THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
of
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

STUDIES IN ANCIENT ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION

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Associate Editor
HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III
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. Selee.

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.

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. EDOERTON

JOHN A. WILSON

July, 1935
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SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

SYMBOLS

In transliterating Egyptian, originals and $A$ have both been rendered as $s$, except that $s$ is occasionally used for greater distinction (e.g. in causatives like $\$\$pr$). The spelling is often that given in the Medinet Habu texts, rather than the primitive spelling (e.g. sd, "break," instead of $\$\$d$). Words have been divided internally by a point only where we wish to emphasize the division (e.g. $\$\$\$n\$\$m=\$\$b.n.f, "he has triumphed"). The joining of an $n$ and an $r$ by a line above, as in $\$\$n\$\$r$, 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.

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

{[ } 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

AAWB

Aegyptus
Aegyptus; rivista italiana di egittologia e di papirologia (Milano, 1920—).

AGWL

AJSL
American journal of Semitic languages and literatures. Vols. XII—(continuing Hebrew; Chicago, 1895—).

Amada Stela
Kuentz, Charles. Deux stèles d’Amenophis II (Cairo. Institut français d’archéologie orientale. Bibliothèque d’étude X [Le Caire, 1925]).

Amduat
Jéquier, Gustave. Le livre de ce qu’il y a dans l’Hadès (Paris, 1894).

Amenemope

AO
Der Alte Orient (Leipzig, 1903—).

Apophis Book
SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ASAE  Egypt. Service des antiquités. Annales (Le Caire, 1900—).
Berlin P 1269  Hieratique Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin III (Leipzig, 1911) PIs. XXV–XXVII.
Berlin P 10631  Ibid. Pl. XXXVI.
BIFAO  Cairo. Institut francês d’archéologie orientale. Bulletin (Le Caire, 1901—).
Br. Mus. Stela 826  See Stela of Set and Horus.
(Khekhperresobnba)
Cairo Statue 42155  GEORGES A. LEGRABR in CC XXIX (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—).
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 ostracon No. 916  W. R. DAWSON and T. E. PEET in JEA XIX (1933) 167 ff.
Erman, NA  ERMAN, ADOLF. Neuaegyptische Grammatik (Leipzig, 1880).
Erman, NA1  ERMAN, ADOLF. Neuaegyptische Grammatik (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1933).
Goliath Glossary  See ZAS XL (1902/3) 101; unpublished.
Great Aton Hymn  DAVIES, NORMAN DE GAULLE. The rock tombs of el Amarna VI (London, 1908) Pl. XXVII.
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]).
JEA  Journal of Egyptian archaeology (London, 1914—).
Kadesh Record  SEE Br. Mus. Tablet 5645.
Khekhperresobnba  Klio, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte (Leipzig, 1902—).
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<td>Budge, E. A. W. Facsimiles of Egyptian hieratic papyri in the British Museum ... (Apophis Book) 1st ser. (London, 1910) Pls. XX-XXX.</td>
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<td>Flety, Willem. Les Papyrus Rollin (Leyden, 1888) Pl. XVI.</td>
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<td>Davies, Norman de Garis. The rock tombs of el Amarn IV (London, 1906) Pls. XXXII-XXXIII.</td>
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<td>Sinuhe</td>
<td>Gardiner, Alan H. Die Erzählung des Sinuhe (Hieratische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin V [Leipzig, 1906]).</td>
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<td>Sphinx</td>
<td>Sphinx; revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l’égypologie (Upsala, 1897—__).</td>
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<td>Tutenkhamon Stela</td>
<td>Cairo Stela 34183. Georges A. Legrain in RT XXIX (1907) 162 ff.</td>
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<td>Untersuch.</td>
<td>Sethe, Kurt. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens (Leipzig, 1896—__).</td>
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<td>Urank.</td>
<td>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums (Leipzig, 1903—__).</td>
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<td>Wb.</td>
<td>Erman, Adolf, and Graffow, Hermann. Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache (Leipzig, 1925—__).</td>
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<td>Wenamon</td>
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<td>Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift (Leipzig, 1847—__).</td>
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The “cards” containing the hieroglyphic copies made for reference in compiling the Wb.
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, valiant at] horsemanship,⁴ fight ⁵— — — beautiful on ⁶the field of valor, when his onslaught ⁷is effected. He looks ⁸upon bowmen⁹ as ⁸women; making the land of Kush ⁹into something nonexistent, ¹⁰— — — prostrate 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


OVER THE SPAN


---

¹There 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.”

²mi kš, “like a bull,” probably filled part of the lacuna. The word bšwy, “battlefield” or “arena,” is used only in connection with the word kš, “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.”

⁴The 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 pdtyw, “bowmen,” influenced by the quasi-dual form of the singular pdty, like the writing of ṣḥhu, “strength,” with two leopard heads.

⁵⁶⁷⁸⁹¹⁰¹¹¹²¹³¹⁴¹⁵¹⁶¹⁷¹⁸¹⁹L.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!”

¹²⁶The official name of the temple.

¹³⁶Similarly Pl. 16:18 and Pl. 17:17.

* Great Temple, exterior, west wall, first scene at south. Unpublished.
HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III

BEFORE THE KING'S FACE

Usermare-Meriamon Ramses III.*

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

1 Ramses III, carrying off the uttermost of 2 them 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-Wall reliefs and the Theban tombs of Huy, Kenamon, and Imisibe.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

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

* Arbitrarily we render the King's nomen thus, rather than "Rameses-Hekon" or "Rameses, Ruler of Heliopolis."

1 The two slanting strokes in the verb f5w may be misread from a hieratic t.

2 hbnw = older h.b.n.f, "he has triumphed," as found e.g. in PSEBA 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 Hbmv, 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 door-step 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, consisting of gold, a lapis lazuli, turquoise, and every costly stone. It is [the strength of his] father Amon which decreed [for him] valor and victory over every country. 4 The lands of Kush are pinioned and slain in his grasp; the Asiatics and the Nine Bows are in awe of him.

Before Amon

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

Above Mut

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

Over the Second Register of Captives

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

Over the Third Register of Captives

11 The 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, — — — — — —, plundering Kush] by the might [of his father] A [mo]n, 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.

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2a Reading m [phty] it,[f] Im[n]. . . . Cf. Pls. 18:10, 29:25-28, 62:10-11, etc. Or read m-[b3] it,[f] Im[n], "before his" father Amon, who decreed [to him] . . . ."

3a The b and the t of nbt are transposed.

4a 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.

5a The sign partially preserved under the cartouche cannot be the reed leaf but may be the t-t-pesle. The restoration it, 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).

6a The top of a p seems to be visible under the t of h3wet. It is just possible to crowd p3pt into the bottom of the line; p3dt, with the det. of the falling man, is not so readily compressible.

7a Reading pl. strokes behind the kneeling figure and the suffix k beneath this group. Other restorations also are possible.

8a Another line, such as "against every land," may or may not have followed l. 9.

9a An r is probably lost over the di sign.

10a Incorrectly spelled.

11a On the present location of the block bearing these signs see p. 2, note *.

12a The vertical sign looks more like a reed leaf on the wall than in the plate.
PLATE 13  HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE LEFT

13 Words spoken by Amon-Re to his son, Usermare-Meriamon: “I have given 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

1 Words spoken by Thoth: “Behold, I am behind thee, my two hands bearing years, jubilees, life, and satisfaction.”
2 Thy father Amon sends thee forth to destroy the Nine Bows. All lands together are given to thee under thy feet forever.
3 I have given to thee jubilees in life and satisfaction forever on the throne of Horus.”

BEFORE AMON’S THRONE

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

BEFORE AMON’S CROWN

8 Words spoken by Amon-Re, King of the Gods: “Forward, my son, to cast down him who attacks thee, to slay...”

BESIDE KHONSU

10 Words spoken by Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep to this good god, the Horus: Great of Kingship: “Thy father Amon has decreed for thee victory against the Nine Bows. I have given to thee the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum.”

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13 We have here retained the traditional tense rendering of the ḏm.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.

* The god is depicted holding these benefits. The w3 δ sign, now lost, was recorded by Sethe for Wb.

* Alternately, “to place for thee every [land] together under thy feet.” The verb may be passive or infinitive.

* The signs for “feet” are turned backward on the wall.

* gb, “forever,” without the t is unusual.

* It is uncertain whether the bird in am3 is 3 or m.

* 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.

† Great Temple, exterior, west wall. Unpublished.

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

1 His majesty sets out, his heart being strong —, in valor and strength against this wretched land [of] Temeh, 2 which is in the power 3 of his majesty. It is 4 [his] father who sent 5 him forth in serenity from the palace of Thebes. He has given him a sword to repel 6 his foes, to destroy all those [who are] not 7 subservient to him. Opened for him are ways 8 [which were] not trodden in the past; 9 ever 10

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

3 For this writing cf. Sethe, Verbum I § 137.

4 m for in; sbi is perfective active participle (Gard. § 373).

5 dr seems certain, as there is no hole deep enough for the h of dh.

6 Restoring the end of the line as ꜥ. The trace under the m of tm may belong to the hare’s ear, or it may be accidental.

7 This probably approaches the correct sense, but there are serious difficulties. For the restoration 8 ∥[_proba] ∥ [_proba] ∥ [_proba] — 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 p[tm] might be taken as infinitive. Although we have no parallels for p[tm] 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 7.

8 An easier restoration grammatically would be ∥ ∥ [_proba] ∥[_proba] — [_proba] 11 n [_proba], “ways which one did not tread”; but this spelling of [_proba] seems a little improbable. The vacant space which this would leave at the end of l. 6 is no serious difficulty.

9 We attempted to read [_proba] kanwt, “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.

10 This must be the meaning of dr ray. 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 ray on the assumption that it was a noun similar to ∥[_proba] , with dr ray= ∥[_proba] , and the negative+ray= English negative+“ever.” The English “never” has been weakened in the same way which we postulate for ray.

11 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

"Words spoken by Montu, [Lord of] thebes: in the presence of his beloved son, the Lord of [the Two Lands]: Usermare-Meriamon: "Thy father Amon has sent thee forth, that he may cast down for thee the rebellious ones. I have given to thee — to carry off the uttermost of thy enemies. Mayest thou go out in strength and return in valor against every land that attacks thee."

Before the Upwawet Standard

"Words spoken by Upwawet: "I open for thee every good way, 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

"Words spoken by Khonsu-in-thebes: "Thy hand be mighty against the Nine Bows, O Lord of the Two Lands, my beloved!"

Before the Mut Standard

"Words spoken by Mut, Mistress of Ishru: "I will be thy magical protection forever."

Beside the Amon Standard

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

Scene-divider on the right

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

Line behind the king

The protection and life of the Lord of the Two Lands! His defense is like (that of) the Lord of thebes forever and ever.

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8* There is room for nb, hry-lb, m, or similar, although this fact has been somewhat obscured on the plate. A plausible trace of the f in Mnt exists on the wall; the mn sign and the falcon head with sun disk and feathers are certain.
9* The w3 sign is partially preserved.
10* Of the sdi sign a trace of the forward leg is visible.
11* The det. of the falling man makes hdb more probable than hbd, "slay."
12* We see what may be traces of the shoulder of dl 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.
13* 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.
14* 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.
15* The only restoration which we have been able to fit into the lacuna is [wsr c.]k.
16* There is a superfluous n in wnn.f.
17* Restoring hr k: [lb.k h3w3nt, ir.i nru.]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.
18* The usual pl. genitival adj. is here used for the sing., as in Ps. 27:30, 46:8, 82:29. Cf. Erman, NA § 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

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

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1*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, 12 which 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 the roads. They cause his might to be strong and his heart to be stout, [in order to] cast down the boastful lands.

**ABOVE THE UPPER REGISTER ON THE LEFT**

14The chiefs of the guard of the great span and the chiefs of the bodyguard of Pharaoh, L.P.H., who are in the retinue of his majesty.

**ABOVE THE LOWER REGISTER ON THE LEFT**

16The charioteers, the chiefs of mškbw, and the shield-bearers of the great span, who 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.

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18Cf. 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).”

14Note 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 pišy as fem. cf. Pl. 43, n. 21a.

16šmwt, “following” (e.g. in Urk. IV 651; RT XX [1898] 54), also written šmaw, 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).

16For other examples of this use of ššm cf. Pls. 28:38, 109:7.

16mškb (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 8 (RT XV [1893] 142 f.). “The mškb Mis, 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 xlvii 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. ii 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. Golénisscheff iii 10: “the wmnw-herald”; “the sky” (cf. ZAS LXV [1930] 94); “the mškb”; and “the ššm-police." 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.

16The title is connected with the word krgw, “shield.” The Kadesh texts seem to show the “shield-bearer” as a chariot-warrior distinct from the krg, but not necessarily distinct from the smny. 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

1. 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.\(^{18}\)

OVER THE SPAN

1. The great chief span of his majesty, "Beloved of Amon," of the great stable\(^{19}\) 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

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

BEFORE THE KING

8. The good god, mighty king, rich in strength like Montu, one beloved like Min,\(^{9a}\) strong of arm like the son of Nut,\(^{10a}\) great 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 in a million. A mighty warrior in his own form, he looks upon hundred-thousands as one. He appears upon the battlefield\(^{12a}\) like Baal, and the heat of him has burned up the Nine Bows.

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\(^{18}\) Cf. PIs. 9:13, 17:17.

\(^{1a}\) There is no loss before the genitival adj. The quiver on the chariot thrust itself up into this line of hieroglyphs.

\(^{1a}\) As 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.

\(^{4a}\) \(m\) for older \(ḥ\), as often in this period.

\(^{6a}\) \(m\) with added \(t\), probably through the influence of the \(\varepsilon\) sign (\(u\)\)\); 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 \(t\) borrowed from Thoth.

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

HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III

OVER A GROUP OF SOLDIERS IN THE LEFT CENTER

15The [chief]s of the ‘gu[ard of]’ the great span and the [chief]s of the ‘mḥbw’.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 — — — — 16a 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 forth16d to destroy them. Amon has given his mighty sword to his [son], Useramre-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 Useramre-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 7[very] land1 — — — 7Prostrate

15a Probably similar to Pl. 16:15-16.
16a About 4 squares lost.
16b An erroneous writing of nt-hr; 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 h3i, “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 mrtn.f. The form was obsolete in the 20th dynasty (Sethe, Verbum II § 763; Erman, NA2 § 397), and our case may be explained as inaccurate archaism.
4b More than 3 squares lost, including det. of 4bš.
4c More than 3 squares lost, including the rest of the word bšw.
4d 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. Wreszinski, Atlas II 129-31 (131 originally numbered 132).
are the Temeh, slain in their places in heaps before his horses, causing them to cease boasting in their land. His arm has laid low their seed through the strength of his father Amon, who has given to him every land gathered together; Lord of the [Two] Lands: Usermare-Meriamon.

BEHIND THE KING

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

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT

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

OVER THE SPAN

The 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

The good god in the form of Montu, great in strength [like] the son of Nut, powerful [of arm, great] of dread when he sees the fray, like the devouring flame before [him]; firm of right arm, stretching the bow, swift of left arm, holding the arrow, charging ahead,

*The pl. strokes of the suffix sn are recarved from previous . . .
*Or: "It is the strength of his father Amon which has given . . . ."
*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 — — nb, "— — every land." The second name was mri — — , "beloved — — ."
*There may be a small loss at the bottom of the line. Something like — — would be possible.
*No horns were carved on the f.
*The uraeus?
*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."
*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.
conscious of his strength, he smites hundred-thousands. Overthrown is the heart of the land of Temeh. Their lifetime and their soul are finished, for the son of Amon, the strong of arm, is after them like a young lion recognizing its strength, heavy of voice, throwing out a roar, so that the very mountains are in travail at his name: Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Lord of Diadems: Ramses III.

The mighty king, valiant and capable, sending the arrow to its spot without fail. Those who assail him are overthrown cast down prostrate before his horses; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-[Meriamon].

The great chief span of his majesty, “[Victory in Thebes.”

On the phrase hr-n-hr see the note in ZAS LXVIII (1932) 56 f. We assume that a preposition was omitted here.

We do not know the exact word here used for “overthrown.”

For m-sî in a hostile sense cf. ZAS XXXVII (1899) 45; Urk. IV 556:1; Pap. d’Orbiney vi 4 and vii 4; etc. The sense is clear in Kadesh Poem, Karnak 1, l. 38: “I was after them like a griffon.”

The hrw sign has a crossbar in painted line.

The sculptor attempted to reproduce the hieratic form of c. See Pl. 28:61 and cf. Pl. 82:20, where a similar sign determines the verb dni. On dnwt, dist, or dout, “roar,” see Gardiner, Notes on the Story of Sinuhe, p. 99; Friedrich Vogelsang, Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern (Leipzig, 1913) pp. 69 ff. Other instances of a hieratic or semi-hieratic writing of this sign in hieroglyphic texts are Israel Stela, l. 25; Kubban Stela, l. 5; RT XVIII (1896) 159, l. 6; Norman de G. Davies, The Rock Tombs of el Amarna III (London, 1905) 22; LD III 195 a 14-15 and 20; Maspero, Rapports I 162 f., II. 15 and 21.

The det. is our only evidence for connecting the word with parturition, but as it occurs in all the known examples the evidence seems good. Possibly “be in travail” is too specific; alternatives might be “tremble, suffer pain, be brought low.”

The enemy were “prostrate before my horses; not one of them could find his hand to fight.”

Presumably ḫt [a] .

Cf. ed r g3b of Pl. 82:30; m rd r g3b of Pls. 46:24 and 32:7; r ḫt r phw, of Pl. 27:7 and Pap. Anastasi IV iii 6; and ḫt, r phw, in the colophons of papyri. An earlier example, in Griffith, The Inscriptions of Siidt and Der Rifeh (London, 1889) Pl. 11:23-24, is m sdr r ḫt. “Tail-to-head” or “tail-at-head” and “front-to-rear” or “front-at-rear” may perhaps be taken as compound nouns. In their Medinet Habu usages with the words “overthrown” or “cast down” they often convey the idea of our “heels over head.” Otherwise “front-to-rear” seems to signify “completely.”

For the confusion of det. here and after the ad of Pl. 82:30 cf. Georg Möller, Hieratische Paldographie (3 vols.; Leipzig, 1909-12) Nos. 171 and 382.
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 — — — [mi]ghty — of Pharaoh, L.P.H., the fallen ones of Libya, in front of the town “Usermare-Meriamon Is the Repeller of the Temeh.”

BEFORE THE KING

2 Words spoken by his majesty to the officials and companions who are at his side: “See the many benefactions which Amon-Re, the King of the Gods, performed for Pharaoh, his child. He has carried off the land of Temeh, Seped, and Meshwesh, who were robbers, ruining Egypt daily, but were made prostrate under my feet. Their root is cut off; they are not, in a single case. Their feet have ceased to tread Egypt forever, through the goodly counsels which his majesty made to take care of Egypt, which had been wasted. Rejoice and exult to the height of heaven, for I have appeared like Montu, extending Egypt. My arm is great and powerful, overthrowing the Nine Bows, through that which my father, the Lord of the Gods, Amon-Kamephis, the creator of my beauty, has done for me.”

OVER THE OFFICIALS

3 Words spoken by the officials and companions, as they made answer before the good god: “Thou art Re, as thou risest on Egypt. When thou appearest, mankind lives. Thy

‡ A Coptic window cuts into the beginning of this line. There is a trace of some sign just before the [ufr. Read “[Presenting the booty of the mighty sword of Pharaoh, L.P.H.,” or similar.

† A previous brw Rbw was recarved to insert the genitival n.

§ This town may have been a factor in the Second Libyan War also; see Gardiner in JEA V (1918) 134 f.

** The bs sign in place of the mr sign is an easy mistake through the hieratic. Cf. l. 13 below and Pl. 27:35.


† The inscription down the front of the rostrum is probably the same as that in Pl. 29, q.v.
heart is shrewd; thy counsels are excellent. The fear of thee has repelled the Nine Bows. Temeh 'is in travail; their heart is removed; they have ceased to tread Egypt. As for the lands and the countries, their bodies are destroyed, for the fear of thee is before them daily. Glad is the heart of Egypt forever, for she has a strong-armed protector, the mighty bull, Lord of the Two Lands, the raging lion, stretching out the two arms, prevailing over the violator(s) of his boundary, making them prostrate through the strength of thy father Amon, who has given thee every land gathered together."

OVER THE PILES OF PHALLI AND HANDS

Total, phalli: 12,535. Total, hands: 12,535. Total, phalli: 12,860 Total, hands: 12,660

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT

Live 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 Lands: User[mare]-Meria[mon]; Son [of Re], Possessor of a Strong Arm, Lord [of D]ia]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.

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* Great Temple, interior, second court, south wall, easternmost scene of lower register. Description de l'Egypte. Antiquités II (Paris, 1812) Pl. 12; Champollion, Monuments III, Pl. CCVI; Rosellini, Monuments storici, Pl. CXXXV; Karl Pfeil, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques I (Stockholm and Leipzig, 1886) Pls. CLVI U-CLVIII.
1 Words 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* echoes among the Nine Bows. Thou art the wall that protects Egypt, so that they sit relying upon thy strength, O Pharaoh, L.P.H., our lord!"

2 Words spoken by the officials and leaders: "Amon is the god who decreed the protection to the ruler who carries off every land!* Lv Usermare-Meria[mon], [Am]on has assigned [to] thee thy victory!* like Re forever and ever!"

3 Words spoken by* the royal princes, the royal chamberlains, and the officials: "Thou art Re, as thou risest on Egypt. The awe [of thee] like Montu when he rages, O Pharaoh, L.P.H., thou child of Amon!"

4–5 The King’s Son of his body, his beloved.4–4a

6–30 Presenting 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

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1* 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.

2* and nm, wrongly using the royal det.

3* A superfluous f was allowed to stand uncorrected on the wall.

4* 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 . . . . . . . ”

5* Reading [f] [f] [f] [f]. A trace of the n is possible and is given by Description de l’Égypte, but the whole restoration is hazardous.

6* From the state of the wall it is probable that [f] was changed to [f].

7* About 10 squares lost, including the rest of the word ḫyḏ and the restoration proposed below. Description de l’Égypte gives the second reed leaf of ḫyḏ.

8* A restoration [f] [f] or similar may be adapted from Description de l’Égypte. The trace before the ḫ looks more like a round disk than a head; otherwise Amon would be a possibility.

4–4a Note that no name is given in either case.

6–30a All four texts are the same, except that II. 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

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

OVER THE SPAN

55 [The great chief span of his majesty, "Baal Is upon His Sword," 56 of the great stable of Usermare-Meriamon, of the Court.

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31 The fn has slipped below the nswt, of which it is a part.
34 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 ← to write the prothetic syllable in participial and other verbal forms, e.g. in Pls. 42:16, 111:31. See Erman, NA 4 §§ 369 and 609.
42 hwt (or hww) 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 hwt old pḥ (Pierre Montet, Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire [Strasbourg etc., 1925] p. 143)?
46 Read probably krt (krīt), 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.
48 Description de l’Égypte gives traces here which are difficult to square with what we see on the wall.
50 Or šḥmlt ṭ tense after r: “until it has come to rest”?
51 The det. of swḥ is a bull straining forward, his head thrown back, his mouth wide open, tongue visible.
52 The sense is probably parallel to what precedes, although we cannot fit the traces at the end of the line to any reasonable reading.
53 Reverting to the enemy.
54 This word may be connected with šḥ tūf (var. šḥ n tūf) of Pap. Anastasi IV ix 6 = Pap. Anastasi III v 7, which Erman (Die Literatur der Aegypten [Leipzig, 1923] p. 248) translates: “einen brennenden (?) Schlag.”
56 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 ḫr 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
1 The good [god], heroic lord, great of strength like 2 his father Montu, returning after he has triumphed, 3 his plans effected, for he has overthrown his assailants 4 in their places. The captives of his arm are pinioned before him, 5 their arms as captives. 6 He is like a mighty bull when he attacks 6 the 7 field [of valor]; 7a destroying — — — — — —; 7b 8 beautiful as he bears his 9 (tokens of) valor for his father Amon-Re. May he give to him great victories, the kingship 9 and 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 HORSEST

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.

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* Great Temple, interior, second court, east wall, lower register. Champollion, Monumenta III, PI. CCVII; Rosellini, Monumenti storici, PI. CXXXVII; Piehl, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques I, Pl. CLV-S-T.
† Detail from scene shown on PI. 24.

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

* 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 ḫn (e.g. in PI. 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.

* The fluttering-bird det. of ḫlm is to be restored above the strong arm. The sign below the strong arm is probably the ḫw-mountain. May one cf. "like Set destroying the ḫw-kd" of PI. 37:21?

* Great Temple, interior, second court, east wall, lower register. Champollion, Monumenta III, PI. CCVII; Rosellini, Monumenti storici, PI. CXXXVII; Piehl, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques I, Pl. CLV-S-T.
† Detail from scene shown on PI. 24.
HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III
TEXTS
BEFORE AMON

1 Words 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. 3 I have given thee the awe of me in thy person, so that thou mayest cast down the Nine Bows. My hand is a shield for thy breast, avert[ing] evil from thee. I have given thee the kingship of Atum, as thou appearest upon the throne of Re."

BEFORE MUT

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

BEFORE THE KING

10 Words 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 plans and thy counsels are those which come to pass, since thou hast sent me forth in 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 runners pinioned and slain in my grasp. I have overthrown the land of Temeh; their seed is not. As for the Meshwesh, they are in travail for terror of me. He who has relied upon that which thou hast commanded has victory; everyone who is faithful to thee has kingship."

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1 The t3 and dr signs have been confused.
2 In its narrower sense šnt is the breast or upper part of the body, the part protected by the shield; so also in Pl. 46:37.
3 The interesting det. of šfr may have connections with the name of the third hour of the night (Brugsch, Theaeaurus 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 šfr show a man with two sticks or knives (Pls. 35:12, 44:17, 46:38).
4 The t before the vulture is only painted, not carved.
5 Sic; read "thy."
6 Note the two writings of the possessive.
7 Recut from previous 𓊾𓊼. Cf. Pls. 27:10 and 46:17, where this correction was not made.
8 The grouping of the signs of phr 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 phr in Günther Roeder, Ägypter und Hethiter (AO XX [1919]) Fig. 19 = Kuentz, Bataille de Qadech, Pl. VI 2. See also Pl. 46, n. 21b.
9 The š of dš, now lost, is recorded by Piehl only.
10 See Pl. 19, n. 11b.
11 The det. of mh is probably the strong arm, although the state of the wall makes the c-arm a possibility. A parallel text on the Eastern Fortified Gate at Medinet Habu (Zettel 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 xlv 8.
OVER THE CAPTIVES

Words spoken by the leaders of the fallen ones of Libya, who are in the grasp of his majesty: "Great is thy prowess, mighty king! How great is the dread of thee and the awe of thee! For thou hast made our seed to turn back, when fighting to advance themselves against Egypt, forever. Give us the breath, that we may breathe it, and the life, that which is in thy hands like a form of his august father Amon-Re, Ruler of the Ennead!"

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT

The ruler, beautiful as king like Atum; strong repelling the Tehenu; coming in fury. He has taken captive the violators of his frontier. Amon, his august father, invigorates his body. 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."†

† 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:

1. 1-13: date, title, and general praise of the King
2. 13-17: a generalized reference to a defeat of Amor
3. 17-20: all lands tributary to Ramses III
4. 20-22: the sorry state of Egypt before the reign of Ramses
5. 22-26: his qualities as commander and the boldness of his armies
6. 26-51: the First Libyan War, traditionally dated by Egyptologists to the year 5:
   a. 26-28: the plans and the attack of the Libyans
   b. 28-33: their plans frustrated by the wisdom and might of Ramses, the section including some obscure politics
   c. 33-36: the defeat of the Libyans
   d. 36-39: the triumph of Ramses and the enslavement of the captives
   e. 39-42: the sad lot of the Libyan survivors
   f. 42-51: the lament of the Libyans
7. 51-59: the Northern War, traditionally dated by Egyptologists to the year 8:
   a. 51-54: the defeat of the Northerners on land and sea
   b. 54-59: the capitulation and captivity of the Northerners
8. 59-66: every land impotent before the might of Ramses
9. 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

1 Year 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']; 2 crushing the Tehenu in heaps in their places; Horus of Gold: valiant

*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 Tehenu 14 times (ll. 26, 30, 39, and 41 below and Pls. 14:2, 16:11-13, 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 LXXXVIII (1924) 36 ff.
one, lord of strength, making a boundary where he will in pursuit of his enemy, — — — — ;
3 the fear of whom and the awe of whom are a shield [love]²⁸ Egypt; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, youthful lord, glistening and shining like the Moon when he has repeated birth, — — [Usermare-Meriamon]; ⁵ Son of Re: Ramses III. The beginning of the victory,⁴⁸ through the might⁴⁸ of Egypt, which Re began. He returned, bringing peace; the Ennead caused — — — — ⁴⁶ powerful, heroic lord, runner, possessed of an appearance like the son of Nut, to make the entire land like 'one rejoicing';⁴⁹ — — — — — — ⁵⁰ King 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) a

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²¹ Like (that of) Re at dawn, the terror (of whom) a

Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III; the ruler great of love, lord of peace, whose appearance is mighty and valiant king, creating his throne of Re as King of the [Two] Lands. The Land from end to end is relieved; ⁷b high and lowly⁷c — — — — ⁴⁶ collected 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] b he rages; trusted⁸b 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 joy. His name has penetrated their heart into

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¹² Probably to be restored hr; but k3, "about," is just possible. For "shield about Egypt" see Gardiner's second meaning for k3 (PSBA XXV [1903] 334). Instances of lkm k3 will be found in Pap. Anastasi I viii 3-4; Pap. Harris xxii 7-8; Fiehl, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques II (Leipzig, 1890) Pla. III D a (emended) and XLVI. Golénischeff's photographs show traces suggestive of k3.

²² We take this to be an alternative form for k3 ← m nhw, 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.

⁴ The k is certain, although badly preserved.

⁶ Burton alone adds 33 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.

¹⁸ Restore wn-p-tb.

¹⁶ The c3 sign is certain, but f is of course meant. Burton, who wrongly places the preserved portion of c3 in the right half of the column instead of the left, adds traces of n under it.

⁷ For "at front and at rear" = "completely" cf. Pl. 19, n. 13c.

²⁴ The meaning cf. Piankhi Stela, ll. 130-31; Pap. Westcar v 3-4; Carnarvon Tablet I 5; Davies and Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhat (London, 1915) Pl. XXVII.

⁷ The det. of 323 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 3 and the 23 det. make 323 certain (not 323).

May we read the preceding word 323, rather than 3? We have no other example of a purely ideographic writing of 323, but the connection with 323 makes this reading possible.

²⁸ 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 k3 m3 gft.f, "whose heart creates."

²² Or "trustworthy"?

²⁶ spd hpe 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 hpe. 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."

²⁸ Reading b.w. See Sethe, Verbum I § 187, and cf. Pl. 26, n. 11a.
the (very) darkness. His glory and the terror of him have reached the ends of the earth. The lands are made (into) — and devastated[10b] at one time. [10c] 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 [12] of Egypt, protecting their bodies. His strength is like (that of) Montu, laying low the Nine Bows; a divine child when he goes forth like Harakhte. Whenever he appears he looks like Atum. He opens[13] his mouth with [13] breath for the people, to sustain the Two Lands with his food every day. The legitimate son,[13] the protector of the Ennead, for whom they overthrow the arrogant countries.

The chief of Am[or] is ashes; [14] his seed is not; all his people are taken captive, scattered, laid low;[14] every survivor[16] in his land comes with praise. [15] to see the great Sun of Egypt over them. The beauty[15] of the sun disk is in their presence — the two Re's which come forth

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[10c] Of this sentence two ß 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 tr.v.w is given by five early copyists. Then, for the next group, Burton, Duemichen, Brugsch, Rosellini, and Hay give \( \text{hr} \) 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, \( \text{hnk} \), cf. 1.53 below: "They that entered into the Nile mouths were like birds ensnared in the net, made into \( \text{hnk} \)." The phrase \( \text{hrw m \text{hnk}} \) occurs again in Pl. 86:19 in an obscure context, apparently referring to the destruction of the enemy. We have incorporated the \( \text{nw-jar} \) of Burton, Brugsch, and Duemichen in our plate, although it is omitted by de Rougé and Rosellini. Presumably \( m \) is to be inserted before \( \text{hnk} \), as in the parallels cited; we regard this as an ancient rather than a modern mistake.

We do not know what \( \text{hnk} \) means. We have thought of "a mash"; cf. Coptic \( \text{沽} \) and the \( \text{hnk} \), "Flüssigkeit, Saft, o.ä." of Wb. III 117. See also the confusion of \( \text{hnk} \) and \( \text{hkt} \), "beer," in Ernesto Schiaparelli, Il Libro dei funerali degli antichi Egiptiani 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 \( \text{nw-jar} \).

The following word is written \( \text{\theta} \) by Burton, Duemichen, and Brugsch; Hay alone inserts a lacuna where \( \text{\theta} \) 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 \( \text{\theta} \) with the legs det. cf. ll. 21 and 45 below.

[11] Possibly \( \text{hm.mn} \) is to be separated from \( \text{nbw} \) and the two translated either "which they know not. Their lords come" or "They are impotent. Their lords come." Is a use of \( \text{hm} \) such as the latter paralleled elsewhere?

[12] The last two signs of \( \text{wn} \) are copied from Burton, Duemichen, and de Rougé. Brugsch made the very natural mistake of inserting \( n \) under the hare.


[14] n. otherwise unrecorded but may occur in Pl. 86:49 also.

[15] See Brugsch, Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch IV (Leipzig, 1868) 1107–98; Shipwrecked Sailor, l. 107; Urk. IV 84:5; etc. A substantivized participle from this verb occurs in Marriage Stela A 27: \( \text{sp hr grt.f} \), "him who escapes his hand (he makes to curse)"; similarly LD III 128 a. The noun \( \text{sp} \), "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.

[16] We have no other occurrence of the noun \( \text{\mu.ust} \). The verb \( \text{\mu} \), "to be beautiful," is used of the sun and of the sun's rays at Amarna only.
and shine upon earth: the Sun of Egypt and that which is in the sky. They say: "Exalted be Re! Our land is destroyed, but we are in a land of life, with the darkness dispelled!" King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

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

The Asiatic and Libyan enemies are carried off who were (formerly) ruining Egypt so that the land lay desolate in complete destruction since kings (began), while they persecuted the gods as well as everybody, and there was no hero to receive them when they rebelled.

Now there exists a youth like a griffon, a shrewd commander like Thoth, [whose]

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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 ḫsr is especially used with kkw, "darkness," e.g. in Naville, Das aegyptische 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 ḥdk is used in antithesis to ḥṣ, "bind" (JE A IX [1923] 17, n. 9). Other examples of ḥdk are found in l. 42 below, Pls. 22:7, 32:9-9, 42:6-7, 43:14, 46:17; PSBA XXXVI (1914) 73.

18a ṣaf is correctly given in the old copies. The s is now so badly destroyed that it might be mistaken for d.

18b Or perhaps we should ignore the t of ḫṣ and translate: "Much rejoicing is in this land."

20a An alternative would be to take ḥwš 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 ḥk rests on this passage alone. We are therefore rendering it intransitively to bring it into line with its customary usage.

21c ṣkmkm only here.


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

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

24b ḥmnw, not ḥmn or ḥmnw, is the regular form at Medinet Habu; cf. Pl. 49:11 and 13.

25 Duemichen and Brugsch give all the signs in ḫḥ. The first h is now lost.
They come forth like a saying from the mouth of the All-Lord. His soldiers are heavy on the field of battle; his horses are like falcons when they sight small birds, roaring like a lion, stirred up and raging. The chariot-warriors are as mighty as Reshephs; they look upon myriads as (mere) drops. His strength is before them like (that of) Montu; his name and the terror of him burn up the plains and the hill-countries.

The land of Temeh was come, gathered in one place, consisting of Rebu, Seped, and Meshwesh. Their warriors relied upon their plan, coming, their hearts confident: "We will advance ourselves!" Their plans in their bodies were:

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

The land of Temeh was come, gathered together in one place, consisting of Rebu, Seped, and Meshwesh. Their warriors relied upon their plan, coming, their hearts confident: "We will 'advance ourselves!'" Their plans in their bodies were:
"We will act!"72d [Their]77e hearts were full of wrongdoing88a with perversity,2b but their plan was shattered and turned aside89a in the heart2d of the god. They asked a chief2d with their mouth, but it was not with [their] heart. [It was] the god,2f 24b the excellent one, who knew a plan. Now this god, the Lord of the Gods, acted, for the greatness of Egypt forever23a in victory, to cause the foreign countries to beg for chiefs with [their hearts from the majesty] of his majesty: "Great of Kingship."23a His majesty was discerning and shrewd like Thoth. Their heart and their plan were viewed20b and judged in his presence. His majesty had brought a little one of the land of Temeh, a child,86d [supported]84d 31b by 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 ʿiri in a pregnant sense cf. l. 29 below and the royal epithet "doing with his hands" (e.g. in Pl. 42:17).
27h The size of the lacuna would suit either "their" or "our." Of the old copyists Brugsch alone offers a plausible text without lacuna, reading ḫb. 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 mḥ, one might render: "Their hearts seized upon wrongdoing."

88a From the simplex ʿgd, ʿgd ʿd ʿd connotes something unjust, morally wrong. Cf. Pl. 22, n. 6a; Pap. Anastasi I xiii 3; LD III 140 c 4.

89a Literally "under that which is perverted." ʿpnt, used only here, suggests the same ideas as ʿgd ʿd.

84b On guš see Breasted, The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus I (OIP III [1930]) 204.

42d For the r of wḥ is recorded by Brugsch only.

23a Clear traces of Brugsch's pḥ nḥr are still visible; the identity of the pḥ-bird is certain from the tail. Restore mḥ n ḫb.[m]; m] pḥ nḥr . . . . , with the restored mḥ in (cf. Gard. § 373).

24d An alternative, "because Egypt is forever great," seems out of place. One desires the sense "so that Egypt might be forever great."

29d The n at the bottom of the line is certain. Above it, the conjectural restoration m ḫb. m ḫ n ḫ m would fill the lacuna neatly. Another possibility is m [ḥms ḫ r ḫ m] n, "in [humility before the majesty] of" (cf. l. 11).

31b The Horus name of Ramses III.

32b Read ḫḥ (ptr), even though the spelling seems to be unique. The disk is blue-green (exactly like ḫ in form and color). ḫḥ 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 mḥ, "cast down," but the eye det. is the conclusive factor.

33b Any translation must be tentative until we can understand the politics of the period. ḫḥ and ḫ of l. 31 are singular; the genitival adj. after ḫḥ 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.

34b 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, d, or mn. Restore ḫḥ? Cf. Pl. 16, n. 8a. Of course any restoration is hazardous.
HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III

(began). Now the heart of his majesty was terrible and mighty [like] a lion hidden\(^{21a}\) \(^{32}\) and prepared (for)\(^{32b}\) small cattle. He was ready like a bull, mighty of arms and sharp of horns, to attack\(^{23}\) the (very) mountains in pursuit of him who assailed him.\(^{23a}\) The gods derided\(^{24}\) \(^{33}\) their 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 \(^{34}\) within a net. They were threshed as sheaves,\(^{34a}\) made ashes, and cast down prostrate in their (own) blood.\(^{34b}\) Their\(^{34b}\) overthrow\(^{34d}\) was heavy, \(^{35}\) without 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,\(^{35e}\) and they were made into pyramids\(^{34d}\) on their (own) \(^{34}\) soil by the might of the King, valiant\(^{34a}\) in his person, sole lord, powerful like Montu, King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

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\(^{21a}\) Reading [m\(_l\)tt] m\(_3\) l\(_b\)p. The animal is certainly a lion. The sign just above the final strong arm is carved in outline only; we do not recognize it.

\(^{22}\) The parallel in Pl. 31:3-4 suggests that the preposition r is omitted here, as often in Late Egyptian. But the verb hr\(_3\) is occasionally transitive, "terrify" (e.g. in Edinburgh ostracon No. 916, l. 14).

\(^{23}\) n\(_b\)nh 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.

\(^{23a}\) The parallel in Pl. 62:6 spells out the pronoun sw after the participle t\(_k\)k.

\(^{23b}\) The word fit is certain. It occurs only at Medinet Habu (in l. 64 below, Pls. 46:6, 77:2, 79:7). Cf. perhaps pl\(_3\) of Amenemopet xxiv 9 and 11 and Maxims of Ani vii 12.

\(^{24}\) Reading gm\(_b\)t\(_3\) h\(_r\)n\(_3\)t\(_i\) m\(_3\) k\(_k\)\(_b\)\(_3\) w\(_n\)t\(_3\) (cf. Pl. 44:7). The gm-bird is certain; the next sign was probably horizontal m; one expects the old perfective fem. The word h\(_r\)n\(_3\) is a difficulty, as it seems cramped, with insufficient space for det. and ending. The following m is given by Burton, Brugsch, de Rouge, and Duemichen. On the plant k\(_k\)\(_b\)\(_3\) cf. Brugsch, Wörterbuch IV (Leipsig, 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 k\(_k\)\(_b\)\(_3\) see W. R. Dawson in Aegyptus X (1929) 66 f.

\(^{25}\) The lost idea was probably something like "(they were) caught."

\(^{26}\) Cf. Pl. 23:42-43 and Pl. 83:42.

\(^{27}\) The snf is certain, although no record exists of the n and f; cf. Pl. 9:9-10; LD III 126 a; etc.

\(^{28}\) The B of t\(_3\)y\(_3\) w was recorded by Rosellini and de Rouge; also by Burton, who erroneously drew a m\(_3\)-sickle across the \(_b\)-bird.

\(^{29}\) Cf. Canopus Stela, l. 8: h\(_r\)yt\(_3\) = k\(_r\)\(_a\)t\(_3\)\(_a\)\(_b\)\(_o\)p\(_b\).

\(^{30}\) 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 Ixxvii 11.

\(^{31}\) A similar wording in Pl. 82:36.

\(^{32}\) The writing of sm\(_3\) 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 pt\(_3\) sm\(_3\) 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?

\(^{34}\) Burton, de Rouge, 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.

\(^{34}\) The n of \(_b\)n, now lost, was recorded by Rosellini, de Rouge, and Brugsch.
Every survivor was brought captive to Egypt—hands and phalli without number—led captive and pinioned below the (King's audience) window. The chiefs of the foreign countries were assembled, beholding their misery. As for the Court of Thirty and the retinue of the King, their hands were spread wide, their jubilations (were sent up) to the sky with willing heart. They said: "Amon-Re is the god who decreed the protection to the ruler against every land!" The travelers and messengers of every land, their hearts were 'removed,' taken away, no longer in their bodies. Their faces gazed upon the King as (upon) Atum.

The backbone of Temeh is broken for the duration of eternity. Their feet [have ceased] to tread the frontier of Egypt. Their leaders were organized, made into gangs 'through victories,' and branded with the great name of his majesty. They that fled [were wretched].

Of sp nb in the s is still perfectly certain on the wall; in is recorded by Burton, Brugsch, de Rougé, Duemichen, and Rosellini, and the bottoms of both signs are still visible. Immediately under the s we see at the left the top of a round sign which may well have been the sp det., while Golénsicheff's photographs show what may be the top of p on the right. Hay's lends itself easily to the word sp. The nb sign is attested by Burton, Rosellini, and Duemichen. For the meaning of sp nb see n. 14b above.

We have translated std as the "(King's audience) window," feeling that no single word will convey the whole story and that "window" is more exact than "balcony." See Norman de G. Davies in Sitzungsber. Phil. Histor. Klasse der deutschen orient Gesellschaft, Vol. LXVII (1931) 43-52; Excavations at Ancient Thebes OIC No. 15 (1932) pp. 23-28, and it is drawn on our Pl. 111.

The text is complete in all the old copies.

"With loving heart" has the force of "willingly, voluntarily, freely." Cf. Kadesh Poem, Karnak 1, l. 26: "Then one will act for thee with loving heart"; Urk. IV 1023: "They shall say to these oxen: 'Pull in the love of your hearts'"; JEA XIII (1927) Pl. XL 13: "The houses of natron are greatly purified . . . so that one is inclosed (i.e., embalmed) therein with loving heart." Another instance in Pl. 46:27.

"hr dd; cf. Erman, NA § 711; Pap. Lansing vii 3; but Burton, Duemichen, and Brugsch misread dr and then inserted signs copied more or less accurately from l. 40. Their texts make no sense and are too long for the available space. Our restoration is suggested by Pl. 22:7-8.

The traveler in "fugitive" is better. Cf. the following line; Pl. 86:22; Israel Stela, l. 5; etc.
Their mouths were not able to recall the nature of Egypt. The land of Temeh fled; they ran, the Meshwesh were in suspense, in their land. Their root was cut off; they are not, in a single case. Every part of their bodies is weak from the terror. "She who breaks our back," say they, with reference to Egypt, "whose lord has destroyed our soul forever and ever." It goes ill with them, when they see their ‗slayers like the slaughterers of Sekhmet, who were in pursuit of them. One is awe-struck and afraid before them. "If our tread shall find no way to go, we shall traverse the lands to
There are texts without borders on the left of this page, which is not a valid text.

The texts are not in a structured format, making it difficult to read and interpret accurately.

The texts seem to be from a historical or archaeological context, possibly discussing ancient Egyptian inscriptions or texts.

The texts are not aligned properly, making it challenging to read and understand the content.
yey, together with 'Wermer and Thetmer. Every enemy chief who has attacked Egypt from Libya is in the fire from end to end. The gods returned answer to slay us, we made an attack against their name(s). We know the great strength of Egypt: that Re has given her a mighty protector, who appears shining like — — — —.

overthrown and slaughtered — Amon-Re was after them, destroying them. They that entered into the Nile mouths were like birds 'ensnared' in the net, made into —. Their arms. Their hearts are 'removed', taken away, no longer in their bodies. Their leaders were carried off and slain; they were cast down and made into pinned [ones] —. They [cried out], saying: "There is a 'charging' lion, wild, mighty, seizing with his claw: the sole lord who has come into being in Egypt, without [his equal], a warrior straight of arrow, who never misses; — 5 the ends of the Ocean." They tremble with one accord (saying): "Whither shall we (go)?" They beg peace, coming humbly for fear of him, knowing that their strength is not and that their bodies are

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53A We propose the restoration of Medinet Habu. A round sign, perhaps the $h$ of phd, was recorded by Burton, Hay, Rosellini, and Duemichen.

54For $\text{r}^3\text{h}3\text{wt}$, "Nile mouths, river mouths," perhaps ultimately "harbors," see: (a) Nauri Stela, il. 23-24: "The number of them (mnš-galleys) has covered the sea; the Nile mouths are crowded with $\text{imy}$-boats and $\text{krr}$-boats, . . . each of them 100 cubits (in length), loaded with the herbs of God's Land." (b) Brugsch, Thesaurus VI (Leipzig, 1891) 1296, l. 14 (inscription of Amenemopet, son of Hapu): "I posted a guard upon the way, to turn back the foreigners in their places; the 'Two Lands were surrounded with sentries scouting for the Sand-Farers. I did likewise upon the shore of the Nile mouths, which were shut up under the troops, except to the crews of the royal marines." (c) Other occurrences in Medinet Habu: Ps. 37:10, 42:5-6, 46:20 and 23. (d) See also Brugsch, Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Égypte (Leipzig, 1879) pp. 477-79; ASAE XIV (1914) 30 and XVII (1917) 168. The simple $\text{h}3\text{wt}$ of Brugsch (loc. cit.) and of Amenemopet xii 2 is a similar word, as is $\text{h}3\text{wt}$ in the Golénischeff Glossary ii 5-6 = $\text{r}^3\text{h}3\text{wt}$ in Pap. Hood ii 5-6. (e) In the Medinet Habu treasury (Zettel 712) the nomes of Lower Egypt are designated thus: "The gods, the lords of the fens, who lead the waters of the inundation, the strip of the sea, and who open the ways of the sea and the ends of the Ocean!" (f) In Greek times, religious and offering texts speak of the $\text{r}^3\text{h}3\text{wt}$ as districts from which vegetable products come or as districts to which the inundation comes.

The cases cited above, pointing to the mouths of the Nile, would lead to the conclusion that the naval battle was fought in these waters. Against this conclusion might be set the argument that Ramses III marched to Zahi for his land battle. It is possible to argue that $\text{r}^3\text{h}3\text{wt}$ was secondarily extended to river mouths outside of Egypt, but we have preferred to take the lexicographic evidence at its face value.

55$\text{phb}$ is a Medinet Habu word; see also Ps. 42:5 and 83:43. Another possible translation is "creep in" (Brugsch, Wörterbuch IV 1288).

56On $\text{hnk}$ ("a mash") see n. 10c above.

57$\text{dnh}$. 

58$\text{h}3\text{wt}$ ("a lion") is a Medinet Habu word. It is used of a lion here; of a bull in Ps. 46:30, 83:51, and 94:9; and of the King in Ps. 79:4 and 90:2. The idea seems to be "charging" or "attacking." Is it a compound word, "falling-completely" = "headlong"? The spelling here is abnormal; see the other instances.

59One possible restoration is $\text{r}^3\text{h}3\text{wt}$, which would fit the space nicely.

60The text is that of Brugsch. There are plausible traces of all the signs on the wall, except the two slanting strokes. This sign happens to be supported by Burton, Rosellini, and Duemichen, whose copies in other respects are certainly inferior to that of Brugsch.

61The reed leaf may have begun another epithet of the King. It is recorded by Burton, Brugsch, and Duemichen. Burton saw a round sign also somewhere below the reed leaf.

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62Cf. Pl. 46:35; Pap. Anastasi IV x 11; REA I (1927) 21, l. 5; Erman, NA 710. The same idiom with $\text{iri}$ instead of $\text{fsw}$ in RT XVIII (1895) 159, l. 6 (cf. Pap. Westcar xii 14).
weak,\textsuperscript{57} for the awe of his majesty is before them every day. He is like a bull standing on
the field of battle, his eye on\textsuperscript{57a} his horns, prepared and ready to 'attack\textsuperscript{57b}' his assailant
with his head; a mighty warrior — — \textsuperscript{57e} battle 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 \textsuperscript{in}\textsuperscript{58a} — —; \textsuperscript{59} the 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: User-
mare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

Woe to them, the lands to the circuit of the earth\textsuperscript{58s} — — \textsuperscript{60} who plot\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{60b} \textsuperscript{61} of roar
on the mountain tops— one fears from afar because of the awe of him; \textsuperscript{61a} a griffin, wide of stride,
possessor of wings, who sees\textsuperscript{61b} iters of millions\textsuperscript{61e} \textsuperscript{62} as a (mere) stride; \textsuperscript{62a} a panther, knowing

\textsuperscript{57} On \textit{3d} see Breasted, \textit{The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus} I 282 f.

\textsuperscript{57a} We give a literal rendering of \textit{frt.f hrb 3by.f}. A late text from the Bab el-\textit{Abd} at Karnak (Zettel 202,
with 201 similar) runs \textsuperscript{57b} \textsuperscript{58} 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.

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

\textsuperscript{58} None of the early copyists saw the \textit{n} of \textit{k3}. Brugsch, Burton, Duemichen, and Sethe (for \textit{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 \textit{k3} and the strong arm.

\textsuperscript{60} The ears of the typhonic animal are still recognizable (contrary to Burton, who adds the horizontal
\textit{m} immediately). Hay gives the typhonic animal and the \textit{m}, followed by what seems to be the head of
the \textit{3}-bird on the right-hand side of the square. Read perhaps \textit{Btr m 3t.f}, "Baal in his time."

\textsuperscript{61} The circular sign under \textit{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 \textit{\textsuperscript{61a}}. Tentatively we
read the round sign as \textit{\textsuperscript{61b} n} and restore = \textsuperscript{61c} \textsuperscript{61d} \textsuperscript{61e}. For the expression cf. Pl. 46:18; for the form of the
\textit{\textsuperscript{61f} n} sign cf. l. 56 above.

\textsuperscript{62} The det. of this word is the man striking himself with an axe. This is also the writing in \textit{k3w sbi}
of Pl. 86:23. That the latter is \textit{k3l}, "think, plan, plot," is shown by the recurrence of \textit{k3l sbi} elsewhere
(e.g. in Pap. Leningrad 1116 B 62 and \textit{Urk.} IV 138:14-15). Of course, those plotting against Egypt
were only injuring themselves.

\textsuperscript{63} The \textit{w} of \textit{w.} is for \textit{m} (as in Pl. 31:7-8; \textit{LD III} 209 d); cf. Erman, \textit{NA} \textsuperscript{3} § 606. The whole phrase
means "whose reputation inspires terror even at a distance."

\textsuperscript{64} Two falcon's eyes similar to the one eye used in the late writing of \textit{im\textsuperscript{\textit{m}}}h, \"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 \textit{m} from the 19th dynasty on. (b) Two eyes are an abbreviation for \textit{m} from the Middle Kingdom on. (c)
\textsuperscript{65}\textsuperscript{65a} \textsuperscript{65b} \textsuperscript{65c} \textsuperscript{65d} \textsuperscript{65e} \textsuperscript{65f} is \"the two eyes\" (\textit{RT XIV} [1893] 165). (d) The \textit{Wb.} materials list a half-dozen in-
stances of a falcon's eye as det. of \textit{m}, notably in \"\textit{Amduat I} 23\" as recorded in \textit{Zettel}.

\textsuperscript{66} Sic, not "millions of items" as one might expect.

\textsuperscript{67} An unknown word, as it stands. The lost sign, immediately after \textit{h}, was a low one (such as \textit{f}, \textit{t}, or
horizontal \textit{a}). \textit{h\textsuperscript{\textit{g}}} \textit{g\textsuperscript{\textit{b}}} \textit{\textit{plunder}}, seems to be excluded by the legs det. \textit{Wb.} III 75 associates the word with
\textit{h\textsuperscript{\textit{f}}}d. Cf. also \textit{h\textsuperscript{\textit{d}}}d.
his prey, seizing upon his assailant; whose hands destroy the breast\(^{62a}\) of him who transgresses his frontier; a raging one, stretching out the right arm, \(^{63}\) entering into the fray and slaying hundred-thousands in their places before his horses, for he regards the thick of the throng as grashoppers, beaten, worn down,\(^ {62a} \) \(^{64} \) and '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 \(^ {65} \) when he goes forth. Every land 'is in travail'\(^ {64a} \) for him at the (mere) mention of him: a ruler excellent of plans like Tatenen, equipping this entire land with every 'regulation',\(^ {65b} \) \(^ {66} \) mighty 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;\(^ {46a} \) 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 \(^ {67} \) the height of its back\(^ {47a} \) 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 \(^ {68} \) protection. 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 \(^ {69} \) of 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 \(^ {70} \) against everyone who attacks him, \(^ {7a} \) as that which Amon, his august father, has given to him;\(^ {79a} \) the lands united

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\(^{62a}\) The first sign of \( ś nb t \) is carved in outline only, so that it certainly was not the \( o \) of Burton and Duemichen. The negative arms sign, which Brugsch gives, is not inconsistent with the traces.

\(^{64}\) On \( s n \) see Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, p. 212.

\(^{64a}\) The only here and in Pl. 86:29, where the enemy are crushed as by the fall of a mountain. For \( w p n \) 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 \( w p 3 \) rests. Our noun probably occurs in the Ritual of Embalming (Pap. Boulaq III) Pl. 11:2.

\(^{66b} \) See Pl. 19, n. 11b.

\(^{68c} \) Here and in l. 75 below seems to mean "regulation" or the like, rather than "custom"; cf. Hittite Treaty, l. 5, where it designates the treaty itself.

\(^{67} \) Thoth.

\(^{67b} \) I.e., relaxed and at rest; cf. Pap. Harris lxxvii 10; \( Z A S \) LXV (1930) 61.

\(^{68} \) Or "in its vicinity" = "beside it" (\( Wb. \) II 458, definition 3).

\(^{69} \) Is this old perfective 3d pl.? Note the pl. strokes. This interpretation is suggested by \( r \) \( g d l \). But the form could be treated as a participle masc. sing. and translated "knowing his (own) hands."

\(^{69a} \) \( t d b d \), "bring into being, create," has also the meaning "train," e.g. "to bring up children" (\( Z A S \) XLII [1905] 101), "to train soldiers" (Brugsch, *Wörterbuch VI* [1881] 913; \( U r k. \) 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 \( g d l \) (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 \( g d l \) seems to offer no basis for a choice between the traditional translation "army" (\( M h b f \)) and the new one "warrior" (\( N h f s \)) proposed by Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (New Haven, 1934) p. 40.

\(^{79a} \) The \( m b \) sign is recorded by Brugsch and Sethe (for \( W b. \)). We see a trace of it.
and assembled under his feet; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

Now as for the Horus:76a Mighty of Years, the divine seed71 of Re, which came forth from his body; the august living image71a of the son of Isis, who came forth (from the womb) adorned71b with the blue crown like Atum; great of Niles bearing their food for Egypt,72 while the people and citizens enjoy good things; the sovereign who does justice72a for the All-Lord72b and offers it every day before him—Egypt and the lands are at peace in his reign.73 The land is like a 'slab';74a 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.75b The foreign countries come bowing73d 74 to 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 7 the plans and 'regulations' of the mighty king, the ruler 'effective'74a 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.

76aUnder 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 wer rnrnut.

71a(smh) 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 (smh 'nh 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.

71bThe word is surely hₙₐₜ, "order, equip (with)"; cf. Pap. Amherst ii 4 and Lepsius, Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter, chap. 162, I. 1. The disk has the form and color of hₙₐₜ.

72aNote the det. of hₙₐₜ below.

73bNote that the r has dropped out of nb-r-dr. This occurs as 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 (THPQ) occur in the early 6th dynasty mastabs 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.

74b(smtd) The same phrase occurs in RT XVI (1894) 55 cvii 2. More instructive is Maxims of Ani ix 14. These are all smtd of wood. The instances given by Brugsch, Wörterbuch VII (1882) 1066–67, and in RT XXX (1908) 216, I. 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 smdr, "make smooth!", of Griffith, The Inscriptions of Siūf and Der Ḍefeh, Pl. 19:32, and the noun smdt, "border inscription!", of Hittite Treaty, l. 36.

76bEmend to 'wun-lib.'

78bSee PSBA XIX (1897) 299 and ZAS LXV 60 f.

74bBefore key the m, now lost, is recorded by Brugsch and Duemichen.

74bBrugsch gives the sun disk as det. of dw3yt; 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.

76bSomething must have been omitted between l. 74 and l. 75; hr, "under," is perhaps the simplest addition (cf. Gard. § 166:3).

74bIntim only here.

78bA name of the god Ptah, as shown by the det.
MEDINET HABU

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, and the leaders of the infantry and chariots: 2Thou art Re, as thou risest over Egypt, for when [thou] appearest the Two Lands live. Great is thy strength in the heart of the Nine [Bows], and thy battle cry (reaches) to the circuit of the sun. The shadow of thy arm is over thy troops, so that they walk confident in thy strength.

THY heart is stout; thy plans are excellent; so that no land can stand firm when [thou] art seen.

Amon-Re leads thy way; he casts down for thee (every) land beneath thy soles. Glad is the heart of Egypt forever, for she has a heroic protector.

The heart of the land of Temeh is removed; the Peleset are in suspense, hidden in their towns, by the strength of thy father Amon, who assigned to thee every [land] as a gift.

BEFORE THE KING

The King himself says to the officials, the companions, and every leader of the infantry and chariots who is in the presence of his majesty: “Bring forth equipment! Send out troops to destroy the rebellious [countries] which know not Egypt, through the strength of my father Amon!”

† Similar equipment is recorded in greater detail in the tomb of Ramses III (e.g. Champollion, Monuments III, Pls. CCLXII–CCLXIV).
PLATE 29  HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III  36

HORIZONTAL LINE IN THE CENTER OF THE SCENE

34-35[Usermare-Meriamon, 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 - - - - giv[ing] equipment to the infantry and chariots, 39-40 to the troops, the Sherden, and the Nubians.

OVER TWO OFFICIALS ON THE LEFT

41[Usermare-Meriamon, rich of strength.

OVER SOLDIERS ON THE LEFT

43The infantry and chariots, who are receiving equipment in the presence of [his] majesty.

OVER A PRINCE AT THE BASE

44-45The Crown Prince, Great Royal Scribe, and Royal Son he says to the commanders of the army, the captains of the troops, and the officers of the troops: One speaks thus, [namely] Pharaoh: 'Every picked man, every valiant one who is in the knowledge of his majesty, let them pass by in 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: We will act! We will act! The army is assembled, and they are the bulls of the land: every picked man [of] all [Egypt] and the runners, capable of hand. Our lord goes

---

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

36No word is certain in these two lines. The pr-house is probable in l. 35.

39The head of the det. of $Srdn$ is unfortunately broken. In Kadesh Poem it is rendered with the spiked helmet bearing a disk.

41Probably 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.

43It is not clear what word stood here, apparently not $hw$.

45With 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.

47Are $mr-mf\$,$ hry\-pd\$, and $ts\-pd\$ three successive ranks in the army?

48The det. shows the King.

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

44Note the use of fem. for neuter, illustrating the tendency of the Medinet Habu texts to follow Middle Egyptian usage.

51Restoring [n Kmt] $gr$.

51See Pl. 26, n. 11b. There may have been pl. strokes after the det. here.

52On $gm$ $gr\$ see Pl. 19, n. 13a. Here the word $gm$ was corrected over a previous $\sqrt{\$}$.
forth in valor, so that we may plunder the plains and the hill-countries. He is like Montu, the strong.\textsuperscript{66}\textsuperscript{a}

\textbf{OVER SOLDIERS AT THE LOWER LEFT}

\textsuperscript{67}(Unintelligible.)

\textbf{BEHIND THE KING}

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

\textbf{SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT}

\textsuperscript{69}Live 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.

\textbf{PLATE 31. RAMSES III ON THE MARCH TO ZAHI AGAINST THE SEA PEOPLES*}

\textbf{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.

\textbf{TEXTS}

\textbf{BEFORE THE KING}

\begin{enumerate}
\item The King, rich in strength as he goes forth abroad,\textsuperscript{1a} great of fear and awe \textsuperscript{2} in the heart of the Asiatics; sole lord, whose hand is capable, \textsuperscript{3} conscious of his strength, like a valiant lion\textsuperscript{12} hidden and prepared \textsuperscript{4} for wild [cattle];\textsuperscript{1a} freely going forward, his heart \textsuperscript{5} confident,\textsuperscript{14} beating\textsuperscript{16} myriads into heaps in the space of a moment. \textsuperscript{6} His potency \textsuperscript{7} in the fray\textsuperscript{18}\textsuperscript{a} is like a fire, making all those who assail \textsuperscript{7} him to become ashes. They have fear of his name, (even) when he is \textsuperscript{8} afar off, like the heat of the sun upon the Two Lands; \textsuperscript{9} a wall casting a shadow for Egypt, so that they rest \textsuperscript{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.
\end{enumerate}

\textsuperscript{66}\textsuperscript{a}Possibly nothing is lost after nbt, although \textsuperscript{[---]} , “of arm,” is possible.

\textsuperscript{1a}pri r hḥ; 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 hḥ is again written with ḫ in Dream Stela, l. 22, perhaps through confusion with the word hḥ, “tomb.”

\textsuperscript{12}The sign ḫ at Medinet Habu designates a lion, not a cat. This is clear from the present passage and from Pl. 102:23.

\textsuperscript{14}The det. of ġwt 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.

\textsuperscript{16}The partially preserved det. is ḫ.

\textsuperscript{18}\textsuperscript{a}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 ġwt.

\textsuperscript{18}This is a curious writing, and it is possible that the phrase should be read m sky rm[t] and translated “as a slaughterer of people.”

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

BEHIND THE KING

1° His majesty sets out in valor and strength to destroy the rebellious countries.

OVER THE TROOPS AT THE BASE

1° His 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 before the Nine Bows, bearing victory. Amon, his august father, is a shield for him; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of the Two Lands.

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT

1° Live 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 oxcarts.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

1-2° a 3-4° under awe of the sight of him, as when Set rages, overturning the enemy in front of the sun bark; trampling

1° Ebpt (or ḫypw); see Pl. 23, n. 46a.

2° 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 ḫpt.

3° The lacuna at the end of ḫpsy probably contained only the book-roll det.

4° 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.

1° A trace of what might be the ḫhk sign or the ḫnh sign or similar begins the inscription.

4° In view of what appears to be a bow in 1, 4, [pf] hr [śmrḥ] is a possibility, followed perhaps by ḫḥ, i.e., “stretching the bow, overthrowing . . . .”

4° Our m is exceedingly cramped. The portion shown in solid black is certain.

5° nndty We do not recognize the horizontal trace under the strong arm, nor do we know how tall the “Set” word sign stood.


* Great Temple, exterior, north wall. Champollion, Monuments III, Pls. CCXX-CCXXI bis; Rosellini, Monumenti storici, Pls. CXXVII-CXXVIII; Wreszinski, Atlas II 113-14.
downb the plains b and hill-countries, (which are) prostrate, beaten from tail to headb before his horses. bHis heat burns up their bodiesb like a flame. Hacked up bhis flesh to the duration [of eternity].

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT

bHorus, 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 b are in travailb and fleeb to their land. 2The lion, the lord of victory, concealed, going forward,3 and making a conquestb—he has a heart full of his might; 4stout of heart, relying 5upon his (strong) arm, able to enter 6straight ahead against the one who assails

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abcdgy occurs 5 times in texts of Ramses III (e.g. in PIs. 86:44, 102:9).

1bOr “prostrate and beaten heels over head”? Cf. Pl. 19, n. 13c.

2bThe dets. of hsw are at present indecisive on the wall.

3bPerhaps a very lightly cut t has been lost below km; cf. Pl. 28:39. Otherwise we must read r-km adverbially, “completely” (cf. Gard. § 205:5).

1bSee Pl. 19, n. 11b.

1bThis form may show an infinitive, mh(w)t, with hr omitted, or, less probably, the old perfective 3d pl. mhw, with intrusive t; cf. Pl. 29, n. 10a.

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

2bsh 1n, literally “conquering the matter”; i.e., bringing the enterprise to a successful conclusion. On the indefinite use of 1n see Vogelsang, Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern, p. 195. Cf. baf 1n of Br. Mus. Tablet 5645 (Kehekeperresemu) rev. 5 and m 1n of LD III 166:14–15.

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

him, when he attacks; the lion, destroying in — —. His arrow has penetrated into their bodies. They [gather] themselves together in front of [him, as] (wretched) jackals, while they howl like a cat. The strength of his majesty is like a flame in their limbs, so that their hearts have burned up because of his heat. 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; the guardsmen exult to the sky, for [their] lord is mighty like Montu, and his battle cry and his fame are like (those of) Baal. All lands are under his feet like Re forever; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Useramre-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III, given life.

OVER THE SPAN

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

*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 T(WPM survives as "to knock (at a door), call, summon, approach, pursue." There is a connecting thread of logic running through all these meanings.

One expects 'wt, "wild cattle," here. This is rendered improbable but not excluded by the traces on the wall.

*dtp 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.


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

The present reading was corrected out of a previous . The man det. of isms was erroneously carved with one hand on the mouth; a break in the stone makes it uncertain whether this mistake was corrected or not.
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

1 The good god, Montu in Egypt, 2 great of strength like Baal 3 * in the foreign countries, strong of arms, undaunted 4 of heart, haughty, skilled 5 in his strength, a great wall 6 for sheltering Egypt, so that there may come 7 no land to injure 8 it; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Ramses III.

BEHIND THE KING

8 Now the northern countries, which were in 9 isles, were quivering in their bodies. 10 They penetrated the channels of the Nile mouths. 11 Their nostrils have ceased (to function, so that) their desire is 12 to breathe the breath. 13 His majesty 14 is gone forth like a whirlwind against them, fighting 15 on the battlefield 16 like a runner. The dread of him 17 and the terror of him have entered into their bodies; (they are) capsized and overwhelmed 18 in their places. Their hearts are taken away; their soul 19 is flown away. 20 Their weapons are scattered in the sea. 21 His arrow pierces him whom he has wished among them, 22 while the fugitive is become one fallen into the water. His majesty is like 23 an enraged lion, attacking his assailant with his paws; 24 plundering on his right hand and powerful on his left hand,

* The two strokes between ml and B'r, shown in our Pl. 39 but accidentally omitted in Pl. 37, are present on the wall.

The good god, Montu in Egypt, 2 great of strength like Baal 3 * in the foreign countries, strong of arms, undaunted 4 of heart, haughty, skilled 5 in his strength, a great wall 6 for sheltering Egypt, so that there may come 7 no land to injure 8 it; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Ramses III.

BEHIND THE KING

8 Now the northern countries, which were in 9 isles, were quivering in their bodies. 10 They penetrated the channels of the Nile mouths. 11 Their nostrils have ceased (to function, so that) their desire is 12 to breathe the breath. 13 His majesty 14 is gone forth like a whirlwind against them, fighting 15 on the battlefield 16 like a runner. The dread of him 17 and the terror of him have entered into their bodies; (they are) capsized and overwhelmed 18 in their places. Their hearts are taken away; their soul 19 is flown away. 20 Their weapons are scattered in the sea. 21 His arrow pierces him whom he has wished among them, 22 while the fugitive is become one fallen into the water. His majesty is like 23 an enraged lion, attacking his assailant with his paws; 24 plundering on his right hand and powerful on his left hand,

* The two strokes between ml and B'r, shown in our Pl. 39 but accidentally omitted in Pl. 37, are present on the wall.

8 The good god, Montu in Egypt, 2 great of strength like Baal 3 * in the foreign countries, strong of arms, undaunted 4 of heart, haughty, skilled 5 in his strength, a great wall 6 for sheltering Egypt, so that there may come 7 no land to injure 8 it; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Ramses III.

BEHIND THE KING

8 Now the northern countries, which were in 9 isles, were quivering in their bodies. 10 They penetrated the channels of the Nile mouths. 11 Their nostrils have ceased (to function, so that) their desire is 12 to breathe the breath. 13 His majesty 14 is gone forth like a whirlwind against them, fighting 15 on the battlefield 16 like a runner. The dread of him 17 and the terror of him have entered into their bodies; (they are) capsized and overwhelmed 18 in their places. Their hearts are taken away; their soul 19 is flown away. 20 Their weapons are scattered in the sea. 21 His arrow pierces him whom he has wished among them, 22 while the fugitive is become one fallen into the water. His majesty is like 23 an enraged lion, attacking his assailant with his paws; 24 plundering on his right hand and powerful on his left hand,
HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III

21"like Set destroying the serpent "Evil of Character." It is Amon-Re who has overthrown for him the lands and has crushed for him every 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.

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: "See ye the great strength of my father Amon-Re! As for the countries who came from their land in the isles in the midst of the sea, as they were (coming) forward toward Egypt, their hearts relying upon their hands, a net was prepared for them, to ensnare them. They that entered into the Nile mouths were caught, fallen into the midst of it, pinioned in their places, butchered, and their bodies hacked up. I have caused that you see my strength, which was in that which my arm has done, while I was alone. My

21dw-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.

24The 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."

arrow hit the mark\textsuperscript{8a} without fail, while my arms \textsuperscript{9} and my hand were steadfast. I was\textsuperscript{8a} like a falcon in the midst of small fowl, \textsuperscript{10} for my talon did not fail upon their heads. Amon-Re was on my right\textsuperscript{16a} and on my left, and the awe of him and the terror of him were in my person.\textsuperscript{11a} Rejoice \textsuperscript{12} ye, for that which I commanded is come to pass, and my counsels and my plans \textsuperscript{13} are perfected. Amon-Re repels my foe and gives to me every land into my grasp.”

**OVER THE OFFICIALS**

\textsuperscript{14} Words 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 \textsuperscript{15} at thy name, for the awe of thee is before them every day. Egypt rejoices\textsuperscript{16b} for that which I commanded is come to pass, and my counsels and my plans are perfected. Amon-Re repels my foe and gives to me every land into my grasp.”

**BEFORE A PRINCE**

\textsuperscript{16c} “Amon is the god who decreed the protection to the ruler against every land!!”\textsuperscript{16a}

**BEFORE THE SPAN**

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

**OVER THE FORTRESS**

\textsuperscript{21} Migdol of Ramses III.\textsuperscript{21a}

**OVER THE SPAN**

\textsuperscript{22} The great chief span of his majesty;\textsuperscript{22a} “Amon Is Valiant.”

\textsuperscript{8a} Literally “gripped.”

\textsuperscript{9} tu.\textit{i}.

\textsuperscript{10} \textit{wennym} corrected out of earlier \texttt{\textcircled{1}} \textsuperscript{\textcircled{1}}. The earlier form was plastered out.

\textsuperscript{11a} Read \textit{h\textcircled{1}w}, not \textit{h\textcircled{1}ut}. The \texttt{\textcircled{1}} was deleted with plaster in an interesting attempt to avoid Late Egyptian and write Middle Egyptian.

\textsuperscript{16m} for \textit{n\textcircled{1}}.

\textsuperscript{15b} \textit{Rsm Kmt} was anciently corrected out of \texttt{\textcircled{1}}\texttt{\textcircled{1}}\texttt{\textcircled{1}}.

\textsuperscript{16a} See Pl. 23, n. 2a.


\textsuperscript{18} I.e., skilful.

\textsuperscript{21a} Gardiner, in \textit{JEA} VI (1920) 110, locates this place at Magdolo or Tell el-\textit{H\textsuperscript{e}r}, near the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile. His identification rests in part on the assumption that the \textit{r\textcircled{3}-h\textcircled{1}ut} 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 archaising 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 (\textit{m-b\textcircled{3} h\textcircled{1}m Wsr-m3\textsuperscript{-t-R\textcircled{3}}} etc.), Pl. 70 (\textit{dmn h\textcircled{1} t\textcircled{3}}), and Pl. 87 (\textit{dmn 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.

\textsuperscript{22a} There has been recutting in the seated royal figure, which formerly wore the white crown. The \texttt{\textcircled{1}} above it was never carved farther to the left to extend above the \textit{hm} sign.
PLATE 43. RAMSES III PRESENTING CAPTIVES OF THE LIBYANS AND
THE SEA PEOPLES TO THE THEBAN TRIAD*

DESCRIPTION
Ramesses 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

"Welcome in joy!
For thou hast slain the Nine Bows and hast overthrown everyone who assailed thee. Thou hast cast down the hearts of the Asiatics, for thou hast taken away the breath from their nostrils. I am well content, for my plans are perfected, and that which issues from my mouth is appropriate."a

OVER MUT

Mut the Great, Mistress of Ishru.

OVER KHONSU

Khonsu-in-Thebes.

aSic, determined with man with hand to mouth.

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

bIt is doubtful where the missing signs of wnf stood with relation to the extant traces.

cThe upper det. of ʿmnh seems to have been recut more than once; the signs used probably included the ḫw-leg and the mnḥ-chisel.

dLiterally "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 0). When it was decided to add the figure of Mut behind Amon, the rear post of the shrine was abandoned, and the hieroglyphs below ʿmnh in l. 7 were deleted with plaster and recut in their present positions in ll. 8-9.

eIt is possible to insert a ḫ over the ur-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, Monuments storici, Pl. CXXXIV; Duenichen, 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. 9 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 in Steinbauten").
Before the King

Words 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 that I might plunder the Nine Bows and slay all lands. Not a land stood firm before me, but I cut off their root. I have returned in valor, my arms (laden) with captives, the leaders of every land, through the decrees which issued from thy mouth. That which thou hast promised has come to pass. Thy mighty sword is mine, a reinforcement, that I may overthrow every one who assails me and the lands may behold me (only) to tremble, for I am like Montu before them. How prosperous is he who relies upon thy counsels, O thou protector, possessor of a strong arm!"

Over the Sea Peoples

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

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15 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.

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

14 The dots (representing i or ?) under each d of the perfective passive participle wdd are unusual, perhaps unparalleled.

15  was corrected to .

16 The beetle was recarved, for no apparent reason except that someone disliked the first carving.

16 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.

16 The  in Mntw was corrected out of .

16 Reading , which may be fitted to the traces.

16 With two k's. In dress and headdress they are not distinguishable from the Peleset and Denyen on Pl. 44.

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

16 Or "Set."

16 nty was corrected from (the superfluous stroke being filled with plaster).
PLATE 44  HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III  4

OVER THE LIBYANS

Words 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

All lands, the Fenku, the circuit of the heavens, all mankind, all people, all the Haunebut, all folk are under the feet of this good god, whom all people praise, that they may live every day 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

Live the good god, skilled of laws, causing the Two Lands to live through his plans, valiant among many, driving back the Nine [Bows]; 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

The Haunebut, Naharin, Tenip, Lower Egypt, Pebekh, Katna, Isi, Menesen, the people of the western oases, the people of the eastern desert, the Tehenu, Segerekh, Yerteg.

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

Words 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 thy frontier. My sword was...

---

27 The present dets. of Fnḫw were carved over three seated divine figures (or three figures?). See Pl. 51 C.

28 The horizontal sign before rš nb is perhaps a misunderstanding of hieratic n. See n rš nb in Pl. 28:57.

29 "The Nine [Bows]" was corrected out of nb pḏt 9, "Lord of the Nine Bows."

30 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 Tongefässcherben 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. CCCCXXXII (marked CCCCXXXI bis and wrongly labeled "Rhameséion"); Rosellini, Monumenti storici, Pl. CXLIV; LD III 311; LD Text III 174; de Rougé, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques II, Pl. CXXIX (top of lines 12 to 17 only); Wreszinski, Atlas II 129 (originally numbered 129; bottom register of captives only).
with thee, overthrowing for thee the lands. Thou hast cut off the heads of the Asiatics. I have granted thee that the awe of thee be great, and I cast down for thee every land, so that they regard thy majesty in terror, like my son Set when he rages. I cause them to regard thy majesty as a young bull standing upon the field of valor, when his onslaught has been effected; I 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

Words spoken by Mut the Great, Mistress of Heaven: “I put my arms as a protection about thee, while my heat is against thy enemies. I have given thee millions of jubilees, hundred-thousands of years, forever and ever.”

BEFORE THE KING

Words spoken by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: User-mare-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, since thou didst commission me. Thy sword is mine as a shield, that I may slay the plains and hill-countries which violate my frontier. Thou causest the awe of me to be great in the hearts of their chiefs, the terror of me and the fear of me to be before them. I have carried away their runners, pinioned in my grasp, to present them to thy ka, O my august father! My strong arm has overthrown those who came to exalt themselves: the Ptele-set, Denyen, and the Shekelesh. Thy strong arm is that which is before me, over-
How great is thy strength, O Lord of the Gods! For he who relies upon that which thou hast ordained possesses 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; a bull, sharp of horns, conscious of his strength. Thou art my august father, who created my beauty. Thou hast seen me, thou hast chosen me 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

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

OVER THE MIDDLE REGISTER OF CAPTIVES

Words 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

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

HORIZONTAL LINES AT THE BASE OF THE SCENE

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, King of the Gods.

The King, excellent of monuments in Thebes, 'the champion, 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.

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16Note the omission of the t of prt, even though in the status pronominalis.
15For the sense cf. Pl. 88:8; Pap. Leyden I 350 iii 21. The two flesh signs determining it are possibly a confusion arising from the hieratic writing 3y ("\(\text{D}\)"), which has arisen through confusion with 3ty ("\(\text{A}\)"). Or cf. Möller, Hieratische Paldographie II (Leipzig, 1909) No. 178.
17The royal figure is apparently the dependent pronoun wi; cf. Pl. 43, n. 16c.
18The book roll was corrected out of a previous sky sign.
20Or "Set."
14In dress and headdress the captives of these three registers are not distinguishable from one another. See Pl. 43, n. 19a.
21See 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

1 Year 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, *excellent and legitimate, of Harakhte, the sovereign, the beneficent heir 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 *from the countries by the heat of his body; great of glory, storming * when he sees the fray, like Sekhmet storming at the time of her fury; the maher, *valiant at horsemanship, taking captives when afoot, swift as the ‘shooting’ stars which are in the sky; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: User-

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* The word *hw w, “heir,” has been confused with *tw t, “inheritance.” Erman has explained the writing of the two *ap*n in this and similar words as assimilation of the final w to the *ap*n (ZAS XLVI [1909-10] 96 ff.). See also Enno Littmann in ZAS XLVII (1910) 62 ff.

* The curious writing *nntytw occurs also in Pl. 70:3-4. It may be an over-generous writing of the niše form *nnty.

* See Pl. 28, n. 61b.

* 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.

* The stars *hr sḏd are here called phrr, “running, swift.” In ZAS XLII (1905) 22 there is mentioned “the (star) Swift of Stride, *hr sḏd, encircling the earth in an instant.” In Pl. 82:29 we read of the fleeing enemy * 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 sḏd in the morning among the

mare-Meriamon; "Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III; charging into the thick of the fray like one joyous. He looks upon 'millions' of them as a (mere) 'trickle'. 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'. As for the rebels who know not Egypt forever, they hear of his strength, coming with praise, trembling in their limbs at the (mere) mention of him, saluting with their hearts for terror of him. They speak of [his] appearance; they say to their people: "His form and his body are exactly equal to (those of) Baal." Powerful in a throng, without his equal, he smites millions, alone by himself. All lands are despised and insignificant before him. "He appears exactly like the sun," it is said. The travelers and messengers
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! 7 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, 8 the avenger, eldest son of Atum, sole lord, 4 while he is gaily colored, 10b wearing the white crown, wearing the ‘double crown’, 8 beautiful of countenance when wearing the two plumes like Tatenen.

His love and his beauty are like the majesty of Re, when he appears 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 44 take their 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; 5 the beloved one as king, like Shu, the son of Re. 10b When he appears, it is rejoicing for him as (for) the sun; potent, valiant [in] regulating the lands and the valley.

As f3i tp is used in a hostile sense (Wb. I 573), we need a prohibition. Although fm 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).

5a Or “Come all!” See Wb. II 35. The absence of the suffix after gr 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, N.A. § 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 nsw for n (see Pl. 14, n. 22a).

9a Reading tentatively ti sw ncc. For lxx as an abbreviation of ncc cf. Pap. Harris xiii a 2 with lxx a 4. ncc 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 fms, “ruddy”; cf. Pyr. § 702 b with § 911 a; see also Brugsch, Thesaurus I 139, col. 13; RT XXXII (1910) 80.

One expects the red crown here, but the traces on the wall suggest rather the double crown.

Four goddesses are named: Nekhbet and Buto, Smc.s and Mhw.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.

Arbitrarily we retain the old designations “crook” and “flail.”


10b Reading kn [hr] &bn tnw [Kmt]. The Kmt, if present, was strangely crowded. Instead of hr it is possible to restore [m] kn, “as regulator of.”

The reading ḫ3nāw tnh nsw ḫ3n nsw [6 nsw] fills the lacuna nicely. Cf. Pl. 27:22 and 30. ḫ3n-lb 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 ḫ3n, as it occurs in the root meaning of the word. On mḥy as an epithet of Thoth see Boylan, op. cit. p. 187.
pass 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;

Son of Re: Ramses III; rich in monuments, abounding in monuments, great of wonders, making the temples festive with ['food'] and provisions; the son of Re in truth, who issued from his body, whom the eldest, the father 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 Egypt at his time, so that they sit under the shadow of his mighty arms;

causing the lands to say: "Thy fame — — strong — laid upon our land.'

The King himself, he says: "Hearken to me, the entire land gathered together: the Court, the royal sons, the chamberlains [of] the palace, all the inhabitants of Egypt, the (military) classes, and every youth who is in this land! Give your attention to my utterances, that you may know my way of sustaining you, that 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 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 and 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, while they bore woes because..."
of the Nine Bows; but I encompassed it about and established it with my valiant arm. I appeared like Re as King in Egypt; I protected her, driving out for her the Nine Bows.

As for the foreign countries, they made a conspiracy in their isles. Removed and scattered in the fray were the lands at one time. No land could stand before their arms, from Hatti, Kode, Carchemish, Yereth, and Yeres on (but they were) cut off at one time. A camp was set up in one place in Amor. They desolated its people, and its land was like that which has never come into being.

Their confederacy was the Peleset, Theker, Shekelesh, Denye(n), and Weshesh, lands united. They laid their hands upon the lands to the (very) circuit of the earth, their hearts confident and trusting: 'Our plans will succeed!'
“Now the heart of this god, the Lord of the Gods, 19 was 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 20 and the Mariannu. 20a I caused the Nile mouth to be prepared like a strong wall with warships, galleys, and coasters, 20b equipped, 20c for they were manned completely from bow to stern with valiant warriors, with their weapons; the militia 20d 21 consisting of every picked man of Egypt, were like lions roar-

19a Following l. 35 below. But ṣḥrw. i ḫmr ḫpr may here be dependent on di.ḥ.
19b Obscure traces which look like the shoulder of the ‘qy-ḥm arm above and a stroke below. mš, “army,” would be too crowded. May we cf. the obscure Pl. 27:23?
19c The round sign in ṣḥr mw is not the nw-jr 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 gṛḥ, 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 tributeary sheikhs) and mrw-lw(y)t (commanders of the garrison troops) occurs in Kadesh Record, Ramesseum, II. 13–14, where both are responsible officers of the Egyptian frontier. In l. 17 a var. of mrw-lw(y)t is mrw-ḥḥwt, “governors of foreign countries.” The mrw-dw(y)t 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 tw(y)t see Sethe in ZAS XLVII (1910) 78; F. Graf Calice in ZAS LII (1915) 116–18 (a reference which we owe to Spiegelberg); Brugel, Wörterbuch VI (1881) 504 ff. On the present writing of the word see Erman in ZAS XLVI (1909–10) 102.
20b The dets. of these three classes of boats have been carefully studied and drawn. Our translations are somewhat arbitrary.
ṣḥw 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 ḫḥ might be commandeered to serve as a warship (Urk. IV 8:9; fiankh Stela, passim). The phrase ḫḥw ḫḥw, “fighting ships,” occurs in a stela of Ramesses II (Petrie, Tunis II 78, l. 15).
mḥš is a ship used for cargo (e.g. Pap. Harris xlvii 6) or as a warship (ibid. lvii 6) or on the sea (ibid. xlvii 6). The dets. used in Kadesh Poem, Karnak I, l. 25 and variants, are instructive, showing that it is usually a cargo boat. See Kuentz, Bataille de Qadech, for detailed drawings of these.
ḥmr (pl. ḫmr or ḫmr) is the Greek ḫmr (Herodotus II 96). It was used for travel (e.g. Wenamon, passim) or for cargo (Pap. Anastasi I xxi 2; Pap. Harris lxvii 8–10) on the sea and on the Nile (Pap. Harris lvii 8 and lxvii 8–10; Pap. Anastasi I xxi 2; Pap. Anastasi IV iii 6 and vi 11; Wenamon i 19; etc.).
20c ṣḥrw only here. Cf. perhaps ṣḥrw, “prepare,” esp. with weapons. The confusion of ḫ and ḫ would be unusual but not unparalleled. Cf. Bürchardt II, Nos. 926 (= 1019) and 984.
20d The mnḫ(fr) 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 mnḫ(fr) stands between mš, “infantry,” and nṯ-hḥr “chariotry.” In Marriage Stela A 39–40 mnḫ(fr) seems to be in contrast to thḥ (“mercenaries”? Cf. Pl. 28, n. 52b). The rendering “militia” is tentative.
ing upon the mountain tops. The chariotry consisted of runners, of 'picked men' of every good and capable chariot-warrior. Their horses were quivering in every part of their bodies, ready to crush the countries under their hoofs. I was the valiant Montu, standing fast at their head, so that they might gaze upon the capturings of my two hands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Useramre-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

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

"As for those who reached my frontier, their seed is not, their heart and their soul are finished forever and ever. As for those who came forward together on the sea, the full flame while a stockade of lances surrounded them on the shore, (so that they were) dragged (ashore), hemmed in, prostrated on the

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21See Pl. 27, n. 25a. Note that ḫr has pl. strokes, although m3i does not.

22τƗ-îkm 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 sunk is thought to be the second man in the chariot, the man beside the kfn, "chariot-driver," but the word may denote chariot-warriors in general (cf. Pl. 27, n. 25c).

23m3u ḫr 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.

24The article n3, an abbreviation which occurs in Kadesh Record, Luxor 2, l. 16.

25hr n r3-ẖ3wet seems corrupt. There are several possible emendations (e.g. ḫo, 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.

26in3h with dative of disadvantage, as in Pls. 82:15-16, 83:43. The only other occurrence of the word sunk seems to be in Pl. 116:1, where the King is hunting wild asses, presumably in a corral.

On the nature of the n3w-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 ostracan No. 916, l. 11) and "the Hittite lance" (Pap. Koller i 6). Anubis sharpens his n3w and holds it as he hides behind the door to attack his brother Bata (Pap. d'Orbény 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, n3w-swords, all the equipment of the bodyguard."

The reliefs accompanying this text show the n3w as javelins or light lances.

27As it stands the word looks like mr, "ditch, canal," but mryt (ḥ3w), "shore, quay," is written much like this in Late Egyptian (e.g. Wenamon i 13 and 22).

28The ḫr, with a superfluous r. The ḫ denotes gsw, "be narrow," is represented in hieratic by ḫ, which easily becomes confused with hieratic ḫ. For ḫw with ḫw cf. Gardiner, Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, p. 56; Nauri Stela, l. 23. Instances of ḫw with ḫ 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. 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 they are burned up. Since I have sat upon the throne of Harakhte and the Great Enchantress 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. I have taken away their land, their frontiers being added to mine. Their chiefs and their tribespeople are mine with praise for I am upon the ways of the plans of the All-Lord, 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 in Egypt, to strengthen her, to repel for her the plains and hill-countries. They assigned to me the kingship, while my times overflow [with food and provisions]. There is given to me a strong arm because of my benefactions to the gods and goddesses with a willing heart. I dispel your woes which are in your hearts, and I make you sit confident without relapse. I overthrow the Asiatics! They are ill as they recall their daily: King of

the det. with that in l. 79. The instance from Marriage Stela (gh3t, "ravine") and the Leningrad instance (gh3t, "bundle") suggest that the word is from the root gh3 (gh3t, "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 frr and db3 (old gd3), both meaning "block up" (Pl. 82:28 and 31).

Another possibility is that gh3t is connected with the verb gh3 ("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 . . . ."

24◊ Or "into heaps, heels over head"; cf. Pl. 19, n. 13c.
25◊ Literally "the Great of Magic," here the uraeus serpent.
26◊ 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.
27◊ See Erman, NA 2 § 79.
28◊ Or "slave gangs"? Cf. Pl. 28, n. 40a.
29◊ 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.
30◊ Or "in the ways and the plans of the All-Lord." Note the incorrect det. of nb-r-dz.
31◊ The verb nh3 (= var. snh3 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, Abydos I (Paris, 1869) Pl. 25; and Pap. Harris xi 2.
32◊ About 4 squares lost, which ız H [ ]] would fill. Probable traces of the end of the word gh3t are visible.
33◊ A noteworthy writing of the fem. pl. Cf. Lefebvre, Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres . . . . , No. 4:2.
34◊ The second radical is lost on the wall. The det. rules out hr, while hd is excluded by the context. We read hnh. This is the Late Egyptian writing of the old perfective 2d pl. See Erman, NA 2 § 334.
35◊ Or 4 squares lost.
I have covered Egypt, I have sheltered it with my valiant arm, since I began to rule as King of Upper and Lower Egypt upon the throne of Atum. No land has stood firm at the sound of my name, but they leave their settlements, moving away from their place before them. I am a bull, charging, relying upon his horns. My hand becomes equal to my heart, after my strength.

My heart says to me: I act like Re; I like Set raging in the prow of the sun bark. I bring to you rejoicing, while weeping is in the countries and trembling in every land. As for the foreign countries, destruction to their towns, devastated at one time; their trees and all their people are become ashes. They take counsel with their foreign god, [the Lord of the Gods], Amon-Re, the valiant one, the lord of the sword, for I know that his strength is greater than (that of the other) gods. Life, fate, and years are in [his hand].

Unintelligible traces after ir.

About 10 squares lost between "my office." About 12 squares lost. At the end of the lacuna is a horizontal sign with a trace of blue or green color which we cannot identify.

Taking irr.i as imperfective relative ending a previous sentence (Sethe, Verbum II § 771).

Restoring tentatively dft.f or some similar word. Life and destiny are in the power of Amon. The construction would be that of Sethe, Der Nominalsatz im Ägyptischen und Koptischen (AGWL XXXIII, No. 3 [1916]) § 47. Another possible translation would be "life, fate, and years are in [his hand]."

About 12 squares lost, including the restoration proposed.

About 10 squares lost.

The tick on ==, with rmf in the status pronominalis, occurs also in Pl. 79:9.

A reversed 3 used instead of the correct 3.
their hearts: 'Whither shall we (go)'? [Their chiefs] come — — — — —, [their tribute and their children upon] their backs, to Egypt.

"I am powerful and valiant, and my plans succeed. There cannot fail that which I have done. My character is excellent in that I have clung to this god, the father of the gods; — — — — — — — my [(father)]... I am not unmindful of his shrine, and my desire grows strong to double the food offering in addition to what it was previously. My heart bears truth daily; my abhorrence is deceitfulness. — — — which the gods make, who are satisfied with it. Their hands are a shield for me, for my breast, to drive away the evils and ills 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.

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285The w of tw. n may have been corrected out of a previous 3-bird. On the idiom see Pl. 28, n. 56a.

286The 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 wr, "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 htm, "in humility," might fill the rest of the lacuna.

287*m htm m is more common at Medinet Habu; but cf. Pl. 26:13.

288About 8 squares lost, including a probable [11] at the top; we recognize Λ from the angle of the arm.

289Reading [111].

290hm r; cf. Blackman and Peet in JEA XI (1925) 287, n. 10.

291Note the use of hr with infinitive. twr is used verbally in Pap. Anastasi I xxvii 4; Pap. Anastasi III iii 12 and iv 3; Lefebvre, Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres . . . ., Nos. 3:9, 16:9, 42:15.

292拜t, 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.

293The det. of but 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.

294About 3 squares lost.

295s for s (probably referring back to m34); cf. Pl. 28:73.

296Restored after Pl. 44:17.

* Those 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 Throne 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

The King, beautiful at horsemanship like Montu, whenever he appears like Re for Egypt; the strong one,\(^1\) the possessor of a strong arm, repulsing the Nine Bows, for awe, dread, and fear are united\(^2\) in his body.\(^3\) When he is seen storming like unto Baal, \(^4\) the lands burn up in their land for terror of him.\(^5\) The valiant bull, strong of arm, relying upon his horns, \(^6\) attacking the (very) mountains in pursuit of the one who assailed him;\(^7\) the terrible warrior,\(^8\) conscious of his strength, \(^9\) great of valiant arms, spanning the bow and sending the arrow to its place without fail.\(^10\) His battle cry and his victory circulate in this land, while the Asiatics are with \([\text{down}]\text{east head}\)\(^{11}\) under his glory every day, led up, coming in humility, united all together, their arms outstretched in praise, \(^{12}\) bearing their tribute. It is the strength of thy father, \(^{13}\) the Lord of the Gods, Amon, that set me\(^{14}\) upon his throne forever.

SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE RIGHT

The 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.

\(^1\)\textit{phty} adjectivally. The wall suggests that the lost sign was the two slanting strokes rather than \(t\).

\(^2\)Read \(\textit{sm3}\). The hieroglyph shows yellow on the body and upper edge, which is correct in Medinet Habu. Note the curious writing of \(\textit{sndt}\).

\(^3\)See Pl. 27, notes 32b–c.

\(^4\)In the \(\textit{sh}\) sign the red hand gripping a green strap is painted across a black shield; the weapon is green. The handle of the \(\textit{shm}\) sign was painted only, not carved.

\(^5\)Read \(\textit{wh.n.f.}\).

\(^6\)Form and color show the sign after \(m\) to be \(\textit{sr}\). The state of the wall to the right of this makes \(p\) improbable. Tentatively we read \(m \textit{tp hry}\).

\(^7\)Note the change of pronouns from 3rd 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, \textit{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

1 The good god, [great of] victory, lord of strength, carrying off every land, encircling all the lands of the Meshwesh to seek the transgressor of his frontier, entering into a throng and slaying hundred-thousands. There is none who can stand before him; for he is like Baal at the time of his raging, like a falcon among little birds and small fowl;" powerful at horsemanship, taking captives on his two feet," he has laid hold upon the chiefs with his two hands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

OVER THE CAPTIVES

7 Foreigners whom his majesty carried off as captives: 2,052; those slain in their places: 2,175."

ABOVE THE CHARIOTEERS

10 Charioteers and [shield-bearers] of his majesty who are in the retinue of the good god.

BEHIND THE VULTURE

Nekhbet, Mistress of Heaven; she gives all valor and all victory; she sets all the plains and all the hill-countries together under his soles.

OVER THE SPAN

17 The great first span of his majesty, "Beloved of Amon," of the great stable of Usermare-Meriamon.

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1 In the correct location there is a possible trace of the head of the ur-bird.
2 This form of the pbr sign may involve recutting.
3 The final t in ttkt is probably to be ignored.
4 The word tb originally ended with two slanting strokes. One of these was later deleted with plaster.
5 A t may be lost in the break under the lizard.
6 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.
7 Apparently the same as of Zettel 386 (Karnak) and sfn, "little birds," of Mariette, Monuments divers (Paris, 1889) Pl. 14:5.
8 I.e., powerful in his chariot, also powerful afoot, as shown in the scene.
9 The r under the ur-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.
10 A trace of blue from the initial k of kfr is visible on the wall.
11 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.
PLATE 70. RAMSES III PURSUING THE FLEEING LIBYANS*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III in his chariot charges the thoroughly demoralized Libyans. He is supported by Egyptian infantry and chariotry. From two fortresses Egyptian soldiers shoot arrows and hurl javelins at the fleeing enemy.

TEXTS

OVER THE FORTRESSES†

1The slaughter* which his majesty made among the foe of] the land [of Mesh]wesh, who had come to Egypt; beginning from [the tow]n of "Ramses III," which is upon the [mount]ain of Up-ta, [to] the town "Haut-sha," making eight iters of carnage** among them.

ON THE RIGHT FORTRESS

1A[The tow]n of "Ramses III," [which] is upon the [mount]ain [of Up-ta].

ON THE LEFT FORTRESS

1BThe town "Haut-sha."***

BEFORE THE KING

2The King, a divine falcon, seizing upon his assailant, mighty, relying upon his strong arm, raging, great of strength, slaying the Meshwesh, who are crushed and laid low before his horses,** valiant, charging into a throng like one rejoicing, (so that they are) destroyed, butchered, and 'prostrated' in their places; 'relaxing' the arms, sending the arrow 'where he [desires]';*** his arms cannot fail upon the violator of his frontier. The young

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1* Possible traces of the det. Pl. 72 begins with . We read .

1bOn 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."

1fThe second w- of w-wc is lost in the break behind the first.

1a*Restoring . The traces fit this restoration well except for the word , which is possible.

1bThis 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.

2*The back of the bird at the end of I. 2 is visible.

4*The state of the wall makes it probable that e is lost under the horse rather than pl. strokes.

4*High ground near the toe of the b makes impossible. , with the d near the top of the group, and are possibilities.

7*mdn, with the ear det. Here transitive? Or "the arms come to rest after sending the arrow"?

7*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. Wressinski, 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.
PLATE 72  HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III

lion;\(^\text{a}\) hero, repelling the Nine Bows;\(^\text{b}\) one fears and is afraid at his 'roaring';\(^\text{c}\) the sole lord, protecting Egypt; \(^\text{d}\) devastating him who attacks him;\(^\text{e}\) hindering the going of 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**

1. The *sl*laughter which his majesty made among the foe of the land of Meshwesh, who had come 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 among them.

**BESIDE THE MESHWESH CHIEF**

2. The chief Meshesher,\(^\text{a}\) son of Keper, of Me—.

**OVER THE SPAN**


**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.

---

\(^\text{a}\) The lion has been systematically hacked out, but the course of its body is clear.

\(^\text{b}\) Dr. Pdt 9 was first carved without the strong arm. The bow was then moved down to make room for it.

\(^\text{c}\) Nbd is used of a griffon in Pl. 82:20. Probably the same word occurs on Cairo Statue 42155, l. 3 (cf. REA 1 [1927] 139), where we may read "I did not bellow out my order in his presence" or emend wfd to mdw and read "I did not raise my voice in his presence."

\(^\text{d}\) Kkk sw.

\(^\text{e}\) With diffidence we propose to restore $\text{hnh}$, "hold back," causative of $\text{hnh}$a. The second sign is probably $\text{h}$ rather than $\text{ngm}$; the final det. is probably the walking legs. The chief difficulty lies in the odd grouping of signs which this restoration would demand.

\(^\text{f}\) Kk recut to w$\text{w}$.

\(^\text{g}\) The first $\text{d}$ sign is inexplicably filled with plaster. This looks like a correction. Cf. Pl. 75:29, where the name is written with only one $\text{d}$. But our case shows no traces of any element to take the place of the $\text{d}$.

\(^\text{h}\) Is this the later abbreviation of Meshwesh, with $\text{gd}$ in a third line beside the chief's body? It looks rather like an unfinished inscription.


\(^\text{j}\) See Pl. 70, notes \(^\text{i}\) and \(^\text{a}\)-\(^\text{b}\).
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-running4 lion, mighty bull, seizing upon [his] assailant, [returning1] valor when his conquest is achieved, for he has cast down the hearts of the Meshwesh, and their heroes are slain in [his] grasp or are pinned before his horses. The oppressive dread of him imbues their bodies; the fear of him enters into their limbs. 6Amon-Re is with him against them to cast them down, prostrate to his prowess; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; may he make "given-life"!7

ABOVE THE CAPTIVES
8Words spoken by the chiefs of all countries, who are in [the grasp of his majesty]:

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
11The King himself says to the Crown Prince;14 Royal Scribe, Chief Commander of the Army, and Royal Son:1b 2"Say to the fallen one of Meshwesh: 'Behold thy name is desolated forever and ever. Thy mouth ceases to boast at 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.' "

---

14Our 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.
1bReading th [→ ∆] hr; cf. Pl. 79:12-13. If [→ ∆] is used after th, there can be no tw. Note the unusual division of hr here and of sn between II. 5 and 6.
24Note the t after sb. Cf. Pl. 78, notes 10a-b, and Pl. 82, n. 29b. There is no trace of alteration here.
74After Gard. § 378.
84Restoring hr to hr.f.
94Just under the hypothetical hr.f there are two obscure traces, apparently neither lml, "give!" nor šn, "breath." At the end of the line is either šb or k; above this is a horizontal sign with traces of red paint (cōpis, horizontal s, or book roll, but not the land sign). At least one more line of inscription has been lost following this.
15Space was left below for the insertion of the prince's name, if desired.

---

† 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. 62; OIP XXXV, Pl. 116).
"Behold, Pharaoh, L.P.H., has desolated [thy] name unto eternity. Thy mouth ceases to boast at the memory of Egypt."

Horus, abundant in valor, rich in victory, great protector of Egypt, repelling the Bowsl, 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.

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.

Spoken by his majesty to the Crown Prince and the two viziers: "See ye the many 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] into my hand, together with his infantry and his chariotry, his goods and his herds. They were captured and brought to Egypt, (where) I slew them in the completion [of an instant]. Behold, Pharaoh, L.P.H., has made them into booty in his own writing."

Words spoken by the Crown Prince and the two viziers, who are in the presence of his majesty, in praise of this good god, the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon:

The Prince is here taking the liberty of using r, whereas his father used m in l. 4 (as also the Karnak parallel).

The present pl. strokes in k are cut over an earlier ». The of nhw is a later insertion.

Reading p3j, written with three bows. This line is paralleled by Pls. 88:16, 93:18.

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.

The first radical of "Meshwesh" was never carved.

The writing p-nfr for pn is an interesting comment on the pronunciation of the liaison pn-nfr. Cf. the writing p-nfr of Pl. 79:16.

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. Ostracon 5620 (*Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character from the Collections of the British Museum* [London, 1868] Pl. 1 = Jean Capart, *Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien* I [Paris, 1927] Pl. 71 = *OIP* XXXV, Pl. 122 F-G). This ostracon is either copied from our scene and text or has the same ancestor.
"Thou art Re, as thou risest like unto him. 
When thou appearest, mankind lives. Thy arm is powerful, overthrowing the Nine Bows. Glad is the heart of Egypt in the possession of victory. The strength of Montu imbues thy body. Thy counsels are excellent; thy plans come to achievement. Amon has found for himself a child to make firm the throne of Egypt; his [son], whom his heart loves, the ruler excellent in monuments [in] Southern [Heliopolis]. He has given thee the rule which he made, while the Great Circuit and the Great Circle are under thy soles."

Above the Scene

1. Total of hands: 2,175.

2. The plunder which the mighty sword of Pharaoh, L.P.H., carried off from the fallen ones of Meshwesh:

```plaintext
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chief of the Meshwesh</td>
<td>191 man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great ones of the enemy</td>
<td>5 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meshwesh</td>
<td>1,100 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youths</td>
<td>2,1152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their wives</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maidens</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total which the mighty sword of Pharaoh, L.P.H., carried off as captives:

```plaintext
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Various individuals</td>
<td>2,052</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

---

1. [sr t], after Pl. 96:19. The Mut temple parallel shows traces confirming this.
2. [ntk s], after Br. Mus. Ostracon 5620, l. 9.
3. [m rwmj Šmn] (Hermonthis), after the ostracon.
4. (Sn) w (Okeanos), after the ostracon. Note the curious writing of phr below.
5. 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.).
6. In l. 29 Mesher is designated as the wr.
7. In l. 40 Keper, the father of Mesher, is designated as an cf. Perhaps “elder”? 
8. The spacing suggests 2 additional strokes, to make a total of 5.
9. Here is needed some further high title, crowded into a quarter-square and determined with a stroke and a bowing foreigner. Possibly fs or hry?
10. The spacing suggests another 100, to make a total of 1,200.
11. 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 s, “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.
12. The vertical s was never completely carved.
13. 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 in their places: 2,175 men. Their goods, their herds, swords of 4 cubits: 116; swords of 3 cubits: 123; bows: 603; chariots: 92; quivers: 2,310; ‘chariot-poles’ 92; spans of the Meshwesh (and asses) 184.

BEFORE THE LIBYAN CHIEF

The Chief of the Meshwesh, Mesher, son of Keper.

BEFORE AN EGYPTIAN

Amon is the god who decreed the protection to the ruler who carries off every [land].

BEFORE AN EGYPTIAN

The protection to the ruler


This number checks with the count of hands and phalli (ll. 15, 32) and with the slain as given in Pl. 68:9.

Traces of a word which probably begins the enumeration of the captured goods (kt, “drinking vessel”?). A long lacuna follows.

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.

Originally 5; then the right stroke (represented in our plate by light shading) was plastered out.

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.

So, and not 93. The number 92 checks with numbers in l. 28 (see notes 28c and 28f) and l. 37 (n. 37n).

It is possible that the word “quivers” begins l. 28 and that there is no lacuna. We see no traces to the left of ipt. 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).

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.

We disregard the first ← and read the word as ē, 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.

The sculptor inadvertently cut nw for w3.

The number of hbr (184) checks with that of the chariots (92) and with the total given in l. 37. The hbr 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.

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 א, which may be this number. Its location is uncertain.

Written with only one š.

See Pl. 23, n. 2a.

The same formula as that in l. 30.
32Total of phalli: 2,175.23a 33Animals which the mighty sword 34of Pharaoh, L.P.H., carried off [from] the fallen ones of Meshwesh, 35which were made into the herds36 which his majesty established 36anew [for] his father Amon-Re, King of the Gods:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bulls</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>longhorns</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bullocks</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yearlings</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calves</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cows</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heifers</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yearlings (female)</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calves (female)</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of cattle</td>
<td>1,303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of the cattle</td>
<td>[28,337]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[goats]</td>
<td>2,316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheep</td>
<td>23,128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

32This number checks with the total of the slain (l. 27).
33On these herds see Pap. Harris x 7–11 and Gardiner in JEA V (1918) 257 f.
34The final t is obviously to be ignored here and in the first bḥṣ.
35The spacing demands the number 75.
36There 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal (male)</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k3 and ng3...ḥmt (the mature animals)</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrs...ḥrṣ</td>
<td>bḥṣ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ḥr-ṣ3 is mentioned in Pyr. § 1544 and Pap. Harris xx a 7. The pun in the Pyramid Texts citation might be interpreted as showing that ḥr-ṣ 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 males, the ḥr-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: (n)g3, ḥr-s3, dt. Newberry's "two-year-olds" for ḥr-ṣ 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 153 female yearlings; there are exactly 100 more female calves than male. We do not know the significance of these figures.

37The spacing demands the number 152.
38The correct total, after the two necessary restorations are made. See n. 37k below.
39Probably 464; 364 is also possible.
39The end of l. 37 shows "ḥṣ, "goat," between 3, "ass," and sḥwt, "sheep." The same is probably true here. The base of the "ḥṣ sign is visible. The next sign slopes and bears red color; it looks like the phalus, but it may be the leaping goat.
40The 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.
41Old er, Coptic Eccooy, spelled ṣṭ as early as Pyr. § 252. The total of sheep is corroborated by the Mut temple parallel, after one changes four units to two tens: [1 1 1 1 1 1] 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1.
Total of the animals which were brought with them:

- Cattle: 3,609
- Horses: 184
- Asses: 864
- Goats: 9,136
- Sheep: 5,700
- Total: 28,928

Total of the animals which the mighty sword of Pharaoh [L.P.H.] carried off:

- Cattle: 3,609
- Horses: 184
- Asses: 864
- Goats: 9,136
- Sheep: 5,700
- Total: 28,928

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.
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

1 Live the good god, abundant in valor, possessor of a strong arm, relying upon his own strength, scornful of a million, contemptuous of a great many, weighty of courage, charging into hundred-thousands; returning with joy in victory, when his success is achieved among the Nine Bows. 7 The transgressor of his boundary is slain before him as the plunder of his hand alone for his august father Amon-Re, him who put every land under his feet for him; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the hero, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Dia[dems]: Ramses III.

BY THE PRIESTS

15 Words spoken by the prophets ————: "[Welcome in peace, thou] good god, for thou hast slain the Tehenu! May thy father Amon receive thee; may he reward thee with valor and victory; may he give thee the kingship of Re forever and the jubilees of Tatenen. Thou art his son, for thou camest forth from him. He assigned the Two Lands to thee, and he gave thee every [land] in thy grasp, like thy father Montu, O Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon!"

OVER THE UPPER REGISTER OF CAPTIVES

21 Words spoken by the leaders of the land of Meshwesh, who are pinioned before his majesty: "Great is thy strength, mighty king, sun of Egypt! Thou art like unto thy august father Amon, the Lord of the Gods. Mayest thou give to us the breath which thou givest, which is in the grasp of thy majesty, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon, given life!"

OVER THE LOWER REGISTER OF CAPTIVES

31 Words spoken by the fallen ones 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 hi.ti m ḫp, 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.

16b instead of ], with no traces of correction.

16e The strong arm was previously lower, with perhaps omitted. Then the arm was moved up and inserted where the earlier arm had been.

16s Misspelled and broken, but obviously Tatenen.

20s The mn sign seems to have been altered from a previous sky sign.

21s 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, accomplished! Thou hast established the frontier as thou desirwest, for the things which thou hast promised came to pass immediately. What issues from my mouth is perfected, and my hand is with thee to repel the Nine Bows. I slay for thee him who injures thee. I give thee terribleness against the countries. There bow to thee the Two Lands. The food of the land of Zahi and the provisions of Egypt are united for thy kingship."

BEFORE MUT

7 Words spoken by Mut, Mistress of Heaven, Lady of the Two Lands: "I give thee all plains and all hill-countries gathered under thy soles. I give thee all life, duration, and satisfaction."

BEFORE THE KING

9 Words 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! I went forth, my plans perfected, for I had thee as one strong of arm, and the awe of thee imbued my body, so that no land could stand fast before me. As for the Meshweshite, I overthrew his power, I annihilated his soul forever, through the strength of thy hand, slaying them. (Thus) the things which thou hast promised are come to pass."

[Notes and references follow the text]
Words spoken by the fallen ones of Meshwesh, who are in the grasp of his majesty:

"Great is thy strength, mighty king, who art like unto Re! Thy arm has slain us forever. We are under the might of thy name. Give to us the breath, for it is thine, and no one can live without thee!"

The King, stretching wide the arms, achieving with his hands, conscious of his strength, for he is like Montu, 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

Horus: the strong bull, terrible of force, mighty of arm, 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.

Live the good god, the son of Amon, the hero valiant like Montu residing in Thebes, the great ruler of boasting in his name, beautiful at horsemanship, potent in the fray, horned in a multitude, mighty when charging among them like one rejoicing of heart; the terrible

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13Between  bs n and mn.k there was formerly a horizontal n, which was deleted with plaster.
14See Gardiner in ZAS L (1912) 114 ff. Another instance of this construction in Pl. 99:23.
15The 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 rb would be abnormal; phty is commonly treated as fem. at Medinet Habu; and rb phty.f is a crystallized phrase, a unit in itself.
16Originally; then the right stroke was plastered out and the left stroke cut into.
17Line 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.
18For the construction cf. Gard. § 305, esp. his last example. It may be paraphrased: “the great ruler, whose fame deserves boasting.” The det. of mn was anciently corrected out of to its present form.

one, conquering his enemies; charging and seizing upon his assailant, fierce of face against the assailant of 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 his heat in a flame against their bodies, like Sekhmet when she rages, in order to extend the frontiers of Egypt by the great victories of his arm; despising a million in contempt; firm of heart, charging into hundred-thousands; the strong young bull in the fray like Baal when he storms; the valiant warrior, achieving with his hands; shrewd like Shu, the son of Re; rich in victories in the plains and hill-countries, setting terror in the heart of the Meshwesh, so that their people and their heirs are non-existent upon earth, and destroyed are their nostrils unto eternity. As for the western countries, their soul is flown away; they pronounce thy name 'to cause terror': King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon, the mighty 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 pinioned before his horses, and his son, his wife, and his tribe slain, their children and their goods upon their backs; returning when he has triumphed, bringing his (tokens of) valor like a sharp-horned bull when his conquest is effected, as

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4[|]| was corrected to | | .
4See Pl. 28, n. 55a.
4| was carved; then one vertical stroke was deleted with plaster.
7bBelow the 3 sign in sḥr there is space for the book roll.
7Note the erroneous det. of rḥnī.
8Duemichen has here a reversed , but this text orients the sign correctly elsewhere. Nothing is now visible of it.
9On 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.
10The broken sign is probably rather than t.
10So also Pl. 37:16.
10Did 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 nṛw, “because of terror,” the two n’s blending from *ennerew to *enerew (Erman in ZAS LVI [1920] 61 ff.), which was then mis-interpreted as r nṛw. Cf. Pl. 107, n. 5c.
11The text originally read mñw ṣḥn lḥš ḫr ṣḥd ṣḥn, “their children and <their> goods upon their backs.” The ḫ was then plastered out and a lightly cut ṣḥ carved in its place, as our drawing shows. Thus Late Egyptian considered the possessive suffix of more importance to the sentence than the preposition ḫ.
11See PIs. 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 " ; Pap. Sallier II ii 6: "There is nothing like it, the instance of doing ḫ ṣḥd ṣḥn; possibly also ibid. ii 2 and Urk. IV 9:16.
12The det. of ṣḥd has been recut.
that which his father Amon has given him: the lands annihilated under 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 breath to Egypt, so that they sit under the shadow of his mighty arms; beautiful when appearing on the throne of Atum; he seems like Re at dawn, rich in strength, a wall for this land. There is rejoicing and there is exulting in his victories.

Now as for this good god, the august, divine youth, who came forth from Re, beautiful as a child like the son of Isis; the 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; strong of arms, stretching the bow, he looks upon millions before him as a (mere) trickle; charging into a throng, repelling his assailants, (so that they are) made prostrate on his right and his left hand; casting down the Temeh, desolating the Meshwesh, making 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, given life like Re forever.
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 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 Ixxvi 11—Ixxvii 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).
  PIs. 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-XXXV) 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. 122). In other words, this parallel shows our Pl. 80 on the same wall as our Pl. 75, and it is evident that our PIs. 81-83 belong to the same group.
TEXT

1 Year 11, fourth month of the third season, day 10+x, 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, which the mighty King set on record, he who receives the throne of jubilation, exercises the sovereignty of Re, enlarges Egypt, and repels the Nine Bows.

Terror is set in every land by the sole lord, who made heaven and earth, the king since earth first came into being: 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 the frontier of Egypt through great victories. He chose a lord, one whom he had created, the seed which issued from his body, a divine youth, a noble lad, great of strength, mighty of arm, the effective plan-maker, lord of counsels, firm of heart, keen of plans, who knows life like Thoth, shrewd like Shu the son of Re, Usermare-Meriamon, the egg which issued (from) Re: Ramses III; the youthful lord, heroic, to whom was promised victory in the womb and great and exalted strength like Montu. It was laid upon him to crush the lands, to overthrow them, to repulse them for Egypt. Montu and Set are with him in every fray; Anath and Astarte are a shield for him, while Amon distinguishes his speech. He

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1 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.

2 See Pl. 27, n. 4a.

3 Contrary to de Rougé and Duemichen, we believe that the word originally had three pl. strokes.

4 Other renderings are grammatically possible. This seems to us logical: the preceding phrases referring to the King, the succeeding phrases to the god.

5 That the trace under the arm of δ is the book roll is shown by the fragmentary text paralleling this in the Ramses III temple near the temple of Mut at Karnak.

6 With the m of equivalence.

7 The strong arm was recut from an earlier qayin.

8 See Vogelsang, Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern, p. 152.

9 The p was recut from an earlier h, and the d may well have undergone some change.

10 Cf. Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, pp. 182 and 185. The two signs s R were cut down in size by plaster.

11“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, “Rames, 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.

12 Preposition m omitted; cf. Erman in ZAS XXXIV (1896) 154 f. This is a way of saying “son of Re.”

13 It is probable that no r was carved in this word.

14 The final t of ptp, now lost, was recorded by Duemichen.

15 Both form and color show the bird to be 3, but the word is wcf. The phrase wcf-r 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 wcf-r 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

13 lift themselves up (in rivalry) 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 is ready like a ‘pitfall’. They ‘move away’ and they come, trembling in their bodies, to lay themselves under his arms like mice; 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, was coming, having ‘moved away’ all together, his land with him, having fallen upon the Tehenu, who were made ashes. Devastated and desolated were their towns; non-existent was their seed.

It is the goodly behest of this god to slay every invader of Egypt forever. ‘Woe!’ says he, for he is (moving) ahead toward the fire! “We will dwell in Egypt!” they said

13a Continued on the same wall on the other side of the doorway (Pl. 82); see p. 74, n. t. Sethe, copying 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] Int.w, as here. sp may be taken as verbal; cf. bw sp w’ im.sn of Pl. 86:38: “Not one of them was left.”

13b 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 starting a wrestling bout (cf. Pl. 111:12).

13c A vertical stroke between the word w and the word ‘not was anciently plastered up.

13d For lack of a better identification we suppose that m3th is a metathesized derivative from אדוותב (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.

13e See Pl. 16, n. 1a.

13f nwt 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).

13g 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, with reflexive pronoun, “lie down,” cf. Pap. Chester Beatty I iii 11.

13h The negative sign is faint but certain. Our translation assumes that the construction is passive n sgmf. 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.

13i 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 lxvi 11—lxxvii 6 and note that the Rebu also marched ruthlessly through the peaceable Tehenu in the time of Merneptah (BAR III § 579).

13k m = in.

13l The sign is probably r, but tnt remains possible.

13m Or “Woe to him”? The 3-bird of t3 is certain, although minute traces of plaster suggest that it might have been changed to the m-owl.

13n se n-hr.f (cf. Pls. 86:26, 42:4).
with one accord, and they kept penetrating the frontiers of Egypt. There surrounded them with death upon their way. Smitten were their evil plans in their [bodies]. Their threats were repelled by the of the god. They look to the heavens, to stretch out with their hands before it. They had spent a long time behind them, but only a moment was before them. (Then) they entered upon the evil period, for they found his majesty like a [divine] falcon, furious when he sees small [birds]. Amon-Re was his protection, and his hand was with him to avert their faces; to destroy them; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

His majesty set out in valor, his arm strong, his heart relying upon his father, the Lord of the Gods. He was like a [mighty] bull bagging herds of wild cattle. His troops and his chariotry possessed victory. The mighty men [whom he had]

16f For lack of a better identification we propose tentatively.
16d Perhaps something like: "There is no rest before him" (n-hrj.

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 cf. Amenemopet v 16 and xvii 2; Pap. Sallier I ix = Pap. Anastasi IV xi 9; Pap. Chester Beatty I verso C iii 4, and also the more technical , "exorcise," in Pap. Lee i 5; Pap. Rollin, l. 1.

16b The det. of is incorrectly carved but correctly colored blue.
16c For lack of a better identification we propose tentatively.
16b Clearly carved but probably to be read 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?
16a The parallelism of and 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.
16d 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.
trained\textsuperscript{19} [to] fight \textsuperscript{18} [did] valiantly\textsuperscript{18} while he was a strong wall, firm in \textsuperscript{19b} [their] time\textsuperscript{19b}, spanning the bow.\textsuperscript{19d} King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon.

His majesty was concealed and hidden, ---, to take captives. His voice is roaring and bellowing\textsuperscript{20a} like (that of) a griffon, ---\textsuperscript{20b} against his foe.\textsuperscript{20a} He is not checked ---\textsuperscript{20a} his nose. His talon ---\textsuperscript{20f} his every --- before him against his enemy;\textsuperscript{20b} dangerous and mighty, like a jackal, running and swift of stride, going down into ---\textsuperscript{20b}-horses --- and arrow[s] ---. Their mouths cease to boast, at the memory of Egypt, for they are made into ---;\textsuperscript{22c} their soul\textsuperscript{22d} ---. His arms were against them like a 'net';\textsuperscript{23} his hand was upon their head. He tears asunder; he hems in their nostrils and their bodies.

\textsuperscript{18}Perhaps \textit{kbpr.[n.j r] q\dub}, but there may not be room enough for the n-form.

\textsuperscript{19}The strong-arm det. is regular with q\dub at Medinet Habu, so that there is not room enough for \textit{hr kn} below, to parallel the preceding sentence. Furthermore, the traces above \textit{kn} look like \textit{r} rather than \textit{f}.

\textsuperscript{19b}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.

\textsuperscript{20a}Traces of plaster in the crossbars of the apparent \textit{nfr} sign suggest that it was corrected to \textit{brw}.

\textsuperscript{20b}The det. originates in the hieratic; see Pl. 19, n. 11a. Its upper bars and the upper half of its rectangle are blue; the lower half seems to be white. On \textit{dni} cf. Urk. IV 312:11; Naville, \textit{Das aegyptische Todtenbuch}, chap. 125, \textit{Einleitung}, l. 19 and variants. There is little space after this for a word. Add \textit{[.\.\.]}. “forever”?\textsuperscript{20c}

\textsuperscript{20d}The trace below \textit{br} is green.

\textsuperscript{21}Perhaps something like: “His talon [protects] his every [region] before him against his enemy.”

\textsuperscript{21b}Unintelligible traces. The round sign above the cement is green (probably \textit{h}); just below it is a horizontal green trace.

\textsuperscript{21c}Unintelligible traces. Toward the end of the lacuna there are two rectangular signs with traces of green in them. They might be \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{21d}Almost one square below \textit{bl sn} there is one tiny spot of green.

\textsuperscript{22b}The word \textit{blt} seems to be unknown. Tentatively we cf. here the Coptic \textit{AKW: ABOY}, “net.” Such a vocalization may be compared with \textit{GRW}, “honey,” from \textit{blt}.
Meshesher, the son of Keper,\textsuperscript{23b} their [chief], joined [himself to]\textsuperscript{112e} — — — — \textsuperscript{34d} — — spread out\textsuperscript{24a} on the ground. — 'hand\textsuperscript{111} — — -, \textsuperscript{24} cast down beneath the feet\textsuperscript{24d} of his majesty. His sons, his tribespeople, and his army, 'they are come to naught'\textsuperscript{24b} His eyes have ceased to behold the surface of the sun.\textsuperscript{24c} His fighting warriors are carried off as — — — — — their ['wives']\textsuperscript{24d} and their children — ['bound on'] \textsuperscript{24} their arms and their heads as captives;\textsuperscript{24a} their goods and their children \textsuperscript{158e} 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 — — — — — —.\textsuperscript{24e}

\textsuperscript{24} There was made for them a lesson\textsuperscript{24f} for a million generations. 'They\textsuperscript{24e} were fallen (upon) their faces.\textsuperscript{24g} Their —\textsuperscript{24a} was taken away. Their ['boastings']\textsuperscript{24e} were cut short, and they did not flourish. Amon-Re set them in front of [the hero]\textsuperscript{144f} — — — —\textsuperscript{24g} powerful

\textsuperscript{23b} For M\textsuperscript{111}isher (here with two \textsuperscript{s}'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.

\textsuperscript{23c} Here the wall was built up with plaster, so that the surviving traces are difficult to deal with. Some such reading as \textsuperscript{[1]} \textsuperscript{2}\textsuperscript{y} seems possible. Although \textsuperscript{t}\textsuperscript{b} is not given with the cross det. by Wb., the idea ‘mix, unite’ might employ this det. (cf. \textsuperscript{3b} \textsuperscript{b}dm).

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{23e} pg\textsuperscript{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 bdy in l. 32 below.

\textsuperscript{23f} Blue color in the trace below the \textsuperscript{d} shows that the sign was probably \textsuperscript{t}.

\textsuperscript{24a} Sic, with pl. strokes.

\textsuperscript{24b} Something must be supplied after \textsuperscript{3k}, perhaps \textsuperscript{c}. The word ‘his’ shows that the preceding had to do with Meshesher.

\textsuperscript{24c} See Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p. 107; Stela of Set and Horus, l. 4; Short Aton Hymn (Api), ll. 2–3.

\textsuperscript{24d} Bottom of a seated figure.

\textsuperscript{24e} Cf. Pl. 24:4–5.

\textsuperscript{24f} Duemichen has \textsuperscript{1} \textsuperscript{m} \textsuperscript{1} \textsuperscript{a} ... . . . . His \textsuperscript{3} is certainly \textsuperscript{w}; his strong arm is probably the \textsuperscript{hr}-face with a stroke. Perhaps his \textsuperscript{b} was a trace of the \textsuperscript{1} of \textsuperscript{w}n.

\textsuperscript{24g} The trace below \textsuperscript{nyw} is a human head, with red face, blue hair, and one touch of red for the shoulder.

\textsuperscript{24h} Cf. l. 47 below. Or sk\textsuperscript{ygt} may be “punishment”; cf. Pap. Chester Beatty I vii 12 and x 1.

\textsuperscript{24i} The state of the wall makes Duemichen’s \textsuperscript{2} impossible.

\textsuperscript{24j} Preposition \textsuperscript{hr} omitted by haplography. Note the peculiar writing of \textsuperscript{hr}.

\textsuperscript{24k} “Heart” or “land”?

\textsuperscript{24l} c?\textsuperscript{-c?}

\textsuperscript{24m} After \textsuperscript{hr} comes \textsuperscript{n}, then a short horizontal trace at the left (not certain), then the green, round sign (\textsuperscript{b}). We may have \textsuperscript{nh} or \textsuperscript{nh\textsuperscript{-c}} here.

\textsuperscript{24n} Above the two \textsuperscript{t}'s there is a spot of blue or green. This and the spacing make mitt, “like,” impossible.
HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III

'bull', relying [upon his horns], able to bellow, attacking his assailant (with) his horns; the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III; driving out by his strength, slaying with the sword, carrying off -- - - - - - . The pupil of their eye squinted, not (being able) to see. The uraeus serpent against them, which is upon the head of the sun of Egypt. The great heat of Sekhmet mingled with their heart, so that their bones burned up in the midst of their bodies. The shooting star in pursuit of them, while the land was glad and rejoicing at the sight of his valorous deed; the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

Every survivor from his hand (fled) to their towns, as well as the Delta swamps to his rear. — was a mighty torch hurling flame from the heavens to search out their souls, to devastate their [root], which was (still) in their land. The magical charms of Thoth

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averted their faces, and tail-to-head of them was cast down in their places. 3. His hand tears the breast of the violator of his frontier. Their throats and [their] nostrils are [stopped] up, destroyed, —. He does not leave off, when [he] is enraged, from tooth and claw upon the head of the Meshwesh; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: User-mare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III. 3. Woe to the Meshwesh and the land of Temeh, for he who bound their head was the King over Egypt and every land! They bowed themselves down to him, as to Set, with their faces downcast. They were made limp. The Meshwesh and Temeh were in sorrow and helplessness. They rose up and fled to the ends of the earth. 3. Their eyes were the roads, looking behind them, effecting a flight, escaping in utter confusion, retreating. The knife was for [them] at the sight of the gods in the midst of Egypt. 3. Their 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 —, was upon them, potent. Behold,

\[\text{\textsuperscript{21}}\text{The whole clause is uncertain. The translation assumes an } m \text{ of equivalence, but it is not certain that the trace left after } \text{tp. sn} \text{ is } m.\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{22}}\text{The det. shows a gesture of mourning, the hand to the brow.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{23}}\text{The whole of the present line likens Ramses to a beast of prey.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{24}}\text{The word itself is in confusion. It may be that } \text{w} \text{ was plastered out and replaced by } \text{=} \text{ (or } \text{\textsuperscript{25}}\text{ or } \text{\textsuperscript{26}}\text{ etc.), the substitute being in paint only. It may be pointed out that the } \text{w} \text{ is correctly placed for the } \text{=}, \text{ but the stroke is spaced for something now absent. On the other hand, Burchardt's guess (Burchardt II, No. 662) that } \text{\textsuperscript{27}}\text{ is an error for } \text{\textsuperscript{28}}\text{ is supported by the hieratic writings of these two groups. Still another possibility is a connection with } \text{\textsuperscript{29}}\text{ of Pap. Anastasi I xvi 3, translated "stealthily(?)"," by Gardiner. Our own translation is the merest guess.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{30}}\text{The whole sentence is uncertain. For the last word de Rouge gives } \text{\textsuperscript{31}}\text{, and the sign is flat on its base as far as preserved. Nevertheless we read } \text{\textsuperscript{32}}\text{, spelled as in Pl. 28:39.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{33}}\text{Just above } \text{\textsuperscript{34}}\text{ Duemichen gives } \text{\textsuperscript{35}}\text{. We have not been able to see or locate this.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{36}}\text{Unintelligible traces. Only the last one (opposite the s of } \text{\textsuperscript{37}}\text{ in l. 32) retains color (either blue or green).}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{37}}\text{Unintelligible traces. Only the last one (opposite the s of } \text{\textsuperscript{38}}\text{ in l. 32) retains color (either blue or green).}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{38}}\text{Unintelligible traces. Only the last one (opposite the s of } \text{\textsuperscript{39}}\text{ in l. 32) retains color (either blue or green).}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{39}}\text{Unintelligible traces. Only the last one (opposite the s of } \text{\textsuperscript{40}}\text{ in l. 32) retains color (either blue or green).}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{41}}\text{Unintelligible traces. Only the last one (opposite the s of } \text{\textsuperscript{42}}\text{ in l. 32) retains color (either blue or green).}\]
The 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: 'Montu in the form of a human is he who is after us, falling upon us his to weariness. He is after us like Set when he sees the fiend. 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 door of the lion. We are like straw, winnowed by the wind behind it. Our weapons are come to naught. Their soul is wretched, their heart is finished; the great among the Bows. We were ensnared. They drew us in, as if in a net. The gods let us enjoy great success, merely to offer us up, to overthrow us for Egypt. Let us make a covenant with... is Egypt and unto eternity. Its power is that which courses in our bodies; its...
lord is he who is in the heavens, for his nature is like unto his. \[Lord of Diadems:] Ramses III. 40He seems like the rays of\[prey\] the sun. The glory of him and the awe of him are like Montu. We are taken with a seizure of trembling\[prey\] entering — — — —. ['He is!] 42after us, slaughtering like a divine falcon. We are made into sheaves like the reaping of grain.\[prey\] He sends arrow upon arrow like the 'shooting star[\!]' — — — — — — 42surrounding us,\[prey\] so that we are ensnared before him. 'Non-existent is the way of our going, but light is in his place.'\[prey\] The god has carried us off for himself as a prey\[prey\] like wild cattle 'ensnared' in the midst of a thicket;\[prey\] he being terrible — — — — 45ever against over against hundred-thousands, — — — — — — — in his heart. We make prayers\[prey\] before him, with our hands upon our heads, but he turns not back,\[prey\] he regards not — — — —.\[prey\] He (only) makes a duration of (our) weariness and — — 46He who remains\[prey\] in the darkness\[prey\] .

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30Ramses' nature is like that of Re.

31The n, now lost, was recorded by Duemichen and Sethe.

32Literally: "We make a seizing of trembling" (cf. Pap. Anastasi I xxiv 8).

33The traces below the \(\text{\(\varepsilon\)}}\)-bird are puzzling. Over what is certainly \(\varepsilon\) comes a curved sign like the end of \(\varepsilon\). After \(\varepsilon\) and \(n\) comes what might be \(\varepsilon\) or almost equally \(\varepsilon\). Below the two reed leaves is a horizontal sign colored blue. This cannot be \(\varepsilon\) or \(n\).

34Reading tentatively \(\varepsilon\). The group is obscured by later hackings.

35There is room for \(n\) under the negative arms.

36Cf. Pl. 27, n. 33a. The plants are tossed about by a wind (cf. Pl. 79:21–22).

37\(\text{kntt}\) for \(\text{kntw}\) (cf. Pls. 23:43, 27:34). The det. is probably similar to that used after \(\text{db}3\) in l. 37 above. Is \(\text{nfr}\) the "finished, ripe grain," in that sense of the stem \(\text{nfr}\)?

38See n. 15g above.

39In \(\text{ch}\) 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.

40In \(\text{khd}\) the color shows both birds to be \(\text{\(\varepsilon\)}}\)'s. The word is unknown but may be a misreading arising from \(\text{wmm}\), "eat"; cf. Wb. V 71. Note the curious word order in this sentence, to introduce the noun before the pronoun.

41The word is unknown. Tentatively we connect it with \(\text{\(\varepsilon\)}}\).\(\text{\(\varepsilon\)}}\).\(\text{\(\varepsilon\)}}\), "thorn." On \(\text{\(\varepsilon\)}}\) see Pl. 28, n. 53b.

42Unintelligible 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 \(\text{\(\varepsilon\)}}\).

43Color and form show the bird to be \(\text{\(\varepsilon\)}}\). Cf. perhaps Coptic \(\text{\(\varepsilon\)}}\), "jealous," for which, however, the det. should be the man with hand to mouth. \(\text{\(\varepsilon\)}}\) of Pap. Chester Beatty I verso G ii 2, rendered "be faint" by Gardiner, cannot be fitted to our case.

44The writing with \(n\) 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.

45The \(\text{\(\varepsilon\)}}\) of \(\text{\(\varepsilon\)}}\) is almost lost in a later round hole.

46Assuming an erroneous \(\text{status pronominalis}\), with \(t\). Otherwise we must read "your praising him."

47Uncertain. Cf. perhaps "time of weariness" in l. 41 above. \(\text{\(\varepsilon\)}}\) here might be an error for \(\text{wth}\), "rose." The meaning of \(\text{\(\varepsilon\)}}\) also is uncertain, perhaps "addition." Sethe recorded the \(\text{\(\varepsilon\)}}\), 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 \(\text{\(\varepsilon\)}}\) 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.

48Read \(\text{\(\varepsilon\)}}\) at the top of the following line.
is dragged forth. [4a] We are ———; we [4b] are cast down in front of ourselves. [4c] Our heart is destroyed like ———, [4d] like 'bushes'. [4e] We had heard of that [4f] from our fathers' father. 'She who breaks our back,' [4g] they said [4h] concerning Egypt. We have begged for ourselves our own death of our own volition; [4i] our legs are carrying us off to the fire by ourselves. [4j] The Rebu caused our confusion [4k] as well as [their own]. [4l] for we listened to their counselors, and (now) our heat is taken away. [4m] and we are upon the way [of] crime like (them). [4n] There is made for us a lesson [4o] forever and ever. It goes ill with them [4p] when they see the frontier of Egypt, for he will tread by himself to the holy land, [4q] and Montu, [4r] the valiant of arms, is he [4s] who is therein, mighty [and] ——— in] the fray.

'Ye shall not [4t] 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 Soped [4u] were destroyed, so that their seed was not. [4v] [Their] mothers and their concubines hang in suspense [4w] in their

[4x] The enemy who tries to skulk in the rear is pitilessly brought forth and overthrown in the van.

After sdd, the bird trace may or may not belong to that word. It bears yellow paint (probably w or m). [4y] The n, now lost, was recorded by Duemichen and Sethe.

[4z] So literally. Perhaps to be corrected to n-hr.f, "before him," or to hr hr.n, "upon our faces."

Here the wall was rough-dressed and built up with plaster. The loss of this plaster has obscured the hieroglyphs. To the left of the s the traces are red ("aunm").

In Pap. Anastasi I xxv 1 ḫfım-plants compose a hedge. Cf. the name Inushefenu in Pap. Harris lxi a 12 and b 2.

This is a strain on the regular meaning of ḫr. Translate perhaps "since that (time)," meaning "the time of our ancestors."


Read dhh, "beg." On the sentence see Pl. 28, n. 45a.

Cf. hr ḫrf in I. 47. The sense is: "We have brought our own destruction upon ourselves."

Coptic 'TA?T', "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.

Literally "like [their] likeness."

Supplying the genitive nt (or hr, i.e., "doing evil") before ḡđ. 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.

Or "punishment"; see n. 26a above.

For this phrase cf. Pl. 28, n. 43a. The head of the evil bird was recut to gain better spacing.

The violator of the frontier is on his way to the necropolis. On hr ḫrf see n. 46b above and Erman, NA4 § 111.

The change of person and number, from 1st pl. to 3d pl. to 3d sing., is bewildering. gmḥ.sn is for gmḥ.m; cf. Erman, NA4 § 79.

Originally spelled ⟨⟩ (with det.); later corrected to the present spelling.

See Pl. 46, n. 7a. The following ḫrf shows that an infinitive follows the negative verb.

The only mention of the Soped in the inscriptions of this war. Were they allies of the Meshwesh?

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 ḫnt seem not to be listed elsewhere; are the three flesh signs miscarvings of pl. strokes? 'ḥy 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 through the might of thy majesty. 50 The heat of thee—_50a their _bodies, like the fire of an 'oven'._50b — — — 50c _c charging, 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. 51e There seizes them_51f — 52— —, weakness, and error.' 52a They all make a covenant, bearing [their] tribute upon their backs, — coming in'] praise to revere [him], 52b the 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 body, 54 he ordained him to be sole lord, established upon his throne. The land of Zahi and the land of Nehsi are under his soles. His arm supports Egypt; he sets her in his vicinity.

He takes breath away from the countries, so that they cannot thrive. His majesty is like the Baal upon the mountain tops, a sovereign great of kingship like Atum. Glad is the heart of

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49b A possible trace (the point) of the horizontal m is visible.
50a We see traces of all four letters of nyny. For the expression cf. Pl. 46, n. 5a.
50c Probably some short word for "burn, consume" or similar. To the right is a vertical trace (possibly  vide) and to the left a small touch of green.
50d Or "[in] an 'oven'!" Burchardt II, No. 517, compares mk<fr (= "[n]p[3]") of Pap. Sallier I vii 9. Here  ayin has fallen away under the influence of r.
50e A wild guess would be [l|w]ni, followed by 8fr ("[n]w"), "their [limbs] twisted."
50f No horns were cut on the f.
51a On hsw-lm see Pl. 23, n. 55a. It is here uncertain how the word was spelled and so whether there was another adj. following k.
51b As a bull lowers his horns in charging.
51c Reading tentatively [br(y)]t.k.
51d Cf. n. 40b above?
52a We have no guess for kma. For tm so determined cf. n. 28d above. It is uncertain whether the sign following the animal's head is book roll or horizontal a. 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.
52d Only one horn of the f of dafs remains. On "the egg . . . . " cf. l. 8 above.
52e The Asiatic and African neighbors of Egypt. Nhdy was originally carved without the 8, then corrected.
52f The second, smaller fr may have been deleted with plaster. It is curious that there is plaster in it, but color resting on the plaster.
54a See Pl. 46, n. 27a.
54b 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 8t here.
54c The f of hmf was recorded by Duemichen. A possible trace of it remains.
Egypt in victory, for Amon-Re returns answer on behalf of it, while his son appears as King upon the throne of Atum, and all that the sun 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 of the infantry and of the chariotry:

"Give me your attention to my utterances; hear them, for I speak to you, I make you aware that I am the Son of Re, who issued from his body. I sit upon his throne with rejoicing, since he established me as King, as lord of this land. My counsels are good, my plans are carried out. I protect Egypt, I defend it, I let it sit (content) in my time, for I overthrow for it every land invading its frontier. I am rich of Niles bearing provisions, and my reign is flooded with good things. I am a sovereign beneficent to the trusting, mild, and giving breath to every nostril. I have overthrown the Meshwesh and the land of Temeh by the strength of my arm; I have made them prostrate. See, (here) they are before you."

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*Kmt recorded in its entirety by Duemichen (although his spacing is impossible) and Sethe. The t is now lost.

*Cf. Pl. 28, n. 48c.

*Corrected out of earlier 1 2. The misreading of d out of hieratic tn would be easy.

*Read 3 and , in 1. 57.

*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.

*What should be a dl sign is solid-cut like spd. However, it contains plaster and may have been altered to dl.

*Note the throw-stick det. in 3m. There may be confusion between 3m (616E:611) and 3m (AHE; Spiegelberg in R7 XXVIII [1906] 201–2), "Asiatic."

*Emend to 6m (w). The Egyptian reads "since I established he!"

*We see the top bar of m and the left corner of nb (with correct color). Between m nb and n t pn there is probably no loss.

*First carved nfrt; later the t was plastered out.

*The end of the line is in a sorry state. It seems to have read originally 1 2 , with 3 4 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.

*Corrected over earlier 1 2 .


*For n read n (cf. Pls. 27:9, 88:7–8). The wall may have read mnh–[ib], which the space seems to require. One can easily imagine traces of ib.

*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.

*The strong arm after dh, now lost, was recorded by Duemichen and Sethe. The gap after Māwā would be filled by the foreign-country det. (the mountains).

*Read probably 1 2 . We see no trace of the pl. strokes in a broken area.
There is no exaggeration, for it is the strength of Amon 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! The King, 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 his presence and allotted, with their tribute, to the house of his august father Amon, who pinioned them beneath his 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:

1. 1–7: date and general praise of the King
2. 7–10: former peaceful relations with foreign countries
3. 10–14: Ramses III as the protector of Egypt
4. 14–18: the King invincible in battle
5. 18–23: a former defeat of the foreigners (perhaps a reference to the First Libyan War)
6. 23–26: the new attack by the Meshwesh crushed
7. 26–34: Keper's fruitless intervention on behalf of his son
8. 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

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*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

Crushing the chiefs of every country.

BEFORE AMON

Words spoken by Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Thebes: "I have given thee all valor. Receive thou the sword, O mighty King, ————! I have given thee all plains and [all] hill-countries [beneath thy] soles."

TEXT

1 Year 11, second month of the second season, day 8, 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 protecting Egypt and binding the foreign countries; 2 King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ra[mse III]. Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Mut the Great, Mistress of Isis, and Khonsu-in-Thebes Nefer[ho]tep, may they give a million jubilees and hundred-thousands of years to their son, the Lord of Diadems Ra[mse III], ————, divine [seed] of valor, [mighty] ————; answering for Egypt, repelling her foe, protecting her in the conflict; ———— strong under ————, pen-etrating the hearts of the Asiatics, strong ————, the lord 'effecting' the

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1 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.

2 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.

3 Determined with a book roll.

4 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 mnu ntr y.

5 The first traces are obscure; the final word is probably fnr.

6 Mnr, spaced as in l. 21 below, is possible.

7 Or "from the Bow People"? On r3-pdt see Gardiner, Notes on Sinuhe, p. 33.

8 The sign before ph3 slopes up very slightly toward the left; — is a possibility. Duemichen read the sign following br as the red crown. But preserved surface shows no trace of the crown, only the alleged wire coil being visible.

9 Perhaps Š9 (note det. in Pl. 94:17), comparable in sense to Pl. 27:10.

10 Read ṣ3, with the strong arm erroneously for the 'apin? The last sign visible in the line could be horizontal ṣ or t etc.

11 Traces of all signs present. A short line, such as "and all victory," may be lost just before the god's headdress.

12 Ḫ3 badly misspelled.
common people; establishing the land for once, without relapse; the King (worthy) of rejoicing; lord of sovereignty like his father Re since he began to rule; the beautiful of face, the lord pleasing in counsel, beautiful of head whenever he appears wearing the etef-crown; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands; Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III; the ruler making his name like a mountain of... into the (very) darkness.

There were no rebels in distant lands formerly; they had not been seen since (the time of) the kings; (but they were) coming (in) supplication, bearing their tribute, doing homage and kissing the ground to him as (to) Set. Their heart and their legs moved away from their lands; their place shifted, they were not settled, and all their limbs hurried them of themselves, as if there were a 'stick' behind them, to sue for peace; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son 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." Let the breath thrive in his mouth every day! Commanding and fine of plans, shrewd (even) as a child, like the

89 Cf. Pl. 105:13; Lange, Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope, p. 25.
90 sn pn b. The sign is peculiarly formed and may involve a change. We do not know hr w; our tentative rendering is suggested by the following "without relapse." Another possibility is "establishing the land into a unity."
91 nn nnu. Cf. Pl. 46:28. Of nn we see traces of both hands of the negative sign and the right end of n.
92 Note the tick on the first sign.
93 De Rougé recorded nfr hr, of which we see traces. What follows may be nb tut, the det. of tut being badly done but recognizable.
94 An original baw (pl.) was corrected to bwy (dual).
95 Perhaps "mountain of [metal]." The end of the line shows a stroke and the corner of some sign below it (not ¼, as de Rougé).
96 Cf. Pls. 27:10, 101:27.
97 Parallels such as Marriage Stela A 13 = E 15; Urk. IV 614:8; de Morgan et al., Catalogue des monuments I 117, I. 2; and Davies and Gardiner, Tomb of Huy, Pl. XIX, suggest that we should have nn wn bty here. Preserved surface denies us the n of nn. The negative here may have consisted of the arms only. Note the curious writing of bty.
98 A preposition omitted, and smb, "beg," confused with smh, "left hand."
99 Only two land signs were carved.
100 For the curious form of the det. of s cf. ll. 15 and 24 below. What follows s is clearly ¼ and not ¼. n.w ds.sn emphasizes the involuntary activity of the tributary peoples; cf. ll. 26 below.
101 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 Paldographie, No. 456). The translation takes mi ntw = mi ntw.
102 This translation is suggested by the imperative which follows. But gdtu may be a participle. See Pl. 46, n. 10c. Translate then "mild when speaking, life-giving without weariness."
counsels of the moon, since the earth came into being; what [he] has done comes to pass; excellent like that which issues from the mouth of the Lord of the Gods; the son of Amon, of his body, who came forth from his body and sat upon his throne. — — — to cast down the Bows, [to] crush every land. His is the valiant and victorious flourishing over them, scattered. [His] awe is in every part of him, the terror of his countenance is against all lands; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, heroic ruler, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III.

The moon is elsewhere a figure of rejuvenating youth, so that Grapow (Bildliche Ausdrücke, p. 35) is probably right in supposing that Thoth is meant here. For Thoth called Ip, “shrewd,” cf. Pl. 27:30; Kuentz in ASAE XXV 226, n. 1.

From the context we should expect “his utterances are,” or similar. We see a horizontal sign with a trace of red and the corner of a rectangular sign with blue or green inside. “[his every deed],” is possible.

The wall above ptpt favors r rather than hr. The land sign, now lost, was recorded by Duemichen.

The signs above the f have been affected by a flint stratum in the stone. The trace at the left could, with difficulty, be z but not c and may be something quite different. It would be difficult to make a serpent of the sign on the right, but we have no other suggestion.

Perhaps  or treq.

Under the eye there is a trace of a reed leaf. The apparent  “district,” is not determined. We feel emboldened to attempt  with  by error for  “pass by” (cf. Amenemopet xviii 7), “They passed by him.” In view of what follows in the next line, this would refer to the review of captives on the battlefield. But the difficulties are great.

The hieroglyph shows the bull lunging forward, perhaps bellowing.

The traces of the dets. of  as we have drawn them are circumstantial but not necessarily conclusive.

On  see Pl. 35, n. 6a.

The upper sign has a curve, perhaps accidental. It has also traces suggestive of the crossbars of s.

Cf. Pl. 82, n. 37b.

“spread (a bed)”; cf. Pap. Chester Beatty I xi 2. Or emend to sgr, “lying,” a word used of the dead Hittites in Kadesh Poem, Luxor 1, l. 78.

Reading  with  lost in a crack. But this use of  seems a little unusual.

Cf. Pl. 16, n. 8b.
The 'disaffected' against Egypt, (they were) floundering, hemmed in, seized upon, made into a —. The heat of — — — — ——. Their 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'. Slain were 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 at their head, pinioned like birds before the falcon. Everyone who escaped was hidden in the midst of the bushes, seated with head on lap, or stretched out in solemn salutation.

They schemed to plot rebellion a second time, to finish their lifetime on the frontier of Egypt. They gathered the hill-countries and plains of their district. They laid death upon themselves (by coming) against Egypt, coming on their own legs to the —, which is in the 'heat' odors and under a mighty flame. The heart of his majesty stormed like Baal in the heavens. Every part of him was prepared with valor and strength, and a good plan set him to the capturing of a multitude. His right arm and his left arm stretch out of themselves, and he (goes) forward like an arrow against them, to slay them, while his arm is great and powerful like (that of) his father Montu.

Keper came to beg for peace in the manner of —. He laid his weapons on the —.

18 Perhaps 3[k-b].
19 Reading [n]-br.w as the beginning of the line. On db3 see Pl. 16, n. 8a.
18 Three difficult words. Other examples, all somewhat obscure, of n-n, the reduplicated form of n, "turn about," are found in Pap. Anastasi I xii 2; Pap. Turin (Pleyte and Rossi) Pl. LXXV 8; Destruction of Mankind, l. 73. On gw see Pl. 46, n. 24b. Despite the det. we connect hy with the word of Urk. IV 32:9, and of Champollion, Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie. Notices descriptives II (Paris, 1889) 98, "hy taking captives." It may perhaps be connected with hy, "grasp."
18 See Pl. 27, n. 10c.
19 Perhaps something like: "The heat of [Sekhmet blazed] as a flame (m tk3) [against their bodies]." The first trace after the break could be k or the shoulder of ayin.
20 thhhb 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 thhhb, "ensnare(?)" (cf. Pl. 28, n. 53b).
21 See Gardiner, Notes on Sinuhe, p. 10. Other late texts omit the preposition hr.
22 For k3i so determined cf. Pl. 28:60.
22 The th sign seems curiously short.
24 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 wn is plausible as one of the components. We have tried unsuccessfully nmt and hbb, "place of execution," w-bt, "embalming place," dby, "sarcophagus," etc. A very badly made and broken star is possible, although improbable; but dw3t, "underworld," does not employ the article.
26 Cf. Pl. 46, n. 23b.
26 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.
28 See Pl. 82, n. 15d.
27 "A blindfolded man"? Cf. r-dc, "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 to the heavens, to beg for his son. There were halted his 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 like a mountain of granite, (so that they were) ground, pulverized and joined to the ground. Their blood where they were was like water. The god is the one who knows his innermost thoughts, and his majesty had fallen upon them like a mountain of granite, (so that they were) ground, pulverized, and joined to the ground. Their blood where they were was like water. The god is the one who knows his innermost thoughts, and his majesty had fallen upon them like a mountain of granite, (so that they were) ground, pulverized, and joined to the ground. Their blood where they were was like water. The god is the one who knows his innermost thoughts, and his majesty had fallen upon them like a mountain of granite, (so that they were) ground, pulverized, and joined to the ground. Their blood where they were was like water. The god is the one who knows his innermost thoughts, and his majesty had fallen upon them like a mountain of granite, (so that they were) ground, pulverized, and joined to the ground. Their blood where they were was like water. The god is the one who knows his innermost thoughts, and his majesty had fallen upon them like a mountain of granite, (so that they were) ground, pulverized, and joined to the ground. Their blood where they were was like water. The god is the one who knows his innermost thoughts, and his majesty had fallen upon them like a mountain of granite, (so that they were) ground, pulverized, and joined to the ground. Their blood where they were was like water. The god is the one who knows his innermost thoughts, and his majesty had fallen upon them like a mountain of granite, (so that they were) ground, pulverized, and joined to the ground. Their blood where they were was like water. The god is the one who knows his innermost thoughts, and his majesty had fallen upon them like a mountain of granite, (so that they were) ground, pulverized, and joined to the ground. Their blood where they were was like water. The god is the one who knows his innermost thoughts, and his majesty had fallen upon them like a mountain of granite, (so that they were) ground, pulverized, and joined to the ground. Their blood where they were was like water. The god is the one who knows his innermost thoughts, and his majesty had fallen upon them like a mountain of granite, (so that they were) ground, pulverized, and joined to the ground. Their blood where they were was like water.
(to go) to the town — — — — —

38 Finished was their lifetime under their roads annihilated upon its soil

42 gods after them driving away [their] victory, to ensnare them for his majesty, like birds. His arms butchered among them, [horses] ’dash ahead’ trampling among them, (so that they are) emptied and finished as a sacrifice; turned about; the gods and goddesses are in festivity, beholding the slaughtering of them. All those who escape (from) under his arms are prostrate and cast down drawing breath [to their nostrils and hidden. They make humble approach in the

After dm[t] the round sign is shallow-cut or cut in outline (not b). 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.

The sign under d may be a wing (ḥḥḏ, “soar”) or a knife. The traces on the right edge of the cement are the tail of a w-bird with strokes.

The sloping trace after ṣḥm is probably a remnant of the lock of hair.

Perhaps hr-[ḥḥḏ ... ], “be[fore thy horses],” or similar. But the ḫr hieroglyph may be used as a g at Medinet Habu.

We have taken the King’s name as a possible terminus for the quotation begun in l. 35.

The final trace is of ṣḥ. For the writing of the possessive adj. cf. Pl. 37:8.

There are possible traces of ḫ of ḥtm (or ḥḥtm).

The first round sign has traces of green (ḥ of ᵃḥḏ).

We cannot identify the first two signs of the line. There is some confusion in the strokes of m sḏw ḫr.

The stroke for ḫr may not have been carved.

Perhaps — sn ḫr nḥw, “their — in victory,” but the supposed ḫr sign is not well centered.

Reading [ḥr] w[‘w]< ḫm.sn.

The first trace looks more like ḫr than ḫb.

ḥḥḏ is unknown. ḫḥḏ, “lunge, go headlong,” fits the sense (see Pl. 88, n. 6b), and there is a related word ḫḥḏn (Wreszinski, Atlas II 74-75) which may connect ḫḥḏ, ḫḏḏ, and ḫḥḏn with ṣḥm, “be startled” (mḥf-al, “flee in terror”), and ḫḥḏn, “hasty flight.” Our case would then be in error, lacking the ḫ.

Read ḫḏḏ. See Pl. 32, n. 6b.

See Griffith in JEA XII (1926) 203, n. 5 (on Amenemopet vii 6) for the meaning here ascribed to ḫ. 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. Anasta I xxv 1). Might it mean bloodletting before sacrifice?

ṣḥ? Cf. Gardiner, Notes on Sinuhe, pp. 35 and 157. There is only room for a det. after it. A supposed ḫ at the beginning of this line proved to be only a Flint stratum.

Curiously arranged for ḫḥḏ. To the right of the ḫ a possible trace of ḫ is visible. We do not recognize the rectangle recorded farther on. The bird is either ḭ or, less likely, ḫ.

Perhaps ḥ r ḫb, but the ḫ is doubtful. Is there reference to difficulty in breathing?

For ḫḥḏ cf. ḫy, “approach” (Isaak Stela, l. 16; Brugsch, Theaurus V 1074, l. 3; Brugsch, Wörterbuch VII [1882] 1258), and ḫy, “sojourner, client” (Maxims of Ani vii 6; Pap. Chester Beatty I vii 5-6 and 10). ḫw “approach,” and ḫ, “sojourner,” are also connected.
their bodies, knowing not — — — — — — — — 47a 48 — — — — — — — — — — —
—-48a their tribespeople are scattered upon the mountains,49b [laid] out like straw1.49a They are brought in bondage,49b 'as captives and (their) women'. It is the heat 50aand the awe of the mighty King that made them prostrate, that laid them low for Egypt;50a 51a the 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

1'The good god, rich in awe, strong, raging in the fray, 2'great of victory in all foreign countries; his battle cry2a 3is like (that of) Basil in the heavens. A thousand men cannot stand fast before him;19 4hundred-thousands quail at the sight of him, for he is likea 5Montu when

47a We cannot see the det. of h, recorded by Sethe (for Wb.) as forma. 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).

49b Cf. Athribis Stela, l. 12.

49a Perhaps d[r] ml [d]h3. d3 occurs in the neighborhood of hmr, "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 d hot, "straw," is more probable; cf. Pl. 83:37. Its det. may be the same sign as that determining 3d in l. 45 above.

50b Burchardt II, No. 193.

51a Note the large hieroglyphs and generous spacing of signs. At im.sm in l. 44 the outline draftsman realized that he must spread out in order to fill the remaining space on the wall.

1a Pl. strokes will fill the break over f.

2a The name is spelled out in PIs. 79:22 and 86:25.

3a 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 Ramessseum version. In any case, is it probable that Ramses III reached Arzawa?

4a Preserved surface below ml shows that there is no loss. See n. 3b above.

* Great Temple, exterior, first pylon, north tower, west face, upper register. Wreanski, Atlas II 145.
he has taken the bow. Not ————. 8а 'Overthrown' are the lands; plundered 8а are their towns, crushed and fallen 7(upon) their faces, 8а for his arrow has penetrated their flesh and their bones. Their arms 8а make petition 8а to his name: King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III, forever.

AFTER THE SPAN

9The great first span of 8а his majesty, "Victory [in] Thebes."

BELOW THE LOWER FORTRESS

10The town of Arzawa. 8а

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 2 of arms, stout 2 of heart, conscious of his strength, 3 whose name has repelled the Bows; 3а terrible of 4 form when he sees the fray, dreadful of face 5 when beholding hundred-thousands, happy and glad 6 when he

---

8а The traces are difficult. Possibly —— ٣ ١ ٤، "His ———— does not stand still." Cf. the confusion in Pl. 68:3.

8а The horizontal trace under ٣ looks like a thin ١. But the space is great for ١٠. Is it a thick ١, beginning ٣ ١؟

8а Above the strong-arm det. of ٣٠ there is an apparent vertical stroke. We do not think it original.

7а The preposition ٣٠ is omitted through haplography.

8а We see sufficient traces of all the signs of ٣١. The arms of the human figure must have been raised, i.e., ٣. 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.

8а No genitive ١ carved.

8а The reading ٢٢ is beyond doubt (as previously read by Daressy, Burchardt, Wreszinski). For the identification cf. Pl. 46, n. 17а.

In a corresponding place on the upper fortress, there are miserably obscure traces of what may be ٢٤, "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.

8а Literally "wide." Under the ٣ 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.

8а We see the entire bottom bow and the right corner of the top bow.

8а Probably ٣٣ ٣ ٤ ٣٠. The horizontal trace over ٣ 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. CCXCVIII and CCXXXVII right; Wressinski, Atlas II 151.
hears the cry, penetrating thick throngs headlong; the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III; the beneficent sovereign bows the back to him, rich in glory in the hearts of the Asiatics, making the foreign countries prostrate, desolating their towns, making their speech become a thing destroyed, a great wall in the region of Egypt. The mighty bull, seizing upon his every assailant; the potent ruler, there is none like him, making firm the land by his laws; the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, forever.

Scene-Divider on the Right

Horus, abundant in valor, rich in victory, great protector of Egypt, repelling the Bows, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Lord of Diadems: Ramses III.

Below the Fortress

Tunip of Hatti.

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.

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*aThe cry for help (Burchardt II, No. 1203). Cf. ibid. No. 1202 and Pl. 86:27 above.


*cCf. Pl. 44, n. 10a.

*dThe upper line of the ḫw sign, with red color, is visible on the wall.

*eThe components of mi-šd 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.

*fThe space available is small. Another possibility is the horizontal mišt sign, i.e., "establishing [truth] by his laws."

*gThe initial sign was originally carved as the vr-bird, then changed to the falcon. This line is paralleled by Pls. 74:8 and 93:18.

*hThe 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 b'[t]. The traces following ẖt in the last group may be the ẖ-bird, and after the throw stick one can imagine a trace of the šš det.

Before the King

'The ruler, potent on the battlefield', conscious of his strength, terrible when charging ahead, relying upon his arm, charging, wide of stride, bearing his sword, destroying his enemies in all lands, young bull, heroic, firm upon the field of combat, causing the Asiatics to cease mentioning Egypt.

Over the Grooms

The royal princes, the charioteer, and the bodyguard, who are in the retinue of his majesty.

Over the Span

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

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.

Before the King

'The King himself says to the Crown Prince, Royal Scribe, Chief Commander of the Army, and Royal Son, 'Muster these captives whom the mighty arm of Pharaoh, L.P.H., has carried off. Put them in offices in the House of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, for it was his hand that carried them off.'"

Scene-Divider on the Right

All protection, life, duration, and satisfaction, [all] health, [all behind him, like Re] forever.

---


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1The shm-eistrum, with cow's ears, was carved in outline and probably elaborated in paint.
2See Pl. 28, n. 55a.
3The det. has curiously long feet.
4See Pl. 16, n. 15a.
5Elsewhere "Repelling the Nine Bows" (Pls. 22, 72, and 98).
6A space was left for the prince's name.
7The 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. šwt has the meanings "gather" and "enroll."
8Reading st m] šwt (cf. Pl. 96:10).
9The stone bearing the word "hand" has slipped, so that it slopes down at present. This has been corrected in the drawing.

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*See Pl. 16, n. 15a.
HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III

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

1 The good god, beautiful when he appears like Re ['before the']1a people, returning when [he] has triumphed; 3 his arm is mighty; he has taken captive4a the lands of the Asiatics. He is like the strength 6 of his father Montu,4b like Setb when beholding his foe. 8 The plains and hill-countries are pinioned before [him, and the violator]tor of his frontier 7 [is overthrown]7a by the command of thy7b father Amon-Re, '[fallen beneath] the sword, upon their [faces].7c

OVER THE CAPTIVES

8 Words spoken by the fallen ones 8 of every country, who are in front of his majesty:

10c "Breath from thee, thou lord of Egypt, 11 the Sun of the Nine Bows! 12 Thy father Amon has set us beneath thy feet forever. 13 Let us see and breathe11a the breath, and let us serve 15 his temple, for thou art for us 16 the lord forever, like thy father 17 Amon, and every land is beneath thy soles like Re 18 forever, 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.

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1a Restoring ū h r j (cf. Pls. 28:50, 22:14) or perhaps n ḫryt (cf. Pl. 62:1).

1b 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] 4 his arm; the mighty one,...”

4a A curious inversion of the usual “His strength is like (that of) his father Montu.”

4b Or “Baal.”

7a shf?

7b Sic; read “his.”

7c Restoring texts (or similar) ( n) ( n) ( n) ( n).

11a 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., šen.n > šn. But wē n šn may be “See us breathing.” For the lack of ending in the old perfective 1st pl. cf. Pl. 82, n. 38b.

BEFORE AMON

Words spoken by A[mon-R]e, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, to his son, 2 the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Me[riam]on: “My heart [is glad when] I [see] thy victories, and every land rejoices when [thou beholding] thy valiant deeds of [thy] arm; for thou hast taken captive those [who assailed thee, and] I [have repelled] him who violated thy frontier.”

BY KHONSU

6[Words spoken by 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 in victory, for I have taken captive as I might wish. I have made prostrate the lands before me. Thy strength is that which has destroyed them. Thy heat is that which is in their bodies to consume them. He who goes subservient to thee is under a wall of iron.”

OVER THE UPPER REGISTER OF CAPTIVES

13Words spoken by the chiefs of all countries, who are in the grasp of his majesty: 13 aBreath, breath, thou living sun, who shines upon Egypt! Life is in thy hand for every nostril. Mayest (thou) give it to us, that we may breathe it!”

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!”

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2aAt the ends of ll. 2-4, 2 or 2 1/2 squares are lost. Our restorations are efforts to approximate the supposed sense.

4aThe shoulder and thumb of the arm are visible.

10aOld perfective 1st sing.

11aThe only restoration which occurs to us is m-[br].i. Note 3 here for 3. i

12aThe s is very thick and may involve a correction.

12b[wbj.w], “to burn them up,” if that can be fitted to the space, or some similar idea.

12e.I.e., under the shadow or protection of a strong wall.

14aNote 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[mty pnd] (for pjd).

16aThe 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 square or more may be lost at the beginning of this line before the sw, but probably there is no loss.
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†

1The King, powerful ————, stretching the bow and sending [his] arrow straight without fail, mighty, charging [ahead], relying upon his arm, conscious of his strength, for he is [like] Montu, conquering the plains and hill-countries, slain in their places. His battle cry is like (that of) Baal upon the mountain tops; the young ferocious bull, sharp of horns; heroic, charging upon the field of valor; the maher, lord of beauty, enfolded between Horus and Set. Their strength and the awe of them are united in his body. When any land mentions him, they are burned up. The terror of him; steadfast of heart when taking captives; enraged when he sees the fray before him like one rejoicing; smashing hundred-thousands together at the time of his fury; [King of Upper and] Lower [Egypt], Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, given life like [Re] forever.

†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.

Restorations are from the parallels: Pls. 74:8 and 88:16.

Illegible traces at the end of the broken area, of which the left-hand one bears blue paint.

As in Pl. 78:19.

Spelled out in Pls. 79:22 and 83:55.

 Probably nentytu (cf. Pl. 46, n. 3a).

See Pl. 46, n. 3c.

 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.

Cf. Pl. 46:24–25. More than one square is lost at the end of this line.

It is uncertain whether there is any loss at the end of this line.


† 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

Words spoken by the [wretched'] chief [of the] town of Amor [and] his tribespeople [in the presence of] the good ruler, who is like unto [Montu]: Give to us the breath [which thou givest], that we may breathe it, [relating] thy 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

Words 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, and the bodyguard:

"Hear my utterances, that I may make you aware of the strength of Amon, the Lord of Eternity, since he crowned me as King as a divine youth. I sit upon his throne in victory, for his hand remains with me in every fray, and he sets the awe of me in the hearts of the Nine Bows, so that every invader of my frontier is slain in their places. — — — devastated all at once. My sword is great and mighty like (that of) Montu. No [land] can stand fast before my arms. I am a king rejoicing in slaughter." My reign is calmed in peace.

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2wnr [hsi n] or wr [n p]?
21 Probably only the throw stick and the mountains det. to be supplied.
22[add]; cf. Duemichen, Historische Inschriften I (Leipzig, 1887) Pl. XXVIII-XXIX 4-6, for a similar text. The final line (26) was apparently longer than this.
23nbiy. Here and in Pl. 116:6 the hieratic sign for 30 was carved.
24The 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.
25There 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.
26See Pl. 16, n. 8b.
27Reading tentatively [], with the det. at the beginning of l. 7.
28The sign between the two royal figures is green (?). Between rwt and ypt there is hardly room for n, certainly no room for any other preposition. This may be another case of omitted preposition.
29Literally "cooled under peace," reading ḫbḥ.ti. There may be a trace of the vertical t visible.

Everything which I have done has come 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, 'for I know his nature, the sole lord, who fashioned the gods and formed mankind. Give his captives to him as a gift, enrolling them into the offices of [his house] for it was his strength which carried them off from the plains and the hill-countries to drag them away and to overthrow them beneath my soles. May he give the value of them to his Ennead, that they may increase my reign with victories.'

OVER THE OFFICIALS

Words spoken by the royal princes, the officials, and the leaders, in praise of this good god, the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon: "Thou art like Re when he began to reign, for thou appearest like unto him at dawn. Thy arm is strong, overthrowing the Bows. Glad is the heart of Egypt in the possession of one [strong] of arm. The strength of Montu imbues thy body. Thy counsels are excellent; thy plans are effected. Amon has [found] for himself a child to make firm the throne of Egypt; he has ordained for thee [kingship], and he has made all that the sun encircles inclosed within thy grasp, O Lord of Diadems: Ramses III!"

BEFORE THE PRINCE

The Crown Prince, Royal Scribe, and [Chief] Commander of [the Army],

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 Re; his beauty is before (one's) face like the sun; returning when he

* The traces are a standing figure on the right and a touch of blue which forms the upper left corner of the wall hieroglyph.

10See Pl. 29, n. 28. Note the unusual word order.

10Reading [pr.f]; cf. Pl. 91:2-3.

10Reading m = ln.

11The β sign is carved over earlier →.

11See Peet in JEA XII 71, n. 8; Wreszinski, Atlas II 73.

12For this speech cf. Pl. 75:5-14.

13 Probably no name was ever carved.

14Ba'al or Set, possibly Montu.

15Cf. Great Aton Hymn, l. 3.

MEDINET HABU

has triumphed, when he has defeated the Nine Bows and crushed the lands of the Asiatics. His heart is stout, his arm strong, and all his counsels are perfected. The chiefs of the countries are pinioned before [him]. He has destroyed their people and their towns. The glory of his majesty has permeated their bodies; the awe of him has entered their limbs.

It is the strength of [his father] Amon that gives him every land into his grasp.

BEFORE THE WELCOMING EGYPTIANS

Words 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 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

Ramesses 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

Words spoken by Amon-Re, Ruler of Thebes, to his son, the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon:

“... My heart is glad at the sight of thy victories, O lord of the sword,

*The hieroglyph shows a beard, a cape, and a highly colored dress.
*The side lock and the cape of the det. do not seem to belong together in any racial type.
*Reading <t>.sn; but <b>.w.sn is also possible.
*No t was ever carved in this word. It may have been present in paint.
*For II. 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 ramesides et satres de la XIXe à la XXXe 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, Pla. CXXVII–CXXVIII, and Piehl, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques I, Pla. 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!" "Welcome in the land, thy conquest achieved! I have given thee all valor and all strength, beneath thy soles, and the chiefs of every land together in thy grasp."

BEFORE MUT

"Words spoken by Mut the Great, Mistress of Heaven: She gives all life and satisfaction, all joy, and all health."

BY KHONSU

"Words spoken by Khonsu Neferhotep: Welcome, welcome, thou good god, the Horus: Great of Kingship! Thy heart is glad, for thou hast taken captive hundred-thousands, which are set before thy father. I have given thee millions of jubilees, very numerous like Re."

BY THE KING

"Words 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: 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 plains and hill-countries, fallen through terror of me, prostrate in their places to my sword, their chiefs slain through my prowess. I have carried off their people and all their possessions; every splendid costly stone of their country is set before thee, Lord of the Gods! Give to him whom thou lovest. Mayest thou give an equivalence to thy Ennead. It is the strength of thy arm that carried them off, the males thereof to fill thy storehouses, their women to be serfs of thy temple. Thou hast let me make my frontier wherever I may have wished, without opposition in any land. The lands are in"

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1 The parallel is puzzling but not impossible. Another Fortified Gate text calls Ramses in another. Is this a misspelling of in ?
2 The sign is blue (S), not green (h). Cf. the parallel.
3 After nbt nb the scribe seems to have omitted nbt nb or similar.
4 The hieroglyph preserves much color detail.
5 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.
6 The three lines are in some confusion, but the numbering here adopted seems the probable solution.
7 Sic; read as usual "I have given to thee."
8 x nbfr.
9 The King’s speech through nb in l. 14 is repeated on the Fortified Gate (Zetel 858–857; Jéquier, loc. cit.).
10 Probably of the parallel stands at the head of the line, but the surviving traces are puzzling.
11 Parallel of the parallel.
12 Parallel "thy."
13 There is the base of some sign (w or t) above the pl. strokes. Cf. of Pl. 96:11.
14 An original n between phty and bpt seems to have been plastered out. Below the t there was an , which was plastered out.
15 Reading in sn. is(n), "that carries them off," is also possible.
16 Literally "without my arm being repulsed." There is room for n under the negative arms.
adoration; out of fear of me, for I am like Re, strong of arm, before them, through the strength of thy arm, O my august father! The dread of thee and thy [strength] cast down the Bows.”

OVER THE CAPTIVES

[Words] spoken by the chiefs of all countries, who are in the grasp of his majesty: 29

Thou art Re, thou goodly ruler! Thou art like unto thy father, the Lord of the Gods. Thy appearance has commingled with the appearance of him, like shining for the Bows. Thy arm is strong, thy heart stout. Thou art like Baal exactly in his real form. Breath is in thy hand; thine is the life! Let us breathe it, because thou hast [so] ordained, O mighty king! Thou hast made us to cease boasting in our land. It means that we come upon our [knees] out of dread of thee.

The awe [of thee and the fear of thee have entered into our bodies. Thou makest our seed to turn back, (by) fighting on the battlefield. Thy name is great and mighty among the Nine Bows. ‘Montu is he who is our Egypt,’ we say unanimously.

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.

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29 This entire speech is paralleled on the Medinet Habu Fortified Gate, southern tower, north face (Jéquier, loc. cit.).
29a Hair and face of the divine figure, apparently not falcon-headed.
29b The parallel also has as det. of the second 30.
29c Parallel 30. Our text is in confusion.
29d Parallel “the Nine Bows.”
30 Restored from the parallel.
30b Cf. Pl. 78:18.
31 Parallel 30.
31a Very obscure. Parallel 32, 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 32 (with omission of the preposition); cf. Pl. 102:17.
32a Restoring 33 after the parallel. The signs here are large.
32b Restoring 34 after the parallel (although the latter may lack the l).
32c The preposition is omitted in the parallel also. But cf. Pl. 46:6, which writes hr.
32d 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 Dümichen, Historische Inschriften I, Pl. XI–XII; the geographical lists by Daresay 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 †).
Above Amon

"Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands: "My son of my body, 1 my beloved, 2 the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Rich in Years like Atum; the strong-armed, felling his foe! I slay for thee every distant land, so that he who encroaches upon thy frontier is in thy grasp, for thou hast carried off every land before its south, and thou hast sealed it up on its north. Thy prowess is great, and it has encompassed every land. As 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 thy 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. Thy majesty is one who will smite them, while thy hands are clasped together upon the head of thy foes. I have set thee over their heads. The Sand-Dwellers are bowing to thy name, for thy serpent diadem is terrible among them. (With) the mace in thy right hand and the ames-scepter in thy left, thou hast terrorized the hearts of the disaffected. The chiefs come to thee bearing their tribute: all fine treasures of their countries. I give thee Egypt with good things, the Bows as serfs of thy palace. The south comes to thee in fear of thee, the north in homage to thy prowess. I open for thee the roads of Punt, with myrrh and incense for Her Who Is on Thy Head. I lead thee, my strength being in thy body, to destroy the lands that attack thee. I give thee Montu and Set with thee, while Khonsu, Horus, and Soped are the (magical) protection of thy body, and every powerful god is arrayed in thy

1 The t, now lost, was recorded by Duemichen.
2 Parallel śḥr.
3 Read perhaps ḫnty.f, "on its south," ignoring the n. Cf. the following ḫnty mbḥḥ.f. Duemichen recorded ḫnty with ʿ. We see no certain traces on the right. He may have been deceived by regular breaks, still extant.
4 Duemichen recorded the arm in ṣy. We see a faint trace of red belonging to it.
5 A perfectly good ḥḏmty.f form, but difficult to work into the syntax, unless we assume that an m of equivalence has dropped out before it.
6 Reading dl.n.f ṯw.
7 Literally "as one who is over their heads." Parallel m nb ṯpw.en, "as the lord of their heads." The n of the suffix pronoun, now lost, was recorded by Duemichen.
8 The uraeus serpent.
9 There is no evidence that either m was deleted.
10 So, and not Horus. Var., "I give thee Inmutef to lead thee."
11 The esp sign is broken at the base, looking like ḫt. 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).
MEDINET HABU

Before Amon

18 "I give thee my sword as a shield for thy breast, while I remain as the (magical) protection of thy body in every fray. 19 I cause them to see thy majesty like the sky when it is concealed and pregnant with tempest, so that it has removed the trees from their roots. 20 I 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. 21 I cause them to see thy majesty like a divine falcon entering among small birds, for he crushes millions and hundred-thousands. 22 I cause them to see thy majesty as my strength, and my sword is thine as a reinforcement, 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. 23 I 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

24 Crushing the chiefs of all countries.

To the Right of the Captives

25 "How great is thy fame, O mighty King, how vast thy strength!"

BIBLIOGRAPHY

26 All plains and all hill-countries are in the grasp of Amon-Re, King of the Gods.

27 All 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,
and to the end of the supports of the sky 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure of the King</th>
<th>Number of the Amon</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-4</td>
<td>108</td>
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<td>5-9</td>
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<td>10-14</td>
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<td>15-19</td>
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<td>40-54</td>
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<td>55-59</td>
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<tr>
<td>97-70</td>
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<tr>
<td>125-98</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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.

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* 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.


10. Sr (Burchardt II, No. 790; cf. No. 789). 11. *Ir (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. Trkbr. 14. Bṣr.

15. *lkay. 16. *In. We did not see the loop of k. 18. MkJ. *rb. So, with bi=b. There is no certain trace before the w of the partially lost initial group. Müller’s a seems improbable. ḫ or ḫ or ḫ would be possible.


30. Wrw (cf. No. 94 for correct writing). 31. Kpt. 32. Kn. 33. Krsr. Traces show the k: its upper margin is extant, with color. 34. *Ipb (not *Irpb as in Müller, although *Irpb may have been intended).


50. *Irkbbr (cf. No. 102 on Pl. 102). 51. Kyg (cf. Nos. 104 below and Nos. 103 on Pl. 102). Is the extra ḫ an error? 52. Tkn (cf. No. 104 on Pl. 102). 53. Trs. 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. Ḥkn. 57. Tsp (Müller compares Teshub). 58. *Trn (cf. No. 114 on Pl. 102). Here n was misascribed as pl. strokes. 59. Ṭmrk. The ḫ is certain; the k had no carved loop.


70. Hrmn (cf. name i on Pl. 105 and Pap. Anastasi I xxii 4). 71. Ṣbr (cf. name h on Pl. 105). 72. Byd-Dkn. Beth-Dagon, as all commentators have recognized. 73. Kšš. All three birds are certainly 3. 74. Krmyn (cf. Burchardt II, Nos. 1006-7). 75. Ṣbdn (cf. Burchardt II, No. 834). Near Kadesh on the Orontes. 76. *Mrkš (cf. Burchardt II, Nos. 85 and 103 and Ramses II list at Karnak: Müller, op. cit. Pl. 62, No. 26). 77. Ḥbr (cf. name g on Pl. 105; Ramses II parallel lost). 78. Yn(<c)m. Probably to be cor-

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* 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.
PLATE 10 HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III

rected to Yenoam (Burchardt II, No. 219; cf. Ramses II, No. 28). 79. Drbm. Final sign 3, not \( sep \) (cf. Ramses II, No. 29). 80. \( \text{Dnk} \) (cf. Ramses II, No. 30). 81. \( \text{Dhby} \) (cf. Ramses II, No. 31). 82. \( \text{Mkr} \). A Migdol (note det.; cf. Burchardt II, Nos. 527-28 and 538, and Ramses II, No. 32). 83. \( \text{Krk} \) (cf. Ramses II, No. 33). 84. \( \text{Ktnn} \). We see no suggestion of the change indicated by Müller to \( \text{Ktnn} \), yet that is the better reading (cf. Ramses II, No. 20, and Müller, op. cit. 110). 85. \( \langle \text{Kbr}\rangle \text{-Br}\langle k \rangle? \) How far this name is corrupted will be clear from \( \text{Ksr-Ybn} \), No. 21 of the Ramses II parallel list. The initial \( k \) was omitted (cf. No. 104 below); the \( hr \) sign was carved for \( \delta \). 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. \( \text{Smn} \) (cf. Ramses II, No. 22; Müller compares Samson). 87. \( \text{Hdss} \) (cf. Ramses II, No. 23). 88. \( \text{Irft} \) (cf. \( \text{Irft} \) of Ramses II, Nos. 24 and 12; Müller, op. cit. pp. 105-6; name \( s \) on our Pl. 105; and No. 101 below, which is probably the correct reading). The order of the Ramses II parallel makes the reading \( \text{Irft} \) improbable. It may have arisen by confusion with the known name Arzawa (Burchardt II, No. 125). 89. \( \text{Knsm} \) (cf. Ramses II, No. 13). 90. \( \text{Krn} \) (cf. \( \text{Krn} \) of Ramses II, No. 14). 91. \( \text{Irdn} \) (cf. Ramses II, No. 15). 92. \( \text{Irft} \) (cf. Ramses II, No. 16). 93. \( \text{Krkh} \) (cf. Ramses II, No. 17). 94. \( \text{Wrw} \) (cf. No. 30 above). 95. \( \text{Miw} \). This name (see Gauthier, Dictionnaire géographique III 11) and the two following are African padding to a Semitic list. 96. \( \text{Irkrk} \) (see ibid. I 97-98, 19-20, and 61). 97. \( \text{Tekr} \) (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. \( \text{Ikr}\langle t \rangle \). The last group is written as \( l \), but the Ramses II parallel (Müller, op. cit. I, Pl. 61, No. 18; II 105 ff.) suggests the correction to \( \langle \text{Ikr} \rangle \) (cf. Burchardt II, Nos. 109-70). 99. \( \text{Krk} \) (cf. Ramses II, No. 10; Burchardt II, No. 1018). 100. \( \text{Kbpdt} \) (cf. Ramses II, No. 11, corrupt). Every sign here is certain except the vertical trace preceding \( w \); epigraphically \( bw \) is preferable to \( sw \) or \( tw \), while \( t \) is impossible. 101. \( \text{Irft} \) (cf. No. 88 above and Ramses II, No. 12). 102. \( \text{Ksr} \) (cf. Ramses II, No. 7). See Burchardt II, No. 942, for explanation of the round, solid-cut sign at the end. 103. \( \langle \text{Kph}\rangle \text{tcr} \) (cf. Ramses II, No. 8). \( \text{Khr} \), as also Müller, op. cit. II 105. On the analogy of Nos. 76 and 85 above, the \( hr \) would be corrected to \( \delta \), but the parallel omits it entirely. 104. \( \langle \text{Kbr} \rangle \) (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. \( \text{Rhd} \) (cf. name \( s \) on Pl. 105; Ramses II, No. 4). 106. \( \text{Sib} \) (cf. Ramses II, No. 5; Müller, op. cit. II 105 ff. [Sib]). 107. \( \text{Kfl} \) (cf. Ramses II, No. 6). The last sign is quite thick (\( tw \) rather than \( \beta \)); we could not see the three grains beneath it which would have established the value \( t \). 108. \( \text{Rh-Kds} \) (cf. Ramses II, No. 1). See Burchardt II, No. 638, for the reading Rosh-Kadesh. 109. \( \text{Yngt} \) (cf. Ramses II, No. 2). 110. \( \text{Kn-gr} \) (cf. Ramses II, No. 3). 111. \( \text{Rubr} \). Müller and Daressy suggest Levi-el. 112. \( \text{Br} \) (cf. Burchardt II, No. 347). 113. \( \text{Knk} \). 114. \( \text{Kbr} \). 115. \( \text{Yh} \) (cf. name \( d \) on Pl. 105). 116. \( \text{Tr} \). 117. \( \text{Sfr} \). 118. \( \text{Mndr} \). 119. \( \text{Dbb} \). 120. \( \text{Ymlt} \) (cf. Urk. IV 788, No. 122). 121. \( \text{Dmr} \). Tyre (Burchardt II, No. 1227). 122. \( \text{Krn} \) (cf. No. 20 above). 123. \( \text{Trs} \) (cf. Gauthier, Dictionnaire géographique VI 50). This and Nos. 124-25 are again African padding. 124. \( \text{Kry} \) (cf. ibid. V 189). 125. \( \text{Mirt} \) (cf. perhaps ibid. III 12, “Miráouat”).

* The group 70-125 is interesting 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); Shaboun (76); Jacob-el (104); Levi-el (111); Rosh-Kadesh (108); ‘An-Neger (110); and Tyre (121). It is possible that Nos. 70-98 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 unparalleled.
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 of my body, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon, possessor of a strong arm in every country. The countries of the Nubian barbarians are slain under thy feet. I cause to come to thee the chiefs of the southern countries, their tribute and their children upon their backs: every good treasure of their countries, that thou mayest give breath to him of them whom thou desirest but slay him whom thou wishest, as thou desirest. When I turn my face to the north, then I work a wonder for thee, for I smite the Red Land beneath thy soles, so that thou mayest trample ten-thousands of the disaffected and cast down the Sand-Dwellers by thy valiant arm. I cause to come to thee the countries which know not Egypt, bearing their bundles laden with gold, silver, genuine lapis lazuli, and every noble, choice costly stone of God's Land for thy beautiful countenance. When I turn my face to the . . . . ."

†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.

The loop of the k, now lost, was recorded by Champollion and Duemichen. Read probably nty m ib.k, with omission of preposition.

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 Rouge, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques II, Pls. CIX-CX; the geographical lists by Daresay 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, Monumenta III, Pl. CCXCVI; Brueghel, Recueil de monuments I [Leipzig, 1882] Pl. L), who in turn followed Amenhotep III (Cairo Stela 34023, 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 for thee together in thy grasp, and I assemble for thee every country of Punt, whose tribute is gum, noble myrrh, red pigment, and every herb sweet 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 thee 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 turn my face to heaven, then I work a wonder for thee, for the gods of the horizon of heaven, whom Re begot at dawn, rejoice for thee, and thou art rejuvenated like the moon when he brings testimony. When I turn my face 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 for thee, He of Behdet makes his arms into a cool place for thee, while the [Ocean and the] Great Circuit are under thy sway, 0 Son of Re: Ramses III!

BEFORE THE GOD

20 "I give thee my sword before thee, to overthrow the Bows and I slay for thee every land beneath thy soles. 21 I cause them to see thy majesty as the force of Nun, when he breaks out and lays low towns and villages in a surge of water. 22 I cause them to see thy majesty like a raging crocodile, whose paws beat corpses as he wishes. 23 I cause them to see thy majesty like an infuriated lion, whose claw and tooth tear the breast of wild cattle. 24 I cause them to see thy majesty like a young bull, conscious of his strength, when he is on the field of valor."

14 Omission of preposition; read (r) 3w.sn. The Seti I parallel has r 3w.
15 The Seti I parallel has nent, t. wps, hbut .... 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 1 41*, n. 14.
16 The Seti I parallel is preferable: "[born] like Re at dawn."
17 The loop of the k, now lost, was recorded by Duemichen and Gardiner (copying for Wb.).
18 The Seti I text has correctly "thou art rejuvenated like the sun when it brings midday." Our text has clearly t'k (reed leaf, shoulder of the arm, upper loop and bottom ends of k). 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. 1172, definition 11).
19 Read h'cy. The capin 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.
20 Horus. The t, now lost, was recorded by Lepsius and Duemichen.
21 Reading [n] wr phr wr, with traces of both wr-birds and the right end of the phr sign. The small [ns] 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).
22 We see more than half of the lowest bow and a considerable trace of the middle bow.
23 k for nb.
24 The primordial waters, here the Nile.
25 Reading the t as a phonetic component of [s]>sd>st.
26 [s] n mu otherwise unknown. Cf. the s3 of Pl. 82, n. 36b.
27 [n]mu.
28 We cannot explain the presence of the t, except as an error.
29 On jk and hr see Pl. 82, notes 31a and d.
30 The trace of an upright stroke following biket 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]28c might give him a million jubilees forever in valor and victory — — .28d

Horizontal Lines of Large Hieroglyphs below the Scene*

29Heavier signLive the Horus . . . 29a (Ramses IV).

29Lighter signLive 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,40a the excellent seed40b and legitimate40c 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,40d 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,40e given life.

*As in the corresponding line of Pl. 101.

28aRead sm3.

28bThe horizontal trace below the shoulder of the di sign is not entirely certain.

28dThere 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.”

28bThe m of imy is misplaced.

29bWith a superfluous t.

29dWith the t lacking.

29eMisspelled.

40aWith the name of Ramses(VI) Amenhirkehepeshef 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4-1</th>
<th>8-5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13-9</td>
<td>18-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23-19</td>
<td>28-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33-29</td>
<td>38-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-39</td>
<td>73-98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72-56</td>
<td>99-124</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 geographique.


4. P&.s (cf. No. 66 below).
5. Lost, except one final trace, solid-cut, blue or green.
6. Lost, except a final stroke.
7. I]kitm? (cf. No. 57 below). There is a trace of $m$ at the top.
8. [Sth]by? (cf. No. 56 below).
10. 3ymn (cf. ibid. 254).
11. 'Ibs3w (cf. ibid. 255).
12. 1/3w (cf. ibid. 256).
13. I3w (cf. ibid. 257).
14. 3w (cf. Urk. IV 805:248).
15. Bhst (cf. ibid. 249).
16. Dstum (apparently corrupted through the hieratic from Dqet of ibid. 250).
17. Dst (apparently corrupted through the hieratic from Dst of Urk. IV 806:251).
18. Ds (cf. ibid. 252).
19. --rt (Urk. IV 805:243 is destroyed).
20. Tsykh (corrupted from the 3lay of ibid. 244).
22. 'Hkh (cf. Ykh of ibid. 246).
23. Hkh (ibid. 247 is destroyed). Both birds here seem to be $k$. The ntr sign is an error for the throw stick (cf. Pl. 77, n. 15b).
25. Bhst (cf. ibid. 106).
26. Škt (cf. ibid. 107).
27. B3kt (cf. ibid. 108).
29. Bhst (corrupted from Nkhst of ibid. 101).
30. Tq nhãns (corrupted from Tns of ibid. 102).
31. Den (corrupted from Dm of ibid. 103).
32. I (cf. 3w of ibid. 104).
33. Ir (cf. No. 26 on Pl. 101).
34. Lost, except for a trace (of the throw stick?).
35. Lost.
37. Whk (cf. ibid. 100).
38. Min (cf. No. 28 on Pl. 101).*
40. Dha3 (corrupted from Džt of ibid. 44).
41. Mnd (corrupted from 3ml of ibid. 45).
42. Isq3 (cf. ibid. 46; name e on Pl. 85).
43. 3pm? (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. Punt. Punt (cf. ibid. 48; names a and i on Pl. 85). 45. Nih3w (cf. khw of ibid. 49; but LD III 129 and Champollion, Monuments III, Pl. CCXCIV A 38, have N’khw). 46. mnms (cf. the parallels just cited). 47. Mntw (corrupted from Mnsw of the parallels). 48. 3wmkh (corrupted from 3whw of the parallels). 49. W3-r (Urk. IV 798:53, LD III 129:38, and Champollion, Monuments III, Pl. CCXCIV A 42, all differ). 50. Mdpwn The final sign may be . The f is evidently for -. The parallels have Mdpwn. 51. hwm- (cf. the parallels). 52. T3-f3m (cf. the parallels). 53. Mmr- (cf. Mntw of the parallels). 54. Mbrtw (cf. the parallels). 55. Krkn. Apparently Asiatic. It is unparalleled, as is No. 72 below it.


73. Kkr. 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 a. 75. Yd ⧫ From the relative height of the horizontal sign, the last radical is 3 rather than 3 (cf. Borchardt II, No. 240). 76. Mnt. 77. -n-Kkh3 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 or , Ain-Gihon. But or (cf. Borchardt II, No. 268) is not excluded. 78. Dkr. 79. Ynt. If anything is missing over the determinative, it cannot be a deep-cut sign. 80. Brbr. Perhaps nothing missing except a stroke under the r. 81. -k. 82. -p. The final sign is the head of an 3- or u-bird. 83. -y. 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.


* The group 39–72 consists almost entirely of African names. Extensive comparisons are possible with lists of Thutmose III, Seti I, and Rameses II. Location must rest on such identifications as Punt (44), Tehenu (64), Hua(t) (65), Bak (68), and Khesekhet (71).

† The group 73–124 is probably entirely Asiatic. We venture no identifications. Of the lower register of names, most of Nos. 90–124 are repeated on the south pylon (Pl. 101). Comparison with those names will reveal how many corruptions have crept into the lists.
PLATE 103
HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III

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

1. FAVORITE 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 great flagpoles of genuine cedar of the forest preserve (of Lebanon),10 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 him.

2. HORUS: 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 a very great pylon at the front of his august temple, which the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: RAMSES III, GIVEN LIFE, made for him.26

3. HORUS: 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 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.

4. HORUS OF GOLD: RICH IN YEARS LIKE ATUM; KING OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT, LADY 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 a pylon on the south side of the 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.

1. 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.

2. The n below the arm, an understandable error, is to be ignored.

3. 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 A was later recut to hnt.

4. In ll. 1 and 2 n was first omitted and later crowded in as a correction.

5. In ll. 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, and 15 written with t; only here without.

6. Or "as the face."

7. 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).

8. 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 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.

5 Favorite 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.

6 Horus: 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.

7 Horus: 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.

8 Horus 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 Thrones of the Two Lands, the making for him of 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.

9 Favorite 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, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, the making for him of flagpoles of genuine cedar of the (Lebanon) range, of choice (wood) of God's Land, which the Son of Re: Ramses III, beloved of Mut, Mistress of Heaven, made for him.

10 Horus: 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 many flagpoles at the front of his great temple, their tips of genuine fine gold, which the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, made for him.

11 Horus: 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 cedar of the forest preserve (of Lebanon), of that which the Lord of the Two Lands selected, which the Son

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4 From south to north, the four flagpoles were named Nekhbet, Isis, Nephthys, and Uto respectively.

5 Originally written without the reed leaf: mn-r< across the width of the line. This was corrected by plaster and recutting.

10 Sethe, copying for Wb. (Zettel 913), read the trace as the <B-lizard (tail clear, body obscure). What we see might be the lizard or d or some other sign. The body of the sign is now covered with modern cement.

10* Just above the eye, at the right, there may be a trace of a horizontal sign: book roll, arm, or m< sign.

11* An original irt.f recarved to insert n.
HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III

of Re, Lord of Diadems: RAMSES III, beloved of Ptah, the Lord of Truth and Ruler of the Two Lands, made for him.

13Horus 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 erecting12 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.

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 Amon-Re, Lord of the] Thrones of the Two Lands, the making for him of great flagpoles of genuine cedar13 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.

15Horus 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 for him14 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.160

12Only here is "for him" omitted.

13The word $s$ was originally cut without $s$ and with a det. more like that in l. 13. In order to insert $s$, the group $s$ $m3$ was plastered up and recut as shown.

14We see one slight trace of the $f$.

160Under 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.
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:

1. 1-3: date and introduction
2. 3-39: the speech of the god:
   1. 3-5: acknowledgment of the King as the son of the god
   2. 5-9: jubilation at the birth of the King
   3. 10-13: Ptah's gifts to the newborn King
   4. 13-14: Ramses given the kingship
   5. 14-20: the promise of wealth in food
   6. 20-23: the promise of wealth in buildings
   7. 23-28: the Residence City, and the promise of jubilees and long life
   8. 28-31: the promise of victory and captives
   9. 31-35: the promise of empire
   10. 35-39: the whole earth tributary to Ramses
3. 40-54: the answer of Ramses:
   1. 40-44: the acknowledgment of his filial debt
   2. 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
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:

*Memphis* (Ramses II?)

Abu Simbel (Ramses II)

-Memphis (Ramses III?)

*adapted for the Ramesseum?*

adapted for Medinet Habu

\[\text{The asterisk denotes a purely hypothetical text; cf. Gardiner in JEA V (1918) 181. On the increased importance of Ptah in the 19th dynasty see Stolk, *Ptah*, pp. 48 f.}\]

**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):

\[
a = 115 \quad b = 105 \quad d = 101 \quad e = 105 \quad f = 101 \quad g = 77 \quad h = 71 \quad i = 70 \quad j = 40 \quad k = 44 \quad l = 42 \quad m = 43
\]

**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* 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,* 4so that thy entire body is of the gods, for I assumed* my

1The wall shows breaks so circumstantial that the sign for 10 seems at first glance to be \(\cap\).

*Abu Simbel var. adds "from (or 'in') the gods."

Var. correctly *tu* ir.n.(f).
form as the Ram, the Lord of "Mendes," and I cohabited with thy august mother, in order to fashion thy form as — for I know that thou art 'my champion', to perform benefactions for my ka. I begot thee, appearing like Re, and I exalted thee before the gods; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

"The 'fashioners and Ptahs' are rejoicing, and thy Meskhenet is exulting in joy, when they see thee, an image bearing my august, great, and mighty body. The 'great august ladies of the House of Ptah and Hathor of the House of Atum' are in festival, their hearts rejoicing, their hands holding the tambourine, when they see thee beautiful appearing like Re, and I exalted thee before the gods; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

"The 'fashioners and Ptahs' are rejoicing, and thy Meskhenet is exulting in joy, when they see thee, an image bearing my august, great, and mighty body. The 'great august ladies of the House of Ptah and Hathor of the House of Atum' are in festival, their hearts rejoicing, their hands holding the tambourine, when they see thee beautiful appearing like Re, and I exalted thee before the gods; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

"The 'fashioners and Ptahs' are rejoicing, and thy Meskhenet is exulting in joy, when they see thee, an image bearing my august, great, and mighty body. The 'great august ladies of the House of Ptah and Hathor of the House of Atum' are in festival, their hearts rejoicing, their hands holding the tambourine, when they see thee beautiful appearing like Re, and I exalted thee before the gods; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

"The 'fashioners and Ptahs' are rejoicing, and thy Meskhenet is exulting in joy, when they see thee, an image bearing my august, great, and mighty body. The 'great august ladies of the House of Ptah and Hathor of the House of Atum' are in festival, their hearts rejoicing, their hands holding the tambourine, when they see thee beautiful appearing like Re, and I exalted thee before the gods; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

"The 'fashioners and Ptahs' are rejoicing, and thy Meskhenet is exulting in joy, when they see thee, an image bearing my august, great, and mighty body. The 'great august ladies of the House of Ptah and Hathor of the House of Atum' are in festival, their hearts rejoicing, their hands holding the tambourine, when they see thee beautiful appearing like Re, and I exalted thee before the gods; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

"The 'fashioners and Ptahs' are rejoicing, and thy Meskhenet is exulting in joy, when they see thee, an image bearing my august, great, and mighty body. The 'great august ladies of the House of Ptah and Hathor of the House of Atum' are in festival, their hearts rejoicing, their hands holding the tambourine, when they see thee beautiful appearing like Re, and I exalted thee before the gods; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.
pearance. The love of thee is like (that of) the majesty of Re, and the gods and goddesses give praise in (thy) beauty,
and making offering to my ka. They say to me: 'Thou art our august father, and thou hast begotten for us a god like unto thyself, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Useramare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.'

10"When I saw thee, my heart rejoicing," I took thee into my golden embrace, I encompassed thee about with life and satisfaction, and I ended thee with health and joy. I imbued thee rejoicing with joy, gladness of heart, jubilation, and exultation. I made thy countenance divine like unto me, for I chose thee, shrewd and ready. Thy heart is astute, thy utterances are excellent, and there is nothing at all that thou dost not know, for thou art skilled in the counsels of life, so that thou causest to live the common people by thy plan(s); the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Useramare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

"I have caused thee to be [King] of eternity, ruler enduring forever. I fashioned thy..."
body of gold, and this goddess appears fixed upon thy head. I have given to thee my divine office, so that thou rulest the Two Lands as the King of Upper and Lower Egypt.

"I have given to thee Niles bearing sustenance," that thou mayest endow the land with wealth, food, and sustenance, so that their land is flooded in thy presence, and game is in the place where thou walkest. I have given to thee grain and the harvest, provision Egypt, the grains thereof being like the sands of the shore, their granaries approaching heaven, their heaps like mountains. There is rejoicing and satisfaction at thy presence, and game is the place where thou walkest. I have put them in thy vicinity, and this land is satisfied with thy sustenance. Geb presents to thee that which is in him; the bird marshes lead to thee the denizens of the heavens; Sekhathor bears their sustenance, the fourteen kas of Re. I have put them in thy vicinity, and this land is satisfied with thy sustenance.

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123 Var., now lost, probably had ḫw.k also. See n. 14a.

144 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).

145 Var. ḫkš.t ḫw (written correctly) mt, "thou rulest the Two Lands like."

146 There is an inexplicable horizontal line beneath the ḫš sign. Var. "great Niles."

147 Var. more correctly "I endow for thee the Two Lands"; cf. the following "their land."

148 Var. "and noble (ḥps) sustenance."

149 Var. "Their" probably refers to "the Two Lands." Below the bird det. of bḥ there was originally an ẖ, which was later plastered out. Var. omits this clause.

150 Var. ḫhuw nb ḫnd.k ẖm, "and provisions are in every place in which thou treadest."

151 On ḫḫ as used here see Griffith in *JE A* XII (1926) 196, n. 3. Var. ḫḥw.', "enduring grain."

152 Var. correctly ḫšv.

153 The det. of hrt may have minute points to suggest the sky sign.

154 The ḫšv of ḫḥv tw is clearly a later insertion.

155 Var. less acceptably "at the sight of thee."

156 Var. better: ḫhr ḫḥv ḫšv ḫšv ḫḥv ḫšv ḫḥv, "Food and the catch of game are under thy feet."

157 Var. "The Two Lands are satisfied (ḥnwš) with thy ka."

158 The supposed ḫš of ḫḫv is by no means certain. Its traces would indicate an abnormally narrow sign. Var. "heaven and what is in it."

159 I.e., everything in the earth.

160 Var. shows that the ḫhr-ḫw-pt are birds. Var. ḫhr ḫḥv ḫšv ḫšv ḫšv ḫḥv ḫšv ḫšv, "The bird marsh comes to thee with its 'birds' (ḫr)."


162 Var. ḫhr ḫḥv ḫšv ḫšv ḫšv ḫšv ḫḥv ḫšv, "Thoth has put them in thy every way." Our text is perhaps to be emended to ḫhr ḫḥv ḫšv ḫšv ḫšv ḫšv ḫḥv ḫšv.
HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III

Plates 105–6

... Thou openest every mouth, to enrich him whom thou desirest, like thy father, the living Khnum, so that [thy] reign is in valor and victory like (that of) Re, when he ruled the Two Lands, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

"I cause that the mountains bring forth for (thee), [huge], great, and mighty monuments, and I cause that there be brought to thee every noble costly [stone] of every fine ore. I make every heart profitable to thee with their work in every efficient craft, everything going on two legs or four and all flying and fluttering things. I put (it) into the heart of every land to present their work to thee themselves; great and small, with one accord, perform benefits for thy ka; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt:

"There is made for thee a great and noble residence, to strengthen the frontier of Egypt. 'The House of Ramses III, Rich in Provisions' for Egypt.' [It] is firm upon 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."

20a 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 nwt. Note the careless writing of ntw and the curious form of Re.

20b Var. correctly ms n.k. In our text n.k was miscarved as nn.

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 nh. 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. AΩ n.f ifd a Ω.

22a Var. \( \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} \) (type of human figure inexact). Our attempts to see tww 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.

22b Var. "I cause the highlands to create for thee [every] noble costly stone, to be carved into monuments in thy name."

22c Var. "I make every work profitable to thee; every shop labors for thee."

23a Var. "Thy reign is in victory and wealth like (that of) Re, when he ruled the Two Lands." The writing of ifd is influenced by a word ifd, "rectangular area" (Wb. I 71). Var. AΩ n.f ifd a Ω.

23b Var. \( \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} \) (cf. Great Aton Hymn, l. 5). The horizontal sign at the beginning of our line may be a misunderstanding of the wing.

23c 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."

23d Read bwtw (from the det.) kttw. Var. urw srw kttw, "princes, nobles, and commoners."

23e Var. has k.t.k in the sing.

23f Var. tw trp.(i) n.k, "(I) have made for thee." On this sentence and the following see Gardiner in JEA V (1918) 181 and 192.

24a Var. \( \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} | \text{\textbf{A}} \), "to make strong the frontier of the Two Lands." Note that nh now has the force of the causative (cf. Pl. 46, n. 27a). The horizontal line after tsh in our text may be a remnant from an original tsh, like the var.

24b Note the crude carving of the pr-house and the d/bird. Many signs in this inscription are poorly carved, aligned, or spaced. Note the tipay i in nh in l. 29; the two hr-faces in l. 9, the impossible s 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.

24c It is unusual to find a km sign reversed in Medinet Habu. Did the parent text face in the opposite direction?
the pillars of heaven, 24th and thy majesty is established in its palace. I built Walled-Town, in which my (dwelling) place is, 24th that thou mightest celebrate the jubilees 26th which I celebrated within it. 24th I shall fasten on [thy] crowns 24th with my own hands, when thou appearest in the great double baldachin, 26th with gods and men 26th rejoicing at thy name, 26th as thou appeared in jubilees like unto me. 26th Thou fashionest images, 26th and thou buildest their shrines, as I did the earliest primeval times. 26th I give thee my years of jubilees, my rule, my abode, my throne, 27th and I endue thy body with life and goodness. 27th My (magical) protection is about thee as an 28th amulet. 28th I support thee, so that every land is in fear of thee, 28th while Egypt is imbued with thy beauty; 28th the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

"I have given thee valor and victory; 29th and thy strength is in the hearts of the Bows. 29th I terrorize for thee the lands, and the Asiatics are under thy feet forever and ever. 29th Thou ap-

24th The curved trace after red is probably a remnant of the hr-face. There is a plausible trace of the š of šmr. The space suggests that šmr was determined not with š but with 3 supports, as in the var. and Pl. 119 C 16 below. Var.  26th Walled-Town is Memphis. See Gardiner in JEA V 193. He restores the var. tentatively: "[I built Wall-town] in which are the houses of the Sovereign ( 193 )". Cf. Merneptah's Great Karnak Inscription, I. 6.

25th Var.  28th Var. sing.  26th Var. apparently "like unto me, when I celebrated jubilees."  25th Var. "like unto me, when I celebrated jubilees."  28th Var. better: mkš.l Kmt hr at-hr.k, "I protect Egypt under thy oversight."  25th Var. apparently "ruling in my place and on my throne."  27th Var. more acceptably "life and satisfaction (w3s)."  26th Var. "Thou begettest children."  28th Var. apparently "Thou begettest children."  29th Var. "Thy sword is powerful in every land."  26th Var. shows that there were originally two sentences: "(I) terrorize for thee the hearts of all lands and set them under thy soles."
pearest daily to have the captives of thy hands presented to thee. The chiefs of the countries of every land offer their children before thee, and I commend them to thee, gathered in thy grasp, 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 the Two Lands, while the love of thee imbues their faces. I set thy battle cry in the rebellious countries, while the fear of thee encircles the mountains, and the chiefs tremble at the mention of thee, and there flourishes thy mace over their heads. They come to thee like a single cry to beg peace from thy presence. Thou lettest live whom thou desirest and slayest whom thou wishest. Behold, the throne of every land is under thy authority. I cause great wonders to come forth for thee and every good circumstance to befall thee. The lands under thee are in acclamation, and Egypt is rejoicing at thy appearance; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

"I promise thee valor and victory, chiefs and nobles to thy arm. Heaven and earth have been shaken with joy, and those who are in them are glad at what

20 Var. "captives of the Nine Bows."

20b 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."

21 Var. "I commend them to thy valiant arm."

21b Epigraphically either hr or lb is possible, with just a shade of preference for hr. Var. uses lb, 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.

21 Var. "the love of thee into every belly."

22b Note the det. of bid (bdt), borrowed from bdt. Cf. Pl. 27, n. 22b. Var. "I set the terror of thee throughout every country."

22 Var. correctly $\righttailed+A$.

22b Var. less acceptably "thy majesty flourishes, fixed upon their head."

23 Unparalleled and perhaps corrupt, as var. m $\righttailed+n$ w suggests. The sense "with one accord" is probably involved.

24 Literally perhaps "great ores to come forth for thee," but var. $\righttailed+\righttailed+\righttailed$, "every wonder."

25 Var. "the Two Lands."

26 Var. "Egypt flourishes, rejoicing."

26 The first n of mnmn, now lost, was recorded by Duemichen. Var. is lost here and differs in the next clauses. What does mnmn 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?

26 The n seems to have been inserted later as a correction.

26b So, wrw, and not the strong man.

26 Var. $\righttailed+\righttailed+\righttailed+\righttailed+\righttailed$, "Heaven has been shaken; the Two Lands are in joy."

With a correction to ktki (cf. Pl. 85:8), the Medinet Habu text is preferable.
has happened to thee. As for the mountains, the waters, the walls, and what things are upon earth, they quiver at thy victorious name, when [they] see the decree which I have made: every land as the serfs of thy palace. I put (it) in [their hearts] to present themselves personally in [humility] to thy ka, bearing their impost, the plunder of their chiefs, and [their] goods as tribute to the fame of thy majesty. Their son and their daughter are slaves for thy palace, to pacify thy heart like (that of) Re, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

Words spoken by the divine King, the Lord of the Two Lands, possessor of the form of Khepri, who came forth from the body of a god, whom Ptah-Tenen begot, the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon, in the presence of his father, from whom he came forth, Tenen, the Father of the Gods: "I am thy son. Thou hast placed me upon thy throne, while thou commendest to me thy rule; thou hast fashioned me as the image of thy likeness, while thou assignest to me that which thou hast created. Thou causest me to be the sole lord, as thou wast, to establish Egypt in its normal (state). I fashion the gods who come into being from thy body, in their forms, their bodies, and their colors.

The n, now lost, was recorded by de Rougé and Duemichen.

Variant spells out inbw.

"They stir ([wn]wn) at thy goodly name."

From here on var. begins to differ more widely, as the political situation differed: "the land of Hatti to be serfs . . . ."

In our text the space suggests ib.sn rather than ib.w, and kms rather than kms.

"all their goods as tribute."

The km sign was originally much thicker and was cut down with plaster.

Adapted from var., which treats of the Hittite King: "his eldest daughter at the head thereof, to pacify the heart of the Lord of the Two Lands." Var. then goes on to deal with the Hittite peace and the international marriage.

An n following the ntr was plastered out. On the plaster there are indications that a lightly cut book roll may have been inserted.

The preposition m is apparently omitted. Var. hpr m Hpri-Rc; m (k)w f, pr m Rc, "who became Khepri-Re in person, having come forth from Re."

Var. Tawnn. The name is discussed in Untersuch. X 33 f.

The verb has a superfluous w. The dependent pronoun wi is written i.

On mə see Pl. 28, n. 71a. Below the book roll determining kI there are possible traces of a sign. We believe them to be mere breakage. Var. "as thy image and thy likeness."

Under the bird determining km3 there were originally two n's. The upper of these was anciently plastered out.

The second throw stick is invisible; there are convincing traces of the other signs. Mt(r) is not uncommon as an adj., "normal"; here it is substantivized. Var. differs markedly.

Var. "as to (r) their color and their bodies."

Divine figure by mistake for royal figure.
equipped for them. I [built it up] with — — ‘and temples."

"I have made great thy temple on the mountain 'Lord of Life.' [I constructed [it] with every excellent work. Its doorways were — — of fine gold, the ornaments of every noble costly stone; [its] court[yard — like] the horizon of Re, rising at dawn — —. The people at thy appearance — rejoice [at] thy beautiful countenance. I fashioned thy divine images, which rest in the midst of [it]. I [equipped] it with priests and prophets, serfs, fields, and cattle, increasing the divine offerings, flooding [them] with provisions. I doubled for thee the feast(s) over what they were previously, to make thy shrine festive again."

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**Note:** The text is puzzling. We see the royal figure, then perhaps an m, then apparently a word lost, determined with the house, then nb here, a stroke or a t? Var. "thy temple in Memphis."
it has reached heaven, so that [those who are in heaven] have received [it].

which I make for thee. 50b

which I cause every land to see the beauty in the monuments which I make for thee. From here on var. differs completely.

Epigraphically the two horizontal traces after w3w3. might be ss or nn or 3uy.

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.

Cf. Gardiner in ZAS XLI (1904) 136, example 5 (from the Medinet Habu feast of Amon).

Read nh3w 3uy.

* Great Temple, exterior, face of first pylon, south of great gateway. Unpublished.
Words spoken by Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep.

Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis: "I have given thee millions of jubilees, hundred-thousands of years."

**TEXT**

1 Year 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; 2 King 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 land, all the inhabitants, youthful and aged, of Egypt. I am the son of a valiant one, the seed of Fa [praised one], strong of arm, rich in strength as King of the Two Lands. I have overthrown the plains and hill-countries which transgressed my frontier, since I was [established] as King upon the throne of Atum. No land was left to lift themselves up (in rivalry) in my presence, while I am established like a bull before them, sharp of horns. I caused the Asiatics to turn back, [who were] treading Egypt; — — — worn out for terror of me. They recall my name to cause terror in their lands; trembling, — — at my battle cry, while I am a strong wall, firm in your vicinity, a shade strength for your breast. I overthrew the Thek[er], the land

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*The horizontal sign under the dmd sign could be either d or book roll.

*Some word beginning with h. Tentatively we restore [hhh] or similar. There are many other possibilities.

*The ß sign is carved in a semihieratic form.

*The two traces to the left of the supposed mn sign, if really original, are difficult to deal with.

"Reading b(w) sp ß nb [==] similar to Pl. 80:12—Pl. 82:13 (see notes on that text). Here we have plausible traces of all signs except the r.

"Reading, with numerous parallels, by. The difficulties here are a rather generous space between the ßt-stick and the first reed leaf, and the upper det., which seems to be mn. This may be borrowed from another by (Wb. III 348); cf. also Beisan Stela of Seti I, l. 10.

*The available space and the state of the wall make it improbable that there was an r before ßnd. But the possibility may not be excluded.

*The horizontal trace may have been a land sign.

*worth? The det. would be curious but not impossible.

Status pronominalis without t; see Pl. 44, n. 13b.

*t (arj) (cf. Pl. 79, n. 10c).

*egh? If we use the suggestion of Pl. 83, n. 50c, the meaning here might be something like "writhing."

*Or "time" (cf. Pl. 82, n. 19c).

"Reading tentatively an erroneous [Ì yi as ḫ[b]d written without the b.

*Probably ḫkr, not ḫkk'r.

* No feather was carved on the wts sign. No speech is given for Khonsu. On the other hand, Thoth's speech lacks the usual "Words spoken by."

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* No feather was carved on the wts 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, the Shekelesh; 7 I destroyed the breath of the Mesh[wesh], — —, Sebet, — —, a devastated in their (own) land. I am fine of plan b and excellent of — — — — — — — — —. I caused that they be made prostrate.

"I lifted up the face of Egypt, which had been downcast, making my — — as lord of —, for I know that his strength is greater than (that of other) gods; lofty of plumes, with upraised arm, outstretching the two arms; gleaming and illuminating heaven every day; treading, so that the limits of his wandering are not known. I am reliant upon — — — — — — — — — — — — — for the Lord of the Gods, like the heavens; — — — — — — —. His rays spread ointment upon its divine images.

7b Only a minute trace of the first n is extant.

7c Apparently the space under the 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 btm on might be of . The space available for Mstaw 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 Jdsbt (Burchardt II, No. 136). But it is not certain that the first bird is s, 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.

8c A long broken stretch. After wnkh, the vertical trace may be of s or of any vertical sign. At the end of the break we may have "I — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — their heart — ."

9a "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 n on 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 ?

11b Possibly (note the trace which might fit h), then n th tw r3 tw tmf. Although the writing of tmf 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?

11d 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 mut-vulture. Farther on, read perhaps iri.i b.t.1 hr b3[k3].

11e Following obscure traces, n nb ntrw, mi b [hr], followed by obscure traces.

12a Up on the temple. We do not know what preceded this.

12b For the figure cf. Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p. 147. We do not recognize the word (ending in l. 14) here used for "rays."

13a 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 within it.\textsuperscript{14b}

1\textsuperscript{5}Doorways\textsuperscript{15b} are of gold, inlaid with costly stone; the two wings of the door\textsuperscript{15b} and the figures (thereon) are of fine gold,\textsuperscript{16c} like the two doors of heaven. I filled it and I completed it by my victories, \textsuperscript{16d} which 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. \textsuperscript{17c} I equipped it with every (type of) service to be done before <the god>; priests\textsuperscript{17a} and ministers doing their duties; serfs, \textsuperscript{18a} fields, and cattle, without their limits; grain and corn\textsuperscript{18a} in heaps approaching the heavens. I did not omit \textsuperscript{19c} any excellent deed which was in my heart for my father Amon, the creator of my beauty, but I did these things\textsuperscript{19b} as acts of grace in the place of praying to\textsuperscript{19b} 2\textsuperscript{0} Amon — place in another plot of ground\textsuperscript{20a}. I renewed\textsuperscript{20b} his house, made with the work of eternity. I 'cooled'\textsuperscript{11d} upon\textsuperscript{11d} earth,\textsuperscript{19b} for I dug [a lake],\textsuperscript{21c} flooded by the inundation, and made to grow with every (kind of) tree and every (kind of) plant, dazzling and 'pleasing'\textsuperscript{21a} in [their] natures\textsuperscript{1} — — — before him — — —\textsuperscript{21b} the \textsuperscript{22} kingship with millions [of] years and jubilees, valor and victory as he desires.\textsuperscript{22a} The things which he promises, they come to pass, firm as the heavens,\textsuperscript{b} — — — forever. I am the son whom he loves, who is upon\textsuperscript{22c} his throne. \textsuperscript{23c} I make — — — — — — — —\textsuperscript{23b} [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."

\textsuperscript{14b} Emend to \textsuperscript{n3y}<.s.>
\textsuperscript{14c} Burchardt II, No. 1101; Pap. Chester Beatty I xvii 8–11.
\textsuperscript{15b} A curious writing of \textsuperscript{c3.wy} (again later in the line), with a final t.
\textsuperscript{15a} Burchardt II, No. 1036.
\textsuperscript{16b} For suggestions as to the possible significance of these two words see Ps. 83, n. 42a, and 105, n. 15e.
\textsuperscript{16c} Very little is visible of the lr-eye and nothing of the first nn-plant.
\textsuperscript{11d} hr st [\textsuperscript{2}][\textsuperscript{1}] [\textsuperscript{3}][\textsuperscript{1}][\textsuperscript{4}][\textsuperscript{1}][\textsuperscript{5}][\textsuperscript{1}][\textsuperscript{6}][\textsuperscript{7}][\textsuperscript{1}][\textsuperscript{8}][\textsuperscript{9}].
\textsuperscript{20a} Perhaps: "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. kty (see Sethe in ZAS XL [1902/3] 92 ff.) is noteworthy.
\textsuperscript{20c} The t at the end of this word is probably meaningless.
\textsuperscript{19b} Instead of "cooled," perhaps "doubled." Then perhaps [hr]-tp ?.
\textsuperscript{19c} or would fit the lacuna.
\textsuperscript{21b} On tot cf. perhaps Gunn in JEA XII 252 f.
\textsuperscript{23a} What follows r-hn-\textsuperscript{hr}f is quite obscure to us.
\textsuperscript{21c} "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. kty (see Sethe in ZAS XL [1902/3] 92 ff.) is noteworthy.
\textsuperscript{23b} The stroke following the hr-face was carved unusually thick.
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, ibernet: "I have given thee jubilees ibernet. I have given thee eternity as ibernet. Receive thou the jubilees of Re, the years of Atum."

BEFORE MUT

Mut the Great, Mistress of ibernet.

BY KHOSSU

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* like Tatenen; Horus of Gold: Rich in Years like Atum, the sovereign protecting Egypt 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 — ibernet 3 the earth who are in this land: "I was King as a youth, being one whom the god made,4 while I sat5 in peace upon the throne ibernet. 5 [He selected]4 me 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

*Great Temple, exterior, face of first pylon, north of great gateway. Unpublished.
I have not tyrannized,4b I have not taken 5 my office by robbery, * but the crown was set upon my head willingly, b and there was promised* to me rule in Egypt, 6−16a while the gods and goddesses were in jubilation. (I) received the adornments6b of Horus and Set and of the two goddesses. My hands hold the flail, 6 the crook, and the ames-scepter. 7b All the invaders of my frontiers are slain in my grasp, and all my enemies are the captives [of] 6 my 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] 8b with [my] arm. 9b

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4bBurchardt 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).
5hwrc is unlawful seizure as opposed to confiscation. Cf. Nauri Stela, l. 35; Act of Endowment of Khnum, l. 5 (Untersuch. II 83).
6bSee Pl. 28, n. 38b. The break may be filled with w or wt.
7bThe little shaded area before the giraffe may have contained t, but it is doubtful.
8bPerhaps 9 [1.] . See n. 6a.
9bTwo 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.
10bTwo more hkr dets. will fill the gap.
11bThe space after nh3 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.
11b†Only the det. of ims is lost in the gap.
12bRestoring nu. Also possible are n, “for,” and m, “in.”
13bBetween f and the ḫps-figure there is actually room for the seated royal figure, a fact which our restorations have obscured.
14bReading nḥt (see Pl. 46, n. 27a). There is a possible trace of the t here.
15bAfter what seems to be the royal figure there is room only for a vertical s or a very cramped sw-plant (cf. Pl. 46:15, end).
16bPerhaps m ḫps[i]; there is red in the supposed ḫps sign, which would be correct. We can make little of the traces at the end of this line.
17b†The shieldlike sign near the middle of the line might be the Ḫ3 sign. Toward the end of the line the supposed ḥ over r is doubtful, although clean-cut. Then perhaps dbḥ ḩw n. We probably should have restored the man’s head a little lower, to allow room for  above.
18b†Obscure traces; perhaps ḫwy, “the Two Lands,” in the third square. Perhaps n.i., “to me,” just before “kingship,” although the n would be poorly formed and placed.
19bThere may be visible a trace of the eye under n:. The last trace in the break looks like the calf’s head.
mouth every day[11a] Not -- 12 -- 13a 'doing their crimes'; I was furious instantly,[13b] -- -- -- -- -- -- -- for Egypt. I knew[13b] -- 13 -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --. I did not cast down[13a] 14 the hearts[14a] of the elders, who do right every day in my presence, 15 for I know the regions of the god, 16 all -- in towns and nomes -- -- -- -- -- 16b against your bodies. 16b Make[16a] praise before me as (before) Re; 16b I am fixed and established[16b] as King of the Two Lands; the sun disk -- 'majesty'.[16d] 17 Double praise daily to my two serpent-goddesses, the uraeus, and the goddess, the white crown and the red crown,[17a] which are upon
my head. Beg for me [king]ship with your mouths together. There is heard since the time of the god; ruler of the necropolis. He made me to be Lord of the Two Lands, because I was excellent and I was good. He me, [he] created me, [he] created the blue crown, the white crown, and the red crown upon my head, the etef crown, the two feathers bearing the Great Enchantress, to support Egypt, to overthrow for her the Nine [Bows], bowing to me, ; the 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: Ram[ses III, given life like Re forever.”

PLATE 109. RAMSES III INSPECTING HIS HORSES*

DESCRIPTION

Rameses 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

1–2 Inspecting the great spans of the great stable [of] Ramses III of [the Court], by the King himself.

17b The r is accompanied by an unusually thick stroke.

18b The single trace following the w-bird bears blue color.

19b The first arm might have been M. The bird is either the evil bird or the w-bird (no certain trace of a complementary r). Later we may have ntr m 'b'k't, “who is before me,” although the seated figure looks divine rather than royal. There follow traces even more difficult.

20b Quite uncertain. which is epigraphically possible, seems too unusual.

21b The ryt-bird is certain. The trace preceding this may have been the 3-bird.

22b Following the crown with two plumes come two curved signs, looking like horns. Are they feathers? Are they a separate word?

23b The sign which we saw as lb may have been hr or even a seated human figure (head and shoulders).

24b Apparently some word parallel in idea to lb follows it, something like “bowing to me, [kissing the ground] to me.” Thereafter we may have had m [lb] mr[w], “with loving heart” = “willingly.”

25b Note the word hr, 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.

26b The two ends of the n are visible.

28b For hn w 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

6 The King appearing like Montu, his strength like (that of) the son of Nut, to see the horses* which his (own) hands have trained* for the great [stable] of the palace which the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon made.

BY THE COURTIES

7 Words 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

8 As long as the moon shall continue to be born* and Nun shall encircle the Great Circuit,*b the name of the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon shall be upon his temple forever.

Scene-Divider on the Left

9 Horus: 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.†

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*a33 ssmt here, whereas ll. 1–2 have pr n3 htr.
bSee Pl. 28, n. 68b.

*Because of the King’s staff, the lost signs must be brief. We assume that the loss consisted only of ḫw, “stable.” Twenty-five years ago, Sethe, copying for Wb., was able to see the c det. We have not succeeded in locating this.

*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.

*Literally “shall repeat birth.” The child det. has a side lock carved only as far as the ear. Was it continued in paint?


* 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 (1930) 21 ff.
HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III

TEXTS

TWO PAINTED LINES ABOVE THE SCENE*

1 ———— a: King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermâr-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses III, the ruler glistening and shining like Atum. He is seen like Re at dawn, making his august house like the horizon of heaven, the place of contentment and rejoicing [for] the Lord of the Gods, that he may double [years] in jubilees, in victory, for [his son], 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 his beauty; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offerings: Usermâr-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 ———— a: with the work of eternity, a wall — — — — — — being [fixed]; the land is established [under its provisions], 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 jubilees by the million for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who loves their ka, who desires to magnify their name, Usermâr-Meriamon, who makes festive Southern Heliopolis; Son of Re, who is [on] their throne, the powerful one, lord of benefactions: Ramses III, making Thebes like heaven, [beloved of] Amon ————.

* 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.

1 Cf. Pl. 27:3. The ḫn det. has three projections above, none below.
1a Faint traces of the ḫ det. of ḫwy are visible. Note the spelling of this word.
1b ḫḥ, ḫ [mrw] m ḫḥ-and ḫ ḫn[ḥt-w] ḫ [s.r].
1c ḫḥ? The traces are difficult to fit to this word.
1d See n. 1a. The present line has reference to the temple.
1e ḫḥdty; there is a possible trace of horizontal s over the t.
1f Traces which suggest ḫmn ḫr.
1g ḫmn ḫr ————. 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 ḫẖw? Under it is a horizontal red trace (s?). What precedes may be two slanting strokes and a vertical book roll belonging to ḫhr.
1h ḫẖ, “double,” with the careless addition of ḫ after the det., under the influence of ḫdm.
1i Read s3.
1j Reading ḫẖ ḫḥw ḫẖm. The ḫḥ sign identifies itself by an internal difference of colors. In the probable ḫẖm, we assume that the hieratic was responsible for the painting of ḫ instead of ḫẖm.
1k 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

3 The Horus, great of strength, repulsing the Asiatics, strong of arm, possessor of a strong arm in all lands; 4* King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III. 4* [Crushing] 4* the chiefs of every country, who are in the grasp of his majesty.

Horizontal Lines at the Left

5 All plains and all hill-countries, the chiefs of the countries, and the Sand-Dwellers are pinioned under the feet of 6 this 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

7 Live the good god, great of victories, possessor of a strong arm, smiting all countries. 8 Crushing the chiefs of every country.

Horizontal Lines at the Right

9 All plains and hill-countries, the Haunebut, and the Pezishut 9* are 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

11 Words spoken by the royal princes and the officials: "Thou art like Montu, O Pharaoh, L.P.H., our good lord! 12 Amon has overthrown for thee the foreigners who came to exalt 12* themselves!"

Behind a Wrestling Pair

13–14 "Woe to thee, 13* thou negro enemy! I make thee take 15–16 a fall, helpless, in the presence of Pharaoh!"

Over an Official

17 "Take care! 17* Thou art in the presence 17* of Pharaoh, L.P.H., thy lord!"

Before a Victorious Wrestler

18 "Amon is the god who decreed the victory to the ruler 18* who carries off every land, O great troop of 20 Usermare-Setepnere, 20* O leader!!"

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1* Read nbt-5, nb ḫps  m tsw nbw.
4* "[ptpt].
9* H3w- nbwt is written with the tyw-bird. Between the two names there is a superfluous stroke. On the Pḏty.w-Šwt see Sethe in ZAS LVI (1920) 53.
12* 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.
13* The parallels (e.g. l. 27 and Pl. 127 B below) cited in JEA XVII 212 f. show the correct reading to be ḫmr 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.
17* hr.k corrected out of original ḫmr.
17* The book roll, now lost, was recorded by Sethe, copying for Wb.
18* The k and the head of the seated king are visible. On this formula of triumph see Pl. 23, n. 2a.
20* Ramses II. This text and that in ll. 21–23 come from the Ramesseum (see Pl. 127 C).
HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III

BEFORE A VICTORIOUS WRESTLER

21 "Amon is the god [who decreed the victory] to the ruler who carries [off every land, O great troop] of Ramses II, [O leader]!"

A FRAGMENT

24 "— [O great [troop]] —" 21a

OVER A WRESTLING PAIR

25 "But see, I seize upon thy legs and I hurl thee upon thy side in the presence of Pharaoh, L.P.H.!

OVER A WRESTLING PAIR

27 "Woe to thee, thou Syrian enemy, who boasted with 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 the protection to the ruler over every land, O great troop of Usermare-Meriamon, Ruler of the Two Lands, [O leader]!"

BEFORE THE SPECTATORS AT THE LOWER RIGHT

34 "The Royal Prince and Chief Commander of the Army, triumphant, (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.

* Cf. ll. 19 and 32. This would be the Medinet Habu text corresponding to the Ramesseum text in ll. 21–23.

177 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.

180 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 who created thy beauty. I have extended my protection2a over thy body, like thy father Re in heaven."

TO THE LEFT OF THE WINDOW

5Live the good god, who intercedes for Egypt, who overthrows the violator of his frontier; a fierce lion when he rages; who conquers the lands behind them at his battle cry; an Upper Egyptian panther when he sees the fray; a whirlwind hurtling in its violence, a flame in its time; the youthful lord, strong of arm like Set, the fame of whom and the terror of whom have cast down the heart of the Bows; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses III.

1aWritten without t.

2aDetermined 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.

2bNote the unusual form of the stp sign. 33 is written with small pl. strokes, illustrating the point mentioned in n. 2a.

3aThe s of stp is broad in the middle, as if corrected from r. But see n. 2a above.

3bThere is scarcely room for a painted t above the s, which would give the spelling of Pl. 27:2.

4Traces of k and the det. in l. 6 make the restoration nd certain.

4aJéquier'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 Ad without question.

5bSo 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!"


5bProbably not Baal, as "strong of arm" is an epithet of Set.

5The f, now lost, was seen indistinctly by Sethe.

5bNote the unusual writing of hryt, with ï put first in place of φ.


†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, 1924–88 (OIC No. 5 [1929]) pp. 57 ff. and Morgenland XXIV 30 ff.
The good god, whose arm is powerful, strong 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

Words spoken by Uto, Mistress of Pe and Dep, to her son, the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon: "Behold, (I am) thy protection; she who embraces thy beauty. I take my place between thy eyebrows, as I did for thy father Re."

To the Right of the Window

The good god, who smites the Meshwesh and destroys the nose of the land of Nubia, valiant of arms, repulsing the Bows; the hero, who seizes upon him who transgresses against him, great of strength, conquering his enemies and crushing him who attacks him in the encounter, who does what he pleases in the plains and hill-countries, like Baal prevailing over his enemy; the bull of Egypt, who sets her in his vicinity, the son of Amon, beneficial to the gods; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, possessor of a strong arm: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, of his body, Lord of Diadems: 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

Horus: 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. [He] says [to the officials, the prophets, and the footmen of the er-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," for Re is in it; it is pouring out face-to-face like a miracle, like the horizon of heaven. — great and august —, a place of promenade for the gods and goddesses in Southern Heliopolis, a very beautiful palace for the Lord of the Gods. [He] rises and he appears (for) love of it, like that which comes forth upon earth as that which a god made; this land; the horizon is in their presence; while it is enrolled and established among the divine nomes. — bull — of the Ennead. It is said: 'It is for eternity, together with the heavens.' My excellent name endures for its sake forever. I have equipped it with good things of the food of Egypt, the plunder which my arm has carried off from all lands. I have increased its offerings 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 and corn. Its cattle are increased. The poultry yards provide sacrifice daily. (I) leave no exploit behind me to be done for my father Amon, the creator of my beauty, since he chose me to be King — — — —, for I rely upon his plans. He has assigned me kingship in jubilation, while the plains, hill-countries, and Egypt are mine with praise."

2So, although one expects "My temple endures like heaven" (cf. Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, pp. 24 f.). Cf. the inversion noted in Pl. 92:5.

3Uncertain. For bs mi bi 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.

4See 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.

5Cf. Pl. 98:2.

6The sentence is clearly corrupt. Does sw = st (i.e., the temple)? Possibly emend to s(t) m <pr>-wr ḫps, "It is an august sanctuary."

7What were the limits of Hermouthis? Cf. also Pls. 75:13 and 111:2. Is the name to be taken as designating western Thebes? Cf. Varille in ASAЕ XXXIII (1933) 86-88 and XXXIV (1934) 10.

8There are sufficient traces of ḫcf.f. Between f and mrsf there seems to be no room for n. This may be another case of omitted preposition (here swallowed by the initial sound of mrsf).

9For the final phrase cf. Pl. 108:3. Here perhaps: the temple came into being like a divine creation.

10The first sign is probably ḫ (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.

11One pl. stroke carved.

12We cannot identify the trace below the beast.

13Reading is = iw.s (ЄЄ-).

14One would prefer to emend to hr.s, "upon it" or "because of it."

15The upper bar of the mr-hoe is visible, and possibly the lower.

16khхи хтмнт. The sign behind the ḫ looks more like a trace of ḫ than of the coiled det.

17The ḫ below ḫ may be the old perfective ending, or it may be the initial letter of a following word.

18Read bw ḫ(t) war nb . . . . Cf. Lefebvre, Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres . . . , p. 22.

19Unintelligible. We have horizontal m, then probably ir (possibly r), n, and pl. strokes. Lower down there is the word sp.

20[An.ksw.]}
PLATE 116. RAMSES III HUNTING DESERT GAME*

DESCRIPTION

Ramses III in his chariot hunts desert animals of various kinds.

TEXTS

BEFORE THE KING

1 The King, beautiful in the inclosure like unto Set, high heroic, crushing wild cattle, entering among them like a falcon spying small birds, (so that they are) beaten into heaps in their places like the mowing down of grain. His right and his left hand seize hold without fail. The Court of Thirty and the chiefs of foreign countries behold the tokens of his valor. (As for) the land in its entirety, they rejoice at his victories. His arm is great and strong, repelling the 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

All protection, life, and duration, all health, all joy, all valor, and all victory, all plains and all hill-countries together!

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1*Great Temple, exterior, first pylon, south tower, west face, upper register. Unpublished.

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1Cf. 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 Sa3hu-Rec 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 Puyemre 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).

3Head 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 Grossmann, Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testament (Berlin und Leipzig, 1926-27) Pl. XXIII 53.

6With the bow.

7The hieratic sign for 30 is used, with a stroke. Cf. Pl. 96:1.

7*Great Temple, exterior, first pylon, south tower, west face, upper register. Unpublished.

7The 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 (T-ml, “Egypt,” would be too crowded). The position of the trace makes ḫ pn, “this land,” improbable.

7Of ḫ gr ḫ we see the head of ḫ and the other signs clearly. Of n ḫ n we see sufficient traces of Ṽ and Ṽ and the faint outline of ḫ, the human det. is traceable except for the arms.

8Apparently [ ] [ ] ḫ, written large to fill out space. Only a trace of the body of the ḫ is visible.

8*Great Temple, exterior, first pylon, south tower, west face, upper register. Unpublished.
SCENE-DIVIDER ON THE LEFT

The King, lord of the Two Lands, possessor of a strong arm, lord of offerings: User-mare-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, conquering the strong; 2he looks upon bulls and lions as (mere) 3jackals; 4the mighty one, relying upon his arm, conscious of 4his strength, driving off herds of wild bulls as if 5'in face-to-face conflict'; 6grasping and plundering on his right hand, seizing on his left hand; 7he is like 7Montu; a mighty bull when he rages, 8slaying 9the lands of the Asiatics, desolating their seed, and making the strong turn back,

---

11The modeling shows that the det. wears the double crown.
12We see a trace of the top of horizontal m.
13The jackal seems to have been carved with hoofs.
14The n of nbt, now lost, was recorded by Sethe, copying for Wb. A superfluous stroke between the two arms determining kn was plastered out anciently.
15dr (determined with the strong arm) kdr.w.
17The m, where the preceding line has br, may have been unconsciously called forth by the mb, which so often employs a following m.
18Read sw ml. Part of the ml-jar is visible.
19Determined, at the top of l. 8, with the crouching typhonic animal.
20Written with the m-owl across the sickle.
21Written 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.
"lifting their faces." This land stretches out (upon) their back, confident in his time, for they have 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', whom his majesty slew.  

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, whom his majesty slew.  
The countries of the Peleset, whom his majesty slew.

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*S*Meaning? 3l 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.

*Another case of omitted preposition? Or simply "stretches out their back"? For the meaning "confident" for ln cf. Pls. 28:67 and 46:28; Pfehl, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques I, Pl. CXLIX B 15.

*Probably .

b ) is most likely, despite the costume.

*sm[n], as in Pl. 118 E.

*Another case of omitted preposition? Or simply "stretches out their back"? For the meaning "confident" for ln cf. Pls. 28:67 and 46:28; Pfehl, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques I, Pl. CXLIX B 15.

*For 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.
MEDINET HABU

PLATE 119 B

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, 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, which are in the grasp of his majesty.
All plains and all hill-countries of ————, & [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], [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

Words spoken by Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of the Gods, to his son, of his body, his beloved, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Setepnamon.4a "I am thy august father, the Lord of the Gods. I love thee more than any (other) king, while I give thee an eternity as [King of] the Two Lands." 4

1Words spoken by Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of the Gods, to his son, of his body, his beloved, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Setepnamon.4a "I am thy august father, the Lord of the Gods. I love thee more than any (other) king, while I give thee an eternity as [King of] the Two Lands."

*Great Temple, exterior, first pylon, north tower, scene below the inscription of Pls. 84-86. Unpublished.

The det. is a Libyan.
4a Reading mry. I tw.
4b Reading m ³y w r nswt nb. 
4c The base of ³y is visible. Read tw.l (hr) dl(t).
4d Just to the right of the vertical crack there is a possible trace of the sw-plant.

1Great Temple, exterior, first pylon, north tower, scene below the inscription of Pls. 84-86. Unpublished.
**HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III**

**By Ptah**

7 Words spoken by Ptah, Lord of Heaven; King of the Two Lands: "I have given thee very many jubilees forever in valor and strength, the victories of the son of Nut, the rule of Horus in Pe, with every land under thy soles. Strong is thy arm. I have given thee.

**Over Thoth**

12 Words spoken by Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis: "I write for thee years consisting of a million jubilees. I have given thee eternity as King, with the lands under thy soles. The Ocean and the Great Circuit are in thy grasp, bearing their tribute, because of thy valiant and victorious.

**By Seshat**

17 Words spoken by Seshat, Lady of the Gods: "I write for thee the jubilees of Re and years forever and ever as King, thy 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 Ptah" 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**

1 Words spoken by [A]mon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Presiding over Karnak, to his son, his beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Setepnamon: "Receive thou very many jubilees forever, in valor of Shu and Tefnut, the years of Atum, with every land under thy soles like Re every day."

**Over Mut**

7 Words spoken by Mut, Mistress of Heaven, Lady of All the Gods: "I have given thee all life and satisfaction."

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7 Not "Lord of Truth."
11 Traces somewhat difficult.
13 The ty of Dāwty is reversed.
28 *nḥḥ is difficult to fit to the traces, but other words rather more so.
4 Ramses IV. The prenomen of Ramses VI, Nibmare-Meriamon, is cut over this; the nr-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

Words spoken by [Khonsu]-in-Thebes Neferhotep:  
11 “I have given thee all ['provisions']  
12 and Niles bearing good things.”

OVER ATUM

Words spoken by [Atum], Lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan residing in the Great House, 
14 to his son, [his] beloved, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Setepnamon:  
15 “I inscribe for thee thy name on the august 'ished-tree in heaven, resting upon its supports,  
17 the years in jubilees of Tatenen, the lifetime of Re — 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—2 Words spoken by Amon-Re-Harakhte, the Great God, Lord of Heaven:*  
3—4 “I have given thee every country together under thy soles.  
6 Receive thou the sword, O mighty King, Sun of the Nine Bows!”

6 Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, presiding over Karnak:  
7 ‘[Receive]ve thou the sword, O mighty King, and crush every country!’

120 B

1—2 Words spoken by Montu, Lord of Heliopolis, the great god, Lord of Heaven:  
3 “Receive thou the sword, O mighty King, Sun of the Nine Bows!”

4 Words spoken by Amon-Re, King of the Gods:  
5–6 “I have given thee all lands together under thy soles.  
7 Receive thou the sword and crush Kush!”

120 C

1 Words spoken by Amon-Re-Harakhte, the great god, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of the Ennead:  
2 “I have given thee all the valor and all the strength of Re forever.  
6 Receive thou the sword. My hand is with thee, that thou mayest overthrow the land of Hatti.”

6 Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, presiding over Karnak:  
7 “Receive thou the sword and crush Kush!”

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* Unintelligible traces.

* 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

1 Words spoken by Amon-Re, [King of the] Gods: 2"I have given thee all plains [and all hill-countries] beneath thy soles. 3 Receive thou the sword to overthrow thy enemy!"

4-5 Words spoken by Amon-Re-Harakhte, the great god, Lord of Heaven: 6"Receive thou the sword, that thou mayest smite the Asiatics."

121 B

1 Words spoken by Amon-Re, Him of the Earliest Age of the Two Lands: 2"I have given thee valor (against)* every country. 3 Receive thou [the sword], O mighty [King], and crush the chiefs of every country!"

4 Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands: 5"I have given thee all lands together. 6 Receive thou the sword, O Horus: Rich in Years, and smite all countries!"

121 C

1 Words spoken by Amon-Re, King of the Gods: 2-3"I have given thee eternity as King of the Two Lands forever. 4 Receive thou the sword, O good god, and crush the chiefs of every country!"

5-6 Words spoken by Montu, the great god, Lord of Heaven, residing in Thebes: 7"Receive thou the sword and crush hundred-thousands!"

122 A

1 Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands: 2"I have given thee all valor and all victory, 3 with every country beneath thy feet, O good god! 4 Receive thou the sword to cast down the Nine Bows, with every land beneath thy feet!"

5-6 Words spoken by Amon-Re-Harakhte, the great god, 7 the [Lord] of Heaven, King of the Gods: 8"I have given [thee] every [land] bowing down, for thy mace is upon the head of their chiefs!"

122 B

1 Words spoken by Amon-Re, King of the Gods: 2-3"I have given thee all plains and all hill-countries together under thy soles. 4 Receive thou the sword, O mighty King, the Horus: Rich in Years!"

5-6 Words spoken by Montu, Lord of Thebes: 7"Receive thou the sword and crush the chiefs!"

122 C

Horus: Mighty Bull, Great of Kingship.

* Under the uplifted arm of the Meshwesh is: "Crushing the chiefs of every country."

*On this epithet of Amon see Sethe, "Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis," § 14.

*Preposition r omitted.

*Read m kew.

*This occurs 16 times on the 8 columns. The instances to the east have the shorter writing of c3, "great," as on the right of our plate. The instances to the west show the fuller writing, with "aqwîn and book roll. Corresponding to this difference, there is a difference in the bases of the erḫ-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

1 The King, appearing like Atum from his palace of valor and victory.

BEHIND THE KING

2 The 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

3 All the plains and all the impenetrable hill-countries [of] the Fenkhu, 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 Re' from] the palace of his august temple, to cause that his father Amon appear in his Feast of the Valley.

*There is a curved trace with blue color exactly in a masonry crack. We take it to be the nw-jar.

†'Fenkhu,' determined with calf's head and book roll. For the former see Sethe in MVAG XXI (1916) 319.

Reading h₃ [nswt 'ml R₄ m] h₃ (or 'his majesty,' instead of 'the King').

Written d.ff, without a stroke.

*Determined with o. 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  HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III

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  
1 The King appears like Re from his palace which is within his temple.

HORIZONTAL LINES BELOW THE SCENE  
2 All the plains and all the impenetrable hill-countries (of)† the Fenkhu, 2 who [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  
1 The coming of his majesty [into the presence of]! his fa[ther] Amon-Re, [King of the] Gods, [in] peace, 4 from the House of Million(s) of Years 3 of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon, in the House of Amon, west of Thebes.

HORIZONTAL LINES BELOW THE SCENE  
4 All plains and all hill-countries, the Ocean and the Great Circuit, and the isles in the midst of 6 the 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 6 [m-bḥ] instead of ḫr.
*Written dbn-ḥr (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 means Pl. 101, n. 10a. The geographical names on Pls. 43, 85, 101-2, and 105 have been omitted.

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For example:

- **br**, a kind of boat, 463b
- **bry**, "chariot(-floor)?", 831b
- **Err**, a geographical name?, 272's
- **i** for **ti**, dependent pronoun 1st sing., see **i**
- **iwCT** for **in**
- **imim**, "be weak," 286b
- **3nw**, "be in suspense?", 283d
- **3hw**, "a single cry," 109a
- **4hr**, "tyrannize," 108b
- **444**, "exactly," 46a
- **444**, "penetrate," 85b
- **433**, "rejoice," 33a

For more detailed entries, please refer to the document.
HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III

br, "covenant," 82ma
bkh, "call," 75m
bkt, "rebels," written bkh, 27mb; det. of —, 106mb

p
pf, "heaven," written tp, 120 A
pt, "fly," 37mb, 106mb
pm, "this," written pt, 75m
pmt, "perversity," 27mb
pnn, "mouse," 82mb
pri r bkt, "go abroad," 31mb
pbr, a type of soldier, 20mb, 46mb
plg, "strength," as a fem., 43mb; "strong," as an adj., 62mb
pfr, "encircle," written rr, 17mb
ped, "back," 46mb
pls (pl), "spread out," 82mb; "battlefield(?)," 37mb, 40mb
pt for pm, "this," 75mb
pfr (pfr), "see," 27mb
psr (psr), "battlefield," 17mb
Phr, "the Pharaoh," 10mb
pd, "free," 28mb
plgy, "bombar(?)," writing of, 9mb
f
f't br, "lift the face," 107mb, 117mb; f't tp, "lift the head," 46mb
f't, "despair," 27mb
F'nh$m, "Penthu," det. of, 43mb, 123 Ab
fnv nb, "every nostril," det. of, 83mb
frk, "be decapitated," 27mb, 27mb
fdn, "cut off," 27mb

m for mn (introductory), 14mb, 28mb, 82mb, 90mb
m for m (preposition), 42mb, 46mb
m-br, "forward," 46mb
m-lu for rl, "throughout," 17mb
m-lu for sl, "after," 19mb, 46mb
M —, abbreviation for "Meshwash"(?), 72mb
ml, "see," written with falcon eyes, 28mb
mlt, "lance," abbreviated, 31mb
ml'nb, "Council of Thirty," writing of, 90mb
mnw, "herdsman," 46mb

M'ma, "Min," the hieroglyph, 17mb
m'mn, "rich in monuments," 45mb
m'mr, "soldiers," 40mb
m'mr, "move(?)," 106mb
m'mr (m'mr), "here," 75mb
m'nh, "youth," 75mb
mn, "stamp with the King's name," 28mb
m'm, "a kind of boat," 46mb
m'm, "loving," in m 75 m'm, "willingly," 28mb
mm, "beloved," 99mb
mm, "seaf," det. of, 106mb
mm, "shore," 46mb
Mry, a Libyan name, 28mb
Mrym, Mariamu, 46mb

m'nh, "slave gangs(?)," 28mb
m'h, maker, 46mb
m'h-dh, "trusted(?)," 27mb
m'h, "beloved(?)," 29mb, 46mb
m'h, "be faithful to(?)," 29mb, 46mb
m'h, "burn," 27mb
m'm, "fashion," det. of, 106mb
M'hnh, "Meskhenet," 106mb
m'm, "pitfall(?)," 82mb
M'h, M'h, a Libyan name, 72mb, 75mb, 82mb
m'dh, a title, 106mb
Mkhn, a Libyan name, 28mb
m'h, "oven(?)," 83mb
m'n, "road," 17mb
m(r), "normal (state)," 106mb
mtr —, unknown, 27mb
m'tr, "because of," 46mb
m'dr (?), "stick(?)," 85mb
m'dn, "relax(?)", 70mb

n
n for m (preposition), 28mb, 106mb
n-br, "forward," 83mb
n for n, pl. article(?), 46mb
n and nn (negatives), confusion of, 46mb
nwr for n (genitival adjective), 14mb
n'-r, "regulation(?)," 28mb
nwr, "lance," 40mb
nwr, "salute," 46mb
nwr, "alute," 49mb
nwr, "colored," 46mb
nwr br, "gaze upon," 46mb
nwr, "Nun," 102mb, 109mb; nwr wr, an epithet of Ptah, 49mb
nwr, "drive out(?)," 82mb
nwr, "Fig. shake, quiver," 28mb; written nwr, 82mb
nwr-br, "the All-Lord," 28mb
Nhr-nhr, "Lord of Life," a place, 106mb
nfr-br, an epithet of Ptah, 28mb, 40mb
nfr, "grain," 83mb
nfr, "maidens," 75mb
nfr, "lie down," 82mb
nwr, "we," independent pronoun(?), 28mb
nak for nkr, "cohabit," 105mb
nkr, "cause terror(?)," 79mb
nkr, "crave," 28mb
nkr, "from," 43mb
nkr, "root(?)," 70mb
nkr, "attack," 27mb
nkr, "strengthen, support," 46mb, 106mb
nkr, "reinforcement(?)," or "strong one(?)," 43mb
nak, "prepare(?)," 46mb
nkr, "storming," 49mb
npl, "longhorn cattle," 75mb
nak, "cohabit," written nkr, 105mb
nqy ln, "this goddess," 79mb; nqym, "goddesses," 46mb

r
r, "away from," 43mb
r-l, "limit," 27mb
r-pl, "conflict(?)," 85mb
r-l-qb, "tike mouths, river mouths, harbors," 28mb, 37mb, 42mb
R's, "the two Re's," 27mb
rass, "islam," see to
rhr, "jubilation(?)," 105mb
rr = prr, "encircle," 106mb
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### ḫ

- 互助, "heat," 46a  
- ḫs-wm (ḥmt?), "charging(?)" 28a  
- ḫst, "flame," 46a  
- ḫw, "thicket(?)" 83a  
- ḫw, "battle cry," 23a  
- ḫn, "confident," 117a  
- ḫn ḫ, "bend the back," 44a  
- ḫtḥt(?), "utter confusion(?)" 82a  

### ḥ

- ḥḥ-ḥ, "Hathor," title of a priestess, 105a  
- ḥḥ-ḥw, "House of Sand," a fortress, 70b  
- ḥḥ, "around, about," 27a  
- ḥḥ-ḥḥ, "the Houseout( Saf out)," writing of, 111a  
- ḥḥ, "outside," 31a  
- ḥḥ-ḥ, "the beginning of the victory," 27a  
- ḥḥ-ḥḥḥ, "front-to-rear," 19a  
- ḥḥ-ḥḥ, "read(?)" 107b  
- ḥḥ, "youth," writing of, 27b  
- ḥḥ, "robbery," 109a  
- ḥḥ, "feast," det. of, 133b  
- ḥḥ-ḥḥ, "he has triumphed," 11a  
- ḥḥ-ḥḥ, "festival offerings," 46a  
- ḥḥ (to be emended?), 46a  
- ḥḥn, "dash ahead(?)" 80a  
- ḥḥ, "headlong (haste)" 80b, 85a  
- ḥḥ, "organisers(?)," unknown, 29b  
- ḥḥ, "cow," 75a  
- ḥḥ, "adorn," 29a  
- ḥḥ, "a name(?)" 27a  
- ḥḥ in m ḫḥ, "before (one's) face," 98a  
- ḥḥ-ḥḥ, "face-to-face," 19a  
- ḥḥ-ḥḥ, "in the heart of," 27a  
- ḥḥ in m ḫḥ, "for once(?)" 80a  
- ḥḥ in ḫḥ, "from their place," 46a  
- ḥḥ-ḥḥ in m ḫḥ, "bullock," 75a  
- ḥḥ, "terrify(?)" 27a  
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- ḥḥ-ḥḥ, "roar," writing of, 44a  
- ḥḥ, "span, horse," 75a  
- ḥḥ, "valiant at horsemanship," 9a  
- ḥḥ, "be spread out," 82a  

### ḫḥ

- ḫḥ, "shackle(?)" 107a  
- ḫḥ, "slaughterer," 28a  
- ḫḥ, "leave off(?)" 82a  
- ḫḥ, "sly(?)" 28a  
- ḫḥ, "billy(?)" 82a  
- ḫḥ, "cold(?)" 82a  
- ḫḥ, "small birds," 22a  
- ḫḥ, "arm(?) or (sword(?)" 28a  
- ḫḥ, "written vertically, 42a"  
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- ḫḥ, "be ignorant," 27a  
- ḫḥ, "be unmindful of," 40a  
- ḫḥ, "power," 82a  
- ḫḥ, "matter, thing," 35a
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