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The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamōse: The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I

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## THE DEFEAT OF THE HYKSOS BY KAMŌSE: THE CARNARVON TABLET, No. I

BY ALAN H. GARDINER, D.LITT.

No single inscription has been discovered in the course of the past ten years more important than the writing-board recording a defeat of the Hyksos by the Theban king Kamōse, which was found by Lord CARNARVON in 1908, and subsequently published in the fine memoir dealing with his excavations<sup>1</sup>. In that work good photographs of both *recto* and *verso* are given, and Mr F. LI. GRIFFITH contributes a valuable description; but the former are on too small a scale, and the latter is too summary, to satisfy the requirements of the philologist and the historian. On the whole there seems in this case to be sufficient reason for departing from the custom of our *Journal*, which as a rule is concerned more with the results of Egyptological research than with the technical processes by which these are obtained. The palaeographical interest of the original is very great, and for this reason I have ventured to reproduce the large-scale photographs made for me in 1910 by Herr KOCH; scholars will thus have better means of controlling my readings, some of which are by no means as certain as I could have wished.

The Carnarvon Tablet no. I belongs to a pair of hieratic writing-boards found among loose *débris* of pottery and fragmentary mummies on a ledge near the entrance to a plundered tomb in the Birâbi, not far from the mouth of the Deir el Bahari valley<sup>2</sup>. The tomb in question is assigned by Mr Howard CARTER to the Seventeenth Dynasty, and we have every reason to believe that this attribution is correct. The two writing-boards are of a type not uncommon at this period, consisting of wooden tablets covered with stucco of fine plaster and having, in the middle of one of the shorter sides, a hole by means of which they could be hung up. Tablet no. I bears on the obverse the historical text here to be considered, and on the reverse first a new copy of the beginning of the well-known *Proverbs of Ptahhotpe*<sup>3</sup> and below this the lines of a draughtsboard in squares 10 × 3. Tablet no. II<sup>4</sup>, of much smaller size

<sup>1</sup> THE EARL OF CARNARVON and HOWARD CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, London, 1912, pl. xxvii, xxviii, and pp. 36–7.









<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 4 and p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> See G. MASPERO, *L'Ostrakon Carnarvon et le Papyrus Prisse*, in *Rec. de Trav.*, vol. 31 (1909), pp. 146–153. Another transcription in E. A. W. BUDGE, *Egyptian Hieratic Papyri*, London, 1910, pp. xviii–xix. A large-scale photographic facsimile in G. JÉQUIER, *Le Papyrus Prisse et ses variantes*, Paris, 1911, pl. 16.

<sup>4</sup> EARL OF CARNARVON and HOWARD CARTER, *op. cit.*, pl. 29.

but written in the same or a very similar hand, contains a much-damaged literary composition, probably of didactic character; the missing corner was purchased from a dealer by Professor PETRIE, and subsequently identified by me, and is still in my hands awaiting to be joined to the larger fragment in the Cairo Museum.

The circumstances of the find would predispose one to attribute these writing-boards to the Seventeenth, or at the very latest, to the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Sir Gaston MASPERO, however, in commenting on the above-mentioned duplicate of the *Proverbs of Ptahhotpe*, expresses the opinion that the scribe by whom this was written lived towards the time of the Twentieth Dynasty, "car l'écriture de son livre semble se rattacher aux mains cursives de cette époque plutôt qu'à celles de la XVIIIe," and he therefore draws the conclusion that the text of the obverse represents "le commencement d'un conte à demi historique, dont l'action se passait dans l'an III du Pharaon Kamôsis de la XVIIIe dynastie." M. le capitaine R. WEILL, in an interesting but wholly unconvincing treatise on the documentary evidence for the Hyksos period<sup>1</sup>, similarly disputes the historical character of the Carnarvon Tablet, though admitting that it may date back as early as the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Professor NEWBERRY, on the other hand, declares emphatically that this document "is certainly not a tale (as has been suggested) but deals with exact history, and if we compare it with the so-called 'Tale of Apepy and Seqenenre' preserved in the *Sallier Papyrus no. II* (*sic, lege no. I*), we find some points which lend colour to the old theory that this *Sallier Papyrus no. II* is a copy of an earlier historical document, and not simply a popular romance<sup>2</sup>."

Though it is impossible to agree with Professor NEWBERRY as regards this latter point, he is undoubtedly right in stating that the hieratic writing is that "characteristic of the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty." This verdict is thoroughly borne out alike by its general appearance and by a detailed scrutiny of its individual forms. There is the same love of rounded shapes and terminal flourishes which we find in the *Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, the *Westcar* and the *Papyrus Ebers*. For the minuter differences of form which distinguish this group of manuscripts, ranging from the beginning of the Hyksos period down to the reign of Amenophis I, from those of later date, reference must be made to Dr MÖLLER's standard work on hieratic palaeography<sup>3</sup>; students may be specially recommended to note the forms of  (Tablet, l. 2; MÖLLER, no. 142),  (T., l. 6, 15, 16; M., no. 166),  (with simple oblique stroke running through the sign, T., l. 4, 7; M., no. 179),  (T., l. 3, 10; M., no. 392),  (T., l. 16; M. 209),  (T., l. 10; M., no. 474). Wholly peculiar to the Hyksos group are the ligatures for  (T., l. 1, 2, 10, 15; M., no. 540 B), and for  (T., l. 14; M., Anhang, no. LXIII). The Carnarvon Tablet exhibits a number of remarkable shapes which are

<sup>1</sup> R. WEILL, *Les Hyksôs et la restauration nationale*, Paris, 1911; appeared first in *Journal Asiatique*, 10th series, vols. 16 (1910) and 17 (1911). The Carnarvon Tablet is discussed in an additional article published *Journal Asiatique*, 11th series, vol. I (1913), pp. 536—544.

<sup>2</sup> P. E. NEWBERRY, *Notes on the Carnarvon Tablet No. I*, in *Proc. S.B.A.*, vol. 35 (1913), pp. 117—122.

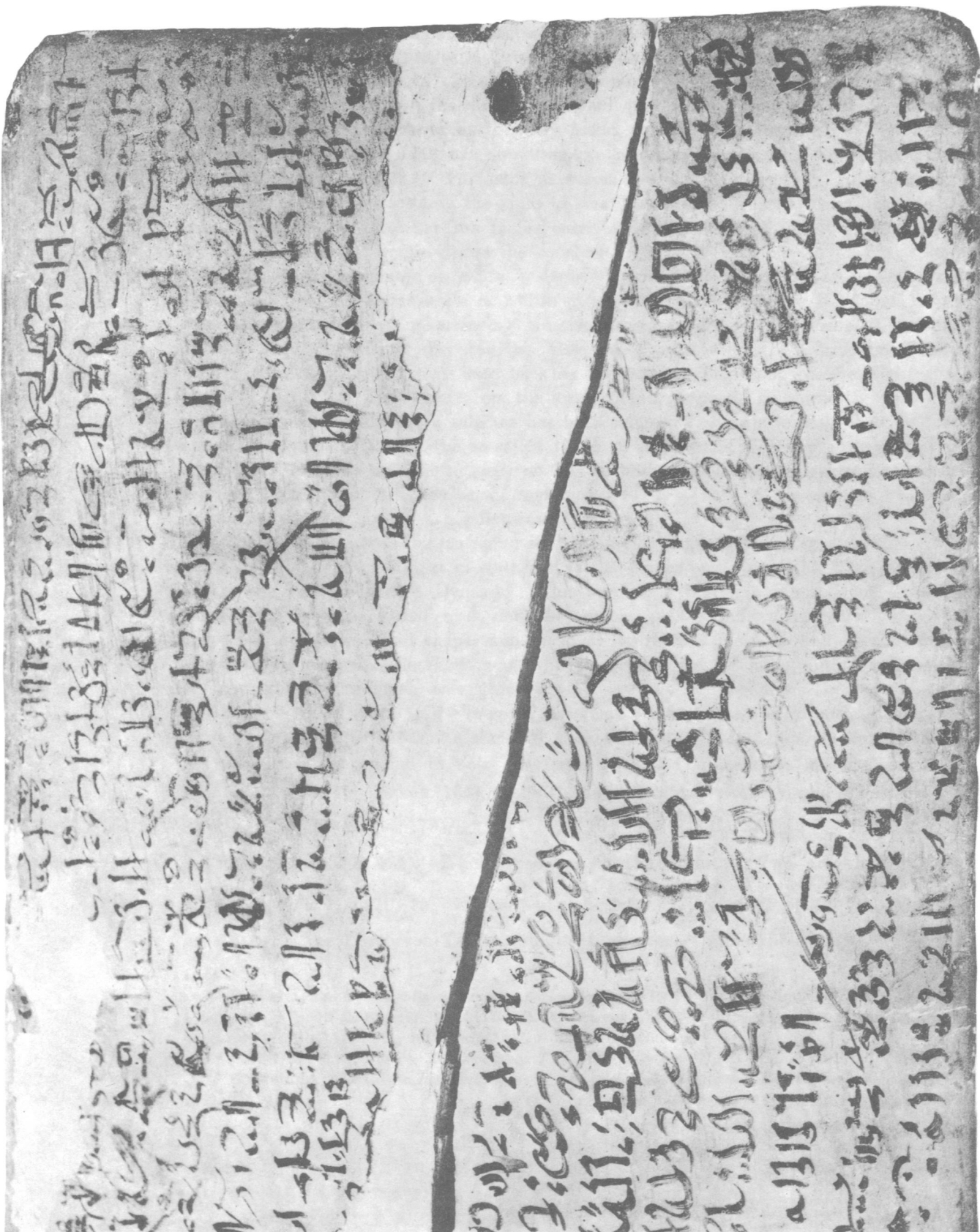
<sup>3</sup> G. MÖLLER, *Hieratische Paläographie*: I, *Alt- und Mittelhieratisch*; II, *Neuhieratisch*. Leipzig, 1909.



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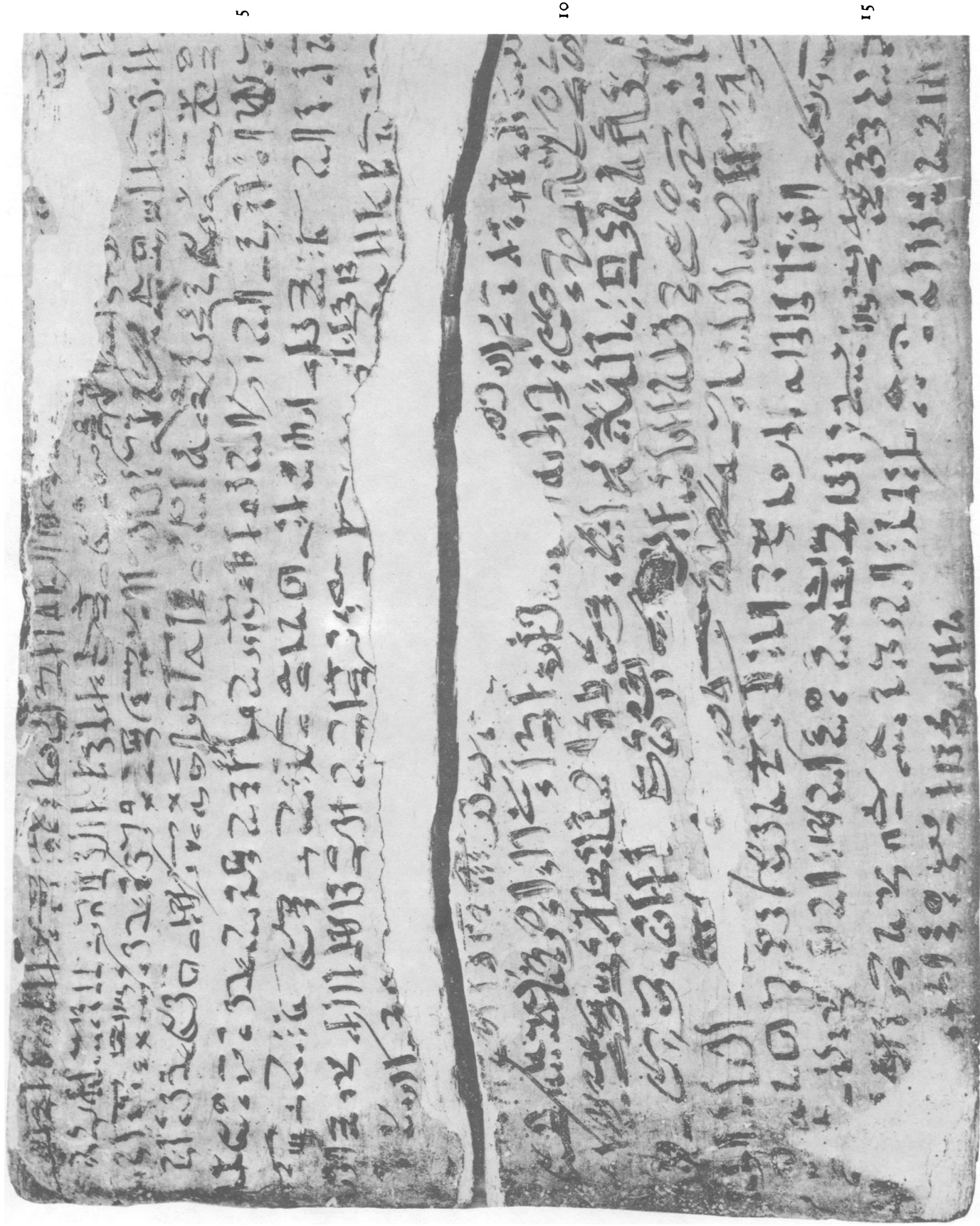
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CARNARVON TABLET No. I

Right-hand portion





CARNARVON TABLET No. I

Left-hand portion

not of common occurrence anywhere else, but which are in general agreement with the tendencies of the group to which it has been seen to belong; thus the very unusual form of  $\smile$  (T., l. 1, 3;  $\smile$  l. 12), the elaborate  $\smile$  of l. 1, the unique  $\text{𐀓}$  of l. 11.  $\text{—}$  is used for the preposition  $\text{𐀓}$  expressing the dative, as in the Hyksos manuscripts (MÖLLER, vol. I, p. 17, n. 3). Other peculiarities will be pointed out in the notes on the text.

It may be considered certain, therefore, that the Carnarvon Tablet no. I is very nearly contemporary with the events it records; in no case can it have been written more than fifty years later. The question as to its value as a historical document is better deferred until we have become acquainted with the contents.

## TEXT, TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY.



<sup>a</sup> For the form cf. *Sinuhe* B, 207. <sup>b</sup> Sufficient traces. <sup>c</sup> The lacuna is too large for *s*; *R* alone, unless *R* was written out phonetically.

Year 3, Horus "Appearing-upon-his-Throne," Two Goddesses "Repeating-Monuments," Horus of Gold "Making-content-the-Two-Lands," King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Wazkhe]per[re', Son of Re'] Kamōse, granted life, beloved of Amen-re', lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands (Karnak), like Re' for ever and ever.

The text opens with the date and full titulary of Kamōse.

$\text{𐀓}$  ought properly to be written  $\text{𐀓}$ , but among the exceptions quoted by SETHE, *Untersuchungen*, vol. II, p. 88, there are two dating from the reign of Amōsis I.—Mr GRIFFITH, followed by Professor NEWBERRY, wrongly reads "year 7."—It is quite unusual to find the date thus immediately preceding the full titulary.

The Horus-name here given is very different from that found (*sdj-t,wi*) on the ebony fan of King Kamōse preserved in the Cairo Museum; and for this reason M. WEILL (*op. cit.*, p. 156) and M. GAUTHIER (*Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte*, vol. II, p. 169) think that they cannot belong to one and the same Pharaoh. The prenomen of the Tablet,

however, may easily be restored as  $\text{𐀓}$ , the name elsewhere attributed to

Kamōse, and the grounds for concluding the existence of a second Kamōse seem at present, therefore, to be extremely slender; see too Dr BURCHARDT in *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, vol. 50 (1912), p. 121, n. 3.

The words *mi R' dt nh* really belong to *di 'nh*. For a possible explanation of their displacement see below, p. 109.

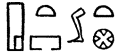
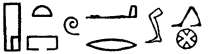





"I should like to know what purpose serves my strength, when one prince is in Avaris and another is in Kush, and I sit united with an 'A'am and a Negro—each man holding his slice of the Black Land—who share the land with me. I do not pass him (??) as far as Memphis, the water (?) of Egypt. Behold, he holds (?) Shmūn, and no man rests, being wasted (?) through servitude (?) of the Setyu.

The speech of the king is quite intelligible at first, but later on becomes involved in great obscurity.

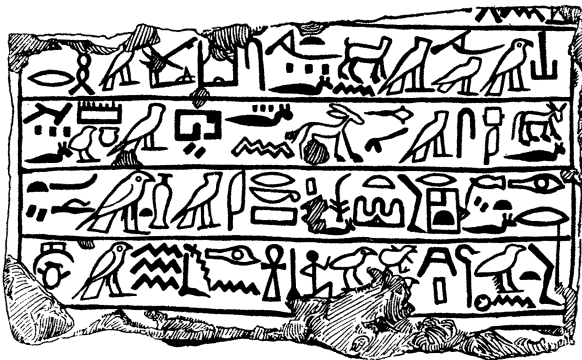
The first sentence construes literally: "let me perceive, it is for what my strength, a prince (being) in Avaris and another in Kush."

 H,t-w'rt, Aṯapis, Avaris, the stronghold and capital of the Hyksos, identified by MARIETTE and DE ROUGÉ with Tanis, by PETRIE (*Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, pp. 9—10) with an encampment or settlement of the Hyksos period found by him at Tell el Yahūdiyeh, while WEILL (*Les Hyksos*, pp. 173—174) hesitates between Heliopolis and an indeterminate site somewhere in the Eastern Delta. The historical and literary texts in which it is mentioned throw little light upon its localization beyond establishing the fact that it was in the Delta: the *Story of Seqenenrē and Apophis* gives the full writing  (SALLIER I, 1, 2); the biography of Ahmōse of El Kab relates its siege and capture (SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 3—4); the inscription of Hatshepsut at Speos Artemidos tells of the time "when the 'A'amu were in Avaris of the Delta" (*op. cit.*, IV, 390). MANETHO is far more illuminating: in the account of the Hyksos invasion preserved *verbatim* by JOSEPHUS (*Contra Apionem*, I, 78), he narrates how the first Hyksos king Salatis, fearing an invasion from the East, found "a most convenient city in the Sethroite nome lying to the east of the Bubastite river, and called Avaris for some old theological reason" (ἐν νομῷ τῷ Σεθροίτῃ πόλιν ἐπικαιροτάτην, κειμένην μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν τοῦ Βουβαστίτου ποταμοῦ, καλουμένην δ' ἀπὸ τινος ἀρχαίας θεολογίας Αὔαριν). The MS. reading in this passage is Σαίτη, which is inherently absurd; the emendation Σεθροίτη is assured by the rendering *per legem Methraitem* in the Armenian version, and by the equivalent ἐν τῷ Σεθροίτῃ νομῷ in the epitome of Manetho's history handed down by Africanus and Eusebius. The Greek writers show themselves particularly well informed about Avaris and its history, Ptolemy of Mendes relating its capture by Amosis I (see E. MEYER, *Aeg. Chronologie*, p. 74, n. 1), and Manetho (in JOSEPHUS, *Contra Apionem*, I, 237) being aware that it was Typhonian, i.e. that Seth was worshipped there. It is therefore quite unreasonable, without cogent grounds, to doubt the evidence of Manetho, which, as Dr GRENFELL points out to me, is quite explicit. The Sethroite nome appears to lie wholly to the east of the Bubastite or Pelusiac branch of the Nile, and is bounded to the south by the well-located Arabian nome with its capital at Phacusa, the modern Fakūs. The chances are, accordingly, that Avaris lay quite close to the caravan-route to Syria, which is now known to have started somewhere near Kantarah<sup>1</sup>; and there are reasons which

<sup>1</sup> See KÜTHMANN, *Die Ostgrenze Aegyptens*; my own notes in *Hieratic Texts*, vol. I, p. 29\*; and new evidence from Kantarah bearing on the localization of Tharu somewhere in the vicinity published in *Annales du Service*, vol. 12 (1912), p. 76, and more fully in *Bulletin de l'Institut franç. d'Arch. Orient.*, vol. 11 (1913), pp. 29—38. Kantarah itself is more probably  Msn, see *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. 31 (1909), pp. 113—120.



urge us to seek it as far north as possible, and as nearly as possible on the fringe of the desert, *i.e.* anywhere between Kantarah and Pelusium. The first of these two points emerges from a fragmentary stele, evidently coming from Edfu, shown in the accompanying cut, where an official whose home was at Edfu, and who may well have











































lived in the Hyksos period, states that he “made his north at Avaris, and his south at Kush<sup>1</sup>.” For the second point the name of the town itself is significant; as the variants (the stele above quoted) and (SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 390) show, its meaning is “the town of the desert-strip,” and this is perhaps borne out by the fact that at exactly the opposite extreme of the Delta, in the Libyan nome, was a town called “the Western *H,t-w’rt*” (BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géogr.*, 144)<sup>2</sup>.

Against this conclusion very little contrary testimony can be urged. It is true that the Hyksos rulers showed a great partiality for Tanis, and that monuments erected both by them and by Ramesses II and Meneptah there often mention Seth and even “Seth, lord of Avaris”; see WEILL, *op. cit.*, pp. 168—172, for an enumeration of the monuments in question. But a statue of king Nehasi, who has been thought to be a vassal of one of the early Hyksos rulers, also bears the epithet “beloved of Seth, lord of Avaris,” though it was found at Tell Mokdam and not at Tanis. Clearly, the reason why Hyksos rulers call themselves “beloved of Seth, lord of Avaris” is because Avaris was their capital and Seth its god, and this holds good whether the monuments on which they are so called were erected at Avaris itself or elsewhere. It is not quite so easy to account for the statues erected or usurped by Meneptah at Tanis, on which he calls himself “beloved of Seth, lord of Avaris” (PETRIE, *Tanis*, I, 2, 5a; Berlin, *Aeg. Inschr.*, II, pp. 19—22); but Seth appears to have been the principal god of Per-Ramesse, the northern capital of all the earlier Ramessides (*Harris*, I, 60, 2—3), and the evidence concerning Per-Ramesse, which I cannot quote here, goes to show

<sup>1</sup> This stele, purchased by me at Luxor, contains a number of phrases not rare on stelae about this period, and may be translated as follows:—“.....who crossed (the Nile) in his own ferry-boats, who ploughed with his own cattle, who trod in (?) (the seed) with his own asses, who made a garden (?) of his own trees, making his north at Avaris and his south at Kush, by the favour of Horus Behdety, the *uartu* of a town, at the table of a prince, Thau, living a second time, son of the *wēb*-priest Har-ew-yēb.” For the rare verb *pis* see LANGE-SCHAEFER, *Grab- und Denksteine*, nos. 20499, 20530, both from Edfu.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly, however, the name of the western town ought to be read *H,t-mnt*, see BRUGSCH, *Dict. géogr.*, p. 256, and DÜMICHEN, *Geogr. Inschr.*, I, 82, compared with *op. cit.*, III, 44.

that it must have been situated in much the same region as that in which Avaris, according to our evidence, seems to have lain; indeed it appears not impossible that Per-Ramesse may have been built on the site of Avaris itself, though this is mere conjecture. Except during the Hyksos and Ramesside periods there is no trace of Seth at Tanis, and its god seems from a number of its monuments, as well as from its coins, to have been a form of Horus. The last piece of evidence which has been adduced for the identity of Tanis and Avaris is the scene (date, Ramesses II) sculptured on a temple wall seen by BRUGSCH at Memphis and published by him in his *Dictionnaire géographique*, p. 270; here the Nile-god personifying   Avaris follows immediately after the Nile-god personifying   Sekhet-Za'. It is not quite certain that the last name should be emended into    Sekhet-Za'anet and identified with the "field of Zoan" (Tanis) in Psalm 78, 12. 43; for the Ptolemaic lists<sup>1</sup> all give the name of the *pehu* of the Fourteenth Nome                           

The following sentences present great difficulties. If the reading  is right, the twice-repeated  must (cf. l. 7) refer to 'A'm "the Asiatic," supplied out of the sense of the preceding words.— is unintelligible as it stands; my conjectural emendation  is a mere guess, and a very hazardous one.—The absolute use of š;<sup>c</sup> r (also below, ll. 5, 6) can be paralleled really only in the phrase  SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 649; the Coptic preposition  and the late-Egyptian  originate in r š;<sup>c</sup> m or r š;<sup>c</sup> r. *H;t-Pth* is for *H;t-k;-Pth*; whether *mw n(?) Kmt* is in apposition to this, or is to be otherwise construed is obscure.— is of course  *Hermopolis Magna*, the modern Eshmunên.


There is a superfluous *n* after *hnn* due to that word ending with the same letter. The stem means "to alight," of birds, or "to stop" at a place, of persons; these senses lead easily to that here suggested, but no exact parallel seems to be forthcoming.—*Fk* may be the word that is applied to Israel on the *Israel stele*, l. 27; possibly the old *f;k* "to be shorn."—*M' bkw Styw* is susceptible of two renderings, (1) "through the machinations of the Setyu-Asiatics," (2) "through servitude to (*corvées* performed for) the Setyu"; the latter seems the more probable.



<sup>a</sup> Smudged signs that can hardly be interpreted otherwise. <sup>b</sup> Above *t* is a deleted sign, badly smudged. <sup>c</sup> The stroke above the arm may be fortuitous, and the reading *hyt* is far from certain; *hn'* would be a possibility, though rather differently written l. 3 *ad finem*, the closest comparison; but this makes no good sense.

*I will grapple with him, that I may cleave open his belly. My desire is to deliver Egypt, and to smite (?) the 'A'amu.*"

The king here expresses his determination to fight against the Asiatics.

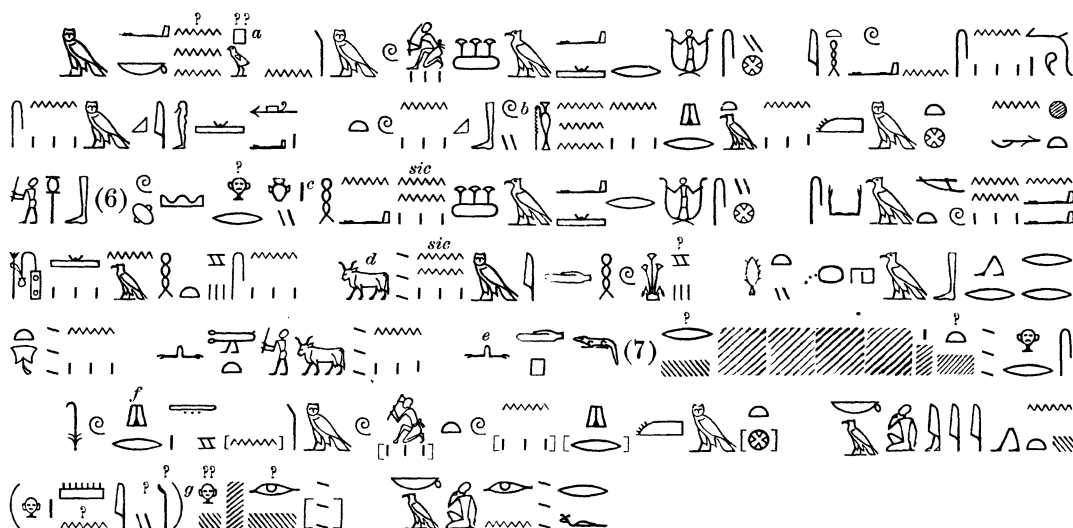
There is nothing inherently impossible in the construction *twi' r*, but it does not seem to occur elsewhere, *iwi' r* being always used instead.—*Thn* appears to mean "to move quickly." The complete phrase for "to grapple with" is  cf. SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 656; DE ROUGÉ, *Inscr. hier.*, 243, 49, but *thn hn'*, as here, is found in SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 710; MARIETTE, *Karnak*, 53, 31.







*Then spoke the great men of his council.*



The officials of Kamōse reply to him, and seek to dissuade him from his warlike schemes.









<sup>a</sup> One expects a verb ending with ; *pw* is hardly possible without assuming the hieratic to be corrupt. <sup>b</sup> *Wy* above the line as an addition. <sup>c</sup> *Hr* exceedingly doubtful. <sup>d</sup> For the unusual form perhaps compare the *Herdsmen's Story* (*Pap. Berlin 3024*), l. 18. <sup>e</sup> Or . <sup>f</sup> The form is more suitable to  than to , but there are examples of the latter (ll. 3, 5) which approximate to the shape here given. <sup>g</sup> These words, of which neither the reading nor the proper place is certain, stand above the line as a correction.




"Behold, the 'A'amu have [advanced(?)] as far as Cusae, they have pulled out(?) their tongues all together. We are secure in the possession of our Black Land. Elephantine is strong, and the middle part(??) is with us as far as Cusae. The finest(?) of their fields are ploughed for us. Our cattle are in the papyrus marshes. The spelt is sent(?) to our swine. Our cattle are not taken away.....on account of it. He holds the land of the 'A'amu, and we hold the Black Land. Then [whoever(?)] comes and lands(?) and acts(?) [against(?)] us, then do we act against him."

The reply of the council seeks to represent the political situation in a favourable light. It is true that the Asiatics have now advanced *en masse* to Cusae, but the rest of Egypt, as far as the stronghold of Elephantine, remains in Kamōse's uncontested possession. The next phrases would seem to imply that the occupation of the country by the foreigners was nominal rather than actual, since the Thebans could profit from the cultivation of the soil even outside their own domain, and could send their cattle to pasture in the Delta. This being so, a pacific policy is advised: Kamōse should wait until the enemy takes the offensive.

If *mw pw* were to be read this would have to mean "the territory loyal to"; the metaphorical use of *mw* is well known, see BRUGSCH, *Dict.*, p. 635, and *e.g.*




























      "I navigated on the water of my father," MASPERO, *Temples Immergés*, vol. I, p. 163. In this case translate: "It is the dominion of the






























A correction, probably over a deleted *m* of which the lower end is still visible. <sup>b</sup> Certain; for the spelling see l. 13. <sup>c</sup> *M* partly deleted. <sup>d</sup> Written almost like . <sup>e</sup> Or ? <sup>f</sup> Highly probable;  has been suggested, but is not appropriate to the context nor yet in keeping with the orthography of the period.

*I sailed down as a champion to overthrow the 'A'amu by the command of Amūn, just of counsels, my army being valiant in front of me like a fiery blast; troops of Mazoï on the top(?) of our strongholds(?) to spy out the Setyu and to destroy their places; East and West bringing their fat, and my army abounding in supplies everywhere.*



From the account of the deliberations which preceded the campaign Kamōse now goes on to narrate the events of the campaign itself, speaking in the first person.

*S's*, "to repel," "overthrow," perhaps Coptic *cwc evertere*, transitively only here, below, l. 14, and *Vienna Stele*, no. 66 = *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. 9, p. 38,          "standard-bearer of (the regiment called) 'Overthrowing Takhisa.'"                  

The name *Md'y* Mazoï really refers to a particular race of Nubians, whom the Egyptians appear to have used as auxiliaries. In the New Kingdom the word seems to be used in a non-ethnic sense to mean something like "policeman"; and some have thought it to be the origin of the Coptic *ματορ* "soldier," for which at all events we have no other satisfactory derivation (see, however, GRIFFITH, *Rylands Papyri*, p. 319).—

                  is a rare word, occurring in the title         *Sallier II*, 3, 9 (the MS. reads ) and as the name of a town; the verbal stem *t'r* appears to mean "to keep safe" or something similar, see GARDINER, *Admonitions*, p. 89. There seems, however, a certain contradiction in the statement that Mazoï were placed in strongholds "in order to search out" the Setyu; how the discrepancy is to be explained I do not know. A metaphorical sense like "as the chief of our bulwarks" is perhaps not altogether out of the question.

<sup>a</sup> Hardly *m*'. <sup>b</sup> Or ? The last sign of the line might be *m*. <sup>c</sup> The reading *Tti* may be regarded as certain; two consecutive  would naturally at this period have the same appearance
















*When day dawned I was on him, as it were a hawk. When the time of perfuming the mouth(?) arrived, I overthrew him, I destroyed his wall, I slew his folk, I caused his wife to go down to the river-bank. My soldiers were like lions with their prey, carrying off slaves, cattle, fat and honey, and dividing up their possessions, their hearts rejoicing. The region of Nef[rusi(?)] came down(?), it was no great thing for us(?) to confine its soul(?). The(?)...of Per-Shaq(?) was lacking(?), when I came to it. Their horses(?) fled inside. The garrison(?).....*

The discomfiture of Teti, son of Piopi, in the region of Nefrusi, is related.

The analogy of other texts, e.g. *Sinuhe* R 36, makes it probable that *hyrn nw n sty-r*, refers to some specific hour of the day; but *sty-r*, "perfume of the mouth" does not seem to occur elsewhere except as a feminine proper name. The alternative is to suppose that the word is a poetical synonym for "a breath," and that the sentence means "in as short a time as it takes to draw a breath."—The sending down of Teti's wife to the river-bank must signify that she was appropriated by the conqueror.—*Psšš* is an impossible form; the ordinary infinitive *psš* should be emended.

The meaning of the last few sentences is extremely problematical, and my conjectural renderings make very free with both vocabulary and grammar.—*Pr-Š;k* is an unknown place-name; the reading is none too certain.—*Htr* here more probably refers to horses than to cattle; if horses are meant, this will be the earliest Egyptian reference to them.

A few words remain to be said with regard to the writing and the language of the text in general. It is the work of a very careless and ignorant copyist, and abounds in smudges, alterations and ambiguities of all sorts. These defects are mainly responsible for the difficulties experienced by a translator, though it must be admitted that new words and idioms not found elsewhere are also to be counted among the obstacles.

The grammar, on the whole, is that of the historical texts of the Middle Kingdom, but here for the first time we find the independent use of , , , even perhaps (l. 4) in the formation of a future tense *twi r*, which does not recur later. The employment of the possessive adjectives , , , , , , ,  is also a departure from the old annalistic style. Under the stricter administration of the Tuthmosides this encroachment of popular idiom upon the more formal official style is repressed; but in the snatches of conversation inscribed on the walls of private tombs such lapses are by no means rare.

#### CONSECUTIVE TRANSLATION.

*Year 3, Horus "Appearing-upon-his-Throne," Two Goddesses "Repeating-Monuments," Horus of Gold "Making-content-the-Two-Lands," King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Wazkhe]per[rē', Son of Rē'] Kamōse, granted life, beloved of Amen-rē', lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands (Karnak), like Rē' for ever and ever.*

*The victorious king within Thebes Kamōse, granted life eternally, was beneficent king; and Rē' [made] him into a veritable king, and granted to him victory in very truth. Thereupon His Majesty spoke in his palace to the council of officers which was with him.*

"I should like to know what purpose serves my strength, when one prince is in Avaris and another is in Kush, and I sit united with an 'A'amu and a Negro—each man holding his slice of the Black Land—who share the land with me. I do not pass him (??) as far as Memphis, the water (?) of Egypt. Behold, he holds (?) Shmūn, and no man rests, being wasted (?) through servitude (?) of the Setyu. I will grapple with him, that I may cleave open his belly. My desire is to deliver Egypt, and to smite (?) the 'A'amu."

Then spoke the great men of his council:—"Behold, the 'A'amu have [advanced (?)] as far as Cusae, they have pulled out (?) their tongues all together. We are secure in the possession of our Black Land. Elephantine is strong, and the middle part (??) is with us as far as Cusae. The finest (?) of their fields are ploughed for us. Our cattle are in the papyrus marshes. The spelt is sent (?) to our swine. Our cattle are not taken away.....on account of it. He holds the land of the 'A'amu, and we hold the Black Land. Then [whoever (??)] comes and lands (?) and acts (?) [against (?)] us, then do we act against him."

Now they were displeasing in the heart of His Majesty:—"As for your counsels .....these 'A'amu, who.....[Behold, I will fight (?)] with the 'A'amu, until (?) good fortune comes. If.....with weeping. The entire land [shall acclaim me (?) the victorious ruler (?)] within Thebes, Kamōse, who protects Egypt."

I sailed down as a champion to overthrow the 'A'amu by the command of Amūn, just of counsels, my army being valiant in front of me like a fiery blast; troops of Mazoï on the top (?) of our strongholds (?) to spy out the Setyu and to destroy their places; East and West bringing their fat, and my army abounding in supplies everywhere. I sent forth a strong troop of Mazoï, and spent a while (?) in order to coop up (??)..... Teti the son of Piopi in Nefrusi. I suffered him not to escape. I turned back the Asiatics, I.....Egypt....., and he made (?) as one who.....the power of the Asiatics. I spent the night in my ship, my heart being glad.

When day dawned I was on him, as it were a hawk. When the time of perfuming the mouth (??) arrived, I overthrew him, I destroyed his wall, I slew his folk, I caused his wife to go down to the river-bank. My soldiers were like lions with their prey, carrying off slaves, cattle, fat and honey, and dividing up their possessions, their hearts rejoicing. The region of Nef[rusi (??)] came down (??), it was no great thing for us (?) to confine its soul (??). The (?)...of Per-Shaq (?) was lacking (??), when I came to it. Their horses (?) fled inside. The garrison (?).....

#### CONCLUSIONS.

In attempting to estimate the historical value of this text it appears to me that the question of the date at which it was written is of far greater importance than the question as to the literary category in which it is to be classed. If, as I believe with Mr GRIFFITH and Professor NEWBERRY, the actual writing dates from within a few years of the time when the events recorded are supposed to have taken place, it is surely incredible that those events should be wholly fictitious. The impression that I gain from the narrative does not agree in the least with that which it appears to have made upon M. WEILL:—"Mais si les caractères paléographiques de cet ordre doivent être pris en considération, ils ne sauraient, dans le cas actuel, prévaloir contre un fait pour ainsi dire immédiat, et qui ressort avec évidence de la seule lecture du



document, à savoir, qu'il fut composé postérieurement à la victoire définitive des Thébains sur les Septentrionaux<sup>1</sup>." For my part, I am unable to discover any word or phrase which indicates or implies that the writer was aware of the subsequent taking of Avaris and of the ultimate triumph of the Thebans. On the contrary, unless the text in its complete form, against the custom of early times, was as long and circumstantial as the stele of the Ethiopian Piankhi, the detailed description which the Carnarvon tablet gives of the taking of Nefrusi would surely have appeared ridiculously long and out of proportion in the light of the far more important events that followed. Be this as it may, it is impossible to assent to M. WEILL's central proposition, which is that the references to Avaris and to the Asiatics here are merely the conventional *clichés* of triumphal proclamations of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and as such without historical value. Much space that cannot here be spared would be required to do justice to M. WEILL's complicated thesis. I would merely state that, in my opinion, he altogether overshoots the mark in his ultra-sceptical analysis of our sources; a wholly uncritical acceptance of the letter of their text would, I am convinced, give a better idea of the real historical facts than is obtained by such hypercritical methods.

M. WEILL has, however, rightly perceived<sup>2</sup> that the Carnarvon Tablet belongs to the same category of texts as the great stele of Tutankhamūn discovered by M. LEGRAIN at Karnak, though how he reconciles this view with his opinion that it is posterior to the taking of Avaris, *i.e.* posterior to the reign of Kamōse himself, is not apparent. In point of fact, the Carnarvon Tablet presents all the customary characteristics of the stelae erected in the temples by the Pharaohs in order to commemorate their good deeds or victorious campaigns. On such stelae it is quite usual for the Pharaoh to be represented in debate with his ministers, whose advice often amounts to mere flattering approval of the king's own project, though sometimes, as here, they urge a less daring course of action than the Pharaoh himself proposes and subsequently carries out<sup>3</sup>. It is by no means unlikely that the text of the tablet is a direct copy from a stele set up by Kamōse in one of the Theban temples. There are irregularities in the first line, which suggests that this may have been adapted from the descriptive epithets accompanying the scene of worship regularly found within the rounded upper portion of commemorative stelae. We may picture to ourselves the figure of Kamōse standing before Amūn, the royal and the divine titles being engraved above their respective owners' heads; between the two, and at the very top, may have been seen the regnal date. This particular stele may have appealed to the writer of the Carnarvon Tablet on account of the boldness of its metaphors or some other pleasing features in its style. That his motive in making the copy was a literary one may be concluded from the facts that the reverse bears the beginning of the *Proverbs of Ptahhotpe* and that the smaller tablet also contained a moral tractate. It does not, however, follow that the purpose of the original was the same as that of the copy. The best analogy for what has taken place here will be found in a parchment document, inscribed in hieratic, now in Berlin<sup>4</sup>: this records certain buildings

<sup>1</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, eleventh series, vol. I (1913), p. 542.


<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 540.

<sup>3</sup> So in the Annals of Tuthmosis III, see BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, vol. II, §§ 420-1.

<sup>4</sup> See BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, vol. I, §§ 498-506.

made by Senwosret I at Heliopolis and is a copy made at the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty; the intrinsic interest, apart from the language, makes it impossible to regard this as a romance, and there is, accordingly, reasonable ground for supposing that the original was an authentic commemorative stele. For a similar reason we must reject M. MASPERO's view that the Carnarvon Tablet contains the beginning of a semi-historical tale; Egyptian tales, as we know them, deal with subjects far more fantastic than mere descriptions of warlike operations.

There appears, therefore, to be no reason why we should not give just as much credence to the narrative of the Carnarvon Tablet as to any other official Egyptian commemorative stele. No doubt this kind of historical source is not all that could be desired, but since we can neither contradict nor qualify its statements we must make shift with them as best we may. In point of fact, the information that we obtain from the Carnarvon Tablet agrees very well with our previous views on the Hyksos period. In the romance of the *Sallier* papyrus Seqenenrē is a more or less obedient vassal of the Hyksos ruler Apophis. Kamōse was probably the immediate predecessor of Amosis I, since both are associated together in the famous find of jewellery and on an inscription at Toshkeh in Lower Nubia<sup>1</sup>. From the tomb of Aḥmōse at El Kab we learn that Amosis I drove the Hyksos out of Avaris and subsequently defeated them, after a long siege, at Sharuhēn in Judah. The movement of which this defeat signalized the triumphant ending may have been the direct and unbroken continuation of the more modest campaign undertaken by Kamōse. The utmost limit of Kamōse's ambition seems to have been the re-capture of Memphis (l. 4); whether it was he or Amosis to whom that honour fell is not yet known to us.

Professor NEWBERRY has discussed the name of the conquered foe and the geography of the tablet with his usual acumen and historical insight<sup>2</sup>. Teti he shows to have been a familiar name in the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties, and Piopi to be merely a variant form of Apopi, Apophis. Thus Teti, son of Piopi, may have been the son of one of the Hyksos rulers called Apophis, probably the last of them. Professor NEWBERRY notes that the prominence of Cusae in the narrative of the tablet agrees with the statements of the inscription set up by Hatshepsut at Speos Artemidos. There the famous queen describes her restoration of various temples ruined at the time when the Asiatics were in the land, and the temple of Cusae is the southernmost that she mentions. Later, in the Eighteenth Dynasty, the province known as  or Southern Egypt appears to have had its northern boundary a little above Cusae, and it may have been for this reason that the Hyksos deliberately placed their boundary there. It is true that a lintel of an Apophis and a block of Khian have been found at Gebelēn, some distance south of Thebes; but it is far from certain that the Hyksos domination ever actually extended as far as there.

Not the least interesting point about the Carnarvon Tablet is its allusion to a powerful prince in Kush, who claimed equality with the Theban Pharaoh. This reference is confirmed by the biography of Aḥmōse of El Kab, whence we learn that the defeat of the Hyksos at Sharuhēn was immediately followed by a Nubian campaign, where "His Majesty made a great slaughter" and Aḥmōse earned for the second time the reward of gold given to doughty warriors.

<sup>1</sup> WEILL, *Les Hyksos*, pp. 150-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. S. B. A.*, vol. 35 (1913), pp. 117-122.