528. The dedications of the temple doors are as follows:<sup>b</sup>

1. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Osiris, residing in "House (*h·t*)-of-Ramses-Meriamon-Possessing-Abydos;" making for him a doorway of black granite, the doors mounted with copper, and gilded with electrum,<sup>c</sup> which his son, Ramses II, made for him.

2. Live the god, the Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses II. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Osiris, lord of Abydos, making for him a great doorway of pink granite, the doors of bronze in beaten work (called): "Portal-of-Usermare-Setepnere-Raiser-of-Monuments-in-Abydos."

529. The dedication inscription of the shrine-chamber is partially preserved on a fragment of alabaster, thus:

He made (it) as his monument for his father, Osiris, making for him a "Great Seat" of pure alabaster ———.

### XIII. MEMPHIS TEMPLES<sup>d</sup>

530. Ramses II built largely at Memphis, and a temple on the south of the sacred lake was chiefly due to him.

<sup>a</sup>There is a sign for "slave" here, but a verb (?) is lacking in the lacuna.

<sup>b</sup>Brugsch (*Recueil de monuments*, I, Pl. XII), who does not state (p. 22) in which temple he found them. The numbers refer to those on his plate.

<sup>c</sup>These doors are said to be "of electrum" in an inscription at the base of the same door. Its name is also given there as the "Portal-of-Usermare-Setepnere-Possessed-of-Eternity."

<sup>d</sup>See Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 422, 423; Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 445, note 3; H. Brugsch, (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, VII, 2),

One of his temples there was called "*The-House-of-Millions-of-Years-of-King-Usermare-Setepnere-in-the-House-of-Amon-in-Memphis.*"<sup>a</sup> But Ramses' works in Memphis have perished with the city. The chief literary references to them are in the Great Abydos Inscription (§ 260, l. 22), and the Blessing of Ptah (§§ 412, 413, ll. 32-35). A paragraph in a letter of instructions from an official to his subordinate refers to Ramses II's Thoth-temple in Memphis, and mentions repairs on the Sphinx, which may be of later date:

531. <sup>b</sup>I have heard that thou hast taken the eight laborers (*h<sup>2</sup> y*) who were working in the "House-of-Thoth-of-Ramses-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-Satisfied-with-Truth" in Memphis. Thou shalt deliver them to draw stone for<sup>c</sup> the Sphinx in Memphis.

532. References to Ramses II's Ptah-temple are rare. The following interesting building inscription<sup>d</sup> is so fragmentary that the name of the king is uncertain. As it lies in the temple chiefly due to Ramses II, he is the most probable king to whom we may refer it. It was upon a great stela which marked the "*Station of the King,*" or ceremonial station occupied by the Pharaoh during the official ritual ceremonies. Like similar stelæ at Thebes in the temples

gives brief mention of Mariette's excavations here (see also Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 31). De Morgan's later excavations are briefly described by E. Brugsch (*Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report*, 1892-93, 24, 25). Daressy studied the remains exhumed in 1887-8 and 1892 by the Service, with plan of the temple of Ramses II (*Annales*, III, 22-31).

<sup>a</sup>*Ynbw-hd*, Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 62, *b*=Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, XXX; cf. also Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 63 f.

<sup>b</sup>Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, 17, 158. Papyrus Turin, 19, 2.

<sup>c</sup>Or: "*to.*" Vyse found an incomplete stela of Ramses II between the feet of the Sphinx.

<sup>d</sup>Fragment of a large stela of gritstone still 13 feet high and over 2½ feet wide. The beginnings of 12 horizontal lines are preserved. It was found in the ruins of Ramses II's Memphite temple of Ptah; published by Daressy, *Annales*, III, 27, 28. Fragments of two other similar stelæ, too scanty for use here, were also found by Daressy in this temple (*ibid.*, 28).

of Amenhotep III (II, 904, 910), Elephantine (II, 791), and Amâda (II, 791-97), it bore an account of the erection of the building in which it stood. As in the building inscriptions of Thutmose III (II, 131 ff.), Amenhotep III (II, 878-92), and others, it is introduced by an account of the king's coronation. Enough of the fragmentary inscription is preserved, to show that, as in the coronations of Thutmose III and Harmhab, Amon appeared in public, delivered an oracle proclaiming him king, and proceeded to the palace to crown him. In all probability, therefore, the oracle and the crowning by Amon, were the regular custom at the accession of every king in the Empire. Hence the innumerable conventional references to Amon's having fixed the diadem upon the Pharaoh's head designate an actual ceremony. That this prerogative of Amon was not originally his, but was usurped from Re, is evident. Undoubtedly a similar ceremony took place at Heliopolis at the accession of every Pharaoh, from the Fifth Dynasty on, to the assumption of the rite by Amon at an uncertain date after the rise of Thebes.

*Amon and His Gods Come Forth*

533. <sup>1</sup>———— <sup>2</sup>— his house of Luxor, with his ennead (*psd·t*) behind him. When the land brightened again, and day came ———.

*Oracle Naming King*

534. ——— <sup>3</sup>Thou art my son, the heir who came forth from my limbs. As I am, shalt thou be, with none except thee ———. <sup>4</sup>Their offerings shall be doubled, they shall recognize thee as my son who came forth from my limbs. I have gathered ———.

*Coronation in the Palace*

535. ——— <sup>5</sup>coming to him, to the palace. He placed himself before him in the shrine of his august son ——— <sup>6</sup>Amon [—]. Lo, Amon came, with his son before him, to the palace, to fix his diadem upon his head, to exalt the two plumes ———.

*Character of Reign*

536. ——— that he might do what satisfies thee. He has avoided deceit, and expelled lying from the land, while his laws are firm, in the administration of the regulations of the 'ancestors' ———  
 'diadem' ———. He has '——' the circuit of the sun, all lands are together doing the 'service' of this great god, '——' like ———.

*Station of the King, and Building Inscription*

537. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, making for him a "Station of the Ruler"<sup>a</sup> of gritstone, over against '——'<sup>b</sup> ——— 'doors upon them'<sup>c</sup> of real cedar, in order to make splendid the house of '——'<sup>d</sup>, in order to purify the way which his father, Ptah, treads. He gave to him a house anew ——— 'of — cubits, of every splendid costly stone; its flagstaves are of real cedar, wrought with Asiatic copper, their tips of electrum. A broad-hall was made '——' ——— . . . . .<sup>e</sup>

## XIV. CITY OF TANIS

See Blessing of Ptah (§ 406, ll. 16-18); see also above note on XIV, p. 211.

STELA OF THE YEAR 400<sup>f</sup>

538. This monument was erected at Tanis by an important official of Ramses II, named Seti. He had been dispatched thither to erect a stela in honor of Seti I, and improved the

<sup>a</sup>The determinative is a stela, as elsewhere. The place meant is the same as at Thebes, Elephantine, and Amâda, see II, 140, note. The material above mentioned, "gritstone," is that of the stela bearing the inscription, which is here meant. It stood therefore in the holy of holies, and not at the front of the temple, as Daressy thought (*Annales*, III, 28).

<sup>b</sup>*Y* > *dr*'t, with determinative of a house.

<sup>c</sup>Probably \* > *w hr*'sn.

<sup>d</sup>Possibly Daressy has omitted *R* >, and we should read "Ramses;" or *ms* is vulgar writing for *ms-sw* = "He who begat him."

<sup>e</sup>The last line is obscure, but it is clear that the account of the building is concluded in l. 11.

<sup>f</sup>Granite stela discovered at Tanis by Mariette and reburied there by him. It could not be found at the excavation of Tanis by Petrie (*Tanis*, II, 32); hence

opportunity to place a stela of his own, bearing a record of his visit in the temple, to which he appended prayers for the favor of the god, as so many officials did in Abydos. Although headed with the full titulary of Ramses II, the document is dated in the four hundredth year of King Opehtiset-Nubti, a Hyksos ruler. This remarkable fact shows that the reign of this king began an era—the only one known in Egypt—which had survived in use at Tanis into the Ramessid times.<sup>a</sup> Unfortunately, the stela does not give the year of Ramses II in which it was erected. Wiedemann dates it, as it seems to me with probability, at Ramses II's death. In any case, the knowledge of the lapse of 400 years between the Hyksos Nubti and some year of Ramses II is of great value.

539. At the top of the monument is a relief, showing Ramses II offering wine to Set. Behind the king stands Seti, the author of the monument, praying, as follows:

— — — thy ka, O Set, son of Nut, mayest thou grant a happy life following thy ka, to the ka of . . . . .<sup>b</sup> [Seti].

540. Below the relief is Seti's record of his commission, with the appended prayer, as follows:

Live . . . . .<sup>c</sup> King Ramses II, sovereign, who equips the Two Lands with monuments in his name, so that Re rises in heaven for love of him, King Ramses II.

541. His majesty commanded to make a great stela of granite

it has never been in Bulak, as stated by Birch (*Records of the Past*, IV, 33). A notice of the discovery was published by de Rougé (*Revue archéologique*, N. S., IX, 1864, 128-36), and the monument itself by Mariette (*ibid.*, N. S., XI, 1865, Pl. IV and pp. 169-90); and Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, 2d ed., V, 734 f. See also Chabas, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1865, 29 ff.; Wiedemann, *ibid.*, 1879, 138 ff.; and Piehl, *Recueil*, II, 121, 122.

<sup>a</sup>Wiedemann thought that it was still later in use, and that Manetho, as excerpted by Africanus, dates the death of Bokkhoris in the year 990 of this era (see *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1879, 138 ff.); but this conclusion is due to a misunderstanding.

<sup>b</sup>Seti's titles as below.

<sup>c</sup>Full fivefold titulary.

(*ymr-n-m<sup>3</sup> t*), in the great name of his fathers, in order that the name of his grandfather,<sup>a</sup> King Menmare, Son of Re: Seti-Merneptah, might be exalted, enduring and abiding forever, like Re, every day.

542. In the year 400, in the fourth month of the third season, on the fourth day, of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Opehtiset (*c<sup>3</sup>-phty-St*); Son of Re, his beloved: Nubti,<sup>b</sup> whom Harakhte desires to be forever and ever; came the hereditary prince, governor of the (residence) city, vizier, fan-bearer on the right of the king, chief of bowmen, governor of foreign countries, commandant of the fortress of Tharu (*I<sup>3</sup>-rw*), chief of the foreign gendarmes, king's-scribe, master of horse, chief priest of the Ram-god, lord of Mendes, High Priest of Set, ritual priest of Buto-Upet-Towe, chief of prophets of all gods, Seti, triumphant, son of the hereditary prince, governor of the (residence) city, vizier, chief of bowmen, governor of foreign countries, commandant of the fortress of Tharu, king's-scribe, master of horse, Peramses, triumphant; born of the lady (*nb t-pr*), the musician of Re (*P<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>3</sup>*), Teya (*Ty<sup>3</sup>*), triumphant. He said: "Hail to thee, O Set, son of Nut, great in strength in the barque of millions of years, overthrowing enemies<sup>1</sup> in front of the barque of Re, great in terror, ——— [grant m]e a happy life following thy ka, while I remain in ———."

#### ROYAL JUBILEE INSCRIPTIONS

543. The sources for the jubilee celebrations of Ramses II are fuller than for those of any other king. Unfortunately, his obelisks, although far more numerous<sup>c</sup> than those of his

<sup>a</sup>Seti I was not the grandfather, but the father, of Ramses II; hence Wiedemann has suggested (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1879, 142) that when the upper part of the stela containing the titulary, etc., of Ramses II had been completed, Ramses died, and "his majesty" refers to his son and successor, who sent confirmatory orders for the erection of the monument in Seti I's honor. Seti I could then be referred to as his majesty's grandfather. The rendering "grandfather" is, however, open to objection; it is possible that we should render: "father of his fathers," although it is a question how much attention should be paid to the plural strokes after "father" in a text of this age.

<sup>b</sup>This name is thought by some to refer to the god Set, but, of course, no one in the time of Ramses II believed that Set ruled 400 years before! [Later: See the same view by Ed. Meyer, *Aegyptische Chronologie*, 66.]

<sup>c</sup>Ramses II erected no less than fourteen obelisks at Tanis alone (Petrie, *Tanis*, I, Pl. VII-XI; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 194-97); then the well-



ancestors, bear inscriptions of a very vague and general nature, extolling the king's power and glory,<sup>a</sup> and containing no references to the royal jubilees, to celebrate which they were erected. Indeed, they do not, for the most part, show even the former conventional dedication inscription.<sup>b</sup>

544. A good example of this, is the Heliopolis obelisk, left uninscribed by Seti I, which was then inscribed by Ramses II, who with, for him, unusual generosity, appropriated only one side for his own inscription. Its inscriptions are as follows:<sup>c</sup>

*North Side*

545. . . . .<sup>d</sup> (Seti I), whose monuments are excellent in Heliopolis seat of eternity, like the four pillars of heaven, abiding, enduring at

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known pair in Luxor (one now in Paris); a pair in Karnak (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 148, a); four now in Rome (one a forgery); one now in Florence; besides usurping those of his predecessors, particularly that of his father, Seti I, at Heliopolis. A Berlin scarab (No. 1947, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 420), commemorates the erection of obelisks by him. A pair of obelisks taken out of the Elephantine quarry, probably by Ramses, are commemorated by the official in charge in an inscription on the island of Sehel, thus: "Real king's-confidant, his beloved, conducting the work on two great obelisks, High Priest of Khnum, Anuket, and Satet, Amenhotep." (Mariette, *Monuments divers*, V, 70, No. 17 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1214 = de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 94, 140 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 125, [6]. Not in Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, but see No. 58, *ibid.*)

<sup>a</sup>The historical references in the obelisk inscriptions will be found in § 392 and § 448, note.

<sup>b</sup>As the obelisks at Tanis are all prostrate, there may be dedications on the hidden sides, which have never been turned up. The only dedication to be found on any of Ramses II's obelisks thus far is on the two Luxor obelisks. The one still in Luxor reads (Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 60): "He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, erecting for him two great obelisks of granite." The other one, now in Paris, reads: "Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, making for him a great obelisk (called): 'Ramses-Meriamon-is-the-Beloved-of-Atum.'" (Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, I, 42, 43; Saint-Maur, *Voyage du Luxor en Egypte* [Paris, 1835], Pl. II; Champollion-Figeac, *L'Obélisque de Louqsor transporté à Paris* [Paris, 1833].) For Beknekhonsu's record of the erection of these Luxor obelisks, see his statue inscription (§§ 561-68).

<sup>c</sup>*Interpretatio Obeliscorum Urbis . . . . . digesta per A. M. Ungarellium* (Romæ, MDCCCXLII), Tab. II; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 66; *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2d ser., I, opp. p. 176 (drawings by Bonomi), Marucchi, *Gli Obelischî Egiziani di Roma* (Rome, 1898), Tav. III, IV.

<sup>d</sup>Full titulary, except fifth name.

the forecourt of Re. The ennead of gods is satisfied with his deeds. (May) the Son of Re, Seti-Merneptah, beloved of the gods of Heliopolis, [live] like Re.

*South Side*

546. . . . . (Seti I), who adorned Heliopolis for him who is therein, who purified it for Re, its lord; the lords of heaven and earth rejoice; his favor is doubled because of his deeds. May the Son of Re, Seti-Merneptah, beloved of Harakhte, live through him, like Re.

*West Side*

547. . . . . (Seti I), who filled Heliopolis with obelisks, shining with rays; the house of Re is flooded with his beauty, and the gods of the Great House rejoice. May the Son of Re, Seti-Merneptah, beloved of the ennead of gods which is in the Great House, be given life through him (*nf*).

*East Side*

548. . . . . Ramses (II), who has made his monuments like the stars of heaven, whose works mingle with the sky, rejoicing over which Re rises in his house of millions of years. It was his majesty who beautified<sup>a</sup> this monument for his father, in order to cause that his name should abide in the house of Re. May Ramses (II)-Meriamon, beloved of Atum, lord of Heliopolis, be given life through him (*nf*).

549. It will be seen that the obelisk has become more and more a monument of a general character in celebration of the king's glory, and has lost its exclusive significance as a memorial of the royal jubilee. This is indicated also by the fact that memorial inscriptions commemorating the celebration of the royal jubilees are to be found in Upper Egypt from el Kab to Philæ, as if other record than the obelisks were necessary. From these commemorative inscriptions the following table of jubilees may be reconstructed:<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>That is, added the inscriptions. "*Beautifying*" is used in the same way by Thutmose IV on the obelisk of his grandfather, Thutmose III (II, 833).

<sup>b</sup>The Roman numerals in the following footnotes refer to the nine inscriptions (§§ 552-60). My list (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 39, 60, note), which follows Brugsch, is to be corrected as herein.

550. Year 30,<sup>a</sup> first jubilee.

Year 33,<sup>b</sup>  
Year 34,<sup>c</sup> } second jubilee.

Year 37,<sup>d</sup> third jubilee.

Year 40,<sup>e</sup> fourth jubilee.

Year 41,<sup>f</sup>  
Year 42, } fifth jubilee.

Year 44,<sup>g</sup> sixth jubilee.

Year [47 ?],<sup>h</sup> seventh jubilee.

Year [50 ?],<sup>i</sup> eighth jubilee.

Year [53 ?],<sup>i</sup> ninth jubilee.

551. Most of these celebrations, at least as far as the year 41, were in charge of Ramses II's favorite son, Khamwese,<sup>j</sup> assisted by another son, Khay, who continued later.

#### I. FIRST GEBEL SILSILEH INSCRIPTION<sup>k</sup>

552. Year 30. First occurrence of the royal jubilee of the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Setepnere, given life forever.

[His majesty commanded] to celebrate the royal jubilee in the whole land.

King's-son, (sem-) priest, Khamwese, triumphant.<sup>l</sup>

<sup>a</sup>I, II, III, IV, V.

<sup>b</sup>II, p. 232, n. b.

<sup>c</sup>II, III, IV, V.

<sup>d</sup>II, III, IV (called by mistake the fourth jubilee), V (so Champollion; Brugsch has 36).

<sup>e</sup>III, IV, V, VI.

<sup>f</sup>Year 41, VII; year 42, VIII.

<sup>g</sup>VIII.

<sup>h</sup>Year unknown; its celebration is rendered certain by the certainty of eighth and ninth.

<sup>i</sup>Berlin scarabs, No. 3549 (*Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 420) and No. 5081 (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1891, 128), giving only number of jubilee without date.

<sup>j</sup>On the monuments of this son, which are too fragmentary for insertion here, see Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 464-66.

<sup>k</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 175 f.; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1127 (without relief); and Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 252.

<sup>l</sup>Relief showing Khamwese in the costume of a high priest of Memphis.

II. BIGEH INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

553. Year 30. First occurrence of the royal jubilee. Year 34.<sup>b</sup> Repetition of the royal jubilee. Year 37.<sup>c</sup> Third occurrence of the royal jubilee.

Of the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Setepnere, Lord of Diadems: Ramses-Meriamon, given life forever. His majesty commissioned the (*sm-*) priest, the king's-son, Khamwese, to celebrate the royal jubilees in the whole land.

III. SECOND GEBEL SILSILEH INSCRIPTION<sup>d</sup>

554. Year 30. First occurrence of the royal jubilee.

Year 34. Repetition of the royal jubilee.

Year 37. Third occurrence of the royal jubilee.

Year 40. Fourth occurrence of the royal jubilee.

Under the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Setepnere, Lord of Diadems, Ramses-Meriamon, given life forever.

His majesty commanded to commission the (*sm-*) priest, king's-son, Khamwese, to celebrate the royal jubilees in the whole [land] in South and North.

IV. THIRD GEBEL SILSILEH INSCRIPTION<sup>e</sup>

555. This inscription is a duplicate of the preceding, the lacuna in which it supplies. It shows an incorrect variant, calling the jubilee of year 37, the fourth.

<sup>a</sup>On the rocks of the island of Bigeh: Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 162; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 58; Young, *Hieroglyphics*, 42; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 175; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, II, 83, 3. De Morgan (*Catalogue des monuments*) has omitted this inscription.

<sup>b</sup>Another inscription on the island of Sehel (Bigeh, Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1128; but Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 71, No. 32, and de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 88, No. 62, give Sehel) has: "Year 33; repetition of the royal jubilee of the Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses II."

<sup>c</sup>The "39" given by Wiedemann (*Aegyptische Geschichte*, 465) is taken from Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, which has 39; but it is an error, as all the other publications have 37, except Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, which has 36.

<sup>d</sup>At the right of the entrance of the great rock temple of Harmhab at Gebel Silsileh (Champollion, *Monuments*, 116). Over the inscription Ramses II and Khamwese appear in a relief, worshipping Ptah and Sebek of Gebel Silsileh.

<sup>e</sup>At the left of the entrance of the great rock temple of Harmhab at Gebel Silsileh: Champollion, *Monuments*, 115. Above the inscription is a relief in which Ramses II and Khamwese appear in worship before Ptah-Tatenen and Amen-rationther.

V. FOURTH GEBEL SILSILEH INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

556. Year 30. First occurrence of the royal jubilee.

Year 34. Repetition of the royal jubilee.

Year 37.<sup>b</sup> Third occurrence of the royal jubilee.

Year 40. Fourth occurrence of the royal jubilee.

Under the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Setepnere, Lord of Diadems: Ramses-Meriamon, given life, like Re, forever.

His majesty commanded to commission the hereditary prince, (*mry-ntr*-) priest, attached to Nekhen, prophet of Mat, chief justice, judge, governor of the (residence) city, vizier, Khay, triumphant, to celebrate the royal jubilees [in the] whole [land], in South and North.

VI. SEHEL INSCRIPTION<sup>c</sup>

557. Year 40. Came the king's-son, (*sm*-) priest of Ptah, satisfying the heart of the Lord of the Two Lands, Khamwese, to celebrate the [fourth] royal jubilee [in the who]le [land in South and North].

VII. EL KAB INSCRIPTION<sup>d</sup>

558. Year 41. Came the king's-son, (*sm*-) priest of Ptah, satisfying the heart of the Lord of the Two Lands, Khamwese, to celebrate the fifth royal jubilee [in the wh]ole [lan]d.

<sup>a</sup>Large stela at the right of the door of the great rock chapel of Harmhab at Gebel Silsileh, published by Champollion, *Monuments*, 118; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, II, 83; and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1128 (without relief and quite incorrectly). Over the inscription, before the dates, kneels Khay, and still higher appears Ramses II before Amon-Re, Harakhte, Mat, Ptah-Tatenen, and Re-Sebek of Gebel Silsileh.

<sup>b</sup>Brugsch has 36.

<sup>c</sup>On the rocks of the island of Sehel at the first cataract: Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 71, No. 33, and de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 103, No. 33, where de Morgan's copyists have evidently reproduced Mariette's copy, without finding the original. The second jubilee is also referred to on Sehel (see II, p. 232, n. b).

<sup>d</sup>According to Lepsius, this inscription is in the temple of Amenhotep III (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 174, *d*); whereas Brugsch puts it in the tomb of Setau (*Thesaurus*, V, 1128). Wiedemann (*Aegyptische Geschichte*, 465, n. 5) evidently thinks there are two such inscriptions; one in the temple, and one in the tomb; but that given by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, is certainly the same as that placed by Brugsch in the tomb of Setau. A relief over the inscription shows Khamwese in obeisance to his father, enthroned as Osiris.

VIII. FIFTH GEBEL SILSILEH INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

559. Year 42, first month of the second season, day 1, of King Ramses II, given life, forever and ever. His majesty commanded to commission the vizier Khay ( $\overline{H}^c y$ ), to inaugurate the fifth royal jubilee of King Ramses II, in the whole land.

IX. SIXTH GEBEL SILSILEH INSCRIPTION<sup>b</sup>

560. Year 44.<sup>c</sup> First month of the second season, day 1, under the majesty of the king, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Setepnere, given life forever — —; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Ramses-Meriamon, given life, like Re, forever.

His majesty commanded to com[mission] the hereditary prince (*mry-ntr-*) priest, chief justice, judge, governor of the (residence) city, vizier, Khay, [triumphant, to celebr]ate the sixth royal jubilee, in the whole land, in the districts of South and North.

INSCRIPTION OF BEKNEKHONSU<sup>d</sup>

561. The most important of Ramses II's officials who has transmitted a mortuary autobiography to us, was Beknekhonsu, the High Priest of Amon. He tells us every step in his career, with the length of each office, as follows:

<sup>a</sup>Legrain, *Recueil*, XXVI, 219, n. 3.

<sup>b</sup>Stela on the right of the entrance of the great rock chapel of Harmhab at Gebel Silsileh; published by Champollion, *Monuments*, 119; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 83, 2; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1128, IV. A relief above the inscription shows Ramses II accompanied by Mat, before Amon, Mut, Khonsu, Harakhite, and Sebek of Gebel Silsileh. Below the inscription is Khay kneeling, with a few lines of adoration before him.

<sup>c</sup>So Brugsch; Champollion, *Monuments*, has 45.

<sup>d</sup>On the back of a squatting statue of Beknekhonsu, now in the Glyptothek at Munich (No. 30). It was carefully published by Devéria, *Mémoires de l'Institut égyptien*, 1862, I, 701-54; reprinted in *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, IV, 276-323 (plate opposite p. 288). A collation with a photograph showed the text to be without error. It was again inaccurately published by Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, 1240 f., where even a year is incorrect: 6 for 27! l. 3). The tomb of Beknekhonsu was found by Champollion (*Notices descriptives*, I, 538) at Thebes in Assasif; smaller objects from his tomb are noted by Devéria (*Bibliothèque égyptologique*, IV, 295, 296).

Infancy, 4 years, from 1 to 4.

Youth, 12 years, from 5 to 16. (Being chief of the stable at least a part of this time.)

Priest, 4 years, from 17 to 20.

Divine father, 12 years, from 21 to 32.

Third prophet, 15 years, from 33 to 47.

Second prophet, 12 years, from 48 to 59.

High Priest,<sup>a</sup> 27 years, from 60 to 86.

562. Beginning under Seti I, he must have been of about the same age as Ramses II, and was likewise the only official known to us who survived almost if not quite, as long as the aged Ramses himself.<sup>b</sup> In addition to his sacerdotal duties, he was also chief architect, and as such built a temple for Ramses II, "*at the upper portal of the house of Amon,*" which can only be the Luxor temple of Ramses II. He also refers to its obelisks, its flagstaves, its lake, its gardens, and other accessories which he provided for the temple. He is further found serving as judge in a civil suit in the forty-sixth year of Ramses II.<sup>c</sup>

#### *Titles*

563. <sup>1</sup>Hereditary prince, count, High Priest of Amon, Beknekhonsu, triumphant; he says:

#### *Career*

564. "I was a truthful witness, profitable to his lord, extolling the instruction of his god, proceeding upon his way, performing the excellent

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "*First prophet.*" Brugsch's six years as the length of service in this office (*Thesaurus and Geschichte*, 566) is an error; I have especially compared the photograph on this point.

<sup>b</sup>The statue of a Beknekhonsu, High Priest of Amon under Ramses III, found in the temple of Mut (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 343-47), cannot, for reasons of chronology, as well as because at least two high priests held office in the interim, be identified as that of our Beknekhonsu.

<sup>c</sup>Papyrus Berlin No. 47, l. 4; *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XVII, 1879, 72, and Taf. I.

ceremonies in the midst of his temple. I was chief overseer of works in the house of Amon, satisfying the excellent heart of his lord. O all ye people, take account in <sup>2</sup>your hearts; ye who are on earth, who shall come after me, in millions of millions of years, after old age and infirmity, whose hearts are versed in discerning worth; I will inform you of my character while I was upon earth, in every office which I administered since my birth."

565. 1. "I passed four years in extreme childhood (*nds*).

2. I passed twelve years as <sup>3</sup>a youth (*hwn*), while I was chief of the training-stable<sup>a</sup> of King Menmare (Seti I).

3. I acted as priest (*w<sup>c</sup> b*) of Amon, during four years.

4. I acted as divine father of Amon, during twelve years.

5. I acted as third prophet of Amon during fifteen years.

6. I acted as second prophet of Amon during twelve years.

7. He<sup>b</sup> favored me, he distinguished me, because of my rare merit. He appointed me to be High Priest<sup>c</sup> of Amon during twenty-seven years."

#### *Character*

566. "I was <sup>4</sup>a good father to my serf-laborers, training their classes, giving my hand [to] him who was in trouble, preserving alive him who was in misfortune, performing the excellent duties in his temple. I was chief overseer of works before Thebes for his son, who came forth from his limbs, King Ramses II, given life, maker of monuments for his father, Amon, <sup>5</sup>who placed him on his throne."

The assistant, the High Priest of Amon, Beknekhonsu, triumphant, made (it).

#### *Building of Luxor Temple*

567. He says as follows: "I performed the excellent duties in the house of Amon, being chief overseer of works of my lord. I made for him a temple (called): 'Ramses-Meriamon-Hearer-of-Petitions,' at

<sup>a</sup>*S. hpr.* See Erman, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 444, 445.

<sup>b</sup>This may refer to either the king or the god, but it probably refers to the god, as in l. 4.

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "*first prophet of Amon*," being in direct succession from the rank of third and second prophet.



the upper<sup>a</sup> portal of the house (*pr*) of Amon. I erected obelisks<sup>b</sup> therein, of granite, whose beauty approached heaven. A wall <sup>6</sup>was before it of stone over against Thebes; it was flooded;<sup>c</sup> and the gardens were planted with trees. I made very great double doors of electrum; their beauty met the heavens. I hewed very great flagstaves, and I erected them in the august forecourt in front of his temple.”

*Sacred Barges*

568. “I hewed great barges of the ‘Beginning-of-the-River,’ for Amon, Mut, and Khonsu; by the hereditary prince, High Priest of Amon, Beknekhonsu.”

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<sup>a</sup>This is the southern gate of the temenos of the Karnak temple toward Luxor, to which the four southern pylons of Karnak led. At this portal the great obelisk of Thutmose III was erected by Thutmose IV (Lateran Obelisk, II, 835), who also calls it the “*upper portal of Karnak*.” The only temple of Ramses II at this portal is the Luxor temple; but the name given it by Beknekhonsu does not accord with the name of Luxor temple (see § 507).

<sup>b</sup>These are the two Luxor obelisks of Ramses II, of which one is still in situ, and the other in the Place de la Concorde, Paris.

<sup>c</sup>He means that the wall surrounded or gave access to a temple lake. Cf. the work of Ramses IX (Mariette, *Karnak*, 40, l. 7), whose wall (*d' d'* as here) gave access to the Karnak lake. There is certainly no reference to the Kurna temple and the Ramesseum, as some have thought.

## REIGN OF MERNEPTAH

### THE INVASION OF LIBYANS AND MEDITERRANEAN PEOPLES

569. For this, one of the most serious invasions which have ever threatened Egypt, we possess a series of four documents, which furnish a fairly full account of its course, the ensuing battle, and the resulting relief in Egypt. They are the following:

I. The Great Karnak Inscription (§§ 572-92).

II. The Cairo Column (§§ 593-95).

III. The Athribis Stela (§§ 596-601).

IV. The Hymn of Victory (§§ 602-17).

570. These sources enable us to see the already aged Merneptah facing the evil conditions on his Libyan frontier, inherited from the decades of neglect which concluded his great father's reign. The Libyans have for years past been pushing into and occupying the western Delta.<sup>a</sup> They pressed in almost to the gates of Memphis, eastward to the district of Heliopolis, and southward to the two oases nearest the Fayûm. Worse than this, they had made a coalition

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<sup>a</sup>Golénischeff's interesting and suggestive letter (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 101-6) draws geographical data from a new papyrus in his possession, on the basis of which he would place this immigration and invasion (as well as those under Ramses III) south of the Fayûm near Ehnas. His arguments are not without force, but the conclusion seems to me to be refuted by the statement that this invasion and the battle which repelled it occurred in the "western *rwd*" (Karnak Inscription, l. 30, where "western" is omitted, and Athribis stela, l. 7). *Rwd* is a term used only of the Delta, the two halves of which are called the eastern and western *rwd* (Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*). The invasions under Ramses III were also in the "western *rwd*" (IV, 405). See also Harris, 10, 8 (IV, 224). Furthermore, the improbability that the Libyans would enter Egypt by way of the northern oases, going around the south side of the Fayûm, to reach the region of Memphis, is evident.

with the maritime peoples of the Mediterranean, who now poured into the Delta from Sardinia on the west to Asia Minor on the east. The mention of these peoples in these documents is the earliest appearance of Europeans in literature, and has always been the center of much study and interest.<sup>a</sup> With the sympathy, if not the direct assistance of the Kheta, the Libyan king, Meryey, put himself at the head of these combined allies and invaded the Delta, bringing his wives and belongings, and apparently intending a permanent occupation. Some time during the first half of the tenth month (late in March), in Merneptah's fifth year, a messenger reached him with the news. Rallying his forces immediately, Merneptah met the enemy on the third of the eleventh month (about April 15) at Perire in the western Delta, and in six hours' fighting routed their combined forces with immense slaughter. He pursued them from Perire to the rise of the Libyan desert, called the "*Mount of the Horns of the Earth.*"

571. It is difficult to understand the exact interrelation of the numbers given in the Great Karnak Inscription and the Athribis Stela, but over 9,000 of the enemy were slain, possibly as many more taken prisoners, while many horses and cattle, and vast numbers of weapons were captured. The Libyan king was forced to ignominious flight, his camp, his wives, and his personal belongings falling into the hands

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<sup>a</sup>The layman has long been misled regarding this event by such titles for it as "Invasion of the Greeks," although there is now no doubt that the early peoples of southern Europe participated in this invasion. Since the study of Sardinian art by Perrot and Chipiez, as Müller has shown, we must accept the Sherden as Sardinians; the Teresh may then equally well be the Etruscans (Tyrsenoi), and the Shekelesh might be the Sikeli (if *š* be an ethnic termination in these western names; but see IV, 59). Maspero has suggested Sagalassos in Asia Minor. The Ekweh are not impossibly the Achæans, and from Asia Minor are the Luka or Lycians. Compare Müller, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, X; and *Asien und Europa*, 335-59; 371-84; and Hall, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, VIII, 157.

of the Egyptians. After setting fire to the camp, the Egyptians carried the plunder in triumph to the king, who viewed the trophies of the dead, the prisoners, and the spoil. He then returned home, and in the royal palace, probably at Memphis, he delivered a triumphal address, to which the court responded with acclamation. The people of the Delta, on hearing the news, break out into rejoicing that peace and safety are restored to them.

#### I. GREAT KARNAK INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

572. This, one of the longest documents preserved on the temple walls of Egypt, gives the fullest account which has survived to us of the great victory of Merneptah over the Libyans. The prominence of Ptah in the narrative betrays the Memphite origin of the document, but the original which doubtless once existed in Memphis has now perished.

573. The document does not offer us any idea of the

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<sup>a</sup>A long inscription of originally eighty lines, engraved on the inside (west) of the eastern wall connecting the main Karnak temple with Pylon VII (Baedeker's plan), the northernmost of the southern pylons. The upper ends of the lines have lost the space of one course of masonry, equivalent to about four to five words. The text, noted first by Champollion, was partially published by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, III, 199, a; only ll. 44-77 and list of names, Text, III, 43); Brugsch then purposed to publish the first half, omitted by Lepsius, and inserted ll. 8-43 in his *Geographische Inschriften*, II, Pl. 25 (not Pl. 85, as stated in *Records of the Past*, IV, 37, nor 35, as given in Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 432). Brugsch numbered his lines 1 to 36, but he really omitted ll. 1-7. It was finally completely published by Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, I, 2-6), Mariette (who copies Dümichen's mistakes, *Karnak*, 52-55), and de Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 179-98). None of these publications is very exact; both Lepsius and Brugsch omit the lower ends of the lines, doubtless still covered in their day, without any indication of the fact. Rougé found the upper ends of ll. 36-41 (on a block rediscovered by Legrain in 1901, see l. 36, p. 246, n. a), and properly placed them; I arranged all the publications in parallel columns, and the resulting text, while tolerably close to the original and preserving some signs now lost, was not sufficiently accurate. Later I secured good photographs of the inscription through the kindness of Borchardt, which added some readings of importance. The new fragments found by Legrain (*Annales*, IV, 2-4) contain nothing of importance except the reference to the "western rdw;" they arrived too late to be available in the following text.

course of the battle, beginning the account of the conflict itself almost immediately with the rout of the Libyans; but it is gratifyingly full regarding the conditions which led up to the battle and the immense plunder which resulted from it. In style it is often so highly colored, and effuse in poetic figures, that the translation is rendered difficult.

*Title*

574. <sup>1</sup>[Beginning of the victory which his majesty achieved in the land of Libya]<sup>a</sup> ————— i, Ekweh (ʿ -k ʷ -w ʷ -š ʷ), Teresh (*Tw-rw-š ʷ*), Luka (*Rw-kw*), Sherden (*Š ʷ -r ʷ -d-n*), Shekelesh (*Š-k-rw-š ʷ*), Northerners coming from all lands.

*Valor of Merneptah*

575. <sup>2</sup> — — — — —<sup>b</sup> his valor in the might of his father, Amon; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Binre-Meriamon; Son of Re: Merneptah-Hotephirma, given life. Lo, this Good God, flourishing — — — — —<sup>3</sup> — — — — — his [fathers] all the gods, as his protection. Every country is in fear at the sight of him, King Merneptah.<sup>c</sup> <sup>4</sup> — — — — — desolated, made a waste, commanding that the invader of his every boundary of Egypt bow himself down in his time, <sup>5</sup> — — — — — all his [plans] (whose) verdict is the breath of life. He causes the people to be care-free, sleeping while the terror of his strength is in <sup>6</sup> — — —.

*Preparation of Defenses*

576. — — —, to protect Heliopolis, city of Atum, to defend the stronghold of Ptah-Tatenen, to save — from evil <sup>7</sup> — — — — — tents<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup>The presence of the list of hostile allies at the beginning of the inscription would indicate with great probability that the opening words were the same as in the Kadesh Poem, which likewise begins with a list of the allied foes.

<sup>b</sup>The loss is one course of masonry at the top—at most four or five words at the beginning of each line.

<sup>c</sup>Double name, as also in all other places in the inscription.

<sup>d</sup>Hebrew לַיָּם. This remark may possibly refer to the Libyans and indicate the distribution of their immigrants from Per-Berset on the west to the Heliopolitan canal on the east.

before Per-Berset (*Pr-b<sup>o</sup>-r<sup>o</sup>-ys-t*),<sup>a</sup> reaching<sup>b</sup> the Sheken (*Š<sup>o</sup>-k<sup>o</sup>-n<sup>o</sup>*) canal on the [—]<sup>c</sup> of the Eti (*ḫ<sup>o</sup>-ty*)<sup>d</sup> canal.

*Libyan Aggression*

577. <sup>8</sup>— — — — not cared for, it was forsaken as pasturage for cattle because of the Nine Bows, it was left waste from the times of the ancestors. All the kings of Upper Egypt abode in their pyramids <sup>9</sup>— — — —; the kings of Lower Egypt [rested]<sup>e</sup> in the midst of their cities, inclosed in the state palace, for lack of troops; they had no bowmen to answer against them.

*Accession of Merneptah, and His Preparations*

578. It happened <sup>10</sup>ḫ— — — — he [assumed<sup>f</sup>] the throne of Horus, he was appointed to preserve the folk (*p<sup>c</sup>-t*) alive, he hath arisen as king to protect the people (*rḫy-t*). There was might in him to do it, because of — — —<sup>g</sup> in <sup>11</sup>— — — — — Meber (*M<sup>o</sup>-b<sup>o</sup>-r<sup>o</sup>*),<sup>h</sup> the choicest of his bowmen were mustered, his chariotry was brought up from every side, his scouts were in — — — his [—]<sup>i</sup> in <sup>12</sup>— — — — — his —. He considered not hundreds of thousands in the day of the array. His infantry (*mnjy-t*) marched out, the heavy armed<sup>i</sup> troops arrived, beautiful in appearance, leading the bowmen against every land.

<sup>a</sup>This town has nothing to do with modern Belbês on the eastern margin of the Delta (classic Byblos? See Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 197); but was in the western Delta (see IV, 370).

<sup>b</sup>Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, has *yr* (the eye) = "do, make," perhaps used as in Uni (I, 322, ll. 41, 42, note) with the meaning "reach, visit."

<sup>c</sup>Text has not "north," but either *šd* or *nd* with the *d* written out alphabetically, and a long horizontal determinative lost in a joint of the masonry.

<sup>d</sup>A canal leaving the Nile by Heliopolis; the Sheken canal is otherwise unknown (see Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 77).

<sup>e</sup>The parallelism demands a verb similar in meaning to "abode."

<sup>f</sup>There is here a reference to the accession of Merneptah, as Brugsch has noticed (*Geschichte*, 569).

<sup>g</sup>Fragments of words; Brugsch's "weil er war das Ebenbild des [schön] gesichtigen" (= Ptah) is quite impossible.

<sup>h</sup>A syllable or two may be lost at the beginning; it is the name of an unknown foreign country. The connection before it is not clear, but it is evident that the practical preparations for the campaign begin here.

<sup>i</sup>Lit., "those who bear the hand-to-hand fighting;" these are heavily armed foreign mercenaries.

*News of Coalition of Libyans and Sea-Peoples against Egypt*

579. <sup>a</sup> — — — — — the third season, saying: "The wretched, fallen chief of Libya, Meryey (*M-r<sup>2</sup>-y<sup>2</sup>-yw-y*), son of Ded (*Dy-d*), has fallen upon the country of Tehenu with his bowmen <sup>14</sup> — — — — — Sherden (*[š]<sup>2</sup>-r<sup>2</sup>-d-n*), Shekelesh (*š<sup>2</sup>-k-rw-š<sup>2</sup>*), Ekwesh (<sup>b</sup> *-k<sup>2</sup>-w<sup>2</sup>-š<sup>2</sup>*), Luka (*Rw-kw*), Teresh (*Tw-ry-š<sup>2</sup>*), taking the best of every warrior and every man of war (*phrr*) of his country. He has brought his wife and his <sup>c</sup> children <sup>15</sup> — — — — — leaders of the camp, and he has reached the western boundary in the fields of Perire."<sup>d</sup>

*Merneptah's Speech*

580. Lo, his majesty was enraged at their report, like a lion; <sup>16</sup> [The assembled his court], and said to th[em]: "Hear ye the command of your lord; I give — — as ye shall do, saying: I am the ruler who shepherds<sup>e</sup> you; I spend my time searching out <sup>17</sup> — — — — — you, as a father, who preserves alive his children; while ye fear like birds, and ye know not the goodness of that which he does. Is there none answering in <sup>18</sup> — — — — — [Shall the land be] wa]sted and forsaken at the invasion of every country, while the Nine Bows plunder its borders, and rebels invade it every day? Every — takes <sup>19</sup> — — — — — to plunder these fortresses. They have repeatedly penetrated the fields of Egypt [to] the [great]<sup>f</sup> river. They have halted, they have spent whole days and

<sup>a</sup>This announcement was made in the tenth month, as is shown by the Cairo column (§ 595), which fills out the lacuna at the beginning of the above section. Allowing the fourteen days for the muster of the troops (l. 28), and remembering that the armies met in battle on the third of the eleventh month, it will be seen that the news must have reached the king during the first half of the tenth month.

<sup>b</sup>The first syllable is omitted by Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, Mariette, *Karnak*, and Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*; being given only by de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, where it is probably a correction by de Rougé himself.

<sup>c</sup>So Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, and Mariette, *Karnak*, have "their."

<sup>d</sup>*Pr-yr* misread by Brugsch as *Pr-Yr-šps't*, and then identified with Prosopis. This is shown to be incorrect by the short version (§ 600, l. 9). See Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 357, n. 3), who would identify it as the *Y<sup>2</sup>rw* of the Pyramid Texts (Mernere, 182 = Pepi, 145; cf. also Teti, 351 = Pepi, II, 174), "a border town of the natron district."

<sup>e</sup>Like Seti I in making the well on the Redesiyeh road (Third Inscription, § 195, l. 2).

<sup>f</sup>The restoration is certain, the determinative (papyrus roll) is clear, and there is just room for the "great"-sign (*c<sup>2</sup>*) above it. In exactly the same connection it is used in Ramses III's Libyan wars (IV, 405, see note).

months dwelling <sup>20</sup>— — — —. They have reached the hills of the oasis,<sup>a</sup> and have cut off the district<sup>b</sup> of Toyeh (*T<sup>o</sup>-y<sup>h</sup>*).<sup>c</sup> 'So<sup>d</sup> it has been since the kings of Upper Egypt, in the records of other times. It was not known <sup>21</sup>— — — — as worms, not considering their bodies, (but) loving death and despising life. Their hearts are exalted against the people<sup>e</sup> <sup>22</sup>— — — — their chief. They spend their time going about the land, fighting, to fill their bodies daily. They come to the land of Egypt, to seek the necessities of their mouths; their desire is <sup>23</sup>— — — — my bringing them like netted fish on their bellies. Their chief is like a dog, a man of 'boasting<sup>l</sup>, without courage; he does not abide — <sup>24</sup>— — — — bringing to an end<sup>f</sup> the Pedetishew (*Pd·ty·šw*),<sup>g</sup> whom I caused to take grain in ships, to keep alive that land of Kheta.<sup>h</sup> Lo, I am he whom the gods —, every ka <sup>25</sup>— — — — under me, King Merneptah, given life. By my ka, by the —, as I flourish as ruler of the Two Lands 'the land shall be made<sup>i</sup> <sup>26</sup>— — — — Egypt. Amon nods approval, when<sup>i</sup> one speaks in

<sup>a</sup>The usual designation of the oasis otherwise called by the Egyptians the "Northern Oasis," and by the Greeks "The Lesser." It lies exactly southwest of the Fayûm, in N. 28°, less than one hundred miles west of the Nile valley.

<sup>b</sup>Brugsch (*Dictionnaire géographique*, 70) has *n hr n* (for *m hr n*) = "in front of," that is, "cut off in front of," which does not alter the meaning.

<sup>c</sup>This is the oasis now called "Farafrah," about seventy-five miles west of south of the "Northern Oasis." The Libyans had thus taken the two oases nearest them, south of the natron district.

<sup>d</sup>*Mty*; it must in some way indicate the customary and habitual thing in former times. See § 377, n. b. *Hrtw* = "one says;" hence the whole, probably, literally is: "The customary thing," say they, "since, etc."

<sup>e</sup>Of Egypt (*rḥy·t*). <sup>f</sup>*S·rk*.

<sup>g</sup>Asiatics, or: "the Pedetishew bring to an end."

<sup>h</sup>The king evidently regards Kheta as included in the coalition of northern peoples against Egypt, and the logic of the reference seems to be Kheta's ingratitude in joining a combination against the Egyptians, who had sent grain for her maintenance, as if such grain had not been sent in a commercial way, but from philanthropic motives, which, of course, was probably not the case. In view of the mention of Kheta among the defeated peoples in the Hymn of Victory (§ 617, l. 26), the question arises whether Kheta already in the year 3 had not been in such close sympathy with the plans of these allies that Merneptah had extended against the Kheta also the campaign on which the Asiatic peoples and towns mentioned in the Hymn of Victory (§ 617, ll. 26-28) were pillaged. I can only answer this question in the affirmative. The plunder of a few towns on the Hittite border in Syria would be quite sufficient, in the eyes of an oriental, to justify the boast in l. 26.

<sup>i</sup>Or: "say they in Thebes."



Thebes. He has turned his back against the Meshwesh (*M-šꜣ -wꜣ -šꜣ*), and looks [not] on the land of Temeh (*T-m-h*), when they are <sup>27</sup>—."

*Beginning of the Campaign*

581. — — — —<sup>a</sup> the leaders of the bowmen in front thereof to overthrow the land of Libya. When they went forth, the hand of the god was with them; (even) Amon was with them as their shield. The land of Egypt was commanded, saying: <sup>28</sup>"— — — — [rea]dy to march in fourteen days."

*Merneptah's Dream*

582. Then his majesty saw in a dream as if a statue of Ptah were standing before Pharaoh, L. P. H. He was like the height of <sup>29</sup>— — — —. He spake to him: "Take thou (it)," while he extended to him the sword,<sup>b</sup> "and banish thou the fearful heart from thee." Pharaoh, L. P. H., spake to him: "Lo, <sup>30</sup>— — — —."<sup>c</sup>

*Approach of the Two Armies*

583. — infantry and chariotry in (great) number<sup>d</sup> were camped before them on the shore (*rwd*)<sup>e</sup> in front of the district of Perire (*Pr-yr*). Lo, the wretched chief of <sup>31</sup>[Libya] — — — — in the night of the second day of the third month of the third season (eleventh month) when the land grew light (enough) for advancing with them. The wretched fallen chief of Libya came at the time of the third day of the third month of the third season (eleventh month), and he brought <sup>32</sup>— — — — until they arrived. The infantry of his majesty went forth together with his chariotry, Amon-Re being with them, and the Ombite (Set) giving to them the hand.

<sup>a</sup>It is clear that the king's speech is concluded in the lacuna, and that the march of the troops now begins.

<sup>b</sup>Compare the frequent reliefs in which the god extends a sword (*ḥpš*) to the king. There is not in this speech any warning to Merneptah to withhold himself from the battle, and remain at home, as indicated in the translation of Chabas (*Études sur l'antiquité historique*, 195). This old misunderstanding of Chabas has gained general currency in the histories. [Later: See W. M. Müller (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, V, December, 1902, 477) for the similarity of this dream story to that in Herodotus, II, 141.]

<sup>c</sup>The answer of the Pharaoh was evidently very short.

<sup>d</sup>*M rḥ' t*, lit., "in a list or statement."

<sup>e</sup>See § 570, note.

*The Battle*

584. [Every] man <sup>33</sup>— — — — their blood, there was none that escaped among them. Lo, the bowmen of his majesty spent six hours of destruction among them; they were delivered to the sword upon <sup>34</sup>— — — — of the country. Lo, as they fought — —; the wretched chief of Libya halted, his heart fearing; withdrew (again), stopped, knelt, <sup>35</sup>— — — — [leaving] sandals, his bow, and his quiver in haste behind [him], and every [thing] that was with him. [— —] his limbs, great terror coursed in his members. <sup>36a</sup>Lo, [they] slew — — — of his possessions, his [equipment], his silver, his gold, his vessels of bronze, the furniture<sup>b</sup> of his wife, his throne, his bows, his arrows, all his works, which he had brought <sup>37</sup>from his land, consisting of oxen, goats, and asses, [and all were carried away] to the palace, to bring them in, together with the captives. Lo, the wretched chief of Libya was in speed to flee [by himself], while all <sup>38</sup>the people among the captains — — — among the wounded of the sword. Lo, the officers (*snn*), who were upon the horses of his majesty, set themselves after them — — felled with <sup>39</sup>arrows, carried off, slain, — —.

*Retrospect*

585. No [man] has seen it in the annals of the kings of Lower Egypt; lo, this land of Egypt was in [the]ir power, in a [state] of weakness in the time of the kings of Upper Egypt, <sup>40</sup>so that their hand could not be repelled, — — — — these — out of love of their beloved son, in order to protect Egypt for her lord, that the temples of Egypt might be saved, and in order to announce <sup>41</sup>the mighty power of the [Good] God — — — —.

*Escape of Libyan Chief*

586. [The commandant] of the fortress of the West<sup>c</sup> [sent] a report to the Court, L. P. H., saying, as follows: "The fallen Meryey (*Mw-*

<sup>a</sup>De Rougé found a block containing the beginnings of ll. 36-41; they are to be found in place only in his publication. Later (1901) Legrain found the same block under the débris, and published it (*Annales du service*, II, 269), without recognizing that it had long before been seen and copied by de Rougé. The recovery of this block, however, shows that the loss at the beginnings of the lines is, for the main part of the inscription, only the space of one course of masonry.

<sup>b</sup>Or: "ornaments."

<sup>c</sup>This is the fort or station referred to by Ramses III (IV, 340; Harris, 51*b*, 3).

רֹד־יֹד־י) has come, his limbs have fled because of his 'cowardice', and (he) passed by me, by favor of night, in safety.<sup>a</sup> 42— — — — want; he is fallen, and every god is for Egypt.<sup>b</sup> The boasts which he uttered, have come to naught; all that his mouth said has returned upon his (own) head. His condition is not known (whether) of death 43[or of life] — — — Thou hast — him of his fame; if he lives, he will not (again) command, (for) he is fallen, an enemy of<sup>c</sup> his (own) troops. It is thou who hast taken us, to cause to slay 44— — — —<sup>d</sup> in the land of Temeh (*Ty-m-h-w*) [and of Libya<sup>e</sup>]. They have put another into his place, from among his brothers, another who fights him,<sup>f</sup> when he sees him. All the chiefs are 'disgusted' 45— — —."

### Triumphal Return

587. [Then returned] the captains of archers, the infantry (*mnjy't*), and chariotry; every contingent of the army, whether recruits, or heavy armed troops,<sup>g</sup> 46[carried off the plunder] — — [driving] asses before them, laden with the uncircumcised<sup>h</sup> phalli of the country of Libya, together with the hands of every country that was with them, like fish

<sup>a</sup>*M rwd.*

<sup>b</sup>The rendering is grammatically uncertain; it may possibly also be: "every god has overthrown him for Egypt's sake."

<sup>c</sup>Brugsch's text ends here.

<sup>d</sup>Lepsius' text begins here.

<sup>e</sup>Only the foreign determinative is preserved.

<sup>f</sup>This pronoun is omitted by Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, and Mariette, *Karnak*.

<sup>g</sup>Owing to the connection in the following line, *hr kjc w* is possibly to be rendered "bore the captures." But see l. 12. In any case, some such statement must have introduced l. 46, or is to be found in the closing words of l. 45.

<sup>h</sup>Lit., "phalli with the foreskins" (*Krn't*=כרלה). Müller's objections (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1888, 147 ff.) to this rendering, it seems to me, do not take full account of the use of the word in this text. He maintains that *krn't*="horn" (long ago suggested by Chabas, *Etudes sur l'antiquité historique*, 234, n. 2) means simply phallus, because Athribis Stela uses it in the same place where our long text has "phallus," or interchangeably with "phallus." But *krn't* is something which the Sherden and the other allies did not have (l. 54)! Moreover, it is something connected with the phallus which they did not have. As the phonetic equivalence *krn't*=כרלה is unexceptionable, it seems to me the rendering "foreskin" is very probable. The question of the homes of these people is in greater uncertainty than the rendering of *krn't*, and should be decided by this rendering rather than the reverse.

on the grass<sup>1</sup>, and the possessions<sup>47</sup> — — — the enemies of their land. Lo, the whole land rejoiced to heaven; the towns and the districts acclaimed these wonders which had happened; the Nile<sup>48</sup> — — — their — as tribute under the balcony,<sup>a</sup> to cause his majesty to see his conquests.

*List of Captives and Slain*

**588.** List of the captives carried off from this land of Libya and the countries which he brought with him; likewise the property<sup>49</sup> — — —<sup>b</sup> [between] the 'château'<sup>c</sup> of Merneptah-Hotepirma [destroyer of]<sup>d</sup> Tehenu (*Ty-[h]-nw*) which is in Perire (*Pr-yr*), as far as the upper towns of the country, beginning with "— of Merneptah-Hotepirma."<sup>e</sup>

5 <sup>f</sup> [Children of the chief of Libya whose] <sup>f</sup> uncircumcised phalli [were carried off]	6 men
Children of chiefs, and brothers of the chief of Libya, slain, whose [uncircumcised] phalli were carried off	51 — —
— — Libyans, slain, whose uncircumcised phalli were carried off	6,359
Total, children of great chiefs <sup>g</sup>	52 — —

<sup>a</sup>This is the palace balcony on which the Pharaoh appeared to the people. It is also mentioned in a similar connection in Papyrus Harris (*infra*, IV, 408), and is several times depicted in the Amarna tombs (e. g., Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 103-9). Cf. also Harmhab Decree (II, 66, l. 9).

<sup>b</sup>Athribis Stela, l. 8 (§ 600).

<sup>c</sup>*Pr m*<sup>2</sup>. It occurs also in the parallel passage in the Athribis Stela (§ 600, l. 8), and twice in Papyrus Harris (5, 2, and 31, 6, one of which was north of Heliopolis). It is clear that the limits of the flight and pursuit are being given as in the battle under Ramses III; they are given in the Athribis Stela (ll. 8, 9) as the château in Perire and the "mount of the Horns of the Earth;" this terminus is the same as under Ramses III, and of course is the rise of the Libyan desert, or some elevation near it, upon which Ramses III had built a town. (The term, "Horns of the Earth," is also used of the southern limit of territory known to the Egyptians.) Whether the beginning point of the flight, viz., Perire, is the same as *H t-š c t*, where the flight began under Ramses III, is perhaps uncertain, but the above facts concerning the *pr m*<sup>2</sup>, and the parallel character of the two invasions would certainly at least place them near together, and it is probable that they are identical. (See also *Pr-m*<sup>2</sup>, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 102.)

<sup>d</sup>Brugsch has "destroyer of" in this lacuna, but it is in none of the texts.

<sup>e</sup>Probably another place-name.

<sup>f</sup>§ 601, l. 10.

<sup>g</sup>Probably continued by l. 12 of the extract.

— — [Sher]den (— — <i>dy-n</i> ), Shekelesh ( <i>Š</i> - <i>k</i> - <i>rw-š</i> ), Ekwesh ( <i>ḳ</i> - <i>y-w</i> - <i>š</i> ) <sup>a</sup> of the countries of the sea, <sup>a</sup> who had no fore- <sup>53b</sup> skins:	
Shekelesh ( <i>Š</i> - <i>k</i> - <i>rw-š</i> )	222 <sup>c</sup> men
Making.	250 <sup>d</sup> hands
Teresh ( <i>Tw-rw-š</i> )	742 <sup>e</sup> men
Making	790 <sup>d</sup> hands
Sherden ( <i>Š</i> - <i>r</i> - <i>d-n-n</i> )	54 — —
[Making]	— —
[Ek]wesh (— — <i>y-w</i> - <i>š</i> ) who had no foreskins, slain, whose hands were carried off, (for) they had no <sup>55</sup> [foreskins]	— — —
— — in heaps, whose uncircumcised phalli were carried off to the place where the king was	6,111 <sup>f</sup> men
Making uncircumcised phalli	56 — —
— — whose hands [were carried off]	2,370 <sup>g</sup> men
Shekelesh ( <i>Š</i> - <i>k</i> - <i>rw-š</i> ) and Teresh ( <i>Tw-rw-š</i> ) who came as enemies of <sup>h</sup> Libya	57 — —
— — Kehek, and Libyans, carried off as living prisoners	218 men

<sup>a</sup>It is noticeable that this designation, both here and in the Athribis Stela (l. 13), is inserted only after the Ekwesh. In the Athribis Stela Ekwesh is cut off by a numeral from the preceding, showing that the designation there belongs only to them.

<sup>b</sup>All the texts indicate a lacuna here at the top of l. 53, and yet the half of the word "*foreskin*" at the bottom of l. 52 fits exactly the other half at the top of l. 53. This may be an accident, but if correct, then there is no lacuna at top of l. 53, and no place for a number between. The number corresponding to this place in the Athribis Stela (viz., 2201 + x) is not found in this text till l. 56.

<sup>c</sup>Müller's 212 (*Asien und Europa*, 358) is an error; all four texts have 222.

<sup>d</sup>Why the number of hands cut off should exceed the number of men, when one hand was cut from each man, does not appear.

<sup>e</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, has 750.

<sup>f</sup>Apparently only 6,111 of the 6,359 mentioned in l. 51 were carried before the king.

<sup>g</sup>So Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*; but Mariette, *Karnak*, and Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, have 2,362 (none has 72 as in Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 358).

<sup>h</sup>"O]" is here possessive = "*belonging to*," not in a hostile sense.

Women of the fallen chief of Libya, whom he brought with him, being alive	12 Libyan women
Total carried off <sup>58</sup> — — — —	9,376 people <sup>a</sup>

*List of Spoil*

<b>589.</b> Weapons of war which were in their hands, carried off as plunder: copper swords of the Meshwesh ( <i>M-š<sup>2</sup> -w<sup>2</sup> -š<sup>2</sup></i> )	9,111
<sup>59</sup> — — — — <sup>b</sup>	120,214
Horses which bore the fallen chief of Libya and the children [of the chief of Libya, carried off alive, pairs	12 <sup>c</sup>
<sup>60</sup> Possessions — — — — <sup>d</sup> Meshwesh — — <sup>e</sup> which the army of his majesty, L. P. H., who fought the fallen of Libya, captured: various cattle	1,308 <sup>f</sup>
Goats	61 —
— — various —	64 <sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup>This is probably the total of the slain, Libyan and non-Libyan, for the corresponding number in the Athribis Stela (l. 17) has before it: "*fallen of Libya, total number;*" the non-Libyan foreigners being thus merely designated as of the Libyan party. Of the actual Libyans slain we have a total of 6,359 (l. 51), and of non-Libyan foreigners at least 2,370 (l. 56). This makes a total of 8,729, omitting a few hundred non-Libyans, who would doubtless bring the total up to 9,376, as given in our text above. But it is possible that this number refers only to captives, in this case, as the Athribis Stela gives at least 9,300 killed (l. 17), the total of killed and captured would be over 18,000! See also Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 358, n. 5.

<sup>b</sup>Probably smaller weapons; at the end is the determinative of a foreign country, probably Libya.

<sup>c</sup>Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, shows an uncertain 100, and a 1; Mariette, *Karnak, idem*; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, a 10 and a 1; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, remains of the same; Brugsch (*Geschichte*, 576) has 113. But the photograph is practically certain as 12.

<sup>d</sup>The last word indicates men, as shown by the determinative.

<sup>e</sup>This space was left empty on the monument; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, says: "Cette partie n'a pas été gravée;" Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, "leer."

<sup>f</sup>So Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, and Mariette, *Karnak*; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, have 1,307.

<sup>g</sup>So Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, and Mariette, *Karnak*, have 54.

Silver drinking-vessels (*tb·w*) —<sup>a</sup>  
 (*ḫꜣ·pw·r*)-vessels, (*rhd·t*)-vessels, swords, armor,  
 knives,<sup>b</sup> and various vessels 3,174<sup>c</sup>

They were taken away <sup>62</sup>— — — — fire was set to the camp and their tents of leather.

#### *Triumph in the Palace*

590. Their lord, the king, appeared, L. P. H., in the broad-hall of the palace, while <sup>63</sup>[the court acclaimed<sup>3</sup>] his majesty, L. P. H., rejoicing at his appearance, which he made. The servants [of his majesty] exulted to heaven; the suite on both sides — —.

#### *Merneptah's Speech*

591. <sup>64</sup>[His majesty said]: “— — —<sup>d</sup> because of the good which Re has done for my ka I have delivered their utterance, speaking as a god, who giveth might, whose [decree]<sup>e</sup> has caused that King Merneptah, L. P. H., <sup>65</sup>— — — should unite — as subjects<sup>f</sup> in the midst of their town; Kush likewise bears the tribute of the conquered. I cause him to see (it) in my hand in — <sup>66</sup>— — — — his chief, bringing his impost each year, in — a great slaughter being made among them. He that lives shall fill the temples <sup>67</sup>— — — —. Their fallen chief, fleeing before me, I have put into — — — slay him. He is made a roast, snared like a wild fowl.<sup>g</sup> I have given the land <sup>68</sup>———— for every god. They are born [of the mouth<sup>3</sup>] of the sole lord of Egypt. Fallen is the transgressor — . . . . . — . . . . <sup>69</sup>— — — —, victorious is Re, mighty against the Nine Bows; Sutekh giveth victory and might to Horus, rejoicing in truth, smiting —, King Merneptah, L. P. H. I am <sup>70</sup>— — — — mighty, he is not taken. The Libyans plotted evil things, to do them in Egypt. See! their [protectors<sup>3</sup>] are fallen!

<sup>a</sup>Left empty on original, as in l. 60; after it are the fragmentary names of the two sorts of vessels, and it is possible that the lacuna did not contain a numeral. In that case, the miscellaneous list begins with the silver vessels.

<sup>b</sup>With determinative of copper.

<sup>c</sup>So Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, Mariette, *Karnak*, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, has 3,175.

<sup>d</sup>The lacuna here is evidently longer than usual at the beginning of the lines.

<sup>e</sup>The word has the determinative of speech.

<sup>f</sup>*Bk·w*, viz., “tax-paying subjects.”

<sup>g</sup>Ramses III makes use of the same figure (IV, 41).

I have slain them, and they are made 71— — — — I have made Egypt to flow with a river; the people love me, as I love them, and give to them breath for their cities. There is rejoicing over my name in heaven and earth 72— — — — they found. My time hath achieved beautiful things in the mouth(s) of the youth, according to the greatness of the excellent things which I did for them. It is true throughout 73— — — — adoring the excellent lord, who has taken the Two Lands, King Merneptah, L. P. H.”

*Reply of the Court*

592. They said: “How great are these things which have happened to Egypt! — — 74— — — — Libya is like a petitioner, brought as a captive. Thou hast made them to be like grasshoppers, for every road is strewed with their 75[“bodies”]<sup>a</sup> — — — — [“bestowing”] thy provision in the mouth of the needy. We lie down with joy at any time;<sup>b</sup> there being no 76—————<sup>c</sup> . . . . .

II. THE CAIRO COLUMN<sup>d</sup>

593. This document first furnished the date of Merneptah’s great Libyan victory, and was therefore formerly of greater importance than at present.

It contained a shorter account of the announcement of the invasion to the king, which fills out the lacuna in the great Karnak Inscription (§ 579, ll. 12, 13), preceding the announcement. The historical content of the document is as follows:

<sup>a</sup>Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, Supplement, 894.

<sup>b</sup>There is perhaps a reference to this in the Athribis Stela (recto, l. 4), where the king is called: one “*who causes Egypt to sleep until the morning.*” Ll. 76, 77 contain only scanty fragments of conventional phrases; ll. 78 and 79 have each only two signs visible at the bottom. They must be near the end of the inscription, but the exact number of lines lost at the end is uncertain.

<sup>c</sup>These are the last two lines of text preserved; they are too fragmentary for use here. Mariette, *Karnak* (Texte, 75), states that there are two more lines, but his plate (55) gives ll. 78–80, without any visible signs.

<sup>d</sup>Section of a granite column now in the Cairo Museum, first noticed in the court of the building of the minister of public instruction in Cairo by Brugsch (*Geschichte*, 577, note); then removed to the museum and published (without the reliefs) by Maspero (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1881, 118).



594. Above is a scene showing Merneptah receiving a sword from a god,<sup>a</sup> who says to him:

"I cause that thou cut down the chiefs of Libya whose invasion thou hast turned back."

595. Below was an inscription in vertical lines, of which only the following is now visible:

<sup>1</sup>Year 5, second month of the third season (tenth month). One came to say to his majesty: "The wretched [chief] of Libya has invaded [with] —,<sup>b</sup> being men and women, Shekelesh (*š<sup>3</sup>-k-rw-š<sup>3</sup>*)<sup>2</sup>—————."<sup>c</sup>

### III. THE ATHRIBIS STELA<sup>d</sup>

596. This monument contains a shorter account of Merneptah's Libyan campaign, closing with a list of the killed, the captured, and the spoil. It forms a useful supplement to the Karnak document, furnishing, among other data, the exact date of the battle in Merneptah's fifth year.

#### *Recto*

597. A relief at the top shows Atum at the left and Amon-Re at the right, both seated. The scene before Atum is lost; before Amon-Re appears Merneptah, who receives the sword from the god, and leads to him at the same time seven captives.

<sup>a</sup>Called only "dieu innommé" by Maspero, who has not published the relief; but he states that the heads are lost, and the god therefore unrecognizable.

<sup>b</sup>Name of a country, of which only "—*n-r*—" is now visible.

<sup>c</sup>Only a few traces.

<sup>d</sup>A granite stela from Athribis in the southern Delta, now in Cairo; published without reliefs by Maspero (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 65-67). It is inscribed on both sides. A piece broken off vertically through the ends of the horizontal lines is now lost, depriving us of several words at the end of each line of the recto, and at the beginning of each line of the verso. The exact amount of the loss is determined on the verso at the beginning of l. 9, by comparison with the Karnak Inscription (§ 588, l. 49). As Maspero has published only from the squeeze, his text (used here) is sometimes uncertain; and a collation of the original is much needed.

Below is an inscription of sixteen lines, mostly conventional praise of the king. It contains the following references to the campaign against the Libyans:

*Introduction; Valor of Merneptah*

**598.** Year 5, third month of third season (eleventh month), third day, under the majesty of King [Merneptah] ——— achieving his fame against the land of Temeh . . . . .<sup>4</sup>. . . . . they speak of his victories in the land of Me[shwesh] . . . . .<sup>6</sup>. . . . . who puts Libya under the might of his terror. . . . . ———<sup>7</sup>making their camps into wastes of the Red Land, taking ———<sup>8</sup>every herb that came forth from their fields. No field grew, to keep alive<sup>a</sup> . . .<sup>9</sup>. . .<sup>10</sup>Re himself has cursed the people since they crossed into [Egypt] <sup>11</sup>with one accord. They are delivered to the sword in the hand of Merneptah-Hotephirma. . . . .<sup>12</sup>. . . . . The families of Libya are scattered upon the dykes like mice ———<sup>13</sup>seizing among them like a hawk, (while) there is found among them no place of [refuge] ———<sup>14</sup>like Sekhmet. His arrows fail not among the limbs of his enemies; every survivor<sup>b</sup> among them [is carried off as a living captive] <sup>15</sup>They live on herbs like [wild] cattle ———<sup>16</sup>. . . . .

*Verso*

**599.** The other side of the stela shows, at the top, another relief like the first, except that the two gods are here Harkhte and Sutekh. Below it is an inscription of nineteen lines, of which the first four contain only the customary fulsome laudation of the king. Specific references to the Libyan campaign begin with l. 5, as follows:

*List of Slain, Captives, and Spoil*

**600.** <sup>5</sup>——— the Meshwesh, desolated forever by the might of the valiant warrior, the Mighty Bull, who gores the Nine Bows. <sup>6</sup>——— [List of] the captives which the mighty sword of the Pharaoh, L. P. H., carried off from the fallen of Libya <sup>7</sup>——— who were on

<sup>a</sup>There is an obscure reference in l. 9 to the wells.

<sup>b</sup>Of course read *sp nb*.

the western shore,<sup>a</sup> whom Amon-Re, king of gods, Atum, lord of the Two Lands of On, Harakhte, Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, lord of the life of the Two Lands, and Sutekh, gave <sup>8</sup>[to] King Merneptah; (and of) the slain in [—] between the [château]<sup>b</sup> <sup>9</sup>Merneptah-Hotephirma — — [Tehenu, which is in]<sup>b</sup> Perire (*Pr-yrw*) and the mount of the “Horns of the Earth.” Statement thereof:

601. Children of the wretched fallen chief of Libya, <sup>10</sup> [whose uncircumcised phalli were carried off] <sup>c</sup>	6 men
Children of chiefs, brothers of the wretched, fallen chief of Libya, carried off <sup>d</sup> as the	—
11 —————	—
— <sup>e</sup> of Libya, slain, whose phalli were carried off	6,200 [+x] <sup>f</sup> men
12 ————— of the families of Libya, slain, whose phalli were carried off	— men
13 —————	200 men
Ekwesh ( <sup>2</sup> - <i>k-w</i> <sup>3</sup> - <i>y-š</i> ) [of] <sup>g</sup> the countries of the sea, whom had brought the wretched	
14 <sup>h</sup> fallen chief of Libya, <sup>i</sup> whose <sup>i</sup> hands [were carried off] <sup>j</sup>	2,201 [+x] <sup>k</sup> men
Shekelesh ( <sup>5</sup> - <i>k</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>rw-š</i> )	200 <sup>l</sup> men
Teresh ( <i>Tw-rw-š</i> )	722 [+x] <sup>m</sup> men
15 ————— Libya, and Sherden ( <sup>5</sup> - <i>r</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>d-n</i> ), slain	— men
16 —————	32 men

<sup>a</sup>*Rwd*; see Karnak Inscription (§ 583, l. 30).

<sup>b</sup>See Karnak (§ 588, l. 49 and note).

<sup>c</sup>Karnak (§ 588), l. 50.

<sup>d</sup>Karnak differs, having: “*whose [uncircumcised] phalli were carried off.*”

<sup>e</sup>With the determinative of people, probably belonging to “*families*,” now lost in the lacuna.

<sup>f</sup>Karnak (§ 588, l. 51) has 6,359.

<sup>g</sup>Karnak (§ 588, l. 52).

<sup>h</sup>Restored from context; Egyptian order of words; “*chief*” is the subject.

<sup>i</sup>Karnak (§ 588, l. 54).

<sup>j</sup>Restored from parallel passages in Karnak, e. g., l. 54.

<sup>k</sup>Karnak (§ 588, l. 56) has 2,370.

<sup>l</sup>Karnak (§ 588, l. 53) has 222.

<sup>m</sup>Karnak (§ 588, l. 53) has 742.

Women of the wretched chief of Libya	[12 Libyan] <sup>a</sup> women
<sup>17</sup> ———— the fallen of Libya, total number	9,300 [+x] <sup>b</sup>
<sup>18</sup> ————	5,224 [+x] <sup>c</sup>
Bows, — — —	2,000 [+x]
<sup>19</sup> ———— gold ———.	

IV. HYMN ON THE VICTORY OVER THE LIBYANS<sup>d</sup> (ISRAEL STELA)

602. This composition is one of a class common in the Nineteenth Dynasty. It is a poetic encomium in celebration of the great victory of Merneptah over the Libyans in the fifth year of his reign. It adds nothing to the facts furnished by the Karnak inscription (§§ 572-92) concerning this victory, except the picturesque description of the joy and relief among the Egyptians (ll. 21-26, § 616). Without the Karnak inscription little could have been gathered from this document of the importance of Merneptah's victory, or the gravity of the danger from which it brought relief; for, as Spiegelberg has remarked, it never even mentions the northern allies of the Libyans. Many of the descriptive passages too, are so figurative and highly colored as to be unintelligible.

<sup>a</sup>Karnak (§ 588, l. 57).

<sup>b</sup>Karnak (§ 588, l. 58) has 9,376.

<sup>c</sup>This numeral refers to the weapons, etc., beginning in l. 58 (Karnak, § 589).

<sup>d</sup>On a stela discovered by Petrie in the ruins of Merneptah's mortuary temple at Thebes, in 1896. The inscription occupies the back of the stela of Amenhotep III, taken from his mortuary temple by Merneptah (see II, § 878). It was first published by Spiegelberg (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 34, 1 ff.), and again by him (*Six Temples*, Pls. XIII, XIV). I had also photographs, kindly sent me by E. Brugsch-Bey, made by him on a large scale from a squeeze. There is a duplicate original in Karnak, of which only a fragment has survived. It is published by Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, I, 1), and by Erman (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 34). I have collated it for the accompanying translation. A considerable literature on the Israel passage has arisen, which will be found on p. 257, note. On the elucidation of the text in general, besides Spiegelberg's commentary (with his publication of the text), see: Piehl, *Sphinx*, IV, 125; Müller, *Recueil*, XX, 31, 32; Griffith, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XIX, 1897, 293-300.

603. The monument has attracted wide attention, because of the reference to Israel in the last section. This is the earliest mention of Israel known to us in literature, not excluding the Hebrew Scriptures themselves. It occurs in a clear-cut strophe (§ 617) of twelve lines, which forms the conclusion of the composition. This strophe opens and closes with a couplet containing a universal statement of the subjugation of foreign peoples in general, while the eight lines between are a rapid list of certain of the defeated foreigners, among whom is Israel. The assertion of the defeat of Israel is so brief and bald that little can be drawn from it. Moreover, it is made up of conventional phrases, applied also to other peoples. Much has been made of the second phrase, "*his seed (pr't) is not.*" It has been applied to the seed<sup>a</sup> of Israel and referred to the slaying of the male children of the Israelites by the Egyptians! But this phrase is

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<sup>a</sup>The treatment which this phrase has received by some biblical scholars furnishes another curious example of the totally misleading use of such evidence, where it is received at second hand. Thus in the *Expositor* (March, 1897, 161, note) we find the statement that Spiegelberg renders this phrase ("*his seed is not*") thus: "*without fear*" (!). An examination shows that Spiegelberg, translating into German, quite properly rendered the phrase: "ohne Frucht" ("without fruit"). The German "Frucht" was then misread by the writer in the *Expositor* as "Furcht" = "fear"! From the *Expositor* this absurdity then passed into other articles and gained currency. Some of the essays on the passage are therefore to be used with the greatest caution; but see: Hommel, *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, VII, 581-86; Müller, *Independent*, July 9, 1896, 940; Sellin, *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, VII, 502-14; Molandre, *Revue des religions*, September-October, 1897, Steindorff, *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XVI, 1896, 330-33; and *Mittheilungen des Deutschen Palästinischen Vereins*, 1896, 45, 46; Marshall, *Expositor*, July, 1896; Petrie, *Contemporary Review*, May, 1896, 617-27; and *Century Magazine*, August, 1896; Spiegelberg, *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie*, 1896, 593 ff.; Naville, *Recueil*, XX, 32-37; Brandt, *Theologische Tijdschrift*, 1896, 505-12; Fries, *Sphinx*, I, 208 ff.; Daressy, *Revue archéologique*, XXXIII, 263 ff.; Wiedemann, *Le Muséon*, XVII, 89-107; Halévy, *Revue sémitique*, 1896, 285 ff. Breasted, *Biblical World*, January, 1897, 62-68. A useful presentation of the various views on the passage is given by Moore, *Presbyterian Quarterly*, January, 1898.

found five times<sup>a</sup> elsewhere in the inscriptions referring to a number of other peoples as follows:

604. 1. "*Those who reached my border are desolated, their seed is not*" (referring to northern invaders).<sup>b</sup>

2. "*The Libyans and the Seped are wasted, their seed is not.*"<sup>c</sup>

3. "*The fire has penetrated us, our seed is not*" (words of defeated Libyans).<sup>d</sup>

4. "*Their cities are made ashes, wasted, desolated; their seed is not*" (referring to the Meshwesh).<sup>e</sup>

5. "[Gored] is the chief of [Amor], . . . . his seed is not."<sup>f</sup>

605. The words, "*his (their, our) seed is not,*" are, therefore, a conventional phrase applicable to any defeated and plundered people, and cannot possibly designate an incident peculiar to the history of Israel, like the slaying of the male children(!). Israel, clearly located among Palestinian peoples by the inscription, was defeated and plundered by Merneptah. This inscription is not the only evidence of a campaign by him in Palestine, although the fact seems to have been entirely overlooked in the discussion of the Israel passage. Merneptah was in Asia in his third year, as the journal of a border commandant shows (§ 633, VI. 9; § 635, V, 5).

606. An invasion of Palestine by Merneptah is further

<sup>a</sup>See Breasted, *Biblical World*, January, 1897, 66. Three of these examples were quoted also by Spiegelberg (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 34, 23). I have there rendered *pr' t* as "*grain,*" but further study of the parallel texts has led me to modify that rendering.

<sup>b</sup>War of Ramses III's eighth year against sea-peoples (IV, 66, l. 23).

<sup>c</sup>Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, XXXIV, l. 36.

<sup>d</sup>Libyan war of Ramses III's fifth year (IV, 43, l. 47).

<sup>e</sup>Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, XX, l. 2.

<sup>f</sup>Libyan war of Ramses III's fifth year (IV, 39, ll. 13, 14).

evident from the epithet assumed by him among his titles: “*Binder of Gezer* ( $k^{\text{3}}$  - $d^{\text{3}}$  - $r^{\text{3}}$ ),<sup>a</sup> which town he must have captured and punished after revolt, as indicated also in our Hymn of Victory (l. 27). For the mention of a specific town, or even nation, in such an epithet, in a titulary must refer to some definite occurrence. In the same way Ramses III called himself in his titulary “*Conqueror of the Meshwesh* (IV, 84), and had the records of his defeat of the Meshwesh perished, we should still be justified in concluding that he had overthrown them.<sup>b</sup> It is certain, therefore, that Merneptah campaigned in Palestine, and there can be no doubt that Israel there suffered defeat and pillage at his hands.

*Date and Introduction*

607. Year 5, third month of the third season (eleventh month), third day, under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Rejoicing<sup>c</sup> in Truth; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Binre-Meriamon, Son of Re: Merneptah-Hotephirma, magnifying might, exalting the victorious sword of Horus, mighty Bull, smiter of the Nine Bows, whose name is given forever and ever.

*The Great Deliverance*

608. His victories are published in all lands, to cause that every land together may see, to cause the glory of his conquests to appear; King Merneptah,<sup>d</sup> the Bull, lord of strength, who slays his foes, beautiful upon the field of victory, when his onset<sup>e</sup> occurs; the Sun,<sup>f</sup> driving

<sup>a</sup>From an inscription of thirteen lines in the temple of Amâda, published by Bouriant (*Recueil*, 18, 159, 160). It records a revolt in Wawat, which Merneptah subdued, “*seeking out the enemy in this entire land, to prevent their [—] to revolt a second time*” (l. 10). The publication is so inaccurate that a translation of the whole is quite impossible.

<sup>b</sup>See a similar epithet applied to Thutmose IV (II, 822).

<sup>c</sup>The sign is  $k^{\text{3}}$  (“*be high*”), but, as Piehl has remarked (*Sphinx*, IV, 126), the variants show that  $h^{\text{c}}$   $y$ , “*rejoice*,” is to be read.

<sup>d</sup>The double name in the text is from here on abbreviated as above.

<sup>e</sup>A word (*hnd*) used especially of the charge of a bull. (See Piehl, *Sphinx*, IV, 128.)

<sup>f</sup>Text has “*Shu*,” a sun-god. See Piehl, *ibid.*, 127.

away <sup>3</sup>the storm which was over Egypt, allowing Egypt to see the rays of the sun, removing the mountain of copper from the neck of the people so that he might give breath to the people who were smothered. He gratified the heart of Memphis on their foes, making Tatenen rejoice over his enemies. He opened the gates of the walled city<sup>a</sup> which were stopped up, and caused <sup>4</sup>his temples to receive their food (even), King Merneptah, the unique one, who establishes the hearts of hundreds of thousands of myriads, so that breath enters into their nostrils at the sight of him. He has penetrated the land of Temeh in his lifetime, and put eternal fear <sup>5</sup>in the heart of the Meshwesh. He has turned back Libya, who invaded Egypt, and great fear of Egypt is in their hearts

*The Rout of the Libyans*

**609.** Their advanced columns<sup>b</sup> they left behind them, their feet made no stand, but fled. Their archers threw down their bows, and the heart of their fleet ones was weary <sup>6</sup>with marching. They loosed their water skins<sup>c</sup> and threw them to the ground, their ~~l—~~<sup>d</sup> were taken and thrown out.

*The Fall of the Libyan Chief*

**610.** The wretched, fallen chief of Libya, fled by favor of night alone,<sup>e</sup> with no plume upon his head, his two feet <sup>f</sup>failed<sup>g</sup>. His women were taken <sup>7</sup>before his face, the grain of his supplies was plundered, and he had no water in the skin to keep him alive. The face of his brothers was hostile to slay him, one fought another among his leaders.<sup>f</sup> Their camp was burned and made a roast,<sup>g</sup> all his possessions were food <sup>8</sup>for the troops. When he arrived in his country, he was the complaint of every one in his land. <sup>h</sup>Ashamed<sup>h</sup>, he bowed himself<sup>h</sup> down, an evil

<sup>a</sup>Memphis.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "their marchers forward."

<sup>c</sup>Not "tents" (Müller, *Recueil*, XX, 31), which is a masculine noun (see Harkhuf, I, 353, l. 20, and Karnak, § 589, l. 62), while *hn't*, "water skin," above, is feminine. Tents were not borne by the troops on the march.

<sup>d</sup>Spiegelberg has: "ihre Säcke (?) wurden genommen und ausgeschüttet (?)."

<sup>e</sup>Cf. Karnak, § 586, l. 41.

<sup>f</sup>Compare Karnak, l. 44.

<sup>g</sup>The figure is that of a snared bird in Karnak (l. 67), where the same phrase occurs (see also Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 139, l. 4, for the same phrase). The figure is continued above in the next parallel phrase.

<sup>h</sup>Read *šsp'j ksw*, as in Sinuhe (ll. 17, 18, I, 493).



fate removed (his) plume. They all spoke against him, among the inhabitants of his city: "He is in the power of the gods, the lords of Memphis; the lord of Egypt has cursed his name, Meryey (*m-w-r<sup>2</sup>-y<sup>2</sup>-y*), the abomination of Memphis, from son to son of his family, forever. Binre-Meriamon is in pursuit of his children; Merneptah-Hotephirma is appointed to be his fate."

*Merneptah's Fame in Libya*

611. He has become a <sup>10</sup>proverb<sup>a</sup> for Libya (*R<sup>2</sup>-bw*); the youth say to youth, concerning his victories: "It has not been done to us <sup>11</sup>before<sup>3</sup> since the time of Re," say they.<sup>b</sup> Every old man says to his son: "Alas for Libya!" They have ceased to live in the pleasant fashion of walking in the field; their going about is stopped in a single <sup>12</sup>day. The Tehenu are consumed in a single year. Sutekh has turned his back upon their chief; their settlements are desolated with his <sup>13</sup>consent<sup>1</sup>. There is no work of carrying <sup>14</sup>in these days. Concealment is good; there is safety in the cavern.<sup>d</sup> The great lord of Egypt, possessor of might <sup>15</sup>and victory! Who will fight, knowing his stride? The fool, the witless is he who receives him;<sup>e</sup> he shall not know the morrow, who transgresses his boundary.

*Divine Protection of Egypt*

612. Since the time of the gods, say they, Egypt has been the only daughter of Re; his son is he who <sup>16</sup>sits upon the throne of Shu. No one can make a design to invade her people, for the eye of every god is behind him who would violate her; it (the eye)<sup>f</sup> captures the rear of her foes. <sup>17</sup>A great wonder has happened for Egypt, <sup>18</sup>the

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "he has become the striking of a proverb (*sḏd't*);" compare the Arabic ضرب مثلا.

<sup>b</sup>It is the Libyan youth who speak, in spite of their reference to Re. The Puntites are also made to refer to Re in Hatshepsut's reliefs.

<sup>c</sup>Spiegelberg suggests "Körbe."

<sup>d</sup>See Müller, *Recueil*, XX, 31.

<sup>e</sup>Meaning his onset in battle.

<sup>f</sup>The feminine pronoun (*nt*, "she") above translated "it," might refer to Egypt, but the parallelism shows that it must refer to "eye," which is feminine.

<sup>g</sup>This phrase, to the end of l. 13, is corrupt.

<sup>h</sup>Lit., "the hand of which."

power of which has made her invader a living prisoner. The divine king [exults] over his enemies, in the presence of Re. Meryey (*M-r<sup>3</sup>-y<sup>3</sup>-y*), the evil-doer, whom the god, the lord who is in Memphis, has overthrown, he has been judged <sup>15</sup>with him in Heliopolis, and the divine ennead declared him guilty of his crimes.

*Merneptah Divinely Appointed*

**613.** The All-Lord has said: "Give the sword to my son, the upright of heart, the good and kindly Merneptah, the [champion] on behalf of Memphis, the advocate of <sup>16</sup>Heliopolis, who opens the towns that were closed up. Let him set free multitudes who are bound in every district, let him give offerings to the temples, let him send in incense before the god, let him cause the princes to [recover] their possessions, let him cause the poor to [re-enter] their cities."

*Heliopolis Praises Merneptah*

**614.** They say among the lords of Heliopolis <sup>17</sup>regarding their son, Merneptah: "Give to him duration like Re, let him be advocate of him who is oppressed in every country. Egypt has been assigned to him as the portion of [him who has gained it] for himself forever. His strength is its people. Lo, when one dwells in the time of this hero, the breath <sup>18</sup>of life<sup>a</sup> comes immediately. . . . . so they say.

*The Gods Delivered Meryey to Merneptah*

**615.** Meryey (*M-w-r<sup>3</sup>-wy-y*), <sup>19</sup>the wretched, vanquished chief of Libya, came to invade the "Walls-of-the-Sovereign" (Memphis), [who is its lord,] whose son shines on his throne, the King Merneptah. Ptah<sup>b</sup> said concerning the vanquished (chief)<sup>c</sup> of Libya: "All his crimes shall be gathered <sup>20</sup>and returned upon his (own) head. Deliver him into the hand of Merneptah, that he may make him disgorge what he has swallowed, like a crocodile. Behold, the swift is the captor of the swift; and the king shall snare him, (though) his strength be known; for Amon shall bind him in his hand and shall deliver him to his ka <sup>21</sup>in Hermonthis, (to him) the King Merneptah."

<sup>a</sup>It is regularly the king who furnishes his people with the breath of life; cf. also l. 4.

<sup>b</sup>The Karnak fragment has "Amon."

<sup>c</sup>Karnak fragment has: "concerning him of Libya (*p-n-Rbw*)."

*Rejoicing of the Egyptians*

616. Great joy has come in Egypt, rejoicing comes forth from the towns of Tomeri.<sup>a</sup> They converse of the victories which Merneptah has achieved among the Tehenu: "How amiable <sup>22</sup>is he, the victorious ruler! How magnified is the king among the gods! How fortunate is he, the commanding lord! Sit happily down and talk, or walk far out upon the way, (for) there is no fear in the heart of the people. <sup>23</sup>The strongholds are left to themselves, the wells are opened (again). The messengers <sup>24</sup>skirt the battlements of the walls, shaded<sup>b</sup> from the sun, until their watchmen wake.<sup>c</sup> The soldiers lie sleeping, and the border <sup>24</sup>scouts are in the field at their (own)<sup>d</sup> desire. The herds of the field are left as cattle sent forth, without herdmen, crossing (at will) the fulness of the stream. There is no uplifting of a shout in the night: 'Stop! Behold, one comes, one comes with the speech of strangers!'<sup>e</sup> One comes <sup>25</sup>and goes with singing, and there is no lamentation of mourning people. The towns are settled again anew; as for the one that ploweth his harvest, he shall eat it. Re has turned himself to Egypt; he was born, destined to be <sup>26</sup>her protector, the King Merneptah."

*Concluding Strophe*

617. "The kings are overthrown, saying: "Salâm!"<sup>f</sup>  
 Not one holds up his head among the Nine Bows.  
 Wasted is Tehenu,  
 Kheta<sup>g</sup> is pacified,  
 Plundered is Pекanan<sup>h</sup> (*P<sup>o</sup> -k<sup>o</sup> -n<sup>c</sup> -n<sup>c</sup>*, sic!), with every evil,  
<sup>27</sup>Carried off is Askalon (*o<sup>o</sup> -s-k<sup>o</sup> -r-ny*),  
 Seized upon is Gezer (*K<sup>o</sup> -d<sup>o</sup> -r<sup>o</sup>*),

<sup>a</sup>Another name for Egypt.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "cool from the sun."

<sup>c</sup>The watchmen who should receive the messenger's news are asleep, and the messenger walks in the shade of the wall till they wake, as his message is not in haste as in time of war.

<sup>d</sup>That is, whether they like or not; they may patrol or not as they wish.

<sup>e</sup>Meaning the cry of the sentinels that men of foreign speech (viz., Libyans) are coming.

<sup>f</sup>The Libyans are represented as also using this Semitic word in Ramses III's war with them (fifth year, IV, 43, l. 50, and IV, 45, l. 56).

<sup>g</sup>See Great Karnak Inscription (§ 580, l. 24).

<sup>h</sup>Lit., "the Canaan."

Yenoam (*Y-nw-c<sup>3</sup>-mw*) is made as a thing not existing.  
 Israel (*ꜥ-s-r-ꜥ-r*) is desolated, his seed is not;  
 Palestine (*H<sup>ꜥ</sup>-rw*) has become a widow<sup>a</sup> <sup>28</sup>for Egypt.  
 All lands are united, they are pacified;  
 Everyone that is turbulent is bound by King Merneptah, given life  
 like Re, every day.

#### INSCRIPTIONS OF THE HIGH PRIEST OF AMON, ROY

**618.** The documents left by Roy are of the greatest importance as showing when the office of High Priest of Amon was for the first time transmitted from father to son, and thus came to be regarded as hereditary. Moreover, an examination of them discloses the fact that this arrogation of power by the High Priest of Amon took place under Merneptah, not at the close of the Nineteenth Dynasty, as commonly supposed, but at the latest in the reign of Merneptah, and possibly still earlier, in the reign of Ramses II. Roy lived in the reign of Merneptah (§§ 628 ff.), and inherited the high priesthood of Amon from his father, Rome, heretofore considered his son.<sup>b</sup> Roy's father, Rome, therefore lived under Ramses II, and must have been the successor of Beknekhonsu<sup>c</sup> (§§ 561-68). Roy's son was named Bekne-

<sup>a</sup>The meaning of this phrase is rendered evident by an epithet applied to Ramses II on his Tanis stela (§ 490, l. 9), viz., "*husband of Egypt*," meaning, of course, "*protector of Egypt*." Hence a land may be widowed (=without a "*husband*," =without a protector), and Palestine had no protector against Egypt.

<sup>b</sup>Since the above was written Wreszcinski's very useful list of the high priests of Amon has appeared (*Die Hohenpriester des Amon*, von W. Wreszcinski, Berlin, 1904), in which he also makes Rome the elder, and probably the father of Roy (*ibid.*, 14, note).

<sup>c</sup>Beginning sixty years from some point in the reign of Seti I, Beknekhonsu was High Priest of Amon for twenty-seven years. This brings the close of his term to at least the sixtieth year of Ramses II's reign, so that Rome must have succeeded him. It can hardly be an accident that one of the prophets of Amon in Ramses II's forty-sixth year, under the high priesthood of Beknekhonsu, was named Rome (Berlin legal papyrus No. 3047; *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1879, l. 5).

khonsu;<sup>a</sup> hence, as the name thus appears in Roy's family, he (Roy) may have been the grandson of the Beknekhonsu of Ramses II's reign, in which case the hereditary character of the office began with Beknekhonsu. Roy survived into the reign of Seti II; but already under Merneptah he succeeded in gaining high office for his son, with prospects of succeeding to the high priesthood. According to Legrain, his statue recently found in the great Karnak cache bears the following statement:

“Le roi a donné que mes enfants soient rassemblés en corporation (tribu) de mon sang, les établissant parmi les prophètes qui sont sous sa direction. Moi, je suis premier prophète d'Amon, et mon fils est établi à côté de moi en qualité de second prophète et de sous-directeur du palais du roi à l'occident de Thèbes; le fils de mon fils recevra les titres de quatrième prophète d'Amon, de père divin, d'officier et de prêtre.”<sup>b</sup>

Legrain has accepted the current conclusion that Roy was the father of Rome, and hence identifies Roy's son above, who became second prophet, with Rome. The narrative of Roy, however, does not give the name of his son; but it is given in the Karnak relief (§ 620) as Beknekhonsu, who must therefore be the son referred to on this new Karnak statue.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1321.

<sup>b</sup>*Recueil*, 27, 72. Legrain gives no text.

<sup>c</sup>As now published (*Recueil*, 27), Legrain's data furnish no evidence that Roy was the father, and Rome his son. The fact that he is able to reconstruct from Twenty-second Dynasty statues a genealogy reaching back to a second prophet, Rome, has no bearing. We know that our Rome is called High Priest of Amon on contemporary monuments; hence the second prophet, Rome, who heads Legrain's genealogy (*Recueil*, 27, 73), was evidently a different person. The monuments found by Legrain, when published *in extenso*, may contain evidence that Rome was the son and Roy the father; for I admit that some difficulties attend the supposition that the reverse was true; but the evidence now accessible is certainly strongly in favor of this conclusion.

I. KARNAK INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

619. This document is of importance, first, because of its place, viz., on the walls of the Karnak temple of Amon, where heretofore none but the Pharaoh's name might appear. At the east end of Pylon VIII, built by Thutmose I, was the kitchen<sup>b</sup> or refectory of the high priests of Amon. In view of the extensive household of the high priests at this time, it must have been a considerable building. In Roy's time it had fallen into ruin; and in the reign of Merneptah (§ 625) Roy rebuilt and enlarged it. On the east end of Pylon VIII, near the entrance to the building, where all who went in would see it, he left a record of his pious work, calling upon all the bakers, confectioners, and the like, who daily entered there, to remember him for it and to pray to Amon for him. To this record he prefixed a hymn of praise to Amon, which he placed in the mouth of his deceased father, Rome. Rome recounts his own long life accorded him by Amon, and adds: "*My son is in my place, my office is in his hand, in hereditary succession, forever*" (l. 6). Rome is thus represented as regarding the hereditary character of the office of High Priest as a matter of course; which would indicate that the beginning of the hereditary succession was earlier, as indicated above (§ 618). The use of the temple wall, and the restoration of one of its connected buildings by the High Priest of Amon, are significant symptoms of the tendency which two hundred years later placed the High Priest on the throne of Egypt.

<sup>a</sup>On the east end of Pylon VIII, overlooking the sacred lake; published: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 237, c; Stern, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XI, 74 ff. (partially); and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1321, 1322 (partially). I had a photograph (for which I am indebted to Borchart) which filled out many of the lacunæ in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, and made possible the study of the document as a whole, which, as it has not been done since Stern (1873), furnishes new and important facts.

<sup>b</sup>The dwelling of the High Priest was farther east, south of the lake.

620. Beside the inscription, in relief, are two priests in the attitude of prayer; the first must be Roy, though no name is appended; for the second figure is not Roy (as shown by the accompanying inscription). The second figure is accompanied by the words:<sup>a</sup> "*His son, the second prophet of Amon, Beknekhonsu.*" This second figure and the name have been chiseled out by political enemies, probably at the fall of Seti II, into whose reign Roy survived.

The inscription is as follows:

*Praise by Rome*

621. Giving praise to Amon-Re, smelling the earth to his beautiful face, by the High Priest of Amon, Rome (*R<sup>o</sup>-m*). He says: . . . . .

Here follows conventional praise of the god, with a prayer for the king,<sup>b</sup> after which Rome proceeds:

*Speech of Rome*

622. "4Thou didst grant<sup>c</sup> me long life carrying thy image, while my eye beheld thy two uraei every day, and my limbs were endued with health . . . . .<sup>5</sup>. . . . Thou didst prolong my existence during a pleas-

<sup>a</sup>Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1321; I cannot see any traces of the name on the photograph, but the title is legible as above.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, gives the name as that of Seti II, like the two scenes on the left; but I cannot read this name on the photograph. It was not read by either Stern or Brugsch. If Lepsius has not introduced it from the neighboring adoration of Amon by Seti II, and it actually stands in our passage, it must be a prayer for the king put into the mouth of the deceased Rome; just as the deceased Seti I is made to pray for Ramses II at Abydos. Our inscription in that case dates from the reign of Seti II. The matter can be settled only by an examination of the original; but historically the reasons against reading Seti II are strong, for Roy would then have been High Priest through the reigns of successive kings hostile to each other, Merneptah, Amenmeses, Siptah, and Seti II, in whose quarrels the High Priest of Amon was, of course, involved. It is not likely that the same High Priest continued under them all.

<sup>c</sup>The tense of the original permits translating all the following as a prayer until l. 6, where the nominal sentence, "*my son is, etc.*," cannot be optative. Hence the whole is historical, and not a prayer. Again, as both Rome and Roy are given the title High Priest of Amon, one of them must be dead; and the deceased is of course he whose son has succeeded him. Hence we must conclude that Rome is the father, and not the son (otherwise Maspero, *Momies royales*, 666).

ant life, abiding in thy temple, while my limbs were [sound], following thy ka, while my eye beheld the way, until I arrived at the West<sup>a</sup> of Thebes, satisfied with seeing Amon. <sup>6</sup>My son is in my place, my office is in his hand, <sup>b</sup>in hereditary succession<sup>b</sup> forever, as is done for a just man, profitable in the house of his lord.”

*Introduction of Roy's Speech*

623. For<sup>c</sup> the ka of the only excellent and just one, the favored of his god, Amon, profitable to Mut, and amiable to Khonsu, pleasing the heart of the Lord of the Two Lands; <sup>7</sup>hereditary prince, divine father, pure of hands, master of secrets of heaven, earth, and the nether world, [—] of Kamephis (Amon), sem priest in the eternal horizon,<sup>d</sup> great seer of Re-Atum in Thebes, third prophet of Amon, second prophet of Amon, High Priest<sup>e</sup> of Amon, Roy, triumphant. He saith:

*Roy's Speech*

624. <sup>8</sup>“O ye priests and scribes of the house of Amon, good servants of the divine offerings,<sup>f</sup> bakers, mixers,<sup>g</sup> confectioners, makers of cakes, and loaves,<sup>h</sup> those who perform their every duty for their lord; who shall enter into this refectory,<sup>i</sup> which is in [the house of Amon]. <sup>9</sup>——— daily; [pray] for me because of my good and great deeds.”

*Roy's Restoration*

625. “I found this house (c' t) in complete ruin; its walls falling, the woodwork wretched, the doorposts of wood perishing, the paint [faded].

<sup>a</sup>The cemetery; meaning till he died.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., “one, son of another forever” (*w c s w c*), which is a phrase for hereditary succession. Only the second *w c* is here clearly preserved, but on the photograph I can see the feet of the *s w*-goose and one end of the first *w c*-harpoon. In view of the occurrence of the same phrase in l. 12, there can be no doubt about the reading here. The hereditary character of the high priesthood of Amon is thus proven.

<sup>c</sup>It is possible that this still belongs to Rome's speech, which does not alter the conclusions drawn from the inscription; “for the ka, etc.,” being then a second dative after “done.”

<sup>d</sup>The king's tomb.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., “first prophet.”

<sup>f</sup>Temple income; servants who handle the naturalia of the temple income are meant.

<sup>g</sup>Or: “kneaders” (*c i p*).

<sup>h</sup>Three sorts of loaves are given: *sn't*, *by't*, and *prsn*.

<sup>i</sup>Or: “kitchen” (*w c b't*).



I [flaid it out] <sup>10</sup>with increase throughout, heightened and widened and <sup>11</sup>established<sup>1</sup>. I made its doorposts of sandstone, I mounted upon them doors of real cedar; a [pla]ce for the bakers and mixers who are in it. I made it a better work than before, for the protection [of the servants] <sup>12</sup>of Amon, lord of gods.”

*Roy's Admonition*

626. “Give ye heed and hear ye what I say! Trespass not against any thing which I have made; prosper my name, — my virtues (*sp*), speak favorably for me in the presence of Amon; then shall he favor you, — according as he does — — [eye shall attain] <sup>12</sup>old age in his house, his food shall be yours, ye shall bequeath (your offices) to your children <sup>13</sup>in hereditary succession<sup>a</sup> in his house forever. Place offerings <sup>13</sup>before my statue,<sup>b</sup> pour out libations upon the ground for my name, set flowers before me when ye enter, <sup>14</sup>bespeak for me his favor with a loving heart for my god, Amon, lord of gods. Then shall be given to you <sup>15</sup>other things which — —. Cause [this writing] to be read, in order to do according to my sayings <sup>16</sup>which are before you. Put my good reputation in the mouth of the youth, according as I have done excellent things in the House of Amon <sup>17</sup>on every occasion, — — Amon, because of these my —. May he grant me 110 years bearing <sup>18</sup>[his] image ———— forever. I said <sup>19</sup>in my heart ———— his ka.” For the ka of the High Priest of Amon, Roy.<sup>c</sup>

II. SILSILEH STELA<sup>d</sup>

627. The building which Roy erected at Karnak was partially of sandstone, and as the High Priest of Amon was regularly chief architect of the buildings at Karnak, it is

<sup>a</sup>W c s s w e, as restored in l. 6 above, *q. v.*

<sup>b</sup>His statue must have been in the temple near this place.

<sup>c</sup>A relief (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 237, c) beside this long inscription shows Rome and Roy kneeling with upraised hands before two royal cartouches, the names in which are chiseled out. Lepsius' notebook offers no help as to their reading. The two men have each the title “*High Priest of Amon*.” There is no sign of the relationship between them, and both are *m s hrw* (“*triumphant*”)! Below are the words: “*The assistant whom his majesty taught, the High Priest of Amon, Rome, made (it).*” If made in the lifetime of Rome, the expunged names will be those of Merneptah. Over this scene is one showing Seti II worshiping Amon; it has no necessary connection with that of Rome and Roy.

<sup>d</sup>Champollion, *Monuments*, 102 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 200, a.

probable that Roy went to Silsileh himself to superintend the quarrying of the sandstone for his building at Karnak. Our inscription does not state the object of his visit, but nothing else is known to us which would bring the High Priest of Amon to Silsileh. This dates Roy's building in Merneptah's reign.

628. The stela shows King Merneptah and Roy worshipping before Amon. Below are the name and titles of Roy as in above Karnak inscription (§ 625, ll. 6, 7). Down each side is a prayer, one for Roy, and the other for Rome, with no statement of the relationship between them. Both bear the title, "*High Priest of Amon*," which they could not have borne simultaneously. One is, therefore, already deceased in Merneptah's reign, and as Roy appears assisting the king in the relief, it is Rome who is the deceased father. Hence the old supposition that Rome was the son and still lived under Seti II is incorrect, as we found was indicated also by the Karnak inscription. Rome, therefore, if deceased in Merneptah's short reign, must have been High Priest of Amon during the latter part of Ramses II's reign, and possibly survived into the reign of Merneptah.<sup>a</sup>

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#### DAYBOOK OF A FRONTIER OFFICIAL<sup>b</sup>

629. On the blank backs of a few pages of a school copy-book an official in some town<sup>c</sup> on the Palestinian frontier, in the days of Merneptah, has noted for temporary reference

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<sup>a</sup>The other inscriptions mentioning Roy are of no historical importance: a carnelian buckle with his name and titles is in Paris (*Bibliothèque Nationale*, No. 1468, *bis*), and a mortuary stela of one of his subordinates is in Leyden (V, 8). I owe the first reference to Dr. Wreszcinski.

<sup>b</sup>Papyrus Anastasi III, British Museum, 10246, Pls. VI and V, verso, of the "*Select Papyri*." I had also a collation of the original for the Berlin *Dictionary* by Steindorff. See Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 29, 32, and *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 538 f.

<sup>c</sup>Erman thinks he was in the well-known frontier town of Tharu.

the names and the business of the messengers who passed through the place on their way to Syria. In addition to the important and interesting glimpse of the active intercourse between Egypt and Syria in the thirteenth century B. C., which the document affords us, it is of importance also as showing that Merneptah in his third year was in Syria, undoubtedly on the campaign during which he plundered Israel, as related in his Hymn of Victory of the year 5 (§ 617).

The notes are of the most hurried character, and so abbreviated that the prepositions are omitted.

*Fifteenth Day*

**630.** VI<sup>1</sup>Year 3, first month of the third season (ninth month), fifteenth day:

There went up the servant of Baal, Roy ( $R^{\circ} - y$ ), son of Zeper ( $\underline{D}^{\circ} - pw - r^{\circ}$ ) of Gaza ( $G^{\circ} - \underline{d}^{\circ} - y$ , sic!), <sup>2</sup>who had with him for Syria ( $H^{\circ} - rw$ ) two different letters, to wit: (for) the captain of infantry, Khay ( $H^{\circ} - y$ ), one letter; <sup>3</sup>(for) the chief of Tyre, Baalat-Remeg ( $B - c - l - tw - R^{\circ} - m - g - w$ ), one letter.

*Seventeenth Day*

**631.** Year 3, first month of the third season (ninth month), seventeenth day:

<sup>4</sup>There arrived the captains of the archers of the Well of Merneptah-Hotepirma, L. P. H., <sup>5</sup>which is (on) the highland, to <sup>6</sup>report<sup>7</sup> in the fortress which is in Tharu ( $T^{\circ} - rw$ ).

*Uncertain Day*

**632.** <sup>6</sup>Year 3, first month of the third season (ninth month), <sup>7</sup>—<sup>8</sup>th<sup>9</sup> day:

There returned the attendant, Thutiy, son of Thekerem ( $T^{\circ} - k^{\circ} - rw - m$ ) of Geket ( $G^{\circ} - k^{\circ} - ty$ ); <sup>b</sup><sup>7</sup>Methdet ( $M - t^{\circ} - dw - ty - w$ ), son of Shem-Baal ( $S^{\circ} - m - B - c - r^{\circ}$ ) (of) the same (town); <sup>8</sup>Sutekhmose, son of Eperdegel ( $c - pr - d - g^{\circ} - r^{\circ}$ ) (of) the same (town), <sup>9</sup>who had with him,

<sup>a</sup>The original looks like r2!

<sup>b</sup>Perhaps an error for  $G^{\circ} - \underline{d}^{\circ} - ty =$  Gaza.

for the place where the king was, (for) the captain of infantry, Khay ( $\overline{H}^c y$ ),<sup>a</sup> [gifts] ( $ym tw$ , sic!) and a letter.

633. V<sup>r</sup>There went up the attendant, Nakhtamon, son of Thara ( $\overline{T}^o - r^o$ ) of the Stronghold of Merneptah-Hotepharma, L. P. H.,<sup>2</sup> who journeyed (to) [Upper] Tyre ( $\overline{D}^o - r^o - Rw - m$ ),<sup>b</sup> who had with him for Syria ( $\overline{H}^c - rw$ ), two different letters, to wit: <sup>3</sup>(for) the captain of infantry, Penamon, one letter; (for) the steward, Ramsesnakht, of this town, one letter.

634. <sup>4</sup>There returned the chief of the stable, Pemeckhetem ( $P^o - mr - htm$ ), son of Ani, of the Town of Merneptah-Hotepharma, <sup>5</sup>which is in the district of the Aram ( $^o - r^o - m$ ),<sup>c</sup> who had with him (for)<sup>d</sup> the place where the king was,<sup>d</sup> two letters, to wit: <sup>6</sup>(for) the captain of infantry, Peremhab ( $P^o - R^c - m - hb$ ), one letter; <sup>7</sup>for the deputy, Peremhab, one letter.

*Twenty-fifth Day*

635. <sup>8</sup>Year 3, first month of the third season (ninth month), twenty-fifth day:

There went up the charioteer, Enwau ( $Ynw - w^o ww$ ), of the great stable of the court of Binre-Meriamon, (Merneptah), L. P. H.<sup>e</sup>

LETTER OF A FRONTIER OFFICIAL<sup>f</sup>

636. This remarkable document is a communication in the usual official style, in which some frontier official informs his superior that certain Edomite Bedwin, doubtless in ac-

<sup>a</sup>As this Khay has already gone up to Syria (according to VI, 2, § 630), and his address is now the king's camp, the king must be somewhere in Syria.

<sup>b</sup>Müller inclines to place this town on the Jordan (*Asien und Europa*, 272); but he reads  $\overline{D}^o - r^o - d(?)w - m$ .

<sup>c</sup>As the article shows, the scribe has miswritten Aram for Amor. Cf. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 222, and 234.

<sup>d</sup>Müller, (*Asien und Europa* 270 f.) would regard this as the place from which the letter came, and not the address. That this is impossible is shown by the fact that the source of the letters is never given in the entire list; and, further, by the parallel in VI, 9, which is of itself quite enough to show that the king was in Asia; but he was not necessarily in his royal town in Amor, which is only mentioned as the home of the officer bearing the letter.

<sup>e</sup>Here follows a list of fifteen names of unofficial persons, whose connection with the preceding is not indicated.

<sup>f</sup>Papyrus Anastasi VI in the British Museum; Pl. IV, l. 13-Pl. V, l. 4. Cf. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 135.

cordance with instructions, have been allowed to pass the fortress in the district of Succoth in the Wadi Tumilât, to pasture their cattle near Pithom. The instance is paralleled by the similar case under Harmhab (§§ 10-12), and that of the Israelites (Gen. 47:1-12).

637. The papyrus is very fragmentary, and some of the uncertain portions are omitted below.

*Pl. 4*

638. <sup>13</sup>Another matter for the satisfaction of my lord's heart <sup>14</sup>[to wit]:

We have finished passing the tribes of the Shasu (*Š<sup>13</sup>-sw*) of <sup>15</sup>Edom through the Fortress of Merneptah-Hotephirma, L. P. H., in Theku,<sup>a</sup> (*T<sup>15</sup>-kw*) <sup>16</sup>to the pools of Pithom, of Merneptah-Hotephirma <sup>17</sup>in

*Pl. 5*

Theku, in order to sustain<sup>b</sup> them and their herds in the domain of Pharaoh, L. P. H., the good Sun <sup>2</sup>of every land. . . . . ——— I have caused them to be brought <sup>3</sup>. . . . . other names of <sup>4</sup>days [when] the fortress of Merneptah-Hotephirma may be passed, <sup>5</sup>———.

<sup>a</sup>Succoth?

<sup>b</sup>Causative of the verb "to live" (as in Hebrew), regularly used to indicate preservation and sustenance in time of famine.

## REIGN OF SIPTAH

### NUBIAN GRAFFITI

639. The only inscriptions of important historical content from the reign of Siptah are the graffiti of his viceroys in Nubia, especially those at Wadi Halfa.<sup>a</sup> They show that he was at first called Ramses-Siptah, and later Merneptah-Siptah. He went out to Nubia apparently in his first year, as far as Abu Simbel, to appoint Seti his new viceroy of Kush (No. 1), and Neferhor the official who brought the new viceroy out to his post, recorded his arrival at Wadi Halfa (No. 2). The "reward" brought by Neferhor on this occasion for the officials of Nubia can be nothing else than the new king's attempt to win and hold them to his support. He evidently succeeded, for in the year 3 the treasury official, Piyay, records his visit at Wadi Halfa to receive the tribute of Kush (No. 3).

640. In the same year Seti is still viceroy, recording his devotion to the king on the rocks at the first cataract (Nos. 5 and 6). He is now also "*governor of the gold-country of Amon*" and "*chief steward of the king.*" Siptah ruled at least three years longer, for one of his messengers visited Wadi Halfa in the year 6 (No. 8). Another of his supporters to whom much interest attaches in these graffiti is his treasurer, Bay. This man was chief treasurer, and a man of some power, or he could not have excavated a tomb in the Valley of the Kings; but a mistranslation of Brugsch has

---

<sup>a</sup>On pillars of the southern temple of Thutmose III; they are published by Sayce, *Recueil*, XVII, 161, 162, and are referred to under his numbers. For most of them I had also the copies of Steindorff, which he very kindly placed at my disposal.

given currency to a totally false idea of Bay's position. In both the graffiti (Nos. 6 and 7) commemorating Bay, there is attached to his name a relative clause: "*whom the king established in the seat of his father,*" a not uncommon statement, indicating that a man has inherited his father's office. Brugsch's rendering, following de Rougé,<sup>a</sup> "in dem er (Seti) den König auf den Thron seines Vaters setzte," is grammatically untenable;<sup>b</sup> hence the prevailing interpretation in all the histories since de Rougé's time, that the king owed his throne to Bay, is without foundation. On the contrary, the old hypothesis of Rougé,<sup>c</sup> that the powerful noble of this reign was the viceroy of Kush, Seti, who became King Seti II, succeeding Siptah, is supported by these graffiti. Seti becomes "*governor of the gold-country of Amon,*" which places him in close communication with the powerful priesthood of Amon,<sup>d</sup> from whom so many usurpers drew their strength.

641. The succession of the kings of the time, supposed to be against Rougé's supposition, is clearly in support of it; but the evidence either has been overlooked or has only recently been published. There is space here to note only some of the main points in the evidence. Amenmeses, the successor of Merneptah, was a usurper and persecuted the memory of Merneptah, for example at the Ramesseum, where he set his own name over that of Merneptah.<sup>e</sup> Amenmeses was in turn treated in the same way by his successor, Siptah, who inserted his own name over that of Amenmeses

<sup>a</sup>*Etude sur une stèle égyptienne*, 186.

<sup>b</sup>See note on No. 7, § 649.

<sup>c</sup>*Ibid.*, 187.

<sup>d</sup>Indeed, there is a definite connection between the High Priest of Amon and Nubia, for he became viceroy of Nubia as his power increased (*Annales*, IV, 9).

<sup>e</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 219, c, A; *ibid.*, Text, III, 130.

in a relief<sup>a</sup> at Kurna, showing Amenmeses worshipping the Theban divinities, who are associated with Ramses II and Seti I, from whom Amenmeses was probably descended. The succession of Amenmeses-Siptah is therefore certain. On examining the position of Seti II with reference to the said two kings, the evidence of his first tomb in the Valley of the Kings is conclusive. Lepsius' careful and exhaustive examination<sup>b</sup> of the royal names in the tomb of Siptah's queen, Tewosret, shows conclusively that Seti II usurped this tomb. He therefore followed Siptah, and may very well have been that king's powerful viceroy of Nubia, Seti, whom we find commemorated in the following graffiti. In Ramses III's time he was looked upon as the only legitimate king between Merneptah and Setnakht.<sup>c</sup>

642. <sup>d</sup>1. Praise to Amon! May he grant life, prosperity and health to the ka of the king's-messenger to every country, companion of the feet of the Lord of the Two Lands, favorite of Horus in the palace (the king), first charioteer of his majesty, Rekhpehtuf (*Rḫ-ḫtww' f*). His lord came to establish the king's-son of Kush, Seti, upon his seat, in the year 1 of the Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses-Siptah.

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 201, c; Text, III, 91, 92; so Rougé, *op. cit.*, 185. The Horus-name of Amenmeses in the body of the text below (l. 1), was overlooked and not changed by Siptah, thus betraying the identity of the original king to whom the monument belonged. The mythological reference on this monument, to the rearing of Amenmeses by Isis in Khemmis is, of course, applied to any king in the inscriptions (e. g., Thutmose III; II, 138), and does not at all show the actual birthplace of the king. This ancient misunderstanding appears again in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1904, 37.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, Text, 209-14; *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, III, 123-36. Seti II did not use the tomb after his usurpation of it, but hewed another and larger one (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 214 ff.; *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, III, 146 ff.). The empty tomb of Tewosret was then usurped by Setnakht, who enlarged it (*loc. cit.*).

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 212.

<sup>d</sup>South wall of the Abu Simbel temple; unpublished, so far as I have been able to ascertain; the rendering above is based on Steindorff's copy. It was known to Brugsch (*Geschichte*, 587 f.).



643. 2.<sup>a</sup> Year 1 of the Good God, Ramses-<sup>b</sup>Siptah, given life. Praise to thy ka, O Horus, lord of Bohem! May he grant life, prosperity, health, fitness for service, favor and love, to the ka of the king's-messenger to every country, priest of the Moon-god, Thoth, the scribe (named) Neferhor, son of Neferhor, scribe of the archives of Pharaoh, L. P. H., when he came with rewards for the officials (*h' tyw*) of Nubia (*T' -pd' t*), and to bring the king's-son of Kush, Seti on his first expedition.

644. 3.<sup>c</sup> Year 3 under the majesty of King Siptah.<sup>d</sup> The fan-bearer on the king's right hand, king's-scribe, overseer of the treasury, king's-scribe of the archives of Pharaoh, steward in the house<sup>e</sup> in the house of Amon, Piyay<sup>f</sup> (*Pyy' y*) came to receive the tribute of the land of Kush.

645. 4.<sup>g</sup> Year 3 of King Siptah. The first charioteer of his majesty, king's-messenger to every country, to establish the chiefs upon their thrones, satisfying the heart of his lord, Hori, son of Kem (*K' m*), triumphant, of the great stable of Seti-Merneptah, of the court. He made it in the year 3.

646. 5.<sup>h</sup> (Name of Siptah). Year 3, first month of the third season, day twenty. Praise to thy ka! O mighty king! May he grant favor to the ka of the<sup>i</sup> fan-bearer on the king's right hand, king's-son of Kush, governor of south countries, Seti.

<sup>a</sup>Halfa temple, Sayce's 14; Steindorff's manuscript.

<sup>b</sup>This unusual form of Siptah's name occurs also at Abu Simbel (No. 1, § 642)—a fact overlooked in proposing to identify this king with Amenmeses (*Recueil*, XVII, 162, note), who never has Siptah as the second part of his given name. We must therefore accept two forms of Siptah's name; (1) Ramses-Siptah, used at the beginning of his reign; (2) Merneptah-Siptah, introduced not later than the year 3 (No. 4, § 645). The change is paralleled, e. g., by the alteration in Seti II's name (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 214).

<sup>c</sup>Halfa temple, on a large ram, Sayce's, 11.

<sup>d</sup>Double name.

<sup>e</sup>As this word "house" (*h' t*) is at the bottom of a line, something has evidently escaped the copyists below; we have here the official name of an Amon-temple, with the name of the king lacking before "in the house of Amon."

<sup>f</sup>A third graffito of the year 3 in this temple was made by this same Piyay, Steindorff's manuscript.

<sup>g</sup>Halfa temple; Sayce's second 12; Steindorff's copy.

<sup>h</sup>Rock inscription on the island of Sehel; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 202, b = Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 71, No. 44 = de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 86, No. 29 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1215, t.

<sup>i</sup>His titles are repeated below, with "hereditary prince" prefixed.

647. 6.<sup>a</sup> A relief shows King Siptah enthroned, with his treasurer, Bay, behind him; Seti, the viceroy of Kush, is before him in the attitude of praise. The inscriptions are:

*Over Bay*

Wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, casting out lying, presenting truth; whom the king established [in]<sup>b</sup> the seat of his father, great chief treasurer of the whole land, Ramses-Khementer<sup>c</sup>-Bay.

*Over Seti*

Praise to thee! O mighty king! By the king's-son of Kush, governor of the gold countries of Amon, fan-bearer on the king's right hand, chief steward of the king, king's-scribe of the records of Pharaoh, L. P. H., Seti.

648. 4<sup>d</sup>. Another similar relief shows King Siptah offering flowers to Amon; Bay appears behind the king, and over them both are the words:

*King's Prayer*

Giving praise to Amon-Re, doing obeisance to his ka. May he protect his son, Lord of the Two Lands, Ikhneres-Setepnere (Siptah).

*Bay's Prayer*

649. May they<sup>e</sup> grant recognition to truth, and reward to him who doeth it (truth), a prosperous life with a happy heart, joy of heart, possession of health; for the ka of the great chief treasurer of the whole land,

---

<sup>a</sup>Rock inscription near Assuan; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 202, c=Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 214=de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 28, No. 6 (copied from Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, with all the mistakes).

<sup>b</sup>The original is to be corrected from No. 7.

<sup>c</sup>A compound name, meaning: "Ramses-Shining-Among-the-Gods-Bay."

<sup>d</sup>In a rock grotto at Gebel Silsileh; Champollion, *Monuments*, 120, 4=Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 202, a.

<sup>e</sup>"They" means Amon and Siptah.

whom<sup>a</sup> the king established in the seat of his father, whom he loved, Bay.<sup>b</sup>

650. 8.<sup>c</sup> Year 6 of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ikhner-Setepnere; Son of Re: Merneptah-Siptah.

The first charioteer of his majesty, king's-messenger to every country, Ubekhu (*Wbḥ·w*). His<sup>d</sup> son, the king's-son of Kush, Hori, made (it).

651. 9.<sup>e</sup> (Name of Siptah).

Fan-bearer on the king's right hand, king's-messenger to Kharu and Kush, ——— (name lost).

---

<sup>a</sup>That this is a relative clause is shown by the second relative, "*whom he loved*," which shows that we should not render *smn* as a participle. The *n*-form, which we should expect in earlier times, is perhaps involved in the *n* of *smn* (Sethe, *Verbum*, I, § 226); but more probably the form is simply in accord with the prevailing tendency of the old *n*-form to give way to *sdm·j* at this time.

<sup>b</sup>A third inscription of the reign of Siptah, containing the same phrase, is at Wadi Halfa (Steindorff's manuscript), and is, of course, to be assigned to Bay, although his name is lost.

<sup>c</sup>Halfa temple; Sayce's 1. Steindorff's copy.

<sup>d</sup>So Steindorff; Sayce has "*son of*."

<sup>e</sup>Halfa temple; Sayce's 3.

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# ANCIENT RECORDS OF EGYPT

## HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PERSIAN CONQUEST, COLLECTED  
EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH COMMENTARY

BY

JAMES HENRY BREASTED, PH.D.

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VOLUME IV

THE TWENTIETH TO THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTIES

  
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## VOLUME I

	§§
THE DOCUMENTARY SOURCES OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY . . . . .	1-37
CHRONOLOGY . . . . .	38-57
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE . . . . .	58-75
THE PALERMO STONE: THE FIRST TO THE FIFTH DYNASTIES	76-167
I. Predynastic Kings . . . . .	90
II. First Dynasty . . . . .	91-116
III. Second Dynasty . . . . .	117-144
IV. Third Dynasty . . . . .	145-148
V. Fourth Dynasty . . . . .	149-152
VI. Fifth Dynasty . . . . .	153-167
THE THIRD DYNASTY . . . . .	168-175
Reign of Snefru . . . . .	168-175
Sinai Inscriptions . . . . .	168-169
Biography of Methen . . . . .	170-175
THE FOURTH DYNASTY . . . . .	176-212
Reign of Khufu . . . . .	176-187
Sinai Inscriptions . . . . .	176
Inventory Stela . . . . .	177-180
Examples of Dedication Inscriptions by Sons . . . . .	181-187
Reign of Khafre . . . . .	188-209
Stela of Mertityôtes . . . . .	188-189
Will of Prince Nekure, Son of King Khafre . . . . .	190-199
Testamentary Enactment of an Unknown Official, Establishing the Endowment of His Tomb by the Pyramid of Khafre . . . . .	200-209
Reign of Menkure . . . . .	210-212
Debhen's Inscription, Recounting King Menkure's Erec- tion of a Tomb for Him . . . . .	210-212
THE FIFTH DYNASTY . . . . .	213-281
Reign of Userkaf . . . . .	213-235

	§§
Testamentary Enactment of Nekonekh . . . . .	213-215
I. The Priesthood of Hathor . . . . .	216-219
II. The Mortuary Priesthood of Khenuka . . . . .	220-222
III. Nekonekh's Will . . . . .	223-225
IV. Nekonekh's Mortuary Priesthood . . . . .	226-227
V. Nekonekh's Mortuary Statue . . . . .	228-230
Testamentary Enactment of Senuonekh, Regulating His Mortuary Priesthood . . . . .	231-235
Reign of Sahure . . . . .	236-241
Sinai Inscriptions . . . . .	236
Tomb Stela of Nenekhsekhmet . . . . .	237-240
Tomb Inscription of Persen . . . . .	241
Reign of Neferirkere . . . . .	242-249
Tomb Inscriptions of the Vizier, Chief Judge, and Chief Architect Weshptah . . . . .	242-249
Reign of Nuserre . . . . .	250-262
Sinai Inscription . . . . .	250
Tomb Inscriptions of Hotephiyakhmet . . . . .	251-253
Inscription of Ptahshepses . . . . .	254-262
Reign of Menkuhor . . . . .	263
Sinai Inscription . . . . .	263
Reign of Dedkere-Isesi . . . . .	264-281
Sinai Inscriptions . . . . .	264-267
Tomb Inscriptions of Senezemib, Chief Judge, Vizier, and Chief Architect . . . . .	268-277
Mortuary Inscription of Nezemib . . . . .	278-279
Tomb Inscription of the Nomarch Henku . . . . .	280-281
THE SIXTH DYNASTY . . . . .	282-390
Reign of Teti . . . . .	282-294
Inscriptions of Sabu, Also Called Ibebi . . . . .	282-286
Inscription of Sabu, Also Called Thety . . . . .	287-288
Inscription of an Unknown Builder . . . . .	289-290
Inscription of Uni . . . . .	291-294
I. Career under Teti (l. 1) . . . . .	292-294
II. Career under Pepi I (ll. 2-32) . . . . .	306-315
III. Career under Mernere (ll. 32-50) . . . . .	319-324
Reign of Pepi I . . . . .	295-315
Hammamat Inscriptions . . . . .	295-301

	§§
I. The King's Inscriptions . . . . .	296
II. The Expedition's Inscription . . . . .	297-298
III. Chief Architect's Inscription . . . . .	299
IV. Inscription of the Treasurer of the God Ikhi . . . . .	300-301
Sinai Inscription . . . . .	302-303
Inscription in the Hatnub Quarry . . . . .	304-305
Inscription of Uni: II Career under Pepi I . . . . .	306-315
Reign of Mernere . . . . .	316-336
Inscriptions at the First Cataract . . . . .	316-318
I. Northern Inscription . . . . .	317
II. Southern Inscription . . . . .	318
Inscription of Uni: III Career under Mernere . . . . .	319-324
Inscriptions of Harkhuf . . . . .	325-336
Inscriptions of Harkhuf (continued) . . . . .	350-354
Reign of Pepi II . . . . .	337-385
Conveyance of Land by Idu, Called Also Seneni . . . . .	337-338
Sinai Inscription . . . . .	339-343
Stela of the Two Queens, Enekhnes-Merire . . . . .	344-349
Inscriptions of Harkhuf (continued from § 336) . . . . .	350-354
Letter of Pepi II . . . . .	350-354
I. Dates and Introduction . . . . .	351
II. Acknowledgment of Harkhuf's Letter . . . . .	351
III. Harkhuf's Rewards . . . . .	352
IV. King's Instructions . . . . .	353-354
Inscriptions of Pepi-Nakht . . . . .	355-360
Inscriptions of Khui . . . . .	361
Inscriptions of Sebni . . . . .	362-374
Inscriptions of Ibi . . . . .	375-379
Inscription of Zau . . . . .	380-385
Reign of Ity . . . . .	386-387
Hammamat Inscription . . . . .	386-387
Reign of Imhotep . . . . .	388-390
THE NINTH AND TENTH DYNASTIES . . . . .	391-414
Inscriptions of Siut . . . . .	391-414
I. Inscription of Tefibi . . . . .	393-397
II. Inscription of Kheti I . . . . .	398-404
III. Inscription of Kheti II . . . . .	405-414

	§§
<b>THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY</b> . . . . .	415-459
The Nomarch, Intef . . . . .	419-420
Mortuary Stela . . . . .	419-420
Reign of Horus-Wahenekh-Intef I . . . . .	421-423
Royal Tomb Stela . . . . .	421-423
Reign of Horus-Nakhtneb-Tepnefer-Intef II . . . . .	423A-423G
Stela of Thethi . . . . .	423A-423G
Reign of Nibhotep-Mentuhotep I . . . . .	423H
Temple Fragments from Gebelen . . . . .	423H
Reigns of Intef III and Nibkhrure-Mentuhotep II . . . . .	424-426
Relief near Assuan . . . . .	424-426
Reign of Senekhkere-Mentuhotep III . . . . .	427-433
Hammamat Inscription of Henu . . . . .	427-433
Reign of Nibtowere-Mentuhotep IV . . . . .	434-459
Hammamat Inscriptions . . . . .	434-459
I. The First Wonder . . . . .	435-438
II. The Official Tablet . . . . .	439-443
III. The Commander's Tablet . . . . .	444-448
IV. The Second Wonder . . . . .	449-451
V. Completion of the Work . . . . .	452-456
Stela of Eti . . . . .	457-459
<b>THE TWELFTH DYNASTY</b> . . . . .	460-750
Chronology of Twelfth Dynasty . . . . .	460-462
Reign of Amenemhet I . . . . .	463-497
Inscription of Khnumhotep I . . . . .	463-465
Hammamat Inscription of Intef . . . . .	466-468
Inscription of Nessumontu . . . . .	469-471
Inscription of Korusko . . . . .	472-473
The Teaching of Amenemhet . . . . .	474-483
Dedication Inscription . . . . .	484-485
The Tale of Sinuhe . . . . .	486-497
Reign of Sesostri I . . . . .	498-593
The Building Inscription of the Temple of Heliopolis . . . . .	498-506
Inscription of Meri . . . . .	507-509
Wadi Halfa Inscription of Mentuhotep . . . . .	510-514
Inscription of Amenemhet (Ameni) . . . . .	515-523
Stela of Ikudidi . . . . .	524-528
Inscription of Intefyoker . . . . .	529

	§§
Inscriptions of Mentuhotep . . . . .	530-534
The Contracts of Hepzefi . . . . .	535-538
I. First Contract . . . . .	539-543
II. Second Contract . . . . .	544-548
III. Third Contract . . . . .	549-553
IV. Fourth Contract . . . . .	554-558
V. Fifth Contract . . . . .	559-567
VI. Sixth Contract . . . . .	568-571
VII. Seventh Contract . . . . .	572-575
VIII. Eighth Contract . . . . .	576-581
IX. Ninth Contract . . . . .	582-588
X. Tenth Contract . . . . .	589-593
Reign of Amenemhet II . . . . .	594-613
Inscription of Simontu . . . . .	594-598
Inscription of Sihathor . . . . .	599-605
Sinai Inscription . . . . .	606
Stela of Khentemseti . . . . .	607-613
Reign of Sesostris II . . . . .	614-639
Inscription of Hapu . . . . .	614-618
Inscription of Khnumhotep II . . . . .	619-639
Reign of Sesostris III . . . . .	640-748
The Conquest of Nubia . . . . .	640-672
I. The Canal Inscriptions . . . . .	642-649
I. First Inscription . . . . .	643-645
II. Second Inscription . . . . .	646-648
II. The Elephantine Inscription . . . . .	649-650
III. The First Semneh Stela . . . . .	651-652
IV. The Second Semneh Stela . . . . .	653-660
V. Inscription of Ikhernofret . . . . .	661-670
VI. Inscription of Sisatet . . . . .	671-673
See also . . . . .	676 ff. and 687
Hammamat Inscription . . . . .	674-675
Stela of Sebek-Khu, called Zaa . . . . .	676-687
Inscriptions of Thuthotep . . . . .	688-706
Hammamat Inscriptions . . . . .	707-712
Inscriptions of Sinai . . . . .	713-738
I. Wadi Maghara . . . . .	713-723
I. Inscriptions of Khenemsu . . . . .	714-716

	§§
II. Inscription of Harnakht . . . . .	717-718
III. Inscription of Sebekdidi . . . . .	719-720
IV. Inscription of Ameni . . . . .	721-723
II. Sarbût el-Khadem . . . . .	724-738
I. Inscription of Sebek-hir-hab . . . . .	725-727
II. Inscription of Ptahwer . . . . .	728-729
III. Inscription of Amenemhet . . . . .	730-732
IV. Inscription of Harurre . . . . .	733-738
Turra Inscription . . . . .	739-742
Inscription of Sehetepibre . . . . .	743-748
Reign of Amenemhet IV . . . . .	749-750
Kummeh Inscription . . . . .	749
Sinai Inscriptions . . . . .	750
FROM THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY TO THE HYKSOS . . . . .	751-787
Reign of Sekhemre-Khutowe . . . . .	751-752
Records of Nile-Levels . . . . .	751-752
Reign of Neferhotep . . . . .	753-772
Great Abydos Stela . . . . .	753-765
Boundary Stela . . . . .	766-772
Reign of Nubkheprure-Intef . . . . .	773-780
Coptos Decree . . . . .	773-780
Reign of Khenzer . . . . .	781-787
Inscriptions of Ameniseneb . . . . .	781-787

## VOLUME II

	§§
THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY . . . . .	1-1043
Reign of Ahmose I . . . . .	1-37
Biography of Ahmose, Son of Ebana . . . . .	1-3
I. Career under Ahmose I (ll. 1-24) . . . . .	4-16
II. Career under Amenhotep I (ll. 24-29) . . . . .	38-39
III. Career under Thutmose I (ll. 29-39) . . . . .	78-82
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet . . . . .	17-25
I. Ahmose's Campaigns [Continued § 40] . . . . .	18-20
II. Ahmose's Rewards . . . . .	21-24
III. Ahmose's Summary . . . . .	25

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xi

	§§
Quarry Inscription . . . . .	26-28
Karnak Stela . . . . .	29-32
Building Inscription . . . . .	33-37
Reign of Amenhotep I . . . . .	38-53
Biography of Ahmose, Son of Ebana . . . . .	38-39
II. Career under Amenhotep I (ll. 24-29) . . . . .	38-53
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet . . . . .	40-42
Career under Amenhotep I . . . . .	40-42
Biography of Ineni . . . . .	43-46
I. Career under Amenhotep I . . . . .	44-46
II. Career under Thutmose I . . . . .	99-108
III. Career under Thutmose II . . . . .	115-118
IV. Career under Thutmose III and Hatshepsut . . . . .	340-343
Stela of Harmini . . . . .	47-48
Stela of Keres . . . . .	49-52
Reign of Thutmose I . . . . .	54-114
Coronation Decree . . . . .	54-60
Biographical Inscription of Thure . . . . .	61-66
Tombos Stela . . . . .	67-73
Inscriptions at the First Cataract . . . . .	74-77
I. Sehel Inscription . . . . .	75
II. Sehel Inscription . . . . .	76
III. Assuan Inscription . . . . .	77
Inscription of Ahmose, Son of Ebana . . . . .	78-82
III. Career under Thutmose I (ll. 29-39) . . . . .	78-82
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet . . . . .	83-85
Career under Thutmose I . . . . .	83-85
Karnak Obelisks . . . . .	86-89
Abydos Stela . . . . .	90-98
Biography of Ineni . . . . .	99-108
II. Career under Thutmose I (ll. 4-14) . . . . .	99-108
Stela of Yuf . . . . .	109-114
Reign of Thutmose II . . . . .	115-127
Biography of Ineni . . . . .	115-118
III. Career under Thutmose II . . . . .	115-118
Assuan Inscription . . . . .	119-122
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet . . . . .	123-124
IV. Career under Thutmose II . . . . .	123-124

	§§
Campaign in Syria . . . . .	125
The Ebony Shrine of Der el-Bahri . . . . .	126-127
Reign of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut . . . . .	128-390
Introduction . . . . .	128-130
Inscription of the Coronation; Buildings and Offerings	131-166
Semneh Temple Inscriptions . . . . .	167
I. Renewal of Sesostris III's List of Offerings . . . . .	168-172
II. Dedication to Dedun and Sesostris III . . . . .	173-176
Biography of Nebwawi . . . . .	177
I. The Statue Inscription . . . . .	178-183
II. Abydos Stela . . . . .	184-186
The Birth of Queen Hatshepsut . . . . .	187-191
I. The Council of the Gods . . . . .	192
II. Interviews Between Amon and Thoth . . . . .	193-194
III. Amon with Queen Ahmose . . . . .	195-198
IV. Interview Between Amon and Khnum . . . . .	199-201
V. Khnum Fashions the Child . . . . .	202-203
VI. Interview Between Thoth and Queen Ahmose . . . . .	204
VII. Queen Ahmose is Led to Confinement . . . . .	205
VIII. The Birth . . . . .	206-207
IX. Presentation of the Child to Amon . . . . .	208
X. Council of Amon and Hathor . . . . .	209
XI. The Nursing of the Child . . . . .	210
XII. Second Interview of Amon and Thoth . . . . .	211
XIII. The Final Scene . . . . .	212
Statue of Enebni . . . . .	213
Vase Inscription . . . . .	214
The Coronation of Queen Hatshepsut . . . . .	215
I. The Purification . . . . .	216
II. Amon presents the Child to All the Gods . . . . .	217-220
III. The Northern Journey . . . . .	221-225
IV. Coronation by Atum . . . . .	226-227
V. Reception of the Crowns and the Names . . . . .	228-230
VI. Proclamation as King before Amon . . . . .	231
VII. Coronation before the Court . . . . .	232-239
VIII. Second Purification . . . . .	240-241
IX. Concluding Ceremonies . . . . .	242
Southern Pylon Inscription at Karnak . . . . .	243-245



	§§
The Punt Reliefs . . . . .	246-295
I. Departure of the Fleet . . . . .	252-253
II. Reception in Punt . . . . .	254-258
III. The Traffic . . . . .	259-262
IV. Loading the Vessels . . . . .	263-265
V. The Return Voyage . . . . .	266
VI. Presentation of the Tribute to the Queen by the Chiefs of Punt, Irem and Nemyew . . . . .	267-269
VII. The Queen Offers the Gifts to Amon . . . . .	270-272
VIII. Weighing and Measuring the Gifts to Amon . . . . .	273-282
IX. Formal Announcement of the Success of the Expedition before Amon . . . . .	283-288
X. Formal Announcement of the Success of the Expedition to the Court . . . . .	289-295
Inscription of the Speos Artemidos . . . . .	296-303
The Karnak Obelisks . . . . .	304-307
I. Shaft Inscriptions; Middle Columns . . . . .	308-311
II. Shaft Inscriptions; Side Columns . . . . .	312-313
III. Base Inscription . . . . .	314-321
Reliefs of Transportation of Obelisks . . . . .	322
I. Transport . . . . .	323-329
II. Reception in Thebes . . . . .	330-335
III. Dedication of the Obelisks . . . . .	336
Rock Inscription in Wadi Maghara . . . . .	337
Building Inscription of Western Thebes . . . . .	338-339
Biography of Ineni . . . . .	340-343
IV. Career under Thutmose III and Hatshepsut . . . . .	340-343
Biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet . . . . .	344
Conclusion of Summary . . . . .	344
Inscriptions of Senmut . . . . .	345-368
I. Inscriptions on the Karnak Statue . . . . .	349-358
II. Assuan Inscription . . . . .	359-362
III. Inscriptions on the Berlin Statue . . . . .	363-368
Inscription of Thutiy . . . . .	369-378
Inscriptions of Puemre . . . . .	379
I. Statue of Inscription . . . . .	380-381
II. Tomb Inscriptions . . . . .	382-387
Inscriptions of Hapuseneb . . . . .	388-390

	§§
Reign of Thutmose III . . . . .	391-779
The Annals . . . . .	391-405
The Annals: Conspectus of Campaigns . . . . .	406
I. Introduction . . . . .	407
II. First Campaign (Year 23) . . . . .	408-443
Wadi Halfa Inscription . . . . .	411-437
Fragment on the Siege of Megiddo . . . . .	438-443
III. Second Campaign (Year 24) . . . . .	444-449
IV. Third Campaign (Year 25) . . . . .	450-452
V. Fourth Campaign . . . . .	453
VI. Fifth Campaign (Year 29) . . . . .	454-462
VII. Sixth Campaign (Year 30) . . . . .	463-467
VIII. Seventh Campaign (Year 31) . . . . .	468-475
IX. Eighth Campaign (Year 33) . . . . .	476-487
X. Ninth Campaign (Year 34) . . . . .	488-495
XI. Tenth Campaign (Year 35) . . . . .	496-503
XII. Eleventh Campaign (Year 36) . . . . .	504
XIII. Twelfth Campaign (Year 37) . . . . .	505
XIV. Thirteenth Campaign (Year 38) . . . . .	506-515
XV. Fourteenth Campaign (Year 39) . . . . .	516-519
XVI. Fifteenth Campaign . . . . .	520-523
XVII. Sixteenth Campaign . . . . .	524-527
XVIII. Seventeenth Campaign . . . . .	528-539
XIX. Conclusion . . . . .	540
Feasts and Offerings from the Conquests . . . . .	541-573
Biography of Amenemhab . . . . .	574-592
Fragments of Karnak Pylon VII . . . . .	593-598
Great Karnak Building Inscription . . . . .	599-608
Building Inscription of the Karnak Ptah-Temple . . . . .	609-622
Obelisks . . . . .	623
I. Karnak Obelisks . . . . .	624-625
II. Lateran Obelisks . . . . .	626-628
III. Constantinople Obelisk . . . . .	629-631
IV. London Obelisk . . . . .	632-633
V. New York Obelisk . . . . .	634-636
Medinet Habu Building Inscriptions . . . . .	637-641
Heliopolis Building Inscriptions . . . . .	642-643
Nubian Wars . . . . .	644-654

	§§
I. Canal Inscription . . . . .	649-650
II. Inscriptions of Nehi, Viceroy of Kush . . . . .	651-652
III. Offerings from the South Countries . . . . .	653-654
Hymn of Victory . . . . .	655-662
Tomb of Rekhmire . . . . .	663-759
I. Appointment of Rekhmire as Vizier . . . . .	665-670
II. Duties of the Vizier . . . . .	671-711
III. The Sitting of the Vizier . . . . .	712-713
IV. Reception of Petitions . . . . .	714-715
V. Inspection of Taxes of Upper Egypt . . . . .	716
A. Above Thebes . . . . .	717-728
B. Below Thebes . . . . .	729-745
VI. Reception of Dues to the Amon-Temple . . . . .	746-751
VII. Inspection of Daily Offerings and of Monuments . . . . .	752
VIII. Inspection of Craftsmen . . . . .	753-755
IX. Inspection of Sculptors and Builders . . . . .	756-759
X. Reception of Foreign Tribute . . . . .	760-761
XI. Accession of Amenhotep II . . . . .	762
Stela of Intef the Herald . . . . .	763-771
Tomb of Menkheperreseneb . . . . .	772-776
Stela of Nibamon . . . . .	777-779
Reign of Amenhotep II . . . . .	780
Asiatic Campaign . . . . .	780-798
I. Karnak Stela . . . . .	781-790
II. Amâda and Elephantine Stelæ . . . . .	791-798
III. Karnak Chapel . . . . .	798A
Turra Inscription . . . . .	799-800
Tomb of Amenken . . . . .	801-802
Karnak Building Inscription . . . . .	803-806
Biography of Amenemhab . . . . .	807-809
Reign of Thutmose IV . . . . .	810-840
Sphinx Stela . . . . .	810-815
Asiatic Campaign . . . . .	816-822
Konosso Inscription . . . . .	823-829
Lateran Obelisk . . . . .	830-838
Stela of Pe'aoke . . . . .	839-840
Reign of Amenhotep III . . . . .	841-931
Birth and Coronation . . . . .	841

	§§
Nubian War . . . . .	842-855
I. Stela at First Cataract . . . . .	843-844
II. Stela of Konosso . . . . .	845
III. Bubastis Inscription . . . . .	846-850
IV. Semneh Inscription . . . . .	851-855
Tablet of Victory . . . . .	856-859
The Commemorative Scarabs . . . . .	860-869
I. Marriage with Tiy . . . . .	861-862
II. Wild Cattle Hunt . . . . .	863-864
III. Ten Years Lion-Hunting . . . . .	865
IV. Marriage with Kirgipa . . . . .	866-867
V. Construction of a Pleasure Lake . . . . .	868-869
Jubilee Celebrations . . . . .	870-874
Quarry and Mine Inscriptions . . . . .	875-877
Building Inscription . . . . .	878-892
I. Introduction (ll. 1-2) . . . . .	882
II. Temple of the (Memnon) Colossi (ll. 2-10) . . . . .	883-885
III. Luxor Temple and Connected Buildings . . . . .	886-887
IV. Sacred Barge of Amon (ll. 16-20) . . . . .	888
V. Third Pylon of Karnak (ll. 20-23) . . . . .	889
VI. Temple of Soleb (ll. 23-26) . . . . .	890
VII. Hymn of Amon to the King (ll. 26-31) . . . . .	891-892
Building Inscriptions of the Soleb Temple . . . . .	893-898
Great Inscription of the Third Karnak Pylon . . . . .	899-903
Dedication Stela . . . . .	904-910
I. Speech of the King (ll. 1-13) . . . . .	905-908
II. Speech of Amon (ll. 14-20) . . . . .	909
III. Speech of the Divine Ennead (ll. 20-24) . . . . .	910
Inscriptions of Amenhotep, Son of Hapi . . . . .	911-927
I. Statue Inscription . . . . .	913-920
II. Mortuary Temple Edict . . . . .	921-927
Statue of Nebnefer . . . . .	928-931
Reign of Ikhnaton . . . . .	932-1018
Quarry Inscription at Silsileh . . . . .	932-935
Tomb of the Vizier Ramose . . . . .	936-948
The Tell El-Amarna Landmarks . . . . .	949-972
Assuan Tablet of the Architect Bek . . . . .	973-976
The Tell El-Amarna Tombs . . . . .	977-1018

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xvii

	§§
Tomb of Merire II . . . . .	981
Tomb of Merire I . . . . .	982-988
Tomb of Eye . . . . .	989-996
Tomb of Mai . . . . .	997-1003
Tomb of Ahmose . . . . .	1004-1008
Tomb of Tutu . . . . .	1009-1013
Tomb of Huy . . . . .	1014-1018
Reign of Tutenkhamon . . . . .	1019-1041
Tomb of Huy . . . . .	1019-1041
I. Investiture of the Viceroy of Kush . . . . .	1020-1026
II. Tribute of the North . . . . .	1027-1033
III. Tribute of the South . . . . .	1034-1041
Reign of Eye . . . . .	1042-1043

LIST OF FIGURES

	PAGE
Plan of Punt Reliefs . . . . .	105

VOLUME III

	§§
THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY . . . . .	1-651
Reign of Harmhab . . . . .	1-73
Tomb of Harmhab . . . . .	1-21
I. Leyden Fragments . . . . .	2-9
I. Stela with Adoration Scene . . . . .	2-5
II. Reward of Gold . . . . .	6-9
II. Vienna Fragment . . . . .	10-12
III. Alexandria Fragments . . . . .	13
IV. British Museum Fragments . . . . .	14-19
I. Doorposts . . . . .	14-17
II. Stela with Three Hymns . . . . .	18-19
V. Cairo Fragments . . . . .	20-21
Coronation Inscription . . . . .	22-32
Graffiti in the Theban Necropolis . . . . .	32A-32C
The Wars of Harmhab . . . . .	33-44
I. In the North . . . . .	34-36
II. In the South . . . . .	37-44
Edict of Harmhab . . . . .	45-67

	§§
I. Introduction (ll. 1-10) . . . . .	49
II. Introduction: The King's Zeal for the Relief of the People (ll. 10-14) . . . . .	50
III. Enactment Against Robbing the Poor of Dues for the Royal Breweries and Kitchens (ll. 14-17)	51
IV. Enactment Against Robbing the Poor of Wood Due the Pharaoh (ll. 17-18) . . . . .	52
V. Enactment Against Exacting Dues from a Poor Man Thus Robbed (ll. 18-20) . . . . .	53
VI. Against Robbing the Poor of Dues for the Harem or the Gods by the Soldiers (ll. 20-24) . . . . .	54
VII. Enactments Against Unlawful Appropriation of Slave Service (ll. 22-24) . . . . .	55
VIII. Enactment Against Stealing of Hides by the Soldiers (ll. 25-28) . . . . .	56-57
IX. Against Connivance of Dishonest Inspectors with Thievish Tax-Collectors, for a Share of the Booty (ll. 28-32) . . . . .	58
X. Enactment Against Stealing Vegetables Under Pretense of Collecting Taxes (ll. 32-35) . . . . .	59
XI. Enactments too Fragmentary for Analysis (ll. 35- 39) and Right Side (ll. 1, 2) . . . . .	60-62
XII. Narrative of the King's Reforms, Containing Also an Enactment Against Corrupt Judges (ll. 3-7) . . . . .	63-65
XIII. Narrative of the King's Monthly Audiences and Largesses (ll. 7-10) . . . . .	66
XIV. Laudation of the King, and Conclusion (Left Side) . . . . .	67
Tomb of Neferhotep . . . . .	68-73
Reign of Ramses I . . . . .	74-79
Wadi Halfa Stela . . . . .	74-79
Reign of Seti I . . . . .	80-250
Karnak Reliefs . . . . .	80-156
Scene 1. March through Southern Palestine . . . . .	83-84
Scene 2. Battle with the Shasu . . . . .	85-86
Scene 3. Capture of Pekanan . . . . .	87-88
Scene 4. Capture of Yenoam . . . . .	89-90

	§§
Scene 5. Submission of the Chiefs of Lebanon . . . . .	91-94
Scenes 6 and 7. Binding and Carrying Away Prisoners . . . . .	95-97
Scene 8. Reception in Egypt . . . . .	98-103
Scene 9. Presentation of Shasu Prisoners and Precious Vessels to Amon . . . . .	104-108
Scene 10. Presentation of Syrian Prisoners and Precious Vessels to Amon . . . . .	109-112
Scene 11. Slaying Prisoners Before Amon . . . . .	113-119
Scene 12. First Battle with the Libyans . . . . .	120-122
Scene 13. Second Battle with the Libyans . . . . .	123-132
Scene 14. Return from Libyan War . . . . .	133-134
Scene 15. Presentation of Libyan Prisoners and Spoil to Amon . . . . .	135-139
Scene 16. Capture of Kadesh . . . . .	140-141
Scene 17. Battle with the Hittites . . . . .	142-144
Scene 18. Carrying off Hittite Prisoners . . . . .	145-148
Scene 19. Presentation of Hittite Spoil and Prisoners to Amon . . . . .	149-152
Scene 20. Slaying Prisoners before Amon . . . . .	153-156
Wadi Halfa Stela . . . . .	157-161
Inscriptions of Redesiyeh . . . . .	162-198
I. First Inscription . . . . .	169-174
II. Second Inscription . . . . .	175-194
III. Third Inscription . . . . .	195-198
Building Inscriptions . . . . .	199-250
I. First Cataract Inscription . . . . .	201-204
1. Assuan Inscription . . . . .	201-202
2. Elephantine Stela . . . . .	203-204
II. Silsileh Quarry Stela . . . . .	205-208
III. Gebelên Quarry Inscription . . . . .	209-210
IV. Mortuary Temple at Thebes (Kurna) . . . . .	211-221
V. Temple of Karnak . . . . .	222-224
VI. Mortuary Temple at Abydos . . . . .	225-243
VII. Temple Model of Heliopolis . . . . .	244-246
VIII. Miscellaneous . . . . .	247-250
Reign of Ramses II . . . . .	251-568
Great Abydos Inscription . . . . .	251-281
Kubbân Stela . . . . .	282-293

	§§
The Asiatic War . . . . .	294-391
I. Beginning of the Hittite War . . . . .	296-351
I. First Campaign . . . . .	297
II. Second Campaign: The Battle of Kadesh . . . . .	298-351
<i>a.</i> Poem of the Battle of Kadesh . . . . .	305-315
<i>b.</i> Official Record of the Battle of Kadesh . . . . .	316-327
<i>c.</i> The Reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh. . . . .	328
I. The Council of War . . . . .	329-330
II. The Camp . . . . .	331-332
III. Ramses' Messengers . . . . .	333-334
IV. The Battle . . . . .	335-338
V. The Defense of the Camp . . . . .	339-340
VI. After the Battle . . . . .	341-347
VII. Presentation of Captives to Amon . . . . .	348-351
III. Palestinian Revolt . . . . .	352-362
I. Reconquest of Southern Palestine . . . . .	353-355
II. Reconquest of Northern Palestine . . . . .	356-362
IV. Campaign in Naharin . . . . .	363-391
I. Conquest of Naharin . . . . .	364-366
II. Treaty with the Hittites . . . . .	367-391
Relations of Egypt with the Hittites after the War . . . . .	392-491
I. The Blessing of Ptah . . . . .	394-414
II. Marriage Stela . . . . .	415-424
III. Message of the Chief of Kheta to the Chief of Kode . . . . .	425-426
IV. Coptos Stela . . . . .	427-428
V. Bentresh Stela . . . . .	429-447
Nubian Wars and References to Northern Wars . . . . .	448-491
I. Abu Simbel Temple . . . . .	449-457
II. Bet el-Walli Temple . . . . .	458-477
III. Assuan Stela . . . . .	478-479
IV. Luxor Temple . . . . .	480-484
V. Abydos Temple . . . . .	485-486
VI. Tanis Stelæ . . . . .	487-491
Building Inscriptions . . . . .	492-537
I. Great Temple of Abu Simbel. . . . .	495-499
II. Small Temple of Abu Simbel. . . . .	500-501
III. Temple of Serreh . . . . .	502



	§§
IV. Temple of Derr . . . . .	503
V. Temple of Sebûfa . . . . .	504
VI. Temple of el Kab . . . . .	505
VII. Temple of Luxor . . . . .	506-508
VIII. Temple of Karnak . . . . .	509-513
IX. The Ramesseum . . . . .	514-515
X. Temple of Kurna . . . . .	516-522
XI. Seti I's Temple at Abydos and Great Abydos Inscription . . . . .	262-267
XII. Ramses II's Temple at Abydos . . . . .	524-529
XIII. Memphis Temples . . . . .	530-537
1. Great Abydos Inscription (l. 22) . . . . .	260
2. Blessing of Ptah (ll. 32, 35) . . . . .	412-413
XIV. City of Tanis (Blessing of Ptah (ll. 16-18) . . . . .	406
Stela of the Year 400 . . . . .	538-542
Royal Jubilee Inscriptions . . . . .	543-560
I. First Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	552
II. Bigeh Inscription . . . . .	553
III. Second Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	554
IV. Third Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	555
V. Fourth Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	556
VI. Sehel Inscription . . . . .	557
VII. El Kab Inscription . . . . .	558
VIII. Fifth Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	559
IX. Sixth Gebel Silsileh Inscription . . . . .	560
Inscription of Beknekhonsu . . . . .	561-568
Reign of Merneptah . . . . .	569-638
The Invasion of Libyans and Mediterranean Peoples . . . . .	569-617
I. The Great Karnak Inscription . . . . .	572-592
II. The Cairo Column . . . . .	593-595
III. The Athribis Stela . . . . .	596-601
IV. The Hymn of Victory . . . . .	602-617
Inscriptions of the High Priest of Amon, Roy . . . . .	618-628
Daybook of a Frontier Official . . . . .	629-635
Letter of a Frontier Official . . . . .	636-638
Reign of Siptah . . . . .	639-650
Nubian Graffiti . . . . .	639-650

LIST OF FIGURES		PAGE
Fig. 1.	Plan of the Reliefs of Seti I, on the North Wall of the Great Hall of Karnak . . . . .	39
Fig. 2.	Seti I on the Route through Southern Palestine (Scene 1) . . . . .	44
Fig. 3.	Showing Two Superimposed Figures . . . . .	61
Fig. 4.	Inserted Figure of "First King's-Son" . . . . .	61
Fig. 5.	An Unknown Prince Following the Chariot of Seti I (Scene 14) . . . . .	66
Fig. 6.	Figure of an Unknown Prince Inserted in a Fragmentary Scene (§ 130) . . . . .	66
Fig. 7.	Map of the Orontes Valley in the Vicinity of Kadesh . . . . .	126
Fig. 8.	March to Kadesh: First Positions . . . . .	128
Fig. 9.	Battle of Kadesh: Second Positions . . . . .	130
Fig. 10.	Battle of Kadesh: Third Positions . . . . .	130
Fig. 11.	Battle of Kadesh: Fourth Positions . . . . .	130
Fig. 12.	Battle of Kadesh: Fifth Positions . . . . .	130
Fig. 13.	The Modern Mound of Kadesh . . . . .	152

#### VOLUME IV

		§§
THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY . . . . .		1-603
Reign of Ramses III . . . . .		1-456
Medinet Habu Temple . . . . .		1-150
Building and Dedication Inscriptions . . . . .		1-20
Historical Inscriptions . . . . .		21-138
I. Treasury of Medinet Habu Temple . . . . .		25-34
II. First Libyan War, Year 5 . . . . .		35-58
1. Great Inscription in the Second Court (Year 5) . . . . .		36-58
III. Northern War, Year 8 . . . . .		59-82
1. Great Inscription on the Second Pylon, Year 8 . . . . .		61-68
2. Relief Scenes Outside North Wall and in Second Court, Year 8 . . . . .		69-82
IV. Second Libyan War . . . . .		83-114

	§§
1. Great Inscription on the First Pylon (Medinet Habu) . . . . .	85-92
2. Poem on Second Libyan War . . . . .	93-99
3. Relief Scenes on First Pylon and Outside North Wall (Medinet Habu) . . . . .	100-114
4. Papyrus Harris . . . . .	405
V. The Syrian War . . . . .	115-135
VI. The Nubian War . . . . .	136-138
Medinet Habu Temple Calendar . . . . .	139-145
Act of Endowment of the Temples of Khnum . . . . .	146-150
Papyrus Harris . . . . .	151-412
Discussion of . . . . .	151-181
Content:	
I. Introduction . . . . .	182-183
II. Theban Section . . . . .	184-246
III. Heliopolitan Section . . . . .	247-304
IV. Memphite Section . . . . .	305-351
V. General Section (Small Temples) . . . . .	352-382
VI. Summary . . . . .	383-396
VII. Historical Section . . . . .	397-412
Record of the Royal Jubilee . . . . .	413-415
Records of the Harem Conspiracy . . . . .	416-456
I. Appointment of the Court . . . . .	423-424
II. The Condemned of the First Prosecution . . . . .	425-443
III. The Condemned of the Second Prosecution . . . . .	444-445
IV. The Condemned of the Third Prosecution . . . . .	446-450
V. The Condemned of the Fourth Prosecution . . . . .	451-452
VI. The Acquitted . . . . .	453
VII. The Practicers of Magic . . . . .	454-456
Reign of Ramses IV . . . . .	457-472
Hammamat Stela . . . . .	457-468
I. The First Stela . . . . .	457-460
II. The Second Stela . . . . .	461-468
Abydos Stela . . . . .	469-471
Building Inscription of the Khonsu Temple . . . . .	472
Reign of Ramses V . . . . .	473
Tomb Dedication . . . . .	473
Reign of Ramses VI . . . . .	474-483

	§§
Tomb of Penno . . . . .	474-483
Reign of Ramses VII . . . . .	484-485
Stela of Hori . . . . .	484-485
Reign of Ramses IX . . . . .	486-556
Inscriptions of the High Priest of Amon, Amenhotep	486-498
I. Building Inscriptions . . . . .	488-491
II. Records of Rewards . . . . .	492-498
The Records of the Royal Tomb-Robberies . . . . .	499-556
I. Papyrus Abbott . . . . .	509-535
II. Papyrus Amherst . . . . .	536-541
III. Turin Fragment . . . . .	542-543
IV. Mayer Papyri . . . . .	544-556
Reign of Ramses XII . . . . .	557-603
The Report of Wenamon . . . . .	557-591
Records of the Restoration of the Royal Mummies . . . . .	592-594
Letter to the Viceroy of Kush . . . . .	595-600
Building Inscriptions in the Temple of Khonsu . . . . .	601-603
<b>THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY . . . . .</b>	<b>604-692</b>
The Twenty-First Dynasty . . . . .	604-607
Reign of Hrihor . . . . .	608-626
Inscriptions of the Temple of Khonsu . . . . .	608-626
Reign of Nesubnebded . . . . .	627-630
Gebelên Inscription . . . . .	627-630
Reign of the High Priest and King Paynozem I . . . . .	631-649
I. Paynozem I as High Priest . . . . .	631-635
Building Inscriptions . . . . .	631-635
Records on the Royal Mummies . . . . .	636-642
II. Paynozem I as King . . . . .	643 ff.
Records on the Royal Mummies . . . . .	643-647
Building Inscriptions . . . . .	648-649
High Priesthood of Menkheperre . . . . .	650-661
Stela of the Banishment . . . . .	650-658
Record of Restoration . . . . .	659
Karnak Graffito . . . . .	660
Records on the Royal Mummies . . . . .	661
High Priesthood of Paynozem II . . . . .	662-687
Records on the Priestly Mummies . . . . .	662-663
Records on the Royal Mummies . . . . .	664-667

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xxv

	§§
Record of Paynozem II's Burial . . . . .	668
Stela of the "Great Chief of Me," Sheshonk . . . . .	669-687
High Priesthood of Pesibkhenno . . . . .	688-692
Records on Mummy-Wrappings . . . . .	688
Burial of Nesikhonsu . . . . .	689
Records on the Royal Mummies . . . . .	690-692
<b>THE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY . . . . .</b>	<b>693-792</b>
Records of Nile-Levels at Karnak . . . . .	693-698
Reign of Sheshonk I . . . . .	699-728
Records on Mummy-Bandages of Zeptahefonekh . . . . .	699-700
Building Inscription . . . . .	701-708
Great Karnak Relief . . . . .	709-722
Presentation of Tribute . . . . .	723-724
Karnak Stela . . . . .	724A
Dakhel Stela . . . . .	725-728
Reign of Osorkon I . . . . .	729-737
Record of Temple Gifts . . . . .	729-737
Reign of Takelot I . . . . .	738-740
Statue of the Nile-God Dedicated by the High Priest, Sheshonk . . . . .	738-740
Reign of Osorkon II. . . . .	742-751
Flood Inscription . . . . .	742-744
Statue Inscription . . . . .	745-747
Jubilee Inscriptions . . . . .	748-751
Reign of Takelot II . . . . .	752-755
Graffito of Harsiese . . . . .	752-754
Stela of Kerome . . . . .	755
Reign of Sheshonk III . . . . .	756-777
Annals of the High Priest of Amon, Osorkon . . . . .	756-770
I. East of Door . . . . .	760-761
II. West of Door . . . . .	762-770
First Serapeum Stela of Pediese . . . . .	771-774
Record of Installation . . . . .	775-777
Reign of Pemou. . . . .	778-781
Second Serapeum Stela of Pediese . . . . .	778-781
Reign of Sheshonk IV . . . . .	782-792
Stela of Weshtehet . . . . .	782-784

	§§
Serapeum Stela of Harpeson . . . . .	785-792
<b>THE TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY.</b> . . . .	<b>793-883</b>
Records of Nile-Levels at Karnak . . . . .	793-794
Reign of Osorkon III . . . . .	795
Will of Yewelot . . . . .	795
Reign of Piankhi . . . . .	796-883
The Piankhi Stela . . . . .	796-883
<b>THE TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY</b> . . . . .	<b>884</b>
Reign of Bocchoris . . . . .	884
Serapeum Stelæ . . . . .	884
<b>THE TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY</b> . . . . .	<b>885-934</b>
Records of the Nile-Levels at Karnak . . . . .	885-888
Reign of Shabaka . . . . .	889
Building Inscription . . . . .	889
Reign of Taharka . . . . .	892-918
Tanis Stela . . . . .	892-896
Building Inscription in Large Cliff-Temple of Napata . . . . .	897-900
Inscription of Mentemhet . . . . .	901-916
Serapeum Stela . . . . .	917-918
Reign of Tanutamon . . . . .	919-934
Stela of Tanutamon . . . . .	919-934
<b>THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY</b> . . . . .	<b>935-1029</b>
Reign of Psamtik I . . . . .	935-973
Adoption Stela of Nitocris . . . . .	935-958
Statue Inscription of the Chief Steward, Ibe . . . . .	958A-958M
First Serapeum Stela . . . . .	959-962
Second Serapeum Stela . . . . .	963-966
Statue Inscription of Hor . . . . .	967-973
Reign of Necho . . . . .	974-980
Serapeum Stela . . . . .	974-979
Building Inscription . . . . .	980
Reign of Psamtik II . . . . .	981-983
Statue Inscription of Neferibre-Nofer . . . . .	981-983
Reign of Apries . . . . .	984-995
Serapeum Stela . . . . .	984-988
Stela of the Divine Consort Enekhnesneferibre . . . . .	988A-988J
Inscription of Nesuhor . . . . .	989-995

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xxvii

---

	§§
Reign of Amasis (Ahmose II). . . . .	996-1029
Elephantine Stela . . . . .	996-1007
Serapeum Stela . . . . .	1008-1012
Statue Inscription of the General Ahmose . . . . .	1013-1014
Statue Inscription of Pefnefdineit . . . . .	1015-1025
Mortuary Stelæ of the Priest Psamtik . . . . .	1026-1029

LIST OF FIGURES

	PAGE
Plan of Scenes and Inscriptions in Medinet Habu Temple . . . . .	5
INDEX . . . . .	521

## EXPLANATION OF TYPOGRAPHICAL SIGNS AND SPECIAL CHARACTERS

1. The introductions to the documents are in twelve-point type, like these lines.

2. All of the translations are in ten-point type, like this line.

3. In the footnotes and introductions all quotations from the documents in the original words of the translation are in *italics*, inclosed in quotation marks. *Italics* are not employed in the text of the volumes for any other purpose except for titles.

4. The lines of the original document are indicated in the translation by superior numbers.

5. The loss of a word in the original is indicated by —, two words by — —, three words by — — —, four words by — — — —, five words by — — — — —, and more than five by —————. A word in the original is estimated at a “square” as known to Egyptologists, and the estimate can be but a very rough one.

6. When any of the dashes, like those of No. 5, are inclosed in half-brackets, the dashes so inclosed indicate not lost, but uncertain words. Thus [—] represents one uncertain word, [— —] two uncertain words, and [————] more than five uncertain words.

7. When a word or group of words are inclosed in half-brackets, the words so inclosed are uncertain in meaning; that is, the translation is not above question.

8. Roman numerals I, II, III, and IV, not preceded by the title of any book or journal, refer to these four volumes of Historical Documents. The Arabic numerals following such Romans refer to the numbered paragraphs of these volumes. All paragraph marks (§ and §§, without a Roman) refer to paragraphs of the same volume.

9. For signs used in transliteration, see Vol. I, p. xv.



**THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY**

## REIGN OF RAMSES III

### BUILDING AND DEDICATION INSCRIPTIONS OF MEDINET HABU TEMPLE

1. This building is the most completely preserved temple of Egypt, antedating the Ptolemaic period. With its inscriptions and reliefs, it forms a vast record of the reign of Ramses III, parallel with the other record which he has left us in the great Papyrus Harris (§§ 151-412). It was dedicated by the king in his twelfth year, by the introduction of a new calendar of feasts, with richly endowed offerings (§§ 139-45). It was entirely built by Ramses III, as its inscriptions show. To this fact, as well as to its fine state of preservation, is due its importance. That imposing line of similar temples, of the Eighteenth Dynasty, which once extended eastward and northeastward from Medinet Habu, has now almost entirely vanished. The one exception is the ruined temple of Thutmose III, beside the Medinet Habu temple. The Nineteenth Dynasty temples, crowded into the same line, have likewise perished, leaving the wreck of the Ramesseum and the Kurna temple of Seti I. Each of these temples was, with slight exception (Kurna), the work of one king, and the scenes on the Ramesseum pylons, as well as those at Medinet Habu, indicate what an irreparable loss we have suffered in the destruction of these records of individual reigns. The Medinet Habu temple is therefore unique, and we must intensely regret that it was a Twentieth rather than an Eighteenth Dynasty temple which survived.

2. We shall first notice the inscriptions which concern the building (§§ 3-34); second, the historical records preserved on its walls (§§ 35-138); and, third, the great calendar of

feasts (§§ 139-45). The inscriptions of earliest date (year 5) are found farthest back, viz., in the second court; while the second pylon, which forms the front of this court, bears an immense inscription of the year 8. The first pylon, the final front of the temple, carries records of the eleventh and twelfth years; so that the gradual growth of the temple from rear to front is clear. At the same time, it must be remembered that the cutting of the scenes and inscriptions was sometimes delayed. Thus the door of the treasury in the oldest part of the temple bears a scene depicting events of the eighth year or later.

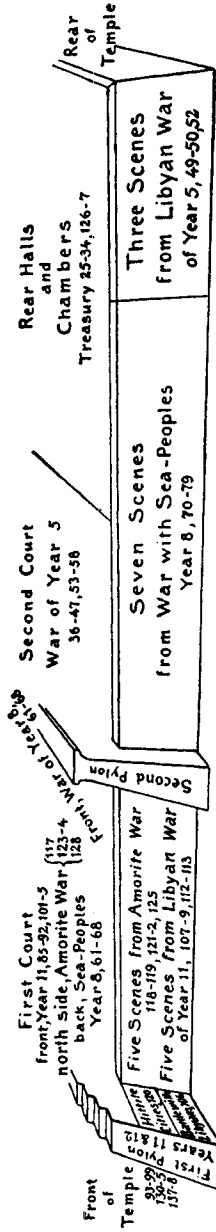
Besides the records of the building on its own walls, there is also a record of it in Papyrus Harris (§ 189).

3. In all the dedicatory inscriptions which follow, the traditional formula is introduced by the king's name, preceding the pronoun "*he*." This has been omitted in the translations throughout. Beginning at the rear, with the oldest portion of the building, we find a dedicatory inscription running around the holy of holies, which is as follows:

4. <sup>a</sup>He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, making for him a great and august temple of fine, white sandstone, its doors of genuine electrum; an august palace for his image, which is in his house. He made it for him in the sacred district by the side of "Lord of Life," the pure ground of the ruler of Thebes, the eternal resting-place, the accustomed court of the lord of Tazoser, the path of the leaders of the Nether World. I did not overturn the tombs of the lords of life,<sup>b</sup> the tomb-chambers of the ancestors, the glorious place

<sup>a</sup>"Paroi extérieure . . . côté nord. . . . Dernière partie du palais" (meaning temple), Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 739 f.; but "Inscription um die Cella," Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 213, d.

<sup>b</sup>A euphemism for the dead; the king means that in locating his temple in the ancient Theban cemetery he did not appropriate the ground occupied by the old tombs. It is to the already ancient necropolis that the series of epithets (beginning "*sacred district*" and continuing to the end) refers.



PLAN OF SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS IN MEDINET HABU TEMPLE

The observer faces southward and looks against the outside of the north wall. The numerals indicate the paragraphs of the translations herein.

which was at the beginning, of the lord of Rosta, the divine way of the gods and the cavern-dwellers<sup>a</sup> to the revered dead.

5. On a chapel of Khonsu, in the heart of the oldest portion, is the following dedication:<sup>b</sup>

He made (it) as (his) monument for his father, Khonsu, residing in Thebes; making for him an august "Great Seat"<sup>c</sup> of fine white sandstone, the door of electrum, in "The-House (*h·t*)-of-Usermare-Meriamon-Possessed-of-Eternity-on-the-West-of-Thebes;" that he may establish his son, Lord of Diadems, Ramses, Ruler of Heliopolis, as excellent sovereign upon the throne of Atum, like Re, forever.

6. What is now the second court, but originally the first court, was then built in front of the older structure. It contains inscriptions of the year 5; and its dedication is as follows:

7. <sup>d</sup>He made it as (his) monument for his father, Amon-Re, making for him "The-House (*h·t*)-of-Usermare-Meriamon-Possessed-of-Eternity-in-the-House-of-Amon," like unto the great palace of the horizon; of fine sandstone. The "Great Seat" is of gold, its pavement of silver, its doors of gold and black granite;<sup>e</sup> the broad-hall of stone of Ayan, the doors thereof of copper in beaten work, the inlay-figures of electrum and every splendid costly stone. When the sun rises, he shines into its midst, his splendor envelops its house, the favorite seat of <sup>1</sup>his father, Amon. When he sets, he touches its beauty, silver, electrum, and every costly stone. . . . .

8. Another inscription<sup>f</sup> in the same court also refers to the building. We find among the epithets following the name of the king:

<sup>a</sup>Meaning the inhabitants of the nether world, the dead.

<sup>b</sup>"Troisième salle hypostyle," Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 138.

<sup>c</sup>Or: "a great place, an august shrine."

<sup>d</sup>Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1307 = Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 732 f. "Sur la frise de la seconde cour, à partir du milieu de la frise de la galerie ouest;" see also Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 53.

<sup>e</sup>Or: "black copper."

<sup>f</sup>Second court, "galerie de l'ouest;" Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 738.

“ . . . . . mighty in making monuments in Victorious Thebes, making his august house like the horizon of heaven, like the great house of the All-Lord who is in heaven. . . . .”

9. During the festival of Min, on the walls of this same (second) court, the king recites to the god the building and equipment of the temple:

<sup>a3</sup>“ . . . . . Thou didst find me as a babe upon the breast, thou didst establish me, thou didst place (me) upon thy throne <sup>4</sup>. . . <sup>5</sup>. . . I built for thee an august house in thy name, of <sup>6</sup>fine white sandstone. Its form is like the horizon of heaven, over against Karnak <sup>b</sup>on the [west of Thebes].<sup>b</sup> <sup>7</sup>Its doorposts are of fine gold, the inlay-figures of every splendid costly stone.<sup>c</sup> Its treasury [overflow]s <sup>8</sup>with everything, even that which the hands of Tatenen (Ptah) made. I fashioned images of the gods and goddesses <sup>9</sup>to rest in the midst of thy house. I made my image before thy front, the regalia <sup>10</sup>of every splendid costly stone, in order to follow thee at thy every appearance, at thy every feast every day, when thou proceedest before its beautiful face. <sup>11</sup>Thou multipliest for it the years in millions. Thou makest it like one among thy divine ennead, established before thee, forever. I bring <sup>12</sup>to thee the tribute of every land, in order to flood thy treasury and thy storehouse. I multiply for thee feasts again, in order to provision thy temple. I multiply for thee wheat in heaps, thy granary<sup>d</sup> <sup>13</sup>approaches heaven; cattle yards, oxen, bullocks, [steers]; the sea bears galleys and transports; and poultry yards are supplied with thy divine offerings, the bird-pools are gathered in them. . . . .”

10. Forming the front of this court, the king erected a great pylon, which bears records of the year 5 on its back,

<sup>a</sup>Northern colonnade, second court; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1307 f. = Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 734, 735 (with considerable omissions); Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 118-20; and better, Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, CXLVIII, B-CL.

<sup>b</sup>Omitted by Brugsch.

<sup>c</sup>Brugsch stops here.

<sup>d</sup>In the tomb of the “chief measurer of the granary of the house of Amon, Userhet,” there is an inscription in which Ramses III is called: “the great Nile, the great harvest-goddess of Egypt, making monuments with a loving heart for his father, Amon . . . . . making for him a very great granary, whose grain-heaps approach heaven” (Naville, *Inscriptions historiques de Pinodjem III*, 6, n. 3).

facing the court, and of the year 8 on its front. It has also on its back the following dedication:

<sup>a</sup>He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods; making for him a festive hall,<sup>b</sup> before his portal, surrounded by great, <sup>c</sup>'new' monuments, like the horizon of heaven.

This, of course, refers to the erection of this addition<sup>c</sup> in front of the earlier portal.

11. <sup>d</sup>The dedication of the granite portal of this pylon (now the second pylon), once the entrance portal of the temple, is as follows:

He made a monument for his father, Amon-Re, making for him a great doorway of fine granite, the door of cedar, bound with copper, the inlay-figures of electrum. Its beautiful name is: "Usermare-Meriamon,-Amon-Rejoices-to-See-Him."

12. The present first court was then erected before this pylon; it bears records of year 8 and possibly year 12. Its dedication inscription is as follows:

<sup>e</sup>He made a monument as a great<sup>f</sup> benefaction from a heart of love for his father, Amon-Re-Iny,<sup>g</sup> ruler of Thebes, making for him a house of millions of years on the west of Thebes. Its beauty reaches Manu, like the heavens which bear the sun; the sun sails to — therein, his love pervades its house.

<sup>a</sup>Back of second pylon, over colonnade behind it; photograph, not very clear.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "the broad" (*wsh·t*), indicating the shape of the hall.

<sup>c</sup>It would require examination on the spot to decide exactly what new portion is meant.

<sup>d</sup>Second pylon, doorposts of granite doorway facing first court; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 731 f. = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 210, c; = Brugsch, *The-saurus*, V, 1308; Lepsius, *ibid.*, III, 210, d, is the same dedication on the other doorpost, but lacking the name of the portal.

<sup>e</sup>First court, "nordöstlicher Architrav," Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 213, c.

<sup>f</sup>Duplicate shows *tnr*.

<sup>g</sup>Uncertain divinity here identified with Amon (cf. Lanzone, I, 62). Another dedication on the back of the second pylon, over the roof of the colonnade behind it, is verbatim the same as far as the name of Amon, to which it then merely appends a series of epithets (photograph).

13. Another dedication in the same court is the following:

<sup>a</sup>He made a monument for Amon, he made a house of millions of years, on the west of Thebes. It is the place of his heart's satisfaction, in the district of Manu, the pure ground of the lord of gods, the resting-place of his divine ennead, the divine adytum since the time of the god, for the king of gods. He is satisfied when he rests in it; when he reaches (it), he is joyful of heart.

14. The following is still another dedication of the same court:

<sup>b</sup>He made a monument for his father, Amon-Re, making for him "The - House - of - Usermare - Meriamon - Possessed-of - Eternity-in-the-House-of-Amon," west of Thebes, of good white [sand]stone; the "Great Seat" — of electrum, the doorways of gold, the doors of copper, in beaten work, the in[lay-figures of electrum] —————.

15. The great pylon which forms the front of this court has on its back inscriptions of the year 11, and on its front records of years 11 and 12. It has the following dedications:

<sup>c</sup>He made a monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, making for him a very great pylon, before his august house.

He made a monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods; erecting for him great flagstaves of real cedar of the royal domain.<sup>d</sup>

And again:

16. <sup>e</sup>[He made a monument for his father], Amon-Re, king of gods;

<sup>a</sup>First court; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 730; "nordöstlicher Architrav," Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 213, *b*.

<sup>b</sup>"An der östlichen Aussenwand des Vorhofes," Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 213, *e* = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1308.

<sup>c</sup>First pylon, left (southern) tower, by left flagstaff channel; photograph; the other channel was not included in the photograph.

<sup>d</sup>The variant on the other pylon (§ 16) has: "of the best of the terraces, of the choicest of the Lord of the Two Lands," as parallel of this phrase; showing clearly that *hnt* is properly rendered by "royal domain," and that this "royal domain" was located on the "terraces" of Lebanon, as under Thutmose III. (See my *New Chapter*, p. 28, where the examples from the Old Kingdom in note *b* should be omitted.)

<sup>e</sup>First pylon, right (northern) tower, on the right of the right flagstaff channel; photograph; the left channel was not included in this photograph. I have restored the lost beginnings from the parallel inscription on the other pylon.



erecting for him a colonnade at the double façade of his house, its roof<sup>a</sup> of real electrum.

[He made a monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of] Thebes; making for [him] great flagstaves of real cedar of the best of the terraces, of the choicest of the Lord of the Two Lands.<sup>b</sup>

17. The stone building in front of the Medinet Habu temple, known as the pavilion, was but the entrance of a great palace, which was considered as part of the temple, for it bore the same name.<sup>c</sup> It extended back to the second court of the temple, and the first pylon was apparently inclosed in its court. This palace served as the king's dwelling, at least during the celebration of great feasts in the Medinet Habu temple, and the doorway connecting the second court with this palace refers to this use, thus:<sup>d</sup>

The king appears like Re in the palace of his august broad-hall, to cause his father, Amon, to appear at his "Feast of the Valley;"

And again:

Ruler, beautiful in coming forth, like 'Horus' at his appearance in heaven at early morning from his august palace which is in the horizon.

#### *Silsileh Inscriptions*

18. The official who was taking out sandstone at the quarries of Silsileh, as the temple progressed, has left a record<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup>I read  $\overline{d} \text{ } \overline{d} \text{ } \overline{d}$  or *tp*, "head," but the photograph is not clear; are the capitals meant?

<sup>b</sup>Further dedications of the usual form will be found in Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, CLII f., I; CLIII f., M.

<sup>c</sup>Viz., "The-House (*h't*)-of-Usermare-Meriamon-in-the-House-of-Amon" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 167), which is the same as the name of the temple; see above dedications, *passim*.

<sup>d</sup>Daressy, *Recueil*, XX, 82; he thinks, however, that the pavilion was not connected with the palace, enveloping the front of the temple, and referred to in the above inscription. But the name and the location of the pavilion seem to me to exclude this view. The purpose of this building was already noted by Erman (*Aegypten*, 107, 108).

<sup>e</sup>Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 256, 257=Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, VI, 23, 8; Piehl, *Sphinx*, VI, 143-45 (transcription only).

of one of his expeditions thither which he had cut in hieratic on the wall of the quarry. It is especially interesting, because it gives the number of men engaged:

*First Inscription*

19. Year 5,<sup>a</sup> first month of the third season (ninth month) under the majesty of King Ramses III, L. P. H., beloved of all gods, given life forever and ever.

Expedition<sup>b</sup> which his majesty, L. P. H., made by the overseer of the White House, Setemhab, for "The-House (*h t*)-of-Millions-of-Years-of-King - Usermare - Meriamon-in - the - House (*pr*)-of-Amon,"<sup>c</sup> to do the work on the monuments in "The-House-of-Millions-of-Years-of-King-Usermare-Meriamon-in-the-House-of-Amon,"<sup>c</sup> in western Thebes.

Men of the army who were under his command <sup>d</sup>	2,000 men
Quarrymen	500 <sup>e</sup> men
Large transports ( <i>wsh</i> ) which were under his command <sup>d</sup>	40
┌—┐ ships	4
	500 <sup>f</sup> men
Total, various persons	3,000

20. Two other inscriptions were left beside the above, by the same official at the same time:

<sup>a</sup>So both Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, and Champollion, *Notices descriptives*; Piehl has "year 2" (by misreading the month); but the second inscription (§ 20) corroborates the old publications, and the above reading is unquestionably correct.

<sup>b</sup>The determinative is uncertain in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, and Champollion, *Notices descriptives*; Piehl gives the "legs;" if the determinative be the "roll," we should read "command," and supply "to" before the official's name instead of "by."

<sup>c</sup>This is the name of the Medinet Habu temple; see dedication inscriptions above.

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "who were before him."

<sup>e</sup>Piehl has 300; but Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, shows clearly 500 (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, 200, having overlooked three strokes). Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, is corroborated by the last number, which is in both Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, and Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, 500, and impossibly 700 (Piehl), which it would necessarily be, to make a total of 3,000. The numerals are, of course, like those in Papyrus Harris.

<sup>f</sup>Piehl, 700; but see preceding note.

*Second Inscription*<sup>a</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Year 5,<sup>b</sup> first month of the third season (ninth month), under the majesty of King Ramses III,<sup>c</sup> L. P. H., ——— [expedition] <sup>2</sup>which the king's-scribe, overseer of the White House —<sup>d</sup> made, (for) "The-House (*h't*)-of-Millions-of-Years-of-King-Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House (*pr*)-of-Amon."

*Third Inscription*<sup>e</sup>

He came, to do the work on the great and mighty monuments of his majesty, L. P. H., [for] "The-House-of-Millions-of-Years-of-King-Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.-in-the-House-of-Amon," on the west of Thebes.

HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS<sup>f</sup>

21. The walls of this temple, as we have said, form a vast record of the achievements of Ramses III. This record is chiefly devoted to his wars. Had these wars been reported in the sober and intelligible style of Thutmose III's Annals, we should have known much of them which it is now safe to say we shall never know. It is difficult to describe the character of these Medinet Habu inscriptions. Perhaps, under the influence of the Kadesh poem, it has now become impossible to narrate a war or a victory of the Pharaoh in

<sup>a</sup>Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 255 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, VI, 23, No. 6.

<sup>b</sup>Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, has 1, having omitted the hook at the top of the stroke given by Lepsius, which converts the sign into 5, as in the first inscription (§ 19). As these inscriptions are together, from the same month and the same reign, and by an official with the same title, for the same building, there can be no doubt that Lepsius is correct.

<sup>c</sup>Double name in original. There is perhaps no loss before "*expedition*" at the end of l. 1.

<sup>d</sup>The official's name is omitted at the end, and the connection between the temple name and the preceding is wanting.

<sup>e</sup>Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 255 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, VI, 23, No. 7.

<sup>f</sup>See Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 297 ff., and *Notice explicative des ruines de Medinet Habu*, by Georges Daressy (Cairo, 1897).

any other than poetic style. The record must be a poem. This would not be an unmixed misfortune, if the poem were intelligible; but the style is such as to render not merely whole lines, but entire strophes and whole passages, utterly unintelligible. This is due to two facts: first, total lack of order or progress in the narrative; second, the figurative character of the language. The first fault renders the reader's impressions fragmentary and confused in the highest degree. The texts consist almost exclusively of praise of the king and exultation over the conquered foe. The court and priestly flatterers of the king either put all this in the mouths of the Egyptians, or the discomfited enemies are made to express their wonder and terror at the king's valor, mingled with lamentation at their own undoing. All this is mingled in rapid alternation, so that one is often in doubt which party is speaking; and deep in the midst of this confused mixture there may be a few connected phrases stating whether the enemy came by land or water, or where the battle took place, or what were the names of the hostile chiefs. This utter lack of progress or continuity is rendered still more troublesome by the second fault of these texts, viz., their figurative language. Like Arabic poetry, they contain so many epithets of a highly pictorial character as frequently to make even a common word unintelligible. When the text speaks of the "*full flame*," who could divine that it means the Egyptian fleet; or when it mentions the "*wall of metal*," who could infer that the Egyptian army is intended?<sup>a</sup> Just as some old Arabic poetry is unintelligible without a native commentator, who stood nearer the author than we do, so, much of these Medinet Habu texts is likely to remain unintelligible, without some obliging

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<sup>a</sup>See inscription of the year 8, l. 23, § 66, note.

Egyptian familiar with their style, to explain their overdrawn metaphors and metonymies.

22. Fortunately, the temple contains, besides its vast quantity of historical inscriptions, also no less than forty important relief scenes depicting the achievements of the king, in the conventional style common since the days of Seti I. These reliefs are accompanied by the usual explanatory inscriptions, which are commonly couched in such general terms that the total of their historical content is small.

23. The fraction of this great mass of documents which has been published, was copied without any approach to accuracy. Champollion's publication overleaps whole lines, or transposes two successive lines; Rosellini is next to unreadable, so badly are the signs drawn. Chabas bewailed this condition of things thirty years ago,<sup>a</sup> but it is no better today. Over half of the historical reliefs which the temple contains are unpublished. One of the most pressing needs of Egyptology is an exhaustive publication of this entire temple. I was able to procure large-scale photographs of all of the unpublished scenes and inscriptions. Twelve of these were made for me through the courtesy of Baron von Bissing, by Mr. Arthur Weigall; and to both these gentlemen I would express my sincere thanks.

24. With slight exception, this historical material is distributed chronologically from the rear to the front of the temple, the oldest being in the rear. But in the following translations it is naturally arranged chronologically, irrespective of position in the temple, which will be found in the footnotes. The temple really faces southeast, but in locating scenes and inscriptions we have assumed that it

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<sup>a</sup>*Etudes sur l'antiquité historique*, 227, 228.

faces east, for the sake of convenience, as is done in Baedeker's guide-book.

#### I. TREASURY OF MEDINET HABU TEMPLE

25. This temple contains a group of treasure-chambers, five in number, the walls of which bear scenes and inscriptions indicative of the contents of the rooms. These are of some historical importance. The scenes themselves have not yet been published (except the weighing scene), but the accompanying inscriptions are as follows:<sup>a</sup>

26. <sup>b</sup>Utterance of King Ramses III to his father, Amon-Re, king of gods: "I have built for thee an august treasury<sup>c</sup> in my house in Thebes, which I fill with every real, costly stone, in order to brighten thy beauty therewith, forever.

<sup>d</sup>Utterance of King Ramses III to his father, Min-Amon: "I bring to thee myrrh for thy temple, a statue kneeling upon the ground,<sup>e</sup> my figure of gold and every costly stone, mounted in Asiatic gold, to make ointment for thy majesty in my house, which is in Thebes. I have put my name in its midst, like the heavens upholding the sun every day. It is an abiding horizon bearing thy name, supplied with provision, forever."

27. <sup>b</sup>Bringing a chest of silver and gold to his father, Amon-Re, king of gods.

<sup>f</sup>Presentation of native gold to his father, Amon-Re.

<sup>f</sup>Bringing every splendid costly stone to his father.

<sup>g</sup>Utterance of King Ramses III to his father, Amon-Re, king of gods: "I have gathered for thee monuments of gold and silver — as (my) <sup>h</sup>image<sup>l</sup> upon earth in the midst of thy treasury."

<sup>a</sup>Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, 30-34, and II, 47, *b*; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 365, 366.

<sup>b</sup>Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, 31.

<sup>c</sup>See Papyrus Harris, § 190.

<sup>d</sup>Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, 30.

<sup>e</sup>The neighboring reliefs show this statue; on a rectangular base with feet kneels a figure of the king, bearing in his outstretched hands an ointment jar; a similar statue is mentioned in Papyrus Harris, 28, 10, § 268.

<sup>f</sup>Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, 30.

<sup>g</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 31.

28. <sup>a</sup>Utterance of King Ramses III to his father, Amon-Re, king of gods: "I present to thee monuments for thy temple, of electrum, of the mountains,<sup>b</sup> and native gold [of] —<sup>c</sup> from the workshop of Ptah, the impost of Retenu (*Rtḥw*) as tribute before thee, in order to supply thy temple; for thy treasury, being products of the choicest of every country. I fill thy house from the tribute of my sword, from my might in every land."

29. <sup>d</sup>Utterance of King Ramses III, to his father, Amon-Re, king of gods: "Take thou gold and silver like sand of the shore, I have produced them for thee from the waters and the mountains, that I might present them to thee by the measure,<sup>e</sup> the regalia of thy majesty every-day. I bring to thee lapis lazuli, malachite and every costly stone in chests, <sup>f</sup>and<sup>1</sup> electrum. I have made for thee many sacred eye amulets of every splendid, costly stone."

Over<sup>f</sup> each of two cow-form weights: "*Gum of God's-Land.*"

On<sup>f</sup> a heap between two trees: "*Gum of Punt.*"

30. Each<sup>f</sup> of the following eight on a sack:<sup>g</sup>

1. Gold of Kush.
2. Gold, 1,000 deben.
3. Gold of the mountain.<sup>h</sup>
4. Gold of the water, 1,000 deben.
5. Gold of Edfu.
6. Gold of Ombos, 1,000 deben.
7. Gold of Coptos.
8. Lapis lazuli of Tefrer.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, 31; "over vases of various forms."

<sup>b</sup>Electrum really occurred and occurs commonly in nature, which the artificial alloy then imitated. See Lepsius, *Metalle*, 44-48.

<sup>c</sup>The lost word has determinative of a land.

<sup>d</sup>Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, 31.

<sup>e</sup>*Ḍmwt hr t*?, an unknown measure; see also Harris, 17a, 10.

<sup>f</sup>Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, 32. See the expedition to Punt, Papyrus Harris (§ 407).

<sup>g</sup>See Lepsius, *Metalle*, 35; for a still fuller list of gold regions, see *Recueil*, 16, 51 f.

<sup>h</sup>Gold from the mountain mine, as distinguished from gold of the stream in the next sack.

<sup>i</sup>An unknown country; see Lepsius, *Metalle*, 73, 74, and Brugsch, *Geographie*, III, 61-63.

On<sup>a</sup> each of four heaps: "1. *Native gold*; 2. *Gold*;  
3. *Silver*; 4. *Silver*."

On<sup>a</sup> two piles of rectangular blocks: "1. *Lapis lazuli*;  
2. *Malachite*."

31. The<sup>b</sup> king and Thoth are before Amon; by the king:

I bring to thee silver, gold, copper, royal linen, gums of Punt. I fill thy treasury with every splendid costly stone, to brighten thy beauty therewith, forever and ever.

Over Thoth:

Utterance of Thoth: "I write for thee myriads of ten-thousands, united in a sum of millions, of silver, gold, copper, lapis lazuli, malachite of Reshet (*R*<sup>2</sup> -š<sup>2</sup> -ty), fine gold of Emu (*c*<sup>2</sup> *mw*), before thy august father, Amon-Re, king of gods, that he may give to thee the jubilees of Re, the years of Atum."

32. On<sup>c</sup> three heaps:

1. Fine gold of the mountain; 2. Real lapis lazuli.

3. Real malachite.

Utterance of King Ramses III to his father, Amon-Re, king of gods: "I bring to thee every real costly stone, silver and gold in sacks, I cause thy treasury to overflow, and provisions to flood in thy house."

On three piles of metal plates: "1. *Silver*; 2. *Copper*;  
3. *Lead*."

33. A<sup>d</sup> pair of balances, with the ape of Thoth at the top. Thoth, who presides over the weighing, says to Amon:

"I come to thee, to see thy beautiful face, bearing every splendid, costly stone, for the hills and mountains pay thee impost of gold and every costly stone."

The king then says to Amon:

"I come to thee, and I report to thee the statement of gold of the land of the Negro. It is thou, who makest the mountains, every costly stone, in order to brighten thy beauty. I bring them to thee in the accurate balances; I unite them for thee in myriads of millions."

<sup>a</sup>Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, 32.

<sup>b</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 33.

<sup>c</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 34.

<sup>d</sup>*Ibid.*, II, 47, b; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 366.



The king bears a tray heaped with gold, and has before him the words: "*Bearing gold to his father, Amon-Re.*" On the scales is a pile of gold, bearing the words: "*Native gold.*"

34. One of the small rooms in the rear of the temple contains a relief, showing the gods of the South bringing their wealth to the king; they are accompanied by the words:<sup>a</sup>

Utterance of the gods, the lords of the southern frontier, the gods who reside in the Southland, who bring the mountains with their costly stones, the trees with [their] fruit, [to] King Ramses III: "God's-Land, with every splendid costly stone, native gold of Emu (*m'w*), lapis lazuli, — —, malachite of Reshet (*R' -š' -t*), added together in millions, we bring northward to thee; the dues (*hsb*) of Negro-land by water, after the northward voyage. All the products of the Southland are in the writings of Thoth; they are for thy house of millions of years, according as thou lovest Thebes."

The enumeration of the tribute of the North, "*the sea and the isles*" then follows, but is not completely published.

## II. FIRST LIBYAN WAR, YEAR 5

35. The materials for this war are extensive, but they are so unsatisfactory that we can only see in vague outlines a repetition of the conditions which led to Merneptah's Libyan war. The Libyans under their king, Themer, have made common cause with the roving sea robbers of the Thekel and the Philistines. Some of the latter joined the land forces of the Libyans; others entered the Nile mouths with their ships. The Libyans had improved the generation of laxity which preceded the rise of Ramses III's reign, to push eastward farther into the Delta, and, as in Merneptah's time, to settle on both banks of the "*great river*," the Canopic branch of the Nile. They had plundered the

<sup>a</sup>*Recueil*, 19, 19.

towns of the western Delta from Memphis on the south to Kerben (probably in the vicinity of Canopus) on the north. This plundering had been going on for years unremittingly; but the invasion of the Libyan army forced Ramses III to act. He marched against the allies, met them in the western Delta at a town called "*Usermare-Meriamon-is-Chastiser-of-Temeh*" (§ 52), and completely defeated them, slaying 12,535 men and taking at least 1,000 prisoners. After a great triumph on the field, the captives and spoil were brought to the palace, where the king inspected them from the balcony, and the people rejoiced in their new-found security, as in the days of Merneptah.

The materials are these:

1. Great Inscription in the Second Court, Medinet Habu (§§ 36-47).
2. Relief Scenes in the Second Court and Outside North Wall, Medinet Habu (§§ 48-58).
3. Papyrus Harris, 76, 11-77, 6 (§ 405).

#### I. GREAT INSCRIPTION IN THE SECOND COURT (YEAR 5)<sup>a</sup>

36. This inscription is the longest in the Medinet Habu temple, filling seventy-five lines. It is also by far the most difficult in this collection of difficult texts. It represents the last extreme of those peculiarities mentioned above (§ 21),

<sup>a</sup>Occupying a large portion of the south wall, behind the columns of the southern colonnade in the second court of the Medinet Habu temple; in seventy-five vertical lines, not too well preserved. It was first published by Rosellini (*Monumenti Storici*, 139-41, but omitted by Champollion) and then by Burton (*Excerpta hieroglyphica*, 43-45); later by Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, II, 46); de Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 139-47); Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, 1197-1207), and extracts (including names of chiefs, ll. 47 and 48) by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, Text, III, 178). Brugsch states that he used his own copy, and collated Burton, de Rougé, and a copy by Eisenlohr; but he inserts lacunæ at the ends of ll. 15-20, where they do not belong, and other slips show that we have still to await an adequate edition of this text. I collated the various editions for all questionable passages, and was able to use photographs of some portions.

so that whole passages are unintelligible. Nor would they, if translatable, furnish any new facts of importance concerning the war; for almost the entire inscription consists of praise of the king, mingled with exultation over the fallen foe and the lamentations of the conquered. Only here and there appear incidents of the campaign, or references from which its course and character may be inferred. They are chiefly four: the king's triumph as he views from the palace balcony the prisoners and the trophies of the slain (§ 42, ll. 36-41); the names of the hostile chiefs (§ 43, ll. 48 and 49); the brief mention of the northern sea-roving allies (§ 44, ll. 51-54); and the security of the people, even of a woman alone upon the road (§ 47, l. 73). Only portions of which the rendering would have been exceedingly uncertain have been omitted; but the entire text is of such peculiar difficulty that the following attempt at translation as a whole is exceedingly unsatisfactory to the author.<sup>a</sup>

#### *Introduction*

37. <sup>1</sup>Year 5 under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Extending Egypt, Mighty of Sword, Strong-Armed, Slayer of the Tehenu; Wearer of the Double Diadem; <sup>2</sup>[Mighty in Strength, like his father, Montu], Overthrower of Tehenu in Heaps in their Place; Golden Horus: Valiant, Lord of all Might, Making the Boundary as Far as he Desires Behind his Enemies ——— <sup>3</sup>his Fear, his Terror is a Shield [over] Egypt; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Lord of Day, Youthful and Bright, Shining like the Moon, he hath Repeated [his] Birth ——— [Usermare-Meriamon]; <sup>4</sup>Son of Re: Ramses (III), Ruler of Heliopolis, first in victory, appearing [in] Egypt, of whom Re has exacted that he return with offerings, whom the divine ennead has caused ———

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<sup>a</sup>The entire inscription has been translated only once, viz., by Chabas, in the first edition of his *Etudes sur l'antiquité historique* (which I have not seen), and again in the second edition (228-33), only ll. 17-50). But he had only the entirely inadequate publications of Rosellini and Burton; this fact, and the state of knowledge of the language over thirty years ago, made an understanding of the text and a realization of its difficulties impossible.

<sup>5</sup>victory, lord of valor, warrior, having an image like the son of Nut, to make the whole earth like ———— <sup>6</sup>King Ramses III, ruler, great in love, lord of offerings, whose image is like Re at early morning.

*The King's Power and Goodness*

**38.** His terror ———— <sup>7</sup>— of his serpent-crest, established upon the throne of Re as king of the Two Lands. The land from front to rear is relieved, <sup>a</sup> the chiefs do honor ———— <sup>8</sup>gathered together in the lands, in the reign of King Ramses III, the brave and valiant king, who creates his —, when he sees ———— <sup>9</sup>raging, 'favorite' protector, who has come in Egypt, long-armed, swift-footed, smiting every land; counselor, excellent in plans, skilled in laws, giving ———— <sup>10</sup>exultation. His name has penetrated all hearts as far as the limit of the darkness; he reaches his limits, he terrifies the 'ends'<sup>b</sup> of the earth, . . . . . [countries] <sup>11</sup>which they knew not. Their lords come with fearful step to crave the breath of life which is in Egypt from Horus, the mighty Bull, great in kingship, King Ramses III, the great wall <sup>12</sup>of Egypt, protecting their limbs. His might is like Set in laying low the Nine Bows; youth, divine at his coming forth, like Harakhte. When he appears he seems like Atum, when he opens his mouth, with <sup>13</sup>breath for the people, to sustain alive the Two Lands with his sustenance every day; favorite son, champion of the divine ennead, for whom they overthrow the lands.

*Defeat of Amor?*

**39.** 'Gored'<sup>c</sup> is the chief of 'Amor' (<sup>?</sup> -m- —) in ['his'] blood<sup>d</sup> <sup>14</sup>his seed is not; all his people are taken captive, carried off, 'spoiled'.

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "cooled."

<sup>b</sup>Or possibly: "the isles."

<sup>c</sup>This uncertain adjective (*c b c ty*) occurs several times in the texts of Ramses III, each time applied to the king. If this is the case here, it would leave "the chief of Amor" without a verb. I have supposed it to mean "horned," both possessing horns or gored with them. The paragraph certainly concerns some foreign chief, but the space in which he is abruptly introduced is very small; and the mention of Amor is a mere conjecture, based on the first two letters, the last letter (*r?*) being lost. Examination of the original would determine the matter in all probability. If Amor is correct, its desolation then refers to the invasion of the sea-peoples, by whom Amor was wasted, as narrated in the long inscription of year 8 (§ 64, l. 17). This fits well the mention of the sea-peoples as allies of the Libyans in the year 5 (below ll. 51 ff.). They had already reached Amor at that time, and some of their vessels had pushed on to Egypt in time to assist the Libyans in the war of the year 5.

<sup>d</sup>See Israel passage, III, 604, examples.

Everybody in his land comes with praise <sup>15</sup>that<sup>a</sup> the great sun of Egypt may look upon them, that the sun-disk may turn to them, the Sun [—], coming forth, <sup>16</sup>rising upon the earth, the warmth of Egypt, which is in heaven.

*Praise of the People*

40. They say: "Exalted is the Sun of our land! We were lost <sup>17</sup>in the land daily (in<sup>1</sup>) the darkness, which King Ramses III has expelled. The lands and countries are stripped, <sup>18</sup>and brought to Egypt as slaves; gifts gathered together for her gods' satiety, provisions, supplies, are a flood <sup>19</sup>in the Two Lands. The multitude rejoices in this land, none is sad, (for) Amon has established his son upon his throne, all the circuit of the sun <sup>20</sup>is united in his grasp; the vanquished of the Asiatics and the Tehenu. Taken are those who <sup>21</sup>were spoiling the condition of Egypt. The land had been exposed in continual extremity, since the (former) kings. They were desolated, the gods as well as all people. There was no hero <sup>22</sup>to seize them when they retreated. Lo, there was a youth like a gryphon . . . . .<sup>b</sup> <sup>24</sup>like a bull ready for battle — — — — upon the field. His horses were like hawks.<sup>c</sup> [—] <sup>25</sup>roaring like a lion [terrible] in rage. The officers (*smn*) are mighty like Reshep, when they see ten thousands likewise. [—] — — like Montu. <sup>26</sup>His name is a flame, the terror of him is in the countries. The land of Temeh comes together in one place in Libya, —,<sup>d</sup> and Meshwesh (*M-š ʔ -w ʔ -š ʔ*), . . . . <sup>31</sup>. . . .

*The Overthrow of the Enemy*

41. Lo, the heart of his majesty is violent with might, [like a] mighty [lion] <sup>32</sup>falling upon the sheep.<sup>e</sup> Equipped is he like a valiant bull, (his) two arms are sharp horns to tear open the mountains, behind

<sup>a</sup>Dümichen indicates no lacunæ at the lower ends of ll. 14-20, and the sense confirms this; but Brugsch has inserted lacunæ at the ends of all but l. 14, where the connection is very evident. The photograph shows that these lines are over a door which rises into the inscription at this point. The hieroglyphs extend to the very edge of the door, which would suggest that the door had been cut in after the inscription, but as no hieroglyph is cut through and the connection between lines is good, there is certainly no loss.

<sup>b</sup>Obscure and partially fragmentary epithets of the king.

<sup>c</sup>See the same comparison complete in the march to Zahi, year 8 (§ 72).

<sup>d</sup>Name of a foreign country of which only a pyramid (*špd?*) at the end is visible.

<sup>e</sup>Any small cattle.

1. The gods 1baffle1 33their plans which they who confront him 1lay1. As for those who shall invade his boundary, his majesty goes forth against them like a flame — — — in the dry herbage. [1They flutter1] like wild fowl 34in the midst of the net, with legs struggling in the basket, made into a roast, laid low, prostrate on the 1ground1 — —. Their loss is heavy, 35without number. Behold, evil is among them to the height of heaven.<sup>a</sup> Bound are their mighty men upon the place of slaughter, they are made into pyramids upon their 36ground, by the might of the king, valiant in his limbs, the sole lord, mighty like Montu, King Ramses III.

*The King's Triumphal Audience*

42. (They) come forth, carried off as captives to Egypt; the hands 37and foreskins are without number; brought forward as captives, bound, under the balcony.<sup>b</sup> The chiefs of the countries are assembled, beholding their evil plight. The tens<sup>c</sup> 38are conducted to the king, their arms extended, their praise reaching heaven, with hearts of love 1toward1 Amon-Re, the god who accords them the protection of the ruler. 39The messengers of every land come, their hearts fluttering, and so transported that they (the hearts) are no longer in their bodies. Their faces behold the face of the king like Atum, protecting against the Temeh, in order to perfect the 1reign1 of his majesty. When their feet 40trod Egypt, their leaders feared, and were made as common people in strength. (1Their1) names abide through the great name of his majesty. Their leaders — — — 41fear; their mouths cannot mention the manner of Egypt.

*The Discomfiture of the Enemy*

43. The land of Temeh is spread out, they flee. The Meshwesh (*M-š ʔ -w ʔ -š ʔ*) are hung up 42in their land, their plant is uprooted, there is not for them a survivor. All their limbs tremble for the terror, which protects against them. They say: "Behold, we are 1subject1 to Egypt, 43its lord has destroyed our soul, forever and ever. . . . 44. . . .

<sup>a</sup>A figure indicating the last extremity or excess.

<sup>b</sup>The balcony of the palace; see II, 982. This scene is depicted with all the details here narrated in the relief, § 52.

<sup>c</sup>A term for councilors, or nobles; see Maspero, *Etudes égyptiennes*, II, 197-204, and Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, Supplement, 927-29.

Our feet find not a way to go; we traverse all the lands as their warriors, (but) they fight not with us in battle-array.<sup>a</sup> We kindled <sup>45</sup>the fire for ourselves at our desire, (but) our own fire has taken (us), we cannot quench (it). Their lord is like Sutekh, beloved of Re, [his] roaring is heard — <sup>46</sup>like a gryphon. He is behind us slaughtering, and he has no pity. He turns us back [from the boundaries] of Egypt, forever. . . . .<sup>47</sup>. . . . The fire has penetrated us, our seed is not. As for Ded (*Dy-dy*), Meshken (*M-š<sup>3</sup> -k-n*), Meryey<sup>b</sup> (*M-r<sup>3</sup> -y<sup>3</sup> -yw*) and Wermer (*Wr<sup>c</sup> -m-r<sup>3</sup>*), <sup>48</sup>Themer (*T<sup>3</sup> -m-r<sup>3</sup>*), and every hostile chief who crossed the border of Egypt from Libya, he hath set fire from front to rear . . . .<sup>49</sup>. . . . We know the great might of Egypt, for Re gives to her protection and victory when he appears shining <sup>50</sup>like the sun, when he rises over the people (*rḥy t*). We come to him; we cry, 'Salâm' to him, we kiss the ground (to) his great might — — <sup>51</sup>King Ramses III."

*Defeat of the Northern Countries*

. 44. The northern countries are unquiet in their limbs, even the Peleset (*Pw-r<sup>3</sup> -s<sup>3</sup> -ty*), the Thekel (*T<sup>3</sup> -k-k<sup>3</sup> -r<sup>3</sup>*), <sup>52</sup>who devastate their land. Their soul came, in the last extremity. They were warriors (*t-h-r<sup>3</sup>*) upon land, also<sup>d</sup> in the sea. Those who came<sup>e</sup> on [land] — — — <sup>53</sup>Amon-

<sup>a</sup>This line may contain some reference to the Libyans doing mercenary service in the Egyptian army; meaning that these are not the ones who have defeated Libya, but the native Egyptians.

<sup>b</sup>Meryey is the Libyan king defeated by Merneptah, whose inscriptions mention Ded as his father (III, 579, l. 13). But the other Libyan kings above mentioned are new. They seem to be mentioned in chronological order. But as we know that Meryey was the son of Ded, Meshken is likely to have been the brother of Meryey. Themer was probably the contemporary of Ramses III, and Wermer reigned during the ephemeral kings of Egypt, between Merneptah and Ramses III, but survived into Ramses III's reign. Maspero thinks they are all contemporaries (*Struggle of the Nations*, 456).

<sup>c</sup>Brugsch gives *Wr* as the first sign of this name (evidently following Burton), but he first read "Za" (*Geschichte*, 597). This first sign is indicated as lost in all the other publications, including Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, Text, III, 178). Only Chabas (*Etudes sur l'antiquité historique*, 236) gives The (*T<sup>3</sup>*) as the first syllable. But as it is wanting in Rosellini and Burton, whose publications Chabas used (*ibid.*, 227 f.), the reading must be a restoration which has passed from Chabas into the histories without inquiry as to its source, e. g., lastly in Maspero's *Struggle of the Nations*, 459.

<sup>d</sup>See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 360, n. 4.

<sup>e</sup>In view of the following: "those who entered" (*n<sup>3</sup> c k*), we must certainly render here: "those who came" (*n<sup>3</sup> yy*), and not merely "nahend" (*n<sup>3</sup> yy*), as

Re was behind them, destroying them; those who entered into the river-mouths<sup>a</sup> were like wild fowl, creeping into the net, made<sup>r</sup> — — — — —<sup>54</sup>their arms. Their hearts fluttered, (so) transported (that) they were no longer in their bodies. Their leaders were carried off, slain, thrown prostrate. They were made captives — — — — —<sup>55</sup>. . . . .

*Words of the Dejected Northerners*

45. "The only lord is in Egypt, no warrior is (so) accurate in shooting, none escapes him — — —<sup>56</sup>the ends of the Great Circle (Okeanos, *šn-wr*), until they fear with one accord. We will beseech peace, coming with trembling step, for fear of him. . . . .<sup>57</sup>. . . . ."

*The King's Valor*

46. He is like a bull standing in the field, his eye and his two horns ready and prepared to attack their rear with his head; a valiant warrior — — — — —<sup>58</sup>roaring; a warrior lord of might, taking captive every land. They come bowing down for fear of him, the blooming youth, valiant like Baal, — — — — —<sup>59</sup>the king effective in plans, possessed of counsel, not failing, but that which he does takes place instantly, Ramses III. . . . .<sup>60</sup>. . . He is like the lion with deep (lit., heavy) <sup>61</sup>roar upon the mountain-tops, whose terror is feared from afar. A gryphon swift in every stride, whose two wings are iters of millions of years,<sup>b</sup> <sup>62</sup>like the — of the gait of the panther, knowing his prey, seizing upon his assailant, his two arms destroy the limbs of those who invade

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Müller has rendered (*Asien und Europa*, 360). We have in the entire passage, first the approach both on land and water, and then the destruction of both parties on land and water. The passage is referred by Maspero (following Chabas) to the war of the year 8. But it is evident that in an inscription of the year 5 it can only refer to the Libyan war of that year; and that we must conclude that the sea-peoples already assisted the Libyans in this war. This is again rendered evident by the hands cut off as trophies as in the Libyan war of Merneptah. Had there been only Libyans in the battle, we should have had only phalli. Again, when we consider that the sea-peoples were already in the Libyan ranks in Merneptah's day, there is, of course, no reason why they should not be there now. Only the Thekel and the Peleset have not heretofore appeared in the South.

<sup>a</sup>*R* > -*h* > *w*t occurs first in the Eighteenth Dynasty as "river-mouths," where the customs officers and frontier marine police were stationed by Amenhotep III (II, 916). In the war of the year 8 it is used also of "harbor-mouths" (§ 65, l. 20, and elsewhere).

<sup>b</sup>On "iters," see II, 965, l. 19, note; he means the distances attained with his wings would demand millions of years to cover with ordinary means of locomotion.



the boundary, raging — [—], whose right arm <sup>63</sup>is thrust into the fray, slaying hundreds of thousands in their place under his horses; he sees the thick of the multitude like grasshoppers, smitten, ground down, <sup>64</sup>crushed like [—]; strong-horned, relying upon his strength, before whom hundred-thousands and ten-thousands are despised. His form is like Montu, <sup>65</sup>when he goes forth. Every land bows down for him, at the mention of him, the ruler excellent in plan like Osiris, equipping this whole land with — — <sup>66</sup>strong-armed, great in strength in the lands and countries; all that he hath done takes place as (if done by) Thoth.

*The King Egypt's Security*

47. King Ramses III is kind-hearted toward Egypt, bearing the protection of the land <sup>67</sup>on the height of his back<sup>a</sup> without trouble; a wall, casting a shadow for the people (*rhy't*). They dwell in his time, with heart relying upon the might of their <sup>68</sup>protection, the [—] of his two arms, saying: "A divine hawk, smiting and seizing!" He has made hosts by his victories, filling the storehouses <sup>69</sup>of the temples with the plunder of his sword, preparing the divine offerings from his excellent things . . . <sup>70</sup>. . . in that Amon, his august father, has given to him the lands, united together under the feet of King Ramses III. Lo, the golden Horus, rich in years, divine water <sup>71</sup>of Re, which came forth from his limbs, august living image of the son of Isis (Horus), who was born adorned with the royal diadem like Set, great in inundations bearing their sustenance for Egypt, <sup>72</sup>so that the people (*rhy't*) and the folk (*hnm'm't*) are possessed of good things; the sovereign, executing truth for the All-Lord, presenting it every day before him. Egypt and the lands are in peace in his reign, <sup>73</sup>the land is like [—] with untroubled heart. A woman goes about at her will, with her veil upon her head,<sup>b</sup> her going extending as far as she pleases. The countries come, bowing down to <sup>74</sup>the fame of his majesty, with their tribute and their children upon their backs. South as well as north [come] to him with praise, when they see him like Re at early morning. They — <sup>75</sup>the plans and stipulations of the victorious king, the ruler, effective in plan like the Beautiful-Faced (Ptah), the king, Lord of the Two Lands, lord of might, Ramses III, given life, like Re, forever.

<sup>a</sup>That is, bearing the burden of the land's defense upon his shoulders.

<sup>b</sup>That is, not hanging down over her face.

2. RELIEF SCENES IN SECOND COURT AND OUTSIDE NORTH WALL  
(YEAR 5)<sup>a</sup>

48. These scenes depict various incidents of the war, from the march to the frontier to the final triumphs, and probably furnish us with more information as to the character of the campaign than the long inscription devoted to it, which we have just studied.

*Scene<sup>b</sup>*

49. The king in his chariot, accompanied by troops, is marching against Libya. Before him is a chariot bearing the standard of Amon. Beside the king trots his tame lion. The inscriptions are these:

*Over the Amon Standard*

Utterance of Amon-Re, king of gods: "Lo, I am before thee, my son, lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Meriamon, I give [to thee] all [might and power!] among the Nine Bows; terror — — — their chiefs, I will open [for] thee the ways of the land of Temeh. I will trample them before thy horses."

*Over the King<sup>c</sup>*

The Good God, victorious king, rich in might, like Montu, lovely like Min, strong-armed like the son of Nut, great in strength, mighty in terror, whose roaring courses through the countries, a lion raging when he sees his opponent. None escapes — —. He rejoices among a hundred thousand, a valiant warrior in his own person, he looks upon untold myriads<sup>d</sup> as one. When he appears upon the battlefield like Baal, his flame consumes the Nine Bows.

<sup>a</sup>The publications are totally inadequate; they began in the days of Napoleon's expedition (*Description*, II, Pl. 12), and continued until Lepsius' day. Some scenes are still unpublished; for the publications, see note on each scene. I am indebted to Mr. A. H. Gardiner for a number of readings from photographs of the relief inscriptions.

<sup>b</sup>Exterior, north side, west end; Champollion, *Monuments*, 217 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 124.

<sup>c</sup>This text also in Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, LV.

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "hundreds of thousands of myriads."

*Scene<sup>a</sup>*

50. Ramses III, standing in his chariot with drawn bow, charges the fleeing Libyans, who are trampled by his horses. He is supported by mercenary archers and swordsmen, probably Sherden.

*Inscription*

Live the Good God, Montu, when he goes forth, beautiful upon the steed, charging into hundreds of thousands, mighty in valor, stretching the [bow] and shooting the arrows whither he will, fighting ——— piercing with sharp horns, overthrowing the Temeh, slain in their places in heaps before his horses, causing that they cease their opposition in their land, whose sword has overthrown their seed by the might of his father, Amon, in all lands together, Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses III.

*Scene<sup>b</sup>*

51. The king in his chariot charging the enemy in the conventional manner. The latter, represented as Libyans, are scattered to right and left or trampled beneath his horses' feet. Among the attacking Egyptians are their foreign auxiliaries, the Sherden.

*Inscription<sup>c</sup>*

Good God, in the form of Montu, great in strength, whose [heart] is glad when he sees the conflict, like a fire in —, firm on the right, stretching the bow, swift on the left, — — — with arrows, charging before him, conscious of his might, face to face, smiting hundreds of thousands, — the heart of the land of the Temeh; their lifetime, their

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<sup>a</sup>Exterior, north side, west end; unpublished. Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 303, "second scene." I had a photograph by Weigall.

<sup>b</sup>East wall, second court; Champollion, *Monuments*, 205 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 136; see also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 176.

<sup>c</sup>Behind the king there is a further inscription of one line, referring in the usual phrases to the enemy as "*overthrown before the horses of King Ramses III.*" The name of the royal horses is omitted in the publication.

souls are finished,<sup>a</sup> the strong-armed son of Amon is behind them like a young lion.<sup>b</sup> . . . . .

*Scene<sup>c</sup>*

52. The king stands in a balcony with his waiting chariot below (behind him); he harangues his nobles, who are grouped before him. Behind them approach five rows of captive Libyans and sea-peoples, each row headed by Egyptian officers and scribes, who throw down in five heaps severed hands and phalli, which the scribes record.

The accompanying inscriptions are these:

*Before the King*

Utterance of his majesty to the nobles and companions who are by his side: "Behold ye, the many good things, which Amon-Re, king of gods hath done for Pharaoh, his son, He hath carried captive the land of Temeh, Seped, and Meshwesh, who were robbers plundering Egypt every day, and overthrown them beneath my feet. Their plant is uprooted, so that not one survives. They have ceased all lying — —, forever, by the good counsels which his majesty has carried out, in order to cause — to be — [— —]. Rejoicing and joy are yours to the height of heaven. My [majesty] raged like Set, extending Egypt, mighty ———, overthrowing the Nine Bows, through that which my father, lord of gods, Amon, lord of [Thebes], creator of my beauty, did for me."

*By the Palace*

City (*dmy*) of "Usermare-Meriamon-is-the-Chastiser-of-Temeh."<sup>d</sup>

*Over the Nobles*

Utterance of the nobles and companions, when they answered before the Good God: "Thou art Re ——— when thou risest, the people live.

<sup>a</sup>See Wadi Halfa stela of Sesostris, I, l. 16 (I, 512), and Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXIII, 233.

<sup>b</sup>The usual epithets of the lion: "*heavy-voiced, roaring in the mountains, etc.*," follow here, but are badly copied.

<sup>c</sup>Exterior, north side, west end; Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 303, "third scene;" unpublished. I had a photograph by Weigall.

<sup>d</sup>So Daressy, *Recueil*, 19, 18; but I was unable to find this inscription on my photograph. It is also given by Brugsch, *Geschichte*, 597.

Thy heart<sup>1</sup> is skilled in speech, and thy counsels are excellent. Thy fear hath repelled the Nine Bows; as for Temeh, their heart failed, coming that they might [—] Egypt. As for the lands and countries, their limbs tremble, the fear of thee is before them every day; but the heart of Egypt rejoices forever. . . . .”<sup>a</sup>

Total<sup>b</sup> of foreskins ( $k^2-r^2-n^2-ty$ ), [1]<sup>c</sup>2,535.

Total of hands, 12,535.

Total of —<sup>d</sup> 12,758<sup>e</sup>(+x).

Total of hands, 12,520 (+x).<sup>f</sup>

Total of hands, 12,635 (+x).<sup>g</sup>

#### Scene<sup>h</sup>

53. The king is seated in his chariot with his back to the horses, which are held by his officers, while three attendants hold sunshades over him. Beside him (below in the relief) was a line of officers, now mostly disappeared. Before him, his sons and the highest officials of the kingdom bring up four lines of captured Libyans, and at the head of the first three, the scribes throw down and count the hands cut off from the fallen Libyans, while at the head of the fourth line they are doing the same with the phalli severed from the slain.

<sup>a</sup>Four short lines more of conventional phrases.

<sup>b</sup>Each total is over a different heap, five heaps in all.

<sup>c</sup>There is just room for the 10,000-sign, which must have been here as in the other lines.

<sup>d</sup>The heap is one of phalli.

<sup>e</sup>The hundreds may be 9, and the arrangement would indicate 9.

<sup>f</sup>Only the tens and units are uncertain, and the total is probably the same as in the first two.

<sup>g</sup>The hundreds may be 9; if only 6, then the tens would be 3. As two of these five totals are identical (12,535), and a third is almost certainly the same, it is evident that the number 12,535 is the sum-total of dead; otherwise we should have over 60,000 dead, which is quite impossible.

<sup>h</sup>South wall, second court; Champollion, *Monuments*, 206 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 135; see also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 177; Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, CLVI, U-CLVIII; and part of inscription in Young, *Hieroglyphics*, 15; I had a photograph for some portions of the relief, especially the lowest row.

*Inscription over the King*

54. Utterance of the king, the lord of the Two Lands, Ramses III, to the king's-children, the king's-butlers, nobles, companions, and all the leaders of the infantry and chariotry: "Acclaim ye to the height of heaven! My sword has overthrown the Tehenu, who came, accoutered, their hearts determined to match themselves with Egypt. I went forth against them like a lion; I smote them, and they were made heaps. I was behind them like a divine Hawk when he has seen the birdlet in the — . . . . . I laid low their soul, I took away their water, and my flame consumed their towns, I am like Montu in Egypt; my might overthrows the Nine Bows, (for) my august father, Amon, prostrates every land beneath my feet, while I am king upon the throne, forever."

*Inscription over Hands and Phalli<sup>a</sup>*

Bringing up the captured before his majesty, from the vanquished of Libya; making 1,000 men; making 3,000 hands; making 3,000 foreskins.

*Inscription over First Line*

55. Utterance of the king's-children, king's-butlers, and nobles, before the Good God: "Great is thy might, O victorious king. Thy roaring courses through the Nine Bows. Thou art the rampart, protecting Egypt; they dwell confident in thy strength, O Pharaoh, L. P. H., our lord."

*Inscription over Third Line<sup>b</sup>*

Utterance of the nobles and leaders (*h<sup>3</sup> w' tyw*): "Amon, the god, he has decreed the victory to the ruler, who carries off all lands, Ramses-Meriamon, ———."

<sup>a</sup>This inscription occurs four times, namely, over each of the four heaps, three of hands and one of phalli. Once (at the top) "*making 3,000 foreskins*" is omitted by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, Text, III, 177); but the older publications (e. g., Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 135), are correct in inserting it, as the photograph shows. Each time it thus records the capture of 1,000 and the slaying of 6,000 men. Taken together, they record a total of 28,000 men killed and captured. This is, of course, impossible. Moreover, the third relief on the north wall (outside, § 57) gives 12,535 as the number of slain. If we assume that only the two lower rows (one showing phalli and one hands) are different in our relief, we obtain a total of 12,000 slain (6,000 in each row), which roughly agrees with the other relief. The two upper rows are then mere duplicates of the third, added to fill up the space at the disposal of the artist. As such repetition is certain in § 57, this solution is very probable.

<sup>b</sup>Numbering from the top; the second line is without inscription.

*Inscription over Fourth Line*

Utterance of the king's-children, king's-butlers, and nobles: "Thou art the sun, when thou risest over Egypt, thy terror ——— O Pharaoh, L. P. H., child of Amon."

*Scene<sup>a</sup>*

56. The king in his chariot, accompanied by a pair of sunshade-bearers, and a body of soldiers, drives before him three lines of fettered Libyan prisoners.

*Inscription*

Ruler, beautiful as king, like Atum, mighty —, — the Tehenu, who come for [fear of him]; he — him who invades his boundary. Amon, his august father, makes sound his limbs, King Ramses III, given life. Valiant —, great in strength like his father, Montu. . . . . He hath overthrown his adversaries in their place. Those whom his sword captures, whose hands are bound before him, are living captives. He is like a mighty bull, he gores ——— beautiful, possessed of valor, [which] his father, Amon-Re, [gave] that he may give to him great victories, and a reign of jubilees like Re; the king, lord of might, Ramses III, given life like Re.

*Scene<sup>b</sup>*

57. At the left Amon is enthroned in a chapel, with Mut standing behind him. The king, approaching from the right, leads three lines of Libyan captives, whom he presents to the god.

*Inscription over Amon*

Utterance of Amon-Re, king of gods, to his son, King Ramses III: "Praise to thee! Thou hast captured thine adversaries; thou hast overthrown the invader of thy boundary. I give to thee my might in thy limbs, that thou mayest overthrow the Nine Bows. My hand is

<sup>a</sup>East wall, second court; Champollion, *Monuments*, 207 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 137.

<sup>b</sup>East wall, second court; Champollion, *Monuments*, 208 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 138; see also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 176; Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, CLV, P, Q, R-CLVI (only inscriptions with divinities and king).

the shield of thy body, warding off evil from thee. I give to thee the kingdom of Atum, shining upon the throne of Re.”<sup>a</sup>

*Inscription before the King*

58. Utterance of King Ramses III before his father, Amon-Re, ruler of the gods: “How great is that which thou hast done, O lord of gods. Thy plans and thy counsels are those which come to pass throughout. Thou sentest me forth in valor, thy strength was with me. No land stood before me, at the mention of thee. I overthrew those who invaded my boundary, prostrated in their place. Their warriors (*phrr*) were — pinioned, slain in my grasp. I laid low the land of Temeh, their seed is not.<sup>b</sup> The Meshwesh (*M-š<sup>3</sup> -w<sup>3</sup> -š<sup>3</sup>*), they crouch down for fear of me. It was ordained because of thy victory-bringing commands, it was given because of thy kingdom-bestowing ‘power!’”

*Inscription over Libyans*

Utterance of the leaders of the vanquished of Libya, who are in the grasp of his majesty: “Great is thy fame, O victorious king; how great the fear of thee and the terror of thee! Thou didst turn (us) back, when we went forth ‘to’ fight, to ‘invade’ Egypt, forever. Give thou to us the breath which we breathe, the life which is in thy hands, O lord, like the form ‘of’ Amon-Re, king of gods.”

III. NORTHERN WAR, YEAR 8

59. Already in Ramses III’s fifth year the tribes of the southern coast of Asia Minor and the maritime peoples of the Ægean had sent some of their advanced galleys to assist the Libyans in their war of that year against Egypt. Or, as in Merneptah’s day, the plundering crews of their southernmost advance had incidentally joined the Libyan invasion. These were but the premonitory skirmishing-line of a more serious and more general movement. The peoples involved were the probably Cretan Peleset, a settlement of whom

<sup>a</sup>The short speech of Mut is of no historical consequence.

<sup>b</sup>See III, 604.



later became the biblical Philistines; the Thekel, who may be the Sikeli, later of Sicily;<sup>a</sup> the Shekelesh, the Denyen or Danaoi, and the Weshwesh (§ 64, l. 18), who are of uncertain origin.<sup>b</sup> Owing to pressure from uncertain sources without, large numbers of these peoples, accompanied by their wives, children, and belongings, in clumsy ox carts, left their homes, and moving eastward along the coast of Asia Minor, penetrated Syria. They were accompanied by a strong fleet also. In the author's opinion, this movement was really a "Völkerwanderung," not merely an invasion, with a few families of the chiefs. They were strong enough to hold all northern Syria at their mercy; from Carchemish, through the Syrian Hittite conquests to the coast, as far south as Arvad, and inland as far south as Amor, they plundered the country. They had a central camp somewhere in Amor

60. Ramses evidently still held the coast south of Arvad. Mustering his forces, he dispatched his war fleet to this coast, possibly with his motley army of various mercenaries and Egyptians on board, or in transports thus convoyed. At some point<sup>c</sup> on the coast he met the enemy; a land and naval action took place. Possibly the two battles were near together. In any case, Ramses, after the land victory, was able to station his archers on the strand and aid in the destruction of the hostile fleet. His victory over both forces seems to have been complete, for we do not hear of any further trouble from this source during the remainder of his reign.

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<sup>a</sup>But see III, 570, note.

<sup>b</sup>See III, 306, and Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 360 ff. Papyrus Harris also adds the Sherden (§ 403), who probably were from Sardinia and associated with the Lycian tribes in common enterprises on the sea. On all these northern peoples, see also the discussion of Hall, *Earliest Civilization of Greece*, and *Annual of the British School at Athens*, VIII, 157.

<sup>c</sup>The land battle was certainly not south of Amor; the naval battle was in one of the harbors of the Phœnician coast.

The sources for this war are:

1. The Great Inscription on the Second Pylon (Medinet Habu, §§ 61-68).
2. The Relief Scenes on the North Wall and in the Second Court (Medinet Habu, §§ 69-82).
3. Papyrus Harris (§ 403).

I. GREAT INSCRIPTION ON THE SECOND PYLON, YEAR 8<sup>a</sup>

61. Of the long inscriptions in the Medinet Habu temple, this is by far the most clear and intelligible, both in language and arrangement. After the date and the usual encomium of the Pharaoh, which occupies about one-third of the inscription (ll. 1-12), the king is introduced as addressing his court and the people of the land, in a speech very similar to that which concludes Papyrus Harris (Pls. 75-79). After reverting to Amon's choice of him for the throne, with which the Pharaohs so often introduce their addresses, he narrates the northern invasion of Syria (§ 64, ll. 16-18), his preparations to repel it (§ 65, ll. 18-23), and then, in highly figurative language, briefly describes the overthrow of the invaders by land and sea (§ 66, ll. 23-26). He closes with a song of triumph as long as the account of the war, occupying one-third of the inscription (§§ 67, 68, ll. 26-38). It is therefore only the middle third of the inscription (§§ 63-66, ll. 13-26) which contains narrative of historical importance.

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<sup>a</sup>Occupying the entire front of the north tower of the second pylon in the Medinet Habu temple. It is published entire only in Greene, *Fouilles exécutées à Thèbes dans l'année 1855* (Paris, 1855), Pls. I-III. Champollion noted and copied the parts containing foreign names (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 348, giving date incorrectly as year 9); similar fragments also by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, Text, III, 175, parts of ll. 1, 2, 17, 18, 20, 24, and 35); the important passage, ll. 16 and 17, also by Chabas (*Etudes sur l'antiquité historique*, 2d ed., 260 ff., from a photograph); finally, ll. 16-25, by Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, 1207-10). Not much can be said for the accuracy of any of these texts. I collated Greene exhaustively with a series of large-scale photographs, which brought out scores of new signs and many new words; Brugsch was also useful, but a careful publication is very much needed.

*Introduction; Praise of Ramses*

62. <sup>1</sup>Year 8, under the majesty of Horus: mighty Bull, valiant Lion, strong-armed, lord of might, capturing the Asiatics; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Mighty in Strength, like his father, Montu, destroying the Nine Bows, driving (them) from their land; Hawk, divine at his birth, <sup>2</sup>excellent and favorite egg of Harakhte, sovereign, excellent heir of the gods, fashioning their images on earth, doubling their offerings; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Ramses (III), Ruler of Heliopolis; king, lord of valor, extending (his) two arms, and taking away the breath <sup>3</sup>from the countries by the heat of his limbs, great in the power of Montu, — the fray like Re, <sup>4</sup>daily ——— valiant upon (his) horse, fighting hand to hand upon his feet, warrior like the shooting-stars in heaven, King <sup>4</sup>Ramses III; charging into the thick of the fray like ——— turning back the Asiatics, fighting in the territory of rebels who know not Egypt, who tell how they have heard <sup>5</sup>of his might, who come with praise, trembling in all their limbs ——— of the Asiatics. His form and his limbs are <sup>6</sup>straight<sup>1</sup>, the equal of Baal, mighty in the multitude, without his like. He <sup>6</sup>smites millions, alone by himself; all lands are despised and contemptible before him, appearing ———. They come — [to] look upon Egypt, prostrate, bowing down before him. They say every day: “Montu is in his great form, which is in Egypt <sup>7</sup>among you, bearing his mighty sword. Let us all come, that we may make for him ——— him <sup>8</sup>in<sup>1</sup> his grasp, the King Ramses III.” Beautiful is the appearance of the king, like the son of Isis <sup>8</sup>the defender, firstborn son of Re-Atum, ——— wearing the white crown, wearing the red crown, beautiful of face, wearing the double plume like Tatenen. His loveliness — — — — in the early morning, beautiful, sitting upon the throne like Atum, when he has assumed the regalia of Horus and Set; Nekhbet and Buto, the serpent-crown of the South and the serpent-crown of the North, they take <sup>9</sup>their place upon his head. His two hands grasp the crook-staff and hold the scourge, — conscious of strength — — <sup>10</sup>among<sup>1</sup> the Nine Bows —. Plentiful are fowl and provision in his reign, like his father, the Beautiful-Faced (Ptah), Nun, great in love as king, like Shu, son of Re. <sup>10</sup>When he appears, there is rejoicing over him, like Aton; strong and valiant, mustering the lands at [his] desire, — like <sup>11</sup>Montu<sup>1</sup>, creating them like Ptah; ready and skilled in law, there is none like him; like Re when he took the land

as a kingdom, King Ramses <sup>11</sup>III, — numerous in monuments, great in wonderful works, making festive the temples, — the son of Re, — who came forth from his limbs, — firstborn [of] the gods. He was appointed as a youth to be king of the Two Lands, to be ruler of every circuit of Aton, a shield protecting <sup>12</sup>Egypt in his time. They sit under the shadow of his might, the strong one ——— victorious hand laid upon their head; King Ramses III, the king himself, he saith:

*Ramses' Speech; His Accession*

63. "Hearken to me <sup>13</sup>all the land, gathered in [one place], the court, the king's-children, the butlers, — living, the —,<sup>a</sup> the youth, all<sup>b</sup> the young men who are in this land. Give your attention to my utterance, that ye may know my plans for sustaining you alive, <sup>14</sup>that ye may learn of the might of my august father, Amon-Kamephis, creator of my beauty. His great might —, victorious against every fallen foe, beneath my feet. He decrees to me victory, and his hand is with me, so that every invader of my boundary is slain in my grasp; his chosen one <sup>15</sup>whom he found among hundreds of thousands,<sup>c</sup> who was established upon his throne for safety [—] [when there was not a single man among them to rescue (them)]<sup>1</sup> from the Nine Bows. I surrounded her,<sup>d</sup> I established her by my valiant might. When I arose like the sun as king over Egypt, I protected her, <sup>16</sup>I expelled for her the Nine Bows."

*Northern Invasion of Syria*

64. "The countries — —, the [Northerners]<sup>1</sup> in their isles were disturbed, taken away in the [fray]<sup>1</sup> — at one time. Not one stood before their hands, from Kheta (*Ht*<sup>2</sup>), Kode (*Kdy*), Carchemish (*K-r<sup>2</sup>-k<sup>2</sup>-m-s<sup>2</sup>*), Arvad (*r<sup>2</sup>-tw*), <sup>17</sup>Alasa (*r<sup>2</sup>-s<sup>2</sup>*), they were wasted. [The]y [set up]<sup>e</sup> a camp in one place in Amor (*m-r<sup>2</sup>*). They desolated his

<sup>a</sup>The determinative shows that the word designates young men (*rn p'w?*).

<sup>b</sup>"All" may apply to the whole series.

<sup>c</sup>Compare the selection of Thutmose III from among the priests of Karnak (II, 131-48) by oracle of the god.

<sup>d</sup>Egypt, as shown by the end of the line, compared with the beginning of l. 16.

<sup>e</sup>The lacuna is hardly large enough for a verb. The end of the plural suffix (*n* of *sn*) is visible before "*camp*." If we read "*their*" (*p<sup>2</sup> ysn*), it would fill the lacuna, and we should necessarily render: "*Wasted was their camp, etc.*," meaning the camp of the allied Syrians, which was wasted by the Northerners. The series of names preceding as object of the preposition must in that case close the preceding sentence.

people and his land like that which is not. They came with fire prepared before them, forward<sup>a</sup> to Egypt. Their main support<sup>b</sup> <sup>18</sup>was Peleset (*Pw-r<sup>3</sup>-s<sup>3</sup>-t*), Thekel (*T<sup>3</sup>-k-k<sup>3</sup>-r<sup>3</sup>*), Shekelesh (*S<sup>3</sup>-k-rw-s<sup>3</sup>*), Denyen (*D<sup>3</sup>-y-n-yw*, sic!), and Weshesh (*W<sup>3</sup>-s<sup>3</sup>-s<sup>3</sup>*),<sup>c</sup> (These) lands were united, and they laid their hands upon the land<sup>d</sup> as far as the Circle of the Earth. Their hearts were confident, full of their<sup>e</sup> plans.”

*Ramses' Preparations*

65. “Now, it happened through<sup>f</sup> this god, the lord of gods, <sup>19</sup>that I was prepared and armed<sup>g</sup> to ‘trap’<sup>1</sup> them like wild fowl. He furnished my strength and caused my plans to prosper. I went forth, directing these marvelous things. I equipped my frontier in Zahi, prepared before them. The chiefs, the captains of infantry, <sup>20</sup>the nobles, I caused to equip the harbor-mouths,<sup>h</sup> like a strong wall, with warships, galleys, and barges, ‘—’<sup>1</sup>. They were manned ‘completely’<sup>1</sup> from bow to stern with valiant warriors bearing their arms, soldiers <sup>21</sup>of all the choicest of Egypt,<sup>i</sup> being like lions roaring upon the mountain-tops. The charioteers were warriors (*phrr*) ‘— —’<sup>1</sup>,<sup>j</sup> and all good officers (*smn*), ready of hand. Their horses were quivering in their every limb, ready to crush <sup>22</sup>the countries under their feet. I was the valiant Montu, stationed before them, that they might behold the hand-to-hand fighting<sup>k</sup> of my arms. I, King Ramses III, was made a far-striding hero, conscious of his might, valiant to lead his army <sup>23</sup>in the day of battle.”

<sup>a</sup>The meaning of this important phrase, “forward” (*m hr*), with a verb of going, is established among others by the passage in the Kadesh battle (III, 308: Poem, l. 12), and Merneptah’s Hymn of Victory (III, 609, l. 5); but the idiom is not infrequent; see also Griffith, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 19, 298. “To” may be rendered “toward” or “against.”

<sup>b</sup>See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 360, n. 2.

<sup>c</sup>On these peoples, see introduction to this war (§§ 59 ff.).

<sup>d</sup>Lit., “Two Lands;” it is doubtful whether we are to suppose that this is an error (as later) for “land.” Some of the northern ships had already reached Egypt, as they had done in the year 5 (§ 44, ll. 51 f.).

<sup>e</sup>Text has “our.”

<sup>f</sup>That is, by his intervention.

<sup>g</sup>*Grg hry*.

<sup>h</sup>The same phrase (*r<sup>3</sup>-h<sup>3</sup>-wt*) is used of the “river-mouths,” in the war of the year 5 (§ 44, l. 53).

<sup>i</sup>Possibly: “of every land and of Egypt.”

<sup>j</sup>See Papyrus Harris, 8, 10, note.

<sup>k</sup>Or possibly: “the captures;” the article is plural.

*Defeat of the Enemy*

66. "Those who reached my boundary, their seed is not; their heart and their soul are finished forever and ever. As for those who had assembled before them on the sea, the full flame was in their front, before the harbor-mouths, and a wall of metal <sup>24</sup>upon the shore surrounded them.<sup>a</sup> They were dragged, overturned, and laid low upon the beach; slain and made heaps from stern to bow<sup>b</sup> of their galleys, while all their things were cast upon the water. (Thus) I turned back the waters to remember Egypt;<sup>c</sup> when they mention my name in their land, <sup>25</sup>may it<sup>d</sup> consume them, while I sit upon the throne of Harakhte, and the serpent-diadem (*wr' t-hk' w*) is fixed upon my head, like Re. I permit not the countries to see the boundaries of Egypt to  $\text{f}\rightarrow\text{f}$  among<sup>1</sup> them. As for the Nine Bows, I have taken away their land and their boundaries; they are added to mine. <sup>26</sup>Their chiefs and their people (come) to me with praise. I carried out the plans of the All-Lord, the august, divine father, lord of the gods."

*Ramses' Song of Triumph*

67. "Rejoice ye, O Egypt, to the height of heaven, for I am ruler of the South and North upon the throne of Atum. The gods have appointed me to be king <sup>27</sup>over Egypt, to be victor, to expel them for her from the countries; they decreed to me the kingdom while I was a child, and my reign is full of plenty — — — Strength has been given to me, because of my benefactions to the gods and goddesses, from a heart of love. I have expelled your <sup>28</sup>mourning, which was in your heart, and I have made you to dwell in peace. Those whom I have overthrown shall not return, the tribute — — — their land, their detestation is the daily mention of my name, King Ramses III. <sup>29</sup>I have covered Egypt, I have protected her by my valiant might, since

<sup>a</sup>The "*full flame*" is the Egyptian fleet in the harbor, and the "*wall of metal*" is the Egyptian infantry ashore, as shown in the relief (§ 74). These highly figurative phrases, otherwise unintelligible, are rendered quite certain by the relief.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "*from tail to head*," a phrase which occurs also where ships are not concerned (§ 90, year 11, l. 18). Hence we should perhaps put a full pause here and render thus: ". . . . made heaps *from tail to head*. As for their galleys, all their things, etc."

<sup>c</sup>Or: "*for a remembrance of Egypt*," meaning that they (the foe) may remember Egypt.

<sup>d</sup>Or: "*the thought consumes*."

I assumed the rule of the kingdom ——— the might of my two arms, bringing terror among the Nine Bows. Not a land stays at hearing my name, <sup>30</sup>(but) they leave their cities, starting in their places, forsaking ——— before them. I am a goring Bull, confident in his two horns. My hand is equal <sup>31</sup>to my courage following my valor, when my heart says to me: 'Make ——' —— my office —— in the bow of the morning-barque (*mskt' t*), I bring to you jubilation. <sup>32</sup>Mourning is in the countries, trembling is in every land —— which I wrought. My heart is filled as a god — — valiant, lord of the sword. I know that his might is greater <sup>33</sup>than (that of) the gods. The 'lifetime' which the gods who are in — decree ——. There is not a moment in your presence, which brings not plunder by the plans of the counsel <sup>34</sup>which is in my heart, for the support of Egypt. Desolated is —— the chief of their cities, wasted at one time. Their groves, and all their people are consumed by fire.<sup>a</sup> <sup>35</sup>They lament in their hearts: 'We will —— their — to Egypt.'

68. "I am the strong and valiant one; my designs come to pass without fail. <sup>36</sup>I have shown my excellence, since I 'know' this god, the father of the gods —— I have not ignored his temple, (but) my heart has been steadfast to double the feasts and food-offerings <sup>37</sup>above what was before. My heart is filled with truth every day, my abhorrence is lying —— the gods are satisfied with truth. Their hands are for me the shield of my body, to <sup>38</sup>ward off evil and misfortune from<sup>b</sup> my limbs; the king, ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses III, given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever and ever."

2. RELIEF SCENES OUTSIDE NORTH WALL AND IN SECOND COURT,  
YEAR 8

69. These scenes depict the war against the invading sea-rovers of Asia Minor with unusual interest. We see the equipment of the troops, the march to Syria, even possibly a lion<sup>c</sup> hunt on the march, the great battle, both on land and sea, furnishing the earliest known representation of a naval battle, and the final triumphs.

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "have become ashes" (*ssf*), used of a roast fowl.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "that are in"(!), meaning "that might be in, etc."

<sup>c</sup>See § 74, note.

*Scene<sup>a</sup>*

70. Ramses III stands in a balcony, with two sunshade-bearers behind him. Before him are the standard-bearers of the army, who kneel in salute, followed by a trumpeter. Beside these appear lines of the new recruits levied for the coming war, to whom the officers are distributing bows and quivers of arrows. Spears, quivers, bows, and swords lie piled up beside them.

71. The inscriptions are these:

*Behind the King*

All the gods are the protection of his limbs, to give to him might against every country.

*Before the King*

——— king; he saith — — to the princes, every leader of the infantry and chariotry who are before his majesty: "Bring out the weapons ———. Let the archers march to destroy the enemies, who know not Egypt, with might."

*Over the Officials*

Utterance of the princes, companions, and leaders of the infantry and chariotry: "Thou art the king who shinest upon Egypt. When [thou] risest, the Two Lands live. Great is thy might in the midst of the Nine Bows. Thy roaring is as far as the circuit of the sun. The shadow of thy sword is over thy army. They march, filled with thy might. Thy heart is stout, (for) thy excellent plans are established. Amon-Re appears, leading thy way. He lays low for thee every land beneath thy feet; [thy] heart is glad — forever. 'Thou art' the protection which comes forth without delay. The heart of the Temeh is [dis]turbed,<sup>b</sup> the Peleset (*Pw-[rʔ]-sʔ-l*) are hung up, [—] in their towns, by the might of thy father, Amon, who has decreed to thee ———."

<sup>a</sup>Outside north wall of second court; Champollion, *Monuments*, 218 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 125; cf. Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 370.

<sup>b</sup>Read *ify*.



*Over Officers by the Weapons<sup>a</sup>*

———— [Give] the weapons to the infantry, the chariotry and to the archers ————.

*Over Officers Distributing Weapons*

Take ye the [weapon]s of [King] Ramses III.

*Over Soldiers Receiving Weapons*

The infantry and chariotry who are receiving [weapons].

*Scene<sup>b</sup>*

72. Ramses III in his chariot, followed by two sunshade-bearers, and accompanied by Egyptian and Sherden infantry, departs for Zahi. The inscriptions are these:

*Over the King*

The king, rich in might, at his going forth to the North, great in fear, dread of the Asiatics (*St' ty*), sole lord, skilled in hand, conscious of his might, like Baal, valiant in strength, ready for battle against the Asiatics (<sup>c</sup> *mw*), marching afar in his advance, 'confident', —, smiting tens of thousands 'in heaps' in the space of an hour. He overwhelms the combatants like fire, causing all those who confront him to become [ashes].<sup>c</sup> They are terrified at (the mention of) his name, while he is (yet) afar off, like the heat of the sun over the two (Nile) shores; a wall casting<sup>d</sup> a shadow for Egypt. They dwell [confident in] the might of his strength, King Ramses III.

*Over Horses*

Great first span of his majesty (named): "Amon-He-Giveth-the-Sword."<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup>This and the following inscription have been omitted by Champollion, and Rosellini is very fragmentary. Still another address (below) among the officers has been omitted by Champollion, and is too fragmentary in Rosellini to be read.

<sup>b</sup>Outside north wall of second court; Champollion, *Monuments*, 219 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 126.

<sup>c</sup>Read *ssj*, from parallel texts.

<sup>d</sup>Read *kh*, as in year 5, l. 67 (§ 47).

<sup>e</sup>Published also in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 172.

*Behind King and over Sherden*

His majesty marches out in victorious might, to destroy the rebellious countries. His majesty [marches out] for Zahi, like the form of Montu, to crush every country that has transgressed his boundary. His infantry are like bulls, ready for battle upon the field. [His] horses are like hawks in the midst of the fowl before him. The Nine Bows are under (his) power. Amon, his august father, is for him a shield, King — —, Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses III.

*Scene<sup>a</sup>*

73. Ramses III in his chariot, with drawn bow, charges into the discomfited northern allies, chiefly Peleset, as shown by their high feathered head-dress. Their chariots are manned by two warriors armed with shield and spear, and a driver. On foot they fight by fours, each man with two spears and a shield. The native Egyptian troops and their Sherden auxiliaries are mingled in the thick of the fight, slaying the Northerners on every hand, and penetrating to the heavy two-wheeled ox carts in which are the enemy's wives, children, and supplies.

The inscriptions are these:

*Over the Battle*

———— [at] the sight of him, as when Set is enraged, overthrowing the enemy before the celestial barque (*mskt' t*), trampling the lands and countries prostrate, crushed [—] before his horses. His heat consumes [them] like fire, desolating their gardens — —.

*Over King's Horses*

Great first span of his majesty (named): "Beloved-of-Amon."

*Scene<sup>b</sup>*

74. Five warships of the Northerners, manned by Peleset and Sherden, are hard pressed by four Egyptian warships,

<sup>a</sup>Outside north wall of second court; Champollion, *Monuments*, 220-220 bis = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 127, 128.

<sup>b</sup>Outside north wall of second court; Champollion, 222, 223 = Rosellini,

whose native bowmen are disabling the enemy with a severe archery discharge at long range, before the heavy swords and spears of the latter can be brought into play at close quarters. When the archery has nearly emptied the enemy's vessels, the Egyptians close in with sword and shield, and in the resulting mêlée one of the northern ships has capsized. In three of the Egyptian vessels are pinioned prisoners taken from the enemy, while those who swim ashore are seized and bound by the waiting Egyptian archers. The latter, led by the king, themselves augment the volleys of the Egyptian archers in the warships, and render still more disastrous the complete destruction of the northern fleet. Behind the king are his chariot and waiting attendants.

75. The inscriptions are as follows:

*By the King*

The Good God, Montu over Egypt, great in might, like Baal in the countries, mighty in strength, far-reaching in courage (lit., heart), strong-horned, terrible in his might, a — wall, covering Egypt, so that every one coming shall not<sup>a</sup> see it, King Ramses III.

*Over the Chariot*

Lo, the northern countries, which are in their isles, are restless in their limbs; they infest the ways<sup>b</sup> of the harbor-mouths. Their nostrils and their hearts cease breathing breath, when his majesty goes forth like a storm-wind against them, fighting upon the strand like a warrior (*phrr*). His puissance and the terror of him penetrate into their limbs.<sup>c</sup>

*Monumenti Storici*, 130, 131; Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 55. I had also good photographs. At this point the order of the war reliefs is interrupted by the scene of a lion hunt, the inscriptions of which contain only conventional phrases in praise of the king. It has often been published; best by Mariette, *ibid.*, II, 54; also by Champollion, *ibid.*, 221; and Rosellini, *ibid.*, 129.

<sup>a</sup>Negative with a verb implying negation; lit., "everyone coming shall not fail to see it."

<sup>b</sup>The word "way" (*wꜣꜥt*) is used by the Egyptians for a sea route as well as a land route.

<sup>c</sup>Champollion has here interchanged two lines, but they are correct in Rosellini.

Capsized and perishing in their places, their hearts are taken, their souls fly away, and their weapons are cast out upon the sea. His arrows pierce whomsoever he will among them, and he who is hit falls<sup>a</sup> into the water. His majesty is like an enraged lion, tearing him that confronts him with his hands (sic!), fighting at close quarters on his right, valiant on his left, like Set; destroying the foe, like Amon-Re. He has laid low the lands, he has crushed every land beneath his feet, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Meriamon.

*Scene<sup>b</sup>*

76. The king, attended by sunshade- and fan-bearers, stands in a balcony.<sup>c</sup> Behind him waits the royal chariot, with numerous attendants and soldiers. A castle is depicted over the chariot. Before the king, the two viziers and other officers of high rank present to him Peleset prisoners. Other officials superintend the counting of the hands severed from the fallen of the enemy, the numbers being recorded by four scribes.

77. The inscriptions are these:

*By the King*

Utterance of his majesty to the king's-children, the princes, the king's-butlers, and the charioteers: "Behold ye, the great might of my father, Amon-Re. The countries which came from their isles in the midst of the sea, they advanced to Egypt, their hearts relying upon their arms.<sup>d</sup> The net was made ready for them, to ensnare them. Entering stealthily into the harbor-mouth, they fell into it. Caught in their place, they were dispatched, and their bodies stripped. I showed

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "*becomes one fallen into the water.*"

<sup>b</sup>Outside north wall of second court; Champollion, *Monuments*, 224 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 132; the inscriptions are also in Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 47; the castle and a few extracts, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 171.

<sup>c</sup>This balcony is, of course, to be understood as belonging to the castle depicted over the chariot; but it has been detached by the artist, in order to enlarge it sufficiently to accommodate the king's figure represented with the usual heroic stature.

<sup>d</sup>Not weapons.

you my might which was in that which my majesty wrought while I was alone.<sup>a</sup> My arrow struck (lit., seized), and none escaped my arms nor my hand. I flourished like a hawk among the fowl; my talons descended upon their heads. Amon-Re was upon my right and upon my left, his might and his power were in my limbs, a tumult for you; commanding for me that my counsels and my designs should come to pass. Amon-Re established the — of my enemies, giving to me every land in my grasp.”

*Over the Officials*

Utterance of the king's-children, the princes, and the companions; they reply to the Good God: “Thou art Re, shining like him. Thy might crushes the Nine Bows, every land trembles at thy name, thy fear is before them every day. Egypt rejoices in the strong-armed, the son of Amon, who is upon his throne, King Ramses III, given life, like Re.”

*Over the Castle*

Migdol of Ramses, Ruler of Heliopolis.

*Over Horses*

Great first span of his majesty (named): “Strong-is-Amon.”

*Over Grooms*

Live the Good God, achieving with his arms, making every country into something that exists not, strong-armed, mighty, skilful of hand, King Ramses III.

*Over Prisoners<sup>b</sup>*

Said the vanquished chieftains of Thekel ( $\overline{T}^{\circ} -k-k^{\circ} -r^{\circ}$ ): “———— like Baal ——— give to us [the breath that thou givest] ———.”

*Scene<sup>c</sup>*

78. In a small chapel sits Amon, with Mut and Khonsu behind him. The king standing before him leads by cords

<sup>a</sup>Champollion has here omitted an entire line, which will be found in Rosellini's and Dümichen's copies.

<sup>b</sup>Omitted by Rosellini and Champollion, and only noted by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, Text, III, 171); the fragments he gives show that it contained the conventional phrases.

<sup>c</sup>Outside of north wall of second court; Champollion, *Monuments*, 226 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 134; the inscriptions alone, Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, LV, 3, 4; and the words of the Thekel also, Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 47, a.

two lines of foreign captives, above Thekel, below Libyans. The inscriptions are as follows:

*Over Amon*

Utterance of Amon-Re, lord of heaven, ruler of gods: "Come thou with joy, slay thou the Nine Bows, lay low every opponent. Thou hast cast down the hearts of the Asiatics, thou takest the breath from their nostrils, — — — by my designs."

*Before the King*

Utterance of King Ramses III before his father, Amon-Re, king of gods: "I went forth, that I might take captive the Nine Bows and slay all lands. Not a land stood fast before me, . . . . . and my hands took captives in the van of every country, by the decrees which came forth from thy mouth, . . . . . that I might overthrow my every opponent. The lands behold me with trembling, (for) I am like Montu, — — — him who relies upon thy designs, O protector, lord of might ———."

*Over the Thekel*

79. Said the fallen, the great ones of Thekel, who were in the grasp of his majesty, while praising this Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Meriamon: "Great is thy strength, victorious king, great Sun of Egypt. Greater is thy might than a mountain of gritstone, and thy terror is like Set. Give to us breath, that we may breathe it, the life that is in thy grasp, forever."

*Over the Libyans*

Said the fallen of Libya, who were in the grasp of his majesty: "Breath, breath! O victorious king, Horus, great in kingship."

*Scene<sup>a</sup>*

80. Amon, with Mut behind him, stands extending the sword to Ramses III. The latter, leading three lines of fettered captives, advances toward the god, to whom he stretches out his arm. The inscriptions are these:

<sup>a</sup>Second court, second pylon, left (southern) tower, front; published by Champollion, *Monuments*, 332 (in publication, 331 *bis*, where it is located in the Ramesseum!); Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 144 (both omit divinities and accom-

*Before Amon<sup>a</sup>*

Utterance of Amon-Re, lord of heaven: "Come thou in peace! Thou hast taken captive thine adversary,<sup>b</sup> and slain the invader of thy border. My strength was with thee, overthrowing for thee the lands. Thou cuttest off the heads of the Asiatics (<sup>c</sup> *mw*). I have given to thee thy great might, I overthrow for thee every land, when they see thy majesty in strength like my son, Baal in his wrath."

*Before the King*

81. Utterance of King Ramses III to his father, Amon-Re, ruler of the gods: "Great is thy might, O lord of gods. The things which issue from thy mouth, they come to pass without fail. . . . Thy strength is behind as a shield, that I may slay the lands and countries that invade my border. Thou puttest great terror of me in the hearts of their chiefs; the fear and dread of me before them; that I may carry off their warriors (*phrr*), bound in my grasp, to lead them to thy ka, O my august father, — — — —. Come, to <sup>take</sup> them, being: Peleset (*Pw-r<sup>o</sup>-s<sup>o</sup>-t*), Denyen (*D<sup>o</sup>-y-n-yw-n<sup>o</sup>*), Shekelesh (*S<sup>o</sup>-k<sup>o</sup>-rw-š<sup>o</sup>*). Thy strength it was which was before me, overthrowing their seed, — thy might, O lord of gods. He who relies upon him whom thou hast entrusted with the kingship, and everyone that walks in thy way are in peace. Thou art the lord, strong-armed for him who leans his back upon thee,<sup>d</sup> a Bull with two horns, ready, conscious of his strength. Thou art my august father, who createdst my beauty, that thou mightest look upon me, and choose me to be lord of the Nine Bows. Let thy hand be with me, to slay him that invades me, and ward off every enemy that is in my limbs."

panying inscriptions); Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 211 (inscription over prisoners, also *ibid.*, Text, III, 174); Sharpe, *Inscriptions*, II, 39; Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 52 (one row only); de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 129 (upper ends of lines of king's speech, lower ends being covered by rubbish). I had a photograph by Schroeder & Cie., Zürich.

<sup>a</sup>The one before Mut contains only the conventional assurances of protection.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "the one reaching thee" (*ph tw*); the phrase is common in these inscriptions, with varying pronoun ("him, her") for "his, her adversary." Cf. the personal name, *Ph-sw-hr* = "His adversary is fallen."

<sup>c</sup>Possibly: "to number."

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "thou art a strong-armed lord, for him who leans to him (his) back." The preposition "to" (*n*) is more often "upon" (*hr*).

*Over Captives*

82. Utterance of the leaders of every country, who are in the grasp of his majesty: "Great is thy might, victorious king, great sun of Egypt. Greater is thy strength than a mountain of gritstone; thy might is like Baal. Give to us the breath that we breathe; the life which is in thy hands."

*Over Middle Line of Captives*

Utterance of the vanquished of Denyen ( $D^2 -y-n-yw-n^2$ ): "Breath! Breath! O good ruler, great in might [like] Montu, residing in Thebes."

*Over Lower Line of Captives*

Utterance of the vanquished of Peleset ( $Pw-r^2 -s^2 -ty$ ): "Give to us the breath for our nostrils, O king, son of Amon."

## IV. SECOND LIBYAN WAR

83. The disastrous defeat of the year 5 had doubtless too seriously weakened the Libyans for them again to attempt the invasion of Egypt during the reign of Ramses III. But in the year 11 they were themselves invaded by the Meshwesh, a related tribe living on their west, and the Meshwesh chieftains, Keper and Meshesher, father and son, laid waste the Libyan country. The Libyans were then forced to join the Meshwesh in an invasion of Egypt. The allies pushed eastward as far as the canal of Heliopolis, called the "*Water of Re*,"<sup>a</sup> doubtless at some point near its departure from the Nile. Here, at a place called Hatsho ( $h^c t^c s^c t$ ), in the early part of the twelfth month of his eleventh year, Ramses defeated them in a disastrous battle, in which Keper was captured and his son Meshesher killed. Ramses pursued the routed enemy over eleven miles<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>The name of the herd of Amon in Papyrus Harris, 10, 8 (§ 224), shows that the battle was fought near this canal.

<sup>b</sup>If the terminus of this eleven miles is the margin of the Libyan desert, the point on that margin must be well south in the narrow part of the Delta; otherwise it would be more than eleven miles from the canal of Heliopolis to the Libyan



westward as far as his own town, on a rise of ground called "*The - Town - of - Usermare-Meriamon - Which - is - upon - the - Mount<sup>a</sup> - of - the - Horns - of - the - Earth.*" He slew 2,175 men, and took 2,052 prisoners, of whom 558 were women and girls; among these were the survivors of the household of the hostile chief. Returning, flushed with victory, Ramses indulged in the usual triumphal celebrations. The prisoners were distributed throughout the country, and nearly a thousand of the Meshwesh were made herdmen in charge of a herd of Amon, named after this victory (Harris, 10, 8, § 224).

84. These wars, while they checked the aggressiveness of the tribes<sup>b</sup> on the west of the Delta during the remainder of reign of Ramses III, could only temporarily interrupt the tide of immigration into the Delta from the west. Still Ramses III could now style himself in his titulary: "*Protector of Egypt, guardian of the countries, conqueror of Meshwesh, spoiler of the land of Temeh.*"<sup>c</sup>

The sources for this war are:

1. Great Inscription of the First Pylon (Medinet Habu, §§ 85-92).
2. Poem on Second Libyan War (§§ 93-99).
3. Relief Scenes on First Pylon and Outside North Wall (Medinet Habu, §§ 100-114).
4. Papyrus Harris (76, 11-77, 6, § 405).

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desert. The question of how the pursuit crossed the Nile branches is a difficult one. In the war of the year 5 the Libyans are stated to have been on both sides of the river; if the victory of year 11 took place on the Heliopolis canal, they must have been on both sides at this time also.

<sup>a</sup>This place also marked the limit of the pursuit of Merneptah; see Great Inscription of Karnak, l. 49, note (III, 588).

<sup>b</sup>Papyrus Harris (77, 3, § 405) gives a list of five of these unknown tribes, beside the Meshwesh and the Libyans.

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*. Text, III, 170; left pylon, front of Medinet Habu temple; compare similar title of Thutmose IV (II, 822).

I. GREAT INSCRIPTION ON THE FIRST PYLON<sup>a</sup>

85. The fifty long lines of this document, owing to their bad state of preservation, the lack of clear arrangement in the content, and that highly figurative style, extreme in this document even for Medinet Habu, are hardly less difficult than the long inscription of the year 5. Whole lines are so fragmentary that it would have served no practical purpose to introduce their mutilated words and phrases here; they have therefore been omitted wherever necessary, but the omission is always indicated. Under these circumstances the progress of the narrative can be but vaguely discerned. At the beginning it is fortunately more clear. The alliance, undoubtedly between the Meshwesh and the Tehenu of Libya (§ 86, ll. 1 and 2), although mentioned before the invasion of the Tehenu by the Meshwesh (§ 87, l. 2), of course preceded that invasion, which issued in the alliance. Then follow, in natural order, the invasion of Egypt by the allies (§ 88, ll. 3-5), the march of Ramses III (§ 89, ll. 6, 7), and the battle (§ 90, ll. 7-20). This last, as usual, is chiefly a song of praise to the Pharaoh's valor, which is brought out by depicting the ruin of Meshesher, the Meshwesh chief with his chiefs, his family, and his host. This leads to a long triumphal description of the discomfiture of the defeated (§§ 91, 92, ll. 20-41); and the document then concludes with a speech by the Pharaoh, glorifying himself in the conventional phrases.

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<sup>a</sup>On the back of the southern tower of the first pylon facing the first court, in 50 vertical lines over the battle scene (§ 101). There are long and frequent lacunæ. It was published by Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, I, 20-25); partially by de Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, III-III, ll. 19-30, lower ends wanting; wrongly attached to another inscription); and extracts by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, Text, III, 174). A photograph shows that Dümichen's text is excessively incorrect; but unfortunately my photograph shows only the lower ends of a few lines.

*The Alliance*

86. "[The foe]<sup>a</sup> had allied themselves against Egypt, the god permitting that they should [lead on to mount their horses], (but) mighty was the valor of him who is the sole lord, and his talons [made ready] like a [trap] at their arrival, when they came with restless limbs<sup>b</sup> to lay themselves like mice under his arms, the king, Ramses III.

*Invasion of Tehenu<sup>c</sup>*

87. As for the (chief of)<sup>d</sup> Meshwesh (*M-šꜣ-wꜣ*, sic!), since he appeared, he went to one place, his land with him, and invaded the Tehenu, who were made ashes, spoiled and desolated were their cities, their seed was not.

*Invasion of Egypt*

88. They [disregarded] the beauty of this god who<sup>e</sup> slays the invader of Egypt, saying . . . . .: "We will settle in Egypt." So spake they with one accord, and they continually entered the boundaries of Egypt. Then was prepared for them <sup>4</sup>death<sup>f</sup> . . . . . of the [mighty] god, — — [who brightens] the heaven more than the sun, [mighty] with their hands before him. They were numerous <sup>5</sup>. . . . . Amon was his protection, his hand was with him, to confound their faces, to destroy them.

*March of the Pharaoh*

89. <sup>6</sup>King Ramses III; his majesty went forth in — — — his heart [confident] in his father, the lord of gods. He was — — — seized herds of small cattle; his infantry and <sup>7</sup>his chariotry bearers of victory; the mighty men whom [he] trained [as] valiant warriors. He was a strong wall, firm in — — — King Ramses III.

<sup>a</sup>Some such words must be lost in the small lacuna (see Brugsch, *Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch*, Supplement, 568).

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "showing restlessness in their limbs;" the phrase is several times used of the northern peoples also, in the Medinet Habu inscriptions.

<sup>c</sup>That this is an invasion of Libya by the Meshwesh is unnoticed in any of the histories. It seems to have been noticed by Spiegelberg (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 34, 23, [65]), though he draws no historical conclusions.

<sup>d</sup>The phrase below, "his land with him," would indicate that the chief of the Meshwesh is designated here. He gathered all his people (called "land") in one place.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., "when slaying, etc."

<sup>f</sup>Lit., "Death was put round about for them," or: "death surrounded them."

*The Battle*

90. His majesty was a hero, protecting — — <sup>8</sup>to fight hand to hand, his voice upraised, shouting like a gryphon ——— his beauty, undivided ——— his nostrils; his talons were — — — <sup>9</sup>his every — before him against his enemy; fearful in might like the shout ———, swift of foot, falling ——— horses — — — arrows, — — <sup>10</sup>slain in their place, their hearts and their souls are finished, perishing — — —. Their mouths have ceased contradiction in — —. Egypt ——— their souls — — — —. <sup>11</sup>His arms are against them like [—], his hand is upon them, he feels about, surrounding — — all — their limbs. Meshesher (*M-š<sup>2</sup>-š<sup>2</sup>-r*), son of Keper (*K<sup>2</sup>-pw-r*) ——— <sup>12</sup>laid low at the feet of his majesty. His chiefs, his family, his army are lost — completely. His eyes behold the hue<sup>b</sup> of the Sun, his warriors (*phrr*) fight ——— their —, their children — — — <sup>13</sup>their arms and their hearts, as living captives; their stuff and their children are borne [upon] their backs. Their herds, their horses, [their] wives ———. The god brings them and their — — — — <sup>14</sup>against them, a lesson for millions of years. All generations are desolated upon — [women], their —, stripped are their — — — — flourishing — — them, Amon-Re, with the [hand] of ——— mighty, confident ——— <sup>15</sup>to — extol him who repels her<sup>c</sup> assailant, — — King Ramses III, who moves quickly, bathing the sword in the slain ——— their food, fruitlessly looking while there is no — — <sup>16</sup>the way [—] before them. As for the land of Meshwesh (*M-š<sup>2</sup> ———*), [when they] seize their people, their weapons fall from their hands, their hearts cannot ——— smelling fear at a single [attack] — — — — <sup>17</sup>they [know] who is lord of the [land] of Egypt, the great flame of Sekhmet ——— their hearts, consuming their bones, in the midst of their bodies; the —<sup>d</sup> — — — — them. The land rejoices<sup>e</sup> and exults at the sight of his valor, the Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses III. <sup>18</sup>Every — is in his hand as far as the [southern] towns, as well as the northern marshes. — — — —

<sup>a</sup>The battle begins in ll. 9, 10, which are unfortunately almost entirely destroyed.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., “*skin of the sun!*” This remarkable phrase is applied to the shining appearance of the sun, in religious texts, and Horus is said to have a shining skin. “*The sun*” must here be a figure for the Egyptian king.

<sup>c</sup>Egypt’s.

<sup>d</sup>The first lost word, as determinative shows, is some designation of the king.

<sup>e</sup>Read *wnj*.

fire, strong-armed, hurling flame, — to pursue their souls, to plunder their —, which are in their land. The excellent words of Thoth confound their faces; (from) tail to head among them, they are laid low in their place. <sup>19</sup>aHis hand clutches<sup>b</sup> the body of the invader of his border, the 'breath' of [their] nostrils — — taken, perishing, — he leaves not, when enraged — — — —. His talons are over the head of the Meshwesh, the king, Ramses III, <sup>20</sup>the kindly.

*Discomfiture of the Enemy*

91. The Meshwesh and the land of Temeh, who were bound — — — in Egypt. All lands bow themselves to him, like Set, — overthrowing '—', laying low. The Meshwesh and Temeh mourn and are cast down; they go . . . . . <sup>21</sup>cTheir eyes — the ways, looking behind them; 'flying' far, fleeing in . . . . . <sup>22</sup>The flame seizes them, destroying their name; their feet are weary upon the ground, (but) they wait not the great lord of Egypt. . . . . <sup>23</sup>. . . They say when they see the people:<sup>d</sup> "— — Montu is the form of the man who is behind us ——— . . . <sup>24</sup>He is behind us like Set, [destroying] the foe. He beholds myriads like grasshoppers; behold, they are in an evil plight. . . . . <sup>25</sup>. . . We are like the 'driven barque' with the wind behind it. Our weapons are lost, cast away; our hands are 'weak'." Their soul and their heart are finished ——— . . <sup>27</sup>victory from the time of the god to eternity. "Her<sup>e</sup> violence is that which courses in our limbs, her lord is he who is in heaven; his form is like him ——— Ramses III. <sup>28</sup>He seems like the radiance of the sun; his reach, and the terror of him are like Montu . . . . . ——— <sup>30</sup>. . tearing like a divine hawk, we are made 'impotent', cut down '— —'. He sends arrow upon arrow like shooting-stars ———. <sup>31</sup>The net was spread for us, while we were before [him]. Our 'hands' and our feet were — in the palace. The god has taken us for himself, as 'prey', like wild goats creeping into the trap. The fierce-eyed ——— <sup>32</sup>. . . He turns

<sup>a</sup>The upper two-thirds of ll. 19-30 are also published by de Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 111-13).

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "claws."

<sup>c</sup>The last third of ll. 21-31 is lost, except a word or two at the ends of ll. 22-27.

<sup>d</sup>Probably meaning, when they arrive at home and see their own people, they excuse their flight in this way.

<sup>e</sup>Meaning Egypt.

not back, he heeds not our pleadings. . . .<sup>33</sup> . . . We are overthrown, our heart perishes ——— like trees. We have heard since those things<sup>a</sup> from our grandfathers, <sup>1</sup>our repulse in their time<sup>1</sup> . . . .<sup>34</sup>from Egypt . . . . . and we desired to take to our heels,<sup>b</sup> <sup>1</sup>fleeing<sup>1</sup> from the flame. Libya has misled us like —. We hearkened to their counsels,<sup>c</sup> the fire — seized <sup>35</sup>——— making for us a warning forever and ever, a chastisement for those whom the boundary of Egypt beholds.”<sup>d</sup> He shall tread upon <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>as far as<sup>1</sup> Tazoser; Montu, strong in arm, he <sup>36</sup>who takes — [<sup>1</sup>in<sup>1</sup>] the fray with you, his assailant, King Ramses III. The land of Meshwesh is desolated at one time, the Libyans and the Seped are destroyed, their seed is not <sup>37</sup>. . . their <sup>1</sup>arms<sup>1</sup> hanging over their heads;<sup>e</sup> their children do not ——— whom fear has seized, weeping and [lamenting] in their hearts: “The fame of thy majesty <sup>38</sup>——— them like fire” . . . . .<sup>40</sup>. . . . . bearing [their] tribute — — — [to] laud and to praise <sup>41</sup>the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, making [his] boundary as far as he desires in all lands.

*Speech of Ramses*

92. Lo, Horus, rich in years, who came forth from Re, from his very limbs, <sup>42</sup>to whom he decreed —, abiding upon his throne<sup>f</sup> . . . . .<sup>44</sup>. . . . . King Ramses III; he says to the king’s-children, the great princes, the leaders <sup>45</sup>of the infantry and chariotry: “Give to me your attention — — — complete. I will tell you, I will inform you; I am the son of Re, I came forth from his limbs, I sit <sup>46</sup>upon his throne in rejoicing, since I have been established — —. I give to this land my good counsels, (my) plans are carried out. I am the hero of Egypt, I defend her, placing her — — — <sup>47</sup>lord. I overthrow for [her] every one who invades [her] boundary, I am an abundant Nile, supplying her —, overflowing with good things. I am the excellent sovereign who fills <sup>48</sup>—, giving breath to the nostrils of all people. I have laid low the Meshwesh, and the land of Temeh by the might of my sword. I have caused their overthrow. Behold, <sup>49</sup>ye [<sup>1</sup>know<sup>1</sup>] that there is no

<sup>a</sup>Of course, meaning former defeats.

<sup>b</sup>On hearing the stories of their earlier defeats, they were reluctant to invade Egypt again, and wished to flee.

<sup>c</sup>The Meshwesh now blame the Libyans for their defeats.

<sup>d</sup>When they would invade it.

<sup>e</sup>The arms of the prisoners were often so bound, over their heads.

<sup>f</sup>Here follow nearly three lines of conventional epithets of the king.

contradiction in [‘my speech’]. It was the might of Amon which carried them off, that he might give myriads of jubilees to his son, the Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses III.”

<sup>50a</sup>The king, like the form of Re, of ‘abiding’ — — —. His heart is stout, like his father, Montu. <sup>b</sup>He takes as living captives the Meshwesh and the land of Temeh bound before him, taxed with their impost for the [‘treasury’] —————.

2. POEM ON THE SECOND LIBYAN WAR<sup>c</sup>

93. Over two-thirds of the poem are taken up by the date, and the laudation of the Pharaoh appended to it. The narrative then begins with the invasion of Egypt (§ 95, ll. 23, 24), followed by Ramses’ attack (§ 96, ll. 24-27), the capture of Keper, the father of the Meshwesh chief (§ 97, ll. 27-30), the defeat of the enemy (§ 98, ll. 30-32); and the poem concludes with Ramses’ victorious return (§ 99, ll. 33, 34).

*Date*

94. <sup>1</sup>Year 11, second month of the second season (sixth month), seventh day<sup>d</sup> under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Great in Kingship; Wearer of the Double Diadem, [Great in Jubilees, like Ptah]; Golden Horus: Rich in Years, like Atum, Sovereign, Protector of [Egypt, Binder of the Coun]tries; <sup>2</sup>King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses (III), Ruler of Heliopolis. . . . .<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup>This line has no connection with the preceding, but belongs to the figure of the king.

<sup>b</sup>Or: “*His captivity as living prisoners, the Meshwesh, etc., are bound, etc.*”

<sup>c</sup>On the face of the first pylon, Medinet Habu, right hand (northern tower), beside the right-hand doorpost of the central portal; published by Champollion (*Notices descriptives*, I, 728 f.; extracts only); relief and list at the top, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 209, *d* (see also *ibid.*, Text, III, 170); list only in Champollion, *ibid.*, I, 345; complete by Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, 13-15, and de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 121-26; de Rougé gives much the better text. The list was also published by Daressy (*Recueil*, 20, 119).

<sup>d</sup>The date is some six months after the victory.

<sup>e</sup>The fivefold titulary is followed by seventeen lines of which only fragments have survived. They contained only a long succession of the conventional laudatory epithets applied to the king, constituting merely an expansion of the titulary. References to the defeat of the enemy begin in l. 19, introducing the poetic account of the invasion.

*Conclusion of Introductory Triumph*

The flame ———— <sup>20</sup>their bones, boiling and scorching in their limbs. They tread the land like those who come into the trap; slain are their <sup>21</sup>heroes on the spot they tread, and their speech is taken away forever. They are overthrown at one time, seized upon are their leaders who were before them. <sup>22</sup>They are bound like fowl before the hawk whose every step is concealed in the midst of the thicket, sitting in<sup>a</sup> — —. <sup>23</sup>They are laid low, doing obeisance.

*The Invasion*

95. The hostile foe had taken counsel again, to spend their lives in the confines of Egypt, that they might take the hills and plains as their (own) districts.<sup>b</sup> <sup>24</sup>The foe set their faces toward Egypt, coming on foot themselves<sup>c</sup> to —,<sup>d</sup> which is in the <sup>e</sup>fire of the 'lowlands' with its mighty heat.<sup>e</sup>

*Ramses' Attack*

96. The heart of <sup>25</sup>his majesty was wroth like Baal in heaven, all his limbs were endowed with strength and might. He betook himself — — a goodly 'charge', to fight hand to hand multitudes on his right hand and on his left, <sup>26</sup>meeting their very selves, advancing like an arrow against them, to slay them. His — strength was mighty like <sup>27</sup>his father, Amon.

*Capture of Hostile Chief*

97. Keper (*K* > -*pw-r* >) came to salâm, like '—',<sup>f</sup> he laid down his arms, together with his soldiers. He <sup>28</sup>cried to heaven, to beseech his son;<sup>g</sup> his feet and his hands were 'paralyzed', he stood still in his place,

<sup>a</sup>The king is the hawk; the picture is that of the fowler sitting behind a screen, or in the bushes, waiting to pull together the open net, as often seen in tomb reliefs. But the introduction of the hawk mixes the figures.

<sup>b</sup>Dümichen has numbered 23 twice.

<sup>c</sup>Or: "on their own feet," being perhaps contrasted with those who went riding, or by water?

<sup>d</sup>The determinative indicates a building.

<sup>e</sup>An overdrawn figure for the dangerous proximity of the king in the Delta or lowland.

<sup>f</sup>*T* > *k* with determinative of an eye.

<sup>g</sup>For help; "to heaven" is merely idiomatic for "at the top of his voice," and does not indicate the place to which his cry was directed. The word "cry" is here *g* < *k*, Hebrew, קָרָא.



while the god,<sup>a</sup> who knew his <sup>29</sup>reins, (even) his majesty, fell upon their<sup>b</sup> heads like a mountain of granite.

*Defeat of Enemy*

98. They were scattered, overturned, brought to the ground; their blood was<sup>c</sup> <sup>30</sup>like a flood, their bodies [crushed on] the spot, trampled ———. The army was slain <sup>31</sup>——— to take them, slaying those whom his arms had taken, bound like fowl, laid low upon the [—] <sup>32</sup>under the feet of his majesty. He was like Montu the victorious, with his feet upon his<sup>d</sup> head. His<sup>e</sup> leaders are before him, slain in his grasp.

*Victorious Return*

99. <sup>33</sup>Happy are his counsels, his designs have come to pass. He returns to his palace, his heart gratified. He is like a plundering lion, terrifying the <sup>34</sup>goats, in his [coat of mail], King Ramses III. As for Egypt, their hearts rejoice at seeing his victories; they acclaim with one accord over the flight ———.

3. RELIEF SCENES ON FIRST PYLON AND OUTSIDE NORTH WALL<sup>f</sup>

100. These scenes are of the conventional order, but furnish some facts that are new, regarding the campaign. Some of the accompanying inscriptions also are of the greatest importance; e. g., the short line over the battle scene, giving the limits of the pursuit (§ 102). The long inscription over the same scene (§§ 103, 104) is almost exclusively laudation of the Pharaoh for his prowess, but mentions

<sup>a</sup>Meaning the Pharaoh.

<sup>b</sup>Meaning doubtless Keper and his son; the latter is mentioned (§ 90, l. 11), and his name given as Meshesher. Our narrative describes the capture of his old father, who afterward appears in the list of captives as "*chief of the Meshwesh, 1 man,*" but without name appended (§ 111). In the inscription belonging to the battle the son is said to have been killed (§ 90, ll. 11, 12), and the father driven pinioned before the Pharaoh's horses. He is depicted so pinioned in the line of foreign chiefs on the pavilion (§ 114, No. 6).

<sup>c</sup>De Rouge's copy here inserts the words: "*in their place.*"

<sup>d</sup>The head of the conquered foe, perhaps the Libyan chief.

<sup>e</sup>The Libyan chief's leaders.

<sup>f</sup>Also one relief from the front of the pavilion (§ 114).

the capture of Keper and adds the important fact that his son (Meshesher) was slain (ll. 11, 12). The closing section (§ 105, l. 24) also furnishes the date of the battle, between the tenth and twentieth of the twelfth month in the year 11. The date of the Poem (§§ 93-99) is some six months later. The final triumph (§§ 110, 111) furnishes the exact numbers of captured and slain.

*Scene<sup>a</sup>*

101. In the conventional manner the king is shown charging the enemy in his chariot, in which he stands with drawn bow. Two lines of Egyptian chariots accompany him, with occasional bodies of infantry; and the enemy, driven before them, or falling pierced by the king's arrows, are scattered in the wildest confusion, as the king drives over the fallen.

102. The inscriptions are these:

*Over the Charge<sup>b</sup>*

[The pursuit]<sup>c</sup> from Hatsho<sup>d</sup> ( $\overline{H} \cdot t \cdot \overline{s} \cdot c \cdot t$ ) to the town of Usermare-

<sup>a</sup>First pylon, inside, southern tower; unpublished; I had a photograph by Schroeder & Cie., Zürich.

<sup>b</sup>Fragments of the name of the king's steeds may be discerned over the horses, but large pieces have fallen off, carrying it nearly all away.

<sup>c</sup>Some such words must have begun this title of the charge; but some six or eight words have really been lost, for some early vandal has cut out a large rectangle here, carrying away a third of this little inscription. This important line was overlooked by Dümichen in his first publication; but appeared in his *Photographische Resultate* (Pl. 26), too small to be read. It was used by Brugsch in his *Geographie* (35, 36), where he misunderstood the portion he published (Pl. IV, No. 242). He then published it entire in the *Wörterbuch* (Supplement, 164), and in *Aegyptologie* (472); again by Levy, *Recueil*, 15, 171.

<sup>d</sup>This town, the name of which means "House of Sand," is depicted on the north wall (§ 107). It was a stronghold on the western road, 8 iters from the edge of the plateau. The name is misread by Brugsch as  $\overline{H} \cdot t \cdot \overline{h} \cdot c \cdot t$ ; but it is clearly  $\overline{H} \cdot t \cdot \overline{s} \cdot c \cdot t$  in § 107, and I have verified the reading on both walls carefully in the photographs. It must have been near Perire, where Merneptah's pursuit of the Libyans began (III, 579, 600), if not identical with it. There is a  $\overline{H} \cdot t \cdot \overline{s} \cdot c \cdot t$  mentioned on a late stela at Coptos (Petrie, *Coptos*, XXII). See also Daressy, *Recueil*, 19, 19.

Meriamon, which is upon the "Mount of the Horns of the Earth,"<sup>a</sup> making eight iters<sup>b</sup> of butchery among them.

*Over Battle<sup>c</sup>*

103. Horus, strong bull, mighty-armed, strong-armed, lord of terror in the lands and countries, desolating the Temeh<sup>d</sup> and Meshwesh, who are made heaps, crushed, destroyed before [his horses]. <sup>2</sup>Live the Good God, son of Amon, brave, valiant, like Montu, residing in Thebes, great ruler, by whose name one adjures, beautiful upon the steed, <sup>3</sup>brave in the fray, strong-horned among multitudes, <sup>4</sup>experienced in<sup>1</sup> charging among them like <sup>4</sup>one rejoicing in heart, hero <sup>5</sup>slaying<sup>1</sup> his <sup>6</sup>assailing<sup>1</sup> enemies, seizing the aggressor, confronting the invader of <sup>5</sup>his boundary, great in fame in the land of Meshwesh, great in terror, lord of might, destroying the name of the Asiatic lands, sending <sup>6</sup>his fire as a flame into their limbs, like Re, when he rages, in order to extend the confines of Egypt, by the great victories <sup>7</sup>of his sword, despising a million, holding in contempt two millions, firm-hearted, charging into hundred-thousands, the youthful Bull, mighty in <sup>8</sup>slaughter, like Set when he is enraged, the valiant warrior, achieving with his two arms, planning in heart, like Shu, son of Re, <sup>9</sup>great in victory among the lands and countries, planting terror in the heart of the Meshwesh, their people and their heirs upon the earth have vanished, <sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup>their — has perished forever, the countries — their soul —, they mention his every name in dread, King

<sup>a</sup>Also the limit of Merneptah's pursuit of the Libyans (III, 600, ll. 1 and 9), *q. v.* Ramses III otherwise uses this word for the far south, the commoner application. At Karnak he applies it as a gentile parallel with the people of Upper Nubia (*Annales*, IV, 5, l. 2). His new town or fortified station, not mentioned in the first Libyan war, was doubtless founded at the close of that war as a safeguard against Libyan aggression. In Papyrus Harris (51, *a*, 5) it is again mentioned and shown to be on the "*western canal*," perhaps "*The Water of Re*" of 10, 8, and 62*a*, 2.

<sup>b</sup>This is, of course, parallel with the pursuit measured in iters by Thutmose III (II, 479, l. 18). On the length of the iter, see II, 965, note, and Levy, *Recueil*, 15, 161-171.

<sup>c</sup>This inscription has been published by Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, I, 18, 19, and *Photographische Resultate*, 26), and de Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 114-17); see also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 173.

<sup>d</sup>This line is longer than the rest, and the lower end was covered in de Rougé's day. His publication therefore omits the end from here on, but makes no note of the loss.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., "*are not*." This phrase is thus parallel with the much-discussed phrase applied to Israel: "*his seed is not*." (III, 604.)

of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Meriamon, <sup>11</sup>victorious king, conscious of his might, ruler treading [—], repelling the Nine Bows, taking captive the Meshwesh, who are made heaps; their chief<sup>a</sup> <sup>12</sup>is fettered before his (Pharaoh's) horses, his son, his wife, his family are slain, their children and their stuff upon their backs <sup>13</sup>while coming, subjecting themselves to his valor; like a bull with ready horn, he thrusts, becoming that which his father, Amon-Re grants him, destroying <sup>14</sup>this —, King Ramses III, ruler, giving breath to Egypt, so that they sit under the shadow <sup>15</sup>of his might, beautiful when appearing upon the throne of Atum; his [form] is like Re over the shadows, great in might, the rampart of this land, it acclaims and it jubilates <sup>16</sup>(over) his valor.

**104.** Lo, this Good God, the august, divine youth, who came forth from Re, beautiful as a child, like the son of Isis, <sup>17</sup>Sutekh, valiant, strong-armed, like [his] f[ather], Montu, the white and red crown, and the etef-crown are upon his head . . . . . <sup>18</sup>. . mighty of arm in drawing the bow.<sup>b</sup> When he beholds millions before him like a flood, (he) charges into the multitude, <sup>19</sup>repelling the invader; they are laid low on his right and his left; overthrowing the Temeh, desolating the Meshwesh, <sup>20</sup>causing them to cease trampling the boundaries of Egypt, King Ramses III, sole lord, making his boundary as far as he desires, putting <sup>21</sup>fear and terror in the heart of the Asiatics, mighty Lion, plundering his every adversary, taking captive the lands of the Nine Bows, overthrowing them; a — tempest, <sup>22</sup>he comes up behind his adversaries; they [hear] his roaring like Baal in heaven; his august father, Amon-Re gives <sup>23</sup>the lands of the Nine Bows to him . . . lord of strength, destroying the name of the Meshwesh forever and ever, King Ramses III, given life, like Re, forever.

**105.** <sup>24</sup>Year 11, fourth month of the third season (twelfth month), day 10(+x),<sup>c</sup> of King Ramses III. Beginning<sup>d</sup> of the victory of Egypt, <sup>25</sup>which the victorious king established;<sup>e</sup> who receives acclamation, who exercises the kingship of Re, enlarging Egypt, repelling

<sup>a</sup>This chief, Keper by name, is counted in the enumeration, § 111; see also § 97, note.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "*in drawing (stretching out) when bearing the bow.*"

<sup>c</sup>Not more than 20.

<sup>d</sup>The form is not the usual one here, and another rendering is possible.

<sup>e</sup>Or: "*recorded.*"

the Nine Bows, setting terror in every land. It was <sup>26</sup>the sole lord who made heaven and earth from the origin of the world, Amon-Re, king of gods, the mighty Bull, with ready horns. Lo, the heart of this god who created the earth, inclined to establish <sup>27</sup>the boundaries of Egypt, with great power. He chose a lord, whom he created, <sup>28</sup>begotten, the issue of his limbs, a divine boy, an august youth, <sup>29</sup>great in might, strong-armed, full of plans, brave, lord of counsels, firm-hearted, ready in <sup>30</sup>designs, wise in life, like Thoth, taking account like Shu, son of Re, Usermare-Meriamon, <sup>31</sup>egg that came forth from Re, Ramses, Ruler of Heliopolis, youthful, valiant lord, to whom was assigned <sup>32</sup>victory from birth, the hero of great — like Montu, who has commanded him to crush <sup>33</sup>the lands, to lay them low, to repel them from Egypt. Montu and Sutekh are with [him in] <sup>34</sup>every fray, Anath (<sup>c</sup> *nt*) and Astarte (<sup>c</sup> *-s-ty-r<sup>2</sup>-t*) are his<sup>a</sup> shield. Amon judges <sup>35</sup>his speech, he turns not himself back, bearing the sword of Egypt over the Asiatics. He is the example of every land to<sup>b</sup> ———.

*Scene<sup>c</sup>*

**106.** Battle with the Libyans. The Egyptian heavy infantry, with sword and shield, preceded by the archers, all in faultless line, have thrown into confusion the Libyans, among whom Egyptian officers leap forward for the hand-to-hand fray. Ramses III has dismounted from his chariot and binds Libyan captives;<sup>d</sup> by his waiting chariot are his officers and bodyguard.

The inscriptions are the following:

*Before the King*

Good God, [great] in victory, lord of might, seizing every land, encompassing the lands, — — — to seek them that transgress his bound-

<sup>a</sup>The ancient artist has inserted the pronoun in the wrong place, as belonging to Astarte.

<sup>b</sup>Both Dümichen and de Rougé have omitted something at the end of the line, or more probably omitted the last line.

<sup>c</sup>First pylon, rear (west) side of projection, outside of north wall, lowest row; Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 303; unpublished; I had a photograph by Weigall and another by Beato.

<sup>d</sup>This portion will be found summarily published from Beato's photograph in Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 473.

ary, charging into —, slaying hundreds of thousands; before whom none stands; he is like Baal in his hour (of wrath). He rages like a hawk among the birdlets and the 'doves' (*šfw*); valiant upon the battlefield, fighting hand-to-hand upon his feet, seizing the chiefs with his two hands; (even) King Ramses III.

*Over Captives*

Barbarians (*H' š' tyw*), whom his majesty took as living captives, 2,052. Slain in their place, 2,175.<sup>a</sup>

*Over the King's Horses*

Great first span of his majesty (named): "Beloved-of-Amon," of the great stable of Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III).

*Over Officers*

Charioteers — —<sup>b</sup> of his majesty, who are favorites of the Good God.

*Scene<sup>c</sup>*

107. Ramses in his chariot, supported by his chariotry, charges the discomfited Libyans. The Egyptians are supported by archers, who shoot the Libyans from the walls of two neighboring Egyptian fortresses.

The inscriptions, which are badly weathered and broken, are these:

*Over the King*

King . . . . . great in might, slaying the Meshwesh, smitten and overthrown before his horses . . . . .<sup>d</sup>

*Over the Horses*

Great first span of his majesty (named): "Victory-in-Thebes."

<sup>a</sup>These numbers are corroborated by § 111, where they are itemized.

<sup>b</sup>Determinative of men.

<sup>c</sup>East half of north wall, outside of first court, lower row; unpublished; Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 303. I had a photograph by Weigall.

<sup>d</sup>The remainder (seven short lines) is badly weathered and not wholly legible on the photograph, but all that is clear consists solely of the conventional epithets of the Pharaoh.

*Over Fortresses*

— of the Meshwesh who came into Egypt [—] [before] . . . . .<sup>a</sup>

*In One Fortress*

Hatsho (*H* *t*-š *c* *t*<sup>b</sup>).

*Scene<sup>c</sup>*

108. Ramses III steps into his chariot, dragging Libyan captives, whom he grasps by the hair.

An inscription<sup>d</sup> over the horses reads:

The Good God, Set, when he appears . . . . . He hath — the hearts of the Meshwesh, their mighty men are —, [seized] —, pinioned before his horses. His terror [—] diffuses through their limbs, and his fear penetrates their members. Amon-Re is with him [against them], to lay them low, overthrown at the fame of him, (even) Ramses III.

*Scene<sup>e</sup>*

109. Ramses III, accompanied by two sunshade-bearers and an adjutant officer, inspects three lines of captives brought up by three Egyptian officers.

The inscriptions are these:

*Before Middle Row*

[Utterance of Pharaoh to the —], commander in chief of the army, king's-son: "Say to the vanquished chief of the Meshwesh: 'See how thy name is obliterated forever and ever. Thy mouth hath ceased con-

<sup>a</sup>The remainder (consisting of as much again) is broken by a joint in the masonry along which the horizontal line of text runs.

<sup>b</sup>See § 102. The determinative is a small circle, both here and in § 102; ignoring the *t*, which does not mean much in this period (other late examples of "*sand*" written with *t* are known), we should have a "*House of Sand*." It is evident that the Meshwesh invasion had reached and invested this fortress, which Ramses III is here pictured as relieving.

<sup>c</sup>East half of north wall, outside of first court, lower row; unpublished; Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 303. I had a photograph by Weigall.

<sup>d</sup>Unpublished.

<sup>e</sup>East half of north wall, outside of first court, lower row; unpublished; Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 303. I had photograph by Weigall.

tradition at the mention of Egypt, by the might of my father, the lord of gods. . . . .”

*Over Officer*

“See how Pharaoh hath obliterated thy name forever. Thy mouth hath ceased contradiction at the mention of Egypt.”<sup>a</sup>

*Scene<sup>b</sup>*

110. King Ramses III, enthroned, with two sunshade-bearers behind him, addresses a prince of rank and his two viziers, the court and leaders of the army, while two lines of captive Meshwesh, preceded by the collected hands severed from the slain, are presented to him. Over the whole is the long inscription of fifty lines translated above (§§ 103-5). The other inscriptions are these:

*Before the King*

Utterance of his majesty to the hereditary prince, and the two viziers: “Behold ye, the many good things which Amon-Re, king of gods, has done for Pharaoh, L. P. H., his child, ——— [his] dues, his possessions, his cattle, the plunder which Egypt carried away, slaying — — — — —.” The Pharaoh [recorded<sup>1</sup>] them victoriously in his own handwriting.

*Over the Viziers*

Utterance of the hereditary prince and the two viziers who are in the presence of his majesty, praising this Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III): “Thou art Re, shining like him. When thou risest, the people live. Thy strength is mighty, overthrowing the Nine Bows; kindly disposed toward Egypt, bringing victory. The might of Montu is mingled with thy limbs. Thy counsels abide, thy designs come to pass, for whom Amon finds — —, establishing the throne of Egypt, — — whom his heart loves, ruler, enduring in monuments — — he — for thee the kingdom. He hath made — — — as far as the Great Bend, beneath thy feet.”

<sup>a</sup>The officer, who is the king’s son, thus carries out the instructions of his father.

<sup>b</sup>First pylon, inside, facing first court, north tower. Published partially, but with the inscriptions complete, by Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, I, 26, 27).



*Over the Hands*

111. Total, 2,175<sup>a</sup> hands.

*Over the Libyans*

The captivity which the mighty sword of Pharaoh, L. P. H., carried away from the vanquished of the Meshwesh:

Chiefs of the Meshwesh	1 man <sup>b</sup>
Chieftains (c <sup>2</sup> ) of the — enemy	5 men
Meshwesh	1,20[5] <sup>c</sup> men
Youths	152
Boys	131
Total	1,494
Their wives	342 women
Maids ( <i>njr t</i> )	65
Girls	151
Total	558

(Total) of the mighty sword of Pharaoh, as living captives: 2,052<sup>d</sup> various persons.

Those whom his majesty slew in their place were 2,175.

Their possessions:

Cattle: bulls	119(+x)
Swords of 5 cubits (length)	115
Swords of 3 cubits (length)	124
Bows	603
Chariots	93 <sup>e</sup>
Quivers	2,310
Spears	92
Horses of the Meshwesh, and asses	183

<sup>a</sup>Corroborated by § 106, on the back of the first pylon, outside the first court.

<sup>b</sup>There is a reference to this "chief" (*wr*) in the inscription over the battle (§ 103, ll. 11, 12).

<sup>c</sup>The units are restored by calculating from the total given. The bulk of these prisoners, viz., 971, were enslaved, to care for herds in the vicinity of the battle (see Harris, 10, 8).

<sup>d</sup>This number is the correct sum-total of prisoners, male and female, above enumerated, and is corroborated by § 106.

<sup>e</sup>The units are uncertain, and may be increased; but 93 is a minimum, and 99 is a maximum.

*Scene<sup>a</sup>*

112. Ramses III, riding in his chariot, drives before him two lines of Libyan captives, and is greeted by a group of priests. Beside the horses trots the king's tame lion.

The inscriptions are the following:

*By the King*

Live the Good God, plenteous in valor, lord of might, confident in his strength . . . . .<sup>b</sup>

*Over Upper Line*

Utterance of the leaders of the land of Meshwesh, who are pinioned before his majesty: "Great is thy might, O victorious king, Sun of Egypt . . . . ."<sup>b</sup>

*Over Lower Line*

Utterance of the vanquished of Meshwesh, who are before his majesty: "Breath! Breath! O ruler, good and beautiful as king of Egypt."

*Over Priests*

Utterance of the prophets ———: ". . . . ."<sup>c</sup>

*Scene<sup>d</sup>*

113. Ramses III leads two lines of captive Libyans and presents them to Amon, who is seated in a chapel, with Mut standing behind him. The inscriptions before the divinities contain only the conventional promises usual in such scenes. The king boasts that in the strength of Amon, "*the (singular) Meshwesh was overthrown.*" Over the prisoners are the words: "*Utterance of the fallen of Meshwesh who are in the grasp of his majesty: . . . . .*"<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup>East half, north wall, outside of first court; lower row; unpublished; Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 303. I had a photograph by Weigall.

<sup>b</sup>Only similar epithets.

<sup>c</sup>The usual epithets, without a single specific allusion.

<sup>d</sup>East half of north wall, outside of second court, lower row; unpublished; Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 303. I had a photograph by Weigall.

<sup>e</sup>The usual prayer.

*Scene<sup>a</sup>*

114. A line of seven kneeling chiefs (one lost), with arms pinioned behind them; they are recognizable in features and costume, and by accompanying inscriptions, as follows:

1. Negro.  
The chief of Kush the wretched.
2. Lost.
3. Negro. Inscription lost.
4. Libyan.  
The chief of Libya.
5. Negro.  
The chief of Terses (*Tw-r<sup>3</sup> -ss*).
6. Libyan.  
The chief of Meshwesh.
7. Negro.  
The chief of Terew (*Ty-r<sup>3</sup> y-w<sup>3</sup>*).

## V. THE SYRIAN WAR

115. The materials for this war are solely relief scenes, which are too meager to afford us more than a hint of its extent or character. The invasion from Asia Minor had broken the strength of the North-Syrian peoples. Ramses III therefore improved the opportunity to invade them. The reliefs show him storming no less than five strong cities. One of them is called "*the city of Amor*," with perhaps the name of the city lost at the end; two others are defended by Hittites; a fourth is surrounded by water, and is, therefore, thought to be Kadesh; the fifth stands on high ground, but offers no other characteristic by which it might be identified.

<sup>a</sup>Relief on the façade of the left wing of the pavilion; published by Champollion, *Monuments*, 202 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 142 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 209, a; pendant to the similar relief on the other wing (§ 129).

116. It is clear that Ramses III pushed down the Orontes as far as the Hittite frontier, and Shabtuna just south of Kadesh is mentioned in his geographical list (§ 131). But he apparently made no permanent conquests, and the campaign was evidently little more than a plundering expedition, though it may have been necessary for the preservation of the Pharaoh's Syrian possessions. The question of the date of this campaign will be found discussed in §§ 132, 133.

*Scene<sup>a</sup>*

117. The king assaults a Syrian fortress on foot; he has left his chariot, and shoots with the bow as he advances; before him are his bodyguard and Sherden mercenaries. The fortress rises in four successive battlements to a lofty citadel or tower in the middle, from which waves a triangular banner. Here stands the chief and his companions. The walls are manned with bearded Semites, one of whom offers incense to Ramses from the lowest battlement.

*Inscriptions<sup>b</sup>*

In the city: "*Amor*" (𐎠-𐎎-𐎓 —); by a chief beseeching mercy: "*Utterance of the chief of the city of Amor.*" By the king, only the conventional phrases descriptive of his valor.

*Scene<sup>c</sup>*

118. The king standing in his chariot with uplifted sword, charges the chariotry of the Syrian enemy; before him Egyptian archers and heavy Sherden infantry are

<sup>a</sup>First court, north wall, behind pillars, lower row; unpublished; Baedeker's *Egypt* (German edition, 1897), 301. I had a photograph by Weigall.

<sup>b</sup>Unpublished, except the name of the city and the title of the chief, by Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 226, from notes by Eisenlohr). In my photograph the inscription in the city is concealed by a pillar.

<sup>c</sup>East half of north wall, outside of first court, upper row; first scene from east end; published by Champollion, *Monuments*, 228; the city also by Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 226.

assaulting a fortified city surrounded by water, evidently a moat. The scaling-ladders are up, and while some of the assaulting party attack the gate with axes, others have climbed the ladders, gained a footing on the ramparts, and are slaying the defenders. From the top of the wall an Egyptian trumpeter sounds the victory.<sup>a</sup>

*Scene<sup>b</sup>*

119. The king, having left his chariot, charges the Syrian enemy on foot, spear in hand. Behind him follow the chariotry and heavy infantry. The enemy are defending a walled city, which stands upon a hill. The short inscription (mutilated and very incorrectly published) contains the usual epithets of the king. It refers to enemy as "*Asiatics*" (*St'tyw*).

*Scene<sup>c</sup>*

120. The king in his chariot, with drawn bow, storms two fortresses. Behind him are his bodyguard and adjutants. The defenders of the strongholds, who fall in numbers before his attack, are Hittites. The scene, therefore, commemorates the capture of at least two Hittite walled towns in Syria. The name of one of the fortresses is given as "*Ereth*" (*ꜥ-rꜥ-tꜥ*).<sup>d</sup> The inscription over the king contains only the customary epithets extolling the king's valor. The name of the chariot horses is recorded as "*Victory-in-Thebes*."

<sup>a</sup>The two short inscriptions contain the usual epithets of the king, but they are excessively incorrect as published, and also fragmentary.

<sup>b</sup>East half of north wall, outside of first court, upper row; second scene from east end; published by Champollion, *Monuments*, 227; the city also by Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 225.

<sup>c</sup>First pylon, rear (west) side of projection outside of north wall, upper row; unpublished; Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 303. I had a photograph by Weigall.

<sup>d</sup>So Daressy, *Recueil*, 19, 18; I could not discern the name on the photograph.

*Scene<sup>a</sup>*

121. The king, standing alone, receives three lines of Syrian (Semitic) prisoners, each headed by an Egyptian officer. The only inscription, that before the king, reads:

The king himself, he said to the hereditary prince, king's-scribe, commander in chief of the army, king's-son — —:<sup>b</sup> "Collect the captives whom the valor of Pharaoh, L. P. H., has taken, and place them [in] the offices in the house (*pr*) of Amon-Re, king of gods; (for) it was his hand which captured them."

*Scene<sup>c</sup>*

122. Riding in his chariot, with his tame lion trotting beside the horses, Ramses III drives before him two lines of Syrian (Semitic) captives. The inscriptions are these:

*Over King*

Good God, beautiful in his appearance, like Re, ———, coming in triumph — — —. His valor is mighty, he hath taken captive the lands of the Asiatics (*St tyw*). . . . .<sup>d</sup>

*Over Captives*

Utterance of the vanquished of every country who are before his majesty: "Breath from thee! O lord of Egypt, Sun of the Nine Bows! Thy father, Amon, hath put us beneath thy feet forever, that we may see and breathe the breath of life; that we may hail (*brk n*)<sup>e</sup> his temple. Thou art our lord forever, like thy father, Amon. Every land is beneath thy feet, like Re, forever, O Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Meriamon."

<sup>a</sup>North wall, east end, outside, first court, upper row, third scene from east end (Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 303); unpublished. I had a photograph by Weigall.

<sup>b</sup>Left vacant by the scribe; who was to be crown prince was not certain at this time!

<sup>c</sup>North wall, east end, outside first court, upper row, fourth scene from east end (Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 303); unpublished. I had a photograph by Weigall.

<sup>d</sup>Customary epithets of the king.

<sup>e</sup>See also § 127.

*Scene<sup>a</sup>*

123. "Triumphal return of the king in his chariot, followed by two sunshade-bearers and his bodyguard; he drives before him three rows of prisoners—Libyans, Syrians, Peleset, etc.—whom he holds by cords, and is received by the rejoicing Egyptian grandees." The inscription over the king refers to "*the chiefs of the countries pinioned before him,*" but otherwise contains only the usual epithets. The horses are called: "*Great first span of his majesty (called): 'Repulser-of-the-Nine-Bows,' of the great stable of Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III).*"

*Inscriptions over Grandees<sup>b</sup>*

Utterance of the —, the nobles, and the [lead]ers: "[Come] in peace, victorious king, Horus, rich in years. Thou hast seized the lands, the Nine Bows are fettered before thy horses, for thy father, Amon, hath assigned to thee [all lands] beneath thy feet."

*Scene<sup>c</sup>*

124. "The king stands in a balcony;<sup>7</sup> behind him two sunshade-bearers, two fan-bearers, officers, and priests; Syrian captives are led before him in three rows," preceded by Egyptian officers and a group of nobles.

The inscriptions are these:

*Before the King*

Utterance of King Ramses III to the king's-children, magnates, [—] and attendants: "Hear ye my words, that I may cause you to know of the might of Amon, lord of eternity, since he crowned me as king, as

<sup>a</sup>First court, north wall, behind pillars, lower row; unpublished; Baedeker's *Egypt* (German edition, 1897), 302. I had a photograph by Weigall, but the speech of the grandees was cut off by a pillar.

<sup>b</sup>Only this greeting of the grandees is published by de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 127.

<sup>c</sup>First court, north wall, behind pillars, lower row; unpublished; Baedeker's *Egypt* (German edition, 1897), 301. I had a photograph by Weigall.





*Over Amon*

Utterance of Amon, lord of Thebes, to his son, Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Meriamon: "Come thou in peace, O Good God, lord of might, captor of the Nine Bows, at thy return having crushed the countries. Thou hast slain their chiefs, who were beginning to trespass thy boundaries, they fell by thy blade. The countries that knew not Egypt come to thee, (with) their tribute upon their backs, from the victories which I have decreed to thee forever."

*Before the King*

The king himself, presenting the tribute to Amon from the great chiefs of every country, being: silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, all (kinds of) costly stones without limit, from the booty which his majesty carried off, from that which his valiant sword captured; placed before (his) august father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, according as he gave to [him] all valor.

*Over the Chiefs*

127. Utterance of the wretched chief of Amor (<sup>2</sup>-*m-r*<sup>2</sup>), and the wretched, vanquished chief of Libya: "Breath! O Good ruler, strong-armed, great in might. Thou art verily the son of Amon, thy form is like him. He has assigned to thee every land, together overthrown beneath thy feet. Thou art like the sun, when he rises; men live at thy appearance. Give to us the breath, which thou givest, that we may hail<sup>a</sup> thy double serpent-diadem, that we may speak of thy might to our sons' sons. They are brought low through the fear of thee, of which we tell them; O thou Sun over Egypt, like the one which is in heaven, King Ramses III."

*Scene<sup>b</sup>*

128. "The king leads two rows of prisoners, before the Theban triad."

*Inscription over King<sup>c</sup>*

Utterance of the king, Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Meriamon, before his father, Amon-Re, lord of heaven, ruler of gods: "I went upon

<sup>a</sup>*B* > -r > -k > =Semitic, כָּרַע, "bend the knee;" see Bondi, *Lehnwörter*, 40, 41. See also § 122.

<sup>b</sup>First court, north wall, behind pillars, lower row; Baedeker's *Egypt* (German edition, 1897), 302.

<sup>c</sup>Only the inscriptions over the king and prisoners are published; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 127, 128; letter by Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, CXLVII, f. A.

thy way, I came at thy command, all thy designs come to pass, thou caust the — of the countries to — for fear<sup>a</sup> of me, overthrown in their place. I cut [them] down, slain at the fame of me. I carried off their people, all their possessions, all the splendid costly stone of their country; they are placed before thee, O lord of gods. Give to thy beloved, grant thou the participation of thy divine ennead in the might of thy sword.<sup>b</sup> I have carried them away: the males thereof to fill thy storehouse; their women to be subjects of thy temple. Thou causedst that I make my boundary as far as I desired. My hand was not repulsed; behold, the lands praised my might like a strong-armed one before them, by the might of thy sword, O my august father. Thy terror and thy — overthrew —.”

*Over Prisoners*

Utterance of the chiefs of all countries who are in the grasp of his majesty: “Thou art Re. . . . .”<sup>c</sup>

*Scene<sup>d</sup>*

129. A line of seven captive chiefs kneeling with arms pinioned behind them. Their racial peculiarities are clearly depicted in features and costumes, and also indicated by accompanying inscriptions.

*Inscriptions*

1. Hittite.

The wretched chief of Kheta as living captive.

2. Amorite.

The wretched chief of Amor.

3. Asiatic.

Chieftain (ꜥꜣ) of the foe of Thekel (*Tꜣ-kw-rꜣ*).

<sup>a</sup>Or possibly: “because I was ready for battle.”

<sup>b</sup>The other gods are to receive only as much of the booty of Amon’s sword as he permits.

<sup>c</sup>Here follow the conventional epithets of praise.

<sup>d</sup>Relief on the façade of the right wing of the pavilion of Medinet Habu; published by Champollion, *Monuments*, 203 = *Notices descriptives*, I, 720, 721 (see also *ibid.*, I, 709) = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 143 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 209, b; Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 51; pendant to the similar relief on the other wing (§ 114).

## 4. Sherden.

Sherden ( $\check{S}^{\text{D}} - r^{\text{D}} - d^{\text{D}} - n^{\text{D}}$ ) of the sea.

5. Bedwi.<sup>a</sup>

Chieftain ( $^{\text{C}}^{\text{D}}$ ) of the foe of Sha[*isu*] ( $\check{S}^{\text{D}} - \text{---}$ ).

## 6. Teresh.

Teresh (*Ty-w-r*<sup>D</sup> -  $\check{S}^{\text{D}}$ ) of the sea.

## 7. Head lost.

Chieftain of the Pe[*leset*] (*Pw* ———).

*Scene<sup>b</sup>*

130. Amon standing at the right extends to the king the sword, and leads to him 126 captives of the conventional form, each bearing an oval containing the name of a conquered city or country. The king smites with the war-mace a group of the enemy, whom he holds by the hair.

The inscriptions are these:

*Over Amon*

Utterance of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes: "O my son, of my body, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Meriamon, rich in years like Atum — overthrowing his enemies. Thou hast slain every land that began to trespass thy borders, in thy grasp. Thou hast taken every land. . . . Thou hast — him on the north of him; the great fame of thee, it has encompassed every land; the fear of thee, it has penetrated the countries. Thou art like Horus over the Two Lands, the son of the bow-peoples. I magnify<sup>c</sup> thy victories, I set the fear of thee in the hearts of the lands of Haunebu. Thy mighty blade is in

<sup>a</sup>See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 139 and 393. This chieftain is therefore to be connected with the war against the Seirites (§ 404).

<sup>b</sup>First pylon, left hand (southern) tower, front, left half; published by Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, I, 11, 12), but with only the upper portion of the geographical list, and omitting the king's figure; list entire by Daressy (*Recueil*, XX, 116-119, and *ibid.*, XXI, 30-39) and partially by Maspero (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, Pl. VI). A similar scene at Karnak shows Ramses III receiving from Amon the countries of "*Retenu*" and the "*southern countries*," while he "[*cuts off*] the heads of the rebels" before the god.

<sup>c</sup>Dümichen's lacuna is not in the text (photograph).

their limbs, thy majesty strikes<sup>a</sup> them down, thy hands cut off the head of thy enemy. I make [thee] lord of —, the Sand-dwellers [I come], bowing down to thy name. Dreadful is thy serpent-crest among them; the war-mace in thy right hand, the — in thy left hand. Thou hast subdued the hearts of the rebels; the chiefs come to thee, bearing tribute —, every good product of their countries. I give to thee Egypt with good things, the bow-peoples as subjects of thy palace. The South comes to thee in fear, and the North bowing down to thy fame. I open for thee the ways of Punt, with myrrh and incense for thy serpent-diadem. I lead thee, and my strength is in thy limbs, to destroy the lands that invade thee. . . .”<sup>b</sup>

*By the Victims*

Smiting the chiefs of all countries.

131. The geographical names borne by the captives (who are alternately Semite and Hittite in features)<sup>c</sup> are largely taken from the list of Ramses II at Karnak. In the portions not so borrowed<sup>d</sup> such a name as Shabtuna (*S<sup>3</sup> -bw-dw-n<sup>3</sup>*, No. 75)<sup>e</sup> indicates the Amorite valley, as we should expect.<sup>f</sup> The insertion of such names as Carchemish, Mitanni, and Arrapachitis<sup>g</sup> shows clearly the decorative character of the list. The most interesting name is Levi-El (*R<sup>3</sup> -wy-<sup>3</sup> -r<sup>3</sup>*), which is parallel with Jacob-El and Joseph-El, which Daressy would identify with Shiloh.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Read the *f* as determinative, misunderstood from the hieratic. “*Majesty*” is perhaps to be read “*mace*.”

<sup>b</sup>The conclusion contains only the conventional promises.

<sup>c</sup>Except 8 (at the ends of the rows) who are Negroes; and the names they bear are taken from the list on the other pylon (§ 138).

<sup>d</sup>The entire list of Ramses II at Karnak is not yet excavated, or, if now excavated during the recent work at Karnak, is not yet published, so that the extent of the borrowing is not yet certain. See Daressy, *Recueil*, XX, 119.

<sup>e</sup>See III, 310, note.

<sup>f</sup>We might expect some places from the Edomite war (§ 404) also, but there is not space here for such discussion.

<sup>g</sup>See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 227.

<sup>h</sup>See Daressy, *Recueil*, XXI, 37, 38; on the list as a whole, see Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 227 f.), who had only Dümichen's incomplete publication, and Sayce, *Bulletin de la Société Khédiviale de Géographie*, 1892, 661.

BLESSING OF PTAH<sup>a</sup>

132. This document is the pendant of the one of the year 11 (§§ 93-99). It is dated in the year 12, and the presence of the date would indicate that it records some specific occurrence; but it is difficult to determine what this occurrence was from our inscription, as it is copied from that of Ramses II at Abu Simbel (III, 394-414).

133. This brings up the whole question of the date of the Amorite war. The arrangement of the records in the Medinet Habu temple in chronological order from rear to front is so evident that the location of those reporting the Amorite war is of the first importance. We find them all (with one exception) on walls in front of—that is, later than—the second pylon (bearing records of the year 8), and among records of the Libyan war of the year 11. Had the Amorite campaign immediately followed the defeat of the sea-peoples in the year 8, it is certain that the very full records of that year would have contained some reference to it. But the long row of scenes depicting the campaign of the year 8 (outside north wall) contains nothing from the Amorite war, and the arrangement<sup>b</sup> of the whole wall clearly indicates that the Amorite war is at least as late as the year 11. But as the second Libyan war occurred in that year, the Amorite war would have probably been later. We have to remember,

<sup>a</sup>Inscription at Medinet Habu temple of Ramses III, cut into the front of the first pylon, on the south (left) tower, just at the left of the entrance. It exactly matches in form and size the inscription of year 11 (§§ 93-99) on the right of the entrance. Published: relief at top and list, by Champollion, *Monuments*, 204; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 123; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 209, *c* (see also, *ibid.*, Text, III, 170); complete by Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, I, 7-10); and Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, II, 131-38, but without the relief at the top). The geographical list at the top also, by Daressy (*Recueil*, XX, 120).

<sup>b</sup>The reliefs begin at the rear with three scenes from the war of year 5; proceed toward the front with seven scenes from the war of year 8; and conclude at the front with a group of scenes from the Libyan war of year 11, and the Amorite war.

however, that on the treasury in the rear of the temple interior (that is, the oldest portion of the building) there is a relief (§§ 126, 127) showing the king of Amor as a captive. But he is here in company with a Libyan king, and as we cannot suppose that the Amorite war occurred as early as the year 5 (first Libyan war), it is evident that this Libyan king was taken in the Libyan war of year 11, when Ramses III actually did capture a Libyan king (§ 97), whereas no such capture is mentioned in the records of the year 5. Thus this relief on the treasury again connects the Amorite war with the Libyan war of year 11. They must thus have occurred close together, from the testimony of the reliefs.

134. Returning now to our monument, copied, as we have stated, from an Abu Simbel stela of Ramses II, we find that the slight changes in it, necessary to suit the times of Ramses III, are not in favor of the above conclusion. Especially is this true in one case, where Ramses II's stela refers to the Hittites thus, (Ptah speaks): "*I have made for thee the land of Kheta into subjects of thy palace*" (III, 410). Here Ramses III's redactor has changed "*Kheta*" into "*every land*;" although, according to the reliefs and the lists, Ramses III must have fought the Hittites. The relief at the top of our stela contains a list of names of three African and ten Syrian towns, accompanying thirteen Asiatic (sic!) prisoners, and Müller<sup>a</sup> refers the latter without hesitation to the Amorite war. The presence of the African names with Asiatic figures would lead one to suspect this list to be nothing more than decorative. Against this stela one must now weigh the evidence of the reliefs, which seems to me conclusive for dating the Amorite war in or shortly after the year 11. This conclusion is thus reached rather in spite of than because of our stela.

<sup>a</sup>Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 394 ("S. 227").

135. All changes in the version of Ramses II have been indicated in the footnotes to the translation of the Abu Simbel stela (III, 594-414), which may therefore serve in place of a repetition of the document here.

The relief at the top shows Ramses III, "*smiting the chiefs of all countries*" in the presence of Ptah-Tatenen, who presents to him a sword, and leads up thirteen Asiatic captives, represented in the conventional form with ovals, the first three of which contain the names of African places.

#### VI. THE NUBIAN WAR

136. The materials for this war, like those of the Amorite war, are solely relief scenes. These permit no definite conclusions regarding it. Nubia had now been so thoroughly Egyptianized that Ramses III's war or wars there were doubtless confined to quelling unimportant insurrections on the extreme southern frontier, or to expeditions against the outlying tribes on the east of Nubia.

Besides the material below, see also the Nubian chiefs represented with the Meshwesh chief captured in the year 11, on the pavilion (§ 114). There are also unpublished scenes from this war on the rear (west) side of the temple (Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 302).

#### SLAYING OF PRISONERS BEFORE AMON-RE<sup>a</sup>

137. This relief shows Ramses III "*slaying the chiefs of all countries*" in the presence of Amon-Re, who extends to him a sword at the same time leading to him a list of 124 captives, depicted in the usual form, each with an oval con-

<sup>a</sup>Relief scene on the façade of the Medinet Habu temple, right (northern) tower, front, first pylon; published by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 725-28 (list partially); Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, I, 16-18, without king's figure, the victims and accompanying inscriptions) and Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 109, 110, with same omissions and without list). Rougé has incorrectly appended to the long inscription in this scene twelve lines, from the back of the same pylon-tower, belonging to the war of the eleventh year, ll. 19-30; Dümichen

taining the name of each place or country symbolized.<sup>a</sup> Over the god is a poetic inscription of eighteen lines, taken from the similar scene among the Karnak reliefs (III, 116) of Seti I, who appropriated it from the Building Inscription of Amenhotep III (II, 891, 892). It had meantime been expanded by Seti I (III, 113-18); his version was now slightly elaborated by Ramses III.<sup>b</sup> His additions, however, contain nothing of historical importance. Under the god's arm is an inscription, which has now become stereotyped in this position. Each strophe begins: "*I cause them to see thy majesty, etc.*;" and the whole is taken from Thutmose III's Hymn of Victory (II, 658 ff.), following the example of Seti I and Ramses II.

138. The list of 124 geographical names is largely a compilation from the lists of Thutmose III, and other earlier sources, and therefore of little historical importance, save in restoring the earlier lists where they are fragmentary. They are chiefly African countries;<sup>c</sup> but some names repeated on the other pylon (§ 131) are evidently Asiatic.<sup>d</sup>

(*Historische Inschriften*, I, 22, 23); also by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, III, 210, a; see also *ibid.*, Text, III, 171). None of these publications has the complete geographical list, which has been published by Daressy (*Recueil*, XX, 113-16). I also had a good photograph by Schroeder & Cie., Zürich.

<sup>a</sup>An unpublished scene on the left (south) tower of the pavilion shows the king "presenting two rows of captives before Amon" (Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 298). The lower row are Libyans, but, according to the inscriptions (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 722 f.), they also include Nubians, for the king says: "*Thou givest to me the land of Kush.*" Otherwise the inscriptions contain nothing of historical importance.

<sup>b</sup>The beginning of the same inscription is used again by Ramses III accompanying a duplicate of this scene in the great Karnak temple (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 207, d). The geographical list, however, is limited to fifteen names, chiefly the Nine Bows.

<sup>c</sup>The arrangement in Karnak places the southern countries on the southern pylon-tower; but this arrangement was not retained by Ramses III, who places this African list on the northern pylon-tower.

<sup>d</sup>The inscription over the god says: "*I cause to come to thee the chiefs of the southern countries, with their tribute and their children upon their backs, every good product of their country.*" This would indicate that the list should be African; but see the further content of the poem (III, 116).



MEDINET HABU TEMPLE CALENDAR<sup>a</sup>

139. This, the most elaborate temple calendar which has survived from the pre-Ptolemaic age, contains a number of historic data of the greatest interest. It begins with a long speech<sup>b</sup> by Ramses III, addressed to Amon. The king offers the usual praise to the god, and continues with an enumeration of his own good works for him in Thebes. These are in general those which we have more in detail in Papyrus Harris. In mentioning the feasts it is evident that the Medinet Habu temple was their center rather than Karnak. Of the property of the Medinet Habu temple, the king says to Amon:

140. I have put its possessions into writing, that I might inclose them in thy grasp. I made for thee thy property lists, that they might be <sup>17</sup>forever and [ever] in thy name. I offered to thee the Two Lands as thy portion, according as thou gavest them to me since I was born.

141. This is followed by matters of historical importance:

I built strongholds (*bhn w*) in thy name in Egypt <sup>18</sup>and ["all"] lands, likewise the land of Asia. I taxed them for their impost every year, every town by its name, gathered together, bearing their tribute, to bring them [to] thy ka, O lord of gods <sup>19</sup>. . . . I made these things by my might, from that which my ka created,<sup>c</sup> from my captures <sup>20</sup>in the land of the Negroes, and in the land of Zahi (*D<sup>2</sup>-hy*). There was naught therein for any (other) god, but I gave them to thy ka, that thou mightest be satisfied therewith, for thou art my divine father, heir of eternity, traversing everlastingness as lord of gods. <sup>21</sup>Set me in thy heart at all times, let the land abide like Thebes, thine accustomed house. . . . <sup>22</sup>Let thy provision be brought into its midst and all plenty into the chapel . . . . multiplying its children, that they may be prophets and divine fathers for thee, to call ["for"] thee for thy food, <sup>23</sup>to praise thee;

<sup>a</sup>On the outside of the south wall; it has never been properly or exhaustively published; the publications will be found in the notes on §§ 139-45.

<sup>b</sup>Daressy, *Recueil*, XIX, 15-17.

<sup>c</sup>The "generations" or "classes" of youth and captives classified for service are constantly said to be "created" (*shpr*) by the king. So Papyrus Harris often. The exact meaning is often "brought up, trained, educated," and again, "organized."

others [for] the administration [of] the work, in order to supply all daily offerings. I have collected for the herds of all small cattle, fields, domains of high land <sup>24f</sup>— —] gardens of — — wild fowl descending into the pool; in order to make festive thy oblations, with plenty. . . I — all — the captivity of my sword. Every land overflowed <sup>25f</sup>————] gold, silver, and the possessions of all lands went into it, that my house might be for thee an august sanctuary, with thy majesty in the midst thereof — forever.

The king's speech then concludes with further praise and prayer.

**142.** Following this inscription is the act of establishment<sup>a</sup> of the festal offerings of the temple. It begins:

Year 12, first month of the third season (ninth month) [twenty-sixth<sup>b</sup> day, the day] of the king's [coronation] upon the Horus-throne, when he received the regalia of his father, Re.

**143.** The new calendar of feasts was thus introduced on the anniversary of the king's coronation in his twelfth year at the completion of the temple of Medinet Habu and the termination of his wars. The act mentions several new feasts founded by Ramses III, to one of which are appended the words:

Which Ramses III founded for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, from the [victories] which the — might of Pharaoh won, among the fallen of — in the year —,<sup>c</sup> third month of the third season (eleventh month) [day] —.

**144.** Now follows the great calendar<sup>d</sup> enumerating all

<sup>a</sup>So Daressy (*Recueil*, XIX, 17), but the act itself is very mutilated; he publishes only the opening line, as above, and the names of two feasts mentioned by the document.

<sup>b</sup>The day is known from the calendar following.

<sup>c</sup>Evidently the numeral 11 is to be inserted, as he was out on the campaign of that year in the eleventh month.

<sup>d</sup>Dümichen, *Aegyptische Kalender-Inschriften*, Taf. I-XXXIV; and *Die kalendrischen Opferfestlisten im Tempel von Medinet Habu*; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, II, 364; Greene, *Fouilles à Thèbes*, IV-VI.

the old and new annual feasts of Amon, and to each feast is attached a list of the various offerings to be presented at that feast. These are so elaborate and extensive that they cover a large part of the southern wall of the temple. The particular treasury or source of income from which each offering or group of offerings shall be taken is also indicated. It begins with the daily offerings for each of the 365 days, followed by the eight "feasts of heaven," which were at monthly, half-monthly, or shorter intervals. This introduces the chief section of the calendar, the portion which treats of the annual feasts. As of prime importance to the king, the feast of his coronation on the twenty-sixth of Pakhons (ninth month) heads the list. It lasted one day, but was later lengthened by the king to no less than twenty days.<sup>a</sup> All the other annual feasts which now follow are in proper chronological order, beginning with the rising of Sirius on New Year's Day, and proceeding with the other three traditional feasts<sup>a</sup> of the first month. On the nineteenth of the second month (Paophi) began the next feast, that of Opet, the greatest in the Theban calendar. It continued under Ramses III till the twelfth of the third month, a total of twenty-four days.<sup>c</sup> The list is preserved only as far as the seventeenth or eighteenth of the fifth month, but, besides the above, it contains seventeen more annual feast days, making in all no less than forty-five annual feast days during the first 138 days of the year; that is, almost one annual feast every three days, or more than 120 in the year,

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<sup>a</sup>See Papyrus Harris, § 237.

<sup>b</sup>Wag, Thoth, and the "Great Going Forth of Osiris."

<sup>c</sup>In Thutmose III's day it was eleven days long (see my remarks, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 126), so that it has been prolonged thirteen days since his reign; in Papyrus Harris it is twenty-seven days long, so that it was extended at least three days by Ramses III.

at the same rate.<sup>a</sup> This is not including the minor “*feasts of heaven*” which were connected with each month.

145. Among the names of the new feasts there is one of historical importance in the fifth month (the day is not given), called: “*Slaying-of-the-Meshwesh*.”<sup>b</sup>

The lists of objects offered are precisely those enumerated in Papyrus Harris, and an exhaustive comparison would throw much light on the lists in the papyrus.

#### ACT OF ENDOWMENT OF THE TEMPLES OF KHNUM<sup>c</sup>

146. To Sethe's arguments that this document was issued by Ramses III, may be added the remark of de Rougé that the neighboring fragment,<sup>d</sup> containing the name of Ramses III, is of the same style. Sethe has shown<sup>e</sup> that the “*field*,” regularly referred to is the “*dodekaschoinos*,” the field of twelve schoinoi belonging to Khnum, which extended from Assuan to Takompo.<sup>f</sup> This land is by this document of

<sup>a</sup>The rate for the remainder of the year is not likely to have decreased much, for Ramses III later prolonged the feast of his coronation to twenty days; it fell in the ninth month.

<sup>b</sup>Dümichen, *Aegyptische Kalender-Inschriften*, XXXIII.

<sup>c</sup>Blocks built into the quay on the island of Elephantine; published by de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 256–58; de Morgan, *Catalogues des monuments*, I, 118, c, 119, d; see Spiegelberg, *Studien und Materialien*, 94–98; also translated by Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, II, 27, 28. I have mostly followed Sethe in the above translation, with some few additions from Rougé's copy, which was not used by Sethe.

<sup>d</sup>This fragment bearing the name of Ramses III (Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 258), records his command “*to cleanse all the temples of the South from all abomination . . . to inspect the treasuries and granaries, to protect the people and herds, to double ———, to bring in truth and to banish falsehood, to cause lying to be an abomination; to build ———.*”

<sup>e</sup>Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, II, 28.

<sup>f</sup>According to an inscription in Maharraka, found by Sethe in one of Lepsius' notebooks, Takompo must be at least as far south as the former town, so that Sethe's ably defended thesis confining the dodekaschoinos to the cataract between Assuan and Philæ is thus disproved for the Græco-Roman age at least, and probably also for the earlier time. See Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 41, 60, 62.

Ramses III conveyed for all time to Khnum. That this was a new gift the late copy of Zoser's donation of the same land shows to be impossible. Hence we here see Ramses III confirming an old possession of the god, which confirmation he, of course, viewed as a gift, precisely as we find him doing in Papyrus Harris (§ 222). The enactments of the document, making the land given, as well as its inhabitants and products, free from taxation by the crown, or any government requisition by the vizier, are most important. They confirm the statements in Genesis (47:21-26) that the priests were not taxed.

*Date*

147. 1----- . . . . .<sup>a</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Decree issued at the court on this day to the vizier, the princes, the companions, the courts of justice,<sup>b</sup> the mayors commanding settlements [and all royal officers; that the inhabitants of this <sup>4</sup>field be not taken for enforced labor<sup>1</sup>] by an officer of the royal estate or any people sent on a commission to the field; that their ships be not stopped by any patrol; that their ships be not taken by (lawful) seizure, in order to carry out any commission of the Pharaoh, by any people sent on a commission [to the field] ----- <sup>5</sup>----- [that there be not taken<sup>1</sup>] any 1-----<sup>c</sup> belonging to them by (lawful) seizure, by robbery, or 1-----, by any mayor, any inspector, any officer sent on a commission to the field. As for anyone who shall do it, the 1-----<sup>c</sup> which he took shall be collected from him ----- <sup>6</sup>-----.

148. [As for the] fishermen, fowlers, natron-gatherers, salt-gatherers, all who pursue their callings for the temples of the father<sup>d</sup> of all gods and goddesses, there shall be no 1procedure<sup>1</sup> against them by [any] one ----- <sup>7</sup>-----.

149. [As for] ----- [any] honey-collectors, any one belonging to a temple, against whom some one shall transgress, and he shall

<sup>a</sup>That the lost beginning contained the date is evident from the mention of "this day" in l. 3.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "the courts that hear (cases)."

<sup>c</sup>Sethe suggests "Stück Vieh."

<sup>d</sup>Khnum.

say: "A certain inspector or a certain officer is the one who has transgressed against me," he shall [see to it] that the damage accruing shall be made good, that the first, which shall be secretly taken from the temple, shall be made good to the god. And there shall not be collected ——— 8 ——— [but there shall be taken<sup>1</sup>] all that they have, [besides] what they cultivate for themselves, for their divine offerings.<sup>a</sup>

150. And no overseer of cattle, nor any one shall take a beast of the-herd, to give it to another as [food] or by robbery ——— 9 ——— to [—] it from him secretly likewise [— —]. And no future vizier shall make requisition upon any prophet of these temples, for silver, gold, leather, clothing, ointment ——— 10 ——— but all people shall stand and abide in these temples, following their callings [for] their gods therein ———.

#### PAPYRUS HARRIS<sup>b</sup>

151. The invaluable treasure of facts and statistics preserved to us in this remarkable document has, with the exception of one section at the end, never been exhaustively studied until recently. The closing section, which is a short historical account of Ramses III's reign, has received much

<sup>a</sup>Temple income.

<sup>b</sup>Found by the natives at Thebes in 1855. It lay with four other rolls in a hole in the floor of a common cliff-tomb near Der el-Medineh, beneath a pile of mummies which filled the tomb. Together with some twenty other rolls, found by the Arabs at the same time, it was offered for sale to Mr. A. C. Harris, of Alexandria, who purchased it; hence its name. The other papyri, not purchased by him, seem to have belonged to the series of court records containing the prosecution of tomb-robbers under Ramses IX. Papyrus Harris is now in the British Museum, where it was admirably published by Birch, *Facsimile of an Egyptian Hieratic Papyrus of the Reign of Ramses III, now in the British Museum* (London, 1876). It is practically in a perfect state of preservation, there being only a small piece of three lines torn out of Pl. 1. The *Dictionnaire du Papyrus Harris* (Vienna, 1882), by Piehl, is invaluable as a concordance, to which I express my general obligation here.

[Since finishing my study of the Papyrus Harris, I have received Professor Erman's admirable essay, "Zur Erklärung des Papyrus Harris" (*Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie, der Wissenschaft*, 1903, XXI, 456-74). Additional observations drawn from his study are severally acknowledged in the notes.]

attention, but the apparently uninteresting gifts and lists, which occupy 95 per cent. of the space in the document, have never, until recently, been carefully examined for historical purposes.<sup>a</sup> The following discussion and translation are not offered as an exhaustive monograph on the papyrus; they purpose no more than to enable the reader to employ the invaluable data furnished by the document, for historical purposes. The numerous metrological, botanical, and archæological questions<sup>b</sup> suggested by the lists do not fall within our province in the present treatise, and no attempt has been made to settle them.

152. This remarkable manuscript is the largest papyrus extant, being no less than 133 feet long, and containing 117 columns,<sup>c</sup> usually of twelve or thirteen lines. Written in a magnificent hand, it is the most sumptuous manuscript left us by ancient Egypt. The content of the document is not less remarkable than its external form. It is a detailed statement of Ramses III's benefactions to gods and men during his entire reign of over thirty-one years. It was compiled at his death by his son, to be placed in the king's tomb, and is distinctly mortuary in its character and pur-

<sup>a</sup>Professor Erman's essay, mentioned above (p. 87, n. b).

<sup>b</sup>For the metrology involved in the historical discussion, I have followed Griffith. For the reader's convenience, I append the following equivalents:

1 deben = about 1,404 grains, or 2.925 troy ounces.

1 kidet = about 140.4 grains ( $\frac{1}{10}$  of a deben).

1 sixteen fold heket = about 2.10 to 2.16 imp. bushels.

1 heket = about 292 to 300 cubic inches (1 bushel = about 7.39 to 7.59 heket).

1 hin = about 29.2 to 30 cubic inches.

1 stat = about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of an acre.

But most of the units of measure employed are unknown, and I have simply transliterated. Where I have translated botanical names, I have been dependent for the most part upon Loret's very useful investigations; but in cases of doubt I have usually transliterated the term without comment. As to the metals involved, this papyrus uses *hm't* for both bronze and copper, and unless the alloy is indicated, I have regularly rendered copper (see 14a, note).

<sup>c</sup>Published in seventy-nine plates.

pose. It was intended to secure to the departed Pharaoh the favor of all the gods in the hereafter, by showing them his numerous benefactions in all their temples, and his great deeds among men. Prayers for the king's well-being in the world beyond continually appeal to these good works as ground for the favor of the gods, on whose good-will the king's happiness after death depends. Ramses IV, the son to whom the document clearly owes its preparation, does not forget to put into his deceased father's mouth long prayers in his own (the son's) behalf, entreating for him from the gods, whose companion the departed king now is, a long and prosperous reign. So prominent are these prayers for Ramses IV that they must also have formed a strong motive for the preparation of the document by him.<sup>a</sup>

153. The document is dated on the day of the king's death,<sup>b</sup> as will be evident from the following considerations: The long lists of gifts cover thirty-one years; all annual traditional feasts of all the temples recorded were celebrated thirty-one times. It is thus evident that Ramses III died so early in the year 32 that the small fraction of gifts presented during the beginning of that year were not considered; nor did the king survive long enough in the year 32 to celebrate any of its feasts. To this last observation there is one exception: a certain feast founded by Ramses III himself was celebrated in the year 32. It began on the

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<sup>a</sup>In precisely the same way the deceased Seti I prays for his son, Ramses II (III, 280); and we find the latter petitioning his deceased father to pray to the gods, whose companion he (the father) now is, for his (the son's) welfare (III, 279).

<sup>b</sup>This was long ago recognized by Birch (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1872, 119 ff.), although his data, as he took them from the papyrus, were seriously in error. But, this conclusion of Birch has since been entirely overlooked, and and it has been generally held that the papyrus was written and dated some time before the king's death, although it over and over again, with all the euphemisms known to the Egyptians, states that he was already dead. [Later: See also Erman on this point (*op. cit.*).]



twenty-sixth of Pakhons, and lasted twenty days. This feast must therefore have fallen early in the year 32, and the king lived at least twenty days of that year. Now, in Ramses III's calendar of feasts at Medinet Habu the feast of the anniversary of his coronation is recorded as beginning on the twenty-sixth of Pakhons<sup>a</sup> (ninth month), so that the twenty-day feast in our papyrus is the celebration of the coronation anniversary; its first day, the twenty-sixth of Pakhons, is the first day of each year of the reign. This feast, which began the year 32, the old king celebrated in that year; but no more. When the Feast of the Nile-god,<sup>b</sup> which fell just ninety-five days after the close of the Feast of Coronation, was celebrated, the Pharaoh had been gathered to his fathers, for the papyrus records this feast no later than the year 31. We have thus fixed the date of the king's death within ninety-five days, and the papyrus is dated on the sixth of Epiphi, which falls within that period.

154. When, furthermore, we remember that the papyrus continually represents the king as stating that he is deceased, it is evident that the date at the head of the document is that of the king's death, the last date which could be recorded in his reign. The papyrus thus furnishes us the exact length of his reign, thirty-one years and forty days, or more exactly, forty-one days, if we include the day of his death.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>§§ 142, 143.

<sup>b</sup>The date of this feast is not given in the papyrus, but is to be found on Ramses III's stela at Silsileh (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 218, d, l. 15).

<sup>c</sup>That Ramses III ruled in round numbers thirty-one years is also shown by the Papyrus Mallet (*Recueil*, I, Pl. I, ll. 2, 3), which contains a statement of payments made "from year 31 to year 3, making 4 years." Had Ramses III ruled far into year 32, the above limits would have included more than four years; but the scribe ignores the forty days of year 32. There is no coregency with Ramses IV here (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 480); and the dates as they stand are clear proof that there was never any coregency at all. Still less is there a shadow of proof that the coregency lasted four years (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 481), making Ramses III reign thirty-six years. The document on which this

155. The document was evidently put together as rapidly as possible after the king's death, and the sections furnished by the three main temples—Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis—were written by three different scribes, as the varying hand and orthography clearly show.<sup>a</sup> The Theban scribe wrote also the general introduction, but a fourth scribe had to do with the records from the smaller temples, while a fifth furnished the concluding or historical section. One of these scribes was perhaps also the artist of the three vignettes. The haste with which the document was compiled is evident both from the fact that some of the greatest of the minor temples are entirely omitted, and from the numerous errors in the footings of the lists, as well as some glaring omissions. It is evident, also, that the scribes at Heliopolis and Memphis were unable to render as full reports as that of the Theban scribe; doubtless owing to the shorter time allowed them because of the delay involved in the journey from Thebes with their instructions, and the return thither with the finished report, before the day of the king's funeral. The entire omission of many of the more important smaller temples is probably to be accounted for in the same way; their reports failed to arrive in time.<sup>b</sup>

156. The material in the great papyrus is, in the main, very systematically arranged. To the three great gods of Egypt—Amon of Thebes, Re of Heliopolis, and Ptah of Memphis—the major portion of the space is naturally devoted. Besides these three great sections is another, of

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last conclusion is based contains an encomium of the reign of Ramses V, copied by a scribe in the year 4. Its attribution to Ramses IV (*ibid.*, 481) is an oversight, for it was formerly correctly assigned by Maspero to Ramses V (*Momies royales*, 664).

<sup>a</sup>See Erman (*Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie*, 1903, XXI, 459-62) for a table of these differences.

<sup>b</sup>This will not, however, explain the absence of such temples as Erment and Dendera, which were but a few miles away from Thebes.

general scope, devoted to the other temples, followed by a summary of all the temples of Egypt, and a concluding historical section, reciting the king's great deeds in war, commerce, and the like.

157. The following table will render this arrangement clear:<sup>a</sup>

- I. Introduction (1; §§ 182, 183).
- II. Theban Section (2-23; §§ 184-246).
- III. Heliopolitan Section (24-42; §§ 247-304).
- IV. Memphite Section (43-56; §§ 305-51).
- V. General Section (57-66*b*; §§ 352-82) (small temples).
- VI. Summary (67-74; §§ 383-96).
- VII. Historical Section (75-79; §§ 397-412).

Each of these sections, except the first and last, is arranged on the same general plan. At the beginning of each of the sections II, III, and IV is a vignette, showing the king worshipping the gods to whom the following section is devoted. The text of each section is then introduced by a prayer, which merges into a recital of the king's buildings and other benefactions for the god, concluding with an appeal to him, calling attention to the following lists. These lists contain six different classes of material: (1) the god's estate; (2) his income; (3) the king's new gifts to him; (4) grain for the old feasts; (5) offerings for new feasts founded by him; and (6) offerings to the Nile-god.

158. The statement that the first class of material constitutes the god's estate will need some demonstration. It is clear that the papyrus enumerates old income of the god merely confirmed to him by Ramses III, in the offerings of grain for the old annual feasts like that of Southern Opet at Thebes (16*b*, 13-15); for these are not only separated

<sup>a</sup>Bold figures indicate the plates of the papyrus.

by a rubric from the new feasts founded by Ramses III (e. g., 17a-21b), but they refer distinctly to "*that (income) which was before*" (16b, 14), which is included in them. If this be true, we may expect to find old possessions of the god elsewhere in the lists. Thus among the king's gifts we find the statement that he "*made*" for Amon the great vineyard called "*Kanekeme*" (8, 5). Had we no other information regarding this vineyard, we must have supposed that it was a new possession of Amon, equipped and given him by Ramses III. But we know that it was in existence long before Ramses III's time, and in possession of Ramses II's mortuary temple, the Ramesseum, also a temple of Amon at Thebes.<sup>a</sup> We thus see that Ramses III enumerates as his own gifts, property long in the possession of the god before Ramses III was born, evidently viewing his confirmation of it to the god as the conveyance of a gift.<sup>b</sup> To us it is indifferent whether such confirmation really did constitute a gift; it is enough for us to know that all property so confirmed was an old possession belonging to the earlier estate of the god. With this fact in mind, let us see if such property as enumerated can be distinguished from the new donations actually given by Ramses III.

159. The first list in each of the Theban, Heliopolitan, and Memphite sections is headed thus:

List of things, cattle, gardens, lands, galleys, workshops, and towns, which Pharaoh<sup>c</sup> gave to the house (*pr*, estate) of the god X, as property forever and ever (10, 1 ff.; 31, 1 ff.; 51a, 1 ff.; 61a, 1 ff.).

160. The second section of the lists is clearly the god's annual income or a part of it; it is headed each time<sup>d</sup> thus:<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup>See 8, 5, and note.

<sup>b</sup>He does the same in his Elephantine act of endowment (§§ 146-50).

<sup>c</sup>So Thebes; the rest use Ramses III's name.

<sup>d</sup>The scribe has omitted the heading by mistake in the general section.

<sup>e</sup>So the summary; the others give the various temples, etc., by name.

Things exacted, impost of the people and all the serf-laborers of the houses, temples, and estates which he gave to them as their yearly dues (12a, 1 ff.; 32a, 7 ff.; 51b, 3 ff.; 68b, 4 ff.).

Yet it is stated that Ramses III “gave” this income to the gods, although it is evident that it is income which they must long before have enjoyed.

161. The third section of the lists is five times so headed:

Gold, silver, etc.,<sup>a</sup> which Ramses III gave as gifts of the king, in order to provision the house of the god X, from the year 1<sup>b</sup> to the year 31.<sup>b</sup>

162. We see that these “gifts” are distributed through thirty-one years, while the “property”<sup>c</sup> of the first heading is, as far as the heading is concerned, each time merely once given, and is never called “gifts of the king.” On looking at the lists themselves, under the first and third headings, we find, for example at Heliopolis, lands under both; while at Thebes we find cattle under both. Why were these not put together? Evidently because some of the land was former “property” of the god, while the rest was a “gift of the king.” Now, the estate of the god, as Erman has noticed, is of course given as it was found at the king’s death, using the names then in vogue; hence we find the keepers of a herd named after Ramses III’s victory over the Meshwesh (10, 8) included in the estate. Evidently the 971 Meshwesh slaves who kept this herd were a gift of Ramses III, and other gifts of his, not discernible because not accidentally so distinguished, are thus, of course, included in the estate. This made no difference to Ramses

<sup>a</sup>Long series of portable property.

<sup>b</sup>The summary has for this phrase, “while he was king upon earth.”

<sup>c</sup>The word employed (*ymy-pr*) is the usual term, both for the document by which property is conveyed by mortmain, and for such property itself. The term is therefore of itself sufficient to determine the character of the property to which it is applied.

III, while claiming, as he did, to have given the whole estate to the god.

163. The important point for us is, that we have here an inventory of the whole estate, and that we can now determine from the great papyrus the total wealth held by the three great temples of Egypt—an economic datum till recently unknown in the study of ancient Egypt or of any other oriental country of the time. If we thus leave the total amount of Ramses III's new gifts somewhat uncertain, such uncertainty is of little importance, for it is evident in any case that the bulk of his alleged donations to the gods were old and traditional possessions, for a large share of which the priesthoods were doubtless indebted to the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>a</sup>

164. The classification of the property of the temples in the document is shown in the appended table (p. 96).

165. We can now proceed to determine what proportion of the wealth of the country was in possession of the temples of the land. To do this, we must compile a condensed summary of their property, taking first the temple estates (see table, p. 97).

166. With these data we can safely deal only in the case of people and land. The cattle are lumped together without showing what proportion of sheep, goats, etc., the numbers contain. We do not know the size of the gardens and groves, or towns; nor the size and value of the ships and workshops. But with the people belonging to the temples, and the lands, we can operate with tolerable precision, as compared with our former total lack of data. The population of Egypt up to within the last five or six years was reckoned at toward six millions, but the latest census places

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<sup>a</sup>For example, Amon owns but nine Syrian towns, and we know that Thutmose III alone gave Amon three Syrian towns (II, 557).

## CLASSIFICATION OF THE PROPERTY OF THE TEMPLES

	II. THEBAN SECTION	III. HELIOPOLITAN SECTION	IV. MEMPHITE SECTION	V. GENERAL SECTION (SMALL TEMPLES)	VI. SUMMARY
1. Introductory Vignette	2; § 184	24; § 247	43; § 305	None	None
2. Prayer to the God and Recital of the King's Benefactions in Buildings and Gifts	3-9; §§ 185-221	25-30; §§ 248-79	44-50; §§ 306-36	57-60; §§ 352-63	None
3. The God's Estate	10-11; §§ 222-26	31-32a, 6; §§ 280-82	51a-51b, 2; §§ 337-39	61a-62a, 10; §§ 364-70	67-68b, 3; §§ 383-85
4. The God's Income	12a-12b; §§ 227-30	32a, 7-32b; § 283	51b, 3-52a, 3; §§ 340, 341	62a, 11-13; § 371	68b, 4-70a, 2; §§ 386, 387
5. The King's Gifts to the God	13a-16b, 12; §§ 231-35	33a-34b, 5; §§ 284-88	52a, 4-53b, 11; §§ 342-45	62b-66a; §§ 372-81	
6. Grain for the Old Feasts	16b, 13-15; § 236	34b, 6-9; § 289	53b, 12-54a, 1; § 346	None	70a, 3-74 §§ 388-96
7. Offerings for New Feasts Founded by Ramses III	17a-21b, 10; §§ 237-44	34b, 10-37a; §§ 290-95	None	None	
8. Offerings for the Nile-god	None	37b-41b; §§ 296-303	54a, 2-56a; §§ 347-50	None	
9. Private Statues of Amon	21b, 11-16; § 245	None	None	None	Above in the estates
10. <sup>a</sup> Concluding Prayer of Ramses III	22, 23; § 246	42; § 304	56b; § 351	66b; § 382	None

<sup>a</sup>These numbers do not wholly conform with those found in the translation, because of the absence of some of the heads in certain sections. Thus No. 8 of this table is wanting in the Theban section, and hence in the translation No. 9 has become No. 8.

## TEMPLE ESTATES

	<sup>a</sup> THEBES	HELIOPOLIS	MEMPHIS	GENERAL (SMALL TEMPLES)	SUMMARY
People	86,486 <sup>b</sup>	12,364 <sup>c</sup>	3,079	5,686 <sup>d</sup>	107,615 <sup>e</sup>
Large and Small Cattle	421,362	45,544	10,047	13,433	490,386
Gardens and Groves	433	64	5	11	513 <sup>f</sup>
Lands	864,168 <sup>g</sup> stat	160,084 <sup>g</sup> stat	10,154 stat	36,012 stat	1,070,419 <sup>g</sup> stat
Ships	83	3	2	None	88
Workshops	46	5 <sup>h</sup> (sic!)	None	2	53 <sup>h</sup> (sic!)
Towns of Egypt	56	103	1	None	160
Towns of Syria and Kush	9	None	None	None	9
Total Towns	65	103	1	None	169

<sup>a</sup>To the fortune of Amon (Thebes) must also be added the 2,756 statues, of which the materials are enumerated (68a, 3-68b, 3).

<sup>b</sup>The papyrus gives the correct total in this case.

<sup>c</sup>The papyrus gives 12,963.

<sup>d</sup>The papyrus gives 5,811.

<sup>e</sup>The papyrus gives 113,433.

<sup>f</sup>The papyrus gives 514.

<sup>g</sup>The papyrus gives 1,071,780.



it above nine millions. It is much to be doubted whether in its ancient state the land could support as large a population as modern improved conditions have produced. Granting this, we see that one person in about eighty-five of the population was temple property; or, accepting the lower figure for the ancient population (Diodorus gives six million as the population in Roman times), one person in about fifty-five. But, remembering that the list of smaller temples is incomplete, we may say that one person in from fifty to eighty of the population belonged to the temples. In no case were more than 2 per cent. of the people temple property.

167. Turning to the consideration of the land, we find the temples in possession of a total of 1,070,419 stat, or about 722,533 acres. The archives of modern Egypt contain a registration of about five millions of acres,<sup>a</sup> whence it will be seen that the temples owned nearly one-seventh, or over 14½ per cent., of the land. Including the smaller temples<sup>b</sup> omitted by the papyrus, probably over 15 per cent. of the land belonged to the religious foundations. This was distributed as follows:

Thebes	583,313.57 acres
Heliopolis	108,057.2 "
Memphis	6,853.95 "
Small Temples }	24,308.1 "
Total	<hr/> 722,532.82 acres

168. The income of the temples is also very instructive when tabulated.

<sup>a</sup>*Reports by His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General on . . . . Egypt and the Soudan*, in 1902 (published April, 1903), 24, 25.

<sup>b</sup>The scribe does not itemize the land by temples (62a, 8), but as he does not include Khnum of Elephantine among the list of temple-slaves, he may be omitting the entire dodekaschoinos, which we know was the property of Khnum under Ramses III (§§ 146-50).

TEMPLE INCOMES FOR THIRTY-ONE YEARS

	THEBES	HELIOPOLIS	MEMPHIS	GENERAL (SMALL TEMPLES)	SUMMARY
Gold	569 d., <sup>a</sup> 6½ k. or 138.852 lb.	None	None	None	569 <sup>b</sup> d., 6½ k. or 138.852 lb.
Silver	10,964 d., 9 k. or 2,672.694 lb.	586 d., 3½ k. or 142.933 lb.	98 d., 3½ k. or 23.983 lb.	None	11,640 <sup>b</sup> d., 6½ k. or 2,839.61 lb.
Copper	26,320 d. or 5,279.04 lb.	1,260 d. or 252.72 lb.	None	None	27,580 d. or 5,531.76 lb.
Garments	3,722	1,019	133½	None	4,874½ <sup>c</sup>
Yarn	3,795 d. or 761.17 lb.	None	None	None	3,795 d. or 761.17 lb.
Incense, Honey, and Oil	1,047 various jars <sup>d</sup>	482 various jars	None	None	1,529 various jars
Shedet <sup>e</sup> and Wine	25,405 various jars <sup>d</sup>	2,385 various jars	390 various jars	None	28,180 <sup>f</sup> various jars
Silver received in Exchange for Objects of Impost Sold by the Temples	3,606 d., 1 k. or 878.987 lb.	456 d., 3½ k. or 111.235 lb.	141d., 3½ k. or 34.444 lb.	None	4203, d., 7½ k. g or 1,024.666 lb.

<sup>a</sup>d. stands for deben = about 1,404 grains (91 grammes); k. stands for kidet, which is ⅓ of a deben. Precious metals are in lbs. troy.

<sup>b</sup>These two numbers are totally wrong as given by the papyrus, see note 68b, 6.

<sup>c</sup>Papyrus has 4,575.

<sup>d</sup>Content unknown.

<sup>e</sup>Perhaps a wine of pomegranates, perhaps must.

<sup>f</sup>Papyrus has 28,080.

<sup>g</sup>Papyrus has 4,208 deben, 7½ kidet.

Q. C. P.

## TEMPLE INCOMES FOR THIRTY-ONE YEARS—Continued

	THEBES	HELIOPOLIS	MEMPHIS	GENERAL (SMALL TEMPLES)	SUMMARY
Grain	399,950 <sup>a</sup> measures	77,100 <sup>a</sup> measures	37,400 <sup>a</sup> measures	73,250 <sup>a</sup> measures	497,700 <sup>b</sup> measures
Vegetables	24,650 bundles <sup>c</sup>	4,800 bundles <sup>c</sup>	600 bundles <sup>c</sup>	3,300 bundles <sup>c</sup>	33,350 <sup>d</sup> bundles
Flax	64,000 bales <sup>c</sup>	4,000 bales <sup>c</sup>	None	3,000 bales <sup>c</sup>	71,000 bales
Water-fowl	289,530	37,465	None	None	326,995 <sup>e</sup>
Cattle	866 head	98 head	15½ head	None	979½ <sup>f</sup>
Geese	744 head	540½ head	135 head	None	1,419½ <sup>g</sup>
Ships	82	8	None	None	90
Products of the Oasis	Numb'trs not given	Numb'trs not given	Numb'trs not given	None	Numb'trs not given
Products of God's-Land, Syria, and Ktish	Included above	Included above	Numb'trs not given	None	Numb'trs not given

<sup>a</sup>Sixteenfold heket.

<sup>b</sup>Papyrus has 460,900, having evidently omitted Memphis.

<sup>c</sup>Size unknown.

<sup>d</sup>Papyrus has 32,750.

<sup>e</sup>Papyrus has 100,000 more!

<sup>f</sup>Papyrus has 980.

<sup>g</sup>Papyrus has 1,920.

169. The above table shows the total income for thirty-one years, so that all numbers must be divided by thirty-one to obtain the annual income. Egypt's wealth has from the most ancient times consisted chiefly of grain and cattle, but especially the former. Yet of cattle the annual income of all temples was less than thirty-two head a year, and so great a temple as Memphis is charged with only half a beef each year. There is no gold in the income of either Heliopolis or Memphis, nor in that of the latter any incense, honey, oil, or flax. Other items are so small that it is impossible to believe that these lists contain the total income of any temple. The numbers would indicate that this entire list may be the income exclusively from Ramses III's new endowments.<sup>a</sup> Having already credited himself with giving the hereditary estate of each temple, when he comes to the income, he probably omits the annual receipts from the hereditary estate, which formed an old and standing income, and lists only the income from his own new endowments.

170. This income is annually as follows:

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<sup>a</sup>Erman has also expressed his doubt as to the possibility that this list represents the entire income of the temple (*op. cit.*, 471), but thinks them possibly "nur nebensächliche Steuern."

## ANNUAL INCOME

	THEBES	HELIOPOLIS	MEMPHIS	GENERAL (SMALL TEMPLES)	SUMMARY
Gold	18 d., 3½ k. or 4.48 lb.	None	None	None	18 d., 3½ k. or 4.48 lb.
Silver	353 d., 7 k. or 86.214 lb.	18 d., 9½ k. or 4.612 lb.	3 d., 1½ k. or 0.775 lb.	None	375 d., 8 k. or 91.601 lb.
Copper	849 d. or 170.285 lb.	40 d., 6 k. or 8.143 lb.	None	None	889 d., 6 k. or 178.428 lb.
Garments	120	33	4	None	157
Yarn	122 d. or 24.47 lb.	None	None	None	122 d. or 24.47 lb.
Incense, Honey, and Oil	34 various jars	15 various jars	None	None	49 various jars
Shedeh and Wine	819 various jars	77 various jars	13 various jars	None	909 various jars
Silver received in Exchange for Objects of Impost Sold by the Temples	116 d., 3½ k. or 28.353 lb.	14 d., 7½ k. or 3.588 lb.	4 d., 5½ k. or 1.111 lb.	None	135 d., 6 k. or 33.052 lb.
Grain	9,998 measures	2,487 measures	1,207 measures	2,363 measures	16,055 measures
Vegetables	795 bundles	155 bundles	20 bundles	106 bundles	1,076 bundles
Flax	2,064 bales	129 bales	None	97 bales	2,290 bales
Water-fowl	9,340	1,208	None	None	10,548
Cattle	28	3	½	None	31½
Geese	24	17	4	None	45
Ships	About 8 every 3 years.	About 1 every 4 years.	None	None	3
Products of Oasis	No numbers	No numbers	No numbers	None	No numbers
Products of God's-Land, Syria, and Kush	Included above	Included above	No numbers	None	Uncertain

171. The political significance of these lists largely attaches to the question of Amon's share in them. The estate of the god embraced over 10 per cent. of the lands of Egypt,<sup>a</sup> and at most about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the population, or perhaps even a little less than 1 per cent. This meant a fortune in land of over five times that of Heliopolis, and over nine times that of Memphis, while in people the disproportion was still greater. That this disproportion was due solely to Ramses III is impossible. If we are correct in concluding that the above income was derived from Ramses III's new endowments, there is nothing in these figures which would indicate that Amon's vast wealth was due to Ramses III alone. Amon's annual income in gold, of which the other temples received none, is something less than 26,000 grains. Of other items Amon received roughly: 17 times as much silver; 21 times as much copper; 3 times as many garments; 2 times as much incense, honey, and oil; 9 times as much shedeh and wine;  $1\frac{2}{3}$  times as much grain; 10 times as much flax; 8 times as many waterfowl; 7 times as many cattle; about the same number of geese; 10 times as many ships; as all the other temples combined. This disproportion, if maintained through the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, would account for the enormous wealth of Amon;<sup>b</sup> but that wealth was not the result of the donations of one reign.

172. At this point we must examine the list explicitly stated to contain Ramses III's gifts to the temples.

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<sup>a</sup>See table, p. 98.

<sup>b</sup>It is to be supposed that the old fortune of Amon, if confiscated or depleted by Amenhotep IV, was restored by Harmhab.

RAMSES III'S GIFTS TO THE GODS DURING THIRTY-ONE YEARS

	THEBES	HELIOPOLIS	MEMPHIS	GENERAL (SMALL TEMPLES)	SUMMARY
Gold	183 d., 7 k. or 44,777 lb. <sup>a</sup>	1,479 d., 3½ k. or 360,583 lb.	265 d., 5½ k. or 64,728 lb.	1,719 d., 8½ k. or 419,207 lb.	3,648 d., 31½ k. or 889,295 lb.
Silver	827 d., 1¼ k. or 201,612 lb.	2,285 d., ½ k. or 549,668 lb.	516 d., 6 k. or 125,921 lb.	2,428 d., 5½ k. or 591,951 lb.	6,027 d., 21½ k. or 1,469,152 lb.
Lapis lazuli	14 d., ½ k. or 3,425 lb.	1 d., 1 k. or 0,268 lb.	3 d., 2 k. or 0,780 lb.	10 d., 6 k. or 2,583 lb.	28 d., 9½ k. or 7,056 lb.
Copper and Bronze	822 d. or 164,87 lb.	1,883 d., 7 k. or 377,816 lb.	2,018 d. or 494,753 lb.	14,130 d., 3 k. or 2,834,134 lb.	18,854 d. or 3,781,573 lb.
Myrrh	5,140 d. or 1,252,875 lb. 3 heket, 20 hin	1,787 d. or 435,581 lb. 2 heket	1,046 d. or 254,962 lb.		7,973 d. or 1,943,418 lb. 5 heket, 20 hin
Garments	9,116	18,793	7,026	2,947	37,882
Incense, Honey, Oil, and Fat	9,105 various jars	3,740 various jars	1,046 various jars	2,574 various jars	16,485 various jars
Shedeh and Wine	22,566 various jars	103,550 vari'us jars.	25,978 various jars	3,287 various jars	155,381 vari'us jars.
Grain	None	5 heket	40 heket	2,231 <sup>b</sup> measures	35,741 heket
Cattle	297	None	979	1,142	2,418
Geese	8,160	None	419	194	8,773
Water-fowl	126,300	None	576	2,973	128,949
Land	None	54½ stat and 2 gardens	None	1,361 stat and 4 gardens	1,415½ stat and 6 gardens

<sup>a</sup>All conversions are in lbs. troy except copper and bronze, which are avoirdupois.

<sup>b</sup>Sixteenfold heket.

173. This list shows immensely more gold, silver, copper, garments, cattle, grain, and land given to the other temples than to Amon, while it is only in a few less valuable commodities that Amon is in the lead. Even including Amon's income with the above gifts, Heliopolis was yearly receiving twice as much gold as Thebes from all sources. Amon's superiority is, however, in the aggregate decidedly maintained, as a combination of the income and the gifts shows. It is evident also that, while the gifts of land to other temples have been enumerated in this list, the lands given to Amon are not included here, but are counted in Amon's estate, as it was also clear from the names of the herds that the cattle given Amon were to some extent included in the estate. In using the list of gifts, therefore, it must not be forgotten that in the items of land and cattle it is incomplete, and that it is impossible to determine exactly the extent of Ramses III's gifts in these two forms of property. But, judging from those gifts of which we are able to determine the amount, the wealth of Amon in Ramses III's day, was not due to his donations, nor can we aver that the fortune of Amon of necessity constituted such a menace to the state as alone to threaten its overthrow—a conclusion now current, and everywhere accepted.

174. An important question suggested by these lists is the relation of income and expenditure. The following tables indicate the total income of three great temples in grain:

GRAIN FOR OLD FEASTS DURING THIRTY-ONE YEARS

Thebes	2,981,674	16-fold	heket
Heliopolis	1,097,624	“	“
Memphis	947,688	“	“
Small temples	Not given		



The total annual income in grain was therefore as follows:

Thebes	{ For the old feasts	96,183	16-fold heket
	{ Income (from Ramses III)	9,998	“ “
	Total	106,181	“ “
Heliopolis	{ For the old feasts	35,407	“ “
	{ For the offerings to the Nile	3,598 <sup>a</sup>	“ “
	{ Income (from Ramses III)	2,487	“ “
	Total	41,492	“ “
Memphis	{ For the old feasts	30,570	“ “
	{ For the offerings to the Nile	1,211 <sup>b</sup>	“ “
	{ Income (from Ramses III)	1,207	“ “
	Total	32,988	“ “

175. From these figures it will be seen how far the income of Ramses III was from furnishing enough grain for the old feasts. They must have been drawn from the old income, which, in view of the vast extent of the temple lands, was greatly in excess of these amounts contributed to the offerings. Erman suggests that the surplus was used in building Ramses III's temples,<sup>c</sup> like that at Medinet Habu, Karnak, and other places. But the question arises whether it was not consumed in the maintenance of the other temples of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. We know that some of the Eighteenth Dynasty Theban temples, like that of Amenhotep III behind the Memnon colossi, had already perished at the vandal hands of the Nineteenth Dynasty kings. We can understand, too, how the mortuary temples, which were so largely the personal sanctuaries of earlier Pharaohs, might be desecrated. Yet, if their offerings were in some cases maintained, Ramses III would

<sup>a</sup>Only during the last seventeen years of the reign.

<sup>b</sup>Only during the last three years of the reign.

<sup>c</sup>*Op. cit.*, 474.

have been likely to include them in the totals given in the papyrus, without any remark as to their employment; for he does not itemize by temples the grain and other offerings given for the feasts.

176. This brings up the question: What Theban temples are known to the papyrus as sharing in Amon's income and Ramses III's bounty? They are referred to in three different places: the narrative of buildings and good works (§§ 189-214), the list of people (§§ 223, 224), and the income (§ 227); and they include six different temples:

No. 1. TEMPLES BUILT OR IMPROVED <sup>a</sup>	No. 2. PEOPLE ATTACHED TO	No. 3. INCOME
Medinet Habu temple.	Medinet Habu temple.	Medinet Habu temple.
Small Karnak temple.	Small Karnak temple.	Small Karnak temple.
Southern Karnak temple.	Luxor temple.	Luxor temple.
Great Karnak temple.	Southern Karnak temple.	Southern Karnak temple.
Khonsu-temple.		Khonsu-temple.

177. From this it is evident that the income and the people of the great Karnak temple must be included elsewhere. When we notice that the Medinet Habu temple is credited with 62,626 people (10, 3), or three-fourths of all the people belonging to Amon, it is evident where the people belonging to the Karnak temple are to be found. Again, when we see that the people attached to the Khonsu-temple

<sup>a</sup>The Luxor temple is omitted, and yet Ramses III built a chapel on the river side of this temple. The lower part of a sandstone stela (*Recueil*, 16, 55, 56), used in antiquity to prop a falling statue of Ramses II at Luxor, contains a record of building by Ramses III in the same temple: "*Ramses III, doubling offerings in Luxor . . . . . maker of monuments, profitable to him that begat him . . . . . building a house in Luxor on the right of his august father, Amon-Re. . . . . It is like the horizon of heaven, made of fine sandstone; it shall endure as long as heaven endures, a place for the promenade of the lord of gods at his beautiful feast of Opet. . . . . He made (it) as [his] monument for his father, Amon-Re, presider over his Yp't; making for him a great and august chapel of the front, of marvelous great blocks.*" The omission of this building in the Theban section is another evidence of the hastiness with which the document was prepared, and the resulting incompleteness.

are also included somewhere else, we are led to conclude that the fortunes of the different Amon-temples are not always kept apart by the papyrus; in other words, the fortunes of all might be comprehended under one head as the estate of Amon.

178. Indeed, this common estate is unequivocally mentioned, for we find the five herds belonging to the five temples of No. 3 spoken of as "*the five herds made for this house*" (12a, 3, 4). "*This house*," therefore, comprised the property of five different temples, and beyond doubt designates the estate of Amon, irrespective of the different temples among which it was divided. That other temples besides the five of No. 3 above may be included under one head is indicated by a record of restoration in the small Eighteenth Dynasty temple by Ramses III, which reads thus:<sup>a</sup>

179. He made it as a restoration of the monument of his father, "Amon-Re-of-Splendid-Seat,"<sup>b</sup> who rests in his temple in the precinct<sup>c</sup> of "The-House-of-Millions-of-Years-of-King-Usermare-Meriamon-Possessed-of-Eternity-in-the-House-of-Amon"<sup>d</sup> on the west of Thebes, when his majesty found it beginning to fall to ruin.

180. This small Medinet Habu temple is nowhere mentioned in the inscriptions; yet it was clearly restored and maintained by Ramses III, and is here included in the precincts of Ramses III's great temple, which stood beside it. Its people were, of course, also included in the 62,626 people of the great temple. Clearly, Ramses III made

<sup>a</sup>Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 60; again, less accurately, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 163. The inscription occurs twice with unimportant variants.

<sup>b</sup>This is the name of the Amon of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple of Medinet Habu. It literally reads: "*Amon-Re-Splendid-of-Seat*;" compare a similar Amon on a bronze axe in Alnwick Castle (Birch, *Catalogue*, Pl. B): "*Amon-Splendid-of-Horizon*," in the record of a foundation ceremony by Thutmose III.

<sup>c</sup>*Mr.*

<sup>d</sup>The name of Ramses III's Medinet Habu temple; see building inscriptions (§§ 1-20), where a shorter form is also in use.

his temple of Medinet Habu the administrative head of Amon's estate, and counted as belonging to it the property of the Karnak temple, that of the small Medinet Habu temple, and doubtless of others also, like that of Mut, who is mentioned in the headings, but whose fortune is nowhere listed. This fact once established for Thebes, the same may be true of Heliopolis and Memphis; and the vast income of these great sanctuaries, which we may compute from the temple lands, may have been distributed among far more temples than those mentioned in the papyrus. This distribution of income we cannot control (even if it were all counted in each case as income of the chief sanctuary alone), because the income lists evidently contain only a part of the income, as we have already shown; and the outgo covers only the maintenance of feasts, not the support of the great army of priests and officials.<sup>a</sup>

This discussion of the lists might be carried much farther, but doubtless the subject is above sufficiently introduced to make the importance and proper significance of the lists evident.

181. The historical section at the end furnishes a valuable supplement to the records of Ramses III's wars in his Medinet Habu temple. It is especially instructive, despite its obscurity, in its account of the anarchy preceding the rise of Ramses III's father. This paragraph, with its description of civil war and famine, reads like a chapter from the rule of the Mamlukes in Egypt. The section further furnishes accounts of an Edomite war, a new well in the Ayan desert, expeditions to Punt and the Sinaitic Peninsula,

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<sup>a</sup>Certain things consumed by the priests are included in the great Medinet Habu Calendar, but only during feasts, like that of Opet, to the offerings of which is appended a list of the grain, beer, oil, etc., consumed by the priests during the twenty-four days of the feast. Such expenses may therefore be included in the lists of festal offerings in our papyrus, and evidently are so, e. g., in § 238, Pl. 17b.

besides new details regarding the wars already known to us from the Medinet Habu temple. It finally closes with a brief statement of Ramses III's philanthropic measures for his whole realm, followed by a prayer for the prosperity of his son, whom all are exhorted to obey.

## I. INTRODUCTION

### *Pl. 1. Date and Introduction*

**182.** <sup>1</sup>Year 32, third month of the third season (eleventh month), sixth day;<sup>a</sup> under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H.; Son of Re: Ramses (III), Ruler of Heliopolis, L. P. H., beloved of all gods and goddesses; <sup>2</sup>king, shining in the White Crown like Osiris; ruler, brightening the Nether World<sup>b</sup> like Atum; <sup>1</sup>ruler<sup>1</sup> of <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> of the great house in the midst of the cemetery, traversing eternity forever as king of the Nether World; King of Upper and Lower Egypt; Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses (III), Ruler of Heliopolis, L. P. H., the Great God.

### *Content and Purpose of the Document*

**183.** <sup>3</sup>He tells, in praise, adoration, and laudation, the many benefactions and mighty deeds, which he did as king and as ruler on earth, for:

#### *Gods of Thebes<sup>c</sup>*

1. The house (*pr*) of his august father, Amon-Re, king of gods, <sup>4</sup>Mut, Khonsu, and all the gods of Thebes;

#### *Gods of Heliopolis*

2. The house (*pr*) of his august father, Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis; Re-Harakhte; Saosis (*Yws-<sup>c</sup>-st*), mistress of Hotepet and all the gods of Heliopolis;

<sup>a</sup>All words in spaced type are in red in the original.

<sup>b</sup>Because he is dead, as this and the following phrases show.

<sup>c</sup>The following five paragraphs are the heads of the five great sections of the papyrus, II, III, IV, V (VI, a summary, is not noted), and VII.

*Gods of Memphis*

3. The house of his august father, <sup>5</sup>Ptah, the great, South-of-His-Wall, lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands;"<sup>a</sup> Sekhmet, the great, beloved of Ptah; Nefertem, defender of the Two Lands and all the gods of Memphis;

*All Gods*

4. The august fathers, all the gods and goddesses of South and North;

*Men*

5. As well as the good benefactions [which he did for] the people of the land of Egypt and every land, to unite them<sup>b</sup> all together; <sup>6</sup>in order to inform the fathers, all the gods and goddesses of South and North, and all [foreigners],<sup>c</sup> all citizens, all (common) folk, and all people, of the numerous benefactions and many mighty deeds, which he did upon earth as great ruler of Egypt.<sup>d</sup>

II. THEBAN SECTION

I. INTRODUCTORY VIGNETTE

*Pl. 2. Vignette*

184. Ramses III stands praying before Amon-Re, Mut, and Khonsu. The accompanying notes are:

*Over Amon*

Amon-Re, king of gods, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes.

<sup>a</sup>Name of a sacred district in Memphis in which the chief Ptah-temple stood.

<sup>b</sup>Viz., his benefactions, etc., that is, to make a list of them, as contained in this document.

<sup>c</sup>This list is almost a repetition of that in 78, 13; hence it probably began, as that does, with foreigners. The whole list would then be: [*k ʔ w y*], *p c' t*, *r h y' t*, *h n m m' t*, and differs from 78, 13, only in the order of *p c' t* and *r h y' t*, which are there reversed. The exact meaning and relations of these different terms are unknown except of the first, and the above renderings are purely arbitrary. We only know that they are all commonly used, with no obvious distinctions in meaning, for the people of Egypt.

<sup>d</sup>This long sentence may be epitomized thus: In the year 32, etc., of Ramses III, deceased (ll. 1, 2), he tells the benefactions and mighty deeds which he did while king for the gods of Thebes, Heliopolis, Memphis, and of South and North, as well as for all men, in order to inform gods and men of these deeds (ll. 3-6). It will be seen that this introduction epitomizes the content of the entire papyrus.

*Over Mut*

Mut, the great, mistress of Ishru.

*Over Khonsu*

Khonsu in Thebes, beautiful rest.

*Before the King*

I tell the prayers, praises, adorations, laudations, mighty deeds and benefactions which I did for thee, in thy presence, O lord of gods.

2. PRAYER TO AMON,<sup>a</sup> AND RECITAL OF THE KING'S BENEFACIONS*Pl. 3. Introduction*

185. <sup>1</sup>Praises, prayers, brave deeds and benefactions which he did for the house (*pr*) of his august father, Amon-Re, king of gods; Mut, Khonsu, and all the gods of Thebes.

*Prayer of Ramses III*

186. <sup>2</sup>Said King Ramses III, L. P. H., the Great God, in praising this god, his august father, Amon-Re, king of gods, the primordial, who was at first, <sup>3</sup>the divine god, the self-begetter, who sustains the arm and exalts the etef-crown, maker of what is, creator of what exists, hiding himself from men and gods:

*His Decease*

187. Give to me thy ears, O lord of gods; <sup>4</sup>hear my prayers which I make to thee. Lo, I come to thee, to Thebes, thy mysterious city. Thou art divine among the gods who are in thy image. Thou hast gone to rest in "Lord-of-Life,"<sup>b</sup> thy glorious seat, <sup>5</sup>before the august front of thy court;<sup>c</sup> (so) I have mingled with the gods, the lords of the nether world, like my father, Osiris, lord of Tazoser. Let my soul (*b*<sup>2</sup>) be like the souls of the gods who rest at thy side <sup>6</sup>in the eternal

<sup>a</sup>Although all three of the great gods of Thebes are mentioned in the introduction, the following prayer is really addressed to Amon only. In the other two sections (Heliopolis and Memphis) the same is true; that is, the prayer is actually addressed to the great god, although the other gods are mentioned in the beginning.

<sup>b</sup>*Nb.* <sup>c</sup>*nḥ*, a euphemism for the place of the dead, often applied to the west side at Thebes.

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "forecourt," a metonymy for sanctuary, referring to Karnak, which faces west.

horizon. Give breath for my nostrils and water for my soul (*b* ʔ). Let me eat the oblations, the provisions of thy divine offerings. Make my majesty to be noble, abiding in thy presence ʔlike the great gods, the lords of the nether world. May I go in and go out in thy presence as they do. Command thou that my fame be like theirs against my enemies; establish my offerings presented to my ʔka, abiding daily unto eternity.

*Retrospect*

188. I was king upon earth, ruler of the living; thou settedst the crown upon my head, as thou didst; I was inducted in peace into the august palace; ʔI sat upon thy throne with joy of heart. Thou it was, who didst establish me upon the throne of my father, as thou didst for Horus on the throne of Osiris. I did not oppress, I did not deprive 1°another of his throne.<sup>a</sup> I did not transgress thy command, which was before me. Thou gavest peace and contentment of heart among my people (*hnm̄m̄ t*), and every land was in adoration before me. I know of the excellent things 11which thou didst as king, and I multiplied for thee many benefactions and mighty deeds.

*Pl. 4. Medinet Habu Temple<sup>b</sup>*

189. I made for thee an august house of millions of years, abiding upon the mountain of "Lord-of-Life,"<sup>c</sup> before thee, 1built of sandstone, gritstone, and black granite; the doors of electrum and copper in beaten work. Its towers were of stone, towering to heaven, 2adorned and carved with the graver's tool,<sup>d</sup> in the great name of thy majesty. I

<sup>a</sup>I am not sure that this is correct. The difficulty is one of interpretation. He may merely mean: "I did not oppress, I did not plunder another in his place;" as the word "throne" may equally well mean "seat, place," as commonly. The above rendering, however, connects logically with the preceding. "Oppress" (ꜥꜣ-šꜣ-k) is Hebrew, **פָּשַׁע**.

<sup>b</sup>See Peuillet, *Recueil*, XVIII, 166 ff.; also Daressy, *ibid.*, XX, 133 ff.

<sup>c</sup>A general name for the west, which was localized at Medinet Habu; it is opposite Karnak, Amon's great temple, hence "before thee." An inscription in the temple itself places it on the same mountain; Amon speaks of "the great house of Atum, established before me forever, upon the mountain of 'Lord-of-Life'" (Cham-pollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 736). On the later name, see Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 507, n. 3.

<sup>d</sup>See Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1876, 146-48; and for correct reading (*bsn̄ t*), Brugsch, *Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch*, Supplement, s. v.



built a wall around it, established with labor, having ramps and towers<sup>1a</sup> of sandstone. <sup>3</sup>I dug a lake before it, flooded with Nun,<sup>b</sup> planted with trees and vegetation like the Delta.<sup>c</sup>

*Temple Endowment and Equipment*

**190.** I filled its treasury<sup>d</sup> with the products of the lands of Egypt: <sup>4</sup>gold, silver, every costly stone by the hundred-thousand. Its granary was overflowing with barley and wheat; (its) lands, its herds, their multitudes were like the sand of the shore. I taxed for it the <sup>5</sup>Southland as well as the Northland. Nubia and Zahi [came]<sup>e</sup> to it, bearing their impost. It was filled with captives, which thou gavest to me among the Nine Bows, (and with) classes<sup>f</sup> which I trained by the tenthousand. <sup>6</sup>I fashioned thy great statue<sup>g</sup> resting in its midst; "Amon-Endowed-with-Eternity" was its august name; it was adorned with real costly stone like the horizon.<sup>h</sup> When it appeared, there was rejoicing to see it. <sup>7</sup>I made for it table-vessels, of fine gold; others of silver and copper, without number. I multiplied the divine offerings presented before thee, of bread, wine, beer, and fat geese; <sup>8</sup>numerous oxen, bullocks, calves, cows, white oryxes, and gazelles offered in his slaughter yard.

*Accessory Monuments*

**191.** I dragged great monuments like mountains of alabaster and hus stone,<sup>i</sup> <sup>9</sup>sculptured with labor, and resting on the right and the left of its portal,<sup>j</sup> carved with the great name of thy majesty forever;

<sup>a</sup>These words (כֹּרֶם -יָ and יָבֵן -רֶם) occur five times together in this papyrus, each time as the accessories of an inclosure wall. The first is the Hebrew עֲלִיָּה, and hence here an ascent or ramp; see Bondi, *Lehnwörter*, 36, 37. The second is perhaps a Hebrew סִנּוּר, as Bondi suggests (*ibid.*, 88), and means inclosed towers or strong closures of the gates and windows.

<sup>b</sup>Celestial water; see II, 888, l. 20.

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "Northland."

<sup>d</sup>See inscriptions in this treasury, which is still in a perfect state of preservation (§§ 25-34).

<sup>e</sup>The verb has clearly been omitted by error of the scribe.

<sup>f</sup>See 76, 5, 6, § 402.

<sup>g</sup>This is the cultus statue; as it was light enough to be carried in procession, the adjective "great" is only conventional.

<sup>h</sup>Or the horizon-god.

<sup>i</sup>*Hws*, an uncertain stone.

<sup>j</sup>These are the colossi which were placed on each side of a temple entrance. They have now disappeared at Medinet Habu.

other statues of granite and gritstone; <sup>10</sup>scarabs<sup>a</sup> of black granite, resting in its midst. I fashioned Ptah-Sokar,<sup>b</sup> Nefertem and all the gods of heaven and earth, resting in its chapel, wrought with fine gold, <sup>11</sup>and silver in beaten work, with inlay of real costly stones, beautified with labor.

*Pavilion and Connected Buildings*<sup>c</sup>

**192.** I made for thee an august palace of the king in its midst, like the great house of Atum which is in heaven. The columns, <sup>12</sup>door-posts, and doors were of electrum; the great balcony for the (royal) appearances was of fine gold.

*Pl. 5. Temple Ships*

**193.** I made for it<sup>d</sup> ships laden with barley and wheat for transport to <sup>13</sup>its granary without cessation. I made for it great treasure-ships upon the river, laden with a multitude of things for its august treasury.

*Temple Lands*

**194.** <sup>14</sup>It was surrounded with gardens and arbor-areas,<sup>e</sup> filled with fruit and flowers for the two serpent-goddesses. I built their <sup>15</sup>châteaux<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Like the colossal scarab in black stone, discovered in Constantinople and now in the British Museum.

<sup>b</sup>This statue doubtless stood in the first court by the first pylon, where there is a votive text to "*Ptah, residing in 'The-House-Usermare-Meriamon-Possessed-of-Eternity-in-the-House-of-Amon' on the west of Thebes*" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 173).

<sup>c</sup>This is the palace connected with the Medinet Habu temple, of which the so-called "pavilion" formed the monumental entrance. The "pavilion" being of stone, has survived, but the bulk of the building, being of sun-dried brick, has perished. It ran at least as far back on the south side of the temple as the middle of the first court, with which its balcony was connected by a stairway still partially surviving. See Daressy (*Recueil*, XX, 81-83), who separates the pavilion from the building at its rear, to which the stairway belongs; but it is evident that the pavilion, the temple, and connected buildings formed one whole, designated by the same name; for the pavilion and the temple bear the same name (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 167): "*The (h-t)-House-of-Usermare-Meriamon-in-the-House-of-Amon.*"

<sup>d</sup>This "*it*" (feminine in Egyptian) refers to the temple (fem.), and not to the palace (masc.).

<sup>e</sup>Lit., "*places of chambers of trees*;" cf. § 264.

<sup>f</sup>See III, 588, l. 49.

having <sup>3</sup>windows<sup>3</sup>; I dug a lake before them, supplied with lotus flowers.

#### *Small Karnak Temple*

**195.** <sup>4</sup>I made for thee a mysterious horizon in thy city of Thebes over against thy forecourt,<sup>a</sup> O lord of gods, (named): "House (*pr*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon," abiding like the heavens bearing the sun. <sup>5</sup>I built it, I laid it in sandstone, having great doors of fine gold. I filled its treasury with the things which my hands carried off, to bring them <sup>6</sup>before thee every day.

#### *Southern Karnak Temple*

**196.** I adorned<sup>b</sup> for thee Southern Opet<sup>c</sup> with great monuments; I built for thee a house therein like the throne of the All-Lord (named): "Temple-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-<sup>7</sup>Possessed-of-Joy-in-Karnak."

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<sup>a</sup>Used here by metonymy as often for sanctuary as a whole. This small temple is in front of the great Amon-temple of Karnak, and the later Bubastite extension inclosed it partially within the said temple. It is identified by Ramses III with the great Karnak temple, and bore the same name given above, as is shown by the following inscriptions in the first court of the small Karnak temple (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 12-14; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 57, 1; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 207, c): "(Ramses III). He made (*it*) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods; making for him the 'House (*pr*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis-in-the-House-of-Amon,' anew of fine white sandstone, established as an eternal work, 'wherein' [*Amon*] appears, to give a multitude — [*to*] King Ramses III." On the other side of the court it reads: "Ramses III, maker of the monument, establishing (*it*) for him that formed him, in the great and splendid seat, on the divine ground before Karnak, illuminating Thebes wherein Amon rests, his heart glad, and his great divine ennead follows him, rejoicing to see the beautiful pure monument of King Ramses III, beloved of Khonsu-Neferhotep." The great Karnak temple bore the same name as this small temple, as is seen by comparing 5, 7 and 6, 3 with above inscriptions in the small temple. The latter was already finished in his sixteenth year, as new offerings are recorded on the wall as founded in Pauni of that year (Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, I, Pl. 40; Champollion, *Monuments descriptives*, II, 15, 16).

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "made festive."

<sup>c</sup>Southern Opet is usually the name for Luxor, but the temple was counted as in Karnak (*Yp't-ys'wt*), as its name shows. It stood, however, on the south of the great temple, by the temple of Mut, and hence could be spoken of as in Southern Opet.

*Works in Great Karnak Temple<sup>a</sup>*

197. I again established thy monuments in "Victorious Thebes,"<sup>b</sup> the place of thy heart's rest, beside thy face (named): "House (*pr*)-of-Usermare-Meriamon-in-the-House-of-Amon,"<sup>8</sup> like the shrine of the All-Lord; built of stone, like a marvel established as an eternal work; the doorways upon them were of granite, doors and <sup>9</sup>doorposts of gold. I supplied it with classes which I trained, bearing offerings by the hundred-thousand.

*Monolithic Shrine*

198. <sup>10</sup>I made for thee a mysterious shrine in one block of fine granite;<sup>c</sup> the doors upon it were of copper in hammered work, engraved with thy divine name. <sup>11</sup>Thy great image rested in it, like Re in his horizon, established upon his throne unto eternity in thy great and august court.

*Cultus Utensils*

199. <sup>12</sup>I made for thee a great sacrificial tablet of silver in hammered work, mounted with fine gold, the inlay-figures being of Ketem<sup>d</sup>-gold, bearing statues of the king, L. P. H., of gold in hammered work, an offering-tablet bearing thy divine offerings, offered before thee.

*Pl. 6*

<sup>1</sup>I made for thee a great vase-stand,<sup>e</sup> for thy forecourt, mounted with fine gold, with inlay of stone; its vases were of gold, containing wine and beer, in order to present them before thee every morning.

<sup>a</sup>This temple is not said to have been built by him, but "beautified" (*smnh*, or "established"), which indicates embellishment. As to the name of the great Karnak temple under Ramses III, it must have contained his name, as above. The word "built" (in l. 8) is not finite, but a participle referring to the temple or the embellishments added. The work is also referred to (l. 8) as "them," showing clearly that accessory monuments of some sort are meant. Moreover, the following works are for the Karnak temple, as is shown by 6, 3. Ramses III, however, did some building, though not extensively, in the great Karnak temple.

<sup>b</sup>A name for the east side, or a part of the east side of Thebes, probably Karnak (see II, 329).

<sup>c</sup>Cf. Inscription of Ineni, l. 1 (II, 45; *Recueil*, XII, 106).

<sup>d</sup>The Hebrew 𐤀𐤍𐤏, "gold;" see Dümichen, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1872, 44 f.

<sup>e</sup>The gift of a similar stand is recorded in the Khonsu-temple, thus: "I made a great vase-stand of gold for thy oblations" (from a photograph by Borchardt).

*Feast of the Appearance*

200. <sup>2</sup>I made for thee a storehouse for the "Feast of the Appearance,"<sup>a</sup> with male and female slaves. I supplied them with bread, beer, oxen, fowl, wine, incense, fruit, vegetables, flowers, pure offerings before thee every day, being an increase of the daily offering which was before.

*Ornaments of Cultus Statue, Etc.*

201. <sup>3</sup>I made for thee a splendid amulet<sup>b</sup> of gold, with inlay; great collars and tassels of Ketem-gold complete, to bind them to thy body, every time thou appearest in thy great and splendid seat in Karnak. <sup>4</sup>I made for thee a statue of the king, of gold, in hammered work, resting in the place which he knows,<sup>c</sup> in thy august shrine.

*Record Tablets*

202. <sup>5</sup>I made for thee great tablets of gold, in beaten work, engraved with the great name of thy majesty, bearing my prayers. <sup>6</sup>I made for thee other tablets of silver, in beaten work, engraved with the great name of thy majesty, with the decrees of the house. <sup>7</sup>I made for thee great tablets<sup>d</sup> of silver, in beaten work, engraved with the great name of thy majesty, carved with the graver's tool, bearing the decrees and the inventories of the houses and temples which I made in Egypt, <sup>8</sup>during my reign on earth; in order to administer them in thy name forever and ever. Thou art their protector, answering for them.<sup>e</sup> <sup>9</sup>I made for thee other tablets of copper in beaten work, of a mixture of six

<sup>a</sup>A feast at which the god appeared and was carried in procession, as its name implies (*wn-hr* = lit., "opening or showing the face").

<sup>b</sup>In the form of the sacred eye (*wꜥ*).

<sup>c</sup>Only the king and the High Priest were admitted to the holy of holies, and "knew" it. Such statues of the king may be seen standing beside the cultus image of the god at Medinet Habu (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 212, a).

<sup>d</sup>This word (*ꜥnw*) is different from the one (*ꜥwt*) used in the two preceding cases, and was larger. It was upon an *ꜥnw* that Ramses II's treaty of peace with the Hittites was engraved. The golden tablets are not mentioned in the lists later on, but the silver tablets are mentioned (13b, 13, 14), and their weights given, showing that an *ꜥwt* weighed about 19½ deben, while an *ꜥnw* was over 143½ deben.

<sup>e</sup>The Karnak temple was thus the place of deposit for temple archives of all Egypt, and the sanctuary of Amon the ecclesiastical capital.

(parts),<sup>a</sup> of the color of gold, engraved and carved with the graver's tool with the great name of thy majesty, with the house-regulations of the temples; likewise <sup>10</sup>the many praises and adorations which I made for thy name. Thy heart was glad at hearing them, O lord of gods.

*Cultus Sieve*

203. <sup>11</sup>I made for thee a great vase of pure silver, its rim of gold, engraved with thy name. A sieve was upon it of beaten work, of pure silver, a great sifting-vessel of silver, having a sieve and feet.<sup>b</sup>

*Golden Statues*

204. <sup>12</sup>I wrought upon the portable images of Mut and Khonsu, fashioned and made anew in the gold-houses, made of fine gold in thick overlay, with inlay of every costly stone which Ptah made, having collars before and behind, <sup>13</sup>and tassels of Ketem-gold. They rest with heart satisfied at the mighty deeds which I did for them.

*Pl. 7. Stele*

205. <sup>1</sup>I made for thee great stelæ for thy portal, overlaid with fine gold, with inlay-figures of Ketem-gold; large bases were under them, overlaid with silver, bearing inlay-figures in gold, to the pavement line.

*Grain*

206. <sup>2</sup>I gave to thee ten ten-thousands of measures of grain, to provision thy divine offerings of every day, to convey<sup>c</sup> them to Thebes every year, in order to multiply thy granaries<sup>d</sup> with barley and wheat.

*Foreign Revenues*

207. <sup>3</sup>I brought to thee the captives of the Nine Bows, the gifts<sup>e</sup> of the lands and countries for thy court. I made the road to Thebes like a 'foot' to lead<sup>f</sup> before thee, bearing much provision.

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "a mixture of a hexad," evidently referring to the proportions of the alloy; but the term is not clear. The weight of these tablets is given in the lists (14a, 3) as 205½ deben; there were four of them, weighing together 822 deben.

<sup>b</sup>The weight of these sieve-vases, etc., is given in 13b, 6-8 (§ 231).

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "row them."

<sup>d</sup>On the granaries of Amon, see § 9.

<sup>e</sup>B 3-7 k 3 = a Semitic כָּרַךְ, with the connected idea of kneeling in homage (Bondi, *Lehnwörter*, 41, 42).

<sup>f</sup>"Lead" lacks an object, and the whole passage is obscure.

*Periodic Offerings*

208. <sup>4</sup>I founded for thee oblations at the feasts of the beginnings of the seasons, to make offering before thee at thy every appearance. They were supplied with bread, beer, oxen, fowl, wine, incense, and fruit without number. They were levied anew upon the princes and inspectors as an increase of all the benefactions which I did for thy ka.

*Sacred Barge*

209. <sup>5</sup>I hewed for thee thy august ship "Userhet" of 130<sup>a</sup> cubits (length) upon the river, of great cedars of the (royal) domain, of remarkable size, overlaid with fine gold to the water line, like the barge of the Sun, when he comes from the east, and everyone lives at <sup>6</sup>the sight of him. A great shrine was in the midst of it, of fine gold, with inlay of every costly stone like a palace; rams' heads<sup>b</sup> of gold from front to rear, <sup>1</sup>fitted with uraeus-serpents wearing etef-crowns.

*Products of Punt*

210. <sup>7</sup>I led to thee Punt with myrrh, in order to encircle thy house every morning, I planted incense sycamores in thy court; they had not seen (it) before since the time of the god.

*Mediterranean Fleet*

211. <sup>8</sup>I made for thee transports, galleys, and barges, with archers equipped with their arms, upon the sea. I gave to them captains of archers and captains of galleys, manned with numerous crews, without number, in order to transport the products of the land of Zahi (*D<sup>3</sup>-h*) and the countries of the ends of the earth to thy great treasures in "Victorious Thebes."<sup>c</sup>

*Cattle and Fowl*

212. <sup>9</sup>I made for thee herds in the South and North containing large cattle, fowl,<sup>d</sup> and small cattle by the hundred-thousand, having

<sup>a</sup>Nearly 224 feet. See II, 32, and p. 222, n. c.

<sup>b</sup>There is usually a ram's head at bow and stern of these barges, but here they were evidently also on the cabin shrine.

<sup>c</sup>See 5, 7, note.

<sup>d</sup>The word for "herd" (*mmn*) is more inclusive in Egyptian than English, and includes also fowl.

overseers of cattle, scribes, overseers of the horns,<sup>a</sup> inspectors, and numerous shepherds in charge<sup>b</sup> of them; having cattle-fodder; in order to offer them to thy ka at all thy feasts, that thy heart may be satisfied with them, O ruler of gods.

*Vineyards, Trees, Etc.*

213. <sup>10</sup>I made for thee wine-gardens in the Southern Oasis, and the Northern Oasis likewise without number; others in the South with numerous lists; they were multiplied in the Northland by the hundred-thousand. I manned them with gardeners from the captives of the countries; having lakes <sup>1</sup>of my digging<sup>1</sup>, <sup>11</sup>supplied with lotus flowers, and with shedeh (*šdḥ*)<sup>c</sup> and wine like drawing water,<sup>d</sup> in order to present them before thee in "Victorious Thebes." <sup>12</sup>I planted thy city, Thebes, with trees, vegetations, isi-plants, and menhet flowers for thy nostrils.

*Khonsu-Temple*

214. <sup>13</sup>I built a house<sup>e</sup> for thy son, Khonsu in Thebes, of good sandstone, red gritstone, and black stone (granite). I overlaid its doorposts and doors with gold, (with) inlay-figures of electrum, like the

*Pl. 8*

horizon of heaven. <sup>1</sup>I worked upon thy<sup>f</sup> statues in the gold-houses, with every splendid costly stone which my hands brought.

*Sanctuary in Residence City*

215. <sup>2</sup>I made for thee an august quarter in the city of the Northland, established as thy property forever; "House (*pr*)-of-Ramses-

<sup>a</sup>See Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1885, 60, 61.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "behind them."

<sup>c</sup>An intoxicating drink of uncertain character. See p. 101, n. e.

<sup>d</sup>See II, 461, l. 5. Same figure again in 8, 6.

<sup>e</sup>This is Ramses III's well-known temple of Khonsu at Karnak. It was not completed by him, but was continued by his successors until the accession of the high priests of Amon. The dedication in the hypostyle reads: "He made (*it*) as his monument for Khonsu in Nejerhoteḥ (Thebes), making for him (the hall called): 'Exaltation-of-Brightness' for the first time of fine white sandstone, making high his great seat, with electrum, adorned with every splendid costly stone" (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1310). But Brugsch does not give the name of the king, and the dedication may belong to Ramses IV, who also built in this hall.

<sup>f</sup>Doubtless referring to Khonsu, as the papyrus marks a paragraph at the end of l. 1, as we have indicated.



Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-Great-in-Victory," it is called,<sup>a</sup> forever. <sup>3</sup>I conveyed to it Egypt with its<sup>b</sup> tribute; the people of every land were gathered in its midst. It was furnished with large gardens and places for walking about, with all sorts of date groves, bearing <sup>4</sup>their fruits, and a sacred<sup>c</sup> avenue, brightened with the flowers of every land,<sup>d</sup> isiplants, papyrus, and dedmet flowers, like sand.

*Its Vineyard and Olive Garden*

216. <sup>5</sup>I made for it Kanekeme,<sup>e</sup> inundated like the Two Lands, in the great olive-lands; bearing vines; surrounded by a wall around them by the iter;<sup>f</sup> planted with great trees <sup>6</sup>in all their many paths, wherein was oil more than the sand of the shore; in order to bring them to thy ka, to "Victorious Thebes;" wine like drawing water<sup>g</sup> without measure, <sup>7</sup>to present them before thee as a daily offering. <sup>8</sup>I built for thee thy temple in the midst of its ground,<sup>h</sup> established with labor, excellent in stone of Ayan (<sup>c</sup> *yn*). Its door and its doorposts were of gold, mounted with copper; the inlay-figures were of every costly stone, like the double doors of heaven.

*Cultus Image<sup>i</sup>*

217. <sup>9</sup>I fashioned thy august image, wherewith the "Appearance" is made,<sup>j</sup> like Re when he brightens the earth with his beams; "Amon-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis" was its great and august name. I filled its house with male and female slaves, whom I carried off from the lands of the Bedwin (*Sty'w*). <sup>10</sup>The lay priests of the temple were <sup>11</sup>— —<sup>k</sup> children of great men, whom I trained. Its treasury was overflowing with products of every land; its granaries approached

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "is said to it for a name."

<sup>b</sup>Text has "their," referring to Egypt as plural.

<sup>c</sup>The avenue leading up to the temple door.

<sup>d</sup>Compare the flowers of Syria, brought to Egypt by Thutmose III (II, 451).

<sup>e</sup>Name of an important vineyard of Amon in the Delta; it existed in the days of Ramses II, from whose cellars at the Ramesseum many sherds from broken wine-jars have been found, bearing the name of this vineyard (Wiedemann, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 33 ff.; Spiegelberg, *Ostraca*, Pls. XIX-XXXIV).

<sup>f</sup>See II, 965, note.

<sup>g</sup>See 7, 11.

<sup>h</sup>The ground of Kanekeme.

<sup>i</sup>This must have been the cultus image in the Tanis temple, the equipment of which he has above enumerated.

<sup>j</sup>With which the god appears in processions and feasts.

<sup>k</sup>*T* <sup>o</sup> *-tkmw* (or possibly *mt* <sup>o</sup> *-tkmw*) occurs also in the inscription, year 8 (§ 65, l. 21), where it applies to charioteers.

heaven, its herds <sup>11</sup>were multiplied more than the sand;<sup>a</sup> cattle yards, offered to his ka, (as) divine offerings daily, full and pure before him; fattening-houses containing fat geese; poultry yards containing wild fowl; <sup>12</sup>gardens with wine, provided with their fruit, vegetables and all kinds of flowers.

*Temple in Nubia*

218. <sup>13</sup>I made for thee an august house in Nubia (*T* <sup>2</sup> -*pd* <sup>1</sup> *t*), engraved with thy august name, the likeness of the heavens (named): "House-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-Great-in-Victory," abiding, bearing thy name forever.

*Pl. 9. Temple in Zahi*

219. <sup>1</sup>I built for thee a mysterious house in the land of Zahi (*D* <sup>2</sup> -*h* <sup>2</sup>), like the horizon of heaven which is in the sky, (named): "The-House-(*h* <sup>1</sup> *t*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-Pekanan,"<sup>b</sup> <sup>2</sup>as the property of thy name. I fashioned thy great statue resting in the midst of it (named): "Amon-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H." The Asiatics of Retenu (*Rmw*) came to it, <sup>3</sup>bearing their tribute before it, for it was divine.

*Miscellaneous*

220. I brought the earth, united for thee, bearing their imposts, to convey them to Thebes, thy mysterious city. <sup>4</sup>I made for thee statues in the districts of Egypt; they were for thee (<sup>1</sup>and<sup>1</sup>) the gods who preserve this land. I built for them temples, gardens containing their groves, <sup>5</sup>lands, small cattle, large cattle, many slaves; they are thine forever, thine eye is upon them, thou art their protector unto eternity. <sup>6</sup>I wrought upon thy great and grand statues which are in their districts in the lands of Egypt. I restored their temples <sup>7</sup>which were in ruin. I multiplied the divine offerings presented to their ka's as an increase of the daily offerings which were formerly.

*Lists*

221. <sup>8</sup>See, I have listed<sup>c</sup> all that I did before thee, O my august, divine father, lord of gods, that men and gods may know of my benefactions, <sup>9</sup>which I did for thee in might, while I was upon earth.

<sup>a</sup>From here to the end of the section the enumeration is simply a list without syntactical connection with the preceding.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "the Canaan."

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "collected;" the noun is the common word for list, as on the next plate (10, 1).

## 3. AMON'S ESTATE

*Pl. 10*

222. <sup>1</sup>List of things, cattle, gardens, lands, galleys, workshops, and towns, which Pharaoh, L. P. H., gave to the house (*pr*) of his august father, <sup>2</sup>Amon-Re, king of gods, Mut, Khonsu, and all the gods of Thebes, as property forever and ever:<sup>a</sup>

*People Attached to Temples, Etc.**Medinet Habu Temple*

223. <sup>3</sup>"The-House (*h't*)-of-King-Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon,"<sup>b</sup> in the South and North, under charge of the officials (*sr*) of the temples of this house (*pr*), equipped with all its things: heads 62,626

*Small Karnak Temple*

<sup>4</sup>"House (*pr*)-of-Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon," in the South and North, under charge of the officials, equipped with all its things: heads 970

*Luxor Temple*

<sup>5</sup>"House (*pr*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon," in the South and North, under charge of the officials, equipped with all its things: heads 2,623

*Southern Karnak Temple*

<sup>6</sup>"The House (*h't*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-Possessed-of-Joy-in-the-House-of-Amon," under charge of the High Priest; equipped with all its things: heads 49

<sup>a</sup>The list now follows, and the first series of items is a statement of the numbers of people ("heads") attached to the various temples, to herds, etc. This list of people runs to 11, 4.

<sup>b</sup>This name of the Medinet Habu temple is often found in the temple itself. Its full form there is: "*House-of-Usermare-Meriamon-Possessed-of-Eternity-in-the-House-of-Amon-on-the-West-of-Thebes*" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 173); but "*on-the-West-of-Thebes*" is sometimes omitted (*ibid.*, 179 and 185), as well as "*Possessed-of-Eternity*" (*ibid.*, 182, 183, 184, 185).

*Five Herds of the Theban Temples*

224. <sup>7</sup>Herd<sup>a</sup> of "Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon," which is (called): "Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-Captor-of-Rebels-is-a-Great-Nile:"<sup>b</sup> heads<sup>c</sup> 113
- <sup>8</sup>Herd (called): "Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-is-the-Conqueror-of-the-Meshwesh-at-the-Water-of-Re,"<sup>d</sup> under charge of the steward Pay (*Py* y); Meshwesh: heads 971
- <sup>9</sup>Herd (called): "Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon-is-a-Great-Nile:" heads 1,867
- <sup>10</sup>Herd (called): "Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon,<sup>e</sup> [—————]," under charge of the Vizier of the South: heads 34
- <sup>11</sup>Herd of "Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon," under charge of the cattle-overseer Key (*K* y): heads 279

*Royal Residence*

225. <sup>12</sup>"House (*pr*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-Great-in-Victory," the city which the Pharaoh, L. P. H., made for thee in the North, in the ownership of

<sup>a</sup>The following five herds, as the names show, belonged one to each of the preceding four temples, and the Khonsu-temple, as is shown by 12a, 1-4, where they follow these five temples in a group.

<sup>b</sup>This herd still existed under Ramses IV; see Hammamat Inscription, l. 14 (§ 466).

<sup>c</sup>These are not "heads" of cattle, but the people in charge of the herd.

<sup>d</sup>This canal on which Ramses III defeated the Meshwesh in the year 11, can only have been in the western Delta. That it was so located is shown by its occurrence in a list of Delta localities just after Busiris, "the western river, the great river (Canopic branch), the 'Water of Re'" (Golénischeff Papyrus, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 105). It is called the "western canal" in § 340 (see also § 370). It was the canal passing out of the Fayûm northward as the continuation of the Bahr Yusuf. It is mentioned in Saitic times on a stela in Berlin (No. 15393), recording the gift of a building by Apries (seventeenth year), located "on the west of the canal named 'North,' which is between the highlands and Memphis." In Ptolemaic times it connected Heracleopolis with Alexandria (see § 831, note).

<sup>e</sup>The rest of the name is uncertain; possibly: "Made: (=called)-the-People-Are-a-Great-Nile(?)."

the house of Amon-Re, king of gods, saying: "As thou art mighty, thou shalt cause it to abide forever and ever:"	heads	7,872
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*Khonsu-Temple*

<sup>13</sup> House ( <i>pr</i> )-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Khonsu:	heads	294
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*Ramses III's Gifts of People*

<sup>14</sup> People whom he gave to the house of "Khonsu in Thebes, Beautiful Rest," Horus, lord of joy:	persons <sup>a</sup>	247
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<sup>15</sup> Syrians, and Negroes of the captivity of his majesty, L. P. H., whom he gave to the house ( <i>pr</i> ) of Amon-Re, king of gods, the house ( <i>pr</i> ) of Mut, and the house ( <i>pr</i> ) of Khonsu:	persons <sup>a</sup>	2,607
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<sup>16</sup> Bows <sup>b</sup> of "Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-Establisher-of-His-House-in-the-House-of-Amon;" whom he gave to this house:	heads	770
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*Pl. II. Private Statues in Great Karnak Temple*

<sup>1</sup> The processional images, statues, and figures, to which the officials, standard-bearers, inspectors, and people of the land pay impost, <sup>2</sup> which the Pharaoh, L. P. H., gave; in the ownership of the house of Amon-Re, king of gods, to protect them and answer for them forever and ever;	heads	5,164
<sup>3</sup> 2,756 gods, <sup>c</sup> making:	heads	86,486
<sup>4</sup> Total	heads	86,486

*Miscellaneous Property*

226. <sup>5</sup> Large and small cattle, various	421,362
<sup>6</sup> Gardens and groves	433

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "times" (*sp*).

<sup>b</sup>Meaning foreign archers settled in a temple district.

<sup>c</sup>It is difficult to determine the exact nature of these statues; they appear here in the god's estate; the materials of which they were made (?) appear independently following the king's gifts (21b, 11-16); and finally in the general summary (68a, 3-68b, 3) they are again included in the sacred estates. Erman suggests votive statues of the god donated by the king's subjects.

<sup>7</sup> Lands, stat	864,168½
<sup>8</sup> Transports and galleys	83
<sup>9</sup> Workshops of cedar and acacia	46
<sup>10</sup> Towns of Egypt	56
<sup>11</sup> Towns of Syria ( <i>H<sup>3</sup>-rw</i> ) and Kush	9
Total	65

## 4. AMON'S INCOME

*Pl. 12a*

227. <sup>1</sup>Things exacted, the impost of all the people and serf-laborers of "The-House (*h' t*)-of-King-Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon" (Medinet Habu temple), <sup>2</sup>in the South and North under charge of the officials; the "House (*pr*)-of-Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon" (small Karnak temple), in the (residence) city; the "House (*pr*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon" (Luxor temple); <sup>3</sup>the "House (*h' t*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-Possessed-of-Joy-in-the-House-of-Amon-of-Opet" (southern Karnak temple); the "House-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Khonsu" (Khonsu-temple); the five herds<sup>a</sup> <sup>4</sup>made for this house,<sup>b</sup> which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, gave to their treasuries, storehouses and granaries <sup>5</sup>as their yearly dues:

228. <sup>6</sup> Fine gold	217	deben,	5	kidet
<sup>7</sup> Gold of the mountain, of Coptos	61	"	3	"
<sup>8</sup> Gold of Kush	290	"	8½	"
<sup>9</sup> Total, fine gold, and gold of the mountain	569	"	6½	"
<sup>10</sup> Silver	10,964	"	9	"
<sup>11</sup> Total, gold and silver	11,546	"	8	"
<sup>12</sup> Copper	26,320	"		

<sup>a</sup>These are the five herds enumerated in 10, ll. 7-11 (§ 224).

<sup>b</sup>"House" is here used, as frequently, in the sense of estate, and means the estate of Amon, divided among the five preceding temples, there being one herd for each of the five temples.

<sup>c</sup>Incorrect; correct total is 11,534 deben, 5½ kidet.

<sup>13</sup> Royal linen, mek-linen, fine southern linen, colored southern linen, various garments	3,722
<sup>14</sup> Yarn, deben	3,795
<sup>15</sup> Incense, honey, oil, various jars (ꜥꜥ)	1,047

*Pl. 12b*

<sup>1</sup> Shedeh and wine, various jars (ꜥꜥꜥ)	25,405
<sup>2</sup> Silver, being things of the impost of the people ( <i>rm t</i> ) given for the divine offerings <sup>a</sup>	3,606 deben, 1 kidet
<b>229.</b> <sup>3</sup> Barley [—] of the impost of the peasants ( <i>yhwtj</i> ), 16-fold heket	309,950
<sup>4</sup> Vegetables, bundles	24,650
<sup>5</sup> Flax, bales	64,000
<sup>6</sup> Water-fowl from the impost of the fowlers and fishermen	289,530
<sup>7</sup> Bulls, bullocks of the bulls, heifers, calves, cows, cattle of [—], cattle of [—], of the herds of Egypt	847
<sup>8</sup> Bulls, bullocks of the nege-bulls, heifers, calves, cows, being impost of the lands of Syria ( <i>Hꜥ-rw</i> )	19
Total	866
<sup>9</sup> Live geese of the exactions	744
<sup>10</sup> Cedar: tow-boats and ferry-boats	11
<sup>11</sup> Acacia: tow-boats, [canal]-boats, boats for the transportation of cattle, warships, <sup>b</sup> and kara-boats:	71
<sup>12</sup> Total, cedar and acacia: boats	82
<sup>13</sup> Products of the Oasis <sup>c</sup> in many lists for the divine offerings.	

## 5. THE KING'S GIFTS TO AMON

*Pl. 13a*

**230.** <sup>1</sup>Gold, silver, real lapis lazuli, real malachite, every real costly stone, copper, garments of royal linen, mek-linen, <sup>2</sup>fine southern linen, southern linen, colored garments, jars, fowl, all the things which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, gave, <sup>3</sup>as gifts of

<sup>a</sup>Silver received from sale of articles delivered to the temples as taxes from the people.

<sup>b</sup>*Tꜥ-rꜥ-ty*; see Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, 35.

<sup>c</sup>The Northern Oasis (*wt*), see Karnak Inscription of Merneptah (III, 580, l. 20).

the king, L. P. H., in order to provision the house of his august fathers (sic!), Amon-Re, king of gods, Mut, and Khonsu, from the year 1 to the year 31, making 31 years.

231. <sup>5</sup> Fine Ketem-gold; 42 [—] ( <i>dmḏt</i> ), making	21	deben	
<sup>6</sup> Fine gold in [raised work] <sup>1</sup> ; <sup>a</sup> 22 finger rings, making	3	“	3 kidet
<sup>7</sup> Fine gold in inlay; 9 finger rings, making	1	“	3½ “
<sup>8</sup> Fine gold in [raised work] <sup>1</sup> , <sup>a</sup> and in inlay of every real, costly stone; a [ring] <sup>1</sup> of the column of Amon, making	22	“	5 “
<sup>9</sup> Fine gold in hammered work; a tablet, making	9	“	5½ “
<sup>10</sup> Total, fine gold in ornaments	57	“	5 <sup>b</sup> “
<sup>11</sup> Gold of two times; in [raised work] <sup>1</sup> , and in inlay; 42 finger rings, making	4	“	5½ “
<sup>12</sup> Gold of two times; 2 vases	30	“	5 “
	—		—
<sup>13</sup> Total, gold of two times	35	“	½ “
<sup>14</sup> White gold: 310 finger rings, making	16	“	3½ “

*Pl. 13b*

<sup>1</sup> White gold: 264 beads, making	48	“	4 “
<sup>2</sup> White gold in beaten work: 108 finger rings for the god, making	19	“	8 “
<sup>3</sup> White gold: 155 amulet cords, making	6	“	2 “
	—		—
<sup>4</sup> Total, white gold	90	“	7½ “
<sup>5</sup> Total, fine gold, gold of two times and white gold	183	“	5 <sup>c</sup> “
<sup>6</sup> Silver: a vase <sup>d</sup> (with) the rim of gold, in [raised work] <sup>1</sup> , making	112	“	5 “
<sup>7</sup> Silver: a sieve for the vase, making	12	“	3 “
<sup>8</sup> Silver: a sifting-vessel for the vase, making	27	“	7 “
<sup>9</sup> Silver: 4 vases, making	57	“	4½ “
<sup>10</sup> Silver: 31 large panniers with lids, making	105	“	4 “

<sup>a</sup>Š c ḥ c.

<sup>b</sup>There should be 7 kidet, an error of 2; but the correct total of 57 deben, 7 kidet was employed in obtaining the grand total (13b, l. 5).

<sup>c</sup>See preceding note.

<sup>d</sup>This and the following are the vases for the sieve, etc., mentioned in 6, 11.



<sup>11</sup> Silver: 31 caskets with lids, making	74 deben	4	kidet
<sup>12</sup> Silver: 6 measuring-vases ( <sup>c</sup> <i>rḥ</i> ), making	30	"	3 "
<sup>13</sup> Silver: in hammered work, a tablet ( <sup>c</sup> <i>wl</i> ), making	19	"	3½ "
<sup>14</sup> Silver: in hammered work, 2 tablets <sup>a</sup> ( <sup>c</sup> <i>nw</i> ), making	287	"	½ "
<sup>15</sup> Silver in scraps	100	"	
<sup>16</sup> Total, silver in vessels and scraps	827 <sup>b</sup>	"	1½ "

*Pl. 14a*

<sup>1</sup> Total, gold and silver in vessels and scraps	1,010	"	6½ "
<sup>2</sup> Real lapis lazuli: 2 blocks, making	14	"	½ "
<sup>3</sup> Bronze, <sup>c</sup> in hammered work: 4 tablets ( <sup>c</sup> <i>nw</i> ), making	822	"	
<b>232.</b> <sup>4</sup> Myrrh: deben			51,140
<sup>5</sup> Myrrh: heket			3
<sup>6</sup> Myrrh: hin			20
<sup>7</sup> Myrrh wood: logs			15
<sup>8</sup> Myrrh fruit in measures ( <i>yp' t</i> )			100
<sup>9</sup> Royal linen: garments ( <i>dw</i> )			37
<sup>10</sup> " " upper garments ( <i>dw</i> )			94
<sup>11</sup> " " hamen-garments			55
<sup>12</sup> " " mantles			11
<sup>13</sup> " " wrappings of Horus			2
<sup>14</sup> " " — <sup>d</sup> garments			1
<sup>15</sup> " " garments ( <i>ydg</i> ?)			690
<sup>16</sup> " " tunics			489
<sup>17</sup> " " garments for the august "statue" of Amon			4

*Pl. 14b*

<sup>1</sup> Total, royal linen, various garments			1,383
<sup>2</sup> Mek-linen: a robe			1

<sup>a</sup>These are mentioned in 6, 7.

<sup>b</sup>The exact total is 826 deben, 4½ kidet.

<sup>c</sup>These tablets are mentioned in 6, 9, showing that the material was bronze, though the designation both here and there is *hmt*, the usual word for copper.

<sup>d</sup>Reading unknown.

<sup>3</sup> Mek-linen: a mantle	1
4 " " in a 'cover' <sup>a</sup> : a garment for the august 'statue' of Amon	1
<sup>5</sup> Total, mek-linen: various garments	3
<sup>6</sup> Fine southern linen: garments ( <i>dw</i> )	2
7 " " " — <sup>b</sup> garments	4
8 " " " upper garments ( <i>dw</i> )	5
9 " " " garments ( <i>ydg</i> <sup>2</sup> )	31
10 " " " tunics	29
11 " " " kilts	4
<sup>12</sup> Total, fine southern linen, various garments	75
<sup>13</sup> Colored linen: mantles	876
14 " " tunics	6,779
<sup>15</sup> Total, colored linen, various garments	7,125 <sup>c</sup>
<sup>16</sup> Total, royal linen, mek-linen, fine southern linen, southern linen, colored linen, various garments	8,586 <sup>c</sup>

*Pl. 15a*

233. <sup>1</sup> White incense: ( <i>mn</i> )-jars	2,159
<sup>2</sup> White incense: ( <i>mn</i> )-jars <sup>d</sup>	12
<sup>3</sup> Honey: ( <i>mn</i> )-jars	1,065
<sup>4</sup> Oil of Egypt: ( <i>mn</i> )-jars	2,743
<sup>5</sup> Oil of Syria ( <i>H</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>rw</i> ): ( <i>m-s</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>hy</i> )-jars	53
<sup>6</sup> Oil of Syria ( <i>H</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>rw</i> ): ( <i>mn</i> )-jars	1,757
<sup>7</sup> White fat: ( <i>mn</i> )-jars	911
<sup>8</sup> Goose fat: ( <i>mn</i> )-jars	385
<sup>9</sup> Butter: ( <i>mn</i> )-jars	20
<sup>10</sup> Total, filled jars (° ° °)	9,125 <sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup>*K* <sup>2</sup> -*t* <sup>2</sup> -*ty* = 𓆎𓆏𓆑 (Bondi, *Lehnwörter*, 82, and 51).

<sup>b</sup>Same as 14a, 14.

<sup>c</sup>530 short.

<sup>d</sup>An uncertain hieratic sign after *mn* indicates that it is different from that of l. 1.

<sup>e</sup>The correct total is 9,105.

<sup>11</sup> Shedeh: colored ( <i>mn</i> )-jars	1,377
<sup>12</sup> Shedeh: ( <i>k</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>-bw</i> )-jars	1,111
<sup>13</sup> Wine: ( <i>mn</i> )-jars	20,078
<sup>14</sup> Total, shedeh and wine: jars ( <i>mn</i> and <i>k</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>bw</i> )	22,556 <sup>a</sup>
<sup>15</sup> Hirset ( <i>hrst</i> ) stone: sacred eye amulets	185
<sup>16</sup> Lapis lazuli: sacred eye amulets	217

*Pl. 15b*

<sup>1</sup> Red jasper: scarabs	62
<sup>2</sup> Malachite: scarabs	224
<sup>3</sup> Bronze and Minu ( <i>mynw</i> ) stone: scarabs	224
<sup>4</sup> Lapis lazuli: scarabs	62
<sup>5</sup> Various costly stones: sacred eye amulets	165
<sup>6</sup> Various costly stones: seals as pendants	62
<sup>7</sup> Rock-crystal: seals	1,550
<sup>8</sup> “ “ beads	155,000
<sup>9</sup> “ “ cut: hin-jars	155
<b>234.</b> <sup>10</sup> Wrought wood: seals <sup>b</sup>	31
<sup>11</sup> Alabaster: a block	1
<sup>12</sup> Cedar: <i>bp</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>-ny-ny</i>	6
<sup>13</sup> Cedar: <i>tp</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>t</i>	1
<sup>14</sup> Neybu ( <i>N</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>y-bw</i> ) wood: 3 logs, making (deben)	610
<sup>15</sup> Cassia wood: 1 log, making (deben)	800
<sup>16</sup> Reeds: bundles	17

*Pl. 16a*

<sup>1</sup> Cinnamon: measures ( <i>msty</i> )	246
<sup>2</sup> Cinnamon: bundles	82
<sup>3</sup> Grapes: measures ( <i>msty</i> )	52
<sup>4</sup> Rosemary <sup>1</sup> ( <i>nkp</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>ty</i> ): measures ( <i>msty</i> )	125
<sup>5</sup> Yufiti ( <i>Yw-jy-ty</i> )-plant: measures ( <i>msty</i> )	101
<sup>6</sup> Dom-palm fruit <sup>1</sup> of Mehay ( <i>M-h</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>-yw</i> ): measures ( <i>msty</i> )	26
<sup>7</sup> Fruit: heket	46
<sup>8</sup> Grapes: crates	1,809
<sup>9</sup> Grapes: bunches	1,869

<sup>a</sup>The correct total is 22,566.<sup>b</sup>Thebes, Heliopolis and Memphis each received one a year of these objects.

<sup>10</sup> ['Pomegranates': crates	375
<sup>11</sup> <i>B</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>k</i> <sup>3</sup> - <i>y</i> <sup>4</sup> -plant, in measures ( <i>yp' t</i> )	1,668
<b>235.</b> <sup>12</sup> Various cattle	297
<sup>13</sup> Live geese	2,940
<sup>14</sup> Live turpu ( <i>Tw-r-pw</i> )-geese	5,200
<sup>15</sup> Live water-fowl	126,300

*Pl. 16b*

<sup>1</sup> Fat geese from the 'flocks'	20
<sup>2</sup> Natron: bricks	44,000
<sup>3</sup> Salt: bricks	44,000
<sup>4</sup> Palm-fiber: ropes	180
<sup>5</sup> Palm-fiber: loads	50
<sup>6</sup> Palm-fiber: [—]	77
<sup>7</sup> Palm-fiber: cords	2
<sup>8</sup> Sebkhet ( <i>sbh' t</i> )-plants	60
<sup>9</sup> Flax ( <i>ps' t</i> ): bekhen ( <i>bhn</i> )	1,150
<sup>10</sup> Ideninu ( <i>Ydnynyw</i> )	60
<sup>11</sup> Hezet ( <i>hq' t</i> )-plant: measures ( <i>msty</i> )	50
<sup>12</sup> Pure [—], deben	750

## 6. GRAIN FOR THE OLD FEASTS

**236.** <sup>13</sup>Clean grain for the divine offerings of the feasts of heaven,<sup>a</sup> and the feasts of the first of the seasons, which King Usermare-Meriamon L. P. H., the Great God, founded for <sup>14</sup>his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, Mut, Khonsu, and all the gods of Thebes, as an increase of the divine offerings,<sup>b</sup> as an increase of the daily offerings,<sup>b</sup> in order to multiply that which was before, <sup>15</sup>from the year 1 to the year 31, making 31 years: 2,981,674<sup>c</sup> 16-fold heket.

<sup>a</sup>The offerings for these and the following feasts of 6 and 7 are recorded likewise in the Great Calendar of Medinet Habu (§§ 139-45), from which the scribe could copy them, though with some changes. Thus for twenty-one years the Coronation feast was only one day long, as shown in the calendar (made in year 12), but in year 22 it was made 20 days long. Similarly in year 12 the calendar gives the Feast of Opet as 24 days long, but our papyrus treats it as 27 days long for 31 years! The scribe evidently reckoned with these changes, for his numbers are even multiples of 31, as so commonly with the other temples.

<sup>b</sup>These words are incorrectly repeated in the text by a dittography.

<sup>c</sup>This amounts to 6,360,908 bushels, or 205,190 bushels annually.

## 7. OFFERINGS FOR NEW FEASTS FOUNDED BY RAMSES III

*Pl. 17a*

**237.** <sup>1</sup>Oblations of the festivals which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, founded for his father, <sup>2</sup>Amon-Re, king of gods, Mut, Khonsu, and all the gods of Thebes, during the 20 days of offering, of the festival (called): <sup>3</sup>"Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-Making-Festive-Thebes-for-Amon," from the first month of the third season, (ninth month), day 26,<sup>a</sup> to the second month of the third season (tenth month), day 15; <sup>4</sup>making 20 days; from the year 22 to the year 32,<sup>b</sup> making 11 years; together with the oblations of the <sup>5</sup>feast of Southern Opet (Luxor), from the second month of the first season (second month), day 19, to the third month of the first season (third month), day 15, making 27 days;<sup>c</sup> <sup>6</sup>from the year 1 to the year 31, making 31 years.

<b>238.</b> <sup>7</sup> Fine bread: large oblation-loaves	1,057
<sup>8</sup> Fine bread: large loaves ( <i>syd</i> )	1,277
<sup>9</sup> " " large loaves ( <i>bh</i> )	1,277
<sup>10</sup> " " loaves ( <i>ddmt-hr-t</i> )	440
<sup>11</sup> Bread: large oblation-loaves	43,620
<sup>12</sup> Papyrus [rind] of the house of incense <sup>d</sup>	685
<sup>13</sup> Beer of the beer-cellar: 4,401 (jars), making	— <sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup>This is the coronation day of Ramses III, the twenty-sixth of Pakhons, being so recorded in the festival calendar on the south wall of the Medinet Habu temple (Greene, *Fouilles*, Pl. IV, ll. 9 and 10, twice): "*The first month of the third season, day 26, the day of the royal coronation (h<sup>c</sup> stny) of King Ramses III.*" (See also § 153.) This feast was at first only one day long, but in the year 22 it was made twenty days long.

<sup>b</sup>As this feast fell within the 40 days during which Ramses III survived in his thirty-second year, it was, therefore, celebrated in that year also; but none of the old feasts, as he did not survive to celebrate them in the thirty-second year.

<sup>c</sup>This feast was not 27 days long, throughout the reign, but only 24 at first (see Breasted, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 126, where this passage in Harris was not yet noted). Under Thutmose III it lasted only 11 days (*ibid.*); it was an old feast, but because Ramses III lengthened it he includes it among feasts founded by himself. As he lengthened it from 24 to 27 days, it is not likely that the lengthening from 11 to 24 days was also due to him. If lengthened further in later times, it was prolonged at the end, for in the Twenty-first Dynasty it still began on the nineteenth. (*Inscriptions historiques de Pinodjem*, l. 13, below.)

<sup>d</sup>The numeral must refer to the separate pieces.

<sup>e</sup>The scribe has omitted the amount in hins.

<sup>14</sup> Fine bread, meat, rahuṣu <sup>a</sup> ( <i>r</i> ʔ - <i>hw-sw</i> )-cakes: measures <sup>b</sup> ( <i>htp</i> ) for show	165
<sup>15</sup> Fine bread, meat, rahuṣu-cakes: measures <sup>c</sup> ( <i>htp</i> ) of gold	485

*Pl. 17b*

<sup>1</sup> Fine bread, meat, rahuṣu-cakes: measures ( <i>htp</i> ) for eating <sup>c</sup>	11,120
<sup>2</sup> Fine bread, meat, rahuṣu-cakes: measures ( <i>t</i> ʔ <i>γ</i> ) for the mouth of the eater <sup>c</sup>	9,845
<sup>3</sup> Fine bread, meat, rahuṣu-cakes: vases ( <i>g</i> ʔ <i>γ</i> ) of the prince	3,720
<sup>4</sup> Fine bread of the divine offerings: vases ( <i>dnj</i> ʔ) of gold, equipped	375
<sup>5</sup> Fine bread of the divine offerings: loaves ( <i>by</i> ʔ <i>t</i> )	62,540
<sup>6</sup> “ “ “ “ “ loaves ( <i>pr-sn</i> )	106,992
<sup>7</sup> “ “ “ “ “ white loaves	13,020
<sup>8</sup> Fine bread: large loaves ( <sup>c</sup> <i>k</i> ) for eating <sup>d</sup>	6,200
<sup>9</sup> “ “ sweet loaves ( <i>s</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>b</i> ) <sup>e</sup>	24,800
<sup>10</sup> “ “ loaves ( <sup>c</sup> <i>k</i> ) of the fire	16,665
<sup>11</sup> “ “ large loaves ( <sup>c</sup> <i>k</i> )	992,750
<sup>12</sup> “ “ loaves ( <i>pw</i> ʔ - <sup>c</sup> <i>k</i> ) of grain	17,340
<sup>13</sup> “ “ white oblation-loaves	572,000
<sup>14</sup> “ “ pyramidal loaves	46,500
<sup>15</sup> “ “ kylllestis-loaves	441,800

*Pl. 18a*

<sup>1</sup> “ “ loaves ( <i>wdmw-nt</i> )	127,400
<sup>2</sup> Kunek ( <i>kwnk</i> )-bread: white loaves ( <i>t</i> ʔ)	116,400
<sup>3</sup> Fine bread: loaves ( <i>p</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>t</i> )	262,000
<sup>4</sup> Total of fine bread: various loaves ( <sup>c</sup> <i>k</i> )	2,844,357 <sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Connected by Bondi (*Lehnwörter*, 62 and 86), with **ברחשה**, “pan.”

<sup>b</sup>Or: “baskets” or “vessels.”

<sup>c</sup>These phrases evidently apply only to the loaves, in any case “for eating” occurs often with loaves alone; see *17b*, l. 8, and the lists in Spiegelberg’s “Geschäftsjournal” (*Recueil*, 17, 143 f.).

<sup>d</sup>Probably these terms indicate that these things were eaten at the feast. Thus in l. 3, each vessel or vase of food was eaten by a noble; the more plentiful supplies that follow were then eaten by the people.

<sup>e</sup>See Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1886, 80 ff.

<sup>f</sup>The real total is 2,806,407, not counting 25,710 “measures,” etc. (*17a*, 14–*17b*, 4). Even including the fine bread of *17a*, ll. 7–10, which make 4,051 loaves, the scribe is still nearly 34,000 in excess of the real sum. The difference must lie in the “measures,” etc. (*17a*, 14–*17b*, 4).

<sup>5</sup> Rahusu-cakes: measures ( <i>tm̄m</i> )	344
<sup>6</sup> Cakes: measures ( <i>yp̄ t</i> )	48,420
<sup>7</sup> Rahusu ( <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>hw-sw</i> ): measures ( <i>yp̄ t</i> )	28,200
<sup>8</sup> Flour: vessels (°)	3,130
<b>239.</b> <sup>9</sup> Shedeh: jars ( <i>mn</i> )	2,210
<sup>10</sup> Shedeh: jars ( <i>k</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>bw</i> )	310
<sup>11</sup> Wine: jars ( <i>mn</i> )	39,510
<sup>12</sup> Total, shedeh and wine: jars ( <i>mn</i> and <i>k</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>bw</i> )	42,030
<sup>13</sup> Beer: various jars	219,215
<sup>14</sup> Sweet oil: jars ( <i>mn</i> )	93
<sup>15</sup> Sweet oil: hin	1,100

*Pl. 18b*

<sup>1</sup> White incense: jars ( <i>mn</i> )	62
<sup>2</sup> Incense: various measures ( <i>yp̄ t</i> )	304,093 <sup>a</sup>
<sup>3</sup> Inflammable <sup>1</sup> incense: jars ( <i>mn</i> )	778
<sup>4</sup> Red oil ( <i>bḳ</i> ): jars ( <i>mn</i> )	31
<sup>5</sup> Oil ( <i>nḥḥ</i> ): jars ( <i>mn</i> )	93
<sup>6</sup> Oil ( <i>nḥḥ</i> ): hin	110,000
<sup>7</sup> Honey: jars ( <i>mn</i> )	310
<sup>8</sup> White fat: jars ( <i>mn</i> )	93
<sup>9</sup> Olives: jars ( <i>mn</i> )	62
<sup>10</sup> Southern linen: garments ( <i>dw</i> )	155
<sup>11</sup> Southern linen: garments ( <i>rdw</i> )	31
<sup>12</sup> Colored linen: garments ( <i>yfd</i> )	31
<sup>13</sup> Colored linen: tunics	44
Total	261
<b>240.</b> <sup>14</sup> Wax: deben	3,100
<sup>15</sup> All (kinds of) fine fruit: measures ( <i>k</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>bw-s</i> <sup>2</sup> )	620
<sup>16</sup> All (kinds of) fine fruit: measures ( <i>t</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>y</i> )	620

*Pl. 19a*

<sup>1</sup> Fruit: measures ( <i>ḥp</i> )	559,500
<sup>2</sup> Fruit: measures ( <i>dny t</i> )	78,550

<sup>a</sup>The scribe has written "making" after this numeral, intending to add the weight in deben, but forgot it, as in 17a, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Figs of the impost: measures ( <i>yp·t</i> )	310
<sup>4</sup> “ “ “ weights ( <i>mḥ·ḡ</i> )	1,410
<sup>5</sup> “ “ “ measures ( <i>msty</i> )	55
<sup>6</sup> Figs: in measures ( <i>yp·t</i> )	15,500
<sup>7</sup> Figs: measures ( <i>t·ḡ y</i> )	310
<sup>8</sup> Mehiwet ( <i>Mhywt</i> ): <sup>a</sup> «cakes» ( <i>s·ḡ -t·ḡ</i> )	3,100
<sup>9</sup> Cinnamon: measures ( <i>htp</i> )	220
<sup>10</sup> Cinnamon: measures ( <i>msty</i> )	155
<sup>11</sup> Semu ( <i>s·ḡ mw</i> )-plant: measures ( <i>htp</i> )	1,550
<sup>12</sup> «Cabbage» ( <i>Š·ḡ wt</i> ): heket	620
<sup>13</sup> Khithana ( <i>H y-t·ḡ -n·ḡ</i> )-fruit: heket	310
<sup>14</sup> Khithana ( <i>H y-t·ḡ -n·ḡ</i> )-fruit: «bundles» ( <i>ḥ nbw</i> )	6,200
<sup>15</sup> Grapes: measures ( <i>msty</i> )	117
<sup>16</sup> Grapes: measures ( <i>t·ḡ y</i> )	1,550

*Pl. 19b*

<sup>1</sup> Southern fruit: heket	8,985
<sup>2</sup> Enbu ( <i>ḥ nbw</i> ): measures ( <i>d·ḡ mw</i> )	620
<b>241.</b> <sup>3</sup> Papyrus sandals: pairs	15,110
<sup>4</sup> Salt: 16-fold heket	1,515
<sup>5</sup> Salt: bricks	69,200
<sup>6</sup> Natron: bricks	75,400
<sup>7</sup> Thick stuff: garments ( <i>dwt</i> )	150
<sup>8</sup> Flax ( <i>pš</i> ): measures ( <i>sbh·t</i> )	265
<sup>9</sup> «Tamarisk» ( <i>y·ḡ sr</i> ): bundles	3,270
<sup>10</sup> Reed-grass: bundles	4,200
<sup>11</sup> Leather sandals: pairs	3,720
<sup>12</sup> «Dom-palm fruit» ( <i>Hw-ḥw-ḥw</i> ): in measures ( <i>yp·t</i> )	449,500
<sup>13</sup> «Pomegranates»: in measures ( <i>yp·t</i> )	15,500
<sup>14</sup> «Pomegranates»: crates ( <i>pdr</i> )	1,240
<sup>15</sup> Olives: jars ( <i>g·ḡ y</i> )	310
<sup>16</sup> Jars and vessels of the mouth of the Heliopolitan canal <sup>b</sup>	9,610

*Pl. 20a*

<sup>1</sup> Papyrus «rind»: measures ( <i>yp·t</i> )	3,782
<sup>2</sup> Nebdu ( <i>nbdwt</i> ): measures ( <i>yp·t</i> )	930

<sup>a</sup>Unknown fruit.<sup>b</sup>Perhaps the place of the workshop where the jars were made.



242. <sup>3</sup> Bulls	419
<sup>4</sup> Bullocks of the bulls	290
<sup>5</sup> Oxen ( <i>ng</i> <sup>2</sup> )	18
<sup>6</sup> Heifers	281
<sup>7</sup> Two-year-olds (cattle)	3
<sup>8</sup> Calves	740
<sup>9</sup> Bullocks ( <i>Tpw</i> )	19
<sup>10</sup> Cows	1,122
<sup>11</sup> Total, various cattle	2,892
<sup>12</sup> Male of the white oryx	1
<sup>13</sup> White oryxes	54
<sup>14</sup> Male gazelle <sup>1</sup> ( <i>nr</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>w</i> )	1
<sup>15</sup> Gazelles	81
<sup>16</sup> Total	137
<sup>17</sup> Total, various cattle ( <i>y</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>t</i> )	3,029
	<i>Pl. 20b</i>
<sup>1</sup> Live geese ( <i>r</i> <sup>2</sup> )	6,820
<sup>2</sup> " fowl ( <i>ht</i> - <sup>c</sup> )	1,410
<sup>3</sup> " turpu ( <i>twrpw</i> )-geese	1,534
<sup>4</sup> Cranes	150
<sup>5</sup> Live hatching-fowl	4,060
<sup>6</sup> Live water-fowl	25,020
<sup>7</sup> Pigeons ( <i>mn y' t</i> )	57,810
<sup>8</sup> Live pedet ( <i>p</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>d' t</i> )-birds	21,700
<sup>9</sup> Live sesha ( <i>s</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>c</i> <i>š</i> <sup>2</sup> ) birds	1,240
<sup>10</sup> Doves	6,510
<sup>11</sup> Total, various fowl	126,250 <sup>a</sup>
243. <sup>12</sup> Jars [of the canal <sup>1</sup> filled with fish, having wooden [lids <sup>1</sup>	440
<sup>13</sup> White fish	2,200
<sup>14</sup> Dressed shene ( <i>šn</i> <sup>c</sup> )-fish	15,500
<sup>15</sup> Fish cut up	15,500
	<i>Pl. 21a</i>
<sup>1</sup> Fish, whole	441,000

<sup>a</sup>Lacking four of being correct.

244. <sup>2</sup> Blossoms <sup>a</sup> of the impost of flowers: sunshades <sup>b</sup>	124
<sup>3</sup> Blossoms: <sup>a</sup> tall bouquets	3,100
<sup>4</sup> Blossoms <sup>a</sup> of the impost of flowers: "garden fragrance" <sup>c</sup>	15,500
<sup>5</sup> Isi-plant: measures ( <i>yp' t</i> )	124,351
<sup>6</sup> Flowers: garlands	60,450
<sup>7</sup> Flowers: 'strings' <sup>1</sup> ( <i>k' -r' -hw-ty</i> )	620
<sup>8</sup> Blue flowers: ropes	12,400
<sup>9</sup> Flowers for the hand	46,500
<sup>10</sup> Flowers: measures ( <i>ddm' t</i> )	110
<sup>11</sup> Lotus flowers for the hand	144,720
<sup>12</sup> " " bouquets	3,410
<sup>13</sup> " " for the hand <sup>d</sup>	110,000
<sup>14</sup> Papyrus flowers: bouquets	68,200
<sup>15</sup> Papyrus: 'stems' <sup>1</sup> (°)	349,000

*Pl. 21b*

<sup>1</sup> Large bouquets of the impost of flowers	19,150
<sup>2</sup> Dates: measures ( <i>md' yw</i> )	65,480
<sup>3</sup> Dates: 'cut branches' <sup>1</sup>	3,100
<sup>4</sup> Vegetables: measures ( <i>ddm' t</i> )	2,170
<sup>5</sup> Vegetables: bundles	770,200
<sup>6</sup> Isi-plant for the hand	128,650
<sup>7</sup> Corn: bouquets	11,000
<sup>8</sup> Ears of grain for the hand	31,000
<sup>9</sup> Blossoms: bouquets	1,975,800
<sup>10</sup> Blossoms: measures ( <i>htp</i> )	1,975,800

8. PRIVATE STATUES OF AMON<sup>e</sup>

245. <sup>11</sup>The amount belonging to the 2,756 statues and figures which are above:<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup>*Rnpy*; it probably means blossoms or flowers here, but in some passages it may mean vegetables; see 37a, 8, 9.

<sup>b</sup>The sunshades were made of green plants and flowers.

<sup>c</sup>Name of a plant or kind of bouquet?

<sup>d</sup>L. 11 has *sšn* for lotus, while l. 13 has *sšny*, indicating some difference.

<sup>e</sup>See II, 1-3, and note.

<sup>f</sup>See II, 1-3. In the final summary (68a, 3-6) the proportions of gold and silver are given, viz., 7,205 deben, 1 kidet of gold, and 11,047 deben,  $\frac{1}{4}$  kidet of silver, being roughly two parts gold to three parts silver, the usual proportion for electrum, of which the statues were therefore probably made.

<sup>12</sup> Fine gold and silver	18,252 deben, 1½ kidet
<sup>13</sup> Real costly stones: various blocks	18,214 " 3 "
<sup>14</sup> Black copper, copper, lead, [tin]	112,132 "
<sup>15</sup> Cedar: various logs	328
<sup>16</sup> Mastic tree <sup>1</sup> (š <sup>3</sup> -w <sup>3</sup> -bw): various logs	4,415

9.<sup>a</sup> RAMSES' CONCLUDING PRAYER TO AMON*Pl. 22*

246. <sup>1</sup>How happy is he who depends upon thee! O god, Amon, Bull of his mother, ruler of Thebes. Grant thou that I may arrive in safety, landing in peace, <sup>2</sup>and resting in Tazoser like the gods. May I mingle with the excellent souls of Manu, who see thy radiance at early morning. <sup>3</sup>Hear my petition! O my father, my lord, I am alone among the gods who are at thy side. Crown my son as king upon the throne of Atum, establish him <sup>4</sup>as mighty Bull, lord, L. P. H., of the two shores, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare - Setepnamon, L. P. H.: Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses (IV)-Hekma-Meriamon, L. P. H., emanation <sup>5</sup>that came forth from thy limbs. Thou art the one who didst designate him to be king, while he was a youth. Appoint thou him to be ruler, L. P. H., of the Two Lands over the people. Give to him a reign of millions of years, <sup>6</sup>his every limb being whole, in prosperity and health. Place thy crown upon his head, seated on thy throne; and may the serpent-goddess<sup>b</sup> alight upon his brows. Make him divine <sup>7</sup>more than any king, and great like thy reverence, as lord of the Nine Bows. Make his body to flourish and be youthful daily, while thou art a shield behind him <sup>8</sup>for every day. Put his sword and his war-mace over the heads of the Bedwin (*Sṯ tyw*); may they fall down in fear of him like Baal. Extend for him the boundaries as far as he desires; <sup>9</sup>may the lands and countries fear in terror of him. Grant for him that Egypt may rejoice,

<sup>a</sup>This numbering does not conform with the scheme in the Heliopolitan section, where No. 8 is devoted to the offerings to the Nile-god, which were not given at Thebes. This is another evidence of the late origin of Theban power. The official offerings of the king to the Nile became a fixed custom in the days when Heliopolis was the seat of power and Thebes was an obscure village of Upper Egypt. The offerings to the Nile-god at Memphis were not old, but were founded by Ramses III in his twenty-ninth year.

<sup>b</sup>The uraeus serpent-crest.

ward off all evil, misfortune and destruction. <sup>10</sup>Give to him joy abiding in his heart, jubilation, singing and dancing before his beautiful face. Put love of him in the hearts of the gods and goddesses; his kindness and his terror <sup>11</sup>in the hearts of men. Complete the good things of which thou hast told me on earth for my son, who is upon my throne. Thou art the one who didst create him, confirm his <sup>12</sup>kingdom to the son of his son, thou being to them a protector, answering for them and they being to thee servants with their eyes upon thee doing benefactions

*Pl. 23*

for <sup>1</sup>thy ka, forever and ever. The things that thou ordainest, they come to pass, abiding and established; the things that thou sayest, they endure like gritstone. <sup>2</sup>Thou didst adjudge to me a reign of 200<sup>a</sup> years; establish them for my son who is (still) upon earth; make <sup>3</sup>his life longer than (that of) any king, in order to repay the benefactions which I have done for thy ka. Let him be king by reason of thy command; <sup>4</sup>even thine, who crownest him; let him not <sup>1</sup>reverse that which thou hast done<sup>1</sup>, O lord of gods. Give great and rich Niles in his time, in order <sup>5</sup>to supply his reign with plentiful food. Give to him the princes who have not known Egypt, with loads <sup>6</sup>upon their backs for his august palace, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Setepnamon, L. P. H.; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses (IV)-Hekma-Meriamon, L. P. H.

III. HELIOPOLITAN SECTION

I. INTRODUCTORY VIGNETTE

*Pl. 24. Vignette*

**247.** Ramses III stands praying before Harakhte, Atum, Saosis, and Hathor. The accompanying notes are:

*Over Harakhte*

Harakhte, great god, lord of heaven.

*Over Atum*

Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis.

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<sup>a</sup>This must refer to some priestly oracle, attributed to Amon, in which he had promised Ramses III a reign of 200 years. The deceased king prays for the fulfilment of this promise to his son.

*Over Saosis*

Saosis, mistress of Heliopolis.

*Over Hathor*

Hathor, mistress of Hetep (*Htḫ*).

*Before the King*

I tell the prayers, praises, adorations, and laudations, mighty deeds, benefactions, which I did for thee, in thy presence, O great prince.

## 2. PRAYER TO RE AND RECITAL OF THE KING'S BENEFUNCTIONS

*Pl. 25. Introduction*

248. <sup>1</sup>The prayers, praises, laudations, mighty deeds, and benefactions which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, did <sup>2</sup>for his father, Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, Re-Harakhte, Saosis, the mistress of Hetep (Hathor), and all the gods of Heliopolis.

*Prayer*

249. Said the King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, <sup>3</sup>in praising his father, this august god, Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, Re-Harakhte:

Praise to thee, Re-Atum, All-lord, creator of that which is, rising <sup>4</sup>in heaven, illuminating this land with his rays. The hidden ones, dwelling in the West,<sup>a</sup> turn their faces to thee; they rejoice to behold thy beauty. All people jubilate at <sup>5</sup>the sight of thee. Thou it is who madest heaven and earth; and thou didst appoint me to be king over the Two Lands, and Ruler, L. P. H., on thy great throne. Thou didst assign to me all the lands as far <sup>6</sup>as the circuit of the sun. They feared, and fell down to my name, as they do to thy name. I was diligent in pursuit of benefactions and numerous great deeds <sup>7</sup>for thy house

*Buildings and Temple Gifts*

250. I extended thy wall in the house of Re, I filled his treasury with the products of the lands of Egypt; I loaded his granaries with barley and spelt, <sup>8</sup>which had begun to stand (empty) since the (former)

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<sup>a</sup>The dead.

kings. I made great designs for thy [—],<sup>a</sup> I caused them to rest in the shrines of thy temple; I made the regulations for <sup>9</sup>the priests (*w c b*) in the house of Re. I made him more divine than formerly, <sup>10</sup>I cleansed Heliopolis for his divine ennead. I built his temples, which were gone to ruin, I fashioned their gods in their mysterious forms of gold, silver, and every costly stone, as everlasting works.

*Sanctuary in the Heliopolis Temple*

**251.** <sup>12</sup>I made for thee an august house in the midst of thy temple, like the heavens, abiding and bearing the sun, before thee, founded

*Pl. 26*

with gritstone, laid with limestone, established <sup>1</sup>with good work, enduring in thy name. It is the great and mysterious horizon of Harakhte, the "Great Seat" is of gold, the double doors of Ketem-gold, while thy mother rests <sup>2</sup>in the midst of it, rejoicing and satisfied at seeing it. I equipped it with the classes<sup>b</sup> which I trained, personal property, lands, and herds without number.

*Colossi in the Heliopolis Temple*

**252.** <sup>3</sup>I made for thee great monuments in the house of Re, of gritstone, which Atum shaped into great images, sculptured with toil, dragged up, and <sup>4</sup>resting in their places forever and ever, in thy great, august and lovely forecourt, carved with thy divine name like the heavens.

*Amulets for the Statue of Re*

**253.** <sup>5</sup>I made for thee august amulets of fine gold, with inlay of real lapis lazuli and real malachite. I attached them to thy body in the great house of thy protection and thy magnificence, <sup>6</sup>in thy splendid seat, that they might protect the august limbs as [perennial] amulets for thy great, grand and lovely form.

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<sup>a</sup>The word (*rh nf*) is plural, as shown by the possessive article; it must indicate divine statues, and literally translated means "that which he knows," perhaps an esoteric priestly term for statue. Compare a similar expression in 29, 4.

<sup>b</sup>"Classes" (*d m*), a word later meaning "generations," and here referring to the successive "classes" into which the youth were divided as they became of age liable to conscription for enforced service. See 76, 5, note, § 402.

*Granite Shrine*

254. <sup>1</sup>I made for thee a mysterious shrine of granite, wherein Atum and Tafnut rest. The double doors upon it were of copper, mounted <sup>2</sup>with gold, engraved with the great name of thy majesty, forever and ever.

*Stelæ with Temple Regulations*

255. <sup>1</sup>I made for thee great decrees for the administration of thy temple, recorded in the hall of writings of Egypt; stelæ were made, with outlined figures,<sup>a</sup> carved with the graver's tool, <sup>2</sup>abiding for thee forever, nor is there destruction for them.

*Temple Balances*

256. <sup>1</sup>I made for thee splendid balances of electrum;<sup>b</sup> the like of which had not been made since the time of the god. Thoth sat upon it as guardian of the balances, <sup>2</sup>being a great and august ape<sup>c</sup> of gold in beaten work. Thou weighest therein before thee, O my father, Re, when thou <sup>1</sup>measur<sup>est</sup> of gold and silver by the hundred-thousands,

*Pl. 27*

brought as tribute <sup>1</sup>before thee from their coffers, and given to thy august treasury in the house of Atum. I founded for it<sup>d</sup> daily divine offerings, in order to supply its altar at early morning.

*Storehouses for Feasts*

257. <sup>1</sup>I made for thee a storehouse for the "Feast of the Appearance," being built upon pure ground, on the land of Heliopolis, divine in workmanship. I filled it with beautiful slaves of the choicest, and clean grain by the ten-thousand, in order to supply them.

*Storehouse for Temple Income*

258. <sup>1</sup>I made for thee a pure storehouse containing divine offerings more than were before me, since (former) kings. I equipped it with

<sup>a</sup>The decrees were drawn with the pen upon stone stelæ, and then cut into the stone.

<sup>b</sup>The amount of gold and silver which went into these balances will be found in § 285.

<sup>c</sup>The ape was the sacred animal of Thoth, and a figure of this ape was regularly mounted upon the balances, of which Thoth was the presiding god.

<sup>d</sup>Namely, for the balances; evidently offerings were made to it.

everything, it suffered no lack; in order to supply thy offerings at early morning.

*Special Oblation-Storehouse*

259. <sup>4</sup>I made an oblation-storehouse for thy forecourt, filled with divine offerings, and plentiful food, and containing great oblations of gold and silver, in order to offer them to thy ka, O lord of gods. I equipped them, <sup>5</sup>I completed them with barley and wheat, filled with the spoil which I carried away from the Nine Bows. They were for thy ka, O sole lord, maker of heaven and earth, that the feasts of the first of the seasons might be doubled before thee.

*Cattle and Poultry Yards*

260. <sup>6</sup>I made thee cattle yards, equipped, containing bulls, and bullocks; fattening-houses anew, containing fat geese.

*Cleansing of Sacred Lakes*

261. <sup>7</sup>I cleansed the sacred<sup>a</sup> lakes of thy house, I removed all the filth that was in them, which had been the fashion of them formerly since the earth began. Thy divine ennead was satisfied in heart and rejoiced over them.

*Vineyards and Shedeh Gardens*

262. <sup>8</sup>I gave shedeh and wine as daily offerings, in order to present the land of Heliopolis in thy splendid and mysterious seat; groves, and verdure, with their plants anew. The lords of the land of life are satisfied therewith. <sup>9</sup>I made for thee great gardens, equipped, containing their groves, bearing shedeh and wine in the great house of Atum; and the divine ennead of Heliopolis rejoice in feasts to satisfy thy beauty daily.

*Olive-Lands*

263. <sup>10</sup>I made for thee olive-lands in thy city of Heliopolis, I equipped them with gardeners and numerous people, to make pure oil, the best of Egypt, in order to light<sup>b</sup> the flame in thy august house.

<sup>a</sup>Text has "goddesses" (*ntry't*), which would read "lakes of the goddesses of thy house," which is probably an error for (*ntry*) "sacred, divine."

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "send up."



*Groves and Flower Gardens*

264. <sup>1</sup>I made for thee groves and arbors,<sup>a</sup> containing date trees; lakes supplied with lotus flowers, papyrus flowers, isi flowers, the flowers of every land, dedmet flowers, myrrh, and sweet and fragrant woods for thy beautiful face.

*New Temple Domains*

265. <sup>2</sup>I made for thee domains anew, with pure barley; I doubled their lands which had been waste, in order to double the divine offerings

*Pl. 28*

in numerous lists, for thy great, august and lovely name. <sup>3</sup>I made for thee numerous lands in the New Isles, in the southern and northern districts, by the ten-thousand. There were made for them stelæ<sup>b</sup> engraved with thy name, abiding for thee, bearing decrees forever.

<sup>4</sup>I made for thee a poultry yard<sup>c</sup> containing wild fowl; I conducted<sup>d</sup> the pools to thy city, Heliopolis, in order to present them to thy ka, O my father, conducted to thee and to thy divine ennead which follows thee.

*Officials, Servants, and Slaves*

266. <sup>5</sup>I appointed for thee archers and collectors of honey, bearing incense to deliver<sup>e</sup> their yearly impost into thy august treasury. <sup>6</sup>I appointed for thee hunting archers to capture white oryxes, in order to offer them to thy ka at all thy feasts. <sup>7</sup>I made for thee boatmen and tax-officials (*m-š ʔ -k ʔ -bwy*)<sup>f</sup> of the people, whom I created to collect the impost of the Two Lands, the taxes and the exactions, in order to transport them to thy treasury in the house of Re, in order to double thy divine offerings more than a million times. <sup>8</sup>I appointed slaves as watchmen of thy harbor, in order to watch the harbor of the Heliopolitan canal in thy splendid place.<sup>g</sup> <sup>9</sup>I made door-keepers of the slaves,

<sup>a</sup>See § 1021 for the same phrase (*c' t nt ht*); also § 194.

<sup>b</sup>Boundary stelæ, demarking the lands.

<sup>c</sup>See Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, 34, 35.

<sup>d</sup>lit., "I caused that the pools should be drawn to thy city," not referring to water-supply, but meaning that the fowl of the pools were thus brought.

<sup>e</sup>*F ʔ y*. See Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, 53.

<sup>f</sup>See Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XV, 143 f.

<sup>g</sup>This is the temple, so that the canal probably passed close by the temple inclosure.

manned with people, in order to watch and [protect] thy court. <sup>8</sup>I made slaves as watchmen of the canal-administration, and the watchmen of the pure barley, for thee likewise.

*Granaries Restored*

267. <sup>9</sup>I made for thee granaries filled with grain, which had begun to fall to waste, and they became millions.

*Golden Statues*

268. <sup>10</sup>I made for thee statues of gold in beaten work, kneeling upon the ground<sup>a</sup> before thee, bearing divine offerings. I made others likewise, of pure silver, in order to satisfy thy two serpent-goddesses at every time.

*Vessels of the Temple Cult*

269. <sup>11</sup>I made a great vase-stand in thy forecourt, bearing vases of gold and silver, containing shedeh, supplied with divine offerings in numerous lists, in order to offer to thy ka, O great prince. <sup>12</sup>I made for thee table-vessels without number, of silver and gold with inlay, engraved with thy name; a censer, nemset (*nms' t*)-vases, great denya (*ḏnyʔ*)-vases, enkhy (*ḥny*)-vases, hesy (*ḥsywt*)-vases, and numerous bowls (*wy*), in order to convey them into <sup>13</sup>thy presence with libations of wine; thy divine ennead was satisfied in heart and rejoiced over them.

*Pl. 29. Temple-Ships*

270. <sup>1</sup>I made for thee transports, and galleys manned with people, in order to transport the products of God's-Land to thy treasury and thy storehouse.

*Restoration of Horus-Chapel and its Grove*

271. <sup>2</sup>I restored the "House-of-Horus-Presider-over-Temples;" I built his walls, which were in ruins. <sup>3</sup>I made to grow the august grove, which was in its midst; I planted it with papyrus in the midst of the Delta marshes, (though) it had begun to decay<sup>b</sup> formerly.

<sup>a</sup>Such a statue is depicted in the Medinet Habu treasury (Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 30), and described in § 26, note.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "to rest."

*Temple Grove*

272. 4I made to grow the pure grove of thy temple, I put it in its accustomed condition when it had gone to waste; I equipped it with gardeners to cultivate it, to make libations of shedeh in the "Place-Which-He-Knows."<sup>a</sup>

5I made for thee great festival oblations for thy court, as an increase of that which was done formerly since (former) kings, supplied with bulls, bullocks, mountain cattle,<sup>b</sup> oil, incense, honey, <sup>6</sup>shedeh, wine, gold, silver, royal linen, numerous garments, plants, and all flowers for thy beautiful face.

*Offerings in Hapi Temple*

273. 7I made for thee great festival oblations in the house of Hapi, and all the gods of Khereha (*Hr-c h*?) were in festivity.

*Temple of Re North of Heliopolis*

274. 8I made for thee an august house north of Heliopolis, established as an everlasting work, engraved with thy name, viz.: "The-House-(*h t*)-of-Millions-of-Years-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis-L.-P.-H.-in-the-House-of-Re-on-the-North-of-Heliopolis."<sup>c</sup> I equipped it with people and property, in order to convey into thy house gardens, containing flowers for thy forecourt.

*Temple Herds*

275. 9I made for thee a herd (called): "Doer-of-Benefactions," supplied with plentiful cattle without number, in order to present them to thy ka at all thy feasts. I doubled those who belonged to them in classes,<sup>d</sup> belonging to thy name. 10I made for thee another herd for thy august house, in order to supply thy temple with plentiful provisions (called): "Herd-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-Doubling-Offerings-in-the-House-of-Re." I filled it with cattle, and herdmen likewise. They shall not pass away, forever, belonging to thy ka.

<sup>a</sup>A name for the place of the cultus. See also p. 143, n. a.

<sup>b</sup>Small cattle, goats, and the like.

<sup>c</sup>This is probably the beautiful incrustated temple at Tell-el-Yehudiyeh.

<sup>d</sup>See 26, 2, note.

*Restorations*

276. <sup>11</sup>I made thee works, with workmen, builders, and stonecutters, in order to fashion thy house, in order to restore thy house.

*Temple of Re<sup>a</sup>*

277. <sup>12</sup>I made for thee the "House (*pr*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Re," equipped with people and property, like the sand.

*Pl. 30. New Saosis Temple*

278. <sup>1</sup>I made for thee an august house, west of the Heliopolitan canal, for thy mother, Saosis (*Yws-c>s*), mistress of Heliopolis.

*Settlement of Foreign Captives*

<sup>2</sup>I made for thee a pure settlement of numerous classes;<sup>b</sup> whose sons I brought into thy house (called): "Taking-of-the-Foreigners."

*Sacred Bulls*

<sup>3</sup>I raised the black cattle<sup>c</sup> and great bulls, purified from every evil in their fields.

*Barge of Saosis*

<sup>4</sup>I hewed a large barge for thy great daughter, Saosis, mistress of Hetep (called<sup>d</sup>): "Sep-in-Heliopolis;"<sup>d</sup> of cedars of <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup>, the best of the royal domain, which were covered with gold like the barge of millions of years.

*Lists*

279. <sup>6</sup>Behold, the list of them<sup>e</sup> is before thee, O my father, my lord, in order to inform thy divine ennead of my benefactions.

<sup>a</sup>This is evidently the chief temple at Heliopolis, to which Ramses III could have done no more than make some additions or restorations. It is probably the second in the list, 31, 4; as the first (31, 3) is called a *H't*, and this temple is a *Pr*.

<sup>b</sup>See 26, 2, note.

<sup>c</sup>See Spiegelberg, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1891, 81, 82.

<sup>d</sup>Or the barge may also have been for the god Sep, as a second object of the preposition.

<sup>e</sup>Ramses III's pious deeds.

## 3. RE'S ESTATE

*Pl. 31*

280. <sup>1</sup>List of things, cattle, gardens, groves, lands, galleys, workshops, and towns which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, gave to <sup>2</sup>his august father, Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, Re-Harakhte, as property, forever and ever.

*People Attached to Temples, Etc.*

281. <sup>33</sup> "The-House ( <i>h' t</i> )-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Re," under charge of the "Great Seer" <sup>b</sup> and the officials, with all possessions:	heads	1,485
<sup>4</sup> People whom he gave to the house of Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, Re-Harakhte, who were in the ownership of the house, under his charge: (heads)		4,583
<sup>5</sup> Those belonging to "The-House-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Re-North-of-Heliopolis," under charge of the scribe, and chief inspector, Pehotep ( <i>P<sup>3</sup> -R<sup>c</sup> -htp</i> ), equipped with its possessions:	heads	2,177
<sup>6</sup> The 'château' of Pharaoh, L. P. H., which is in this place <sup>c</sup> under charge of the chief scribe, Thutmose and the officials:	heads	1,779
<sup>7</sup> "The [—] <sup>d</sup> -of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-Sustaining-Alive-the-Two-Lands," under charge of the scribe, and chief inspector, Hori:	heads	247
<sup>8</sup> Orderlies, children of chiefs, nobles, epru ( <i>c -pw-r<sup>2</sup></i> ), <sup>e</sup> and people of the settlement, <sup>f</sup> which is in this place:	heads	2,093
<sup>9</sup> Total	heads	<sup>g</sup> 12,963

<sup>a</sup>A list of people like that in 10, 3-11, 4, *q. v.*

<sup>b</sup>Title of the High Priest of Heliopolis.

<sup>c</sup>"*This place*" can only mean the temple just mentioned on the north of Heliopolis; on the château, see III, 588, l. 49. It must here have been attached to the Re-temple, as was the palace at Medinet Habu with the temple there; otherwise, the personnel would not have belonged to the god.

<sup>d</sup>*M<sup>3</sup> wt*, with the determinative of land, is perhaps some temple estate.

<sup>e</sup>These are the people supposed by Chabas to have been Hebrews, a theory long since exploded.

<sup>f</sup>See 30, 2.

<sup>g</sup>The correct total is 12,364.

*Pl. 32a. Miscellaneous Property*

<sup>1</sup> 282. Various cattle	45,544
<sup>2</sup> Gardens and groves	64
<sup>3</sup> Lands: stat	160,084½¼
<sup>4</sup> Workshops of cedar and acacia	5½ <sup>a</sup>
<sup>5</sup> Transports and galleys	3
<sup>6</sup> Towns of Egypt	103

## 4. RE'S INCOME

<sup>283.</sup> <sup>7</sup>Things exacted, impost of the people of "The-House (*h' t*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Re;" <sup>8</sup>those of "The House (*h' t*)-of-Ramses Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Re-on-the-North-of-Heliopolis," the temples (*r' -pr*) and herds of this house (*pr*), <sup>9</sup>under charge of the officials, as their yearly dues:

<sup>10</sup>Silver 586 deben, 3¾¼ kidet

*Pl. 32b*

<sup>1</sup> Copper	1,260 deben
<sup>2</sup> Royal linen, mek-linen, double-fine southern linen, fine southern linen, southern linen, colored linen: various garments	1,019
<sup>3</sup> Incense, honey, oil: various jars ( <sup>c</sup> )	482
<sup>4</sup> Shedeh, wine: various jars ( <sup>c</sup> )	2,385
<sup>5</sup> Silver <sup>b</sup> from the things of the impost of the people for the divine offerings:	456 deben, 3½ kidet
<sup>6</sup> Clean grain of the impost of the peasants: 16-fold heket	77,100
<sup>7</sup> Vegetables: bundles	4,800
<sup>8</sup> Flax: bales	4,000
<sup>9</sup> Water-fowl from the impost of the fowlers and fishermen	37,465
<sup>10</sup> Bulls, bullocks of the bulls, heifers, calves, cows, cattle of ┌—┐, cattle <sup>c</sup> of ┌—┐ of the herds	98
<sup>11</sup> Live geese of the exactions	540½ (sic!)
<sup>12</sup> Cedar: a ferry-boat	1
<sup>13</sup> Acacia: transports and kara ( <i>k' -r'</i> )-boats	7
<sup>14</sup> Products of the oasis in numerous lists for the divine offerings.	

<sup>a</sup>The fraction applied to such an object is quite inexplicable, unless the noun be read as singular and 5½ be measures of timber.

<sup>b</sup>See 12b, 2.

<sup>c</sup>Corrected from 12b, 7.

## 5. THE KING'S GIFTS TO RE

*Pl. 33a*

**284.** <sup>1</sup>Gold, silver, real lapis lazuli, real malachite, every splendid, costly stone, black copper, garments, <sup>2</sup>of royal linen, mek-linen, fine southern linen, southern linen, colored garments, jars of everything, <sup>3</sup>which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, gave, as gifts of the king, L. P. H., [in order to provision the house of his august father], <sup>4</sup>Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, Re-Harakhte, <sup>5</sup>from the year 1 to the year 31, making 31 years:

<b>285.</b> <sup>5</sup> Fine mountain gold and gold for the balances <sup>b</sup>	1,278	deben,	9 $\frac{2}{3}$	kidet
<sup>6</sup> Fine gold, gold of two times, and white gold in vessels and ornaments:	198	"	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	"
<sup>7</sup> Total, gold	1,479	"	3 <sup>c</sup>	"
<sup>8</sup> Crude silver for the balances and silver in vessels	1,891 <sup>d</sup>	"	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
<sup>9</sup> Silver in beaten work: 1 tablet, making	394	"		
<sup>10</sup> Total, silver	2,255 <sup>e</sup>	"	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
<sup>11</sup> Total, gold and silver	3,734	"	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	"
<sup>12</sup> Real lapis lazuli: 1 block, making	1	"	1	"
<sup>13</sup> Lapis lazuli and malachite: a great scarab			36	"
<sup>14</sup> Black copper for the balances	67	"	3	"
<sup>15</sup> Copper in beaten work: 2 tablets, making	400	"	3	"

*Pl. 33b*

<sup>1</sup> Copper in vessels	1,416	deben,	1	kidet
<sup>2</sup> Total copper	1,819	deben, --(sic!) <sup>f</sup>		kidet
<b>286.</b> <sup>3</sup> Royal linen, mek-linen, fine southern linen, southern linen, colored linen; various garments			18,793	
<sup>4</sup> Myrrh: deben			1,787	

<sup>a</sup>Something has fallen out here, by error of the scribe; the restoration is from the parallel passage 13a, 3.

<sup>b</sup>Meaning the balances above mentioned in 26, 11-27, 1 (§ 256). The gold amounts to some 311 $\frac{1}{2}$  pounds, troy.

<sup>c</sup>The fraction ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) is ignored.

<sup>d</sup>Nearly 461 pounds, troy.

<sup>e</sup>Thirty short.

<sup>f</sup>The scribe has omitted the number; the real total is 1,883 deben, 7 kidet.

<sup>5</sup> Myrrh: heket	2
<sup>6</sup> Myrrh wood: logs	20
<sup>7</sup> Myrrh fruit in measures ( <i>yp' t</i> )	100
<sup>8</sup> Incense, oil, honey, fat: various jars ( <sup>c</sup> )	3,740
<sup>9</sup> Shedeh and wine: various jars ( <sup>c</sup> )	103,550
<sup>10</sup> Incense: kararuti ( <i>k' -r' -rw-t'y</i> ) <sup>a</sup>	530
<sup>11</sup> Incense: large measures ( <i>yp' t</i> )	62
<sup>12</sup> Good manna of Punt: deben	300
<b>287.</b> <sup>13</sup> Ubat ( <i>wb' t</i> ) stone: seals mounted in gold	11
<sup>14</sup> Hirset ( <i>hrs</i> ) stone: deben	50

*Pl. 34a*

<sup>1</sup> Green feldspar <sup>b</sup> : deben	50
<sup>2</sup> Red jasper: deben	200
<sup>3</sup> Marvelous <sup>c</sup> stone: offering-table	1
<sup>4</sup> Ubat ( <i>wb' t</i> ) stone: seals	200
<sup>5</sup> Rock-crystal, and costly stones: various pendants	2,195
<sup>6</sup> “ cut: hin	10
<sup>7</sup> “ beads	22,450
<sup>8</sup> Sticks <sup>d</sup> of cinnamon: measures ( <i>msty</i> )	17
<sup>9</sup> Reeds: <sup>e</sup> deben	2,000
<sup>10</sup> Syrian barley: heket	5
<sup>11</sup> Cumin: heket	5
<b>288.</b> <sup>12</sup> Wrought wood: seals	31
<sup>13</sup> Meru ( <i>my</i> ) wood, with ebony: a staff <sup>f</sup>	1
<sup>14</sup> Hewn wood: a block (for) the balances	1
<sup>15</sup> Carob wood: a log of 4 cubits (length) <sup>f</sup>	1

*Pl. 34b*

<sup>1</sup> Persea tree cut: (a log) of 2 cubits	1
<sup>2</sup> Mera ( <i>mr'</i> ) wood: a post for the balances of 3 cubits, 4 palms	1

<sup>a</sup>Probably a weight.<sup>b</sup>*Nšm' t*, see *Catalogue Alnwick Castle*, 230.<sup>c</sup>*N-by' y' t*, apparently not gritstone (*by' y' t*).<sup>d</sup>Lit., “*reeds*,” meaning the reedlike pieces of curled bark.<sup>e</sup>This is perhaps also some similar aromatic bark in curled sticks or reeds; otherwise it would not be weighed by the deben.<sup>f</sup>Probably for the beam of the balances, as we have the post in *34b*, 2.



<sup>3</sup> Wood and bark: handle <sup>1</sup> of a r— <sup>1</sup>	1
<sup>4</sup> Olive land, equipped, one (grove), making	54½ stat
<sup>5</sup> Gardens of all (kinds of) trees, equipped	2

## 6. GRAIN FOR THE OLD FEASTS

*The Old Feasts*

**289.** <sup>6</sup>Clean grain of the divine offerings, of the feasts of heaven and the feasts of the beginnings of the seasons, which <sup>7</sup>King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, founded for his august father, Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, Re-Harakhte, <sup>8</sup>being an increase of the divine offerings, and an increase of the daily offerings, in order to double that which was before me, L. P. H., <sup>9</sup>from the year 1 to the year 31, making 31 years: 16-fold heket, 1,097,624.

## 7. OFFERINGS FOR NEW FEASTS FOUNDED BY RAMSES III

**290.** <sup>10</sup>Oblations of the festival offerings which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, founded for this house, <sup>11</sup>as an increase of the festival offerings of former time, year by year, from the year 9 to the year 31, making 23<sup>a</sup> years:

<b>291.</b> <sup>12</sup> Fine bread: large oblation-loaves of gold	460
<sup>13</sup> Fine bread: loaves ( <i>bh</i> )	4,600

*Pl. 35a*

<sup>1</sup> Fine bread: large oblation-loaves	23,000
<sup>2</sup> “ “ oblation-measures ( <i>htp</i> )	80,500
<sup>3</sup> “ “ loaves ( <sup>c</sup> <i>k</i> ) of the fire	920
<sup>4</sup> “ “ large loaves ( <sup>c</sup> <i>k</i> )	460,000
<sup>5</sup> “ “ tall white loaves	80,500
<sup>6</sup> “ “ white oblation-loaves	920,000
<sup>7</sup> “ “ white pyramidal loaves	103,500
<sup>8</sup> “ “ kyllestis-loaves	34,500
<sup>9</sup> “ “ loaves ( <i>wdmw-nt</i> )	80,500
<sup>10</sup> Kunek ( <i>kwnk</i> )-bread: white loaves	80,500
<sup>11</sup> Total, fine bread: various loaves ( <sup>c</sup> <i>k</i> )	2,760,420 <sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Hence the following quantities are all evenly divisible by 23. This division, carried through the entire list, furnishes a complete list of the annual offerings presented at this feast.

<sup>b</sup>Real total is 1,868,980.

<sup>12</sup> Cakes: 1—1	69,000
<sup>13</sup> Cakes: loaves ( <i>by' t</i> ):	11,500

*Pl. 35b*

<sup>1</sup> Rahusu ( <i>r' -hw-sw</i> )-cakes: round loaves	2,875
<sup>2</sup> Rahusu ( <i>r' -hw-sw</i> )-cakes: measures ( <i>tm̄m</i> )	46
<b>292.</b> <sup>3</sup> Beer: measures ( <i>trf</i> )	198,260
<sup>4</sup> Shedeh: colored jars ( <i>mn</i> )	1,380
<sup>5</sup> Shedeh: jars ( <i>k' bw</i> )	2,990
<sup>6</sup> Wine: jars ( <i>mn</i> )	16,100
<sup>7</sup> Total, shedeh and wine: jars ( <i>mn</i> and <i>k' bw</i> )	20,470
<b>293.</b> <sup>8</sup> Bulls	966
<sup>9</sup> Bullocks of the bulls	1,886
<sup>10</sup> Oxen ( <i>ng'</i> )	703
<sup>11</sup> Heifers	1,242
<sup>12</sup> Calves	1,242
<sup>13</sup> Cows	5,911
<sup>14</sup> Total, various cattle	11,960
<sup>15</sup> Males of the white oryx	230

*Pl. 36a*

<sup>1</sup> Live geese	1,150
<sup>2</sup> Live hatching-fowl	2,300
<sup>3</sup> Live water-fowl	13,800
<sup>4</sup> Total, live water-fowl	17,250
<b>294.</b> <sup>5</sup> Honey: jars ( <i>g' y</i> )	92
<sup>6</sup> Incense: jars ( <i>k' -hr-k'</i> )	9,200
<sup>7</sup> “ food-jars ( <i>tbw</i> )	4,600
<sup>8</sup> “ white loaves	1,150
<sup>9</sup> “ measures ( <i>htp</i> )	34,500
<sup>10</sup> “ measures ( <i>dn y' t</i> )	126,500
<sup>11</sup> “ jars ( <i>' c c bw</i> )	26,500
<sup>12</sup> Papyrus grind <sup>1</sup> , worked into incense: various measures ( <i>yp' t</i> )	34,500
<sup>13</sup> Fruit: measures ( <i>ddmt</i> )	690
<sup>14</sup> “ “ ( <i>t' y</i> )	23,000
<sup>15</sup> “ “ ( <i>htp hr' nmtt<sup>1</sup></i> )	34,500

*Pl. 36b*

<sup>1</sup> Fruit: various measures ( <i>htp</i> )	1,150,000
<sup>2</sup> “ measures ( <i>dꜣ-wꜣ-rꜣ</i> )	4,600
<sup>3</sup> “ measures ( <i>dnꜣ</i> )	23,000
<sup>4</sup> Papyrus <sup>1</sup> rind <sup>1</sup> : various measures ( <i>ypꜣt</i> )	23,000
<sup>5</sup> Dom-palm fruit <sup>1</sup> : measures ( <i>htp</i> )	4,600
<sup>6</sup> Figs: <sup>1</sup> pyramids <sup>1</sup> ( <i>sfꜣtꜣ</i> )	4,600
<sup>7</sup> Katha <sup>a</sup> fruit and katha flowers: heket	23,000
<b>295.</b> <sup>8</sup> Lotus flowers for the hand	46,000
<sup>9</sup> Isi-plant: various measures ( <i>ypꜣt</i> )	483,000
<sup>10</sup> Isi-plant: for the hand	231,500
<sup>11</sup> Flowers: garlands	46,000
<sup>12</sup> Papyrus (flowers): bouquets	483,000

*Pl. 37a*

<sup>1</sup> Papyrus: large pools <sup>b</sup>	6,900
<sup>2</sup> Flax <sup>1</sup> : measures ( <i>dydy</i> )	92,000
<sup>3</sup> Isi-plant: <sup>1</sup> measures <sup>1</sup> ( <i>dydy</i> )	69,000
<sup>4</sup> Menhet ( <i>mnh</i> )-plant in measures ( <i>ypꜣt</i> )	26,500
<sup>5</sup> Dates: measures ( <i>mdꜣ</i> )	241,500
<sup>6</sup> Milk: measures ( <i>gs-rꜣ</i> )	8,600
<sup>7</sup> Clusters of <sup>1</sup> berries <sup>1</sup> for the hand	92,000
<sup>8</sup> Blossoms: <sup>c</sup> bouquets	1,150,000
<sup>9</sup> Blossoms: <sup>c</sup> measures ( <i>htp</i> )	1,150,000
<sup>10</sup> Herbs: bundles ( <i>htpꜣt</i> )	4,600
<sup>11</sup> Sehetep ( <i>shꜣp</i> ) of carob-pods	92,000
<sup>12</sup> Fire wood: ( <sup>1</sup> logs <sup>1</sup> ) <sup>d</sup>	11,500
<sup>13</sup> Charcoal: measures ( <i>gs-rꜣ</i> )	2,300

## 8. OFFERINGS FOR THE NILE-GOD

*Pl. 37b. Old Offerings*

**296.** <sup>1</sup>Oblations for the “Books of the Nile-God,”<sup>e</sup> which he founded anew in the house of the Nile-god, father of gods; <sup>2</sup>together with the “Books of the Nile-God” which are presented in the Pool of

<sup>a</sup>*Kꜣꜣꜣꜣ*.<sup>b</sup>Perhaps papyrus-producing pools?<sup>c</sup>See **21a**, 2-4.<sup>d</sup>Or some measure implied as a matter of course; cf. Maspero, *Recueil*, I, 59.<sup>e</sup>The “*Books of the Nile-God*” were lists of the offerings presented to him twice a year. The first record of such offerings is under Ramses II, who established a

Kebeh (*Kbh*) in the house of Re-Harakhte; <sup>3</sup>the "Books of the Nile-God," which are presented in the house of Anubis, lord of designs in Neru (*Nr<sup>3</sup>w*), being an increase of their (offerings) that were formerly, <sup>4</sup>year by year, from the year 1 to the year 31, making 31 years.

*Offerings Founded by Ramses III*

297. <sup>5</sup>"Books of the Nile-God," which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, founded 48 years, making 31 years:<sup>a</sup> <sup>6</sup>272 "Books of the Nile-God," making:

<sup>7</sup> Fine bread of the divine offerings: various loaves ( <i>by<sup>3</sup>t</i> )	470,000
<sup>8</sup> Fine bread of the divine offerings: persen ( <i>pr-sn</i> )-loaves, white loaves, and seshu ( <i>sšw</i> )-loaves	879,224
<sup>9</sup> Cakes: various measures ( <i>yp<sup>3</sup>t</i> )	106,910
<sup>10</sup> Kunek ( <i>kwnk</i> )-bread: loaves ( <i>wdmw-nt</i> )	46,568
<sup>11</sup> Beer: various jars	49,432
Making	<hr/> b
<sup>12</sup> Clean grain: 16-fold heket	61,172½
298. <sup>13</sup> Bulls	291
<sup>14</sup> Bullocks of the bulls	17

*Pl. 38a*

<sup>1</sup> Calves	51
<sup>2</sup> Cows	2,564
Total	<hr/> 2,923

semiannual feast of the Nile-god at Silsileh and recorded the fact, together with a fine hymn to the god, on the rocks at Silsileh (Stern, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1873, 129-35). These were renewed by Merneptah, and again by Ramses III, both of whom had duplicates of Ramses II's stela carved beside it. The "Books" were thrown into the stream, and doubtless also the offerings themselves, of which the "Books" contained the lists. Ramses III's stela is dated in Phamenoth of the sixth year, and, like Ramses II, he celebrated the two feasts on the fifteenth of Thoth and the fifteenth of Epiphi (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 218, d, l. 15).

<sup>a</sup>I am unable to explain this addition: "making 31 years," unless it is a dittography from the end of the l. 4. Evidently the 48 years is a total of annual offerings obtained by adding 31 years of old offerings and 17 years of Ramses' newly founded offerings, for the 272 books of l. 6 are exactly divisible by 17 (sixteen times). Hence the list beginning l. 6 refers to the 17 years of Ramses' new foundation, as all such lists in this papyrus refer to his new foundations, e. g., 34b, 10 ff. The items of the list following (37b, 7, to 41b, 6) are almost all even multiples of 17.

<sup>b</sup>The scribe has omitted the number of hins which these jars make.

<sup>3</sup> Goats	1,089
<sup>4</sup> Fat geese	192
<sup>5</sup> Live geese and fowl ( <i>ht</i> - <i>c</i> )	3,938
<sup>6</sup> Hatching-fowl	364
<sup>7</sup> Water-fowl	2,653
<sup>8</sup> Pigeons	68
<sup>9</sup> Sesha ( <i>s</i> - <i>c</i> )-birds	19,928
<sup>10</sup> Total, various fowl	27,143
<b>299.</b> <sup>11</sup> Shedeh: jars ( <i>k</i> - <i>bw</i> )	209
<sup>12</sup> Wine: jars ( <i>mn</i> )	7,154
<sup>13</sup> White fat: 3,513 jars ( <i>c</i> ), each one $\frac{1}{4}$ hin, making: hins	627 $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>a</sup>
<sup>14</sup> Onions: measures ( <i>c</i> )	12,712

*Pl. 38b*

<sup>1</sup> Salt ( <i>spr</i> ): jars ( <i>c</i> )	12,712
<sup>2</sup> Natron: jars ( <i>c</i> )	12,712
<sup>3</sup> Dried dates: jars ( <i>c</i> )	11,872
<sup>4</sup> Dried myrrh: jars ( <i>c</i> )	11,872
<sup>5</sup> Uz ( <i>w</i> )-mineral: jars ( <i>c</i> )	11,872
<sup>6</sup> Eye-paint: jars ( <i>c</i> )	11,872
<sup>7</sup> Incense: censerfuls	848
<sup>8</sup> “ measures ( <i>spr</i> )	424
<sup>9</sup> “ 87,344 jars ( <i>c</i> ), making incense: deben	23,008
<sup>10</sup> “ measures ( <i>dn y t</i> )	6,420
<sup>11</sup> “ jars ( <i>c</i> )	2,568
<sup>12</sup> “ jars ( <i>c</i> - <i>bw</i> )	1,304
<sup>13</sup> White incense: hin	85
<sup>14</sup> Oil: hin	85
<b>300.</b> <sup>15</sup> Fruit: measures ( <i>mh t</i> )	254,240

*Pl. 39*

<sup>1</sup> Fruit: measures ( <i>dn y t</i> )	2,672
<sup>2</sup> Fruit: jars ( <i>c</i> )	154,672
<sup>3</sup> Berries: jars ( <i>c</i> )	11,872
<sup>4</sup> Raisins: <sup>b</sup> jars ( <i>c</i> )	11,872

<sup>a</sup>The scribe has made a bad miscalculation, 3,513 quarter-hin jars = 878 $\frac{1}{2}$  hin.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., “raisin-berries,” meaning the individual grapes, plucked from the stem.

<sup>5</sup> Best fruit: jars ( <i>g<sup>2</sup>y</i> )	9,600
<sup>6</sup> Honey: 20,800 jars ( <i>pw-g<sup>2</sup></i> ), each one $\frac{1}{4}$ hin, making: hin	5,200
<sup>7</sup> Honey: 1,040 jars ( <i>mh<sup>2</sup>t</i> ), each one 1 hin, making: hin	1,040
<sup>8</sup> Honey for cakes: hin	7,050, halves 25
<sup>9</sup> White fat for cakes: hin	1,419, halves 25
<sup>10</sup> Cinnamon: logs	3,036
<sup>11</sup> Best oil: 848 jars ( <i>bp<sup>2</sup></i> ), each one $\frac{1}{2}$ hin, making: hin	424
<sup>12</sup> Best oil: 3,036 jars ( <sup>c</sup> ), each one $\frac{1}{4}$ hin, making: hin	758
<b>301.</b> <sup>13</sup> Shelled beans: jars ( <sup>c</sup> )	11,998

*Pl. 40a*

<sup>1</sup> Raisins: jars ( <sup>c</sup> )	11,872
<sup>2</sup> Raisins in measures ( <i>yp<sup>2</sup>t</i> )	106,000
<sup>3</sup> Carob-pods in measures ( <i>yp<sup>2</sup>t</i> )	106,000
<sup>4</sup> Herbs: <sup>a</sup> bundles ( <i>hrš</i> )	159,000
<sup>5</sup> Herbs: <sup>a</sup> bundles ( <i>htp<sup>2</sup>t</i> )	11,872
<sup>6</sup> Cyperus of the shore, for the hand	71,200
<sup>7</sup> Palm-fiber: measures ( <i>msty</i> )	43,900
<sup>8</sup> White fruit: jars ( <i>g<sup>2</sup>y</i> )	4,240
<sup>9</sup> Live "garden fragrance" <sup>b</sup>	106,000
<sup>10</sup> Seneb ( <i>snb</i> )-berries: jars ( <sup>c</sup> )	11,872
<sup>11</sup> Butter: jars ( <i>nms<sup>2</sup>t</i> )	12,040
<sup>12</sup> Milk: jars ( <i>nms<sup>2</sup>t</i> )	12,040
<sup>13</sup> Milk: jars ( <i>mhn</i> )	198
<sup>14</sup> Pomegranates <sup>1</sup> in measures ( <i>yp<sup>2</sup>t</i> )	96,000
<sup>15</sup> Apples ( <i>dph<sup>2</sup>t</i> ): baskets ( <i>k<sup>2</sup>-r<sup>2</sup>-hw-ty</i> )	848

*Pl. 40b*

<sup>1</sup> Isi-plant: measures ( <i>ddmt</i> )	848
<sup>2</sup> Isi-plant: for the hand	8,480
<sup>3</sup> Flowers: garlands	43,640
<sup>4</sup> Clusters of grapes for the hand	74,000
<sup>5</sup> Blossoms: <sup>c</sup> bouquets	114,804
<sup>6</sup> Blossoms: <sup>c</sup> clusters ( <i>htp<sup>2</sup>t</i> )	114,804
<b>302.</b> <sup>7</sup> Gold: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa ( <i>nws<sup>2</sup></i> )	6,784
<sup>8</sup> Silver: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa ( <i>nws<sup>2</sup></i> )	6,784
<sup>9</sup> Real lapis lazuli: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa ( <i>nws<sup>2</sup></i> )	6,784

<sup>a</sup>Or vegetables.<sup>b</sup>See 21a, 4.<sup>c</sup>See 21a, 2-4.

<sup>10</sup> Real malachite: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa ( <i>nws</i> ?)	6,784
<sup>11</sup> Iron <sup>1</sup> : a statue of the Nile-god, nusa ( <i>nws</i> ?)	6,784
<sup>12</sup> Raised <sup>1</sup> copper: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa ( <i>nws</i> ?)	6,784
<sup>13</sup> Lead: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa ( <i>nws</i> ?)	6,784
<sup>14</sup> Tin <sup>1</sup> : <sup>a</sup> a statue of the Nile-god, nusa ( <i>nws</i> ?)	6,784
<sup>15</sup> Menit-uz ( <i>mn'y t-wd</i> ): <sup>b</sup> a statue of the Nile-god, nusa ( <i>nws</i> ?)	6,784

*Pl. 41a*

<sup>1</sup> Minu ( <i>mynw</i> ) stone: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	6,784
<sup>2</sup> Shesmet ( <i>šsm' t</i> ) stone: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	6,784
<sup>3</sup> Green feldspar ( <i>nšm' t</i> ): a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	6,784
<sup>4</sup> Alabaster: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	6,784
<sup>5</sup> Red jasper: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	6,784
<sup>6</sup> Hirset ( <i>hrs' t</i> ) stone: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	6,784
<sup>7</sup> Kenmet ( <i>kmm' t</i> ) stone: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	6,784
<sup>8</sup> Mesdemet ( <i>msdm' t</i> ) stone: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	6,784
<sup>9</sup> Seher ( <i>shr</i> ): a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	6,784
<sup>10</sup> Tur ( <i>twr</i> ): a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	6,784
<sup>11</sup> Bronze: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	6,784
<b>303.</b> <sup>12</sup> Various costly stones: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	13,568
<sup>13</sup> Rock-crystal: seals	10,196
<sup>14</sup> “ “ bracelets	10,196
<sup>15</sup> “ “ armlets <sup>1</sup>	10,196

*Pl. 41b*

<sup>1</sup> Sycamore wood: statues of the Nile-god	5,096
<sup>2</sup> Sycamore wood: statues of the Nile-goddess	5,098
<sup>3</sup> Southern linen: kilts	10,196
<sup>4</sup> Stone: ubas ( <i>wb</i> ?)	31,650
<sup>5</sup> Fire wood: (logs) <sup>1</sup> <sup>c</sup>	510
<sup>6</sup> Charcoal: measures ( <i>gs-r</i> ?)	17

## 9. RAMSES' CONCLUDING PRAYER TO RE

*Pl. 42. Ramses III's Prayer for His Son*

**304.** <sup>1</sup>Complete thou for me the mighty deeds, which I did for thee, O father. I have reached the West<sup>d</sup> like Osiris; grant that I may

<sup>a</sup>See Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1892, 110 ff.

<sup>b</sup>Some unknown metal.

<sup>c</sup>See 37a, 12, note.

<sup>d</sup>The place of the dead (*ymy wr' t*).

receive offerings,<sup>a</sup> which come forth before thee; that I may smell <sup>2</sup>incense and myrrh like thy divine ennead. Grant that thy radiance may bathe<sup>b</sup> my head daily; that my soul may live, that he may behold thee at early morning. Do thou the <sup>3</sup>desire of my heart, O august father, for I was a benefactor of thy ka, while I was upon earth. Hear my petition, do that which I say, which gods as well as <sup>4</sup>men announce to thee. Establish my son to be king, as lord of the Two Regions, that he may rule the Two Lands, like thee, as sovereign, L. P. H., in Egypt: <sup>5</sup>Usermare-Setepnamon, L. P. H., whom thou hast chosen for thyself, to be heir, to magnify thy name. Set the white crown and the divine double crown upon his head, like as thou wert crowned <sup>6</sup>upon earth, as Horus, wearer of the double diadem. Make sound his every limb, make to flourish his bones and his eyes, flourishing in beholding the love of millions.<sup>c</sup> Make his duration <sup>7</sup>upon earth like the Pole Star; ready, like a mighty Bull, seizing the Two Lands. Give to him the Nine Bows, united under his two feet, saluting<sup>d</sup> <sup>8</sup>his name, while his sword is over them. Thou art the one who createdst him, when he was a child; thou didst appoint him to be hereditary prince upon the double throne of Keb; thou didst say: "Let him become king <sup>9</sup>upon the throne of him who begat him." The things which thou ordainest, they come to pass, abiding, and established. Give to him a great and prolonged reign, and jubilees great and mighty, like Tatenen; <sup>10</sup>King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Setepnamon, L. P. H.; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses (IV)-Hekma-Meriamon, L. P. H.

#### IV. MEMPHITE SECTION

##### I. INTRODUCTORY VIGNETTE

###### *Pl. 43. Vignette*

305. Ramses III stands praying before Ptah, Sekhmet, and Nefertem. The accompanying notes are these:

<sup>a</sup>The word (*htp*) is determined with a flower like the word *htp'i*, "bouquet, cluster," but *htp*, "offering," is meant. The same error is found in 44, 9.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "anoint."

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "millions of love."

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "in the posture of *salâm* to his name."



*Over Ptah*

Ptah the great, "South-of-His-Wall." lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands."

*Over Sekhmet*

Sekhmet the great, beloved of Ptah.

*Over Nefertem*

Nefertem, protector of the Two Lands.

*Before the King*

I tell the prayers, praises, adorations, laudations, mighty deeds, and benefactions, which I did for thee in thy presence, O Resi-inebef.<sup>a</sup>

## 2. PRAYER TO PTAH AND RECITAL OF THE KING'S BENEFACEMENTS

*Pl. 44. Introduction*

306. <sup>1</sup>The prayers, praises, adorations, laudations, mighty deeds and benefactions, which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, did for <sup>2</sup>his father, Ptah, the great, "South-of-His-Wall," lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands;" Sekhmet, the great, beloved of Ptah; Nefertem, protector of the Two Lands; and all the gods of Memphis.

*Prayer of Ramses III*

307. Said King Usermare-Meriamon, the Great God, <sup>3</sup>to his father, this august god, Ptah, the great, "South-of-His-Wall," lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," Tatenen, father of the gods, lofty-plumed, ready-horned, beautiful-faced, upon the great throne:

*Praise of Ptah*

308. "Hail to thee! Great art thou, revered art thou, <sup>4</sup>O Tatenen, father of the gods, great god of the first time, former of men, maker of gods, beginning that became the first primeval being, after whom happened all that came to pass, who made heaven after<sup>b</sup> the conception of his mind, <sup>5</sup>who suspended it by the elevation of the atmosphere,<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>The epithet of Ptah; "South-of-His-Wall."

<sup>b</sup>Or: "by."

<sup>c</sup>*Šwt*. It has the determinative of "heaven" (Piehl gives "ciel"), but the context demands "air or atmosphere," and I render it so, by connecting it with *Šw*, the air-god, who according to the myth crept between heaven and earth, separated them, and lifted the heavens.

who founded the earth by that which he himself did, who surrounded it with Nun,<sup>a</sup> and the sea; who made the nether world, who satisfied the dead, and caused the sun to come to prosper them, <sup>6</sup>as ruler of eternity, lord of everlastingness; lord of life, who fills the throat and gives breath to every nostril; who preserves alive all men by his sustenance. Lifetime, destiny and bringing up are under his authority, men live by that which comes out of his mouth; maker of <sup>7</sup>offerings for all the gods, in his form as Nun, the great; lord of eternity, everlastingness is under his authority; breath of life for all people; leading the king to his great throne in his name: King of the Two Lands. I am thy son whom thou hast installed as king <sup>8</sup>in the place of my father in peace. I <sup>9</sup>follow thee, thy plans are before me.

*The King's Decease*

**309.** Thou didst multiply good things for me, while I was upon earth, thou hast led me to rest by thy side in the western heavens like all the mysterious gods of the Nether World, and I am associated <sup>9</sup>with thy divine ennead in thy mysterious seat, like Apis, thy august son, who is by thy side. Grant that I may eat food<sup>b</sup> of thy divine offerings, of

*Pl. 45*

bread, incense, beer, shēdeh, and wine. Grant that <sup>1</sup>I may live again in Tazoser, seeing thee every day like thy divine ennead.

*The King's Benefactions*

**310.** While I was ruler, L. P. H., upon earth as lord of Egypt, did I not incline my heart mightily to thee, <sup>2</sup>in order to seek all benefactions for thy august house, in order to present them before thee in thy city of Memphis?

*New Ptah-Temple*

**311.** <sup>3</sup>I made for thee a house<sup>c</sup> anew in thy court, the place of thy heart's rest at thy every appearance (called): "The-House (*h' t*)-of-

<sup>a</sup>The primeval ocean.

<sup>b</sup>See 42, 1.

<sup>c</sup>So little of Memphis has survived that this temple of Ramses III has disappeared. See a fragment in Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, I, Pl. IV, 2, 4; and another in *Annales*, III, 26, 27. A mortuary temple of Ramses III at Memphis called: "*House-of-Ramses,-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-of-the-Temple-of-Memphis*," in Ptolemaic times (British Museum Stela, Young, *Hieroglyphics*, 77, 78; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 908; the same temple on Berlin sarcophagus, No. 18, *ibid.*, 910). On our passage, see Naville, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, VII, 134 f.

Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Ptah," in the <sup>4</sup>great and mysterious court of "Him-Who-is-South-of-His-Wall,"<sup>a</sup> founded in granite, laid in limestone. Its great doorposts bore lintels of Elephantine granite; the doors upon it<sup>b</sup> were of copper in a mixture of six (parts).<sup>c</sup> The great doorways were of gold, with inlay of stone; the bolts<sup>d</sup> of black copper, overlaid with gold, bearing figures of Ketch-gold, with gold in inlay. Its monuments were sculptured and established with labor. Its towers were of stone, approaching <sup>7</sup>heaven. Its "Great Seat" was enlarged like a "Great House," having a door of gold like the double doors of heaven.

*Divine Image*

**312.** I wrought upon thy image, <sup>8</sup>resting in its shrine, in gold, silver, and real, costly stone, established with labor.

*Endowment*

**313.** I equipped it with serf-laborers in numerous lists, having lands and herds in South and North.

*Pl. 46*

<sup>1</sup>Its storehouses were overflowing with numerous possessions, naval archers, collectors of honey, delivering incense and delivering silver, <sup>2</sup>merchants without number, deliveries of clean grain by the ten-thousand; numerous gardens, plentiful in shedeh and wine; cattle yards, bulls, bullocks, and <sup>3</sup>fattening-houses; the products of Egypt, God's-Land, Syria and Kush. I made them more numerous than the sand, in its august storehouse, the magazine containing divine offerings, supplied <sup>4</sup>with food, without lack in any of its places. They were for thy ka, O sole lord, maker of what is, Ptah, "South-of-His-Wall," ruler of eternity. <sup>5</sup>I gave to thee 20,000 16-fold heket of grain, to convey them to thy house each year, in order to provision thy temple with divine offerings, in addition to the daily offerings which were before me.

<sup>a</sup>See § 305 (last word).

<sup>b</sup>Masculine, referring to the lintel, not to the temple, which is here feminine. The doors were mounted in lintel and threshold, and not from the doorposts.

<sup>c</sup>See 6, q. note.

<sup>d</sup>Or possibly all the mountings, including hinges.

*Older Ptah-Temple*

314. <sup>6</sup>I restored the house of Ptah, thy great seat, I caused it to be like the horizon, wherein Re is. I filled its storehouses with numerous possessions. I loaded its granaries with barley and spelt.

*Cultus Image and its Portable Shrine*

315. <sup>7</sup>I made a design for thy processional image, in the gold-house anew, of thy temple, wrought<sup>a</sup> of gold, native silver, real lapis lazuli, malachite, and every splendid costly stone. <sup>8</sup>I made its august shrine like the horizon of heaven, in<sup>b</sup> thy barque in the midst of it, resting upon it. I set up its great [—]. <sup>9</sup>The shrine was with a [roof], two columns, and an upper [cornice] of the [roof]; they were of gold in [raised work], in real, costly stone. I wrought upon its great carrying-

*Pl. 47*

poles, overlaid with fine gold, engraved with thy name. When thou appearest with glad heart in Ineb-Sebek (*Ynb-Sbk*)<sup>c</sup> in thy great and mysterious form of "Him-Who-is-South-of-His-Wall (Ptah)," thou fillest thy city of Memphis with the radiance of thy limbs, and the people rejoice to see thy beauty.

*Restoration of Hatkeptah*

316. <sup>2</sup>I cleansed Hatkeptah,<sup>d</sup> thy splendid seat; I built its temples, which had gone to ruin; I fashioned its gods in their august forms, of gold, silver, every costly stone in the gold-houses.

*Silver Tablets*

317. <sup>3</sup>I made for thee great tablets of silver in hammered work, engraved and carved with the graver's tool, in the great name of thy majesty, with the adorations and prayers which I offered before thee, and bearing the decrees for the administration of thy house forever.

<sup>a</sup>Adjective, referring to the image.

<sup>b</sup>The shrine stood in the center of the model of a Nile boat, and the whole was borne on poles, supported on the shoulders of the priests.

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "*Wall-of-Sebek*," a sanctuary in Memphis, whence the god is carried in the shrine, amid rejoicing multitudes.

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "*House-of-the-Ka-of-Ptah*," an ancient name of the Ptah-temple of Memphis, frequently also applied to the city itself.

*Bronze Tablets*

318. 4I made for thee two tablets of a mixture of six (parts),<sup>a</sup> being of the color of fine mountain gold, engraved and adorned with thy name, carved with the graver's tool, with the excellent praises which I offered to thy ka.

*Amulets*

319. 5I made for thee august amulets for thy body, of fine Ketem-gold, and of silver, in beaten work, in raised work with inlay of real lapis lazuli, in order to put them upon thy limbs in thy "Great Seat," and all the gods of the house of Ptah were contented therewith.

*Monolithic Shrine*

320. I made for thee a mysterious shrine of Elephantine granite, established with work forever, of a single block, having double doors of bronze, of a mixture of six (parts),<sup>a</sup> engraved with thy august name, forever. 7Ptah, Sekhmet, and Nefertem rest in it, while statues<sup>b</sup> of the king are by their side, to present offerings before them. I founded for them divine offerings presented before them, enduring for thee forever, before thy beautiful face.

*Temple Regulations*

321. 8I made for thee great decrees with secret words, recorded in the hall of writings of Egypt, made into stelæ of stone engraved with the graver's tool, for the administration of thy august house, forever; and the administration of thy pure settlement of women. I brought their children who were forsaken, being people of the serf-laborers, (in) the hands of others. I put them for thee into the offices in the house of Ptah, and there were made for them decrees forever.

*Storehouses for the Feasts*

322. 10I made for thee storehouses for the "Feasts of the Appearance" in thy divine house. They were built upon the (temple) soil, and established with labor. I filled them with slaves whom I had carried off as captives, to serve for thy divine offerings, full and pure, in order

<sup>a</sup>Alloy of bronze, see 6, 9.

<sup>b</sup>Such statues are shown in the reliefs at Medinet Habu (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 212, a).

<sup>11</sup>to provision the house of Ptah with food and provisions, in order to double that which was before thee, O Resi-inbef (Ptah); and thy divine ennead was glad of heart, and rejoiced over them.

*Pl. 48. Cattle and Poultry Yards*

**323.** <sup>1</sup>I made for thee cattle yards, filled with bulls and bullocks; fattening-houses likewise, containing fat geese; poultry yards <sup>1</sup>of the exactions<sup>1</sup> containing wild fowl, in order to offer to thy ka every day.

*Collectors*

**324.** <sup>2</sup>I made for thee archers and collectors of honey, delivering incense; I established for them tax-officials (*mš ʔ k ʔ bwy*) to conduct them and to collect their annual impost for thy august storehouse, in order to fill the magazines of thy house with numerous possessions, in order to double thy divine offerings, for presentation to thy ka.

*Granaries*

**325.** <sup>3</sup>I made for thee granaries filled with barley and spelt, containing many grain-heaps, towering to heaven, in order to provision thy temple every day, before thy lovely face, O maker of heaven and earth.

*Statues of the King*

**326.** <sup>4</sup>I made for thee statues of the king, L. P. H., of gold in beaten work; others of pure silver in beaten work likewise, kneeling upon the ground before thee,<sup>a</sup> bearing a vase and an offering-tablet, containing divine offerings of bread and beer, in order to offer them before thee every day.

*Cultus Implements*

**327.** <sup>5</sup>I made for thee a great vase-stand for thy court, overlaid with fine gold, with labor; its vases were of gold and silver, carved with thy name, supplied with divine offerings and with every good thing, in order to offer (them) before thee at early morning.

*Red Sea and Mediterranean Ships*

**328.** <sup>6</sup>I made for thee transports and galleys<sup>b</sup> in the midst of the sea, manned with galley-crews in numerous lists, in order to transport the

<sup>a</sup>See 28, 10, note.

<sup>b</sup>According to 51a, 13, there were but two ships: evidently one on the Mediterranean and one on the Red Sea.

products of God's-Land, and the impost of the land of Zahi (*D<sup>3</sup> -h<sup>2</sup>*) to thy great storehouses in thy city of Memphis.

*Festival Oblations*

329. <sup>7</sup>I made for thee great festival oblations as new foundations, in order to offer (them) to thy ka at each of thy appearances. They were supplied with bread, beer, oxen, fowl, incense, fruit, vegetables, shedeh, wine, royal linen, plentiful mek-linen, fine southern linen, <sup>8</sup>oil, incense, honey, dried myrrh, every good aromatic wood, sweet in fragrance, before thy lovely face, O lord of gods.

*Feast of the "First-of-the-Flood"*

330. <sup>9</sup>I made for thee a great festival oblation of the "First-of-the-Flood"<sup>a</sup> for thy great, august and lovely name, Ptah-Nun, the great, father of the gods. They were supplied with food like water in thy great and august court of Ineb-Sebek,<sup>b</sup> <sup>10</sup>for all thy images, and the gods of the deeps. They <sup>11</sup>were paid<sup>1</sup> dues and <sup>12</sup>—<sup>1</sup> from the storehouses, magazines, granaries, cattle yards, and poultry yards each year, in order to satisfy the great council of Nun, so that they are satisfied and rejoicing in the feast at the sight of them.

*Sacred Barge*

331. <sup>11</sup>I hewed thy august barge, O lord of eternity, of 130<sup>c</sup> cubits length upon the river; of great new<sup>d</sup> cedars, of the best of the royal domain. Its "Great House" was of gold, and of real costly stones, as far as the water; and of gold on each side of it. Its bow

*Pl. 49*

<sup>1</sup>bore a pair of hawks of fine gold, with inlay of every costly stone, more beautiful in work than the evening-barque. The stern was of fine gold, its two steering-oars <sup>1</sup>wrought<sup>1</sup> in fine gold. Ptah, the beautiful of face, South-of-His-Wall, appeared, <sup>2</sup>in order to rest in its "Great House," like the horizon-god, while his heart was satisfied and glad at

<sup>a</sup>A feast (*tp-nwy*) on the canal of Memphis. Compare the feast of the "First-of-the-River" (*tp-yr*) at Thebes, e. g., on the Lateran obelisk (II, 838).

<sup>b</sup>See 47, 1.

<sup>c</sup>About 217 feet.

<sup>d</sup>Text has "real" (*m<sup>3</sup> w*), which must be an error for the usual adjective, "new" (*m<sup>3</sup> w*).

the sight of it, making his beautiful voyage upon the flood, to his daughter, the mistress of the sycamore (Hathor), <sup>3</sup>on the south of Memphis. The people<sup>a</sup> rejoice at the sight of him, and there is jubilee before him to<sup>b</sup> his august house.

*Sacred Cattle*

**332.** <sup>4</sup>I protected the sacred cattle of Apis, male and female, which had been neglected in the herds of every house. I made them all more divine than their<sup>c</sup> sacred cattle. <sup>5</sup>I extended their boundaries to their accustomed places, which others had taken from them for fields. Their landmarks were set up, engraved with thy name; and there were made for them decrees for administering them on earth.

*Supplies of Incense*

**333.** <sup>6</sup>I brought to thee plentiful tribute of myrrh, in order to go around thy temple with the fragrance of Punt for thy august nostrils at early morning. <sup>7</sup>I planted incense and myrrh-sycamores in thy great and august court in Ineb-Sebek,<sup>d</sup> being those which my hands brought from the country of God's-Land, in order to satisfy thy two serpent-goddesses every morning.

*Cultus Vessels*

**334.** <sup>8</sup>I made for thee table-vessels for thy "Great Seat," being censers, vases (*nms' t*), altar-vessels bearing gen (*gn*)-vases, heset (*hsyw' t*)-vases, ekhu (*' h'w*)-vessels, enkhi (*' nhy' w'*)-vases, and great altar-vessels for oblations, <sup>9</sup>bearing divine offerings. They were of fine gold and silver, in beaten work, with inlay of every costly stone without number, in order to present them to thy ka every day, O Ptah, father of gods, former of men.

*First Jubilee*

**335.** <sup>10</sup>I celebrated for thee the first jubilee (*hb-s[d]*) of my reign,<sup>e</sup> as a very great feast of Tatenen. I doubled for thee that which was done in the midst of the court, and there was offered to thee <sup>11</sup>a festival offering, consisting of numerous oblations of bread, wine, beer, shedeh, vegetables, bulls, bullocks, calves by the hundred-thousand, cows by

<sup>a</sup>Original has two words for "people," *rhy' t* and *hnm' t*.

<sup>b</sup>Till he reaches his house.

<sup>d</sup>See 47, 1.

<sup>c</sup>To whom "their" refers is not evident.

<sup>e</sup>See §§ 413-15.



the ten-thousand, without number: the products of <sup>12</sup>the lands of Egypt like the sand of the shore. The gods of South and North were gathered in the midst of it.<sup>a</sup> I restored thy temple, the jubilee-houses

*Pl. 50*

<sup>1</sup>which were before in ruins, since the (former) kings. I wrought upon<sup>b</sup> thy divine ennead, the lords of the jubilee (*hb-st*), in gold, silver, and costly stones, as formerly. <sup>2</sup>I made for them clothing of royal linen and mek-linen; I mixed for them ointment for their serpent-crests. I founded divine offerings, <sup>3</sup>offered to their ka's, abiding as daily offerings for their ka's forever.

*Lists*

**336.** <sup>4</sup>Behold, I have, listed<sup>c</sup> the benefactions which I did before thee, O Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, lord of the White Wall (Memphis), that the gods of the house of Ptah may know of my benefactions.

### 3. PTAH'S ESTATE

*Pl. 51a*

**337.** <sup>1</sup>List of the things, cattle, gardens, lands, galleys, workshops, and towns, which <sup>2</sup>King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, gave to his august father, Ptah, the great, "South-of-His-Wall," lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," as property forever and ever.

*People Attached to Temples, Etc.*

**338.** <sup>3</sup>"The-House (*h't*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Ptah," under charge of the officials:

<sup>4</sup> "Herd-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House, of-Ptah," under charge of the overseer of herds, Huy:	09
heads	1,361
<sup>5</sup> "House ( <i>pr</i> )-of-Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.," the town <sup>e</sup> upon the western road and western canal, under charge of the steward, Penithtowe ( <i>Pn-ytt-t' wy</i> ):	40
heads	

<sup>a</sup>This exactly accords with the record of the vizier Ta's visit to the South, "to take the gods of the South" (§§ 413, 414).

<sup>b</sup>Upon their images.

<sup>c</sup>See 9, 8.

<sup>d</sup>See 10, 2, note.

<sup>e</sup>This is the town mentioned as the limit of the pursuit of the Libyans (§ 102). The "western canal" is probably the "Water of Re" (10, 8). It is mentioned again in § 340.

“House ( <i>pr</i> )-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Ptah,” under charge of Huy, who is chief of the house	heads	16
<sup>7</sup> People whom he gave to the house of Ptah, the great, “South-of-His-Wall,” lord of “Life-of-the-Two-Lands,” who were on account of the house, under charge of the High Priest and the officials:	heads	841
<sup>8</sup> “Ptah - of - Ramses - Ruler - of - Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-Finding-Place-in-the-House-of-Ptah,” <sup>a</sup> under charge of the deputy, Ptahmose:	heads	7
<sup>9</sup> Syrians and Negroes of the captivity of his majesty, L. P. H., whom he gave to the house of Ptah:	persons <sup>b</sup>	205
<sup>10</sup> Total, heads		3,079

*Miscellaneous Property*

<b>339.</b> <sup>11</sup> Various cattle		10,047
<sup>12</sup> Gardens and groves		5
<sup>13</sup> Transports and galleys <sup>c</sup>		2
	<i>Pl. 51b</i>	
<sup>1</sup> Lands: stat		10,154
<sup>2</sup> Town		1

## 4. PTAH'S INCOME

**340.** <sup>3</sup>Things exacted, impost of the people of “The-House (*h' t*)-of - Ramses - Ruler - of - Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in - the - House - of - Ptah;” <sup>4</sup>“Herd - of - Ramses - Ruler - of - Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in - the - House - of - Ptah;” “House (*pr*)-of-Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-the-Town-<sup>5</sup>on-the-Western-Canal;” “House (*pr*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis-in-the-House-of-Ptah;” and the temples (*r<sup>3</sup>-pr*) of this house; which<sup>d</sup> was delivered into <sup>6</sup>their treasuries as their dues:

<b>341.</b> <sup>7</sup> Silver	98 deben, $3\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ kidet	
<sup>8</sup> Fine southern linen, southern linen, colored linen: various garments		133 $\frac{1}{2}$
<sup>9</sup> Wine: jars ( <i>mn</i> )		390

<sup>a</sup>The name of some particular statue of Ptah.

<sup>b</sup>See 10, 14 and 15.

<sup>c</sup>See 48, 6.

<sup>d</sup>The antecedent of this pronoun is “*impost*,” in l. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Silver, in things of the impost of the people, for the divine offerings:	141 deben, 31 $\frac{1}{10}$ kidet
<sup>11</sup> Clean grain of the impost of the peasants: 16-fold heket	37,400
<sup>12</sup> Vegetables: bundles	600
<sup>13</sup> Bulls, bullocks, calves, cows, cattle of [—], and cattle of [—] of the herds	15 $\frac{1}{2}$

*Pl. 52a*

<sup>1</sup> Live geese of the exactions	135
<sup>2</sup> Products of Egypt, products of God's-Land, products of Syria, products of Kush <sup>3</sup> and of the oasis, <sup>a</sup> for the divine offerings in numerous lists.	

## 5. THE KING'S GIFTS TO PTAH

**342.** <sup>4</sup>Gold, silver, real lapis lazuli, real malachite, every splendid, costly stone, copper, black copper, <sup>5</sup>garments of royal linen, mek-linen, fine southern linen, southern linen, colored garments, jars,<sup>b</sup> cattle, fowl, and everything, <sup>6</sup>which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, gave as gifts of the king, L. P. H., to <sup>7</sup>the house of Ptah, the great, "South-of-His-Wall," lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," and (to) the temples in his ownership, from the year 1 to the year 31, making 31 years:

<b>343.</b> <sup>8</sup> Fine gold, gold of two times, white gold in vessels and ornaments	263 deben, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ kidet
<sup>9</sup> Gold: ornaments of the prince	2 " "
<sup>10</sup> Silver in vessels and scraps	342 " 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ "
<sup>11</sup> Silver in beaten work: a great tablet of 1 cubit, 6 palms' length, 1 cubit, 1 palm, 3 fingers' width: 1, making	173 " 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ "
<sup>12</sup> Total, silver in vessels and ornaments	516 " 6 "

*Pl. 52b*

<sup>1</sup> Total, gold and silver in vessels, ornaments and scraps	780 deben, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ kidet
<sup>2</sup> Real lapis lazuli, mounted in gold and <sup>3</sup> fastened <sup>1</sup> with 2 strings of <sup>4</sup> beads <sup>1</sup> : 1, making	3 "

<sup>a</sup>See 12b, 13.<sup>b</sup>Jars of oil, wine, shedeh, honey, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Real lapis lazuli	3 deben, 2 kidet
<sup>4</sup> Real malachite	2 “
<sup>5</sup> Green feldspar ( <i>nšm' t</i> )	10 “
<sup>6</sup> Lapis lazuli, and real malachite: scarabs mounted and pivoted in gold	36
<sup>7</sup> Lapis lazuli: large scarabs	46
<sup>8</sup> Malachite: large scarabs	46
<sup>9</sup> Bronze in hammered work, of a mixture of 6 (parts <sup>1</sup> ): a great tablet, making	245 deben
<sup>10</sup> Bronze in beaten work, of a mixture of 6 (parts <sup>1</sup> ): a great tablet, making	65 “
<sup>11</sup> Bronze in vessels and scraps	1,708 “
<sup>12</sup> Total, bronze in vessels and scraps	2,018 “
<b>344.</b> <sup>13</sup> Royal linen, mek-linen, double-fine south- ern linen, fine southern linen, southern linen, and colored linen, various garments	7,026
<sup>14</sup> Myrrh: deben	1,034
<sup>15</sup> White incense, honey, oil, fat, butter: various jars (°cc)	1,046
<sup>16</sup> Shedeh, and wine: various jars (°cc)	25,978

*Pl. 53a*

<sup>1</sup> Total, various jars (°cc)	27,024
<sup>2</sup> Ivory: tusks	1
<sup>3</sup> Nenybu ( <i>N-n-y-bw</i> ) wood: deben	725
<sup>4</sup> Cassia: deben	894
<sup>5</sup> Cinnamon wood: bundles	45
<sup>6</sup> Sticks <sup>a</sup> of cinnamon: measures ( <i>msty</i> )	28
<sup>7</sup> Syrian barley: heket	40
<sup>8</sup> Rosemary <sup>1</sup> : measures ( <i>msty</i> )	40
<sup>9</sup> Yufiti ( <i>Yw-fy-ty</i> )-plant: measures ( <i>msty</i> )	80
<sup>10</sup> Semu ( <i>s<sup>c</sup>mw</i> )-plant: measures ( <i>msty</i> )	11
<sup>11</sup> Fruit: heket	14
<b>345.</b> <sup>12</sup> Cedar: planks	8
<sup>13</sup> Mesdemet ( <i>msdm' t</i> ) stone: deben	50
<sup>14</sup> Dedmet ( <i>ddm' t</i> ) flowers: measures ( <i>dm<sup>3</sup>w</i> )	50
<sup>15</sup> Natron: deben	14,400

<sup>a</sup>See 34a, 8.

*Pl. 53b*

<sup>1</sup> Rock-crystal: beads	31,000
<sup>2</sup> “ “ cut: hin	441
<sup>3</sup> “ “ seals	3,200
<sup>4</sup> Wrought wood: seals	31
<sup>5</sup> Bulls, bullocks, heifers, calves, and various cattle	979
<sup>6</sup> Live geese	269
<sup>7</sup> Live turpu ( <i>twrp</i> )-geese	150
<sup>8</sup> Live urdu ( <i>wrdw</i> )-birds with golden beaks	1,035
<sup>9</sup> Live urdu ( <i>wrdw</i> )-birds	41,980
<sup>10</sup> Live water-fowl	576
<sup>11</sup> Total, various fowl	44,010

## 6. GRAIN FOR THE OLD FEASTS

**346.** <sup>12</sup>Clean grain of the divine offerings of the feasts of heaven and the feasts of the beginnings of the seasons, which <sup>13</sup>King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, founded for his father, Ptah, the great, “South-of-His-Wall,” lord of “Life-of-the-Two-Lands,” <sup>14</sup>as increase of the divine offerings, and as increase of the daily offerings, doubling that which was before me, L. P. H.

*Pl. 54a*

<sup>15</sup>from the year 1 to the year 31, making 31 years: 16-fold heket: 947,688

## 7. OFFERINGS TO THE NILE-GOD

**347.** <sup>24</sup>“Books of the Nile-God,” which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, founded for his august father, <sup>3</sup>Ptah, the great, “South-of-His-Wall,” lord of “Life-of-the-Two-Lands,” from the year 29 to the year 31, making 3 years:

<sup>4</sup> Fine bread of the divine offerings: loaves ( <i>by<sup>3</sup> t</i> )	73,800
<sup>5</sup> “ “ “ “ “ loaves ( <i>pr-sn</i> )	191,142
<sup>6</sup> “ “ “ “ “ pyramidal loaves	6,150
<sup>7</sup> Cakes: pyramidal loaves	14,760
<sup>8</sup> Beer: jars ( <i>ds</i> )	1,396
<sup>9</sup> Dried dates: jars ( <sup>c</sup> )	2,396
<sup>10</sup> Dates: measures ( <i>md<sup>3</sup></i> ) 2,396, making	— <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Omitted by the scribe.

<sup>11</sup> Clean grain [—]: 16-fold heket	3,633 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$
<sup>12</sup> Bulls	41
<sup>13</sup> Cows	164
Total	205

*Pl. 54b*

<sup>1</sup> Various goats	205
<sup>2</sup> Live geese	574
<sup>3</sup> Live fowl ( <i>bt</i> <sup>c</sup> )	84
<sup>4</sup> Live hatching-fowl	164
<sup>5</sup> Live water-fowl	287
<sup>6</sup> Sesha ( <i>s</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>c</i> <sup>3</sup> )-birds	3,025
<sup>7</sup> Total, various fowl	4,339 <sup>a</sup>
<b>348.</b> <sup>8</sup> Wine: jars ( <i>mn</i> )	820
<sup>9</sup> Wine: jars ( <sup>c</sup> )	2,366
<sup>10</sup> Onions: measures ( <sup>c</sup> )	2,366
<sup>11</sup> Salt ( <i>spr</i> ): measures ( <sup>c</sup> )	2,366
<sup>12</sup> Incense: censerfuls	164
<sup>13</sup> “ measures ( <i>spr</i> )	82
<sup>14</sup> “ jars ( <sup>c</sup> )	19,892
<sup>15</sup> “ deben	4,469

*Pl. 55a*

<sup>1</sup> Best oil: jars ( <i>fbp</i> <sup>2</sup> )	164
<sup>2</sup> Best oil: jars ( <sup>c</sup> )	574
<sup>3</sup> Cinnamon: logs	574
<sup>4</sup> Myrrh: jars ( <sup>c</sup> )	2,396
<sup>5</sup> Eye-paint: jars ( <sup>c</sup> )	2,396
<sup>6</sup> Uz ( <i>w</i> <i>d</i> )-mineral: jars ( <sup>c</sup> )	2,396
<b>349.</b> <sup>7</sup> Gold: statues of the Nile-god	656
<sup>8</sup> Gold: nusa	656
<sup>9</sup> Gold: nusa <sup>b</sup>	656
<sup>10</sup> Silver: statues of the Nile-god	656

<sup>a</sup>The correct total is 4,134.

<sup>b</sup>This is evidently a dittography; for the silver statues are followed only by the same number of nusa of silver (l. 11), so that the repetition of the gold (l. 9) is superfluous.

<sup>11</sup> Silver: nusa	656
<sup>12</sup> Every real, costly stone: statues of the Nile-god	15,744
<sup>13</sup> Every real, costly stone: nusa	15,744
<sup>14</sup> Sycamore wood: statues of the Nile-god	984
<sup>15</sup> Sycamore wood: statues of the Nile-goddess	984
<sup>16</sup> Rock-crystal: bracelets	2,968
<sup>17</sup> Rock-crystal: seals	2,968

*Pl. 55b*

<b>350.</b> <sup>1</sup> Southern linen: kilts	2,968
<sup>2</sup> Honey for cakes: hin	66
<sup>3</sup> “ jars ( <i>mht</i> )	164
<sup>4</sup> “ jars ( <i>pw-g</i> <sup>2</sup> )	3,280
<sup>5</sup> White fat for cakes: hin	250
<sup>6</sup> White fat: jars (°)	574
<sup>7</sup> Shelled beans: jars (°)	2,396
<sup>8</sup> Natron: jars (°)	2,396
<sup>9</sup> Seneb ( <i>snb</i> )-berries: jars (°)	2,396
<sup>10</sup> Every fine fruit: jars (°)	22,960
<sup>11</sup> Milk: jars ( <i>nms</i> <sup>1</sup> )	2,396
<sup>12</sup> Butter: jars ( <i>nms</i> <sup>1</sup> )	2,396
<sup>13</sup> Best fruit: jars ( <i>g</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>y</i> )	2,396
<sup>14</sup> Fruit: jars ( <i>g</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>y</i> )	2,396
<sup>15</sup> Fruit: jars ( <i>mht</i> )	45,100

*Pl. 56a*

<sup>1</sup> Raisins in measures ( <i>yp</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>t</i> )	21,000
<sup>2</sup> Carob-pods in measures ( <i>yp</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>t</i> )	21,000
<sup>3</sup> Herbs: bundles ( <i>htp</i> )	2,396
<sup>4</sup> Cyperus of the shore, for the hand	14,350
<sup>5</sup> Pomegranates <sup>1</sup> in measures ( <i>yp</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>t</i> )	21,000
<sup>6</sup> Live “garden fragrance” <sup>a</sup>	21,000
<sup>7</sup> Isi-plant, for the hand	1,640
<sup>8</sup> Flowers: garlands	2,970
<sup>9</sup> Blossoms: <sup>b</sup> bouquets	21,000
<sup>10</sup> Blossoms: <sup>b</sup> clusters ( <i>htp</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>t</i> )	21,000
<sup>11</sup> Stone: uba ( <i>wbp</i> <sup>2</sup> )	15,150
<sup>12</sup> Palm-fiber: measures ( <i>msty</i> )	15,150

<sup>a</sup>See 21a, 4.<sup>b</sup>See 21a, 2.

## 8. CONCLUDING PRAYER OF RAMSES III

*Pl. 56b*

**351.** <sup>1</sup>Give to me thy eyes and thy ears, O lord, Ptah, father of fathers, former of the gods; and hear <sup>2</sup>my plea, which I make before thee. I am thy beloved son, great in benefactions. Install <sup>3</sup>my son to be king, establish him upon thy throne as ruler of every land over the people, Usermare-Setepnamon, L. P. H., the child <sup>4</sup>who came forth from thy limbs. Grant that he may be crowned upon earth like the son of Isis (Horus), when he took the etef-crown, bearing the <sup>5</sup>—<sup>7</sup>. Grant <sup>6</sup>that he may rest upon thy throne as king of the Two Lands, as Horus, the mighty Bull, beloved of Mat. Give to him my kingdom <sup>6</sup>according as thou makest his life happy upon earth, possessed of joy. Make his sword victorious, while the lands and countries fall <sup>7</sup>beneath his feet forever. Let him take possession of Egypt as ruler, L. P. H., of the Two Lands; let him be divine <sup>8</sup>before thee, possessed of thy favor. Extend for him the boundaries of the Nine Bows; let them come because of his might, that they may do obeisance to him. <sup>9</sup>Give satisfying life, united with his limbs, and health for his members at every season, <sup>10</sup>King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands; Usermare-Setepnamon, L. P. H., Son of Re, Lord of Diadems; Ramses (IV)-Hekma-Meriamon, L. P. H.

## V. GENERAL SECTION

## (SMALL TEMPLES)

## I. PRAYER TO THE GODS AND RECITAL OF THE KING'S BENEFLECTIONS

*Pl. 57. Introduction*

**352.** <sup>1</sup>The praises, prayers, adorations, laudations, mighty deeds, and numerous benefactions, which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, did for his fathers (sic!), all the gods and goddesses of South and North.

*Prayer of Ramses III*

**353.** <sup>2</sup>Said King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, in praising and magnifying all the gods of South and North:

*Praise of the Gods*

<sup>3</sup>Hail to you, gods and goddesses, lords of heaven, earth, and the Nether World, great of foot in the barque of millions of years, by the



side of your<sup>a</sup> father, Re. His heart is satisfied when he sees their beauty, in order to make prosperous the land of Egypt, bringing a Nile that overflows from their mouth, <sup>4</sup>leading it from their mouth, that the lords of eternity and everlastingness may eat. Under their charge is the breath of life, and the term of life is (under) their seal, which their father made, on coming forth from their mouth. He rejoices, and flourishes at the sight of them, the great in heaven, the mighty <sup>5</sup>in earth, giving breath to nostrils that were stopped up. I am your son whom your hands created, whom ye crowned as ruler, L. P. H., of every land. Ye wrought for me good things upon earth, that I might assume my office in peace.

*Benefactions to the Gods*

**354.** Was not my heart constant in seeking out mighty benefactions, <sup>6</sup>for your temples? I equipped them with great decrees, recorded in every hall of writings; with their people, their lands, their herds; with their galleys and ships upon the Nile. I restored their <sup>7</sup>temples which formerly were in ruin. I founded for you divine offerings, as an increase of that which was before you. I wrought for you in the gold-houses, in gold, silver, lapis lazuli, and malachite. I made plans for your storehouses. I completed them with numerous possessions. <sup>8</sup>I filled your granaries with barley and spelt, in heaps. I built for you houses and temples, carved with your name forever. I provided their serf-laborers, I filled them with numerous people. I did not take people as a tithe, <sup>9</sup>from the temples of any gods, since those kings;<sup>b</sup> doing it in order to appoint them to the infantry and chariotry. I made edicts for administering them upon earth, for the kings who shall be after me. I presented to you oblations before you, <sup>10</sup>supplied with every good thing. I made for you storehouses for the "Feast of the Appearance;" I filled them with plentiful food. I made for you table-vessels of gold, silver, and copper by the hundred-thousand. I hewed your barges upon the Nile, <sup>11</sup>bearing a "Great House,"<sup>c</sup> overlaid with gold.

<sup>a</sup>Original has "*their*," as usual in such constructions in Egyptian.

<sup>b</sup>He means that he did not levy upon the people presented to the temples by former kings, in order to secure troops.

<sup>c</sup>Shrine.

*Temple of Onouris at Thinis*

**355.** I made an august [house]<sup>a</sup> of stone of Ayan (<sup>c</sup>*yn*<sup>2</sup>) in the house of my father, Onouris-Shu, son of Re (called): "The-House (*h' t*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-the-Judge-in-the-House-of-Onouris." I filled it with people and slaves of the choicest. <sup>12</sup>Its storehouse contained plentiful possessions; the granaries contained grain. I founded for it daily divine offerings, in order to offer them to thy ka, O Shu, son of Re. I surrounded the house (*pr*) of Onouris with a wall, built with 20 [courses] in the ground foundation, and a height of 30 cubits; having <sup>13</sup>ramps, [towers]<sup>1, b</sup> and battlements on its every side. Its doorposts and lintels were of stone of Ayan (<sup>c</sup>*yn*<sup>2</sup>), bearing doors of cedar mounted with copper, excluding<sup>c</sup> the Asiatics and Tehenu who transgressed their limits of old.

*Pl. 58. Temple of Thoth at Hermopolis*

**356.** <sup>1</sup>I did numerous benefactions in Hesret (*Hsr*<sup>2</sup>) for my father Thoth, dwelling in Hermopolis. I built for him a house anew in his court; it was <sup>2</sup>a mysterious chapel for the All-Lord. I made for him another house as a dwelling-house; it was the horizon of heaven before him. When he appeared, he was contented in heart, to rest in them; <sup>3</sup>he rejoiced and was glad to see them. I supplied them with food and provisions, containing the products of every land; numerous slaves whom I brought into the offices over them. I doubled the divine offerings presented before him from the storehouse of the "Feast of the Appearance," containing provisions. I made for him festal offerings, and oblations of the feasts of the first of the seasons, in order to satisfy his two serpent-goddesses <sup>5</sup>at every season. I surrounded the house of Thoth with a wall, built with twenty [courses] in the ground foundation, and a height of 30 cubits, having ramps, [towers]<sup>1, b</sup> and battlements on its every side. <sup>6</sup>Its doorposts and lintels were of stone of Ayan (<sup>c</sup>*yn*<sup>2</sup>), bearing doors of cedar, mounted with copper, in order to exclude the Asiatics and Tehenu, who trod their limits from of old.

<sup>a</sup>Some similar word has been omitted by the scribe.

<sup>b</sup>See 4, 2.

<sup>c</sup>See 58, 6.

*Temple of Osiris at Abydos<sup>a</sup>*

357. <sup>7</sup>I restored Abydos, the district of Osiris, by benefactions<sup>b</sup> in Towêr. I built my house<sup>c</sup> of stone in the midst of his temple, like Atum's great house<sup>8</sup> of heaven. I settled it with people bearing numerous offices, rich and <sup>1</sup>poor<sup>1</sup> of all that exist. I made for it divine offerings, the gifts of its altar, O my father, <sup>9</sup>Osiris, lord of Tazoser. I made for him a statue of the king, L. P. H., presenting monuments and table vessels likewise, of gold and silver.<sup>d</sup> I surrounded the house (*pr*) of Osiris <sup>10</sup>and Harsiese with a great wall, towering like a mountain of gritstone, with <sup>1</sup>ramps<sup>1</sup> and <sup>1</sup>towers<sup>1</sup>;<sup>e</sup> bearing battlements, and having doorposts of stone and doors of cedar. <sup>11</sup>I hewed a great barge for Osiris, like the evening-barque which bears the sun.

*Temple of Upwawet at Siut*

358. <sup>12</sup>I restored the walls in the house of my father, Upwawet, of the South, lord of Siut (*S<sup>3</sup> yw' t*). I built my house therein, of stone of Ayan (*ç yn<sup>3</sup>*), inscribed and engraved with the graver's tool in his

*Pl. 59*

august name. <sup>1</sup>I completed it with the good things of every land. I assigned to it serf-laborers in numerous lists. I made for it a store-house anew containing divine offerings, in order to present them to his ka daily. I hewed for him <sup>2</sup>a great barge of the "First-of-the-River," like the morning-barque of Re which is in heaven. I walled about his house with a wall, established with labor, with twenty <sup>1</sup>courses<sup>1</sup> in the ground foundation, and with a height of 30 cubits; having ramps, <sup>3</sup>towers<sup>3</sup> and battlements in its whole circumference; great doorposts of stone, and doors of cedar, fitted with mountings (of bronze) of a mixture of six (<sup>1</sup>parts<sup>1</sup>),<sup>f</sup> engraved with the great name of thy majesty, forever.

*Temple of Sutekh at Ombos*

359. <sup>4</sup>I restored the house of Sutekh, lord of Ombos; I built its walls which were in ruin, I equipped the house in its midst in his divine

<sup>a</sup>See Mariette, *Abydos*, I, 4, 5, 10, for the name of this temple, of which only fragments have survived.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "examples of benefaction."

<sup>c</sup>His palace, as at Medinet Habu.

<sup>d</sup>The statue bore sacrificial vessels, etc.

<sup>e</sup>See 4, 2.

<sup>f</sup>See 6, 9.

name, built with excellent work, <sup>5</sup>forever. "House-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Sutekh-of-Ombos," was its great name. I equipped it with slaves, the captives and people, whom I created. I made for him herds in the North, in order <sup>6</sup>to present them to his ka as a daily offering. I made for him divine offerings anew, being an increase of the daily offerings which were before him. I gave to him lands, high and low, and islands, in the South <sup>7</sup>and North, bearing barley and spelt. His treasury was supplied with the things which my hands brought, in order to double the feasts before him every day.

*Temple of Horus at Athribis<sup>a</sup>*

**360.** <sup>8</sup>I did numerous benefactions among the great sacred cattle before my father, Harkhentikhet. I restored the walls of his temple, built and made anew, smoothed and polished. The divine offerings were doubled for him as daily offerings before his lovely face every morning. I brought for him tribute of male and female slaves, silver, gold, royal linen, fine southern linen, oil, <sup>9</sup>incense, honey, bulls, and bullocks. I made for him a herd<sup>b</sup> anew with numerous cattle, in order to present (them) to his ka, the great prince. I arranged the administration of his august house on water and land; it was made <sup>10</sup>into great great decrees<sup>c</sup> in his name, forever. I set the prophets and inspectors of his house over them, to administer its serf-laborers, and to offer to his house.

*Deposition of the Rebellious Vizier in Athribis*

**361.** I cast out the vizier who had entered <sup>11</sup>into their midst, I took away all his people who were with him. I made it like the great temples in this land, protected and defended, forever and ever.<sup>d</sup> I brought

*Pl. 60*

(back again) all its people <sup>12</sup>who had been cast out, with every man and every inspector, appointed to carry on their administration in his august house.

<sup>a</sup>See the rare titles of the priests of Athribis, Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1,414.

<sup>b</sup>See 62a, 4.

<sup>c</sup>The adjective would indicate that the stelæ containing the decrees are meant.

<sup>d</sup>Read *hn c dt*; so Piehl and others.

*Temple<sup>a</sup> of Sutekh in the Residence City*

362. <sup>1</sup>I made a great temple, enlarged with labor, in the house of "Sutekh - of - Ramses (II) - Meriamon, - L. - P. - H.," built, laid, smoothed, and inscribed with designs; having doorposts of <sup>3</sup>stone, and doors of cedar. "House-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis, - L. - P. - H., - in-the-House-of-Sutekh," its name was called forever. I assigned to it serf-laborers of the people whom I created, male and female slaves whom I carried off as captives of <sup>4</sup>my sword. I made for him divine offerings, full and pure, in order to offer them to his ka every day. I filled his treasury with possessions without number, with granaries of grain by the ten-thousand, herds with cattle <sup>5</sup>like the sand, in order to offer them to thy ka, O thou great in might.

*Good Works for All Gods and Goddesses*

363. <sup>6</sup>I did mighty deeds and benefactions, a numerous multitude, for the gods and goddesses of South and North. I wrought upon their images in the gold-houses, I built that which <sup>7</sup>had fallen to ruin in their temples. I made houses and temples in their courts; I planted for them groves; I dug for them lakes; I founded for them divine offerings of barley <sup>8</sup>and wheat, wine, incense, fruit, cattle, and fowl. I built the "Shadows of Re"<sup>b</sup> for their districts, abiding, with divine offerings for every day. I made great decrees for the administration of their temples, <sup>9</sup>recorded in the hall of writings forever. <sup>10</sup>Behold, the list is before you, O gods and goddesses, that ye may know of the benefactions which I did for your ka's.

## 2. THE GODS' ESTATES

*Pl. 61a*

364. <sup>1</sup>List of things, cattle, gardens, lands, galleys, workshops, towns, and everything, <sup>2</sup>which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, gave<sup>c</sup> to his fathers (sic!), the gods and goddesses, the lords of South and North:

<sup>a</sup>This temple was in the residence city of Ramses II (as is shown by 62a, 3).

<sup>b</sup>See II, 1017, and my remarks in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 111.

<sup>c</sup>The designation "*as property, etc.*," which is found in the other headings (§§ 280, 337, etc.), is omitted here.

*People Attached to the Temples, Etc.*

365.	3“The-House ( <i>h' t</i> )-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-the-Judge-in-the-House-of-Onouris:”	heads	457
4	People whom he gave to the house of Onouris of the tall plumes, residing in Thinis:	heads	160
5	“The-House ( <i>h' t</i> )-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Osiris,” lord of Abydos:	heads	682
6	People whom he gave to the house of his august father, Osiris, lord of Abydos:	heads	162
7	“House ( <i>p' r</i> )-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Sutekh-of-Ombos:”	heads	106
8	People whom he gave to the house of Min-Horus, Isis, and all the gods of Coptos:	heads	39
366.	9People whom he gave to the house of Hathor, mistress of Aphroditopolis:	heads	12
10	People whom he gave to the house of Sebek, lord of Neshit-Crocodilopolis:	heads	22
11	People whom he gave to the house of Min, Horus, Isis, and the gods of Panopolis: <sup>a</sup>	heads	38
12	“The-House ( <i>h' t</i> )-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis-in-the-House-of-Min,” lord of Panopolis, under charge of Inu-shefenu ( <i>Ynw-šfnw</i> ), who is a commander of the army:	heads	203
13	People whom he gave to the house of 'Zebui <sup>1</sup> , <sup>b</sup> lord of Aphroditopolis:	heads	38
14	People whom he gave to the house of Khnum, lord of Sheshotep ( <i>Š' s-htp</i> ):	heads	17
15	People whom he gave to the house of Upwawet, leader of the Two Lands:	heads	4

*Pl. 61b*

367.	1“The-House ( <i>h' t</i> )-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-Appearing-at-the-Jubilee-in-the-House-of-Upwawet,” under charge of Thutemhab, who is a commander of the army:	heads	157
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<sup>a</sup> *Y p w*.

<sup>b</sup> God of the Antæopolite nome. The reading (*db c w y*) is uncertain (see Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 889-91).

2	"The-House ( <i>h t</i> )-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,- in-This-House," under charge of Inushefenu ( <i>Ynw-šfnw</i> ), who is a commander of the army:	heads	122
3	"The-House ( <i>h t</i> )-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,- in-the-House-of-Thoth," lord of Hermopolis:	heads	89
4	"House ( <i>pr</i> )-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in- This-House:"		66
5	People whom he gave to this house:	persons <sup>a</sup>	484
6	People whom he gave to the house of Khnum Hatweret ( <i>H t-wr t</i> ):	heads	34
368.	7People whom he gave to the house of Amon-Re, lord of Yered ( <i>Y r-d</i> ):	heads	44
8	People whom he gave to the house of Thoth of Pauzy ( <i>P r- wdy</i> ):	heads	65
9	People whom he gave to the house of Amon of Mewetkhent ( <i>M r-wt-hnty</i> ):	heads	44
10	People whom he gave to the house of Sebek, lord of Mesha ( <i>M š r</i> ):	heads	38
11	People whom he gave to the house of Anubis, lord of Sep:	heads	78
12	People whom he gave to the house of Set, lord of Oxyrhyncus:	heads	99
13	People whom he gave to the house of Hrishefyt ( <i>Hry-šfyw</i> ), King of the Two Lands:	heads	103
369.	14People whom he gave to the house of Sebek of Shedet, Horus, dwelling in the Fayûm:	heads	146
15	People whom he gave to the house of Set of 'Sesu' ( <i>Sssw</i> ):	heads	35
16	People whom he gave to the house of Amon-Re, lord of "Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands," of the back-lands (Fayûm):	heads	62
17	People whom he gave to the house of Hathor, mistress of Aphroditopolis:	heads	124
<i>Pl. 62a</i>			
18	"The-Herd-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-Doer-of- Benefactions-for-his-Mother-Bast:"	heads	1,533

<sup>a</sup>See 10, 14 and 15.

<sup>2</sup> People whom he gave to the house of Bast, mistress of Berset, on "The-Water-of-Re:" <sup>a</sup>	heads	169
<sup>3</sup> "House ( <i>pr</i> )-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the- House-of-Sutekh," in the "House <sup>b</sup> ( <i>pr</i> )-of-Ramses (II)- Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.:"	heads	106
<sup>4</sup> "The-Herd-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-the- Benefactor-of-His-Father-Harkhentikhet ( <i>Hr-hnt-hty</i> )-of- Athribis:"	heads	124
<sup>5</sup> People whom he gave to the house of Mut-Khent-ebui-enteru ( <i>Hnt-c bwy-nrw</i> ):	heads	24
<sup>6</sup> Total	heads	5,811 <sup>c</sup>

*Miscellaneous Property*

<b>370.</b> <sup>7</sup> Various cattle		13,433
<sup>8</sup> Lands: stat		36,012
<sup>9</sup> Gardens		11
<sup>10</sup> Workshops		2

3. THE GODS' INCOMES

<b>371.</b> <sup>11d</sup> Clean grain [—]: 16-fold heket		73,250
<sup>12</sup> Vegetables: bundles		3,300
<sup>13</sup> Flax: bales ( <i>n c h</i> )		3,000

4. THE KING'S GIFTS TO THE GODS

*Pl. 62b*

**372.** <sup>1</sup>Gold, silver, real lapis lazuli, real malachite, every real, costly stone, <sup>2</sup>copper, garments of royal linen, fine southern linen, southern linen, and colored linen; myrrh, cattle, fowl, and everything <sup>3</sup>which

<sup>a</sup>Cf. 10, 8. Berset (*Bp > -r > -ys t*) has nothing to do with Belbeis.

<sup>b</sup>This means the city of Ramses (II).

<sup>c</sup>Real total is 5,686.

<sup>d</sup>That the following three items belong to the income will be seen by comparing the other lists, e. g., 32b, 7-9. Furthermore, they are in the proper place between the estate and the royal gifts; but the scribe has given them neither title nor rubric; and he has recorded no gold, silver, etc., which we find in the other sections (e. g., 32a, 7-32b). Erman (*op. cit.*, 465) is certainly correct in inferring that the scribe's memoranda were too incomplete for him to insert here the usual rubric, as, e. g., 32a, 7.



King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, gave to them,<sup>a</sup> as gifts of the king, L. P. H., <sup>4</sup>from the year 1 to the year 31:

<b>373.</b> <sup>5</sup> Gold in vessels, ornaments and scraps	1,719 deben, 8½ kidet
<sup>6</sup> Silver in vessels and scraps	2,428 " 5½ "
<sup>7</sup> Total, gold and silver	4,148 deben, 3½ kidet
<sup>8</sup> Gold combined with rock-crystal: collars	4
<sup>9</sup> Gold combined with rock-crystal: tassels <sup>b</sup>	4
<sup>10</sup> Gold garlands for the head	1
<sup>11</sup> Silver overlaid with gold: a sacred eye amulet <sup>c</sup> for Thoth	1
<sup>12</sup> Real lapis lazuli	10 deben, 6 kidet
<sup>13</sup> Real malachite	— <sup>d</sup> " ½ ⅛ "
<sup>14</sup> Timhy ( <i>Tymhy</i> ) stone of Wawat	3 "
<sup>15</sup> Black copper overlaid with gold: [corselets]	2
<sup>16</sup> Black copper	260 deben, 6 kidet

*Pl. 63a*

<sup>1</sup> Copper in vessels and scraps	14,130 deben, 3 kidet
<sup>2</sup> Lead	2,130 "
<sup>3</sup> Incense	782 "
<b>374.</b> <sup>4</sup> Royal linen: garments ( <i>dw</i> )	17
<sup>5</sup> Royal linen: upper garments ( <i>dw</i> )	25
<sup>6</sup> " " wrappings of Horus	3
<sup>7</sup> " " mantles	5
<sup>8</sup> " " — <sup>e</sup> garments	30
<sup>9</sup> " " garments ( <i>hny</i> )	2
<sup>10</sup> " " garments ( <i>yd[g?]</i> )	179
<sup>11</sup> " " tunics	168
<sup>12</sup> " " various garments	10
<sup>13</sup> Total, royal linen : various garments	439
<sup>14</sup> Fine southern linen: upper garments ( <i>dw</i> )	2
<sup>15</sup> " " " large tunics	2
<sup>16</sup> " " " garments ( <i>dw</i> )	234
<sup>17</sup> " " " — <sup>e</sup> garments	29

<sup>a</sup>The gods.

<sup>b</sup>Hung down the back as counterpoises for the four collars.

<sup>c</sup>See 68b, 10.

<sup>d</sup>Number omitted by the scribe.

<sup>e</sup>See 14a, 14.

*Pl. 63b*

<sup>1</sup> Fine southern linen: garments ( <i>yd[ḡ]</i> )	428
<sup>2</sup> “ “ “ garments ( <i>h<sup>3</sup> w-mn</i> )	1
<sup>3</sup> “ “ “ tunics	399
<sup>4</sup> “ “ “ kilts	37
<sup>5</sup> “ “ “ various garments	44
	<hr/>
<sup>6</sup> Total, fine southern linen, various garments	1,216 <sup>a</sup>
<b>375.</b> <sup>7</sup> Southern linen: mantles	23
<sup>8</sup> Southern linen: — <sup>b</sup> garments	1
<sup>9</sup> “ “ garments ( <i>dw</i> )	218
<sup>10</sup> “ “ garments ( <i>yd[ḡ]</i> )	181
<sup>11</sup> “ “ tunics	43
<sup>12</sup> “ “ garments ( <i>k<sup>3</sup> -ḡ<sup>3</sup> -m-r<sup>3</sup></i> )	49
<sup>13</sup> “ “ kilts	23
<sup>14</sup> “ “ garments ( <i>yjd</i> )	40
	<hr/>
<sup>15</sup> Total, southern linen, various garments	556 <sup>c</sup>
<sup>16</sup> Colored linen: mantles	60
<sup>17</sup> Colored linen: — <sup>a</sup> garments	12

*Pl. 63c*

<sup>1</sup> Colored linen: garments ( <i>dw</i> )	1
<sup>2</sup> “ “ garments ( <i>yjd</i> )	4
<sup>3</sup> “ “ tunics	567
<sup>4</sup> “ “ various garments	92
	<hr/>
<sup>5</sup> Total, colored linen: various garments	736
	<hr/>
<sup>6</sup> Total, royal linen, fine southern linen, southern linen, colored linen: various garments	3,047 <sup>d</sup>
<sup>7</sup> Yarn: deben	900
<sup>8</sup> Yarn: various hanks	19
<b>376.</b> <sup>9</sup> White incense: jars ( <i>mn</i> )	601
<sup>10</sup> Honey: jars ( <i>mn</i> )	567
<sup>11</sup> Oil ( <i>nḥh</i> ) of Egypt: jars ( <i>mn</i> )	513

<sup>a</sup>Real total, 1,176.<sup>c</sup>Real total, 578.<sup>b</sup>See 14a, 14.<sup>d</sup>One hundred and eighteen too much.

<sup>12</sup> Oil ( <i>nḥḥ</i> ) of Syria: jars ( <i>mn</i> )	542
<sup>13</sup> Oil ( <i>bḥ</i> ): jars ( <i>mn</i> )	1
<sup>14</sup> Red oil ( <i>bḥ</i> ): jars ( <i>mn</i> )	1
<sup>15</sup> White fat: jars ( <i>mn</i> )	273
<sup>16</sup> Goose fat: jars ( <i>mn</i> )	44
<sup>17</sup> Butter: jars ( <i>mn</i> )	31

*Pl. 64a*

<sup>1</sup> Oil ( <i>sḥt</i> ): jars ( <i>mn</i> )	1
<sup>2</sup> Total, filled jars	2,688 <sup>a</sup>
<sup>3</sup> Shedeh: jars ( <i>mn</i> )	134
<sup>4</sup> Shedeh: jars ( <i>ḥ<sup>3</sup>-bw</i> )	287
<sup>5</sup> Wine: jars ( <i>m<sup>3</sup> dydy</i> )	2
<sup>6</sup> Wine: jars ( <i>m<sup>3</sup>sw<sup>1</sup></i> and <i>mn</i> )	2,864
<sup>7</sup> Total, shedeh and wine: various jars ( <i>ḥ<sup>3</sup>cc</i> )	3,247 <sup>b</sup>
<sup>8</sup> Total, various jars	4,975
<b>377.</b> <sup>9</sup> Babay ( <i>b<sup>3</sup>-b<sup>3</sup>-y<sup>3</sup></i> ): 'rings' mounted in gold	124
<sup>10</sup> Various costly stones: sacred eye amulets	5,673
<sup>11</sup> “ “ “ scarabs	1,562
<sup>12</sup> “ “ “ seals as pendants	1,643
<sup>13</sup> “ “ “ images of the king, L. P. H.	557
<sup>14</sup> “ “ “ 'naophors' <sup>c</sup>	62
<sup>15</sup> Malachite: finger rings	331
<sup>16</sup> Ubat ( <i>wb<sup>3</sup>-t</i> ) stone: seals	6,278

*Pl. 64b*

<sup>1</sup> Rock-crystal: bracelets	62
<sup>2</sup> “ “ seals	4,185
<sup>3</sup> “ “ scarabs	930
<sup>4</sup> “ “ sacred eye amulets	6,583
<sup>5</sup> “ “ beads	825,840
<sup>6</sup> “ “ beads: clusters	31
<sup>7</sup> “ “ finger rings	4,247

<sup>a</sup>Real total, 2,574.<sup>b</sup>Real total, 3,287.<sup>c</sup>Lit., "bearers of the house of the arm."

<sup>8a</sup> Sparkling <sup>1</sup> lapis lazuli	73 deben, 3 kidet
<sup>9</sup> Sparkling <sup>1</sup> malachite	34 “ 3 “
<sup>10</sup> Red jasper: finger rings	31
<sup>11</sup> “ “ scarabs	93
<sup>12</sup> “ “ deben	19
<sup>13</sup> Uz ( <i>wḏ</i> )-mineral: deben	17
<sup>14</sup> Irer ( <i>Yrr</i> ) stone: semdets ( <i>smd' t</i> )	35
<sup>15</sup> Rock-crystal: semdets	136
<sup>16</sup> Hirset ( <i>hrs' t</i> ) stone: semdets	28
<sup>17</sup> Red jasper: semdets	7

## Pl. 64c

<sup>1</sup> Hukamu ( <i>hw-k' -m' -mw</i> ) stone: semdets	160
<sup>2</sup> All costly stones: semdets	160
<b>378.</b> <sup>3</sup> Meru ( <i>mry</i> ) wood: baskets and measures ( <i>t' y</i> )	496
<sup>4</sup> Reeds: measures ( <i>msty</i> )	3
<sup>5</sup> Cinnamon: measures ( <i>msty</i> )	30
<sup>6</sup> Cinnamon: bundles	37
<sup>7</sup> Yufiti ( <i>ywfyty</i> )-plant: measures ( <i>msty</i> )	2
<sup>8</sup> Rosemary <sup>1</sup> : measures ( <i>msty</i> )	2
<sup>9</sup> Semu ( <i>s' mw</i> )-plant: measures ( <i>msty</i> )	4
<sup>10</sup> Incense: measures ( <i>k' -t' -rw-ty</i> )	100
<sup>11</sup> Mehiwet <sup>b</sup> ( <i>mhywt</i> ): 'cakes' <sup>1</sup> ( <i>s' -t'</i> )	100
<sup>12</sup> Manna: measures ( <i>msty</i> )	10
<sup>13</sup> Grapes: measures ( <i>msty</i> )	22
<sup>14</sup> Various fruit: heket	212
<sup>15</sup> Ibenu ( <i>ybnw</i> ): measures ( <i>msty</i> )	3

## Pl. 65a

<sup>1</sup> Gums: heket	2
<sup>2</sup> Minium <sup>1</sup> : jars ( <i>mn</i> )	3
<sup>3</sup> Khenti ( <i>hnty</i> ): jars ( <i>sn y</i> )	380
<sup>4</sup> Shesa ( <i>šs'</i> ): measures ( <i>msty</i> )	72
<sup>5</sup> Shesa ( <i>šs'</i> ): deben	32,500
<sup>6</sup> Dom-palm <sup>1</sup> fruit: 'clusters' <sup>1</sup>	2,548
<sup>7</sup> Palm leaves: bundles	46,040
<sup>8</sup> Palm leaves: measures ( <i>ps'</i> )	320

<sup>a</sup>See Annals, year 31, l. 15 (II, 473).<sup>b</sup>See 19a, 8.

<sup>9</sup> Banu ( <i>b<sup>3</sup> mw</i> ): 'in <sup>1</sup> cubes ( <i>s<sup>3</sup> s</i> )	351
<sup>10</sup> Clean grain '—': 16-fold heket	2,231
<sup>11</sup> Fruit of the South: 16-fold heket	95
<b>379.</b> <sup>12</sup> Various cattle	1,142
<sup>13</sup> Cow-hides	37
<sup>14</sup> Cedar wood: various logs	336
<sup>15</sup> Mera ( <i>mr<sup>3</sup></i> ) wood: poles	2
<sup>16</sup> Cassia wood: deben	100

*Pl. 65b*

<sup>1</sup> Natron: bricks	3,842
<sup>2</sup> Natron: 16-fold heket	62
<sup>3</sup> Salt: bricks	4,242
<sup>4</sup> Salt: 16-fold heket	166
<sup>5</sup> Olive: heket	1,352
<sup>6</sup> Dedmet ( <i>ddm' t</i> ) flowers: measures ( <i>dm<sup>3</sup> mw</i> )	97
<sup>7</sup> Enbu ( <i>c nbw</i> )-plant: measures ( <i>dm<sup>3</sup> mw</i> )	99
<sup>8</sup> Grapes: crates	253
<sup>9</sup> Grapes: garlands	80
<sup>10</sup> Pomegranates <sup>1</sup> : crates	66
<sup>11</sup> Fruit: heket	87½
<sup>12</sup> Flax ( <i>pš</i> ): measures ( <i>sbh' t</i> )	93
<sup>13</sup> Ideninu ( <i>ydnymw</i> )-plants	118
<sup>14</sup> Flax ( <i>pš</i> ): bekhen	198
<sup>15</sup> Tamarisk: bundles	390

*Pl. 65c*

<sup>1</sup> Southern flax: measures ( <i>htp</i> )	46
<sup>2</sup> Palm-fiber: ropes	37
<b>380.</b> <sup>3</sup> Fat geese from the 'flocks <sup>1</sup>	4
<sup>4</sup> Live geese	190
<sup>5</sup> Live water-fowl	153
<sup>6</sup> Water-fowl, cut up	1,920
<sup>7</sup> Fish, cut up	6,500
<sup>8</sup> Fish, whole	13,100
<sup>9</sup> Beni ( <i>b<sup>c</sup> ny</i> )-plant in measures ( <i>yp' t</i> )	2,300
<sup>10</sup> Date-palm fiber <sup>a</sup>	2,300

<sup>a</sup>Unit of measure?

<sup>11</sup> Fire wood: (logs)	200
<sup>12</sup> Charcoal: measures ( <i>gsr</i> ?)	50
<sup>13</sup> Vine gardens	2
<sup>14</sup> Sycamore gardens	2
<sup>15</sup> House, equipped with timbers ( <i>hty</i> ) <sup>a</sup>	1
<sup>16</sup> Lands: stat	1,361

*Pl. 66a*

**381.** <sup>1</sup>Clean grain, [—] for the divine offerings of the feasts of heaven <sup>2</sup>and the feasts of the first of the seasons, which he gave to them<sup>b</sup> as increase of <sup>3</sup>the divine offerings, and as increase of the daily offerings, in order to double that which was before, <sup>4</sup>from the year 1 to the year 31, making 31 years: 16-fold heket: 250,326.

## 5. CONCLUDING PRAYER OF RAMSES III

*Pl. 66b*

**382.** <sup>1</sup>Hear ye, O great divine ennead, ye gods and goddesses! Put in your hearts the benefactions which I did, while I was king upon earth <sup>2</sup>as ruler of the living; grant that I may be divine like one of the divine ennead, that I may go in and out among you in Tazoser, <sup>3</sup>that I may proceed, while I am with you, before Re, that I may behold the radiance of his disk every morning. Grant that I may breathe the <sup>4</sup>air like you, that I may receive bread upon the offerings before Osiris. Let my heart be glad, hear that which I say, <sup>5</sup>establish my son as king on the throne of Horus, he being ruler, L. P. H., on the earth as Lord of the Two Lands, set the diadem upon his head like the All-Lord, <sup>6</sup>join to him the uraeus like Atum. Let him celebrate jubilees like Tatenen, having a reign as long as the Beautiful-Faced (Ptah). <sup>7</sup>May his sword be victorious against all lands, may they come for fear of him, bearing their tribute. Put the love of him <sup>8</sup>in the hearts of the people, may the whole land acclaim over him at the sight of him, may Egypt rejoice over him <sup>9</sup>with jubilation, united under his feet, forever; (even) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands; Usermare-Setepnamon, L. P. H., <sup>10</sup>Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, like Amon: Ramses (IV)-Hekma-Meriamon, L. P. H.

<sup>a</sup>Compare *hty* in the building inscription of the High Priest, Amenhotep (§ 489, l. 8).

<sup>b</sup>The gods and goddesses in general.

## VI. SUMMARY

## I. TOTAL OF THE GODS' ESTATES

*Pl. 67*

**383.** <sup>1</sup>List of the things of the gods and men:<sup>a</sup> gold, silver, real lapis lazuli, real malachite, all real, costly stones, <sup>2</sup>cattle, gardens, lands, galleys, workshops, towns, festal offerings,<sup>b</sup> oblations, "Books of the Nile-God," and all the things, which <sup>3</sup>King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, did for his august father, Amon-Re, king of gods; Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, Re-Harakhte; <sup>4</sup>Ptah, the great, "South-of-His-Wall," lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," and all the gods and goddesses of South and North; while he was king upon earth:

**384.** <sup>5</sup>The processional images, statues, and figures of Amon-Re, king of gods: being 2,756 gods:<sup>c</sup>

	<sup>6</sup> heads	113,433 <sup>d</sup>
<sup>7</sup> Various cattle		490,386
<sup>8</sup> Lands: stat		1,071,780
<sup>9</sup> Gardens and groves		514
<sup>10</sup> Transports and galleys		88

*Pl. 68a*

<sup>1</sup> Towns of Egypt	160
<sup>2</sup> Towns of Syria <sup>e</sup>	9
Total	169

**385.** <sup>3</sup>The amount belonging to the 2,756 statues<sup>f</sup> and figures:

<sup>4</sup> Fine gold	7,205 deben, 1 kidet
<sup>5</sup> Silver	11,047 " $\frac{1}{4}$ "
<sup>6</sup> Total, gold and silver	18,252 " $1\frac{1}{4}$ "

<sup>a</sup>The portion referring to men is the narrative in Pls. 75-79, *q. v.*

<sup>b</sup>The scribe has here incorrectly inserted some of the income in this heading, but he has properly not included any of such items in the list following.

<sup>c</sup>The scribe has here inserted one of the minor items from the Amon-temple, where he should have given a general head, as the number following is the total of all people held by all the temples recorded in the papyrus. His total should be 108,338, not correcting earlier errors.

<sup>d</sup>For the correct numbers in the summary, see the table on p. 97.

<sup>e</sup>These all belonged to Amon, and are given (11, 11), as also in Kush.

<sup>f</sup>See 21b, 11, note, and 11, 1-3.

7Real lapis lazuli	47 deben, 6 kidet
8Black copper	10,001 “ 8 “
9Copper in vessels and scraps	97,148 “ 3 “
10Lead	4,896 “
11[Tin]	95 “

*Pl. 68b*

1Various costly stones [—] <sup>a</sup>	18,168 [deben], <sup>b</sup> 1 kidet
2Cedar: various logs	328
3Persea: various logs	4,415

## 2. TOTAL OF THE GODS' INCOMES

**386.** 4Things exacted, impost of the people and all the serf-laborers of the houses, temples, and estates, 5which he gave to them as their yearly dues:

6Fine mountain gold and gold of two times in vessels, ornaments, and scraps	2,289 deben, 4½ kidet <sup>c</sup>
7Silver [in] vessels and scraps	14,050 “ ½ “
8Total, silver and gold in vessels, ornaments, and scraps	16,339 “ 6½ “
9Gold combined with costly stones: collars, tassels, and cords	9
10Silver overlaid with gold: sacred eye amulet of Thoth	1
11Copper: deben	27,580
<b>387.</b> 12Royal linen, mek-linen, fine southern linen, southern linen, colored linen: various garments	4,575

<sup>a</sup>*Yp·t*.<sup>b</sup>Omitted by the scribe, or else he has incorrectly inserted *yp·t* for *dbn*.<sup>c</sup>The only temple with gold in the income was Thebes, which received yearly 569 deben, 6½ kidet. Hence this total is incorrect by over 1,700 deben. As a mistake in addition is impossible where only one item is concerned, the scribe has added items which do not belong here in the income. Adding the 1,719 deben, 8¼ kidet, from the king's gifts to the small temples (62b, 5), we obtain the scribe's total of gold here. Hence he has incorrectly inserted here in the income the gold and silver of the king's gifts to small temples. So also ll. 9 and 10, which are taken from 62b, 9-11. The copper is correct.



*Pl. 69*

<sup>1</sup> Yarn: deben	3,795
<sup>2</sup> Incense, honey, oil: full jars (ꜥꜥꜥ)	1,529
<sup>3</sup> Shedeh and wine: various jars (ꜥꜥꜥ)	28,080
<sup>4</sup> Silver in things of the impost of the people 4,208 deben, $7\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{10}$ kidet	
<sup>5</sup> Clean grain of the impost of the peasants: 16-fold heket	460,900
<sup>6</sup> Vegetables: bundles	32,750
<sup>7</sup> Flax: bales	71,000
<sup>8</sup> Water-fowl of the impost of the fowlers and fishermen	426,995
<sup>9</sup> Bulls, bullocks of the bulls, heifers, calves, cows, cattle of [—] cattle of [—] of the herd: (cattle) of Egypt	961
<sup>10</sup> Bulls, bullocks of the bulls, oxen, heifers, calves, and cows of the impost of the lands of Syria	19
<b>Total</b>	<b>980</b>
<sup>11</sup> Live geese of the exactions	1,920
<sup>12</sup> Cedar: tow-boats and ferry-boats	12
<sup>13</sup> Acacia: tow-boats, [canal]-boats, boats for the transportation of cattle, warships, <sup>a</sup> and kara ( <i>kꜥ-ꜥꜥ</i> )-boats	78

*Pl. 70a*

<sup>1</sup> Total, cedar and acacia: boats	90
<sup>2</sup> Products of Egypt, products of God's-Land, products of Syria, Kush and the Oasis, for the divine offerings in numerous lists.	

3. TOTAL OF THE KING'S GIFTS TO ALL GODS<sup>b</sup>

**388.** <sup>3</sup>Gold, silver, real lapis lazuli, real malachite, all real, costly stones, copper, garments of <sup>4</sup>royal linen, mek-linen, fine southern linen, southern linen, garments of colored linen, jars,<sup>c</sup> fowl, and everything which he gave to them, <sup>5</sup>as gifts of the king, L. P. H.; festal offerings, oblations, and "Books of the Nile-God," while he was king upon earth:

<sup>a</sup>See 12b, 11.

<sup>b</sup>This section includes also the offerings, as the scribe was unable to separate them. The totals contain the most incredible errors in addition, which can be controlled for the most important items by comparing with table of the king's gifts, § 172.

<sup>c</sup>This means the wine, oil, incense, etc., which were put into jars.

389. <sup>6</sup> Fine gold, gold of two times, and white gold in vessels, ornaments, and scraps	1,663	deben		
<sup>7</sup> Silver in vessels and scraps	3,598	“	8	kidet
<sup>8</sup> Total, gold and silver in vessels and scraps	5,261	“	8	“
<sup>9</sup> Real lapis lazuli, real malachite, real green feldspar ( <i>nšm·t</i> ) stone	30	“	9½	“
<sup>10</sup> Real lapis lazuli, real malachite: scarabs				72
<sup>11</sup> Timhy ( <i>Tymhy</i> ) stone of Wawat				3 kidet

*Pl. 70b*

<sup>1</sup> Black copper	327	deben, 9	kidet
<sup>2</sup> Black copper overlaid with gold: corselets			2
<sup>3</sup> Copper in vessels and scraps	18,786	deben, 7	kidet
<sup>4</sup> Lead: deben			2,130
390. <sup>5</sup> Myrrh: deben			7,709
<sup>6</sup> Myrrh: heket			5½
<sup>7</sup> Wood of the myrrh tree: (logs)			1,059
<sup>8</sup> Fruit of the myrrh in measures			200
<sup>9</sup> Royal linen, mek-linen, fine southern linen, southern linen, colored linen: various garments			50,877
<sup>10</sup> Incense, honey, oil ( <i>nḥḥ</i> ), oil ( <i>bḥ?</i> ); various jars ( <sup>2</sup> cc) and measures ( <i>yp·t</i> )			331,702
<sup>11</sup> Incense: [—] in measures ( <i>yp·t</i> )			35,130
<sup>12</sup> Incense: large measures ( <i>yp·t</i> )			62
<sup>13</sup> Shedeh and wine: jars ( <i>mn</i> and <i>k<sup>2</sup> bw</i> )			228,380
<sup>14</sup> Fine manna of Punt: deben			300
<sup>15</sup> Manna: measures ( <i>msty</i> )			10
<sup>16</sup> All costly stones: sacred eye amulets, scarabs, and seals of various measures			1,075,635

*Pl. 71a*

<sup>1</sup> Alabaster: a block			1
<sup>2</sup> Yarn: deben			700
<sup>3</sup> Yarn: hanks			19
391. <sup>4</sup> Wrought wood: cases and seals			92
<sup>5</sup> Meru ( <i>mry</i> ) wood and ebony: [staves]			497
<sup>6</sup> Wrought wood: block for the scales			1
<sup>7</sup> Carob wood: a log			1

<sup>8</sup> Persea, a log of 2 cubits	1
<sup>9</sup> Mera ( <i>mr</i> <sup>2</sup> ) wood: post for the scales	1
<sup>10</sup> Mera ( <i>mr</i> <sup>2</sup> ) wood: poles	2
<sup>11</sup> Cedar: various logs	351
<sup>12</sup> Nenybu ( <i>N-n-y-bw</i> ) and cassia: deben	3,129
<sup>13</sup> Reeds: bundles and measures ( <i>msty</i> )	37
<sup>14</sup> Cinnamon: 843 measures ( <i>msty</i> ) and bundles: deben	2,000

*Pl. 71b*

<sup>1</sup> Barley of Syria: heket	45
<sup>2</sup> Ivory: a tusk	1
<sup>3</sup> Eye-paint: deben	50
<b>392.</b> <sup>4</sup> Rosemary <sup>1</sup> : measures ( <i>msty</i> )	167
<sup>5</sup> Yufiti ( <i>Ywfyty</i> )-plant: measures ( <i>msty</i> )	183
<sup>6</sup> Mehiwet ( <i>Mhywt</i> ): <sup>a</sup> 'cakes' ( <i>s</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>t</i> <sup>2</sup> )	3,100
<sup>7</sup> Semu ( <i>s</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>mw</i> )-plant: measures ( <i>htp</i> )	1,664
<sup>8</sup> Dom-palm <sup>1</sup> fruit, grapes, figs, 'pomegranates <sup>1</sup> and various fruit: crates of various measure ( <i>yp·t</i> )	2,382,650
<sup>9</sup> Bulls, bullocks of the bulls, oxen, heifers, calves, cows, goats,	20,602
<sup>10</sup> White oryxes, 'male gazelles <sup>1</sup> , gazelles	367
<sup>11</sup> Fat geese, live geese, various water-fowl	353,919
<sup>12</sup> Salt and natron: 16-fold heket	1,843
<sup>13</sup> Salt and natron: bricks	355,084
<sup>14</sup> Palm-fiber: various ropes	345
<sup>15</sup> Sebkhet ( <i>sbh·t</i> )-plant, flax ( <i>ps</i> ) and ideninu ( <i>ydnyw</i> ): 16-fold heket	1,944

*Pl. 72*

<sup>1</sup> Tamarisk and reed-grass: bundles	7,860
<sup>2</sup> Southern flax: measures ( <i>htp</i> )	46
<b>393.</b> <sup>3</sup> Fine bread: large oblation-loaves, <i>syd</i> -loaves, and <i>bh</i> -loaves of various measures	161,287
<sup>4</sup> Fine bread, meat, rahu ( <i>r</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>hw-sw</i> )-cakes: large measures ( <i>htp</i> ) of the 'court <sup>1</sup> ( <i>m</i> <sup>2</sup> ), measures ( <i>htp</i> ) of gold, measures ( <i>htp</i> ) for eating, and measures ( <i>t</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>y</i> ) for the mouth of the eater <sup>b</sup>	25,335

<sup>a</sup>See 19a, 8.<sup>b</sup>See 17b, 1 and 2, note.

<sup>5</sup> Fine bread: large loaves (° k) for eating, 'sweet' loaves (° k), and loaves of every size	6,272,421
<sup>6</sup> Rahusu-cakes of every baking, measures (yp' t)	285,385
<sup>7</sup> Beer: various vessels (hnw)	468,303
<sup>8</sup> Olives: jars (mn and g' y)	1,726
<sup>9</sup> Wax: deben	3,100
<sup>10</sup> Cabbage <sup>1</sup> , khithana-fruit, southern fruit, measures (yp' t), and 'bundles' (° nbw)	390,215
<sup>11</sup> Dedmet flowers and enbu (° nbw): measures (d' c mw)	866
<sup>12</sup> Papyrus sandals: pairs	15,110
<sup>13</sup> Papyrus rind: measures (yp' t)	26,782
<sup>14</sup> Storea: measures (yp' t)	930
<b>394.</b> <sup>15</sup> Thick stuff: garments (dw)	150

## Pl. 73

<sup>1</sup> Leather sandals: pairs	3,720
<sup>2</sup> Jars and vessels of the mouth of the Heliopolitan canal <sup>a</sup>	9,610
<sup>3</sup> Various fish	494,800
<sup>4</sup> Jars 'of the canal' filled with fish, having wooden 'lids' <sup>b</sup>	440
<sup>5</sup> Blossoms, flowers, isi-plant, papyrus, and herbs: measures (ddm' t), bouquets, and for the hand	10,130,032
<sup>6</sup> Olive-lands equipped: 1, making, stat	53½
<sup>7</sup> Gardens of all (kinds of) trees, equipped	6
<sup>8</sup> House equipped with timbers <sup>c</sup>	1
<sup>9</sup> Fire wood: ('logs')	3,260
<sup>10</sup> Charcoal: measures (gsr')	3,367
<sup>11</sup> Incense, honey, oil (nhh), best oil, fat, fruit, every costly stone, cinnamon, vegetables, and milk: measures (°) of various capacity	2,933,766
<b>395.</b> <sup>12</sup> Gold, silver, every real costly stone: statues of the Nile-god: nusa	48,236
<sup>13</sup> Real lapis lazuli, real malachite, every costly stone, copper, lead, 'sparkling' costly stone: statues of the Nile-god	193,370
<sup>14</sup> Sycamore wood: statues of the Nile-god, and statues of the Nile-goddess	12,158
<sup>15</sup> Stone: uba (wb')	31,650
<sup>16</sup> Ibenu (ybnw): measures (mst y)	60

<sup>a</sup>See 19b, 16, and note.<sup>b</sup>From 20b, 12.<sup>c</sup>See 65c, 15.

## Pl. 74

<sup>1</sup> Minium <sup>1</sup> : jars ( <i>mn' t</i> )	3
<sup>2</sup> Khenti ( <i>Hnty</i> ): jars ( <i>sn y</i> )	380
<sup>3</sup> Shesa ( <i>šs ʔ</i> ): measures ( <i>mst y</i> )	72
<sup>4</sup> Shesa ( <i>šs ʔ</i> ): deben	32,500
<sup>5</sup> Palm leaves: bundles	46,040
<sup>6</sup> Palm leaves: pesa ( <i>ps ʔ</i> )	310
<sup>7</sup> Banu ( <i>b ʔ nw</i> ): cubes ( <i>s ʔ s</i> )	351
<sup>8</sup> Cow-hides	37
<sup>9</sup> Beni ( <i>b c ny</i> )-plant	23,000
<sup>10</sup> Date-palm fiber	23,000
<b>396.</b> <sup>11</sup> Clean grain, [—] for the divine offerings of the feasts of heaven and the feasts of the first of the seasons, which he gave to these gods, <sup>12</sup> as an increase of the divine offerings, and as an increase of the daily offerings, in order to double that which was before me:	
16-fold heket	5,279,552

## VII. HISTORICAL SECTION

## Pl. 75. Introduction

**397.** <sup>1</sup>Said King Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III), L. P. H., the Great God, to the princes, and leaders of the land, the infantry and chariotry, the Sherden (*š ʔ -r ʔ -d ʔ -n ʔ*), the numerous archers, <sup>2</sup>and all the citizens<sup>a</sup> of the land of Egypt:

*Former Anarchy*

**398.** Hear ye,<sup>b</sup> that I may inform you of my benefactions which I did while I was king of the people (*rhy' t*). The land of <sup>3</sup>Egypt was <sup>4</sup>overthrown<sup>c</sup> from without<sup>1</sup>, and every man was (<sup>5</sup>thrown<sup>1</sup> out) of his right; they had no chief mouth (*r ʔ -hr*) for many years formerly until other times. The land of Egypt was <sup>6</sup>in the hands of chiefs<sup>d</sup> and of

<sup>a</sup>(*ʔ nh' w*). These are the same as the "*c nh' w of the army*," e. g., already in the Middle Kingdom (I, 681), and in the Eighteenth Dynasty, especially in the Decree of Harmhab (III, 45-67).

<sup>b</sup>Text has "*we !*" which is, of course, an error.

<sup>c</sup>*H' c ʔ*; on the meaning "*banish*," see Brugsch, *Oase*, 85; same usage in *Recueil*, XVII, 147, ll. 13, 14?

<sup>d</sup>The hieratic sign is that for "*chief*" (*wr*), not "*prince*" (*sr*), which occurs quite differently written in l. 1 of this same plate.

rulers of towns; one slew his neighbor, great and small. Other times having come after it, with empty years, Yarsu,<sup>a</sup> a certain Syrian (*H<sup>3</sup> -rw*)<sup>5</sup> was with them as chief.<sup>b</sup> He set the whole land tributary before him together; he united his companions and plundered their<sup>c</sup> possessions. They made the gods like men, and no offerings were presented in the temples.

*Rule of Setnakht*

399. <sup>6</sup>But when the gods inclined themselves to peace, to set the land (*inl*)<sup>d</sup> its right according to its accustomed manner, <sup>7</sup>they established their son, who came forth from their limbs, to be Ruler, L. P. H., of every land, upon their great throne, (even) Userkhare-Setepnere-Meriamon, L. P. H., Son of Re, Setnakht-Mererre-Meriamon, L. P. H. <sup>8</sup>He was Khepri-Set, when he is enraged; he set in order the entire land, which had been rebellious; he slew the rebels who were in the land of Egypt; he cleansed <sup>9</sup>the great throne of Egypt; he was Ruler, L. P. H., of the Two Lands, on the throne of Atum. He gave <sup>1</sup>ready faces, which had been turned away<sup>1.e</sup>. Every man knew his brother who had been walled in.<sup>f</sup> <sup>10</sup>He established the temples in possession of divine offerings, to offer to the gods (*psd<sup>3</sup> t*) according to their customary stipulations.

*Rise of Ramses III and Death of Setnakht*

400. He appointed me to be hereditary prince in the place of Keb, I was the great chief mouth (*r<sup>3</sup> -hr*)<sup>g</sup> of the lands of Egypt, and com-

<sup>a</sup>The words (*3 yr-sw*), read as a proper name, of which Arisu or Arsu have become current forms, means "made himself." Hence Spiegelberg has proposed to render them so, explaining the foreign determinative which follows them by supposing that the name of the Syrian, to whom the determinative belongs, has fallen out. We should then render: "X, a certain Syrian with them, made himself chief." The preposition before "chief" fits this rendering well (see Spiegelberg, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, II, 263-65).

<sup>b</sup>Not "prince," but "chief," as in l. 4; see above, note a.

<sup>c</sup>The Egyptians.

<sup>d</sup>The preposition (*hr* in *rdy hr c k<sup>3</sup>*) seems to have fallen out.

<sup>e</sup>Or: "turned back;" perhaps meaning that those who had formerly been in hiding now came forth, and accepted service with him, that is, were "ready of face;" see inscription of Amenemhet (Ameni) l. 10 (I, p. 251, n. d).

<sup>f</sup>Staying within fortified walls during the previous hostilities, when each town was against its neighbor.

<sup>g</sup>The same office as that also claimed by Ramses II as crown prince, in the Kubbân Stela, l. 17 (III, 288).

*Pl. 76*

mander (*šḥn*) of <sup>1</sup>the whole land united in one. He went to rest in his horizon,<sup>a</sup> like the gods; there was done for him that which was done for Osiris; he was rowed in his king's-*barge* upon the river,<sup>b</sup> <sup>2</sup>and rested in his eternal house west of Thebes.<sup>c</sup>

*Accession of Ramses III*

401. Then my father, Amon-Re, lord of gods, Re-Atum, and Ptah, beautiful of face,<sup>d</sup> crowned me as Lord of the Two Lands on the throne of him who begat me; I received the office of my father <sup>3</sup>with joy; the land rested and rejoiced in possession of peace, being joyful at seeing me as ruler, L. P. H., of the Two Lands, like Horus when he was called to rule the Two Lands on the throne of Osiris. I was crowned <sup>4</sup>with the etef-crown bearing the uraeus; I assumed the double-plumed diadem, like Tatenen. I sat upon the throne (*intꜣꜣt*) of Harakhte. I was clad in the regalia, like Atum.

*Internal Organization*

402. <sup>5</sup>I made<sup>e</sup> Egypt into many classes,<sup>f</sup> consisting of: butlers of the palace, great princes, numerous infantry, and chariotry, by the hundred-thousand; Sherden (*šꜣꜣ-rꜣꜣ-dꜣꜣ-nꜣꜣ*), <sup>6</sup>and Kehek (*ḲḲḲ*), without number; attendants by the ten-thousand; and serf-laborers of Egypt.

<sup>a</sup>Poetic for the death of the king; cf. similar phrases for the death of Thutmose I and of Thutmose II in the inscription of Ineni (II, 108, and 118, l. 16), and of Thutmose III in the inscription of Amenemhab (II, 592, ll. 35-37).

<sup>b</sup>The funeral procession crosses the river.

<sup>c</sup>His tomb in the Valley of the Kings' Tombs, No. 14 (Baedeker's *Egypt*, 270). He appropriated it from Queen Tewosret, wife of King Siptah. It had already been appropriated by Seti II, who finally had not used it. Setnakht took it, and enlarged it for his purpose (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 209-14; *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, III, 137 ff.). He had been unable to finish his own tomb (No. 11, Baedeker's *Egypt*, 268), which was then taken over and completed by his son, Ramses III.

<sup>d</sup>The three great gods and the three great priesthoods, viz., of Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis, are here introduced. "*Father*" ought to be in the plural.

<sup>e</sup>Or: "*I trained*" (*šḥpr*).

<sup>f</sup>Not classes in the sense of castes of society, but classes for successive service in the army or civil offices, or state works or royal estates; with which meaning this word (*dꜣꜣmꜣw*, Coptic, "*generations*") is common in the historical texts. See also 26, 2, note.

*War with Northern Asiatics*

403. I extended all the boundaries of Egypt; I overthrew those who invaded them from<sup>a</sup> their lands. I slew the Denyen (*D<sup>3</sup>-yn-yw-n<sup>3</sup>*) in<sup>b</sup> their isles, the Thekel (*T<sup>3</sup>-k-r<sup>3</sup>*) and the Peleset (*Pw-r<sup>3</sup>-s<sup>3</sup>-ty*) were made ashes. The Sherden and the Weshesh (*W<sup>3</sup>-š-š*) of the sea, <sup>8</sup>they were made as those that exist not, taken captive at one time, brought as captives to Egypt, like the sand of the shore. I settled them in strongholds, bound in my name. Numerous <sup>9</sup>were their classes like hundred-thousands. I taxed them all, in clothing and grain from the storehouses and granaries each year.

*Edomite War*

404. I destroyed the people of Seir (*S<sup>3</sup>-c<sup>3</sup>-r<sup>3</sup>*), of the tribes of <sup>10</sup>the Shasu (*Š<sup>3</sup>-sw*);<sup>c</sup> I plundered their tents of their people, their possessions, their cattle likewise, without number. They were pinioned and brought as captive, as tribute of Egypt. <sup>11</sup>I gave them to the gods, as slaves into their house[s].

*Libyan Wars<sup>d</sup>*

405. Behold, I will inform you of other things, done in Egypt since my reign. The Libyans <sup>1</sup>and the Meshwesh (*M-š<sup>3</sup>-w<sup>3</sup>-š<sup>3</sup>*)

*Pl. 77*

were dwelling<sup>e</sup> in Egypt, having plundered the cities of the western shore,<sup>f</sup> from Memphis to Kerben (*K<sup>3</sup>-r<sup>3</sup>-b<sup>3</sup>-n<sup>3</sup>*).<sup>g</sup> They had reached

<sup>a</sup>Or: "in."

<sup>b</sup>Meaning "who are in;" not that the victory took place in their isles.

<sup>c</sup>See the Bedwi chief as prisoner on the front of the pavilion (§ 129) with the chiefs of Asia Minor.

<sup>d</sup>The Libyan aggressions are here naturally treated as one subject, and the long continuance of the struggle to expel them, extending through two wars, must be drawn from the other sources.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., "sitting" (*snđm*).

<sup>f</sup>Merneptah also makes use of the same rare word (*rwd*), "shore," in his Libyan campaign (Karnak Inscription, l. 30, III, 583).

<sup>g</sup>Identified by Brugsch, with some probability, as the place near Abukir, called by the Greeks, Heracleum (Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 854 ff.). It is the place called Karbaniti in the annals of Ashurbanipal, to which Tirhaka marched from Memphis.



the great river<sup>a</sup> on both its banks.<sup>b</sup> <sup>2</sup>They it was who plundered the cities of Egwowe (*G-wt-wt*)<sup>c</sup> during very many years, while they were in Egypt. Behold, I destroyed them, slain at one time. I laid low <sup>3</sup>the Meshwesh, the Libyans, the Esbet (*ʿ-sʿ-bʿ-tʿ*),<sup>d</sup> the Keykesh (*Kʿ-y-kʿ-šʿ*), the Shai (*Šʿ-y*),<sup>e</sup> the Hes (*Hʿ-sʿ*) and the Beken (*Bʿ-kʿ-nʿ*); they were overthrown in their blood and made heaps. I turned them back <sup>4</sup>from trampling the border of Egypt. I carried away those whom my sword spared, as numerous captives, pinioned like birds before my horses,<sup>f</sup> their wives and their children by the tenthousand, <sup>5</sup>their cattle in number like hundred-thousands. I settled their leaders in strongholds in my name. I gave to them captains (*hry w*) of archers, and chief men of the tribes, branded and made into <sup>6</sup>slaves, impressed with my name; their wives and their children were made likewise.<sup>g</sup> I led their cattle into the house (*pr*) of Amon; they were made for him into herds<sup>h</sup> forever.

*Well in Ayan*

**406.** I made a very great well <sup>7</sup>in the country of Ayan (*ʿ ynʿ*). It was surrounded by a wall like a mountain of gritstone, with 20

<sup>a</sup>The *μέγας ποταμός* of Ptolemy, called by Strabo the Canopic branch of the Nile (Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 856). See occurrence in exactly same connection in Merneptah's Libyan war (III, 580, l. 19).

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "on its every side" (*rwytʿ*); this word is used by Ramses II for the bank or side of the Orontes (III, 311, l. 21).

<sup>c</sup>This is possibly Canopus (*Pr-g-wʿ-ty*), as Brugsch thinks (*Dictionnaire géographique*, 820 ff.).

<sup>d</sup>Possibly to be read *M-sʿ-bʿ-tʿ*; this and the following are Libyan tribes of uncertain location. Petrie has attempted to find these names among the place-names still surviving in north Africa (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXVI, 40, 41).

<sup>e</sup>Or: *Šʿ-y-tpʿ*?

<sup>f</sup>Compare the reliefs of the return from the Libyan wars (§§ 56 and 112).

<sup>g</sup>A further indication of the occupation and employment of these captives is contained in an inscription behind Medinet Habu, referring to various negroes, Peleset(?), and Shekelesh (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 218, c): "He causes that they cross the river, brought to Egypt, they are placed in strongholds of the king ———. When they reach the district of the king they are made chariot-drivers, charioteers, attendants, sunshade-bearers, attending the king."

<sup>h</sup>It is doubtless one of these herds which is mentioned in 10, 8, and given a name commemorating the victory over the Meshwesh.

courses<sup>1</sup> in the ground foundation, and a height of 30 cubits, having battlements. Its doorposts and doors<sup>8</sup> were hewn of cedar, their bolts were of copper, with mountings.

*Punt Expedition*

407. I hewed great galleys with barges before them, manned with numerous crews, and attendants in great number; their<sup>9</sup> captains of marines<sup>a</sup> were with them, with inspectors and petty officers, to command them. They were laden with the products of Egypt without number, being in every number<sup>b</sup> like ten-thousands. They were sent forth into the great sea of<sup>10</sup> the inverted water,<sup>c</sup> they arrived at the countries of Punt, no mishap overtook them, safe and bearing terror.<sup>d</sup> The galleys and the barges were laden with the products of God's-Land, <sup>11</sup>consisting of all the strange marvels of their country: plentiful myrrh of Punt,<sup>e</sup> laden by ten-thousands, without number. Their chief's children of God's-Land went before their tribute <sup>12</sup>advancing to Egypt. They arrived in safety at the highland of Coptos;<sup>f</sup> they landed in safety, bearing the things which they brought. They were loaded, on the land-journey, upon asses and upon men; and loaded into <sup>13</sup>vessels upon the Nile, (at) the haven of Coptos. They were sent forward down-stream<sup>g</sup> and arrived amid festivity, and brought (some) of the tribute into the (royal) presence like marvels. Their chief's

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "galley-archers."

<sup>b</sup>Probably meaning that "every number" in the lists was a large one.

<sup>c</sup>"The inverted water" is the Euphrates (see Tombos Stela, l. 13, II, 73); hence "the great sea of the inverted water" is the Indian Ocean, of which the Persian Gulf (into which the Euphrates flows) is a part. The Egyptians doubtless counted the Red Sea as a part of this "great sea of the inverted water," for the antique maps even far down into Arab times show the vaguest knowledge of the proper relations of these waters. It is possible to infer from this passage that Punt extended beyond the straits of Bab el-Mendeb.

<sup>d</sup>For all who might oppose them; it is a military expression, meaning that they were in efficient condition.

<sup>e</sup>See the trees of Punt in the Medinet Habu treasury, § 29.

<sup>f</sup>The "highland or desert of Coptos" here refers to the Red Sea end of the Coptos route, where the cargoes are unloaded from the vessels, and the land transport to the Nile begins.

<sup>g</sup>Showing that Ramses III did not live at Thebes (which is up-stream from Coptos), but in the north, in the Delta.

*Pl. 78*

children were in adoration before me, <sup>1</sup>kissing the earth, prostrate before me. I gave them to all the gods of this land, to satisfy the two serpent-goddesses every morning.

*Expedition to Atika*

408. I sent forth my messengers <sup>2</sup>to the country of the Atika (<sup>c</sup>*-ty-ka*),<sup>a</sup> to the great copper mines which are in this place. Their galleys carried them;<sup>b</sup> others on the land-journey were upon their <sup>3</sup>asses. It has not been heard before, since kings reign.<sup>c</sup> Their mines were found abounding in copper; it was loaded by ten-thousands into their galleys. <sup>4</sup>They<sup>d</sup> were sent forward to Egypt, and arrived safely. It was carried and made into a heap under the balcony,<sup>e</sup> in many bars<sup>f</sup> of copper, like hundred-thousands, being of the color of <sup>5</sup>gold of three times. I allowed all the people to see them, like wonders.

*Sinai Expedition*

409. I sent forth butlers and officials to the malachite-country, to my mother, Hathor, mistress of the malachite. There were brought for her silver, gold, royal linen, mek-linen, and many things <sup>7</sup>into her presence, like the sand. There were brought for me wonders of real malachite in numerous sacks, brought forward into my presence. They had not been seen before, <sup>8</sup>since kings reign.

*Ramses III's Good Works at Home*

410. I planted the whole land with trees and verdure, and I made the people dwell in their shade. I made <sup>9</sup>the woman of Egypt to go <sup>10</sup>to the place she desired, (for) no stranger nor any one upon the

<sup>a</sup>Uncertain region, accessible both by sea and land from Egypt, hence probably in the Sinaitic Peninsula, where so much copper was obtained. See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 133 and 393.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "were laden with them;" meaning, of course, the messengers.

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "since the reign;" viz., "since the reign of kings began."

<sup>d</sup>Or: "it," the copper.

<sup>e</sup>The copper is piled up under the palace balcony.

<sup>f</sup>Lit., "bricks."

<sup>g</sup>The two words literally mean: "her ears being extended," but the significance of this statement is obscure. It may refer to the fact that her head and ears were uncovered; compare the similar statement in the inscription of the year 5, l. 73 (§ 47).

road molested her. I made the infantry and chariotry to dwell (at home) <sup>10</sup>in my time; the Sherden ( $\text{Š}^{\text{3}} - r^{\text{3}} - d^{\text{3}} - n^{\text{3}}$ ) and Kehek ( $\text{K}^{\text{3}} h k^{\text{3}}$ ) were in their towns, lying the <sup>11</sup>length<sup>a</sup> of their backs; they had no fear, (for) there was no enemy <sup>12</sup>from Kush, (nor) foe from Syria. Their bows and their weapons reposed in their magazines, while they were satisfied and drunk with joy. <sup>13</sup>Their wives were with them, their children at their side; they looked not behind them,<sup>b</sup> (but) their hearts were confident, (for) I was with them as the defense and protection of their limbs. <sup>14</sup>I sustained alive the whole land, whether foreigners, (common) folk, citizens, or people, male or female.<sup>c</sup> I took a man

*Pl. 79*

out of his misfortune and I gave to him breath; <sup>15</sup>I rescued him from the oppressor, who was of more account than he.<sup>d</sup> I set each man in his security, in their towns; I sustained alive others in the hall of petition.<sup>e</sup> <sup>16</sup>I equipped the land in the place where it was laid waste. The land was well satisfied in my reign. I did good to the gods, as well as the men, <sup>17</sup>and I had nothing at all belonging to any (other) people. I exercised my sovereignty over the land as ruler of the Two Lands, while ye were my servants under my feet, without <sup>18</sup>—I. Ye were <sup>19</sup>well pleasing to my heart, for ye did excellently, and ye were zealous for my commands<sup>f</sup> and my commissions.

#### *Ramses III's Death*

**411.** Behold, I have gone to rest in the Nether World, like (my) father Re, <sup>1</sup>I have mingled with the great gods in heaven, earth and, the Nether World. Amon-Re has established my son on my throne; he has taken my office in peace, as ruler of the Two Lands, sitting on the throne <sup>2</sup>of Horus as lord of the two shores. He has assumed the

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "the height of their backs."

<sup>b</sup>In fear.

<sup>c</sup>An enumeration which seems to begin at the bottom;  $k^{\text{3}} w y, r h y^{\text{3}} t, p^{\text{3}} c^{\text{3}} t, h n m m^{\text{3}} t$ ; but see Pl. I, 6, note.

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "the mighty who was weightier (or heavier) than he;" compare the Hebrew, קל and כבד.

<sup>e</sup>Or: "the hall of the Nether World" ( $d w^{\text{3}} t$ ); referring to his mortuary oblations?

<sup>f</sup>Lit., "Ye were filled with my commands, etc."

etef-crown, like Tatenen, as: Usermare-Setepnamon, L. P. H., first-born son of Re, the self-begetter: Ramses (IV)-Hekma-Meriamon; <sup>7</sup>the child, son of Amon, who came forth from his limbs, shining as Lord of the Two Lands; he is like a true son, praised for his father's sake.

*Faithfulness to Ramses IV Urged*

**412.** Be ye attached to his sandals, <sup>8</sup>kiss the earth in his presence, bow down to him, follow him at all times, adore him, praise him, magnify his beauty as ye do <sup>9</sup>to Re every morning. Present to him your tribute (in) his august palace, bring to him the gifts<sup>a</sup> of the lands and countries. Be ye zealous for his commissions, <sup>10</sup>the commands which are spoken among you. <sup>1</sup>Obey<sup>1</sup> his behests, that ye may prosper under him. Labor for him as one man in every work; drag for him monuments, dig for him <sup>11</sup>canals, do ye for him the work of your hands, that ye may enjoy his favor, in possession of his provision every day. Amon has decreed to him his reign upon earth; he has doubled to him his lifetime <sup>12</sup>more than (to) any king; (even) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands; Usermare-Setepnamon, L. P. H.; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses (IV)-Hekma-Meriamon, L. P. H., given life forever:

RECORD OF THE ROYAL JUBILEE

**413.** Ramses III commissioned his vizier, Ta, to take charge of the jubilee in the year 29, and it perhaps took place in that year. In that case he was made crown prince a year<sup>b</sup> before his father Setnakht's death.<sup>c</sup> Accepting this, it could not have been long before the celebration that the vizier left the capital (Tanis?) and went south to make preparations for it, as the following paragraph<sup>d</sup> shows:

Year 29, month [one] of the third season, day 28. The vizier Ta sailed north, after he had come to take the gods of the South for the Sed Jubilee.

<sup>a</sup>See § 207.

<sup>b</sup>See § 400 on Ramses III's relations with his father.

<sup>c</sup>This accords with the only date of Setnakht's reign, "year 1" (Papyrus Sallier, I, 6).

<sup>d</sup>Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, 68, 69; from Papyrus Turin 44, 18 f.

414. At El Kab the High Priest of Nekhbet, Setau, recorded in his tomb, as one of the great events of his life, the visit of the vizier on the occasion of the latter's southern voyage (as above) and his visit there, as follows:<sup>a</sup>

[Year 29] under the majesty] of King Ramses III; first occurrence of the Sed Jubilee. His majesty commanded to commission the governor of the (residence) city, the vizier, Ta, to carry out the customary regulations<sup>b</sup> in the houses of the Sed Jubilee, to go to the "House-of-Ramses-Meriamon (Ramses II),-the-[Good-God]." Reception of the bow of the barque of the Divine<sup>c</sup> Hand by the king himself, when he<sup>1</sup> was [in] the Southern City.<sup>d</sup>

415. This same Setau, in whose tomb the above occurs, was still High Priest of Nekhbet at El Kab in the year 4 of Ramses IX, when his tomb was decorated;<sup>e</sup> so that one man's tenure of a high office (attained, at the earliest, in middle life) includes the period from year 29 of Ramses III to year 4 of Ramses IX. Accepting thirty years for Setau's tenure of the office we have left, after deduction of the known dates of other kings, some fifteen years for the three Ramses, VI, VII, and VIII.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, II, Pl. 72, No. 2 (attributed to Ramses II); Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1129 (properly attributed); Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 271; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 49.

<sup>b</sup>There is a feminine singular possessive with this word, "her regulations," but the Sed Jubilee is masculine.

<sup>c</sup>Same as Divine Votress, a kind of high priestess of Amon.

<sup>d</sup>This disconnected conclusion is preserved only by Champollion, and it reads as if it surmounted a scene depicting the king receiving the barque.

<sup>e</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, IV, Text, 50; Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, 24, 185; Maspero's date for the construction of this tomb, as under Ramses III (*Momies royales*, 667), must be modified in accord with this new datum.

<sup>f</sup> Remainder of Ramses III's reign	2 years.
Ramses IV	6 years.
Ramses V	4 + x years.
Ramses IX (last date in Setau's term)	4 years.

Total	16 years.
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Leaving some fifteen years to insert between Ramses IV and Ramses IX.

RECORDS OF THE HAREM CONSPIRACY<sup>a</sup>

416. Fragmentary and brief as these documents are, they afford a glimpse into the court intrigues and conspiracies of the Orient three thousand and two hundred years ago, which is as picturesque and interesting as it is important. Here are all the materials for a novel or a drama, with the full *dramatis personae* all present. The first question which arises is: Against whom was the conspiracy, here unfolded, directed? The king who empowers the prosecuting court to try the conspirators is called "*ruler of Heliopolis*" (§ 423), a term applied to several kings, but especially to Ramses III. One of the conspirators, in the course of their machinations, secured a "*magic roll of Ramses III . . . his lord.*" It is clear, then, that the conspiracy was directed against this king, and, as we shall see, toward the close of his reign. One of his queens,<sup>b</sup> named Tiy, plots to make way with the old king and to place her son Pentewere<sup>c</sup> upon the throne.

<sup>a</sup>These records are contained in two documents: (a) the Judicial Papyrus of Turin; and (b) Papyrus Lee and Papyrus Rollin, both parts of one document. The Judicial Papyrus of Turin is a magnificent document, containing six columns, the first being but a mere fragment of the ends of all the lines. The papyrus roll is about twenty inches high, the letters about an inch and a quarter high, and the horizontal lines are two inches apart. It was published, and for that time well treated, by Devéria in the *Journal asiatique*, in 1865-68, (but see Chabas' valuable corrections, *Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne*, 3<sup>me</sup> sér., Tome I, 5-47), and again revised by the author, as a "*tirage à part*" in 1868. The last was republished in the author's collected works (*Bibliothèque égyptologique*, V). Papyrus Lee contains the lower part of two columns, published by Sharpe (*Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 47, 48) in 1855; shortly after by Lee (Hartwell House Catalogue, Pl. II); by Chabas, *Papyrus Magique*, Harris, 169-74; and *Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne*, I, 9, 10; by Devéria, *op. cit.*; and by Newberry (*Amherst Papyri*, Pl. II and III, and pp. 19-22); Papyrus Rollin (No. 1888) in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris contains one short but complete column, published by Chabas, *op. cit.*, by Devéria, *op. cit.*, and by Pleyte, *Les Papyrus Rollin*, Pl. XVI.

<sup>b</sup>She may have been the mother or stepmother of Ramses III; see Erman, *Aegypten*, 87 (Mariette, *Catalogue général d'Abydos*, 1170).

<sup>c</sup>This was not his name, but a name given him in the court records, which call him "*Pentewere, who bore that other name.*" The chief conspirators are given assumed names by the records, as we shall see.

The "*chief of the chamber*," Pebekkamen, and a royal butler, named Mesedsure, were her chief coadjutors. The former procured from the overseer of the royal herds, Penhuibin, a number of magic wax figures of gods and men, which were able, in the belief of the owner, to disable or enfeeble the limbs of people. Two other men furnished similar materials, which were smuggled into the harem, and by such agencies the conspirators were empowered, as they thought, to disable or evade the people of the guard, who might otherwise have discovered and betrayed the plot.

417. Pebekkamen and Mesedsure secured the co-operation of ten harem officials of various ranks, four royal butlers, an overseer of the treasury named Pere, a captain of archers in Nubia named Binemwese, who was inveigled by the influence of a sister of his in the harem; Peyes, a commander of the army, three royal scribes in various offices, Pebekkamen's assistant, and several subordinate officials. As most of these people were in the personal service of the Pharaoh, the dangerous character of the complot is evident. Six wives of the officers of the harem-gate were used in securing the transmission of messages, and outside relatives of the inmates, not mentioned by name, are clearly implicated. Binemwese's sister sent him a letter urging him to incite the people to hostility against the king, and such was the purport of all the messages which left the harem. Evidently a revolution outside of the palace was intended to accompany their own coup within it. That the latter involved the assassination of the king is nowhere stated, but is self-evident.

418. Before their plans could be carried out, the conspirators were, in some way, betrayed, and ample evidence of their guilt was obtainable. The king ordered their prosecution,



but before they came to trial he died.<sup>a</sup> It would almost appear that he knew his days were numbered when he gave instructions for the prosecution of the conspirators, for at the close of the commission constituting the special court therefor, he uses the remarkable words: (Go on with the prosecution, etc.), “*while I am protected and defended forever, while I am [among] the just kings who are before Amon-Re . . . . and before Osiris, ruler of eternity;*” that is, while I am among my deceased fathers. That the plot went so far that the king was injured, and survived his injuries only long enough to direct the prosecution of his assassins, is improbable, in view of a remark in the records, that Re did not permit the hostile plans to succeed;<sup>b</sup> but we may easily believe that it hastened the old king’s end, even if he escaped unscathed.

419. The court commissioned to try the conspirators received its instructions directly from the king, and was given not only full discretion as to the verdict, but also final power to execute punishment, which was otherwise usually fixed by the Pharaoh after trial (§ 541). At the same time Ramses cautioned the judges to be certain of guilt, by the usual procedure in every case, and to punish none but the guilty. The court, thus constituted with such unusual powers, consisted of fourteen officials, viz., two overseers of the treasury, two standard-bearers of the army, seven royal butlers, a royal herald, and two scribes. Among them were a Libyan, a Lycian, a Syrian named Maharbaal (“*Baal hastens*”), and another foreigner, Kedendenna by name, of uncertain nationality. The unhealthy character of the conditions at the court of Ramses III are thus patent. Foreign

<sup>a</sup>He is called “*the Great God*” in the records of the trial, a term applied at this time only to deceased kings. See Papyrus Lee, col. 1, l. 3 (§ 455).

<sup>b</sup>Rollin, l. 3, § 454; but see note.

stewards and butlers, whose fidelity is purchased, are now the reliance of the Pharaoh. Their flaccid character and the dangerous persistence of the conspirators are shown by the fact that two of the judges, the butler Pebes and the scribe Mai, after their<sup>a</sup> appointment, together with two officers having the prisoners in charge, received in their dwelling some of the women conspirators and the general Peyes, with whom they caroused. These two judges, together with the two officers and another judge, Hori, the standard-bearer, were immediately put on trial for their indiscretion, and the first four were condemned to lose their noses and ears. On the execution of the sentence, Pebes committed suicide; Hori was found to be innocent.

420. The fate of the queen, Tiy, is unknown, as the records preserved do not contain her trial. The records of four different prosecutions are preserved. The judges were not all present at these four prosecutions. Six of them carried on the first, and condemned twenty-two persons, including the arch-conspirators Pebekkamen and Mesedsure, Bin-emwese, the captain of archers in Nubia, and Pere, overseer of the treasury; besides the six wives of the officers of the harem-gate. The penalty is not defined, but it was certainly death. The second prosecution, the judges for which are not mentioned, resulted in the condemnation of six persons, including Peyes, the army commander. All were permitted to commit suicide without leaving the court. Three butlers alone conducted the prosecution of the third group of four conspirators, among whom was the guilty young prince Pentewere. All four were found guilty, and were allowed to take their own lives. These three prosecutions disposed of

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<sup>a</sup>That their indiscretion occurred only after their appointment is, of course, evident. They never would have been appointed had their intimacy with the conspirators occurred before. The object of Peyes and the women could only have been the corruption of the judges in their own interest.

the capital cases.<sup>a</sup> The fourth prosecution was that of the indiscreet judges and their two companions.

421. In the documents containing the above facts, the chief conspirators are given fictitious names, indicative of the abhorrence in which they were held. Thus Mesedsure means "*Re hates him,*" and Binemwese is "*Wicked in Thebes.*" Pentewere, the name applied to the guilty prince, who was in all probability only an unfortunate tool, is not a term of opprobrium, but is not his real name (Col. V, l. 7, § 447).

422. As to the character of the following records, the first document (Turin) omits the evidence, and is, therefore, not a full record of the trials, but forms merely an abstract of the proceedings, evidently for filing in the royal archives. The second document (Lee and Rollin), far less imposing in appearance, is fuller, and may have been part of the original scribal record of the prosecution.

#### I. APPOINTMENT OF THE COURT.

##### Col. 1. Introduction

423. 1. ——— Ruler of Heliopolis ———<sup>b</sup> 2. ——— t[he] wh[ole] land ——— 3. ——— the whole land ——— 4. ——— their cattle ——— 5. ——— to bring them ——— 6. ——— all — before them ——— 7. ——— for them; the — are ———

##### Col. 2.

8. ——— people saying ——— 9. ——— they are <sup>1</sup>the abhorred of the land.

##### Commission of the Court

I commission:

The overseer of the White House, Mentemtowe (*Mntw-m-t<sup>2</sup> wy*);

<sup>a</sup>For the three people tried and executed for practicing magic, whose names are lost in the full account of their trial (§§ 454-56), are probably included in the list of capital prosecutions without designation of their crime as magic. "*Collusion*" is a quite sufficient definition of their guilt in the abstract (Turin).

<sup>b</sup>The loss at the ends of the lines is of uncertain length; the last line joins Col. 2 without break, but it is perhaps a short line.

The overseer of the White House, Pefroi ( $P^{\circ} yj-r^{\circ} wy$ );

<sup>2</sup>The standard-bearer, Kara ( $K^{\circ} -r^{\circ}$ );

The butler, Pebes ( $P^{\circ} y-B^{\circ} -s^{\circ}$ );

The butler, Kedendenna ( $Kdndnn^{\circ}$ );

The butler, Maharbaal<sup>a</sup> ( $M-h^{\circ} -r^{\circ} -b-^{\circ} c-^{\circ} r^{\circ}$ );

<sup>3</sup>The butler, Payernu ( $P^{\circ} -yr-nw$ );

The butler, Thutrehnefer ( $D\dot{h}wt y-r\dot{h}-[n]r$ );

The king's-herald, Penrenut ( $Pn-rnw$ );

The scribe, Mai ( $My$ );

<sup>4</sup>The scribe of the archives, Peremhab ( $P^{\circ} -R^{\circ} -m-hb$ );

The standard-bearer of the infantry, Hori; <sup>5</sup>saying:

*Instructions to the Court*

**424.** "As for the words which the people have spoken, I know them not. Go ye and examine them. <sup>6</sup>When they<sup>b</sup> go out, and they<sup>b</sup> examine them, they<sup>b</sup> shall cause to die by their own hand, those who should die, <sup>7</sup>without [my] knowing it. They shall execute the punishment [upon] the others, likewise without my knowing it. When [ye<sup>l</sup>] <sup>l</sup>go<sup>l</sup> [<sup>l</sup>see to<sup>l</sup> it] that ye give heed, and have a care lest ye execute punishment <sup>9</sup>upon — — — — unjustly<sup>c</sup> [<sup>l</sup>— — —<sup>l</sup>]. Now, I say to you<sup>d</sup> in

*Col. 3*

very truth, <sup>1</sup>as for all that has been done, and those who have done it, let all that they have done fall upon their (own) heads; <sup>3</sup>while I am protected and defended<sup>e</sup> forever, <sup>4</sup>while I am <sup>l</sup>among<sup>l</sup><sup>f</sup> the just kings, who are before <sup>5</sup>Amon-Re, king of gods, and before Osiris, ruler of eternity."

II. THE CONDEMNED OF THE FIRST PROSECUTION

*Col. 4. First Prosecution*

**425.** <sup>1</sup>Persons brought in because of the great crimes which they had committed, and placed in the court<sup>g</sup> of examination before the great nobles of the court of examination, that they might be examined by:

<sup>a</sup>מֵהָר בְּעַלֵּי

<sup>b</sup>We should expect "ye."

<sup>c</sup>Gwš, "to bend, crook, break;" it has also been thought to refer to torture.

<sup>d</sup>Text has "them."

<sup>e</sup>See same phrase, I, 768, and IV, 528, l. 7.

<sup>f</sup>Hr, "under," local.

<sup>g</sup>Lit., "seat or place of examination."

*Composition of the Court*

426. The overseer of the White House, Mentemtowe;  
 The overseer of the White House, Pefroi;  
 The standard-bearer, Kara;  
 The butler, Pebes;  
 The scribe of the archives, Mai;  
 The standard-bearer, Hori.

They examined them; they found them guilty; they brought their punishment upon them; their crimes seized them.

*The Condemned and Their Crimes*

427. <sup>2</sup>The great criminal,<sup>a</sup> Pebekkamen (*P<sup>3</sup> y-b<sup>3</sup> ky-k<sup>3</sup> mn*), formerly chief of the chamber.

He was brought in because of his collusion with Tiy and the women of the harem. He made common cause with them, and began bringing out their words to their mothers and their brothers who were there, saying: "Stir up the people! Incite enemies to hostility against their lord." He was placed before the great nobles of the court of examination; they examined his crimes; they found that he had committed them. His crimes seized him; the nobles who examined him brought his punishment upon him.

428. <sup>3</sup>The great criminal, Mesedsure (*Msd-sw-R<sup>c</sup>*),<sup>b</sup> formerly butler.

He was brought in because of his collusion [with] Pebekkamen, formerly chief of the chamber, and with the women, to stir up enemies to hostility against their lord. He was placed before the great nobles of the court of examination; they examined his crimes; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

429. <sup>4</sup>The great criminal, Peynok (*P<sup>3</sup> -ynywk*),<sup>c</sup> formerly overseer of the king's [—] of the harem, [in the suite].<sup>d</sup>

He was brought in because of his making common cause with Pebekkamen and Mesedsure, to commit hostility against their lord.

<sup>a</sup>This word (*ḥrw*) literally means "fallen, miserable," and is the term regularly applied to rebels, foreign foes, and criminals. Chabas' objections (*Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne*, 3<sup>me</sup> sér., I, 14) to translating "criminal" seem to me rather pedantic and unfair to Devéria.

<sup>b</sup>Meaning "Re hates him;" see introduction, § 421.

<sup>c</sup>"The serpent."

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "while following" (the king?).

He was placed before the great nobles of the court of examination; they examined his crimes; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

430. <sup>5</sup>The great criminal, Pendua (*P-n-dw<sup>3</sup> w*), formerly scribe of the king's [—], of the harem, [in the suite].<sup>a</sup>

He was brought in because of his making common cause with Pebekkamen and Mesedsure, the other criminal, formerly overseer of the king's [—], and the women of the harem, to make a conspiracy with them, to commit hostility against their lord. He was placed before the nobles of the court of examination; they examined his crimes; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

431. <sup>6</sup>The great criminal, Petewnteamon (*P<sup>3</sup> -t<sup>3</sup> w-mdy-Ymn*), formerly inspector of the harem, [in the suite].<sup>a</sup>

He was brought in because of his hearing the words which the people discussed with the women of the harem, without reporting them. He was placed before the great nobles of the court of examination; they examined his crimes; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

432. <sup>7</sup>The great criminal, Kerpes (*K<sup>3</sup> -r<sup>3</sup> -pw-s<sup>3</sup>*), formerly inspector of the harem, [in the suite].<sup>a</sup>

He was brought in because of the words which he had heard and had concealed. He was placed before the nobles of the court of examination. They found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

433. <sup>8</sup>The great criminal, Khamopet (*H<sup>c</sup> -m-yp<sup>3</sup> t*), formerly inspector of the harem, [in the suite].<sup>a</sup>

He was brought in because of the words which he had heard and had concealed. He was placed before the nobles of the court of examination. They found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

434. <sup>9</sup>The great criminal, Khammale (*H<sup>c</sup> -m-m<sup>33</sup> -n-r<sup>3</sup>*), formerly inspector of the harem, [in the suite].<sup>a</sup>

He was brought in because of the words which he had heard and had concealed. He was placed before the nobles of the court of examination; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

435. <sup>10</sup>The great criminal, Setimperthoth (*Sty-m-pr-Dhwty*), formerly inspector of the harem, [in the suite].<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "while following" (the king?).

He was brought in because of the words which he had heard and had concealed. He was placed before the nobles of the court of examination; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

**436.** <sup>11</sup>The great criminal, Setimperamon (*Sety-m-pr-Ymn*), formerly inspector of the harem, in the suite<sup>1</sup>.

He was brought in because of the words which he had heard and had concealed. He was placed before the nobles of the court of examination; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

**437.** <sup>12</sup>The great criminal, Weren (*W<sup>3</sup>-r<sup>3</sup>-n<sup>3</sup>*), who was butler.

He was brought in because of his hearing the words from the chief of the chamber, and when he had withdrawn from<sup>1</sup> him, he concealed them and did not report them. He was placed before the nobles of the court of examination; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

**438.** <sup>13</sup>The great criminal, Eshehebsed (*ḥ<sup>3</sup>-ḥb-šd*), formerly assistant of Pebekkamen.

He was brought in because of his hearing the words from Pebekkamen; and when he had left him, he did not report them. He was placed before the nobles of the court of examination; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

**439.** <sup>14</sup>The great criminal, Peluka (*P<sup>3</sup>-rw-k<sup>3</sup>*),<sup>a</sup> formerly butler and scribe of the White House.

He was brought in because of his collusion with Pebekkamen, having heard the words from him, without reporting them. He was placed before the nobles of the court of examination; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

**440.** <sup>15</sup>The great criminal, the Libyan, Yenini (*Y-ny-ny*), formerly butler.

He was brought in because of his collusion with Pebekkamen, having heard the words from him, without reporting them. He was placed before the nobles of the court of examination; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

*Col. 5*

**441.** <sup>1</sup>Wives of the people of the harem-gate, who united with the men, when the things were discussed; who were placed before the

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "the Lycian."

nobles of the court of examination; they found them guilty; they brought their punishment upon them: six women.

442. <sup>2</sup>The great criminal, Pere (*P<sup>3</sup> y-yry*), son of Ruma (*Rw-m<sup>3</sup>*), formerly overseer of the White House.

He was brought in because of his collusion with the great criminal, Penhuibin (*Pn-hwy-byu*), making common cause with him to stir up enemies to hostility against their lord. He was placed before the nobles of the court of examination; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

443. <sup>3</sup>The great criminal, Binemwese (*Byu-m-W<sup>3</sup> s't*),<sup>a</sup> formerly captain of archers in<sup>b</sup> Nubia.

He was brought in because of the letter, which his sister, who was in the harem, [in the suite], had written to him, saying: "Incite the people to hostility! And come thou to begin hostility against thy lord." He was placed before Kedendenna,<sup>c</sup> Maharbaal,<sup>c</sup> Pirsun (*P<sup>3</sup> -yr-swu*), and Thutrehnefer,<sup>d</sup> they examined him; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

### III. THE CONDEMNED OF THE SECOND PROSECUTION

444. <sup>4</sup>Persons brought in because of their crimes and because of their collusion with Pebeekamen, Peyes (*P<sup>3</sup> y-yš*), and Pentewere (*Pn-t<sup>3</sup> -wr*). They were placed before the nobles of the court of examination in order to examine them; they found them guilty; they<sup>e</sup> left them in their<sup>f</sup> own hands in the court of examination; they<sup>f</sup> took their<sup>f</sup> own lives; and no punishment was executed upon them.

445. <sup>5</sup>The great criminal, Peyes, formerly commander of the army.

The great criminal, Messui (*Ms-swy*), formerly scribe of the house of sacred writings.

The great criminal, Perekamenef (*P<sup>3</sup> -R<sup>c</sup> -k<sup>3</sup> mn·f*), formerly chief.

The great criminal, Iroi (*Yy-r<sup>3</sup> y*), formerly overseer of the [—] of Sekhmet.

<sup>a</sup>Meaning: "Wicked in Thebes."

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "of Nubia;" he was probably in Nubia at the time. The phrase, "of Nubia," may possibly belong to "archers," but such a rendering is against the usual custom.

<sup>c</sup>See col. 2, l. 2.

<sup>e</sup>The judges.

<sup>d</sup>*Ibid.*, l. 3.

<sup>f</sup>The condemned.



The great criminal, Nebzefai (*Nb-ḏj<sup>ḏ</sup> w*), formerly butler.

The great criminal, Shedmeszer (*Š<sup>c</sup> ḏ-msḏr*), formerly scribe of the house of sacred writings.

Total, 6.

#### IV. THE CONDEMNED OF THE THIRD PROSECUTION

**446.** <sup>6</sup>Persons who were brought in, because of their crimes, to the court of examination, before Kedendenna, Maharbaal, Pirsun, Thutrehnefer, and Mertusamon (*Mrt-y-ws-y-Ymn*).<sup>a</sup> They examined them concerning their crimes; they found them guilty; they left them in their place; they took their own lives.

**447.** <sup>7</sup>Pentewere, who bore that other name.

He was brought in because of his collusion [with] Tiy, his mother, when she discussed the words with the women of the harem, being hostile against his lord. He was placed before the butlers, in order to examine him; they found him guilty; they left him in his place; he took his own life.

**448.** <sup>8</sup>The great criminal, Henutenamon (*H<sup>ḏ</sup> n-wtn-Ymn*), formerly butler.

He was brought in because of the crimes of the women of the harem; having been among them and having heard (them), without reporting them. He was placed before the butlers, in order to examine him; they found him guilty; they left him in his place; he took his own life.

**449.** <sup>9</sup>The great criminal, Amenkha (*Ymn-ḥ<sup>c</sup> w*), formerly deputy of the harem, [in the suite].

He was brought in because of the crimes of the women of the harem; having been among them, and having heard (them), without reporting them. He was placed before the butlers, in order to examine him; they found him guilty; they left him in his place; he took his own life.

**450.** <sup>10</sup>The great criminal, Pere, formerly scribe of the king's [—] of the harem, [in the suite].

He was brought in because of the crimes of the women of the harem; having been among them, and having heard (them), without reporting them. He was placed before the butlers, in order to examine him; they found him guilty; they left him in his place; he took his own life.

<sup>a</sup>According to l. 7, these are all butlers.

## V. THE CONDEMNED OF THE FOURTH PROSECUTION

*Col. 6*

451. <sup>1</sup>Persons upon whom punishment was executed by cutting off their noses and their ears, because of their forsaking the good testimony<sup>a</sup> delivered to them. The women had gone; had arrived at their<sup>b</sup> place of abode, and had there caroused<sup>c</sup> with them and with Peyes. Their crime seized them.<sup>d</sup>

452. <sup>2</sup>This great criminal, Pebes (*P* <sup>2</sup> *y-b* <sup>2</sup> *-s* <sup>2</sup>), formerly butler. This punishment<sup>e</sup> was executed upon him; he was left (alone); he took his own life.

<sup>3</sup>The great criminal, Mai, formerly scribe of the archives.

<sup>4</sup>The great criminal, Teynakhte (*T* <sup>2</sup> *y-nht* <sup>2</sup> *t*), formerly officer<sup>f</sup> of infantry.

<sup>5</sup>The great criminal, Oneney (*c* <sup>2</sup> *-n* <sup>2</sup> *-n* <sup>2</sup> *y*), formerly captain<sup>f</sup> of police.

## VI. THE ACQUITTED

453. <sup>6</sup>Person<sup>g</sup> who had been connected with them; they had contended with him, with evil and violent words; he was dismissed; punishment was not executed upon him:

<sup>7</sup>The great criminal,<sup>h</sup> Hori, who was standard-bearer of the infantry.

<sup>a</sup>The king's instructions.

<sup>b</sup>The condemned.

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "made a beer-hall" (*c* <sup>2</sup> *t-hk* <sup>2</sup> *t*); the same word in Piankhi, l. 134 (§ 880).

<sup>d</sup>The constitution of the court is not given.

<sup>e</sup>Cutting off nose and ears; mentioned in l. 1; afterward in despair he kills himself. The others lived and endured the disgrace. Pebes and Mai, the following prisoners, were judges appointed on this trial by the king.

<sup>f</sup>The question arises why these men (not judges) are implicated. The analogy of the case of the two judges shows that they must have had something to do with the trial. Looking at their titles, one a military officer and the other a captain of police, it becomes exceeding probable that we have in them the explanation of another difficulty. How could Peyes and the women, already in custody and awaiting trial, gain their freedom to go to the dwelling of one of their judges? The two officers Teynakhte and Oneney must have been in charge of them; and they secretly went with their charges to the judge's house. They were thus equally guilty with the two judges.

<sup>g</sup>As the rubric shows, this is the title of the following list, consisting of one person.

<sup>h</sup>So-called, although innocent, his name being here cited from the court docket where it appeared with the above words before it. He bears the same name and title as one of the judges (col. 2, l. 4). If he be the same man, then we may doubtless understand the language of l. 6 above as indicating an altercation in court, in which the prisoners had attempted to implicate one of the judges, an attempt which was thwarted by putting him on trial, and acquitting him.

## VII. THE PRACTICERS OF MAGIC

*First Case of Magic*

454. <sup>a</sup>He began to make magic rolls for <sup>1</sup>hindering<sup>1</sup> and terrifying, and to make some gods of wax, and some people, for enfeebling the limbs of people; <sup>2</sup>and gave them into the hand of Pebekkamen, whom Re made not to be chief of the chamber, and the other great criminals, saying: "Take them in;" and they took <sup>3</sup>them in. Now, when he set himself to do the evil (deeds) which he did, in which Re did not permit that he should succeed,<sup>b</sup> he was examined. Truth was found in every crime <sup>4</sup>and in every evil (deed), which his heart had devised to do. There was truth therein, he had done them all, together with all the other great criminals. They were great crimes <sup>5</sup>of death, the great abominations of the land, the things which he had done. Now, when he learned<sup>c</sup> of the great crimes of death which he had committed, he took his own life.

*Col. 1. Second Case of Magic*

455. <sup>d</sup>"——— <sup>1</sup>the king, L. P. H., for provisioning <sup>1</sup>———<sup>1</sup> ——— <sup>2</sup>any — of my place of abode, to any person in the world." Now, when Penhuibin (*Pn-hwy-byn*), formerly overseer of herds, said to him: "Give to me a roll for enduing me with strength and might," <sup>3</sup>he gave to him a magic roll of Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III), L. P. H., the Great God,<sup>e</sup> his lord, L. P. H., and he began to

<sup>a</sup>Papyrus Rollin begins here, but the beginning of the case is lost, so that the name and office of the accused are unknown.

<sup>b</sup>It is not quite certain whether this remark refers to the failure of the whole conspiracy or only to this man's part in it. The former is more probable.

<sup>c</sup>That is, when he learned of what crimes he was charged with. The pronoun is *sw*, which is possibly for *se*, "*they*," viz., the judges; though the papyrus does not contain another example of such an error.

<sup>d</sup>Here Papyrus Lee begins; the beginning (top of the column) of the report is lost, and it is uncertain who is speaking. The name and office of the accused are also unknown.

<sup>e</sup>"*The Great God*" is applied at this time only to deceased kings, though it is used in the Old Kingdom of living kings. It regularly designates the deceased king in Papyrus Harris (*passim*), but is never applied to him in the vast inscriptions of Medinet Habu made during his life. In Papyrus Abbot, of the same age, the term always designates a deceased king; see also § 471 and commonly. A living king as presiding god of a distinct region or temple may receive the words "*great god*" in his formal cultus titulary (e. g., II, 894), but not otherwise. At the time

<sup>a</sup>employ the magic powers of a god<sup>1a</sup> upon people. He arrived at the side <sup>4</sup>of the harem, this other large, deep place.<sup>b</sup> He began to make people of wax, inscribed,<sup>c</sup> in order that they might be taken in by the inspector, Errem (<sup>7</sup>-ry-m),<sup>d</sup> <sup>5</sup>hindering<sup>1</sup> one troop and bewitching the others, that a few words<sup>e</sup> might be taken in, and others brought out. Now, when he was examined <sup>6</sup>concerning them, truth was found in every crime and in every evil (deed), which his heart had devised to do. There was truth therein, he had done them all, together with the <sup>7</sup>other great criminals, the abomination of every god and every goddess all together. The great punishments of death were executed upon him, of which the gods have said: "Execute them upon him."

*Col. 2. Third Case of Magic*

456. <sup>f</sup>1 ————— in the — — upon the measure. He went away ————— his hand enfeebled<sup>g</sup> — —. Now, when <sup>2</sup>[he was examined concerning] them, truth was found in every crime and in [every] evil (deed), which his heart had devised to do. There was truth <sup>3</sup>[therein, he had done them all, together with the othe]r great criminals, the abomination of every god and every goddess all together. They were great crimes of death, the great abominations of <sup>4</sup>[the land, the things which he had done. Now, when he<sup>h</sup> learned of the] great [crim]es of death, which he had committed, he took his own life. Now, when the nobles, who examined him, learned that he had taken his own life <sup>5</sup>————— Re, altogether, of which the sacred writings say: "Execute it upon him."

—————  
this court record was made, then, the king was dead; but at the time when the roll was procured he was still living; hence the addition "*his lord*," meaning "his then lord." The king therefore lived to give the instructions for these prosecutions.

<sup>a</sup>While the rendering is doubtful in details, there is no doubt about the meaning in general, that he began to use the charms in the book.

<sup>b</sup>Some retired place by the wall of the harem, mentioned before in the lost portion of the papyrus, as the demonstrative shows.

<sup>c</sup>With the names of the persons represented, and the necessary charms.

<sup>d</sup>אל-רם.

<sup>e</sup>He evidently was thought to have bewitched the watch, that the intercourse with the harem might not be discovered.

<sup>f</sup>The second column of Papyrus Lee begins here; the name and office of the accused are lost with the missing top of the column.

<sup>g</sup>This is some official who has been the victim of the magical arts of the condemned; see Papyrus Rollin, l. 1 (§ 454).

<sup>h</sup>See § 454, l. 5.

## REIGN OF RAMSES IV

### HAMMAMAT STELA

457. These records on the rocks in the Wadi Hammamat bring us knowledge of the only considerable achievement of Ramses IV known to us.

#### I. THE FIRST STELA

In the first stela<sup>a</sup> the king narrates how, by direct revelation of the god, he has been guided in a personal visit to the quarries of the Wadi Hammamat, which lie three days' journey from the Nile, on the road from Coptos to the Red Sea. In commemoration of this visit the first stela was then cut in the rocks. Its date shows that the king undertook this arduous desert journey only a little over a year and three months after his accession. The document is as follows:

458. At the top is a relief, in two fields, showing Ramses IV offering an image of Mat, the goddess of truth, to "*Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, lord of the highlands and mountains;*" "*Min, lord of the highlands;*" and "*Isis, mistress of heaven.*" Behind him stands Mat. Below this, in the second field, the king appears, making the same offering to Onouris, Osiris of Coptos, Isis, and Harsiese. Behind him is Thoth, writing.

459. Below the reliefs is the following inscription:

<sup>1</sup>Year 2, second month of the first season (second month), day 12<sup>b</sup>  
under the majesty of . . . . .<sup>c</sup> <sup>2</sup>King Ramses IV. . . . .  
. . . . .<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 223, *e*.

<sup>b</sup>He succeeded his father on the sixth of the eleventh month (§ 182), just 1 year, 3 months, and 11 days before this date.

<sup>c</sup>Full fivefold titulary; see following stela (§ 463).

<sup>d</sup>I have omitted the usual epithets following the king's titulary, as they contain purely conventional reference to the Pharaoh's power, mentioning Retenu and the Asiatics (*c' mw*).

460. Lo, this Good God, excellent in wisdom, like Thoth, he has entered into the annals [—<sup>12</sup>—], he has perceived the records of the house of sacred writings, his divine heart does excellent things for the lord of gods, his understanding conceives pleasing things like [—],<sup>13</sup> which Re has repeated to him in his heart, that he might find the place of truth, (‘where’)<sup>a</sup> this monument is founded, forever, hereafter.<sup>b</sup> He gave command to the king’s-companions, those who enter in<sup>c</sup> to his majesty, the princes, <sup>14</sup>and the great authorities of the South and North, all of them; the scribes and wise men of the house of [sacred writings], to make this monument for the place of eternity in this mountain of Bekhen, <sup>15</sup>before God’s-Land. King Ramses IV, beloved of Amon-Re, Harakhte, Min, lord of the desert, Horus, son of Osiris, and Eswere (Isis, the great); given life.

## II. THE SECOND STELA<sup>d</sup>

461. The king’s personal investigation of the quarries early in the year 2 was followed by an expedition of his officers thither, over a year and nine months later, toward the close of the year 3. The second stela was erected by this expedition which, according to the statements of the stela, was the second largest expedition of the kind in ancient Egypt, of which we have any knowledge.<sup>e</sup> It contained no less than 8,362 men, not including 900 who died from the hardships incident to such a desert journey, and the labor of the quarry in the fierce heat of the desert.

462. After the date and introduction (§ 463) the stela naturally reverts to the king’s visit (§ 464) and the preliminary search for suitable monumental blocks (§ 465). It then records in full the personnel of the expedition. It was led

<sup>a</sup>Or: “the true place of this monument, founded, etc.”

<sup>b</sup>To mark the place.

<sup>c</sup>*k hr*, lit., “enter upon;” compare Arabic *دجل على*. It probably is not connected with *k hr*, Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 46, note 1.

<sup>d</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 219, e.

<sup>e</sup>The largest expedition was that of Mentuhotep IV (I, 442).

by the High Priest of Amon, Ramsesnakht, whose son Amenhotep succeeded to the same great office (§§ 486 ff.). He had under him 9 civil and military officers of rank (Nos. 2-10), 362 subordinate officers (Nos. 11-16, 18, and 21), 10 trained artificers and artists (Nos. 23, 24, 26, and 27), 130 quarrymen and stonecutters (No. 25), 50 gendarmes as police and overseers (No. 22), 2,000 slaves (No. 20), 5,000 infantry (No. 17), who, of course, assisted in the work, and 800 men of Ayan (No. 19). Their supplies were brought from Egypt by a train of ten carts and many pack-bearers.

*Date and Introduction*

463. The relief at the top shows Ramses IV offering Mat to the Theban triad and Bast. Behind him stand Min, Harsiese, and Isis. Below are the following twenty-two lines:

<sup>1</sup>Year 3, second month of the third season (tenth month), day 27, under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Living Truth, Lord of Jubilees, like his father, Ptah; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Protector of Egypt, Binder of the Nine Bows; Golden Horus: Rich in Years, Great in Victory, Sovereign, Born of the Gods, <sup>2</sup>Creator of the Two Lands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Might: Hekmare<sup>a</sup>-Setepnamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses (IV)-Meriamon, beloved of Amon-Re, king of gods, Harakhte, Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," Mut, Khonsu, Min, and Harsiese; given life. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . .<sup>b</sup>

His heart is vigilant in the pursuit of benefactions for his father, the creator of his body, who opens for him <sup>9</sup>the way to God's-Land. No one who lived (lit., was) before knew it, (for) its way is far before the <sup>1</sup>people<sup>1</sup>, and they had no desire to enter it.

<sup>a</sup>The first half of this name is usually Usermare, as regularly in Papyrus Harris.

<sup>b</sup>The omitted portion (ll. 3 to beginning of 8) contains only conventional epithets in praise of the king. It is highly improbable that any of these refer to specific occurrences, as stated by Brugsch (*Geschichte*, 620). This praise merges gradually (l. 8) into specific reference to the Hammamat expedition.

*King's Journey*

464. Lo, his majesty took account in his heart like his father Harsiese, and he led<sup>a</sup> the way to the place he desired. <sup>10</sup>He went around the august mountain, in order to make marvelous monuments for his father<sup>b</sup> and his fathers, all the gods and goddesses of Egypt. He set up a stela<sup>c</sup> upon this mountain, engraved with the great name of King Ramses IV,<sup>d</sup> given life like Re.

*Preliminary Search<sup>e</sup>*

465. <sup>11</sup>Lo, his majesty gave command to the scribe of the house of sacred writings, Ramses-eshehab (*R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw-<sup>c</sup>š<sup>o</sup>-hb*); the scribe of [crown possessions], Hori; the prophet of the house of Min-Harsiese in Coptos, Usermare-nakht, to seek the [—] for <sup>12</sup>the "Place of Truth,"<sup>f</sup> in the mountain of Bekhen (*Bhn*), after — — — which were very good, being great and marvelous monuments.

*The Expedition*

466. Then his majesty commanded to commission: 1. the first prophet of Amon, the chief of works, <sup>13</sup>Ramses-nakht, triumphant, to bring them to Egypt. The butlers and nobles who were with him, were:<sup>g</sup>

2. The king's-butler, Usermare-sekhepersu.
3. The butler, Nakhtamon.
4. The deputy of the army, Khamtir (*H<sup>c</sup>-m-ty-r<sup>o</sup>*).

<sup>a</sup>Or: "that he might lead, etc." The rendering of Brugsch: "how he might lay out a road, etc." (*Geschichte*, 621), cannot be gotten out of the text.

<sup>b</sup>Either Amon or Horus (Harsiese) of Coptos.

<sup>c</sup>This is probably the stela of the year 2 above (§§ 459, 460).

<sup>d</sup>Double name.

<sup>e</sup>It is probable that this search took place on the first expedition at the time of the king's visit.

<sup>f</sup>A common name of the Theban cemetery, where the building for which the materials were intended may have been located. But the reference in the stela of the year 2 (above, § 460, l. 13) would indicate that the phrase is rather a designation of some spot in the mountain at Hammamat. The uncertain word (*wḥ*) preceding the phrase occurs in the same connection in a short inscription left by the same expedition near our stela (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 222, *v*): "Year 3, second month of the third season (tenth month); his majesty commanded to bring the unknown [—] of the 'Place of Truth,' King Ramses IV."

<sup>g</sup>On the following list, see Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, 228 ff.



5. The overseer of the White House, Khamtir. <sup>a</sup>	
6. <sup>14</sup> The chief of the quarry-service, mayor, Amonmose, of the city (Thebes). <sup>b</sup>	
7. The chief of the quarry-service, overseer of herds of "The-House-of-Usermare-Meriamon," <sup>c</sup> Beknekhonsu.	
8. The charioteer of the court, Nakhtamon.	
9. The scribe of the army-lists, Sule ( <i>Sw-n-r</i> ).	
10. <sup>15</sup> The scribe of the deputy of the army, Ramses-nakht.	
11. Scribes of the army	20 men
12. Chiefs of the court stables	20 men
13. The chief of the commandants of the army, Kha-male ( <i>H<sup>3</sup>-m-m<sup>33</sup>-n-r<sup>3</sup></i> )	(1 man)
14. Commandants of the infantry	20 men
15. Charioteers <sup>16</sup> of the chariotry	50 men
16. Chiefs of prophets, overseers of herds, prophets, scribes, inspectors	50 men
17. People of the infantry	5,000 men
18. Officers of the divisions of the court fishermen	<sup>17</sup> 200 men
19. Eper ( <sup>c</sup> <i>pr</i> ) of the foreigners of Ayan ( <sup>c</sup> <i>nw</i> )	800 men
20. People of the crown possessions <sup>1d</sup> of the house of Pharaoh	2,000 men
21. A chief deputy	1 man
22. Mazoi gendarmes ( <i>Md<sup>3</sup> y</i> )	50 men
23. Chief artificer, Nakhtamon	(1 man)
24. Master workmen of the works of the <sup>18</sup> quarrymen	3 men
25. Quarrymen and stonecutters	130 men
26. Draughtsmen	2 men
27. Sculptors	4 men
28. The dead who are excluded from this list <sup>e</sup>	900
Total	8,368 <sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup>This treasurer is mentioned also in a letter in Papyrus Mallet (*Recueil*, I, 51, Planches V, l. 5) from the fourth year of Ramses IV.

<sup>b</sup>Whether it is meant that he was mayor of Thebes, or merely belonged in Thebes, is not to be determined from the text; but there probably was not a mayor of all Thebes, which had a city governor, a mayor of the east, and a mayor of the west.

<sup>c</sup>This is the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu; the herd is mentioned in Papyrus Harris, 10, 7.

<sup>d</sup>Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, 230, note; it is possible to render "temples."

<sup>e</sup>See Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XXI, 49.

<sup>f</sup>The correct total, including the ten important officials at the head (the leader

*Supplies*

467. <sup>19</sup>There were transported for them supplies<sup>a</sup> from Egypt in ten carts, there being six yoke of oxen to (each) cart, drawing (them) from Egypt to the mountain of Bekhen. <sup>20</sup>[There were] many colporteurs laden with bread, meat, and cakes, without number.

*Offerings*

468. There were (also) brought the oblations for the satisfaction of the gods of heaven and earth from the Southern City (Thebes). They were pure with great purity, they were [—] <sup>21</sup> — — — [com-  
manded] the chief<sup>b</sup> [that the priests might] give [—]. Bulls were slaughtered; calves were smitten; incense, it [streamed] to heaven; shedeh and wine, like a flood; beer [overflowed]<sup>c</sup> in this place; the ritual priest, his voice [presented] the pure offering to Min, Horus, Isis, <sup>22</sup>[Amon, Mut, Khonsu]<sup>d</sup> and all the gods of<sup>e</sup> this mountain. Their hearts were glad, they received the oblations, that they might requite with myriads of jubilees, for their beloved son, King Ramses IV, given life forever.

ABYDOS STELA<sup>f</sup>

469. This document, while it contains no important historical facts from the reign of Ramses IV, is of great psychological interest, and gives us, furthermore, one invaluable

and 9 subordinates), is 8,362. The 900 dead, as stated in the monument, are not included in this total. The scribe has made an error of 6 in the addition. Spiegelberg makes the discrepancy only 4 (*Recueil*, XXI, 49), but this is due to an error of 3 which has crept into his figures; viz., he inserts among the items two 3's, whereas there is but one 3 in the entire list. He also excludes the leader, which reduces his error to 2, making his discrepancy 4 instead of 6.

<sup>a</sup>Whether this word (*hr t*) refers to food supplies or equipment in tools and the like is not evident. The colporteurs may have carried the food, and the ox carts the heavy tools.

<sup>b</sup>Chief (*mt*) of a priestly order or phyle (*s*). <sup>c</sup>*B c h* ?

<sup>d</sup>Restored from the relief at the top of the stela; so also Brugsch (*Geschichte*, 623).

<sup>e</sup>Brugsch emends so, or reads from a better copy; Lepsius' text is quite unintelligible.

<sup>f</sup>Stela now in Cairo, found by Mariette in Abydos; Mariette, *Abydos*, II, Pls. 34, 35 = Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 156 ff. The stela is badly weathered, and the copy of Mariette is excessively inaccurate and incomplete; Rougé is much better. I had a collation of the original by Schaefer, which he kindly placed at my disposal.

datum, the length of Ramses II's reign, sixty-seven years. The petition of Ramses IV is that he may reign as long as did Ramses II, and the manner in which he reasons with Osiris regarding his desire is of unique interest.

**470.** <sup>1</sup>Year 4, third month of the first season (first month), day 10, under the majesty of King Ramses IV<sup>a</sup> . . . . .<sup>b</sup> <sup>15</sup>And thou shalt give to me health, life, long existence, a prolonged reign, endurance to my every member, sight to my eyes, hearing to my ears, pleasure to my heart daily. <sup>16</sup>And thou shalt give me to eat until I am satisfied; and thou shalt give me to drink until I am drunk; and thou shalt establish my issue (as) kings in the land, forever and ever. <sup>17</sup>And thou shalt grant me contentment every day, and thou shalt hear my voice in every saying, when I shall tell them to thee, and thou shalt give them to me with a loving heart. And thou shalt give to me <sup>18</sup>high and plenteous Niles, in order to supply thy divine offerings, and to supply the divine offerings of all the gods and goddesses of South and North; in order to preserve alive the <sup>19</sup>divine bulls;<sup>c</sup> in order to preserve alive the people of all thy lands, their cattle and their groves, which thy hand has made. <sup>20</sup>For thou art he who has made all, and thou canst not forsake them to carry out other designs with them; (for) that is not right.

**471.** And thou shalt be pleased with the land of Egypt, t[hy] <sup>21</sup>land, in my time; and thou shalt double for me the long duration, the prolonged reign of King Ramses II, the Great God; for more are the [mighty] <sup>22</sup>deeds, and the benefactions which I do for thy house in order to supply thy divine offerings, in order to seek every excellent thing, every sort of benefaction to do them for thy sanctuary <sup>23</sup>daily during these four years,<sup>d</sup> than those things which King Ramses II, the Great God, did for thee in his sixty-seven years. And thou shalt give to me the long existence <sup>24</sup>with the prolonged reign which thou gavest [him] as

<sup>a</sup>Full fivefold titulary.

<sup>b</sup>The remainder of the first fourteen lines contains only conventional prayers of mortuary character, addressed to Osiris.

<sup>c</sup>Of Athribis (*kmr* [sic!] *wr ntry*); see Spiegelberg, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1891, and Papyrus Harris, 30, 3 (§ 278).

<sup>d</sup>The four years which he has thus far reigned.

[‘king’] — — upon — his<sup>a</sup> child<sup>b</sup> — while I sit upon his throne. For thou art he, who hast said it with <sup>25</sup>thy own mouth, and it shall not be reversed ———.<sup>c</sup> For thou art the great lord of Heliopolis, for thou art the <sup>26</sup>great lord of Thebes, for thou art the great lord of Memphis. Thou art he in whom is might, and that which thou doest is that which shall come to pass. Give to me <sup>27</sup>the reward of the great deeds which I have done for thee, even life, prosperity and health, long existence, and a [prolonged] reign; and thou shalt make — the limbs and preserve the members, <sup>28</sup>being with me as my good guardian and excellent protector. And thou shalt ‘give to’ me every [‘land’] and every [‘country’] — — — — — that I may present their tribute to thy ka and to thy name.

#### BUILDING INSCRIPTION OF THE KHONSU-TEMPLE

472. Ramses III left the Khonsu-temple at Karnak, for the most part, incomplete. The chambers in the rear were then finished by Ramses IV,<sup>d</sup> including the smaller hypostyles, which contain the following dedication:<sup>e</sup>

Lord of the Two Lands: Hekmare-Setepnamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses-Meriamon (Ramsés IV); he made (it) as his monument for his father, Khonsu; making for him a temple, excellent, beautiful, enduring forever.

<sup>a</sup>Mariette has “thy;” Rougé, “his.”

<sup>b</sup>This passage is now lost as far as “sit,” inclusive.

<sup>c</sup>Traces.

<sup>d</sup>See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III.

<sup>e</sup>Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 239; ceiling in the “galerie de droite” of the inner hypostyle. The remains of a sandstone obelisk found in Cairo, and now in the museum there, contain a dedication by Ramses IV, as follows: “*He made (it) as a monument for his father, Re, making for him a great obelisk, the name of which is ‘Ramses-is-a-Child-of-the-Gods’*” (Daressy, *Annales*, IV).

## REIGN OF RAMSES V

### TOMB DEDICATION

473. Of the nine Ramessids who ruled after Ramses III the tombs of six<sup>a</sup> in the Valley of the Kings' Tombs are known. As a specimen of the dedication inscriptions the following of Ramses V may serve:<sup>b</sup>

Live Horus: Mighty Bull, Great in Victory, Sustaining Alive the Two Lands; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Mighty in Strength, Repulser of Millions; Golden Horus: Rich in Years, like Tatenen (Ptah), Sovereign, Lord of Sed Jubilees, Protector of Egypt, Filling Every Land with Great Monuments in His Name; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Nibmare-Meriamon; Son of Re, of His Body, His Beloved, Lord of Diadems: Amonhirkhepeshef-Ramses (V)-Neterhekon, given life, like Re, forever. He made (it) as his monument for his fathers, the gods of the Nether World, making for them a new title,<sup>c</sup> in order that their names might be renewed; that they may give very many jubilees upon the Horus-throne of the living, every country beneath his feet, like Re, forever.

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<sup>a</sup>According to Baedeker (1902), these are numbered as follows: Ramses IV (Hekmare), No. 2; Ramses VI (Nibmare), No. 9; Ramses IX (Neferkere), No. 6; Ramses X (Yetamon-Neterhekon), No. 1; Ramses XI (Khepermare), No. 18; Ramses XII (Menmare), No. 4. In Baedeker's list the name of Ramses XII (given as Neferkere) is to be corrected to Menmare.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III.

<sup>c</sup>*Syph't* (see I, 178), meaning a title to land.

## REIGN OF RAMSES VI

### TOMB OF PENNO<sup>a</sup>

474. This official of the Pharaoh lived at Derr in Nubia, where there was a temple to Re or Horus built by Ramses II.

Penno was “*deputy of Wawat*,” as his chief office; but he was also “*chief of the quarry-service, steward of Horus, lord of Miam*” (*My<sup>c</sup>-t*),<sup>b</sup> so that he had charge of the quarry operations in Wawat, as well as the administration of the property of the Horus-temple at Derr, called at that time Miam (*My<sup>c</sup> m*).

His relatives filled important local offices at Ibrim: two of them were “*treasurer of the Lord of the Two Lands in Miam (Ibrim)*,”<sup>c</sup> another was “*scribe of the White House and mayor of Ibrim*.”<sup>c</sup> They thus had charge in the local administration of the treasury, which we see was organized in Nubia just as in Egypt at this period. The inscriptions in the tomb furnish a valuable glimpse of the life of the local Egyptian official in Nubia, as well as of the organization of the country and the conditions under Egyptian rule.

475. Penno had erected a statue of Ramses VI, which stood in the temple of Ramses II at Derr; and as a reward the Pharaoh sent him two vessels of silver. This great distinction is portrayed by Penno in his tomb.<sup>d</sup> He shows there, not merely his own reception of the two vessels from the viceroy of Kush, but the latter also, in the act of receiving the vessels from the Pharaoh, to be conveyed to Nubia.

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<sup>a</sup>Hewn in the cliff at Ibrim, in Nubia; published by Lepsius, as indicated below. I am also indebted to Steindorff for a collation of Lepsius' plates with the original.

<sup>b</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 229, b.

<sup>c</sup>*Ibid.*, 231, a.

<sup>d</sup>*Ibid.*, 230.

*Relief Scenes*

476. Before Ramses VI enthroned, stands the king's-son of Kush, and the accompanying inscriptions record the the following:

*Inscriptions*

Said his majesty to the king's-son of Kush: "Give the two silver vessels (*tbw*) of ointment of gums, to the deputy."

To which the king's-son of Kush replies:

"I will do (so); lo, the happy day shall be celebrated in every land."

*Relief Scene*

477. We now see the viceroy, after his arrival in Ibrim, presenting the two vases to Penno. The viceroy stands before the statue of Ramses VI, of which Penno has charge. Behind him is his steward, bearing a roll of papyrus. Penno, accompanied by two priests, stands before them, bearing in his uplifted hands two bowls containing cakes of ointment, which must be the vessels referred to in the inscriptions. The viceroy addresses Penno as follows:

*Inscriptions*

May Amon-Re, king of gods, favor thee! May Montu, lord of Hermonthis, favor thee! May the ka of Pharaoh, L. P. H., thy good lord, favor thee, who caused thee to fashion the statue of Ramses VI, son of Amon, lovely like Horus, lord of Miam (*My<sup>c</sup>m*) ———.<sup>a</sup>

Hearken, O deputy of Wawat, Penno, to Amon in Karnak. These things were spoken in the court of Pharaoh, thy good lord: "May Amon-Re, king of gods, favor thee! May Harakhte favor thee! May Montu favor thee! May the ka of Pharaoh, L. P. H., thy good lord, favor thee, who is satisfied with that which thou doest in the countries of the Negroes<sup>b</sup> and in the country of Akati (*ʿ-kʿ-ty*). Thou causest

<sup>a</sup>Here the artist has neglected to engrave the signs of nearly an entire line, leaving them only painted. They have now disappeared, leaving at the bottom of the line the isolated words: "he slays the rebellious."

<sup>b</sup>*Nky*.

to bring them as captives before Pharaoh, L. P. H., thy good lord, in giving thy payment [—].” Behold, I give to thee thy two vessels (*tbw*) of silver, that thou mayest anoint thyself with gums. Increase thou [— — —] in the land of Pharaoh, L. P. H., wherein thou art.

478. The response of Penno, which is very brief, is badly preserved, but contained only a greeting “*for Pharaoh, L. P. H., my good lord.*”

The lands furnishing the income for the maintenance of the offerings presented to Ramses VI's statue were also recorded by Penno in his tomb, the inscription<sup>a</sup> doubtless being a copy of the official records regarding them. The lands comprised five different parcels, each of which is carefully demarked by four boundaries, enumerated as East, South, North, and West.

#### *Title*

479. <sup>1</sup>Domain of the statue of Ramses VI,<sup>b</sup> which rests in Miam (*My<sup>c</sup>t*).<sup>c</sup>

#### *First District*

District north of “Ramses-Meriamon-<sup>2</sup>in-the-House-of-Re,”<sup>d</sup> the town; opposite the house of Re, lord of the eastern bend.<sup>e</sup>

#### *Boundaries*

The South is the lands of the domain of the <sup>3</sup>King's-Wife, Nefretiri, which rests in Miam (*My<sup>c</sup>t*).

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 229, c; I was able to control Lepsius' copy and to fill up some of the lacunæ from a photograph by Graf Grünau, but it was too small to establish a final text in badly preserved places.

<sup>b</sup>Full name given is: “*Amonhirkhepeshef-Ramses-Nuter-Ruler-of-Heliopolis.*”

<sup>c</sup>Unquestionably identical with the form *My<sup>c</sup>m* (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 115, tomb of Huy; cf. II, 1037). See also Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 31.

<sup>d</sup>This is the name of Ramses II's temple at Derr (see III, 503, and Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 247); the words, “*the town,*” are added to distinguish it from the temple. The scribe means the town, and not the temple.

<sup>e</sup>The Nile makes an immense bend to the east just below Derr; the “*House-of-Re*” may be the temple of I. 1, or some small, now vanished chapel of the local Re.



The East is the desert.  
 The North is the flax fields of Pharaoh, L. P. H.  
 The West is the Nile.

*Area*

Three khet.

*Second District*

480. <sup>4</sup>District of the [—] behind the land of Miyu (*M y-yw*) in the lands of the deputy of Wawat.<sup>a</sup>

*Boundaries*

The South is the lands <sup>5</sup>of the domain of the statue under charge of the first prophet, Amenemopet.

The East is the great mountain.

The North is the flax fields <sup>6</sup>of Pharaoh, L. P. H., which are in the lands of the deputy of Wawat.

The West is the Nile.

*Area*

Two khet.

*Third District*

481. <sup>7</sup>District of the house of the goddess, east of the lands which are [—], and east of the great mountain.<sup>b</sup>

*Boundaries*

The South is the lands <sup>8</sup>of the domain of the statue under charge of the deputy of Wawat, Meri.

The East is the great mountain.

The North is the lands <sup>9</sup>of the herdman, Bahu (*B<sup>7</sup>-hw*).

The West is the Nile.

*Area*

Four khet.

*Fourth District*

482. District of the domain of Tehenut (*Tyhmwt*) <sup>10</sup>at the western limit of the nome of Tehenut, in the flax fields of Pharaoh, L. P. H., together with <sup>11</sup>the lands which are [—].

<sup>a</sup>Meaning among the lands rented by or under charge of the deputy; the same in l. 6.

<sup>b</sup>This datum seems a contradiction of the one in l. 8, that the mountain was the eastern boundary of the land.

*Boundaries*

The East is the great mountain.

The South is the flax fields of Pharaoh, L. P. H., east <sup>12</sup>of the great mountain.

The North is the field of the Arasa (<sup>2</sup>-r<sup>2</sup>-s<sup>2</sup>).

The West is the Nile.

*Area*

Six khet.

*Summary*

Total lands <sup>13</sup>given <sup>1</sup>to<sup>1</sup> it:<sup>a</sup> fifteen khet,<sup>b</sup> which makes <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> upper fields. The scribe <sup>1</sup>of<sup>1</sup> its domain, the deputy, Penno (*Pn-nw't*), <sup>14</sup>son of Herunofor (*Hrw-njr*) of Wawat, has <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> (them), as fields <sup>1</sup>rented<sup>1</sup> to him, to pay<sup>c</sup> <sup>15</sup>to it one ox, slaughtered yearly.

*Fifth District*

**483.** District in the <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> fields which are under control of <sup>16</sup>the deputy of Wawat, not on the roll (above).

*Boundaries*

Its West is in <sup>1</sup>front<sup>1d</sup> of the gravelly ground of the deputy, Penno.

<sup>17</sup>The South is the gravelly ground of the deputy, Penno.

The North is the <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> fields which are in the <sup>1</sup>domain<sup>1</sup> of the Pharaoh, L. P. H.

<sup>18</sup>The East is in front of the gravelly [ground] of the deputy, Penno.

*Area*

<sup>1</sup>Eight<sup>1</sup> khet.

*Curse on Violator*

As for anyone who <sup>19</sup>shall disregard it, Amon, king of gods, shall pursue him, Mut shall pursue his wife, Khonsu shall pursue <sup>20</sup>his children; he shall hunger, he shall thirst, he shall faint and sicken.

<sup>a</sup>The statue.

<sup>b</sup>Mr. Griffith's statement (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 14, 418), that the "spaces between the notches" are to be counted, seems to be an oversight, for the total amounts to 19 by so counting. The notches themselves, however, amount to 15.

<sup>c</sup>On *j*, "pay," see Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, 53.

<sup>d</sup>Steindorff has a sign like *grg*, which may be *h*<sup>2</sup>*t*, "front."

## REIGN OF RAMSES VII

### STELA OF HORI<sup>a</sup>

484. This little stela records a commission intrusted by this almost unknown Pharaoh to Hori, his personal scribe, who is dispatched from Busiris to Abydos to pray at the great temple of Osiris, that the king may be given a long reign.

Above is a mortuary prayer in the name of Osiris of Abydos, Onouris of Thinis, Osiris of Busiris, Harendotes, and Eswere on behalf of King Usermare-Ikhnamon, Ramses (VII)-Menthirkhepeshef-Meriamon, who is also represented offering in a relief at the top. Then follows Hori's statement.

485. The scribe of Pharaoh, L. P. H., Hori, triumphant; he says: "I am a servant of thy<sup>b</sup> city (*nw' t*), Busiris, thy city (*dm y*), which is in the Northland (Delta). I am the son of a servant of thy house, the scribe of Pharaoh, L. P. H., the favorite of Abydos, Pakauti (*P? - k? wtyw*), son of Seny (*Sny*), thy servant. I have been brought from my city of the Northland to thy city, Abydos, being a messenger of Pharaoh, L. P. H., your<sup>c</sup> servant. I have come to worship before you<sup>c</sup> and to beseech for him jubilees. Ye will hear his prayers, according as he is profitable to your ka's, and ye will accept me from the hand of Pharaoh, L. P. H., and my lord, L. P. H., and ye will give to me favor before him daily. 'Make your designs, I will cherish (them)'. It is said: 'Who can reverse your plans?' Ye are the lords of heaven, earth, and the Nether World, and men do as ye say. And ye will give mortuary offerings of bread and beer, and a sweet north wind for my father, Pakauti, and his son, the scribe of Pharaoh, Hori, triumphant."<sup>d</sup>

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<sup>a</sup>Unpublished stela in the Berlin Museum, No. 2081 (*Ausführliches Verzeichnis des Berliner Museums*, 133). I had my own copy of the original.

<sup>b</sup>Meaning Osiris, whom he addresses.

<sup>c</sup>Plural.

<sup>d</sup>Names of other relatives follow.

## REIGN OF RAMSES IX

### INSCRIPTIONS OF THE HIGH PRIEST OF AMON AMENHOTEP

486. The high priests of Amon continued to extend their power and influence under Ramses IX. This process was sometimes accompanied by violence and insurrection. A woman testifying in a case which occurred in this reign, and desirous of dating a theft in her father's house, refers very significantly to the occasion when the theft took place:

<sup>a</sup>Examination: the Theban woman, Mutemuya, the wife of the sacred scribe, Nesuamon, was brought in; the oath of the king, L. P. H., not to lie, was administered to her. She was asked: "What hast thou to say?" She said: "When the revolt of the High Priest of Amon took place, this man stole some things of my father."

487. This may have been our High Priest Amenhotep, or possibly the affair belongs before his time. The records left by this powerful official significantly continue those of the High Priest of Amon, Roy, at the close of the Nineteenth Dynasty (III, 618-29). No connection can be traced between Roy and the high priests of the Twentieth Dynasty, unless we find it in the fact that the second prophet, who accompanies Roy on the Karnak wall, was named Beknekhonsu (§ 620), while the High Priest of Amon under Ramses III was also a Beknekhonsu.<sup>b</sup> The latter must have been succeeded by Ramsesnakht, whose father, Meribast, was not High Priest, and must have belonged to a collateral branch of the family. Ramsesnakht was the father

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<sup>a</sup>Papyrus, British Museum, No. 10053; Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, 19, 91.

<sup>b</sup>See his statue found in the Mut-temple (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 343-47).

of our High Priest Amenhotep (§ 489, ll. 23, 24). He lived under Ramses III and IV, appearing as High Priest in year 3 of Ramses IV (§ 466), and was succeeded in the high priesthood by his son Nesuamon, whose brother, our Amenhotep, a second son of Ramsesnakht, followed Nesuamon in the great office.<sup>a</sup>

#### I. BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

488. In continuance of the privilege already gained by the high priests of Amon under the Pharaohs of the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Amenhotep, High Priest under Ramses IX, undertook the rebuilding of the High Priest's dwelling, connected with the Karnak temple of Amon. It had been erected by Sesostris I, some eight hundred years earlier. The kitchen, or refectory, had been solidly rebuilt by Roy, nearly a hundred years before, but the dwelling itself was now in a ruinous state. It stood on the south of the sacred lake (l. 7), east of the southern pylons, and its scanty remains were found there by Mariette.<sup>b</sup> At the east end of the neighboring pylon (VIII), by the similar record of Roy (III, 619-26), Amenhotep inscribed the following record<sup>c</sup> of his building:

<sup>a</sup>See Legrain, *Recueil*, 27, 71.

<sup>b</sup>See Mariette, *Karnak*, 11. This must be the strange building south of the lake (Mariette's plan, Pl. 2, R), the purpose of which was left uncertain by Mariette. He afterward (*op. cit.*, 62, 63) suggests this building as the one meant in our inscription, but strangely states that our inscription furnishes no indication of the location of the building, although it clearly states that the building overlooked the southern lake (l. 7). See also the following note, and Maspero's remarks (*Momies royales*, 670, 671).

<sup>c</sup>Mariette, *Karnak*, Pl. 40; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 202, 203; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1322-24; Maspero, *Momies royales*, 669, 670 (partially); the inscription is on the inside (west) of the wall connecting pylons VII and VIII, at the point marked *h* on Mariette's plan (*Karnak*, Pl. 2). Other references to the High Priest Amenhotep's buildings have recently been discovered (by Legrain, *Annales*, V, 21) in which he refers to "bringing artificers in every great work, that I might build the great place south of the [lake] —. I built this [—] (determina-

489. <sup>1</sup>The assistant<sup>a</sup> whom his majesty taught, the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Amenhotep, triumphant, made it; to wit: I found this pure dwelling of the high priests <sup>2</sup>of Amon of former time, which is in the house of Amon-Re, king of gods, beginning to fall to ruin, while that which had been made in the time of King <sup>3</sup>Kheperkere, Son of Re, Sesostris (I), was <sup>4</sup>(still) complete<sup>1</sup>. <sup>5</sup>Then I<sup>1</sup> built it anew with fine work and excellent workmanship. <sup>6</sup>I made thick its walls from its rear to its front. I built thoroughly upon it, I made its columns <sup>7</sup>and doorposts of great stones of excellent workmanship. I set up great doors of cedar, bound. I built thoroughly upon its <sup>8</sup>great lintel of stone which looks <sup>9</sup>outward<sup>1</sup>, built — <sup>10</sup>high —<sup>1</sup> the High Priest of Amon, who is<sup>b</sup> in the house of Amon. I <sup>11</sup>mounted<sup>1</sup> its great door of —, <sup>12</sup>with bolts of copper and inlay-figures of fine gold and <sup>13</sup>[silver<sup>1</sup>] — —. I built its great <sup>14</sup>courses<sup>1c</sup> (*ḍ ḍ w*) of stone, which opens toward the southern lake, upon the pure — <sup>15</sup>of the house of Amon. I surrounded <sup>16</sup>[it with a wall<sup>1</sup>] of brick. I erected its great <sup>17</sup>carvings<sup>1d</sup> of stone <sup>18</sup>at the doorposts<sup>1</sup> — <sup>19</sup>doors of cedar. I — — — of great stones, dragged and cut as <sup>20</sup>— — —<sup>1</sup> — with <sup>21</sup>the royal titulary in the great name of Pharaoh, my [lord. I] built a treasury of <sup>22</sup>brick<sup>1</sup> anew in the great hall, the name of which is — — — <sup>23</sup>columns of stone, and doors of cedar, inscribed with <sup>24</sup>— — —<sup>1</sup> <sup>25</sup>his majesty; it was the rear of the storehouse of the dues of Amon — — — <sup>26</sup>the great and august court, each High Priest of Amon — — — <sup>27</sup>every[thing] good and pure. I appointed its chiefs — — — <sup>28</sup>— — —<sup>1</sup> <sup>29</sup>taking the — — —<sup>e</sup> <sup>30</sup>of stone, doors of cedar. I — — — <sup>31</sup>Ishru, they were <sup>32</sup>[planted with<sup>1</sup>] trees — — — <sup>33</sup>Pharaoh, my lord, to cause them to be given to Mut, the great, the —, that she might receive them, — — — <sup>34</sup>as benefactions for Amon-Re, king of gods, my lord. I know that he is great, that he <sup>35</sup>teaches

tive, two houses) of the House of Amon anew; I made its double doors, wrought of meru wood, the inlay-figures of fine gold — — —.” The “great place” must be the refectory, and its location is probably indicated as south of the lake.

<sup>a</sup>See the same phrase, II, 28.

<sup>c</sup>See § 355, l. 12.

<sup>b</sup>Or: “shall be.”

<sup>d</sup>*Hty*; see § 380, l. 15.

<sup>e</sup>Three lines are here lacking, not noted by Mariette (Maspero, *Momies royales*, 670, n. 1); but according to Rougé four lines are here lost (Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 203); for convenience I have retained Mariette's numbering.

— —<sup>1</sup> saying: "Thou art the Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of [Diamens] [Ramses (IX)], L. P. H., a long term of life [—] for King Ramses IX, and may he grant to me life, health, a long term of life, <sup>23</sup>an old age of favor before Pharaoh, my lord. The High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Amen-<sup>24</sup>hotep, son of the High Priest of Amon, Ramses-nakht, made (it)."

490. Another building inscription,<sup>a</sup> which almost certainly belongs to our High Priest, records works in the mortuary temples of the Ramessids, especially those of Ramses III and Ramses VI. Fragmentary as the inscription is, it shows that the High Priest's title, "*chief of all the works of the king*," gave him full charge of the building connected with the old temples.

491. <sup>1</sup> — his way, doing excellent things in the house [of Amon] his [father] <sup>2</sup> — myriads of — after old age [—] <sup>3</sup> — Amon-Re, king of gods — of "The-House-of-Millions-of-Years-of-King-Ramses VI" <sup>4</sup> — ["The-House-of-Millions-of-Years]-of-King-Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III)-in-the-House-of-Amon" — — — — repeating <sup>5</sup> — ["The-House-of-Millions-of-Years-of-King] — in-the-House-of-Amon-on-the-West-of-Thebes." His majesty repeated — — — — <sup>6</sup> — the [place] of rest which my father made on the west of Thebes in — — — — of Pharaoh <sup>7</sup> — within of fine gold, genuine lapis lazuli and malachite — — — — marvels <sup>8</sup> — great and august amulets which I made for Amon-Re, king of gods, the <sup>9</sup> — likewise, in the name of Amon-Re, king of gods, correct [— —] <sup>10</sup> — great [works] which I made, established<sup>b</sup> in — forever <sup>11</sup> — [I] am he who gives [oil], incense, honey, — garlands <sup>12</sup> — giving [—] to his [every temple storehouse] — — — — <sup>13</sup> — [— —] I [finish] it, praise [to] Re — — — — <sup>14</sup> — . It is for the gold-house of Amon-Re, king of gods, in order to give — — — — <sup>15</sup> — which they made. The high priests of Amon-[Re, king of

<sup>a</sup>Found by Mariette in the chapel of the high priests, east of the sacred lake at Karnak (*g* on his plan, *Karnak*, Pl. 2); published by Mariette, *Karnak*, Pl. 39; corrections by Maspero, *Momies royales*, 668.

<sup>b</sup>*Smnh* is probable from the photograph.

gods] have not [done the like<sup>1</sup>] — — — <sup>16</sup>——— [which I have<sup>1</sup> done during five years that Amon-Re, king of gods, my lord, might give to me, life, health, long existence, and a good old age <sup>17</sup> [as reward for<sup>1</sup>] the many benefactions and [—<sup>1</sup>] fatigues which I have made for him in his house <sup>18</sup>——— it. He spends eight months of days therein, while I [carry<sup>1</sup>] it [around<sup>1</sup>], bearing him excellently —. I <sup>19</sup>——— [Thou art my<sup>1</sup>] lord, I am thy servant, while I endure fatigues for thee — — — <sup>20</sup>——— Amon-Re, king of gods, hear my voice [draw near<sup>1</sup>], let him not turn back — [—] <sup>21</sup>——— the transgressor,<sup>a</sup> I will report to Pharaoh, my lord, [who<sup>1</sup>] will give <sup>22</sup>——— [“The-House-of]-King —<sup>b</sup>-in-the-House-of-Amon,” “The-House-of-Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III)-in-the-House-of-Amon-on-the-West-of-Thebes,” — — the place <sup>23</sup>——— the high priests of Amon who shall come after me. Do not do this <sup>c24</sup>——— transgressing against it, the transgressor who shall come, he shall not hinder <sup>25</sup>——— many generations in his house [—] — — — <sup>26</sup> —<sup>30</sup>. . . . . <sup>31</sup>——— of the gods of Ramses (II)-Meriamon [in] Memphis, king’s-scribe, steward — [—] — —.

II. RECORDS OF REWARDS<sup>d</sup>

492. As a reward for his pious work of rebuilding in the Karnak temple, Amenhotep was summoned by the king to the temple court, where, at the hands of the nobles and the chief treasurer, by the personal orders of the king, he was decorated with gold collars in the conventional manner. Splendid vessels of gold and silver, costly unguents, food and drink were also given him. In the king’s address of praise

<sup>a</sup>Or: “he (him) who transgresses against me.”

<sup>b</sup>The vertical cartouche shows an *n* at the bottom.

<sup>c</sup>Or: “who shall come after me in doing these things” (the duties of the office).

<sup>d</sup>Karnak temple, wall scene by Pylon VIII, on east side of wall, connecting east ends of Pylons VII and VIII; published by Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, Pl. 42; the inscriptions alone; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 200, 201; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1318, 1319. None of the publications shows the lower portions, only recently excavated. For these I had a photograph by Borchardt (Berlin, No. 5461), which was on too small a scale to insure certain readings, but enabled me to trace the drift of the newly uncovered portion.



to the first prophet, certain dues formerly paid to the palace are now to be paid to the High Priest. Unfortunately this, the most important portion of the document, is so obscurely worded that it is difficult to discern its exact purport. But it probably refers to the portion of the royal impost which, when collected by the king's officers and paid into his treasury, had then formerly been paid to Amon. Such impost is now placed directly in the hands of the High Priest, who can collect it from the people into the temple treasury, without its passing through the royal treasury. This enactment was either twice recorded, or it was repeated and made more sweeping in its scope; for Amenhotep has twice represented the scene of his royal rewards on the temple walls, each time accompanied by this enactment of the king, though in varying language.<sup>a</sup> In both scenes, contrary to the immemorial custom that the representations of the king should show him of heroic stature, towering far above his court and officers; the High Priest is here represented with the same heroic figure as the king. The high priests are gradually rising to equal the power and state of the Pharaoh. In keeping with this is the special mention by Amenhotep, in both scenes, of the fact that he inherited his office from his father, Ramsesnakht.

*Scene*

493. King Ramses IX<sup>b</sup> stands, scepter in hand, addressing two officials, who are supposed to be hanging golden collars upon the neck of the High Priest of Amon, Amenhotep.

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<sup>a</sup>I have not given the duplicate separate treatment, but the variants from it have been inserted in the notes indicated by "variant." The inscriptions are published by Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1319 f. For the lower portions, not accessible in Brugsch's day, I had a photograph (Berlin, No. 5462), which was too small to insure certain readings everywhere.

<sup>b</sup>His throne-name, *Nfr-k R c -Stp-n-R c*, is engraved over his head.

The latter is represented, however, with the same heroic stature as the king,<sup>a</sup> and is, therefore, so tall that the two officials are able to reach but a short way above his waist. Before the king are six stands, bearing sacks of gold, metal vessels, collars, etc. The inscriptions are these:

*Before the King*

494. <sup>1</sup>The king himself, he said to the princes and companions who were at his side: <sup>b</sup>"Give many favors and numerous rewards of fine gold, silver, <sup>2</sup>and myriads of all good things, to the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Amenhotep, triumphant, because of the many excellent monuments which he has made in the house of Amon-Re, king of gods, in (*hr*) the great name of the Good God."<sup>c</sup>

*By the High Priest*

495. Hereditary prince,<sup>d</sup> count, High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Amenhotep, triumphant, is in the place of his father, the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, in Karnak, Ramsesnakht, triumphant.

*Over the High Priest*

<sup>1</sup>Year 10, third month of the first season (third month), nineteenth day, in the house of Amon-Re, king of gods. The High Priest of Amon, king of gods, Amenhotep, triumphant, was conducted to<sup>e</sup> the great forecourt of <sup>2</sup>Amon, called: "One-Tells-His-Praise,"<sup>f</sup> in order to praise him with goodly and choice speech.<sup>g</sup> The nobles who came forth to praise him were:<sup>h</sup>

The treasurer of Pharaoh, <sup>3</sup>the king's-butler, Amenhotep, triumphant.

<sup>a</sup>Dümichen wrongly represents him as smaller than the king.

<sup>b</sup>Variant inserts: "*May Amon-Re, king of gods, favor thee.*"

<sup>c</sup>The concluding words were not read by Brugsch in the first relief, but Dümichen has as above. The variant confirms it, as the photograph shows "*his majesty.*"

<sup>d</sup>The second relief inserts: "*favorite of his lord.*"

<sup>e</sup>*Hr*; variant, *r*. <sup>f</sup>*Hrtw hsw' t-j*; Brugsch's *hrtw-j* is incorrect.

<sup>g</sup>Variant connects the preceding and the following, and had a different list of persons, thus: "——— *goodly and choice [speech], by the scribe, Khonsu* ———."

<sup>h</sup>These are the same officials whom we find in Papyrus Abbott (§ 511).

The king's-butler, Nesuamon.

The scribe of Pharaoh, the king's-butler, Neferkere-em-Per-Amon,  
4the herald of Pharaoh.

496. The things said to him as favor and praise on this day, in the great court of 5Amon-Re, king of gods, saying:

"May Montu favor thee! May the ka of Amon-Re, king of gods, Pere-Harakhte, 6Ptah, the great, "South-of-His-Wall," lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," Thoth, lord of divine words, the gods of the heaven, and the gods of the earth favor thee! 7May the ka of Ramses IX favor thee, the great ruler of Egypt, the beloved child 8of all the gods,<sup>a</sup> because of the 9completion of every work!"

497. <sup>b</sup>"The harvests, the exactions of the impost 9of the people of the house of Amon-Re, king of gods, shall be under thy charge, and thine shall be the tribute in full according to their sums.<sup>c</sup> Thou shalt give<sup>d</sup> 10their —, causing that they should form 11part<sup>e</sup> of the court of the treasuries, storehouses, and granaries of the house 12of Amon-Re, king of gods; thus from the tribute of the heads and hands 13shall be<sup>f</sup> the sustenance of Amon-Re, king of gods, 14which thou didst (formerly) cause to be delivered to<sup>f</sup> Pharaoh, thy lord, the deed of a good servant, profitable 15to Pharaoh, his lord; he being mighty to do benefactions for Amon-Re, king of gods, 16the great god; and to do benefactions

<sup>a</sup>From here on, variant was evidently quite different. It has: "——— the beloved child of [all] the [gods] ——— gold, the vessels ——— gold, the ——— the deed of a [good] servant ———" cf. l. 12 below); while in the context of l. 12 (below) were the words: "——— thy completion ———." The praise in l. 8 has, in the variant, been partially transferred to l. 12; and that in l. 12 has, in the variant, been partially transferred to l. 8.

<sup>b</sup>Variant, "The harvests and exactions of the house of Amon ———."

<sup>c</sup>Or: "heaps."

<sup>d</sup>The variant of this passage was not uncovered in Brugsch's day; the photograph is very indistinct, but it will be seen that the variant shows important divergencies here; and has transferred this passage to the end. It has: "——— He fills the 1breweries with all his things, 2he being the lord of 3heaps of things, together with the gifts — — — 4which 5Pharaoh, thy lord, makes in the house of the 6great 7god — —. Thus from the tribute of [the heads and hands] 8shall be 9the sustenance, which thou didst (formerly) cause 10to be delivered into the halls of the king's-house. The many, mighty deeds, the many, many benefactions, which thou doest in the house of the great god 11— — — 12."

<sup>e</sup>The uncertain word represents two in the original, viz., "the side;" their connection here is quite obscure.

<sup>f</sup>Variant, "——— Pharaoh, for his treasuries and storehouses ———."

for Pharaoh, his lord — <sup>15</sup>— which thou doest. Now, behold, command has been given to the overseer of the White House, the butler of Pharaoh,<sup>a</sup> <sup>16</sup>and all [the princes],<sup>b</sup> to give to thee praise, to anoint thee with sweet oil of gums, and to give [to thee] the [vessels] of gold and silver, [the reward of] the servant of Pharaoh, thy lord, given to him as a favor [of the king's-presence] — the — of Amon on this day ———.

*Below the Scene<sup>c</sup>*

498. Given as a favor of the king's-presence to the great favorite of the Lord of the Two Lands, the High Priest of Amon, king of gods, Amenhotep, triumphant:

Fine gold in ———	—
Total, fine gold	—
Sweet beer [—] — [jars]	40
Sweet oil of gums: hin	2

That which was said to him: one (viz., the king) spake to cause the Pharaoh's scribe of rolls to come forth. One spake [to] the overseers of the granaries of Pharaoh ——— in — of this — by Amenhotep, triumphant, — — —.

THE RECORDS OF THE ROYAL TOMB-ROBBERIES

499. The papyrus records which inform us of the robberies among the royal tombs of this period, while they are strictly legal documents, afford so many valuable glimpses into the historical conditions under the later Ramessids that

<sup>a</sup>Here follow two lines below the uplifted arm of the High Priest, of which Brugsch saw only the first three words, now appearing at the end of his copy, in the wrong place.

<sup>b</sup>The legs of the figure for "prince" (*sr*) are probable in the photograph. "Thy lord" (following "Pharaoh") is impossible, owing to lack of determinative after it (*nb*), as regularly in this inscription.

<sup>c</sup>This inscription of three lines is unpublished. It is badly mutilated, and from the small-scale photograph little can be made of it. The variant also shows three similar lines below the scene, which contain a list of the gifts; but it is badly mutilated and not readable in the photograph. It begins quite differently from the above list.

they cannot be omitted from this historical series. The riches lying in the royal tombs, in the form of splendid regalia adorning the dead, rich coffins, and elaborate furniture, which had been accumulating for five hundred years, furnished an irresistible motive for the violation of such tombs. How far the corrupt officials, by indirect connivance, may have been involved in such robberies we cannot now determine. In our first document there are indications that all was not as it should have been among the officials of the government. Their apparent helplessness, and total inability properly to protect the necropolis, however interpreted, are clear evidence of the decadence in government now in progress. A coffin in the British Museum, doubtless of this age, furnishes significant evidence of the conditions in the Theban necropolis, as shown by the following remark,<sup>a</sup> recorded upon it by a scribe:

Year 3, fourth month of the first season, day 15; day of renewing the burial of Osiris, Tesitnakht (*T<sup>3</sup>-s<sup>3</sup>-t-nht*); after it had been found, the children of the cemetery having taken its coffins and violated the name thereof. They were restored again.

500. While Thebes as a whole was under the vizier as its governor, the main city, on the east side, was under a mayor; at this time a noble, named Peser. The west side was, likewise, under the control of a second mayor, who was also responsible for the necropolis. Under Ramses IX he was a certain Pewero. Peser, mayor of the east side, had in some way gained information of robberies among the royal tombs and he promptly handed in his information to the vizier, as

<sup>a</sup>British Museum coffin, No. 15659; Budge, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge, 1893, 18. An inspection of a file of court documents recording prosecution of tomb-robbers took place in year 6, of an unknown king, and the scribe's report on the inspection of the two jars containing the file is preserved in a papyrus in Vienna (Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1876, Taf. 1; Erman, *Aegypten*, 167).

was his duty. The duty was probably not an unwelcome one, for he seems to have had no love for his rival, Pewero, whose administration of the necropolis he was thus able to compromise.

501. Pursuant to this information, the vizier sent a commission to inspect the cemetery, on the eighteenth of Hathor, in the sixteenth year of Ramses IX. Their report covered ten royal tombs, four tombs of the singing-women of the Amon-temples, and a number of tombs of the nobles and people, the exact number of which is not stated. The last were all found to have been plundered; two of the four tombs of the singing-women were in the same condition; but of the royal tombs, only one, that of Sebekemsaf, had been robbed, although two had been unsuccessfully mined into by the robbers. The part of the royal cemetery visited was the district of Draḥ abu-'n-Neggah, on the northern margin of the western plain of Thebes, and the royal tombs inspected were those of the Eleventh, Thirteenth, Seventeenth, and early Eighteenth Dynasties. The report on them, besides being historically valuable, affords a most interesting glimpse into the royal cemetery at this time. Perhaps the most remarkable reference in it is the description of the stela of Intef I's pyramid, bearing in relief the figure of the king, with his hound Behka between his feet (§ 514, ll. 9-11). This very stela was found by Mariette still bearing the figure of the king, and the hound with the name Behka inscribed beside it (I, 421 ff.), as described in the report of three thousand years ago.

502. Luckily for Pewero, he was able to locate the thieves, in any case he handed in to the vizier a list of their names. The next day, the nineteenth of Hathor, the vizier, Khamwese, and the Pharaoh's secretary, Nesuamon, examined the eight men accused of robbing the tomb of Sebekemsaf.

They confessed, and their story of the robbery is one of the most remarkable documents surviving from ancient Egypt (§ 538). To make the matter certain, the vizier and the Pharaoh's secretary crossed the river with them and made them show where the tomb of Sebekemsaf was located (§ 517). A similar test applied to a coppersmith who had confessed to robbing the tomb of Queen Isis, wife of Ramses III, indicated that the man knew nothing of this queen's tomb, and had evidently confessed that he might be momentarily relieved of the torture. As a matter of fact, the tomb of Queen Isis had been robbed by eight thieves, who can hardly be any other than the eight robbers of Sebekemsaf's tomb, although this fact was not discovered until the next year (§§ 542, 543). Then followed an inspection of "*The Place of Beauty*," a portion of the cemetery where the families of the Pharaohs were buried; they were found to be uninjured. Regarding the royal tombs as the most important, the officials of the necropolis considered the fact that nine of the ten reported robbed were found uninjured, as a great victory for the administration of the necropolis. They therefore sent the whole body of the necropolis employees over to the east side as an embassy of triumph. Some of these rejoicing subordinates went to the house of the mayor of the east side, Peser, who had furnished the information against them to the vizier, and loudly exulted before his door. Meeting three of them in the streets in the evening, Peser was unable to control his anger and, in the presence of witnesses, quarreled with them, told them their inspection of the necropolis was a farce, and accused them vaguely in grave charges, of which he said he was about to send notice to the Pharaoh. This was irregular, as all such charges could legally be reported only to the vizier.

503. Hearing of his enemy's charges immediately, Pewero

was quick to see the opportunity of again humiliating Peser. He reported the whole affair in a long letter to the vizier, dated the next day, the twentieth of Hathor. The vizier called the case the following morning, the twenty-first of Hathor, and, incensed at Peser's reflections upon an inspection which had been sent out from his office and partially conducted by him, the vizier quickly brought the proceedings to a close by summoning the three coppersmiths whom Peser had accused of robbing the ten royal tombs, and placed them at the disposition of the court; at the same time introducing the evidence of his own personal knowledge, gained on his visit to the necropolis. The unhappy Peser, who was himself a judge, and sitting on the bench with his colleagues in this case, was obliged to see the coppersmiths acquitted in their examination, which now followed. Whether he suffered any penalty for his indiscretion is not evident, but his allegations regarding the cemetery were all declared untrue, while the vague charges which he had threatened to make to the Pharaoh were ignored, as they had no legal status at all, unless presented in writing before the vizier.

504. It is clear that the state of affairs in the cemetery was sufficiently bad to justify charges against the officials of the necropolis, and although all the tombs indicated by Peser had not been robbed, the investigation had overlooked the robbery of at least one tomb, that of Queen Isis, so that the action of the vizier in completely exonerating Pewero was not justifiable, and arouses the suspicion that there was some reason for such action not apparent on the surface. It certainly was not calculated to preserve the royal burials from similar depredations in the future.

505. The results were, therefore, what might have been anticipated. Three years later, in the nineteenth year of



Ramses IX, just after he had associated with himself his son Ramses X as coregent, Pewero, the mayor of the West, who had learned wisdom, handed in to the vizier a list of sixteen people to be tried for robbery in the necropolis; while less than two months later he reported twenty-nine more, whom we find on the docket. Twenty days later six<sup>a</sup> of these men were convicted of robbing the tombs of Seti I and Ramses II. This robbery, therefore, carries us for the first time<sup>b</sup> from the western plain of Thebes to the Valley of the King's Tombs behind the western cliffs. The robberies were, therefore, spreading from the modest pyramids of the kings just before and after the Twelfth Dynasty in the plain, to the magnificent and, of course, more richly equipped cliff-tombs of the great emperors in the valley behind. Five more men were tried two days later and found innocent.

506. Eight months now elapsed without apparent disturbance among the royal tombs; but the usual contingent of tomb-robbers then appears on the court docket, this time numbering twenty-two persons (two women), who had robbed "*the tomb of Pharaoh.*" Which royal tomb is thus designated we do not know, but a thief, whose confession follows the above list of names, states that he robbed the tomb of a Queen Nesimut, and also that of Queen Bekurel, wife of Seti I. Twenty-seven days later a long list of robbers, the wives of eleven of whom were also implicated, and imprisoned, fills the docket, and a fragmentary record of uncertain date refers to the robbery of the tomb of Amenhotep III.

507. It is evident from these facts that not only the mortuary furniture, but also the very bodies of the greatest kings of Egypt were threatened with destruction. The robberies

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<sup>a</sup>Mayer Papyri (§§ 544 ff.), from which all the following is taken.

<sup>b</sup>But see III, §§ 32A-32C.

had demonstrably now been going on for more than five years at least, and probably much longer. When Pharaohs like Ramses II and Merneptah were guilty of wholesale appropriation of the mortuary equipment of their great ancestors, the officials were naturally not above conniving at similar robberies for their own profit. The occasional prosecution and conviction of the "small fry" were, therefore, of no avail. Such were the conditions under the last three Ramessids in the royal cemetery at Thebes. The pious, and evidently sincere, efforts put forth on behalf of the royal bodies at the close of the Twentieth and the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasties (§§ 595 ff., 636 ff.) saved them from destruction only after they had been bereft of their splendid furniture and stripped of their rich regalia, by the thieves whose prosecution is narrated in the following documents. So persistent and thorough was their work of plunder that of all the Pharaohs buried at Thebes, only one, Amenhotep II, has been found still in his sarcophagus in his own tomb. But his body had, in ancient times, already been stripped of all valuables. The tomb was securely closed with an iron grating and locked door by the modern government of Egypt, and the body of the great king left undisturbed in its ancient resting-place, where it had slept 3,400 years.

508. Hearing rumors of fabulous wealth on the person of their great ancestor, the tomb-robbers of modern Thebes, doubtless with the connivance of the necropolis guard, forced the tomb door, entered, and subjected the body of Amenhotep II, after an interval of three thousand years, to a second rifling, which was to all appearances entirely fruitless. Perhaps we shall be inclined to judge more charitably the government of Ramses IX and his successors, when it is added that Mr. Howard Carter, the efficient inspector of the government, after having identified and arrested the

guilty parties by tireless zeal in their pursuit, was unable to secure their conviction and punishment at the hands of the modern government. Mr. Carter's official report<sup>a</sup> on the whole matter is a striking modern commentary on the ancient conditions exposed in the following documents, and forms the last chapter in the long and dramatic history of the royal tombs at Thebes.

#### I. PAPYRUS ABBOTT<sup>b</sup>

509. This document is really the vizier's abstract, taken from his files, recording the case between the two mayors, Peser and Pewero, as narrated above (§§ 499-504). The condition of the royal necropolis is, therefore, only incidental to the demonstration of the truth or falsity of Peser's charges against the necropolis administration. The whole case is concluded with the defeat of Peser, recorded at the end. The conditions in the necropolis, revealed in the document, led the scribe to consult it again after it had been lying for three years in the vizier's files, and on this occasion he recorded upon the back of the roll a list of tomb-robbers then awaiting trial, which had been handed in by Pewero, the mayor of the West. Nearly two months later he took down this same roll, to record a similar list beside the first (§ 535).

#### *Pl. 1. Date*

510. 1[Year 16,<sup>c</sup> third month of the first season, day 18], under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the

<sup>a</sup>*Annales*.

<sup>b</sup>A papyrus found at Thebes (?), and acquired by the British Museum in 1857 by purchase from Dr. Abbott, of Cairo. The roll is 17 inches high, and contains on the recto 7 columns from 10 to 14 inches wide. Two columns on the verso (8 and 9), containing only hastily written lists of thieves, are 6 to 7 inches wide. It is published in facsimile by the British Museum authorities in *Select Papyri* (London, 1860), Part II, Pls. I-VIII.

<sup>c</sup>All spaced words are rubrics.

Two Lands: Neferkere-Setepnere, L. P. H., Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: <sup>2</sup>[Ramses (IX)-]Meriamon, L. P. H., beloved of [Amon]-Re, king of gods, and of Harakhte; given life forever and ever.

*First Commission of Inspection*

511. <sup>3</sup>[There were sent] the inspectors of the great and august necropolis, the scribe of the vizier and the scribe of the overseer of the White House of Pharaoh, L. P. H., <sup>4</sup>[in order to inspect the] sepulchers of former kings, the tombs and resting-places of the nobles, <sup>5</sup>[located on] the west of the city; by: (1) the governor of the city and vizier, Khamwese; (2) the king's-butler, Nesuamon ([*Ns-sw-*] *Ymn*), the scribe of <sup>6</sup>[Pharaoh]; (3) the major-domo of the house of the Divine Votress, L. P. H., of Amon-Re, king of gods, king's-butler, Neferkere-em-Per-Amon,<sup>a</sup> the herald of Pharaoh, L. P. H., <sup>7</sup>[because of the] thieves [on] the west of the city, concerning whom the mayor, the chief of police of the great and august necropolis <sup>8</sup>[of] Pharaoh [on] the west of Thebes, Pewero (*P<sup>o</sup>-wr-<sup>o</sup>c*), had reported to the vizier, the nobles and butlers of Pharaoh, L. P. H.

*List of Members of the Commission*

512. <sup>9</sup>[People] sent on this day:

The mayor and chief of police of the necropolis, Pewero;

<sup>10b</sup>[Chief of polic]e of this house, Beknurel (*Bk-n-Wr-n-r<sup>o</sup>*).

<sup>11a</sup>\_\_\_\_\_ of the [necropolis].<sup>b</sup>

<sup>12a</sup>\_\_\_\_\_ of this house.

<sup>13a</sup>\_\_\_\_\_ of this house.

<sup>14a</sup>\_\_\_\_\_ -amon.

<sup>10b</sup>Chief of police of this house, Menthirkhepeshef (*Mntw-[hr]-h<sup>o</sup>p<sup>o</sup>-f*).

<sup>11b</sup>The scribe of the vizier, Penebik (*P<sup>o</sup>-<sup>c</sup>-n-bywk*).<sup>c</sup>

<sup>12b</sup>Chief scribe of the magazine of the overseer of the White House, Paynofer (*P<sup>o</sup>y-nfr*).

<sup>13b</sup>Prophet of the House of (King) Amenhotep, L. P. H., Pe<sup>o</sup> enkhew (*P<sup>o</sup>-<sup>c</sup>n-h<sup>c</sup>w*).

<sup>a</sup>This official and Nesuamon (No. 2 above) also figure in the relief scene showing the reward of the High Priest Amenhotep (§ 495).

<sup>b</sup>Determinative preserved. N. B.—Letters a and b with line numbers are not to be confused with letters of footnotes.

<sup>c</sup>This man's name means "the claw of the hawk."

<sup>14b</sup>Prophet of the wine-cellar of the house of Amon, Uramon (*Wr-Ymn*).

<sup>15</sup>The police of the cemetery, who were with them.

*Pl. 2. List of Tombs Inspected*

**513.** <sup>1</sup>The pyramids, sepulchers, and tombs, investigated on this day, by the inspectors:

*Tomb of Amenhotep I*

<sup>2</sup>The eternal horizon of King Zeserkere, L. P. H., son of Re, Amenhotep (I), L. P. H., which is 120 cubits <sup>3</sup>deep<sup>a</sup> (measured) from its superstructure, which is called: "The-High-<sup>1</sup>Ascent<sup>1</sup>," north of the "House<sup>b</sup>-of-Amenhotep,-L.-P.-H.,-of-<sup>4</sup>the-Garden," concerning which the mayor of the city, Peser (*P<sup>2</sup>-sr*), had reported to the governor of the city and vizier, Khamwese; <sup>5</sup>the king's-butler, Nesuamon, the scribe of Pharaoh, major-domo of the house of the Divine Votress, L. P. H., of Amon-Re, king of gods; <sup>6</sup>the king's-butler, Neferkere-em-Per-Amon, the herald of Pharaoh, L. P. H., and the great nobles, saying: "The thieves have broken into it." Inspected on this day; it was found uninjured by the inspectors.

*Pyramid of King Intef I*

**514.** <sup>8</sup>The pyramid of the king, the son of Re, Intefo (*Yn-[tj-] c<sup>2</sup>*), L. P. H., which is on the north of the "House-of-Amenhotep,-L.-P.-H.,-of-the-Court (*wb<sup>2</sup>*)," <sup>9</sup>upon which the pyramid is destroyed, before which

<sup>a</sup>This can only be the depth of the passage into the mountain, measured from the building at its front. This passage has never been found, but its entrance was certainly located on the plain, by the tombs of the Eleventh and Thirteenth Dynasties here investigated. A temple of Amenhotep I was found here by Spiegelberg (*Zwei Beiträge*, 1-5). The tomb of Amenhotep I was the last to be located on the front of the western cliffs; his successor, Thutmose I, excavated his tomb in the valley behind, thus for the first time separating sepulcher and chapel. Hatshepsut's terraced temple, piercing into the cliff, brought her temple and her tomb behind it again close together; but those of following kings were again widely separated.

<sup>b</sup>This is not the mortuary temple of Amenhotep I, which was called "*House-of-Zeserkere (Amenhotep I)-on-the-West-of-Thebes*" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 238). With "*Amenhotep-of-the-Garden*" compare "*Amenhotep,-the-Image-upon-Γ—*" (*mt*) (*ibid.*, 282), and "*Amenhotep-of-the-Court*," in II, 8, of our document. These are doubtless all different Amenhoteps. See Sethe (*Götting'sche Gelehrte Anzeigen*) and Spiegelberg (*Zwei Beiträge*, 3).

its stela (still) stands; the <sup>10</sup>figure of the king stands<sup>a</sup> upon this stela, his hound being between his feet, <sup>11</sup>named<sup>b</sup> Behka (*Bh-hw-k*). It was inspected on this day; it was found uninjured.

*Pyramid of King Nubkheprure-Intef<sup>c</sup>*

**515.** <sup>12</sup>The pyramid of King Nubkheperre (*Nb-hpr-R<sup>c</sup>*), L. P. H., Son of Re, Intef, L. P. H., it was found in course of <sup>13</sup>being tunneled into by the thieves; they had tunneled  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cubits into its <sup>14</sup>masonry<sup>1</sup> (*drw*), 1 cubit (distant) <sup>14</sup>from the outer chamber of the tomb of the chief of the oblation-bearers of the House of Amon, Yuroi (*Yw-r<sup>2</sup>-y*), which is in ruins. It was uninjured; the thieves had not been able to enter it.

*Pyramid of King Sekhemre-Intef*

**516.** <sup>16</sup>The pyramid of King Sekhemre-Upmat (*Shm-R<sup>c</sup>-Wp-m<sup>2</sup>c<sup>·</sup>t*), L. P. H.; Son of Re, Intefo (*Yntw<sup>·</sup>f<sup>-c</sup>2*), L. P. H. It was found <sup>17</sup>in course of being tunneled into by the thieves, at the place where its stela of its pyramid was set up. <sup>18</sup>Inspected on this day; it was found uninjured; the thieves had been unable to enter it.

*Pl. 3. Pyramid of King Sebekemsaf*

**517.** <sup>19</sup>The pyramid of King Sekhemre-Shedtowe (*Shm-R<sup>c</sup>-Šd-t<sup>2</sup>wy*), L. P. H., Son of Re, Sebekemsaf (*Sbk-m-s<sup>2</sup>·f*), <sup>20</sup>It was found, that the thieves had broken into it by mining work through the base<sup>d</sup> of its pyramid, from the outer chamber of the tomb of the overseer of the granary of King Menkheperre (Thutmose III), L. P. H., Nebamon. The burial-place of the king was found void of its lord, L. P. H., as well as the burial-place of the great king's-wife, <sup>21</sup>Nubkhas (*Nb-h<sup>c</sup>s*), L. P. H., his royal wife; the thieves having laid their hand upon them. The vizier, <sup>22</sup>the nobles, and the inspectors made an examination of it, and the manner in which the thieves had laid their hands <sup>23</sup>upon this king and his royal wife, was ascertained.

<sup>a</sup>Engraved in relief upon the stela, which still survives (I, 421 ff.), showing not only this dog with name as above, but also five others, which the scribe has not taken time to note.

<sup>b</sup>The name of the dog; the disconnected order of words is also in the original.

<sup>c</sup>Of the Thirteenth Dynasty; see I, 773 ff.

<sup>d</sup>*Njrw*; see Petrie, *Medum*, Pl. VIII.

*Pyramid of King Sekenenre-Tao*

518. <sup>8</sup>The pyramid of King Sekenenre (*Sḫn(y)·n-R<sup>c</sup>*), L. P. H., Son of Re, Tao (*T<sup>o</sup>·c<sup>o</sup>*), L. P. H. Inspected on this day <sup>9</sup>by the inspectors; it was found uninjured.

*Pyramid of King Sekenenre-Taoo*

<sup>10</sup>The pyramid of King Sekenenre, L. P. H., Son of Re, Taoo (*T<sup>o</sup>·c<sup>o</sup>·c<sup>o</sup>*), L. P. H., the second King Tao, L. P. H., II. <sup>11</sup>Inspected on this day by the inspectors; it was found uninjured.

*Pyramid of King Kemose*

519. <sup>12</sup>The pyramid of King Uzkheperre (*W<sup>o</sup>ḏ-ḥḫr-R<sup>c</sup>*), L. P. H., Son of Re, Kemose (*K<sup>o</sup>-ms*), L. P. H. Inspected on this day; it was uninjured.

*Pyramid of King Ahmose-Sepir*

<sup>13</sup>The pyramid of King Ahmose-Sepir (*Y<sup>c</sup> ḥ-ms-s<sup>o</sup>-p<sup>o</sup>-yr*), L. P. H. Inspected; found uninjured.

*Pyramid of Mentuhotep II*

520. <sup>14</sup>The pyramid of King Nibhepetre (*Nb-ḥḫ·t<sup>a</sup>R<sup>c</sup>*), L. P. H., Son of Re, Mentuhotep (II), L. P. H., which is in Zeseret (*Ḍsr-tt*); it was uninjured.<sup>b</sup>

*Summary*

<sup>15</sup>Total of pyramids of the former kings, inspected on this day by the inspectors:

Found uninjured	9 pyramids
Found broken into	1
	—
Total	10

<sup>a</sup>This is now known to be the reading of this word, formerly read *ḥrw* (see Naville and Hall, and *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1905).

<sup>b</sup>On a Mentuhotep tomb at Thebes, see Carter, *Annales*, II, 201 ff. The tomb designated in our document was, of course, connected with the mortuary temple of Mentuhotep III, found by Naville and Hall at Der el-Bahri (*Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report*, 1903-4, 1 ff.); and Hall, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXVII, 173-83. Its name was *y<sup>c</sup> ḥw-yḥ·t* (or *yḥ·wt*). Zeseret was the name of the immediate locality in the Theban cemetery.

*Tombs of Queens and Noble Families*

521. <sup>17</sup>The tombs of the singing-women of the house of the Divine Votress, L. P. H., of Amon-Re, king of gods:

Found uninjured	2
Found broken into by the thieves	2
	—
Total	4

*Pl. 4*

<sup>1</sup>These are the tombs and sepulchers in which the nobles, the <sup>1</sup>—, the Theban women, and the people of the land rest, <sup>2</sup>on the west of the city; it was found that the thieves had broken into them all, that they had pulled out their occupants <sup>3</sup>from their coverings and coffins, they (the occupants) being thrown upon the ground; and that they had stolen their articles of house-furniture, which <sup>4</sup>had been given them, together with the gold, the silver, and the ornaments which were in their coverings.<sup>a</sup>

*Report of the Commission*

522. <sup>5</sup>The mayor and chief of police of the great and august necropolis, Pewero, together with the chiefs of police, and <sup>6</sup>the inspectors of the necropolis, the scribe of the vizier, and the scribe of the overseer of the White House, who were with them, made a report upon them (the tombs) to:

<sup>7</sup>The governor of the city and vizier, Khamwese;

The king's-butler, Nesuamon;

The scribe of Pharaoh, L. P. H., the major-domo of the house of the Divine Votress, L. P. H., of <sup>8</sup>Amon-Re, king of gods, king's-butler, Neferkere-em-Per-Amon, the herald of Pharaoh, L. P. H.;

And the great nobles. <sup>9</sup>The mayor of the West, chief of police of the necropolis, Pewero, handed in the names of the thieves in writing <sup>10</sup>before the vizier, the nobles and butlers. They were seized and imprisoned; they were examined, and confessed the facts.

*Vizier's Inspection*

523. <sup>11</sup>Year 16, third month of the first season, day 19; day on which there went to inspect the great seats<sup>b</sup> of the king's-children,

<sup>a</sup>Evidently the scribe has forgotten the statement of the number, as given at the close of the preceding paragraph.

<sup>b</sup>Tombs.



the king's-wives, <sup>12</sup>and the king's-mothers, which are in "The-Place-of-Beauty:"<sup>a</sup>

The governor of the city and vizier, Khamwese; and the king's-butler, Nesuamon, the scribe of Pharaoh, L. P. H., <sup>13</sup>after the copper-smith,<sup>b</sup> Pekharu,<sup>c</sup> of the west of the city, son of Kharu, his mother, being Mitshere<sup>d</sup> (*My't-šry*), a serf of <sup>14</sup>"The-House-of-Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III),-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon," under charge of the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Amenhotep, (being) the man<sup>e</sup> who was found there <sup>15</sup>and arrested, while he was with the three people of the (said) temple, beside the tombs, whom the vizier, Nibmare-nakht, had <sup>16</sup>examined<sup>f</sup> in the year 14, had told, saying: "I was in the tomb of the king's-wife, Isis,<sup>g</sup> L. P. H., of King Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III), L. P. H.; I carried off a few <sup>17</sup>things from it; I took possession of them."

*Examination of the Coppersmith*

524. Then the vizier and the butler had the coppersmith taken

*Pl. 5*

before them to <sup>1</sup>the tomb, while he was blindfolded as a man [— —]. He was permitted to see<sup>h</sup> (again), when he had reached them.<sup>i</sup> The officials<sup>j</sup> <sup>2</sup>said to him: "Go before us to the tomb, from which you said: 'I carried away the things.'" The coppersmith went before the nobles<sup>3</sup> to one of the [— —] tombs of the king's-children of King Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), L. P. H., the Great God, in which no one was buried, which was left open, <sup>4</sup>and (to) the hut of the workman of

<sup>a</sup>The name of a part of the necropolis.

<sup>b</sup>"*The coppersmith*" is the subject of the verb "had told" (l. 16). All that follows "*the coppersmith*" is merely the usual identification of such a serf, as found in the invoices of temple property.

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "*The Syrian*;" a very common name from the Eighteenth Dynasty on.

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "*Little Cat*."

<sup>e</sup>Apposition with "*the coppersmith*."

<sup>f</sup>He was therefore an old criminal, who had been tried ("*examined*") two years before, under a different vizier, the predecessor of Khamwese.

<sup>g</sup>It is highly probable that this tomb, although unknown to the coppersmith, had been robbed by the eight thieves of Sebekemsa's tomb (see §§ 538, 539).

<sup>h</sup>Lit., "*his eye was given to him*."

<sup>i</sup>The tombs.

<sup>j</sup>The vizier and the butler.

the necropolis, Amenemyenet (*Ymn-m-yn·t*), son of Huy, which was in this place, saying: "Behold, the tombs in which I was." The nobles examined the coppersmith with a <sup>1a</sup>severe examination in the great valley, (but) he was not <sup>6</sup>found to know any place there, except the two places upon which he had laid his hand. He took an oath<sup>b</sup> of the king, L. P. H., that he should be mutilated (by cutting off) his nose <sup>7</sup>and his ears and placed upon the rack (if he lied), saying: "I know not any place here among these tombs, except this tomb which is open, <sup>8</sup>together with the hut upon which I have laid your hands."

*Conclusion of Inspection*

**525.** The officials examined the tombs of the great seats which are in "The-Place-of-Beauty," in which the king's-children, king's-wives, king's-mothers, the goodly fathers and mothers of Pharaoh, L. P. H., rest. They were found uninjured. The great officials caused the inspectors, the administrators,<sup>c</sup> the workmen of the necropolis, the chiefs <sup>11</sup>of police, the police, and all the serf-laborers of the necropolis of the west of the city to go around as a great deputation<sup>d</sup> to the city.

*The Indiscretion of the Mayor of the City (East Side)*

**526.** <sup>12</sup>Year 16, third month of the first season, day 19; on this day, at the time of evening, beside the House of Ptah, lord of Thebes there came along the king's-butler, <sup>13</sup>Nesuamon, the scribe of Pharaoh, L. P. H.; and the mayor of the city, Peser; and they came upon the chief workman, Userkhepesh (*Wsr-ḥpš*); the scribe, Amennakht; <sup>14</sup>and the workman of the necropolis, Amenhotep. The mayor of the city spoke to the people of<sup>e</sup> the necropolis in the presence of the (said) butler of Pharaoh, <sup>15</sup>saying: "As for this deputation which ye have

<sup>a</sup>The bastinado, or some form of torture, is certainly meant; compare the examinations in Papyrus Mayer (§§ 544-557).

<sup>b</sup>Involving the name of the king, and hence the royal salutation.

<sup>c</sup>This is probably the same word (*ḥwt-yw*) which occurs in the long inscription of Paynozem II (§ 671, l. 8), and the stela of Sheshonk (§ 676, l. 3), where it applies to dishonest necropolis officials.

<sup>d</sup>To celebrate the triumph of the mayor of the west side.

<sup>e</sup>This shows that the first designation "*of the necropolis*" (in l. 14) belongs to all three of the preceding names.

made this day, it is no deputation at all.<sup>a</sup> It is (only) your jubilation, which <sup>16</sup>ye have made?" So spake he to them. He took an oath of the king, L. P. H., in the presence of the (said) butler of Pharaoh, L. P. H., saying: "The scribe of the necropolis,<sup>b</sup> Horishere (*Hry-šry*), son of Amennakht, <sup>17</sup>and the scribe of the necropolis, Pebes, have told me five very serious accusations worthy of death against you. <sup>18</sup>Yea, I am writing concerning them to Pharaoh, L. P. H., my lord, L. P. H., that a man of Pharaoh, L. P. H., may be sent to take you all in charge." So spake he.

*Pewero's Letter of Complaint*

**527.** <sup>19</sup>Year 16, third month of the first season, day 20. Copy of the letter which the mayor of the west of the city, the chief of police of the necropolis, Pewero, sent to the vizier, <sup>20</sup>concerning the words, which the mayor of the city, Peser, spoke to the people of the necropolis, in the presence of the butler of Pharaoh, L. P. H., and of the scribe of the overseer of the treasury, Paynozem.

**528.** <sup>21</sup>That which the mayor of the west of the city, Pewero, said, to wit:

<sup>c</sup>"The king's-butler, Nesuamon, the scribe of Pharaoh, L. P. H., happened by, when the mayor of the city, Peser, <sup>22</sup>was with him, while he (the mayor) stood quarreling with the people of the necropolis, beside the House of Ptah, lord of Thebes. The mayor of the city spoke

*Pl. 6*

to the people <sup>1</sup>of the necropolis, saying: 'Ye exult over me at the door of my house! Oh, indeed! Although I am the mayor who makes report<sup>d</sup> to <sup>2</sup>the ruler, L. P. H., and ye therefore exult over him. Ye were there; it<sup>e</sup> was inspected; ye found it uninjured! Broken into

<sup>a</sup>Here and on § 528, l. 8, see Gardiner, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 41, 131.

<sup>b</sup>This necropolis is given a special designation (*n-hny-hny*), and is therefore distinguished from the ordinary necropolis to which the second scribe is attached.

<sup>c</sup>All the titles and conventional forms regularly introducing such a letter are here omitted and only the actual facts communicated are quoted by the recording scribe.

<sup>d</sup>Perhaps meaning that he only did his duty in reporting the robberies in the cemetery.

<sup>e</sup>The necropolis.

were (the tomb of) <sup>3</sup>Sekhemre-Shedtowe, L. P. H., Son of Re, Sebekemsaf, L. P. H., and (that of) Nubkhas, L. P. H., his royal wife; one great ruler, L. P. H., while he <sup>4</sup>makes ten reports. (I invoke) the <sup>5</sup>severity of Amon-Re, king of gods, this great god, on behalf of his monuments, standing in his hall this day.<sup>a</sup> <sup>5</sup>Then spake the workman, Userkhepesh, who is under the hand of the chief workman of the necropolis, Nakhtemhet, saying: 'But all the kings, together with their <sup>6</sup>king's-wives, king's-mothers, and king's-children, who rest in the necropolis, together with those who rest in "The-Place-of-Beauty," they are uninjured, <sup>7</sup>they are protected and defended forever.<sup>b</sup> It is the goodly designs of Pharaoh, L. P. H., their son, which protect them and examine them <sup>8</sup>closely.<sup>1</sup>' The mayor of the city spake to him, saying: 'Are thy deeds as great as thy speech?' For this is indeed no little word which this <sup>9</sup>mayor of the city spake.

**529.** "This mayor of the city spake to him again, a second word, saying: 'The scribe of the necropolis,<sup>c</sup> Horishere, son of Amennakht, <sup>10</sup>came to the chief side<sup>d</sup> of the city, to my place of abode, and he told me three very serious accusations. <sup>11</sup>My scribe and the scribe of the two districts of the city put them in writing. Moreover, the scribe of the necropolis, Pebes, told me two other <sup>12</sup>matters; in all five. They were put in writing likewise. He that hath them cannot keep silence. Forbid, for they are great and capital crimes, <sup>13</sup>worthy of bringing to the block, and of executing every penalty because of them. Now, I shall write concerning them to Pharaoh, my lord, L. P. H., <sup>14</sup>that a man of Pharaoh, L. P. H., may be sent to take you all in charge.' So spake he to them, this mayor of the city. He made ten oaths of the king, L. P. H., saying: <sup>15</sup>'So will I do.'

**530.** "I heard these words which the mayor of the city spoke to the people of the great and august necropolis of millions of years, of <sup>16</sup>Pharaoh, L. P. H., on the west of Thebes; and I report them to my lord, for it were a crime for one like me <sup>17</sup>to hear (such) words and conceal them. But I was not able to apprehend<sup>f</sup> the very serious words which

<sup>a</sup>The meaning of this last sentence is very uncertain. It may be that he calls upon Amon to protect the other monuments of Sebekemsaf, thus indicating the danger in which he thinks they are.

<sup>b</sup>The same words used of a cemetery in I, 768.

<sup>c</sup>Again defined as above.

<sup>e</sup>"I" is Pewero, the writer of the letter.

<sup>d</sup>That is, the east side.

<sup>f</sup>For myself.

the mayor of the city spoke; <sup>18</sup>the scribes of the necropolis<sup>a</sup> who stood among the people told me them, (but) my <sup>19</sup>feet were not present with them. I report them to my lord, that my lord may bring in one who apprehended<sup>b</sup> the words, which the mayor of the city spake, <sup>20</sup>and the scribes of the necropolis told me. 'I am writing of them to Pharaoh, L. P. H.,' said he. This is a crime <sup>21</sup>of these two scribes of the necropolis, that they should have applied to this mayor of the city, to report to him; for their fathers did not report to him, <sup>22</sup>but they reported to the vizier when he was in the South. When he was in the North, however, the necropolis-police of the suite of <sup>23</sup>his majesty, L. P. H., went North to the place where the vizier was, bearing their writings. 'I have<sup>1</sup> made (this) deposition in the year 16, third month of the first season, day 20, <sup>24</sup>of the words which I have heard from the mayor of the city. I put them in writing before my lord, that those who apprehended them may be summoned for tomorrow.'<sup>c</sup>

*Pl. 7. Hearing of Peser's Accusations*

**531.** <sup>1</sup>Year 16, third month of the first season, day 21; on this day in the great court<sup>d</sup> of the city, beside the two stelæ of — — the forecourt of Amon in the gate (called): "Praise."

*Composition of the Court*

<sup>2</sup>People and nobles who sat in the great court of the city on this day:

1. <sup>3</sup>Governor of the city and vizier, Khamwese.
2. The High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Amenhotep.
3. The prophet of Amon-Re, king of gods, <sup>1</sup>scribe<sup>1</sup> of "The-House-of-Millions-of-Years-<sup>4</sup>of-King-Neferkere-Setepnere,-L.-P.-H.," Nesuamon.
4. The king's-butler, Nesuamon, the scribe of Pharaoh, L. P. H.
5. The major-domo of the house of the Divine Votress, L. P. H., of Amon-Re, king of gods, <sup>5</sup>king's-butler, Neferkere-em-Per-Amon, the herald of Pharaoh, L. P. H.

<sup>a</sup>*Hr-n-hny*

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "one who reached (*ph*) the words."

<sup>c</sup>Conclusion of Pewero's letter to the vizier. The closing greetings, etc., are omitted. As will be seen by the following date, the case really came on the next day.

<sup>d</sup>Of justice (*knb-t c>-t*).

6. The deputy of 1—1, Hori.
7. The standard-bearer of 6the marines, Hori.
8. The mayor of the city, Peser.<sup>a</sup>

532. The governor of the city and vizier, Khamwese, had brought in the coppersmith, Pekharu, son of Kharu; 7the coppersmith, Tharoy (*T<sup>3</sup>-r<sup>2</sup>-y*), son of Khamopet; and the coppersmith, Pekamen, son of Tharoy, of "The-House-of-Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III),-L.-P.-H.," under charge of the High Priest of Amon.

533. <sup>8</sup>Said the vizier to the great nobles of the great court of the city: "This mayor of the city said a few words to the <sup>9</sup>inspectors and workmen of the necropolis, in the year 16, third month of the first season, day 19, in the presence of the king's-butler, Nesuamon, the scribe of Pharaoh, L. P. H., <sup>10</sup>delivering himself of slanders concerning the great seats,<sup>b</sup> which are in 'The-Place-of-Beauty.' Now, I, the vizier of the land, have been there, <sup>11</sup>with the king's-butler, Nesuamon, the scribe of Pharaoh, L. P. H. We inspected the tombs, where the mayor of the city said that the coppersmiths <sup>12</sup>of 'The-House-of-Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III),-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon,' had been. We found them uninjured; and all that he<sup>c</sup> said was found to be untrue. Now, behold, <sup>13</sup>the coppersmiths stand before you; let them tell all that has occurred." They were examined. It was found that the people <sup>14</sup>did not know any place in the seat<sup>d</sup> of Pharaoh, L. P. H., of which the mayor had spoken the words. He was found wrong<sup>e</sup> therein.

534. <sup>15</sup>The great nobles granted life to the coppersmiths of "The-House-of-Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-[in-the-House-of]-Amon." They were reassigned to the High Priest of Amon-Re [king of gods], <sup>16</sup>Amenhotep, on this day.

The documents thereof are: one roll; it is deposited in the office of the vizier's archives.

*Later Dockets*

*Pl. 8*

535. <sup>1</sup>Year 1, first month of the first season, day 2, corresponding to the year 19. Copy of the records of the necropolis-thieves, <sup>2</sup>the

<sup>a</sup>The mayor thus belonged to the court which was to try his case.

<sup>b</sup>Tombs.

<sup>c</sup>The mayor of the city.

<sup>d</sup>The necropolis.

<sup>e</sup>Both here and above (l. 12) the word used (< *g* >) literally means "guilty," in a criminal case, and in a suit "defeated."

thieves of the tombs, which was placed before Pharaoh, L. P. H., by the mayor of the west of the city, Pewero:

Here follow the names of sixteen people, forming the list of thieves, of which the above is the title.

<sup>19</sup>Year 1, second month of the first season, day 25, corresponding to the year 19. Copy of the records of the necropolis-thieves, <sup>20</sup>which was laid before the vizier, Nibmare-nakht,<sup>a</sup> by the mayor of the west of the city, Pewero:

Here follow the names of twenty-nine people, forming the list of which the above is the title.

## II. PAPYRUS, AMHERST<sup>b</sup>

536. This fragment, unlike the Abbott papyrus, is part of the court record of the prosecution of the tomb-robbers guilty of the robbery of the tombs on which Peser had reported. It contains the remarkable confession of the eight men who robbed the tomb of Sebekemsaf and his queen, Nubkhas, and the record of their identification of the tomb, on being conducted to it, in the presence of the vizier. All this is omitted in Papyrus Abbott, and only the trial of the innocent coppersmiths is there recorded. A list of prisoners awaiting trial is also appended.

537. Column 1 is too fragmentary to yield any connected content; but it would appear that someone is mentioning

<sup>a</sup>This vizier is mentioned as having been in office in the fourteenth year of Ramses IX (Abbott, 4, 15), while in the year 16 we have the vizier Khamwese. Here we find Nibmarenakht as vizier again in the nineteenth year, and he appears also in Papyrus Mayer in the same year. We must either suppose that there were two viziers of the South, or that Nibmarenakht's term of office was interrupted for a time.

<sup>b</sup>Part of a roll containing three columns and part of a fourth, now in the collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney. Published by Chabas (*Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne*, 3<sup>me</sup> sér., Tome II, Pls. I-IV), and by Newberry, *The Amherst Papyri* (London, 1899), Pls. IV-VII.

“*thieves* ———— *with thee*,” perhaps admonishing one of the culprits to confess the names of his companions; for we next find someone speaking in the first person, referring to people of the High Priest of Amon (l. 3), and especially to “*quarrymen* ———— *who were with me when I was*———.” The next two lines continue the mention of people who are known to be implicated in the robbery: Hapi and Setnakht, and reference is made to the “*year 13*,” perhaps the date of some earlier theft.

538. In the next column (2) the common confession of all is in progress, having begun in the lost upper portion. It is as follows:

*Col. 2*

ar“ ———— King's-Wife, Nubkhas, L. P. H., his royal wife in the place of <sup>2</sup>his —, it<sup>b</sup> being protected — its — with mortar, covered with blocks. We penetrated them <sup>1</sup>all, we found her <sup>3</sup>resting likewise. We opened their coffins and their coverings in which they were. We found this <sup>4</sup>august mummy of this king <sup>1</sup>— — —<sup>1</sup>. There was a numerous list of amulets and ornaments of gold at its throat; <sup>5</sup>its head had a <sup>1</sup>mask<sup>1</sup> of gold upon it; the august mummy of this king was overlaid with gold throughout. Its <sup>6</sup>coverings were wrought with gold and silver, within and without; inlaid with every splendid costly stone. We stripped off the gold, which <sup>7</sup>we found on the august mummy of this god, and its amulets and ornaments which were at its throat, and the coverings wherein it rested. <sup>8</sup>[We] found the King's-Wife likewise; we stripped off all that we found on her likewise. We set fire to their coverings. <sup>9</sup>We stole their furniture, which we found with them, being vases of gold, silver, and bronze. We divided, <sup>10</sup>and made the gold which we found on these two gods, on their mummies, and the amulets, ornaments and coverings, into eight parts.”

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<sup>a</sup>The number of lines lost above is uncertain, but, judging from the next column, there were at least four.

<sup>b</sup>The place.



*Col. 3. List of Thieves*

539. <sup>a1</sup>[List of the thieves]:

<sup>2</sup>———— (Lost name, etc.)

<sup>3</sup>———— (Lost name, etc.)

<sup>4</sup>———— (Lost name, etc.)

<sup>5</sup>The stonecutter of the "House-of-Amon-Re,-King-of-Gods," Hapi, under charge of the High Priest of Amon.

<sup>6</sup>The artisan of the "House-of-Amon-Re,-King-of-Gods," Iramon, of the master of the hunt, Nesuamon.

<sup>7</sup>The peasant, Amenemhab, of the house of Amenopet, who administers in the district of Amenopet, under charge of the High Priest of Amon.

<sup>8</sup>The water-carrier, Kemwese (*K<sup>2</sup>-m-W<sup>2</sup>s<sup>2</sup>t*) of the shrine of King Menkheprure (Thutmose IV), L. P. H., under charge of ————. <sup>b</sup>

<sup>9</sup>Ehenefer (*h<sup>2</sup>-nfr*), son of Nakhtemmut (*Nht-m-Mwt*), formerly in the hand of Telamon (*Ty-n-r<sup>2</sup>-Ymn*), the negro slave of the High Priest of Amon.

<sup>10</sup>Total of the people who were in the pyramid of this great god: eight men.

*Examination of the Robbers*

540. Their examination was held, by beating with a double rod, smiting their feet <sup>11</sup>and their hands. They told the same story. The governor of the city and vizier, Khamwese; the king's-butler, Nesuamon, the scribe of Pharaoh, L. P. H., caused the thieves to be taken before them, <sup>12</sup>to the west of the city, in the year 16, third month of the first season, day 19; <sup>c</sup> and that the thieves should put hand upon the pyramid of this god, in whose sepulcher-chamber they had been. Their examination and their [—] were put into writing; and the vizier, the butler, the herald, and the mayor of the city reported to Pharaoh concerning it.

<sup>a</sup>The confession of the thieves is perhaps concluded here. If so, the next column began with a list of the thieves, of which the title occupied one line, and the three lost names, three more lines (each name with its titles occupying a line), making a total loss, at the top of the column, of four lines at least.

<sup>b</sup>Omitted by the scribe.

<sup>c</sup>This is the date of the expedition of the vizier and Nesuamon, as also related in Papyrus Abbott (col. 4, ll. 11, 12, above § 523); but no mention is there made of bringing out the robbers of Sebekemsaf's tomb, to make them identify it.

## Col. 4

a _____	
_____	3 men
Thief [_____]	1 man
Total	4

*Thieves Awaiting Punishment*

541. Thieves of this pyramid of this god, who took to flight,<sup>b</sup> having been delivered to the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, to have them taken and placed among the prisoners at the gate of the "House-of-Amon-Re-King-of-Gods," with their companions secretly,<sup>c</sup> that Pharaoh might determine their punishment:

The artisan of "The-House-of-Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III),-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon," Setnakht, son of Penanuket, under charge of the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, the sem priest of "The-House-of-Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon," Nesuamon.

III. TURIN FRAGMENT<sup>d</sup>

542. The coppersmith Pekharu, accused of robbing the tomb of Queen Isis (§§ 523, 524) was found to know nothing about it. It was hence supposed to be uninjured. But in the year 17 our fragment shows that it was found to have been robbed by eight thieves. These can hardly have been any other than the eight thieves of Sebekemsaf's tomb, who must have robbed the tomb of Isis before their arrest in the year 16. Hence it had been robbed when the vizier's inspection was made (§ 523), but he failed to discover the fact. Hence it would appear that Peser's charges against Pewero

<sup>a</sup>The number of lines lost is uncertain, but at least three-fourths of the page is lost.

<sup>b</sup>Whether this flight took place before the trial, or some of them escaped afterward, is uncertain.

<sup>c</sup>*n t̄ > wt* for *m t̄ > wt*.

<sup>d</sup>A fragment of hieratic papyrus in the Turin Museum, published in transcription by Spiegelberg, with translation (*Zwei Beiträge*, 12, 13).

were later gradually being verified, and that further examination was being made.

543. Year 17, third month of the second season, day 22. The workmen of the necropolis ceased work, and the butler, governor of the city, and vizier, Khamwese; the workmen of the necropolis and their overseers, went up to the 'place' of the (female) singers,<sup>a</sup> to inspect (the tomb of) the king's-daughter, king's-wife, Isis, L. P. H. They opened her tomb, they found the granite block,<sup>b</sup> the eight thieves having done damage in the '—'. They had wrought evil destruction on all that was therein; and they had damaged [its] owner.<sup>c</sup>

#### IV. MAYER PAPYRI<sup>d</sup>

544. These two documents are the court records of the prosecution of the tomb-robbers, whose names are recorded on the back of the Papyrus Abbott, in the first year of Ramses X (nineteenth of Ramses IX), and of others in the next year, eight months later. The contents of the document will be found sufficiently indicated above (§§ 505 ff.) without further summary here.

#### *Trial of Robbers of Ramses II and Seti I's Tombs*

545. Year 1, of Uhem-mesut (*Whm-mš'wt*),<sup>e</sup> fourth month of the third season, day 15. On this day occurred the examination of the

<sup>a</sup>Queens.

<sup>b</sup>The sarcophagus, as Spiegelberg has seen.

<sup>c</sup>The mummy.

<sup>d</sup>These two documents are in the Free Public Library Museum of Liverpool, in the Mayer collection. They are called Mayer A and Mayer B. Mayer A has twelve columns varying from 20 to 27 lines; B has but one column (in a different hand) of 14 lines. Many years ago Goodwin published some notes on the two (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1873, 39 ff.; *ibid.*, 1874, 63 ff.), but both are still unpublished. I was unable to use them when I visited the Mayer collection, as they were then in London; hence I owe a great debt to Spiegelberg, who without reserve placed his transcription of the original at my disposal. Spiegelberg has also published a translation of the documents (*Free Public Library Museum, Mayer Collection, . . . Liverpool, Museum Report, No. 5. Mayer Collection Report, No. 1. Translation of Hieratic Papyri Mayer A and B, Liverpool, 1891*), which I found very useful.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., "Repeating birth," and meaning "Born again," a name often applied to the king, as Goodwin already saw. It is here Ramses X who is meant.

thieves of the tomb<sup>a</sup> of King Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), L. P. H., the great god; and the tomb<sup>b</sup> of King Menmare, L. P. H., Seti (I), L. P. H., which are recorded<sup>1</sup> in the treasury of <sup>3</sup>“The-House-of-King-Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III),-L.-P.-H.,” concerning whom the chief of police, Nesuamon, had reported, in this roll of names; for he was there, standing with the thieves, when they laid their hands upon the tombs; <sup>5</sup>who were tortured at the examination on their feet and their hands, to make them tell the way they had done exactly.

*Composition of the Court*

**546.** <sup>6</sup>By the governor of the city and vizier, Nibmarenakht;  
 Overseer of the White House and overseer of the granary, Menmare-nakht;  
 Steward and king's-butler, Ini<sup>1</sup>, the herald<sup>1</sup> of Pharaoh, L. P. H.;  
<sup>7</sup>Steward of the court, king's-butler, Pameriamon (*P<sup>2</sup>-mry-Ymn*),  
 the scribe of Pharaoh.

*Testimony of the Prisoner, Paykamen*

**547.** <sup>8</sup>Examination. The X,<sup>c</sup> Paykamen (*P<sup>2</sup> y-k<sup>2</sup> mn*), under charge of the overseer of the cattle of Amon, was brought in; the oath of the king, L. P. H., was administered to him, not to tell <sup>9</sup>a lie. He was asked: “What was the manner of thy going with the people who were with thee, <sup>10</sup>when ye robbed the tombs of the kings which are recorded<sup>1</sup> in the treasury of ‘The-House-of-King-Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.?’” <sup>11</sup>He said: “I went with the priest Teshere (*T<sup>2</sup>-šry*), son of the divine father, Zedi, of ‘The House;’ Beki, son of Nesuamon, of this house; <sup>12</sup>the X, Nesumontu of the house of Montu, lord of Erment; the X, Paynehsi of the vizier, formerly prophet of Sebek of Peronekh (*Pr -<sup>c</sup> nh*); Teti (*T<sup>2</sup>-ty*) [—<sup>1</sup> <sup>13</sup>who belonged to Paynehsi, of the vizier, formerly prophet of Sebek of Peronekh; in all six.”<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Lit., “house of the corridor.”

<sup>b</sup>Judging from the connection, this word must mean “tomb,” but it is otherwise unknown to me; it is written with the *gs*-sign and the determinative for a building or tomb.

<sup>c</sup>This is a title (<sup>2</sup><sup>c</sup>) common among the people of the necropolis, and often occurring in these prosecutions. We have no hint as to its meaning, and I indicate it by X.

<sup>d</sup>Counting the speaker.

*Testimony of the Chief of Police*

548. The chief of police, Nesuamon, was brought in. <sup>14</sup>He was asked: "How didst thou find these men?" He said: "I heard that these men had gone to <sup>15</sup>rob this tomb. I went and found these six men. That which the thief, Paykamen, has said is <sup>16</sup>correct. I took testimony from them on that day . . . . . <sup>17</sup>The examination of the watchman of the house of Amon, the thief, Paykamen, under charge of the overseer of the cattle of Amon, was held by beating with a rod, <sup>18</sup>the bastinade was applied to his feet. An oath was administered to him that he might be executed if he told a lie; he said: 'That which I did is <sup>19</sup>exactly what I have said.' He confirmed it with his mouth, saying: 'As for me, that which I did is what [they] did; I was w[ith the]se six men, I stole <sup>20a</sup>a piece of copper<sup>a</sup> therefrom, and I took possession of it.'"

*Testimony of the Prisoner, Nesumontu*

549. <sup>21</sup>The X, the thief, Nesumontu, was brought in; the examination was held by beating with a rod; the bastinade was applied on (his) feet and his hand(s); <sup>22</sup>the oath of the king, L. P. H., was administered to him, that he might be executed if he told a lie. He was asked: "What was the manner of thy going to rob <sup>23</sup>in the tomb with thy companions?" He said: "I went and found these people; I was the sixth. I stole a <sup>24</sup>piece of copper<sup>b</sup> therefrom, I took possession of it."

*Col. 2. Testimony of Karu*

550. <sup>1</sup>The watchman of the house of Amon, the X, Karu ( $\overline{K}^{\circ} -rw$ ), was brought in; he was examined with the rod, the bastinade was applied to his feet and his hands; <sup>2</sup>the oath of the king, L. P. H., was administered to him, that he might be executed if he told a lie. He was asked: "What was the manner of thy going <sup>3</sup>with the (sic!) companions when ye robbed in the tomb?" He said: "The thief, <sup>4</sup>the X, Pehenui, he made me take some grain. I seized a sack of grain, and <sup>5</sup>when I began to go down, I hearb the voice of the men who were in this storehouse. I <sup>6</sup>put my eye to the passage, and I saw Paybek and Teshere, who were within. I <sup>7</sup>called to him, saying, 'Come!' and he came out to me, having two pieces of copper in his hand. He <sup>8</sup>gave them to me, and I

<sup>a</sup> $M^{\circ} y w$ , with determinative of metal.

<sup>b</sup>Same as in l. 20.

gave to him 1½ measures of spelt to pay for them. I took one of them, and I gave the other to the X, Enefsu (c n f-sw).

*Testimony of Nesuamon*

551. <sup>10</sup>The priest, Nesuamon, son of Paybek, was brought in, because of his father. He was examined by beating with the rod. <sup>11</sup>They said to him: "Tell the manner of thy father's going with the men who were with him." He said: "My father was truly there. I was (only) a little child, and I know not how he did it." <sup>13</sup>On being (further) examined, he said: "I saw the workman, Ehatinofer (c h t y-njr), while he was in the place where the tomb is, <sup>14</sup>with the watchman, Nofer, son of Merwer (Mr-wr)<sup>1</sup>, and the artisan, [—], in all three (men). They are the ones I saw <sup>15</sup>distinctly. Indeed, gold was taken, and they are the ones whom I know." On being (further) examined with a rod, he said: "These three men are the ones I saw distinctly."

*Testimony of Wenpehti*

552. <sup>17</sup>The weaver of "The House," Wenpehti (Wn-phty), son of [—], was brought in. He was examined by beating with a rod, the bastinade was applied to his feet and his hands. <sup>18</sup>The oath of the king, L. P. H., was administered, not to tell a lie. They said to him: "Tell what was the manner of thy father's going, <sup>19</sup>when he committed theft in the tomb with his companions." He said: "My father was killed when I was a child. <sup>20</sup>My mother told me: 'The chief of police, Nesuamon, gave some chisels of copper to thy father; then the captains of the archers and the X <sup>21</sup>slew thy father.' They [held] the examination, and Nesuamon took the copper and gave it to [me]. It remains [in the possession of] my mother."

*Col. 3. Testimony of Enroy*

553. <sup>1</sup>A Theban woman, Enroy (Yn-n-r-y), the mistress of the priest, Teshere, son of Zedi, was brought in. She was examined <sup>2</sup>by beating with a rod; the bastinade was applied to her feet and her hands. The oath of the king, <sup>3</sup>L. P. H., not to tell a lie, was administered to her; she was asked: "What was the manner of thy husband's going <sup>4</sup>when he broke into the tomb and carried away the copper from it?" She said: "He carried away some <sup>5</sup>copper belonging to this tomb; we sold it and devoured it."

*Second Trial*

554. <sup>6</sup>Fourth month of the third season, day 17; was held the examination of certain of the thieves of the cemetery.

Here follows the trial of five men, with the usual formulæ, only slightly varied from those used above. The tomb which they were accused of robbing is not mentioned. All five were found innocent. The prosecutions which follow (Columns 5-6), do not refer to any particular tombs, but they are followed in turn by a list (Col. 7), headed: "*Year 2, first month of the first season, day 13; the names of the robbers of the tomb of Pharaoh.*" This list contains the names of twenty-two persons (two women), among whom are some of those above prosecuted.

555. After a gap of a few lines Column 8 proceeds with an important trial, of which the beginning is lost in the gap.

*Col. 8*

He was again examined by beating with a rod. <sup>2</sup>They said to him: "Tell what were the other places which thou didst break into." He said: "I broke into the tomb of the King's-<sup>3</sup>Wife, Nesimut." He said: "It was I who broke into the tomb of the King's-Wife, Bekurel (*Bk-wr-n-r*), wife of <sup>4</sup>King Menmare (Seti I), L. P. H., in all, three (tombs)."

556. After enumerating some of the things stolen, in response to a question of the vizier, the examination of the next man shows him to have been innocent. The fisherman who carried the thieves over to the west side is next examined (Column 9) and discharged; and of the three men whose trial follows, one was innocent. A list of twenty-five thieves fills the next column (10) which is headed: "*The thieves of the cemetery whose examination was held, concerning whom it was found that they had been in the tombs.*" Column 11 contains a similar list entitled: "*The thieves of the tomb, in*

*the second month, tenth day,*" while the margin bears a list of "*the women who were imprisoned,*" being eleven of the wives of the thieves. The document then closes with proceedings in which some of the accused in the first trial reappear.

The second document (Papyrus Mayer B) is in a different hand, but records proceedings of the same sort. In a connection which is not entirely clear, the tomb of "*Amen-hotep III, the Great God,*" is mentioned, and it is evident that it had been robbed.



## REIGN OF RAMSES XII

### THE REPORT OF WENAMON<sup>a</sup>

557. This unique document is our most important source for the position of Egypt in Syria at the close of the Twentieth Dynasty. It belongs to the fifth year of the last of the Ramessids, when he is but the shadow of a king. Hrihor, the High Priest of Amon, although not called king, is in control at Thebes, and Nesubenebded (Smendes), afterward the first king of the Twenty-first Dynasty, living at Tanis, rules the Delta. Under these circumstances Hrihor dispatches one of his officials, named Wenamon, to procure cedar from the Lebanon forests, for the construction of a new sacred barge for Amon. In accordance with an oracle of Amon, the messenger was intrusted with a certain image of the god called "*Amon-of-the-Way*," which he was to take with him as an embassy to the prince of Byblos. As the envoy met with extraordinary difficulties in the execution of his commission, he made out an elaborate report<sup>b</sup> on his return home to explain the long series of accidents which

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<sup>a</sup>Papyrus found in 1891 by fellahin at el Khibeh, opposite Feshn in Upper Egypt, now in the possession of M. W. Golénischeff, of St. Petersburg. It consists of a part of one column, and another almost complete. It was published in transcription by M. Golénischeff in a collection of essays in honor of Baron V. de Rosen's jubilee, with a facsimile of the first twenty-one lines; and again by Golénischeff in revised transcription (*Recueil*, XXI), with translation. It was translated without alteration of Golénischeff's arrangement of the fragments, by W. M. Müller (*Mittheilungen der Deutschen Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1900, 1); and by Erman (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 38, 1-14) with a rearrangement of the fragments which seems to me unquestionably correct. The following translation, based largely on Erman, I published first in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 1905.

<sup>b</sup>That our document is Wenamon's authentic report there seems to me, after a study of its characteristics, not the slightest doubt; but there is not space here to discuss the question. See Erman (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 38, 2), who reaches the same conclusion.

had interfered with the success of his mission. Although a large fragment is lacking from the middle of the first column, and the loss of another fragment at the end leaves the narrative unfinished, yet this report is, nevertheless, one of the most interesting and important documents yet discovered in Egypt.

558. On the sixteenth of the eleventh month, in the fifth year, probably of Ramses XII, Wenamon left Thebes and, presenting his credentials to Nesubenebbed at Tanis, he was kindly received. Fifteen days after leaving Thebes (on the first of the twelfth month), he sailed from Tanis (?) into the Mediterranean in a merchant ship, commanded by a Syrian. Arrived at Dor, the gold and silver which he had brought with him as payment for the timber was stolen from him. Dor was now a petty kingdom of the Thekel, who, with the Peleset-Philistines, had begun entering Syria under Ramses III seventy-five or eighty years before. They had constantly pushed southward after their defeat by Ramses III in his eighth year, and had settled along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean as subjects of the Pharaoh. After the death of Ramses III they must have soon gained their independence. The Thekel chief of Dor gives Wenamon little satisfaction for the loss of his valuables, and after waiting nine days he sails northward to Tyre.

559. The account of the voyage from Dor to Tyre is lost in a lacuna. On the way from Tyre to Byblos he in some way met some of the Thekel with a bag (?) of silver. It weighed thirty deben, and, as he had lost thirty-one<sup>a</sup> deben of silver, he seized it as security. He arrived at Byblos four months and twelve days after his departure from Thebes, but, as he came in an ordinary merchant ship, and not in a

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<sup>a</sup>About 7½ lbs., troy.

special ship of Nesubenedded, and was without rich gifts and the customary externals of former Egyptian envoys, Zakar-Baal, the prince of Byblos, would not receive him, and ordered him to leave. After nineteen days, one of the noble youths in attendance upon the prince fell into a prophetic frenzy and demanded that Wenamon and his god, "Amon-of-the-Way," be summoned and honorably treated.

560. About to return to Egypt, Wenamon was summoned to Zakar-Baal's palace, but, being without money and without credentials, which he had foolishly left with Nesubenedded at Tanis—having only the above-mentioned image of Amon, supposed to confer "*life and health*," but not likely to impress the Syrian—he was treated with scant respect. The claims of Hrihor and of Amon upon the Lebanon were scouted, and Zakar-Baal proved from his records that his fathers had been paid for their timber. Wenamon therefore sends to Nesubenedded for money, and the prince shows his good-will by dispatching to Egypt at once the heavy timbers of the hull. The messenger returned from Nesubenedded within forty-eight days (perhaps only nineteen or twenty days) with partial payment of the timber desired, whereupon Zakar-Baal sent three hundred men and three hundred oxen to fell and bring the rest of the timber.

561. Some eight months after Wenamon left Thebes the timber was ready. Zakar-Baal delivers it to him, and with grim humor tells him that he has been better treated than the last envoys from Egypt, who were detained at Byblos seventeen years and died there. The prince charges an attendant to conduct Wenamon to their tomb and show it to him. But Wenamon demurs and takes his leave, promising to see that the balance due on the timber is paid. As he is about to sail, a number of Thekel ships appear, for the purpose of arresting him, doubtless for his seizure of the silver. The

unlucky Wenamon sits down upon the beach and weeps, while Zakar-Baal, hearing of his plight, sends him reassuring messages, with food, drink, and a female singer. In the morning the prince interviews the Thekel and sends Wenamon to sea. In some way he evades the Thekel, but is driven by a contrary wind to Cyprus (*Alasa*), where he is about to be killed by the Cyprians, when he finds someone who speaks Egyptian, succeeds in gaining the favor of the Cyprian queen, and is spared.

562. Here the remarkable report is broken off, and how Wenamon reached Egypt we do not know. It will be seen that in the Lebanon region, once conquered and controlled by the Pharaohs, they are no longer feared. Thus, at the close of the Twentieth Dynasty Egypt, while respected as a source of civilization (§ 579), cannot secure even ordinary protection and civility for her messengers in Syria, and this state of affairs had already existed, probably as early as the reign of Ramses IX, a generation earlier.

Besides the earliest known instance of prophetic ecstasy known to us, the document contains also another significant datum, viz., the princes of Byblos had, for two generations, been keeping their daily business records in a book or roll (<sup>c</sup>*r*). Moreover, among the gifts brought to the prince of Byblos from the Delta were five hundred rolls of papyrus paper. Of course, the Phœnician did not write cuneiform with pen and ink upon these rolls; for a script worse suited to such writing materials than cuneiform can hardly be imagined. It is evident that he wrote upon papyrus the hieratic hand customarily written upon it in Egypt, the only method of writing then known which contained alphabetic signs for the whole alphabet. It thus becomes clear that by 1100 B. C. the cuneiform had been displaced in Phœnicia, and before the tenth century the Phœnician scribes, discarding

the innumerable syllabic signs of the Egyptian hieratic, had accustomed themselves to employ only its alphabetic signs.

*Pl. I. Departure from Thebes*

**563.** <sup>1</sup>Year five,<sup>a</sup> third month of the third season (eleventh month), day 16, day of the departure of the “eldest of the hall,” of the house of Amon, <sup>2</sup>[the lord of the] lands, Wenamon, to bring the timber for the great and august barge of Amon-Re, king of gods, which is on [the river] — — — (called): “Userhet”<sup>b</sup> of Amon.

*Arrival at Tanis*

**564.** On the day of my arrival at Tanis (*D*<sup>c</sup> *n*), at the <sup>4</sup>place of abode of Nesubenebbed (*Ns-sw-b*<sup>2</sup> *-nb-dd*)<sup>c</sup> and Tentamon, I gave to them the writings of Amon-Re, king of gods, which they <sup>5</sup>caused to be read in their presence; and they said: “I will do (it), I will do (it) according to that which Amon-Re, king of gods, our <sup>6</sup>lord, saith.” I abode until the fourth month of the third season,<sup>d</sup> being in Tanis.

*Voyage to Dor*

**565.** Nesubenebbed and <sup>7</sup>Tentamon sent me with the ship-captain, Mengebet (*M-n-g-b-ty*), and I descended into <sup>8</sup>the great Syrian (*H*<sup>2</sup> *-rw*) sea, in the fourth month of the third season, on the first day. I arrived at Dor, a city of <sup>9</sup>Thekel (*T*<sup>2</sup> *-k*<sup>2</sup> *-r*<sup>2</sup>), and Bedel (*B*<sup>2</sup> *-dy-r*<sup>2</sup>), its king, caused to be brought for me much bread, a jar of wine, <sup>10</sup>and a joint of beef.

*The Robbery at Dor*

**566.** Then a man of my ship fled, having stolen:

— <sup>e</sup> [vessels] of gold, <sup>11</sup> [amounting to]	5 deben
4 vessels of silver, amounting to	20 deben
A sack of silver	11 deben
<sup>12</sup> [Total of what] he [stole]	5 deben of gold
	31 deben of silver <sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup>That this date must refer to Ramses XII was shown by Erman (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 38, 2).

<sup>b</sup>The name of the barge of Amon; see, e. g., Papyrus Harris (§ 209).

<sup>c</sup>Greek Smendes; part of the name is here broken out, and the reading is taken from l. 6.

<sup>d</sup>Fourteen days after his departure from Thebes.

<sup>e</sup>The names of the articles of gold are broken out.

<sup>f</sup>About 1½ lbs. of gold and about 7½ lbs. of silver.

In the morning then I rose and went to <sup>13</sup>the abode of the prince, and I said to him: "I have been robbed in thy harbor. Since thou art the king of this land, <sup>14</sup>thou art therefore its investigator, who should search for my money. For the money belongs to Amon-Re, <sup>15</sup>king of gods, the lord of the lands; it belongs to Nesubenebbed, and it belongs to Hrihor, my lord, and the other <sup>16</sup>magnates of Egypt; it belongs also to Weret (*W<sup>3</sup> rty*), and to Mekmel<sup>a</sup> (*M-k<sup>3</sup> -m-rw*), and to Zakar-<sup>17</sup>Baal (*T<sup>3</sup> -k<sup>3</sup> -rw-B-<sup>c</sup> -r<sup>3</sup>*),<sup>b</sup> the prince of Byblos,"<sup>c</sup> He said to me: <sup>d</sup>"To thy honor and thy excellence! but, behold, I know nothing <sup>18</sup>of this complaint which thou hast lodged with me. If the thief belonged to my land, he who went on board<sup>e</sup> <sup>19</sup>thy ship, that he might steal thy treasure, I would repay it to thee from my treasury till they <sup>20</sup>find thy thief by name; but the thief who robbed thee belongs to <sup>21</sup>thy ship. Tarry a few days here with me, and I will seek him." When I had spent nine days, moored <sup>22</sup>in his harbor, I went to him, and said to him: "Behold, thou hast not found my money <sup>23</sup>["therefore let me depart<sup>1</sup>] with 'the<sup>1</sup> ship-captain, and with those who go — — — —."<sup>f</sup>

—————<sup>g</sup>

Pl. 3

1———— the sea. He said to me, "Be silent. . . . ."<sup>h</sup>

*Departure from Tyre for Byblos*

567. 5———— the harbor ———— 6— — — [I arrived at<sup>1</sup>] Tyre.<sup>i</sup> I went forth from Tyre at early dawn ———— 7— — — — Zakar-Baal (*T<sup>3</sup> -k<sup>3</sup> -r<sup>3</sup> -B-<sup>c</sup> -r*), the prince of Byblos<sup>j</sup> ————.

<sup>a</sup>We have here given first the Egyptians who sent the valuables, and then the Syrians, to whom it was to be paid.

<sup>b</sup>זכר-בעל, as Müller and Erman have noted.

<sup>c</sup>This indicates the locality where Wenamon expects to purchase the timber.

<sup>d</sup>Something like "I am beholden to" is to be understood.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., "descended into."

<sup>f</sup>Four lines are lost here and an uncertain amount more.

<sup>g</sup>The total loss between the two parts of Pl. 1 is some twenty-three lines. The bulk of this loss precedes Pl. 3, and only a small portion follows it.

<sup>h</sup>Three lines containing but a few broken words; among them a reference to searching for the thieves, which shows that Fragment 3 belongs in this place. The journey from Dor to Tyre is somewhere in these lacunæ.

<sup>i</sup>Only the *r* of Tyre is preserved, but as he is just leaving there, it can hardly be the *r* of Dor.

<sup>j</sup>This is not the arrival, but merely the mention of his intended destination.

*Seizure of Security from Thekel Travelers*

568. ———— <sup>8</sup>the — — — I found 30 deben of silver therein. I seized [it, <sup>1</sup>saying to them: “I will take<sup>1</sup>] <sup>9</sup>your money, and it shall remain with me until ye find [my money. <sup>1</sup>Was it not a man of Thekel<sup>1</sup>] <sup>10</sup>who stole it, and no thief [of ours<sup>1</sup>? I will take it ————.”<sup>a</sup> <sup>11</sup>They went away, while I <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> — <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> —.

*Arrival at Byblos*

569. [I] arrived — — — — the harbor of Byblos. [I made a place of concealment, <sup>12</sup>I hid<sup>1</sup>] “Amon-of-the-Way,” and I placed his things in it. The prince of Byblos sent to me, saying: “Be[take thyself] (from) <sup>13</sup>my harbor.” I sent to him, saying: “———. <sup>x+1</sup>———<sup>b</sup> if they sail, let them take <sup>1</sup>me<sup>1</sup> to Egypt.” — — I spent nineteen days in his [harbor], and he continually sent to me daily, saying: “Betake thyself away from my harbor.”

*A Prophet of Byblos*

570. Now, when he sacrificed to his gods —, the god seized one of his noble youths (<sup>c</sup>*ḏd*), making him frenzied, so that he said: “Bring [the god] hither!<sup>c</sup> Bring the messenger of Amon who hath him. <sup>x+5</sup>Send him, and let him go.”

*Wenamons Departure Prevented*

571. Now, while the frenzied (youth) continued in frenzy during this night, I found a ship bound for Egypt, and I loaded in all my belongings into it. I waited for the darkness, saying: “When it descends I will embark the god also, in order that no other eye may see him.”

*Wenamons Summoned*

572. The harbor-master came to me, saying: “Remain until morning by the prince.” I said to him: “Art not thou he who continually came to me daily, saying: ‘Betake thyself away from my harbor’?”

<sup>a</sup>A few fragments of words for about one-third line.

<sup>b</sup>The lacuna here doubtless includes several lines, but it is not so large as the one before Pl. 3; see notes, p. 279. Of the uncertain line numbering I have inserted only every five lines for this fragment.

<sup>c</sup>Lit., “*up*.” In ecstasy the youth demands the summoning of Wenamon and his image of Amon, and that they be honorably treated and dismissed.

Dost thou not say, 'Remain in the [land?]', <sup>x+10</sup>in order to let depart the ship that I have found? that thou mayest come and say again, 'Away!?' He went and told it to the prince, and the prince sent to the captain of the ship, saying: "Remain until morning by the king."

*Wenamon Visits Zakar-Baal*

573. When morning came he sent and had me brought up, when the divine offering occurred in the fortress wherein he was, on the shore of the sea. I found him sitting in his upper chamber, leaning his back against a window, while the waves of the great Syrian sea beat against the — <sup>x+15</sup>behind him. I said to him: "Kindness<sup>1</sup> of Amon!" He said to me: "How long is it until this day since thou camest (away) from the abode of Amon?" I said: "Five months and one day until now."<sup>a</sup>

*Zakar-Baal Demands Wenamon's Papers*

574. He said to me: "Behold, if thou art true, where is the writing of Amon, which is in thy hand? Where is the letter of the High Priest of Amon, which is in thy hand?" I said to him: "I gave them to Nesubenedbed and Tentamon." Then he was very wroth, and he said to me: "Now, behold, the writing and the letter are not in thy hand! Where is the ship of cedar, which Nesubenedbed gave to thee? Where is <sup>x+20</sup>its Syrian crew? He would not deliver thy business to this ship-captain [— ] to have thee killed, that they might cast thee into the sea. From whom would they have sought the god then? And thee, from whom would they have sought thee then?" So spake he to me. I said to him: "There are indeed Egyptian ships and Egyptian crews who sail under Nesubenedbed, (but) he hath no Syrian crews." He said to me: "There are surely twenty ships here in my harbor,

*Pl. I*

which are in connection with Nesubenedbed; and at this Sidon, <sup>1</sup>whither thou also [wouldst go], there are indeed 10,000 ships also which are in connection <sup>2</sup>with Berket-el<sup>b</sup> (*W<sup>3</sup>-r<sup>2</sup>-k<sup>2</sup>-ty-r<sup>2</sup>*) and sail to his house."

<sup>a</sup>This would be the twelfth of the fourth month.

<sup>b</sup>Erman thinks this must be some great Phœnician merchant resident in Tanis, and the parallelism certainly points clearly to someone in Tanis.



*Wenamou Declares His Business*

575. Then I was silent in this great hour. <sup>3</sup>He answered and said to me: "On what business hast thou come hither?" I said to him: "I have come <sup>4</sup>after the timber for the great and august barge of Amon-Re, king of gods. Thy father did it, <sup>5</sup>thy grandfather did it, and thou wilt also do it." So spake I to him.

*Zakar-Baal Demands Payment as of Old*

576. He said to me: "They did it, truly. <sup>6</sup>If thou give me (something) for doing it, I will do it. Indeed, my agents transacted the business; <sup>7</sup>the Pharaoh, L. P. H., sent six ships, laden with the products of Egypt, and they were unloaded into their <sup>8</sup>storehouses. And thou also shalt bring something for me." He had the journal of his fathers brought in, <sup>9</sup>and he had them read it before me. They found 1,000 deben of every (kind of) silver, which was in his book.

*Zakar-Baal Declares His Independence*

577. <sup>10</sup>He said to me: "If the ruler of Egypt were the owner of my property, and I were also his servant, <sup>11</sup>he would not send silver and gold, saying: 'Do the command of Amon.' It was not the payment <sup>12</sup>of tribute<sup>1a</sup> which they exacted of my father. As for me, I am myself neither thy <sup>13</sup>servant nor am I the servant of him that sent thee. If I cry out to the <sup>14</sup>Lebanon, the heavens open, and the logs lie here on the shore of the sea."

*Wenamou has no Equipment*

578. "Give <sup>15</sup>me the sails which thou hast brought to propel thy ships which bear thy logs to [Egypt]. <sup>16</sup>Give me the cordage [which thou hast brought to bind<sup>1</sup>] the trees which I fell, in order to make them [fast] for thee <sup>17</sup>—— I make them for thee [into<sup>3</sup>] the sails of thy <sup>18</sup>ships, and the tops are (too) heavy and they break, and thou die in the midst of the sea <sup>19</sup>when Amon thunders in heaven, and puts Sutekh in his time."

*Egypt the Home of Civilization*

579. "For Amon <sup>20</sup>equips all lands; he equips them, having first equipped the land of Egypt, whence thou comest. <sup>21</sup>For artisanship

<sup>a</sup>*Mrk* for *brk*? *F* > = "pay" is common. Erman suggests that *mrk* is connected with *melek*, "king," but *f* > seems to me, to make this interpretation difficult.

came forth from it, to reach my place of abode; and teaching came forth <sup>22</sup>from it, to reach my place of abode. What (then) are these miserable journeys which they have had thee make?"

*Wenamom Claims Lebanon for Amon*

**580.** I said to him: <sup>23</sup>"O guilty one! They are no miserable journeys on which I am. There is no ship upon the river, <sup>24</sup>which Amon does not own. For his is the sea, and his is Lebanon of which thou sayest, 'It is mine.' It <sup>a</sup><sup>25</sup>grows for 'Userhet' (the barge) of Amon, the lord of every ship. Yea, so spake Amon-Re, king of gods, saying to <sup>26</sup>Hrihor, my lord: 'Send me,' and he made me go, bearing this great god. But, behold, thou hast let <sup>27</sup>this great god wait twenty-nine<sup>b</sup> days, when he had landed [in] thy harbor, although thou didst certainly know he was here. He is indeed (still) what <sup>28</sup>he (once) was, while thou standest and bargainest for the Lebanon with Amon, its lord. As for what thou sayest, that the <sup>29</sup>former kings sent silver and gold, if they had given life and health, they would not have sent the valuables; <sup>30</sup>(but) they sent the valuables [to] thy fathers instead of life and health. Now, as for Amon-Re, king of gods, he is the <sup>31</sup>lord of life and health, and he was the lord of thy fathers, who spent their lifetime offering <sup>32</sup>to Amon.<sup>c</sup> And thou also, thou art the servant of Amon. If thou sayest to Amon, 'I will do (it), I will do (it),' and thou executest his <sup>33</sup>command, thou shalt live, and thou shalt be prosperous, and thou shalt be healthy, and thou shalt be pleasant to thy whole land and thy people. Wish not <sup>34</sup>for thyself a thing belonging to Amon-Re, [king of] gods. Yea, the lion loves his own."

*Wenamom will Secure Payment*

**581.** "Let my scribe be brought to me, that I may send <sup>35</sup>him to Nesubenedbed and Tentamon, the rulers whom Amon hath given to the North of his land, <sup>36</sup>and they will send all that of which I shall write to them, saying: 'Let it be brought;' until I return to the South and <sup>37</sup>send thee all, all thy trifles again." So spake I to him.

<sup>a</sup>Lebanon.

<sup>b</sup>This was four months and twelve days after leaving Thebes; he must therefore have reached Byblos three months and thirteen days after leaving Thebes.

<sup>c</sup>Ramses III built a temple of Amon in Syria (§ 219); Thutmose III gave three cities of the southern Lebanon district to Amon (II, 557); Zakar-Baal had a butler named Penamon, and there is no doubt that Wenamom's statement was correct.

*Timber is Shipped; Messenger Brings Payment*

582. He gave my letter into the hand of his messenger. He loaded in the 'keel',<sup>a</sup> <sup>38</sup>the head of the bow and the head of the stern, with four other hewn timbers, together seven; and he had them taken to Egypt. <sup>39</sup>His messenger went to Egypt, and returned to me, to Syria in the first month of the second season.<sup>b</sup> Nesubenedbed and Tentamon sent:

<sup>40</sup>Gold: 4 *Tb*-vessels, 1 *K* <sup>3</sup>*k-mn*-vessel;  
 Silver: 5 *Tb*-vessels;  
 Royal linen: 10 garments, 10 'hm-hrd';  
 Papyrus: <sup>41</sup>500 rolls;  
 Ox-hides: 500;  
 Rope: 500 (coils);  
 Lentils: 20 measures;  
 Fish: 30 measures (*mst* <sup>3</sup>);  
 She<sup>c</sup> sent me:  
 Linen: <sup>42</sup>5 '—', 5 'hm-hrd';  
 Lentils: 1 measure;  
 Fish: 5 measures (*mst* <sup>3</sup>).

*More Timber Felled*

583. The prince rejoiced, and detailed <sup>43</sup>300 men and 300 oxen, placing overseers over them, to have the trees felled. They spent the second season therewith <sup>44</sup>'—'. In the third month of the second season<sup>d</sup> (seventh month) they dragged them [to] the shore of the sea. The prince came forth and stood by them.

*Timber Delivered to Wenamon*

584. He sent to me, <sup>45</sup>saying: "Come." Now, when I had presented myself before him, the shadow of his sunshade fell upon me. Penamon, <sup>46</sup>a butler, he stepped between me, saying: "The shadow of

<sup>a</sup>*Ppyt*, determined with a piece of wood. The three principal timbers of the ship are undoubtedly mentioned here.

<sup>b</sup>Within forty-eight days of the date of his departure (twelfth of the fourth month).

<sup>c</sup>Tentamon sent him a personal present.

<sup>d</sup>Some eight months after he left Thebes.

Pharaoh, L. P. H., thy lord, falls upon thee." He<sup>a</sup> was angry <sup>47</sup>with him, saying: "Let him alone!" I presented myself before him, and he answered and said to me: "Behold, the command which my <sup>48</sup>fathers formerly executed, I have executed, although thou for thy part hast not done for me that which thy fathers did for me. Behold, there has arrived <sup>49</sup>the last of thy timber, and there it lies. Do according to my desire and come to load it, for they will indeed give it to thee."

*Fate of a Former Embassy*

**585.** <sup>50</sup>"Come not to contemplate the terror of the sea, (but) if thou dost contemplate the terror of the sea, thou shalt (also) contemplate <sup>51</sup>my own. Indeed, I have not done to thee that which they did to the messengers of Khamwese,<sup>b</sup> when they spent seventeen years <sup>52</sup>in this land. They died in their place."<sup>c</sup> He said to his butler: "Take him, and let him see their tomb, wherein they <sup>53</sup>sleep."

*Zakar-Baal's Great Distinction*

**586.** I said to him: "Let me not see it! As for Khamwese, (mere) people were the messengers whom he sent to thee; but people <sup>54</sup>— — there was no [god among] his messengers. And yet thou sayest, 'Go and see thy companions.' Lo, art thou not glad? <sup>55</sup>and dost thou not have made for thee a tablet, whereon thou sayest: 'Amon-Re, king of gods, sent to me "Amon-of-the-Way," his <sup>56</sup>[divine] messenger, and Wenamon, his human messenger, after the timber for the great and august barge of Amon-Re, king of gods? I felled it, <sup>57</sup>I loaded it, I supplied him (with) my ships and my crews, I brought them to Egypt, to beseech for me <sup>58</sup>10,000 years of life from Amon, more than my ordained (life), and it came to pass.' Then in future days when a messenger comes

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<sup>a</sup>The chief of Byblos.

<sup>b</sup>Who this Khamwese was is not entirely certain. Erman recalls the occurrence of Khamwese as part of the name in the cartouche of Ramses IX, and it is not improbable that he is meant, for as the messengers have been some time dead, and this document is dated in the fifth year of Ramses XII, they must have left Egypt some twenty-five years earlier, which would certainly carry us back into the reign of Ramses IX.

<sup>c</sup>This phrase "*in their place*" in connection with dying must have some particular meaning. It is frequently so used in the inscriptions of Ramses III, and of the conspirators against him, who committed suicide; but its idiomatic force is not clear.

<sup>59</sup>from the land of Egypt, who is able to write, and reads thy name upon the stela, thou shalt receive water in the West, like the gods who are <sup>60</sup>there." He said to me: "It is a great testimony which thou tellest me."

*Payment of Balance Promised*

587. I said to him: "As for the many things which thou hast said to me, when I reach <sup>61</sup>the place of abode of the High Priest of Amon, and he shall see thy command in thy command,<sup>a</sup> [he] will have something delivered to thee."

*Thekel Ships Lie in Wait*

588. <sup>62</sup>I went to the shore of the sea, to the place where the timbers lay; I spied eleven ships <sup>63</sup>coming from the sea, belonging to the Thekel, saying:<sup>b</sup> "Arrest him! Let not a ship <sup>64</sup>of his (pass) to Egypt!" I sat down and began to weep. The letter-scribe of the prince came out to me, <sup>65</sup>and said to me: "What is the matter with thee?" I said to him: "Surely thou seest these birds which twice descend upon Egypt. <sup>66</sup>Behold them! They come to the pool, and how long<sup>c</sup> shall I be here, forsaken? For thou seest surely those who come <sup>67</sup>to arrest me again."<sup>d</sup>

*Zakar-Baal Reassures Wenamon*

589. He went and told it to the prince. The prince began to weep at the evil words which they spoke to him. <sup>68</sup>He sent out his letter-scribe to me, he brought me two jars of wine and a ram. He sent <sup>69</sup>to me Tentno (*Tynt-nw't*), an Egyptian singer (feminine), who was with him, saying: "Sing for him; let not his heart feel apprehension." He sent to me, <sup>70</sup>saying: "Eat, drink, and let not thy heart feel apprehension. Thou shalt hear all that I have to say in the morning."

*Interview with the Thekel*

590. Morning <sup>71</sup>came, he had (the Thekel) called into his [—], he stood in their midst and said to the Thekel: "Why have ye come?"

<sup>a</sup>The text is translated verbatim; but it is perhaps corrupt.

<sup>b</sup>The report, otherwise, so full, abbreviates here; he means that they were under orders, of which he introduces the purport by the word "*saying*."

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "*until what comes*."

<sup>d</sup>This word points to earlier trouble with the Thekel, and doubtless explains the "*twice*" above.

<sup>72</sup>They said to him: "We have come after the stove-up ships which thou sendest to Egypt with our [—] comrades." <sup>73</sup>He said to them: "I cannot arrest the messenger of Amon in my land. Let me send him away, and ye shall pursue him, <sup>74</sup>to arrest him."

*Escape to Alasa*

591. He loaded me on board, he sent me away — to the harbor of the sea. The wind drove me to the land of <sup>75</sup>Alasa (<sup>2</sup>-<sup>r</sup><sup>2</sup>-<sup>s</sup>); those of the city came forth to me to slay me. I was brought among them to the abode of Heteb (<sup>H</sup><sup>2</sup>-<sup>ty</sup>-<sup>b</sup>), <sup>76</sup>the queen of the city. I found her as she was going forth from one of her houses and entering into her other. I <sup>77</sup>saluted her, I asked the people who stood about her: "There is surely one among you who understands Egyptian?" One <sup>78</sup>among them said: "I understand (it)." I said to him: "Say to my mistress: 'I have heard as far as Thebes, the abode of Amon, that <sup>79</sup>in every city injustice is done, but that justice is done in the land of Alasa; (but), lo, injustice is done every day here.'" She said: "Indeed! What is <sup>80</sup>this that thou sayest?" I said to her: "If the sea raged and the wind drove me to the land where I am, <sup>81</sup>thou wilt not let them take [advantage of] me to slay me; I being a messenger of Amon. I am one for whom they will seek <sup>82</sup>unceasingly. As for the crew of the prince of Byblos whom they sought to kill, their lord will surely find <sup>83</sup>ten crews of thine, and he will slay them, on his part." She had the people called and stationed (before her); she said to me: "Pass the night ———."

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RECORDS OF THE RESTORATION OF THE ROYAL MUMMIES

592. We have already seen (§ 545) that the tombs of Ramses II and Seti I had been broken into in the first year of Ramses X (the nineteenth of Ramses IX). Under Ramses XII, in his sixth year, the High Priest of Amon, Hrihor, sent some of his people to restore the bodies, and to place them again in their coffins and sarcophagi. They left a record of this pious work on the coffins:

*Coffin of Seti I*

593. <sup>a</sup>Year 6, second month of the first season, day 7, day when the vizier, the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Hrihor, sent [to renew the burjial of King Menmare, L. P. H.; Son of Re: Menmare (sic!), L. P. H.; Son of Re: Seti (I)-Merneptah; by the hand of the inspector, Hirmamonpene (*Hr-m-Ymn-pn<sup>c</sup>*), and the officer (*mnh*) Perepewyot (*P<sup>o</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>-p<sup>o</sup> yw-yt*).

*Coffin of Ramses II*

594. <sup>b</sup>Year 6, third month of the second season, day 15, day when the noble of — — the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Hrihor, — sent ———.

LETTER TO THE VICEROY OF KUSH<sup>c</sup>

595. This letter, the content of which is in itself of slight consequence, is important because of the person to whom it is addressed, the viceroy of Kush. Already in the Nineteenth Dynasty the gold-lands of Nubia had passed into the hands of Amon, though they were administered by the viceroy of Kush (III, 640). The next step was the administration of these Nubian gold-lands and the assumption of the office of viceroy of Nubia by the High Priest of Amon. This was done by Hrihor (§ 615), but the following letter shows that he had not yet done so in Ramses XII's seventeenth year, at which time the king still exercises his authority over the viceroy, and sends him after a tardy butler, who needs prodding in the execution of the king's commission to collect building materials, and to finish a shrine.

*Titulary*

596. <sup>1</sup>[Horus: Mighty Bull, Beloved of Re; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Mighty in Strength], Repulsing Hundreds of Thousands;

<sup>a</sup>Written with black ink in hieratic on the lid of the coffin; published: Maspero, *Momies royales*, Pls. XI A, XII; p. 553.

<sup>b</sup>Like the preceding; published by Maspero, *Momies royales*, Pl. XI B; 557.

<sup>c</sup>Turin papyrus, Pleyte et Rossi, Pls. 66, 67.

Golden Horus: Great in Strength, Making the Two Lands to Live, <sup>2</sup>Sovereign, L. P. H., Satisfied in Heart, Just, Pleasing the Two Lands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: <sup>3</sup>Menmare-Setepneptah, L. P. H.; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses (XII)-Khamwese-Meriamon-Nuterhekon, L. P. H.

*Introduction*

597. <sup>4</sup>Royal command to the king's-son of Kush, king's-scribe of the army, overseer of the granary, Paynehsi, the leader of <sup>5</sup>the archers of Pharaoh, L. P. H.; saying: "This royal command is brought to thee, to wit:

*The Butler*

598. "Go forth [— after<sup>1</sup> <sup>6</sup>the major-domo, the butler of Pharaoh, L. P. H., and cause him to proceed with the business of Pharaoh, L. P. H., his lord, <sup>7</sup>which he was sent to do, in the southern region. When the writing<sup>a</sup> of Pharaoh, thy lord, reaches thee, <sup>8</sup>thou shalt join thyself to him, to cause that he do the business of Pharaoh, L. P. H., <sup>9</sup>his lord, whereon he was sent."

*The Shrine*

599. "And thou shalt look to this portable shrine of this great goddess, <sup>10</sup>and thou shalt [complete<sup>1</sup> it, and thou shalt bear it to the ship, and thou shalt have it brought before him to my place of abode."<sup>b</sup>

*Artisans' Supplies*

600. <sup>11</sup>"And thou shalt have brought [for<sup>1</sup> it khenmet stone, inkhu (*yn-n-hw*) stone, [emory<sup>1</sup> (*ys-m<sup>3</sup>-r<sup>2</sup>*), flowers of the katha-plant, <sup>12</sup>and many blue flowers, — to my place of abode; in order to fill the hand of <sup>13</sup>the artisans therewith. Do not neglect this business which I send to thee. <sup>14</sup>Behold, I write for thy testimony.<sup>c</sup> It is a letter to inform thee<sup>d</sup> of the king's well-being.

<sup>15</sup>"Year 17, fourth month of the first season, day 15."

<sup>a</sup>The present letter.

<sup>b</sup>Tanis?

<sup>c</sup>A formula used to indicate to the recipient that the matter is in writing, to serve as his testimony in case of future misunderstanding.

<sup>d</sup>Among other things.



BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS IN THE TEMPLE OF  
KHONSU<sup>a</sup>

601. The temple of Khonsu is the only monument in which we can clearly trace the fall of the last Ramessid and the succession of the High Priest of Amon, Hrihor. This transition will be found briefly discussed in connection with Hrihor's inscriptions (§ 608). The dedications occupying the official place on the architraves of the hypostyle are all in the name of Ramses XII, as if he were in full enjoyment of the usual powers of the Pharaoh; while those around the base of the wall in the same hall (§§ 609, 610) contain but the scantiest reference to the king. On the rôle played by the king in the wall scenes in the same hall, see §§ 611-13.

The architrave dedications are as follows:

602. <sup>b</sup>Live Horus: . . . . .<sup>c</sup> Ramses XII; he made (it) as his monument for his father, "Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest," which Ramses XII made for him.

<sup>d</sup>Live the Good God, maker of monuments in the house of his father, Khonsu, lord of Thebes, builder of his temple as an eternal work in fine white sandstone, increasing — — — —.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>f</sup>Live Horus: . . . . .<sup>c</sup> Ramses XII; he made (it) as his monument for his father, "Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest," making for him (the hall called) "Wearer-of-Diadems" for the first time, of fine white sandstone, making splendid his temple as a beautiful monument,<sup>g</sup> forever, which the Son of Re, Ramses XII, made for him.

603. <sup>h</sup>. . . . . Ramses XII, mighty king, great in monuments in

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<sup>a</sup>Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 233-35; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 238, *d*, Text, III, 65; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 59, 3-5.

<sup>b</sup>Architraves on both sides of central aisle of hypostyle, on sides facing aisle.

<sup>c</sup>Partial titular

<sup>d</sup>Architraves on right of central aisle, side facing small columns.

<sup>e</sup>"Lacune de quelques signes et légende royale du même" (as above).

<sup>f</sup>Architraves over small columns on the right.

<sup>g</sup>Or: "with beautiful monuments."

<sup>h</sup>Begins the same as the preceding.

the house of his father, Khonsu, lord of Thebes, building for him his house, made for the first time as an excellent, eternal work; the great gods are satisfied in heart over his monument, which the Son of Re, Ramses XII, made for him.

<sup>a</sup>Live the Good God, doing benefactions, the monument-builder, plentiful in wonders, whose every design comes to pass 'immediately' like his father, Ptah-South-of-His-Wall. He has illuminated Thebes with great monuments 'of' the king, which King Ramses XII, beloved of Khonsu, made for him.

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<sup>a</sup>Only Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 59, 3.

**THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY**

## THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY

604. While these volumes are not intended to furnish discussions and reconstructions of the dynasties, the Twenty-first Dynasty is, nevertheless, so unusual in character, that it is impossible to classify the brief and fragmentary documents which it has left us, without some indication of its peculiarities.

605. Already under the last Ramessid (before his fifth year) we have seen, in the report of Wenamon, that a local dynast of Tanis, Nesubenedbed, had assumed the sovereignty of the Delta. When Ramses XII died and the Twentieth Dynasty was ended, Nesubenedbed became king of Lower Egypt, and the founder of the Twenty-first Dynasty of Manetho. At Thebes, the High Priest of Amon, Hrihor, became king of Upper Egypt. Of the Tanite kings we know next to nothing; but we are at least able to follow the high priests at Thebes from generation to generation without a break. They form the only connected thread along which we can trace the course of the dynasty. At Hrihor's death they were not able to maintain their royalty, and Nesubenedbed ruled the whole country for a time. Hrihor's grandson, Paynozem I, having, while High Priest, married Makere, the daughter<sup>a</sup> of Pesibkhenno I of Tanis, likewise became sole king for a long reign. Otherwise the Tanites were dominant; but probably not on hostile terms with the high priests, who remained powerful princes, more or less independent, and boasting many of the titles of royalty.

606. Possessing only a few names of Tanite kings in northern monuments of their own, we are obliged to turn to Thebes for the materials with which to reconstruct the dynasty. The difficulty with these materials is that they

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<sup>a</sup>See Maspero, *Momies royales*, 692-98.

frequently, indeed prevailingly, record royal dates with only the year, omitting the name of the Tanite king to whom the year belongs. From such documents<sup>a</sup> it is now possible to reconstruct the following table of the dynasty.<sup>b</sup> Space and the purpose of these volumes do not permit its discussion here, but some explanations will be found with the inscriptions upon which it is based. An asterisk with a number indicates that the king's name accompanies it in the original document; and the dagger, that the name of the High Priest occurs with it. It will be seen that there are only three dates with both. The numbers show that the Twenty-first Dynasty lasted  $134 + 6x$  years. As one  $x$  is the entire reign of Hrihor (Nesubeneded), we must credit it with not less than 145 years.

607. PHARAOHS <sup>c</sup>	YEARS	HIGH PRIESTS
Nesubeneded	}	} Hrihor (high priest and king) } Payonekh (his son)
Akheperre-Setepna-	6†	} Paynozem I (his son)
mon-Pesibkhenno I	9†	
17 years + $x$	10†	
	13†	
	17†	

<sup>a</sup>They will be found, with one exception, in the following translations (§§ 608-92).

<sup>b</sup>The former discussions, as well as an exhaustive treatment of the Twenty-first Dynasty, will be found in Maspero's *Momies royales (Mémoires de la mission française au Caire, I, 640-730)*. A modification of Maspero's reconstruction was proposed by Petrie, who proved that Hrihor and Siamon were distinct (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, XVIII, 59, 60*). New material found on the priestly mummies discovered in 1891 confirmed this conclusion. This material was published by Daressy (*Revue archéologique, 28, 75-78*), who furnished further modifications of Maspero's reconstruction, but did not employ all the available material. Another modification was proposed by Torr (*Revue archéologique, 28, 296-98*), who added a new High Priest. The above table agrees in the main with Daressy, but employs all the material and adds some corrections. No comparison with the data of Manetho is here necessary, as his account of the dynasty is almost worthless.

<sup>c</sup>The order of these kings is certain, but the connections between them are very loose, so that there is room for an ephemeral king who may be inserted somewhere in the second half (especially between Amenemopet and Siamon or Siamon and Pesibkhenno II), to make up the seven kings given by Manetho in this dynasty.

PHARAOHS <sup>a</sup>	YEARS	HIGH PRIESTS
Paynozem I 40 years + x	7	} Zekhonsafonekh (son of King Paynozem) <sup>b</sup>
	8*	
	16†	} Masaheret (son of King Paynozem)
	25†	} Menkheperre-Pesibkhenno <sup>c</sup> (son of King Paynozem)
40†		
Amenemopet 49 years + x	6†	} Nesubenedded (his son)
	7†	
	22(?)*†	} Paynozem II (son of Menkheperre)
	49*	
1†		
2†		
Siamon 16 <sup>d</sup> years + x	3†	}
	5†	
	7*†	
	8*	
	9†	
	10†	
	13 <sup>e</sup>	
14*† <sup>f</sup>		
	16†	

<sup>a</sup>See note c, p. 296.

<sup>b</sup>Noticed by Mr. Cecil Torr on a now missing coffin, on which the deceased calls himself: "son of the High Priest Zekhonsafonekh, son of King Paynozem" (*Revue archéologique*, 1896, 28, 298). His position above is not quite certain, but as we do not know who was High Priest in Paynozem I's seventh and eighth years, he may well fall in that gap.

<sup>c</sup>As Torr (*Revue archéologique*, 1896, 28, 296 ff.) has noticed, Paynozem II as High Priest under King Amenemopet calls himself in several places both son of the High Priest Menkheperre and son of King Pesibkhenno, showing that both the latter names belong to the same man. As Menkheperre occurs in a cartouche, e. g. (*Revue archéologique*, 28, 75), and likewise Pesibkhenno in a cartouche is once called High Priest, there is no doubt that Torr is correct in supposing that Menkheperre is the premen of Pesibkhenno. He thus assumed royal honors, and may possibly have ruled for a while alone. As he would not assume the throne-name till he had gained the throne, that is, until after Paynozem I's death, the High Priest Pesibkhenno whom we find in a fourth and twelfth year must be a different man. Hence I cannot agree with Torr that this Pesibkhenno is the same as Menkheperre, whose father regularly has the cartouche, while this Pesibkhenno is called simply son of Paynozem (without cartouche).

<sup>d</sup>A graffito at Karnak records year 17 of a king Siamon who may be our above king (*Recueil*, 22, 51 ff., No. 3 B).

<sup>e</sup>Maspero, *Mummies royales*, 725.

<sup>f</sup>*Recueil*, 22, 61, No. 33; a graffito at Karnak; the king's name is almost broken away. It began with Amon, and, as it can hardly be Amenemopet, it must be Siamon.

PHARAOKS <sup>a</sup>	YEARS	HIGH PRIESTS
Pesibkhenno II <sup>b</sup> 12 years + x	{ 4† 5 10 12†	} Pesibkhenno (his son)
<hr style="width: 20%; margin-left: 0;"/> TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY		
Reign of Sheshonk I	{ 5*† 10*† 11*† etc.	} Yewepet (son of Sheshonk I)

The following inscriptions are arranged, for the most part, under the High Priest in whose term of office they fall, as this is, in the majority of cases, stated in the document.

<sup>a</sup>See note c, p. 296.

<sup>b</sup>Menkheperre-Pesibkhenno may never have governed all Egypt; hence I do not put him in the Pharaonic line, but number the last Pesibkhenno as II. Manetho is our only evidence for his position here.

## REIGN OF HRIHOR

### INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU

608. The inscriptions and reliefs in the temple of Khonsu at Karnak form the chief source for tracing the rise of Hrihor as High Priest of Amon, until his usurpation of the kingship, and they clearly establish the early contentions of Rougé,<sup>a</sup> so ably supplemented by Maspero,<sup>b</sup> as against those of Lepsius, regarding the close of the Twentieth and the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty. The adytum and rear-most chambers of the temple were built by Ramses III and his immediate successors (§§ 214, 472). The hypostyle, the court before it, and the pylon were the work of Ramses XII and Hrihor, the hypostyle having been built by them both in common, and the court and pylon by Hrihor alone. Hence, in passing from the hypostyle outward to the court, the political change can be traced on the walls as one goes. We have seen the dedications of Ramses XII on the architraves of the hypostyle (§§ 601-3). The dedications around the base of the wall, however, as well as the scenes in the same hall, show the dominant position held by Hrihor and the subordinate rôle played by the king.

#### *Dedication<sup>c</sup>*

609. High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, commander in chief of the armies of South and North, the leader, Hrihor, triumphant; he made it as his monument for "House-of-Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest;"

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<sup>a</sup>*Etude sur une stèle égyptienne appartenant à la Bibliothèque impériale*, 195-202.

<sup>b</sup>*Momies royales*, 646 ff.

<sup>c</sup>Occupies the base of the wall (inside), and evidently extends around the right side of the hypostyle, from the door in front to the door in the rear; published by Maspero, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 76-77; and again, *Momies royales*, 652.



making for him a temple for the first time<sup>a</sup> in the likeness of the horizon of heaven, extending his temple as an eternal work, enlarging his monument (more than) before.<sup>b</sup> He increased the daily offerings, he doubled that which was before, while the gods of Thebes are possessed of joy, and the great house is in festival, the house of Khonsu, (<sup>†</sup>because<sup>†</sup>) he repeated the august things, being great and beautiful monuments ——— Lord of the Two Lands: Menmare-Setepneptah; Lord of Diadems: Ramses (XII)-Khamwese-Mereramou-Nuterhekon, given life. Lo, the desire of his majesty was to enlarge the house of his father, “House-of-Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest,” in order that his shrine might be covered, by doing benefactions for his ka; that<sup>c</sup> which the Son of Re, Ramses XII, beloved of Khonsu, made for him.

*Dedication<sup>d</sup>*

610. High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Hrihor, triumphant. He made (it) as his monument for “House-of-Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest;” making for him (the hall called): “Wearer-of-Diadems,” for the first time, of fine white sandstone, exalting his Great Place, with electrum, adorned with every splendid costly stone, enlarging his house forever with labor, making it to be like the horizon of the great gods at the feast when he appears born again; an august [house] of fine gold and every genuine costly stone, like the [†horizon of] Re when he is born again. — — many offering-tables of silver and gold, in order to satisfy thy ka, every day.

*Scene<sup>e</sup>*

611. The great barque or sacred shrine<sup>f</sup> of Amon is borne by the priests into the temple of Khonsu (as the inscriptions

<sup>a</sup>Or merely “*anew*”?

<sup>b</sup>Or: “*which was before*.”

<sup>c</sup>The antecedent is the building (understood), as commonly.

<sup>d</sup>In the hypostyle, around the base of the wall of the left side, being the pendant of the preceding. It is published by Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 204; see also Maspero, *Momies royales*, 652 (where Rougé's publication is, however, not referred to).

<sup>e</sup>In hypostyle (Lepsius E) immediately behind court, at right of door *h* below; published, without reliefs, by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 230, 231; Maspero, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 75, 76; and again, *Momies royales*, 651.

<sup>f</sup>It is followed by two others, doubtless those of Mut and Khonsu; the same is true of the following scene.

show). Walking backward before it, the High Priest Hrihor offers incense to it. The inscriptions are significant:

*General*

It is the procession of Amon-Re, king of gods, lord of —, to the “House-of-Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest,” to behold the beauty of his son (Khonsu).

*Over Hrihor*

Offering incense before this god, [Amon-Re], king of gods, by the companion, [who presents] the Two Lands to the lord of gods, the High Priest of [Amon-Re], king of gods, Hrihor, triumphant.

*Over Amon*

Utterance of Amon . . . .:<sup>a</sup> O my son, Lord of the Two Lands: Menmare-Setepneptah (Ramses XII), I have seen this beautiful, pure and excellent monument which thou hast made for me; the reward thereof is all life and prosperity, all health, like Re, forever.

*Scene<sup>b</sup>*

612. The same sacred barque has been deposited upon its base, doubtless in the temple court. Hrihor offers incense and a libation before it. The accompanying inscriptions are:

*Over Hrihor*

Offering of incense and a libation to Amon . . . . ,<sup>a</sup> that thou (sic!) mayest grant long life, beholding thy [—], and a good old age in thy city, Thebes; by the hereditary prince, over the Two Lands, great noble<sup>c</sup> in the whole land, High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, commander in chief of the army of the North and South, the leader, Hrihor, triumphant.

<sup>a</sup>Titles of the god.

<sup>b</sup>On the left of the door *h*, as pendant to the preceding scene; published *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 76; and *Momies royales*, 651.

<sup>c</sup>Possibly: “*companion (smr)*, *great noble (wr c 3)*,” the last being the designation common in the Twenty-second Dynasty.

*Over Amon*

Utterance of Amon . . . : O my son, of my body, my beloved, Menmare-Setepneptah (Ramses XII), my heart is glad, rejoicing — [in] thy monument, etc. . . . .

613. In other scenes which follow, Hrihor officiates while the name of Ramses XII appears behind him. The High Priest thus performs the official religious functions in which hitherto only the Pharaoh has been portrayed on temple walls, while the name of the Pharaoh, and the promises of the god to him, usual on such occasions, are still inserted.

614. The door leading out from this hypostyle to the court in front shows the power of Hrihor still increasing; he has become overseer of the granaries, the source of Egypt's greatest wealth, and viceroy of Kush. These titles appear side by side beneath the name of Ramses XII, in a date (unfortunately now lost) at the head of a very interesting, but fragmentary, inscription which narrated a prodigy in favor of Hrihor, doubtless connected with his advance in power. He appeared before Khonsu with a petition for "*life, prosperity, health, and many good things,*" the blessings usually desired; but it is evident that some great event in Hrihor's favor was to take place within a year; though it is not clear what that event was. Khonsu's approval was expressed by numerous nods of the god's head, and news of this was taken to Amon, who also nodded violently in approval, adding the audible promise that he assured Hrihor twenty years, meaning, of course, twenty years' more of power; but whether as king or High Priest is not stated in the scanty fragments preserved. However, it is highly probable that this is the narrative of the divine oracle declaring Hrihor king. In any case, he was very anxious to make the whole event a matter of record, and immediately secured Amon's approval of recording the prodigy "*upon stone.*" The place

where the incident is recorded on the door, between the portion of the temple erected by Hrihor in conjunction with Ramses XII, and the court erected by Hrihor alone, suggests that in it we have the divine sanction of the transition which takes place at that point. The record<sup>a</sup> is as follows:

*Date*

615. 1———— Ramses XII,<sup>b</sup> beloved of Amon-Re, king of gods, given life forever.

*Hrihor before Khonsu*

2———— High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, king's-son of Kush,<sup>c</sup> overseer of the granaries 3————. Then the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, repeated to him: 4“———— [Thebes], thy city.” Then the god nodded with his head. 5“———— of Thebes, thy city.” Then the god nodded — 6———— 7“———— 8honor to me, life, prosperity, health, and many good things in Thebes, thy city 9———— which thou givest, and thou shalt give them to me.” Then nodded the 10[god] ————— within a year, the space that thou givest to me; those who are in 11———— within the year which thou givest me, which thou spendest to give them to me, besides the — 12———— Hrihor ([*Hry*]-*Hr*), triumphant.

*Amon's Confirmation*

616. The city went forth as messengers [to] him to tell that which Khonsu said 13———— [Amon-Re], king of gods, turning his face northward to Karnak. Then he arrived at the — 14———— Amon-

<sup>a</sup>Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, Pl. XXI; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 248, b; see also Text, III, 64. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, is hardly readable; Brugsch is much better. See also Maspero, *Momies royales*, 671. The inscription is on the doorpost of the door leading from Hrihor's court to the hypostyle; it is marked *g* in Lepsius' plan (Text). Only the ends of twenty-eight horizontal lines are preserved.

<sup>b</sup>So read by Brugsch, by Lepsius (Text) and by Maspero (*Momies royales*, 671).

<sup>c</sup>There is not the slightest doubt that these titles belonged to Hrihor. He is the only High Priest of Amon known under Ramses XII, and his name occurs in this inscription below as the chief actor. From now on, the high priests during their ascendancy, are also viceroys of Kush; see, among other examples, a statue recently found by Legrain at Karnak (*Annales*, IV, 9). We are therefore to supply the name of Hrihor in the above lacunæ following the titles.

Re, king of gods, the 'father' — — <sup>15</sup> ——— [Then the god nodded his head] exceedingly, exceedingly, saying: "A space<sup>1</sup> of 20 years is [that which] Amon-Re, king of gods, [gives] to thee <sup>16</sup> ——— [because of] the good deeds which thou hast done for Mut, Khonsu, and [her] children formerly <sup>17</sup> ———."

*Record of the Prodigy*

**617.** Then the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Hrihor, triumphant, repeated it to him, saying: "O my good lord <sup>18</sup> ——— [Shall we record<sup>1</sup> these] marvels upon stone?" The god nodded (his) head exceedingly, exceedingly. Then repeated to him <sup>19</sup> [the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Hrihor, saying]: " ——— [Khonsu-in-Thebes]-Beautiful-Rest, thy saying; grant that they make a stela — <sup>20</sup> ——— [Khonsu-in]-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest, which he made." The god nodded (his) head exceedingly, exceedingly.

*Hrihor's Gratitude*

**618.** <sup>21</sup> ——— eternity shall come to thee, and millions of years shall be in — — <sup>22</sup> ——— generations shall come to talk of these marvels of — <sup>23</sup> ——— generations, [children] shall make — <sup>24</sup> ——— the words [which] came, [shall be] <sup>25</sup> ——— [which] thou sayest to me, that givest to me the space<sup>a</sup> of twenty years <sup>26</sup> ———." [The god] nodded (his) head exceedingly, exceedingly — — — <sup>27</sup> ———. Then Hrihor gave [command to erect this stela] — — — <sup>28</sup> ——— in putting it, a copy — — — —.

**619.** With the outer court, then, begins the sole rule of Hrihor, the divine approval of which is doubtless narrated in the preceding document, recorded on the door where we leave Ramses XII behind. Here only Hrihor's name appears, and here he only is the recipient of the blessings of the gods, which up to this time, and in the hypostyle behind, were always accorded the Pharaoh alone. Hence in the relief scenes in the court, Khonsu addresses Hrihor thus:<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Read *c h c*, as in l. 10.

<sup>b</sup>Maspero, *Momies royales*, 653.

**620.** "I give to thee very many jubilees, like thy father, Re; I give to thee every land together; while the Nine Bows fall down to thy power."

Utterance of "Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest:" "O my son, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-<sup>a</sup>Hrihor; how beautiful is this beautiful, pure, and excellent monument which thou hast made for me! My heart is satisfied in seeing them (sic!), and I give to thee reward for them, even life, stability, satisfaction, and the kingdom of the Two Lands in peace, like Re."

**621.** As king, therefore, Hrihor built the forecourt and the pylon before it, as is amply borne out by the following dedications on the architraves and the pylon, giving him the full Pharaonic titulary. In this he boldly published his real office, putting the title "*High Priest of Amon*" into the first cartouche, as if it were his given name, before he gained the throne.

**622.** <sup>b</sup>Live Horus: Mighty Bull, Son of Amon, Maker of Monuments, Establishing for Him Who Begat Him, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Great Ruler of Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: High Priest of Amon. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, making for him a colonnade, for the first time; it is made like the beauty of the horizon; all people are in joy at seeing it, the lord<sup>c</sup> of silver and mistress<sup>c</sup> of gold, comprehending<sup>c</sup> every splendid, costly stone; the deed of a son in love of him who [placed] him on his throne, giving to him eternity as King of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: High Priest of Amon, beloved of Amon-Re, king of gods, lord of heaven, ruler of the gods; that he might be given life forever.

**623.** <sup>2</sup>Live the Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Satisfying the Gods, Building their House, Furnishing the Satisfaction of their ka's; Son of Re, Amiable Lord of the Palace, Lord of Diadems: Siamon-Hrihor,<sup>d</sup> divine seed of the lord of gods, his splendid emanation, whom

<sup>a</sup>"*Son of Amon*;" both the names are now inclosed in a cartouche.

<sup>b</sup>Court, architrave over western colonnade; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 243, a = Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 222, 223.

<sup>c</sup>Epithets of the temple.

<sup>d</sup>In cartouche.

Mut bore to be ruler of the circuit of the sun. All lands are under his authority, doing that which his ka wills. The chiefs of Retenu do obeisance to his fame every day, while he sits upon the Horus-throne, which all the living magnify for him, the Son of Re, of His Body, Lord of Diadems: Siamon-Hrihor, beloved of Mut the great, mistress of Ishru; given life like Re.

624. <sup>3</sup>Live Golden Horus: Doing Benefactions in Karnak for his father, Amon, Creator of his Beauty, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Beloved of the Great Divine Ennead, Lord of the Two Lands: High Priest of Amon; king amiable, like Re, making festive Karnak, protecting it for the gods, setting the lords of Thebes to rejoicing, their hearts glad, when they see the "House-of-Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest," like the horizon in heaven. All people, they praise its beauty, they acclaim [to] heaven. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Beloved, Lord of the Two Lands: High Priest of Amon, beloved of Khonsu-Re; that he may be given life.

625. <sup>a1</sup>. . . . . He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, making for him a broad-hall (called): "Hall-of-the-High-Priest-of-Amon,-Siamon-Hrihor,-Great-in-Love-in-the-House-of-Khonsu;" for the first time, of fine white sandstone, as [a work] of eternity by the hand of Ptah, who furnished the plan.

*Scene<sup>b</sup>*

626. Relief represents the pylon of the Khonsu-temple, with four flagstaves on either side of the portal. The inscriptions under the architrave and beside the flagstaves, though fragmentary, show the name of Hrihor.<sup>c</sup> Above the pylon is the following:

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<sup>a</sup>First court, eastern architrave. Three lines corresponding to the triple dedication on the western architrave, translated above (§§ 622-24). The titles at the beginning of the line I have omitted; also the other two lines which add nothing. Published by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 223 (partially); Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 244, a; Text, III, 61.

<sup>b</sup>In the court, right (east) colonnade; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 243, b; Text, III, 61.

<sup>c</sup>These are the dedications in the usual form taken from the actual pylon, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 248, i, h.

*Inscription*<sup>a</sup>

Horus: Mighty Bull, Son of Amon, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: <sup>b</sup>High Priest of Amon; <sup>b</sup>Son of Re, of his Body: <sup>b</sup>Siamon-Hrihor.<sup>b</sup> He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, restoring for him, and making Thebes to shine anew (for him), whose name is hidden in [—], establishing for him the “House-of-Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest,” for eternity.

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<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 243, *b*; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 226.

<sup>b</sup>In cartouche.



## REIGN OF NESUBENEDED

### GEBELËN INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

627. This, the only surviving inscription of King Nesubenedded (Smendes), the founder of the Twenty-first Dynasty, narrates some catastrophe at Thebes, due to the partial collapse of a wall around the Luxor temple, built by Thutmose III. Exactly what happened is not, however, certain. The king sent his officials with 3,000 men to the quarry at Gebelên, to secure stone for repairing the damage, and one reference (l. 16) may indicate that the king himself finally came.

The document shows that Nesubenedded ruled at Thebes, and, of course, controlled all Egypt. Hrihor must, therefore, have died before the close of Nesubenedded's reign.

628. <sup>b</sup>Lo, his majesty was in the city of Memphis, his august residence of might and victory, like Re ——— [Ptah], <sup>4</sup>lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," Sekhmet the great, beloved of Ptah, — —, Montu and the great gods residing in Memphis. Lo, his majesty sat, in the hall [of his palace, when there came messengers, informing<sup>1</sup>] <sup>5</sup>his majesty, that the canal-wall, forming the limits of Luxor, which King Menkheperre (Thutmose III) had built, had begun [to fall to ruin] ——— <sup>6</sup>forming a great flood, and a powerful <sup>1</sup>current<sup>1</sup> therein, on the great <sup>1</sup>pavement<sup>1</sup> of the house of the temple. It encircled <sup>1</sup>the front<sup>1</sup> ——— [Said his majesty] <sup>7</sup>to them: "As for this matter reported to me, there has been nothing in the time of my majesty from of old, like it. . . . ."

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<sup>a</sup>Engraved on a pillar in the quarry at Gebelên; over one-third of a line is lost at the beginning of each line; published by Daressy, *Recueil*, X, 136, 137. The portion preserved is often so uncertain, and has been so inaccurately published, that some omissions have been necessary.

<sup>b</sup>I have omitted the titulary.

629. His majesty [‘‘dispatched master-build<sup>1</sup>’]ers, and 3,000 men with them, of the choicest of the people of his majesty. The command of his majesty to them: ‘‘Hasten to ————<sup>10</sup>the mountain — people<sup>a</sup> of his majesty as the companions of (his) feet [— — —] ————<sup>12</sup>[—] — [— —] this quarry, from the time of the ancestors to the present day, Gebelên ————<sup>13</sup>. . . . .’’

630. They engraved this decree, which perpetuates his majesty [forever] ————<sup>14</sup>. . . . . His command arrived to beautify the work on the stela . . . . . [Never] <sup>16</sup>was done the like of it in the time of the ancestors. Lo, his majesty passed by, in excellent virtues like Thoth ————<sup>17</sup>. . . . . The reward therefor is might and victory, and to appear upon the Horus-throne [of the living, forever] ————.

<sup>a</sup>*Hnty*, evidently the same class as are mentioned in the Paynozem II inscription (§ 671, l. 8).

REIGN OF THE HIGH PRIEST AND KING  
PAYNOZEM I

I. PAYNOZEM I AS HIGH PRIEST  
BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

631. On Hrihor's death his family were unable to maintain their royalty. His eldest son, Payonekh, followed him as High Priest of Amon, but evidently died soon after gaining the office. Hrihor's second son, Paynozem, succeeded to the high priesthood, but, as we have said, not immediately to the throne. He continued the unfinished portions of the Khonsu-temple, especially the pylon of his father, as recorded in the following building inscriptions:

632. <sup>a</sup>Live the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, lord of offering, Paynozem, triumphant, son of the High Priest of Amon. . . . . Payonekh, triumphant. He made (it) as his monument for his father, "Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest," making for him a great and august pylon, over against his temple. The great flagstaves approach heaven, their [tops] are of electrum; all people rejoice when they see (it). . . . .

<sup>b</sup>. . . . . making for him a very great pylon anew, in the likeness of his horizon in heaven. The great gods are possessed of joy and satisfaction of heart, because of what he has made in the great house. They give millions of years of satisfying life, to the High Priest, etc. . . .<sup>c</sup>

<sup>d</sup>Live, the Horus: Mighty Bull, Son of Amon; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Satisfying the Gods, Doing Benefactions for their ka's;

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<sup>a</sup>Pylon; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 251, a; another broken dedication on the pylon (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 220; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 248, i=Text, III, 57) also attributes it to him.

<sup>b</sup>As in the preceding; it is also on the pylon; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 251, b; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 215, 216.

<sup>c</sup>Usual name and parentage.

<sup>d</sup>On door of first pylon, Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, Pl. 57, 2.

High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Paynozem, triumphant, son of Payonekh, triumphant. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Khonsu, making for him a pylon anew. ———

*Scene<sup>a</sup>*

633. A priest stands before Amon, presenting flowers. The inscriptions are these:

*Over Priest*

Presentation of all beautiful flowers by [the High Priest] of Amon-Re, king of gods, doing benefactions — — —, Paynozem, triumphant, son of the High Priest of Amon, Payonekh, triumphant; doing the pleasure of his ka, building [the temples] of all gods, fashioning (statues of) their majesties of 'electrum'<sup>1</sup>; he supplies their offerings ———.

*Over Amon*

Utterance of Amon . . . . "O my son, of my body, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, Paynozem,<sup>b</sup> triumphant, I have seen the monuments which thou hast made for me; my heart is satisfied because of them. Thou makest festive my house anew, thou buildest a 'dwelling'<sup>1</sup> of electrum, thou increasest the daily offering, thou multiplieth that which was formerly. The reward therefore is the satisfying life of Horus."

634. Paynozem also restored the Eighteenth Dynasty temple of Medinet Habu, and left the following record of his work there:

<sup>c</sup>Live, the Good God, son of Amon, who came forth from his loins, to equip the Two Lands, whom Mut nourished, to fashion (statues of) the gods, to build their adyta; doing benefactions for all the gods of Thebes; while they are satisfied in heart [because of]<sup>d</sup> what he has

<sup>a</sup>Entrance of pylon, Khonsu-temple; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 250, a. Behind Amon are Mut and Khonsu, and a figure of the "divine votress *Make*," inserted by Queen Hentowe.

<sup>b</sup>Not in cartouche.

<sup>c</sup>East side of Eighteenth Dynasty Medinet Habu temple, under similar restoration record of Ramses III; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 251, e-g; better, Text, III, 164.

<sup>d</sup>The preposition (*hr*) has dropped out; see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 251, b, for the same phrase.

done, and their hearts are glad; High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, governor of the city, vizier, commander of the army,<sup>a</sup> satisfying [—], Paynozem, triumphant, son of the High Priest of Amon . . . . Payonekh, triumphant. He restored the monument of his father, "Amon-Re-of-the-Splendid-Throne," when he came to see the house of his father, and found it beginning to fall to ruin ———— in order to restore his temple and his wall anew, in order to satisfy the heart of all the gods and goddesses, in order to shelter — — the divine — of the region of Themet (*T<sup>o</sup>-mw' t*),<sup>b</sup> in order to cause the palace to be like the horizon of heaven. . . . .<sup>c</sup>

635. To work in Karnak he refers vaguely in the following record, repeated on the rams of Ramses II:

<sup>d</sup>High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, lord of offering, Paynozem, triumphant, son of Payonekh, triumphant; he says: "I am great in monuments and mighty in marvels in Karnak, victorious lord. I have enlarged monuments greater than (for) any gods. I made for him very great monuments in silver and gold, engraved with my name forever."

#### RECORDS ON THE ROYAL MUMMIES

636. As High Priest Paynozem gave much attention to the restoration and preservation of the violated royal mummies. His successive efforts to this end are recorded on the coffins and wrappings. These records are all dated, and such dates, while not mentioning the name of the king, evidently belong to the reign of Pesibkhenno I, the successor of Nesubenedded in Tanis. Of these, perhaps, the most important is the note of the year 17, recording the transfer of Ramses II's body to the tomb of Seti I.

<sup>a</sup>Another short inscription near by (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 251, *d*) contains only the usual restoration formula, but it gives him the title: "*Commander in chief of the armies of the South and North.*"

<sup>b</sup>Name of Medinet Habu region; Coptic, Dshême.

<sup>c</sup>Here follows a prayer of no historical content.

<sup>d</sup>On the rams of Ramses II connecting the front of the Karnak temple with the river; *Recueil*, XIV, 30.

*Mummy of Thutmose II*

637. <sup>a</sup>Year 6, third month of the second season, day 7. On this day, the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Paynozem, son of the High Priest of Amon, Payonekh, sent the chief overseer of the White House, Payneferhir, to reinter King Okhepernere (<sup>c</sup>-[*hpr*]-*n-R*;<sup>b</sup> Thutmose II).

*Mummy of Amenhotep I*

638. <sup>c</sup>Year 6, fourth month of the second season, day 5. On this day the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Paynozem, son of the High Priest of Amon, Paynozem,<sup>d</sup> son of Payonekh, sent to reinter<sup>e</sup> King Zeserkere, Son of Re, Amenhotep (I), L. P. H., by the hand of the overseer of the treasury, Pay————.

*Mummy of Seti I*

639. <sup>f</sup>Linen, which the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Paynozem, triumphant, son of Payonekh, triumphant, made for his father, Khonsu, in the year 10.

*Mummy of Ramses III*

640. <sup>g</sup>Year 13, second month of the third season, day 27. On this day the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Paynozem, son of the High Priest of Amon, Payonekh, sent: the scribe of the temple, Zoser-sukhonsu, and the scribe in the Theban necropolis, Butehamon, to give a place to King Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III), L. P. H., established and abiding forever.

*Mummy of Ramses III*

<sup>h</sup>High priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Paynozem, triumphant, son of Payonekh, triumphant [made] (it) for his father, Amon, in the year 9.

<sup>a</sup>On the breast of the mummy; Maspero, *Momies royales*, 545, 546.

<sup>b</sup>The scribe in his hasty note has omitted the *hpr*-sign.

<sup>c</sup>On the breast of the mummy; *op. cit.*, 536.

<sup>d</sup>This is a dittography, as shown by the preceding docket, which records similar work by the same official about a month earlier under Paynozem, son of Payonekh.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., "to repeat the burial of."

<sup>f</sup>On inner wrappings renewed by Twenty-first Dynasty; *op. cit.*, 555. The date, year 10, when this linen was made, is of course not necessarily the year when it was used.

<sup>g</sup>On the wrappings; *op. cit.*, 564.

*Mummy of Ramses III*

641. <sup>a</sup>The — matron, singer of Amon-Re, king of gods, Fetonemut (*F t-c t-nt-Mwt*), triumphant, daughter of the High Priest of Amon, Payonekh, triumphant, made and brought (it) for her lord, "Amon-Possessed-of-Eternity,"<sup>b</sup> residing in the temple; in order to crave life, prosperity and health from him.

*Mummy of Ramses II*

642. <sup>c</sup>Year 17, third month of the second season, day 6, day of bringing Osiris, King Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), L. P. H., to bury him again, (in) the tomb of Osiris, King Menmare-Seti (I), L. P. H.: by the High Priest of Amon, Paynozem.

## II. PAYNOZEM I AS KING

643. On succeeding Pesibkhenno I as king, Paynozem I continued his pious works in the royal necropolis. The dates accompanying the records now refer to the reign of Paynozem I himself; and in the year 16 the care of the necropolis was assumed by his son, Masaheret, then High Priest of Amon.

*Mummy of Sitkamose*

644. <sup>d</sup>Year 7, fourth month of the first season, day 8. On this day a place was given to the king's-daughter, great king's-wife, Ahmose-Sitkamose, who liveth.

*Mummy of Ahmose I*

645. <sup>e</sup>Year 8, third month of the second season, day 29. The majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Kheperkhare-Setepnamon, Paynozem-Meriamon, L. P. H., sent to give a place to King Nebpehtire (Ahmose I).

<sup>a</sup>On the wrappings; *op. cit.*, 565.

<sup>b</sup>This is evidently the temple of Medinet Habu (see its name, §§ 5 ff.); it was the Amon of Ramses III's temple whom she thought to propitiate by making the shroud for Ramses III. He himself is also shown on the wrappings offering to the same god.

<sup>c</sup>On one of the bandages near the outside; *op. cit.*, 560.

<sup>d</sup>On the breast of the mummy; *op. cit.*, 541; probably by the same hand as the next record on wrappings of Ahmose I (*op. cit.*, 534) from year 8 of Paynozem I.

<sup>e</sup>Across the breast of the mummy; *op. cit.*, 534.

*Mummy of King's-Son, Siamon*

646. <sup>a</sup>Year 8, month 3, of the second season, day 29. His majesty, L. P. H., sent to give a place to the king's-son, Siamon.

*Mummy of Amenhotep I*

647. <sup>b</sup>Year 16, fourth month of the second season, day 11. The High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Masaheret, son of King Paynozem, L. P. H., sent to reinter this god, by the hand of the scribe of the White House, scribe of the temple, Penamon, son of Sutimose.

## BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

648. Paynozem I, as king, continued in the Khonsu-temple at Karnak the works which he had begun as High Priest, although only one record of them is preserved. His queen, Henttowe, also left a record of the removal of older sculptured rams to the Khonsu-temple.

649. <sup>c</sup>——— temple anew of fine white sandstone, as an excellent eternal work, even that which a son does who does benefactions for his father, who placed him upon his throne; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Kheperkhare-Setepnamon;<sup>d</sup> Son of Re, of his body, his beloved: Paynozem-Meriamon.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>e</sup>Mistress of the Two Lands, Henttowe; she made (it) as her monument for her mother, Mut, when the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkhare-Setepnamon, brought the rams to the house of Amon.

<sup>a</sup>*Op. cit.*, 538.

<sup>b</sup>On the breast of the mummy; *op. cit.*, 536, 537.

<sup>c</sup>Frieze outside west wall: Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 230, 231; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 251, c.

<sup>d</sup>In cartouche.

<sup>e</sup>On the back of a sphinx belonging to Amenhotep III (according to Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 263, 264, "léontocéphales") in the Khonsu-temple; published by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 264; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 249 f.; Maspero, *Momies royales*, 687.



## HIGH PRIESTHOOD OF MENKHEPERRE

### STELA<sup>a</sup> OF THE BANISHMENT

650. Masaheret, Paynozem I's son, whom we find restoring the royal mummies as High Priest of Amon, in his father's sixteenth year (§ 647), must have died before the king's twenty-fifth year, when, according to our present document, the king's son, Menkheperre, was High Priest of Amon. Another son of Paynozem I, Zekhonsafonekh, must have held the high priesthood, and died also before the twenty-fifth year. But it is yet impossible to determine certainly the order of these two sons.

We find Menkheperre coming from the north, supposedly from Tanis, to Thebes in Paynozem I's twenty-fifth year, and the remarkable errand which brought him thither is intentionally narrated in such veiled language that it is impossible to determine exactly what its nature was. He came to put down certain unknown enemies, and to restore affairs in Thebes to their ancient status (ll. 6 and 7). This probably indicates a rising of some sort among the Thebans. When this had been quelled Menkheperre appeared before Amon, and with the usual prodigies, customary, at least since the time of Hrihor, he secured an oracle from the god permitting the return to Egypt of all those who had been banished to the Southern Oasis. Furthermore, he also obtained the god's consent to a decree forever forbidding

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<sup>a</sup>The Maunier stela, now in the Louvre; I was unable to secure the number. It is a black granite stela, very difficult to read; published by Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, I, Pl. XXII, 39 f.; and again, *Reise nach der Grossen Oase*, Pl. XXII (much better). I had my own copy made from the original, which I then collated with a squeeze.

such banishment in the future, and our stela is the permanent record of that decree. The interview with Amon closed with the god's consent that all murderers should be slain.

651. The interesting question as to the identity of the banished, who are thus pardoned, is one on which our document is studiously silent. Were they Thebans, on whose behalf the city had risen in insurrection (ll. 6 and 7)? And were they recalled to appease and quiet the turbulent city? And is the last grim enactment of the god a reminder to the violent of what they might expect in case of further insurrection?

#### *Date and Introduction*

652. Year 25, third month of the third season, day 29, corresponding to the feast of Amon-Re, king of gods, at his [beautiful] feast<sup>a</sup>

————— <sup>2</sup>Nesuhor<sup>b</sup> in their increase thereof. The majesty of this august god was ————— <sup>3</sup>Thebes. Then he took (his) way to the scribes, inspectors, people —————.

#### *Departure for Thebes*

<sup>4</sup>Year 25, first month of the — [season, day] —. 'Then spake his majesty<sup>1</sup> to the people: "Amon-[Re], lord of Thebes ————— <sup>5</sup>their heart is firm — — — their multitude ——— the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, commander in chief of the army, Menkheperre,<sup>c</sup> triumphant, son of King Paynozem-Meriamon ————— <sup>6</sup>his — — — — companion of his footsteps, while their hearts rejoiced because he had

<sup>a</sup>This cannot be the Feast of Opet, as restored by Brugsch (*Geschichte*, 645), for that feast took place in the second month. About two-thirds of a line are lost here, and the same is true of ll. 2-4.

<sup>b</sup>This man's connection with the events narrated is entirely obscure.

<sup>c</sup>This is the first mention of Menkheperre in the inscription, and he here bears his title of High Priest. Hence there seems to me no support for the supposition that he was nominated as High Priest on this visit to Thebes.

desired to come to the South in might and victory, in order to make satisfied the heart of the land, and to expel his enemies, that he might give ——— [as] 7they were in the time of Re.

*Arrival at Thebes*

**653.** He arrived at the city (Thebes) with a glad heart; the youth of Thebes received him, making jubilee, with an embassy before him. The majesty of this august god, lord of gods, Amon-Re, [lord of] Thebes, appeared (in procession) — — — <sup>8</sup>that he might [—] him very greatly, very greatly, and establish him upon the throne of his father, as High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, commander in chief of the armies of the South and North. He (the god) decreed to him many gracious wonders, (such as) had never been seen since the time of Re.

*New Year's Feast*

**654.** [Now, after] <sup>9</sup>the fourth month of the third season, on the fifth<sup>a</sup> day of the (feast), "Birth of Isis," corresponding to the feast of Amon at the New Year, the majesty of this august god, lord of gods, Amon-Re, king of gods, appeared (in procession), came to the great halls of the house of Amon, and rested before the [inclosure wall]<sup>b</sup> of Amon. <sup>10</sup>The High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, commander in chief of the army, Menkheperre, triumphant, went to him and praised him exceedingly, exceedingly, many times, and he founded [for him] his offering, even [every] good thing<sup>1</sup>.

*Recall of the Banished*

**655.** Then the High Priest of Amon, Menkheperre, triumphant, recounted to him, saying:

"O my good lord, (when) there is a matter, shall one recount it — ?"  
<sup>11</sup>Then the great god nodded exceedingly, exceedingly. Then he went again to the great god, saying: "O my good lord, (it is) the matter of these servants, against whom thou art wroth, who are in the oasis, whither they<sup>c</sup> are banished." Then the great god <sup>12</sup>nodded exceedingly, while this commander of the army, with his hands uplifted was praising

<sup>a</sup>The fifth intercalary day is of course meant.

<sup>b</sup>*D* > *d* > *w*, the word which I have rendered "courses" in Papyrus Harris.

<sup>c</sup>Or: "one" (impersonal), meaning: to which people are customarily banished.

his lord, as a father<sup>a</sup> talks with his own son: "Hail to thee, [maker] of all [that is], creator of all that exists, father of the gods, fashioner of goddesses; who equips them in the cities and districts; begetter <sup>13</sup>of men, and fashioner of women, maker of the life of all men. He is Khnum, building excellently, [giving] the breath of life; the north wind — —. Men live from his provision, who supplies the necessities of gods and men; the sun by day, the moon by night, sailing the heavens without <sup>14</sup>ceasing. Great in fame, he is mightier than Sekhmet, like fire — — — — for him that prays to him; he is healthy to heal the sick, when the people look [to him] [————] <sup>15</sup>[————],<sup>b</sup> Thou shalt hearken to my voice on this day, and thou shalt [relent] toward the servants, whom thou hast banished <sup>16</sup>to the oasis, and they shall be brought (back) to Egypt." The great god nodded exceedingly.

*Abolishment of Banishment*

656. Then he (the High Priest) spake again, saying: "[O my good lord], as for any writing which any [—] makes, in order to bring it, let it be said — — —." Then the great god nodded exceedingly. Then he went <sup>17</sup>again to the great god, saying: "O my good lord, thou shalt make a great<sup>c</sup> decree in thy name, that no people of the land shall be [banished] to the distant region of the oasis, nor — — — — from this day on." <sup>18</sup>Then the great god nodded exceedingly. He spake again, saying: "Thou shalt say that it shall be made into a decree upon a stela — — — — in thy [—],<sup>d</sup> abiding and fixed forever."

*Thanksgiving to Amon*

657. Then the High Priest of Amon, Menkheperre, triumphant, spake again, saying: "O my good lord, then my [—] is [for] myriads of times, and the command is for father and mother in every family. My every word shall please the heart in [thy] presence, I am thy faithful servant, profitable to thy ka. <sup>20</sup>I was a youth in thy city, I produced thy provision and thy [—], while I was in the womb, when thou didst

<sup>a</sup>The inversion of the members of the comparison is in the original.

<sup>b</sup>Very much broken; it is only general praise, and the particular petition begins with the following.

<sup>c</sup>Or: "good," the reading is uncertain.

<sup>d</sup>Brugsch read here: "and be set up in thy cities," but this is no longer visible on the stone.

form (me) in the egg, when thou didst bring me forth 'to the great joy' of thy people. Grant that I may spend a happy life 'as a follower of thy ka. There is purity and health wherever thou tarriest. Set my feet in thy way, and direct me on thy path. Incline my heart '— —' to do —. 'Grant that I may pass a happy 'old age' in peace, while I am established, living in thy august house, like every favorite '— — —'."

*Slaying of Murderers*

658. 'Then the High Priest of Amon, Menkheperre, triumphant, went to the great god, saying: "As for any person, of whom they shall report before thee, saying, 'A slayer of living people '— —' (is he);' thou shalt destroy him, thou shalt slay him.'" Then the great god nodded exceedingly, exceedingly.

RECORD OF RESTORATION<sup>a</sup>

659. Menkheperre was the author of works extending over a wide territory,<sup>b</sup> but they are accompanied only by his name and titles. A restoration in the temple of Luxor is, however, recorded as follows:

Restoration of the monument, which the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Menkheperre, triumphant, son of the Lord of the Two Lands, Meriamon-Paynozem I, made, in the house of his father, Amon of Luxor.

KARNAK GRAFFITO

660. This is a record of an inspection of the Karnak temples by Menkheperre in the year 40, which must still be of the reign of Paynozem I, his father.

<sup>c</sup>Year 40, third month of the third season, day of inspection of the house of Amon-Re, king of gods, the house of Amen[em]opet (Luxor),

<sup>a</sup>On a wall in the Luxor temple; Maspero, *Momies royales*, 702.

<sup>b</sup>See Maspero, *ibid.*

<sup>c</sup>Fallen granite pillar, Middle Kingdom portion of Karnak Amon-temple; *Recueil*, 22, 53, No. 3 A.

the house of Mut, the house of Khonsu, the house of Ptah, "South-of-His-Wall-in-Thebes," the house of Montu, lord of Thebes, and the house of Mat; by the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Menkheperre, son of King Paynozem-Meriamon, when command was given to the fourth prophet of Amon-Re, king of gods, prophet of Montu-Re, lord of Thebes, chief censer-bearer, Hetamenthenofer ( $\overline{H} \cdot t \cdot Ymn \cdot t \cdot n/r$ ), triumphant, son of the fourth prophet of Amon, prophet of Montu, lord of Thebes, Nesupehernemut ( $\overline{N} s \cdot s y \cdot p \cdot h r \cdot n \cdot M w \cdot t$ ), triumphant,

\_\_\_\_\_.<sup>a</sup>

#### RECORDS ON THE ROYAL MUMMIES

66r. Menkheperre continued the care of the royal necropolis, and we find him renewing the wrappings of Seti I in the seventh year of a king not mentioned, who can only be the successor of his father, Paynozem I, Amenemopet of Tanis. It was probably in the interim between the two reigns that he gained royal privileges and the throne-name Pesibkhenno, which he never employed in his father's time. We are unable to determine whether he ever reigned alone or not.

#### *Mummy of Seti I*

<sup>b</sup>Year 7, second month of the second season, day 26; day of entombing King Menmare (Seti I), L. P. H.

<sup>c</sup>Linen, which the High Priest of Amon-Re, Menkheperre, made for his father, Amon, (in the) year 6.

<sup>a</sup>Amount of loss is uncertain.

<sup>b</sup>On inner wrappings, just under the outside wrappings renewed by the Twenty-first Dynasty; *Mummies royales*, 555.

<sup>c</sup>On inner wrappings renewed by Twenty-first Dynasty.

## HIGH PRIESTHOOD OF PAYNOZEM II

### RECORDS ON THE PRIESTLY MUMMIES<sup>a</sup>

662. The 153 mummies of the priests of Amon, found at Thebes in 1891 bore a few inscriptions of historical value. They show that Menkheperre was succeeded in the high priesthood by a certain Nesubenebde, who is known from the Karnak decree to be a son of Menkheperre.<sup>b</sup> Nesubenebde was early succeeded by another son of Menkheperre named Paynozem, the second of the name, in the high priesthood of Amon, which he entered upon under the Tanite king Amenemopet, probably before that king's twenty-second year, as the following records show. They likewise carry his administration at Thebes to the year 10<sup>c</sup> of Siamon.

663. <sup>d</sup>King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Setepnamon (Amenemopet). Linen which the High Priest of Amon, Paynozem, son of Menkheperre, made for his father, Amon, in the year —.

<sup>e</sup>King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Meriamon-Amenemopet. Linen which the High Priest of Amon, Paynozem, son of Menkheperre, made for his lord, Amon, in the year 22.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>g</sup>King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Amenemopet, year 49.

<sup>h</sup>Linen which the High Priest of Amon, Paynozem, son of Menkheperre, made for his lord, Khonsu, in the year 3.

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<sup>a</sup>On the straps, bandages, and linen; Daressy, *Revue archéologique*, 28 (4-7 of the *tirage à part*). The numbers used in my notes are those of the mummies.

<sup>b</sup>Daressy, *op. cit.*, 28 (9, 10, of the *tirage à part*).

<sup>c</sup>A graffito at Karnak (Legrain, *Recueil*, 22, 61, No. 33) gives the year 14 of a king whose name is lost. It began with Amen, and may therefore be either Amenemopet or Siamon, very probably the latter.

<sup>d</sup>No. 17.

<sup>e</sup>No. 134.

<sup>f</sup>Daressy adds (?) to this numeral without indicating how much of it is affected by the uncertainty.

<sup>g</sup>Loose piece of linen, detached.

<sup>h</sup>No. 143.

<sup>a</sup>Linen which the High Priest of Amon, Paynozem, son of Menkheperre, made for his mistress, Mut, year 7 of King Siamon.

<sup>b</sup>————— Mut, year 8 of King Siamon.

<sup>c</sup>Linen which the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Paynozem, son of Menkheperre, made for his lord, Amon, in the year 10.

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#### RECORDS ON THE ROYAL MUMMIES

664. These rough notes, hurriedly recorded on the royal mummies, offer graphic testimony to the insecurity of the times at Thebes.

In Paynozem II's time, though his name is not mentioned in the records on the coffins, the bodies of Ramses II and Ramses I, which had been removed to the tomb of Seti I, as well as that of Seti I himself, were again transferred and deposited for safety in the tomb of Queen Inhapi. This was done in the sixteenth year of the Tanite king Siamon.

#### *Coffin of Ramses II*

665. <sup>d</sup>Year 16, fourth month of the second season, day 17, day of bringing King Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), the Great God, out from the tomb of King Menmare-Seti-Merneptah (Seti I), in order to bring him into the tomb (*k<sup>3</sup> y*) of (Queen) Inhapi which is (in) the "Great Place,"<sup>e</sup> by the hand of the prophet of Amon-Re, king of gods, Enkhofnamon, son of Beki; the divine father of Amon-Re, king of gods, third prophet of "Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest,"<sup>f</sup> scribe of the administration of the house of Amon-Re, king of gods, servant of

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<sup>a</sup>No. 16. Another piece from the Amon-temple bears the same year without the king's name.

<sup>b</sup>No. 134. The lost beginning was, of course, like the preceding.

<sup>c</sup>No. 134.

<sup>d</sup>On the lid of the coffin; *op. cit.*, 558.

<sup>e</sup>A particular part of the necropolis.

<sup>f</sup>*Njr htp*, which Maspero reads as the man's name; but this phrase is the usual one after Thebes in Khonsu's-title, and the determinative is the divine person in all three texts. Hence, however long the man's titles, they do not stop here.



“The-House-of-King-Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II)-in-the-House-of-Amon,” chief treasurer of the necropolis, Merithoth; the scribe, and chief inspector, Nesupekeshuti, son of Beknekhonsu; after Mut, the guardian goddess of the Great Place, had said:

“That which is in good condition before me, no harm shall befall it, through my<sup>a</sup> bringing them (sic!) out from the tomb in which they rest, and they shall be taken into the tomb (*kʿ y*) of (Queen) Inhapi, which is in the ‘Great Place,’ wherein King Amenhotep rests.”

*Coffin of Seti I*

666. <sup>b</sup>Year 16, fourth month of the second season, day 17, of King Siamon, the day of bringing King Menmare-Seti (I)-Merneptah, L. P. H., out from his tomb, in order to bring him into the tomb (*kʿ y*) of Inhapi, which is (in) the “Great Place;” by the hand of, etc. . . .

Here follows a list of the same men as on the coffins of Ramses I and Ramses II (*q. v.*).

*Coffin of Ramses I*

667. <sup>c</sup>[Year 16, fourth month of the second season, day 17<sup>d</sup>] of King Siamon, [day of bringing King Men]pehti[re] (Ramses I) out from the [tomb of King Menmare]-Seti (II)-Merneptah, <sup>e</sup>in order to<sup>1</sup> [bring him into the tomb (*kʿ y*) of Inhapi, which is in the “Great Place,” wherein King Amenhotep rests; by the hand of the prophet of Amon-[Re, king of] gods, Enkhofnamon, son of Beki, etc.

Here follows the same list of men as on Seti I’s and Ramses II’s coffins.

RECORD OF PAYNOZEM II’S BURIAL

668. I have included the preceding documents under the high priesthood of Paynozem II, although he was evidently lying dead in the hands of the embalmers when they were written; for three days later he was buried in the rough

<sup>a</sup>Or: “*their*.”

<sup>b</sup>On the lid of the coffin; *op. cit.*, Pl. XII.

<sup>c</sup>On the lid of the coffin; *op. cit.*, Pl. X A; 551.

<sup>d</sup>Maspero’s restoration (*op. cit.*, 551), giving the first season and the thirteenth day, must be an inadvertence; the parallel texts have it as above.

receptacle excavated in the cliffs of Der el-Bahri, which had served as the tomb of Amenhotep I. The place was sealed up, and the following record was written with the pen on the doorpost by one of the accompanying scribes. The date of year 16 is the highest which we have from the reign of the Tanite Siamon.

<sup>a1</sup>Year 16, fourth month of the second season, day 20, day of the burial <sup>2</sup>of the Osiris, the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, governor [of the city]<sup>b</sup> and vizier, prince and leader [—], Paynozem <sup>3</sup>by the divine father of Amon, overseer of the White House, Zekhonsefonekh; the divine father of Amon, scribe of the vizier, the inspector, Nesupekeshuti; the [—] of Amon — — — —; <sup>4</sup>the divine father of Amon, Wennofer; the king's-scribe of the Theban necropolis (*ys't-m<sup>2</sup>c't*), Bek; the chief of workmen, Pediamon.

<sup>c</sup>Linen which the High Priest of Amon, Paynozem II [son of] Menkheperre, made for [his] lord, Khonsu, in the year 9.

#### STELA OF THE "GREAT CHIEF OF ME," SHESHONK<sup>d</sup>

669. In this document we gain our first glimpse of the Libyan ancestors of the great family of the Twenty-second Dynasty. Sheshonk, the grandfather<sup>e</sup> of Sheshonk I, the

<sup>a</sup>On the left doorpost, at the bottom of the Der el-Bahri shaft; Maspero, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 134; better, *Momies royales*, 523.

<sup>b</sup>Omitted, either in the publication or by the ancient scribe.

<sup>c</sup>On wrappings of the mummy; *op. cit.*, 572. The same records for years 1, 3, and 7 were found on the wrappings.

<sup>d</sup>A red granite stela, 1.20 by 1.50 m., found by Mariette "southward from the western entrance gate of the Kum-es-Sultan in Abydos" (Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1871, 85 f.). He states that it was left by him in situ, although Wiedemann (Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Geschichte*, 543), places it in the Boulak Museum ("Salle historique de l'est, No. 93"), and seems to have copied it. Published by Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 36, 37; Mariette, *Catalogue général d'Abydos*, No. 1225. The upper portion is wanting, and an unknown amount of the inscription is lost. The copy of Mariette is very incomplete and inaccurate; a better copy was impossible, as the present location of the stone is unknown.

<sup>e</sup>See the long genealogy on the Serapeum stela, § 787, where the Sheshonk, with his wife Mehetnusekhet, is unquestionably the Sheshonk of our inscription, whose wife is also Mehetnusekhet.

first king of the Twenty-second Dynasty, was a powerful chief of the Meshwesh<sup>a</sup> who had achieved place and influence in Egypt. His great-grandfather, Musen, had gained control at Heracleopolis (§ 787, No. 2), and five generations later the family had seized the throne, as the Twenty-second Dynasty. The family retained their old native titles or an Egyptian rendering of them, but our Sheshonk was so thoroughly Egyptianized that he buried his deceased son, Namlot, in Abydos, with all the accompaniments of Egyptian mortuary belief. He later found that the officials in charge of his son's mortuary endowment had been appropriating the income. He went to Thebes, under the jurisdiction of which the crime fell, and from some unnamed king, who must have been either Amenemopet or Siamon, he obtained redress. The case, like all other matters of the kind in this period, was carried before Amon, and the stela, of which the first lines are lost, begins the middle of an address to the god by the king. As it continues, the god renders an oracle condemning the guilty officials to death. Sheshonk then conveyed his son's statue to Abydos, where full record of his son's mortuary endowment was entered in the temple archives, with their value in silver, furnishing useful data for determining the ancient values of various property in modern standards.<sup>b</sup>

670. The decree of Amon in this criminal case is of the greatest interest, and characteristic of the time. The case of those banished to the oasis, who are pardoned by the god at the High Priest Menkheperre's request (§§ 650-58), is more or less political, but such is not the character of this case. A similar case, also under the high priesthood of

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<sup>a</sup>Abbreviated, as frequently in the inscriptions of this time, to Me.

<sup>b</sup>The data from our document have never been so employed; see Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, Text, 87 ff., for the data from the earlier documents.

Paynozem II, is that of certain temple officials who were slain for dishonesty in the temple accounts. Recorded with it is the remarkable acquittal of a certain major-domo named Thutmose, the method of whose trial is sufficiently evident from the following translation,<sup>a</sup> without further explanation.

*Appearance of Amon*

671. ———<sup>b</sup> <sup>1</sup>On this day in the house of Amon-Re, king of gods, on the sixth day of the month, appeared the august god, <sup>2</sup>the lord of gods, Amon-Re, king of gods; Mut the great, mistress of Ishru; and “Khonsu-in-<sup>3</sup>Thebes-Beautiful-Rest;” on the silver pavement of the house of Amon — —. The High Priest of Amon-Re, <sup>4</sup>king of gods commander in chief of the army, Paynozem, triumphant, son of Men-[kheper]re [triumphant], took counsel of the affairs of <sup>5</sup>this land, before the great god.

*Condemnation of the Guilty*

In the second month, on the sixth day, — the great god <sup>6</sup>who is far from injustice, had not (yet) been taken up to Opet at [the Feast of] <sup>7</sup>Opet in this year. <sup>7</sup>Lo, this great god determined [that] which the scribes, <sup>8</sup>inspectors and administrators had done, who committed <sup>9</sup>fraudulent acts in Thebes, his city. <sup>10</sup>Then the great god condemned the scribes, <sup>11</sup>inspectors, and administrators, because of the acts of <sup>12</sup>fraud which they had committed.

*The Two Writings*

672. This great god appeared upon the pavement of silver in the house of Amon at the morning hour. The High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Paynozem, triumphant, came <sup>13</sup>before this great god.

<sup>a</sup>This inscription, of which only the first part is translated above, was found on one of the southern pylons at Karnak in Maspero's excavations there in 1881. It was published and treated by Naville, *Inscriptions historiques de Pinodjem III* (our Paynozem II), Paris, 1883. See Maspero, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 135.

<sup>b</sup>Naville numbers this line 1; at least one line, containing the date, is lost before it. In the long inscription below it, oracles of the god in the years 2 (ll. 8 and 10), 3 (l. 12), and 5 (l. 13) are recorded; hence this date will not be less than year 5.

<sup>c</sup>So also Naville; this was not long before the beginning of the Feast of Opet (see note on Papyrus Harris, § 237).

This great god saluted violently. He placed two tablets of writing before the great god; one writing said: <sup>14</sup>“O Amon-Re, king of gods, my good lord; it is said that there are matters which should be investigated<sup>a</sup> in the case of Thutmose, triumphant, son of Suidiamon (*Swdy-Ymn*), triumphant, the major-domo;” the other writing [said: “O Amon-Re, king of gods], my good lord; it is said that there are no matters which should <sup>16</sup>be investigated in the case of Thutmose, triumphant, the son of Suidiamon, triumphant, the major-domo.” The [High Priest] of Amon-Re, king of gods, Paynozem, triumphant, repeated before this great god, saying: “O <sup>17</sup>my good lord, thou shalt judge — — —, thou prosperest beyond all wonders.” [The] great god saluted violently.

#### *The Acquittal*

**673.** <sup>18</sup>These two tablets of writing were placed before the [great god]. The great god took the writing<sup>b</sup> which said: “O Amon-Re, my good lord; <sup>19</sup>it is said that there are no matters [which should] be investigated in the case of Thutmose, triumphant, son of Suidiamon, triumphant, the major-domo.” The great god <sup>20</sup>[rejected] the other writing which said: “O Amon-Re, king of gods], my good lord; it is said that there are matters which should be investigated in the case of <sup>21</sup>[Thutmose, triumphant, son of Suidiamon, triumphant, the major-domo.]”

[Then the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, went again] to this great, great god, to put his two tablets of writing the second time before the great god. [The great god<sup>c</sup>] took <sup>22</sup>[the same writing as before] ————. They bore witness, saying: “There are no matters which should be investigated <sup>23</sup>[in the case of Thutmose, triumphant, son of Suidiamon, triumphant, the<sup>d</sup>] major-domo.”<sup>e</sup>

**674.** The legal functions assumed by Amon at this period will be sufficiently illustrated by this and the following ex-

<sup>a</sup>Lit., “*which should be sought for with Thutmose.*”

<sup>b</sup>Lit., “*the one writing.*”

<sup>c</sup>Omitted by the ancient scribe or in the publication.

<sup>d</sup>These words hardly fill the lacuna.

<sup>e</sup>Some 8 lines are here lost; below these follows a long series of legal decisions by Amon, which lead to the acquittal above recounted.

ample. Even the wills and the property conveyances of the numerous relatives of the high priests are issued as oracles and decrees of the god. They form a remarkable class of legal documents by themselves, which will be treated later in this series.<sup>a</sup> We can understand, therefore, why the case of the Libyan chief Sheshonk was brought by the king before Amon. It is as follows:

*Speech to Amon*

675. "———<sup>b</sup>great chief of chiefs, Sheshonk, triumphant, his<sup>c</sup> son in the glorious place by his father, Osiris, that he might<sup>1</sup> lay his beauty to rest<sup>1</sup> in the city of Abydos (*Nj-wr*), over against ——. Thou wilt let him survive to attain old age, while his heart<sup>2</sup> — — —<sup>1</sup>. Thou wilt let him join the feasts of his majesty, receiving full victory." This great god saluted exceedingly.

*Amon Condemns the Thieves*

676. Then his majesty spake again before this great god: "O my great lord, thou shalt slay the <sup>3</sup>—<sup>1</sup>,<sup>d</sup> the administrator, the scribe, the inspector, every one who was sent on any commission to the field, of those who stole of his things<sup>1</sup> from the offering-table of the Osiris, the great chief of Me, Namlot, triumphant, son of Mehetnusekhet, who is in Abydos; <sup>4</sup>all the people who plundered from his divine offerings, his people, his cattle, his garden, his every oblation and all his excellent things. Thou wilt do according to thy great spirit throughout; fill them up and fill up (the number of) the women <sup>5</sup>and their children." The great god saluted exceedingly.

*Final Prayer to Amon*

677. His majesty smelled the earth before him; his majesty said; "Make to triumph, Sheshonk, triumphant, the great chief of Me, chief

<sup>a</sup>In the volume devoted to legal documents.

<sup>b</sup>In the lost portion of uncertain length preceding this, there was doubtless some verb of which Sheshonk was the subject and "*his son*" the object.

<sup>c</sup>This shows that the Sheshonk of the inscription is the father, not the son, of Namlot, as Wiedemann concludes (Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 543, 544).

<sup>d</sup>A military officer.

of chiefs, the great [—], and all who are [before thee], <sup>6</sup>all the troops ———.” [Said to] him, Amon-Re, king of gods: “[—] I will do [—] for thee, thou shalt attain old age, abiding on earth; thy heir shall be upon thy throne forever.”

*Statue of Namlot Sent to Abydos*

**678.** His majesty sent the statue of Osiris, the great chief of <sup>7</sup>Me, great chief of chiefs, Namlot, triumphant, northward to Abydos. There were — — — — a great army, in order to protect it, having [numerous] ships, — — without number, and the messengers of the great chief of Me, in order to deposit<sup>a</sup> it in the august palace, <sup>8</sup>the sanctuary of the right eye of the sun, in order to make his offerings belonging in Abydos, according to the stipulations for making his offerings, incense [— —] in the hall of petition.

*Records of Endowment*

**679.** His contract was recorded <sup>9</sup>in the hall of writings,<sup>b</sup> according to that which the lord of gods (Amon) had said. A stela was erected for him of granite of Elephantine,<sup>c</sup> bearing the decree — in his name, in order to deposit it in the divine sanctuary to the end of eternity, (even) forever. Then was established the offering-table of Osiris, the great chief of Me, <sup>10</sup>Namlot, triumphant, son of Mehetnusekhet, who is in Abydos.

*People of Endowment*

**680.** There were brought the [people] of the — of the great chief of Me, who came with the statue: a Syrian servant (named) Ikhamon [—],<sup>d</sup> <sup>11</sup>a Syrian (named) Ekptah; [the price of the first] was 14 deben of silver; his majesty gave [for the second] 20 deben of silver; total, 35<sup>e</sup> deben of silver, the tale thereof.

<sup>a</sup>Lit., “cause it to rest.”

<sup>b</sup>Temple archives.

<sup>c</sup>Only one letter (*b*) of this word (*ḥbw*) with the determinative, is preserved, but as the stela is of red Elephantine granite, there can be no doubt of the rendering. Brugsch's “in der Schrift des Landes Ba[bel]” is pure imagination. The text has: “of stone of — b —” (foreign determinative). Wiedemann reads “Ba-sut” (adding “so ist auf dem monumente zu lesen”), and says the material is porphyry (Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 544).

<sup>d</sup>The end of the name is uncertain.

<sup>e</sup>The first number is doubtless misread by Mariette. These two numbers, making a total of 35, must be the prices of the two slaves.

*Lands of Endowment*

681. That which was paid for 50 stat (of land) which are in the high district south of Abydos, called, "Eternity-<sup>12</sup>of-the-Kingdom:" 5<sup>a</sup> deben of silver.

That which is in [— —] of the pool which is in Abydos, (viz.,) 50 stat of land; amounting to 5 deben of silver.

Total of citizen-lands [—] two places being: the high district south of Abydos, and the high district <sup>13</sup>north of Abydos: 100 [stat], amounting to 10 deben of silver.

*List of Men*

682. His [slave], Pewer, son of —f; his slave, Ebek<sup>b</sup> (<sup>2</sup>-*bk*); his slave, Bupenamunkha (*Bw-pn-Ymn-h*<sup>2c</sup>); his slave, Neshenumeh (*N<sup>2</sup> y-šnw-mh*);<sup>c</sup> his slave, Dene (*Dn<sup>2</sup>*); total <sup>14</sup>of slaves: 6; amounting (fat) 3<sup>1</sup> deben, 1 kidet of silver [for each], to 1[8] deben [6 kidet] of silver.

*Children*

The child of — — son of Harsiese, triumphant; amounting to 4<sup>2</sup> kidet of silver.

*Garden*

The garden which is in the high district [—]<sup>d</sup> of Abydos, amounting to 2 deben of silver.

*Gardeners*

The gardener, Harmose, triumphant, son of Pen —; <sup>15</sup>amounting to —<sup>2</sup> kidet of silver; Pene —, triumphant, his —, Harnepe—r—, triumphant, [amounting to] 6<sup>2</sup> kidet of silver.

*Men and Women*

[—] Nesitetat, triumphant, whose mother is Tedimut, the female slave, Tediese, daughter of Nebethapi; her mother, Ero — <sup>16</sup>ekh; [the female slave], [Tepiramenef], daughter of Paynehsi, triumphant;

<sup>a</sup>Mariette has 6, but Brugsch has 5 (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1871, 86), which is in agreement with the second 50 stat for 5 deben of silver; 10 stat (=6<sup>2</sup> acres) of land were thus worth 1 deben (1,404 grains) of silver.

<sup>b</sup>Brugsch: "Ari-bek."

<sup>c</sup>Meaning: "The Full Trees."

<sup>d</sup>Brugsch: "north."



———— for each one;  $5\frac{2}{3}$  kidet of silver being the price of the man; amounting to  $3\frac{2}{3}$  deben.<sup>a</sup>

*List of Supplies*

**683.** Honey; [an expenditure amounting to — deben of silver]<sup>b</sup> payable to the treasury, for a hin of honey issued from the treasury <sup>17</sup>of Osiris [for the divine offerings of Osiris], the [great] chief [of Me], great chief [of chiefs, Namlot], son of the [great] chief of [Me, Sheshonk] — — — — —. The money therefor has been made payable to the treasury of Osiris, no more, no less.

**684.** Incense; <sup>18</sup>[an expenditure amounting to] 4 deben of silver, payable to the treasury of Osiris, for 4 kidet of incense, issued from the treasury of Osiris daily, for the divine offerings of Osiris, the great chief of Me, Namlot, triumphant, whose mother is Mehetnusekhet, forever and ever <sup>19</sup>[from that which is issued from] the — — incense. The money therefor is payable to the treasury of Osiris, no more, no less.

**685.** Myrrh; [an expenditure] amounting to  $5\frac{2}{3}$  kidet of silver, payable to the treasury of Osiris, for <sup>20</sup> $\frac{2}{3}$  kidet of [myrrh], issued from the treasury of Osiris daily, for the censer of Osiris, the great chief of Me, Namlot, triumphant, whose mother is Mehetnusekhet, forever and ever; from that which is issued, of the myrrh — —. The money therefor has been made payable to the treasury of Osiris, no more, <sup>21</sup>[no less].

**686.** [Grain] — — per man — — per man, an expenditure amounting to <sup>1</sup> $3\frac{1}{3}$  kidet of silver — with 1 kidet of silver, payable to the treasury of Osiris, for this grain of the field<sup>c</sup> that is issued daily from — — — — — <sup>22</sup>[from] the treasury of Osiris and the — of Osiris, for the altar of Osiris; the great chief of Me, Namlot, triumphant, whose mother is Mehetnusekhet, forever and ever; from the impost of the — — of the cake-baking <sup>1</sup>—1. The money therefor is made payable to the treasury of Osiris, <sup>23</sup>the treasury of the grain of the field <sup>1</sup>— —1. [The money therefor is payable to the treasury<sup>1</sup>] of Osiris — —, no more, no less.

<sup>a</sup>I am uncertain whether this total is to be connected with the preceding or the following paragraph. It is similar in form to the beginnings of the following paragraphs. There is evident confusion in the copy, and probably an omission.

<sup>b</sup>This is the formula which should introduce this paragraph; but see preceding note.

<sup>c</sup>See l. 23.

*Summary*

687. Total of the silver of these people, which is payable to the treasury of Osiris <sup>24</sup>— — — — 13<sup>a</sup> men ——— issued from — — to the [—] of Osiris, the great chief of Me, chief of chiefs, Namlot, triumphant, son of Sheshonk, triumphant, whose mother is Mehetnusekhet; in order to give <sup>25</sup>— — — — to Osiris, the great chief of Me, Namlot, triumphant, son of Mehetnusekhet, who is in Abydos:

Lands	100 stat
Men and women	25
Garden	1
Silver	100 <sup>b</sup> [deben]

Abydos ———.

<sup>a</sup>The number is not certain.

<sup>b</sup>And probably more, but how much is uncertain.

## HIGH PRIESTHOOD OF PESIBKHENNO

### RECORDS ON MUMMY-WRAPPINGS

688. We have no records of this High Priest beyond the usual note on the temple linen used in swathing the bodies of the Amon priests found in 1891. These show that he was a son of Paynozem II, and that he was in office at least from the year 4 to the year 12 of a king who must be Pesibkhenno II, under whose predecessor, Siamon, he must have succeeded his father, on the latter's death in Siamon's sixteenth year (§ 668).

<sup>a</sup>Linen which the High Priest of Amon, Pesibkhenno, son of Paynozem (II), made for his lord, Amon, in the year 4.

Linen which the High Priest of Amon, Pesibkhenno, son of Paynozem (II), made for his lord, Amon, in the year 12.

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### BURIAL OF NESIKHONSU

689. Nesikhonsu, wife of Paynozem II, died in the fifth year of a king, who must be Pesibkhenno II of Tanis. Her husband's tomb, originally that of Amenhotep I, was opened, and she was likewise buried there. When the door was sealed again, one of the scribes recorded the burial on the doorpost. It contains the names of some of the same officials who had buried her husband, not less than five years before.

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<sup>a</sup>Mummy No. 17 of the cache of priests' mummies discovered at Der el-Bahri in 1891; published by Daressy (*Revue archéologique*, 28, p. 6 (of the *tirage à part*)).

*Nesikhonsu*

<sup>a1</sup>Year 5, fourth month of the third season (twelfth month), day 21, <sup>2</sup>day of the burial of the chief of favorites, Nesikhonsu, <sup>3</sup>by the divine father of Amon, overseer of the White House, Zekhonsafonekh, <sup>4</sup>together with <sup>1b</sup>Paynozem, <sup>4</sup>the prophet of Amon-Re, king of gods, Enkhofamon (<sup>c</sup> *nh·j·Ymn*); <sup>5</sup>————— Nesipai — —; <sup>6</sup>the divine father of Amon, the chief treasurer, Nesupekeshuti (*Ns-sw-p<sup>2</sup>-k<sup>2</sup>-swty*). The seals which are upon <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> of this place <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup>; <sup>c</sup> the seals of the overseer of the White House, Zekhonsafonekh; the seals of the scribe of the White House, Nesu—————.

## RECORDS ON THE ROYAL MUMMIES

690. With these two records the history of the royal mummies in ancient times, so far as we know it, closes. The bodies of Seti I and Ramses II were taken from the tomb of Queen Inhapi in the tenth year of Pesibkhenno II, and deposited in the great cache at Der el-Bahri, in the tomb of Amenhotep I, where Nesikhonsu had been buried five years earlier. In all probability the other royal mummies were brought to the same place at this time also. The door was sealed up for the last time, not earlier than the eleventh year of Sheshonk I (§ 699); the shaft leading to it was soon filled with detritus from the cliffs above, and all knowledge of the place was lost. Thus the great kings of Egypt at last found undisturbed rest for three thousand years. Then, some time in the early seventies of last century, they were discovered by the native tomb-robbers of modern Thebes, the descendants of those who were prosecuted under Ramses IX

<sup>a</sup>At the bottom of the entrance shaft leading to the great cache of royal mummies, on the right door-jamb; it is written in ink in hieratic; *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 134; better, *Momies royales*, 520.

<sup>b</sup>Or: "son of."

<sup>c</sup>Maspero reads the numeral 40 here, but this seems to me improbable. He found fragments of these seals among the rubbish around the door, and among them one with the title "*High Priest of Amon*" in a cartouche.

and X (§§ 499 ff.) Under pressure of much the same legal methods as those employed by their ancestors, not forgetting the bastinade, they finally revealed the place which they had been plundering, and the ancient rulers of Egypt were, in 1881, again brought to the light of day.<sup>a</sup>

*Coffin of Seti I*

691. <sup>b</sup>Year 10, fourth month of the second season, day 20, the day of bringing in the god into his place, in order to cause him to rest [in] the eternal house of Amenhotep<sup>c</sup> — — — —; by the hand of the divine father of Amon, overseer of the White House, Zekhons-efonekh; divine father of Amon, [—]; divine father of Amon, third prophet of Khonsu —.

*Coffin of Ramses II*

692. <sup>d</sup>Year 10, fourth month of the second season, day 20, day of bringing in the god into his place, to cause him to rest in the eternal house of Amenhotep, the [— of Amon], in life, prosperity, and health; by the hand of the divine father of Amon, overseer of the White House, Zekhonsefonekh; the divine father of Amon, third prophet of [Khonsu],<sup>e</sup> Efnamon, son of Nesupekeshuti; the divine father of Amon, Wennofer, son of Mentem[wese]; the divine father of Amon, —.

<sup>a</sup>On the discovery and rescue of the royal mummies, see Maspero, *Momies royales*, 511, 516.

<sup>b</sup>On the lid of the coffin; *op. cit.*, 554, and Pl. XII.

<sup>c</sup>This can hardly be anything else than the tomb of Amenhotep I; on the construction of the whole place, see Maspero, *op. cit.*, 517, 518.

<sup>d</sup>On the lid of the coffin; *op. cit.* 559.

<sup>e</sup>From duplicate; text has *f*.

## THE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY

## RECORDS OF NILE-LEVELS AT KARNAK<sup>a</sup>

693. These records are of primary importance in the history of the Nile and its inundations. Further than this, the records of successive reigns furnish valuable data for the chronology and history of the dark period from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.<sup>b</sup> From these and other contemporary documents, especially the Apis stelæ, the Twenty-second Dynasty may now be reconstructed as follows:

Sheshonk I	21 <sup>c</sup> years (+x)
Osorkon I	36 <sup>d</sup> “ “
Takelot I	23 <sup>e</sup> “ “
Osorkon II	30 <sup>f</sup> “ “
Sheshonk II	∞ “ “

(Died during coregency with Osorkon II)

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<sup>a</sup>Engraved on the quai of the great Karnak temple; published by Legrain, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1896, 111 ff. Unfortunately, Legrain says nothing about the order in which the records are arranged. When I have rearranged to introduce chronological sequence, I have added Legrain's number in parenthesis.

<sup>b</sup>For convenience, the records of the other dynasties have not been added here. They will be found in their chronological places later.

<sup>c</sup>§ 706.

<sup>d</sup>Petrie, *History*, III, 241.

<sup>e</sup>§ 695, No. 4; has year 6; the next higher known date is year 7 (*Recueil*, XVIII, 5=Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 258, c); but he would have reigned at least 8 years for his son, Osorkon II, celebrated his 30-years' jubilee in his twenty-second year. But Daressy has perceived that a stela at Florence (*Catalogue*, No. 1806; see *Recueil*, XV, 174, 175), dated in the year 23, belongs to Takelot I. Legrain's omission of a Takelot at this point in the dynasty (*Recueil*, 27, 76) is, of course, an error, as shown by the genealogy of Harpeson (§ 792).

<sup>f</sup>§ 696, No. 15. The High Priest Harsiese, son of the High Priest Sheshonk, and grandson of Osorkon I (§ 739), assumed royal honors as vassal king under Osorkon II (Legrain, *Recueil*, 27, 76). He must have died or been supplanted when Sheshonk II was made coregent.

Takelot II	25 <sup>a</sup> years (+x)
(Seven years, coregency with Osorkon II)	
Sheshonk III	52 <sup>b</sup> years
Pemou <sup>c</sup>	6 <sup>d</sup> " (+x)
Sheshonk IV	37 <sup>e</sup> " "
Total	<u>230</u> years (+6x)

or deducting 30 years of possible coregencies,<sup>f</sup> the total is 200 + 6x years.

694. The dynasty thus reigned not less than 200 years in round numbers. But it should be noted that between the twenty-first year of Sheshonk I and the eleventh year of Takelot II, or a period of 93 years according to the above table, there ruled seven high priests of Amon. This is giving about 13 years to each, and would indicate that the table is within the truth for this period. The second half of the dynasty is nearly certain as to length; the period from the accession of Sheshonk III to that of Pemou is exactly known, and the uncertainty chiefly concerns the last two kings, especially Pemou. It should be noted that from the reign of Osorkon II (probably toward its end), to the year 37 of Sheshonk IV, there were six generations of high priests at Heracleopolis (§ 787, Nos.

<sup>a</sup>§ 755. There is no year 29 of Takelot II as given by Maspero (*Empires*, 165, note 2); the year 29 belongs to Sheshonk III, as correctly seen by Maspero formerly (*Momies royales*, 741).

<sup>b</sup>§ 778.

<sup>c</sup>This name means "the cat," as is shown by the determinative of a cat in the case of a private individual (e. g., Ser. stela No. 276, noticed by Lepsius, *Zwei- undzwanzigste Dynastie*, 290, although transliterated: Pexi). Hence I give it the vowels of the Coptic form, rather than perpetuate the impossible forms: Pimai, Paymi, Pimi, etc.

<sup>d</sup>§ 698, No. 24; not quite certain

<sup>e</sup>§ 791.

<sup>f</sup>Petrie, *History*, III, 227.



11-16), who thus correspond to four generations of kings. The reigns of Pemou and Sheshonk IV, especially the former, may thus have been much longer, notwithstanding the long reign of Sheshonk III. The descent from father to son is certain from the beginning, only down to and including Takelot II.

The omission in the publication of all indication of the relative positions of the following records on the wall, precludes some of the important conclusions which might otherwise be drawn from them:

*Reign of Sheshonk I*

695. 1. (3) The Nile. Year 5 of King Sheshonk I.<sup>a</sup>  
2. (1) The Nile. Year 6 of King Sheshonk I.<sup>a</sup>

*Reign of Osorkon I*

3. (2) The Nile. Year 12 of King Osorkon I.

*Reign of Takelot I*

4. The Nile. Year 6 of King Takelot I; his mother, Tentsey (*Tnt-s<sup>3</sup> y*).

*Reign of Osorkon II*

696. 5. The Nile. Year 3<sup>b</sup> of King Osorkon II; his mother, the Great King's-Wife ——— (cartouche).  
6. The Nile. Year 5 of King Osorkon II; his mother, Great King's-Wife, Keromem (*Mr-Mw' t-K<sup>3</sup>-m<sup>3</sup>-m<sup>3</sup> sic!*).  
7. Same, year 6.  
8. The Nile. Year 12<sup>c</sup> of King Osorkon II.  
9. The Nile. Year 12 (sic!)<sup>c</sup> of King Osorkon II.  
10. The Nile. Year [11]<sub>3</sub> of King Osorkon II.  
11. The Nile. Year 20 of King Osorkon II.

<sup>a</sup>This name is out of place as published, as it follows Osorkon I; it may also be Takelot II, who would also be out of place.

<sup>b</sup>This is the year of the high water recorded at Luxor (§§ 742-744); it was 62 cm. deep on the temple pavement at Luxor.

<sup>c</sup>At different levels.

697. 12. The Nile. Year 22 of King Osorkon II.  
 13. The Nile. Year 28 of King Osorkon II, the god, ruler of Thebes; which is the year 5<sup>f</sup> of his<sup>1a</sup> son Takelot (II), the god, ruler of Thebes, living forever.  
 14. The Nile. Year 29 of King Osorkon II.  
 15. [The Nile. Year 30 (+*x*) of King] Osorkon II.<sup>b</sup>

*Reign of Sheshonk III*

698. 16. (23) The Nile. Year 6 of King Usermare-Setepnamon, Son of Re, Meriamon-Sheshonk (III). Time of the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Harsiese.<sup>c</sup>  
 17. (22) The Nile. Year 39 of King Sheshonk III. Time of the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Osorkon.

*Reign of Pemou?*

18. (24) The Nile. Year 12,<sup>d</sup> which is year 6 of King Usermare-

<sup>a</sup>Reading the *n* as a genitive and the *f* as a possessive. It can hardly be doubted that Takelot II was the son of Osorkon II. The ephemeral reign of Osorkon II's son Sheshonk (II) was thus a coregency with the father, followed, on Sheshonk II's death, by a second coregency of the father (Osorkon II) and the deceased Sheshonk II's brother, Takelot II, which perhaps lasted at least 7 years (No. 15).

<sup>b</sup>The traces that remain make the name of Osorkon II certain. The year is, of course, not less than 30, if Legrain's arrangement be correct.

<sup>c</sup>We know that Takelot II's son, Osorkon, was High Priest of Amon in the years 11, 12, and 15 of Takelot II, and 22, 26, 28, 29, and 39 of Sheshonk III (§§ 756 ff.). Hence the High Priest Harsiese must have displaced Osorkon for a time, as explained below (§ 758). The occurrence of a Harsiese in the sixth year of Pemou (No. 24) is uncertain. If accepted, it must either be another Harsiese, or his term was interrupted at least from the year 22 to the year 39 of Sheshonk III.

<sup>d</sup>This cannot be a year of Sheshonk III, as it would involve a coregency with Pemou of some 46 years; nor can it be year 12 of the High Priest Harsiese, if he be the same as the Harsiese of Sheshonk III's sixth year (No. 22). Hence I am inclined to doubt the reading of Harsiese here which Legrain himself questions. If, however, we accept it, then there must be another king between Sheshonk III and Pemou—the Sheshonk with the new prenomen, of No. 25? This would not increase the length of the dynasty, as we know from the Apis stela (§ 778) that there were 26 years from the twenty-eighth year of Sheshonk III to the second year of Pemou. Thus, according to No. 25, the new Sheshonk would have reigned at least 6 years, and the Sheshonk III not more than 46 years (the highest recorded date of Sheshonk III is year 39, § 777); or if No. 24 belongs to the new Sheshonk, he reigned at least 12 years, and Sheshonk III not more than 40 years

Setepnamon, Meriamon-Siese-<sup>f</sup>Pemou<sup>1a</sup> High Priest of Amon-Re,  
king of gods, <sup>f</sup>Harsiese<sup>1</sup>.

*Reign of Sheshonk IV?*

19. (25) The Nile. Year 6 of King Usermare-Meriamon, Son  
of Re, Meriamon-Sheshonk (<sup>f</sup>IV<sup>1</sup>).<sup>b</sup> Time of the High Priest of  
Amon, Takehot.

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<sup>a</sup>Legrain is not certain of this name; the prenomen agrees, but unfortunately coincides with one form (No. 22) of Sheshonk III's prenomen. If Harsiese were certain, Wreszinski's remark (*Die Hohenpriester des Amon*, p. 35, note) would prove the king to be Pemou.

<sup>b</sup>If this name be considered a variant of Sheshonk III, we then have two Niles of the year 6, of very different levels, with two different high priests! We are therefore certainly dealing with a Sheshonk to be distinguished from Sheshonk III. His name differs greatly from that of Sheshonk IV.

## REIGN OF SHESHONK I

### RECORDS ON MUMMY-BANDAGES OF ZEPTAHEFONEKH<sup>a</sup>

699. The Der el-Bahri cache of royal mummies was opened for the last time, in so far as we know, not earlier than the year 11 of Sheshonk I, to insert the body of the “*third prophet of Amon, chief of a district* (<sup>c</sup> *-n-k* <sup>c</sup> *h*<sup>b</sup>), *king's-son of Ramses, Zeptahefonekh.*” The dedications on the temple linen, used for his bandages, are of importance, as they show that Sheshonk I was in control at Thebes in his fifth year, when he had already installed his son Yewepet as High Priest of Amon, thus at last interrupting the hereditary succession to that office, and securing the control of the priestly principality of Thebes for his own family.

700. Fine linen which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Kheperhezre-Setepnere; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Meriamon-Sheshonk I, made for his father, Amon, year 10. Fine linen which the High Priest of Amon-Re, commander in chief of the army, Yewepet, triumphant, king's-son of the Lord of the Two Lands, Sheshonk (I), made for his father, Amon, year 10.

Another bandage has the same inscription of year 11 and a third of the year 5.<sup>c</sup>

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### BUILDING INSCRIPTION<sup>d</sup>

701. The great temple at Karnak had received no essential additions since the close of the Nineteenth Dynasty, the Ramessids of the Twentieth, and the priests of the Twenty-

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<sup>a</sup>Maspero, *Mummies royales*, 573.

<sup>b</sup>Doubtless miscopied in the publication.

<sup>c</sup>The name of the High Priest is lost; but as it was introduced by exactly the same formula, it is undoubtedly also to be attributed to Yewepet.

<sup>d</sup>Cut in the walls of the sandstone quarry at Silsileh; published by Champollion,

first Dynasty having given their attention to the temple of Khonsu. Sheshonk I, when he had ruled twenty years and firmly established his dynasty, determined to adorn the Karnak temple with a worthy memorial of his family. He therefore built a triumphal gate between the small Amon-temple of Ramses III and the then front of the Karnak temple, the present second pylon. It formed a westward extension of the south wall of the great hypostyle hall, and it covered up historical reliefs of Ramses II on the west end of that wall, as well as on the south end of the second pylon, which are still covered. This gate, commonly called the Bubastite gate, bears the records of the Bubastite family in Thebes. It immediately received the triumphal relief commemorating Sheshonk I's campaign in Palestine (§§ 709 ff.), and the high-priestly sons of the dynasty recorded their temple annals upon it. The designation of Sheshonk I's projected building in the Silsileh inscription (§ 707) is such as to show clearly that he planned also the entire first court at Karnak, including the first pylon before it.<sup>a</sup>

702. The priestly chief of works, Haremsaf, whom Sheshonk dispatched to Silsileh to procure the stone for the new gate, left in the quarry a stela recording his work there, and its purpose. While the king is credited with the initiation of the enterprise, his son Yewepet, High Priest of Amon, is given almost as prominent a place on the stela as the king himself; while his titles increase the impression that he enjoyed the power of a semi-independent ruler of Upper Egypt. At the top is the king led by Mut into the presence

*Monuments*, II, 122 bis; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 254, c, and partially Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1242. I had also a collation of the Berlin squeeze, by Mr. Alan Gardiner, which he kindly placed at my disposal. From this I published the building portion (§ 706) of the inscription, in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, XXI, 24.

<sup>a</sup>See my remarks, *ibid.*, 25.

of Amon, Harakhte, and Ptah. Behind the king, his son, the High Priest of Amon, Yewepet, represented with the same stature as the king, offers incense. His titles in the side columns occupy as much room as those of his father. Below the relief is an inscription (§§ 703-5) attributing the opening of this part<sup>a</sup> of the quarry to the king, and again in the same words to Yewepet. Below all, Haremsaf has had his own kneeling figure depicted, before which is an inscription (§§ 706-8) recording his commission and its execution.

*Royal Titulary*

**703.** <sup>1</sup>Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Shining-in-the-Double-Crown-like-Horus-Son-of-Isis, Satisfying-the-Gods-with-Truth; Golden Horus; Mighty-in-Strength, Smiting-the-Nine-Bows, Great-in-Victory; Good God, Re in his form, shape of the likeness of Harakhte, whom Amon placed upon his throne, to establish that which he had begun, to set in order Egypt anew; <sup>2</sup>the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperhezre-Setepnere.

*Sheshonk I, Opener of the Quarry*

**704.** <sup>3</sup>He made the opening of the quarry anew, as a beginning of the work, which the Son of Re, Meriamon-Sheshonk (I) made; who makes monuments for his father Amon-Re, lord of Thebes; that he may celebrate the jubilees of Re, and (pass) <sup>4</sup>the years of Atum, living forever. "O my good lord, mayest thou cause those who come during myriads of years, to say: 'Excellent is that which has been done for Amon!' Mayest thou bear witness that I have reigned a great reign."

*Yewepet, Opener of the Quarry*

**705.** He made the opening of the quarry anew, as a beginning of the work, <sup>5</sup>which the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, commander in chief of the army, Yewepet (*Yw-w<sup>2</sup>-p-ty*), triumphant, who is leader of the great army of the whole South, the royal son of the Lord of the Two Lands, Meriamon-Sheshonk (I), made for his lord, for Amon-Re, king of gods; that he may obtain life, prosperity, health, long life,

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<sup>a</sup>The part in which the stela is.

might, victory, and advanced old age<sup>a</sup> in Thebes, "O my good lord, mayest thou cause those who come during myriads of years, to say: 'Excellent is that which has been done for Amon!' Mayest thou bear witness that I have done a great deed."

*Dispatch of Haremsaf*

**706.** <sup>1</sup>Year 21, second month of the third season, — —.<sup>b</sup> On this day his majesty was in the house of Isis (named): "The-Great-Ka-of-Harakhte." <sup>2</sup>His majesty commanded that command be <sup>3</sup>given to the divine father of Amon-Re, king of gods, master of 'secret things' <sup>4</sup>of the house of Harakhte, chief of works of the Lord of the Two Lands, Haremsaf (*Hr-m-s ʿ*), <sup>5</sup>triumphant, to conduct every work '— —' <sup>6</sup>the choicest — of Silsileh, to make very great monuments for the house of his august father, <sup>7</sup>Amon-Re, lord of Thebes.

*Plans for Bubastite Gate*

**707.** His majesty gave stipulations for <sup>8</sup>building a very great pylon<sup>c</sup> of '—', in order to brighten Thebes; <sup>9</sup>erecting its double doors of myriads of cubits (in height), in order to make a jubilee-court<sup>d</sup> <sup>10</sup>for the house of his father, Amon-Re, king of gods; and to surround it with a colonnade.

*Return of Haremsaf*

**708.** <sup>11</sup>There returned in safety to the Southern City (Thebes), to the place where his majesty was, the divine father of Amon-Re, <sup>12</sup>king of gods, master of 'secret things' of the house of Harakhte, chief of works in "House-of-Kheperhezre-Setepnere-in-Thebes,"<sup>e</sup> <sup>13</sup>great in the love of his lord, the king, Haremsaf, <sup>14</sup>triumphant. He said: "All that thou didst say has come to pass, O <sup>15</sup>my good lord; none sleeping at night, nor slumbering by day, but building the eternal work without <sup>17</sup>ceasing."

*Reward of Haremsaf*

The favors of the king's-presence were given him, his reward was things of <sup>18</sup>silver and gold. . . . .<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Not "(as) a great chief;" see *Recueil*, 15, 84, l. 6.

<sup>b</sup>Not a lacuna; the day has been omitted by the scribe.

<sup>c</sup>Written as a clearly made representation of a pylon.

<sup>d</sup>*Wsh-hb-sd*.

<sup>e</sup>The name of the great Karnak temple under Sheshonk I.

<sup>f</sup>The conclusion of fifteen words is unintelligible.

GREAT KARNAK RELIEF<sup>a</sup>

709. The campaign of Sheshonk in Palestine in the fifth year of Rehoboam of Judah (1 Kings 14:25), probably about 926 B. C., must have taken place in the latter half of the reign of the founder of the new dynasty. He possessed no monument in Thebes, upon which he might record the achievement until his twenty-first year (about 924 B. C.), when he built the Bubastite gate in the Karnak temple and the first court to which it leads (§§ 701-8). Its wall then received a victorious relief of the conventional character, the inscriptions in which are made up of stereotyped phrases drawn from earlier monuments of the same kind, which are, therefore, too vague, general, and indecisive to furnish any solid basis for a study of Sheshonk's campaign. Had we not the brief reference in the Old Testament to his sack of Jerusalem, we should hardly have been able to surmise that the relief was the memorial of a specific campaign. However, as it is the only monumental record of the campaign<sup>b</sup> which we possess, it has been given in full below.

<sup>a</sup>On the outside of the south wall of the great Karnak temple, between the Bubastite gate and the south wall of the hypostyle, adjoining the reliefs of Ramses II. It is published by Champollion, *Monuments*, 284, 285; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 148; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 252, 253, a; Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 42. Besides these, the list alone has been published: Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, II, XXIV; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 113-19; and a collation by Maspero, *Recueil*, VII, 100, 101. I had also several photographs. The list is rapidly perishing; four names in the seventh row (Nos. 105-8) long ago fell out and are in Berlin; No. 27, Megiddo, has either fallen out or been removed; many names once legible are no longer so. And yet this priceless monument has never been exhaustively copied and published, in such a manner as a classical monument of its character would be. The best of the publications (apart from Mariette's photograph in *Voyage*) is Lepsius'.

<sup>b</sup>There are two other monumental references to the campaign. (1) the record of Syrian tribute at Karnak (§§ 723, 724); (2) the title attached to the name of an official of the time: "[fellow]er of the king on his campaigns in the countries of Retenu" (fragment of coffin from the Ramesseum; Petrie, *Ramesseum*, Pl. XXX a, No. 1; Müller, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, IV, 280-82). There is some question as to the date of the second reference; nor is it the only reference to the Asiatic war of this period, as stated by Müller (*ibid.*, 281).



710. Fortunately for us, the relief is accompanied by a list of the towns and localities plundered by Sheshonk, and as this list is our sole source for determining the limits of his campaign, we must briefly note the extent of territory which it involves. It enables us to control the statement of Amon in the relief (§ 722, l. 19), crediting Sheshonk with having captured Mitanni. No towns so far north can be found on the list. The reference to Mitanni is unquestionably drawn from older inscriptions, and the Egyptian scribes of this period probably knew little more of the vanished Euphrates kingdom than the authors of the Bentresh stela (III, §§ 429 ff.), a little later, knew of the same distant region.

711. The list<sup>a</sup> is introduced as usual by the Nine Bows, and the names which follow are unquestionably arranged in two main groups: first, the towns of Israel, and second, those of Judah. The main line of cleavage is probably somewhere between Nos. 50 and 60 or 65, but that this line is exclusive, or that the groups themselves are exclusive, is by no means certain. Roughly stated, the list devoted between fifty and sixty names to Israel, and about a hundred to Judah. Of the total of seventy-five or so that are preserved, only seventeen can be located with certainty, and two more with probability.<sup>b</sup> Fourteen of these belong to Israel; they are mostly important towns; while the remaining five in Judah are, with one exception, obscure villages. This may be an accident of preservation. The southernmost town captured is Arad, in southern Judah, and the northernmost is possibly Beth Anath, in northern Galilee, which, with Adamah, west of the Sea of Galilee, would stand alone, well north of the group of towns in the Kishon valley, which

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<sup>a</sup>On its arrangement and extent, see the description of the relief (§ 718).

<sup>b</sup>Of these nineteen, sixteen are found in the Old Testament.

are more likely to mark the limit of Sheshonk's northern advance.

712. Let us now notice the names in the list which may be identified and located.<sup>a</sup> Leaving the Nine Bows, which introduce the list, the following three names (10-12)<sup>b</sup> are mutilated and unrecognizable, the list then proceeds with towns of Israel in the Kishon valley and vicinity: No. 13, Rabbith (*Rw-b* <sup>ᵛ</sup> *-ty* = רַבִּיִּת); No. 14, Taanach (*T* <sup>ᵛ</sup> *-c* *-n-k* <sup>ᵛ</sup> = תַּעֲנַח); No. 15, Shunem (*š* <sup>ᵛ</sup> *-n-m* <sup>ᵛ</sup> = שֻׁנַּם);<sup>c</sup> No. 16, Bethshean (*B* <sup>ᵛ</sup> *-ty-š* <sup>ᵛ</sup> *-n-r* <sup>ᵛ</sup> = בֵּית־שֵׁאֵן);<sup>d</sup> No. 17, Rehob (*Rw-h* <sup>ᵛ</sup> *-b* <sup>ᵛ</sup> *-ᵛ* = רְחוֹב);<sup>e</sup> No. 18, Hapharaim (*h* <sup>ᵛ</sup> *-pw-rw-m* <sup>ᵛ</sup> = חַפְרַיִם);<sup>f</sup> No. 22, Machanaim (*M-h* <sup>ᵛ</sup> *-n-m* = מַחֲנַיִם);<sup>g</sup> No. 23, Gibeon (*k-b* <sup>ᵛ</sup> *-c* <sup>ᵛ</sup> *-n* <sup>ᵛ</sup> = גִּבְעוֹן);<sup>h</sup> No. 24, Beth-

<sup>a</sup>A number of important names in the list had already been identified by Champollion; many are due to Brugsch (*Geographische Inschriften*, II, 56-71); a study by Maspero *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1880, 44 ff.), a useful treatment by Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 166-72), and another fuller essay by Maspero, in *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, 27, 63-122, followed by a discussion by Conder, 123-30). The following numbers all refer to Lepsius, *Denkmäler*; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, has inserted a lost oval between 41 and 45, omitted two between 48 and 51, omitted one between 59 and 61, and misplaced 65 behind 68. The second and last of these errors were noted by Maspero in collating the original (*Recueil*, VII, 100), but his study (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1880, 44 ff.) employs the hopelessly confused numbering of Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, which makes it difficult to follow. Much could still be done with the list by a thorough Semitist. I have treated only those names calculated to elucidate the list as a whole, or those which can be geographically placed. The customary juggling with Semitic roots, taken from a Hebrew dictionary, may be made to fill many pages, but is, historically, totally valueless.

<sup>b</sup>The identification of two of them, as Gaza and Megiddo, is a guess; the occurrence of Megiddo later (27) shows that we cannot look for it here.

<sup>c</sup>These three all in Issachar.

<sup>d</sup>Manasseh; *n-r* = *n*, as commonly.

<sup>e</sup>Probably not Rehob by the Sea of Galilee; see Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 153.

<sup>f</sup>Issachar. No. 19, *ᵛ-d-rw-m* <sup>ᵛ</sup> *-m*, that is, אֲדָרִים, is perhaps אֲדָרִים, Adaroim in Judah. We should then necessarily conclude that the list has mixed the towns of the two kingdoms. No. 20 is lost, and No. 21 (*š* <sup>ᵛ</sup> *-w* <sup>ᵛ</sup> *-d*) is unknown.

<sup>g</sup>East of Jordan, Gad.

<sup>h</sup>Benjamin.

horon ( $B^{\circ} -ty-h-w^{\circ} -rw-n =$  בית הורון);<sup>a</sup> No. 26, Ajalon ( $^{\circ} -yw-rw-n =$  אילון);<sup>b</sup> No. 27, Megiddo ( $M-k-d-yw =$  מגידו).<sup>c</sup>

713. Next follows the much-discussed  $Yw-d-h-m-rw-k$  or ידהמלק (No. 29), which is, of course, not to be rendered "the king or kingdom of Judah."<sup>d</sup> With No. 32,<sup>e</sup>  $^{\circ} -r^{\circ} -n^{\circ}$ , ערן, we are again in the vicinity of southern Carmel; for this place is the Aruna, passed by Thutmose III on his march to Megiddo (II, 425). No. 34,<sup>f</sup>  $d^{\circ} -d-p-t-t-rw$ , דפתאל or צדפתל, was probably a city of central Palestine,<sup>g</sup> while the next recognizable name,<sup>h</sup> No. 38,  $S^{\circ} -yw-k^{\circ}$ , is phonetically exactly equivalent to Socoh (שכח),<sup>i</sup> and it would carry us into Judah.

<sup>a</sup>Ephraim; No. 25,  $k^{\circ} -d-t-m$ , is unknown.

<sup>b</sup>Dan, but in Israel.

<sup>c</sup>Issachar (though held by Manasseh). No. 28,  $^{\circ} -d-rw =$  אדר (or אדל) agrees phonetically exactly with אדר in Judah (Josh. 15:3; Numb. 34:4), but, again we should have a long leap from Israel into Judah; and Addar is well reproduced in No. 100, certainly in Judah.

<sup>d</sup>The impossibility of this rendering was long ago shown by Brugsch (*Geographische Inschriften*, II, 62, 63). He also proposed rendering  $h$  as the article; so also Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 167; *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, X, 81), who proposed "Hand of the King." The difficulty is that this involves the transliteration of the Semitic article by the Egyptian scribe, whereas in the lists regularly, and in this list everywhere, the article is translated (see Nos. 71, 77, 87, 90, 92, 94, etc.). The location of the place is unknown.

<sup>e</sup>No. 30 is lost; and No. 31,  $H^{\circ} -y^{\circ} -n-m$ , חיים or האנם, is unknown.

<sup>f</sup>No. 33,  $B^{\circ} -rw-m^{\circ} -m$ , בלמם, is unknown.

<sup>g</sup>It is not known from the Old Testament, but it is mentioned in Papyrus Anastasi, I, 22, 5, where it appears to be between northern Israel and Benjamin (see Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 167).

<sup>h</sup>No. 35 is too broken for use; No. 36,  $B^{\circ} -ty-t^{\circ} -rw-m^{\circ} m$  ( $m^{\circ} m = m$  in this list), or בית התלם, "House of the furrow," is unknown. In the collation (*Recueil*, VII, 100, No. 36), the  $ty$  has been overlooked, but it is perfectly clear on the photograph. Hence the long paragraph on the word (*Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, 27, 102, 103) falls away. No. 37,  $K^{\circ} -k^{\circ} -rw-y$ , perhaps a כקר (with  $q$  in the middle for  $כ$ ?), is unknown.

<sup>i</sup>There are two cities of this name in Judah, one in the valley of Elah toward the Shephelah, and the other in the highlands southwest of Hebron. See the objections of Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 161).

714. The entire next row (40-52) is lost,<sup>a</sup> except the first name, which began with an Abel, "meadow;" and the next row (53-65) is in little better condition. It contains three familiar names, No. 56,  $\text{ד}^{\text{ד}}\text{-m-}^{\text{ד}}$  or אַדְמִיָּה, perhaps Edom;<sup>b</sup> and No. 57,  $\text{ד}^{\text{ד}}\text{-rw-m}^{\text{ד}}\text{ m}$  (read *m*?) or צִוְרִים, "Rocks," which, however, are of slight geographical value; and No. 59,  $\text{Y-rw-d}^{\text{ד}}\text{-}^{\text{ד}}$ , Yeraza<sup>c</sup> of the Annals (II, 326, l. 12), in north-western Judah.

715. Nos. 65, 66,  $\text{P}^{\text{ד}}\text{-}^{\text{ד}}\text{-m-k}^{\text{ד}}\text{-}^{\text{ד}}\text{-y}^{\text{ד}}\text{-d-}^{\text{ד}}$ ,<sup>d</sup> "The<sup>e</sup> Valley of עִזָּה, or עֵצָה," form the first example of a long series of compound names (each occupying two rings), of which the first member is a well-known Semitic word, like שֶׁבֶלֶת, "Stream" (73 and 75), נֶגֶב, "South-country" (84, 90, 92), and הַקֵּל, "Field" (68, 71, 77, 87, 94, 96, 101, 107). But, unfortunately, these names, while often capable of translation, cannot be geographically located. The most interesting is (Nos. 71, 72)  $\text{P}^{\text{ד}}\text{-}^{\text{ד}}\text{-h-w-k-rw-}^{\text{ד}}\text{-}^{\text{ד}}\text{-b}^{\text{ד}}\text{-r}^{\text{ד}}\text{-m}$ , or הַקֵּל<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup>A few fragments in Maspero's collation.

<sup>b</sup>But names of countries do not appear in this list. There was an אֲדָמָה in Naphtali, and Müller proposes "Edumia-Dôme" in eastern Ephraim (Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 168).

<sup>c</sup>See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 152, note 1.

<sup>d</sup>There is no *m* at the end according to Maspero's collation (*Recueil*, VII, 100, No. 63, confirmed by photograph); hence there was no basis for the identification with עִזָּמִוֶן in Judah (Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 168). Why it is still read with *m* by Maspero (*Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, 27, 108, 109) in 1892, I do not know.

<sup>e</sup> $\text{P}^{\text{ד}}$  is the Egyptian article.

<sup>f</sup>Even if this word be Aramaic, it would not militate against the identification of the second part of the name with Abram. But its frequent occurrence in this list, quite justifies Bondi's conclusion that, although not found in the Old Testament, הַקֵּל is an old Canaanite word. The strange ending  $\text{ד}$  in which Müller would see the Aramaic status emphaticus, is of no significance here, for it is added to many names in the list, which we know existed in Palestine many centuries before the Aramaizing of the Palestinian dialects began. It is not unlikely that it is a feminine ending (for the undoubted feminine termination ם exists in the list only in those words in which it is still preserved in Hebrew. The ם elsewhere was therefore lost between the time of Thutmose III and Sheshonk I). That the

אברם,<sup>a</sup> which can be nothing else than “*The Field of Abram.*”<sup>b</sup> That the name of the traditional ancestor of the Hebrews should be found among the towns of southern Palestine, while of great interest, is not remarkable. We already have the name of Jacob in the lists of Thutmose III, and probably also that of Joseph. We might, therefore, expect to find the name of Abram, especially at this time, when we know that the traditions of their ancestors were especially cherished and daily current among the Hebrews, and were beginning at last to take permanent form. But the narratives of Genesis are all later than this list of She-shonk; hence this is the earliest mention of Abram’s name in an historical document—his first appearance in history.

716. The remainder of the list, as we have stated, offers very little which can be geographically determined. No. 100, <sup>2</sup>-d-r<sup>2</sup>-<sup>2</sup>,<sup>c</sup> is doubtless אֶרֶר in Judah, while of two

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ending <sup>2</sup> is a feminine ending in this list is indicated by the fact that this very word חקל, while four times written with the ending <sup>2</sup>, is once written with no ending, and once with *t* and the land-determinative. Such a *t* was at this time, exactly as in modern Arabic, not pronounced, but indicated merely the vowel *ā* or *ē*, the connection between the lost feminine *t* and the word to which it belonged. Finally it should be noticed that the plural of the word in this list is חקלם (107), which I need hardly state is a Hebrew and not an Aramaic plural. While masculine, it may still belong to a feminine noun like שנה, pl., שנים.

<sup>a</sup>This word is explained by Maspero (*Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, 27, 83) as a plural of אָבֵל, which he gives as “אָבֵלִים.” This equivalence is phonetically perfect, but nevertheless impossible. This plural is given its vowel-points as if it were an existent form, but the plural of אָבֵל, “meadow,” does not occur. The word is used in Hebrew only as the first member of an annexion in geographical names, e. g., אָבֵל קָרְמִים, and never occurs in any other combination. This is also its use in all of the other names in which it occurs in our list. Moreover, if this were not so, we must demand for the second number some specific term, name, or epithet.

<sup>b</sup>On showing this identification to Erman, he looked up his own studies on this list, and to his own surprise he found in his manuscript that he had made the same identification in 1888. It was also made independently by Schaefer.

<sup>c</sup>Repeated in No. 117.

Arads (Nos. 108, 110, <sup>c</sup>rw-d-<sup>2</sup>), one must be ערד in the desert of Judah. No. 124 is possibly to be emended to Beth Anoth,<sup>a</sup> and No. 125 is probably Sharuhēn of southern Judah.<sup>b</sup> We look in vain for Jerusalem, which (according to 1 Kings 14:25) was also plundered by Sheshonk. It must have been lost in one of the lacunæ.

Professor Sayce has kindly sent me the following note on the list:

“In the newly recovered portion of the list, Legrain has discovered the name of Jordan (*Yw-r-d-n*), and after *Raphia* and *L-b-a-n* we have <sup>c</sup>*n-p-rw-n*, עין-פרך (see Gen. 21:19, 21), and finally *H-<sup>2</sup>-m* (as in the list of Thothmes III).” He doubtless refers to readings in the bottom lines, which are not yet published.

717. The historical conclusions to be drawn from the peculiarities in the language and writing of the list seem to me to have been misunderstood. The alleged Aramaisms are very doubtful; but even if they be admitted, their use by the hieroglyphic scribe is so utterly opposed to the usage of Aramaic that they would prove only the personal peculiarity of an Egyptian scribe, slightly acquainted with Aramaic, and absolutely nothing as to the pronunciation of the name of a given town current in Palestine. The conclusion that this list shows that Aramaic had already become the leading language of Syria, therefore, seems to me, to be without basis.

<sup>a</sup>BethAnath (Josh. 19:38; Judg. 1:33) is in Naphtali; we may equally well read, with Müller, BethAnoth (Josh. 15:59), which was in Judah (modern Bêt-<sup>c</sup> Anân?).

<sup>b</sup>No. 118, *P<sup>2</sup>-b<sup>2</sup>-y<sup>2</sup>*, should be compared with the land *B<sup>2</sup>* which Schaefer tells me occurs on Seti I's stela at Tell-esh-Shehab in the Hauran. From the squeeze he read: “*Mut, mistress of B<sup>2</sup>* (*nb' t-B<sup>2</sup>*, with *b<sup>2</sup>*-bird and hill-country).” If BethAnath of Naphtali occurs in the second half of the list, a place in the Hauran might also be there.

The arrangement and content of the famous relief and its inscriptions will be found in the following description.

*Scene*

718. The king<sup>a</sup> on the right gathers in his left hand the hair of a group of kneeling Asiatics, who raise their hands appealing for mercy, as he brandishes his war-mace over their heads. On the left, Amon approaches, extending to the Pharaoh a sword, and leading to him by cords five lines of sixty-five captives. Below these are five lines more, containing ninety-one captives, led by the presiding goddess of Thebes. There are thus one hundred and fifty-six captives, each symbolizing a Palestinian town, the name of which is inclosed in a crenelated oval, above which appear the shoulders and head of the captive in each case.<sup>b</sup> Of these names, the fourth and tenth rows have almost entirely perished, involving the loss of thirty-one names; while twelve more, in different places, have also disappeared. Omitting badly mutilated examples, allowing for at least fifteen names which occupy two ovals each, and eliminating the Nine Bows, some seventy-five names of ancient Palestinian cities have here survived.

719. The accompanying inscriptions are the following:

*Over the Kneeling Captives*

Smiting the chiefs of the Nubian Troglodytes, of all inaccessible countries, all the lands of the Fenkhu, the countries — —.

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<sup>a</sup>This figure has now totally disappeared, as it evidently was only painted and never hewn in relief. From similar scenes we are able to restore the conventional figure of the Pharaoh, as above described.

<sup>b</sup>Compare the similar lists of earlier times; Thutmose III (II, 402, 403); Seti I (III, 113, 114); Ramses III (IV, 130, 131).

*Before the King*

Sheshonk I,<sup>a</sup> king, great in fame, smiting the countries that assail him, achieving with his sword, that the Two Lands may know that he has smitten the chiefs of all countries.

*With Amon*

720. <sup>1</sup>Welcome! my beloved son, Sheshonk,<sup>b</sup> — — mighty in strength. Thou hast smitten the lands and the countries, <sup>2</sup>thou hast crushed the Nubian Troglodytes, [thy] sword was mighty among the Asiatics; they were made fragments every moment. Thy victorious fame — all lands. <sup>3</sup>Thou wentest forth in victory, and thou hast returned in might; <sup>4</sup>thou hast united<sup>c</sup> —; I have <sup>5</sup>—<sup>d</sup> for thee the countries that knew not Egypt, that had begun to invade [thy] boundaries, in order to cut off their heads. <sup>6</sup>Victory is given into thy hands, all lands and all countries are united — —, the fear of thee is as far as the four pillars [of heaven], the terror<sup>e</sup> of thy majesty is among the Nine Bows: thou hast <sup>7</sup>— the hearts of the countries. Thou art Horus over the Two Lands, <sup>8</sup>thou art <sup>9</sup>— against thy enemies, when thou hast smitten the foe. Take thou my victorious sword,<sup>f</sup> thou whose war-mace has smitten the chiefs of the countries.

721. <sup>6</sup>Utterance of Amon-Re. . . . .<sup>g</sup> <sup>7</sup>“My heart is very glad, when I see thy victories, <sup>8-11</sup>my son, Meriamon-Sheshonk, my beloved, who camest forth from me, in order to be my champion. I have seen the excellence of thy plans; which thou hast executed, the — of my temple, which thou hast established [for] me, in Thebes, the great seat to which my heart [inclines]. <sup>12</sup>Thou hast begun to make monuments in Southern Heliopolis, Northern Heliopolis, and every city — — thereof for the <sup>13</sup>sole<sup>1</sup> god of its district. Thou hast made my temple of millions

<sup>a</sup>Threefold titulary.

<sup>b</sup>Some epithets omitted in translation.

<sup>c</sup>Sm > ? Or: “*thou hast explored*” (*wb > ?*).

<sup>d</sup>The *p* before the *s*, given by Lepsius, is probably an accidental fracture or chisel mark (photograph); but it may be the *wsh*-vessel, although *wsh*, “*extended, enlarged*,” does not fit the context.

<sup>e</sup>*Nhm*, “*battle-cry*?”

<sup>f</sup>Referring, of course, to the sword which he is represented as extending to the king.

<sup>g</sup>Titles of the god.



of years, — — of electrum, wherein I —. <sup>13</sup>Thy heart is satisfied over  
 [————] ————. Thou hast — <sup>14</sup>more than any king of them all.  
 Thou hast smitten every land, my mighty sword was the source of the  
 victories which I have given — — — — all the Asiatics <sup>15</sup>(*Mnyw-Stt*).  
 Thy fire raged as a flame behind them, it fought against every land,  
 which thou didst gather together, which thy majesty gave to it, (being)  
 Montu <sup>16</sup>the mighty overwhelming his enemies. Thy war-mace, it  
 struck down thy foes, the Asiatics of distant countries; thy serpent-  
 crest was mighty among them.”

722. “I made thy boundaries <sup>17</sup>as far as thou desiredst; I made the  
 Southerners come in obeisance to thee, and the Northerners to the great-  
 ness of thy fame. Thou hast made a great slaughter among them with-  
 out number, <sup>18</sup>falling in their valleys, being multitudes, annihilated and  
 perishing afterward, like those who have never been born. All the  
 countries that came — [—]; <sup>19</sup>thy majesty has destroyed them in the space  
 of a moment. I have trampled for thee them that rebelled against thee,  
 overthrowing [for] thee the Asiatics of the army of Mitanni (*M-t-n*);  
<sup>20</sup>I have humbled them [—] beneath thy feet. I am thy father, the  
 lord of gods, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, sole leader, whose remnant<sup>a</sup>  
 escapes not, that I may cause thy valor to be [remembered] in the  
 future<sup>b</sup> through all eternity.”

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#### PRESENTATION OF TRIBUTE<sup>c</sup>

723. This fragmentary inscription in all likelihood accom-  
 panied a relief depicting the presentation of tribute to Amon; for it represents Sheshonk addressing Amon, and delivering  
 to him the tribute of Syria (*h<sup>3</sup> rw*) and Nubia. The date  
 is unfortunately lost, but it is, of course, after the Palestin-  
 ian campaign. Sheshonk evidently controlled lower Nubia,

<sup>a</sup>The remnant whom he has not slain.

<sup>b</sup>Text has *m nh* (with the legs); but we must read either *m ht* or *n m ht*, that  
 is, “*hereafter*,” or “*for the hereafter*.”

<sup>c</sup>Wall inscription in great temple of Karnak, in a chamber immediately on  
 the northwest of the sanctuary (Champollion, “*Cour U*”); published: Champol-  
 lion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 142-44; Lepsius, *Denkmaler*, III, 255, *c* (royal name  
 only).

as the tribute of that country is too specifically enumerated to be considered as a conventional boast. This fact is in harmony with the claim in the great relief, that Sheshonk I smote Nubia (§ 720, l. 2).

724. [Year] — under the majesty of King Sheshonk<sup>a</sup> (I) ——— [in] “The-House-of-Millions-of-Years-of-King-Kheperhezre-Setepnere- (*Hpr-hd-R<sup>c</sup> Stp-n-R<sup>c</sup>*), -Son-of-Re,-Meriamon-Sheshonk (*Š<sup>ḏ</sup> -š<sup>ḏ</sup> -n-k*)-I,-Which-is-in-Memphis (*H<sup>ḏ</sup> t-k<sup>ḏ</sup> -Pth*)” ——— O Amon, thou maker of the land of the Negro ———<sup>b</sup> tribute of the land of Syria (*H<sup>ḏ</sup> -rw*) ——— I bring it to thee from the land of the Negro ——— red cattle, thy firstlings<sup>c</sup> ——— thy gazelles, thy panther-skins.

#### KARNAK STELA<sup>d</sup>

724A. On this stela Sheshonk I recorded a very interesting account of his Asiatic campaign, but it is now in such a fragmentary state that very little can be discerned beyond the fact that some incident, possibly a battle of the campaign, occurred on the shores of the Bitter Lakes in the Isthmus of Suez. At the top of the stela Sheshonk I and his son Yewepet are shown in a relief offering wine to Amon-Re. Of the inscription below them, only the following fragments are intelligible:

——— Said his majesty to the court: “——— the evil things which they have done.” Said they: —— his horses after him, while they knew (it) not. Lo —— His majesty made a great slaughter among them —— he ——ed them upon the ‘dyke’ of the shore of Kemwer<sup>e</sup> (*Km-wr*). He it was ——.

<sup>a</sup>Full fivefold titulary.

<sup>b</sup>The length of the lacuna is uncertain.

<sup>c</sup>With determinative of cattle.

<sup>d</sup>Fragments of a stela of gritstone, found by Legrain, in hall K, at Karnak; *Annales*, V, 38, 39.

<sup>e</sup>See I, 493, l. 21, and note.

DAKHEL STELA<sup>a</sup>

725. This monument is dated under a Sheshonk whose prenomen is not given. As his nineteenth year is mentioned he cannot be Sheshonk II; so that the uncertainty lies between Sheshonk I and Sheshonk III. Of the two, Sheshonk I seems to me the more probable, as the document mentions a revolt in the oasis, and a reorganization, which would be especially likely to occur at the advent of a new dynasty, and we find Dakhel under the control of Sheshonk I's successor, Osorkon I.

The document is really the record of the successful claim of a certain priest of the Southern Oasis, Nesubast, to a well alleged to belong to his family. The case is tried before Khonsu, the god of the oasis, and a legal decision sought from him, in the manner customary since the Twenty-first Dynasty. As a legal document it will be taken up in a later volume of this series, devoted exclusively to such documents. The stela interests us here, because Nesubast presented his claim on the arrival of the new governor of the oasis, Wayeheset,<sup>b</sup> a priest of Diospolis Parva, whom Sheshonk sent to reorganize the oasis, then in a state of rebellion, and probably plundered and wasted. The oasis was used as a place of banishment for political exiles, and such an outbreak, as we have stated, might be expected at the accession of a new dynasty.

The name of the new governor is Libyan, like the new

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<sup>a</sup>Limestone stela, 37 inches high, 26 inches wide, 4½ inches thick, with inscription of 20 lines in hieratic; found by Captain H. G. Lyons, in 1894, at the village of Mut, in the oasis of Dakhel. Published by Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, 21, 12-21, with an excellent pioneer study, and transcription, upon which my own treatment is essentially based.

<sup>b</sup>A relief at the top of the stela shows the governor and Nesubast praying, probably before one of the wells involved. Two women, probably their wives, appear with them.

dynasty he served, and the stela, both in its form and language, plainly betrays its half-barbarous origin at the hands of partly Egyptianized Libyans, in the distant oasis.

*Date*

**726.** Year 5, fourth month of the second season, day 16, of the king, the Pharaoh, L. P. H., Sheshonk, L. P. H., beloved of Amon-Re.

*Arrival of Wayeheset*

On this day 'went up' the son of the chief (*ms*) of the Me; <sup>2</sup>chief (<sup>c</sup>) of a district (*k c h*);<sup>a</sup> prophet of Hathor of Diospolis Parva; prophet of Horus 'of the South', lord of Perzoz (*Pr-ḏ ḏ*), prophet of Sutekh, lord of the oasis; chief of irrigation, <sup>3</sup>overseer of '—';<sup>b</sup> the chief of the two lands<sup>c</sup> of the oasis, and the two towns<sup>d</sup> of the oasis, Wayeheset (*W ḏ -yw-h ḏ -s ḏ -t ḏ*); when Pharaoh, L. P. H., sent him to organize the land of the oasis, <sup>4</sup>after it had been found to be in a state of rebellion, and desolate, on the day of arrival to inspect the wells and cisterns <sup>5</sup>which are behind the oasis (*nty s ḏ wt*), *hbs*-wells, and *ww*-wells, which 'lie behind, and look eastward', (even) the cisterns and wells, <sup>6</sup>when the prophet of Sutekh, Nesubast (*Ns-sw-b ḏ -ys t*), son of Peheti (*P ḏ h ḏ ty*), spake before him, saying:

*Claim of Nesubast*

**727.** "Behold, a 'flowing' spring, lying here toward the east ('named'): 'Rising-of-Re,' which this '[cistern]'<sup>e</sup> of Re sees, before which thou art; it is a citizen's-cistern belonging to Tewhenut (*T ḏ yw-hnw t*), whose mother is Henutenter (*Hnw t-ntrw*), my mother." The prophet and chief Wayeheset; he said: "Stand before Sutekh <sup>8</sup>[and tell] it, this day, when the prophet brings out in procession this august [god], Sutekh, the great in strength, son of Nut, the great god, in the year 5, fourth month of the second season, day 25, at his beautiful feast of Urshu (*Wršw*)."

<sup>a</sup>Besides the will of Yewelot (§ 741, l. 23), this title is found on the coffin of Zeptahefonekh (Maspero, *Mummies royales*, 573), also of the Twenty-second Dynasty.

<sup>b</sup>Agriculture or gardening of some sort is indicated by the word (*št ḏ y*).

<sup>c</sup>Viz., el-Khargeh and Dakhel, which together form the Southern Oasis, known to the ancients as *Oasis Major*; see Spiegelberg, *loc. cit.*, 18.

<sup>d</sup>Viz., el-Hibe and Dakhel; see Spiegelberg, *ibid.*

<sup>e</sup>Restored from l. 9.

*Claim Referred to Sutekh*

**728.** The chief Wayeheset stood in the presence (of the god), saying: "O Sutekh, thou great god! If it be true as to Nesubast, son of Peheti, that the northwestern spring of this well, the cistern (called): 'Rising-of-Re,' this cistern of Re, which is behind the oasis, belongs to Tewhenut, his mother, <sup>10</sup>(then) confirm thou it to him this day."

The remainder of the text is of a purely legal character, narrating how, after this first interview with the god, the decision was not rendered by him for fourteen years, during which the suit must have continued. Then, in the year 19, the god confirmed Nesubast's title to the well (ll. 11 ff.).

## REIGN OF OSORKON I

### RECORD OF TEMPLE GIFTS<sup>a</sup>

729. In his fourth year Osorkon I, for some reason, compiled a record of all the statues, images, vessels, utensils, and the like, which he had presented to the temples of Egypt. The amounts of gold and silver involved are sufficiently large to be of economic importance. The smaller items of gold amount to 20,538 deben, or about 5,005 pounds troy; and those of silver reach a total of 72,870 deben, or over 17,762 pounds, troy. The weight of many articles is, however, not indicated. On the fragments we find mentioned 2,000,000 deben, or about 487,180 pounds troy, of silver, and again 2,300,000 deben, or about 560,297 pounds troy, of gold and silver. How far these last amounts include the others, of which they might be the totals, is not determinable. That such sums could be given to the temples, evidently in addition to their fixed incomes, is important evidence of the great wealth and prosperity of the Twenty-second Dynasty kings. These records also show that Osorkon I controlled the oases of Dakhel and Khargeh (l. 5) and hence, of course, the other oases also.

#### *Address to the King<sup>b</sup>*

730. <sup>1</sup>———— their bodies repose in all their favorite places; <sup>2</sup>there is none hostile toward them —<sup>1</sup>, since the time of former kings;

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<sup>a</sup>Found by Naville in a small temple beyond the outskirts of the tell of Bubastis, dating from the time of Ramses II. The inscriptions are engraved on four sides of a red granite pillar, now in twenty-nine small fragments, of which two may be put together, giving the beginnings (from one-fourth to two-thirds of the line) of six lines. Now in Cairo Museum, No. 675 (*Guide*, 177, without name of king). They are published by Naville (*Bubastis*, I, Pls. 51, 52), from drawings by Madame Naville, made from squeezes.

<sup>b</sup>It is not clear who is here speaking to the king.

there is none like thee in this land. Every god abides upon his throne, and enters his abode with glad heart, 'since' thou art installed<sup>a</sup> to be 'king' ——— thee, building their houses, and multiplying their vessels of gold, silver, and every genuine costly stone, for which his majesty 'gave' instructions, in his capacity as Thoth (*Hnty-hsr t*).

*Heading of List*

**731.** List of monuments which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands [Osorkon I]<sup>b</sup> made<sup>3</sup> [for all the gods and goddesses of]<sup>c</sup> all the cities of the South and North; from the year [1], first (month) of the [second season],<sup>d</sup> day 7, to the year 4,<sup>e</sup> fourth month of the third season, day 25; which makes 3 years, 3 months, and 16 days.

*Re-Harakhte*

**732.** His majesty gave to the house of his father, Re-Harakhte:  
Beaten gold: an august chapel of Atum-Khepri, lord of Heliopolis.

Hammered gold	a sphinx
Real lapis lazuli	10 sphinxes <sup>f</sup>
Amounting to: gold	15,345 deben
silver	14,150 deben
genuine lapis lazuli	4,000 (+x) [deben]

— vessel, amounting to 100,000 deben, presented before Re-Harakhte-Atum, begetter of his two fledgelings.

A *shg*-vessel, amounting to:

Gold	5,010 deben
Silver	30,720 “
Genuine lapis lazuli	1,600 “
Black copper	5,000 “

<sup>a</sup>[*yw-tw hr*] *bs k*.

<sup>b</sup>Restored from other fragments, where the name several times occurs.

<sup>c</sup>The amount lost is probably not great, and the restoration is almost certain.

<sup>d</sup>Restored by computing from the total of three years, etc. There is a discrepancy of two days, which is undoubtedly due to the modern copy.

<sup>e</sup>Another fragment (Pl. 52, C 1) bears the date: “*year 4, second month of the second season, day 10 (+x)*.”

<sup>f</sup>Both of these statues may be figures of the king on one knee with the other limb extended behind; but the drawing is too imperfect to determine.

<sup>g</sup>Mistake in the copy; the same word is written with *s* and the vessel (?) a little farther on in this line. It looks like the *hn*-sign; should we read *shn*? Models of this object were presented by the king to the god; see e. g., Naville, *Festival Hall of Osorkon II*, Pl. XI.

*Hathor*

733. A chapel, amounting to 100,000 deben, presented before Hathor, mistress of Hotep-em-hotep.

*Mut*

Gold and silver: a *sh*-vessel<sup>1</sup>, presented before Mut, the sistrum-bearer.

*Harsaphes*

Gold and silver: a *sh*-vessel<sup>1</sup>.

Beaten silver: a chapel presented before<sup>a</sup> Harsaphes, lord of Heliopolis.

*Thoth*

Gold and silver: a *sh*-vessel<sup>1</sup>, presented before Thoth, lord of Hermopolis.

*Bast*

734. Gold and silver: a *sh*-vessel<sup>1</sup> presented before Bast, mistress of Bubastis.

*Thoth*

Gold: a *sh*-vessel<sup>1</sup> presented before Thoth, residing in [—].

Gold and silver: <sup>5</sup>—————

*Uncertain God*

————— [amounting to:]

Gold	— —
Silver	9,000 deben
Black copper	30,000 “

His<sup>b</sup> tribute is (the oases of) Dakhel and Khargeh, being wine<sup>c</sup> and shedeh; Hemy wine, and Syene<sup>d</sup> wine likewise, in order to maintain [—] his house according to the word thereof.

<sup>a</sup>Of course, the copy is here wrong; read *rdy-t m b h* as elsewhere *passim*; a Harsaphes of Heliopolis is not otherwise known, as far as I have observed.

<sup>b</sup>What god is meant is unfortunately uncertain, owing to the lacuna at the beginning of the line.

<sup>c</sup>On the wines of these two oases, see Brugsch, *Reise nach der Grossen Oase*, 79–81. Brugsch's remark (*ibid.*, 92) that the wines of these two oases are not mentioned before Græco-Roman times was made before our inscription was discovered. See also Dümichen, *Oasen*, 25, 26.

<sup>d</sup>Not to be confused with Syene at the first cataract. These two cities (*Hmy* and *Swny*, misread *Nwny* by Naville) were in the western Delta, the former in the vicinity of Lake Mareotis, the latter also probably not far from it. See Brugsch, *op. cit.*, 91, Nos. 2 and 5.



*Re*

735. His majesty gave to the house of Re and his divine ennead:

Silver:	3 candelabras <sup>a</sup>										
Gold:	1—1.										
Silver:	<table> <tr><td>3 <i>dw</i>-vessels.</td></tr> <tr><td>3 offering-tablets.</td></tr> <tr><td>17 small altars.</td></tr> <tr><td>1 flat dish (<i>'dd' t</i>)</td></tr> <tr><td>1 cartouche-vessel.</td></tr> <tr><td>2 bowls.</td></tr> <tr><td>10 altars.</td></tr> <tr><td>1 <i>'hin</i><sup>1</sup>-vessel.</td></tr> <tr><td>1 spouted vessel.</td></tr> <tr><td>1 pitcher.</td></tr> </table>	3 <i>dw</i> -vessels.	3 offering-tablets.	17 small altars.	1 flat dish ( <i>'dd' t</i> )	1 cartouche-vessel.	2 bowls.	10 altars.	1 <i>'hin</i> <sup>1</sup> -vessel.	1 spouted vessel.	1 pitcher.
3 <i>dw</i> -vessels.											
3 offering-tablets.											
17 small altars.											
1 flat dish ( <i>'dd' t</i> )											
1 cartouche-vessel.											
2 bowls.											
10 altars.											
1 <i>'hin</i> <sup>1</sup> -vessel.											
1 spouted vessel.											
1 pitcher.											
Gold:	<table> <tr><td>3 <i>dw</i>-altars.</td></tr> <tr><td>1 pitcher.</td></tr> <tr><td>2 <i>Thoth</i>-apes.</td></tr> <tr><td>2 large censers.</td></tr> <tr><td>6 altars.</td></tr> <tr><td>_____.</td></tr> <tr><td>1 fourfold censer.</td></tr> </table>	3 <i>dw</i> -altars.	1 pitcher.	2 <i>Thoth</i> -apes.	2 large censers.	6 altars.	_____.	1 fourfold censer.			
3 <i>dw</i> -altars.											
1 pitcher.											
2 <i>Thoth</i> -apes.											
2 large censers.											
6 altars.											
_____.											
1 fourfold censer.											
Gold:	_____.										
Lapis lazuli	_____.										
<sup>6</sup> _____	332,000 deben.										
¶In all¶	594,300 deben.										

*Amon-Re*

736. His majesty gave to the house of Amon-Re, king of gods:<sup>b</sup>

His majesty wrought a standing statue offering incense ¶ — — ¶, its body was of gold and silver in beaten work, amounting to:

Gold	183 <sup>c</sup> deben
Silver	19,000 <sup>d</sup> “
Black copper	_____ “
Gold <sup>e</sup>	a ¶ — — — ¶

its chapel, a censer ¶of¶ gold of —.

<sup>a</sup>*Hry-sd' t*, lit., “fire-bearer;” it occurs elsewhere only in the Stela of Nastesen, l. 49 (ed. Schaefer, 126).

<sup>b</sup>The introductory formulary, ordinarily followed by a series of nouns, is here followed by a verb.

<sup>c</sup>Possibly 184 or 185.

<sup>d</sup>The hundreds, tens, and units are lost.

<sup>e</sup>It is uncertain whether this continues the description of the statue or begins a new article.

Silver: an altar.

「————」.

————.

**737.** The remaining fragments contain little available material, but they have preserved several data of importance. Among these are: “4 chapels, 3 altars of silver, a processional image of Amon of fine gold;”<sup>a</sup> “2,000,000 (+x) deben of silver;”<sup>b</sup> “2,300,000 (+x) deben of gold and silver.”<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>*Op. cit.*, Pl. 52, M 1.

<sup>b</sup>*Ibid.*, C 2.

<sup>c</sup>*Ibid.*, I 2.

## REIGN OF TAKELOT I

### STATUE OF THE NILE-GOD DEDICATED BY THE HIGH PRIEST SHESHONK<sup>a</sup>

738. Maspero's surprise<sup>b</sup> that this monument should formerly have been so strangely misunderstood, was well grounded. The monument is one of a common class, dedicated to a god, for the sake of the well-being of the donor, which he craves from the god in a prayer inscribed upon it. The character of the donor, his origin, and his prayer are, in the case of this statue, of great historical importance. He is the High Priest of Amon, Meriamon-Sheshonk, son of Osorkon I. As his mother, Makere, is stated to be the daughter of King Pesibkenno, this king can be no other than the second of that name, the last king of the Twenty-first Dynasty.

739. It thus appears that Sheshonk I strengthened his dynasty by an alliance with the old ruling house, the Twenty-first Dynasty of Tanis, by marrying his son, Osorkon I, to the daughter of Pesibkhenno II. As High Priest of Amon at Thebes, the son of this marriage, Sheshonk, assumed royal honors, placed his name in a cartouche, and commanded all the military of Egypt. Characteristic of the turbulent conditions of the time is his prayer for "*all valiant might, to take captive his land.*" His power again shows how truly Thebes

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<sup>a</sup>British Museum; published: Yorke and Leake, *Les principaux monuments Egyptiens du Musée Britannique*, Londres, 1827, Pl. I, Fig. 3 (translated from *Royal Society of Literature*, I; statue and cartouches only); Arundale and Bonomi, *Gallery of Antiquities*, Pl. XIII; Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XV, a-g; Maspero, *Momies royales*, 734-36.

<sup>b</sup>*Op. cit.*, 734.

had become a semi-independent principality. He finally shook off the power of the north sufficiently to make his own son his successor at Thebes.<sup>a</sup>

**740.<sup>b</sup>** Made it the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Meriamon-Sheshonk, for his lord, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak, in order to crave life, prosperity, health, long life, an advanced and happy old age, might and victory over every land and every country, [—] — —, all valiant might, to take captive his land; lord of South and North, the leader, Meriamon-Sheshonk, who is great leader of the army of all Egypt, king's-son of the Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offering, Meriamon-Osorkon (I); his mother being Makere, king's-daughter of the Lord of the Two Lands, Meriamon-Horus-Pesibkhenno (II), given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever.

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<sup>a</sup>*Ibid.*, § 44.

<sup>b</sup>One section number (741) is intentionally omitted.

## REIGN OF OSORKON II

### FLOOD INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

**742.** As in the days of Nesubnebded, some two hundred years earlier, the inundation again flooded the temple of Luxor in the third year of Osorkon II, and the water rose to a depth of over two feet<sup>b</sup> on the temple pavement. “*All the temples of Thebes were like marshes.*” Amon was brought forth from the temple in his sacred barque, and the priests prayed that he might abate the flood.

**743.** <sup>1</sup>Year 3, first month of the second season, day 12,<sup>c</sup> under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Setepnamon, L. P. H.; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, <sup>2</sup>Osorkon (II)-Siese-Meriamon, given life forever.

The flood<sup>d</sup> came on, in this whole land; <sup>3</sup>it invaded the two shores as in the beginning. This land was in his power like the sea, there was no dyke<sup>e</sup> of <sup>4</sup>the people to withstand its fury. All the people were like birds upon its <sup>1</sup>—, the tempest — his —, suspended — like the heavens. <sup>5</sup>All the temples of Thebes were like marshes.

On this day Amon caused to appear in Opet, the [barque] of his (portable) image —; <sup>6</sup>when he had entered the “Great House”<sup>f</sup> of his barque of this temple.

**744.** Then one of the prophets of Amon addressed to the

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<sup>a</sup>Hieratic inscription on the inner wall, in the northwest corner of the hypostyle of the Luxor temple. Published, in transcription only, by Daressy, *Recueil*, 18, 181–84.

<sup>b</sup>Exactly 62 cm.; Daressy, *Recueil*, 20, 80, CLIX. Its height is determined by the record on the quai at Karnak (§ 696, No. 5).

<sup>c</sup>This calendar date for the high level of the inundation does not at all correspond to the place of the calendar in the seasons at this time as fixed by well-authenticated dates in other periods. Hieratic dates are usually very cursive, and there is little doubt that the transliteration is here incorrect.

<sup>d</sup>*Nw* or *nwn*.

<sup>e</sup>Or: “*canal*” (*c -mw*).

<sup>f</sup>This is the shrine which occupies the middle of the sacred barque, the whole being borne on the shoulders of priests.

god a long hymn of forty-two lines, consisting mainly of conventional phrases common in such compositions, but it contained, of course, an appeal to moderate the inundation, which is, however, too fragmentary to be intelligible.

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STATUE INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

**745.** This inscription contains only a prayer of the king, but the blessings for which he prays are of great political significance. He desires that his descendants may rule over the high priests of Amon, the chiefs of the Meshwesh, and the prophets of Harsaphes. The power of the last is evident from the long genealogy of Harpeson, whose ancestor, Namlot, a son of Osorkon II, was appointed by this king as High Priest of Harsaphes at Heracleopolis and governor of the South, with military command (§ 787, No. 11).<sup>b</sup>

**746.** The distribution of territory among these nobles was evidently thus: Thebes controlled at least from lower Nubia to Siut;<sup>c</sup> Heracleopolis, probably from Siut to the Delta; and the Meshwesh chieftains held the Delta cities, as formerly. Egypt was thus clearly divided at this time into feudal principalities, more or less responsible to the Bubastite Pharaoh. It is for the control of this tottering state by his descendants, that Osorkon II prays as follows:

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<sup>a</sup>Granite stela, held by a kneeling statue of Osorkon II, at Tanis, doubtless the one published by Petrie (*Tanis*, XIV, No. 3; VI, 41, A.C.D.), as Daressy has noticed (*Recueil*, 18, 49); although Petrie thought the statue was one of Ramses II usurped by Osorkon II (*op. cit.*, 25). It was seen and copied by de Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 71, 72), and published again by Daressy (*loc. cit.*).

<sup>b</sup>The same Namlot was High Priest of Amon, and thus ruled at Thebes also (§ 789).

<sup>c</sup>The northern boundary is fixed by the will of Yewelot (§ 741); the southern is probable from the mention of "gold of *Khenhennofer*" given by the High Priest of Amon, Osorkon (§ 770), although this gold might have been secured in trade. For Heracleopolis we have no data as to its boundaries, except that it probably began control where that of Thebes ended, viz., at Siut.

747. May my issue —, the seed that has come forth from my limbs, rule<sup>a</sup> — <sup>8</sup>the great — of Egypt, the hereditary princes:<sup>b</sup> the high priests of Amon-Re, king of gods, the great chiefs of Me and — <sup>9</sup>— —,<sup>c</sup> the prophets of Harsaphes, king of South and North, while I command that his servant come down to — —, <sup>10</sup>and he inclines their hearts toward the Son of Re, Meriamon-Sibast-Osorkon (II); may he put them — <sup>11</sup>— [—]. Thou shalt establish my children in the [offices] <sup>12</sup>which I have given to them; let not the heart of brother be exalted [against] his brother. [As <sup>13</sup>for] Queen Kerome, may he grant that she stand before me at these <sup>14</sup>my<sup>1</sup> feasts. [May he <sup>14</sup>grant] that her male children and her —<sup>d</sup> may live, <sup>15</sup>that they may go at the head of the army, and that they bring back to me [their] report <sup>16</sup>[concerning] the —.<sup>e</sup>

#### JUBILEE INSCRIPTIONS<sup>f</sup>

748. In his twenty-second year Osorkon II celebrated his first jubilee. At Bubastis the king erected a hall in the temple for the celebration of this feast, which he therefore called the “*jubilee-hall*.” One of the surviving blocks carries the following record<sup>g</sup> of the erection of the building:

Appearance<sup>h</sup> of the majesty of this august god, beginning the way, to rest in the jubilee-house, which his majesty made anew,<sup>i</sup> of — —; all its walls are of electrum, the columns — —.

<sup>a</sup>Lit., “*command*” (*ts*).

<sup>b</sup>I take it that, in apposition with the preceding, three classes are enumerated: (1) high priests of Amon; (2) chiefs of the Meshwesh and ——— (?); (3) prophets of Heracleopolis.

<sup>c</sup>According to Daressy, this word ends in *tyw* and has the determinative of foreigners; but Rougé gives it the ending *kʿ*, with the same determinative. It may therefore be the Libyan Kehek (*khk*).

<sup>d</sup>One would expect “female children” in the lacuna, but there is hardly room, and the restoration would not fit the following context.

<sup>e</sup>A name of foreigners ending in *ywd*! The fragments of the remaining five lines I do not understand.

<sup>f</sup>Blocks from the jubilee-hall of the great temple at Bubastis, published by Naville, *The Festival Hall of Osorkon II* (London).

<sup>g</sup>Naville, *op. cit.*, Pl. VI.

<sup>h</sup>The appearance of the procession bearing Amon in his shrine; this was depicted in a relief which the inscription accompanied.

<sup>i</sup>Or possibly: “*for the first time*.”

749. The walls of this building bore a long series of reliefs depicting the elaborate ceremonies accompanying the celebration of the jubilee. These are almost all of religious significance and connection; but one of the ceremonies is of great historical importance. It was, perhaps, the opening rite of the jubilee, for it commemorated the assumption of power by the king. He is shown in a relief<sup>a</sup> seated on a portable throne, of the greatest simplicity, and borne on the shoulders of his servants. The scene is accompanied by the words:

Carrying the king, sitting upon the portable throne; procession of the king to the palace.

Beneath the throne are inscribed the words:

All lands, all countries, Upper Retenu, Lower Retenu, all inaccessible countries are under the feet of this Good God.<sup>b</sup>

750. Above the scene is an inscription which indicates clearly the nature of the particular event commemorated, viz., the assumption by the king of the responsibility for the protection of the land. That this was a characteristic, if not the chief, ceremony of the jubilee (*hb-sd*) is shown by the words of the conquered Hermopolitans to Piankhi: "*Celebrate for us a jubilee (hb-sd), even as thou hast protected the Hare nome*" (§ 848, l. 61). It is not evident why the ministering women of the Theban temple should be given so much attention. The prominence of Amon, who dominates the ceremony, is noteworthy. Probably the most important fact furnished by the inscription is the statement that Thebes is exempt from inspection by the royal fiscal officers, who do not even go thither. It would thus appear that Thebes was

<sup>a</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>b</sup>The identification of Osorkon II, because of this inscription, with Zerah the Ethiopian, who, according to 2 Chron. 14:8, invaded Judah in Asa's time, hardly needs any refutation.



not taxed by the Bubastites, at least not by Osorkon II. This conclusion is substantiated by the long list of offerings to Amon, recorded by the High Priest of Amon, Osorkon, in his own name, under Takelot II and Sheshonk III (§§ 756 ff.).

751. The inscription is as follows:

*Assumption of Government*

Year 22, fourth month of the first season (occurred) the appearance of the king in the temple (*h' t-ntr*) of Amon, which is in the jubilee-hall, resting on the portable throne; and the assumption of the protection of the Two Lands by the king, the protection of the sacred women of the house of Amon, and the protection of all the women of his city, who have been maid-servants since the time of the fathers, even the maid-servants in every house,<sup>a</sup> who are assessed for their service yearly.

*Royal Offerings*

Lo, his majesty sought great benefactions for his father, Amon-Re, when he (Amon) decreed the first jubilee for his son, who rests upon his throne, that he might decree for him a great multitude (of jubilees) in Thebes, mistress of the Nine Bows.

*Exemption of Thebes*

Said the king in the presence of his father, Amon: "I have protected Thebes in her height and in her breadth, pure, delivered to her lord. No inspectors of the king's-house (*pr-stny*) journey to her; her people are protected forever,<sup>b</sup> in the great name of the Good God."

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<sup>a</sup>Temple.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "two sixty-year periods."

## REIGN OF TAKELOT II

### GRAFFITO OF HARSIESE<sup>a</sup>

752. This document, while furnishing some data of importance regarding hereditary claims among the priests of Amon, is valuable also for its confirmation of the arrival of Osorkon as High Priest at Thebes in the eleventh year of Takelot II. It is dated four months and eleven days after the date of the beginning of his annals (§ 760), and furnishes us the exact day of his arrival in Thebes.<sup>b</sup> The occasion is the feast of Khonsu, and a priest in the Karnak temple of Thutmose III, probably named Harsiese, improved the opportunity of the new High Priest's presence to present a family claim. The document is as follows:

#### *Date*

753. Year 11 under the majesty of the king, the Lord of the Two Lands, Meriamon-Siese-Takelot (II), given life forever; the first month of the third season, day 11.

#### *Arrival of the High Priest*

On this day there arrived at Thebes, the victorious, the eye of Re, mistress of temples, bright dwelling of Amon of the hidden name, his city of r—1, the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, commander in chief of the army, Osorkon, triumphant, royal son of the Lord of the Two Lands, Takelot II, living forever; at his beautiful feast<sup>c</sup> of the first (month) of the third season.

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<sup>a</sup>Cut on one of the roofing-blocks of the rear of the great Karnak temple built by Thutmose III. Now in the Louvre; published: Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 162-64; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 255, *i*; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1071-73. I had also my own copy of the original.

<sup>b</sup>As the bulk of his term of office fell in the reign of Sheshonk III, the five years of his annals falling under Takelot II are herein placed with the reign of Sheshonk III (§§ 756-70).

<sup>c</sup>The Feast of Khonsu, after whom the month is named.

*Claim of Harsiese*

There came the great priest (*w<sup>c</sup> b*) of the house of Amon, serving his month in "Glorious-in-Monuments,"<sup>a</sup> in the third phyle, Harsi[fese] — — — — —<sup>b</sup> triumphant, before the governor of the South, saying: "I am the *c k*-priest of Karnak, I am the son of the great prophets of Amon, through my mother."

754. Harsiese then presents some hereditary claim, the nature of which is not entirely clear, but probably he claimed the hereditary right to cleanse the temple, its utensils, or the wardrobe of the god. The High Priest granted him his claim; whereupon he immediately exercised his family privilege, and, to prevent any further question as to his rights, he engraved the above record of the facts on the roof of the great Karnak temple.

STELA OF KEROME<sup>c</sup>

755. This monument is primarily important because it furnishes the highest known date of Takelot II's reign, year 25. It records the gift of 35 stat of land to a princess, and singer of the temple of Amon, Kerome; but whether for her tomb or for her support in the temple, does not appear. A relief at the top shows Amon and Khonsu on the left, before whom, emerging from a chapel or possibly a sarcophagus on

<sup>a</sup>*y<sup>o</sup> h<sup>w</sup> mnw*; evidently a designation of the Amon-temple; the same building is mentioned on a mummy of the Twenty-first Dynasty (Daressy, *Annales*, IV, 10 of *tirage à part*); and as early as Haremhab the goddess Amonet (feminine of Amon) is once called "*Resident in 'Glorious-in-Monuments'*" (*Recueil*, 23, 64) on her statue found in the great temple of Karnak. The place of our inscription on the roof of the hall of Thutmose III shows what part of the temple was so called. The name is therefore clearly the one which he gave it, shortened by the omission of his name at the beginning. See II, p. 237, n. f., and II, 560.

<sup>b</sup>The name and titles of his father filled the lacuna.

<sup>c</sup>Found in an Osiris-chapel by the pylon of Thutmose I at Karnak, by Legrain in 1902; published by him in *Annales*, IV, but without data as to size and material.

the right, appears Kerome, holding a roll of papyrus, and praying to the said gods. The roll is probably to be considered as the deed for the land. Below is the following:

Year 25 of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Takelot (II),<sup>a</sup> living forever; the High Priest of Amon, Osorkon.

On this day were confirmed the 35 stat of citizen-lands, to the singer of the temple of Amon, the king's-daughter, Kerome.

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<sup>a</sup>The name as written contains no indication by which we can determine which of the two Takelots is meant; but as there is no known High Priest of Amon, Osorkon, under Takelot I, it is evident that we are dealing with Takelot II, under whom we know from other monuments (§§ 752 ff.) that there was a high priest Osorkon. Legrain's statement that this High Priest Osorkon became King Osorkon II, is thus an error.

## REIGN OF SHESHONK III

### ANNALS OF THE HIGH PRIEST OF AMON, OSORKON<sup>a</sup>

756. This High Priest is better known to us than any of the princes of the Bubastite family who held that office, although the remarkable records which he left, owing to their mutilated condition, have never been studied or understood in their entirety. He began his term in the eleventh year of Takelot II, and was still in office in the thirty-ninth year of Sheshonk III (§ 698, No. 17); he thus served at least fifty-four years. He left a series of temple records in the great Karnak temple, which may be fairly termed his annals.<sup>b</sup> They cover fifteen years of Takelot II's reign, and much of the following reign of Sheshonk III; but they cannot be conveniently divided, and are, therefore, treated here under the reign of Sheshonk III. They begin with Osorkon's appointment to the office of High Priest of Amon; or, if not his appointment, at least some significant date (the first of Tybi), four months and eleven days before his arrival at Thebes to take up the duties of his office (§ 753). This took place at the Feast of Khonsu, in his father's eleventh year, and was accompanied by rich offer-

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<sup>a</sup>These records are the longest inscriptions on the Bubastite gate. They are all on the inside (north side) of the gate on both sides of the door, and begin at the east side of the door (year 11), jump to the west wall at right angles to the door-wall west of the door (years 12-15), and, turning the corner, proceed on the door-wall, west of the door (year 11 of Takelot II to 29 of Sheshonk III). The vertical lines of the inscriptions are surmounted by a relief on each side of the door. The inscriptions are in a frightfully mutilated state, and no modern copy from the original has been published. The publications and materials at my disposal will be found with the translations.

<sup>b</sup>They are in such a fragmentary condition and so insufficiently published that of many parts only a summary could be given, in the following translations. Closer study would bring out some facts not noted in the following sketch.

ings, many signs of the god's favor, and the acclamations of all Thebes. In response to the flattery of the priests, he introduces a new calendar of offerings.

757. In the year 15 there occurred a remarkable prodigy of uncertain nature, but in some way connected with the moon. This natural phenomenon was accompanied by a long and serious civil war. Osorkon left Thebes and, as we afterward find him with his father's courtiers, we might suppose that he went to Bubastis, but for the fact that his return journey to Thebes was northward. With some of his father's court, therefore, he withdrew to the south. One of his sisters, Shepnesopdet, had married Zekhonsefonekh, a great noble of Thebes, who bore all the titles of power except those of the king and the High Priest,<sup>a</sup> and the presence of such a son-in-law of the king at Thebes would be a fruitful source of jealousy and friction. Years of hostility between the former followers of Osorkon's father passed; Osorkon's part in these events is not entirely clear, but he at last constrains his father's followers to peace, and some compromise with his enemies must have been effected. The unhappy events passed are attributed to the displeasure of the god, Osorkon orders his people to prepare a great propitiatory offering, and with many ships and a numerous following he returns amid great rejoicing to Thebes.

758. Here he consults Amon, as the offering is presented, regarding the god's purposes toward Thebes. Osorkon's question, "*Dost thou do to Thebes as thou hast done to them?*" shows that not only other revolters, already punished, but also Thebes had been implicated in the hostility against himself. It is evident that the compromise involved the exemption of the Thebans from punishment, for, in response

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<sup>a</sup>See the genealogy and connections of this powerful family, Legrain, *Recueil*, 27, 75-78, especially 77-78.

to Osorkon's question, the god delivered an oracle in their favor; whereupon the Thebans broke out in praise of their magnanimous High Priest. Although not recorded in his annals, Osorkon's struggles to maintain himself were not yet passed; for in the sixth year of Sheshonk III we find another High Priest named Harsiese at Thebes (§ 698, No. 16). How and when Osorkon regained his power at Thebes the second time<sup>a</sup> it is not possible to determine.

759. Osorkon's annals pass on from his first return to a long list of offerings to the Theban temples, beginning in the eleventh year of Takelot II, and continuing to the twenty-eighth year of Sheshonk III. A final line adds those of the year 29. This table is important, for it shows that the temples of Thebes were supported at this time by the High Priest, and his offerings were recorded in his name alone, with no reference to the Bubastite king. From a graffito in the temple (§ 753), as already stated, we know that Osorkon ruled at least ten years longer at Thebes. That is, until the thirty-ninth year of Sheshonk III.

#### I. EAST OF DOOR<sup>b</sup>

760. A relief in duplicate at the top shows Takelot II, accompanied by his son, the High Priest of Amon, Osorkon, before Amon. The accompanying inscriptions, containing

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<sup>a</sup>Should it turn out that the stela of Kerome of year 25 (§ 755) belongs to Takelot I, and not to Takelot II (which would give us another high priest Osorkon under Takelot I), then the civil war and Osorkon's withdrawal from Thebes in the year 15 were caused by the death of Takelot II, and the intervening rule of the other high priest, Harsiese, till year 6 of Sheshonk III, is an incident in the same series of events. In that case Osorkon was expelled but once from Thebes.

<sup>b</sup>Published: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 257, a; Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, 15; Champollion, *Monuments*, 277, 1; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 20, 21 (last three containing only reliefs or accompanying inscriptions, "Beischriften").

the titles of those depicted, add nothing to the content of the inscription below, which is as follows:

*Appointment of Osorkon*

<sup>1</sup>Year 11, first month of the second season, day 1, under the majesty of King Takelot II ———. . . . .<sup>a</sup> [went<sup>1</sup> the High Priest of Amon-]Re, commander in chief of the whole army, the leader, Osorkon, born of the hereditary princess, great in favor, great king's-wife [Kerome], ———.

Here follows the same long series of epithets of praise, belonging to the High Priest Osorkon, as in the inscription of the year 12 (§ 762). These merge into the acclamations of Thebes, as in l. 5: "*Thebes betakes herself to thee.*" Osorkon then apparently entered the city and offered sacrifice to Amon (l. 6). Then, probably on a second appointed day, he entered the temple (l. 8), and performed the ritual of Amon, at the same time presenting an offering (l. 9), which was the first installment of a new and richer calendar of offerings (l. 10).

761. The god then appeared in procession (l. 11), and the High Priest in his capacity as "*Pillar-of-his-Mother*" (*yn-mw·t·f*) presented himself (l. 11). The god visibly expressed his satisfaction, as when a father receives marks of affection from a son (l. 12), whereupon the whole priesthood of the temple, of all ranks, came forward (l. 12), and all together, with one accord, joined in praising Osorkon as him whom Amon had appointed to his high office (l. 13). Their speech continues probably to l. 17, and apparently contained no more than the phraseology usual on such occasions. In l. 18 Osorkon is speaking, and announcing the new and rich calendar of offerings, which he is founding. The content of his further address (ll. 18-25?) is uncertain,

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<sup>a</sup>Epithets of the king.



but it probably concludes with an exhortation to the officers of the temple faithfully to administer his foundations. He then enumerates the lists of the new calendar of offerings (ll. 26-35), which is very fragmentary, but shows the usual items where preserved. It concluded with the customary curse:

As for him who shall injure this stela, which I have made, he shall fall under the blade of Amon-Re.

II. WEST OF DOOR<sup>a</sup>

762. A relief at the top showing Osorkon offering before Amon, surmounts the following inscription:

*Date*

<sup>1</sup>Year 12, first month of the first season, day 9, under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, [Shining] in Thebes, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offering: Kheperhezre-Setepnere; Son of Re, of his body: Meriamon-Siese-Takelot (II). . . . . ———. Lo, his eldest son was 'in the land' [the High Priest of Amon-Re], king of gods, commander in chief of the army, Osorkon — — —.

Lines 2-5 then proceed with a series of conventional epithets of praise and laudation, usually applied to kings, which, owing to the mention of the High Priest Osorkon at the end of l. 1, must refer to him.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>On the arrangement of this inscription, see § 756, note; published: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 256, a, 258, a, b; Brugsch, *Thésaurus*, V, 1225-30 (only upper ends of lines). The passage regarding the alleged eclipse, is in confusion in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, two sheets of the squeeze having exchanged places. This error was corrected by Goodwin (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1868, 25 ff.) from the rough copy in Young's *Hieroglyphics*. I had a collation of the Berlin squeezes by Mr. Alan Gardiner, who kindly placed it at my disposal; it covered the first half of the monument (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 256, a).

<sup>b</sup>The same occur in the corresponding place in the inscription of year 11 (§ 760, ll. 2-5). Mr. Gardiner noticed that they express Osorkon's favor and power with the king, in successive phrases, taking up the latter's titles in the order of the fivefold titulary.

*Arrival of Osorkon*

763. Then l. 6 narrates that

He came in our time, in the year [1]1,<sup>a</sup> [— —] bearing her<sup>b</sup> festal offerings, that he might set her in festivity ———. They rejoiced at seeing him, making festive her offerings, and supplying her altars with every good, pure, and pleasant [thing], in order to increase the daily offerings.

*Civil War*

764. <sup>7</sup>Now, afterward, in the year 15, fourth month of the third season, day 25, under the majesty of his august father,<sup>c</sup> the divine ruler of Thebes, before heaven devoured the moon,<sup>d</sup> [great]<sup>e</sup> wrath arose in this land like — — the [hated]<sup>f</sup> and the rebels. They set warfare in the South and North ——— not ceasing to fight against those who were therein and those who<sup>f</sup> followed his father; while years passed<sup>g</sup> [in] hostility (*hsj-ꜥ*) (each) one seizing upon his neighbor, [not]<sup>h</sup> remem-

<sup>a</sup>There is no doubt about this restoration, which corresponds with the statement of the graffito (§ 753), that the High Priest Osorkon came to Thebes in the year 11. The restoration also fits the space in the lacuna exactly; but it should be said that this space on the squeeze shows no trace of 10.

<sup>b</sup>Referring to Thebes.

<sup>c</sup>See the passage as read from the squeeze by Lepsius (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1868, 29, note). The long discussions regarding the king here meant might have been avoided, had the consecutive narrative ever been worked out. The adverb “*afterward*” is of itself sufficient to show that the date must be later than the last preceding date, which as we have seen, is year 11. “*His august father*” is therefore clearly the High Priest Osorkon’s father, Takelot II, the then reigning king.

<sup>d</sup>Lit., “*heaven not having devoured the moon.*” There is no word or phrase in Egyptian for “not yet;” see my *New Chapter*, 11, (5). This is the famous passage supposed by Brugsch to record an eclipse of the moon. This seems to me possible only on the basis of the rendering I have adopted, according to which the meaning may be: “just before new moon;” or possibly: “just before an eclipse of the moon.” The controversy on the subject will be found in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1868 (Goodwin, 25 ff.; Brugsch, 29 ff.; Chabas, 49 ff.); but the above rendering was not there discussed.

<sup>e</sup>The squeeze shows *n* and a papyrus roll; the frequency of the phrase, *nšn ꜥꜥ*, suggested to Chabas the emendation of our *nšn n* (which is grammatically impossible), and the emendation is probably correct.

<sup>f</sup>Read *nty m ht*, as at the beginning of l. 12.

<sup>g</sup>Gardiner’s collation.

bering his 'son'<sup>a</sup> to 'protect' him who came forth from him. He<sup>b</sup> was satisfied in his heart, leading excellent — to his every beautiful hall.

*Osorkon's Address to the Court*

765. Said this governor<sup>c</sup> of the South to his nobles, the companions 'of' his father who were by his side: ". . . . ."

The details of this speech are totally obscure, but it is evident that Osorkon is exhorting them to peace.<sup>d</sup> He appeals (l. 9) to his authority in Thebes,<sup>e</sup> and apparently attributes the disturbance to Re, who must be appeased with offerings.

*Fidelity of the Court*

766. "[Now,]<sup>f</sup> when he had finished speaking these words to his hearers, their hearts ['rejoiced'].<sup>g</sup>" They assured him: "All thy [designs], they come to pass. Now, when we offer to the god, he will 'restore' the land." The remainder of the speech is again uncertain, but the fragments show that they were faithful to him (l. 11).

*Return to Thebes*

767. Then said to them this governor of the South: "— — ['gather'] this army into one place, that we may build for him a 'colonnade'.<sup>f</sup>"

<sup>a</sup>Gardiner's collation. This son may be the heir to the throne at Bubastis, or Osorkon, the High Priest.

<sup>b</sup>From here to the close of the paragraph I have no idea of the connection or meaning.

<sup>c</sup>The High Priest, Osorkon.

<sup>d</sup>I can make out: "Ye were (wn'fn) the counselors of him who begat me — ye shall not fight '————'" (l. 8).

<sup>e</sup>He says: "I found not a way of knowing her welfare."

<sup>f</sup>Mr. Gardiner read the determinative as the legs; but after the verb "build," "colonnade" is the only noun that can possibly be rendered for the consonants wdy't. One naturally thinks of the Bubastite colonnade at the gate bearing this inscription, but its architraves bear the name of Sheshonk I. Its continuation, however, on the same side of the forecourt, and the entire opposite side, are uninscribed. The remainder of our inscription, moreover, does not refer to the collection of building material, but the gathering and bringing of offerings. But it must be remembered that much of the inscription is lost.

Then it was done according to that which [he] had said. They brought their — to the ships, even all his things that were numbered as his property. [Then came] <sup>12</sup>those who followed him, both men and women, the court of his father,<sup>a</sup> the troops of his following, without number. Moreover, there were many ships, every one thereof [bearing] their offerings.

All these people brought their gifts and came with <sup>13</sup>“heart rejoicing, because he was justified in their hearts like the son of Osiris.”

*Arrival at Thebes*

**768.** “Then he stationed people before his advance and behind him, rejoicing to heaven.” They proceeded on the voyage toward Thebes in festivity,

like Horus sailing north<sup>b</sup> at the Feast of Rekeh (*Rkh*) . . . . . <sup>14</sup>— —<sup>1</sup> his troops were like a flock of wild fowl. He arrived at the time of verdure, they came before him, with a heart of love to his victorious [city]. Then they found Thebes rejoicing and Karnak in [jubilee] — — because of the arrival in her ————— in Southern Heliopolis.

*Presentation of the Offering*

Then he made a great oblation ————— <sup>15</sup>bulls, gazelles, antelopes, oryxes, fattened geese in tens of thousands and thousands ————— . . . . . ————— a flood of wine —————, flowers, honey, and shedeh likewise, — measures (*ddmt*) of incense. Then he presented — these [things to] the great god in Thebes. . . . . <sup>16</sup>. . . . . This august god was brought forth in procession, to adorn this his oblation, while his divine enead, with rejoicing heart, were receiving it.

*Amon Pardons Thebans*

**769.** “The High Priest of Amon, Osorkon, spake to the great god, and his army spake in praising [him]: ‘. . . . .’” They now address appealing questions to the god, among

<sup>a</sup>Lit., “of him that begat him,” as in l. 8 (§ 765).

<sup>b</sup>This evidently indicates the direction of Osorkon's voyage, not that of Horus only.

which can be discerned: <sup>17</sup>“*Dost thou do to Thebes as thou hast done to them?*”<sup>a</sup> But the following three lines (18–20), containing but a few scattered signs, fail to reveal the nature of their further address. Their appeal was successful, for the god responded (l. 1)<sup>b</sup> with the usual signs of favor and acquiescence. Thebes was thus spared, and the Thebans joined in praise of Osorkon and Amon, promising the god the most plentiful offerings (ll. 2–4).

*Summary of Osorkon's Offerings*

770. The narrative now passes over a long period and begins a retrospect of Osorkon's benefactions from the beginning of his rule at Thebes, which Osorkon himself states as a

“list of all the benefactions which I did for them for the first time, from the year 11 under [the majesty of Takelot II]<sup>c</sup> to the year 28, under the majesty of Sheshonk III.”

After a list of myrrh, incense, honey, and oil (l. 7) follows a statement of precious metals given to Amon, Mut, and Khonsu, among which “*fine gold of Khenthennofer*” twice appears (ll. 8 and 9). Later are offerings of “*the High*

<sup>a</sup>Meaning: “wilt thou punish Thebes as thou hast punished them?” for the preposition is *r*, lit., “*against*.” Who is meant by “*them*” is uncertain, but it would appear that other revolters had been severely punished, and that Thebes, being implicated, appeals to Amon for mercy.

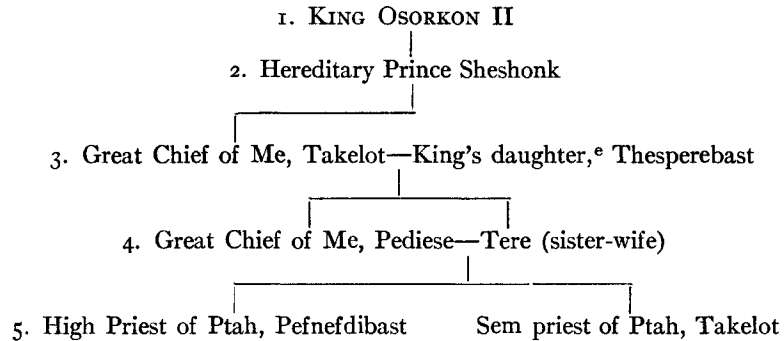
<sup>b</sup>The inscription now passes from the west to the south wall, and Lepsius begins a new numbering of lines (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 258, *a, b* = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1227–30); but he knew that the inscription of the south wall was the continuation of that of the west wall (Text, III, 11).

<sup>c</sup>As we know that Osorkon arrived in Thebes in the year 11 of Takelot II, and that he made his first offering calendar in that year (§ 753), there can be no doubt about the restoration. Osorkon's term of office at that time, from year 11 of Takelot II to year 28 of Sheshonk III, thus rests on better evidence than that heretofore drawn from this inscription (Maspero, *Momies royales*, 741, 742). Of course, the interruption by the civil war just narrated is taken for granted, and not referred to in giving the chronological limits of his term of office, at the time when the record was made.

*Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Osorkon, from the year 22<sup>a</sup> to the year 26<sup>b</sup>* (l. 12), among which appears the income of the goddess Mat (l. 15); after which the income of Amon in the year 25 is itemized (l. 17), followed by that of Mut (l. 17). The last line (22), perhaps added later, contains the income of Amon and Hathor in the year 29.<sup>c</sup>

FIRST SERAPEUM STELA OF PEDIESE<sup>d</sup>

771. This Libyan commander was a great-grandson of Osorkon II, who lived in the time of Sheshonk III, in whose twenty-eighth year he erected, in the Serapeum, the votive stela under discussion. He gives his genealogy, which is as follows (adding his two sons):



<sup>a</sup>It is not evident why he should begin a subsection with the year 22. This is his earliest date under Sheshonk III. Does it mark the beginning of Osorkon's restoration to office after the rule of Harsiese, who was High Priest in his absence?

<sup>b</sup>So Lepsius and Maspero, *Momies royales*, 741 (collation of original); Brugsch has 28.

<sup>c</sup>The mention of Sheshonk III in l. 7 shows clearly that this date belongs to his reign. Maspero's attribution of it to Takelot II (*Empires*, 165, note 2) is therefore an inadvertence. He attributed it correctly, *Momies royales*, 741.

<sup>d</sup>Found by Mariette in the Serapeum; now in the Louvre (No. 18); published by Mariette, *Fouilles*, Pl. 36 (not seen); Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, III, Pl. 24; Chassinat, *Recueil*, 22, 9, 10. I had also my own copy of the original.

<sup>e</sup>Not on our stela, but on another of the second year of Pemou (§ 781), as noticed by Lepsius, *Zweiundzwanzigste Dynastie*, 276, note.

772. As the Sheshonk mentioned (No. 2) is distinctly called "*great first hereditary prince*," it can hardly be doubted that he is the prince who became Sheshonk II; but as his name is not inclosed in a cartouche, we may regard this as another evidence that he was never more than coregent, as indicated by the quai-records at Karnak (§ 696, No. 13). His son Takelot cannot be Takelot II; otherwise we should expect him to be called king. The above quai-record, furthermore, calls Takelot II son of Osorkon II.

773. The burial of an Apis in the twenty-eighth year of Sheshonk III having given Pediese opportunity to erect this stela, he took part in the search for the new Apis in the same year, and conducted its burial twenty-six years later in the second year of Pemou, when he erected a second stela (§§ 778-81).

774. The first stela is as follows:

Year 28, King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnamon;  
Son [of Re], Lord of Diadems: Meriamon - Sibast - Sheshonk (III)-  
Nuterhekon.

Below, three men are praying before the sacred bull. They are accompanied by the following inscriptions,<sup>a</sup> showing them to be father and two sons:

1. His beloved favorite, the great chief of Me, Pediese, triumphant, son of the great chief of Me, Takelot, triumphant; his mother was Theseperebast (*Ts-B>s-t-pr-t*), triumphant; son of the great first hereditary prince of his majesty, Sheshonk,<sup>b</sup> triumphant, royal son of the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Setepnamon (Osorkon II),<sup>c</sup> given life like Re.

2. His beloved favorite, High Priest of Ptah, Pefnefdibast, trium-

<sup>a</sup>These are repeated in horizontal lines below the figures. Both versions are combined in the translation.

<sup>b</sup>Who became coregent as Sheshonk II.

<sup>c</sup>The prenomen does not differ from that of Sheshonk III, but the variant gives Osorkon.

phant, son of the great chief of Me, Pediese, triumphant; his mother was Tere (*T<sup>3</sup>-ȝȝ*), triumphant, daughter of the great chief of Me, Takelot,<sup>a</sup> triumphant.

3. His beloved favorite, sem priest of Ptah, Takelot, triumphant, son of the great chief of Me, Pediese, triumphant.

Heretibsuten, triumphant, made it.

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#### RECORD OF INSTALLATION<sup>b</sup>

775. This brief document is a graffito such as the officials of this age were wont to cut upon the walls at Karnak, in commemoration of their installation or promotion in office. It bears the latest surviving date of the High Priest Osorkon, and also informs us that his brother, Bekneptah, was commander at Heracleopolis in the year 39 of Sheshonk III. Bekneptah must, therefore, have interrupted the succession of Harpeson's family in that office at Heracleopolis.<sup>c</sup> Osorkon and Bekneptah are here making common cause, "*overthrowing all who fought against them.*"

776. This can hardly be a reminiscence of the trouble which interrupted Osorkon's rule at Thebes (§ 758). The interim in the power of the ruling family at Heracleopolis, by the installation of Osorkon's brother, Bekneptah, doubtless explains the origin of the trouble referred to. Osorkon and Bekneptah, sons of Takelot II, probably expelled from Heracleopolis the line established there by Osorkon II. This offers an interesting parallel to the expulsion from Thebes of the High Priest Osorkon himself, and suggests, at least, that he may have owed his expulsion to the Heracleopolitans, on whom he has now retaliated. Did their recov-

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<sup>a</sup>Hence his mother was both sister and wife of his father.

<sup>b</sup>Graffito on one of the Middle Kingdom blocks behind the sanctuary of the great temple of Karnak; published by Legrain, *Recueil*, 22, 55, No. 7.

<sup>c</sup>He would fall in the generations Nos. 12-14 or thereabout (§ 787).



ery of Heracleopolis then bring Osorkon's long career at Thebes to a close?

**777.** Year 39, — month of the third season, day 26, under the majesty of King Sheshonk III, living forever.

Behold, the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, governor of the South, the chief Osorkon, [son of King] Takelot II, living forever, was in Thebes, celebrating the feast of Amon with a single heart, with his brother, chief commander of the army of Heracleopolis, Bekneptah, ———— overthrowing all who fought against them. On this day was installed the chief judge, governor of the city, and vizier, —hor—<sup>a</sup> . . . in the great and august throne of Amon . . . . .<sup>b</sup>

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<sup>a</sup>The man's name, of which beginning and end are lost; his parentage followed.

<sup>b</sup>The remainder is an address of the installed official, mostly unintelligible as published.

## REIGN OF PEMOU

### SECOND SERAPEUM STELA OF PEDIESE<sup>a</sup>

778. Pediese, who had erected a stela at the burial of an Apis in the twenty-eighth year of Sheshonk III (§§ 771-74), records the successful search for another in the same year, and the death of the sacred animal twenty-six years later, in the second year of Pemou. Pediese has, meantime, become High Priest of Ptah; as such he conducted the burial of this Apis, and recorded the whole in this second stela. The length of life of the animal, given as twenty-six years, enables us to establish the length of Sheshonk III's reign, thus:

Apis born in year 28 of Sheshonk III.

Apis died in year 2 of Pemou.

Apis lived 26 years.

Length of Sheshonk III's reign, 52 years.<sup>b</sup>

779. The stela is surmounted by a relief showing the Apis in human form, with head of a bull, accompanied by the goddess of the west. Three people, praying before them, are designated as:

1. Great chief of the Me, Pediese, triumphant, son of the great chief of the Meshwesh,<sup>c</sup> Takelot, triumphant.

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<sup>a</sup>Found by Mariette in the Serapeum; now in the Louvre (No. 34); published by Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, III, Pl. 26; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 967; Chassinat, *Recueil*; I had also my own copy of the original. The monument exists in duplicate; the second (Louvre, No. 36): Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, III, Pl. 27. Two other stela, of value in corroborating the dates, commemorate this Apis: Louvre, No. 35; Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, III, Pl. 28; and Louvre, No. 276, not published by Mariette.

<sup>b</sup>For the possibility of another Sheshonk, between Sheshonk III and Pemou, thus shortening the reign of Sheshonk III (though without lengthening the dynasty), see quai-records (§ 698, No. 18, n. d).

<sup>c</sup>This proves that Me is an abbreviation for Meshwesh, for this Takelot, the father of Pediese, occurs as "*chief of Me*," on the preceding stela (§ 774).

2. Sem priest of Ptah, Harsiese ———.

3. ———.

**780.** Below them is the following inscription:

[Year] 2,<sup>a</sup> second month of the second season, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Setepnamon, given life; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Meriamon-Pemou,<sup>b</sup> given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever, beloved of Apis, son of First of the Westerners, the great god.

On this day the god was conducted in peace to the beautiful west, (to) his burial in the cemetery, to lay him to rest in the eternal house, in his everlasting seat. Now, he was born in the year 28 in the time of the majesty of King Sheshonk III, triumphant. They sought his beauty in every place of the Northland, and he was found at the temple of Shedebod<sup>c</sup> (*Šd-ybd*), after three months, when they had gone around the regions of the Delta, and every district of the Northland.

**781.** He was conducted to Memphis, to his father, "Ptah-South-of-his-Wall," by the High Priest of Ptah, sem priest in the house of Ptah, great chief of the Meshwesh, Pediese, son of the High Priest of Ptah, sem priest, [great chief of] the Meshwesh, Takelot, born of the king's-daughter, of his body, his beloved Thesperebast; in the year 28, second month of the first season. The beautiful life<sup>d</sup> of this god was 26 years.

<sup>a</sup>I read a fragmentary first stroke immediately following the lacuna, making three; but another stela (No. 276, my own copy) gives the date as "year 2, second month of the second season, day 1." The two other stelæ relating the burial of this Apis have lost still more, and do not aid in restoring the number.

<sup>b</sup>The first half of this part of the name is broken out, but is perfectly preserved on one of the duplicates (No. 35).

<sup>c</sup>Unknown place.

<sup>d</sup>Corrected from Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, III, Pl. 27, l. 7 (*c k c n/r*).

## REIGN OF SHESHONK IV

### STELA OF WESHTEHET<sup>a</sup>

782. This interesting stela records Weshtehet's gift of land to the temple of Hathor in an unknown town, probably in the western Delta, called Pesebek. The importance of the monument lies in Weshtehet's office as chief caravaner of Pharaoh, controlling the intercourse with the oases of the Libyan desert; and that of his immediate superior, who was the great chief of Libya, Hetihenker, the Pharaoh's governor of a portion of the western Delta, and, perhaps, some uncertain extent of Libyan country also, including the oases. These arrangements are doubtless only the continuation of the organization of Sheshonk I. The barbarous names borne by these men are, of course, Libyan, but the chief caravaner's mother bore a name of Egyptian formation, and he himself conveyed an endowment of land to the Hathor of the town, which doubtless lay at the Egyptian terminus of his caravan route to the oases.

783. A relief at the top of the stela shows two scenes: on the left a man praying before Hathor, with the inscription: "*May she give life, prosperity, health, to the great chief of Libya (R-b<sup>3</sup>);*" on the right a similar scene, with the inscription: "*May she give life, prosperity, health, to the chief caravaner of Pharaoh.*" These two men are the donator of the land, and his superior, as shown in the following inscription:

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<sup>a</sup>Rough limestone stela, with round top broken off, 53 by 31 cm., in possession of Daninos Pacha; published from a squeeze by Maspero, *Recueil*, XV, 84, 85.

*Date*

784. <sup>1</sup>Year 19, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperre (<sup>c</sup> -*hpr-R*<sup>c</sup>, Sheshonk IV), given life.

*Donation*

The chief caravaner <sup>2</sup>of Pharaoh, Weshtehet (*W*<sup>2</sup> -*š*<sup>2</sup> -*ty-h*<sup>2</sup> -*t*<sup>2</sup>), son of Newsetrekenye (*N-w*<sup>2</sup> -*s*<sup>2</sup> -*ty-rw-k*<sup>2</sup> -*n*<sup>2</sup> -*yw*), <sup>3</sup>whose mother is Tentseherye (*Tynt-S*<sup>2</sup> -*h*<sup>2</sup> -*rw-yw*), has presented five stat of land to the house of Hathor, <sup>4</sup>mistress of Malachite, under charge<sup>a</sup> of the chief of the door-keepers, Pese<sup>2</sup> eke (*P*<sup>2</sup> -*s*<sup>2</sup> -*c-k*<sup>2</sup>), son of <sup>5</sup>Pekenu (*P*<sup>2</sup> -*knw*), whose mother is the divine votress of Soped, Hernofer (*Hr-nfr*); in order to crave for him life, prosperity, health, long life, <sup>6</sup>and an advanced and happy old age, under the favor of his lord, the great chief of Libya (*R-b*), great chief of Me, Hetihenker (*H*<sup>2</sup> -*ty-ḥn*<sup>2</sup> -*k-r*); in the house of Hathor, mistress of Malachite, abiding and permanent, forever.

*Curse*

As for any man, or <sup>8</sup>any scribe who is sent on a commission to the district of the town of Pesebek (*P*<sup>2</sup> -*šbk*), who shall injure <sup>9</sup>this stela; they shall come under the blade of Hathor. (But) the name of him who shall establish it shall abide.

SERAPEUM STELA OF HARPESON<sup>b</sup>

785. This remarkable stela, while of the usual form of votive stela in the Serapeum, contains facts of fundamental importance in the study of the origin and internal affairs of the Twenty-second Dynasty. It was erected by one Harpeson, the military commander and High Priest of Harsaphes

<sup>a</sup>This is undoubtedly the rendering here, although the determinative of the preposition (*r ht*) is not usually the legs. To render it "after" (*m ht*) and connect it with the verb "crave" (*dbk*), ignoring the preposition, "in order to" (*r*), as the editor of the text has done, is not a solution of the difficulty which need be discussed.

<sup>b</sup>Discovered by Mariette in the Serapeum, now in the Louvre (No. 278); published by Lepsius, *Die Zweiundzwanzigste ägyptische Königsdynastie*, 267-69; Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, III, Pl. 31. I had also my own copy of the original.

at Heracleopolis in the thirty-seventh year of Sheshonk IV; that is, practically at the close of the Twenty-second Dynasty.

786. After recording, in the usual manner, the interment of an Apis-bull in that year, Harpeson appends the customary prayer on his own behalf, adding to his name his genealogy, ascending through fifteen generations. We thus have enumerated sixteen generations of an important family, extending from the close of the Twenty-second Dynasty back through the entire dynasty (ten generations), and six generations preceding it. The ten generations of this family thus correspond in length to the nine kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty. More important than this, however, is the fact that with the sixth generation back of Harpeson, his genealogy merges with the royal line in the person of Osorkon II. This will be clearer from the following table:<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup>The names of kings are in spaced capitals.

- 787.
1. The Libyan, Buyuwawa
  2. Divine father of Harsaphes, great chief, Musen
  3. Divine father of Harsaphes, great chief, Nebneshi
  4. Divine father of Harsaphes, great chief, Pethut
  5. Divine father of Harsaphes, great chief, Sheshonk—king's-mother, Mehetnuskhet
  6. Divine father of Harsaphes, great chief, Namlot—Divine mother, Tentsepeh
  7. KING SHESHONK I—Divine mother, Kerome
  8. KING OSORKON I—Divine mother, Temehkhonsu
  9. KING TAKELOT I—Divine mother, Kepes
  10. KING OSORKON II—Uzmutenkhos
  11. Count, governor of the South, High Priest of Heracleopolis, commander of the army, Namlot—Priestess of Harsaphes, Tentsepeh
  12. (Same titles), Uzptahenkho—King's-daughter, Tentsepeh
  13. (Same titles), Henptah—Priestess of Harsaphes, Thenekemet
  14. (Same titles), Harpeson—Priestess of Harsaphes, Petpetdedes
  15. (Same titles), Henptah—Prophetess of Hathor, Ireteru
  16. (Same titles), Harpeson (year 37 of Sheshonk IV)

788. Back of Osorkon II, therefore, the genealogy of Harpeson becomes that of the Twenty-second Dynasty, and the Libyan, Buyuwawa, the father of his line is, therefore, the ancestor of the Twenty-second Dynasty. His immediate descendants (Nos. 2-5) also bear Libyan names, and among them is that chief of the Meshwesh, Sheshonk (No. 5), whom we found endowing his deceased son Namlot's (No. 6)<sup>a</sup> tomb at Abydos (§§ 669 ff.). Their ancestor, Buyuwawa, bears no Egyptian title, but his son, Musen, became priest of Harsaphes at Heracleopolis, and was a "great chief," of course, of the Meshwesh, like his great-grandson, Sheshonk<sup>b</sup> (No. 5). These warlike chiefs of the Libyan mercenaries so husbanded their power that after five generations at Heracleopolis they seized the throne. There is no intimation in this document of any connection with Bubastis.<sup>c</sup>

789. It is evident, therefore, that for at least a hundred years before the Twenty-second Dynasty, Heracleopolis had been the seat of a powerful family. Of the fortunes of its rulers during the first three reigns of the dynasty we learn nothing; but our genealogy shows Osorkon II appointing his son Namlot as High Priest and military commander there, with the title of governor of the South, like the High Priest of Amon. Indeed, this Namlot became also High Priest

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<sup>a</sup>As the name of Namlot's mother, Mehetnusekhet, and the name of his father, Sheshonk, are the same in our genealogy and in the Abydos stela, there can be no question about their identity.

<sup>b</sup>On the Abydos stela, § 677.

<sup>c</sup>We can only suppose that during the Twenty-first Dynasty the family had gained control of Bubastis, and that Sheshonk I, perceiving the necessity of a stronghold in the eastern Delta, took up his residence there, thus gaining for his family the name Bubastites; but the family was clearly not of Bubastite origin.



of Amon, as Lepsius long ago saw.<sup>a</sup> The principality of Thebes, added to that of Heracleopolis, gave to one man the control of all Upper Egypt, from the Delta into Nubia, creating a dangerous rival of the royal house. How long Namlot held both principalities is uncertain,<sup>b</sup> but the family held possession of Heracleopolis for five generations more, six in all (§ 787, Nos. 11 and 16).

790. But in the thirty-ninth year of Sheshonk III, Bekneptah, a son of Takelot II, not appearing in our genealogy, was in control at Heracleopolis (§§ 775, 776) and making common cause with Osorkon, High Priest at Thebes. Namlot's descendants<sup>c</sup> must therefore have lost and recovered control at Heracleopolis. The support of their enemy, Bekneptah, by the High Priest of Amon at Thebes, suggests earlier hostility between the two principalities, and is evidently only one example of the petty wars in which the dynasts of Egypt were now constantly embroiled. Thus, while Thebes did not succeed in maintaining a dynasty under the Bubastites, that of Heracleopolis, beginning early in the Twenty-first Dynasty, continued for fifteen generations, interrupted for four generations by the accession of the line to the throne as the Twenty-second Dynasty, and by the probably short usurpation of Bekneptah (see §§ 745, 746). The power and importance of Heracleopolis continued through the Ethiopian and Saitic periods. It is mentioned in the annals of Ashurbanipal and Isaiah saw the envoys of Judah going to Tanis and Heracleopolis (אֲנַס, Isaiah 30:4) for assistance.

<sup>a</sup>*Zweiundzwanzigste Dynastie*, Pl. I.

<sup>b</sup>Evidently not into the reign of Takelot II; see Wreszinski's list (*Die Hohenpriester des Amon*, § 47), where a high priest of Amon, Amenhotep, is between Namlot and the High Priest Osorkon, who was appointed in year 11 of Takelot II (§ 760).

<sup>c</sup>About Nos. 12-14.

*Apis Record*

791. <sup>1</sup>This god was introduced to his father, Ptah, in the year 12,<sup>a</sup> fourth month of the second season, fourth day, of King Okheperre, <sup>2</sup>Son of Re, Sheshonk (IV), given life. He was born in the year 11 of his majesty; he rested in his place <sup>3</sup>in Tazoser (the cemetery) in the year 37, third month of the first season, day 27, of his majesty.

*Sixteenth Generation*

792. May he grant life, prosperity, health, and joy of heart to <sup>4</sup>his beloved son, the prophet of Neit, Harpeson;

*Fifteenth Generation*

Son of the count, governor of the South, chief prophet in Heracleopolis, commander of <sup>5</sup>the army, Henptah; born of the prophetess of Hathor of Heracleopolis, his sister, the matron, Ireteru (*Yr' t-rw*);

*Fourteenth Generation*

<sup>7</sup>Son<sup>b</sup> of the like,<sup>c</sup> Harpeson; born of the chief sistrum-bearer of Harsaphes, king of the Two Lands, ruler of the two shores, <sup>8</sup>Petpetdedes;

*Thirteenth Generation*

Son of the like, Henptah; born of the like, Thenekemet (*T' n-km' t*);

*Twelfth Generation*

Son of the like, <sup>9</sup>Uzphatenkhof (*Wd-Pth-<sup>c</sup> nhf*); born of the prophetess of Hathor of Heracleopolis, king's-daughter, the matron, Tentseph (*Tnt-sph*);

*Eleventh Generation*

Son of the like, Namlot, <sup>10</sup>born of the chief sistrum-bearer of Harsaphes, king of the Two Lands, ruler of the two shores, Tentseph;

*Tenth Generation*

Son of the Lord of the Two Lands: Osorkon (II), born of Uzmutenkhos;

*Ninth Generation*

Son of King Takelot (I), <sup>11</sup>and the divine mother, Kepes;

<sup>a</sup>His predecessor was buried in the year 11, the twenty-eighth of Paophi (Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, Pl. 30).

<sup>b</sup>The genealogy ascends from father to grandfather here; I have indicated each generation by a paragraph.

<sup>c</sup>Meaning that the father bore the same titles and filled the same offices as the son. "The like" may also be applied to the females of the line, as in l. 8.

*Eighth Generation*

Son of King Osorkon (I) and the divine mother, Temehkhonsu;

*Seventh Generation*

Son of King Sheshonk (I) and the divine mother, <sup>12</sup>Kerome;

*Sixth Generation*

<sup>a</sup>The divine father, the great chief, Namlot, and the divine mother, Tentsepeh;

*Fifth Generation*

Son of the like, Sheshonk, born of the king's-mother, Mehetnusekhet;

*Fourth Generation*

Son of the like, Pethut (*P<sup>2</sup> -twt*);

*Third Generation*

Son of the like, Nebneshi (*Nbnšy*);

*Second Generation*

Son of the like, Musen (*M<sup>2</sup> w<sup>2</sup> sn*);

*First Generation*

Son of the Libyan (*Tyhn*), Buyuwawa (*Bw-yw-w<sup>2</sup> -w<sup>2</sup>*).

Abiding, abiding, remaining, remaining, enduring, enduring, flourishing, flourishing, in the temple of Harsaphes, king of the Two Lands, ruler of the two shores, one man the son of another man, without perishing, forever and ever, forever and ever, in Heracleopolis.

<sup>a</sup>The omission of "Son of" is noticeable, but might easily happen in such a long series. Petrie (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXVI, 284) thinks this couple the same as that of the eleventh generation, so that the genealogy stops at the seventh and goes back to begin again with the eleventh (= sixth) and carries it back (6 to 1) parallel with 11 to 7; 11 to 7 being the ancestry of Namlot, and 6 to 1 the ancestry of his wife Tentsepeh. To this reconstruction there are three fatal objections: (1) If 6-1 is the genealogy of Tentsepeh alone, why has her husband's name been inserted before hers in 6? (2) If 6-1 is the genealogy of a woman, why does it proceed (fifth generation) with "son" and not *daughter*? (3) The titles in 6 and 11 are not the same, but in 6 we have the old Libyan title of Namlot, whereas in 11 (carried back from 15) we have the Egyptian titles which we should expect after the Egyptianization of the family. It is unfortunate that the above possibility of evading the Libyan origin of the Twenty-second Dynasty should be used as an argument for the Assyrian origin of that dynasty; although we have proof positive that at the rise of the Twenty-second Dynasty, Assyria was in a state of decline, and had absolutely no power in the west.

**THE TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY**

## RECORDS OF NILE - LEVELS AT KARNAK<sup>a</sup>

**793.** These records, continuing those of the Twenty-second Dynasty (§§ 695-98), are of great importance. They show that the new Twenty-third Dynasty controlled Thebes, probably from its accession (about 745 B. C.), but at least twenty-three years thereafter. Its conquest by Piankhi must, therefore, fall after this period and after the reign of Pedibast, which concluded those twenty-three years. The interruption of the Twenty-third Dynasty at Thebes by Piankhi was, therefore, not earlier than 722 B. C., and his campaign not earlier than about 720 B. C. (see §§ 812, 813). The remainder of the Twenty-third Dynasty will be found discussed in the notes and introduction to the Piankhi Stela (§§ 811-13). The question whether it may have been parallel with the Twenty-second Dynasty is also taken up there (§ 813). See also Appended Remark, p. 404.

### *Reign of Pedibast*

**794.** 1. (26)<sup>b</sup> The Nile. Year 16 of King Meriamon-Pedibast, which is year 2 of King Meriamon-Yewepet (*Yw-[p]<sup>c</sup>-ty*).

2. (27) The Nile. Year 19 of King Meriamon-Pedibast; time of the High Priest of Amon, [Harsiese], triumphant.

3. (28) The Nile. Year 19 (sic!) of King Meriamon-Pedibast; time of the High Priest of Amon, [Harsi]ese.

4. (29) The Nile. Year 23 of King Meriamon-Pedibast; time of the High Priest of Amon, TakeLOT.

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<sup>a</sup>On the quai of the great Karnak temple; published by Legrain, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1896, 113 f.

<sup>b</sup>Legrain's number.

<sup>c</sup>The *p* has, of course, been omitted in the publication. This Yewepet is the same as the Yewepet mentioned in the Piankhi inscription, §§ 830, 878.

*Reign of Osorkon III*

5. (16) The Nile. Year 5.<sup>a</sup> High Priest of Amon, Yewelot (*Yw-w<sup>3</sup>-r<sup>3</sup>-t*), triumphant, son of the Lord of the Two Lands, Osorkon III.

6. (17) The Nile. Year 8. High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Nesube[neb]ded, triumphant, king's-son of the Lord of the Two Lands, Osorkon III.

7. (18) The Nile. Year 14. High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Nesubenedded, triumphant, son of the Lord of the Two Lands, Osorkon III.

8. (19) The Nile. Year — (same as 18).

9. (20) [The Nile. Year] ——— triumphant, king's-son of the Lord of the Two Lands, Osorkon III.

10. (21) [The Nile. Year] ——— (conclusion like 20).

## APPENDED REMARK

After these pages were in type, and as they go to press, I have received from Mons. Legrain, a letter in which he has had the great kindness to review the evidence from his brilliant excavations at Karnak, relating to the chronology of the Twenty-third Dynasty. He concludes from this evidence that the Twenty-third Dynasty was contemporary with the end of the Twenty-second. I wish to thank him very cordially here for the labor and time which he has so kindly devoted to this valuable letter, and to congratulate him upon the remarkable success of his work at Karnak, although I am as yet unable to see that the evidence adduced proves the alleged contemporaneity.

<sup>a</sup>The following records (Nos. 5-21) cannot belong to Osorkon I, whose second name is Meriamon-Osorkon, as here; nor are they of Osorkon II, whose second name is Meriamon-Sibast-Osorkon. Hence they evidently belong to Osorkon III, whose second name was likewise Meriamon-Osorkon, as here. This also relieves us of an impossible series of otherwise unknown High Priests of Amon, who cannot be made sons of Osorkon I.

## REIGN OF OSORKON III

### WILL OF YEWELOT<sup>a</sup>

795. The introduction to this will contains historical facts, too important to be omitted here, even though this series is not designed to include legal documents. I have, therefore, given below the introduction and the conclusion which furnish the framework of the document. According to the custom since the Twenty-first Dynasty, at least, all such legal instruments are decrees of Amon. Yewelot, son of Osorkon III and High Priest of Amon at Thebes, had founded a landed estate there in his youth, in the tenth year of his father's reign. He wills this estate to his son, Khamwese. In the introduction he indicates the northern limit of his military command as Siut.

<sup>1</sup>Said Amon-Re, king of gods, the great god, great in the beginning of being: "As for the landed estate, which the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, commander in chief of the army, who is at the head of the great army of <sup>2</sup>the South as far as the region of Siut, Yewelot, triumphant, founded; which lies in the district of the highland northwest of [Thebes], and is called 'Beautiful Region;' while he was a youth in the time of his father, King Meriamon-Osorkon (III), <sup>3</sup>in the year 10, fourth month of the third season, last day . . . . . <sup>22</sup>. . . in all 556 [stat] of various land, and 35 men and women, their dykes, their <sup>23</sup>trees, their large and small cattle; I confirm them to the prophet of Amon-Re, king of gods, the chief of a district, <sup>b</sup>Khamwese, triumphant, his son, whom the daughter of a king's-daughter, <sup>24</sup>Tedenetnebast (*T<sup>o</sup> dn' t-n-B<sup>o</sup> s' t*), bore to him, forever."

<sup>a</sup>Red granite stela, round top, 2.67 m. high, 1.25 m. wide, 38 cm. thick, discovered by Legrain in the great Karnak temple; published by him, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 35, 13-16, and translated by Erman, *ibid.*, 19-24. A relief at the top in two parts shows: on the right a priest with panther-skin offering a statuette of Truth to Amon and Khonsu; on the left, the same person in the same ceremony before Amon and Mut. Below is the text in thirty-two horizontal lines.

<sup>b</sup>See Dakhel Stela (§ 726, l. 2) for the same title.

## REIGN OF PIANKHI

### THE PIANKHI STELA<sup>a</sup>

796. This stela is the most instructive surviving document in respect of the internal political condition of Egypt in a time when no strong central power and no aggressive monarch controlled the whole country. The conditions pictured in this record are undoubtedly typical of similar periods throughout the historic age in Egypt, and in reading it the student clearly perceives why certain epochs in the history of the Nile-dwellers have left us no monuments. That we consequently know almost nothing of such periods is, in view of the revelations of the Piankhi Stela, probably no great loss, as far as political conditions are concerned. We may safely picture them to ourselves as essentially like this period first revealed to us by our great stela.

The Piankhi Stela discloses the Nubian kingdom

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<sup>a</sup>Large and splendid stela of pink granite, with rounded top, 180 cm. high, 184 cm. wide, and 43 cm. thick; in the Museum of Cairo (No. 160, *Guide*, 111, b). It was discovered in the temple at Gebel Barkal (Napata) by a native Egyptian officer of the Sudanese government in 1862, and a rude copy made by him was used by de Rougé for his essay on the stone in 1863 (*Revue archéologique*, 1863, 2 n. s. VIII, 94 ff.). The original having arrived in Cairo in 1864, a copy was made by Devéria, and published in 1867 (*Fouilles exécutées en Egypte, en Nubie et au Soudan, d'après les ordres de son Altesse le Vice-Roi d'Egypte*, par Auguste Mariette-Bey; folio; Paris: Franck, 1867; I (texte), 1-2; II (planches), Pls. 1-14). This work was for some reason withdrawn from sale a few days after publication, and only the few copies sold now exist. It was then published from the copies of Devéria in Rougé's *Chrestomathie*, fasc. IV (1876), and in Mariette, *Monuments divers*, Pls. I-VI. The publications are very good; I had also a collation of the original by Schaefer, and my own collation of the Berlin squeeze, from both of which sources a few corrections have been inserted. The best and most recent translation is that of Griffith (*A Library of the World's Best Literature*, 5275-95). See bibliography of older treatments, by Maspero (Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 1, 2, and Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires*, p. 166, n. 6). The geographical notes which I have appended are chiefly drawn from Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*.



already in existence as a full-fledged power. King Piankhi must have come to the throne in Napata about 741 B. C., but his records offer no hint of the development of the kingdom which must have preceded him. Its character as an Amonite theocracy or hierarchy sufficiently indicates its Theban origin. When, moreover, we remember that the Nubian "*gold-country of Amon*," with its own governor, already existed toward the close of the Nineteenth Dynasty;<sup>a</sup> that the Theban High Priest of Amon became viceroy of Kush at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty;<sup>b</sup> and, finally, that the sacerdotal princess of Thebes in the Twenty-first Dynasty was "*viceroys of Kush, and governor of the Southern Countries*,"<sup>c</sup> it will be seen that over four hundred years before Piankhi's reign the Theban hierarchy had a strong hold on Nubia, and that some two hundred years later this had strengthened into full possession of the country.

797. The transfer of the Pharaonic seat of power to the Delta and the prominence of Ptah in the family of the Twenty-second Dynasty, had alienated the Amon priests from the northern dynasties. What was the specific occasion of the priests' withdrawal and the foundation of a new government at Napata, the old Eighteenth Dynasty seat of Amon worship by the fourth cataract, we do not know. As the later generations of the Twenty-second Dynasty weakened, petty dynasts arose throughout the Delta and as far south as Hermopolis. The Twenty-third Dynasty, at Bubastis,<sup>d</sup> although acknowledged for at least twenty-three years at Thebes during the reign of its first king, Pedibast (§§ 793,

<sup>a</sup>III, 640.

<sup>b</sup>§ 615.

<sup>c</sup>E. g., on the Canopic jars and stela of Nesikhonsu, A. B. Edwards, *Recueil* IV, 80-85, and Maspero, *Momies royales*, 712.

<sup>d</sup>Although Manetho gives the twenty-third as a Tanitic dynasty, it is clearly Bubastite, according to the Piankhi inscription.

794), brought no order out of the chaos; for, as the Nubian kingdom now (about 722 B. C.)<sup>a</sup> suddenly emerges upon our view, we find it in possession of Thebes and Upper Egypt, as far north as Heracleopolis just south of the mouth of the Fayûm.<sup>b</sup>

798. The occasion of the Nubian conquest of the farther North, narrated in our document, was a disturbance in the situation just described, occasioned by the aggressiveness and rapid rise of Tefnakhte, a local dynast of Sais in the western Delta, whose career at this point illustrates that of almost every founder of a Pharaonic dynasty. Had the Nubian conquest not put an end to his brilliant career, he, too, like Ahmose of Thebes, and Sheshonk of Heracleopolis (later Bubastis), would have headed a dynasty of Pharaohs. In Piankhi's twenty-first<sup>c</sup> year, in the first month of the calendar year, his vassals in Upper Egypt reported to him that Tefnakhte had defeated the dynasts of the entire western Delta, and of both shores of the Nile above the Delta, almost as far south as the vicinity of Benihasan. Besides these, he had also gained control of all the eastern and middle Delta princes (l. 19), so that he was practically king of all lower Egypt, and of the lower portion of Upper

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<sup>a</sup>Or possibly a little later. The reasons why Thebes could not have fallen much later will be found at the close of this discussion, § 813. The correctness of this dating of Piankhi's appearance in Lower Egypt some fifty years later than has been heretofore done by other historians, is not only rendered certain by the chronological data of the preceding period (dead reckoning from accession of Eighteenth Dynasty), but also by the fact that Piankhi was the father of Taharka, who began to reign in 690 or 691 B. C.; the fact that Bocchoris, the son of Tefnakhte, Piankhi's enemy, was the opponent of Shabaka; so that Piankhi and Shabaka cannot have been far apart.

<sup>b</sup>The Ethiopian period in Egypt thus includes Dynasties 23 (excepting the first reign), 24, and 25, the last of which only, is called Ethiopian by Manetho, because it was not until the overthrow of the ephemeral Twenty-fourth Dynasty, in the Delta that the Ethiopians established themselves permanently there.

<sup>c</sup>As he must have been holding Upper Egypt for some time before this, we must place his occupation of Thebes a year at least before these reports.

Egypt. Only Heracleopolis was holding out against him, and was suffering a siege at his hands, all his vassal princes lending him aid against it.

799. The wily Piankhi, desirous of drawing his enemy far southward, away from the safety of the impenetrable Delta swamps, quietly awaited developments. A second appeal from the north (§ 819) then informed Piankhi of the submission of Namlot, king of Hermopolis, to Tefnakhte (§ 820). Piankhi thereupon sent his commanders, with the troops then in Egypt, northward to check Tefnakhte's further southern advance, and besiege Hermopolis (§ 821). This they did, while Piankhi was, at the same time, dispatching from Nubia a second army for their support (§ 822). Having left Thebes, the second army met Tefnakhte's fleet coming up, and defeated it, capturing many ships and prisoners (§ 825). Continuing northward, probably down the Bahr Yusuf,<sup>a</sup> they struck Tefnakhte's army, which was besieging Heracleopolis, with the assistance of the Delta dynasts, as we have already stated. The northerners were defeated, both by land and water, and fled to the west side of the Bahr Yusuf (§ 831), whither they were pursued by the Nubians the next morning, again discomfited and forced to retreat toward the Delta.

800. Namlot, king of Hermopolis, escaped from the disaster, and returned southward to protect his own city, Hermopolis, which had not yet surrendered; whereupon the Nubian commanders returned up the Bahr Yusuf to Hermopolis which they closely beset (§ 833).

801. On receiving reports of these operations, Piankhi was enraged that the northern army had been allowed to escape to the Delta. It was now late in the calendar year,

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<sup>a</sup>See p. 424, n. f.

and Piankhi determined, after the celebration of the New Year at home, to proceed to Thebes to celebrate there the great Feast of Opet in the third month, and then to lead the campaign against the North in person (§§ 835, 836). Meanwhile, his commanders in Egypt captured Oxyrhynchus, Tetehen, and Hatbenu (§§ 837-39), although Hermopolis still held out against them.

**802.** Piankhi then proceeded northward early in the calendar year, celebrated the Feast of Opet at Thebes in the third month, and went on to assume charge of the siege of Hermopolis, which had now been going on for certainly four, and probably five months (§ 840). He pressed the siege so vigorously that the city was soon at his mercy, and Namlot, finding that gifts, even his own royal crown, availed nothing with Piankhi, sent out his queen to plead with Piankhi's women that they might intercede with him in Namlot's behalf (§§ 842-44). This move was successful and, assured of his life, Namlot surrendered and turned over all his wealth to Piankhi, who immediately entered the city (§§ 845-50). One of the most remarkable touches in this remarkable inscription is the wrath of Piankhi as he visits Namlot's stables and finds that the horses have suffered hunger (§ 850). All of Namlot's wealth was assigned to the royal treasury of Piankhi and the sacred fortune of Amon (§ 851).

**803.** Heracleopolis, being already exhausted after a siege at the hands of Tefnakhte, its king, Pefnefdibast, now came to greet Piankhi and praise him for his deliverance (§ 852). The advance to the Delta, sailing down the Bahr Yusuf, was then begun, and all the chief towns of the West surrendered one after another on seeing Piankhi's force, except Crocodilopolis, in the Fayûm, which would have carried him too far from his course by Illahun. On the other hand, he

did not touch Aphroditopolis, which lay on the east side of the river, equally far removed from his route, past Medûm and Ithtowe to Memphis (§§ 853-57). Piankhi offered sacrifice to the gods in all the cities which he passed, and took possession of the available property for his own treasury and the estate of Amon.

804. On reaching Memphis, it was found to be very strongly fortified and, in answer to Piankhi's demand to surrender, the Memphites closed the gates and made a sortie, which was evidently not very effective (§§ 857, 858). Under cover of night, Tefnakhte entered the city, and exhorted the garrison to rely on their strong walls, their plentiful supplies, and the high water which protected the east side from attack, while he himself rode away north for reinforcements (§§ 859, 860). Having landed on the north of the city, Piankhi was surprised at the strength of the place. Some of his people favored a siege, others desired to storm the walls upon embankments and causeways raised for the purpose (§ 861). Piankhi decided to storm, devising a shrewd plan of assault which speaks highly for his skill as a leader.

805. The lofty walls on the west side of the city had been recently raised still higher, and it was evident that the east side, protected by high waters (artificially raised?), was being neglected. Here was the harbor, where the ships now floated so high that their bow-ropes were fastened among the houses of the city. Piankhi sent his fleet against the harbor, and quickly captured all the shipping. Then, taking command in person, he rapidly ranged the captured craft and his own fleet along the eastern walls, thus furnishing footing for his assaulting lines, which he immediately sent over the ramparts and captured the city before its eastern defenses could be strengthened against him (§§ 862-65). A great slaugh-

ter ensued, but the sanctuaries were, of course, respected and protected, and Ptah recognized Piankhi as king (§§ 865, 866).

**806.** The entire region of Memphis then submitted (§ 867), whereupon the Delta dynasts also came to Memphis with gifts for Piankhi, and signified their submission (§ 868). After dividing the wealth of Memphis between the treasuries of Amon and of Ptah, Piankhi crossed the river, worshiped in the ancient sanctuary of Khereha-Babylon, and followed the old sacred road thence to Heliopolis, where he camped by the harbor. Among the important religious ceremonies here was his entrance alone into the holy of holies of the Re-temple, that he might view the god and be recognized by him as king, according to the immemorial custom<sup>a</sup> (§ 871).

**807.** Before he left Heliopolis, King Osorkon III of Bubastis surrendered and visited Piankhi. Having moved his camp to a point just east of Athribis, by a town called Keheni, he there received the submission of all the petty kings, princelets, chiefs, and dynasts of the Delta (§§ 872, 873). Among these, Pediese of Athribis showed himself especially loyal to Piankhi and invited him thither, placing all his wealth at the Nubian's disposal. Piankhi, therefore, entered Athribis, received the gifts of Pediese, and, in order to choose for himself the best horses, especially entered the stables, which the shrewd Athribite, observing his love of horses, had particularly invited him to do. Fifteen Delta dynasts were here dismissed, at their own request, that they might go back to their cities and return to Piankhi with further gifts, in emulation of Pediese (§§ 873-76).

**808.** Meantime the desperate Tefnakhte had garrisoned

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<sup>a</sup>See II, §§ 134, 221 ff.

Mesed, a town of uncertain location, but probably somewhere on his frontier. Rather than have them captured by Piankhi, he burned the ships and supplies which he could not save. Piankhi then sent a body of troops against Mesed, and they slew the garrison. Tefnakhte had, meanwhile, taken refuge on one of the remote islands in the western mouths of the Nile. The season was far advanced; many miles of vast Delta morass, and a network of irrigation canals, separated Piankhi from the fugitive. It would have been a hazardous undertaking to have dispatched an army into such a region. When, therefore, Tefnakhte sent gifts and a humble message of submission, requesting that Piankhi send a messenger with whom he might go to the neighboring temple and take the oath of allegiance to Piankhi, the Nubian king was very ready to accept the proposal (§ 880). In this less humiliating, not to say much less dangerous manner, Tefnakhte then accepted the suzerainty of Piankhi, and when the two kings of the Fayûm and Aphroditopolis, whom he had not molested on his way northward, appeared with their gifts (§ 882), a Nubian Pharaoh was lord of all Egypt.

809. The vassals, having paid Piankhi a last visit, he loaded his vessels with the wealth of the North and sailed away for his southern capital, amid the acclamations of the people. Arrived at Napata, he had erected in the temple of Amon our magnificent granite stela, recording how he, the son of Amon, had humiliated the rivals of that god in the North. The language of the inscription is good, and clear Egyptian in the narrative portions; but in the speeches, especially those of Piankhi himself, it is in places quite unintelligible, and produces the impression of a composition by one not perfectly familiar with the language. Apart from the Annals of Thutmose III, and possibly the documents

of Ramses II on the Battle of Kadesh, the inscription of Piankhi is the clearest and most rational account of a campaign which has survived from ancient Egypt. It displays a good deal of literary skill, and an appreciation of dramatic situations which is notable, while the vivacious touches found here and there quite relieve it of the arid tone usual in such hieroglyphic documents. The imagination endues the personages appearing here more easily with life than those of any other similar historical narrative of Egypt; and the humane Piankhi especially, the lover of horses, remains a man, far removed from the conventional companion and equal of the gods, who inevitably occupies the exalted throne of the Pharaohs in all other such records, except, possibly, the Annals of Thutmose III.

810. Tefnakhte, while he had nominally submitted to Piankhi, only awaited the withdrawal of the Ethiopian to resume his designs. He eventually assumed the Pharaonic titles; and a gift of land near Sais by a priest of Neit, to this goddess, is dated in Tefnakhte's eighth year as Pharaoh.<sup>a</sup> He must have greatly increased the power and prestige of Sais, for his son Bocchoris<sup>b</sup> was the founder of the Twenty-fourth Dynasty (about 719-713 B. C.).

811. In Upper Egypt, Piankhi's rule continued for an uncertain but brief period. In the temple of Mut, at Thebes, he left a relief<sup>c</sup> representing a festal voyage of his ships, perhaps his return from the North. Among the ships appears

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<sup>a</sup>Stela in hieratic in the museum of Athens, first noticed and partially published by Mallet (*Recueil*, 18, 4 ff.); then fully by Spiegelberg in transcription (*ibid.*, 25, 190-93); the relief at the top by Maspero (*Empires*, 181).

<sup>b</sup>Diodorus, I, 45.

<sup>c</sup>Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, Pls. XX-XXII, and pp. 370-79. These blocks may belong to some other Piankhi.



the state barge<sup>a</sup> of Sais, of course captured from Tefnakhte's fleet in the northern war. Osorkon III of Bubastis finally recovered Thebes, perhaps about 720 B. C., and together with an otherwise unknown Takelot (III) ruled there for a few years.<sup>b</sup> Some years later<sup>c</sup> Tefnakhte's son Bocchoris (*W* <sup>ḥ</sup> *k* <sup>ḥ</sup> *R* <sup>c</sup>) ascended the throne as the first and, as far as we know, the sole king of the Twenty-fourth Dynasty (see following table).

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<sup>a</sup>The Somtu-tefnakhte, who appears here as a naval commander of Piankhi and prince of Heracleopolis, cannot possibly be the same as the Saite Tefnakhte, who, besides the difference in the name, was not prince of Heracleopolis.

<sup>b</sup>See note, § 872, l. 106.

<sup>c</sup>Who ruled at Thebes during these years we do not know. Osorkon III's, coregent, Takelot III, may have continued there. As Osorkon III's successor Africanus and Syncellus give a certain Psammus, with ten years, and Africanus follows Psammus with one Zet (thirty-one years); but neither of these two kings has been found on the monuments.

812.

		ETHIOPIANS	SAITES	BUBASTITES Twenty-third Dynasty
Piankhi	741	Accession in Napata	726 Ruled at least 8 years as Prince of Sais and Memphis and as King in Western Delta	745
	722	Control of Thebes and Lower Egypt		Tefnakhte
	720	Campaign	718	
	717	Thebes probably lost		Bocchoris
Uncertain	712	Beginning of Twenty-fifth Dynasty	712	End of Twenty-third Dynasty
	Shabaka 700	Beginning of Twenty-fifth Dynasty	End of Twenty-fourth Dynasty	

700

813. The preceding table will show how the complicated history of the time is probably to be restored. The Twenty-third Dynasty ruler, Osorkon III, is a Bubastite, and not a Tanite, as Manetho states.<sup>a</sup> Hence the Twenty-third Dynasty, being clearly Bubastite, could not have been parallel with the close of the Bubastite Twenty-second Dynasty, but must have followed it. Again, both Pedibast and Osorkon III of the Twenty-third Dynasty, controlled Thebes (§§ 793, 794) as did all the later kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty. Hence they could not have been contemporary.<sup>b</sup> There are two other possible parallels: first, the last few years of the Twenty-third Dynasty, with the reign of Bocchoris,<sup>c</sup> but Bocchoris could not have been regarded as the founder and sole king of a new dynasty, if he had not ruled the country as a whole for a time; second, the early years of Shabaka may have been parallel with the close of Bocchoris's reign. The whole period involved by these two parallels could not have been more than ten years, and was probably less, if it existed at all.

814. Returning now to the Piankhi Stela, it is crowned by a relief, showing Amon of Napata<sup>d</sup> enthroned, with Mut standing behind him. Before the divinities stands Piankhi. Approaching him a king, wearing upon his forehead the royal serpent-crest (*uraeus*), leads a horse with the left hand, and in the right hand carries a sistrum; above him the words: "*King Namlot.*" This incident is afterward

<sup>a</sup>On the position of Osorkon III and his relation to Thebes and Piankhi, see § 872, l. 106, note; and § 941.

<sup>b</sup>The new materials found by Legrain in the great cache at Karnak (*Recueil*, 27, 78, 79) have led him to think that the old conclusion of the contemporaneity of the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties is supported by them. In so far as published, they do not prove this conclusion. [Later: See Appended Note, p. 404.]

<sup>c</sup>On date of Bocchoris, see § 884.

<sup>d</sup>The fragmentary words inscribed beside him, refer to the "*pure mountain*," or Gebel Barkal, by Napata.

described in the great inscription (l. 58). A woman, standing with uplifted right hand, preceding Namlot, represents "*the king's-wives*," the women of Namlot, who appeared before Piankhi in the palace at Hermopolis (ll. 62-64). Three kings, with the royal uraeus upon their foreheads, are kissing the earth at Piankhi's feet. They are designated as: (1) *King Osorkon*; (2) *King Yewepet*; (3) *King Pejnešdibast*.

815. Five other princes approach Piankhi, of whom one, without the uraeus, but wearing the sidelock of youth, was "[*Prince*] *Teti*." The other four, who are also without the uraeus, but wear the feather plume on the head, are:

(1) The prince ( $h^{\circ} ty^{-c}$ ),<sup>a</sup> Pethenef ( $P^{\circ} -tnfy$ ); (2) The prince ( $h^{\circ} ty^{-c}$ ), Pemou ( $P^{\circ} -m^{\circ}$ ); (3) Great chief of Me, Akenesh ( $^{\circ} -k^{\circ} -n-š^{\circ}$ ); (4) Great chief of Me, Zeamamefonekh.

The words of these conquered dynasts, or at least of Namlot, inscribed before them, are too fragmentary for restoration, but they began: "*Be appeased, Horus, lord of [the palace]*," in which we recognize the opening words of Namlot's speech before Piankhi (ll. 55, 56). The figure of Piankhi has been chiseled away by his political enemies.

Beneath the relief the great inscription then follows, as translated below:

*Date*

816. <sup>1</sup>Year 21,<sup>b</sup> first month of the first season, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Meriamon-Piankhi<sup>c</sup> ( $P^{-c} nh^y$ ), living forever.

<sup>a</sup>The old "*counts*" have now become practically independent "*princes*," and the old title,  $h^{\circ} ty^{-c}$ , should generally be so rendered in this age.

<sup>b</sup>This date may be either that of the first events in the following record, or that of the return of Piankhi and the erection of the stela. Piankhi, having celebrated the New Year's feast at Napata, departed for Thebes, which in turn he left in the third month, for his campaign in the north. The above date, nine months later, would allow enough for his campaign and the return to Napata. Again, if it be the date of the first report of Tefnakhte's aggressions, Piankhi's departure was a year later (his commanders operating in Egypt meanwhile), so that his departure and campaign fell in the year 22.

<sup>c</sup>For this name I have retained the traditional spelling, although it is evident

*Introduction*

**817.** Command which my majesty speaks: "Hear of what I did, more than the ancestors. I am a king, divine emanation, living image of Atum, who came forth from the womb, adorned as a ruler, of whom those greater than he were afraid; whose father knew, <sup>2</sup>and whose mother recognized that he would rule in the egg, the Good God, beloved of the gods, achieving with his hands, Meriamon-Piankhi."

*Announcement of Tefnakhte's Advance*

**818.** One came to say to his majesty: "A chief of the west, the great prince in Neter, <sup>a</sup>Tefnakhte (*T<sup>3</sup> j-nht t*)<sup>b</sup> is in the nome of —, <sup>c</sup>in the nome of Xoïs, in Hapi (*H<sup>c</sup> p*),<sup>d</sup> in — <sup>3</sup>in Ayan, <sup>e</sup>in Pernub,<sup>f</sup> and in Memphis. He has seized the whole west from the back-lands to Ithtowe, coming southward with a numerous army, while the Two Lands are united behind him, and the princes and rulers of walled towns are as dogs at his heels. No stronghold has closed [its doors<sup>1</sup> in] <sup>4</sup>the nomes of the South: Mer-Atum (Medûm), Per-Sekhemkheperre,<sup>g</sup>

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from the two reed-leaves at the end that the vowel followed the *h*. The *p* or *py* is certainly the demonstrative "pay." The name of Hrihor's son, Payonekh, owing to the lack of the *y* at the end, evidently had nothing to do with Piankhi. Hence the political connection between Thebes and Napata, however probable on other grounds, cannot be based on the supposed identity of these two names, as is commonly done.

<sup>a</sup>A region in the central Delta near modern Behbeit, the Iseum or Isidis oppidum of classic geographers; see also § 878, No. 5, note.

<sup>b</sup>This name is an abbreviation, the full form being: *X* (divine name)-*t<sup>3</sup> j-nht t* = tefnakhte, "(the god) *X* is his Strength." See Schaefer, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 93, note 2. The full form occurs on the Theban blocks of Piankhi (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 375). Feminine form *X*-tesnakhte (§ 918).

<sup>c</sup>The sign above the nome standard is omitted in the original.

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "Nile," a Nilopolis supposed by Brugsch to be somewhere in the western Delta.

<sup>e</sup>Uncertain.

<sup>f</sup>There was a Per-Nub near Sais (Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 325) in the western Delta. The following generalization, "the whole west, etc.," shows that all these places are to be distributed in the western Delta from Memphis to the coast. Ithtowe was between Medûm and Memphis.

<sup>g</sup>Lit., "House of Osorkon I;" the place was therefore a foundation of this king. Its exact site is no longer known, but it must have been near Illahûn at the mouth of the Fayûm.

the temple of Sebek,<sup>a</sup> Permezed,<sup>b</sup> Theknesh<sup>c</sup> (*T-k<sup>2</sup>-n-š*); and every city of the west,<sup>d</sup> they have opened the doors for fear of him. He turned to the east, they opened to him likewise: Hatbenu,<sup>e</sup> Tozi<sup>f</sup> (*T<sup>2</sup> yw<sup>2</sup> t*), Hatseteni<sup>g</sup> (*H<sup>2</sup> t-stny*), Pernebtpeh<sup>h</sup> (*Pr-nb-tp-yh*). Behold, <sup>s</sup>[he] besieges Heracleopolis, he has completely invested it,<sup>i</sup> not letting the comers-out come out, and not letting the goers-in go in, fighting every day. He measured it off in its whole circuit, every prince knows his wall;<sup>j</sup> he stations every man of the princes and rulers of walled towns over his (respective) portion.”

*Piankhi's Indifference*

**819.** Then [his majesty] heard [the message] <sup>6</sup>with courageous heart, laughing, and joyous of heart.

*Second Appeal of the North*

These princes and commanders of the army who were in their cities sent to his majesty daily, saying: “Wilt thou be silent, even to forgetting the Southland, the nomes of the <sup>1</sup>court<sup>1</sup>?<sup>k</sup> While Tefnakhte advances his conquest and finds none to repel his arm.”

<sup>a</sup>Crocodilopolis, capital of the Fayûm.

<sup>b</sup>Oxyrhyncus-Behnesa, capital of the nineteenth nome of Upper Egypt.

<sup>c</sup>Coptic Takinash of the nome of Pemdshē (Oxyrhyncus); see Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 669.

<sup>d</sup>This means the west side of the Nile, above the Delta.

<sup>e</sup>The capital of the eighteenth nome of Upper Egypt, perhaps the Hipponon of the classic times. It literally means: “*House of the Phoenix*” (Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 670-96).

<sup>f</sup>A town in the nineteenth nome of Upper Egypt, perhaps the Coptic Tôdshi (Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 182).

<sup>g</sup>A town of the eighteenth nome of Upper Egypt, probably the classic Alabastropolis. It was “*Horus, lord of Hatseteni*,” who conducted Harmhab to Thebes for his coronation (III, 27). See Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 669-71.

<sup>h</sup>Atfih (Aphroditopolis) of the twenty-second nome of Upper Egypt; and as we find this city (called Metenu) surrendering to Piankhi later (l. 145), it is evident that Tefnakhte had taken it.

<sup>i</sup>A remarkable expression, literally meaning: “*He has made himself into a tail-in-the-mouth*,” viz., he lay around the city like a serpent with its tail in its mouth.

<sup>j</sup>The section of wall assigned to him by Tefnakhte.

<sup>k</sup>Or: “*the nomes of the court of the Southland*,” like “*Elephantine of the South* (*tp ršy*).”

*Submission of Hermopolis to Tefnakhte*

820. "Namlot<sup>a</sup> — —, 7prince of Hatweret<sup>b</sup> (*H·t-wr·[t]*), he has overthrown the wall of Nefrus<sup>c</sup> (*Njrus*), he has demolished his own city, for fear of him who might take it from him,<sup>d</sup> in order to besiege another city. Behold, he goes to follow at his (Tefnakhte's) heels,<sup>e</sup> having cast off allegiance to his majesty<sup>f</sup> (Piankhi). He carries with him (Tefnakhte) like one of [his vassals in] <sup>g</sup>the nome of Oxyrhyncus, and gives to him (Tefnakhte) gifts, as much as he desires, of everything that he has found."

*Piankhi Commands the Capture of the Hare Nome*

821. Then his majesty sent to the princes and commanders (*mr*) of the army who were in Egypt: the commander (*tš*), Purem<sup>g</sup> (*P·w·r·m·c*); and the commander (*tš*), Lemersekeny (*Rw·c·mr·s·k·n·y*);<sup>h</sup> and every commander (*tš*) of his majesty who was in Egypt (saying): "Hasten into battle line, engage in battle, surround —, 9capture its people, its cattle, its ships upon the river. Let not the peasants go forth to the field, let not the plowmen plow, beset the frontier of the Hare nome, fight against it daily." Then they did so.

*Piankhi Sends His Army; His Instructions*

822. Then his majesty sent an army to Egypt, charging them earnestly: "[Delay] not [day nor] 10night, as at a game of draughts;<sup>i</sup> (but) fight ye on sight. Force battle upon him from afar.<sup>j</sup> If he says

<sup>a</sup>In cartouche.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "Great House," a designation of a town in the sixteenth nome of Upper Egypt, perhaps the same as Hebenu (*Hbnw*; cf. Harris, 61b, 6, § 367).

<sup>c</sup>Town in the same nome as Hatweret.

<sup>d</sup>Or: "for fear that he (Tefnakhte) might take it." As he submitted to Tefnakhte immediately afterward, the motive for the act is not clear in either case.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., "to be the companion of his feet," the figure of the dog, as above in l. 3. It is a common figure applied to followers of a king.

<sup>f</sup>Piankhi's rule had thus extended as far north as Hermopolis.

<sup>g</sup>Lit., "The Negro," from a Nubian word "urum" = "black" and the Egyptian article.

<sup>h</sup>Or Lesmersekeni (*Rw·c·s·mr·s·k·n·y*).

<sup>i</sup>Perhaps a reference to the slowness of the game.

<sup>j</sup>Judging from the context, this certainly means, not that they are to fight at long range, avoiding close quarters, but that they are to seek battle at the earliest opportunity, and begin the attack from afar.

to the infantry and chariotry of another city, 'Hasten;' (then) ye shall abide until his army comes, that ye may fight as he says. But if his allies be in another city, <sup>11</sup>(then) let one hasten to them;<sup>a</sup> these princes, whom he has brought for his support: Libyans (*Tḥmw*) and favorite soldiers, force battle upon them <sup>1</sup>first!<sup>b</sup> Say, 'We know not what he cries in mustering troops.<sup>c</sup> Yoke the war horses, the best of thy stable; <sup>12</sup>draw up the line of battle! Thou knowest that Amon is the god who has sent us.'"

*Instructions as to Thebes*

**823.** "When ye arrive at Thebes, before Karnak, ye shall enter into the water, ye shall bathe in the river, ye shall dress in <sup>1</sup>fine linen<sup>1</sup>; unstring the bow, loosen the arrow. Let not the chief boast <sup>13</sup>as a mighty man; there is no strength to the mighty without him (Amon). He maketh the weak-armed into the strong-armed, so that multitudes flee from the feeble, and one alone taketh a thousand men. Sprinkle yourselves with the water of his altars, sniff the ground before him. Say <sup>14</sup>ye to him, 'Give to us the way, that we may fight in the shadow of thy sword. (As for) the generation<sup>d</sup> whom thou hast sent out, when its attack occurs, multitudes flee before it.'"

*Reply of the Army*

**824.** Then they threw themselves upon their bellies before his majesty (saying): "It is thy name which endues us with might, and thy counsel is the mooring-post of thy army; thy bread is in our bellies on every march, thy beer <sup>15</sup>quenches our thirst. It is thy valor that giveth us might, and there is strength at the remembrance of thy name; (for) no army prevails whose commander is a coward. Who is thy equal therein? Thou art a victorious king, achieving with his hands, chief of the work of war."

<sup>a</sup>If Tefnakhte should send his allies to fight them, they are to await the attack; but if the allies remain in some city, Piankhi's forces are to seek them.

<sup>b</sup>*Tḥy-ꜥ*, evidently parallel with *m w* ("from afar") in l. 10.

<sup>c</sup>The meaning is uncertain; possibly: we are indifferent to his battle-cry, in encouraging his troops. The remainder is a defiance to Tefnakhte, to be spoken by Piankhi's army.

<sup>d</sup>*D* > *m*, lit., "young men," or, in the military organization of the country, a "class," as they successively fall due for military service (see § 402).



*Advance to Thebes*

825. They sailed <sup>16</sup>down-stream, they arrived at Thebes, they did according to all that his majesty had said.

*Battle on the River*

They sailed down-stream upon the river;<sup>a</sup> they found many ships coming up-stream bearing soldiers, sailors, and commanders;<sup>b</sup> every valiant man of the Northland, equipped with weapons of war, <sup>17</sup>to fight against the army of his majesty. Then there was made a great slaughter among them, (whose) number was unknown. Their troops and their ships were captured, and brought as living captives (sic!) to the place where his majesty was.<sup>c</sup>

*Arrival at Heracleopolis*

They went to the <sup>18</sup>frontier<sup>d</sup> of Heracleopolis, demanding battle.

*List of the Northern Enemy*

830.<sup>e</sup> List of the princes and kings of the Northland,<sup>f</sup> namely:

1. King Namlot and
2. <sup>18</sup>King Yewepet (*Yw-w<sup>3</sup>-p-t*).<sup>g</sup>
3. Chief of Me, Sheshonk,<sup>h</sup> of Per-Osiris (Busiris), lord of Ded.

<sup>a</sup>The addition is significant; the advance through Nubia had been largely by land. The exact place of the battle is uncertain; but as Piankhi's commanders were already besieging Hermopolis, it could hardly have been south of that city.

<sup>b</sup>Or perhaps "troops" (*ts-t*). <sup>c</sup>Napata.

<sup>d</sup>The meaning of this word (*hn-t*) is here uncertain; it is possibly "houn" (of *ehoun*), "into." As the troops of Tefnakhte were besieging Heracleopolis, the battle which now took place must have been by the city far from the Nile; and the capture of ships would indicate that the Nubians had descended the Bahr Yusuf, as Schaefer has suggested to me. See § 831 and note.

<sup>e</sup>Omission of Nos. 826-29 in the section numbering is intentional.

<sup>f</sup>The term is loosely used here, for Namlot, the first king, was king of Hermopolis, the second nome south of the Fayûm. A fuller list of the Delta dynasts is given later (§§ 878, ll. 114-17).

<sup>g</sup>See § 794; p. 437, n. d; and § 878.

<sup>h</sup>This mercenary commander from Busiris is subordinate to Pemou, prince of that city (l. 116). They are contemporary, and neither bears royal titles; hence they cannot have been identical with Pemou and Sheshonk IV, the last kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty. Moreover, both Pemou and Sheshonk IV held Memphis to the end of their reigns, but Memphis has now long been held by Tefnakhte, who was sem priest of Ptah there.

4. Great chief of Me, Zeamonefonekh, of Per-Beneded (Mendes), together with

5. His eldest son,<sup>a</sup> who was commander of the army of Per-Thutup-rehui (*Pr-Dhwtj-Wp-rhwy*).<sup>b</sup>

6. The army of the hereditary prince, Beknef (*Bk-nfy*), together with

7. His eldest son, chief of Me,<sup>19</sup> Nesked<sup>c</sup> (*Ns-n<sup>3</sup>-k<sup>3</sup>y*, sic!) in the nome of Hesebka (*Hsb-k<sup>3</sup>*).<sup>d</sup>

8. Every chief wearing a feather who was in the Northland;<sup>e</sup> together with

9. King Osorkon, who was in Per-Bast (Bubastis) and the district of Ranof<sup>r</sup> (*R<sup>c</sup>-nfr*).

10. Every prince, the rulers of the walled towns in the West, in the East, (and) the islands in the midst, were united of one mind as followers of the great chief of the West, ruler of the walled towns of the Northland, prophet of Neit, mistress of Sais, <sup>20</sup>sem priest of Ptah, Tefnakhte.

#### *Battle Opposite Heracleopolis*

**831.** They went forth against them; then they made a great slaughter among them, greater than anything. Their ships were captured upon the river.<sup>f</sup> The remnant crossed over and landed on the west side before Per-Peg.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup>His name, Enekhhor, will be found in the other list (§ 878, No. 4).

<sup>b</sup>Hermopolis Parva, in the western Delta.

<sup>c</sup>L. 116 has *Ns-n<sup>3</sup>-kd-y*.

<sup>d</sup>Eleventh nome of Lower Egypt.

<sup>e</sup>How many names this term may include is uncertain, but doubtless the chiefs of Me, enumerated in the second list, are meant.

<sup>f</sup>This word (*ytr*) has a common plural, referring to the canals of Egypt, and does not necessarily designate the Nile. Schaefer suggested to me that the Bahr Yusuf is meant here. It then occurred to me that all the cities taken by Piankhi as he went north, were far from the Nile, on the west side, until he reached Khereha-Babylon, and that he left the Fayûm on one side and Atfih-Aphroditopolis on the other side untouched, passing north between them, as is shown by the later surrender of their kings (l. 145, note). This would have been almost impossible in the case of Atfih, had Piankhi been descending the Nile. He probably reached the river again below Atfih by the ancient connection between Heracleopolis and Alexandria (Wilcken, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, II, 317; see also Papyrus Harris, § 224, note), of which we do not know the exact course. See also l. 76 (§ 853, n. a), which is the main proof of this hypothesis.

<sup>g</sup>This town is uncertain; but seeing that the Nubians had already reached

*Battle at Per-Peg*

832. When the land brightened early in the morning, the army of his majesty crossed over <sup>21</sup>against them. Army mingled with army; they slew a multitude of people among them; horses of unknown number; a rout<sup>a</sup> ensued among the remnant. They fled to the Northland, from the blow, great and evil beyond everything.

List of the slaughter made among them:

People: —<sup>b</sup> men.

*Hermopolis Besieged*

833. <sup>22</sup>King Namlot fled up-stream southward, when it was told him: "Hermopolis (*Hmnw*) is in the midst of the foe from the army of his majesty, who capture its people and its cattle." Then he entered into Hermopolis (*Wnw*), while the army of his majesty was upon the river, in the harbor <sup>23</sup>of the Hare nome.<sup>c</sup> Then they heard of it, and they surrounded the Hare nome<sup>c</sup> on its four<sup>d</sup> sides, not letting the comers-out come out, and not letting the goers-in go in.

*Report to Piankhi*

834. They sent to report to the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Meriamon-Piankhi, given life, on every conflict which they had fought, and on every victory of his majesty.

*Piankhi Determines to go to Egypt Himself*

835. Then his majesty was enraged thereat like a panther (saying): "Have they allowed <sup>24</sup>a remnant of the army of the Northland to remain? allowing him that went forth of them to go forth, to tell of his campaign?"

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the vicinity of Heracleopolis (l. 17), it must have been on the west side of Bahr Yusuf close to that city, and almost certainly further north. Maspero's identification with *الفقاعي* hardly seems phonetically possible, and hardly fits the conditions (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 20, 123-25).

<sup>a</sup>See Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1887, 124 f.

<sup>b</sup>The sculptor has omitted the numeral, although he left room for it.

<sup>c</sup>The nome names are commonly used in this inscription as here, for the chief city of the nome. The harbor was evidently on the Bahr Yusuf, on the east side of which Heracleopolis lies (see Schaefer's plan, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, II). They must therefore have returned up the Bahr Yusuf.

<sup>d</sup>Text has five.

not causing their death, in order to destroy the last of them? I swear: as Re loves me! As my father Amon favors me! I will myself go northward, that I may destroy <sup>25</sup>that which he has done, that I may make him turn back from fighting, forever.”

*Piankhi Would Visit Thebes*

**836.** “Now, afterward when the ceremonies of the New Year are celebrated, I will offer to my father, Amon,<sup>a</sup> at his beautiful feast, when he makes his beautiful appearance of the New Year, that he may send me forth in peace, to behold Amon<sup>b</sup> at the beautiful Feast of Opet; that I may bring his image<sup>c</sup> forth in procession <sup>26</sup>to Luxor at his beautiful feast (called): “Night of the Feast of Opet,” and at the feast (called): “Abiding in Thebes,” which Re made for him in the beginning; and that I may bring him in procession to his house, resting upon his throne, on the “Day of Bringing in the God,” in the third month of the first season, second day;<sup>d</sup> that I may make the Northland taste the taste of my fingers.”

*Capture of Oxyrhyncus*

**837.** Then the army, which was there in <sup>27</sup>Egypt, heard of the wrath which his majesty felt toward them. Then they fought against Per-Mezed<sup>e</sup> of the Oxyrhynchite nome, they took it like a flood of water, and they sent to his majesty; (but) his heart was not satisfied therewith.

*Capture of Teteheh*

**838.** Then they fought against Teteheh,<sup>f</sup> great in might. They found it filled <sup>28</sup>with soldiers, with every valiant man of the Northland. Then the battering-ram was employed against it, its wall was overthrown, and a great slaughter was made among them, of unknown number; also the son of the chief of Me, Tefnakhte. Then they sent to his majesty concerning it, (but) his heart was not satisfied therewith.

*Capture of Hatbenu*

**839.** <sup>29</sup>Then they fought against Hatbenu (*H t-Bnw*), its interior was breached, the army of his majesty entered into it. Then they sent to his majesty, (but) his heart was not satisfied therewith.

<sup>a</sup>Of Napata.      <sup>b</sup>Of Thebes.      <sup>c</sup>Lit., “*him as (or in) his image.*”

<sup>d</sup>This is one of the days of the long “Feast of Opet;” see § 237, note; and de Rougé, *Mélange d'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, I, 133.

<sup>e</sup>Oxyrhyncus.

<sup>f</sup>Modern Tehneh.

*Piankhi Goes to Hermopolis*

840. First month of the first season, ninth day; his majesty went northward to Thebes, and completed the Feast of Amon at the Feast of Opet. His majesty sailed <sup>3</sup>northward to the city of the Hare nome (Hermopolis); his majesty came forth from the cabin of the ship, the horses were yoked up, the chariot was mounted, the terror of his majesty reached to the end of the Asiatics, every heart was heavy with the fear of him.

*Piankhi Rebukes His Army*

841. Then his majesty went forth [— —] to <sup>3</sup>hate his soldiers, enraged at them like a panther (saying): "Is the steadfastness<sup>a</sup> of your fighting this slackness in my affairs? Has the year reached its end, when the fear of me has been inspired in the Northland? A great and evil blow shall be smitten them."

*Siege of Hermopolis*

842. He set up for himself the camp on the southwest of Hermopolis (*Hmnw*), and besieged it <sup>3</sup>daily. An embankment was made, to inclose the wall; a tower<sup>b</sup> was raised to elevate the archers while shooting, and the slingers while slinging stones, and slaying people among them daily.

*The City Pleads for Mercy*

843. Days passed,<sup>c</sup> and Hermopolis (*Wnw*) was foul to the nose, without her (usual) <sup>3</sup>fragrance. Then Hermopolis (*Wnw*) threw herself upon her belly, and plead before the king. Messengers came forth and descended bearing everything beautiful to behold: gold, every splendid costly stone, clothing in a chest, and the diadem which was upon his<sup>d</sup> head, the uraeus which inspired the fear of him; <sup>e</sup>without ceasing during many days,<sup>e</sup> pleading with his<sup>f</sup> diadem.

<sup>a</sup>Read *mn* and the roll, for *mn* and *s*.

<sup>b</sup>The determinative shows that a wooden construction of some sort is meant by the word (*bk*).

<sup>c</sup>The city had already been besieged many months: three months in the new year, and long enough in the old year for news of it to reach Piankhi at Napata before the New Year's feast (l. 25). Five months is therefore not improbable as the length of the siege.

<sup>d</sup>Namlot's.

<sup>e</sup>These adverbs belong to "*came forth and descended*."

<sup>f</sup>Piankhi's? Or do they use Namlot's diadem as a ransom or bribe?

*Namlot's Queen Intercedes*

**844.** Then they sent <sup>34</sup>his<sup>a</sup> wife, the kings'-wife, and king's-daughter, Nestent (*Nsnt*), to plead with the king's-wives, king's-concubines, king's-daughters, and king's-sisters, to throw herself upon her belly in the harem,<sup>b</sup> before the king's-wives (saying): "We come to you, O king's-wives, king's-daughters, and king's-sisters, that ye may appease Horus,<sup>c</sup> lord of the palace, whose fame is great and his triumph mighty. Grant <sup>35</sup>that he — — — me; lo, he — — — <sup>36</sup>him. Lo, [— —] — — — [Speak] <sup>37</sup>to him, that he may incline to the one that praises him — — — <sup>38</sup> [— —] — — —<sup>d</sup>.

*Piankhi Addresses Namlot<sup>e</sup>*

**845.** <sup>51</sup>"Lo, who has led thee? who has led thee? Who, then, has led thee? Who has led thee? — — <sup>52</sup>thou didst [forsake] the way of life. Did heaven rain with arrows? I am [content] <sup>53</sup>when the Southerners do obeisance and the Northerners (say): 'Put us in thy shadow.' Lo, it is evil [— —] — — <sup>54</sup>bearing his food. The heart is a steering-oar; it capsizes its owner through that which is from the god. It seeth flame as coolness [in] the heart<sup>f</sup> — — . <sup>55</sup>There is no old man, [— —] — — . Thy nomes are full of youths."

*Namlot's Reply to Piankhi*

**846.** He threw himself upon his belly before his majesty (saying): "[Be appeased],<sup>g</sup> <sup>56</sup>Horus, lord of the palace, it is thy might which has done it. I am one of the king's slaves, paying impost into the treasury [— <sup>57</sup>—] their impost. I have brought for thee more than they."

<sup>a</sup>Namlot's.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., "house of women (*pr-hm'wt*)."

<sup>c</sup>The king.

<sup>d</sup>Four signs are legible in l. 39; ll. 40-49 are entirely lost, and three signs are clear in l. 50. Beginning with l. 35, we pass to the short lines of the left edge, or thickness of the stela.

<sup>e</sup>The plea of Namlot's wife must have been successful; the surrender was accepted by Piankhi, and Namlot has presented himself before him. All this is lost in the long lacuna, and the narrative resumes with Piankhi's obscure address to Namlot.

<sup>f</sup>Or: "The flame seemeth to it as coolness [in] the heart," the heart itself being so hot?

<sup>g</sup>Restored from the relief, where the utterance of Namlot is also partially recorded (§ 814).

*Namlot's Gifts*

847. Then he presented much silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, bronze, and all costly stones. <sup>58</sup>Then he filled the treasury with this tribute; he brought a horse in the right hand and a sistrum in the left hand,<sup>a</sup> of gold and lapis lazuli.

*Piankhi's Triumphant Entry into Hermopolis*

848. Then his [majesty] appeared in splendor <sup>59</sup>in his palace,<sup>b</sup> proceeded to the house of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis (*Hmnw*), and he slew bulls, calves, and fowl for his father, lord of Hermopolis (*Hmnw*), and the eight gods in the house of <sup>60</sup>the eight gods. The army of the Hare nome acclaimed and rejoiced, saying: "How beautiful is Horus, resting in <sup>61</sup>his city, the Son of Re, Piankhi! Celebrate for us a jubilee (*hb-sd*), even as thou hast protected the Hare nome."<sup>c</sup>

*Piankhi Visits Namlot's Palace*

849. His majesty proceeded to <sup>62</sup>the house of King Namlot, he entered every chamber of the king's-house, his treasury and his magazines. He caused that there be brought to him; <sup>63</sup>the king's-wives and king's-daughters; they saluted his majesty in the fashion of women,<sup>d</sup> (but) his majesty turned not his face to <sup>64</sup>them.

*Piankhi Visits Namlot's Stables*

850. His majesty proceeded to the stable of the horses and the quarters of the foals. When he saw that <sup>65</sup>they had suffered hunger, he said: "I swear, as Re loves me, and as my nostrils are rejuvenated with life, it is more grievous in my heart <sup>66</sup>that my horses have suffered hunger, than any evil deed that thou hast done, in the prosecution of thy desire. It has borne witness of thee to me, the fear of thy associates for thee. <sup>67</sup>Didst thou not know that the god's shadow is over me? and that my fortune never perishes because of him? Would that another had done it to me! <sup>68</sup>I could not but [condemn] him on account of it. When I was being fashioned in the womb, and created in the divine egg <sup>69</sup>the

<sup>a</sup>The relief shows the horse led by the left hand and the sistrum in the right (§ 814).

<sup>b</sup>This must mean Piankhi's tent, for he does not reach Namlot's palace until later (ll. 61, 62).

<sup>c</sup>See §§ 750, 751

<sup>d</sup>Lit., "with the things of women."

seed of the god was in me. By his ka, I do nothing without him; he it is who commands me to do it."

*Disposal of Namlot's Property*

851. Then his<sup>a</sup> possessions were assigned to the treasury, <sup>70</sup>and his granary to the divine offerings<sup>b</sup> of Amon in Karnak.

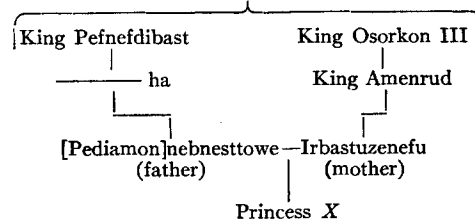
*Loyalty of Heracleopolis*

852. The ruler of Heracleopolis Pefnefdibast<sup>c</sup> (*Pf-nj-dyy-B<sup>3</sup> s't*) came, bearing tribute <sup>71</sup>to the palace: gold, silver, every costly stone, and horses of the choicest of the stable. He threw himself upon his belly before his majesty; he said: "Hail to thee, Horus, <sup>72</sup>mighty king, Bull subduer of Bulls! The Nether World<sup>d</sup> had seized me, and I was submerged in darkness, <sup>73</sup>upon which the light has (now) shone. I found not a friend in the evil day, who was steadfast in the day of battle; but thou, O mighty king, thou hast expelled <sup>74</sup>the darkness from me. I will labor together with (thy) subjects, and Heracleopolis shall pay taxes <sup>75</sup>into thy treasury, thou likeness of Harakhte, chief of the imperishable stars.<sup>e</sup> As he was, so art thou king; as he perishes not <sup>76</sup>so thou shalt not perish, O King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Piankhi, living forever.

<sup>a</sup>Namlot's.

<sup>b</sup>Temple income (*htp ntr*).

<sup>c</sup>A fragment of a wooden coffin belonging to a great-granddaughter of this king (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 284, a) was found at Thebes by Lepsius. It is now in Berlin (No. 2100, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 238). Combined with an inscription found by Daressy at Medinet Habu (*Recueil*, 19, 20), we may construct the following genealogy of Pefnefdibast's great-granddaughter, whom we call X, as her name is lost:



The Heracleopolitan house and the fallen house of Bubastis, were thus later connected by marriage.

<sup>d</sup>The following description refers to the struggle of his city with Tefnakhte, and the relief brought by Piankhi.

<sup>e</sup>Lit., "those which cannot perish (*yhm w-sk*)," an epithet applied to the stars of the northern heavens (Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, 321).



*Per-Sekhemkheperre is Summoned to Surrender*

853. His majesty sailed north to the opening of the canal<sup>a</sup> beside <sup>b77</sup>Illahun (*R<sup>o</sup> -hn t*); he found Per-Sekhemkheperre<sup>c</sup> with its wall raised, and its stronghold (*hm*) closed, filled with every valiant man of the Northland. Then his majesty sent to them, saying: "Ye living in death! Ye living in death! Ye insignificant <sup>78</sup>— and miserable ones! Ye living in death! If an hour passes without opening to me, behold, ye are of the number of the fallen; and that is 'painful'<sup>d</sup> to the king. Close not the gates of your life, to be brought to the block this day. Love not death, nor hate life <sup>79</sup>— — <sup>79</sup> before the whole land."

*Surrender of Per-Sekhemkheperre*

854. Then they sent to his majesty, saying: "Lo, the shadow of the god is over thee; the son of Nut, he gives to thee his two arms; the thought of thy heart comes to pass immediately, like that which comes forth from the mouth of a god. Lo, thou art fashioned as the face of a god; we see by the decree of thy hands. Lo, thy city, his stronghold; <sup>80</sup>[do] thy [pleasure] therewith. Let the goers-in go in there, and the comers-out come out. Let his majesty do what he will." Then they came out, with the son of the chief of Me, Tefnakhte. The army of his majesty entered into it, without slaying one of all the people. He found <sup>81</sup>— —<sup>e</sup> and treasurers to seal his possessions. His treasures were assigned to the Treasury, and his granaries to the divine offerings of his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes.

*Surrender of Medûm*

855. His majesty sailed northward; he found that Mer-Atum (Medûm), the house of Sokar, lord of Sehez, had been closed, and was inaccessible. It had set fighting in its heart, taking <sup>82</sup>— — Fear [seized] them; terror sealed their mouth. Then his majesty sent to

<sup>a</sup>I read *mr*, "canal," on the squeeze in place of Mariette's  $\xi$  (so also Schaefer), "lake." The irrigation canal leading into the Fayûm is meant, and the "opening" is the gap in the hills, through which it still flows. It would have been impossible for him to "sail north" to this gap, unless he was descending the Bahr Yusuf.

<sup>b</sup>The text here passes to the back of the stela, and the lines increase in length.

<sup>c</sup>The name means "House of Osorkon I," who must therefore have built a town in the vicinity of Illahun.

<sup>d</sup>The same word occurs in l. 131, where I render "wretched."

<sup>e</sup>The determinative shows that some other class of officers preceded.

them, saying: "Behold, two ways are before you; choose ye as ye will: open, and ye shall live; close, and ye shall die. My majesty will not pass by a closed city." Then they opened immediately; his majesty entered into this city, and offered <sup>83</sup>— —<sup>a</sup> [to] Menhy of Sehez. His treasury was assigned [to the Treasury],<sup>b</sup> his granaries to the divine offerings of Amon of Karnak.

*Surrender of Ithtowe*

**856.** His majesty sailed north to Ithtowe (*Yty-t' wy*); he found the rampart closed, and the walls filled with the valiant troops of the Northland. Then they opened the stronghold, and threw themselves upon [their] bellies <sup>84</sup>[before] his majesty (saying): "Thy father has assigned to thee his inheritance. Thine are the Two Lands, thine is what is therein, thine is all that is on earth." His majesty entered to cause a great oblation to be offered to the gods residing in this city, consisting of bulls, calves, fowl, and everything good and pure. Then his treasury was assigned to the Treasury, and his granaries to the divine offerings <sup>85</sup>[of Amon].

*Piankhi Demands the Surrender of Memphis*

**857.** [His majesty sailed north to] Memphis; then he sent to them, saying: "Shut not up, fight not, thou abode of Shu in the beginning. As for him that would go in, let him go in; as for him that would come out, let him come out; and let not them that would leave be hindered. I would offer an oblation to Ptah and to the gods dwelling in Memphis (*Ynbw hđ*), I would sacrifice to Sokar in the mysterious place (*Št' t*), I would behold 'Him-Who-is-South-of-His-Wall,' that I may sail north in peace. <sup>86</sup>[The people] of Memphis [shall be] safe and sound; not (even) a child shall weep. Look ye to the nomes of the South (*Tp-ršy*); not a single one has been slain therein, except the enemies who blasphemed against the god, who were dispatched as rebels."

*Memphis Resists and Makes a Sortie*

**858.** Then they closed their stronghold; they sent forth an army against some of the soldiers of his majesty, being artisans, chief builders and sailors <sup>87</sup>— — — the harbor of Memphis.

<sup>a</sup>The lacuna contained either the objects offered, or possibly "to Sokar," the other god mentioned at Sehez (l. 81).

<sup>b</sup>Omitted in original.

*Tefnakhte Enters Memphis*

**859.** Lo, that chief of Sais (Tefnakhte) arrived at Memphis in the night, charging his infantry and his sailors, all the best of his army, a total of 8,000 men, charging them very earnestly: "Behold, Memphis is filled with troops of all the best of the Northland; (with) barley and spelt and all kinds of grain, the granaries are running over; (with) all weapons of <sup>88</sup>[war. ¶It is fortified with] a wall; a great battlement has been built, executed with skilful workmanship. The river flows around the east side, and no (opportunity of) attack is found there.<sup>a</sup> Cattle yards are there, filled with oxen; the treasury is supplied with everything: silver, gold, copper, clothing, incense, honey, oil."

*Tefnakhte Goes for Reinforcements*

**860.** "I will go, and I will give something to the chiefs of the North, and I will open to them their nomes.<sup>b</sup> I will be <sup>89</sup>— — [¶There will be but a few] days<sup>c</sup> until I return." He mounted upon a horse, he asked not for his chariot, he went north in fear of his majesty.

*Plans for Taking Memphis*

**861.** When day broke, at early morning, his majesty reached Memphis. When he had landed on the north of it, he found that the water had approached to the walls, the ships mooring at <sup>90</sup>[the walls of] Memphis. Then his majesty saw that it was strong, and that the wall was raised by a new rampart, and battlements manned with mighty men. There was found no way of attacking it. Every man told his opinion among the army of his majesty, according to every rule of war. Every man said: "Let us besiege <sup>91</sup>[it] —; lo, its troops are numerous."<sup>d</sup> Others said: "Let a causeway be made against it;<sup>e</sup> let us elevate the ground to its walls. Let us bind together a tower;<sup>f</sup> let us erect masts

<sup>a</sup>The alleged mention of this fact by Tefnakhte is one of the numerous rhetorical devices of the author of the inscription; for it was on this very side that Piankhi stormed the city (ll. 95, 96).

<sup>b</sup>Tefnakhte intends to marshal reinforcements among the Delta chiefs. What he means by opening their nomes is not clear; Griffith suggests that he means: relinquish his claims upon them as suzerain.

<sup>c</sup>Possibly three days.

<sup>d</sup>So numerous that the city could not be assaulted, but, in the opinion of these men, it should be besieged.

<sup>e</sup>Or: "to it."

<sup>f</sup>*Bk*, the same device employed at Hermopolis (l. 32).

and make the spars into a bridge to it. We will divide it on this (plan) on every side of it, on the high ground and <sup>92</sup>— on the north of it, in order to elevate the ground at its walls, that we may find a way for our feet.”<sup>a</sup>

*Piankhi Decides to Assault*

**862.** Then his majesty was enraged against it like a panther; he said: “I swear, as Re loves me, as my father, Amon [‘who fashioned me], favors me, this shall befall it, according to the command of Amon. This is what men say: <sup>93</sup>[‘The Northland’] and the nomes of the South, they opened to him from afar, they did not set Amon in their heart, they knew not what he commanded. He (Amon) made him (Piankhi) to show forth his fame, to cause his might to be seen.’ I will take it like a flood of water. I have commanded <sup>94</sup>— — —.”

*Harbor of Memphis Captured*

**863.** Then he sent forth his fleet and his army to assault the harbor of Memphis; they brought to him every ferry-boat, every [‘cargo’]-boat, every [‘transport’],<sup>b</sup> and the ships, as many as there were, which had moored in the harbor of Memphis, with the bow-rope fastened among its houses. <sup>95</sup>[There was not] a citizen (*nds*) who wept, among all the soldiers of his majesty.<sup>c</sup>

*Piankhi Orders Assault of Memphis*

**864.** His majesty himself came to line up<sup>d</sup> the ships, as many as there were. His majesty commanded his army (saying): “Forward against it! Mount the walls! Penetrate the houses over the river. If one of you gets through upon the wall, let him not halt before it, <sup>96</sup>[so that] the (hostile) troops may not repulse you.<sup>e</sup> It were vile that

<sup>a</sup>The second party therefore desired to assault the city, as against the first who desired to besiege it.

<sup>b</sup>The exact character of these two kinds of boat (*mhn* and *shry*) is unknown.

<sup>c</sup>Either all were considered in the distribution of the spoil, or no man was injured in the assault.

<sup>d</sup>This word (*sk*), used of ranging troops in line of battle, is here applied to lining up ships. The king in person ranged the captured ships, and his own fleet under the walls on the inundated (east) side of the city. This arrangement gave his troops footing for the assault. The nature of the attack is quite evident.

<sup>e</sup>They are not to stop on the wall, but to press over it immediately into the city.

we should close up the South, should land [in] the North and lay siege in 'Balances of the Two Lands.'"<sup>a</sup>

*Capture of Memphis*

**865.** Then Memphis was taken as (by) a flood of water, a multitude of people were slain therein, and brought as living captives to the place where his majesty was.

*Protection of Memphis*

Now, afterward, <sup>97</sup>when it dawned, and the second day came, his majesty sent people into it, protecting the temples of the god. He<sup>b</sup> [—] the holy of holies of the gods, offered to the community of gods of Hatkeptah (Memphis), cleansed Memphis with natron and incense, installed the priests in their places.

*Piankhi's Recognition by Ptah*

**866.** His majesty proceeded to the house of <sup>98</sup>[Ptah], his purification was performed in the Dewat-chamber, and every custom that is practised upon a king was fulfilled upon him. He entered into the temple, and a great oblation was made for his father, "Ptah-South-of-His-Wall" (*Ršy-ymb'f*), consisting of bulls, calves, fowl, and everything good. His majesty proceeded to his house.<sup>c</sup>

*Region of Memphis Surrenders*

**867.** Then all the nomes which were in the district of Memphis, heard (of it): Herypedemy,<sup>d</sup> Penineywe (*Pny-<sup>99</sup>n<sup>2</sup> yw<sup>c</sup>*), the Tower of Beyew (*Byw*), the Oasis of Bit; they opened the strongholds, and fled away; none knew the place whither they had gone.

<sup>a</sup>Evidently a name for the locality dividing Upper from Lower Egypt, where Piankhi now was. The same phrase (*mḥ<sup>2</sup> t<sup>2</sup> wy*) occurs in a hymn to Amon (Berlin Papyrus, 3048, Band II, Taf. 45, l. 6), where the god is called: "*One whose word is the balances of the Two Lands.*" I owe the reference to Schaefer. Piankhi means that, having cut off the South from Tefnakhte, it would be humiliating, after reaching the North, to sit down for a siege on its threshold.

<sup>b</sup>The text is not in order here.

<sup>c</sup>Evidently a palace in Memphis, now taken possession of by Piankhi.

<sup>d</sup>Or: "*Hery the city.*" These places in the region of Memphis, cannot be exactly placed at the present day.

*Submission of Delta Dynasts*

**868.** King Yewepet came, and the chief of Me, Akenesh (<sup>2</sup>-k<sup>2</sup>-n-šw), and the hereditary prince, Pediese, <sup>100</sup>together with all the princes of the Northland, bearing their tribute, to behold the beauty of his majesty.

*Wealth of Memphis Assigned*

Then the treasuries and granaries of Memphis were assigned to the divine offerings of Amon, of Ptah, and of the gods dwelling in Hatke-ptah (Memphis).

*Piankhi Worships in Khereha*

**869.** When the land brightened, very early in the morning, his majesty proceeded eastward, and an offering was made for Atum in Khereha, <sup>101</sup>the divine ennead in the house of the ennead, the cavern and the gods dwelling in it; consisting of bulls, calves, and fowl; that they might give life, prosperity, and health to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Piankhi, living forever.

*Piankhi Goes to Heliopolis*

**870.** His majesty proceeded to Heliopolis (*Ynw*), upon that mount of Khereha, on the highway of (the god) Sep to Khereha. His majesty proceeded to the camp, which was on the west of Eti.<sup>a</sup> His purification was performed, and he was cleansed in <sup>102</sup>the pool of Kebeh, and he bathed his face in the river of Nun, in which Re bathes his face.

*Ceremonies in Heliopolis: the "Sand-hill"*

Proceeding to the Sand-hill in Heliopolis, a great oblation was made upon the Sand-hill in Heliopolis, in the presence of Re, at his rising, consisting of white oxen, milk, myrrh, incense, and <sup>103</sup>every sweet-smelling wood.

*Temple of Re*

**871.** He came, proceeding to the house of Re, and entered into the temple with great praise. The chief ritual priest praised the god, that rebels might be repelled from the king. The Dewat-chamber was visited, that the sedeb-garment might be fastened on; he was purified

<sup>a</sup>This is the name of the Heliopolitan canal; it here has the determinative of a city, and probably the settlement on the harbor of Heliopolis is meant; see Harris 28, 6 (§ 266).

with incense and libations; garlands for the pyramidion-house were presented to him, and flowers were brought to him. He ascended <sup>104</sup>the steps to the great window,<sup>a</sup> to behold Re in the pyramidion-house. The king himself stood alone, he broke through<sup>b</sup> the bolts, opened the double doors, and beheld his father, Re, in the glorious pyramidion-house, the Morning-Barque of Re, and the Evening-Barque of Atum.<sup>c</sup> He closed the double doors, applied the clay, and sealed (them) <sup>105</sup>with the king's own seal. He charged the priests: "I have proved the seal; no other shall enter therein, of all the kings who shall arise." They threw themselves upon their bellies before his majesty, saying: "To abide, to endure, without perishing, O Horus, beloved of Heliopolis."

*Temple of Atum*

872. He came and entered into the house of Atum, following the image <sup>106</sup>of his father, Atum-Khepri the Great, of Heliopolis.

*Submission of Osorkon*

King Osorkon<sup>d</sup> came to see the beauty of his majesty.

*Piankhi Camps near Athribis*

873. When the land brightened, very early in the morning, his majesty proceeded to the harbor, and the <sup>1</sup>best<sup>1</sup> of his ships crossed over to the harbor of the nome of Athribis (*K<sup>2</sup>-km*). The camp of his

<sup>a</sup>The front of the god's shrine is compared with the balcony-like window (*ššd*) of the palace, where the king shows himself.

<sup>b</sup>Meaning the seal upon the bolts.

<sup>c</sup>See Wiedemann, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, VI, No. 2, 49 ff.

<sup>d</sup>This Osorkon can be no other than Osorkon III of the Twenty-third Dynasty. For the invasion of Piankhi was later than Pedibast. Another connection is: that King Yewepet, one of the Delta kings who submitted to Piankhi, is mentioned as coregent with Pedibast at Thebes. Yewepet must therefore have survived Pedibast. Osorkon III survived the conquest of Piankhi, and together with an otherwise unknown Takelot (III) recovered Thebes, where they built an Osiris chapel together, the remains of which were found by Legrain at Karnak (*Recueil*, 22, 128-34). That their control of Thebes did not begin at the death of Pedibast and precede the invasion of Piankhi, is evident from the fact that Yewepet, who ruled in Thebes with Pedibast, survived him, and would have continued there. Osorkon III must therefore have ruled several years, a conclusion corroborated by the dates of the Nile-levels at Karnak in the years 5, 8, and 14 of his reign. It is evident, then, that the whole occupation of Lower Egypt by Piankhi must fall within the reign of Osorkon III.

majesty was set up on the south of Keheni<sup>a</sup> (*K<sup>3</sup>-h-ny*), on the east<sup>107</sup> of the nome of Athribis (*K<sup>3</sup>-km*).

*Submission of Delta Dynasts*

Then came those kings and princes of the Northland, all the chiefs who wore the feather, every vizier, all chiefs, and every king's-confidant, from the west, from the east, and from the islands in the midst, to see the beauty of his majesty.

*Piankhi is Invited to Athribis*

**874.** The hereditary prince, Pediese, threw himself upon his belly<sup>108</sup> before his majesty, and said: "Come to Athribis (*K<sup>3</sup>-km*),<sup>b</sup> that thou mayest see Khentikhet (*Hnt-hty*), that thou mayest worship Khuyet<sup>c</sup> (*Hwy't*), that thou mayest offer an oblation to Horus in his house, consisting of: bulls, calves, and fowl; and that thou mayest enter my house. My treasury is open to thee, to [—] thyself with my paternal possessions. I will give to thee gold, as much as thou desirest; <sup>109</sup>malachite shall be heaped up before thee; many horses of the best of the stable, and the first of the stall."

*Piankhi in Athribis*

**875.** His majesty proceeded to the house of Harkhentikhet, and there were offered bulls, calves, and fowl to his father, Harkhentikhet, lord of Kemwer (*Km-wr*). His majesty went to the house of the hereditary prince, Pediese; he (Pediese) presented to him silver, gold, <sup>110</sup>lapis lazuli, and malachite, a great heap of everything; clothing of royal linen of every number;<sup>d</sup> couches laid with fine linen; myrrh and ointment in jars (*hbb*); horses, both stallions and mares, of all the best of his stable.

*Speech of Pediese of Athribis*

**876.** He (Pediese) purified himself by a divine oath, before these kings and great chiefs of <sup>111</sup>the Northland (saying): "Every one of

<sup>a</sup>A town midway between Cairo and Benha bears the name Kaha, which is suggested by Daressy (*Recueil*, 20, 85, CLXIII) as possibly our Keheni, but it does not suit the location "east" of Athribis.

<sup>b</sup>It is evident that the city is meant here, and probably also above (l. 106).

<sup>c</sup>A goddess.

<sup>d</sup>As Griffith suggests, this is doubtless a reference to the fineness determined by the number of threads in a given measure.



them, if he conceals his horses and hides his obligation shall die the death of his father. So be it to me, till ye<sup>a</sup> bear witness of the servant there,<sup>b</sup> in all that ye know of me; say ye, (whether) I have concealed (aught) from his majesty, of all the possessions <sup>112</sup>of my father's house: [of] gold, silver; of costly stone; of all kinds of vessels, [—]; of golden bracelets, of necklaces, and collars wrought with costly stones; amulets for every limb, chaplets for the head, ~~earrings~~ rings for the ears: all the adornments of a king; all the vessels of the king's purification, in gold and — all costly stones. All these I have presented <sup>113</sup>in the (royal) presence: garments of royal linen by thousands of all the best of my house, where-with I knew thou wouldst be pleased. Go to the stable that thou mayest choose as thou desirest, of all the horses that thou wilt." Then his majesty did so.

*Delta Dynasts Dismissed*

877. Said these kings and princes to his majesty: "Dismiss us to our cities, that we may open <sup>114</sup>our treasuries, that we may choose as much as thy heart desires, that we may bring to thee the best of our stables, the first of our horses." Then his majesty did so.

*List of Delta Dynasts*

878. List of names belonging thereto:

1. King<sup>c</sup> Osorkon in Bubastis, the district of Ranofer (*R<sup>c</sup> -n/r*).
2. King<sup>d</sup> Yewepet in Tentremu (*T<sup>nt</sup>-rmw*) and Tayan (*T<sup>o</sup> - c yn*).<sup>e</sup>
3. The prince (*h<sup>o</sup> ty- c*), Zeamonefonekh <sup>115</sup>in "The Granary<sup>f</sup> of Re," of Per-Benedded (Mendes).

<sup>a</sup>He addresses the Delta princes.

<sup>b</sup>A circumlocution for "me," or "thy servant."

<sup>c</sup>On this Osorkon, see above, l. 106, § 872.

<sup>d</sup>This king had ruled in Thebes together with the now deceased Pedibast, beginning with the latter's sixteenth and his own second year (§ 794). He had thus been ruling some eleven or twelve years at this time, and, as he survived Pedibast, he had probably continued in Thebes, and was expelled by Piankhi about 722 B. C.

<sup>e</sup>The reading of *c yn* is not quite certain; both these places are of uncertain location. In the case of *c yn*, I am inclined to identify it with Ayan of l. 3. Brugsch identifies with "Daneon Portus" of Pliny (Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 124).

<sup>f</sup>Identified by Foucart (*Recueil*, 20, 163 f.) with a modern Shuneh Yusuf, about 16 kilometers from Tell Tmai (Mendes), though he does not consider his identification as certain.

4. His eldest son, commander of the army, in Per-*Thutuprehui* (*Pr-Dḥwtj-wp-rḥwy*), Enekkhor.
5. The prince ( $h^2 ty^c$ ), Akenesh ( $ʔ-k^2 -n-š$ ) in *Sebennytos*, (*Tb-ntr*), in *Per-heby*<sup>a</sup> (*Pr-ḥby*), and in *Samhudet*<sup>b</sup> (*Sm^2 -ḥwd*).
6. The prince ( $h^2 ty^c$ ), chief of Me, *Pethenef* ( $P^2 -tnf$ ), in *Per-Soped*<sup>c</sup> and in “*Granary*<sup>d</sup> of *Memphis*.”
7. <sup>116</sup>The prince ( $h^2 ty^c$ ), chief of Me, *Pemou*<sup>e</sup> ( $P^2 -m^2$ ), in *Per-Osiris* (*Busiris*), lord of *Ded*.
8. The prince ( $h^2 ty^c$ ), chief of Me, *Nesnekedy*<sup>f</sup> ( $Ns-n^2 -kdy$ ) in the nome of *Hesebka*<sup>g</sup> (*Hsb-k^2*).
9. The prince ( $h^2 ty^c$ ), chief of Me, *Nekhtharneshenu* (*Nḥt-Ḥr-n^2 -šnw*) in *Per-Gerer*<sup>h</sup> (*Pr-G-rw-rw*).
10. The chief of Me, *Pentewere*.
11. The chief of Me, *Pentibekhenet* (*Pnty-Bḥn^2 t*).
12. The prophet of *Horus*, lord of *Letopolis* (*Šḥm*), <sup>117</sup>*Pediharsomtous* ( $P^2 -dy-Ḥr-sm^2 -t^2 wy$ ).
13. The prince ( $h^2 ty^c$ ), *Hurabes* (*Ḥw-r^2 -b^2 -s*) in the house of *Sekhmet*, mistress of *Sais* ( $S^2$ ), and the house of *Sekhmet*, mistress of *Rehesu*<sup>i</sup> (*Rḥš^2 wy*).
14. The prince ( $h^2 ty^c$ ) *Zedkhiyu* (*Dd-ḥy-yw*) in *Khentnofer*<sup>j</sup> (*Ḥnt-njr*).

<sup>a</sup>This place is identified by Brugsch (*Dictionnaire géographique*, 489) with *Iseum*, modern *Behbeit*, which is probably correct. But in that case, *Neter*, the home of *Tefnakhte* (l. 2) cannot also be wholly identified with *Iseum*, for it is here held by Prince *Akenesh*.

<sup>b</sup>See II, 935.

<sup>c</sup>The name of this well-known city of the eastern Delta (Arabian nome) is not preserved by the classic geographers, but occurs in the annals of *Ashurbanipal* as *Pi-saptu*.

<sup>d</sup>The reading, although uncertain on the original, is rendered certain by a stela found at *el Awasgeh*, district of *Sawaleh*, in the region of *Saft-el-Henneh* (*Per-Soped*), on which “*Granary of Memphis*” (*Šnw^2 t Ynbw ḥd*) twice occurs. See *Daressy, Recueil*, 10, 142, IV.

<sup>e</sup>See note on his subordinate, *Sheshonk*, l. 18 (§ 830).

<sup>f</sup>See I, 19.

<sup>g</sup>Eleventh nome of Lower Egypt.

<sup>h</sup>Probably the *Phagroriopolis* of *Strabo*, as *Brugsch* has shown (*Brugsch, Dictionnaire géographique*, 858). It was in the region near the northern terminus of the *Gulf of Suez*.

<sup>i</sup>A city near *Letopolis* (*Brugsch, Dictionnaire géographique*, 660).

<sup>j</sup>Entirely uncertain: *Brugsch's* suggestion (*Brugsch, Dictionnaire géographique*, 612) does not seem probable.

15. The prince ( $h^2 ty-c$ ) Pebes ( $P^2-B^2-f$ ) in Khreha ( $Hr-c h^2$ ) in Per-Hapi ( $Pr-h^c p$ ).

Bearing all their good tribute: <sup>a118</sup>gold, silver, — —, couches laid with fine linen, myrrh in <sup>119</sup>jars ( $hbhb$ ), — — —, as goodly dues; horses <sup>120</sup>of ———.

*Revolt of Mesed*

879. [Many days<sup>1</sup> after] this, came one to say <sup>121</sup>to his majesty: "The — — army — — — — his wall <sup>122</sup>for fear<sup>1</sup> of thee; he has set fire to [his] treasury [and to the ships]<sup>b</sup> upon the river. He has garrisoned Mesed<sup>c</sup> ( $Msd$ ) <sup>123</sup>with soldiers and — — —. Then his majesty caused his warriors to go <sup>124</sup>and see what had happened there, among the force<sup>d</sup> of the hereditary prince, Pediese. One came to report <sup>125</sup>to his majesty, saying: "We have slain every man whom we found there." His majesty gave it as a reward <sup>126</sup>to the hereditary prince, Pediese.

*Tefnakhte's Message of Submission*

880. Then the chief of Me, Tefnakhte, heard of it<sup>e</sup> and caused <sup>127</sup>a messenger to come to the place where his majesty was, with flattery, saying: "Be thou appeased! I have not beheld thy face for <sup>128</sup>shame;<sup>f</sup> I cannot stand before thy flame, I tremble at thy might. Lo, thou art Nubti, presiding over the Southland, Montu, <sup>129</sup>the Bull of mighty arm. To whatsoever city thou hast turned thy face, thou hast not found the servant there,<sup>g</sup> until<sup>h</sup> I reached the islands <sup>130</sup>of the sea, trembling before thy might, and saying, 'His flame is hostile to me.' Is not <sup>131</sup>the

<sup>a</sup>The text here proceeds from the back to the right edge or thickness of the stela, the last of the four inscribed surfaces.

<sup>b</sup>Restored from the same phrase, l. 9.

<sup>c</sup>The place is unknown, but in view of the effect of its fall on Tefnakhte, it must have been on his frontier in the western Delta.

<sup>d</sup>Either there was a force of Pediese's at Mesed, or the troops dispatched by Piankhi were taken from Pediese's forces, according as "among" is construed with "happened" or with "warriors."

<sup>e</sup>Judging from this, the preceding incident is the last hostile enterprise of Tefnakhte.

<sup>f</sup>Lit., "because of occasions of shame" ( $m sp n šp$ ), meaning that he has been ashamed to appear before Piankhi.

<sup>g</sup>See above, l. 111, note.

<sup>h</sup>He fled from place to place, as Piankhi advanced, "until" he reached the sea.

heart of thy majesty appeased,<sup>a</sup> with these things that thou hast done to me? For I am verily a wretched man. Thou shouldst not smite me according to the measure of the crime; weighing with <sup>132</sup>the balances, knowing with the kidet-weights. Thou increasest it to me threefold; leave the seed that thou mayest <sup>133</sup>spare<sup>1</sup> it in <sup>134</sup>time<sup>1</sup>; do not hew down <sup>133</sup>the grove to its <sup>135</sup>root<sup>1</sup>. By thy ka, the terror of thee is in my body, and the fear of thee in my bones. I have not sat in <sup>134</sup>the beer-hall,<sup>b</sup> nor has the harp been played for me; but I have eaten bread in hunger, and I have drunk water in <sup>135</sup>thirst,<sup>c</sup> since that day when thou heardest my name. <sup>136</sup>Disease<sup>1</sup> is in my bones, my head is bare, my clothing <sup>136</sup>is rags, till Neit is appeased toward me. Long is the course which thou hast brought to me; <sup>137</sup>thy face is against me — <sup>137</sup>the year has undone me<sup>1</sup>. Cleanse (thy) servant of his fault, let my possessions be received into the Treasury, of <sup>138</sup>gold and every costly stone, and the best of the horses, (even) <sup>139</sup>payment<sup>d</sup> for<sup>1</sup> everything. Send to me <sup>139</sup>a messenger quickly, that he may expel fear from my heart. Let me go forth before him to the temple, that I may cleanse myself with a divine oath.”

*Tefnakhte Takes Oath of Allegiance*

**881.** <sup>140</sup>His majesty dispatched the chief ritual priest, PEDIAMENESTOWE (*P<sup>o</sup> dy-Ymn-ns' t-t<sup>o</sup> wy*), and the commander of the army, PURME (*P-w<sup>o</sup> -r-m<sup>o</sup>*). <sup>141</sup>He<sup>e</sup> presented him with silver and gold, clothing and every splendid, costly stone. He went forth to the temple, he worshiped the god, <sup>142</sup>he cleansed himself with a divine oath, saying: “I will not transgress the command of the king, I will not overstep <sup>143</sup>that which the king saith. I will not do a hostile act against a prince (*h<sup>o</sup> ty-<sup>o</sup>*)

<sup>a</sup>Lit., “*cooled*.”

<sup>b</sup>See § 451, note.

<sup>c</sup>There is probably a reminiscence of this in Diodorus (I, 45), where it is related that Tefnakhte was on a campaign, *eis τὴν Ἀραβίαν*, and, being without supplies, was obliged to resort to the coarsest food from the hands of common people. Upon finding it very appetizing, he cursed Menes (who had introduced luxury) and thereafter ate only simple food.

<sup>d</sup>*Db<sup>o</sup>*; the same word means “*to clothe*,” but, so far as I know, it applies only to people, or gods; hence “*accoutered with everything*” (Griffith) is also uncertain.

<sup>e</sup>The uncertainty in the pronouns is equally bad in the original; the most probable interpretation, in view of the situation, is that Tefnakhte made presents to Piankhi.

without thy knowledge; I will do according to that which <sup>144</sup>the king says, and I will not transgress that which he has commanded." Then his majesty was satisfied therewith.

*Submission of the Fayûm, Atfih, and the Last Kings of the Delta*

**882.** One came to say <sup>145</sup>to his majesty: "The temple of Sebek,<sup>a</sup> they have opened its stronghold, Metenu<sup>b</sup> (*Mtnw*) throws itself upon its belly, there is not <sup>146</sup>a nome closed against his majesty of the nomes of the South and North; the west, the east, and the islands in the midst are upon their bellies in fear of him, <sup>147</sup>causing that their possessions be presented at the place where his majesty is, like subjects of the palace." When the land brightened, very early in <sup>148</sup>the morning these two<sup>c</sup> rulers of the South and two rulers of the North, with serpent-crests (*uraei*), came to sniff the ground before the fame <sup>149</sup>of his majesty, while, as for these kings and princes of the Northland who came to behold the beauty of his majesty, their legs <sup>150</sup>were as the legs of women. They entered not into the king's-house, because they were unclean<sup>d</sup> <sup>151</sup>and eaters of fish; which is an abomination for the palace. Lo, King Namlot, he entered <sup>152</sup>into the king's-house, because he was pure, and he ate not fish. There stood three <sup>153</sup>upon their feet, (but only) one entered the king's-house.

*Piankhi's Return to the South*

**883.** Then the ships were laden with silver, gold, copper, <sup>154</sup>clothing, and everything of the Northland, every product of Syria (*H<sup>3</sup> -rw*), and all sweet woods of God's-Land. <sup>155</sup>His majesty sailed up-stream, with

<sup>a</sup>The Fayûm, mentioned in l. 4 as having submitted to Tefnakhte.

<sup>b</sup>Aphroditopolis (Atfih), the capital of the twenty-second nome of Upper Egypt. Its surrender to Tefnakhte is probably mentioned in l. 4. As Piankhi passed northward along the western side of the Nile valley between the Fayûm on the west and Aphroditopolis on the east, neither of these was then touched by him. Hence they both come in and surrender of themselves afterward.

<sup>c</sup>As Namlot is one of the two kings of the South (l. 151), the Fayûm king or the king of Atfih must be the other. Who the two kings of the North were is not indicated.

<sup>d</sup>*M<sup>c</sup> m<sup>c</sup>* with determinative of a phallus; sometimes rendered "uncircumcised."

glad heart, the shores on his either side were jubilating. West and east, they seized the [—], <sup>156</sup>jubilating in the presence of his majesty; singing and jubilating as they said: "O mighty, mighty Ruler, <sup>157</sup>Piankhi, O mighty Ruler; thou comest, having gained the dominion of the Northland. Thou makest bulls <sup>158</sup>into women. Happy the heart of the mother who bore thee, and the man who begat thee. Those who are in the valley give to her praise, the cow <sup>159</sup>that hath borne a bull. Thou art unto eternity, thy might endureth, O Ruler, beloved of Thebes."

## THE TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY

## REIGN OF BOCCHORIS

### SERAPEUM STELÆ

884. Bocchoris, the only king of the Twenty-fourth Dynasty, the son of Tefnakhte,<sup>a</sup> has left only a few Serapeum stelæ,<sup>b</sup> and a wall inscription, which record the burial of an Apis in his sixth year. It was interred in the same chamber as the one which died in the thirty-seventh year of Sheshonk IV. These documents give his name as: *King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wokere*<sup>c</sup> ( $W^{\text{3}} h-k-^{\text{3}} R^{\text{c}}$ ), *Son of Re, Bekneranej*. As Africanus also gives his reign as six years,<sup>d</sup> he probably did not reign longer. Counting back from 663, the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, his accession was about 718 B. C.

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<sup>a</sup>Diodorus, I, 45.

<sup>b</sup>Louvre, 298, 299; Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, Pl. 34.

<sup>c</sup>This is the origin of the classic form Βόκχορις (Diodorus, I, 45, 65).

<sup>d</sup>Syncellus has 44.



**THE TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY**

## RECORDS OF NILE-LEVELS AT KARNAK<sup>a</sup>

885. Like those of the preceding dynasties, these records of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty are of great chronological value. They enable us, for the first time, to arrange the kings of the Ethiopian dynasty in order of succession, the position of Shabaka having heretofore been uncertain. The record here (No. 4) shows that Shabataka's third year was near 700 B. C., and, as it is impossible in that case to insert Shabaka between Shabataka and Taharka, the only other possible order is: Shabaka, Shabataka, Taharka—an order which is confirmed by the datum of Manetho, that Shabaka overthrew the Twenty-fourth Dynasty, having defeated and slain Bocchoris. If Shabataka's third year was near 700 B. C., and he was the predecessor of Taharka, whose accession was in 688 B. C.,<sup>b</sup> then Shabataka must have begun to reign, at the latest, about 700, and his reign lasted some twelve years, which is exactly what Syncellus gives him. The whole dynasty may then be restored thus:

Shabaka	$12^c + x$ years	712-700 B. C.
Shabataka	12 years	700-688 “
Takarka	26 years	688-663 <sup>d</sup> “
—		
Total	50 years	

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<sup>a</sup>Engraved on the quai before the great Karnak temple; published by Legrain, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1896, 114-16.

<sup>b</sup>§ 959 ff.

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, V, 1, e; Syncellus also gives him twelve years.

<sup>d</sup>§ 1026.

*Reign of Shabaka*

**886.** 1. <sup>a</sup>(30) <sup>b</sup>Year 2, under the majesty of Horus: Sebektowe (*Šbk-tꜣwy*); Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Sebektowe; Golden Horus: Sebektowe; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Neferkere; Son of Re: [Shabaka], living forever, beloved of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, beloved of Montu-Re, lord of Thebes. The Nile, father of gods, was 20 cubits, 1 palm, 1 finger.

2. (31) [The Nile] Year — [under] the majesty of King Shabaka

3. (32) [Year] — [under] the majesty of King Shabaka ———.

*Reign of Shabataka*

**887.** 4. (33) Year 3, first month<sup>c</sup> of the third season, day 5, under the majesty of King Shabataka.<sup>d</sup> When his majesty was crowned as king in the house of Amon, he granted him that he should splendidly appear as Favorite of the Two Goddesses, like Horus upon the throne of Re. (The Nile) which his father Amon the great, Hapi the great, great in Niles, granted him in his time: 20 (cubits), 2 palms.

*Reign of Taharka*

**888.** 5. (34) Year 6 of King Taharka (*Tꜣ-h-rw-k*), beloved of Amon the great.

6. (35) The Nile. Year 6 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Nefertem-Khure (*Nfr-tm, Hw-Rꜣ*); Son of Re: Taharka, living forever, beloved of Nun the great, Amon the great, the Nile, father<sup>e</sup> of gods, and the (divine) community upon the flood. (The Nile), which his father, Amon, gave to him, that his time might be made prosperous.

<sup>a</sup>The numbers in parenthesis are those of Legrain's publication.

<sup>b</sup>The latest preceding date is the fourteenth year of Osorkon III.

<sup>c</sup>Meyer has shown that this date for the highest point of the inundation must have fallen somewhere about 700 B. C. (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 124 f.; and 41, 93).

<sup>d</sup>The scribe attempted to give the full titulary of the king, but it is very confused.

<sup>e</sup>The whole series is perhaps one composite god; see, e. g., No. 36 (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 34, 116).

7. (36) The Nile. Year 7 under the majesty of King Taharka, living forever, beloved of Nun the great, Amon the great, the Nile, father of gods, and the divine (community) upon the flood. (The Nile) which his father, Amon, gave to him, that his time might be made prosperous.

8. (37) The Nile. Year 7 (sic!) under the majesty of King Taharka.  
.....<sup>a</sup>

9. (38) The Nile. Year 9<sup>b</sup> of King Taharka, living forever, beloved of Nun the great, and Amon the great.

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<sup>a</sup>Like No. 7, except the height, which is different. The year is doubtless an error for 8, as it is preceded by 7 and followed by 9.

<sup>b</sup>Followed by year 10 of Psamtik.

## REIGN OF SHABAKA

### BUILDING INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

889. As a memorial of his rule in Thebes, Shabaka left the following record of a restoration by him on the fourth pylon of the Karnak temple:

[King Shabaka; he made (it) as his monument for his father], Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak, restoring the great and august gate<sup>b</sup> (*šb ʿ*): “Amon-Re-is-Mighty-in-Strength,” making for it a great overlay of fine gold, which the majesty of King Shabaka,<sup>c</sup> living forever, brought from the victories, which his father, Amon, decreed to him; the great hall<sup>d</sup> (*hy ʿt*) being overlaid with fine gold, the south column and the north column<sup>e</sup> being wrought with gold, the two lower lips being of pure silver, made ———.

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<sup>a</sup>On the north side of the door of the fourth pylon of the great Karnak temple; published by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 129, 130; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, V, 1, b; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1316; see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 152.

<sup>b</sup>This is, of course, the main door or gate of the pylon (IV) in which the inscription is. See the name again, Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1315.

<sup>c</sup>Double name.

<sup>d</sup>This is the colonnaded hall of Thutmose I, behind Pylon IV.

<sup>e</sup>This pair must have been like the two beautiful pillars of Thutmose III, a little farther back, just in front of the sanctuary. “*The two lower lips*” are perhaps the two bases or their edges.

## REIGN OF TAHARKA

### TANIS STELA<sup>a</sup>

892.<sup>b</sup> This unfortunately fragmentary stela was erected by Taharka at Tanis to commemorate the coming of his mother thither from Napata, after his coronation in Lower Egypt. He narrates how he came north from Nubia as a youth of twenty years with some king. This would have been on the invasion of Lower Egypt by Shabaka. Many years then elapsed before he became king, during which he did not see his mother, and must, therefore, have spent these years in the north. As a son of Piankhi, he must have occupied a prominent position. When it is recollected that the Hebrew records (2 Kings 19:9) state that the enemy of Sennacherib at Altaqû in 701 B. C. (some thirteen years before Taharka's accession) was Taharka, the conclusion cannot be resisted that Shabaka sent Taharka in command of the Egyptian and Ethiopian forces, against the Assyrians. It is evident, therefore, that the Hebrew writer, reporting the matter at a later date, long after Taharka's reign, supposes him to have been already king in 701.<sup>c</sup>

893. The beginning of the stela is too fragmentary for

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<sup>a</sup>Fragmentary stela in two parts, left lying as found in the ruins of Tanis. The lower fragment, containing 19 lines, was first seen and copied by de Rouge, (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 73; and "Etudes sur des monuments du règne de Taharka," *Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, I, 21-23); again published by Birch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1880, 22 ff. Petrie then found the upper part, and published both parts in his *Tanis* (II, Pl. IX, No. 136). It was first understood historically by Schaefer (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1900, 51, 52).

<sup>b</sup>The omission of two in numbering the sections is intentional.

<sup>c</sup>See also Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests*, 10, 11.

translation, but it is evident that someone, of course the king, gave the young Taharka, who narrates it all in the first person, a fine field (l. 1), which the gods protected against grasshoppers (l. 2), so that Taharka reaped (<sup>c</sup> *w*<sup>3</sup>) from it (l. 3) a plentiful yield of all grain and fruit of the ground. Meanwhile he was brought up among the royal children (l. 5) and someone, again of course the king, loved him more than the royal children (l. 6). Taharka then says:

My father, Amon, [vouchsafed] to me to place all lands under my feet <sup>10</sup>——— [the east as far as<sup>1</sup>] the rising of Re, and the west <sup>11</sup> [as far as his setting<sup>1</sup>].

**894.** Whether the restorations are correct or not it is evident that Taharka is here relating his accession in the conventional terms, which always make such a usurpation an act of the gods. Immediately thereupon, Taharka narrates the coming of his mother from Napata, which leads him to revert to the long separation from her, caused by his departure for the North years before. He says:

**895.** <sup>a</sup> [The queen-mother<sup>1</sup>] was in Napata<sup>b</sup> as King's-Sister, amiable in love, King's-Mother <sup>12</sup>———. Now, I had been separated from her as a youth (*hwn*) of twenty years, <sup>13</sup> [accompanying his majesty<sup>1</sup>] when he<sup>c</sup> came to the Northland (Delta). Then she went north to <sup>14</sup> [the Northland where I was<sup>1</sup>] after a long period (*hnty*) of years, and she found me crowned <sup>15</sup> [as king upon the throne of Horus<sup>1</sup>]. I had taken the diadems of Re, and I had assumed the double serpent-crest, as <sup>16</sup>——— as the protection of my limbs. She rejoiced greatly <sup>17</sup> [when she saw] the beauty of his majesty,<sup>d</sup> as Isis saw her son, Horus, crowned upon the throne <sup>18</sup>——— while he was a youth in the marsh of <sup>19</sup>——— all countries. They bowed to the ground to this King's-

<sup>a</sup>This would connect directly with the above beginning of l. 11.

<sup>b</sup>This reading, first noticed by Schaefer (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1900, 51, 52), is certain.

<sup>c</sup>This "he" can only refer to the king under whom the youth Taharka was serving, when separated from his mother; see Schaefer, *loc. cit.*

<sup>d</sup>Taharka.

Mother, while she <sup>20</sup>——— 'greatly'. Their old as well as their young ones <sup>21</sup>[[gave praise to] this King's-Mother, saying: "Isis hath received <sup>22</sup>———, she hath — her son, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Taharka, living forever <sup>23</sup>———.

**896.** Here follow four lines of conventional praise addressed to Taharka, closing with a comparison of his kindness toward his mother with that of Horus to his mother, Isis:

<sup>26</sup>——— for his mother, Isis, when thou wast crowned upon the throne.

#### BUILDING INSCRIPTION IN LARGE CLIFF-TEMPLE OF NAPATA

**897.** The following dedications in the larger temple at Napata record Taharka's building activity there:

<sup>a</sup>Taharka, living forever; he made (it) as his monument for his mother, Mut of Napata; he built for her a temple anew, of fine white sandstone, his majesty having found this temple built of stone,<sup>b</sup> by the ancestors, of bad workmanship. His majesty caused that this temple should be built of excellent workmanship, forever.

**898.** The same hall as the above conclusion has:

<sup>c</sup>He made (it) as his monument for his mother, Mut, mistress of heaven, queen of Nubia (*T<sup>2</sup> pd' t*); he built her house, he enlarged her temple anew, of fine white sandstone.

**899.** A cella beside the main adytum has:

<sup>d</sup>He made (it) as his monument for [his] mother, Mut, Eye of Re, Mistress of Heaven, queen of gods, residing in Napata; building her house of fine white sandstone.

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, V, 5: frieze inscription in the first hall.

<sup>b</sup>The inscription as published stops abruptly here, and the frieze inscription of the next hall as published (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, V, 7, a) begins with equal abruptness, and fits the inscription of the first hall exactly. Whether this is an accident of preservation, or was originally intended, is immaterial.

<sup>c</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, V, 7, c.

<sup>d</sup>*Ibid.*, 12, a.



900. An altar in the Amon-temple bears the dedication:<sup>a</sup>

He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes (*Nswt-t<sup>3</sup> wy*), great god, residing in Nubia (*T<sup>3</sup>-pd<sup>3</sup>t*); (of) granite [—], in order to offer upon it in his palace (<sup>c</sup> *h<sup>c</sup>*). Never happened the like.

#### INSCRIPTION OF MENTEMHET<sup>b</sup>

901. The history of the principality of Thebes after the middle of the Twenty-second Dynasty, until the latter part of the Ethiopian period is almost entirely unknown. We see it in the possession of Piankhi toward the end of the Twenty-third Dynasty, but its local history is still totally obscure until the reign of Taharka, when we find a certain “*prophet of Amon, prince of Thebes, Nesuptah*,”<sup>c</sup> ruling there. His son Mentemhet succeeded him, and evidently maintained himself during Taharka’s reign in power and wealth.<sup>d</sup> His titles are of importance. Although he was prince of the Theban principality, he was only fourth prophet of Amon. At the same time, he was “*chief of the prophets*

<sup>a</sup>Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, V, 13, b, d.

<sup>b</sup>In a niche-like chamber of the temple of Mut at Karnak. It had contained a statue of Mentemhet (Mariette, *Karnak*, Texte, 64), probably one of those found by Miss Benson (*Recueil*, XX, 188–92; Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 261–63, Pl. XXIII–XXIV, 350–57). Our inscription is published by Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 48 (without relief), and Mariette, *Karnak*, 42–44; both are very inaccurate, and an exhaustive publication is much needed.

<sup>c</sup>Krall, *Studien*, III, 77 A. The genealogy of the family is carried back four generations beyond Nesuptah by the statues in the great Karnak cache. See Legrain, *Recueil*, 27, 80; but he does not indicate whether or not these four generations were already princes of Thebes.

<sup>d</sup>Besides those above referred to, numerous monuments of this man are known. His tomb in the Assasf at Thebes was excavated by Eisenlohr (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1885, 55), and its inscriptions (only titles and family) were published by Krall (*Studien*, III, 76–80). Two neighboring tombs of his family were found beside it, and the inscriptions bearing on Mentemhet also published by Krall (*ibid.*, 80–82). A list of his smaller monuments is given by Wiedemann (*Recueil*, VIII, 69) and by Newberry (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 356, 357).

*of all gods of South and North.*"<sup>a</sup> He, therefore, held the sacerdotal primacy of Egypt without being High Priest of Amon. The High Priest of Amon had, therefore, been deprived of his temporal power as prince of the Thebaid, as well as of his sacerdotal supremacy. This is confirmed by the relative position of Mentemhet and the High Priest of Amon in the Adoption Stela (§§ 949-52).<sup>b</sup> As Mentemhet's father was prince of Thebes before him, these changes may have taken place at the advent of the Ethiopian dynasty under Shabaka.

902. The activity of Mentemhet in the building and restoration of the monuments under Taharka at Thebes renders his rule there notable. This work was all done before Taharka's death, and the renewal of so many costly cultus images of the gods, besides references to the purification of all the temples in the South, and vague allusions to a great catastrophe, make it extremely probable that the mooted capture and sack of Thebes (667 B. C.) in Ashurbanipal's first campaign, although not certain from his confused records, actually took place. The restoration recorded by Mentemhet must have been done, therefore, between 667 and 661 B. C. The wealth which he was able to devote to restoring his plundered city must have been considerable; but it all fell a prey to the Assyrians at the second capture of the city by Ashurbanipal in 661 B. C., when it was frightfully laid waste. Of any attempted restoration by Mentemhet after this we hear nothing. He continued as ruler of the Thebaid, survived the rise of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and

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<sup>a</sup>Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 356.

<sup>b</sup>For the current and widespread conclusion that the high priesthood of Amon was now held by the Ethiopian kings themselves, I find no support. It is evident from the Adoption Stela that the High Priest of Amon had been stripped of his power; and this fully explains why we have no records of him at this time.

maintained his position into the reign of Psamtik I (§ 945). But his son Nesuptah did not succeed him,<sup>a</sup> and the family cannot be traced any farther.

903. Mentemhet's record consists of a relief on the rear wall of the temple chamber, and an inscription occupying the two side walls. The relief shows Taharka worshiping the goddess Mut, while behind him are Mentemhet, the latter's father Nesuptah, and son Nesuptah. Above these figures are depicted the statues and images replaced or restored by Mentemhet. On the right of the relief his narrative begins thus:

*Titles of Mentemhet*

904. <sup>1</sup>———— all gods, fourth prophet of Amon, prince of Thebes, governor of [the Southland], Mentemhet, son of the prophet of Amon, prince of Thebes, Nesu[ptah];<sup>b</sup> he saith:

*Sacred Barge*

I fashioned <sup>2</sup>[the sacred barge of 'Amon'] of 80 cubits in its length, of new cedar of the best of the terraces. The "Great House" was of electrum, inlaid with every genuine costly stone — — 'of the last day'<sup>1</sup> — equipped <sup>3</sup>————.

*Purification of Temples*

905. I purified all the temples in the nomes of all Patoris, according as one should purify [violated] temples, — after there had been <sup>4</sup>[an invasion of unclean foreigners in] the Southland. [— — —] — [—] all these things which I have brought before you, there is no [lying] speech therein, no contradiction <sup>5</sup>———— deceit. There is no lie in the place of my mouth.

<sup>a</sup>A relief in Abydos (Mariette, *Abydos*, I, Pl. 2, *b*) shows Psamtik I before Orisis and Horus. He is accompanied by the "Divine Votress, Nitocris," and "the prince (*h>ty-c*) of Thebes, governor of the South, — , chief steward of the Divine Votress, Pedihor." It is thus clear that Nesuptah did not succeed his father, Mentemhet, although it is barely possible also that Pedihor was another son, and that Nesuptah had died.

<sup>b</sup>The name of the father is preserved in the relief.

*Prosperity and Plentiful Offerings*

906. My mistress is satisfied with all that I have done <sup>1</sup>for <sup>1</sup>Thebes, [the Horizon of] him of the hidden name, Eye of Re, Mistress <sup>6</sup>[of temples]<sup>a</sup> ——— I satisfied her lord with the things of his desire, bulls of the largest, and calves of the best. I gave — — my lord, of good things <sup>7</sup>——— satisfied with food, and divine offerings, like that which he receives at the beginning of all the seasons, at th[eir] times, — — I multiplied the amount <sup>8</sup>———. His granaries swelled with the first fruits<sup>b</sup> [which came to] him down-stream in their season, and up-stream in their time. They made festive <sup>9</sup>——— in his totals, to celebrate the feasts; that he might provision the prophets, priests, — and lay priests of the temples<sup>10</sup>——— in the nomes, great and small — — making for me an overflow for my city, the land having moisture, the cities and nomes fatness.

*Foreign Invasion*

907. <sup>11</sup>——— it being divine chastisement. [In] the protected Southland in its divine way, while the whole land was overturned, because of the greatness of <sup>12</sup>——— [———] coming from the South. I satisfied my — coming from <sup>13</sup>——— in — [in] going in and in going out by night and by day<sup>c</sup> <sup>14</sup>——— an excellent refuge for my city. [I] repelled the wretches from the southern nomes — — — [time].

*Family Prosperity and Conclusion*

908. <sup>15</sup>——— following his god without ceasing, — the temple, seeing that which was in it. Every shrine was sealed with [my] seal <sup>16</sup>——— belonging thereto. I was in the temple —, following the footsteps of my lord. My son was with me <sup>17</sup>——— priest of his ka, chief prophet of — in Thebes, chief of the phyle, Nesuptah. My children were healthy ——— <sup>18</sup>the prophets knew his counsel —. I spent the day in searching and the night in seeking, searching <sup>19</sup>——— [summoning] them that passed, calling them that —, and revising the rules that had begun to be [obsolete].

<sup>a</sup>See § 753, l. 1, for similar epithets of Thebes, from which this is restored.

<sup>b</sup>Or possibly the "best" of the grain.

<sup>c</sup>This is evidently a reference to a siege, as in Piankhi, e. g., § 854, l. 80.

The inscription proceeds to praise of his son (ll. 21 and 22), and concludes with a prayer in the first person plural, of no historic interest (ll. 24-29).

909. On the other side of the relief, Mentemhet then continues an enumeration of his buildings and other works for the temples, as follows:

*Works for Min-Amon*

I brought forth Min-Amon to his stairway in the southern house (Luxor) at his beautiful feast <sup>3</sup>———— plenty. I presented the oblations of the eight gods in the second month of the third season, twenty-eighth day, in order that <sup>4</sup>———— of electrum and every splendid costly stone. I fashioned the august image of Khonsupekhrod overlaid with gold (called): “His-Every-Emanation-is-<sup>5</sup>———— -Crowns.”<sup>a</sup> I made a throne for this god, the legs of pure silver, inlay-figures <sup>6</sup>———— of his stipulations — — them after a long space (*hnty*) of years, beginning to decay. <sup>7</sup>———— [————] according as a thorough inspection should be made.

*Temple of Mut?*

910. I built her temple of stone <sup>8</sup>———— [the doors were of] new<sup>b</sup> cedar, and kedet (*kd·t*) wood, mounted with Asiatic copper; the inlay-figures thereon were of electrum, the bolts and fastenings <sup>9</sup>———— gold inlaid with every costly stone. I erected for her a hall with thirty-four<sup>c</sup> columns of fine white sandstone [—] <sup>10</sup>————. I constructed her pure and beautiful lake of fine white sandstone; I erected for her, her storehouse for the storage of her divine offerings therein; I multiplied the offering-tables <sup>11</sup>————.

*Works for Khonsu*

911. I restored the august image of “Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest” (called): “Wearer-of-the-Divine-Diadem,” with gold and every

<sup>a</sup>Two Amon crowns, and one Khonsu crown.

<sup>b</sup>Correct *m > c* to *m > w*, as commonly.

<sup>c</sup>So Mariette; Dümichen has 23; no such hall is now discoverable in the temple of Mut. Mentemhet probably means restoration, although he makes a similar claim on his statue (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 353, l. 10): “I erected the temple of Mut, mistress of heaven, of fine white sandstone.”

genuine costly stone. I multiplied their offering-tables of silver, gold, and copper. <sup>12</sup>——— I clothed<sup>1a</sup> Khonsu (called): "The-Plan-Maker-is-an-Emanation," with electrum, as formerly.

*Works for Montu*

912. I constructed the pure lake of Montu, lord of Thebes, of fine white sandstone like <sup>13</sup>——— illuminating his great and august house therewith. I multiplied his offering-tables of silver, gold, and bronze.

*Theban Divinities*

I fashioned individual vessels. I equipped Wes and Weset,<sup>b</sup> Victorious Thebes, Mistress of Might, as an emanation<sup>c</sup> <sup>14</sup>———.

*Image of Bast*

I fashioned the august image of Bast, residing in Thebes; with staves<sup>d</sup> of electrum and every genuine costly stone.

*Works for Ptah*

913. I fashioned the august image of Ptah (called): "Thebes<sup>1</sup>-is-Bright-at-His-Appearance," of gold <sup>15</sup>——— their offering-tables more beautiful than before.

*Images of Hathor*

I fashioned [the image] of Hathor, Mistress of the Valley (called): "———-Bright;" as their glorious emanation, according as a thorough inspection should be made <sup>16</sup>——— every one thereof had two staves.

*Images of Amon*

I fashioned the august image of Amon, lord of Thebes (*Ns'wt-t'wy*), residing in Thebes (*W's't*); the august image of Khonsu (called): "Numberer-of-Life;" the august image of Amon, lord of Thebes <sup>17</sup>——— every one thereof had two staves.

<sup>a</sup>Or: "the protection of K., etc., was of electrum."

<sup>b</sup>Apparently a male and female divinity, each apotheosizing Thebes. The goddess is well known, but this is the only occurrence of the god with which I am acquainted.

<sup>c</sup>*M ty't*; it is not always certain what this phrase means in this inscription, e. g., l. 18 after "Themet."

<sup>d</sup>For carrying.

*Statue of Amenhotep I*

I fashioned the statue of Zeserkere (Amenhotep I), triumphant; of electrum and every costly stone; with two staves, as it had been before<sup>18</sup>\_\_\_\_\_.

*Khonsu of Themet*

914. [I fashioned the image of] Khonsu, residing in Themet (*T<sup>3</sup>-mw·t*) [— —] of electrum, with two staves.

*Image of "The Great One"*

I fashioned "The-Great-One (feminine)-of-the-Garden" as her glorious emanation; I restored her temples, that it might be as formerly.

*Wall of Karnak*

<sup>19</sup>\_\_\_\_\_ it of fine white sandstone, to keep off the flood of the river from [it when it came]. I hewed a [—] <sup>20</sup>\_\_\_\_\_ at his beautiful feast of the fourth month of the first season, twenty-fifth day. I restored the wall of the temple of Amon in Karnak [—] <sup>21</sup>\_\_\_\_\_ [— — —]. I built a [—] of brick, according as I found it good to make the ancestors<sup>22</sup>\_\_\_\_\_.

*Works for the Sacred Bull*

915. I [fashioned] the bull of Mad<sup>a</sup> (*M<sup>3</sup>d*), as his glorious emanation; I built his house; it was more beautiful than what was therein<sup>23</sup>[before] \_\_\_\_\_.

*Temple of Montu*

I built the temple of Montu, lord — — — — its gates shone beautifully<sup>24</sup>\_\_\_\_\_.

*Works for Uncertain Gods*

[I fashioned the image of] — upon his stairway (called): "— - - - of the-Field-in-Thebes;" of gold, more beautiful than it was before<sup>25</sup>\_\_\_\_\_ who is lord of the hill-country, residing in Khemkhem (*Hmhm*).

*Image of Horus*

I fashioned the august image of Horus (called): "The-God-Abides-<sup>26</sup>\_\_\_\_\_."

<sup>a</sup>A sacred precinct near Karnak.

*Image of Min?*

916. I [fashioned] (the image of) 'Min' (called): "Chief-of-Heaven," as his glorious emanation, overlaid — — 27————.

*Image of Thoth*

I fashioned the august image of Thoth, presiding over Hatibt (Ḥ t-ybt), residing in —————.

*Works for Isis*

28———— I — the emanation of Isis. I fashioned — upon them — — my whole city f— —] — f—] — 29———— more beautiful than formerly. I constructed a sacred lake for the temple of Isis f— —] — 30————.

*Works for Osiris*

I fashioned the barge of Osiris in this district, of — cubits — — — — of new<sup>a</sup> cedar, according to the accustomed stipulations, 'after I had found it of acacia' ————— 31———— of brick, after I had found it beginning to fall to ruin —————.

SERAPEUM STELA<sup>b</sup>

917. This stela, recording the burial of an Apis at Memphis in the twenty-fourth year of Taharka, is important as showing that in 664 B. C. the priests of Memphis regarded Taharka as still reigning there, although he had been driven out by Ashurbanipal in 668. As the stela was hidden far down in the subterranean passages of the Serapeum, the priests could have safely so dated the monument, even though the city was under Assyrian government. Hence,

<sup>a</sup>Correct *m* > *c* to *m* > *w*.

<sup>b</sup>Louvre, No. 121; published by Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, III, Pl. 35; *Revue égyptologique*, VII, 136; Chassinat, *Recueil*, 22, 18. I had also my own copy of the original.



it is not safe to conclude, from this stela, that Taharka actually held Memphis in 664 B. C.

**918.** Year 24, fourth month of the second season (eighth month), day 23, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Taharka, living forever.

The god was conducted in peace to the beautiful West, by the hereditary prince, sem priest, master of all wardrobes, prophet of Ptah, divine father, Senbef, son of the divine father, of Sekhetre (*Sht-R*), Enekhwennofer; born of Neatesnakhte (*N<sup>3</sup>-<sup>c3</sup>-t<sup>3</sup>ys-nht' t*). His brother, divine father of Sekhetre, Ptahhotep.

## REIGN OF TANUTAMON

### STELA OF TANUTAMON<sup>a</sup>

919. This stela brings us to the close of Ethiopian rule in Egypt. Lower Egypt was in control of Assyrian vassals, resulting from the defeat of Taharka by Ashurbanipal's army, not long after the latter's accession in 668 B. C. The Delta vassals had been discovered in their subsequent plotting with Taharka against their Assyrian overlord. Necho, the Saitic dynast, after being sent to Ninevah, was pardoned and reinstated at Sais. His son, likewise, was made vassal king in Athribis, and at this juncture, according to the records of Ashurbanipal,<sup>b</sup> Taharka died.

920. The stela of Tanutamon records the course of political events in Upper Egypt during the last days of Taharka, and the short reign of Tanutamon over all Egypt. It shows us Tanutamon coregent with Taharka during the latter's last year (663 B. C.), which was the first of Tanutamon;<sup>c</sup> and narrates how he proceeded from some place in Upper

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<sup>a</sup>Gray granite, round-topped stela, 1.32 m. high and 0.72 m. wide, now in Cairo (No. 162, *Guide* of 1902, 112); discovered at Napata with the Piankhi Stela in 1862; published by Maspero, *Revue archéologique*, 1868, XVII, 329 ff.; *tirage à part*, Didier, 8vo, 11 pp. and 2 Pls.); and by Mariette (*Monuments divers*, Pls. 7, 8). I had also a squeeze and a copy of squeeze by Schaefer, and he and I together went over the copy again with the squeeze. This copy brought out a number of important readings filling up several lacunæ. I am also indebted to Schaefer for several valuable suggestions.

<sup>b</sup>Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte*, 103-5, ll. 36-69.

<sup>c</sup>The proper relation of Tanutamon and Taharka in this narrative was first explained by Schaefer (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1897, 67 ff.). As he did not come to the throne even as coregent until 663 B. C., Winckler's explanation of Ashurbanipal's confused records (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, 480-83), in which he makes Tanutamon the final opponent of Ashurbanipal in the campaign of 668-7, is impossible.

Egypt (probably Thebes), of which he was king, to Napata, where he was crowned sole king, so that Taharka's death must have been the occasion of his assumption of sole power.<sup>a</sup> He had been summoned by a dream, before going to Napata to seize also the Northland, then in Assyrian hands, and, leaving Napata, he then undertook the recovery of the North. He captured Memphis, perhaps slew Necho of Sais in battle,<sup>b</sup> and, although unable to subdue the Delta dynasts, accepted what he construed as their submission, which they offered in person. He then ruled in Memphis as nominal king of all Egypt, and at this point the narrative of his stela closes. The presence of the Assyrians in the land is ignored throughout, and the inglorious conclusion of his reign in Egypt at the approach of Ashurbanipal's second great invasion in 661 B. C. is naturally not added at the end.

#### *Introduction*

921. 1 "Good God"<sup>c</sup> on the day when he was born; Atum is he for the people (*rḥy't*), lord of two horns, ruler of the living, prince, seizing every land, victorious in might on the day of battle, facing the front on the day<sup>d</sup> of conflict<sup>3</sup>, lord of valor, like Montu, great in strength, like a fierce-eyed lion, wise-hearted, like Thoth; crossing the sea<sup>e</sup> in pursuit

<sup>a</sup>Ashurbanipal calls Tanutamon the son of Taharka's sister, and the son of Shabaka (Winckler, *op. cit.*, 105); hence Shabaka must have married Piankhi's daughter, which explains his claim to the throne. Tanutamon was thus Piankhi's grandson.

<sup>b</sup>The battle is recorded by Tanutamon (ll. 16, 17), but he does not mention the slaying of Necho. This is probable from the remark of Herodotus (as Eduard Meyer first perceived, *Geschichte des alten Aegyptens*, 353) that Necho was slain by an Ethiopian king, who, Herodotus thought, was Shabaka. But, according to Manetho, Necho's death must have occurred in 663 B. C., that is, the year of Tanutamon's expedition against Memphis.

<sup>c</sup>That is, "king."

<sup>d</sup>There is possibly, but probably not, a lost word at the end of l. 1.

<sup>e</sup>*D* > *w* > *d-wr*.

of his opponent, carrying off the ends of<sup>a</sup> r—1—. He has [taken] this land; none fighting and none standing before him, (even) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Bekere (*B<sup>3</sup>-k<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>3</sup>*), Son of Re, Tanutamom (*T<sup>3</sup>n-w<sup>3</sup>-ty-Ymn*), beloved of Amon of Napata.

*The Dream*

922. In the year 1, of his coronation as king — — 4his majesty saw a dream by night: two serpents, one upon his right, the other upon his left. Then his majesty awoke, and he found them not. His majesty said: "Wherefore [has] this [come] to me?" Then they answered<sup>b</sup> him, saying: "Thine is the Southland; take for thyself (also) the Northland. The 'Two Goddesses'<sup>c</sup> shine upon thy brow, the land is given to thee, in its length and its breadth. [No] 6other divides it with thee."

*Journey to Napata*

923. When his majesty was crowned upon the throne of Horus in this first<sup>d</sup> year, his majesty went forth from the place<sup>e</sup> where he had been, as Horus went forth from Khemmis. He went forth from—, while there [came] 7to him millions and hundreds of thousands coming after him. Said his majesty: "Lo, the dream is true! It<sup>f</sup> is profitable for him who sets it in his heart, (but) evil for him who understands [it] not." His majesty went to Napata, while none stood 8before him.<sup>g</sup>

*Coronation in Napata*

924. His majesty arrived at the temple of Amon of Napata, residing in the Pure Mountain. As for his majesty, his heart was glad when he saw his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes (*Nswt-t<sup>3</sup>wy*), residing in the Pure Mountain. Garlands for this god were brought to him; 9then his

<sup>a</sup>Possibly: "carrying away the rear of his foe (*ph sw*)."<sup>1</sup> The *ph* is very probable.

<sup>b</sup>Read *whm sn n*, but the scribe has omitted the second *n*.

<sup>c</sup>The double diadem of Upper and Lower Egypt.

<sup>d</sup>This remark can refer only to his second coronation as sole king. It is here referred to at the beginning of his journey to Napata, in anticipation of what happened on his arrival there, viz., his said coronation as sole king. His joint reign with Taharka thus lasted less than a year.

<sup>e</sup>This must have been some place in Upper Egypt, of which he was then king; it was therefore probably Thebes.

<sup>f</sup>A dream.

<sup>g</sup>In a hostile sense.

majesty brought forth in splendor Amon of Napata; and he made for him a great festival offering, founding for him a feast: 39 oxen, 40 jars (c 3) of beer, and 100 šw.

*Departure for the North*

925. His majesty sailed down-stream toward the Northland, that he might behold <sup>10</sup>Amon, whose name is hidden from the gods.

*Ceremonies at Elephantine*

His majesty arrived at Elephantine; then his majesty sailed across to Elephantine, he arrived at the temple of Khnum-Re, lord of the cataract, <sup>11</sup>and he caused this god to be brought forth in splendor. He made a great festival offering, and he gave bread and beer for the gods of the two caverns. He appeased 'Nun' in his cavern.

*Ceremonies at Thebes*

926. Then his majesty sailed down-stream to the city Thebes of Amon. His majesty sailed to the frontier<sup>a</sup> of Thebes (*W<sup>2</sup> s·t*), and he entered the temple of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes. There came to his majesty the servant of the great —,<sup>b</sup> and the lay priests of the temple of Amon-Re, <sup>13</sup>lord of Thebes, and they brought to him garlands for Amon, whose name is hidden. As for his majesty, his heart rejoiced when he saw this temple. He brought forth Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, in splendor, and there was celebrated a great feast in the whole land.

*Departure for the Delta*

927. <sup>14</sup>His majesty sailed down-stream to the Northland, while the west and the east made great jubilee, saying: "Welcome is thy coming, and welcome thy ka! To sustain alive the Two Lands; <sup>15</sup>to erect the temples which have begun to fall to ruin; to set up their statues in their shrines; to give divine offerings to the gods and goddesses, and mortuary offerings to the glorified (dead); <sup>16</sup>to put the priest in his place; to

<sup>a</sup>Or: "into" (*r hn ehoun*), as in the Piankhi inscription.

<sup>b</sup>Evidently a priestly title.

<sup>c</sup>The following evidently refers to the ruin and disorganization resulting from the Assyrian invasions.

furnish all things of the sacred property." As for those who had fighting in their hearts,<sup>a</sup> they became rejoicers.

*Capture of Memphis*

928. When his majesty arrived at Memphis, there came forth <sup>17</sup>the children of rebellion, to fight with his majesty. His majesty made a great slaughter among them; their number being unknown. His majesty took Memphis, and he entered into the temple of <sup>18</sup>Ptah, "South-of-His-Wall;" he made a great festival oblation for Ptah-Sokar; he appeased Sekhmet, the great, who loves him.

*New Buildings in Napata*

929. As for his majesty, his heart was glad in giving <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> to his father, Amon, of Napata. His majesty issued a command concerning it, <sup>19</sup>to Nubia (*T<sup>2</sup> pd' t*), to build for him a hall anew; it was not found built in the time of the ancestors. His majesty caused it to be built of stone, mounted with gold;<sup>b</sup> <sup>20</sup>its panel<sup>c</sup> was of cedar <sup>21</sup>incensed with myrrh of Punt. The double doors thereof were of electrum, <sup>22</sup>the two bolts (*krty*) of <sup>1</sup>tin<sup>1</sup> (*Tyhty*). He built for him another hall at the rear exit, for furnishing his milk <sup>23</sup>of his numerous herds, in tens of thousands, thousands, hundreds, and tens; the number of the young calves <sup>24</sup>with their mothers was unknown.

*Campaign in the Delta*

930. Now, after these things, his majesty sailed north, to fight with the chiefs of the North. <sup>25</sup>Then they entered their strongholds [<sup>as</sup> beasts crawl into<sup>1</sup>] their holes. Then his majesty spent many days before them, (but) there came not forth one <sup>26</sup>of them to fight with his majesty. Then his majesty sailed southward to Memphis.

*Arrival of the Delta Dynasts*

931. He sat in his palace deliberating and counseling with <sup>27</sup>his heart how to cause his army to reach and to <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> them. Then his army said that one had come to report to him, saying: "These chiefs come

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "Those (*wnn*) in whose hearts was to fight, they, etc."

<sup>b</sup>Here begins the back of the stela.

<sup>c</sup>Or tablet.

to the place <sup>28</sup>where his majesty is, [O king], our lord." Said his majesty: "Come they to fight? Come they to submit,<sup>a</sup> they shall live from this hour." They said <sup>29</sup>[to] his majesty: "They come to submit to (*bk*) the king, our lord." Said his majesty: "As for my lord, this august god, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, residing in the Pure Mountain, great and <sup>1</sup>excellent<sup>1</sup> god, whose name is <sup>1</sup>known<sup>1</sup>, vigilant <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> <sup>30</sup>for his beloved, and giving valor to him who serves him; he who possesses his plans does not go astray; nor doth he whom he leads err. Behold, he told (it) me by night, <sup>31</sup>and I behold (it) by day."<sup>b</sup> Said his majesty: "Where are they in this hour?" Said they before his majesty: "They are here, waiting at the hall (<sup>c</sup> *ryt*)." "

*Submission of the Delta Dynasts*

**932.** Then his majesty went forth <sup>32</sup>from his [<sup>1</sup>palace<sup>1</sup>] to —, as Re shines in his bright dwelling. He found them prostrate upon their bellies, kissing the ground to his majesty. Said his majesty: "Lo, it is true that which he uttered, <sup>33</sup>the word <sup>1</sup>of his design. Lo, he knows what<sup>1</sup> shall happen. It is the decree of the god; (hence) it comes to pass. I swear as Re loves me, as Amon favors me in his house, <sup>1</sup>behold, I saw<sup>1</sup> this august god, Amon <sup>34</sup>of Napata, residing in the Pure Mountain, while he was standing<sup>c</sup> by me, he said to me: 'I am thy leader in<sup>d</sup> every way. Thou mayest not say: "Would that I had<sup>e</sup> . . . ." <sup>35</sup>. . . ." Then they answered him, saying: "Lo, this god, <sup>36</sup>he hath [revealed] to thee the beginning; he hath completed for thee the <sup>1</sup>end<sup>1</sup> in prosperity. Lo, thou dost not <sup>1</sup>— <sup>1</sup>—<sup>f</sup> that comes out of his mouth, O king, our lord." Then the hereditary prince of Per-Soped, Pekrur<sup>g</sup> (*P<sup>3</sup> -krr*), arose to speak, saying: <sup>37</sup>"Thou slayest whom thou wilt; and lettest live whom thou wilt <sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup>." They answered him with one accord, saying:

<sup>a</sup>Lit., "to serve," or "labor" (*bk*), the word for pay taxes. The second question is likewise a protasis.

<sup>b</sup>Schaefer suggests: "That which he told me by night, I have seen by day."

<sup>c</sup>Compare the dream of Merneptah, III, 582. <sup>d</sup>Lit., "to every way."

<sup>e</sup>The conclusion of Tanutamon's speech is fragmentary, and hopelessly obscure. Enough remains to show that it consisted only of pious phrases of no historical importance. It is evident that he is telling the subject chiefs that their submission is only the fulfilment of Amon's promise to him.

<sup>f</sup>The text is uncertain.

<sup>g</sup>Lit., "The Frog," the same as Coptic "Pekrou;" see Steindorff, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1892, 63.

“Give to us breath, O lord of life, <sup>38</sup>without whom there is no life. Let us serve (*bk*) thee<sup>a</sup> like the serfs who are subject to thee, as thou<sup>b</sup> saidest at the first on the day when thou wert crowned as king.” The heart of his majesty rejoiced when he heard this word, <sup>39</sup>and he gave to them bread, beer, and every good thing.

*Dismissal of the Delta Dynasts*

**933.** Now, when some days had passed, after these events, and <sup>1</sup>everything had been given in plenty — —, they said: “Wherefore are we (still) here, O king, our lord?” Said <sup>40</sup>his majesty: “Wherefore!” Said they to his majesty: “Let us go to our cities, that we may command our peasant-serfs that we may bring (*j<sup>3</sup> y<sup>3</sup> n*) our impost (*bk*) to the court.” His majesty (let) them go <sup>41</sup>to their cities, and they became <sup>1</sup>subjects<sup>1,c</sup>.

*Brief Reign at Memphis*

**934.** The Southerners went north, and the Northerners went south to the place where his majesty was, bearing every good thing of the Southland, and all provision <sup>42</sup>of the Northland, to satisfy the heart of his majesty, (<sup>1</sup>when<sup>1</sup>) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Bekere, Son of Re, Tanutamon, L. P. H., appeared upon the throne of Horus, forever.

<sup>a</sup>Lit., “labor for (*pay taxes to*) him” (*bk<sup>3</sup> n nf*).

<sup>b</sup>The change of person is in the original.

<sup>c</sup>Schaefer read *bsjy(w)*.



**THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY**

## REIGN OF PSAMTIK I

### ADOPTION STELA OF NITOCRIS<sup>a</sup>

935. This document has thrown a flood of light on the dynastic connections in the Ethiopian and Saitic period, and its discovery was especially welcome, in view of the paucity of contemporary monuments from this age. It may be described as a decree of adoption and property-conveyance. It records the adoption of Nitocris, the daughter of Psamtik I, by a Shepnupet, daughter of Taharka, the Divine Votress, or sacerdotal princess, at Thebes. Shepnupet transfers all her property to Nitocris, and the purpose of the adoption was that the family of Psamtik I might legally gain control of this property, as well as the position which it entailed at Thebes.

936. The beginning of the document is lost, and it now commences in the middle of a speech of Psamtik I to his court, announcing his purpose to have his daughter Nitocris adopted by Shepnupet. The court responds with the usual encomiums. In the ninth year of Psamtik I, therefore, Nitocris proceeds to Thebes, where she is received with acclamation, and the property of Shepnupet is formally conveyed to her, a full invoice of her estate being appended.

937. The stela shows that Psamtik had gained full control of Thebes by his ninth year, and that Tanutamon had, therefore, lost Upper Egypt before that time. The status of Thebes is much the same as under the Ethiopians, Men-

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<sup>a</sup>Red granite stela, nearly 6 feet high, and 4½ feet wide, found by Legrain at Karnak in 1897; now in Cairo. The top is broken off and missing; published by Legrain (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 35, 16-19); translated by Erman (*ibid.*, 24-29), on whose rendering the present translation is largely based

temhet, the favorite of Taharka,<sup>a</sup> was still its prince, showing that some of the old feudal dynasts still survived under Psamtik I.<sup>b</sup> The High Priest of Amon occupies a completely subordinate position; he possesses no political influence, and his subordinate, the third prophet of Amon, contributes as much as he to the revenues of Nitocris.

938. The adoption of Nitocris, and the similar adoption of her predecessor, Shepnupet, as well as the adoption of Amenirdis by the same Shepnupet, render it clear that this was the usual method of succession in the Ethiopian and Saitic periods, and much simplifies the royal family connections of the time. Already, as early as 1885, Erman had noticed that Nitocris was but the adoptive mother of Enekhnesneferibre.<sup>c</sup> A stela, recounting this adoption, which is a second Adoption Stela (§§ 988A-988J) has now been discovered at Karnak. They furnish the following chronology of the Theban princesses:

Adoption of Nitocris: year 9 of Psamtik I, 654 B. C.

Death of Shepnupet II: Unknown date ———.

Induction of Nitocris: unknown date ———.

Adoption of Enekhnesneferibre: year 1 of Psamtik II, 593 B. C.

<sup>a</sup>That this is the same Mentemhet as the one under Taharka, is shown by the name of his eldest son, Nesuptah, the same whom we find in the records of Mentemhet under Taharka (§ 903).

<sup>b</sup>The old principality of Heracleopolis also still survived, at least into the third generation of the Saite line; for there was a prince of Heracleopolis named Hor, son of Psamtik. The father must have been born not earlier than the time of Psamtik I. Hor built considerably on his own account at Heracleopolis; cf. statue inscription in Louvre (see §§ 967 ff.). A chapel was also built by one *P-drps* (in the year 51 of Psamtik I at Pharbæthus), who may also have been a local prince; cf. Berlin stela (No. 8438); Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, IV, 797 = Revillout, *Revue égyptologique*, I, 33). Compare also the buildings or temple works of Nesuhor at Elephantine (§§ 989 ff.).

<sup>c</sup>In Schweinfurth, "Alte Baureste im Uadi Gasûs" (*Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie*, 1885).

Death of Nitocris: year 4 of Apries, 584 B. C.

Induction of Enekhnesneferibre: year 4 of Apries, 584 B. C.

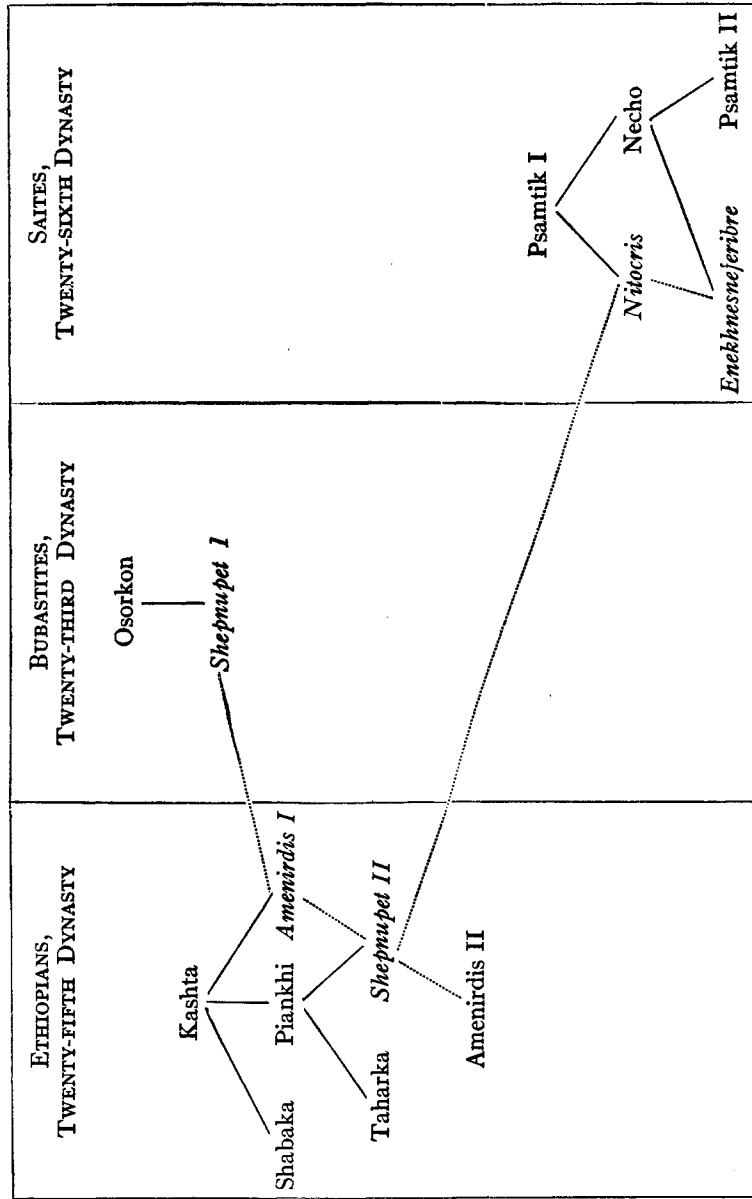
Death of Enekhnesneferibre: after Psamtik III, not earlier than 525 B. C.

939. These stelæ and other contemporary monuments enable us to reconstruct the following genealogy,<sup>a</sup> tracing the succession of these sacerdotal princesses from the Twenty-third to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Incidentally, this reconstruction discloses important relationships among the Ethiopian rulers.

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<sup>a</sup>Names of princesses are in italics; dotted lines indicate adoption. Essentially the same table in so far as the princesses are concerned was drawn up by Daressy, *Recueil*, XX, 84; then by Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 35, 29.

940.



941. In this table the most important difficulty is the identity of Piankhi, a question not raised in Erman's discussion.<sup>a</sup> There were at least three Piankhis,<sup>c</sup> and nowhere is Piankhi, brother of Amenirdis I, identified by his throne-name; nor do we know the throne-name of the great Piankhi. In view of the fact that Piankhi, brother of Amenirdis I, appointed her to succeed the daughter of an Osorkon, and we know that Piankhi the Great overthrew an Osorkon of the Twenty-third Dynasty (§ 872), it can hardly be doubted that Amenirdis I's brother is the great Piankhi. The chronological considerations (§§ 810 ff.) also demand that the great Piankhi shall be dated in the same general period involved in the position occupied by Piankhi, brother of Amenirdis I in the table.

*Psamtik's Declaration of Adoption*

942. <sup>b</sup>"I am his son, first in the favor of the father of the gods, offering to the gods; whom<sup>c</sup> he begat for himself, to satisfy his heart. I have given to him my daughter, to be Divine Consort, that she 'may invoke protection for the king' more than those who were before her; that he may indeed be satisfied with her prayers, and that he may protect the land of <sup>3</sup>him who gave her to him."

"Lo, I have now heard saying, a king's-daughter of Taharka,<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup>*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 35, 29.

<sup>c</sup>1. *Wsr-m* > *c* · *t-R* < - *P* - *c* *nhy* (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, V, 14, a-d).

2. *Snjr-R* < - *P* - *c* *nhy* (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, V, 14, l).

3. *Mn-hpr-R* < - *P* - *c* *nhy* (Louvre Stela, 100; Rougé, *Notice*, 116). One of these must have been the great conqueror Piankhi. See fuller list, Petrie, *History*, III, 267 f.

<sup>b</sup>Several lines are lost at the beginning; of the line numbered 1, the first half is lost, and the second is unintelligible.

<sup>c</sup>Refers to "son."

<sup>d</sup>Horus-name, *K* > *h* < *w*, followed by "Good God" and erased cartouche. This daughter of Taharka, as Erman has observed, is doubtless the same as the Amenardis of l. 16, who had already shared in the property of the sacred office. But as her predecessor, Shepnupet, was not yet dead, she had not yet succeeded to the office. This Amenardis is now supplanted as "Great Daughter" by Nitocris, daughter of Psamtik I.

triumphant, is there whom he gave to his sister to be her 'Great Daughter,' who is there as 'Divine Votress' (*Ntr-dwꜣt*). I am not one<sup>a</sup> to expel an heir from his place, for I am a king who loves 'truth; my particular abomination is lying; (I am) a son protecting his father, taking the inheritance of Keb, uniting the two portions as a youth. Hence I give her<sup>b</sup> to her,<sup>c</sup> to be her 'Great Daughter' as her<sup>c</sup> father<sup>d</sup> (once) conveyed her<sup>c</sup> to (his) sister."<sup>e</sup>

*Response of the Court*

943. Then <sup>5</sup>they bowed to the ground, they gave thanks to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wahibre (Psamtik I), living forever; and they said: "Abiding and enduring through eternity! Thy every command shall abide and endure. How beautiful is this which the god doeth for thee! How excellent is that which thy father doeth for thee! . . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . . He loves to remember thy ka, and he rejoices at the mention of thy name, O Horus, 'Great-of-Heart,' King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Psamtik I, living forever. He has done this as his monument for his father, Amon, lord of heaven, ruler of gods. He hath given his beloved eldest daughter, Nitocris (*Nt-ykrꜣt*), <sup>7</sup>whose 'beautiful name' is Shepnupet, to be Divine Consort, to play the sistrum before his (Amon's) beautiful face."

*Nitocris Proceeds to Thebes*

944. In the year 9, first month of the first season (first month), day 28, went forth his eldest daughter from the king's family apartments, clad in fine linen, and newly adorned with malachite. The attendants conducting her were legion in number, <sup>8</sup>and marshals cleared the path, for beginning the goodly way to the harbor, to turn up-stream for Thebes. The vessels bearing her were very numerous, the crews were mighty men; and they were deeply laden <sup>1</sup>to the decks<sup>1</sup> with every good thing of the king's-palace. <sup>9</sup>The commander thereof was the sole companion, nomarch of Heracleopolis, commander in chief of the army,

<sup>a</sup>The sense is clear, but the construction is entirely uncertain.

<sup>b</sup>Nitocris.

<sup>c</sup>Shepnupet, sister of Taharka.

<sup>d</sup>Piankhi.

<sup>e</sup>Piankhi's sister, Amenardis, as shown by Berlin 7972; Greene, *Fouilles*, 8, 1, and Lieblein, *St. Petersburg*, II, 7. See Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 35, 29.

chief of the harbor, Somtous-Tefnakhte.<sup>a</sup> Messengers sailed to the South, to make splendid provision before her. Sail was set [— — — —].  
<sup>b10</sup>The great men took their weapons, and every noble [had] his provision, supplied with every good thing: bread, beer, oxen, geese, [—], dates, herbs, and every good thing. One transferred (her) to his neighbor, until she reached Thebes.

*Reception in Thebes*

945. <sup>11</sup>In the year 9, second month of the first season (second month), day 14,<sup>c</sup> they arrived at the city of the gods, Thebes. As she advanced, she found (all) Thebes, men and women alike, standing, rejoicing at her approach, surrounding her <sup>12</sup>with great offerings, a multitude in number. Then they said: "The daughter of the King of Upper Egypt, Nitocris, comes to the house of Amon, that he may receive her and be satisfied with her. The daughter of the King of Lower Egypt, Shepnupet, comes to Karnak, that the gods therein may honor her. Every monument of <sup>13</sup>the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Psamtik (I), abides and endures forever and ever. Amon, lord of heaven, king of gods, hath received what his son, Horus, 'Great-of-Heart,' living forever and ever, made for him. Amon, ruler of gods, hath praised that which his son, Favorite of the Two Goddesses, Nebe (*Nb-ꜥ*), living forever and ever, made for him. . . . . <sup>14</sup>. . . . The reward therefore is with Amon,<sup>d</sup> and with Montu,<sup>d</sup> even a million years of life, a million years of stability, a million years of satisfaction. All health and joy of heart are with them for their beloved son, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Wahibre, <sup>15</sup>Son of Re, Psamtik (I), living forever and ever. . . . ."<sup>e</sup>

*Conveyance of the Fortune*

946. Now, afterward when she came to the Divine Votress, Shepnupet, <sup>16</sup>she saw her, was satisfied with her, and loved her beyond every-

<sup>a</sup>A Heracleopolitan of the same name and the same office appears under Piankhi after the conquest, at Thebes (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asker*); as the ninth year of Psamtik is some seventy-five years later, the two men are not the same, but probably father and son.

<sup>b</sup>The text as published is not in order, but it is evident that the fleet here sails away from Sais.

<sup>c</sup>Only sixteen days after leaving Sais.

<sup>d</sup>Epithets omitted above.

<sup>e</sup>The gods have given him the kingship.



thing. She conveyed to her the fortune (*ymy-pr*) which her father and her mother had conveyed to her and to her 'Great Daughter,' Amenardis, king's-daughter of King —, triumphant. It was put into writing concerning them, saying: "We<sup>a</sup> have given to thee<sup>b</sup> all our property in field and in town. Thou abidest upon our throne, abiding <sup>17</sup>and enduring forever and ever." The witnesses concerning them were the prophets, the priests and all the adherents of the temple.

*Inventory of the Fortune*

947. List of all the property given to her <sup>16</sup>by [them] in the towns and nomes of the South and North:

*Lands*

948. That which his (sic!) majesty gave to her in seven nomes of the Southland:

- |  |                                 |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 1. In the district of Heracleopolis, the nome <sup>18</sup> called Yuna ( <i>Yw-n</i> ), which is in the district thereof                      | lands, 300 stat                 |
| 2. In the district of Oxyrhyncus, the estate of Putowe ( <i>Pw-t</i> <sup>19</sup> <i>wy</i> ), which is in the district thereof               | lands, 300 stat                 |
| 3. In the district of Sep, the estate of Kewkew ( <i>K</i> <sup>20</sup> <i>w-k</i> <sup>21</sup> <i>w</i> ), which is in the district thereof | <sup>19</sup> lands, [300] stat |
| 4. In the district of the Hare nome, (Hermopolis), the estates of Nesumin, which are in the district thereof                                   | 600 stat                        |
| 5. In the district of Aphroditopolis, (the town of) Kay ( <i>K</i> <sup>22</sup> <i>y</i> ), which is in the district thereof                  | 300 stat                        |
| 6. <sup>23</sup> In the district of [—], the estate of Harsiese, which is in the district thereof  | <sup>20</sup> 200 stat          |

All this added together lands, 1,800<sup>d</sup> stat  
 together with all the income thereof from field and town; with their arid lands, and their canals.

<sup>a</sup>The pronoun refers to Shepnupet (II) and Amenardis.

<sup>b</sup>Feminine.

<sup>c</sup>There should be seven nomes, according to the heading. The lacking nome, which was omitted by error of the scribes, has been added at the end of the inscription.

<sup>d</sup>The total is 2,000, but the discrepancy is, perhaps, explained by the uncertainty of the third item.

*Revenues*

949. Bread and beer given to the temple of Amon for her:

*From the Prince of Thebes*

That which the fourth prophet of Amon, prince of <sup>22</sup>the city (Thebes), governor of the whole South, Mentemhet, gives to her:

## Daily:

Bread	200 deben
Wine	5 hin
'Cakes' (§ 9)	1
Vegetables	1 bundle ( <i>htp</i> )

## Monthly:

Oxen	3
Geese	5

*From His Son*

950. That which his eldest son, chief of the prophets of Thebes, Nesuptah, gives to her:

## Daily:

Bread	100 deben
Wine	2 hin
Vegetables	1 bundle ( <i>htp</i> )

## Monthly:

<sup>22</sup> 'Cakes' (§ 9)	15
Beer	10 jars ( <i>hbn</i> )
Lands of the region ( <i>k c h' t</i> ) of Wawat	100 stat

*From His Wife*

951. That which the wife of the fourth prophet of Amon, Mentemhet (named): Uzarenes (*Wd<sup>3</sup>-rus*), gives to her:

## Daily:

Bread	100 deben
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*From the High Priest of Amon*

952. That which the High Priest of Amon, Harkheb (*Hr-hb*), gives to her:

Daily:	
Bread	100 deben
Wine	2 hin
Monthly:	
1Cakes1 (§ 9)	10
23Beer	5 jars ( <i>hbn</i> )
Vegetables	10 bundles ( <i>htp</i> )

*From the Third Prophet of Amon*

953. That which the third prophet of Amon, Pediamennebneštowe, gives to her:

Daily:	
Bread	100 deben
Wine	2 hin
Monthly:	
Beer	5 jars ( <i>hbn</i> )
1Cakes1 (§ 9)	10
Vegetables	10 bundles ( <i>htp</i> )

*Summary*

954. Combined total:

Daily:	
Bread	600 deben
Wine	11 hin
1Cakes1 (§ 9)	2 $\frac{1}{6}$ <sup>a</sup>
Vegetables	2 $\frac{2}{3}$ <sup>a</sup> bundles
24Monthly:	
Oxen	3
Geese	5
Beer	20 jars
Lands	100 stat

*From the King*

955. That which his majesty gives to her in the nome of Heliopolis in the temple of Atum, of the divine offerings (temple income), which his majesty founded:

Spelt	2 khar
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<sup>a</sup>Including also the monthly quota reduced to days.

after it has been offered in the (divine) presence daily, and the god has been satisfied therewith.

*From the Temples*

956. That which is given to her from the temples:

Sais	Bread	200 deben
<sup>25</sup> Buto	"	200 "
House of Hathor of the Malachite	"	100 "
Memphis <sup>1</sup> ( <i>Pr-ynbw</i> )	"	50 "
Kom el-Hisn	"	50 "
Per-Manu	"	50 "
The house ( <i>c·t</i> ) of Tharu	"	50 "
Tanis	"	100 "
House of Hathor	"	100 "
<sup>26</sup> Bubastis	"	100 "
Athribis	"	200 "
Mesta ( <i>Mš-tʔ</i> )	"	50 "
Bista ( <i>Byʔ s-tʔ</i> )	"	50 "
House of Harsaphes, lord of Heracleopolis	"	100 "
Per-Seped ( <i>Saft-el-Henneh</i> )	"	100 "
Combined total	Bread	1,500 deben

*Further Lands*

957. That which was given to her in four<sup>a</sup> nomes of the Northland:

1. <sup>27</sup> In the district of Sais, the estates ( <i>pr</i> ) of the southern Bedwin, which are in the district thereof: lands	360 stat
2. In the district of Bista ( <i>Byʔ s-tʔ</i> ), the house ( <i>c·t</i> ) of Neferher ( <i>Njr-ḥr</i> ), which is in the district thereof: lands	500 stat
3. In the district of Thebu ( <i>Tbw</i> ), <sup>28</sup> — in the Barque of the Sycamore, which is in the district thereof	2 <sup>1</sup> 4 <sup>10</sup> stat
4. In the middle district of Heliopolis, "The-Wall-of-Hori," son of Zedti ( <i>Ddty</i> ), which is (also) "The-Wall-of-Psenmut," born of <sup>29</sup> Meretubekhet ( <i>Mr-t-wbḥ·t</i> ), which is in the district thereof	200 (+x) stat
Total lands of four nomes	1,400 stat

<sup>a</sup>Miscopied 3 in the publication; see l. 29, and l. 30.

together with all the income thereof, from field and town; with their arid lands and their <sup>30</sup>canals.

Combined total:

Bread	2,100 deben
Lands in eleven nomes	3,300 stat

Abiding, abiding, conveyed, conveyed, imperishable and ineffaceable, forever and ever, forever and ever!

*Land Omitted Above<sup>a</sup>*

958. In the district of — 'pep', with all its people, all its lands, and all its possessions in field and town.

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STATUE INSCRIPTION OF THE CHIEF STEWARD, IBE<sup>b</sup>

958A. This inscription records part of the career of Ibe, one of the nobles in attendance upon Nitocris, the daughter of Psamtik I, after her appointment as sacerdotal princess of Thebes. Ibe describes her installation (year 9), at the ceremonies of which he was present (§§ 958D–958E); and then narrates his appointment by the king as her chief steward [seventeen years later, in the year 26 (§ 958G)], for the purpose of restoring her palace. He arranged the affairs of the princess, and she spent a day with him in the temple, looking over her papers. He then conducted the restoration of her palace, involving the erection of one building a hundred cubits high (over 172 feet!). This is the only literary reference to the height of a dwelling in earlier Egypt. Ibe also built a palace-chapel of Osiris, assisted in the celebration of the feasts of Amon, and aided in the restoration of the Osirian tomb at Thebes.

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<sup>a</sup>The scribe omitted this piece of land from the list in seven nomes (§ 948).

<sup>b</sup>Limestone statue bought at Luxor by Legrain in 1903; it represents a standing figure broken off at the waist, the upper portion missing. A stela held before the figure bears the inscription. Published by Daressy, *Annales*, V, 94–96. The stone is friable and the surface much eroded, so that the text is very uncertain.

*Introduction*

958B. <sup>1</sup>—— chief steward of the Divine Consort, Ibe (*Yb* <sup>2</sup>), son of the priest (*mry' ntr*), Enekhhor (<sup>c</sup> *nh-Hr*) <sup>2</sup>—— . . . <sup>3</sup>. . . <sup>a</sup> —— <sup>4</sup>chief [steward] of my queen, his daughter, the Divine Consort ——.

*Appointment of Nitocris*

958C. A lacuna at this point evidently contained the statement that Psamtik I commanded the appointment of his daughter,

<sup>5</sup>His beloved, the great favorite of Amon, the sweet —, [daughter of] the beloved of Mut, Mehetnusekhet (*Mh' t-m-wsh' t*) to be Divine Consort, Divine Votress of Amon in Karnak.

*Installation of Nitocris*

958D. <sup>6</sup>The chief ritual priest, divine scribe, prophets, divine fathers, priests (*w* <sup>c</sup> *b*), and the great companions of his majesty, were the suite of their queen. The whole land was in great festivity; an oblation — <sup>7</sup>filled with every offering, [jubilating] <sup>1</sup> to him, satisfying the heart; [by] <sup>1</sup> the glorious one, great among the great, his beloved, the Divine Votress, Nitocris, who liveth; while the lay priesthood of the temple were following [her] <sup>8r</sup> — <sup>1</sup>. There was performed for her every customary ceremony, like the fashion of the coronation of her good lord, Amon — — radiance, like the sun (*Šw*). She caused — — <sup>9</sup>that there be presented a great oblation; the lay priesthood brought the incense of favor, love, life, <sup>b</sup> prosperity, and health for her father, Wahibre (*W* <sup>2</sup> *h-yb-R* <sup>c</sup>, Psamtik I).

*Nitocris Arrives at Her Theban Palace*

958E. Her majesty proceeded — — <sup>10</sup>to the palace, seated in her palanquin (*dn' t*), the poles (thereof) being made anew, of silver and gold, inlaid with every genuine costly stone, <sup>c</sup> and she caused [that there be offered] <sup>1c</sup> — —.

<sup>a</sup>Fragments of a mortuary prayer for Ibe, whose title is, perhaps, partially preserved at the beginning of l. 4.

<sup>b</sup>See II, 96o.

<sup>c</sup>Or: "given to her [beside them] — —."

*Decay of the Palace of Nitocris*

958F. <sup>11</sup>Year 26, second month of the first season, day 3. <sup>12</sup>On this day<sup>1</sup>,<sup>a</sup> his majesty [— — —]. His majesty sent those who were in his suite, — — <sup>13</sup>of the Southland, prophets, and priests (*w<sup>c</sup> b*) of Amon, and sacred women of Amon. They came, saying: “His majesty has heard that the house of the Divine Votress of Amon <sup>14</sup>is beginning to fall to ruin.”

*Appointment of Ibe as Chief Steward of Nitocris to Carry Out Restoration*

958G. These people also bring with them a command of the king that

There should be appointed <sup>15</sup>the king's-confidant, Ibe, as chief steward of the Divine Consort, and that there should be collected for him all his things which should go [for the payment] of the works, <sup>16</sup>[and] that they should be delivered to all the scribes and inspectors sent with the business of the house of the Divine Votress, as many as they were. The list of every day — — — <sup>17</sup>[of — — —] utensils of silver, gold, copper, [—], [everything] of the White House.

*Ibe's Administration*

958H. <sup>18</sup>I [filled] her granaries with [wheat], spelt, and all fruits. I multiplied her cattle yards with bullocks, [obliged] her officials to pay dues — — <sup>19</sup>all of them. I conserved everything by exaction in — throughout.

*Nitocris Spends a Day Inspecting Her Affairs*

958I. — — he [went] to receive her in the temple of Amon — —. <sup>20</sup>She spent the day sealing [— —] of the house.

Here she seems to have inspected

<sup>21</sup>All her affairs of the myriad of years which every excellent king lives.

*Ibe Conducts the Restoration of the Palace of Nitocris*

958J. I built her refectory (*w<sup>c</sup> b<sup>t</sup>*) by the side of the king's-house (*pr stny*), ([called]): “Khonsu-of [—],”<sup>b</sup> as an eternal work, everything

<sup>a</sup>Or: “([the coronation day] of his majesty.”

<sup>b</sup>Amon?

was a work of — <sup>21</sup>— in it, — her house (*h' t*) in the pure house (*pr*) of her father, Amon, which her father, Re, made for her in the first beginning (*sp tpy*), 100 cubits high, and 100 cubits wide — — — <sup>22</sup>built in all its —. Its — was of stone, its pavement was of stone, every [altar] found in it, its tables — <sup>23</sup>without [number]. Its ceiling (lit., heaven) was of electrum, inlaid with every genuine costly stone.

*Ibe Builds a Palace-Chapel of Osiris*

**958K.** I erected a temple (*h' t-nt*) beside it for her lord, Osiris-Wennofer, of [all] excellent work. His barque — <sup>24</sup>— like Re in his horizon. The portable image of his majesty was fashioned of electrum, inlaid with every genuine costly stone, together with statues of her<sup>a</sup> body of electrum — — — <sup>25</sup>— to her palace in her [barge] before the — place.

*Celebration of Amon's Feasts*

**958L.** Ibe then narrates how the god (Amon) was brought forth in procession, with his sacred women who accompanied Nitocris,

At his feast which the land celebrated for him on the sixth of the month; [whereof the like was done] beside the upper gate of Amon-Re [— —] with her father at his feast of the first month of the third season (Pakhons) <sup>26</sup>—.

*Restoration and Furniture of the Osirian Tomb?*

**958M.** She filled his secret cavern<sup>b</sup> with brick, with [all] [genuine things] that he desired. Its doors were of cedar, the pavement of [— — — —] which the queen (*hn' t*), L. P. H., [—], Divine Votress, Nitocris, fashioned [————] <sup>27</sup>— Great Divine Consort, Mehet-nusekhet, likewise in everything; [in order<sup>c</sup> to bury] a multitude of their vessels, even all their<sup>d</sup> offering-tables of the temple, of silver, gold, and every costly stone. I founded their divine offerings, of bread, beer, cattle, fowl, linen, ointment, wine, milk, [—], and vegetables as daily [offerings [without]] <sup>28</sup>number. . . . .<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Nitocris.

<sup>b</sup>The Osirian tomb of Amon?

<sup>c</sup>*Yw* for *r*, both being pronounced "e."

<sup>d</sup>It is not certain to whom this "their" (and again in this line) refers.

<sup>e</sup>The remainder of the line is chiefly an obscure asseveration of faithfulness by Ibe.



FIRST SERAPEUM STELA<sup>a</sup>

959. This is the important stela which shows that Taharka immediately preceded Psamtik I. The deceased Apis died just before the beginning of Psamtik I's twenty-first year, having lived twenty-one years, two months, and seven days. As the animal was born in the twenty-sixth year of Taharka, it is evident that Taharka was the predecessor of Psamtik I, with a possible interval between them of not more than one or two months. The stela is further important as indicating that the years of the king's reign coincided with the years of the civil calendar. The Apis died on the twenty-first of the twelfth month in Psamtik's twentieth year. At the expiration of the ceremonial seventy days, the burial took place on the twenty-fifth of the second month in the king's twenty-first year. The transition from year 20 to year 21 evidently fell on New Year's Day (see also § 984).

*Death of Apis*

960. Year 20, fourth month of the third season (twelfth month), day 21; under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wahibre (*W<sup>3</sup> h-yb-R<sup>c</sup>*); Son of Re, of his body, Psamtik (*Psmṯk*) I; went forth the majesty of Apis, the Living Son, to heaven.

*Burial of Apis*

961. This god was conducted in peace to the Beautiful West in the year 21, second month of the first season (second month), (on) the twenty-fifth day.

*Birth and Age*

962. Now, he was born in the year 26 of King Taharka; he was received into Memphis in the fourth month of the second season (eighth month), (on) the ninth day; which makes 21 years, 2 months 7 days<sup>1, b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Louvre, No. 190; published: Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, III, Pl. 36; Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, XXII, C; Revillout, *Revue égyptologique*, VII, 138; Chassinat, *Recueil*, 18, 19. I had also my own copy of the original.

<sup>b</sup>After the "2 months" there is a hieratic 7, and before it a half-circle, which is probably the sign for day.

SECOND SERAPEUM STELA<sup>a</sup>

963. This inscription has heretofore been understood as recording both repairs in the Serapeum or a sanctuary of Apis,<sup>b</sup> and the burial of an Apis deceased under Psamtik I. The true import of the inscription is totally different. There is no reference to an Apis which died in Psamtik I's reign, but only the record of the restoration by him, of an old interment, on receiving a report that the coffin was so fallen to pieces that the body of the sacred animal was exposed to view.

*Date*

964. In the year 52 under the majesty of this Good God (Psamtik I),<sup>c</sup> came one to say to his majesty:

*Message*

965. "The temple<sup>d</sup> of thy father, Osiris-Apis, and the things therein are beginning to fall to ruin. The divine limbs are visible in his coffin,<sup>e</sup> decay has laid hold of his (mortuary) chests."

*Restoration*

966. His majesty commanded restoration in his temple,<sup>d</sup> and that it should be more beautiful than that which was there before. His majesty caused that there be done for him all that is done for a god on the day of interment. Every office had its duties, that the divine limbs might be splendid in ointment, wrappings of royal linen, and all the

<sup>a</sup>Large stela found by Mariette in the Serapeum, now in the Louvre (No. 239); published by Mariette, *Renseignements*, 11 f. (not seen); I had my own copy of the original.

<sup>b</sup>Brugsch (*Geschichte*, 741, 742) and Wiedemann (*Aegyptische Geschichte*, 619, 620).

<sup>c</sup>His fivefold titulary immediately precedes.

<sup>d</sup>As the context shows, "temple" (*h'-t-ntr*) is here the sepulcher of an Apis, and must mean an alcove of the Serapeum, in which an Apis was entombed. If this stone had not been found in the Serapeum, we should think such a burial chapel as that erected by Amenhotep III for an Apis, was meant.

<sup>e</sup>This (*wn*) must have been a wooden coffin, which was so decayed that the body of the Apis could be seen.

raiment of a god. His (mortuary) chests were of ked wood, meru wood, and cedar wood, of the choicest of every wood. Their troops<sup>1a</sup> were subjects of the palace,<sup>b</sup> while a king's-companion stood over<sup>c</sup> them, levying their labor for the court,<sup>d</sup> like the land of Egypt.

May he be given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever and ever.

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#### STATUE INSCRIPTION OF HOR<sup>e</sup>

967. This fragmentary inscription, like that of Pefnedineit (§§ 1015 ff.) and Nesuhor (§§ 989 ff.) illustrates the excessively religious spirit of the Saitic age. Hor was military commander at Heracleopolis, where he executed considerable additions, or at least restorations, in the temple of Harsaphes.<sup>f</sup> These he has recorded upon his votive statue in some detail. His reference to the use of cedar from the royal domain would be more important if the king under whom he served were mentioned,<sup>g</sup> as it shows that the forests of Lebanon were under the control of the Pharaoh at this time.

#### *Introduction*

968. ———— <sup>1</sup>benefactions in Heracleopolis, watchful in restoring Ner (*N c r*), making Heracleopolis prosper, repelling her obstructors

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<sup>a</sup>This word is written with three standing men with feathers upon their heads. The reference to "*Egypt*" at the end would indicate that they were not Egyptians, and the feathers point to Libyans. The antecedent of "*their*" is also in doubt.

<sup>b</sup>Read *c h c*.

<sup>c</sup>Spiegelberg's interpretation (*Recueil*, 26, 43, 1) involves making "*kings-companion*" plural, while the text shows a singular.

<sup>d</sup>Or: "*collecting their impost into the court.*"

<sup>e</sup>On his black granite statue, now in the Louvre (A 88); published by Pierret (*Recueil d'Inscriptions*, I, 14-21); and partially by Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1251, 1252. I had a copy of the Berlin squeeze, kindly made for me by Schaefer.

<sup>f</sup>Other examples of nobles building temples will be found in the Northern Oasis (Steindorff, *Königlich-Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1900, 226).

<sup>g</sup>Our insertion of the inscription in the reign of Psamtik I is conjectural.

when the 'filthy'<sup>a</sup> lay in her streets as in a stable; repelling '—' from her district, chief of Heracleopolis, commander of the army, Hor, son of the chief of 'militia' (šš) in the district of Busiris, Psantik, born of the matron, Nefrusebek; he saith:

*Prayer*

969. "O divine lord, Khnum, king of the Two Lands, ruler of lands, sole god, whose qualities none possesses;<sup>b</sup> I am 'zealous', showing allegiance to thee. I have filled my heart with thee, the prosperous way of him who follows thy majesty. Thou hast made my heart, that my heart might be vigilant in pursuit of genuine things<sup>c</sup> ———."

*Temple Court*

970. "———<sup>2</sup> in the great forecourt of Harsaphes, as a great work without its like; a colonnade of pink granite, the doors of fine cedar of the (royal) domain, many — of gold like the horizon of heaven. Its south and north walls are of fine limestone of Ayan, the lintels of pink granite, overlaid with gold, the door with electrum."

*Temple Hall*

971. "I restored the southern aisle (*Ytwr*), and the northern aisle, and the southern and northern aisle in this place, besides the house of Nehebkaui."

*Temple Lake and Furniture*

972. "I built the rear wall of the pool 'of' the shore, I seized the place ———<sup>3</sup> I beautified the broad-hall of the 'militia' (šš) behind the tomb,<sup>d</sup> in order to make for me a great work in the house (*pr*) of Harsaphes, lord of gods, '— —'. I gave two pieces of land (*hsp*) before the great god '— — — —'. I gave<sup>1</sup> wine '—' every day; I rewarded '—' with goods from my house, I beautified them, (for) I knew that the abomination of a god is withholding. I made their two offering-tablets

<sup>a</sup>Is this a term of contempt for a foreign foe, referring to the expulsion of an Assyrian garrison?

<sup>b</sup>This is the phrase applied to the sun-god, Aton, in the great hymn (see my *De Hymnis in Solem sub Rege Amenophide IV Conceptis*, 47, l. 50, where the end is to be amended thus: *ntr w c nn ky hr sp w j*).

<sup>c</sup>For the god's temple.

<sup>d</sup>*Hbs-bg't*; see Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, 456.

of white stone (*ds*), in order to present the divine offerings upon them: one being in the pit of the coffin, the place where Atum, the old man, goes to rest; the other in "None-Prosper-Against-Him,"<sup>a</sup> 'before'<sup>1</sup> King Wennofer ——— 'his gods, I filled up what was found empty'<sup>b</sup> in his house."

*Feast of Bast*

973. "I brought out Bast in procession to her barge, at her beautiful feast of the fourth month of the second season (eighth month), the fifth day until [—]."

*Concluding Prayer*

"I have done these things with a glad heart, without — —. I have opened 'to thee'<sup>1</sup> my arms and extended my embrace 'before [thee]'<sup>1</sup> — work [— —]<sup>1</sup> which was in my heart, while making monuments in thy house. Endue me with life, prosperity, and health [— —]<sup>1</sup> which is in my heart in thy temple. Give me revered old age, spending a long life in happiness, possessing all favor of the ruler of lands (the king), while my name endures in Heracleopolis until the coming of eternity."

<sup>a</sup>Name of a place.

<sup>b</sup>Referring to broken inscriptions which he restored.

## REIGN OF NECHO

### SERAPEUM STELA<sup>a</sup>

**974.** This stela furnishes the data for computing the exact length of Psamtik I's reign. Having lived sixteen years, seven months and seventeen days, this Apis died in the sixteenth year of Necho, on the sixth of the second month. The bulk of his life fell in the reign of Necho, and he was only one year, six months, and eleven days old at the accession of Necho. This period of his life thus coincided with the last year, six months and eleven days of Necho's predecessor, Psamtik I. Now, the Apis was born in the fifty-third year of Psamtik I, on the nineteenth of the sixth month; hence the total length of Psamtik I's reign was the sum of

52 years, 5 months, 19 days  
and  $\frac{1}{1}$  "  $\frac{6}{6}$  "  $\frac{11}{11}$  "  
or 54 years, 0 months, 0 days.

**975.** This would indicate that Psamtik ruled an even number of complete years,<sup>b</sup> but we cannot suppose that Psamtik I died on the last day of the year; it is evident that he died in the fifty-fifth year of his reign, and that the fraction of that incomplete year was, after his death, included in the first year of his successor, Necho. It is thus clear that the years of the king's reign in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty began on New Year's Day. We have already reached the same conclusion from the first Serapeum Stela of Psamtik I (§ 959).

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<sup>a</sup>Louvre, No. 193; published by Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, XXI, A; Chassinat, *Recueil*, 22, 21. I had also my own copy of the original.

<sup>b</sup>The scribe's computation ignores the 5 epagomenæ; the Apis was really 16 years, 7 months, and 22 days old.

*Date*

**976.** <sup>1</sup>Year 16, fourth month of the first season (fourth month), day 16, under the majesty of Horus: Wise-hearted (*Šy<sup>2</sup>-yb*); King of Upper and Lower Egypt;<sup>a</sup> Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Triumphant; Golden Horus: Beloved-of-the-Gods; <sup>2</sup>Uhemibre; Son of Re, of his body, his beloved: Necho, living forever, beloved of Apis, son of Osiris.

*Burial of Apis*

**977.** <sup>3</sup>The day<sup>b</sup> of the interment of this god. This god was conducted in peace to the necropolis, to let him assume his place in his temple in the western desert of <sup>4</sup>“Life-of-the-Two-Lands,” after there had been done for him all that is done in the pure house, as it was done formerly.

*Life of Apis*

**978.** He was born <sup>5</sup>in the year 53, second month of the second season (sixth month), day 19, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Wahibre; Son of Re: Psamtik (I), triumphant. <sup>6</sup>He was [received into the house of Ptah in the year 54, third month of the first season (third month), day 12. He departed from life <sup>7</sup>[in the year] 16, second month of the first season (second month), day 6. The total of his length of life was 16 years, 7 months, and 17 days.

*Tomb and Equipment of Apis*

**979.** The majesty of <sup>8</sup>the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Necho, living forever, made all the coffins and every thing excellent and profitable for this august god. <sup>9</sup>He built for him his place in the necropolis, of fine limestone of Ayan, of excellent workmanship. Never happened the like <sup>10</sup>since the beginning. That he might be given all life, stability, satisfaction, health, and joy of heart, like Re, forever and ever.

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<sup>a</sup>This title has been inserted by the scribe in the wrong place after the Horus-name.

<sup>b</sup>The date at the top; it is just 70 days after his death, as dated in the document (l. 7).

BUILDING INSCRIPTION<sup>a</sup>

980. The inscription shows that Uzahor superintended the quarries at Assuan during the building operations of Necho. Like the old officials stationed at this place from the Sixth Dynasty on, he was “*governor of the door*,” or frontier post, of the southern countries.

Revered by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Uhemibre (Necho), like Re. Hereditary prince and count (*rp<sup>c</sup>ty, h<sup>3</sup>ty<sup>c</sup>*), governor of the door of the countries, Uzahor (*Wd<sup>3</sup>-Hr*), he says: “I was commander of works upon the mountain ———, to make great obelisks of granite, and all monuments of diorite (*bhn*) and granite for the ———.”

<sup>a</sup>From a statue bought by Petrie at Memphis; published, *Season*, XXI, 5, and 26.



## REIGN OF PSAMTIK II

### STATUE INSCRIPTION OF NEFERIBRE-NOFER<sup>a</sup>

981. This fragmentary document contains a few references to the building activity of Psamtik II, of whose reign we know so little. Neferibre-nofer was a “*magazine overseer*,” who can have been no other than the Neferibre-nofer, of another statue<sup>b</sup> at Cairo, who held the same office under Psamtik II, and bore also the name Irhoro (*Yry-hr-<sup>c</sup>*). Besides being tutor and guardian of the king, he also held the rank of “*hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, and sole companion*.”

Omitting unessential and fragmentary self-praise, the building references are these:

982. . . . . Neferibre-<sup>3</sup>nofer, to whom the Two Lands recount their hearts, and repeat to him all their thoughts; [‘who <sup>4</sup>pleases’] King Neferibre (Psamtik II) by doing that which is his desire, when he commands to protect their<sup>c</sup> holy places, beautifying the Two Lands — 5. . . . . 7. . . . He built the temple of the lord of eternity, <sup>8</sup>erecting a pyramidion (*bmbn[<sup>t</sup>]*) in Mehenet of Sais, in work [————] fine limestone of Ayan; <sup>9</sup>obelisks of Elephantine granite, houses for the first time for Neit; a (portable) barque-shrine (*wts-njr<sup>t</sup>*) of fine gold, inlaid with every splendid costly stone <sup>10</sup>. . . . .

983. The very fragmentary remainder (ll. 10–16) contains references to liberal offerings to the gods, “*for the sake of the life, prosperity and health of King Psamtik (II), living like Re*.”

<sup>a</sup>Black granite statue in Cairo; published by Daressy, *Recueil*, XVI, 46, 47 (C).

<sup>b</sup>Gray granite statue; published by Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 29, a, 1–5 = Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1887, 120–22.

<sup>c</sup>The gods?

## REIGN OF APRIES

### SERAPEUM STELA<sup>a</sup>

984. From this stela we can compute the length of the combined reigns of Necho and Psamtik II. The Apis commemorated died on the twelfth day of the eighth month in the twelfth year of Apries, being seventeen years, six months, and five days old; hence his life began five years, ten months, and twenty-three days before the accession of Apries. As the animal's birth fell on the seventh of the second month in the sixteenth year of Necho, the lapse of time from the accession of Necho to that of Apries (or to the death of Psamtik II) is the sum of

15 years, 1 month, 7 days  
and 5 " 10 months, 23 "  
or 21 years, 0 months, 0 days.

The combined reigns of Necho and Psamtik II, therefore, lasted exactly twenty-one years.<sup>b</sup> It is noticeable, also, that, as above (§ 975), the fraction of Psamtik II's last or incomplete year is not counted, but his reign is concluded with the end of his last complete year, as if Apries had begun to reign on New Year's Day.

985. Since the above was written the conclusion reached has received interesting confirmation by the discovery of the

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<sup>a</sup>Louvre, No. 240; published by Mariette (*Choix de monuments du Sérapéum*, Pl. VII); thence by Bunsen (*Egypt's Place*, 2d ed., V, 738-40); Piehl, (*Inscriptions*, I, XXI, B); Birch (*Egyptian Texts*, 39-41); Chassinat (*Recueil*, 18). I also had my own copy of the original.

<sup>b</sup>The scribe has ignored the 5 epagomenæ at the end of the year, as in § 975, note; the Apis really lived 17 years, 6 months, and 10 days.

second Adoption Stela (§§ 988A-988J) at Karnak.<sup>a</sup> It furnishes the two following data for the length of Psamtik II's reign:

1. In the first year of Psamtik II's reign, in the eleventh month, on the twenty-ninth day, his daughter, the princess Enkhnesneferibre, arrived at Thebes to be adopted by the Divine Consort, Nitocris.

2. In the seventh year of his reign, in the first month, on the twenty-third day, Psamtik II died.<sup>b</sup>

The adoption was a political device which would be carried out by the Pharaoh without delay; hence we are safe in concluding that Enkhnesneferibre arrived in Thebes not long after Psamtik II's accession,<sup>c</sup> which thus fell late in the calendar year. His first regnal year thus consisted of no more than a month or two. Of his last year (the seventh), but twenty-three days had elapsed when he died. He thus actually reigned but five years and two or three months. From the twenty-one years above obtained as the total length of the successive reigns of Necho and Psamtik II, combined, we may then deduct the latter's reign of a little over five years, furnishing practically sixteen years as the length of Necho's reign. This coincides with the fact that our highest known date of Necho is the sixteenth year<sup>d</sup> (when the Apis of the following stela was born), and with Herodotus, who gives Necho sixteen years, and Psamtik II six years.

<sup>a</sup>Legrain, *Recueil*, 27, 81, 82. See above, § 938.

<sup>b</sup>The stela also states that his son Apries then succeeded him.

<sup>c</sup>The late date (year 9) for the adoption of Nitocris under Psamtik I was, of course, due to the fact that he did not gain control of Thebes immediately.

<sup>d</sup>This date is the 106th day of the sixteenth year (§ 976); hence there is plenty of margin for the few months in excess of the five years reigned by Psamtik II.

*Date*

986. <sup>1</sup>Year 12, second month of the third season (tenth month), day 21, under the majesty of King Apries<sup>a</sup> (*H<sup>c c</sup>-yb-Re*), <sup>2</sup>beloved of Apis, son of Osiris.

*Interment of Apis*

The god was conducted in peace to the Beautiful West, <sup>3</sup>to let him assume his place in the necropolis, the western desert of Memphis; after there had been done for him all that is done in <sup>4</sup>the pure house. Never was done the like before.

*Life of Apis*

987. The majesty of this god went forth to heaven <sup>5</sup>in the year 12, fourth month of the second season (eighth month), day 12. He was born in the year 16, second month of the first season (second month), day 7, under the majesty of <sup>6</sup>King Necho, living forever. He was installed in the house of Ptah <sup>7</sup>in the year 1, third month of the third season (eleventh month), day 9, under the majesty of Psamtik II. <sup>8</sup>The beautiful life of this god, was 17 years, 6 months, 5 days.

*Mortuary Equipment*

988. The Good God, Wahibre (Apries), made all the coffins, <sup>9</sup>everything, excellent, and every profitable thing, for this august god; that he (the king) might be given life and health therefore, forever.

STELA OF THE DIVINE CONSORT ENEKHNESNEFERIBRE<sup>b</sup>

988A. This new monument furnishes several important facts in the history of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, enabling us to confirm our reconstruction of the chronology and family history of this dynasty. These new facts are:

1. The final proof that Psamtik II was the father of Enekhnesneferibre.
2. The date of Psamtik II's death, and thus the exact length of his reign.

<sup>a</sup>Full fivefold titulary.

<sup>b</sup>Stela of alabaster, o. m. 74 c. high, o. m. 42 c. wide, o. m. 13 c. thick, now in the Cairo Museum. It was discovered by Legrain in the great cache at Karnak, and was published by Maspero, with translation in *Annales*, V, 84-90.

3. Apries was the son of Psamtik II.
4. The date of the adoption of Enekhnesneferibre.
5. The date of the death of Nitocris.
6. The date of the accession of Enekhnesneferibre.

**988B.** The stela narrates the arrival of Enekhnesneferibre at Thebes in the first year of her father, Psamtik II, and her adoption there by Nitocris, as Nitocris herself had once been adopted by Shepnupet II, at the decree of Psamtik I (§§ 935 ff.). At this adoption she received the title of High Priest of Amon. Five years and fifty-nine days after her arrival at Thebes, Enekhnesneferibre's father, Psamtik II, died,<sup>a</sup> and was succeeded by his son, Apries. In the fourth year of this king, just eight years, four months, and ten days after Enekhnesneferibre's adoption, Nitocris died, and twelve days later Enekhnesneferibre succeeded to her office. This she held into the reign of Psamtik III, when she was at least eighty years old (see table, § 938).

*Arrival of Enekhnesneferibre at Thebes*

**988C.** <sup>1</sup>Year 1, third month of the third season, day 29, under the majesty of Horus: Menekhib (*Mnh-yb*); Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Mighty of Arm; Golden Horus: Beautifying the Two Lands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Neferibre; Son of Re: <sup>2</sup>Psamtik II, given life. On this day the king's-daughter, Enekhnesneferibre, arrived at Thebes.

*Adoption of Enekhnesneferibre by Nitocris*

**988D.** Her mother, the Divine Consort, Nitocris, who liveth, came forth <sup>3</sup>to behold her beauty, and they went together to the House (*pr*) of Amon. Then was conducted the [<sup>4</sup>divine<sup>5</sup>] <sup>6</sup>image<sup>7b</sup> from [<sup>8</sup>the House of<sup>9</sup>] <sup>10</sup>Amon<sup>11</sup>, to — — <sup>12</sup>—<sup>13</sup> in order to make her titulary as follows:

“The Greatly Praised in <sup>14</sup>—<sup>15</sup>,<sup>c</sup> Flower in the Palace, <sup>16</sup>—<sup>17</sup> of the <sup>18</sup>—<sup>19</sup>”

<sup>a</sup>Having thus reigned five years and two or three months; see § 985.

<sup>b</sup>*Hnty*?

<sup>c</sup>Possibly “*House of Amon*.”

of 5Amon, High Priest of Amon, King's-Daughter, Enekhnesneferibre. She shall be<sup>a</sup> in the Presence of her Father, Amon-Re, Lord of Thebes, Presider over Karnak."

*Death of Psamtik II*

988E. 6Year 7, first month of the first season, day 23, went forth this Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Psamtik II to heaven. He joined the sun, the divine limbs mingling with him who made him (*yr-sw*).

*Accession of His Son Apries*

988F. Then was crowned 7his son, in his place, (even) Horus: Wahib; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Lord of Might; Golden Horus: Making Verdant the Two Lands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Apries (*H<sup>c</sup> -yb-R<sup>c</sup>*); Son of Re: Wahibre (*W<sup>o</sup> h-yb-R<sup>c</sup>*), who liveth.

*Death and Burial of Nitocris*

988G. Year 4, fourth month of the third season, 8day 4, of this king; went forth the Divine Votress (*Dw<sup>o</sup> t-ntr*), Nitocris, triumphant, to heaven. She joined the sun, the divine limbs mingling with him who made her. Her daughter, the High Priest, Enekhnesneferibre, 9did for her all that is done for every excellent king.

*Induction of Enekhnesneferibre*

988H. Now, when twelve days had elapsed after these events, (in) the fourth month of the third season, day 15, went the king's-daughter, 10the High Priest, Enekhnesneferibre, to the House of Amon-Re, king of gods; while the prophets, the divine fathers, the priests (*w<sup>c</sup> b*), ritual priests and lay priests of the temple of Amon 11were behind her, and the great companions were in front thereof. There were performed for her all the customary ceremonies of the induction of the Divine Votress (*Dw<sup>o</sup> t-ntr*) of Amon into the temple, by the divine scribe 12and nine priests (*w<sup>c</sup> b*) of this house (*pr*). She fastened on all the amulets and ornaments of the Divine Consort (*Hm<sup>o</sup> t-ntr*), and the Divine Votress (*Dw<sup>o</sup> t-ntr*) of Amon, crowned with the two plumes, the diadem of 13her forehead,<sup>b</sup> to be queen (*hn t*) of every circuit of the sun.

<sup>a</sup>Or possibly the titulary closes with her name, and the following should be rendered: "While she was, etc."

<sup>b</sup>It is possible that the word rendered "forehead" (*dhn*) may be the verb "appoint" (*dhn*).

*Titulary of Enekhnesneferibre*

988I. Her titulary was made as follows:

“Hereditary Princess, Great in Amiability, Great in Favor, Mistress of Loveliness, Sweet in Love, Queen (*hn't*) of all Women, Divine Consort, <sup>14</sup>Divine Votress, Heknefrumut<sup>a</sup> (*Hk'ḏ't nfr'w-Mw't*), Divine Hand, Enekhnesneferibre, who liveth, King's-Daughter of the Lord of the Two Lands, Psamtik (II).”

*Reign of Enekhnesneferibre*

988J. There were done for her all the customary rites and all the ceremonies as <sup>15</sup>was done for Tafnut in the beginning.<sup>b</sup> The prophets, the divine fathers, and the lay priests of the temple came to her at all times when she went to the House of Amon, at his every festal procession.<sup>c</sup>

INSCRIPTION OF NESUHOR<sup>d</sup>

989. The remarkable, and often misunderstood, narrative contained in this document furnishes an interesting corroboration of the tale of the mutiny of Psamtik I's troops, as narrated by Herodotus (II, 30, 31). Our Nesuhor was commander of the fortress and garrison at Elephantine, where he had assumed the responsibility for many pious works for the local divinities, in accordance with the increased religious spirit of the Saitic age. On one occasion the foreign mercenaries of the garrison mutinied and, like the Automoloi of Herodotus, planned to migrate to Upper

<sup>a</sup>Her alabaster statue (*Annales*, V, 90-92) gives as the reading of this name: *Hk'ḏ(t)-nfr'w-mry'(t)-Mw't*.

<sup>b</sup>Lit., “at the first time” (*m-sp-tpy*).

<sup>c</sup>Lit., “at his every feast of the appearance” (*m hb' j nb n ḥc*).

<sup>d</sup>On his statue in the Louvre (A 90); published by Maspero (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1884, 88, 89), with corrections by Brugsch (*ibid.*, 93-97). I had also my own copy of the original which added a number of corrections, and a collation of the Berlin squeeze by Schaefer, which furnished the proper reading of the name of Nesuhor's mother. The inscription was first properly understood by Schaefer (*Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, IV, 152-63), who also gives a final text (*ibid.*, Tafel, I-II).

Nubia, to a region called Shas-heret. Nesuhor succeeded in dissuading them and delivered them to Apries, who accordingly punished them. Believing that the gods had delivered him from his dangerous predicament among a horde of turbulent foreign soldiery, Nesuhor did not fail to narrate the event on his statue as a motive for his good works to the divinities of the first cataract. It thus furnishes graphic contemporary evidence of the dangerously unstable character of the military, of which the power of the Saite kings consisted. A similar but more widely-spread disaffection was the occasion of the overthrow of Apries by Amasis.

*Qualities of Nesuhor*

990. <sup>1</sup>—————<sup>a</sup> as his lord — his equal; whom his majesty appointed to a very great office, the office of his eldest son,<sup>b</sup> governor of the Door of the Southern Countries, to repel the countries that rebel against him. When he hath spread the fear of him in the southern countries, <sup>2</sup>they flee into their valleys for fear of him. Who did not <sup>1</sup>relax [vigilance in] seeking benefits for his lord; honored of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Apries ( $\overline{H}^c c - yb - R^c$ ), favored by the Son of Re, Wahibre ( $W^> h - yb - R^c$ ), Nesuhor, whose beautiful name is Ib-Psamtik-menekh ("The-Heart-of-Psamtik-is-Excellent"), son of Ifrer ( $Yw\{rr}$ ), born of the mistress, Tesenethor ( $T^> -sn^t - \overline{H}r$ ), triumphant.

*Nesuhor's Prayer*

991. He says: "O lord of might! Fashioner of gods and men! Khnum, lord of the Cataract, Satet, <sup>3</sup>and Anuket, mistress(es) of Elephantine! I rejoice in your names, I praise your beauty. I am free from laxity in doing that which you<sup>c</sup> desire; I fill my heart with you<sup>c</sup> in every design which I carry out. May my ka be remembered because of that which I have done in your house.

<sup>a</sup>The upper half of this (vertical) line is lacking; the document begins with epithets of praise applied to Nesuhor.

<sup>b</sup>The southern country under the empire was governed by a viceroy, who was originally the king's eldest son. This old tradition is now applied to the governor of Elephantine.

<sup>c</sup>Lit., "your ka's."



*Good Works for the Gods*

992. I have splendidly equipped your temple with vessels of silver; numerous cattle, ducks, and geese; I have made secure their maintenance by (an endowment of) lands, as well as <sup>4</sup>(that of) their custodians forever and ever. I built their shelters in your city. I gave very fine wine of the Southern Oasis, spelt and honey into your storehouses, which I built anew in the great name of his majesty. I gave illuminating oil for lighting the lamps of your temple. I appointed weavers, maid-servants and launderers for the august wardrobe of the great god <sup>5</sup>and his divine ennead. I built their quarters in his temple, established forever by decree of the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Apries, living forever.

*Requital of Good Works*

993. Remember ye him in whose heart was the beautification of your house, (even) Nesuhor, whose name is abiding in the mouth of the citizens; as a reward for (all) this. Let my name abide in your house, let my ka be remembered after my life, let my statue abide and my name endure upon it imperishably in your temple.

*Rescue of Nesuhor*

994. <sup>6</sup>For ye rescued me from an evil plight, from the mercenaries [Libyans<sup>1</sup>,<sup>a</sup> Greeks, Asiatics, and foreigners, who had it in their hearts to —, and who had it in their hearts to go to Shas-heret (*šꜣꜣ yš-ḥr·t*).<sup>b</sup> His majesty feared because of the evil which they did. I re-established their heart in reason by advice, not permitting them to go to Nubia (*Tꜣ -pd·t*), (but) bringing them to the place where his majesty was; and his majesty executed their [punishment<sup>1</sup>].

995. Here follows a mortuary prayer, containing the following titles of Nesuhor:

Hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, beloved sole companion, great in his office, grand in his rank, official at the head of the people, governor of the Door of the Southern Countries.

<sup>a</sup>One is inclined to read *Tmḥw* here; for if we read *cꜣ mw*, "Asiatics," then the Asiatics appear twice.

<sup>b</sup>Schaefer has shown that this region was in upper Nubia (*op. cit.*, 158–63).

## REIGN OF AMASIS (AHMOSE II)

### ELEPHANTINE STELA<sup>a</sup>

996. This, perhaps the most important document of the Saitic period, is, unfortunately, so badly preserved that a consecutive translation is totally impossible.<sup>b</sup> In the following I have rendered only what is capable of safe translation, and have then connected the few scattered translatable passages, by statements of their probable relation to each other, as indicated by the intervening uncertain context.

997. The drift of the historical facts furnished by the document is thus, in the main, discernible, in spite of the uncertainties and obscurities in details. In his third year as king of Egypt, Amasis finds Apries advancing against him from the north with a force of Greeks and a fleet. Apries assumed the offensive, and advanced to the vicinity of Sais, where Amasis, having mustered his forces, met and defeated him. The army of Apries was scattered, but the dethroned king escaped, and his troops continued to rove the North, infesting the roads and, of course, living by plunder. Meantime, Apries was a fugitive, with a few Greek (?) ships. When four or five months had passed in this way, Amasis was obliged to dispatch his forces, to exterminate the remnant of Apries' army, and while this went on, Apries was slain.

998. The narrative of Herodotus begins at an earlier

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<sup>a</sup>A large stela of rose granite, 5 feet 9 inches high and three feet wide, found as part of a doorway in a house in Cairo, now in the Cairo Museum. Published by Daressy (*Recueil*, XXII, 2, 3). The stone is much worn, and so illegible that sometimes not a single sign is certain for half a line or more.

<sup>b</sup>The rendering by Daressy (*ibid.*) is nine-tenths conjecture, and the English version of Hall (*Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, 323, 324) is chiefly a translation of Daressy's French.

point in the usurpation of Amasis than does our stela. It would seem that after the defeat of Apries, and his dethronement by Amasis, as related by Herodotus, Apries had taken advantage of Amasis' kindness, had after some three years made his escape and had gathered an army of Greeks, who were again defeated by Amasis, as recorded on our stela. If this reconstruction be correct, then this second battle, as being much like the first, was not properly distinguished by Herodotus, who says nothing of it. This seems to me more probable than to identify the battle of our stela with that of Herodotus, in which case Amasis had ruled over two years, at least, before he was attacked by Apries; and there would also be no sojourn of Apries in the custody of Amasis, as so particularly related by Herodotus.<sup>a</sup> The account of Apries' death, as given by Herodotus, is difficult to harmonize with that on our stela on any hypothesis; but both sources agree in the statement that Amasis gave Apries honorable burial, according to Herodotus, among his ancestors at Sais.

999. There is contemporary evidence of the gradual rise of Amasis; for long after his assumption of the royal cartouche he continued to use his titles as a noble and a powerful palace official. Thus he inscribed his mother's sarcophagus<sup>b</sup> as follows:

1000. Revered by her husband, royal confidante of Wahibre (*W<sup>3</sup> h-yb-R<sup>c</sup>*, Apries), Teperet. Her lifetime was 70 years, 4 months, 15 days. The name of her mother was Mer-Ptah-Si-Hapi. It was her son who made it for her, the wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, chief of

<sup>a</sup>Unless we suppose that Apries was captured in the battle on our stela (which does not mention the fact), sojourned with Amasis four or five months, and then escaped to the Greek ships, there to be slain.

<sup>b</sup>Now in the Museum of Stockholm; published by Piehl (*Petites Etudes*, 32, and *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 28, 10); and Revillout (*Revue égyptologique*, II, 97).

the palace, prophet of Isis, master of the judgment-hall, <sup>a</sup>Ahmose (Amasis),<sup>a</sup> — Si-Neit.

1001. His mother was thus associated with, and perhaps related to, Apries, and Amasis' powerful connections thus aided him in usurping the throne. Herodotus' stories of his low birth are, therefore, unfounded.

1002. Year 3, second month of the third season (tenth month), under the majesty of King Amasis,<sup>b</sup> beloved of Khnum, lord of the Cataract, and Hathor, residing in Zeme (*D<sup>3</sup>-mw·t*), given all life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever. <sup>2</sup>. . . . .<sup>c</sup>

1003. Here follows the statement that his majesty was in the palace-hall, deliberating the affairs of the land, when one came to say to his majesty: "Apries (*H<sup>c</sup>-yb-R<sup>c</sup>*), <sup>3</sup>he has sailed southward — ships of —, while Greeks without number are coursing through the Northland — — — — —. <sup>4</sup> — —. <sup>d</sup> They are wasting all Egypt; they have reached Malachite-Field,<sup>e</sup> and those who are of thy party flee because of them."

1004. Then his majesty caused the royal companions and — to be called, and informed them of what had happened.

He addressed them with reassuring exhortations (ll. 5-7), and they replied with praise of Amasis, declaring that Apries had acted like a dog at a carcass (ll. 7-10).

<sup>a</sup>In cartouche. A libation basin in the Louvre (Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions*, I, 82; Revillout, *Revue égyptologique*, I, 51, and II, 69 ff.); Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 28, 12, enumerates his titles, before he assumed the cartouche, thus: "Prince, sole companion, chief of the palace, master of the throne —, chief of temples, master of secret things of all affairs of the king, favorite of his lord, strong in mind for his lord, chief of the royal council-halls, master of the judgment-hall, Ahmose-Si-Neit-Wahibre, born of Teperet." It is, perhaps, to his mother's connection with Wahibre-Apries that the addition "Wahibre" to his name is due. Daressy's suggestion of another woman as the mother of Amasis (*Recueil*, 22, 143, 144) is without support in the monument adduced.

<sup>b</sup>Full fivefold titulary.

<sup>c</sup>Epithets belonging to the royal name.

<sup>d</sup>Possibly: "Now he hath remembered their place in Ph-c n." Ph-c n is a part of the Andropolite nome in the western Delta, but the reading of the name is quite uncertain.

<sup>e</sup>*Sḥ·t-mjk* (sic!) is probably the same as *Pr-H·t-hr-Mjk*, near Sais and Buto; see Daressy's note, *Recueil*, XXII, 8.

Said his majesty: "Ye shall fight tomorrow! Every man (*hr-nb*) to the front!" His majesty mustered his infantry and his cavalry<sup>a</sup> — — —<sup>1</sup>. His majesty mounted <sup>11</sup>upon his chariot; he took arrows and bow in his hand, <sup>12</sup>he arrived<sup>1</sup> (*ʿspr-nʿ*) at <sup>13</sup>—, he reached Andropolis, the army jubilating and rejoicing on the road.

1005. The introduction to the battle is totally unintelligible. Then follows (l. 12):

His majesty fought like a lion, he made a slaughter among them, whose number was unknown. Numerous ships <sup>1</sup>took<sup>1</sup> (*ʿw*) them, falling into the water, whom they saw sink <sup>2</sup>as do the fish.

Amasis triumphed.

1006. <sup>14</sup>Year 3, third month of the first season (third month), day 8, <sup>15</sup>came<sup>1</sup> one to say to his majesty: "The enemy infest the ways, there are thousands there, invading the land; they cover every road. As for those who are in the ships, <sup>16</sup>they bear hatred of thee in their hearts<sup>1</sup> <sup>17</sup>without ceasing."

1007. Amasis then gave his troops instructions to scour "*every road, not letting a day pass,*" without pressing the enemy (ll. 15, 16); whereupon the army greatly rejoiced, and proceeded to their task (l. 16). The enemy's ships were taken (l. 17), and Apries was probably surprised and slain while taking his ease on one of the vessels. "*He (Amasis) saw his favorite<sup>b</sup> fallen in his — which he had made <sup>18</sup>before the water.*" Amasis had him buried as befitted a king, forgot the "*abomination of the gods,*" which he had committed, and "*he (Amasis) founded divine offerings in great multitude,*" for the mortuary observances of the fallen Apries.

<sup>a</sup>The word is uncertain; *hf nʿr* is impossible. I translate from the determinative. The Greeks must have had horsemen at this time.

<sup>b</sup>*Mh-ybʿj*, lit., "*one filling his heart,*" common term for the favorite or friend of a king.

SERAPEUM STELA<sup>a</sup>

**1008.** As this stela records the life of an Apis, the duration of which fell entirely in Amasis' reign, it furnishes no data as to the exact length of his reign.

*Date*

**1009.** <sup>1</sup>Year 23, first month of the third season (ninth month), day 15, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khnemibre (Amasis), given life forever.

*Burial of Apis*

**1010.** <sup>2</sup>The god was conducted in peace to the Beautiful West, to let him assume his place in the necropolis, <sup>3</sup>in the place which his majesty made for him, the like of which never was made before; after <sup>4</sup>there had been done for him all that is done in the pure house.<sup>b</sup>

*Mortuary Equipment*

**1011.** Lo, his majesty had in his remembrance how <sup>5</sup>Horus did for his father, Osiris, and he made a great sarcophagus<sup>c</sup> of granite. Behold, his majesty <sup>6</sup>found it good to make it of costly stone [—] all kings of all times. <sup>7</sup>He made a shroud of mysterious linen of Resenet and Mehenet,<sup>d</sup> to attach <sup>8</sup>to him his amulets, and all his ornaments of gold, and every splendid, costly stone. They were more beautiful than <sup>9</sup>what was done before,<sup>e</sup> for his majesty loved Apis, the Living Son, more than any (other) king.

*Life of Apis*

**1012.** <sup>10</sup>The majesty of this god went forth to heaven in the year 23, third month of the second season (seventh month), day 6. He was

<sup>a</sup>Louvre, No. 192, published by Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, XX, H (good translation, 23, 24); Chassinat, *Recueil*, 22, 20. I had also my own copy of the original.

<sup>b</sup>The place of embalmment.

<sup>c</sup>This sarcophagus is still in the Serapeum (Brugsch, *Geschichte*, 743, 744). Inscription upon it (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 966, 967): "Amasis; he made (it) as his monument for Apis, the living son (even) a great sarcophagus of granite because his majesty found it good to make it of costly stone (c>t)." The last part is verbatim the same as on the stela above.

<sup>d</sup>The two parts of the sacred district of Sais; see Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, 24, note 2.

<sup>e</sup>By earlier kings.

born in the year 5, <sup>11</sup>first month of the first season (first month), day 7. He was installed in the house of Ptah in the second month of the third season (tenth month), day 18. <sup>12</sup>The beautiful lifetime of this god was 18 years, 1 month, 6 days.

Ahmose (II)-Sineit, given satisfying life forever, made (it) for him.

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#### STATUE INSCRIPTION OF THE GENERAL AHMOSE<sup>a</sup>

**1013.** The titles and epitheta borne by this officer are the only contemporary evidence for the foreign campaigns of the latter part of the Saitic age. Ahmose's "*beautiful name*" shows that he was born under Psamtik II. He could hardly have become a general, therefore, before the reign of Ahmose II, under whom his duties in Nubia doubtless fell. His titles in the inscription are as follows:

**1014.** Commander of the army, Ahmose, whose beautiful name is Neferibre-nakht.

King's -messenger, fighting for his lord's sake in every country, doing what his majesty desires in Nubia (*T<sup>3</sup>-p<sup>d</sup>·t*), governor of the two doors<sup>b</sup> in the northern countries, prophet of Soped, lord of the East, Ahmose, etc. (as above).

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#### STATUE INSCRIPTION OF PEFNEFDINEIT<sup>c</sup>

**1015.** The monuments left by this noble disclose the interesting fact that he was Apries' "*chief physician*," and a prominent member of the treasury administration who was among those won over to the cause of Amasis. He held the

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<sup>a</sup>Found near Zagazig, now in Cairo; published by Daressy, *Recueil*, XX, 77.

<sup>b</sup>Two forts on the Asiatic frontier in the eastern Delta, as is shown by the man's priesthood of Soped, a god of that region.

<sup>c</sup>Louvre, A 93; published by Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions du Louvre*, II, 39 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1252-54 (incomplete); from these two by Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 32, 118-22; collation of last by Baillet, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1895, 127 ff. (a number of glaring errors); I had also my own copy of the original.

same offices under the latter, becoming, likewise, his "*chief physician*."<sup>a</sup> The Louvre statue was erected in Abydos, and bears an inscription narrating Pefnefdineit's notable achievements in support of Osiris and his temple. He claims the consideration of the god and his priesthood, because he constantly presented the needs of Abydos to King Amasis and secured wealth and buildings for the Abydos temple. Some of this work he personally superintended at Abydos, and he participated in the presentation of the Osirian drama there. His incessant activity for the cult of Osiris, although he was not a member of the royal family, is a striking example of the excessive religious zeal of the age, pictured so graphically by Herodotus.

1016. One of his achievements on behalf of Osiris is striking. A descendant of the ancient Thinite family, whose counts we still find in the Eighteenth Dynasty, was dispossessed of his income from the Great Oasis and from the local ferry, and Pefnefdineit had these revenues diverted to the treasury of Osiris. The income from the oasis was then devoted to meet the funeral expenses of the people of Abydos.

*Titles of Pefnefdineit*

1017. "The hereditary prince, count, sole companion, chief of the palace (*hrp-c h-c*), chief physician, overseer of the gold-treasury, great one of the hall, great revered one in the king's-house, chief steward. Pefnefdineit, begotten of the chief of strongholds, local governor of Dep, prophet of Horus of Pe, Sisebek, says:

*Mortuary Prayer*

1018. "O every priest (*w-c b*), who shall perform divine offices; the First of the Westerners (Osiris) shall favor you, as ye recite for me

<sup>a</sup>Pefnefdineit erected another statue in the temple at Heliopolis which bears record of his rank under Apries. Now in British Museum: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, I, 111 = Pichl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 31, 88-91. An offering-tablet of his is also in the Mosque of Bibars, Cairo (Wiedemann, *Recueil*, VIII, 64; Pichl from W., *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 31, 87 f.).



the prayer for mortuary offerings, with prostrations to the First of the Westerners; so shall ye behold the glories before your god; because I was more honored by the majesty <sup>2</sup>of my lord than any noble of his. I was one distinguished by reason of what he had done, an excellent craftsman, establishing his house.”

*Attention to Abydos*

**1019.** “I transmitted the affairs of Abydos to the palace, that his majesty might hear (them). His majesty commanded that I do the work in Abydos, in order that Abydos might be furnished. I did greatly in improving Abydos, I put all the things of Abydos in order; (whether) sleeping (or) waking, seeking the good of Abydos therewith. <sup>3</sup>I besought favor from my lord every day, in order that Abydos might be furnished.”

*Temple and Equipment*

**1020.** “I built the temple of the First of the Westerners in excellent and eternal work, as was commanded me from his majesty. He saw the prosperity in the affairs of the Abydos nome. I surrounded it with walls of brick, and the necropolis with granite, an august shrine<sup>a</sup> of electrum, the adornments<sup>a</sup> and the divine [amulets]<sup>1</sup>, all the tables<sup>a</sup> of the divine offerings (*yh't-ntr*) were of <sup>4</sup>gold, silver, and every costly stone. I built *W'pg*, I set up its altars (<sup>c</sup>*h*), I dug its lake, planted with trees.”

*Temple Income*

**1021.** “I provisioned the temple of the First of the Westerners, increasing that which came in to him, established as daily income. His magazine was settled with male and female slaves. I gave to him 1,000 stat of lands, of the fields of the Abydos nome; equipped with people and all small cattle; its name was made: ‘Establishment (*grg't*)-of-Osiris,’ <sup>5</sup>in order that the divine offerings might be furnished from it throughout eternity. I renewed for him the divine offerings more plentifully than what was formerly there. I made for him arbors,<sup>b</sup> planted with all date<sup>c</sup> trees, and vineyards (with) people therein of

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<sup>a</sup>These nouns are enumerated as if in a list, without any verb of which they are the objects.

<sup>b</sup>*c't nt ht*; the same phrase occurs twice in Papyrus Harris (see §§ 194 and 264).

<sup>c</sup>Or: “sweet trees.”

foreign countries, <sup>6</sup>brought as living captives, yielding 30 hin of wine therefrom every day upon the altar of the First of the Westerners; and offerings shall be brought thence throughout eternity.”

*Temple Archives*

**1022.** “I restored the house of sacred writings when ruined; I recorded the offerings <sup>7</sup>of Osiris, I put in order all his contracts.”

*Osiris Drama*

**1023.** “I hewed from cedar (<sup>c</sup>š) the sacred barge<sup>a</sup> which I found (made) of acacia. I repelled the chief of the devastators<sup>b</sup> from Abydos, I defended Abydos <sup>8</sup>for its lord, I protected all its people.”

*Confiscation of Count's Property*

**1024.** “I gave to the temple the things that issued from the desert (<sup>h</sup> > š · t)<sup>c</sup> of Abydos, which I found in the possession of the count, in order that <sup>9</sup>the people of Abydos might be buried. I gave to the temple the ferry-boat of Abydos which I took from the count; (for) Osiris desired that his city should be equipped. <sup>10</sup>His majesty praised me because of what I had done.”

*Prayer for King*

**1025.** “May he<sup>d</sup> grant life to his son, Ahmose (Amasis)-Sineit; may he grant favor before his majesty and honor before <sup>11</sup>the great god. O priest, praise the god for me; O every one coming forth, praise <sup>12</sup>ye<sup>1</sup> in the temple. Speak my name, the <sup>12</sup>chief steward, Pefnefdineit, born of Nenesbast <sup>13</sup>[(N c]-nš-B > s · t)<sup>e</sup>. . . . .”

<sup>a</sup>This temple barge was used in the Osiris drama; compare II, 183.

<sup>b</sup>In the dramatic enactment of the incidents of the Osiris myth.

<sup>c</sup>These can only be the income from the Great Oasis, which from the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty had belonged to the counts of Abydos (II, 763). This income then seems to have been devoted to paying the expenses of burying the people of Abydos.

<sup>d</sup>Osiris.

<sup>e</sup>Restored from the other monuments of this man (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 31, 87, 88).

MORTUARY STELÆ OF THE PRIEST PSAMTIK<sup>a</sup>

1026. The historical value of these stelæ consists solely in the chronological data which they furnish. From these data it is possible to establish the exact length of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and also the length of the reign of Apries, otherwise uncertain. The calculation is as follows:

Psamtik was sixty-five years, ten months, and two days old at his death in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Amasis, on the twenty-eighth day of the eighth month. He was, therefore, born thirty-nine years, two months, and four days before the accession of Amasis. Now, the date of his birth is given as the first day of the eleventh month in year 1 of Necho; hence, Necho's accession was exactly forty<sup>b</sup> years before that of Amasis. The length of the dynasty is, then, the total of the following items:

Psamtik I		54 years
Necho	}	
Psamtik II		40 "
Apries		
Amasis		44 "
		138 "
Total		

<sup>a</sup>Small stelæ in Leyden (V, 18 and 19), written with ink and rapidly becoming illegible; published by Piehl, (*Inscriptions*, III, XXVIII, G and H). I had also my own copy of the original which I collated with an old manuscript copy of Leemans, made while the stelæ were more legible than at present.

<sup>b</sup>The computation is as follows:

Lifetime,	65-10- 2	
Date of death,	26- 7-28	
	39- 2- 4	
From birth to accession of Amasis,	10- 1	Date of birth in reign of Necho.
	40- 0- 5	

The five days are, of course, the five epagomenæ.

As the fall of the dynasty occurred in 525 B. C., its accession took place in (525 + 138) 663 B. C.

1027. The length of the reign of Apries may also be determined from the same data, thus: the total of all the other reigns in the dynasty is as follows:

Psamtik I		54 years
Necho	}	21 “
Psamtik II		
(Apries omitted)		—
Amasis		44 “
		119 “
Total		

This total deducted from the 138 years' duration of the dynasty leaves nineteen years for the reign of Apries.<sup>a</sup> From the Elephantine Stela of Amasis we know that Apries lived over two years (i. e., into the third year) after the accession of Amasis, but these two years fall within the reign of the latter, and are not included in the nineteen years of Apries' sole reign. The text is as follows:

1028. Year 1, third month of the third season, day 1, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Uhemibre (*Wḥm-yb-R*), Son of Re, Necho (*N-kʿw*).

1029. On this good day was born the divine father, Psamtik, begotten of Ahuben (*Y<sup>c</sup> ḥ-wbn*), born of Enkhetesi (*<sup>c</sup> nḥts*). His good life was 65 years, 10 months, 2 days. Year 27, fourth month of the second season, day 28, was his day of departure from life. He was introduced into the Good House,<sup>b</sup> and he spent 42<sup>c</sup> days under the

<sup>a</sup>A stela in Berlin (No. 15393) is dated in the seventeenth year of Apries.

<sup>b</sup>This was the place of the embalmers, where he spent 42 days in process of embalment, as is evident from the following context, Anubis being the embalmer. For a clear narrative of such mortuary proceedings, see the Miramar stela (Bergmann, *Hieroglyphische Inschriften*, VI, l. 10).

<sup>c</sup>Leemanns read 42; I could see only 30 and a stroke, with room between for another 10, and at the end for several strokes (units). Piehl read 30+x. The duplicate has clearly 42; but see next note.

hand of Anubis, lord of Tazoser. He was conducted in peace to the Beautiful West in the first month of the third season (ninth month), day 1—1;<sup>a</sup> and his life in the necropolis is forever and ever.

---

<sup>a</sup>Merely the day-sign with no numeral. On the duplicate I could not read the numeral; Leemanns gives 2, and Piehl read 1. None of these numerals fits the case; 42 days after his death would bring the burial on the tenth of the tenth month. As our texts both give ninth month, the 42 is evidently an error. It cannot be more than 32.

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# ANCIENT RECORDS OF EGYPT

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# ANCIENT RECORDS OF EGYPT

## HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PERSIAN CONQUEST, COLLECTED  
EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH COMMENTARY

BY

JAMES HENRY BREASTED, PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF EGYPTOLOGY AND ORIENTAL HISTORY  
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

VOLUME V  
INDICES

  
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## PREFACE TO VOLUME V

These indices are the work of my friend and former pupil, Dr. O. A. Toffteen. I would take occasion to express to him here my thanks and appreciation for the labor and care which he has expended upon them. While the author has constantly supervised the compilation, yet the work has been that of Dr. Toffteen, and he is fully responsible for it. It should be said in justice to him, as well as perhaps to the author also, that the latter's return to the Orient for another season left the compiler only a little over two months in which to complete his heavy task. He was obliged to work more hours a day and with more speed than was his desire, but I am sure that the usefulness of his work, and the persistent industry with which he has compiled his lists, will deserve lenient judgment, should any occasional errors in numbers be found. I hope also that the necessity for the separate publication of such exhaustive indices in a volume by themselves will be evident to any who may have expected to find them included in Volume IV. Aside from the fact that it would have rendered that volume (already far the largest of the set) much too bulky, it was thought highly desirable to give such a cyclopædia of the subject separate existence as a volume, rather than to absorb it in Volume IV, where it would be constantly lost to use, whenever anyone might be using Volume IV for some other purpose. Likewise if bound up with Volume IV, the employment of the indices by a reader would also have involved the needless use of Volume IV with them. The compilation of the index has disclosed an occasional inconsistency in rendering, and in a few cases also in the orthography of proper names, in view of which the author would only recall the long period of

time and the numerous modifications involved in the slow progress of such a work as this.

In view of some remarks in one of the first reviews which have appeared, it should be stated that it was necessary to close the manuscript of these Records to any additions on October 1, 1904. Any works or texts which appeared after that date could not be included. An advance proof kindly sent me by Eduard Meyer enabled me to employ his invaluable *Chronologie* in revising the chronology in Volume I; and wherever possible I endeavored to insert in the proof important facts appearing in new books and current journals. But I could take up no new texts. The omission of Abydos texts, mentioned by Foucart (*Journal des Savants*, June, 1906, p. 336), was intentional, as no translatable document of importance is in Abydos, Volume I, the only volume out when my manuscript was handed in. Among these the inscription of "Nakhiti," which Foucart says I have overlooked, is in our own Haskell Museum, where it was received not long after its discovery. I was therefore not very likely to overlook it.

As I have stated in the general preface, circumstances beyond my control obliged me to read the proofs of these volumes, as well as those of my *History of Egypt*, between April and September, 1905, a period in which fell also the preparations for the expedition to Egypt under the auspices of the Oriental Exploration Fund, University of Chicago. There are therefore doubtless more typographical errors and corrigenda than I could wish. I have already noticed the following:

Vol. I, §§ 178-80. Please read in the following order: 180, 178, 179. The unpublished and also almost unreadable base-inscription should be mentioned here (see Maspero, *Les Origines*, p. 364, note 8).

Vol. I, § 182. The verb after "Ptah" is doubtless part of the name, so that the *ny* is dative and not the *n*-form. We should then render, "Ptahyutnai (*Pth-ywt-ny*), who made this for him, etc."

Vol. I, § 185. For "field judge who," read "field judge, Kemethnet (*Km̄nt*), who."

Vol. I, § 199. After "Upper," insert "Oleander."

Vol. I, § 538. For "count of Siut," read "official of Siut."

Vol. I, § 685. For "Nebkure," read "Nubkure."

Vol. I, before § 707, at top of p. 313. Insert as a title, "REIGN OF AMENEMHET III."

Vol. I, pp. 314, 316, 318, 320, 322, 324, 326, in running-title at the top of the page for "SESOSTRIS III," read "AMENEMHET III."

Vol. II, § 657. For "by the hair the Kode-folk," read "among the Curly-Haired," as in Vol. II, § 71.

Vol. II, p. 305, note a. For "has," read "have."

Vol. II, § 854. For "Ibbet," read "Ibhet."

Vol. III, § 309. For " $K^{\text{r}} \text{r}^{\text{r}} \text{ky-k}^{\text{s}}$ " read " $K^{\text{r}} \text{r}^{\text{r}} \text{ky-}^{\text{s}}$ ."

Vol. III, § 498. For " $H^{\text{r}}$ ," read " $H^{\text{r}} m$ ." This change is due to a collation of the original at Abu Simbel.

Vol. IV, § 240. For " $s^{\text{r}} mw$ ," read " $s^{\text{c}} mw$ ."

Vol. IV, § 455. For " $^{\text{r}}-ry-m$ ," read " $^{\text{r}}-r-ry-m$ ."

Vol. IV, § 493. For " $Njr-k^{\text{c}}-R^{\text{c}}$ ," read " $Njr-k^{\text{r}}-R^{\text{c}}$ ."

Vol. IV, § 815. For "Zeamamefonekh," read "Zeamonefonekh."

Vol. IV, § 853. For " $htm$ ," read " $h̄tm$ ."

Vol. IV, § 874. For " $Hnt-Hty$ ," read " $H̄nt-Hty$ ."

Vol. IV, § 918. For " $N^{\text{r}} \text{c}^{\text{r}} \text{pys-nht. t}$ ," read " $N^{\text{r}} \text{c}^{\text{r}} \text{t}^{\text{r}} \text{ys-nht. t}$ ."

Vol. IV, § 921. For " $B^{\text{r}} \text{-k}^{\text{r}} \text{-R}^{\text{r}}$ ," read " $B^{\text{r}} \text{-k}^{\text{r}} \text{-R}^{\text{c}}$ ."

Vol. IV, § 1028. For " $whm$ ," read " $w̄hm$ ."

I would also note that the inscription recording a campaign in Syria, supposed to belong to Thutmose II (Vol. II, § 125), has been shown by Sethe's examination of the original probably to belong to Thutmose I. Hence Naville was right

in attributing the monument to the last-mentioned king (*Deir-el-Bahari*, Vol. III, p. 17). This makes the reign of Thutmose II still more ephemeral and unimportant.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED.

HASKELL ORIENTAL MUSEUM,  
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,  
September 1, 1906.

## LIST OF INDICES AND HINTS FOR USE

		PAGE
INDEX	I. DIVINE NAMES . . . . .	3
INDEX	II. TEMPLES . . . . .	13
INDEX	III. KINGS OF EGYPT . . . . .	23
INDEX	IV. PERSONS . . . . .	35
INDEX	V. TITLES, OFFICES, AND RANKS . . . . .	51
INDEX	VI. GEOGRAPHICAL . . . . .	71
INDEX	VII. MISCELLANEOUS . . . . .	105
INDEX	VIII. EGYPTIAN . . . . .	173
INDEX	IX. HEBREW . . . . .	197
INDEX	X. ARABIC . . . . .	199
INDEX	XI. LEPSIUS' DENKMÄLER AND TEXT . . . . .	201

The temples (Index II) will be found supplementary to the geography in Index VI. Inscriptions, however, are not placed under temples. The inscriptions of all sites will be found in the geographical index (VI). In compiling the list of temples it was found difficult to distinguish between the different temples in a given city, when such temples have perished, as, for example, at Memphis and Heliopolis. The differentiations made are probably not always correct. The index of Pharaohs includes also such *queens* as actually ruled; otherwise the queens will be found in Index IV. The documents, monuments, wars, etc., of the Pharaohs will be found under the numbered name, not under the throne-name. Thus, look for Thutmose III under Thutmose III, not under Menkheperre; the references to the latter name will be found appended to those of the former.

The historical development of terms should not be forgotten in using these lists. "Count," "mayor," and "prince" are all renderings of the same Egyptian term at different periods. In the same way, different connection often demands a different rendering of the same title; thus, "chief," "overseer," "master," and "governor" may be rendered from the same Egyptian title. Such a series is also "lord," "nomarch," and "ruler."

## INDICES



# INDEX I

## DIVINE NAMES

### A

- ALL-LORD**, I 478; II 53, 314, 343, 812, 815; III 265, 281, 613; IV 47, 66, 356, 382; great house of, IV 8; city of, II 316; throne of, see Index VII; eye of, II 316, 815; applied to Re-Atum, IV 249.
- AMON**, II 98, 101, 120, 149, 153, 154 *ter*, 157, 162, 163, 165, 192, 193, 194, 195, 199, 205, 208, 209, 211, 216, 228, 244, 275, 283, 285, 294, 302, 310, 311, 314, 315, 328, 329, 332, 339, 374, 377, 383, 389, 402, 430, 431, 439, 451, 452, 455, 457, 549, 556, 557, 558, 559, 596, 608, 617, 620, 627, 628, 646, 784, 790, 791, 805, 827, 835, 836, 838, 856; III 27, 28, 34, 43, 71, 72, 82, 111, 134, 138, 155, 164, 165, 172, 177, 179, 195, 198, 204, 210, 224, 237, 261, 371, 386, 452, 455, 471, 498, 535, 560 n. b, 566, 575, 580, 615, 622, 623, 626, 642; IV 7, 13, 17, 40, 47, 50, 51, 54, 55, 71, 72, 78, 80, 82, 88, 92, 96, 103, 110, 122, 123, 125, 126, 127, 411, 412, 468, 497, 586, 591, 634, 661, 663, 688, 700, 702, 704, 705, 724, 743, 822, 836, 851, 855, 856, 868, 887, 888, 893, 925, 926, 943, 945, 958C, 958D, J, 988H; lord of eternity, IV 124; lord of heaven, IV 943, 945; king of gods, II 412, 891; III 30, 72; IV 483, 498, 945; lord of gods, II 253, 351, 645, 881; III 215, 515, 625, 626; ruler of gods, IV 943; lord of Karnak, II 149, 150, 377, 378, 423; presider over Karnak, II 200, 203, 253, 271, 282, 315, 402, 568, 569; lord of Thebes, II 44, 45, 87, 120, 121, 158, 164, 166, 197, 224, 253, 268, 271, 272, 274, 276, 280, 282, 309, 313, 315, 319, 339, 427, 568, 624, 639, 790, 792, 797, 831, 881, 882, 883, 886, 925, 930; III 76, 158, 455, 461; IV 52, 126, 913; ruler of Thebes, IV 246; lord of the Two Lands, II 198; bull of his mother, IV 426; fashioner of all that exists, II 149; fashioner of kings and queens, II 199; thunders in heaven, IV 578; equips all lands, IV 579; owns all ships, IV 580; acting as judge, IV 650-58, 672-73, 676; successor of Re, II 189; physical father of king, II 189; crowning kings, II 228-29; shield of bowmen, III, 581; in oaths, II 121, 318, 422, 452; IV 862; worshiped in Zahi, IV 219; in Nubia, IV 218; in Napata, IV 921, 924, 929, 932; in the city of Wa—, of Northern Syria, II 458; in Byblos, IV 580; Egypt, kingdom of, II 910; throne of, see Index VII; staff of, II 71; statues of, IV 190, 217, 219, 220, 245; Amon-of-the-Way, an image of Amon, IV 569, 586; erasure of name of, see Index VII: Erasure; extermination of cult of, II 306; Booty presented to, IV 126, 128; see also Index VII: Booty, Spoil, Plunder; prisoners presented to, I 13; see also Index VII: Captives, Prisoners, Slaves; associate gods of, III 82; see also Amon-Re, Amon-Re-Iny, Amon-rasonther, Amon-Kamephis, Amon-Atum, Ir-Amon; western voyage of, II 885, 888; Feasts of, see Index VII: Feasts; Amenhotep, festival leader of, II 912; oasis of, II 189; Estate of, see Index II: Karnak, temple of Amon; Temples of, see Index II: Karnak, Luxor, Medinet Habu, Western Thebes, Mewetkhent, Napata, Sebta, Kanekeme, Tanis, Zahi. For other references to Amon, see Amon-Re and Index II: Temple of Amon at Karnak.
- AMON-ATUM**, II 853; III 261.
- AMON-KAMEPHIS**, II 225 n. b; IV 63.
- AMONRASONTHER**, III 555 n. e.
- AMON-RE**, II 88, 127, 142, 157, 305, 328, 338, 365, 384, 402 n. c, 418, 460, 601, 606, 662, 791, 792, 834, 904; III 27, 77, 137, 195, 206, 504, 512, 515, 517, 520, 556 n. a, 583, 597, 600, 621, 648; IV 7, 10, 14, 33, 42, 44, 56, 71, 75, 77, 90, 103, 104, 108, 137, 411; IV 726, 751; king of gods, II 73, 310, 370, 389, 638, 844, 878, 885, 926; III 223, 479, 504, 517; IV 4, 10, 15, 16, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 49, 52, 57, 58, 80, 105, 110, 128, 143, 183, 184, 185, 186, 222, 225, 230, 236, 383, 384, 424,

- 463, 477, 489, 491, 494, 495, 496, 497, 510, 511, 522, 523, 528, 531, 534, 539, 541, 563, 564, 566, 580, 586, 593, 594, 609, 610, 611, 615, 616, 617, 622, 626, 632, 633, 634, 635, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 647, 652, 653, 654, 659, 660, 665, 668, 671, 672, 673, 677, 698, 705, 706, 707, 708, 721, 736, 740, 762, 770, 777, 795, 988H; lord of gods, II 256; IV 401; the begetter, II 288; the self-begetter, IV 186, 653; 654, 671, 722; lord of life and health IV 580; Hatshepsut, daughter of, II 225, 314; divine offerings for, II 159; see also Index VII: Offerings, and IV 160 ff.; presider over Karnak, II 196, 281, 568, 905; III 150, 285, 519; IV 740, 880, 988D; lord of Thebes, I 484; II 159, 196, 225, 265, 278, 281, 425, 439, 568, 573, 603, 606, 614, 627, 630, 646, 654, 656, 797, 886, 888, 889, 890, 896, 905; III 82, 105, 110, 116, 119, 136, 150, 152, 156, 215, 216, 217, 219, 223, 256, 285, 290, 433, 436, 453, 503, 510, 512, 517, 519, 522; IV 15, 126, 130, 184, 458, 652, 653, 704, 706, 722, 740, 854, 886, 889, 900, 924, 926, 931, 988D; lord of the lands, IV 566; lord of the highlands and mountains, IV 458; residing in Nubia, IV 900; lord of "Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands," IV 369; temple of, in the backlands of Fayûm, IV 369; lord of Yered, IV 368; lord of heaven, II 219, 253, 278, 312, 325, 934; III 517; IV 78, 80, 128, 184; lord of earth, II 253. For further references, see Amon.
- AMON-RE-HARAKHTE**, III 370.
- AMON-RE-HARAKHTE-ATUM**: lord of the two lands of Heliopolis, III 371.
- AMON-RE-INY**: ruler of Thebes, IV 12.
- AMON-RE-OSIRIS**, III 206.
- ANATH**, III 84, 467; IV 105.
- ANTHERET**: Hittite divinity, III 386.
- ANUBIS**, II 192 n. c, 212; lord of the 'cave', I 394; lord of Rosta, III 17; lord of designs in Neru, IV 296; lord of Rekreret, I 540; lord of Sep, IV 368; lord of Tazoser, IV 1029; souls of, I 403; feast of, see Index VII: Feasts, "birth of Anubis;" temples of, see Index II: Neru, Rekreret (in Siut), Sep, Rosta.
- ANUKET**: mistress of Elephantine, IV 991; gifts to, I 500; temple of Satet, Anuket, and Khnum, built by Sesostris I, I 500; giving symbol of life to Sesostris III, I 643; mistress of Nubia, I 644; II 794 n. a; "feast of Nubia" of, II 798; voyage of, II 798.
- APIS**, IV 960; the Living Son, IV 1011; son of Ptah, IV 309, 781, 791; son of First of Westerners, IV 780; son of Osiris, IV 976, 986; sacred cattle of, IV 332; feast of, see Index VII: Feasts, "Running-of-the-Apis;" temple of, the Serapeum in Memphis, see Index II; burial of, in the Serapeum, I 22; IV 771, 778, 780, 786, 791, 884, 917, 918, 961, 977, 986, 1010. See also Osiris-Apis.
- ASTARTE**, IV 105.
- ATON**, I 66 n. c; II 946, 959, 960, 961, 972, 983, 984, 985, 987, 988, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 999, 1000, 1001, 1002, 1003, 1006, 1007, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1015; III 19, 72, 144, 270, 281; IV 62; lord of lords, II 1007; lord of radiance, II 1011; ruler of the Two Lands, II 1007; attributes of, II 991, 992; displacing the name of god, II 987; cult of, introduced by Ikhnaton, II 932; faith of, II 932, 943, 949, 979; hymns of, II 979, 984, 991, 992, 999-1001, 1007, 1010-11; landmarks of, II 960; oblation to, II 952, 958; temples of, see Index II: Akhetaton, Heliopolis, Thebes.
- ATUM** (original sun-god of Heliopolis), I 625; II 91, 192 n. c, 226, 228, 299, 318, 412, 630, 907; III 246, 265, 270, 278, 281, 597; IV 31, 38, 42, 56, 57, 62, 94, 130, 182, 252, 254, 382, 401, 704, 817, 869, 872, 921; going down in the west, II 318; Heliopolis, city of, III 576; lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, I 500; II 221, 224, 635, 643, 896; III 159, 245, 288, 548, 600; IV 183, 247, 248, 249, 280, 284, 289, 383; of Khereha, IV 869; great house of heaven of, IV 357; throne of, see Index VII; earthly reign of, II 91; begetter of Pharaoh, II 91; succeeded by Re, II 222; the old man, IV 972; kings crowned by, II 221, 222, 226, 227; gifts to, I 500; temple built to, in Heliopolis by Sesostris I, I 503; lord of the great house, I 504; bull of the gods, I 504; ancient writings of, I 756; mountain of, II 917.
- ATUM-HARMAKHIS**: statue for (=the Sphinx), II 815.

- ATUM-KHEPRI:** lord of Heliopolis, IV 732, 872; chapel of, in the temple at Heliopolis, IV 732.
- ATUM-RE-HARAKHTE,** IV 183, 248, 249, 280, 284, 289, 383.
- B**
- BAAL,** III 86, 122, 144, 312, 326, 338, 463; IV 46, 49, 62, 72, 75, 77, 80, 96, 104, 106, 246; servant of, III 630.
- BAST,** IV 463; mistress of Bubastis, IV 734; mother of, I 485; mistress of Berset, IV 369; of the South, I 396 n. c; protecting the land, I 747; in Heracleopolis, IV 973; feast of, IV 973; residing in Thebes, IV 912; image of, IV 912; foes of, II 792.
- BES,** II 206.
- BULL, THE WHITE:** endowment of, I 159.
- BUTO,** II 223; III 28; IV 62; white crown beloved by, II 235; endowment of, I 156, 159; mistress of Dep, I 500; II 224; mistress of Perneser, I 159; of the South, I 167; mistress of Pe, I 500.
- BUTO-UPET-TOWE:** ritual priest of, III 542.
- C**
- CITY-GOD:** loves the ruler, I 403, 404; leads him, I 404.
- D**
- DEDUN,** II 173, 279, 646; temple at Semneh, dedicated to, II 167, 170; presider over Nubia, II 170, 171, 176.
- E**
- EIGHT GODS, THE,** II 302; IV 848; temple of, in Hermopolis, IV 848.
- ENNEAD, THE DIVINE,** I 160; II 360; III 612; IV 382, 399; of Abydos, I 764; III 232, 486, 525; of Elephantine, IV 992; of Heliopolis, III 16, 545, 547; IV 250, 261, 262, 265, 269, 304, 869; of Memphis, IV 309, 322; of temple at Redisiyeh, III 173, 190, 195; of Thebes, II 71, 308, 635, 812, 832, 907, 909; III 27, 29, 32, 206, 215, 218, 256, 281, 285, 510, 533; IV 9, 13, 128, 624, 768; of the Senut-house, I 165; the great, II 285; of Pakht, II 301.
- ESWERE,** IV 484.
- ESYE** (deity of wisdom), I 504, 747; II 316 n. a.
- F**
- FIRST OF WESTERNERS:** see Osiris.
- G**
- GODDESS,** IV 599; of South and North, IV 352, 363, 364, 383, 470, 731; acting as midwives, II 206.
- GODS,** II 118, 149; of Thebes, II 73, 224; of the South, II 828; of the South and North, II 217, 219, 224, 800, 812; IV 183, 335, 352, 353, 363, 364, 383, 470, 731; of the deeps, IV 330; oblations for, IV 330; fragrance of, II 196; odor of, II 196; council of, II 192; of birth, II 206 n. f; city, II, 53; dancing dwarf of, I 351; sent to a foreign land, III 440-47; desecrated by the Syrian usurper, IV 398; magic powers of, IV 455; forbidding practice of magic by men, IV 455; of wax, for magical purposes, IV 454; "Amon-of-the-Way," an image of Amon, IV 569, 586; see also Index V: Beloved of god, Daughter of god, Mistress of god.
- "**GREAT-ONE-OF-THE-GARDEN,**" a goddess, IV 914; image of, IV 914; temples of, IV 914.
- H**
- HAPI,** I 500; III 289; great in Niles, IV 887; temple of, at Heliopolis, IV 273; see also Index VI: Per-Hapi, and the Nile-god.
- HARAKHTE,** II 139, 425, 562, 633, 701, 792, 812, 915; III 159, 179, 237, 288, 370, 496, 499, 542, 546, 556 n. a, 560, n. a, 599, 600; IV 38, 463, 477, 510, 702, 703; lord of heaven, III 3; IV 247; great god, III 3; IV 247; lord of earth, III 3; sun of darkness, III 3; only god, III 18; king of the gods, III 18; king, the image of, III 30; lord of Nubia, III 499; worshiped in Amada, II 791; stela for, I 501; worshiped in the city of Wa—, of Northern Syria, II 458; throne of, see Index VII; temple of, in Karnak, II 935; IV 706, 708.
- HARENDOTES** (Horus, protector of his father, *Hr-nd-yt-f*), II 95; IV 484;

- in the temple of Min at Panopolis, II 181.
- HARKEPTI**: prophet of, I 533.
- HARKHENTIKHET**: lord of Athribis, IV 360, 369; lord of Kemwer, IV 875.
- HARMAKHIS**, II 811, 814.
- HARMAKHIS-KHEPRI-RE-ATUM**, II 815.
- HARSAPHES**: lord of Heracleopolis, I 675; divine fathers of, IV 787, 792; lord of Heliopolis, IV 733; chapel of, IV 733.
- HARSEKHA**, III 404.
- HARSIESE**, II 192 n. c; III 24, 32; IV 458, 463, 464; "house of Osiris and Harsiese" (=the temple of Osiris at Abydos), IV 357.
- HARVEST-GOD**, I 483.
- HARVEST-GODDESS**, III 265.
- HATHOR**, II 192 n. c, 208, 209, 226, 337; III 19, 210; blade of, IV 784; cow-headed, II 210; cows of, II 210; daughter of Ptah, IV 331; residing in the South of Memphis, IV 331; mistress of Cusæ, I 500; temple of, II 300; of Diospolis Parva, prophet of, IV 726; (of Heliopolis), mistress of Hotep, II 1042; IV 247; mistress of Hotep-em-Hotep, IV 733; chapel of, IV 733; of the house of Atum, III 400; mistress of the Malachite country, I 715, 720, 722, 723, 725, 738, 750; II 450 n. a; IV 409, 784; temple of (in Buto?), IV 784, 956; endowment of, IV 784; mistress of Nun, I 178; mistress of Dendera, I 423H, 500; mistress of heaven, I 738; mistress of Punt, II 252, 255, 288; mistress of Myrrh, II 295; mistress of Royenet, I 216 bis; mistress of the Sycamore; I 165; mistress of Imu, I 351; sovereign of Thebes, II 357; patroness of Thebes, II 224; procession of, II 357; mistress of the valley, IV 913; image of, IV 913; temple of (in Tanis?), IV 956; residing in Zeme, IV 1002; shrines of, in the sun-temple, Sekhet-Re, I 159; in Ro-she, I 159; shrines of, in the pyramid temple: "The-Soul-of-Sahure-Shrines," I 159; endowment of, I 156, 159, 165; IV 784; mine-chambers at Sinai made for, I 723; priests of, I 216, 217; prophethess of, IV 792; temple of, at Aphroditopolis, IV 366.
- HAWK**, II 115.
- HEKET**, II 205, 302; goddess of birth, II 206 n. f; frog-headed, II 202; mistress of Hirur, II 205 n. a; white one of Nekhen, II 205 n. a; the deliverer, II 205 n. a.
- HEKU**: an obscure divinity, II 210.
- HERERET**, I 396 n. c.
- HIGHLAND GODDESS**: mistress of the Red Mountain, I 493.
- "**HIM-OF-THE-HORIZON**," II 314.
- HORIZON-GOD** (*Y > hutu*), II 141, 325; III 144, 515; IV 331.
- HORUS**, I 605; II 70 bis, 73 bis, 120, 138, 143, 220, 279, 318, 430; III 28, 173, 194, 229, 259, 266, 270, 497, 590; IV 17, 47, 304, 720, 1011; son of Isis, II 808; III 236, 272; IV 351; the Mighty Bull, IV 351; who has numbered his limbs, I 502; receiving life from Osiris, I 744; beloved of Mat, IV 351; lord of joy, III 136; on the royal standard, II 143; in the gold sign, II 145 bis; throne of, see Index VII; hawk, symbol of, III 285; lord of Alabastronpolis, III 24, 27; lord of Bek, III 284, 285; lord of Bohem, III 643; of Edfu, II 111, 114; III 165, 195, 285; of He, III 496; house of, III 496, 498; lord of Letopolis, II 95; IV 878; of Nubia, temple built for, by Sesostri I in Apollinopolis Magna, I 500; lord of Pe, IV 1017; prophet of, IV 1017; of the South, lord of Perzoz, IV 726; prophet of, IV 726; lord of Sebi, III 20; image of, IV 915; followers of, II 73; III 16; =the king, I 345, 346, 423C, *et passim*; terror of, I 356; worshipers of, I 78 n. a; II 73; Two Regions of, I 441, 448; Two Lands of, I 441; Feasts of, see Index VII: Feasts (worship of Horus, Rekeh); Temples of, see Index II: Athribis, Heliopolis, Apollinopolis Magna, Perzoz, He, Edfu, Letopolis.
- HORUS-SOPED**, III 155.
- HOR-WATIT**, II 303.
- HRISHEFYT**: king of the Two Lands, IV 368; temple of, IV 368.
- HU** (deity of taste), I 504.

## I

**IBIS**: footsteps of, III 25.

**INMUTER**, III 155.

- IR-AMON** (=the king): road of, II 792.  
**IRERTI**, II 828.  
**IRSU**, III 285.  
**ISIS**, I 441; II 111, 192 n. c, 318; III 28, 173, 194; IV 47, 463, 895, 896; goddess of birth, II 206 n. f; mistress of heaven, IV 458; "mistress of the pyramid," I 177, 179, 180; divine mother, I 178; III 227; the late date of her cult, I 177; "the great one," II 293 n. e; Horus, son of, II 808; III 224, 236; IV 47, 62, 103, 351, 895; temple of, IV 706, 916; called: "The-Great-Ka-of-Harakhte," IV 706; lake of, IV 916.
- K**
- KAMEPHIS**, II 831; III 623; the self-begetting sun-god, II 314 n. b; "bull-of-his-mother," II 225, 314.  
**KEB**, II 192 n. c, 285; IV 400; throne of, see Index VII; god of earth, III 116; divine begetter, II 71; controller of minerals and metals, I 726; II 91; inheritance of, IV 942.  
**KHENT-YAWETEF**: endowment of, I 159.  
**KHEPRI**, II 299, 314, 812, 907; III 281, 288, 411; office of, II 595; statue of (=the Sphinx), II 814.  
**KHEPRI-SET**, IV 399.  
**KHESETI**, II 240, 241.  
**KHNUM**, I 747; II 302, 328, 795 n. d; III 203, 265, 404; lord of the cataract, I 317, 500, 611, 615; II 95, 224, 360, 794 n. a, 796 n. j, 844; III 479; IV 655, 969, 991, 1002; II 205, 207, 212; creator of man, II 199, 202; god of birth, II 206 n. f; at the potter's wheel, II 202; the potter, II 203; father of all gods and goddesses, IV 148; binder of the Nine Bows, II 170, 171; smiter of the Shasu, II 170, 171; of Elephantine, II 89; field of Dodekaschoinos belonging to, IV 146; lord of Hirur, I 637 n. a; II 95, 202; dwelling in Abydos, II 95; lord of Sheshotep, IV 366; temples of, see Index II: Elephantine, Semneh, Sheshotep.  
**KHNUM-HATWERET**: temple of, IV 367.  
**KHNUM-RE**, of Elephantine: temple of, IV 925; lord of the cataract, IV 925.  
**KHONSU**, II 216; III 34, 155, 452, 560 n. b, 623; IV 78, 125, 126, 185, 463, 468, 483, 616, 639, 663, 668; of the Theban triad, I 24; II 244; IV 183, 184, 222, 230, 236; priests of, III 341; the two sacred barques of, III 431; residing in Themet, IV 914; image of; IV 914.  
**KHONSU-IN-THEBES-BEAUTIFUL-REST**, III 136, 150, 156, 431, 440, 447; IV 184, 225, 602, 617, 620, 671, 911; Horus, lord of joy, III 136, 150; IV 225; lord of Thebes, IV 602; temple of, in Thebes (Karnak), IV 214, 225, 472, 602, 603, 660; statues of, IV 214; third prophet of, IV 665; image of, IV 911; name of, IV 911; image of, in Karnak temple, IV 204.  
**KHONSU-NEFERHOTEP**, III 370.  
**KHONSU-RE**, IV 624.  
**KHONSU-THE-PLAN-MAKER-IN-THEBES**, III 431, 440, 441, 442, 447; driving out evil spirits, III 443, 444; priest of, 432; in the form of a hawk, III 445; sent to Bekhten, III 440, 445, 446.  
**KHONSUPEKHROD**: image of, IV 909; name of, IV 909; throne of, IV 909.  
**KHUYET**, goddess of the temple of Khentikhet in Athribis, IV 874.
- M**
- MAT** (goddess of truth), II 154, 938; III, 18, 19, 150, 556 n. a, 560 n. b; IV 458, 463; prophet of, I 531; II 352, 936; III 556, 560; daughter of Re, II 939; beloved of Horus, IV 351; mistress of heaven, II 939; ruler of gods, II 939; presider over the palace, II 939; temple of, in Karnak, IV 660.  
**MEFDET**: feast of birth of, I 115.  
**MENHYT**, III 88.  
**MENMARE**, III 172.  
**MES**: endowment of, I 159.  
**MESKHENET**, II 207, 302; III 400; goddess of birth, II 206 n. f; directing the midwives, II 206.  
**MIN**, I 441, 500; II 30; IV 463; "Lofty of the Two Feathers," II 302; lovely like, IV 49; lord of Panopolis, II 181; temple of, II 181; feasts of, II 181; ithyphallic, I 296; II 104, 302 n. a, 889 n. a; august god, I 437; lord of Coptos, I 296, 443, 605, 779, 780; wine offered before him, I 435; III

- 282; lord of the highlands, I 437, 441, 443, 707; III 282; IV 458; offering of, to Mentuhotep IV, I 437; creator of the pure, costly stone of the Hammamat Mountain, I 442; Hammamat, the highlands of, I 442; head of the Troglodytes, I 443; guarding the expedition to Hammamat, I 448, 707; his forms appeared in a rain storm, I 451; image of "chief-of-heaven," IV 916; shadow of, put on the temple door, II 104, 302 n. a, 889 n. a; likeness of, in year of terror, II 792, 918; divine offerings for, II 567; feasts of, see Index VII: Feasts (Birth of Min, Peret-Min); temples of, see Index II: Coptos, Panopolis.
- MIN, HORUS, AND ISIS:** triad of, IV 365.
- MIN-AMON,** IV 26; residing in Bohem, III 77, 79, 159, 161; temple of, III 74, 77, 247; endowment of divine offerings for, III 77, 159; temple-personnel of, III 78; store house of, III 78; slaves of, III 78; of Luxor, IV 909.
- MIN-HARSIESE,** IV 465.
- MIN-HOR OF COPTOS,** I 675.
- MIN-SI-ESE,** III 76, 158.
- MONTU,** I 468, 471; II 192 n. c, 412, 844; III 86, 94, 141, 152, 224, 285, 307, 312, 319, 457, 479, 490; IV 37, 40, 41, 46, 49, 50, 51, 54, 56, 62, 65, 72, 75, 78, 91, 92, 98, 104, 105, 110, 124, 477, 496, 628, 721, 921, 945; bull of the mighty arm, IV 880; god of Hermonthis, II 352, 828, 831; IV 477; prophets of, II 352; lord of Erment, IV 547; house of, IV 547; lord of Thebes, I 510; II 224, 430; III 84, 147, 308, 326; IV 912; residing in Thebes, IV 82, 103; temple of, in Karnak, IV 660.
- MONTU-RE,** lord of Thebes, IV 886; prophet of, IV 660.
- MOON-GOD,** III 486; Thoth, the, III 643.
- MUT,** II 288, 353, 814, 835; III 34, 256, 371, 452, 500 bis, 560 n. b, 623; IV 57, 78, 80, 126, 185, 463, 468, 483, 489, 616, 623, 634, 649, 663, 702; mistress of Ishru, II 353, 357, 380, 627, 891; III 136, 370; IV 184, 623, 671; the great Bast, III 150; ruler of Karnak, III 150; mistress of amiability, III 150; grants the going in and out in the nether-world, II 353; procession of, II 357; the great sorceress, reared for the dominion of the two regions of Horus, I 441; great-in-Magic, I 468; belonging to the Theban triad, II 244; IV 183, 184, 222, 230, 236; temple of, in Ishru, built by Senmut, II 351; IV 660; the sistrum-bearer, IV 733; image of, in Karnak temple, IV 204; eye of Re, IV 899; of Napata, IV 897, 899; queen of Nubia, IV 898; temple of, in Napata, IV 897-99; mistress of the Nine Bows, II 891; mistress of heaven, III 136; IV 898, 899; queen of all gods; III 136; IV, 899; mistress of Ba (in Hauran), IV 716 n. b.
- MUT-HATHOR,** mistress of Thebes, II 622.
- MUT-KHENT-EBUI-NTERU,** IV 369; temple of, IV 369.
- N**
- NEFERTEM,** of the Memphis triad, IV 320; defender of the Two Lands, IV 183; protector of the Two Lands, IV 305, 306; statue of, in Medinet Habu temple, IV 191.
- NEHEBKAU,** a serpent-divinity: house of, IV 971; Nehebkew, II 302.
- NEHEMEWI,** II 302.
- NETI,** I 609; II 630; III 28; houses of, I 609; IV 982; temples of, II 358; mistress of Sais, IV 830; prophet of, IV 830.
- NEKHBET:** endowment of, I 156, 159; the white one of El Kab, II 828; III 100; mistress of Perwer, I 159; mistress of heaven, I 741; III 28; IV 62; temple at El Kab dedicated to, III 504.
- NEPHTHYS,** I 500; II 192 n. c; III 28; goddess of birth, II 206 n. f.
- NIBMARE:** Lord of Nubia, II 894; sole lord, II 900; worshiped as god, II 897.
- NILE-GOD:** II 210, 212 (?); father of gods IV 296, 886, 888; books of, IV 296, 297, 347; explanation of, IV 296 n. e; oblations for, IV 296, 303, 347; statues of, IV 302, 349, 395, 738; the two, of North and South, II 888.
- NILE-GODDESS:** statues of, IV 303, 349, 395.
- NINE GODS,** in Khreha, I 500; see also Ennead of Memphis.

- NUBTI:** presiding over the Southland, IV 880.
- NUN,** II 887, 888; IV 62, 189, 308, 888; great council of, IV 330; shrine of, II 607; river of, in Heliopolis, IV 870; costly stones, the products of, III 448 n. b; cavern of, at Elephantine, IV 925.
- NUT,** II 192 n. c, 285; son of (= Osiris), I 759; II 318, 813, 900; III 84, 139, 144, 148; IV 49, 854; stars in the body of, II 164; Set, son of, III 539, 542.

## O

- OMBITE GOD (=Set),** III 583.
- ONOURIS,** IV 458, 484; of the tall plumes, IV 365; in Thinis, I 500; IV 365; temple of, see Index II, under Thinis; highpriest of, II 818; son of Re, III 261.
- ONOURIS-SHU,** IV 355.
- OSIRIS,** II 91, 92, 192 n. c; III 173, 194, 232, 259, 266, 272, 280, 281, 486, 529; IV 46, 182, 304, 382, 400, 675, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 1011, 1024; giving burial, II 358; first of West-erners, I 500, 509, 608, 613, 665-67, 669, 758-61, 763, 765, II 96, 98, 186; III 528; IV 1018, 1021; Apis, son of, IV 780; ruler of the West, III 17; presider over the West, III 17; great, mighty one residing in Thinis, I 666; Lord of Abydos, I 500, 666, 669, 684, 758-59, 765; II 96, 98, 186, 367, 840; III 259, 528; IV 365, 484; secret of, II 180; districts of, III 260; mortuary endowments presented to, II 839, 840; lord of Rosta, I 177, 179, 180; lord of Tazoser, IV 187, 357; the great god of the dead, I 9; king of Upper and Lower Egypt, I 759; the great god, I 330, 338, 684, II 98; lord of heaven, I 338; (*Hnty ymntyw*), I 349; lord of life, I 684; lord of eternity, I 613, 762; II 293; ruler of eternity, III 17; IV 424; soul living with, II 378; sacred barge of, I 762, 763, II 183; throne of, in the house of gold, I 764; see also Index VII; coming forth from the body of Nut, I 759; appearance of, in procession, I 763; ennead of, I 763, 764; oblation-tables of, I 764; symbol of, II 874; son of, III 270; skin of

pure electrum, III 176; ceremonies at feast of, in Abydos, I 669; dead kings called, III 266, 272; IV 499, 593, 642; burial of, applied to funerals of men, III 212; IV 499, 593, 637-47, 668; of Busiris, IV 484; of Coptos, IV 458.

**OSIRIS AND HARSIESE:** house of, in Abydos, IV 357.

**OSIRIS-APIS:** temple of (=Serapeum), IV 965.

**OSIRIS-WENNOFER,** I 669; lord of Tazoser, III 17; temple of, in Karnak, IV 958K.

## P

**PAKHT,** mistress of Benihasan, III 249; traversing the Eastland, II 301; ways of, are storm-beaten, II 301; ennead of, II 301.

**PERE-HARAKHTE,** IV 496.

**PTAH,** II 804, 900; III 25, 173, 179, 237, 371, 428, 537, 554 n. d, 555 n. e, 615; IV 94, 204, 320, 351, 625, 702, 791, 857, 868; of the Memphis triad, IV 183, 305, 306; "Ptah South-of His-Wall," II 164, 613, 619, 620, 812, 836, 885; III 77, 159, 370, 510, 600; IV 183, 305, 306, 307, 313, 315, 331, 336, 337, 338, 342, 346, 347, 383, 463, 496, 781, 857, 866, 928; lord of the white wall, IV 336; lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," II 611, 929; III 23, 77, 159, 370, 600; IV 183, 305, 306, 307, 337, 338, 342, 346, 347, 383, 463, 496, 628, 977; "beautiful-faced," II 601, 611, 790; IV 47, 62, 307, 331, 382, 401; "lord of truth," II 619; father of the gods, IV 307; ready-horned, IV 307; lofty-plumed, IV 307; Memphis, city of, IV 310; temple in, I 167, 241, 288, 720; II 929; III 537; IV 183, 323-30, 337-39; companions of, III 400; priestesses of, III 400; two high priests of, at Memphis, I 212; had built with his fingers the ancient temple of Upwawat at Siut, I 403; creator of handicrafts, III 288; furnishing the temple-plan, IV 625; workshop of, IV 28; wine offered to, II 612; speaking, in the form of his statue, III 582; blessings of, III 394-414; IV 132-35; feast of, II 614; III 23, 77, 159; lord of Thebes, IV 526, 528; temple of, in Karnak, II 157 n. e, 611, 614, 790; IV 526, 528, 960;

- proceeding to the treasury of the South, II 614; throne of, see Index VII.
- PTAH-NUN**: father of the gods, IV 330.
- PTAH-SOKAR**, IV 928; statue of, in Medinet Habu temple, IV 191.
- PTAH-TATENEN**, II 641; III 397, 399, 411, 555 n. e, 556 n. a; IV 135; stronghold of, III 576.
- Q**
- QUEEN OF THE LAND** (a protecting goddess): district ("bend") of, I 401.
- R**
- RAM-GOD**: lord of Mendes, III 542; chief priest of, III 542.
- RAYET**, II 325.
- RE**, II 98 bis, 120, 141, 144 bis, 198 n. j, 314, 407, 422, 792, 999, 1013; III 18, 19, 172, 265, 270, 272, 281, 285, 287, 289, 319, 374, 517, 590, 598, 616; IV 256, 353, 382, 460, 836, 870, 958J; bestower of the red crown, II 229; hawk-headed, III 2; originally a king of Egypt, II 187; became father of every Egyptian king, II 187, 222; succeeded by Amon, II 189; successor of Atum, II 222; Saosis mother of, IV 251, 278; two mothers of, II 318; in oath, II 121, 318, 422, 452; as crowner of Pharaoh, II 142; confers his own titles on Pharaoh, II 143 ff.; lord of gods, IV 259; lord of Heliopolis, III 546; lord of the eastern bend, IV 479; offerings to, at early morning, IV 256, 258; known by the Puntites, by Libyans, III 611; throne of, see Index VII; musician (fem.) of, III 542.
- RE-ATUM**, IV 62, 401; gritstone mountain of, II 917; the All-Lord, IV 249; the creator, IV 249; of Thebes, III 623; Great Seer of, III 623.
- RE-ATUM-KHEPRI**, III ex 6
- RE-HARAKHTE**, III 246, 280; IV 183, 248, 249, 280, 284, 289, 383; temple of, at Heliopolis, II 642; IV 732.
- RE-HARAKHTE-ATUM**, IV 732.
- RE-SEBEK**, III 556 n. a.
- REKHET** (goddess), I 609.
- RENETET**, II 302; III 265.
- RENUTET**, II 814.
- RESHEP**, IV 40.
- RESI-INEBEF** (=Ptah), IV 305, 322; meaning of, IV 305 n. a.
- S**
- SAFT**: shrine of, II 889 n. a.
- SAOSIS**: mistress of Heliopolis, IV 247, 278; mother of Re, IV 278; of the Heliopolis triad, mistress of Hotepet, IV 183; mistress of Hetep, IV 248, 278; temple of, in Heliopolis, IV 278.
- SATET**: mistress of Elephantine, I 615, 646, 650; II 360, 794 n. a; IV 991; giving the symbol of life to Sesostris III, I 646; temple of, IV 991.
- SEBEK**, III 554 n. d, 560 n. b; lord of Silseleh, III 208; temple at, III 208; Horus dwelling in Fayûm, IV 369, temple of Shedet, IV 369; lord of Meshu, IV 368; temple of, IV 368, lord of Neshit-Crocodilopolis, IV 366; temple at, I 709; IV 366; of Peronek, IV 547.
- SED**: feast of, I 113.
- SEFKHET**: keeping records, II 212, 231; writing the names of kings, II 230; counts the numbers, II 274, 279.
- SEKHMET**, I 747; II 226, 820; III 117, 360, 598; IV 90, 320, 655, 928; of the Memphis triad, IV 183, 305, 306; limbs of, II 52; presider (fem.) over Khas, II 814; beloved of Ptah, IV 183, 305, 306, 628; house (?) of, IV 445; mistress of Rehesu, IV 878; house of, IV 878; mistress of Sais, IV 878; house of, IV 878.
- SEM**: endowment of, I 159.
- SEP**: highway of, to Khereha, IV 870.
- SEPA**: endowment of, I 156.
- SEREK-GODDESS**, II 209.
- SERPENT-GODDESSES**, IV 194, 268, 333, 356, 407.
- SESHAT**: goddess, I 109; feast of, I 115.
- SET**, II 318; III 28, 155; IV 38, 47, 75, 79, 91, 103, 108; portion of, II 70, 120; years of, II 220; god of Kom Ombo, II 828; lord of Oxyrhynchus, IV 368; temple of, IV 368; son of Nut, III 539, 542; high priest of, III 542; temple of, at Sesu, IV 369.
- SHU**, II 192 n. c; III 245, 608 n. f; IV 62, 103, 105; Memphis abode of, IV 857; son of Re, IV 355; throne of, see Index VII; Onouris-shu, IV 355.
- SNEFRU**: lord of the highlands, I 722.



**SOKAR:** in Shetyt, I 288; in Rosta, II 814; lord of Sehez, IV 855; temple of, in Mer-Atum (Medûm), IV 855; feast of, see Index VII: Feasts.

**SOKAR-OSIRIS,** II 904.

**SOLE-LORD,** II 900.

**SOPEd,** II 337; giving the symbol of life to the king, I 617; lord of the East, I 722, 750; IV 1014; divine votress of, IV 784; Horus-Soped, III 155.

**SUN OF THE NINE BOWS,** II 987.

**SUN-GOD:** of Kheta, III 386; of Ernen, III 386, 391 bis.

**SUTEKH,** III 326, 338, 374, 386, 391, 419, 423, 491, 590, 599, 600; IV 43, 104, 105, 578; lord of heavens, III 386, 391; lord of the oasis, IV 726; prophet of, IV 726; Urshu, feast of, IV, 726; giving legal decisions, IV 727, 728; son of Nut, IV 726; temple of, in Ombos, IV 359; temple of, in the Residence city of Ramses III, IV, 362; of Khesesep, III 386; of Seres, III 386; of Aleppo, III 386; of Rekhsen, III 386; of Sekhpen, III 386; of Tehenu, III 611; of Kheta, III 386; of Ernen, III 386; of Zepyerened, III 386; of Perek, III 386.

## T

**TATENEN,** III 179, 399, 411, 608; IV 9, 304, 307, 308, 335, 382, 401; father of the gods, III 411; IV 307, 308; source of artificer's materials, II 91; Ram, lord of Mendes, III 400; double plume of, IV 62.

**TEFNUT,** II 192 n. c; III 245; Tafnut, IV 254, 988J.

**TESKHER:** Hittite divinity, III 386.

**TEWERET,** II 206.

**THOTH,** II 95, 147, 193, 211, 230(?), 635, 664, 915; III 18, 19, 25, 281, 288, 404; IV 31, 46, 90, 105, 458, 460, 630, 730, 734, 921; lord of Hermopolis, IV 733, 848; dwelling in Hermopolis, temple of, in Hesret, the sacred quarter of Hermopolis, IV 356, 848; leader of the gods, II 95; keeping records, II 231, 275; balances of, II 280; IV 256; ape, sacred animal of, IV 33, 256; lord of divine

words, IV 406; records of, III 448, n. b; takes the place of Horus, in the titulary of Khufu, I 176; founder of the ancient temple of Upwawet at Siut, I 403; writing of, I 531; accustomed to justice, I 531, 618; lord of Khmunu, records in writing, II 274; lord of Karnak, III 136; presiding over Hatibt, IV 916; image of, IV 916; divine boat of, I 669; eye-amulet for, IV 373, 386; temple of, at Pauzy, IV 368; the moon-god, priest of, III 643.

**TRIAD:** of Heliopolis, IV 183, 247, 248; of Memphis, 183, 305, 306, 320; of Thebes, II 224; IV 128, 222, 230, 236, 463.

## U

**UPWAWET:** lord of Siut, I 394 bis, 395, 403, 541; IV 358; the dead smell the earth before, I 613; plan of, I 396; ancient temple of, in Siut, I 398, 403; procession of, I 540, 669; champion of his father (Osiris), I 669; opening the way before Osiris, I 763; lord of Tazoser (cemetery of Abydos), I 767; of the North, II 95; of the South, II 95; IV 358; temple of, in Siut, I 390, 403; IV 358; feast of Birth of Upwawet, I 150; going forth of Upwawet, I 669.

## W

**WENNOFER,** I 669; II 815; III 240, 271, 279, 525; IV 972; ceremony of "That Day of the Great Conflict," I 669; lord of Tazoser, III 17, 234; soil of, III 260; sovereign of eternity, III 272, 278.

**WERERET:** mistress of Punt, II 288; mistress, great in sorcery, II 288; mistress of all gods, II 288.

**WES,** IV 912.

**WESET,** IV 912.

## Y

**YAMET,** goddess: feast of, I 98.

**YOH (=Thoth as moon-god),** II 896.

## Z

**ZEBUI:** lord of Aphroditopolis, IV 366; temple of, IV 366.

## INDEX II

### TEMPLES

NOTE.—All temple inscriptions are listed in Indices VI and VII.

- Abu Simbel**—  
**GREAT TEMPLE OF RAMSES II**, III 449–57, 495–99.  
**SMALL TEMPLE OF RAMSES II**, II 500, 501; dedicated to Queen Nefretiri, III 500.
- Abusir**—  
**SUN-TEMPLE OF NUSURRE**, I 252 n. a, 423H n. a.
- Abydos**—  
**TEMPLE OF OSIRIS**, I 534; II 185; IV 365, 1020; restored by Sesostris I, I 534; cleansed by Khenzer, I 784; lower story of, I 784; upper story of, I 784; called: “house of Osiris and Harsiese,” IV 357; temple “of First of Westerners,” IV 1020.  
 —Barque of, I 534, 613, 668, 669, 746; II 92; names of, I 669; chapel of, I 668, 669; rudder of, I 613.  
 —Divine offerings of, IV 676, 1021; altars of, I 746; IV 357, 686, 1020, 1021; amulets of, IV 1020; feasts in, I 665 n. b; lake of, IV 1020; secrets of Osiris in, I 746; oblation-table of, I 787; offering-tables of, I 534; IV 676, 1020; table vessels of, IV 357; furniture of, II 185; stairway of the lord of Abydos, I 528, 673, 684; II 52; wall of, IV 357, 1020; *Wpg* of, IV 1020.  
 —Shrines in, I 787; IV 1020; portable shrine in, I 667; names of, I 667, 787.  
 —Statue of Osiris in, I 668, 672, 759; II 92, 95; palace of, I 669; regalia of, I 668; tomb of, before Peker, I 669; cultus image, II 92; called: “protector of the oil tree,” I 785; statue of the king in, IV 357; statue of Thutmose III in, II 186; divine offerings for, II 186; lands of the royal domain for, II 186.  
 —Temple archives of, IV 1022.  
 —Officials of, IV 357; high priests of, Nebwawi, II 179, 181; lay-priests of, I 668, 765, 783.  
 —Palace of Ramses III in, IV 357.  
 —Estate of: arbors of, IV 1021; ferry-boat of, IV 1024; barge of, I 762; IV 916, 1023; cattle of, IV 676, 1021; garden of, IV 676, 682, 687; gardener of, IV 682; gold house of, I 746, 764; income of, IV 683–87; lands of, IV 681, 687, 1021; necropolis of, IV 1020; see also Index VI, Tazoser; people of, IV 357, 365, 676; slaves of, IV 680, 682, 687, 1021; storehouse of, I 783; treasury of, IV 683–86; vineyards of, IV 1021.  
 “HOUSE OF MENMARE,” mortuary temple of Seti I; begun by Seti I, III 174, 225, 226, 263; completed by Ramses II, III, 266; columns of, III 263; statue of, III 263; divine offerings of, III 263.  
**MORTUARY TEMPLE OF RAMSES II**, III 524–29; built of limestone, III 525; dedicated to Wennofer, III 525; garden of, III 527; granary of, III 526; shrine-chamber, III 529; store house of, III 526; portals of, III 528; magazine of, III 527; endowment of, III 526, treasury of, III 527.
- Akhetaton**—  
**TEMPLE OF ATON**, II 956, 975, 982; broad hall of, II 1018; dedicated to Aton, II 956; chamber of, II 1017. Endowment of, II 952, 954, 958, 966.  
 —Aton-house of Aton, II 987.  
 —High priests of, II 982, 985; “great seer” of, II 982, 983, 985, 987, 988.
- TEMPLE OF “SHADOW-OF-RE” OF THE KING**, II 1018.  
**TEMPLE OF “SHADOW-OF-RE” OF QUEEN TIY**, II 956, 1016, 1017, 1018.  
**TEMPLE OF “SHADOW-OF-RE” OF THE KING’S DAUGHTER**, II 1017.
- Amâda** (read Amada)—  
**TEMPLE**, III 606 n. a.
- Aphroditopolis**—  
**TEMPLE OF HATHOR**, II 3 n. b; IV 366, 369; people of, IV 366, 369.

- TEMPLE OF ZEBUI**, IV 366; people of, IV 366.
- Apollinopolis Magna**—
- TEMPLE OF HORUS OF NUBIA**, built of sculptured stone in the nome of Apollinopolis Magna by Sesostris I, I 500.
- Arsinoe**—See Crocodilopolis.
- Athribis**—
- TEMPLE OF HORUS**, II 919; called temple of Harkhentikhet (=Horus), IV 360, 369, 874; restored by Ramses III, IV 360; dedicated to Horus, IV 360, 369, 874; and Khuyet, a goddess, IV 874; walls of, IV 360; decrees for, IV 360.
- Estate of: herd of, IV 360, 369; divine bulls of, IV 470; inspectors of, IV 360; lake of, II 919; flowers of, II 919; prophets of, IV 360; slaves of, IV 360.
- Babylon**—See Khreha.
- Benihasan**—
- CLIFF TEMPLE OF PAKHT**, II 296; III 249; restored by Hatshepsut, I 15; II 296 n. c, 298, 300; and by Thutmose III, II 296; called Speos Artemidos by the Greeks, II 296; modern name: Stabl Antar, II 296 n. c; dedicated to Pakht, II 301; offering-table of, II 301; chest of linen in, II 301.
- Priest of, I 624; II 301.
- Berset**—
- TEMPLE OF BAST**, IV 369; herd of, IV 369; people of, IV 369.
- Bet-el-Walli** (read Bet-el-Wāli)—
- TEMPLE OF RAMSES II**, III 458-77; built in the rock, III 458 n. b; forecourt of, excavated in the rock, III 458 n. b.
- Bista**—
- TEMPLE**, IV 956.
- Bohen**—See Wadi Halfa.
- Bubastis**—
- TEMPLE OF BAST**, IV 734; *sh*-vessel presented to, IV 734.
- TEMPLE OF AMON**, IV 751; jubilee-hall of, IV 748, 751.
- Buto**—
- TEMPLE OF BUTO**, IV 956; shrine in, I 156.
- TEMPLE OF HATHOR OF THE MALACHITE**, IV 956.
- Coptos**—
- TEMPLE OF MIN**, I 776, 778, 780; IV 365; treasury of, I 778.
- People of, IV 365; scribe of, I 776; inspection of, I 777; priest of, I 776; deposition of a priest of, I 778; lay-priests of, I 776, 777; prophet of, IV 465.
- Sacred property of, I 779; temple income of, I 780.
- Garden of, II 567; maidens for, II 567; pleasant trees in, II 567; vegetables of, II 567.
- Crocodilopolis**—
- HOUSE OF SEBEK**, I 709; IV 366, 818, 882; statutes of, I 709; Horus dwelling in, IV 369; people of, IV 366; with inscription of Amenemhet III in, II 233.
- TEMPLE OF AMON-RE**, IV 369; name of, IV 369; people of, IV 369.
- Cusæ**—
- TEMPLE OF HATHOR**, II 300; was in ruins, II 300; restored by Hatshepsut, II 300.
- Dêr el Bahri**—
- TEMPLE CALLED "MOST-SPLENDID,"** II 375; colonnade of, II 191; doors of, II 375; chapel of Amon in, II 375; floor of, II 375; palace of the god in, II 375.
- Great Seat, the "Khkhet," in, II 375; doors of, II 375.
- Shrine of Thutmose II, II 127; of ebony, II 127; dedicated to Amon-Re, II 127.
- Temple-garden, II 264, 295; equipment, II 265; Punt in, II 295.
- Derr (= Miam)**—
- TEMPLE OF RE**, III 503; IV 474, 479; chapel of Ramses II in, III 503; dedicated to Harakhte, III 503; name of, III 503; statue of Ramses VI in, IV 479; domains assigned to, IV 479-83.
- Drah-abu-n-Neggah**—
- MORTUARY TEMPLE OF AMENHOTEP I**,

- II 45 n. b; called "house of Zeserkere," II 45 n. b.
- Edfu**—
- TEMPLE OF, II 112; dedicated to Horus, II 111; door-keeper of, see Index V; statue of Ahhotep in, II 113, 114.
- Elephantine**—
- TEMPLE OF KHNUM: endowed by Ramses III, IV 146-50; field of, IV 146; ships of, IV 147; people of, IV 147; prophet of, IV 150; honey-collectors of, IV 149; herd of, IV 150.
- TEMPLE OF ANUKET AND SATET, I 500; II 798; IV 991, 992, built by Sesostris I, I 500; endowment of, IV 992; storehouses of, IV 992.
- El Kab**—
- TEMPLE OF AMENHOTEP III, III 558 n. d.
- TEMPLE OF RAMSES II, III 505; dedicated to Nekhbet, III 505.
- Fayûm**—See Crocodilopolis.
- Hatweret**—
- TEMPLE OF KHNUM, IV 367; people of, IV 367.
- He**—See Hem.
- Heliopolis**—
- TEMPLE OF ATUM, I 498; II 643; IV 183, 872, 955; Hathors of, III 400; called house of Atum-Re-Harakhte, IV 256, 262, 281, 284; rebuilt by Sesostris I, I 498-506.
- House of Re, II 642; III 547; IV 250, 252, 266, 735, 871; the "Great House," III 547; house of Re-Harakhte, IV 296, 732; called, dwelling of the gods, I 504; seat of eternity, III 545.
- Encircling wall of, II 642; IV 250; doorway of, II 643; name of, II 643; forecourt of, IV 250, 269; court of, IV 266; doorkeepers of, IV 266; dewat-chamber of, IV 871; sanctuary of, IV 251; great seat in, IV 251; double doors of, IV 251; dedicated to mother of Re, IV 251; mysterious seat of, IV 262.
- Vessels of, IV 269, 732, 735; barque of, III 542; balances of, IV 256; altars in, IV 256, 735; *dwt*-altars, IV 735; offering-tablets of, IV 735.
- Colossi in, IV 252.
- Obelisk of Sesostris I in, I 503.
- Pool of Kebeh in, IV 296; oblations to the Nile-God in, IV 296.
- Shrines of, IV 250; of Atum and Tefnut, IV 254; double doors of, IV 254; divine fathers of, see Index V.
- Sphinxes in, IV 732.
- Statues in, IV 268; statues of gods in, IV 250; statue of Re in, IV 253, 268; amulets of, IV 253.
- Stelae in, IV 255.
- Chapel of Ramses III in, IV 277, 281, 283; name of, IV 277; equipment of, IV 277; people of, IV 281; under charge of the "Great Seer," IV 281.
- Chapel of Atum-Khepri in, IV 732.
- House of Atum in (palace), IV 256, 262; temple treasury located within, IV 256; groves in, IV 262.
- Divine offerings in, IV 256; endowment of, I 156, 159, 165, 166; IV 256; royal gifts to, IV 284-88, 732, 735; decree on administration of, IV 255.
- Officials of, IV 281; priests (*wcb*) of, IV 250; chief ritual priest of, IV 871; high priests of, see Index V; great seer of, see Index V; personnel of, IV 266.
- Estate of, IV 280 82; domains of, IV 265; cattle of, IV 280, 282; cattle-yards of, IV 260; fattening-houses of, IV 260; galleys of, IV 280, 282; gardens of, IV 262, 280, 282, 288; shedeh, IV 262; flower, IV 264; granary of, IV 250, 267, 878; groves of, IV 262, 264, 280, 282, 288; harbor of IV 266; herds of, IV 251; income of, IV 283; lake of, I 503; IV 261, 264; lands of, IV 251, 265, 281, 282; olive lands of, IV 263, 288; gardeners of, IV 263, 288; people of, IV 281; poultry yard of, IV 265; property of IV 251, 280; ships of, IV 270; slaves of, IV 266; storehouses of, for feasts, IV 257; slaves of, IV 257; storehouse for temple income, IV 258, 270; oblation storehouses in, IV 259; towns of, IV 280, 282; transport-ships of, IV 282; treasury of, IV 250, 256, 266, 270; vineyards of, IV 262; workshops of, IV 280, 281.
- TEMPLE OF SAOSIS, IV 278; called: Hetep, Hathor, mistress of, IV 247, 248; and Hotepet, Saosis, mistress of, IV 183; location of, IV 278; barge

- of, IV 278; name of, 278; property of, IV 278; settlement in, IV 278.
- TEMPLE OF ATON**, II 1018; called: "Exaltation-of-Re-in-Heliopolis," II 1018.
- HOUSE OF HAPI**, IV 273; oblations for, IV 273.
- TEMPLE OF HORUS**, IV 271; name of, IV 271; walls of, IV 271; grove of, IV 271, 272; gardeners of, IV 272; court of, IV 272; oblations in, V 272.
- TEMPLE OF RE IN NORTH HELIOPOLIS**, IV 274-76, 281, 283; name of, IV 274; restored by Ramses III, IV 276; forecourt of, IV 274; equipment of, IV 274.
- Chief inspector of, IV 281; scribe of, IV 281.
- Gardens of, IV 274; herds of, IV 275; 283; names of, IV 275; people of, IV 281.
- Château of, IV 281.
- Hem** (*H<sup>3</sup>m*)—
- TEMPLE OF HORUS**, III 496, 498 (in both places read *H<sup>3</sup>m* for *H<sup>2</sup>*, as a subsequent collation of the original at Abu Simbel shows).
- Heracleopolis**—
- TEMPLE OF HARSAPHEH**, IV 972; forecourt of, IV 970; hall of, IV 971; colonnade of, IV 970; doors of, IV 970.
- Lake of, I 111; IV 972.
- Chief prophet of, IV 792; prophet of Neit of, IV 792; sistrum-bearer of, IV 792; divine fathers of, see Index V.
- NER**: temple in Heracleopolis, IV 968; restored by Hor, IV 968.
- TEMPLE OF BAST**, IV 973.
- Hermonthis**—
- TEMPLE OF MONTU**, II 389; IV 547, 912, 915; built by Senmut.
- TEMPLE OF ATON**, II 1018; called: "Horizon-of-Aton-in-Hermonthis," II 1018.
- Hermopolis**—
- TEMPLE OF THOTH IN THE SACRED QUARTER OF HESRET**, IV 356, 367, 848; court of, IV 356; people of, IV 367; wall of, IV 356; *sh*-vessel in, IV 733.
- Dwelling house of Thoth in, IV 356.
- Chapel of Ramses III, built within the court of Thoth's temple, IV 356, 367; dedicated to Thoth, IV 356; people of, IV 367.
- TEMPLE OF THE EIGHT GODS**, IV 848.
- HOUSE**: "The love of Thutotep abides in the Hare nome," I 706.
- Kanekeme**—
- TEMPLE OF AMON**, IV 216; built by Ramses III, IV 216.
- Karnak**—
- GREAT TEMPLE OF AMON**, II 157, 389, 794, 1040; III 224; IV 183, 184, 222, 405, 494, 495, 671, 706, 736, 887, 926, 945, 949, 958I, 988D, H, J; name of, II, 157; originally built of brick, II 157; rebuilt by Thutmose III, of sandstone, II 157, 794; completed by Amenhotep II, II 794; repaired by High Priest Amenhotep, IV 488 n. c., 489, 494.
- Works of, II 775; chief of, see Index V.
- Walls of, II 794; IV 914; inclosure wall of, II 164, 794; IV 654.
- Endowment of, II 163, 793; dues for, II 557, 559; IV 489; gifts to, IV 230-35, 736, 949; equipment of, II 29.
- Forecourt of, IV 195, 495, 531; Lateran obelisk in, II 627; vase stand in, IV 199; name of, IV 495.
- Jubilee-court of, I 49; IV 707, 764; built by Sheshonk I, IV 707; name of, IV 708; colonnade of, IV 707; pylon of, IV 707.
- Court of, IV 198, 207, 496, 497; planted with sycamores, IV 210.
- Great house in, IV 904.
- Upper gate of, II, 835; IV 958L.
- Bubastite gate of, IV 701, 756 n. a.
- Flagstaves of, II 776; III 94.
- Doorways of, II 154, 564, 601, 794 n. b; great doors of, II 376, 755, 794; gate of, II 309, 376; IV 889; name of, II 154, 309; IV 889; see also Portals; stelæ at, IV 205; upper portal of, II 835.
- Pylon (interior), II 155, 243; erected by Thutmose III, II 155; of Sheshonk I, IV 707; see also Index VII: Pylons.
- Colonnaded hall of Thutmose I, II 100, 103, 104; of Thutmose III, II

- 599; IV 767; columns of, II 32, 600, 795; IV 889; renewed by Thutmose III, II 600; by Shabaka, IV 889.
- Halls of, II 165, 304; IV 528, 563, 654, 764, 889; built by Thutmose III, II 560; name of, II 560, 599 n. f; IV 753; rebuilt by Amenhotep, IV 489; hall of the sacred chamber, built by Amenhotep II, II 795.
- Central hypostyle of, II 603; IV 701; built by Thutmose III, II 603; architect of, II 605, 772, 775.
- Holy of Holies of, II 153, 155, 795; hall of, II 795; built by Thutmose III, II 153; name of, II 153; statue of Ramses III in, IV 201 n. c.
- Pavement of silver of, II 755; IV 205, 671, 672.
- Chambers of, II 165.
- Chapel of, II 798A; IV 736.
- Shrines in the Karnak temple, II 156; of Thutmose III, II 376, 775, 776; names of, I 375, 376; of Nun, II 606; of Ramses III, IV 197, 198, 201; in eastern end, II 607; shrine inscribed by Amenemhet, I 484.
- Statues of kings in, II 156; statue of Amenhotep III in, II 917; three statues of Amenhotep, son of Hapi, in, II 912, 913, 913 n. c; statue of Amon, IV 736; see also Index VII: Statues; processional image of Amon, IV 737; image of Amon, IV 913.
- Vessels of gold, II 596; costly stones, II 596; electrum, II 596; silver, II 795; bronze, II 795; altar, II 163, 795; IV 736, 900; barge, II 888; IV 209, 211, 563, 575, 586, 904; sacred barque, II 283; IV 611; offering-tables, II 376, 795; oblation-standards, II 795; fire-pans, II 795; oblation-vessels, II 795; oblation-tablets, II 795; IV 199; jars, II 556; amulets, IV 201; censer, IV 736; libation-vases, donated by Intef I, I 421; table, II 353; tablet of victories, II 407; linen: royal linen, II 554; white linen, II 554; *šhr-w*-linen, II 554; *wm.t*-linen, II 554.
- Sacred pool of, II 559; geese of, II 559; IV 229.
- Palace of high priest of, built by Sesostris I, IV 488; rebuilt by Roy, III 626; IV 488; restored by Amenhotep, IV 489; location of, IV 488.
- Kitchen of, III 624 n. i; refectory, III 624.
- Wine-cellar of, IV 512; prophet of, IV 512.
- Palace of, in the city of the Northland, IV 215; name of, IV 215; built by Ramses III, IV 215; gardens of, IV 215; boulevards of, IV 215; sacred avenue of, IV 215; people of, IV 225.
- House of the Divine Votress of Amon-Re, major-domo of, IV 511, 513, 522; singing women of, IV 521.
- for scribes, priests, *ḫ*-priests, high priests, lay priests, ritual priests, *w* *b*-priests, first-, second-, third-, fourth-prophets, high priestesses, divine votresses, see Index V; endowment of lay-priests of, II 618; duties of priests of, II 571; oblation bearers of, IV 515; chief of, IV 515; steward of, II 290, 350; chief steward of, II 359; bakers of, III 624; kneaders of, III 624 n. g; confectioners of, III 624; makers of cakes and loaves, III 624; sacred women of, IV 751.
- for inscriptions in, see Index VI: Karnak.
- Gold-house of, II 751; IV 491; double gold-house, II 751.
- Granaries of, II 43, 63, 343, 350, 806; IV 207, 217, 227, 497, 906; double granary of, II 43, 343; overseer of, II 43, 343.
- Storehouse of, II 332, 402, 554, 645, 646, 751, 759, 929; III 111, 119, 138, 152, 351, 453; IV 227, 497, 550; overseer of, II 352; chief measurer of, II 929; captives assigned for, IV 128; date-storeroom, II 749; metals and stones in, II 558; slaves of, II 555; IV 200; storehouse of dues, IV 489; storehouse for feast of Appearance, IV 200; equipment of, IV 200.
- Treasuries of, IV 211, 217, 227, 489, 497; white house of, II 748, 806; treasures of, II 748, 806.
- in Middle Kingdom, I 421, 484; IV 488.
- under Ahmose I, II 29-32, 34.
- under Amenhotep I, II 44.
- under Thutmose I, II 100, 103-5.
- under Hatshepsut, II 243-45, 304-21, 345-62.
- under Thutmose III, II 150-66, 376, 407, 560, 599, 608, 624, 625, 775, 776, 794; IV 753, 767.
- under Amenhotep II, II 781 ff., 794, 795, 798A, 803-6.
- under Thutmose IV, II 627, 830 ff.

- Great Temple of Amon*—  
 —under Amenhotop III, II 888, 889, 899-903, 917.  
 —under Ikhnaton, II 932, 941.  
 —under Seti I (Great Hypostyle), III 222-24; name of, III 222; columns of, III 510.  
 —under Ramses II (Great Hypo-style), III 509-13; name of Ramses IV in, III 510, 512; IV 665; servant of, IV 665.  
 —under Ramses III, dedicated to Amon, IV 197; name of, IV 197; monolithic shrine of, IV 197, 198; image of Amon in, IV 198; doorways of, IV 197; cultus utensils of, IV 199; sacrificial tablet of, IV 199; offering-tablet of, IV 199.  
 —Estate of, IV 222-45; captives for, II 918; IV 121, 208, 213; cattle of, II 354, 555, 912; IV 212, 222; overseer of, II 354, 912; IV 212; scribes of, IV 212; inspectors of, IV 212; shepherds of, IV 212; overseers of the horses of, IV 212; large cattle of, IV 225; small cattle of, IV 226; garden of, II 571; a Punt made in it, II 295; loan-cows, from Zahi, II 555; from Kush, II 555; gardens of, in South and North, II 352, 354, 561; IV 222, 226; of Kanekeme, IV 216; gold countries of, III 647; grain of, II 748, 749; IV 206; clean grain, II 561; groves of, IV 226; herds of, IV 212, 224; honey for, II 748; lakes of, II 164; IV 213, 488 n. c, 489; planted, IV 213; southern lake of, IV 489; lands of, IV 190, 222, 223, 226, 948, 950, 954, 957, 958; plowed lands of, II 561; fields of, II 354, 561; milk for, II 555; peasants of, II 554; overseer of, II 554; in South and North, II 561; 555; peasant-serfs of, II 354, 554; chief of, II 354; people of, IV 223, 225; ship of, IV 209; transports of, IV, 211, 226; galleys of, IV 211, 222, 226; archers of, IV 211; captains of, IV 211; towns given to, IV 222; of Egypt, IV 226; Kharu, IV 226; Kush, IV 226; Retenu, II 557; vineyards of, II 386; IV 213, 216; chief of, II 386; things of, IV 222 227; workshops of, II 775; IV 222, 226.  
 —after the Empire, priests, IV 488 n. c, 489, 494; Twenty-second Dyn., IV 701, 708, 756 n. a, 764; Ethiopians, IV 889; Mentemhet, IV 901-916; Saites, IV 935 ff., 988A ff.  
**TEMPLE OF MUT IN ISHRU**, II 350, 380, 627; IV 489, 901 n. b; Mut, mistress of, II 357, 380, 891; built by Senmut, II 351; inspection of, IV 660; restored by Mentemhet, IV 910; doors of, IV 910; hall of, IV 910; columns of, IV 910; offering-tables of, IV 910; *sh*-vessel in, IV 733; shrine in, II 380.  
 —Garden of, planted with trees, IV 489; lake of, IV 910; storehouse of, IV 910; slaves in, IV 225.  
**TEMPLE OF ATON**, II 932, 941; name of, II 932, 942; granary of, II 932; scribe of, II 932; overseer of the granary of, II 932.  
**TEMPLE OF KHONSU-IN-THEBES-BEAUTIFUL-REST**, IV 214, 609, 610, 611, 624, 626, 912; begun by Ramses III, IV 214; additions to, by Ramses IV, IV 472; by Ramses XII, IV 602-3; completed by Hrihor, IV 609-26; inspected by Menkheperre, IV 660; barque of, IV 611 n. f; colonnade of, IV 622; court of, IV 614, 619; flag-staves of, IV 626, 632; forecourt of, IV 621; great seat of, IV 214 n. e; great place of, IV 610; hall of, IV 214 n. e; name of, IV 602, 610; broad hall of, IV 625; name of, IV 625; hypostyle of, IV 614; image of Khonsu in, IV 913; offering-tables of, IV 610; portal of, IV 626; pylon of, IV 621; built by Paynozem I, IV 632; shrine in, IV 609; sphinx in, IV 649 n. c; statues in, IV 214.  
 —Income of, IV 227-29; people, IV 225; slaves, IV 225.  
**TEMPLE OF PTAH**, II 790; IV 526, 528, 913; originally built of brick, II 157 n. e, 611; inspected by Menkheperre, IV 660; restored by Thutmose III, I 14; II 157 n. c, 611, 614; by Seti I, II 612; called house of the "Beautiful-of-Face," II 790.  
 —Endowment of divine offerings for, II 620; doors of cedar, II 615.  
 —Image of Ptah in, IV 913; name of, IV 913.  
 —Vessels of, II 615; clothing, II 615; linen, II 615; ointments, II 615; offering-tables, IV 913.  
 —Seat of Ptah, II 615.  
 —Lay priesthood of, II 620.  
**TEMPLE OF MONTU**, lord of Thebes, IV 660, 912; offering-tables of, IV 912; lake of, IV 912.  
**TEMPLE OF MAT**, IV 660.  
**TEMPLE OF HARAKHTE**, II 935; IV 706,

- 708; names of, II 935, 940, 942, 959, 984; high priest of, II 934; master of secret things of, IV 706, 708.
- TEMPLE OF BAST**, IV 912.
- TEMPLE OF OSIRIS-WENNOFER**, IV 755 n. c, 958K; barque of, IV 958K; portable image of, IV 958K; barge of, IV 958K.
- SMALL TEMPLE OF RAMSES III**, IV 195; dedicated to Amon, IV 195; name of, IV 195; income of, IV 227-29; doors of, IV 195; people of, IV 223; treasury of, IV 195; herd of, IV 223.
- SOUTHERN KARNAK TEMPLE**: dedicated to Amon, IV 196; built by Ramses III, IV 196; people of, IV 223; herd of, IV 224; income of, IV 227-29.
- Khammat (Soleb)**—
- TEMPLE IN KHAMMAT**: built by Amen-hotep III, II 890; of sandstone, II 890, 895, 898; pylons of, II 894; portals of, II 890, 895, 898; divine shadow of, II 895; floor adorned with silver, II 890; obelisks of, II 890, 894; flagstaves of, II 894.
- Khereha (Babylon)**—
- TEMPLE OF ATUM**, I 165; IV 869, 870; ennead of Atum in, IV 869; lords of, II 814; endowment of the gods of, I 165.
- Kom el-Hisn**—
- TEMPLE**, IV 95.
- Kummeh**—
- TEMPLE OF THUTMOSE III**, built of "good white stone of Sha," I 510.
- Kurna**—
- "HOUSE-OF-MENMARE," mortuary temple of Seti I, III 114, 210; name of, III 212, 214, 217, 219, 229, 232, 236; begun by Ramses I, 211-13; completed by Seti I, 210; and Ramses II, III 448 n. b. 516-22; used by Ramses II, III 516-22; built of sandstone, III, 114, 216, 217, 220; barque of, III 212; silver-house of, III 213; palace of, III 213; dedicated also to Ramses I, III 521; sphinx in, III 114; list of captured cities in, III 114.
- Luxor**—
- TEMPLE OF AMON**, III 187-212; 215-42, 351, 841, 886; III 506-8, 533, 567; IV 223; restored and inspected by Menkheperre, IV 659, 660; built of sandstone, II 886; walls of electrum, II 886; floor of silver, II 886; portals of, II 886; garden of, III 567; towers of, II 886; lake of, III 567 n. c; inclosure wall of, II 887; IV 628; stairway of, IV 909; hypostyle of, IV 742 n. a.
- Barque of, IV 743; great house of, IV 743; portable image of, IV 743.
- Chapel of Thutmose III in, III 506.
- People of, IV 223; herd of, IV 224; income of, IV 227-29.
- TEMPLE OF RAMSES II**, within the temple inclosure of Amon, III 507.
- Mad**—
- TEMPLE**, IV 915.
- Medinet Habu**—
- TEMPLE OF AMON (XVIII Dyn.)**: begun by Thutmose I, II 637; completed by Thutmose III, II 637-41; names of, II 638; IV 179; restored by Ramses III, IV 179; by Paynozem I, IV 634.
- TEMPLE OF RAMSES III**, IV 1 ff.; name of, IV 5, 7, 19, 189, 523, 532, 545; built of sandstone, IV 4, 7, 9, 189; gritstone, IV 189; black granite, IV 189; doors of electrum, IV 4, 189; dedicated to Amon, IV 189; divine offerings for, IV 190; wall of, IV 189; with ramps, IV 189; towers, IV 189; portal of, IV 191.
- First court of, IV 12, 13, 14; name of, IV 14; great seat of, IV 14; doorways of, IV 14; doors of, IV 14; inlay figures of, IV 14; pylon of, IV 15, 85-92, 93-99; flagstaves of, IV 15.
- Second court of, IV 6; built of sandstone, IV 7; great seat of, IV 7; festival of Min celebrated in, IV 9.
- Inlay figures in, IV 7, 9; doorposts of, IV 9.
- Images in, IV 9; scarabs in, IV 191; statues in, IV 191.
- Statue of Amon in, IV 190; name of, IV 190.
- Ptah-Sokar in, IV 191.
- Nefertem in, IV 191.
- Pylon of, IV 10, 60, 61; portal of, IV 11; name of, IV 11.
- Chapel of Khonsu in, IV 5; great seat of, IV 5; door of electrum, IV 5; chapels in, IV 191.
- Pavilion of, IV 17, 111 n. a, 192; balcony of, IV 192; columns of, IV 192; doors of, IV 192; doorposts of, IV 192.
- Double façade of, IV 16; colonnade of, IV 16; roof of, of, IV 16.



- Château for, IV 194; lake of, IV 194.
- Estate of, IV 190; captives in, IV 190; garden of, IV 189, 194; arbor-areas of, IV 194; granary of, IV 9, 190, 193; herd of, IV 190, 224, 466; income of, IV 227-29; lake of, IV 189; lands of, IV 190; people of, IV 223; property of, IV 140, 190; ships of, IV 19, 193; storehouse of, IV 9; coppersmiths of, IV 533; treasury of, IV 9, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 190, 193, 545, 547; treasury chambers of, IV 25.
- Medûm**—
- TEMPLE OF SOKAR, lord of Sehez, IV 855.
- Memphis**—
- TEMPLE OF PTAH, I 167, 241, 288, 720; II 929; III 537; IV 183, 987; Hat-keptah, ancient name of, IV 865, 868; also called temple of "Ptah-South-of-his-Wall," I 167, 241, 288, 720; II 929; IV 183, 311, 319, 321, 322, 342, 866, 928, 1011; restored by Ramses II, III 537; by Ramses III, IV 314.
- Decrees of, IV 321; divine offerings in, IV 320; feasts of, IV 329, 330; gifts to, IV 342-45.
- Court of, IV 311, 327, 330, 333, 335; name of, IV 330; garden in, IV 333.
- Holy of holies of, IV 865; dewat-chamber of, IV 866.
- Shrine of, IV 320; statues in, IV 320; portable shrine of, IV 315; processional image of, IV 315; barque of, IV 315; great seat in, IV 315; statues in, IV 326, 338 n. a; barge of, IV 330; tablets of, IV 317, 318; great seat of, IV 319, 334; table-vessels of, IV 334; mysterious seat of Sokar in, IV 857; house (= palace) in, IV 338, 340; granaries of, IV 314, 325; storehouse of, IV 314, 324, 328; for the feasts, IV 322; treasuries of, IV 340.
- Officials of, IV 324; high priests of, I 211, 212, 239, 258, 283, 286, 287, 288; III 552 n. e; IV 338; sem-priest of, see Index V: Priests; women of, IV 321; administration of, IV 321.
- Estate of, IV 337-39; cattle of, IV 323, 334, 337; cattle yards of, IV 323; fattening-houses of, IV 323; galleys of, IV 328, 337, 339; gardens of, IV 337, 339; groves of, IV 339; herd of, IV 338, 340; income of, IV 340, 341; lands of, IV 337, 339; magazines of, IV 324; people of, IV 338; poultry yards of, IV 323; slaves of, IV 322, 338; towns given to, IV 337, 339; transports of, IV 328, 339; workshops of, IV 337.
- TEMPLE OF ATON, II 1018; name of, II 1018.
- TEMPLE OF AMON, III 530.
- TEMPLE OF RAMSES II OF AMON, III 412, 530-37; Thoth, III 531; fore-court of, III 412; double façade of, III 412; endowment of, III 413; sphinx in, III 531; Ineb-Sebek, a sanctuary in, IV 315, 330, 333.
- TEMPLE OF SETI I, III 214 n. d.; name of, III 214 n. d.
- TEMPLE OF RAMSES III, IV 311; name of, IV 311, 338, 340.
- Doors of, IV 311; "great seat" of, IV 311; shrine of, IV 312; image of Ptah in, IV 312; towers of, IV 311; personnel of, IV 313.
- Estate of: cattle yards of, IV 313; fattening-houses of, IV 313; gardens of, IV 313; herds of, IV 313; lands of, IV 313; magazine of, IV 313; storehouses of, IV 313; serf-laborers of, IV 313.
- SERAPEUM, I 22; located in "the western desert of Memphis," IV 977; called temple of Osiris-Apis, IV 965; restored by Psamtik, IV 966; Apis buried in, IV 771, 778, 780, 786, 791, 884, 917, 918, 961; troops of, IV 966; stelæ of Pediese, IV 771-74, 778-81; Harpeson, IV 785-92; Bocchoris, IV 884; Senbef, IV 917, 918; Psamtik I, IV 959-62, 963-66; Necho, IV 974-79; Apries, IV 984-88; Amasis, IV 1008-12.
- Mer-Atum**—See **Medûm**
- Mesha**—
- TEMPLE OF SEBEK, IV 368; people of, IV 368.
- Mesta**—
- TEMPLE, IV 956.
- Mewetkhent**—
- TEMPLE OF AMON, IV 368; people of, IV 368.
- Napata**—
- TEMPLE OF MUT, IV 897-99; and of Amon, IV 929; restored by Taharka, IV 897-99; by Tanutamun, IV 929; adytum of, IV 899; cells of, IV 899; halls of, IV 898, 929 bis; doors of, IV 929; herd of, IV 929.

- Neru**—  
 TEMPLE OF ANUBIS, IV 296; "books of the Nile-God" presented in, IV 296.
- Ombos**—  
 TEMPLE OF SUTEKH, IV 359, 365; restored by Ramses III, IV 359.  
 —Chapel of Ramses III in, IV 359; name of, IV 359.  
 —Herds of, IV 359; lands, IV 359; islands given to, IV 359; people, IV 365; slaves, IV 359; treasury, IV 359.
- Oryx Nome**—  
 TEMPLE OF KHNUM, lord of Hirur, adorned by Kheti in his city of the Oryx nome, I 637 n. a.
- Oxyrrhyncus**—  
 TEMPLE OF SET, IV 368; people of, IV 368.
- Panopolis**—  
 TEMPLE OF MIN, II 181; IV 366; prophets of, II 181; people of, IV 366; feasts of, II 181.  
 —Chapel of Ramses III in, IV 366.  
 —Harendotes, in temple of Min, II 181.
- Pauzy**—  
 TEMPLE OF THOTH, IV 368; people of, IV 368.
- Pe**—  
 TEMPLE OF BUTO, I 500.
- Per-Manu**—  
 TEMPLE, IV 956.
- Perneser**—  
 TEMPLE OF BUTO, I 159.
- Pernu**—  
 TEMPLE OF BUTO, I 156.
- Perwer**—  
 TEMPLE OF NEKHBET, I 159.
- Perzoz**—  
 TEMPLE OF HORUS, IV 726; prophet of, IV 726.
- Ramesseum**—  
 RAMESSEUM, MORTUARY TEMPLE OF RAMSES II, at Thebes, III 329, 335, 365, 448 n. b, 514, 515; of sandstone, III 515; nave of, III 515; barque of, III 515; treasury of, III 515; columns of, III 515; granary of, III 515.
- Ramses**—  
 TEMPLE OF SUTEKH IN THE RESIDENCE CITY OF RAMSES II, IV 362; grain of, IV 362; granary of, IV 362; herds of, IV 362; people of, IV 369; serf-laborers of, IV 362; treasury of, IV 362.
- Redisiyeh**—  
 TEMPLE OF SETI I, III 162 n. c, 172-95.
- Rehesu**—  
 TEMPLE OF SEKHMET, IV 878.
- Rosta**—  
 TEMPLE OF ANUBIS (see Sphinx), III 230; IV 4.
- Royenet**—  
 TEMPLE OF HATHOR, mistress of Royenet, I 219.
- Sais**—  
 TEMPLE OF SEKHMET, IV 878, 956.
- Sebû c a**—  
 TEMPLE OF RAMSES II, III 504; dedicated to Amon, III 504.
- Semneh**—  
 TEMPLE OF DEDUN, rebuilt by Thutmose III, II 61 n. a, 167; of sandstone, II 167, 176.  
 —Originally built by Sesostris III, II 167; within the fortress, II 167; of brick, II 167.  
 —Sacred to Khnum and Dedun, II 167; located inside fortress at Semneh, I 653 n. c; feasts of, I 655, 655 n. b.
- Sep**—  
 TEMPLE OF ANUBIS, IV 368; people of, IV 368.
- Serreh (Aksheh)**—  
 TEMPLE OF RAMSES II, III 502; name of, III 502.
- Sesu**—  
 TEMPLE OF SET, IV 369; people of, IV 369.
- Shedebod**—  
 TEMPLE, IV 780.
- Sheshotep**—  
 TEMPLE OF KHNUM, IV 366; people of, IV 366.
- Silsileh**—  
 ROCK-TEMPLE OF SEBEK, III 208; built by Harmhab, III 4552-560.
- Siût**—  
 TEMPLE OF UPWAWET AT SIÛT, I 398, 403; IV 358, 366, 367; of ancient foundation, I 398, 403; ancient walls of, I 403; built by Ptah, I 403; founded by Thoth, I 403; restored by Kheti,

- I 398, 403; by order of King Merikere, I 403; monument for the souls of Anubis in, I 403; colonnade of, I 403.  
—Wall of, IV 358; barge of, IV 358; royal palace in, IV 358, 367; people of, IV 367; storehouse of, IV 358.  
—List of official body of, I 550; lay-priests of, I 539, 544.
- TEMPLE OF ANUBIS, LORD OF REKRERET**, I, 583; *w c b*-priests of, I 540; great *w c b*-priest of, I 572, 583; fire kindled in, on New Year's night, I 573; lay-priests of, I 576.
- Soleb**—See Khammat.
- Sphinx**—
- HOUSE OF THE SPHINX**, I 180; Osiris, lord of Rosta, I 177, 180, 509; Sokar in, II 814; Anubis, lord of, III 17; identical with the temple of the Sphinx, I 180 n. h.
- TEMPLE OF ISIS**, near the Sphinx, I 177 n. e, 179; IV 706; built by Pesebkhennu, I 177 n. e.
- Tanis**—
- TEMPLE OF AMON**, IV 217 n. i, 956; granary of, IV 217; cattle yards of, IV, 217; poultry yards of, IV 217; gardens of, IV 217; herd of, IV 217; statue of Amon in, IV 217; slaves of, IV 217; treasury of, IV 217; divine offering of, IV 217.
- Tep-het**—
- TEMPLE OF RE**, I 159, 165.
- Tharu**—
- TEMPLE**, IV 956.
- Thebes**—
- SERET-MAT**, II 374.  
See also Karnak, Luxor, Mad.
- Thebes, Western**—
- For temples on the west side of Thebes, see also Kurna, Dêr el Bahri, Drah abu-'n-Neggah, Medinet Habu, and Ramesseum.
- TEMPLE OF THE MEMNON COLOSSI**, built by Thutmose III, II 552, n. i; Amenhotep III, I 14; II 883-85; name of, II 918 n. a; located on the west of Thebes, II 883.  
—Portals of, II 883; floor of, II 883; flagstaves of, II 883; station of the king in, II 883; lake of, II 883; fish and fowl in, II 883.  
—Storehouse of, II 884; slaves of, II 884; captives in, II 884; cattle of, II 884.
- MORTUARY TEMPLE OF THUTMOSE IV**, II 821, 823; tablet erected in, by Thutmose IV, II 821, 824; fortress of, II 821, 823.
- MORTUARY TEMPLE OF AMENHOTEP III**, II 904, 905; built of sandstone, II 905; offerings for, II 907, 908; double pylon of, II 906; statues of, II 906; priests of, II 908; obelisks of, II 908; prophets of, II 908.
- MORTUARY TEMPLE OF MERNEPTAH**, II 856 n. b; III 602 n. d.
- CHAPEL OF PRINCE WAZMOSE**, II 928.
- Thinis**—
- TEMPLE OF ONOURIS**, IV 355, 365, 484; wall of, IV 355, 365; built by Ramses III, IV 355; name of, IV 355; completed by Ramses III, IV 355; estate of, IV 355; people of, IV 365.
- Wadi Halfa**—
- TEMPLE OF HORUS OF BOHEN**, built by Thutmose III, III 639 n. a; III 74, 157; endowed by Ramses I, III 17, 18; Seti I, III 159, 160; divine offerings for, III 77, 159; personnel of, III 78, 160; storehouse of, III 78, 160.
- Yered**—
- TEMPLE OF AMON-RE**, IV 368; people of, IV 368.
- Zahi**—
- TEMPLE OF AMON**, IV 219; name of, IV 219; built by Ramses III, IV 219; statue of Amon in, IV 219.
- Of Uncertain Location**—
- HOUSE** (called) "MIGHTY-OF-THE-GODS," I 97.
- HOUSE: HOR-REN**, I 119.
- TEMPLE OF MUT-KHENT-EBUI-ENTERU**, IV 369; people of, IV 369.
- HOUSE OF [ ] OF HORUS**: endowment of, I 156.
- HOUSE OF ISIS**, I 180.
- TEMPLE OF HRISHEFYT**, IV, 368; people of, IV 368.
- TEMPLE (SUN) OF SEPTE**: endowment of, I 156.
- SAW**, temple of, I 103.
- TEMPLE OF SEKHET-RE**, I 159.
- TEMPLE OF SENUT-HOUSE, THE DOUBLE**: endowment of, I 141, 159, 165.
- TEMPLES**, built by Intef I, I 421.

INDEX III  
KINGS OF EGYPT

A

- A, predynastic king of Lower Egypt, I 90.
- AHMOSE I** (XVIII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, II 1-37; chronology of, I 66; accession of, I 51; successors of, II 1; siege of Sharuhén by, II 4; ships of, II 7; grandmother of, II 33; service of Thure under, II 62; Phoenician campaign of, II 20; building designs of, II 34; mortuary endowment of, II 840; mummy of IV 645.
- Nebpehtire (= Ahmose I), II 7, 20, 21, 25, 34, 62, III, 182, 840; IV, 645.
- AHMOSE II**: See Amasis.
- AKHTHOES**, I 53.
- ALEXANDER THE GREAT**, journey to oasis of Amon, II 189.
- AMASIS** (XXVI Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, IV 996-1029; chronology of, I 75; IV 935-41, 996-99, 1026-27. Khnemibre (= Amasis), IV 1000.
- Amasis-Si-Neit (Amasis), IV 1000, 1012, 1025.
- AMENEMHET I** (XII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, 463-97; chronology of, I 64, 460-62; Nubian war of, I 8, 472-73, 483; expeditions to Hammamat, I 466-68; to the Sand-dwellers, I 469-71; teaching of, 474-83; insurrection against, I 479-81; coregency with Sesostri I, I 481; reorganization of Egypt, I 482; death of, I 491-92.
- Sehetepibre (= Amenemhet I), I 465, 473, 478, 491, 597.
- AMENEMHET II** (XII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 594-613; chronology of, I 64, 460-62, 594.
- Hekenemmat (= Amenemhet II), I 616.
- Nubkure (= Amenemhet II), I 595, 600, 679 bis, 685.
- AMENEMHET III** (XII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 707-48 (title of reign overlooked by printer); chronology of, I 64, 460-62; expeditions to Hammamat, I 707-12; to Sinai, I 713-28; temple-inscription at Arsinoe, II 233.
- Nematre (= Amenemhet III), I 673, 708, 713, 718, 719, 721, 728, 747.
- AMENEMHET IV** (XII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 749-50; chronology of, I 64, 460-62.
- Makhrure (= Amenemhet IV), I 749, 750.
- AMENEMOPET** (XXI Dyn.), IV 663; chronology of, I 70.
- Usermare-Setepnamon (= Amehemopet), IV 663.
- AMENHIRKHEPESHEF-RAMESSES-NETERHEKON**: see Ramses V.
- AMENHOTEP I** (XVIII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, II 38-53; chronology of, I 66; Sothic date of, I 46, 51; succession of, I 43; II 1; rewards of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhbet under, II 22; Nubian campaign of, II 39, 41; Libyan war, II 42; Karnak gate of, II 44; career of Ahmose, son of Ebana, under, II 38, 39; career of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhbet under, II 44-46; service of Thure under, II 63; death of, II 45; mummy of, IV 638, 647; tomb of, IV 513, 605, 607, 668, 691, 692, 699.
- Zeserkere (= Amenhotep I), II 25, 39, 41, 42, 51, 63; IV 513, 638, 913.
- AMENHOTEP II** (XVIII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, II 780-809; chronology of, I 66; coregency with Thutmose III, I 66 n. a; II 184 n. d; Asiatic campaigns of, I 16; II 780-98; date of campaigns of, I 66; II 780; Amâda and Elephantine stelæ of, I 16; II 791-98; Karnak chapel of, II 798A; reliefs of, II 781, 791, 798A, 799, 801, 802.
- Okheprure (= Amenhotep II), II 186, 782, 795, 797, 800, 804, 808, 809.
- AMENHOTEP III** (XVIII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, II 841-931; chronology of, I 66; birth and coronation of, I 13; II 187-212, 215-42, 841; Nubian war of, II 842-55; tablet of

- victory of, II 856-59; commemorative scarabs of, II 860-68; queens of, II 861-62, 866-67; jubilee celebrations of, II 870-74; building inscriptions of, II 878-910; campaigns of, II 844, 582-85; celebration of the coronation day of, II 849; deification of, II 893, 894; tomb of, IV 556; reliefs of, II 187-212, 215-42, 843, 845, 856, 857, 858.
- Nubmare (= Amenhotep III), II 844 bis, 853, 886, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 894, 897, 898, 915, 916, 922.
- AMENHOTEP IV**: see Ikhnaton.
- AMENI**: crown prince (= Amenemhet II), I 520.
- AMENISRU**, II 866 n. c.
- AMENMESES** (XIXth Dyn.): chronology of, I 67; III 641.
- AMENRUD**, IV 852 n. c.
- APOPHIS**, Hyksos king, mentioned in Pap. Sallier, II 4.
- APRIES** (Hophra) (XXVI Dyn.), IV 1015; inscriptions of reign of, IV 984-95; chronology of, I 75; IV 935-41, 984-85, 1026-27; minimum length of reign of, IV 985; war against Amasis, IV 996-1007.
- Wahib (= Atries), IV 988F.
- Wahibre (= Atries), IV 988, 988F, 990, 1000.
- ASHURBANIPAL**, IV 405 n. g.
- ATEOTHIS** (I Dyn.): history of (?), on Palermo stone, I 91 n. b, 93 n. e, 102 n. a.
- B**
- BEKERE**: see Tanutamon.
- BEKNERANEF** (XXIV Dyn.): inscriptions of, IV 884; chronology of, 72 n. d, 73; son of Tefnakhte, IV 884.
- Bocchoris (Bekneranef), IV 884.
- Wohkere (= Bekneranef), IV 884.
- BESH**, I 81.
- BINRE-MERIAMON**: see Merneptah.
- BOCCHORIS**: see Bekneranef, IV 884.
- C**
- CHU-EN-ATEN**: see Ikhnaton.
- D**
- DED**: see Dedkere-Isesi.
- DEDEFRE**: chronology of, I 55, 59.
- DEDKERE-ISESI** (V Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 264-81; length of reign, I 60; titles, I 264-67.
- Dedkhu (Horus-name of Dedkere-Isesi), I 264, 266.
- Ded (Golden-Horus-name of Dedkere-Isesi), I 266.
- E**
- EYE** (XVIII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, II 1042-43; tomb of, II 989-96; Tiy, wife of, II 989; servants of, II 989; chronology of, I 66.
- H**
- HARMHAB** (XIX Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, III 1-73; chronology of, I 66 n. e, 67 n. g; tomb of, III 1-21; coronation inscription of, III 22-32; wars of, III 33-44; edict of, I 18; III 45-67; legal proceedings in time of, I 66 n. e; wife of, III 22 n. b; reliefs of, III 2, 5-9, 10-13, 15, 18, 20, 34, 37.
- Mernamon (= Harmhab), III 29, 32B.
- Setepnere (= Harmhab), II 573; III 24, 29, 32, 32B, 71.
- Zeserkheprure (= Harmhab), II 573; III 12, 24, 29, 32, 32B, 42, 71.
- HATSHEPSUT**, chronology of, I 66; divine paternity of, II 188, 190, 192, 196-201, 203-5; pictured in the birth-reliefs as a boy, II 188 n. c; birth of, II 206-8; nursing of, II 210; called king by Khnum and Amon, II 203, 208; Thutmose III called her brother, II 213; maidenhood of, II 223; coronation of, I 150 n. f; II 215-42; wearing king's costume, II 231; expedition to Punt, II 246-295; her temple at Der el-Bahri, II 215-295; pylon-inscription of, II 243-45; restoration of temple of Pakht at Benihasan, I 15; II 296-301, and other temples, II 302-3; the two Karnak obelisks, I 16; II 304-21; reliefs of, at Der el-Bahri, II 322-36; daughter of, II 344; vizier of, II 388-90; prominent officials of, II 340-87; usurpation of her monuments by Thutmose I and III, II 126; ebony shrine of, II 126-27; relation with Thutmose III, II 136.
- Khnefmet-Amon (= Hatshepsut), II 198, 237, 286, 308, 309, 310, 339.
- Makere (= Hatshepsut), II 201, 208, 213, 230, 238, 239, 245, 253, 264, 269, 271, 274, 280, 285, 286, 288, 308, 309,

- 310, 314, 329, 339, 344, 350, 357, 365, 368, 370, 377 bis, 380.  
 —Wosretkew (=Hatshepsut), II 239, 268, 285, 308, 309, 325, 339, 354.  
**HEKENEMMAT**: see Amenemhet II.  
**HEKMARE-SETEPNAMON**: see Ramses IV.  
**HOPHRA**: see Apries.  
**HRIHOR** (XXI Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, IV 608-26; chronology of I 70; IV 604-7; high priest of Amon, IV 566, 580, 593, 594, 609, 610, 611, 612, 615, 617, 621, 622, 624, 626; vizier, IV 593; king, IV 607, 620, 622-26; building of the temple of Khonsu, IV 611-26; reliefs of, IV 611-14, 621, 626.  
 —Siamon-Hrihor (=Hrihor), IV 620, 623, 626.
- I**
- IKHNATON** (XVIII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, II 932-1018; chronology of, I 66, 67 n. g; temple of Harakhte in Thebes, II 931-35; vizier of, II 938-48; landmarks of Tell el-Amarna, II 949-72; the Tell el-Amarna tombs, II 977-1018; change of name, II 932; Aton-faith of, II 932, 943, 949, 979; queen of, 943, 958, 959, 961; daughters of, 958, 961; estate of, II 1004; reliefs of, II 933.  
 —Amenhotep IV (=Ikhnaton), I 66; II 934, 939.  
 —Chu-en-Aten, III 2.  
 —Neferkheprure-Wanre (=Ikhnaton), II 934, 942, 959, 971, 984, 985, 987, 991, 992, 994, 999, 1001, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1007, 1010, 1012.  
 —Wanre (=Ikhnaton), II 975, 984, 993, 995, 1003, 1013.  
**IKHNERE-SETEPNERE**: see Siptah.  
**INTEF I** (XI Dyn.), (Horus-Wahenekh): inscription of reign of, I 421-23; his tomb-stela, I 421; chronology of, I 63, 415-18, 529; the conquests on the northern frontier of Thebes, I 422-23; king of Thebes, I 421-23; chief treasurer of, I 423A-F.  
 —Intefo, IV 514; pyramid of, IV 514; hound of, IV 514.  
 —Wahenekh (Intef I), I 423, 423B, 423D 423F, 529.  
**INTEF II** (XI Dyn.), (Horus-Nakhtnebt-Tepnefer): inscriptions of reign of, I 23A-G; chronology of, I 63, 415-18; chief treasurer of, I 423A, 423G; son of Intef I, I 423G.  
 —Nakhtnebt-Tepnefer (Intef II), I 423 G.  
**INTEF III** (XI Dyn.): chronology of, I 63, 415-18, 424; vassal of Mentuhotep II, I 424, 425.  
**INTEF** (Nubkheprure), (XIII Dyn.): pyramid of, IV 515.  
**INTEFO**: see Intef I.  
**INTEFO** (Sekhemre-Upmat): pyramid of, IV 516; stela of, IV 516.  
**ITY** (VI Dyn.): inscription of, I 61 n. a, 386-87; pyramid of, I 387.
- K**
- KAIECHOS** (I Dyn.): cult of "Running-of-Apis," I 114 n. a.  
**KASHTA**, IV 940.  
**KEMOSE**: queen of, II 33; pyramid of, IV 519.  
 —Uzkheperre (=Kemose): pyramid of, IV 519.  
**KHAFRE** (IV Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 188-209; chronology of, I 54, 55, 59, 190; son of, I 190; referred to, II 815.  
**KHANEFERRE**: chronology of, I 55, 60.  
**KHASEKHEMUI** (II Dyn.): birth of, I 86, 136.  
**KHAYU**: predynastic king of Lower Egypt, I 90.  
**KHEKURE**: see Sesostriis III.  
**KHENZER** (XIII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 781-87; cleansing of the temple of Abydos, I 783-87.  
 —Nematre-Nekhere (=Khenzer), I 786.  
**KHEPERHEZRE-SETEPNERE**: see She-shonk I.  
**KHEPERHEZRE-SETEPNERE**: see Takelot II.  
**KHEPERKERE**: see Sesostriis I.  
**KHEPERKHARE-SETEPNAMON**: see Paynozem I.  
**KHNEMET-AMON**: see Hatshepsut.  
**KHNEMIBRE**: see Amasis.  
**KHUFU** (IV Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 176-187; mentioned, I 180, chronology of, I 54, 55, 59; his relief at Wadi-Maghara, I 176; history of, on the Palermo stone, I 86; his full name, I 176; his Horus-name, I 176,

- 180; sphinx and temple of, I 177; daughter of, I 180; pyramid of, I 180.  
 —Khnum-Khufu ("Khnum protects me"), full name of Khufu, I 176, 176 n. c.
- M**
- MAKERE**: see Hatshepsut.  
**MAHRURE**: see Amenemhet IV.  
**MEKE**, predynastic king of Lower Egypt, I 90.  
**MENEKHBIB**: see Psamtik II.  
**MENES** (I Dyn.): accession of, I 53, 58, 79, 88; history of, on Palermo stone (?), I 91, n. b.  
**MENKHEPERRE**: see Thutmose III.  
**MENKHEPRURE**: see Thutmose IV.  
**MENKUHOR** (V Dyn.): inscription of, I 263; length of reign of, I 60; titles of, I 263.  
 —Menkhu (Horus-name of Menkuhor), I 263.  
**MENKURE** (IV Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 210-12; chronology of, I 54 bis, 55, 59, 254, 255; title of, I 211; mentioned, I 213, 217; educated Ptahshepses, I 256.  
**MENMARE**: see Seti I.  
**MENMARE-SETEPNEPTAH**: see Ramses XII.  
**MENPEHTIRE**: see Ramses I.  
**MENTUHOTEP I** (XI Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 423H; chronology of, I 63, 415-18, 423H; wars of, I 423H.  
 —Nibhotep (= Mentuhotep I), I 423H.  
**MENTUHOTEP II** (XI Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 424-26; chronology of, I 63, 415-18, 425; chief treasurer of, I 425-26; first great king of the Theban line, I 426; pyramid of, IV 520.  
 —Nibhepetre (= Mentuhotep II), pyramid of, IV 520.  
 —Nibkhrure (= Mentuhotep II), I 426; name to be read Nibhepetre, p. 344, add.  
**MENTUHOTEP III** (XI Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 427-33; chronology of, I 63, 415-18, 427; mortuary temple of, IV 520 n. b.  
**MENTUHOTEP IV** (XI Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 434-59; Hammamat inscriptions, I 434-53; sarcophagus of, I 448; expedition of, I 447; vizier of, I 438, 445; chronology of, I 63, 415-18, 434; mother of, I 450.  
 —Nibtowere (= Mentuhotep IV), I 437, 440, 441, 446, 450, 455, 456.  
**MERERI**: see Pepi I.  
**MERIAMON-HORUS-PESIBKHENNO**: see Pesibkhenno II.  
**MERIAMON-OSORKON**: see Osorkon I.  
**MERIAMON-OSORKON**: see Osorkon III.  
**MERIAMON-PAYNOZEM**: see Paynozem I.  
**MERIAMON-PEDIBAST**: see Pedibast.  
**MERIAMON-PEMOU**: see Pemou.  
**MERIAMON-PIANKHI**: see Piankhi.  
**MERIAMON-RAMESSES**: see Ramses II.  
**MERIAMON-SHESHONK**: see Sheshonk I.  
**MERIAMON-SHESHONK**: see Sheshonk III.  
**MERIAMON-SHESHONK**: see Sheshonk IV.  
**MERIAMON-SIBAST-OSORKON**: see Osorkon II, IV 747.  
**MERIAMON-SIBAST-SHESHONK-NUTERHEKON**: see Sheshonk III.  
**MERIAMON-SIESE-PEMOU**: see Pemou.  
**MERIAMON-SIESE-TAKELOT**: see Take-lot II.  
**MERIAMON-YEWEPET**: see Yewepet.  
**MERIKERE** (King of Heracleopolis), I 398, 399; titles of, I 399, 403; restoration of the temple of Upwawet, I 403.  
**MERNAMON**: see Harmhab.  
**MERNEPTAH** (XIX Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, III 569-638; chronology of, I 67, n. b; accession of, III 578; Libyan-Mediterranean invasion against, III 572-617; prominent officers of, III 618-38; reliefs of, III 594, 597, 628.  
 —Binre-Meriamon (= Merneptah), III 575, 607, 610, 635.  
 —Merneptah-Hotepirma (= Merneptah), III 575, 588, 598, 600, 607, 610, 631, 633, 634, 638.  
**MERNEPTAH**: see Seti I.  
**MERNEPTAH-SIPTAH**: see Siptah.  
**MERNERE I** (VI Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 316-36; chronology of, I 61; inscriptions at the First Cataract, I 8, 316-18; sarcophagus of, I 321; pyramid of queen of, I 321-22;

- expeditions to the Negro tribes, I 333-36.
- MERNERE II (VI Dyn.): chronology of, I 61.
- MEIBIS (I Dyn.): name last on Palermo stone, I 103 n. b, 148 n. c.
- N
- NAKHTNEB-TEPNEFER: see Intef II.
- NAMLOT: king, IV 814, 830, 833, 849, 882; prince of Hatweret, IV 820.
- NEBE: see Psamtik I.
- NEBKHEPRURE: see Tutenkhamon.
- NEBPEHTIRE: see Ahmose.
- NECHO (XXVI Dyn.): IV 1028; inscriptions of reign of, IV 974-80; chronology of, I 75; IV 935-41, 974-75, 1026-27.
- Uhemibre (=Necho), IV 976, 980, 1028.
- NEFEREFRE (V Dyn.): chronology of, I 255, 261.
- NEFERHOTEP (XIII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 753-72; restoration of the temple of Osiris at Abydos, I 755-65; decree concerning the necropolis of Abydos, I 766-72.
- NEFERIBRE: see Psamtik II.
- NEFERIRKERE (V Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 242-49; chronology of, I 55, 60, 254-56, 260, history on Palermo stone, I 163-67; vizier of, I 243-48.
- NEFERKERE: see Pepi II.
- NEFERKERE: see Shabaka.
- NEFERKERE-SETEPNERE: see Ramses IX.
- NEFERKHEPRURE-WANRE: see Ikhнатon.
- NEFERTEM-KHURE: see Taharka.
- NEFHEB<sup>1</sup>: predynastic king of Lower Egypt, I 90.
- NEMATRE: see Amenemhet III.
- NEMATRE-NEKHERE: see Khenzer.
- NESUBENEDED (XXI Dyn.) (=Smen-des): inscriptions of reign of, IV 627-30; living at Tanis, IV 564, 565, 566, 574; wealthy ship-owner, IV 574; ruler of the Northland, IV 581, 582; king, IV 627-30; chronology of, I 70; IV 604-7; restoration of the wall of Luxor, IV 627-30.
- Smen-des (=Nesubenedded), IV 564 n. c.
- NETERIMU (II Dyn.): reign of, on Palermo stone, I 117.
- NIBHEPETRE: see Mentuhotep II.
- NIBHOTEP: see Mentuhotep.
- NIBKHEPRURE: see Mentuhotep II.
- NIBMARE: see Amenhotep III.
- NIBMARE-MERIAMON: see Ramses V.
- NIBTOWERE: see Mentuhotep IV.
- NUBKHEPRURE-INTEF: inscription of, I 773-80; insurrection in time of, I 773-74; deposition of the count of Coptos, I 775-80; pyramid of, IV 515.
- NUBKURE: see Amenemhet II.
- NUBTI: a Hyksos king, III 542.
- NUSERRE (V Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 250-62; chronology of, I 54 ter, 55, 60, 167 n. a; relief of, I 250; titles, I 250; sun-temple of, at Abusir, I 252 n. a, 423H n. a.
- O
- OKHEPERKERE: see Thutmose I.
- OKHEPERNERE: see Thutmose II.
- OKHEPERRE: see Sheshonk IV.
- OKHEPRURE: see Amenhotep II.
- OPEHTISET (=Nubti): a Hyksos king, with whom a new era began, III 549.
- OSORKON I (XXII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, IV 729-37; records of Nile levels under reign of, IV 695; chronology of, I 71; IV 694-95; temple gifts of, IV 729-37; wife of, IV 739, 740.
- Meriamon-Osorkon (I), IV 740.
- OSORKON II (XXII Dyn.), IV 771, 774; inscriptions of reign of, IV 742-51; records of Nile levels under reign of, I 43 n. b; IV 696-97; chronology of, I 71, 71 n. a; IV 694-95; flood inscription of, IV 742-44; reliefs of, IV 749-50, 757-70.
- Osorkon (II) Siese-Meriamon, IV 743.
- Usermare - Setepnamon (= Osorkon II), IV 743, 774.
- OSORKON III (XXIII Dyn.), IV 830, 872; inscriptions of reign of, IV 795; records of Nile levels under reign of, IV 794; chronology of, I 72, 72 n. d; IV 793-94; living in Bubastis, IV 878; son of, IV 794.
- Meriamon-Osorkon (III), IV 795.



## P

- PAYNOZEM I** (XXI Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, IV 631-49; chronology of, I 70; IV 604-7; high priest of Amon, IV 631-42; king, IV 642-49; temple buildings of, IV 632-35; restoration of mummies by, IV 636-47. —Kheperkhare-Setepnamon (=Paynozem I), IV 645, 649.  
—Meriamon-Paynozem (I), IV 659.  
—Paynozem-Meriamon (=Paynozem I), IV 645, 649, 652, 660.
- PEDIBAST** (XXIII Dyn.): records of Nile levels under reign of, IV 794; chronology of, I 72.  
—Meriamon-Pedibast, IV 794.
- PEFNEFDIBAST**, IV 814. The Demotic, from a recent observation of Spiegelberg, shows we should read Pefthew-owebast (*Pf-ḏw-cwy-Bḏst*).
- PEMOU** (XXII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, IV 778-81; records of Nile levels under reign of, IV 698; chronology of, I 71; IV 694-95, 778.  
—Meriamon-Pemou, IV 780.  
—Meriamon-Siese-Pemou, IV 698.  
—Usermare-Setepnamon (=Pemou), IV 698, 780.
- PEPI I** (VI Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 295-315; chronology of, I 61; expedition of, I 295, 297-98; queen of, 310; army of, I 311-12; war against Sand-dwellers, I 311-14; campaign in Southern Palestine, I 315.  
—Merire (=Pepi I), I 298, 302
- PEPI II** (VI Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 337-85; chronology of, I 61; queen-mother of, I 339, 341; queens of, I 344; vizier of, I 347-49; letter of, 350-54; grandees of his reign: Pepi-nakht, I 355-60; Khui, I 361; Sebui, I 362-74; Ibi, I 375-79; Zau, I 380-85.  
—Neferkere (Pepi II), I 340, 382.
- PESIBKHENNO I** (XXI Dyn.): chronology of, I 70; IV 604-7.
- PESIBKHENNO II** (XXI Dyn.): chronology of, I 70; IV 604-7; daughter of, IV 740.  
—Meriamon-Horus-Pesibkhenno (II), IV 740.
- PIANKHI**, I 22; stela of, IV 796-883; reliefs of, IV 814, 815.  
—Meriamon-Piankhi, IV 816, 817, 834.
- PSAMMUS** (XXIII Dyn.?), I 72 n. d; IV 812; inscriptions of reign of, IV 935-73.
- PSAMTIK I** (XXVI Dyn.), IV 978; chronology of, I 75; IV 935-41; stela of adoption, I 23; IV 935-58; the Serapeum stelæ, IV 959-66.  
—Nebe (=Psamtik I), IV 945.  
—Wahibre (=Psamtik I), IV 943, 945, 958D, 960, 978.
- PSAMTIK II** (XXVI Dyn.), IV 987, 988A, C, E, I; inscriptions of reign of, IV 981-83; chronology of, I 75; IV 935-41, 984-85, 1026-27.  
—Menekhib (=Psamtik II), IV 988C.  
—Nefibre (=Psamtik II), IV 982, 988C.
- PSAMTIK III** (XXVI Dyn.): chronology of, I 75.
- PTOLEMY EUERGETES II**, II 912.  
— - PU: predynastic king of Lower Egypt, I 90.

## R

- RAMESSIDS**: tombs of, in the "valley of the kings," IV 473, 490, 491.
- RAMSES I** (XIX Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, III 74-9; chronology of, I 67; coffin of, IV, 667.  
—Menpehtire (=Ramses I), III 76, 77, 78, 213, 373, 521; IV 667.
- RAMSES II** (XIX Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, III 251-568; chronology of, I 67 n. a; length of reign of, IV 471; lost calendar of, I 43 n. b; date of campaigns of, I 43; erasure of inscriptions of Hatshepsut, II 192 n. d, 193; restoration of temple at Der el-Bahri, II 192 n. d; coregency with Seti I, III 268; mortuary temple in Abydos for Seti I, III 251-81; the well of Akita, III 282-93; the Asiatic war, III 294-391; treaty with the Hittites, I 18, 36; III 367-91; subsequent relations with the Hittites, III 392-447; Nubian wars of, III 448-91; buildings of, III 492-542; jubilees of, III 543-60; birth of, III 400; youth of, III 267; marriage of, III 415-24, 428, 432-47; sons of, III 350, 362, 456, 474, 477, 482; daughters of, III 482 n. c; coffin of, IV 665, 691; tomb of, IV 545, 594; mummy of, IV 642; reburial of, IV 665; obelisks of, III 392, 543 n. c, 567; reliefs of, III 255-539.

- Ramses II*—  
 —Meriamon-Ramses (II), III 271, 281, 285.  
 —Ramses-Meriamon (=Ramses II), III 317, 336, 360, 365, 370, 375, 376, 377, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 386, 389, 390, 433, 486, 501, 504, 507, 520, 522, 527, 548, 553, 554, 556, 560.  
 —Usermare-Setepnere (=Ramses II), II 192 n. d; III 259, 271, 279, 281, 285, 306, 317, 336, 360, 365, 370, 373, 375, 378, 381, 382, 384, 385, 389, 433, 442, 447, 502, 507, 552, 553, 554, 556, 560; IV 524, 545, 642, 665.
- RAMSES III (XX Dyn.):** inscriptions of reign of, IV 1-456; inaccurate publications of I 29; chronology of, I 69; length of reign of, I 48; accession of, IV 63; calendar of, I 43 n. b; IV 139-45; buildings of, IV 1-34 (see also Papyrus Harris *passim*); first Libyan war of, IV 35-58; northern war, IV 59-82; second Libyan war, IV 83-114; Syrian war, IV 115-135; Nubian war, IV 136-38; endowment of temples, IV 146-50, 231-35, 284-88, 342-45, 372-81; Papyrus-Harris, IV 151-412; harem-conspiracy, IV 416-53; practice of magic, IV 454-56; mummy of, IV 640, 641; reliefs of, IV 25, 29-34, 45-57, 69-82, 99-114, 117-30, 132-35, 137-38, 184, 246, 305.  
 —Usermare-Meriamon (=Ramses III), IV 37, 49, 55, 62, 75, 79, 94, 103, 105, 106, 110, 122, 126, 128, 130, 182, 230, 248, 249, 284, 289, 290, 297, 306, 307, 342, 346, 347, 352, 353, 364, 372, 383, 397, 455, 491, 523, 545, 547, 640.
- RAMSES IV (XX Dyn.):** inscriptions of reign of, IV 457-72; chronology of, I 69, 69 n. a; first expedition to Hammamat, IV 457-60; second expedition to Hammamat, IV 461-68; completion of the temple of Khonsu, IV 472; reliefs of, IV 458, 463.  
 —Hekmare-Setepnamon (=Ramses IV), IV 463, 472.  
 —Ramses-Hekma-Meriamon (=Ramses IV), IV 246, 304, 351, 382, 411, 412.  
 —Ramses-Meriamon (=Ramses IV), IV 463, 472.  
 —Usermare-Setepnamon (=Ramses IV), IV 246, 304, 351, 382, 411, 412.
- RAMSES V (XX Dyn.):** inscriptions of, IV 473; chronology of, I 69; tomb of, IV 473.  
 —Amonhirkhepeshef-Ramses-Neterhekon (=Ramses V), IV 473.  
 —Nibmare-Meriamon (=Ramses V), IV 473.
- RAMSES VI (XX Dyn.):** inscriptions of reign of, IV 474-83; chronology of, I 69; tomb of Penno, IV 474-83; reliefs of, IV 476, 477.
- RAMSES VII (XX Dyn.):** inscriptions of reign of, IV 484-85; chronology of, I 69; scribe of, IV 485; reliefs of, IV 484.  
 —Ramses - Menthirkhepeshef - Meriamon (=Ramses VII), IV 484.  
 —Usermare-Ikhnamon (=Ramses VII), IV 484.
- RAMSES VIII (XX Dyn.):** chronology of, I 69.
- RAMSES IX (XX Dyn.):** inscriptions of reign of, IV 486-556; chronology of, I 69, 69 n. a; high priest of Amon in reign of, IV 486-98; tomb-robberies in time of, IV 499-556; reliefs of, IV 493.  
 —Neferkere-Setepnere (=Ramses IX), IV 510.  
 —Ramses-Meriamon (=Ramses IX), IV 510.
- RAMSES X (XX Dyn.):** chronology of, I 69; coregency with Ramses IX, IV 544.  
 —Uhem-mesut (=Ramses X), IV 545.
- RAMSES XI (XX Dyn.):** chronology of, I 69.
- RAMSES XII (XX Dyn.):** inscriptions of reign of, IV 557-603; chronology of, I 69; report of Wenamon, IV 557-91; affairs in the South, IV 595-600; building the temple of Khonsu, IV 601-3, 609-15; restoration of mummies, IV 592-94.  
 —Menmare-Setepneptah (=Ramses XII), IV 596, 609, 611, 612.  
 —Ramses (XII)-Khamwese-Meriamon-Nuterhekon, IV 596, 609.
- RAMSES-HEKMA-MERIAMON:** see Ramses IV.
- RAMSES-KHAMWESE-MERIAMON-NUTERHEKON:** see Ramses XII.
- RAMSES-MENTHIRKHEPESHEF-MERIAMON:** see Ramses VII.

- RAMSES-MERIAMON: see Ramses II.  
RAMSES-MERIAMON: see Ramses IV.  
RAMSES-MERIAMON: see Ramses IX.  
RAMSES-SIPTAH: see Siptah.
- S
- SAHURE (V Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 236-41; chronology of, I 54 bis, 55, 60, 254-56; history on Palermo stone, I 159-62; titles of, I 236; privy councilor of, I 259.  
SAKERE (XVIII Dyn.): chronology of, I 66.  
SEBEKEMSAF (Sekhemre-Shedtowe): queen of, IV 517; pyramid of, IV 517, 528.  
—Sekhemre-Shedtowe (=Sebekemsaf), IV 517; queen of, IV 517; pyramid of, IV 517, 528.  
SEBEKNEFRURE (XII Dyn.): chronology of, I 64.  
SEBEKTOWE: see Shabaka.  
SEHETEPHRE: see Amenemhet I.  
SEKA: predynastic king of Lower Egypt, I 90.  
SEKENENRE-TAO: see Tao.  
SEKENENRE-TA00: see Taoo.  
SEKHEMRE-KHUTOWE (XIII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 751-52.  
SEKHEMRE-UPMAT: pyramid of, IV 516.  
SENEKHKERE, I 420 n. f.  
SESHMUTOWE: see Sesostri II; I 616.  
SESOSTRI I (XII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 498-593; chronology of, I 64, 460-62, 487-88; coregency of, I 487; building inscription of, I 14, 498-506; Nubian expeditions, I 510-12, 518-21; appointments of, I 627; buildings of, IV 489.  
—Kheperkere (=Sesostri I), I 501, 512, 520, 525, 529, 598, 784; IV 489.  
SESOSTRI II (XII Dyn.): inscription of reign of, I 614-39; chronology of, I 64, 460-62; coregency of, 614.  
SESOSTRI III (XII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 640-700; chronology of, I 64, 460-62; conquest of Nubia, I 10; queen of, I 655 n. b; made god, II 160; hymn to, I 17; treasurer of, I 9, 661-70.  
—Khekure (=Sesostri III), I 644, 647, 650, 652, 663, 672, 675, 686; II 170, 171 174, 175.  
SETEPNERE: see Harmhab.  
SETI I (XIX Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, III 80-250; chronology of, I 67; Karnak inscriptions of, III 80-156; other temple inscriptions, III 162-98; building inscriptions, III 199-250; wars in Asia, III 80-119; in Libya, III 120-56; queen of, IV 555; her tomb, IV 555, 593; restoration of monuments by, I 13, 15; II 312; reliefs of, III 80-156, 163, 165, 203; obelisk of, III 544; tomb of, IV 545, 642, 665, 666, 667; mummy of, IV 639, 661; coffin of, IV 666, 691.  
—Menmare (=Seti I), II 612, 878; III 82 n. b, 83, 86, 88, 100, 101, 105, 110, 116, 122, 132, 134, 136, 143, 144, 146, 150, 154, 155, 160, 169, 171, 175, 179, 195, 223, 260, 263, 267, 270, 271, 272, 280, 289, 373, 541; IV 545, 555, 593, 642, 661, 665, 666, 667.  
—Merneptah (=Seti I), III 266, 272.  
—Seti-Merneptah (=Seti I), II 312, 856; III 86, 88, 94, 100, 122, 132, 134, 143, 144, 146, 150, 154, 169, 175, 195, 270, 271, 541, 545, 547, 645; IV 665, 666, 667.  
—Uhem-Mesut (=Seti I), III 94, 101, 108, 169, 223.  
—Hartema (=Seti I), III 96, 122, 132.  
SETI II (XIX Dyn.): chronology of, I 67; succeeding Siptah, III 641; viceroy of Kush, III 639, 640, 642, 643, 646, 647.  
SETI-MERNEPTAH: see Seti I.  
SETNAKHT (XX Dyn.): chronology of, I 69; rule of, IV 399; death of, IV 400.  
—Setnakht-Merere-Meriamon (=Setnakht), IV 399.  
—Userkhare-Setepnere-Meriamon (=Setnakht), IV 399.  
SETNEH, an ancient king, I 166.  
SHABAKA (XXV Dyn.): inscription of reign of, IV 889; records of Nile levels under reign of, IV 886; chronology of, I 74; IV 885.  
—Neferkere (=Shabaka), IV 886.  
—Sebektowe (=Shabaka), IV 886.  
SHABATAKA (XXV Dyn.): record of

- Nile levels in reign of, I 43; IV 887; chronology of, I 74; IV 885.
- SHEPSESRAF** (IV Dyn.): chronology of, I 54 bis, 55, 59, 254, 255, 257; daughter of, I 257; son-in-law of, I 54, 257; pyramid of, I 151;
- SHEPSESKERE**: chronology of, I 55, 60.
- SHESHONK I** (XXII Dyn.), I 26, 49; IV 787, 792; inscriptions of reign of, IV 699-728; records of Nile levels under reign of, IV 695; chronology of, I 71; IV 694-95; quarrying at Silsileh, IV 701-8; buildings in Karnak temple, IV 701-24A; campaign in Palestine, IV 709-24; rebellion in the oasis in reign of, IV 729; reliefs of, IV 702, 709-18.
- Kheperhezre-Setepnere (= Sheshonk I), IV 700, 703, 724.
- Meriamon-Sheshonk (I), IV 700, 704, 705, 721, 724.
- SHESHONK II** (XXII Dyn.): chronology of, I 71; IV 694-95.
- SHESHONK III** (XXII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, IV 756-77; records of Nile levels under reign of, IV 698; chronology of, I 71; IV 694-95, 778; annals of high priest Osorkon, IV 756-70.
- Meriamon-Sheshonk (III), IV 698.
- Meriamon-Sibast-Sheshonk- (III) Nuterhekon, IV 774.
- Usermare-Setepnamon (= Sheshonk III), IV 698, 774.
- SHESHONK IV** (XXII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, IV 782-92; records of Nile levels under reign of, IV 698; chronology of, I 71; IV 694-95.
- Meriamon-Sheshonk (IV), IV 698.
- Okheperre (= Sheshonk IV), IV 784, 791.
- Usermare-Meriamon (= Sheshonk IV), IV 698.
- SIAMON**: Tanite king, IV 663; chronology of, I 70; IV 604-7.
- SIAMON-HRIHOR**: see Hrihor.
- SIPTAH** (XIX Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, III 639-51; chronology of, I 67; viceroys of Kush in time of, III 639, 643, 646; queen of, IV 400 n. c.; reliefs of, III 647, 648.
- Ikhnerre-Setepnere (= Siptah) III, 648, 650.
- Merneptah-Siptah (= Siptah), III 650.
- Ramses-Siptah (= Siptah), III 642, 643.
- SMENDES**: see Nesubenebbed.
- SNEFRU** (III Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 168-75; mentioned, I 176, 189, 731; chronology of, I 54 bis, 55, 56, 58, 86; placed in III Dynasty by Palermo stone, I 86; became god of the Sinai region, I 168, 722; commemorated by roads and statues in the Delta, I 168, 493; regarded as god, I 722; founder of mining, I 168; smiter of barbarians, I 169; dispatched a fleet to bring cedar from Lebanon I 89; gates of, I 148; his relief at Wadi Maghara, I 169.

## T

- TAHARKA** (Tirhaka) (XXV Dyn.), IV 942, 962; inscriptions of reign of, IV 892-918; records of Nile levels under reign of, IV 888; chronology of, I 74; IV 885; fleeing before Ashurbanipal, IV 405 n. g, 917; Piankhi, father of, IV 892; death of, IV 919.
- Nefertem-Khure (= Taharka), IV 888.
- TAKELOT I** (XXII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, IV 738-40; records of Nile levels under reign of, IV 695; chronology of, I 71, 71 n. g; IV 694-95; queens of, IV 696, 792.
- TAKELOT II** (XXII Dyn.), I 35; IV 777; inscriptions of reign of, IV 752-55; chronology of, I 71; IV 694-95; coregency with Osorkon II, IV 697.
- Kheperhezre-Setepnere (= Take lot II), IV 762.
- Meriamon-Siese-Takelot (II), IV 753, 762.
- TAKELOT III** (XXIII Dyn.): chronology of, I 72, 72 n. d; coregency with Osorkon III, I 72 n. d.
- TANUTAMON** (XXV Dyn.): inscription of, IV 919-34; coregency with Taharka, IV 920; conquest of the Delta IV 927-34.
- Bekere (= Tanutamon), IV 921, 934.
- TAO** (Sekenenre): pyramid of, IV 518.
- Sekenenre-Tao, pyramid of, IV 518. an officer of, II 7; queen of, II 33.
- TAOO** (Sekenenre): pyramid of, IV 518.
- Sekenenre-Taoo, pyramid of, IV 518.
- TETI** (VI Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 282-94; chronology of, I 61.

- TEYEN:** predynastic king of Lower Egypt, I 90.
- THESH:** predynastic king of Lower Egypt, I 90.
- THUTMOSE I,** II 25, 74, 114; inscriptions of reign of, II 54-114; chronology of, I 66; rewards of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet, under II 23; coronation decrees of, I 18, II 54-60; full titulary of, II 56, 69; feast of coronation of, II 60; service of Thure under, II 64; Tombos inscription of, II 67-73; fortress on Tombos, built by, II 72, 121; Nubian frontier of, II 67; comparative dates of Asiatic and Nubian campaigns, II 67, 79; tribute of South and North, II 70; boundaries of, II 73; clearing of cataract canal by, II 75-76; Nubian campaign of, II 67-77, 80, 84; Asiatic campaign of, II 73, 81, 85, 125; obelisks of, II 86-89; first jubilee of, I 66 n. g; II 89; works at Abydos of, II 90-98; tomb of, II 105; old age of, II 64; death of, II 108; still living under Thutmose II, II 121; usurpation of monument of Hatshepsut by, II 126; succession of children of, II 135.
- Okheperkere (= Thutmose I), II 25, 64, 70, 75, 80, 84, 87, 88, 114, 121, 194, 196, 224, 238, 311, 317, 478, 778.
- THUTMOSE II (XVIII Dyn.),** II 25; inscriptions of reign of, II 115-27; chronology of, I 66; rewards of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet under, II 24; service of Thure under, II 65; biography of Ineni, II 115, 118; accession of, II 116; death of, II 118; Nubian war of, II 119-22; first campaign of, campaign against Shasu, II 123-24; campaign in Syria (now known to belong to Thutmose I), II 125; usurpation of monument of Hatshepsut by, II 126; death of, II 363, 368; mummy of, IV 637.
- Okhepernere (= Thutmose II), II 21, 24, 25, 65, 116, 122, 124, 125, 127, 332 n. d, 389, 390, 595; IV 637.
- THUTMOSE III (XVIII Dyn.);** later inscriptions, of reign of, II 391-779; (for earlier inscriptions, see Thutmose III and queen); chronology of, I 66; length of reign of, I 48; II 592; Sothic date in reign of, I 43, 46, 51; service of Thure under, II 66; coronation of, II 131 ff., 594; power in Syria before his campaigns, II 137, 184; receives homage of all foreign princes, II 148; capture of Joppa, I 24; campaigns in Syria, I 43; II 391-540; offerings from conquests of, II 541-72; buildings of, II 131 ff., 593-643; Nubian wars of, II 644-54; hymn of victory of, II 655-62; annals of, I 3 bis, 13, 14, 66 n. h; II 391-540; vizier of, I 20; II 663-762; prominent officials of, II 763-79; called a brother of Hatshepsut, II 213; ascension to heaven of, II 222; death of, II 592; son of Thutmose II, II 595; wife of, II 779; son of, II 780; coregency with, II 184 n. d; mortuary temple of, II 552 n. i; statues of, II 164, 165, 186; obelisks of, I 16; II 563, 571, 626-36, 776; temple at Medinet Habu, II 637-41; reliefs of, II 450 n. a, 543-46, 645, 646, 653, 655.
- Menkheperre (= Thutmose III), II 21, 25, 146, 154 ter, 157, 174, 176, 179, 185, 186, 213, 332, 332 n. d, 370, 383, 387, 392, 407, 441, 451, 458, 584, 592, 635, 642, 650, 654, 656, 750, 752, 755, 758, 761, 779, 794, 832; III 58; IV 628.
- THUTMOSE III AND QUEEN (XVIII Dyn.):** inscriptions of reign of, II 128-390.
- THUTMOSE IV (XVIII Dyn.):** inscriptions of reign of, II 810-40; chronology of, I 66; youth of, II 813-15; accession of, I 24; II 812; Asiatic campaign of, II 816-22; Nubian campaign of, II 823-29; buildings of, II 830-38; obelisk of, I 16; II 830; mummy of, II 15; sphinx stela of, I 15; II 810-15; palace in Abydos, II 839.
- Menkheprure (= Thutmose IV), II 812, 821, 825, 832, 834, 836, 837, 838, 840; III 32B; IV 539.
- THUTMOSES,** feud of the, II 128-30.
- TIRHAKA:** see Taharka.
- TUTENKHAMON (XVIII Dyn.):** inscriptions of reign of, II 1019-41; chronology of, I 66; restoration of inscriptions by, II 897, 1019; reliefs of, II 1021, 1028, 1035.
- Nebkheprure (= Tutenkhamon), II 897, 1036, 1041.
- Tutenkhaton (Tutenkhamon), II 1019.

## U

- UHEMBRE: see Necho.  
 UHEM-MESUT, see Ramses X.  
 UHEM-MESUT: see Seti I.  
 UNIS (V Dyn.): length of reign of, I 60; Sabu, official of, I 282, 283.  
 USEKHARE-SETEPNERE-MERIAMON: see Setnakht.  
 USERKAF (V Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 213-35; chronology of, I 54 bis, 55, 60, 231, 255; history on Palermo stone, I 153-58; coronation-feasts of, I 258.  
 USERKERE (VI Dyn.): chronology of, I 61; probably identical with Ity, I 61 n. a.  
 USERMARE-IKHNAMON: see Ramses VII.  
 USERMARE-MERIAMON: see Ramses III.  
 USERMARE-MERIAMON: see Sheshonk IV.  
 USERMARE-SETEPNAMON: see Amenem-opet.  
 USERMARE-SETEPNAMON: see Osorkon II.  
 USERMARE-SETEPNAMON: see Pemou.  
 USERMARE-SETEPNAMON: see Ramses IV.  
 USERMARE-SETEPNAMON: see Sheshonk III.

- USERMARE-SETEPNERE: see Ramses II.  
 UZKHEPERRE-KAMOSE: see Kamose.

## W

- WAHENKH: see Intef I.  
 WAHIB: see Apries.  
 WAHIBRE: see Apries.  
 WAHIBRE: see Psamtik I.  
 WANRE: see Ikhnaton.  
 WAZENEZ: predynastic king of Lower Egypt, I 90.  
 WOHKERE: see Bekneranef.  
 WOSRETKEW: see Hatshepsut.

## Y

- YEWEPET: high-priest of Amon, IV 607, 700, 705; called "king," IV 814, 830, 868; of Tentremu, IV 878.  
 —Meriamon-Yewepet, IV 794.

## Z

- ZESERKERE: see Amenhotep I.  
 ZESERKHEPRURE: see Harmhab.  
 ZET (XXIII Dyn. ?), I 72 n. d; IV 812.  
 ZOSER (III Dyn.): gift to Khnum, I 24, 201; chronology of, I 58; terraced pyramid of, I 170.

## INDEX IV

### PERSONS

#### A

- AABU, I 707.
- ABRAHAM: visit to Egypt of, I 620 n. d; III 10.
- ABRAM: field of, IV 715.
- AFRICANUS, I 72 n. e; IV 884.
- AHHOTEP I: mother of King Ahmose I, parentage of, II 33; age of, II 49, 52; restoration of Princess Sebekemsaf's tomb by, II 112; Yuf, favorite of, II, 109-14; Edfu estate belonging to, II, 113.
- AHMOSE (officer of Ikhnaton): inscription of, II 1004-8; tomb of, II 1004.
- AHMOSE: queen of Thutmose I, Yuf, favorite of, II 114; coition with Amon, II 194, 195, 203; confinement, II 204-5; birth of Hatshepsut, II 206, 210.
- AHMOSE (son of Ebana), biography of, II 1-16, 38, 39, 78-82.
- AHMOSE (Saite general), IV 1013, 1014.
- AHMOSE-NOFRETERE, queen of Ahmose I, II 26, 34.
- AHMOSE-PEN-NEKHBT, biography of, II 17-25, 40-42, 123-24, 344.
- AHMOSE-SEPIR, pyramid of, IV 519.
- AHMOSE-SITKAMOSE, queen, IV 644.
- AHUBEN: father of Psamtik, the priest, IV 1029.
- AKENESH, chief of Me, IV 815, 868, 878.
- AMENEMHAB: inscription of, II 578-92; biography of, II 574-78; tomb of, II 574 n. g; adventures of, II 574-75.
- AMENEMHAB, peasant, IV 539.
- AMENEMHET, I 518.
- AMENEMHET (= Amen): inscription of, I 515-23; biography of, 515, 516; titles of, I 518; three expeditions of, I 519-21; administration of, I 522; character of, I 523; also called Amen, I 518 n. a; son of Knumhotep I, I 515.
- AMENEMHET, inscription of, I 730-32.
- AMENEMHET (official of Amenemhet III): inscription of, I 707-9; expedition to Nubia, I 707; titles of, I 707; expedition to Hammamat, I 709.
- AMENEMHET, third prophet of Amon, II 931.
- AMENEMHET, vizier of Mentuhotep IV: tablet of, I 444-48; titles of, I 438, 442, 445; expedition of, I 442-47.
- AMENEMHET-AMENY, II 689 n. d.
- AMENEMOPET, first prophet, IV 480.
- AMENEMOPET: tomb of, II 671 n. e; tomb-inscription of, II 671 n. e.
- AMENEMOPET, viceroy of Kush, III 204 n. b, 477 bis.
- AMENEMUYA, son of Ramses II, III 362.
- AMENEMYENET, IV 524.
- AMENEMYENET, brother of Neferhotep, III 73.
- AMENHIRKHEPESHEF, son of Ramses II, III, 350, 456, 482.
- AMENHIRUNAMEF, son of Ramses II, III, 467, 471, 474, 477.
- AMENHOTEP, bodyguardsman of Thutmose IV: inscription of, II 818.
- AMENHOTEP, high priest of Amon, I 69 n. a; IV 487, 489, 494, 495, 498, 523, 531, 534; inscriptions of, IV, 488-98.
- AMENHOTEP, son of Hapi: inscriptions of, II 911-27; deification of, II 911-12; promotions of, II 914-17; mortuary temple of, II 921-27; also called Huy, II 924.
- AMENHOTEP, treasurer, IV 495.
- AMENHOTEP, viceroy of Kush, brother of Huy, II 1028.
- AMENHOTEP, workman, IV 526.
- AMENI (= Amenemhet), I 518 n. a; inscription of, I 515-23.
- AMENI, father of Sisetet, I 671.
- AMENI, magnate of the south: inscription of, I 649-50.
- AMENI (under Amenemhet III): rock-inscription of, I 721-23.

- AMENIRDIS I, IV 940, 946.  
 AMENIRDIS II, IV 940.  
 AMENISENEB, I 716.  
 AMENISENEB: inscriptions of, I 781-87;  
 titles of, I 782; commission to, I 783-  
 84; rewards of, I 785-87.  
 AMENKEN: inscriptions of, II 801-2;  
 tomb of, II 801.  
 AMENKHA, IV 449.  
 AMENMOSE, IV 466.  
 AMENNAKHT, scribe, IV 526, 529.  
 AMENOPET: district of, IV 539; house  
 of, IV 539.  
 AMENUSERE, I 777.  
 AMU, father of Mentuhotep, the general,  
 I 512.  
 ANI, II 977.  
 ANI, III 634.  
 ANUBISEMONEKH, father of Methen,  
 I 171, 172.  
 APOPHIS, a Hyksos king, II 4.  
 ARTATAMA, king of Mitanni, II 866 n. h.
- B
- BABA, father of Ahmose of El-Kab,  
 II 7.  
 BAHU, herdsman, IV 481.  
 BAY, III 647, 648.  
 BEDEL, king of Dor, IV 565.  
 BEHKESI, I 365.  
 BEK, architect of Ikhnaton: inscription  
 of, II 973-76; reliefs of, II 974, 976.  
 BEK, king's-scribe, IV 668.  
 BEKET, architect of the tomb of Khnum-  
 hotep II, I 639.  
 BEKET, matron: daughter of a count,  
 I 622; mother of Khnumhotep II,  
 I 622, 639; titles of, I 628.  
 BEKETATON, daughter of Ikhnaton, II  
 1016.  
 BEKI, IV 547.  
 BEKI, IV 665, 667.  
 BEKNEKHONSU: inscription of, III 561-  
 68; statue of, I 20; III 561 n. d;  
 titles of, III 563; career of, III 564, 565.  
 BEKNEKHONSU, IV 466.  
 BEKNEKHONSU, IV 665.  
 BEKNENEF, prince, IV 830.  
 BEKNEPTAH, captain, I 343.  
 BEKNEPTAH, chief commander of Her-  
 acleopolis, IV 777.  
 BEKNUREL, chief of police, IV 512.  
 BEKUREL, queen of Seti I, IV 555.  
 BENTRESH, III 436, 438, 443.  
 BERKET-EL, rich shipowner of Sidon,  
 IV 574.  
 BINEMWESE, IV 443.  
 BUPENAMONKHA, slave, IV 682.  
 BURDED, I 351, 353.  
 BUTEHAMON, scribe, IV 640.  
 BUYUAWA, a Libyan, IV 787, 792.
- C
- CORNELIUS GALLUS, I 459 n. c.
- D
- DEBHEN: inscription of, I 210-12;  
 tomb of, I 210-12.  
 DED, king of Libya, III 579; IV 43.  
 DENE, slave, IV 682.  
 DENEREG, II 114.  
 DIODORUS, IV 884 n. a.  
 DISNEK, wife of Idu-Seneni, I 338 ter.  
 DUSHRATTA, king of Mitanni, II 866  
 n. h.
- E
- EBEK, slave, IV 682.  
 EFNAMON, prophet, IV 692.  
 EGEM, Hittite chief of archers, III 337.  
 EHATINOFER, workman, IV 551.  
 EHENEFER, a negro slave, IV 539.  
 EKPTAH, slave, IV 680.  
 EMKU, father of Ameniseneb, I 782.  
 EMUENSHI, sheik of Upper Tenu, I 494.  
 ENEBNI, nobleman, II 213; statute of,  
 II 213.  
 ENEFSU, IV 550.  
 ENEKHHOR, commander, IV 878.  
 ENEKHHOR, priest, IV 958B.  
 ENEKHNEFERIBRE, II 896 n. d.  
 ENEKHNES-MERIRE I, wife of Pepi I  
 and queen-mother of Mernere I, I  
 344; titles of, I 345.  
 ENEKHNES-MERIRE II, wife of Pepi I  
 and queen-mother of Pepi II, I 341,  
 344, pyramid of, I 341; titles, I 346.



- ENEKHNESNEFERIBRE, divine consort, IV 988A, C, G, H, I; stela of, IV 988A-J; statue of, IV 988I n. a.
- ENEKHWENNOFER, father of Senbef, IV 918.
- ENEN, II 931.
- ENENKHET, I 360.
- ENKHETESI, mother of Psamtik the priest, IV 1029.
- ENKHOFNAMON, prophet, IV 665, 667, 689.
- ENKHU, vizier, I 783; stelæ of, I 783 n. d; statue of, I 783, n. d.
- ENROY, wife of Teshere, IV 553.
- ENWAW, charioteer, III 635.
- EPERDEGEL, III 632.
- ERO—EKH, IV 682.
- ERREM, IV 455.
- ESHEHEBSED, IV 438.
- ETI: inscription of, I 457-59; stela of, I 457; biography of, I 457-58; titles of, I 459.
- ETI, wife of chief of Punt, II 254, 258.
- F
- FETONEMUT, Singer of Amon-Re, IV 641.
- G
- GERBETES, Hittite chariot-warrior, III 337.
- GILUKHIPA, queen of Amenhotep III, II, 866 n. h; see also Kirgipa.
- H
- HAPI, IV 537, 539.
- HAPI, father of Amenhotep: II 912; burial of, II 920; written Hapu, II 924, 925.
- HAPI, mother of Khui, I 675.
- HAPU: inscription of, I 614-16; inspection of the fort of Wawat, I 616.
- HAPU, vizier of Thutmose IV, II 665.
- HAPUSENEB, vizier under Hatshepsut: inscriptions of, II 388-90.
- HAREMSAF, chief of works, IV 706, 708.
- HARHOTEP, II 110.
- HARKHEB, high priest of Amon, IV 952.
- HARKHUF: inscriptions of, I 325-36, 350-54; nobleman of Assuan, I 325; titles of, I 326, 332; home-life of, I 328, 331; tomb of, I 325, 329, 330; journeys of, I 333-36, 356; father of, I 333; son of, I 336 n. a; letter to, I 350-54; rewards of, I 352.
- HARMINI: stela inscription of, II 47, 48.
- HARMOSE, gardener, IV 682.
- HARNAKHT: inscription of, I 717, 718; surname of, I 718.
- HARNEPE—R—, IV 682.
- HARNETAMEHU, surname of Harnakht, I 718.
- HARNURE: inscription of, I 733-38; biography of, I 733-34; expedition to Sinai, I 735-38.
- HARPESON, high priest of Heracleopolis, IV 787, 792.
- HARPESON, prophet of Neit, IV 787, 792.
- HARSIESE I, high priest of Amon, IV 698.
- HARSIESE II, high priest of Amon, IV 698, 794.
- HARSIESE, Sem-priest, IV 779.
- HARSIESE, slave, IV 682.
- HATEY, II 932.
- HATEY, III 32C, 513.
- HATSHEPSUT-MERETRE: statue of, II 802.
- HEKIB, "beautiful name" of Pepinakht, I 356.
- HEKNEFRUMUT: see Enekhnesneferibre.
- HEMUKHROW, I 343.
- HENEMI, I 343.
- HENHATHOR, son of Nekonekh: scribe, I 218, 221; prophet, I 221; chief heir of Nekonekh, I 225.
- HENKU: tomb-inscription of, I 280-81; nomarch of the Cerastes-Mountain, I 281; brother of, I 281.
- HENOFER, mother of Senmut, II 358.
- HENPTAH I, high priest of Heracleopolis, IV 787, 792.
- HENPTAH II, high priest of Heracleopolis, IV 787, 792.
- HENTTOWE, queen of Paynozem I, IV 649.
- HENU: inscription of, I, 428-33; titles of, I 428; expedition to Red Sea, I 429; equipment of his army, I 430; improvement of the Red Sea territories, I 431; shipbuilding at Red Sea, I 432; quarrying at Hammamat, I 433.

- HENUT**, mother of Kheye, I 750.  
**HENUT**, mother of Sebek-hir-hab, I 725.  
**HENUTENAMON**, IV 448.  
**HENUTENUTER**, mother of Tewhenut, IV 727.  
**HENUTSEN**, daughter of Khufu, I 180; king's-confidante, I 185.  
**HEPI**, treasurer of the God, I 342.  
**HEPZEFI**: inscriptions of, I 535-93; prince of Siut, I 535; contracts of, 539-93; titles of, I 537-38; statue of in temple of Anubis at Siut, I 540.  
**HERETIBSUTEN**, IV 774.  
**HERNOFER**, divine votress, IV 784.  
**HERODOTUS**, I 23, 24, 75 n. h, 180 n. i; II 792 n. d; III 56 n. c, 171 n. b; IV 989, 998.  
**HERUNOFER**, father of Penno, IV 482.  
**HETAMENTHENOFER**, prophet, IV 660.  
**HETEB**, queen of Alasa, IV 591.  
**HETEPHIREs**, king's-confidant, I 196.  
**HETIHENKER**, chief of Libya, IV 784.  
**HEZETHEKNU**, wife of Nekonekh, I 216, 217, 218, 221, 224.  
**HIRMAMONPENE**, inspector, IV 593.  
**HOR**, II 229 n. e.  
**HOR**: commander of Heracleopolis, IV 967; statue of, IV 967; inscription of, IV 968-73.  
**HORI**, IV 957.  
**HORI**, deputy, IV 531.  
**HORI**, inscription of, III 82 n. b.  
**HORI**: king's-messenger, III 645; son of Ubekhu, III 650.  
**HORI**, king's-scribe, IV 485.  
**HORI**, scribe, IV 465.  
**HORI**, standard bearer, IV 423, 426, 453.  
**HORI**, standard bearer, IV 531.  
**HORI**, temple scribe, IV 281.  
**HORISHERE**, scribe, IV 526, 529.  
**HOTEP**, son of Kam, I 187.  
**HOTEPHIRYAKHET**: tomb-inscriptions of, I 251-53; priest at Abusir, I 251; judge, attached to Nekhen, I 252; eldest of the hall, I 253; his intercession, I 252; given a sarcophagus by the king, I 253.  
**HUI**, II 929.  
**HUI**, III 210.  
**HURABES**, prince, IV 878.  
**HUY**, beautiful name of Amenhotep, son of Hapu, II 924.  
**HUY**, chief, IV 338.  
**HUY** (of Amarna), inscription of, II 1014-16; tomb of, II 1014; reliefs of, II 1014, 1016.  
**HUY**, overseer of herds, IV 338.  
**HUY**, viceroy of Kush: inscription of, II 1019-41; tomb of, II 1019; family of, II 1026, 1040; reliefs of, II 1022-24, 1028, 1035, 1039, 1040.  
**HUY**, IV 524.
- I
- IBDU**, commander, I 303.  
**IBE**, steward of Nitocris, inscription of, IV 958A-M.  
**IBEB**, father of Amenemhet, I 707.  
**IBEBI**, I 282, 283; see Sabu-Ibebi.  
**IBI**, probably the son of Zau of Abydos: inscriptions of, I 375-79; biography of, I 375; titles of, I 376-77; wife to, I 375; son of, I 376, 380; career of, I 377-78; tomb of, I 378; mortuary endowment, I 379.  
**IB-PSAMTIK-MENEKH** (=Nesuhor), IV 990.  
**IBSHE**, I 620 n. d.  
**IDI**, I 466 n. c.  
**IDU**, also called Seneni: inscription of, I 338; tomb of, I 337; wife of, I 338.  
**IFRER**, father of Nesuhor, IV 990.  
**IHE**, nomarch of the Hare nome, I 688 n. a.  
**IHI**, statue of, I 165.  
**IHU**, treasurer of the god, I 298, 299.  
**IHY**, I 387.  
**IKHAMON**, slave, IV 680.  
**IKHERNOFRET**: inscription of, I 661-70; biography of, I 9, 661; commission to Abydos, I 665-66; royal letter to, I 664; the drama of Osiris, I 669; temple of Osiris, I 667-68; titles of, I 664; mother of, I 670; relatives of, I 670.  
**IKHI**, nobleman of IV Dyn., I 183.  
**IKHI**, ship-captain: son of the preceding, I 301; father of, I 301.  
**IKHI**, treasurer of the god (VI Dyn.): I 298, 299; inscription of, I 301.  
**IKHNOUBET**, daughter of Nekonekh, I 230.

- IKUDIDI: inscription of, I 524-28; titles of, I 526; prayer of, I 526; expedition of, I 527; tomb of, at Abydos, I 528; home of, at Thebes, I 527.
- IKUI, father of Intef the nomarch, I 491.
- INHOTEP, inscription of, I 388-90.
- IMI, mother of Mentuhotep IV, I 450.
- IMSU, I 529; great grandfather of, I 529.
- IMTES, queen of Pepi I, I 310; legal proceedings against, I 310.
- INENI: biography of, II 43-46, 99-108, 115-18, 340-43; career under Amenhotep I, II 44-46; under Thutmose I, I 99-108; under Thutmose II, II 115-18; under Thutmose III and Hatshepsut, II 340-43.
- INHAPI queen, tomb of, IV 665, 666, 667.
- INI, chief judge, I 373.
- INI, inscription of, III 198.
- INI, steward, IV 546.
- INTEF, inscriptions of, I 466-68, 466 n. c.
- INTEF, nomarch: inscription of, I 420; biography of, I 419; ancestry of I 419 n. c; mortuary stela of, I 419-20; founder of the Theban line, I 419; son of, I 419; statue dedicated to, I 419; titles of, I 420; father of, I 419; also called "Intefo" (Intef the great), I 419 n. d.
- INTEF, palace-overseer, I 390.
- INTEF, ship-captain, I 365.
- INTEF, the Herald: inscription of, II 763-71; titles of, II 763; duties of the royal herald, II 764, 767; character of, II 768; tomb of, II 763 n. e.
- INTEFYOKER: inscription of, I 529, 423 n. a; lineage of, I 529.
- IPI, ship-captain, I 387.
- IRAMON, artisan, IV 539.
- IRBASTUZENUFU, daughter of king Amenrud, IV 852 n. c.
- IRETERU, prophetess of Hathor, IV 787, 792.
- IRHORO (= Neferibre-nofer), IV 981.
- IRI, father of Harkhuf, I 333.
- IRI, royal attendant, I 369, 370, 371.
- IROI, IV 445.
- ISESI, I 351, 353.
- ISIS, wife of Ramses III, IV 523, 543.
- J**
- JOSEPHUS, II 912 n. b.
- K**
- KA, I 731.
- KAM, governor, I 187.
- KARA, IV 423, 426.
- KARU, watchman, IV 550.
- KEDENDENNA, IV 423, 443, 446.
- KEKSIRE, mortuary priest, I 218.
- KEM, father of Hori, III 645.
- KEMETH, Hittite chief of warriors, III 337.
- KEMI, mother of Neferhotep, I 755.
- KEMWESE, water-carrier, IV 539.
- KENNEBTIWER, king's-confidant, I 197.
- KENOFER (Zaty-), crown prince, I 389.
- KEPER, king of Meshwesh, IV 90; captured by Ramses III, IV 97, 109; fettered, IV 103.
- KEPES, queen of Takelot I, IV 792.
- KERES, stela inscription of, II 49-53.
- KEROME, king's-daughter, IV 755.
- KEROME, queen of Sheshonk I, IV 792.
- KEROMEM, queen of Takelot I, IV 696, 747, 760.
- KERPES, IV 432.
- KEWKEW, IV 948.
- KEY, cattle-overseer, IV 224.
- KEY, father of Thuthotep, I 692 n. c.
- KHAMHET: inscription of, II 819; titles of, II 872; tomb of, II 819, 870, reliefs of, II 819, 870, 871, 872.
- KHAMMALE, IV 434.
- KHAMMALE, chief, IV 466.
- KHAMOPET, IV 433.
- KHAMOPET, IV 532.
- KHAMPET, II 929, 930, 931.
- KHAMTIR, deputy of the army, IV 466.
- KHAMTIR, overseer, IV 466.
- KHAMWESE, prophet of Amon, IV 795.
- KHAMWESE, son of Ramses II, III 350, 362, 474, 482, 552, 553, 554, 557, 558.
- KHAMWESE, vizier, IV 511, 513, 522, 523, 531, 532, 540, 543, 585, 586.
- KHARU, IV 523, 532.
- KHAY, captain of infantry, III 630 632.
- KHAY, vizier, III 556, 559, 560.

- КНЕБУХАТОР**, son of Nekonekh, I 218, 221.
- КХЕНМСУ КХЕНТКХЕТИХОТЕР**, rock-inscriptions of, I 713-16.
- КХЕНТЕМЕМЕТИ**, inscription of, I 607-613; titles of, I 608; honors of, I 609; temple-inspection by, I 610-12; stela of, I 613.
- КХЕНТИСУХАТОР**, I 218, 221.
- КХЕНТКХЕТИХОТЕР**, see Khenemsu.
- КХЕНТКХЕТВЕР**: inscription of, I 604-5; expedition to Punt of, I 605.
- КХЕНУ**, inferior scribe, I 299.
- КХЕНУКА**, a nobleman: inscription of, I 231-35; his titles, I 220, 222; mortuary priest of, I 213.
- КХЕРПЕСАР**, Hittite scribe, III 337.
- КХЕТ**, I 343.
- КХЕТАСАР**, king of Kheta, I 18; III 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 391.
- КХЕТИ I**, nomarch of Siut: inscription of, I 398-404; biography of, I 398-99; ancestry of, I 398, 400; career of, I 401, 404; old age of, 402; restoring the temple, I 403; titles of, I 400.
- КХЕТИ II**: inscriptions of, I 405-414, 426 (?); biography of, I 405-6, 426; wealth and generosity of, I 408; digging the canals for Siut, I 407; monuments of, I 409, 426; army of, I 410; fleet of, I 411; tomb of, I 412; childhood of, I 413; grandfather of, I 414; mother of, I 414, 426(?).
- КХЕТИ**, nomarch of Oryx nome, I 637 n. a; temple of Khnum, I 637 n. a.
- КХЕТИ**, wife of Khnumhotep II, I 633.
- КХЕYE**, I 750.
- КХНЕМХОТЕР**, *hnp-sh*, I 361; expedition to Kush and Punt, I 361.
- КХНУМ-ЕНКХЕФ**, I 343.
- КХНУМХОТЕР I**: inscription of, I 463-65; biography of, I 463; titles of, I 464; career of, I 465; grandfather of Khnumhotep II, I 464; made count of Menet-Khufu, I 465; of the entire Oryx nome, I 625-26; sons of, I 627; daughter of, I 628.
- КХНУМХОТЕР II**: inscription of, I 619-39; biography of, 619-21; titles of, I 622; tomb of, I 623; count of Menet-Khufu, I 624, 629; grandfather of I 625-26; uncle of, I 627; mother of, I 628; buildings of, I 630, 637-39; honors of, I 631; sons of, I 632-33; ancestry of, I 625-26, 634-36; official staff of, I 623; wife of, I 633.
- КХНУМХОТЕР III**: son of Khnumhotep II, I 620 n. a, 633; made ruler of Menet-Khufu, I 620 n. a; titles of, I 633; mother of, I 633; his son (?), I 620 n. a; ruling in (?), I 620 n. a.
- КХНУМХОТЕР**, the treasurer: inscription of, I 617-18; titles of, I 618.
- КХОНСУХЕТНЕТЕРНЕВ**, priest, III 432.
- КХУФ**, I 343.
- КХУФУ**, I 387.
- КХУИ**, I 361.
- КХУИ**, father of the queen of Pepi I, I 344; of Zau, I 349.
- КХУИ**: inscription of, I 674-75; titles of, I 675.
- КХУИ**, judge, I 299.
- КХУНИ**, master of bath, I 336.
- КХУУ**, father of Nenekhseskhnun, I 305.
- КИНЕН**, I 776.
- КИРГИПА**: wife of Amenhotep III, II 867; daughter of Satirna of Naharin, II 867; harem ladies of, II 867; chief of harem of, II 867.
- КИСУХАТОР**, son of Nekonekh, I 218, 221.

## L

**ЛЕМЕРСЕКЕНЫ**, commander, IV 821.

## M

- МАХАРБААЛ**, IV 423, 443, 446.
- МАХУ**, II 809.
- МАИ**, IV 423, 426, 452.
- МАИ**: tomb of, II 997; inscription of, II 997-1003; titles of, II 997; hymn of, II 999; prayer of, II 1003.
- МАКЕРЕ**, queen of Osorkon I, IV 740.
- МАНЕТО**, I 24, 53, 61 n. b, 62 n. d, 78 n. a, 79 n. a, 86; II 296, 912.
- МАСАХЕРЕТ**, high priest of Amon, IV 647.
- МАТКХА**, daughter of Shepseskaf and wife of Ptahshepses, I 257.
- МАТНЕФРУРЕ**, queen of Ramses II, III 417.
- МЕХЕТНУСЕКХЕТ**, wife of Sheshonk, IV 676, 679, 684, 685, 686, 687, 787, 792.

- MEHETNUSEKHET, IV 958C, M.  
 MEHI, son of Senezemib, I 274, 277.  
 MEKETATON, daughter of Ikhnaton, II 961.  
 MEKHU, father of Sebni, I 363; expedition to Nubia, I 363; death of, I 364; embalment of body of, I 370; burial in Nekheb, I 373.  
 MEKMEL, Syrian prince, IV 566.  
 MEN, captain, son of Mut, I 606.  
 MEN, father of Bek, II 975, 976.  
 MENGEBET, ship-captain, IV 565.  
 MENKHEPERRE, high priest of Amon, IV 650, 652, 653, 654, 655, 657, 658, 660, 661, 663, 668, 671; inscriptions of, IV 650-61.  
 MENKHEPERRESENEB: inscriptions of, II 772-76; offices of, II 772-74; reliefs of, II 773, 774.  
 MENKHET, mother of Meri, I 508.  
 MENMARENAKHT, overseer, IV 546.  
 MENTEMHET, prince of Thebes, IV 901, 904, 949, 951; inscription of, IV 901-916; buildings of, IV 902, 909-916; wife of, IV 951; relief of, IV 903, 909.  
 MENTEMTOWE, IV 423, 426.  
 MENTEMWESE, IV 692.  
 MENTHIRKHEPESHEF, chief of police, IV 512.  
 MENTUHOTEP (general): inscription of, I 510-14; titles of, I 512; relief of, I 514; son of, I 512; degradation of, I 514.  
 MENTUHOTEP: inscriptions of, I 530-34; copied by, I 530; titles of, I 531; character of, I 532; building operations of, at Abydos, I 534.  
 MER, mortuary priest, I 218.  
 MERASAR, king of Kheta, III 373, 391.  
 MERETATON, daughter of Ikhnaton, II 961; temple of, in Akhetaton, II 1017.  
 MERERI, scribe of the marine, I 390.  
 [MERET-NEIT], mother of King [Miebis?], I 103.  
 MERETUBEKHET, IV 957.  
 MERI: inscription of, I 507-9; titles of I 508; builder of the pyramid-chapel of Sesostris I, I 509; son of Menkhet, I 508.  
 MERI, deputy of Wawat, IV 481.  
 MERIAMON, son of Ramses II, III 350, 362.  
 MERIAMON-SHESHONK, high priest of Amon, grandson of Sheshonk I, IV 740.  
 MERIBAST, IV 487.  
 MERIPTAH, II 923, 929, 930, 931.  
 MERIRE I: inscription of, II 982-88; wife of, II 984; office of, II 985; tomb of, II 982, 1018;  
 MERIRE II, II 981.  
 MERIRE, scribe, II 1043.  
 MERIRE-MERIPTAH-ONEKH I, chief architect of Pepi I: inscription of, I 299; titles of, I 298, 299; son of, I 298.  
 MERIRE-MERIPTAH-ONEKH II, son of the preceding, ritual priest, I 298.  
 MERIRE-ONEKH, I 343.  
 MERIRE-ONEKH, commander, I 303.  
 MERMOSE, viceroy of Kush, II 855; inscription of, II 851-55.  
 MERNUTERSETENI, eldest son of Weshptah, I 243.  
 MER-PTAH-SI-HAPI, mother of Teperet, IV 1000.  
 MERSEGER, queen to Sesostris III, I 655 n. b; II 171.  
 MERTHOTH, prophet, IV 665.  
 MERTITYÔTES, royal favorite of Snefru, Khufu, and Khafre, I 54, 55; stela-inscription of, I 188-89; titles, I 189.  
 MERTUSAMEN, IV 446.  
 MERU, hereditary prince, I 370.  
 MERWER, IV 551.  
 MERYEY, king of Libya, III 579, 586, 610, 612, 615; IV 43.  
 MESEDSURE, IV 428, 429.  
 MESHESHER, king of Meshwesh, IV 90.  
 MESHKEN, king of Libya, IV 43.  
 MESSUI, IV 445.  
 METELLA, king of Kheta, III 374, 375, 377.  
 METENU, father of Sebeko, I 716.  
 METHDET, III 632.  
 METHEN: inscriptions of, I 170-75; biography of, I 170; activity in the Delta, I 170; ruler of Fayum and Anubis nome, I 170; died in reign of Snefru, I 170; son of Anubisemonekh I 171; and Nebsent, I 176; career of,

- I 172; honors and gifts to, I 173, 175; offices, I 174; family of, I 175.
- METHREM, a Hittite, III 337.
- MEYA, III 32B.
- MINEMHET, I 776, 780.
- MINHOTEP, I 776.
- MINHOTEP, II 800.
- MITHERE, IV 523.
- MONTU—, son of Ramses II, III 362.
- MUSEN, chief of Me, IV 787, 792.
- MUT, mother of Men, I 606.
- MUTEMUYA, IV 486.
- MUTEMUYA, queen of Thutmose IV, II 866 n. h.
- MUTNEZMET, wife of Harmhab, II 1043; III 22 n. f.
- MUTNOFRET, queen of Ramses II, III 255.
- N
- NAKHT I, eldest son of Khnumhotep I, I 627; ruler of Menet-Khufu, I 627.
- NAKHT II, eldest son of Khnumhotep II, I 632; ruler of the Jackal nome, I 632.
- NAKHTAMON, III 633.
- NAKHTAMON, artificer, IV 466.
- NAKHTAMON, butler, IV 466.
- NAKHTAMON, charioteer, IV 466.
- NAKHTEMHET, IV 528.
- NAKHTEMMUT, IV 539.
- NAMLOT I, chief of Me, IV 676, 679, 683, 685, 686, 687, 787, 792; statue of, IV 678, 680.
- NAMLOT II, high priest of Heracleopolis, IV 787, 792.
- NEATESNAKHTE, mother of Senbef, IV 918.
- NEBAMON, overseer, IV 517.
- NEBET, mother of the queen of Pepi I, I 344; of Zau, I 349.
- NEBETHAPI, IV 682.
- NEBETU, wife of Thutmose III, II 779.
- NEBETYOTEF, mother of Ameniseneb, I 782.
- NEBNESHI, IV 787, 792.
- NEBSENT, mother of Methen, I 175.
- NEBUNNEF, III 255-57; inscription of, III 256.
- NEBWAWI: biography of, II 177-78; statue of, II 178-83; stela of, II 184-86; career of, II 179-86; offices of, 180-83, 185-86.
- NEBZEFAL, IV 445.
- NEFERHER, of Bista, IV 957.
- NEFERHET, stela of, II 839 n. d.
- NEFERHOR, king's-messenger, III 643.
- NEFERHOR, scribe of the archives, III 643.
- NEFERHOTEP, king's-butler: inscription of, III 68-73; reliefs of, III 69, 73.
- NEFERHOTEP, tomb of, III 68 n. c.
- NEFERHOTEPES, king's-mother, I 241.
- NEFERHOTEPUR, I 776.
- NEFERIBENOFER, overseer of magazine, IV 981; statue of, IV 981-83.
- NEFERKERE EM-PER-AMON, king's-butler, IV 495, 511, 513, 522, 531.
- NEFERNEFRUATON-NOFRETETE, queen of Ikhnaton, II 959, 984, 991, 1010, 1015.
- NEFERPERET, chief treasurer under Ahmose I, II 28.
- NEFRETIRI, queen, IV 479.
- NEFRETIRI, queen of Ramses II, III 482 n. c, 499, 500, 501.
- NEFRURE, eldest daughter of Hatshepsut, II 344, 362, 363, 364.
- NEFRURE, queen of Ramses II, III 435.
- NEFRUSEBEK, IV 968.
- NEHI, viceroy of Kush: temple-inscription at Semneh of, II 651; pillar-inscription of, II 412-13; grotto-inscription of, II 652; confusion with Thure, II 61.
- NEHRI, I 628; married to Beket, I 628; son of, I 636; Khnumhotep II, son of, I 622, 631, 633, 634, 639; ruled as a babe, I 636; ka-house in Mernofret, I 635.
- NEHRI, father of Key, I 692 n. c, 692 n. a.
- NEHSI, II 290.
- NEKENNEBTI, king's-confidant, I 194.
- NEKE-ONEKH, I 343.
- NEKHTARNESHENU, chief of Me, IV 878.
- NEKONEKH, a nobleman: inscriptions of, I 213-30; titles and offices of, I 213; 216, 230; wife of, I 216, 224; children of, I 214, 228-30; tomb of, I 215; testamentary enactments of, I

- 216-22; will of, I 223-25; priest of Hathor I 219; enactments for the mortuary priesthood of, I 226, 227; mortuary statues of, I 228-30.
- NEKRI, II 1 n. c.
- NEKUPTAH, I 387.
- NEKURE, prince, I 190-99.
- NEKURE, son of preceding, I 195.
- NEMATHAP, queen (?), I 173.
- NENEKH-KHENTIKHET, ship-captain, I 266.
- NENEKHSEKHMET: inscription of, I 237-40; chief physician of Sahure, I 238; his tomb, I 238; its false door, I 238-39.
- NENEKHSEKHNUM, commission to, I 305; son of, I 305.
- NENESBAST, mother of Pefnefdineit, IV 1025.
- NESHENUMEH, slave, IV 682.
- NESIKHONSU, wife of Paynozem II, IV 689.
- NESIMUT, queen, IV 555.
- NESIPAI, IV 689.
- NESITETAT, slave, IV 682.
- NESNEKEDI, chief of Me, IV 830.
- NESSUHATHORYAKHET, son of Nek-  
onehk, I 218, 221.
- NESSUMONTU: stela inscription of, I 469-71; career under Amenemhet I and Sesostris I, I 469-71.
- NESTENT, queen of Namlot, IV 844.
- NESUAMON, IV 547.
- NESUAMON, chief of police, IV 545, 548, 552.
- NESUAMON, high priest of Amon, IV 487.
- NESUAMON, king's-butler, IV 495, 511, 513, 522, 523, 526, 528, 531, 533, 540.
- NESUAMON, master of hunt, IV 539.
- NESUAMON, priest, IV 551.
- NESUAMON, prophet, IV 531.
- NESUAMON, scribe, IV 486.
- NESUAMON, Sem-priest, IV 541.
- NESUBAST, prophet, IV 726, 728.
- NESUBENEDED, high priest of Amon, IV 794.
- NESUHOR, IV 652.
- NESUHOR, governor, 990, 993: statue-inscription of, IV 989-95.
- NESUMIN, IV 948.
- NESUMONTU, IV 547, 749.
- NESUPEHERNEMUT, prophet, IV 660.
- NESUPEKESHUTI, scribe, IV 665, 668, 689, 692.
- NESUPTAH, prince of Thebes, IV 901, 904, 908.
- NESUPTAH, chief of prophets, IV 950.
- NEWSETREKENYE, IV 784.
- NEZEMIB, a private citizen: inscription of, I 278-79.
- NIBAMON: inscription of, II 777-79.
- NIBMARE-NAKHT, vizier, IV 523, 535, 546.
- NITOCRIS, daughter of Taharka, I 61 n. c.; IV 942, 958D; adopted by Psamtik I, IV 943, 945; beautiful name of, IV 943; divine votress, IV 942, 946, 958D, M, 988D; death and burial of, IV 988G.
- NOFER, watchman, IV 551.
- NOFRETETE, queen of Ikhnaton, II 961.
- NUBHOTEP, wife of Zezemonekh, I 186.
- NUBKHAS, queen, IV 517, 528, 538.

## O

- ONENEY, IV 452.
- OSORKON, high priest of Amon, IV 698, 753, 755, 760, 769, 770, 777.

## P

- PAHRI, grandson of Ahmose, son of Ebana, II 3; titles of, II 3 n. c.
- PAKAUTI, king's-scribe, IV 485.
- PATONEMHAB, III 22; tomb of, III 22 n. a; high priest of Re, III 22 n. a.
- PAY, steward, IV 224.
- PAY—, overseer, IV 638.
- PAYBEK, IV 550, 551.
- PAYERNU, IV 423.
- PAYKAMEN, IV 547, 548.
- PAYNEFERHIR, chief overseer, IV 637.
- PAYNEHSI, IV 547.
- PAYNEHSI, IV 682.
- PAYNEHSI, viceroy of Kush, IV 597.
- PAYNOFER, scribe, IV 512.
- PAYNOZEM, scribe, IV 527.
- PAYNOZEM II, high priest of Amon, IV 663, 668, 671, 672, 688, 689; inscriptions of, IV 662-67.

- PAYONEKH, high priest of Amon, IV 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 637, 638, 639, 641.
- PE'AOKE, inscription of, II 839-40.
- PEBEKAMEN, IV 427, 428, 429, 430, 439, 440, 444, 454.
- PEBES, IV 423, 426, 452.
- PEBES, prince in Per-Hapi, IV 878.
- PEBES, scribe, IV 526, 529.
- PEDIAMENEBCSTOWE, third prophet of Amon, IV 953.
- PEDIAMENESTOWE, ritual priest, IV 881.
- PEDIAMON, chief of workmen, IV 668.
- PEDIAMON-NEBCSTOWE, IV 852 n. c.
- PEDIESE, chief of Me, IV 774, 779; relief of, IV 779.
- PEDIESE, prince of Athribis, IV 868, 874, 875, 879.
- PEDIHARSOMTOUS, prophet, IV 878.
- PEFNEFDIBAST, high priest of Ptah, IV 774, 781.
- PEFNEFDIBAST, ruler of Heracleopolis, IV 852; descendants of, IV 852 n. c.
- PEFNEFDINEIT, chief physician, IV 1017, 1025; statue-inscription of, IV 1015-25.
- PEFROL, IV 423, 426.
- PEHENUI, IV 550.
- PEHETI, father of Nesubast, IV 726, 728.
- PEKAMEN, coppersmith, IV 532.
- PEKENU, IV 784.
- PEKHARU, coppersmith, IV 523, 532.
- PEKRUR, hereditary prince of Per-soped, IV 932.
- PELUKA, IV 439.
- PEMERIAMON, steward, IV 546.
- PEMERKHETEM, III 634.
- PEMOU, IV 815, 878; prince of Busiris, IV 878.
- PEN, II 682.
- PENAMON, III 633.
- PENAMON, butler, IV 584.
- PENAMON, scribe, IV 647.
- PENANUKET, IV 541.
- PENDUA, IV 430.
- PENE—, IV 682.
- PENEBIK, scribe, IV 512.
- PENHUBIN, IV 442, 455.
- PEN-NEKHBET, called Ahmose: see Ahmose-Pen-Nekhbet.
- PENNO, II 1041.
- PENNO: inscription of, IV 474-83; titles of, IV 474; tomb of, IV 474-83.
- PENRENTUT, IV 423.
- PENTEWERE, IV 444, 447.
- PENTEWERE, chief of Me, IV 878.
- PENTEWERE, scribe, copyist of Papyrus Sallier III, III 315.
- PEPI-NAKHT: inscriptions of, I 355-60; titles of, I 356; character of, I 357; expeditions to Nubia, I 358-59; expedition against Asiatics, I 360.
- PENITHOWE, steward, IV 338.
- PERAMSES, vizier, III 542.
- PERE, IV 442.
- PERE, scribe, IV 450.
- PEREHIRUNAMEF, son of Ramses II, III 456, 482.
- PEREHU, chief of Punt, II 254, 258; family of, II 254.
- PEREKAMENEF, IV 445.
- PEREMHAB, IV 423.
- PEREMHAB, captain, III 634.
- PEREMHAB, deputy, III 634.
- PERENNEFER, III 73.
- PEREPEWYOT, officer, IV 593.
- PERSEN: tomb-inscription of, I 241; title of, I 241.
- PESE'EKE, IV 784.
- PESER, father of Amenemapet, III 477 bis.
- PESER, mayor of Thebes, IV 513, 526, 527, 528, 531.
- PESIBKHENNO, high priest of Amon, IV 688.
- PETEWNTEAMON, IV 431.
- PETHENEF, prince, IV 815, 878.
- PETHUT, chief of Me, IV 787, 792.
- PETKHEP, princess (= queen) of Kheta, III 391; born in the land of Kezweden, III 391.
- PETPETDEDES, priestess of Harsaphes, IV 787, 792.
- PEWER, slave, IV 682.
- PEWERO, mayor of Western Thebes, IV, 511, 512, 522, 527, 528, 535.
- PEYES, IV 444, 445, 451.
- PEYES, Hittite charioteer, III 337 bis.



- PEYNOK, IV 429.  
 PIRSUN, IV 443, 446.  
 PIYAY, III 644.  
 PLINY, IV 878 n. e.  
 PREM HAB, see Patonemhab.  
 PSAMTIK, chief of militia, IV 968.  
 PSAMTIK, priest, IV 1029; mortuary stela of, IV 1026-29.  
 PSENMUT, IV 957.  
 PTAH, nobleman of IV Dyn., I 182.  
 PTAHHOTEP, brother of Senbef, IV 918.  
 PTAHMOSE, deputy, IV 338.  
 PTAHSHEPSES: inscription of, I 254-62; importance thereof on chronology, I 54 bis, 55, 254, 255; education of, I 256, 257; marriage of, I 257; career of, I 258-62.  
 PTAHWER, inscription of, I 728.  
 PUEMRE: inscriptions of, II 379-87; statue of, II 380; tomb of, II 382; relief of, II 385.  
 PUREM, commander, IV 821.  
 PURME, commander, IV 881; probably identical with Purem, *q. v.*  
 PUTOKER, I 466 n. c.  
 PUTOWE, IV 948.
- R
- RAHENEM, wife of Ibi, I 375.  
 RAMOSE, father of Senmut, II 358.  
 RAMOSE, king's-scribe, II 1043.  
 RAMOSE, messenger, III 372.  
 RAMOSE, of Amarna, II 947 n. a.  
 RAMOSE, the vizier: inscription of, II 936-48; titles of, II 936; tomb of, II 936-47; reliefs of, II 938, 941, 944; burial of, II 947.  
 RAMSES, son of Ramses II, III 456, 482.  
 RAMSES-ESHAB, III 496, 498.  
 RAMSES-ESHEHAB, scribe, IV 465.  
 RAMSES-KHEMENTER-BAY, III 647, 648.  
 RAMSESNAKHT, III 633.  
 RAMSESNAKHT, high priest and first prophet of Amon, I 69 n. a; IV 466, 487, 489, 494, 495.  
 RAMSESNAKHT, scribe, IV 466.  
 RAY, chief treasurer of Thutmose III, II 450 n. a.  
 RE, attendant, II 1043.  
 RE-AM, brother of Henku, I 281; titles of, I 281.  
 REBESNEN, III 337.  
 REBEYER, king of Aleppo, III 337.  
 REDEDET, mother of the first kings of the V Dyn., II 198 n. j.  
 REKHMIRE, vizier of Thutmose III: ancestry of, II 663; office of, II 665. tomb of, I 20; II 663; inscriptions of, II 663-762; reliefs of, II 712, 714, 717, 747, 752, 753, 756, 761, 762.  
 REKHPEHTUF, king's-messenger, III 642.  
 RENSENEB, I 752.  
 ROME, high priest of Amon, III 621, 628.  
 ROY, frontier official, III 630.  
 ROY, high priest of Amon, III 623, 626; inscription of, III 618-28; titles of, III 623; reliefs of, III 626 n. c, 628.  
 ROYENET, II 7.  
 ROYENET, mother of Bek, II 975.  
 RUMA, IV 442.
- S
- SABU, also called Ibebi: inscriptions of, I 282-86; titles of, 283-86; career of, I 283-286; son of, I 287.  
 SABU, also called Thety: inscription of, I 287-88; office of, I 288; son of Sabu-Ibebi, I 287.  
 SABU "the black," I 287 n. b.  
 SATIRNA, king of Naharin, II 867; Artatama, father of, II 866 n. h; Dushratta, son of, II 866 n. h; Gilukhipa (= Kirgipa), daughter of, II 866 n. h, 867.  
 SEBEKDIDI-RANEFSENE, rock-inscription of, I 719-20.  
 SEBEKEMSAF (*sic!* for Sebekemsas, wife of one of the XIII Dyn. Intefs), queen Ahhotep restores tomb of, II 109-112.  
 SEBEKENEKH, father of Nehri, I 636.  
 SEBEK-HIR-HAB, rock-inscription of, I 725-27.  
 SEBEKHOTEP, I 665 n. b.  
 SEBEK-KHU, called Zaa: inscription of, I 676-87; biography of, I 677-79; Asiatic campaign of, I 680; honors of, I 681-82; titles of, I 683; tomb of, I 684; career of, I 685-86; campaign in Nubia, I 687.  
 SEBEKNAKHT, II 931.  
 SEBEKO, I 716.

- SEBNI: inscriptions of, I 362-74; biography of, I 362-64; death of father of, I 365; expedition to Nubia, I 366-70; king's letter to, I 371; honors and reward of, I 372.
- SEHETEPHIBRE: inscription of, I 743-48; titles of, I 745; tomb of, I 746; instruction of, I 747-48.
- SEKHEMKERE, prince, I 54, 55.
- SEMEN, II 822.
- SEMRETES, a Hittite, III 337.
- SENBET, hereditary prince, IV 918.
- SENEB, son of Enkhu, I 783.
- SENETEPI, I 723.
- SENEKH: inscription of, I 454-56; titles of, I 455; career of, I 456.
- SENEZEM, chief scribe, I 343.
- SENEZEM, leader of recruits, I 343.
- SENEZEMIB, vizier: inscriptions of, I 268-77; career of, I 270; royal letters to, I 271, 273; son of, I 274.
- SENISENEB, mother of Thutmose I, II 58.
- SENMUT: biography of, II 345-68; architect of Hatshepsut, II 304, 345; took part in the Punt expedition, II 290, 346; statues of, I 20; II 345, 349-58, 363-68; tomb of, II 348; titles of, II 354; tombstone of, II 348.
- SENUONEKH: inscriptions of, I 231-35; priest under Userkaf and Sahure, I 231; tomb of, I 231; endowment of mortuary priests of, I 232-35.
- SENY, IV 485.
- SEPLEL, king of Kheta, III 373, 377.
- SEPTHER, brother of the Hittite king, III 337.
- SESI, official titles of, I 299.
- SETAU, high priest of Nekhbet, I 69 n. a; IV 414-15; tomb at El Kab, IV 414-15.
- SETEMHAB, IV 19.
- SETEPNERE, son of Ramses II, III 362.
- SETI, son of Ramses II, III 350, 362.
- SETI, viceroy of Kush, afterward King Seti II, III 642, 643, 646, 647.
- SETI, vizier, III 538, 539, 542.
- SETIMPERAMON, IV 436.
- SETIMPERTHOTH, IV 435.
- SETNAKHT, artisan, IV 537, 541.
- SHEDMEZER, IV 445.
- SHEM-BAAL, III 632.
- SHEPNUPET I, daughter of Osorkon, IV 940.
- SHEPNUPET II, daughter of Piankhi, IV 940, 946; (=Nitocris), IV 943, 945.
- SHEPSESHATHOR, priest, I 218, 221.
- SHESHONK, chief of Me, IV 675, 677, 683, 687, 787, 792; stela of, IV 675-87.
- SHESHONK, hereditary prince, IV 774.
- SHUTTARNA, king of Mitanni, II 866 n. h; see also Satirna.
- SIAMON, I 777.
- SIAMON, king's-son, IV 646.
- SIHATHOR: inscription of, I 599-603; title of, I 599; commissions of, I 600; expeditions of, I 602-3.
- SIMONTU: inscription of, 594-98; childhood of, I 597; career of, I 598; death of, I 595; birth of, I 596.
- SIMUT, II 931.
- SINOURIS, I 785.
- SINUHE: tale of, I 486-97; biography of, I 486-89; titles of, I 490; death of Amenemhet, I 491-92; flight to Palestine, I 493-94; return to the court of Egypt, I 495-97.
- SIRENPOWET, nomarch of Elephantine, I 510 n. b.
- SISATET: inscriptions of, I 671-73; relatives of, I 676-71.
- SISEBEK, prophet, IV 1017.
- SI[*r*], mother of Kheta II, I 414 and n. a.
- SITAMENI, mother of Ikhnofret, I 670, 671.
- SITAMON, daughter of Amenhotep III, II 912.
- SITKAMOSE, queen, IV 644; mummy of IV 644.
- SITRE, I 426.
- SITYOH, II 612.
- SOMTOUS-TEFNAKHT, nomarch of Heracleopolis, IV 944.
- STIRA, I 716.
- STRABO, III 51 n. b.
- SUDIAMON, IV 672, 673.
- SULE, scribe, IV 466.
- SUTE, II 299 n. e.
- SUTEKMOSE, III 632.

- SUTIMOSE, IV 647.  
 SYNCELLUS, I 72 n. e; IV 884 n. d.
- T
- TA, vizier, IV 414.  
 TADUKHIPA, queen of Amenhotep IV, II 866 n. h.  
 TAKELOT, chief of Me, father of Pediese, IV 774; chief of Meshwesh, IV 779, 781.  
 TAKELOT, high priest of Amon, IV 698, 794.  
 TAKELOT, Sem-priest, son of Pediese, IV, 774.  
 TARTESEB, royal Hittite messenger, III 371, 372.  
 TEDENETNEBAST, princess, IV 795.  
 TEDER, Hittite chief of warriors, III 337.  
 TEDESE, IV 682.  
 TEDIMUT, slave, IV 682.  
 TEFIBI, nomarch of Siut: inscriptions of, I 393-97; kind rule of, I 395; war with the South, I 396; mortuary prayer of, I 394; titles of, I 395; son of, ruling while a minor, I 395; father of Kheti I, I 403 bis.  
 TEFNAKHT, chief of the West, IV 818, 819, 830; chief of Sais, IV 859, chief of Me, 838, 854, 880; father of Bocchoris, IV 884.  
 TELAMON, IV 539.  
 TEMEKHONSU, queen of Osorkon I, IV 792.  
 TENR, wife of Merire I, II 984.  
 TENTAMON, IV 564, 565, 574, 581, 582.  
 TENTSEHERYE, mother of Weshtehet, IV 784.  
 TENTSEPEH, divine mother, IV 792.  
 TENTSEPEH, priestess of Harsaphes, IV 787, 792.  
 TENTSEPEH, king's-daughter, IV 787, 792.  
 TENTSEY, IV 695.  
 TENTTO, a singer, IV 589.  
 TEPERET, king's-confidante, IV 1000.  
 TEPARAMENEF, IV 682.  
 TERE, sister-wife of Pediese, IV 774.  
 TERGEN, Hittite officer, III 337.  
 TERGENENES, Hittite charioteer, III 337.  
 TERGETETETHES, Hittite chief of archers III 337.  
 TESENETHOR, mother of Nesuhor, IV 990.  
 TESHERE, priest, IV 547, 550, 553.  
 TESITNAKHT, tomb of, robbed, IV 499.  
 TETI, I 777.  
 TETI, IV 547.  
 TETI, mother of Thutnakht, I 689.  
 TETISHERI, grandmother of Ahmose I, II 33, 36.  
 TEWHENUT, mother of Nesubast, IV 727, 728.  
 TEWOSRET, queen of Siptah, IV 400 n. c.  
 TEYEDER, Hittite chief of bodyguard, III 337.  
 TEYNAKHT, IV 452.  
 THANENI, campaign-recorder of Thutmose III, II 392; tomb of, II 392; inscription of, II 820; referred to, II 451 n. d; titles of, II 820.  
 THARA, III 633.  
 THAROY, coppersmith, IV 532.  
 THAY, II 1043.  
 THEKEREM, III 632.  
 THEMER, king of Libya, IV 43.  
 THENEKEMET, priestess of Harsaphes, IV 787, 792.  
 THENTI, tomb of, at Gisch, I 182 n. a.  
 THESHEN, eldest son of Zezemonekh, I 186.  
 THESPEREBAST, king's-daughter, IV 771, 774.  
 THETHI, I 361.  
 THETHI, nobleman, I 184; master pyramid builder, I 301.  
 THETHIST (treasurer, X Dyn.): inscription of, I 423A-G; stela of, I 423A n. a; titles of, I 423C; career of, I 423D.  
 THEWETHES, king of Tenes, III 337.  
 THURE, viceroy of Kush, II 54-55; temple-inscription of, at Semneh, II 61-66; rock-inscriptions of, on Sehel, II 75-76; rock-inscription of, at Assuan, II 77.  
 THUTEMHAB, III 437.  
 THUTEMHAB, commander, IV 367.  
 THUTHOTEP: tomb-inscriptions of, I

688-706; ancient family of, I 688, 692-93; his great statue, I 694-706.  
**THUTIV**, attendant, III 632.  
**THUTIV**, general under Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, I 24; II 275; inscription of, II 369-78; tomb of, II 369 n. c.; titles of, II 371.  
**THUTMOSE**, III 32C.  
**THUTMOSE**, chief scribe, IV 281.  
**THUTMOSE**, major-domo, IV 672, 673.  
**THUTNAKHT**, I 689.  
**THUTREKHEFER**, IV 423, 443, 446.  
**THUYA**, mother of Tiy, II 862, 867.  
**TIY**, great queen of Amenhotep III, II 861, 862, 904, 1014, 1016; parents of, II 862, 864, 865, 867, 869; pleasure lake of, II 869; Zerukha city of, II 869.  
**TIY**, queen of Ramses III, IV 427, 447.  
**TIY**, wife of Eye, II 989; nurse of Ikhnaton, II 989.  
**TUTU**: inscription of, II 1009-1013; tomb of, II 1009.

## U

**UNI**: inscriptions of, I 292-94; 306-315, 319-24; biography of, I 6; childhood of, I 292-94; offices of, I 293; judge, I 307; equipment of tomb of, I 308; superior custodian, I 309; prosecution of the queen, I 310; war against the Bedwin, I 311-14; against Palestine, I 315; governor of the South, I 320; expedition to the Ibhet quarry, I 42, 321; to Elephantine, I 322; to Hatnub, I 323; to the Southern Quarries, I 324.  
**URAMON**, prophet, IV 512.  
**USERKHEPESH**, chief workman, IV 526, 528.  
**USERMARE-NAKHT**, prophet of Min, IV 465.  
**USERMARE-SEKHEPERSU**, butler, IV 466.  
**UZAHOR**, governor of the door of south countries, IV 980.  
**UZAI**, I 343.  
**UZARENES**, wife of Mentemhet, IV 951.  
**UZMUTENKHOS**, queen of Osorkon II, IV 792.  
**UZPTAHENKHOF**, high priest of Heliopolis, IV 787, 792.

## W

**WAYHESET**, prophet, IV 726, 727, 728; stela of, IV 725-28.  
**WEBKHATHOR**, son of Nekonekh, I 218, 221.  
**WENAMON**, envoy to Syria, I 18; report of, IV 557-91.  
**WENNOFER**, divine father, IV 668.  
**WENPEHTI**, weaver, IV 552.  
**WEREN**, IV 437.  
**WERET**, mother of Meya, III 32B.  
**WERET**, Syrian prince, IV 566.  
**WERMER**, king of Libya, IV 43.  
**WESHPTAH**, vizier of Neferirkere: tomb-inscription of, I 243-48; untimely death of, I 246; his ebony coffin, I 247; buried by the king, I 248; beside the pyramid of Sahure, I 249.  
**WESTEHET**, chief caravaner, IV 784; relief of, IV 783.  
**WOSER**, vizier, uncle of Rekhmire, II 663, 665; tomb of, II 671 n. e.; tomb-inscription of, II 671 n. e.

## Y

**YAKHETIRNI**, I 387.  
**YARSU**, a Syrian chief, IV 398.  
**YATA**, mother of Ptahwer, I 728.  
**YATU**, I 723.  
**YATU**, mother of Amenhotep, II 912; burial of, II 920.  
**YEKERIB**, I 343.  
**YENINI**, IV 440.  
**YEWELOT**, high priest of Amon, IV 794; will of, IV 795.  
**YUF**, stela inscription of, at Edfu, II 109-114.  
**YUH**, III 32C.  
**YUI**, judge, III 32B.  
**YUROI**, IV 515.  
**YUYA**, father of Tiy, II 862, 867; tomb of, II 861 n. c.

## Z

**ZAA**, surname of Sebek-khu, I 676, 683.  
**ZAKAR-BAAL**, prince of Byblos, IV 566, 567.  
**ZATY**, I 343.

- ZATY, called Kenofer, crown prince, I 389.
- ZAU, son of Zau-Shemai: inscription of, I 380-85; biography of, I 380; titles of, I 381; burial of his father, I 382; tomb of, I 383; prayer of, I 384; succession of, I 385.
- ZAU, vizier, brother of queen of Pepi I, I 347; relief of, I 344; titles of, I 348; his five brothers of the same name, I 347.
- ZAU-SHEMAI, son of Ibi, I 380, 382, 383.
- ZEAMONEFONEKH, of Mendes, IV 878.
- ZEAMONEFONEKH, prince, IV 815, 830.
- ZEDI, divine father, IV, 547, 553.
- ZEDKHIYU, prince in Khentnofer, IV 878.
- ZEDTI, IV 957.
- ZEKHONSEFONEKH, high priest of Amon, IV 650, 668, 689, 691, 692.
- ZEMI, son of Harkhuf, I 336 n. a.
- ZEPER, III 630.
- ZEPTAHEFONEKH, prophet, IV 699.
- ZEZEMONEKH, treasurer of the god, I 186 bis.
- ZOSERSUKHONSU, scribe, IV 640.

## INDEX V

### TITLES, OFFICES, AND RANKS

- | A   | B   |
|---|---|
| ADMINISTRATOR, IV 525, 671, 676; Methen, I 173, 174.  | BELOVED, KING'S, III 102; Sabu-Ibebi, I 285; Thethi, I 423C; Sinuhe, I 490; Khnumhotep, I 618; Khui, I 675; Enebni, II 213; Ahmose, II 1004; Harmhab, III 16.   |
| ADVANCED SEAT, OF: Thethi, I 423C, 423D, Amenemhet, I 445.  | —of Buto, Dedkere-Isesi, I 264.   |
| ADVOCATE OF THE PEOPLE: Mentuhotep, I 533.  | —of god, Merikere, I 399.   |
| ANNOUNCER, second in rank in the temple, I 550.   | —of Khnum, Mernere, I 317.  |
| ARCHITECT: see Chief of works.  | —of the lord of Coptos, Pepi I, I 296.  |
| ARTIFICER, I 262, 285, 447; II 92, 436; IV 488 n. c; rank of, III 271.  | —of Upwawet, Mother of Kheti II, I 414.   |
| Chief artificer, Nakhtamon, IV 466.   | —Title of queen, Enekhnes-Merire II, I 341.   |
| ARTISAN, III 275; IV 539, 541, 551, 600, 858.   | BUTLER, IV 409, 466, 522, 524, 543, 585; Pebes, IV 423, 426, 452; Kenedenna, IV 423; Maharbaal, IV 423; Payernu, IV 423; Thutrehnefer, IV 423; Mesedsure, IV 428; Weren, IV 437; Peluka, IV 439; Yenini, IV 440; Nebzefai, IV 445; Henutenamon, IV 448; Nakhtamon, IV 466; Penamon, IV 584.                 |
| —Assistant artisan, I 298, 301.   | —Butlers of the palace, IV 402.   |
| ARTISTS, I 447.   | —Constituting a lower court, IV 443, 446, 448, 449, 450.  |
| ASSISTANT ( <i>hry-</i> ): Neferperet, II 28; Bek, II 975; Thutmose, III 32C; Beknekhonsu, III 566; Amenhotep, IV 489.  | —King's butler, III 371; IV 54, 55, 67, 77, 497, 511, 598; Neferhotep, III 70; Ramses-eshahab, III 496, 498; Usermare-sekhepersu, IV 466; Amenhotep, IV 495; Nesuamon, IV, 495, 511, 513, 522, 526, 528, 531, 533, 540; Neferkere-em-Per-Amon, IV 495, 511, 513, 522, 531; Ini, IV 546; Pameriamon, IV 546. |
| ATTACHED: to Dep, Mentuhotep, I 512.  | C   |
| —to the Double House, Sabu-Ibebi, I 284, 285; Merire-Meriptah-Onekh, I 298, 299; Sesi, I 299.   | CAPTAIN: Merire-onekh, I 343; Nekeonekh, I 343; Yekerib, I 343; Khnum-enkhef, I 343; Hemukhrow, I 343.  |
| —to the king: Ptahshepses, I 258-61; Sabu-Ibebi, I 283.   | —of archers, III 484, 587, 631; IV 405, 552; Perehirunamaf, III 482; Binemwese, IV 443.   |
| —Attached to Nekhen: Uni, I 293; Kknumhotep I, I 464; Amenemhet, I 518; Mentuhotep, I 531, 533; Senmut, II 352; Ramose, II 936; Khay, III 556; see also, Judge. | —of infantry, IV 65; Khay, III 630, 632; Penamon, III 633; Peremhab, III 634.   |
| —Attached to the pyramid: Enekhnes-Merire I, I 345; Enekhnes-Merire II, I 341, 346.   | —of gendarmes of Coptos, II 774.  |
| ATTENDANTS, II 53, 474; III 69; IV 124, 402, 405, 407; Sinuhe, I 490; Re, II 1043; Thutiy, III 632; Nakhtamon, III 633.   | —of marines, IV 407.  |
| —Chamber attendant: Uni, I 293; Harkhuf, I 332.   |   |
| —Commander of attendants, <i>q. v.</i>  |   |
| —Feast-day attendant, Sabu-Ibebi, I 284, 285, 286.  |   |
| —King's attendant, Iri, I 369; Zaa, I 687; Mai, II 997; Neferhotep, III 70.   |   |
| AUTHORITIES, THE GREAT, of South and North, IV, 460.  |   |

- Captain*—  
 —of police, Oneney, IV 452.  
 —Fleet-captain, II 750.  
 —Ship captain, IV 211, 572; Nenekh-Khentikhet, I 266, 276; Ikhi, I 301; Intef, I 365; Ipi, I 387; Men, I 606; Nibamon, II 779; Mengebet, IV 565, 566.  
 CARAVAN-CONDUCTORS, I 312, 334, 336; Harkhuf, I 332, 334; —khuf, I 343; Merire-onekh, I 343; Neke-onekh, I 343; Pepi-nakht, I 356; Enenkhet, I 360.  
 —Chief caravaneer: Weshtehet, IV 784.  
 CHIEFS (in Egypt), II 172, 385, 1023; III 405; IV 65, 281, 398, 468, 480, 873, 875; Thutiy, II 372; Perekame-  
 nef, IV 445; Osorkon, IV 777.  
 —of archers: Enebni, II 213; Peramses, III 542; Seti, III 542.  
 —of the army, Ramses II, III 288.  
 —Builders, IV 858.  
 —of the chamber, IV 437; Pebekkamen IV 427, 428.  
 —of chiefs: Sheshonk, IV 675, 677; Namlot, IV 678, 683, 687.  
 —of the royal council halls, Ahmose-Si-Neit, IV 1000 n. a.  
 —of a district: Zeptahefonekh, IV 699; Wayheset, IV 726; Khamwese, IV 795.  
 —Fowler, Harnakht, I 718;  
 —of gendarmes, Ini, III 198.  
 —of foreign gendarmes, Seti, III 542.  
 —of police, IV 522; Beknurel, IV 512; Menthirkepesh, IV 512; Nesuamon, IV 545, 548, 552.  
 —of police of the necropolis, in Western Thebes, Pewero, IV 511, 512, 522, 527.  
 —of the harbor, Somtous-Tefnakhte, IV 944.  
 —of harem-ladies, II 867.  
 —of the highland (a necropolis official), I 584, 585.  
 —of the house of Pharaoh, Senebtefi, I 723.  
 —of irrigation, Wayheset, IV 726.  
 —of king's estate, Senmut, II 386.  
 —of the land: Senmut, II 357; Harmhab, III 25, 26.  
 —of militia in Busiris, Psamtik, IV 968.  
 —of the New Towns, I 354; see also Governor of.  
 —of all nobles of judicial office: Amenemhet, I 438.  
 —of oblation-bearers of House of Amon: Yuroi, IV 515.  
 —of the palace: Ahmose-Si-Neit, IV 1000; Pefnefdineit, IV 1017.  
 —of the peasantry, III 322.  
 —of the peasant-serfs of Amon: Senmut, II 354.  
 —of the people (*rhy.t*), II 236, 238.  
 —of the phyle, Nesuptah, IV 908.  
 —of the priestly phyle of Abydos: Ameniseneb, I 782, 787.  
 —of quarry service, II 935; Amonmose, IV 466; Beknekhonsu, IV 466.  
 —of the sailors: Ahmose, son of Ebana, II 80.  
 —of sculptors: Bek, II 975; Men, II 976.  
 —Sistrum-bearer of Harsaphes, Tentseph, IV 787, 792; Thenekemet, IV 787, 792; Petpetdedes, IV 787, 792.  
 —of the stable: Amenhotep, II 818; Ini, III 198; Pernerketem, III 634.  
 —of the court stables, IV 466.  
 —of strongholds: Sisebek, IV 1017.  
 —of the temples: Ahmose-Si-Neit, IV 1000 n. a.  
 —of temple-palace: Huy, IV 338.  
 —of the White House: Ameni, I 722.  
 —of works, I 646; II 384; III 264, 271; Senezemib, I 271-73; Merire-Merip-  
 tah-onekh, I 298, 299; Amenemhet, I 442, 445; Mentuhotep, I 531; Si-  
 montu, I 598; Ineni, II 43, 106; Rekh-  
 mire, II 757; Hui, III 210; Hatay, III 513; Ramses-nakht, IV 466; Amenhotep, IV 491; Haremsaf, IV 706, 708.  
 —of chiefs of works: Senmut, II 368.  
 —of works of Amon: Intef, II 775.  
 —of works in the "Eternal Seat": Meya, III 32B.  
 —of the king's work: Amenhotep, II 912, 917; Ramose, II 936; Mai, II 997.  
 —of works in the Red Mountain: Bek, II 975; Men, II 976.  
 —workmen: Userkhepesh, IV 526.  
 —of workmen: Pediamon, IV 668; see also under Commander, Deputy Door-keeper, Fan-bearer, Favorites, Inspector, Judge, Justice, Measurer, Mayor, Physician, Priest, Prophet, Mortuary priest, Ritual priest, Scribe, Steward.  
 —Chiefs of Heracleopolis, Karnak, two lands and two towns of the Oasis, Sais, Two Lands, the West, see Index VI.  
 —Chiefs of Kush, Libya, see Index VI.  
 —Assistant chief of the chamber, Eshehebsed, IV 438.

*Chiefs—*

- The Great Chief of Me: Musen, IV 787, 792; Pethut, IV 787, 792; Sheshonk, IV 675, 677, 678, 680, 787, 792; Namlot, IV 676, 678, 683, 685, 686, 687, 787, 792; Takelot, IV 774, 779; Pediese, IV 774, 779; Hethenker, IV 784; Akenesh, IV 815, 868; Zeamonefonekh, IV 815, 830; Sheshonk, IV 830; Nesneki, IV, 830, 878; Tefnakhte, IV 838, 854, 880; Pethenef, IV 878; Pemou, IV 878; Nekhtharneshenu, IV 878; Pentewere, IV 878; Pentubekhenet, IV 878.
- The Great Chief of Meshwesh: Takelot, IV 779, 781; Pediese, IV 781.
- CHIEFTAINS**, IV 111, 129.
- COMMANDANT**: regulations of, II 298; chief of: Khamale, IV 466.
- Commandant of Coptos, Kinen, I 776; of fortress, II 718, 719; III 586; of Tharu: Peramses, III 542; Seti, III 542; of infantry, IV 466; of ruler's table, II 695; of towns, III 484.
- Great commandant of the residence city: Zaa, I 683.
- COMMANDER**, IV 824, 825; Inushefenu, IV 366, 367.
- of the army, II 864; III 264, 332, 484; IV 819, 821; Ibdū, I 303; Yakhetimi, I 387; Zaty-Kenofēr, I 389; (Crown Prince) Sesostris I, I 492; Mentuhotep, I 512; Renseneb, I 752; Ramose, II 947 n. a; Mai, II 997, 1002; Ramses, III 482; Inushefenu, IV 366, 367; Thutemhab, IV 367; Peyes, IV 445; Paynozēm (I), IV 643; Purem, IV 821; Lemersekeny, IV 821; Enekhōr, IV (830), 878; Purme, IV 881; Ahmose, IV 1014.
- in chief of the army, IV 109, 121, 124 n. b; Amenmose, II 811; Harmhab, III 4, 16; Amenhirkhepeshef, III 350, 482; Hrihor, IV 609, 612; Menkheperre, IV 652, 653, 654, 655; Paynozēm, IV 671; Yewepet, IV 700, 705; Osorkon, IV 753, 760, 762; Yewelot, IV 795; Somtous-Tefnakhte IV 944.
- of the whole land: Kheti I, I 398 (Herakleopolitan kingdom); Ramses (III), IV 400.
- of the army of Heracleopolis: Namlot, IV 787, 792; Uzptahenkhoḥ, IV 787, 792; Henptah, IV 787, 792; Harpeson, IV 787, 792; Hor, IV 968.
- of attendants, Zaa, I 687.
- of commanders, Amenemhet, I 445.
- of followers, Amenemhet, I 707.
- of infantry, III 484.
- of Middle Egypt, Kheti II, I 410.
- of the official body of the king, I 445.
- of recruits, Mentuhotep, I 512.
- on the river, Senekh, I 455.
- of sailors, Enekhēt, I 360.
- of strongholds, I 312; Ibi, I 377; Zau, I 381, 384.
- of the stronghold of granary, Ibi, I 379.
- of the troops: Merire-onekh, I 303; Amenemhet, I 707; Thaneni, II 820; Mermose, II 852.
- of troops in the highlands, Senekh, I 445.
- of the troops of a village, II 852.
- in chief of the troops of Oryx nome, Amenemhet, I 519.
- of works upon the mountain, Uzahor, IV 980.
- chief commander of the army of Heracleopolis, Bekneptah, IV 777.
- naval commander, I 211, 276; Amenemhab, II 591.
- COMPANION**, I 334, 336, 355; II 1008; III 270; IV 611, 652; Uni, I 307; Senmut, II 352, 361, 366; Thutiy, II 371; Amenemhab, II 579; Nehi, II 652; Rekhmire, II 713; Intef, II 763.
- of the feet: Amenhotep, II 818; Harmhab, III 20; Rekhpehtuf, III 642.
- of Horus (queen's title): Enekhnes-Merire I, I 345; Enekhnes-Merire II, I 346.
- of the palace, I 312; Amenemhet, I 731.
- Companions, I 246, 312, 755, 757, 758, 761; II 236, 292, 335, 353, 873, 935, 993; III 20, 484; IV 52, 54, 71, 77, 147, 398, 460, 494, 629, 765, 958 D, 988H; counted by the herald, II 767; permitted to "enter in" to his majesty, IV 460.
- of the court, II 290, 292.
- of Ptah, III 400.
- Female companions, III 267.
- of the king, I 201; IV 958D, 966, 1004.
- Sole companion, I 505; Kam, I 187; Re-am, I 281; Uni, I 293, 309;



- Merire-meriptah-onekh, I 298, 299;  
 Nenekhseskhnun, I 305; Iri, I 333;  
 Harkhuf, I 326, 332, 336, 352;  
 Khuni, I 336; Pepi-Nakht, I 356 bis;  
 Enenkhet, I 360; Sebni, I 364;  
 Mekhu, I 365, 368, 370; Ibi, I 377  
 bis; Zau, I 381, 384; Tefibi, I 395;  
 Kheti I, I 395; Kheti II, I 395, 426;  
 Henu, I 428 bis; Eti, I 459 n. a;  
 Khnumhotep I, I 464; Intef, I 467;  
 Idi, I 466 n. c; Putoker, I 466 n. c;  
 Sinuhe, I 490; Mentuhotep, I 512;  
 Mentuhotep, I 533; Simontu, I 596;  
 Khnumhotep II, I 631; Nakht II, I  
 632; Khnumhotep III, I 633; Kheti,  
 I 637 n. a; Ikhnofret, I 664; Nef-  
 erperet, II 28; Keres, II 52; Thure,  
 II 170 n. c (?); Nehsi, II 290; Senmut,  
 II 350; Puemre, II 385; Nehi, II 652;  
 Rekhmire, II 713; Intef, II 763, 767;  
 Amenhotep, II 912; Ramose, II 936;  
 Mai, II 997, 1002; Amenhotep, II  
 1040; Harmhab, III 8, 16, 20; Som-  
 tous-Tefnakhte, IV 944; Neferibre-  
 nofer, IV 981; Nesuhor, IV 995;  
 Ahmose-Si-Neit, IV 1000; Pefnef-  
 dineit, IV 1017.
- CONDUCTOR:** of overseers, Amenemhet,  
 I 444.  
 —of the palace, Amenemhet, I 445.
- CONFIDANT, KING'S:** I 298; IV 873;  
 Thethi, I 184; Nekennebti, I 194;  
 Nekure, I 195; Hetephires, I 196;  
 Kennebtiver, I 197; Nekonekh, I  
 216, 217, 224; Khenuka, I 220, 222;  
 Nonekhsesi, I 230; Kheti I, I 403;  
 Kheti II (?), I 413; Ikudidi, I 527;  
 Khnumhotep II, I 622; Ibe, IV  
 958G.
- Real confidant of the king: Sinuhe,  
 I 490; Men, I 606; Khentemseti,  
 I 609; Senmut, II 352; Harmhab,  
 III 20; Khnumhotep, I 618; Khui,  
 I 675; Sebekdidi, I 720.
- Confidant of the princes of the king:  
 Kheti II, I 413.
- CONFIDANTE, KING'S:** Henutsen, I  
 185; Nekennebti, I 199; Hezethe-  
 kenu, I 217, 218, 221, 224; Ikhnoubet,  
 I 230; Teperet, IV 1000.
- CONSORT, DIVINE:** see Divine consort.
- COUNCILOR,** II 666.
- COUNSELOR,** Khnumhotep, III I 663.
- COUNT,** I 312, 336, 414; III 484; Uni,  
 I 293, 320; Harkhuf, I 326, 332, 336;  
 Zau, I 348; Khui, I 349; Pepi-  
 Nakht, I 356; Thethi, I 361; Khui,  
 I 361; Sebni, I 364, 372; Mekhu, I  
 370; Ibi, I 377; Zau, I 384; Tefibi,  
 I 391, 395; Kheti I, I 391; Kheti II,  
 I 391; Intef, I 419; Amenemhet, I  
 438, 445; Khnumhotep I, I 464, 625,  
 626; Intef, I 467; Mentuhotep, I 512;  
 Amenemhet, I 518; Crown Prince  
 Ameni, I 520; Crown Prince Sesostris  
 (II), I 521; Mentuhotep, I 531, 533;  
 Hepzefi, I 537-39, 541, 544, 549, 554,  
 559, 568, 571, 572, 576, 579, 582, 589;  
 Simontu, I 596; Khenkhetwer, I  
 605; Nehri, I 628; Khnumhotep II,  
 I 622, 624, 629, 631, 639; Nakht II,  
 I 632; Kheti, I 637 n. a; Ikhnofret,  
 I 664; Sebek-khu, Zaa, I 683; Thut-  
 nakht, I 689; Sehetepibre, I 745;  
 Minemhet, I 776; Ahmose-Pen-  
 Nekhbet, II 20; Ineni, II 43; Keres,  
 II 52; Nehsi, II 290; Senmut, II 350,  
 354, 362, 366; Thutiy, II 371; Puem-  
 re, II 383, 385; Hapuseneb, II 389;  
 Nehi, II 652; Rekhmire, II 713, 754,  
 757; Intef, II 763, 767, 775; Min-  
 hotep, II 800; Khamhet, II 872;  
 Amenhotep, II 912; Ramose, II 936;  
 Mai, II 997, 1002; Huy, II 1036;  
 Amenhotep, II 1040; Harmhab, III,  
 8, 16, 20; Beknekhonsu, III 563;  
 Amenhotep, IV 495; Namlot, IV  
 787, 792; Uzptahenkhoft, IV 787,  
 792; Henptah, IV 787, 792; Harpe-  
 son, IV 787, 792; Henptah, IV 787,  
 792; Harpeson, IV 787, 792; Uzahor  
 IV 980; Neferibre-nofer, IV 981;  
 Nesuhor, IV 995; Pefnefdineit, IV  
 1017.
- Appointment of, by the king, I 385;  
 given as a mortuary honor, I 385 n. c.
- Daughter of count, Beket, I 622.
- Son of count: Amenemhet, I 519;  
 Khnumhotep II, I 629.
- Counts of Abydos, Coptos, Middle  
 Egypt, Thinis, see Index VI.
- COUNTESS:** Beket, I 628.
- CUP-BEARER OF THE KING:** Sabu-  
 Ibebi, I 285.
- CUSTODIAN,** IV 992.
- of the domain of Pharaoh, I 382;  
 Pepi-nakht, I 356;
- Inferior custodian of the domain of  
 Pharaoh, Uni, I 294;
- Superior custodian of the domain of  
 Pharaoh, the four, I 309; Uni, I 300,  
 310, 312.

## D

- DARLING:** Zau, I 381; Khnumhotep, I 618.
- DAUGHTER OF THE GOD** (queen's title): Enekhnes-Merire II, I 346.
- "DAUGHTER, THE GREAT—":** Nitocris, IV 942; Shepnupet II, IV 946; Amenirdis I, IV 949.
- DEPUTY,** III 371; collecting dues, III 51, 54; Methen, I 172, 174; Mahu, II 809; Peremhab, III 634; Ptahmose, IV 338; Hori, IV 531.
- of the army, IV 466; Amenemhab, II 809; Khamtir, IV 466; the two of, collecting dues, III 54.
- of fortress: Penno, II 1041.
- of the harem: Amenkha, IV 449.
- of the king: Harmhab, III 17.
- of nomes: Methen, I 172.
- of Kush, II 1041.
- of Wawat, IV 480; Penno, IV 474, 477, 482, 483; Meri, IV 481; see also Treasurer.
- Chief deputy, IV 466; scribe of, IV 466.
- DEVOTED TO HORUS:** Mertityotes, I 189.
- DIGNITARIES OF THE KING,** II 236, 238, 290, 292, 335, 343.
- DISTRICT OFFICIALS,** II 717, 729; recorders of, II 717, 729.
- DIVINE CONSORT:** Ahmose-Nefretiri, II 34; Ahhotep, II 110; Hatshepsut, II 344, 360, 361, 362; Nefrure, II 364; Nitocris, IV 942, 943, 988D; Mehetnusekhet, IV 958M, Enekhnesneferibre, IV 988D, G, H; ornaments of, IV 988H; steward of, IV 958B.
- DIVINE FATHER** (priestly title of low rank, also king's father-in-law) II, 97; 292, 302, 925; III 270, 958D; inspection of, I 610; acting as judge, III 65; Puemre, II 383; Eye, II 989, 992, 993; Senbef, IV 918; Psamtik, IV 1029.
- Divine father of Amon, IV 988H, J; Neferhotep, III 71; Perennefer, III 73; Beknekhonsu, III 566; Roy, III 623; Zedi, IV 547; Zekhonsefonekh, IV 668, 689, 691, 692; Nesupekeshuti, IV 668, 689; Wennofer, IV 668, 692; Efnamon, IV 692; Haremsaf, IV 706, 708.
- of Harsaphes: Musen, IV 787, 792; Pethut, IV 789, 792; Sheshonk, IV 787, 792; Namlot, IV 787, 792.

- of Sekhetre: Enekhwennofer, IV 718; Senbef, IV 718; Ptahhotep, IV 718.
- DIVINE HAND** (=divine votress), IV 414.
- DIVINE MOTHER:** Tentsepeh, IV 792; Kerome, IV 792; Temekhonsu, IV 792; Kepes, IV 792.
- DIVINE VOTRESS,** IV 942.
- of Amon-Re, IV 511, 513, 521, 522; Nitocris, IV 942, 945, 958D, M, 988G; induction into office of, IV 958D, 986H; ornaments of, IV 958H.
- DOOR-KEEPER:** of judgment-hall, II 711.
- of the temple of Edfu: Yuf, II 112.
- Chief of the door-keepers in the temple of Hathor, Pese'eke, IV 784; see also "Keeper of the door."
- DWELLERS IN THE PLACE OF THE HAND** (priestly title), II 97.

## E

- ELDEST OF THE CHAMBER,** Uni, I 307.
- "Eldest of the hall" of the temple of Amon: Wenamon, IV 563.
- ENVOY:** Wenamon, I 18; see King's messenger.
- EPER,** IV 466.
- EPRU,** IV 281.
- EXALTED ONES,** I 413.
- EXCELLENT:** Enebin, II 213.

## F

- FAN-BEARERS,** II 1014; III 41, 94, 332, 651; IV 76, 124; Mentuhotep, I 514; Amenhotep, II 912; Merire I, II 988; Eye, II 989, 992; Ahmose, II 1004; Huy, II 1029; Harmhab, III 16, 17; Meya, III 328; Amenemopet, III 204 n. b; Amenhirunamef, III 467, 471, 477; Seti, III 542; Piyay, III 644; Seti, III 646, 647.
- Chiefs of fan-bearers, II 935.
- "FATHER OF THE TWO LANDS":** title given to Harmhab, III 26.
- Great father (=teacher), Senmut, II 364.
- FAVORITE,** II 994, 996; were a prey to the terror of Heracleopolis, I 401.
- of Horus: Simontu, I 596; Harmhab, III 17.
- of the king: Mertityotes, I 55, 189; Senezemib, I 270; Harkhuf, I 332; Zau, I 381; Kheti II, I 409, 413;

- Thethi, I 423 ter, 423E; Henu, I 428; Amenemhet, I 442, 445; Meri, I 508; Mentuhotep, I 512; Mentuhotep, I 531; Khnumhotep, I 618; Khui, I 675; Sebekdidi, I 720; Senmut, II 352; Thutiy, II 371; Intef, II 767; Rekhpehtuf, III 642; Amenhotep, IV 498; Ahmose-Si-Neit, IV 1000 n. a.
- Chief of favorites, Nesikhonsu, IV 680.
- Favorite of the king (lady's title): Nebet, I 349.
- Favorite of the Two Goddesses (one of the oldest of the Pharaoh's five titles, designating him as the protégé of Buto, serpent-goddess of the North, and Nekhbet, vulture-goddess of the South, the patron-goddesses of the kingdom; it stands second in the Pharaoh's fivefold titulary), I 169; II 120 *et passim*.
- FELLOW OF THE KING, in counseling, Mentuhotep, I 531.
- FIRST UNDER THE KING: Sesi, I 299; Nenekhseskhnun, I 305; Thethi, I 423C.
- FOLLOWING THE KING, II 993; Thethi, I 423C; Enebni, II 213; Eye, II 993; Ahmose, II 1008; Harmhab, III 20.
- FOREMEN, I 697; foreman of the: Ineni, II 343; Senmut, II 352.
- of the Tomb, Beket, I 639.
- G
- GENERAL: Thutiy, I 24; Harmhab, III 16.
- of the army, II 925.
- GIRDLE, FASTENING OF (a rank?): Uni, I 294; Simontu, I 597.
- GOD (=king), I 262, 273 *et passim*.
- Great god, I 169, 176, 236 *et passim*; writing of, I 264.
- GOLDEN HORUS (one of the five royal titles), I 250 *et passim*.
- GOVERNOR, III 322, 323; Kam I 187.
- of Dep, Methen, I 172, 174, 201; Sinuhe, I 490; Mentuhotep, I 512; Sisebek, IV 1017.
- of the door of the southern countries; Uzehor, IV 980; Nesuhor, IV 990, 995.
- of the eastern highlands: Khnumhotep I I 625; Khnumhotep II, I 622, 624.
- of foreign countries: Pepi-nakht, I 356; Seti, III 542; Peramses, III 542.
- of the gold countries of Amon: Seti (II), III 647.
- of the gold country of Coptos, II 774.
- of the palace: Nenekhseskhnun, I 305; Mentuhotep, I 533.
- of the pyramid city: Zau, I 348; Pepinakht, I 356.
- of the new towns: Nekonekh, I 216.
- of the northern countries, III 484.
- Governor of the residence city, III 484; IV 777; Amenemhet, I 438, 442, 445; Crown Prince Sesostri (II), I 521; Nehri, I 628; Enkhu, I 783; Hapuseneb, II 389; Rekhmire, II 675, 754; Amenhotep, II 923; Ramose, II 936, 937 n. a, 940; Seti, III 542; Peramses, III, 542; Khay, III 556, 560; Ta, IV 414; Khamwese, IV 511, 513, 522, 523, 531, 532, 540, 543; Nibmarenakht, IV 546; Paynozem I, IV 634; Paynozem II, IV 668.
- Governor of the South, IV 753; Uni, I 293, 320 bis; Harkhuf, I 326, 533; Sebni, I 364; Ibi, I 377; Amenemhet, I 445; Putoker, I 466 n. c; Thutnakht, I 689; Osorkon, IV 765, 767, 777; Namlot, IV 787, 792; Uzptahenkof, IV 787, 792; Henptah, IV 787, 792; Harpeson, IV 787, 792; Mentemhet, IV 904, 949.
- Governor of the Southern Countries, III 484; Thure, II 170 n. c (?); Nehi, II 651, 652; Huy, II 1029; Amenhotep, II 1030; Amenemopet, III 204 n. b; Seti (II), III 646.
- Governor of Elephantine of the South, II 172.
- Real governor of the South: Nenekhseskhnun, I 305; Ibi, I 378.
- Governor of the two doors in the northern countries: Ahmose, IV 1014.
- GRAIN REGISTRAR: Simontu, I 598.
- GRANDEES, II 292 bis; III 264, 484.
- of the palace, head of: Thethi, I 423C, 423E.
- GREAT IN POSSESSIONS (queen's title): Enekhnes-Merire I, I 345; Enekhnes-Merire II, I 346.
- GREAT LORD, see Lord.
- GREAT ONE OF THE KING OF LOWER EGYPT: Amenemhet, I 445; Sehetepibre, I 745.
- GREAT ONES, of Heracleopolis, I 401.

GREAT PILLAR IN THE NOME OF THEBES, Eti, I 459.

GREAT SEER, IV 281; Merire I, II 982, 983, 985, 987, 988.

—of Re-Atum in Thebes, Roy, III 623.

GREATEST OF THE GREAT: Senmut, II 355; Harmhab, III 20.

GREAT-HEARTED, Thethi, I 423C.

GUARDIAN, KING'S: Neferibre-nofer, IV 981.

## H

HARBOR-MASTER, IV 572.

HEAD OF THE TWO LANDS, Harmhab, III 27.

HEIR OF A RULER: Kheti I, I 400.

HERALD, II 925 n. a; duties of, II 52, 764, 767; departments of office of: manager of court and palace ceremonies, II 764, 767; communications to the people by, II 764, 767; communications from the people to, II 764, 767; messenger of the judgment-hall, II 764, 767; communication to foreign lands by, II 764, 767.

—of the judgment-hall, Intef, II 763.

—King's herald, II 9, 11; Intef, II 763, 767, 768; Penrenut, IV 423; Neferkere-em-Per-Amon, IV 495, 511, 513, 522, 531; Ini, IV 546.

—Queen's herald: Keres, II 50, 52.

HIGH PRIEST, see Priest.

HIGH-VOICED: Henu, I 428.

HONORED BY HIS CITY-GOD: Ibi, I 378.

—by the king, Sabu-Ibebi, I 283, 284, 285, 286.

HORUS (the oldest of the Pharaoh's five titles, and the one identifying him with the sun-god; it stands first in the fivefold royal titulary), e. g., II 120 *et passim*.

HORUS, GOLDEN (third title of the Pharaoh in his fivefold titulary; the Greek rendering ἀντιπάλων ὑπέρστροφος suggests that the gold-sign (*nb*) on which the Horus-hawk stands, is but a symbol for Set, whose name is written with this sign. The Horus-hawk surmounting the symbol of Set would then mean, "Horus Victor over Set." But against this is the early literal rendering of the gold-sign, in II 145), e. g., II 120 *et passim*.

—*hry ydb*: Mentuhotep, I 533.

## I

IMI-KHENTIT: Tutu, II 1009.

INSPECTORS, II 1026; IV 208, 360, 361, 407, 466, 652, 671, 676, 751, 958G; impost from, IV 225; laws on, III 58.

—of the cattle of Amon, IV 212.

—of the fields, II 437; III 275; IV 149.

—of the necropolis, IV 511, 512, 517, 522, 525, 533, 593.

—of the harem, IV 455; Petewnteamon, IV 431; Kerpes, IV 432; Khamopet, IV 433; Khammale, IV 434; Setim-perthoth, IV 435; Setimperamon, IV 436; Errem, IV 455.

—of the highlands, III 192.

—Chief inspector: Perehotep, IV 281; Hori, IV 281; Nesupekeshuti, IV 665, 668.

## J

JUDGE: Anubisemonekh, I 171; Methen, I 172; Hotep, I 187; Zaty, I 343; —khet, I 343; Zau, I 348; Sinuhe, I 490; Ramose, II 936; Yui, III 32B; Khay, III 556, 560; receiving bribes, III 64.

—Attached to Nekhen, I 310; Hotep-hiryakhet, I 252; Sesi, I 299; Khui, I 299; Uni, I 307, 309; Harkhuf, I 332; Pepi-nakht, I 356; see also "Attached to Nekhen."

—Chief judge, I 307; IV 777; Senezemib, I 271, 273; Ini, I 373; Amenemhet, I 445; Mentuhotep, I 531.

—Field judge: Methen, I 174; son of Henutsen, I 185; see also "High-voiced."

—Judging the people and the inhabitants, Amenemhet, I 445.

—Justice, chief: Zau, I 347, 348; Ramose, II 936; Khay, III 556, 560.

—Chief of the six courts: Nenekhseskhnun, I 305; Henu, I 428; Amenemhet, I 445; Rekhmire, II 713, 754.

## K

KEEPER OF THE DOOR OF THE SOUTH: Zau, I 380; Intef, I 420; Henu, I 428; Amenemhet, I 445.

—of the door of the highlands, Khnum-hotep III, I 633.

—of the house of rolls, III 264.

—of the wardrobe of the temple (fourth in rank), I 550, 559; in charge of the wicks, I 560, 560.

—of the wide hall of the temple (sixth

- in rank), I 550; see also Door-keeper, Storeroom-keeper.
- KENBETI**, II 719, 720, 722, 723, 727, 733, 734, 738, 745.
- KHETKHET-OFFICERS**, III 66.
- KING**, EGYPTIAN: divine birth of, II 122, 187, 189 *et passim*; choice of, by oracle, II 134-36; offers incense, II 139; station of, in temple ritual, see Station of the king; as Bull, Lion, Panther, see Index VII; mourning for nomarch, Kheti II, I 414.
- Names of, see Horus, Golden Horus, Two Goddesses, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Son of Re.
- Titles of: the double lord, III 285; enduring in monuments, I 441 *et passim*; excellent god, I 441 *et passim*; fashioner of beauty, I 423B; I 423G *et passim*; first in thrones, I 441 *et passim*; good god, I 492 *et passim*; great in love, I 441 *et passim*; "Great Pillar," I 420 n. d *et passim*; heir of Horus in his Two Lands, I 441 *et passim*; living forever, I 437, 440, 450, 456 *et passim*; living like Re forever, 423B, 423F 423G I 441, 443 *et passim*; lord of joy, I 441 *et passim*; mighty in fear, I 441 *et passim*; son of Hathor, I 423H; Sun of Egypt, IV 79, 82, 127; "who makes his Two Lands to live," I 420, and n. f, *et passim*; shade of the whole land, I 399 *et passim*; "Star of the South," I 511; White Bull, I 511 *et passim*; king among the Bedwin, Sinuhe, I 490.
- KING OF LOWER EGYPT**, I 95, 145; III 175; appearance of, I 105, 114, 121, 123, 127, 129, 131, 134, 140, 141, 143, 150, 167.
- KING OF UPPER EGYPT**, I 90; III 175; appearance of, I 99, 105, 116, 119, 121, 134, 140, 141, 143, 150, 167; magnates of, I 445, 745.
- KING OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT** (early title of the Pharaoh, the fourth in his fivefold titulary: assumed by Menes as ruler of both kingdoms), e. g., II 120 *et passim*.
- KING'S CHILDREN**, I 246, 256, 413; II 813; IV 54, 55 63, 77, 92, 124, 523, 524, 525, 528.
- KING'S CONCUBINES**, IV 844.
- KING'S DAUGHTER**, IV 844, 849; Ahmose-Nefretiri, II 34; Sebekemsaf, II 112; Nefrure, II 344; Hatshepsut, II 360; Sitamon, II 912; Meretaton, II 961, 1017; Meketaton, II 961; Amose-Sitkamose, IV 644; Makere, IV 740; Kerome, IV 755; Thespebast, IV 771, 774, 781; Tentseph, IV 787, 792; Tedenetebast, IV 795; Nestent IV 844; Nitocris, IV 942; Amenirdis I, IV 946; Enekneseferibre, IV 988C, D, H.
- KING'S ELDEST SON**, I 66 n. g; Ameni, I 520; Zaty-Kenofer, I 389; Amenmose, II 811; Amenhirkhepeshef, III 482; Nesuhor, IV 990.
- KING'S HOUSE**, see Index VII.
- KING'S MOTHER**, IV 523, 525, 528, 696, 895; Neferhotepes, I 241; Eneknese-Merire I, I 345; Eneknese-Merire II, I 341, 346; Tetisher, II 33, 36; Ahhotep I, II 52, 111; Seniseneb, II 58; Ahmose, II 196; Mehetnusekhet, IV 792; Tentsey, IV 695, 787, 792; Kerome, IV 696, 787, 792.
- KING'S SISTER**, IV 844, 895; Ahmose-Nefretiri, II 34; Sebekemsaf, II 110; Hatshepsut, II 360.
- KING'S SON** (of his body), III 102, 124; IV 109, 121; Nekure, I 190, 193; Ameni, I 520; Kinen, I 776; Thutmose (IV), II 815; Ramses (II), III 132; Khamwese, III 350, 362, 474, 482, 552, 553, 554; Meriamon, III 350, 362; Seti, III 350, 362; Amenhirkhepeshef, III 350, 456, 482; Montu, III 362; Amenemuya, III 362; Setepnere, III 362; Ramses, III 456, 482; Perehirunamef, III 456, 482; Amenhirunamef, III 467, 474, 477; Siamon, IV 646; Yewepet, IV 705; Meriamon-Sheshonk, IV 740; Osorkon, IV 753; Sheshonk, IV 774; Yewelot, IV 794; Nesubenedded, IV 794.
- Viceroy of Kush: Thure, II 64, 170 n. e; Enebni, II 213; Nehi, II 651, 652; Mermose, II 852, 855; Huy, II 1023, 1025, 1026, 1029, 1036, 1038; Amenhotep, II 1030, 1038. Amenemopet, III 204 n. b, 477 bis.
- of Kush, III 289, 291, 292; IV 476; Huy, II 1023, 1025, 1029, 1036, 1038; Amenhotep, II 1030, 1038; Ini, III 198; Amenemopet, III 477 bis; Seti (II), III 642, 643, 646, 647; Hori, III 650; Paynehsi, IV 597; Hrihor, IV 615.

*King's Son*—

—of Ramses, Zepthefonekh, IV 699.

KING'S WIFE, IV 523, 525, 528, 844, 849; Enekhnes-Merire I, I 345; Enekhnes-Merire II, I 341, 346; Sebekemsaf, II 110; Ahmose, II 196, 197; Nebetu, II 779; Nefretiri, IV 479; Isis, IV 523; Nesimut, IV 555; Bekurel, IV 555; Nestent IV 844.

GREAT KING'S WIFE: Tetisheri, II 33, 36; Ahmose-Nefretiri, II 34; Ah-hotep, II 110, 111, 113; Merseger, II 171; Ahmose, II 214; Hatshepsut, II 214, 232, 344, 360; Tiy, II 862, 864, 865, 867, 869, 1014, 1015, 1016; Nefernefruaton-Nofretete, II 959, 961, 984, 991, 995, 1010, 1015; Matnefrure, III 417; Nefrure, III 435; Nefretiri, III 500 bis, 501; Nubkhas, IV 517; 538; Ahmose-Sitkamose, IV 644; Kerome, IV 696, 760.

## L

LAW-GIVER: Mentuhotep, I 531.

LAY-PRIEST, see Priest.

LEADER, IV 55, 123, 124; Hrihor, IV 612; Paynozem II, IV 668; Meriamon-Sheshonk, IV 740; Osorkon, IV 760.

—of the archers of Pharaoh: Paynehsi, IV 597.

—of the army: Intef, II 767; Yewepet, IV 705; Meriamon-Sheshonk, IV 740.

—of bowmen, III 581.

—of the crew of recruits: Henemi, I 343; Senezem, I 343; Amenemhet, I 731.

—of chariotry, IV 54, 71, 92, 397.

—of infantry, IV 54, 71, 92, 397.

—of the feasts of Amon: Meva, III 32B.

—of the king's workmen, III 173.

—of leaders, III 484.

—of the Magnates of South and North, Mentuhotep, I 533.

—of the palace: Thutiy, II 377.

—of the palace-hall: Kam, I 187.

—on the two sides, II 925.

LOCAL GOVERNOR OF DEP, see Governor.

LORD OF CHARIOTRY: Ramses (II), III 267.

—of infantry: Ramses (II), III 267.

—of the double gold-house: Ikhernefret, I 664.

—of the double silver-house: Ikhernefret, I 664.

—of gods, II 288, 294 *et passim*.

—of the palace, II 72; Simontu, I 596.

—of reverence: Khentemsemeti, I 613.

—of truth, royal title of Snefru, I 169.

—of the Black Land: Mentuhotep, I 532.

—of the Red Land: Mentuhotep, I 532.

—of Nekheb: Uni, I 293; Pepi-nakht, I 356; Ini, I 373; Ameni, I 518.

—of Nekhen, I 201.

—of the South, I 359.

—of the Two Lands (a royal title), I 250 *et passim*.

—of the two regions, Merikere, king of Heracleopolis, I 399.

—of Kadesh, II 585, 590.

—of the Lebanon cities, taken as captive, II 436.

—king, the double lord, III 285.

—mother of Kheti II acted as lord of Siut, I 414.

—great lord of the Cerastes Mountain: Ibi, I 377; Zau, I 381.

—of the Hare nome, Nenekhseskhnun, I 305.

—of Middle Egypt, Kheti I, I 403.

—of Nekheb: Khentemsemeti, I 609; Royenet, II 7; Baba, II 7; Ahmose, son of Ebana, II 7.

—of the Oryx nome: Khnumhotep I, I 464, 626; Ameni, I 518; Kheti, I 637 n. a.

—of the South, Hapuseneb, II 389.

—of the Theban nome, Intef, I 420.

—of the royal wardrobe, Mentuhotep I 533.

## M

MAGNATES, IV 124, 566.

—of the palace, II 64.

—of the king of Upper Egypt: Amenemhet, I 445; Sehetepibre, I 745.

—of the South: standing in the two aisles before the vizier, II 675, 712; Ameni, I 650.

—of the South and North: Senmut, II 335.

—leader of magnates, I 533.

MAJESTY, I 211 *et passim*.

MAJOR-DOMO, IV 598; Thutmose IV, IV 672, 673.

—of the house of the Divine Votress of Amon-Re: Neferkere-em-Per-Amon, IV 511, 513, 522, 531.

MARSHAL, IV 944.

—of the two thrones, III 484; Nenekhseskhnun, I 305; Thutnakht, I 689.

*Marshal*—

- Court marshal, III 69.
- MASTER OF THE BATH: Khuni, I 336.
- of the Double Cabinet: Khnumhotep, I 618; Sisatet, I 672 n. a, 673; Khe-nemsu, I 713, 716; Sebeko, I 716; Ameni, I 722; Sebek-hir-hab, I 725, 726; Ptahwer, I 728; Amenemhet, I 731; Harure, I 735.
- of the footstool of the palace: Uni, I 320 bis.
- of the harbor, IV 572.
- of horse: Peramses, III 542; Seti, III 542.
- of the horses of the king: Eye, II 989, 992; Perehirunamef, III 482.
- of the hunt: Nesuamon, IV 539.
- of the judgment-hall: Khentkhetwer, I 605; Ahmose, II 1004; Ahmose-Si-Neit, IV 1000.
- of the royal weapons: Enebni, II 213.
- of the king's writings: Mentuhotep, I 533.
- of the palace: Senmut, II 352.
- of all people: Senmut, II 357.
- of the privy chamber, sitting on the right of the vizier, II 675.
- of all secrets, I 755.
- of secret things: Senezemib, I 270; Sabu-Ibebi, I 285; Nenekhseskhnun, I 305; Mentuhotep, I 533 bis, 534; Ikhernofret, I 668; (to this office belonged the duty of clothing the god at his processions, I 745).
- of secrets of heaven, earth, and the nether world: Roy, III 623.
- of the secret things of the king: Ahmose-Si-Neit, IV 1000 n. a.
- of the secret things of the king's wardrobe: Khentemseti, I 608.
- of the secret things of the palace: Ramose, II 936.
- of secret things of the temple, third in rank, I 550; Sehetepibre, I 745; Haremsaf, IV 706, 708.
- of the secret writings of the temple: Senmut, II 355; Rekhmire, II 748.
- of the suite, Mai, II 997.
- of the throne: Ahmose-Si-Neit, IV 1000 n. a.
- of all wardrobes: Zau, I 348; Mentuhotep, I 533; Rekhmire, II 713; Ramose, II 936; Senbef, IV 918.
- Master-builder, I 212, 289, 298; III 484; IV 629; Merire-meriptahonekh, I 298, 299; Thethi, I 301.
- Master-workmen, IV 466.

- MAYOR: official head of a town or city, under the Empire, the successor of the count (*h<sup>3</sup>iy-c*) of the OK and MK., II 53, 692, 699, 701, 721, 722, 729, 735, 739, 742, 743, 768, 927 bis, 1041; III 82 n. b; IV 147, 533.
- Tribute from, II 708; taxes from, II 717.
- of Nekhen: Harmini, II 47, 48.
- of Thebes: Amenmose: IV 466; Peser, IV 513, 526, 527, 531.
- of Western Thebes: Pewero, IV 511, 512, 522, 527, 528, 535.
- Chief mayor, III 484.

MEASURER, CHIEF, Hui, II 929.

MEMBER OF THE COURT, Sabu-Ibebi, I 283, 285, 286.

MERINUTER, see Priest.

MESSENGERS, I 429; II 667, 926; III 616; IV 42, 582, 585, 586, 678, 843, 880, 944.

—of Amon: Wenamon, IV 570, 586, 590, 591.

—of the king's house, II 692, 710.

—of the vizier, II 675, 676, 680; duties of, II 682.

—of Bekhten, III 436.

—circuit messenger, II 692.

—divine messenger, said of a portable statue, IV 586.

—king's messenger, I 492; II 120, 206, 207, 254, 255, 260, 261, 262, 337, 371, 423, 651; IV 408; duties of, III 642; Intef, I 467; Amenhotep, II 1030; Harmhab, III 13, 20; Ramose, III 372; Rekhpehtuf, III 642; Neferhor, III 643; Hori, III 645; Ubekhu, III 650; Hori, IV 485; Ahmose, IV 1014.

—of Kheta, Terteseb, III 371, 372; second messenger of Kheta, III 371.

MISTRESS OF ALL GODS: Wereret, II 288.

MOUNTAINEER (necropolis official), I 584, 585.

## N

NEHEBKAUF (=“who controls his ka's”) in the upper country: Eti, I 459; also applied to a well-known mortuary divinity, I 459 n. b.

NOBLES, I 6, 307, 349; II 236, 238, 288, 289, 353, 368; III 101; IV 52, 54, 55, 65, 123, 124, 281, 425, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 444, 466, 495;

- 511, 513, 517, 521, 522, 524, 531, 533, 534, 765, 944, 1018.  
 —Conducted by the herald, II 767;  
 of court of examination, IV 425, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 444, 456; of judicial office, chief of, *q. v.*;  
 of Elephantine, I 6; of Kheta, III 419.  
 —Great nobles: Hrihor, IV 612.  
 —Nobleman: Uni, I 42; Kheti I, I 400.  
 —Noblest of the noble: Senmut, II 355.
- NOMARCHS, I 312, 398; functions of, I 398; Methen, I 172, 174; Kheti, I 398.  
 —of Heracleopolis: Somtous-Tefnakhte, IV 944.  
 —of Hermonthis: ancestors of Intef, I 419 n. c.  
 —of Thebes: Intef, I 419.
- NURSE: Eye, II 989.  
 —of the god (= Pharaoh) in the private chamber: Khentemseti, I 609.
- O
- OBLATION-BEARERS, IV 515; chief of, see under Chief.
- OFFICER, II 667, 987; III 51, 52, 54, 55; IV 40, 52, 65, 71, 124, 147, 149, 593.  
 —of the army, III 340; IV 70.  
 —of cavalry, III 584.  
 —of the court, II 236.  
 —of court fishermen, IV 466.  
 —of the gendarmes, II 927.  
 —of the infantry: Tefnakhte, IV 452.  
 —of marines, III 197.  
 —Navy officer: Amenemhab, II 579, 591,  
 —*Sdm-w*-officers.
- OFFICIAL BODY OF THE KING, I 429; commander of, I 445.
- OFFICIAL STAFF (= local court), consisting of divine fathers, III 65; prophets of the temple, III 65; officials of the court, III 65; priests of the gods, III 65; connivance of, III 58; remittance of impost from, III 63; bribery of, III 64.
- OFFICIALS, I 165, 206, 281, 307; II 335, 384, 666, 667, 935, 990, 993, 1002, 1039; III 10, 12, 59, 61, 101, 271, 272, 322, 323; IV 71, 281, 283, 338, 409, 525, 958H; duties of, II 666, 667, 668; III 58.  
 —of the court, III 65, 437.  
 —of the treasury: Harnakht, I 718.  
 —of Nubia, III 643.  
 —District officials: see District officials.  
 —Frontier officials, III 629, 636; impost from, IV 225.  
 —*hsh*-official, II 881.  
 —*kj<sup>o</sup>-yb*-officials, II 708.
- ORDERLIES, IV 281.  
 —of his majesty, III 450; Nekri, II 1 n. c.
- OVERSEER, III 210; IV 583; Behkesi, I 365.  
 —of the administration of divine offerings: Sesi, I 299.  
 —of the bounty of the king's field of offerings: Kam, I 187.  
 —of cattle, II 1041; IV 150.  
 —of the cattle of Amon, IV 212, 547, 548; Senmut, II 354, 356; Amenhotep, II 912; Pay, IV 224.  
 —of the castle of Pharaoh, III 57.  
 —of commissions: Methen, I 173.  
 —of craftsmen, chief of: Intef, II 775.  
 —of the crown-possessions, I 312.  
 —of the fields of Amon: Senmut, II 354.  
 —of flax: Methen, I 172.  
 —of the gardens of Amon: Senmut, II 352, 354, 356.  
 —of the gold-house, III 484; Keres, II 52.  
 —of the double gold-house: Mentuhotep, I 533; Thutiy, II 371.  
 —of the granary, II 872; IV 498; Henu, I 428; Ineni, II 43; Nebamon, IV 517; Menmarenakht, IV 546; Paynehsi, IV 597.  
 —of the double granary: Mentuhotep, I 533; Intef, II 768.  
 —of the granary of Amon: Senmut, II 350, 367.  
 —of the double granary of Amon: Ineni, II 43, 343.  
 —of the granary of the temple of Aton: Hatey, II 932.  
 —of the granaries: Hrihor, IV 615.  
 —of grain: Henku, I 281.  
 —of every handicraft: Thutiy, II 371.  
 —of the royal harem: Huy, II 1014; Peynok, IV 429; Mesedsure, IV 430.  
 —of herds, IV 466; Hori, III 82 n. b; Huy, IV 338; Penhuibin, IV 455; Beknekhonsu, IV 466.  
 —of the highland, I 589.  
 —of the horn of the cattle of Amon, IV 212.  
 —of horn and hoof: Henu, I 428.  
 —of horn, hoof, and feather, III 486; Sehetepibre, I 745.



*Overseer*—

- of hundred, II 617, 700; reporting to the vizier, II 676, 708.
- of land, II 686.
- of the ka-house, seventh in rank in the temple, I 550.
- of the king's hall: Nibamon, II 778.
- of the king's house: Thutnakht, I 689.
- of the king's records: Zau, I 348.
- of the necropolis of Siut, I 582, 584, 585.
- of palace: Intef, I 390.
- of the palace-baths: Kam, I 187.
- of the two pleasure-marshes: Sehetepibre, I 745.
- of royal property: Sehetepibre, I 745.
- of the provision magazine: Methen, I 172.
- of the pyramid: Thethi, I 184.
- of the <sup>1</sup> of Sekhmet: Iroi, IV 445.
- of the silver-house, II 987; III 484; Keres, II 52.
- of all works of the house of silver: Senmut, II 352.
- of the double silver-house, Mentuhotep, I 533, Thutiy, II 371.
- of stone-work: Uzai, I 343.
- of the storehouse, fifth in rank in the temple, I 550.
- of the storehouse of Amon: Senmut, II 352, 356.
- of that which is and that which is not: Henu, I 248.
- of that which heaven gives, earth creates, and the Nile brings: Amenemhet, I 438.
- of the temples: Henu, I 428; Hapuseneb, II 389.
- of the temples of Neit: Senmut, II 358; Mai, II 997, 1002.
- of *š t y*: Waycheset. IV 726.
- of ten, I 276.
- of the treasury, II 925; Meriptah, II 923; Meya, III 32B; Thutmose, III 210; Piyay, III 644; Pay, IV 638.
- of the gold treasury, Pefnefdineit, IV 1017.
- of the western highlands, Mentuhotep, I 533.
- of the White House, II 1020; IV 495, 511, 512, 522; Henu, I 428; Ramose, II 947 n. a; Huy, II 1014; Setemhab, IV 19, 20; Mentemtowe, IV 423, 426; Pefroi, IV 423, 426; Pere, IV 442; Khamtir, IV 466; Menmarenakht, IV 546; Zekhonsfonekh, IV 668, 689, 691, 692; scribe of —, IV 512, 522.

- of the double White House, I 505.
- of works in the mountain of Gritstone: Harmhab, III 17.
- of works in the temples: Minhotep, II 800.
- of workmen, II 383.
- Chief overseer: Yekerib, I 343; Khnum-enkhef, I 343; Hemukhrow, I 343.
- Chief overseer of the estate, II 925.
- Chief overseer of the White House: Payneferhir, IV 637.
- Chief overseer of works in the temple of Amon: Beknekhonsu, III 564, 566, 567.
- Conductor of overseers: Amenemhet, I 445.
- Gang-overseer of the crown possessions in the Oryx nome, I 522.

## P

PHARAOH, see King.

PHYSICIANS: chief, I 246; Nenekhsekhmet, I 238, 240; Pefnefdineit, IV 1017.

PILLAR, of his mother (a priestly office), II 133, 240; III 155 n. b; Prince Thutmose (III), II 138.

—of the South: Sehetepibre, I 745.

PILOT, II 252.

—of the people: Mentuhotep, I 531.

POLICE, captain of, *q. v.*; chief of, *q. v.*

POSSESSED OF LOVE: Ibi, I 378.

PREFECTS OF EGYPT, Roman, Momen's theory of, I 28.

PRIEST, II 766; III 413; IV 124, 468, 906, 927, 1025; see also Prophet; Divine father; Shepseshathor, I 218, 221; Tetheri, IV 547, 550, 553; Nesuamon, IV 551; acting as judges, III 64, 65.

—of Amon, 925; III 624.

—of Edfu: Yuf, II 112, 113.

—of Horus: Khnumhotep, II, I 624.

—of Khnum: Khentemsemeti, I 609. of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-the-bes; Khonsu-hetneterneb, III 432.

—of Min, Neferhotepur, I 776.

—of Pakht, II 301; Khnumhotep II, I 624.

—of goddess Seshat, I 109.

—of Thoth: Neferhor, III 643.

—of the northern crown: Khentemsemeti, I 609.

—of the southern crown: Khentemsemeti, I 609.

- Priest*—  
 —Priestesses of Ptah, III 400.  
 \* *k* -PRIEST OF KARNAK: Hariesese, IV 753.  
 CHIEF PRIEST OF THE RAM-GOD: Seti, III 542.  
 GREAT-PRIEST OF ANUBIS, I 572.  
 HIGH PRIEST OF AMON, I 22; II 925; IV 539, 574, 587, 747; revolt by, IV 486; succession of, I 60 n. a; III 622, 626; title carried by divine consort, Enekhnesneferibre, IV 988D, G, H; Rise as King, IV 25-34, 139-45, 151-79, 189-226, 218-19, 224, 236-37, 405, 486-98, 592-94, 601-3, 608-626; see also "First prophet of Amon."  
 —Meriptah, II 929, 930, 931; Nebunef, III 255, 257; Beknekhonsu, III 563, 565, 566, 568; Rome, III 618, 621; Roy, III 618, 623, 626; IV 487; Beknekhonsu, III 618; IV 487; Ram-snakht, IV 487, 489, 494, 495; Nesu-amon, IV 487; Amenhotep, IV 487, 489, 494, 495, 523, 531, 532, 534; Hrihor, IV 566, 580, 593, 594, 600, 610, 611, 612, 615, 617, 621, 622, 624, 626; Payonekh, IV 631, 632, 633, 634, 640, 641; Paynozem I, IV 631, 632, 633, 634, 637, 638, 639, 640, 642; Zekhonsefonekh, IV 650; Masaheret, IV 647; Menkheperre, IV 650, 652, 653, 654, 655, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661; Nesubenedded, IV 662; Paynozem II, IV 663, 668, 671; Pesibkhenno, IV 688; Yewepet, IV 607, 700, 705; Harsiese, IV 698; Osorkon, IV 698, 753, 755, 760, 762, 769, 770, 777; Meriamon-Sheshonk, IV 740; Harsiese, IV 698, 753, 794, Takelot, IV 698, 794; Yewelot, IV 794, 795; Nesubenedded, IV 794; Harkheb, IV 952.  
 —of Aton, Merire I, II 982, 985; see also "Great seer."  
 —of Nekhbet: Setau, IV, 414.  
 —of Onouris: Amenhotep, II 818.  
 —of Osiris: Nebwawi, II 179, 181.  
 —of Ptah at Memphis, IV 338; Ptahshepses, I 258; Sabu-Ibebi, I 283, 286; Sabu-Thety, I 287; Khamwese, III 552 n. l; Takelot, IV 781; Pediese, IV 781; Pefnefdibast, IV 774; ; the two, of Memphis, I 211, 212, 239, 288; sacred possessions and duties of, I 288.  
 —of Re, at Heliopolis, Patonemhab, III 22 n. a; the two, I 165.  
 of Set: Seti, III 542.  
 —High priestess of Amon, IV 414 n. c.  
 LAY-PRIESTS (*Wnw*—or "hour-priests," laymen who served periodically in the temples), IV 906, 958D.  
 —of Amon at Karnak, II 353; IV 926, 988H, J; at Tanis, IV 217.  
 —of the temple of Anubis, I 576, 580.  
 —of Min at Coptos, I 776; complaint by, I 777.  
 —of Osiris at Abydos, I 668, 783; II 97; III 263.  
 —of Upwawet, lord of Siut, I 539, 544, 547, 554.  
 MERI-NUTER PRIEST: Khui, I 349; Putoker, I 466 n. c; Mentuhotep, I 533; Rekhmire, II 713; Ramose, II 936; Huy, II 1036; Khay, III 556, 560; Enekhhor, IV 958 B.  
 MORTUARY PRIEST (*k*-servant), I 201, 204, 205, 538; II 908, 996; III 271; Mer, I 218; Keksire, I 218; of Senuonekh, I 232-35; of Senezemib, I 274.  
 —of Menet-Khufu, endowment of, I 630; duties of, I 630.  
 —of Siut, duties of, I 538, 562; in charge of the statue of Hepzesh, I 542, 544, 555, 562, 574; kindling the fire on News Year's night, I 562.  
 —Mortuary priests divided into phyles, I 274; chief of, see Index V.  
 —Mortuary lay-priests, III 277.  
 —Assistant mortuary priest, I 202.  
 —Inferior mortuary priest, I 202.  
 —Chief mortuary priest, Ptah, I 182.  
 RITUAL PRIEST (*hry-hb*), I 246; II 97, 239, 766; III 31, 78, 160; Re-am, I 281; Merire-Meriptah-onekh II, I 298; Isi, I 333; Harkhuf, I 326, 332, 336; Pepi-Nakht, I 356; Sebni, I 364; Mekhu, I 365, 370; Putoker, I 466 n. c; Neferhotep, III 72; duties of, II 239; tenth in rank in the temple, I 550.  
 —of Amon, IV 988H.  
 —of Buto-Upet-Towe: Seti, III 542.  
 —Chief ritual priest, I 370; IV 871, 958D; Zau, I 348; Pediamenestowe, IV 881; "stretched the cord" at the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone for the temple in Heliopolis, I 506.  
 SEM-PRIEST: Zau, I 348; Mentuhotep, I 533; Ikhernofret, I 668; Schetepibre, I 746; Hapuseneb, II 389; Rekhmire, II 713; Ramose, II 936; Khamwese, III 552, 553, 554; Roy,

- III 623; Nesuamon, IV 541; Senbef, IV 918.  
 —of Ptah. Khamwese, III 557; Take-lot, IV 781; Pediese, IV 781; Take-lot, IV 774; Harsiese, IV 779; Tef-nakhte, IV 830.  
*w* <sup>c</sup> *b*-PRIEST, II 97 bis, 283; III 31, 78, 160; IV 250, 958D, F, 1018; regulations of, IV 250.  
 —of Amon, Beknekhonsu, III 565; IV 988H.  
 —of Heliopolis, IV 250.  
 —of Siut, I 538, 563, 564; endowment of, I 538; Hepzefi, I 552.  
 —Great *w* <sup>c</sup> *b*-priest of Amon, Harsiese, IV 753.  
*wtb*-PRIEST (or *wqb*; perhaps better *sm*); see Schaefer, *Mysterien, Sethe, Untersuchungen* IV, 63; Ikhernofret, I 668.  
 PRIESTHOOD, later, I 24.  
 PRIESTHOOD OF HATHOR, I 216.  
 PRIEST-KINGS, I 22.  
 PRINCE, II 185, 993, 1006; III 174, 287, 290, 291, 322, 325, 422, 466, 471, 613; IV 71, 77, 92, 147, 208, 238, 343, 360, 397, 402, 460, 494, 497, 583, 818, 819, 821, 822, 830, 868, 873, 881; august office of, II 669; supplies for, furnished by the herald, II 767; Sekhemkere, I 54; Tefibi, I 394; Mentuhotep, I 533; Kheti, I 637 n. a; Senmut, II 350; Harmhab, III 13, 27; Amenhirunamef, III 467, 471; Paynozcm II, IV 668.  
*h* <sup>a</sup> *ty*-<sup>c</sup>, only from Nubian time on (in Empire "mayor," *q. v.*, and before Empire, "count," *q. v.*): Pethenef, IV 815, 878; Pemou, IV 815, 878; Zeamonefonekh, IV 878; Akenesh, IV 878; Nektharneshenu, IV 878; Hurabes, IV 878; Zedkhiyu, IV 878; Pebes, IV 878; Ahmose-Si-Neit, IV 1000 n. a.  
 —of Esneh: Pahrī, II n. 3b.  
 —of the greatest of companions: Harmhab, III 20.  
 —of the king: confidant of, *q. v.*  
 —of the palace, Zau, I 381.  
 —of Thebes, Nesuptah, IV 904; Mentemhet, IV 904, 948.  
 CROWN PRINCE, see King's eldest son.  
 HEREDITARY PRINCE (*rp* <sup>c</sup> *ty*), III 102, 124; IV 110, 121, 124 n. b, 304, 347; administration of law executed by, III 25; Zau, I 348; Khui, I 349; Meru, I 370; Tefibi, I 391, 395; Kheti I, I 391; Kheti II, I 391; Intef, I 419, 420; Amenemhet, I 438, 442, 445; Khnumhotep I, I 464, 625, 626; Intef, I 467; Putoker, I 466 n. c; Sinuhe, I 490; Mentuhotep, I 512; Amenemhet I 518; Crown Prince Ameni, I 520; Crown Prince Sesostris (II), I 521; Mentuhotep, I 531, 532; Hepzefi, I 537, 538, 539; Simontu, I 596; Khentkhetwer, I 605; Nehri, I 628; Khnumhotep II, I 622, 624, 631, 639; Nakht II, I 632; Ikhernofret, I 664; Sebek-khu-Zaa, I 683; Sehetepibre, I 745; Ahmose-Pen-Nekhbet, II 20; Neferperet, II 28; Ineni, II 43; Keres II 52; Nehsi, II 290; Senmut, II 350, 354, 362, 366; Thutiy, II 371; Puemre, II 383, 385; Hapuseneb, II 389; Nehi, II 652; Rekhmire, II 713, 717, 729, 748, 754, 757; Intef, II 763, 767, 775; Minhotep, II 800; Khamhet, II 872; Amenhotep, II 912, 923, 924, 925; Ramose, II 936, 937 n. a; Mai, II 997, 1002, Huy, II 1036; Amenhotep, II 1040; Harmhab, III 8, 16 bis, 20, 25, 27; Ramses (II), III 132, 267; Amenhirunamef, III 474, 477; Amon-hirkhepeshef, III 482; Seti, III 542; Peramses, III 542; Khay, III 556, 560; Beknekhonsu, III 563, 568; Roy, III 623; Seti (II), III 646 n. i; Ramses (III), IV 400; Amenhotep, IV 495; Hrihor, IV 612; Sheshonk, IV 774; Beknef, IV 830; Pediese, IV 868, 874, 875, 879; Senbef, IV 918; Pekrur, IV 932; Uzahor, IV 980; Neferibre-nofer, IV 981; Nesuhor, IV 995; Pefnefdineit, IV 1017.  
 HEREDITARY PRINCESS: Beket, I 628; Ahmose-Nefretiri, II 34; Hatshepsut, II 360; Nefernefruaton-Nofretete, II 959; Baekhesneferibre, IV 988 I.  
 PRINCESS OF KHETA: Petkhep, III 391.  
 —of Kush, II 1035.  
 PRIVY COUNCILOR, I 505; Ptahshepses, I 259; Harkhuf, I 332, 336; Harmhab, III 16, 20.  
 —of the right hand: Senmut, II 358.  
 —of the treasurer of god: Idi, I 466 n. c.  
 PROPHETS (a priestly office), I 165, 217, 349; III 77, 103, 160; IV 360, 466, 906, 908, 958D, F; in charge of the sacred writings, II 353.  
 —of the temples, acting as judges, III 65.  
 —regulation of, II 754.

*Prophets*—

- of Abydos, I 535, 746.
  - of the house of King Amenhotep: Perenkheh, IV 512.
  - of Amon, IV 753, 988H, J; Prince Thutmose (III), II 138; Senmut, II 351; Intef, II 775; Nesuamon, IV 531; Enkhofnamon, IV 665, 689; Khamwese, IV 795; Nesuptah, IV 904.
  - of Anubis: Mentuhotep, I 533.
  - of the gods of Buto, Zau, I 348.
  - of dues: Harhotep, II 110.
  - of Harkefti: Mentuhotep, I 533.
  - of Harsaphes: IV 747.
  - of Hathor of Diospolis Parva: Wayeheset, IV 726.
  - of Horus: Mentuhotep, I 533.
  - of Horus of Letopolis: Pediharsomtous, IV 878.
  - of Horus of the South, lord of Perzoz: Wayeheset, IV 726.
  - of Horus, Amenhotep, chief of, II 912.
  - of Isis: Ahmose-Si-Neit, IV 1000.
  - of Khnum, IV 150.
  - of “Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes”: Khonsuhetnerneb, I I I 432.
  - of Mat: Mentuhotep, I 531, 533; Senmut, II 352; Ramose, II 936; Khay, III 556.
  - of Min-Harsiese: Usermare-Nakht, IV 465.
  - of Montu: Nesupehnermut, IV 660; Hetamenthenofer, IV 660.
  - of Neit: Harpeson, IV 787, 792; Tefnakhte, IV 830.
  - of Ptah, III 413; Sabu-Ibebi, I 284; Senbef, IV 918.
  - of Sebek of Peronekh: Paynehsi, IV 547.
  - of Sokar: Sabu-Ibebi, I 284; Sabu-Thety, I 288.
  - of Soped: Ahmose, IV 1014.
  - of Sutekh, lord of Oasis: Wayeheset, IV 726; Nesubast, IV 726.
- CHIEF PROPHET**, IV 908.
- in Heracleopolis: Namlot, IV 787, 792; Uzptahenkhoi, IV 787, 792; Henptah, IV 787, 792; Harpeson, IV 787, 792; Henptah, IV 787, 792.
  - of Horus, lord of Sebi: Harmhab, III 20.
- CHIEFS** of the prophets, IV 466.
- of Thebes: Nesuptah, IV 950.
  - of North and South: Ramose, II 936.

- in Hermopolis: Thutiy, II 371.
- in temple of Min, at Panopolis: Nebwawi, II 181.
- of Montu of Hermonthis: Senmut, II 352.
- First prophet of Amon (=high-priest of Amon): Meriptah, II 931; Beknekhonsu, III 565 n. c; Roy, III 623 n. c; Ramses-nakht, IV 466; Amenemopet, IV 480.
- Second prophet of Amon, Enen, II 931; Beknekhonsu, III 565; Roy, III 623.
- of dues: Yuf, II 112.
- Third prophet of Amon: Amenemhet, II 931; Beknekhonsu, III 565; Roy, III 623; Zeptahefonekh, IV 699; Pediamennebnesstowe, IV 953.
- of Khonsu: Merthoth, IV 665, 691; Efnamon, IV 492.
- Fourth prophet of Amon: Simut, II 931; Nesupehnermut, IV 660; Hetamenthenofer, IV 660; Mentemhet, IV 904, 949, 951.

**INFERIOR PROPHET**: Ini, I 373; Idi, I 466 n. c.

—of the pyramid-city: Uni, I 307.

**MORTUARY PROPHET**, II 908; III 271.

**SUPERIOR PROPHET**, I 312, 349; III 484; a procession due to, I 569; highest in rank in the temple, I 354, 550; Intef, I 420; Putoker, I 466 n. c; Hepzeñ, I 538-39, 544, 549, 554, 559, 568, 572, 576, 582, 589; Thutnakht, I 689.

—of all gods: Seti, III 542.

—of Hathor: Nekonekh, I 216.

—of Min: Intef, I 467; Putoker, I 466 n. c.

—of Upwawet, lord of Siut, I 550, 551; Tefibi, I 395; Kheti I, I 395; Kheti II, I 395, 426; Hepzeñ, I 568.

**PROPHETESS OF HATHOR** (in Heracleopolis): Ireteru, IV 792.

## Q

**QUEEN**: see King's wife, Great king's wife; table-scribe of, III 58.

**TITLES OF:**

—Very favored: Enekhnes-Merire I, I 345; Enekhnes-Merire II, I 346.

—Very amiable: Enekhnes-Merire I, I 345; Enekhnes-Merire II, I 346.

—Queen of the land: see Index I.

**QUEEN-MOTHER**, IV 895; Tiy, II 1016.

## R

**RECEIVER OF INCOME**: rank of, II 675.

- RECORDER OF THE DISTRICT, II 717, 719, 720, 724, 727, 728, 736, 737, 738, 741, 745.  
 —of district officials, II 717, 729.  
 —of the troops: Harmhab, III 20.
- REGISTRAR OF GRAIN, I 598.
- REVERED: Nenekhsckhmet, I 240; Re-am, I 281; Harkhuf, I 336; Meri, I 508; Imsu, I 529; Simontu, I 598.  
 —by the god: Zau, I 348.  
 —by the great god, Henutsen, I 185; Pepi-nakht, I 356; Ikudidi, I 526.  
 —by Hathor: Hezethekenu, I 216; Ikhnoubet, I 230.  
 —by Ptah: Ptahshepses, I 262; Sabu-Ibebi, I 285.  
 —by Osiris: Uni, I 293, 324.
- RITUAL PRIEST: see Priest.
- RULER, an unprecise rendering of the unprecise *ḥkꜣ*, which signifies, ruler, prince, nomarch, I 400 n. a.; III 175; IV 818 *et passim*; Methen, I 174.  
 —in the Cerastes-Mountain: Henku, I 281.  
 —of fields: Methen, I 174.  
 —of Southern Perked: Methen I, 172, 174.  
 —of towns, IV 398.  
 —of the "New Towns": Nehri, I 628.  
 —of rulers: Kheti I, I 400.  
 —heir of a ruler: I 400.  
 —palace ruler: Methen I, 172, 174.
- S
- SANDAL-BEARER, Uni, I 320 bis.
- SATISFYING THE KING: Intef, I 420 *et passim*.
- SCRIBE: I 5; II 385, 766; IV 581, 784.
- SCRIBES, II 53, 717, 986; IV 52, 466, 652, 671, 676, 958G; Anubisemonekh, I 171; Ptah, I 182; Zaty, I 343; —khet, I 343; Imsu, I 529; Thutiy, II 275; Ineni, II 343; Thutiy, II 371; Intef, II 767; Hatey, II 932; Merire, II 1043; Hui, III 210; Amenhirkhepeshef, III 350; Neferhor, III 643; May, IV 423; Amennakht, IV 526; Nesupekeshuti, IV 665.  
 —of the army, II 925; IV 466.  
 —of the army-lists: Sule, IV 466.  
 —of the deputy of the army: Ramsesnakht, IV 466.  
 —of the archives: Neferhor, III 643; Piyay, III 644; Peremhab, IV 423; Mai, IV 426, 452.  
 —of computation: Intef, II 763.  
 —of the crown-possessions: Hori, IV 465.  
 —of the district, II 719, 723, 725, 726, 727, 729, 731, 738, 740, 744; IV 529.  
 —of the domain: Penno, IV 482.  
 —of the harem: Simontu, I 598; Pere, IV 450.  
 —of the great harem: Simontu, I 598; Pendua, IV 430.  
 —of the hieroglyphs, I 755.  
 —of the king's records: Henhathor, I 218, 221, 225; Khenu, I 299; Seti (II), III 647.  
 —of rolls of Pharaoh, IV 498.  
 —of the marine: Mereri, I 390.  
 —of the mayor, II 721; IV 529.  
 —of the necropolis, IV 530; Horishere, IV 526, 529; Pebes, IV 526, 529.  
 —of the Theban Necropolis: Butehamon, IV 640.  
 —of the pyramid-phyle: Pepi-nakht, I 356.  
 —of the recorder, II 719, 720, 727, 729, 736, 737, 738, 741, 745.  
 —of recruits: Thaneni, II 820; Harmhab, III 17.  
 —of the sacred book: performed the "stretching of the cord" at foundation ceremonies, I 506.  
 —of the house of Sacred Writings, IV 460; Messui, IV 445; Shedmezer, IV 445; Ramses-eschhab, IV 465.  
 —of the temple: eighth in rank in the temple, I 550; Neferhotepur, I 776; Perhotep, IV 281; Hori, IV 281; Zosersukhonsu, IV 640; Penamon, IV 647.  
 —of the altar: ninth in rank in the temple, I 550.  
 —of the cattle of Amon, IV 212.  
 —of the House of Amon, III 624; IV 531; Merithoth, IV 665.  
 —of the Sacred Treasury of Amon: Siamon, I 777.  
 —of the overseer of the treasury: Paynozem, IV 527.  
 —of the assistant treasurer: Yuf, II 114.  
 —of the vizier, II 675, 712; Seneb, I 783; Penebik, IV 512, 522; Nesupekeshuti, IV 668.  
 —of the White House: Peluka, IV 439; Penamon, IV 647.  
 —of the overseer of the White House of Pharaoh, IV 511.
- CHIEF SCRIBE: Senezem, I 343; Thutmose, IV 281.

*Chief Scribe*—

- of the king's writings: Senezemib, I 271, 273.
- of the king, III 291.
- of the provision magazine: Methen, I 172.
- of the vizier, II 670; IV 511.
- of the overseer of the White House: Paynofer, IV 512, 522.
- FIELD SCRIBE, II 717.
- of the waters of Abydos, I 529.
- of Horus of Edfu: Denereg, II 114.
- INFERIOR SCRIBE: Hotep, I 187; Sesi, I 299.
- KING'S-SCRIBE: Nonekhsesi, I 230; Amenhotep, II 915; III 50, 102, 332; IV 121, 124 n. b, 491; Simontu, I 596, 598 bis; Thaneni, II 820; Mermose, II 855; Khamhet, II 872; Amenhotep, II 914, 924, 925; Khampet, II 929, 930, 931; Eye, II 989, 992; Ahmose, II 1004; Amenhotep, II 1038, 1040; Ramose, II 1043; Harmhab, III 8, 16, 17; Meya, III 32B; Thutemhab, III 437; Amenhirunamef, III 467, 471, 477; Peramses, III 542; Seti, III 542; Piyay, III 644; Seti (II), III 647; Setemhab, IV 20; Pakauti, IV 485; Hori, IV 485; Neferkere-em-Per-Amon, IV 495, 522; Nesuamon, IV 511, 513, 523, 526, 528, 531, 533, 540; Pameriamon, IV 546; Bek, IV 668.
- of the army, II 923; Paynehsi, IV 597.
- of the Hittite king, III 337.
- SACRED SCRIBE, III 437; IV 958D, 988H.
- SEAL-SCRIBE, Amenemhet-Ameny, II 686 n. d.
- SUPERIOR KING'S-SCRIBE: Amenhotep II 916;
- Table scribe: Ani, II 977.
- of harem, III 58.
- of queen, III 58.
- SEALER OF CONTRACTS IN THE HOUSE OF AMON: Ineni, II 43.
- SEER, THE GREAT: see Great seer.
- SEM-PRIEST: see Priest.
- SERVANT: royal, I 307; Thethi, I 423D.
- of the royal harem of the queen: Sinuhe, I 490.
- of Neit: Khentemseteti, I 609.
- of the royal toilet, Khentemseteti, I 609.

- real servant, Meri, I 508; Khentemseteti, I 608.
- SHADE-BEARERS, II 1014; III 40; see also Sunshade-bearers.
- SHEIK OF THE HIGHLANDS: Ibshe, I 620 n. d.
- of the Red Land, I 423 D, 429.
- of Upper Tenu, I 494.
- of villages, II 692, 699, 701, 768.
- Tribute from, II 708.
- SISTRUM-BEARER OF HARSAPHEs, chief of, *q. v.*
- SMALL LORD, I 458, 459.
- SMITER OF ALL COUNTRIES: Sahure, I 236, 250, 267.
- SON OF RE (fifth title of the Pharaoh in his fivefold titulary; it was introduced at the close of the Fifth Dynasty on the triumph of the Heliopolitan priests of Re, the sun-god), e. g., II 20 *et passim*; origin of title of, II 187.
- “Son of Re” put within the cartouche, I 423H, n. b.
- SON OF A RULER: Kheti I, I 400, 401, 402.
- of a daughter of a ruler: Kheti I, I 400.
- STANDARD-BEARER, III 208; IV 70; Pe'aoke, II 839; Kara, IV 423, 426.
- of the infantry, Hori, IV 423, 426, 453.
- of the marines: Hori, IV 531.
- STEWARD, III 484; IV 401; Henu, I 428; Ikudidi, I 526; Thutiy, II 275; Khampet, II 929, 930; Sebeknakht, II 931; Ramose, II 1043; Ramsesnakht, III 633; Penithowe, IV 338; Ini, IV 546.
- Collecting taxes, III 55.
- in charge of herds, IV 224.
- of Amon: Semut, II 290, 350, 352, 353, 354, 357, 366; Piyay, III 644; Pay, IV 224.
- of the court: Pameriamon, IV 546.
- in Egypt: Senekh, I 455.
- of estates of Pharaoh, II 871; Ahmose, II 1004.
- of Horus: Penno, IV 474.
- of the House [of Shadow-of Re]: Huy, II 1014.
- of the king's daughter: Amenhotep, II 919.
- of the king's wife: Nibamon, II 779.
- of the palace: Nekonekh, I 216, 217, 224.
- of the storehouse of the leader of works: Khui, I 675.

*Steward*—

—of the southern city (=Thebes): Thutmose, III 32C.

CHIEF STEWARD, II 706. Senmut, II 351, 361; Intef, II 768; Harmhab, III 20; Pefnefdineit, IV 1017, 1025.

—of Amon, Senmut, II 354, 356.

—of the divine consort: Ibe, IV 958B, G.

—of the king: Senmut, II 354, 357.

—of the king's mother: Keres, II 52.

—of the princess: Senmut, II 362.

STOREROOM KEEPER: Yatu, I 723.

—of the palace, Kheye, I 750.

STRETCHING THE MEASURING CORD, I 506; Amenemhet, I 445.

STRONG OF BOW, Kheti II, I 410.

STRONG-VOICED: administrative position, having to do with lands, Methen, I 172.

SUBJECT OF THE KING: Thethi, I 423D.

SUBORDINATE OF THE KING, Thethi: I 423D.

SUNSHADE-BEARERS, IV 56, 70, 72, 76, 100, 110, 123, 124, 405 n. g; see also Shade-bearers.

SUPERIOR OF SUPERIORS: Senmut, II 368.

SUPERINTENDENT OF GRANARY, II 925.

—of the royal domain: Neferhotep, III 70.

SUPERVISOR, Uni, I 294.

—of everything of the whole land, Amenemhet, I 438.

—of fields in Thinite nome: Imsu, I 529.

—District supervisor, II 708.

## T

TEACHER: see Great Father.

TOWN-RULERS, II 717, 721, 723, 729.

TREASURER, II 708; Sebekdidi, I 720; Sebekhotep, I 723.

—of the god: Hepi, I 342; Burded, I 351, 353; Thethi, I 361; Khui, I 361; Zaty-Kenofer, I 389; Khnumhotep, I 618; Zezemonekh, I 186; Theshen, I 186; Ikhi, I 298, 299, 301; Ihu, I 298, 299; Harkhuf, I 336; Khenemsu, I 713, 716; Amenemhet, I 731; Harure, I 735, 736; privy councilor of, *q. v.*

—Two treasurers, I 212.

—of the palace, III 484.

—of Pharaoh, I 447; Amenhotep, IV 495.

—Assistant treasurer, II 114; Eti, I 459; Meri, I 508; Sihathor, I 603;

of the chief treasurer: Sebekdidi, I 720; Sebekhotep, I 723.

—Chief treasurer, I 646; III 484;

Thethi, I 423C; Kheti II, I 426;

Henu, I 428; Mentuhotep, I 532, 533;

Beket, I 637; Ikhernofret, I 664,

672; Neferperet, II 28; Khenemsu, I

713, 716; Ptahwer, I 728; Neferperet

II 28; Nehsi, II 290; Ray, II 450 n. a;

Meriptah, II 929, 931; Ramses-Khen-

enter-Bay, III 647; Nesupekeshuti,

IV 689; of the Theban necropolis:

Merithoth, IV 665; daily reporting to

the Pharaoh II 678; to the vizier, II

679; ranks of, II 675, 678; in charge

of the gold-house, II 706.

—Deputy of the chief treasurer:

Ameniseneb, I 716; Sionouris, I 785;

see also under Official.

TUTOR, royal: Senmut, II 364; Nefer-

ibre-nofer, IV 981; see also Great

Father.

## V

VICEROY OF KUSH, I 18; residence of,

II 54, 62; earliest known, II 61;

appointment of earliest known, II 64;

territory of, extending from Nekhen

to Napata, II 1022, 1025; investiture

of, II 1020; two of them holding office

at the same time, II 1027, 1028; see

also King's son, and King's son of

Kush.

VIZIER, I 307; II 925; III 69, 324, 333,

470, 484; IV 76, 110, 147, 150, 511,

517, 522, 524, 527, 543, 547, 777, 873;

Senezemib, I 271, 273; Khety, II 689

n. d; Zau, I 347, 348; Amenemhet,

I 438, 442, 445; Crown Prince Sesos-

tris (II), I 521; Mentuhotep, I 531;

Enkhu, I 783; Hapuzeneb, II 388,

389; Woser, II 663, 665; Rekhmire,

I 20; II 663, 665, 666, 748, 754; Hapu,

II 665; Amenhotep, II 923; Ramose,

II 936, 937 n. c, 940; Seti, III 542;

Peramses, III 542; Khay, III 556,

559, 560; Ta, IV 414; Khamwese,

IV 511, 513, 522, 523, 531, 532,

540, 543; Nibmare-nakht, IV 523,

535, 546; Hrihor, IV 593; Paynozem

(I), IV 634; Paynozem (II), IV 668.

—Archives of, IV 534; impartiality of,

II 668.

—Departments in office of: judiciary, II

675, 681, 685-86, 688-91, 700, 704,

705; treasury, II 676, 680, 706, 708;

war, army, II 593-95, 702; war, navy,

II 687, 710; interior, II 677, 687,

- 697, 707; agriculture, II 698, 699; general executive, II 692, 701, 703; advisory, II 678, 679, 682, 684, 696, 709, 711.  
 Duties of, II 666, 670, 671-711; reporting daily to Pharaoh, II 678; to the chief treasurer, II 679; taking counsel from Pharaoh, II 678, 694, 697; receiving daily report from the chief treasurer, II 679; mustering of king's body-guard, II 693; garrisons for residence city, II 694; garrison for court, II 694; gives regulations for the council of the army, II 695; in charge of herds, IV 224; judgments reported to, II 681; "hears" criminal cases, II 683; decides real-estate cases, II 686, 689-91; keeps registers of wills and gifts, II 688-89; appointments by, II 697, 698, 699, 700, 703, 705.  
 —Reports to: from the treasury, II 676, 679; fortresses, II 676, 702; the king's house, II 676; the court, II 676; overseers, II 677; district officials, II 687, 708; mayors, II 692, 708; village sheiks, II 692, 708; great council, II 706; navy officers, II 710; door-keeper of judgment hall, II 711; concerning rising of Sirius, II 709; concerning high Nile, II 709.  
 —Hall of, II 666, 681, 682, 688 n. d, 695, 696, 712, 713, 717, 729; importance of, II 666; "hearing" in, II 670; arrangement of the sitting in, II 675, 712.  
 —Chief scribe of, II 670; scribes of, II 675, 712; records of, II 684; messenger of, II 675, 676, 680, 685.  
 —Vizier: of the South, IV 224.  
 —Deposition of vizier, IV 361.  
 VOTRESS: of the goddess, III 391.  
 —of Amon-Re, IV 511; see also Divine votress.

## W

- WARRIOR OF THE RULER: Ahmose, son of Ebana, II 39.  
 WATCHMAN, III 616; IV 266.  
 —of the temple of Amon: Paykamen, IV 548; Karu, IV 550; Nofer, IV 551.  
 WEARER OF THE ROYAL SEAL, I 312, 505; III 264; Harkhuf, I 326, 332, 330; Zau, I 348; Pepi-nakht, I 356; Sebn, I 364; Mekhu, I 370; Ibi, I 377; Zau, I 381; Tefibi, I 391, 395; Kheti I, I 391; Kheti II, I 391, 426; Henu, I 428 bis; Eti, I 459; Khnumhotep I, I 464; Intef, I 467; Idi, I 466 n. c; Sinuhe, I 490; Mentuhotep, I 512; Amenemhet, I 519; Mentuhotep, I 531, 533; Simontu, I 596; Khentkhetwer, I 605; Ikhnofret, I 664; Sehetepibre, I 745; Renseneb, I 752; Minemhet, I 776; Neferhotepur, I 776; Ahmose Pen-Nekhet, II 20; Neferperet, II 28; Keres, II 52; Thure, II 170 n. c (?); Nehsi, II 290; Senmut, II 350, 351, 361; Thutiy, II 371; Puemre, II 385; Nehi, II 652; Rekmire, II 713; Intef, II 763, 767; Ramose, II 936; Mai, II 997, 1002; Harmhab, III 16, 20; Ramses-Khementer-Bay, III 647; Neferibre-nofer, IV 981; Nesuhor, IV 995; Ahmose-Si-Neit, IV 1000; duty of, III 264, 287.  
 WORSHIPERS OF HORUS, I 78 n. a.



## INDEX VI

### GEOGRAPHICAL

- A
- € *mt*-district of, II 744; scribe of, II 744; products of, II 744.  
**ABD EL-KURNA:** (hill of Western Thebes), mortuary temple of Seti I, see Index II.  
 —Temple inscription: by Ramses II, III 488 n. b.  
 —Tomb inscription: by Ineni, II 43-46, 99-108, 115-18, 340-43, 648; Puemre II 383-87; Rekhmire, II 666-762; Menkheperreseneb, II 773-76; Amenken, II 801-2; Khamhet, II 819, 871-72; Hatey, II 932; Ramose, II 936-47.  
 —Tombs of: Ineni, II 43 n. c; Puemre, II 382 n. c; Amenken, II 801 n. d; Khamhet, II 819, 872; Hatey, II 932; Rekhmire, II 663 n. d; Menkheperreseneb, II 772 n. a; Ramose, II 936 n. b; Neferhotep, III 68 n. c.  
**ABU SIMBEL:** great temple of Ramses II, III 449, 495.  
 —Small temple of Ramses II, III 500, 501.  
 —Stela of Ramses II, III 392, 394-414; 415-24; cf. IV 132-35.  
 —Temple inscription by Ramses II, III 449-57, 496-99, 500-1; Rekhpehtuf, III 642.  
**ABUKIR,** IV 405 n. g.  
**ABUSIR:** city of Sun-barques at, I 167, n. a, 251; tomb of Weshptah, I 242 n. a; of Hotephiyakhhet, I 251; temple of Nuserre, I 252 n. a, 423H n. a.  
**ABYDOS:** city of Thinite nome I 349, 396 nn. d, h, 529; II 692; III 281; IV 485, 675, 676, 678, 679, 1019, 1023.  
 —Nome of, IV 1020; fields of, IV 1021; desert of, IV 1023; district of, II 738; scribe of, II 738; tower in, III 260; IV 357; "Eternity of the Kingdom," a district south of, IV 681; canal of, I 763; III 261.  
 —Bends (=promontories) of: "Lord of offerings," I 684; "Mistress of Life," I 684; region of eternity, III 436.  
 —Cemetery of: see Tazoser.  
 —Pool of, IV 681.  
 —Palace of, IV 1019; palace of Thutmose IV in, II 839; royal residence in, of Sesostri III, I 665 n. b; of Ramses III, IV 357.  
 —Fortress of, III 82 n. b.  
 —Temples of: see Index II.  
 —Feasts of: monthly, I 663 n. b; half-monthly, I 665 n. b; beginning of seasons, I 668; great feast of Osiris, I 669.  
 —Mortuary chapel of Tetisheri, II 36.  
 —Tombs of, III 266; tomb of Tetisheri, II 36.  
 —Count of, IV 1024; mayor of, III 82 n. b.  
 —Priestly phyle of, I 782; prophets of, contracts for remuneration of the, I 536, 746, 765.  
 —Officials of: field scribe of the waters of, I 529; recorder of, II 738; scribe of the recorder of, II 738; kenbeti of, II 738.  
 —Gods of: see Index I under Osiris, Anubis, Upwawet, Wennofer, First of the Westerners.  
 —Statues for gods of, II 95.  
 —Products of, II 738.  
 —Temple inscriptions: by Seti I, III 227-43; Ramses II, III 251-81; 485-86.  
 —Inscription on Mastaba-tomb of Uni, I 271 n. a; tomb of Ikudidi, I 524-28; memorial tablet of Ikhernofret, I 661 n. d.  
 —Stelæ of Enekhnes-Merire, I 344 n. a; Ikudidi, I 524 n. d; Mentuhotep, I 530 n. c; Sihathor, I 599 n. e; Khentemseti, I 609 n. a; Sisetet, I 671 n. e, 673; Sebek-khu, I 676 n. c; Sehetepibre, I 743 n. c; Neferhotep, I 753 n. a, 766 n. b; Ameniseneb, I 781 n. a, 786 n. i; Ahmose I, II 33 n. f. Harmini, II 47 n. c; Thutmose I, II 90 n. g; Nebwawi, II 184 n. c; Neferhet, II 839 n. d; Hori, III 82 n. b; Ramses IV, IV 469-71; Hori, IV 484-85; Sheshonk, IV 669 n. d.

- ADAMAH:** city in Naphtali, IV 714 n. b.
- ADDAR:** city in Judah, conquered by Sheshonk I, IV 716.
- ADEL:** city in Palestine, IV 712 n. c.
- ADORAIM:** city in Judah, conquered by Sheshonk I, IV 712 n. f.
- AJALON:** city of Israel, in Dan, conquered by Sheshonk I, IV 712.
- AKHETATON,** II 949, 957, 958, 1000; founded by Ikhнатon, II 960; deeded to Aton, II 954, 966; made the capital, 955.  
 —Boundaries of, II 961-64, 966-69;  
 —Landmarks (=stelæ) of, II 949-72; area of, II 965.  
 —Mountains of, II 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 969, 971, 972, 994, 1003, 1013; highland of, II 1008.  
 —Pavilion in, II 960; houses of, II 978; gardens of, II 978; palaces of, II 978; temples of, II 978; storehouse of, II 1015; tombs of, II 977-1018.
- AKHMIM:** called district of the city of Min, II 740; in the Panopolite nome, I 529; location of, I 423 n. a, 529.  
 —Officials of: nomarch, Intefyoker, I 423 n. a; scribe of, II 740.  
 —Products of, II 740.
- AKITA:** Nubian country, written Akati, IV 477; gold in, III 286; lacking in water, III 286, 289; road to, III 291; well dug for, III 292.
- AKKO:** captured by Seti I, III 114.
- ALABASTROPOLIS,** IV 818 n. g; Harmhab, nomarch of, III 20 n. c; Horus, lord of, III 24, 27.
- ALASA:** land of, IV 591; captured by Seti I, III 114; invaded by the Northerners of the Isles, IV 64; Heteb, queen of, IV 591; crews of, IV 591.
- ALEPPO,** I 3; land of, III 319, 320, 321, 322; ally of Kheta, III 312; located north of Tunip, III 319; under the Hittites, III 386; Wan, west of, II 582; prisoners from, II 798A; Rebyer, king of, III 337; Sutekh, god of, III 386.
- AMÂDA:** stela of Amenhotep II, II 791 n. f; temple of, III 606 n. a.
- AMOR, CITY OF,** IV 117; citadel of, IV 117; fortress of, IV 117; banner of, IV 117.
- AMOR, LAND OF:** Kadesh in, III 141, 310, 340; Deper in, III 356; shore of, III 310; captives of, IV 39, 129; chief of IV 39, 117, 127, 129; seed of, IV 39; the Northerners of the Isles camp in, IV 64.
- ANDROPOLIS,** IV 1004.
- ANTIOCH,** II 582 n. c.
- ANUBIS:** nome of (XVII), ruled by Methen, I 170, 173.
- APHERODITOPOLIS:** nome of, II 327; IV 818 n. h, 948; two mountains of, III 510; northern frontier of the South in time of Uni, I 311, 320; also in time of Tefibi, I 396 n. h; in time of Intef I, I 423; just north of the Thinite nome, I 423 n. a; across the river from Akhmim, I 423 n. a; made the door of the North by Intef I, I 423; serpent and feather signs of nome of, I 423 n. a.  
 —Gods of: Zebui, lord of, IV 366; temple of, IV 366; Hathor, temple of, IV 366.
- APOLLINOPOLIS MAGNA:** nome (II) of Upper Egypt, temple of Horus of Nubia, built by Sesostri I, I 500.
- ARAINA:** city of or near Naharin, battle at, II 496, 498.
- ARAM:** district of, III 634.
- ARANAMI:** city on east side of Orontes, south of Kadesh, III 310.
- ARASA:** field of, in Wawat, IV 482.
- AREK:** Nubian region, captured by Amenhotep III, II 845 n. f.
- ARKO:** island of (near third cataract), inscription of Thutmose I, II 67 n. a.
- ARRAPACHITIS:** country of, II 512; IV 131; tribute of, II 512.
- ARSINOË:** temple inscription of Amenemhet III, II 233.
- ARUNA** (city south of Megiddo), II 421, 425, 426, 427; road of, II 422; conquered by Sheshonk I, IV 713.
- ARVAD:** land of, III 306; ally of Kheta, III 309, 312; a city of Zahi, II 461; captured by Thutmose III, II 461; by Ramses II, III 306, 366; invaded by the Northerners of the Isles, IV 64.  
 —Products of: grain, II 461, 465; pleasant trees, II 461; gardens, II 461; fruit, II 461; wines, II 461; wine-presses, II 461; groves of, II 465.
- ASIA,** I 728; marshes of, II 321; eastern boundary of Egypt, II 321; strongholds of, IV 141; tribute from, II 385.
- ASIA,** ends of: tribute from, II 386.

- ASIA MINOR, I 25.
- ASIATICS, I 620 n. d, 680; II 296, 321, 412, 440, 657, 658, 837, 916; III 7, 9, 10, 12, 84, 118, 139, 141, 144, 151, 165, 457, 479, 484, 486, 490; IV 62, 72, 78, 80, 103, 104, 105, 119, 355, 356, 720, 721, 840, 994.
- in Avaris, II 4, 14, 303; Sharuhen, II 416; Yeraza, II 416; Megiddo, II 441; Negeb, II 580; Wan, II 582; Tikhsi, II 587; Orontes region, II 784; Niy, II 786; Retenu, II 658; IV 219; Kharu, III 101; Ikathi, II 787; of the army of Mitanni, IV 722.
- Campaigns against: by Sahure, I 236; Nuserre, I 250; Iseki, I 267; Pepinakht, I 360 bis; Mentuhotep I, I 423H; Amenemhet I, I 465; Sesostris III, I 681 bis, 707; Ahmose, II 30; Thutmose I, II 101; Harmhab, III 20; Ramses II, III 453, 490; Ramses III, IV 119, 122.
- Chiefs of, III 490; slaves of, for temple of Amon, II 555.
- Bringing eye-paint, I 620 n. d; tribute from, II 120; III 453.
- Their abodes destroyed, III 11; famine of, III 11; asking to live in Egypt, III 11; revolt amongst, II 416.
- ASKALON: city of, III 355; rebellion of, III 355; captured by Ramses II, III 355; by Merneptah, III 617.
- ASSASF (Thebes), cliff-tomb of Neferhotep, III 68 n. c.
- Tomb inscription, by Neferhotep, III 70-72.
- ASSIUT (see Siut), I 398, 401 n. a.
- ASSUAN: field of dodekaschoinos, IV 146.
- Granite quarry of, I 42; II 304, 876.
- Rock inscriptions: by Hapu, I 614-16; Sesostris III, I 653; family of Neferhotep, I 753 n. b; Thutmose I, II 77; Thutmose II, II 119 n. c; Senmut, II 359; Amenhotep III, II 844 n. b; officer of Amenhotep III, II 876; Bek, II 973-76; Seti I, III 202; Ramses II, III 478 n. a.
- Tomb inscription of Harkhuf, I 325, 336.
- Tomb of Harkhuf, I 325.
- Trading post on the Nubian frontier, I 493 n. l.
- See also Suan.
- ASSUR: tribute from, II 445, 446, 449; chief of, II 446, 449; captured by Ramses II, III 366 n. c.
- Products of: lapis lazuli, II 446; vessels of *hwt*-stone in colors, II 446; horses, II 449; wagons, II 449; *m-h<sup>3</sup>-w*-skins, II 449; *nbb*-wood, II 449; kanek wood, II 449; carob wood, II 449; olive wood, II 449; meru wood, II 449; nebi wood, II 449.
- ATFIIH, IV 818 n. h.
- ATHEIBIS: nome of, IV 873; reached by ships from Heliopolis, IV 873; harbor of, IV 873; treasury of, IV 874.
- Gods of: Horus, IV 360, 874, 956; Khuyet, goddess, IV 874.
- Temple of Horus in, IV 360, 956; called Khenti-khet, IV 360, 369, 874.
- Stela of Merneptah, III 596-601.
- Vizier deposed in, IV 361; Amenhotep, lord of, II 912.
- ATIKA: copper mines of, IV 408; messengers sent to, IV 408; reached both by land and sea, IV 408.
- AUTOMOLOI, IV 989.
- AVARIS, II 4, 296; siege of, II 4, 8, 9, 11 n. d; capture of, II 12; of the Northland, II 303.
- AYAN, IV 818; see also Tayan.
- AYAN: limestone of, I 534, 635, 740; II 27, 44, 103, 302, 339, 345 n. c bis, 380, 390, 603, 604, 799, 800, 875; III 240, 525; IV 7, 216, 355, 356, 358, 970, 979, 982.
- Eper of foreigners of, IV 466. See also Troja and Turra.
- Well in, built by Ramess III, IV 406; foundation of, IV 406; battlements of, IV 406.

## B

- BA, locality in Hauran: Mut, mistress of, IV 716 n. b.
- BAB EL-MANDEB, IV 407 n. c.
- BABYLON, III 479; lapis lazuli of, II 446, 484.
- BABYLONIA: ancient reckoning of years in, I 81.
- BACK-LANDS, II 797.
- “BALANCES OF THE TWO LANDS,” IV 864; meaning of, IV 864 n. a.
- BARBARIANS (*h<sup>3</sup> s.tyw*), I 532; II 303, 427; IV 106; slain by Snefru, I 169; by Uni, I 315.
- Four (Nubian tribes) slain by Sesostris I, I 519; by Thutmose III, II 413.
- “BARQUE OF THE SYCAMORE”: an estate in the district of Thebu, IV 597.

- "BEAUTIFUL-IS-KHAFRE": city in nome of the Cerastes Mountain, I 199.
- "BEAUTIFUL REGION," a district northwest of Thebes, IV 795.
- BEDWIN, III 10; IV 246; lands of, IV 217.
- Sinuhe, king among the, I 490; "walls of the ruler" made to repulse the Bedwin, I 493; chief of, I 493.
- Slain by Snefru, I 168; by Sahure, I 236; by Nuserre, I 250; running like hounds before Amenemhet I, I 483.
- Southern Bedwin, in the district of Sais, IV 957.
- BEHBET, in central Delta, IV 818 n. a, 878 n. a.
- BEHNEA (Oxyrrhyncus), IV 818 n. b.
- BEK: Nubian region, also written Beki, II 852; Horus, lord of, III 284, 285; fortress of, II 852.
- BEKEN: Libyan people, slain by Ramses III, IV 405.
- BEKHEN: name given the Hammamat region, IV 460, 465, 467; reached from Egypt by ox-carts, IV 467.
- BEKHTEN: chief of, III 435, 439, 440, 444, 445, 446.
- Bentresh, second daughter of, was possessed of an evil spirit, III 436, 438, 443.
- Nefrure, oldest daughter of chief of, became queen of Ramses II, III 435.
- Nobles of, III 442; soldiers of, III 442, 444, 446; messenger of, III 436, 437.
- Transportation of Khonsu to, III 442.
- Tribute of, III 435; horses from, III 446.
- BEKHU, II 597.
- BELMEM: city of Palestine, IV 713 n. f.
- BEND, THE GREAT, IV 110.
- of Naharin (=Euphrates), II 479 n. a, 631, 656.
- of the Sea, III 118.
- BENHASAN: temples of, see Index II.
- Tombs of: Khnumhotep I, I 463 n. a; Amenemhet, I 515 n. a; Khnumhotep II, I 119 n. c, 619 n. d.
- Pakht, mistress of, III 249.
- Temple inscription: by Hatshepsut, II 297-303; Seti I, III 249.
- Tomb inscriptions: I 10, 34; by Khnumhotep I, I 465; Amenemhet, I 518-23; Kknumhotep II, I 622-39.
- BENJAMIN, CITIES OF, IV 712 n. h.
- BERBER DOGS, I 421 n. b.
- BERSET: located on the "Water-of-Re," IV 369; Bast, mistress of, IV 369; temple of Bast in, IV 369.
- BERSHEH: tomb inscriptions of Thuthotep, I 688-706.
- BÊT-EL-WALLI (correct form: Bêt-et-Wâli), temple of Ramses II, III 458.
- Temple inscriptions by Ramses II, III 458-77.
- BETH-ANATH: captured by Seti I, III 114; mount of, III 356.
- BETH ANOTH: city in Judah, conquered by Sheshonk I, IV 716.
- BETH-HORON: city of Israel, in Ephraim, conquered by Sheshonk I, IV 712.
- BETH-SHAEL: captured by Seti I, III 114.
- BETH-SHEAN: city of Israel, in Manasseh, conquered by Sheshonk I, IV 712.
- BETH-TELEM: city of Palestine, IV 713 n. h.
- BEWEY: Syrian locality on southern Orontes, III 340.
- BEYEN, TOWER OF, IV 867.
- BIGEY (*Su-mw't*), fortress of, II 718; commandant of, II 718.
- Products of, II 718.
- Rock inscriptions, by Ramses II, III 553.
- BISTA: temple of, IV 956; district of, IV 957.
- BIT, OASIS OF, IV 867.
- BLACK LAND, II 245; III 471; Mentuhotep, lord of, I 532; Thutmose II, king of, II 116; Hatshepsut, ruler of, II 299, 319, 321.
- BOHEN (=Wadi Halfa): Min-Amon, residing in, III 77, 159, 248; temple of, III 74; 159; endowment of divine offerings for, III 77, 159; Horus, lord of, III 285, 643.
- "BRILLIANT-IS-KHAFRE": city in the Upper nome, I 199.
- BUBASTIS: Bast, mother of, I 485; Osorkon III living in, IV 878.
- Temples of, II 846; IV 734, 751; IV 956.
- Inscription of Amenhotep III, II 846-50.

- BUSIRIS:** nome of, I 159; IV 830 n. a.; called Per-Osiris, IV 830, 878; district of, IV 968; city of, IV 485, 830; Osiris, lord of, IV 485; militia of, IV 968.
- BUTO:** city in nome of Xoïs, I 156, 174; gods of, I 348; temple of Buto in, IV 956; temple of Hathor of the Malachite in (?), IV 956.
- BYBLOS:** ships of, II 492; Zakar-Baal, prince of, IV 566, 567; harbor of, IV 569, 591; nobles of, IV 570.
- Journal of former kings of, IV 576.
- Ruled Lebanon, IV 577; fortress of, IV 573; butler of, IV 585; letter scribe of, IV 588, 589.
- Tribute to Egypt never paid by, IV 577; storehouses of, IV 576; agents of, IV 576.
- C**
- CAIRO, MUSEUM OF,** IV 1014 n. a, *et passim*.
- CANOPUS,** IV 405 n. c.
- CARCHEMISH:** expedition of Thutmose III to, II 583; conquered by Ramses II, III 306; by Ramses III, IV 131.
- Ally of Kheta, III 309; battle at, II 583; invaded by Northerners of the Isles, IV 64.
- Not included in Kheta, III 306; IV 64, 131; located by the waters of Naharin, II 583.
- Prisoners from, II 583.
- CATARACT, FIRST,** I 24; II 15 n. e.
- Canals dug by Uni, I 324; by Sesotris III, I 643-48; cleared by Thutmose I, II 75-76; by Thutmose III, II 649-50.
- Khnum, lord, I 317, 500, 611, 615; II 95, 224; Khnum-Re, lord of, IV 925.
- Rock inscriptions, by Mernere, I 8, 21, 317 n. a, 318 n. h; Amenhotep III, II 843.
- CATARACT, FOURTH:** cartouches found at, I 21.
- CATARACT, SECOND,** I 651.
- CERASTES MOUNTAIN:** XII nome of Upper Egypt, I 199; rise to power of, I 375; Henku, nomarch of, I 280, 281; hawk, sacred animal of, I 281 n. c; great lords of: Ibi, I 377; Zau, I 381.
- CIRCLE, THE GREAT (Okeanos),** II 73, 220, 325, 661, 804; III 480; IV 45.
- CIRCLE OF THE EARTH,** IV 64.
- COPTOS,** I 7; II 729; road of, I 429; highland of, IV 407; haven of, IV 407; landing place for expeditions to and from Punt, IV 407.
- District of, II 733; gold country of, II 774; highlands of, II 774.
- Min, lord of, I 296, 443; Min-Hor of, I 675; triad of: Min-Horus-Isis, IV 365.
- Officers of: commandant of, king's son, Kinen, I 776; captain of gendarmes of, II 774; governor of the gold country of, II 774; count of, I 776; a culprit, I 777; punishment of, I 778-79; office given to Minemhet, I 778; kenbeti of, II 733; gendarmes of, II 774; priest of Min, scribe of the temple, wearer of the royal seal, Neferhotepur, I 776; army of, I 776.
- Products of, II 733; gold from the highlands of, I 521; II 774.
- Stela of Ramses II, III 427-28.
- Temple of Min: see Index II; house of Min-Harsiese, IV 465.
- COW STRONGHOLD:** city of, I 174, 187.
- CROCODILE NOME:** northern boundary of, I 529.
- CROCIDILOPOLIS:** capital of Fayum, IV 818 n. a; House of Sebek in, I 709; IV 366, 818, 882.
- CUSÆ (XIV nome of Upper Egypt):** Hathor, mistress of, I 500; II 300; temple of, II 300; products of, II 732.
- CYPRUS, LAND OF,** II 659; see also Isy.
- D**
- DAKHEL (=Southern Oasis):** stela of Wayeheset in, IV 725; village of Mut in, IV 725 n. a.
- DAMASCUS,** II 476 n. b.
- DAN:** cities of, IV 712 n. b.
- DANEON PORTUS,** IV 878 n. c.
- DED:** chief of Me, lord of, IV 830; Pemou, lord of, IV 878.
- DELTA,** I 22, 25, 170; III 10; IV 189, 780 *et passim*; see North, Northland; marshes of, IV 271; rising of Sothis in, I 45; predynastic kings of, I 78; governed by Amenemhet I, I 482.

- DENDERA:** district of, II 734; Kenbeti of, II 734; products of, II 734; Hathor, mistress of, I 423H, 500.
- DENYEN OF THE ISLES,** IV 403; ally of the northerners, IV 64; slain by Ramses III, IV 403; captives of, IV 81, 82, 403.
- DEP (Buto):** local governor of, I 172, 174, 175 n. a, 512; IV 1017; see also Index V: Governor; Buto, mistress of, I 500; II 224.
- DEPER:** city of Amor, captured by Ramses II, III 356.
- DERDEN,** III 306, 349.
- DÊR EL-BAHRI,** II 187; Temple of: see Index II.
- Cliff tomb of Amenhotep I, IV 668, 690-92.
- Temple inscription: by Thutmose II, II 125; Hatshepsut, II 192, 194, 196-98, 200-1, 203, 205, 208, 213, 214, 216, 219-20, 223-25, 227, 229, 230, 233, 235-41.
- Tomb inscription in, IV 668, 689, 691-92.
- DÊR EL-GEBRÂWI:** cliff tomb of Henku, I 280; tomb of Ibi, in the southern necropolis of, I 375 n. f.
- Tomb inscriptions by Henku, I 281; Ibi, I 377-79.
- DERR (in Nubia, also called Miam):** temple of Re in, III 503; IV 474, 479.
- DESERT:** Methen, local governor in, I 174.
- DIOSPOLIS,** II 336.
- DIOSPOLIS PARVA:** recorder of, II 737; scribe of the recorder of, II 737; products of, II 737; Hathor of, IV 726; product of, IV 726.
- DOG RIVER,** III 297.
- DOOR (=Elephantine):** "people who were in the door," I 367.
- DOOR OF THE COUNTRIES (=Elephantine),** IV 980; door of the southern countries, IV 990, 995; Governor of: see Index V.
- DOOR OF THE HIGHLANDS:** keeper of, I 633.
- DOOR OF THE NORTH:** Intef I of Thebes made the Aphroditopolite nome the, I 423; see also Two Doors of the Northern Countries.
- DOOR OF THE SOUTH (Elephantine),** I 367 n. d; keeper of, Zau, I 380; Intef, I 420; see also IV 990.
- DOR:** city of Thekel, IV 565; Bedel, king of, IV 565; harbor of, IV 566; treasury of, IV 566.
- DRAH ABU-'N-NEGGAH:** brick pyramid of Intef II in, I 421 n. a.
- Mortuary temple of Amenhotep I in, 45 n. b.
- Tombs of Thutiy, II 369 n. c; Nibamon, II 777 n. c.
- Stela of Intef, I 419 n. a; Intef I, I 421 n. a; Keres, II 49 n. a; Thutiy, II 369 n. c; Nipamon, II 777 n. c; stelæ of Thutiy, II 369-78; Nibamon, II 777-79.

## E

- EAST LAND,** I 159; Eastern land, II 658; applied to God's Land, II 658.
- EASTERNERS,** II 656.
- EDFU:** property of Queen Ahhotep in, II 113.
- District officials of, II 721; mayor of, II 721; scribe of mayor of, II 721; recorder of, II 721.
- God of: Horus of, II 111; called beautiful god of, II 828.
- Products of, II 721.
- Stela of Yuf, II 109 n. b.
- Temple of, II 112; tomb of Sebekemsaf in, II 109, 112.
- EDOM:** the Shasu of, III 638; conquered by Sheshonk I, IV 714.
- EGWOWE:** cities of, plundered by the Libyans, IV 405; probably identical with Canopus, IV 405 n. o.
- EGYPT,** I 26, 32, 33, 451, 453; II 39 bis, 98 bis, 294, 314, 341, 460, 462, 900, 1032, 1033; III 38, 50, 84, 101, 107, 112, 136, 144, 148, 152, 155, 265, 270, 281, 285, 374, 375, 378, 381, 409, 411, 435, 479, 489, 580, 581, 585, 590, 591, 592, 608, 612, 614, 616; IV 37, 40, 42, 43, 45, 47, 52, 54, 55, 62, 63, 66, 67, 71, 77, 86, 90, 91, 92, 99, 103, 105, 109, 110, 112, 124, 126, 130, 183, 190, 202, 220, 229, 233, 246, 250, 255, 263, 282, 310, 313, 335, 341, 351, 353, 382, 387, 397, 398, 399, 400, 408, 410, 464, 466, 467, 471, 569, 571, 578, 582, 586, 588, 655, 720, 821, 822, 869; see also Two Lands, Two Regions, Kem, South and North.
- Called daughter of Re, III 612; home of civilization, IV 579.

- Egypt*—
- Boundaries of, see Index VII: Boundaries.
  - Reorganization of, by Amenemhet I, I 482-83; Harmhab, III 31; captured by Osorkon I, IV 740; invasion of, by the Libyans, III 572-617; by the northerners, IV 64, 77; by Meshwesh, IV 88, 95.
  - Foes of, south, east and west (Nubians, Asiatic, Libyans), I 423H.
  - Classes of, IV 402; see also Index VII; districts of, IV 220; feudal principalities of, IV 746.
  - Gods of, III 77, 159, 206; see also Index I.
  - Laws of, III 64; see also Index VII.
  - Ships of, IV 574, 576, 580, see also Index VII.
  - Strongholds of, II 467; IV 141; see also Index VII: Fortresses, Strongholds.
  - Temples of, III 585; see also Index II.
  - Towns of, given for support of temples, IV 226; see Index VII; waters of, II 420.
  - Egyptians, II 267; smitten by Mentuhotep I, I 423H.
  - EHNAS** (=Heracleopolis): nobles of, I 398; see Heracleopolis.
  - EKBET**: unknown people, II 70.
  - EKERETH**: Syrian land of, captured by Ramses II, III 306; ally of Kheta, III 309.
  - EKETERI**, III 312; see also Ekereth.
  - EKWESH**: a northern people in alliance with Libya, invading Egypt, III 574, 579.
  - Captives from, III 588, 601.
  - Hands of, III 588, 601; who had no foreskins, III 588 bis.
  - of the countries of the sea, III 588, 601; slain by Merneptah, III 588.
  - ELEPHANTINE**, II 935; of the South, 172, 717.
  - Frontier of the South: in time of Uni, I 311, 320; in time of Tefibi, I 396; of Amenemhet I, I 482; of Thutmose I, II 101.
  - the two caves of, III 171; IV 125; quay of, IV 146 n. c; inscription on, IV 146-50.
  - Temples of Satet and Anuket, I 500; IV 991, 992; endowment of, IV 992; temple of Khnum, IV 146-50, 925.
  - Building of the crown possessions of the South in, I 650.
  - Fortress of, I 650, 650, n. e; II 719; doorway of, I 650.
  - Governor of, II 172; chiefs of, II 172; nobles of, I 6; nomarch of, Sirenpowet, I 510 n. b; city officers of, II 719; commandant of the fortress of, II 719; recorder of, II 719; scribe of the recorder of, II 719; kenbeti of, II 719; scribe of, II 719; fishermen of, II 650; IV 148; fowlers of, IV 148; honey collectors of, IV 149; natrongatherers of, IV 148; salt gatherers of, IV 148.
  - Gods of, II 798; sailing on the river, II 798; Khnum-Re, lord of, IV 925; Satet and Anuket of, I 500; IV 991, 992; Satet, mistress of, I 615, 646, 649; II 360; offering-tables were given to the southern gods in, by Sesostris I, I 500.
  - Products of, II 719; granite from, I 322; IV 679; Hatshepsut's obelisks from, II 327; obelisk of Thutmose I, II 89.
  - Stela of Ameni, I 649; Amenhotep II, II 791 n. g; Seti I, III 203-4.
  - EL-HESSEH**: island of, I 317 n. a.
  - EL KAB** (modern name of Nekheb), II 3 n. b; nomarchs of, II 1; Ahmose, son of Ebana, nobleman of, II 7.
  - Great lords of: Khentemseti, I 609; Royenet, II 7; Baba, II 7; Ahmose, son of Ebana, II 7; Setau, high priest of, I 69 n. a; III 558 n. d; IV 414, 415.
  - Temple of Ramses II, III 505; temple of Amenhotep III, III 558 n. d.
  - Cliff tombs: of Ahmose, son of Ebana, II 1 n. a; Ahmose-Pen-Nekhbet, II 25 n. f; Pahari, II 3 n. d; Setau, IV 414, 415; tomb of Ini, north of, I 373.
  - Nekhbet, the white goddess of, II 828.
  - Temple inscription, by Ramses II, III 505, 558.
  - Tomb inscription: of Ahmose, son of Ebana, II 6-16, 39, 80-82; of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhbet, II 25; Setau, IV 414.
  - Stela, I 741.
  - EL-KHARGEH**: the southern oasis, IV 725 n. a.
  - ELLESIEYEH**: grotto inscription, by Nehi, II 652.
  - EMU**: green gold of, II 265; electrum from, II 298, 387.
  - ENDS**, or ends of the earth (lit. "hinder-ends," meaning the extreme

- North, always "behind" to the Egyptians, as far as known to them), II 120, 498, 586, 761 n. a, 771; III 34.
- ENDS OF ASIA: tribute from, II 386, 891.
- ENENES: Syrian land, III 337; archers of, III 337.
- ENI: probably the same as Esneh, I 459.
- EN-PARAN, IV 716.
- EPHRAIM: cities of, IV 712 n. a, 714 n. b.
- ERETH: a Hittite fortress, IV 118.
- ERKATU: city north of Fenkhu, captured by Thutmose III, II 529.
- ERMENT: Montu, lord of, IV 547; temple of, IV 547; see Hermonthis.
- ERNEN: Hittite city, sun-god of, III 386, 391 bis; Sutekh, god of the city of, III 386.
- ERWEN: Syrian land, ally of Kheta, III 309 n. d, 312.
- ESBET: a Lybian people captured by Ramses III, IV 405.
- ESHMUNEN (=Khmunu), I 695.
- ESNEH: islands of, II 723.
- Prince of: Pabri, II 3 n. b; town ruler of, II 723; scribe of the islands of, II 723; Kenbeti, II 723.
- Products of, II 723.
- ETHIOPIANS, I 22; see Kush.
- ETI: a canal of the Nile, by Heliopolis, III 576, 870.
- EUPHRATES: earliest reference to, II 68, 73; boundary stone set up at, by Thutmose I and III, II 478; crossed by Thutmose III, II 479 n. a; see also Inverted water.
- EYE OF RE (=Thebes), IV 906.
- F**
- FARAFRAH: oasis of, III 580 n. c.
- FAYÛM, I 170, 174; III 580 n. a; IV 818 n. g.
- Back lands of, IV 369.
- Temple of Amon-Re in, IV 369; Horus dwelling in, IV 369; temple of Sebek of Shedet in, IV 369.
- FENKHU: lands of, II 27 n. a, 30, 120, 439, 529; disturbing the boundaries of Thutmose III, II 439; conquered by Sheshonk I, IV 719; of marshes of Asia, III 118; oxen from, II 27.
- FIELD OF ABRAM, THE: city in southern Palestine, conquered by Sheshonk I, IV 715.
- FOREIGN COUNTRIES: Governors of: see Index V.
- FOUR BARBARIAN COUNTRIES, I 519.
- Four eastern countries, I 675.
- G**
- GAD: cities of, IV 712 n. g.
- GATE OF IHOTEP: a district, I 312.
- GAZA: city of, II 417; Zeper and Roy from, III 630.
- GAZELLE-NOSE: land of, I 315.
- GEBEL-ABUFODAH, I 401 n. a.
- GEBEL BARKAL (Napata): stelæ of, I 22; of Piankhi, IV 796 n. a.
- GEBEL MARÂG: near Dêr el-Gebrâwi, north of Assiut, tomb of Zau in, I 380 n. d.
- GEBEEL-AHMAR: gritstone quarry of, II 493 n. b, 906 n. a.
- GEBELËN, I 427, 459; quarry of, IV 629.
- Temple fragments of Mentuhotep I from, I 423H.
- Recorder of, II 724.
- Products of, II 724.
- Rock inscription of Hui, III 209-210.
- Pillar inscription, by Nesubeneded, IV 628-30.
- Stela of Eti, I 457 n. d.
- GEKET: city of Syria, III 632, 632 n. b.
- Men of: Thutiy, III 632; Thekeran, III 632; Methdet, III 632; Shew-Baal, III 632; Sutekhmose, III 632; Eperdegel, III 632.
- GENEBTEYEW: tribute from, II 474.
- Products of: oxen, II 474; calves, II 474; bulls, II 474; ivory, II 474; ebony, II 474; panther skins, II 474.
- GEZER: people of Kharu, captured by Thutmose IV in, II 821; revolt by, III 606; subdued by Merneptah, III 606, 617.
- GIBEON: city of Israel, in Benjamin, conquered by Sheshonk I, IV 712.
- GIZEH: tombs at, I 180 nn. i, j, 268 n. i.
- Stela of Khufu, I 177 n. e.
- Tomb of Thenti, I 182 n. a; mastaba of Thethi, I 184; tomb of Nekure, I 190; of Debhen, I 210; mastaba-tomb of Senezemib, I 268.
- Vase inscription of Hatshepsut, II 214 n. d.



- GOD'S LAND, II 288, 900; IV 313, 328, 341, 387, 883.  
 —Name applied to Naharin, III 434; to countries in the North, III 116; to the eastern land, II 658; to Retenu, II 451, 773, 820, 888; to Punt, II 253, 255, 264, 265, 271, 286; IV 407.  
 —Marvels of, II 285, 288; III 274.  
 —Sea of, II 257.  
 —Treasurer of, II 271, 277.  
 —Located near Red Sea, I 433; stela of Khnumhotep, executed in—, found at Wadi Gasus ("Sewew"), I 618; costly stones from I 764; III 448 n. b; Hammamat in front of, IV 460; on the way to, IV 463.  
 —Chiefs of, III 448 n. b; IV 407.  
 —Products of, IV 270; myrrh tree, II 264; fragrant wood, II 265; malachite, II 450 n. a; cedar from, II 888; southerners of, II 288; trees taken from, II 294, 295; myrrh-sycamores from, IV 333; sweet wood from, II 321.
- GOLD COUNTRY OF AMON: Governor of, see Index V.
- "GREAT IS KHAFRE": pyramid city of Khafre, I 199, 202.
- "GREAT-IS [-THE FAME]-OF-KHAFRE": city of, I 197.
- GREECE, I 25.  
 —Greeks, II 296 n. c; IV 994, 1003.
- GREEN, THE GREAT (=Sea), II 660, 877.
- H
- HAGG-KANDIL, II 695.
- HAMATH, II 584 n. c.
- HAMMAMAT, I 433; the august primeval mountain, I 441; the pure, august stone, which Min has made, I 442; the highlands of Min, I 442; in front of God's Land, IV 460.  
 —Black basalt from, I 675.  
 —Gods of: Isis, Min, Mut, I 441; Min, Mut, I 468.  
 —Rock inscriptions of, Isesi, I 7; inscriptions from Middle Kingdom, I 10; quarry inscription of, I 61 n. a; inscription of Ahmose II, I 75 n. h; rock inscriptions of Pepi I, I 295-301; Ity, I 386-87; Imhotep, I 388-90; Henu, I 428-33; Mentuhotep IV, I 434-53; Amenemhet, I 444-48; Senekh, I 454-56; Intef, I 466-68, 466 n. c; Khui, I 674-75; Amenemhet, I 707-9; Ramses IV, IV 457-60; 461-68.
- HAPHARAIM: city of Israel, in Issachar, conquered by Sheshonk I, IV 712.
- HAPI: city of Delta, IV 818.
- HARABAT: town by the well of, III 84.
- HARE NOME, I 700-6; IV 821, 948.  
 —Location of, I 626; youths of, I 700, 703; army of, IV 848; warriors of, I 701.  
 —Hermopolis (=Khnum-Eshmunen): chief city of, I 688; IV 840; priests of, I 702.  
 —Cemetery of, at Bersheh, I 688; at Shekh Sa' id, I 688.  
 —Harbor of, IV 833.  
 —Great lords of: Nenekhseskhnun, I 305; Nehri, I 692 n. c; Key, I 692 n. c; Thuthotep, I 688, 692, 693; Thutnakht, I 689; Ihe (?), I 688 n. a.
- HARPOON NOME, I 174.
- HATBENU, IV 818, 839.
- HATIBTI: Thoth presiding over, IV 916.
- HATKEPTAH: ancient name of the temple of Ptah at Memphis, IV 316.
- HATNUB (alabaster quarry in the desert behind Amarna): location of, I 695.  
 —Alabaster from, I 7, 305, 323, 696; II 45, 302, 375, 546 n. b.  
 —Expedition to, by Uni, I 323.  
 —Rock inscription by Nenekhseskhnun I 7, 305.  
 —Hieratic graffiti from, I 695 n. b.
- HAT-SEHETEPIBRE: residence city of Nehri, I 628; probably identical with Ithtowe, the residence city of Amenemhet, I, I 628 n. c.
- HATSEKHEM (Diospolis parva), II 762.
- HATSETENI, IV 818.
- HATSHO, IV 102; location of, IV 102 n. d; fortress of, IV 107.
- HATURT-AMENEMHET: mayor of, II 735; products of, II 735.
- HATWASET: see Avaris and *H't-w'r't*.
- HATWERET: in XVI nome of Upper Egypt, IV 820; Namlot, prince of, IV 820.  
 —Khnum, lord of, IV 367; temple of, IV 367.
- HAUNEBU (peoples of the distant North in the Mediterranean): conquered by Henu, I 447; by Harmhab, III 34; Ramses III, IV 130.  
 —Hands of, II 120; people of, II 70.

- Haunebu*—  
 —Impost of, II 953; tribute of, II 953.  
 Hauran: M̄ut worshiped in, IV 716 n. b.  
 HE: a Nubian land, I 602; islands around, I 602; see also Hem.  
 HEBENU, IV 820 n. b.  
 HEBREWS, IV 281 n. e.  
 HEFAT, I 459.  
 HEH (=Semneh), I 652.  
 HEIGHT-OF-WAN: see Wan.  
 HEKA, I 103.  
 HELIOPOLIS, II 628; III 28, 32, 271, 545; IV 263, 265, 471, 870, 871; nome of, IV 955; land of, IV 257, 262; the two lands of, IV 183 *et passim*.  
 —Middle district of, IV 957; names of, IV 957.  
 —Besieged in the Libyan-Mediterranean invasion, III 612, 613.  
 —Kings crowned in, by Atum, II 221, 222.  
 —Sand hill of, IV 870.  
 —Canal of, IV 266, 278, 394.  
 —Harbor of, IV 873; pool of Kebeh, IV 870; river of Nun, IV 870.  
 —Cleansed by Thutmose III, II 642; Thutmose IV, II 812; Ramses III, IV 250.  
 —Offering ceremonies of, II 562.  
 —As place of future punishment, III 180.  
 —Temple model of, III 240.  
 —Temples of Atum-Re (=Harakhte), Aton, Horus, Saosis, Hapi, Re (in north Heliopolis): see Index II.  
 —Two pylons in, III 246; two obelisks in, III 246; two pairs in, III 246; London obelisk, II 632-33; New York obelisk, II 634-36; obelisk of Seti I, III 544.  
 —Amenhotep II, divine ruler of, II 782, 796, 797, 806; Harmhab, sovereign of, before becoming king of Egypt, III 4; Ramses III, ruler of, IV 5, 37, 62, 94, 105, 182, 215, 217, 218, 219, 423.  
 —Lords of, III 16, 614; table of, III 16.  
 —High priest of Re: Patonemhab, III 22 n. a; Sem-priests of, II 389.  
 —Gods of, III 245, 246, 545; IV 183, 247, 248; Atum, lord of: see Index I; Re, lord of: see Index I; Harsaphes, lord of, IV 733; Horus, III 1; Osiris, III 1; Isis, III 1; Nephthys, III 1; Hathor, III 1; IV 247; ennead of, III 16, 545, 547; IV 250, 261, 262, 265, 269; triad: of Atum, Saosis, Re-Harakhte, IV 183, 247, 248; spirits of, I 155, 159, 165, 167; II 314.  
 —Obelisk inscriptions, by Thutmose III, II 633, 635-36; Ramses II, III 545-48.  
 —Stela of Thutmose III, II 642.  
 —Northern Heliopolis, IV 721; temple of Re in, IV 274-76.  
 HELIOPOLIS, SOUTHERN (at Erment, south of Thebes), II 906 n. a, 934; IV 721, 768.  
 HEM (read so instead of He): Horus of, III 496, 498; temple of, III 496, 498.  
 HEMY: in the Delta, wine of, IV 734.  
 HENEM: city in Palestine, IV 713 n. e.  
 HEPEN: pool of, III 100.  
 HERACLEOPOLIS, IV 968; kingdom of, invasion of, by Thebans, I 396 n. d; insurrection within, I 398; consisting of the Northland and Middle Egypt, I 407 and n. b; end of (Dynasties IX and X), I 416; defended by the princes of Siut, I 422; conquered by Intef I of Thebes, I 422; finally overthrown by Mentuhotep I, I 423H.  
 —District of, IV 948.  
 —City of, I 401, 403; besieged by Tefnakhte, IV 818; by Pianchi's army, IV 825; streets of, IV 968.  
 —Merikere, king of, I 399; Tefnefdibast, ruler of, IV 852.  
 —Army of, IV 777, 787, 792, 868; Commander of, Commander in chief of, see Index V.  
 —Great ones of, I 401; Somtous-Tefnakhte, nomarch of, IV 944; Hor, chief of, IV 968.  
 —Temple of Harsaphes of, I 111; IV 792, 956, 968, 970, 971-72; temple of Bast, IV 973.  
 —Gods of: Harsaphes, lord of, I 675; IV 792; Divine father of: see Index V.  
 HERACLEUM, IV 405 n. g.  
 HERENKERU: city in southern end of Libanon, under the rule of Kadesh, II 436; plundered by Thutmose III, II 436; called a city of Retenu, II 557; impost of, II 557.  
 HERMONTIS, III 615; nomarchs of, the Intefs, I 419 n. c; recorder of,

- II 727; scribe of the recorder of, II 727.  
 —District of, II 727; scribe of, II 727; kenbeti of, II 727.  
 —Temples of: see Index V; throne of Amon in, II 314.  
 —Montu, god of, II 352, 828; see Index I; prophets of Montu, II 352.  
 —Products of, II 727.  
 —See also Erment.
- HERMOPOLIS (Khmunu), IV 842, 848, 948; captured by Pianchi, IV 833, 842.  
 —Hermopolis (*wmw*), IV 833, 843 bis.  
 —Hesret, a sacred quarter of: Thoth, presider over, II 95, 147; IV 356; temple of Thoth in, IV 356, 848; Thoth, lord of, IV 848.  
 —Prophets of, II 371; chief of, II 371.  
 —Royal palace of, IV 849; granary of, IV 851; treasury of, IV 849; magazines of, IV 849; stables of, IV 850; colossus of, I 695.
- HERMOPOLIS PARVA, IV 830 n. b.
- HERUR: see Hirur.
- HERYPEDEMY, IV 867.
- HES: Libyan people, slain by Ramses III, IV 405.
- HESEBKA (XI nome of Lower Egypt), IV 830, 878.
- HESEN: stronghold in the Harpoon nome, I 174.
- HESRET (a sacred quarter of Hermopolis), II 95, 147; IV 356; lord of, III 25.
- HESWER: city in the Saitic nome, Methen palace-ruler of, I 174.
- HIGHLAND (upper lands back from the river, along the foot of the cliffs), II 80, 113, 114.
- HIGHLANDS: captured by Mentuhotep I, I 423H; cleared of Troglodytes by Henu, I 429 n. g; beasts of, I 436; mountain of Hammamat, the highlands of Min, I 442; commander of troops in, I 455.  
 —Extending southward to Thau and northward to Menet-Khufu, I 456.  
 —Source of ebony, II 127; gold from, II 373; III 195; electrum from, II 374.  
 —Door of: see Door of the Highlands.  
 —Inspectors of: see Index V.  
 —of Akhetaton, II 1008; of Coptos, II 774.
- The eastern, governors of: see Index V.  
 —The western, I 533; overseers of, see Index V.
- HILL COUNTRY (=First Cataract), I 318.  
 —Hill countries, the two, II 297.
- HIPPONON, IV 818 n. e.
- HIRUR (Herur) (town by Benihasan): Khnum, lord of, I 637 n. a; II 95; Heket mistress of, II 205 n. a.
- HORIZON OF HORUS: a part of the Oryx nome, I 619; on the east of the river, I 625; up to the eastern highlands, I 625; detached as a separate principality, I 619; Menet-Khufu, chief city of, I 619.
- HORNS OF THE EARTH: in the South, II 101, 120, 631, 652; III 115, 118, 204 n. b, 588 n. c, 600; on the Nubian border, IV 102; mountain of, IV 102; in Asia, II 412.
- HOTEP (sacred quarter of Heliopolis): Hathor, mistress of, II 1042.
- HOU, city of, I 401 n. a.
- HOUSE OF HATHOR: recorder of, II 728.
- "HOUSE-OF-MENKHEPRURE": district of Memphis, II 1043.
- "HOUSE-OF-MENMARE-MERIAMON": town west of Memphis, IV 338, 340.
- "HOUSE-OF-OKHEPERKERE": district of Memphis, II 1043.
- "HOUSE-OF-PTAH": district of Memphis, II 1043.
- "HOUSE-OF-RAMSES-MERIAMON": see Ramses, city of.
- "HOUSE-OF-THE-NORTH": city of, I 125.
- HUA, HEIGHT OF: a Nubian region, II 849, 850; captives from, II 850.
- HYKSOS: their neglect of the Egyptian temples, I 15; II 296; chronology of, I 65; war with, I 24, 774; II 4 n. a; length of reign, I 52; expulsion of, II 1, 4; resumption of building after, II 26; they ruled in ignorance of Re, II 303.  
 —Era begun by, III 538, 542.  
 —Kings of: Ophtiset-Nubii, III 538, 542; Paophis: see Index III.

## I

IBHET: Nubian region: revolt of, II 852; capture of, II 853.

- Ibhet*—  
 —Archers of, II 854; servants of, II 854; captives of II 854.  
 —Campaign in, by Amenhotep III, II 852-55.  
 —Cattle of, II 853.  
 —Harvest of, II 852.  
 —Quarry of, I 321, 322.  
**IBRIM**: mayor of, IV 474.  
 —Cliff tomb of Penno in, IV 474 n. a.  
 —Tomb inscription, by Penno, IV 476-83.  
**IDEHET**: two wells dug in, by Henu I 431.  
**IHETEB**: a well dug there by Henu, I 431.  
**IKATHI**: city near Niy in Syria, Egyptian infantry in, II 787; revolt of, II 787; captured by Amenhotep II, II 788; booty from, II 788.  
**IKEN**, Nubian city, I 652.  
**IKHERKIN**: Nubian land, I 510.  
**ILION**, III 312 n. c.  
**ILLAHÛN**: at the mouth of Fayûm, IV 818, 853.  
**IMERES**: city of, I 173.  
**IMU**: Hathor, mistress of, I 351.  
**IMUKEHEK**: probably a Libyan region, war of Amenhotep I in, II 42.  
 “**INVERTED WATER**” (=the Euphrates), II 73; IV 407; the sea of (=Indian ocean), IV 407 n. c; fleet of Ramses III sailing thereon to the land of Punt, IV 407.  
**IREM**: Nubian region.  
 —Captured by Hatshepsut, II 26; Thutmose III, II 494; Amenhotep III, II 845 n. f.  
 —Chiefs of, II 267; son of chief of, II 494.  
**IRSHU**: sacred quarter of Mut in Karnak; see Index II: Karnak, Temple of Mut.  
**IRTHET**: negro tribe, I 311, 317, 334 bis, 336; chief of, I 324, 336 bis.  
**IRTHETH**: negro land, I 334.  
**ISEUM** (=Neter), modern Behbeit, IV 818 n. a, 878 n. a.  
**ISIDIS OPPIDUM** (=Neter, modern Behbeit), IV 818 n. a.  
**ISLANDS**, IV 830, 873, 880, 882.  
**ISLE OF SNEFRU**, I 312, n. d, 492.  
**ISLES**: Northerners of the, IV 75; invading northern Syria, IV 64; camping in Amor, IV 64; intending to attack Egypt, IV 64, 77.  
**ISLES**, (the Greek Islands): II 73; isles in the midst of the sea, II 1006; IV 880.  
**ISRAEL**: desolated by Merneptah, III 615; captured by Sheshonk I, IV 712.  
 —Towns of, IV 712.  
**ISSACHAR**: cities of, IV 712 nn. c, f.  
**ISY** (=Cyprus), II 659; captured by Thutmose III, II 493, 511; Ramses II, III 366 n. c.  
 —Prince of, II 511; chief of, II 521.  
 —Tribute of, II 493, 511, 521.  
 —Products of: copper, II 493, 521; lead, II 493, 521; lapislazuli, II 493; crude copper, II 511; ivory, II 493, 521; horses, II 511.  
**ITFIT** (see also Atfih): recorder of, II 741; scribe of the recorder of, II 741; products of, II 741.  
**ITHTOWE**: between Medûm and Memphis, IV 818, 856.
- J**
- JACKAL NOME**: location of, I 626, 632.  
 —Ruler of, Nakht II, I 632.  
**JACOB-EL**, IV 131.  
**JONIANS**, III 312 n. c.  
**JOPPA**: capture of, I 24; II 577.  
**JORDAN**, IV 716.  
**JOSEPH-EL**, IV 131.  
**JUDAH**: kingdom of, IV 713 n. d.
- K**
- KADER**: city in land of Pemehtem, in Syria, captured by Seti I, III 94.  
**KADESH**, I 3; III 310, 311, 322, 325, 336; extent of its dominion, II 420.  
 —Located in the land of Amor, III 141, 310; of Zahi, III 318.  
 —District of, II 531; Syria, a dependency of, II 420; ally of Kheta, III 309, 312.  
 —Captured by: Thutmose III, II 465, 585; Amenhotep II, II 798A; Seti I, III 141 bis; Ramses II, III 306.  
 —Siege of, II 589; great battle at, III 306-312, 317-27; assault on, II 590.  
 —Highland of, III 308, 318.  
 —Cities of, captured by Thutmose III,

- II 531; groves of, II 465; harvest of, II 465.
- Prince of, II 589; lords of, II 585, 590; chief of, II 420, 430, 435, 596, 773.
- Tribute from, II 773.
- Prisoners of, II 585, 798 A.
- Booty from, II 435, 436, 532, 585; chariot, II 435; suit of bronze armor, II 435; meru wood, II 435; chairs, II 436; staff, II 436; statue, II 436; clothing, II 436.
- KANA:** captured by Thutmose III, II 529.
- KANEKEME** (in the Delta): a vineyard of Amon, IV 216; temple of Amon in, IV 216.
- KARBANITI** (Kerben), IV 405 n. g.
- KARNAK**, II 43, 63, 80, 105, 383, 390, 606, 832, 833, 834, 835, 837, 838, 881; III 27, 28, 215, 216, 220, 261, 511, 512, 517; IV 9, 201, 495, 616, 624, 635, 768, 823, 851, 855, 945, 958C.
- Quay of, I 22; IV 693 n. a, 914.
- Hapuseneb, chief in, II 389; for other officials see Thebes (eastern), and Index II: Karnak, Temple of Amon, and Index V.
- Gods of: see Index I: Amon, Amon-Re, Harakhte, Aton, Mut, Khonsu, Montu, Mat, Horus, Ptah, Osiris-Wennofer, Hathor.
- Temples of: see Index II: Temples of Amon, Mut, Khonsu, Ptah of Thebes, Montu, Bast, Mat, Harakhte, Seti I, Ramses II, Osiris-Wennofer, and Index II: Thebes (eastern).
- Obelisks: of Thutmose I (Nos. 1 and 2), II 86; Hatshepsut (Nos. 1 and 2), II 304, erected by Senmut II 351; Thutmose III, II 624-25; Ramses II, III 543 n. c.
- Statues: of Senmut, II 349; Puemre, I 380 n. e; Amenhotep, son of Hapi, II 912, 913.
- Temple inscriptions: by Thutmose III, II 131-66, 415-37, 439-43, 445-49, 451-52, 455-62, 464-67, 469-75, 747-87, 489-95, 497-503, 507-515, 515-19, 529-40, 654; Hatshepsut, II 305; Amenhotep II, II 798A, 804-6; Seti I, III 82-150, 223-24; Ramses II, III 348-51, 355, 367-91, 509-513; Merneptah, III 574-92; Ramses IV, IV 472; Ramses IX, IV 492-98;
- Sheshonk I, IV 709-724; Osorkon, IV 753, 756-70 777.
- In temple of Khonsu: inscriptions by Ramses XII, IV 602-3; Hrihor, IV 609-26; Paynozem I, IV 632-33, 649.
- In temple of Ptah; inscription of Thutmose III, in II 611.
- Column inscription: of Thutmose III, II 601; Amenhotep II, II 804-6.
- Obelisk inscriptions: by Thutmose I, II 86-88; Hatshepsut, II 308-321.
- Statue inscriptions: by Senmut, II 350-58; Puemre, II 380-81; Amenhotep, son of Hapi, II 912, 914-20.
- Stelæ of: Ahmose I, II n. d; Thutmose III, II 599 n. d; Thutmose III, II 609 n. e; Thutmose III, II 655 n. b; Amenhotep II, II 781 n. b; Ramses II, III 429-47; Sheshonk I, IV 724A; Kerome, IV 755; Yewelot, IV 795; Psamtik I, IV 935-58; Enekhnesneferibre, IV 988A-J; for other inscriptions, see Thebes, and Index II: Karnak, Temple of Amon.
- Stela in temple of Ptah: of Thutmose III, II 609 n. e; Seti I, III 82.
- KAROY:** region of Kush, II 889; III 285; region of Napata, II 1020, 1025; gold from, II 889; III 285.
- Tablet erected in, by Amenhotep II, II 800.
- Campaign of Thutmose IV to, II 818.
- Southern boundary of Egypt at, II 862.
- KAS** (*K > 5*): Nubian land, I 510; see also Kush.
- KASR-ES-SAIYÂD:** cliff tomb of Idu-Seneni in, I 337 n. a.
- KAU:** negro tribe, I 311.
- KAY:** town of, IV 948.
- KEBEH:** pool of, in Heliopolis, IV 296, 870.
- KEBEH** (probably a region of upper Euphrates), II 101.
- KEBES:** a Syrian locality, III 337; Tergetetethes, chief of archers of, III 337.
- KEDEM** bordered on Yaa, I 496.
- KEFTYEW:** land of, II 659; ships of, II 492; vessels of the make of, II 537; tribute of, II 761, 773; classed with "all the Isles in the midst of the sea," II 761 n. a.
- Captured by Thutmose III, II 761; Ramses II, III 366.

- Keftiyew*—  
—Chief of, II 773.  
KEHEK: captives of, III 588.  
—Made into an Egyptian class, IV 402, 410.  
KEHENI: near Athribis, IV 873.  
KELEKESH: III 306, 349; ally of Kheta, III 309.  
KEMED: captured by Seti I, III 114.  
KEMWER: lake of, I 493; shore of, IV 724A; Harkhentikhet, lord of, IV 875.  
KENEMETYEW, II 808.  
KENOFU: pyramid city of Amenemhet I, I 490 n. a.  
KERBEN: city of Egypt, IV 405; location of, IV 405 n. g.  
KEREKHEN: n. —, Hittite city, III 386.  
KEREMIM: captured by Seti I, III 114.  
KERET, II 925.  
KERPET: city on mount of Bethanath, III 356; conquered by Ramses II, III 356.  
KERZET: Hittite city, III 386.  
KESHKESH: Syrian land of, ally of Kheta, III 309, 312; captives from, III 428.  
KETNE: place in Syria, II 598; captured by Thutmose III, II 598; by Amenhotep II, II 798A; by Ramses II, III 366; prisoners from, II 798A.  
KEYKESH: Libyan people, slain by Ramses III, IV 405.  
KEZWEDEN: Syrian locality, ally of Kheta, III 309, 312; land of, III 386; dependency of Kheta, III 386; queen of Kheta from, III 391.  
KHAFRE: cities of, I 195–98.  
KHAFTET-HIR-NEBES: necropolis in western Thebes II 927; goddess, II 70, 339, 606, 655.  
KHAMEHEM: captured by Seti I, III 114.  
KHAMMAT: modern Soleb, in Nubia; temple of, II 890 894–98; fortress of, II 894, 896, 897; mayor of, II 1041.  
KHARU, IV 883.  
—Captured by Kadesh, II 420; Amenhotep II, II 798A; Thutmose IV, II 822; Seti I, III 84, 101; Ramses II, III 457; Merneptah, III 617; She-shonk I, IV 724.  
—Sea of (the Mediterranean), IV 565.  
—Asiatics of, III 101.  
—King's messenger to, III 651.  
—Towns of, given for support of temples, IV 226; Gezer, city of, II 821; Tyre, city in, III 630, 633.  
—Chiefs of, III 84; Yarsu, chief of, ruling Egypt, IV 398.  
—Tribute of, II 1015; IV 724; impost of, IV 229.  
—Vases of, called  $\text{ḫ} \text{ḫ} \text{ḫ} \text{ḫ}$  vases, II 436; bows of, II 501; prisoners from, II 798A, 821, 884; IV 225; oil of, IV 33; see also Syria.  
KHAS: Sekhmet presider over, II 814.  
KHASEY: Nubian land, I 510.  
KHATITHANA: tribe of, II 789; city of, II 789; captured by Amenhotep II, II 789; belonged to Retenu, II 790.  
KHEMKHEM, IV 915.  
KHEMMIS: Horus in, II 138, 814; IV 923.  
KHENBET: Hittite city, III 386.  
KHENT: nome of (XIV), I 159, 165.  
KHENT-EBUI-ENTERU: Mut of, IV 369; temple of, IV 369.  
KHENTHENNOFER: Nubian region, II 14, 30, 80, 121; III 270, 285; captives from, II 162, 646; Nubian Troglodytes from, II 268, 646; youths (=recruits) of, III 332; under the authority of the viceroy of Kush, II 1026.  
—Fine gold from, IV 770.  
—Gods of, III 448 n. b; Nibmare, lord of, II 898.  
—Nomes of, III 448 n. b.  
KHENTIKHET: see under Temples of Athribis: Index II.  
KHENTNOFER, IV 878.  
KHEREHA (modern Babylon), II 814; cavern of, IV 869.  
—Mount of, IV 870; highway of god Sep to, IV 870; located in Per-Hapi, IV 878.  
—Nine gods in, I 500; temple of, I 165; lords of, II 814; ennead of Atum in, IV 869.  
KHERPENTERES: Hittite city, III 386.  
KHESEKHET: Nubian region, II 849.  
KHESEP: Hittite city, Sutekh, god of, III 386.  
KHETA: field of, a district in Memphis, II 1043.

- KHETA**: land of, III 34, 374, 375, 380, 381, 383, 384, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 410, 415, 479.  
 —Districts of, III 321.  
 —Wars with: by Seti I, III 114, 143, 144, 147, 148, 151, 152; Ramses II, III 306-312, 317-27, 392, 448 n. b; by Merneptah, III 617; Ramses III, IV 129.  
 —the great coalition of prince of, III 309; treaty of Egypt with, I 18, 36; III 367-91; invasion into, by the people of the Isles of the Northerners, IV 64.  
 —Grain transported by ships from Egypt to, III 580.  
 —Kings of, III 375 n. c; Seplel, III 373, 377; Merasar, III 373, 391; Metella, III 374, 375, 377; Khetasar, III 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 391; queen of, Petkhep, III 391; Matnefrure, eldest daughter of King Khetasar, given as queen to Ramses II, III 410, 415, 417; second daughter of Khetasar, III 428.  
 —Chief of, visiting Egypt, III 421, 424, 426; chiefs of, II 525, 773; III 144, 309, 310, 319, 321, 322, 323, 325, 326, 330, 330, 337, 338, 340, 340, 349, 359, 360, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 389, 390, 391, 417, 418, 419, 421, 424, IV 129; Thewethes, III 337; Rebeyer, III 337; Septher, III 337.  
 —Kheta, the Great: tribute from, II 485, 525, 773; III 151, 421; gifts from, III 420.  
 —Officers of, III 337; nobles of, III 419; people of, III 421; prisoners from, III 342; regulars of, III 424; warriors of III, 424; chariot warrior of, Gerbetes, III 337; charioteers: Tergen, III 337; Tergenenes, III 337; Peves, III 337; soldiers of: Semretes, III 337; Methren, III 337; chief of the warriors of, Teder, III 337; chief of the archers of, Tergetetethes, III 337; Egem, III 337; Rebesnen, III 337; scribe of chief of, Kherpesar, III 337; chief of the bodyguard, Teyeder, III 337; king's messengers, Tarteseb, III 371, 372.  
 —Chariotry of, III 309, 310, 312, 320, 321, 338, 424; infantry of, III 320, 321, 338, 424; army of, III 419, 424.  
 —City of, III 365; cities of: Ernen, III 386; Zepyerened, III 386; Perek, III 386; Khesesep, III 386; Seres, III, 386; Aleppo, III 386; Rekhzen, III 386; Sekhpen, III 386; Zeyeth-ekhrer, III 386; Kerzet, III 386; Kherpenteres, III 386; Kerekhen, III 386; Khewek, III 386; Zen, III 386; Zen-wet, III 386; Serep, III 386, Khenbet, III 386.  
 —Fortresses of Ereth, IV 120.  
 —Gods of, III 386; Sun god, III 386; Sutekh, III 386; Antheret, III 386; Tesker, III 386.  
 —Products of: silver, II 485; III 420; white precious stone, II 485; *t'-gw*-wood, II 485; gold, II 525; III 420; horses, III 420, 428; goats, III 428; large cattle, III 428.  
**KHEWEK**: Hittite city, III 386.  
**KHMUNU** (= Eshmunen, Hermopolis): chief city of the Hare nome, I 688; Thoth, lord of, II 274; see Eshmunen, Hermopolis.  
**KIKKAR**: locality in Palestine, IV 713 n. h.  
**KINA**: brook of, II 428, 430.  
**KODE**: captured by Kadesh, II 420; by Ramses II, III 306; located north of Megiddo, II 434; ally of Kheta, III 309, 321; invaded by the Northerners of the Isles, IV 64.  
 —All Kode, III 321; not included in the districts of Kheta or land of Naharin, III 321; IV 64.  
 —Chief of, III 421; visiting Egypt, III 421, 426; folk of, "curly-haired," II 657.  
**KOM EL-HISN**: temple of, IV 956.  
**KOM OMBO**: Set, god of, II 828.  
**KONOSSO, ISLAND OF**: rock inscription by Mentuhotep I, I 423H n. d; Thutmose IV, II 823 n. b; Amenhotep III, II 845.  
**KUBBÂN**: stelæ of Thutmose I, II 54 n. a; Ramses II, III 282-93.  
**KUMMEH** (37 miles above Wadi Halfa): temple of, built of "good white stone" from Shat, I 510.  
 —Rock inscription by Amenemhet IV, I 749.  
**KURNA**: Temple of Seti I, see Index II.  
**KURNET-MURRAI** (west side of Thebes): cliff-tomb of Huy, II 1019 n. a.  
**KURUSKO** (half-way between first and second cataract): inscription of, I 412 n. b.  
**KUSH**: land of, II 121 bis, 122, 858;

- III 44, 498; IV 313, 341, 387, 410; passed by Sesostris I's expedition; sailing southward, I 519.
- Campaigns against, by: Pepi II, I 361; Sesostris I, I 510 n. b; Sesostris III, I 647, 650, 653, 661, 672; Amenhotep I, II 39, 41; Thutmose I, II 76-77, 84; Thutmose II, II 119-22; Thutmose III, II 648; Thutmose IV, II 824; Amenhotep III, II 844, 845, 857; Harmhab, III 42; Seti I, III 164 bis; Ramses II, III 285, 392, 471.
- Rebellion of, II 844.
- Colony from, II 824; Troglodytes of, III 490; Negro people of, IV 114; Negro slaves from, II 494, 502, 514, 522, 526; prisoners from, II 857.
- Tribute from, II 891, 1015; III 42, 453, 590, 644; impost of, II 127, 494, 502, 514, 522, 526, 538; harvest of, II 494, 502, 514, 514, 538, 871.
- Towns of, given for support of temples, IV 226.
- Localities of: Pool of Horus, II 845; Karoy, II 889.
- Viceroy of, I 18, called "King's son," II 47; see Index V; first appointed by Thutmose I, II 47; earliest known II 61; appointment of earliest known, II 64; residence of, II 54, 62; called "King's son of Kush," II 1023; see Index V.
- Chief of II 122; III 590; IV 114; chiefs of, II 844, 857, 891, 1035, 1036; III 164; princess of, II 1035; deputy of, see Index V; king's messenger to, III 651.
- Products of: gold, II 522, 526; bulls, II 514; oxen, II 494, 502, 514, 1035; calves, II 494, 502, 514; ivory, II 494, 502, 514; ebony, II 494, 502, 514; ships, II 494, 502, 514, 538; chariot, II 1035, 1039.
- L
- LEBANON: expedition to, I 146 n. a; capture of Tripolis of, by Thutmose III, II 236; by Amenhotep II, II 783.
- Owned by Byblos, IV 577; claimed by Amon, IV 580.
- Fortress, built by Thutmose III in, II 548; name of, II 548.
- Imposts of, II 483, 510; chiefs of, II 483, 548; III 94; harvest of, II 519; booty of, II 783.
- Products of, II 436; birds of, II 483; wild fowl, II 483; horses, II 783; cedar from, III 94; IV 577.
- LETOPOLIS: Horus lord, IV 878; presider over, II 95; prophet of, IV 878.
- LEVI-EL, IV 131.
- LIBYA: land of, III 581, 586, 611; IV 40; people of, I 423H, 492; III 590; IV 822, 994.
- Invasion by, into Egypt, III 572-617; IV 91; plundering western Egypt, IV 405.
- Conquest of, by Mentuhotep I, I 423H; Amenemhet I, I 492; Ramses II, III 448 n. c; Merneptah, III 574, 584, 591, 594, 598, 608; Ramses III, first war, IV 35-58; second war, IV 83-114.
- Kings of: Ded, III 579; IV 43; Meshken, IV 43; Meryey, III 579, 586, 610, 612, 614; IV 43; Wermer, IV 43; Themer, IV 43.
- Chief of, Hetihenker, IV 783, 784; chiefs of, III 579, 580, 583, 584, 586, 588, 589, 590, 594, 595, 610, 615; IV 114, 127, 783, 784.
- Uncircumcised phalli of, III 587, 588, 601 ter; IV 52, 54; seed of, III 604; IV 91; families of, III 598.
- Chariotry of, III 583; infantry of, III 583; archers of, III 609; bowmen of, III 579; captives from, III 584, 588, 600; IV 52, 54, 57, 78, 79.
- LIBYAN NOME, I 159.
- LISHT: pyramid of Sesostris I in, I 507 n. b.
- LOWER EGYPT: kings of, I 78, 78 n. a, 90; II 287; III 577, 585.
- LUKA: ally of Kheta, III 309, 312; ally of Libya, invading Egypt, III 574, 579; uncircumcised (?), III 588.
- LUXOR, II 187, 190, 226, 230, 351, 554; III 27, 30; IV 836, 909.
- Wall of, built by Thutmose III, IV 628; restored by Nesubnebded, IV 628-30.
- Feast of, II 809, 887, 888; see Index VII: Feasts, of Southern Opet.
- Obelisk of Ramses II, III 543 n. c, 567.
- Temple reliefs and inscriptions of Amenhotep III, II 187-212, 215-42, Ramses II, III 480-84, 506-8; Menkheperre, IV 659; see also Opet, the Southern.



- LYCOPOLIS:** XIII nome of Upper Egypt, I 280, 396; jackal, sacred animal of, I 281 n. c.
- M**
- MA<sup>c</sup>SARA** (quarry), I 8; II 26.  
—Rock inscriptions, by Neferperet, II 26 n. c. See Ayan.
- MACHANAIM:** city of Israel, in Gad, conquered by Sheshonk I, IV 712.
- MAD:** sacred precinct near Karnak, IV 915; bull of, IV 915; house of, IV 915.
- MALACHITE COUNTRY,** I 161; IV 409; products of: silver, IV 409; gold, IV 409; royal linen, IV 409; mek-linen, IV 409; malachite, IV 409; Hathor, mistress of: see Index I.
- MALACHITE FIELD,** IV 1003.
- MANASSEH:** cities of, IV 712 n. d.
- MANU, MOUNTAIN OF:** western boundary of Egypt, II 321, 905; IV 12, 13, 246.
- MARSHES, OF ASIA** (exact rendering of the word translated "Marshes" is uncertain, but the lands of the upper Euphrates are meant), II 120, 321, 402, 657; III 480; IV 90.  
—Applied to the Kode-folk, II 657; of the lands of Mitanni, II 659; of Fenkhu, III 118.  
—Marshes of Asia, II 321; eastern boundary of Egypt, II 321; tribute from, II 385; III 434.  
—Marshes of the earth, revolt in, II 416; as far as Naharin, II 631; III 115, 118, 434.
- MAZOI:** negro tribe, I 311, 317; chief of, I 324; people of, captured by Amenemhet I, I 483; gendarmes of, IV 466.
- ME, GREAT CHIEFS OF:** Sheshonk, IV 675, 677, 678, 680; Namlot, IV 676, 678, 683, 685, 686, 687; see also Meshwesh and Index V: Chiefs.
- MEBER,** III 578.
- MEHAY:** dom palm of, IV 234.
- MEDINET HABU:** Themet, a region of, IV 634 n. b.  
—Pylon inscriptions by Ramses III, IV 61-68, 85-92, 94-99, 101-6, 130, 132-35, 137-38.  
—Temple inscription by Thutmose III, II 638-41, Ramses III, IV 4-17, 26-34, 37-58, 70-82, 107-14, 117-29, 140-45.  
—Temple of Thutmose III in: see Index II; Temple of Ramses III, IV 1 ff.; see Index II.
- MEDŪM,** IV 818, 855; see also Mer-Atum.
- MEHENET:** sacred district of Sais, IV 1011; temple in, IV 982; mysterious linen from, IV 1011.
- MEGIDDO,** II 439.  
—Campaign against, by Thutmose III, II 412-43; by Sheshonk I, IV 712.  
—In the land of Retenu, II 402; seized by Kadesh, II 420; brook of Kina south of, II 428; chief of, II 435; Asiatics in, II 441; surrender of, II 434, 441; harvest of, II 437; plain of, II 429; cattle of, II 430; siege of, II 432, 440.  
—Spoil of: mares, II 431, 435; foals, II 435; stallions, II 435; chariot, II 435; suit of bronze armor, II 435; bows, II 435; meri wood, II 435; large cattle, II 435; small cattle, II 435; white small cattle, II 435.
- MEKHER:** negro land, I 334.
- MEMPHIS,** II 790; III 28, 77, 159, 260, 271, 286, 608, 610, 612, 613, 615; IV 328, 471, 491, 724, 781, 818, 859, 861, 930, 956; beautified by Thutmose IV, II 812; latitude of, I 45; fall of supremacy of, I 53, 56.  
—Called "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," IV 977; "the wall," I 372; the white wall, IV 336; a walled city, III 608.  
—Besieged in the Libyan-Mediterranean invasion, III 608, 610, 612, 613; besieged by Piankhi, IV 857-64; captured by Piankhi, IV 865; captured by Tanutamun, IV 928.  
—Nome of, I 159; hunting on the highlands of, II 813; lions of, II 813; wild goats in, II 813.  
—Temples: of Ptah (Hatkeptah), Ramses II, Aton, Amon, Seti I, Ramses III, Serapeum: see Index II.  
—Gods of: city of Ptah, IV 310; mysterious seat of Sokar in, IV 857; abode of Shu, IV 857; sanctuary of Ineb-Sebek, IV 315, 330, 333; ennead of: see Index I; triad of: Ptah, Sekhmet, Nefertem; IV 183, 305, 306.  
—Dated stelæ of, I 22.  
—Quarters of, II 814; districts of: "fiel of-the-Kheta," II 1043; "House-

- Okheperkere," II 1043; "House-of-Menkheprure" II 1043; "House-of-Ptah," II 1043.
- Western road of, IV 338; western canal of, IV 338.
- Harbor of, IV 858, 863; stronghold of, IV 858; treasury of, IV 868; granaries, IV 868, 878.
- High priests of: see Index V: Priests.
- MENDES** (=Per-Beneded), IV 830, 878; Ptah-Tatenen, as a ram, lord of, III 400; the ram-god, lord of, III 542.
- Nome of, Methen, overseer of, I 173, 174; cities of, I 197, 198.
- MENET-KHUFU**: northern point of the Highlands, I 456; located in the Benihasan region, I 624 n. a; was the chief city of "Horizon of Horus," I 619; birthplace of Khufu (IV Dyn.), I 619.
- Colonnaded hall, rebuilt by Khnum-hotep II, I 637.
- Rulers of: Khnumhotep I, I 465, 625; Nakht I, I 627; Khnumhotep II, I 624, 629.
- MER-ATUM**: modern Medūm, IV 818, 855; house of Sokar in, IV 855.
- MEREM**: city in northern Palestine, conquered by Ramses II, III 356.
- MERET-SNEFRU**: city of, I 165.
- MERNEPTAH-HOTEPHIRMA**: city of, III 634; located in the land of Aram, III 634; fortress of, III 638; in Theku, III 638; stronghold of, III 633; well of, III 631; pools of Pithom of, III 638.
- MERNOFRET**: city of, I 635; ka-house of Nehri in, I 635.
- MERO**—: city of Tikhsi, II 587.
- MESA**: Syrian land of, conquered by Ramses II, III 306; ally of Kheta, III 309, 312.
- MESBET**: see Esbet.
- MESSED**, IV 879.
- MESEZUT** (of the Saitic nome): city of, I 174 n. f.
- MESHA**: Sebek, lord of, IV 368; temple of, IV 368.
- MESHENETH**: Syrian locality, captured by Ramses II, III 306; ally of Kheta, III 309.
- MESHWESH**: a Libyan land, IV 90, 103, 108, 113.
- Captured by: Merneptah, III 580, 598, 608; Ramses III, IV 40, 43, 52, 58, 84, 91, 92, 103, 104, 107, 224, 405.
- Invading Tehenu, IV 87; Egypt, IV 88, 405; in alliance with Temeh, IV 91.
- Kings of: Keper, IV 90, 97; Meshe-she, IV 90.
- Chief of, IV 87, 109, III, III, III, III, 779, 781.
- Army of, IV 90; warriors of, IV 90, 97; men of, IV III; chiefs of, IV 90; chieftains of, IV III; leaders of, IV III.
- Hands of (indicating that circumcision was practiced in), IV 58, 54 (?), III; seed of, IV 43.
- Captives from, IV 90, 92, III, 405; impost from, IV 92.
- Feast of "slaying the Meshwesh," IV 145; herd named after conquest of, IV 224.
- Cattle from, III 589; IV 110, III; herds of, IV 90; horses of, IV 86, 90, III; asses of, IV III; copper swords from, III 589; swords from, IV III; bows from, IV III; quivers from, IV III; spears from, IV III; chariots from, IV III; see also Me.
- MESTA**, TEMPLE OF, IV 956.
- METENU**, IV 818 n. h, 882.
- METHER**: Nubian country, I 368.
- MEWETKHENT**: temple of Amon in, IV 368.
- MIAM** (see also Derr): chief of, II 1037; Horus, lord of, III 285; IV 474; Penno, chief of the quarry service of, IV 474; statue of Ramses VI in, IV 479; domains of, IV 479-83.
- Treasurer of, IV 474; mayor of, IV 474; scribe of the White House of, IV 474.
- MIDDLE EGYPT**, I 10; boundaries of, in the Middle Kingdom, I 396 n. h; rebellion of, chastised by Merikere, I 400; counts of, I 401, 414; belonging to the Heracleopolitan kingdom, I 396, 401, 407, 413, 414.
- Kheti I, great lord of, I 403; Kheti II, commander of, I 410; Nakht II, forefront of, I 632.
- MIGDOL OF RAMSES**, IV 77.
- MIN**: city of, II 740; see Akhmim.
- MINIEH**: province of, I p. 48.
- MIN-SI-ESE**, III 76.

- MIPER:** (in Saite nome) Methen palace ruler of, I 172, 174.
- MIRAMAR:** stela at, I 281 n. c.
- MITANNI,** I 3; lands of, II 659, 773.  
—Asiatics of the army of, IV 722.  
—Called Naharin, II 867.  
—Caves of, II 773.  
—Chiefs of, II 773, 804.  
—Cities of, II 773.  
—Kings of: Artatama, II 866 n. h; Shuttarna, II 866 n. h; Dushratta, II 866 n. h.  
—Overthrown by Thutmose III, II 773; Ramses III, IV 131.  
—Princesses of: Mutemuya, II 866 n. h; Gilukhipa, II 866 n. h, 867; Tadukhipa, II 866 n. h.  
—Tribute from, II 804.
- MIVU:** district of Wawat, IV 480.
- MONS CASSIUS,** II 582 n. c.
- MUT, VILLAGE OF:** in Dakhel of the southern oasis, IV 725 n. c.
- N
- NAHARIN, LAND OF,** III 321, 434; not included in the districts of Kheta or Kode, III 321, 344, 346; Mitanni designated as in, II 867; great bend of (=Euphrates), crossed by Thutmose III, II 479 n. a, 631; waters of (=Euphrates), II 583; located between Carchemish and Naharin, II 583; marshes of, II 631; III 115, 118; boundary of, II 871.  
—Campaigns to: by Thutmose I, II 81, 85; Thutmose III, II 476-82, 485, 496-503, 532; Amenhotep, II, II 800; Thutmose IV, II 817-19; Amenhotep III, II 858; Ramses II, III 365.  
—Captured by: Kadesh, II 420; Thutmose III, II 479, 498; Amenhotep II, II 800; Thutmose IV, II 817-19; Amenhotep III, II 858; Seti I, III 114, 115, 118; Ramses II, III 306-312, 317-27, 344.  
—Revolt of, II 498; coalition of, with Kheta, III 309; sent auxiliary troops to Kadesh, II 532.  
—Tablet erected there by Thutmose I, II 478; by Thutmose III, II 481; boundary stone of Thutmose III placed east of Euphrates, II 478; tablet erected by Amenhotep II in, II 800.  
—King of, II 81, 479; princes of, II 480, 819; Satirna, chief of, II 867; Kirgipa, princess of, II 867.  
—Populations of, II 858; harem ladies of, II 867.  
—Tunip in the land of, III 365; towns of, II 479; settlements of, II 479; prisoners of, II 581.  
—Tribute of, II 482, 819; harvest of, II 480; booty from, II 480, 500, 501, 532, 817.  
—Products of: oxen, II 482; calves, II 482; bullocks, II 482; bulls, II 482; incense, II 482; sweet oil, II 482; green oil, II 482; fruit, II 482; grain, II 480; horses, II 482; gold, II 482; silver vessels, II 482; chariots II 482; weapons of war, II 482.
- NAHR EL-KELB,** stela of Ramses II, III 297; see Dog River.
- NAPATA,** I 22; II 647; IV 895, 923; city of Nubia, II 797; a prince of Tikhsi hanged on its wall, II 797; southern boundary of the territory of the viceroy of Kush, II 1022, 1025; also called Karoy, II 1020, 1025.  
—Cliff temple of, IV 897-99, 924; pure mountain of, IV 924, 932; see Gebel Barkal.  
—Amon of, IV 921, 924, 929, 932.  
—Stela of Tanutamon, IV 919-34.
- NAPTALI:** cities of, IV 714 n. b.
- NEDYT:** flats of, where the enemies of Osiris were ceremoniously slain, I 669.  
“NEFERIRKERE-BELOVED-OF-THE-DIVINE-ENNEAD”: city of, I 165.  
“NEFERIRKERE-BELOVED-OF-THE-SPIRITS-OF-HELIOPOLIS”: city of, I 165.
- NEFRUS:** wall of, IV 820.  
*Ng'w* (ox), city of, I 493.
- NEGEB,** IV 715; battle in, II 580; prisoners of, II 580; people of, called Asiatics, II 580.
- NEGRO:** land of, I 146; II 797; III 285, 457; 490; IV 477, 724.  
—Negroes, II 71, 849, 1035; III 448 n. b, 451; IV 338; slain, I 465, 707; chief's children and commanders slain, I 358; prisoners taken, I 538; II 648; chiefs of, I 359; II 648.  
—Revolt of, II 826.  
—Imported to Egypt for attendants, II 494, 526.  
—Captives, III 40, 44, 452; IV 225; servants, II 854; slaves, IV 539.

- Negro*—  
 —Negro tribes, I 311, 333-36, 510.  
 —Products of, I 336; baskets of, II 271; ships, I 652; bulls, I 658; herds, I 652; grain, I 658; trading, I 652; wells, I 658; II 850.  
 —Negro words: "urum" = black, IV 821 n. g.  
 —Negresses, II 854.
- NEKHEB**: ancient name of El Kab, I 293, 373, 609; II 7; Lords of: see Index V; for further references see El Kab.
- NEKHEN** (=Hieraconpolis): city of, I 201, 252, 293; II 47; northern boundary of the territory of the viceroy of Kush, II 1020, 1022, 1025.  
 —Lord of: see Index V; district officials of, II 722; mayors of, II 722; Harmini, II 47, 48; kenbeti of, II 722; "Attached to," see Index V; Judge attached to, see Index V.  
 —Gods of, II 888; Heket, white one of, II 205 n. a; Nekhbet, the white goddess of, III 100.  
 —Products of, II 722.
- NEMYEW**: chiefs of, II 267.
- NER**: temple of, in Heracleopolis, IV 968; restored by Hor, IV 968.
- NERU**: see Index II.
- NETER**: in central Delta, Tefnakhte, great prince of, IV 818.
- NETHER WORLD**, I 378; II 95, 293, 664, 936; III 259, 272, 278; IV 4, 182, 309, 353, 411, 485, 852; the glorious ones entering the, III 17; going in and out of, II 353, 378; IV 187; door of, III 240; gates of, II 378; gods of, III 280; IV 473; water of, III 291, 292; king of, IV 182.
- NEW ISLES**: domains of Re in, IV 265.
- NEW TOWNS**: Nekonekh, governor of, I 216; Nehri, ruler of, I 628; chief of, I 354.
- NIBMAT**: bend of Horus, a district, I 312.
- NILE**, I 483; III 587; IV 354, 407, 479, 480, 481, 482; flooding ancient landmarks through irrigation, in time of Kheti II, I 407.  
 —Rising of, in time of Uni, I 42; of Shabataka, I 43.  
 —Connected with Red Sea, II 248.  
 —Full Nile, royal title, II 992, 1003; III 486.  
 —Great, Nile, II 883, 887; III 404; IV 246.  
 —High Nile, IV 470; to be reported to the vizier, II 709; as epithet of the king, II 994.  
 —Nile levels, I 22, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 146, 147, 148, 152, 157, 159, 165, 749, 752; IV 695, 696, 697, 698, 743, 793, 794, 886, 887, 888.  
 —Shores of, IV 72; sources of, III 171 n. b; valley of, I 1, 8; III 290.  
 —"I was a Nile [to my people]," Tefibi, I 395.
- NINE BOWS**, I 423H; II 72, 120, 148, 656, 792, 828, 836, 887, 1029; III 30, 77, 103, 110, 114, 132, 346, 408, 414, 457, 465, 474, 479, 489, 498, 510, 577, 580, 590, 600, 607, 617; IV 38, 49, 52, 54, 55, 57, 62, 63, 66, 67, 68, 71, 72, 77, 78, 81, 103, 104, 105, 110, 123, 124, 126, 246, 259, 304, 351, 620, 712, 718, 720.  
 —Chiefs of, III 26; captives from, IV 190.  
 —Sun of, royal title, II 1037; III 38, 44, 152; IV 122.  
 —Thebes, mistress of, IV 751; Khnum, binder of, II 170, 171; Mut, mistress of, II 891.
- NIY**, city in upper Retenu: gifts from, II 125; south of Naharin, II 481; elephant hunt at, II 588; south of Oronates, II 786; walls of, II 786.  
 —Asiatics of, II 786; prisoners from, II 798A.
- NOMADS** (Asiatic): strongholds of, overthrown by Nessu-Montu, I 471.
- NORTH**, the, III 155; IV 47, 72, 130, 359, 864; great lake of, III 479; countries of, III 457; chiefs of, IV 860, 930; gods of, II 217.
- NORTH AND SOUTH**, I 161, 274, 340; genii of, 206; union of, I 78; numbering of cattle in, I 81; building the wall of, I 146.  
 —Prophets of, II 936.
- NORTH COUNTRIES**, III 351; chiefs of, II 1032; captives of, III 351.  
 —Northern countries: two doors of, IV 1014; Governor of, see Index V.

- NORTHERN ISLE:** probably the same as Isle of Snefru, I 312.
- NORTHERNERS,** I 81; II 656, 797, 835, 887; III 273, 574; IV 722, 845, 934.
- NORTHERNERS OF THE ISLES:** attacking Northern Syria, IV 64; camping in Amor, IV 64; intending to invade Egypt, IV 64; allies of, IV 64.
- NORTHLAND,** I 156, 158, 212, 311, 407; II 224, 341, 355; III 281; IV 189 n. c, 190, 780, 825, 830, 832, 835, 838, 841, 853, 859, 876, 882, 883, 895, 922, 925, 927, 934, 1003.
- Avaris of the, II 296, 303; city of, IV 215.
- Belonging to the Heracleopolitan kingdom, I 407 n. b, 413, 414.
- Wine gardens of Amon in, IV 213; stern-rope of, II 885; Busiris, city of, IV 485; princes of, IV 868, 873.
- NUBIA** (*T 2-pd:t*), III 31, 179, 479, 500, 501, 502; IV 443, 929, 994, 1014.
- Regions of, I 311, 336, 510; II 843, 845 n. f, 849.
- Campaigns to: by Pepinakht, I 355, 358, 359; Mekhu, I 363, 365; Sebni, I 363, 366, 368; Mentuhotep I, I 423 H; Sesostri III, I 658; Ahmose I, II 5; Thutmose I, II 67-77, 78-80, 84; Thutmose II, II 122; Thutmose III, II 446-48; Thutmose IV, II 826-29; Amenhotep III, II 842-55; Ramses II, III 448 n. b, 457; Ramses III, IV 136-38; Sheshonk I, IV 723.
- Towns of, conquered by Thutmose III, II 645, 646, 647; Napata, city of, II 797.
- Chief of, I 317, 602; II 71, 80; Officials of: see Index V.
- Temple of Amon in, IV 218.
- Gods of, III 290; Horus of, I 500; Anuket, mistress of, I 644; Dedun, presider over, II 170, 171, 176; Nibmare, lord of, II 894, 897; Harakhte, lord of, III 499.
- Impost of, IV 190; reckonings of, III 448 n. b.
- Upper Nubia, products of: gold brought from, I 665; fine white stone of, II 176.
- Inscriptions in, I 8, 10; under the empire, I 21.
- NUBIAN TROGLODYTES,** II 11, 268, 646, 837, 892.
- NUBIANS,** I 423H, 658; II 71, 101, 916; sacrificed to Amon, II 645.
- NUGES:** city in southern Lebanon, ally of Kheta, III 309; under the rule of Kadesh, II 436; called a city of Retenu, II 557; plundered by Thutmose III, II 436; district of, II 490, 508.
- Booty of, II 436, 490, 508; impost of, II 557; products of, II 490.
- NUN** (the primeval celestial ocean): Hathor, mistress of, I 178; dwellers in, II 95.

## O

- OASIS:** hills of, III 580; district of Toyeh in, III 580; captured by Libya, III 580.
- OASIS, northern,** III 580 n. c; tribute from, II 385, 386; wine-gardens of Amon in, IV 212; products of, IV 229, 283, 387.
- OASIS DWELLERS:** land of, expedition of Sesostri I to, under Ikudidi, I 527.
- OASIS OF AMON,** II 189.
- OASIS OF BIT,** IV 867.
- OASIS REGION:** tribute from, II 386; Intef, lord of, II 763, 767; Thebans banished to, IV 655, 656.
- OASIS, SOUTHERN:** also called oasis of Dakhel, IV 725 n. a, 726 n. c, 734; and oasis of el-Khargeh, IV 726 n. c, 734; known by ancients as Oasis Major, IV 726 n. c; two towns of, IV 726; two lands of, IV 726; Sutekh, lord of, IV 726; land of, IV 726; rebellion of, IV 726; organization of, IV 726.
- Wine and shedeh from, IV 734, 992; tribute from, II 385, 386; wine-garden of Amon in, IV 213.
- OKEANOS:** see Circle, Great.
- OMBOS:** district officials of, II 720; recorder of, II 720; scribe of the recorder of, II 720; kenbeti of, II 720.
- Temple of Sutekh in, IV 359.
- Set, god of, III 583; Sutekh, lord of, IV 359.
- Products of, II 720.
- ON** (=Heliopolis), II 814; two lands of, III 600.
- OPET, SOUTHERN** (=Luxor), II 886; IV 671, 743; restored by Senmut, II 27, 351.
- Ceremony of the voyage to, II 554; feast of, II 591, 809, 887, 888; III 58; IV 671.
- Inclosure wall of, II 887; see also Luxor.

- OPHIEION, I 459 n. e; see Hefat.
- ORONTES, III 311, 326, 336; ford of, II 784; cattle at the, II 784; booty taken in, II 784, 785; channel of, III 308.
- ORYX NOME (XVI of Upper Egypt), I 518; location of, I 619, 626; horizon of Horus, a part of, I 619; bordering on the South to the Hare nome, I 626; North to the Jackal nome, I 626; extending in west to the western highlands, I 626; troops of, I 519; Commander in chief of: see Index V.
- Fields of, I 523, 626.
- Great lords of: Khnumhotep I, I 464, 626; Amen(emhet), I 518, 522 bis; Kheti, I 637 n. a; shepherds of, I 522.
- Temple of Khnum, lord of Hirur, I 637 n. a.
- OTHU: captured by Seti I, III 114.
- Ox (*Ng<sup>o</sup>w*), city of, I 493.
- OXYRRHYNCUS (= Behnesa): XIX nome of Upper Egypt, I 427; IV 818 n. b, 820, 837; district of, IV 948; army of, I 429, 442; boundaries of, I 632.
- Set, lord of, IV 368; temple of, IV 368.
- P
- PALESTINE: inscriptions in, I 8; civilization of, I 20; campaign in southern Palestine by Uni, I 315; people from, settling in Delta, III 10; conquered by Ramses II, III 471. See also Syria, Kharu Zahi, Retenu.
- PANOPOLIS: nome of, north of Thinis, I 529 n. e; Min, lord of, II 181; Min, Horus and Isis of, IV 366; temple of Min in, II 181; IV 366.
- PATORIS: nomes of, IV 905.
- PAUZY: temple of Thoth in, IV 368.
- PE: souls of, I 264; temple of Buto in, I 500; gods of, II 888; Horus, lord of, IV 1017; Buto, mistress of, I 500; royal statue of Sesostri for, I 500; Mentuhotep, lord of, I 512.
- PEDES: III 306, 349; ally of Kheta, III 309 n. d, 312.
- PEDETISHEW: transporting grain in ships to Kheta, III 580.
- PEHER: captured by Seti I, III 114.
- PEKANAN: city in Palestine, III 88; plundered by Merneptah, III 617.
- Pekanan: as part of a temple name, according to which Zahi would be a part of Pekanan, IV 219.
- PEKER (district in Abydos): feast of, II 94.
- PELESET: a Palestine people, conquered by Ramses III, IV 44, 129, 403; chieftain of, IV 129; soldiers of, by land and sea, IV 44; ally of the northerners, IV 64; towns of, IV 71; captives of, IV 81, 82, 129; headdress of, IV 73.
- PEMDSHEE (Oxyrrhyncus), IV 818 n. c.
- PEMEHETEM: land in Syria; captured by Seti I, III 94.
- PENINEYWE, IV 867.
- PER-BAST (=Bubastis): residence of Osorkon III, IV 830.
- PER-BENEDEDED (=Mendes): IV 830; Zeamonefonekh, prince of, IV 878.
- PER-BERSET: a Delta city, III 576.
- PEREK: Hittite city; Sutekh, god of III 386.
- PER-GERER, IV 878.
- PER-HAPI: Khereha in, IV 878; Pebes, prince of, IV 878.
- PER-HATHOR-RESIT, I 373.
- PER-HEBY, IV 878.
- PER-HOR: mayor of, II 742; products of, II 742.
- PERIRE, III 588, 600; fields of, on the western boundary of Egypt, III 579; district of, III 583.
- PERKED, SOUTHERN: Methen, ruler of, I 172, 174.
- PER-MANU: temple of, IV 956.
- Pr-mr-yw*: town of, II 721; town ruler of, II 721; products of, II 721.
- PERNEBETPIH, IV 818.
- PERNESER: temple of Buto in, I 159.
- PERNEZED: capital of Oxyrrhyncus-Behnesa, IV 818, 837.
- PERNUB, near Sais, IV 818.
- PERONEKH: Sebek of, IV 547.
- PER-OSIRIS (=Busiris) IV 830; She-shonk, chief of Me, lord of, IV 830; Pemou, prince of, IV 878.
- PER-PEG, IV 831.
- PER-SEKHEMKHEPPERRE, near Illahun, IV 818, 853; wall of, IV 853; stronghold of, IV 853.

- PERSEPA:** Methen, palace-ruler of, I 172.
- PERSHETHET:** Methen ruler of, I 172.
- PERSIANS:** accession of, I 47, 48, 50.
- PER-SOPED,** IV 878, 956; Pekrur, hereditary prince of, IV 932.
- PER-THUTUPREHUI** (Hermopolis parva): army of, IV 830, 878; Enekhhor, commander of, IV 878.
- PERWEN:** Nubian land, I 510.
- PERWERSAH:** Methen, ruler of, I 174.
- PERZOS:** Horus of the South, lord of, IV 726; prophet of, IV 726.
- PESEBEK:** town of, IV 784.
- PETEN,** I 493.
- PEZEDKU:** canal near Avaris, II 9.
- PHILAE,** I 459 n. e.
- PHOENICIA:** invaded by Ahmose I, II 4, 19-20.
- PITHOM:** pools of, III 638; located in Theku, III 638.
- PORT OF THE SOUTH:** northern frontier city of the South in the time of Tefibi, I 396.
- PUNT,** II 253, 290; gods of, II 286; known by hearsay to ancestors, II 287; Wereret, mistress of, II 288; called the Red Land, I 429; called God's Land, I 433; II 253, 255, 265, 271, 286; III 116; IV 407; Hathor, mistress of, II 252, 255; called the land of rest, III 116.
- Location of, II 249; in the east, II 892; southern boundary of Egypt, II 321.
- Myrrh terraces of, II 260; ways to, II 285; IV 130; highways of, III 155.
- Expeditions to: by Khufu (?), II 247; Sahure, I 161; II 247; Isesi, I 351; II 247; under Pepi II, by Enekhket, I 360; II 247; under Pepi II by Thethi, I 361; II 247; Mentuhotep III, I 429; II 247; Amenemhet II, I 605; II 247; Sesostris II, II 247; Hatshepsut, II 246-95, 296, 299; Harmhab, III 37-39; Seti I, III 116; Ramses III, IV 407.
- Chiefs of, II 255, 256, 260, 261, 262, 267; III 37, 38; Perehu, II 254, 258.
- Tribes of: Irem, II 267; Nemyew, II 267.
- A Punt, made in the garden of Amon at Thebes, II 295.
- Puntites, II 288; called "Southernns of God's Land," II 288.
- Tribute from, II 261, 262; III 37; IV 407; gifts from, I 351; slaves from, II 486.
- Products of, II 750; dwarf from, I 351; marvels of, II 265, 266, 271, 272, 274, 277-78, 321, 377, 486, 513; odor of, I 762; II 196, 274; gold from, II 486; gold dust from, III 37; ivory, II 265, 272, 486; shells, II 272; green gold of Emu, II 265; electrum, I 161; II 272; throw sticks, II 272; ebony, II 265, 272, 486; dried myrrh, II 486, 513; fragrant woods, II 265; III 527; myrrh resin, II 265; khesyt wood, II 265; myrrh trees, II 265; cinnamon wood, II 265; myrrh, I 161, 429; II 260, 321; IV 130, 210, 333, 929; ihmut incense, II 265; sonter incense, II 265; incense, IV 130; eye cosmetic, II 265; asses, II 258; apes, II 265; monkeys, II 265; dogs, II 265; southern panther, II 265, 272; panther skins, II 265, 272, 486; small cattle, II 272; oxen, II 486; calves, II 486; bulls, II 486; ostrich feathers, III 37; manna, IV 286, 390.
- PUNT RELIEFS:** by Hatshepsut in temple at Dêr el-Bahri, II 246 ff.; by Harmhab on his Karnak pylons, III 37.

## R

- RABBITH:** town of Israel, in Issachar, conquered by Sheshonk I, IV 712.
- "**RAMSES-MERIAMON,**" city of Ramses, III 261, 371; IV 362, 369, 414; Amon, god of, III 371; Ptah, god of, III 371; temple of Sutekh in, IV 362; people of, IV 369.
- The city of: Palace of, in the city of the Northland, IV 215; name of, IV 215; built by Ramses III, IV 215; gardens of, IV 215; boulevards of, IV 215; sacred avenue of IV 215; people of, IV, 225.
- RANOFER:** district of, IV 830; Yewepet, king of, IV 878.
- RAPHIA,** IV 716.
- RED LAND,** II 245, 297; III 179, 270, 471, 598; expedition to Punt by Henu to bring myrrh from the sheiks of, I 429, 430.

- Mentuhotep, lord of, I 532; pillar of, I 533; Thutmose II, ruler of, II 116; Hatshepsut, ruler of, II 299, 319, 321.
- Chiefs of, executed, II 808; sheiks of, I 423D.
- RED MOUNTAIN: quarry of, I 493; II 975, 976; highland goddess, mistress of, I 493; II 297; sandstone from, II 153; gritstone from, II 917 n. c.; Chief of works in: see Index V.
- RED SEA, I 7, 433; ship-building at, by Enenkhet, I 360; by Henu, I 432; battle at northern end of, I 360; hunting at, I 456; oblation at, I 432; connected with the Nile, II 248.
- REDESIYEH: temple of, III 162; built by Seti I, III 172-74; town of, settled by Seti I, III 172; gods of, III 173; stronghold of, III 174.
- Rock inscriptions, by Seti I, III 197-98.
- Temple inscriptions, by Seti I, III 162-95.
- REHESU: near Letopolis; Sekhmet, mistress of, IV 878; house of, IV 878.
- REHOB: city of Israel, conquered by Sheshonk I, IV 712.
- REKHSEN: Hittite city, Sutekh, god of, III 386.
- REKRERET: sacred district of Anubis in Siût; Anubis, lord of, I 540, 572, 583.
- Rs-nf.t.*: district of, II 731; scribe of, II 731; products of, II 731.
- RESENET: a sacred district of Sais; mysterious linen from, IV 1011.
- RESHET: malachite from, II 321.
- RESHU: land of, under rule of Hatshepsut, II 299.
- RESIDENCE CITY of Ramses III; temple of Sutekh in, IV 362.
- RETENU, II 413, 439, 477, 596, 616; III 102, 103, 270, 476, 498; IV 219, 709 n. b; called God's Land, II 451, 820, 888; "Retenu and all the northern countries of the ends of the earth," II 761 n. a; cities of Kharu not included in, II 798A; Lebanon located within, II 548.
- Campaigns to, by: Sesostris III, I 680; Thutmose I, II 81; Thutmose II, II 125; Thutmose III, 1st campaign, II 402, 408-443; 2d campaign, II 444-49; 3d campaign, II 450-52; 4th campaign, II 453; 5th campaign, II 455-62; 6th campaign, II 463-67; 7th campaign, II 468-75; 8th campaign, II 476-87; 9th campaign, II 488-95; 10th campaign, II 496-503; 11th campaign, II 504; 12th campaign, II 505; 13th campaign, II 506-515; 14th campaign, II 516-19; 15th campaign, II 520-23; 16th campaign, II 524-27; 17th campaign, II 528-40; Amenhotep II, II 790, 798A; Seti I, III 94, 139, 147; Ramses II, III 392, 448 n. b, 451, 457.
- Princes of, II 413, 471; nobles of, II 790; chiefs of, II 162, 225, 445, 447, 466, 467, 491, 525; III 94, 97, 106, 107, 139, 151, 392, 448 n. b, 451; IV 623.
- Captives from, II 162, 402, 467, 790; III 97, 392, 448 n. b; slaves from, 436, 447, 467, 471, 491, 518.
- Tribute from, II 445, 447, 448, 466, 471, 491, 518, 533(?), 534(?), 761, 820; III 106, 110; presents from, II 1030; dues of, II 596; plunder from, II 790; impost from, IV 28; harvest of, II 473.
- Cities of: Nuges, II 557; Yenoam, II 557; Herenkeru, II 557.
- Products of: gold from, II 447, 471, 491; III 111; chariots, wrought with gold, II 413, 447, 467, 491; gold horn from, II 447; flat dishes from, II 447; silver from, II 447, 491; III 111; malachite from, III 111; lapis lazuli from, III 111; copper from, II 447, 471, 491; vessels of copper from, II 491; lead from, II 471, 491; feldspar from, II 491; colors from, II 491; green stone, II 473, 491; sparkling stone, II 473; costly stone, II 473, 491; III 111; incense from, II 447, 472, 491; dried myrrh from, II 491; plants of, II 451; flowers of, II 452; honeyed wine, II 447; *c.g.t.*-wood from, II 447; ivory, II 447; carob wood, II 447; *mrw*-wood, II 447; *psgw*-wood, II 447; fire wood, II 447; cedar, II 838, 888; grain, II 473; clean grain, II 473; barley, II 473; green oil, II 473; wine, II 473; fruit, II 473; oxen, II 491; horses, II 403, 447, 467, 491; asses, II 491; bulls, II 447; bullocks, II 447; small cattle, II 447; calves, II 447, 471, 491.
- RETENU, THE LOWER: subject to



- Amenhotep II, II 789A; Amenhotep III, II 858; Seti I, III 116; Osorkon II, IV 749.  
 —Prisoners from, II 798A.
- RETENU, THE UPPER, IV 749; subject to Thutmose II, II 125; Thutmose III, II 451; Amenhotep II, II 766, 798A; Amenhotep III, II 858; Seti I, III 112, 116; Ramses II, III 366; Osorkon II, IV 749.  
 —Prisoners from, II 798A; chiefs of, II 1033; III 112.
- RHINOCOLURA, III 51 n. b.
- RIDGE: north of the sand-dwellers (southern Palestine), I 315.
- RIVER, IV 823, 831; the great (= Nile), III 580; IV 405; the Conopus branch of the Nile, IV 405 n. a.
- ROSTA, III 230; Anubis, lord of, IV 4.
- ROYENET (= Tehneh), I 213, 218, 221; Hathor of, I 213.
- S
- š-y-wt*: land of, north of Kadesh, II 465.
- SAFT-EL-HENNEH (= Per-Soped), IV 956.
- SAHSETENI, VOYAGE TO, I 112.
- SAL, ISLAND OF, II 652.
- SALS, DISTRICT OF, IV 957; southern Bedwin in, IV 957; Mehenet, a district of, IV 982; Resenet, a district of, IV 1011; nome of, Methen, local governor of, I 172, 173, 174.  
 —Chiefs of: Khentemseti, I 609; Tefnakhte, IV 859.  
 —Neit, mistress of, IV 830; Sekhmet, mistress of, IV 878; house of, IV 878, 956.  
 —Royal statue for, I 500.
- SAKKARA, CEMETERY OF, I 289.  
 —Mastaba-chamber of Methen, I 170 n. c; mastaba of Nenekhsekhmet, I 237; Ptahshepses, I 254; mastaba-tomb of Sabu-Ibebi, I 282; pyramid of Mernere, I 321 n. a.  
 —Stela of: Nenekhsekhmet, I 237 n. c; Harmhab, III 2.  
 —Tomb of Harmhab, III 1 n. a.
- SAMHUDET: city in the Delta, II 935; IV 878.
- SAND DWELLERS: Asiatic, I 311; II 321; III 155; IV 130; five rebellions of, in time of Pepi I, I 314; hacked up by army of Uni, I 313 bis; captives taken by Uni, I 313; their strongholds overturned, I 313; figs and vines destroyed, I 313; numerous troops of, I 313; ridge north of, I 315; slain by Pepi-nakht at the northern end of Red Sea, I 360; expedition against, by Nessumontu, I 471; = Asiatic Troglodytes, I 471; silenced by Mentuhotep, I 532; slain by Thutmose III, II 661.  
 —Chiefs of, II 70; tribute given by, II 101.
- SAND RANGERS, I 493; II 916.
- SARBÛT-EL-KHADEM: reached by sea, II 877.  
 —Rock inscriptions by: Amenemhet II, I 606 n. b; Khenemsu, I 715, 715A; Sebek-hir-hab, I 725 n. d; Ptahwer, I 728; Amenemhet, I 730; Amenemhet IV, I 750; Thutmose III, II 450 n. a.  
 —Stela of Harure, I 733 n. b; officer of Amenhotep III, II 877.
- “SATISFIER-OF-THE-GODS,” city of: mayor of, II 1041; fortress of, II 1041; Penno, deputy of, 1041; Mermose, prophet in, II 1041; priest in, II 1041.
- SEA, II 220; III 480.  
 —The great lake of the North, III 479.
- SEA, COUNTRY OF THE: Ekwesh of, III 588, 601; Sherden of, IV 129; Teresh of, IV 129.
- SEA OF SYRIA (Kharu), IV 565.
- SEA PEOPLE, IV 52.
- SEBENNYTOS: Akenesh, prince of, IV 878.
- SEBI: probably identical with Alabastropolis, III 20 n. c; Horus, lord of, III 20; Harmhab, chief prophet of, III 20.
- SEBÛ ‘A: temple of Ramses II, III 504.
- SEHEL, ISLAND OF, I 642.  
 —Rock inscription of: Sesostris III, I 642-48; the family of Neferhotep, I 753 n. b; Thure, II 75, 76; Thutmose III, II 649 n. d; Ramose, II 937 n. a; Ramses II, III 553 n. b, 557; Seti (II), III 646.
- SEHEZ: Sokar, lord of, IV 855; Menhy of, IV 855.
- SEIR: people of, IV 404; a tribe of the Shasu, IV 404; captured by Ramses III, IV 404; tents of, IV 404; cattle of, IV 404.

- SEKHEMITE NOME (II of Lower Egypt), I 173, 175.
- SEKHEMU: city of, in Xoïs nome, I 174.
- SEKHPEN: Hittite city, Sutekh, god of, III 386.
- SEKMEM: city in Syria, I 680.
- SEKTU: ships of, II 492.
- SEMNEH: southern boundary of Egypt in the time of Sesostriis III, I 652; fortress of, I 653 n. c, 752; temple of Thutmose III, I 653 n. c; II 61 n. a, 651.
- Rock inscriptions by Sekhemre-Khutowe, I 751 n. a.
- Stelæ of: Sesostriis III, I 651-60; Merimose, II 851-55.
- Temple inscription of Thure, 61 n. a; of Thutmose III, II 167-76; of Nehi, II 651.
- SENT, a stronghold: Methen, ruler of, I 172.
- SENZAR: battle in, II 584. See Sezar.
- SEP: district of, IV 948; Anubis, lord of, IV 368; temple of, IV 368.
- SEPED: Libyan people, captured by Ramses III, IV 52-91; seed of, III 91; circumcision practiced among (?), IV 52, 54 (?).
- SEREP: Hittite city, III 386.
- SERES: Hittite city, Sutekh, god of, III 386.
- SERREH: temple of Ramses II in, III 502.
- SESU: temple of Set in, IV 369.
- SETHU, Negro land, I 336; chief of, I 334, 336 bis.
- SEWEW (=Wadi Gasus): on the coast of the Red Sea, opposite Coptos, I 605.
- SEZAR (=Senzar): prisoners from, II 798A.
- SHABTUNA: city on the west side of Orontes, south of Kadesh, III 310, 319, 324; IV 131.
- SHAI: Libyan people, slain by Ramses III, IV 405.
- SHARUHEN: flight of Hyksos to, II 4; siege of, II 4, 12 n. g, 13 n. b; revolt in, II 416; captured by Sheshonk I, IV 716.
- SHAS-HERET, IV 994.
- SHASU (Bedwin of Sinai and vicinity, especially north of it), II 124; Khnum, smiter of, II 170, 171.
- Conquered by Thutmose III, II 517; Seti I, III 86, 88, 101; Ramses II, III 457; Ramses III, IV 129, 403; conquest of, from the fortress of Tharu to Pekan, III 88.
- People of Seir, a tribe of, IV 404; of Edom, III 638; in army of Kheta, III 319.
- Rebellion of, III 101; captives from, III 108, 457; IV 129; chieftain of, IV 129.
- SHAT: Nubian land, I 510; "good white stone" of, temple of Kummeh built of, I 510.
- SHATB: modern city just south of Assiut, I 401 n. a.
- SHATT ER-RËGAL (near Assuan): relief of Mentuhotep II in, I 425.
- SHEDEBOD, TEMPLE OF, IV 780.
- SHEDET: in Fayûm, IV 369.
- SHEKELESH: a northern people, invading Egypt, III 574, 579, 595; slain by Merneptah, III 588; ally of the northerners, IV 64; captives from, III 588; IV 81.
- SHEKEN: canal of, III 576.
- SHEKH SA'ID: tombs of the princes of the VI Dyn., I 688; restored by Thutnakt, I 689.
- Tomb inscription of Thutnakt, I 688 n. a.
- SHEMESH-EDOM: captured by Amenhotep II, II 783; located in the Lebanon region, II 783; booty from, II 783.
- SHEMIK: Nubian land, I 510.
- SHEM-RE: city of, I 125.
- SHERDEN: a northern people of the sea, IV 129; captives from, III 588, 601; IV 129, 403; rebellious-hearted, III 401; infantry of, IV 72; invading Egypt, III 574, 579; slain by Merneptah, III 588 bis; Ramses III, IV 403.
- SHERDEN: a foreign class of mercenary troops, III 307; IV 50, 51, 397, 402, 410.
- SHEREM: city in northern Palestine, conquered by Ramses II, III 356.
- SHERET-METHEN: city of, I 172, 173.
- SHESHOTEP (modern Shatb, south of Assiut): city of, I 401; Khnum, lord of, IV 366; temple of, IV 366.
- SHETA: wild cattle hunt in, II 864.

- SHET-METHEN:** in the Saitic nome, I 173 bis.
- SHETYT:** Sokar god of, I 288.
- SHILOH,** IV 131.
- SHINAR:** captured by Amenhotep III, II 859; Ramses II, III 366 n. c.
- Tribute of, II 484.
- Products of: lapis lazuli, II 484; artificial lapis lazuli, II 484; lapis lazuli of Babylon, II 484; ram's head (artificial) of lapis lazuli, I 484.
- SHORE:** western (of the Nile?), IV 405; plundered by Libyans, IV 405.
- SHUNEH YUSUF,** IV 878 n. f.
- SHUNEM:** city of Israel, in Issachar; conquered by Sheshonk, IV 712.
- SIDON:** 10,000 ships in harbor of, IV 574.
- SILSELEH,** IV 706; Sebek, lord of, III 208; rock temple of, III 208; built by Harmhab, III 552-60.
- Sandstone quarry of, I 49; II 935; III 205 n. c; IV 18, 701 n. d.
- Rock inscription, by official of Ikhnaton, II 934-35; Seti I, III 206-8; Ramses II, III 552, 554, 555, 556, 559, 560; Roy, III 627-28; Siptah, III 648; Setemhab, IV 19, 20; Haremsaf, IV 701-8.
- SIMYRA:** city of, II 476, 528 n. h; captured by Thutmose III, II 465; by Seti I, III 114.
- SINAI:** peninsula of, I 7, 10, 42, 728; copper mines of, operated in I Dyn., I 168; by Snefru, I 168-69; mine land of, visited by Sihathor, and malachite brought from, I 602; reached by sea, I 718; II 877.
- Gifts of (=mining products), I 353; expedition of Ramses III to, IV 409.
- SIUT,** II 729; IV 358, 795; see also Assiut; canal of irrigation dug by Kheti II, I 407; its princes defended the kings of Heracleopolis against Thebes, I 396, 401, 411, 422.
- Princes of: Tefibi, I 393-97; Kheti I, I 398-404; Kheti II, I 405-414; mother of Kheti II "lord" of Siut, I 414; Hepzefi, I 535-93.
- Counts of, I 538, 547, 557.
- Officials of, I 547, 579; recorder of, II 745; scribe of the recorder of, II 745; kenbeti of, II 745.
- Citizens of, I 546, 547, 578, 579.
- Temple of Upwawet, I 398, 403, 541; official body of, I 550; gifts to, I 404, 407; lay priests of, I 539.
- Temple of Anubis, lord of Rekreret, *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priests of, I 540; great *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priest of, I 572.
- Necropolis of: overseer of, I 582; official body of, I 584.
- Products of, II 745.
- Tomb inscriptions at, I 10, 391-92; tomb III, I 393-97; tomb IV, I 398-404; tomb V, I 405-414; cliff tomb of Hepzefi, I 535-93.
- SOCOH:** city of Judah, conquered by Sheshonk I, IV 713.
- SOLEB:** fortress of, II 894, 895, 897; temple of, II 890, 894-98.
- SOMALI COAST,** II 249.
- SOUTH,** II 341; III 155; IV 47, 310, 652, 864, 907, 944.
- Nomes of, IV 857; war with, by Tefibi, I 396; Henu, overseer of the administration of, I 428.
- City of (=Thebes), II 1038.
- Vizier of, IV 224.
- Governor of Uni, I 293, 320 ter; extent of, in time of Uni, I 311; real governor of, Nenekhseskhnun, I 305.
- Great lord of: Hapuseneb, II 389; Lords of: see Index V.
- Magnates of: their rank, II 675; Pillar of: see Index V.
- Affairs of, I 332; boundaries of: in the Middle Kingdom, I 396, 396 n. h; gods of, II 217, 828; granite of, II 315; elephantine of the, II 171; door of: see Door of the South; treasury of, II 614; wine-gardens of Amon in IV 212.
- SOUTH COUNTRIES,** II 646; princes of, II 887.
- Tribute of, II 652, 1038; impost of, II 652, 653; gifts of, II 271.
- Electrum from, II 654.
- SOUTH AND NORTH,** I 152, 423D, 451; II 161, 203, 285, 352, 578, 715; III 20, 268, 286, 404; IV 67, 313, 359; captured by Mentuhotep I, I 423H; recruits of, II 332; infantry of, II 429.
- The great authorities of, IV 460; chiefs of, II 871, 872; III 448 n. b; mayors of, II 701, 768.
- Gods of, II 219, 224, 800, 812; IV 183, 335, 352, 353, 363, 364, 383, 470, 731; goddesses of, IV 352, 363, 364, 383, 470, 731.

*South and North—*

—Tribute of, III 13, 554; harvest of, II 871.

—Fortresses of, II 675.

—Cattle of Amon in, II 912; IV 212.

SOUTH AND NORTH COUNTRIES, II 213; captives from, II 162; expeditions to, II 818.

SOUTHERN CITY (=Thebes), II 706, 826; III 82, 206, 256, 261; IV 414, 467, 708.

—Vizier of, II 675, 717; garrison of, II 694.

—Steward of, III 32C.

SOUTHERN COUNTRIES, III 285, 480; tribute of, III 116; governor of, II 170; imposts of, II 281; marvels of, II 282; door of, IV 990, 995.

SOUTHERN ISLANDS: scribe of, II 726; products of, II 726.

SOUTHERN LAKE: next to Nomes XX and XXI of Upper Egypt, I 172.

SOUTHERNERS, II 341, 797, 835, 887; III 204 n. b, 272; IV 722, 845, 934.

—Of God's Land, II 288.

SOUTHLAND, III 281; IV 190, 819, 880, 905, 907, 922, 934, 948, 958F; bow-rope of, II 885; gods of, IV 34; products of, IV 34.

SPHINX OF HARMAKHIS: district of, I 179.

SUAN, I 493; see Assuan.

SUCCOTH, III 638 n. a.

SUHEN-EM-OPET: castle in Thebes, II 402.

SYCAMORE: region of, I 493; fields of, II 299; bearing myrrh, II 299.

SYENE: in the Delta; wine of, IV 734.

SYRIA (*H<sup>2</sup>-rw*) I 3, 20, 43; IV 313, 341, 383, 387, 410, 582, 883; inscriptions in, I 8; envoy to, I 18; sea of, IV 565, 573.

—Barley from, IV 287, 344, 391; oil from, IV 376; impost of, IV 229, 387; tribute from, IV 724.

—Syrian, III 454, 468; IV 338, 398; crew, IV 574; Syrian chief ruling Egypt, IV 398; slaves of, for temple of Amon, II 555; for temple of Osiris, IV 680.

## T

TAAANACH, II 426; road of, II 421; conquered by Sheshonk I, IV 712.

TABOR, III 356.

TAKINASH, IV 818 n. c.

TAKOMPSO, IV 146.

TANGÛR (seventy miles south of the second cataract): inscription by Thutmose I, II 67 n. b; Nubian expedition of Thutmose I to, II 74.

TANIS: called city of the northland, IV 215(?).

—Residence of Ramses II, III 406; Ramses III(?), IV 215, 217 n. i (?); Smendes, IV 564.

—Amon temple of, IV (215, 217(?)), 956.

—Palace of, IV 215.

—Colossus of Ramses II, III 417; obelisk of Ramses II, III 392, 543 n. c.

—Colossus inscription, by Ramses II, III 417.

—Obelisk inscription, by Ramses II, III 392, 448 n. b.

—Stelæ of: Ramses II, III 487-91; Seti, III 538-42; Osorkon II, IV 745-47; Taharka, IV 892-96.

TAROY: Nubian region: fortress of, II 852.

TAYAN: Yewepet king of, IV 878.

TAZOSER (cemetery of Abydos): Wennofer, lord of, III 17, 234; Upwawet, lord of, I 767, 768; lords of, III 234; located south of Abydos, I 771; addition to, for other tombs, I 771; boundary stelæ set up, I 769; precinct of, III 240; sanctity of, I 770; custodian of, I 770; Anubis, lord of, IV 1029.

—House in, II 36; ennead of, III 218; lord of, III 237.

TAZOSER: in western Thebes, IV 91, 309, 382; court of the lord of, IV 4; sacred district of lord of life of, IV 4; place of rest, IV 246.


TAZOSER: lords of, III 240; districts of, III 240; nome of, III 240.

TEFRER: lapis lazuli from, III 448 n. b.

TEHENU, II 225, 413; III 134, 457, 600; IV 56, 355, 356; a land to the west, III 116.

—Invaded by Libya, III 579; by Meshwesh, IV 87.

—Captured by Mentuhotep, I 423H; Amenhotep III, II 892; Seti I, III 116, 147; Ramses II, III 448 n. b, 457, 465; Merneptah, III 588, 611, 616, 617; Ramses III, IV 37, 54.

- Tehenu**—  
 —Fortress of, II 892.  
 —Chiefs of, III 116, 132, 139.  
 —Seed of, IV 87.  
 —Sutekh gods of, III 611.  
 —Tribute of, II 321.  
 —Products of, I 675; ivory, II 321; tusks, II 321.  
**TEHENUT**: nome of, IV 482; domain of, IV 482; located in Wawat, IV 482.  
**TEHNEH**, IV 838; tomb in, I 172; tomb of Nekonekh, I 213; Hathor of, I 213.  
**TELL EL-AMARNA**, I 7, 304, 695; inscriptions of, I 20, 33.  
 —Cliff tombs of: Ani, II 977; Merire II, II 981; Merire I, II 982-88; Eye, II 989-96; Mai, II 997-1003; Ahmose, II 1004-8; Tutu, II 1009-1013; Huy, II 1014-17.  
 —Rock inscriptions of, by Ikhnaton, II 949-72.  
 —Tomb inscriptions by: Ani, II 977; Merire I, II 983-88, 1018; Eye, II 990-96; Mai, II 997, 999-1003; Ahmose, II 1006-8; Tutu, II 1010-13; Huy, II 1015-17.  
**TEMEH**: Libyan land, I 311, 335 bis; IV 91; soldiers of, in the army of Uni, I 311; attacked by the people of Yam, I 335.  
 —Captives from, IV 92; impost from, IV 92.  
 —Captured by Merneptah, IV 580, 586, 598, 608; by Ramses III, IV 40, 42, 43, 49, 50, 52, 58, 71, 84, 91, 92, 103, 104.  
 —Circumcision practiced in (?), IV 52, 54; seed of, IV 50, 58.  
 —in alliance with Meshwesh, IV 91.  
 —Timby stone, from Wawat, IV 373, 389.  
**TENES**: Syrian locality, III 337; Rebesnen, chief of archers of, III 337.  
**TERERES**: Negro land, I 334.  
**TERESH**: a northern people of the sea, IV 129; invading Egypt, III 574, 579; slain by Merneptah, III 588; captives from, III 588, 601; IV 129.  
**TEREW**: a negro people, chief of, IV 114.  
**TERRACE**:  
 —Cedar, II 32, 94, 103, 611, 614, 755, 794 n. b; IV 904.  
 —Malachite, I 266, 342.   
 —Myrrh, II 260, 284, 285, 287, 288, 291 n. a, 294.  
**TERSES**: a Negro people, chief of, IV 114.  
 —Tetechen (modern Tehneh), IV 838.  
**THAMUT**: district of, II 641.  
**THARU**: city of, II 415; fortress of, III 88, 100, 307, 542 bis, 631.  
 —Robbers to be sent to, III 51; extortioners sent to, III 54; slave-thieves sent to, III 55; hide-thieves sent to, III 56.  
 —Temple of, IV 956.  
**THAU**: southern point of the highlands, I 456.  
**THEBES** (=in the original "Thrones of the Two Lands," *ns-wt-towy*; or *w3st*, the name of the Theban nome), I 459; II 36, 101, 143, 149, 266, 295, 402, 549, 832, 834, 835, 881, 882, 889, 890, 891, 892, 896, 900, 917; III 23, 30, 144, 154, 165, 260, 261, 271, 436, 507, 515, 566, 580; IV 26, 141, 195, 207, 466, 471, 591, 609, 612, 615, 624, 626, 634, 652, 653, 697, 705, 707, 721, 743, 760, 764, 768, 769, 777, 823, 825, 840, 883, 906, 908, 926, 944, 945.  
 —Titles of: the mysterious city, IV 187, 220; city of the lord of eternity, III 27; of the hidden name, IV 753; victorious (=Thebes on the east bank), II 329; IV 8, 197, 211, 213, 216, 753, 912; eye of Re, IV 753, 899, 906; mistress of might, IV 912; mistress of temples, IV 753; mistress of the Nine Bows, IV 751.  
 —Glory of, like a splendid sea, I 423; land of, bequeathed by Intef I to his son, I 423.  
 —Wall of: the princes of Tikhsi hanged before, II 797.  
 —Planted with trees by Ramses III, IV 213.  
 —Exempt from inspection, IV 750, 751.  
 —Invasion of, in the Heracleopolitan kingdom, I 396 n. d; length of this war, I 415, 420 n. d.  
 —Intef, founder of Theban line, I 419; Mentuhotep II, first great king of, I 426; Ikudidi of, I 527; Eti, great pillar in, I 459; Intef, nomarch of, I 420.  
 —Mayors of: Amenmose, IV 466; Peser, IV 513, 526, 527, 531.  
 —Youths (=recruits) of, II 332.  
 —Products of, II 730.  
 —Obelisks of, II 627.

- Thebes*—  
 —Gods of, II 73, 224; IV 183; triad of, II 244; IV 128, 222, 230, 236, 463; Hathor, patroness of, II 224; see also Index I.  
 —Statues of: Senmut, II 363 n. f; Nebnefer, II 928.  
 —Stature inscriptions by: Nebnefer, II 929-31; stelæ of, Thutmose III, II 609 n. e; Intef, II 763 n. e; Amenhotep III, II 856 n. b, 878-92, 904-910; Amenhotep, II 921; Merneptah, III 602 n. d.  
**THEBES, THE WEST OF**, II 905, 927, 947; III 216, 217, 219, 220, 521, 522, 622; IV 9, 12, 13, 14, 19, 179, 400, 491, 511.  
 —Mayor of, II 927; Pewero, IV 511, 512, 522, 527, 528, 535.  
 —District of, II 927; called Khaftet-hir-nebes, II 927; gendarmes of, II 927.  
 —Necropolis of, II 338, 339; districts of, called: "Place-of-Beauty," part of, IV 523, 525; valley of the kings, 400 n. c, 473, 524; Zeseret, part of, IV 520; "Place of Truth," IV 465; sacred district of "Lord of Life," IV 4, 187; "Beautiful Region" to the northwest, IV 795; fortress of, II 338-39; goddess of, II 338-39; chief of police of necropolis of, Pewero, IV 511; see also Tazoser of Western Thebes.  
 —Temples of: see Index II: Memnonium, Ramesseum, Mortuary temple of Merneptah, Thutmose IV, Chapel of Wazmose, House of Amon.  
 —Tomb of Thaneni, II 392; Senmut, II 348 n. a; Amenopet, II 671 n. e; Woser, II 671 n. e; Intef, II 763 n. e.  
 —Tombstone of Senmut, II 348 n. b.  
 —Tomb inscription of: Thaneni, II 392; stela of Hatshepsut, II 338.  
 —For Thebes, east side: see also Karnak, Luxor and Mad, and for Thebes, west side, see also Abd el-Kurna, Drah-abu-<sup>3</sup>n-Neggah, Dêr el-Bahri, Khaftet-hir-nebes, Kurna, Kurnet-Murrai, and Medinet Habu.  
**THEBU**: district of, IV 957; "Barque of the Sycamore," an estate in, IV 957.  
**THEKEL**: in Palestine, IV 567; conquered by Ramses III, IV 44, 77, 403.  
 —Chieftains of, IV 77, 78, 79, 129.  
 —Soldiers by land and sea of, IV 44.  
 —Ally of the northerners, IV 64.  
 —Captives of, IV 79, 129.  
 —Dor, a city of, IV 565.  
 —Ships of, IV 588; mighty sea-people, IV 588.  
 —Byblos not included under its dominion, IV 590.  
**THEKNESH**, IV 818.  
**THEKU**: frontier city of, III 638; fortress of Merneptah-Hotepirma in, III 638; pools of Pithom of, III 638.  
**THEMET**: a region of Medinet Habu, IV 634; Khonsu residing in, IV 914.  
**THENEW**: Syrian city, prisoners from, II 798A.  
**THERETI**, I 703.  
**THES(?)**: a southern boundary of Theban kingdom in time of Intef I, I 423D.  
**THINIS**: nome of, I 349; II 181, 763, 767.  
 —Location of, I 423 n. a; captured by Intef I of Thebes, I 423; northern boundary of Theban kingdom, I 396 n. h, 423D, 529.  
 —Cities of: Abydos, I 349, 396 nn. d, h, 529; Thinis, II 763; crown possessions of the South in, I 665 n. b; fortresses of, I 396 n. b, 423.  
 —Officials of: supervisor of fields of, Imsu, I 529; mayor of, II 739; nomarchs of, Ibi, I 377; Intef, II 763, 767.  
 —Count of, Intef, II 763.  
 —Temple of Onouris, IV 355, 365, 484.  
 —Gods of: Onouris, I 500; Osiris, I 666.  
**TIKHSI**: district of, II 797; battle in, II 587, 797; Mero—, city of, II 587; prisoners of, II 587; Asiatics in, II 587; seven princes of, II 797.  
**TINAY, CITY OF**: chief of, II 537; tribute of, II 537.  
**TINTTO-EMU**: city in Nubia, II 15.  
**TÔDSHI**, IV 818 n. f.  
**TOMBOS**: island of, II 67; inscriptions found there, I 21; fortress at, II 67.  
 —Rock inscriptions of Thutmose I, II 67-73.  
**TOMERI (=Egypt)**, III 490, 616.  
**TOWËR**: Abydos of, III 260; IV 357.  
**TOYEH**: district of, III 580; in the Oasis region, III 580; captured by the Libyans, III 580.  
**TOZI**, IV 818.  
**TROGLODYTES, ASIATIC**, III 118; the sand-dwellers, defeated by Nessu-

- montu, I 471; smiting of, I 81, 104; II 225; Khufu, smiter of, I 176; the highlands cleared of, by Henu, I 429 n. h; by Sesostri I, I 511; Min, head of, I 443; sarcophagus stone, concealed from, I 451.
- TROGLODYTES, NUBIAN**, I 654; II 646, 656, 892.
- Bringing tribute, II 120.
- of Khenthennofer, II 268, 646; of Kush, III 490.
- Slain by: Zaa, I 687; Ahmose, II 14; Amenhotep I, II 39; Thutmose I, II 71; Thutmose II, II 121; Thutmose III, II 646, 661; Thutmose IV, II 837; Seti I, II 116, 118; Ramses II, III 285, 490; Sheshonk I, IV 719, 720.
- TROJA**: limestone quarry of, I 210, 212, 239, 274, 289, 290, 307, 509; II 800, 875; see also Ayan.
- TUNIP**: city of, III 365; districts of, III 365; located in the land of Naharin, III 365.
- Aleppo, north of, III 319.
- Captured by Thutmose III, II 530.
- Infantry of, II 459; harvest of, II 530; groves of, II 530; chief of, II 773; tribute from, II 534 (?), 773.
- Under rule of Kheta, III 319.
- TUPHIUM**, I 459 n. e: see Hefat.
- TURIN**, I 69 n. j.
- TURRA**: rock inscription, I 181; by Amenemhet III, I 740; Amenhotep II, II 799; Amenhotep III, II 875; see also Troja and Ayan.
- TWO DOORS OF THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES**, IV 1014; Governor of: see Index V.
- TWO HALVES** (=Upper and Lower Egypt), I 502; II 318, 805.
- TWO HOUNDS** (of Mendesian nome), I 174.
- TWO LANDS**, I 420; II 53, 151, 164, 170, 192 n. d, 198, 208, 225, 235, 266, 271, 285, 286, 305, 309, 315, 319, 325, 328, 341, 352, 361, 374, 376, 377, 412 *et passim*; Amon, lord of, II 198.
- Chiefs of: bound by Mentuhotep I, I 423H; captured by Mentuhotep I, 423H; bowing before Henu, I 428.
- Queen of, II 53.
- King, heir of Horus in his Two Lands, I 441.
- Judged by the hereditary prince, I 531.
- Head of: see Index V.
- Chief of the Two Lands, I 423H *et passim*.
- TWO MOUNTAINS**: costly stones from, III 448 n. b.
- TWO REGIONS**, I 552; II 116, 176, 341; III 16; IV 304; captured by Mentuhotep I, I 423H; by Amenemhet I, I 465.
- of Horus, II 353.
- Lord of: see Index V.
- TYRE**, IV 567; captured by Seti I, III 114.
- Chief of: Baalat-Remeg, III 630.
- Upper Tyre, in Kharu, III 633.

## U

- UHET** (=quarry?): road of, I 335.
- ULLAZA**: city near Tunip, II 470; location of, II 470; captured by Thutmose III, II 470; by Seti I, III 114; booty from, II 470.
- UNESHEK**: Nubian region south of Hua, II 850.
- UPPER EGYPT**, I 25; kings of, I 90; II 287; III 577, 580.
- UPPER NOME** (XX nome of Upper Egypt), I 199.
- UPPER TENU**: Emuienshi, sheik of, I 494; see Retenu.
- UREM**: Nubian region, captured by Amenhotep III, II 845 n. f.
- URONARTI**: island of, below Semneh, I 654, 655; fortress of, I 654 n. a, 655.
- USERMARE-MERIAMON**: city in Nubia, IV 102; location of, IV 102 n. a.
- USERMARE-MERIAMON**: city in Syria, III 308.
- UTENTYEW**: isles of, II 660.
- UTHEK**: Nubian country, I 369.
- UTHETH**: Nubian region, expedition of Sebni to bring back his father, I 367.

## V

- VALLEY OF THE KINGS' TOMBS**: at Thebes, III 32 n. a; IV 400 n. c, 473, 524; tombs of Ramessids in, IV 473 n. a.

## W

- WA**—: city in northern Syria, II 457; plunder of, II 459; storehouse of offerings, II 458.

- Wa*—
- Gods of: Amon, II 458; Harakhte, II 458.
  - Chief of, II 459; *i-h-r*-warriors of, II 459; slaves of, II 460.
  - Ships of, II 460.
  - Products of: gold, II 459; silver, II 459; lapis lazuli, II 459; malachite, II 459; vessels of bronze, II 459; vessels of copper, II 459; copper, II 460; lead, II 460; emery, II 460.
  - W<sup>o</sup>h-ys't*: recorder of, II 736; scribe of the recorder of, II 736; products of, II 736.
  - WADI cALĀKI, III 282.
  - WADI GASUS: stelæ of: Khentkhetwer, I 604 n. b; Khnumhotep, I 617 n. a.
  - WADI HALFA:
    - Temple of Thutmose III, III 639.
    - Temple of Horus, III 74; built and endowed by Ramses I, III 54; endowed by Seti I, III 159-61.
    - Temple inscription by: Seti I, III 248; Neferhor, III 643; Piyay, III 644; Hori, III 645; 650, 651(?).
    - Pillar inscription of Nehi, II 412-13.
    - Stelæ of: Mentuhotep, I 510 n. a; Thutmose I, II 54 n. a; Ramses I, III 74-79; Seti I, III 157-61.
  - WADI MAGEHARA: malachite and copper brought from, I 713; reached by sea, I 718.
    - Rock inscriptions of: Snefru, I 168 n. a; Khufu, I 176 n. a; Sahure, I 236 n. a; Nuserre, I 250 n. a; Menkuhor, I 263 n. a; Dedkere-Isezi, I 264 n. a, 265 n. c, 267 nn. e, g; Pepi I, I 302 n. c; Pepi II, I 339 n. e; Khenemsu, I 713 n. i; Harnakht, I 717 n. d; Sebekdidi, I 719; Ameni, I 721; Amenemhet IV, I 750; Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, II 337.
  - WAG: land between Red Sea and Hamamat, I 433 n. d.
  - "WALL-OF-HORI," district of Heliopolis, IV 957.
  - "WALL-OF-PSENMUT," a district of Heliopolis, IV 957.
  - WALL OF THE SOUTH, II 814; Mut, mistress of, II 814.
  - WALLS OF THE RULER: made to repulse the Bedwin, I 493.
  - "WALLS-OF-THE-SOVEREIGN," a name of Memphis, III 615.
  - WAN, HEIGHT OF: expedition to, II 582; located west of Aleppo, II 582; prisoners of, II 582; Asiatics of, II 582; products of, II 582.
  - WATER OF RE: a canal, IV 83, 224, 369.
  - WATET-HOR: tribute of, II 385, 386.
  - WAWAT: region of, given to temple of Amon, IV 950; the great mountain of, IV 480, 481; water of, II 170; ships to, I 426; fortress of, inspected by Hapu, I 616.
    - Expeditions to, by Harkhuf, I 311, 317, 336; Pepi-Nakht, I 358; Sebni, I, 367, 369; Mentuhotep III, I 426; Amenemhet I, I 473-83; Sesostri I, I 510; Thutmose IV, II 826; Merneptah, III 606 n. a.
    - Revolt in, II 826; III 606 n. a.
    - In charge of mayor of Nekhen, II 47; Penno, deputy of, IV 474, 477, 480; Meri, deputy of, IV 481; Herunofor, IV 482; Bahu, herdsman of, IV 481.
    - Impost of, II 475, 487, 495, 515, 523, 527, 539; tribute of, II 48; ships of, II 475, 487, 495, 515, 527; harvest of, II 475, 487, 503, 539; slaves from, II 487; negro slaves from, II 495, 503, 515.
    - Gods of, III 448 n. b.
    - Products of: acacia wood, I 324; oxen, II 475, 487, 495, 503, 515, 527; calves, II 475, 487, 495, 503, 515, 523, 527; bulls, II 475, 487, 503, 523, 527; gold, II 515, 527, 539; ebony, II [523?]; ivory, II [523?], 527(?); timhy stone, IV 373, 389.
  - WAYET: Nubian country, chief of, II 1037.
  - WERKA: smiting of, I 112.
  - WESHESH: ally of the northerners, IV 64; slain by Ramses III, IV 403; captives of, IV 403.
  - WEST: the countries of, III 491; cities of, IV 818; fortress of the, III 586; chief of, Tefnakhte, IV 818, 830.
  - WEST (=cemetery), II 926; the beautiful, IV 249, 304, 918, 961, 986, 1010, 1029.
  - WEST SIDE (=Libya), I 492.
  - WESTERN LAND, II 659; applied to Keftiyew and Cyprus, II 659.
  - WESTERNERS, I 293; II 656.



## X

XOIS (Ox nome): nome of, I 156, 159, IV 818; Methen, local governor of, I 172, 173, 174.

## Y

YAA: a land in Palestine, on the border of Kedem, I 496; very fruitful, I 496.

YAM: Negro tribe, I 311, 351, 510; chief of, I 324, 336 ter; road to country of, I 333, 334, 335, 352; dancing dwarf from, I 351; a land of spirits, I 351.

YARU: fields of, III 21; plowing in, III 21.

YAT-SEBEK: city of, I 173.

YAWAN, III 312 n. c.

YEHEM: city of Palestine, II 419.

YENOAM: at southern end of Lebanon, under the rule of Kadesh, II 436; called a city of Retenu, II 557; impost of, II 557.

—Captured by Thutmose III, II 436; Seti I, III 90, 114; Merneptah, III 617.

YERAZA: city of the Asiatics, in Judah, revolt in, II 416; conquered by She-shonk, IIV 714.

YERED: temple of Amon-Re, lord of, IV 368.

YU, LAND OF: under rule of Hatshepsut, II 299.

YUNA: nome of, IV 948.

## Z

ZAH: (primarily western Syria, especially Phoenicia, but applied also more widely), II 497; III 423; IV 72, 141.

—Campaign of Ahmose I in, II 20; of Thutmose III in, II 456-62, 488-95.

—Chiefs, II 392; taken as prisoners, II 392; princes of, II 658.

—Cities of, II 392, 490; Kadesh, city of, III 318; Wa, II 457; Arvad, II 461; Nuges, II 490.

—Egyptian frontier in, IV 65; allied countries of, II 616; highlands of, II 658; gardens of, II 461; groves of, II 392; furnishes supplies for the garrisons in the harbors, II 468, 472, 483, 492; harvest of, II 510, 519.

—Products of, II 461; IV 211; wines of, II 461; grain of, II 46; asses, II 490; heifers, II 490; white goats, II 490; small goats, II 490; horses, II 462, 490; chariots of, II 490; golden vessels, II 490; gold, II 459, 490; silver vessels, II 490; silver, II 459, 490; copper, II 459, 460, 462, 490; black wood, II 490; carob wood, II 490.

—Ships of: Byblos-ships, II 492; Keft-yew-ships, II 492; Sektu-ships, II 492.

—Silver vessels of the workmanship of, II 482.

—Temple of Amon in, IV 219.

—Tribute from, II 462, 536 (?); impost of, IV 190, 328.

ZIDPATH-EL: city of central Palestine, IV 713.

ZETTI: road of, II 421.

ZEN: Hittite city, III 386.

ZEN-WET: Hittite city, III 386.

ZEPYERENED: Hittite city, Sutekh, god of, III 386.

ZEREN: shore of, II 470.

ZERUKHA: city of Queen Tiy, II 869; pleasure lake of, II 869.

ZESERET: a part of the Theban necropolis, IV 520.

ZEYETHEKHRER: Hittite city, III 386.

ZURIM: city in southern Palestine, IV 714.

## INDEX VII

### MISCELLANEOUS

#### A

- ABODE, DIVINE**, II 152.  
**ABOMINATION**: practice of magic regarded as, IV 454, 455, 456.  
**ACACIA**, IV 226, 282, 387.  
 —Barges of, IV 916, 1023; canal-boats of, IV 229, 387; cargo-boats of, I 323, 324; kara-boats of, IV 229, 283, 387; tow-boats of, IV 229, 387; transport-boats of, IV 229, 283, 387; warships of, IV 229, 387.  
 Acacia-wood, from Hatnub, I 323; from Wawat, I 324.  
**ACCOUNTING**: of divine offerings, I 274; of tribute, I 423 D.  
**ACCOUNTS**, I 10, 20.  
**ACCUSATION**, IV 526, 529.  
**ADDRESS**, III 265, 270, 288.  
**ADMINISTRATION**: of canals, IV 266; of the sacred cattle of Apis, IV 332; of temples, IV 202, 255, 317, 321, 354, 360, 363, 665; of temple-women, IV 321; of Egypt, III 26; of law, III 25; of divine offerings, I 299; overseer of, see Index V; see also Index V, Administrator.  
**ADORNMENTS**, IV 1020; of war, III 312, 326; of Re, III 28; of king, IV 876; of Montu, III 319.  
**ADVANCE-GUARD**, II 421.  
**ADYTUM**, II 639, 806; III 240; IV 13, 634, 899; see also Holy of Holies.  
**AEONS**, both, II 317, 759.  
**AFFAIRS OF THE SOUTH**, I 332.  
**AGENT**, IV 576.  
**AISLE**, IV 971.  
**ALABASTER**, II 906; III 529; IV 234, 390.  
 —Alabaster: of Hatnub, II 302, 375, 546 n. b.  
 —Alabaster quarry, at Hatnub, I 7, 305, 323, 695 n. b, 696; location of, I 695.  
 —Articles of alabaster: stela, IV 988A n. b; colossi, IV 191 n. j; great seat, III 525, 529; offering table, I 323 bis; shrine-stair, II 375; statue, IV 302, 988I n. a; altar, II 546 n. b; jar, II 544.  
**ALLIANCE**: defensive, III 378, 380.  
 —the Hittite, III 306, 309, 312, 336.  
 —of Libya and Mediterranean peoples, III 574.  
 —Libyan, IV 35-58.  
 —Meshwesh, IV 83, 114.  
 —Northerners, IV 64.  
**ALLIES**, IV 822.  
**ALLOY**, IV 202 n. a, 318 n. a.  
**ALTAR**, I 165; II 35, 149, 163, 298, 795, 974; III 260; IV 256, 357, 686, 763, 823, 958J, 1020, 1021.  
 —Rank of the scribe of, I 550.  
 —of temple of Osiris at Abydos, I 787.  
 —for mortuary offering, II 571.  
 —Made of alabaster, II 546 n. b; of cedar, I 787; of gold, IV 735; of granite, IV 900; of silver, IV 735, 736, 737.  
 —Altars, small, of silver, IV 735.  
 —*dw*-altars, of gold, IV 735.  
**ALTAR-VESSELS**, IV 334.  
 “AMON-OF-THE-WAY,” an image of Amon, IV 569, 586.  
**AMULETS**, II 544; IV 538, 876, 988H, 1011, 1020.  
 —Eye-amulets, IV 29, 373, 377, 386, 390; of Thoth, IV 373, 386.  
 —Made of electrum, II 376, 654; of costly stones, II 376; IV 29, 233, 277, 390; of fine gold, IV 253; of gold, IV 201; of Hirset stone, IV 233; of Ketem gold, IV 319; of lapis lazuli, IV 233; of rock-crystal, IV 377; of silver, IV 319, 373, 386.  
**ANARCHY**: in Egypt, IV 398, 764.  
**ANASTASI** 17, stela of Simontu, I 594 n. a.  
**ANCESTORS**, II 287, 293, 377, 611, 628, 805; IV 629, 630, 817, 914.  
 —Writings of, II 364.  
 —Offerings for, III 23.  
 —Regulations for, III 536.

- Ancestors*—  
—Tomb-chambers of, IV 4.
- ANCIENT STOCK: Kheti's family of, I 399.
- ANIMALS: see Antelope, Apes, Beast, Birds, Bugs, Bull, Bullock, Calves, Cat, Cattle, Cow, Crocodile, Dogs, Fishes, Elephant, Gazelle, Giraffe, Goat, Heifer, Hippopotamus, Horse, Hound, Ibex, Lion, *M-h'-w*, Mice, Monkey, Oryx, Oxen, Panther, Serpent, Sheep, Wolf.  
—Sacred animals, feeding of, I 281, 281 n. c.
- ANNALS, II 151, 310, 940; III 585; IV 460, 756.  
—of Thutmose III, II 391-540.
- ANTELOPES: for oblation, II 553; IV 768.
- APES: from Punt, II 263, 265.  
—as taxes from Bigeh, II 718.  
—Sacred apes, II 907 bis; III 16; of Thoth, IV 33, 256.  
—Thoth apes of gold, IV 256, 735.
- APOTHEOSIS: of Sesostris III, II 167; see also Deification.
- APPEALS: from local land office to vizier, II 686.
- "APPEARANCE" (of a god, in procession), II 158; IV 217; see also Feast.  
—Temple as place of, III 217, 218, 224, 508, 522.
- APPLES (*dph'-t*—), IV 301.
- APPOINTMENTS: put into writing, I 274, 780; engraved by artists, I 174; of mortuary priests, I 274.  
—of local courts, III 65.  
—Made by vizier: see under Vizier.  
—Temple appointments, II 928.
- ARBOR-AREAS: arbors for temple, IV 194, 264, 1021.
- ARCHÆOLOGY: Egyptian, IV 151.
- ARCHER, II 213, 900; III 84, 147, 224; IV 71, 74, 118, 397, 842.  
—Leader of, IV 597.  
—Captain of, III 484, 587, 631; IV 405, 407.  
—Chief, III 192; see also Index V; of gold-washing, III 193.  
—Assistant chief of, see Index V.  
—Naval archers, IV 313; galley archer, IV 407.  
—Temple archers, IV 211, 266, 313, 324.  
—Mercenary archers, IV 50.  
—Archers from Ibheth, II 854; Lybia, III 609; Kheta, III 337; chiefs of, III 337; from Eneues, III 337; chief of, III 337; Tint-to-emu, II 15.
- ARCHITECT: see Index V: Builder, Chief of Works, Leader of Works, Master of Works, Overseer of Works.
- ARCHITRAVE INSCRIPTIONS, III 222, 226, 502, 513, 514, 602, 603, 621, 626.
- ARCHIVES, ROYAL, at Thebes, I 18.  
—of Pharaoh, III 643.  
—of the ancestors, II 73.  
—of the vizier, IV 534.  
—State archives: see under Hall of Writing.  
—Temple archives: see under House of Sacred Writing.  
—Scribes of: see Index V.
- ARMLET, II 22, 23, 24.  
—of gold, II 64, 545.  
—of rock-crystal, IV 303.
- ARMOR, coats, scale, II 802.  
—Suits of, II 435; III 589; made of bronze, II 435, 500, 501, 534.
- ARM-RINGS: of gold, II 585, 587.
- ARMS (= weapons), IV 65, 97.
- ARMY, IV 678, 832, 837, 854, 858, 859, 861, 863, 864, 879, 1004.  
—of Egypt, I 303, 311, 358; II 39, 122 ter, 253, 256, 260 bis, 285, 288, 290, 327, 337, 413, 424, 434, 461, 472, 813, 908, 917; III 20, 141, 224, 320, 324, 325, 340, 422, 423, 455, 461, 489; IV 70, 71, 747, 767, 818, 821, 822, 825.  
—Equipment of, I 456; organization of, in time of Uni, I 312; inspection of, by Uni, I 312.  
—Affairs of the army, II 429; army drunk, II 462.  
—Mustering of, by the vizier, II 693; viceroy of Kush, II 852.  
—Council of, II 695; regulation of, II 695.  
—Rearguard of, I 680; II 421; advance guard of, II 421; citizens of, I 681; II 53, 864; watch of, II 425, 864.  
—Northern wing of, II 426, 430.  
—Southern wing of, II 426, 430; center of, II 430.  
—Divisions: of Amon, III 308, 310, 332; of Ptah, III 310 n. f, 334, 340; of Re, III 310, 311, 340; two divisions of, III 56.  
—Men of, IV 19.  
—of the South, I 429, 442; IV 705, 795.  
—of the Northland, I 453.  
—of Middle Egypt, I 411, 442.

**Army—**

—of Oryx nome, I 519; of Coptos, I 776; of Heracleopolis, IV 777, 792; of Hare nome, IV 848; of Per-*Thut-uprehui*, IV 830.

—of the temples, III 31.

—Army-officers, penalty for stealing hides by, III 56; standard-bearer of, III 208; two deputies of, who collected the dues, III 54; chief of: commandants of, commander of, commander-in-chief of, deputy of, general of, leader of, officers of, scribe of, king's scribe of, see Index V.

—Army: of Kheta, III 419; Kush, II 38, 852; Mitanni, IV 722; see also Archers, Bowmen, Cavalry, Chariotry, Citizens, Infantry, Soldiers, Troops, Warriors.

AROMATIC WOOD, IV 329.

ARREARS, I 522.

ARREST, II 702; IV 523, 588.

ARROW, II 785, 865; III 360, 454, 584; IV 50, 70, 75, 77, 96, 823, 845, 1004.

—Libyan, III 584.

ASCENT: Karnak, the august, of the beginning, II 316.

ASIATIC COPPER: see Copper.

ASSEMBLY, II 925 n. a.

ASSES, I 366, 430; III 286; IV 407, 408.

—from Zahi, II 490; from Punt, II 258; from Retenu, II 401, 509; from Wan, II 580; from Hua, II 850; from Libya, III 584, 587; from Meshwesh, IV 111.

ASTRONOMERS: Greek, I 39, 44.

ASTRONOMICAL DATES: in XVIII Dynasty, I 51; in XII Dynasty, I 57.

ASTRONOMY, I 20.

ATMOSPHERE, IV 308.

ATTACK, IV 859.

AUDIENCE, II 955; III 66.

—Audience-hall, I 239, 423E n. d, 501; II 236, 292, 666; III 240.

—Audience, place of, I 320.

AVENUE, SACRED, IV 215.

AXE: of gold, II 23; of silver, II 24.

—Battle-axe, II 802; III 461, 468; IV 118.

**B**

BACKLANDS, IV 818.

BAGS, II 750.

BAKER, III 624, 625.

BAKING, IV 393.

BALANCES, I 531; II 53, 279, 280, 900, 995; III 288; IV 33, 256, 285, 288, 880.

—of electrum, IV 256.

—*Thoth*, guardian of, IV 256.

BALCONY, II 985, 989; III 69, 587; IV 42, 52, 70, 76, 124, 408.

—of fine gold, IV 192.

BALE, IV 229, 283, 387.

—*n c b*-bale, IV 371.

BANNER, IV 117.

BANU-FRUIT, IV 378, 395.

BARGE OF A GOD (a large and magnificent craft, in which the god sailed on the Nile, or on the temple lake, at festal celebrations; not to be confused with the portable chapel-barque, *q. v.*), II 304; III 275; IV 65, 407. See also Temple barges below.

—State barge, I 283, 286, 423F; II 373, 596, 797, 809, 838, 864, 869, 997; IV 209, 400; names of, II 373, 596, 797, 809, 838, 864, 869; IV 209.

—Sun barge, IV 209, 278.

—Temple barges, I 261; II 32, 94, 304, 888; III 568; IV 209, 211, 278, 331, 354, 358, 563, 575, 904, 916, 958K, 1023; names of, II 32, 888; IV 278, 563; shrine of, II 888; IV 209, 331; bows of, II 888; IV 341; crowns of, II 888; IV 209; flagstaves of, II 888; obelisks of, II 888; stern of, IV 331; "great house" in, IV 331, 359, 904. —Barges made of cedar, II 32, 94, 838, 888; IV 278, 331, 904, 916, 1023; of acacia, IV 1023.

BARK, IV 288.

BARLEY, I 496; II 149; III 66; IV 190, 193, 207, 250, 259, 265, 266, 314, 325, 354, 359, 363, 859; from Retenu, II 473; as impost of peasants, IV 229; divine offering, II 562.

—Syrian barley, IV 287, 344, 391.

BARQUE (a portable chapel carried on poles and bearing a shrine, containing the cultus image of the god; it was never placed in the water), I 159, 167, 534, 613, 668, 669; II 92, 318; III 212, 431, 515, 542; IV 91, 315, 353, 611, 743, 958K; bow of, IV 414.

—Barque, celestial, IV 73.

—Barque made of electrum, III 212.

- Barque*—  
 —Barque-shrine of fine gold, IV 982.  
 —Morning barque, II 832; III 281; of Re, II 318; III 16; IV 358, 871; bow of, IV 67.  
 —Sun-barque, evening, I 167; II 318; IV 331; of Re, II 318, 832; III 16; of Atum, IV 871.  
 BARS: of copper, IV 408.  
 BASALT, BLACK: statue of, I 675; obelisks of, III 246.  
 BASE: of pyramid, IV 517.  
 BASIN: libation, IV 100 n. a.  
 BASKET, IV 41, 301, 378.  
 —Negro, II 120, 271; III 475.  
 BASTINADO: on feet, IV 548, 549.  
 —on feet and hands, IV 549, 550, 552, 553.  
 BATH: master of, I 336; overseer of palace baths, see Index V.  
 BATHE, IV 823.  
 BATON (*brp*-): royal, I 646; II 849; official's, II 385; vizier's II 675.  
 BATTERING RAM, IV 838.  
 BATTLE, III 141, 455, 461; IV 821, 822, 825, 852; plan of, III 307.  
 —Battles at Avaris, II 8, 9, 10; at Kadesh, III 306-12, 317-27, 335; with Kheta, III 144, 317-27, 335; on Lebanon, II 783; in Libya, III 120, 123, 584; at Megiddo, II 430; with Meshwesh, IV 90, 103; on the Orontes, II 784; in Naharin, II 479, 499, 581; in Negeb, II 580; in Wan, II 582; in Carchemish, II 583; in Senzar, II 584; in Kadesh, II 585, 589-90; with northerners, IV 73; against Shasu, III 86; in Tikhsi, II 587.  
 —Sea battle, IV 66.  
 BATTLE ARRAY, II 426; III 310, 578; IV 43.  
 BATTLE-AXES, II 802; III 461, 468; IV 118.  
 BATTLE-CRY, III 44, 479.  
 BATTLEFIELD, II 578, 579, 792, 818, 916, 918; III 20; IV 49, 106.  
 BATTLE-LINE, III 86.  
 BATTLEMENTS, II 894; III 616; IV 117, 355, 356, 357, 358, 406, 859, 861.  
 BEACH, IV 66.  
 BEADS: clusters of, IV 377.  
 —Made of lapis lazuli, IV 343; of rock-crystal, IV 233, 287, 345, 377; of white gold, IV 231.  
 BEAK: golden, IV 345.  
 BEANS: shelled, IV 301, 350.  
 BEASTS, IV 930.  
 —of the highlands, I 436.  
 BEATEN WORK, II 436; III 528; IV 14, 189, 191, 202, 203, 268, 285, 319, 326, 334, 343, 732, 733.  
 BEATING: of witnesses with rod, IV 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 555.  
 BEEF: shoulders of, II 571; joint of, IV 565.  
 BEER: for divine offering, II 620, 621, 622, 792, 798; III 77; IV 190, 200, 238, 239, 292, 297, 309, 326, 393, 924, 925, 944, 949, 950, 952, 953, 954, 958 M.  
 —for evening offering, II 565.  
 —for food, II 758; III 71.  
 —for mortuary offering, I 252, 329, 518; II 111, 113, 114, 117, 356, 365, 378; III 17; IV 485.  
 —for oblation, II 553, 571, 960; IV 199, 208, 329, 335, 347, 468.  
 —for offerings to obelisks, II 563.  
 —Sweet beer, IV 498.  
 BEER CELLAR, IV 238.  
 BEER HALL, IV 451 n. c, 880.  
 BEGGAR: mercy to, I 479.  
 BEGINNING (of the world = *pwt*), II 122, 151, 158, 305, 353; III 11, 31, 436; IV 743, 795, 836, 857, 958J, 988J; Karnak, the august ascent of, II 316.  
 —Feast of, see Feasts.  
 BEKHEN (a measure), IV 235, 379.  
 BENI PLANT, IV 380, 395.  
 BENUT STONE: doorway of, II 643.  
 BERRIES, IV 295; Seneb, IV 301, 350.  
 BEWITCHING, IV 455; see Magic, Sorcery.  
 BILLETS OF EBONY, III 475.  
 BILLS, I 10, 20.  
 BIOGRAPHIES: first appearance of, in III Dynasty, I 6, 170; of Uni, I 6; of nobles of Elephantine, I 6; numerous in Middle Kingdom, I 10; see also Indexes III, IV.  
 BIRDLET, IV 54, 106.  
 BIRD-POOLS, IV 9; see also Pools.  
 BIRDS: see Cranes, Doves, Ducks, Fowl, Geese, Hawk, Ibis, Ostrich,

- Pedet birds, Sessa birds, Shed birds, Urdu birds, Vulture.  
 —of Lebanon, II 483.  
 —Ships of Thekel called birds, IV 588.  
**BIRTH-HOUSE:** of Amon, III 161.  
**BLACK COPPER,** see Copper.  
**BLACK-WOOD,** chairs of, II 490; from Zahi, II 490.  
**BLADE OF HATHOR,** IV 784.  
**BLASPHEMY,** II 237, 343.  
**BLESSINGS:** on observers of treaty, III 388.  
 —of Ptah, III 394-414; IV 132-35.  
**BLINDFOLDING OF WITNESS,** IV 524.  
**BLOCK,** II 493, 509, 512, 525, 536; IV 231, 234, 245, 285, 288, 390, 391.  
 —Blocks, august, from Hammamat, for the statues of Mentuhotep III, I 433.  
 —Block inscription, at Bubastis, of Amenhotep III, II 846-50.  
 —Death penalty paid at the block, IV 529.  
**BLOSSOMS,** IV 244, 295, 301, 350, 394.  
**BLUE-FLOWERS,** IV 600.  
**BOATMEN:** of the temple, IV 266.  
**BOATS,** IV 220, 283, 387; for king's journeys, I 423F; for transporting obelisks, II 105, 326.  
 —Divine boat, II 741; of Thoth, I 669.  
 —See also Canal-boat, Cargo-boat, Ferry-boat, Kara-boat, Tow-boat.  
**BODY,** or belly, as seat of mind, I 240.  
**BODY-GUARD OF KING,** III 310; IV 117, 120, 123; mustered by the vizier, II 693.  
 —Hittite, III 337.  
**BOLTS,** IV 871, 910.  
 —for target shooting, II 813.  
 —of black copper, IV 411.  
 —of bronze, I 483.  
 —of copper, I 873; IV 406, 489.  
 —of tin, IV 929.  
**BOLTS, LARGE** (a measure), I 719, 720, 721.  
 —of *g<sup>3</sup>*-w-linen, II 736.  
 —*pdi*, II 722.  
 —*Sm<sup>3</sup>.t* II 722.  
**BONES:** king's, of copper, III 403.  
**"BOOKS OF THE NILE-GOD,"** IV 296, 297, 347, 383, 388; explanation of, IV 296 n. e; presented in the pool of Kebeh, in the House of Re-Harakhte in Heliopolis, IV 296; in the House of Anubis, in Neru, IV 296; founded for Ptah in Memphis, IV 347.  
 —House of books, III 410; see also Day-book.  
 —Sacred book, II 915; scribe of, I 506; "of the dead," II 807; secrets of, II 915.  
**BOOTY,** II 761; IV 126.  
 —from Megiddo, II 431; Naharin, II 480, 500, 501, 532, 816; Nuges, II 508; Kadesh, II 532; Lebanon, II 783; Orontes, II 785; Ikathi, II 788.  
**BORDERS OF EGYPT,** I 407; III 580; IV 80, 130, 405.  
**BOTANY OF EGYPT,** IV 151; see also Flowers, Fruit, Grain, Herbs, Plants, Trees, Vegetables, Wood.  
**BOTTLE:** leathern, I 430; of waterskins, I 456.  
**BOUNDARIES OF EGYPT,** II 225, 319, 415, 418, 439, 478, 549, 596, 636, 796; III 82, 86, 94, 107, 112, 118, 155, 165, 360, 421, 428, 474, 476, 479, 575; IV 41, 43, 46, 56, 57, 58, 63, 66, 72, 88, 91, 103, 104, 105, 106, 124, 126, 128, 246, 403, 722; northern, II 321; eastern, II 321; southern, II 321, 862; of the south, I 311, 320, 396 n. h, 423, 652, 657; western, II 321; III 579; in the fields of Perire, III 579.  
 —Boundaries of fields: registered, settlement of, II 689, 703; unregistered, II 690; of the fields of the sacred cattle of Apis, IV 332; of domains, IV 479, 480, 481, 482, 483.  
 —Boundaries of nomes, II 703; of the Jackal nome, I 626, 632; Hare nome, I 626; oryx nome, I 626; Oxyrrhynchus, I 632; Akhetaton, II 961-64.  
 —Boundaries of the Asiatics, III 12; of Askalon, III 355; of the Nine Bows, IV 351; of Naharin, II 871;  
**BOUNDARY STELÆ,** I 766.  
**BOUNDARY STONE,** inscription of, II 1 n. c.  
**BOUNDARY TABLET,** on Euphrates, II 478; in Naharin, II 800; in Karoy (region of Napata), II 800.  
**BOUQUET,** II 974; IV 244, 295, 301, 350, 394.  
 —of flowers, II 974; IV 244, 295, 350, 394.

- Bow**, I 682; II 435, 785; III 42, 360, 450, 451, 454, 468, 473, 475, 489; IV 50, 51, 70, 73, 225, 410, 823, 1004; given as taxes, II 718; drawing of, II 792.  
—Bows made in Kketa, III 343; Kharu, II 501, 509; Libya, III 584 bis, 601, 609; Meshwesh, IV 111.  
**Bow** (of ship), IV 65, 66, 331, 582; adorned with crowns, II 888; with hawks, IV 331.  
**Bowl**, IV 269; of copper, I 500; of silver, IV 735.  
—*wy*-bowl, IV 269.  
**BOWMEN**: of Egypt, III 577, 578, 584; IV 74; leader of, III 581.  
—of Libya, III 579.  
**BOW-PEOPLES**, IV 130.  
**BOW-ROPE**, IV 863.  
—as title of Hatshepsut, II 341; of the Southland, II 885.  
**BOYS**, IV 111.  
**BRACELETS**, II 22, 23, 24; of gold, II 64, 471; III 69; IV 876; of rock-crystal, IV 303, 349, 377.  
—from Retenu, II 471; from Naharin, II 501.  
**BRAND OF THE ROYAL HOUSE**, III 56.  
**BRANDING**, I 770; III 56, 414; of captives, IV 405.  
**BREAD**, IV 382, 467, 565, 925, 944, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 956, 957, 958 M; for food, I 336; II 260, 758, 925; III 71, 207, 208; divine offering, II 620; III 71; IV 190, 200, 309, 326; mortuary offering, I 252, 329, II 111, 113, 114, 117, 356, 365, 378, 920; III 17, 526; IV 485; oblation, II 553, 554, 798, 960; IV 208, 329, 335; evening offering, II 565; offering to statue, II 618.  
—Fine bread, IV 238, 291, 393.  
—of the divine offerings, IV 238, 297, 247.  
—Kunek bread, IV 238, 291, 297.  
—*p<sup>o</sup> k*-bread, I 577.  
—White bread, II 553; see also Cakes.  
**BREWERY OF PHARAOH**, III 51, 59.  
**BRIBERY**: laws on, III 64; penalty for, III 64.  
**BRICK**, IV 916, 958M; walls of, IV 489, 914, 1020; temples built of, II 157 n. e, 176, 611, 614; III 517, 520; temple inclosures made of, II 614.  
—Mud brick, II 607.  
**BRICK** (as a measure), II 521 bis, 534; IV 235, 241, 379, 392.  
**BRICKLAYER**, II 758, 759; Syrian captives as, II 758 nn. d, g.  
**BRICKMAKERS**, II 759.  
**BRIDGE**, III 100; IV 861.  
**BRONZE**, I 534; II 45, 162, 165, 558; IV 358, 847.  
—Mixture of, IV 202, 318, 320, 343, 358.  
—in scraps, IV 343.  
—Articles made of bronze: corselet, II 447; tablets, IV 231, 318, 343; bolts, I 483; vase, I 500; II 164; IV 538; offering-tables, I 534; II 175; IV 912; temple doors, II 375; III 528; scarab, IV 233; vessels, II 436, 459, 795; III 584; IV 343; shrine doors, IV 320; doorway, III 246; wall (royal title), III 224; helmets from Naharin, II 501; suit of armor from Megiddo, II 435 bis; from Naharin, II 500, 501; from Retenu, II 534(?); spears from Retenu, II 509, 525; from Wan, II 582; swords, II 802; daggers, II 802.  
—Articles wrought with, II 490.  
—Bronze: from Naharin, II 500; from Retenu, II 518.  
**BROTHERHOOD**, III 373, 375.  
**BROW**, IV 922.  
**BUILDERS**, II 758, 759; IV 275, 858; for Chief of, Master of, see Index V.  
**BUILDING**: of houses, I 147, 328; of Temples, II 33-37, 97, 90-98, 99-106; see also Houses, Palaces, and Index II.  
**BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS**: see Inscriptions.  
**BULL**, IV 242, 260, 272, 278, 283, 293, 298, 313, 323, 341, 345, 347, 360, 387, 392, 883, 906; yokes of, I 522; from Negro lands, I 336; army of Tefibi like a, I 396; Kheta II rich in, I 408.  
—Bull of Mad, IV 915; divine bulls of Athribis, IV 470; Pharaoh as a bull, II 143, 659, 853; III 117, 144, 147, 285, 360, 372, 455, 489, 507, 608; IV 40, 41, 46, 56, 62, 67, 81, 94, 103, 105, 246, 852; Amon-Kamephis as a bull, II 225, 314, 317; "Bull of his mother," III 24.  
—Epithets of, II 659.  
—Bulls for mortuary offering, I 540,

- 542, 556, 559, 584, 591; II 840; III 526; for oblation, I 432, 556, 569; II 553, 554; IV 335, 468, 768, 848, 856, 866, 869, 874, 875; divine offering, II 160, 171, 562, 621; III 413; IV 190.
- Bulls from Egypt, IV 229; Kharu, IV 229; Meshwesh, IV 111; Retenu, II 447, 518; Naharin, II 482; Punt, II 486; Genebteyew, II 474; Wawat, II 475, 487, 503, 523, 527; Kush, II 514.
- ipw*-bulls, IV 242.
- BULL CALVES, II 553, 554, 562.
- BULLOCKS, IV 9, 190, 260, 272, 313, 323, 335, 341, 345, 360, 958H.
- from Retenu, II 447, 471, 491; Naharin, II 482.
- Bullocks of the bulls, IV 229, 242, 283, 293, 298, 387, 392; of the Nege-bulls, IV 229.
- BUNCH (a measure), IV 234.
- BUNDLE (a measure), III 77, 159, 207; IV 229, 234, 241, 283, 341, 344, 378, 379, 387, 391, 392, 395, 954.
- hlp*-bundle, IV 350, 949, 950, 952, 953.
- hlp*-bundles, IV 301.
- hrj*-bundles, IV 301.
- Sehetep-bundles, IV 295.
- BUREAU SERVICE, I 295; officials of, I 300.
- BURIAL, II 358, 977, 994, 1003, 1006, 1008; IV 668; offices for, IV 966; coverings for, IV 521, 538.
- Burial (of Osiris), III 212; IV 499, 593, 637-47; of Apis, I 22; IV 771, 778, 780, 786, 791, 884, 917, 918, 961, 977, 986, 1010.
- BUTTER, IV 233, 301, 344, 350, 376.
- C
- CABBAGE, IV 240, 393.
- CABIN, IV 840.
- CABINET: double, I 618, 672, 713, 716.
- of the office of the chief treasurer, I 672 n. a, 673.
- of the treasury, I 716.
- CABINET CHAMBER: plan of rebellion conceived in, I 492.
- CAKES, I 336; II 114; III 71; IV 238, 291, 297, 300, 347, 350, 467; makers of, III 624.
- Bull cakes, II 572.
- Dressed-geese cakes, II 572.
- Obelisk cakes, II 572.
- Rahusu cakes, IV 238, 291, 393.
- White-loaf cakes, II 572, 621.
- s-w*-cakes, IV 240, 378, 392.
- sc*-cakes, IV 949, 950, 952, 953, 954.
- CALCULATIONS: of fields, III 275.
- CALENDAR, EGYPTIAN: introduction of, I 58, early existence of, I 45; oldest fixed date in history, I 45.
- Gregorian, I 40; Julian, I 40; I p. 40.
- CALENDAR OF FEASTS: of Ramses III, I 43 n. b; IV 139-45.
- CALVES, I 408; II 139, 149, 160, 723, 733, 739, 740; IV 242, 283, 293, 298, 341, 345, 387, 392, 906, 929.
- for divine offerings, II 458, 793; IV 190; mortuary offering, III 526; oblation, II 960; IV 335, 468, 848, 856, 866, 869, 874, 875.
- Calves: from Kharu, IV 229; Naharin, II 482; Retenu, II 447, 458, 471; Punt, II 486; Genebteyew, II 474; Wawat, II 475, 487, 495, 503, 515, 523, 527; Kush, II 494, 502, 514.
- CAMP, III 579, 589, 598; IV 64, 870, 873; royal, II 429; III 320, 331, 332, 340.
- CANAL, II 775; IV 412, 853, 957.
- CANAL ADMINISTRATION, IV 266.
- CANAL BOAT: of acacia, IV 229, 387.
- CANAL WALL: of Luxor, IV 628.
- CANALS OF THE DELTA: Eti, III 576; Sheken, III 576; Water of Re, IV 83, 224; of Heliopolis, IV 266, 278, 394.
- Canal of the first Cataract, II 75; begun by Uni, I 324; cleared by Sesostri III, I 643-45; repaired by same king, I 646-48; names of, I 644; II 650; length, width, depth of, I 647; again cleared by Thutmose I and III, I 648; II 75, 76, 649-50.
- Canal, for irrigation, in Siut, dug by Kheti II, I 407.
- Canal of Wadi Tumulât, II 248.
- CANDELABRA: of silver, IV 735.
- CAPTIVES, II 225, 387, 402, 413, 656, 900; III 34, 82, 96, 101, 119, 148, 155, 344, 349, 351, 448 n. b, 597, 598; IV 42, 56, 106, 121, 362, 825, 865.
- Building the temple of Amon, II 758, 759; settled in Egyptian strongholds, IV 403, 405 n. g; distributed to Egyptian families, II 916; as slaves in the temples, II 918; IV 121, 126,



- 128, 137 n. a, 190, 207, 213; IV 359, 404, 1021.
- Captives from Amor, IV 39, 129; Asiatics, IV 122; Denyen, IV 81, 82, 403; Ekwesh, III 588; Hua, II 850, Ibheth, II 854; Ikathi, II 788; Kehek, III 588; Keshkesh, III 428; Kharu, II 884; Khatithana, II 789; Khenthenofer, II 11, 162, 646; adventure with, II 11; Kheta, IV 129; Lebanon, II 783; Libya, III 584, 588, 600; IV 52, 54, 57, 78, 79, 405; Meshwesh, IV 90, 92, 111, 405; Naharin, II 480, 532, III 344; Negros, III 40, 44, 452; IV, 477; Nine Bows, IV 190, 207; Nuges, II 508; Peleset, IV 44, 76, 129, 403; Retenu, II 162, 402, 467, 790; III 97; Sand-dwellers, I 313; II 661; Seir, IV 404; Shasu, III 108; IV 129; Shekelesh, III 588; IV 81; Sherden, III 588, 601; IV 120, 403; Temeh, IV 92; Teresh, III 588; IV 129; Thekel, IV 44, 78, 79, 129, 403; Tintto-emu, II 15; Ullaza, II 470; Weshesh, IV 403; Zahi, II 490.
- CARAVAN, I 312, 332, 334, 336, 343, 352, 356, 360; negro, I 368; conductors of, see Index V.
- CARAVANEERS, III 178 bis, 192, 286.
- CARCASS, III 88; IV 1004.
- CARDINAL POINTS: genii of, II 228, 231.
- CARGO, II 266; III 53, 274.
- CARGO BOATS, I 322, 323; IV 863; of acacia wood, I 323, 324.
- CAROB PODS, IV 295, 301, 350.
- CAROB WOOD, I 372; IV 391.
- Articles made of carob wood: chairs, II 436, 490; chest, II 755; chariots, II 491; shrine, I 667; staff, II 436; table, II 436, 509.
- Carob wood from Arrapachitis, II 512; Assur, II 449; Retenu, II 436, 447, 491, 509, 525; Zahi, II 490.
- CAROUSING, IV 451.
- CARRIERS, II 287.
- CARTOUCHES: found at fourth cataract, I 21.
- CARTOUCHE-VESSEL: of silver, IV 735.
- CARTS, Ox, IV 73, 467.
- CARVED HORNS OF OXEN, III 475.
- CARVERS, III 271.
- CARVINGS, IV 489.
- CASES: criminal, II 683; real estate, II 686, 689, 690.
- CASES: of wrought wood, IV 390.
- CASKETS: of silver, IV 231.
- CASSIA WOOD, IV 234, 344, 379.
- CASTLE, IV 76; names of, IV 77; royal, I 532; see also Palaces.
- CAT: sacred animal, I 281 n. c.
- CATTLE, I 496; II 736, 829, 884, 887, 984; III 577; IV 229, 235, 242, 275, 280, 282, 283, 336, 337, 339, 341, 342, 345, 360, 362, 363, 364, 370, 372, 379, 383, 384, 387, 423, 470, 676, 821, 958M, 992.
- Importation of, I 146, 147, 281; small cattle and bulls, brought from Negro lands, I 336; numbering of, I 81, 157; raising of, I 408; colors of (=breeds of?), I 408.
- Overseer of cattle, II 1041.
- Cattle of Amon: see Index II: Karnak, Temple of Amon; Inspector of, Overseer of, Scribe of, see Index V.
- Sacred cattle of Apis, IV 332.
- Branded for the royal house, III 56; overseer of, III 57; see also Index V.
- Cattle, curiously decorated, II 1035.
- for divine offering, II 793; III 413; mortuary offering, III 271; oblation, I 432; II 960.
- from Ibheth, II 853; Hua, II 850; Meshwesh, III 589; IV 110, 111, 405; Seir, IV 404; of Egyptian colonists in Kush, II 121.
- Breeds of cattle, I 408 n. g.
- Cattle (*y. t.*), IV 242.
- Large cattle, IV 212, 220, 226, 795; from Retenu, II 434, 525; Megiddo, II 435; Zahi, II 462; Kheta, III 428.
- Small cattle, III 276; IV 212, 220, 226, 795, 1021; from Punt, II 272; Retenu, II 434, 447, 471, 518, 525; Megiddo, II 435; Zahi, II 462; Naharin, II 482.
- Wild cattle, III 598; for mortuary offering, II 840; hunt of, II 863-64.
- Black cattle, IV 278.
- Mountain cattle, IV 272.
- Red cattle from Negro lands, IV 724.
- White, small cattle, from Megiddo, II 435.
- Firstlings of the year, II 727; yearlings, II 723, 726, 727, 730, 731, 735, 739, 743; two-year-olds, II 722, 725, 730, 731, 734, 735, 736, 738, 739, 740, 742; IV 242.

- CATTLE FODDER, IV 212.  
 CATTLE FOLDS, I 281, 408.  
 CATTLE YARDS, IV 9, 217, 260, 313, 323, 330, 859, 958H.  
 CAUSEWAY, IV 861.  
 CAVALRY, IV 1004; officers of, III 584.  
 CAVERN DWELLERS, IV 4.  
 CAVERNS: of Libya, III 611; of Elephantine, IV 925; of the ennead of Khercha, IV 869.  
 —Cavern (=tomb), IV 958M.  
 CAVES, III 134; of Elephantine, III 171; IV 925; Mitanni, II 773.  
 —Anubis, lord of, I 394.  
 CEDAR, II 321; IV 226, 234, 245, 282, 345, 379, 385, 391.  
 —Articles made of cedar: ferry boats, IV 229, 283, 387; barges, II 32, 94, 838, 888; IV 278, 331, 904, 916, 1023; tow boats, IV 229, 387; ships, I 146, 465; II 492; IV 209, 574; palace doors, I 148; shrine doors, II 156; tomb doors, IV 958M; temple doors, II 155, 157, 375, 611, 614, 749 n. b, 903; III 217, 245, 505, 537, 625; IV 11, 355, 356, 357, 358, 362, 910, 970; doors, IV 406, 489; doorposts, IV 406; altars, I 787; flagstaves, II 103; III 94, 537; IV 15; staves, II 718; chests, II 755; mortuary chests, IV 966; panels, IV 929; columns, II 32, 600, 601.  
 —Cedar (?) from Bigeh, II 718; God's Land, II 888; Lebanon, III 94; IV 577; Retenu, II 838, 888; royal domain, II 157, 903; IV 15, 209, 278, 331, 970.  
 CEDAR TERRACES: see Terraces.  
 CEILING: of lazuli, I 483; of electrum, IV 958J.  
 CELLA, IV 899.  
 CELLAR: beer, IV 238; wine, IV 512.  
 CEMETERY, I 202, 208, 209, 238, 243; III 260; IV 182; children of, IV 499; thieves of, 554, 556; see also Necropolis, and Index VI: Abydos, Serapeum, Memphis, Thebes (Western), Tazoser (West), and Highlands.  
 CENSER, II 93; IV 269; of ebony, I 500; silver, I 500; IV 334; fine gold, IV 334; gold, IV 735, 736.  
 —Fourfold censer: of gold, IV 735.  
 CENSERFULS, IV 299, 348.  
 CENTER: of the army, II 430.  
 CEREMONIES, III 286, 371, 564; IV 836, 958D, 988J; of Amon-Re, III 206, 256, 436; of Aton, II 994; of erecting the symbol of Osiris, II 874; at feast of Ptah, III 77, 159; of New Moon, II 562, 608; at the voyage to the southern Opet, II 554; of court and palace in charge of the herald, II 764, 767; of investiture, II 1020; IV 958D, 988H.  
 —Foundation ceremony, I 445, 506, 669; II 152, 157, 608, 614, 795; see also Cord and Measuring-line.  
 —Mortuary ceremony: benefit of, II 925.  
 —Temple ceremony, II 826; III 82.  
 CHAIR, II 802.  
 —of black wood, from Zahi, II 490.  
 —of carob wood, from Kadesh, II 436; Zahi, II 490.  
 —of ebony, from Kadesh, II 436.  
 —of ivory, from Kadesh, II 436.  
 —Sedan chair, II 981; vizier's chair, II 675.  
 CHAMBER, I 307; II 771; IV 849; royal, II 237; Dewat, IV 866, 871; fire III 28; hidden, III 278; Meskhent, III 525; privy, I 256, 286, 290; II 675; quarry, see under Quarry-chamber; sepulcher, IV 540; shrine, III 529; store, III 100; tomb, IV 4, 515, 517; treasure, IV 25.  
 —for Chamber Attendants, Chief of Chamber, Eldest of the Chamber, see Index V.  
 —Secret chamber of the mountains, II 946.  
 —Sacred chamber: in temple of Karnak, II 795; the august dwelling, II 795.  
 —the sealed chamber (=treasury): sealing of, reported to vizier, II 676, 679.  
 —Temple chamber, II 164, 390, 1017; names of, II 1017; for oil, II 165.  
 —Upper chamber of pyramid, I 322; of tomb of Kheti II, I 412.  
 CHAMPION, II 431; III 400.  
 CHANNEL OF ORONTES, II 784 n. f; III 325; the inaccessible, II 288.  
 CHAPEL, II 908; IV 57, 78, 125, 191, 356; IV 732, 733, 730, 737, 755 n. c; of Thutmose III, at Luxor, III 506; of temple of Seti I at Abydos, III 226, 231-34; of Ramses III in temple of Re at Heliopolis, IV 277; of Pesibkhenno, by Great Pyramid, stela of

- Eye in, II 1042 n. a; in Thebes, of Prince Wazmose, II 928; of Atum-Khepri, IV 732; of Khonsu, in Ramses III's temple at Medinet Habu, II 5; Ptah-Tatenen at Medinet Habu, II 461; chapel in temple of Medinet Habu, II 641.  
 —Mortuary chapel, II 36.  
 —Secret chapel, III 412.  
 —Tomb-chapels, I 19, 20.
- CHAPLETS, IV 876; of gold, II 32.
- CHARCOAL, IV 295, 303, 380, 394.
- CHARIOT, II 7, 813, 857, 858; III 84, 102, 360, 441, 450, 454, 455, 461, 473; IV 49, 50, 53, 72, 73, 74, 76, 840, 860, 1004.  
 —Wrought with electrum, II 430, 447, 960, 969; wrought with gold, II 413, 435, 447, 501; wrought with gold and silver, II 430, 431, 467, 490, 491, 501, 509, 801; pole of, II 435.  
 —Chariot: from Assur, II 449; Kheta, III 343; Kush, II 1035, 1039; Megiddo, II 430, 431, 435; Meshwesh, IV 111; Naharin, II 81, 85, 482, 501; Nuges, II 508; Retenu, II 413, 447, 467, 491, 509, 518, 790; Zahi, II 490; Ullaza, II 470; Oronates, II 784, 785; Ikathi, II 788.  
 —Chariots of carob wood, from Retenu, II 491; of *ḫ-gw*-wood, II 491.
- CHARIOT DRIVERS, IV 405 n. g.
- CHARIOT WARRIOR: Hittite, III 337.
- CHARIOTEERS (Egyptian), IV 65, 77, 106, 405 n. g; Enwau, III 635.  
 —First: Perehirunamēf, III 482 n. c; Rekhpehtuf, III 642; Hori, III 645; Ubekhu, III 650.  
 —Charioteer of the court: Nakhtamon, IV 466.  
 —Charioteers of the chariotry, IV 466.  
 —Hittite charioteers, III 337.  
 —King's charioteer, Ini, III 198.
- CHARIOTRY: Egyptian, III 267, 307, 311, 325, 327, 342, 365, 380, 428, 578, 583, 587; IV 71, 89, 354, 402, 410, 822; leader of: see Index V; lord of: see Index V.  
 —Hittite, III 310, 312, 320, 321, 337, 378; Libyan, III 583.  
 —Syrian, III 309; IV 118.
- CHARM: knowledge of, I 378.
- CHASTISEMENT: divine, IV 907.
- CHÂTEAU, III 588, 600; IV 194, 281.
- CHEST, II 376, 802; IV 27, 29, 843.  
 —Linen, II 301, 719, 721, 722, 723, 726, 727, 730, 731, 744.  
 —Made of carob wood, I 372; II 755; cedar, II 755; ebony, II 755; ivory, II 755; meru wood, II 755.  
 —Mortuary chest: of cedar wood, IV 966; ked wood, IV 966; meru wood IV 966.
- CHIEF MOUTH, IV 398, 400.
- CHILDREN: playing, II 300; length of new-born, I 395; see also education.
- CHISEL, III 271; of copper, IV 552.
- CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES, I 58-75; IV 607, 693, 812, 940.
- CHRONOLOGY, EGYPTIAN, I 38-75, 415-18, 423A, 424, 434, 460-62; IV 604-7, 693-94, 793, 811-13, 885, 935-41; addendum to, I p. 48; length of year discovered in the fifth millennium B. C., I 39; Julian chronology, I 40; Gregorian, I 40; of the XI Dynasty, I 415-18.
- CINNAMON, IV 234, 240, 378, 391, 394; from Punt, III 116.
- CINNAMON WOOD, IV 287, 300, 344, 348, 378, 391; from Punt, II 265.
- CIRCUIT, II 294, 661, 804, 954; IV 818; of Aton, II 795, 1007, 1010; IV 62; of the sun, II 70, 98, 308, 319; IV 40, 71, 249, 623, 988H; of heaven, II 657.
- CIRCUIT MESSENGERS, II 692.
- CIRCUIT RUNNERS, III 170.
- CIRCUMCISION: practiced by the people of Ekwesh, III 588; see also under Hands cut off.
- CISTERNS: of the Oasis, IV 726, 727, 728; name of, IV 727, 728.
- CITADEL, III 463; IV 117.
- CITIZEN, III 61; IV 410.  
 —Citizen (*c nḥ*), III 51, 57, 59; IV 397.  
 —Citizen (*nds*), IV 863; duties of, I 536; ka of, II 353.  
 —Citizen (*šw*), II 920.  
 —Citizens of the army, I 681 bis; II 53, 864; III 57, 59, 206; penalty for stealing hides by, III 57.  
 —Citizen's cistern, IV 727.
- CITIZEN LANDS, IV 755.
- CITY OF ETERNITY: tomb of Kheti I, I 402.
- CIVILIZATION: Egypt the home of, IV 578.

- CLASSES: of people, II 916; IV 190, 197, 251, 278, 402, 403; established by Ramses III, IV 402; consisting of, IV 402.
- CLAY, IV 871; for plastering tomb-walls, II 106; field of clay, for bricks, II 758.
- CLEANSING: of temples, II 642; of persons, IV 866, 876, 880, 881; see also Index VI: Memphis, cleansing of.
- CLIFF, II 966.
- CLIFF TEMPLE: at Napata, IV 897-99.
- CLIFF TOMB: at Abd el-Kurna, of Rekhmire, I 20; II 663 n. d; Menkheperreseneb, II 772 n. a; Ramose, II 936 n. b; Neferhotep, III 68 n. c.
- Assasif (Thebes), of Neferhôtep, III 68.
- Assiut, of Hepzefi, I 535 n. a.
- opposite Assuan: of Thethi, I 161 n. d; Pepinakht, I 355 n. f; Khui, I 361 n. c; Sebni, I 362 n. f.
- Benihasan: of Amenemhet, I 515 n. a.
- Dêr el-Bahri: of Amenhotep I, IV 668, 690-92.
- Dêr el-Gebrâwi: of Henku, I 280; Ibi, I 375 n. f.
- El Kab: of Ahmose, son of Ebana, II 1 n. a; Pahri, II 3 n. d.
- Gebel Marâg: of Zau, I 380 n. d.
- Ibrim: of Penno, IV 474 n. a.
- Kasr-es-Saiyâd: of Idu-Seneni, I 337 n. a.
- Kurnet-Murrai: of Huy, II 1019.
- Tell el-Amarna: of Ani, II 977; Merire II, II 981; Merire I, II 982-88; Eye, II 989-96; Mai, II 997-1003; Ahmose, I 1004-8; Tutu, II 1009-13; Huy, II 1014-17.
- Thebes: of Thutmose I, II 97; excavation of, II 106; secrecy in excavation of, II 106; Thutmose II, II 389.
- CLOTHING, IV 843, 859, 875, 880, 881, 883; changes of, II 588; as mortuary offering, I 252; for embalmment, I 366, 382; presented to the court, I 369; for the gods, IV 335; for taxes, IV 150, 403.
- Clothing from Kadesh, II 436; see also Garments.
- Clothing the god at his processions: done by the master of secret things, I 745; by queen, II 239.
- Temple clothing, II 615.
- CLUSTERS, IV 295, 301, 350, 378; of beads, IV 377.
- COALITION: the Hittite, III 309; the Libyan, III 579.
- COAT OF MAIL, III 312, 326, 365; IV 99; from the Asiatics on the Orontes, II 785; see also Bronze.
- COFFERS, IV 256.
- COFFIN, IV 521, 538, 665-67, 852 n. c, 979, 988; name on, IV 499; pit of, IV 972.
- COFFIN: of Mekhu, I 368; of Zau, I 382; coffin made of ebony, I 247; of wood, I 382.
- Coffin inscriptions: see under Inscriptions.
- COILS OF ROPE, IV 582.
- COITION: of god with queen, II 196; III 400 n. c.
- COLLARS, II 45; of real malachite, I 534; gold, II 944, 986, 989; III 7, 8, 9, 60, 73; IV 201, 204, 493; of gold, and rock-crystal, IV 373; of gold and costly stone, IV 386, 876.
- COLLECTION OF TAXES, III 55, 58, 61, 62; IV 324.
- COLLECTORS OF HONEY, IV 149, 266.
- COLLUSION: crime of, IV 427, 428, 429, 438, 439, 440, 442, 444, 447.
- COLONNADE, IV 622; of temple of Upwawet at Siut, I 403; of temple of Harsaphes at Heracleopolis, IV 970; of temple at Dêr el-Bahri, II 191; of temple of Karnak, II 305, 317, 775; IV 707, 767; of temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, IV 16.
- COLORS, II 558; from Retenu, II 491, 534(?).
- COLOSSUS: in temple of Re at Heliopolis, IV 252; of Medinet Habu temple, IV 191 n. j; at Tanis, of Ramses II, III 417.
- Colossus of Memnon, I 16; II 878, 879, 880, 883 n. e; made of gritstone, II 883 n. e, 906 n. a; temple of Memnon colossi, II 883.
- COLPORTEURS, IV 467; districts of, III 172.
- COLUMNS, III 510, 512, 513; IV 489, 748, 889.
- Columns made of electrum, III 512, 515; IV 192; cedar, II 32, 600, 601; gold, IV 315; wood, II 614; sandstone, II 795; IV 910; lips of, IV 889.

- Columns*—  
 —Column inscriptions: see under In-  
 scriptions.  
 —Bud columns, III 515.  
 —Flower columns, III 515.  
 —Temple columns, I 509; II 614, 795,  
 805, 917; III 263, 593; IV 315.  
 COMMAND OF A GOD, II 253; royal, I  
 271, 273, 354; II 52; III 32B, 67, 586;  
 IV 597, 629, 706, 817, 943.  
 COMMEMORATIVE SCARABS, II 625, 860.  
 COMMISSION, I 263, 264, 266, 298, 301,  
 303, [305], 342, 445, 508; II 985; III  
 32B, 271; IV 147, 412, 414, 466, 511,  
 512, 522, 676, 784; to a court, IV  
 423; overseer of, see Index V.  
 COMMUNICATIONS, III 291; from people  
 to Pharaoh, II 767; from Pharaoh  
 to people, II 767; to foreign lands,  
 II 767.  
 COMMUNITY, DIVINE, IV 888.  
 COMPLAINTS: by the lay priesthood of  
 the temple of Min at Coptos, I 777;  
 by the Mayor of Western Thebes,  
 IV 527; by Wenamon, IV 566.  
 COMPOSITION OF COURT, IV 426, 531,  
 546.  
 COMPUTATION, II 763.  
 CONCEALED FROM THE PEOPLE, I 404.  
 CONCUBINES, III 267; king's, IV 844.  
 CONFECTIONERS, III 624.  
 CONFIDENTIAL OFFICE: in charge of,  
 Thethi, I 423D.  
 CONFISCATION OF PROPERTY, I 779;  
 IV 1024.  
 CONNIVANCE: laws on, III 58.  
 CONSPIRACY: harem, IV 416-56; crime  
 of, IV 430, 443, 447.  
 CONSTANTINOPLE OBELISK, II 629-31.  
 CONTRACT (=treaty), III 386.  
 CONTRACTS: registered with the vizier  
 II 703; for the remuneration of the  
 prophets of Abydos, I 536; IV 679;  
 of Hepzefi of Siut, I 539-93; for  
 supplies of harbor garrisons, II 483,  
 510, 519, 535; for endowing divine  
 offerings for Mut-Hathor of Thebes.  
 II 622; for endowment of the lay  
 priesthood of Ptah of Karnak, II 620;  
 for offerings, IV 1022.  
 CONVEYANCES, I 5; IV 946; see also  
 Wills.  
 COPPER, I 534; II 155, 558, 666; IV  
 31, 32, 228, 230, 245, 283, 285, 342,  
 355, 356, 372, 373, 385, 386, 388, 389,  
 840, 548, 549, 550, 552, 553, 859, 883,  
 958G; in scraps, IV 373, 385, 389.  
 —Objects wrought with, II 157, 376,  
 794 n. b; III 505, 528; IV 11, 216.  
 —King's bones of, III 403.  
 —Articles made of copper: chisels, IV  
 552; bars, IV 408; shrine doors, IV  
 198, 254; temple doors, I 483; II 45,  
 104, 302, 390; III 525; IV 311;  
 vase, I 500; II 164; bowl, I 500;  
 Karnak gate, II 376; offering-tables,  
 IV 911; statue, IV 302, 395;  
 table vessels, IV 190, 354; swords  
 from Meshwesh, III 589; vessels, II  
 459; bolts, II 813; IV 406,, 489.  
 —Copper from God's Land, III 274;  
 Retenu, II 447, 471, 491, 509, 790;  
 Zahi, II 459, 460, 462, 490, 536(?);  
 Isy, II 493, 521; Sinai, I 713.  
 —Crude copper: from Retenu, II 509;  
 from Isy, II 511; from Arrapachitis,  
 II 512.  
 —Asiatic copper, II 45, 104, 614, 755;  
 III 217, 537, 910; offering tables of,  
 II 175.  
 —Black copper, II 92, 390; IV 245, 284,  
 285, 342, 373, 385, 389, 732, 734, 730;  
 door-mountings of, II 155; temple  
 doors of, II 375; decorations made  
 of, II 164; bolts of, IV 411; corselet  
 of, IV 373, 389; shrine doors of, II  
 889 n. a.  
 COPPER MINES: in Atika, IV 408; at  
 Sinai, I 168.  
 COPPERSMITH, II 755; IV 523, 524,  
 532, 533, 534; succession of the craft,  
 IV 532.  
 COPY OF LETTER, IV 527; of records,  
 IV 535.  
 CORD, MEASURING, I 445.  
 —Cord made of palm-fiber, IV 235; of  
 gold and costly stones, IV 386.  
 —Stretching of the cord at the founda-  
 tion ceremony, I 506; II 152, 608,  
 614; feast of, II 157.  
 CORDAGE, IV 578.  
 COREGENCY: in XII Dynasty, I 64,  
 460, 462; of Amenhotep II, I 66 n. a;  
 II 184 n. d; of Ramses IX, I 69 n. c;  
 of Osorkon II, I 71; of Takehot III,  
 I 72 n. d; of Ramses II with Seti I,  
 III 268; see also I 58-75, and Index  
 III.  
 CORN, II 987; IV 244.

- CORNICE, IV 315.
- CORONATION, II 151, 594, 849; IV 142, 887, 922, 958D.
- CORONATION DECREE: of Thutmose I, I 18; II 131-66; feast of, I 258.
- CORONATION INSCRIPTION: of Harmhab, III 22-32.
- CORRUPTION OF OFFICIALS, III 58.
- CORSELET, III 360.
- Corselets made of black copper, IV 373, 389; bronze, II 447.
- Corselet from Retenu, II 447; from Orontes, II 785.
- Corselets, inlaid, from Naharin, II 501.
- CORVÉE, I 320.
- COSMETIC, EYE: from Punt, II 265, 272; Naharin, II 501.
- COSTUME, II 231; III 34.
- COUCHES, IV 875, 876.
- COUNCIL: of army, II 695; of gods, II 192; of Nun, IV 330; of understanding, II 914; of war, II 420; III 322.
- the Great Council: reports to the vizier, II 706.
- Local council of a district, II 686.
- COUNCIL HALL: royal, IV 100 n. a.
- COURSE (of a wall), IV 355, 356, 358, 406, 489.
- COURT, ROYAL, I 239, 246, 248, 309, 320, 353; II 107, 151, 205, 232, 236, 238, 255, 260, 292, 371, 620, 622, 675, 706, 769, 1026; III 264, 580, 590; IV 63, 147, 477, 724A, 767, 933, 966; in mourning, I 491; ships of, I 258; garrison of, II 694; officials of, III 65, 437; princes of, III 287; going in and going out of, reported to the vizier, II 676; affairs of, reported by the chief treasurer, II 679; stable of, III 635, 645; chiefs of stables of, IV 466.
- Companions, Members, Nobles, Officers, Officials, Steward of Court: see Index V.
- Temple court, IV 198, 207, 272, 311, 327, 330, 333, 335, 363, 614, 619, 707.
- Peristyle of, at Luxor, III 506.
- Legal court: appointment of, III 65; IV 423; instructions to, IV 424; composition of, IV 426, 531, 546.
- Legal court: great nobles of, IV 425, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 444; of butlers, IV 443, 446, 448, 449, 450.
- the great court of Thebes, IV 531, 533.
- Court of examination, IV 425.
- Court=decree of court, II 290.
- Court-marshal, III 69.
- Court-fishermen, IV 466; divisions of, IV 466; officers of, IV 466.
- COURTIERS, III 267.
- COVERINGS, BURIAL, IV 521, 538.
- COW, IV 229, 242, 283, 293, 298, 341, 347, 387, 392.
- for divine offering, IV 190; for oblation, IV 335.
- Cow speaking, I 408.
- Cows from Kharu, IV 229; Retenu, II 471.
- Cows of Hathor, II 210.
- Loan-cows from Kush, II 556; from Zahi, II 556.
- COW HIDES, IV 379, 395.
- CRAFT, III 51, 52; succession of, see Coppersmiths.
- CRAFTSMEN, II 371, 372, 753, 775, 801, 833; overseer of, see Index V; see also Handicraft.
- CRANES, IV 242.
- CRATE, IV 234, 241, 379.
- CRENELATED OVAL, IV 718.
- CREW, II 328; III 275; IV 212, 407, 944.
- Crews: of Egypt, IV 574; Byblos, IV 586, 591; Syrian, IV 574; Alasa, IV 591.
- Galley crew, IV 328.
- of recruits, I 343; leader of, see Index V.
- CRIME, III 62, 389, 390; IV 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 446, 451, 530, 880.
- Capital crime, III 64; IV 529; of death, IV 454, 456.
- Crimes: insurrection, IV 427, 428, 429, 430, 442, 443; collusion, IV 427, 428, 429, 438, 439, 440, 442, 444, 477; conspiracy, IV 430, 443, 447; not reporting conspiracy, IV 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 448, 449, 450.
- CRIMINAL CASES: docket of, II 670, 683; entry of, II 683.
- CRIMINALS, II 683, 767; IV 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 442, 443, 445, 448,

- 449, 450, 452, 453, 456; procedure of cases against, II 683; IV 423-56.
- CROCODILE**, III 615; captured by Amenemhet I, I 483; Pharaoh as, II 659; III 117.
- CROWN POSSESSIONS**: in the Oryx nome, I 523; of the south, building of, in Elephantine, I 650; of Thinis of the South, in Abydos, I 665 n. b; tributes distributed to, II 706.
- Overseers of, I 312; gang-overseers of, I 522; people of, IV 466; scribe of, IV 465.
- CROWN, ROYAL**, II 235, 239, 314; III 267, 270, 406; of Amon, II 198; IV 246.
- Crown: "Great in Magic," I 609; cf. the same title of goddess Mut.
- the double crown, I 500; II 229; III 286, 486; IV 304.
- Etef-crown, I 168; II 292; IV 104, 186, 209, 351, 401, 411.
- Northern crown, I 609.
- Red crown, I 609, 779; II 229, 318, 815; III 414; IV 62, 104.
- Serpent crown, IV 62.
- Southern crown, I 609.
- White crown, I 609, 779; II 229, 235, 318, 636, 815; III 414; IV 62, 104, 182, 304.
- Crowns: as adornment, II 888; see also Diadems.
- CRUDE COPPER**: see Copper.
- CRYSTAL, ROCK**, IV 373; cut, IV 233, 287, 345; beads of, IV 233, 287, 345, 377; seals of, IV 233, 303, 345, 349, 377; pendants of, IV 287; armlet of, IV 303; semdets of, IV 377; scarab of, IV 377; bracelet of, IV 303, 349, 377; finger rings of, IV 377; eye-amulets of, IV 377.
- CUBE**, IV 378, 395.
- CUBIC MEASURES**: see Measure.
- CUBIT, ONE**: indicates the length of a newborn child, I 395 n. f; was the length of Tefibi's son, when he began to rule, I 395; of Kheti, III 413; see also Measures, Linear.
- CUMIN**, IV 287.
- CUP BEARER**: see Index V.
- CURLY-HAIRED**: epithet for Negro, II 71, 657 (see corrigenda); III 155; for Kode Folk.
- CURSE**: on violators of endowment, II 925; III 192, 194; IV 483; of treaty, III 386.
- CUSHION**, II 675 bis.
- CUSTOM**: practiced upon a king, IV 866.
- CYPERUS OF THE SHORE**, IV 301, 350.

## D

- DAGGER**, II 22, 254; wrought with electrum, I 682; of bronze, II 802.
- DAHABIYEH**, II 1034, 1039.
- DAIS**, II 675, 981; III 13.
- DAMAGE**, IV 149, 543.
- DANCES OF THE GOD**: by the dwarf from Yam, I 353.
- DANCING**, II 238.
- DARK PERIOD**: the second, between the Old and Middle Kingdoms, I 52, 57.
- DATE GROVE**, IV 215.
- DATE PALM**: fiber of, IV 380, 395.
- DATE TREES**, IV 264, 1021.
- DATE WINE**, I 336.
- DATES**, IV 244, 295, 347, 944; dried, IV 299, 347.
- for divine offering, II 159; food, I 785; oblation, II 571.
- DAYBOOK OF A FRONTIER OFFICIAL**, III 629.
- DEBEN**, I 785; II 377, 436 bis, 446 ter, 459 bis, 482, 486, 490, 491, 493 bis, 500, 502, 509, 514, 515, 518 bis, 522, 526, 527, 534, 536, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 726, 727, 730, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 744, 761, 903; III 207; IV 30, 228, 231, 232, 283, 285, 286, 287, 341, 343, 344, 345, 373, 377, 385, 386, 389, 390, 391, 566, 568, 576, 680, 681, 682, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 949, 950, 952, 953, 954, 956, 957.
- DECADENCE**, I 22, 23.
- DECEASED**: honors for, I 6; daily intercourse with king, I 6.
- DECISION, LEGAL**, III 25.
- DECORATION OF SOLDIERS AND OFFICIALS WITH GOLD**, I 372; II 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 22, 23, 24, 39, 64, 81, 584, 585, 587, 588, 986, 1009, 1036; III 6, 73.
- DECORATIONS ON CATTLE**, II 1035.
- DECREE**, IV 630, 653, 656, 670, 992; royal, I 351; of Ramses III, IV 147-50.

- Decree*—  
 —Coptos decree, by Nubkheprure-Intef, I 773-80; dealing with a culprit, I 777.  
 —Coronation decree of Thutmose I, I 18; II 54-60.  
 —Decree for Harmhab's reforms, I 18.  
 —Endowment decree, I 349.  
 —Sealing of decrees, I 274; privy councillor of, I 336.  
 —Temple decrees, engraved on tablets, IV 202, 255, 265, 317, 321, 354, 360, 363, 656; concerning the sacred cattle of Apis, IV 332.
- DEDICATION STELÆ, I 15; II 904-910; royal (of buildings and monuments), II 127, 301, 905.
- DEDMET FLOWER, IV 215, 264, 345, 379, 393.
- DEED, II 966.
- DEIFICATION: of Snefru, I 722; Amenhotep, III, II 893-98, 900; Amenhotep, son of Hapi, II 911-12; Menmare, III 173; Ramses II, III 502, 504; see Apotheosis.
- DEMOTIC, I 24.
- DEPOSITION: of a priest of Min, I 778; of vizier, IV 361.
- DEPOSITIONS: of legal documents, IV 534; taken by the vizier, II 704; IV 534.
- DEPUTATION, IV 525, 526.
- DESERT, IV 479; of Abydos, IV 1023.
- DETENTION: unlawful, of slaves, III 55; penalty for, III 55.
- DEW, DIVINE, II 197, 274, 829.
- DEWAT CHAMBER, IV 866, 871.
- DEWATOWE SHIPS: see Ships.
- DIADEM, II 142, 145 bis, 226, 229, 231, 312 n. b, 314, 812, 831, 832-36, 838; III 16, 535, 536; IV 47, 382, 843, 988H; magic power of, II 220; king crowned in, when performing the foundation ceremony, I 506; of Re, IV 895.  
 —Double diadem, I 686; II 255; III 267; IV 304; double plumed, IV 401.  
 —Serpent diadem, II 245, 657, 925; IV 66, 127, 130.
- DICTIONARY: Egyptian, I 33.
- DIORITE, IV 980.
- DISTRICT, II 686; III 580, 583; IV 265; of Abydos, IV 681; Aphroditopolis, IV 948; Amenopet, IV 539; Bista, IV 957; Busiris, IV 968; Gate of Ihotep, I 312; Middle of Heliopolis, IV 857; Hare nome, IV 948; Herculopolis, IV 948, 968; Oxyrrhyncus, IV 948; town of Pesebek, IV 784; Ranofer, IV 830; Sais, IV 957; Sep, IV 948; Thebu, IV 957; see also Nome.  
 —Districts of the colporteurs, III 172; in Wawat, IV 479, 480, 481, 482, 483.  
 —Sacred districts of Mehenet (of Sais), IV 982, 1011; Resenet (of Sais), IV 1011.  
 —For Chief of, Officials of, Scribe of, Supervisor of, see Index V.
- DIVINE BOAT: see Boat.
- DIVINE COMMUNITY, IV 888.
- DIVINE MEMBERS OF AMENEMHET, I 446, 492.
- DIVINE OFFERINGS: see Endowment, Offering.
- DIVINE OFFICE OF KINGS, III 403.  
 —For Divine consort, Divine father, Divine hand, Divine mother, Divine votress, see Index V.
- DIVINE WATER, III 474.
- "DIVINE WORDS" (Hieroglyphs), I 533.
- DIVISION OF HORUS AND SET, THE TWO (when they divided the kingdom between them), II 120.
- DIVISIONS OF COURT FISHERMEN, IV 466.
- DOCKET, II 670; IV 535; criminal, II 683.
- DOCUMENTS: written, I 1, 2, 5; mutilated state of, I 26; state, I 18; religious literature, I 2, 20; legal, I 20; IV 534; administrative, I 10; memoranda, I 20.
- DODEKASCHOINOS: gift of, I 24; IV 146.
- DOGS, II 413; III 475; IV 818, 1004.  
 —of Berber breed, I 421 n. b; from Punt, II 265.  
 —of King Intef I, I 421.  
 —Chief of Libya like a, III 580.
- DOM PALM: fruit of, IV 234, 241, 294, 378, 391; from Mehay, IV 234.
- DOMAIN OF PHARAOH, I 294, 309, 310, 312, 356, 382.  
 —for Custodian of, Scribe of, Superintendent of, see Index V.  
 —Royal domain, cedar from, II 157, 903; IV 15, 209, 278, 331, 970; lands of, II 186; superintendent of, III 70.



- Domain of a statue, IV 479, 480, 481, 482, 483; boundaries of, IV 479, 480, 481, 482, 483.
- Domain of Tehenut, IV 482; of pyramid, I 373; of temple, IV 141, 265.
- DOOR POSTS, III 14, 15, 236, 625; IV 311, 489; made of limestone, IV 355; 356; sandstone, III 625; stone, IV 357, 358, 362; wood, III 625; cedar, IV 406; electrum, IV 192; gold, IV 9, 197, 214, 216.
- DOORS: setting up of, I 328; made of cedar, IV 406, 489; door-keeper, see Index V; see also Doorpost, Doorway, Lintels, Portals.
- Palace doors: of cedar, I 148.
- Shrine doors: of cedar, II 156; of copper, IV 198, 254; of electrum, IV 5; of ketem gold, IV 251; of bronze, IV 320.
- Temple doors, III 412, 517, 528; of black granite, IV 7; of cedar, II 155, 157, 375, 611, 614, 794, 903; III 217, 245, 505, 520, 537, 625; IV 11, 355, 356, 357, 358, 362, 910, 970; of gold, IV 7, 195, 197, 214, 216; wrought with Asiatic copper, III 217; of copper, I 483; II 45, 104, 302, 390; III 525; IV 7, 14, 189, 311; of black copper, II 375; of bronze, III 528; of electrum, III 567; IV 4, 189, 191, 929; gilded with electrum, III 237; meru wood, IV 488 n. c.
- Tomb door of cedar, IV 958M.
- the great door, I 109; II 376; of temple, II 157; III 502; IV 195.
- the great double doors, of the palace were closed at death of king, I 491; of heaven, IV 216; of temple, IV 871, 929.
- DOORWAY, I 634, 706; II 643; of tomb, I 637 bis; II 947 n. a.; of fortress, I 650; of temple, II 44, 643, 662; III 227, 260, 528; IV 11; names of, II 104, 643; III 227; inscriptions of, see Inscriptions.
- Doorways: made of Benut stone, II 643; sandstone, II 794; granite, IV 197; black granite, III 528; red granite, III 528; electrum, II 903; III 227, 230, 237; bronze, III 246; gold, IV 14, 311; granite, IV 11; see also Portals.
- DOUBLE CABINET: see Cabinet; for Master of, see Index V.
- DOUBLE CROWN, see Crown.
- DOUBLE DIADEM: see Diadem.
- DOUBLE DOORS: see Door.
- DOUBLE FAÇADE: see Façade.
- DOUBLE GOLD-HOUSE, I 533, 664; II 371; see also Gold-house; for Lord of, Overseer of, see Index V.
- DOUBLE GRANARY: see Granary; for Overseers of, see Index V.
- DOUBLE GRANARY OF AMON: see Index I; for Overseer of, see Index V.
- DOUBLE HOUSE: see House; for Attached to, see Index V.
- DOUBLE PLUMED: see Plume.
- DOUBLE SERPENT-CREST: see Serpent-crest.
- DOUBLE SILVER-HOUSE: see Silver-House; for Lord of, Overseer of, see Index V.
- DOUBLE STAIRCASE: see Staircase.
- DOUBLE *w c b. t.*-HOUSE: see House.
- DOUBLE WHITE HOUSE: see White House; for Overseer of, see Index V.
- DOUGH, I 312.
- DOVES, IV 106, 242.
- DRAGGING: of timber from Lebanon to the seacoast, IV 583.
- DRAUGHTSMEN, I 447; III 271; IV 466.
- DREAM, III 582; IV 922, 923.
- DRINKING-VESSELS, II 436; of silver, III 589.
- Drinking-vessel for the ka, II 32; made of gold, II 32.
- DUCKS, IV 992.
- DUES, I 556; II 110, 149, 172, 483, 543, 596, 774, 798; III 51, 53, 273, 481; IV 878; for harem, III 54; to the gods of the deep, IV 330; to the temples, II 112, 557, 559, 597, 648; III 54; IV 283, 340, 386, 489; of local officials, II 716, 718-45; III 481; IV 958H; of Egypt, III 484; of negro lands, IV 34.
- Laws on dues, III 53, 54.
- DUNGEON OF THE GATE, III 180.
- DWARF, DANCING, I 351, 353; brought from Yam, I 351.
- DWELLING OF THE HIGH PRIEST OF AMON, IV 489; see also Building, House, Palace.
- DYKE, III 598; IV 724A, 795.
- DYNASTIES:
- First: records of, I 7; length of, I 56,

- 58, 85 n. a; chronology of, I 57; history of on the Palermo stone, I 79, 84, 91-116.
- Second: length of, I 56, 85 n. a; chronology of, I 58; history of, on the Palermo stone, I 84, 117-44;
- Third: inscriptions of, I 168-75; records of, I 6, 24; length of, I 55, 85, 85 n. a, 86; chronology of, I 58; history of on the Palermo stone, I 79, 84, 145-48.
- Fourth: length of, I 54, 55; inscriptions of, I 176-212; chronology of I 59; accession of, I 79, 88; history of on the Palermo stone, I 79, 84, 87, 149-50.
- Fifth: records of, I 3, 7, 24; inscriptions of, I 213-81; chronology of, I 60; length of, I 54, 55; history of on the Palermo stone, I 78, 84, 87, 146 n. a, 153-67; introduction of the title, "Son of Re," II 187.
- Sixth: inscriptions of, I 282-390; records of, I 6, 8; chronology of, I 61; length of, I 54.
- Seventh: chronology of, I 53, 57, 62.
- Eighth, I 53, 62.
- Ninth: inscriptions of, I 391-414; chronology of, I 53, 62.
- Tenth: inscriptions of, I 10, 391-414; chronology of, I 53, 57, 62.
- Eleventh: inscriptions of, I 415-59; chronology of, I 63, 415-18, 423A, 424, 434; minimum length of, I 52.
- Twelfth: inscriptions of, I 460-750; their importance, I 8, 14, 17; chronology of, I 64, 460-62; rising of Sothis in, I 42, 46, 57; partially contemporary reigns of kings in, I 52; maximum length of, I 52.
- Thirteenth: inscriptions of, I 751-87; chronology of, I 65.
- Seventeenth: chronology of, I 65.
- Eighteenth: inscriptions of, II 1-1043; records of, I 13, 14, 20; succession of early kings of, II 17; dates of, I 47, 51; rising of Sothis in, I 43, 46; minimum length of, I 50; chronology of, I 65.
- Nineteenth: inscriptions of, III 1-651; importance of records of, I 13, 18, 23; minimum length of, I 50; chronology of, I 67.
- Twentieth: inscriptions of, IV 1-603; importance of records of, I 13, 22, 23; minimum length of, I 50; chronology of, I 69.
- Twenty-first, I 22, 23; inscriptions of, IV 604-92; minimum length of, I 50; chronology of, I 70; IV 604-7.
- Twenty-second, I 22; inscriptions of, IV 693-792; minimum length of, I 50; chronology of, I 71, 72; IV 693-94.
- Twenty-third, I 22; inscriptions of, IV 793-883; minimum length of, I 50; IV 793-94.
- Twenty-fourth, I 22; inscriptions under, IV 884; minimum length of, I 50; chronology of, I 73.
- Twenty-fifth, I 22; inscriptions of, IV 885-934; minimum length of, I 50; chronology of, I 74; IV 885.
- Twenty-sixth, I 22, 23, 48; inscriptions of, IV 935-1029; minimum length of, I 50; IV 1026; accession of, I 57; chronology of, I 75; IV 935-41.

## E

- EARRINGS, IV 876.
- EARS: of grain, IV 244.
- Ears and nose cut off, as punishment, IV 451, 452, 524.
- EARTH, II 139, 288, 570 *et passim*.
- Kissed, II 238, 268 *et passim*.
- EBONY, II 387, 390; III 475; of best of the highlands, II 127.
- Brought from Negro lands, I 336; Punt, II 265, 272, 486; Nubia, II 375; Genebteyew, II 474; Kush, II 494, 502, 514; the south countries, II 652.
- Articles made of ebony: billets, III 475; chairs, II 436; chest, II 755; coffin, I 247; harp, II 32; shrines, II 127, 375, 388, 390; staff, IV 288; staves, II 802; IV 391; statue, II 436, 801; whips, II 802.
- ECLIPSE, inscription of Takelot II, I 35.
- EDICTS, II 705, 710; IV 354; of Harmhab, I 18; III 45-67; of mortuary endowment, II 922-27.
- EDUCATION OF CHILDREN: Ptahshepses, I 256, 257; Amenemhet I, I 474-83; see also Teaching.
- EGG, KING IN THE, III 267, 270, 288; IV 657, 817, 850; of Harakhte, IV 62; king, the pure egg, II 314.
- ELDERS, II 916.
- ELECTRUM, I 165, 167; II 155, 157, 274, 281, 302, 309, 315, 317, 319, 377, 390,

- 596, 608, 761; III 176, 230, 237, 285, 403; IV 7, 29, 632, 633, 721, 909, 911; in bars, II 279; in rings (commercial), II 279; weighing of, II 281.
- Articles made of: armlets of, II 376, 654; balances, IV 256; jar, II 556; vase, II 164; vessels, II 902; necklace, II 654; pendant, II 654.
- Articles decorated with, II 164, 298, 305, 309, 317, 319, 447, 775, 776, 805, 890; III 517, 525, 528, 970; barque, III 212; chariots wrought with, II 430, 447, 960, 969; ceiling, IV 958J; roof, IV 16; columns, III 512, 515; shrine door, IV 5; temple doors, III 567; IV 4, 929; doorway, II 903; III 227; great house, IV 904; great seat, IV 14, 610; image, IV 958K; portals, II 883, 895, 898; offering-tables, I 534, 610; II 164, 370; statue, I 165, 668; IV 633, 913, 958K; dagger wrought with, I 682; staff of, I 682; pyramidion, II 624, 630, 633, 834; staves, IV 912; temple walls, II 886; IV 748; shrines, II 374 bis, 776, 888; IV 1020; inlaid figures, II 375, 376; IV 910; amulets, II 376, 654; bow and stern of sacred barge, II 94; parts of doors, II 45; statue standards, II 95; flagstave tops, II 103, 883, 888, 889; the great throne, II 292; interior of holy of holies of Amon Temple, finished with, II 153, 596; portals of Amon Temple at Karnak wrought with, II 153.
- Brought from Emu, II 298, 387; the mountains, IV 28; Punt, I 161; II 272; the south countries, II 654; the highlands, II 374, 377.
- King's limbs of, III 403.
- Mine of electrum east of Redesiyeh, III 170.
- ELEPHANT**: from Kush, I 510 n. b; from Retenu, II 125.
- EMANATION**, II 991, 1000, 1029; IV 246, 817, 909, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916.
- EMBALMERS**, I 370.
- EMBALMING**, of Mekhu's body, I 370.
- Embalming material: festival oil, from the double White House, I 370; secret things from the *w c b t*-house, I 370; —, from the *c k* house, I 370; clothing of the double White House, I 370; burial equipment from the court, I 370.
- House of embalming, IV 1029; name of, IV 1029.
- EMBANKMENT**, IV 842.
- EMBARK**, IV 571.
- EMERY**, II 558; IV 600; from Zahi, II 460; from Retenu, II 534 (?).
- EMIGRANTS**, extradition of, III 383, 385.
- EMORY**: see Emery.
- EMPIRE**: inscriptions of, I 8, 11; minimum length of, I 50.
- EMPTY YEARS**, IV 398.
- ENACTMENTS**, II 568; of Harmhab, III 45-67; form of, III 45.
- ENBU PLANT**, IV 379, 395.
- Enbu fruit, IV 240, 393.
- ENCIRCLING WALL OF TEMPLE**, II 642.
- ENCLOSURE, TEMPLE**, II 164; see also Wall, and Index II.
- ENDOWMENT**: of Aton, II 952, 954, 958, 966; daily offerings, III 31, 515; IV 355, 1021; divine offerings, II 622, 792, 806, 900, 908; III 77, 159, 268; IV 256, 320, 335, 354, 355, 359, 654, 958M; feasts, II 569, 571, 798, 908; IV 208, 237, 290, 329, 924; the lay-priests of Amon, at Karnak, II 618; mortuary offerings, I 200, 269, 379, 562, 577, 630; II 839, 840, 908, 921, 926; III 526; IV 679, 1007; mortuary priests, I 200-9, 274, 630; II 32, 569, 571; oblations, IV 296, 329, 347; offerings for ancestors, III 23; temples, I 156, 159-61, 165-67, 213; II 163, 295, 571, 616, 617, 793; III 31, 413; IV 146-50, 755, 784, 992; tomb, I 213.
- ENEKH OF THE WEST** (=life, euphemism for the dead), II 907.
- ENEMY**, IV 1006.
- ENFEEBLING BY MAGIC ROLLS**, IV 454, 456.
- "ENTER IN" TO HIS MAJESTY**, IV 460.
- EPIPHI**: see Months.
- EQUIPMENT**, III 584.
- ERA OF OPEHTISET-NUBTI**, III 538, 542.
- ERASURE OF INSCRIPTIONS**, II 52, 126, 190, 192 n. d, 193, 205, 218, 290, 306, 312, 320, 612, 968.
- ESTABLISHMENT**: of the field [—], I 302; of Osiris, IV 1021.
- ESTATE**: regulation of, I 536; private, of Sebni, I 366, 368; of Yewelot, IV

- 795; of Putowe, IV 948; of Kewkew, IV 948; of Nesumin, IV 948; of Harsiese, IV 948.
- Count's (*pr-h* > *ty* -), I 536, 551, 552, 565, 570, 574.
- Divine estate, IV 386; of Amon, IV 222-45; Ptah, IV 337-39; Re, IV 280-82; of the gods, IV 364-69; 383-85.
- Estate of Pharaoh, II 769, 871; IV 147; stewards of, II 871; reports from, II 871; harvest of, II 871; chief overseer of, II 925.
- Paternal estate (*mw-pr-yt*), I 536, 551, 552, 565, 570, 574.
- (*pr-dt*), I 546.
- ETERNAL (=TEMPLE) AFFAIRS, I 610.
- Dwelling (=pyramid) of Sesostris I, I 509.
- Horizon (=tomb), IV 513.
- Seat (=necropolis), III 32B.
- ETERNITY, CITY OF (=tomb), I 402; temple of, III 233, 240; horizon of, III 240.
- ETHIOPIAN PERIOD, I 22; IV 796-934.
- ÉTUL, II 1024.
- EVIL SPIRIT, III 438.
- EVIL-DOER, I 401, 403.
- EXACTIONS, IV 266, 283, 323, 340, 341, 386, 387, 497, 958H.
- EXAMINATION: of witnesses, IV 424, 486; of culprits, IV 426-56, 524, 540, 547-55; tortures used at, IV 546, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 555.
- Court of examination, IV 425.
- EXCELLENT ONES, I 623.
- EXPEDITIONS, II 818; III 20; records of, II 407, 455; to Wan, II 582; to Carchemish, II 583.
- by sea: to Lebanon, I 146 n. a; to southern Palestine, time of Uni, I 315; to Punt, I 429; to Hammamat, I 442, 446; personnel of, I 447.
- EXPLORATIONS, II 294; to Yam, by Harkhuf, I 333; to Sethu and Irthet, I 334; of Akhetaton, II 960.
- EXTORTION: laws on, III 54; penalty for, III 54.
- EXTRADITION: of political fugitives, III 382, 384; of emigrants, III 383, 385.
- EYE: Karnak, the eye of the All-Lord, II 316.
- EYE COSMETIC: from Punt, II 265, 272; from Naharin, II 501.
- EYE PAINT, IV 348, 391; from the Asiatics, I 620 n. d.
- F
- FAÇADE, II 374.
- the great double façade, III 412; IV 16; gate of, II 678.
- FALSE DOOR: of tomb, I 212, 238, 239, 290, 405 n. e; of mastaba, I 254, 308; made of limestone, I 212, 238, 239, 254, 290, 308, 405 n. e; of granite, I 322.
- FAME (*b w*, lit. souls) OF THE KING, II 120, 413 *et passim*.
- FAMILY, KING'S, IV 944.
- FAMINE: of Joseph, I 483 n. b; III 10; in Lebanon districts, II 436; among Asiatics, III 11, 636, 638 n. b; in Egypt, IV 398.
- FAN, II 22; as insignium of office, III 15; fan-bearers: see Index V.
- FANFARE, III 40.
- FASHION OF WOMEN, IV 849.
- FAT, III 208, 413; IV 286, 344, 394.
- FAT: goose, IV 232, 376; white, IV 233, 239, 299, 300, 350; roasts of, for mortuary oblation, II 571.
- FATTENING-HOUSES, IV 217, 260, 313, 323.
- FEAST-DAY ATTENDANTS: see Index V.
- FEASTS, II 298, 462; IV 275, 359, 675, 926; calendar of, IV 139-45.
- Feast of New Year's day, I 40, 42, 545, 573, 583, 585, 630; II 171, 233, 239, 240; III 224; IV 144, 654, 836; fire kindled in the temple on night of, I 562, 573, 583.
- Feast: of the great year, I 630; the little year, I 630; the great feast, I 630.
- Feast of beginning of the seasons, I 668; II 45, 171, 569, 571, 615; III 526; IV 259, 289, 340, 356, 381, 396, 906; offering for, II 569; IV 208, 236; endowment of, II 571, 908; IV 208.
- Feast of "Beginning-of-the-River," II 32, 373, 596, 798, 838, 888; III 94, 568; IV 330 n. a, 358.
- of New Moon, I 46; II 430, 562, 608; the twelve monthly, I 630, 665 n. b; II 35; the twelve mid-monthly, I 630, 665 n. b.
- Fifth of the month, II 35.
- Sixth of the month, II 35, 149, 562; a feast of Amon, IV 958L.

- Feasts*—
- of the five intercalary days, I 630.
  - of the Birth of the Gods, I 164.
  - Feast-of-the-Appearance, I 261; II 544, 569; IV 200, 257, 322, 354, 356; storehouses for, IV 200, 257, 322, 354, 356.
  - “Coming Forth,” bread of, II 618.
  - Feasts of Amon, III 32B, 439; IV 652, 777, 840; leader of, see Index V; “Gift-of-Life,” IV 552; “Day-of-Bringing-in-the-God,” II 551; IV 836; celebrated in the second day in the third month of the first season, IV 836; “Abiding in Thebes,” IV 836; “Feast of the Valley,” III 212, 215, 218, 515, 517, 522; IV 17; Tenth feast of Amon, II 608; date of II 608. See Feast of Opet.
  - Birth of Anubis, I 91, 100.
  - Feast of Anuket, celebrated for three days in the ninth month, II 798; extended to four days, II 798; “Feast of Nubia,” a feast of Anuket, II 798; endowment of, II 798.
  - Feast of Apis, I 212; of Running-of-Apis, I 114, 121, 127.
  - Feast of Bast, IV 973; celebrated on the fifth day of the fourth month of the second season, IV 973.
  - “Coming Forth of Harakhte,” II 139.
  - Worship of Horus, I 91, 94, 96, 98, 100, 118, 120, 122, 124, 126, 128, 130, 132, 133, 135, 137, 142, 144; “Worship-of-Horus-of-Heaven,” I 125; feast of the great Rekeh, I 630; IV 768; the little Rekeh, I 630; a feast of Horus, IV 768.
  - Feast of Khonsu, IV 753 n. c; celebrated in the first month of the third season, IV 753.
  - Birth of Meftet, I 115.
  - Birth of Min, I 99, 142.
  - Peret-Min (=“Going-forth of Min”), II 566; offering for, II 566.
  - “Altar-of-the-Feast,” of Mut-Hathor of Thebes, II 622; date of, II 622.
  - Feast of the Nile-god, IV 296; celebrated semi-annually at Silseleh, IV 296 n. e.
  - “Great-Going-Forth” of Osiris, I 669.
  - Feast of Ptah “South-of-His-Wall,” III 23, 77, 159.
  - Feast of Ptah, “Bringing-in-the-God,” II 614, 617.
  - “First-of-the-Flood,” a feast of Ptah at Memphis, IV 330.
  - Birth of Sed, I 113.
  - Birth of Seshat, I 115.
  - Feast of Seshed, I 150.
  - Feast of Shed, II 240.
  - Feast of Sokar, I 97, 108, [118], 123, 129.
  - Urshu, feast of Sutekh, IV 726; celebrated on the 25th day, fourth month of the second season, IV 726.
  - Feast of Thoth, I 222; II 35, 302.
  - Birth of Upwawet, I 150; procession of, I 540; “Going Forth of Upwawet,” I 669.
  - Birth of Goddess Yamet, I 98.
  - Feast of Zet, I 101, 107, 131.
  - Feasts of Heaven, II 35; IV 236, 289, 346, 381, 396; eight in number, IV 144; minor feasts of heaven, IV 144.
  - Feast of the Earth, II 35.
  - Feast of the union of Two Lands, I 94, 140, 150, 164.
  - Feast of circuit of wall, I 93, 140, 150, 164, 166.
  - Feast of stretching the cord, I 109, 119, 143.
  - Feast of bringing the wall of Dewazefa, I 138.
  - Feast of “Binding-of-the-Barbarians,” I 655 n. b; II 171.
  - Feast of “Repulse-of-the-Troglo-dytes,” I 655, II 171; occurs on the twenty-first day of the fourth month of the second season, II 171.
  - Feast of Coronation, Shepseskaf, I 258; Sabu-Ibebi, I 286; Thutmose I, II 60; Thutmose III, II 317, 430; Ramses III, IV 237.
  - Feast of Desher, I 94.
  - Feast of Hakro, I 746; II 35.
  - Feast of happy living, I 630; of the dead, I 630.
  - “Myriad-of-years” (probably a festival of Dêr el-Bahn), II 333, 362, 375.
  - “Occurrence of Jubilee,” II 307, 310, 311. See Jubilee.
  - Feast of Opet, II 591, 809, 887, 888; III 58, 256, 436; IV 237, 671, 836, 840, 909; celebrated on the 19th day of the 2d month, IV 144, 237. See Feasts of Amon.
  - Feast of Victory, II 549, 550, 551, 552, 553.
  - Feast of Wag, I 222; II 35; celebrated on the 18th day of the first month of the first season, I 550, 555, 564; night of, celebrated on the 17th day of the

- first month of the first season, I 573, 577, 590.
- FEATHER**, IV 873; serpent and feather, signs for Aphroditopolis, I 433, n. a.
- FEET** (king's): companions of: see Index V.
- FELDSPAR**, from Retenu, II 491.  
—Green feldspar, IV 287, 343, 389; statue of, IV 302; from Zahi, II 462.
- FERRY BOAT**, I 275; IV 863; of cedar, IV 229, 282, 387.
- FERRYING**, I 493.
- FESTIVAL HALL**, II 288, 377; offerings, II 298.
- FEUDAL PRINCIPALITIES OF EGYPT**, IV 746.
- FICTION**: state, II 187-90; see also Poetry, Hymn.
- FIELD**, II 966; IV 332, 893, 948, 957, 958, 1021; given away by the king to temples; II 1 n. c, 966; IV 141; for mortuary endowment, II 925, 926; III 526.  
—Fields of Dodekaschoinos, IV 146; belonging to Khnum, IV 146; extent of, IV 146.  
—Fields of Egypt, III 580.  
—Fields of Amon, II 354; overseer of: see Index V.  
—Fields: calculations of, III 275; inspectors of, II 437; III 275; renting of, IV 482; ritual roll of, III 271.  
—Flax fields of Pharaoh, in Miam, IV 479, 480, 482.  
—for Inspectors of, field judge of, Ruler of, Palace ruler of, Scribes of, Supervisor of, see Index V.
- FIG TREES**, I 496; planting of, I 173; of sand-dwellers, I 313.
- FIGS**, III 208; IV 240, 294, 391; impost of, IV 240.
- FIGURE**, III 525; of gods, III 233, 391; IV 245, 384; impost paid to, IV 225; of king, IV 514; made of gold, IV 26, 311.  
—Figures outlined, IV 255.  
—Inlay figures, IV 909; of costly stone, IV 7 9, 216; of electrum, II 375; IV 7, 11, 14, 214, 910; of gold, IV 205, 488 n. c, 489; ketem-gold, IV 199, 205, 311; silver, IV 489.
- FINGER**: skilled in, I 531; see also Measures, linear.
- FINGER RINGS**: of fine gold, IV 231; gold of two times, IV 231; white gold, IV 231; malachite, IV 377; rock-crystal, IV 377; red jasper, IV 377.
- FIRE**: day of kindling in the temple, I 545; on New Year's night, I 552; on night of Wag-feast, I 573.
- FIRE CHAMBER**: an apartment of the temple, III 28.
- FIRE-PANS**, I 795.
- FIREWOOD**, IV 295, 303, 380, 394; from Retenu, II 447; Naharin, II 502.
- FISH**, III 207, 208, 291, 404; IV 243, 394, 582, 1005; cut up, IV 243, 380; whole, IV 243, 380; in temple lakes, II 883; eating of, an abomination for the palace, IV 882.  
—Champions like fishes, II 431.  
—Shene fish, IV 243.  
—White fish, IV 243.
- FISHERMEN**, III 62, 376; of Elephantine, II 650; IV 148; impost of, IV 229, 283.  
—Court fishermen, IV 466; divisions of, IV 466; officers of, IV 466.
- FLAGSTAFF**: the northern, in the palace, II 678.
- FLAGSTAVES**: temple, II 103, 624, 776, 883, 888, 889, 894; III 508, 567; IV 15, 626, 632; made of cedar, III 94, 537; IV 15.
- FLAT DISH**, II 32, 93, 436; of costly stones and gold, I 436; gold, II 32, 447, 518, 533; of silver, II 447, 462, 518, 533.  
—from Retenu, II 436, 447, 509, 518, 533 (?), 536(?); from Zahi, II 462.
- FLAX**, I 172; IV 229, 235, 241, 283, 295, 371, 379, 387, 392.  
—Southern, IV 379, 392.  
—Overseer of: see Index V.
- FLAX FIELDS**: of Pharaoh, in Miam, IV 479, 480, 482.
- FLEET**, II 304; IV 863; enormous fleet of Kheti I, I 398, 401; of Kheti II, I 405, 411; of Snefru to Syria, I 89; of Amenemhet I, I 465; Hatshepsut's, to Punt, II 251; northern, II 7; captain of, see Index V.
- FLINT**: sword of, II 525; from Retenu, II 525.
- FLOCKS**: of geese, II 559; IV 380.  
—birds, II 571; IV 768.

- FLOOD**, IV 743; flood inscription, IV 742-44.
- FLOOR**: temple, II 375, 883; of adytum, II 806; adorned with silver, II 806, 883, 886, 889, 890.
- FLOUR**, IV 238.
- FLOWERS**, IV 244, 272, 274, 350, 394, 871; impost of, IV 244.
- Beautiful flowers, II 902, 903; in temple garden, II 167, 881, 887, 903; in temple lakes, II 919; IV 194.
- Flower gardens of temple, II 167, 881, 887, 903; IV 264.
- Flower offering, III 16, 626, 648; IV 194, 200, 217, 633; for oblation, II 960, 1042; IV 768; see also Blue flower, Dedmet flower, Garden fragrance, Isy flowers, Katha flowers, Lotus flower, Menhet flower, Papyrus flower; see further, Blossom, Bouquets, Clusters, Garland, Sunshade.
- FLY**: golden, as decoration of honor, II 23, 585, 587.
- FOALS**, II 435; IV 850.
- FOLDS**: cattle, I 281; calves, I 408.
- FOLK TALES**, I 24; II 188.
- FOLLOWERS OF THE KING**, I 492; II 423; commander of, see Index V.
- FOLLOWING**: of Upwawet, I 394.
- FOOD**: royal, I 423E.
- Food offering, II 355, 976; IV 906.
- FOOTSTOOL**: from Kedes, I 436.
- Footstool of the palace, I 320; master of, see Index V.
- FORAGE**, II 437.
- FORD**: of Orontes, II 784.
- FORECOURT**, I 49; II 627; III 412, 458 n. b, 504, 545, 567; IV 259, 269, 274, 495, 531, 621, 970.
- FOREIGNERS**, IV 994; of Ayan, Eper of, IV 466; unclean, IV 905.
- FORESKIN**, IV 42, 52; people of Ekweh had none, III 588; see also Hands cut off.
- FORT**: of Thutmose I, at Tombos, II 72, 121; on the eastern border, I 493; see also Fortress, Stronghold, Building.
- FORTIFICATIONS**, II 433.
- FORTRESS**, III 580; see also Fort, Strongholds; for Commandant of, Deputy of, see Index V.
- The Tower of Ramses, "a fortress of Abydos," (?) III 82 n. b; of city of Amor, IV 117; Beki, II 852; Bigeh, 718; Buto of Seti-Merneptah, a fortress of Seti I, III 100; Byblos, IV 573; Elephantine, I 650; II 719; Ereth, in Kheta, IV 120; Hatsho, IV 107; Khammat, II 894, 896, 897; Leb-anon, II 548; Port of South, I 396; Merneptah-Hotepirma, III 638; "Satisfier of the Gods," I 1041; Semneh, I 653 n. c, 752; "Seti-Merneptah," III 86; Taroy, II 852; Tehenu, II 892; Tharu, III 88, 100, 307, 542, 631; Southern (=Thebes), 702; "Khaftet-hir-nebes," in the necropolis of Western Thebes, II 339; Thinis, I 396, 423; Tombos, of Thutmose I, called "None-Faces-Him," II 72; "Repulse of the Troglodytes," at Uronarti, I 654, n. a, 655; Wawat, II 616; of the West, III 586.
- "Fortress of Menkheprure": name of the inclosure of the mortuary temple of Thutmose IV in Thebes, II 821; peopled with captives from Kharu, II 821; from Nubia, II 823.
- Temples called fortresses, II 883, 894.
- Reports to be sent to vizier from southern fortress, II 702; from fortresses of the South and North, II 675.
- FORTUNE**, IV 946.
- FOUNDATION**, IV 355, 356, 358, 406; for ceremony of: see Ceremony.
- FOUNDATION STONE**, III 269.
- FOUNDING**: see Endowment.
- FOWL**, III 404; IV 62, 94, 98, 212, 230, 208, 329, 342, 345, 347, 363, 372, 388, 958M; for divine offerings, II 458, 562, 621, 629, 793; IV 200; evening offering, II 565; feast-offering, II 566; IV 208; oblation, II 553, 554, 960; IV 848, 856, 866, 869, 874, 875; mortuary offering, II 840; III 17; in temple lake, II 883.
- Hatching-fowl, IV 293, 298, 347.
- h-c*-fowl, for divine offering, II 159, 793; IV 242; for oblation, II 571; IV 298, 347; mated, for mortuary offering, II 571; fattened, for mortuary offering, II 571.
- Table fowl, II 621, 622.
- w d*-fowl, I 729.
- Water fowl, IV 229, 235, 283, 293, 298, 345, 347, 380, 387, 392.
- Wild fowl, III 276; IV 41, 44, 65,

- 141, 217, 265, 323, 768; from Lebanon, II 483; tomb-robbers to be slain like, I 330, 338, 378.
- FOWLERS, I 281; of Elephantine, IV 148; impost of, IV 229, 283; chief of: see Index V.
- FRAGRANCE, IV 843; of a god, II 196; of Punt, IV 333; see also Garden-fragrance.
- FRAGRANT WOOD, IV 264; shrine of, I 667; from Punt, II 265; III 527; Retenu, II 471.
- FRAUD: condemned by Amon, IV 671.
- FRONT OF THE ARMY, II 427.
- FRONTIER: southern, gods of, IV 34; Egyptian, in Zahi, IV 65; of Hare nome, IV 821; of Heracleopolis, IV 825.
- FRONTIER OFFICIAL: see Index V; day-book of, III 629; letter of, III 636.
- FRUIT, II 117, 159, 260; III 268; IV 34, 215, 217, 234, 240, 294, 300, 329, 344, 350, 363, 378, 379, 391, 394, 958H; from Zahi, II 461, 462, 472; from Retenu, II 473, 616; Naharin, II 482; of Arvad, II 461.
- Best fruit, IV 350; first-fruit, IV 906; see also Apples, Banu, Berries, Cinnamon, Cumin, Dates, Dom-palm fruit, Enbu, Figs, Grapes, Ibenu, Katha, Khenti, Khithana, Manna, Mehiwet, Minium, Myrrh, Olives, Pomegranates, Raisins, Shesa-fruit, Southern fruit, White fruit.
- Fruit for divine offering, II 562, 616, 621, 622, 798; IV 194, 200; mortuary offering, II 571; III 526; oblation, 553; IV 208.
- FUEL, I 556, 557.
- FUGITIVES: political, extradition of, III 382, 384; treatment of, III 389, 390.
- FUNERAL: splendor of, I 382; expenses for, I 382; IV 1016, 1024.
- Funeral: of Mekhu, I 370; Zau Shemai, I 382; grandfather of Kheti II, I 413.
- Funeral functionaries: embalmers I 370; chief ritual priest, I 370; *ymy-w<sup>c</sup> b*, I 370; — *shd*, I 370; mourners, I 370.
- FURNITURE: temple, II 32; mortuary, II 861 n. c; IV 521, 538.
- from Kush, II 1035; III 475; from Libya, III 584.
- FUTURE PUNISHMENT: red flame of fire in Heliopolis, III 180, 192.

## G

- GALA COSTUME, II 974.
- GALLEYS, II 304; IV 9, 65, 66, 282, 407, 408.
- Galley archers, IV 407 n. a.
- Temple galley, IV 211, 226, 270, 282, 328, 337, 339, 354, 364, 383, 384; archers of, IV 211; captains of, IV 211; crews of, IV 328.
- GAME OF DRAUGHTS, IV 822.
- GANG-PLANKS, II 263.
- GARDEN: palace, IV 215; temple garden, II 36, 295, 161, 352, 978; III 527, 567; IV 141, 189, 194, 217, 220, 226, 262, 274, 280, 282, 288, 313, 337, 339, 364, 370, 383, 384, 394, 676, 682, 687.
- Garden of Min, II 566.
- Gardens of Amon: overseer of, II 352; a Punt made in it, II 295.
- Gardens: of Arvad, II 461; Akhetaton, II 978.
- Sycamore gardens, IV 380.
- Shedeh gardens of Re, IV 262.
- Vine gardens, IV 380.
- Wine gardens of Amon, IV 213.
- “GARDEN FRAGRANCE” (a flower), IV 244, 301, 350.
- GARDENERS: of Amon, IV 213; of Re, IV 263; of Horus, IV 272; of Osiris, IV 682.
- GARLAND: of flowers, IV 244, 295, 301, 350, 491, 871, 924, 926; of gold, IV 373; of grapes, IV 379.
- GARMENTS, II 722; III 71; IV 228, 272, 283, 284, 285, 341, 344, 374, 375, 387, 390; of statues, II 571; IV 232; of youth, II 7.
- Garments made of linen, III 207, 208; of colored linen, IV 230, 284, 342, 372, 388; mek-linen, IV 284, 342, 388; royal linen, IV 284, 342, 372, 374, 375, 388, 582, 876; southern linen, IV 284, 342, 372, 375, 388; fine southern linen, IV 284, 342, 372, 374, 375, 388.
- dw*-garments, IV 232, 239, 241, 374, 375; of thick stuff, IV 394.
- hm-hrd*-garments: of royal linen, IV 852.
- hnty*-garments: of royal linen, IV 374.
- Hamen garments, IV 232, 237.
- k<sup>o</sup> d<sup>o</sup> -m-r<sup>o</sup>*-garment of southern linen, IV 375.



- Garments*—  
 —*rdw*-garments, IV 230.  
 —Sedeb garment, IV 871.  
 —*ydg*<sup>2</sup>-garments: of royal linen, IV 232, 374; fine southern linen, IV 232, 374; southern linen, IV 375.  
 —*yjd*-garments, of southern linen, IV 375; colored linen, IV 239, 375; see also Clothing, Kilts, Mantles, Raiment, Robe, Tunic, Wrapping.
- GARRISONS: of residence city (Thebes), II 694; of court, II 694; stationed by the vizier, II 694.  
 —Egyptian garrison in the city of Ikathi, II 787.
- GATES: temple, I 148, 421, 509; II 309, 376; IV 701, 756 n. a, 958L; names of, I 148; II 376; made of copper, II 376; of gritstone, III 245.  
 —Dungeon of the gate, III 180.  
 —Gate of harem, IV 441.  
 —Gate of life, IV 853.  
 —Gates for the canal at Siut, I 407.  
 —Gates of the netherworld, II 378.
- GAZELLE, IV 160, 190, 242, 392, 553; IV 768; male, IV 242, 392; from negro lands, IV 724.  
 —the remarkable gazelle at Hammamat, I 436.
- GEESE, IV 229, 235, 283, 293, 298, 341, 345, 347, 380, 387, 392, 944, 949, 954, 992.  
 —for divine offering, II 616, 621, 622, 798; IV 190.  
 —for mortuary offering, I 512; II 11, 356, 365; III 276, 526.  
 —Fat geese, IV 217, 235, 260, 298, 323, 380, 392, 768.  
 —*mnwt*-geese, I 729.  
 —*r*<sup>2</sup>-geese, IV 242.  
 —*Tw-r-pw*-geese, IV 235, 242, 345.
- GENDARMES, II 978; officers of, II 927; captain of, see Index V; chief of, II 978; III 198; of Mazoi, IV 466; foreign, III 542.
- GENI: of North and South, II 206; of the cardinal points, II 228, 231.
- GEOGRAPHICAL LIST, I 26.
- GEOGRAPHY: OF SOUTHERN NOMES, I 529 n. e.
- GIFT LANDS, administered by the vizier, II 689.
- GIFTS, III 632; IV 412; from foreign princes, II 820, 1028; III 273, 420, 436, 446; IV 207; of the king, II 986; III 66; IV 230; New Year's, I 545, 563; II 801.  
 —Gifts to Amon, IV 230-35; Ptah, IV 342-45; Re, IV 284-88; the gods, IV 372-80, 388-96.
- GILDING, III 179.
- GIRAFFE, III 475.
- GIRDLE, I 294, 597; see also Index V, Girdle.
- GIRLS, IV 111.
- "GO IN AND GO OUT" (in the Netherworld), II 353, 378; IV 187, 382.
- GOAT, I 312; IV 298, 347, 392; for mortuary offering, I 556; from Kheta, III 428; from Libya, III 584; from Meshwesh, see Index VI.  
 —Mountain goat, II 139, 479; III 11.  
 —Small goats from Zahi, II 490.  
 —White goats from Zahi, II 490.  
 —Wild goats, I 496; IV 91; from Nahrin, II 501; on the highlands of Memphis, II 813.
- GOLD, II 280, 281, 318, 342, 383, 389, 390, 434, 558, 596, 666, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 743, 744, 754, 771, 773, 838, 881, 887, 902, 906, 987, 992, 993; III 63, 71, 137, 151, 176, 192, 193, 204, 210, 229, 268, 286, 309, 401, 420, 428, 434, 453, 512, 515, 527, 601; IV 27, 31, 32, 33, 126, 141, 150, 190, 230, 256, 259, 272, 284, 285, 335, 342, 349, 354, 360, 372, 373, 383, 386, 388, 389, 494, 521, 551, 577, 580, 582, 635, 708, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 843, 847, 852, 859, 874, 875, 876, 878, 880, 881, 883, 889, 909, 910, 911, 915, 929, 958E, G, 970; as adornments of other objects, II 32, 92, 104, 155, 165, 185, 300, 301, 373, 375, 390, 413, 436, 582, 755, 775, 790, 838, 888, 889, 890; III 412; IV 191, 199, 203, 254, 278, 287, 311, 312, 315, 343, 377, 538, 970; commercial, in rings, II 279, 436, 490, 501, 518, 1035; III 475; in scraps, IV 373, 386, 389; as decoration or reward of honor, I 372; II 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 22, 23, 24, 39, 64, 81, 584, 585, 587, 588, 986, 1009, 1036; III 6, 73; color of, IV 202, 408; numbering of, I 81; palace of Amenemhet I, decked with, I 483; for oblation, II 960 (?).  
 —Articles made of gold: altars, IV 735; *dw*-altars, IV 735; Thoth apes, IV 256, 735; arm rings, II 585, 587;

- censers, IV 735, 736; fourfold censer, IV 735; chapel, IV 732; chariots wrought with, II 430, 431, 490; bracelets II 64, 471; IV 876; chaplets, II 32; tables, II 32; 175, 390; necklaces, II 32, 585, 587; collars, II 944, 986, 989; III 7, 8, 9, 69, 73, IV 201, 204, 493; columns, IV 315; drinking-vessel for the ka, II 32; flat dish, II 32, 447; figure, IV 26; finger rings, IV 231; flies, III 28, 585, 587; garland, IV 373; great seat, IV 7, 251; horn, II 447; lion, II 585, 587; offering-tables, II, 32; IV 610, 911, 912, 958, 1020; ornaments, IV, 231, 285, 343, 373, 386, 389, 538, 1011; pitcher, IV 735; portals, II 890; shrine, I 667; IV 209, 331; axe, II 23; armlet, II 64; sphinxes, IV 732; statue, IV 250, 268, 302, 316, 326, 349, 395; table vessels, IV 190, 269, 354, 357; temple doors, IV 7, 311; throne, III 321; vase, I 500; II 164, 754; IV 231, 269, 327, 538; vessels, II 32, 64, 162, 436, 615, 989, 1028, 1031, 1035; IV 285, 343, 497, 566, 730; whips, II 802.
- Gold from Akita, III 286; Coptos, IV 30, 228; Edfu, IV 30; Emu, IV 34; God's Land, III 116, 274; the Malachite country, IV 409; Karoy, II 889; III 285; Kush, II 502, 514, 522, 526 (?), 774; IV 30; Libya, III 584; Ombos, IV 30; of the south countries, II 652; of the highlands, II 373.
- Articles of gold from: Retenu, II 447, 471, 491, 518, 820; Zahi, II 459, 490; Naharin, II 482, 501; III 434; Kadesh, II 585; Punt, II 486; Wawat, II [515?], 527 (?), 539; Tikhsi, II 587.
- Gold, doubly refined, II 155 bis.
- Gold of two times, IV 231, 285, 343, 386, 389.
- Gold of three times, IV 408.
- Fine gold, IV 228, 231, 245, 327, 331, 343, 385, 389, 491, 498, 610, 389; amulet of, IV 253; barque shrine of, IV 982; in lay figures of, IV 488 n. c., 489; image of, IV 737; from Emu, IV 31; Khenthenofer, IV 770.
- Asiatic gold, IV 26.
- Green gold, from Emu; from Punt, II 265.
- Ketem gold, IV 199, 201, 204, 205, 231, 311; amulet of, IV 319; shrine doors of, IV 251.
- Gold of the mountains, IV 29, 30, 32, 228.
- Fine mountain gold, IV 285, 386; color of, IV 318.
- Native gold, IV 28, 30.
- White gold, IV 231, 285, 343, 389; beads of, IV 231.
- Gold, washed from rivers, IV 29, 30.
- Gold countries of Amon, III 647.
- Gold dust from Punt, III 37.
- Gold mines, in Akita, III 286.
- Gold mining, III 195.
- Gold ore, brought from Nubia, I 520; from Coptos, I 521; II 774; from negro lands, IV 33.
- Gold washing, III 192, 193, 285.
- GOLD WORKERS**, I 447.
- GOLD-HOUSE**, I 609; I 52, 185; III 71, 263, 484; IV 204, 214, 316, 354, 363; overseer of, see Index V; in charge of the vizier and chief treasurer II 706.
- Gold-house of the temple, IV 315.
- Double gold-house, I 533, 664; II 43, 52.
- GOLDSMITHS**, II 754.
- GRAFFITI**, III 32A-C, 642-51; IV 660, 777.
- GRAIN**, II 225, 319, 437, 461, 462, 465, 621, 622, 723, 727, 731, 733, 734, 738, 739, 740, 741, 743, 744, 745, 748; III 271; IV 206, 267, 362, 403, 550, 685, 859; ears of, IV 244; ground, II 462; pounding of, II 749; in the kernel, II 462, 473; transported by ship to Kheta, III 580.
- Grain for oblation, II 571, 749; for taxes, III 61; as mortuary offering, I 252; stored up for times of need, by Kheti II, of Siut, I 408; cultivated by Amenemhet, I 483.
- Grain: from Naharin, II 480; Tunip, II 530.
- for Registrar of, Overseer of, see Index V.
- Clean grain, II 434, 462, 473, 561, 806; III 275; IV 236, 257, 283, 289, 297, 313, 314, 346, 347, 371, 376, 381, 387, 396; from Zahi, II 510, 519.
- Southern grain, II 171, 737 bis, 741, 742, 743, 987.
- dk*-grain, II 571.
- sw-t*-grain, II 737, 742.
- š c*-grain, II 737.
- tb*-grain, II 737.
- γ c h*-grain, II 733, 733, 748, 749.
- See also Barley, Corn, Spelt, Wheat.

- GRAIN-HEAP**, III 404, 526; IV 9, 325, 354.
- GRANARY**, II 149; III 66, 271; IV 330, 403, 851, 854, 855, 859, 868; inspection of, IV 146 n. c.
- Granary of Amon: see Index II, Karnak; Overseer of, see Index V.
- Granary of the king's estate, II 107.
- for Overseers of, Superintendent of, see Index V.
- Stronghold of granary, I 379; Commander of: see Index V.
- Temple granaries, II 43, 63, 343, 350, 806, 932; III 515, 527; IV 207, 217, 227, 250, 314, 325, 354, 355, 362, 497, 878, 906, 958G, H.
- The double granary, I 533; II 768.
- GRANITE**, II 601; IV 980, 1020; obelisk of, II 89, 304, 315, 318, 336, 624; III 507, IV 980, 982; shrines of, II 376, 775; IV 254, 320; portals of, II 794 n. b; III 525; chapel of, III 506; altar of, IV 900; door-lintels of, IV 311; sarcophagus of, IV 1011; stela of, II 605, 609 n. e; III 487, 538 n. f, 541, 596 n. d; IV 745 n. a, 919 n. a; statues of, I 601; II 876, 883; temple foundation of, IV 311; block of, II 846 n. a; IV 543; mountain of, IV 97; of the South, II 315.
- Black granite, II 906; temple of, IV 189, 214; temple doors of, IV 7; statue of, III 22 n. f; IV 967 n. a, 981 n. a; doorway of, III 528; stela of, II 655 n. b, 878 n. a; IV 650 n. a.
- Constantinople obelisk made of, II 630.
- Granite quarry at Assuan, II 42; I 304, 876, 980; at Elephantine, I 322; IV 311, 319, 679, 982; at the First Cataract, I 324.
- Gray granite, IV 919 n. a; statue of, IV 981 n. b.
- Pink granite, II 905; jar of, II 32; doorway of, III 528; colonnade of, IV 970; lintels of, IV 970; stelæ of, I 651 n. c, 653 n. c; II 781 n. b, 810 n. a; IV 669 n. d, 795 n. a, 746 n. a, 635 n. a.
- GRAPES**, IV 234, 240, 378, 379, 391.
- GRASSHOPPERS**, III 309, 455, 592; IV 46, 91, 893.
- GRAVER'S TOOL**, IV 189, 202, 255, 317, 318, 321.
- GREAT HOUSE** (*pr-wr*), I 609; II 240 bis, 288; of silver, III 213.
- of a *h*barge, IV 331, 354, 904; made of electrum, IV 904; of gold, IV 331.
- of a barque, IV 743.
- GREEK HISTORIANS**, I 23, 25.
- GREGORIAN CALENDAR**, I 40.
- GRITSTONE**, IV 246; the two Memnon colossi of, II 883 n. e; 906 n. a; temple model of, III 240 n. b; gate of, III 245; images of, IV 252; stela of, IV 724A n. b; statues of, II 883, 917; sanctuary foundation of, IV 251; temple of, III 246; IV 189, 214; mountain of, III 17; IV 79, 82, 357, 406; overseer of works in, III 17.
- GROTTO**: of Ellesiyeh, II 652; Silsileh, III 648 n. d.
- Grotto temples, at Abu Simbel, III 495.
- GROVES**, IV 67, 470, 880; of Kadesh, II 465; Arvad, II 465; Tunip, II 530.
- Date grove, IV 215.
- Temple groves, IV 220, 226, 262, 271, 272, 280, 282, 288, 339, 363, 384.
- GRYPHON**, IV 40, 43, 46, 90.
- GUIDE**, II 916.
- "**GUILTY**": judgment of, declared by court, IV 426, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450.
- GUM**, IV 378; of god's land, IV 29; of Punt, IV 29, 31; of myrrh from Punt, II 288; III 116; from Genebtewew, II 474; ointments of gum, IV 476, 477; sweet oil of gum, IV 497, 498.

## H

**HAKRO**: see Feasts.

**HALL**: Audience see Audience hall.

—Festival hall, II 288; IV 10.

—Judgment hall, I 605; II 681, 705, 706, 707, 903; for Door-keeper of, Master of: see Index V.

—Hall of the king, II 778; IV 931, 1017; of king's house, II 700; overseers of hundreds in, II 700; of royal council, IV 1000 n. a.

—Temple hall, II 165, 304; IV 489, 602, 610, 764, 889, 898, 910, 929, 971.

—Shrine hall, II 775.

—Hall of vizier, II 666, 670.

—Hall of writings of Egypt, IV 255, 321, 354, 363, 679.

—Broad hall: of the palace, III 590; IV 17; of temple, II 1018; III 515, 522; IV 7, 625; of temple militia, IV 972.

- Hall*—  
 —*gb* ḥ-hall, III 154.  
 —*dw* ḥ-hall, III 154.  
 —Beer-hall, IV 451 n. c. 880.  
 —Jubilee hall, IV 748.  
 —Hall of petitions, in Abydos, IV 678.  
 HAMMERED WORK, IV 198, 199, 201, 231, 317, 343, 732.  
 HAND CUT OFF: as trophy, III 587; IV 42, 52, 54; act executed on captives, who were circumcised, III 588; this was done to the following peoples, who accordingly practiced circumcision: Hyksos at Avaris II 10; Ek-wesh, III 588, 601; Ibhet, II 854; Imukehek, II 42; Khenthenofer, II 14; Kush, II 59; Megiddo, II 431, 435; Meshwesh, IV 52, 54 (?), 111; Naharin, II 85, 532; Senzar, II 584; Seped, IV 52, 54 (?); Sharuhem, II 13; Shekelesh, III 588; Sherden (?), III 588; Temeh, IV 52, 54 (?); Teresh, III 588; Tikhsi, II 797.  
 —Hands of silver from Tinay, II 537;  
 —Hands and feet of witnesses, tortured, IV, 545, 548, 549, 550, 552.  
 —Divine hand: see Index V.  
 HANDICRAFT, II 352; overseer of, II 371; Ptah, creator of, III 288.  
 HANDLE: of wood, IV 288.  
 HANDWRITING: of Pharaoh, IV 110.  
 HANGING: head downward, II 80, 797.  
 HANK (of yarn), IV 375, 390.  
 HAPPINESS: Ptah, bestower of, III 401.  
 HARBOR MOUTH, IV 65, 66, 75, 77; dues for, III 54; for Deputy of, Inspectors of, Overseer of, Scribe of, Table-scribe of, Servants of, see Index V.  
 HARBORS, IV 944; of Dor, IV 566, 567; Byblos, IV 569; the Hare nome, IV 833; Memphis, IV 858, 863; Heliopolis, IV 873.  
 —Garrisons of the coast harbors of Zahi, II 468, 472, 483, 492, 510, 519, 535; for Chief of, Master of, see Index V.  
 HAREM, ROYAL: of Nussorre, I 256; of Sesostris I, 598; of Pepi, I 307; royal, of the queen, I 440; entered by Uni, I 310; private prosecution in Pepi I's, I 310; secret of, I 310.  
 —Harem conspiracy: under Ramses III, IV 416-56; court of, IV 423-24; first prosecution of, IV 425-43; second prosecution of, IV 444-45; third prosecution of, IV 446-50; fourth prosecution of, IV 451-53; prosecution of magic practicers, IV 454-56.  
 —Harem gate: people of, IV 441.  
 —Harem ladies of Naharin, II 867; chief of, II 867.  
 —The great harem, I 595; Scribe of: see Index V.  
 HARP, IV 880; of ebony, II 32; for temple of Amon at Karnak, II 165.  
 HARVEST: II 699; II 404, 616; IV 497; first of harvest given to the temple, I 546-47; II 274.  
 —Harvest: of Wawat, II 475, 487, 503, 539; Naharin, II 480; Kush, II 494, 502; Lebanon, II 518; Megiddo, II 437; Kadesh, II 465; Arvad, II 465; Retenu, II 473; Zahi, II 510, 519, 535 (?); Ibhet, II 852; Tunip, II 530; South and North, II 871; in province of Minieh, I p. 48.  
 HATCHET, II 254.  
 HAWK, IV 40.  
 —Divine, III 144, 285; IV 47, 54, 62, 91; of fine gold, as ornament of barge-bow, IV 331.  
 HAWK: sacred animal of the Cerastes, mountain nome, I 281 n. c.  
 —Hawk, poetical designation of the king, I 492; II 141, 145; III 598; IV 94, 106.  
 —Horus Hawk, III 195.  
 HEADDRESS, II 22; of Peleset, IV 73.  
 HEADS, IV 223, 224, 225, 28c, 338, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369; of ways, II 916; river mouths, II 916; of statue, II 436 bis; of ram, made of lapis lazuli, from Shinar, II 484; of goat from Retenu, II 509; of lion, from Retenu, II 509; of ox, from Retenu, II 518, 536 (?).  
 HEAP, I 785; II 265, 274, 275, 276, 288, 387, 566, 617, 618, 761.  
 HEARERS OF THE CALL, II 985.  
 "HEARING" OF JUDICIAL CASES, by Uni, I 307, 310; Amenemhet, I 445; Mentuhotep, I 531; Senmut, II 352; Rekhmire, II 670.  
 —Order of in the vizier's hall, II 675; of criminal cases, II 683; depositions of, II 704;  
 HEARSAY, II 287.  
 HEAVEN, II 118, 139, 141 bis, 144 bis, 195, 220, 225, 285, 288, 305, 570, 894 *et passim*; queen, mistress of, II 266;

- ways of, II 257; circuit of, II 269; western corner of, I 335; doors of, II 141.
- HEIFERS, IV 229, 242, 283, 293, 345, 387, 392; from Kharu, IV 229; from Zahi, II 490.
- HELMET, ROYAL, III 30, 69; of bronze, I 501; from Naharin, II 501.
- HEMISPEOS, III 504.
- HERACLEOPOLITAN RULE, I 53, 88; length of, I 53, 63.
- HERBS, IV 295, 301, 350, 394, 944.—*h*-herb, for divine offering, II 159; for oblation, II 571.
- HERD, III 276, 616; IV 229, 283, 341, 387; Overseers of: see Index V; in charge of stewards, IV 294; in charge of vizier, IV 224.—Herds of large cattle, III 428; IV 212, small cattle, IV 89, 141, 212; fowl; IV 212; goats, III 428; horses, III 359, 428; Nubian, II 645.—Loan herds, I 522; III 57; of mountain goats, II 479; officials of, III 66.—Temple herd, III 526; IV 141, 141 n. a, 150, 212, 217, 224, 251, 275, 283, 313, 332, 338, 340, 354, 359, 360, 362, 369, 405, 466, 929.
- HERDMEN, III 616; IV 275, 481.
- HERESY, ATON, I 66 n. e; II 932-1018.
- HEZET PLANT, IV 235.
- HIDDEN NAME, IV 753, 906, 925, 926.
- HIDES: penalty for stealing of, III 56; presented to the court, I 369; given as taxes, II 718; III 56, 57.—Hide of Panther, II 265, 272, 321; III 475; of cows, IV 379, 395; of ox, VI 582.
- HIERODULES: captive women assigned as, IV 128.
- HIEROGLYPHS: scribes of, 755.
- HIGHLAND OF THE BLESSED (=necropolis), II 378; porters of, II 378; see also Cemetery, Necropolis, and Index VI, Highlands.
- HIGHWAYS, II 285, 294, 299; of Punt, III 155.
- HINDERING: by magic rolls, IV 454, 455.
- HIPPOTAMUS: shooting of, I 110.
- HOLY PLACE, III 271.—Holy of holies, II 153, 155, 795; III 244, 246; IV 201 n. c, 865; place of stela in, I 16; "station of the king" in, II 140 n. b; of Amon at Karnak, II 153; name of, II 153; of "House of Menmare," III 215, 219.
- HOMAGE, II 238.
- HONEY, I 496; II 117, 727, 731, 733, 734, 736, 738, 739, 741, 743, 745, 748; III 208; IV 228, 239, 272, 283, 286, 294, 300, 329, 344, 350, 360, 376, 387, 390, 394, 491, 683, 770, 859, 992; from Retenu, II 518; Zahi, II 462 472; for mortuary offering, I 366 for oblation, II 571; IV 768.
- HONEY COLLECTORS OF THE TEMPLES, VI, 149, 266, 313, 324.
- HOOF, III 285; Overseer of, see Index V.
- HORDE, III 473; of rebels, II 656.
- HORIZON (*y* > *hw.t*, more properly Light-sphere), II 141, 887, 991, 999, 1001; III 3, 270; IV 622, 906; Karnak is the — on earth, II 316; journeying to, by Intef I, I 423F; departing into, I 491; IV 400.—Horizon of Aton (=Akhetaton), II 949.—Horizon of eternity, III 240; IV 187; sem-priest of, III 623; the eternal (=pyramid), IV 513.—Horizon of Harakhte, IV 251.—Horizon of heaven, II 604, 755, 883, 903, 905, 984, 999; III 16, 79, 116, 230, 246, 248, 281, 412, 521; IV 8, 9, 10, 315, 356, 609, 632, 970.—Horizon in the West, of Amon, II 375; III 261; doors of, II 375.—Horizon of Re, III 232, IV 198, 314, 610.—Horizon: palace of, IV 7.—Eastern horizon, II 972, 984.—Western horizon, II 972.—Mysterious horizon, IV 195, 251.
- HORN, III 285; IV 46; Overseer of, see Index V; lord of the two horns, a royal title, IV 921.—of gold, II 447.
- HORSE, EGYPTIAN, II 421, 424, 470, 813, 864; III 84, 88, 97, 100, 132, 134, 146, 441, 450, 584; IV 40, 46, 49, 50, 51, 65, 72, 73, 405, 724A, 822, 832, 847, 850, 852, 860, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 880; Master of, see Index V.—Horses, from Bekhten, III 446; Kheta, III 343, 420, 428; Khatithana, II 729; Libya, III 589; Meshwesh, IV 86, 90, III; Retenu, II 125, 413, 447, 467, 491, 509, 518, 533 (?), 597, 790, 1028;

- Kadesh, II 420, 467; Megiddo, II 431; Zahi, II 462, 490; Ullaza, II 470; Naharin, II 81, 85, 479, 482, 498, 501, 532; Nuges, II 508; Isy, II 511; Lebanon, II 783; Orontes, II 784, 785.  
—See also Foals, Mares, Stallions, Steed.
- HOSTAGES: foreign king's or chief's children as, II 122.
- HOUND, I 483, 464; IV 514; names of, III 467; IV 514.
- HOUSE, II 978; IV 357, 363, 386.  
—House of the council of thirty, I 532.  
—*h*-house: things from it for embalming Mekhu's body, I 370.  
—House of Enekh, I 707, 709.  
—House of his father (=tomb of ancestor): of Kheti I, I 402.  
—House of a god, IV 354; see also Index II.  
—House of the sphinx, I 127, 180.  
—the good house (=the embalmers' house), IV 1029.  
—House of incense, IV 238.  
—the pure house (=Serapeum), IV 977, 986, 1010.  
—Southern house (=Luxor), IV 909.  
—Timber house, IV 380, 394.  
—House of rolls, III 264; Keeper of, see Index V.  
—House of sacred writing (in Abydos), I 533; IV 445, 460, 1022; Scribe of: see Index V.  
—The double house, attached to, I 284, 285, 298, 299 bis.  
—See also Embalming, Fattening-houses, Great house, Gold-house, Silver-house, White House.  
—Double *w*<sup>c</sup>*b*<sup>l</sup>-house: secret things of, for Mekhu's funeral, I 370.
- HOUSEHOLD: of Khnumhotep, II, I 623.
- HUE: of a god, III 24.
- HUNDRED: part of the army, Overseer of, see Index V.
- HUNT: of elephant, in Niy, II 588; of lion, II 865; of wild cattle, at Sheta, II 864; master of, IV 539.
- HUNTERS OF THE HIGHLANDS (=Troglydytes), I 429.
- HUS STONE, IV 191.
- HUSBAND OF EGYPT: king the, III 490.
- HUSBANDMEN, III 275.
- HUT, IV 524.
- HYMNS: of Amon, II 891-92; IV 744; of Aton, II 979, 984, 991, 992, 999-1001, 1007, 1010-11; of Re, III 15, 18, 19; in praise to Sesostris III, I 17; to Thutmose III, I 17.  
—Hymns of victory, by Thutmose III, II 655-62; IV 137; Merneptah, III 602-17.  
—Sun-hymn of Sute and Hor, II 299 n. e.
- HYPOSTYLE, II 138, 140, 603, 805; III 222, 367 n. a, 513; IV 472, 614, 742 n. a; columns of, II 805; III 513.

## I

- IBENU FRUIT, IV 378, 395.
- IBEX, III 475; for oblation, I 432; II 553.
- IBIS, SACRED, I 281 n. c.
- IDENINU PLANT, IV 235, 379, 392.
- IMAGE, II 300, 812, 894, 897; III 31, 117, 179, 218, 233, 288, 486, 502, 517, 525, 622; IV 4, 9, 27, 37, 47, 62, 198, 311, 330, 363, 817, 836, 872, 909, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916; of Mat, IV 458, 463; offered to gods, IV 458, 463; images made of gold, IV 204; gritstone, IV 252; costly stone, IV 377; electrum, IV 958K.  
—Portable images, IV 204, 217, 743, 958K; processional, IV 225, 315, 384, 737; impost paid for, IV 225; see also Statue.
- IMPOST, III 179, 193, 210, 274, 276, 277, 481; IV 33, 141, 220, 266, 324, 686, 846, 933; imposts, II 522, 597, 601, 908, 1015.  
—Impost (Egyptian), paid by officials, IV 225; standard bearers, IV 25; inspectors, IV 225; people, IV 225, 228, 283, 340, 341, 386, 387, 497; peasants, IV 229, 283, 341, 387; fishermen, IV 229, 283, 387; fowlers, IV 229, 283, 387; of leaders, mayors, etc., II 768; III 63.  
—Impost remitted, I 408; III 57, 63; numbered by the herald, II 767, 768.  
—Impost consisting of figs, IV 240; flowers, IV 244; malachite, I 731; wood, III 52; vegetables, III 59.  
—Impost from foreign lands: Kush, II 271, 494, 502, 514, 522, 526, 538; southern counties, II 281; the south countries, II 652; III 484; Wawat, II 475, 487, 495, 503, 515, 523, 527, 539; Nubia, IV 190; Meshwesh, IV 92; Temeh, IV 92; Megiddo, II 441; Retenu, II 473, 557; Lebanon, II

- 483, 510; Haunebu, II 953; Kharu, IV 229, 387; Sinai mines, I 731; Syria, IV 229, 387; Retenu, IV 28; Zahi, IV 190, 328.
- IMPRISONMENT:** of women for theft, IV 556.
- INACCESSIBLE:** channels II 88; valleys, II 337; countries, III 118; IV 719, 749.
- INCENSE,** II 139, 288; III 268, 270, 613; IV 228, 239, 266, 272, 283, 286, 294, 299, 304, 309, 313, 324, 329, 333, 348, 360, 363, 373, 378, 387, 390, 394, 491, 611, 612, 678, 684, 736, 770, 859, 865, 870, 871.
- for divine offerings, II 562, 572, 616, 621, 798; III 40; IV 200; evening offering, II 565; feast offering, II 566, 569; mortuary offering, II 365, 571; oblation, I 453, 468; II 553, 554, 571, 960; IV 208, 468, 768.
- Inflammable incense, IV 239; incense from Punt, IV 130; Negro tribes, I 136, 369; Retenu, II 447, 473, 491, 509, 518, 525, 416; Zahi, II 462, 472, 510, 519; Naharin, II 482.
- as tribute, II 750, 771.
- Ihmut incense from Punt, II 265.
- Sontar incense from Punt, II 265.
- White incense, IV 233, 239, 299, 344, 376.
- Green incense for divine offering, II 572.
- House of incense, IV 238.
- INCLOSURE,** II 864; temple, II 881; III 412; made of brick, II 614; see also Wall.
- INCOME,** IV 948; of Amon, IV 227-29; Ptah, IV 340-41; Re, IV 283; of the gods, IV 371, 386-87; of official, II 108, 117; taxes of, II 706, 716; rank of receiver of, II 675.
- INDUCTION:** ceremony of, IV 988H; see also Investiture.
- INFANTRY, EGYPTIAN,** III 307, 311, 325, 327, 342, 365, 380, 428, 578, 583, 587; IV 71, 72, 89, 354, 402, 410, 822, 859, 1004; of the South and North, II 429; of Tunip, II 459; Egyptian, in city of Ikathi, II 787; of Libya, III 683; of Kheta, III 320, 321, 378; of Sherden, IV 72, 118; for Captains of, Commandants of, Commander of, Leader of, Lord of, Officers of, see Index V.
- INHABITANTS OF EGYPT,** distinguished from its people, I 445; see People.
- INHERITANCE:** of office, II 925, 926; of craft, coppersmiths, IV 532; of priesthood, see under Succession.
- Inheritance from the mother: of monarchy, I 398, 405, 414.
- INK,** III 32A n. a.
- Ink palette, I 5; III 50.
- INLAY,** IV 201, 269; of stone, IV 199, 311; costly stone, IV 204, 209, 231, 331, 334, 538, 904, 910, 958E, J, K, 982; gold, IV 231, 311; malachite, IV 253; lapis lazuli, IV 253, 319; see also Figures.
- INSCRIPTION, TEMPLE,** I 2, 13; II 472; III 517, 519; Rock, see Rock inscriptions; Building, I 4, 14, 22; Tomb, I 10; Hammamat, Ahmose II, I 75 n. h; Politarch, I 28; Greek and Latin, I 27, 28; Eclipse of Takelot II, I 35; magical, IV 455.
- Coffin inscriptions, by Paynozem II, IV 665-67.
- Colossus inscription, at Tanis, by Ramses II, III 417.
- Column inscription, at Cairo, by Merneptah, III 593-95; in temple of Amon at Karnak, by Thutmose III, II 601; Amenhotep II, II 804-6.
- Dedication inscriptions, III 211-20, 227-42, 248-49, 409, 508, 513, 514, 516, 521, 522, 528; IV 472, 602, 603, 997-99.
- Doorway inscription: at Cairo, by Thutmose III, II 643; Coptos, by Nubkheprure-Intef, I 773-80; Sak-kara, by Harmhab, III 16-17; Soleb, by Amenhotep III, II 808.
- Grotto inscription at Ellesiyeh, by Nehi, II 652.
- Mummy inscriptions, by Paynozem I, IV 637-42, 644-47; Menkheperre, IV 661; Paynozem II, IV 663; Pesibkhenno, IV 688; Yewepet, IV 700.
- Obelisk inscriptions: of Thutmose III, Constantinople obelisk, II 479 n. a.; II 630-31; London obelisk, by Thutmose III, 633; New York obelisk, by Thutmose III, II 635-36; Lateran obelisk, by Thutmose III, II 627-28; Thutmose IV, II 831-38; at Elephantine, by Thutmose I, II 89; at Heliopolis, by Ramses II, III 545-48; at Karnak, by Thutmose I, II 86-88; Hatshepsut, II 306, 308-310, 314-19, 321; at Tanis, by Ramses II, III 392, 448 n. b.
- Pylon inscriptions, in temple of Amon

- at Karnak, by Thutmose I, II 245; Thutmose III, II 521-23, 541-73, 594-98, 645-47; Amenhotep III, II 899-903; Roy, III 621-26; high priest of Amon, IV 671-73; Taharka, IV 880; Temple of Khonsu, Karnak by Paynozem I, IV 632-33; Medinet Habu, by Ramses III, IV 61-68; 85-92, 94-99, 101-6, 130, 132-35, 137-38; Ramesseum, by Ramses II, III 329-30, 356.
- Quay inscriptions, at Elephantine, IV 147-50; by Ramses III, IV 146-50; Karnak, IV 695-98, 794, 886-88.
- Rock inscription, at Assuan, by Hapu, I 614-16; Sesostris III, I 653; family of Neferhotep, I 753 n. b; Thutmose I, II 77; Thutmose II, II 119-22; Senmut, II 360-62; Amenhotep III, II 844 n. b; officer of Amenhotep III, II 875; Bek, II 973-76; Seti I, III 202; Ramses II, III 479; the First Cataract, by Mernere, I 317, 318; Amenhotep III, III 844; Bigeh, by Ramses II, III 553; Gebelen, by Hui, III 210; Hammamat, by Khui, I 674-75; Amenemhet, I 707; Ramses IV, IV 457-60, 461-68; Hatnub, by Nenekhseskhnum, I 304-5; Island of Konosso, by Mentuhotep I, I 423H n. d; Thutmose IV, II 825-29; Amenhotep III, II 845; Kummeh, by Amenemhet IV, I 749; Korusko, of Amenemhet I, I 472-73; Ma<sup>c</sup> sara, by Neferperet, II 27-28; Redesiyeh, by Seti I, III 197-98; Sarbût el-Khadem, by Amenemhet II, I 606; Sebek-hir-hab, I 725-27; Ptahwer, I 728; Amenemhet, I 730-32; Amenemhet IV, I 750; Thutmose III, II 450 n. a; Island of Sehel, by Sesostris III, I 644, 647; importance of, I 28; family of Neferhotep, I 753 n. b; Thure, II 75, 76; Thutmose III, II 649, n. d; Ramose, II 937 n. a; Ramses II, III 553 n. b, 557; Seti (II), III 646; Semneh, by Sekhemre-Khutowe, I 751-52; Silsileh: by official of Ikhnaton, II 934-35; Seti I, III 206-8; Ramses II, III 552, 554, 555, 556, 559, 560; Roy, III 627-28; Siptah, III 648; Setemhab, IV 19, 20; Haremsaf, IV 701-8; Tell el-Amarna, by Ikhnaton, II 949-72; Tombos: by Thutmose I, II 67 n. d; Turra: by Amenemhet III, I 740; Amenhotep III, II 875; at Wadi Maghara: by Snefru, I 168-69; Khufu, I 176; Sahure, I 236; Nuserre, I 250; Menkuhor, I 263; Dedkere-Isesi, I 264-67; Pepi I, I 302-3; Pepi II, I 340-43; Khenemso, I 713-14; Harnakht, I 717-18; Sebekdidi, I 710-20; Ameni, I 721-23; Amenemhet IV, I 750; Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, II 337.
- Shrine inscription, II 126-27, 775.
- Statue inscription: of Enebni, II 213; Harmhab, III 23-32; Sheshonk, IV 740; Hor, IV 967-73; Uzahor, IV 980; Neferibre-Nofer, IV 981-83; Nesuhor, IV 989-95; Ahmose, IV 1014; Pefnefdineit, IV 1017-25; at El Kab: by Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet, II 20-24, 41-42, 84-85, 344; Karnak: by Senmut, II 350-58; Puemre, II 380-81; Amenhotep, son of Hapi, II 912, 914-20; Luxor: by Nebwawi, II 179-83; Ibc, IV 958A-M; Thebes: by Senmut, II 364-68; Hapuseneb, II 389-90; Nebnefer, II 929-31.
- Stela of Khufu, I 177-80; Mertityôtes, I 188-89; Nenekhsekhmet, I 237-40; Enekhnes-Merire, I 344-49; Intef, I 419-20; Thethi, I 423A-G; Eti, I 457-59; Nessumontu, I 469-71; Meri, I 507-9; Mentuhotep, I 510-14; Ikudidi, I 524-28; Intefyoker, I 529; Mentuhotep, I 530-34; Simonu, I 294 n. a, 594-98; Sihathor, I 599 603; Khentkhetwer, I 604-5; Khentemseti, I 607-613; Khnumhotep, I 617-18; Ameni, I 649-50; Sesostris III, I 651-52; 653-60; Sisetet, I 671-72, 673; Sebek-khu, I 676-87; Harure, I 733-38; Sehetepibre, I 743-48; Neferhotep, I 753-65; I 766-72; Ameniseneb, I 781-87; Vizier of King Khenzer, I 783 n. d; Ahmose I, II 29-32, 33-37; Harmini, II 47-48; Keres, II 49-53; Thutmose I, II 54-60, 54 n. a, 90-98; Yuf, II 109-114; Nebwawi, II 184-86; Hatshepsut, II 338-39; Thutiy, II 369-78; Thutmose III, II 590-608, 609-22, 642, 655-62; Intef, II 763-71; Ni bamon, II 777-79; Amenhotep II, II 781-97, 791-98, 818; Thutmose IV, II 810-15; Semen, II 822; Pe<sup>o</sup> aoke, II 839-40; Neferhet, II 839 n. d; Mermose, II 851-55; Amenhotep III, II 856-58, 877, 878-92, 904-910; Amenhotep, II 921-27; Eye, II 1042-43; Harmhab, III 2-5; Ramses I, III 74-79; Hori,



- III 82 n. b; Seti I, III 82, 157-61, 203-4; Ramses II, III 282-93, 297, 392, 394-414, 415-24, 427-28, 429-47, 487-91; Seti, III 538-42; Merneptah, III 596-601, 602-617; Roy, III 627-28; Ramses IV, IV 457, 461, 469-71; Hori, IV 484-85; Menkheperre, IV 650-58; Sheshonk, IV 675-87; Sheshonk I, IV 724A; Wayeheset, IV 725-28; Osorkon II, IV 745-47; Kerome, IV 755; Pediese, IV 771-74, 778-81; Weshtehet, IV 782-84; Harpeson, IV 785-92; Yewelot, IV 795; Piankhi, IV 796-883; Bocchoris, IV 884; Taharka, IV 892-96; Senbef, IV 917-18; Tanutamon, IV 919-34; Psamtik I, IV 935-58, 959-62, 963-66; Necho, IV 974-79; Apries, IV 984-88; Enekhnesneferibre, IV 988A-J; Amasis, IV 1008-1012; Stela at El Kab, I 741-42.
- Temple inscriptions, at Abu Simbel: by Ramses II, III 449-57, 496-501; Rekhpehtuf, III 642; Abd el-Kurna: by Ramses II, III 448 n. b; Abydos: by Seti I, III 227-43; Ramses II, III 251-81, 485-86; Amada: by Merneptah, III 606 n. a; Arsinoe: by Amenemhet III, II 233; Benihasan: by Hatshepsut, II 296-303; Seti I, III 249; Bêt el-Wâli: by Ramses II, III 458-77; Bubastis: by Osorkon II, IV 748-51; Dêr el-Bahri: by Thutmose I, II 125; Hatshepsut, II 192, 194, 196-98, 200-1, 203, 205, 208, 213, 216, 219-20, 223-25, 227, 229, 230, 233, 235, 253, 255-58, 260-62, 264-66, 268-69, 271-72, 274, 276, 278, 280-82, 285-88, 290, 292-95; Derr: by Ramses II, III 503; El Kab: by Ramses II, III 505, 558; in temple of Amon at Karnak: by Thutmose III, 131-66, 415-37, 439-43, 445-49, 451-52, 455-62, 464-67, 469-75, 477-87, 489-95, 497-503, 507-515, 517-19, 520-40, 654; Hatshepsut, II 305; Amenhotep II, II 798A, 804-6; Seti I, III 82-150, 223-24; Ramses II, III 348-51, 355, 367-91, 509-13; Merneptah, III 574-92; Ramses IV, IV 472; Ramses IX, IV 492-98; Sheshonk I, IV 709-724; Osorkon, IV 753, 756-70, 777; Taharka, IV 900; Mentemhet, IV 901-16; in temple of Ptah, at Karnak: by Thutmose III, II 611; in temple of Khonsu at Karnak: by Ramses XII, IV 602-3; Hrihor, IV 609-626; Paynozem I, IV 632-33, 649; Luxor, by Amenhotep III, II 187-212, 215-42, 841; Ramses II, III 480-84, 506-8; Menkheperre, IV 659; Osorkon II, IV 743; Medinet Habu: by Thutmose III, II 638-41; Ramses III, IV 4-17, 26-34, 37-58, 70-82, 107-114, 117-29, 140-45; Paynozem I, IV 634; Ramesseum: Ramses II, III 329-32, 335-40, 365, 448, n. b, 514-15; Redesiyeh: by Seti I, III 162-95; Sebû'c: a: by Ramses II, III 504; Semneh: by Thure, II 62-66; Thutmose III, II 169-72, 174-76; Nehi, II 651; Serreh: by Ramses II, III 502; Soleb: by Amenhotep III, II 894-98; Wadi Halfa: by Seti I, III 248; Neferhor, III 643; Piyay, III 644; Hori, III 645, 650, 651(?).
- Tomb inscription: Senuonekh, I 232-35; Pensen, I 241; Nezemib, I 279; Kheruf, II 873; at Abd el-Kurna: Ineni, II 43-46, 99-108, 648; Pemre, II 383-87; Rekhmire, II 666-762; Menkheperreseneb, II 773-76; Khamhet, II 819, 871-72; Hatey, II 932; Ramose, II 936-48; Abusir: by Weshptah, I 243-49; Hotepshirakhet, I 252-53; Abydos: by Uni, I 293-94, 307-315, 320-24; Assasif: by Neferhotep, III 70-72; opposite Assuan: by Harkhuf, I 328-36, 351-54; by Pepinakht, 356-60, Khui, I 361; Thethi, I 361 n. d; Sebni, I 365-74; Assiut: by Tefibi, I 394-97; Kheti I, I 399-404; Kheti II, I 407-14; Hepzefi, I 538-93; Benihasan: by Khnumhotep I, I 465; Amenemhet, I 518-23; Khnumhotep II, I 622-39; Thuthotep, I 688-706; Cairo: by Kam, I 187; unknown builder, I 290; Dêr el-Bahri, IV 668, 689, 691-92; Dêr el-Gebrâwi: by Henku, I 281; Ibi, I 377-79; El Kab: by Ahmose, son of Ebana, II 6-16, 39, 80-82; Pahari, II 3 and n. b; Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet, II 20, 25, 344; Setau, IV 414; Gebel Marâg: by Zau, I 381-85; Gizeh: by Thenti, I 182; Ihi, I 183; Thethi, I 184; Henutsen I, 185; Zezemonekh, I 186; Nekure, I 192-99; Debhen, I 211-12; Senezemib, I 270-74; Hermonthis: by Intef, the monarch, I 419 n. c; Ibrim: by Penno, IV 476-83; Kasr-es-Saigil: by Idu-Seneni, I 338; Kurnet-Marrat: by Huy, II 1010-41; Sakkara: by

- Methen, I 171-75. Ptahshepses, I 255-62; Sabu-Ibebi, I 283-86; Sabu-Thety, I 288; Harmhab, III 3-4, 8, 11-13, 16-17, 20; Shekh Sa'id: by Thutnakht: I 689; Tehneh, by Nekonekh, I 216-30; Tell el-Amarna: by Ani, II 977; Merire I, II 983-88, 1018; Eye, II 990-96; Mai, II 997, 999-1003; Ahmose, II 1006-8; Tutu, II 1010-13; Huy, II 1015-17; Western Thebes: by Thaneni, II 392, 820; Amenemhab, II 578-92; Woser, II 671 n. e.; Amenemopet, II 671 n. e.; Ramses V, IV 473; Hrihor, IV 593-94; vase inscription of Hatshepsut, at Gizeh, II 214.
- INSECTS, see Fly, Grasshopper.
- INSPECTION, III 94; IV 909, 913; of boundaries, I 528; II 969; cisterns, IV 726; craftsmen, II 753, 754, 775; divine fathers, I 610; flagstaves, II 776; food for divine offerings, II 752; granaries, IV 146 n. c.; land, I 482; III 58; mines, III 170; obelisks, II 776; sepulchers, IV 511; shrines, II 775, 776; statues, II 752; taxes, II 717, 729; temples at Coptos, I 777; temple of Osiris at Abydos, I 787; temple of Amon at Karnak, II 383; temples of Karnak, IV 660; tombs, IV 511, 513, 514, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 533, 543; treasuries, IV 146 n. c.; water supply, II 707; weighing, II 387; Wawat by Hapu, I 616; wells, IV 726; works of divine offerings, II 757.
- INSTALLATION, IV 775, 865, 958D, 1012.
- INSTRUCTION: to the court, IV 424; of children, I 413; of a king, I 413.
- INSURRECTION: crime of, IV 427, 428, 429, 430, 442, 443.
- INTERCALARY DAYS, I 540, 561; see also Feasts.
- INTERCESSION OF THE DEAD FOR LIVING PEOPLE: by Hotepiryakhet, I 252; by Harkhuf, I 329; by Seti I, I 251; III 253; by Ramses III, IV 246.
- INTERIM REIGNS: between XIX and XX Dynasties, I 50, 68, 68 n. e.; of obscure period, I 52; of dark period, I 52, 57.
- INTERIOR AFFAIRS: overseers of, II 677; reports to the vizier, II 687, 697, 707.
- INTERMENT, IV 966, 977, 986; see also Burial, Funeral.
- INUNDATION, I 83, 523; II 871; IV 47, 628, 743; to be reported to vizier, II 709; see also Index VI: Nile Levels.
- INVASION OF EGYPT, III 580, 594, 595, 608; IV 1006; Libyan-Mediterranean, III 572-617; Northerners, IV 64; by Meshwesh, IV 88, 95; by unclean foreigners, IV 905, 907.
- INVENTORY, IV 947; of temples, engraved on tablets, IV 202.
- INVESTIGATION: of official acts, III 58; of pyramids, IV 513; of sepulchers, IV 513; of tombs, IV 513; of theft IV 566; of fraud, IV 673; of writings, I 178, 179, 756.
- INVESTITURE OF VICEROY OF KUSH, II 1020.
- IRON: statue of, IV 302; vessels of, from Tinay, II 537.  
—King's organs of, III 403.
- IRRIGATION: canal of, in Siut, I 407; chief of, IV 726.
- ISI PLANTS, IV 213, 215, 244, 295, 301, 350, 394.  
—Isi flowers, IV 264.
- ISLANDS: given for the support of temples, IV 359.
- ISRAEL STELA, III 602-617.
- ITHYPHALIC, II 104, 302 n. a, 889 n. a; Min, I 296.
- IVORY, II 387, 601; III 471; IV 344, 391; brought from negro lands, I 336; Punt, II 263, 265, 272, 486; God's Land, II 265; from Tehenu, II 321; Genebteyew, II 474; Kush, II 494, 502, 514; the south countries, II 652; Retenu, II 447, 509, 525; Isy, II 493, 521.  
—Articles made of ivory: chairs, II 436; tables, II 509; chest, II 755; statues, II 801; whips, II 802; see also Tooth ivory.

## J

- JACKAL: sacred animal of Lycopolis, I 281, n. c.; southern army like, I 396.  
—Southern jackal, Pharaoh like, II 661, 829.
- JAR, I 430; II 159, 509, 518; IV 230, 238, 239, 243, 284, 297, 342, 388, 394, 498, 565, 589, 954.  
—<sup>c</sup>-jar, IV 209, 300, 301, 347, 348, 350.  
—<sup>c</sup>c-jar, IV 228, 233, 283, 286, 344, 376, 387, 390.

- Jar*—  
 → *c c* -*bw*-jar, IV 294, 299.  
 → *h c* -jar, II 571.  
 → *š*-jar, IV 924.  
 → *bp* -jar, IV 300, 348.  
 → *pw-g* -jar, IV 300, 350.  
 → *m-s* -*h y*-jar, IV 233.  
 → *m* > *dyd y*-jar, IV 376.  
 → *mn*-jars, II 447 bis, 462 bis, 482, 491, 501 bis, 509, 518, 571 bis, 572, 621; IV 233, 239, 292, 299, 341, 348, 376, 378, 390, 393.  
 → *mn. i*-jar, IV 395.  
 → *mrsw*-jar, IV 376.  
 → *mhn*-jar, IV 301.  
 → *mht*-jar, IV 350.  
 → *nms. i*-jar, IV 301, 350.  
 → *hbn(.t)*-jar, I 590; II 159, 164, 509, 567, 734, 736, 738, 739, 741, 743, 745; IV 950, 952, 953.  
 → *hbhb*-jar, IV 875, 878.  
 → *sn y*-jar, IV 378, 395.  
 → *st* -jar, I 569.  
 → *ky*-jar, I 550, 556.  
 → *k* > -*bw*-jars, IV 233, 239, 292, 299, 376, 390.  
 → *k* > -*hr-k* -jar, IV 294.  
 → *g* > *y*-jar, IV 238, 241, 294, 300, 301, 350, 393.  
 → *t* > *b*-jar, II 621, 622.  
 → *ibw*-jar, IV 294.  
 → *ds*-jar, I 569, 585; II 113, 114, 563 bis, 620, 621; III 77, 159; IV 347.  
 → Jars made of alabaster, II 544; electrum, II 556; pink granite, II 32.  
 JASPER, RED, IV 287, 377; scarab of, IV 233, 377; statue of, IV 302; finger rings of, IV 377; semdets of, IV 377.  
 JOINT (of meat), II 113, 114; IV 565.  
 JOURNAL OF THE KINGS OF BYBLOS, IV 576.  
 JOURNEY, KING'S, I 309.  
 JUBILATION, IV 526.  
 JUBILEE, Sed, I 105, 206, 298, 300, 302, 305, 403, 435, 437, 443; II, 431, 873, 940, 991, 995, 1006, 1007, 1029; III 195, 240, 279, 281, 371, 399, 406, 414, 550; IV 56, 304, 331, 335, 382, 414, 468, 473, 485, 620, 653, 748, 751, 768, 848, 927; same as Royal jubilee, *q. v.*  
 → Explanation of, IV 750, 751, 848.  
 → of Re, III 28; IV 31, 704; jubilee court, IV 707; jubilee hall, IV 748; jubilee houses, IV 335, 414.  
 → Royal jubilee, II 608; III 28, 32; of Thutmose I, I 66 n. g; II 89; Hatshepsut, II 221, 233, 239, 241, 307, 310, 311, 328; Thutmose III, II 628, 630, 633; Amenhotep III, II 870-74; Ramses II, III 550-60; same as Sed jubilee, *q. v.*  
 JUDGES: impartiality of, I 357; of a god II 668.  
 → Corrupt judges, laws on, III 63-65.  
 JUDGING IN THE NAME OF THE KING, I 307; in criminal cases, II 683.  
 JUDGMENT-HALL, I 605; II 681, 705, 706, 707, 769, 903; III 63; appointments to, II 705; doorkeeper of, II 711; laws of, III 63; masters of, Index V; herald of, II 763, 767, 768.  
 JUDGMENTS: reported to the vizier, II 681; stay of, II 686; not to be passed by an official on a superior, II 681.  
 → Rendered by Amon, IV 650-58, 673, 676; by Sutekh, IV 727, 728.  
 JUDICIAL OFFICE, I 438.  
 JUDICIARY OFFICE: chief, vested in the vizier, II 675, 681, 685-86, 688-91, 700, 704, 705.  
 JULIAN CALENDAR, I 40, p. 48.  
 JUNIPER, II 321.  
 JUSTICE: courts of, IV 147; crime against, III 64.  
 → Six courts of justice, I 305, 307, 428, 445; II 713, 754; Chief of, see Index V.
- K
- KA, II 111, 235, 298; III 622 *et passim*; shaped by the god, II 202; twelve of them nursed for Hatshepsut, II 210; journeying to, I 187, 253; ka of the living king, I 324, 351, 423E, 448.  
 KA CHAPEL: of Amenhotep, II 923, 924, 925, 926; slaves of, II 924, 925, 926; fields of, II 925, 926.  
 KA HOUSE, I 550; Overseer of, see Index V; of Khnumhotep II, at Menet-Khufu, I 630; at Nehri at Mernofret, I 635.  
 KA TEMPLE, I 289, 290, 550; rank of the overseer of, I 550.  
 KARA BOATS: of Acacia, IV 229, 283, 387.  
 KATHA PLANT, IV 600; given as taxes, III 55 bis.  
 → Katha flowers, IV 294, 600.  
 → Katha fruit, IV 294.

- KED WOOD, IV 910; mortuary chests of, IV 966.
- KEEL, IV 582.
- KETTLE, II 436; III 589.
- KHENTI FRUIT, IV 378, 395.
- KHESYT WOOD: from Punt, II 265.
- KHITHANA FRUIT, IV 240, 393.
- KIDET, II 436, 446 bis, 482, 484, 486, 490, 491, 502, 509, 514, 515, 518 bis, 522, 526, 527, 536 bis; IV 228, 231, 283, 285, 341, 343, 373, 377, 385, 386, 389, 682, 685, 686, 880.  
—Kidet weight, IV 880.
- KILTS: of Southern linen, IV 303, 350, 374; fine Southern linen, IV 232, 375.
- "KINDNESS OF AMON": a greeting, IV 573.
- KING: see Index V; archives of, III 643, 644.  
—King's estate: Chief of, Chief overseer of, Steward of: see Index V; granary of, II 107; chief of, II 368.  
—King's hall, II 778; Overseer of, see Index V.  
—King's house, I 533; II 342, 389; IV 849, 958J; see also Palace; offices of, I 447; going into and out of, reported to vizier, II 676, 680; affairs of II 679; intercourse between court and local authorities, II 692; gates of, opened by command of vizier, II 680; edicts from, received by vizier, II 705, 710; messengers of, II 692.  
—King's horses, master of, see Index V.  
—King's property, I 745; Overseer of, see Index V.  
—King's records, I 218, 221, 225, 299; III 647; Scribe of, see Index V.  
—King's rolls, IV 498; Scribe of: see Index V.  
—King's wardrobe, great lord of: see Index V; secret things of the king, I 608; Master of: see Index V.  
—King's weapons, II 213; Master of: see Index V.  
—King's works, chief of: see Index V.  
—King's workmen, leader of: see Index V.  
—See also Body guard, Brand, Brewery, Cattle, Domain, Chamber, Command, Concubine, Council hall, Court, Crown, Divine office, Domain, Estate, Family, Feet, Flax field, Food, Hall, Helmet, Iron.  
—King's officials: see Index V, under Attached, Attendants, Beloved, Butler Companion, Confidant, Confidante, Cup-bearer, Deputy, Dignitary, Fellow, First, Following, Great Ones, Guardian, Herald, Honored, Messenger, Orderly, Prince, Scribe, Servant, Steward, Subordinate, Sunshade bearer, Treasurer, Vizier.
- KIOSK, II 289, 981, 1021, 1028.
- KISS THE GROUND, II 996 *et passim*.
- KITCHEN OF PHARAOH, III 51, 59; of temple of Amon, III 624 n. a.
- KNEADERS, III 624 n. g.
- KNIFE, II 436; III 589.
- KROPHI: name of a cave at Elephantine, III 171 n. a.

## L

- LABOR, ENFORCED, IV 147.
- LADDER, SCALING, IV 118.
- LAKE GARDEN, I 173, 272; Isesi's, called Nehbet, I 273; Harkhuf's, I 328.  
—Pleasure lake of Queen Tiy in Zerukha, II 869.  
—Temple lake, I 111, 268, 503, 509, 534; II 36, 164, 883, 919; III 567 n. c; IV 189, 194, 213, 261, 264, 363, 488 n. c, 489, 910, 912, 916, 1020; constructed of sandstone, IV 910, 912.
- LAMPS: Temple, IV 992.
- LANCE, II 80.
- LAND CASES: first "heard" by land overseer, II 686; appealed to vizier, II 686.
- LANDMARKS: of the sacred cattle of Apis, IV 332; of Menet-Khufu, I 624, 625; Oryx nome, I 626; Hare nome, I 626; Jackal nome, I 626, 632; Oxyrhyncus, I 632; Tell El-Amarna, II 949, 1042.  
—the ancient, I 625; flooded by the Nile, I 407; restored after rebellion according to old writings, I 625.
- LANDS, IV 948, 957, 958; numbering of, I 81.  
—Lands, citizen, IV 755, 795.  
—Flax land: see Flax.  
—Olive land, IV 216, 263, 288, 394.  
—Gifts of, II 1, 6, 15, 16, 113, 114; for endowment of mortuary offerings, I 156, 159, 165, 202, 205, 206, 209, 546, 574, 584, 586, 591, 592; II 840; for a statue, IV 479-83; to temples, II 102, 149; III 31, 413; IV 200, 222, 226,

- 251, 265, 280, 282, 313, 337, 339, 354, 359, 364, 370, 380, 383, 384, 681, 687, 948, 950, 954, 957, 958, 972, 1021.
- Land overseer, II 686; hearing of real-estate cases by, II 686.
- Land, the whole: Chief of, Commander of, Supervisor of, see Index V.
- LANDSCAPE RELIEF: of Punt, II 254, 259.
- LAPIS LAZULI, II 280, 434, 558, 773, 775, 838, 881, 889, 902, 903; III 137, 151, 204, 453; IV 29, 31, 32, 34, 126, 230, 231, 284, 285, 342, 343, 354, 372, 373, 383, 385, 388, 389, 491, 732, 735, 847, 875.
- Articles made of lapis lazuli: amulet IV 233; beads, IV 343; inlay, IV 253; offering-tables, I 534; II 390; rosettes, II 32; scarab, IV 233, 285, 343, 389; statue, I 668; IV 302, 395; stela, II 889; ceiling, I 483; shrine, I 667; necklace, II 509; sphinxes, IV 732.
- Artificial lapis lazuli, from Shinar, II 484.
- Lapis lazuli from God's Land, III 116; Naharin, III 434; Retenu, II 447, 509, 518, 536 (?); Zahi, II 459, 462; Isy, II 493; Babylon, II 446, 484; Assur, II 446 bis; Shinar, II 484; Tefrer, III 448 n. b; IV 30.
- Sparkling lapis lazuli, IV 377.
- Vessels ornamented with, II 32, 92, 165, 185, 436, 447, 1031; IV 315.
- LARGESSES OF THE KING, III 65.
- LATERAN OBELISK, II 626-28, 830-38.
- LAUNDERERS, TEMPLE, IV 992.
- LAW, II 568; IV 38, 62; see also Legal petitions handled according to, II 667; concerning vizier's duties, II 673; the 40 skins, containing, II 675, 712; in the temples of the gods, II 757; concerning land cases, II 686.
- Administration of, III 25; by the hereditary prince, III 25.
- Laws of Harmhab, III 51-66; of Egypt, III 270; of the palace, III 101; of the judgment hall, III 63.
- Laws on robbery, III 51-52; dues, III 53-54; slave service, III 55; stealing, III 56-59; connivance, III 58; tax collectors, III 58; inspectors, III 58; judges, III 63-65; bribery, III 64.
- Lawgiver, see Index V.
- LEAD, II 558; IV 32, 245, 373, 385, 389; from Zahi, II 460, 462; Retenu, II 471, 491, 509, 534 (?); Isy, II 493, 521; statue of, IV 302, 392.
- LEATHER: roll of, II 392, 433; sandals of, IV 241, 394; shields of, II 802; tents of, III 589; for taxes, IV 150.
- LEGACY, I 194-99, 423E.
- LEGAL ENACTMENTS, I 5; III 45-67; records, I 18.
- LEGAL PROCEEDINGS, I 66 n. e, 204, 310; IV 423-24; protocol of, I 310.
- LEGISLATION OF HARMHAB, III 45-67.
- LEGITIMISTS, II 348.
- LENTILS, IV 582.
- LETTERS, I 10, 18, 20, 42; III 292, 630, 632, 633, 634; IV 443, 574, 600; of Sebnl, I 367; of a frontier official, III 636; copies taken of, IV 527.
- Royal letters: to Harkhuf, I 6, 351-54; Ikhernofret, I 9, 664; Sebnl, I 371; Senezemib, I 271, 273; Paynehsi, IV 595-600.
- Letter scribe, IV 588, 589.
- LEVY, II 916.
- LIBATION, II 35, 150, 288; III 626; IV 269, 272, 612, 871; vases for, I 421; for feast offerings, II 569; mortuary offering, III 17.
- LIBATION BASIN, IV 1000 n. a.
- LIBRARIES: at Heliopolis, I 757; see also Archives, House of Rolls, House of Writngs.
- LID OF JAR, IV 231, 243, 394; of sarcophagus, I 266, 308, 321, 436, 451.
- LIE: none in Pharaoh's records, II 97 *et passim*; punishment for, II 670, 683.
- LIFE, SYMBOL OF, II 195, 202, 241.
- LIFETIME: of 110 years, II 926.
- LIMBS, II 197, 294, 299, 544, 652, 754; Horus who has numbered his, I 502; king's, of electrum, III 403.
- LIMESTONE OF AYAN, I 534, 635, 740; II 27, 44, 103, 302, 380, 390, 603, 604, 799, 800, 812, 875; III 240, 525; IV 7, 355, 356, 358, 970; temple of, II 345 n. c, bis, 390; III 240, 525; IV 216, 311, 355, 970; pylons of, II 103; hypostyle of, II 603; pyramid clothed with, I 212; sarcophagus of, I 308; gates of, I 509; temples clothed with, I 534; II 27, 44; IV 251; mortuary chapel of, I 635; doorposts of, IV 355,

- 356; lintels of, IV 355, 356; broad hall of, IV 7; pyramidion of, IV 982; false door, I 88 n. a; slab, I 241 n. f; stelæ of, I 419 n. a, 421 n. a, 457 n. d, 676 n. c, 766 n. b; II 29 n. d; 49 n. a, 642 n. b, 856 n. b, 921 n. b; III 2; IV 725 n. a, 782 n. a; tombs of, III n. a, IV 979; statue of, IV 958A, n. a.
- Limestone cliffs at Amarna, II 949 n. b.
- LINE:** extension of (=the foundation ceremony), II 152; see also Cord and Ceremony.
- LINEN,** I 722, 723, 725; IV 582, 639, 661, 663, 668, 688, 958M; for mortuary offering, II 365; for statues, II 571; for temple, II 301, 376, 544, 615; garments of, III 207, 208; IV 228.
- Colored linen, IV 239, 283, 286, 341, 344, 375, 387, 388; garments of, IV 284, 342, 372, 375, 388, 390; mantles of, IV 232; tunics of, IV 232, 375; *dw*-garments, IV 375; *yfd*-garments, IV 375.
- ḏ*-*w*-linen, II 722, 727 bis, 736, 738, 744 bis.
- Fine linen, II 615; IV 700 bis, 823, 878, 944.
- Mek-linen, IV 230, 283, 286, 329, 344, 387, 390; clothing of gods of, IV 335; garments of, IV 284, 342, 388; robe of, IV 232; mantle of, IV 232; from the Malachite country, IV 409.
- mt*-linen, II 719, 721, 722, 723, 726, 727 bis, 730, 731, 736, 738, 744 bis.
- mnḥ.t*-linen, II 165.
- Mysterious linen: shroud of, IV 1011; from Mehenet, IV 1011; Resenet, IV 1011.
- Prime linen, I 382.
- Royal linen, II 171, 544, 571; III 515; IV 31, 228, 230, 232, 272, 283, 286, 329, 344, 360, 374, 375, 387, 875; from the Malachite country, IV 409; clothing of gods of, IV 335; garments of, IV 232, 284, 342, 372, 374, 388, 390, 582, 876; hamen-garments, IV 232; mantles, IV 232, 374; statue garments, IV 232; tunics, IV 232, 374; upper garments, IV 232, 374; wrappings of, IV 966; wrappings of Horus, IV 232, 374; *hnky*-garments, IV 374; *ydg*-garments, IV 374; *hm-ḥrd*-garments, IV 582.
- Southern linen, IV 230, 239, 283, 286, 341, 344, 372, 375, 387; garments of, IV 284, 342, 375, 388, 390; kilts of; 303, 350, 375; *dw*-garments, IV 375; *ydg*-garments, IV 375; tunics, IV *k*-*ḏ*-*m-r*-garments, IV 375; *yfd*-garments, IV 375.
- Colored southern linen, IV 228.
- Fine southern linen, I 382; IV 228, 230, 283, 285, 329, 341, 342, 344, 360, 371, 372, 375, 387; *dw*-garments of, IV 232, 284, 374, 388, 390; kilts of, IV 232, 374; tunics of, IV 232, 374; upper garments of, IV 232, 374; *ydg*-garments of, IV 232, 374; hamen-garments, IV 374.
- Double fine southern linen, IV 283.
- ḫr.w*-linen, II 554.
- White (*ḫt*) linen, I 727; II 554, 571, 615.
- wm.t*-linen, II 554.
- LINTELS,** IV 489; of granite, IV 311; of red granite, IV 970; of limestone, IV 355, 356.
- LION,** IV 580; captured by Amenemhet, I 483; hunted by Thutmose III, II 813; on the highlands of Memphis, II 813.
- Tame, III 450, 470; IV 49, 112, 122.
- Golden, as a decoration of honor, II 23, 585, 587.
- as adornment of temples, II 896, 897.
- Pharaoh as a, II 660, 783, 844, 853, 896 n. d, 901; III 88, 117, 144, 147, 465, 479, 480, 580; IV 40, 41, 46, 49, 51, 54, 62, 75, 104, 921, 1005.
- LIPS OF COLUMNS,** IV 880.
- LIST,** IV 269, 279, 283, 328, 336, 364, 383, 387, 770, 832; army, IV 466; tax, II 718-45, III 57.
- of Asiatic cities, II 402 n. a, 403 n. b; III 34 n. a, 114, 366; IV 712-16; booty, II 480, 500, 501, 508, 532, 790; captives, II 788; III 156, 588; countries, II 402, 798A; III 119, 156, 342; IV 138; food for the king, I 423E; Hittite lands III 321; Hittite officers, III 337; Hittite chief, III 349; monuments IV 731; Nubian regions, I 311, 336, 510, II 843, 845 n. f, 849; ornaments, IV 538; plunder, II 459, 469; III 589; princes, IV 830, 878; property, II 688; IV 140, 948; rewards, II 583, 584, 584, 585, 587; supplies, II 472; temple dues, IV 160, 227, 283, 340, 386; temple estates, IV 159, 222, 280, 337, 364; tombs, IV 513; towns, II 490; in Nubia, II 645, 646,

- 647; tribute, II 445, 448, 462, 466, 482, 518, 525, 533, 534.  
 —Karnak list, I 419, and n. d; II 605 n. i; list of Ramses II at Abydos, I 529 n. e; Abydos list, I 59, n. a, 60 n. f, 61 nn. a, c, 62 n. d; Sakkara list, I 59 n. a, 60 n. g, 62 n. d, 149 n. c.  
 LISTING THE NUMBER OF THE PEOPLE, II 916.  
 LITERARY COMPOSITIONS, I 90.  
 LIVING STREAM (or river): water from, for the ka, II 356, 378.  
 LOAD, II 264; loading, IV 407.  
 LOAN CATTLE: see Cattle.  
 LOAN COWS: see Cow.  
 LOAN HERDS: see Herds.  
 LOAVES: for food, I 430; II 462; for divine offering, II 559, 560, 562, 571, 620, 621, 622, 792; for evening offering, II 565; for feast offering, II 566; for mortuary offering, I 329, 518; for obelisks, II 563; for oblation, II 749; of the fire, IV 291; makers of, III 624.  
 —*c k*-loaves, IV 238.  
 —Large *c k*-loaves, IV 238, 291, 393.  
 —*wdww'nt*-loaves, IV 238, 291, 297.  
 —*by' t*-loaves, II 113; III 77, 159, 624 n. h; IV 238, 291, 297, 347.  
 —*bh*-loaves, IV 238, 393.  
 —*p c t*-loaves, IV 238.  
 —*pus' - c k*-loaves, IV 238.  
 —*pr' t-s*-loaves for divine offering, III 77, 159.  
 —*n/r' t*-loaves for food, II 462, 472.  
 —*rrt*-loaves for mortuary offering, I 500.  
 —*syd*-loaves, IV 238, 393.  
 —Sweet *s c b*-loaves, IV 238.  
 —*sh*-loaves, II 735.  
 —*kw*-loaves, II 735, 739, 743.  
 —*ddmt-hr-t'*-loaves, IV 238.  
 —Flat loaves: for mortuary offering, I 555, 556, 585, 590.  
 —Heth loaves: for mortuary offering, I 241.  
 —Kyllestis loaves, IV 238, 291.  
 —Oblation loaves, IV 238; large oblation loaves, IV 291, 393; white oblation loaves, II 571; IV 238, 291.  
 —Pesen loaves: for mortuary offering, I 241.  
 —Pesen loaves, II 113; III 624 n. h; IV 238, 297, 347.  
 —Pyramidal loaves, IV 238, 347; white pyramidal loaves, IV 291; white pyramidal loaves for divine offerings, II 572 n. c.  
 —Round loaves, IV 291.  
 —Senu loaves, for divine offerings, II 378; III 624 n. h; for mortuary offering, II 353.  
 —Seshu loaves, IV 297.  
 —White loaves, I 540, 542, 544, 547, 550, 555, 556, 577, 585, 590; II 159, 565, 571, 572, 621, 622; IV 238, 297; for mortuary offering, I 540, 542, 544, 547, 550, 555, 556, 577, 585, 590; for evening offering, II 565; for divine offerings, II 159, 572, 621, 622.  
 —Tall white loaves, IV 291.  
 —White *t'*-loaves, IV 238.  
 LOGS, IV 232, 234, 245, 286, 288, 295, 300, 303, 348, 379, 380, 385, 390, 391, 394, 577, 578; from Retenu, II 491, 525; Arrapachitis, II 512.  
 LOINS, IV 634.  
 LOTUS FLOWER, IV 194, 213, 244, 264, 295.  
 LOWING OF CATTLE, I 493.  
 LOWLAND, II 113, 114, IV 95; *M-h' w*, skin of, from Assur, II 449.
- M
- MACE, II 225; III 117, 489; war, IV 130, 246, 718, 720.  
 MAGAZINE, I 172; II 356, 986; III 208; IV 330, 410, 849; Overseer of: see Index V; Scribes of: see Index V; temple, IV 313, 324, 1021.  
 —of the overseer of the White House, IV 512; chief scribe of, IV 512.  
 MAGIC: practice of, IV 454-56; prosecution for, IV 454, 455, 456; regarded as a capital crime, IV 454, 455, 456; ordered by the gods, IV 455.  
 —Magic power, II 235; of diadem, II 220; of a god, IV 455.  
 —Magical inscriptions, IV 455.  
 —Magical prayer, III 18.  
 —Mut, great in magic, I 468.  
 MAGIC ROLLS, IV 454; for hindering, IV 454; for bewitching, IV 455; for terrifying, IV 454; for enfeebling, IV 454, 456; for extraordinary power, IV 455.  
 —Magic rolls deposited with dead kings, IV 455.  
 MAIDENS: for the garden of Min, II 567.

- MAIDS**, IV 111.  
 —Maid servants: temple, IV 751, 992.
- MALACHITE**, II 280, 390, 430, 558, 773, 775, 838, 881, 902, 903; III 137, 151, 204, 453; IV 29, 32, 126, 230, 284, 285, 342, 343, 354, 372, 373, 383, 385, 388, 389, 491, 847, 874, 875, 944.  
 —Articles made of: finger rings, IV 377; collars, I 534; inlay, IV 253; scarab, IV 233, 285, 343, 389; statue, II 668; IV 302, 395.  
 —Brought from the mine-land (of Sinai) I 602, 713, 731, 736; God's Land (at Sinai), II 450 n. a, 820; III 116; the Malachite country IV 409; Naharin, III 434; Reshet, II 321; IV 31, 34; Zahi, II 459.  
 —Sparkling malachite, IV 377.  
 —Vessels ornamented with, II 32, 165, 185, 1031; IV 315.
- MALACHITE COUNTRY**, I 161; IV 409; Hathor, mistress of, I 715, 720, 722, 723, 725, 750; II 450 n. a; IV 409.  
 "MALACHITE" TERRACE, I 266, 342.
- MALES, CAPTIVE**: assigned for the storehouse, IV 128.
- MANNA**, IV 378, 390; from Punt, IV 286, 390.
- MANTLES**: of royal linen, IV 232, 374; mek-linen, IV 232; colored linen IV 232.
- MARES**, II 435, 589, 875.
- MARINE**, I 390; IV 407.  
 —Marines, II 328, 332 n. d; III 197; royal, II 332, 916; for Captain of, Officers of, Scribes of, see Index V.
- MARRIAGE**, II 7; III 28.
- MARSHES**, II 966; IV 895; inclosed, III 276; temples of Thebes like, IV 743; of Delta, III 291; see Index VI: Marshes.
- MARVELS**, II 139, 253, 265, 271, 272, 274, 277-78, 282, 285, 288, 377, 486, 513, 608, 804, 864, 867; III 274, 288, 420; IV 197, 407, 491, 618, 635.
- MASONRY**, II 306; IV 515.
- MASTABA**: of old kingdom, I 181.  
 —at Abydos, of Uni, I 291 n. a.  
 —at Gizeh, of Ikhi, I 183 n. b; Thethi, I 184 n. d; Kam, I 187 n. d; Senez-emib, I 268 n. i.  
 —at Sakhara, of Methen, I 166 n. c, 170 n. c; Nenekhsekhmet, I 237 n. c; Ptahshepses, I 254 n. a; Sabu-Ibebi, I 282, n. a; Sabu-Thety, I 287 n. a.  
 —Mastaba inscription: see under Inscriptions, Tomb.
- MASTIC TREE**, IV 245.
- MASTS**, II 492; IV 861.
- MATHEMATICS**, I 20.
- MATRIARCHATE**, I 398, 405, 413-14; rule of the mother of Kheti II at Siut, I 414, and she acting as lord, I 414; Nakht II inherited the Jackal nome from his mother, I 632; Khnum-hotep II inherited Menet-Khufu from his mother's father, I 624, 628.
- MEALS**, I 493, 496.
- MEASURE**, II 734, 737, 741, 742, 743; IV 582; see also Bales, Basket, Bekhen, Bolts, Bunch, Bundle, Censers, Coil, Hank, Jars, and the following:  
 —Linear measures: cubit, I 83 n. a, 93, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 146, 147, 148, 152, 157, 159, 165, 212; II 965 bis; IV 288, 330, 343, 355, 356, 358, 400, 513, 515, 886, 887, 904, 916, 958J; finger, I 83 n. a, 97, 103, 105, 108, 113, 115, 119, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 133, 134, 136, 137, 140, 142, 143, 146, 147, 148, 152, 157, 159; IV 343, 886; iter, II 479, 852, 965 bis; IV 46, 216; palm, I 95, 97, 98, 100, 103, 107, 108, 109, 113, 115, 119, 121, 122, 123, 127, 128, 133, 134, 136, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143, 147, 148, 152, 157; IV 288, 343, 886, 887; span, I 101, 104, 106, 112, 114; ipet-rod, II 995.  
 —Square measures:  $h'it$ , I 574, 584, 586; khet (land-measure), II 965 ter; IV 479, 480, 481, 482, 483; stat (a land-measure containing 100 square cubits = 1 aroura, or about  $\frac{1}{16}$  acre, more exactly  $\frac{1}{16}$  acre), I 156, 158, 159, 161, 165, 166; II 15, 16, 840; IV 226, 282, 288, 339, 370, 380, 384, 394, 681, 755, 784, 795, 948, 950, 954, 957, 1021.  
 —Cubic measures: heket, I 545; II 171 bis, 319, 377, 437, 486, 513, 572, 733, 737, 739, 740, 742, 743, 744, 761; IV 220, 232, 234, 236, 240, 241, 283, 286, 287, 289, 294, 297, 313, 341, 344, 346, 347, 371, 378, 379, 381, 387, 390, 391, 392, 396; hin, IV 232, 239, 287,



- 299, 300, 345, 393, 498, 683, 949, 950, 952, 953, 954, 1021; khar, I 556; IV 955; *nd*<sup>2</sup>, II 159 bis, 571 bis; pedet, II 572, 719, 722; *pg*-vessel, II 571; pyramid, IV 294; uhet, I 556; *yp*<sup>1</sup>, IV 232, 234, 238, 239, 240, 241, 244, 286, 294, 295, 297, 301, 350, 380, 390, 392, 393; *c*-measure, IV 299, 348, 394; *ps*<sup>2</sup>-measure, IV 378, 395; *mst**y*-measure, IV 234, 235, 240, 287, 301, 344, 350, 378, 390, 391, 392, 395, 582; *md*<sup>2</sup>-measure, IV 295, 347; *md*<sup>2</sup>*yw*-measure, IV 244; *hlp*-measure, IV 238, 240, 244, 291, 294, 379, 392, 393; *hlp-hr-nmit*-measure, IV 294; *sh*<sup>1</sup>*t*-measure, IV 241, 379; *spr*-measure, IV 299, 348; *k*<sup>2</sup>-*t*<sup>2</sup>-*rw*-*ty*-measures, IV 378; *k*<sup>2</sup>-*bw*<sup>2</sup>-*s*<sup>2</sup>-measure, IV 240; *gs-r*<sup>2</sup>-measure, IV 295, 303, 380, 394; *f*<sup>2</sup>*y*-measure, IV 238, 240, 294, 378, 393; *mtm*-measure, IV 238, 291; *trj*-measure, IV 292; *d*<sup>2</sup>-*w*<sup>2</sup>-*r*<sup>2</sup>-measure, IV 294; *d*<sup>2</sup>*mw*-measure, IV 240; *dm*<sup>2</sup>*w*-measure, IV 345; *dm*<sup>2</sup>*mw*-measure, IV 379; *dyy*-measure, IV 295; *dny*-measure, IV 294, 295; *dny.t*-measures, II 621, 622; IV 240, 294, 299, 300; *dm.t*-measure, IV 244, 294, 301, 394, 768; zawet, II 995.
- Loaf-measure: of the court, IV 393; of gold, IV 393; for eating, IV 393; for the mouth of the eater, IV 393.
- Measuring, I 83 n. a; II 273-76, 377.
- Measuring-line: at foundation ceremonies, I 506, 609; II 152, 608, 795.
- MEAT, II 117, 260; III 71; IV 238, 393, 467; roast of, for the altar, I 569, 571.
- MECHIR: see Months.
- MEDICAL PAPYRUS, I 246.
- MEDICINE, I 20.
- MEHIWET FRUIT, IV 240, 378, 392.
- MEKHTEBET: an uncertain adornment, II 22, 24.
- MEMBERS OF STATUES: of precious stones, II 376.
- MEMORIAL, II 150, 286; memorial stelæ, at Abydos, I 9; memorial tablets, I 661 n. d.
- MEMORIAM: monument in, II 175.
- MEMORY, II 378.
- MENHET FLOWER, IV 213.
- MENHET PLANT, IV 295.
- MENIT-UZ (metal): statue of, IV 302.
- MERA WOOD, IV 288, 379, 391.
- MERCENARY, III 428; IV 994; mercenary troops, III 307; IV 117.
- MERCHANTS, III 274; IV 313.
- MERCY: to poor, I 328, 357, 479; to orphans, I 479.
- MERU WOOD, I 146; II 321; IV 378; shrine of, I 667; tent poles of, II 435; chest of, II 755; mortuary chests of, IV 966; staff of, IV 288; staves of, IV 391; temple doors of, IV 488 n. c; from Assur, II 449; from Retenu, II 435, 447.
- MESDET STONE: pairs of, III 246.
- MESNET STONE: offering tables of, I 727; necklace of, I 500.
- MESORE: see Months.
- MESSAGE, IV 819; royal, II 929; see also Index V: Messengers.
- METAL, WALL OF, IV 66.
- METROLOGY, EGYPTIAN, IV 151.
- MICE, III 598.
- MIDDLE AGES, I 3.
- MIDDLE KINGDOM: inscriptions of, I 8, 9, 10; chronology of, I 42, 57; temples of, I 442.
- MIDWIFE: goddess acting as, II 206.
- MILITARY COMMANDER: see Index V.
- MILITIA OF HERACLEOPOLIS: chief of, IV 968; broad hall of, IV 972.
- MILK, I 493; II 162, 566; IV 295, 301, 350, 394, 870, 929, 958M; for mortuary offering, II 571; III 17.
- MINERALS: see Bronze, Copper, Electrum, Emery, Feldspar, Gold, Iron, Lapis lazuli, Lead, Malachite, Metal, Menit-uz, Natron, Silver, Stones, Stones (costly), Tin.
- MINES OF COPPER: in Atika, IV 408.
- at Sinai, I 10, 12; operated in the First Dynasty, I 168; by Snefru, I 168; of Ka, I 731.
- Mine of electrum, east of Redesiyeh, III 170.
- Mines of gold, in Akita, III 286.
- Mine land (Sinai), I 353 n. c, 725, 735, 736, 737; the eternal mountain in, I 736; malachite in, I 736.
- Mine chamber excavated at Sinai by men, I 606; made for Hathor, at Sinai, I 723; name of, I 725.
- Miners, I 447; necropolis miners, I 697.

- Mines of Copper*—  
 —Mining: Snefru regarded as founder of, I 168; of gold, III 195.  
 —Mining work, IV 517.  
 MINIMUM FRUIT, IV 378, 395.  
 MIXERS, III 624, 625.  
 MIXTURE OF SIX PARTS (=bronze), IV 202, 318, 320, 343, 358.  
 MOAT, IV 118.  
 MONEY, IV 683, 685, 686; of Thekel, IV 568.  
 MONKEYS, III 375; from Punt, II 265.  
 MONOLITHIC SHRINE, II 775; IV 198, 320.  
 MONTHS: Thoth, first month, II 933; IV 296 n. e; Paophi, second month, II 591 n. b; IV 144, 791 n. a; Tybi, fifth month, II 874; Mechir, sixth month, II 304, 318, 602; Phamenoth, seventh month, II 592 n. c, 823; IV 296 n. e; Pharmuthi, eighth month, I 655; Pakhons, ninth month, II 592 n. c; IV 144, 958L; Epiphi, eleventh month, II 410 n. a; IV 296 n. e; Mesore, twelfth month, II 304, 318.  
 MONUMENT, I 12, 19, 154, 158, 159, 160, 161, 165, 166, 409; II 149, 150, 152, 154, 157, 158, 164, 174, 175, 176, 192 n. d, 309, 311, 312, n. b, 317, 318, 339, 351, 383, 548, 558, 568, 571, 596, 601, 603, 605, 606, 608, 611, 624, 627, 628, 633, 638, 639, 643, 651, 654, 662, 752, 755, 759, 775, 800, 805, 832, 836, 838, 856, 883, 887, 888, 889, 890, 892, 894, 896, 897, 898, 903, 909, 912, 917, 936, 946, 960; III 17, 174, 177, 195, 200, 206, 210, 213, 215, 216, 217, 219, 223, 224, 227, 229, 232, 236, 242, 246, 248, 249, 259, 260, 269, 270, 281, 405, 414, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 510, 511, 512, 513, 515, 519, 520, 521, 522, 528, 529, 537, 544, 566; IV 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 27, 28, 62, 110, 179, 191, 197, 252, 311, 357, 412, 460, 464, 465, 473, 528, 602, 603, 609, 610, 612, 620, 622, 625, 626, 632, 633, 634, 635, 649, 704, 706, 721, 731, 889, 897, 898, 899, 900, 943, 945, 980, 1011 n. c.  
 MOORING, IV 566, 861, 863.  
 —Mooring stake, I 423, 612; Intef I drove it in the sacred valley, I 423; as title of Hatshepsut, II 341.  
 MOPHI: name of a cave at Elephantine, III 171 n. a.  
 MORTAR, IV 538.  
 MORTUARY: ceremony of the righteous, benefit of, II 925.  
 —Customs, I 536.  
 —Endowment, I 200, 269, 379, 562, 577, 630; II 839, 907, 921; IV 679, 1007; by Hepzefi, I 535-93; by Amenhotep, II 921-27; for Osiris, II 840; for Ahmose I, II 840; edict of, II 922-27; contracts of, I 538-93.  
 —Furniture, II 861 n. c; IV 521, 538.  
 —Gods, III 278.  
 —Mortuary oblations, II 571, 1001.  
 —Mortuary offerings, I 155, 159, 161, 165, 173, 185, 201, 206, 207, 208, 209, 220, 227, 232-35, 241, 252, 349, 379, 394, II 35, 36, 52, 170, 356, 365, 389; III 271; IV 187, 485, 927, 1018.  
 —Mortuary priest, Mortuary prophet; see Index V.  
 —Mortuary prayer, I 384; II 97, 111; III 21, IV 484, 995, 1018, 1025; quaint claim of, I 278; posture in, II 37.  
 —Mortuary statues of: Hepzefi, I 540; Thutmose III, II 97; Seti I, III 271; placed in the temples, I 500, 540; II 52, 156, 604, 605 n. i.  
 —Mortuary stelæ, I 469, 507, 529, 530, 599, 671, 743; II 47, 839; IV 1026.  
 —Mortuary temples: see Index II; of Nemathap, I 173; at Abydos, of Seti I, III 174, 225, 226, 263, 266; at Kurna, of Seti I, II 210, 212, 213, 215-20; at Thebes, of Thutmose IV, II 821, 823; Merneptah, II 856 n. b; Amenhotep, II 921; Amenhotep III, II 904-8; of Thutmose III, II 552 n. i; of Mentuhotep III, IV 520 n. b; Ramessesum: see Index II.  
 MOUNTAIN, II 995; secret chambers of, II 946; of gritstone, overseer of works in, III 17; of Bethanath, III 356; of Akhetaton, II 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 969, 971, 972, 994; of electrum, east of Redesiyeh, III 170; "Lord-of-Life," name of the mountain on the west of Thebes, III 210; the great, of Wawat, IV 480, 481.  
 —Obelisk, called, II 318; statue called, II 917.  
 MOUNTAIN GOATS: see Goats.  
 MOUNTAINEERS, III 178.  
 MOUNTINGS, II 155; IV 254, 287, 343, 355, 356, 358, 377, 406, 489, 910, 929.  
 MOURNING: for grandfather of Kheti II, I 414; for a king, I 491; mourners, I 370.

- MUD BRICK**, II 607.
- MUMMY**, IV 538; of Thutmose II, IV 637; Amenhotep I, IV 638, 647; Seti I, IV 639, 661; Ramses III, IV 640, 641; Ramses II, IV 642; Ahmose I, IV 645; Sitkamose IV 644; Siamon, prince, IV 646; Thutmose IV, I 15; restorations of, I 22; IV 592-94, 636-47, 661, 662-67.  
—Mummy inscriptions, IV 637-42, 644-47, 661, 663, 688.
- MURDER**: punished with death, IV 658.
- MUSICIANS**: temple, II 1018.  
—Musician (fem.) of Re: Teya, III 542.
- MUSTERING**, IV 1004; of troops, II 693; of workmen, II 935; of young men, II 329, 332.
- MUTINY**, IV 989.
- MYRRH**, I 763; II 283, 288, 387; III 475; IV 26, 232, 264, 286, 304, 333, 344, 348, 372, 390, 685, 770, 870, 875, 878; from Genebteyew, II 474; Red Land, I 429; fields of the sycamore, II 299; Punt, I 161; II 260, 263, 265, 274, 275, 276, 277, 321, 486; IV 130, 210, 407, 929; divine offering, II 572; gum of, II 288; Hathor, mistress of, II 295.  
—Dried myrrh, IV 299, 329; from Punt, II 486, 513; Retenu, II 491.  
—Myrrh fruit, IV 232, 286, 390.  
—Myrrh resin from Punt, II 265.  
—Myrrh sycamores, IV 333.  
—Myrrh terraces of Punt, II 260, 284, 285, 287, 288, 294.  
—Myrrh trees from Punt, II 263, 264, 265, 272, 288; IV 390.  
—Myrrh-wood, IV 232, 286, 390.
- MYTH**: of Horus and Set, II 70 n. d.
- N**
- NAME**: beautiful, I 676; IV 943, 990, 1014; hidden, see Hidden; royal, used in oath, II 58; see Oath.
- NAOPHORS**: of costly stone, IV 377; explanation of meaning of, IV 377 n. c.
- NATIVE VERSIONS**, I 24.
- NATRON**, IV 235, 241, 299, 345, 350, 379, 392, 865; from Retenu, II 518.  
—Natron gatherers of Elephantine, IV 148.
- NAVE OF TEMPLE**, III 515.
- NAVY**, I 405; II 591; see also Fleet, Warships; administration of, under the vizier, II 667, 710; officials of report to vizier, II 710.  
—Commander of, Officers of: see Index V.
- NEBDU**, IV 241.
- NECKLACE**, II 22, 23, 24, 45, 254, 288, 376, 390, 544, 654; of *Mšn.t*-stone, I 510; *hm<sup>3</sup>g.t*-stone, I 500; gold and silver, II 32; lapis lazuli, II 509; electrum, II 654; costly stone, II 545, 801, 802; IV 876; gold, II 585, 587.  
—Necklaces: from Retenu, II 509; Ka-desh, II 585.  
—Necklace-rattles, II 93.  
—Bead necklace, II 725, 731; of gold, II 722, 723, 727, 738, 740.  
—Braided necklace, III 2.
- NECROPOLIS**, I 371; II 378; III 32B, 259; the gods, lords of, III 17; cliff, I 613; the highlands of the blessed, II 378; officer of the tomb in the, II 378; inspectors of, see Index V; soldiers of, I 710; scribes of, see Index V.  
—Necropolis of Abydos, IV 1020, 1029; see Tazoser, Index VI.  
—Necropolis of Benihasan, I 623; feasts of, I 630.  
—Necropolis, southern, of, Dêr el-Gebrâwi, I 375 n. f.  
—Necropolis of Heliopolis, II 814; sacred road to, II 814; Gizeh, probably the, II 814 n. c.  
—Necropolis of Memphis, the Serapeum, IV 977, 979, 986, 1010; tomb of Apis in, IV 979; called "the western desert of Memphis," IV 977, 986.  
—Necropolis of Siut, I 582; official body of: overseer, I 582, 584; chief of the highland, I 584; eight mountaineers, I 582, 584.  
—Necropolis at Western Thebes, II 338; fortress of, II 338-39; goddess of, II 338-39; chief treasurer of, IV 665; inspectors of, IV 511, 512, 517, 522, 525, 533, 665; chief of police of, IV 511, 512, 525, 527; administrators of, IV 525; scribes of, IV 526, 529, 530, 640; police of, IV 525; workmen of, IV 524, 525, 526, 528, 530, 533, 543; serf-laborers of, IV 525.  
—Necropolis thieves, IV 511, 513, 515, 516, 517, 521, 522, 535.

- NEGE BULLS: from Khara, IV 229.
- NEGLECT OF NOT REPORTING CONSPIRACY: crime of, IV 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 448, 449, 450.
- NEIGHBOR, IV 398, 944.
- NENYBU WOOD, IV 344, 391.
- NEST (of Horus hawk), II 138.
- NET, IV 41, 44, 77.
- NEW MOON: dates of, in reign of Thutmose III, I 46, 51.
- NEW YEAR: gifts of, I 545, 563; II 801.
- NEW YEAR'S DAY, I 42, 545, 563, 573, 583, 585; II 925; New Year's Night, I 573, 583; New Year's feast, 19th of July, I 40; see also Feasts.
- NEYBU WOOD, IV 234; from Assur, II 440.
- NIGHT WATCH, I 417.
- NODDING THE HEAD OF A GOD, III 440, 444, 580; IV 615, 617, 655, 656, 658.
- NOMES, IV 905, 906, 948, 957; order of southern, I 529 n. e; records of, II 703; boundaries of, II 703; Deputy of, see Index V.
- Nomes of: Abydos, IV 1020; Aphroditopolis, I 423; Apollinopolis Magna, II nome of Upper Egypt, I 500; Athribis, IV 873; Busiris, I 159; IV 830 n. a; Cerastes mountain, XII nome of Upper Egypt, I 199; Crocodile nome, I 529; Cusæ, XIV nome of Upper Egypt, I 500; II 300; Hare, I 700-6; IV 821, 848, 948; Harpoon, I 174; Heliopolis, IV 955; Hesebka, XI of Lower Egypt, IV 830; Jackal, I 626, 632; Khent, I 159, 165; Libyan, I 159; Lycopolis, XIII nome of Upper Egypt, I 280, 396; see Jackal nome; Memphis, I 159; Mendes, I 173, 174, 197, 198; IV 830; Oryx, XVI of Upper Egypt, I 518; Oxyrrhyncus, IV 818 nn. b, c, 820, 837, 948; Patoris, IV 905; Sais, I 172, 173, 174; Sekhem II of Lower Egypt, I 173, 175; Thebes, I 420, 459; Thisis, I 349; II 181, 763, 767; Upper nome, I 199; Xoïs, I 156, 159; IV 818; Yuna, IV 948.
- Nome of Tehenu, IV 482; see also Wawat and Libya, Index VI.
- NORTH WIND: a sweet, for the ka, IV 485; as epithet of the king, II 994.
- NOSE TO BE CUT OFF: as penalty for robbing, III 51; extortion, III 54; slave stealing, III 55; stealing hides, III 56.
- Nose and ears cut off, IV 451, 452, 524.
- NUMBERING: occurrence of, I 84, [118], 120, 122, 124, 126, 128, 130, 132, 133, 145, 147, 148, 161, 166, 298, 303, 305, 320, 387; of large cattle, I 157, 267; of large and small cattle, I 81, 192, 266, 340; of gold and lands, I 81, 137; of all people, I 106.

## O

- OARS: steering, IV 331, 845.
- OATH: form of royal name for legal, II, 58; in foreign lands in Pharaoh's name, II 68; by Pharaoh, II 121, 318, 422, 452, 570, 601; III 327, 365; IV 835, 850, 862, 875, 880, 881, 932.
- Oath of the king, IV 486, 524, 526, 529, 547, 548, 549, 550, 552, 553; "as the king lives for you," I 349; "as Upwawet, lord of Siut and Anubis, lord of the cave, live for you," I 394; "as my father lives for me," I 658; "as Sesostriis lives," I 682; "as Re loves me, as my father Amon favors me," II 121, 318, 422, 570; "as Re loves me, as my father Atum favors me," III 327, 365.
- OBELISK, II 903, 908; of Seti I, III 202.
- at Elephantine, of Thutmose I, II 89.
- in Heliopolis, erected by Seti I, III 246, 544; inscribed by Ramses II, III 545; New York obelisk, II 634; London obelisk from, II 632-33.
- of the temple of Khammat in Soleb, II 890.
- of Ramses II at Tanis, III 392, 543 n. c; Luxor, III 543 n. c, 567; Karnak III 543 n. c.
- at Karnak: of Thutmose I, II 86; two of them, II 86; only one inscribed by Thutmose I, II 86; the other inscribed by Thutmose III, I 16; II 86; obelisk, Lateran, from Karnak by Thutmose III, II 626, and Thutmose IV, II 833-34; pyramidion of, II 834; Constantinople obelisk of Thutmose III, II 479 n. a, 620-31; four obelisks of Thutmose III, II 563, 571, 776; divine offerings for, II 563, 572; obelisks at Karnak: of Hatshepsut,

- II 304-21, 376; two of them, II 304, 309; one standing, II 304-319; one fallen, II 320-21; history of, II 304, 319; location of, II 304, 319; dimensions of, II 304.
- Obelisks on the sacred barge, II 888.
- Divine offerings for obelisks, II 563, 572.
- Obelisks made of black basalt, III 246; of granite, II 89, 304, 315, 318, 336, 624; III 567; IV 980, 982; of red granite, II 630.
- Obelisk inscription; see Inscriptions.
- OBLATION, I 432, 756; II 139, 286, 312, 355, 553, 554, 749, 814, 815, 952, 960; III 423; IV 141, 187, 208, 237, 259, 272, 290, 296, 354, 356, 383, 388, 468, 676, 768, 856, 857, 866, 870, 874, 958D.
- Festival oblation, IV 329, 330, 335, 928.
- Endowment of oblations, II 908; IV 329.
- Mortuary oblation, II 571, 1001.
- Oblation of vessels, II 654.
- Storehouse of, IV 259.
- OBLATION BEARER: chief of, IV 515.
- OBLATION STANDARDS, II 795.
- OBLATION TABLE, II 795; of costly stones, I 764; the great, of Osiris at Abydos, I 787.
- OBLATION TABLETS, II 795.
- OBSCURE PERIOD: minimum length of, I 52.
- OCCURRENCE, II 935; of numbering, I 81, 82; of royal jubilee, II 89; III 552, 553, 554, 556; of "Running-of-Apis," I 114; of Sed-jubilee, I 296, 298, 300, 302, 305, 435; IV 414.
- ODOR: of a god, II 196; of Punt, I 762; II 196, 274, 288; of king, III 148.
- OFFERING, I 409; II 954; III 16, 259, 260; IV 382, 678, 767, 860, 1021; records of, IV 1022; for Aton, II 996; of the ancestors, endowments for, by Harmhab, III 23; of images, IV 458, 63; for the ka, II 333, 353, 355; see also Mortuary offerings; on king's behalf, II 57; "Offering-which-the-king-gives," II 213, 766; royal, which Amon-Re and the king give, II 365; royal, which Osiris gives, II 367; of Pharaoh's house, III 55; tax collection for, III 55; of Min to Mentuhotep IV, I 437.
- Aton-offering of Aton, II 987.
- Daily offerings, II 919; III 31, 272, 526; IV, 141, 216, 217, 236, 262, 289, 313, 335, 346, 355, 359, 360, 381, 396, 609, 763, 958M.
- Divine offerings (usual term for temple income), I 156, 159, 160, 161, 165, 166, 167, 274, 299, 437, 756; of Amon II 102, 149, 159, 160, 170, 186, 225, 286, 293, 298, 302, 352, 390, 557, 559, 560, 648, 652, 749; III 263, 275, 518, 624; IV 47, 149, 190, 207, 217, 228, 229, 236, 256, 259, 265, 266, 268, 269, 283, 289, 309, 313, 320, 321, 324, 326, 327, 334, 341, 346, 347, 356, 357, 358, 360, 362, 363, 381, 387, 396, 399, 470, 471, 573, 676, 851, 854, 855, 856, 868, 906, 910, 927, 972, 1007, 1021; dues for, collected by two deputies of the army, III 54; endowment of, II 622, 792, 806, 900, 908; III 77, 159, 268; IV 256, 320, 335, 354, 355, 359, 654, 958M; fields of, II 102, 161, 186; grain of, I 274; overseer of, I 299; "hearings" of, conducted by vizier, II 706; storehouses of, IV 258; works of, II 757; in temple of Amon, established by Intef I, I 421; for Harakhte, II 562; for Min, II 567; for Min-Amon in Bohem, III 77, 159; for Mut-Hathor of Thebes, II 622; for Ptah, II 619, 620, 621; III 413; for Wennofer, III 526; for obelisks, II 563, 571; for statues, II 564, 571, 604, 618, 619, 620; III 272, 626.
- Evening offering, II 565.
- Festival offering, IV 383, 388, 763, 924, 925; for the feast of the "Appearance," II 569; for the feast of the "Beginning of the seasons," II 569; for feast of Peret-Min, II 566; —Food offering, III 150, 179, 204.
- OFFERING-TABLES, II 93, 225, 301, 390; IV 676, 910; given to the southern gods in Elephantine by Sesostris I, I 500; for temple of Abydos, I 534; made of alabaster, I 323 bis; gold, II 175, 390; IV 610, 611, 612, 958M, 1020; Asiatic copper, II 175; copper, IV 911; costly stone, IV 958M, 1020; marvelous stone, IV 287; lapis lazuli, I 534; II 390; bronze, I 534; II 175; IV 912; electrum, I 534, 610; II 164, 376; silver, I 534; II 175, 390; IV

- 610, 911, 912, 958M, 1020; mesnet stone, I 727.
- OFFERING-TABLET, I 308; II 35, 97; IV 199, 326; of silver, IV 735; white stone, IV 972.
- OFFICE, II 926, 1040; IV 321, 357, 534, 747; inheritance of, II 53, 766, 925, 926; III 622, 626, 647, 648; assigned, II 1025; divine offices, IV 1018.
- OFFICIAL BODY: of the temple of Upwawet, I 550; of the necropolis of Siut, I 584, 589; of the palace, I 631.
- Official body of Khnumhotep II, I 623; excellent ones, I 623; officers, I 623; artificers, I 623; peasant slaves, I 623.
- OIL, I 496; II 117; IV 216, 228, 263, 272, 283, 286, 299, 329, 344, 360, 387, 491, 770, 859, 992; of Egypt, IV 233, 376; Kharu, IV 233; Zahi, II 462; as tribute, II 750, 771.
- Best oil, IV 300, 348, 394.
- bk*-oil, IV 376; *bk*<sup>3</sup>-oil, IV 390; red *bk*-oil, IV 239, 376.
- Festival oil: for embalming, I 370.
- Green oil: from Retenu, II 473, 491, 509, 518; Naharin, II 482; Zahi, II 510, 519.
- Olive oil, III 208.
- nkh*-oil, IV 239, 376, 390, 394; of Egypt, IV 376; of Syria, IV 376.
- Sefet oil, I 241, 382; IV 376; from Retenu, II 509, 518.
- Sweet oil, III 208; IV 239; from Naharin, II 482; Retenu, II 491, 509, 518; of gums, IV 497, 498.
- thnt*-oil, I 366.
- OIL TREE, IV 216; Osiris, protector of, I 783.
- OINTMENT, II 185, 288, 918; III 71, 207; IV 335, 497, 875, 958M; choice, II 294; prime, of the pure ox, II 293; for taxes, IV 150; for oblation, II 612; for mortuary offering, II 365; for embalming, I 366; IV 966; presents of, I 372; for the temple, II 165, 615; of gums, IV 476, 477; of divine things, II 544, 615.
- OKEANOS, II 325; see also Index VI, the Great Green.
- OLD AGE, I 402; II 994, 1003, 1008; IV 489, 491, 612, 657, 675, 677, 705, 740, 784.
- OLD KINGDOM, I 5, 42; length of, I 56; Sothic date, I 44; calendar existed before, I 45.
- OLIVE LAND, IV 216, 263, 288, 394.
- OLIVE WOOD: from Assur, II 449.
- OLIVES, IV 239, 241, 379, 393.
- ONIONS, IV 296, 348.
- OPPRESSION, III 50, 67.
- ORACLE OF THE GOD, II 151, 250, 284, 285, 606, 823, 827; III 174, 534.
- ORGANS, KING'S: of iron, III 403.
- ORNAMENTS, II 544; IV 521, 538, 988H; of costly stones, I 534; II 545; IV 1011; gold, IV 231, 285, 343; IV 1011; of prince, IV 343; of divine consort, IV 988H; of divine votress, IV 988H.
- ORYX: for oblation, IV 768.
- White oryx, IV 190, 242, 266, 392; male of, IV 242, 293.
- OSTRACA, I 20; ostracon in Turin, I 69 n. j; in British Museum, 5623, 5638, I 474 n. d, 45.
- OSTRICH, III 475; eggs of, III 475.
- Ostrich feathers, III 475; from Punt, III 37.
- OVALS: containing names of a country, IV 130, 137, 718.
- OVERLAY, IV 889, 909, 970.
- OX CARTS, IV 73, 467.
- OX HIDES, IV 582.
- OXEN, II 719; IV 242, 293, 392, 482, 583, 859, 924, 944, 949, 954; for oblation, II 815, 960; IV 208, 329; for mortuary offering, I 518; II 111, 113, 114, 139, 149, 356, 365, 840; III 17, 526; for divine offering, II 160, 458, 616, 793, 798; IV 9, 190, 200; for feast offering, II 566; for taxes, II 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 726, 727, 731, 734, 738, 739, 740, 741, 743; flesh of, III 207, 208; from Punt, II 468; Naharin, II 482; Retenu, II 491, 616; with carved horn, III 475; used to drag stones, II 27; Libya, III 584; Genebteyew, II 474; Wawat, II 475, 487, 495, 503, 515, 527; Kush, II 494, 502, 514, 522.
- the pure, prime ointment of, II 293.
- s*<sup>3</sup>-ox, II 723.
- wn-dw*-ox, II 723, 742; III 413.
- White ox: offered to Re in Heliopolis, IV 870.

## P

- PAINT, III 625.  
 —Painted chariots, II 467, 491, 509; figures, II 601.  
 —Painters, I 784.  
 PAIR, IV 241, 394.  
 —Pairs (= flagstaves), III 244; of *msd.t*-stone, III 246.  
 PAKHONS: see Months.  
 PALACE, II 64, 72, 107, 120, 235, 236, 237, 292, 317, 337, 343, 352, 377, 389, 771, 801, 978, 990, 1013, 1026, III 16, 20, 24, 28, 30, 71, 101, 213; 219, 230, 240, 365, 421, 577, 584, 642; IV 52, 91, 99, 209, 412, 678, 749, 848, 882, 932, 944, 958E, 966, 1019; master of, II 352; daily register of, II 393; men of, I 390.  
 —Footstool of, I 320; Master of: see Index V.  
 —Palace baths, I 187; Overseer of: see Index V.  
 —Palace hall, I 187; Leader of: see Index V.  
 —Secret things of, II 936; Master of: see Index V.  
 —Laws of, III 101.  
 —Palaces: of Amenemhet, I 483; decked with gold, I 483; ceiling of lazuli, I 483; doors of copper, I 483; bolts of bronze, I 483; of Ikhnaton, II 987, 989, 990; "Sahure-shines-with-crowns," audience hall of, I 239; House of Amenopet, IV 539; Houses-of-Snefru, wall of southland and northland, I 146; "Structure-of-Beauty," palace of Neferhotep, I 755.  
 —for palace officials, see Index V under Butlers, Chief, Companion, Conductor, Grandees, Governors, Leader, Lords, Magnates, Master, Overseer, Princes, Ruler, Steward, Storeroom-keeper, Treasurer.  
 —of a god, III 240; IV 192, 215; at Dér el-Bahri, II 375.  
 —Door of the dwellers of the nether-world, III 240.  
 —Temple palace, IV 338; Chief of: see Index V.  
 PALANQUIN, IV 958E; poles of, IV 958E.  
 PALEOGRAPHY, I 31.  
 PALERMO STONE, I, 76-167; description of, I 76 n. a, 78; location of, I 67 n. a; archaic character, I 77; importance of, I 3, 56, 88.  
 PALETTE, III 50; see also Ink.  
 PALM: see Measures, linear.  
 PALM GROVE, III 473; leaves IV 378, 395.  
 —Palm fiber, IV 235, 301, 350, 379, 392; see also Date palm, Dom palm.  
 PANELS: of cedar, IV 929.  
 PANNIER: of silver, IV 231.  
 PANTHER, II 80; III 475; IV 46; rage of, II 72, 80, 121, 792; IV 835, 841, 862; from Negro lands, I 136; IV 724; from Genebteyew, II 474.  
 —Southern panther, II 321; from Punt, II 265, 272; skins of, II 265, 272, 321; III 475; IV 724.  
 PAOPHI: see Months.  
 PAPYRI: Abbott, I 421; inscription of, IV 509-535.  
 —Amherst, I 69 n. a; IV 536-41.  
 —Anastasi I, IV 713 n. g.  
 —Anastasi II, III 425-26, 448 n. c.  
 —Anastasi III, III 629-35.  
 —Anastasi VI, III 636-38.  
 —Berlin, No. 3019; I 474 n. d 6.  
 —Berlin, No. 3029, I 498 n. a.  
 —British Museum, No. 10053, IV 486;  
 —Ebers, I 43 n. b.  
 —Harris 500, I 24, 31, 68 n. e; II 547; IV 35, 60, 84, 145, 151-412; discussion of, IV 151-81.  
 —Kahun, I 10, p. 48, 67 n. d.  
 —Lee, IV 416 n. a, 423-56.  
 —Mayer, IV 544-56.  
 —Millingen, I 474, n. d 1.  
 —Rollin, IV 416 n. a, 423-56.  
 —Sallier I, I 24, 67 n. b, 69 n. g, 474 n. d 2, 3; II 4 n. b.  
 —Sallier III, III 305 n. c, 315.  
 —Sinuhe, I 486 n. d.  
 —Turin, I 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 59, nn. a, b, c, d, 60 nn. g, h, 61 n. c, 62 n. d, 63 n. f, 64 n. b, 69 n. i, 78 n. a, 79 n. a, 86, 88, 161 n. b, 190, 416, 427, 460, 461; IV 416-56, 595-600.  
 —Turin fragment, IV 542-43.  
 —Wenamou, IV 557-91.  
 —Westcar, I 24, 67 n. b; II 187, 188, 198 n. j; date of, II 188.  
 PAPYRUS: sandals of, IV 241, 393; rolls of, IV 582.  
 —Papyrus flowers, IV 244, 264, 295, 394.  
 —Papyrus plants, IV 215, 271.  
 —Papyrus rind, IV 238, 241, 294, 393.  
 —Papyrus stems, IV 244.

- PARTIALITY:** an abomination to show, II 668.
- PASTURE,** I 408; pasturage, III 577.
- PATERNAL PROPERTY,** I 423; IV 874.
- PATROL,** IV 147.
- PAVEMENT** (*s>t w*), II 13; IV 958J, M.  
—Temple, of silver, IV 7, 671, 672.
- PAVILION,** II 872.  
—in Akhetaton, II 960; name of, II 960; in Medinet Habu, IV 17; name of, IV 17 n. c.
- PAYMENT,** IV 880, 958G.
- PEASANT SERFS,** II 536; II 107, 354; IV 125; given as endowment to a mortuary priest, I 630; III 413; made officials, I 281; meaning of name, I 536; duties of, I 536.  
—of Amon, II 354; Chief of: see Index V.
- PEASANT SLAVES,** III 271, 277, 526.
- PEASANTRY,** III 322; Chiefs of: see Index V.
- PEASANTS,** IV 539, 821; impost of IV 229.
- PEDET BIRDS,** IV 242.
- PEN,** I 5; II 916.
- PENALTIES,** III 193; for robbing; III 51; extortion, III 54; stealing of slaves, III 55; stealing of hides by army officers, III 56; by soldiers, III 57; bribery, III 64; for stealing from the temples, IV 676; for murder, IV 658.  
—Penalty on father entailed upon his posterity, I 778.
- PENDANT:** of electrum, II 654; rock crystal, IV 287; costly stones, IV 287, 377.
- PEOPLE,** IV 821, 958; given by the king to Methen, I 175; for endowment of mortuary offerings, I 202, 205, 206, 209; deeded to a god, II 966; distinguished from the inhabitants, I 445; listing the number of, II 916; of the Harem gate, IV 441; of the infantry, IV 466; Advocate of: see Index V; belonging to the temple, IV 146 n. c, 150, 223, 277, 281, 338, 354, 355, 357, 359, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 676, 1021.  
—People (*rhyt*), I 445 bis; II 236, 766, 767, 768, 805, 840, 858, 993, 1002; III 59, 174, 175, 265, 268, 578, 580; IV 43, 47, 398, 921; for Chief of, Master of, see Index V.
- People of the court (*cnhw*), I 286.
- People (*hnm.t*), IV 47, 188; commands laid upon, II 767; of Naharin, II 858.  
—*hsb.w*-people, III 192.
- People (*pc.t*), I 445; III 578.
- People (*rmt*), impost from, IV 225, 228.
- People of wax inscribed, for magical purposes, IV 455.
- PEOPLE'S BUREAU,** II 689 n. d.
- PERFUME:** festival, for embalment, I 382 bis; from Retenu, II 518.
- PERISTYLE COURT:** at Luxor, III 506.
- PERSEA TREE,** II 294 n. c; IV 385; the hidden, II 298; cut, IV 288.
- PESGU WOOD:** from Retenu, II 447.
- PETITIONER,** II 667; right of, to appeal, II 668, 689, 691; summons of, II 685.
- PETITIONS:** to the king, by Nakht II, concerning landmarks, I 632; to the vizier, II 714, 715; to be in writing, II 691; Hall of: see Hall.
- PHALLI:** uncircumcised, IV 52, 54; from Libya, III 587, 588, 601 ter.
- PHAMENOTH:** see Months.
- PHARAOH:** annals of, I 3, 6, 13, 20; II 621; title applied to the Heracleopolitan kings, I 401; officials of, I 401; lineal descent of, from Re, II 187; daily report to, from vizier, II 678; from chief treasurer, II 678; crown possessions of, IV 466; see also, King's house, and Index V: King.  
—Domain of, I 294, 309, 310, 312, 356, 382; Custodian of: see Index V.
- PHARMUTHI:** see Months.
- PHOENIX, HOUSE OF,** IV 818 n. e.
- PHYLE:** pyramid, I 356; Scribe of: see Index V; of priests, IV 468, 753.
- PIETY:** for departed parents, I 181-85; toward parents, II 37.
- PIG** (lead), II 493.
- PIGEON,** II 726, 727, 735, 737; IV 298.  
—Pigeon (*myt*), IV 242.
- PILLAR,** III 504; four, II 1029; of heaven, II 376, 601, 656, 889; III 406, 480, 545; IV 720.  
—Pillar of heaven (royal title), III 265; see also Index V: Great Pillar.
- PILLAR INSCRIPTION:** at Gebelén, by Nesubenedbed, IV 628-30.



- Pillar Inscription*—  
 —at Wadi Halfa, by Nehi, II 412-13.  
 —Sebuca, by Ramses II, III 504.
- PITCHER: of gold, IV 735; silver, IV 735.
- PIVOTED, IV 343.
- PLACE: the great, a part of the Theban necropolis, IV 533, 665, 667; Mut, guardian of, IV 665.  
 —"Place of Beauty," part of the Theban necropolis, IV 523, 525, 528, 533.  
 —"Place of Truth," IV 465; meaning of, IV 465 n. f.  
 —"Place which he knows," IV 272.
- PLAN: of battle, I 312; III 307.  
 —of the Punt reliefs, II 252; of the reliefs of Seti I, III 81; Ramses III, IV 4.  
 —Plans, II 368, 371, 914, 916; III 24, 50, 180, 207, 266, 270, 510; IV 38, 41, 58, 63, 64, 65, 105, 308, 354, 485, 625.
- PLANK, IV 345; see also Gang plank.
- PLANTS, IV 262, 272.  
 —*b* > *k* > *y* > -plant, IV 234.  
 —See also, Beni plant, Cyperus, Enbu plant, Flax, Hezet plant, Ideninu plant, Katha plant, Menhet plant, Papyrus, Reeds, Semu plants, Sebkheth plant, Storea, Yufiti plant.
- PLASTER: clay as, II 106.
- PLEA, IV 351.
- PLEASURE LAKE, II 869.
- PLEASURE MARSHES, I 745.
- PLOWMEN, IV 821.
- PLUME, III 610.  
 —Plumes, the two, III 535; IV 988H; of Onouris, IV 365; of Tatenen, IV 62.  
 —Double-plumed diadem: see Diadem.
- PLUNDER: by the army, II 430, 455, 459.
- POEM: of Pentaur, III 305-315; Ramses III, IV 93-99.
- POETRY, EGYPTIAN: teaching of Amenemhet I, I 476; tale of Sinuhe, I 486; building inscription of Sesostris I, I 499; teaching of Sehetepibre, I 747-48; hymn of victory by Thutmose III, II 655-62.  
 —Court poetry, II 188; see also Hymns, Literary.
- POLE, IV 379, 391; chariot, II 435, 447; tent, II 435, 490; palanquin, IV 958E; carrying, I 430; IV 315.
- POLE HOUSES, in Punt, II 254.
- POLICE, IV, 525.  
 —Chief of, IV 511, 512, 525; see also Index V.
- POLITARCH INSCRIPTIONS, I 28.
- POMEGRANATES, IV 234, 241, 301, 379, 391.
- POOL, III 84, 86, 100, 276, 291, 404; IV 141, 265, 295, 588, 681, 870, 972.  
 —"Ibsekeb," name of pool, III 86; "Sweet," name of a pool, III 84.  
 —Pools of Pithom of Merneptah, Hoptephirma, III 633.  
 —"Pool of Horus," a place in Kush (?), tablet placed there by Amenhotep III, II 845.  
 —Pool of Nun, II 887.  
 —Pools of the marshes (=Delta), III 31.
- POOR: mercy to, I 328, 357; II 767, 768.  
 —Poor man, laws on robbery of, III 51, 52, 58, 59, 61; on stealing from III 53; extortion from, III 54, 58, 59.
- PORT, II 254.
- PORTAL, II 889, 903; IV 191.  
 —Temple portals, II 154, 564, 601, 835, 883, 886; III 525, 528, 567; IV 10, 205, 626; see also Doorways.  
 —Portals of gold, II 890; electrum, II 883, 895; granite, III 525.
- PORTIERS: guarding the gates of the nether world, II 378.
- PORTRAIT, II 314; of the king: sphinx, II 802.
- POSSESSIONS, IV 851, 874, 876, 958.  
 —Great in, a title, see Index V.
- POST, for balances, IV 288; for scales, IV 391.
- POULTRY YARDS, IV 9, 217, 260, 265, 323, 331.
- POWER: Ptah, bestower of, III 403; extraordinary, given by magic rolls, IV 455.
- PRACTICE OF MAGIC, IV 454-56; forbidden by the gods, IV 455; forbidden in the sacred writings, IV 456.
- PRAYER, II 245, 353, 994, 995, 996, 1003, 1008, 1013; III 204, 279, 423.

- 648; IV 186, 246, 249, 485, 942, 969, 973, 991; inscribed on tablets, IV 202; magical, III 18.
- Mortuary, II 111; III 648, of Zau, I 384; for the Pharaoh, II 97; posture in, II 37.
- PRECINCTS OF THE GODS, III 31, 223.
- PREDYNASTIC AGE, I 3; kings of, I 78, 79, 90.
- PRESENTS FROM RETENU, II 1030; see also Gifts.
- PRISON: the great, criminals in, III 683.
- PRISONERS OF WAR: brought to Egypt, from Naharin, II 81, 501, 581; III 344; Shasu, II 124; Zahi, II 392; Megiddo, II 402, 431, 435; Negeb, II 580; Tintto-emu, II 15; Negro lands, I 146; II 39, 645; Kush, II 41, 84, 122, 857; Khenthennofer, II 80; prisoners of war from Egypt, II 11; Aleppo, II 798A; Carchemish, II 583; Kadesh, II 585, 798A; Ketne, II 798A; Kharu, II 798A, 821; Kheta, III 342, 344; Niy, II 798A; Retenu the Lower, II 798A; Retenu the Upper, II 798A; Se(n)zar, II 798A; Tehenu, III 134; Thenew, II 798A; Tikhsi, II 487; Wan, II 582.
- Slain before Amon, III 113; see also Captives, Slaves.
- PRIVATE AFFAIRS OF HIS LORD, I 423C; private matter (judicial cases of), I 307.
- PRIVY CHAMBER, I 290; entered by Ptahshepses, I 256; Sabu-Ibebi, I 286; rank of the master of, II 675.
- Privy council, II 352.
- Privy office in charge of Thethi, I 423C.
- PROCEEDINGS: legal, IV I 204, 310; IV 423-43.
- PROCESSION, I 540, 669; II 357, 571, 618; III 212; IV 611, 727, 749, 761, 768, 836, 988J.
- Procession of a god, II 133, 139, 300; of Harendotes, II 181; Amon, II 608; of Hathor, II 357; of Mut, II 357; of Ptah, II 615; at feast: "Beginning-of-the-Seasons," II 615.
- PRODIGIES, II 187; see also Wonder.
- PROPERTY, I 551, 570; II 840; IV 767, 946; temple, IV 251, 277, 280, 927; registered in the office of vizier, II 688; confiscation of, I 779; IV 1024.
- PROSECUTION: of the queen of Pepi I, I 310; in the harem conspiracy, IV 425, 444, 446, 451; of practicers of magic, IV 454-56.
- PROSTRATION (in prayer), IV 1018; see also Kissing the ground.
- PROVERB, III 611.
- PROVISION, III 230; IV 944; see also Magazine.
- PROW, II 251, 797.
- PTOLEMAIC PERIOD, I 24; II 189.
- PUBLIC ARCHIVES: (place of writings), I 270.
- PUNISHMENT: to be inflicted when cause is given for, II 668; IV 424; —Punishment, executed, IV 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 452; punishment not executed, IV 444, 453; punishment of death, IV 454.
- Consisting of: placing upon the rack, IV 524; cutting off the noses and ears, IV 451, 452, 524; see also Imprisonment.
- PURE HOUSE: of Debhen, I 212; see also House.
- PURIFICATION, II 568; at coronation, II 216, 240; of temples, IV 905 *et passim*; of kings, IV 843 *et passim*; endowment for, I 209.
- PYLON, II 889, 894, 917; III 505, 508; IV 621, 626, 632, 707; double, II 906; III 525.
- Pylon III: in Karnak, erected by Amenhotep III, II 885, 889, 903.
- Pylon IV, IV 889 n. a.
- Pylon VI, II 402 n. a, 520 n. f, 541 n. a, 646.
- Pylon VII: at Karnak, II 404, 647; fragment of, II 593-98.
- Pylon VIII, 403 n. b.
- Pylon XI, III 34 n. a.
- Pylon: in temple of Karnak, erected by Amenhotep II, II 795; made of sandstone, II 795.
- Pylons: at Karnak temple, the two of Thutmose I, II 103, 304, 317; of Hatshepsut, II 243.
- Pylon: western, built by Amenhotep III, II 885.
- Pylons: at Abydos' temple, II 246.
- Pylon towers, III 269, 356 n. a.

*Pylon*—

—Pylon inscriptions: see under Inscriptions.

PYRAMID, III 577; IV 539; base of, IV 517; investigation of, IV 513; upper chamber of, I 322; Attached to, Overseer of: see Index V.

—Pyramid: "Shelter-of-Shepseskaf," I 151.

—"The-Soul-of-Sahure-Shines," I 159, 249.

—of Zoser, terraced, I 170; Methen buried beside it, I 170.

—of Khufu, I 180.

—of Henutsen, daughter of Khufu, I 180.

—"Great-is-Khafre," I 184.

—"Great-is-Khafre," I 202, 205, 206, 208, 209.

—"Divine-is-Menkure," I 211 bis.

—Temple of Menkure, I 212.

—of Hir, I 212, 212 n. c.

—"Isesi-is-[Beautiful]," I 274.

—"Horizon-of-Khufu," I 275.

—Teti, at Sakkara, I 289.

—of the queen of Mernere: "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful," I 321, 322 bis, 323, 324, 345.

—"Pepi-Remains-Beautiful," I 356.

—"Neferkere-Remains-Living," I 341, 346, 356; domain of, I 374.

—"Merire-Remains-Beautiful," I 341, 345, 346.

—"Fame-of-Ity," I 387.

—Brick pyramid of Intef I, on the western plain of Thebes, I 423C n. f; containing the mortuary stela of Intef I, I 423, 424; investigated by the Ramessid inspectors, IV 514; now disappeared, I 423G n. f; of Amenemhet I, in Kenofar, I 490 n. a.

—of Sesostris I, at Lisht, I 507 n. b; pyramid chapel, of Sesostris I, at Lisht, I 507, 508 n. b; columns, lake, gates of, I 509; stairway of I 528.

—"Amenu-kherep," of Amenemhet II, I 601.

—of Tetisheri, II 36.

—of Mentuhotep II, IV 520.

—of Ahmose-Sepir, IV 519.

—of Kemose, IV 519.

—of Sekenenre-Taoo, IV 518.

—of Sekenenre-Taoo, IV 518.

—of Sekhemre-Shedtowe-Sebekemsaf, IV 517.

—of Sekhemre-Upmat-Intefo, IV 516; stela of, IV 516.

—of Nubkheprure-Intef, IV 515.

—of Intefo, IV 514; stela of, IV 514; king's figure of, IV 514.

—Pyramid city, governors of: see Index V.

PYRAMIDIUM, I 321; II 313, 624, 630, 633; of electrum, II 624, 630, 633, 834; limestone, IV 982.

—in Mehenet of Sais, IV 982; of Sesostris I, I 503.

PYRAMIDIUM HOUSE: of Heliopolis, IV 871.

## Q

QUARRY: opened, IV 704, 705.

—of Gebelên, IV 629;

—of Miam, IV 474.

—of alabaster, at Hatnub, I 7, 305, 323, 695 n. b, 696; location of, I 695.

—of black basalt, at Hammamat, I 675.

—of granite, at Assuan, I 42; II 304; at Elephantine, I 322; at First Cataract, I 324; Ibhet, I 321, 322; at Silseleh, I 49.

—of gritstone, at Gebel el-Ahmar, near Cairo, II 906 n. a.

—of limestone, at Ma' sara: see Index VI; at Troja, I 210, 212, 239, 274, 289, 290, 307, 509; II 800, 875.

—of sandstone, at Silseleh, I 49; II 935; III 205 n. c; IV 18, 701 n. d.

—Quarry inscriptions: see under Inscriptions, Rock.

QUARRY CHAMBERS: opened, I 740; III 27, 799, 800, 875.

QUARRY SERVICE, I 390; II 935; men of the palace, I 390; soldiers, I 390; quarrymen of, I 390; IV 19, 537; chiefs of, II 935; IV 466, 474.

QUARRYMEN, I 390, 447, 697, 710; III 172; IV 466; works of, IV 466; master workmen of, IV 466.

QUARTERS: temple, IV 992; of foals, IV 850.

QUARTZOSE: black, stela of, III 427 n. a.

QUAY: of Elephantine, IV 146 n. c; of Karnak, I 22; IV 693 n. a.

QUEEN: titles of, I 341; herald of: see Index V.

QUIVER, II 785; III 450; IV 70; Libyan, III 584; from Meshwesh, IV 111.

## R

- RACK:** witness placed upon, IV 524.
- RAIMENT,** II 719; of a god, IV 966.
- RAISED WORK,** IV 231, 302, 319; of costly stones, IV 315.
- RAISINS,** IV 301, 350.
- RAM,** IV 589; divine shadow in form of, II 596, 889 n. a.; Ptah-Tatenen, lord of Mendes in form of a, III 400; as adornments of temples, II 894, 895; IV 635 n. d, 649.
- Rams' heads: as adornment of sacred barge, made of gold, IV 209.
- RAMP,** IV 189, 355, 356, 357, 358.
- RAMPART,** II 596, 616, IV 55, 118, 856, 861.
- RANK,** I 307, 312, 332; II 1040; IV 995; of the official body of the temple, I 550; III 565, 623.
- RATIONS:** daily, for the soldiers, I 431; III 207, 208; of meat and fowl, I 372.
- REAL ESTATE:** cases of, II 686, 688; see also Estate, Property.
- REAP,** IV 893; see also Harvest.
- REAR:** of the army, II 427.
- of foreign armies, IV 46; rearguard, I 680; II 421.
- REBELLION:** in Memphis, IV 928; Heracleopolis, I 399; Menet-Khufu, I 625; of Egyptians, II 11, 15, 16; Kush, II 844; Shasu, III 101; Oasis, IV 726; Askalon, III 355. See also Revolt, Insurrection.
- REBELS,** III 580; IV 62, 130, 857, 871, 990.
- RECORDING,** II 555; IV 679.
- RECORDS:** III 580; IV 178, 460; Assyro-Babylonian, I 3; Egyptian, I 3; of nomes, kept by vizier, II 703; legal, copy of, IV 535; the mysterious, III 410; in temple at Thebes, of XXI Dyn., I 22; boundary, I 531; daily, kept by Thutmose III, II 392, 433, 455, 540; for the future, II 568; —of Pharaoh, III 647; overseer of, I 348.
- of the vizier, II 684; loan of, II 684.
- of Thoth, III 448 n. b.
- Records of Restorations: of Hatshepsut at Benihasan, I 15; of mummies, IV 592-94.
- of Nile levels, I 22, 95-169; IV 695-98; 793-94, 886-88.
- of offerings, IV 1022.
- RECRUITS:** crew of, I 343; II 332; III 340; IV 70; commander of, I 512; youth of, I 527, 697; scribe of, II 916; III 17.
- RED CONGLOMERATE:** from the Red Mountain, I 493 n. b. See Griststone.
- REEDS,** IV 234, 287, 378, 391.
- Reed grass, IV 241.
- REFECTORY,** III 624; IV 958J.
- REFORMS:** of Harmhab, I 18; see also Laws, Enactments.
- REGALIA,** II 788; IV 29, 142, 401; of Horus and Set, IV 62; of Re, IV 142; made of costly stone, IV 9.
- REGISTER:** of property, II 688; of boundaries, II 689; daily, in the palace, II 393, 472.
- REGULATIONS,** II 568, 666; petitions handled according to, II 667; of the ancestors, III 536.
- of impost, III 210; of temple plans, III 263; of army, II 695; of prophets, II 754; of priests, IV 250; of Sed jubilees, IV 414; of commandant, II 298.
- House regulations engraved on tablets, IV 202.
- RELEASE:** from taxes, III 57, 63.
- RELIEFS:**
- Snefru, I 169.
- Khufu, I 176.
- Nekonekh, I 226.
- Sahure, I 236.
- Persen, I 241.
- Nuserre, I 250.
- Menkuhor, I 263.
- Isesi, I 264.
- Senezemib, I 276.
- Pepi, I 302.
- Mernere, I 317, 318.
- Mentuhotep II, I 425.
- Mentuhotep IV, I 435.
- Mentuhotep, I 514.
- Sesostris I, I 510.
- Sesostris I, I 510.
- Sesostris II, I 617.
- Sesostris III, I 643, 646.
- Thuthotep, I 694, 695, 699, 704-6.
- Sehetepibre, I 744.
- Yuf, II 110.
- Thutmose I, II 244.
- Thutmose II, II 125 n. e, 168, 173.
- Hatshepsut, I 13; II 192, 193, 195,

- 199, 202, 204, 205, 206, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 216, 217, 226, 228, 231, 234, 240, 241; the Punt reliefs, II 246-51, 252, 254, 259, 263, 266, 267, 270, 273, 275, 279, 283, 289, 305; obelisk, II 312, 323, 330, 336; bas-relief, II 337; stela, II 338.
- Senmut, II 359, 363.
- Puemre, II 382, 385.
- Thutmose III, II 450 n. a, 543-46, 645, 646, 653, 655.
- Rekhmire, II 712, 714, 717, 747, 752, 753, 756, 761, 762.
- Menkheperreseneb, II 773, 774.
- Amenhotep II, II 781, 791, 798A, 807.
- Thutmose IV, II 811, 819.
- Amenhotep III, II 187-212, 215-42, 841, 843, 845, 871, 872, 874, 876, 879, 904.
- Khamhet, II 870, 871, 872.
- Ikhnaton, II 933, 978, 981, 982, 986, 989, 1014, 1016, 1017, 1018.
- Ramose, II 938, 941, 944.
- Bek, II 974, 976.
- Huy, II 1014, 1016.
- Tutenkhamon, II 1021, 1028, 1035.
- Huy, II 1022-24, 1035, 1039-40.
- Harmhab, III 2, 5-9, 10-13, 15, 18, 20, 34, 37.
- Neferhotep, III 69, 73.
- Seti I, III 80-156, 163, 165, 203.
- Ramses II, III 255, 258, 284, 328-51, 354, 397, 415, 431, 450, 452, 454, 457, 460, 462, 464, 468, 470, 473, 475, 481, 485, 496, 539.
- Merneptah, III 594, 597, 628.
- Roy, III 626 n. c, 628.
- Siptah, III 647, 648.
- Ramses III, IV 25, 29-34, 49-57, 69-82, 99-114, 117-30, 132-35, 137-38, 184, 246, 305.
- Ramses IV, IV 458, 463.
- Ramses VI, IV 476, 477.
- Ramses VII, IV 484.
- Ramses IX, IV 493.
- Hrihor, IV, 611, 612, 613, 614, 621, 626.
- Sheshonk I, IV 702, 709-718.
- Osorkon II, IV 749-50; 757-70.
- Pediese, IV 779.
- Weshtehet, IV 783.
- Piankhi, IV 814, 815.
- Mentemhet, IV 903, 909.
- RELIGIOUS LITERATURE, I 2, 20.
- RENEWAL OF BURIAL, IV 499, 593.
- RENT OF FIELDS, IV 482.
- REPORT: on battles, IV 834; on harvest, II 871; on judgments, II 681; of Wenamon, IV 557-91; from the overseers of the interior, II 677, 708.
- of chief treasurer, I 423D; II 676, 678, 679; to chief treasurer, I 428, 445; II 679.
- from vizier, II 678, 679; to vizier, II 676, 677, 679.
- from doorkeeper of judgment hall, II 711.
- from the fortresses, II 676, 702.
- from navy officers, II 710.
- from the court, II 676, 679; from the king's house, II 676, 679.
- REPTILES, II 984.
- RESIDENCE, III 406.
- “House-of-Ramses-Meriamon-Given-Life,” name of residence of Ramses II, III 406.
- Residence city, I 628; garrison of, II 694.
- RESIN, of myrrh, II 265.
- RESTING-PLACE: of a god, III 213, 215, 224, 246, 510, 515; of noblemen, IV 511.
- RESTITUTION: ordered in cases of robbery and theft, III 53.
- RESTORATIONS: of temples, II 152, 157, 612; III 31, 537; IV 178, 179, 276, 357, 358, 359, 360, 634, 659, 897-99, 909-916, 966, 968, 1022; of tomb, II 112; III 32B; of inscription, I 15; II 192 n. d; II 573, 856, 878, 896, 968; III 200; wall of Luxor, IV 627-30; mummies, IV 592-94, 637-47.
- REVENUES, IV 949; for the gods, II 793.
- REVOLT: by Negroes, II 826; by Nubia, II 121; Kush, II 844; Ibheth, II 853; Gezer, III 606; Wawat, III 606 n. a.
- of high priest of Amon, IV 486.
- REWARDS, II 583, 584, 585, 587, 588, 872, 926, 944; III 6, 73, 486, 643; IV 471, 492, 494, 611, 633, 708, 879.
- RINGS: of silver, II 584; of *b<sup>2</sup>-b<sup>2</sup>-y<sup>2</sup>*, IV 377.
- Commercial: see Gold, Silver.
- Earrings, IV 876.
- Seal rings of Thethi, I 423D.
- RITES, IV 988J.
- Ritual roll of fields, III 271.
- RIVER, THE LIVING, II 378; water of, II 925; see Living stream.
- River-mouths, IV 44; see also Index VI.
- ROAD, IV 1004, 1006, 1007; to Yam, I 333; of Elephantine, I 334; of

- Uhet, I 335; from Yehem to Aruna, II 421; to Taanach, II 421; to Zefi, II 421.
- ROAST: for food, III 207; for mortuary offering, I 569, 571; II 571.
- ROBBERY, IV 147, 150, 566; laws on, III 51, 52; by soldiers, forbidden by Uni, I 312.
- ROBE OF MEK-LINEN, IV 232.
- ROCK INSCRIPTIONS: see Incriptions.
- ROD, II 758; beating with, IV 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 555.  
—Ipet-rod, II 995.
- ROLL, III 50; IV 483; of papyrus, IV 582; of names, IV 545; of testimony, IV 534; of the house of Osiris, I 758.  
—House of rolls, III 264, 410.  
—Leather rolls for daily records, II 392, 433.  
—Ritual roll of fields, III 271.  
—šw-rolls, II 742.
- ROMAN PREFECTS OF EGYPT, I 28.
- ROOF, TEMPLE, IV 315.
- ROPE OF PALM FIBER, IV 235, 379, 392; coils of, IV 582.
- ROSEMARY, IV 234, 344, 378, 392.
- ROWING, II 809.
- RUDDER, I 493; III 291.
- RUG: under the feet of the vizier, II 675.
- RULER'S TABLE, IV 695; Commandant of: see Index V.
- RULES, IV 908; obsolete, IV 908; of war IV 861.
- S
- SACKS, II 263, 735, 750; III 37; IV 32; of myrrh, II 263; of grain, II 319; IV 550; of gold dust, III 37; silver, IV 566.
- SACRED ANIMALS: see Animals.  
—Sacred writing, II 353; forbidding practice of magic, IV 456; house of, I 533; IV 445, 460.
- SACRIFICE, IV 857; of the gazelle at Hammamat, I 436; of goats, I 453; of cattle, I 453. See Offering.
- SACRIFICIAL TABLET OF SILVER, IV 199.
- SAILORS, I 275, 360; IV 825, 858, 859; for Captain of, Chief of, Commander of, see Index V.
- SAILS, II 798; IV 578, 944.
- “SALÂM”: said by Libyans, III 617; IV 43; by Meshwesh, IV 97.
- SALT, IV 235, 241, 379, 392.  
—špr-salt, IV 299, 348.  
—Salt-gatherers of Elephantine, IV 148.
- SANCTUARY, II 298, 300, 540, 555, 758, 935, 987, 994; III 16, 178, 240; IV 141, 251, 471, 678.  
—of the South, endowment of, I 156, 159.
- SANDALS, I 312, 430; II 148, 245, 268, 303, 451, 656; III 84, 156, 159, 204, 359, 371, 450, 465, 471, 584; IV 412.  
—Made of leather, IV 241, 394; of papyrus, IV 241, 393.
- SANDSTONE, II 389, 601, 775, 903; IV 914; chapel of, II 152; Holy of Holies of, II 153; pylon of, II 795; III 505; columns of, II 795; IV 910; lakes constructed of, IV 910, 912; temple of, II 157 n. c, 611, 614, 883, 886, 890, 895, 898, 905; III 216, 217, 220, 500, 507, 510, 512, 515, 521, 522; IV 4, 7, 9, 14, 189, 195, 214, 602, 603, 610, 625, 649, 897, 898, 899; adytum of, II 639; IV 14; doorways of, II 792; doorposts of, III 625; great seat of, IV 5, 14; tower of, IV 189; stelæ of, I 510 n. a, 753 n. a; II 54 n. a, 90 n. g; 109 n. b, 904 n. a; III 157 n. a.  
—Sandstone from Red Mountain, II 153.  
—Sandstone mountain, at Abu Simbel, III 500.  
—Quarry of, at Silsileh, II 935; III 205 n. c; IV 18, 701 n. d.
- SARCOPHAGUS, I 253; presented by the king, I 269, 273, 275, 307; of Mernere: “Chest-of-the-living,” I 321; of ancestor of Kheti, I 402; of Mentuhotep IV, I 436, 448; of Apis, IV 1011.
- SCALES, IV 391; post for, IV 391.
- SCARABS: of Thutmose III, II 625 n. f; Amenhotep III, II 859, 861–62, 863–64, 865, 866–67, 868–89.  
—Made of black granite, IV 191; bronze, IV 233; costly stone, IV 377, 390; lapis lazuli, IV 233, 285, 343; malachite, II 233, 285, 343; minu stone, IV 233; red jasper, IV 233, 377; rock crystal, IV 377.
- SCEPTER (*w<sup>3</sup>s*), ROYAL, I 646; II 436; IV 493.
- SCIENTIFIC TREATISES, I 20; on medi-

- cine, I 20; mathematics, I 20; astronomy, I 20.
- SCOURGE, ROYAL, III 69; IV 62.
- Scourging as penalty on soldiers for stealing hides, III 57.
- SCOUT, BORDER, III 616; Egyptian III 321, 330, 334, 578; Hittite, III 321, 322, 330.
- Scouting, II 916.
- SCRAPS: of bronze, IV 343; copper, IV 373, 385, 389; gold, IV 373, 386, 389; silver, IV 231, 343, 373, 386, 389.
- SCULPTORS, IV 466; Chief of: see Index V.
- SCULPTURE, III 517, 519; IV 311.
- Sculptured stone, I 500; IV 191.
- SEAL, II 182, 185, 239, 352; IV 353, 689, 871, 908.
- as pendant, of costly stone, IV 233, 377, 290.
- Hittite seal, III 391.
- Made of gold, II 32; rock crystal, IV 233, 303, 345, 349, 377; ubat stone, IV 287, 377; wrought wood, IV 234, 284, 345, 391.
- Seal of writings, I 274; royal, I 351; II 1022; of privy office, I 423C; of office, II 1024, 1025.
- Seal of *sgm* w-officers, II 684.
- Seal ring, I 423 D; II 32 n. a.
- Seal-scribe: see Index V.
- SEALING, II 371; of treasury, reported to vizier, II 676; of property lists by vizier, II 688; of boundaries by vizier, II 689; edicts to navy, II 710.
- SEASONS OF THE YEAR, I 387 *et passim*.
- SEAT, THE GREAT: of a god, II 640, 901, 908, 987; III 230, 233, 237, 240, 242, 260, 269, 525; IV 5, 7, 14, 201, 251, 311, 315, 319, 331; =tomb, IV 523, 533.
- Made of alabaster, III 525, 529; electrum, IV 14, 610; gold, IV 7, 250; sandstone, IV 5.
- SEBKHET PLANT, IV 235, 392.
- SECRETS, I 755; of court, I 377; of heaven, II 936; of heaven, earth, and nether world, II 936; III 623; of the divine book, II 915; Masters of: see Index V.
- Secret chambers of the mountains, II 946.
- Secret chapel, III 412.
- Secret mine of Sinai, I 266.
- Secret things of his majesty, I 270, 285, 305, 423C, 533 bis, 534, 668; from the double *w-c-b-l*-house, for Mekhu's funeral, I 370; of the palace, II 936; of the temple, I 550, 745; IV 706, 708; of the king's wardrobe, I 608.
- Secret words, IV 321.
- Secret writings, II 355, 748.
- SEDAN CHAIR, II 981.
- "SEED IS NOT": said of Libyans, III 604; IV 91; Seped, III 604; IV 91; Tehenu, IV 87; Meshwesh, III 604; IV 43; Amor, III 604; IV 39; Israel, III 603, 617; Temeh, IV 50, 58; northerners, IV 66.
- SEHER, STATUE OF, IV 302.
- SEMDETS: of irer stone, IV 377; rock crystal, IV 377; hirset stone, IV 377; red jasper, IV 377; hukamu stone, IV 377; costly stone, IV 377.
- SEMU PLANT, IV 240, 344, 378, 392.
- SÉPULCHERS: inspection of, IV 511, 521; investigation of, IV 513.
- Sepulcher chamber, IV 540.
- SERF LABORERS, III 566; IV 402; of necropolis, IV 525; of temple, IV 313, 321, 354, 358, 360, 362, 386.
- SERFS, IV 932.
- SERFS, PEASANT, I 281, 536, 630; II 107; III 277; IV 933.
- SERPENT, II 300; IV 922; as adornments, II 888; as sign for Aphroditopolis, I 423 n. a.
- SERPENT CREST, IV 38, 130, 335, 721, 814, 882; the double, IV 895.
- SERVANT THERE (=myself), I 372 *et passim*.
- SERVANTS, II 989; III 9; of the Negroes, II 854.
- SESHA BIRDS, IV 242, 298, 347.
- SETTING OF TOMB, I 308.
- SETTLEMENTS, III 141, 270; IV 147, 278, 281; of Naharin, II 479; of Kharu, II 884; of Tehenu, III 611; of women in temples, IV 321.
- SHADOW: king as, IV 47, 71, 72, 103, 850, 854.
- Divine shadow (term for the manifestation of a god), II 104, 302 n. a, 596, 889, 890, 907.
- Shadow of Re, name for "temple of Aton" in Akhetaton, II 956, 1016, 1017, 1018; IV 363.

- SHEAF**, III 404.
- SHED BIRD**, II 571.
- SHEDEH** (=wine), IV 213, 228, 233, 239, 262, 269, 272, 283, 286, 292, 299, 309, 313, 329, 335, 344, 376, 387, 390, 468, 734, 768.
- Shedeh gardens of Re, IV 262.
- SHEEP**, IV 41.
- SHELLS**: from Punt, II 272.
- SHELTER**, IV 992.
- SHENE FISH**, IV 243.
- SHEPHERD, THE GOOD**: royal title, II 900; III 195, 580; of the cattle of Amon, IV 212.
- SHESA FRUIT**, IV 378, 395.
- SHIELD**, III 475, 489; IV 74, 105; from Retenu, II 509; Kush, II 1035.
- Amon as, III 581; IV 72, 246.
- King as, IV 57, 62.
- Made of leather, II 802.
- SHIP**, IV 354, 566, 571, 576, 578, 586, 599, 678, 767, 821, 825, 831, 840, 861, 863, 864, 873, 879, 883, 1003, 1005, 1006, 1007; royal, II 7, 332; captives taken in, II 15; cabin of, IV 840; Captain of, see Index V; made of cedar, I 146, 465; II 32, 94, 492; IV 209, 574.
- Temple ship, IV 19, 147, 193, 209, 270.
- Ship (=sacred barge of Osiris), II 183.
- Ships of Ahmose I: "The Offering," II 7; "Shining in Memphis," II 8.
- "Star-of-the-Two-Lands," II 332 n. d.
- Byblos ship, IV 574; made of cedar, II 492.
- Keftiyew ship in Zahi, II 492.
- Ships of Sidon, IV 574.
- Thekel ships, IV 588.
- Ships from Zahi, II 460, 492.
- Large ship, I 308; III 441.
- Dewatowe ships, I 146, 147.
- Sixteen barges, I 146.
- Sektu ship, in Sahi, II 492.
- wsh*-ships, IV 19.
- mis*-ship, III 274.
- See also Barges, Barques, Boats, Treasure-ship, Troop-ship, Vessels, Warships.
- SHIPBUILDING**, I 138, 146; at Red Sea by Enenkhet, I 360 n. e; by Henu, I 432.
- SHOOTING**, IV 842.
- SHORES**, II 966.
- SHRINES**, I 156, 667, 787; II 126, 127, 197, 198; 201, 375, 376, 380, 390, 606, 607, 889 n. a; III 237; IV 250, 254, 312, 320, 539, 908; the seat of a god, II 374; monolithic, IV 198, 320.
- Shrine of a barge, called "great house," IV 331, 354; in the sacred barge of Amon, II 888; IV 209.
- Barque shrine, of fine gold, IV 982.
- Portable shrine, I 667; II 173; IV 315, 599.
- "The Horizon of the God," probably in Dêr el-Bahri temple, II 374; Sekhet Re, a shrine in the temple of Atum in Heliopolis, see Index II; in temple of Khonsu at Karnak, IV 609.
- Doors of, II 156, 889 n. a; IV 198; hall of, II 775; statues of, II 156, 889 n. a.
- Made of carob wood, I 667; ebony, II 127; electrum, II 374, 776, 888; IV 1020; fragrant wood I 667; gold, I 667; IV 209, 331; granite, II 376, 775; IV 198, 254, 319; lazuli, I 667; meru wood, I 667; silver, I 667; stone, II 156.
- Water carrier of, IV 539.
- Shrine chamber, III 529.
- Shrine inscription: see Inscriptions.
- SHROUD OF MYSTERIOUS LINEN**, IV 1011.
- SIEGE**, IV 861.
- SIEVE OF SILVER**, IV 203, 231.
- SIFTING VESSEL OF SILVER**, IV 203, 231.
- SILVER**, II 280, 342, 383, 390, 434, 558, 601, 720, 722, 723, 727, 730, 732, 733, 734, 735, 739, 740, 771, 773, 887, 902, 992, 993; III 63, 71, 137, 151, 204, 210, 309, 428, 434, 453, 512, 515, 527; IV 7, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 126, 141, 150, 190, 228, 230, 245, 256, 259, 272, 283, 284, 285, 313, 335, 341, 342, 349, 354, 360, 372, 373, 383, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 494, 521, 568, 576, 577, 580, 582, 635, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 708, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 847, 852, 859, 875, 876, 878, 881, 883, 889, 909, 958E, G.
- Commercial: in rings, II 436, 485, 490, 518, 1035; sack, IV 566; crude, IV 285; in scraps, IV 231, 343, 373, 386, 389.
- as material for vessels, II 162.
- as adornment of other objects, II 32, 92, 165, 185, 301, 375, 435, 883,



- 888; IV 312, 315, 538; temple floors adorned with, II 806, 886, 889, 890.  
 —as reward of honor, III 6, 73.  
 —Articles made of silver: altars, IV 735, 736, 737; amulet IV 319, 373, 386; bowls, IV 735; candelabra, IV 735; cartouche vessel, IV 735; casket, IV 231; drinking-vessels (*ib. w.*), III 589; IV 476, 477; flat dishes, II 447; IV 735; hin-vessel, IV 735; spouted vessel, IV 735; axe, II 24; jars, II 32; drinking-vessels for the ka, II 32; great pails, II 32; sphinxes, II 32; inlay figures, IV 489; offering-tablets, IV 735; pannier, IV 231; rings, II 584; sieve, IV 203, 231; sifting-vessel, IV 203, 231; censer, I 500; offering-tables, I 534; II 175, 390; IV 610, 911, 912, 958M, 1020; shrine, I 667; pitcher, IV 735; statues, II 436; IV 250, 268, 302, 316, 326, 349, 395; table vessels, IV 190, 269, 354, 357; tablet, III 371, 372, 373, 380, 387, 388, 391; IV 202, 231, 285, 317, 343; temple pavement, IV 7, 671, 672; vase, I 500; II 32, 164, 754; IV 203, 231, 269, 327, 538; vessels, II 615, 795, 1028, 1031, 1035; III 106; IV 343, 476, 497, 566, 730, 992; *dw*-vessels of, IV 735.  
 —House of silver, II 352; Overseer of: see Index V.  
 —Silver from the malachite country, IV 409; Naharin, II 482; III 434; Kheta, II 485; III 420; Senzar, II 584; God's Land, III 116, 274; Libya, III 584; Retenu, II 447, 491, 518, 533(?), 820; Assur, II 446; Zahi, II 459, 490.  
 —Silver house, the double, I 533, 664; II 43, 52, 377.  
 SILVERSMITHS, II 754.  
 SINGER, IV 589; temple, II 1018.  
 —Singing women: of the house of the divine votress of Amon-Re, IV 521, 543; of Amon-Re, IV 641, 755.  
 SIRIUS (Sothis): reappearance of, I 40; to be observed by the vizier, II 709; see also Sothic.  
 SISTER-WIFE, IV 774.  
 SISTRUM, II 995; III 414; IV 847, 943; *sh̄m*, II 93; *šsy.t*, II 93.  
 —Sistrum-bearer: Mut, the, IV 733; of Harsaphes in Heracleopolis, IV 792.  
 SITTING: of the court, II 292; in the vizier's hall, II 675.  
 SKINS: of southern panther, II 260, 321, 474, 486; IV 724; *M-ḥ* *ḏ-w*, II 449; see also Hides.  
 —Water-skins of Libya, III 609, 610.  
 SKINS, THE 40, CONTAINING THE LAW, II 675, 712; III 45.  
 SLANDER, IV 533.  
 SLAUGHTERING BLOCK, II 149.  
 —Slaughter yards, IV 190.  
 SLAVES, III 82; king's, IV 846; for temples, II 402 n. c. 555 881, 884; III 78, 138, 160; IV 200, 217, 220, 225, 257, 322, 338, 355, 356, 359, 360, 404, 680, 682, 687, 1021; mortuary temples, II 924, 925, 926; III 271; peasant slaves, III 271.  
 —Slaves: from Khenthennofer, II 14; Tinto-emu, II 15; Punt, II 486; Kush, II 493, 502, 514, 522, 526; Wawat, II 487, 494, 503, 515; Asiatic, II 555, 587; IV 217; Syrian (*Ḥ* *ḏ-ruw*), II 555; Avaris, II 12; Sharuhen, II 13; Tikhsi, II 587; Retenu, II 436, 447, 467, 471, 491, 509, 518, 533; Zahi, II 460, 462; Naharin, II 480, 482; Arrapachitis, II 512.  
 —Slave service: laws on, III 55.  
 —Stealing of slaves, III 55; penalty for, III 55.  
 SLINGERS: slinging stones, IV 842.  
 SMITING: of the Northerners, I 81; the Troglodytes, I 81, 104, 176.  
 SOCIETY, CLASSES OF: count (*ḥ* *c ty-c*), I 536; official (*šr*), I 536; citizen (*ndš*), I 536; peasant (*y* *c ḥty*), I 536; see also these subjects in Index V and under People.  
 SOLDIERS, I 390, 410; II 299, 335; III 40, 195, 271, 616; IV 55, 65, 71, 97, 822, 825, 838, 841, 858, 863, 878; provision of, while on march, I 430; heads cut off from, II 225; penalty for stealing hides by, III 57.  
 —Soldiers of Bekhten, III 442, 444, 446.  
 SON-IN-LAW: Ptahshepses of Shepseskaf, I 54.  
 SORCERESS: Mut, the great, I 141; the two great, II 314.  
 —Sorcery: Wereret, great in, II 288; see also Bewitching, Magic.  
 SOTHIC CALENDAR: early existence of, I 45.  
 —Sothic cycle, length of, I 44.  
 —Sothic date: of Amenhotep I, I 51,

- 64; of Thutmose III, I 66 n. h; of Kahun Papyrus, I p. 48.
- Sothic year, longer than calendar year, I 40.
- Sothis (Sirius), I 40; feast of, I 40; difference between feast and heliacal rising of, I 41; late rising of, in XII Dyn., I 42, 53; Sothic date in reign of Thutmose III, I 43, 51; II 410 n. a; Sothic date in reign of Ramses III, I 43 n. b.
- SOUL: living with Osiris, II 378.
- Souls of Amon, II 154.
- Souls of Anubis: temple of Upwawet, a monument for, I 403.
- SOUTHERN FRUIT, IV 240, 378, 393.
- SOUTHERN PALACE, WAYS OF, I 258, 283, 286.
- SPAN (of horses), III 84, 88, 97, 100, 132, 134, 312, 330, 337, 361, 486; IV 72.
- Royal, names of, III 84 bis, 88, 97, 100, 132, 134, 312, 330, 347, 361; IV 72, 73, 77, 106, 107, 120, 123.
- SPAN: see Measures, linear.
- SPARS, IV 861.
- SPEARS, II 784; III 457; IV 70, 119; from Meshwesh, IV 111.
- of bronze: from Retenu, II 509, 525; Wan, II 582.
- SPEECH OF EGYPT, I 494; correct in, I 413; II 571; throne, II 291-95; of Punt chiefs, III 37.
- SPELT, I 496; II 149, 171; III 66; IV 250, 314, 325, 354, 359, 550, 859, 955, 958H, 992.
- SPHINX, I 177; IV 640 n. e; of Harmakhis, I 179, 180; of Seti I, in his temple in Kurna, III 114; of Ramses II, in his temple in Memphis, III 531.
- Sphinx portraits, II 802.
- Sphinxes made of gold, IV 732; lapis lazuli, IV 732; silver, II 32.
- Stela, of Thutmose IV, II 810-15.
- SPIRIT: land of, I 351; king to be a, III 511.
- Evil spirit, possessed of, III 438, 440, 444; speech of, III 444.
- SPLENDORS, II 292, 308; in heaven, II 358.
- SPOIL AT MEGIDDO, II 431.
- SPRINGS, IV 726, 727, 728.
- SPY, III 319; beating of, III 330.
- STABL ANTAR: modern name of the temple of Pakht at Benihasan, II 296 n. c; names of, III 337, 347; IV 123.
- STABLE, ROYAL: III 312, 330, 337, 347, 361, 635, 645; IV 106, 123, 822, 850, 852, 874, 875, 876, 877; filth of, IV 968; chief of, II 818; III 198; IV 466; charioteer of, III 635.
- STAFF, III 450; king's, I 296; II 986; official's, II 385, 1039; III 13; of statue, II 436.
- Crook staff, IV 62.
- Made of carob wood, II 436; ebony, IV 288; of electrum, I 682; meru wood, IV 288; *T. p. gw*-wood, II 536.
- Staff of old age, I 692; II 916.
- See also Staves.
- STAIR OF TOMB OF KHETI II, I 412; of of shrine, of alabaster, II 375.
- STAIRCASE, THE DOUBLE, III 406.
- STAIRWAYS OF TEMPLES, I 421, 528, 673, 684; II 150; IV 909, 915; of tomb, I 577.
- STAKE: for the ground plan of the temple, I 506.
- STALL, IV 874; see Stable.
- STALLIONS, II 435, 875.
- STANDARD (containing royal Horus name), II 143.
- Standard (for supporting the image of a god), II 303; of electrum, II 95; of Amon, IV 49.
- Standard, of drinking-vessel, for the ka, of silver, II 32.
- Standard bearers: impost from, IV 225; see also Index V.
- STARS, II 886, 894; III 232; in the body of Nut, II 164; unresting, III 278; shooting, IV 62, 91.
- Pole star, IV 304; Orion, II 828; circling star, II 658; III 117; "imperishable," II 318; III 378; IV 852.
- Star of electrum: royal title, II 900.
- Star of the South, I 511.
- STATE FICTION, II 187-90.
- STATEMENTS, II 377, 437, 555, 788, 864, 865, 872, 995; III 600; IV 33; of oracle, II 606.
- STATION OF THE KING (in the temple ritual), II 140, 791, 796, 883, 904; III 271, 537.
- STATIONS OF RANK: making of, I 309.
- STATUES, IV 268, 320, 326, 357, 927; of Ikhi, I 165; Debhen, I 212; Intef,

- I 419; Mentuhotep, I 433; Sesostris I, I 500; Hepzefi, I 540; Amenemhet II, I 601; Khnumhotep II, I 630; Sesostris III, I 660; Thuthotep, I 694; Vizier of King Khenzer, I 783 n. d; Ahmose-Pen-Nekhbet, II 18 n. d; Queen Ahhotep, II 118, 114; Thutmose III, II 164, 165, 186; Nebwawi, II 177, 178 n. a; Enebni, II 213; Hatshepsut, II 288; Hatshepsut Meretre, II 802; Senmut, II 349, 353, 363; Puemre, II 380; Hapuseneb, II 388 n. f; Amenhotep II, II 802; Khepri (=Sphinx), II 814; Amenhotep III, II 876, 917; Amenhotep, son of Hapi, II 912, 913; Nebnefer, II 928; Harmhab, III 22 n. f; Seti I, III 202, 260, 263, 271; Ramses II, III 406; Roy, III 626; Ramses III, IV 26, 199, 201; Ramses VI, IV 477, 479; Namlot, IV 678; Osorkon II, IV 745 n. a; Amenhotep I, IV 913; Ibe, IV 958A; Hor, IV 967; Uzahor IV 980; Neferibre-Nofer, IV 981; Irhoro, IV 981; Nesuhor, IV 980, 993; Enekhnesneferibre, IV 9881 n. a; Ahmose, IV 1014; Pefnefdineit, IV 1015.
- Mortuary statues of Hepzefi, I 540; Thutmose III, II 97; Amenhotep III, II 906; placed in the temples, I 500, 540; II 52, 156, 604, 605 n. i; in charge of the mortuary priest, I 542, 544, 555, 577, 590; fire kindled before it on feast-days, I 574; procession of, II 571, 618; divine offerings for, II 564, 571, 618, 619, 620; III 626; garments for, II 571; domains of, IV 479-83.
- Statues of gods, IV 250, 316; impost paid to, IV 225; of Amon, IV 190, 217, 219, 220, 245, 384, 736; of the Nile god, IV 302, 349, 395, 738; Nile goddess, IV 303, 349, 395; of Ptah, III 582; IV 315.
- Statue made of alabaster, IV 302; black granite, III 22 n. f; IV 967 n. e, 981 n. a; bronze, IV 302; copper, IV 302, 395; costly stone, II 883; IV 190, 250, 316, 349, 377, 395; ebony, II 436, 801, 802; electrum, I 165, 668; IV 633, 913; gold, IV 199, 201, 250, 268, 302, 316, 326, 349, 395; granite, I 601; II 876, 883; IV 191; gray granite, IV 981 n. b; green feldspar, IV 302; grit-stone, II 883, 906, n. a; IV 191; hirset stone, IV 302; iron, IV 302; ivory, II 801; kenmet stone, IV 302; lapis lazuli, IV 302, 395; lead, IV 302, 395; limestone, IV 958A n. b; malachite, IV 302, 395; menit-uz-metal, IV 302; mesdemet stone, IV 302; minu stone, IV 302; red jasper, IV 302; seher, IV 302; shesmet stone, IV 302; silver, II 436; IV 191, 250, 268, 302, 316, 326, 349, 395; sycamore wood, IV 303, 349, 395; tin, IV 302; tur, IV 302.
- Statues: from Kadesh, II 436; with human face, II 436.
- Statue inscriptions: see under Inscriptions.
- STAVES, II 493; IV 913; of ebony, II 802; electrum, IV 912; meru wood, IV 391; see also Staff.
- STEALING, IV 486, 566, 676; laws on, III 54-59; penalty for, III 54, 55, 56; IV 676; of slaves, III 55; of hides, III 56, 57.
- STEED, III 224, 360, 489; IV 103.
- STEER, IV 9.
- STEERING OARS, IV 331, 845.
- STELA, IV 321, 464, 531, 586, 618, 630, 656, 679, 761, 784; importance of, I 4, 9, 13, 14, 16, 22, 23, 24, 71 n. g, 72 n. b.
- Bases of, IV 205.
- Erected to Min, I 441; Harakhte, I 501; Re, IV 255, 265.
- Stela: made of alabaster, IV 988A n. b granite, II 605, 609 n. e; III 487, 538 n. f, 541, 596, n. d; 745 n. a, 919 n. a; black granite, IV 650 n. a; red granite, IV 669 n. d, 795 n. a, 796 n. a, 935 n. a; of granite of Elephantine, IV 679; gritstone, IV 724A n. d; lazuli, II 889; limestone, IV 725 n. a, 782 n. a; overlaid with gold, IV 205.
- Stela of Intefo, IV 514; Sekhemre-Upmat-Intefo, IV 516.
- See also Inscriptions, Stela.
- STEMS, IV 244.
- STERN (=of ship), II 251, 252; IV 65, 66, 582; of fine gold, IV 331.
- STERN ROPE: title of Hatshepsut, II 341; of the Northland, II 885.
- STICKS, IV 287.
- STIPULATIONS: for offerings, IV 678; for building, IV 707, 916.
- STOCK, ANCIENT, I 399, 400.
- STONE, IV 958J *et passim*.
- Hard stone (=alabaster): statues of, I 323, 601, 696.

**Stone—**

- Stone of Ayan (=limestone), I 534, 635, 740; II 27, 44, 103, 302, 339.
- STONE: enduring, stela of, II 606.
- Good white stone of *š>c.t*, in the temple of Kummeh, I 510.
- See also Alabaster, Benut stone, Quartzose, Basalt, Diorite, Flint, Granite, Gritstone, Hus stone, Limestone, Mesdet stone, Mesnet stone, Red Conglomerate, Sandstone and the following:
- STONE CARRIERS, II 759.
- STONE, COSTLY (rendering of *š>t*, a word applied to all rare and costly stones and minerals, like malachite, lapis lazuli, turquoise, or amethyst, but not including pearls, rubies or diamonds, which were unknown), I 731; II 91, 92, 280, 376, 377, 383, 389, 390, 596, 773, 838, 887, 889, 902, 906, 912, 1028; III 31, 137, 151, 237, 405, 428, 453, 504, 512, 527, 537; IV 7, 26 bis, 27, 29, 32, 33, 126, 128, 190, 191, 214, 230, 245, 284, 287, 331, 335, 342, 349, 372, 383, 385, 386, 388, 394, 610, 847, 852, 876, 880, 881, 909, 911, 912, 913, 1011.
- Objects ornamented with, II 165, 185, 436, 490; III 412; IV 312, 315, 610, 843.
- Articles made of costly stones: amulets, II 376; IV 233; eye amulets, IV 29, 377, 390; inlay, IV 204, 209, 231, 331, 334, 538, 904, 910, 958E, J, K, 982; naophors, IV 377; necklace, II 545, 801, 876; offering-tables, IV 958M, 1020; ornaments, I 534; II 545; IV 1011; seal pendants, IV 287, 377; scarab, IV 377, 390; seal, IV 233, 377, 390; semdets, IV 377; statues, I 668; II 883; IV 250, 315, 349, 377, 395; vase, II 545; vessels, II 615, 1031; IV 730; from Retenu, II 491; God's Land, I 764; II 280, 820; III 116, 448 n. b; IV 34; from the Southland, IV 34; from Retenu, II 473, 518, 534 (?), 820; in secret mine at Sinai, I 266, 738; from the Two Mountains, III 448 n. b.
- B > -b > -y >* -stone: rings of, IV 377.
- Sparkling stone: statues of, IV 395; from Retenu, II 473, 533 (?).
- Green stones from Retenu, II 473, 491; Kheta, III 428.
- hm > g.t*-stone: necklace of, I 500.
- hrtt*-stone: vessels of, from Assur, II 446.
- Hukamu stone: semdets of, IV 377.
- Irer stone: semdets of, IV 377.
- White stone: offering tablets of, IV 972; pylons of, III 246; from Nubia, II 176; from Hittites, II 485; from Retenu, II 518.
- ybh' t*-stone from Naharin, II 501.
- Kenmet stone, IV 600; statue of, IV 302.
- Mesdemet stone, IV 345; statue of, IV 302.
- Minu stone: statue of, IV 302; scarab of, IV 233; from Retenu, II 491, 518; white menu stone from Retenu, II 509, 518.
- Hirset stone, IV 287; amulet of, IV 233; statue of, IV 302; semdets of, IV 377.
- Shesmet stone: statue of, IV 302.
- Uba stone, IV 303, 350, 395.
- Ubat stone: seals of, IV 287, 377.
- Marvelous stone: offering-table of, IV 287.
- Timhy stone from Wawat, IV 373, 389.
- Uz mineral, IV 348, 377.
- Inkhu stone, IV 600.
- See also Crystal, Jasper.
- STONE WORK: Overseer of: see Index V; workmen in stone, III 171.
- STONECUTTERS, I 447; IV 275, 466, 539.
- Stone cutting, I 239, 343.
- STORE CHAMBER, III 100; name of, III 100.
- STORE CITIES: sustenance ordered out therefrom by Pepi II, I 354.
- STOREA, IV 393.
- STOREHOUSE, II 356, 751; III 94, 204; IV 330, 403, 576.
- Storehouse of the count, I 556; of Akhetaton, II 1015.
- of offerings of temple at Abydos, I 783.
- in the city of Wa, in Northern Syria, II 458.
- Temple, I 550, II 352, 402, 554, 645, 646, 751, 755, 884, 929; III 78, 111, 110, 138, 152, 160, 351, 453, 526; IV 47, 227, 257, 258, 259, 270, 313, 314, 324, 354, 355, 358, 480, 491, 497, 550, 910, 992; overseer of, I 550; II 352; rank of, I 550; chief measurer of, II 929; captives assigned for, IV 128.
- STOREROOM, I 723, 750; Keeper of: see Index V; of dates, II 749.

- STRATEGY, III 298-304; plan of, made by Uni, I 312.
- STREAM: the living, II 356.
- STREET, IV 968.
- STRINGS: of flowers, IV 244; of beads, IV 343.
- STRONGHOLDS, II 467; III 86, 270, 457, 616; IV 141, 818, 853, 854, 856, 858, 867; Sent, I 172; Hesen, I 174; cow, I 174, 187; of the Northland, I 311; of the sand-dwellers, I 313; Redesiyeh, III 174; the nomads (Asiatic), overthrown by Nessumontu, I 471; "Wall of Seshmu-towe," I 742; of Ptah-Tatenen, III 576; of Asia, IV 141; of Merneptah-Hotephirma, III 633.
- Captives settled in, IV 403, 405 n. g; for Chief of, Commander of: see Index V.
- Stronghold of granary, I 379; Commander of: see Index V.
- SUBJECTS (*nd. t.*): of Pharaoh, I 122.
- SUCCESSION: of kingship from father to son, I 423A; of high priests of Amon, III 622, 626; of officers, see Office, Inheritance of; of Craft, see Craft.
- SUICIDE, ENFORCED, IV 444, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 452, 454, 456.
- SUIT, II 997; IV 958D, F; Master of, see Index V.
- SUMMONS: of petitioners, II 685.
- SUN, II 303, 325 *et passim*; circuit of, II 70, 98, 308; be joined with, I 491.
- Sun of the Nine Bows: royal title, II 1037; III 38.
- Right eye of, IV 678.
- Sun-disk, II 305, 941.
- Sun-hymn of Sute and Hor, II 299 n. c.
- Sunshades, II 802; IV 53, 583; of flowers, IV 244.
- SURNAME ("beautiful name"), I 676.
- SUSTENANCE: ordered out from the chief of New Towns, I 354.
- SWADDLING CLOTHES, I 502, 635.
- SWEETWOOD, II 390; IV 264, 870; from Retenu, II 509; Arrapachitis, II 509; God's Land, II 321; Punt, II 892; III 116, 527; Naharin, III 434.
- SWIMMING: instruction in, I 413.
- SWORD, I 409; II 225, 858, 925; III 117, 450, 455, 457, 465, 486, 489, 582, 584, 589, 597, 598, 613; IV 28, 70, 71, 80, 92, 246, 351, 362, 382, 405, 719, 720, 721, 823; of Horus, III 607; from Kheta, III 343; from Meshwesh, IV 111.
- of copper, from Meshwesh, III 589.
- of flint, from Retenu, II 525.
- hps*-swords, III 117, 163; of bronze, II 802.
- SWORDSMAN, III 457; mercenary, IV 50.
- SYCAMORE, I 493; II 299, 325; incense, IV 210; sycamore-gardens, IV 380; sycamores, myrrh, IV 333.
- Sycamore wood, statues of, IV 303, 349, 395.
- SYMBOL OF OSIRIS, II 874.

## T

- TABLE: of carob wood, II 436, 509; gold, II 571; ivory, II 436, 509; silver, II 571; from Retenu, II 436, 509.
- Table of a god, II 353, 355, 367; III 16; IV 958J; for mortuary offerings, II 571.
- Table of the king, II 117; ruler's, II 695; Commandant of: see Index V.
- TABLE FOWL, II 621, 622.
- TABLE SCRIBE, II 977; III 58; of harem, III 58; queen's, III 58.
- TABLE VESSELS, IV 334; of copper, IV 190, 354; gold, IV 190, 269, 354, 357; silver, IV 190, 269, 354, 357.
- TABLET, IV 586, 672, 673; of bronze, IV 231, 318, 343; copper, IV 202; gold, IV 202; silver, IV 202, 231, 285, 317, 343.
- Silver tablet from Kheta, III 371, 372, 373, 386, 387, 388, 391.
- Tablets: erected at Abydos, by Ikher-nofret, I 661 n. d; in Karnak temple, by Thutmose III, II 407, 555; in Karoy, by Amenhotep II, II 800; in Naharin, by Thutmose III, II 480; Amenhotep II, II 800; in Thebes, in mortuary temple of Thutmose IV, II 821, 824.
- Tablet: inscribed with prayers, IV 202; see also Prayers.
- TALKING OF ANIMALS, I 408.
- TALONS, IV 77, 86, 90.
- TAMARISK, IV 241, 379, 392.
- TAMBOURINE, II 1039.

- TARGET SHOOTING, II 813, 900.
- TASKMASTER, II 758.
- TASSELS OF GOLD, IV 201, 204; of gold and rock crystal, IV 373; gold and costly stones, IV 386.
- TAX, III 481; IV 141, 266, 852; upon officials, II 716, 718-45; see also Dues, Imposts and Tribute.
- Taxes levied by the vizier, II 706, 716; inspection of, II 717, 729; assessment of, II 916.
- Tax lists, I 10; II 716-45; taxes collected for funeral expenses, of Zau, I 382; remitted by Kheti II of Siut, I 408.
- Taxes, paid *in natura*, III 55; consisting of Katha plant, III 55 bis; leather, IV 150; hides, II 718; III 56, 57; vegetables, III 59; grain, III 61; IV 403; gold, II 718-45; IV 150; silver, II 720-40; IV 150; clothing, II 716-46; IV 150, 403; ointment, IV 150.
- Tax collectors: laws on, III 55, 58, 61, 62.
- Tax officials, IV 266, 324.
- TEACHING: of Amenemhet I, I 474-83; of the great seer, II 985; of the Aton faith, II 987, 990, 1002, 1003, 1013.
- Teaching cometh from Egypt, IV 579.
- TEMPLE, II 150, 302, 315, 389, 455, 800, 910, 978; III 178, 204, 232, 233, 234, 240, 248, 260, 269, 567, 585, 608, 613, 622; IV 62, 220, 283, 313, 354, 363, 386, 906, 908, 927; army of, III 31; captive women assigned as hierodules in, IV 128; decrees for administration of, see Decrees; wide hall of, I 550; workmen of, II 181; records of, from XXI Dyn., I 22; neglected by the Hyksos, I 15; rank of the scribe of, I 550; musicians, II 1018; singers, II 1018.
- Wardrobe of, I 550, 559, 560, 566; Keeper of: see Index V.
- Secret things of, I 550, 745; IV 706, 708; Master of: see Index V.
- Secret writings of, II 355, 748; master of: see Index V.
- Temple model of Heliopolis, III 244.
- Temple women: the pure settlement of, IV 321; administration of, IV 321.
- Temple-day: definition of, I 552, 561, 565.
- Temple walls, used for commemoration of a king's victories, I 12, 13.
- Temple inscriptions: see under Inscriptions.
- See further, Doors, Double doors, the Great Door, Field, Flagstaves, Fortress, Gate, Grove, Granary, Hall, Herd, House, Inspection, Lake, Land, Linen, Mortuary, Palace, Regulation, Record, Restoration, Sanctuary, Storehouse, Stronghold, Treasury, Wall.
- See also Cliff temples and Index II, and for Temple officials, see Index V.
- TEN: Overseer of: see Index V.
- TENT, I 353; II 431; III 576, 589; royal, II 425, 429, 447; III 318; poles II 435; of leather, III 589; people of Seir, living in, IV 404.
- TERRACED TEMPLE OF MENTUHOTEP III, II 291 n. a; of Hatshepsut, II 291 n. a.
- TERRACES: as source of cedar, II 32, 94, 103, 611, 614, 755, 794 n. b; IV 904; myrrh, II 260, 284, 285, 287, 288, 291 n. a, 294; the "Malachite," I 266, 342; of grain, at Arvad, II 461.
- TERRIFYING: by magic rolls, IV 454.
- TESTAMENT, I 200-9; violation of, I 204; of Nekonekh, I 213-30; of Senuonekh, I 231-35.
- TESTIMONY, IV 600; of witnesses, IV 547-53.
- THEFT, IV 552, 676; laws on, III 54; penalty for, III 54; IV 676; imprisonment for, IV 556.
- THICK STUFF: garments of, IV 241, 394.
- THIEVES, IV 511, 513, 515, 516, 517, 521, 522, 535, 537, 540, 543, 545, 548, 549, 550, 554, 556, 566.
- THINGS (divine), IV 222, 227, 280, 283, 337, 340, 341, 364, 383, 386, 387.
- THINITE PERIOD: Length of, I 56.
- THOTH: see Months.
- THROAT, II 987; IV 538.
- THRONE, II 298, 341, 375; III 525; IV 62, 110, 399, 730, 896; of gold, III 321; speech from, II 291-95; the great, III 412; of electrum, II 292; III 286; Master of, see Index V; portable, IV 749, 751; Libyan, III 584; royal, II 122, 138, 149, 151, 237, 808, 871, 959; III 27, 40, 566; IV 9, 63, 188, 246, 304, 401, 411, 471, 649, 653, 677.
- Throne of a god, II 285; IV 909; of All-Lord, IV 196; Amon, II 314,

- 608, 805, 881; III 27; IV 40, 124, 246, 777, 836; Atum, II 832; III 272; IV 5, 67, 103, 246, 399; Haraqhte, IV 66, 401; Horus, I 686, 779; II 55, 120, 151, 203, 208, 242, 302, 308, 319, 332, 443, 662, 812, 826; III 76, 158, 281, 285, 370, 486 578; IV 92, 142, 382, 411, 473, 624, 630, 895, 923, 934; Keb, II 595, 815; III 116, 267; IV 304, 400; Khonsupekhrod, IV 909; Osiris, IV 188, 401; Ptah, II 615; III 407, 615; IV 351; Re, II 303; III 16, 65; IV 57, 198, 887; Shu, III 612.
- of chiefs, III 645.
- Thrones, the two, marshal of, see Index V.
- THROW STICKS:** brought from Negro lands, I 336; from Punt, II 272.
- THUNDER,** produced by Amon, IV 578.
- TIMBER,** IV 563, 575, 582, 584, 586; green, II 433; felling of, by order of vizier, II 697; house, IV 380, 394.
- TIN,** IV 245, 385; bolts of, IV 929; statue of, IV 302.
- TITHE,** IV 354.
- TITULARY,** II 226, 303, 808; III 29, 435; royal, II 56, 120, 143-47; IV 489; of divine consort, IV 988D, I.
- TOILET, ROYAL,** I 609; Servant of, see Index V.
- TOMB,** I 5, 19; II 947; IV 585, 972; of limestone, IV 979; inspection of, IV 511; investigation of, IV 513; Foreman of, see Index V; house furniture in, IV 521; ornaments in, IV 521.
- Tombs of Senuonekh, I 231; Persen, I 241; Nezemib, I 278 n. b; Sebekemsaf, II 112; Amenhotep, II 818; Kheruf, II 873.
- at Abd el-Kurna of Ineni, II 43 n. c; Puemre, II 382 n. c; Amenken, II 801; Khamhet, II 819, 870; Hatey, II 932.
- at Abusir, of Weshptah, I 242; Hotep-hiryakhet, I 251.
- at Abydos, of Ikudidi, I 528; Zer, I 662; Osiris, I 660; Zaa, I 684; Keres, II 491, built by Queen Ah-hotep, II 49-53.
- at Assiut, of Tefibi, I 393 n. a; Kheti I, I 398 n. d; Kheti II, I 405 n. c, 412.
- at Assuan, of Harkhuf, I 325.
- at Benihasan, of Khnumhotep I, I 463 n. a; Khnumhotep II, I 179 n. e, 619 n. d, 623, 637.
- at Drah-abu-<sup>3</sup>n-Neggah: of Thutiy, II 369 n. c; Nibamon, II 777 n. e.
- at el-Bersheh, of Thuthotep, I 688 n. f.
- at El Kab, of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet, II 17 n. c, 25 n. f; Setau, IV 414, 415.
- at Gizeh, of Thenti, I 182 n. a; Henutsen, I 185 n. e; Zezemonekh, I 186 n. a; Mertityotes, I 188 n. a; Nekure, I 190 n. g; Debhen, I 210 n. a.
- at Hermonthis, of Intef, the nomarch, I 419 n. c.
- at Nekheb, of Ini, I 373.
- at Sakkara, of Harmhab, III 1.
- at Tehneh, of Nekonekh, I 213 n. a.
- at Thebes of Senmut, II 348; Thaneni, II 392, 820; Amenemhab, II 574 n. g; Amenemopet, II 671 n. e; Woser, II 671 n. e; Intef, II 763 n. e; Yuya, II 861 n. c; Thutmose IV, III 32B; Ramessids, IV 473 n. a; Amenhotep I, IV 513, 665, 667, 668, 691, 692, 700; Nebamon, IV 517; Nubkhas, IV 517; singing women of the Divine Votress, IV 521; Isis, IV 523; Ramses II, IV 545, 594; Seti I, IV 545, 593; Nesimut, IV 555; Bekurel, VI 555; Amenhotep III, IV 556. See also above Abd el-Kurna and Drah-abu-<sup>3</sup>n-Neggah.
- Peker, tomb of Osiris, I 660.
- Tomb inscriptions: see Inscriptions.
- Tombs of the lords of life, IV 4.
- TOMB CHAMBER,** IV 4, 515, 517.
- TOMB CHAPEL,** I 19, 20; of Tetisheri in Tazeser, II 36; lake of, II 36; garden of, II 36; offerings of, II 36; endowment of, II 36; mortuary priests of, II 36; ritual priests of, II 36.
- TOMB ROBBERIES IN NECROPOLIS OF THEBES,** IV 499-556.
- TOMB ROBBERS,** I 15; III 32; IV 499-556; punishment threatened by the great god (Osiris), I 330, 338, 378.
- TOMBSTONE AT THEBES OF SENMUT,** II 348.
- TOOTH IVORY,** II 509.
- TORTURES:** at examination, on hands and feet, IV 545, 552, 553; bastinado of feet, IV 548, 549, 550; beating, IV 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553.
- TOW-BOAT,** I 276, 322; of acacia, I 324; IV 229, 387; cedar, IV 229, 387.

- TOWER**, IV 842, 861; of Menmare, III 100.
- Temple towers, II 886, 889; IV 117, 189, 311, 355, 356, 357, 358.
- TOWNS**, II 966; III 62, 84, 86, 88, 90, 94, 141, 147, 613, 616; IV 54, 405, 410, 479, 948, 957, 958; of the Asiatics III 11; destroyed, III 11; Naharin, II 479; Zahi, II 490; Redesiyeh, founded by Seti I, III 172; of Tehenu (?), III 588; given for mortuary endowment, I 209; feeble towns settled with people from other nomes, I 281; given to temples, II 557; IV 222, 226, 280, 282, 339, 364, 383, 384; Commandant of, see Index V.
- TOW-ROPE**, II 328.
- TRANSPORT**: of monuments, III 206; transport (boat), IV 863; of acacia, IV 229, 283, 387; ship, III 441; IV 9, 19.
- Temple transports, IV 211, 226, 270, 282, 328, 337, 339, 384.
- TRANSPORTATION ACROSS THE NILE**, I 276, 308.
- TRAY**, IV 33.
- TREASURES**: of God's Land, II 271, 277; in king's house, sealing of, II 371.
- Treasure ship, IV 193.
- TREASURY**, II 182, 473, 750; III 274; IV 92, 566, 846, 849, 851, 852, 854, 855, 856, 859, 868, 874, 876, 879, 880; under vizier's supervision, II 676, 680, 706, 708; sealing of, II 676; captives for, III 155.
- Chief treasury: order of business, I 423E; chief of, I 713; double cabinet of, I 716, 725; affairs of, reported to the vizier, II 676, 680, 706, 708; Overseer of, Scribe of: see Index V; inspection of, IV 146 n. c.
- Gold treasury: overseer of, IV 1017.
- Temple treasuries, I 777, 778; III 515, 527; IV 9, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 190, 193, 195, 211, 217, 227, 250, 256, 266, 270, 340, 359, 362, 489, 497, 545, 547, 683, 684, 685, 686. See also White House.
- Treasury of the South, II 614.
- TREATY**, III 373, 374, 375, 391; of Kheta with Egypt, by Seplel, III 377; Metella, III 377; Khetasar, III 367-91.
- TREES**, II 263; IV 795; deeded to a god, II 966; fruit, II 433; planting of, I 173, 328; II 294; III 268; IV 213, 216, 410, 489, 1020; cutting down of, II 697; enduring trees of myrrh, II 288.
- Ished tree, II 310.
- Mimusop tree, II 294 n. c.
- Pleasant trees: for garden of Min, II 567; of Megiddo, II 433; of Arvad, II 461.
- See also Acacia, Cedar, Date, Myrrh, Fig trees, Juniper, Mastic tree, Oil tree, Palm tree, Persea, Rosemary, Sycamore, Tamarisk, Vine.
- TRIBES, CHIEF MEN OF**, IV 405.
- TRIBUTE**, II 225, 245, 325, 377, 385, 522, 525, 648, 657, 750, 1028, 1030, 1035; III 13, 82, 137, 138, 273, 428, 481, 484, 527; IV 28, 91, 126, 130, 141, 215, 256, 333, 360, 407, 412, 497, 734, 852, 868, 878; the heads and hands, IV 497; distribution of, II 706; inspection of, II 706, 761; reports on, to be made monthly, II 708.
- Tribute: from mayors, II 708; village sheiks, II 708; rulers numbered by the herald, II 771.
- Tribute from: Arrapachitis, II 512; Asiatics, II 120; III 453; Assur, II 445, 446, 449; Babylon, II 446; Bekhten III 435; never paid by Byblos, IV 576, 577; from Cyprus, II 493, 511, 521; Egypt, I 423D; Genebteyew, II 474; Haunebu, II 953; Isles, IV 34; Isy, II 493, 511, 521; Kadesh, II 773; Keftew, II 761, 773; Kharu, II 1015; IV 724; Kheta, II 485, 525, 773; III 151, 421; Kush, II 801, 1015; III 42, 453, 590, 644; Mitanni, II 804; Naharin, II 482, 819; Northland, II 751; northern Oasis, II 385, 386; southern Oasis, II 385, 386; Oasis region, II 386; Nubia, III 484; Punt, II 261, 262, 268; III 39; IV 407; Retenu, II 445, 447, 448, 466, 471, 491, 509(?), 518, 525, 533(?), 534(?), 761, 820; III 106, 111; IV 219; Sea, IV 34; Shinar, II 484; south countries the, II 652, 751, 761, 1038; III 116; South and North, III 13; Syria, II 1015; IV 724; Tehenu, II 321, 413; Tinay, II 537; Tunip, II 773; Zahi, II 462, 536(?); marshes of Asia, II 385; III 434; Watet-Hor, II 385, 386; ends of Asia, II 386, 891.



TRIBUTE WEIGHT: see Weight.

TRIUMPHANT: epithet received by the dead and constantly placed after their names; literally "true of voice" (*mꜣꜥ-hrw*); later (from end of Empire on) placed also after the names of the living. *Passim*.

TROOPS, I 303, 315, 410; II 420, 916; III 577; IV 767, 768, 825, 861, 864; consultation with, II 420; headed by, I 312, 366; II 852; IV 966; proscribed from Sebni's estate, I 366, 368; officers of, II 433; two divisions of, III 56; recorder of, III 20; Commander of, Commander in chief of, see Index V.

—Elite troops of the king, II 809; mercenary troops, III 307.

—Temple troops, IV 966.

—Troop-ships, I 315.

TRUMPET, II 981.

—Trumpeter, III 40; IV 70, 118.

TUNIC: of royal linen, IV 232, 374; southern linen, IV 374; fine southern linen, IV 232, 374; colored linen, IV 232, 239, 374.

TUNNELING, IV 515, 516.

TUR: statute made of, IV 302.

TURBAN, III 460.

TUSK, III 475; IV 344, 391; presented to the court, I 369.

—from Retenu, II 525(?); Tehenu, II 321; Isy, II 493, 521; Niy, II 588.

TYBI: see Months.

## U

UNCIRCUMCISED, III 587, 588, 601.

UNCLEAN: by eating fish, IV 882; foreigners, IV 905.

UPLANDS, II 966.

UPPER GARMENTS: of royal linen, IV 232; fine southern linen, IV 232.

URÆUS, II 70, 299; III 7, 12, 13, 15, 18, 21, 116; IV 209, 382, 401, 814, 815, 843, 882; the two, III 622.

URDU BIRDS, IV 345.

—with golden beaks, IV 345.

USHERS, II 925 n. a.

USURPER, SYRIAN, I 68, 68 n. e; IV 398.

UTENSILS: of silver, IV 958C; gold, IV 958G; copper, IV 958G.

UTTERANCE: of a god, II 196, 198, 199, 207, 208, 220, 286, 656, 891, 909, 910; III 105, 110, 116, 136, 150, 155,

164, 165, 223, 399, 518; IV 34, 49, 57, 78, 126, 130, 611, 612, 620, 633, 721; queen, II 197; king, III 259, 411, 486; IV 26 bis, 28, 29, 31, 32, 52, 54, 58, 63, 77, 78, 81, 109, 110, 112, 124, 128; officer, II 940; III 16, 271; IV 52, 55, 58, 71, 77, 82, 110, 123, 124, 127, 128.

## V

VALLEY, SACRED: Intef I landed there, I 423.

VALUABLES, IV 580.

VASE, II 802; IV 326; given to the temple of Amon for libation, I 421; II 164.

—Made of bronze, I 500; II 164; IV 538; copper, I 500; II 164; costly stone, II 545; electrum, II 164; gold, I 500; II 32, 64, 164, 754; IV 199, 238, 269, 327, 538; fine gold, IV 334; gold of two times, IV 231; silver, I 500; II 32, 164, 754; IV 203, 231, 269, 327, 334, 538.

—*-kꜣ-nꜣ* vase, II 518; from Retenu, II 509, 533; Kharu, II 436.

—Two-handled vase from Kharu II 436; from Retenu, II 509, 518, 533 (?).

—Denya vase, IV 238, 269.

—Enkhy vase, IV 269, 334.

—Gen vase, IV 334.

—Nemset vase, IV 269, 334.

—Heset vase, IV 269, 334.

—Vase stand, IV 199, 269, 327.

—Vase inscription: see under Inscriptions.

VEGETABLES, II 117, 159, 161; IV 244, 283, 329, 341, 371, 387, 949, 950, 952, 953, 954, 958M; for oblation, II 815; IV 335; for divine offering, II 567, 620, 621, 622; III 77, 159; IV 200, 217; IV 229, 394; for food, III 207, 208.

—Paid as impost, III 59.

—See also Beans, Cabbage, Onions, Lentils.

VESSEL (ship), IV 944; of Snefru's fleet, I 89; of Hatshepsut, II 252, 266, 288; transport vessels, of Thuthotep, I 697; temple vessels, II 162; from Genebteyew, II 474; Wawat, II 475, 487, 503; 515, 523; Punt, II 486; Kush, II 494, 502, 514.

—Eight vessel (a barge), II 917.

VESSELS, IV 231, 285, 343, 373, 385, 386, 389, 394, 876.

## Vessels—

- of bronze, II 436, 459, 795; copper, II 459; from Retenu, II 491; costly stones, II 615, 1031; IV 730; gold, II 490, 615, 989, 1028, 1031; III 106; IV 285, 343, 497, 566, 730; wrought with gold, from Retenu, II 790, 1031; *hrti*-stone from Assur, II 446; iron from Tinay, II 537; lapis lazuli, II 1031; III 106; malachite, II 1031; silver, II 615, 795, 1028, 1031; III 106; IV 343, 476, 477, 497, 566, 730, 992; from Zahi, II 490; Naharin, II 482; of workmanship of Zahi, II 482, 490; from Retenu, II 491, 518; III 106; of workmanship of, II 491; of the work of Keftyew, from Tinay, II 537.
- the work of Zahi, from Retenu, II 509.
- Temple vessels, IV 95M; for the temple cult, IV 268.
- Hin vessel of silver, IV 735.
- Spouted vessel of silver, IV 735.
- c*-vessel, IV 238.
- Ekhu*-vessels, IV 334.
- sh*-vessel, IV 732, 733, 734.
- k > k-mn*-vessel, IV 582.
- t > pw*-vessels, III 589.
- t b*-vessel, IV 582.
- dw*-vessels, of silver, IV 735.
- VICTORY: commemoration of, in the temple, I 12; at Megiddo, II 431; see also Hymns.
- VILLAGE, II 852; sheik of, II 692, 699, 701.
- VIOLATORS, of mortuary endowment, II 925; III 192, 194; IV 483; of treaty, III 386.
- VISION, of a god, III 445.
- VINES: I 496; IV 216; planting of, I 173; of sand-dwellers, I 313; gardens, IV 380.
- VINEYARD: planting of, I 173; IV 1021; vineyard estate, I 201.
- Vineyards of Amon, II 386; IV 213, 216; tribute from, II 386; of Re, IV 262.
- VOTRESS: of Ptah, IV 321; divine votress of Amon-Re, IV 511, 513, 521, 522, 942, 946, 958C, M; house of, IV 511, 513, 521, 522, 958F, G, K; major domo of, IV 511, 513, 522; granary of, IV 958G, H; singing women of, IV 521; cattleyards of, IV 958G, H; tombs of, IV 522, 958M; temple of, IV 958K.

VOYAGE (festival of a god), II 94.

VULTURE, III 154.

## W

- WAGONS: from Assur, II 449; see also Ox-carts, Chariots.
- WALL, III 84, 141, 260, 269, 567, 616; IV 65, 189, 216, 250, 271, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 489, 654, 748, 818, 820, 853, 859, 861, 864, 879, 914, 970, 1020; of fortress inclosure, II 894; king as, IV 72, 75.
- Canal wall, IV 628.
- Siege-wall: of Megiddo, II 433.
- Temple walls: of electrum, II 886; IV 748; metal, IV 66.
- Walled towns, IV 818, 830.
- Walls of lakes, IV 910, 912; of pools, IV 972.
- WAND, III 43.
- WARDROBE, ROYAL, I 348, 533, 608; Great lord of, Master of, see Index V.
- Wardrobe of the temple: rank of the keeper of, I 550.
- WARES, III 274.
- WARS, of Pepi I, I 311; Harmhab, III 33-44; Libyan, under Merneptah, I 13, rule of, IV 861; see also Battles.
- Warrior, III 579; IV 58, 65, 75, 81, 879; of the sea, III 479; IV 44; Hittite, III 337.
- Warship: Egyptian, I 322; IV 65, 74; of Peleset, IV 74; Sherden, IV 74; made of acacia, IV 229, 387.
- War club of Snefru, I 168; of Pepi I, I 296; of Asiatics, I 365 n. c.
- War mace, IV 130, 246.
- War office: in charge of the vizier, II 693-95, 702.
- War plan, I 312; III 307; council of, II 420; III 322.
- Man of war, III 579.
- WATCH, II 916; of army, II 425, 864; III 318.
- WATER: of the living stream, II 356; of the living river, II 378; divine water (=semen virile), III 474, 486; of Re, IV 47.
- Libation of for mortuary offering, III 17.
- Water-supply, I 407; II 15 n. e.; III 170; under charge of vizier, II 698, 707.
- Waters of Akhetaton, II 966; of Egypt, II 420; Naharin (=Euphrates), II 583.

- WATER FOWL: see Fowl.
- WAY OF LIFE, II 990; of heaven, II 257; of Re, II 257; to Punt, II 285, 294; the Two, II 299.
- WAX, IV 240, 393.  
—gods, made of, for magical purposes, IV 454; people, made of, IV 455.
- WEAPONS, IV 75, 91, 410, 944; royal, II 213, 430, 784, 801; soldiers, II 429; IV 71; Asiatics, II 784; of Ikathi, II 788; of Kheta, III 310, 343.  
—Weapons of war, IV 825; from Ul-laza, II 470; Retenu, II 471, 534 (?); Meshwesh, III 589; Naharin, II 482; Nuges, II 508.  
—See also Arrow, Axe, Baton, Bow, Dagger, Hatchet, Knife, Lance, Mace, Rod, Scourge, Shield, Spear, Sword.
- WEAVER, TEMPLE, IV 552, 992.
- WEIGHING, II 273-74, 281, 387; IV 256; Thoth, guardian of, IV 256.
- WEIGHT, I 531.  
—Cow, II 279; IV 29.  
—*mh*<sup>3</sup>-weight, IV 240.  
—Karakuti-weight, IV 286.  
—Nusa-weight, IV, 302, 349, 395; tribute, II 719, 720, 721, 722, 735.  
—Round, II 279.  
—See also Deben, Kidet.
- WELL, III 84, 86, 616.  
—of Ayan, IV 406; Redesiyeh, III 171, 197; of Elephantine, III 171; the oasis, IV 726, 728; "Well of Meriamon-Ramses-Mighty-in-Victory," III 293; "Menmare-is-Great-in-Victory," III 84; Merneptah-Hotepfirma, III 631; located on the highland, III 631.  
—Digging of, I 431; III 171, 195, 286, 287, 289, 290, 291, 292; inspection of, IV 726; seizure of, I 431; wonderful origin of, in Hammamat, I 451; temple-well masoned, I 534.  
—*wv*-wells, IV 726.  
—*hbs*-well, IV 726.
- WHEAT, IV 9, 190, 193, 207, 259, 363, 958H.
- WHEEL, POTTER'S, II 202.
- WHIPS: of ebony, II 802; gold, II 802; ivory, II 802.
- WHITE FISH, IV 243.
- WHITE FRUIT, IV 30.
- WHITE HOUSE, IV 958G; offerings of, I 370; departments of, I 447; chief of, I 722; overseer of, II 1014, 1020; IV 495, 511, 512; Scribe of, see Index V.  
—White House of Miam (Ibrim): scribe of, IV 474.  
—Double White House, I 505; festival oil from, for Mekhu's funeral, I 370; clothing from, for Mekhu's funeral, I 370; of the court, embalment equipment from, for Zau, I 382; overseer of, I 505; see also Treasury.
- WICKS FOR KINDLING FIRE IN THE TEMPLE, I 560-64, 566, 573-74, 583.
- WIDE HALL OF THE TEMPLE: rank of the keeper of, I 550.
- WIDOW: kindness to, I 395; Kharu a widow to Egypt, III 617.
- WIFE-SISTER, IV 774; violation of, II 925.
- WILD FOWL: see Fowl.
- WILD GOATS: see Goats.
- WILLS AND CONVEYANCES, I 5; of Prince Nekure, I 190-99; Nekonekh, I 223-25; Yewelot, IV 794; Shepnupet II, IV 946.
- WIND, THE NORTH: the sweet, II 353.
- WINDOW, IV 573, 871.
- WINE, I 496; II 117, 159, 260, 434, 887; III 268; IV 216, 217, 228, 233, 239, 283, 299, 341, 344, 348, 363, 376, 387, 565, 589, 734, 949, 950, 952, 953, 954, 972; for divine offering, II 562, 616, 621, 622, 793, 798; IV 190, 213, 262, 269, 272, 286, 292, 309, 313, 329, 390, 958M, 1021; for evening offering, II 565; for feast offering, II 566; oblation, I 435; II 553, 554, 571, 612, 960; III 284; IV 199, 208, 335, 468, 768; for mortuary offering, II 571; III 17, 526; for food, III 208.  
—as tribute, II 750, 751, 771; IV 734.  
—of Arvad, II 461; Zahi, II 462, 472, 510, 519; Retenu, II 491, 509, 518, 616; southern oasis, IV 734, 992.  
—Honeyed wine, from Retenu, II 447, 473.  
—Hemy wine, IV 734.  
—Syene wine, IV 734.  
—Wine cellar, IV 512.  
—Wine gardens of Amon, IV 213.  
—Wine presses, II 461.  
—See also Date Wine, Shedeh.
- WING, OF ARMY, II 426, 430; Pharaoh, lord of, II 661.
- WISDOM, PTAH BESTOWER OF, III 402.
- WISE MAN, I 697; III 434, 438, 439; of the house of sacred writings, IV 460.

- WITCHCRAFT, IV 454-56.
- WITNESS, IV 876; examination of, IV 424; gods as, to treaty, III 386.
- WOLF, PHARAOH AS, III 144, 147.
- Wolves, I 281; III 134; see also Jackals.
- WOMEN: imprisoned for theft, IV 556; bulls made into, IV 883.
- Captives, assigned as hierodules, IV 128.
- of the harem, IV 427, 428, 430, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451.
- Sacred women of Amon, IV 751; in Ptah's temple, IV 321.
- Singing women in temple of Amon, IV 521, 543.
- WONDERS AT HAMMAMAT: first, I 435-37; second, I 449-51.
- WOOD, handle of, IV 288; track for obelisk of, II 105.
- g.t.*-wood, chariot-poles of, II 447; from Retenu, II 447; two-colored, from Retenu, II 447.
- k > nk*-wood from Assur, II 449.
- nhb*-wood from Assur, II 449.
- T > gw*-wood, chariots of, II 491; staff of, II 536; from Hittites, II 485; Zahi, II 490; Retenu, II 491; seal of, IV 234, 288, 345, 391; block for the scales, IV 391; cases of, IV 391.
- See also Acacia, Aromatic, Black wood, Carob, Cassia, Cedar, Cinnamon, Fire wood, Fragrant wood, Ked wood, Kidet wood, Khesyt wood, Mera wood, Meru wood, Neybu wood, Neneby wood, Olive wood, Pesgu wood, Sweet wood, Sycamore wood.
- WORKMANSHIP, II 754; IV 257, 489, 850, 897; of Zahi, II 482, 509; Retenu, II 490; Kharu, II 501, 509; Keftiyew, II 537.
- WORKMEN, II 383; III 271, 498; IV 275, 524, 525, 526, 551; in stone, III 171; master, IV 466; Chief, see Index V.
- King's: Leader of, Overseer of, see Index V.
- WORKS: for the ka, III 272; of quarrymen, IV 466; for Chief of, Commander of, Overseer of, see Index V.
- King's, chief of, see Index V.
- Works of Amon: Chief of, Chief overseer of, see Index V.
- WORKSHOP OF PTAH, IV 28; temple, II 775; IV 226, 280, 282, 337, 364, 370, 383.
- WOUNDS, FIVE: opened on a soldier for stealing hides, III 57.
- WRAPPING OF HORUS (a garment), of royal linen, IV 232, 374.
- Wrappings, burial, IV 966; of royal linen, IV 966.
- WREATH, II 185; III 208.
- WRIT OF CLAIM, I 205.
- WRITING, II 151, 186, 606; IV 140, 564, 655, 672, 673, 964; of Amon, IV 563, 574; of Atum, I 756; of Thoth, I 531; IV 34.
- Writings, sacred, II 353; forbidding practice of magic, IV 456; house of, I 533; IV 445, 460, 1022; in charge of the prophets, II 353.
- Ancient: concerning landmarks, I 625; concerning taxes, II 717.
- of the vizier, II 684; confidential, II 684.
- King's writings, I 271, 273, 533; Master of, Chief scribe of: see Index V; of daily records, II 392, 680.
- Hall of writings, IV 255, 321, 354, 363, 768.
- WROUGHT WOOD: seal of, IV 234, 288, 345, 391; block for the scales, IV 391; cases of, IV 391.
- w < b.t.*-HOUSE, THE DOUBLE: see House.
- Wpg*: a part of the temple of Osiris at Abydos, IV 1020; altars of, IV 1020; lake of, IV 1020.

## Y

- YARN, IV 228, 375, 387, 390.
- YEAR: hieroglyphic sign for, on Palermo stone, I 81; reckoning of, in ancient Babylonia, I 81.
- Calendar year: length of, discovered in the fifth millennium, I 39; division of, I 39.
- Solar (Gregorian), I 40.
- Sothic year longer, I 40.
- the little year, feast of, I 630; the great, feast of, I 630.
- Millions of years spent by the king in the temple, I 403.

- YOKE, IV 467; of bulls, I 523.
- YOUTH, I 413, 697; IV 63, III, 246, 895.
- YUFITI PLANT, IV 234, 344, 378, 392.

## Z

- ZAWET, II 995.
- ZENITH, II 815.

# INDEX VIII

## EGYPTIAN

### ABBREVIATIONS

d. n.=divine name.  
e. n.=ethnic name.  
f. n.=feast name.  
g. n.=geographical name.

p. n.=personal name.  
r. n.=royal name.  
t. n.=temple name.

- <sup>o</sup>, r. n., I 90.  
<sup>o</sup>-*yw-rw-n*, g. n., IV 712.  
<sup>o</sup>*yr-sw*, p. n. (?), IV 398 n. a.  
<sup>o</sup>-*b<sup>o</sup>-n*, p. n., II 6.  
<sup>o</sup>-*bk*, p. n., IV 682.  
<sup>o</sup>-*m-w-r<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., III 310, 340, 356;  
   <sup>o</sup>-*m-r<sup>o</sup>*, IV 64, 127; *y m-r* (read  
   <sup>o</sup>-*m-r*), III 141.  
<sup>o</sup>-*r-n-n<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., III 368, 391.  
<sup>o</sup>-*r-n-t*, g. n., III 308, 311.  
<sup>o</sup>-*r<sup>o</sup>-m*, III 634.  
<sup>o</sup>-*r<sup>o</sup>-n<sup>o</sup>-m*, g. n., III 310.  
<sup>o</sup>-*r<sup>o</sup>-r-p-b*, II 512 n. f.  
<sup>o</sup>-*r<sup>o</sup>-r-b*, g. n., II 512.  
<sup>o</sup>-*r<sup>o</sup>-s<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., III 114; IV 64, 482, 591.  
<sup>o</sup>-*r<sup>o</sup>-ty-wt*, g. n., II 461; <sup>o</sup>-*r<sup>o</sup>-t-wt*, II  
 465; <sup>o</sup>-*r<sup>o</sup>-t-w*, III 309, 312; IV 64;  
*Y-r<sup>o</sup>-t-w* (read <sup>o</sup>-*r<sup>o</sup>-t-w*), III 306.  
<sup>o</sup>-*r<sup>o</sup>-t<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., IV 120.  
<sup>o</sup>-*ry-m*, p. n., IV 455.  
<sup>o</sup>-*s<sup>o</sup>-b<sup>o</sup>-t<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., IV 405.  
<sup>o</sup>-*sw-r<sup>o</sup>*, see *Ys-sw-r<sup>o</sup>*  
<sup>o</sup>-*s-k-rw-n<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., III 355; <sup>o</sup>-*s-k<sup>o</sup>-r-ny*,  
 III 617.  
<sup>o</sup>-*k<sup>o</sup>-n<sup>o</sup>* (vase), II 436, 509, 518, 533.  
<sup>o</sup>-*k<sup>o</sup>-y-t<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., III 286; <sup>o</sup>-*k<sup>o</sup>-ty*, IV  
 477.  
<sup>o</sup>-*k-w-y-s<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., III 601; <sup>o</sup>-*k<sup>o</sup>-w<sup>o</sup>-s<sup>o</sup>*,  
 III 574; <sup>o</sup>-*k<sup>o</sup>-w<sup>o</sup>-s<sup>o</sup>*, III 579; <sup>o</sup>-*k<sup>o</sup>-y-w<sup>o</sup>-s<sup>o</sup>*,  
 III 588 bis.  
<sup>o</sup>-*k<sup>o</sup>-n-s<sup>o</sup>*, p. n., IV 878; <sup>o</sup>-*k<sup>o</sup>-n-s<sup>o</sup>*, IV  
 815; <sup>o</sup>-*k<sup>o</sup>-n-s-w*, IV 868.  
<sup>o</sup>-*k<sup>o</sup>-r<sup>o</sup>-t-y*, g. n., III 306; <sup>o</sup>-*k<sup>o</sup>-ry-t*,  
 III 309; <sup>o</sup>-*k<sup>o</sup>-t-r-y*, III 312.  
<sup>o</sup>-*ty*, g. n., III 576.  
<sup>o</sup>-*d-m<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., IV 714.  
<sup>o</sup>-*d-r<sup>o</sup>-<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., IV 716.  
<sup>o</sup>-*d-rw*, g. n., IV 712 n. e.  
<sup>o</sup>-*d-rw-m<sup>o</sup>-m*, g. n., IV 712 n. f.  
<sup>o</sup>*t<sup>o</sup>* (enemy ?), II 15 n. b.  
<sup>o</sup>*y*, r. n., II 989.  
<sup>o</sup>*c* (a title), IV 547 n. c.,  
<sup>o</sup>*c* (-jar), IV 228, 233, 283, 286, 344,  
 376, 387, 390.  
<sup>o</sup>*c*-*bw* (-jar), IV 294, 299.  
<sup>o</sup>*bw*, g. n., IV 679 n. c.  
<sup>o</sup>*my* (or *Hnmy*), p. n., I 343.  
<sup>o</sup>*n-yw-g-s<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., II 490, 507, 557;  
*Yn-yw-g-s<sup>o</sup>*, II 436.  
<sup>o</sup>*n-n-r<sup>o</sup>-t<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., III 114.  
<sup>o</sup>*n-r<sup>o</sup>-t-w*, g. n., II 470.  
<sup>o</sup>*r* (violence), I 423 n. e.  
<sup>o</sup>*rk*, g. n., II 845 n. f.  
<sup>o</sup>*k* (-herb), II 159.  
<sup>o</sup>*k't* (field), II 1 n. b.  
<sup>o</sup>*k't* (first season), I 218 n. a.  
<sup>o</sup>*ty*, p. n., II 258.

### Y

- Yt*, g. n., I 510.  
*Y-y-r<sup>o</sup>-y*, p. n., IV 445.  
*Y-m-r*, g. n., III 141; see <sup>o</sup>-*m-w-r<sup>o</sup>*.  
*Y-ny-ny*, p. n., IV 440.  
*Y-nw-<sup>o</sup>c-mw*, g. n., II 436, 557; III 90,  
 114, 617.  
*Y-r-c-s-t*, g. n., II 784 n. f.  
*Y-r-t-w*, g. n., III 306; see <sup>o</sup>-*r<sup>o</sup>-ty-wt*.  
*Y-r-c-d<sup>o</sup>c*, g. n., II 416; *Y-rw-d<sup>o</sup>-<sup>o</sup>*, IV  
 714.  
*Y-hm*, g. n., II 419.  
*Y-ktp*, g. n., I 312.  
*Y-k<sup>o</sup>-t<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., II 787; *Y-k<sup>o</sup>-ty*, II 787.

- Y*<sup>o</sup> -*rd*, g. n., IV 368.  
*Y*<sup>o</sup> -*t*<sup>o</sup>, p. n., I 728.  
*Y*<sup>o</sup> -*tw*, p. n., I 723.  
*Y*<sup>o</sup> -*t* (cattle), IV 242.  
*Y*<sup>o</sup>, g. n., I 496.  
*Y*<sup>o</sup> -*w*'*t* (goats), III 428 n. d.  
*Y*<sup>o</sup> *m*, e. n., I 324; *Y*<sup>o</sup> *m*, g. n., I 333, 334, 336; *Ym*<sup>o</sup> *w*, g. n., I 510; *Ym*<sup>o</sup> *m*, I 311.  
*y*<sup>o</sup> *m*'*t*, d. n., I 98.  
*Y*<sup>o</sup> *mw*-*Khk*, g. n., II 42.  
*Y*<sup>o</sup> *ny*, p. n., II 343.  
*Y*<sup>o</sup> *h**ib*, g. n., I 431.  
*Y*<sup>o</sup> *h*-*n*-*Ytm*, r. n., II 959.  
*y*<sup>o</sup> *h* (spirit), III 510.  
*Y*<sup>o</sup> *h*-*nb*'*t*, p. n., I 230.  
*y*<sup>o</sup> *hw*'*t* (horizon), II 316 n. c.  
*Y*<sup>o</sup> *hw**ty*, d. n., II 325.  
*Y*<sup>o</sup> *hw*'*t*-*n*-*Ytm*, t. n., II 1018.  
*Y*<sup>o</sup> *hw*'*t*-*h**p*-*hr*, p. n., I 252.  
*y*<sup>o</sup> *sr* (tamarisk), IV 241; read <sup>o</sup> *sr*.  
*Y*<sup>o</sup> *t*-*Sbk*, g. n., I 173.  
*Y*<sup>o</sup> *tw*, p. n., II 912.  
*Yy*-*mrs*, g. n., I 173.  
*Yy*-*hr*-*njr*'*t*, p. n., I 664.  
*Y*<sup>c</sup> *h*, d. n., II 896.  
*y*<sup>c</sup> *h* (-grain), II 733, 737, 739, 748, 749.  
*Y*<sup>c</sup> *h*-*wbn*, p. n., IV 1029.  
*Y*<sup>c</sup> *h*-*ms*, p. n., II 6.  
*Y*<sup>c</sup> *h*-*ms*-*njr*.*t*-*yr**y*, p. n., II 26.  
*Y*<sup>c</sup> *h*-*ms*-*s*<sup>o</sup>-*p*<sup>o</sup>-*yr*, r. n., IV 519.  
*y*<sup>c</sup> *hty* (peasant, lit. "belonging to the field"), I 536; see *hwty*.  
*y*<sup>o</sup> *hw*-*ys*'*t*, IV 520 n. b.  
*Yw*-*w*<sup>o</sup>-*p*-*ty*, p. n., IV 705.  
*Yw*-*w*<sup>o</sup>-*p*'*t*, r. n., IV 830.  
*Yw*-*w*<sup>o</sup>-*r*<sup>o</sup>-*t*, p. n., IV 794.  
*Yw*-*p*-*ty*, r. n., IV 794.  
*Yw*-*fy*-*ty* (-plant), IV 234, 344, 378, 392.  
*Yw*-*my**trw*, g. n., I 459 n. c.  
*Yw*-*n*<sup>o</sup>, g. n., IV 948.  
*Yw*-*r*-*d*-*n*, g. n., IV 716.  
*Yw*-*d*-*h*-*m*-*rw*-*k*, g. n., IV 713.  
*yw*-*t*<sup>o</sup> (where), III 288 n. b.  
*Yw*-*tw*, g. n., III 114.  
*Yw*'*f*, p. n., II 112.  
*yw*'*hr*, II 224 n. b.  
*yw*-*ty*'*sn*, III 174.  
*yw*-*tw*'*hr* *bs*'*k*, IV 730 n. a.  
*Ywy*, p. n., III 32B.  
*Ywy*<sup>o</sup>, p. n., II 862, 867.  
*yw* *c*'*ty* (peasantry), III 322.  
*Yww*, g. n., II 299 n. b.  
*Ywjrr*, p. n., IV 991.  
*Ywh*, p. n., III 32C.  
*Yws*-*c*<sup>o</sup> *s*, IV 278; *Yws*-*c*<sup>o</sup> -*st*, d. n., IV 183.  
*Yb*-*s*<sup>o</sup>-*k*<sup>o</sup>-*b*<sup>o</sup>, g. n., III 86.  
*Yb*-*s*<sup>o</sup>, p. n., I 620 n. d.  
*Yb*<sup>o</sup>, p. n., IV 958B.  
*Ybb*, p. n., I 707.  
*Ybby*, p. n., I 283.  
*Ybnw*, IV 378, 395.  
*ybh*'*t* (-stone), II 501.  
*Ybh*'*t*, g. n., II 852.  
*Ybh*<sup>o</sup>'*t*, g. n., I 321.  
*Ybdw*, p. n., I 303.  
*yp*'*t* (measure), IV 232, 234, 238, 239, 240, 241, 244, 286, 294, 295, 297, 301, 350, 380, 385 n. a., 390, 392, 393.  
*Yp*'*t*-*ys*'*wt*, g. n., III 510.  
*yp*'*w* (dues), II 716 ter, 717.  
*Ypy*, p. n., I 387.  
*yp**y* *yht* *nb* *ypt* *n* *h**nw* *m* *rs* *pn*, I 320, n. b.  
*Ypw*, d. n., I 500.  
*ym*, I 784 n. c.  
*Ym*<sup>o</sup> *w*, g. n., I 351.  
*Ymy*, p. n., I 450.  
*ymy*-*w* *c* *b*, I 370.  
*ymy*-*wr*'*t* *nt* *W*<sup>o</sup> *s*'*t*, II 905 n. d.  
*ymy*-*pr* (fortune), IV 946.  
*ymy*-*r*<sup>o</sup> *ys*'*t* *m* *W*'*t*-*hr*, II 385 n. a.  
*ymy*-*hnty*, II 1009.  
*ymyw*-*hnty* (courtiers), III 267.  
*ymyw*-*st*'*t*, e. n., II 658 n. d.  
*Ymn*-*ys*-*r*-*w*<sup>o</sup>, r. n., II 896 n. d.  
*Ymn*-*wsr*-*s*, p. n., I 777.  
*Ymn*-*m*-*yn*'*t*, p. n., IV 522.  
*Ymn*-*h*<sup>c</sup> *w*, p. n., IV 449.  
*Ymnw*-*hr**p* (pyramid name), I 601.  
*Ymsw*, p. n., I 529.  
*Y*<sup>o</sup> *h*'*t*-*yrny*, p. n., I 387.  
*Y*<sup>o</sup> *hw*-*mnw*, t. n., IV 753 n. a.

- Ymts*, r. n., I 310.  
*yn'w* (tribute), III 481; *yn'tw*, III 632.  
*Yn-yw-g-s*<sup>2</sup>, g. n., II 436; see <sup>2</sup> *n-yw-g-s*<sup>2</sup>.  
*Yn-mw't'f* (pillar of his mother), III 155; IV 761.  
*Yn-n-r*<sup>2</sup>-y, p. n., IV 553.  
*yn-n-hw* (-stone), IV 600.  
*Ynij*, p. n., I 365.  
*Yn-tw'f-ε*<sup>2</sup>, r. n., IV 516.  
*Yn-tj-ε*<sup>2</sup>, r. n., I 423; IV 514.  
*Yny*, g. n., I 459.  
*Yny*, p. n., I 373.  
*yny* (brought), II 271 n. c.  
*Yny't*, g. n., I 459, n. d; II 1 n. b.  
*Ynw-w*<sup>2</sup> *ww*, p. n., III 635.  
*Ynw-Mn't'yu*, e. n., III 118 (read *Yntyw*).  
*Ynw-šjnw*, p. n., IV 366, 367.  
*Ynw šm*<sup>ε</sup>, g. n., II 1018.  
*Ynbw-hd*, g. n., IV 857.  
*ynm* (?), I 736 n. d.  
*ynr-n-m*<sup>2</sup>-t (granite), III 54.  
*ynr nfr n*<sup>ε</sup> *mw*, II 339 n. b.  
*yntyw*, I 104.  
*Yr-wn*, g. n., III 309 n. d; *Yr-wn't*, III 312.  
*Yr-sw*, d. n., II 959 n. c, 985 n. b; III 285 n. a.  
*Yr't-rw*, p. n., IV 792.  
*Yry*, p. n., I 333.  
*Yry*, p. n., I 369.  
*yry* (to visit), I 602 n. d.  
*yry-ε t-n-pr-hd* (treasury official), I 718.  
*yry srt yri kd m rs pn*, I 320 n. f.  
*yry'w-pt* (fowl), III 404 n. e.  
*Yry't-s't*, p. n., II 112.  
*yryt'n'y pw m wn'm*<sup>2</sup>-ε (in reality), I 471 n. c.  
*Yrm*, g. n., II 494, 845 n. f.  
*yrr* (-stone), IV 377.  
*Yrrty*, d. n., II 828.  
*Yrtt*, g. n., I 311, 317, 334 bis, 336.  
*Yrrtt*, g. n., I 324.  
*Yh*<sup>2</sup>, p. n., I 688 n. a.  
*Yhy*, p. n., I 165.  
*Yhy*, p. n., I 387.  
*Yhw*, p. n., I 298.  
*yhwty* (peasant), IV 229; see *y*<sup>ε</sup> *hty*.  
*yh't* (thing), I 652 n. a.  
*yh't* (offering), II 618.  
*yh't-ntr* (divine offerings), IV 1020.  
*Yhy*, p. n., I 183.  
*Yhy*, p. n., I 298, 301.  
*Yhrkyn*, g. n., I 510.  
*Ys-sw-r*<sup>2</sup>, g. n. (read <sup>2</sup> *s-sw-r*<sup>2</sup>), II 446 bis, 449.  
*ys-m*<sup>2</sup>-r<sup>2</sup> (emory), IV 600.  
*ys-h*<sup>2</sup> *k't*, II 916 n. b.  
*ys't wr't nt W*<sup>2</sup> *s't*, II 905 n. d.  
*ys.t-m*<sup>2</sup>-ε<sup>2</sup> (necropolis), IV 668.  
*Ysy*, g. n., II 493, 511, 659.  
*Yssy*, r. n., I 351, 353.  
*ys* (tomb), II 36.  
*Ys't-yb*, r. n., I 250; *Ys't-yb-t*<sup>2</sup> *wy*, r. n., I 250.  
*ys't-dsr't* (cemetery), I 770, 771.  
*yswy* (chamber), II 165.  
*Ykn*, g. n., I 652.  
*Ykr-yb*, p. n., I 343.  
*Ykw-dydy*, p. n., I 526.  
*Ykw*, p. n., I 419.  
*Yty*, r. n., I 387.  
*Yty*, p. n., I 459.  
*ytwr* (aisle), IV 971.  
*ytr* (measure), II 479; *ytr'w*, II 852.  
*ytr* (river), IV 831 n. f.  
*yth* (fortress), I 396 n. h.  
*Yt-t*<sup>2</sup> *wy*, g. n., I 628 n. c; IV 856.  
*yd* (youth), I 257.  
*Yd*<sup>2</sup> *ht*, g. n., I 431.  
*Ydy*, p. n., I 466 n. c.  
*ydf* (-garments), IV 239, 375.  
*Ydnywyw* (-plant), IV 235, 379, 392.  
*ydg*<sup>2</sup> (-garments), IV 232, 374, 375.

c

- <sup>ε</sup> (-jar), IV 279, 300, 301, 347, 348, 350.  
<sup>ε</sup> (-measure), IV 299, 348, 394.  
<sup>ε</sup> (-vessel), IV 238.  
<sup>ε</sup> -*mw* (water-supply), I 407 n. c; II 15 n. c; III 170 n. a.  
<sup>ε</sup> -*n-p-rw-n*, g. n., IV 716.  
<sup>ε</sup> -*pw-r*<sup>2</sup>, IV 281.  
<sup>ε</sup> -*pr-d-g*<sup>2</sup>-r<sup>2</sup>, p. n., III 632.

- \**-s-ly-r* > -*t*, d. n., IV 105.  
 \**-k* >, g. n., III 114.  
 \**t* (house), III 625; IV 956, 957.  
 \**t ni ht* (arbors), IV 264 n. a, 1021 n. b.  
 \**t-hk* > *t* (beer-hall), IV 451 n. c.  
 \* > (chieftain), IV 111, 129 bis, 726.  
 \**-phly-st*, r. n., III 542.  
 \**-m-k* > *w*, p. n., I 782.  
 \* > *-n-k* > *h* (chief of a district), IV 699.  
 \* > *-n* > *-n* > *y*, p. n., IV 452.  
 \* > *-r* > *-n* >, g. n., IV 713.  
 \* > *-r* > *-iy* (ramp), IV 189 n. a.  
 \* > *-rw-n* >, g. n., II 421, 422, 425, 426, 427.  
 \* > *-rw-d* >, g. n., IV 716.  
 \* > *-hpr-n-R* >, II 116; IV 637.  
 \* > *-hpr-R* >, r. n., IV 784.  
 \* > *-š* > *-k* (to oppress), IV 188 n. a.  
 \* > *-g-m*, p. n., III 337.  
 \* > *-iy-k* >, g. n., IV 408.  
 \* > *t* (costly stone), IV 1011 n. c.  
 \* > *m* (-club), I 365 n. c.  
 \* > *m-hryw-š* >, e. n., I 311.  
 \* > *m* > *w*, e. n., I 360 bis, 681 bis; II 4, 296, 303, 657, 658 n. e; III 139, 457; IV 31, 72, 80, 994 n. a.  
 \* > *mw n šw*, e. n., I 620 n. d.  
 \* > > *bw*, p. n., I 707.  
 \* > *d* (stretch of land), I 430 n. h.  
 \* > *w* ("doors"), I 322 n. e.  
 \* > *w* > (to take), IV 1005.  
 \* > *w* > (to reap), IV 893.  
 \* > *yn* ("to build with limestone of Ayan"), I 212 n. c; \* > *yn* > (limestone), IV 216, 355, 356, 358.  
 \* > *wt* (tablets), IV 202 n. d, 231.  
 \* > *pr* (equipment), I 366 n. a; IV 466.  
 \* > *m* > *w*, g. n., II 387; IV 34; \* > *m* > *mw*, II 298 n. c.; \* > *mw*, II 265.  
 \* > *mw*, p. n., I 512.  
 \* > *n* > *nht*, p. n., I 360.  
 \* > *n* > *f-sw*, p. n., IV 550.  
 \* > *mw*, g. n., II 27, 103, 339; see also \* > *yn*.  
 \* > *mw* (tablets), IV 202 n. d, 231.  
 \* > *nb-šm* > *t*, II 726, 727.  
 \* > *nbw* (-plant), IV 379, 395.  
 \* > *nbw* (-fruit), IV 240, 393.  
 \* > *nn*, p. n., II 931.  
 \* > *nh* (citizen), III 51, 57, 59; IV 397; \* > *nh* > *w* (people), I 286 n. e, 681 bis; III 65; IV 397 n. a.  
 \* > *nh* (wreath), III 208 n. d.  
 \* > *nh-njr-yb-R* >, r. n., II 896 n. d.  
 \* > *nh-Hr*, p. n., IV 958B.  
 \* > *nh* > *f-Ymn*, p. n., IV 689.  
 \* > *nh* > *y* (-vase), IV 269, 334.  
 \* > *nhw*, p. n., I 783.  
 \* > *nhls*, p. n., IV 1029.  
 \* > *nty*, d. n., III 467; \* > *n-ty-t*, III 84; \* > *nt*, d. n., IV 105.  
 \* > *nty* (myrrh), III 116.  
 \* > *n-t-r* > *-ty*, d. n., III 386.  
 \* > *nd* (safety), II 105 n. f.  
 \* > *r-k* > *-tw*, g. n., II 529.  
 \* > *ry* > *t* (hall, judgment-hall), II 764, 767; IV 931; \* > *rry* > *t*, II 763.  
 \* > *rk* (measure), IV 231.  
 \* > *h* > *-nfr*, p. n., IV 539.  
 \* > *h* > *w* (warriors), III 479.  
 \* > *h* > *ty-nfr*, p. n., IV 551.  
 \* > *h* > *c* (standing), I 317 n. c.  
 \* > *h* > *c* (heap), I 785 n. h.  
 \* > *h* > *c* (-jar), II 571.  
 \* > *h* > *c* (violence), I 423 n. e.  
 \* > *h* > *c* (palace), IV 900, 966 n. b.  
 \* > *h* > *c* (magazine), I 370.  
 \* > *h* > *c* *-stny*, II 292 n. c.  
 \* > *h* (altar), IV 1020.  
 \* > *hw* (-vessel), IV 334.  
 \* > *hm* > *t*, II 339 n. a.  
 \* > *š* (-jar), IV 924.  
 \* > *š* > *-hb-šd*, p. n., IV 438.  
 \* > *k* (-loaves), IV 238, 291, 393.  
 \* > *k* (-priest), IV 753.  
 \* > *k-hr* (=enter upon), IV 460 n. c.  
 \* > *kb* > *t*, e. n., II 70.  
 \* > *g* > *t*, II 447 ter.  
 \* > *th* (kneader), III 624 n. g.  
 \* > *d* > (guilty), IV 533 n. e.  
 \* > *dd* (youth), IV 570.

## W

*W* > —, g. n., II 457.

*W* > *-yw-h* > *-s* > *-t* >, p. n., IV 726.



- W* > *r* > *n* >, p. n., IV 437.  
*W* > *r* > *k* > *ty-r* >, p. n., IV 574.  
*W* > *-š-š*, e. n., IV 403; *W* > *-š* > *-š* >, IV 64.  
*W* > *-š* > *ty-h* > *-t* >, p. n., IV 784.  
*w* > *w* (officer), II 987.  
*W* > *wt-Hr*, g. n., II 385 n. a.  
*w* > *t*, (way), IV 75 n. b.  
*W* > *tt-Hr*, g. n., II 385 n. a.  
*W* > *y* > *t*, g. n., II 1037.  
*W* > *w*, g. n., I 510.  
*W* > *w* > *t*, e. n., I 311, 317, 324, 358, 367; II 475, 487.  
*W* > *rt*y, p. n., IV 566.  
*w* > *h* (wreath), II 185.  
*W* > *h-yb-R* >, r. n., IV 958D, 960, 988F, 990, 1000.  
*W* > *h-ys* > *t*, g. n., II 736 bis.  
*W* > *h-c nh*, r. n., I 396 n. h, 423, 529.  
*W* > *h-k > R* >, r. n., IV 811, 884.  
*w* > *h* > *t* (oasis), I 335 n. h.  
*w* > *hy* > *t* (station), II 614.  
*w* > *s* (-scepter), I 646.  
*W* > *s* > *t*, g. n., III 30; IV 913, 926.  
*w* > *g*, f. n., II 35.  
*W* > *g*, g. n., I 433 n. d.  
*w* > *ḡ* (-fowl), I 729.  
*w* > *ḡ* (fresh), I 429 n. b.  
*W* > *ḡ-c nḡ*, r. n., I 90.  
*w* > *ḡ-wr* (sea), II 450 n. a; III 118; IV 921 n. e.  
*W* > *ḡ-hpr-R* >, r. n., IV 519.  
*W* > *ḡ-t rnp* > *wt*, r. n., II 239.  
*W* > *-c-n*, g. n., II 582.  
*w* > *s* > *w* >, III 622, n. b.  
*w* > *b* (-priest), I 538, 552, 563, 564, 572, 583; II 97; III 31, 78, 160; IV 753, 958D, 988H, 1018.  
*[W* > *b-k > w*]-*Hthr*, p. n., I 218.  
*w* > *b* > *t* (joint of beef), II 114.  
*w* > *b* > *t* (pure), I 370.  
*w* > *b* > *t* (kitchen), III 624 n. i; IV 958J.  
*W* > *r* > *t* (bend), g. n., I 370, 509 n. f.  
*w* > *rtw* (commandant), I 679, 683.  
*w* > *w* (-well), IV 726.  
*w* > (forecourt), II 627; IV 514.  
*w* > (inspect), I 312 n. e; *w* > (explore), I 334 n. e; IV 720 n. e.  
*w* > (-stone), IV 303, 350, 395; *w* > > *t*, IV 287, 377.  
*w* > *-hr* (instructed), II 758 n. c.  
*W* > *h* > *w*, p. n., III 650.  
*w* > *p*, IV 465 n. f.  
*W* > *p-w* > *wt*, d. n., I 763 n. i.  
*W* > *pg*, t. n., IV 1020.  
*w* > *m* > *t* (-linen), II 554.  
*wn* (coffin), IV 965 n. e.  
*Wn* > *phiy*, p. n., IV 552.  
*wn-hr* (appearance), IV 200 n. a.  
*wn-hr* (experienced), II 758 n. c.  
*wn* [*hr n*] *sš* > *m yrw* > *t*, II 371 n. c.  
*wn-dw* (-oxen), II 723, 742; III 413.  
*Wny*, p. n., I 293.  
*Wnw*, g. n., IV 833, 843 bis.  
*Wnšk*, g. n., II 848 n. a.  
*Wr-Ymn*, p. n., IV 512.  
*w* > *r* > *c* > (great chief), III 426.  
*w* > *pr hḡ* (chief of the White House), I 722.  
*Wr-k* >, e. n., I 112.  
*w* > *r* > *t* (greatly), I 317 n. g, 493.  
*w* > *r* > *t* (princess), III 391 n. c.  
*w* > *r* > *t-hk* > *w*, d. n., IV 66.  
*Wr-m-r* >, p. n., IV 43.  
*Wrm*, g. n., II 845 n. f.  
*Wršw*, f. n., IV 727.  
*w* > *rdw* (-bird), IV 345 bis.  
*Whm-yb-R* >, r. n., IV 1028.  
*whm* > *nh nfr* (repeating a happy life), I 725.  
*Whm-mš* > *wt*, r. n., IV 545.  
*whm-stny* (royal herald), II 764; *whm-n-stny*, II 764 n. c.  
*whm kj* > (repeating captures), II 20 n. f.  
*whm-sn nj* (they answered him), IV 922 n. b.  
*whm* > *w* (heralds), II 925 n. a.  
*wh* > (to quarry stone), I 335 n. h.  
*wh* > *-ny* ("I reaped"), I 658 n. f.  
*Wh* > > *t*, g. n., I 335.  
*wh* > > *t* (a measure), I 556.  
*wh* > > (to loose), II 148 n. a.  
*Wsr-m* > > > *t-R* > *-P* > > *nhyy*, r. n., IV 941 n. a.  
*Wsr-h* > > *t*, II 888 n. b.  
*Wsr-hpš*, p. n., IV 526.

- Wsr't-k>w*, r. n., I 239.  
*wsh* (-ship), IV 19, 720 n. d.  
*wsh-hb-sd* (jubilee-court), IV 707 n. d.  
*wsh't* (castle), I 532 bis.  
*wsh't* (broad hall), II 1018; III 515.  
*Wsr-h'c w*, r. n., I 163.  
*wšmw* (pail), II 32.  
*wtwl* (to stir), II 616.  
*wib* (-priest), I 668.  
*Wintyw*, g. n., II 660 n. e.  
*wts-nj'r't* (barque-shrine), II 92; IV 982.  
*wts't njrwf* (bearer of his beauty), II 316 n. d.  
*Włk*, g. n., I 369.  
*Włs-Hr*, g. n., I 500.  
*Włł*, g. n., I 367.  
*wd* (put, place), I 423E n. c; *wd'n'y* (have placed), II 198 n. h.  
*wdn*, II 735.  
*wđ* (-mineral), IV 348, 377.  
*wdnw-ni* (-loaves), IV 238, 291, 297.  
*wđ* (storehouse), II 751; *wđ*, II 751.  
*Wđ* -*Hr*, r. n., IV 980.  
*Wđ-Pih-c n'h'j*, p. n., IV 792.  
*wđ't-md't* (command, edict), I 193 n. b.  
*wđ* (prosperity), II 105 n. f.  
*wđ* (sacred eye), IV 201 n. b.  
*Wđ* -*rn's*, p. n., IV 951.  
*Wđ* y, p. n., I 343.  
*wdb* (pay), I 219 n. b.  
*wđh* (offering-table), I 610; II 32.  
*wđh* (=sparkling), II 533 n. g.
- B**
- B-c-l-tw-R* -*m-g-w*, p. n., III 630.  
*B-n-i-r-š*, p. n., III 436.  
*B*, g. n., IV 716 n. b.  
*b* (soul), IV 187.  
*B* -*w-y*, g. n., III 340  
*B* -*wr-dd*, p. n., I 351, 353.  
*b* -*b* -*y* (stone), IV 377.  
*b* -*nw* (-fruit), IV 378, 395.  
*B* -*rw-m* -*m*, g. n., IV 713 n. f.  
*B* -*hw*, p. n., IV 481.  
*B* -*k*, g. n., III 285.  
*b* -*k* -*y* (plant), IV 234.  
*B* -*k* -*n*, g. n., IV 405.  
*B* -*k* -*R*, r. n., IV 921.  
*B* -*ty-h-w* -*rw-n*, g. n., IV 712.  
*B* -*ty-š* -*n-r*, g. n., IV 712; *B* -*t-š* -*r*, III 114.  
*B* -*ty-t* -*rw-m* -*m*, g. n., IV 713 n. h.  
*B* -*t-c-n-t*, g. n., III 114; *B* -*y-ty-c-n-ty*, III 356.  
*B* -*dy-r*, g. n., IV 565.  
*B* -*b*, p. n., II 7.  
*B* -*stt nt tš-ršy*, d. n., I 396 n. c.  
*B* -*k't*, p. n., I 622.  
*B* -*k*, g. n., III 284.  
*b* -*k* -*y't* (precinct), III 31 n. b.  
*By*, g. n., I 353 n. c. 735.  
*by* (iron), II 537 n. c.  
*By* -*t* (mine-land), I 602, n. d.  
*by* -*t* (loaf), II 113; III 77, 159; IV 238, 291, 297, 347; *by't*, III 624 n. h.  
*by* -*y't* (gritstone), IV 287 n. c.  
*Byn*, g. n., IV 867.  
*Byn-m-W* -*s't*, p. n., IV 443.  
*By* -*s-t*, g. n., IV 956, 957.  
*b* -*ny* (-plant), IV 380, 395.  
*Bw-yw-w* -*w*, p. n., IV 792.  
*Bw-pn-Ymn-h* -*c*, p. n., IV 682.  
*Bb-r*, g. n., II 446, 484.  
*bp* (-jar), IV 300, 348.  
*bp* -*ny-ny*, IV 234.  
*bnw't* (-stone), II 643.  
*bnbn* (pyramidion, sanctuary), II 572 n. e, 935; *bnbn't*, IV 982.  
*bnr* (sweet), II 433 n. h.  
*brk* (tribute), IV 577 n. a.  
*brk* (to hail), IV 122; *b* -*r* -*k* (gifts), IV 207 n. e.  
*Bhny*, g. n., III 79; *Bhn't*, III 159; *Bwhn*, III 285.  
*Bhksy*, p. n., I 365.  
*bh* (-loaves), IV 238, 393.  
*Bh-hw-k*, r. n., IV 514.  
*Bhw*, g. n., II 597.  
*bhn*, IV 235.  
*bhn* (black basalt), I 675 n. a; *bhnw*, III 246.  
*bhn'w* (strongholds), IV 141.  
*bhn't* (pylon), III 508.  
*bst't* (tool), IV 189 n. d.  
*Bš*, r. n., I 81.

- bk* (-oil), IV 239, 376; *bk* (oil), IV 390.  
*Bk*, p. n., II 975.  
*bk* (tower), IV 842 n. b.  
*bk* (serve, labor, pay taxes), IV 931, 932, 933.  
*Bk-wr-n-r*, p. n., IV 555.  
*Bk-n-Wr-n-r*, p. n., IV 512.  
*Bk-n-nfy*, p. n., IV 830.  
*Bky*, g. n., II 852.  
*bk'w* (imposts), I 731; II 716; III 481.
- P**
- P-c nky*, r. n., IV 816.  
*P-w-r-m*, p. n., IV 881.  
*P-w-r-m*, p. n., IV 821.  
*P-n-dw*, p. n., IV 430.  
*P-y-ry*, p. n., IV 442.  
*P-y-y*, p. n., IV 444.  
*P-y-s*, p. n., III 337 bis.  
*P-yf-r*, p. n., IV 423.  
*P-y-yw*, p. n., IV 429.  
*P-y-r-nw*, p. n., IV 423.  
*P-y-r-sw*, p. n., IV 443.  
*P-c-n-byw*, p. n., IV 512.  
*P-c-c-k*, p. n., II 839.  
*P-c-c-m-k*, p. n., IV 715.  
*P-c-n-k*, p. n., IV 512.  
*P-wr-c*, p. n., IV 511.  
*P-wd*, g. n., IV 368.  
*P-b-y*, g. n., IV 716 n. b.  
*P-B-s*, p. n., IV 878; *P-y-b-s*, p. n., IV 423, 452.  
*P-m*, p. n., IV 815, 878.  
*P-mr-hm*, p. n., III 634.  
*P-mry-Ymn*, p. n., IV 546.  
*P-mh-t*, p. n., III 94.  
*P-r-hw*, r. n., II 258.  
*P-r-k*, p. n., IV 445.  
*P-R*, III 542.  
*P-R-c-p*, p. n., IV 593.  
*P-R-c-m-hb*, p. n., III 634.  
*P-R-c-m-hb*, p. n., IV 423.  
*P-R-c-hp*, p. n., IV 281.  
*P-rw-k*, p. n., IV 439.  
*P-h-r*, g. n., III 114.  
*P-hw-k-rw*, p. n., IV 715.
- P-s-c-k*, p. n., IV 784.  
*P-sr*, p. n., IV 513.  
*P-Sbk*, p. n., IV 784.  
*P-knw*, p. n., IV 784.  
*P-krr*, p. n., IV 932.  
*P-k-n-c-n*, g. n., III 88; *P-k-n-c-n*, III 617.  
*P-k-wt-yw*, p. n., IV 485.  
*P-t-w-mdy-Ymn*, p. n., IV 431.  
*P-twt*, p. n., IV 792.  
*P-tnf*, p. n., IV 878; *P-tnfj*, p. n., IV 815.  
*P-dy-Hr-sm-t*, p. n., IV 878.  
*P-drps*, p. n., IV 937 n. b.  
*P-dkw*, g. n., II 9.  
*P-y-b-k-y-k-mn*, p. n., IV 427.  
*P-y-nfr*, p. n., IV 512.  
*P-y-r-k*, g. n., III 386.  
*P-y-k-mn*, p. n., IV 547.  
*p-k* (a bread), I 577.  
*P-dy-Ymn-ns-t*, p. n., IV 881.  
*P-h-t*, p. n., IV 726.  
*P-y-d-s*, g. n., III 306, 309 n. d, 312; *P-y-d-s*, III 349.  
*Pyy*, r. n., III 644; *Pyy*, IV 224.  
*pypy't* (keel), IV 582 n. a.  
*p't* (people), I 445; III 578.  
*p.c.t.* (-loaves) IV 238.  
*p.d't* (-bird), IV 242.  
*-pw*, r. n., I 90.  
*Pw-r-s-t*, g. n., IV 44, 82, 403; *Pw-r-s-t*, g. n., IV 64, 71, 81.  
*pw-g* (-jar), IV 300, 350.  
*Pw-t*, g. n., IV 948.  
*Pw-tw-hy-p*, p. n., III 391.  
*Pwnt*, g. n., I 353.  
*pw-s-c-k* (-loaves), IV 238.  
*Pf-nf-dyy-B-s't*, p. n., IV 852.  
*pn* ("this"), I 353 n. c.  
*Pn-ytt-t*, p. n., IV 338.  
*pn wnt*, II 808 n. c.  
*Pn-nw't*, p. n., IV 482.  
*Pn-Nhb't*, p. n., II 20.  
*Pn-rnw't*, p. n., IV 423.  
*Pn-hwy-by*, p. n., IV 442, 455.  
*Pn-t-wr*, p. n., IV 444.  
*Pn-t-wr't*, p. n., III 315.  
*Pny-n*, g. n., IV 867.

- pnsw* (joint of beef), II 113.  
*Pnty-Bhyn't*, p. n., IV 878.  
*pr* (house), III 507, 567; IV 183, 195, 197, 215, 222, 223, 225, 227, 277, 283, 288, 340, 355, 357, 365, 366, 367, 369, 958J, 972, 988D, H.  
*Pr-yubw*, g. n., IV 956.  
*Pr-yr*, g. n., III 579 n. d, 583; *Pr-yrr*, III 588.  
*Pr-c*, I 148 n. c.  
*Pr-c nĥ*, g. n., IV 547.  
*Pr-wr*, g. n., I 159.  
*pr-wr* (great house), I 609.  
*Pr-wr-s* *h*, g. n., I 174.  
*Pr-b* *r* *r* *ys't*, g. n., III 576.  
*Pr-m* *o* (château), III 588 n. c.  
*Pr-nw*, g. n., I 156.  
*Pr-nb-tĥ-yĥ*, g. n., IV 818.  
*Pr-nsr*, g. n., I 159.  
*Pr-H't-hr-Mjk*, g. n., IV 1003 n. e.  
*Pr-H't-hr-ršyt*, t. n., I 373.  
*pr-ĥ* *ty-c* (count's estate), I 536.  
*Pr-H* *c* *p*, g. n., IV 878.  
*Pr-Hr*, g. n., II 742.  
*Pr-sp* *o*, g. n., I 172.  
*pr-sn* (-loaves), II 113; III 624 n. b; IV 238, 297, 347.  
*pr-stny* (palace), III 20; IV 751, 958J.  
*Pr-šstĥ*, g. n., I 172.  
*Pr-kd*, g. n., I 172, 174.  
*Pr-g-w* *ty*, g. n., IV 405 n. c.  
*Pr-G-rw-rw*, g. n., IV 878.  
*Pr-d* *d* *o*, g. n., IV 726.  
*Pr-Dhwt-y-Wp-rĥwy*, g. n., IV 830, 878.  
*pr-đi* (estate), I 545.  
*pr'w* (houses), III 498.  
*pr't* (second season), I 735.  
*pr't-s* (-loaves), III 77, 159.  
*Prww*, g. n., I 510.  
*Ph-c n*, g. n., IV 1003 n. d.  
*ph sw* (foe), IV 921 n. a.  
*phrr*, III 579; IV 58, 65, 75, 80.  
*phr-wr* (the Great Bend), III 118.  
*ps* *o* (-measure), IV 378, 395.  
*Psmik*, r. n., IV 960.  
*psn* (loaf), I 241.  
*psgw* (-wood), II 447.  
*psđ't* (ennead), III 533; IV 399.  
*ps* (flax), IV 241, 379, 392; *ps't*, IV 235.  
*ph* *o* *t* (-linen), I 727; *ph't*, II 554, 571.  
*Phy*, g. n., II 94.  
*pg* (-vessel), II 571.  
*Ptn*, g. n., I 493.  
*Pth-n-k* *o* *w*, p. n., I 387.  
*Pth-špsš*, p. n., I 256.  
*pd't*, II 572.  
*Pd'ty-šw*, e. n., III 580.  
*Pd'tt*, g. n., II 798.  
*pdr* (crate), IV 241.
- F
- f* *o* (pay), IV 482 n. c; 577 n. a; *f* *o* *y* (to deliver), IV 266; *f* *o* *y* *n* (we bring), IV 933.  
*F* *o* *t* *c* *o* *t* *nt* *Mwt*, p. n., IV 641.  
*f* *o* *k* *o* *t*; see *m* *f* *o* *k* *o* *t*, I 602 n. e.  
*Fnhw*, e. n., II 27, 529.  
*Fk* *o* *t* ("Malachite"), g. n., I 266 n. c; see *m* *f* *k* *o* *t*.
- M
- m* *c* *y* (in charge of), I 423D.  
*m* *ys-h* *o* *k* (spoil), II 431 n. f.  
*m* *c* *m* *c* (unclean), IV 882 n. d.  
*m* *w* *o* (from afar), IV 822 n. b.  
*m* *ws* (in vain), I 637 n. a.  
*M-n-g-b-ty*, p. n., IV 565.  
*m* *nĥi*, IV 722 n. b.  
*m-r* *o* *-y-n* *o* (lord), II 436, 585, 590.  
*M-r* *o* *-y* *o* *-yw-y*, p. n., III 579; *M-r* *o* *-y* *o* *-y*, III 612; *Mw-r* *o* *-y* *o* *-y*, III 586; *M-r* *o* *-y* *o* *-yw*, IV 43; *M-w-r* *o* *-y* *o* *-y*, III 610; *M-w-r* *o* *-wy-y*, III 615.  
*M-r* *o* *-s* *o* *-r* *o*, r. n., III 373, 391.  
*m* *rĥ't*, III 583 n. d.  
*m* *hĥ* *j* *nĥ* *n* *ĥ* *c* ("at the his every feast of appearance"), IV 988J n. c.  
*m-ĥ* *o* *-w* (an animal), II 449.  
*m* *ĥi* (hereafter), IV 722 n. b.  
*M-s* *o* *-b* *o* *-t* *o*, g. n., IV 405 n. d.  
*m-s* *o* *ĥy* (-jar), IV 233.  
*m* *sp* *n* *šp* (because of occasions of shame), IV 880 n. f.  
*m* *sp* *tĥy* (at the first time), IV 988J n. b.  
*m* *sn't* *r* (in likeness to), II 755 n. b.

- M-š* > -w > -š >, g. n., III 580, 589; IV 40, 43, 58, 405; *M-š* > -w >, IV 87 (90).  
*M-š* > -š > -r, p. n., IV 90.  
*M-š* > -k-n, p. n., IV 43.  
*m-š* > -k > -bwy (tax-officials), IV 266, 324.  
*m šrt*—l, I 315, n. b.  
*M-k-ty*, g. n., II 437; *My-k-ty*, II 402, 420 ter, 428, 430 ter, 431, 432; *My-k-t*, II 437; *M-k-d-yw*, IV 712.  
*m-k-ty-r* > (tower), III 100.  
*M-k* > -m-rw, p. n., IV 566.  
*m k* > t yb' y, II 303 n. b.  
*m ty* > t (at this moment), II 36 n. c.  
*m ty* > t (as an emanation), IV 912 n. c.  
*My-t-n*, g. n., II 659; *My-tn*, II 773; *My-in*, II 804; *M-t-n*, IV 722.  
*M-t* > -d-w-ty-w, p. n., III 632.  
*m t* > wt (secretly), IV 541.  
*m* > (court), IV 393.  
*M* > -b > -r >, g. n., III 578.  
*M* > -nw, g. n., II 905.  
*M* > -s >, g. n., III 306, 312; *M* > -sw, III 309.  
*m* > yw (copper), IV 548.  
*m* > c (offering), I 437.  
*m* > c -hrw (triumphant), III 280 281, 626 n. c.  
*M* > c -hrw-R <, r. n., I 749.  
*M* > c t-njr'w-R <, p. n., III 417.  
*M* > c t-h <, p. n., I 257.  
*M* > c t-k > -R <, r. n., II 344.  
*m* > w (new), IV 910 n. b.  
*M* > w > sn, p. n., IV 792.  
*M* > wt-hnty, g. n., IV 368.  
*M* > jd' t, d. n., I 115.  
*M* > d, g. n., IV 915.  
*m* > dy' w (officials), III 272.  
*m* > dydy (-jar), IV 376.  
*My*, p. n., IV 423.  
*My-yw*, g. n., IV 480.  
*My-l-pr*, g. n., I 172, 174.  
*My-t* > -ry-m, p. n., III 337.  
*My-t-šry*, p. n., IV 523.  
*My* >, p. n., III 32B.  
*My* < m, g. n., II 1037; IV 474, 477; *My* < m > m, III 285; *My* < t, IV 474, 479.  
*mynw* (-stone), IV 233, 302.  
*myk*, II 11 n. f.  
*myg* > (archer), II 15 n. a bis.  
*M* < y, p. n., II 1002.  
*m* < h < t (tomb or chapel), II 36.  
*M* < hr, g. n., I 334.  
*Mw-š* > -n-t, g. n., III 306, 309.  
*Mw-t-n-r* >, r. n., III 374, 375, 377.  
*mj* > k > t (malachite), I 602 n. e.  
*Mn*, p. n., II 975.  
*mn* (-jars), II 447 bis, 462 bis, 482, 491 ter, 501 bis, 509, 518, 571, 621; IV 233, 239, 292, 299, 341, 348, 376, 378, 390, 393; *mn* > t (-jar), IV 395.  
*Mn-m* > c t-R <, r. n., III 169, 171.  
*mn-njr* > t (ornament), I 534.  
*Mn-h* < w, r. n., I 263.  
*Mn-h-pr-R* < -P- < nhy, r. n., IV 941 n. a.  
*Mn-h-prw-R* <, r. n., II 812.  
*Mn-k* > w-Hr, r. n., I 263.  
*mny* > t (necklace), I 500; II 93.  
*mny* > t (-geese), I 729.  
*mny* > t (pigeons), IV 242.  
*mny* > t-wd (-metal), IV 302.  
*Mn* < t-Hwfw, g. n., I 624.  
*Mn* < t-Hfw, g. n., I 456.  
*mnw* (-stone), II 491, 509, 518.  
*mnjy* > t (troop, infantry), I 707; III 484, 578.  
*mnmn* (herd), IV 212 n. d.  
*mnk* (officer), IV 593.  
*mnk* (-plant), IV 295.  
*Mnh-yb*, r. n., IV 988C.  
*Mnh* > t, p. n., I 508.  
*mnk* > t (-linen), II 165.  
*mnk* > t-nir (clothing), I 369 n. j.  
*mnš* (-ship), III 274.  
*mnkb* (shrine), I 787.  
*Mntw*, g. n., I 728; *Mn* > t yw, e. n., III 118; *Mnty-š* > t, e. n., II 14; II 721; *Mntw*, e. n., I 236.  
*Mntw-m-t* > wy, p. n., IV 423.  
*Mntw-hr-hpš* > j, p. n., IV 512.  
*Mntw*, d. n., II 844.  
*mr* (canal), IV 853 n. a.  
*mr* (chief, properly ymy-r >), III 322; IV 821.  
*mr* (a wood), I 146; *mr* >, IV 288, 379,

- 391; *mr̄y*, II 435; IV 288, 378, 391;  
*mrw*, II 447, 449.  
*Mr-yw-*, g. n., II 487.  
*mr-<sup>c</sup> prw* (captain), I 606 n. d.  
*Mr-wr*, p. n., IV 551.  
*Mr-Mw't-K<sup>o</sup>-m<sup>o</sup>-m<sup>o</sup>*, p. n., IV 696.  
*Mr-n-R<sup>c</sup>*, r. n., I 320, 333.  
*Mr-sgr*, p. n., II 171.  
*mr't* (peasant-slave), I 623; II 881.  
*Mr't-wbḥ't*, p. n., IV 957.  
*mr't-ntr* (-priest), II 713, 936; *mr̄y-ntr*  
(-priest), II 1036; IV 958B.  
*Mr̄y*, p. n., I 508.  
*Mr̄y-R<sup>c</sup>*, r. n., I 302.  
*Mr̄y-ḥt*, r. n., I 302.  
*Mr̄y-k<sup>o</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>*, r. n., I 399.  
*mr̄y't* (peasant-slaves), III 271.  
*Mr̄yy-t<sup>o</sup> wy* ("Beloved of the Two  
Lands"), r. n., I 302, 305.  
*mrsw* (-jar), IV 376.  
*mrk* (tribute), IV 577 n. a; see *brk*.  
*Mrt̄y-wsy-Ymn*, p. n., IV 446.  
*Mrt̄t-yt-š*, p. n., I 189.  
*mḥywt* (-fruit), IV 240, 378, 399.  
*mhn* (-jar), IV 301.  
*mḥrw* (vessels), II 162.  
*mḥ-yb'f* (favorite), IV 1007 n. b.  
*Mḥ't-m-wšḥ't*, p. n., IV 958C.  
*Mḥy*, p. n., I 276.  
*mḥtt* (-jar), IV 350.  
*mḥ<sup>o</sup>* (barge), I 423F n. c.  
*mḥ<sup>o</sup>* (-weight), IV 240.  
*Mḥ<sup>o</sup>-t<sup>o</sup> wy*, g. n., IV 864 n. a.  
*Mḥ*, r. n., I 90.  
*Ms-sw̄y*, p. n., IV 445.  
*ms'w* (children), I 456 n. c.  
*mswy* II 449 n. f.  
*msn't* (a stone), I 500.  
*Mšd*, g. n., IV 879.  
*mskt't* (morning-barque), IV 67, 73.  
*mst<sup>o</sup>* (-measure), IV 582; *msty*, IV  
234, 235, 240, 287, 301, 344, 350, 378,  
390, 391, 392, 395.  
*Msd-sw-R<sup>c</sup>*, p. n., IV 428.  
*msd't* (-stone), III 246; *msdm't*, IV 302,  
345.  
*Msqwt*, g. n., I 174 n. h.  
*Mš*, d. n., I 159.
- Mš-t<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., IV 956.  
*Mš<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., IV 368.  
*mš<sup>c</sup>* (army), III 298 n. a.  
*mšd't* (channel), II 784 n. f.  
*mḥ-r<sup>o</sup>-ḡy-n<sup>o</sup>* (horn), II 447.  
*mt* (chief), IV 468 n. b.  
*mt* (-linen), II 719, 721, 722, 723, 726,  
727 bis, 730 731, 736, 738, 744 bis.  
*mt̄y* (customary), II 798 n. a; III 580  
n. d.  
*Mtr*, g. n., I 368.  
*Mḡ<sup>o</sup>*, e. n., I 311, 317, 324; *Mḡ<sup>o</sup> y*,  
e. n., IV 466.  
*mḡ<sup>o</sup>* (-measure), IV 295, 347; *mḡ<sup>o</sup> yw*,  
IV 244.  
*Mḡ[r]*, r. n., I 180.
- N
- N<sup>o</sup>-<sup>c</sup>-t<sup>o</sup> ys-nḥt't*, p. n., IV 918.  
*N-<sup>c</sup> nḥ-Šḥm't*, p. n., I 250 n. c, 266  
n. a.  
*N-<sup>c</sup> nḥ-ššy*, p. n., I 230.  
*N-<sup>c</sup> nḥ-Ḥnt̄y-ḥt*, p. n., I 266.  
*N-w<sup>o</sup>-s<sup>o</sup>-ty-rw-k<sup>o</sup>-n<sup>o</sup>-yw*, p. n., IV 784.  
*N-wšr-R<sup>c</sup>*, r. n., I 250.  
*n-by<sup>o</sup> y't* (marvelous stone), IV 287 n. c.  
*N-m<sup>o</sup>-<sup>c</sup>-t-R<sup>c</sup>*, r. n., I 250 n. c, 673, 719.  
*N-m<sup>o</sup>-<sup>c</sup>-t-R<sup>c</sup> N-ḥ<sup>c</sup>*, r. n., I 786 n. a.  
*N-m<sup>o</sup>-<sup>c</sup>-t-ḥ<sup>o</sup> p*, p. n., I 173.  
*n-n-y-bw* (-wood), IV 344, 391.  
*N-h-r-n*, g. n., II 479 n. a, 631 bis, 656,  
800; III 118, 434; *N-h-r-n<sup>o</sup>*, II  
449, 867; *N-h-r-ny*, II 858 bis; III  
114; *N-h-ry-n*, II 420, 818, 871; III  
306, 309, 344; *N-h-ry-n<sup>o</sup>*, II 479,  
481, 485, 498, 500, 532; *N-hy-r-n*,  
III 321; *N<sup>o</sup>-h-ry-n<sup>o</sup>*, II 85, 862;  
*N<sup>o</sup>-h<sup>o</sup>-ry-n<sup>o</sup>*, II 81.  
*N-ḥb̄*, r. n., I 90.  
*n-ḥny-ḥny* (necropolis), IV 526 n. b.  
*N-k<sup>o</sup>-<sup>c</sup> nḥ*, p. n., I 343.  
*N-k<sup>o</sup>-<sup>c</sup> nḥ*, p. n., I 216.  
*N-k<sup>o</sup>-n-nbt̄y*, p. n., I 194.  
*N-k<sup>o</sup> w*, r. n., IV 1028.  
*N-k<sup>o</sup> w-Pth*, p. n., I 250 n. c.  
*N-k<sup>o</sup> w-R<sup>c</sup>*, p. n., I 250 n. c.  
*N-g-b<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., II 580.  
*n t<sup>o</sup> wt* (secretly), IV 541 n. c.  
*n(y)t Njr-k<sup>o</sup>-R<sup>c</sup> mn<sup>c</sup> nḥ*, I 341 n. b.

- nw-pr-yt* (paternal estate), I 536.  
*Nt-ykr't*, p. n., IV 943.  
*nt bsj*, I 423 D n. b.  
*nty m ht*, IV 764 n. g.  
*nty s>wt*, IV 726.  
*n>-yy*, IV 44 n. e.  
*n>-ck*, IV 44 n. e.  
*N>y-šnw-mh*, p. n., IV 682.  
*N>y-bw* (-wood), IV 234.  
*Nyy*, g. n., II 481, 588.  
*Nc-nš-B>s't*, p. n., IV 1025.  
*Nc r*, g. n., IV 968.  
*nc r yn* (recruits), III 302.  
*nc h*, (-bale), IV 371.  
*Nw-g-s*, g. n., III 309.  
*nw't* (city), IV 485.  
*Nw't*, g. n., I 423; sec >n-yw->-s>.  
*nws>* (-weight), IV 302.  
*nb* (to fashion), I 610 n. c.  
*Nb-c*, r. n., IV 945.  
*Nb-c nh*, IV 187 n. b.  
*Nb-wc'wy*, p. n., II 179.  
*Nb-wn-nf*, p. n., III 255.  
*Nb-ph'iy-Rc*, r. n., II 7.  
*Nb-m>c't-Rc*, r. n., II 884, 845.  
*Nb-hp't-Re*, r. n., I p. 344 Add; IV 520.  
*Nb-hc s*, p. n., IV 517.  
*Nb-hpr-Rc*, r. n., I 773 n. b, IV 515;  
*Nb-hprw-Rc*, I 775.  
*Nb-hrw-Rc*, r. n., I 426; p. 344 Add.  
*Nb-snt*, p. n., I 175.  
*Nb-k>w-Rc*, r. n., I 595, 600.  
*Nb-t>wy-Rc*, I 437, 446, 450.  
*Nb-đf>w*, p. n., IV 445.  
*Nb't*, p. n., I 349.  
*nb't* (all), II 102 n. d.  
*Nb't-ytf*, p. n., I 782.  
*Nb't-w*, p. n., II 779.  
*nb't-pr* (lady), III 542.  
*nb y* (-wood), II 449.  
*Nbnšy*, p. n., IV 792.  
*nbdw*, IV 241.  
*Npt*, g. n., II 797.  
*Nf-wr*, g. n., IV 675.  
*Nfw-wr*, g. n., III 281.  
*nfr*, II 233 n. c.  
*nfr* (-loaves), II 472.  
*nfr't* (-loaves), II 462.  
*Nfr-yr-k>-Rc*, r. n., I 165, 244.  
*Nfr-h>t*, p. n., II 839 n. d.  
*Nfr-Hr*, p. n., IV 957.  
*nfr ht* (beautiful rest), IV 665 n. f.  
*Nfr-k>-Rc*, r. n., I 340, 351.  
*Nfr-k>-Rc-Stp-n-Rc*, r. n., IV 493 n. b.  
*Nfr-im*, Hw-Rc, r. n., IV 888.  
*nfr'w* (base), IV 517 n. d.  
*Nfr'w-Rc*, p. n., II 344, 362.  
*Nfr'w-Rc*, p. n., III 435.  
*Nfr'w's*, g. n., IV 820.  
*nfr'wt* (maidens), II 567 n. b.  
*Nm>yw*, g. n., II 267.  
*nms't* (-jar), II 32 ter; IV 269, 301, 334, 350.  
*nn sn'y ym* (none equal thereto), I 471 n. a.  
*Nr>w*, g. n., IV 296.  
*nr>w* (gazelle), IV 242.  
*Nhy* (Negroes?), IV 477 n. b.  
*nhb* (-wood), II 449.  
*Nhry*, p. n., I 622, 628.  
*nhh* (-oil), IV 239, 376, 390, 395.  
*Nhsy*, e. n., I 365 n. c.  
*Nhbt*, d. n., I 131 n. a.  
*Nhb*, g. n., II 7.  
*Nht-m-Mw't*, p. n., IV 539.  
*Nht-Hr-n>-šnw*, p. n., IV 878.  
*nht-hrw* (strong-voiced), I 172.  
*Ns-n>-c>y*, p. n., IV 830.  
*Ns-n>-hd-y*, p. n., IV 830 n. c, 878.  
*Ns-sy-p>-hr-n-Mw't*, p. n., IV 660.  
*Ns-sw-Ymn*, p. n., IV 511.  
*Ns-sw-b>-nb-dd*, p. n., IV 564.  
*Ns-sw-p>-k>-šwt y*, p. n., IV 689.  
*Ns-sw-b>-yš't*, p. n., IV 726.  
*Ns-wt-t>wy* (Thebes), I 484; III 223, 503, 510; IV 900, 913, 924.  
*Nstnt*, p. n., IV 844.  
*nš* (?), I 309 n. h.  
*nšm't* (sacred barque), I 534, 613, 668.  
*nšm't* (feldspar), IV 287 n. b, 302, 243, 389.  
*nšn* (to rage), II 828 n. g.  
*nšn c>* (great wrath), IV 764.

- Nkry*, p. n., II 1 n. c.  
*nkp<sup>o</sup> ty* (rosemary), IV 234.  
*ng<sup>o</sup>* (ox), IV 242, 293; *ng<sup>o</sup> w*, II 719.  
*Ng<sup>o</sup> w*, g. n., I 493.  
*ngmgm* (to plot), II 787.  
*ntr w<sup>c</sup> nn ky hr sp<sup>o</sup> w<sup>o</sup> f*, IV 969 n. b.  
*Ntr-h<sup>c</sup> w*, r. n., I 340.  
*ntr-dw<sup>o</sup> t* (divine votress), IV 942; see also *dw<sup>o</sup> t-ntr*.  
*Ntr<sup>o</sup> t-h<sup>o</sup> w*, r. n., II 239.  
*ntry* (divine), IV 261 n. a.  
*ntry<sup>o</sup> t* (goddess), IV 261 n. a.  
*Ntr*, r. n., I 250.  
*ntry* (sanctuary), I 156, 159.  
*Ntry-mw*, r. n., I 117.  
*Ndy<sup>o</sup> t*, I 669.  
*nd<sup>o</sup> j-r<sup>o</sup> hr<sup>o</sup> f*, II 134 n. b.  
*nd<sup>o</sup> t-r<sup>o</sup>* (oracle), II 606 n. c.  
*nd<sup>o</sup> ty* (avenger), II 660.  
*nd<sup>o</sup>* (a measure of capacity), II 159 bis, 571 bis.  
*Ndm-yb*, p. n., I 278.  
*nds* (citizen), I 459, 536; III 565; IV 863.
- R
- R-b*, g. n., IV 784; *R-b<sup>o</sup>*, IV 783; *R<sup>o</sup>-bw*, III 611.  
*L-b-a-n*, g. n., IV 716.  
*R-m-n-n*, II 783; *R<sup>o</sup>-mn-n*, g. n., II 483 bis, 510.  
*r-h<sup>o</sup> w* (over against), II 627.  
*r ht* (under charge of), IV 784 n. a.  
*r dr<sup>o</sup> f* (to its extent), I 468 n. d.  
*r-d<sup>o</sup> t*, II 97 n. a.  
*r<sup>o</sup>* (-geese), IV 242.  
*R<sup>o</sup>-<sup>o</sup> w*, g. n., I 212, 239, 307; *R<sup>o</sup>-<sup>o</sup> wy*, II 875.  
*R<sup>o</sup>-y*, p. n., III 630.  
*R<sup>o</sup>-yn<sup>o</sup> t*, p. n., II 975.  
*R<sup>o</sup>-yn<sup>o</sup> t*, g. n., I 218, 221.  
*R<sup>o</sup>-wy-<sup>o</sup>-r<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., IV 131.  
*R<sup>o</sup>-b<sup>o</sup>-yw-r*, p. n., III 337.  
*R<sup>o</sup>-b<sup>o</sup>-sw-n-n<sup>o</sup>*, p. n., III 337.  
*R<sup>o</sup>-pr* (temple), IV 283, 340.  
*R<sup>o</sup>-m*, p. n., III 621.  
*r<sup>o</sup>-h<sup>o</sup>-wt* (harbor-mouths), II 916 n. h; IV 44 n. a, 65 n. h.  
*r<sup>o</sup>-hw-sw* (-cakes), IV 238, 291, 393.  
*R<sup>o</sup>-hn<sup>o</sup> t*, g. n., IV 853.  
*r<sup>o</sup>-hr* (chief), II 372; IV 398, 400; *r<sup>o</sup>-hry*, III 25, 288 n. e.  
*R<sup>o</sup>-h<sup>o</sup>-sy-n<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., III 386.  
*R<sup>o</sup>-st<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., I 177, 179, 180.  
*R<sup>o</sup>-š*, t. n., I 159.  
*R<sup>o</sup>-š<sup>o</sup>-ty*, g. n., II 299 n. a; IV 31; *R<sup>o</sup>-š<sup>o</sup>-t*, IV 34; *R<sup>o</sup>-š<sup>o</sup> w*, II 299 n. a.  
*R<sup>c</sup> J<sup>c</sup> m<sup>l</sup>*, p. n., I 281.  
*R<sup>c</sup>-wny(?)*, p. n., I 336 n. h.  
*R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw-š<sup>o</sup>-hb*, p. n., III 496; IV 465.  
*R<sup>c</sup>-n-k<sup>o</sup> w*, p. n., I 193.  
*R<sup>c</sup>-nfr*, g. n., IV 830, 878.  
*R<sup>c</sup>-ndr*, r. n., I 786 n. b.  
*R<sup>c</sup> y<sup>o</sup> t*, d. n., II 325.  
*R<sup>c</sup> hmn*, p. n., I 375.  
*Rw-<sup>o</sup>-nr-s-k-n-y*, p. n., IV 812; n. d.  
*Rw-b<sup>o</sup>-ty*, g. n., IV 712.  
*Rw-m<sup>o</sup>*, p. n., IV 442.  
*Rw-h<sup>o</sup>-b<sup>o</sup>-<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., IV 712.  
*Rw-k<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., III 309; *Rw-k<sup>o</sup>-t*, III 312; *Rw-ku*, III 574, 579.  
*rw<sup>o</sup> t* (false door), I 322 n. e.  
*rwyt* (granite settings of doors in the wall), I 322 n. e.  
*rwyt<sup>o</sup> t* (banks), IV 405 n. b.  
*Rwty*, I 148 n. c, 239 n. a.  
*rud* (shore), IV 405 n. f.  
*rud<sup>o</sup> w* (inspectors), II 1026.  
*rud<sup>o</sup> t* ("enduring or hard stone;" "alabaster," later "sandstone"), I 323 n. d, 696 n. c; II 153 n. e, 606 n. d.  
*rpy<sup>o</sup> t* (figure), III 391 n. c.  
*rpk<sup>o</sup> ty* (hereditary prince), I 419 and n. d bis; III 132, 288 n. c; IV 124 n. b, 980.  
*rmł* (people), II 257 n. e, 287, 288.  
*Rn-šnb*, p. n., I 752.  
*rn<sup>o</sup> t pw* (thy name, etc.), II 288 n. c.  
*rn<sup>o</sup> w* (young men), IV 63 n. a.  
*-rrt* (-loaf), I 590.  
*rhd<sup>o</sup> t* (kettle), II 436; III 589.  
*Rhs<sup>o</sup> wy*, g. n., IV 878.  
*rh*, I 634 n. b; *rh<sup>o</sup> f* (he knows), II 233 n. c.  
*Rh-phtw<sup>o</sup> f*, p. n., II 642.  
*rh stny*, I 636 n. g.



- rḥy't* (people), I 445 bis; II 236, 776, 767, 768, 805, 840, 858, 993, 1002; III 174, 175, 265, 268, 578, 580 n. e; IV 43, 47, 398, 921.  
*Rs-nf't*, g. n., II 731.  
*rš-d' d'* (watchful head), II 28 n. c.  
*ršy* (southern), I 396 n. h.  
*ršy* (grain), I 459.  
*Ršy ynb'f*, d. n., II 900 n. b; IV 866.  
*rkrk* (to gallop), II 784.  
*Rkh*, f. n., IV 768.  
*rkh* (heat), I 630 n. b.  
*Rtnw*, g. n., I 680; II 548, 549, 616, 761; III 94, 97, 102, 103, 106, 107, 111, 112, 139, 147; IV 28; *Rtnw*, II 888, 1030, 1033; III 270, 457, 498; IV 219; *Rtnw't*, II 413.  
*rdy't m b' h*, IV 733 n. a.  
*rdyn ny y't y*, II 616 n. a.  
*rdw* (-garments), IV 239.
- H**
- H' s'*, g. n., IV 405.  
*h' f* (he descended), I 283 n. d.  
*h' y* (laborer), III 531.  
*h' w-mn* (-garment), IV 375.  
*H' n-wln-Ymn*, p. n., IV 448.  
*H' k-r'*, f. n., I 746; II 35.  
*hy't* (hall), IV 889.  
*hbn* (-jar), IV 950, 952; *hbn't* (-jar), I 590; II 159, 164, 509, 567, 734, 736, 738, 739, 741, 743, 745.  
*hnn* (head), II 509 n. a.  
*Hnk'w*, p. n., I 281.  
*hnd* (to charge), III 608 n. e.  
*Hrw-nfr*, p. n., IV 482.  
*hd't* (-plant), IV 235.
- H**
- h't* (house or temple), II 36; III 229, 232, 528, 644 n. e; IV 219, 223, 227, 274, 281, 283, 311, 338, 340, 355, 365, 366, 367, 958J; *h' wt* (temples), II 358.  
*H't-ybt'y*, g. n., IV 916.  
*h't- c' t*, III 229, 240.  
*H't-w' r' t*, g. n., II 4, 8, 296; IV 820.  
*H't-wr't-Ymn-m-h' t*, g. n., II 735.  
*H't-Bnw*, g. n., IV 839.  
 III 16.  
*h't-bnb'n* (sanctuary), II 987.  
*Ht-nb*, g. n., I 323; II 45.  
*h't-ntr* (temple), III 244, 507; IV 751, 958K, 965 n. d.  
*H't-shm*, g. n., II 737.  
*H't-stny*, g. n., IV 818.  
*H't-š' c' t*, g. n., IV 102, 107.  
*ht-k'* (ka-temple), I 289.  
*H't-k' -Pth*, g. n., III 77; IV 724.  
*H'*, g. n., I 602 (in III 498 read *H' m*).  
*H' -y' -n-m*, g. n., IV 713 n. e.  
*H' -pw-rw-m-'*, g. n., IV 712.  
*H' -nbw*, e. n., I 428.  
*H' -nfr*, p. n., II 358.  
*H' -r' -b' -ty*, g. n., III 84.  
*H' -ty-b'*, p. n., IV 591.  
*H' -ty-hn-k-r*, p. n., IV 784.  
*h' t* (land-measure), I 574, 584 bis, 586, 591, 592.  
*h' w-tyw* (leaders), IV 55.  
*H' t-Ymn-t' -nfr*, p. n., IV 660.  
*h' tyw* (officials), III 65, 103, 643.  
*H' t-y' y*, p. n., II 932; III 32C.  
*H' p'y*, p. n., I 675.  
*H' pw*, p. n., I 616.  
*H' m*, g. n., III 498.  
*h' ty- c* (count), I 320, 348, 376, 377, 385 n. c, 536, 622, 629 bis; IV 815 bis, 815 n. a, 878, 881, 902 n. a, 980.  
*h' tyw* (prime linen), I 382.  
*h' y* (rejoice), III 607 n. c.  
*H' c -yb-R c*, r. n., IV 986, 988F, 990, 1003.  
*H' c p*, p. n., IV 818.  
*Hw-p' -n'*, g. n., III 100.  
*Hw-r-n-k' -rw*, g. n., II 436, 557.  
*Hw-r' -b' -s*, p. n., IV 878.  
*hw-k' -m' -mw* (-stone), IV 377.  
*hw-kw-kw* (dom-palm fruit), IV 241.  
*Hwy*, p. n., II 1029.  
*Hw c*, g. n., II 848 n. a; *Hw c' t*, II 848 n. a.,  
*hwn* (young man), I 665; III 565; IV 895.  
*hb- c'* (chief fowler), I 718 n.  
*hb-sd* (jubilee), II 630; IV 335; *hb-sd*,

- II 1029; IV 750 bis, 848; *hb-st*, IV 335.  
*hbs* (-well), IV 726.  
*hbs-bg't* (tomb), IV 972 n. d.  
*Hbnw*, g. n., IV 820 n. b.  
*Hj'ṯ*, g. n., I 459.  
*hm-hrd*, IV 582 bis.  
*hm't-ntr* (divine consort), II 612; IV 988 H.  
*Hmy*, g. n., IV 734 n. d.  
*Hmw-hrw*, p. n., I 343.  
*Hn-Hthr*, p. n., I 225.  
*hn'y* (my majesty), II 617 n. g.  
*hn't* (queen), II 288 n. a; IV 958M, 988H; *hnw't*, II 52.  
*hn<sup>c</sup>-k*, II 1007 n. a.  
*hnw* (-measure), IV 393.  
*Hnw't-ntrw*, p. n., IV 727.  
*Hnw't*, p. n., I 725, 750.  
*Hnw't-sn*, p. n., I 180.  
*Hnmy* (or *ṯmy*), p. n., I 243.  
*hnmm't* (people), II 767, 858; IV 47, 188.  
*Hnk't-c nḥ*, t. n., II 552 n. i.  
*hnty* (period), IV 895, 909.  
*hntw* (-dish), II 436.  
*hr* (upon), II 11 n. f; *hr'f* (upon it), I 438 n. d.  
*Hr* (name of a pyramid), I 211.  
*Hr-wr*, I 637 n. a; II 203.  
*Hr-wr-R<sup>c</sup>*, p. n., I 735.  
*Hr-m-y ḥw't*, d. n. (Harmakhis), I 179.  
*Hr-m-Ymn-pn<sup>c</sup>*, p. n., IV 593.  
*Hr-m-s'ḥ*, p. n., IV 706.  
*Hr-myny*, p. n., II 47.  
*Hr-n-t ṯ-mḥw*, p. n., I 718.  
*hr-nb* (every man), IV 1003.  
*Hr-nb-m<sup>c</sup>t*, r. n., I 312.  
*Hr-nḥt*, p. n., I 718.  
*Hr-rn*, t. n., I 119.  
*hr ršw* (watchfulness), I 320 n. b.  
*Hr-hwj*, p. n., I 332.  
*Hr-hb*, p. n., IV 952.  
*Hr-hnt-hty*, d. n., IV 369.  
*hr šhr't* (to overthrow), I 602 n. f.  
*hr-ḏ ḏ<sup>ḏ</sup>*, II 621 n. d; III 27.  
*hry* (chief), II 389; *hry'w*, IV 405.  
*Hry-Hr*, r. n., IV 615.  
*Hry-š-f*, d. n., I 111.  
*Hry-šfyw*, d. n., IV 368.  
*Hry-šry*, p. n., IV 526.  
*hry-ḏ ḏ<sup>ḏ</sup>-c<sup>ḏ</sup>* ("great lord"), I 381 n. b; III 267.  
*Hry-w-š<sup>c</sup>*, e. n., I 360; III 155.  
*hry't-yb* (hypostyle), II 603 n. d.  
*Hrrt*, d. n., I 396 n. c.  
*hrst* (-stone), IV 233, 302, 377; *hrs*, IV 287.  
*Hh*, g. n., I 652, 657.  
*hs* (vase), I 500 n. b; *hš't*, II 32.  
*Hs-wr*, g. n., I 174.  
*hsyw* (-vase), IV 269, 334.  
*hsb* (to reckon), I 407 n. a.  
*hsb* (dues), IV 34; *hsb't* (dues), III 481, 484.  
*hsb* (-official), II 881.  
*Hsb-k<sup>ḏ</sup>*, g. n., IV 830, 878.  
*hsb'w* (-people), III 192.  
*hsp* (land), IV 972.  
*Hsn*, g. n., I 174.  
*hk't* (measure of capacity), I 408 n. f; II 274.  
*hk<sup>ḏ</sup>* (ruler, prince), I 400 n. a, 402, 627, 628 bis, 632, 636.  
*Hk<sup>ḏ</sup>-yb*, p. n., I 356.  
*hk<sup>ḏ</sup>'t* (rulership), I 620 n. a, 629.  
*Hk<sup>ḏ</sup>'t-nfr'w-Mw't*, p. n., IV 988I;  
*Hk<sup>ḏ</sup>'t-nfr'w-mry't-Mw't*, IV 988I n. a.  
*Hk<sup>ḏ</sup>-*, g. n., I 103.  
*Hk<sup>ḏ</sup>w*, d. n., II 210.  
*Hkn-m-m<sup>c</sup>'t*, r. n., I 616.  
*ht* (loaf), I 241.  
*Htp*, g. n., IV 247.  
*htp* (peace), II 105 n. f.  
*htp* (-bundle), IV 350, 949, 950, 952, 953; *htp't* (-bundle), IV 301.  
*Htp* (-measure), IV 238, 240, 244, 291, 294, 379, 392, 393.  
*htp-hr-nmtt* (-measure), IV 294.  
*ht* (dues), II 543.  
*hty* (span), II 784 n. e.  
*Hḏt-hknw*, p. n., I 216.
- H**
- H<sup>r</sup>-l*, g. n., I 510.  
*H-w ḏ-k<sup>ḏ</sup>*, g. n., III 386.

- H-n-b* <sup>o</sup> *-t* <sup>o</sup>, g. n., III 386.  
*H-r-p* <sup>o</sup> *-n-ty-ry-s*, g. n., III 386.  
*H-t* <sup>o</sup>, g. n., II 485; *Ht* <sup>o</sup>, III 114, 151, 152, 306, 309; IV 64; *Ht* <sup>o</sup> *w*, III 143, 144; *H-y-t* <sup>o</sup>, III 148; *Ht* <sup>o</sup> *-t* <sup>o</sup>, III 147.  
*H-t* <sup>o</sup> *-s-r* <sup>o</sup>, r. n., III 371; *H-t* <sup>o</sup> *-s* <sup>o</sup> *-r* <sup>o</sup>, III 372.  
*h* <sup>o</sup> (a measure of capacity), I 408 n. f.  
*h* <sup>o</sup> (hall), II 778.  
*H* <sup>o</sup> *-yw*, r. n., I 90.  
*H* <sup>o</sup> *-my-h-mw*, g. n., III 114.  
*h* <sup>o</sup> *-n-rw* (corselet), II 447; *h* <sup>o</sup> *nr*, II 785 n. h.  
*H* <sup>o</sup> *-r* <sup>o</sup> *-bw*, g. n., II 582; *H-y-r* <sup>o</sup> *-bw*, III 312, 319; *H-y-r* <sup>o</sup> *-b* <sup>o</sup>, III 321, 337; *H-y-r* <sup>o</sup> *-b* <sup>o</sup> *y*, III 322; *H-y-r* <sup>o</sup> *-p* <sup>o</sup>, III 386.  
*H* <sup>o</sup> *-rw*, g. n., II 420, 436, 555, 821, 822, 884, 1015; III 84, 457, 617, 630, 633; IV 226, 229, 233, 398, 565, 723, 724, 883.  
*h* <sup>o</sup> *-tpy* (commander), I 410 n. c.  
*h* <sup>o</sup> *m* (people), I 390.  
*h* <sup>o</sup> *s-wt* (countries), III 88; *h* <sup>o</sup> *s-t* (desert), IV 1024.  
*h* <sup>o</sup> *s-ty* (barbarian), II 849 n. c.; *h* <sup>o</sup> *s-tyw*, I 532; II 106.  
*H* <sup>o</sup> *sht*, g. n., II 848 n. a, 849 n. c.  
*H-y-r* <sup>o</sup> *-p* <sup>o</sup> *-s* <sup>o</sup> *-r* <sup>o</sup>, p. n., III 337.  
*H-y-s* <sup>o</sup> *-s* <sup>o</sup> *-p* <sup>o</sup>, g. n., III 386.  
*hy-t* <sup>o</sup> *-n* <sup>o</sup> (-fruit), IV 240.  
*H* <sup>o</sup> *-b* <sup>o</sup> *w-Hhr*, p. n., I 218.  
*H* <sup>o</sup> *-m-yp-t*, p. n., IV 433.  
*H* <sup>o</sup> *-m-m* <sup>o</sup> *-n-r* <sup>o</sup>, p. n., IV 434, 466.  
*H* <sup>o</sup> *-m-m* <sup>o</sup> *c-t*, II 864, 890.  
*H* <sup>o</sup> *-m-ty-r* <sup>o</sup>, p. n., IV 466.  
*H* <sup>o</sup> *-shmw*, r. n., I 136.  
*H* <sup>o</sup> *-k* <sup>o</sup> *w-R* <sup>o</sup>, r. n., I 647.  
*h* <sup>o</sup> *c-t-h* <sup>o</sup> *c w my y* <sup>o</sup> *h-wty*, II 314 n. g.  
*H* <sup>o</sup> *c y*, p. n., I 750.  
*H* <sup>o</sup> *c y*, p. n., III 630, 632.  
*h* <sup>o</sup> *c w* (regalia), I 668.  
*H* <sup>o</sup> *c w-m-shmw*, r. n., I 163.  
*H* <sup>o</sup> *c wy*, p. n., I 675.  
*H* <sup>o</sup> *c ww*, p. n., I 305.  
*H* <sup>o</sup> *c f-R* <sup>o</sup>, r. n., I 189.  
*H* <sup>o</sup> *c f-R* <sup>o</sup> *-[h]* <sup>o</sup>, g. n., I 199.  
*h* <sup>o</sup> *c r* (a measure), I 556.  
*hw-b* <sup>o</sup> *k* (protector of the oil tree), d. n., I 785 n. e.  
*Hwy*, p. n., I 299, 349, 361.  
*hw y mky* (protected and defended), I 768 n. e.  
*Hwy-t*, d. n., IV 874.  
*Hwj*, p. n., I 387.  
*Hwny*, p. n., I 336.  
*hbhb* (-jars), IV 875, 878.  
*Hpy*, p. n., I 342.  
*hpr* (carry out), I 322.  
*hpr hms-t*, II 138 n. d.  
*Hpr-hd-R* <sup>c</sup> *-Stp-n-R* <sup>c</sup>, r. n., IV 724.  
*hpr-sh*, I 361.  
*hps* (-sword), II 802; III 117, 163.  
*hpr-t hprw my hpry*, II 314 n. g.  
*H[w]*, r. n., I 189.  
*hjt* (corresponding to), II 614.  
*hjt-hr* (opposite), II 795 n. f.  
*hjt hrs* (nave), III 515.  
*Hjt-t-hr-nbs*, d. n., II 655.  
*Hmnw*, g. n., IV 833, 842, 848 bis.  
*hn* ("tent"), I 353 n. b, 471 n. d.  
*hn n c b c* ("without a lie"), I 658 n. h.  
*hn-t* (prison, stronghold), I 471 n. d.  
*hn-t* (water-skin), I 471 n. d.  
*Hnw*, p. n., I 299.  
*hnw* (court), III 65.  
*hnwtwy*, II 70 n. a.  
*Hnm-c nh-f*, p. n., I 343.  
*Hnm-n-c nh-ss*, p. n., I 305.  
*hnmt*, I 431.  
*hns* (to course), I 471 n. e.  
*hns-t* <sup>o</sup>, II 225 n. d.  
*Hnsw-h* <sup>o</sup> *t-nir-nb-t*, p. n., III 432.  
*hnky* (-garment), IV 374.  
*hnt*, II 903.  
*Hnt-y* <sup>o</sup> *wif*, d. n., I 159.  
*Hnt-c bwy-ntrw*, g. n., IV 369.  
*Hnt-m-smy-ty*, p. n., I 608.  
*Hnt-hn-njr*, g. n., II 80.  
*hnt-hr-f* (before it), I 436 n. d.  
*Hnt-hr-wr*, p. n., I 605.  
*Hnt-hty*, d. n., IV 874.  
*hnty*, I 442 n. f.  
*hnty* (a substance), IV 378, 395.  
*hnty* (image), IV 988D n. b.

- Hnty-hsr't*, d. n., IV 730.  
*hr*, I 598 n. c.  
*hr-c* (assistant), I 383 n. g; II 975.  
*hr-c h³*, g. n., I 165; II 814; IV 878.  
*hr-n-hny* (necropolis), IV 530 n. a.  
*hry-sd't* ("fire-bearer"), IV 735 n. a.  
*hrw* (criminal), IV 427 n. a.  
*hrw* (lowland), I 632 n. b.  
*hrp* (-baton), I 646.  
*hrp* (leader), III 172.  
*hrp-c h³* (chief of the palace), IV 1017.  
*hrs* (-bundles), IV 301.  
*hrtw* (one says), III 580 n. d.  
*hsjy h't* (repulse the matter = punish),  
 I 311 n. e.  
*hsj-c* (hostility), IV 764.  
*hsjyw* (subjects), IV 933 n. c.  
*ht* (-measure), II 965 n. a.  
*ht-c³* (-fowl), II 159, 571 bis, 793; IV  
 242, 347.  
*hty* (carving), IV 489.  
*hty* (timber), IV 380.  
*htm* (fortress), III 100; IV 853.  
*hd* ("to sail downstream"), I 353 n. a.
- H**
- Hnw-k³*, p. n., I 220.  
*Hnt-yšwt-Hthr*, p. n., I 218.  
*Hnt-nfr*, g. n., IV 878.  
*hrd* (child), I 256.  
*Hš³ y*, g. n., I 510.
- Š and S**
- (NOTE.—The distinction has not  
 been maintained after Volume I, viz.,  
 the end of the Middle Kingdom, when  
 the Egyptian Scribe himself had en-  
 tirely ceased to maintain it.)
- S³*, g. n., IV 878.  
*s³* (phyle), IV 468 n. b.  
*S³* (-oxen), II 723.  
*S³-y-hy-p³ y-n³*, g. n., III 386.  
*S³-yw-k³*, g. n., IV 713.  
*S³-yn-hr't*, p. n., I 785.  
*S³-c³-r³*, g. n., IV 404.  
*s³-c³š³* (-bud), IV 242, 298, 347.  
*Š³ ww*, g. n., I 605.
- S³-p³-rw-rw*, r. n., III 373, 377.  
*S³-p³-t³-r³*, p. n., III 337.  
*S³-my-r³-tw-s³*, p. n., III 337.  
*S³-Mntw*, p. n., I 596.  
*S³-n-g-r³*, g. n., II 484; III 479;  
*S³-n-g-r*, II 859.  
*S³-r³-p³*, g. n., III 386.  
*S³-r³-m*, g. n., III 356.  
*s³-t³* (-cakes), IV 240, 378, 392.  
*S³-ry-sw*, g. n., III 386.  
*S³-t y³ h³*, p. n., II 612.  
*S³ yw't*, g. n., IV 358.  
*S³ bny*, p. n., I 364.  
*S³ w* (a temple), I 103.  
*S³ bw*, p. n., I 283.  
*S³ bw km*, p. n., I 287 n. b.  
*S³ hw-R³*, r. n., I 236.  
*š³ r* (honor), I 382 n. d.  
*s³ r't* (counsels), II 142 n. e.  
*š³ h¹-stny*, g. n., I 102.  
*s³ s* (cube), IV 378, 395.  
*s³ tw* (precincts), III 223 n. b.  
*Sy³*, d. n., I 747, II 316 n. a.  
*Šy³-yb*, r. n., IV 976.  
*sy³p* (to investigate), I 179 n. c.  
*sy³p't* (title), IV 473 n. c.  
*syd* (-loaves), IV 238, 393.  
*s³ b* (-loaves), IV 238.  
*s³ mw* (-plant), IV 240, 344, 378,  
 392.  
*Š³-c n³h³*, p. n., I 455, 459.  
*Š³-c n³h³-t³ wy*, r. n., I 420 n. f.  
*S³-c r't-m³-c't*, II 374.  
*s³-c rk* (to end), III 580 n. f.  
*Š³-c h³* (sculptured(?)), I 500 n. a.  
*Sw-n-r³*, p. n., IV 466.  
*sw't* (-grain), II 737, 742.  
*Swm*, g. n., I 493.  
*swm* (to trade), I 493.  
*Swny*, g. n., IV 734 n. d.  
*swr't* (water-supply), II 707.  
*Swkn m Yp't*, g. n., II 402 n. b.  
*šb³* (gate), IV 889.  
*šb³ hr n wb³-w r yr't*, II 371 n. c.  
*šb³-hry* (upper portal), II 835 n. a.  
*Sby*, g. n., III 20.  
*šby* (to dispatch), II 290 n. b.

- sbḥ·t* (chamber), II 164 n. f.  
*sbḥ·t* (-measure), IV 241, 379.  
*sbḥ·t* (-plant), IV 235, 392.  
*sbḥ·t* (towers), II 889.  
*Sḥḥ-tᵛ wy*, r. n., IV 886.  
*Sbk-m-sᵛ f*, r. n., IV 517.  
*Sbk-ḥr-ḥb*, p. n., I 725.  
*S·bdš* (quell), I 428.  
*Sp* (to bind), I 323 n. g.  
*sp* (virtue), III 626.  
*Sp-Rᶜ*, t. n., I 156.  
*sp tpy* (beginning), IV 958J.  
*sp·t* (for *s·yp·t*) (=investigation), I 178.  
n. e.  
*Sp²*, d. n., I 156.  
*spr* (-measure), IV 299, 348.  
*spr* (-salt), IV 299, 348.  
*spr·n·f* (he arrived), IV 1004.  
*špt* (harp), II 32 n. c.  
*spḏ*, II 32 n. c.  
*sjt* (-oil), I 241, 382; II 509, 518; IV 376.  
*Sm* (-priest), I 668; II 936.  
*Smᵛ -Ḥwḏ·t*, g. n., II 935.  
*smᵛ t* (-bolt), II 722.  
*smn·n·s* (she fastened), II 828 n. c.  
*s·mnḥ-sw*, I 420 n. f.  
*smḏ·t* (-stone), IV 377.  
*Sn-Wsr·t*, r. n., I 720.  
*sn-tᵛ* ("smelled the earth" = did obeisance), I 317 n. f, 468 n. e.  
*sn·w* (loaves), II 353, 378; *sn·t*, III 624 n. h.  
*Šnwṭ*, I 141 n. a, 159.  
*Sn-mw·t*, p. n., II 361.  
*Sn-mw·t*, g. n., II 718.  
*Sn-ḏᵛ-rᵛ*, g. n., II 584; see *Šᵛ-ḏᵛ-rᵛ*.  
*Sny*, p. n., IV 485.  
*snj* (-jar), IV 378, 395.  
*snj·t*, I 668 n. c.  
*snb* (-berries), IV 350.  
*Snjr*, r. n., I 189.  
*Snjr-Rᶜ-P-ᶜ nḥy*, r. n., IV 941 n. a.  
*snm* (orderly), II 1 n. c; III 584; IV 40, 65.  
*Snt*, g. n., I 172.  
*snṭyy* (chapel), I 668 n. c.  
*snḏs* (?), I 324 n. b.  
*sr* (official), I 281, 536, 547.  
*sr* (decree), I 173.  
*s·rwd-kᵛ* (cause to grow), II 288 n. b.  
*shr*, IV 309.  
*sh* (-vessel), IV 732, 733, 734.  
*shy* (boat), I 423F n. d.  
*shn* (commander), IV 400.  
*shn* (-vessel); see *sh* (-vessel).  
*shntw*, II 785 n. h.  
*shṭp* (-bundles), IV 295.  
*S·ḥtp-yb-Rᶜ*, r. n., I 465, 473.  
*S·ḥtp-ntr·w* (name of fortress), II 1041.  
*shḏ* (commander), I 677, 707.  
—*shḏ*, I 370.  
*Sh·t-mjk*, g. n., IV 1003 n. e.  
*shwy* (list), III 343.  
*shy-yrf* (ruler), I 779, n. d.  
*Shṭ-Rᶜ*, t. n., I 159; *Shṭ-Rᶜ*, IV 918.  
*s·ḥpr* (create), IV 141 n. c.  
*s·ḥpr* (to train), IV 402 n. e.  
*Shm*, g. n., IV 878.  
*shym* (-sistrum), II 93.  
*shym* (adytum), II 806; III 244.  
*Shym-ntrw* (name of a house: "Mighty-of-the-Gods"), I 97.  
*Shym-Rᶜ-Wp-mᵛᶜ·t*, r. n., IV 516.  
*Shym-Rᶜ-ḥw-tᵛ wy*, r. n., I 752.  
*Shym-Rᶜ-Šd-tᵛ wy*, r. n., IV 517.  
*Shymw*, g. n., I 174.  
*Shymt-n-ᶜ nḥ*, p. n., I 238.  
*shr* (character), I 665.  
*shṭ* (-loaves), II 735.  
*shkr* (deck), I 668.  
*s·šᵛ* ("sustenance," lit. "a causing to be satisfied"), I 354 n. e.  
*Ssy*, p. n., I 299.  
*ssj* (ashes), IV 67 n. a, 72 n. c.  
*Sssw*, g. n., IV 369.  
*Ššḏ*, I 150.  
*Ššᵛ·t*, d. n., I 109, 115.  
*s·šm·w* (leaders), II 925 n. a.  
*S·šmw-tᵛ wy*, r. n., I 616.  
*sš-štny-ḥry-ḏᵛ ḏᵛ* (superior king's-scribe), II 916 n. d.  
*sš-štny-ḥry-ḏᵛ ḏᵛ* (inferior king's-scribe), II 915 n. b.

- sšw* (-loaves), IV 297.  
*sšd* (window), IV 873 n. a.  
*Šknn-R*<sup>c</sup>, r. n., II 7; IV 518.  
*šk* (to line up), IV 864 n. d.  
*Šk-tw* (-ship), II 294.  
*Škmm*, g. n., I 678.  
*Šk*<sup>2</sup>, r. n., I 90.  
*šksk* (capture), II 822.  
*st* ("offering-tablet"), I 322 n. e.  
*Sty-m-pr-Dhwty*, p. n., IV 435.  
*st ḥḥ*<sup>2</sup> *w nw* (chiefs of), I 317 n. d.  
*st*<sup>2</sup> *t* (a land measure), II 840.  
*Sty-m-pr-Ymn*, p. n., IV 436.  
*Sty-r*<sup>2</sup>, p. n., I 716.  
*štp-ḥ*<sup>2</sup> *ty*<sup>c</sup> (to begin), II 303 n. c.  
*Šny-mr-ntr*, p. n., I 243.  
*Šnh*, r. n., I 166.  
*Št'w*, g. n., I 334, 336; *Št't*, g. n., I 728;  
*Št'ty*, e. n., IV 72; *Št'tyw*, e. n., I  
 423 H; II 784, 787; III 20, 479, 490;  
 IV 119, 122, 246; *Šty'w*, e. n., IV 217.  
*št*<sup>2</sup> (-jar), I 569, 571.  
*šts* (carrying pole), I 430.  
*sd'w* ("broken"), I 657 n. e.  
*šd*<sup>2</sup> (pleasure), II 813 n. g.  
*Š*<sup>2</sup> *-ḏ*<sup>2</sup> *-r*<sup>2</sup>, g. n., II 798A; see *Sn-ḏ*<sup>2</sup> *-r*<sup>2</sup>.  
*s'ḏj*<sup>2</sup> (plenty), III 404 n. a.  
*šdm*, I 598 n. a.  
*s'ḏd't* (proverb), III 611 n. a.  
*šdm-c š* (servant), II 854, 985.  
*šdm-w* (-officers), I 633; II 684; III, 55.
- Š
- Š-y-wt*, g. n., II 465.  
*Š-m-šw-y-tw-my*, g. n., II 783; *Š*<sup>2</sup> *-my-ša-y-t*<sup>2</sup> *-my*, II 783 n. b.  
*Š-k-rw-š*<sup>2</sup>, g. n., III 574; *Š*<sup>2</sup> *-k-rw-š*<sup>2</sup>, III 579, 595; IV 64; *Š*<sup>2</sup> *-k*<sup>2</sup> *-rw-š*<sup>2</sup>, III 588 ter, 601; IV 81.  
*Š*<sup>2</sup> *-y*, g. n., IV 405.  
*š*<sup>2</sup> *-w*<sup>2</sup> *-b-ty*, II 537.  
*š*<sup>2</sup> *-w*<sup>2</sup> *-bw* (mastic tree), IV 245.  
*Š*<sup>2</sup> *-b-tw-n*, g. n., III 310, 319, 324;  
*Š*<sup>2</sup> *-bw-dw-n*<sup>2</sup>, g. n., IV 131.  
*Š*<sup>2</sup> *-m-B-c-r*<sup>2</sup>, p. n., III 632.  
*Š*<sup>2</sup> *-n-m*<sup>2</sup>, g. n., IV 712.  
*Š*<sup>2</sup> *-r-dy-n*<sup>2</sup>, e. n., III 307, 588; *Š*<sup>2</sup> *-r*<sup>2</sup> *-*
- d-n*<sup>2</sup>, III 601; *Š*<sup>2</sup> *-r*<sup>2</sup> *-d-ny*, e. n., III 491; *Š*<sup>2</sup> *-r*<sup>2</sup> *-d*<sup>2</sup> *-n*<sup>2</sup>, IV 129, 397, 402, 410; *Š*<sup>2</sup> *-r*<sup>2</sup> *-d-n*, III 574, 579; *Š*<sup>2</sup> *-r*<sup>2</sup> *-d-n-n*<sup>2</sup>, III 588.  
*Š*<sup>2</sup> *-r*<sup>2</sup> *-ḥ*<sup>2</sup> *-n*<sup>2</sup>, g. n., II 113; *Š*<sup>2</sup> *-r*<sup>2</sup> *-ḥ*<sup>2</sup> *-n*, g. n., II 416.  
*Š*<sup>2</sup> *-sw*, e. n., II 124, 517; III 101, 108, 457, 638; IV 404; *Š*<sup>2</sup> *-w*, II 170.  
*Š*<sup>2</sup> *-š*<sup>2</sup> *-n-k*, r. n., IV 724.  
*Š*<sup>2</sup> *-k*<sup>2</sup> *-n*<sup>2</sup>, g. n., III 576.  
*Š*<sup>2</sup> *-t*, g. n., II 661 n. g.  
*Š*<sup>2</sup> *ys-ḥr't*, g. n., IV 994.  
*Š*<sup>2</sup> *c ym* (beginning of), I 429 n. e.  
*Š*<sup>2</sup> *c't*, g. n., I 510 bis.  
*š*<sup>2</sup> *w* (dues), II 110.  
*š*<sup>2</sup> *w* (cabbage), IV 240.  
*Š*<sup>2</sup> *bt*, g. n., I 429 n. f.  
*Š*<sup>2</sup> *s-ḥtp*, g. n., IV 366.  
*š*<sup>2</sup> *d* (dig), III 173; *šd't*, III 196.  
*š*<sup>2</sup> *c* (-cakes), IV 949, 950, 952, 953, 954.  
*š*<sup>2</sup> *c* (-grain), II 737.  
*Š*<sup>2</sup> *c d-mšqr*, p. n., IV 445.  
*šw*, IV 929.  
*šw* (-rolls), II 742.  
*šw* (sun), III 198; IV 958D.  
*šw*<sup>2</sup> (citizen), II 920.  
*šps, w-stny*, II 292 n. c.  
*špsš* (luxuries), I 718.  
*Špsš-k*<sup>2</sup> *f*, r. n., I 257.  
*šfw* (doves), IV 106.  
*Šm-R*<sup>c</sup>, g. n., I 125.  
*šm't* (go), I 423E n. d.  
*Šmyk*, g. n., I 510.  
*Šm*<sup>c</sup> (Middle Egypt), I 396 n. h, 407.  
*Šm*<sup>c</sup> *w* (Middle Egypt, perhaps the "South"), I 442 n. e.  
*Šms*, I 438 n. d.  
*Šn-wr*, g. n., III 480; IV 45.  
*šn*<sup>c</sup> (-fish), IV 243.  
*Šnw't Ynbw-ḥḏ* (granary of Memphis), IV 878 n. d.  
*Šrt-Mtn*, g. n., I 172, 173.  
*šhr'w* (-linen), II 554.  
*šs* (-linen), II 554, 571.  
*šs*<sup>2</sup>, IV 378, 395.  
*šs*<sup>2</sup> *-ḥr* (skilful), II 758 n. c.  
*Šs*<sup>2</sup> *w*, e. n., II 170; see *Š*<sup>2</sup> *-sw*.  
*šsy't* (-sistrum), II 93.

- šsm*·t (-stone), IV 302.  
*šš* (militia), IV 968, 972.  
*št* (stone-cutting), I 239 n. c, 349 n. d.  
*Št-Mtn*, g. n., I 173 bis.  
*Št*°, g. n., II 864 bis.  
*št*°·t (holy place), IV 857.  
*št*°y, IV 726 n. b.  
*Št*, t. n., I 288.  
*šd* (collect), I 382 n. e.  
*šd* (gift-lands), II 689 n. e.  
*šd* (-bird), II 571.  
*šd* (-skin), II 675 n. d.  
*Šd-ybd*, g. n., IV 780.  
*šdw* (water skins), I 456.  
*šdh* (-wine), IV 213.
- K**
- K-b*°-c°-n°, g. n., IV 712.  
*K-r*°-k°-m-š°, g. n., IV 64. *K-r*°-k-  
*my*-š°, III 306, 309; *K*°-r-y-k°-m-y-  
*c*-š°, II 583.  
*k*° (be high), III 607 n. c.  
*K*°-y-k°-š°, g. n., IV 405.  
*K*°-yšwt-*Ht*hr, p. n., I 218.  
*K*°-r°-b°-n°, g. n., IV 405.  
*K*°-r°-m-y-mw, g. n., III 114.  
*k*°-r°-n°-ty (foreskin), IV 52; see also  
*k*rn·t.  
*K*°-r°-k-y-š°-c, g. n., III 306; *K*°-r°-  
*k-y-kš*°, III 309; *K*y-r°-k-y-š°, III  
 349.  
*K*°-rw, p. n., IV 550.  
*K*°-h°c w, r. n., IV 942 n. d.  
*k*°-t°-rw-ty (-measure), IV 378.  
*K*°-dw-rw, g. n., III 94.  
*K*°-d°-—, g. n., II 821; *K*°-d°-r°, III  
 606, 617.  
*K*°-d°-w°-dn, g. n., III 309; *K*°-d°-  
*w*°-d°-n°, g. n., III 312; *K*y-d°-w°-  
*d*°-n°, III 386; *K*y-d°-w°-d-n, III  
 391.  
*k*°-d°-m-r° (garment), IV 375.  
*k*°t, II 808 n. a.  
*K*°y, g. n., IV 948.  
*k*°y (tomb), IV 665 bis, 666 667.  
*K*y-n°, g. n., II 428, 430.  
*K*y-nn, p. n., I 776.  
*k*°h (district), IV 726.  
*k*w (-loaves), II 735.
- kwnk* (-bread), IV 238, 291, 297.  
*kby* (-jar), I 556.  
*Kbh*, g. n., II 101, 844; IV 296.  
*Kbh-nt*rw, t. n., I 143.  
*Kbhw-Hr*, g. n., II 845.  
*Kbsw*, g. n., III 337.  
*km*°-n-yb (conception of heart), II 164  
 n. d.  
*kn*yw (portable shrine), I 667 n. b.  
*knb*·t (official staff), III 58 n. h, 63, 64,  
 65 bis.  
*knb*·t c°·t (great court), IV 531 n. d.  
*k*rn·t (foreskin), III 587 n. h; see also  
*k*°-r°-n°-ty.  
*k*rt y (bolt), IV 929.  
*Khk*, e. n., IV 402, 410, 747 n. c.  
*k*k·t (transport ship), III 441.  
*Kd*, g. n., III 321; *Kdy*, III 306, 309;  
 IV 64; *Kdw*, II 420, 434.  
*Kd-n*°, g. n., II 598.  
*Kd-š*, g. n., II 430; *Kdš*, III 141, 306,  
 308, 309; *Kd-šw*, II 420, 465, 531,  
 585.  
*Kdm*, g. n., I 493.
- K**
- K*°, p. n., I 731.  
*k*°-bw (-jar), IV 233, 239, 292, 299, 376,  
 390.  
*k*°-bw-s° (-measure), IV 240.  
*K*°-pw-r, p. n., IV 90; *K*°-pw-r°,  
 IV 97.  
*K*°-m-W°s·t, p. n., IV 539.  
*K*°-m-y-t°, p. n., III 337.  
*K*°-m-y-dw, g. n., III 114.  
*K*°-ms, r. n., IV 519.  
*K*°-n-nbty-wr, p. n., I 197.  
*K*°-n°, g. n., II 529.  
*K*°-n/r, p. n., I 389.  
*K*°-n/r, g. n., I 490 n. a.  
*K*°-r-h-n-—-n-—-—, g. n., III 386.  
*K*°-r-d°y-t°-—, g. n., III 386.  
*K*°-r°, p. n., IV 423.  
*K*°-r° (-boat), IV 387.  
*K*°-r°-y, g. n., II 800, 862, 889; *K*°-  
*r*-y, II 818.  
*K*°-r°-pw-s°, p. n., IV 432.  
*K*°-r°-pw-t, g. n., III 356.  
*k*°-r°-rw-ty (-weight), IV 286.

*k* > *r* > *-hw-ty* (string, basket), IV 244, 301.  
*K* > *-h-ny*, g. n., IV 873.  
*k* > *-hr-k* > (-jar), IV 294.  
*K* > *-k-rw-y*, g. n., IV 713 n. h.  
*K* > *-km*, g. n., IV 873 bis, 874.  
*k* > *-t* > (-plant), III 55.  
*K* > *-d-t-m*, g. n., IV 712 n. a.  
*k* > *t* (design), II 303 n. b.  
*K* > *w*, e. n., I 311.  
*K* > *y*, p. n., IV 224.  
*K* > *w-k* > *w*, g. n., IV 948.  
*K* > *m*, p. n., III 645.  
*k* > *nk* (-wood), II 449.  
*K* > *š*, g. n., I 510.  
*k* > *š* (shell), II 272.  
*K* > *k-mn* (-vessel), IV 582.  
*K* > *k-s* > *-R<sup>c</sup>*, p. n., I 218.  
*ky* (form), II 906 n. b.  
*Ky-r-gy-p* >, p. n., II 867.  
*Kj-tyw*, e. n., II 659.  
*—k-j* > *-yb*, I 616 n. c; II 708.  
*Km-wr*, g. n., I 493; IV 724A, 875.  
*Km't* (Egypt), g. n., I 451; II 11 n. d.  
*Kmy*, p. n., I 755.  
*knm't* (-stone), IV 302.  
*Knm'tyw*, g. n., II 808.  
*krt'y*, III 171 n. b.  
*Kš*, g. n., II 39, 845 n. f.  
*Kš-kš*, g. n., III 309, 312.  
*Kdndnn* >, p. n., IV 423.

## G

*G-wt-wt*, g. n., IV 405.  
*G-r-b* > *-tw-s* >, p. n., III 337.  
*G* > *-k* > *-iy*, g. n., III 632.  
*G* > *-d* > *-tw*, g. n., II 417; *G* > *-d* > *-y*, III 630.  
*g* > *y* (-jar), IV 238, 241, 294, 300, 301, 350, 393.  
*gmyy*, I 334.  
*gn* (-vase), IV 334.  
*gr* (be silent), I 598, n. c; *gr mdt* (silent in a matter), I 657 n. d.  
*grg-hry* (armed), IV 65 n. g.  
*grg't* (establishment), IV 1021.  
*gs-r* > (-measure), IV 295, 303, 380, 394.

## T

*t-h-r* (-warriors), II 459; *t-h-r* >, IV 44;  
*tw-hy-r* > III 337 bis, 344.  
*T* > *yr'y*, p. n., IV 774.  
*T* > *-c* > *-n-k* >, g. n., IV 712.  
*T* > *-c* > *-n* > *-k* >, g. n., II 421, 426.  
*T* > *-c* >, r. n., IV 518.  
*T* > *-c* > *-c* >, r. n., IV 518.  
*T* > *-c yn*, g. n., IV 878.  
*T* > *-yh*, g. n., III 580.  
*T* > *-wr*, g. n., II 692.  
*T* > *-pd't* (Bowland, Nubia), g. n., I 500, 510, 602, 644; II 122, 176 bis, 375, 794 n. a, 828, 894; III 31, 479, 484, 499, 500, 501, 502, 643; IV 898, 900, 929, 994, 1014.  
*T* > *-mry* (Egypt), g. n., I 451; II 98; III 77, 155, 159.  
*T* > *-ny-s* >, g. n., III 337.  
*T* > *-ntr*, g. n., II 451 n. d.  
*T* > *-r* > *-y*, g. n., II 852.  
*T* > *-r* > *-ty-š-bw*, p. n., III 372.  
*T* > *-s* > *-h-r* >, d. n., III 386.  
*T* > *-s* > *-t-nht*, p. n., IV 499.  
*T* > *-sn't-Hr*, p. n., IV 990.  
*T* > *-šry*, p. n., IV 547.  
*T* > *-ty*, p. n., IV 547.  
*T* > *-d* > *-r* >, p. n., III 337.  
*T* > *y-nht't*, p. n., IV 452.  
*T* > *yw-hnw't*, p. n., IV 727.  
*T* > *ywq* > *t*, g. n., IV 818.  
*T* > *j-nht-t*, p. n., IV 818.  
*T* > *n-w* > *-ty-Ymn*, r. n., IV 921.  
*T* > *dn't-n-B* > *s't*, p. n., IV 795.  
*Ty-* >, p. n., III 542.  
*Ty-y* > *-dwr* >, p. n., III 337.  
*Ty-m-h-nw*, g. n., III 379 n. c.  
*Ty-n-r* >, p. n., II 984.  
*Ty-n-r* > *-Ymn*, p. n., IV 539.  
*Ty-n* > *-y*, g. n., II 537.  
*Ty-r* > *-yw* >, g. n., IV 114.  
*Ty-r* > *-g* > *-n*—, p. n., III 337.  
*Ty-r* > *-g* > *-n-n* > *-s* >, p. n., III 337.  
*Ty-r* > *-g* > *-ty-t-t* > *-s* >, p. n., III 337.  
*Ty-k-sy*, g. n., II 487.  
*Tyy*, p. n., II 862.  
*Tyw*, r. n., I 90.



- Tynt-nw't*, p. n., IV 589.  
*Tynt-s<sup>o</sup>-h<sup>o</sup>-rw-yw*, p. n., IV 784.  
*Tynt-i<sup>o</sup>-c-mw*, g. n., II 15.  
*tyhty* (tin?), IV 929.  
*Tyhnuw*, g. n., II 892; III 116, 132, 134, 139, 588; *Tyhy*, III 147; *Tyhn*, IV 792; *Tyhnwt*, IV 482; *Thnuw*, IV 822; see also *Thnuw*.  
*tyt*, I 784 n. c.  
*Tw-np*, g. n., II 459, 470, 530; *Tw-n-p*, III 365 bis; *Tnpw*, II 773.  
*tw-r-pw* (-geese), IV 235, 242; *turp* (-geese), IV 342.  
*Tw-r<sup>o</sup>-ss*, g. n., IV 114.  
*Tw-rw-s<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., III 574, 588 bis, 601; *Tw-ry-s<sup>o</sup>*, III 579; *Ty-w-r<sup>o</sup>-s<sup>o</sup>*, IV 129.  
*Tw-tw*, p. n., II 1009.  
*twr*, IV 302.  
*twt ny* (shape for me), II 200 n. e.  
*twt . . . wh<sup>o</sup> m rnp't in* ("a statue . . . quarried in this year"), I 323 n. e.  
*tb* (-grain), II 737.  
*tp rsy* (south), I 396 n. h, c, 529, 665 n. b; II 614, 692, 717, 726; IV 857.  
*Tp-hl*, g. n., I 159.  
*tp't*, IV 334.  
*tpy-c* (first), IV 822 n. b.  
*tpw* (bullocks), IV 242.  
*iph't* (opening), II 564, n. e; III 171 n. b.  
*Tj-yby*, p. n., I 395.  
*tm ssdr* ("not causing a matter to sleep") I 657 n. c.  
*tm<sup>o</sup>*, II 735.  
*Tmh*, g. n., I 335 nn. h; *Tmh<sup>o</sup>*, I 335 n. h.  
*tmhy* (-stone), 373, 389.  
*iny'w* (offering vessels?), II 93.  
*Tnpw*, g. n., II 773.  
*Tnt-s<sup>o</sup>y*, p. n., IV 695.  
*Tnt-sph*, p. n., IV 792.  
*int<sup>o</sup>'t* (throne), IV 401.  
*Trrs*, g. n., I 334.  
*Thnuw*, g. n., IV 822; see also *Tyhn<sup>o</sup>*.  
*Tty*, r. n., I 294.  
*Tty-c n*, p. n., II 16.
- T**
- T-k<sup>o</sup>-n-s<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., IV 818.  
*T-kw*, g. n., III 638.  
*T<sup>o</sup>-w<sup>o</sup>-t<sup>o</sup>-s<sup>o</sup>*, p. n., III 337.  
*t<sup>o</sup>-pw-r* (-vessels), III 589.  
*T<sup>o</sup>-m-r<sup>o</sup>*, p. n., IV 43.  
*T<sup>o</sup>-mw't*, g. n., II 641, 814 n. a; IV 634, 914.  
*T<sup>o</sup>-n-m't*, p. n., IV 792.  
*T<sup>o</sup>-r<sup>o</sup>*, p. n., III 633.  
*T<sup>o</sup>-r<sup>o</sup>-y*, p. n., IV 532.  
*t<sup>o</sup>-r<sup>o</sup>-ty* (warship), IV 229 n. b.  
*T<sup>o</sup>-rw*, g. n., II 415; III 54, 88, 100, 307, 542, 631.  
*t<sup>o</sup>-sr't* (standard bearer), II 839.  
*T<sup>o</sup>-k-k<sup>o</sup>-r<sup>o</sup>*, g. n., IV 44, 64, 77; *T<sup>o</sup>-kw-r<sup>o</sup>*, IV 129; *T<sup>o</sup>-k-r<sup>o</sup>*, IV 403; *T<sup>o</sup>-k<sup>o</sup>-r<sup>o</sup>*, IV 565.  
*t<sup>o</sup>-k<sup>o</sup>-r<sup>o</sup>* (tower), IV 189 n. a.  
*T<sup>o</sup>-k<sup>o</sup>-rw-B-c-r<sup>o</sup>*, p. n., IV 566; *T<sup>o</sup>-k<sup>o</sup>-r<sup>o</sup>-B-c-r<sup>o</sup>*, p. n., IV 567.  
*T<sup>o</sup>-k<sup>o</sup>-rw-m*, p. n., III 632.  
*t<sup>o</sup>-gw* (-wood), II 485, 490, 491.  
*t<sup>o</sup>-ikmw*, IV 217 n. k.  
*t<sup>o</sup>y* (-measure), IV 238, 240, 294, 378, 393.  
*T<sup>o</sup>cw*, g. n., I 456.  
*t<sup>o</sup>b* (-jar), II 621, 622.  
*Tw-r<sup>o</sup>*, p. n., II 55.  
*Twy<sup>o</sup>*, p. n., II 862, 867.  
*Tb-ntr*, g. n., IV 878.  
*t<sup>o</sup>b* (-vessel), IV 582 bis; *t<sup>o</sup>b'w* (-jars), III 589; IV 294, 476, 477.  
*Tbw*, g. n., IV 957.  
*tm<sup>o</sup>* (district), II 686, n. b.  
*tm<sup>c</sup>'t*, II 743.  
*Tmh*, e. n., I 311, 335; *T-m-h*, g. n., III 580; *Tmh<sup>o</sup>*, IV 944 n. a; *Ty-m-h-w*, g. n., III 586.  
*mtm* (-measure), IV 238, 291.  
*inyw* (flat dish), II 32.  
*Tnw*, g. n., II 798 A.  
*Tnt-rmw*, g. n., IV 878.  
*Tnty*, p. n., I 182 n. a.  
*trf* (measure), IV 292.  
*Trty*, I 703.  
*Thnuw*, g. n., III 465; see also *Thnuw* and *Tyhn<sup>o</sup>*.

*l̥hnt* (oil), I 366.  
*Ts-hn*, p. n., I 186.  
*tsw* (flats?), I 323 n. h, 669 n. c.  
*ts̥* (commander), IV 821 ter.  
*ts̥* (command), IV 747 n. a.  
*Ts-B > s̥-t-pr̥t*, p. n., IV 774.  
*Ts-R < m-yw*, t. n., II 1018.  
*ts̥t* (troop), II 916; IV 825 n. b.  
*Tš*, r. n., I 90.  
*Tty*, I 184.  
*Tty*, p. n., I 361.  
*Tty*, p. n., I 423C.

## D

*D > -y-n-yw*, e. n., IV 64; *D > -y-n-yw-n >*, IV 81, 82, 403.  
*d > -w > -r >* (-measure), IV 294.  
*D > -pw-r >*, g. n., III 356.  
*d > mw* (-measure), IV 240; *dm > w* (-measure), IV 345; *dm > mw* (-measure), IV 379.  
*D > -r-d-ny*, g. n., III 306; *D-r > -d-n-y*, III 349.  
*dy-rs-d̥ > d̥ >* (taskmaster), II 758 n. f.  
*dy̥ h̥d h̥nt*, I 459 n. g.  
*dy-stny-h̥tp*, II 52.  
*Dy-d*, p. n., III 579; *Dy-dy*, p. n., IV 43.  
*Dyy-s-nk*, p. n., I 338.  
*dydy* (-measure), IV 295.  
*d̥w* (-altar), IV 735.  
*d̥w* (-garment), IV 232, 239, 241 374, 375, 394.  
*d̥w* (-vessel), IV 735.  
*Dw > -Hr-pt* (a feast), I 125.  
*Dw > -t > wy*, I 146, 147.  
*d̥w > d̥w >* (early morning), I 468 n. b.  
*Dw > -d̥j >*, I 138.  
*d̥w > t* (-hall), III 154.  
*Dw > t* (nether world), III 259, 272.  
*d̥w > t-ntr* (divine votress), IV 988G, H bis.  
*d̥wd̥t*, I 500.  
*db̥h̥* (to crave), IV 784 n. a.  
*db̥h̥t-h̥tp* (offering table), II 32.  
*Db̥hn*, p. n., I, 239, n. a.  
*d̥ph̥t* (-apples), IV 301.

*dm̥y* (town), III 84, 86, 88, 94, 141, 147; IV 52, 485.  
*Dn >*, p. n., IV 682.  
*dm̥y* (-measure), IV 294; *dm̥y't* (-measure), II 621, 622; IV 240, 294, 299, 300.  
*dm̥y >* (-vase), IV 238, 269.  
*Dmrg*, p. n., II 114.  
*dm̥t̥ > t* (palanquin), IV 958E.  
*dhn* (forehead), IV 988H n. b.  
*dhn'n'j wy r nb*, II 805 n. a.  
*Dh̥wty-rh-nr*, p. n., IV 423.  
*dh̥t* (= *hd̥t* = "to sail down stream"), I 353 n. a.  
*ds* (-jar), I 569, 585; II 113, 114, 620, 621; III 77, 159; IV 347.  
*ds* (-stone), IV 972.  
*Dsr*, f. n., I 94.  
*dk̥*, II 571.  
*dd̥t* (flat dish), IV 735.  
*ddm̥t* (-flower), IV 345, 379.

## D̥

*D̥ > -y-n-*, g. n., III 386.  
*d̥ > -w* (-linen), II 722, 727 bis, 736, 738, 744 bis.  
*D̥ > -w > d̥-wr*, g. n., IV 921 n. e.  
*D̥ > -pw-y > -r > -n-d >*, g. n., III 386.  
*D̥ > -pw-r >*, p. n., III 630.  
*D̥ > -my-r >*, g. n., II 465; III 114.  
*D̥ > -mw't*, g. n., IV 1002.  
*D̥ > -n-* — *-nw-ty*, g. n., III 386.  
*D̥ > -r > -Rw-m*, g. n., III 633.  
*D̥ > -rw*, g. n., III 114.  
*D̥ > -rw-m > m*, g. n., IV 714.  
*D̥ > -hy*, g. n., II 20, 482, 489, 492, 497, 616, 658; III 318; *D̥ > -h >*, III 423; IV 219, 328; *D̥ > -h*, IV 211.  
*D̥ > -d-p-t-t-rw*, g. n., IV 713.  
*D̥ >*, p. n., I 676, 683.  
*D̥ > y-y > -t-h̥y-r-ry*, g. n., III 386.  
*d̥ > mw* (classes), IV 402 n. f, 1823 n. d.  
*d̥ > d̥w* (audience-hall), I 239 n. a, 423E, n. d, 500.  
*D̥ > ty*, p. n., I 389.  
*D̥ > tyy*, p. n., I 343.  
*d̥ > d̥ > w* (courses), IV 489, 654 n. b.  
*d̥ > d̥ > t* (council), II 686 n. a.

- ḏ* > *ḏ* > *t-wr*·*t* (great council), II 706.  
*ḏ*<sup>c</sup>*w*, p. n., I 347.  
*ḏ*<sup>c</sup>*w*, p. n., I 381.  
*ḏ*<sup>c</sup>*n*, g. n., IV 564.  
*ḏ*<sup>c</sup>*r-wḥ*², g. n., II 869.  
*ḏb* > (costume), I 366 n. a, 668.  
*ḏb* >·*t* (-hall), III 154.  
*ḏf*·*t*y, g. n., II 421.  
*ḏm*y, p. n., I 336 n. a.  
*ḏr-n*², g. n., II 470.  
*ḏrw* (masonry), IV 515.  
*ḏs*, later *ḏs* (-jar), I 430 n. i.
- ḏsr-k* > -*R*ᶜ, r. n., II 39.  
*ḏsr-t*, g. n., IV 520.  
*ḏt*, f. n., I 101, 131.  
*ḏt* (endowment), I 217 n. a.  
*ḏd*, II 872 n. a; *ḏd-ny* (I have spoken),  
 I 658 n. g.  
*ḏd-ḥy-yw*, p. n., IV 878.  
*ḏd-ḥ*<sup>c</sup>*w*, r. n., I 264, 265.  
*ḏd-k* > -*R*ᶜ, r. n., I 264, 265.  
*ḏdm*·*t* (-measure), IV 244, 294, 301,  
 394, 768.  
*ḏdm-t-ḥr-i* > (-loaves), IV 238.  
*ḏdt*y, p. n., IV 957.

## INDEX IX

### HEBREW

- אָבֵל**, IV 715 n. a bis.  
**אָבֵל פְּרָמִים**, IV 715 n. a.  
**אָבְלִים**, IV 715 n. a.  
**אָנָן** (־k־n־), II 436 n. e.  
**אָדוֹרִים** (־d-rw-m־m), IV 712 n. f.  
**אֶדֶל** (־d-rw), IV 712 n. c.  
**אֶדְמָה** (־d-m־־?), IV 714 n. d.  
**אֶדֶר** (־d-rw), IV 712 n. c.  
**אֶדְרִי** (־d-r־־), IV 716.  
**אֶדְרִים**, IV 712 n. f.  
**אֶהָל**, III 576 n. d.  
**אֵיזוּה** (yw-t־), III 288 n. b.  
**אֵינְלוֹן** (־yw-rw-n), IV 712.  
**אֶלְרִים** (־r-r-y-m), IV 455 n. d.  
**בֵּית־הָרוֹן** (B־ty-h-w־rw-n), IV 712.  
**בֵּית־שֶׁקֶן** (B־ty-š־n-r־), IV 712.  
**בֵּית־תְּלָם** (B־ty-t־rw-m־m), IV 713 n. h.  
**בַּלְמִם** (B־rw-m־m), IV 713 n. f.  
**בַּרְךְּ** (b־r־k־), IV 127 n. a, 207 n. e.  
**גְּבַעוֹן** (K-b־c־n־), IV 712.  
**הָדִים** (hdmw), II 436 n. k.  
**זַכְרָבֶעַל** (T־k־rw־B-c־r־), IV 566 n. b.  
**זֹדֶפְת־אַל** (D־d-p־t־r w), IV 713.  
**חֲאָנִם** (H־y־n-m), IV 713 n. e.  
**חֲוִינִם** (H־y־n-m), IV 713 n. e.  
**חֲנִס** (Heracleopolis), IV 790.  
**חֲפָרִים** (H־p-w-rw-m־), IV 712.  
**חֲקֵל**, IV 715 n. f.  
**חֲקֵל אַבְרָם** (P־h-w-k־rw־b־r־־m), IV 715.  
**חֲקֵלִם**, IV 715 n. f.  
**חֲרָבָה**, III 84 n. a.  
**יִדְהַמְלֵךְ** (Yw-d-h-m-rw-k), IV 713.  
**כַּבֵּד**, IV 410 n. d.  
**כְּפָר** (K־k־rw-y), IV 713 n. h.  
**כְּסָת** (k־t־ty), IV 232 n. a.  
**מָתָם**, IV 199 n. d.  
**מָגִדוֹ** (M-k-d-yw), IV 712.  
**מַהֲרֵ בַעַל** (M-h־r־b-c־r־), IV 423 n. a.  
**מַהֲנִים** (M-h־n-m), IV 712.  
**מַרְחֶשֶׁת** (r־h-w-sw), IV 238 n. a.  
**נָנַב**, IV 715.  
**סַגְרוֹר** (t־k־r־), IV 189 n. a.  
**סִים לַב**, I 745 n. g; II 175 n. c.  
**עִזְזָא** (c־y־d־), IV 715.  
**עִינ־פְּרִן** (c־n-p-rw-n), IV 716.  
**עֶרְדִּי** (c־rw-d־), IV 716.  
**עַלְיָה** (c־r־ty), IV 189 n. a.  
**עַצָּא** (c־y־d־), IV 715.  
**עַצְמוֹן**, IV 715 n. d.  
**עַרְלָה** (kern־t), III 587 n. h.  
**עַרְן** (c־r־n־), IV 713.  
**עַשְׂקִי** (c־š־k־), IV 188 n. a.  
**צִוְרִים** (D־r-w-m־m), IV 714.  
**צַעֲקִי** (d־k), IV 97 n. g.  
**צַדְפַּתֵּל** (D־d-p־t־r-w), IV 713.  
**רְבִיחָה** (Rw-b־ty), IV 712.  
**רְחֹב** (Rw-h־b־־), IV 712.  
**קַל**, IV 410 n. d.  
**שְׁבִלָת**, IV 715.  
**שְׁוִנִם** (š־n-m־), IV 712.  
**שִׁכְּהָה** (S־y-w-k־), IV 713.  
**שְׁנָה**, IV 715 n. f.  
**שְׁנִים**, IV 715 n. f.  
**תְּעַנְךָ** (T־c־n-k־), IV 712.

## INDEX X

### ARABIC

الفقاعى, IV 83r g. n.      ضرب مثلا, III 61r n. a.  
دخل على (c k h r), IV 46o n. c.



<i>Denkmäler</i>	<i>Records</i>	<i>Denkmäler</i>	<i>Records</i>
Taf. 65, a	II 791-97	Taf. 155	III 339-40
68	II 812-15	156	III 356
71, a-d	I 66 n. c; II 875	157-61	III 335-38
76, 77	II 819, 871-72	159, b	III 448 n. b
81, g	II 844	159, d	III 520
81, h	II 843 n. c	164, 165	III 335-38
82, a	II 845	166	III 356, 359-62
89, a	II 894	174, d	III 558
89, c	II 895	275, b	I 75 n. h
89, e	II 896	175, f	III 552
92-97, d	II 982-88	175, g	III 479
98, a	III 1007-8	176, a, b, d, e,	
100-2	II 1014-16	f, g	III 458-77
103-6, a, 107 a	II 989-96	180	III 504
107, a	II 1010-13	182, b	III 504
110, d	II 932	183, a	III 503
110, i	II 934-35	187, a, b	III 499
115-18	II 1019-41	187, c-e	III 317-27
119	II 844 n. b	188, a	III 452-53
120, a	III 44	189, a	III 496-99
120, b	III 43	192, b	III 501
121, a-b	III 41-2	192, c	III 500
126, a	III 87-88	192, d	III 500
126, b	III 83-84	195, a	III 392
127, a	III 85-86	196	III 415-24
127, b	III 109-112	197, b	III 297
128, a, b	III 98-103	197, c	III 297
129	III 153-56	199, a	III 574-92
130, a	III 142-44	200, a	III 627-28
130, b	III 145-48	201, c	III 641 n. a
131, a	III 114	202, a	III 648
131, b	III 213	202, b	III 646
131, c, d	III 213	202, c	III 647
132, a	III 215-16	209, b	III 129
132, d	III 218	209, c	IV 132-35
123, e	III 217	212	III 641
132, g, h	III 213	213, b	IV 13
138, g	III 200	213, d	IV 4
138, h	III 249	213, e	IV 14
138, n	III 198	219, c, A	III 641 n. e
139, a	III 163-64	219, e	IV 463-68
140, a	III 165	220, c	IV 11
140, b	III 169-74	223, e	IV 457-60
140, c	III 175-94	229, b	IV 474
140, d	III 195	229, c	IV 479-83
141, h	III 204 n. b	230	IV 476-77
145, c	III 355	231, a	IV 474
146	III 370-91	237, c	III 621-26
149, a	III 507	243, a	IV 622-25
152	III 217	243, b	IV 626
152, a	III 517-18	248, b	IV 615-18
152, d	III 218	251, a	IV 632-33
152, f	III 521	251, c	IV 649
152, g	III 521	251, d	IV 635 n. a
153	III 317-27, 329-30	251, e-g	IV 634
154	III 331-32	252, 253, a	IV 709-22
		255, i	IV 753

<i>Denkmäler</i>	<i>Records</i>	<i>Denkmäler</i>	<i>Records</i>
Taf. 256, a	IV 762-69	Text III, 64	IV 615-18
257, a	IV 760-61	III, 91, 92	III 64 n. a
258, a, b	IV 770	III, 127, 128	III 356
301-6	II 1019-41	III, 130	III 641 n. c
		III, 134	III 515
	ABT. V	III, 152	IV 889
Taf. 1, e	I 74 n. a	III, 156	III 356 n. a
5	IV 897	III, 164	IV 634
7, c	IV 898	III, 170	IV 132-35
12, a	IV 899	III, 172	IV 72
13, b, d	IV 900	III, 174	IV 85-92
		III, 175	IV 61-68
	ABT. VI	III, 176	IV 51
Taf. 23, 8	IV 19	III, 177	IV 53-55
		III, 178	IV 37-58
	TEXT	III, 209-214	III 641 n. b
Text I, 20	II 799-800	III, 238	IV 513
III, 43	III 574-92	IV, 37	III 505
		IV, 49	IV 414
		IV, 175	III 553