

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
of
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

STUDIES IN ANCIENT ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION

†JAMES HENRY BREASTED
Editor

THOMAS GEORGE ALLEN
Associate Editor

HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE BAKER & TAYLOR COMPANY
NEW YORK

THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON

THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA
TOKYO, OSAKA, KYOTO, FUKUOKA, SENDAI

THE COMMERCIAL PRESS, LIMITED
SHANGHAI

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE *of* THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
STUDIES IN ANCIENT ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION, NO. 12

HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III
THE TEXTS IN *MEDINET HABU*
VOLUMES I AND II

TRANSLATED WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES

By
WILLIAM F. EDGERTON
and
JOHN A. WILSON



Internet publication of this work was made possible with the
generous support of Misty and Lewis Gruber

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

**COPYRIGHT 1936 BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. PUBLISHED MARCH 1936**

**COMPOSED AND PRINTED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.**

PREFACE

The present volume contains translations and commentary on the hieroglyphic texts published in the Oriental Institute's first two *Medinet Habu* folios ("Oriental Institute Publications," Vols. VIII-IX [1930-32]): I. *Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III*; II. *Later Historical Records of Ramses III*. Volume I contains Plates 1-54; Volume II, Plates 55-130. No discussion of the composition and content of the scenes is presented here; they will be treated later in a separate publication.

We are jointly responsible for the present treatment of Volume I. For the translation and commentary on Volume II, one of us (J. A. W.) must assume full responsibility.

The method of preparing the plates in the *Medinet Habu* volumes was described in Volume I, page 10. Of special importance for the present treatment were the "collation sheets" carried to the wall by the epigrapher for his exhaustive study of the extant material. The present volume has grown, in no small part, out of the comments noted on the margins of these sheets. Accurate copies of the hieroglyphs could only be secured by a careful study of the texts. There were notes made in the presence of the wall, studies and discussions in the library of the expedition headquarters at Luxor, and constant re-examinations of the wall. It was necessary that something of a philological commentary be produced before the plates could leave Luxor to enter the printer's hands. Further study and discussion brought the material to its present form. Along its way the commentary has had the benefit of suggestions and criticism from Professor James H. Breasted, Professor Harold H. Nelson, Dr. Caroline Ransom Williams, and Mr. Keith C. Seele.

To gain the most complete copy of the scenes and inscriptions, it was not enough to facsimile the traces now extant on the wall. Our expedition consulted the records made by previous copyists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In order that our list of such previous copies might be as complete as possible, Miss Rosalind Moss kindly put at our disposal the manuscript material on Medinet Habu which was to go into B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, Volume II: *Theban Temples* (Oxford, 1929). We here acknowledge our debt to Miss Porter and Miss Moss for this advance material. In the bibliographies appended to the several scenes in this volume we have not attempted to give a full list of references, as such will be found in the volume by Miss Porter and Miss Moss.

Through the kindness of Professors Erman and Grapow, we were permitted to delve in the *Zettelkasten* of the Berlin *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. In addition, they sent to us at Luxor the *Zettel* containing the copies of Medinet Habu texts which Sethe and Gardiner had made for the *Wörterbuch*. In the following text we have not indicated our obligations to the *Wörterbuch* in detail, and we here make grateful acknowledgment for the great advantage derived from these materials. We have consulted *Wörterbuch* files for every rare or obscure word. The statement that a specific word occurs "only" in certain specified passages may be assumed to rest on a careful examination of the *Wörterbuch* files.

For an inclusive study of the scenes and inscriptions in the temple, the reader will find Georges Daressy, *Notice explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou* (Le Caire, 1897), of value. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* IV (3d impression; Chicago, 1927) §§ 21-138, contains most of the historical texts herein treated. The present study is a revision and amplification of Professor Breasted's translations. We have not specified the corresponding passages of *Ancient Records* in our bibliographical notes to the various scenes, but the reader who wishes a succinct and able view of the texts will do well to use Professor Breasted's work.

Preliminary observations on scenes and inscriptions have been published in the series called "Oriental Institute Communications": H. H. Nelson, "The Epigraphic Survey of the Great Temple of Medinet Habu (Seasons 1924-25 to 1927-28)," in No. 5 (1929); J. A. Wilson, "The Language of the Historical Texts Commemorating Ramses III," in No. 7 (1930); and H. H. Nelson, "The Epigraphic Survey, 1928-31," in No. 10 (1931). These studies give a useful rapid survey of the materials in these volumes, especially the scenes depicted.

PREFACE

Our rendering of the Egyptian is a compromise between a strictly literal translation and good English style. English grammatical structure has often been sacrificed to the Egyptian phraseology.

No translation of Medinet Habu texts could be presented with the confidence that it embodies the final word. We gladly confess that this is only an attempt to approach the meaning of these inscriptions. Criticism and corrections will be very welcome.

WILLIAM F. EDGERTON
JOHN A. WILSON

July, 1935

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS	xi
Symbols	xi
Words	xi
Publications and Documents	xi
THE RECORDS	1

VOLUME I

THE NUBIAN WAR

PLATE	
9. RAMSES III IN BATTLE WITH THE NUBIANS	1
10. RAMSES III RETURNING IN TRIUMPH FROM THE NUBIAN CAMPAIGN	2
11. RAMSES III PRESENTING NUBIAN CAPTIVES AND SPOIL TO AMON AND MUT	2

THE FIRST LIBYAN WAR

13. RAMSES III BEING COMMISSIONED BY AMON TO UNDERTAKE A LIBYAN WAR	4
14. RAMSES III LEAVING THE TEMPLE AFTER RECEIVING HIS COMMISSION FROM AMON	5
16. RAMSES III MOUNTING HIS CHARIOT TO SET OUT ON THE LIBYAN CAMPAIGN	7
17. RAMSES III, PRECEDED BY THE STANDARD OF AMON, MARCHING AGAINST THE LIBYANS	9
18. RAMSES III IN BATTLE WITH THE LIBYANS	10
19. RAMSES III IN BATTLE WITH THE LIBYANS	11
22. RAMSES III CELEBRATING HIS VICTORY OVER THE LIBYANS	13
23. RAMSES III CELEBRATING HIS VICTORY OVER THE LIBYANS	14
24. RAMSES III RETURNING IN TRIUMPH FROM THE LIBYAN CAMPAIGN	17
25 A. DISK FROM THE TRAPPINGS OF THE ROYAL HORSES	17
26. RAMSES III PRESENTING LIBYAN CAPTIVES TO AMON AND MUT	17
27-28. INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 5	19

THE NORTHERN WAR

29. RAMSES III ISSUING EQUIPMENT TO HIS TROOPS FOR THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SEA PEOPLES	35
31. RAMSES III ON THE MARCH TO ZAHI AGAINST THE SEA PEOPLES	37
32-34. RAMSES III IN BATTLE WITH THE LAND FORCES OF THE SEA PEOPLES	38
35. RAMSES III HUNTING LIONS	39
37-39. RAMSES III AND HIS FLEET IN BATTLE WITH THE FLEET OF THE SEA PEOPLES	41
42. RAMSES III CELEBRATING HIS VICTORY OVER THE SEA PEOPLES	42
43. RAMSES III PRESENTING CAPTIVES OF THE LIBYANS AND THE SEA PEOPLES TO THE THEBAN TRIAD	44
44. RAMSES III PRESENTING CAPTIVES OF THE SEA PEOPLES TO AMON AND MUT	46
46. INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 8	49

VOLUME II

THE SECOND LIBYAN WAR

62. RAMSES III AND HIS COURT ON PARADE	59
68. RAMSES III IN BATTLE WITH THE LIBYANS	60
70. RAMSES III PURSUING THE FLEEING LIBYANS	61
72. RAMSES III PURSUING THE FLEEING LIBYANS	62
73. RAMSES III CARRYING OFF CAPTIVE LIBYAN CHIEFS	63
74. RAMSES III CELEBRATING HIS VICTORY OVER THE LIBYANS	63
75. RAMSES III REVIEWING LIBYAN PRISONERS AND SPOIL	64
77. RAMSES III RETURNING IN TRIUMPH FROM A LIBYAN CAMPAIGN	69
78. RAMSES III PRESENTING LIBYAN PRISONERS TO AMON AND MUT	70

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLATE	PAGE
79. INTRODUCTION TO RECORD OF THE LIBYAN WAR OF YEAR 11	71
80-83. INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 11	74
85-86. POEM ON THE LIBYAN WAR OF YEAR 11	87
CAMPAIGNS IN ASIA	
87. RAMSES III ATTACKING TWO HITTITE TOWNS	94
88. RAMSES III STORMING THE TOWN OF TUNIP	95
90. RAMSES III STORMING A SYRIAN FORTRESS	96
91. RAMSES III REVIEWING SYRIAN PRISONERS	97
92. RAMSES III RETURNING IN TRIUMPH FROM A SYRIAN CAMPAIGN	98
93. RAMSES III PRESENTING SYRIAN PRISONERS AND SPOIL TO AMON AND KHONSU	98
94. RAMSES III STORMING A FORTRESS IN AMOR	100
96. RAMSES III CELEBRATING HIS VICTORY OVER THE SYRIANS	101
98. RAMSES III RETURNING IN TRIUMPH FROM A CAMPAIGN IN AMOR	102
99. RAMSES III PRESENTING REPRESENTATIVE PRISONERS FROM HIS LIBYAN AND ASIATIC CAMPAIGNS TO THE THEBAN TRIAD	103
MISCELLANEOUS SCENES AND TEXTS	
101. RAMSES III SMITING THE "CHIEFS OF ALL COUNTRIES" BEFORE AMON	105
102. RAMSES III SMITING THE "CHIEFS OF ALL COUNTRIES" BEFORE AMON-RE-HARAKHTE	111
103. FLAGPOLE DEDICATIONS	116
105-6. "BLESSING OF PTAH"	119
107. SOUTH STELA WITH INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 12	129
108. NORTH STELA WITH INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 12	133
109. RAMSES III INSPECTING HIS HORSES	136
111. FAÇADE OF THE WINDOW OF ROYAL APPEARANCES	137
113. SOUTH FACE OF EAST DOORWAY FROM RAMSES III'S PALACE INTO THE TEMPLE	140
114. SOUTH FACE OF THE WINDOW OF ROYAL APPEARANCES	141
115. SOUTH FACE OF MIDDLE DOORWAY FROM RAMSES III'S PALACE INTO THE TEMPLE	142
116. RAMSES III HUNTING DESERT GAME	144
117. RAMSES III HUNTING WILD BULLS	145
118-19 A. SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATIONS OF THE VICTORIOUS POWER OF RAMSES III	146
119 B-C. RAMSES IV BEFORE AMON	147
120-22. RAMSES III SMITING HIS ENEMIES BEFORE THE GOD	149
123-24. RAMSES III ENTERING THE TEMPLE FROM HIS PALACE	151
129 G. SUPERIMPOSED CARTOUCHES OF RAMSES IV AND RAMSES VI	152
INDEX OF EGYPTIAN WORDS	153
SUBJECT INDEX	159

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

SYMBOLS

In transliterating Egyptian, original *s* and *š* have both been rendered as *s*, except that *š* is occasionally used for greater distinction (e.g. in causatives like *šhpr*). The spelling is often that given in the Medinet Habu texts, rather than the primitive spelling (e.g. *sd*, "break," instead of *šd*). Words have been divided internally by a point only where we wish to emphasize the division (e.g. *hbnwnf* = *hb.n.f*, "he has triumphed"). The joining of an *n* and an *r* by a line above, as in *hn̄r*, indicates that the Egyptian has written both of these consonants, but that they represent a single sound, perhaps *l*.

[] inclose material which exists today neither on the wall nor in earlier modern copies, but which we believe to have been present originally.

[¹] inclose material of which the translation is doubtful. The symbol is equivalent to a question mark, but it delimits the doubtful material precisely.

[¹] inclose doubtful restorations.

() inclose material not in the original, but added by the modern editor as necessary in translation.

< > inclose material which we believe to have been wrongly omitted or miswritten by the ancient scribe.

{ } inclose material actually present in the text, but which we believe to be superfluous.

< = develops out of.

> = develops into.

* = hypothetical reconstruction.

— and ———— represent lost or untranslatable text. Each — stands for one square; ———— means amount is uncertain.

In references to other texts column numbers are given in small roman (e.g. vi).

WORDS

Br. Mus.	British Museum
det(s).	determinative(s)
Pap.	Papyrus (Papyri)

PUBLICATIONS AND DOCUMENTS

<i>AAWB</i>	Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, <i>Berlin</i> . Abhandlungen (Berlin, 1745–1907) and Philos.-hist. Klasse. Abhandlungen (Berlin, 1908—).
<i>Aegyptus</i>	<i>Aegyptus</i> ; rivista italiana di egittologia e di papirologia (Milano, 1920—).
<i>AGWL</i>	K. Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, <i>Leipzig</i> . Philol.-hist. Klasse. Abhandlungen (Leipzig, 1850—).
<i>AJSL</i>	American journal of Semitic languages and literatures. Vols. XII—(continuing <i>Hebraica</i> ; Chicago, 1895—).
Amada Stela	KUENTZ, CHARLES. Deux stèles d'Aménophis II (Cairo. Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Bibliothèque d'étude X [Le Caire, 1925]).
<i>Amduat</i>	JÉQUIER, GUSTAVE. Le livre de ce qu'il y a dans l'Hadès (Paris, 1894).
Amenemopet	Pap. Br. Mus. 10474. BUDGE, E. A. W. Facsimiles of Egyptian hieratic papyri in the British Museum 2d ser. (London, 1923) Pls. I–XIV. BUDGE, E. A. W. The teaching of Amen-em-āpt (London, 1924). LANGE, H. O. Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope (Kgl. Danske videnskabernes Selskab. Hist.-filol. Meddelelser XI 2 [København, 1925]).
<i>AO</i>	Der Alte Orient (Leipzig, 1903—).
Apophis Book	See Pap. Br. Mus. 10188.

- ASAE* Egypt. Service des antiquités. Annales (Le Caire, 1900—).
- Athribis Stela LEFEBVRE, GUSTAVE. Stèle de l'an v de Méneptah (*ASAE* XXVII [1927] 19–30).
- BAR* BREASTED, JAMES HENRY. Ancient records of Egypt (5 vols.; Chicago, 1906–7).
- Beisan Stela of Seti I ALAN ROWE in *PUMJ* XX (1929) 88 ff. | ROWE, ALAN. The topography and history of Beth-shan (Philadelphia, 1930) pp. 24 ff. and Pl. 41.
- Berlin Medical Pap. Pap. Berlin 3038. | WRESZINSKI, WALTER. Der grosse medizinische Papyrus des Berliner Museums (Die Medizin der alten Aegypter I [Berlin, 1909]).
- Berlin P 1269 Hieratische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin III (Leipzig, 1911) Pls. XXVI–XXVII.
- Berlin P 10631 *Ibid.* Pl. XXXVI.
- BGWL* K. Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, *Leipzig*. Philol.-hist. Klasse. Berichte (Leipzig, 1849—).
- BIFAO* Cairo. Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Bulletin (Le Caire, 1901—).
- Br. Mus. Stela 138 See Decree of Amenhotep, son of Hapu.
- Br. Mus. Stela 826 See Stela of Set and Horus.
- Br. Mus. Tablet 5645 (Khekheperresonbu) GARDINER, ALAN H. Admonitions of an Egyptian sage (Leipzig, 1909) pp. 95 ff.
- Burchardt BURCHARDT, MAX. Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1909–10).
- Cairo Statue 42155 GEORGES A. LEGRAIN in *CC* XLIX (1909) 22–23.
- Cairo Stela 34025, recto PIERRE LACAU in *CC* XLV (1909) 47–52 and Pls. XV–XVI.
- Cairo Stela 34025, verso See Israel Stela.
- Cairo Stela 34026 LACAU *op. cit.* pp. 59 ff. and Pls. XX–XXI.
- Cairo Stela 34183 See Tutenkhamon Stela.
- Canopus Stela KURT SETHE in *Urk.* II (1904–16) 124 ff.
- Carnarvon Tablet I ALAN H. GARDINER in *JEA* III (1916) 95 ff.
- CC* Cairo. Musée des antiquités égyptiennes. Catalogue général (Le Caire, 1901—).
- Decree of Amenhotep, son of Hapu Br. Mus. Stela 138. | MÖLLER, GEORG. Das Dekret des Amenophis des Sohnes des Hapu (*SAWB*, 1910, pp. 932–48). | BIRCH, SAMUEL. Inscriptions in the hieratic and demotic character from the collections of the British Museum (London, 1868) Pl. XXIX.
- Destruction of Mankind* E. H. NAVILLE in *TSBA* IV (1876) 1 ff. and VIII (1885) 412 ff.
- Dream Stela HEINRICH SCHÄFER in *Urk.* III (1905–8) 57 ff.
- Edinburgh ostrakon W. R. DAWSON and T. E. PEET in *JEA* XIX (1933) 167 ff.
- No. 916
- Erman, *NA* ERMAN, ADOLF. Neuaegyptische Grammatik (Leipzig, 1880).
- Erman, *NA*² ERMAN, ADOLF. Neuaegyptische Grammatik (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1933).
- Gard. GARDINER, ALAN H. Egyptian grammar (Oxford, 1927).
- Golénischeff Glossary See *ZAS* XL (1902/3) 101; unpublished.
- Great Aton Hymn DAVIES, NORMAN DE GARIS. The rock tombs of el Amarna VI (London, 1908) Pl. XXVII.
- Hittite Treaty W. MAX MÜLLER in *MVAG* VII (1902) 193 ff. | ALAN H. GARDINER and STEPHEN H. LANGDON in *JEA* VI (1920) 179 ff.
- Inscription dédicatoire* GAUTHIER, HENRI. La grande inscription dédicatoire d'Abydos (Cairo. Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Bibliothèque d'étude IV [Le Caire, 1912]).
- Inscription of Mes GARDINER, ALAN H. The inscription of Mes (*Untersuch.* IV 3 [1905]).
- Israel Stela Cairo Stela 34025, verso. | PETRIE, W. M. F. Six temples at Thebes, 1896 (London, 1897) pp. 26 ff. and Pls. XIII–XIV. | WILHELM SPIEGELBERG in *ZAS* XXXIV (1896) 1 ff. | PIERRE LACAU in *CC* XLV (1909) 52 ff. and Pls. XVII–XIX.
- JEA* Journal of Egyptian archaeology (London, 1914—).
- Kadesh Poem } KUENTZ, CHARLES. Bataille de Qadech (Cairo. Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Mémoires LV [Le Caire, 1928–34]). | HASSAN, SÉLIM. Le poème dit de Pentaour (Le Caire, 1929).
- Kadesh Record }
- Khekheperresonbu See Br. Mus. Tablet 5645.
- Klio* Klio, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte (Leipzig, 1902—).
- Kubban Stela TRESSON, PAUL. La stèle de Koubân (Cairo. Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Bibliothèque d'étude IX [Le Caire, 1922]). | SANDER-HANSEN, C. E. Historische Inschriften der 19. Dynastie I (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca IV [Bruxelles, 1933] 30 ff.).

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

xiii

<i>LD</i>	LEPSIUS, RICHARD. Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien (Berlin, 1849–1913).
<i>Lebensmüder</i>	Pap. Berlin 3024. ERMAN, ADOLF. Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele (<i>AAWB</i> , 1896, No. 2). ÉMILE SUYS in <i>Orientalia</i> , n.s. I (1932) 57–74.
Leyden Amon Hymn	Pap. Leyden I 350. LEEMANS, CONRADUS. Monumens égyptiens du Musée d'antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide II (Leyden, 1841–82) Pls. CLIX–CLXVII. ALAN H. GARDINER in <i>ZAS</i> XLII (1905) 12–42.
Louvre C 218	<i>Cited by</i> ALAN H. GARDINER in <i>ZAS</i> L (1912) 117.
Marriage Stela	CHARLES KUENTZ in <i>ASAE</i> XXV (1925) 181–238.
Maspero, <i>Rapports</i>	MASPERO, G. Rapports relatifs à la consolidation des temples (2 vols.; Le Caire, 1911).
Maxims of Ani	Pap. Boulaq IV. MARIETTE, AUGUSTE. Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq I (Paris, 1871) Pls. 15–28. CHABAS, F. J. Les maximes du scribe Ani (2 vols.; Chalon-sur-Saône, 1876–78). SUYS, ÉMILE. La sagesse d'Ani (<i>Analecta orientalia</i> , No. 11 [Roma, 1935]).
Merneptah's Great Karnak Inscription	MÜLLER, W. MAX. Egyptological researches I (Washington, D.C., 1906) Pls. 17–32. MARIETTE, AUGUSTE. Karnak (Leipzig, 1875) Pls. 52–55.
Metternich Stela	GOLÉNISCHEFF, W. S. Die Metternichstele in der Originalgrösse (Leipzig, 1877).
<i>Morg.</i>	Morgenland. Hefte 12— (<i>continuing</i> Der Alte Orient. Beihefte; Leipzig, 1927—).
<i>Mutter und Kind</i>	Pap. Berlin 3027. ERMAN, ADOLF. Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind (<i>AAWB</i> , 1901, No. 1). Hieratische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin III (Leipzig, 1911) Pls. XVII–XXV.
<i>MVAG</i>	Vorderasiatisch-ägyptische Gesellschaft, <i>Berlin</i> . Mitteilungen (Berlin, 1896–1908; Leipzig, 1909—).
Nauri Stela	F. LL. GRIFFITH in <i>JEA</i> XIII (1927) 193–208. SANDER-HANSEN, C. E. Historische Inschriften der 19. Dynastie I (<i>Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca</i> IV [Bruxelles, 1933] 13 ff.).
<i>OIC</i>	Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute communications (Chicago, 1922—).
<i>OIP</i>	Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute publications (Chicago, 1924—).
<i>OIP XXXV</i>	Epigraphic Survey. Reliefs and inscriptions at Karnak. II. Ramses III's temple within the great inclosure of Amon (Part II) and Ramses III's temple in the precinct of Mut (1936)
<i>OLZ</i>	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Berlin, 1898–1908; Leipzig, 1909—).
Pap. Abbott	Pap. Br. Mus. 10221. Select papyri in the hieratic character from the collections of the British Museum II (London, 1860) Pls. I–VIII. PEET, T. E. The great tomb-robberies of the twentieth Egyptian dynasty (Oxford, 1930) Pls. I–IV and XXIII–XXIV.
Pap. Amherst	NEWBERRY, PERCY E. The Amherst papyri (London, 1899) pp. 23–28 and Pls. IV–VII.
Pap. Anastasi I	Pap. Br. Mus. 10247. Select papyri in the hieratic character from the collections of the British Museum [I] (London, 1841–44) Pls. XXXV–LXII. GARDINER, ALAN H. Egyptian hieratic texts. Series I. Literary texts of the New Kingdom I (Leipzig, 1911) 1*–34* and 1–40.
Pap. Anastasi II	Pap. Br. Mus. Select papyri . . . [I] Pls. LXIII–LXXIII.
Pap. Anastasi III	Pap. Br. Mus. Select papyri . . . [I] Pls. LXXIV–LXXXI.
Pap. Anastasi IV	Pap. Br. Mus. Select papyri . . . [I] Pls. LXXXII–XCVIII.
Pap. Anastasi V	Pap. Br. Mus. Select papyri . . . [I] Pls. XCIX–CXXI.
Pap. Anastasi VI	Pap. Br. Mus. Select papyri . . . [I] Pls. CXXII–CXXVII.
Pap. Berlin 3024	<i>See Lebensmüder.</i>
Pap. Berlin 3027	<i>See Mutter und Kind.</i>
Pap. Berlin 3033	<i>See Pap. Westcar.</i>
Pap. Berlin 3038	<i>See Berlin Medical Pap.</i>
Pap. Berlin 3043	<i>See Pap. Koller.</i>
Pap. Berlin 3050	Hieratische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin II (Leipzig, 1905) Pls. I–IX.
Pap. Boulaq III (Ritual of Embalming)	MARIETTE, AUGUSTE. Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq I (Paris, 1871) Pls. 6–14.
Pap. Br. Mus. 9994	<i>See Pap. Lansing.</i>
Pap. Br. Mus. 9999	<i>See Pap. Harris.</i>
Pap. Br. Mus. 10042	<i>See Pap. Magic Harris.</i>

- Pap. Br. Mus. 10068 PEET, T. E. *The great tomb robberies of the twentieth Egyptian dynasty* (Oxford, 1930) Pls. IX–XVI.
- Pap. Br. Mus. 10181 *See* Pap. Sallier III.
- Pap. Br. Mus. 10182 *See* Pap. Sallier II.
- Pap. Br. Mus. 10183 *See* Pap. d'Orbiney.
- Pap. Br. Mus. 10185 *See* Pap. Sallier I.
- Pap. Br. Mus. 10188 (Apophis Book) BUDGE, E. A. W. *Facsimiles of Egyptian hieratic papyri in the British Museum* 1st ser. (London, 1910) Pls. I–XIX. | FAULKNER, R. O. *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind* (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca III [Bruxelles, 1933]).
- Pap. Br. Mus. 10221 *See* Pap. Abbott.
- Pap. Br. Mus. 10247 *See* Pap. Anastasi I.
- Pap. Br. Mus. 10474 *See* Amenemopet.
- Pap. Br. Mus. *See also* Pap. Anastasi II–VI.
- Pap. Chester Beatty I GARDINER, ALAN H. *The library of A. Chester Beatty* The Chester Beatty papyri, No. I (London, 1931).
- Pap. Ebers EBERS, G. M. *Papyros Ebers* (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1875). | WRESZINSKI, WALTER. *Der Papyrus Ebers I* (Die Medizin der alten Aegypter III [Leipzig, 1913]).
- Pap. Golénischeff *See* Golénischeff Glossary.
- Pap. Harris Pap. Br. Mus. 9999. | BIRCH, SAMUEL. *Facsimile of an Egyptian hieratic papyrus of the reign of Ramses III* (London, 1876). | ERICHSEN, W. *Papyrus Harris I* (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca V [Bruxelles, 1933]).
- Pap. Hood MASPERO, G. *Études égyptiennes* II, 1^{er} fasc. (Paris, 1889) pp. 1–66 and 2 facsimiles at end.
- Pap. Kahun GRIFFITH, F. LL. *The Petrie papyri. Hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1898).
- Pap. Koller Pap. Berlin 3043. | WIEDEMANN, ALFRED. *Hieratische Texte aus den Museen zu Berlin und Paris* (Leipzig, 1879) Pls. X–XIV. | GARDINER, ALAN H. *Egyptian hieratic texts. Series I. Literary texts of the New Kingdom I* (Leipzig, 1911) 35*–42* and 41–49.
- Pap. Lansing Pap. Br. Mus. 9994. | BUDGE, E. A. W. *Facsimiles of Egyptian hieratic papyri in the British Museum* 2d ser. (London, 1923) Pls. XV–XXX. | ERMAN, ADOLF, and LANGE, H. O. *Papyrus Lansing* (Kgl. Danske videnskabernes Selskab. Hist.-filol. Meddelelser X 3 [København, 1925]).
- Pap. Lee NEWBERRY, P. E. *The Amherst papyri* (London, 1899) Pls. II–III. | THÉODULE DEVÉRIA in “Bibliothèque égyptologique” V (1897) 97 ff.
- Pap. Leningrad 1115 *See Shipwrecked Sailor.*
- Pap. Leningrad 1116 A and 1116 B GOLÉNISCHEFF, W. S. *Les papyrus hiératiques no. no. 1115, 1116 A et 1116 B de l'Ermitage impérial à St. Pétersbourg* (1913).
- Pap. Leyden I 345 LEEEMANS, CONRADUS. *Monumens égyptiens du Musée d'antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide II* (Leyden, 1841–82) Pls. CXXXVI–CXXXVIII.
- Pap. Leyden I 346 *Ibid.* Pls. CXXXIX–CXL.
- Pap. Leyden I 347 *Ibid.* Pls. CXLI–CXLVI.
- Pap. Leyden I 350 *See* Leyden Amon Hymn.
- Pap. Magic Harris Pap. Br. Mus. 10042. | BUDGE, E. A. W. *Facsimiles of Egyptian hieratic papyri in the British Museum* 1st ser. (London, 1910) Pls. XX–XXX. | LANGE, H. O. *Der magische Papyrus Harris* (Kgl. Danske videnskabernes Selskab. Hist.-filol. Meddelelser XIV 2 [København, 1927]).
- Pap. Mayer A PEET, T. E. *The Mayer Papyri A & B, nos. M 11162 and M 11186 of the Free public museums, Liverpool* (London, 1920).
- Pap. d'Orbiney Pap. Br. Mus. 10183. | *Select papyri in the hieratic character from the collections of the British Museum II* (London, 1860) Pls. IX–XIX. | GARDINER, ALAN H. *Late-Egyptian stories* (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca I [Bruxelles, 1932] 9 ff.).
- Pap. Rollin PLEYTE, WILLEM. *Les Papyrus Rollin* (Leyden, 1868) Pl. XVI. | THÉODULE DEVÉRIA in “Bibliothèque égyptologique” V (1897) Pl. VIII and pp. 142–206.
- Pap. Sallier I Pap. Br. Mus. 10185. | *Select papyri in the hieratic character from the collections of the British Museum [I]* (London, 1841–44) Pls. I–IX. | BUDGE, E. A. W. *Facsimiles of Egyptian hieratic papyri in the British Museum* 2d ser. (London, 1923) Pls. LIII–LXII.

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

xv

Pap. Sallier II	Pap. Br. Mus. 10182. Select papyri . . . [I] Pls. X-XXIII. BUDGE, <i>op. cit.</i> Pls. LXIII-LXXVI.
Pap. Sallier III	Pap. Br. Mus. 10181. Select papyri . . . [I] Pls. XXIV-XXXIV. BUDGE, <i>op. cit.</i> Pls. LXXVII-LXXXVII.
Pap. Turin (Pleyte and Rossi)	ROSSI, FRANCESCO, and PLETTE, WILLEM. Papyrus de Turin (2 vols.; Leyden, 1869-76).
Pap. Westcar	Pap. Berlin 3033. ERMAN, ADOLF. Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar (Berlin, 1890).
Piankhi Stela	HEINRICH SCHÄFER in <i>Urk.</i> III (1905-8) 1 ff.
Prisse	JÉQUIER, GUSTAVE. Le Papyrus Prisse et ses variants (Paris, 1911). DÉVAUD, EUGÈNE. Les maximes de Ptahhotep (Fribourg, 1916).
PSBA	Society of Biblical Archaeology. Proceedings (London, 1879-1918).
Ptahhotep	See Prisse.
PUMJ	Pennsylvania. University. University Museum. The museum journal (Philadelphia, 1910—).
Pyr.	SETHE, KURT. Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte (4 vols.; Leipzig, 1908-22).
REA	Revue de l'Égypte ancienne (Paris, 1927—).
Ritual of Embalming	See Pap. Boulaq III.
RSO	Rivista degli studi orientali (Roma, 1907—).
RT	Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (Paris, 1870-1923).
SAWB	Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin. Philos.-hist. Klasse. Sitzungsberichte (Berlin, 1882—).
Sethe, Verbum	SETHE, KURT. Das ägyptische Verbum im Altägyptischen, Neuägyptischen und Koptischen (3 vols.; Leipzig, 1899-1902).
Shipwrecked Sailor	Pap. Leningrad 1115. GOLÉNISCHEFF, W. S. Les papyrus hiératiques no. no. 1115, 1116 A et 1116 B de l'Ermitage impérial à St. Pétersbourg (1913). GOLÉNISCHEFF, W. S. Le conte du naufragé (Cairo. Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Bibliothèque d'étude II [Le Caire, 1912]). BLACKMAN, A. M. Middle-Egyptian stories I (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca II [Bruxelles, 1932] 41-48).
Short Aton Hymn	DAVIES, NORMAN DE GARIS. The rock tombs of el Amarna IV (London, 1906) Pls. XXXII-XXXIII.
Sinuhe	GARDINER, ALAN H. Die Erzählung des Sinuhe (Hieratische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin V [Leipzig, 1909]). MASPERO, G. Les mémoires de Sinouhit (Cairo. Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Bibliothèque d'étude I [Le Caire, 1908]). GARDINER, ALAN H. Notes on the story of Sinuhe (Paris, 1916). BLACKMAN, A. M. Middle-Egyptian stories I (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca II [Bruxelles, 1932] 1-41).
Sphinx	Sphinx; revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'égyptologie (Upsala, 1897—).
Stela of Set and Horus	Br. Mus. Stela 826. PAUL PIERRET in <i>RT</i> I (1870) 70 ff. SAMUEL BIRCH in <i>TSBA</i> VIII (1885) 143 ff.
TSBA	Society of Biblical Archaeology. Transactions (London, 1872-93).
Turin Judicial Pap.	THÉODULE DEVÉRIA in "Bibliothèque égyptologique" V (1897) 97-251.
Tutenkhamon Stela	Cairo Stela 34183. GEORGES A. LEGRAIN in <i>RT</i> XXIX (1907) 162 ff. PIERRE LACAU in <i>CC</i> XLV (1909) Pl. LXX and <i>CC</i> LXXXI (1926) 224 ff.
Untersuch.	SETHE, KURT. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens (Leipzig, 1896—).
Urk.	Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums (Leipzig, 1903—).
Wb.	ERMAN, ADOLF, and GRAPOW, HERMANN. Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache (Leipzig, 1925—).
Wenammon	W. S. GOLÉNISCHEFF in <i>RT</i> XXI (1899) 74 ff. GARDINER, ALAN H. Late-Egyptian stories (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca I [Bruxelles, 1932] 61 ff.).
Wreszinski, Atlas	WRESZINSKI, WALTER. Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte (Leipzig, 1914-35).
ZAS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Leipzig, 1863—).
ZDMG	Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift (Leipzig, 1847—).
Zettel	The "cards" containing the hieroglyphic copies made for reference in compiling the <i>Wb.</i>

THE RECORDS

PLATE 9. RAMSES III IN BATTLE WITH THE NUBIANS*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III in his chariot, assisted by Egyptian and foreign troops, attacks a negro settlement. Comparison with analogous negro scenes at Beit el-Wali, Derr, and Abu Simbel will reveal elements which can only be suggested here because of the miserable state of the wall.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE SPAN

¹[Live the good god, valiant¹ at] horsemanship,^{1a} ²— — — fight ³— — —^{3a} beautiful on ⁴the field of valor, when his onslaught ⁵is effected. He looks ⁶upon 'bowmen'^{16a} as ⁷women; making the land of Kush ⁸into something nonexistent, ⁹⁻¹¹prostrate in their (own) blood before his horses.

OVER EGYPTIAN CHARIOTS

¹²The charioteers of the Court and the shield-bearers of Pharaoh, L.P.H.^{12a}

DEDICATING LINE AT THE CORNER OF THE BUILDING

¹³"The House of King Usermare-Meriamon, Which Is Possessed of Eternity in the House of Amon,"^{13a} [shall] be a palace of the Lord of the Gods forever.^{13b}

OVER THE SPAN

¹⁴[The great] chief [span] of [his] majesty, "Beloved of A[mon]."

^{1a}There are several ways of filling the lacunae in ll. 1-3. The preposition *hr* is probably to be restored before *htrw*; cf. Pl. 18:1-2 and often. The phrase *kn hr htrw* obviously cannot mean "valiant on horseback." "At horsemanship" is an arbitrary translation designed to give the supposed flavor of "at horses." Gardiner (*The Library of A. Chester Beatty The Chester Beatty Papyri, No. I*, p. 32, n. 1) renders "a-riding."

^{3a}*mi k3*, "like a bull," probably filled part of the lacuna. The word *b3wy*, "battlefield" or "arena," is used only in connection with the word *k3*, "bull." The present instance may be compared with Israel Stela, l. 2: "like a bull, . . . beautiful on the field of valor, when his onslaught is effected."

^{6a}The sign under *f* is not *nb*; it may be the bow, although its corners are sharper than those of the bow immediately under it. We propose to treat this otherwise unknown concurrence of signs as a sportive writing of *pḏtyw*, "bowmen," influenced by the quasi-dual form of the singular *pḏty*, like the writing of *pḏty*, "strength," with two leopard heads.

^{12a}"L.P.H.," following the name or title of an Egyptian ruler, is the conventional abbreviation for an exclamation, "may he live, be prosperous, and healthy!"

^{13a}The official name of the temple.

^{13b}Similarly Pl. 16:18 and Pl. 17:17.

* Great Temple, exterior, west wall, first scene at south. Unpublished.

BEFORE THE KING'S FACE

¹⁵Usermare-Meriamon Ramses III.^{15a}

BEHIND THE KING

All protection, life, and satisfaction, all health, all joy, all valor, and all victory are behind him, like Re forever.

PLATE 10. RAMSES III RETURNING IN TRIUMPH
FROM THE NUBIAN CAMPAIGN*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III in his chariot, accompanied by Egyptian troops, drives three rows of negro captives before him. The scene is badly damaged.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

_____, ¹Ramses III, carrying off the uttermost of ²them that violate his frontier.

OVER THE SPAN

The great chief span of his majesty, "Beloved of Amon."

PLATE 11. RAMSES III PRESENTING NUBIAN CAPTIVES AND
SPOIL TO AMON AND MUT†

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III, leading three rows of negro captives, stands before Amon and Mut, who are in a shrine. This is one of the most interesting but difficult scenes in the temple. Between the King and the gods is piled Nubian tribute. Much of this could be discerned only after a study of parallel scenes: the Beit el-Wali reliefs and the Theban tombs of Huy, Kenamon, and Imisibe.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹Presenting tribute by the King himself to his father Amon-Re, King of the Gods, after his majesty returned^{1a} ²when he had triumphed^{2a} over the countries of wretched Kush, the

^{15a}Arbitrarily we render the King's nomen thus, rather than "Ramses-Hekon" or "Ramses, Ruler of Heliopolis." In the following scenes the royal cartouches and the line behind the King are usually not translated.

^{1a}The two slanting strokes in the verb *iw* may be misread from a hieratic *i*.

^{2a}*hbnwnf* = older *hb.n.f*, "he has triumphed," as found e.g. in *PSBA* XI (1888/89) 424; *Urk.* IV 773; J. de Morgan *et al.*, *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique* I (Vienne, 1894) 67-68; *Inscription dédicatoire*, l. 38; *LD* III 121 and 130 B; Kadesh Poem, Luxor 1, l. 6; Petrie and Griffith, *Tanis* II (London, 1888) Pl. III 84 A; *ZAS* LXIX (1933) 36, l. 36; Heinrich Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens* II (Leipzig, 1863) Pl. LIV 1:5. The present corruption appears in Merneptah's time (*RT* XVIII [1896] 159), perhaps by confusion with the town *Hbnw*, which has the strong-arm det. in Pap. Leningrad 1116 A 88. In the Medinet Habu texts only the corrupted form is used; cf. Pl. 24:2.

* Great Temple, exterior, west wall. Unpublished. The isolated block at the upper left is at present serving as a doorstep inside the temple (Pl. 51 B). Its setting in this scene and the following one is certain.

† Great Temple, exterior, west wall. Unpublished.

chiefs of the countries being inclosed in his grasp and their tribute being before his majesty, ³consisting of gold, ^{3a} lapis lazuli, turquoise, and every costly stone. It is [the strength of his] father Amon which decreed [for him]^{3b} valor and victory^{3c} over every country. ⁴The lands of Kush are pinioned and slain in his grasp; ⁵the Asiatics and the Nine Bows are in awe of him.

BEFORE AMON

^{5A}[Words spoken by Amon-Re, 'King of the Gods, in the presence of his son, ^{15Aa} ⁶the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Meriamon: "'Thou [art come]^{16a} ⁷in peace! Thou hast plundered the countries; thou hast ['trampled]^{7a} ⁸their villages; thou hast carried off [thy] enem[ies]^{8a} ⁹as captive(s), according as I decreed for thee valor and victory.'" ^{9a}

ABOVE MUT

"[I have given to thee] many jubilees."

OVER THE SECOND REGISTER OF CAPTIVES

¹⁰Giving^{10a} praise to Amon, kissing the ground to his ka by the chiefs of wretched Kush. They say: "Give^{10b} us the breath of thy giving! Behold, we are beneath thy sandals!"

OVER THE THIRD REGISTER OF CAPTIVES

¹¹The chiefs of wretched Kush. They say: "Hail to thee, King of Egypt, sun of the Nine Bows! Give us the breath of thy giving, that we may serve thy two serpent goddesses!"

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT

¹²['Live the good god, — — — — —, plundering¹ Kush] by the might^{12a} [of his father] A[mo]n,^{12b} who has given him valor and victory: King of Upper and Lower Egypt, great of victory, Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Meriamon, given life.

^{3a}*d^cm*.

^{3b}Reading *m* [*phty*] *it*. [*f*] ³*Im*[*n*]. . . . Cf. Pls. 18:10, 29:25-28, 62:10-11, etc. Or read *m*-[*b3h*] *it*. [*f*] ³*Im*[*n*], "before his] father Amon, who decreed [to him]"

^{3c}The *h* and the *t* of *nht* are transposed.

^{5Aa}One line is lost before l. 6. Our restoration can easily be adjusted to the required space and must be fairly close to the actual wording.

^{6a}The sign partially preserved under the cartouche cannot be the reed leaf but may be the *tl*-pestle. The restoration *ii.ti*, "thou art come," old perfective 2d sing., will not quite fill the remainder of the line; but such groups of lines are not always of uniform length (cf. Pl. 13).

^{7a}The top of a *p* seems to be visible under the *t* of *h3swt*. It is just possible to crowd *ptpt* into the bottom of the line; *phd*, with the det. of the falling man, is not so readily compressible.

^{8a}Reading pl. strokes behind the kneeling figure and the suffix *k* beneath this group. Other restorations also are possible.

^{9a}Another line, such as "against every land," may or may not have followed l. 9.

^{10a}An *r* is probably lost over the *di* sign.

^{10b}Incorrectly spelled.

^{12a}On the present location of the block bearing these signs see p. 2, note *.

^{12b}The vertical sign looks more like a reed leaf on the wall than in the plate.

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE LEFT

¹³Words spoken by Amon-Re to his son, Usermare-Meriamon: "I have given^{13a} to thee valor and victory against every country."

BESIDE THE FALCON OVER THE KING'S HEAD*

He of Behdet, the great god. May he give all life, duration, and satisfaction.

PLATE 13. RAMSES III BEING COMMISSIONED BY AMON
TO UNDERTAKE A LIBYAN WAR†

DESCRIPTION

This is the first of a series of six scenes on the Libyan war, running along the west and north walls. In a shrine Ramses III receives the sickle-sword from the god Amon, with Thoth and Khonsu as witnesses. This symbolizes the divine sanctioning of the war and the consecration of the King for victory.

TEXTS

OVER THOTH

¹Words spoken by Thoth: "Behold, I am behind thee, ²my two hands bearing years, jubilees, ³life, and satisfaction.^{3a} Thy father Amon sends thee forth to ⁴destroy the Nine Bows. All [lands] together ⁵are given^{14a} to thee under thy feet^{4b} forever. ⁵I have given to thee jubilees in life and satisfaction forever^{5a} on the throne of Horus."

BEFORE AMON'S THRONE

⁶Words spoken by Amon-Re: "Take to thee the sword, my son, ⁷my beloved, that thou mayest smite the heads of rebellious countries."

BEFORE AMON'S CROWN

⁸Words spoken by Amon-Re, King of the Gods: "Forward, ⁹[my] son, to cast down him who attacks thee, to slay ^{9A}_____." ^{9Aa}

BESIDE KHONSU

¹⁰Words spoken by Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep ¹¹to this good god,^{11a} the Horus: Great of Kingship: ¹²"Thy father Amon has decreed for thee ¹³victory against the Nine Bows. ¹⁴I have given to thee the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum."

^{13a}We have here retained the traditional tense rendering of the *šdm.n.f*, because one of us feels that the Egyptians intended a past tense with these words. For a contrary view see Battiscombe Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (Paris, 1924) pp. 69 ff.; Gard. § 414:5.

^{3a}The god is depicted holding these benefits. The *w3s* sign, now lost, was recorded by Sethe for *Wb*.

^{4a}Alternatively, "to place for thee every [land] together under thy feet." The verb may be passive or infinitive.

^{4b}The signs for "feet" are turned backward on the wall.

^{5a}*ḏt*, "forever," without the *t* is unusual.

^{9a}It is uncertain whether the bird in *sm3* is *3* or *m*.

^{9Aa}At least one line of text is lost between l. 9 and Amon's headdress. The loss may be twice the length of l. 9.

^{11a}Reading the first *n* as the preposition.

* As with the King's cartouches, we shall not normally translate such tags.

† Great Temple, exterior, west wall. Unpublished.

PLATE 14. RAMSES III LEAVING THE TEMPLE AFTER
RECEIVING HIS COMMISSION FROM AMON*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III, holding the sickle-sword and a bow, leaves the temple. He is followed by the war-god Montu and preceded by priests carrying four standards, those of Upwawet, the "Opener of the Ways," of Khonsu, of Mut, and of Amon.†

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING


¹His majesty sets out, his heart being strong —, in ²valor and strength against this wretched land [of] Temeh,^{2a} ³which is in the power^{3a} of his majesty. It is^{3b} [his] father who sent ⁴him forth in serenity from the palace of Thebes. He has given him a sword to repel^{4a} ⁵his foes, to destroy [those [who are] not^{5a} ⁶subservient to him¹. Opened for him are ways [which were] ⁷not trodden in the past^{7a} ever^{17b} ⁸— — — — —^{8a}





^{2a}The state of the wall permits a shallow sign below the word *Tmh*. The sense indicates that no sign is lost.





^{3a}For this writing cf. Sethe, *Verbum* I § 137.

^{3b}*m* for *in*; *sbi* is perfective active participle (Gard. § 373).

^{4a}*dr* seems certain, as there is no hole deep enough for the *h* of *dh*.

^{5a}Restoring the end of the line as . The trace under the *m* of *tm* may belong to the hare's ear, or it may be accidental.

^{7a}This probably approaches the correct sense, but there are serious difficulties. For the restoration  []  [] — there is ample room, and the bird is more probably *w* than anything else, as its tail did not descend far below the edge of the break. The *tmwt* is provisionally taken as imperfective passive participle fem. pl. Examples of *tm* with negative arms are forthcoming in Sethe, *Verbum* II §§ 994 ff., but none is Late Egyptian. The *p3tw* might be taken as infinitive. Although we have no parallels for *p3i* in such a construction, it would seem reasonable. The *w* after *dgs* must be the suffix pronoun 3d pl. This is a difficulty, but cf. the third example *ibid.* § 998 *δ*.

An easier restoration grammatically would be   —  , *w3.wt n p3.tw*, "ways which one did not tread"; but this spelling of *w3wt* seems a little improbable. The vacant space which this would leave at the end of l. 6 is no serious difficulty.

We attempted to read *w3wt ksnwt*, "difficult ways," as in Kubban Stela, l. 9, and Marriage Stela A 34; but the signs would be crowded, and it seems improbable that the sign at the top of l. 7 was the evil bird.

^{7b}This must be the meaning of *dr rsy*. See also Marriage Stela A 35 and the obscure case in Gardiner, *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* (Leipzig, 1909) vi 4–5. Provisionally one might explain the adverbial uses of *rsy* on the assumption that it was a noun similar to עֲרִיכָה, with *dr rsy* = בְּעֲרִיכָה, and the negative + *rsy* = English negative + "ever." The English "never" has been weakened in the same way which we postulate for *rsy*.

^{8a}No plausible translation occurs to us. This text may have ended with l. 8, or there may have been additional lines (hardly more than two, since one expects cartouches and a protecting divinity over the King's head).

* Great Temple, exterior, west wall. Unpublished.

† The last is lost from the wall but presumably is the same as that in Pl. 17.

ABOVE MONTU

⁹Words spoken by Montu, [‘Lord of’]^{9a} Thebes,^{9b} in the presence of his beloved son, ¹⁰the Lord of [the Two Lands]: Usermare-Meriamon: “Thy fa[ther] Amon has sent^{10a} thee forth, ¹¹that he may ‘cast down^{11a} for thee the rebellious ones. [‘I have] given [to] thee^{11b} — —^{11c} ¹²as a commander,¹ to carry off the uttermost ¹³of thy enemies. Mayest thou go out ¹⁴in strength and return ¹⁵in valor against every land that attacks thee.”

BEFORE THE UPWAWET STANDARD

¹⁶Words spoken by Upwawet: “I open for thee every good way,^{16a} according as thy father commanded. Thou art his son, whom his heart loves; he begot thee to protect the Two Lands.”

BEFORE THE KHONSU STANDARD

¹⁷Words spoken by Khonsu-in-Thebes: “‘Thy [hand be mighty]^{17a} against the Nine Bows, O Lord of the Two Lands, my beloved!’”

BEFORE THE MUT STANDARD

¹⁸Words spoken by Mut, Mistress of Ishru: “I will be^{18a} thy magical protection forever.”

BESIDE THE AMON STANDARD

¹⁹Words spoken by Amon-Re, King of the Gods: “I (will go) with thee to the place which thou hast desired, rejoicing ²⁰[thy heart ‘in the foreign lands, that I may make’] the terror of thee^{20a} and create the awe of thee in every distant land.”

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT

²¹All protection, life, duration, and satisfaction, all health, all joy, like Re forever!

LINE BEHIND THE KING

²²The protection and life of the Lord of the Two Lands! His defense is like (that of) the Lord of^{22a} Thebes forever and ever.

^{9a}There is room for *nb*, *hry-ib*, *m*, or similar, although this fact has been somewhat obscured on the plate. A plausible trace of the *ḫ* in *Mnḫw* exists on the wall; the *mn* sign and the falcon head with sun disk and feathers are certain.

^{9b}The *w3s* sign is partially preserved.

^{10a}Of the *sbl* sign a trace of the forward leg is visible.

^{11a}The det. of the falling man makes *hḫb* more probable than *hdb*, “slay.”

^{11b}We see what may be traces of the shoulder of *dḫ* on the wall. The handle of the *k* is lost, but the position of the basket, slightly to the left of center, makes *k* more probable than *nb*.

^{11c}Translate perhaps “my divine standard”? The two signs are badly worn. It is possible that both the standard and the seated god have spreading ram’s horns, but the apparent horns may well be due to the wearing away of soft strata in the stone (cf. Pl. 12 B). The head of the seated figure is surely not that of a ram. Removed from its context, the seated figure would suggest Sekhmet.

^{16a}Upwawet is the “Opener of the Ways.” “The good way” is a phrase used of the beginnings of campaigns and expeditions; e.g. *BAR* II §§ 253, 864, 960, and III §§ 261, 307.

^{17a}The only restoration which we have been able to fit into the lacuna is [*wsr ʿ.*]*k*.

^{18a}There is a superfluous *n* in *wnn.i*.

^{20a}Restoring *ḫr iḥ* [*ib.k ḫt ḫ3swt, ir.i nrw.*]*k*. If l. 20 began at the same height as ll. 16–19, this restoration will fit the space nicely. For the first part of the restoration cf. *Urk.* IV 9:9, quoted and discussed by Alexandre Moret in *RT* XIV (1893) 122.

^{22a}The usual pl. genitival adj. is here used for the sing., as in Pls. 27:30, 46:8, 82:29. Cf. Erman, *NA*² § 215.

PLATE 16. RAMSES III MOUNTING HIS CHARIOT TO SET
OUT ON THE LIBYAN CAMPAIGN*

DESCRIPTION

This scene depicts a dramatic moment at the outset of the Libyan campaign. As the bugle sounds and the army stands at attention, the King mounts his chariot. Behind the King stand personal attendants and princes; before him waits his bodyguard. This is the best preserved scene on the west wall.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹⁻²Then one came to say to his majesty: "The Tehenu ^{1a}are in motion^{1a}; ³⁻⁴they are making ^{1a}a conspiracy^{1a}. ^{4a}⁵They are gathered ^{6a}and assembled without number, consisting of Rebu, Seped, ^{6a}^{7a}and Meshwesh, ^{7a}lands assembled to ^{8a}advance^{18a} themselves, to ^{18b}aggrandize^{18b} themselves against Egypt." ⁹His majesty arrived at the horizon of the All-Lord^{9a} to pray for ¹⁰victory and a mighty sword^{10a} from his father Amon, Lord of the Gods. He commissions

^{1a}*Wb.* materials show that the primary idea of *tʿfy* is not "to leap" but "to move away, to remove." It involves sudden or violent motion. Where the heart *tʿfy*'s, the interpretation of Spiegelberg in *ZAS* LXVI (1931) 36 holds good. The word is common at Medinet Habu: see also Pls. 22:17, 28:39 and 54, 29:19-20, 46:16 and 30, 82:13-14, 85:8, and 101:19. Outside of Medinet Habu it occurs in Maspero, *Rapports* I 164, ll. 32-33, and II, Pl. CLXVI; Pap. Koller ii 3 = Pap. Anastasi IV ii 5; Pap. Anastasi IV v 2, x 9-10, xi 3-4; Pap. Anastasi V xix 1-2; Amenemopet vii 13; *RT* XII (1892) 3, l. 3; Pap. Chester Beatty I verso C ii 10 and iv 5; and the obscure Berlin P 1269, l. 13. In its reduplicated form, *tʿftf*, it occurs in Pap. Koller iv 5 and Pap. Turin (Pleyte and Rossi) Pl. LXXIV 5-6. Possibly the same word occurs in Ptahhotep Br. Mus. fragment 10371 + 10435 (var. of Prisse xvii 4) and *Lebensmüder*, ll. 34-35.

^{4a}The phrase *iri.w šdt* occurs again in a similar context, Pl. 46:16. The first sign is definitely *šd* and not *ḏ*. If it may be connected with *šdi*, "read," compare Aramaic נִרְא, which means both "read, recite" and "call, summon."

^{6a}The *di* sign was carved instead of the *spd* sign.

^{7a}The same three names in the same order occur in Pl. 27:26.

^{8a}The difficult word *dh3* occurs only at Medinet Habu, in the following passages: here and Pls. 26:18, 27:27, and 86:19. Thus the verb occurs only in the infinitive after *r*, expressing purpose or futurity. It always has a suffix object, which is perhaps always reflexive. In three cases it is followed by a prepositional phrase which can only mean "against Egypt" in a hostile sense. The same hostility is inherent, although unexpressed, in the fourth case (Pl. 27:27). Some such meaning as "support, advance the interests of, push (oneself) forward" is indicated.

^{8b}The word *tni* is of similar flavor. It is again a Medinet Habu word, in the following contexts: (a) present instance, (b) Pl. 23:39-41, (c) Pl. 44:14, (d) Pl. 111:12, (e-f) two parallel instances, Pls. 82:13 (first word) and 107:4. Instances *a* and *b* employ \equiv , *c* and *d* employ \equiv (each with two ticks), *e* and *f* are broken. Like *dh3*, the verb follows the preposition *r* and is probably reflexive. Tentatively we connect the word with *tni*, "raise." Case *b* may mean "lift themselves up (in rivalry) with Egypt, match themselves with Egypt," as in a wrestling bout; otherwise "aggrandize, exalt" fits the sense.

We would dissociate this verb, which uses \equiv in two instances, from the *tni* which occurs in Pls. 28:50, 79:3, 96:6, and probably 85:17. This differentiates itself from the verb just discussed in spelling and usage. But it also may be derived from the verb *tni*, "raise," in the sense of "exalted, mighty."

^{9a}I.e., the temple of Amon-Re.

^{10a}Or "arm"; but Pl. 13 shows the giving of the sword.

* Great Temple, exterior, west wall, northern end. Unpublished.

him in ¹¹strength, and his hand is with him to destroy the land of Temeh, ¹²which has transgressed his frontier. Montu and Set are his magical protection on his right hand and his left hand; ¹³Upwawet is in front of him, penetrating^{13a} the roads. They cause ¹⁴his might to be strong^{14a} and his heart to be stout, [in order to] cast down the boastful lands.

ABOVE THE UPPER REGISTER ON THE LEFT

¹⁵The chiefs of the guard of the great span and the chiefs of the bodyguard^{15a} of Pharaoh, L.P.H., who are in the retinue^{15b} of his majesty.

ABOVE THE LOWER REGISTER ON THE LEFT

¹⁶The charioteers, the chiefs of *mškbw*,^{16a} and the shield-bearers^{16b} of the great span, w[ho are] in the bodyguard of his majesty.

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT

¹⁷Millions of years in life, duration, and satisfaction for Horus: the Mighty Bull, Great of Kingship; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Rich in Jubilees like Tatenen; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III, forever.

^{13a}Cf. Pls. 27:10 and 37:17; or, for the meaning "to open up," cf. *Urk.* IV 894:17, "to make a breach (in a wall)."

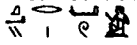
^{14a}Note the old perfective masc. The Medinet Habu texts do not usually substitute the 3d masc. sing. of the old perfective for the 3d fem. sing. For the usual treatment of *phṯy* as fem. cf. Pl. 43, n. 21a.

^{15a}*šmswt*, "following" (e.g. in *Urk.* IV 651; *RT* XX [1898] 54), also written *šmsw*, seems also to have a more specific meaning "bodyguard" (e.g. in Kuentz, *Bataille de Qadech*, p. 161, l. 22, and p. 177, No. 12).

^{15b}For other examples of this use of *šm* cf. Pls. 28:38, 109:7.

^{16a}*mškb* (Burchardt II, No. 513) occurs in the following instances: (a) The present case, a label applicable to 12 men. One, unarmed, holds the bridle of the span; eleven behind him, in three ranks, are armed. Three in the front rank seem foreign, the others Egyptian. (b) An example similar to the present one is probably to be found in Pl. 17:15. The *mškbw* seem to be running before the chariot, with the police and saises. (c) Pap. Boulaq XII 6 (*RT* XV [1893] 142 f.). "The *mškb* Mia, who is on the cargo ship of the pigs," is listed in the account as the recipient of one pig. (d) Pap. Harris xxviii 5: "I made for thee oarsmen and *mškbw* of the people whom I had trained to collect the impost of the Two Lands, the taxes and dues, in order to transport them to thy treasury" (e) Pap. Harris xlviii 2, similar to the last. (f) *Ancient Egypt*, 1917, pp. 66 ff.: "the chief *mškb* X, deceased, of the crew Y." (g) Gunn in Henri Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* I (London, 1933) 92 f.: "the ships which are in charge of the *mškb* X." (h) There remain occurrences as titles: in the tomb of Nebnofer; in Pap. Leyden I 350 rev. iii 9 and 15 (*RT* XVII [1895] 147); in de Morgan *et al.*, *Catalogue des monuments* I 7; and in a list of professions in Pap. Golénischeff iii 10: "the *whmw*-herald"; "the *sky*" (cf. *ZAS* LXV [1930] 94); "the *mškb*"; and "the *ššš*-policeman."

Examples *a* and *b* put the meaning "tax-collector" out of the question. In *a*, *b*, and *c* the *mškb* has to do with animals or is associated with men who do. In *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, and *g*, and possibly in *a* and *b*, he has to do with transport or the departure on a campaign. One might suggest that he is an official who has to do with animals when on journeys, but it seems best not to attempt a translation.

^{16b}The title is connected with the word *krw*, "shield." The Kadesh texts seem to show the "shield-bearer" as a chariot-warrior distinct from the *kdn*, but not necessarily distinct from the *snny*. The present instance was recut from  to its present form. We have no evidence that the single vertical stroke was eliminated.

DEDICATING LINE AT THE CORNER OF THE BUILDING

¹⁸"The House of King Usermare-Meriamon, Which Is Possessed of Eternity in the House of Amon," shall be established like the Mountain of Manu forever.^{18a}

OVER THE SPAN

¹⁹The great chief span of his majesty, "Beloved of Amon," of the great stable^{19a} of Usermare-Meriamon, of the Court.

PLATE 17. RAMSES III, PRECEDED BY THE STANDARD OF
AMON, MARCHING AGAINST THE LIBYANS*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III in his chariot sets out against the Libyans; he is accompanied by Egyptian and foreign troops. Before the King is a chariot bearing the standard of Amon. A figure facing backward on the upper left is probably a bugler, sounding the march. The foreign troops march in racial units on the lower left.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE STANDARD OF AMON

¹Words spoken by Amon-Re, King of the Gods: "Behold, I am in front of thee,^{1a} ²my son,^{2a} ³Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon. I set thy fame ⁴throughout^{4a} the Nine Bows, the awe of thee in the hearts ⁵of their chiefs. I open for thee the ways^{5a} ⁶of the land of Temeh; I tread them ⁷before thy horses."

BEFORE THE KING

⁸The good god, mighty king, rich in strength like Montu, ⁹one beloved like Min,^{9a} strong of arm like the son of Nut, ¹⁰great of terror, possessed of awe, whose battle cry has encompassed the countries; ^{11a}a lion raging when he sees his assailant. His arrow does not miss ¹²in a million. A mighty warrior in his own form, he looks ¹³upon hundred-thousands as one. He appears upon the battlefield^{13a} like Baal, ¹⁴and the heat of him has burned up the Nine Bows.

^{18a}Cf. Pls. 9:13, 17:17.

^{19a}There is no loss before the genitival adj. The quiver on the chariot thrust itself up into this line of hieroglyphs.

^{1a}As the standard is in front of the King. See Heinrich Schäfer in *Klio* VI (1906) 393 ff.; *Urk.* IV 652:15-16.

^{2a}The state of the wall makes it probable that no hieroglyphs are lost below or to the right of these signs. The plumes of the horses may have intruded.

^{4a}*m-ht* for older *ht*, as often in this period.

^{5a}*mtn* with added *t*, probably through the influence of the *wt* sign (*wł*); cf. Pl. 14:20, last word.

^{9a}The Min sign here, as often in the Feast of Min and elsewhere in the second court of the temple, is a simple *s*. It is followed by *ti* borrowed from Thoth.

^{13a}Older *pri* (*Urk.* IV 32:10, 38:11, 890:12; Amada Stela, l. 3); probably still so pronounced but confused in spelling with *ptr*, "see." In one inscription of Amenhotep, son of Hapu, the spellings *pri* and *ptri* both occur (*CC LXXVII* [1925] 137, l. 13, and 138, l. 3, respectively).

* Great Temple, exterior, north wall, western end. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie* III (Paris, 1845) Pl. CCXVII; Ippolito Rosellini, *Monumenti storici* ("I Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia" I [Pisa, 1832]) Pl. CXXIV; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments* II, Pl. LV 1; Wreszinski, *Atlas* II 127-28.

OVER A GROUP OF SOLDIERS IN THE LEFT CENTER

¹⁵The [chief]s of the 'gu[ard of]'¹ the great span and the [chief]s of the 'mškbw'.^{15a}

OVER THE BOTTOM REGISTER OF SOLDIERS

¹⁶ — — — — ^{16a} the chiefs of the troops of the chariotry;^{16b} the chiefs of the stables; the infantry of the King, as many as they are; the — — — — ^{16c} like locusts. His chariotry is assembled in hundred-thousands. Woe to them, the land of Temeh! For the Lord of the Two Lands is going forth^{16d} to destroy them. Amon has given his mighty sword to his [son], Usermare-Meriamon. Ordained for him in Thebes was victory against any land he might wish, for Ramses III is the King of the Two Lands.

DEDICATING LINE AT THE CORNER OF THE BUILDING

¹⁷"The House of King Usermare-Meriamon, Which Is Possessed of Eternity in the House of Amon," shall be established like the Mountain of Bakh.^{17a}

PLATE 18. RAMSES III IN BATTLE WITH THE LIBYANS*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III in his chariot charges the fleeing Libyans. He is supported by Egyptian and foreign troops.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹Live the good god, Montu when he goes forth, beautiful at ²horsemanship, charging into hundred-thousands, mighty of arm, stretching ³out the arm and sending his arrow to the spot ⁴which he may have desired;^{4a} a bull fighting — — —, ^{4b} ⁵steadfast of heart upon the field [of battle] — — —, ^{5a} ⁶sharp of horns, to overthrow '[every] land' —. ^{6a} ⁷Prostrate

^{15a}Probably similar to Pl. 16:15-16.

^{16a}About 4 squares lost.

^{16b}An erroneous writing of *nt-ḥtr*; see *ZAS* LIV (1918) 109.

^{16c}5 to 6 squares lost. We cannot identify the traces at the beginning.

^{16d}Literally "going up" out of the Egyptian valley, used of the outward march of Egyptian armies etc. in *LD* III (1849) 140 b 2; Champollion, *Monuments* III, Pl. CCXCV; Kubban Stela, l. 11. In the last-named instance it is used in contrast to *ḥ3i*, "descend." In our case the broken surface of the wall makes it possible that = was used.

^{17a}The region where the sun rises. This inscription faces northeast. The corresponding text in Pl. 16: 18, which uses "Manu," faces northwest and sees the setting sun.

^{4a}Note the loss of *t* from the fem. perfective relative form *mrwt.n.f*. The form was obsolete in the 20th dynasty (Sethe, *Verbum* II § 763; Erman, *NA* § 397), and our case may be explained as inaccurate archaism.

^{4b}More than 3 squares lost, including det. of *ḥ3*.

^{5a}More than 3 squares lost, including the rest of the word *b3wy*.

^{6a}2 squares lost, including the supposed *nb*. It is not certain that the extant trace is the land sign.

* Great Temple, exterior, north wall, second scene from west end. Wressinski, *Atlas* II 129-31 (131 originally numbered 132).

are the Temeh, slain in their places ⁸in heaps before his horses, causing them to cease ⁹boasting in their^{9a} land. His arm has laid low their seed ¹⁰through the strength of his father Amon, who has given^{10a} to him every land ¹¹gathered together; Lord of the [Two] Lands: Usermare-Meriamon.

BEHIND THE KING

¹²Protection and life are behind him from all the gods. Their arms shelter him '[every] day'.

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT

¹³Horus: the Mighty Bull, Great of Kingship; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses [—————].

OVER THE SPAN

¹⁴The great chief span of his majesty, "— — —."^{14a}

PLATE 19. RAMSES III IN BATTLE WITH THE LIBYANS*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III in his chariot charges the demoralized Libyans, who are represented as being on a red desert hillside liberally splashed with their blood. The King is supported by Egyptian chariotry and foreign infantry. The central and lower areas of the scene have suffered severe losses, but the upper courses retain paint, as shown in Plate 20.

TEXTS


BEFORE THE KING

¹The good god in the form of Montu, great in strength [like] the son of Nut, powerful ['of arm, great']^{1a} ²of dread^{2a} when he sees the fray, like the devouring flame^{2b} before [him]; ³firm of right arm, stretching the bow, swift of left arm, —,^{3a} ⁴holding the arrow;^{4a} charging ahead,

^{9a}The pl. strokes of the suffix *sn* are recarved from previous

^{10a}Or: "It is the strength of his father Amon which has given"

^{14a}The name of the span has been changed and is at present illegible. Our drawing shows both carvings. The former name, which shows evidence of having been plastered up, was — — *t3 nb*, "— — every land." The second name was *mrî* — —, "beloved — —."

^{1a}There may be a small loss at the bottom of the line. Something like  would be possible.

^{2a}No horns were carved on the *f*.

^{2b}The uraeus?

^{3a}We do not recognize the word. The two slanting strokes on the right show red (flesh) color. Then follow *b* and strong arm. From the context one expects a word like "bent, drawn back."

^{4a}If we took these phrases literally, they would picture the King with a rigid right arm, bending the bow, and a swift-moving left arm, holding the arrow. Was Ramses III then left-handed? It is perhaps better to assume that we have a series of detached epithets, without logical connection.

* Great Temple, interior, second court, east wall, southernmost scene of lower register. Champollion, *Monuments III*, Pl. CCV; Rosellini, *Monumenti storici*, Pl. CXXXVI.

PLATE 22. RAMSES III CELEBRATING HIS VICTORY
OVER THE LIBYANS*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III, standing in a balcony† with his chariot waiting behind him, addresses his officials, who make respectful reply. Egyptian officers lead up Libyan captives, while scribes record the numbers in three piles of hands and two of phalli. The scene is laid at an Egyptian fortress.

TEXTS

OVER THE FORTRESS

¹ — — — [mighty — of Pharaoh, L.P.H.,^{1a} the fallen ones of Libya,^{1b} in front of the town "Usermare-Meriamon Is the Repeller of the Temeh."^{1c}

BEFORE THE KING

²Words spoken by his majesty to the officials and companions^{2a} who are at his side: "See ³ye the many benefactions which Amon-Re, the King of the Gods, performed for Pharaoh, ⁴his^{4a} child. He has carried off the land of Temeh, ⁵Seped, and Meshwesh, who were robbers, ⁶ruining^{6a} Egypt daily, but were made^{6b} prostrate under my feet. ⁷Their root is cut off; they^{7a} are not, in a single case. Their feet have ceased ⁸to tread^{8a} Egypt forever, through the goodly counsels which his majesty made to take ⁹care of [Egyp]t, which had been wasted.^{9a} Rejoice and exult ¹⁰ye to the hei[ght of] heaven, for I have appeared like Montu, extending ¹¹Egypt. My arm is great and powerful, overthrowing the Nine Bows, through ¹²that which my father, the Lord of the Gods, Amon-Kamephis, the creator of my beauty, has done for me."

OVER THE OFFICIALS

¹³Words spoken by the officials and companions, as they made answer ¹⁴before the good god: "Thou art Re, as thou risest^{14a} on Egypt. ¹⁵When thou appearest, mankind lives. Thy

^{1a}A Coptic window cuts into the beginning of this line. There is a trace of some sign just before the [t]nr. Read "[Presenting the booty of the mighty [sword] of Pharaoh, L.P.H.," or similar.

^{1b}A previous *hrw Rbw* was recarved to insert the genitival *n*.

^{1c}This town may have been a factor in the Second Libyan War also; see Gardiner in *JEA* V (1918) 134 f.


^{2a}The *hs* sign in place of the *mr* sign is an easy mistake through the hieratic. Cf. l. 13 below and Pl. 27:35.

^{4a}The *f*, now lost, is given by Brugsch.

^{6a}The only other occurrence of *sꜥd3* with direct object which we have noted at Medinet Habu is in Pl. 27:21, where the context is curiously similar. The two texts may have been written by the same man about the same time. Cf. also Pl. 27:28.

^{6b}*ddtw*. The form has not yet been satisfactorily explained.

^{7a}In *n st* the *t* was corrected from or to *n* (for *n sn*).

^{8a}*kn rdwy.w dgs* was corrected out of previous .

^{9a}*T3-mri*, the name of a country, is often treated as fem. Cf. Pls. 37:6-7, 46:34, perhaps also 28:42. *Wb*. materials yield several further examples (e.g. *t3 T3-mri*, "this Egypt," of Louvre C 218).

^{14a}*wbn* was recarved out of something like *wnb*; there is plaster in two of the deleted signs.

* Great Temple, exterior, north wall, third scene from west end. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie. Notices descriptives* I (Paris, 1844) 367-68; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments* II, Pl. LV 2.

† The inscription down the front of the rostrum is probably the same as that in Pl. 29, *q.v.*

heart is shrewd; thy counsels ¹⁶are excellent. The fear of thee has repelled the Nine Bows. Temeh 'is in ¹⁷travail^{17a}; their heart 'is removed^{17b}; they have ceased to tread^{17c} ¹⁸Egypt. As for the lands and the countries, their bodies are destroyed, ¹⁹for the fear of thee is before them daily. Glad is the heart of Egypt^{19a} forever, for she has ^{20a}a strong-armed protector, the mighty bull, Lord of the Two Lands, the raging lion, ²¹stretching out the two arms, prevailing over the violator(s)^{21a} ²²of his boundary, making them prostrate^{22a} through the strength ²³of thy father Amon, who has given^{23a} to thee every land gathered together."

OVER THE PILES OF PHALLI AND HANDS

²⁴Total, phalli:^{24a} 12,535. ²⁵Total, hands: 12,535. ²⁶Total, phalli: 12,8'60'.^{26a} ²⁷Total, hands: 12,532+.^{27a} ²⁸Total, hands: 12,'660'.^{28a}

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT

²⁹Live the good god, the valiant one, the son of Amon, who crushes every country, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of the [Two La]nds: User[mare]-Meri-a[mon]; Son [of Re], Possessor of a Strong Arm, Lord [of Dia]dems: Ra[mses] III, given [life] forever.

OVER THE SPAN

The great chief span of his majesty, "Repelling the Nine Bows."

PLATE 23. RAMSES III CELEBRATING HIS VICTORY
OVER THE LIBYANS*


DESCRIPTION

Ramses III, seated informally in his chariot, watches the counting of three piles of hands and one of phalli. Officials lead up to him four lines of Libyan captives. Where color is preserved in the uppermost two of these lines, the Libyans have eyes with blue irises.

^{17a}See Pl. 19, n. 11b.

^{17b}See Pl. 16, n. 1a.

^{17c}*hnd* was added below the line as a necessary correction.

^{19a}*ib n Kmt* was corrected from previous . There is plaster in the deleted *km* sign.

^{21a}The last sign is probably, but not certainly, *w*.

^{22a}*kbkbyt*. This spelling instead of the usual *gbgbt* only here; but note *kbkb* of Amenemopet xxiv 10, which is probably the same as *gbgb* of Pap. Ebers lxxvii 4 and *Mutter und Kind* v 1.

^{23a}Or: "It is the strength of thy father Amon which has given"

^{24a}It is to be noted that this pile and the one recorded in l. 26 contain only uncircumcised penises, not one scrotum. This scene and that of Pl. 23 (circumcised penises with scrotum still attached) seem to us to justify the translation "phallus" for *krnt* in the Medinet Habu texts, although the word certainly had a different meaning in the time of Merneptah. See Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* II¹ (2d ed.; Stuttgart und Berlin, 1928) p. 558, n. 2, and the earlier literature to which he refers.

^{26a}Apparently 5 tens and 10 units, as in l. 28.

^{27a}Probably to be restored as 12,535, as in l. 25.

^{28a}We read 12,650 + 10 units. It is possible to read 12,830 + 10 units. Of course, all these figures and those in Pl. 23 can be accepted only with considerable reserve.

* Great Temple, interior, second court, south wall, easternmost scene of lower register. *Description de l'Égypte. Antiquités* II (Paris, 1812) Pl. 12; Champollion, *Monuments* III, Pl. CCVI; Rosellini, *Monumenti storici*, Pl. CXXXV; Karl Piehl, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* I (Stockholm and Leipzig, 1886) Pls. CLVI U-CLVIII.

TEXTS

OVER THE TOP REGISTER OF CAPTIVES

¹Words spoken by the royal princes, the royal chamberlains, and the officials, in the presence of the good god: "Great is thy strength, O mighty king! Thy battle cry^{1a} echoes among the Nine Bows. Thou art the wall that protects Egypt, so that they sit^{1b} relying upon thy^{1c} strength, O Pharaoh, L.P.H., our lord!"

OVER THE THIRD REGISTER OF CAPTIVES

²Words spoken by the officials and leaders: "'Amon is the god who decreed the protection to the ruler who carries off every land!^{2a} O Usermare-Meria[mon], 'Am[on has assign]ned [to] thee thy [victory]^{12b} like Re forever and ever!"

OVER THE BOTTOM REGISTER OF CAPTIVES

³Words spoken by^{3a} the royal princes, the royal chamberlains, and the officials: "Thou art Re, as thou risest on Egypt. The awe [of thee] —————^{3b} '[like Montu] wh[en he ral]ges',^{3c} O Pharaoh, L.P.H., thou child of Amon!"

TEXTS BEFORE TWO OFFICIALS

⁴⁻⁵The King's Son of his body, his beloved.^{4-5a}

OVER THE PILES OF TROPHIES

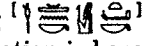
⁶⁻³⁰Presenting the spoil in the presence of his majesty, consisting of the fallen ones of Libya,
amounting to 1,000 men,
amounting to 3,000 hands,
amounting to 3,000 phalli.^{6-30a}



^{1a}Determined wrongly with the little man for the man with hand to mouth. Note absence of fem. ending. Since the following *phr* is more probably old perfective 3d masc. sing. than infinitive with *hr* omitted, we probably have here a 20th dynasty case of the masc. noun *hmhm* cited in *Wb.* II 491 for the 21st dynasty. Other probable instances of this occur in *Pls.* 29:5-6 and 106:32.

^{1b}*šndm*, wrongly using the royal det.

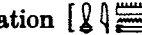
^{1c}A superfluous *f* was allowed to stand uncorrected on the wall.

^{2a}An obscure refrain, occurring several times in Medinet Habu and elsewhere. It is a chant of triumph and is discussed in some detail in *JEA* XVII (1931) 214 ff. Literally perhaps "Amon, the god—he is the one who decreed"

^{2b}Reading . A trace of the *n* is possible and is given by *Description de l'Égypte*, but the whole restoration is hazardous.

^{3a}From the state of the wall it is probable that  was changed to .

^{3b}About 10 squares lost, including the rest of the word *šfy*t and the restoration proposed below. *Description de l'Égypte* gives the second reed leaf of *šfy*t.

^{3c}A restoration  or similar may be adapted from *Description de l'Égypte*. The trace before the *hf* looks more like a round disk than a head; otherwise Amon would be a possibility.

^{4-5a}Note that no name is given in either case.

^{6-30a}All four texts are the same, except that ll. 14-15 have carelessly repeated two signs. The phalli consist of the full member, including the scrotum; see Pl. 22, n. 24a. Some are surely circumcised.

OVER THE KING

³¹Words spoken by the King, ^{31a} Lord of the Two Lands: ³²Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: ³³Ramses III, to the royal princes, ³⁴the royal chamberlains, the officials, the companions, and all the leaders ³⁵of the infantry and chariotry:^{35a} ³⁶“Rejoice ye to the height ³⁷of heaven, for my arm has overthrown ³⁸the Tehenu, who came ³⁹prepared, their hearts confident, to ⁴⁰lift themselves up (in rivalry)^{40a} with¹ Egypt. ⁴¹I went forth against^{41a} ⁴²them like a lion. I threshed ⁴³them, made into sheaves. ⁴⁴I was after them like ⁴⁵a divine falcon when he has ⁴⁶sighted small birds^{46a} at a ‘hole’^{46b} My sword — — ^{46c} ⁴⁷until it ‘is put to rest’^{47a} My arrow does not miss in their limbs. ⁴⁸My heart bellows^{48a} like a bull on the field of battle, like Set ⁴⁹when he rages. I have rescued my infantry, I [‘have protected’]^{49a} ⁵⁰the chariotry, and my arms have covered the people over. ^{51–52}I have cast down their^{52a} souls; ^{53–54}I have taken away their strength; ⁵⁵my heat has burned up^{55a} their villages. ⁵⁶I am like Montu as king in Egypt; the terror of me has overthrown ⁵⁷the Nine Bows; and Amon-Re, my august father, [makes] prostrate ⁵⁸every land under my feet, while I am king upon [his] throne forever.”

OVER THE SPAN

⁵⁹[The great chief span of his majes]ty, “Baal Is upon His Sword,”^{59a} of the great stable of Usermare-Meriamon, of the Court.

^{31a}The *tn* has slipped below the *nswt*, of which it is a part.

^{35a}The *r* of *nt-htr*, now lost, was recorded by Piehl. We see the tip of the tail of the skin det.

^{40a}See Pl. 16, n. 8b.

^{41a}This Late Egyptian writing of the preposition *r* is found also in Pls. 27:33 and 37:12. A related phenomenon is the occasional use of \hookleftarrow to write the prothetic syllable in participial and other verbal forms, e.g. in Pls. 42:16, 111:31. See Erman, *NA*² §§ 369 and 609.

^{46a}*hpt* (or *hpuw*) occurs 8 times at Medinet Habu, always with the bird det., and in *LD* III 195 *a* 16–17 = Maspero, *Rapports* I 163 and II, Pl. CLXVI 16–17, always as a bird successfully hunted by the falcon. The human det. in both recensions of the Ramses II text is a more or less conscious admission of the fact that the “birds” referred to are actually humans. Is *hpt* old *pht* (Pierre Montet, *Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l’Ancien Empire* [Strasbourg etc., 1925] p. 143)?

^{46b}Read probably *krt* (*krrt*), for which see *Wb.* V 62. The sign after *k* is probably, but not certainly, the 3-bird. Its outline is almost entirely lost; a trace of tan color is preserved near the center.

^{46c}*Description de l’Égypte* gives traces here which are difficult to square with what we see on the wall.

^{47a}Or *sdmt.f* tense after *r*: “until it has come to rest”?

^{48a}The det. of *swh* is a bull straining forward, his head thrown back, his mouth wide open, tongue visible.

^{49a}The sense is probably parallel to what precedes, although we cannot fit the traces at the end of the line to any reasonable reading.

^{52a}Reverting to the enemy.

^{55a}This word may be connected with *shṭ iṣf* (var. *shṭ n iṣf*) of Pap. Anastasi IV ix 6 = Pap. Anastasi III v 7, which Erman (*Die Literatur der Aegypter* [Leipzig, 1923] p. 248) translates: “einen brennenden(?) Schlag.”

^{59a}Cf. possibly Walther Wolf, *Die Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres* (Leipzig, 1926) Pl. 7, Nos. 3 and 8, for the figure of a god on a sickle-sword. Or perhaps *hr* has here only a vague idea of physical nearness or accompaniment: “Baal Is with His Sword.” Cf. *Wb.* III 269, definition 3.

PLATE 24. RAMSES III RETURNING IN TRIUMPH
FROM THE LIBYAN CAMPAIGN*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III, accompanied by soldiers and officials, drives Libyan captives before his chariot. Libyans are represented as bound below the body of his chariot.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹The good [god], heroic lord, great of strength like ²his father Montu, returning after he has triumphed, ³his plans effected, for he has overthrown his assailants ⁴in their places. The captives of his arm are pinioned before him, ⁵their arms as captives.^{5a} He is like a mighty bull when he attacks ⁶the ⁷field [of valor]¹; ^{7a}destroying — — —; ^{7b}⁸beautiful as he bears his ⁹(tokens of) valor^{18a} for his father Amon-Re. May he give to him great victories, the kingship ⁹and the jubilees of Re: King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Possessor of a Strong Arm, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, given life like Re.

PLATE 25 A. DISK FROM THE TRAPPINGS OF
THE ROYAL HORSES†

DESCRIPTION

The design is in red ink against a background of yellow. A god with a non-Egyptian (probably Asiatic) dress presents a sword to Ramses III. The two figures stand on a base which is the hieroglyph for "feast." The texts are sketchy and almost illegible. Between the two figures is: "Receive ——— ruler"; we could not read the word for "sword" here. Behind the god, the line begins: "I have given thee all valor ———."

PLATE 26. RAMSES III PRESENTING LIBYAN
CAPTIVES TO AMON AND MUT‡

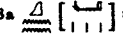
DESCRIPTION

Ramses III leads three lines of Libyan captives to Amon and Mut, who are in a shrine. See also the color detail of captives in the frontispiece.

^{5a}Are we to read this so, or is a word omitted: "their arms (bound) as captives"? Cf. Pl. 82:25. Note the writing of *sk(r)* with the *b*-leg, which takes the place of the donkey leg (*whm* sign), which had been substituted for the *sm*.

^{7a}The animal sign has the color (tan) and shape of the *b3*-ram. If it is that sign, the word may be *b3wy*, "the (bull's) battleground," sometimes spelled with a *t* when followed by *n kn* (e.g. in Pl. 44:6). Does "the field" here stand for the bull's possible opponents in the field? The chief difficulty is that *b3wy* is otherwise unknown with the article *p3*.

^{7b}The fluttering-bird det. of *shlm* is to be restored above the strong arm. The sign below the strong arm is probably the *dw*-mountain. May one cf. "like Set destroying the *dw-kd*" of Pl. 37:21?

^{8a} ? Cf. Pl. 79:13 and n. 13a.

* Great Temple, interior, second court, east wall, lower register. Champollion, *Monuments III*, Pl. CCVII; Rosellini, *Monumenti storici*, Pl. CXXXVII; Piehl, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques I*, Pl. CLVI S-T.

† Detail from scene shown on Pl. 24.

‡ Great Temple, interior, second court, east wall, lower register. Champollion, *Monuments III*, Pl. CCVIII; Rosellini, *Monumenti storici*, Pl. CXXXVIII; *LD Text III* 176; Piehl, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques I*, Pls. CLV-CLVI P-R.

TEXTS

BEFORE AMON

¹Words spoken by Amon-Re, King of the Gods, in the presence of his son, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon: ²"Be thou praised! For thou hast taken captive them that assailed thee; thou hast overthrown him who violated thy frontier.^{2a} ³I have given thee the awe of me in thy person, so that thou mayest cast down the Nine Bows. My hand is ^{4a}a shield for thy breast,^{4a} averting^{4b} evil from thee. ⁵I have given thee the kingship of Atum, as thou appearest upon the throne of Re."

BEFORE MUT

⁶Words spoken by Mut,^{6a} Mistress of Heaven: ⁷"Welcome in peace, my son, my beloved, ⁸the Horus: Rich in Years, ⁹bearing the valor and victory of thy arm for his^{9a} father Amon. May he promise thee the lifetime of Re and the years of Horus as king."

BEFORE THE KING

¹⁰Words spoken by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon, in the presence of his father Amon-Re, Ruler of the Ennead: "How great is that which thou hast done, O Lord of the Gods! Thy^{10a} plans and thy^{10a} counsels are those which come to pass, since thou hast sent me forth ¹¹in valor, thy sword with me, for no land can stand before me at the memory of thee. I have cast down the violators of my frontier, prostrate in their places, their^{11a} runners^{11b} ¹²pinioned and slain in my grasp. I have overthrown^{12a} the land of Temeh; their seed is not. As for the Meshwesh, they 'are in travail'^{12b} for terror ¹³of me. He who has relied upon that which thou hast commanded has victory; everyone who 'is faithful to thee'^{13a} has kingship."

^{2a}The *t3* and *dr* signs have been confused.


^{4a}In its narrower sense *šnbt* is the breast or upper part of the body, the part protected by the shield; so also in Pl. 46:37.

^{4b}The interesting det. of *šhri* may have connections with the name of the third hour of the night (Brugsch, *Thesaurus inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum* I [Leipzig, 1883] 6, 8, and 28). The flesh and tail are blue, and the creature wears white trunks. The head is obscure but probably in profile. It is uncertain what divinity or genius is intended. Other det. of *šhri* show a man with two sticks or knives (Pls. 35:12, 44:17, 46:38).

^{6a}The *t* before the vulture is only painted, not carved.

^{9a}Sic; read "thy."








^{10a}Note the two writings of the possessive.

^{11a}Recut from previous . Cf. Pls. 27:10 and 46:17, where this correction was not made.

^{11b}The grouping of the signs of *phrr* is accommodated to the space available. We translate "runner" for lack of a better term, since we do not know what particular position this warrior filled. He was apparently a light-armed soldier. See the detailed det. of a Hittite *phrr* in Günther Roeder, *Ägypter und Hethiter* (AO XX [1919]) Fig. 19 = Kuentz, *Bataille de Qadech*, Pl. VI 2. See also Pl. 46, n. 21b.

^{12a}The *h* of *dh*, now lost, is recorded by Piehl only.

^{12b}See Pl. 19, n. 11b.

^{13a}The det. of *mh* is probably the strong arm, although the state of the wall makes the *h*-arm a possibility. A parallel text on the Eastern Fortified Gate at Medinet Habu (Zettl 1161) gives       ; similarly a text in the second court (Piehl, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* I, Pl. CXLIX 15). See *Wb.* II 122, definition 19: "auf jemds. Flut sein, u.ä. = ihm treu sein." See also Pap. Harris xliv 8.

OVER THE CAPTIVES

¹⁴Words spoken by the leaders of the fallen ones of Libya ¹⁵who are in the grasp of his majesty: "Great is thy prowess, ¹⁶O mighty king! How great is the dread of thee and the awe ¹⁷of thee!"^{17a} For thou hast made our seed to turn back, when fighting ¹⁸to 'advance'^{18a} themselves against Egypt, forever. Give ¹⁹to us the breath, that we may breathe it,^{19a} ²⁰and the life, that which is in thy hands!^{20a} <Thou art>^{20b} like a form of^{20c} his^{20d} august father Amon-Re, Ruler of the Ennead!"

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT

²¹The ruler, beautiful as king like Atum; strong^{21a} —^{21b} 'repelling'^{21c} the Tehenu; coming in fury.^{21d} He has taken captive^{21e} the violators of his frontier. Amon, his august father, invigorates his body;^{21f} King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon, given life.

AROUND THE GOD'S SHRINE

Texts run around the four sides of the shrine, on three sides in paint only, but carved along the base. The texts contain the names and titles of Ramses III, with epithets.

PLATES 27-28. INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 5*

DESCRIPTION

This great inscription of 75 lines, written retrograde, bears the date "year 5." Yet an analysis of its contents makes it apparent that it contains also a record of events which we usually date "year 8."†

^{17a}Note the absence of *t* in the *status pronominalis*.

^{18a}See Pl. 16, n. 8a.

^{19a}} erroneously for *w*.


^{20a}The parallel in Pl. 44:22 might be translated "he who is in thy hands lives," which suggests a different rendering here. But Pl. 99:23 and Kadesh Poem, Karnak 1, l. 37, point definitely to a parallelism between "the breath" and "the life."

^{20b}Emending the senseless *nb* to *k*.

^{20c}Or has *mī kī n* lost its earlier literal meaning at this period? Has it no more force than the preposition *mī*, "like"?

^{20d}*Sic*; read "thy." Cf. l. 9 above.

^{21a}Near the center of the space between the two leopard heads and the strong arm there is a trace of tan paint, which interferes with the restoration [⠏ ⠞].

^{21b}[] fits the holes well.

^{21c}Probably *dr*.

^{21d}After *nšnw* we see the red eye and traces of the yellow skin of the typhonic animal, but his outline is entirely lost.

^{21e}*h3k.n.f.*

^{21f}Note the writing of *h^cw* without the arm.

* Great Temple, interior, second court, south wall, lower register. Rosellini, *Monumenti storici*, Pls. CXXXIX-CXLI; Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica*, Pls. XLIII-XLV; Jacques de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* II (Paris, 1887) Pls. CXXXIX-CXLVII; Brugsch, *Thesaurus* V (Leipzig, 1891) 1197-1207; Johannes Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften* II (Leipzig, 1869) Pl. XLVIa; excerpts in *LD Text* III 178. We are indebted to the authorities of the British Museum for permission to examine the copies of this inscription in the Hay and Wilkinson manuscripts and to Professor Golénischeff for photographs of the text taken years ago, before the extensive repair work was done at the bottom of the wall.

† Cf. the great inscription of the year 8, Pl. 46. This fact was noted by F. Chabas, *Études sur l'antiquité historique* (Paris, 1873) p. 253.

The inscription may be analyzed as follows:

- ll. 1-13: date, title, and general praise of the King
- ll. 13-17: a generalized reference to a defeat of Amor
- ll. 17-20: all lands tributary to Ramses III
- ll. 20-22: the sorry state of Egypt before the reign of Ramses
- ll. 22-26: his qualities as commander and the boldness of his armies
- ll. 26-51: the First Libyan War, traditionally dated by Egyptologists to the year 5:
 - ll. 26-28: the plans and the attack of the Libyans
 - ll. 28-33: their plans frustrated by the wisdom and might of Ramses, the section including some obscure politics
 - ll. 33-36: the defeat of the Libyans
 - ll. 36-39: the triumph of Ramses and the enslavement of the captives
 - ll. 39-42: the sad lot of the Libyan survivors
 - ll. 42-51: the lament of the Libyans
- ll. 51-59: the Northern War, traditionally dated by Egyptologists to the year 8:
 - ll. 51-54: the defeat of the Northerners on land and sea
 - ll. 54-59: the capitulation and captivity of the Northerners
- ll. 59-66: every land impotent before the might of Ramses
- ll. 66-75: the wise and efficient administration of the King, insuring peace and prosperity to Egypt.

One need only compare the incidence of sections in ll. 20-75 with the historical section of Papyrus Harris to see how disappointingly generalized this inscription is.

The Libyan confederacy of the year 5 is listed three times: in l. 26 below and Pl. 16:6-7 (Rebu, Seped, and Meshwesh); in Pl. 22:4-5 (Temeh, Seped, and Meshwesh). The Tehenu are mentioned either conventionally (ll. 1-2 below and Pl. 26:21) or in a general sense to include all western enemies (l. 20 below and Pls. 16:2, 23:38), and it is highly probable that they did not figure in the war as a political entity.* The dress and treatment of hair in the reliefs of the First Libyan War are those of the Rebu-Temeh type of Libyan rather than of the Meshwesh type.† The latter type is clearly depicted in reliefs of the Second Libyan War (Pls. 68-78). The evidence is inconclusive, but it may well be that the Rebu (often called the Temeh) were the leading aggressors in the First Libyan War, as the Meshwesh were the protagonists of the Second Libyan War.

The inscription is well preserved in such areas as have been protected by Coptic plaster, and the form and coloring of the hieroglyphs repay paleographic study. A comparison of the forms and groupings of the signs throughout its length suggests that sculptors of independent technique and training were employed, side by side, on the task of carving the hieroglyphs. The problem is not discussed here, but one may suggest a detailed comparison of the signs in ll. 1-28 with those of ll. 57-75. The latter area is as rich in illuminating detail as it is careless of the old conventions.

TEXT

¹Year 5 under the majesty of the Horus: Mighty Bull, making wide Egypt, mighty of sword, strong of arm, slaying the Tehenu; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: [Great of Jubilees like 'his father Ptah'];^{1a} ²crushing the Tehenu in heaps in their places; Horus of Gold: valiant

^{1a}Cf. Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte* III (Le Caire, 1914) 158. The restoration proposed by Brugsch, *Thesaurus* V 1197, and reproduced by Gauthier, *op. cit.* p. 157, is much too long for the lacuna. It is a question whether the space will permit "his father Ptah" or simply "Ptah."

* Other occurrences of Libyan names in Volume I: the Rebu 5 times (l. 48 below and Pls. 22:1, 23:8 etc., 26:14, 43:27), the Meshwesh twice (l. 41 below and Pl. 26:12), and the Temeh 14 times (ll. 26, 30, 39, and 41 below and Pls. 14:2, 16:11-12, 17:6 and 16, 18:7, 19:5, 22:1 and 16, 26:12, 29:18-19), the last-named often serving as a generalized term for "Westerners."


† I.e., side locks, long open cloak, kilt, etc. Further, they are blond (see descriptive comment on Pl. 23). For the distinction in Libyan types see Georg Möller in *ZDMG* LXXVIII (1924) 36 ff.

one, lord of strength, making a boundary where he will in pursuit of his enemy, — — — —;
³the fear of whom and the awe of whom are a shield [‘over’]^{3a} Egypt; King of Upper and Lower
 Egypt, youthful lord, glistening and shining like the Moon when he has repeated birth, — —
 [Usermare-Meriamon]; ⁴Son of Re: Ramses III. The beginning of the victory,^{4a} through the
 might^{4b} of Egypt, ‘which Re began. He returned’ bringing peace; the Ennead caused — —
 — —^{4c} ⁵powerful, heroic lord, runner, possessed of an appearance like the son of Nut, to make
 the entire land like ‘one [rejoicing]’^{5a} — — — —; ⁶King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-
 Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III; the ruler great of love, lord of peace, whose appearance is
 like (that of) Re at dawn, the terror <of whom>^{6a} — — — — ⁷‘of’ his uraeus, established upon
 the throne of Re as King of the [Two] Lands. The Land from end to end^{7a} is relieved;^{7b} high
 and lowly^{7c} — — — — ⁸collected and gathered together in his reign; King of Upper and Lower
 Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III; mighty and valiant king, creating his
 [‘love’].^{8a} He sees — — — — [‘when’] ⁹he rages; trusted^{9a} protector, who has appeared in Egypt,
 far-reaching, swift-striding, beating every land, the counselor excellent of plans, well prepared
 with regulations, putting [‘his people’] in^{9b} ¹⁰joy. His name has penetrated their heart^{10a} into

^{3a}Probably to be restored *hr*; but *h3*, “about,” is just possible. For “shield about Egypt” see Gardiner’s second meaning for *h3* (*PSBA* XXV [1903] 334). Instances of *ikm h3* will be found in Pap. Anastasi I viii 3-4; Pap. Harris xxii 7-8; Piehl, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* II (Leipzig, 1890) Pls. III D a (emended) and XLVI e. Golénischeff’s photographs show traces suggestive of *h3*.

^{4a}We take this to be an alternative form for *h3*-^c *m nhtw*, as in Kadesh Poem, Luxor 1, l. 1. Cf. Pl. 80:1; *ZAS* XXXII (1894) 127. The sense of what follows seems to be: (1) Re initiated the action leading to the victory; (2) then he brought back a satisfactory peace.

^{4b}The *k* is certain, although badly preserved.


^{4c}Burton alone adds  after a very small break below *psdt*: “the Ennead caused the foreign countries(?)”. We cannot, however, be certain of the sign or of its exact position.

^{5a}Restore *wnf-ib*?


^{6a}The *3* sign is certain, but *f* is of course meant. Burton, who wrongly places the preserved portion of *3* in the right half of the column instead of the left, adds traces of *n* under it.

^{7a}For “at front and at rear” = “completely” cf. Pl. 19, n. 13c.


^{7b}For the meaning cf. Piankhi Stela, ll. 130-31; Pap. Westcar v 3-4; Carnarvon Tablet I 5; Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhät* (London, 1915) Pl. XXVII.

^{7c}The dets. of *šw3* are taken from Rosellini, Burton, Duemichen, Brugsch, de Rougé, and Hay, who are in substantial agreement. Brugsch alone adds pl. strokes. A trace of green in *š* and the  det. make *šw3* certain (not *dw3*).

May we read the preceding word *bw3*, rather than *sr*? We have no other example of a purely ideographic writing of *bw3*, but the connection with *šw3* makes this reading possible.

^{8a}After the fluttering bird at the end of the line, the early copyists show — *t.f m3.f*, preceded by a flat, horizontal sign. From this we propose tentatively a reading  or similar. If this be correct, “love” seems a more appropriate translation than “serfs.” Another possible reading is *km3 drt.f*, “whose hand creates.”

^{9a}Or “trustworthy”?


^{9b}*spd hpw* is from Rosellini, de Rougé, Brugsch, and Hay. Burton’s text is easily explained as a confused copy of this. Duemichen saw *spd* only. Burton and Brugsch only give *dy* after *hpw*. At the bottom of the column, in the extreme right-hand corner, Golénischeff’s photographs show a small area of well preserved surface, with a fragment of a sign which is probably . Doubt arises from the fact that the bottom line of this sign looks as if cut off short near its beginning. The reader will think of several alternatives for our “his people.”


^{10a}Reading *ib.w*. See Sethe, *Verbum* I § 187, and cf. Pl. 26, n. 11a.



the (very) darkness.^{10b} His glory and the terror of him have reached the ends of the earth. The lands are made '⟨into⟩ — and devastated¹ at one time.^{10c} ¹¹They know not their lords.^{11a} They come humbly to beg the breath of life which is in Egypt from the Horus: Mighty Bull, Great of Kingship; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III; the great wall ¹²of Egypt, protecting their bodies. His strength is like (that of) Montu, laying low the Nine Bows; a divine child when he goes forth like Harakhete. Whenever he appears he looks like Atum. He opens^{12a} his mouth with ¹³breath for the people, to sustain the Two Lands with his food every day. The legitimate son,^{13a} the protector of the Ennead, for whom they overthrow the arrogant countries.

The chief of Am[or] is ashes; ¹⁴his seed is not; all his people are taken captive, scattered, 'laid low',^{14a} every survivor^{14b} in his land comes with praise, ¹⁵to see the great Sun of Egypt over them. The beauty^{15a} of the sun disk is in their presence—the two Re's which come forth

^{10b}On the darkness as an outer limit of the Egyptian cosmos cf. Sethe, "Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne" (SAWB, 1928, pp. 259-84) p. 261. For *sd*, "penetrate," cf. Pl. 16, n. 13a.

^{10c}Of this sentence two *β* signs are still preserved above the modern break, and they show their correct blue color. At the end of the line there are definite traces of *m sp w*. Of the intervening signs *iry.w* is given by five early copyists. Then, for the next group, Burton, Duemichen, Brugsch, Rosellini, and Hay give  or similar. The two last named give breakage at the right, so that we feel justified in treating that area as a lacuna. For the word which we restore, *hnk*, cf. l. 53 below: "They that entered into the Nile mouths were like birds ensnared in the net, made into *hnk*." The phrase *irw m hnk* occurs again in Pl. 86:19 in an obscure context, apparently referring to the destruction of the enemy. We have incorporated the *nw*-jar of Burton, Brugsch, and Duemichen in our plate, although it is omitted by de Rougé and Rosellini. Presumably *m* is to be inserted before *hnk*, as in the parallels cited; we regard this as an ancient rather than a modern mistake.

We do not know what *hnk* means. We have thought of "a mash"; cf. Coptic  and the *hnk*, "Flüssigkeit, Saft, o.ä.," of *Wb.* III 117. See also the confusion of *hnk* and *hkt*, "beer," in Ernesto Schiaparelli, *Il Libro dei funerali degli antichi Egiziani* II (Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Serie quarta. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche VII [Roma, 1890]) 325. This might explain the use of the *nw*-jar.


The following word is written  *Δ* by Burton, Duemichen, and Brugsch; Hay alone inserts a lacuna where  might be restored. It is easier to suppose that the other copyists overlooked a real lacuna of this size than to assume that Hay inserted an imaginary one. For *fk* with the legs det. cf. ll. 21 and 45 below.

^{11a}Possibly *hm.sn* is to be separated from *nw* and the two translated either "which they know not. Their lords come" or "They are impotent. Their lords come." Is a use of *hm* such as the latter paralleled elsewhere?

^{12a}The last two signs of *wn* are copied from Burton, Duemichen, and de Rougé. Brugsch made the very natural mistake of inserting *n* under the hare.

^{13a}Following Sethe in Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead* (London, 1928) p. 15, n. 2.

^{14a}*dr* otherwise unrecorded but may occur in Pl. 86:49 also.

^{14b}*sp nb*, "every survivor" (). For the finite verb *sp*, "to survive," see Brugsch, *Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch* IV (Leipzig, 1868) 1197-98; *Shipwrecked Sailor*, l. 107; *Urk.* IV 84:5; etc. A substantivized participle from this verb occurs in Marriage Stela A 27: *sp hr drt.f*, "him who escapes his hand (he makes to curse)"; similarly *LD* III 128 a. The noun *sp*, "survivor," which may or may not be identical with this participle, occurs e.g. in l. 36 below, Pl. 82:30, and Israel Stela, l. 8.

^{15a}We have no other occurrence of the noun *cnwt*. The verb *cn*, "to be beautiful," is used of the sun and of the sun's rays at Amarna only.

¹⁶and shine upon earth: the Sun of Egypt and that which is in the sky.^{16a} They say: "Exalted be Re! Our land is destroyed, but we are ¹⁷in a land of life, with the darkness dispelled!"^{17a} King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

The plains and the hill-countries were cut off^{17b} ¹⁸and carried away to Egypt as slaves, presented all together to its Ennead. Satisfaction, food, and supplies^{18a} abound ¹⁹in the Two Lands. The multitude rejoices in this land,^{19a} and there is no sorrow, for Amon-Re has established his son in his place, so that all that the sun disk encircles ²⁰is united in his grasp.

The Asiatic and Libyan enemies are carried off^{20a} who were (formerly) ²¹ruining^{21a} Egypt so that the land lay desolate^{21b} in complete destruction^{21c} since kings (began), while they persecuted^{21d} the gods as well as everybody, and there was no hero to ²²receive^{22a} them when they rebelled¹.^{22b}

Now there exists^{22c} a youth^{22d} like a griffon,^{22e} a shrewd commander like Thoth, [whose]

^{16a}The two Re's are probably the Sun of Egypt (Pharaoh) and the sun in the sky (the actual solar body).

^{17a}Note that *h₃sr* is especially used with *kkw*, "darkness," e.g. in Naville, *Das ägyptische Todtenbuch*, chap. 127 B 5; Brugsch, *Thesaurus* I 31; and *Pyr.* § 500 b: "Thou hast dispelled the rain clouds." The det. in *Todtenbuch* suggests sweeping.

^{17b}*fdk* is used in antithesis to *ts*, "bind" (*JEA* IX [1923] 17, n. 9). Other examples of *fdk* are found in l. 42 below, Pls. 22:7, 32:8-9, 42:6-7, 43:14, 46:17, *PSBA* XXXVI (1914) 73.

^{18a}*rsf* is correctly given in the old copies. The *s* is now so badly destroyed that it might be mistaken for *d*.

^{19a}Or perhaps we should ignore the *t* of *ḥ₃st* and translate: "Much rejoicing is in this land."

^{20a}An alternative would be to take *it₃w* as "thieves" and render: "all that the sun disk encircles is united in his grasp, (even) the Asiatic and Libyan enemies, thieves, who were (formerly)"

^{21a}"Ruining the state of" (see Pl. 22, n. 6a).

^{21b}As far as we can discover, the alleged transitive use of *fk* rests on this passage alone. We are therefore rendering it intransitively to bring it into line with its customary usage.

^{21c}*skmkm* only here.

^{21d}On *i₃d*, "persecute," see Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*. Series I. *Literary Texts* I (Leipzig, 1911) 12*, n. 13.

^{22a}*šp*, "receive, take on" in a hostile, warlike sense. *Urk.* IV 893:16-17 may mean either "I received (the attack of) the greatest elephant among them, as he fought against his majesty," or "The greatest elephant among them began to fight against his majesty." Israel Stela, l. 12, means perhaps: "Who is the warrior who knows his stride? Foolish and witless is he who receives him! He who violates his frontier knows not the morrow." Kadesh Poem, Karnak 1, l. 3, is perhaps the clearest case: "No one can receive him to fight." Although each case is open to doubt, the cumulative effect makes this meaning probable.

^{22b}*bdš* for *bš_l*, a fairly common corruption (e.g. in *Medinet Habu* III [Chicago, 1934] Pl. 184 D), at Medinet Habu usually as *bšd* (Pls. 46:4, 85:7). An alternative would refer this phrase to the Egyptians rather than to the enemy, using *bdš*, "grow weak," i.e., "to take them in when they gave way."





^{22c}The hind quarters and tail of *wn* are still visible, but there is no place for the two *n*'s which Brugsch puts under it. Burton gives the hare correctly without *n*.

^{22d}*i₃wnw*, not *hwn* or *hwnw*, is the regular form at Medinet Habu; cf. Pl. 46:11 and 13.



^{22e}Duemichen and Brugsch give all the signs in *ḥ₃h*. The first *h* is now lost.

words ['are' — — — —].^{22f} ^{23f}They come forth like a saying^{23a} from¹ — — — — which proceeded from the mouth of the All-Lord. His soldiers are heavy^{23b} ['of voice'];^{23c} they ['are'] ²⁴like bulls, prepared — — — — on the field of battle; his horses are like falcons when they sight small birds [— —] —, ²⁵roaring^{25a} like a lion, 'stirred up'^{25b} and raging. The chariot-warriors^{25c} are as mighty as Reshephs;^{25d} they look upon myriads as (mere) 'drops'.^{25e} His strength is before them like (that of) Montu; ²⁶his name and the terror of him burn up^{26a} the plains and the hill-countries.









The land^{26b} of Temeh was come, gathered together^{26c} in one place, consisting of Rebu, Seped, and Meshwesh, — — — —^{26d} ²⁷— — — —^{27a} Their warriors relied upon their plan, coming, their hearts confident: "We will 'advance'^{27b} ourselves!" Their plans^{27c} in their bodies were:

^{22f}All the early copies give the dets. of *mdw*. The last sign in the line may have been  (so Brugsch and Burton) or , certainly not  or .

^{23a}A magical charm? The whole is obscure.

^{23b}Of *wdn* the *n* is certain, although not given by any of the published copies. Their testimony is not in complete agreement, but we may perhaps read  .

^{23c}"Heavy" is used of the voice in ll. 60-61 below and in Pl. 19:8-9. The word "voice," with a possible [*w*] before the *sn* which ends the line, may be sufficient to fill the lacuna.

^{25a}*hrr* only here and in Pl. 46:21. Cf., however,      of *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* II (Leipzig, 1924) 187 =    of Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Sitt and Dêr Rîfeh*, Pl. 11:33, an obscure goddess ("the Roarer"?).

^{25b}*shnš* only here. The doubled-cross det. is the result of recutting.

^{25c}The translation of *sn* as "chariot-warriors" rests on Kadesh Poem, Luxor 2, l. 25 = Pap. Sallier III ii 2, where *krw* is a var. of *sn*; Mariette, *Karnak* (Leipzig, 1875) Pl. 53:38; and Pap. Anastasi III vi 2 ff. (see Erman, *Die Literatur der Aegypter*, p. 249), in which the life of the *sn* is described as centering about horses and chariots. In the Golénischeff Glossary the word falls between *ktn*, "charioteer," and *šš-srît*, "standard-bearer."

^{25d}Note the pl., "Reshephs." *shmty* occurs also in Pls. 46:5 and 79:4.

^{25e}*dfđ* only here. Presumably the det. is from the word *dfđ*, "pupil (of the eye)," and may be related to *dfđf*, "drip, dribble." Cf. Pl. 46, n. 4b.

^{26a}*mh3* is so written only at Medinet Habu: Pls. 35:9, 46:25, 62:3-4, 82:29, and 94:12. It may be connected with *m3h* (*Wb.* II 31).

^{26b}The land sign, now lost, is given by Duemichen and de Rougé.

^{26c}The book-roll det. of *dmđ* is now lost, but it is given by Brugsch and de Rougé, and the space demands it.

^{26d}A group is lost under the š3-bird (not š, which would be too tall). We do not know the word. If *mt* were possible, which seems doubtful, cf. Nauri Stela, l. 78, and Naville, *Textes relatifs au mythe d'Horus* (Genève & Bale, 1870) Pl. XXII 18-19.

The last group in the line is certainly corrupt, as also perhaps the first word of the next line.

^{27a}We have no other example of this name, if such it be. The first group is certainly *bw*, without a *t*. It is possible that the word is corrupt. It has an odd look for an ethnic writing and is separated from the three names by an intrusive phrase.

^{27b}See Pl. 16, n. 8a.

^{27c}Certainly *sh*, not *ms* as given in Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 2d ed., II¹, p. 588.

"We will act!"^{27d} ["Their"]^{27e} hearts were full of ²⁸wrongdoing^{28a} with perversity,^{28b} but their plan was shattered and turned aside^{28c} in the heart^{28d} of the god. They asked a chief^{28e} with their mouth, but it was not with [their] heart. [It was] the god,^{28f} ²⁹the excellent one, who knew a plan. Now this god, the Lord of the Gods, acted, for the greatness of Egypt forever^{29a} in victory, to cause the foreign countries to beg for chiefs with ['their hearts from the majesty'] of^{29b} ³⁰the King: "Great of Kingship."^{30a} His majesty was discerning and shrewd like Thoth. Their heart and their plan were viewed^{30b} and judged in his presence. His majesty had brought 'a little one of the land of Temeh, a child,^{30c} [supported]^{30d} ³¹by his strong arms', appointed for them to be a chief, to regulate their land. It had not been heard of before, since kings

^{27d}For *iri* in a pregnant sense cf. l. 29 below and the royal epithet "doing with his hands" (e.g. in Pl. 42:17).

^{27e}The size of the lacuna would suit either "their" or "our." Of the old copyists Brugsch alone offers a plausible text without lacuna, reading *ib.n*, "our heart." In view of the character of Brugsch's copy where we can control it, we need no great boldness to insert a small lacuna (the height of horizontal s) in a place which was not well preserved when he copied it. Thus we avoid making the enemy say: "We will make our hearts full of wrongdoing." Despite the book-roll det. of *mh*, one might render: "Their hearts seized upon wrongdoing."

^{28a}From the simplex *ꜥḏ*, *ꜥḏ* connotes something unjust, morally wrong. Cf. Pl. 22, n. 6a; Pap. Anastasi I xiii 3; LD III 140 c 4.

^{28b}Literally "under that which is perverted." *pnꜥt*, used only here, suggests the same ideas as *ꜥḏ*.

^{28c}On *gws* see Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus I* (OIP III [1930]) 204.

^{28d}On *hr-ib* see Gard. § 165:1; Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, p. 37. Or possibly "because of the wish of the god."


^{28e}The *r* of *wr* is recorded by Brugsch only.

^{28f}Clear traces of Brugsch's *p3 ntr* are still visible; the identity of the *p3*-bird is certain from the tail. Restore *nn sw m ib.[sn; m] p3 ntr . . .*, with the restored *m=in* (cf. Gard. § 373).

^{29a}An alternative, "because Egypt is forever great," seems out of place. One desires the sense "so that Egypt might be forever great."

^{29b}The *n* at the bottom of the line is certain. Above it, the conjectural restoration *m [ib.sn hr hm] n* would fill the lacuna neatly. Another possibility is *m [hms hr hm] n*, "in [humility before the majesty] of" (cf. l. 11).

^{30a}The Horus name of Ramses III.

^{30b}Read *pti* (*ptr*), even though the spelling seems to be unique. The disk is blue-green (exactly like *h* in form and color).  and similar spellings without *r* are not uncommon in the Pyramid Texts (e.g. *Pyr.* § 939 b), but later are almost confined to archaistic texts. *Wb.* materials did not yield a single example of this verb written with the disk; but cf. the pair of pupils often used in writing the verb *m33*, "see." The only word presenting the consonants *ptḥ* is the verb "cast down," but the eye det. is the conclusive factor.

^{30c}Any translation must be tentative until we can understand the politics of the period. *kt* and *wr* of l. 31 are singular; the genitival adj. after *kt* may be singular (see Pl. 14, n. 22a). Under *ms* and above the trace of the following word the child det. of *ms* might be rather cramped.

It would seem plausible that the war had something to do with the succession to the Libyan chieftainship. Perhaps Ramses III's candidate for that position (an Egyptian-trained Temeh youth?) was unpopular, and the Pharaoh had to support him by force of arms.

^{30d}The form would perhaps be perfective relative: "whom his two arms supported." Above the strong arm there is one trace of what might be *d*, *ḏ*, or *mn*. Restore *dḥ3*? Cf. Pl. 16, n. 8a. Of course any restoration is hazardous.

(began). Now the heart of his majesty was terrible and mighty [like] a lion hidden^{31a} ³²and 'prepared (for)^{32a} small cattle. He was ready like a bull, mighty of arms and sharp of horns, to attack^{32b} the (very) mountains in pursuit of him who assailed him.^{32c} The gods derided^{32d} ³³their plans, for they caused his might to be against the one who violated his frontier. His majesty went forth against them like a flame 'found scattered' in the thick brush,^{33a} —^{33b} like birds ³⁴within a net. They were threshed as sheaves,^{34a} made ashes, and cast down prostrate in their (own) blood.^{34b} Their^{34c} overthrow^{34d} was heavy, ³⁵without limit.^{35a} Behold, they were in evil case to the height of heaven,^{35b} for their thick mass was gathered together in the place of slaughtering them,^{35c} and they were made into pyramids^{35d} on their (own) ³⁶soil by the might of the King, valiant^{36a} in his person, sole lord, powerful like Montu, King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

^{31a}Reading [mitt] m3i k3p. The animal is certainly a lion. The sign just above the final strong arm is carved in outline only; we do not recognize it.

^{32a}The parallel in Pl. 31:3-4 suggests that the preposition *r* is omitted here, as often in Late Egyptian. But the verb *hri* is occasionally transitive, "terrify" (e.g. in Edinburgh ostrakon No. 916, l. 14).

^{32b}n3n3 at Medinet Habu only: 3 times of a bull (the present case, Pl. 62:6, and Pl. 82:27) and once of a lion (Pl. 37:19), always with direct object.

^{32c}The parallel in Pl. 62:6 spells out the pronoun *sw* after the participle *tkk*.

^{32d}The word *f3i* is certain. It occurs only at Medinet Habu (in l. 64 below, Pls. 46:6, 77:2, 79:7). Cf. perhaps *p3i*3 of Amenemopet xxiv 9 and 11 and Maxims of Ani vii 12.

^{33a}Reading *gm.ti hnr.ti m k3k3 wmt* (cf. Pl. 44:7). The *gm*-bird is certain; the next sign was probably horizontal *m*; one expects the old perfective fem. The word *hnr* is a difficulty, as it seems cramped, with insufficient space for det. and ending. The following *m* is given by Burton, Brugsch, de Rougé, and Duemichen. On the plant *k3k3* cf. Brugsch, *Wörterbuch* IV (Leipzig, 1868) 1502 (from Edfu); *LD* III 195 a 18-19; and Kuentz, *Bataille de Qadech*, p. 194. In all these passages inflammability is essential to the meaning. On the nature of *k3k3* see W. R. Dawson in *Aegyptus* X (1929) 66 f.

^{33b}The lost idea was probably something like "(they were) caught."

^{34a}Cf. Pl. 23:42-43 and Pl. 83:42.

^{34b}The *snf* is certain, although no record exists of the *n* and *f*; cf. Pl. 9:9-10; *LD* III 126 a; etc.

^{34c}The *t3* of *t3y.w* was recorded by Rosellini and de Rougé; also by Burton, who erroneously drew a *m3*-sickle across the 3-bird.

^{34d}Cf. Canopus Stela, l. 8: *hryt* = *καταφθορά*.

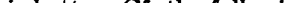
^{35a}"Without their limit" has become so stereotyped a phrase for "boundless" that the Egyptian has forgotten that the pronoun "their" should have an antecedent; cf. Pap. Harris viii 6 and lxxvii 11.

^{35b}A similar wording in Pl. 82:36.

^{35c}The writing of *sm3* without the strong-arm det. is well attested by the size of the existing lacuna, while the early copyists give the signs as we have restored them. As it stands *p3 sm3.w* can only be the determined infinitive standing as genitive to *st*, "place." Sethe, *Verbum* II §§ 556-61, gives no similar case; on the contrary, note the omission of the article in the examples in § 567 (note example quoted from Pap. Abbott iv 11). Note esp. the cases where the article is attached to the noun on which the genitive depends (Pap. Abbott ii 17 and Pap. Anastasi V xiii 3). Is our instance peculiar to the Medinet Habu language, or has it some particular nuance?

^{35d}Burton, de Rougé, and Duemichen give pl. strokes where we restore *r* in the word "pyramids." Their upper two strokes correspond to two breaks which are still visible. The right-hand break is so shallow that no stroke can possibly have stood there. We therefore have no hesitation in setting aside this testimony and restoring *r*.

^{36a}The *n* of *kn*, now lost, was recorded by Rosellini, de Rougé, and Brugsch.

^{40b}Reading tentatively . The bird at the end of the line has the color of the evil bird: red, with white breast. We might translate *pd* "knee" (as Pap. Lansing x 3); but probably "fugitive" is better. Cf. the following line; Pl. 86:22; Israel Stela, l. 5; etc.

⁴¹and trembling.^{41a} Their mouths were not able to recall the nature of Egypt.^{41b} The land of Temeh fled; they ran;^{41c} the Meshwesh 'were in suspense',^{41d—41e} ⁴²in their land. Their root was cut off; they are not, in a single case.^{42a} Every part of their bodies is weak from the terror. "She who breaks our back,"^{42b} say they, with reference to Egypt, ⁴³"whose lord has destroyed our soul forever and ever." It goes ill with them,^{43a} when they see their 'slayers like the slaughterers of Sekhmet,^{43b} who were in pursuit of them. One is awe-struck and afraid^{43c} before ⁴⁴them. "If our tread shall find no way to go, we shall 'traverse'^{44a} the lands to

^{41a}*isddwy* is written thus in Pl. 82:28 also. *Wb.* materials show many other odd writings of this word, but none which quite parallels this. For comparison we might cite the writing of *kkw*, "darkness," in l. 17 above and often, and *hhwy* for *hhw* (*Wb.* III 152), with Sethe, *Verbum* I § 187, in partial explanation.

^{41b}Or "knowing not their own speech as they recall the nature of Egypt."

^{41c}*nhr* (Burchardt II, No. 576). The anomalous *t3 nhr* of Pap. Anastasi I xx 1-2 may be connected; see Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*. Series I. *Literary Texts* I 22*, n. 6.

^{41d}This use of *chy* is characteristic of Medinet Habu (cf. Pls. 29:20-21, 82:32, 83:49). The meaning "flee, run away" is not very plausible; only in Pl. 82:32 does "rise up" seem fitting. The other cases suggest "to hang in suspense, to be hovering," with the force of the modern slang expression "to be all up in the air."

^{41e}The end of the line is difficult. *chy* may have been old perfective, but the traces suggest *šdm.f*, i.e., *chy.sn*. Preserved surface in the right-hand third of the column makes it difficult to restore the word *k3p*, "hidden." Nevertheless, if one adopts the grouping of the word *k3p* shown in Pl. 82:19, this restoration is a possibility. The text will then be parallel to that in Pl. 29:18-24.

^{42a}From the parallel in Pl. 22:7 the pronoun *s* is for *st* (3d pl.); cf. Erman, *NA*² § 97.

^{42b}The parallel in Pl. 83:45-46 seems to isolate *t3 s3w 3.n* as the speech. For *T3-mri* treated as fem. see Pl. 22, n. 9a.

^{43a}*bnd n.w.* Cf. Pl. 83:47; Israel Stela, l. 10; Pap. Leyden I 350 v 14.

^{43b}*h3bbw* may be related to *hb*, "execute, put to death," and to *hbb*, "slaughter" or similar (Marquis de Rochemonteix, *Le temple d'Edfou* II ["Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française au Caire" XI (1918)] 74). *h3yty* may be a *nisbe* formation from *h3yt*, "slaughter," or from *h3yt*, "sickness." Note that "their slayers" is objective genitive, i.e., "slayers of them," whereas "the slaughterers of Sekhmet" is subjective genitive, i.e., "slaughterers in the service of Sekhmet." The *h3ytyw* of Sekhmet are mentioned elsewhere: Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter* (Leipzig, 1842) chap. 145, ll. 82 and 86; Pap. Leyden I 346 i 3-4; Pap. Leyden I 347 v 4-5; Pap. Br. Mus. 10188 (Apophis Book) xxix 27. See also Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus* I 474 f., and Gunn in Frankfort, *Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* I 88. As the *h3ytyw* serve to slay the Apophis fiend, the sense here may be: it will go ill with the enemy, for they will see those who wish to slay them pursuing after them as ruthlessly as those spirits which slay Apophis. *st* after *gmh*, which in correct orthography would be the dependent pronoun, suggests a translation "when their 'slayers' see them." But the spelling of this pronoun is of course not decisive, and we have the impression that a simile introduced by *m3* after a verb of seeing normally characterizes the semantic object.

^{43c}This translation assumes a verb *šfi*, "be awe-struck," which seems not to have been noted elsewhere, except possibly by Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, p. 171 (example 27 and note). At Medinet Habu the nouns *šfi* and *sn3t* should be spelled so in the *status pronominalis* only.

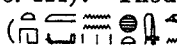
^{44a}For *š3mw* *Wb.* IV 411 suggests a possible connection with *šm3*, "wander." Or cf. Pap. Chester Beatty I verso G ii 2.

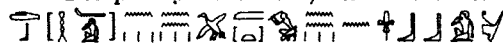
their limits.^{44b} Their warriors will not fight^{44c} with us in ['any']^{44d} fray. 'There attacks^{44e} ⁴⁵us our own fire of our own desire,^{44a} and we are desolate! Our heat is taken away; our strength is not! Their lord is like Set, the beloved of Re,^{44b} his battle cry is heard^{44e} ⁴⁶like (that of) a griffon. He is after us, slaughtering; he has no pity! He makes us turn back ['from mentioning']^{44a} Egypt forever. Foolish^{44b} were the hurlings of ourselves^{44e} ⁴⁷toward death 'and making^{47a} the fire which we (ourselves) entered'! Our seed is not, namely 'Ded',^{47b} Meshken, Mer-



^{44b}*r-dr* is either used absolutely (cf. Pl. 46, n. 7b) or to be read *r-dr.w* (cf. Erman, *NA*² § 235).


^{44c}Reading *m* for *in*, the construction of Gard. § 450:5e; Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, chap. v. Gunn (p. 57) had only one example containing a negated verb (*Pyr.* § 969 a–b). For a different method of negating this construction in Late Egyptian see Erman, *NA*² § 528. Our translation must be provisional. Or *m n3y.sn h3.w* may be “as their warriors,” attached to the preceding sentence; i.e., if we do not now succeed, we must go about as their slave troops.

^{44d}*nb* fits the lacuna beautifully.

^{44e}Below *thm* the trace on the left is colored red and is not quite circular; its shape suggests a human head. One thinks of the strong-man det. of *thm*, “drive,” although Medinet Habu more often uses the strong-arm det. instead. On the meaning of *thm* see Pl. 35, n. 6a. For our present case cf. the Semnah Stela of Amenhotep III, last line (given in *Archaeologia* XXXIV [1852] facing p. 389 and in British Museum, *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)* [London, 1909] pp. 114–15, No. 411): “Thou causest those who rebel against thee to say: ‘The fire which we have made attacks us!’ ().” Note that this parallel, like our case, uses *thm n*, with the dative of disadvantage.

^{44a}For *p3 rkh nn n 3bb.n*, “the fire ourselves (or ‘to us’) as we desire,” Pl. 83:46 supplies a parallel: , “We have begged for ourselves our own death of our own volition.” The *nn* following *rkh* and *mut* is either a dative indicating possession (similar to the *n.i-imy* construction of Gard. § 113:3) or it is the independent pronoun 1st pl. The latter possibility needs some argument.

In Erman, *NA*² §§ 107–9, we find the latest discussion of the construction noun + independent pronoun, or demonstrative adj. (or definite article) + noun + independent pronoun, as a Late Egyptian indication of possession. Our two instances show the definite article + noun + . In both cases the foe are blaming themselves, and strong expressions are required: “our own fire, (which we kindled) of our own free will, has attacked us” and “of our own free will, we have begged our own death for ourselves.” As  thus parallels the usages of the independent pronoun 1st, 2d, and 3d sing. it may well be a Late Egyptian writing of **ANON**, the 1st pl. independent pronoun.

^{44b}The , now lost, is given by de Rougé, Duemichen, and Brugsch.

^{44c}Read *sdm.tw*; the *t* is not preserved.

^{44a}Restoring *r sh3*, after Pl. 46:24.

^{44b}*hn*, determined with the man with hand to mouth instead of the evil bird, is probably the same word as that in Israel Stela, l. 12; Pap. Anastasi I xiii 2; and Pap. Chester Beatty I verso C iii 3.

^{44c}Note the pl. article and the absence of any expression of the subject. The emphasis is on the object (see Sethe, *Verbum* II §§ 577 and 585).

^{47a}The construction is totally obscure. An alternative would be: “Foolish were they who shot us toward death and who made”

^{47b}The second of the two *d*'s, if such it be, was incorrectly cut by the ancient sculptor. Vertical lines are lightly incised on the sign. Nevertheless, we read it as *d*, for Ded is mentioned as the father of Mervey in Merneptah's Great Karnak Inscription, l. 13.

yey,^{47o} together with ¹Wermer^{147d} ^{48s}and Thetmer. Every enemy chief who has attacked Egypt from Libya is in^{48a} the fire from end to end. The gods returned^{48b} answer to slay us,^{48c} ⁴⁹since^{49a} we made an attack 'wittingly' against their nome(s). We know the great strength of Egypt: that Re has given her a mighty protector, who appears shining like — — —,^{49b} ⁵⁰like Re when he shines upon the people. Let us go to him! Let us beg peace of him!^{50a} Let us kiss the ground! His sword is great and mighty^{50b} — —; ⁵¹King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III."

The northern countries quivered^{51a} in their bodies, namely the Peleset, Thekk[er], ————.^{51b} ⁵²They were cut off <from> their land, coming,^{52a} their spirit broken. They were *thr*-warriors^{52b} on land; another (group)^{52c} was on the sea. Those who came on [land 'were

^{47o}On the names *Mškn* and *Mry*, see Oric Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (London, 1914) p. 80. On the possible relationship of this group see *ibid.* pp. 221 f.

^{47d}The legs, still extant, fit Burton's *wr*-bird quite well; the lacuna under the legs offers somewhat ample room for *r*.

^{48a}*m* is certain (not *di.f*).

^{48b}All the old copies except Brugsch show a lacuna for the *n* of *ˁn*; only Brugsch gives ˁš. But the det. was not ˁ and may well have been ˁ (as in l. 4 above). A translation using ˁš; i.e., "the gods called, and [we] answered to slay ourselves," is less plausible than the above.

^{48c}The translation above uses the man with hand to mouth, which Brugsch alone gives as the det. of *wšb*; it is just possible to crowd this sign into the lacuna. Another restoration, *ˁn nš nšrw wšb [n.n] r smš.n*, "the gods called [us] to account, in order to slay us," would fit the lacuna somewhat more easily.

wšb certainly has some juristic connotation (cf. Israel Stela, ll. 15-17), and *ˁn wšb* also partakes of this (Pl. 83:55; Pap. d'Orbiney viii 5-6, ix 5, and xiv 6-7; Hittite Treaty, l. 19; Maxims of Ani vi 11-12; etc.). The phrase may mean "give judgment," either for or against.

^{49a}*ḏr* here seems to have the significance "because."

^{49b}Probably a name and epithet of the sun-god stood in the lacuna.

^{50a}*šrm*, 𐤱𐤴, "beg for peace" (often with the preposition *n*), occurs here, in l. 56 below, and in Pls. 46:7, 85:9, 86:27.

^{50b}In general we have translated *ḥpš* "arm" rather than "sword." For this passage we have a parallel giving the *ḥpš*-sword hieroglyph (Pl. 96:6). On *tny* see Pl. 16, n. 8b.

^{51a} 𐤎𐤏𐤋 + nominal subject occurs also in Pl. 83:46.

nwt is a Medinet Habu word, used in every case with *m ḥw.sn*. Here, in Pl. 37:9, and in Pl. 82:13 it is used of the enemy, "agitated (with unrest or avarice)." In Pl. 46:21 it is used of the Egyptian horses, "tingling (with eagerness)." Burchardt's connection (Burchardt II, Nos. 563 and 600) with 𐤎𐤏𐤋 or 𐤎𐤏𐤋 is undoubtedly correct: Hebrew "flee," but Amharic *ng-wq-ša*, "shiver, shake."

^{51b}It is difficult to make *Tkk* long enough to fill the lacuna, but equally difficult to find another Sea-Peoples name short enough to fill the lacuna. Is a verb lost? The construction is apparently the same as that in l. 47 above, Pls. 16:6-7, 44:14, and 46:18: a series of names introduced by *m*.

^{52a}The translation assumes that some preposition has fallen out before *tš.sn*. There are possible alternatives, none of them quite satisfactory.

^{52b}Emend to "they were <come as> *thr*-warriors"? *thr* is used of the Hittite warriors at the battle of Kadesh; of Syrian warriors in *Urk.* IV 686:5; in distinction from the *mnšyt*-troops in Marriage Stela A 39-40; of troops in Egyptian service in *RT XXXI* (1909) 34, l. 13; as "charioteer" or similar in Pap. Chester Beatty I verso G i 8; and obscurely in Pap. Br. Mus. 10068 recto iv 4 (not necessarily "Hittite troops," as Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*, p. 90, takes it). We do not know its exact significance.


^{52c}Literally "another." Or perhaps *ky*, a defective writing of the pl. *kywy*, "others."

⁵⁶Cf. Pl. 46:35; Pap. Anastasi IV x 11; *REA* I (1927) 21, l. 5; Erman, *NA*² § 710. The same idiom with *iri* instead of *iw* in *RT* XVIII (1895) 159, l. 6 (cf. Pap. Westcar xii 14).

weak,^{56b} ⁵⁷for the awe of his majesty is before them every day. He is like a bull standing on the field of battle, his eye on^{57a} his horns, prepared and ready to 'attack^{57b} his assailant with his head; a mighty warrior — —^{57c} ⁵⁸battle cry, the runner, lord of strength, plundering every land, so that they come in (humble) salutation for terror of him; a young child, valiant like Baal 'in^{58a} — —; ⁵⁹the King who carries plans to completion, the lord of counsels. What he has done does not fail but happens immediately; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

Woe to them, the lands 'to the cir[cuit of the earth]^{59a} — — ⁶⁰who plot^{60a} in their hearts against Egypt. The great and victorious lord is the King of the Two Lands; the dread of him and the terror of him have cast down the Nine Bows, for he is like a lion, heavy^{60b} ⁶¹of roar on the mountain tops—one fears from afar because of the awe of him;^{61a} a griffon, wide of stride, possessor of wings, who sees^{61b} iters of millions^{61c} ⁶²as 'a (mere) stride^{62a}; ^{62b}a panther, knowing



^{56b}On 3rd see Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus* I 282 f.

^{57a}We give a literal rendering of *irt.f hr cbwy.f*. A late text from the Bab el-'Abd at Karnak (*Zettel* 202, with 201 similar) runs , "a genuine raging bull, with his eyes in his horns." We take this to be an Egyptian idiom suggesting alertness, readiness for attack, or similar.

^{57b}See Pl. 35, n. 6a.

^{57c}None of the early copyists saw the *n* of *kn*. Brugsch, Burton, Duemichen, and Sethe (for *Wb.*) saw the strong arm which is now lost, while Burton and Sethe saw also the obscure traces still preserved below it. Burton and Duemichen failed to note the lacuna between the *k* and the strong arm.


^{58a}The ears of the typhonic animal are still recognizable (contrary to Burton, who adds the horizontal *m* immediately). Hay gives the typhonic animal and the *m*, followed by what seems to be the head of the 3-bird on the right-hand side of the square. Read perhaps *B'r m 3.f*, "Baal in his time."

^{59a}The circular sign under *r* is carved in outline only. The surface within it is broken, but it was definitely not the city sign (as Burton and Hay). Under this Burton and Hay saw . Tentatively we read the round sign as *sn* and restore . For the expression cf. Pl. 46:18; for the form of the *sn* sign cf. l. 56 above.

^{60a}The det. of this word is the man striking himself with an axe. This is also the writing in *k3w sbi* of Pl. 86:23. That the latter is *k3i*, "think, plan, plot," is shown by the recurrence of *k3i sbi* elsewhere (e.g. in Pap. Leningrad 1116 B 62 and *Urk.* IV 138:14-15). Of course, those plotting against Egypt were only injuring themselves.

^{60b}Traces above the lion suggest *w*, but the sign was not recorded by the early copyists and is not entirely certain. The top of the reed leaf and the lion's tail are still clear; the precise form of the lion is open to doubt. *wdn* is certain. The sign lost in the lacuna at the end of the line was read as the evil bird by Brugsch, and as the *w*-bird by de Rougé. Neither of these seems called for. We expect rather the book roll, as in Pl. 19:8.

^{61a}The *n* in *n w3y* is for *m* (as in Pl. 31:7-8; *LD* III 209 d); cf. Erman, *NA*² § 606. The whole phrase means "whose reputation inspires terror even at a distance."

^{61b}Two falcon's eyes similar to the one eye used in the late writing of *im3h*, "revered." This verb occurs also in Pls. 46:3 and 79:22. Both from its pictorial nature and from the contexts its meaning of "perceive, see, regard" is clear. It is more probably *m33* than *ptr*: (a) Two pupils are used for *m33* from the 19th dynasty on. (b) Two eyes are an abbreviation for *m33* from the Middle Kingdom on. (c)  is "the two eyes" (*RT* XIV [1893] 165). (d) The *Wb.* materials list a half-dozen instances of a falcon's eye as det. of *m33*, notably in "*Amduat* I 23" as recorded in *Zettel*.

^{61c}*Sic*, not "millions of iters" as one might expect.

^{62a}An unknown word, as it stands. The lost sign, immediately after *h*, was a low one (such as *f*, *t*, or horizontal *s*). *h3d3*, "plunder," seems to be excluded by the legs det. *Wb.* III 75 associates the word with *hfd*. Cf. also *hfd*.

his prey, seizing upon his assailant; whose hands destroy the breast^{62b} of him who transgresses his frontier; a raging one, stretching out the right arm, ⁶³entering into the fray and slaying hundred-thousands in their places before his horses, for he regards the thick of the throng as grasshoppers, beaten, worn down,^{63a} ⁶⁴and 'pulverized like flour',^{64a} strong of horns, relying upon his (own) might, so that millions and myriads are despised before him. His form is like (that of) Montu ⁶⁵when he goes forth. Every land 'is in travail'^{65a} for him at the (mere) mention of him: a ruler excellent of plans like Tatenen, equipping this entire land with every 'regulation';^{65b} ⁶⁶mighty of arm, great of strength in the plains and hill-countries. Everything which he has done comes to pass like (the deeds of) Him Who Is in Hermopolis;^{66a} King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

Glad is the heart of Egypt in the possession of a champion, so that the land is on ⁶⁷the height of its back^{67a} without mourning; a wall casting a shadow for the people, so that they sit (at ease) in his time, ^{67b}their hearts confident, for his strength is their ⁶⁸protection. 'They know'^{68a} his two arms, that the divine falcon strikes and seizes. He has created armies^{68b} by his victories and filled^{68c} the magazines ⁶⁹of the temples with the spoil of his arm, causing the gods to be satisfied with his benefactions, so that they are on his [right hand] and on his left hand to cast down the Nine Bows. May they cause his strength to be ⁷⁰against everyone who attacks him, 'as that which Amon, his august father, has given to him':^{70a} the lands united

^{62b}The first sign of *šnbt* is carved in outline only, so that it certainly was not the \triangle of Burton and Duemichen. The negative arms sign, which Brugsch gives, is not inconsistent with the traces.

^{63a}On *sin* see Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, p. 212.

^{64a}*ths* only here and in Pl. 86:29, where the enemy are crushed as by the fall of a mountain. For *wgm* cf. Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus* I 497. The *m* is certain, and *Wb.* I 376 is to be corrected, as this is the one occurrence on which the alleged *wg3* rests. Our noun probably occurs in the Ritual of Embalming (Pap. Boulaq III) Pl. 11:2.

^{65a}See Pl. 19, n. 11b.

^{65b}*nt-c* here and in l. 75 below seems to mean "regulation" or the like, rather than "custom"; cf. Hit-tite Treaty, l. 5, where it designates the treaty itself.

^{66a}Thoth.

^{67a}I.e., relaxed and at rest; cf. Pap. Harris lxxviii 10; ZAS LXV (1930) 61.

^{67b}Or "in its vicinity" = "beside it" (*Wb.* II 458, definition 3).

^{68a}Is this old perfective 3d pl.? Note the pl. strokes. This interpretation is suggested by *r dd*. But the form could be treated as a participle masc. sing. and translated "knowing his (own) hands."

^{68b}*šhpr*, "bring into being, create," has also the meaning "train," e.g. "to bring up children" (ZAS XLII [1905] 101), "to train soldiers" (Brugsch, *Wörterbuch* VI [1881] 913; *Urk.* IV 924; Nina de Garis Davies and Alan H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Huy* [London, 1926] p. 12). Here we hold to "create" because of the following phrase "by his victories." The det. of *dbi* (Burchardt II, No. 1207) shows that foreigners are meant, and this explains the statement that he has created armies *by* his victories. These would be either mercenaries or slave troops. The evidence points to slave troops. Cf. Pap. Harris lxxvii 4-6; Kadesh Poem, Karnak 1, l. 6. In any case, the distinction between slave troops and voluntary mercenary troops would not be sharply drawn in the time of Ramses III. The Egyptian usage of *dbi* seems to offer no basis for a choice between the traditional translation "army" (𓂏𓂏𓂏) and the new one "warrior" (𓂏𓂏𓂏) proposed by Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (New Haven, 1934) p. 40.

^{68c}The *mh* sign is recorded by Brugsch and Sethe (for *Wb.*). We see a trace of it.

^{70a}The translation is tentative. Provisionally we take *idi3* as a relative form.

and assembled under his feet; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

Now as for the Horus:^{70b} Mighty of Years, the divine seed ⁷¹of Re, which came forth from his body; the august living image^{71a} of the son of Isis, who came forth (from the womb) adorned^{71b} with the blue crown like Atum; great of Niles bearing their food for Egypt, ⁷²while the people and citizens enjoy good things; the sovereign who does justice^{72a} for the All-Lord^{72b} and offers it every day before him—Egypt and the lands are at peace in his reign. ⁷³The land is like a 'slab',^{73a} for there is no greed,^{73b} and a woman may go according to her wish, with her clothing on her head, her step unhindered, to the place which she desires.^{73c} The foreign countries come bowing^{73d} ⁷⁴to the glory of his majesty, with their tribute and their children on their backs. The southerners like the northerners are his in praise; they behold him like Re at dawn;^{74a} they are <'under'>^{74b} ⁷⁵the plans and 'regulations' of the mighty king, the ruler 'effective'^{75a} of plans like the Beautiful of Face,^{75b} King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Possessor of a Strong Arm: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III, given life like Re forever.

^{70b}Under the Horus bird Brugsch gives the gold sign and de Rougé the simple *nb*-basket, while Burton (who misread the Horus as *m*) gives a lacuna large enough to have contained either of those signs. Nevertheless we do not believe that there was room for any sign between "Horus" and *wsr rnpwt*.

^{71a}*smḥ* occurs also in a long list of royal epithets on the outside north wall of Medinet Habu (*Medinet Habu* III, Pl. 182 D): "Trembling is in the lands at the sight of him, the living image which came forth from Re (*smḥ nḥ pr m R*); men live when he appears." See also the Medinet Habu Blessing of Ptah (Pl. 106:42) and its Abu Simbel parallel (*LD* III 194:30) and Marriage Stela A 18.

^{71b}The word is surely *hn*, "order, equip (with)"; cf. Pap. Amherst ii 4 and Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter*, chap. 162, l. 1. The disk has the form and color of *ḥ*.

^{72a}Note the det. of *hnk* below.

^{72b}Note that the *r* has dropped out of *nb-r-dr*. This occurs at least 3 times at Medinet Habu. *Wb.* materials list occurrences of *nb-dr* as far back as the Middle Kingdom. Two examples of *r dr.f* without the initial *r* (**THPCQ**) occur in the early 6th dynasty mastaba of Kagemni (Cecil M. Firth and Battiscombe Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I* [Le Caire, 1926] 109, n. 2). The archaizing form, with *r*, is also present in Medinet Habu.

^{73a}*smdt*. The same phrase occurs in *RT* XVI (1894) 55 cvii 2. More instructive is Maxims of Ani ix 14. These are all *smdt* of wood. The instances given by Brugsch, *Wörterbuch* VII (1882) 1066-67, and in *RT* XXX (1908) 216, l. 10, are of stone. The explanation suggested by Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Aegyptischen* (Leipzig, 1924) p. 160, may be the correct one: a board or plank as the symbol of order or smoothness. Possibly connected are the verb *smd*, "'make smooth'," of Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, Pl. 19:32, and the noun *smdt*, "'border inscription'," of Hittite Treaty, l. 36.

^{73b}Emend to *un-ib*.

^{73c}See *PSBA* XIX (1897) 299 and *ZAS* LXV 60 f.

^{73d}Before *ksy* the *m*, now lost, is recorded by Brugsch and Duemichen.

^{74a}Brugsch gives the sun disk as det. of *dwȝyt*; others give a lacuna. He was probably misled by the still existing hole, which is much too deep to be a sign. We therefore retain the lacuna.

^{74b}Something must have been omitted between l. 74 and l. 75; *hr*, "under," is perhaps the simplest addition (cf. Gard. § 166:3).

^{75a}*imlm* only here.

^{75b}A name of the god Ptah, as shown by the det.

PLATE 29. RAMSES III ISSUING EQUIPMENT TO HIS TROOPS
FOR THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SEA PEOPLES*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III, standing in a rostrum, supervises the issuing of equipment to his army. Above, a bugler sounds a call, while standard-bearers and officials salute the King. Below, a prince gives his orders, which are taken down by a scribe. Other scribes record the army units and list the equipment issued. We may recognize helmets, spears, bows, sickle-swords, corselets, quivers, and a shield among the arms and armor issued.†

TEXTS

OVER THE OFFICIALS

¹Words spoken by the officials, the companions,^{1a} ²and the leaders of the infantry and chariotry: ³"Thou art Re, as thou risest ⁴over Egypt, for when [thou] appearest the Two Lands live. Great ⁵is thy strength in the heart of the Nine [Bows], and thy battle cry ⁶(reaches) to the circuit of the sun. The shadow ⁷of thy arm is over thy troops, ⁸so that they walk confident in thy strength. ⁹Thy heart is stout; thy plans ¹⁰are excellent;^{10a} so that no ¹¹land^{11a} can stand firm ¹²when [thou] art seen^{1,12a} ¹³⁻¹⁴Amon-Re leads thy way; he 'casts down^{14a} ¹⁵for thee <every> land beneath thy soles. Glad is ¹⁶the heart of Egypt forever, for she ¹⁷has^{17a} a heroic protector. ¹⁸⁻¹⁹The heart of the land of Temeh 'is removed^{1,19a} ²⁰⁻²²the Peleset 'are in suspense^{1,20a} ²³⁻²⁴hidden in their towns, ²⁵⁻²⁶by the strength of thy father Amon, ²⁷⁻²⁸who assigned to thee every [land] as a gift."^{28a}

BEFORE THE KING

²⁹The King himself says to the officials, the companions, ³⁰and every leader of the infantry and chariotry ³¹who is in the presence of his majesty: "Bring forth equipment! ³²Send out troops^{32a} to destroy the rebellious [countries] ³³which know not Egypt, through the strength of my fa[ther A]mon!"

^{1a}The *r* of *smr* is cut over an earlier *t*, which was deleted with plaster.

^{10a}The *t* in *mnht* is a mistake, perhaps due to some similarity in sound between the ending of the fem. adj. and the ending of the old perfective 3d pl. Cf. Pl. 42:13.

^{11a}A *nb* sign could be crowded into the break at the end of the line.

^{12a}There is a broken area below *gmh.tw*. Although it seems a little narrow for a normal *k*, the translation assumes that there is just room to crowd the *k* into the break.

^{14a}From the context and det. one expects *dh* here. Although *dr* is epigraphically preferable, the state of the wall permits the crowding in of a *h* in the lacuna. Cf. notes 11a and 12a above.

^{17a}*n.st* for *n.s*; cf. Erman, *NA*² §§ 70-73. There is, however, just a suggestion of evidence that the *t* may have been plastered up.

^{19a}See Pl. 16, n. 1a.

^{20a}See Pl. 28, n. 41d.

^{28a}Or "it is the strength of thy father Amon which assigned" For *m dy* see also Pls. 79:23 and 96:10; Pap. Chester Beatty I verso C iii 9.

^{32a}As it stands, the det. of *pdt* is odd, but possible traces of plaster in it seem to suggest a correction.

* Great Temple, exterior, north wall. Champollion, *Monuments* III, Pl. CCXVIII; Rosellini, *Monumenti storici*, Pl. CXXV.

† Similar equipment is recorded in greater detail in the tomb of Ramses III (e.g. Champollion, *Monuments* III, Pls. CCLXII-CCLXIV).

HORIZONTAL LINE IN THE CENTER OF THE SCENE

³⁴—^{34a} — — — — — [Usermare-Meri]amon, the mighty bull, crushing the Asiatics, lord of [—] in the lands, like — — — — — entering [into] the midst — — — — —.

OVER THE TWO SCRIBES IN THE CENTER

³⁵⁻³⁶ — — — — — 'giving'^{36a} ³⁷⁻³⁸equipment to the infantry and chariotry, ³⁹⁻⁴⁰to the troops, the Sherden,^{39a} and the Nubians.

OVER TWO OFFICIALS ON THE LEFT

⁴¹'Receiving equipment'^{41a} ⁴²'[in the presence of]' Usermare-Meriamon, rich of strength.

OVER SOLDIERS ON THE LEFT

⁴³The infantry and chariotry, who are receiving '[equipment]'^{43a} in the presence of [his] majesty.

OVER A PRINCE AT THE BASE

⁴⁴⁻⁴⁵The Crown Prince, Great Royal Scribe, and Royal Son^{45a}—⁴⁶he says to the commanders of the army, ⁴⁷the captains of the troops, and the officers of the troops.^{47a} ⁴⁸"One^{48a} speaks thus, [namely] Pharaoh: 'Every picked man, ⁴⁹good [—],^{49a} every valiant one who is in the knowledge of ⁵⁰⁻⁵²his majesty, let them pass by ⁵³in the presence of Pharaoh to [receive] equipment.' "

OVER THE OFFICIALS AT THE BASE

⁵⁴⁻⁵⁶That which the officials and the [commanders] of the troops said:^{54a} ⁵⁷⁻⁵⁸"We will act! We will act! The army is assembled, ⁵⁹⁻⁶⁰and they are the bulls of the land: every picked man ⁶¹[of] all [Egypt]^{61a} and the runners,^{61b} ⁶²capable of hand.^{62a} ⁶³⁻⁶⁴Our lord goes

^{34a}At the beginning of the line is the trace of a possible *d*. Perhaps restore *ddtn*, as in l. 54: "That which the officials in front of the King said," or similar.

^{36a}No word is certain in these two lines. The *pr*-house is probable in l. 35.

^{39a}The head of the det. of *Šrdn* is unfortunately broken. In Kadesh Poem it is rendered with the spiked helmet bearing a disk.

^{41a}Probably corrupt. The intrusion of what looks like the 1st person pl. is inexplicable. The form is close to that of the old perfective 1st pl. but is apparently transitive.

^{43a}It is not clear what word stood here, apparently not *hꜣw*.

^{45a}With a vacant space thereafter for the name to be inserted. The omission of the names of queens and of princes is the general rule in this temple. Where the name is present, our experience is that it proves to be a later insertion. Cf. Peet in *JEA* XIV (1928) 56.

^{47a}Are *mr-mšꜥ*, *hry-pdt*, and *ts-pdt* three successive ranks in the army?

^{48a}The det. shows the King.

^{49a}The lacuna in the quarter-square may have given some quality of the warriors.

^{54a}Note the use of fem. for neuter, illustrating the tendency of the Medinet Habu texts to follow Middle Egyptian usage.

^{61a}Restoring [*n Kmt r*] *ḏr.s*.

^{61b}See Pl. 26, n. 11b. There may have been pl. strokes after the det. here.

^{62a}On *gm ḏrt* see Pl. 19, n. 13a. Here the word *gm* was corrected over a previous *ḳ*.

forth in valor, so that we may plunder ⁶⁵⁻⁶⁶the plains and the hill-countries. He is like Montu, the strong ^{66a}‘—’.

OVER SOLDIERS AT THE LOWER LEFT

⁶⁷(Unintelligible.)

BEHIND THE KING

⁶⁸All the gods are the (magical) protection of his body, to give him valor against every country.

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT

⁶⁹Live the good god, smiting the Nine Bows, making them non-existent, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, beloved of Amon-Re, King of the Gods.

PLATE 31. RAMSES III ON THE MARCH TO ZAHI
AGAINST THE SEA PEOPLES*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III in his chariot sets out against the Sea Peoples, accompanied by Egyptian and foreign troops. The scene is analogous to that in Plate 17, but with many details omitted.


TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹The King, rich in strength as he goes forth abroad,^{1a} great of fear and awe ²[in] the heart of the Asiatics; sole lord, whose hand is capable, ³conscious of his strength, like a valiant lion^{3a} hidden and prepared ⁴for wild [cattle];^{4a} freely going forward, his heart ⁵confident,^{5a} beating^{5b} myriads into heaps in the space of a moment. ⁶His potency [in the fray]^{6a} is like a fire, making all those who assail ⁷him to become ashes. They have fear of his name, (even) when he is ⁸afar off, like the heat of the sun upon the Two Lands; a wall ⁹casting a shadow for Egypt, so that they rest ¹⁰[under] the strength of his arms; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Lord of Diadems: Ramses III.

^{66a}Possibly nothing is lost after *nht*, although [—], “of arm,” is possible.

^{1a}*pri r h3t*; cf. ZAS LXIX (1933) 30, l. 15; Pap. Chester Beatty I verso C i 7; etc. “Abroad” may suggest too definite an idea; the King is leaving for Zahi, but this phrase means simply “go out.” The *h3* is again written with *t* in Dream Stela, l. 22, perhaps through confusion with the word *h3t*, “tomb.”

^{3a}The sign  at Medinet Habu designates a lion, not a cat. This is clear from the present passage and from Pl. 102:23.

^{4a}The det. of *wt* as usual represented one of the various kinds of “small cattle” included within the meaning of this term. The color, as far as preserved, is red.

^{5a}The partially preserved det. is .

^{5b}The cutting of the signs in this scene is both careless and summary. For instance, no feet were carved for the man in the word *hwi*.

^{6a}This is a curious writing, and it is possible that the phrase should be read *m sky rmt* and translated “as a slaughterer of people.”

* Great Temple, exterior, north wall. Champollion, *Monuments* III, Pl. CCXIX; Rosellini, *Monumenti storici*, Pl. CXXVI.

BEHIND THE KING

¹¹His majesty sets out in valor and strength to destroy the rebellious countries.

OVER THE TROOPS AT THE BASE

¹²His majesty sets out for Zahi like unto Montu, to crush every country that violates his frontier. His troops are like bulls ready on the field of battle; his horses are like falcons in the midst of small birds^{12a} <'before'¹>^{12b} the Nine Bows, bearing victory. Amon, his august^{12c} father, is a shield for him; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of the Two Lands, _____^{12d} _____.

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT

¹³Live the good god, lord of strength, mighty of arm, charging into hundred-thousands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ra[mses III], beloved of Amon-Re.

OVER THE SPAN

The great chief span of his majesty, "Amon Gives the Sword."

PLATES 32-34. RAMSES III IN BATTLE WITH THE
LAND FORCES OF THE SEA PEOPLES*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III in his chariot charges into the thoroughly disorganized Sea Peoples. He is supported by Egyptian infantry and chariotry and by foreign auxiliaries. The Sea Peoples flee on foot and in their chariots, while their women, children, and baggage move away in heavy ox carts.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

1-2 _____^{1a} _____ 3-4 _____ under _____^{4a} _____ awe ⁵at^{5a} the sight of him, as when Set rages,^{5b} overthrowing ⁶the enemy in front of the sun bark;^{6a} trampling

^{12a}*hpt* (or *hptw*); see Pl. 23, n. 46a.

^{12b}Emending *n-hr.f* to *n hr n*. This emendation seems necessary; otherwise we are forced to read: "before him. The Nine Bows bear victory." The phrase *n-hr.f* is so common that it was misread into this context. Either some object unknown to us (a feathered staff?) projected into the line from below, or else a low sign, such as *n*, has been lost under the *f*. So also possibly under *hpt*.

^{12c}The lacuna at the end of *špsy* probably contained only the book-roll det.

^{12d}The oblong block of shading under the two fan-bearers may be the trace of a hieroglyph, or it may be a particularly regular break.

^{1a}A trace of what might be the *hk3* sign or the *nh* sign or similar begins the inscription.

^{4a}In view of what appears to be a bow in l. 4, [*pd*] *hr* [*šmrt*] is a possibility, followed perhaps by *dh*, i.e., "stretching the bow, overthrowing"

^{5a}Our *m* is exceedingly cramped. The portion shown in solid black is certain.

^{5b}*nšnty*? We do not recognize the horizontal trace under the strong arm, nor do we know how tall the "Set" word sign stood.

^{6a}Similarly in Pls. 46:31 and 101:23. See esp. G. Nagel in *BIFAO* XXVIII (1929) 33-39. Further references are: Book of the Dead, chaps. 108 and 111 (*ZAS* LIX [1924] 73 ff.); Pap. Chester Beatty I iv 4-5. There is a depiction of the activity in the rear rooms of Medinet Habu (Georges Daresy, *Notice explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou* [Le Caire, 1897] p. 160).

* Great Temple, exterior, north wall. Champollion, *Monuments III*, Pls. CCXX-CCXX bis; Rosellini, *Monumenti storici*, Pls. CXXVII-CXXVIII; Wreszinski, *Atlas II* 113-14.

down^{6b} the plains ⁷and hill-countries, (which are) prostrate, beaten from tail to head^{7a} before his horses. ⁸His heat burns up their bodies^{8a} like a flame. Hacked up ⁹is their flesh to the duration [¹of eternity]^{9a}.

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT

¹⁰Horus, mighty of strength, conquering hundred-thousands, overthrowing those who attack him, gathered together [beneath] his soles; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of [the Two Lands: User]mare-[Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Dia]dems: Ramses III.

OVER THE SPAN

The great chief span of his majesty, "Beloved of Amon."

PLATE 35. RAMSES III HUNTING LIONS*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III in his chariot hunts lions. Divisions of soldiers march along the base, perhaps moving from the land battle on the right (Pl. 32) to the naval battle on the left (Pl. 37). The scene is highly stylized, differing in its details from other scenes at Medinet Habu. Note, for example, the formalization of the papyrus plants or of the horses' ears.

TEXTS

BEHIND THE KING

¹The lions 'are in travail'^{1a} and flee^{1b} to their land. ²The lion, the lord of victory, concealed, going forward,^{2a} ³and 'making a conquest'^{3a}—his heart is full of his might; ⁴stout of heart, relying ⁵upon his (strong) arm, able to enter ⁶straight ahead against the one who assails

^{6b}*dgdg* occurs 5 times in texts of Ramses III (e.g. in Pls. 86:44, 102:9).

^{7a}Or "prostrate and beaten heels over head"? Cf. Pl. 19, n. 13c.

^{8a}The dets. of *h^cw* are at present indecisive on the wall.

^{9a}Perhaps a very lightly cut *dt* has been lost below *km*; cf. Pl. 28:39. Otherwise we must read *r-km* adverbially, "completely" (cf. Gard. § 205:5).

^{1a}See Pl. 19, n. 11b.

^{1b}This form may show an infinitive, *m^h(w)t*, with *hr* omitted, or, less probably, the old perfective 3d pl. *m^hw*, with intrusive *t*; cf. Pl. 29, n. 10a.

^{2a}*sh³p* is probably old perfective. The King is compared to a lion, first hidden in ambush, then pouncing on his prey and seizing it; cf. Pls. 27:31–32, 31:3–4. *šm n-hr.f*, "go forward, advance," is possibly even "charge" in Kadesh Poem, Karnak 1, ll. 3 and 9; Israel Stela, l. 5; Amenemopet x 8; and occurs as a command, "Forward!" in Kuentz, *Bataille de Qadech*, p. 196, No. 21.

^{3a}*hd hn*, literally "conquering the matter"; i.e., bringing the enterprise to a successful conclusion. On the indefinite use of *hn* see Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, p. 195. Cf. *hsf hn* of Br. Mus. Tablet 5645 (Khekeheperresonbu) rev. 5 and *m^h m hnw* of LD III 166:14–15.

* Great Temple, exterior, north wall. Champollion, *Monuments III*, Pl. CCXXI; Rosellini, *Monumenti storici*, Pl. CXXIX; Mariette, *Voyage dans la Haute-Égypte* (2d ed.; Paris and Leipzig, 1893) II, Pl. 54.

him, 'when he attacks';^{6a} the lion, destroying in — —.^{6b} His arrow 'has penetrated'^{16c} into their bodies. 'They [gather] themselves together in front of [him, (as) wretch]ed'^{17a} as jackals, while they howl like 'a cat'.^{8a} The strength of 'his majesty is like a flame in their limbs, so that their hearts have burned up because of his heat.^{9a} 'A mighty ruler; there is not one like unto him, for his strong arm has protected 'Egypt. Montu is his [protection], repelling his enemies and averting 'all evil (from) before [him]. The soldiers are glad; the officials rejoice;^{12a} 'the guardsmen^{13a} exult to the sky, for [their] lord is mighty 'like Montu, and his battle cry and his fame are like (those of) Baal.^{14a} All lands are under his feet 'like Re forever; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III, given life.

OVER THE SPAN

The great chief span of his majesty, "Victory in Thebes."

^{6a}*thm* in the medical literature means "perforate, pierce, penetrate" (Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus* I 125 f.). It may have the same technical meaning in *Mutter und Kind* iii 10. But it seems to be most common in the senses "to summon together" (Turin Judicial Papyrus iv 2 and v 2), "to mobilize (soldiers)" (ZAS XIX [1881] 118; Pap. Lansing ix 9; P. A. A. Boeser, "Die Denkmäler des Neuen Reiches" [*Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung des niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden* IV (Haag, 1911)] Pl. XXIII), and "to commandeer (workers)" (Nauri Stela, ll. 22 and 26; LD III 110 i 4; Pap. Lansing ii 5; Pap. Anastasi VI vi 3). In Pap. d'Orbiney i 9 it means "to drive (cattle)." In Pap. Chester Beatty I xvii 8 it means "to knock (at a door)." Finally, it has the meaning "to attack" here; in Pl. 28:44 and 57; in Pap. Turin (Pleyte and Rossi) Pl. IX x 4-6; and in the parallel cited above in Pl. 28, n. 44e. The Coptic **ⲧⲱⲗⲙ** survives as "to knock (at a door), call, summon, approach, pursue." There is a connecting thread of logic running through all these meanings.

^{6b}One expects *wt*, "wild cattle," here. This is rendered improbable but not excluded by the traces on the wall.

^{6c}*dp* is certainly written. The only uncertain sign is the one at left of *p* (×?). We have found no such word elsewhere. Our translation tentatively emends to *sd*. For *sd*, "break open, penetrate" (used of an arrow) cf. Pls. 37:17 and 87:7. The latter parallel is especially striking. An example of *sd m*, apparently meaning "penetrate," is quoted by Brugsch, *Wörterbuch* IV (1868) 1350 (from Edfu).

One of us would prefer to keep the text as it stands, assuming an otherwise unknown *s*-formation without causative force from *dp*, "to taste," and would translate "his arrow has tasted of their bodies" (cf. *dp m* of Pap. Chester Beatty I ix 1 and 7 and Kadesh Poem, ed. Kuentz, p. 264, No. 155); the other feels that the strong-arm det. is a difficulty.

^{7a}Restoring tentatively [ⲡⲓ ⲙ] ⲓ [ⲙ] ⲙ [ⲙ] ⲙ [ⲙ] ⲙ. Cf. Grapow, *Bildliche Ausdrücke*, p. 74.

^{8a}*un* is "wail, lament." The word following *mitt* may be read ⲙⲓⲙⲓ, although this is suggested by the context rather than the traces. The det. is not necessarily a catlike animal.

^{9a}The present reading was corrected out of a previous ⲧⲱⲗⲙ ⲙⲓⲙⲓ.

^{12a}*gd*, with the arm det., is known also from the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus (*Untersuch.* X [1928] 238).

^{13a}The man det. of *šms* was erroneously carved with one hand on the mouth; a break in the stone makes it uncertain whether this mistake was corrected or not.

^{14a}Or "Set."

PLATES 37-39. RAMSES III AND HIS FLEET IN BATTLE
WITH THE FLEET OF THE SEA PEOPLES*

DESCRIPTION

Five ships of the Sea Peoples are hard pressed by four Egyptian vessels. The disintegration of the Northern fleet is vividly depicted. On the shore, Ramses III and his archers rain arrows upon the discomfited enemy. Below the battle, two registers of prisoners move off to the reviewing scene on the left (Pl. 42).

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹The good god, Montu in Egypt, ²great of strength like Baal^{2a} ³in the foreign countries, strong of arms, undaunted ⁴of heart, haughty, skilled ⁵in his strength, a great wall ⁶for sheltering Egypt, so that there may come ⁷no land to injure^{7a} it; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Ramses III.

BEHIND THE KING

⁸Now the northern countries, which were in their^{8a} ⁹isles, were quivering in their bodies. ¹⁰They penetrated the channels of the Nile mouths.^{10a} ¹¹Their nostrils have ceased (to function, so that) their desire is <to> breathe the breath.^{11a} His majesty ¹²is gone forth like a whirlwind against them, fighting ¹³on the 'battlefield'^{13a} like a runner. The dread of him ¹⁴and the terror of him have entered into their bodies; (they are) capsized and overwhelmed ¹⁵in their places. Their hearts are taken away; their soul ¹⁶is flown away.^{16a} Their weapons are scattered in the sea. ¹⁷His arrow pierces him whom he has wished among them, ¹⁸while the fugitive is become one fallen into the water. His majesty is like ¹⁹an enraged lion, attacking his assailant with his paws; ²⁰plundering on his right hand and powerful on his left hand,

^{2a}The two strokes between *mī* and *Bṛ*, shown in our Pl. 39 but accidentally omitted in Pl. 37, are present on the wall.

^{7a}*ṭḥn* in a similar context in Pl. 70:12. Its det. originates in its primary meaning of an injury to the eye (B. Ebbell in ZAS LIX [1924] 58-59).

^{8a}For a parallel to this spelling of the possessive adj. cf. Pls. 43:14 and 86:40.

^{10a}See Pl. 28, n. 53a. One must reconcile two points in order to gain a clue to the location of the naval battle: Ramses III marched to Zahi (Pl. 31:12; cf. Pl. 46:19), and the conflict took place in a *r3-ḥ3wt*.

^{11a}This requires the addition of *r* after *ib.sn*; cf. Hittite Treaty, l. 16, where *ib* is used without *r*, whereas the similar passage in l. 18 uses an *r* after *ib*. The idea would be that the Sea Peoples were forced out of their own homes and sought a new home in Egypt. Breasted's translation (*BAR* IV § 75) may be more fitting: "Their nostrils and their hearts cease breathing breath."

^{13a}See Pl. 46, n. 4c. This spelling of *pg3* suggests that both *pg3* and *pkt* were pronounced **pege* at this time and this place.

^{16a}Similarly in Pl. 79:10, with the same verb form.

* Great Temple, exterior, north wall. *Description de l'Égypte. Antiquités* II, Pl. 10; Champollion, *Monuments* III, Pls. CCXXII-CCXXIII; Rosellini, *Monumenti storici*, Pls. CXXX-CXXXI; Berlin Museum photographs Nos. 449-59, as listed in Eduard Meyer, "Bericht über eine Expedition nach Ägypten zur Erforschung der Darstellungen der Fremdvölker" (*SAWB*, 1913, pp. 769-801); Fr. W. Freiherr von Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur* II (München, 1914) Pl. 94 A & B; Mariette, *Voyage dans la Haute-Égypte*, 2d ed., II, Pl. 55.

²¹like Set destroying the serpent "Evil of Character."^{21a} It is Amon-Re ²²who has overthrown for him the lands and has crushed for him ²³every land under his feet; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon.

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT

²⁴Live the good god, fighting valiantly, lord of strength, stretching wide the two arms, King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III, given life like Re forever.^{24a}

PLATE 42. RAMSES III CELEBRATING HIS VICTORY
OVER THE SEA PEOPLES*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III stands in a rostrum before a fortress. His officials present to him captives of the Sea Peoples. Scribes record the numbers in two piles of severed hands. On the right below, the captives are led up to two officials, who brand them on the shoulder. They are then enrolled in gangs.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹Spoken by his majesty to the royal princes, the officials, the royal chamberlains, and the charioteers: ²"See ye the great strength of my father Amon-Re! As for the ³countries who came from their land in the isles in the midst of the sea, ⁴as they were (coming) forward toward Egypt, their hearts relying upon their hands, ⁵a net was prepared for them, to ensnare them. They that entered into the Nile mouths were 'caught',^{5a} ⁶fallen into the midst of it, pinioned^{6a} in their places, butchered,^{6b} and ⁷their bodies hacked up. I have caused that you see my strength, which was in that which my arm^{7a} has done, ⁸while I was alone. My

^{21a}*dw-kd* is sometimes a designation of Apopis. The present instance must refer to Set fighting at the prow of the sun bark. See Pl. 32, n. 6a.

^{24a}The doorway at the lower right of the plate is shown in photograph on Pl. 126 B. It leads to the terrace in the second court of the temple. The inscriptions consist merely of names and titles of Ramses III. Note the designation "son of Osiris" on the right side, paralleling "son of Amon" on the left (cf. Nauri Stela, l. 3). Below the four cartouches and not given on our plate are, left to right: "[beloved of] Mut, Mistress of Heaven, forever"; "beloved of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, given life"; "beloved of Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones [of the Two Lands], given life"; traces of "beloved of [Khonsu-in-Thebes, Neferhotep], forever."

^{5a}See Pl. 28, notes 53a-b.

^{6a}*dnh* was anciently corrected out of erroneous *dh*.

^{6b}The first (and probably the second) *ayin* was corrected out of the strong arm.

^{7a}Reading the leg sign as *hps*, here written vertically to meet the requirements of the space, as in LD III 143 b and 176 a.

* Great Temple, exterior, north wall. Champollion, *Monuments III*, Pls. CCXXIV-CCXXV; Rosellini, *Monumenti storici*, Pls. CXXXII-CXXXIII; Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften II*, Pl. XLVII a. On the branding of captives see Pl. 28, n. 40a. Is branding depicted in Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties II* (London, 1901) Pl. III 6 (1st dynasty)?

arrow hit the mark^{8a} without fail, while my arms ⁹and my hand were steadfast. I was^{9a} like a falcon in the midst of small fowl, ¹⁰for my talon did not fail upon their heads. Amon-Re was on my right^{10a} ¹¹and on my left, and the awe of him and the terror of him were in my person.^{11a} Rejoice ¹²ye, for that which I commanded is come to pass, and my counsels and my plans ¹³are perfected. Amon-Re repels my foe and gives to me every land into my grasp."

OVER THE OFFICIALS

¹⁴Words spoken by the royal princes, the officials, and the companions, as they make reply before the good god: "Thou art Re as thou appearest like unto him. Thy strength crushes the Nine Bows, and every land trembles ¹⁵at^{15a} thy name, for the awe of thee is before them every day. Egypt rejoices^{16b} in the strong of arm, the son of Amon, who is on his throne, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III, given life like Re."

BEFORE A PRINCE

¹⁶"Amon is the god who decreed the protection to the ruler against every land!"^{16a}

BEFORE THE SPAN

¹⁷Live the good god, achieving with his hands,^{17a} making every foreign country ¹⁸non-existent; the strong of arm ¹⁹and powerful, knowing the place of his hand;^{19a} ²⁰King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon.

OVER THE FORTRESS

²¹Migdol of Ramses III.^{21a}

OVER THE SPAN

²²The great chief span of his majesty,^{22a} "Amon Is Valiant."

^{8a}Literally "gripped."

^{9a}*tw.î*.

^{10a}*wnmy* corrected out of earlier $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$. The earlier form was plastered out.

^{11a}Read *h^cw*, not *h^cwt*. The *t* was deleted with plaster in an interesting attempt to avoid Late Egyptian and write Middle Egyptian.

^{15a}*m* for *n*?

^{16b}*ršw Kmt* was anciently corrected out of $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$.

^{16a}See Pl. 23, n. 2a.

^{17a}A common expression; cf. Jakob Polotsky, *Zu den Inschriften der 11. Dynastie* (Untersuch. XI [1929]) pp. 44 ff.

^{19a}I.e., skilful.

^{21a}Gardiner, in *JEA* VI (1920) 110, locates this place at Magdolo or Tell el-Hêr, near the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile. His identification rests in part on the assumption that the *rš-hwt* can only be the Nile mouths ("Nile mouths" being its clearly indicated meaning; see Pl. 28, n. 53a), in part on the absence of the definite article before "Migdol." He seems to ignore the references to Zahi (Pls. 31:12, 46:19). The Medinet Habu texts are irregular in their use of the definite article, often showing an archaizing tendency to omit it where contemporary speech probably required it; cf. the omission of the definite article in the common phrase "great chief span of his majesty" and in Pl. 22:1 (*m-bšh dmi Wsr-mš^ct-R^c* etc.), Pl. 70 (*dmi ht š^ct*), and Pl. 87 (*dmi irt*). A temple of Ramses III's name in Zahi is mentioned in Pap. Harris ix 1 as being in "the Canaan." These cautions should be kept in view until the point is settled.

^{22a}There has been recutting in the seated royal figure, which formerly wore the white crown. The *n* above it was never carved farther to the left to extend above the *hm* sign.

PLATE 43. RAMSES III PRESENTING CAPTIVES OF THE LIBYANS AND
THE SEA PEOPLES TO THE THEBAN TRIAD*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III leads two lines of captives, Sea Peoples and Libyans, to the Theban Triad, who are in a shrine. There is evidence that Amon was carved alone, then Mut and Khonsu were added later.†

TEXTS

OVER AMON

¹Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of the Ennead: ²"Welcome in joy! For thou hast ³slain the Nine Bows and hast overthrown everyone who assailed thee. ⁴Thou hast cast down the hearts of the Asiatics,^{4a} for thou hast taken away ⁵the breath from^{5a} their nostrils. I am well content,^{5b} ^{6-7f}for my plans are perfected,^{7a} ⁸⁻⁹and that which issues from my mouth is appropriate."^{9a}

OVER MUT

¹⁰⁻¹¹Mut the Great,^{11a} Mistress of Ishru.

OVER KHONSU

¹²Khonsu-in-Thebes.

^{4a}Sic, determined with man with hand to mouth.

^{5a}The usual preposition after *nḥm* is *m-c* (or *m*; later *mdī* or *m-drt*). But when the thing taken away has not yet reached its destination, Late Egyptian may use *r*. Thus we find *nḥm . . . r* used at least 6 times with the word "breath" in dynasties 19-20.

^{5b}It is doubtful where the missing signs of *wnf* stood with relation to the extant traces.

^{7a}The upper det. of *šmnḥ* seems to have been recut more than once; the signs used probably included the *ḥpš*-leg and the *mnḥ*-chisel.

^{9a}Literally "prepared, made ready (for something)." All of the signs which now form ll. 8-9 were originally carved in l. 7, cutting across the area now occupied by Mut's crown and forehead. The rear post of the shrine stood immediately behind l. 7, coinciding almost exactly with the present l. 8 (see Pl. 53 C). When it was decided to add the figure of Mut behind Amon, the rear post of the shrine was abandoned, and the hieroglyphs below *šmnḥ* in l. 7 were deleted with plaster and recut in their present positions in ll. 8-9.

^{11a}It is possible to insert a *t* over the *wr*-bird's tail, but of course Medinet Habu usage would not demand it.

* Great Temple, exterior, north wall, scene west of the second pylon. Champollion, *Monuments III*, Pl. CCXXVI; Rosellini, *Monumenti storici*, Pl. CXXXIV; Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften II*, Pl. XLVII a; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments II*, Pl. LV 3-4.

† The photograph in Pl. 53 C gives some indication of these changes. (1) Amon sat alone in a shrine, the rear post of which ran down directly behind him. (2) Mut was added, standing behind Amon; see n. 9a above. (3) The back of the goddess Mut was moved forward slightly to make room for the figure of Khonsu. The evidence for these two alterations is more detailed than our summary suggests.

The shaded rectangles around the deities in our plate are plugholes contemporary with the scene. At least one of them (behind the final sign in l. 6) still contains a wooden plug. We have not always drawn such holes in other plates, but they are visible in the scenes of Pls. 11 (see Pl. 45 A), 13 (see 12 A), 26, 44, 101-2, etc. For a valuable discussion of this phenomenon see Ludwig Borchardt, *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten* (1933), pp. 1 ff. ("Metallbelag an Steinbauten").

BEFORE THE KING

¹³Words spoken by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon, in the presence of his father, Amon-Re, King of the Gods: "I went forth^{13a} that I might plunder the Nine Bows and slay ¹⁴all lands. Not a land stood firm before me, but I cut off their root.^{14a} I have returned in valor, my arms (laden) with ¹⁵captives, the leaders of every land, through the decrees^{15a} which issued from thy mouth. That which thou hast promised^{15b} has come to pass.^{15c} Thy mighty sword ¹⁶is mine, 'a reinforcement,^{16a} that I may overthrow^{16b} every one who assails me^{16c} and the lands may behold me (only) to tremble, for I am like Montu^{16d} before them. 'How prosperous^{16e} ¹⁷is he who relies upon thy counsels, O thou protector, possessor of a strong arm!"



OVER THE SEA PEOPLES

¹⁸Words spoken by the great fallen ones ¹⁹of Thekker,^{19a} who are in the grasp ²⁰of his majesty, in praise of this good god, ²¹the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon: "Great is thy strength,^{21a} ²²O mighty king, great Sun of Egypt!^{22a} Greater is thy sword ²³than a mountain of metal, while the awe of thee ²⁴is like (that of) Baal.^{24a} Give to us the breath, ²⁵that we may breathe it, the life, that ²⁶which^{26a} is in thy grasp forever!"




^{13a}Or "Thou sentest me forth." In either case the *k* is probably to be read before the royal figure, as in *iw.kwi*, l. 14.

^{14a}*ty.sn mnt* was corrected out of previous *t3 mnt*, "the root." For the spelling of the possessive adj. cf. Pl. 37:8.

^{15a}The dots (representing *u* or *u*?) under each *d* of the perfective passive participle *wdd* are unusual, perhaps unparalleled.

^{15b} was corrected to .


^{15c}The beetle was recarved, for no apparent reason except that someone disliked the first carving.

^{16a} here and in Pls. 46:14 and 101:22. The  represents the spoken *t* at the end of the word *nht*, in contrast to the silent *t* written at the end of feminines. We take it tentatively as "reinforcement" in these cases, as in Kadesh Record (Luxor 2, l. 7; Luxor 1, l. 13) and in Hittite Treaty, ll. 15 and 18. In Pl. 44:26 and in Zettel 1090 (epithets of the king: "plenteous of monuments in Thebes, , making the All-Lord satisfied with his benefactions") the word might be rendered "champion." "Help" or "helper" may fit all cases. See also Pap. Anastasi III v 4; Pap. Chester Beatty I vi 12.

^{16b}*h* with strokes inside, as in ll. 18-19 below and Pl. 28:49-50.

^{16c}The royal figure here seems to be a writing of the dependent pronoun 1st sing. *wi*. Cf. Pl. 13:1 and the references given in *AJSL* L (1933/34) 66.

^{16d}The  in *Mntw* was corrected out of .

^{16e}Reading , which may be fitted to the traces.

^{19a}With two *k*'s. In dress and headdress they are not distinguishable from the Peleset and Denyen on Pl. 44.

^{21a}Note the *status pronominalis*, as also in Pls. 31:3, 42:14. For the treatment of *phṭy* as a fem. noun in Medinet Habu cf. Pls. 42:2, 46:14, 80:9; similarly in Kadesh Poem, Karnak 1, l. 72.

^{22a}The inner curved line in the *km* sign may be a remnant of some previous erroneous sign.

^{24a}Or "Set."

^{26a}*nty* was corrected from  (the superfluous stroke being filled with plaster).

OVER THE LIBYANS

²⁷Words spoken by the fallen ones of Libya who are in the grasp of his majesty: "Breath, breath, O mighty king, Horus: Great of Kingship!"

HORIZONTAL LINE BELOW THE SCENE

²⁸All lands, the Fenkhu,^{28a} the circuit of the heavens, all mankind, all people, all the Hau-nebut, all folk are under the feet of this good god, whom all people praise, that they may live every day^{28b} for millions of millions (of years), according to the command of his father, Amon-Re, King of the Gods, forever and ever.

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT

²⁹Live the good god, skilled of laws, causing the Two Lands to live through his plans, valiant among many, driving back the Nine [Bows];^{29a} excellent lord, heroic king; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES BELOW THE SCENE

³⁰The Haunebut, Naharin, Tunip, Tenep, Lower Egypt, Pebekh, Katna, Isi, Menesen, the people of the western oases, the people of the eastern desert, the Tehenu, 'Segerekh,'¹ Yerteg.^{30a}

PLATE 44. RAMSES III PRESENTING CAPTIVES OF THE SEA
PEOPLES TO AMON AND MUT*


DESCRIPTION

Ramses III leads three lines of captive Sea Peoples to Amon and Mut. The god extends a sickle-sword toward the King.

TEXTS

BEFORE AMON

¹Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of Heaven: "Welcome in peace! For thou hast taken captive him who assailed thee and hast slain him who violated ²thy frontier. My sword was

^{28a}The present dets. of *Fnhw* were carved over three seated divine figures (or three  figures?). See Pl. 51 C.

^{28b}The horizontal sign before *r^c nb* is perhaps a misunderstanding of hieratic *n*. See *n r^c nb* in Pl. 28:57.

^{29a}"The Nine [Bows]" was corrected out of *nb pdt 9*, "Lord of the Nine Bows."

^{30a}This aimless list of names is apparently modeled after such a list as that in *LD* III 131. But some of the Nine Bows are carelessly mixed up with names from North Syria. The list shows the effects of inept copying and has little value.

The Haunebut, Lower Egypt, the peoples of the western oases and of the eastern desert, and the Tehenu belong to the Nine Bows. See Sethe, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefässscherben des Mittleren Reiches* (AAWB, 1926, No. 5) p. 26, and in *ZAS* LVI (1920) 51 ff. and LXIV (1929) 9 f. Tenep may be identical with Tunip. Pebekh and 'Segerekh', among other more familiar names, are localities in Syria; see Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* II (Le Caire, 1925) 37 and V (Le Caire, 1928) 67. Menesen is perhaps to be read Menes, the final *n* being an error for the country det.; see Gauthier, *ibid.* III (Le Caire, 1926) 37. Yerteg may be Altaku; see *ibid.* I (Le Caire, 1925) 98.

* Great Temple, interior, first court, west wall, south of great doorway. Champollion, *Monuments* IV (Paris, 1845) Pl. CCCXXXII (marked CCCXXXI bis and wrongly labeled "Rhamesséion"); Rosellini, *Monumenti storici*, Pl. CXLIV; *LD* III 211; *LD Text* III 174; de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* II, Pl. CXXIX (tops of lines 12 to 17 only); Wreszinski, *Atlas* II 120 (originally numbered 126; bottom register of captives only).

with thee, overthrowing for thee the lands. Thou hast cut ³off the heads of the Asiatics. I have granted thee that the awe of thee ⁴be great, and I cast down for thee every land, so that they regard thy majesty ⁵in terror, like my son Set when he rages. ⁶I cause them to regard thy majesty as a young bull standing upon the field of valor, when his onslaught has been effected; ⁷I cause them to regard thy majesty as a whirlwind when it issues forth, (as) a consuming flame when it has found the thick brush."

BEFORE MUT

⁸Words spoken by Mut the Great, Mistress of Heaven: ⁹"I put my arms as a protection about thee, ¹⁰while my heat is against thy enemies.^{10a} ¹¹I have given thee millions of jubilees, hundred-thousands of years, forever and ever."

BEFORE THE KING

¹²Words spoken by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon, in the presence of his father, Amon-Re, Ruler of the Ennead: "Great is thy strength, O Lord of the Gods! That which issues from thy mouth is effected without default,^{12a} since thou 'didst commission^{12b} me. Thy sword is mine as ^{13a}a shield, that I may slay the plains and hill-countries which violate my frontier.^{13a} Thou causest the awe of me to be great in the hearts of their chiefs, the terror of me^{13b} and the fear of me to be before them. I have carried away ¹⁴their runners, pinioned in my grasp, to present them to thy ka, O my august father! My strong arm has overthrown [those]^{14a} who came to 'exalt^{14b} themselves: the Peleset,^{14c} the ¹⁵Denyen, and the Shekelesh.^{15a} Thy strong arm^{15b} is that which is before me, over-



^{10a}The *f* of *hftyw* is recorded by Lepsius; probable traces of it are still visible.


^{12a}Literally "(the things) which come out of thy mouth, they happen, without their being neglected."

^{12b}*wd*? The traces do not suit any word which occurs to us. The first preserved sign might conceivably be *p*, among other possibilities.

^{13a}The sculptor added a superfluous *t*. This is probably not the initial consonant of the following word, since the cuneiform transliterations make it probable that the initial consonant of *dī* remained *d* until a period much later than the 20th dynasty; see H. Ranke, *Keilschriftliches Material zur altägyptischen Vokalisation* (AAWB, 1910, Anhang, Abh. 2) pp. 55 and 93. It is conceivable that the *t* is a misreading of hieratic *r*.

^{13b}*hry*, as in Pl. 46:29. If the familiar fem. noun *hryt* is meant, the omission of the *t* in two cases of the *status pronominalis* is striking. Cf. n. 15c below. A word written *hr(y)*, without final *t* but of fem. gender, occurs five times in *Sinuhe* (see Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, p. 48); an example of *hr(yt).k*, "thy terror," is in LD III 246 b (21st dynasty).

^{14a}After the *hps̄* sign read  [].

^{14b}See Pl. 16, n. 8b. Our plate should have  (but with two ticks instead of one). This was observed too late to insert in the drawing.

^{14c}Very cursive pl. strokes in the hieratic manuscript may have been misread as the two slanting strokes.

^{15a}Only 3 names here, but 5 names in Pl. 46:18. The 3 here may be conditioned by the fact that the King has 3 lines of captives.

^{15b}The det. of *hps̄* is the divine figure (not the royal, despite the flail). *hps̄* is treated as a personality and is given the divine det. elsewhere: Pap. Amherst ii 4; Edinburgh ostrakon No. 916 verso 2; Pap. Harris xxii 8.

throwing their seed.^{15c} How great is thy strength, O Lord of the Gods! For he who relies upon that which thou hast ordained ¹⁶possesses kingship, while everyone who walks upon thy way possesses peace. Thou art a lord strong of arm for him who bows the back to him;^{16a} a bull, sharp of horns, conscious of his strength. Thou art my august father, who created ¹⁷my beauty. Thou hast seen me, thou hast chosen me^{17a} to be Lord of the Nine Bows. Let thy hand be with me to slay him who attacks me, driving away all ills which are in my body!"

OVER THE TOP REGISTER OF CAPTIVES*

¹⁸Words spoken by the leaders of every country who are in the grasp ¹⁹of his majesty: "Great is thy strength, O mighty king, great^{19a} Sun ²⁰of Egypt! Greater is <thy> sword than a mountain of metal, while the awe of thee is like (that of) Baal.^{20a} ²¹Give to us the breath, that we may breathe ²²it, and life, that which is in thy hands!"

OVER THE MIDDLE REGISTER OF CAPTIVES

²³Words spoken by the fallen ones of Denyen: "Breath, breath, thou good ruler, great of strength like Montu in the midst of Thebes!"

OVER THE BOTTOM REGISTER OF CAPTIVES

²⁴Words spoken by the fallen ones of Peleset:^{24a} "Give us the breath for our nostrils, thou King, son of Amon!"

HORIZONTAL LINES AT THE BASE OF THE SCENE

²⁵Live the Horus: Mighty Bull, Great of Kingship; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Rich in Jubilees like Tatenen; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, beloved of Amon-Re, King of the Gods.

²⁶The King, excellent of monuments in Thebes, ¹the champion,^{126a} making content the All-Lord with his beneficences; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, beloved of Mut, Mistress of Heaven.

^{15c}Note the omission of the *t* of *pri*, even though in the *status pronominalis*.

^{16a}For the sense cf. Pl. 88:8; Pap. Leyden I 350 iii 21. The two flesh signs determining *i3t* are possibly a confusion arising from the hieratic writing *3ty* (*-**DT**), which has arisen through confusion with *iwt* (**AT**-). Or cf. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II (Leipzig, 1909) No. 178.

^{17a}The royal figure is apparently the dependent pronoun *wi*; cf. Pl. 43, n. 16c.

^{19a}The book roll was corrected out of a previous sky sign.

^{20a}Or "Set."

^{24a}In dress and headdress the captives of these three registers are not distinguishable from one another. See Pl. 43, n. 19a.

^{26a}See Pl. 43, n. 16a.

* This text and the corresponding text in the corresponding scene (Pl. 43:18-26) are perhaps drawn from the same manuscript and adapted to their scenes and space requirements.

PLATE 46. INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 8*

DESCRIPTION

This inscription bears the date "year 8" and concerns itself with the Northern War of Ramses III. Fortunately the section which is most directly historical is well preserved. The worn area at the left and the great hole at the right fall into the laudatory portions of the text, which are dispensable. In general the inscription is more intelligible to a modern reader than Ramses III's other epics of battle. It is divided into the usual three sections (laudatory introduction, highly rhetorical account of victory, and final paean) and may be analyzed as follows:

ll. 1-12: date and general praise of the King

ll. 12-38: speech of the King:

ll. 12-16: Ramses III as Amon's choice for the kingship and as the rescuer of Egypt from her woes

ll. 16-26: the Northern War:

ll. 16-18: the attack of the Northerners

ll. 18-23: Ramses prepared to meet the attack

ll. 23-26: the defeat of the Northerners

ll. 26-38: a recital of Ramses' benefits to Egypt.

TEXT

¹Year 8 under the majesty of the Horus: Mighty Bull, strong lion, mighty of arm, possessor of a strong arm, taking captive the Asiatics; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Rich in Strength like His Father Montu, destroying the Nine Bows, driven from their land; Horus of Gold: Divine when He Issued from the Womb, the son, ²excellent and legitimate, of Harakhte, the sovereign, the beneficent heir^{2a} of the gods, fashioning their images upon earth, doubling their offerings; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

The King, heroic lord, far-reaching of arm, taking away the breath ³from the countries by the heat of his body; great of glory, storming^{3a} when he sees^{3b} the fray, like Sekhmet storming at the time of her fury; the *maher*,^{3c} valiant at horsemanship, taking captives when afoot, swift as the 'shooting'^{3d} stars which are in the sky; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: User-

^{2a}The word *iw^cw*, "heir," has been confused with *iw^tt*, "inheritance." Erman has explained the writing of the two *ayin*'s in this and similar words as assimilation of the final *w* to the *ayin* (ZAS XLVI [1909-10] 96 ff.). See also Enno Littmann in ZAS XLVII (1910) 62 ff.

^{3a}The curious writing *nšntytw* occurs also in Pl. 70:3-4. It may be an over-generous writing of the *nisbe* form *nšnty*.

^{3b}See Pl. 28, n. 61b.



^{3c}The same word, as a detached epithet, is applied to the King in Pl. 94:9. It may mean either "warrior" (or the like) or "suckling"; see Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*. Series I. *Literary Texts* I 20*, n. 7; *Wb.* II 115 f.

^{3d}The stars *hr sšd* are here called *phrr*, "running, swift." In ZAS XLII (1905) 22 there is mentioned "the (star) Swift of Stride, *hr sšd*, encircling the earth in an instant." In Pl. 82:29 we read of the fleeing enemy "𐎃𐎔𐎕𐎗𐎕 was terrible in pursuit of them." LD III 256 a 2-3 (as copied for *Wb.*) is instructive: "Horus . . . visible in person in the chariot, like the six stars *hr sšd* in the morning among the

* Great Temple, interior, first court, west wall, north of great doorway. Greene, *Fouilles exécutées à Thèbes en 1855*, Pls. 1-3; shorter extracts in Brugsch, *Thesaurus* V 1207-10; Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie. Notices descriptives* I 348; LD Text III 175; F. Chabas, *Études sur l'antiquité historique* (2d ed.; Paris, 1873) pp. 260 ff.


mare-Meriamon; ⁴Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III; charging into the thick of the fray like one joyous. He looks upon 'millions'^{4a} of them as a (mere) 'trickle'.^{4b} The terror of him is great, as a flame as far as the ends of the earth; causing the Asiatics to turn back (by) fighting on the 'battlefield'.^{4c} As for the rebels 'who know not'^{4d} Egypt forever, they hear of ⁵his strength, coming with praise, trembling in their limbs at the (mere) mention of him, saluting with their hearts^{5a} for terror of him. 'They speak of [his] appearance';^{5b} they say to their people: "His form and his body are exactly equal to (those of) Baal."^{5c} Powerful^{5d} in a throng, without his equal, he ⁶smites millions, alone by himself. All lands are despised and insignificant before him. "He appears exactly^{6a} like the sun," it is said. The travelers and messengers

constellations." A verb *sšd* seems to mean "mount up," with a figurative use "spring (into a chariot)": ZAS XLIII (1906) 134; LD III 73 d; Mariette, *Karnak*, Pl. 35:63.






A noun (or participle?) *sšd* occurs in several contexts. In *Urk.* IV 615 and its later parallels we find: "I cause them to see thy majesty like , scattering its fire in a flame, as it gives off its smoke." In Pl. 83:42 is: "He sends arrow upon arrow like .

 Other references to the *sšd* stars in the Theban tombs (e.g. Zettel 590 and 1075) speak of them simply as a constellation in the heavens. See also JEA XVIII (1932) 8 and 162; ZAS LXIX 27, l. 5.

To the translation "shooting star" the chief objection is the reference cited above to "the six stars *hr sšd*." The verb may mean "leaping" or similar, with reference to some swift-moving constellation.



















^{4a}Possibly "two millions." Behind the *hh*-figure there are two clear strokes and indistinct traces at the right. Both cutting and grouping make us feel that  is improbable, although we have no satisfactory alternative. Cf. the difficulty in the parallel (Pl. 79:18).

^{4d}*dfdf* (cf. Pl. 79:18 and Pl. 27, n. 25e). The words *tftf*, *tftft*, *dfdf*, etc. all seem to be related.

^{4b}*hpk* may arise out of confusion of  and  (= *pg3*; cf. Pl. 37, n. 13a). In Marriage Stela A 25  is a variant of . In *Urk.* IV 654 the *pg3* is certainly the mouth of the Megiddo Pass. The  det. is used there; in the Marriage Stela citation above; in Pap. Anastasi I xxvi 9; in Amada Stela, l. 4; in *RT* XVIII (1896) 160; and in ZAS LXIX 27, l. 8. "Fighting at the *pg3*" is very common (e.g. in Pls. 37:12-13, 99:26). *pg3* may be the point at which the land "opens out" or "spreads out" to permit free action in battle.

^{4d}The word is in confusion, but apparently *hmw* is meant; cf. Pl. 29:33 and Pl. 102:12.

^{5a}The reading *nyny hn^c ib.sn* is certain and is paralleled in Pl. 83:49, but the meaning is obscure. *nyny* is not necessarily a greeting by libation (see Hermann Kees, *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs* [München, 1912] p. 225). Is the sense "saluting willingly, for terror of him"? See perhaps ZAS LXVI (1931) 35.

^{5b}Reading                   <

who behold him in Egypt are bowed and bent before him. They say daily: "Montu in his real form is he who is in Egypt! ^{7a}Ye shall not raise your heads,^{7a} for his arm is strong! Let us all go,^{7b} let us make him praise together, let [us] beg [him] for peace, beseeching breath for ourselves, for it is in his grasp; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III." (He is) beautiful when he appears as king, like the son of Isis, ⁸the avenger, eldest son of^{8a} Atum, sole lord, 'while he is gaily colored,^{18b} wearing the white crown, wearing the 'double crown',^{8c} beautiful of countenance when wearing the two plumes like Tatenen. His love and his beauty are like the majesty of Re, when [he ap]pears at dawn, beautiful when he sits upon the throne like Atum, after he has taken the regalia of Horus and Set. The two goddesses, the goddess of the south, and the goddess of the north^{8d} take ⁹their place upon his head, while his hands grasp the crook, holding (also) the flail;^{9a} a warrior, conscious of his strength, like the [son] of Nut. The awe of him is in the hearts of the Nine Bows. Supplies and provisions are abundant in his reign, as (in that of) his father, the Beautiful of Face, the Great Flood;^{9b} the beloved one as king, like Shu, the son of Re. ¹⁰When he appears, there is rejoicing for him as (for) the sun; potent, valiant [in] regulating the lands 'and [Egypt]'.^{10a} '[His] heart is [shrewd]!' like (that of) Thoth,^{10b} speaking and acting so that (things) come to

^{7a}As *f3i tp* is used in a hostile sense (*Wb.* I 573), we need a prohibition. Although *im* lacks the det. of the negative arms, there are parallels for such a writing: *Pyr.* §§ 579 *b* and 785 *c*; Gardiner and Peet, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* I (London, 1917) Pl. XXVI 90:4; Kadesh Poem, Luxor 2, l. 69. The construction was obsolete in the 20th dynasty (see Sethe, *Verbum* II §§ 1012–13).

^{7b}Or "Come all!" See *Wb.* II 35. The absence of the suffix after *dr* presents an interesting question of historical grammar. Coptic would write **THPN** with suffix (Georg Steindorff, *Koptische Grammatik* [2d ed.; Berlin, 1904] § 173). But Gard. § 100, Erman, *NA*² § 235, and Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1925) § 74, have only suffixes of the 3d person (sing. and pl.), while both Middle and Late Egyptian show examples without suffix (cf. Pap. Abbott v 18). *Wb.* materials show only three cases of *r-dr* with suffix of the 1st or 2d person: *Pyr.* § 273 *a*; *Zettel* 543 (Medinet Habu); *Zettel* 1688 (Theban Tombs). Note the archaistic use of *r* before *dr*; cf. Pl. 28, n. 72b.

^{8a}*nw* for *n* (see Pl. 14, n. 22a).

^{8b}Reading tentatively *ti sw n^{cc}*. For *ḥn* as an abbreviation of *n^{cc}* cf. Pap. Harris xiii *a* 2 with lxx *a* 4. *n^{cc}* is used of a god (Leyden Amon Hymn iii 20) or of a human (Maxims of Ani ii 15). See also Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus* I 207.

Another possibility is that we have here *tsw* as a defective writing of *tms*, "ruddy"; cf. *Pyr.* § 702 *b* with § 911 *a*; see also Brugsch, *Thesaurus* I 139, col. 13; *RT* XXXII (1910) 80.

^{8c}One expects the red crown here, but the traces on the wall suggest rather the double crown.

^{8d}Four goddesses are named: Nekhbet and Buto, *Šm^c.s* and *Mḥw.s*. The latter pair are the deified crowns (see Sethe in *ZAS* XLIV [1907–08] 20) and may or may not have been identified with Nekhbet and Buto in the author's mind.

^{9a}Arbitrarily we retain the old designations "crook" and "flail."

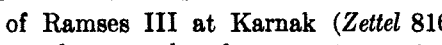
^{9b}Epithets of Ptah; cf. Pl. 28:75 and *Untersuch.* X 48.

^{10a}Reading *kn [hr] šhn t3w [Kmt]*. The *Kmt*, if present, was strangely crowded. Instead of *hr* it is possible to restore *[m] šhn*, "as regulator of."


^{10b}The reading *ḥn* *ḥn* *ḥn* *ḥn* fills the lacuna nicely. Cf. Pl. 27:22 and 30. *wh^c-ib* is an epithet of Thoth (Patrick Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt* [London etc., 1922] p. 184). The strong-arm det. is not an insuperable objection to the reading *wh^c*, as it occurs in the root meaning of the word. On *mhy* as an epithet of Thoth see Boylan, *op. cit.* p. 187.




pass^{10a} like (Ptah) South of His Wall; ready and excellent of laws; there is none like him; like Re when he began the world in kingship; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; ¹¹Son of Re: Ramses III; rich in monuments, abounding in monuments, great of wonders,^{11a} making the temples festive with ['food'] and provisions;^{11b} the son of Re in truth, who issued from his body, whom the eldest, the 'fa[ther]' of the gods, begot, whom he commissioned as a youth to be King of the Two Lands, to be ruler of all that the sun encircles; the great shield sheltering ¹²Egypt at his time, so that they sit under the shadow of his mighty arms;^{12a} causing the lands to say: "'Thy fame — — strong —^{12b} laid upon our land.'" ^{12c} King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III.

The King himself, he says: "Hearken to me, ¹³the entire land gathered together: the Court, the royal sons, the chamberlains [of] the palace, all the inhabitants of Egypt, the (military) classes,^{13a} and every youth who is in this land! Give your attention to my utterances,^{13b} that you may know my way of sustaining you, ¹⁴that you may learn of the strength of my august father, Amon-Kamephis, the creator of my beauty. His great and powerful sword is mine, as a 'reinforcement',^{14a} to make every land prostrate under my soles. He has assigned to me victory; his hand is with me, so that everyone who violates my frontier is slain in my grasp. He selects ¹⁵and finds in the midst of hundred-thousands, so that I am established upon his throne in peace. Egypt was a fugitive, she had no shepherd,^{15a} while they bore woes because


^{10a}*ddtw* is a participle; we attempt no explanation of the writing employed here. An unpublished text of Ramses III at Karnak (*Zettel* 816) runs , "I am he who speaks and acts, so that they come to pass immediately." See Sethe, *Verbum* II § 878; Gustave Lefebvre, *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres d'Amon, Romê-Roÿ et Amenhotep* (Paris, 1929) p. 8.

The sense would be that the King can create or bring to pass, like Ptah, merely by speaking and acting.

^{11a}Following *Zettel* 437 (Medinet Habu):  (similarly *Zettel* 410). Cf. also Marucchi, *Gli obelischi egiziani di Roma* (Roma, 1898) p. 93.

^{11b}We are left with a small horizontal lacuna, which  might fill, or , written small. As far as we can find, *k3w* is more likely than *hw*, which normally uses  at Medinet Habu.

^{12a}Similarly Pl. 79:14-15.





^{12b}We take the *dd* before *b3w* to be  introducing the quotation (see Erman, *NA*² § 428). After the lacuna comes a sign which must be *p*. To its right is a sign resembling the stone det. rather than *š*. We do not recognize the word.

^{12c}Or "upon their heads." It is uncertain whether the shaded sign is the land sign or horizontal *s*.

^{13a}*d3mw* as military or labor classes; cf. Pap. Kahun LV 1, l. 10, and I 3, l. 2; Newberry, *El Bersheh* I (London, 1893) Pls. XIV-XV; Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* IV (London, 1908) Pl. XCI; Pap. Harris lxxvi 5 and 8-9, xxvi 2; Piankhi Stela, l. 14. But with this double det. it may mean "generation."

^{13b}The det. of *tp-r3* is in error.

^{14a}See Pl. 43, n. 16a.

^{15a}"Egypt was, being fled," the old perfective. *n n.s mniw*, "she had no shepherd," is the construction of Gard. § 114:1.  is common for  at Medinet Habu. The reading  receives support from the fact that  is a hieratic writing when the noun is used absolutely (Gardiner in *ZAS* XLII [1905] 120 and n. 2). The herdsman hieroglyph does look odd on the wall, but there are many peculiar varieties of this sign under the Empire. On the conception of the pharaoh as the herdsman

of the Nine Bows;^{15b} but I encompassed it about and established it with my valiant arm. I appeared like Re as King in Egypt; I protected her,^{15c} ¹⁶driving out for her the Nine Bows.

"As for the foreign countries, they made a 'conspiracy' in their isles.^{16a} 'Removed' and scattered in the fray were the lands^{16b} at one time. No land could stand before their arms, from Hatti, Kode, Carchemish, *Yereth*, ¹⁷and *Yeres* on,^{17a} (but they were) cut off at ['one time'].^{17b} A camp ['was set up']^{17c} in one place in Amor. They^{17d} desolated its people, and its land was like that which has never come into being.^{17e} They were coming, while the flame was prepared before them, forward toward Egypt.^{17f}

"Their confederation^{17g} ¹⁸was the Peleset, Theker, Shekelesh, Denye<n>, and Weshesh, lands united. They laid their hands upon the lands^{18a} to the (very) circuit of the earth, their hearts confident and trusting: 'Our plans will succeed!'

of his people see Gardiner, *op. cit.* p. 121 and *The Library of A. Chester Beatty The Chester Beatty Papyri*, No. I, p. 41.

We have a picture of Egypt's distress, in order to make the rescuing valor of the King the more glorious. Cf. Pl. 27:21; Pap. Harris lxxv 3; *BAR* III § 577.

^{15b} *ꜥꜣd mdꜥ* also in Israel Stela, l. 17: "he who suffers because of any country." Cf. Erman, *NA*² § 624:3.

^{15c} *sw* is for Middle Egyptian *sy* or *st* (Erman, *NA*² § 91). Cf. l. 33 below, where the fem. noun *ꜥt*, "moment," is the antecedent of *sw*.

^{16a} This writing is a careless miscopying of *ꜥꜣꜥꜣ* | (see Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II 330; *Wb.* II 408). On *ꜥꜣꜣꜣ* see Pl. 16, n. 4a.

^{16b} On *tꜣy* see Pl. 16, n. 1a. The intrusion of the adverbial phrase *m sky* between the verbs and their subject is perhaps due to the compactness of the phrase *hꜣr m sky* (Gard. § 507:2). The Egyptian seems to demand "scattered where?" Cf. Pls. 27:33, 37:16-17; Athribis Stela, l. 12; Nauri Stela, l. 22; Pap. Harris xlix 4; etc.

The preserved surface between the lost first land sign and the extant two land signs is disproportionately great. Nevertheless the reading must have been *tꜣw*.

^{17a} *Yereth* is more probably Arzawa (Cilicia) than Arvad (Burchardt II, Nos. 123 and 125). The wall has *ꜥꜣ*, not *ꜥꜣꜣ*. *Yeres* may be equated with Alashiya (Cyprus?) (Burchardt II, No. 111). The migrating Sea Peoples moved southward through Asia Minor, spreading havoc in Anatolia, Cilicia, and Syria. A base was established in Amor (Coele-Syria?), the old center of hostility to the Egyptian Empire. Ramses III moved against them, meeting them perhaps at his frontier on the Phoenician and Palestinian coast (Zahi; see Pl. 31:12, also l. 19 below).

^{17b} Reading *m [sp wꜣ]*; but *m [bw wꜣ]*, "in one place, all together," is also possible.

^{17c} Possible traces of *ꜥꜣꜣꜣ* are visible, but far from certain.

^{17d} On this writing of the suffix pronoun see Pl. 26, n. 11a.

^{17e} *ꜥꜣm.f* with subject omitted. Cf. Tutenkhamon Stela, l. 7; Gard. § 201.

^{17f} The intrusion of a whole clause between "they were coming" and "forward to Egypt" is curious. We lack parallels for taking *ꜣw* as *r*, i.e., "They were coming toward the flame, prepared"

On *m-hꜣr*, "forward," see *Medinet Habu* III, Pl. 173:22; Pap. Anastasi I xxviii 4; Pap. Lansing x 2-3; Kadesh Poem, Karnak 1, ll. 29-30 = Pap. Sallier III iii 6. It is probably another Late Egyptian interchange of *m* and *n*.

^{17g} This word only here. Note that the entire confederacy, as we know it, is listed here and that the house det. suggests an inclosing, such as "community, league."

^{18a} Pl., not dual as in the previous copies.

"Now the heart of this god, the Lord of the Gods, ¹⁹was prepared, ready to ensnare them like birds. He made my strength to exist, while my plans succeed.^{19a} My —^{19b} goes forth, pouring out like a miracle. I organized^{19c} my frontier in Zahi, prepared before them, (to wit,)^{19d} the princes, the commanders of the garrisons,^{19e} ²⁰and the *Mariannu*.^{20a} I caused the Nile mouth to be prepared like a strong wall with warships, galleys, and coasters,^{20b} 'equipped,^{120c} for they were manned completely from bow to stern with valiant warriors, with their weapons; the militia^{20d} ²¹consisting of every picked man of Egypt, were like lions roar-

^{19a}Following l. 35 below. But *shrw.i hr hpr* may here be dependent on *di.f*.

^{19b}Obscure traces which look like the shoulder of the *ayin*-arm above and a stroke below. *mšc*, "army," would be too crowded. May we cf. the obscure Pl. 27:23?

^{19c}The round sign in *shnw* is not the *nw*-jar in form or color, although *nw* may have been intended. The color is blue or green.

^{19d}A curious construction, no matter what is done with it. One might take *wrw* . . . as object of *grg*, i.e., "preparing before them the princes" But the offense against Egyptian style would perhaps be somewhat greater here than in the case discussed in n. 16b above.

^{19e}The same juxtaposition of *wrw* (native tributary sheikhs) and *mrw-iw^c(y)t* (commanders of the garrison troops) occurs in Kadesh Record, Ramesseum, ll. 13-14, where both are responsible officers of the Egyptian frontier. In l. 17 a var. of *mrw-iw^c(y)t* is *mrw-h3swt*, "governors of foreign countries." The *mrw-iw^cyt* in Inscription of Mes, S 7, and in Pap. Anastasi III verso v 3 and 6, vi 2 and 9, bear good Egyptian names. On the word *iw^cyt* see Sethe in ZAS XLVII (1910) 78; F. Graf Calice in ZAS LII (1915) 116-18 (a reference which we owe to Spiegelberg); Brugsch, *Wörterbuch* VI (1881) 504 ff. On the present writing of the word see Erman in ZAS XLVI (1909-10) 102.

^{20a}The privileged warrior class of Asia; cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*. Series I. *Literary Texts* I 25*, n. 1; Burchardt II, No. 470; Albright in *Archiv für Orientforschung* VI (1930-31) 217-21.

^{20b}The dets. of these three classes of boats have been carefully studied and drawn. Our translations are somewhat arbitrary.

h^c(t) is a general word meaning ship, for transport, for travel, for fishing, etc.; used on the Nile (Pap. Harris lvii 6) or on the sea (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* III, Pl. LXXIV 1). The *h^c* might be commandeered to serve as a warship (*Urk.* IV 8:9; Piankhi Stela, *passim*). The phrase *h^cw h3w*, "fighting ships," occurs in a stela of Ramses II (Petrie, *Tanis* II 78, l. 15).

mnš is a ship used for cargo (e.g. Pap. Harris xlvi 6) or as a warship (*ibid.* vii 8) on the Nile (*ibid.* lvii 6) or on the sea (*ibid.* xlvi 6). The dets. used in Kadesh Poem, Karnak 1, l. 25 and variants, are instructive, showing that it is usually a cargo boat. See Kuentz, *Bataille de Qadech*, for detailed drawings of these.

br (pl. *bry* or *byr*) is the Greek *βάρης* (Herodotus II 96). It was used for travel (e.g. Wenamon, *passim*) or for cargo (Pap. Anastasi I xxi 2; Pap. Harris lxxvii 8-10) on the sea and on the Nile (Pap. Harris vii 8 and lxxvii 8-10; Pap. Anastasi I xxi 2; Pap. Anastasi IV iii 6 and vi 11; Wenamon i 19; etc.).

^{20c}*nsk* only here. Cf. perhaps *נשק*, "prepare," esp. with weapons. The confusion of *k* and *k* would be unusual but not unparalleled. Cf. Burchardt II, Nos. 926(=1019) and 984.

^{20d}The *mnfy*t here and in Pls. 27:23-24 and 82:18-19 are mentioned in addition to the chariotry, which was perhaps the more highly trained body. In Golénischeff Glossary iii 16 *mnfy*t stands between *mšc*, "infantry," and *nt-htr* "chariotry." In Marriage Stela A 39-40 *mnfy*t seems to be in contrast to *thr* ("mercenaries"? Cf. Pl. 28, n. 52b). The rendering "militia" is tentative.

ing^{21a} upon the mountain tops. The chariotry consisted of runners, of 'picked men',^{21b} of every good and capable chariot-warrior. Their horses were quivering in every part of their bodies, ready to crush ²²the countries under their hoofs. I was the valiant Montu, standing fast at their head, so that they might gaze upon^{22a} the capturings of my two hands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

"I am one who acts unrestrainedly, conscious of his strength, a hero, rescuing his army ²³on the day of the fray.

"As for those who reached my frontier, their seed is not, their^{23a} heart and their soul are finished forever and ever. As for those who came forward together on the sea, the full flame^{23b} was in front of them 'at' the Nile mouths,^{23c} while a stockade of lances surrounded them^{23d} ²⁴on the shore,^{24a} (so that they were) dragged (ashore), 'hemmed in',^{24b} prostrated on the

^{21a}See Pl. 27, n. 25a. Note that *hrr* has pl. strokes, although *m3i* does not.

^{21b}*3-tkm* is known also from Pap. Harris viii 10, in connection with a priesthood. Two possibilities fit both cases: (1) "picked men" or "trained men," (2) "cadets" or "apprentices."

The three designations of the chariotry may be general: "warriors, picked men, chariot-warriors," without specific application to their duties. The reliefs often show a man running beside the horses. Is this a function of the "runner"? But the latter is probably a more general term (cf. Pl. 26, n. 11b). From other sources the *sn* is thought to be the second man in the chariot, the man beside the *kḏn*, "chariot-driver," but the word may denote chariot-warriors in general (cf. Pl. 27, n. 25c).

^{22a}*nw hr* only here. It perhaps implies "look upon," i.e., "stare at," rather than "look at, behold." The King's army views his prowess in astonishment.

^{23a} $\overline{\text{---}}$ for *sn* shows that the *n* was no longer pronounced. Similarly Pl. 28:74. See Erman, *NA*² § 79.

^{23b}*h3wt* seems to be the same word as the verb in Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, Pl. 13:14: *t3 hwt m nsrt.s*, "the land burning up in its flame." Our instance uses the article *p3*, showing that the final *t* is a radical. The reduplicated form *hwtwt* is to be found in Pap. Ebers cii 1. This word is distinct from *h3w* of Pap. Harris xvii b 10 and xxxv a 3 = *h3y* of Berlin P 10631, l. 3 = the *h3* of Berlin Medica Pap. verso iii 11. This *h3* is probably the simplex of *hh*.

^{23c}*hr n r3-h3wt* seems corrupt. There are several possible emendations (e.g. $\overline{\text{---}}$ $\langle \overline{\text{---}} \rangle$ $\overline{\text{---}}$), but most of these emendations will leave the same general sense. We have taken the *n* tentatively as the pl. article *n3*, an abbreviation which occurs in Kadesh Record, Luxor 2, l. 16.

^{23d}*inh* with dative of disadvantage, as in Pls. 82:15-16, 83:43. The only other occurrence of the word *ssw* seems to be in Pl. 116:1, where the King is hunting wild asses, presumably in a corral.

On the nature of the *nîwi*-lance, note that it is a companion of the bow (Pl. 82:21; Kadesh Poem, Karnak 1, ll. 31 and 37); it is made of copper or bronze (Spiegelberg, *Correspondances du temps des rois-prêtres* (Paris, 1895) p. 20, Pap. B.N. 196 II, l. 9); it is called "the hand lance" (Pap. Anastasi III vii 2-3) and "the chariot lance" (Edinburgh ostrakon No. 916, l. 11) and "the Hittite lance" (Pap. Koller i 6). Anubis sharpens his *nîwi* and holds it as he hides behind the door to attack his brother Bata (Pap. d'Orbiney v 5). A text of the Medinet Habu Feast of Min (*Zettel* 22-23) runs: "The King went forth, the royal familiars before him, equipped with shields, *nîwiw*, sickle-swords, all the equipment of the bodyguard." The reliefs accompanying this text show the *nîwiw* as javelins or light lances.

^{24a}As it stands the word looks like *mr*, "ditch, canal," but *mryt* ($\overline{\text{---}}$ $\overline{\text{---}}$), "shore, quay," is written much like this in Late Egyptian (e.g. Wenamon i 13 and 22).

^{24b}*g3w*, with a superfluous *t*. The $\overline{\text{---}}$ det. of *g3w*, "be narrow," is represented in hieratic by $\overline{\text{---}}$, which easily becomes confused with hieratic $\overline{\text{---}}$. For *g3w* with $\overline{\text{---}}$ cf. Gardiner, *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, p. 56; Nauri Stela, l. 23. Instances of *g3w* with $\overline{\text{---}}$ are to be found in Pl. 86:19; Marriage Stela K 27; *RSO* XIII (1932) 321, l. 8 (var. of Pap. Anastasi I xxiv 6); and Pap. Leningrad 1116 A, l. 76 (cf.

beach, slain, and made into heaps from tail to head.^{24c} Their ships and their goods were as if fallen into the water.

"I made the lands turn back from mentioning Egypt; for when they pronounce my name in their land, then ²⁵they 'are' burned up. Since I have sat upon the throne of Harakhte and the Great Enchantress^{25a} was fixed upon my head like Re, I have not let the countries behold the frontier of Egypt, to boast thereof to the Nine Bows.^{25b} I have taken away their land, their frontiers being added to mine.^{25c} ²⁶Their chiefs and their tribespeople^{26a} are mine with praise,^{26b} for I am upon the ways of the plans of the All-Lord,^{26c} my august, divine father, the Lord of the Gods.

"Rejoice ye, Egypt, to the height of heaven, for I am the Ruler of the Two Lands upon the throne of Atum. The gods made me to be King ²⁷in Egypt, to strengthen^{27a} her, to repel for her the plains and hill-countries. They assigned to me the kingship, while I was a youth; and my times overflow [with 'food and provisions'].^{27b} There is given to me a strong arm because of my benefactions to the gods and goddesses^{27c} with a willing heart. I dispel your ²⁸woes which are in your hearts, and I make you sit confident,^{28a} without relapse. I overthrow the 'Asiatics' — — — —^{28b} their lands. 'They are ill'^{28c} as they recall my name daily: King of

the det. with that in l. 79). The instance from Marriage Stela (*g3wt*, "ravine") and the Leningrad instance (*g3wt*, "bundle") suggest that the word is from the root *g3w*, "be narrow." It should be noted also that the falling-wall det. is not inconsistent with the sense of inclosing, narrowing. In Medinet Habu it is used with the words *šry* and *dbi* (old *db3*), both meaning "block up" (Pl. 82:28 and 31).

Another possibility is that *g3wt* is connected with the verb *g33*, "capsize, overturn" (*Pyr.* § 662 *b*; *Untersuch.* X 124). We might then translate: "pulled (with the grappling hook) and capsized, laid out on the shore, (with their marines) slain; made heaps from stern to prow were their ships. Their goods were"

^{24c}Or "into heaps, heels over head"; cf. Pl. 19, n. 13c.

^{25a}Literally "the Great of Magic," here the uraeus serpent.

^{25b}For the abnormal word order cf. Gard. § 507:2, esp. the common idiom "he made as his monument for his father" One motive for the word order in our sentence is the sequence of suffix pronoun and noun.

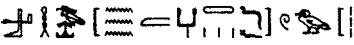
^{25c}See Erman, *NA*² § 179.

^{26a}Or "slave gangs"? Cf. Pl. 28, n. 40a.

^{26b}It is possible that some element dropped out in the transition from l. 25 to l. 26: "Their chiefs and their tribespeople <come> to me," or similar.

^{26c}Or "in the ways and the plans of the All-Lord." Note the incorrect det. of *nb-r-dr*.

^{27a}The verb *nht* (= var. *snht* of Ramses II) means "strengthen" in the Medinet Habu Blessing of Ptah (Pl. 106:23); similarly in Pls. 106:28, 83:54 and 58; Israel Stela, l. 17; Marriage Stela A 3; *LD* III 195 *a* 22; Mariette, *Abidos* I (Paris, 1869) Pl. 25; and Pap. Harris xi 2.

^{27b}About 4 squares lost, which  would fill. Probable traces of the end of the word *df3w* are visible.

^{27c}A noteworthy writing of the fem. pl. Cf. Lefebvre, *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres* . . . , No. 4:2.

^{28a}The second radical is lost on the wall. The det. rules out *hr*, while *hd* is excluded by the context. We read *hn.tw*. This is the Late Egyptian writing of the old perfective 2d pl. See Erman, *NA*² § 334.

^{28b}3 or 4 squares lost.

^{28c}See Spiegelberg in *ZAS* XLII 58 and Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus* I 282.

³⁵ A reversed γ used instead of the correct η .

their hearts: 'Whither shall we^{35b} (go)?' ['Their chiefs'] come — — — —, [their tribute and their children upon] their backs,^{35c} to Egypt.

"I am powerful and valiant, and my plans succeed. There cannot fail ³⁶that which I have done. My character is excellent in that I have clung to^{36a} this god, the father of the gods; — — — — — — — —^{36b} my '[fath]er'.^{36c} I am not unmindful of^{36d} his shrine, and my desire grows strong^{36e} to double the food offering^{36f} ³⁷in addition to what it was previously. My heart bears truth daily; my abhorrence^{37a} is deceitfulness. — — — —^{37b} 'which the gods make', who are satisfied with it.^{37c} Their hands are a shield for me, for my breast, to ³⁸drive away the evils and ills^{38a} which are in my body; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, of his body, his beloved, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, given life, stability, and satisfaction like Re, forever and ever."

HORIZONTAL LINES AT THE BASE OF THE PLATE*

Live the Horus: Mighty Bull, Great of Kingship; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Rich in Jubilees like Tatenen; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, beloved of Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands.

The King, making his house like the horizon of heaven, like the palace of Atum which is in the sky; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, beloved of Khonsu-Neferhotep.

^{35b}The *w* of *iw.n* may have been corrected out of a previous 3-bird. On the idiom see Pl. 28, n. 56a.

^{35c}The lacuna is nearly 10 squares long, much of which the proposed restoration would fill. At the beginning of the lacuna there is visible a human head, perhaps of the word *ur*, "chief." As far as we have noted the word *psd*, "back," is used only in this context in the historical texts of Medinet Habu (cf. Pls. 28:74, 79:12, 82:25, and 102:4-5). The words *m h̄ms*, "in humility," might fill the rest of the lacuna.

^{36a}*m h̄* *m* is more common at Medinet Habu; but cf. Pl. 26:13.

^{36b}About 8 squares lost, including a probable [𓂏] 𓂏 at the top; we recognize 𓂏 from the angle of the arm.

^{36c}Reading 𓂏 𓂏.

^{36d}*h̄m r*; cf. Blackman and Peet in *JEA* XI (1925) 287, n. 10.

^{36e}Note the use of *h̄r* with infinitive. *tnr* is used verbally in Pap. Anastasi I xxviii 4; Pap. Anastasi III iii 12 and iv 3; Lefebvre, *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres* . . . , Nos. 3:9, 16:9, 42:15.

^{36f}*h̄byt*, the festival offerings of food and supplies; cf. Pap. Harris lix 7. Ramses III uses this word in the introduction to the Medinet Habu Calendar (*Medinet Habu* III, Pl. 138:35-36). For the increase of feasts under Ramses III see *BAR* IV §§ 143-44.

^{37a}The det. of *bwt* seems to be a fish floating on its back: its eye is lower than its mouth. The later Egyptian interpretation of the det. may be that a dead fish is an abomination.

^{37b}About 3 squares lost.

^{37c}*st* for *s* (probably referring back to *m h̄t*); cf. Pl. 28:73.

^{38a}Restored after Pl. 44:17.

* These two lines form a pendant to the two horizontal lines below Pl. 44. The four make a unit, with Ramses III beloved of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, beloved of Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, beloved of Mut, Mistress of Heaven, and beloved of Khonsu-Neferhotep.

PLATE 62. RAMSES III AND HIS COURT ON PARADE*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III in his chariot, accompanied by Egyptian and foreign troops and Egyptian courtiers, sets out on the march as the bugle sounds. It cannot be shown that this march has any necessary connection with a military campaign, and the accompanying inscriptions are quite general. The doorway on the right has undergone considerable repair, and we show both stages in our drawing; see the photographs in Plate 66. Color details from this scene are shown in Plates 55 and 63-65.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹The King, beautiful at horsemanship like Montu, whenever he appears like Re for Egypt; the strong one,^{1a} ²possessor of a strong arm, repulsing the Nine Bows, for awe, dread, and fear are united^{2a} in his body. ³When he is seen storming like unto Baal, ⁴the lands burn up in their land for terror of him. ⁵The valiant bull, strong of arm, relying upon his horns, ⁶attacking the (very) mountains in pursuit of the one who assailed him;^{6a} the terrible warrior,^{6b} conscious of his strength, ⁷great of valiant arms, spanning the bow and sending the arrow to its place without fail.^{7a} ⁸His battle cry and his victory circulate in this land, while the Asiatics are 'with [down]cast head'^{8a} under his glory ⁹every day, led up, coming in humility, united all together, their arms outstretched in praise, ¹⁰bearing their tribute. It is the strength of thy father, ¹¹the Lord of the Gods, Amon, that set me^{11a} upon his throne forever.

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT

¹²The Horus: Mighty Bull, Great of Kingship; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Rich in Jubilees like Tatenen; Horus of Gold: Mighty of Years like Atum; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, beloved of Mut, Mistress of Heaven.

HORIZONTAL LINE AT THE BASE OF THE SCENE

Live the good god, the beautiful one who has eternity, the image which has eternity, the possessor of jubilees like his father Re, the beloved one like Min, King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Hekmare-Setepnamon (Ramses IV), the Son of Re.

^{1a}*phly* adjectivally. The wall suggests that the lost sign was the two slanting strokes rather than *t*.

^{2a}Read *sm*3. The hieroglyph shows yellow on the body and upper edge, which is correct in Medinet Habu. Note the curious writing of *sndt*.

^{6a}See Pl. 27, notes 32b-c.

^{6b}In the *h*3 sign the red hand gripping a green strap is painted across a black shield; the weapon is green. The handle of the *shm* sign was painted only, not carved.

^{7a}Read *wh.n.f*.

^{8a}Form and color show the sign after *m* to be *ṣ*. The state of the wall to the right of this makes *p* improbable. Tentatively we read *m tp hry*.

^{11a}Note the change of pronouns from 3d person in ll. 1-8 to 2d in l. 10 and 1st in l. 11.

* Great Temple, interior, first court, south wall. east end. Wreszinski, *Atlas* II 134.

PLATE 68. RAMSES III IN BATTLE WITH THE LIBYANS*

DESCRIPTION

Below, the Egyptian troops are completing the rout of the Libyans. Above, Ramses III has dismounted from his chariot to bind two Libyan captives.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹The good god, [great of]^{1a} victory, lord of strength, carrying off every land, encircling^{1b} all the lands ²of the Meshwesh to seek the transgressor^{2a} of his frontier,^{2b} entering into a throng^{2c} ³and slaying hundred-thousands. There is none who can stand before him,^{3a} for he is like Baal ⁴at the time of his raging, like a falcon among little birds and small fowl;^{4a} powerful ⁵at horsemanship, taking captives on his two feet;^{5a} he has laid hold upon the chiefs^{5b} ⁶with his two hands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

OVER THE CAPTIVES

⁷Foreigners whom his majesty carried off^{7a} ⁸as captives: 2,052; ⁹those slain in their places: 2,175.^{9a}

ABOVE THE CHARIOTEERS

¹⁰Charioteers and [shield]-bearers^{10a} ¹¹⁻¹²of his majesty who are in ¹³⁻¹⁴the retinue of the good god.

BEHIND THE VULTURE

Nekhbet, Mistress of Heaven; ¹⁵she gives all valor and all victory; ¹⁶she sets all the plains and all the hill-countries together under his soles.

OVER THE SPAN

¹⁷The great first span of his majesty, "Beloved of Amon," of the great stable <of>^{17a} Usermare-Meriamon.

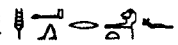
^{1a}In the correct location there is a possible trace of the head of the *wr*-bird.


^{1b}This form of the *phr* sign may involve recutting.

^{2a}The final *t* in *tkkt* is probably to be ignored.

^{2b}The word *t3š* formerly ended with two slanting strokes. One of these was later deleted with plaster.

^{2c}A *t* may be lost in the break under the lizard.

^{3a}The wall once read . The *r* was plastered out and *tw* was cut in its place. Another *r* was carved in front of the lion's head. For the construction see Gard. § 188:2.

^{4a}Apparently the same as  of Zettl 386 (Karnak) and *šfn*, "little birds," of Mariette, *Monuments divers* (Paris, 1889) Pl. 14:5.

^{5a}I.e., powerful in his chariot, also powerful afoot, as shown in the scene.

^{5b}The *r* under the *wr*-bird seems to have been added later. The det. of the word has been recut. It originally had a short kilt. This was lengthened to a full-length skirt, and a cape was added over the shoulders.

^{7a}*h3styw* has no pl. strokes; *inn* has three *n*'s.

^{9a}These two figures are given in greater detail in Pl. 75:16-27. The 2,052 includes women and children.

^{10a}A trace of blue from the initial *k* of *krw* is visible on the wall.

^{17a}A genitive *n* needs to be supplied here. Cf. the parallels (Pls. 16, 23, 77, etc.).

* Great Temple, exterior, first pylon, north tower, west face, lower register. Wressinski, *Atlas* II 140.

DESCRIPTION

TEXTS

OVER THE FORTRESSES†

ON THE RIGHT FORTRESS

ON THE LEFT FORTRESS

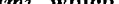

^{1B}The town "Haut-sha."^{1Ba}

BEFORE THE KING

^{1a}Possible traces of the \searrow det. Pl. 72 begins with . We read *p3 sm3*.

^{1b}On the two towns cf. the town in Pl. 22:1 and see Gardiner's article cited below, which locates them in the northwest corner of the Delta. The distance between the towns, eight iters, would be something like ten miles. Up-ta would be "Beginning of the Land," or similar. Haut-sha would be "House of Sand."

¹⁶The second w^c of $w^c w^c$ is lost in the break behind the first.

^{1Aa}Restoring  . The traces fit this restoration well except for the word *dmî*, which is possible.

^{1B*}This is farther from the King than the town Ramses. Does that mean farther west? The King would naturally drive the enemy back toward Libya. One would feel more certain of this if the corresponding text in Pl. 72 did not reverse the order of towns in the pursuit.

^{3a}*n*^c§. The back of the bird at the end of l. 2 is visible.

^{5a}The state of the wall makes it probable that ㊦ is lost under the horse rather than pl. strokes.

^{6a}High ground near the toe of the *b* makes *hdb* impossible. *hdb*, with the *d* near the top of the group, and *hdb* are possibilities.

⁷*amdn*, with the ear det. Here transitive? Or “the arms come to rest after sending the arrow”?

^{7b}*dyt* is perfective active participle; cf. Pl. 79:14. Instead of “where he [desires],” one may restore “to its [place].”

* Great Temple, exterior, north wall, lower register, scene just west of the first pylon. Wreszinski, *Atlas* II 141-41a.

† This text is the same in formula as that in Pl. 72. The order of the two towns is reversed, and the King's nomen is used here instead of the prenomen. In general we follow Gardiner's restorations in *JEA* V (1918) 134 f.

lion;^{9a} hero, repelling the Nine Bows;^{9b} one fears and is afraid ¹⁰at his 'roaring'^{10a} the sole lord, protecting Egypt, ¹¹devastating him who attacks him;^{11a} 'hindering'^{11b} the going ¹²of the lands to injure him.

OVER THE SPAN

The great first span of his majesty, "Victory in Thebes."

PLATE 72. RAMSES III PURSUING THE FLEEING LIBYANS*
DESCRIPTION

Ramses III in his chariot, accompanied by Egyptian and foreign troops and Egyptian officials, charges the fleeing Libyans. The incident is probably the same as that depicted in Plate 70.

TEXTS

OVER THE BATTLE†

¹The 'sl[laughter which his majesty made among the foe of the land of Meshwesh, who had co]me' to Egypt; beginning from the town "Haut-sha" to the town of "Usermare-Meriamon," which is upon the mountain of Up-ta, making eight iters of carnage^{1a} among them.

BESIDE THE MESHWESH CHIEF

²The chief Meshesher,^{2a} son of Keper, of Me—. ^{2b}

OVER THE SPAN

[The great first] span of [his] majesty, "Repelling the Nine Bows," of [the great stable of Usermare-Meriamon, of] the Court.

OVER THE FALCON

He of Behdet, the great god, the lord of heaven; he gives all health, all joy, all valor, and every foreign country gathered under thy soles.

VERTICAL LINE AT THE RIGHT

This line probably belongs to the inscription on Plate 79; it is translated there.

^{9a}The lion has been systematically hacked out, but the course of its body is clear.

^{9b}*dr pꜣt 9* was first carved without the strong arm. The bow was then moved down to make room for it.

^{10a}*nꜥd* is used of a griffon in Pl. 82:20. Probably the same word occurs on Cairo Statue 42155, l. 3 (cf. *REA* I [1927] 139), where we may read "I did not 'bellow out my order' in his presence" or emend *wꜥ* to *mdw* and read "I did not 'raise my voice' in his presence."

^{11a}*ꜥkk sw*.

^{11b}With diffidence we propose to restore *shnꜥn*, "hold back," causative of *hnꜥn*. The second sign is probably *h* rather than *nꜥm*; the final det. is probably the walking legs. The chief difficulty lies in the odd grouping of signs which this restoration would demand.

^{1a}*wꜥ* recut to *wꜥwꜥ*.

^{2a}The first *ꜥ3* sign is inexplicably filled with plaster. This looks like a correction. Cf. Pl. 75:29, where the name is written with only one *ꜥ3*. But our case shows no traces of any element to take the place of the *ꜥ3*.

^{2b}Is this the later abbreviation of Meshwesh, with [*ꜥwꜥ*] in a third line beside the chief's body? It looks rather like an unfinished inscription.

* Great Temple, interior, first court, east wall, lower register, south of great gateway. Wreszinski, *Atlas* II 136-38.

† See Pl. 70, notes † and 1a-b.

PLATE 73. RAMSES III CARRYING OFF CAPTIVE LIBYAN CHIEFS*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III steps into his chariot, dragging behind him the two Libyan captives whom he bound in the scene on Plate 68.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹The good god, swift-running^{1a} lion, mighty bull, seizing upon [his] assailant, [returning]¹ in^{1b} ²valor when his conquest is achieved, for he has cast down the hearts of the Meshwesh, ³and their heroes are slain in [his] grasp or are ⁴pinioned before his horses. The oppressive dread of him ⁵imbues^{5a} their bodies; the fear of him enters into their limbs. ⁶Amon-Re is with him against them to cast them down, prostrate ⁷to his prowess; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; may he make "given-life"^{7a}

ABOVE THE CAPTIVES

⁸Words spoken by the chiefs of all countries, who are in ⁹[the grasp of his majesty]:^{9a}
^{9b}

PLATE 74. RAMSES III CELEBRATING HIS VICTORY
OVER THE LIBYANS†

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III reviews three lines of prisoners led up by Egyptian officers. The Crown Prince transmits the King's speech to the enemy.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹[The King himself says to the Crown Pri]nce¹,^{1a} Royal Scribe, Chief Commander of the Army, and Royal Son:^{1b} ²"Say to the fallen one of Meshwesh: 'Behold ³'now',^{3a} thy name is desolated forever and ever. Thy mouth ceases to boast ⁴at the memory of Egypt. It was the strength of my father, the Lord of the Gods, that gave to me his dread in order to destroy thee.' "

^{1a}Our drawing shows the earlier carving of *phrr*. Later the *h* was shortened with plaster and the first *r* was extended to the left, to set the signs into the proper order.

^{1b}Reading *th* [— Δ 𓂏] *hr*; cf. Pl. 79:12-13. If [𓂏 𓂏] is used after *th*, there can be no *iw*. Note the unusual division of *hr* here and of *sn* between ll. 5 and 6.

^{5a}Note the *t* after *3bh*. Cf. Pl. 78, notes 10a-b, and Pl. 82, n. 29b. There is no trace of alteration here.

^{7a}After Gard. § 378.

^{9a}Restoring *hfc n hm.f*.

^{9b}Just under the hypothetical *hm.f* there are two obscure traces, apparently neither *iml*, "give!" nor *ḫw*, "breath." At the end of the line is either *nb* or *k*; above this is a horizontal sign with traces of red paint ('*ayin*, horizontal *s*, or book roll, but not the land sign). At least one more line of inscription has been lost following this.

^{1a}Restoring [𓂏] 𓂏 [𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏]. Cf. Pls. 29:29, 91:1.

^{1b}Space was left below for the insertion of the prince's name, if desired.

^{3a}The second eye following *ptr* is perhaps to be corrected to *r*, to make the particle *rf*.

* Great Temple, exterior, north wall, lower register, between pylons. Wreszinski, *Atlas* II 141 a.

† Great Temple, exterior, north wall, lower register, between pylons. Wreszinski, *Atlas* II 142. The scene is paralleled by a scene in the Ramses III temple near the Temple of Mut in Karnak (*ibid.* II 62 b; Müller, *Egyptological Researches* II [Washington, D.C., 1910] Pl. 40; *OIP* XXXV, Pl. 118).

BEFORE THE PRINCE

⁵"Behold, Pharaoh, L.P.H., has desolated [thy] name unto ⁶eternity. Thy mouth ceases to boast at^{6a} the memory ⁷of Egypt."

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT

⁸Horus, abundant^{8a} in valor, rich in victory, great protector^{8b} of Egypt, repelling the 'Bows'^{1,8c} King of Upper and Lower Egypt, ruler of joy, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, given life.

PLATE 75. RAMSES III REVIEWING LIBYAN PRISONERS AND SPOIL*

DESCRIPTION

The Crown Prince and the two viziers present to Ramses III the captives and booty of the Second Libyan War. The King stands in a rostrum and is attended by his officials. Scribes record the numbers in a pile of hands and a pile of phalli. Egyptian officers lead up the prisoners, some of whom carry the spoil captured from them.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING†

¹Spoken by his majesty to the Crown Prince and the two viziers:^{1a} "See ye the ²many benefactions which Amon-Re, the King of the Gods, performed for Pharaoh, L.P.H., [his] child, for he put the chief of the <Me>sh[wesh]^{2a} into my hand, together with his infantry and ³his chariotry, his goods and his herds. They were captured and brought to Egypt, (where) I slew them in the completion [of an instant].^{3a} Behold, ⁴Pharaoh, L.P.H., has made them into booty in his own writing."

OVER THE OFFICIALS‡

⁵Words spoken by the Crown Prince and the two viziers, who are in the presence of his majesty, in praise of ⁶this^{6a} good god, the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon:^{6b}

^{6a}The Prince is here taking the liberty of using *r*, whereas his father used *m* in l. 4 (as also the Karnak parallel).

^{8a}The present pl. strokes in 'šš are cut over an earlier \.

^{8b}The *w* of *nḥw* is a later insertion.

^{8c}Reading *pdwt*, written with three bows. This line is paralleled by Pls. 88:16, 93:18.

^{1a}The det. of "vizier" here and in l. 5 seems to show the arms held across the breast (cf. det. of "Keeper" in Pl. 82:23). Flesh-red shows that the upper part is to be interpreted as arms and not as a cape, for it contrasts with the vizier's yellow garment, which begins immediately below these arms.

^{2a}The first radical of "Meshwesh" was never carved.

^{3a}*m km* [n] š[ē]. The š and sun disk of š are visible.

^{6a}The writing *pt* for *pn* is an interesting comment on the pronunciation of the liaison *pn-nfr*. Cf. the writing *p-nfr* of Pl. 79:16.

^{6b}Like the King's speech, the reply of the courtiers is standardized (cf. Pls. 22:13-16, 23:3, 42:14, 96:13-22, all in scenes of review after battle).

* Great Temple, interior, first court, east wall, lower register, north of great gateway. Published in part, with faulty restorations, by Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften* I (Leipzig, 1867) Pls. XXVI-XXVII. After this plate had been prepared, our expedition discovered fragments duplicating this scene in the Ramses III temple near the Temple of Mut at Karnak (OIP XXXV, Pl. 123). They are discussed below in the treatment of the text. For a further parallel see note ‡ below.

† This text begins with the standard words of review after battle (cf. Pls. 22:2-4, 42:1-2).

‡ Cf. Br. Mus. Ostrakon 5620 (*Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character from the Collections of the British Museum* [London, 1868] Pl. I = Jean Capart, *Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien* I [Paris, 1927] Pl. 71 = OIP XXXV, Pl. 122 F-G). This ostrakon is either copied from our scene and text or has the same ancestor.

"Thou art Re, as thou risest like unto him. ⁷When thou appearest, mankind lives. Thy arm is powerful, overthrowing ⁸the Nine Bows. Glad is the heart of Egypt in the possession of victory. The strength of Montu ⁹imbues thy body. Thy counsels ¹⁰are excellent; thy plans come to achievement. Amon has found for himself ¹¹[a child to]^{11a} make firm the throne of Egypt; ¹²[thou art] his [son],^{12a} whom his heart loves, the ruler excellent in monuments ¹³[in] Southern [Heliopolis].^{13a} He has given thee the rule which he made, ¹⁴[while the] Great [Circuit]^{14a} and the Great Circle are under thy soles."

ABOVE THE SCENE

¹⁵Total of hands: 2,175.^{15a}

¹⁶The plunder which the mighty sword ¹⁷of Pharaoh, L.P.H., carried off from the fallen ones of Meshwesh:

¹⁸ chief of the Meshwesh ^{18a}	¹⁹ 1 man
great ones ^{19a} of the enemy	3[¹ +2=5] men ^{19b}
— ^{19c}	5 men
²⁰ Meshwesh	1,100[¹ +100=1,200] men ^{20a}
youths ^{20b}	²¹ 152
boys	131
Total	1,494 ^{21a}
²² their wives	342 women
maidens	65
²³ girls	151

The total which the mighty sword ²⁴of Pharaoh, L.P.H.,^{24a} carried off as captives:

²⁵various individuals 2,052^{25a}

^{11a}[šrī r], after Pl. 96:19. The Mut temple parallel shows traces confirming this.

^{12a}[ntk s3].f, after Br. Mus. Ostrakon 5620, l. 9.

^{13a}[m 'Iwnw] Šm^c (Hermonthis), after the ostracon.

^{14a}[Šn] wr (Okeanos), after the ostracon. Note the curious writing of *phr* below.

^{15a}This number checks with the total of the slain in ll. 26–27. The hieroglyphs *pw* of the word *kpw*, which are now lost, were recorded by Duemichen and Sethe (for *Wb*.).

^{18a}In l. 29 Mesher is designated as the *wr*.

^{19a}In l. 40 Keper, the father of Mesher, is designated as an 3. Perhaps "elder"?

^{19b}The spacing suggests 2 additional strokes, to make a total of 5.

^{19c}Here is needed some further high title, crowded into a quarter-square and determined with a stroke and a bowing foreigner. Possibly *ts* or *hry*?

^{20a}The spacing suggests another 100, to make a total of 1,200.

^{20b}The *mnh* is a young man between boyhood and maturity. He is old enough to take a wife and set up his own house (Maxims of Ani vii 1–3). The *šrī*, "boy," might be a soldier's servant, while the *mnh* might be the cadet soldier (Pap. Anastasi II vii 3–4 = Pap. Sallier I vii 1), and the man was the full-fledged soldier (Pap. Anastasi V x 5–6 = Pap. Sallier I iii 7). In Golénischeff Glossary iv 10–11 *mnh* stands in the same relation to *s*, "man," that *nfrt*, "maiden," does to *st*, "woman." On *nfrt* see also Pap. Westcar v 3 and 9.

^{21a}The total is correct if we may add the 100 and the 2 which are paleographically possible.

^{24a}The vertical *s* was never completely carved.

^{25a}This is the correct total of 1,494 men and 558 women. It checks with the total of captives given in Pl. 68:8. Either Ramses III did not bother about all the women, or this was only a partial migration. The proportion of mature men to mature women is about 7:2.

²⁶Meshwesh whom his majesty slew ²⁷in their places: 2,175 men.^{27a} Their goods, their herds, —^{27b} — 129 +, ^{27c}swords of 4^{27d} cubits: 116; swords of 3 cubits: 123; ^{27e}bows: 603; chariots: 92; ^{27f} ^{28f} —, ^{28a} quivers: 2,310; ^{28b} 'chariot-poles': ^{28c} 92; spans of the Meshwesh^{28d} {and asses}: ^{28e} 184.^{28f}

BEFORE THE LIBYAN CHIEF

²⁹The Chief of the Meshwesh, Mesher,^{29a} son of Keper.

BEFORE AN EGYPTIAN

³⁰"Amon is the god who decreed the protection to the ruler who carries off every [land]!"^{30a}

BEFORE AN EGYPTIAN



³¹" — the protection to the ruler — " ^{31a}

^{27a}This number checks with the count of hands and phalli (ll. 15, 32) and with the slain as given in Pl. 68:9.

^{27b}Traces of a word which probably begins the enumeration of the captured goods (*kt*, "drinking vessel"?). A long lacuna follows.

^{27c}The lacuna ends with 5 strokes. The left two are perhaps traces of hieroglyphs. The right three, taller than the numerals to their right, are pl. strokes. Then follows the number 129, which, from its spacing, may have been 139.


^{27d}Originally 5; then the right stroke (represented in our plate by light shading) was plastered out.

^{27e}So, and not 124. Under the following  a stroke has been plastered out (represented by light shading on our plate). Thus the tall stroke under the tip of the  is a pl. stroke for what follows, not a number. The length of these swords, 2.09 meters (6'10") and 1.57 meters (5'2") respectively, is almost incredible. They are depicted at the top of this scene and in use in Pls. 68, 70, 72. The longest sword described by Burchardt in ZAS L (1912) 61–63 was 71.5 cm.

^{27f}So, and not 93. The number 92 checks with numbers in l. 28 (see notes 28c and 28f) and l. 37 (n. 37n).


^{28a}It is possible that the word "quivers" begins l. 28 and that there is no lacuna. We see no traces to the left of *ispt*. The last word preceding was "chariots." Here we have "quivers, chariot-poles, spans." Little, if anything, would intervene, as the quiver belonged intimately to the chariot (Pap. Koller i 4).

^{28b}A very large number of quivers, about 25 per chariot, nearly 4 per bow. Of course Libyan foot soldiers also carried quivers. The Libyan bows were short and light.

^{28c}We disregard the first  and read the word as *c*, the pole of the chariot, which was treated as an entity separate from the chariot (Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*. Series I. *Literary Texts* I 28*, n. 6). The number 92 checks with the numbers of chariots and spans.

^{28d}The sculptor inadvertently cut *nw* for *w*3.

^{28e}The number of *htr* (184) checks with that of the chariots (92) and with the total given in l. 37. The *htr* are counted as individual horses, even though considered as spans. In l. 37 the asses are given as 864, the horses as 184. We assume that the manuscript is in confusion in the present place, asses being inserted where they do not belong.

^{28f}184 is certain. An apparent 5th stroke on the wall is only a break. The Mut temple parallel shows the end of a line as , which may be this number. Its location is uncertain.

^{29a}Written with only one *š*.

^{30a}See Pl. 23, n. 2a.

^{31a}The same formula as that in l. 30.

OVER THE LOWER REGISTER OF THE SCENE

³²Total of phalli: 2,175.^{32a} ³³Animals which the mighty sword ³⁴of Pharaoh, L.P.H., carried off [from] the fallen ones of Meshwesh, ³⁵which were made into the herds^{36a} which his majesty established ³⁶anew [for] his father Amon-Re, King of the Gods:

³⁷ bulls ^{37a}	105
longhorns	122
bullocks	64[+11 = 75] ^{37b}
yearlings ^{37c}	91
calves	61
cows	420
heifers	122
yearlings (female)	151[+1 = 152] ^{37d}
calves (female)	161
Total of the cattle	1,309 ^{37e}
asses	254[+210 = 464] ^{37f}
[^{37g} goats] ^{37g}	2,316[+1,120 = 3,436] ^{37h}
sheep ³⁷ⁱ	23,128
Total of the various animals	[28,337] ^{37j}

^{32a}This number checks with the total of the slain (l. 27).

^{35a}On these herds see Pap. Harris x 7-11 and Gardiner in *JEA* V (1918) 257 f.

^{37a}The final *t* is obviously to be ignored here and in the first *bhs*.

^{37b}The spacing demands the number 75.

^{37c}There is an obvious parallelism here of the cattle, comparable to the parallelism of the humans in ll. 20-23 above, with the two sexes listed separately in order of seniority:

<i>k3</i> and <i>ng3</i> . . . <i>hmt</i> (the mature animals)	<i>d</i> <i>dt</i>
<i>hrs</i> <i>hrst</i>	<i>bhs</i> <i>bhst</i>

The *hr-s3* is mentioned in *Pyr.* § 1544 and Pap. Harris xx a 7. The pun in the Pyramid Texts citation might be interpreted as showing that *hr-s3* means "later, elder (animal)," no longer a calf. The depictions in the tomb of Rekhmire (Newberry, *The Life of Rekhmara* [Westminster, 1900] Pls. V-VI) are illuminating, showing us the *ng3* (longhorn) and the *wn-dw* (dehorned) as mature animals, the *hr-s3* not so large, but larger than the *dt*. They are corroborated by Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, Pl. XVI 14, which gives the order as follows: (*ng3*, *hr-s3*, *dt*. Newberry's "two-year-olds" for *hr-s3* and "yearlings" for *dt* are plausible. The order of animals in our text makes the sequence certain.

We should point out a curious consistency of numbers: the proportion of cows to bulls is exactly 4:1; the longhorns and heifers are the same in number; the 91 male yearlings plus the 61 male calves equal the 152 female yearlings; there are exactly 100 more female calves than male. We do not know the significance of these figures.

^{37d}The spacing demands the number 152.

^{37e}The correct total, after the two necessary restorations are made. See n. 37k below.

^{37f}Probably 464; 364 is also possible.

^{37g}The end of l. 37 shows *nh*, "goat," between *3*, "ass," and *siwt*, "sheep." The same is probably true here. The base of the *nh* sign is visible. The next sign slopes and bears red color; it looks like the phallus, but it may be the leaping goat.

^{37h}The added 1,120 might possibly be permitted by the space, bringing us the necessary total; see n. 37k below. Epigraphically one would prefer to add 1,110.

³⁷ⁱOld *sr*, Coptic *ECOY*, spelled *st* as early as *Pyr.* § 252. The total of sheep is corroborated by the Mut temple parallel, after one changes four units to two tens: $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{I} & \text{I} & \text{I} & \text{I} & \text{I} & \text{I} & \text{I} \\ \text{I} & \text{I} & \text{I} & \text{I} & \text{I} & \text{I} & \text{I} \end{array}$.

^{37j}The apparent total of cattle, asses, goats, and sheep here given is 28,337. This figure is subject to some doubt. The Mut temple parallel gives 28,336 very clearly. Admitting the force of this unquestion-

..... ^{37k}	
[¹ goats] ³⁷¹	5,700
sheep	5,800

Total of the animals which were brought with^{37m} them:

cattle	3,609
horses	184 ³⁷ⁿ
asses	864 ^{37o}
goats	9,136 ^{37p}
sheep	³⁸ 223 [¹ +28,705 = 28,928] ^{38a}

Total of the animals which the mighty sword of
Pharaoh[, L.P.H.,] carried off [¹42,721]^{38b}

BEFORE AN EGYPTIAN

³⁹“Amon is the god who decreed the protection to the ruler!”^{39a}


BEFORE A LIBYAN

⁴⁰The great one of the fallen ones of Meshwesh, Kep[er].^{40a}

BEFORE AN EGYPTIAN


⁴¹“Amon is the [god] who decreed the protection to the ruler who carries off every land!”^{41a}


able figure where we have a lacuna, we prefer to hold to our reconstruction of the text as shown in n. 37k below. The var. from the Mut temple at least shows that our figures are not far from the correct totals.

^{37k}The Mut temple var. gives “total of various animals: 28,336,” and there follows immediately , “animals [¹brought [with them]],” to begin the lacuna on the present plate. It will be noted that the two figures following our lacuna are round numbers. Following this as a principle we restore in the lacuna “cattle: 2,300; asses: 400.” This gives us the following table:

	CATTLE	HORSES	ASSES	GOATS	SHEEP	TOTALS
Given in l. 28		184				184
The herds of Amon	1,309		¹ 464 ¹	¹ 3,436 ¹	23,128	[¹ 28,337 ¹]
Additional here	[¹ 2,300 ¹]		[¹ 400 ¹]	5,700	5,800	[¹ 14,200 ¹]
Totals	3,609	184	864	9,136	¹ 28,928 ¹	[¹ 42,721 ¹]

Difficulties in the various figures have already been indicated, but we believe the table not far wrong. Amon thus receives 3/8 of the cattle, none of the horses, 5/9 of the asses, 3/8 of the goats, 4/5 of the sheep (perhaps more sacred to him), and 2/3 of all the animals. Presumably the rest went to the King.

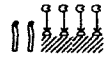
³⁷¹Reading .

^{37m}Read .

³⁷ⁿThis number checks with that in l. 28.

^{37o}Mut temple var. 854.

^{37p}So also the Mut temple parallel.

^{38a}This 28,928 is the sum of two figures for sheep, both perfectly clear. Mut temple gives  24,400+.

^{38b}The assumed grand total of 42,721 rests on four perfectly clear totals plus the total of sheep discussed in n. 38a. We cannot claim definiteness for our figure, but the margin of error seems to be no more than 10 or 11.

^{39a}See Pl. 23, n. 2a.

^{40a}See n. 19a above. On the presence of this man at the review see Pl. 86:26 ff.

^{41a}The curious carving of the *ini* sign may involve some correction, but this is not clear. On the whole line see Pl. 23, n. 2a.

PLATE 77. RAMSES III RETURNING IN TRIUMPH FROM
A LIBYAN CAMPAIGN*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III in his chariot drives before him two lines of Libyan captives. The King is greeted by priests, who hold formal bouquets.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹Live the good god, abundant in valor, possessor of a strong arm, relying ²upon his own strength, scornful of ³a million, contemptuous of a great many, ⁴weighty of courage, charging into hundred-thousands; ⁵returning with joy in ⁶victory, when his success is achieved among the Nine Bows. ⁷The transgressor of his boundary is slain ⁸⁻¹⁰before him as the plunder of his hand alone for ¹¹⁻¹²his august father Amon-Re, him who ¹³put every land under his feet for him; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the hero, ¹⁴Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Dia[dems]: Ramses III.

BY THE PRIESTS

¹⁵Words spoken by the prophets ———: “[Welcome in peace, thou]! ^{15a} good god, for thou hast slain the Tehenu! ^{15b} May thy father Amon receive thee; may he reward ^{15c} [thee] with valor and victory; may he give thee the kingship of Re forever ¹⁶and the jubilees of Tatenen. ^{16a} ¹⁷Thou art his son, for thou camest forth from ¹⁸him. He assigned the Two Lands to thee, and he gave thee ¹⁹every [land] in thy grasp, like thy father ²⁰Montu, ^{20a} O Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon!”

OVER THE UPPER REGISTER OF CAPTIVES

²¹Words spoken by the leaders of the ²²land of Meshwesh, ²³who are pinioned before ²⁴his majesty: “Great is thy strength, ²⁵O mighty king, sun of Egypt! ²⁶Thou art like unto thy ²⁷august father Amon, the Lord of the Gods. Mayest thou give to us ²⁸the breath which thou givest, which is in ²⁹the grasp of thy majesty, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, ³⁰Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon, given life!”

OVER THE LOWER REGISTER OF CAPTIVES

³¹Words spoken by the fallen ones ^{31a} of Meshwesh, who are before his majesty: “Breath, breath, thou goodly ruler, beautiful as King of the Two Lands!”

OVER THE SPAN

The great first span of his majesty, “Amon Is Valiant,” of the great stable of Usermare-Meriamon, of the Court.

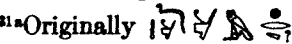
^{15a}*ii.ti m htp, p3* (cf. Pl. 98:10) is probably insufficient to fill the gap. But we are not justified in restoring *srw*, “officials,” after Pl. 98, as the composition of the welcoming Egyptians in the two scenes is not the same.

^{15b}] instead of \, with no traces of correction.

^{15c}The strong arm was previously lower, with *f* perhaps omitted. Then the arm was moved up and *f* inserted where the earlier arm had been.

^{16a}Misspelled and broken, but obviously Tatenen.

^{20a}The *mn* sign seems to have been altered from a previous sky sign.

^{21a}Originally  . . . , then altered to the present form. The *m* shows no sign of alteration but may have been changed with plaster, which has now fallen out.

* Great Temple, exterior, north wall, lower register, between pylons. Wreszinski, *Atlas* II 143 (originally numbered 142).

PLATE 78. RAMSES III PRESENTING LIBYAN PRISONERS
TO AMON AND MUT*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III leads two lines of Libyan captives to the gods Amon and Mut, who are in a shrine.

TEXTS

BEFORE AMON

¹[Words] spoken [by] A[mon-Re], Ruler of Eternity, to his son, the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon: "Welcome in peace, ²— accomplished!^{2a} Thou hast established the frontier as thou desirest, for the things which thou hast promised^{2b} ³came to pass immediately. What issues from my mouth is perfected, and my hand is with thee to repel ⁴the Nine [Bows]. I slay for thee him who injures thee. I give thee terribleness against the countries. There bow^{4a} ⁵to thee the Two Lands. The food of the land of Zahi^{5a} and the provisions of Egypt ⁶are united for thy kingship."



BEFORE MUT

⁷Words spoken by Mut, Mistress of Heaven, Lady of the Two Lands: "I give thee all plains and all hill-countries gathered under thy soles. ⁸I give thee all life, duration, and satisfaction."^{8a}

BEFORE THE KING

⁹Words spoken by the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon, in the presence of his father Amon-Re, Ruler of Eternity: "How great is he who submits himself to thy arm, thou lord who made heaven and earth! ¹I went forth,^{1a} my plans perfected, ¹for I had thee^{1b} as one strong of arm, and the awe of thee ¹⁰imbued^{10a} my body, so that no land could stand fast before me. As for the Meshweshite, I overthrew^{10b} his power, I annihilated his soul forever, ¹¹through the strength of thy hand, slaying them.^{11a} (Thus) the things which thou hast promised are come to pass."

^{2a}In such greetings *hd.k ḥpr*, "thy conquest accomplished," is common. Here the traces militate against it.

^{2b}One expects *sr.i n.k*, "which I promised thee." However, traces of arms support  rather than .

^{4a}The word *ḥḥ* has been recut. The traces are obscure, and we cannot tell what the former reading was.

^{5a}Note the spelling.

^{8a}Or is l. 8 part of Amon's speech?

^{9a}Old perfective 1st sing. Cf. Pl. 93:10.

^{9b}The reed leaf and *n.i* are certain. The basket is either *nb* or *k*.

^{10a}In *ḥḥ* there was formerly a *t* below the sole of the *b*. This was plastered out in antiquity.

^{10b}In *dḥ* there was formerly a *t* below the falling man. This was plastered out in antiquity.

^{11a}Note the prothetic attached to the participle. Note also the transition from the sing., referring to the Meshwesh chief, to the pl., referring to his tribe.

* Great Temple, exterior, north wall, lower register, scene just east of second pylon. Wreszinski, *Atlas* II 143 (originally numbered 142).

OVER THE CAPTIVES

¹²Words spoken by the fallen ones of ¹³Meshwesh, who are in the grasp ¹⁴of his majesty: "Great is thy strength, ¹⁵O mighty king, who art like unto Re! ¹⁶Thy arm has slain us forever. We are ¹⁷under the might of ^{17a}thy name. Give to us the breath, ¹⁸for it is thine, ^{18a} and no one can live without thee!"

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE LEFT

¹⁹The King, stretching wide the arms, achieving with his hands, conscious of his strength, for he is like Montu; ^{19a} King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon, given life.

PLATE 79. INTRODUCTION TO RECORD OF THE
LIBYAN WAR OF YEAR 11*

DESCRIPTION

Over the battle scene depicted in Plate 72 there are two inscriptions: this text and the beginning of the long inscription dated "year 11" (Pl. 80). The present text consists of little more than a series of conventional glorifying epithets, with general reference to the Second Libyan War. One remarks with regret that it was designed chiefly as a space-filler.

In general the text is well preserved. The wall was roughdressed in certain parts and then surfaced with a light coating of plaster. Where this plaster has fallen away the hieroglyphs are now very lightly cut.

TEXT

¹Horus: the strong bull, terrible of force, mighty of arm, ^{1a} lord of terror in the plains and hill-countries, desolating the Temeh and Meshwesh, who are made heaps, crushed, and destroyed before his horses; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon, given life. ^{1b}
²Live the good god, the son of Amon, the hero valiant like Montu residing in Thebes, the great ruler of boasting in his name, ^{2a} beautiful at ³horsemanship, potent in the fray, 'horned' ^{18a} in a multitude, mighty ^{3b} when charging among them like ⁴one rejoicing of heart; the terrible


^{17a}Between *b3w n* and *rn.k* there was formerly a horizontal *n*, which was deleted with plaster.

^{18a}*twi sw*. See Gardiner in *ZAS L* (1912) 114 ff. Another instance of this construction in Pl. 99:23.

^{19a}The same incidence of phrases in Pl. 94:4, where also it might be translated: "knowing that his strength is like (that of) Montu." But the use of the old perfective after *rh* would be abnormal; *phity* is commonly treated as fem. at Medinet Habu; and *rh phity.f* is a crystallized phrase, a unit in itself.

^{1a}Originally ; then the right stroke was plastered out and the left stroke cut into *c*.

^{1b}Line 1 runs the height of the wall. Its lower half is drawn on Pl. 72, five signs being repeated for overlap. It may well serve as a label for the battle scene on that plate, rather than as the first line of this inscription.

^{2a}For the construction cf. Gard. § 305, esp. his last example. It may be paraphrased: "the great ruler, whose fame deserves boasting." The det. of *rn* was anciently corrected out of  to its present form.

^{3a}For *ch^c.ty* used of the horns cf. Pl. 28:64 and *Wb*. I 174. It may, however, be connected with *ch^c*, "boast," rather than *ch*, "horn," and mean "arrogant." Cf. Pls. 16:14, 27:13.

^{3b}See Pl. 16, n. 8b. The det. probably connotes alertness or challenge rather than old age. Cf. Pl. 96:6.

* Great Temple, interior, first court, east wall, upper register, south of great gateway. Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften* I, Pls. XVIII-XIX; de Rouge, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* II, Pls. CXIV-CXVII; Wreszinski, *Atlas* II 136.

one, conquering his enemies,^{4a} 'charging^{14b} and seizing upon his assailant, fierce of face^{4c} against the assailant ⁵of his frontier; rich in fame in the land of Meshwesh, great of terror, lord of awe; making desolate the name of the Asiatic lands, giving out ⁶his heat in a flame against their bodies, like Sekhmet when she rages, in order to extend the frontiers of Egypt by the ⁷great victories of his arm; despising a million, holding two million^{7a} in contempt;^{7b} firm of heart, charging into hundred-thousands; the strong young^{7c} bull in ⁸the fray like Baal when he storms; the valiant warrior, achieving with his hands; shrewd like Shu, the son of Re; ⁹rich in victories in the plains and hill-countries, setting terror in the heart of the Meshwesh,^{9a} so that their people^{9b} and their heirs are non-existent^{9c} upon earth, and destroyed are ¹⁰their nostrils unto eternity. As for the western^{10a} countries, their soul is flown away;^{10b} they pronounce thy name 'to cause terror':^{10c} King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon, the ¹¹mighty king, conscious of his strength; the ruler stretching wide the arms, repelling the Nine Bows and taking captive the Meshwesh, who are made into heaps, with their chief ¹²pinioned before his horses, and his son, his wife, and his tribe slain, their children and their goods <upon>^{12a} their backs; returning ¹³when he has triumphed, bringing his '(tokens of) valor',^{13a} like a sharp-horned^{13b} bull when his conquest is effected, 'as

^{4a} | e 𓆎 was corrected to | e 𓆎 |.

^{4b} See Pl. 28, n. 55a.

^{4c} *hs3-hr*.

^{7a} 𓆎 | | 𓆎 was carved; then one vertical stroke was deleted with plaster.

^{7b} Below the 𓆎 sign in *shr*^c there is space for the book roll.

^{7c} Note the erroneous det. of *rnpi*.

^{9a} Duemichen has here a reversed 𓆎, but this text orients the sign correctly elsewhere. Nothing is now visible of it.

^{9b} On this *status pronominalis* cf. Pl. 46, n. 34c. Here, of the three plural strokes of the suffix pronoun, only the right one seems to have been cut originally. Later the other two were added, shallow-cut and out of line.

^{9c} The hand on the left side of 𓆎 was not carved but only painted on the plaster which was used to patch the roughdressed stone.

^{10a} The broken sign is probably 𓆎 rather than *t*.

^{10b} So also Pl. 37:16.

^{10c} Did the Libyan mothers use the name of Ramses III to discipline their children? Some such idea seems involved. Alternatively, one might suppose that the original was *n nrw*, "because of terror," the two *n*'s blending from **ennerew* to **enerew* (Erman in ZAS LVI [1920] 61 ff.), which was then misinterpreted as *r nrw*. Cf. Pl. 107, n. 5e.

^{12a} The text originally read *msw.sn iht hr psd.sn*, "their children and <their> goods upon their backs." The 𓆎 was then plastered out and a lightly cut *sn* carved in its place, as our drawing shows. Thus Late Egyptian considered the possessive suffix of more importance to the sentence than the preposition *hr*.

^{13a} See Pls. 82:29 and 24, n. 8a. Further references are Merneptah's Great Karnak Inscription, l. 48: ". . . the tribute under the window of appearances, to let his majesty see 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎"; Pap. Sallier II ii 6: "There is nothing like it, the instance of doing 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎"; possibly also *ibid.* ii 2 and *Urk.* IV 9:16.

^{13b} The det. of *spd* has been recut.

that which his father Amon has given him^{13c} [the lands]^{13d} annihilated¹⁴ under^{14a} his soles; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the [Two] Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III; the ruler who gives^{14b} breath to Egypt, so that they sit under^{14c} the shadow¹⁵ of his mighty arms; beautiful^{15a} when appearing on the throne of Atum; he seems like Re at dawn, rich in strength, a wall for this land. There is rejoicing^{15b} and there is exulting¹⁶ in his victories.^{16a}

Now as for this^{16b} good god, the august, divine youth, who came forth^{16c} from Re, beautiful as a child like the son of Isis; ¹⁷the valiant lion, strong of arm like his father Montu, with the white crown, the red crown, and the *etef*-crown upon his head, while this goddess takes her place between his eyebrows;^{17a} ¹⁸strong of arms, stretching the bow, he looks upon 'millions'^{18a} before him as a (mere) 'trickle';^{18b} charging into a throng, ¹⁹repelling his assailants, (so that they are) made prostrate on his right and his left hand; casting down the Temeh, desolating the Meshwesh,^{19a} ²⁰making them cease to tread the frontiers of Egypt; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III; the sole lord, making his boundary wherever he wishes, setting ²¹fear and awe into the heart of the Asiatics; the lion seizing upon^{21a} and plundering his every assailant, taking captive the lands of the Nine Bows, making them prostrate; the whirlwind ²²hurting in its violence^{22a} in pursuit of those who assail him, 'when they are seen'.^{22b} His battle cry is like (that of) Baal in the heavens. It is his august father Amon-Re who gave ²³the lands of the Nine Bows to him as a gift;^{23a} King of Upper and Lower Egypt, great of arm, lord of awe, making desolate the name of the Meshwesh forever and ever: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III, given life like Re forever.

^{13c}The construction is the same as that of Pl. 28:70. Duemichen gives "Amon-Re," de Rougé simply "Amon." We have followed the latter, as Duemichen's spacing seems unusual.

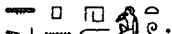
^{13d}Reading tentatively *t3w* in the break; cf. the parallel just cited.

^{14a}It seems that the preposition *hr* was cut twice. There is no indication that either was deleted.

^{14b}For this peculiar writing of the perfective active participle cf. Pl. 70:7.

^{14c}Traces of both signs of *hr* are extant.


^{15a}The *n* of *cn* is a later insertion.

^{15b}The wall once read . The insertion of another *n* pushed the *p* higher.

^{16a}The *h* of *nhtw* is corrected from a former *nw-jar*.


^{16b}Note the loss of the *n* of *pn* before the *n* of *nfr*.

^{16c}The *pr* sign was corrected out of *h*.

^{17a}The fish in *inh* was corrected from a former . "This goddess" is the uraeus (cf. Pls. 105:14, 114:13). For the writing cf. the pl. in Pl. 46:27. *imy* is for *imy-uti*, "between" (cf. Pl. 114:13).

^{18a}All four strokes as well as the *w* contain plaster. There has probably been a correction, but we cannot say what the final form was. Cf. Pl. 46, n. 4a.

^{18b}See Pl. 46, n. 4b.

^{19a}The human det. of *Mšwš* was corrected out of a previous .

^{21a}The present strong-arm det. of *mḥ* is very lightly cut. It was corrected out of a previous book roll.

^{22a}Cf. Pl. 114:6-7.

^{22b}On this writing of *m33*, "see," cf. Pl. 28, n. 61b. We cannot translate "they perceive his battle cry," as *Wb.* knows no cases of *m33*, "see" something audible. Professor Grapow suggested that something had dropped out between *m33.sn* and *hmhmt.f*. That is clearly possible. The present rendering tentatively takes *m33* as passive *sqm.f*.

^{23a}See Pl. 29, n. 28a.

PLATES 80-83. INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 11*

DESCRIPTION

This great inscription is dated in the eleventh year of Ramses III's reign and corresponds to the inscription of the year 5 (Pls. 27-28) and the inscription of the year 8 (Pl. 46). It purports to narrate the victorious course of the Second Libyan, or Meshwesh, War. The text begins on the south of the main gateway of the temple and continues on the north of the gateway.†

The text of ll. 13-62 is carelessly carved and is in a miserable state of preservation. Lacunae are embarrassingly frequent; glaring scribal errors make translation difficult. In an effort to achieve a striking style, the author employed a profusion of loan words, many of which are otherwise unknown. Any translation must at present be tentative.

Nevertheless, it is possible to trace the course of events, as narrated from the Egyptian point of view. We may analyze the inscription as follows:

- ll. 1-14: date, title, and general praise of the King
- ll. 14-35: the Second Libyan War:
 - ll. 14-15: the migration of the Meshwesh, with intent to settle in Egypt, despoiling the Tehenu on their way
 - ll. 15-18: the frustration of the plans of the Meshwesh; Ramses III prepared against them, as they march to Egypt
 - ll. 18-19: the departure of Ramses to defend his frontier
 - ll. 19-23: the battle
 - ll. 23-25: the defeat of the Meshwesh
 - ll. 26-35: the flight and pursuit of the Meshwesh
- ll. 35-48: the lament of the defeated Meshwesh
- ll. 48-56: the capitulation of the Meshwesh
- ll. 56-61: the boast of Ramses about his achievement
- ll. 61-62: conclusion; praise of Ramses.

We learn that the Meshwesh, a western Libyan tribe which had figured only incidentally in Egyptian history hitherto, were incited by the promises of their cousins, the Rebu-Libyans, and attempted to settle in the fertile Egyptian Delta. It is uncertain whether they had formal allies in this attempt. The Temeh are most often bracketed with them (see n. 14c below). Moving toward Egypt, they overran and despoiled the more pacific Tehenu, who dwelt in the desert just west of the Delta. In all probability the Meshwesh attack struck along the western frontier of the Delta (see Pl. 70, n. 1b; cf. Pap. Harris lxxvi 11-lxxvii 2). They were defeated and lost extensively in captives. The Egyptian texts enumerate these, including their chief's son, their women, children, weapons, and domestic cattle. This was intended as a real immigration. The captives were of course pressed into Egyptian service as slaves.

It is perhaps too early to determine forces, economic and otherwise, underlying the Meshwesh attack on Egypt. It was undoubtedly connected with the restlessness in the eastern Mediterranean at this time, involving the movements of the Sea Peoples, the breakup of the Hittite Empire, the siege of Troy, and the previous Libyan attempts to settle in Egypt.

* Great Temple, interior, first court, east wall, upper registers.

Pl. 80, containing ll. 1-12, is south of the great gateway, to the left of the inscription copied in Pl. 79 and above the battle scene drawn in Pl. 72. This part was copied by de Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* II, Pls. CXVI-CXVII) and Duemichen (*Historische Inschriften* I, Pl. XIX).

Pls. 81-83, containing ll. 13-62, are north of the great gateway, above the scene of triumph drawn in Pl. 75. This was copied by Duemichen (*op. cit.* I, Pls. XX-XXV) and ll. 31-42 by de Rougé (*op. cit.* II, Pls. CXI-CXIII).

† See n. 12a below. This continuation was further demonstrated when our expedition discovered fragments of the inscription running without break (and juxtaposed to a scene analogous to that on our Pl. 75) in the Ramses III temple near the Temple of Mut at Karnak (*OIP* XXXV, Pl. 123). In other words, this parallel shows our Pl. 80 on the same wall as our Pl. 75, and it is evident that our Pls. 81-83 belong to the same group.

TEXT

¹Year 11, fourth month of the third season, day 10+x,^{1a} of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III. The beginning of the victory of Egypt,^{1b} ²which the mighty King set on record, he who receives the throne of jubilation, exercises the sovereignty^{2a} of Re, enlarges Egypt, and repels the Nine Bows.

Terror is set^{2b} in every land by ³the sole lord, who made heaven and earth, the king since earth first came into being:^{3a} Amon-Re, King of the Gods, the mighty bull, sharp of horns. Now the heart of this god created earth a second time to make definitive ⁴the frontier of Egypt through great victories. He chose a lord, one whom he had created,^{4a} ⁵the seed which issued from his body, a divine youth, a noble lad, ⁶great of strength,^{6a} ⁷mighty of arm, the effective plan-maker,^{6b} lord of counsels, firm of heart, keen^{6c} ⁷of plans, who knows life like Thoth, shrewd like Shu the son of Re,^{7a} Usermare-Meriamon;^{7b} ⁸the egg which issued <from>^{8a} Re: Ramses III; the youthful lord, heroic, to whom was promised^{8b} ⁹victory in the womb and great and exalted strength like Montu. It was laid upon him to crush^{9a} ¹⁰the lands, to overthrow them, to repulse them for Egypt. Montu and Set are with him in ¹¹every fray; Anath and Astarte are a shield for him, while Amon 'distinguishes'^{11a} ¹²his speech¹. He

^{1a}The 12th month, falling in April or May at this time. A feast in celebration of the victory was instituted about a month later (*Medinet Habu* III, Pl. 163:1223; see *Medinet Habu* I 2, n. 16). The poem on this war is dated some six months later (Pl. 85:1). We are unable to determine the day of the month. Possibilities are 11, 12, and 20, while 13 or 21 cannot be entirely ruled out.

^{1b}See Pl. 27, n. 4a.

^{2a}Contrary to de Rougé and Duemichen, we believe that the word originally had three pl. strokes.

^{2b}Other renderings are grammatically possible. This seems to us logical: the preceding phrases referring to the King, the succeeding phrases to the god.

^{3a}That the trace under the arm of \mathfrak{S}^c is the book roll is shown by the fragmentary text paralleling this in the Ramses III temple near the temple of Mut at Karnak.

^{4a}With the *m* of equivalence.

^{6a}The strong arm was recut from an earlier *ayin*.

^{6b}See Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, p. 152.

^{6c}The *p* was recut from an earlier *h*, and the *d* may well have undergone some change.

^{7a}Cf. Grapow, *Bildliche Ausdrücke*, pp. 182 and 185. The two signs $\mathfrak{s}^3 R^c$ were cut down in size by plaster.

^{7b}"Shu the son of Re" is a single concept (e.g. Pls. 46:9, 79:8). However, the ancient artist, misled by "son of Re," first carved the nomen, "Ramses, Ruler of On." When the error was discovered, the nomen was plastered out and the prenomen carved in its place. The Mut temple parallel gives the prenomen here. Our drawing shows the earlier stage in broken line, the later in solid line.

^{8a}Preposition *m* omitted; cf. Erman in ZAS XXXIV (1896) 154 f. This is a way of saying "son of Re."

^{8b}It is probable that no *r* was carved in this word.

^{9a}The final *t* of *ptpt*, now lost, was recorded by Duemichen.


^{11a}Both form and color show the bird to be \mathfrak{z} , but the word is $w\mathfrak{d}^c$. The phrase $w\mathfrak{d}^c r^3$ must have some technical connotation which escapes us. We suppose that Amon somehow works to the King's advantage in battle; perhaps "Amon determines his speech," i.e., guides his decisions. Cf. the obscure use of $w\mathfrak{d}^c-r^3$ as a compound verb in Pap. Anastasi I xxiv 1, where Gardiner translates (*Egyptian Hieratic Texts*. Series I. *Literary Texts* I 26*): "Thou decidest(?) (the matter)."

does not turn back when bearing the might of Egypt over the Asiatics. No land was left to^{12a} ^{13j}lift themselves up (in rivalry)^{13a} in Egypt, for the god causes them to be dragged off in order to destroy them. The strong and valiant lion is he who is the sole lord, for his claw^{13b} is ready like a 'pitfall'.^{13c} They 'move away'^{13d} and they come, trembling^{13e} in their bodies, to lay ¹⁴themselves under his arms like mice;^{14a} King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III.

The Meshwesh (chief) 'previously, before he was seen',^{14b} was coming, having 'moved away' all together, his land with him, having fallen upon the Tehenu,^{14c} who were made ashes. Devastated and desolated were their towns; non-existent was ¹⁵their seed.

It is^{15a} the goodly behest of this god 'to'^{15b} slay every invader of Egypt forever. "Woe!" says he,^{15c} for he is (moving) ahead^{15d} toward the fire! "We will dwell in Egypt!" they said

^{12a}Continued on the same wall on the other side of the doorway (Pl. 82); see p. 74, n. †. Sethe, copy-
ing for *Wb.*, recognized the connection. We are now in a position to bring forward a parallel. In Pl. 107:4
we read *b(w) sp t3 nb [r] tnt.w*, as here. *sp* may be taken as verbal; cf. *bw sp w^c im.sn* of Pl. 86:38: "Not
one of them was left."

^{13a}The first sign is  (upper and lower cords visible; colored green). The det. shows two men
stretching out their hands toward each other. The hands are probably empty and do not touch. The
men may have very short beards. The verb is reflexive; we suppose it to be the *tnt* discussed in Pl. 16,
n. 8b. Note that the word in Pl. 23:40 shows one man in the same posture. The two men may be start-
ing a wrestling bout (cf. Pl. 111:12).

^{13b}A vertical stroke between the word *w^c* and the word *cnt* was anciently plastered up.

^{13c}For lack of a better identification we suppose that *msth* is a metathesized derivative from מִשְׁחֵה
(cf. Jer. 5:26). The det. seems to be simply round, but the surface above it is broken, so that certainty
is impossible. It is solid-cut and bears yellow paint on the sides of the cutting.

^{13d}See Pl. 16, n. 1a.

^{13e}*nwtⁿ* is certainly a mistake for *nwt*. See Pl. 28, n. 51a. The superfluous *n* may be due to a liaison
with the following preposition *m* (pronounced *n*).

^{14a}On mice as a figure for helplessness cf. Athribis Stela, l. 12; Pap. Anastasi V vii 8. Here the sense
seems to be that the helpless mice come to Pharaoh for protection. For *nm^c*, with reflexive pronoun,
"lie down," cf. Pap. Chester Beatty I iii 11.

^{14b}The negative sign is faint but certain. Our translation assumes that the construction is passive
n s^dmtf. Before he was known in Egypt he was on the way. But the Late Egyptian negative of this
construction should be *bw* (Erman in *ZAS* L [1912] 104 ff.). This must be an attempt to write Middle
Egyptian.

^{14c}The land of the Tehenu lay on the road between the Meshwesh and Egypt; see Bates, *The Eastern
Libyans*, pp. 50 f. This is the only mention of the Tehenu in this inscription. In the texts of this war,
their only other mention is in Pl. 77:15, which may be merely conventional. There is no evidence that
the Meshwesh and Tehenu were allied in this war; the latter seem to figure only as innocent bystanders.
The Meshwesh and Temeh are mentioned together (ll. 32, 60, 62 below and Pls. 79:1, 86:51), and the
Rebu-Libyans seem to have been involved in the war (ll. 46, 48 below). See also Pap. Harris lxxvi 11—
lxxvii 6 and note that the Rebu also marched ruthlessly through the peaceable Tehenu in the time of
Merneptah (*BAR* III § 579).

^{15a}*m* = *in*.

^{15b}The sign is probably *r*, but *iri* remains possible.

^{15c}Or "Woe to him"? The 3-bird of *ih3* is certain, although minute traces of plaster suggest that it
might have been changed to the *m*-owl.

^{15d}*sw n-hr.f* (cf. Pls. 86:26, 42:4).

with one accord, and they kept penetrating^{15e} the frontiers^{15f} of Egypt. There surrounded them^{15g} ^{15h}death upon their way. Smitten^{16a} were their evil 'plans'^{16b} in their ['bodies'].^{16c} Their 'threats'^{16d} were repelled by the —^{16e} of the god. '[They] look' to the heavens,^{16f} to the sun, 'stretching out'^{16g} with their hands before it. 'They had spent a long time' ¹⁷behind them, (but only) a moment was before them.^{17a} (Then) they entered upon the evil period,^{17b} for they found his majesty like a [divine] falcon, furious when he sees small [birds].^{17c} — — 'rest — his face'.^{17d} Amon-Re was his protection, and his hand was with him to avert their faces,^{17e} to destroy them; ¹⁸King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.


His majesty set out in valor, his arm strong,^{18a} his heart relying upon his father, the Lord of the Gods. He was like a ['mighty'] bull — — — — —^{18b} bagging herds of wild cattle.^{18c} His troops ¹⁹and his chariotry possessed victory. The mighty men [whom he had]

^{15e}Treating *ḥḥ* as frequentative.

^{15f}Below the *š* of *tšš* a horizontal sign resembling the land sign has been plastered out. But see the word in Pl. 106:23.


^{15g}Dative of disadvantage after *inh* (cf. l. 43 below and Pl. 46, n. 23d).

^{16a}Assuming that nothing is lost between *wš.t.w* and *ḥw.tw*.

^{16b}The det. is the animal ear and is borrowed from the word *sh*, "deaf." See Pl. 107:8-9, where Ramses boasts: "I am  and excellent of ————," and the obscure Pl. 86:25. The translation assumes that *shr*, "plan," ending with *r*, was pronounced *shy* and that this was ignorantly or wilfully connected with *sh*, "deaf" (note the writing of the latter in Late Egyptian). This may be far-fetched. An alternative might be "deafness" = "obstinacy, intractability" of the enemy, but = "tenacity of purpose" of the pharaoh.


^{16c}*ht* will fit the space.

^{16d}For lack of a better identification we propose tentatively .


^{16e}What stood here? The trace has a touch of red; we cannot identify the word. A remote possibility is , "in the heart of" (cf. Pl. 27:28), but the trace looks more like the head of a bird.

For *twhš* cf. Amenemopet v 16 and xvii 2; Pap. Sallier I ix 11 = Pap. Anastasi IV xi 9; Pap. Chester Beatty I verso C iii 4, and also the more technical *stwhš*, "exorcise," in Pap. Lee i 5; Pap. Rollin, l. 1.

^{16f}The det. of *hrt* is incorrectly carved but correctly colored blue.

^{16g}Clearly carved *ḥšdšmdšm* but probably to be read *ḥdd* with Burchardt II, No. 964. We do not accept Burchardt's , "abhauen," because the context seems to call for an appeal to the sun. When the harassed enemy looks to the sun, does he not stretch out his hands in entreaty to it?

^{17a}The parallelism of *ḥš.sn* and *n-ḥr.sn* and of *ḥnw* and *š* is obvious, but what is the meaning? Perhaps that they had had a long and successful career, but now their time was to be short.


^{17b}Perhaps rather "they entered (Egypt) at this evil period." Minute traces suggest that the strong arm was changed to . Note how slender the latter sign is in l. 16.

^{17c}*bik* [*ntry n*]*šnw mšn.f ḥp[t]*.

^{17d}Perhaps something like: "There is no rest (*mdn*) before him" (*n-ḥr.f*).

^{17e}Cf. l. 30 below. The god's hand was with the King.

^{18a}Probably, but not surely, *wšr*.

^{18b}After the bull, the traces favor . Lower down, the round trace above the cement bears remnants of green paint: probably *ḥ*.

^{18c}A few other instances of the preposition *m* after *idr* are listed by Victor Loret in *RT* XVIII 205 ff.

trained^{19a} [to] fight '[did] valiantly',^{19b} while he was a strong wall, firm in '[their] time',^{19c}
 — — — — — [spanning the] bow:^{19d} King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two
 Lands: Usermare-Meriamon.

His majesty was concealed and hidden, — — —, ²⁰ to take captives. His voice is roaring and
 'bellowing'^{20a} like (that of) a griffon, — — —^{20b} against his foe.^{20c} He is not checked —.^{20d} His
 arrow ['hits the mark'].^{20e} — — — — — his nose. His talon —^{20f}
 — ²¹his every — before him against his enemy;^{21a} dangerous and mighty, like a jackal, run-
 ning and swift of stride, going down into — — — — —^{21b} — — — — — horses —
 [lan]ces^{21c} and arrow[s] — — — — —. ['They are'] ²²slain in their places. Their heart is brought
 to an end; their soul^{22a} is annihilated 'upon [earth]'.^{22b} Their mouths cease to boast, at the
 memory of Egypt, for they are made into — — — — — — — — —^{22c} their soul —^{22d}
 — —. ²³His arms were against them like a 'net',^{23a} his hand was upon their head. He tears
 asunder; [he] hems in their nostrils and their bodies.

^{19a}Perhaps *šhpr*. [n.f r] *ḥ3*, but there may not be room enough for the *n*-form.

^{19b}The strong-arm det. is regular with *ḥ3* at Medinet Habu, so that there is not room enough for
hr kn below, to parallel the preceding sentence. Furthermore, the traces above *kn* look like *ḥ* rather
 than *r*.


^{19c}Perhaps rather *m rk* [*mšc*.f], "in the vicinity of [his army]" (cf. Pls. 28:67, 88:11-12, 107:6; Kadesh
 Poem, Luxor 1, l. 4; *LD* III 195 a 23).

^{19d}The lacuna contained other epithets of the King, ending with [*pd hr*] *šmr(t)* (the last word without
 the *t*, as in Pl. 62:7).

^{20a}See Pl. 70, n. 10a.

^{20b}The first sign (red) may be horizontal *s*; an *m* follows. The next preserved sign is probably, but
 not surely, the 3-bird (green on wing). We do not recognize the word.

^{20c}Traces of plaster in the crossbars of the apparent *nfr* sign suggest that it was corrected to *hrw*.

^{20d}The det. originates in the hieratic; see Pl. 19, n. 11a. Its upper bars and the upper half of its rec-
 tangle are blue; the lower half seems to be white. On *dn* cf. *Urk.* IV 312:11; Naville, *Das ägyptische*
Todtenbuch, chap. 125, *Einleitung*, l. 19 and variants. There is little space after this for a word. Add
 [], "forever"?

^{20e}Restore *ḥf*? Cf. Pl. 42:8. In the long lacuna after this the traces are unintelligible. The sign above
 the crossed sticks bears traces of green.

^{20f}The trace below *hr* is green.

^{21a}Perhaps something like: "His talon [protects] his every [region] before him against his enemy."

^{21b}Unintelligible traces. The round sign above the cement is green (probably *ḥ*); just below it is a
 horizontal green trace.

^{21c}*nḥw*, written as in Pl. 46:23.

^{22a}The word has been recut from  to .

^{22b}After *hṯm* there would come the strong arm, then perhaps *hr-tp* [*t3*]. The supposed *hr* sign is com-
 plicated by a flint nodule in the stone, which makes it look very much like *ḥ*.

^{22c}Unintelligible traces. Toward the end of the lacuna there are two rectangular signs with traces of
 green in them. They might be *p*'s. The curved fishlike sign at the end of the lacuna is green. It may
 have been a fish. We do not recognize the word.


^{22d}Almost one square below *b3.sn* there is one tiny spot of green.

^{23a}The word *bḥt* seems to be unknown. Tentatively we cf. here the Coptic **ΑΒΘ**: **ΑΒΟΥ**, "net." Such a vocalization may be compared with **ΕΒΙΘ**, "honey," from *bḥt*.

Meshesher, the son of Keper,^{23b} their '[chief], joined [himself to]^{123c} — — —^{23d} — — — spread out^{23e} on the ground. — 'hand^{123f} — —, ²⁴cast down beneath the feet^{24a} of his majesty. His sons, his tribespeople, and his army, 'they are come to naught^{1,24b} His eyes have ceased to behold the surface of the sun.^{24c} His fighting warriors are carried off as — — — — — their ['wives]^{24d} and their children — ['bound on'] ²⁵their arms and their heads as captives;^{25a} their goods and their children 'heavy^{125b} upon their backs; their cattle and their horses brought to Egypt, taken away — — —. ['It had not been seen' since] the time of the god. They brought their —^{25c} — —.

²⁶There was made for them a lesson^{26a} for a million generations. 'They^{26b} were fallen <upon> their faces.^{126c} Their —^{26d} was taken away. Their ['boastings']^{126e} were cut short, and they did not flourish. Amon-Re set them in front of ['the hero']^{26f} — — — — —^{26g} powerful

^{23b}For *Mššr* (here with two *š*'s) cf. Pls. 72 and 75:29. For *Kpr* cf. also Pls. 75:40, 86:26. The det. of *Kpr* here is interesting. It represents a seated figure which seems to wear the heavy hair of a Meshwesh chief rather than the side lock. Higher, uncolored surface over this man's chest suggests that his hands were thrust into manacles.

^{23c}Here the wall was built up with plaster, so that the surviving traces are difficult to deal with. Some such reading as [q]  seems possible. Although *iḥ* is not given with the cross det. by *Wb.*, the idea "mix, unite" might employ this det. (cf. *šḥ*, *šḥn*).

^{23d}The traces below the cement are a small round sign, an obscure flower-like trace (not necessarily original), and a touch of green about 1 square lower.

^{23e}*pg*3, written *pk* and graphically determined to show the distress of the enemy. Cf. Petrie, *Tanis* II, Pl. II 78 right, l. 3, and the det. of *ḥdy* in l. 32 below.

^{23f}Blue color in the trace below the *d* shows that the sign was probably *t*.



^{24a}*Sic*, with pl. strokes.

^{24b}Something must be supplied after *šk*, perhaps *ḳṛ*. The word "his" shows that the preceding had to do with Meshesher.

^{24c}See Grapow, *Bildliche Ausdrücke*, p. 107; Stela of Set and Horus, l. 4; Short Aton Hymn (Api), ll. 2-3.


^{24d}Bottom of a seated figure.

^{25a}Cf. Pl. 24:4-5.

^{25b}Duemichen has  His *š* is certainly *w*; his strong arm is probably the *ḥr*-face with a stroke. Perhaps his *ḥ* was a trace of the  of *wdn*.

^{25c}The trace below *nšy.w* is a human head, with red face, blue hair, and one touch of red for the shoulder.

^{26a}Cf. l. 47 below. Or *šbšyt* may be "punishment"; cf. Pap. Chester Beatty I vii 12 and x 1.

^{26b}The state of the wall makes Duemichen's  impossible.

^{26c}Preposition *ḥr* omitted by haplography. Note the peculiar writing of *ḥr*.

^{26d}"Heart" or "land"?

^{26e}*ḥc*?

^{26f}After *ḥš* comes *n*, then a short horizontal trace at the left (not certain), then the green, round sign (*ḥ*). We may have *nḥt* or *nḥt-c* here.

^{26g}Above the two *t*'s there is a spot of blue or green. This and the spacing make *mitt*, "like," impossible.

'bull', relying ['upon his horns'],^{26h} ²⁷able to bellow, attacking his assailant <with>^{27a} his horns; the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III; 'driving out^{127b} by his strength, slaying with the sword, 'carrying off^{127c} — — — —. The pupil of their eye squinted, not (being able) to see. [The]^{27d} ²⁸roads were stopped up and blocked^{28a} before them, while the land was a whirlwind behind them, carrying off their people. Their weapons were fallen^{28b} from their hands. Their hearts 'knew no stability',^{28c} — — — —, 'astray,^{128d} trembling, 'sweating'. The uraeus serpent^{28e} — ²⁹against them, which is upon the head of the sun of^{29a} Egypt. The great heat of Sekhmet mingled^{29b} with their heart, so that their bones^{29c} burned up in the midst of their bodies. 'The shooting star [was] terrible^{129d} in pursuit of them, while the land was glad^{29e} and rejoicing at the sight of his valorous deed;^{29f} the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

³⁰Every survivor from his hand (fled) to their towns,^{30a} 'as well as the Delta swamps to his rear'.^{30b} — was a mighty torch hurling flame from the heavens to search out their souls, to devastate their [root],^{30c} which was (still) in their land. The magical charms of Thoth^{30d}

^{26h}Cf. Pl. 46:30.

^{27a}A preposition has dropped out (probably *m* or *hr*).

^{27b}As *nwš* is unknown, we tentatively connect with *nš* (*Wb.* II 337-38).

^{27c}Read *iii*? The horizontal sign is broken.


^{27d}Reading [*n3*]. Or read *nn gmh.[sn]*, "[they] do not see."

^{28a}*šri* is relatively common; on *dbi* (old *ḏb3*) see Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, p. 173.


^{28b}A curious writing.

^{28c}The surviving traces are difficult to deal with. The bird between *hm* and *smn* looks most like *w*.






^{28d}The word occurs also in l. 52 below. Perhaps "on a wrong scent," if the Egyptian had any such concept. Above *tnm* there is one horizontal trace of blue or green.

^{28e}Presumably  [*ḏ*]; cf. *Wb.* I 278. The rectangular trace at the bottom of the line bears remnants of blue. We cannot identify it.

^{29a}See Pl. 14, n. 22a.

^{29b}After supplying  to *3bht*, we have practically all the space accounted for. See also Pl. 73, n. 5a.


^{29c}The five strokes may result from recutting. We can use one det. stroke and three pl. strokes. There is no evidence visible of any correction.

^{29d}Reading [    ]. Possibly we may see a trace of the tail of the first 3-bird. On *ššd*, used of stars, see Pl. 46, n. 3d.

^{29e}"The land" is Egypt. The *nf* of *wnf*, now lost, was recorded by Sethe (for *Wb.*), the *n* by Duemichen also.

^{29f}See Pl. 79, n. 13a.

^{30a}For omission of a verb of motion before *r* cf. n. 15d above and Pl. 28, n. 56a. On *sp nb* see Pl. 27, n. 14b.

^{30b}Did they flee westward to their homes and also back into the Delta marshes? The  sign after *idh* is blue; it is probably the det. of the word. What follows *h3.f*?

^{30c}The *n* of *i3y.sn*, now lost, was recorded by Duemichen. The following rectangular sign is red (as *mn* at Medinet Habu). It begins a short fem. word. *mnt*, "root," seems probable. Though the Meshwesh might flee and hide, bolts from heaven would search them out and would even cut off their stock at home.

^{30d}The pl. strokes behind the head of the ibis belong to *3hw*, perhaps a later addition. Note the crowded hieroglyphs at the ends of these lines, contrasting with the liberal spacing general in this inscription.

averted their faces, and tail-to-head of them was cast down in their places. ³¹His hand tears^{31a} the breast of the violator of his frontier. Their throats and [their] nostrils are [stopped] up,^{31b} destroyed, —. He does not 'leave off', when [he] is enraged, 'from^{31c} tooth^{31d} and claw upon the head of the Meshwesh; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III. ³²Woe^{32a} to the Meshwesh and the land of Temeh, for he who bound their head 'was^{32b} the King over Egypt and every land! They bowed themselves down to him, as (to) Set,^{32c} with their faces downcast. They were made limp.^{32d} The Meshwesh^{32e} and Temeh were in sorrow and helplessness. They rose up and fled to the ends of the earth. ³³Their eyes were <upon>^{33a} the roads, looking^{33b} behind them, effecting a flight, escaping in 'utter confusion,^{33c} retreating. The knife was for [them] at the sight^{33d} — — —^{33e} the gods — — — — —^{33f} in the midst of Egypt. ³⁴Their heat was stolen away; their name was desolated upon earth. Their feet were light upon the ground; they were not stable. The great lord of Egypt, their — — —^{34a} was upon them, potent. Behold,^{34b}

^{31ac}*fk* only here and in Pl. 102:23, which seems to assure the meaning.

^{31b}The horizontal sign, solid-cut and green, is surely *š*. *šr* seems assured. Across the conventional red of the forearm of the strong-arm det. there is a single band of blue. It is probably not to be taken too seriously.

^{31c}Instead of *r*, we may have had *hr*, although that would seem to crowd the signs a little. It is difficult to detect the flavor of *hš* *r* here. The baboon of *knd* was recorded by Duemichen. The line of its back is still discernible.


^{31d}*hr* here and in Pl. 102:23; *hnr* in Pl. 86:33. Cf. Coptic *ϣⲟⲗ:ⲉⲗⲗ*. The whole of the present line likens Ramses to a beast of prey.

^{32a}The det. shows a gesture of mourning, the hand to the brow.

^{32b}The whole clause is uncertain. The translation assumes an *m* of equivalence, but it is not certain that the trace left after *tp.sn* is *m*.

^{32c}Or "Baal."


^{32d}Literally "spread out"; *hdy* is used of the span of the heaven or of a bird's wings. Here it is given a det. of childbirth; cf. *pk* in l. 23 above.

^{32e}Originally written . This was corrected to the present form.

^{32a}Supplying a preposition (probably *hr*). Or read *m33.w*, "They see (the roads)."

^{32b}The *⊖* instead of *⊙* may be simply the mouth of the *nw*-jar, the rest of the jar never having been carved.

^{33c}The word itself is in confusion. It may be that *⊖* was plastered out and replaced by *⊖*¹ (or *⊖*¹ or *⊖*¹ etc.), the substitute being in paint only. It may be pointed out that the *⊖* is correctly placed for the *⊖*, but the stroke is spaced for something now absent. On the other hand, Burchardt's guess (Burchardt II, No. 662) that *⊖*¹ is an error for *⊖*¹ is supported by the hieratic writings of these two groups. Still another possibility is a connection with *hrtt* of Pap. Anastasi I xvi 3, translated "stealthily(?)" by Gardiner. Our own translation is the merest guess.

^{33d}The whole sentence is uncertain. For the last word de Rougé gives , and the sign is flat on its base as far as preserved. Nevertheless we read *g3wt*, spelled as in Pl. 28:39.

^{33e}Just above *n3 ntrw* Duemichen gives . We have not been able to see or locate this.

^{33f}Unintelligible traces. Only the last one (opposite the *s* of *h.sn* in l. 32) retains color (either blue or green).

^{34a}*ssmt*, unknown. There is probably no connection with the *ssmy* of *Mutter und Kind* vii 6, an ailment. B. Ebbell (*ZAS* LIX 144) suggests that the latter is an ailment of the teeth.

^{34b}*nš* and *mk* are restored after Duemichen and de Rougé; they are now covered with cement for the most part.

— — — — —^{34c} in 'his^{124d} every moment; ³⁵the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of [Re], Lord of Diadems: Ramses III.

They say—that is, those who have seen him—to their tribespeople:^{35a} “Montu in the form [of] a human^{35b} is he who is after us, 'falling [upon us]^{35c} — — — — — his — to weariness^{1.35d} ³⁶He is after us like Set when he sees the fiend.^{36a} He regards hundred-thousands as (mere) locusts. Behold, it goes ill with [us] to the (very) height of heaven, like wild cattle 'who [pass] the door¹ of the lion.^{36b} — — — — — 'gnawing¹ ³⁷—^{37a} to them. We are like straw, 'winnowed^{127b} with the wind behind it. Our weapons are come to naught,^{37c} scattered [from] our hands.” Their soul is wretched, their heart is finished; the^{37d} — — — — — — great — among the Bows. ³⁸“We were ensnared.^{38a} They drew us in, as if (in) a net. The gods let us enjoy great success,^{38b} (merely) to offer us up, to overthrow us for Egypt. Let us make a covenant 'with^{128c} — — — — — [‘to destroy¹] us.^{38d} ³⁹Victorious since the time of the god is Egypt and unto eternity.^{39a} Its power^{39b} is that which courses in our bodies; its

^{34c}We do not recognize the final word.

^{34d}The trace between *ꜥ* and *nbt* looks more like *s* than *f*. It may be in a comparison of Ramses to Sekhmet or some other potent goddess. As *f* is possible and as the King's names follow immediately, we render it as masc.

^{35a}The parenthetic phrase makes the preceding 3d pl. more specific. The *ꜥ* after *mhil*, now lost, was recorded by Sethe (for *Wb.*).

^{35b}Duemichen recorded *w* and det. of *hprw* and *r* of *rmf*. We see traces of *w*, *r*, and *f*.

^{35c}The bird at the break is certainly *ꜥ* from its color and the shape of its head. The preceding sign is given as *ꜥ* by de Rougé and is probably so on the wall.

^{35d}From its det. the word is old *bꜥgi*, “be weary, be weak.” It has been recut, *ꜥ* replacing *ꜥ*, or vice versa.

^{36a}See Pl. 32, n. 6a. The serpent sign here has three small pellets below its head. Is it pictured as spitting poison?

^{36b}There is no trace of a second *ꜥ* before the one preserved. This does not exclude *rdwy.sn*, “their legs,” as the surface is broken. A preposition may have dropped out: “when their legs are <at> the door of the lion.” But the context seems to call for a verb of motion, even though this should have the additional det. *Δ*. For *sꜥ* cf. Pl. 102:21 and Gardiner, *Notes on Sinuhe*, p. 46. It is perhaps “the mouth (of the den).” At least the figure of wild cattle who are in peril before a lion is well known; cf. Grapow, *Bildliche Ausdrücke*, p. 71.

^{37a}Our modern copyist has applied the shading carefully to show the broken area. *itꜥ* seems impossible, nor can there have been a long horizontal sign in the upper left. Further, there are suggestions of recutting here: plaster in the shoulder of the arm and horizontal cuts just above the arm.

^{37b}Or “ground”; cf. *wgm*.

^{37c}Incorrectly determined by the *wr*-bird in form and color. Cf. l. 39 below.

^{37d}The *nꜥ* is given by Duemichen and sufficiently supported by the traces. Is the intrusion of the 3d person pl. in place of the 1st person pl. intentional?

^{38a}The book roll looks as though cut over an earlier (or later?) *n*.

^{38b}Literally “caused us to be successful, successful.” Note the old perfective 1st pl.

^{38c}Reading *r-hn[ꜥ]*. The curved trace is green, correct for *h*. *brt* is *ꜥꜥꜥꜥ*; cf. l. 52 below and Nauri Stela, ll. 32, 43, etc.

^{38d}Reading [*r htm*].*n* or [*r šhtm*].*n*.

^{39a}Curious word order, but difficult to handle otherwise.

^{39b}Burchardt II, No. 721. Determined by *wr*-bird in form and color; cf. l. 37 above.

lord is he who is in the heavens, for his nature is like unto his.^{39c} 'We see' — — — — —
 — [Lord of Diadems:] Ramses III. ^{40a}He seems like the rays of^{40a} the sun. The glory of him
 and the awe of him are like Montu. We are taken with a seizure of trembling^{40b} — — — — —^{40c} —
 — — — — — ⁴¹flourishing in the fray. He ['makes']^{41a} a time of weariness, balanced of right
 and of left hand, without^{41b} fail, so that we are like unto tossed-about thick brush;^{41c} enter-
 ing — — — — —. ['He is'] ⁴²after us, slaughtering like a divine falcon. We are made into
 sheaves like the reaping of grain.^{42a} He sends arrow upon arrow like the 'shooting star[s]'
 — — — — — ⁴³surrounding us,^{43a} so that we are ensnared before him. 'Non-existent
 is the way of our going, but light is in his place.'^{43b} The god has carried us off for himself as a
 'prey'^{43c} like wild cattle 'ensnared' in the midst of a 'thicket',^{43d} he being terrible — — — — —^{43e}
⁴⁴raging over against hundred-thousands, — — — — —^{44a} in his heart. We make prayers^{44b} before him,
 with our hands upon our heads, but he turns not back,^{44c} he regards not 'our'^{44d} praising him.
 He (only) makes 'a duration of (our) weariness and — — — — —^{44e} He who remains' in the darkness^{44f}

^{39c}Ramses' nature is like that of Re.

^{40a}The *n*, now lost, was recorded by Duemichen and Sethe.

^{40b}Literally: "We make a seizing of trembling" (cf. Pap. Anastasi I xxiv 8).

^{40c}The traces below the *sd3*-bird are puzzling. Over what is certainly *f* comes a curved sign like the end of *ē*. After *f* and *n* comes what might be *✓* or almost equally *†*. Below the two reed leaves is a horizontal sign colored blue. This cannot be *f* or *s*.

^{41a}Reading tentatively [*ir*].*f*. The group is obscured by later hackings.

^{41b}There is room for *n* under the negative arms.

^{41c}Cf. Pl. 27, n. 33a. The plants are tossed about by a wind (cf. Pl. 79:21-22).

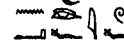
^{42a}*knit* for *kniw* (cf. Pls. 23:43, 27:34). The det. is probably similar to that used after *dh3* in l. 37 above. Is *nfr* the "finished, ripe grain," in that sense of the stem *nfr*?

^{43a}See n. 15g above.

^{43b}In *ḥ3* the rays below the sun are scarcely visible now. The grammar of the whole sentence is uncertain. We assume: "Not is our way of our going; light is in his place." I.e., we are forced to follow Pharaoh's leadership.

^{43c}In *k3k3* the color shows both birds to be 3's. The word is unknown but may be a misreading arising from *wnm*, "eat"; cf. *Wb*. V 71. Note the curious word order in this sentence, to introduce the noun before the pronoun.

^{43d}The word is unknown. Tentatively we connect it with **2BOK**, "thorn." On *shbh* see Pl. 28, n. 53b.


^{43e}Unintelligible traces. A guess would be , "Though he is mild, yet he is (raging against hundred-thousands)." The sign above the *n* is cut in outline, not solid-cut; it cannot be the shoulder of the *ayin*.


^{44a}Color and form show the bird to be 3. Cf. perhaps Coptic **KW2**, "jealous," for which, however, the det. should be the man with hand to mouth. *g3hy* of Pap. Chester Beatty I verso G ii 2, rendered "be faint" by Gardiner, cannot be fitted to our case.

^{44b}The writing with *w* is certain. We do not know how the arms of the det. were placed. The hand upon the head is a gesture of salutation as well as mourning.

^{44c}The *p* of *pn*^c is almost lost in a later round hole.

^{44d}Assuming an erroneous *status pronominalis*, with *t*. Otherwise we must read "your praising him."

^{44e}Uncertain. Cf. perhaps "time of weariness" in l. 41 above. *whs* here might be an error for *swh*, "roar." The meaning of *w3h* also is uncertain, perhaps "addition." Sethe recorded the *hn*^c, and traces of all three signs remain. Of the final word the *t* is certain. The round sign below it is green; i.e., it is *h* rather than sun disk. We do not know what the vertical sign at the right was. If the group was , the color of the det. is incorrect, and "the sun" is difficult to fit here.

^{44f}Read  at the top of the following line.

⁴⁵is dragged forth.^{45a} We are —————; we^{45b} are cast down in front of ourselves.^{45c} Our heart is destroyed like —————, ^{45d}like 'bushes'.^{45e} We had heard 'of that'^{45f} from our fathers' father. 'She who breaks our back,'^{45g} they said ⁴⁶concerning Egypt. We have begged for ourselves our own death of our own volition;^{46a} our legs are carrying us off to the fire by ourselves.^{46b} The Rebu caused our confusion^{46c} as well as [their own],^{46d} for we listened to their counsels, and (now) our heat is taken away ⁴⁷and we are upon the way [of] crime like <them>.^{47a} There is made for us a lesson^{47b} forever and ever. It goes ill with them^{47c} when they see the frontier of Egypt, for he will tread by himself to the holy land,^{47d} and Montu,^{47e} the valiant of arms, is he ⁴⁸who is therein, mighty [and ————— in] the fray. 'Ye shall not^{48a} approach him, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the [Two] Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III."

The land of Meshwesh was devastated all at once; the Rebu and Seped^{48b} were destroyed, so that their seed was not. ⁴⁹[Their] mothers and their concubines hang in suspense^{49a} in their

^{45a}The enemy who tries to skulk in the rear is pitilessly brought forth and overthrown in the van. After *šdd*, the bird trace may or may not belong to that word. It bears yellow paint (probably *w* or *m*).

^{45b}The *n*, now lost, was recorded by Duemichen and Sethe.

^{45c}So literally. Perhaps to be corrected to *n-hr.f*, "before him," or to *hr hr.n*, "upon our faces."

^{45d}Here the wall was roughdressed and built up with plaster. The loss of this plaster has obscured the hieroglyphs. To the left of the *s* the traces are red (*ayin*).

^{45e}In Pap. Anastasi I xxv 1 *š[f]n*-plants compose a hedge. Cf. the name Inushefenu in Pap. Harris lxi a 12 and b 2.

^{45f}This is a strain on the regular meaning of *dr*. Translate perhaps "since that (time)," meaning "the time of our ancestors."

^{45g}See Pl. 28, n. 42b.

^{46a}Read *dbh*, "beg." On the sentence see Pl. 28, n. 45a.

^{46b}Cf. *hr ds.f* in l. 47. The sense is: "We have brought our own destruction upon ourselves."

^{46c}Coptic **ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉ**, "mix, tangle." In hieroglyphic it is used several times of the hair, also of the discomfiture of an enemy in Pap. Berlin 3050 v 3; cf. Pap. Chester Beatty I xvi 10.

^{46d}Literally "like [their] likeness."


^{47a}Supplying the genitive *nt* (or *hr*, i.e., "doing evil") before *q3*. Our text reads "like our likeness." This is surely to be corrected to "like their likeness" (cf. n. 46d above). The Meshwesh, advised by the Rebu, embark upon evil ways like their counselors.

^{47b}Or "punishment"; see n. 26a above.

^{47c}For this phrase cf. Pl. 28, n. 43a. The head of the evil bird was recut to gain better spacing.

^{47d}The violator of the frontier is on his way to the necropolis. On *hr ds.f* see n. 46b above and Erman, *NA*² § 111.

The change of person and number, from 1st pl. to 3d pl. to 3d sing., is bewildering. *gmh.st* is for *gmh.sn*; cf. Erman, *NA*² § 79.

^{47e}Originally spelled  (with det.); later corrected to the present spelling.

^{48a}See Pl. 46, n. 7a. The following *ph.f* shows that an infinitive follows the negative verb.

^{48b}The only mention of the Seped in the inscriptions of this war. Were they allies of the Meshwesh?

^{49a}This seems to mean that their seed is cut off, no children are born to them, as long as their wives and concubines are distraught. The traces of the *mwt*-vulture, with color extant, leave no doubt of the bird. The space below might be filled by the det. or by some qualifying adj. This spelling and det. of *hnrt* seem not to be listed elsewhere; are the three flesh signs miscarvings of pl. strokes? *hy* was recorded in its entirety by Duemichen and Sethe; traces of all its signs remain. On its probable meaning see Pl. 28, n. 41d.

midst, so that their children do not come into being, 'before' — — — — [in]^{49b} dread and fear, mourning and saluting with their hearts^{49c} through the might of thy majesty. ⁵⁰The heat of thee — — —^{50a} their [bod]ies, like the fire [of] an 'oven'.^{50b} — — — —^{50c} — — — — [the] dread and the awe^{50d} ⁵¹[of] the ['mighty'] bull, 'charging',^{51a} spreading out the uraeus;^{51b} King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the [Two Lands]: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: [Ramses III]. — — — 'the terror' of thee.^{51c} There seizes them^{51d} — ⁵² — —, weakness, and error.^{52a} They all^{52b} make a covenant, bearing [their] tribute ['upon their backs, — — coming in'] praise to revere ['him'],^{52c} ⁵³the good god, Lord of the Two Lands, who makes [his] frontier where he wishes in the plains and hill-[countries], the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III.

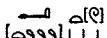
Now as to Horus: Rich in Years, the egg which issued from Re, from his own^{53a} body, ⁵⁴he ordained him to be sole lord, established upon his throne. The land of Zahi and the land of Nehsi^{54a} are under^{54b} his soles. His arm supports^{54c} Egypt; 'he sets her in his vicinity'.^{54d} He takes breath away from the countries, so that they cannot thrive. His^{54e} majesty ⁵⁵is like the Baal upon the mountain tops, a sovereign great of kingship like Atum. Glad is the heart of

^{49b}A possible trace (the point) of the horizontal *m* is visible.

^{49c}We see traces of all four letters of *nyny*. For the expression cf. Pl. 46, n. 5a.

^{50a}Probably some short word for "burn, consume" or similar. To the right is a vertical trace (possibly |), and to the left a small touch of green.

^{50b}Or "[in] an 'oven'." Burchardt II, No. 517, compares *mkꜣr* (= *מקער*) of Pap. Sallier I vii 9. Here *ayin* has fallen away under the influence of *r*.

^{50c}A wild guess would be , followed by *sdr* (= *סדר*), "their [limbs] twisted."

^{50d}No horns were cut on the *f*.

^{51a}On *h3w-tm* see Pl. 28, n. 55a. It is here uncertain how the word was spelled and so whether there was another adj. following *k3*.

^{51b}As a bull lowers his horns in charging.

^{51c}Reading tentatively [*hry(t)*].*k*.

^{51d}Cf. n. 40b above?

^{52a}We have no guess for *kms*. For *tnm* so determined cf. n. 28d above. It is uncertain whether the sign following the animal's head is book roll or horizontal *s*. From form and color, the book roll looks more probable on the wall.

^{52b}On the writing of *r-drw* cf. Pl. 46, n. 7b.


^{52c}The restoration of *f* rests on the probable length of the line. It is not necessary to the sense.

^{53a}Only one horn of the *f* of *ds.f* remains. On "the egg . . ." cf. l. 8 above.

^{54a}The Asiatic and African neighbors of Egypt. *Nhsy* was originally carved without the *s*, then corrected.

^{54b}The second, smaller *hr* may have been deleted with plaster. It is curious that there is plaster in it, but color resting on the plaster.

^{54c}See Pl. 46, n. 27a.

^{54d}Cf. ll. 58-59 below and Pl. 114:17. The phrase seems to imply protection. It was first cut without the *r* of *rk*; then the whole clause had to be condensed in size in order to work the *r* in. The result is a difficult tangle of carvings, and it is not entirely certain that we have  here.

^{54e}The *f* of *hm.f* was recorded by Duemichen. A possible trace of it remains.

Egypt^{56a} in victory, for Amon-Re returns answer on behalf of it,^{56b} while his son appears ^{56c}as King upon the throne of Atum, and all that the sun^{56a} encircles is encompassed within his grasp; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III.

He says to the royal princes, the great officials, and the leaders^{56b} ⁵⁷of the infantry and of the chariotry:^{57a} "Give me your attention to [my] utterances; hear them, for I speak to you, I make^{57b} you aware^{57c} that I am the Son of Re, who issued from his body. I sit ⁵⁸upon his throne with rejoicing, since he established me^{58a} as [King], as lord^{58b} of this land. My counsels are good,^{58c} my plans are carried out. I protect Egypt, I defend it, I let it sit (content) [in]^{58d} ⁵⁹my^{59a} time, for I overthrow for [it] every land invading [its] frontier. I am rich of Niles [bearing provisions],^{59b} and my reign is flooded with good things. I am a sovereign beneficent to the trusting,^{59c} ⁶⁰mild, and giving breath to every nostril.^{60a} I have overthrown^{60b} the Meshwesh and the land of Temeh by the strength of my arm; I have made them prostrate. See, (here) they are^{60c} ⁶¹before you."

^{56a}*Kmt* recorded in its entirety by Duemichen (although his spacing is impossible) and Sethe. The *t* is now lost.

^{56b}Cf. Pl. 28, n. 48c.

^{56c}Corrected out of earlier 𓂏 . The misreading of *d* out of hieratic *tn* would be easy.

^{56d}Read 𓂏 and 𓂏 in l. 57.

^{57a}There is plaster over the top of the *h*, suggesting that it was cut down in height. Note the two sets of pl. strokes; they show no signs of change.

^{57b}What should be a *dī* sign is solid-cut like *spd*. However, it contains plaster and may have been altered to *dī*.

^{57c}Note the throw-stick det. in *m*. There may be confusion between *m* (𓂏) and 𓂏 (𓂏 ; Spiegelberg in *RT* XXVIII [1906] 201-2), "Asiatic."

^{58a}Emend to *smn.f(w)ī*. The Egyptian reads "since I established he"!

^{58b}We see the top bar of *m* and the left corner of *nb* (with correct color). Between *m nb* and *n t3 pn* there is probably no loss.

^{58c}First carved *nfri*; later the *t* was plastered out.

^{58d}The end of the line is in a sorry state. It seems to have read originally 𓂏 𓂏 , with 𓂏 𓂏 beginning l. 59 (cf. l. 54 above). The wording which precedes this clause is so similar to that in l. 54 that the scribe may have been confused. Later, the 3-bird was plastered out, and the seated figure with staff was carved in its place. The *r* at the bottom of the line is lower than the ends of the other lines and may also be a later addition.

^{59a} 𓂏 corrected over earlier 𓂏 .

^{59b}Reading [*hr d3*]w (cf. Pls. 28:71, 105:14). A possible trace of *f* is visible.

^{59c}For *nt* read *n* (cf. Pls. 27:9, 88:7-8). The wall may have read *mh-[ib]*, which the space seems to require. One can easily imagine traces of *ib*.

^{59d}On the wall the basket sign looks more like *k* than *nb*. However, the apparent loop is surely a break, since it is rough and solid-cut. The phrase *fnd nb* is interestingly written.

^{60a}The strong arm after *dh*, now lost, was recorded by Duemichen and Sethe. The gap after *Mšwš* would be filled by the foreign-country det. (the mountains).

^{60b}Read probably 𓂏 . We see no trace of the pl. strokes in a broken area.

There is no^{61a} exaggeration, for it is the strength of Amon^{61b} that carries them off. May he give millions of jubilees [to] his son, the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, given life forever! ^{62c}The King,^{162a} like unto Re, furious, his heart stout like (that of) his father Montu; whose arm has taken prisoners as captives. The Meshwesh and the land of Temeh are pinioned in^{62b} his presence and allotted, with their tribute, to the house of his august father Amon, who pinioned^{62c} them beneath his^{62d} soles; the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

PLATES 85-86. POEM ON THE LIBYAN WAR OF YEAR 11*

DESCRIPTION

This long text deals with the Second Libyan, or Meshwesh, War, but it is cast in a vein more poetic and artificial than the inscription on Plates 80-83. The wall has received a sad battering at the hands of time, the language is difficult, and the chronology of events is uncertain. We have a few vivid pictures suggested, which make us regret that the text has not survived in its entirety. Any analysis of the inscription must be offered with reserve, and the following may be quite unfounded:

- ll. 1-7: date and general praise of the King
- ll. 7-10: former peaceful relations with foreign countries
- ll. 10-14: Ramses III as the protector of Egypt
- ll. 14-18: the King invincible in battle
- ll. 18-23: a former defeat of the foreigners (perhaps a reference to the First Libyan War)
- ll. 23-26: the new attack by the Meshwesh crushed
- ll. 26-34: Keper's fruitless intervention on behalf of his son
- ll. 34-51: a badly broken section, which includes an exultant speech by the Egyptians and many glimpses of the sorry lot of the Meshwesh.

Much of this poem is illustrated in the scene on Plate 75. There we see Meshesher captive before the King, while his father Keper, who "came to sue for peace—to beg for his son," is shown with upraised hand. From l. 23 below we gain the suggestion that the Meshwesh invasion was actually a migration with intent to settle in Egypt, while references are made to "families" or "tribespeople" and women. The lists of captives and of booty in Plate 75 bear this out.

SCENE ABOVE THE INSCRIPTION

Ramses III sacrifices Libyan captives of the two different types before the god Amon, who leads to him various captive districts.

The names of the captives are taken from the geographical lists on the same tower of this pylon (Pl. 102) and are discussed as they appear there (see pp. 114-15). The equations with the numbers from

^{61a}Only one hand was carved on the negative arms.

^{61b}Between ²*Imn* and *inn* another *n* was carved, then plastered out.

^{62a}This line runs the height of the wall; its lower half is copied on Pl. 75, four hieroglyphs being repeated for overlap. Like l. 1 on Pl. 79, it may serve as a label for the scene below. As the preceding line seems to end conclusively, this line must be detached and should begin with "the King."

^{62b}There are two *m*'s, but the roughened state of the wall suggests that the first was hacked out and covered by the det. of *dnh*, which was moved to the left for this purpose.

^{62c}The *t* may be a commentary on the pronunciation of the participle.

^{62d}Both "his" and "thy" were carved. There is no sign of correction.

* Great Temple, exterior, face of first pylon, north tower, between flagstaff recesses. Published in part by Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften* I, Pls. XIII-XV; de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* II, Pls. CXXI-CXXVI; LD III 209 d.

Plate 102 are as follows (the names are not lettered on Pl. 85, but their positions in the table below indicate their positions on the plate; see p. 114 for identification of the numbers used for Pl. 102):

$a=44$
 $b=43$
 $c=42$
 $d=69$ $e=70$ $f=65$ $g=66$ h cf. 62 $i=44$ $j=43$ $k-m$ lost

BEFORE THE KING

¹Crushing the chiefs of every country.

BEFORE AMON

²Words spoken by Amon-Re, ³King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Thebes: ⁴"I have given thee† all valor. ⁵Receive thou the sword,‡ O mighty King, ————! ⁶I have given thee all plains and [all] hill-countries [beneath thy] soles."

TEXT

¹Year 11, second month of the second season, day 8,^{1a} under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Great of Kingship; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Great in Jubilees like Tatenen; Horus of Gold: Rich in Years like Atum, the sovereign^{1b} protecting Egypt and binding the foreign countries; ²King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ra[m]ses III]. Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Mut the Great, Mistress of Ishru, and Khonsu-in-Thebes Nefer[ho]tep, may they give a million jubilees ³and hundred-thousands^{3a} of years to their son, the Lord of Diadems: 'Ra[m]ses III],¹ — — —, ^{3b}divine 'seed' of valor, 'mighty'¹ ————; ^{3c}answering for Egypt, repelling her foe, ⁴protecting '[her], rescuing^{4a} her in the conflict;^{14b} — — — strong under ————, ^{4c}'penetrating'^{14d} the hearts of the Asiatics, strong ————, the lord 'effecting'^{14e} ———— ⁵the

^{1a}The lower left stroke is broken, but the spacing shows it to be original. This text is dated in the autumn, whereas the inscription on Pl. 80, referring to the same war, is dated in the spring.

^{1b}The first sign of *ity* shows a *ti* sign carved over a reed leaf, or vice versa. We are not sure what change is involved. Otherwise there are sufficient traces of every word in the line.

^{3a}Determined with a book roll.

^{3b}The animal traces suggest the *b3*-ram. The vertical sign following shows traces of yellow. A possibility is "[whom] the Ram, [the Lord of] Ded[et, begot]." Then probably *mw ntry*.

^{3c}The first traces are obscure; the final word is probably *tnr*.

^{4a}*nhm*, spaced as in l. 21 below, is possible.

^{4b}Or "from the Bow People"? On *r3-pdt* see Gardiner, *Notes on Sinuhe*, p. 33.

^{4c}The sign before *pty* slopes up very slightly toward the left; \rightarrow is a possibility. Duemichen read the sign following *hr* as the red crown. But preserved surface shows no trace of the crown, only the alleged wire coil being visible.

^{4d}Perhaps $\parallel \overline{\text{C}} \text{C}$ (note det. in Pl. 94:17), comparable in sense to Pl. 27:10.

^{4e}Read *cr*, with the strong arm erroneously for the *ayin*? The last sign visible in the line could be horizontal *m* or *t* etc.

† Traces of all signs present. A short line, such as "and all victory," may be lost just before the god's headdress.

‡ *hps* badly misspelled.

common people;^{5a} establishing the land 'for once',^{5b} without relapse;^{5c} the King (worthy) of rejoicing;^{5d} lord of sovereignty like his father Re since he began to rule; 'the beautiful of face, the lord pleasing'^{5e} in counsel, 'beautiful of head whenever he appears wearing the *etef*-crown; [King of Upper and] Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands:^{6a} Usermare-Meriamon; Son [of Re], Lord of Diadems: Ramses III; the ruler making his name like a mountain of — — —^{6b} into the (very) darkness.^{7a}

There were ['no'] rebels^{7b} in distant lands formerly; they had not been seen since (the time of) the kings; (but they were) coming (in) supplication^{7c} together, bearing ⁸their tribute, doing homage and kissing the ground to him as (to) 'Set'. Their heart and their legs 'moved away' from their lands;^{8a} their place shifted, ⁹they were not settled, and all their limbs hurried them of themselves,^{9a} as if there were a 'stick'^{9b} behind them, to sue for peace; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; ¹⁰Son of Re: Ramses III.

The sovereign who puts Egypt in joy and overthrows evil and deceit in the midst of the Two Lands, (so) mild (that) it is said: "Life-giving, not weary of heart."^{10a} ¹¹Let the breath thrive in his mouth every day!" Commanding and fine of plans, shrewd (even) as a child, like the

^{5a}Cf. Pl. 105:13; Lange, *Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope*, p. 25.

^{5b}*smn p3 t3 hr w^c*. The *w^c* sign is peculiarly formed and may involve a change. We do not know *hr w^c*; our tentative rendering is suggested by the following "without relapse." Another possibility is "establishing the land into a unity."

^{5c}*nn n^w*. Cf. Pl. 46:28. Of *nn* we see traces of both hands of the negative sign and the right end of *n*.

^{5d}Note the tick on the first sign.

^{5e}De Rougé recorded *nfr hr*, of which we see traces. What follows may be *nb twt*, the det. of *twt* being badly done but recognizable.

^{6a}An original *t3w* (pl.) was corrected to *t3wy* (dual).

^{6b}Perhaps "mountain of [metal]." The end of the line shows a stroke and the corner of some sign below it (not 𓂏 , as de Rougé).

^{7a}Cf. Pls. 27:10, 101:27.

^{7b}Parallels such as Marriage Stela A 13 = E 15; *Urk.* IV 614:6; de Morgan *et al.*, *Catalogue des monuments* I 117, l. 2; and Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Huy*, Pl. XIX, suggest that we should have *nn wn bštw* here. Preserved surface denies us the *n* of *nn*. The negative here may have consisted of the arms only. Note the curious writing of *bštw*.

^{7c}A preposition omitted, and *smh*, "beg," confused with *smh*, "left hand."

^{8a}Only two land signs were carved.

^{9a}For the curious form of the det. of *3s* cf. ll. 15 and 24 below. What follows *3s* is clearly 𓂏 and not 𓂏 . *n.w d3.sn* emphasizes the involuntary activity of the tributary peoples; cf. l. 26 below.

^{9b}The curious sign has red on its lower area. It bears no trace of correction. Tentatively we regard it as an attempt to cut the hieratic form of *mdw* (Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, No. 456). The translation takes *mī nty* = *mī nt*.

^{10a}This translation is suggested by the imperative which follows. But *qdtw* may be a participle. See Pl. 46, n. 10c. Translate then "mild when speaking, life-giving without weariness."

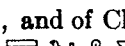

The 'disaffected'^{18a} — — — — — ['coming']¹⁹ forward to advance themselves^{19a} against Egypt, (they were) floundering, hemmed in, seized upon,^{19b} made into a —.^{19c} The heat of — — — — —^{19d} ²⁰Their bones were baked and burned up in the midst of their limbs, so that they trod upon earth like one who is walking with the 'hobble'.^{20a} Slain ²¹were their stout warriors in the place where they were treading. Their speech was taken away forever, overthrown at one time. Seized upon were their great ones who were ²²at their head, pinioned like birds before the falcon. Everyone who escaped was hidden in the midst of the bushes, seated with head <on> lap,^{22a} ²³or stretched out in solemn salutation.

They schemed to plot^{23a} rebellion a second time, to finish their lifetime on the frontier of Egypt. They gathered the hill-countries^{23b} and plains ²⁴of their district. They laid death upon themselves (by coming) against Egypt, coming on their own legs to the —,^{24a} which is in the 'heat'^{24b} of odors and under a mighty flame'. ²⁵The heart of his majesty stormed like Baal in the heavens. Every part of him was prepared with valor and strength, and 'a good plan'^{25a} set him to¹ the capturing of a multitude. His right arm and his left arm ²⁶stretch out of themselves, and he (goes) forward^{26a} like an arrow against them, to slay them, while his arm is great and powerful like (that of) his father Montu.

Keper came to ²⁷beg for peace in the manner of — —.^{27a} He laid his weapons on the

^{18a}Perhaps *h3[k-ib]*.

^{19a}Reading [n]-*hr.w* as the beginning of the line. On *dh3* see Pl. 16, n. 8a.

^{19b}Three difficult words. Other examples, all somewhat obscure, of *n^cn*, the reduplicated form of *n*, "turn about," are found in Pap. Anastasi I xiii 2; Pap. Turin (Pleyte and Rossi) Pl. LXXXV 8; *Destruction of Mankind*, l. 73. On *g3w* see Pl. 46, n. 24b. Despite the det. we connect *šf^c* with the word of *Urk. IV* 32:9, , and of Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie. Notices descriptives* II (Paris, 1889) 98, , "*šf^c* and taking captives." It may perhaps be connected with *hf^c*, "grasp."

^{19c}See Pl. 27, n. 10c.


^{19d}Perhaps something like: "The heat of [Sekhmet blazed] as a flame (*m lk3*) [against their bodies]." The first trace after the break could be *k* or the shoulder of *ayin*.

^{20a}*hbb* only here. Two clues as to its meaning are the det. (cf. Montet, *Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 95 f. and Pl. VIII) and the verb *šbbh*, "ensnare(?)" (cf. Pl. 28, n. 53b).

^{22a}See Gardiner, *Notes on Sinuhe*, p. 10. Other late texts omit the preposition *hr*.

^{23a}For *k3i* so determined cf. Pl. 28:60.

^{23b}The *h3st* sign seems curiously short.

^{24a}A puzzling sign, complicated by breaks. The curving vertical line at the top, which runs down to the sloping line below, may or may not be original. We have been unable to fit anything to the traces, although  is plausible as one of the components. We have tried unsuccessfully *nmt* and *hbt*, "place of execution," *w^cbt*, "embalming place," *db3t*, "sarcophagus," etc. A very badly made and broken star is possible, although improbable; but *dw3t*, "underworld," does not employ the article.

^{24b}Cf. Pl. 46, n. 23b.

^{25a}On *shy* see Pl. 82, n. 16b. The meaning of the word is most uncertain, the syntax is doubtful, so that our translation is offered with every reserve.

^{26a}See Pl. 82, n. 15d.

^{27a}"A blindfolded man"? Cf. *כס*, "cover, shelter"; but this is the merest guess. The det. may be connected with *tktn* (e.g. in Israel Stela, l. 24).

ground, together with his army, and he made a cry^{27b} to the heavens, to beg for his son.^{27c} There were 'halted'^{127d} ²⁸his feet and his hand, standing still in his place. The god is the one who knows his innermost thoughts, and his majesty had fallen upon them ²⁹like a mountain of granite, (so that they were) 'ground, pulverized,^{29a} and joined to' the ground. Their blood where they were was like water. ³⁰'Their corpses were crushed in the place of [their] treading. Seized upon was Keper; carried off¹ and slain was [his] army, whose hearts had relied upon^{30a} ³¹him to save them; (he was) slain with 'bound'^{131a} arms, pinioned like a bird, made prostrate on the 'chariot (floor)^{131b} under the tread of his majesty. ³²He was like Montu; mighty were his feet upon his head. His leaders before him were slain in his grasp. Happy were his^{32a} ³³counsels, and his plans for his palace were effected before him, while his heart^{33a} was refreshed. He was like a ravaging lion, roaring, <rending> the wild cattle with his tooth;^{33b} King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; ³⁴Son of Re: Ramses III.


As for Egypt, their hearts exult at the sight of his victory, and they rejoice with one accord on his every side. [They] (say):^{34a} ³⁵'Hail to thee, in peace! — — — — — 'enemies^{135a} cast down before thy horses — — — — —^{35b} ³⁶ — — — — — 'to us, valiant deeds in our hearts¹ — — — — —^{36a} ³⁷stretching out — — — — — 'I will rescue my tribespeople and will — — — — —^{37a} — — — — —³⁸ — — — — —^{38a} — — — — —. Not one of them was left

^{27b}Cf. Pl. 88:6.

^{27c}Meshesher was his son. Keper is shown in Pl. 75 as pleading for his son.

^{27d}Assuming the series *3b.tw > i3b.tw > c.b.t.*


^{29a}*kḏh* is unknown. On *ths* see Pl. 28, n. 64a. Note the book roll in the first syllable here.

^{30a}Reading *n3y.sn h3wt ptpt hr st dgs.w. mh m Kpr; in sm3 mšc.f, wn ib.sn hn hr.f*, with the final phrase written  in the transition from l. 30 to l. 31.

^{31a}*kbs* is surely *k3s*; cf. Gardiner, *Notes on Sinuhe*, p. 49. The *b* may be an incorrect transcription of hieratic *3*.


^{31b}*bry* (Burchardt II, No. 350) is a wood from which chariots are made (Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*. Series I. *Literary Texts* I 37*, n. 9), here perhaps the chariot itself. For representations of captives bound on the chariot see Pl. 24; Cairo Stela 34026; Champollion, *Monuments* I (Paris, 1835) Pl. LXIV, and III, Pl. CCXCVIII; Wreszinski, *Atlas* II 25 b.

^{32a}The Egyptian presents the ambiguity of pronouns, but the reader will recognize that the distress is Keper's, the triumph Ramses'. Only in the phrase "before him" is the antecedent of the pronoun uncertain.

^{33a}The *ib* was cut over some earlier sign the traces of which look like .

^{33b}Something must have dropped out before *cwt*. On *hḡr* see Pl. 82, n. 31d.



^{34a}Read *iw.[w]*; cf. Pl. 28, n. 38c.

^{35a}After *i3wt tw m htp* the first trace recorded may be reed leaf or *k*, then a reed leaf, then an 3-bird, a reed leaf, another, then apparently two vertical strokes. The rounded trace at the end of the break may be of the  sign. Read . . . [n]3y.[k] *hrw*, ". . . thy enemies"?

^{35b}The last trace recorded in the line looks like part of the *w*-bird.

^{36a}The two large strokes to the left of the *s3* sign are not in line. The lower of them may be the stroke of *hr* for the preposition *hr-s3*.

^{37a}To the right of the last human figure is another *r* in the center of the line. Is this a speech of the Libyan chief?

^{38a}The trace at the edge of the cement may be  or .

'(to go) to the town' — — — — — ^{38b} 39 — — — — — ^{39a} Finished^{39b} was their
lifetime 'under'^{39c} — — — — —; ⁴⁰ Son of Re: [Ramses III].''^{40a} — — — — — ^{40b}
their roads^{40c} — — — — — ⁴¹ — — — — — annihilated^{41a} upon its soil — ^{41b}
— — — — — ⁴² — — — — — gods after them, ^{42a} driving away [their] — — — — —
⁴³ — — — — — victory, ^{43a} to ensnare them for his majesty, like birds. His arms
'butchered' among them, ^{43b} ⁴⁴ — ^{44a} — — — — — his [horses] 'dash ahead', ^{44b} trampling^{44c}
among them, (so that they are) 'emptied'^{44d} and finished as a sacrifice; ⁴⁵ — — — — —, 'turned
about'; ^{45a} the gods and goddesses are in festivity, beholding the slaughtering of them. All those
who escape (from) under his arms are prostrate ⁴⁶ and cast down^{46a} — — — — — drawing^{46b}
breath [to] their nostrils and hidden. They make humble approach^{46c} in the ⁴⁷ — — — — —

^{38b}After *dmît* the round sign is shallow-cut or cut in outline (not *h*). Below it there seems to be a horizontal *m*. The next trace visible is solid-cut and may be a human head. The last two traces recorded may be reed leaves.

^{39a}The sign under *d* may be a wing (*hfd*, "soar") or a knife. The traces on the right edge of the cement are the tail of a *w*-bird with strokes.

^{39b}The sloping trace after *skm* is probably a remnant of the lock of hair.

^{39c}Perhaps *hr*[-*h*ꜥ . . .], "be[fore thy horses]," or similar. But the *hr* hieroglyph may be used as a *g* at Medinet Habu.

^{40a}We have taken the King's name as a possible terminus for the quotation begun in l. 35.

^{40b}*m ddf*; the latter word is unknown.

^{40c}The final trace is of ꜥꜥ. For the writing of the possessive adj. cf. Pl. 37:8.

^{41a}There are possible traces of *h* of *htm* (or *shtm*).

^{41b}The first round sign has traces of green (*h* of *nht*?).

^{42a}We cannot identify the first two signs of the line. There is some confusion in the strokes of *m sꜥ.w hr*. The stroke for *hr* may not have been carved.

^{43a}Perhaps —. *sn hr nhtw*, "their — in victory," but the supposed *hr* sign is not well centered.

^{43b}Reading [*hr*] *w*[*cw*] *im.sn*.

^{44a}The first trace looks more like *hr* than *ib*.

^{44b}*hfn* is unknown. *hfd*, "lunge, go headlong," fits the sense (see Pl. 88, n. 6b), and there is a related word *hfdn* (Wreszinski, *Atlas* II 74-75) which may connect *hfd*, *hfd*, and *hfdn* with 𓂏𓂐, "be startled" (*nif'al*, "flee in terror"), and 𓂏𓂐𓂑, "hasty flight." Our case would then be in error, lacking the *d*.

^{44c}Read *dgdg*. See Pl. 32, n. 6b.

^{44d}See Griffith in *JEA* XII (1926) 203, n. 5 (on Amenemopet vii 6) for the meaning here ascribed to *h*. For Pap. Mayer A i 5, Decree of Amenhotep, Son of Hapu, ll. 9-10, and Pap. Turin (Pleyte and Rossi) Pl. LV 4 see the suggestion of Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies*, pp. 161 f. Another instance in *RSO* XIII (1931) 321, l. 11 (var. of Pap. Anastasi I xxv 1). Might it mean bloodletting before sacrifice?

^{45a}*sꜥsꜥ*? Cf. Gardiner, *Notes on Sinuhe*, pp. 35 and 157. There is only room for a det. after it. A supposed *r* at the beginning of this line proved to be only a flint stratum.

^{46a}Curiously arranged for *phd*. To the right of the *p* a possible trace of *d* is visible. We do not recognize the rectangle recorded farther on. The bird is either *m* or, less likely, *w*.

^{46b}Perhaps *hr iḥ*, but the *t* is doubtful. Is there reference to difficulty in breathing?

^{46c}For *krr* cf. *kry*, "approach" (Israel Stela, l. 16; Brugsch, *Thesaurus* V 1074, l. 3; Brugsch, *Wörterbuch* VII [1882] 1258), and *kry*, "sojourner, client" (Maxims of Ani vii 6; Pap. Chester Beatty I vii 5-6 and 10). *kꜥyw*, "approach," and 𓂏𓂐, "sojourner," are also connected.

— — — — — their bodies, knowing not — — — — —^{47a} ⁴⁸ — — — — —
 —;^{48a} their tribespeople are scattered upon the mountains,^{48b} ⁴⁹[laid] out like straw^{1.49a} They
 are brought in bondage,^{49b} 'as captives and (their) women'. It is the heat ⁵⁰and the awe of
 the mighty King that made them prostrate, that laid them low for Egypt;^{50a} ⁵¹the King of
 Upper and Lower Egypt, terrible bull, sharp of horns, slaying the Temeh and the [Me]shwesh
 with his valiant arm: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

PLATE 87. RAMSES III ATTACKING TWO HITTITE TOWNS*


DESCRIPTION

Ramses III in his chariot, accompanied by Egyptian infantry, attacks two fortresses. The King has loosed arrows which have thrown the defending Hittites into utter confusion. Egyptian soldiers have already entered the upper fortress, and its doorway is thrown down. A Hittite holds aloft a brazier as a symbol of submission.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹The good god, rich in awe, strong, raging in the fray, ²great of victory in all foreign countries; his battle cry^{2a} ³is like (that of) Baal^{3a} in the heavens. A thousand men cannot stand fast before him;^{3b} ⁴hundred-thousands quail at the sight of him, for he is like^{4a} ⁵Montu when

^{47a}We cannot see the det. of *hm*, recorded by Sethe (for *Wb.*) as . The following word might be *h3y*, "measure, investigate." The sign under the arm is carved in outline only. The bird at the end of the line is perhaps *3* rather than *w*. Possibly: "[They are ill as to] their bodies, unable to diagnose themselves, in pain."

^{48a}A possible *t* is visible before the *3*-bird. The trace before the *m*-bird may be the shoulder of the arm (red color).

^{48b}Cf. Athribis Stela, l. 12.

^{49a}Perhaps *d[r^c] mī [d]h3*. *drc* occurs in the neighborhood of *hnr*, "scattered," in Pl. 27:14. The state of the wall makes *r* reasonable for the second radical. The horizontal sign over the dets. may be the book roll accompanying *3*. The word *dh3*, "straw," is more probable; cf. Pl. 82:37. Its det. may be the same sign as that determining *3cd* in l. 45 above.

^{49b}Burchardt II, No. 193.

^{50a}Note the large hieroglyphs and generous spacing of signs. At *im.sn* in l. 44 the outline draftsman realized that he must spread out in order to fill the remaining space on the wall.

^{5a}Pl. strokes will fill the break over *f*.

^{5a}The name is spelled out in Pls. 79:22 and 86:25.

^{5b}Probably nothing is lost below *r h3f*; cf. Kadesh Poem, Karnak 1, l. 4, for the same words. The irregular length of ll. 1-5 is to be noted. Certain elements in the scene suggest that it was copied; the inscription also may have been copied, and a slavish adherence to the word structure of the original may be responsible for the eccentric spacing here. In the Feast of Min series, the disposition of the lines in the Medinet Habu version may be used to demonstrate slavish copying from the Ramessesum version. In any case, is it probable that Ramses III reached Arzawa?

^{4a}Preserved surface below *mī* shows that there is no loss. See n. 3b above.

* Great Temple, exterior, first pylon, north tower, west face, upper register. Wressinski, *Atlas* II 145.

he has taken the bow. Not ————. ^{5a} 'Overthrown' ^{15b} are ⁶the lands; plundered ^{6a} are their towns, crushed and fallen ⁷<upon> their faces, ^{7a} for his arrow has penetrated their flesh and their bones. Their arms ⁸make petition ^{8a} to his name: King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III, forever.

ABOVE THE SPAN

⁹The great first span of ^{9a} his majesty, "Victory [in] Thebes."

BELOW THE LOWER FORTRESS

¹⁰The town of Arzawa. ^{10a}

PLATE 88. RAMSES III STORMING THE TOWN OF TUNIP*


DESCRIPTION

Ramses III in his chariot, assisted by Egyptian and foreign soldiers, attacks a fortified town. The King is shown as smiting the leading figure of the enemy. Egyptian troops are cutting down the trees about the town, hacking down the gateway, and climbing scaling ladders up the walls. As a Syrian holds aloft a brazier in token of surrender, an Egyptian bugler sounds the victory. Plate 89, a reinforced photograph, gives the town in greater detail.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING


¹The mighty King, protecting Egypt, lord of strength, valiant ²of arms, stout ^{2a} of heart, conscious of his strength, ³whose name has repelled the Bows; ^{3a} terrible of ⁴form when he sees the fray, dreadful of face ⁵when beholding hundred-thousands, happy and glad ^{5a} when he

^{5a}The traces are difficult. Possibly , "His ———— does not stand still." Cf. the confusion in Pl. 68:3.

^{5b}The horizontal trace under *f* looks like a thin *d*. But the space is great for *dḥ*. Is it a thick *s*, beginning *šhr*?

^{6a}Above the strong-arm det. of *ḥ3ḥ* there is an apparent vertical stroke. We do not think it original.

^{7a}The preposition *hr* is omitted through haplography.

^{8a}We see sufficient traces of all the signs of *snmḥ*. The arms of the human figure must have been raised, i.e., . Above this word the left third of the line is quite clear and unbroken. The line must begin below the level of the other lines.

^{9a}No genitive *n* carved.

^{10a}The reading *Ṛrt* is beyond doubt (as previously read by Daressy, Burchardt, Wreszinski). For the identification cf. Pl. 46, n. 17a.

In a corresponding place on the upper fortress, there are miserably obscure traces of what may be *dmi*, "town." Our artist has drawn the reed leaf of this as the only recognizable sign. The name was shallow-cut in plaster and is now totally lost.

^{2a}Literally "wide." Under the *ḥ* there is one light scratch. This may be a remnant of the walking legs, lightly cut on plaster, but it is too obscure for insertion here.

^{3a}We see the entire bottom bow and the right corner of the top bow.

^{5a}Probably . The horizontal trace over *f* may be the back of the hare.

* Great Temple, exterior, north wall, upper register, scene just west of the first pylon. Champollion, *Monuments III*, Pls. CCXXVIII and CCXXVII right; Wreszinski, *Atlas II* 151.

hears ⁶the cry, ^{6a}penetrating thick throngs headlong; ^{6b} ⁷the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III; the beneficent sovereign ⁸to him who bows the back to him, ^{8a}rich in glory ^{8b}in the hearts of the Asiatics, ⁹making the foreign countries prostrate, desolating their towns, ¹⁰making their speech become a thing destroyed, ^{11-12a}a great wall in the region ^{11a}of Egypt. ¹³The mighty bull, seizing upon his every assailant; the potent ruler, there is none like ^{13a} ¹⁴him, making firm [^{14a}the land] by his laws; the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; ¹⁵Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, forever.

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT

¹⁶Horus, ^{16a}abundant in valor, rich in victory, great protector of Egypt, repelling the Bows, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Lord of Diadems: Rams[es III] —————.

BELOW THE FORTRESS

¹⁷————— Tunip of Hatti. ^{17a}

PLATE 90. RAMSES III STORMING A SYRIAN FORTRESS*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III has descended from his chariot and is personally capturing a Syrian fortress, while his attendants and bodyguard wait behind him. The Syrians are shown as capitulating.

^{6a}The cry for help (Burchardt II, No. 1203). Cf. *ibid.* No. 1202 and Pl. 86:27 above.

^{6b}Burchardt II, No. 675. Cf. Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris*, p. 68. The det. here emphasizes force rather than speed. Cf. Pl. 28, n. 62a, and Pl. 86, n. 44b.

^{8a}Cf. Pl. 44, n. 16a.



^{8b}The upper line of the *3w* sign, with red color, is visible on the wall.

^{11a}See Pl. 82, n. 19c.

^{13a}The components of *mi-ḳd* are obscure, but the reading of the whole is practically certain. The *mi* sign shows a touch of red on its bowl, the *d* has a trace of red, and the *t* a trace of blue. Their outlines are not clear.

^{14a}The space available is small. Another possibility is the horizontal *m3ṯ* sign, i.e., "establishing [truth] by his laws."

^{16a}The initial sign was originally carved as the *wr*-bird, then changed to the falcon. This line is paralleled by Pls. 74:8 and 93:18.

^{17a}The hieroglyphs are lightly scratched into rather rough stone. In the first group what we have copied as *t* may be merely an unusually sharp break, as also the two lines under the probable *n*. We cannot identify the word; *dmi*, "town," seems ruled out. The name Tunip seems certain, and it may have been written . The traces following *ḳt* in the last group may be the *3*-bird, and after the throw stick one can imagine a trace of the  det.

* Great Temple, exterior, north wall, upper register, between pylons. Champollion, *Monuments III*, Pl. CCXXVII left; Wressinski, *Atlas II* 153-54.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹The ruler, potent on the 'battlefield', conscious of his strength, terrible^{1a} ²when charging ahead, relying upon his arm, 'charging',^{12a} wide ³of stride, bearing his sword, destroying his enemies^{3a} ⁴in all lands, young bull, heroic, ⁵firm upon the field of combat, ⁶⁻⁸causing the Asiatics to cease mentioning Egypt.

OVER THE GROOMS

⁹The royal princes, the charioteer, and the bodyguard,^{9a} ¹⁰who are in the retinue of his majesty.

OVER THE SPAN

¹¹⁻¹²The great span of his majesty, "Repelling the Bows."^{12a}

PLATE 91. RAMSES III REVIEWING SYRIAN PRISONERS*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III reviews three lines of prisoners brought up by Egyptian officers under the leadership of the Crown Prince.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹The King himself says to the Crown Prince, Royal Scribe, Chief Commander of the Army, and Royal Son, ————: ^{1a} "Muster^{1b} ²these captives whom the mighty arm of Pharaoh, L.P.H., has carried off. Put th[em in] offices^{2a} ³in the House of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, for it was his hand^{3a} that carried them off."

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT

All protection, life, duration, and satisfaction, [all] health, [all ———— behind him, ———— like Re] forever.

^{1a}The *sh̄m*-sistrum, with cow's ears, was carved in outline and probably elaborated in paint.

^{2a}See Pl. 28, n. 55a.

^{3a}The det. has curiously long feet.

^{9a}See Pl. 16, n. 15a.

^{12a}Elsewhere "Repelling the Nine Bows" (Pls. 22, 72, and 98).

^{1a}A space was left for the prince's name.

^{1b}The evidence gathered by Edgerton in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932) pp. 61 ff. indicates that in the time of Ramses III this would probably not be the infinitive used as imperative. The *t* may be meaningless. *sh̄wt* has the meanings "gather" and "enroll."

^{2a}Reading *s[t m] i3wt* (cf. Pl. 96:10).

^{3a}The stone bearing the word "hand" has slipped, so that it slopes down at present. This has been corrected in the drawing.

* Great Temple, exterior, north wall, upper register, between pylons. Wreszinski, *Atlas* II 153-54.

PLATE 92. RAMSES III RETURNING IN TRIUMPH
FROM A SYRIAN CAMPAIGN*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III in his chariot drives before him two lines of Asiatic captives.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹The good god, beautiful when he appears like Re [^{1a}'before the']²people, returning when [he] has triumphed; ³his arm is mighty; he has taken captive^{3a} ⁴the lands of the Asiatics. He is like the strength ⁵of his father Montu,^{5a} like Set^{5b} when beholding his foe. ⁶The plains and hill-countries are pinioned before [him, and the viola]tor of his frontier ⁷[is overthrown]^{7a} by the command of thy^{7b} father Amon-Re, [^{7c}fallen beneath] the sword, upon their [faces]^{7c}.

OVER THE CAPTIVES

⁸Words spoken by the fallen ones ⁹of every country, who are in front of his majesty: ¹⁰"Breath from thee, thou lord of Egypt, ¹¹the Sun of the Nine Bows! ¹²Thy father Amon has set us beneath thy feet forever. ¹³Let us see and breathe^{13a} the ¹⁴breath, and let us serve ¹⁵his temple, for thou art for us ¹⁶the lord forever, like thy father ¹⁷Amon, and every land is beneath thy soles like Re ¹⁸forever, O Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon!"


OVER THE SPAN

The great first span of his [majesty, —————].

PLATE 93. RAMSES III PRESENTING SYRIAN PRISONERS AND
SPOIL TO AMON AND KHONSU†

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III leads two lines of Asiatic captives to Amon and Khonsu, who are in a shrine. Elaborate vessels before the King represent the spoil.

^{1a}Restoring  (cf. Pls. 28:50, 22:14) or perhaps *n rhyt* (cf. Pl. 62:1).





^{3a}The carved margin line seems to end just left of the *f*, so that this is probably the end of the line. It is uncertain whether l. 2 was much longer. Our translation has assumed that only *f* is lost. But some short word may end l. 2, giving us something like "when [he] has triumphed; [great is] ³his arm; the mighty one,"

^{5a}A curious inversion of the usual "His strength is like (that of) his father Montu."

^{5b}Or "Baal."

^{7a}*šhr?*

^{7b}Sic; read "his."

^{7c}Restoring  (or similar)   .

^{13a}Unsatisfactory. We assume that the second subject was omitted because it was the same as the first and parallel in construction, coinciding phonetically with the final sound of the verb; i.e., *šsn.n* > *ssn*. But *m3 n ssn* may be "See us breathing." For the lack of ending in the old perfective 1st pl. cf. Pl. 82, n. 38b.

* Great Temple, exterior, north wall, upper register, between pylons. Wreszinski, *Atlas* II 155.

† Great Temple, exterior, north wall, upper register, scene just east of second pylon. Wreszinski, *Atlas* II 155.

TEXTS

BEFORE AMON

¹Words spoken by A[mon-R]e, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, to his son, ²the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Me[riam]on: "My heart '[is glad when] I [see]^{12a} ³thy victories, and every land rejoices when '[beholding]' ⁴the valiant deeds of [thy] arm,^{4a} for thou hast taken captive those '[who assailed thee, and] I [have repelled]' ⁵him who violated thy frontier."

BY KHONSU

⁶[Wor]ds spoken b[y Kh]onsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep: ⁷⁻⁸"I have given thee eternity as King of the Two Lands. ⁹I have given thee a million jubilees, hundred-thousands of years, like Re, forever."

BEFORE THE KING

¹⁰Words spoken by the King, the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon, in the presence of his father, Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands: "I am come^{10a} in victory, for I have taken captive ¹¹as I might wish. I have made prostrate the lands '[before]' me.^{11a} Thy strength is that which has destroyed them. ¹²Thy heat is that which is in their^{12a} bodies to '[consume them]'.^{12b} He who goes subservient to thee is under a wall of iron."^{12c}

OVER THE UPPER REGISTER OF CAPTIVES

¹³Words spoken by the chiefs of all countries, who are in the grasp of his majesty:^{13a} ¹⁴"Breath, breath, thou living sun, ¹⁵who shines^{15a} upon Egypt! Life is in thy hand ¹⁶for every nostril. 'Mayest <thou> give it to us, that we may breathe it!'"^{16a}



OVER THE LOWER REGISTER OF CAPTIVES

¹⁷"Great is thy strength, O King, like (that of) thy father Montu; Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon!"^{17a}

^{2a}At the ends of ll. 2-4, 2 or 2½ squares are lost. Our restorations are efforts to approximate the supposed sense.

^{4a}The shoulder and thumb of the arm are visible.

^{10a}Old perfective 1st sing.

^{11a}The only restoration which occurs to us is *m-[hr].i*. Note  here for .

^{12a}The *s* is very thick and may involve a correction.

^{12b}*r* [*wbd.w*], "to burn them up," if that can be fitted to the space, or some similar idea.

^{12c}I.e., under the shadow or protection of a strong wall.

^{13a}Note the peculiar cutting of the royal figure. The roughened area above l. 13 is the remains of an old waterspout. This accounts for the peculiar disposition of the lines here.

^{15a}*nty pnd* (for *psd*).

^{16a}The scribe or sculptor is in hopeless confusion. The word order in the first clause is abnormal. The *k* lacks a loop. The writing of *ssn* is peculiar. The final *s* is of course sufficient for *sw*, but it is possible that some small element stood in the break below it.

^{17a}A square or more may be lost at the beginning of this line before the *wr*, but probably there is no loss.

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE LEFT

¹⁸Horus, abundant in valor, rich in victory, great protector [of Egypt, repelling the Bows], King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, [Lord of Diadems]: Ramses III, beloved of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven.^{18a}

PLATE 94. RAMSES III STORMING A FORTRESS IN AMOR*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III has descended from his chariot and is attacking a fortress on foot. The King is assisted by Egyptian and foreign troops. The Syrians lower their lances, and one of them holds out a brazier in token of surrender. The fortress is shown in greater detail in the reinforced photograph on Plate 95.

TEXTS†

ABOVE THE KING

¹The King, powerful ———, ^{1a} stretching the bow ²and sending [his] arrow straight without fail, ³mighty, charging [ahead], relying upon his arm, ⁴conscious of his strength, for he is [like] Montu, ^{4a} conquering the ⁵⁻⁶plains and hill-countries, slain in their places. ⁷His battle cry is like (that of) Baal^{7a} upon the mountain tops; ⁸the young ferocious^{8a} bull, sharp of horns; ⁹heroic, 'charging' upon the field of valor; the *maher*, ^{9a} lord of ¹⁰beauty, 'enfolded'^{10a} between¹ Horus and Set. Their strength and ¹¹the awe of [them] are united in his body. When any land mentions him, ¹²[then] they 'are' burned up.^{12a} ——— ¹³the terror of him; steadfast of heart when taking captives;^{13a} ¹⁴⁻¹⁵infuriated when he sees the fray before him ¹⁶⁻¹⁷like one rejoicing; smashing hundred-thousands together ¹⁸at the time of his fury; [King of Upper and] Lower [Egypt], Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; ¹⁹Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, given life like [Re] forever.

^{18a}Restorations are from the parallels: Pls. 74:8 and 88:16.

^{1a}Illegible traces at the end of the broken area, of which the left-hand one bears blue paint.

^{4a}As in Pl. 78:19.

^{7a}Spelled out in Pls. 79:22 and 83:55.

^{8a}Probably *nšntytw* (cf. Pl. 46, n. 3a).


^{9a}See Pl. 46, n. 3c.

^{10a}*bnd* so determined only here. The det. and the known word *bnd* (Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*. Series I. *Literary Texts* I 13*, n. 15) suggest the rendering here adopted.

^{12a}Cf. Pl. 46:24-25. More than one square is lost at the end of this line.

^{13a}It is uncertain whether there is any loss at the end of this line.

* Great Temple, interior, first court, north wall, lower register. Wreszinski, *Atlas* II 146-47.

† The usual formula stands in the line behind the King. In the broken area just above the King's right arm there are traces of , which were unfortunately omitted from our drawing.

OVER THE FORTRESS

²⁰Words spoken by the ['wretched'] chief [of the]^{20a} ²¹town of Amor [and]^{21a} ²²his tribes-people ['in the presence of'] ²³the good ruler, who is like unto ['Montu']: ²⁴"Give to us the breath [which thou givest], ²⁵that we may breathe it, [relating]^{25a} ²⁶thy fame to the son of our son, ['thy'] memory ———."

PLATE 96. RAMSES III CELEBRATING HIS VICTORY
OVER THE SYRIANS*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III, attended by his personal followers, stands in a rostrum to receive three lines of Syrian captives, who are presented to him by the Crown Prince and Egyptian officials. A color detail of some royal attendants is given on Plate 97.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹Words spoken by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon, to the royal princes, the nobles, the Court of Thirty,^{1a} and the bodyguard: "Hear ²my^{2a} utterances, that I may make you aware of the strength of Amon, the Lord of Eternity, since he crowned me as ³King as a divine youth. I sit upon his throne in victory, for his hand ⁴remains with me in every fray, and he sets the awe of me in the hearts of the Nine Bows, so that every invader ⁵of my frontier is slain in their places. — — —^{5a} devastated all at [once]. ⁶My sword is great and mighty^{6a} like (that of) Montu. No [land] can stand [fast before] my arms. 'I [am]^{6b} ⁷a king rejoicing [in] slaughter.^{7a} My reign is calmed in peace.^{7b}

^{20a}*wr* [*h̄s̄i n*] or *wr* [*n p̄3*]?

^{21a}Probably only the throw stick and the mountains det. to be supplied.

^{25a}[*s̄qd*]; cf. Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften* I (Leipzig, 1867) Pl. XXVIII-XXIX 4-6, for a similar text. The final line (26) was apparently longer than this.

^{1a}*m̄b̄3yt*. Here and in Pl. 116:6 the hieratic sign for 30 was carved.

^{2a}The third pl. stroke was never carved, although it may have been present in paint. The pl. strokes should stand before the seated man. Perhaps this error was discovered when two strokes had been carved, and they were simply plastered up.

^{5a}There are obscure traces at the beginning of the lacuna like the writing of *wt*, "wild cattle"; but the sign under *w* does not seem to be *t*.

^{6a}See Pl. 16, n. 8b.

^{6b}Reading tentatively $\text{𓂏}[\text{𓂏}]$, with the det. at the beginning of l. 7.

^{7a}The sign between the two royal figures is green (𓂏 ?). Between *r̄wt* and *h̄ryt* there is hardly room for *n*, certainly no room for any other preposition. This may be another case of omitted preposition.

^{7b}Literally "cooled under peace," reading *sk̄bb.ti*. There may be a trace of the vertical *s̄* visible.

* Great Temple, interior, first court, north wall, lower register, east end. Wreszinski, *Atlas* II 148.

Everything which I have done has ⁸come to pass, and my plans are excellent. 'I am confident, and my [heart] trusts in the Lord of the Gods, Amon,' I say every day, ⁹for I know his nature, the sole lord, who fashioned the gods and formed^{9a} mankind. Give his captives ¹⁰to him as a gift,^{10a} enrolling them into the offices of [his house¹,^{10b} for it] was^{10c} his strength which carried them off from the plains ¹¹and the hill-countries to drag^{11a} them away and to overthrow them beneath my soles. May he give the value^{11b} ¹²of them to his Ennead, that they may increase my reign with victories."

OVER THE OFFICIALS

¹³Words spoken by the royal princes, the officials, and the leaders, in praise ¹⁴of this good god, the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon: "Thou art like Re when ¹⁵he began to reign, for thou appearest like unto him at dawn. Thy arm ¹⁶is strong, overthrowing the Bows. Glad is the heart of Egypt in the possession of ¹⁷one [strong] of arm. The strength of Montu imbues thy body. ¹⁸Thy counsels are excellent; thy plans are effected. ¹⁹Amon has [found] for himself a child to make firm the ²⁰throne of Egypt; he has ordained for thee ²¹[kingship], and he has made all that the sun encircles inclosed ²²within thy grasp, O Lord of Diadems: Ramses III!"^{22a}

BEFORE THE PRINCE

²³The Crown Prince, Royal Scribe, and [Chief] Commander of [the Army], —————. ^{23a}

PLATE 98. RAMSES III RETURNING IN TRIUMPH
FROM A CAMPAIGN IN AMOR*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III in his chariot drives before him three lines of captives, representatives of all his campaigns in the north of Egypt. The King is greeted by priests, who hold formal bouquets, by the two viziers, and by Egyptian officials. The captives are shown in reinforced photograph on Plate 125.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹The good god, the son of Amon, rich in strength like —^{1a} in his might; ²beautiful at horsemanship like Re; his beauty is before (one's) face^{2a} like the sun; ³returning when he

^{9a}The traces are a standing figure on the right and a touch of blue which forms the upper left corner of the wall hieroglyph.

^{10a}See Pl. 29, n. 28a. Note the unusual word order.

^{10b}Reading [*pr.f*]; cf. Pl. 91:2-3.

^{10c}Reading *m = in*.

^{11a}The *ḥ* sign is carved over earlier —.

^{11b}See Peet in *JEA* XII 71, n. 8; Wreszinski, *Atlas* II 73.

^{22a}For this speech cf. Pl. 75:5-14.

^{23a}Probably no name was ever carved.

^{1a}Baal or Set, possibly Montu.

^{2a}Cf. Great Aton Hymn, l. 3.

* Great Temple, interior, first court, north wall, lower register. Unpublished as a whole.

has triumphed, when he has defeated the Nine Bows and crushed ⁴the lands of the Asiatics. His heart is stout, his arm ⁵strong, and all his counsels are perfected. The chiefs^{6a} ⁶of the countries are pinioned^{6a} before [him]. He has destroyed ⁷their people and their towns. The glory of his majesty ⁸has permeated their bodies; the awe of him has entered their limbs.^{8a} ⁹It is the strength of [his fa]ther Amon that gives him every land into his grasp.

BEFORE THE WELCOMING EGYPTIANS

¹⁰Words spoken by the prophets and the officials: "Welcome in peace, O mighty King, the Horus: Rich in Years! Thou hast laid hold upon the lands, and the Nine Bows are pinioned before thy horses, as thy father^{10a} Amon decreed for thee that every land be under thy feet!"

OVER THE SPAN

The great first span of his majesty, "Repelling the Nine Bows," of the stable of Usermare-Meriamon, of the Court.

PLATE 99. RAMSES III PRESENTING REPRESENTATIVE PRISONERS
FROM HIS LIBYAN AND ASIATIC CAMPAIGNS
TO THE THEBAN TRIAD*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III leads two lines of captives, representatives of all his campaigns in the north of Egypt, to Amon, Mut, and Khonsu, who stand in a shrine.† Plate 100 gives the lower line of prisoners in color.

TEXTS

BEFORE AMON

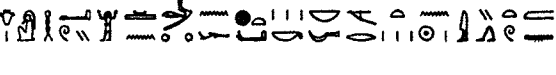
¹Words spoken by Amon-Re, Ruler of Thebes, to his son, the Lord of the Two Lands:
²Usermare-Meriamon:^{2a} "My heart is glad at the sight of thy victories, O lord ³of the sword,

^{5a}The hieroglyph shows a beard, a cape, and a highly colored dress.

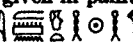
^{6a}The side lock and the cape of the det. do not seem to belong together in any racial type.

^{8a}Reading <t>.sn; but <h>w.sn is also possible.

^{10a}No t was ever carved in this word. It may have been present in paint.

^{2a}For ll. 2-3 we fortunately have a parallel from the Medinet Habu Fortified Gate (Zettel 859; scene shown in Jéquier, *L'Architecture et la décoration dans l'ancienne Égypte. Les temples ramessides et salles de la XIX^e à la XXX^e dynastie* [Paris, 1922] Pl. 46): .

* Great Temple, interior, first court, north wall, lower register, west end. Wreszinski, *Atlas II* 150 a-b. Published in part by de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques II*, Pls. CXXVII-CXXVIII, and Piehl, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques I*, Pls. CXLVII-CXLVIII.

† At the top of the shrine the King's titulary is given in painted hieroglyphs. At the end of the line stands the name of the temple: "the House of Usermare-Meriamon ." This is apparently corrupt (cf. Pl. 9:13 and its parallels).

beloved of Re!^{1a} Welcome 'in the land',^{2b} thy conquest achieved! ⁴I have given thee all valor and all strength, <every land>^{4a} beneath thy soles, ⁵and the chiefs^{5a} of ^{5b} ⁶every land together in thy grasp."^{6a}

BEFORE MUT

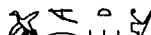

⁷Words spoken by Mut the Great, Mistress of Heaven: ⁸"She gives^{8a} all life and satisfaction, all joy, and all health."

BY KHONSU

⁹Words spoken by Khonsu Neferhotep: "Welcome, welcome, thou good god,^{9a} the Horus: Great ¹⁰of Kingship! Thy heart is glad, for thou hast taken captive hundred-thousands, ¹¹which are set before thy father. ¹²I have given thee millions of jubilees, very numerous like Re."

BY THE KING

¹³Words spoken by the King, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Meriamon, in the presence of his father, Amon-Re, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of the Ennead:^{13a} "I went forth upon thy way; I have returned at thy command. All thy plans have come to completion. Thou hast let [me] take captive ¹⁴[the]^{14a} plains and hill-countries, fallen through terror of me, prostrate in their places to my sword, their chiefs^{14b} slain through my^{14c} prowess. I have carried off their people and all their possessions; every splendid costly stone ¹⁵of their country is set before thee, O Lord of the Gods! Give to him whom thou lovest. Mayest thou give an equivalence^{15a} to thy Ennead. It is the strength of thy arm^{15b} that carried them off,^{15c} the males thereof to fill ¹⁶thy storehouses, their women to be serfs of thy temple. Thou hast let me make my frontier wherever ¹⁷I may have wished, without opposition^{17a} in any land. The lands are in

^{3a}The parallel is puzzling but not impossible. Another Fortified Gate text calls Ramses . Is this a misspelling of ?

^{5b}The sign is blue (*t3*), not green (*htp*). Cf. the parallel.

^{4a}After *nht nb* the scribe seems to have omitted *t3 nb* or similar.

^{5a}The hieroglyph preserves much color detail.

^{6b}The curious sign below must be a miscutting of the stroke after the *nw*-jar. It is carved in outline only, with a high-surface center bearing red paint.

^{6a}The three lines 4-6 are in some confusion, but the numbering here adopted seems the probable solution.

^{8a}*Sic*; read as usual "I have given to thee."

^{9a}*p3 ntr nfr*.


^{13a}The King's speech through *n b3w.i* in l. 14 is repeated on the Fortified Gate (*Zettel* 858-857; *Jéquier, loc. cit.*).

^{14a}Probably  of the parallel stands at the head of the line, but the surviving traces are puzzling.

^{14b}Parallel .

^{14c}Parallel "thy."

^{15a}There is the base of some sign ( or *t* or book roll) above the pl. strokes. Cf. *šbt* of Pl. 96:11.

^{15b}An original *n* between *phly* and *hps* seems to have been plastered out. Below the *k* there was an , which was plastered out.

^{15c}Reading *in sn. inn s(n)*, "that carries them off," is also possible.

^{17a}Literally "without my arm being repulsed." There is room for *n* under the negative arms.

adoration ¹⁸out of fear of me, for I am like [Re], strong of arm, before them, through the strength of thy arm, O my ¹⁹august father! The dread of thee and thy [strength] cast down the Bows."

OVER THE CAPTIVES

²⁰[Words] spoken by the chiefs of all countries, who are in the grasp of his majesty:^{20a} "Thou art Re,^{20b} thou goodly ruler! ²¹Thou art like unto thy father, the Lord of the Gods. Thy appearance has commingled with the appearance ²²of him,^{22a} like ['Re']^{22b} shining for the Bows.^{22c} Thy [arm]^{22d} is strong, thy heart stout. Thou art like Baal ²³exactly in his real form. Breath is in thy hand; thine is^{23a} the life! Let us breathe it, ²⁴[because] thou hast (so) ordained,^{24a} O mighty king! Thou hast made us to cease boasting in our land. ²⁵It means that we come <upon> our [knees]^{25a} out of dread of thee. ²⁶The awe [of thee and the fear of thee have]^{26a} entered into our bodies. Thou makest [our seed]^{26b} to turn back, (by) fighting on the 'battlefield'. Thy name is great and mighty among the Nine Bows. 'Montu is he who is <in>^{26c} Egypt,' we say unanimously."^{26d}


PLATE 101. RAMSES III SMITING THE "CHIEFS OF ALL COUNTRIES" BEFORE AMON*

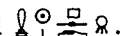
DESCRIPTION

Ramses III sacrifices captives of various racial types before the god Amon, who extends to him the sickle-sword.† The goddess of the Theban nome leads up 125 foreign districts, each symbolized by a name-ring and bound prisoner.

^{20a}This entire speech is paralleled on the Medinet Habu Fortified Gate, southern tower, north face (Jéquier, *loc. cit.*).

^{20b}Hair and face of the divine figure, apparently not falcon-headed.

^{22a}The parallel also has  as det. of the second *3wt*.

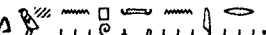
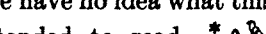
^{22b}Parallel . Our text is in confusion.

^{22c}Parallel "the Nine Bows."

^{22d}Restored from the parallel.

^{23a}Cf. Pl. 78:18.

^{24a}Parallel .

^{25a}Very obscure. Parallel , which would fill the space nicely, as the hieroglyphs in this line are large. We have no idea what this means. The translation here proposed supposes that the manuscript was intended to read * (with omission of the preposition); cf. Pl. 102:17.

^{26a}Restoring , after the parallel. The signs here are large.

^{26b}Restoring , after the parallel (although the latter may lack the *i*).

^{26c}The preposition is omitted in the parallel also. But cf. Pl. 46:6, which writes *hr*.

^{26d}The parallel also lacks the stroke after the *r*. It is obvious that both texts were drawn from the same manuscript.

* Great Temple, exterior, face of first pylon, south tower. Published in part by Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften I*, Pl. XI-XII; the geographical lists by Daressy in *RT XX* (1898) 116 ff. and *XXI* (1899) 32 ff. and by Müller, *Egyptological Researches I*, Pls. 64-71.

† We have drawn about the figure of the god plugholes such as are discussed in connection with Pl. 43 (see p. 44, note †).


TEXTS

ABOVE AMON*

¹Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands: "My son of my body,^{1a} my beloved, ²the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Rich in Years like Atum; the strong-armed, felling^{2a} his foe! I slay ³for thee every distant land, so that he who encroaches upon thy frontier is in ⁴thy grasp, for thou hast carried off every land 'before' its south,^{4a} ⁵and thou hast sealed it up on its north. Thy prowess is great,^{5a} and it has encompassed every land. ⁶As for the terror of thee, it has penetrated the countries, for thou art like Horus above the Two Lands, the Sun of the Bows. I magnify ⁷thy victories, and I set the fear of thee in the hearts of the lands of the Haunebut. Dread of thee is great in their limbs. ⁸'Thy majesty <is> one who will smite them,^{8a} while thy hands are clasped together upon the head of thy foes. I have set thee^{8b} over ⁹their heads.^{9a} The Sand-Dwellers are bowing^{9b} to thy name, for thy serpent diadem is terrible ¹⁰among them. (With) the mace in thy right hand and the *ames-scepter*^{10a} in thy left, thou hast terrorized the hearts^{10b} of the disaffected. ¹¹The chiefs come to thee bearing their tribute: all fine treasures of their countries. ¹²I give thee Egypt with good things, the Bows as serfs of thy palace. The south comes to thee in ¹³fear of thee, the north in homage to thy prowess. I open for thee the roads ¹⁴of Punt, with myrrh and incense for Her Who Is on Thy Head.^{14a} I lead thee, my strength being in^{14b} ¹⁵thy body, to destroy the lands that attack thee. I give thee Montu^{15a} and Set with thee, while Khonsu, Horus, and Soped^{15b} are the (magical) protection ¹⁶of thy body, and every powerful god is arrayed in thy

^{1a}The *t*, now lost, was recorded by Duemichen.

^{2a}Parallel *šhr*.

^{4a}Read perhaps *hr hnty.f*, "on its south," ignoring the *n*. Cf. the following *hr mht.f*. Duemichen recorded *hnty* with . We see no certain traces on the right. He may have been deceived by regular breaks, still extant.




^{5a}Duemichen recorded the arm in *3y*. We see a faint trace of red belonging to it.

^{8a}A perfectly good *šdmt.fy* form, but difficult to work into the syntax, unless we assume that an *m* of equivalence has dropped out before it.

^{8b}Reading *di.n.i tw*.

^{9a}Literally "as one who is over their heads." Parallel *m nb tpw.sn*, "as the lord of their heads." The *n* of the suffix pronoun, now lost, was recorded by Duemichen.

^{9b}*m ksy*.

^{10a}Apparently written   . Is this the staff which the King holds in his left hand in the accompanying scene?

^{10b}An unusual writing.

^{14a}The uraeus serpent.

^{14b}There is no evidence that either *m* was deleted.

^{15a}So, and not Horus. Var., "I give thee Inmutef to lead thee."

^{15b}The *spd* sign is broken at the base, looking like *di*. Cf. the parallel and Pl. 16:6.

* For this text we possess a parallel of Seti I on the outside north wall at Karnak (LD III 129).

retinue^{16a} against the lands of the Fenkhu, who know not Egypt. I let [thy] majesty^{16b} tread them [as if in rejoicing],^{16c} ¹⁷like^{17a} a jackal 'or *sha*-beast^{17b} in the marshes of the Delta. I give thee the victories of Horus and Set, their reign, their property, and their portions."

BEFORE AMON

¹⁸"I give thee my sword as a shield for thy breast, while I remain as the (magical) protection of <thy>^{18a} body in every fray. ¹⁹I cause them to see thy majesty like the sky when it is concealed and pregnant with tempest, so that it has 'removed'^{19a} the trees from their roots. ²⁰I cause them to see thy majesty like the strength of Horus and Set, so that the Bows are cast down to thee for awe of thee. ²¹I cause them to see thy majesty like a divine falcon entering among small birds, for he crushes millions and hundred-thousands. ²²I cause them to see thy majesty as my strength, and my sword is thine as a 'reinforcement',^{22a} to destroy them, so that they are in terror and bow down for fear of thee, for thy appearance is like (that of) Re before them. ²³I cause them to see thy majesty in victory like Set slaying the fiend at the prow of the sun bark."

TO THE LEFT OF THE CAPTIVES

²⁴Crushing the chiefs of all countries.

TO THE RIGHT OF THE CAPTIVES

²⁵"How great^{25a} is thy fame, O mighty King, how vast thy strength!"

HORIZONTAL LINE TO THE LOWER RIGHT


²⁶All plains and all hill-countries are in the grasp of Amon-Re, King of the Gods.


HORIZONTAL LINE TO THE LOWER LEFT


²⁷All plains and all hill-countries, the Ocean and the Great Circuit, the sea, the southern countries of the land of Nubia, up to the lands of the fens, to the limits of the united darkness,

^{16a}The two strokes which Duemichen copied in this word were perhaps the same breakage which we now see on the wall.

^{16b}See parallel. The *hm* sign, now lost, was recorded by Duemichen.

^{16c}Parallel ; so also an unpublished parallel in the Ramses III temple at Karnak (Zettel 909). This is probably what was on our wall.

^{17a}Originally . The divine figure was filled with plaster, and a reed leaf was cut on the plaster.

^{17b}Probably corrupt. We emend after an unpublished parallel in the Ramses III temple at Karnak (Zettel 909) to . In this the det. of *š3* is not completely clear, but the curved tail differs from that of the usual Set animal. See also Newberry in *JEA* XIV (1928) 217, n. 3.

^{18a}*nb* for *k*. Lines 18-19 and 23 occur in modified form on the Fortified Gate at Medinet Habu (Zettel 860-61; Jéquier, *loc. cit.*).

^{19a}See Pl. 16, n. 1a.

^{22a}Read *nht* and see Pl. 43, n. 16a.

^{25a}Read *wr.wy*.

and to the end of the supports of the sky^{27*} are under the feet of this good god, the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III, while the chiefs of the countries are slain at his name, and those rebellious against him belong to his sword.

HORIZONTAL LINES OF LARGE HIEROGLYPHS BELOW THE SCENE

Live the Horus: Mighty Bull, Living on Truth, Lord of Jubilees like his father Ptah-Tatenen; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Protecting Egypt and Binding the Nine Bows; Horus of Gold: Rich in Years, Great of Victory, the Sovereign Who Begets Gods and Recreates the Two Lands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Setepnamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses(IV)-Hekmare-Meriamon.

Live the good god, the son of Amon, the child of Mut, Mistress of Heaven, the legitimate son, the divine creation, whom Kamephis begot, whom Ptah made with his (own) hands to champion the Two Lands; who came forth from the womb with the white crown on his head, who received the crook and flail, for whom Re made his boundaries as far as heaven on his every side, to whom Montu assigned his strength and the Son of Nut his victories; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Setepnamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses(IV)-Hekmare-Meriamon.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

These names have been well treated by Daressy and Müller (see p. 105, note *), and we follow their numbering here. Diagrammatically the numbers run as follows:

		1- 4
		5- 9
		10-14
		15-19
		20-24
		25-29
		30-34
		35-39
	FIGURE	FIGURE
	OF THE	OF
	KING	AMON
97-70		40-54
125-98		55-69

The list is decidedly secondhand, showing careless copying through the hieratic from some earlier list or lists. The names 76-93 and 98-110 show a common ancestry with those of the list of Ramses II at Karnak.* The factor common to both may have been the now destroyed first pylon of the Ramesseum.

^{27*}Three extreme limits of the world: the northern marsh lands of Egypt, the outer darkness (see Pl. 27, n. 10b), and the supports of heaven (is not the dual an error?). Cf. *RT* XVI (1894) 50 f.

* *LD* III 144 = Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I, Pls. 60-62. The correlation of numbers is as follows: K(Karnak) 1-3 = MH (Medinet Habu) 108-10; K 4-6 = MH 105-7; K 7-9 = MH 102-4; K 10-12 = MH 99-101; K 13-17 = MH 89-93; K 18 = MH 98; K 19 unparalleled; K 20-24 = MH 84-88; K 25 unparalleled; K 26 = MH 76; K 27 lost; K 28-33 = MH 78-83. The correlation is striking when plotted graphically.

The list is chiefly Semitic, but it has African padding at its southern end (Nos. 95–97 and 123–25).

Brief notes, with a minimum of identification, are offered here. Where Burchardt's list of names (Burchardt II) gives light, it is invoked.

1. *M[r]* (cf. Burchardt II, No. 464). 2. *Ptr* (cf. Müller, *op. cit.* p. 50). 3. *ᶜIn*—. Epigraphically the missing group is probably \neg (cf. Burchardt II, No. 80). 4. *T̄tm*. The second chick has no stroke.

5. *Tršhr*. 6. *Hrb*. Aleppo (Burchardt II, No. 735). 7. *Srmsk* (note reversed final radical). 8. *Ktyn*. 9. *ᶜIymr* (cf. No. 24?).

10. *Sr* (Burchardt II, No. 790; cf. No. 789). 11. *ᶜItr* (cf. Burchardt II, Nos. 180–81). 12. *Dns*. The stroke under *d* is almost certainly a stroke only; but it is broken to the left, so that the possibility remains that it was *k*. 13. *Tršb*. 14. *Btr*.

15. *ᶜIksy*. 16. *ᶜItn* (cf. Burchardt II, No. 179). 17. *ᶜIrkn*. We did not see the loop of *k*. 18. *Mkt*. 19. —*rb̄y*. So, with *b̄i* = *b*. There is no certain trace before the *w* of the partially lost initial group. Müller's \neg seems improbable. \neg or \neg or \neg would be possible.

20. *Krn* (cf. Nos. 40 and 122 below and name *j* on Pl. 105). 21. *Kyrw?* 22. *ᶜIbrt?* The \neg has the tick (Burchardt II, No. 24). 23. *Kbr*. 24. *Ymr*. So the first sign (cf. No. 9?).

25. *Ssh?* First signs \neg \neg , but probably to be read \neg \neg , i.e., *Tsh*. 26. *ᶜIr* (cf. No. 33 on Pl. 102 and name *b* on Pl. 105). 27. *ᶜIbr* (cf. Burchardt II, No. 19), but possibly *Tbr*. 28. *Mtn*. Mitanni (Burchardt II, No. 541). 29. *Krkms̄*. Carchemish (Burchardt II, No. 1019).

30. *Wrw* (cf. No. 94 for correct writing). 31. *Kšpt*. 32. *Kn*. 33. *Rkrs*. Traces show the *k*: its upper margin is extant, with color. 34. *ᶜIph* (not *ᶜIrp̄h* as in Müller, although *ᶜIrp̄h* may have been intended).

35. *Šb*. 36. *T̄ir*. 37. *Krsnpn?* 38. *Mrns* (cf. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique* III 37). 39. *Sm*.*

40. *Krn* (cf. No. 20 above and name *j* on Pl. 105). 41. *ᶜIk* (cf. name *k* on Pl. 105). Uncut surface below suggests emendation to *ᶜIk̄r* (Burchardt II, No. 161). 42. *Trbs* (cf. name *l* on Pl. 105). The final radical shows a heavy cross, colored red, but *s̄* was intended. 43. *Trn* (cf. name *m* on Pl. 105). 44. *ᶜIntk* (cf. name *c* on Pl. 105). 45. *Ntkn* (cf. No. 3 on Pl. 102 and Burchardt II, No. 598). 46. *Tbt* (cf. No. 2 on Pl. 102). 47. *Mrmr* (cf. No. 99 on Pl. 102 and Burchardt II, No. 473). The strong arm was carved for the *m̄*-arm. 48. *Trhys* (cf. No. 100 on Pl. 102). 49. *ᶜImstrk* (cf. No. 101 on Pl. 102). 50. *ᶜIrkb̄r* (cf. No. 102 on Pl. 102). 51. *Kgty* (cf. No. 69 below and No. 103 on Pl. 102). Is the extra \neg an error? 52. *T̄kn* (cf. No. 104 on Pl. 102). 53. *Trt*. Despite the *w* the last group is hardly *sw*, since no sprouts are visible on the upright sign. 54. *Myr* (cf. No. 55).

55. *Myr* (cf. No. 54). 56. *H̄ikn*. 57. *Tsp* (Müller compares Teshub). 58. *Ts<n>* (cf. No. 114 on Pl. 102). Here *n* was miscarved as pl. strokes. 59. *T̄hmrk*. The *h* is certain; the *k* had no carved loop. 60. *ᶜIrsnn*. 61. *ᶜIp̄d*. 62. *ᶜImršk* (cf. No. 118 on Pl. 102 and perhaps Burchardt II, No. 55). 63. *Sn* (cf. No. 119 on Pl. 102). 64. *Nbr* (cf. No. 120 on Pl. 102). 65. *Yrp* (cf. No. 121 on Pl. 102). 66. *Nn* (cf. No. 122 on Pl. 102). 67. *H̄dm* (cf. No. 123 on Pl. 102, *H̄dmn*). 68. *Tbty* (cf. No. 124 on Pl. 102). 69. *Kkt* (cf. No. 51 above and No. 103 on Pl. 102).†

70. *Hrnm* (cf. name *i* on Pl. 105 and Pap. Anastasi I xxii 4). 71. *Rbnt* (cf. name *h* on Pl. 105). 72. *Byt-Dkn*. Beth-Dagon, as all commentators have recognized. 73. *Krbk̄*. All three birds are certainly \mathfrak{z} . 74. *Krmym* (cf. Burchardt II, Nos. 1006–7). 75. *Šbdn* (cf. Burchardt II, No. 843). Near Kadesh on the Orontes. 76. *Mškt<s>nr?* Read *M̄-š̄k̄-k̄-t̄i-h̄r-ny-r̄*. The *hr* is certain, although it is perhaps to be emended to *s̄* (cf. Nos. 85 and 103 and Ramses II list at Karnak: Müller, *op. cit.* Pl. 62, No. 26). 77. *H̄br* (cf. name *g* on Pl. 105; Ramses II parallel lost). 78. *Yn<̂>m*. Probably to be cor-

* In the group 1–39 there are three known localities: Aleppo, Mitanni, and Carchemish. Northern identifications may be taken for many other names in this group.

† In the group 40–69 there are no certainly known names. Names 40–44 appear on Pl. 105, Nos. 45–52 and 54–69 on Pl. 102. This leaves only No. 53 unparalleled on these walls. The variations in writing in the parallels are witnesses to the untrustworthiness of all these names.

rected to Yenoam (Burchardt II, No. 219; cf. Ramses II, No. 28). 79. *Drbn*. Final sign 3, not *tw* (cf. Ramses II, No. 29). 80. *ᶫIpḥ* (cf. Ramses II, No. 30). 81. *ᶫIbhy* (cf. Ramses II, No. 31). 82. *Mktr*. A Migdol (note det.; cf. Burchardt II, Nos. 527–28 and 538, and Ramses II, No. 32). 83. *Ḳṛḫ* (cf. Ramses II, No. 33). 84. *Ḳṛmn*. We see no suggestion of the change indicated by Müller to *Ḳrmn*, yet that is the better reading (cf. Ramses II, No. 20, and Müller, *op. cit.* II 105). 85. *<Ḳs>t-Br<k>?* How far this name is corrupted will be clear from *Ḳsr-Ybn*, No. 21 of the Ramses II parallel list. The initial *k* was omitted (cf. No. 104 below); the *hr* sign was carved for *ḥ3*. The lion lacks a stroke. The final radical contains not an “unfinished *k*” but a deep-cut sign, such as is drawn. Burchardt’s reading (his No. 944) is as good as any, but the chances are that the Ramses II writing is closer to the original. 86. *Šmšn* (cf. Ramses II, No. 22; Müller compares Samson). 87. *Hdst* (cf. Ramses II, No. 23). 88. *ᶫIrt* (cf. *ᶫItr* of Ramses II, Nos. 24 and 12; Müller, *op. cit.* pp. 105–6; name *f* on our Pl. 105; and No. 101 below, which is probably the correct reading). The order of the Ramses II parallel makes the reading *ᶫIrt* improbable. It may have arisen by confusion with the known name Arzawa (Burchardt II, No. 125). 89. *Ḳsnrm* (cf. Ramses II, No. 13). 90. *Ḳṛtpn* (cf. *Ḳṛpn* of Ramses II, No. 14). 91. *ᶫIrdn* (cf. Ramses II, No. 15). 92. *Hrt* (cf. Ramses II, No. 16). 93. *Ḳṛḫ* (cf. Ramses II, No. 17). 94. *Wrw* (cf. No. 30 above). 95. *Miw*. This name (see Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique* III 11) and the two following are African padding to a Semitic list. 96. *ᶫIrkrk* (see *ibid.* I 97–98, 19–20, and 61). 97. *Tksr* (see *ibid.* VI [1929] 48 and 51; Sethe, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten . . .*, p. 39). The final sign is certainly *r* (5 of the 6 African names lack the country det.).

98. *ᶫIk<t>*. The last group is written *sw-i*, but the Ramses II parallel (Müller, *op. cit.* I, Pl. 61, No. 18; II 105 ff.) suggests the correction to *ᶫᶫ* (cf. Burchardt II, Nos. 169–70). 99. *Krk* (cf. Ramses II, No. 10; Burchardt II, No. 1018). 100. *Ḳsbpt?* (cf. Ramses II, No. 11, corrupt). Every sign here is certain except the vertical trace preceding *w*; epigraphically *bw* is preferable to *sw* or *tīw*, while *īw* is impossible. 101. *ᶫItr* (cf. No. 88 above and Ramses II, No. 12). 102. *Ḳsr^c* (cf. Ramses II, No. 7). See Burchardt II, No. 942, for explanation of the round, solid-cut sign at the end. 103. *Ḳ<s>tīsr?* Ramses II, No. 8, gives *Ḳtīsr*, as also Müller, *op. cit.* II 105. On the analogy of Nos. 76 and 85 above, the *hr* would be corrected to *ḥ3*, but the parallel omits it entirely. 104. *Y<k>br* (cf. Ramses II, No. 9). A *k* is to be supplied before 3 (cf. No. 85 above). See Burchardt II, No. 212, for the reading Jacob-el. 105. *Rhd* (cf. name *e* on Pl. 105; Ramses II, No. 4). 106. *Sīb* (cf. Ramses II, No. 5; Müller, *op. cit.* II 105 ff. [*Sībl*]). 107. *Ktī* (cf. Ramses II, No. 6). The last sign is quite thick (*īw* rather than *t3*); we could not see the three grains beneath it which would have established the value *t3*. 108. *Rš-Ḳdš* (cf. Ramses II, No. 1). See Burchardt II, No. 638, for the reading Rosh-Kadesh. 109. *Yndt* (cf. Ramses II, No. 2). 110. *ᶫn-Ngr* (cf. Ramses II, No. 3). 111. *Rwir*. Müller and Daressy suggest Levi-el. 112. *Br* (cf. Burchardt II, No. 347). 113. *Ḳmk*. 114. *Ḳbr^c*. 115. *Yh* (cf. name *d* on Pl. 105). 116. *Tr*. 117. *Snr*. 118. *Mndr*. 119. *Ḳbb*. 120. *ᶫImt* (cf. *Urk.* IV 788, No. 122). 121. *Ḳwr*. Tyre (Burchardt II, No. 1227). 122. *Krn* (cf. No. 20 above). 123. *Trs* (cf. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique* VI 50). This and Nos. 124–25 are again African padding. 124. *Kry* (cf. *ibid.* V 189). 125. *Mirt* (cf. perhaps *ibid.* III 12, “Māraouat”).*

* The group 70–125 is interesting in its connections with the earlier Karnak list and in the identifications possible. See Daressy, Müller, and Burchardt for these. Interesting names are possible: Beth-Dagon (72); Yenoam (78); Migdol (82); Shabdun (75); Jacob-el (104); Levi-el (111); Rosh-Kadesh (108); ‘An-Neger (110); and Tyre (121). It is possible that Nos. 70–93 and 98–110 were copied from a Ramses II list, as much of our Ramses II list is lost. The 8 names at the end (Nos. 94–97 and 122–25) are repetitions or padding. This leaves only Nos. 111–21 unparallelled.

PLATE 102. RAMSES III SMITING THE "CHIEFS OF ALL COUNTRIES"
BEFORE AMON-RE-HARAKHTE*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III sacrifices captives of various racial types before the god Amon-Re-Harakhte, who extends to him the sickle-sword. This god and another lead up 124 foreign districts, each symbolized by a name-ring and bound prisoner.

TEXTS

ABOVE AMON-RE-HARAKHTE†

¹Words spoken by Amon-Re-Harakhte: "My son^{1a} of my body, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon, possessor of a strong arm ²in every country. The countries of the Nubian barbarians are slain^{2a} ³under thy feet. I cause to come to thee the chiefs ⁴of the southern countries,^{4a} their tribute and their children ⁵upon their backs: every good treasure of their countries, ⁶that thou mayest give breath to him of them^{6a} whom thou desirest^{6b} ⁷but slay him whom thou^{7a} wishest, as thou desirest. ⁸When I turn my face to the north, then I work a wonder for thee,^{8a} for I smite ⁹for thee^{9a} the Red Land beneath thy soles, so that thou mayest trample ¹⁰ten-thousands of the disaffected^{10a} and cast down the ¹¹Sand-Dwellers by thy valiant arm. I cause to come to thee ¹²the countries which know not Egypt, bearing their bundles,^{12a} ¹³laden with gold, silver, genuine lapis lazuli, and every noble, choice costly stone of God's Land^{13a} for thy beautiful countenance. When I turn ¹⁴my face to the

^{1a}The breast and neck of the duck are visible.

^{2a}Seti I parallel *hīb*, "are prostrated."

^{4a}Here Medinet Habu, following Seti I, departs from the formula. The Amenhotep III parallel has "I turn my face to the south"

^{6a}Two of the three pl. strokes at the end of the line are properly carved, but the left stroke consists of two parallel scratches only.

^{6b}The loop of the *k*, now lost, was recorded by Lepsius and Duemichen. *LD Text* seems to retract this, but broken surface makes a loop fully possible.

^{7a}The loop of the *k*, now lost, was recorded by Champollion and Duemichen. Read probably *nty* <*m*> *ib.k*, with omission of preposition.

^{8a}This sense, rather than "I wonder at thee," seems to fit this context, where Amon describes his activities for the King. Only *Pyr.* § 1992 gives support to the other rendering.

^{9a}The loop of the *k*, now lost, was recorded by de Rougé and Duemichen.

^{10a}The loop of the *k*, now lost, was recorded by Champollion and Duemichen.

^{12a}It is probable that the det. of *g3wt* had no tie strings carved above it.

^{13a}On God's Land see Kuentz in *BIFAO* XVII (1920) 178 ff. Its spelling with a *t* here is meaningless.

* Great Temple, exterior, face of first pylon, north tower. Published in part in *LD* III 210 a; *LD Text* III 171; Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften* I, Pl. XVI-XVII; de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* II, Pls. CIX-CX; the geographical lists by Dareasy in *RT* XX 113 ff. and Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I, Pls. 72-74.

† This text is appropriated and adapted, directly or indirectly, from an analogous scene of Seti I (Champollion, *Monuments* III, Pl. CCXCIV; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments* I [Leipzig, 1862] Pl. L), who in turn followed Amenhotep III (Cairo Stela 34025, recto) and Thutmose III (*Urk.* IV 610 ff.). It is possible that this chain was even more complete, that such scenes employed this text regularly, and that some links in the chain have been lost to us. Further parallels are in the Ramses III temple at Karnak (unpublished).

east, then I work a wonder for thee, for I bind them all^{14a} for thee together in thy grasp, and I assemble¹⁵ for thee every country of Punt, whose tribute is gum, noble myrrh, 'red pigment',^{115a} and every herb sweet¹⁶ of smell before thee for thy uraeus which is upon thy head. When I turn my face to the west, then I work a wonder for thee, for I make to suffer for thee¹⁷ the lands of the Tehenu, so that they come to thee in humility, praising and brought low upon their knees at thy battle cry. When I turn¹⁸ my face to heaven, then I work a wonder for thee, for the gods of the horizon of heaven, 'whom Re begot' at dawn,^{18a} rejoice for thee,^{18b} and thou art rejuvenated like the moon when he brings 'testimony'.^{18c} When I turn my face¹⁹ to the earth, then I work a wonder for thee, for I promise thee victory in every country, the gods who are in heaven exult^{19a} for thee, He of Behdet^{19b} makes his arms into a cool place for thee, while 'the [Ocean and the] Great [Circuit]'^{19c} are under thy sway, O Son of Re: Ramses III!"

BEFORE THE GOD

²⁰"I give thee my sword before thee, to overthrow the Bows,^{20a} and I slay for thee every^{20b} land beneath thy soles. ²¹I cause them to see thy majesty as the force of Nun,^{21a} when he breaks out^{21b} and lays low towns and villages in a 'surge' of water.^{21c} ²²I cause them to see thy majesty like a raging^{22a} crocodile, whose paws beat^{22b} corpses as he wishes. ²³I cause them to see thy majesty like an infuriated lion, whose claw and tooth tear^{23a} the breast of wild cattle. ²⁴I cause them to see thy majesty like a young bull, conscious of his strength, when he is on the field^{24a} of valor."

^{14a}Omission of preposition; read <r> 3w.sn. The Seti I parallel has r 3w.

^{15a}The Seti I parallel has ntiw, ti.šps, h3wt Here this has been altered. On the det. of sty see Dévaud in *RT XXXIX* (1921) 20 ff.; on its meaning see Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*. Series I. *Literary Texts* I 41*, n. 14.

^{18a}The Seti I parallel is preferable: "[born] like Re at dawn."

^{18b}The loop of the k, now lost, was recorded by Duemichen and Gardiner (copying for Wb.).

^{18c}The Seti I text has correctly "thou art rejuvenated like the sun when it brings midday." Our text has clearly i'h (reed leaf, shoulder of the arm, upper loop and bottom ends of h). The error is easy, for the moon is a common figure for rejuvenation (Grapow, *Bildliche Ausdrücke*, pp. 34 f.). The phrase following this was then misunderstood (see Wb. II 172, definition 11).

^{19a}Read hcy. The cyin is normal. To its right and below it the wall is broken. The two reed leaves are very light incisions, mere traces of signs, and the human det. is but lightly scratched.

^{19b}Horus. The t, now lost, was recorded by Lepsius and Duemichen.

^{19c}Reading [šn] w[r ph]r wr, with traces of both wr-birds and the right end of the phr sign. The small šn sign would have to stand behind the bird's head. For parallels to this and to the preceding phrase see *LD III* 129:11 and 14; also an unpublished inscription in the Ramses III temple at Karnak (*Zettel* 660).

^{20a}We see more than half of the lowest bow and a considerable trace of the middle bow.

^{20b}k for nb.

^{21a}The primordial waters, here the Nile.

^{21b}Reading the t as a phonetic component of šd > sd > st.

^{21c}3 n mw otherwise unknown. Cf. the s3 of Pl. 82, n. 36b.

^{22a}nšnw.

^{22b}We cannot explain the presence of the t, except as an error.

^{23a}On f'k and hr see Pl. 82, notes 31a and d.

^{24a}The trace of an upright stroke following b3wt is not entirely certain.

BEFORE THE KING

²⁵Crushing the chiefs of all countries, making them non-existent.

TO THE LEFT OF THE CAPTIVES

²⁶Crushing the chiefs of all countries.

TO THE RIGHT OF THE CAPTIVES

²⁷"Great is thy fame, O good god, Lord of the Two Lands!"

HORIZONTAL LINE BELOW THE KING

²⁸Gathering these southern and northern countries whom his majesty, L.P.H., had slain,^{28a} making a [great] slaughter among them, brought [with [all their people]] as captives [to Thebes, to fill the storehouses of his father Amon],^{28b} in order that [he]^{128c} might give him a million jubilees forever in valor and victory — —.^{28d}

HORIZONTAL LINES OF LARGE HIEROGLYPHS BELOW THE SCENE*

²⁹(heavier signs)Live the Horus^{29a} (Ramses IV).

²⁹(lighter signs)Live the Horus: Mighty Bull, Great of Victory, Making the Two Lands to Live; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Powerful of Sword, Vanquishing Hundred-Thousands; Hor[us of Gold: Rich] in Years like Tatenen; the Sovereign, Lord of Jubilees, Protecting Egypt; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Great Ruler of Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Nibmare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses VI.

³⁰Live the good god, the son of Amon, the protector of Him Who Is in Thebes,^{30a} the excellent seed^{30b} and legitimate^{30c} son whom the King of the Gods begot, the divine emanation issuing from his body, ruler of the Nine Bows, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Possessor of a Strong Arm,^{30d} Lord of Offerings to Amon-Re, King of the Gods: Usermare-Setepnamon; Son of Re, of his body, his beloved, Lord of Diadems: Ramses IV,^{30e} given life.

^{28a}Read *sm*ḏ.

^{28b}The suggested restoration follows *LD* III 129.

^{28c}The horizontal trace below the shoulder of the *dī* sign is not entirely certain.

^{28d}There are a number of conventional lines about the scene which we have not translated. Behind the King's crown he is called "Horus, the powerful, possessor of a strong arm." Before the standard of his ka there is the line: "The living royal ka of the Lord of the Two Lands, which is over the palace, which is over the House of the Morning, given all life, duration, and satisfaction, all health, all joy, like Re forever." By the vulture there stand the lines: "Nekhbet, the White One of Hierakonpolis; she gives all valor and all victory like Re" and "She gives many jubilees like Tatenen." By the falcon there stand the lines: "He of Behdet, the great god, brightly plumed, who goes forth from the horizon; he gives life, duration, and satisfaction, health, all joy, and all valor, like Re forever" and "He gives life, duration, and satisfaction, valor and victory."

^{29a}As in the corresponding line of Pl. 101.

^{30a}The *m* of *imy* is misplaced.

^{30b}With a superfluous *t*.

^{30c}With the *k* lacking.

^{30d}Misspelled.

^{30e}With the name of Ramses(VI) Amenhirkhepeshef Neterhekon superimposed later.

* Line 29 consists of a text of Ramses VI (in lighter line) superimposed on a text of Ramses IV (in heavier line).

THE GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

These names have been treated by Daressy and Müller (see p. 111, note *), and we follow their numbering here. Diagrammatically the numbers run as follows:

4- 1		
8- 5		
13- 9	FIGURE	FIGURE
18-14		
23-19	OF THE	OF THE
28-24		
33-29	GOD	KING
38-34		
55-39	73- 98	
72-56	99-124	

Names 1-72 are African (with a little Asiatic padding), and Nos. 73-124 are Asiatic. Extensive comparisons may be made with the Karnak lists of Thutmose III and Seti I. Although names frequently fall into the same sequence, there is no evidence of direct connection. Names 100-104, 114-24, and a few others occur on the south pylon also (Pl. 101).

Brief notes, with a minimum of identification, are offered here. Where Burchardt's list of names (Burchardt II) gives light, it is invoked. For the African names especially, the reader is referred to the bibliography given by Gauthier in his *Dictionnaire géographique*.

1. *Dw* (cf. No. 18 below). 2. *Tbt* (cf. No. 46 on Pl. 101). 3. *Ntk* (cf. *Ntkn*, No. 45 on Pl. 101). 4. *Dds* (cf. No. 66 below).

5. Lost, except one final trace, solid-cut, blue or green. 6. Lost, except a final stroke. 7. [*I*] *ḏtm*? (cf. No. 57 below). There is a trace of *ḥ* or *m* at the top. 8. [*St*] *by*? (cf. No. 56 below).

9. *Ptnm* (cf. *Ptst* of *Urk.* IV 806:253). 10. *ḥymn* (cf. *ibid.* 254). 11. *ḥbsw* (cf. *ibid.* 255). 12. *Hḥw* (cf. *ibid.* 256). 13. *ḥw* (cf. *ibid.* 257).

14. *ḥw* (cf. *Urk.* IV 805:248). 15. *Ḥbt* (cf. *ibid.* 249). 16. *Dwim* (apparently corrupted through the hieratic from *Dwt* of *ibid.* 250). 17. *Ḥḥ* (apparently corrupted through the hieratic from *Ḥw* of *Urk.* IV 806:251). 18. *Dḥ* (cf. *ibid.* 252).

19. —*rt* (*Urk.* IV 805:243 is destroyed). 20. *Tḥnyh*? (corrupted from the *ḥsy* of *ibid.* 244). 21. [*Is*] *ḥ* (cf. *Ḥskw* of *ibid.* 245). 22. *Ḥḥḥ* (cf. *Ḥḥt* of *ibid.* 246). 23. *Hḥ* (*ibid.* 247 is destroyed). Both birds here seem to be *ḥ*. The *ntr* sign is an error for the throw stick (cf. Pl. 77, n. 15b).



24. *Tḥ-Ḥḥt* (cf. *Urk.* IV 800:105). 25. *Bḥst* (cf. *ibid.* 106). 26. *Ḥḥs* (cf. *ibid.* 107). 27. *Bḥkt* (cf. *ibid.* 108). 28. *Tst*? (cf. *Ḥst* of *ibid.* 109). The final group here seems to be a throw stick and a bird which is epigraphically *m* rather than *ḥ*; but *tyw* is possible.

29. *Bḥst* (corrupted from *Nḥst* of *ibid.* 101). 30. *Tḥns* (corrupted from *Tḥns* of *ibid.* 102). 31. *Dsn* (corrupted from *Ds* of *ibid.* 103). 32. *ḥ* (cf. *ḥw* of *ibid.* 104). 33. *ḥr* (cf. No. 26 on Pl. 101).







34. Lost, except for a trace (of the throw stick?). 35. Lost. 36. *Rḥnpn* (cf. *Urk.* IV 800:99). 37. *Wbh* (cf. *ibid.* 100). 38. *Mtn* (cf. No. 28 on Pl. 101).*




39. *Ywḥ* (cf. *Urk.* IV 798:43). 40. *Dḥwḥ* (corrupted from *Dḥ* of *ibid.* 44). 41. *Mndḥ* (corrupted from *ḥmt* of *ibid.* 45). 42. *Ḥspḥ* (cf. *ibid.* 46; name *c* on Pl. 85). 43. *ḥpm*? (cf. *ibid.* 47; names *b*

* The group 1-38 is intended as African, but a few Asiatic names are added. There is also a little borrowing from other parts of this same pylon. Names 9-32 and 34-37 show connections in series with the Thutmose III lists. No certain identifications are possible for the African names.

and *j* on Pl. 85). 44. *Pwnt*. Punt (cf. *ibid.* 48; names *a* and *i* on Pl. 85). 45. *Nih3w* (cf. *h3w* of *ibid.* 49; but *LD* III 129 and Champollion, *Monuments* III, Pl. CCXCIV A 38, have *Nh3w*). 46. *3mms* (cf. the parallels just cited). 47. *Mniw* (corrupted from *Mnsiw* of the parallels). 48. *3wnh* (corrupted from *3wh* of the parallels). 49. *W3r?* (*Urk.* IV 798:53, *LD* III 129:38, and Champollion, *Monuments* III, Pl. CCXCIV A 42, all differ). 50. *Mdfnm?* The final sign may be . The *f* is evidently for . The parallels have *Mghm*. 51. *hm*— (corrupted from *whw* of the parallels). 52. *Idm* (cf. the parallels). 53. *Mmr*— (cf. *Mmtw* of the parallels). 54. *Mbwtw* (cf. the parallels). 55. *Krkm*. Apparently Asiatic. It is unparalleled, as is No. 72 below it.

56. *Stbw* (cf. *Urk.* IV 798:60). 57. *Idtm* (cf. *Urk.* IV 798:61; *LD* III 129:46; Champollion, *Monuments* III, Pl. CCXCIV A 50). 58. *Nwhtm* (cf. *Urk.* IV 798:62). 59. *Hkh3* (cf. *Hkh3wt* of *ibid.* 63). 60. *Wtn* (cf. *ibid.* 64). 61. *B33* (cf. *B3im* of the parallels). 62. *Mst* (cf. the parallels and name *h* on Pl. 85). 63. *T3wsn* is written as though it were "their lands," but *Urk.* IV 799:87 has *T3ws3*. 64. Read *T3hnw*, "the Tehenu" (cf. *ibid.* 88). 65. *Hwt* (cf. the parallels and name *f* on Pl. 85). 66. *Dds* (cf. the parallels and name *g* on Pl. 85). 67. *Tp-Nhb?* (cf. *Urk.* IV 800:91). 68. *B3km* (*sic!* See Sethe in Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sa3hu-Re* II [26. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (Leipzig, 1913)] 74 ff.; Gardiner in *JEA* III [1916] 191). 69. *M3sy* (cf. *Urk.* IV 800:93 and name *d* on Pl. 85). The bird has a breast feather, as in the late carving of the *tyw*-bird. 70. *T3-Smi* (cf. *ibid.* 94 and name *e* on Pl. 85). 71. *H3sht* (cf. *ibid.* 95). 72. *Kb*. Perhaps Asiatic (cf. No. 55 above).*

73. *Ktr?* Following the lion, we see traces of a bird (3, *m*, or similar). 74. We cannot see all of Müller's traces. We see first what may be remains of a reed leaf, then 3 or *m*, then what resembles the shoulder of . 75. *Ykd?* From the relative height of the horizontal sign, the last radical is *d3* rather than *33* (cf. Burchardt II, No. 240). 76. *Mnt*. 77. *n-[K]hn?* Before the 3 there is a small broken area which would accommodate a *k*. Behind the 3 the upper horizontal sign turns up slightly at its left end.  is fully possible. The name may be     (cf. Burchardt II, No. 268) is not excluded. 78. *Dkr*. 79. *Ysnt*. If anything is missing over the determinative, it cannot be a deep-cut sign. 80. *Bkr*. Perhaps nothing missing except a stroke under the *r*. 81. *—k—*. 82. *—p—*. The final sign is the head of an 3- or *w*-bird. 83. *—byn*. 84. *—r*. The final sign is the throw stick. 85–95. Lost. Only in No. 95 are there traces which might prove to be hieroglyphs. 96. A possible but not certain *r* is visible. 97. We do not recognize the sign over the *r*. 98. Epigraphically the one sign suggests an 3-rather than an *m*-bird.

99. *Mmr* (cf. No. 47 on Pl. 101). 100. *Trtys* (cf. *Trhys*, No. 48 on Pl. 101). 101. *Imstrk* (cf. No. 49 on Pl. 101). 102. *Rrbr*. Probably to be corrected after *Irkrbr* (No. 50 on Pl. 101). 103. *Kkt* (cf. *Kgty*, No. 51 on Pl. 101). 104. *Tkn* (cf. No. 52 on Pl. 101). 105. *Prb*. 106. *Brbr?* This assumes that the final *r* is misplaced. The only similar name known to us is African (Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique* II 23 f.). 107. *Idn*. 108. *Kskn?* There are clear traces of the *k*. The horizontal sign below is probably *s*. 109. *It3s* (Burchardt II, No. 131, is to be corrected). 110. *Škn*. 111–13. Lost. Possibly equivalent to Nos. 55–57 on Plate 101 (note the following sequence). 114. *Tsn* (cf. No. 58 on Pl. 101). 115–17. Lost. Probably equivalent to Nos. 59–61 on Plate 101. The final trace recorded seems to be the back of a bird, 3 or *m*. 118. *[I]mršk* (cf. No. 62 on Pl. 101). 119. *Sn?* (cf. No. 63 on Pl. 101). 120. *[N]br* (cf. No. 64 on Pl. 101). 121. *—yn—* (No. 65 on Pl. 101 is *Yrp*). Have we here   , *Ynp* for *Ylp?* 122. *Nn* (cf. No. 66 on Pl. 101). 123. *Hdmn* (cf. *Hdm*, No. 67 on Pl. 101). 124. *Tbty* (cf. No. 68 on Pl. 101).†

* The group 39–72 consists almost entirely of African names. Extensive comparisons are possible with lists of Thutmose III, Seti I, and Ramses II. Location must rest on such identifications as Punt (44), Tehenu (64), Hua(t) (65), Bak (68), and Khesehet (71).

† The group 73–124 is probably entirely Asiatic. We venture no identifications. Of the lower register of names, most of Nos. 99–124 are repeated on the south pylon (Pl. 101). Comparison with those names will reveal how many corruptions have crept into the lists.

PLATE 103. FLAGPOLE DEDICATIONS*

DESCRIPTION

This is an artificial plate, with the sixteen dedicatory texts assembled. In order to bring all these lines on to one plate, we have sacrificed the top and bottom of each line. Consult Plates 84 and 104 for the portions not drawn here. Our translation presents those portions in capital and small capital letters.

TEXTS

¹FAVORITE OF THE TWO GODDESSES: RICH IN JUBILEES LIKE TATENEN; KING OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT, LORD OF THE TWO LANDS: USERMARE-MERIAMON; he made, <as> a monument^{1a} for his father Amon-Re, King of the Gods, the erecting^{1b} for him of great flagpoles of genuine cedar of the forest preserve (of Lebanon),^{1c} which the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: RAMSES III, BELOVED OF MUT THE GREAT, MISTRESS OF HEAVEN, LADY OF THE TWO LANDS, LIKE RE, made for^{1d} him.


²HORUS: MIGHTY BULL, [GREAT] OF KINGSHIP; KING OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT, LORD OF THE TWO LANDS: USERMARE-MERIAMON; he made, <as> a monument for his father Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, the making^{2a} for him of a very great pylon at the front^{2b} of his august temple, which the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: RAMSES III, BELOVED OF AMON-RE, KING OF THE GODS, LORD OF HEAVEN, RULER OF THE ENNEAD, GIVEN LIFE, made for him.^{2c}

³HORUS: MIGHTY BULL, GREAT OF KINGSHIP; KING OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT, LORD OF THE TWO LANDS: USERMARE-MERIAMON; he made, <as> a monument for his father Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, the making for him^{3a} of a House of Millions of Years on the west side of Thebes, a goodly plot of ground, a place consecrated to the King of the Gods, which the Son of Re: RAMSES III, GIVEN LIFE, made for him.

⁴HORUS OF GOLD: RICH IN YEARS LIKE ATUM; KING OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT, LORD OF THE TWO LANDS: USERMARE-MERIAMON; he made, <as> a monument for his father Amon-

^{1a}Of the 14 lines in which the phrase is preserved, the 8 lines of the south pylon have *ir.n.f mnw*, whereas ll. 9-14 have *ir.n.f m mnw*. The preposition *m* thus has dropped out of ll. 1-8, before the initial *m* of the following word.

^{1b}The *n* below the arm, an understandable error, is to be ignored.

^{1c}See Breasted in *Untersuch.* II (1902) 28; Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie . . . bearb. und übersetzt* (Leipzig, 1914) p. 81, n. 2. The *hnt* sign is deep and solid-cut and colored red in its upper portion. Perhaps a well balanced  was later recut to *hnt*.

^{1d}In ll. 1 and 2 *n* was first omitted and later crowded in as a correction.

^{2a}In ll. 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, and 15 written with *t*; only here without.

^{2b}Or "as the face."

^{2c}See n. 1d. Note that this relative is written at this time with or without the *t*, irrespective of the antecedent. E.g. cf. l. 4 with l. 16. The relative refers not to the object (flagpole etc.) but to the act (making, erecting).

^{3a}The *f* was first forgotten, later lightly scratched in as a correction.

* Great Temple, exterior, face of first pylon, on either side of each of the four flagpole recesses. Our text runs from south to north; i.e., ll. 1 and 2 are south of the southernmost recess, 3 and 4 north of the same recess, etc. Thus four texts belong to each flagpole. Ll. 1-8 are shown in photograph on Pl. 104, ll. 9-16 on Pl. 84. Unpublished.

Re, King of the Gods, the erecting for him of the flagpole Nekhbet^{4a} of cedar of the (Lebanon) range, its tip of genuine fine gold, which the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: RAMSES III, BELOVED OF AMON-RE, GIVEN LIFE, made for him.

⁵FAVORITE OF THE TWO GODDESSES: RICH IN JUBILEES LIKE TATENEN; KING OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT, LORD OF THE TWO LANDS: USERMARE-MERIAMON; he made, <as> a monument for his father Amon-Re, King of the Gods, the erecting for him of the flagpole Isis at the great double door of his temple, which the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: RAMSES III, BELOVED OF MUT, made for him.

⁶HORUS: MIGHTY BULL, GREAT OF KINGSHIP; KING OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT, LORD OF THE TWO LANDS: USERMARE-MERIAMON; he made, <as> a monument for his father Amon-Re, King of the Gods, the making for him of flagpoles anew at the front of his august temple, which the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: RAMSES III, BELOVED OF AMON-RE, made for him.

⁷HORUS: MIGHTY BULL, GREAT OF KINGSHIP; KING OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT, LORD OF THE TWO LANDS: USERMARE-MERIAMON; he made, <as> a monument for his father Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, the erecting for him of the flagpole Isis of genuine cedar, which the Son of Re: RAMSES III, BELOVED OF RE-HARAKHTE, made for him.

⁸HORUS OF GOLD: RICH IN YEARS LIKE ATUM; KING OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT, LORD OF THE TWO LANDS: USERMARE-MERIAMON; he made, <as> a monument for his father Amon-Re, ^{8a}King of the Gods, the making for him of great flagpoles of cedar of the (Lebanon) range, which the Son of Re: RAMSES III, BELOVED OF ATUM, THE LORD OF THE TWO LANDS, THE HELIOPOLITAN, made for him.

⁹FAVORITE OF THE TWO GODDESSES: RICH IN JUBILEES LIKE TATENEN; KING OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT, LORD OF THE TWO LANDS: USERMARE-MERIAMON; he made, as a monument for his father Amon-Re, King of the Gods, the erecting [for him] of flagpoles of genuine cedar of the (Lebanon) range, of choice (wood) of God's Land, [which the] Son [of Re], Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, BELOVED OF MUT, MISTRESS OF HEAVEN, [made for him].

¹⁰HORUS: MIGHTY BULL, GREAT OF KINGSHIP; KING OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT, LORD OF THE TWO LANDS: USERMARE-MERIAMON; he made, as a monument for his father Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, the mak[ing for him] of 'many^{10a} flagpoles' at the front of his great temple, their tips of [genuine^{10b} fine gold], which the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: RAMSES III, made for him.

¹¹HORUS: MIGHTY BULL, GREAT OF KINGSHIP; KING OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT, LORD OF THE TWO LANDS: USERMARE-MERIAMON; he made, as a monument for his father Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, the making for him^{11a} of great flagpoles of cedar of the forest preserve (of Lebanon), of that which the Lord of the Two Lands selected, which the Son

^{4a}From south to north, the four flagpoles were named Nekhbet, Isis, Nephthys, and Uto respectively.

^{8a}Originally written without the reed leaf: *mn-r^c* across the width of the line. This was corrected by plaster and recutting.

^{10a}Sethe, copying for *Wb.* (*Zettel* 913), read the trace as the 𐩣-lizard (tail clear, body obscure). What we see might be the lizard or 𐩣 or some other sign. The body of the sign is now covered with modern cement.

^{10b}Just above the eye, at the right, there may be a trace of a horizontal sign: book roll, arm, or *m^{3c}* sign.

^{11a}An original *irt.f* recarved to insert *n*.

of Re, Lord of Diadems: RAMSES III, BELOVED OF PTAH, THE LORD OF TRUTH AND RULER OF THE TWO LANDS, made for him.

¹²HORUS OF GOLD: RICH IN YEARS LIKE ATUM; KING OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT, LORD OF THE TWO LANDS: USERMARE-MERIAMON; he made, as a monument for his father Amon-Re, King of the Gods, the erecting^{12a} of the flagpole Nephthys at the front of his august temple, "Possessing Eternity in the House of Amon," which the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: RAMSES III, BELOVED OF [THOTH], LORD OF HERMOPOLIS, made for him.

¹³FAVORITE OF THE TWO GODDESSES: RICH IN JUBILEES LIKE TATENEN; KING OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT, LORD OF THE TWO LANDS: USERMARE-MERIAMON; he made, as a monument for his father Amon-Re, King of the Gods, the erecting for him of the flagpole Uto of genuine cedar of Lebanon, of that which the Lord of the Two Lands himself selected, [which the Son of Re,] Lord of Diadems: RAMSES III, BELOVED OF MUT, MISTRESS OF HEAVEN, [made for him].

¹⁴HORUS: MIGHTY BULL, GREAT OF KINGSHIP; KING OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT, LORD OF THE TWO LANDS: USERMARE-MERIAMON; he made, as a monument for his father [A]mon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, the making for him of flagpoles anew at the front of his august House of Millions of Years, [which the Son of Re,] Lord of Diadems: RAMSES III, BELOVED OF AMON-RE, KING OF THE GODS, [made for him].

¹⁵HORUS: MIGHTY BULL, GREAT OF KINGSHIP; KING OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT, LORD OF THE TWO LANDS: USERMARE-MERIAMON; [he] made, [as a monument for his father Amon-Re, Lord of the] Thrones of the Two Lands, the making for him of great flagpoles of genuine cedar^{15a} of the (Lebanon) range, of that which the Lord of the Two Lands selected, which the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: RAMSES III, BELOVED OF RE-HARAKHTE, THE GREAT GOD, made for him.

¹⁶HORUS OF GOLD: RICH IN YEARS LIKE ATUM; KING OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT, LORD OF THE TWO LANDS: USERMARE-MERIAMON; he made, [as a monument for his father] A[mo]n-Re, King of the Gods, the erecting for him^{16a} of the flagpole Uto at the great double door of his temple, its tip of genuine fine gold, which the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: RAMSES III, BELOVED OF ATUM, made for him.^{16b}

^{12a}Only here is "for him" omitted.

^{15a}The word *š* was originally cut without *š* and with a det. more like that in l. 13. In order to insert *š*, the group *š m*^{3c} was plastered up and recut as shown.

^{16a}We see one slight trace of the *f*.

^{16b}Under each of these 16 lines (except ll. 7-10) is an inscription of Ramses IV, later usurped by Ramses VI. Under ll. 2, 3, 6, 11, 14, 15 they begin: "Live the good god, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Setepnamon," the cartouche later changed to "Nibmare-Meriamon." Under ll. 1, 4, 5, 12, 13, 16 they begin: "Live the good god, Lord of Diadems: Hekmare-Meriamon-Ramses(IV)," the cartouche later changed to "Amenhirkhepeshef-Neterhekon-Ramses(VI)." The lines end with the tag "beloved of" some god: ll. 1, 16 Ptah; ll. 2, 3, 6, 11, 14, 15 Amon-Re; ll. 4, 13 Khonsu; ll. 5, 12 Mut. Under ll. 7-10 there are scenes instead of inscriptions. See the photographs on Pls. 84 and 104.

PLATES 105-6. "BLESSING OF PTAH"*

DESCRIPTION

This long text contains an address by the god Ptah-Tatenen decreeing a long and profitable reign to Ramses III and includes the King's promises to the god. If we take the King's names as designating the ends of paragraphs, the text may be analyzed as follows:

- ll. 1-3: date and introduction
- ll. 3-39: the speech of the god:
 - ll. 3-5: acknowledgment of the King as the son of the god
 - ll. 5-9: jubilation at the birth of the King
 - ll. 10-13: Ptah's gifts to the newborn King
 - ll. 13-14: Ramses given the kingship
 - ll. 14-20: the promise of wealth in food
 - ll. 20-23: the promise of wealth in buildings
 - ll. 23-28: the Residence City, and the promise of jubilees and long life
 - ll. 28-31: the promise of victory and captives
 - ll. 31-35: the promise of empire
 - ll. 35-39: the whole earth tributary to Ramses
- ll. 40-54: the answer of Ramses:
 - ll. 40-44: the acknowledgment of his filial debt
 - ll. 44-54: the building and equipment of the Temple of Medinet Habu for Ptah-Tatenen.

It is obvious that the text is of Memphite origin. As it stands it is corrupt, and we fortunately possess an earlier variant, dated in the 35th year of Ramses II and set up on a stela at Abu Simbel.† This was apparently made to commemorate the jubilees of Ramses II at Memphis and perhaps also his marriage to a Hittite princess in the previous year. The Medinet Habu text was not copied from the Abu Simbel text. In the first place, it was liberally re-edited, both as to the political situation and perhaps for better phraseology.‡ In the second place, the Abu Simbel text is itself obviously secondary, for it contains such corruptions as could have originated only in copying through the hieratic from a hieroglyphic text.§ The connecting link must be sought elsewhere. One might hazard a guess that the text was first prepared for a temple at Memphis (that of Ramses II?), perhaps on the occasion of a royal

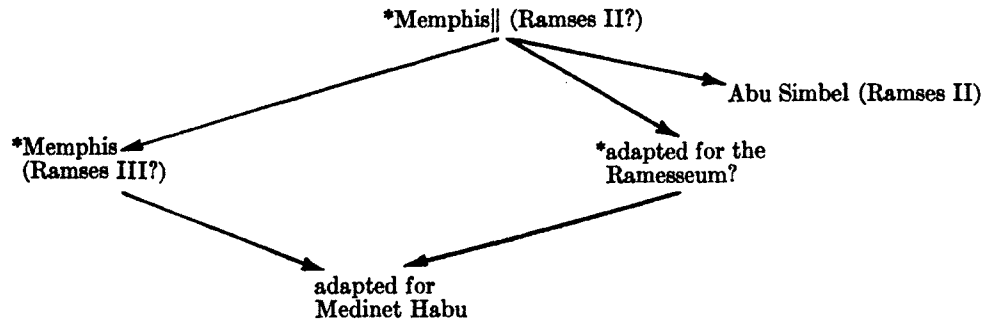
* Great Temple, exterior, face of first pylon, south tower, between flagstaff recesses. Published in part by de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* II, Pls. CXXXI-CXXXVIII; Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften* I, Pls. VII-X; *LD* III 209 c; *LD Text* III 170. For the scene above see also Champollion, *Monuments* III, Pl. CCIV; Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie. Notices descriptives* I 725; Rosellini, *Monumenti storici*, Pl. CXXIII; Daressy in *RT* XX 119 f.

† *LD* III 194; Naville in *TSBA* VII (1882) 119-38. We had also photographs and a collation by Dr. Breasted (1906), as well as the copy for *Wb*. On the importance of Ptah at Abu Simbel see Martinus Stolk, *Ptah* (Berlin, 1911) pp. 34 f.

‡ E.g. cf. *raf m st dgs.k* in l. 15 below with the earlier *gfw r bw nb hnd.k im* (almost the same idea in each case).

§ Some errors in the Abu Simbel text may have originated in copying from a previous hieroglyphic text: see below n. 4b (𓆎 for a supposedly correct 𓆏), n. 7a (𓆎 for a probable 𓆏), n. 9a (𓆎 for a probable 𓆏), and n. 21c (𓆎 for 𓆏). One may suppose that a parent hieroglyphic text was copied into hieratic for transmission to Abu Simbel, where the text was put back into hieroglyphic. For errors in the Abu Simbel text which may have originated in transcribing hieratic into hieroglyphic see below n. 9b (𓆎 for 𓆏), n. 10b (𓆎 for 𓆏), and n. 17c (𓆎 for 𓆏).

jubilee there. The Abu Simbel text was then a copy of this, without deliberate alteration. The Medinet Habu text was adapted and edited for a different king and different location. The two possible lines of ancestry are:



|| The asterisk denotes a purely hypothetical text; cf. Gardiner in *JEA* V (1918) 181. On the increased importance of Ptah in the 19th dynasty see Stolk, *Ptah*, pp. 48 f.

SCENE ABOVE THE INSCRIPTION

Ramses III sacrifices northern and southern captives before the god Ptah-Tatenen, who leads to him various captive districts. Compare the scene on Plate 85 and the analogous scene over the Abu Simbel text of the Blessing of Ptah.

The names of the captives are taken from the geographical lists on the same tower of this pylon (Pl. 101) and are discussed as they appear there (see pp. 108-10). The equations with the numbers from Pl. 101 are as follows (the names are not lettered on Pl. 105, but their positions in the table below indicate their positions on the plate. See p. 108 for identification of the numbers used for Pl. 101):

a cf. 25
b = 26
c = 44

d=115 e=105 f=101 g=77 h=71 i=70 j=40 k cf. 41 l=42 m=43

BESIDE THE CAPTIVES

¹Crushing the chiefs of all countries.

BY THE GOD

²Words spoken by Ptah-Tatenen: ³"I have given [to] thee many jubilees. ⁴I have given to thee all valor ⁵and all [victory] like Re forever. ⁶Receive thou the sword, O mighty King, sun of the Nine Bows!"

TEXT


¹Year 12^{1a} under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Great of [King]ship; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Rich in Jubilees like Tatenen; Horus of Gold: Rich in Years like Atum, the sovereign protecting Egypt and binding foreign countries; ²King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III. Words spoken by Ptah-Tatenen, Father of the Gods, to his son, his beloved, of his body, a divine god, rich in love, rich ³in jubilees like Tatenen; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III:

"I am thy father. I begot thee,^{3a} so that thy entire body is of the gods, for I assumed^{3b} my

^{1a}The wall shows breaks so circumstantial that the sign for 10 seems at first glance to be ∅.

^{3a}Abu Simbel var. adds "from (or 'in') the gods."

^{3b}Var. correctly *iw ir.n.(i)*.

^{7b}The tambourine bears traces of blue or green. Note the attitude of the figure and the distance between the arm and the tambourine. Variant , "their arms 'playing the tambourine' in festivity" (*wp*, a "musical merrymaking"? Cf. Brugsch, *Wörterbuch* I 52 and V 51).

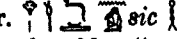
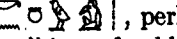
pearance. The love of thee is like (that of) the majesty of Re, and the gods and goddesses^{8a} give praise in <thy> beauty,^{8b} lauding⁹ and making offering to my ka.^{9a} They say to me:^{9b} 'Thou art our august father, and thou hast begotten for us a god^{9c} like unto thyself, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.'


¹⁰"When I saw thee, my heart rejoicing,^{10a} I took thee into my golden embrace, I encompassed thee about with life and satisfaction,^{10b} and I endued thee with health and joy. ¹¹I imbued thee rejoicing with joy, gladness of heart,^{11a} jubilation, and exultation.^{11b} I made thy countenance divine like unto me,^{11c} for I chose thee, ¹²shrewd and ready.^{12a} Thy heart is astute, <thy> utterances are excellent, and there is nothing at all that thou dost not know,^{12b} for thou art skilled in the counsels of life,^{12c} so that thou causest to live ¹³the common people^{13a} by thy plan(s);^{13b} the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

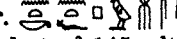
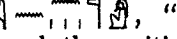
"I have caused thee to be [King] of eter[nity], 'ruler' enduring forever.^{13c} I fashioned thy

^{8a}The final *t* in *ntryt* rests on the authority of Duemichen and Sethe (copying for *Wb.*). We cannot see it.


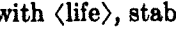
^{8b}Literally "in 'my' beauty," but var. seems to show the correct "thy." Does *dw3 m* occur elsewhere? One arm of the det. of *dw3* seems to hang down behind.

^{9a}Var.  *sic* , perhaps "decreeing for <me> praise." The parallelism of phrases suggests that *hkn*, "praise," is preferable to *hmk*, "make offering."

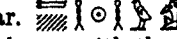
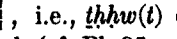

^{9b}Var.  *sic*, perhaps for *st* (*hr dd*), "they (say)." Cf. Pl. 28, n. 38c.

^{9c}Var.  , "Thou art he' who begot for us a god" (cf. Sethe, *Der Nominalsatz*, § 145, although the position of the *pw* here is different, perhaps drawn back by the participial phrase, which is essential to the sense. Cf. Hans Abel, *Tonverschmelzung gewisser Wortgruppen im Altaegyptischen* I [Leipzig, 1910] p. 23). If this is grammatically defensible, it is preferable to the Medinet Habu reading.

^{10a}Var. "(my) heart rejoiced."

^{10b}Var.  , "with <life>, stability, and satisfaction."

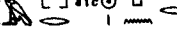
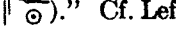
^{11a}Var. more correctly *3bh.(i) tw m hcc(wt) ršwt ndm-ib*, "(I) imbued thee with rejoicing, joy, gladness of heart."

^{11b}Var.  , i.e., *thhw(t)* confused with *nhh* (and later altered?). Perhaps our instance also had , with the tick (cf. Pl. 85, n. 5d), but broken surface makes certainty impossible.

^{11c}I.e., "like mine." Var. "I make thy heart divine like unto me (*mī kd.i*)."


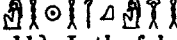
^{12a}The superfluous *t* in *ip.tw* probably belongs to the old perfective ending. The *dī* sign is used for the *spd* sign, as in Pl. 16:6.

^{12b}Var. more correctly *nn wn hm.n.k*.

^{12c}Var. "Thou art more skilled today than yesterday ( )." Cf. Lefebvre, *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres* . . . , p. 54.

^{13a}Cf. Pl. 85, n. 5a. Var. *t3-tm*, "everybody."

^{13b}Var. "by thy teaching."

^{13c}Var.  . Our text is probably the same, with the substitution of *r* for *m* and the falcon for *hḥ3*. Is the falcon to be read *nb*, "lord," or treated as det. of *hḥ3*?

body^{13d} of gold, ¹⁴and this goddess appears fixed upon thy head.^{14a} I have given to thee my divine office, so that thou rulest the Two Lands as^{14b} the King of Upper and Lower Egypt.

“[I have given] to thee Niles bearing sustenance,^{14c} ¹⁵that thou mayest endow the land^{15a} with wealth, food, and sustenance,^{15b} so that their land is flooded^{15c} in thy presence, and game is in the place where thou walkest.^{15d} I have given to thee grain and the ‘harvest’,^{15e} ¹⁶to provision Egypt, the grains thereof being like the sands^{16a} of the shore, their granaries approaching heaven,^{16b} their heaps like mountains. There is rejoicing^{16c} and satisfaction ¹⁷at the sight of them.^{17a} Food and festivity are in <thy> every vicinity,^{17b} and this land is satisfied with thy sustenance.^{17c} I have given thee heaven ‘and its creations’.^{17d} Geb presents to thee ¹⁸that which is in him,^{18a} the bird marshes lead to thee the denizens of the heavens,^{18b} Sekhat-Hor bears their sustenance, the fourteen kas of Re.^{18c} I have put them <in>^{18d} ¹⁹thy ‘[vi-

^{13d}Var., now lost, probably had *hw.k* also. See n. 14a.

^{14a}The uraeus (cf. Pl. 79:17). Var. omits this clause and carries on the preceding idea: "thy bones of 'silver', and thy limbs of iron" (cf. *ASAE* XXV 38, 197, and 228, n. 1).

^{14b}Var. *hk3.k t3wy* (written correctly) *mi*, "thou rulest the Two Lands like."

¹⁴⁰There is an inexplicable horizontal line beneath the *k3* sign. Var. "great Niles."

^{15a}Var. more correctly "I endow for thee the Two Lands"; cf. the following "*their* land."

^{15b}Var. "and noble (šps) sustenance."

¹⁵⁶“Their” probably refers to “the Two Lands.” Below the bird det. of *bꜥh* there was originally an *f*, which was later plastered out. Var. omits this clause.

^{15d}Var. *df3w r bw nb hnd.k im*, "and provisions are in every place in which thou treadest."


¹⁵⁰On *wsh* as used here see Griffith in *JEA* XII (1926) 196, n. 3. Var. , "enduring grain."

^{16a}Var. correctly šc.

^{16b}The det. of *hrt* may have minute points to suggest the sky sign.

^{16c}The *tw* of *h^{cc}.tw* is clearly a later insertion.

¹⁷*Var. less acceptably "at the sight of thee."

^{17b}Var. better: , "Food and the catch of game are under thy feet."

¹⁷Var. "The Two Lands 'are satisfied' (*bn3w*) with thy ka."

^{17d}The supposed *s* of *shpr* is by no means certain. Its traces would indicate an abnormally narrow sign. Var. "heaven and what is in it."

^{18a}I.e., everything in the earth.

^{18b}The det. shows that the *iryw-pt* are birds. Var. Δ "The 'bird marsh' comes to thee with its 'birds' (*sr?*)."

¹⁸⁰Var. better: "Sekhat-Hor bears her harvest." "She Who Remembers Horus" is a cow-goddess; cf. *Pyr.* § 1375 b; Sethe, "Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter," *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* XVIII 4 (1930) § 67. On the 14 kas of Re see Gardiner in *PSBA XXXVIII* (1916) 84 ff.; *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. by James Hastings, IX (New York, 1917) 791.

[illegible]

cinity^{1]}. Thou openest every^{19a} mouth, to enrich him whom thou desirest, like thy father, the living Khnum,^{19b} so that [thy] reign is in valor and victory like (that of) Re, when he ruled the Two Lands;^{19c} the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: ²⁰Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

"I cause that the mountains bring forth for <thee>^{20a} [huge], great, and mighty monuments,^{20b} and I cause that there be brought to thee every noble costly [stone] ²¹of every fine ore.^{21a} I make every heart profitable to thee with their work in every efficient craft,^{21b} everything going on two legs or four^{21c} and ²²all flying and fluttering things.^{22a} I put (it) into the heart of every land to present^{22b} their work to thee themselves; great and small,^{22c} with one accord, perform benefits for thy ka;^{22d} the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: ²³Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: [Ramses] III.


"There is made for thee^{23a} a great and noble residence, to strengthen the frontier of Egypt:^{23b} 'The House of Ramses III, Rich in Provisions^{23c} for ²⁴Egypt.'^{24a} [It] is firm up[on earth] like

^{19a}Var. better: "thy mouth." A number of the *k*'s in our text are in error (e.g. in ll. 12 and 21).

^{19b}Var. "according as thou art the living Khnum."

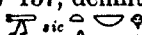
^{19c}Var. "Thy reign is in victory and wealth like (that of) Re, when (*dr*) he ruled the Two Lands." Here a possible trace of a *k* is visible after *nswyt*. Note the careless writing of *nhtw* and the curious form of Re.

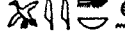
^{20a}Var. correctly *ms n.k*. In our text *n.k* was miscarved as *nn*.

^{20b}Var.  (type of human figure inexact). Our attempts to see *tnw* or *tny* in the Medinet Habu text are unsuccessful. Instead, we see one short vertical trace over the *n*. It looks clean-cut but is not necessarily original. On *tni* see Pl. 16, n. 8b.

^{21a}Var. "I cause the highlands to create for thee [every] noble costly stone, to be carved into monuments in thy name."

^{21b}Var. "I make every work profitable to thee; every shop labors for thee."

^{21c}The *k* is of course for *nb*. The sky det. (so, and not a rectangular block) after *snw* is curious; cf. the det. of *snw*(?) in *Wb*. IV 157, definition 6. The writing of *ifd* is influenced by a word *ifd*, "rectangular area" (*Wb*. I 71). Var. .

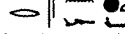
^{22a}Var.  (cf. Great Aton Hymn, l. 5). The horizontal sign at the beginning of our line may be a misunderstanding of the wing.

^{22b}Var. has *hrp* correctly. Here the det. of *hrp* is broken; the hand may contain a wand. The position of the dative is explained by the var.: "to present and to work for thee themselves."

^{22c}Read *bw3w* (from the det.) *kttyw*. Var. *wrw srw kttyw*, "princes, nobles, and commoners."

^{22d}Var. has *k3.k* in the sing.

^{23a}Var. *iw iry.(i) n.k*, "(I) have made for thee." On this sentence and the following see Gardiner in *JEA* V (1918) 181 and 192.

^{23b}Var. , "to make strong the frontier of the Two Lands." Note that *nht* now has the force of the causative (cf. Pl. 46, n. 27a). The horizontal line after *t33* in our text may be a remnant from an original *t33w t3wy*, like the var.

^{23c}Note the crude carving of the *pr*-house and the *df3*-bird. Many signs in this inscription are poorly carved, aligned, or spaced. Note the tipsy *t* in *nht* in l. 29; the two *hr*-faces in l. 9, the impossible *h* at the beginning of l. 32. One can often determine that the sculptor cut from one side or the other, considerably above or below his sign.

^{24a}It is unusual to find a *km* sign reversed in Medinet Habu. Did the parent text face in the opposite direction?

“I have given^{28d} ²⁹thee valor and victory,^{29a} and thy strength is in the hearts of the Bows.^{29b} I terrorize for thee the lands, and the Asiatics are under thy feet forever and ever.^{29c} Thou ap-

²⁹⁰Var. shows that there were originally two sentences: "(I) terrorize for thee the hearts of all lands and set them under thy soles."

pearest daily ³⁰to have the captives of thy hands^{30a} presented to thee. The chiefs of the countries of every land offer^{30b} their children before thee, and I commend them to thee, gathered ³¹in thy grasp,^{31a} to do as thou desirest with them; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

"I set the awe of thee before^{32b} the Two Lands, while the love of thee imbues ³²their faces.^{32a} I set thy battle cry in the rebellious countries,^{32b} while the fear of thee encircles^{32c} the mountains, and the chiefs tremble at the (very) mention of thee, and there flourishes ³³thy mace over their heads.^{33a} They come to thee like a single cry^{33b} to beg peace from thy presence. Thou lettest live whom thou desirest and slayest whom thou wishest. Behold, the throne ³⁴of every land is under thy authority. I cause great 'wonders'^{34a} to come to pass for thee and every good circumstance to befall thee. The lands^{34b} under thee are in acclamation, ³⁵and Egypt is rejoicing at thy appearance;^{35a} the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

"I 'move',^{35b} I promise to^{35c} thee valor and victory, chiefs^{35d} ³⁶and nobles to thy arm. Heaven and earth have been shaken with joy,^{36a} and those who are in them are glad at what

^{30a}Var. "captives of the Nine Bows."

^{30b}Between the arm and book-roll det. there may have been one or more slanting strokes. We have omitted them as improbable. Var. "The chiefs and nobles of every land make offering to thee with their children."

^{31a}Var. "I commend them to thy valiant arm."

^{31b}Epigraphically either *hr* or *ib* is possible, with just a shade of preference for *hr*. Var. uses *ib*, i.e., "I set the awe of thee in all hearts," but the change to "the Two Lands" alters the sense somewhat, and we tentatively read *hr*.




^{32a}Var. "the love of thee into every belly."

^{32b}Note the det. of *bšd* (*bšl*), borrowed from *bdš*. Cf. Pl. 27, n. 22b. Var. "I set the terror of thee throughout every country."

^{32c}Var. correctly  Δ .

^{33a}Var. less acceptably "thy majesty flourishes, fixed upon their head."

^{33b}Unparalleled and perhaps corrupt, as var. *m cš n w c* suggests. The sense "with one accord" is probably involved.

^{34a}Literally perhaps "great ores to come forth for thee," but var.   , "every wonder."
































^{34b}Var. "the Two Lands."

^{35a}Var. "Egypt flourishes, rejoicing."

^{35b}The first *n* of *mmn*, now lost, was recorded by Duemichen. Var. is lost here and differs in the next clauses. What does *mmn* mean? Only *Urk*. IV 1105:16 may be adduced for the meaning "I go on (to something further)." The usual meaning is "be disturbed, shake." Could it have the significance of a prophetic fit or the *hnn* gesture of Egyptian oracular statues?

^{35c}The *n* seems to have been inserted later as a correction.

^{35d}So, *wrw*, and not the strong man.

^{36a}Var.                               

⁴²⁶Divine figure by mistake for royal figure.

it has reached heaven, so that [those who are in heaven] have received [it].^{49b} _____^{49c}
⁵⁰ — — — — — which I make for thee.^{50a} — ^{50b} — — — — — ⁵¹ — — — — —
 — — — — — with green plants flourishing — 'thee'^{51a} every day. My heart presents
⁵² — — — — —^{52a} — — 'my' — — in thy strength, to wit: thine is the heaven and the earth;^{52b}
 — — — — —. ⁵³Thou givest to me exalted rule and [great victories]^{53a} to my arm, so that all lands
 are under my soles, and Egypt — — —; ⁵⁴the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of
 the Two Lands, great ruler of Egypt and lord of every foreign country: Usermare-Meriamon;
 Son of Re, of his body, his beloved, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, given life like [Re forever]."

PLATE 107. SOUTH STELA WITH INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 12*

DESCRIPTION

The inscription on this stela contains some passages of historical significance. Unfortunately the text is in such a miserable state of preservation that complete certainty is denied us. Ramses III recounts the benefits of his reign: the security of Egypt gained by the conquest of foreign invaders (ll. 3–9); work on the temple (or temples) of Amon (ll. 12–21). The stela is so badly weathered that a definitive analysis of the contents of the inscription is impossible. See the photograph, Plate 128 A.

SCENE ABOVE THE INSCRIPTION

Ramses III presents the figure of Truth before the Theban Triad, while Thoth records long life for the King.

BEFORE THE KING

Making presentation of Truth to his father Amon-Re.

BEFORE AMON

Words spoken by Amon-Re, King of the Gods: "I have given thee all life, duration, and satisfaction; I have given thee all health; I have given thee all joy."


BEFORE MUT

Words spoken by Mut, Mistress of Heaven: "I have given thee eternity as King of the Two Lands."

^{49b}Var. refers to cattle and the odor of fat ascending to heaven: "All their fattened ones in millions, their fat, it has reached heaven. Those who are in heaven have received it (*šsp sw imy-pt*)."

^{49c}The birds toward the end of the line are first *m*, then 3 or *w*.

^{50a}Var. "I cause every land to see the beauty in the monuments which I make for thee." From here on var. differs completely.

^{50b}Apparently the first group was .

^{51a}Epigraphically the two horizontal traces after *wšdwšdt* might be *ss* or *nn* or *tš.wy*.

^{52a}The sign which resembles *k* bears traces of red and probably is the shoulder of the strong arm, the fist of which may be seen to the right.

^{52b}Cf. Gardiner in *ZAS* XLI (1904) 136, example 5 (from the Medinet Habu feast of Amon).

^{53a}Read *nḥtw c3yw*.

* Great Temple, exterior, face of first pylon, south of great gateway. Unpublished.

OVER KHONSU*

Words spoken by Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep.

OVER THOTH

Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis: "I have given thee millions of jubilees, hundred-thousands of years."

TEXT

¹Year 12 under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Great of Kingship; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Rich in Jubilees like Tatenen; Horus of Gold: Rich in Years like Atum, the sovereign protecting Egypt and binding foreign countries; ²King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III. He says: "Hearken to me, the entire^{2a} land, all the inhabitants, youthful and aged, of Egypt. ³I am the son of a valiant one, the seed of 'a [praised one]¹, ^{3a}strong of arm, rich in strength as King of the Two Lands. I have overthrown the plains and hill-countries which transgressed my frontier, ^{3b}since I 'was [established]^{13c} as King ⁴upon the throne of Atum. No land was left [to] 'lift themselves up (in rivalry)^{14a} in my presence, while I am established like a bull before them, sharp of horns.^{4b} I caused the Asiatics to 'turn back^{1,4c} ⁵'who were' treading Egypt,^{5a} — — ^{5b}'worn out^{16c} for terror of me.^{5d} They recall my name 'to cause [terror]^{16e} in their lands; ⁶trembling, — — — ^{6a}at my battle cry, while I am a strong wall, firm in your vicinity, ^{6b}a 'shade^{16e} — — strength for ⁷your breast. I overthrew the Thek[er],^{7a} the land

^{2a}The horizontal sign under the *dmd* sign could be either *d* or book roll.

^{3a}Some word beginning with *h*. Tentatively we restore $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ or similar. There are many other possibilities.

^{3b}The *t3* sign is carved in a semihieratic form.

^{3c}*smn*? The two traces to the left of the supposed *mn* sign, if really original, are difficult to deal with.

^{4a}Reading *b(w) sp t3 nb* $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$, similar to Pl. 80:12–Pl. 82:13 (see notes on that text). Here we have plausible traces of all signs except the *r*.

^{4b}*r-h3t.s[n], spd bwy*. Above the det. of *spd* stands what looks like *t*. We believe it to be a break only.

^{4c}Reading, with numerous parallels, *hty*. The difficulties here are a rather generous space between the *ht*-stick and the first reed leaf, and the upper det., which seems to be 𓏏 . This may be borrowed from another *hty* (Wb. III 348); cf. also Beisan Stela of Seti I, l. 10.

^{5a}The available space and the state of the wall make it improbable that there was an *r* before *hnd*. But the possibility may not be excluded.

^{5b}The horizontal trace may have been a land sign.

^{5c}*whs*? The det. would be curious but not impossible.

^{5d}*Status pronominalis* without *t*; see Pl. 44, n. 13b.

^{5e}*r [nr]i* (cf. Pl. 79, n. 10c).

^{6a}*sgdr*? If we use the suggestion of Pl. 83, n. 50c, the meaning here might be something like "writhing."

^{6b}Or "time" (cf. Pl. 82, n. 19c).

^{6c}Reading tentatively an erroneous $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ as *h3ibt* written without the *b*.

^{7a}Probably *Tkr*, not *Tkkr*.









* No feather was carved on the *w3s* sign. No speech is given for Khonsu. On the other hand, Thoth's speech lacks the usual "Words spoken by."

of Pele[set], the Denyen,^{7b} the [W]eshesh, and the Shekelesh;^{7c} ⁸I destroyed 'the breath of the Mesh[wesh], — —, Sebet¹, — —,^{8a} devastated in their (own) land. I am fine of 'plan^{18b} ⁹and excellent of — — — — —^{9a} I caused that they be made prostrate.

"I lifted up the face of Egypt,^{9b} ¹⁰which had been downcast, 'making my —, trusting in my [father],^{10a} — — — — — as lord of —,^{10b} for I know that his strength is greater than (that of other) gods; lofty of plumes, with upraised arm,^{10c} outstretching ¹¹the two arms; 'gleaming^{11a} and illuminating heaven every day; 'treading, so that the limits of his wandering are not known^{11b}. I am reliant upon —,^{11c} begging breath ¹²[for] Egypt; — — — — —^{12a} ¹³ — — — — — for the Lord of the Gods, like the [heav]ens,^{13a} — the heavens. When Re rises, he shines — — 'upon it.^{13b} His rays spread ointment^{13c} ¹⁴upon its 'divine images^{14a}. Its nature is like

^{7b}Only a minute trace of the first *n* is extant.


























^{7c}Apparently the space under the *š* sign was empty; the 3-bird followed this, his tail falling below the *k*. Cf. the spacing in the preceding name.

^{8a}The traces after *htm.i* might be of . The space available for *Mšwš* is not great, but the signs may be fitted into it. Following this, one expects another foreign name, but the slanting sign under the *t* looks like  (less likely ). Then comes a foreign name, which we read tentatively     , comparing *ʿIsbt* (Burchardt II, No. 136). But it is not certain that the first bird is *š*, and the final radical may be read *sw*. Following this, there are obscure traces, ending with a sign which looks like the walking legs.

^{8b}See Pl. 82, n. 16b.

^{9a}A long broken stretch. After *mnḥ*, the vertical trace may be of *š* or of any vertical sign. At the end of the break we may have "I ———— their heart —."






























^{9b}"To lift the face" is sometimes to encourage (cf. Pl. 117, n. 9a).

^{10a}Reading tentatively                          Cf. possibly Pl. 46:32, although the construction there may not be suitable here.

^{10b}The two horizontal lines before the last royal figure are the upper and lower margins of a deep, solid-cut glyph. The supposed *nb* following the *m* has fairly good surface at its left corner. However, *k* is still a possibility.

^{10c}In his form as Min.

^{11a}Old *ḥ*?

^{11b}Possibly                              (note the trace which might fit *h*), then *n rḥ.tw rḥ-tnm.f*, although the writing of *tnm* would be curious. The idea would suit Amon's function as god of the air (Sethe, "Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis" [AAWB, 1929, No. 4] §§ 187 ff.).






^{11c}Some expression for Amon or Min?

^{12a}The trace at the beginning of the line tentatively read *km* (for *Kmt*) has remains of blue or green color. Farther on, the curving sign before the circle might be the *mwt*-vulture. Farther on, read perhaps *iri.i ḥt.i hr b3[k3t]*.

^{13a}Following obscure traces, *n nb ntrw, mi t3 [hr]t*, followed by obscure traces.

^{13b}Upon the temple. We do not know what preceded this.

^{13c}For the figure cf. Grapow, *Bildliche Ausdrücke*, p. 147. We do not recognize the word (ending in l. 14) here used for "rays."

^{14a}Emend to    or similar. Cf. Pap. Harris xxv 8; J. Lieblein, *Deux papyrus hiératiques du Musée de Turin* (Christiania, 1868) Pl. V A 2; Wb. II 445. Our  may be due to a misreading of hieratic .

(that of) the heavens, which bear the sun disk, so that Amon-Re rests gladly with[in] it.^{14b} <Its>^{14c} ¹⁵doorways^{15a} are of gold, inlaid with costly stone; the two wings of the door^{15b} and the figures (thereon) are of fine gold,^{15c} like the two doors of heaven. I filled it and I completed it by my victories, ¹⁶which I had made in every land by my valiant arm. Its storehouses have gold and silver, with every (kind of) linen, incense, oil, and honey, like the sands of the shore. ¹⁷I equipped it with every (type of) service to be done before <the god>; priests^{17a} and ministers doing their duties; serfs, ¹⁸fields, and cattle, without their limits; grain and corn^{18a} in heaps approaching the heavens. I did not omit ¹⁹(any) excellent deed which was in my heart for my father Amon, the creator of my beauty, but I did these things^{19a} as acts of grace in the place of [praying to]^{19b} ²⁰Amon — place in 'another' plot of ground.^{20a} I renewed^{20b} his house, made with the work of eternity. I 'cooled' ————— [up]on' earth,^{20c} for I dug [a lake],^{20d} flooded ²¹by the inundation, green and made to grow with every (kind of) tree and every (kind of) plant, dazzling and 'pleasing'^{21a} in [their] natures' — — — before him — — —^{21b} the ²²kingship with millions [of] years and jubilees, valor and victory as he desires.^{22a} The things which he promises, they come to pass, firm as the [heav]ens,^{22b} — — — — forever. I am the son whom he loves, who is upon^{22c} his throne. ²³I make — — — — —^{23a} [the King of Upper and Lower] Egypt, Lord of the [Two] Lands: Userma[re]-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses [III], beloved of [A]mon-Re, King of the Gods, given life like Re."

^{14b}wnf [𓂏𓂏] hnw.s.

^{14c}Emend to n3y<.s>.

^{15a}Burchardt II, No. 1101; Pap. Chester Beatty I xvii 8–11.

^{15b}A curious writing of 3.wy (again later in the line), with a final t.

^{15c}Burchardt II, No. 1036.

^{17a}Reading tentatively hr h3t <𓂏>𓂏𓂏𓂏, with haplography of one ntr sign.

^{18a}For suggestions as to the possible significance of these two words see Pls. 83, n. 42a, and 105, n. 15e.

^{19a}Very little is visible of the ir-eye and nothing of the first nn-plant.

^{19b}hr st [𓂏𓂏] 𓂏𓂏 [𓂏].

^{20a}Perhaps 7mn [dsr]-st m 'ktw' b3k3t. "Amon Holy of Place" is a name of Amon in his 18th dynasty shrine at Medinet Habu (see *Medinet Habu* I 2; *Urk.* IV 880–83; Sethe, *op. cit.* §§ 105 ff.). The odd writing, ktw, of the fem. sing. kyty (see Sethe in *ZAS* XL [1902/3] 92 ff.) is noteworthy.

^{20b}The t at the end of this word is probably meaningless.

^{20c}Instead of "cooled," perhaps "doubled." Then perhaps [hr]-tp t3.

^{20d}𓂏𓂏 or 𓂏𓂏 would fit the lacuna.

^{21a}On twt cf. perhaps Gunn in *JEA* XII 252 f.

^{21b}What follows r-h3t-hr.f is quite obscure to us.

^{22a}n mrr.f.

^{22b}mn mi [hr]t.

^{22c}The stroke following the hr-face was carved unusually thick.

^{23a}The broken area starts with what seems to be the 3-bird (of t3?). The traces farther along do not fit dt, "forever." Then comes a solid-cut sign, then perhaps remains of it, "father."

PLATE 108. NORTH STELA WITH INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 12*

DESCRIPTION

The inscription on this stela also is in a deplorable state of preservation. Fortunately the context seems to be fairly general and conventional, so that our loss is not great. Ramses III addresses the courtiers, emphasizing his legitimacy, because he owes his sovereignty directly to the god. See the photograph, Plate 128 *B*.

SCENE ABOVE THE INSCRIPTION

Ramses III, attended by the god Atum, stands before the Theban Triad.

BEFORE AMON

Words spoken by Amon-Re, ———: "I have given thee jubilees ———. I have given thee eternity as ———. Receive thou the jubilees of Re, the years of Atum."

BEFORE MUT

Mut the Great, Mistress of ———.

BY KHONSU

Words spoken by Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep: "I have given thee all valor and all victory."

BY ATUM

Words spoken by Atum, the Lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan, the Great God: "[I have given thee] millions of jubilees, hundred-thousands of years."

TEXT

¹Year 12 under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Great of Kingship; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Rich in Jubilees^{1a} like Tatenen; Horus of Gold: Rich in Years like Atum, the sovereign protecting ²Egypt and binding foreign countries; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III.^{2a} [He says to] the officials, the leaders of the infantry and chariotry, and — —^{2b} ³the earth who are in this land: "I was King as a youth, being one whom the god made,^{3a} while I sat^{3b} in peace upon the throne ———.^{3c} [He selected]^{3d} ⁴me and he found me in the midst of hundred-thousands. He appointed me to be Lord of the Two Lands with his own fingers.^{4a}

^{1a}Only dubious traces of the *hb-sd* sign remain.

^{2a}The *sw*-plant in the cartouche is reversed in direction. The following lacuna held *dd.f n* or similar.

^{2b}Perhaps some short writing of "all people of" or similar.

^{3a}For the genitive as agent after the passive participle see Gard. § 379:2.

^{3b}*snḏm.kwi*. This curious form of the *ndm* sign probably originates in the hieratic. Of the seated figure only the skirt, feet, and part of the staff are visible.

^{3c}The seated figure after *isb(t)* may be the royal figure, i.e., "my throne." Or it may be a god, Amon or Atum etc.

^{3d}[*stp.f*]; cf. Pls. 46:14–15, 44:17, 105:11.

^{4a}Note the interesting writing of the dual.

* Great Temple, exterior, face of first pylon, north of great gateway. Unpublished.

I have not tyrannized,^{4b} I have not taken ⁵my office by robbery,^{5a} but the crown was set upon my head willingly,^{5b} and there was promised^{6a} to me rule in Egypt, 'upon [the throne of]^{6d} ^{6c}—,^{6a} while the gods and goddesses were in jubilation. (I) received the adornments^{6b} of Horus and Set and of the two goddesses. My hands hold the flail,^{6c} ⁷the crook, and the *ames*-scepter.^{7a} All the invaders of my frontiers are slain in my grasp, and all my enemies are the captives [of]^{7b} ⁸my palace. [My]^{8a} august, divine father, the Lord of the Gods, Amon, the Bull of His Mother, is a shield for me. I [support]^{8b} Egypt, I protect [it]^{8c} ⁹'with [my] arm.^{9a} — — — — [King of] Upper and Lower [Egypt] upon the throne — — — — —
 — — — — ¹⁰ — — — — — begging the breath of^{10a} ¹¹ — — —
 — — — — ^{11a} kingship. I am a lord merciful of heart — — ^{11b} Let the breath thrive in my

^{4b}Burchardt II, No. 287; add Amenemopet vi 14, vii 17, xviii 12 and 15, unless this is a different word (see Griffith in *JEA* XII 203, n. 1).

^{5a}*hwr*^c is unlawful seizure as opposed to confiscation. Cf. Nauri Stela, l. 35; Act of Endowment of Khnum, l. 5 (*Untersuch.* II 83).

^{5b}See Pl. 28, n. 38b. The break may be filled with *w* or *wt*.

^{6c}The little shaded area before the giraffe may have contained *t*, but it is doubtful.

^{6d}Perhaps $\text{𓂏} \left[\begin{smallmatrix} \overline{\text{w}} \\ \text{ } \end{smallmatrix} \right]$. See n. 6a.

^{6a}Two seated figures. The first, which was drawn in its *present* state, may have been Atum with the double crown, Re with the sun disk, etc. The second may have been the divine det., the two making one name.

^{6b}Two more *hkr* dets. will fill the gap.

^{6c}The space after *nh3h3* is rather large. Nevertheless, because of the close association of the flail and the crook, it is difficult to restore anything except a rather cramped *hr*, "under, holding." We believe nothing is lost.

^{7a}Only the det. of *ims* is lost in the gap.

^{7b}Restoring *nw*. Also possible are *n*, "for," and *m*, "in."

^{8a}Between *f* and the *šps*-figure there is actually room for the seated royal figure, a fact which our restorations have obscured.

^{8b}Reading *nh**t* (see Pl. 46, n. 27a). There is a possible trace of the *t* here.

^{8c}After what seems to be the royal figure there is room only for a vertical *š* or a very cramped *sw*-plant (cf. Pl. 46:15, end).

^{9a}Perhaps *m hps*[.i]; there is red in the supposed *hps* sign, which would be correct. We can make little of the traces at the end of this line.

^{10a}The shieldlike sign near the middle of the line might be the *h3* sign. Toward the end of the line the supposed *h* over *r* is doubtful, although clean-cut. Then perhaps *dbh t3w n*. We probably should have restored the man's head a little lower, to allow room for 𓂏 above.

^{11a}Obscure traces; perhaps *t3wy*, "the Two Lands," in the third square. Perhaps *n.i*, "to me," just before "kingship," although the *n* would be poorly formed and placed.

^{11b}There may be visible a trace of the eye under *n*^c. The last trace in the break looks like the calf's head.

mouth every day!^{11c} Not — — — — —¹² — — — — —^{12a} 'doing their crimes'; I was furious instantly,^{12b} — — — — —
 — — — — — for Egypt. 'I know^{12c} ¹³ — — — — —. 'I did not
 cast down^{13a} ¹⁴the hearts^{14a} of the elders, who do right every day in my presence, — — — — —^{14b} for
 I know the regions of the god, — — — — —^{14c} benefactions to the Ennead ¹⁵ — — — — —^{15a} — — — — —
 — — — — — all — in towns and nomes — — — — — — — — — — —^{15b} against your bodies.¹ ¹⁶Make^{16a} praise
 before me as (before) Re; — — — — — — — — — — —^{16b} I am fixed and established^{16c} as King of the
 Two Lands; — the sun disk — 'majesty'.^{16d} ¹⁷Double praise daily to 'my' two serpent-god-
 desses, the uraeus 'and the goddess', the white crown and the red crown,^{17a} which are upon

^{11c}Cf. Pl. 85:11.

^{12a}We cannot fit p^3 , n^3 , or nty , etc., to the traces before irr .

^{12b}Literally "in a short instant." Following this, perhaps $hr nb$, "everybody." At the end of the broken area we may have $rwd.kwi$ (with β erroneously for w) $m nwt$, i.e., "'while I remained constant, continuously,' for Egypt," but this is very doubtful.

^{12c}The two city signs would have to be large to fill the gap after T^3-mri . Then perhaps $rh.kwi$, with the wi beginning the next line or omitted.

^{13a}The first trace visible may have been the red crown. After h , we guess at $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ (or 𓆑) 𓆒 (or 𓆓). The t after the next h is possibly a break: although clean-cut, it is badly placed. Then follows $\text{𓆔} \text{𓆕}$. Possibly the next group is $\text{𓆖} \text{𓆗} \text{𓆘}$, followed by a seated figure (rather than standing). After the pl. strokes in the middle of the line, 𓆙 is more likely than a sign involving a simple oblong. The round sign under this is carved in outline (not h). Beyond, perhaps $mi w^c$ 'n- $h[ft]$ - $hr.i$ ', "like one before me." At the end of the line $bw hdb.i$. Does anything follow the seated figure? The space left is rather large. One may guess at a cramped 𓆚 at the very end of the line, but it is not at all certain, and we assume that nothing was present in the last half-square.

^{14a}The first sign is the forequarters of the lion rather than ayin . If the word is $h\beta tyw$, cf. Pl. 101:10 for the spelling.

^{14b}The group looks like $\text{𓆛} \text{𓆜}$. Can we read $m s w^c$, "as one man"?

^{14c}Perhaps $n-hr.f$ (or $n ib.f$). Then an obscure stretch, including a probable $nb nty$.

^{15a}The first sign may be the β land sign or 𓆝 . There follow an ayin , a vertical sign, and a round sign which is cut in outline. $\text{𓆞} \text{𓆟}$ is possible, or better $\text{𓆠} \text{𓆡}$. After the $n\beta y$ with pl. strokes come an uncertain horizontal sign, the remains of a possible f , then h and a solid-cut round sign.

^{15b}We see a number of words here without apparent grammatical connection: "'slaughter, heat of Sekhmet ($\text{𓆢} \text{𓆣} \text{𓆤}$?), the fray.'" Possibly something like: "in destroyed towns and nomes. The heat of Sekhmet is ruinous to your bodies."

^{16a}Imperative pl. For the prothetic i here and in $i\beta b$ (l. 17) see Erman, *NA*² § 353.

^{16b}Above the first n of this area may be a horizontal sign ($mn?$). After the seated figure come two strokes (reversed) and what may be the calf's head. The oblong sign following $r-drw$ may have been 𓆥 . We might read "kissing the ground, all of them, for I am excellent ($mnh.i$)."

^{16c} $mn.kwi$ [β] $mn.kwi$.

^{16d}We cannot identify the traces preceding $itin$. Before $hm.i$ is an uncertain sign ($whm?$). Read "repeating majesty"?

^{17a}No t was carved after the red crown. Perhaps to the sculptor's eye the t of nty did double service.

my head. Beg for me [king]ship with your mouths^{17b} ¹⁸together. There is heard —^{18a} since the time of the god; — — — — —^{18b} ruler of the necropolis. ¹⁹He made me to be Lord of the Two Lands, because I was excellent and I was good. He — ^{19a} me, [he] created 'me' — — — — —^{19b} the blue crown, the white crown, and the red ²⁰crown upon my head, the *etef* crown, the two feathers,^{20a} bearing the Great Enchantress, — — — — —^{20b} to support ²¹Egypt, to overthrow for her the Nine [Bows], bowing to me, — — — — — — — — —^{21a} [the King of Upper and Lower] Egypt, Ruler of the Nine [Bows], ²²Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, '[of his body, his beloved,] Lord of Diadems: Ram[ses III, — — — — — — — — —, given] life like Re forever.'

PLATE 109. RAMSES III INSPECTING HIS HORSES*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III, accompanied by his personal attendants, inspects his stable, while a bugle sounds† and the grooms salute the King. Some of the horses are shown in color on Plate 110. For the remains of an analogous scene at the Ramesseum see Plate 127 A. The two doorways below have undergone considerable repair, and we show both stages in our drawing (cf. Pls. 62 and 66).


TEXTS




OVER THE HORSES

¹⁻²Inspecting the great spans^{2a} ³⁻⁴of^{3a} the great stable [of] Ramses III ⁵of [the Court],^{5a} by the King himself.

^{17b}The *r* is accompanied by an unusually thick stroke.

^{18a}The single trace following the *w*-bird bears blue color.

^{18b}The first arm might have been . The bird is either the evil bird or the *wr*-bird (no certain trace of a complementary *r*). Later we may have *nty m 'b3h.i'*, "who is before me," although the seated figure looks divine rather than royal. There follow traces even more difficult.

^{19a}Quite uncertain.   , which is epigraphically possible, seems too unusual.

^{19b}The *rhyt*-bird is certain. The trace preceding this may have been the 3-bird.

^{20a}Following the crown with two plumes come two curved signs, looking like horns. Are they feathers? Are they a separate word?

^{20b}The sign which we saw as *ib* may have been *hr* or even a seated human figure (head and shoulders).

^{21a}Apparently some word parallel in idea to *b3b* follows it, something like "bowing to me, [kissing the ground] to me." Thereafter we may have had *m [ib] mr[w]*, "with loving heart" = "willingly."

^{2a}Note the word *htr*, probably to be read "spans" (cf. Pl. 75, n. 28e). There are eight pairs of horses shown here. The horse det. has a painted forelock. The only indication of plurality is the article.

^{3a}The two ends of the *n* are visible.

^{5a}For *hnw* cf. the names of the spans in Pls. 72, 77, 98, etc. We do not know its spelling in the present case.

* Great Temple, interior, first court, south wall, west end. Unpublished.

† Under his arm the bugler holds the wooden form which held the bugle's shape when it was not in use. This detail is in paint only, not carved.

BEFORE THE KING

⁶The King appearing like Montu, his strength like (that of) the son of Nut, to see the horses^{6a} which his (own) hands have trained^{6b} for the great [stable]^{6c} of the palace which the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon made.

BY THE COURTIER

⁷Words spoken by the royal princes, the officials, and the royal chamberlains of the palace, who are in the retinue of his majesty.^{7a}

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT

⁸As long as the moon shall continue to be born^{8a} and Nun shall encircle the Great Circuit,^{8b} the name of the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon shall be upon his temple forever.

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE LEFT

⁹Horus: Mighty Bull, Great of Kingship; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offerings: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III, beloved of Amon-Re.

PLATE 111. FAÇADE OF THE WINDOW OF ROYAL APPEARANCES*

DESCRIPTION

The window at which Ramses III made ceremonial appearances from his palace is framed by symmetrically balanced scenes of the King with captives. Seven heads of foreigners remain of the group which once ran continuously under the window; these are carved in the round. Below there are shown ceremonial games in the presence of the King, wrestling and singlestick. These games are shown in reinforced photograph on Plate 112.†

^{6a}*m33 smt* here, whereas ll. 1-2 have *ptr n3 htr*.

^{6b}See Pl. 28, n. 68b.

^{6c}Because of the King's staff, the lost signs must be brief. We assume that the loss consisted only of *ihw*, "stable." Twenty-five years ago, Sethe, copying for *Wb.*, was able to see the □□ det. We have not succeeded in locating this.

^{7a}No speech is given. In the corresponding scene at the Ramesseum (Pl. 127 A) we have the name and titles of a prince at this point.

^{8a}Literally "shall repeat birth." The child det. has a side lock carved only as far as the ear. Was it continued in paint?

^{8b}Was Nun himself the Okeanos? Cf. Sethe, "Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne" (*SAWB*, 1928, pp. 259-84) p. 261.

* Great Temple, interior, first court, south wall, center. Unpublished as a whole.

† See also Pl. 127 B-C for parallel material from the Ramesseum. The games are discussed in *JEA* XVII (1931) 211 ff. For the window of royal appearances as a whole a partial bibliography is given in Pl. 27, n. 37a, above, to which might be added Professor Hölscher's latest remarks in *Morgenland* XXIV (1933) 21 ff.

TEXTS

TWO PAINTED LINES ABOVE THE SCENE*

1 —————; ^{1a} King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, the ruler glistening and shining^{1b} like Atum. He is seen like Re at dawn, making his august house like the horizon of heaven, the place of contentment and rejoicing^{1c} [for] the Lord of the Gods, 'that he may double [years] in jubilees, in victory, for [his son], ^{1d} and years as King of the Two Lands, according as he has done benefactions for Thebes, the district of this god, his august, living father, 'who created^{1e} his beauty; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offerings: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, [beloved of] Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Ruler of Thebes, Mut the Great, Mistress of Heaven, and Khonsu.

2 ————— ^{2a} with the work of eternity, a wall^{2b} — — 'being [fixed]^{12c} — —; the land is established 'under its provisions^{12d}, while the All-Lord is at rest within it, and his Ennead is content. As for the goddesses, they take the tambourine, and they double^{2e} jubilees by the million for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who loves their ka, who desires to 'magnify^{12f} their name, Usermare-Meriamon, who makes festive 'Southern¹ Heliopolis;^{2g} Son of Re, who is <on> their throne,^{2h} the powerful one, lord of benefactions: Ramses III, making Thebes like heaven, [beloved of] Amon —————.

^{1a}Presumably each line began in the center of the scene, above the middle of the window, with "Live the Horus: Mighty Bull" The rectangular sign in l. 1 just before "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" is red. We do not recognize it.

^{1b}Cf. Pl. 27:3. The *thn* det. has three projections above, none below.

^{1c}Faint traces of the *h* det. of *hwy* are visible. Note the spelling of this word.

^{1d}*[kb.f [rnpwt] m hbw-sd hr n[hwt] n [s3.f].¹*

^{1e}*km3?* The traces are difficult to fit to this word.

^{2a}See n. 1a. The present line has reference to the temple.

^{2b}*sbtv*; there is a possible trace of horizontal *s* over the *t*.

^{2c}Traces which suggest *wnn mn*.

^{2d}*smn t3 hr* —————. The sign above the breakage is a rather fat bird, visible except for its breast. It is curiously drawn by brush strokes, with no outer line now visible. Its head and neck are green; body, legs, and beak blue; neck tuft and cap red; there is a touch of green on its breast. It is probably the generalized fowl. Read *df3w?* Under it is a horizontal red trace (*s?*). What precedes may be two slanting strokes and a vertical book roll belonging to *hr*.

^{2e}*kb*, "double," with the careless addition of *n* after the det., under the influence of *dbn*.

^{2f}Read *s3*.

^{2g}Reading *shb 3Iwnw Šm^c*. The *hb* sign identifies itself by an internal difference of colors. In the probable *šm^c*, we assume that the hieratic was responsible for the painting of *n* instead of *ayin*.

^{2h}Another case of omitted preposition.

* These two lines are in painted hieroglyphs (without carving), red, blue, and green against a yellow background.

BEFORE THE KING ON THE LEFT

³The Horus, great of strength, repulsing the Asiatics, strong of arm, possessor of a strong arm in all lands;^{3a} King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III. ⁴[Crushing]^{4a} the chiefs of every country, who are in the grasp of his majesty.

HORIZONTAL LINES AT THE LEFT

⁵All plains and all hill-countries, the chiefs of the countries, and the Sand-Dwellers are pinioned under the feet of ⁶this good god, the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, forever.

BEFORE THE KING ON THE RIGHT

⁷Live the good god, great of victories, possessor of a strong arm, smiting all countries. ⁸Crushing the chiefs of every country.

HORIZONTAL LINES AT THE RIGHT

⁹All plains and hill-countries, the Haunebut, and the Peztishut^{9a} ¹⁰are under the feet of this good god, the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

BEFORE THE SPECTATORS AT THE LOWER LEFT

¹¹Words spoken by the royal princes and the officials: "Thou art like Montu, O Pharaoh, L.P.H., our good lord! ¹²Amon has overthrown for <thee> the foreigners who came to 'exalt'^{12a} themselves!"

BEHIND A WRESTLING PAIR

¹³⁻¹⁴"Woe to thee, ^{13a}thou negro enemy! I make thee take ^{15-16a}a fall, helpless, in the presence of Pharaoh!"

OVER AN OFFICIAL

¹⁷"Take care!^{17a} Thou art in the presence^{17b} of Pharaoh, L.P.H., thy [lord]!"

BEFORE A VICTORIOUS WRESTLER

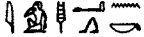
¹⁸"Amon is the god who decreed the victory to the [ruler]^{18a} ¹⁹who carries off every land, O great troop [of] ²⁰Usermare-Setepnere,^{20a} O leader!"


^{3a}Read *nḥt-c*, *nb ḥpš m tšw nbw*.

^{4a}[*ptpt*].

^{9a}*Hšw-nbw* is written with the *tyw*-bird. Between the two names there is a superfluous stroke. On the *Pdty.w-Šwt* see Sethe in *ZAS* LVI (1920) 53.

^{12a}See Pl. 16, n. 8b. Here, as in Pl. 44:14 (although unfortunately not drawn on that plate), the *t* has two diacritical ticks. As the word may possibly have to do with wrestling, its presence here is interesting.

^{13a}The parallels (e.g. l. 27 and Pl. 127 *B* below) cited in *JEA* XVII 212 f. show the correct reading to be *imw n.k*. The Medinet Habu text is a miscopying of that, under the influence of the  of a text such as Berlin P 1269, ll. 6-8.

^{17a}*hr.k* corrected out of original .

^{17b}The book roll, now lost, was recorded by Sethe, copying for *Wb*.

^{18a}The *k* and the head of the seated king are visible. On this formula of triumph see Pl. 23, n. 2a.

^{20a}Ramses II. This text and that in ll. 21-23 come from the Ramesseum (see Pl. 127 *C*).

BEFORE A VICTORIOUS WRESTLER

²¹"Amon is the god [who decreed the victory] ²²to the ruler who carries [off every land, O great troop] ²³of Ramses II, [O leader]!"

A FRAGMENT

²⁴"_____ 'O great [troop]' _____" ^{24a}

OVER A WRESTLING PAIR

²⁵"But see, I seize upon thy legs and I ²⁶hurl thee upon thy side in the presence of Pharaoh, L.P.H.!"

OVER A WRESTLING PAIR

²⁷"Woe to thee, thou Syrian^{27a} ²⁸enemy, who boasted ²⁹with his mouth! Pharaoh, L.P.H., my lord, is with me against thee!"

BETWEEN SINGLESTICK CONTESTANTS

³⁰"Stand thou fast for me, and I will make thee see the hand of a warrior!"

BEFORE A SINGLESTICK CONTESTANT

³¹"Amon is the god who decreed ³²the protection to the ruler over every land, O great troop of Usermare-Meriamon, Ruler of the Two Lands, ³³O [leader]!"

BEFORE THE SPECTATORS AT THE LOWER RIGHT

³⁴The Royal Prince and Chief Commander of the Army, ³⁵Ramses, triumphant,^{35a} (says): "Forward, forward, thou good warrior!"

PLATE 113. SOUTH FACE OF EAST DOORWAY FROM RAMSES III'S
PALACE INTO THE TEMPLE*

DESCRIPTION

The doorway is framed by inscriptions and a scene depicting Ramses III sacrificing a Meshwesh chief. The texts consist of the names, titles, and epithets of Ramses III and need not be discussed in detail.

^{34a}Cf. ll. 19 and 32. This would be the Medinet Habu text corresponding to the Ramesseum text in ll. 21-23.

^{37a}His opponent in the scene is actually a Libyan. The text shows slavish and thoughtless copying from an ancestor scene which actually had a Syrian opponent.

^{38a}Differences in carving show clearly that the name and the following epithet are later insertions into space originally left blank. Presumably at the same time the uraeus was attached to the prince's brow, as it also shows lighter carving (cf. Pl. 112).

* Great Temple, exterior, south wall, between pylons, east doorway. Unpublished.

PLATE 114. SOUTH FACE OF THE WINDOW OF
ROYAL APPEARANCES*

DESCRIPTION

The window through which Ramses III passed, in order to make ceremonial appearances from his palace, is framed by symmetrically balanced scenes and texts. On the left Ramses III sacrifices an eastern Libyan and an Asiatic; on the right he sacrifices a negro and a western Libyan. The wall shows evidences of such repairs as attended the rebuilding of Ramses III's palaces at Medinet Habu. †

TEXTS

TO THE LEFT OF THE WINDOW, BEHIND THE VULTURE

¹Words spoken by Nekhbet,^{1a} the White One of Hierakonpolis, to her son, ²the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon: "I am thy mother,^{2a} ³who created thy beauty. I have extended my protection^{3a} ⁴over thy body, like thy father Re in heaven."

TO THE LEFT OF THE WINDOW

⁵Live the good god, who intercedes for Egypt, who overthrows^{5a} the violator of his <front>ier,^{5b} who slays those who attack him; a fierce lion when he rages,^{5c} ⁶who conquers^{6a} the lands behind them at his battle cry;^{6b} an Upper Egyptian panther when he sees the fray; a whirlwind hurtling^{6c} ⁷in its violence, a flame in its time; the youthful lord, ⁸strong of arm like Set,^{8a} the fame of whom^{8b} and the terror^{8c} of whom have cast down the heart of ⁹the Bows; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

^{1a}Written without *t*.

^{2a}Determined by a small thin egg, the shape of which is typical of the small signs in this inscription, perhaps because of the loss of a plaster surface.

^{3a}Note the unusual form of the *stp* sign. *s3* is written with small pl. strokes, illustrating the point mentioned in n. 2a.

^{5a}The *s* of *shr* is broad in the middle, as if corrected from *r*. But see n. 2a above.

^{5b}There is scarcely room for a painted *t* above the *š*, which would give the spelling of Pl. 27:2.

^{5c}Traces of *k* and the det. in l. 6 make the restoration *nd* certain.

^{6a}Jéquier's reproduction shows much of the *h* (of which there is still a trace of blue) and the end of the *d*. Sethe, copying for *Wb.*, recorded *hd* without question.

^{6b}So literally; but what does it mean? "Who drives the lands back by his roaring" imposes something of a strain on the known meanings of the words. It may be that something has fallen out before *h3.sn*. Or an exclamation is possible: "Back with them at his battle cry!"

^{6c}Cf. Pl. 79:21-22. *kh3* occurs also in Pls. 28:67, 31:9, 83:41.

^{8a}Probably not Baal, as "strong of arm" is an epithet of Set.

^{8b}The *f*, now lost, was seen indistinctly by Sethe.

^{8c}Note the unusual writing of *hryt*, with \cap put first in place of \diamond .

* Great Temple, exterior, south wall, between pylons, center. Unpublished; cf. Jéquier, *L'architecture et la décoration dans l'ancienne Égypte. Les temples ramessides et saïtes de la XIX^e à la XXX^e dynastie*, Pl. 50.

† Note the two carvings over the window. Over the King's head on the right there is an inset block, with his name symmetrically pictured. Comparison with the corresponding block on the left shows many details missing here; these must have been present in paint. On the alterations of Ramses III's palaces see Hölscher in *Medinet Habu, 1924-28* (OIC No. 5 [1929]) pp. 37 ff. and *Morgenland* XXIV 20 ff.

HORIZONTAL LINE AT THE LOWER LEFT

¹⁰The good god, whose arm^{10a} is powerful, strong^{10b} like Set the son of Nut, King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

TO THE RIGHT OF THE WINDOW, BEHIND THE VULTURE

¹¹Words spoken by Uto, Mistress of Pe and Dep, to her son, ¹²the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon: "Behold, <I am>^{12a} thy protection, ¹³she who embraces^{13a} thy beauty. I take my place between thy eyebrows,^{13b} ¹⁴as I did for thy father Re."

TO THE RIGHT OF THE WINDOW

¹⁵The good god, who smites the Meshwesh and destroys the nose^{15a} of the land of Nubia, valiant of arms, repulsing the Bows; the hero, who seizes upon him who transgresses against him,^{15b} ¹⁶great of strength, conquering his enemies and crushing him who attacks him in the encounter,^{16a} who does what he pleases in the plains and hill-countries, like Baal prevailing over his enemy; ¹⁷the bull^{17a} of Egypt, 'who sets her in his vicinity,^{17b} the son of Amon, beneficial^{17c} to the gods; ¹⁸King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, possessor of a strong arm: Usermare-Meriamon; ¹⁹Son of Re, of his body, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III.

HORIZONTAL LINE AT THE LOWER RIGHT

²⁰The good god, powerful, valiant, crushing the lands of the Nine Bows, King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

PLATE 115. SOUTH FACE OF MIDDLE DOORWAY FROM RAMSES III'S
PALACE INTO THE TEMPLE*

DESCRIPTION

The framing of this doorway corresponds to that in Plate 113, except that this has an inscription where the other has a scene. The inscription is poorly carved and probably somewhat corrupt, as it presents difficulties of translation. Ramses III addresses his courtiers, recounting his benefactions to the temple.

TEXT

¹Horus: Mighty Bull, Great of Kingship; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Rich in Jubilees like Tatenen; Horus of Gold: Rich in Years like Atum; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon. ²[He]^{2a} says [to the officials,^{2b} the prophets, and

^{10a}The position of the suffix *f* suggests that it was cramped into the space as an afterthought. The entire group is clear, without a trace of the plaster used in corrections.

^{10b}For the writing of *phṭy* cf. Pl. 68:1.

^{12a}*mk wṯ* > *mk.i* > *mk*, with no pronoun written. Cf. Sethe, *Der Nominalsatz*, § 20.

^{13a}Or ignore the *t* and read "I embrace."

^{13b}Cf. Pl. 79:17-18. Note here the use of the stroke following two reed leaves for the first person suffix.

^{15a}The writing of *fnd* without *n* is probably an error, not a defective writing like that of *rmf*.

^{15b}Lower end of *sw*-plant preserved.

^{16a}As in Pl. 19:4.

^{17a}The phallus was cut over a previous *k*, which still contains plaster.

^{17b}See Pl. 83, notes 54d and 58d.

^{17c}The *t* of *3ḥt* is probably meaningless.

^{2a}Sethe, copying for *Wb.*, saw the *f*, but we are now unable to agree as to its exact location.

^{2b}Feet and staff of the *sr*-official visible.

* Great Temple, exterior, south wall, between pylons, middle doorway (west doorway of palace proper). Unpublished.

the divine fathers: "Behold, my excellent plans come to pass immediately. My temple is like the stability of heaven,^{2c} for Re is in it; 'it is pouring out face-to-face^{2d} ³like a miracle.^{13a} Its beauty is in (men's) faces^{3b} like the horizon of heaven. — great and august —,^{3c} a place of promenade for the gods and goddesses in Southern Heliopolis,^{3d} a very beautiful palace for the Lord of the Gods. ⁴[He] rises and he appears <for> love of it,^{4a} like that which comes forth upon earth as that which a god made;^{4b} — —^{4c} this land; the horizon is in their presence;¹ while it is enrolled and established among the divine^{4d} nomes. ⁵— bull —^{5a} of the Ennead. It is said: 'It is for eternity,^{5b} together with the heavens.'¹ My excellent name endures 'for its sake'^{15c} forever. I have equipped it with good things of the food of Egypt,^{5d} the plunder which my arm has carried off from ⁶all lands. I have increased its offerings^{6a} more than any (other) king, in addition to the permanent endowment of the gods. I have flooded its storehouses and its magazines with everything. Its granaries are running over with grain ⁷and corn. 'Its cattle are' increased^{7a} —————. The poultry yards provide sacrifice daily. (I) leave no exploit behind me to be done^{7b} for my father ⁸Amon, the creator of my beauty, since he chose me to be King — — — — —,^{8a} for I [re]ly^{8b} upon his plans. He has assigned me kingship in jubilation, while the plains, hill-countries, and Egypt are mine with praise."

^{2c}So, although one expects "My temple endures like heaven" (cf. Grapow, *Bildliche Ausdrücke*, pp. 24 f.). Cf. the inversion noted in Pl. 92:5.

^{2d}Uncertain. For *bs mi bi3t* cf. Pl. 46:19. On *hr-n-hr* see ZAS LXVIII (1932) 56 f. Perhaps the idea is: the beautiful essence of the temple is pouring out before your very faces like a marvelous thing.

^{3a}See n. 2d. The two horizontal lines, supposed to be traces of the sledge, are not certainly original. There is space below for book roll and pl. strokes.

^{3b}Cf. Pl. 98:2.

^{3c}The sentence is clearly corrupt. Does *sw = st* (i.e., the temple)? Possibly emend to *s(t) m <pr>-wr šps*, "It is an august sanctuary."

^{3d}What were the limits of Hermonthis? Cf. also Pls. 75:13 and 111:2. Is the name to be taken as designating western Thebes? Cf. Varille in *ASAE XXXIII* (1933) 86–88 and *XXXIV* (1934) 10.

^{4a}There are sufficient traces of *h^{cc}f*. Between *f* and *mrwt* there seems to be no room for *n*. This may be another case of omitted preposition (here swallowed by the initial sound of *mrwt*).

^{4b}For the final phrase cf. Pl. 108:3. Here perhaps: the temple came into being like a divine creation.

^{4c}The first sign is probably *h* (or sun disk?), then what seems to be horizontal *m*, followed by a short break, then *t* and probably *w*, finally a jar or plummet with pl. strokes. We have no idea as to the meaning.

^{4d}One pl. stroke carved.

^{5a}We cannot identify the trace below the beast.

^{5b}Reading *is = iw.s* (ЄЄ-).

^{5c}One would prefer to emend to *hr.s*, "upon it" or "because of it."

^{5d}The upper bar of the *mr*-hoe is visible, and possibly the lower.

^{6a}*kb.i htp-nr*. The sign behind the *b* looks more like a trace of *t* than of the coiled det.

^{7a}The *t* below *s33t* may be the old perfective ending, or it may be the initial letter of a following word.

^{7b}Read *bw w3h.(i) tnr nb* Cf. Lefebvre, *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres . . .*, p. 22.

^{8a}Unintelligible. We have horizontal *m*, then probably *ir* (possibly *r*), *n*, and pl. strokes. Lower down there is the word *sp*.

^{8b}[*h*]n.kwi.

PLATE 116. RAMSES III HUNTING DESERT GAME*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III in his chariot hunts desert animals of various kinds.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹The King, beautiful in the inclosure^{1a} like unto Set,^{1b} high ²of arms,^{2a} heroic, crushing wild cattle, entering among ³them like a falcon spying small birds, ⁴(so that they are) beaten into heaps in their places like the mowing down ⁵of grain. His right and his left hand seize hold without fail. ⁶The Court of Thirty^{6a} and the chiefs of foreign countries behold ⁷the tokens of his valor.^{7a} (As for) the land^{17b} in its entirety, they rejoice^{7c} ⁸at his victories.^{8a} His arm is [gr]eat and strong,^{8b} repelling ⁹the Bows; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of [the Two Lands]: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, forever.

BEHIND THE KING

¹⁰All protection, life, and duration, all health, all joy, all valor, and all victory, all plains and all hill-countries together!


^{1a}Cf. Pl. 46:23, but the meaning rests primarily on the present instance. Our scene shows no inclosure, but they are common enough. See Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ša3hu-Re*^c II, Pl. 17; Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, Pl. VII; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I (London, 1893) Pl. XIII, and II, Pls. IV and XIII; Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* I (London, 1914) Pl. VI; Wreszinski, *Atlas* I 53; Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* (London, 1913) Pls. I and XII; Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes* I (New York, 1922) 46, n. 3. These show a network fence. On the other hand, the scarab recording Amenhotep III's wild-cattle hunt suggests a heavier structure (see *BAR* II 346, n. d; *Wb.* IV 567, definition 7).

^{1b}Head and shoulders show the beast to be the typhonic animal. We believe that it was seated, not crouching. Is the use of Set in a hunting text deliberate? Cf. Sethe, "Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter," § 87, and perhaps Hugo Gressmann, *Allorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testament* (Berlin und Leipzig, 1926-27) Pl. XXIII 53.






























^{2a}With the bow.

^{6a}The hieratic sign for 30 is used, with a stroke. Cf. Pl. 96:1.

^{7a}See Pl. 79, n. 13a.

^{7b}The land sign is clear. Below it we see the corner of some sign with blue or blue-green color. Possibly it is a stroke of . Less probably it is the reed leaf (*T3-mri*, "Egypt," would be too crowded). The position of the trace makes *t3 pn*, "this land," improbable.

^{7c}Of *r dr.f* we see the head of *f* and the other signs clearly. Of *nhm* we see sufficient traces of *n* and *m* and the faint outline of *h*; the human det. is traceable except for the arms.

^{8a}Apparently    []                          

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE LEFT

¹¹The King, ^{11a} Lord of the Two Lands, possessor of a strong arm, lord of offerings: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, shall appear upon the throne of Horus.

OVER THE SPAN

The great chief span of [his] majesty, "Amon Is Valiant."

PLATE 117. RAMSES III HUNTING WILD BULLS*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III in his chariot hunts wild bulls, driving them into a reed swamp. Royal princes also engage in the hunt, while soldiers act as beaters. Because this scene was comparatively undamaged and because the plastic effect of the carving was so successful, we present the scene in reinforced photograph. The ordinary, unretouched photograph will be found on Plate 130.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹Horus the mighty, ^{1a} conquering the strong; ²he looks upon bulls and lions as (mere) ³jackals; ^{3a} the mighty one, relying ^{3b} upon his arm, conscious of ⁴his strength, driving off herds ^{4a} of wild bulls as if ⁵¹(in) face-to-face conflict ^{1,5a} grasping and plundering on his right hand, ⁶seizing on his left hand; ^{6a} he is like ^{6b} ⁷Montu; a mighty bull when he rages, ^{7a} ⁸slaying ^{8a} the lands of the Asiatics, desolating their seed, ^{8b} and making the strong turn back,

^{11a}The modeling shows that the det. wears the double crown.

^{1a}We see a trace of the top of horizontal *m*.

^{3a}The jackal seems to have been carved with hoofs.

^{3b}The *n* of *nḥt*, now lost, was recorded by Sethe, copying for *Wb*. A superfluous stroke between the two arms determining *hn* was plastered out anciently.

^{4a}*dr* (determined with the strong arm) *i3dr.w*.

^{5a}Cf. Pl. 19:4.

^{6a}The *m*, where the preceding line has *hr*, may have been unconsciously called forth by the *mḥ*, which so often employs a following *m*.

^{6b}Read *sw mī*. Part of the *mī*-jar is visible.

^{7a}Determined, at the top of l. 8, with the crouching typhonic animal.

^{8a}Written with the *m*-owl across the sickle.

^{8b}Written with the *pr*-house, *t*, and plow. There were apparently no pl. strokes, possibly no *r*.

* Great Temple, exterior, first pylon, south tower, west face, lower register. Wreszinski, *Atlas* II 114 b; Fr. W. Freiherr von Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur* (München, 1914) II, Pl. 92; Louis Speleers in *RT* XL (1923) 162 and Pl. II 2; etc.

⁹lifting their faces.^{9a} This land stretches out <upon> their back, confident in his time,^{9b} for they have ^{10a}a valiant lord, who issued from Re: the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Lord of Diadems: Ramses III.

BEHIND THE FALCON

Horus, mighty of arm, possessor of a strong arm.

SCENE-DIVIDER AT THE LEFT

Live the good god, the valiant one, son of Amon, crushing all foreign countries; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III, given life forever.

PLATES 118–19 A. SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATIONS OF THE VICTORIOUS POWER OF RAMSES III*

DESCRIPTION

The front faces of the bases below the Osirid statue pillars in the first court show symbolically Ramses III holding his enemies captive. Plates 118 A, C, E, and 119 A show the King's name (twice in each) planting a sickle-sword or a hatchet on the head of a bound captive; Plate 118 B, D, and F show the King's name holding bound captives. The location of these scenes is visible on Plate 57.

TEXTS

118 A

The wretched chief of the land of Nubia, * [whom his majesty slew].

The wretched chief of 'Temeh',^b whom his majesty slew.^c

118 B

All plains and all hill-countries of the land of Nubia, which are under the feet of his majesty.

All plains and all hill-countries of Tehenu, which are under the feet of his majesty.

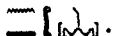
118 C

The wretched [chief] of [the land of Nubia],^d whom his majesty slew.

The countries of the Peleset,^e whom his majesty slew.

^{9a}Meaning? *f3i hr* may be a simple physical act (i.e., lifting the face to see etc.). Sometimes it has a favorable sense (i.e., refresh, encourage), occasionally a hostile sense (e.g. in Pap. Magic Harris ix 6; Metternich Stela, l. 41), although the clearest cases of the latter have *r*, i.e., raise the face against. Perhaps that is the sense here: "making the strong who had (dared to) raise their faces (against him) turn back." Or one thinks of the reliefs (e.g. Pls. 70 and 72) showing the fleeing enemy lift their faces in terror or entreaty to the pursuing king.

^{9b}Another case of omitted preposition? Or simply "stretches out their back"? For the meaning "confident" for *hn* cf. Pls. 28:67 and 46:28; Piehl, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* I, Pl. CXLIX B 15.

^aProbably .

^b is most likely, despite the costume.

^c*sm3[n]*, as in Pl. 118 E.

^d*T3-sty*.

^eFor this writing of *Prst* cf. the last two examples in Burchardt II, No. 412.

* Great Temple, interior, first court, bases of Osirid pillars on north side of court, running from Pl. 118 A on the west end to Pl. 119 A on the east. Unpublished as a whole.

118 D

All plains and all hill-countries of the land of Nubia, which are under the feet of his majesty.
All plains and all hill-countries of Meshwesh,^f which are under the feet of his majesty.

118 E

The wretched chief of Kush, whom his majesty slew.
The wretched chief of Kode, whom his majesty slew.

118 F

[All plains and all hill-countries of Kush, whi]ch are in the grasp of his majesty.
All plains and all hill-countries of —————, ^g [which are in the grasp of his majesty].

119 A

The chiefs of Kush the wretched, whom his majesty slew.
[The wretched chief of Hat]ti,^h [whom his majesty slew].

PLATE 119 B. RAMSES IV BEFORE AMON*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses IV utilized an area below Ramses III's poem on the Second Libyan War to carve a scene depicting the King receiving privileges from the gods. Ramses IV kneels before Amon, who extends to him the symbols of years of jubilees. Ptah and Seshat make record of this, while Thoth writes the King's names on leaves of the sacred tree. Plate 84 shows the location of this scene.


TEXTS

BEFORE AMON

¹Words spoken by Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, ²¹Ruler^{12a} of the Gods, to his son, of his body, ³his beloved, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Setepnamon:^{3a} ⁴"I am thy august father, the Lord of the Gods. I love thee^{4a} more ⁵than any (other) king,^{5a} while I^{5b} give thee an eternity as ⁶[King of]^{6a} the Two Lands."

^fThe det. is a Libyan.

^a*D[nin]*? The one sign extant might be *d* or *š*.

^bReading .

^{2a}*hꜥ3* is probable.

^{3a}Ramses IV. There are extensive plaster traces in the cartouche, and it is possible that Ramses VI appropriated this scene, as he did the corresponding scene in Pl. 119 C.

^{4a}Reading *mry.i tw*.

^{5a}Reading *m hꜥw r nswt nb*.

^{5b}The base of  is visible. Read *tw.i <hr> di(t)*.

^{6a}Just to the right of the vertical crack there is a possible trace of the *sw*-plant.

* Great Temple, exterior, first pylon, north tower, scene below the inscription of Pls. 84–86. Unpublished.

BY PTAH

⁷Words spoken by Ptaḥ, Lord of Heaven,^{7a} King of the Two Lands: "I have given thee ⁸very many jubilees forever in valor ⁹and strength, the victories of the son of Nut, ¹⁰the rule of Horus in Pe, with every land under thy soles. ¹¹Strong is thy arm.^{11a} I have given thee _____."

OVER THOTH

¹²Words spoken by Thoth,^{12a} Lord of Hermopolis: "I write for thee years consisting of ^{13a}a million jubilees. I have given thee eternity as King, with the lands ¹⁴under thy soles. The Ocean and the Great Circuit are in thy grasp, bearing ¹⁵their tribute, because of ¹⁶[thy] valiant and victorious —."

BY SESHAT

¹⁷Wor[ds spoken b]y Seshat, ¹⁸Lady of the Gods: "I write for ¹⁹[thee the] jubilees of Re and years ²⁰forever^{20a} and ever as King, ²¹thy lifetime like (that of) Atum, the victories and strength of Horus and Set, like the endurance of heaven."

PLATE 119 C. RAMSES IV BEFORE AMON*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses IV utilized an area below Ramses III's "Blessing of Ptaḥ" to carve a scene depicting the King receiving privileges from the gods. Ramses IV kneels before Amon, who extends to him the symbols of years of jubilees. Mut and Khonsu witness this ceremony, while Atum writes the King's names on leaves of the sacred tree. Some of the names of Ramses IV were usurped by Ramses VI. Plate 104 shows the location of this scene.

TEXTS

BEFORE AMON

¹Words spoken by [A]mon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, ²Presiding over Karnak, to his son, his beloved, ³Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Setepnamon:^{3a} "Receive thou ⁴very many jubilees forever, in valor ⁵— — of Shu and Tefnut, the years ⁶of Atum, with every [land] under thy soles like Re every day."

OVER MUT

⁷Words spoken by Mut, Mistress of Heaven, ⁸Lady of All the Gods: ⁹"I have given thee all life and satisfaction."

^{7a}Not "Lord of Truth."

^{11a}Traces somewhat difficult.

^{12a}The *ty* of *Dḥwtj* is reversed.

^{20a}*nḥh* is difficult to fit to the traces, but other words rather more so.

^{3a}Ramses IV. The prenomen of Ramses VI, Nibmare-Meriamon, is cut over this; the *mr*-hoe is not entirely certain. In the two cartouches over the King's head the same alterations were made. The nomen changes from Hekmare-Meriamon-Ramses(IV) to Amenhirkhepeshef-Neterhekon-Ramses(VI). No change is visible in l. 14 or on the two leaves of the tree.

* Great Temple, exterior, first pylon, south tower, scene below the inscription of Pls. 104-6. Unpublished.

OVER KHONSU

¹⁰Words spoken by [Khonsu]-in-Thebes Neferhotep: ¹¹"I have given thee all ['provisions']^{11a} ¹²and Niles bearing good things."

OVER ATUM

¹³Words spoken by [Atum], Lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan residing in the Great House, ¹⁴to his son, [his] beloved, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Setepnamon: ¹⁵"I inscribe for thee thy name on the august *ished*-tree ¹⁶in heaven, resting upon its supports, ¹⁷the years^{17a} in jubilees of Tatenen, the lifetime ¹⁸[of] Re¹ — —^{18a} heaven forever."

PLATES 120-22. RAMSES III SMITING HIS
ENEMIES BEFORE THE GOD*

DESCRIPTION

On the inner face of the columns on the south side of the first court Ramses III is shown sacrificing various racial types before various gods. The location of these scenes is visible on Plate 59.

TEXTS

120 A

¹⁻²Words spoken by Amon-Re-Harakhte, the Great God, Lord of Heaven:^a ³⁻⁴"I have given thee every country together under thy soles. ⁵Receive thou the sword, O mighty King, Sun of the Nine Bows!"

⁶Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, ⁷presiding over Karnak: ⁸"[Recei]ve thou the sword, O mighty King, and crush every country!"

120 B

¹⁻²Words spoken by Montu, Lord of Heliopolis,^b the great god, Lord of Heaven: ³"Receive thou the sword, O mighty King, Sun of the Nine Bows!"

⁴Words spoken by Amon-Re, King of the Gods: ⁵⁻⁶"I have given thee all lands together under thy soles. ⁷Receive thou the sword and crush Kush!"

120 C



¹Words spoken by Amon-Re-Harakhte, ²the great god, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of the Ennead: ³⁻⁴"I have given thee all the valor and all the strength of Re forever. ⁵Receive thou the sword. My hand is with [thee], that thou mayest overthrow the land of Hatti."

⁶Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, ⁷presiding over Karnak: ⁸"Receive thou the sword and crush Kush!"

^{11a}*df3w*? It is not entirely certain that the initial letter is *ḡ*.

^{17a}Reversed.

^{18a}Unintelligible traces.

^a  is frequent for  at Medinet Habu. Was it influenced by a current pronunciation **TTE**?

^bSo, *Ṣwnw*, but emend to *Ṣwny* or *Ṣwnw Šm*^c, "Hermonthis."

* Great Temple, interior, first court, columns on south side of court, running from Pl. 120 A on the east end to Pl. 122 B on the west. The inscriptions on the rear of these columns (e.g. Pl. 122 C, from the same column as Pl. 121 C) are nearly identical with one another. Unpublished.

121 A

¹Words spoken by Amon-Re, [King of the] Gods: ²"I have given thee all plains [and all hill-countries] beneath thy soles. ³Receive thou the sword to overthrow thy enemy!"^a

⁴⁻⁵Words spoken by Amon-Re-Harakhte, the great god, Lord of Heaven: ⁶"Receive thou the sword, that thou mayest smite the Asiatics."

121 B

¹Words spoken by Amon-Re, Him of the Earliest Age of the Two Lands:^d ²"I have given thee valor <against>^e every country. ³Receive thou [the sword], O mighty [King], and crush the chiefs of every country!"

⁴Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands: ⁵"I have given thee all lands together. ⁶Receive thou the sword, O Horus: Rich in Years, and smite all countries!"

121 C

¹Words spoken by Amon-Re, King of the Gods: ²⁻³"I have given thee eternity as King of the Two Lands forever. ⁴Receive thou the sword, O good god, and crush the chiefs of every country!"

⁵⁻⁶Words spoken by Montu, the great god, Lord of Heaven, residing in Thebes: ⁷"Receive thou the sword and crush hundred-thousands!"

122 A

¹Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands: ²"I have given thee all valor and all victory, ³with every country beneath thy feet, O good god! ⁴Receive thou the sword to cast down the Nine Bows, with every land beneath thy feet!"

⁵⁻⁶Words spoken by Amon-Re-Harakhte, the great god, ⁷the [Lord] of Heaven, King of the Gods: ⁸"I have given [thee] every [land] bowing down,^f for thy mace is upon the head of their chiefs!"

122 B

¹Words spoken by Amon-Re, King of the Gods: ²⁻³"I have given thee all plains and all hill-countries together under thy soles. ⁴Receive thou the sword, O mighty King, the Horus: Rich in Years!"

⁵⁻⁶Words spoken by Montu, Lord of Thebes: ⁷"Receive thou the sword and crush the chiefs!"

122 C

Horus: Mighty Bull, Great of Kingship.^g

^aUnder the uplifted arm of the Meshwesh is: "Crushing the chiefs of every country."

^dOn this epithet of Amon see Sethe, "Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis," § 14.

^ePreposition *r* omitted.

^fRead *m ksw*.

^gThis occurs 16 times on the 8 columns. The instances to the east have the shorter writing of 3, "great," as on the right of our plate. The instances to the west show the fuller writing, with *ayin* and book roll. Corresponding to this difference, there is a difference in the bases of the *srh*-banners. Is it fair to assume that different artists worked on the two ends of the row of columns?

PLATE 123 A. RAMSES III ENTERING THE
TEMPLE FROM HIS PALACE*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III, attended by priests, comes into the temple from his adjacent palace. See the photograph on Plate 60 B.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹The King, appearing like Atum from his palace of valor and victory.

BEHIND THE KING

²The Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon, shall appear as King of Upper and Lower Egypt upon the throne of Horus.

HORIZONTAL LINES BELOW THE SCENE

³All the plains and all the impenetrable hill-countries [of]* ⁴the Fenkhu,^b who know not Egypt, are under the feet of this good god.

PLATE 123 B. RAMSES III ENTERING THE TEMPLE TO TAKE PART
IN THE FEAST OF THE VALLEY†

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III, attended by priests and personal followers, comes into the temple from his adjacent palace. See the photograph on Plate 60 A.

TEXT

Appearance [of the King 'like Re¹ from] the palace^c of his august temple, to cause that his father^d Amon appear in his Feast^e of the Valley.

*There is a curved trace with blue color exactly in a masonry crack. We take it to be the *nw*-jar.

^b"Fenkhu," determined with calf's head and book roll. For the former see Sethe in *MVAG* XXI (1916) 319.

^cReading *h^c [nswt 'mi R^{c1} m] c^h* (or "his majesty," instead of "the King").

^dWritten *tf.f*, without a stroke.

^eDetermined with *∩*. On the Feast of the Valley see Foucart in *BIFAO* XXIV (1924).

* Great Temple, interior, first court, panel at west end of south colonnade. Unpublished; cf. the Ramesseum panel in *LD III* 159 c.

† Great Temple, interior, first court, panel at east end of south colonnade. Unpublished.

PLATE 124 A. RAMSES III ENTERING THE TEMPLE "FROM HIS
PALACE WHICH IS WITHIN HIS TEMPLE"*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III, attended by a priest, comes into the temple from his adjacent palace. See the photograph on Plate 58 A.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹The King appears like Re from his palace which is within his temple.

HORIZONTAL LINES BELOW THE SCENE

²All the plains and all the impenetrable hill-countries <of>[†] the Fenkhu, ³who [know] not Egypt, are under the feet of this good god, the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon.

PLATE 124 B. RAMSES III ENTERING THE TEMPLE "FROM HIS
PALACE OF MILLIONS OF YEARS"†

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III, attended by priests, comes into the temple. The scene retains color detail. See the photograph on Plate 58 B.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

¹The coming of his majesty [into the presence of] his fa[ther] Amon-Re, [King of the] Gods, [in] peace,^{*} ²from the House of Million(s) of Years ³of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon, in the House of Amon, west of Thebes.

HORIZONTAL LINES BELOW THE SCENE

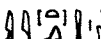
⁴All plains and all hill-countries, the Ocean and the Great Circuit,^h and the isles in the midst of ⁵the sea are under the feet of this good god: Usermare-Meriamon.

PLATE 129 G. SUPERIMPOSED CARTOUCHES OF
RAMSES IV AND RAMSES VI‡

In heavier line: "Usermare-Setepnamon" on the left, and "Hekmare-Meriamon-Ramses(IV)" on the right.

In lighter line: "Nibmare-Meriamon" on the left, and "Amenhirkhepeshef-Ramses(VI)-Neterhekon" on the right.

^{*}Grammatically the text should express the genitival relationship. The analogy of Pl. 123 A 3-4 suggests that the genitive is to be supplied.

^{*}Restoring  (or with *m-b3h* instead of *hr*).

^hWritten *dbn-wr* (*dbn-phr* is used for the Okeanos in ZAS LXIV [1929] 24, § 47; cf. *ibid.* p. 29), although Medinet Habu usually writes *phr-wr*.

^{*} Great Temple, interior, first court, panel at east end of north colonnade. Unpublished.

† Great Temple, interior, first court, panel at west end of north colonnade. Unpublished.

‡ Great Temple, exterior, first pylon, on side walls of flagpole recesses. We have copied only one of these.

INDEX OF EGYPTIAN WORDS

This list is not complete, but includes most of the words discussed in the notes. Reference is by plate and note. Thus 101^{10a} means Pl. 101, n. 10a. The geographical names on Pls. 43, 85, 101-2, and 105 have been omitted.

- 3
 3ms, a kind of scepter, 101^{10a}; cf. 108^{7a}
 3hd, "be weak," 28^{40b}
 3s, "hurry," det. of, 85^{9a}
- i
 i for iw, "be," 115^{5b}
 i for wi, dependent pronoun 1st sing., see wi
 i3t, "back," 44^{16a}
 i3d, "persecute," 27^{21d}; i3d mdi, "suffer because of," 46^{18b}
 i^c ib, "rejoice the heart," 14^{30a}
 i^cb, "join," det. of, 82^{28c}
 i^ch, "moon," 85^{11a}, 102^{18c}
 iw, "be," with ellipse of hr dd, "say," 28^{30c}, 85^{24a}; written i, 115^{5b}
 iw r inw, "go whither," 28^{34a}
 iw, "island," 46^{16a}
 iw^t for iw^w, "heir," 46^{2a}
 iw^cyt, "garrison," 46^{19c}
 >Iwnw-Sm^c, "Hermonthis," 115^{3d}
 ib, "heart," in m ib mrw, "willingly," 28^{28b}
 ip, "shrewd," 85^{11a}
 ifd, "four legs," 106^{21c}
 im, negative verb, 46^{7a}, 83^{48a}
 imy for imy-wti, "between," 79^{17a}
 im3, "woe," det. of, 82^{28a}
 imim, "effective(?)," 28^{7a}
 >Imn p3 ntr . . . , a formula of triumph, 23^{2a}
 >Imn [d3r]-st, "Amon [Holy of] Place(?)," 107^{20a}
 in (preposition), see m
 >Inbw, "Walled-Town," 106^{24c}
 inm, "surface" (of the sun), 82^{24c}
 inmkt, "confederation," 46^{17a}
 inh n, "surround," 46^{23d}
 iryw-pt, "denizens of the heavens," 105^{18b}
 iri, "act," 27^{27d}, 42^{17a}
 >Irs (Yeres), a geographical name, 46^{17a}
 >Irt (Yereth), a geographical name, 46^{17a}, 87^{10a}
 ih3, "woe(?)," 82^{16c}
 ispt, "quiver," 75^{28a-b}
 isddwy (sd3d3), "tremble," 28^{41a}
 isf, "burn," 23^{45a}
 itr, "bondage," 86^{49b}
 idr m, "herd of," 82^{18c}
- c
 c, "chariot pole(?)," 75^{28c}
 c3, "great one," 75^{19a}
 c3wy, "two doors," 107^{18b}
 cm, "wail," 35^{4a}
 cb, "halt(?)," 86^{27d}
 cbty, "horned(?)," 79^{2a}
 cfk, "tear," 82^{21a}
- m, "know," det. of, 83^{37c}
 cn w3b, "return answer," 28^{40c}
 cnwt, "beauty," 27^{18a}
 cn^cn, "flounder(?)," 85^{19b}
 ch^c(t), a kind of boat, 46^{30b}
 chy, "be in suspense(?)," 28^{41d}
 cw^c, "a single cry," 106^{28b}
 ck, "tyrannize," 108^{4b}
 k3, "exactly," 46^{30c}, 46^{3a}
 ck^ck, "penetrate," 82^{18a}
 d^cd, "rejoice," 35^{12a}
- w
 w, 3d pl., written wy, 26^{11a}
 w for wy, admirative ending, 101^{25a}
 w3t nfrt, "the good way," 14^{16a}
 w3h, "duration(?)," 83^{44a}
 w3h, "harvest grain(?)," 105^{15a}
 w3km, "grind, winnow(?)," 82^{27b}
 wi, dependent pronoun 1st sing., written i, 43^{16c}, 44^{17a}, 83^{58a}, 106^{41a}
 wy, admirative ending, written w, 101^{25a}
 wy for w, 3d pl., 26^{11a}
 w^ct(t), "uraeus serpent," 82^{28c}
 wbn(?), "rise," 106^{48b}
 wp, "festivity," 105^{7b}
 Wp-w3wt, "Upwawet," 14^{16a}
 Wp-i3, a fortress, 70^{1b}
 wr, "(foreign) prince," 46^{19c}; det. of —, 68^{5b}, 98^{5a}, 99^{5a}
 wr-hk3w, "Great of Magic," the uraeus, 46^{23a}
 whs, "weariness(?)," 83^{44a}
 wh^c-ib, "shrewd," 46^{10b}
 w3b, "answer," in cn w3b, 28^{40c}
 wgm, "flour(?)," 28^{64a}
 wdn, "heavy" (of voice), 27^{23c}
 wdd, "that which is decreed," spelling of participle, 43^{16a}
 wq^c-r3, "distinguish the speech(?)," 80^{11a}
- b
 B3 nb Ddt, "the Ram, the Lord of Mendes," 105^{4a}
 b3wy, "battlefield," 9^{5a}, 24^{7a}
 b3kt, "weariness(?)," 82^{28d}
 bit, "net(?)," 82^{21a}
 bi3i, "work a wonder," 102^{8a}
 bin im.w, "they were in evil case," 27^{30b}
 B^cr, "Baal," 87^{5a}, 94^{7a}
 bw3, "noble," 27^{7c}, 106^{22c}
 bw^t, "abomination," det. of, 46^{27a}
 bnd, "enfold(?)," 94^{10a}
 bnd n.w, "it goes ill with them," 28^{42a}
 br, a kind of boat, 46^{30b}
 bry, "chariot(-floor)(?)," 86^{21b}
 Brr, a geographical name(?), 27^{27a}

brt, "covenant," 82^{20c}
bhs, "calf," 75^{27c}
bšt, "rebel," written *bdš*, 27^{22b}; det. of —, 106^{22b}

p

pt, "heaven," written *tp*, 120 A^a
pšl, "fly," 37^{10a}, 106^{22a}
pn, "this," written *pt*, 75^{2a}
pn^ct, "perversity," 27^{22b}
pnw, "mouse," 82^{14a}
pri r hš, "go abroad," 31^{1a}
phrr, a type of soldier, 26^{11b}, 46^{21b}
phiy, "strength," as a fem., 43^{21a}; "strong," as an adj., 62^{1a}
phr, "encircle," written *rr*, 106^{22c}
psd, "back," 46^{22a}
pk (*pgš*), "spread out," 82^{22a}; "battlefield(?)," 37^{13a}, 46^{4c}
pt for *pn*, "this," 75^{2a}
pti (*ptr*), "see," 27^{20b}
ptr (*pri*), "battlefield," 17^{13a}
Pth.w, "the Ptahs," 105^{2d}
pd, "flee," 28^{40b}
pdty, "bowman(?)," writing of, 9^{6a}

f

fšl hr, "lift the face," 107^{2b}, 117^{2a}; *fšl tp*, "lift the head," 46^{7a}
fš, "despise," 27^{22d}
Fnhw, "Fenkhu," det. of, 43^{22a}, 123 A^b
fnd nb, "every nostril," det. of, 83^{60a}
fk, "he desolate," 27^{10d}, 27^{21b}
fdk, "cut off," 27^{17b}

m

m for *in* (introductory), 14^{2b}, 28^{14c}, 82^{15a}, 96^{10c}
m for *n* (preposition), 42^{15a}, 46¹⁷
m-hr, "forward," 46¹⁷
m-ht for *ht*, "throughout," 17^{1a}
m-š, "after," 19^{2a}, 46^{11a}
M—, abbreviation for "Meshwesh" (?), 72^{2b}
mšš, "see," written with falcon eyes, 28^{21b}
mšl, "lion," abbreviated, 31^{2a}
m^cbšyt, "Council of Thirty," writing of, 96^{1a}
mnšw, "herdsman," 46^{15a}
Mnw, "Min," the hieroglyph, 17^{2a}
mnwy, "rich in monuments," 46^{11a}
mnšyt, soldiers, 46^{20d}
mnmn, "move(?)," 106^{22b}
mnmn(t), "herd," 75^{22a}
mnš, "youth," 75^{20b}
mnš, "stamp with the King's name," 28^{40a}
mnš, a kind of boat, 46^{20b}
mrw, "loving," in *m šb mrw*, "willingly," 28^{20b}
mrt, "beloved," 99^{2a}
mri, "serf," det. of, 106^{27b}
mrš, "shore," 46^{21a}
Mry, a Libyan name, 28^{27c}
Mryn, *Mariannu*, 46^{20a}
mhwt, "slave gangs(?)," 28^{40a}
mhr, *maher*, 46^{20a}
mš-ib, "trusted(?)," 27^{2a}
mšy, an epithet of Thoth, 46^{10b}
mš, "be faithful to(?)," 26^{12a}, 46^{20a}

mš(š), "burn," 27^{22a}
msy, "fashion," det. of, 106^{22d}
Mšnt, "Meskhenet," 105^{2b}
msš, "pitfall(?)," 82^{12c}
Mšr, *Mššr*, a Libyan name, 72^{2a}, 75^{22a}, 82^{22b}
mškb, a title, 16^{10a}
Mškn, a Libyan name, 28^{27c}
mšr, "oven(?)," 83^{50b}
mtn(t), "road," 17^{2a}
mt(r), "normal (state)," 106^{42a}
mt—, unknown, 27^{22d}
mdl, "because of," 46^{15b}
mdw(?), "stick(?)," 85^{2b}
mdn, "relax(?)," 70^{7a}

n

n for *m* (preposition), 28^{21a}, 108^{14b}
n-hr, "forward," 82^{15d}
n for *nš*, pl. article(?), 46^{22c}
n and *nn* (negatives), confusion of, 46^{15a}
nw for *n* (genitive adjective), 14^{22a}
nt^c, "regulation(?)," 28^{65b}
nšwt, "lance," 46^{22d}
nyny, "salute," 46^{2a}
n^{cc}, "colored," 46^{2b}
nw hr, "gaze upon," 46^{22a}
nww, "Nun," 102^{21a}, 109^{2b}; *nww wr*, an epithet of Ptah, 46^{2b}
nwš, "drive out(?)," 82^{27b}
nwt, "shake, quiver," 28^{21a}; written *nwt*, 82^{15c}
nb-r-gr, "the All-Lord," 28^{22b}
Nb-nš, "Lord of Life," a place, 106^{44c}
nfr-hr, an epithet of Ptah, 28^{27b}, 46^{2b}
nfr, "grain," 83^{42a}
nfrt, "maiden," 75^{20b}
nm^c, "lie down," 82^{14a}
nn, "we," independent pronoun(?), 28^{45a}
nnk for *nk*, "cohabit," 105^{4b}
nrt, "cause terror(?)," 79^{10c}
nhr, "flee," 28^{41c}
nšm r, "take from," 43^{2a}
nšd, "roar(?)," 70^{10a}
nšnh, "attack," 27^{22b}
nšt, "strengthen, support," 46^{27a}, 106^{22b}
nštt, "reinforcement(?)" or "strong one(?)," 43^{16a}
nšk, "prepare(?)," 46^{20c}
nšnty, "storming," 46^{2a}
ngš, "longhorn cattle," 75^{27c}
nk, "cohabit," written *nnk*, 105^{4b}
ntry tn, "this goddess," 79^{17a}; *ntryw*, "goddesses," 46^{27c}

r

r, "away from," 43^{1a}
rš^c, "limit," 27^{15a}
rš-pdt, "conflict(?)," 85^{4b}
rš-hšwt, "Nile mouths, river mouths, harbors," 28^{22a}, 37^{10a}, 42^{21a}
R^c š, "the two Re's," 27^{15a}
rww, "islands," see *tw*
rnn, "jubilation(?)," 105^{4a}
rr = phr, "encircle," 106^{22c}

INDEX OF EGYPTIAN WORDS

155

rh-nf, "divine image," 107^{14a}
rsy in *gr rsy*, "ever," 14^{7b}
Ršpw, "the Reshephs," 27^{24d}
rk, "time, vicinity," 28^{6b}, 82^{13a}, 83^{24d}
rdi, "give," see *di*

h

h3wt, "heat," 46^{23b}
h3w-tm (h3m), "charging(?)," 28^{25a}
hwt, "flame," 46^{23b}
hbk, "thicket(?)," 83^{44d}
hmhm, "battle cry," 23^{1a}
hn, "confident," 117^{7b}; *hn 3t*, "bend the back," 44^{16a}
hrk3h(?), "utter confusion(?)," 82^{23a}

h

Ht-hr, "Hathor," title of a priestess, 105^{7a}
Ht-šc, "House of Sand," a fortress, 70^{1b}
h3, "around, about," 27^{2a}
H3w-nbw, "the Haunebut," writing of, 111^{1a}
h3t, "outside," 31^{1a}
h3t-n3tw, "the beginning of the victory," 27^{1a}
h3t-r-phwy, "front-to-rear," 19^{13a}
hwy(?), "tread(?)," 107^{11b}
hwn, "youth," writing of, 27^{23d}
hur, "robbery," 108^{1a}
hb, "feast," det. of, 123 *B*^a
hbnw3f (h3.n.f), "he has triumphed," 11^{2a}
hbyt, "festival offerings," 46^{24d}
hpk (to be emended?), 46^{4a}
hfn, "dash ahead(?)," 86^{44b}
hfd, "headlong (haste)," 86^{44b}, 88^{6b}
h3f3d3t(?), unknown, 28^{62a}
hmt, "cow," 75^{70a}
hn, "adorn," 28^{71b}
hnk, "a mash(?)," 27^{10a}
hr in *m hr*, "before (one's) face," 98^{2a}
hr-n-hr, "face-to-face," 19^{4b}
hr-ib, "in the heart of," 27^{23d}
hr w^c, "for once(?)," 85^{4b}
hr st.sn, "from their place," 46^{30a}
hr-s3 (hrs), "bullock," 75^{70a}
hri, "terrify(?)," 27^{22a}
hryt, "terror," writing of, 44^{13b}, 114^{6a}
hrr, "roar," 27^{23a}
htr, "span, horse," 75^{23a}, 109^{2a}; in the phrase *kn hr*
htrw, "valiant at horsemanship," 9^{1a}
hdy, "be spread out," 82^{23d}

h

h3i(b)t, "shade(?)," 107^{6a}
h3yty, "slaughterer," 28^{44b}
h3c, "leave off(?)," 82^{21a}
h33bb, "slayer(?)," 28^{44b}
h3h3b, "hobble(?)," 86^{20a}
hpt, "small birds," 23^{44a}
hpš, "arm" or "sword," 28^{20b}, 44^{13b}; written vertically, 42^{7a};
in the name *B^cr hr hpš.f*, "Baal Is upon His Sword,"
23^{30a}
hm, "be ignorant," 27^{11a}; *hm r*, "be unmindful of," 46^{24d}
hml, "power," 82^{20b}
hn, "matter, thing," 35^{1a}

hn (h3iniw), "foolish," 28^{44b}
h3t, "tooth," see *hr*
hnrt(?), "concubine," 83^{40a}
hnty-š, "forest preserve," 103^{1a}
hr, "fall," writing of, 82^{20a}
hryt, "overthrow(?)," 27^{24d}
hr, *h3t*, "tooth," 82^{21d}
hst, "dispel," 27^{17a}
ht, "throughout," replaced by *m-h3t*, 17^{4a}
hty, "turn back," det. of, 107^{6a}

h

h^c, "empty(?)," 86^{44d}
hnmw, "fashioners(?)," 105^{4d}

s and š

s for *sn* (pronoun), 46^{23a}, 99^{14a}; *s* for *st* (pronoun), 28^{22a}
s3, see *m-s3*
s3, "door(?)," 82^{20b}; *s3 n mw*, "surge(?) of water," 102^{21a}
s3s3(?), "turn about(?)," 86^{45a}
šwt (sr.w), "sheep," 75²⁷¹
sin, "wear down," 28^{43a}
sy (pronoun), see *sw*
s^cy, "be in travail(?)," 19^{11b}
s^cd3, "ruin," 22^{6a}; "wrongdoing," 27^{23a}
sw for *sy* or *st* (pronoun), 46^{14a}, 115^{2a}; *sw n-hr.f*, "he (goes)
forward," 82^{18d}
sw3(?), "pass by," 85^{14a}
swb, "roar," det. of, 23^{44a}
šb3yt, "lesson, punishment," 82^{20a}
šbt, "fiend," det. of, 82^{20a}
šb3 in the phrase *s3 šb3*, "legitimate son," 27^{13a}
Sbt(?), a geographical name, 107^{8a}
sp, "be left," 80^{13a}; "survivor," 27^{14b}
sft, "sword," 75^{27a}
smh, "image," 28^{71a}
smdt, "slab(?)," 28^{73a}
sn (pronoun), see *s*
snv, "two legs," 106^{21a}
šnmh, "beg," writing of, 85^{70a}, 87^{2a}
snn, "chariot-warrior," 27^{23a}, 46^{21b}
enly, "organize," 28^{40a}
šndm, "sit," writing of, 23^{1b}, 108^{13b}
sr, "sheep," see *šwt*
sr, "tambourine," 105^{7b}
šhwi, "muster," 91^{1b}
šhn, "organize," 46^{13a}
šhn3n(?), "hold back," 70^{11b}
šhrt, "avert," 26^{4b}
Šh3t-Hr, "Sekhat-Hor," 105^{10a}
šhy, "plan(?)," 82^{16b}
šh3h, "ensnare(?)," 28^{43b}
šhpr, "train," 28^{40b}
šhm, "terrible," writing of, 90^{1a}
šhmtv, "mighty," 27^{24d}, 46^{24d}
šhnt, "support (of heaven)," det. of, 101^{2a}, 106^{24b}
šhnt, unknown, 27^{25b}
šhry, "plan-maker," 80^{6b}
ssw, "stockade," 46^{24d}, 116^{1a}
ssmt, unknown, 82^{24a}
sš, "spread out," 85^{14a}

sšm, "retinue," 16^{15b}
sšd, "window," 27^{7a}
sšd, used of stars, 46^{3d}
sšr-nš, "captive," 24^{5a}
sky, "fray(?)" or "slaughterer(?)," 31^{6a}
škmkm, "complete destruction," 27^{21c}
st (pronoun), see *s*, *sw*
st for *s* (pronoun), 29^{17a}, 46^{7c}; *st* for *sn* (pronoun), 83^{47d}
sty, "red pigment(?)," 102^{15a}
Stš, "Set," at the prow of the sun bark, 32^{6a}; in a hunting text, 116^{1b}
stš, "eject," 105^{4b}
sd (*šd*), "break, penetrate," 16^{15a}, 27^{10b}, 35^{6c}, 85^{4d}; writing of, 102^{21b}
sd-r-šdš, "tail-to-head," 19^{13c}
sdšdš, "tremble," see *isddwy*
šdp(?), "cause to taste," 35^{6c}
šdšy hr, "rejoice," 101^{16c}
šqr, "stretch out, lie," 85^{16c}
šqr, "twist(?)," 83^{50c}, 107^{6a}

š

šš, the *sha*-beast, 101^{17b}
ššmw, "traverse," 28^{4a}
Šw š R, "Shu the son of Re," 80^{7a-b}
šbt, "value," 96^{11b}
špsyt, a priestess, 105^{7a}
šf, "small bird," 68^{4a}
šft, "be awe-struck(?)," 28^{43c}
šf, "seize upon(?)," 85^{10b}
šfn, "bushes(?)," 83^{15c}
šm n-hr, "advance," 35^{2a}
šmsw, "bodyguard," 16^{15a}
šnbt, "breast," 26^{4a}
šrt, "boy," 75^{20b}
šri, "stop up," 82^{20a}
šrm, "beg for peace," 28^{30a}
Šrdn, an ethnic name, 29^{30a}
šsp, "receive" (in a hostile sense), 27^{22a}
šdt, "conspiracy(?)," 16^{4a}

š

ššs, "bind," written *kbs*(?), 86^{21a}
šššš, "prey(?)," 83^{43c}
šš in the phrase *mi šš n*, "like a form of," 26^{20c}
šbb, "be relieved," 27^{7b}
šbs, for *ššs*, "bind"(?), 86^{21a}
šbbšyt, "prostrate," 22^{22a}
šnyw, "sheaves," 27^{24a}; written *knyt*, 83^{42a}
šnn, "(token of) valor(?)," 24^{5a}, 79^{13a}
šrt (*krrt*), "hole(?)," 23^{40b}
šrw, "shield-bearer," 16^{16b}
šrnt, "phallus," 22^{24a}, 23^{4-20a}
šrr, "humble approach(?)," 86^{4c}
šq{m}š{m}, "stretch out(?)," 82^{14c}
šqš, "pulverize(?)," 86^{20a}

k

kš, "plot," 28^{30a}
kš, in the phrase "the 14 kas of Re," 105^{10c}
kš, "bull," 75^{27c}; writing of —, 85^{18a}
kškš, "brush," 27^{22a}

ky, "another," 28^{23c}; *kwy*, "the common people," 85^{6a}, 105^{13a}; *ktw*(?), "another" (fem.), 107^{20a}
Kpr, a Libyan name, 82^{23b}
km, in the phrase *r-km*, "completely(?)," 32^{9a}
kms, unknown, 83^{52a}
khš, "toss," 114^{6c}
kkw, "darkness," 27^{10b}, 28^{41a}, 101^{27a}
ktw, "another" (fem.), see *ky*
ktm, "fine gold," 107^{16c}
kl(?), "drinking vessel," 75^{27b}
kīm, "threat(?)," 82^{16d}

g

gšw, "be narrow," 46^{24b}
gšw, "gaze," 28^{20b}
gšhy, unknown, 83^{44a}
gws, "turn aside," 27^{23c}
gm šrt, "capable," 19^{13a}

t

Tš-mri, "Egypt," as fem., 22^{9a}
Tš-ntr, "God's Land," 102^{13a}
Tšnn (*Tnn*), "Tenen," 106^{40c}
twhš, "repel(?)," 82^{16c}
twt, "thine is," 78^{13a}
twt hr, "like unto(?)" or "image bearing(?)," 105^{6c}
twt, "pleasing(?)," 107^{21a}
tp for *pt*, 120 *A*^a
tp mšst, "head (on) lap," 86^{22a}
tfy, "move, be removed(?)," 16^{1a}
tnš, "mighty(?)," 16^{8b}, 79^{23b}
Tnp, "Tunip," a town, 88^{17a}
tnm, "wander(?)," 107^{11b}
tnm, "go astray(?)," 82^{23d}
tnr, see *tnr*
tr, "doorway," 107^{13a}
thm, "attack," 28^{44c}, 35^{6a}
thr, soldiers, 28^{23b}
thš, "pulverize(?)," 28^{54a}
thn, "injure," 37^{7a}
thth, "confusion," 83^{46c}

t

t, the hieroglyph, with the tick, 16^{8b}, 17^{18d}, 44^{14b}, 46^{34c}, 85^{6d}, 105^{11b}, 111^{13a}
tš, "seizure," 83^{40b}
tš-škm, a title, 46^{21b}
tšk, "blindfold(?)," 86^{27a}
tšty, "vizier," det. of, 75^{1a}
tštn.ty (*tnš.ty*), "double baldachin," 106^{23c}
tms, "colored," 46^{23b}
tnš, "aggrandize (one's self), lift up (in rivalry)(?)," 16^{8b}, 82^{13a}, 111^{13a}
tnr, "be strong," 46^{23c}
tsy, "go up" (from Egypt), 17^{18d}

d

d, "yearling calf," 75^{27c}
dt, "give," pronunciation of, 44^{13a}; *dt.n.(š) n.k*, "(I) have given thee," 11^{13a}; *ddtw*, 22^{23b}

INDEX OF EGYPTIAN WORDS

157

dy, "gift," 29^{2a}*dw³ m*, "give praise in(?)," 105^{8b}*dbi* (old *db³*), "block," 82^{2a}*dbn-wr*, "the Great Circuit," 124 B^b*dfdf*, unknown, 86^{40b}*dfdf*, "trickle(?)," 46^{4b}*dni*, "check," 82^{20d}*dniwt*(?), "roar," 19^{11a}*dh³*, "straw," 86^{49a}*dh³*, "advance (one's self)(?)," 16^{8a}*dgdg*, "trample," 32^{4b}*dt*, "yearling calf," 75^{27a}*Dd*, a Libyan name, 28^{47b}*ddtw*, see *di**ḏ**ḏ³i*, "be ill(?)," 46^{20a}*ḏ³mw*, "(military or labor) class," 46^{13a}*ḏ^ckt*, "cry (for help)," 88^{4a}*ḏw-ḏd*, "Evil of Character," 37^{21a}*ḏb³*, see *dbi**ḏbi*, soldiers, 28^{88b}*ḏfḏ*, "drop(?)," 27^{20a}*ḏr*, preposition, 83⁴⁴; "because," 28^{49a}; *ḏr rsy*, "ever(?)," 14^{7b}*ḏr*, "limit," 28^{44b}, 46^{7b}; for *r-ḏr*, 28^{73b}*ḏri*, see *d* and *di**ḏr^c*, "lay out, lay low(?)," 27^{14a}, 86^{49a}*Dh*, "Zahi," spelling of, 78^{4a}*ḏs.f* in *hr ḏs.f*, "by himself," 83^{40b}, 83^{47d}*ḏd*, "say," for *r ḏd*(?), 46^{12b}; *ḏdtw* for *ḏdw*, 46^{10a}, 85^{10a}

SUBJECT INDEX

This list is not complete. Reference is either by plate and note (e.g. 28^{11a} means Pl. 28, n. 51a) or by page.

- Auxiliary verb *tryw* with nominal subject, 28^{11a}
- Carving of texts and signs, 31^{1b}, 86^{20a}, 87^{1b}, 106^{22c}, 106^{23a}, 114^{2a}, 122 C*, pp. 20, 71
- Figures of speech, inversions in, 92^{1a}, 115^{2c}
- Fortresses: of eastern frontier, 42^{11a}; of western frontier, 22^{1c}, 70^{1b}, 70^{11a}, 70^{11b}
- Gender: abnormal fem. ending, 29^{10a}, 37^{12a}, 68^{2a}, 73^{1a}, 83^{22c}, 107^{15b}, 114^{17c}; fem. for neuter, 29^{44a}; *see also* Old perfective, Relative, *Status pronominalis*
- Genitival adj.: fem. for masc., 83^{20c}; pl. for sing., 14^{22a}
- Genitive *n* omitted, 68^{17a}, 87^{1a}, 124 A^f
- Imperative pl., 91^{1b}, 108^{15a}
- Infinitive: determined, used in genitive relation, 27^{20c}; after negative verb, 14^{7a}, 83^{40a}; of weak verb, writing of, 103^{2a}
- "L.P.H.," meaning of, 9^{12a}
- Libyans, *see* War
- Nomen of Ramses III, translation of, 9^{12a}
- Northerners, *see* War
- Old perfective: 1st sing., 43^{12a}, 78^{2a}; 2d sing., 105^{12a}; 3d sing., masc. for fem., 16^{14a}; 1st pl., 29^{41a}(?), 82^{20b}, 92^{12a}; 2d pl., 46^{22a}; 3d pl., 28^{20a}, 35^{1b}(?)
- Plugholes about divine figures, p. 44, n. †, p. 105, n. †
- Possessive adj.: spelling of, 37^{2a}, 43^{14a}, 86^{40c}; used absolutely, 46^{22c}; *see also* Genitival adj.
- Prepositions, omission of, 19^{4b}, 27^{10c}, 27^{22a}, 28^{22a}, 28^{74b}, 35^{1b}, 37^{11a}, 79^{12a}, 80^{2a}, 82^{20c}, 82^{27a}, 82^{23a}, 82^{20b}, 85^{7c}, 86^{22a}, 87^{7a}, 99^{22a}, 99^{22c}, 101^{1a}, 102^{7a}, 102^{14a}, 103^{1a}, 103^{1d}, 103^{11a}, 106^{22a}, 106^{22d}, 106^{22c}, 106^{40b}, 111^{2b}, 115^{4a}, 117^{2b}, 121 B*
- Princes, omission of names of, 23^{42a}, 29^{42a}, 74^{1b}, 91^{1a}, 96^{22a}, 111^{2a}
- Pronoun: dependent, 1st sing., 43^{12c}, 44^{17a}, 106^{41a}, 114^{12a}; independent, 1st pl., 28^{42a}; suffix, 1st sing., as stroke, 114^{12b}; suffix, 1st pl., elided, 92^{12a}; suffix, 3d pl., written *wy*, 26^{11a}
- Ramesseum, relation of Medinet Habu to, 111^{20a}, pp. 108, 120, 136, and 137, n. †
- Relative, perfective, 18^{4a}, 29^{44a}, 103^{2a}
- šdm.n.f* translated as perfective, 11^{12a}; *n šdm.f* passive(?), 82^{14b}
- Status pronominalis*: fem. without *t*, 26^{17a}, 44^{12b}, 44^{13c}, 46^{20c}, 107^{2d}; incorrectly with *t*, 83^{44d}; of *phty*, "strength," 43^{21a}; of *rmjt*, "people," 46^{24c}
- War: First Libyan (year 5), confederation of Libyans, p. 20; Northern (year 8), confederation of Northerners, 46^{17a}; Second Libyan (year 11), confederation of Libyans, 82^{14c}, 83^{40b}, p. 74
- Word order, irregular, 46^{16b}, 46^{17f}, 46^{18d}, 46^{22b}, 82^{20a}, 83^{40c}, 83^{52a}, 96^{10a}, 105^{2c}

