XXVII.—*Upon an Historical Tablet of RAMESES II., 19th Dynasty, relating to the Gold Mines of Ethiopia.* By SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq.

Read January 29, and February 5, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to transmit the translation of a long Egyptian hieroglyphical inscription, consisting of thirty-eight lines of text, published by M. Prisse, but not explained by him, in his *Egyptian Monuments*,^a which is of considerable importance for a due knowledge of the political history of Egypt. M. Prisse describes it as a tablet of Rameses II., taken from the ruin which is situate facing Dakke, in Nubia.^b This spot, which he states has not been as yet well examined, ought to be Contra Pscelcis,^c or rather Tachompso, according to Ptolemy.^d The tablet is of granite, and of very mediocre workmanship, and its lower part had been broken into several pieces, one portion of which, the only remaining, he had presented in the midst of the plate, not knowing its right position. “Notwithstanding its mutilation, this monument,” says M. Prisse, “is very interesting for the history of Rameses II., who, as this inscription states, as soon as the third year of his reign, had rendered himself illustrious by his victories. Since the drawing was made the tablet is supposed to have been transported to France by the Count St. Ferriol, and to be at present in the chateau of Uriage, near Grenoble.” So far M. Prisse. I propose to take up the subject where he has left it, and to give a translation of its contents, which presents no great difficulties except in three or four places, which I have marked. In the notes which accompany this Paper, I have indicated the new philological explanations which I have proposed, as well as such restorations as the text, often indifferently copied, demands. But the historical commentary, and such as requires more than mere verbal criticism, I have added to the translation. It is also much to be regretted that, while in France, in Prussia,^e

^a *Monumens Egyptiens*, par E. Prisse d’Avesnes. Folio. Paris, 1847. Pl. xxi.

^b *Ibid.* p. 5.

^c Antoninus, *Itinerarium*, p. 2; Metacompso, Ptol. iv. c. 5.

^d According to Herodotus, ii. 29, Tachompso was an island.

^e An example of the invaluable aid afforded by the type in the prosecution of these studies will be found in M. de Rougé’s *Mémoire sur l’Inscription du Tombeau d’Ahmes*. Extrait des *Mémoires présentés par divers Savants*. 4to. Paris, 1851.

^f M. Lepsius, *Einleitung*. (*Die Chronologie der Ägypter*.) 4to. Berlin, 1849. The type is linear.

and in Austria,^a there is a national hieroglyphic type by which Egyptian studies are materially advanced, no such aid exists in England. Hence many points can only be proved by fewer examples cited than would have been the case had a type existed; although, in these instances, those which occurred to the writer as most conclusive have been selected.

The hieroglyphical scholar will bear this in mind, while the general historical inquirer need only be informed that the interpretations stated positively are such as are used or admitted by the best scholars, while an examination of the notes will guide him to new, difficult, or contested points.

The tablet (*utu* or *hutu*) is long, terminating in a rounded top, the usual shape of those in use during the eighteenth dynasty. It consists, as usual, of a picture and a text; the one forming a vignette to the other. The picture is divided into two portions. In the first the monarch Rameses II., wearing a helmet (*cheprsh*) and the usual royal tunic, offers two vases of wine to Ammon in his ithyphallic type, the Ammon and Horus of the Pantheon, accompanied by the usual titles of "the good living God, the Sun sustainer of Truth, approved of the Sun, the Son of the Sun, RAMESSU, beloved of Ammon; may he live!"^b Behind his head is inscribed, "Health to all his limbs; to be, like the Sun, immortal!" The god stands under his usual attributes, and is entitled in the line nearest the king, "Khem,^c who dwells in the

^a I am only aware of the existence of this type from a communication of M. Lenormant.

^b The expression is either the participial form *anch-ta*, "living" (Champollion, Grammaire Egyptienne, p. 425), or "giver of life." (Dictionnaire, p. 340), or the optative *ma-i-anch*, "give to live," i. e.,

would that he may live; for is *ta* in its paradigm, with *ma* in the optative, as rightly observed by

Lepsius, Einleitung, s. 406. The feminine form *anch-ta* (Champoll. Gr. l. c.) is not so easily explained.

^c The name of this god is very puzzling. My reasons for considering it Khem have been already given (Archæological Journal, June 1850, p. 117). To these may be added its apparent equivalent at Edfoo

(Lepsius, Einleitung, s. 134-136). *Shaf. t. b.* . . . in which the last word is perhaps *beti*. The first word *shaft* perhaps means "create" (Dr. Hincks, Trans. Roy. Irish Academy, vol. xxi. pt. 2). Hence in the Ritual (M. Lepsius, Todtenbuch, xxvii. c. 73, l. 1), entitled The Chapter of passing through the West on the day going through the court-yard (*ammah*), the deceased says, *A ba naa sheftu*, "Oh, Soul! greatest of created things." Consequently this title may be (month of) "the producer of corn." The analogy of *shaft* with *sheep*, as in the expression *her sheft*, "sheep-headed" (Champollion, Monumens, t. i. pl. xxxviii. *bis*), and with *shape*, as when Ammon says to Rameses III. "I give thee my shape (*sheft-a*) in thy limbs," is remarkable. This god is also called the god with two names, and he who conceals his name.

hill ;”^a while the lower part of the line expresses the action of the king, “making a gift of wine to his father Khem, who dwells in the midst of the hill.” Before the god is inscribed, “beloved of Khem, who dwells in the hill ;” and behind him, “gives a perfect life,” probably referring to the *Hut*.^b

In the other scene, the monarch holds a vase of fuming frankincense to the god Horus, hawk-headed, and wearing the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, or of the upper and lower hemisphere, the *pschent*, holding in his pendent left hand the emblem of life, and in his right the sceptre, *gam* ; the two expressing the idea of “perfect life.” The legends of the king contain the same titles as in the first scene ; and that “he gives frankincense to Har (*Horus*), Lord of Bak, that he may let him live.” In reply says “*Har*, Lord of *Bak*, I give to thee all lands under thy sandals ; I allow thee to rule a long while ; I give to thee all health, victory, and power ; and to be, like the Sun, immortal !” Behind the god is in the field, “who gives all health and tranquillity,” a general phrase similar to that in the first scene ; and which may be in connection with the *HUT*, or winged globe, above. The two scenes are surmounted by the winged globe (*âpi*),^c always called the region *Hut*, the celestial Edfoo or Apollinopolis Magna, “the morning sun.”

It is as usual entwined by two uræi, round the neck of each of which is an emblem of life.^d The one to the left wearing the *hut* or *sut*, the “white cap,” or upper part of the *pschent*, emblem of Upper Egypt, or of the celestial hemisphere, is the goddess Subn,^e or Sun, the eponymous goddess of Eileithyia or El Kab, the southern limit of Egypt Proper ; the other, wearing the red cap, is *UT*, the goddess of Northern Egypt, or the lower hemisphere ; and probably eponymous of some other city, if not of the Mediterranean.^f It is difficult to understand the reason of this often-repeated emblem. Clearly, from all expressions relating to the *Hut*,

^a M. Prisse has throughout given instead of , but the correction is obvious.

^b Compare Champollion, Monumens, t. iii. pl. ccl.

^c Champollion, Mon. t. iii. pl. ccxxiii. l. 1, 2, in the legends of the Sun, “He has changed himself in the globe of gold” (*âpi en nub*). ^d Wooden Tablets, British Museum, No. 8447, and foll.

^e The true pronunciation of the name of this eponymous goddess of Eileithyia is called in question by M. Lepsius (Ueber den ersten Gotterkreis Abhandl. d. K. Akad. d. Wissenschaft. 4to. Berlin, 1851,

s. 42), who proposes *Neben* as the true name. By the same process may be proved , or , i. e. a T or J.—Cf. Dr. Hincks, Attempt, pp. 45, 94 ; M. De Rougé, Mémoire, p. 190.

^f For the name of this goddess, cf. Sir G. Wilkinson’s Manners and Customs, pl. xxxv. ; for the expression *hut* or *ut hur*, “the great pond” or sea, Champollion, Monumens, t. iii. pl. ccxxiv. *A-ai em sa sen em . . . ui heli hut hur*, “Oh, come behind them in the isles in the midst of the great sea.”—Ibid. cxcv. 3.

such as "the great god who comes out of the horizon,"^a the *Hut* is the morning sun rising from the east, between the north and south. It is not restricted to tablets made at any particular time, so that it does not refer to any season, but it may allude to morning worship, which appears to have been the time of prayer. Hence many tablets commence, "A prayer to the Sun when he shines out of the eastern horizon of the heaven."^b Thus, while the general scene represented the nature of the adoration, or rather sacrifice, the solar emblem recalled the universal hour of prayer. On the occasion of undertaking any work, the monarchs prayed and made these sacrifices to the gods, and offered milk, wine, water, incense, and sometimes inanimate objects, such as collars, images, for their health or safety, while the gods in their turn were supposed to answer, or responded in an oracular manner. This function was generally performed by the living animal of the god, and in one instance the cow of the goddess Athor is preceded by a man, who is the one "acquainted with the oracle" of the goddess. Besides which, it appears that in Egyptian mythology local deities had each spot under their protection, and it was necessary to conciliate their good will when interfering with the site. At Contra Pscelcis, KHEM and HORUS, the beginning and end of the mythic cycle, appear as the parhedral deities, and it is probable that the *sekos* was dedicated to them. To this I shall subsequently refer; and, having given so much of explanation, shall now proceed to translate the hieroglyphs which explain the object of the proscynema.

(L. 1.) On the fourth day of the month Tybi, in the third year of the SUN, living lord of the horizon, the strong bull, beloved of Truth, the LORD of diadems, ruler of Kami (Egypt), chastiser of countries, the GOLDEN HAWK, the sustainer of years, the greatest of the powerful,^c the KING of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Sun defender of Truth approved of the Sun, the SON OF THE SUN RAMESSU, the ever-living, beloved of Amen Ra, lord of the foundations of the earth, dwelling in Thebes,

^a "He gives health," applies to the *Hut*.—Champollion, Monumens, t. iii. pl. ccl.. The *Hut*, great god, who gives a sound life like the Sun. In the tomb of Sethos I. the *Hut* is called

Neb satu, "Lord

of Sunbeams, like the Sun!" Hence may be the "shining beam," *seta mau*.—Champollion, Mon. t. iii. pl. ccl.

^b Sharpe, Egypt. Inscript. pl. xlvi. Cf. Diodorus Sicul. i. 70.

^c Tablets from the Collection of the Earl of Belmore. fo. London, 1843. No. 17.

^d *Naa en nechut*, "the greatest of those made strong." The syntax of one adjective before another, or a participle, gives the first a superlative value, as when an adjective is placed after another it has an adverbial

force, thus *nechu ur*, "numerous great," is "very great," or "very numerous."—Cf. Prisse, Monumens, pl. iv. 2, last line.

(1. 2.) crowned upon the throne of the lord of the living, like his father the Sun, daily, the good God lord of the south land of Hut.^a The Horus, the feathered creature, the perfect hawk of gold, who has protected Kami with his wing,^b giving light to the saved,^c a rampart of victory and force, who has emanated

(1. 3.) from the body,^d terrible in bearing his glory,^e who has enlarged his frontiers; the colour of his limbs has been painted like those which belong to Mentu,^f lord of the upper and lower diadem;^g taken out of the heaven^h the day that he was born, (said) the gods,ⁱ because we begat him—because,

(1. 4.) (said) the goddesses, he has emanated from us; I gave him^k the empire of the Sun (said) Amen Ra, because^l I made him, I gave Truth her place upon earth, making the heaven tranquil^m and the gods at rest at the (same) time—a strong bull against the vile Kish, a gryphonⁿ

^a See note ^f, p. 359 *supra*.

^b *Chui naf Kam. t. em tenhu f*, “he has protected Egypt with his wing.” Similar phrases occur.

^c *Ar mai en rech*, “making light to the wise spirits,” or “the saved.” The leg appears superfluous. See Champollion, Mon. t. iv. pl. cccxiii. *Shaafer unn aru en rechu*, “he rises to open the eyes of the wise.” Perhaps *rech* is $\pi\pi$ “spirit.”

^d Either the body or belly of the egg of the Sun. A similar phrase occurs in the Theban tablet.—Prisse, Monumens, pl. xxv. l. 3.

^e Literally, *heli er ti peh peh f. her s-usch tashu f*, “terrible in taking his effulgence, in order to extend his frontiers.”

^f A very difficult phrase, *ta en tut er en ha femnechut en Mentu*. The form , or its equivalents, appears to me to have the force of a compound preposition, meaning “in the power of,” as “the great chiefs of the vile Ruten, led by his Majesty in his power (*em nechtu f*) from the land of the Khita, to fill the great cell of his father Ammon,” &c. (Champollion, Mon. t. iv. pl. ccxiv.), or “belonging to—subordinate to.” Thus, on the Karnak Tablet (Lepsius, Auswahl, t. xii. Trans. Roy. Soc. Literature, vol. ii. p. 328,) I propose correcting to “his first expedition,” *i.e.* “the first expedition belonging to him,” &c.

^g The lower world is represented as a gryphon, emblem of *Set Baql* or *Nub* Ungarelli.—Int. Obel. tab. ii.

^h *Neham* means “to take,” as well as “save.” Thus the king is said, *neham sen*, “to have taken” or “spared them” (Champollion, Mon. pl. xv. l. i.), as is evident from the context.—M. De Rougé, Mémoire, p. 15. The *owl* is used indifferently, as the Coptic $\alpha\alpha$ or $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$, and means “from.”

ⁱ Speeches are often introduced elliptically into the texts; sometimes preceded by *an n*, “from” or “by,” *i.e.* “said by,” or the “speech of” (Lepsius, Todtenbuch, throughout). Cf. taf. i. c. 1, l. “Oh Bull of the West! (said) by (*an*) Thoth, Eternal king. I am,” &c.

^k *Am f*, the Coptic accusative $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$ *am sen* $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$, in the following line.

^l The sense requires the full form *her en ti*, “because.”—Champollion, Gr. p. 505. Cf. Lepsius, Todt. xxvii. c. 72, l. 5.

^m *her*, Coptic $\epsilon\pi\omicron\alpha\tau$ *sedare*, to quiet.—De Rougé, Mémoire, p. 36.

ⁿ *kaha*, a gryphon. The adjective or participle after it reads *nech ut*. As the symbol is also used for “nails, bones,” as in the Ritual (Lepsius, Todt. taf. xix. c. 42), in the mystical description

(l. 5.) furious against the land of the Nahsi, whose feet are about to trample on the Phut,^a whose horn is about to butt them ;^b his spirits prevail over Penthannefer, his terror reaches to the Karu, his name encircles

(l. 6.) all lands on account of his power, and what his arms have done ; gold comes out of the rock at his name, like as at that of Har, Lord of Bak ; he does whatever he wishes in all the lands of the South, like Har in Sham and in Buhan ; the king of the upper and lower country, the Sun, the defender of Truth approved of the Sun,

(l. 7.) Son of the Sun, of his body, lord of diadems, RAMESSU, beloved of Ammon, ever living and for a long while, like his father the Sun daily. When his Majesty was in Ptahka, about to return thanks^c to his fathers, the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, because they should give him victory and a great time of millions

(l. 8.) of years, and to be the first of his kind on the day that he was made ; when his majesty was seated on his great throne of gold^d crowned in feathered plumes, in the act of registering the lands from which gold was brought, and in promulgating plans for making

(l. 9.) reservoirs^e on the roads deficient of water,^f then he heard it said that

of the dead—mistaken by Champollion (Cailliaud, Voyage à Meroe, vol. iv. p. 35,) for the dedication of the parts of the body to the deities—it is said “his fingers and nails are in (the shape of) living uræi.” Hence the phrase is probably “a clawed dragon,” or “gryphon.”

^a *Uun aka. t. her petpet.* That *aka. t.* means a claw is proved by the passage in the Ritual (Lepsius, Todt. taf. lxxix. c. 164, l. 13) *em aka. t. en mau*, “by the claw of a lion.” The substantive verb *hunn*, “to be,” or *au*, “to be,” acts as an auxiliary ; when accompanied by the preposition *her*, it forms the paulo post future, “being about.” Both forms occur in this sentence : *hunn aka. t. u. f her petpet au ab f her kahab am sen.* De Rougé, Mémoire, p. 181, has recognised the gerund force of this form.

^b *Kahab*, a word not found in the Coptic, but evidently the action of the horn, as *petpet* is of the foot. Cf. Sharpe, Egyptian Inscriptions, pl. 118, l. 20.

^c Or *Her ar hess-tu*, “about to do the behests,” not “songs,” as is usually translated. Under the old empire the form is constant.—Lepsius, Denkmäler, iii. taf. 150. The tablet (Sharpe, Eg. Insc. pl. 17) mentions the Lady Matu “as his beloved wife doing his behests (*ar-hess*) daily.” The little statue of the Prince Anebta (B. M. No. 78 ; Lepsius, Auswahl, taf. xi. l. 1), is said to be *ar-t em hes-tu*, “made by the behests” or “orders” of Hatasu and Thothmes III. It is antithetic to *mer*, “love, wish, will ;” as in Lepsius (Todt. i. c. 1, 15,) *aka. f hes-ut her f merut*, “he goes in as he wishes, he comes out as he chooses.”

^d *Hut*, the same as the name of the morning sun, and of the stand or table of viands placed before persons.

Cf. Sharpe, Egypt. Inscript. pl. 100 area ; also pl. 82, 87 area.

^e *nemi* or *chenem*, well or tank, for the phonetic value may be either (Bunsen, Egypt's Place, p. 565, No. 9 ; Clarac, Musée de Sculpture, tom. iii. pl. 248. No. 367, l. 3) in the name of Chnemis or Chnumis.

Cf. also Rosellini, M. R. No. xlix. i. *Ta nem en Ra men Ma naa nechtu*, “the tank of the sun, the placer of truth (Sethos I.), the greatest of the powerful,”—with the pool represented.

which ends in . . . *n-ut* the past-participial form, the Latin *at, it, t-us*, and the English *ed*, the Coptic *ut*, is deduced from the passages in which it occurs. This word ends twice with the evil bird.

there was abundance of gold in the land of *Akaiat*, only^a its road wanted water for the purpose.^b

(l. 10.) There came complaints from^c the miners^d of the gold washings of the place, saying that those who were about to approach^e it died^f of thirst on the road, with their asses which were before them, for that they could^g not carry^h them

(l. 11.) drink in their transit, on account of the distance.ⁱ There was^k no gold

Bunsen, Egypt's Place, 544, No. 81. The root is generally applied to sculpture.—Ibid. p. 549, 125. Perhaps the Memphitic **KHN** deficient. Cf. Todt. Lepsius, xxxv. 99, l. ii. t. i.

^a *cher*. Generally affixed to the auxiliary verb, the disjunctive conjunction, **ḪA** *utique, revera*.—Parthey, Vocab. Copt. p. 216; M. De Rougé, Mémoire, p. 182. "For I was about to serve the king on foot;" *hunn char-a her shes atai anch uga sneb her ret a*.

^b *Akar*, or *kar*. This word constantly occurs in the Ritual (Lepsius, Todt. *passim*), either after the word *bach*, or rather *cha.t*, "spirit," as Lepsius, Todt. xxxi. l. 7, "Let this chapter be *known*; he is one of the wise (*akar*) shades (*chut*) of the Hades (*karneter*). With the prefixed *s*" (ibid. lxix. l. i.) "The book of making wise (*s-akar*), the dead to be in the midst of the sun, that he may prevail like Tum," &c.

^c must be corrected to **nehpu. NEḪPE NEḪT** s. m. "complaint."—Champollion, Gr. Eg. 380; Dict. 432.

^d *ka-ru* or *kalu*, a smith. Copt. **ḪAM-KEḪḪE**

^e Correct to *mer*, which is obvious.

^f *mut*, to die. מוֹת, *mori*, the root being *mu*.

^g Correct *am mu*. Its phonetic force is given.—Salvolini, Analyse Grammaticale Gr. A. 33. It appears to mean "to contrive." The value of the negative, *ben* or *men*, will be subsequently mentioned.

^h *Kart*. For a proof of this word meaning to *carry*, cf. Champollion, Panth. Egypt, 6.9.; Lepsius, Todt. taf. lxxviii. c. 163, l. 13, rubric, *gu her hef'i kar ret*, "said of a snake bearing (or having) legs."—lxxix. c. 164, l. 42, 43.

ⁱ The erased part is uncertain. The only part to be relied on is *hai em mau . . .* going from the waters [of the river?]

^k A careful study of the hieratic papyri, the numerous instances of which are too many to cite, has demonstrated to my mind that or is really a negative; either *bu* or *ben*, or else *menu* or *men* generally in clauses where it is repeated, like the Latin *nec* and *neque*, or "neither" and "nor." It generally occurs in colloquies. To the auxiliary verbs it is affixed, as *hunn bu*, l. c. *au bu*, "were not." It will be found in l. 14, in the expression "we neither see nor hear." The context shows that it meant, no gold came from the "Akaiat."

brought from that desert^a land. His majesty was asked by the keeper of the seals,^b who was there in attendance,^c to let the principal chiefs open^d

(l. 12.) their mouths to his majesty about that land: "I have made them come here, leading them into the presence of the good God." They lifted up their arms in adoration to his existence,^e saluting his gracious countenance,^f and explained the nature of the country, opening^g their

(l. 13.) mouth for orders to bore^h a reservoir in its road. They then said to his

^a The word is *maneschka* or *maneka*. The packet, determinative of dust, dirt, mud, and the evil bird, shews that it is used in a bad sense. Perhaps deficient. It looks like an Aramaic word. Another instance of its use seems to occur (Clarac, pl. 242. l. 1), "They were going to that place, bearing her majesty (Arsinoe). It is a tank of Sais, which vivifies the desert land!"

^b Badly copied; apparently for *mer chatem*, the seal-bearer.—Cf. Archæologia, vol. XXIX.

pl. xv. pp. 126, 128, 129. The following is either *enti er maf*, "who was in his place," or

possibly *sabu shaa*, "chief counsellor," or "eunuch," if not the phrase *sebu shaa en merut*, chief counsellor of his will." It seems to be the former.—Cf. Rosellini, M.C. cxxxv., where a *sabu* or "eunuch" draws a bark.

^c or , as or *en-as*, followed by a man raising one arm, often occurs in the text, as "to hail," or "to signify," or "salute." Coptic a chorus. The following group is the locative *ma*; the next *ai* "to hail." The next is repeated at the end of the other line.—Cf. Todt. li. 126. 6.

^d This group occurs twice, and is probably the word *neg*, commonly read *sent*, "saviour," a verb used in addressing a person, as *a neg-her-ten*, "oh, shew your faces" (Lepsius, Todt. taf. xlvi. l. 1; xlviii. c. 35), or

else *neg*, to "assent." If, however, it is correctly given, it should be *ch-ru Besh-ru*, *nudare os*. *Neg ru* occurs, Lepsius, Todt. xxiv. c. 64, l. 28.—Cf. Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. pl. 20, l. 23.

^e *Ka* or *Kar*, meaning existence. In the Ritual the deceased says, "I make all the transformations to place my heart in all the places I wish; I exist by it (*ka-a am*)." Lepsius, Todt. taf. ii. l. 24. The phrase is often repeated. Also Champollion, Mon. Egypt. t. ii. pl. cxxxi., "on the throne of Horus dwelling in living beings."

^f *Sen ta en her f*.—Cf. Prisse, Mon. Egypt. pl. xxiv. l. 8. *Ha en gu f sen ta em ha cher t*, "having made his obeisance before his Majesty."—Champollion, Mon. Eg. pl. cccviii. l. 2, bis. *Uru en (kahu) en Rutennu sen en bauf ra neb*, "the chiefs of the Ruten make obeisance to his (Pehar's) spirits daily."

^g This group has been already explained. The remainder should be "devised" *her s-cher* *Ka* means "the shape," , as *Neter nefer em ka en Mentu*, "the good god in the shape of Mars."—Champollion, Mon. iii. pl. ccv.

^h *Teba*, "to pass through," or "bore" See Bunsen's Egypt's Place, p. 589, No. 50. In line 19, Phthah is called lord of works or devices. Two other forms are seen: Prisse, Mon. xlvi. Nos. 6, 8; the context of the passages l. 20, 22. It is the Coptic .

majesty :^a Thou art like the sun in bringing all that you determine^b to pass ; if thou issuest an order for light in the night it will come to pass. We have come^c

(l. 14.) in order to explain the leading^d of thy minerals.^e When thou art crowned as king we can neither hear nor see it—it is yet done as if they (thy quarries) were worked.^f What has emanated from thy mouth is like the words of the Sun,^g lord of the horizon ; the words weighed in thy breast are

(l. 15.) collected by Thoth^h
 thou hast not seen it. No land has escaped thy tread in its turn, opening its

(l. 16.) ears when thou art about to claspⁱ that land. Thou art the egg of the glories^k of thy posterity. Thou givest thy words and plans over all lands. Thou art

^a The word *chef-t* means “before.”—M. De Rougé, *Mémoire*, pp. 70, 73. In that case *tu-k* is the detached pronoun of the second person “thou,” *ntok ntk* : other examples occur (Champollion,

Mon. t. i. pl. xxxviii. l. 4, 6). If *cheft* is a verb, is the end of the passive participle, and the nominative, as usual in the syntax, is enveloped between it and the verbal root.

^b *Merr-t* means “wish” or “will,” as *ar merrt en neb f ra neb*, “doing the will of his master daily.”

—Lepsius, *Auswahl*, taf. viii. A. ; *Archæologia*, XXIX. Pl. XIV. *Bes*, means “to transfer.”
 —Burton, *Exc. Hier.* iii.

^c The general sense is clear, *ar* “if,” *ab-ek*, “thou allowest,” *s'cher*, “to make,” *em-gerh*, “the night,” *shut*, “light.” Compare l. 20, *abi en suten-nu en kar ha*, “allowed the kings who were before.”

^d *As-ut*, past participle of the verb *asu*, which occurs l. 18, init. The rest of the line is copied wrong : probably, *her sa*, “behind.”

^e “Thy sledges” on the Karnak Tablet (Lepsius, *Auswahl*, taf. xii. l. 27) ; *ba*.—Champoll. Mon. t. i. xxxviii. l. 22, l. 25.

^f A difficult phrase.

^g A similar phrase occurs at Aboosimbel, where Ramesesnechhef says to the king, “All that comes out of thy mouth is like the words of the Sun.”—Champollion, Mon. t. i. pl. ix. No. 2, central line.

^h *s-cheter* appears on the right wall of the Speos at Derri, as the equivalent of *s-men* ; as, “I place thy name on the great Persea.”—Champollion, Mon. t. i. pl. xliii. The following phrases are utterly unintelligible to me.

ⁱ *ank*, an action of the breast or arm ; a common phrase is *ank tau beshtu*, “squeezing the enemies' lands,” as at Beitoually.—Champollion, Mon. i. pl. xliii.

^k *Aau . t* or *aa*, “glory,” Rosetta Stone.—Brugsch, *Inscriptio Rosettana*, tab. ii. No. 24, l. 5, p. 13. Champollion, Mon. t. i., pl. xliii. 2, l. 8, “I give thee the title . . . the throne while upon earth.”

the youth^a subduing the evil.^b No evil approaches^c—it does not^d terrify thee.

(l. 17.) It cannot exist before thee.^e Thou hast made thy mouth over the depths.^f Thou art the youth performing works^g which are the device of thy hand laying them down. Shouldst^h thou say to the waters, Come out of the rock, forth issues the celestial

(l. 18.) water in obedience to thy request.ⁱ Thou art the Sun in person, made in truth; thou art the living image of the Sun, the flesh of thy father Tum, lord of

^a *Sef*, “a child,” as in the Legend of the Sun at Edfoo (Champollion, t. ii. pl. cxxiii. in the first hour, l. 1, 2,) “This god comes as lord of Edfoo, the great god, lord of the heaven, in the cabin with the Sun. He has

made his transformation in the globe of gold, he is changed into a boy (*sef*) placed in the midst of it.”—Cf. Ibid. t. ii. pl. cxxiii. 2, for Horus, *sef as her em Ra*, “the noble child who emanates from the Sun!”

^b The following group may be read *kar buten*, as in the tablet (Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. pl. xcix.), “governor of the north and of the south, terrifying the evil” (*buten*), or like the Karnak Tablet (Lepsius, Auswahl, taf. xii. l. 14) “his majesty approaches Egypt, the envoys of the . . . (*kanbut*) come bearing their tributes of black stone” This looks, as it has been suggested, as if the inscription referred to pictures on the other side of the wall. Champollion, (Mon. pl. ix. l. 1, 15,) *ben hunn besht em ha k*, “no enemies are before thee.”

^c *Bu ai men*, a very difficult phrase: “comes no monument?”

^d *Au ben su heli* “it is not—feared;” mutilated, and uncertain.

^e *Bu cheper tepu em chet k*, “it is not engendered from thy seed.” *Tep heru* either means “guide of the way,” or “preparer of the path.” In the Ritual is mentioned the egg of Seb, (laid on earth), *tep er ta*.—Lepsius, Todt. taf. xxii., c. 54, l. 2.

^f A difficult phrase, *ar nek ru her en pe* The mutilated word looks like *hutb*, a well or fountain. See l. 21. or *set*. Cf. however, *teser*, “fluid.”—Leeman's Monumens, ix. D. 38, l.

^g *Au k em hunnu shet kat nebi*. The apparent restoration of “ten years,” would be “thou art the youth of ten years old. If it could stand it should be *renpa*, “growth,” or “renewal.”

^h *Ar* the substantive verb *to be*, English *are*, prefix of the imperative; sometimes
Cf. Lepsius, Todt. c. 6, taf. ii.; and in the rubrics of the Ritual *ar-kar*, “let only.”

ⁱ The syntax is worth remarking: *her*, “forth comes;” *mau*, the water; *as.t*, “following;” *em-sa*, “behind;” *ru-k*, “thy mouth;” viz. the verb, the nominative, the participle dependent following the nominative, and the preposition with the locative. For *as*, see Lepsius. Todt. lxi. c. 141, last lines; *as ark* “you may go on.”

Petennu. The god *Hu*^a (taste) is in thy mouth, *Ka*^b (feeling) is in thy heart, *Isis*^c is in thy beard, the shrine of Truth is seated in thy breast, for all the words thou makest daily,

(l. 19.) all thy heart has been made to expand by Phtha, the deviser of works. Thou art for ever. All thy plans are executed;^d thy words are listened to, oh our Lord! When the land of Akaiat had spoken as aforesaid,^e the prince of the vile Kish (Æthiopia) then

(l. 20.) spoke as . . . before his majesty, that it (the land of Akaiat) was labouring under a want of water during the late reign,^f and that persons had died

^a In the Legends of the Sun at Esneh, occurs an illustration of the real names of these two gods, *Hu* and *Ka*, who stand adoring the disc of the Sun, on which is a scarabæus and *pschent*. On the other side of the boat are two other gods; one having on his head an eye, personifying "Sight"; the other with an ear, meaning "Hearing." From this it would appear that *Hu* and *Ka* are two other senses, Taste and Touch. The curved object is apparently the tongue. In the Ritual of the British Museum of Nebseni, loco Lepsius, Todt. taf. xxxvi.

c. 99, l. 28, 29, the form occurs *ma ten n-a hu hetp er-ru a*, "give ye to me to taste (*hu*) food in my mouth." Hence the name of the god *Hu* seems to be Taste.

^b The preceding note shows why the god represented by the woof and eagle not cut as the text of M. Prisse represents, should signify "touch," or "smell," as another of the senses. Variations in the mode of writing the name of this god occur (Lepsius, *Ueber den Gotterkreis*, s. 29). In the Mystical Hall the following phrase occurs: "Thou dost not proceed," says the porter, "unless thou tellest my name."—"Feeler of hearts (*ka-hatu*), requirer of bellies (*gar chatu*), is thy name," replies the deceased. Cf. Brugsch, *Inscr. Ros. tab. vii. l. 13, No. 65*; *rta ka ut*, "that it may be felt" or "perceived," and *tab. i. l. 3, No. 27*.

^c Possibly for "truth," *ma*. It is also not impossible that the apparent word *mert* or *mers*, the beard, may be *sept*, "the lips;" and mean, "Truth is on thy lips."

^d This phrase throws some light upon the very difficult word *s-cheru*, reading *arut em secher neb*, "done are all plans;" *satem ut gu neb ek*, "listened to (are) all thy words;" one of the meanings of *sesher* is "sections," as "the gods in this section (*-scherpen*)."^e Champollion, *Gr. p. 471*; *Dict. 321, 382*. Hence, the word "plan" answers well the sense. Cf. l. 8. A common title of the god Chons is *Ar-schar*. See Prisse, *Mon. pl. xxiv*. "Contriver?" similar to the phrase *ar-chet*, "producer."

^e As it stands in the text *nenu er s*, this word *nen*, means, "order, kind, rank." Thus an often-repeated phrase in inscriptions, *cha nen*, means "of the same rank" in the titles of functionaries. Hence the so-called *tatanen* in the Ritual mean rank, order, kind. Lepsius, *Ueber den Gotterkreis*, s. 42, note. Cf. also l. 8. In the treaty with the Khita and Rameses II., *em nennu* appears to signify "as aforesaid."

^f The use of the auxiliary *au*, as prefix of the perfect, is self-evident. The prince "had" spoken, and was not "about to speak." What the group means, I do not know, unless it is *er-s*, or *ar-s*, "doing it."

in it through want of water; that the kings who were before had wished ^a to dig a tank in it, but were not able to dig it;

(l. 21.) that the king, the *Sun*, the placer of Truth (Sethos I.), had likewise attempted to cause a tank to be made for 120 cubits in front to bring it to the road, but that the water would not come out of it. If thou thyself sayest to thy father Hapi (the Nile),

(l. 22.) the father of the gods, "Let water come out of the rock," all will be done as thou commandest and orderest, being about to be done before us. Have not thy requests been heard? For thou art beloved of thy fathers the gods above all kings,

(l. 23.) formed like the Sun! His majesty replied to the chiefs: "All your words are true, stating^b that there has been no boring for water during the past reign, as ye say. I will make a reservoir in it for drinking daily, like

(l. 24.) a reservoir according to the commands of his father Amen Ra, lord of the foundations of the earth, and of the threefold Horus, lords of Phut,^c that they should gratify his wishes. I have caused it to be said in [that] land . . .

(l. 25.) in saluting their lord, in reverencing, in making it on their belly before, in prostrating,^d and in

(l. 26.) proclaiming to the heaven. Said his majesty to the royal scribe the governor

The next phrase *ter rek neter*, "while ruled the god," means, "the past," or "late reign." An expression exactly similar occurs in the restoration of the palace of Luxor, by Alexander III. of Macedon, in which he says he has made the restoration of the place in white stone, well carved, as it was in the

reign (*masht ter-rek en char suten*) of Amenophis III.—Champollion,

Mon. t. iv. pl. cccxxxviii. 3. —Champ. Mon. t. iv. pl. cccxcv. 4. l. 6. *Men hekar en rek-a*, "I have not fasted in my time," says an officer at Benihassan. The same expression occurs on the tablet at Leyden. M. de Rougé (Révue Archéologique, tom. vi. p. 566) has also given another instance, *ter rek Har uah anch*, "while ruled the Horus, the augments of life!" In an inscription, (Sharpe, pl. 83. l. 4.) *Mesa em rek cher sut cheb Ra satp hat ma tu*; "I was born in the reign of the king, the peaceful Sun (Amenemha I.), deceased," is said by Mentusa, a scribe.

^a For the value of *ab* or *chab*, see Brugsch, Inscr. Rosett. pl. 1.

^b *Tehu* here is evidently a mistake or error of the transcriber for *tebhu*, "to beseech, to state" (Ch. Gr. 378).

^c The triple Horus is Horus lord of Sham (*Mashakit*) of Behni (the Wady Halfa) and of Bak . . . A fourth form also occurs at lord of *Maha*. They are often worshipped in Nubia, especially at Gebel Addeh and Aboosimbel.—Champollion, Mon. t. i. pl. ii. 3; vi. 3.

^d *S-kab*, , to humiliate or prostrate.

(l. 27.) of the road to the Akaita. Thou givest the month^a and day. Has

(l. 28.) as it was done before, when he was conducting^b men (Egyptians) to

(l. 29.) shewing it the (things) done by the Prince of Kish. The water was

(l. 30.) the road to the land of Akaiat. Never^c was there one made like it while there were kings in Kami (Egypt)

(l. 31.) causing fishes in the pools,^d the oxyrhynchi touched the reeds in pleasing him are made

(l. 32.) as if rowed by Truth, sailed bearing a letter^e from the Prince of the vile Kish (Æthiopia).

(l. 33.) thy majesty said by thy own mouth, that there should be water in it to the depth of ten cubits; it is already four cubits deep^f there.

(l. 34.) it (or them) to come like the plan, made by the god to gratify thy wishes. Never (was any thing) done like it

(l. 35.) Akaiat, in order to take them from the great . . .^g being at a distance

(l. 36.) the ruler of the water which is in the firmament (place of gates,) because he has listened to his boring for water in the

^a This phrase only derives interest from the idea that this group is the word *smat*, one of the decans, and that it marks a month of the panegyric cycle of the great year.—R. Stewart Poole, *Horæ*, pl. iii. 1—11, p. 55, and foll. An instance of its meaning “month” will be found on the base of the Karnak obelisk. Prisse, *Monumens*, pl. xviii. sect. 3, last line. “His majesty commenced (*shaa*) to make it (the obelisk) on the first day of the month Mechir (*smat*), and terminated (*neferi*) on the thirtieth of Messori of the 16th year, making seven months from when it was in the quarry.” It is here necessary to correct 16th, as it stands in the text, to the 15th, for the context requires it. Cf. also Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, taf. lv. c. 134, rubric, “adorations of the sun on the day of the month of the sailing of the boat,” c. 135. “Another chapter to be said on the new moon” (*en renpa en Abot*).

^b The full form of this word is *heben*, *s-heben*.—Cf. Sharpe, *Eg. Inscr.* pl. 29, 28, l. hor. line, “The return of that great god to the fields of the gods;” sometimes to “combine.”

^c The second pair of arms ought to be a bolt. The phrase is *at sep*, “no time.”

^d *Rami*, “in the pools,” *kah en shaat an tehu*, “touching the oxyrinchi on the reeds.”—Cf. Champollion, *Dict.* p. 453, *Kah* ⲭⲱⲃ; and Peyron, *Lex. Ling. Copt.* p. 253, ⲁⲛⲧⲟⲃ or “the rushes;” Lepsius, *Todt.* lxxiii. c. 149, n. 56, *meh atur tahu*, “the river is full of rushes.” What this refers to I do not know. Perhaps it is a poetic expression, denoting that the rami and oxyrinchi entered the pool.

^e *Sett*, perhaps for ⲬⲁⲤⲓ. The common word for a letter is *sha . t*.

^f *Set*, the same word as before, or else *ges*, ⲭⲓⲤⲉ.

^g *Rennu*, determined by a block, perhaps “under the great names of Horus;” but what it means here is difficult to say, the few remaining parts of these lines are so mutilated.

(l. 37.) he has the prince sending. They were excellent about

(l. 38.) . . . Amen Ra, the good deeds compelled and declared

(l. 39.) denominated the pool to be that of the tank [or well] of Rameses, beloved of Amen, victorious in

The village of Kouban or Kobban, which is situate upon the eastern bank of the Nile, is apparently the Contra Pscelcis of the Itinerary of Antoninus, as it lies immediately opposite Dakke, and in about the 23° 10' north latitude, between the first and second cataract. Not much is known of this locality, the attention of travellers having been principally directed to the more promising ruins of Dakke. The town has, however, been visited and described by Belzoni, Burckhardt, Dr. Richardson, and others. The site is described as like that of El Hags, or Eileithyia; and the peribolos, or trace of an oblong space of about 150 paces by 100, with a wall of sun-burnt brick, 20 feet deep and 30 feet high, within which are the ruins of private dwellings, shews that it was one of the strong places in Nubia of the eighteenth dynasty. At the south-east corner of the wall beyond the peribolos are the remains of a small temple of rude construction, in the sanctuary of which the present tablet was probably found. It is a remarkable fact that the Bedouins have always retained a tradition, which is also found in all the Arabian geographers, that the Djebel Oellaky or Allaghi, which gives its name to a chain of mountains beginning to the east, at the distance of an hour's ride from Kobban, and continuing to the Red Sea, contained gold mines; and this statement, endeavoured to be explained away by Burckhardt,^a receives a remarkable confirmation from the present tablet. Nor is the name Oellaky totally unknown to the hieroglyphical inscriptions, as it is the exact transcription of *Ualuka*, the name of one of the tribes conquered by Amenophis III. Still more recently this locality was visited by Mr. Bonomi and Mr. Linant, and the results of their journey and a description of the mine at Eshuranib or Eshuanib, about three days' journey beyond Wadee Allaghi, is given by Sir Gardner Wilkinson^b in his *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*. It is remarkable that this spot, which lies in the Bisharee desert or at Edreese, is called by Abulfedah the land of Bigga or Boja, a name found in the Ethnic tablets.

The condition of the tablet upon the whole is not so defective as might appear at first sight. In fact, the 26th line joins on and completes the 25th, as will be seen

^a A précis of the account of these travellers will be found in the *Modern Traveller, Egypt and Nubia*, vol. ii. pp. 293, 294.

^b *Manners and Customs*, vol. iii. p. 229, and following.

by inspecting it; the fixed point being the figure of a man with the arms raised, the upper part of whose body is in the 25th and the lower part in the 26th line. This lower fragment should consequently be moved to the right, so as to almost bring the end of the longest line to the edge of the tablet, and only a small portion of this side is wanting. Of the left-hand side, about one half of the commencement of each line is wanting; and, with our present knowledge of texts, it is not possible to propose more than a general restoration of the sense. Enough, however, remains to show the general import of this part of the tablet, and the general historical information conveyed. As in the case of the temple of Khons, the inscription must have had a hieratic import, in connection with the temple; these sacred edifices being in all cases the depositaries of the official decrees. In Egyptian history, these documents assume a dramatic form, and are a striking picture of the customs and laws of the empire. The present is a process verbal, from which the following may be gathered. On the fourth of Tybi, in the third year of his reign, Rameses II., then in his youth, was registering the annual tribute in the land of Phthaka. The king was returning thanks to the gods, and was probably celebrating the fête or festival of Amen Ra, in his ithyphallic type of the god *Chem*, who was the eponymous deity of the Egyptian month Tybi; and it is probable from the subsequent expressions in l. 8, "when his majesty was seated on his great throne of gold crowned in feathered plumes," that it was the anniversary of the royal coronation, which was purposely, during the nineteenth dynasty, made to correspond with that of the autumnal equinox. The coronation of Rameses III., or Miamoun, at Medinat Haboo, was celebrated on the 1st of the month Pashons. There are many reasons for connecting the festival of the "bringing-forth" or "exposition" of Khem, with that of the coronation. The peculiar glory and distinction of this god were his mystical plumes,^a and his alliance with Horus, upon whose throne the king was supposed to sit, or upon that of the god *Tum*, "the setting" sun, and of *Ra*, the midday luminary.^b Thus, on the occasion of the coronation, the four genii,—Amset, Hapi, Tuaut-mutf, and Kabh-

^a They are constantly alluded to. At Luxor Amenophis III. (Champollion, Mon. t. iv. pl. ccxlviii.) placed them on his head. In the first part of the Ritual, in which the deceased has to explain several mystical notions, the god says, "I am Khem, in his 'coming forth,' or 'showing;' plumes have been placed on his head. Rubric. Let him explain it. Khem is Horus, the sustainer of his father; his appearance is his birth; the plumes on his head are Isis and Nephthys walking;" or his eyes, and certain serpents of his father, the god Tum, were also explained as symbolized by these plumes.—Lepsius, Todt. c. 17, l. 12-15.

^b Champollion, Mon. t. iv. pl. ccxliii. Also of Seb. "He (Amenophis III.) has placed to him the throne of Seb, the title of Tum," on the 1st of the month Pashons.—Champ. M. cccxxx.

senuf,—under the form of birds, are sent to announce to the gods of the north, south, east, and west that the king has taken the crowns of the upper and lower country;^a and Thoth is represented at Karnak standing before Euergetes I. and Berenice II. with the inscription, “Says the being of the two gods Euergetæ, for an eternity of cycles, and infinity of festivals, billions of years, millions of months, hundreds of thousands of days, tens of thousands of [nights], thousands of hours, hundreds of minutes (*ha.t*), tens of seconds (*an*), ‘Ye are the two gods, crowned on the throne of [Horus], indwelling in living creatures for ever!’”^b

The god Khem was particularly the god of the quarries, an officer who was appointed on the 15th day of the month Athyr, in the second year of the reign of Mentuhetp, or Mandouphis, to be nomarch and governor of the desert; to bring the good precious stones from the quarry, or mine, “making,” it continues, “his work to the living lord inscribed for the edifices in the temples of the south;” also “. . . . from the lands of his father Khem he has made.” Allusions to the crowning of the monarch Rameses II. like Khem occur at Beitoually, “*Bearing his bow in his chariot,*” say the hieroglyphs; “*he is like Mentu (Mars); crowned upon horseback, he is like Khem.*”^c

At the time of the celebration of the festival of his coronation the monarch was in the land or city of *Phtha-ka*,^d by which is perhaps meant the land of the Pataikos, or Memphis, in which the god was worshipped under his Pigmaic form, the word Pataik-os being probably the Egyptian and not the Phenician name of the god.^e

There is a subject copied from the tomb of Rameses III. in the Biban El Molook, of the personification of several regions advancing with offerings of their products to the king. The order there is *Hapi*, the Nile; the Northern *Peten*, or Poni; Ta-meh, the north or irrigated country, a river, or Nile, surmounted by three fishes; then the Nile surmounted by three other fishes; then the region of *Phtha-Ka*; another Nile surmounted by one fish, and the Southern *Peten*.^f Now the gods at Hermonthis are called lords of the Southern *Peten*, of which this city was probably the extreme

^a Sir G. Wilkinson, *Man. and Cust.* pl. lxxvi.

^b Lepsius, *Einleitung*, s. 127. For *ka*, “existence, feeling,” *vide infra*. This is omitted in parallel passages. —Champollion, *Mon. t. iv.* pl. cccxliii. It is evident that the cyphers *precede*, and do not follow, the periods; hence *ha . t*, or *a t*, is “a minute,” and *an*, “a second.” In a papyrus, Brit. Mus. the head of a hippopotamus replaces the group *hunnu*, or *unnu*, “an hour,” which may be compared with Horapollo, lib. ii. c. 20, “Ἰππος ποτάμιος γραφόμενος ὥραν δηλοῖ.”

^c Champollion, *Mon.*

^d Burton, *Exc. Hier.*, pl. v.

^e Herodot. iii. s. 37.

^f Champollion, *Mon. cclii.*

limit.^a The northern limit of this region was San, or Heliopolis. The country of Peten is consequently to be looked for between these limits, and it is not a little remarkable that Rameses III., or Miamoun, calls himself "ruler (heka) of Peten," and that Amenanchut calls himself ruler of the "Southern Peten."

Numerous remains in the vicinity of the old Memphis show that Rameses II. much enlarged and beautified the temple of Phtha,^b and it is exceedingly probable that the king was then at Memphis; the more so, as it seems to have remained, till the age of the Ptolemies, the old hieratic capital; and the monarch was engaged in worship of the gods of the upper and lower countries, or of the empire in general, and not in a special act of homage to any local deity. It would appear that these solemn occasions were particularly used for the transaction of public business. It was, for example, when one of the later Ramessids was celebrating the festival of Ammon in Thebes, that the ambassador of the Bakutana was introduced to him.^c On these occasions the great officers of state were present, and ordonnances were issued by the king to them. The monarch, on the celebration of this festival, had under consideration the enregistering of the amount of gold brought from the South. One of these coronation scenes is represented at Thebes. Rameses II. enters, kneeling at the rich shrine, in which is seated Amen Ra, and behind him his wife Mut. Thoth, Ra, and Horus all follow, holding notched palm-branches, from which hang emblems of the festivals. A colloquy ensues between the gods, and the hieroglyphs explain the scene thus: "The king Rameses is being crowned upon the throne of Ra, the Sun." The gods speak as follows:—

AMEN.—[Speech omitted.]

MUT.—[Speech omitted.]

THOTH.—My beloved son Rameses, beloved of Ammon, I have come to you bringing the festivals.

MENTU.—I am thy father Mentu. I give thee power over all lands.

HAR-SIESIS.—Take the royal title, my beloved son, of the Lord of Thebes. I give thee the title, and to mount on the throne as when thou wert upon earth for ever. Thou art crowned as king for ever under the title (*aa*) of the Sun, the sustainer of truth—the approved of the Sun, the living!^d

From the Karnak Tablet it appears that accurate registers of the tribute paid to

^a Or Poone. Champollion, Mon. t. ii. pl. clxvi. 2; cxlviii. 1.

^b Cf. for example, the Colossus at Metrahenny. Mr. Bonomi, Trans. R. Soc. Lit., new series, ii. 297.

^c Prisse, Monumens, pl. xxiv.

^d Champollion, Mon. t. iv. pl. cccxlviii. *bis*.

Egypt were kept in the rolls of the king's palace, under the direction of a royal scribe.^a And these again were delivered to the scribes of the silver-house, or treasury, of whom there were nine, who recorded the materials and substances paid.^b In addition to which, the quantities deposited were represented on the wall as in the treasury chamber of Rameses III.,^c or Miamoun, at Medinat Haboo, and also in a chamber of the temple at Philæ.^d

A record of the quantity raised at the mines was diligently kept; hence, at the old mine of the King *Senefru* at the Wady Magara, an officer records in the third year of Amenemes III. the copper and 724 troops.^e It does not indeed appear whether this was raised daily or monthly; but the tablets in the vicinity of the excavations always alluded to the locality, and the works carried on there from time to time; "this memorial to his father Khem-Khabt-Har (Coptos), lord of the quarries over the Phut, that he may accord him very many festivals, and to live like the Sun!"^f It is, perhaps, more probable that the proscynema is addressed to Khem, as lord of the Hill or Speos; for the same expression is used both in the Cosseyr road in speaking of the emerald mines, and also of the Speos Artemidos, of which Pasht was "the mistress."

The principal inducements which led the Pharaohs to the south were the valuable products, especially the minerals, with which that region abounded. At the early period of the fourth and sixth Egyptian dynasties, no traces occur of Ethiopian relations, and the frontier was probably at that time Eileithyia (El Hegs). So far indeed from the Egyptian civilisation having descended the cataracts of the Nile, there are no monuments to show that the Egyptians were then even acquainted with the black races, the Nahsi as they were called. Some information is found at the time of the eleventh dynasty. The base of a small statue inscribed with the name of the king *Ra nub Cheper*, apparently one of the monarchs of the eleventh dynasty, whose prenomen was discovered by Mr. Harris on a stone built into the bridge at Coptos, intermingled with the Enuentefs, has at the sides of the throne on which it is seated Asiatic and Negro prisoners. Under the monarchs of the

^a Lepsius, *Auswahl*, taf. I. 13; M. De Rougé, *Memoire*, p. 103. In a paper read before the Roy. Soc. of Literature, 14th November, 1850, I had made the same correction.

^b Cf. Dr. Hincks, Winchester Meeting, *Trans. Brit. Archæol. Assoc.* p. 257.

^c Champollion, *Monumens Egyptiens*, *Notice Descriptive*, p. 364.

^d MS. of Mr. Harris.

^e Burton, *Exc. Hier.* pl. xii. Lepsius, *Denk.* ii. t. 149, f.

^f Burton, *Exc. Hier.* pl. v.

The age of the eighteenth dynasty is separated from the twelfth by an interval during which the remains of certain monarchs named Sebakhetp, found in the ruins of Nubia, show that they were at least Æthiopian rulers. The most important of the monuments of this age is the propylon of Mount Barkal, the ancient Napata, built by the so-called S-men-ken, who is represented in an allegorical picture vanquishing the Æthiopians and Asiatics.⁵ The eighteenth dynasty opened with foreign wars. The tablet of Aahmes-Pensuben in the Louvre records that he had taken "two hands," that is, had killed two negroes personally in Kish or Æthiopia.^h More information, and particularly bearing upon the Tablet of Rameses, is afforded by the inscription of Eilethyia, now publishing in an excellent memoir by M. de Rougé, in the line, "Moreover," says the officer, "when his majesty attacked the Mena-en-shaa," or Nomads, "and when he stopped at *Penti-han-nefer* to cut up the Phut, and when he made a great rout of them, I led captives from thence two living men and one dead (hand). I was rewarded with

^h Lepsius, Auswahl, fo., Berlin, 1844, taf. xiv. A; Prisse, Mon. Eg. pl. iv.

gold for victory again; I received the captives for slaves." During the reign of Amenophis I., the successor of Amosis, the Louvre tablet informs that he had taken one prisoner in Kash or Æthiopia. At El Hegg, the functionary states, "I was in the fleet of the king—the sun, disposer of existence (Amenophis I.), justified; he anchored at Kush in order to enlarge the frontiers of Kami, he was smiting the Phut with his troops." Mention is subsequently made of a victory, and the capture of prisoners. It is interesting to find here the same place, Penti-han-nefer, which occurs in a Ptolemaic inscription on the west wall of the pronaos of the Temple of Philæ, where Isis is represented as "the mistress of Senem and the regent of Pent-han-nefer."^a From this it is evident that these two places were close to each other, and that this locality was near the site more recently called Ailak or Philæ. The speos of this monarch at Ibrim, the chapels at Tenu, or the Gebel Selseleh, show that the permanent occupation of Nubia at the age of the eighteenth dynasty extended beyond Philæ. Several small tesserae of this reign represent the monarch actually vanquishing the Æthiopians.^b

The immediate successors of Amenophis occupied themselves with the conquest of Æthiopia. There is a statue of Thothmes I. in the island of Argo,^c and a tablet dated on the 15 Tybi of his second year at Tombos.^d The old temple at Samneh was repaired and dedicated to Sesortesen III., supposed by some to be the Sesostris who is worshipped by Thothmes III. as the god Tat-un, or "Young Tat."^e It is at the temple of Samneh that the first indication occurs of that line of princes who ruled over Æthiopia, by an officer who had served under Amosis and Thothmes I., in which last reign he had been appointed Prince of Æthiopia.^f The reign of Thothmes III. shews that *Kush* figured on the regular rent-roll of Egypt. The remains of the mutilated account of the fortieth regnal year of the king is mentioned as "240 ounces" or "measures of cut precious stones and 100 ingots of gold." Subsequently "two canes" of some valuable kind of wood, and at least "300 ingots of gold," are mentioned as coming from the same people.^g It appears from the tomb of Rech-sha-ra, who was usher of the Egyptian court at the time, and who had duly

^a On the pronaos of Esneh (Ptolemaic), Champollion, *Mon. t. i. pl. xcvi. 2, bis*. In the twenty-eighth year of Shishak II. mention is made of the good gold of *Penti han nefer*.—Young, *Hier. pl. xliii. ii. Q. n.*

^b Birch, *Gall. of Antiq. p. 73-74*; Rosellini, *Mon. Stor. iii., pl. i., p. 95, 79, 80*.

^c Sir G. Wilkinson, *Man. and Cust. i. p. 52*.

^d Lepsius, *Denk. iii. 15*.

^e Young, *Hieroglyphics, pl. 92*. I cannot agree with M. Lepsius (*Ueber den Gotterkreis, s. 35*.) that Tattu represents This—but rather TADU, (Pliny, *N. H. vi. 29*.) or, as it is sometimes read, Tatu.

^f Young, *Hieroglyphics, pl. 91*.

^g Lepsius, *Auswahl, taf. xii*; Young, *Hieroglyphics, pl. 41, 42*.

introduced the tribute-bearers, that the quota paid from this country was bags of gold and gems, monkeys, panther-skins, logs of ebony, tusks of ivory, ostrich-eggs, ostrich-feathers, camelopards, dogs, oxen, slaves.^a The permanent occupation of the country is at the same time attested by the constructions which the monarch made, at Samneh, and the Wady Halfa.^b At Ibrim Nehi, prince and governor of the South, a nomarch, seal-bearer, and counsellor or eunuch, leads the usual tribute mentioned as "of gold, ivory, and ebony" to the king.^c *Set*, or Typhon, called "*Nub*" or "*Nub-Nub*,"^d Nubia, instructs him in the art of drawing one of those long bows which these people, according to the legend, contemptuously presented to the envoys of Cambyses. The successor of this monarch seems to have held the same extended territory, since, in the fourth year of his reign, these limits are mentioned,^e and some blocks with the remains of a dedication to the local deities. One of the rock temples at Ibrim was excavated in the reign of Amenophis II. by the Prince Naser-set, who was "nomarch" (*repa ha*), "chief counsellor" (*sabu shaa*), and "governor of the lands of the south." The wall-paintings represent the usual procession of tribute-bearers to the king, with gold, silver, and animals, some of whom, as the jackals, were enumerated.^f The same monarch continued the temple at Amada, and a colossal figure of him, dedicated to Chnumis and Athor, and sculptured in the form of Phtha or Vulcan, has been found at Begghe, and in the fourth year of his reign the limits of the empire are still placed as Mesopotamia on the north, and the Kalu or Gallæ on the south.^g

In the reign of his successor Thothmes IV. a servant of the king, apparently his charioteer, states he had attended the king from Nāharaina on the north, to Kalu, or the Gallæ, in the south.^h

The constructions of this monarch at Amada and at Samneh, shew that tribute came at the same time from the chiefs of the Naharaina on the north, and also from *Æthiopia*. This is shewn by the tombs of the military chiefs lying near the hill which is situate between Medinat Haboo and the house of Jani, one of whom had exercised the office of royal scribe or secretary of state, from the reign

^a Hoskin's Travels in *Æthiopia*, 4to, London, 1835, p. 228, &c.

^b A temple of Thoth was founded by him there.—Champollion, Notice Descriptive, p. 36.

^c Champollion, Not. Descr. pp. 79, 80.

^d Champollion, Mon. Eg. t. i. pl. xvii; Burton, Exc. Hier.

^e Vyse (Col. Howard) Pyramids, Journal, vol. iii., pl. Tourah quarries.

^f Champollion, Not. Descr. pp. 84, 85. 140 boats full (of ivory and ebony), 10 jackals and apes.

^g Vyse (Col. Howard) Pyramids of Gizeh, vol. iii; Tourah quarries, 2.

^h Sharpe, Eg. Inscr., pl. xciii. l. 5, 6.

of Thothmes III. to that of Amenophis III.^a The reign of his successor, the last mentioned monarch, is the most remarkable in the monumental history of Egypt for the Æthiopian conquests. The marriage scarabæi of the king place the limits of the empire as the Naharaina (Mesopotamia) on the north, and the *Karu* or *Kalu* (the Gallæ) on the south. Although these limits are found, yet it is evident from the number of prisoners recorded that the Egyptian rule was by no means a settled one.^b They are Kish, Pet or Phut, Pamaui, Patamakai Uaruki, Taru-at, Baru, . . . kaba, Aruka, Makaiusah, Mataraku, Sahabu, Sahbaru, Ru-nemka, Abhetu, Turusu, Shaarushak, Akenes, Serunik Karuses, Shau, Buka, Shau, Taru Taru, Turusu, Turubenka, Akenes, Ark, Ur, Mar. (See Plate XXVII.)

Amongst these names will be seen in the list of the Pedestal of Paris that of the Akaiat or Aka-ta, a name much resembling that of the Ath-agau, which is still preserved in the Agow or Agows,^c a tribe near the sources of the Blue Nile. Amenophis appears by no means to have neglected the conquests of his predecessors, and his advance to Soleb, in the province of El Sokhot, and Elmahas, proves that the influence of Egypt was still more extended than in the previous reigns.

In the reign of Amenophis, Æthiopia appears to have been governed by a viceroy, who was an Egyptian officer of state, generally a royal scribe or military chief, sent down for the purpose of administering the country; the one in this reign bore the name of Merimes, and appears to have ended his days at Thebes, as his sepulchre remains in the western hills.^d He was called the *sa suten en Kush*, or prince of Kush, which comprised the tract of country lying south of Elephantina. In all the Ethnic lists this Kash or Æthiopia is placed next to the head of the list, "all lands of the south," and its identity with the Biblical Kush is universally admitted. It is generally mentioned with the haughtiest contempt, as the vile Kush (*Kash kh'aas*,) or Æthiopia, and the princes were of red or Egyptian blood. They dutifully rendered their proscynemata to the kings of Egypt.^e

^a Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 181, and foll. Cf. Rosellini, Mon. Stor. t. i. pl. ii, &c.; Birch, Gallery.

^b Lists of these names will be found in the following places: Birch, Gallery, p. 84; Archæologia, vol. XXXI. p. 489, 491; Gliddon, Otia Ægyptiaca, p. 144; Arch. Jour. 1851, p. 401.

^c "Of what high antiquity," says Mr. Ayrton (Journal Geogr. Soc. part i. 1848, p. 65) "are the names of many places in Arabia, and the opposite part of Africa, may be seen by comparing the names of provinces and tribes with those given in the earliest writings. In the Adulitic inscription, for example, are mentioned, in Africa, *Agame*, *Ava*, *Ath-Agau* (the Agows), near the sources of the Blue Nile, *Samene* (Samen), *Zaa* (Shawa), *At-Almo* (Lam-Almon), *Zingabene* (Zingebare), with others identified by Dean Vincent," vol. ii. p. 544, *et seq.*

^d Champollion, Not. Descr. des Monum. Egypt. du Mus. Charles X., 16mo. Paris, 1827, p. 12. A proscynema of him occurs at Beggha.—Cham. Mon. t. i., pl. lxxv.

^e Cf. for example, that of Prince Merimes, M. R. xlv. 3. For the position of Kush in the Ethnic lists, see Wilkinson's Mat. Hier. pl. viii.; Sethos I. a. 2, b. 2; Ramses, a. 2, b. 2.

A similar institution had, at an earlier period, been made for Eileithyia or El Kab. One of the sepulchres of these Eileithyian princes, *Shaaemneser*, son of *Amenhetp*, and the grandson of *Thothmes*, born of the lady *Ges-ha*, or *Nas-ha*, exists in the vicinity of that city.^a This prince was a kind of priest, or personal attendant of Amenophis I., of the dowager queen Aahmes Arinefer, called the divine wife, and of the royal lady, and queen consort Aahmes, and of the monarch Thothmes I. He was, besides this, scribe of all ranks,^b and one of the priests who entered the sanctuary of the goddess. Such titles are only consistent with an elective prince created by the crown, and all doubt upon the subject is removed by the Sallier calendar, from which it appears that the Egyptian astrologers of the nineteenth dynasty affected to predict the day on which the man should be born who would be a prince of the people.^c Another of these Eileithyian princes lived till the reign of Thothmes III. from that of Amosis; and his name, *Aahmes-Pensuben*, shews that he was a local functionary. Several works of the time, which extend throughout the whole of the modern Nubia, show that the country was occupied by Egyptians. One of the most important changes made by Amenophis appears to have been the foundation of the station at Abu^d, "the ivory island," as Elephantina was called, probably because it was the depôt of the Æthiopian ivory trade. The great razzia of the king, in which he brought 1052 prisoners, or slaves, from *Abha*, and his passage down the river in his third year for the purposes of conquest, I have already mentioned.^e Although the death of Amenophis was followed by a period of anarchy internally, yet the political relations by no means changed as regarded the two countries.

^a Champollion, Mon. pl. cxlv. The phrase "prince over the land of Eileithyia."

^b *sa*, a very difficult hieroglyph, seems to mean "side," as , *emsa*, "beside" or "behind." In the star-risings (Champollion, Mon. t. iii. pl. cclxxv., cclxxvi.) the heaven, considered as a female, is divided into the head (*api* or *ga*), the waist or middle (*sa*), and the extremity (*mes. t*). On the great tablet at Aboosimbel (Champollion, Mon. t. i. pl. xxxviii. l. 18) the phrase occurs, "I accompany thy limbs with life and power, thy limbs with health." A common phrase is *ar-sa* (Lepsius, Todt. taf. li. c. 127, l. 10): "They salute (*haa*) him, they adore him with their arms, they give him their parts (*ar sa*); he has lived by them." Cf. Champollion, Mon. t. i. pl. lxv. t. ii. pl. cxlv. *quater*.

^c Dr. Hincks, Dublin University Magazine, 1846, p. 190. On the oldest of all almanacks, cf. Select Papyri, Brit. Mus. pl. cxlvii. l. 9, "Paophi, a good day, rejoicing the heart of the gods on the festival of overthrowing the enemies of the Sun. Any one born on it will die ennobled" (*mesu neb em ra pen mut naf aaut*).

^d For the works of Amenophis III. at Elephantina, see Young, Hieroglyphics, pl. 53, 62, where he is followed by Taia.—Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 117. The obelisk now at Alnwick was probably from thence, and is dedicated to *Num*, having been placed before the sanctuary. It is of Amenophis II.

^e Archæological Journal, 1852, p. 400.

Not to re-open the disputed question of the Disc Heresy, the monarch Amenanchut, who belonged to the true faith, had an Æthiopian prince named *Hui*. His tomb was one of those lying between Medinat Haboo and the hill of the house of Jani.^a The prince is seen paying his respects to the monarch Amenanchut, who has behind him the various products of the country. Of these the most important are, *nub-arf*. . . , "gold—103 sacks." Foot-stools, arm-chair couches with their pillows, a chariot, cups filled with precious stones, ivory and ebony, trays filled with small palm-trees and plants, and little figures, apparently the pigmies, placed upon panther-skins, with chains of gold rings hanging down, give some idea of the opulence of the Æthiopia at this period. These are followed by "the chief of Shamma, the good ruler;"^b while some of the others are called "the chiefs of Uai."^c The place called Sham is one over which the god Horus presided; the Uai were conquered by Amenemha I. These are followed by an Æthiopian princess, dressed much in the style of the Æthiopians as seen upon the pyramids of Æthiopia. She is accompanied by other negroes, whom the hieroglyphs call "those born of the chiefs of all the countries;" and a host of other Æthiopians, wearing their plumes and plaited tunics, carrying sacks of gold and silver, and gold rings in baskets, lead along a giraffe, and oxen which have their horns fantastically arranged to represent a negro's head, stretching out his hands. Others bring cups of gold and gems, two baskets of red jasper, colours, and a flabellum. The hieroglyphs distinctly show that these are Æthiopian. "The chiefs of Kush, they say, 'Hail to thee, King of Egypt, the sun of foreigners; we are the breath of thy gift, living as thou wilt!'" And again, "The chiefs of Kush say—'Great are thy spirits, oh perfect god; exalted is thy glory: we breathe as thou grantest: true is thy word!'" The heretic monarch of El Tell, and the so-called Bachenaten, records and depicts his triumphs, both over negroes and Asiatics, but the details are wanting; and from hence the transition is rapid to Har-em-hebi, or Horus, who is represented at war again with the Black races. The monarch is called in his eulogistic inscriptions, "a lion marching against Kush;"^d and a military chief or general addressing him, says, "great is thy name in the land of Kush." This monarch, indeed, inscribes the Baru, or Baru-Baru,^e the Berbers, amongst his conquests; but the highest point

^a Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 479.

^b *Sham* appears to be Aboosimbel. On the great tablet sculptured on the rocks there, it is said, "He (the king) has made a place for a million of years in this rock of *Shamma*."

^c This proves the Uaua of the Karnak Tablet to be Æthiopians, and not Asiatics, as some have conjectured.

^d Nestor L'Hôte, Lettres, 1840, p. 70.

^e Rosellini, M.R. No. xlv. 4.

^f Rosellini, Mon. Stor. tom. ii. pte. i. p. 275-7. Cf. Wilkinson, Mat. Hier. pl. viii. a. 2.

where his constructions have been found are Gebel Addeh.^a The frontier of the empire appears contracted. The interval which elapsed between the close of the eighteenth dynasty and the rise of the nineteenth, seems to have been one of the subjection of Egypt to Northern invaders, who occupied Lower Egypt, and drove the native monarchs down to *Æthiopia* to take refuge in the territories of their viceroys. It is the period of which some notices have reached us through the extracts of the History of Manetho. The monarchs of the new dynasty had their hands full, and Rameses I. does not appear to have engaged in *Æthiopian* wars.^b Even *Seti*, or *SETHOS* I. is employed in the first year of his reign in driving the Hyk-Shos out of Pelusium or Avaris. His southern wars were probably left to his generals. Like Amenophis III., he has, however, left behind some lists, and the following show that the Akaita, or Akaiat, were among them. He had recovered the gold mines of that spot.

FIRST LIST.

1. Kush (*Æthiopia*).
2. A-ta-ru.
3. Alukhau (Allaghy).
4. Amru Karka.
5. Bu-ka (Boggees, Begas).

SECOND LIST.

1. Kush (*Æthiopia*).
2. Khaui.
3. Tar-wa (Darfour).
4. Ataru (Adulis).
5. Karu-ses.
6. Akata.^d

THIRD LIST.

1. South.
2. Kush (*Æthiopia*).
3. Ataru (Adulis).
4. Arushaki.
5. Amru Karka.
6. Buka (Boggees).
7. Seruni (Sileni).
8. Baru baru (Berbers).
9. Tekrurr (Tigre).
10. Mar (Meroe).
11. Karuses.
12. A-ruk.^e
13. Turusu or Tur-ru-nek.

The present inscription shows that he had endeavoured, although unsuccessfully, to make a tank or well for the miners who traversed the desert. A tablet set up by him at Ibrim, the ancient Primis, discovered by Mr. Harris, represents this king, who

^a Rosellini, Mon. Stor. p. 289. The ancient name of the site was *Amen-Heri*. In it is a temple dedicated to Thoth by Horus.—Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 40-43.

^b There is, however, a votive inscription of 20 Mechir, second year of his reign, at the Wady Halfa.—Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 33.

^c Wilkinson, Mat. Hier. pl. viii.

^e Ibid. Gliddon, Otia *Ægyptiaca*, 1849, p. 145; Rosellini, M. R. lxi.

^d Ibid.

has descended from his chariot, spearing an Æthiopian in the presence of a god. The inscription contains the proscynema of Amenemap, royal son of Kush or Æthiopia. The inscription merely alludes in general terms to the royal exploits in smiting Æthiopia and ravaging the land of the Nahsi. "He has extended," it says, "his southern frontiers to the Nahsi, his northern to the great ocean." This tablet was probably erected upon the occasion of some visit or campaign of the king in the south. The great conquests of the king are, however, inscribed on one of the pylons, or triumphal arches as they may be called, of the king at Karnak. The lists of Sethos I. although by no means so complete as those of Amenophis III., show that the king traversed nearly the same ground.

One of the most interesting remains of this reign, and referring to gold mines, in all probability those of the south, is the ancient Egyptian map at Turin, which, owing to the defective state of the knowledge of the hieratic character, has been mistaken for the ground-plan of the tomb of Sethos I. It is figured in facsimile;^a and I lay a copy of this before you. The portion marked A, to which I have attached the small letters *a—f*, is inscribed as follows: *a* has *hatp-Amen-em*; and below *Ta tehni en tu*, "the front of the hill." On the rectangular building, which is below this, is inscribed, *Pa chatem en Amen en ta* "the shrine," or "closed place of Amen in the hill." Beneath this is the word *ab*, "clean, pure," but whether it refers to the hill or the sanctuary, called *a-ab*, "pure place," the *abaton*, is not clear. The fragment *b* has *Tu en nub*, "the hill of gold," or the "gold mines," and this part is the key to the whole. This expression is repeated at *c*, and at *d* more expressly, as *Ta tu en nub*, "THE hill of gold." These hills are represented in Egyptian perspective, and intended to flank the roads or shafts. The large hieroglyphs in two lines in the centre (*e*) reading, *huu enti nub am charau em pa ans tesher*, "the hills or mines from which the gold is brought are drawn red on the plan," is a guide for those consulting it, like the rubrical directions of Egyptian rituals. At *f* is *Na ha u en nak nub*, "the houses of the land of for washing," or "refining the gold." At *h* is the *well*, with the word for "water" among the mutilated hieroglyphs; and the half-oval object at *g* is *hutu en sut-heb Ra men ma*, "the tablet of the king; the Sun, Arranger of Truth." (Sethos I.) At *h* is *Tacha enti shaa er pa iam*, "the roads leading to the sea." At *i* is *ki tacha enti shaa er pa iam*, "a second road leading to the sea." At *k* is *Tacha en* "the road" of some place, the name of which I cannot read; and at *l* is *Tacha en na Menta*, "the road for the workmen?" It is an important contribution to our knowledge of Egyptian civilisation to find the very mines mapped at this

^a Lepsius, Auswahl, taf. xxii.

early period; but of which gold mines this is the plan, can only be inferred by conjecture. Those of the Gebel Ollaga best answer the condition of the roads to the sea, the lower of which (*k*) is represented strewn with sea-shells.^a

Thus far the political relations of the two countries have been succinctly traced down to the age of Rameses II., the son of Sethos I.; and the present tablet, dated in the third year of his reign, which extended upwards of sixty-six years, shows from the 16th line that the monarch was extremely young when he ascended the throne. The administration of the southern provinces appears unchanged, for the subject of the well or reservoir, although introduced by the negro chiefs, is seconded by a prince of Æthiopia, whose name is unfortunately lost, but who is probably *Amene-mapt*, and who is found on the monuments of Beitoually to have survived Sethos, and to have been succeeded by his son *Pa-ur*.

The care of making wells in the desert, on the roads leading to the mines, is shewn by many inscriptions. One on the Cosseir road, leading to the emerald and gold mines^b of Berenice, dated on the 23d of the month Athyr, in the reign of Mentuhetp, or Mandouophis, of the thirteenth dynasty, mentions the mode used for the working of the "hill in the place for ever, to the lord living in the mine (*Baa . t*), seeing all the forms," it states, "of the god who has given his spirits to men, making land out of water, and transferring the water (*bes mau*) out of the mire of the country, obtaining water in the midst of the valley, from ten cubits to ten cubits, in order to draw water for the corn, and for washing and watering the beasts as they come to the land of Phut," &c. Another of these wells is mentioned in the inscriptions of the mines at the Sarabut El Khadem, where, in the list of the governors of the temple or fort, it is said of one, *ar naf baba un em ba pen*, "who made the well which is in the mine."^c All the principal temples and stations were provided with tanks or lakes. Thus a tablet in the British Museum was made for the "keeper of the northern reservoirs at Thebes;"^d and an inscription published by Champollion has, "offered to Osiris, who dwells in the pool of the palace of Ramses in Thebes."^e When these pools or tanks were of large size, they were called after the monarchs by whom they

^a For this locality, see Sir G. Wilkinson's Topography of Thebes, p. 416. A small station, built by Sethos I. in his ninth year, still remains on the road leading from Contra Apollinopolis to the emerald mines.—Wilkinson, l. c. 420.

^b Burton, Exc. Hier. pl. iii.

^c Leon de la Borde, Voy. Arab. Petréé, fo. Paris.

^d Egyptian Saloon, 282.

^e Champollion, Mon. pl. clxii. At Esneh, where the temple is seen in an oval, Num says, "I give thee a house fit to hold water, filled with all good things."—Ibid. cxlv. *ter*.

were made. The large square tank, 3,600 cubits long, and 600 cubits broad, made by Amenophis III., in the eleventh year of his reign, he named *Nem en suten hem Taia*, "The lake of the queen Taia."^a The celebrated lake Mœris, or Moteris," as one reading of Pliny gives it,^b appears to have been named after Amenemha IV., whose prenomen was *Ra-ma-tu*. In the picture at Karnak, representing the return of Sethos I. to Pelusium, is seen a pool, or tank, defended by a fort, which is called *Ta Nem en Sut en cheb Ra men ma*, "The tank," or "well of the King, the Sun, the defender of Truth," Sethos I.^c The forts were also named after the monarchs who built them, and in the *Makatulu en Ramessu* has been recognised "the Migdol," or "Tower of Ramses," which the Jews built.^c The present tank was also named after the king Ramesses; and, from the mutilated lines at the end, it appears that the prince of Æthiopia sent a galley with a letter up the Nile, announcing the event.

That these letters were carried by special messengers will, of course, be obvious. The envoy of the Bakten, on a later tablet, records the arrival of a letter from a prince of that country to the king of Egypt,^d and the Anastasi papyri are filled with the foreign correspondence of the functionaries of the early part of the nineteenth dynasty, the most interesting portion of which is the series of letters addressed to the governor of the castle of Tuk, or Thuk.^e Another point connected with this tablet is the fact that the desert at this period was crossed by asses. I have already mentioned that the *horse (htar)* was unknown in Egypt till the age of the eighteenth dynasty, and that upon monuments of the twelfth the ass appears only to have been used for riding. The Mes-stem foreigners, who approach the nomarch Neferhetp, come through the Arabian desert on asses,^f and the tombs of the twelfth dynasty shew the animal treading out the corn.^g During the eighteenth dynasty *horses* were sent as tribute to Egypt, and also *asses*, but *camels* never; the two former were however often employed—the first for the purposes of war only, the second for agricultural purposes, especially carriage. The latter appear only in

^a Cf. Rosellini, M. R. xlv. 2; Dr. Hincks, on the Eighteenth Dynasty of Manetho, Trans. Roy. Irish Acad. vol. xix. pte. ii. p. 7.

^b Pliny, N. H. lib. xxxvi. c. 13. For the various opinions as to its etymology, and its discovery by M. Linant, see M. Lepsius, Einleitung, s. 263.—Mémoire sur le Lac Mœris, par M. Linant de Bellefonds, 4to. Alexandrie, 1843; Chev. Bunsen, Ægyptens Stelle, buch ii. s. 209 and foll.

^c Osburn, Egypt's Testimony, p. 105.

^d Prisse, Mon. pl. xxiv.

^e Select Papyri, pl. xcix. and foll.

^f Rosellini, M. R. xxvi.

^g Ibid. M. C.

the trans-Jordanic part of Palestine, ridden by the Shasu or Hykshos.^a Many notices occur of the ass: "May it please my lord,"^b says one writer, "his asses are well." In another of these documents the writer wishes that some one whom he abuses may "fall in the mire in the land of Charu, and return home in a coffin on the back of an *ass*,"^c evidently intended as a degrading circumstance. In the correspondence of the governor of Thuk, the writer mentions asses, and that the king's asses have been sent to their stable.^d They were, in fact, at this remote period the animal of the Egyptian desert, and preceded by several centuries the camel.^e

In ancient Egypt the quantity of gold imported into the country must have been immense. The dazzling abundance of the valuable products of the north and south must have rivalled in those times the discoveries of the new world. "In the (district of Meroe)," says Diodorus, "there are mines of gold, silver, iron, and brass, besides abundance of ebony and all sorts of precious stones."^f In the description of the palace of Osymandyas,^g the same author mentions the annual produce of the Egyptian gold and silver mines at the enormous figure of 3200 myriads of minæ.^h The animated description of the working of these mines by Agatharcides is well known, and the position of the principal mines has been already pointed out. So fabulous was the quantity, that Herodotus represents the very prisoners in the *Æthiopian* jails as manacled with gold. The expedition of Sesostris, in which must be recognized a confusion and amalgamation of the wars of the eighteenth dynasty, when it had succeeded, imposed upon this region a tribute of ebony, gold, and tusks of ivory.ⁱ The same tribute was exacted under the Persian empire; for the *Æthiopians* paid every third year two bushels of native gold, two hundred logs of

^a Trans. Roy. Soc. Literat. new series, vol. ii. p. 337.

^b Dr. Hincks, Winchester Meeting, Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc. 8vo. London, 1846, p. 249; Select Papyri.

^c Ibid. p. 256. Select Papyri, lxxvii. 5.

^d Select Papyri, cviii. 14.

^e The cattle of Jericho were the ox, the sheep, the ass.—Joshua, vi. 21.

^f Diodorus, i. 33. ὑπάρχειν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ μέταλλα χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ σιδήρου καὶ χαλκοῦ. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις ἔχειν πλῆθος ἐβένου, λίθων τε πολυτελῶν γένη πανταδοπα.

^g Diodorus, i. 49. καθ' ὃν δὴ γλυφαῖς ἐντυχεῖν εἶναι καὶ χρώμασιν ἐπηρτισμένον τὸν βασιλέα, φέροντα τῷ Θεῷ χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρον, ὃν καὶ ἐξ ἀπάσης ἐλάμβανε τῆς Αἰγύπτου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν, ἐκ τῶν ἀργυρείων καὶ χρυσεῶν μετάλλων. ὑπογράφεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, ὃ συγκεφαλαιούμενον εἰς ἀργυρίου λόγον εἶναι μινῶν τρισχιλίας καὶ διακοσίας μυριάδας.

^h Diod. iii. 11; Sir Gardner Wilkinson, Man. and Cus., ser. i. vol. iii. p. 231.

ⁱ Diodorus, i. 55. καὶ καταπολεμήσας, ἠνάγκασε τὸ ἔθνος φόρους τελεῖν, ἔβενον καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων τοὺς ὀδόντας.

ebony, five Æthiopian boys, and twenty large tusks of ivory.^a The gold sent from Kush or Æthiopia was either gold-dust in bags called *gam*, or "pure gold," melted into the form of large square ingots called *mna* or pounds, or else in the form of rings (*ses**h*) made into chains and carried by the hand.

In the conquests of Rameses II. at Beitoually, all three forms are represented, and the rings and ingots are mentioned in the tribute of Kush, on the statistical tablet of Karnak. As one of the items of the treasury of Rameses III. at Medinat Haboo 1,000 sacks (*arfu*)^b of the gold of Æthiopia are mentioned.^b In the contributions to the temple at Philæ, the Ua-ua, an Æthiopian people, contribute gold; and Æthiopia itself a material called *her**tes*.

Since the time of the great Thothmes none of the Egyptian monarchs had exercised such sway in Æthiopia. At Beitoually, which appears to have been excavated in the commencement of his reign, the conquest of Æthiopia is duly recorded.^c The investiture of Amenemapt, the son of Pahur, as prince of Æthiopia, is there represented, while a large tribute both of the precious metals, raw products, and manufactured articles, shews the advanced state of the civilization. The speos, indeed, does not seem to have been completed during the life of Amenemapt, as another prince named "Messu (Ra messu), the Ra Satp of the land of the south," who was also standard-bearer on the king's left hand, and royal scribe, is represented kneeling in prayer on the left jamb of the central gate of the temple of Ammon.^d This name may, perhaps, be connected with that found in a hieratic inscription at Aboosimbel.

Either to the period of this prince or to that of his predecessor must be referred the temple of Mashakit, which is not dedicated by the king, but by Pahur the "prince-governor of the south, standard-bearer at the king's left hand, and royal scribe, having charge of the lands of Amen in the country of Peta (Phut), and also having charge of the gold lands."^e In another place he is styled nomarch, and chief auditor of complaints to the king's house.^f He adores Rameses as a god along with Anucis, and states that the gods have given the king all the *bows*, or foreigners,

^a Herodot. iii. 97. These boys, called *makau* (*magas*), are mentioned in the Inscription of Amenophis III. from Samneh.—Brit. Mus. 138*.

^b Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 364. This is evidently the celebrated treasury of Ramsinitus.

^c Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 150, 151; Champollion, Mon. t. i. pl. lxxiii. l. 1; The Investiture, pl. lxviii.

^d Champollion, Not. Descr. Mon. t. i. pl. lxxiv.

^e Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 40.

^f Champollion, Not. Descr. pp. 38, 39.

under his sandals.^a A statue of this prince, made of sandstone, and removed from Nubia by Belzoni,^b is dedicated to "Ammon Ra, who dwells in the fort of Ramesses." At Mashakit he is also named governor of the temple of Ammon, and it is probable that he was located there. Another of these princes, named *Sta*, is found after this period, having ruled the country during the middle portion of the reign of Rameses. At Amada he is seen addressing a proscynema.^c At Gershe Hassan there is a statue with the legend of Rameses II., and the titles of the prince, who is called "royal Son of Æthiopia, president of the gold lands and king's scribe."^d On a tablet lying to the south of the speos of the temple of Athor at Aboosimbel, dated in the 38th year of Rameses, this prince is called "a military chief, or nomarch, divine father and friend, chamberlain of the king's house, and the eyes and ears of the king."^e The title of Prince of Æthiopia is placed last. Another of his proscynemata is found on the route between Philæ and Syene,^f and traces of him at Ibrim.^g These princes continued till a later period,^h as one named *Peti*ⁱ is found, under Rameses III., making a proscynema with the men of "Su-ten-chennu," or "the land of royal infants," a name which, in a remarkable manner, corresponds with the description of Manetho. The lid of the sarcophagus of the prince *Sta* from one of the Theban sepulchres shows that, like others of his race, he ended his days at Thebes.^k During the whole of this dynasty Æthiopia was ruled by these viceroys.

The mines appear to have been worked principally by culprits and slaves. Rameses particularly prided himself upon his foreign conquests.

At Beitoually the hieroglyphs announce his titles as "trampler upon the south, he who sabres the Nahsi, who hoes the south and ploughs the north."^l At Aboosimbel the same king is called "the bruiser of the Bow-bearers—the trampler

^a There is also another proscynema of uncertain period, perhaps antecedent, of Kafai, son of Thothmes, governor of the slave house of the lord of the Earth (the King), in the land of Phut, and superintendent

of the gold mines.

^b Brit. Gall. pl. li. 180.

^c Champollion, Mon. t. i. pl. xxxv. p. 4.

^d Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 104. The inscription states it is offered to Ra; "may he give a good time to rejoice in the panegyry? to the Prince *Sta*." This shows it was after the thirtieth year of the king's reign.

^e Champollion, t. i. pl. viii. p. 4. Certain officers of the Persian court were called king's eyes and ears. Cf. also Not. Descr. p. 7.

^f Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 105.

^g Ibid. p. 82.

^h A prince Unnefer? son of another prince named Ramses, is mentioned in the hieratic inscription of Aboosimbel, Champ. Not. Descr. p. 6.; Lepsius, Einl. s. 320.

ⁱ Champ. Mon. t. i. pl. iv. p. 2.

^k Coffin-lid, British Museum, Egypt. Saloon, No. 78.

^l Champollion, Mon. t. i. pl. viii. p. 2.

on the chiefs of the vile Æthiopia.”^a In the same speos he is called “a bull against the Charu (or Chalu), a strong bull against Kish,” or Æthiopia.^b At Aboosimbel it is expressly stated that the king “has dragged the Nahsi (Negroes) to the north, the Naamu (Asiatics) to Phut—building it with his captives.”^c In illustration of which fact the king is represented destroying an Asiatic. A similar expression occurs on the great dedicatory tablet of Aboosimbel, “He brought,” says the inscription, “numerous workmen of the captives dragged from every land, he has filled the house of the gods with the children of the Ruten!”^d A striking commentary upon the inscription said to be engraved by Sesostris on his temples,^e ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΕΓΧΩΡΙΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΑΤΤΑ ΜΕΜΟΧΘΗΚΕ. This was, however, not peculiar to Rameses II., as Thothmes III. sent his Asiatic captives to Thebes, to build the temple of Amen Ra, or the Sun, at Thebes.^f

The Negro represented on the monuments of the period has remained for centuries unchanged, like the natural features with which he is surrounded.

Throughout the whole extent of Nubia Rameses erected^g various temples, probably with a double intention of converting the Negroes to the worship of Ammon,^h and also of fortifying the country by these sacred strongholds. The inhabitants were kidnapped for slaves, or conscribed as soldiersⁱ—the mines examined and worked, and all the natural products of the country poured into Egypt.

^a Champollion, Mon. t. i. pl. lxxiii. l. i.

^b Ibid. x. 4.

^c Ibid. pl. xviii. l. 5; pl. xvii.

^d Diodorus, i. c. 56; Herodotus, ii. 108, 197.

^e Champollion, Mon. tom. i. pl. ix. l. 13, 14.

^f Rosellini, M. C. xlix.

^g At Aboosimbel, two temples, in one of which he is seen leading negro prisoners (Champollion, Mon. pl. xxxvii.-xxxv). *Kafu beten en Phut*, “he has routed the vile Phut.” At the Wady Esseboua is a dromos

of the same monarch (Cf. Not. Descr. p. 118), and at Gershe Hossein, called Tauaua (Ibid. p. 135). At Beitoually. At Aboosimbel (Champ, t. i. pl. xiv.) it says he has smitten their chiefs, he has given his commands to the distant Hesi.

^h Sir G. Wilkinson in Trans. R. Soc. Liter. vol iv. *ad finem*.

ⁱ Dr. Hincks on the Power of Alphabet, Trans. Roy. Irish Acad., 4to, 1848, p. 202; a common phrase is as that of Sethos I., “he has filled the cells,” or “temples, (*ra*) with gold, silver, and copper.” Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 124. On coffins of this period, the Negroes and Asiatics are often represented under the sandals of the mummies.—Champollion, Mon. t. ii. pl. clv. Negroes are often seen, as at the Ramesseum.—Champ. Mon. t. iv. pl. cccxxii.

APPENDIX.

There is the preamble of an inscription, dated on the 8th of Phamenoth, seventh year of the reign of Thothmes IV. on the Abaton of Philæ, reading "The Horus (living) the powerful bull crowned with diadems, lord of the upper and lower crown, whose dominions are established like those of Tum; the hawk [of gold], whose strength sustains the afflieter of bows; the king, the Sun, placer of created beings, son of the Sun, Thothmes, crown of crowns; beloved of Ammon; may he live like the Sun. On the 8th of Phamenoth of the vii year, when (*as-tu*)" The rest is entirely wanting, but it probably referred to some proscynema on the passage of the river towards Æthiopia.^a

I may also append the translation of the tablet removed from Samneh by the Duke of Northumberland, and by him presented to the British Museum, where it is deposited in the Egyptian Saloon, No. 138*. The upper part of this tablet, which was at least as large again, has been destroyed, but I do not think that it contained much that was very important as to the historical portion, the greater part having been the preamble of the document, the names and titles. (Plate XXVIII.)

(L. 1.) [Destroyed and illegible].

(l. 2.) he has smitten the evil, making all their places

(l. 3.) when was expected the things paid by the land of Abha, each coming to his being about to be reviewed.

(l. 4.) of his majesty, of those who were in power of the prince, giving his instructions, commanding by commands each of them, removed from the land of Mahi to

(l. 5.) commencing from the port of Bak, and continuing to Atarui, the river made fifty-two schoeni, lead them

(l. 6.) the power of the Sun, the Lord of Truth (Amenophis III.) in one day and one hour, making the dead in binding

(l. 7.) their cattle, not one of them escaped, all of them were bought up offering them to the power of Amenhetp (Amenophis), Lord of the Thebaid,

^a Champollion (Le Jeune), Notice Descriptive, p. 164. Folio, Paris, 1844.

(l. 8.) who has no frontiers; the foreign lands cross over with men and women as slaves to the Horus, the Lord of the Earth, the King, the Sun, the Lord of Truth (Amenophis III.), the glorious victor of Abha, whose great

(l. 9.) words are proclaimed in their hearts; the raging lion, the ruler who has smitten them according to the commands of Ammon, his noble father: he traverses them

(l. 10.) with powerful victories. The number of captives led to his majesty from the land of the vile Abha was Nahsi (Negroes) 150 head, boys 110 head, Nahsi 250 head;

(l. 11.) hearers of complaints of the Nahsi 55 head, their children 175 head, total of living heads 740 head, preserved hands 312, a-

(l. 12.) mounting with the living heads to 1052. The prince, the pride of his master, the satisfaction of the perfect god (the king) the governor of the land of Kush (Æthiopia), throughout its length, the royal scribe Merimes says, "Incline thy face.

(l. 13.) Oh, good god, great are thy spirits to pursue; may thy enemies say to thee, "Flame scorches our eyes (*tahem nan chet er nan*), thou hast smitten all thy opponents dead under thy sandals!"

The tablet engraved upon the principal rock or abaton of Philæ^a in fourteen lines records the campaign of Amenophis III. against Æthiopia. It is dated in the fifth year of his reign, and on the first occasion of his sailing into the country. Undoubtedly it has been very indifferently copied; but, making out its tenor as well as possible by means of restoration, it is as follows:—

(L. 1.) The living Horus, the powerful bull, crowned by Truth, the king, lord of diadems, son of Ammon, the lord of the Earth, rejoicing in [?] (*haa em*)

(l. 2.) the powerful lord, smiter of the Nomads, a divine ruler like the son of [Nu] (*Osiris*) through [his] power in the land of

(l. 3.) creating his greatness, the king, lord of the earth, lord creating things, the Sun, the lord of Truth, born of the Sun, son of the Sun, of his body, beloved of him.

(l. 4.) AMENOPHIS, ruler of the Thebaid, beloved of Ammon-Ra, king of the gods, and of Num, who dwells in Senem; may he live for ever.

(l. 5.) In the fifth year came his majesty returning from his first expedition belonging to him, from the land

^a Champollion, Not. Descr. pp. 164, 165.

(l. 6.) of the vile Kish; he had made his frontiers wherever he wished, moving his land-marks (*ar . . . uts*); he set up (*ra sa men nef*)

(l. 7.) a tablet of his victories in the sanctuary (*men kabh*); never had king of Egypt (*Kami*)

(l. 8.) done like it; his majesty procured victory through his power the Sun, the lord of Truth, who is led in

(l. 9.) in power and force before his troops; his father Ammon (*Ra*)

(l. 10.) has issued his commands; he has given him power and victory over all lands, he has given him the south

(l. 11.) and the north, the west and east; they have hastened to deliver themselves to him

(l. 12.) as their children, having come that he may give them the breath of life; the son of the Sun, beloved

(l. 13.) Amenophis, ruler of the Thebaid. The land of the Nahsi could not sustain his attack. may he live

(l. 14.) well joyous crowned upon the throne of Ammon, like the Sun, immortal!"

The names of the prisoners are Arak, Ur, Mer.