

THE VICTORIES OF SETI I, RECORDED IN THE  
GREAT TEMPLE AT KARNAK.

BY E. L. LUSHINGTON, D.C.L., LL.D.

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THE famous temple of Ammon, at Karnak, contains, in addition to many other precious records of ancient times, several sculptures and inscriptions magnifying the exploits of Ramenna Seti Meneptah, son of the first and father of the second Rameses. These are frequently alluded to and in part quoted by recent historians of Egypt, but a consecutive translation of them has not, as far as I know, been laid before the public. I have attempted this in the accompanying paper, and have added a few notes on any expressions which appeared doubtful as to their meaning or deserving of special remark. The hand of time, although it has destroyed much, has left a considerable portion of these memorials in a fair state of preservation, and they have been copied by several competent hands. What was done by Champollion may be learnt from his "Monuments Égyptiens," in folio, and still more from "Notices Descriptives des Monuments de l'Égypte et de Nubia," the publication of which is unfortunately not yet complete; but by the associated labours of the late Viscount E. de Rougé and his able successor, M. Maspero, has been continued to p. 720 of the second volume. Several plates of the "Monumenti Reali" of Rosellini, as well as the "Denkmäler" of Lepsius and the "Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens" of Brugsch, also inform us how the deeds of Seti were described by his admiring subjects, and invite comparison. In some few instances a variety of readings is found,

which, considering how much may have been at least partially effaced in the lapse of so many centuries, is not surprising.

My translation follows the order adopted by Lepsius, D. 3, 126-130; and there will be found also a further reference to the other corresponding texts which I have been able to consult:—

L. D. stands for Lepsius' "Denkmäler."

N. D., Champollion's "Notices Descriptives."

Br. Rec., Brugsch's "Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens."

D. H. I., Dümichen's "Historische Inschriften."

M. R., Rosellini's "Monumenti Reali."

M., Champollion's "Monuments Égyptiens."

The sculptures represent the king's figure as gigantic in comparison with that of other warriors, and often two rows of combatants or prisoners, one above the other, are placed opposite to him. His equipage is of proportional magnitude: sometimes the horses' names are engraved above or below them, as likewise the names of towns, fortresses, or waters by which the royal army pursues its march. Thus, on the fortress sketched in the first plate (L. D. 3, 126*a*), the words are legible, *tema en pa Kanana*, town of Canaan; and again, above the horses, "The great foremost charger of His Majesty 'Victory in Thebes,' *Nextu-m-Uas*," a name also borne by one of the two horses of Rameses II, whom, in Pentaur's recital, he praises as having alone proved faithful allies to him when deserted by his troops and captains. In the second portion of the same plate (126*b*), a line above the reins names the king's great foremost charger, "Amen has ordained him victory"; and a line below says "he is called *Antu-hrta*," which may be rendered "Bellona pleased" (Anta being a war goddess, probably of foreign origin, cf. Birch, "Gallery," p. 100; Bunsen, "Egypt's Place," i. 423), and recalls the name of Rameses' other horse, *Mut-* or *Nrau-hrta*. At the top of the picture, between Seti's bow and the plumes worn by the horses, an edifice stands, described as "town built anew by His Majesty, with the well . . . *ta*." Underneath this, "The stronghold of Ramenna," with a cir-

cular piece of water just below, on which the name of *Rebita* is legible (cf. Rehoboth, Gen. xxvi, 22). Again, below the body of the horses, a fort, "the well of Ramenna fortress," beneath which a reservoir, of an irregularly oval shape, is entitled "the well of sweet water." Above the king's head is the disc with two crowned uræi, fringed beneath with the characters meaning life and strength, and the vulture of victory, with outspread wings, holding the symbol of countless panegyries.

L. D. 3, 126*a*; M. 290; Ros. M. R. 48, 2; N. D. 2. 86. Seti shoots from his chariot at the Shasu, who fly routed; the royal ovals are between his bow and the string, and the hawk of Horhut above him, in front, "gives life, stability, strength, health." The following inscription is in front of the horses prancing over the fallen foe, "Year 1 of King (Ramenna), the defeat made by the valiant sword of Pharaoh on the wretched Shasu from the fortress Tar to the land of Canaan. His Majesty marched against them as a fierce lion, making them corpses in their uplands, overwhelming them in their blood; none escaped his fingers to tell his prowess to far lands; in the might of his father Amen, who ordained him strength and victory over the land."

126*b*. Ros. M. R. 49, 1; N. D. 2, 90. Seti looks back from the car on the suppliant enemy, holding bow and scimitar in his left hand, over which is the inscription, "He annihilates the chiefs of Kharu (Syrians) silences all opposition in their mouths, his sword is powerful in strength, his prowess as the son of Nut (Set or Sutech)." To the right before and above the horses' heads, are the words, "The gracious god took in his hands his bow, as Mentu within Thebes . . . smiting down the Sati, making his frontiers at his pleasure, no staying his arm in all lands, victorious king, protecting Egypt, he overthrew the towers in rebellious countries."

127*a*. contiguous with the last, repeats the battle scene (Ros. M. R. 49, 2; N. D. 2, 91). Under the horses, amid the tumbled masses of the foe, appear three forts and two waters; the names are partly effaced, "The well of Seti Meneptah," "The well Absakaba," "The Tower (*bexen*) of Ramenna," "The strength of Seti Meneptah." Words

above: "The gracious god, sun of Egypt, moon of all lands, Mentu, over (foreign) countries, irresistible, stronghearted as Baru, whom none passes by on the day of arraying battle; he enlarged the frontiers of Egypt to the expanse of heaven, on every side of the rebellious tribes; countless came the caitiff Shasu invaders; His Majesty (brought them) to nought." Some words are effaced.

127*b*. Ros. M. R. 48, 1; N. D. 2, 89, &c.; Br. Rec. 49*c*. Seti brings captives in two lines. A mutilated inscription begins, "Coming of His Majesty from land of Upper Rutennu." In front of him are the words, "Bringing spoil by the king to father Amen, when he went from land of miserable Rutennu, of silver, gold, chesbet, mafek (1) . . . . all precious stones, the chiefs of the people bound in his grasp to fill the treasury of father Amen, in the strength thou gavest me." Underneath these words are three stands of variously shaped vases containing the treasure. Facing the king, Amen sits on his throne holding the cucupha sceptre, and crowned with two high plumes. Above are the words, "Says Amen Ra, lord of the thrones of two lands, (2) come in peace gracious god, lord of the two lands Ramenna, I give thee victories over all countries, (thy terror) in heart of barbarians (nine bows), their chiefs come to thee all as one laden on their backs." Lower, between Amen's sceptre and face, "I give thee all lands under thy dread, the barbarians bowed down at thy roarings." Between Amen and Mut, "The great mother, lady of Aseru, lady of heaven, mistress of all gods, the giver of all life as Ra," and "Chonsu in Uas Neferhotep, great god, lord of heaven." Between the two rows of prisoners, "Chiefs of lands knowing not Egypt, brought as live captives by His Majesty."

128*a*. M. 292; Ros. M. R. 50; N. D. 2, 93 and 92; Br. Rec. 49*a*, 48*d*. Seti in his car, preceded and followed by rows of captives, whose necks are tied by a string of papyrus; three bearded heads of slain foes appear protruding from the chariot wheels. In front above the horses and car is carved, "Year 1 of the renewer of birth, king, lord of two lands, Ramenna giver of life, they came to tell His Majesty; the vile Shasu plotted (3) mischief (?) their

chiefs of tribes stood all together on the borders of Charu (Syria), the curse of discord seized them, each slew his fellow; they were not ignorant of the ordinances (4) of the palace: (?) glad was the king's heart thereon." Behind Seti, above captives: "Then the gracious god rejoiced in taking his weapon, he exulted over the invader, his heart was at ease on seeing streams of blood, he hewed off the heads of the stubborn-hearted; he loves an hour of beating them down beyond a day of pleasure; His Majesty slew them at once, not leaving their offspring (5), the part that remained of them, as living prisoners, he brought to Egypt." Behind Seti's chariot-wheels, underneath the row of three captives, is a prince with bow in hand, stepping forward; above him the words, "Royal attendant on his march over uplands of Rutennu, prince duke. . . . royal scribe, royal son loved by him." . . . Ramessu, Seti's successor, Rameses II, is the name which should probably be supplied, as in a text given farther on. Between the prince and the chariot is a fort, with the name above, "Uati of Seti Menepthah." On it is engraved "the well" . . . (illegible), a tree standing in a piece of water just beneath. Another fort, partly standing in water, has beside it "the castle of Ramenna" (Maktar, Migdol); and beneath, a well unnamed; and is placed close to the hind legs of the horses. Behind the forelegs is a fort, "the house of the lion," "Leontopolis," below which two trees enclose a space of water, and in front of the middle row of prisoners another, "the fortress of T'ar," (*Pa χtm n T'ar*), which Brugsch identifies with Etham, the station where the children of Israel encamped, journeying from Succoth (Exod. xiii, 20). A horizontal expanse of water full of fishes extends under the feet of the lowest line of prisoners, and a vertical line of water, peopled with crocodiles, bounds the picture to the right. The last, which is named the cut, or canal (*ta tena*), is crossed by a bridge with towers on each side. Under the buildings on the further side is the name, "the well of Hazina." On the various places named in the course of Seti's expedition, it may suffice once for all to refer to the works of the learned and indefatigable scholar, Brugsch-Bey, especially to "Dict. de Geogr.," pp. 177, 310,

589, 597, where he traces the successive stages of the royal march from west to east: also "Gesch. Aeg.," p. 458, and following. As to the tribes and countries designated by the names occurring in these sculptures, there is for the most part a pretty general agreement among scholars, while some questions still remain unsettled. On disputed points I do not propose to touch, merely remarking that the explanation of Remenen as Armenia, adopted by many high authorities, has been contested by Brugsch, who, in his *History of Egypt*, p. 463, expresses the conviction that it means Lebanon. The difficulty attending these geographical problems, even where the similarity of names appears conspicuous, is well pointed out by Mariette-Bey in his remarks on the word Fenex (pp. 11 and 50 of his "*Listes Géographiques des pylônes de Karnak*"), a name which occurs in the monuments of Thothmes III. and naturally suggests Phœnicia.

128*b*. Ros. M. R. 51; N. D. 2. 93; Br. Rec. 49*b*. Two lines, priests and others, a double procession in two lines, with uplifted hands and sound of music, some bowing low, welcome the king. Inscription over this: "Divine servants, chiefs, captains of south and north, come to render homage to the gracious god when he comes from the land of Rutennu, bringing spoil in great abundance; never was seen his like since the epoch of Ra; they say, glorifying His Majesty, extolling his prowess. Thou art come from the lands thou hast quelled; thy word has become true (6); thy foes are beneath thee; thy duration as king is as the sun in heaven, to slake thy heart on the barbarians. Ra has made thy frontiers; his hands are behind thee for protection; thy mace is over all lands; their chiefs fall to thy sword."

129. N. D. 2, 106; Br. Rec. 50*b*. The king, clutching by the hair a group of captives, uplifts his mace. Amen stands in front, stretching out the scimitar in his right hand, and holding in his left, together with the key of life, ropes passed round the necks of three rows of conquered enemies, their arms tied behind, with shields in front declaring their nationality. Three more rows below complete the picture; the two upper, containing nine shields each, are led by a deity, whose name has disappeared: the lowest, with twenty-

nine shields, fills the whole length. Amen addresses Seti in words of which some portion is lost both above and below. The frequent lacunæ often make the connection hard to discover. "Son of my loins, beloved, lord of the two lands, Ramenna, revered of diadems, . . . . (who vanquishes) his foes; I bring to thee all peoples who were invading thy frontiers . . . . (of thy land) on its north; thy spirits are beneficent; thy terror circles . . . . thy victories. I put thy fear in their breasts; hew down the wretches. . . . I make thee lord of their heads, Herusha. . . . (I put) my mace in (thy hands); thou hast quelled the obdurate. . . . (There come) to thee their chiefs, bearing all the valuable tributes of their countries; we give thee Egypt . . . (slaves) for thy treasury; I grant that to thee comes the south ready to bend in homage, the north to crouch before thee; . . . . (the sea (?)) under thy sway; I give thee dominion established on earth; I grant that thy roarings ring amid . . . . his territory (?) . . . . I open to thee the roads of Punt . . . . I give thee a ministering priest (7) to lead thee in solemn state, Chonsu-Horus; I give thee . . . . as thy servants; Hor-hut makes his hands a home of comfort to thee. The countries of . . . . (nations) knowing not Egypt, I grant that thy Majesty should tread them as in sport (8), as a jackal. . . . I give thee possessions of the south and north regions, their powers; the domains of the two gods (9) made thy domains." The captives are portrayed lifting up their hands for mercy. In front of them a few words remain, forming part of the address to Seti by the figure leading the two upper rows: "We give thee all lands, all foreign countries, under thy sandals"; and beneath the feet of Seti and his victims: "List of the peoples of south and north whom His Majesty smote, making a great overthrow of them; countless numbers of them brought as living prisoners to fill the treasury of Amen Ra, lord of the thrones of the two lands and of all regions."

130a. M. 300; Ros. M. R. 57; N. D. 2, 102. To the right the Cheta fly in wild disorder. A line above them: "The wretched Cheta, of whom his Majesty made a great overthrow." Seti is pictured as in 126a; in front of his

horses an inscription: "Hor Ra, strong bull, crowned in Thebes, giving life to south and north; king, lord of the two lands, Ramemma, son of Ra; Seti, loved of Amen, the gracious god, dominant in prowess, going forth in strength as Mentu; power potent as he that begot him; illumining the two lands as Harmachis, great in prowess as the son of Nut, victorious lord of the two lands by the deed of his hands; coursing the battlefield (10) as the inmate of Nubti (Set), mighty in terror as Bar over foreign countries, uniting the two lands (11), standing firm in the nest; sheltering with his prowess the land of Kami, whose frontiers Ra has made far as the limits which the sun's disk illumines; hawk divine, darting splendour; traversing heaven as the Majesty of Ra; jackal who paces circling round this land in the morning; grim lion exploring the hidden ways of every region; strong bull with pointed horns beating down the Sati, trampling the Cheta, smiting their chiefs, overwhelmed in their own blood, entering into them as flame of fire, making them to nought."

130*b* continues the last, Ros. M. R. 58; N. D. 2, 103; Br. Rec. 46*c*, 46*d*, 46*e*.

To the left, first, a double row of prisoners; Seti's car follows, by which he stands, looking back to two captive chariots led in triumph; prisoners described: "Chiefs of lands not knowing Kami, bearing on their backs all choice produce of their lands." Above, the inscription, extending over the captives to the head of the king: "The gracious god, dominant in his changes, great of prowess as Mentu in Uas, young bull with pointed horns, firm in beating down hundreds of thousands, lion exploring the hidden ways of all regions, jackal of the south, whose steps circle round the land in the hour . . . . (to destroy) his foes in every region; valiant warrior, to whom is no second, whose bow knows the place of his hand; putting forth his spirits as a hill of iron, he rests, and they taste his breath; Rutemu come to him with homage; the land of Tehi is prostrate; he stores corn at his desire in the land of the caitiff Cheta; their chiefs fall to his blows, pass into nothing when the greatness of his spirits is over them; as fire he ravages their towns." Behind Seti we again read: "Victorious king, great of



proWess, whose roarings are as the son of Nut, come in festival; he has ravaged the countries, trampled the land of Cheta; he has quelled the rebels (12); every land quails before him, reduced to peace; the dread of His Majesty has entered unto them, his fierceness has subdued (13) their hearts; chiefs of countries are bound before him; he spared not hundreds of thousands combined."

Here the representations in L. D. come to a close. The "Monuments" and "Notices Descriptives" of Champollion and Rosellini, add some scenes omitted by Lepsius.

M. 290; N. D. 87; Ros. M. R. 46. A forest is seen on the left, with workmen felling trees, some wield axes, others pull them down with ropes; some in front implore mercy with uplifted hands. The king, alighted from his car, listens to a prince who leads into his presence the Remenen: the words both of the prince and the prisoners are given. "Says the fanbearer, on the king's right hand, in answer to the gracious god, 'All is done as thou saidst, Horus, giver of life to upper and lower country, thou art as Mentu over every land; the chiefs of Rutennu are seen, thy terror in their limbs.' The chiefs of the country of Remenen say, adoring the lord of the two lands, extolling his prowess, 'Thou art seen as thy father Ra; there is life in beholding thee.'" Fragments of an inscription, of which the upper part is lost, say, "Remenen cut (wood for) a large boat on the river . . . . likewise for the . . . ." Behind Seti is another inscription, hopelessly defaced.

M. 293; N. D. 2, 94; Ros. M. R. 52; Br. Rec. 49e. Seti leads before Amen two lines of prisoners; vases of treasure placed in front. Above the prisoners we read: "Chiefs of countries that knew not Egypt, whom the king brought from his victory over the land of the caitiff Rutennu. They say, in extolling His Majesty with adoration for his victories, 'O hail! great is thy name, mighty thy prowess; joyous are peoples that do according to thy will; fettered they that invade thy frontiers; firmly established is thy dignity. We knew not Egypt, our fathers trod not on it. Grant us breath by the gift of thy hands.'" Above the second line of captives, "The spoil brought by His Majesty from the Shasu, cap-

tured by His Majesty himself, in the first year of renewal of birth" (*i.e.*, of his reign).

M. 294 and 294*a* form a single picture, closely resembling, but not identical with L. D. 3, 129, and much mutilated. N. D. 2, 95, 96; Ros. M. R. 60, 61; Br. Rec. 50. To the left Seti with his mace, holds down the captives cowering low: above him fragments of an inscription which once contained his royal titles remain: "Striking the Petti, trampling the Mena, making his frontier to the edge of earth, to the waterlands of Naharin." Above his left arm are the words: "Smiting the chiefs of Petti, Mena, all hidden countries, all lands of Fenchu, the watery districts, the great round of the vast green water." Opposite to Seti Amen stands holding out the scimitar in his right hand, and in his left the cord fastened to three rows of captive shields: three more below are led by a bow-bearing goddess, Uas, or the Thebaid. In front of Amen's outstretched arm and weapon is one line: "Take the sword, victorious king, smite with thy mace the Nine-bows." Under his arm eight fragmentary lines, each commencing, "I grant that they see thy Majesty as lord of heaven, thou shinest on their faces as image of myself. I grant that they see thy Majesty decked with bravery, grasping thy weapons on thy chariot. I grant, &c. . . . like a star darting its heat of flame: scattering its dew." In the following mostly illegible lines the phrases may be detected: "Firm of heart, pointing his horns, inaccessible, irresistible, like the forms of Sechet in her tempest . . . on bodies amid the uplands . . . great in prowess, not withstood in heaven, in earth." This fragment illustrates a practice often occurring in Egyptian records. A later inscription in honour of the reigning prince, repeats almost word for word the phrases and images used previously to extol his ancestor or remote predecessor. We find here put into the mouth of Amen the words of a celebrated inscription of Thothmes III, translated in "Records of the Past," vol. ii, p. 29, &c. Above Amen's head and behind his figure a long inscription once existed. Now the whole latter portion is miserably imperfect, more than half of all the

columns having disappeared at the top; still enough is left to enable us to detect beyond doubt a similar usurpation on a larger scale; a century or so later shows us the plagiarizer plagiarized. The fragments given separately in the "Notices Descriptives," and in Brugsch's "Recueil," when compared with Champollion's "Monuments," fully suffice to show that an inscription carved at Medinet Habu, in honour of Rameses III, is closely copied from this of Seti. The fuller inscription is given L. D. 3, 210. Dümichen H. I. 1, 16, 17; N. D. 1, 727; De Rougé *Ét. Ég.*, 10, 109; and has been translated almost entirely by M. Chabas, "*Études sur l'Antiquité Historique.*" p. 120, 1st edition, 1872.

The version here given is made from Seti's inscription, with passages placed within brackets, which from comparing the Medinet Habu text (14), we may fairly conclude to have originally existed in this; any remarkable difference between the two is pointed out in a note.

Saith Amen Ra, lord of thrones of the two lands, "Son of my loins, beloved, Ramenna, lord of the sword over all countries, I am thy father, I place thy dread among the Rutennu, upper and lower; the Petti of Nubia are overwhelmed beneath thy sandals. I grant that to thee come the chiefs of southern countries, they give for thee to receive gifts of tribute, (bearing their children on their backs, with all precious offerings of) their countries . . . I turn my face to the North, to enrich (thee, I place the land of Teshet beneath thy sandals, press thou thy fingers on the stubborn, overthrow the Herusha by thy valiant sword), I grant that to thee shall come (those who know not Egypt, carrying) their tribute, laden with silver, gold, *xesbet*, all precious stones chosen from the divine land (before thy noble countenance. I turn my face to the East, to enrich thee), binding them all together within thy grasp, I assemble the countries (all the growths of Punt) of gums, perfumes of *tasheps*; odours of all sweet smelling woods of the divine land (to thy face, above the diadem on thy head). I turn my face to the West to enrich thee, I plague for thee all lands of Tehennu; (they come) softly treading in homage to thee, bowing low at thy roarings

to give thee glory. (I turn my face to heaven to enrich thee) joyous to thee are all the gods (of the horizon of heaven). . . . (thou risest) (?) as Ra, at the front of morn, thou art fresh in youth, as Ra when he brings noonday. I turn my face to earth (to enrich thee; I ordain to thee victories over all lands); to thee the gods rejoice in their temples; to thee is made duration for ages on the throne of Seb."

M. 295; N. D. 2, 98; Ros. M. R. 54, 1. Attack on the fortress of Katesh, very imperfectly preserved. Defenders are seen on the top of the wall, some falling headlong from the battlements. In front the fliers are pierced by the arrows of Seti, of whose person no vestige remains; only the bodies of his horses and wheels of his car in part defy time. Below the fort are trees and scampering cattle: its name can be read near the top, and on the lower part is engraved, "Ascent made by Pharaoh to storm the fort of Katesh, the land of Amar." A fragmentary inscription above, too much mutilated to give any consecutive meaning.

M. 297; N. D. 2, 98; Ros. M. R. 55. Battle scene. Seti in his chariot drives before him the enemy in full flight; his horse's name is given, Trampler of the Plains. In the lower part of the picture, as the king seizes one of "the chiefs of Tehemu," a smaller figure behind him is named "The Prince, eldest royal son of his loins, beloved by him, Rameses." In front of the chariot an inscription is partially preserved, "Thy terror chastises the peoples, champion to whom is no fellow, making by his sword the two lands know, that they may see in the whole land him as Bar, scouring the hills, tearing open the regions with dread; his name is victorious, his sword powerful; none may stand before him."

M. 298; N. D. 2, 19; Ros. M. R. 55; Br. Rec. 45e. Seti drives before his car two lines of captive Tehi, noticeable from the ostrich-plume on their head: his horse's name, "Ken Amen," "Amen's strength." A short inscription above them says, "He made an end of them standing at the gorge; they knew not how to seize their bows; they watch in their dens like jackals, in dread of His Majesty."

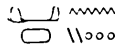
M. 299; N. D. 2, 100; Br. Rec. 48a. Much likeness to

L. D. 3, 127*b*. Seti brings prisoners and spoil before Amen-Ra and other deities. "Says Amen, lord of thrones of both lands, 'My son beloved, Rameuma, my heart rejoices in thy love, exulting to see thy excellence; I grant that thy majesty may roar over all countries . . . . over the head of their chiefs who come to thee together . . . . with all their treasures lifted on their backs.'" Behind Amen are "Mut, lady of Ašru, lady of heaven, mistress of all gods; Chonsu m Uas Neferhotep, Hor, lord of gladness, Tahuti, lord of Aptu" (Thebes), three names applied to one god.

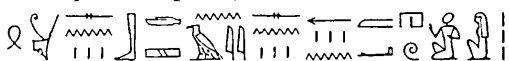

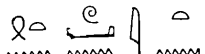




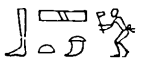
N. D. 2, 101; Br. Rec. 47. Seti's offerings are described in terms nearly identical with those of L. D. 3, 127*b*. "The wretches (beštau) of lands that knew not Egypt," are said to be brought "to fill thy treasure-house (Amen's) with male and female slaves." Above the prisoners: "His Majesty comes from lands (in which) he spoiled the Rutennu, slew their chiefs; he made the Amu say, lo, behold him coming forth as fire when no water is brought; he annihilated all rebels, all resistance in their mouth, he took their breath from them." Above the lower line: "Chiefs of the lands of Tehemu . . ." A few more fragments here and there may be read, but are too imperfect to give any connection.

The only date found in these inscriptions is Seti's first year; nor am I aware that any later date referring to war-like achievements of his has been discovered. His ninth year occurs in the Redesieh Inscription, which describes his efforts to remedy the loss of life caused by drought to miners crossing the desert. There seem to be grounds for believing that his reign did not extend much beyond this later date. The great Abydos Inscription shows that his son Rameses was early raised to almost kingly state; and we have seen him pictured as partner in Seti's campaign and triumph. Assuming the young prince to be no more than 12 years old at this time, he would be 20 at the epoch of the Redesieh record, in which Seti still appears as monarch. The sixty-six years of Rameses's sole reign would thus give him eighty-six or more of life, and we can hardly imagine it protracted far beyond this. The traditional number of fifty-one years for Seti's reign is difficult to admit, and not easy of explanation.

## NOTES.

(1). L.D. 3, 127*b*, line 4. Here a word occurs unknown to me elsewhere, nor is the pronunciation clearly beyond doubt, ; māni seems the most likely reading, as given by M. Pierret in his "Vocabulary," p. 194; some precious mineral is probably intended.



(2). L.D. 3, 127*b*. "Lord of thrones of two lands," the literal version of neb-nes-taui, which name Mariette ("Karnak," p. 2), and Brugsch (D.G., p. 360), consider to denote specially the sanctuary of Amen's temple at Aptu (eastern Thebes).















(3). 128*a*, line 4. . The first words are not easy of interpretation, though both are well known separately;  seems to be the verb, found frequently in the sense of turn round, wind, circle; the substantive form often used to denote the solar motion, . Br. W. B., 1393.  which has here no determinative, mostly has one implying weariness or prostration, , or the evil bird . or again the figure , denoting reprobate, accursed; it seems sometimes to alternate with the form , rebel; cf. Br. W.B. 423, 446. Now from the radical meaning, *turn*: it is possible to derive two or three various conceptions which might find place here. Turning round may suggest rounding into a ball, *συστρέφεισθαι*, massing themselves in revolt; or again, turn in the mind, *corde volutare*, plotted revolt, the meaning given by Brugsch in his "Geschichte Aegyptens," p. 461. Of this usage no instance is known to me; still it suits the context well. Thirdly, it might perhaps be applied to the failure of the insurrection; they turned back routed (compare the Greek use of *τροπή*), "even as the chiefs of their clans stood on the borders of Syria, discord








and to depositing the gathered produce in the granary; anyhow, the above words seem to denote that Ramesses uses the Cheta land as his own, sowing or reaping at his pleasure. In the word   (on which see Brugsch, W. B. 542) the context appears to me rather to favour the meaning *heir, offspring*, in preference to that of *inheritance, patrimony*, which, however, might yield a tolerable sense, "he left them no property; he spoiled them of all."

(6). L.D. 3, 128*b*, 7.    , "thy word is become true; thou hast made good thy cause, and overcome the wrongdoers," such seems to me the simple meaning of the original words. Much light has been thrown on the usage of this and cognate phrases by the valuable remarks of M. Devéria, M. Grébaut, and other scholars; but it does not appear demonstrated that in very many cases the old rendering, justified, is otherwise than perfectly suitable and consistent with the original and literal sense of  , the voice of truth before the tribunal of Osiris, the lord of truth and justice, is sure to prevail, he whose voice is true becomes victorious and triumphant. The notions, *justify against his enemies*, and *make to prevail against his enemies*, are so closely allied as to be scarcely distinguishable. Thus the constant epithet to the dead may be fairly viewed as equivalent to *blessed, selig*, as Brugsch W. B. 577, &c., expresses it. With all the admiration which every student of Egyptian lore must gladly pay to the learning and sagacity of Dr. L. Stern, I cannot be convinced by his new explanation of this phrase given in Z.A., 1877, p. 120, &c. In the XIIth Dynasty the two consecutive reigns of Amenemha III and IV exhibit severally the titles   (written also  ) and   , K.B. 183, 184. It seems hardly probable that in these two cases the  should represent two words entirely different in meaning, especially when we consider the various compounds with "ma" found in royal titles—Ra-neb-ma, Hor-likn-m-ma, Hor-ap-ma, Hor-neb-ma, Hotep-hima, &c., where the sense truth or justice is manifestly the right one.




different ending, is also quoted from the same tomb in the "Notices Descriptives," I, p. 797. Comp. p. 436.

In L. D., 3, 202*f*. Horanmutf, "great god, lord of ages," stands with uplifted hand, facing "divine mother, royal mother Tachat," saying, "We give a seat in Kharneter, as the cycle of great gods." In another grave at Bab-el-meluk (L. D., 206*e*), Horanmutf, holding a censer in his left hand, dropping water from an ewer with his right, accosts, "Chief royal wife, lady of the two lands, Titi." In Seti's temple at Gurna (L. D. 3, 151*b*), two seated figures of Rameses I (Ramenpeh), looking different ways, are sculptured, with an Anmutf standing in front of each, who invokes Seb and the cycle of great and lesser gods to bestow blessings on the deceased king by the gift of his grandson Rameses II, and a line between the two divisions attests the renewal of the monument by Rameses II, in honour of his father's father Ramenpeh and his father Ramenma. In Seti's temple at Abydos, brought to light by Mariette-Bey, a panther-vested ministrant repeatedly appears, named variously Anmutf, Hor-Anmutf, and, with an additional priestly title, Sem Hor-Anmutf. See especially plates 28, 33, and 34, where Sem Hor-Anmutf assists in the purifying rites, and addresses the cycle of deities in favour of "his dear son Ramenma," to whom he presents the consecrated "eye of Horus." In Denderah likewise (as I learn from M. Lefébure "Ét. Ég." 3, 56) the phrase is found ; Anmutf is Hor. L. D. 3, 175*b*, shows an inscription on a rock between Assuan and Philæ, where Rameses II appears making offerings to Chnum, followed by his queen Hesinefert and his son Chamuas, who is styled Anmutf. Two other sons Rameses and Meneptah, and a daughter Batanta, are placed below.

Seeing then that in Seti's age the part of Anmutf might be acted both by divine and human personages, we may without violence suppose Amen to say to him, "I give thee a god as Anmutf to conduct thee in solemn state," and Horus is the god we should expect to find designated for this office. Here he is named Chonsu Hor, the name of two deities, mostly distinct, being united in one. The fusion of



separate powers is so prevalent in Egyptian mythology that this need hardly surprise us; still it may be well to show that this special combination is not unexampled.













In a scene copied by Champollion. M. 299 (see above translation, p. 13), Seti stands before three deities: (1) Amen. (2) Mut, (3)  Chonsu m Uas nefer-hotep, "Hor lord of width of heart (exultation), Tahuti lord of Aptu (Thebes)." In this title a triple unity is represented; we more commonly find either  $\chi$ onsu Hor or  $\chi$ onsu Tahuti in combination. Thus in the great Harris Papyrus, p. 10, line 14, pa  $\chi$ onsu m Uas nefer hotep, Hor neb aua het (or *ab*): "Records of the Past," 636; Brugsch, D. G. 600. In the great temple at Abusimbel, L. D. 3, 191i, Rameses II is figured kneeling before a god, hawk-headed, and crowned with the lunar disk, whose name is given  $\chi$ onsu m Uas nefer hotep, Hor neb . . . A character follows which is not clear as given in the text, but as the state of the face of wall beneath shows traces of the destructive work of time, it may be fairly supposed part of the *aua het*, the epithet given above to Chonsu Hor.









L. D. 3, 223*b*. At Western Silsilis, a singular inversion is found; a later Rameses stands before Amen-ra, Mut, and Chonsu m Uas nefer hotep auā het Hor, and Sebak Ra.



L. D. 3, 229*c*. In a rock stele at Anibe three figures are named Amen Ra, Mut, Chonsu m Uas neb aua het; the name of Hor is not given, but his usual epithet added to Chonsu's titles; likewise in Chonsu's Temple at Thebes, 238*b*. L. D. 3, 234*a*, gives another identification, Chonsu nefer hotep Shu, in a tomb at Thebes. L. D. 3, 237*b*, Chonsu nefer hotep m Aputu Tahuti lord of Hermonthis.













In Ptolemaic times instances occur of Chonsu's name combined with Hor, Tahuti, Ra, Shu; see L. D. 4, 9*b*, 11*c*, 14*c*, &c. No other instance is known to me where Chonsu Hor is found as an Anmutf, though the name Hor-anmutf is so common, and indeed, according to Dr. Brugsch, D. G. 79, appears as the local deity of a town Ateb, between Dendera and Abydos. The purport of the name is not certain, and throws no light upon the mysterious functions of this office;

it may, perhaps, refer to some myth that has not reached us. The verb  , lead in a solemn procession, is too familiar to need illustration: the same word, as a noun, is used to denote the ark in which the form of a deity was paraded in grand state ceremonies—so in L. D. 3, 142, 150*a*, 180*a*.

(8). L.D. 3, 129*b*, 7.    × . The word    ×  is explained by Brugsch, W. B. 1357-8, "amuse oneself," answering to    , with which it is sometimes coupled, and I see no better explanation to be suggested for it here.

(9). L.D. 3, 129*b*, 8.        . The translation given is that which De Rougé in his "Chrestomathie," t. iii, p. 100, adopts for these words, the two gods being Horus and Set, whose contest for the dominion of Egypt and final partition is alluded to in the fourth Sallier Papyrus, and in the inscription re-engraved by Sabako after an older original, now contained in the British Museum, and printed in the first series of Egyptian Inscriptions, plate 36 and following. As much of it as was still legible was translated and criticised in 1870 by Mr. Goodwin, whose recent death (an irreparable loss to Egyptian philology) every lover of the study must deplore. Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, iii,


1, 247, 285: In this the word   occurs both as verb and noun, with reference to this division of the domain between the two claimants. Cf. Brugsch, W. B. 509-510, who might also have cited earlier illustrations of this usage; for instance, we find a passage which may be compared in a rock-inscription at Tombos, L. D. 3, 5, line 2, where


Thothmes I is said to rule             the portions of Hor and Set, uniting both regions. Again, in the base of Queen Hatasu's obelisk, L. D. 3, 24*d*, n. 3,


                        

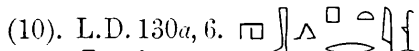
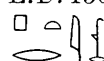


"I raise the white crown, I rise in the red crown. I unite South and North, both their portions: I rule the land as the son of Hes. I am strong as the son of Nut." Again, L. D. 3. 119 *e*, where Ammon addresses King Horus.



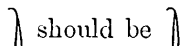

 It may be worth while

to observe the striking difference between mythological versions of the same story as they have come down to us. In the Sallier Papyrus IV, the battle is fully described, and the reconciliation mentioned, but no important part in the final arrangement is assigned to Seb, any more than to Kronos by Plutarch in his treatise, whereas in Sabaco's inscription, Seb appears as the arbiter who settles the dispute. Should not the last words in the sixteenth column of p. 36 in E. I. sec. 1, which are printed  ( ), be read

 ( ), and understood of Seb, "he adjudged the dispute of Hor with Set," as Thoth is called

, arbiter between two combatants, a title given likewise to Amen in the Boulaq Papyrus, No. 17, 8. 4.

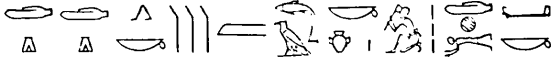
(10). L.D. 130*a*, 6. . The meaning assigned here to  is in accordance with the views of Brugsch, Z. A. 1876. 99-100. who quotes several passages where this sense suits the context perfectly, and where the determinative  points to a place, as  does to a forcible action; Schanplatz, field of view, acquires the notion field of battle, as we sometimes use *field* by itself with this farther meaning.

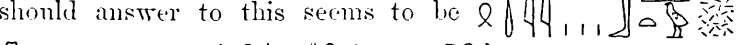
(11). L.D. 130*a*, 7. . Samtaui, uniter of the two lands, frequently occurs in the royal scutcheons, mostly in conjunction with the name of Horus. So far the words present no difficulty. In what follows the first character seems to require a slight change.  should be  = , the determinative here standing alone for the word which it usually follows. Exactly the same combination is cited by Brugsch, Z. A. 1876, p. 100, from a stele in the British Museum, belonging to the date of Thotmes IV,


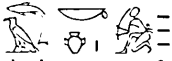


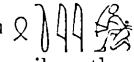
(14). In this note K. stands for the Karnak text (Seti); M. for that of Medinet Habu (Rameses III).


N.D. 2. 96. line 3. The words, "I am thy father; I place thy dread among the Rutennu, upper and lower," are not found in M.

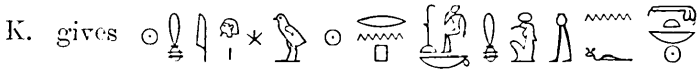
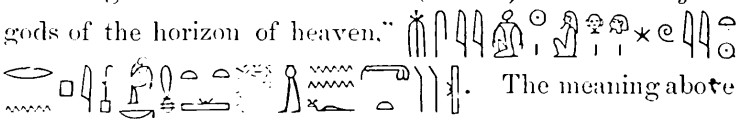
. All that remains in K. of what should answer to this seems to be

. The first words present a remarkable likeness to those occurring in L. D. 3. 128a discussed above, but are not easily brought to correspond with what the later inscription has in this place, though the concluding "thy sword" points to a similar connection of ideas.

 in general meaning answers pretty well to . so that the sense might be "the rebels in their nests (have fallen to) thy sword," or "thy sword has felled," or "the rebels have turned, fled."

The form  occurs in an inscription of Thotmes II, which describes the dread of his might pervading all foreign nations (L. D. 3. 16a. 3), but the connection in which it is found is obscure, and I suspect the exact characters of the original are not reproduced. Here too the perplexity may be in part due to the damaged state of the stone, rendering certainty of transcription impossible.

N.D. 2. 97. line 4.  *tasheps*. or *taas*. a fragrant tree, frequently mentioned in the great Harris Papyrus, p. 16a. &c.

K. gives  according to N. D. 2, 97. M. has (line 18), "To thee rejoice gods of the horizon of heaven," . The meaning abote given to the words of K. depends on a slight change which





