

Yale Egyptological Studies 5

The Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah:
Grand Strategy in the 13th Century BC

by
Colleen Manassa

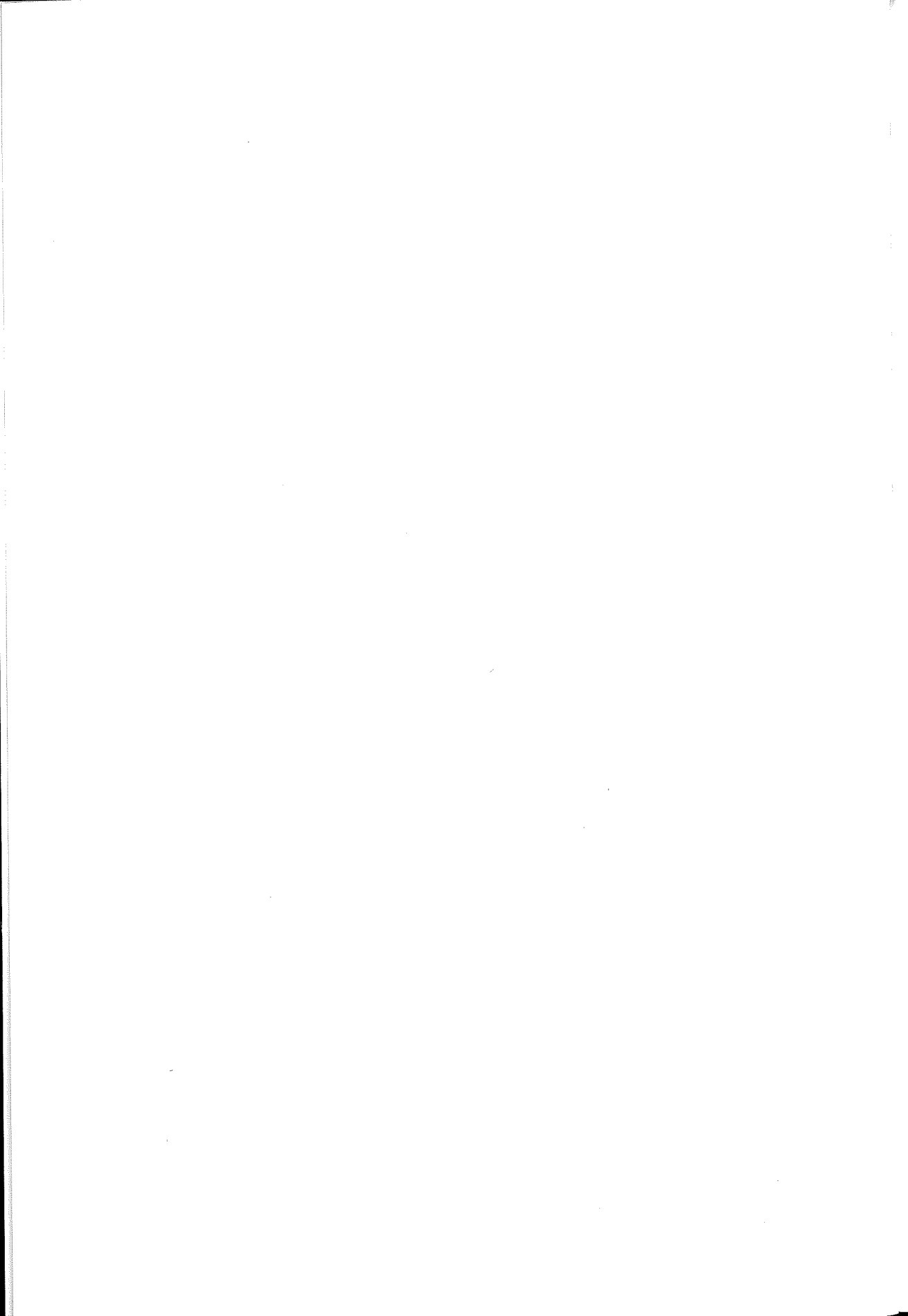
Yale Egyptological Seminar
Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations
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edited by
William Kelly Simpson

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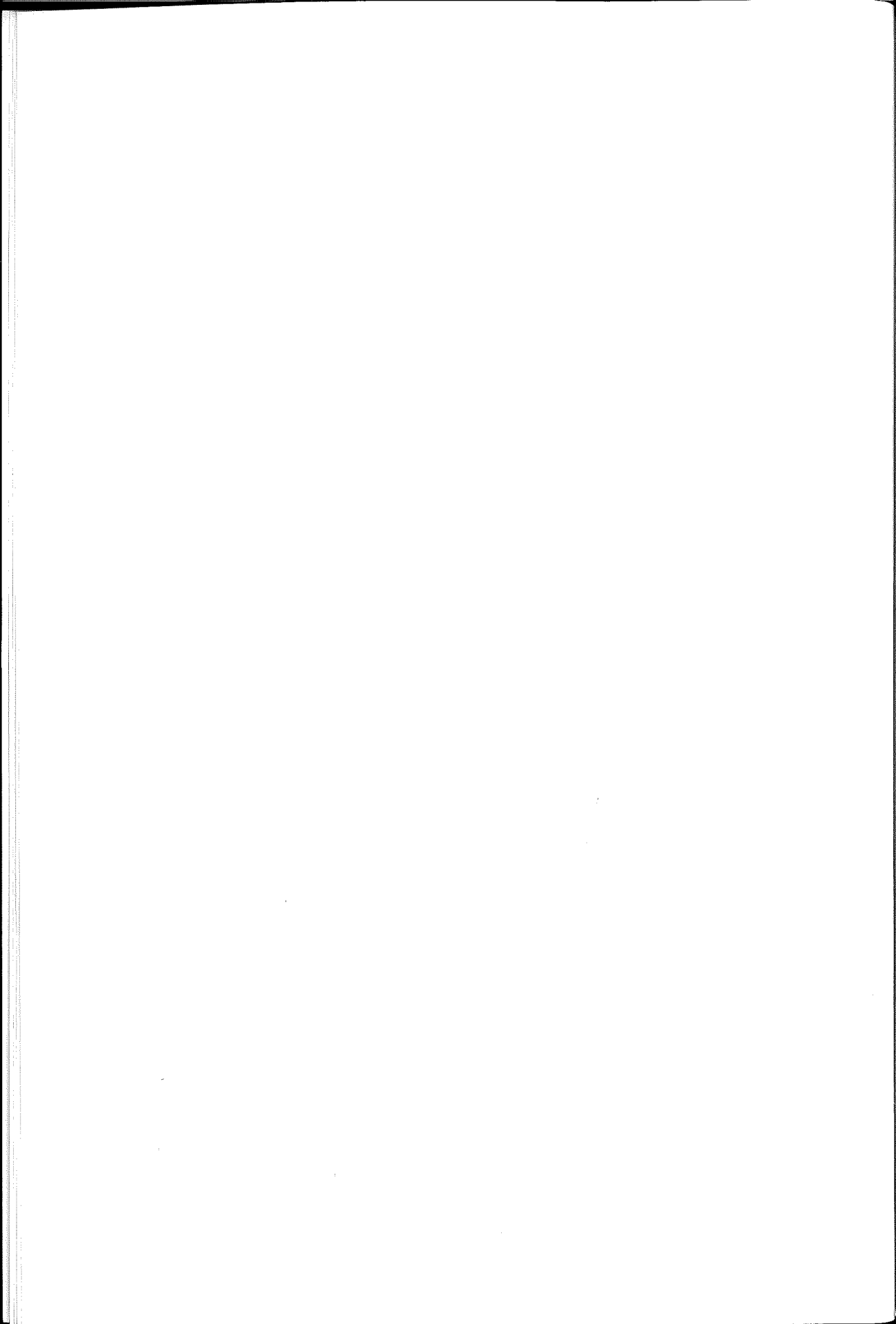
Preface

THE PRESENT SERIES was inaugurated in 1986 and continued until 1990 with four volumes representing Yale symposia and the results of seminars conducted by our Visiting Scholars, James P. Allen, Jan Assmann, Leo Depuydt, Alan Lloyd, Hans J. Polotsky, Robert Ritner, David Silverman, and Pascal Vernus. Whether the seminars extended over a few months or an entire term, supported by the Simpson Fund for Egyptology at Yale, these publications have brought their scholarship to a wider audience.

This volume, coming some thirteen years after its immediate predecessor, presents for the first time a distinguished work of one of our own students, a greatly revised and expanded senior essay. It shows how much can be learned from a detailed and thorough study of a text long known but now understood more fully through her scholarship. The hieroglyphic text is presented in a series of plates.

We look forward to continuing the series.

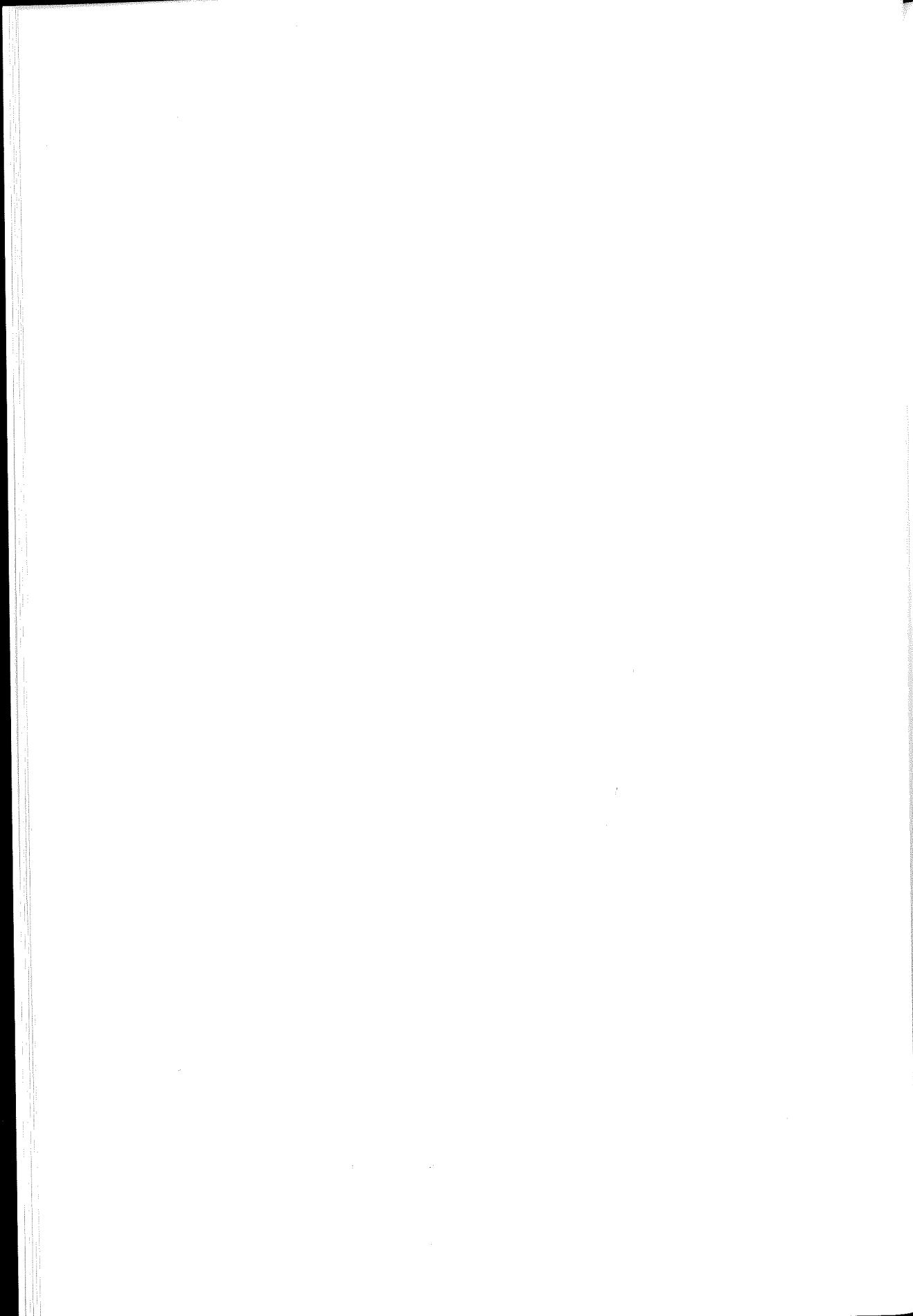
William Kelly Simpson
August 20, 2003



Author's Preface and Acknowledgments

THE PRESENT WORK began as a senior thesis submitted to the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Yale University in Spring, 2001, and its publication is funded by the generous support of the William K. and Marilyn M. Simpson Egyptology Fund of Yale University. Since 2001, the senior thesis has been available to a small number of scholars, and I am fortunate to present now an expanded version to a greater audience. During the process of revision, I continually updated the bibliography; however, K.A. Kitchen's translation of the Karnak Inscription in *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated & Annotated*, Volume IV: *Merneptah & the Late Nineteenth Dynasty* (Malen, MA: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., 2003), pp. 2–10, appeared too late to be included in the present work. Since Kitchen presented much of his historical interpretation of the Karnak Inscription in earlier publications, his new translation does not alter any of the conclusions presented here.

Prof. John Coleman Darnell was my advisor during the process of writing the senior essay on which this work is based—without his support and insightful comments the present publication would not have been possible. In addition to overseeing the initial stages of the work, Prof. Darnell also edited the final version. I thank Prof. William Kelly Simpson for his help and generosity in aiding its publication. I also wish to express my gratitude to my parents Charles and Cornelia Manassa for their indefatigable support and encouragement in my obsession with Egypt. I benefited from conversations with many other Yale professors, and profited from a number of references they provided. I would particularly like to thank Profs. Benjamin Foster and Beatrice Gruendler. Dr. Peter Der Manuelian prepared the manuscript for publication and offered a number of useful comments. Finally, I extend my thanks to Maureen Draicchio and the members of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Yale University.



List of Abbreviations

- ÄA: Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Wiesbaden
AAP: Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere, Cologne
ÄAT: Ägypten und Altes Testament, Wiesbaden
ADAIK: Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Glückstadt
AEO: Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, London
ÄF: Ägyptologische Forschungen, Glückstadt
ALEX: Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, Paris
An. Or.: *Analecta Orientalia*, Rome
ASAE: *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, Cairo
BÄ: Beiträge zur Ägyptologie, Vienna
BAR: Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Chicago
BASOR: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Philadelphia
BdE: Bibliothèque d'Étude, Cairo
Bib. Aeg.: Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, Brussels
Bib. Or.: *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Leiden
BSEG: *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie*, Geneva
BSFE: *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie*, Paris
BZAW: Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BWZKM: Beihefte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vienna
CDME: Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford
CNI: Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications, Copenhagen
GEG: Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed., London
GLECS: *Comptes rendus du groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques*, Paris
GM: *Göttinger Miszellen*, Göttingen
GOF: Göttinger Orientforschungen, Wiesbaden
HÄB: Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge, Hildesheim
JARCE: *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, New York
JEA: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, London
JEOL: *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap, "Ex Oriente Lux,"*
Leiden

- JESHO: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Leiden
- JSSEA: *Journal for the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*, Toronto
- LÄ: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Wiesbaden
- MÄS: *Münchener Ägyptologische Studien*, Berlin
- MIFAO: *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, Cairo
- MPER: *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer)*, Vienna
- NÄG: Erman, *Neuaegyptische Grammatik*, 2nd ed., Leipzig
- OBO: *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*, Freiburg and Göttingen
- OIP: *Oriental Institute Publications*, Chicago
- OLA: *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, Leuven
- OLP: *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, Leuven
- PdÄ: *Probleme der Ägyptologie*, Leiden
- PM: B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, Oxford
- RdT: *Recueil de travaux relatifs à l'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, Paris
- SAGA: *Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens*, Heidelberg
- SAK: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, Hamburg
- SAOC: *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, Chicago
- TAVO: *Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients*, Wiesbaden
- TTS: Davies and Gardiner, eds., *Theban Tomb Series*, London
- UF: *Ugarit-Forschungen*, Kevelaer
- Urk.: *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, Leipzig and Berlin
- UZKÖAI: *Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes*, Vienna
- Wb.: Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, Berlin
- WZKM: *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vienna
- ZÄS: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, Berlin
- ZDMG: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Stuttgart

Chapter 1: Introduction



srwd tš.[w]k phry.wsk
nfr ʾr.t n m-ht
trš[tw] nḥ n wbs-ḥr
 "Strengthen your borders, your frontier patrols;
 It is good to work for the future,
 One respects the life of the foresighted..."¹

A DUALISTIC APPROACH to the cosmos enabled the Egyptians to see war and peace as yet another paired manifestation of the eternal struggle between chaos and order.² Consequently, an Egyptian military text seeks not only to report the events of a particular battle, but also to cast that battle in terms of the daily apocalyptic conflict between Re and Apep. The historical inscription of Merneptah at Karnak³ exemplifies the difficulty of extricating facts of military history from texts with inherent theological objectives. While the modern historian focuses upon the historical setting, social impact, and weaponry of war, these are only incidental trappings to the ancient Egyptian who believed the importance of war lay in its position in the cyclical battle between the ordered cosmos and the chaotic forces that threatened to engulf it. Just as the modern historian associates the concept of war with concrete images such as the iron-clads of the American Civil War or the trenches of WWI, the ancient Egyptian would have associated war with complex and interrelated theological concepts that expressed themselves through actual events.⁴ The military documents of the Egyptians assert the cosmic significance of each battle, and the resulting blend of historical fact and theological fiction creates hermeneutical conflicts for the modern translator and military historian that can be resolved only through an appreciation of Egyptian cosmography and historiography. In accordance with such an approach, this volume offers the first translation and detailed commentary of the Karnak Inscription of Merneptah.

¹ Helck, *Die Lehre für König Merikare* (Wiesbaden, 1977), p. 21; translation of M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* vol. I (Berkeley, 1973), p. 100.

² This commonly expressed position concerning Egyptian historiography owes much to the seminal work of E. Hornung, *Geschichte als Fest* (Darmstadt, 1966).

³ The seventy-nine line inscription is located on the interior of the east wall of the "Cour de la Cachette," directly north of a copy of the Hittite treaty from the reign of Ramesses II and in conjunction with other reliefs of Merneptah (*PM* II, p. 131 [486]); for descriptions of Merneptah's activity at Karnak, see H. Sourouzian, *Les monuments du roi Merneptah* (Mainz am Rhein, 1989), pp. 142–157, especially her list of published copies of the text stretching back to Champollion in p. 143, n. 556. Unfortunately, the excavation of the Cour de la Cachette between 1978–1981 by the French expedition at Karnak did not discover any new blocks belonging to the Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah, although it did demonstrate that the court was filled with many ritual and religious scenes in addition to its known military themes (F. LeSaout, "Reconstitution des murs de la Cour de la Cachette," *Cahiers de Karnak* VII (1978–1981) [Paris, 1982], p. 214).

⁴ Hornung, *Geschichte als Fest*, pp. 14–20.

Except for the so-called "Victory Stela,"⁵ the texts directly relating to the Libyan War of Merneptah⁶ have received only modest scholarly attention, and the Karnak Inscription is no exception. Nearly a century ago, James Henry Breasted produced a translation for his *Ancient Records of Egypt*.⁷ A more recent translation by Benedict Davies, without extensive notes or commentary, appeared in an anthology on historical inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty.⁸ Parts of the Karnak Inscription have been treated in more detail by Alan Schulman, who published a limited commentary on the first ten lines of the text,⁹ and Thomas von der Way, who organized small portions of the inscription into thematic groups along with parallels from other texts of Merneptah.¹⁰ These approaches are avowedly more constricted in their scope and avoid the problems inherent in dealing with the entire text. Furthermore, the lack of specific commentary on Merneptah's military inscriptions belies the importance of these texts not only to the history of the Nile Valley, but also to the history of the other ancient civilizations of the eastern Mediterranean.

The Great Karnak Inscription relates the events that occurred in the third month of Shomu during the fifth year of Merneptah's reign, approximately 1208 B.C.¹¹ The "Rebu,"¹² one of the Libyan groups who inhabited the great expanse of desert west of

⁵ The term "Victory Stela" will be used to refer to the triumphal hymn whose text is found both on the stela from the mortuary temple of Merneptah (JE 31408; originally carved for Amenhotep III), as well as the copy in the Cour de la Cachette at Karnak. Some of the basic works and translations are A. Niccacci, "La stèle d'Israël. Grammaire et stratégie de communication," in M. Sigrist, ed., *Etudes égyptologiques et bibliques à la mémoire du Père B. Courroyer* (Paris, 1997), pp. 43–107; K.A. Kitchen, "The Physical Text of Merneptah's Victory Hymn (The "Israel Stela"), *JSSEA* 24 (1994/1997): 71–76; T. von der Way, *Göttergericht und "Heiliger" Krieg im Alten Ägypten: Die Inschriften des Merneptah zum Libyerkrieg des Jahres 5* (Heidelberg, 1992); E. Hornung, "Die Israelstèle des Merneptah," in M. Görg, ed. *Fontes atque Pontes: Eine Festgabe für Helmut Brunner* (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp. 224–233; G. Fecht, "Die Israelstèle, Gestalt und Aussage," in *Fontes atque Pontes*, pp. 106–138; M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Volume II: The New Kingdom* (Berkeley, 1976), pp. 73–78 (earlier translations are listed on p. 73).

⁶ These include the Karnak Inscription (*KRI* IV 2.12–12.6), the Kom el-Ahmar (Athribis) Stela (*KRI* IV 19.15–22.16; G. Lefebvre, "Stèle de l'an V de Méneptah," *ASAE* 27 [1927]: 19–30), the parallel texts of Nubian stelae from Amada, Amarah West, Wadi es-Sebua, and Aksha (*KRI* IV 33.5–37.15; A. Youssef, "Merneptah's Fourth Year Text at Amada," *ASAE* 58 [1964]: 273–280; in fact, the text dates to year 5) and parallel texts on two columns (*KRI* IV 23.4–7 and 38.2–6; H. Bakry, "The Discovery of a Temple of Merneptah at On," *Aegyptus* 53 [1973]: 3–21; A. Zivie, "Quelques remarques sur un monument nouveau de Méneptah," *GM* 18 [1975]: 45–50). There is also an inscription from Year 5 of Merneptah noted by W.M.F. Petrie and J.E. Quibell from the temple Seth at Naqada, but he provides neither a copy nor a photo of the text (*Naqada and Ballas 1895* [London, 1986], p. 70). For a basic overview of the sources relating to the wars of Merneptah, see C. Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1995), pp. 559–572.

⁷ Vol. III (Chicago, 1906), §§572–592.

⁸ *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty* (Jonsereed, 1997), pp. 151–71.

⁹ "The Great Historical Inscription of Merneptah at Karnak: A Partial Reappraisal," *JARCE* 24 (1987): 21–34. Schulman also translated a few of the later lines of the Karnak Inscription in *Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom* (Berlin, 1964), pp. 117–18.

¹⁰ *Göttergericht und "Heiliger" Krieg*.

¹¹ For the dating of Merneptah's accession to the throne, see J. von Beckerath, *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten* (Mainz, 1997), pp. 103ff. The following introductory overview summarizes much of the historical data contained in the Karnak Inscription of Merneptah for which the present study provides the proper scholarly commentary and substantiation.

¹² The word is spelled *R-b-w* in the ancient Egyptian sources, but the Egyptian script often does not distinguish between *r* and *l*, since both are liquid sounds (A. Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian: A Linguistic Introduction* [Cambridge, 1995], p. 31); thus many translators render the word "Lebu" rather than "Rebu."

Egypt, were at that time ruled by a chief known in the Egyptian texts as "Merey, son of Dedy." Impelled by famines in Libya, the Rebu gathered together their people and possessions for an invasion of Egypt, using their acquaintance with the desert to their advantage. As the Karnak Inscription indicates, before the Libyans attempted to enter the Nile Valley, they captured an "oasis" and Farafra, granting them access to the inter-oasis routes of the Western Desert. Such a strategy prevented the Egyptians from predicting precisely where Merey would attack, and allowed Merey not only to disperse his armies for several thrusts, but also enabled a potential alliance with the Nubians; while Merey was attacking the Delta, the Libyan ruler probably planned a simultaneous Nubian assault in the south to distract the Upper Egyptian armies. In addition to Merey's maneuvers through the desert, his military goals were complemented by the employment of fierce mercenaries who "came from the sea."¹³ From wealth the Rebu had probably amassed through the control of trade routes between inner-Africa and the Mediterranean coast, the Libyans were able to pay for "Sea People" mercenaries who employed heavy armor and long swords and whose infantry tactics and weaponry brought a radically new type of warfare to the chariot-based military forces of the eastern Mediterranean civilizations in the thirteenth century BC.

At the fields of Perire, the army of Merneptah fought a pitched battle with these combined Libyan and Sea People forces. The subsequent overwhelming defeat of the Libyan coalition was the result of a strategic deployment of the Egyptian archers, specifically adapted to counter the tactics and armament of the enemy. Only six hours after the battle had commenced, the Egyptian chariots were pursuing the routed enemy forces. Yet the description of the battle itself occupies only a few lines in the vast length of the Karnak Inscription—much of the rest of the text contains praise and epithets of Merneptah and speeches made by the pharaoh. Although these lengthy sections are often dismissed as devoid of historical merit,¹⁴ they contain valuable information concerning the events leading up to the battle itself. In particular, much of the significant historical information conveyed by the military texts of Merneptah deals not with actual battle tactics, but rather with the grand strategy that surrounds any single battle.¹⁵ By synthesizing different aspects of Merneptah's texts, a definite grand strategy emerges both for the Libyans and the Egyptians that can be further elucidated by applicable examples from other civilizations. The following study presents not only the first

¹³ The "Sea People" groups from the northern Mediterranean are so designated because the Egyptian texts refer to them as "those who come from the sea" or "those who come from the islands of the sea." This name has been used consistently by late Bronze Age historians and it will be used throughout this work. For a discussion of the Sea Peoples and relevant references, see Chapter 3, §1.1, especially fn. 3.

¹⁴ For example, J. van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven, 1983), p. 156: "A prose account of the invasion in Merneptah's fifth year by a coalition of Libyans and sea peoples contains a long introduction and conclusion with two speeches of self-praise by Merneptah full of stereotyped phrases. But unlike the Battle of Kadesh there is little treatment of the battle scene itself, and the quality of reporting is far inferior."

¹⁵ Grand strategy encompasses the aspects of war outside of the battlefield – everything from international relations and border defense to communications and engineering; essentially grand strategy describes the statecraft and diplomacy surrounding each individual physical conflict. For an application of the theory of grand strategy to the ancient Roman world, see R. Luttwak, *Grand Strategy in the Roman Empire from the First Century A.D. to the Third* (Baltimore, 1976). A general description of grand strategy and its application to various historical and contemporary situations can be found in P. Kennedy, ed., *Grand Strategies in War and Peace* (New Haven, 1991).

complete translation of the Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah with detailed commentary, but is also the first attempt to adduce evidence for grand strategy behind the wars of Merneptah.

The following translation is accompanied by notes on particularly important aspects of the text, including syntax, lexicography, and applications of the grammar to an overall understanding of the meaning of each line. The translation of the Karnak Inscription of Merneptah is made more challenging by the omnipresent lacunae—roughly the top third of each of the seventy-nine vertical lines is no longer extant.¹⁶ Since the Karnak Inscription is unique in many respects, and few direct parallels can be found in other texts, only a few restorations have tentatively been suggested.¹⁷ The beginning of almost every line is essentially without context,¹⁸ and one must scrutinize both grammar and orthography in order to establish the meaning of otherwise disjointed statements.

As with most, if not all, historical texts of the Ramesside Period, the Karnak Inscription is a complex mixture of Middle Egyptian, Late Egyptian, and transitional forms peculiar to the corpora of “late” Middle Egyptian.¹⁹ In the text notes and grammatical analysis in Chapter 4, each of the grammatical forms will be examined in detail as they relate to their particular passage, the Karnak Inscription as a whole, and ultimately to the grammar of Ramesside historical texts.

Although no single analysis can cover every aspect of an inscription, the following work seeks to present a comprehensive examination of the linguistic, religious, and military aspects of a truly unique Ramesside historical document, for it is only through such a broad-based approach that the meaning intended by the ancient author can be rediscovered.

¹⁶ In the transliteration of the text, the estimated number of groups lost are indicated at the beginning of each line, primarily following the numbers give in *KRI IV* 2–12. Any lacunae designated only by [...] without a specific number of groups indicates that only a few signs are lost.

¹⁷ Since such little scholarship has focused on the extant text, the current work’s primary aim is to deal with the two-thirds of the text that are still preserved. It is hoped that future scholars will be able to restore more of the text, and that by not hastily suggesting restorations, this work will not prejudice those attempts.

¹⁸ In lines 36–41 a block from the very top of the inscription was copied by W.M. Müller, *Egyptological Researches: Results of a Journey in 1904*, vol. I (Washington, D.C., 1906), pl. 24, but between the top block and the rest of the line two blocks are missing.

¹⁹ The grammatical terminology used to define different levels of the stage between Middle and Late Egyptian is quite complex in itself. For a fuller discussion see Chapter 4, §1.

Chapter 2: Translation and Text Notes

I. DRAMATIS PERSONAE I: THE LIST OF ENEMIES

¹ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)¹...^a *Mr̄iyw s̄s D]dy^b ʾiqwš Twrš Rkw Šrdn Škrš^c*
mḥ.t[yw] ʾiw.w^d n^e t̄s.w nb.w

¹ [... Mery son of De]dy, Akawasha, Terusha, Lukka, Sherden, Shekelesh,
the northerners who came from all lands.

^a As with the majority of the inscription, approximately the upper third of the inscription is no longer extant (although blocks have been restored in the latter part of the inscription [lines 36–41]). Kitchen (*KRI* IV 2.11) notes that three courses of masonry are missing and estimates that from lines one and two, between twenty and twenty-four groups are lost; Schulman argues that exactly twenty-four groups are missing, and restores the first half of line one as follows:²

[*ḥ̄s.t-^c m p̄s nḥt.w n nswt bity B̄s-n-r^c-mry-ḫmn*
s̄s R^c Ḥtp-ḥr-m̄s̄.t-mr-n-ptḥ d̄i ʿnḥ
ir.n.f m p̄s wr ḥsy n Rbw Mr-ḫw-y s̄s D]d̄i

The beginning of the victory which the king of Upper and Lower Egypt,
Banire^c-mi^camun, the son of Re^c, Hotephima-Merneptah, granted life,
achieved over the wretched chief of Libya, Meryey, the son of De]dy

This reconstruction follows Breasted's observation (*BAR* III §574 n. a) that the Kadesh poem of Ramesses II (*KRI* II 3.1–4.16) also begins with a "list of hostile allies," suggesting that the opening of the two inscriptions might be the same. In fact, the parallel is quite defensible, and the restoration of the initial *ḥ̄s.t-^c m p̄s nḥt.w^d* is likely. This is further supported by the similarity of the epithet section following each list of enemies, introduced as a circumstantial clause (*KRI* II 5.1 ff.). Spalinger argues that the restored *ʾiwštw* report in the Karnak Inscription (Ins. 13ff.) rules out the restoration of an introduction similar to the Kadesh poem, because the *ʾiwštw* report was not compatible with that form of introduction.⁵ Yet he admits

¹ The estimation of the number of groups lost at the beginning of each line follows those made by Kitchen (*KRI* IV.2–12).

² *JARCE* 24 (1987): 25 [fig 2], 27.

³ Schulman's restoration (*ibid.*, p. 25) properly includes the arm sign underneath the *ḥ̄s.t*-lion, but he omits it in the transliteration on p. 27.

⁴ For a discussion of the meaning of this opening in the Kadesh texts in relation to its use in wisdom literature, see T. von der Way, *Die Textüberlieferung Ramses' II. zur Qades-Schlacht* (Hildesheim, 1984), pp. 369–70.

⁵ A.J. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians* (New Haven, 1982), p. 212–213. Both the Year 5 (*KRI* V 21.1) and Year 11 (*KRI* V 59.1) texts of Ramesses III's victories over the Libyans include the phrase *ḥ̄s.t nḥt*—"beginning of the victory"—but do not contain the *ʾiwštw* report. Yet these texts share many similarities with the Karnak Inscription, including the introductory praise of the ruler, the prior neglect of Egypt, and the battle narrative concluding in a vivid description of the defeated Libyans. Considering the multiplicity of factors involved, it seems too stringent to assign specific properties to military inscriptions based solely on the presence of the *ʾiwštw* report or lack thereof.

that the Karnak Inscription appears to be a mixture of numerous literary forms; considering the highly individualistic character of Merneptah's historical inscriptions,⁶ one cannot rule out a *hwꜣtw* report combined with the *ḥꜣ.t-ꜣ nḥt* introduction.

^b Merety,⁷ the chief of the Rebu, is portrayed throughout the inscriptions of Merneptah as the instigator of the great invasion; he is the leader of the combined coalition of Libyan and Sea People forces, and revenge for the evil done against Egypt is directed specifically against him. After Merety flees the battle (by that time a rout), his own people reject him (lns. 43–44). Merety's reputation is unequivocally stated in the Victory Stela (ln. 9; *KRI* IV 15.3):

Mrꜣwy m bw.ty n Inbw-ḥꜣ
"Merety is the abomination of Memphis"

Finally, it is notable that Merety's memory lives on in the inscriptions of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu; in the Year 5 inscription, the Libyans proclaim (*KRI* V 24.14–15): "Our seed is not, namely 'Ded,'¹ Meshken, Meryey, together with 'Wermer' and Thetmer."⁸

^c These various ethnonyms refer to different groups among the Sea Peoples, who fight alongside the Libyans in the northern thrust of the Year 5 invasion. For a full discussion and their possible role as mercenaries, see Chapter 3 §1.1 (pp. 77–82).

^d Helck restores *mḥw ḥt-tꜣ*,⁹ translating the passage as "die Flüchtlinge und alle Länder Durchwandernde waren."¹⁰ *Wb.* II 126.19 lists *mḥw* as "Flüchtlinge," citing a text from Medinet Habu:¹¹ *mḥw ḥꜣr m ḥꜣr ḥꜣr mꜣw* "the fugitive (lit. one who flees) has become one who falls into the water." The text accompanies the famous scene of the sea battle with the Sea Peoples, and *mḥw* describes those enemies that are attempting to flee—even they cannot escape.¹² Thus, *mḥw* is not attested as a term that refers to a group of people in the

⁶ Compare the praise of Ramesses II from P. Anastasi II 2,5–3,6 with the praise of Merneptah in P. Anastasi II 3,6–5,4 and III 7,2–7,10. The number of unique turns of phrase in the adulation of Merneptah is quite striking in comparison with Ramesses II. Also, one might compare the initial portion of the Victory Stela with its idiosyncratic epithets to similar portions of other Ramesside stelae.

⁷ For the values of the syllabic orthography of his name (and the names of the Sea Peoples), see W. Schenkel, "Syllabische Schreibung," *LÄ* V, 114–122.

⁸ W. Edgerton and J. Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III: The Texts in Medinet Habu Volumes I and II* (Chicago, 1936), pp. 29–30. As Edgerton and Wilson note, these names are also discussed from a more philological perspective in O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (London, 1914), p. 80. For example, the initial *MR* in Merety is attested in many North African names. For a list of Libyan names in Egyptian texts, see J. Yoyotte, "Anthroponymes d'origine libyenne dans les documents égyptiens," *GLECS* 8 (1957–60): 22–24. A brief discussion of the religious significance of naming an enemy can be found in A. Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis: zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur* (Wiesbaden, 1988), pp. 38–40.

⁹ For a discussion of various writings of the phrase *ḥt-tꜣ*, see J.C. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI, and Ramesses IX* (Madison, 1995), p. 225 and n. 548.

¹⁰ Helck, Review of K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II 1; IV 1; VI 1, in *Bib. Or.* 27 (1970): 350; idem., *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Darmstadt, 1979), p. 133.

¹¹ The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 1, *Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III* (Chicago, 1930), pl. 38, ln. 18 = *KRI* V 32.10–11.

¹² The noun *mḥw* is related to the verb *mḥl* (*Wb.* II 126.16–18), which does appear frequently in the texts at Medinet Habu, but none of these occurrences describe the Sea Peoples as a group, as Helck's translation does (*Medinet Habu* vol. 1, pl. 48, ln. 15 describes Egypt as a "fugitive;" The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 2

form of an epithet, and there is no evidence to refer to the Sea Peoples as “refugees.” On the other hand, *mḥ.tyw*—“northerners”—is a common designation for groups of enemies, including the Sea Peoples in the texts of Ramesses III.¹³ Perhaps the relatively new appearance of the Sea Peoples led the Egyptians to connect them with the more traditional enemies of Egypt by using a general description such as “northerners.” In epigraphic terms, Schulman’s supposition that the *tyw*-bird fills the break between the *mḥ*-sign and walking legs seems the most persuasive restoration; Schulman also correctly notes that *ḫw.w* is a participle rather than narrative verbal form.¹⁴ But rather than postulating a separate group referred to as “Northerners,” as Schulman does, *mḥ.tyw* is best seen as a further designation linking all the groups of Sea Peoples—“the northerners”—additionally modified by the participial clause “who come from all lands.”

^e As Schulman notes, “the writing of *n* for *m* (‘from,’ ‘out of’) should present no problems.”¹⁵ This *n*-*m* interchange occurs through “contact assimilation,” especially with dentals (e.g. *m*-*t* goes to *n*-*t*, as is the case here).¹⁶

II. DRAMATIS PERSONAE II: MERNEPTAH AS WARRIOR

² [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] *m* | *ḥpš*^a *ḫf m pḥty ḫtḫ* *ḫmn*^b
nswt bḫty B3-n-Rc mri-ḫmn s3 Rc Mrḫ.n-Pth Ḥtp-ḫr-M3.t dḫ nḫ
ist^c ḫr nḫr nfr pn rnpḫ^d

³ [... (c. 27–30 groups lost)...] *ḫf nḫr nb m s3ḫ*
ḫ3s.t nb.t ḫr snḫ n p3 m3ḫḫ^e
nswt bḫty B3-n-Rc mri-ḫmn s3 Rc Mrḫ.n-Pth [Ḥtp-ḫr]-M3.t

⁴ [... (c. 27–30 groups lost)...] *ḫt.*^f *ḫr.w m ḫ.wt*
w(3)d.wy ḫ3m.w szw n rkḫḫ^g
ḫ3 ḫ3ḫḫ nb nqm.(w)

⁵ [... (c. 27–30 groups lost)...] *sh* | *r.wḫf nb*
wḫc m ḫ3w n nḫ^h
dḫḫ smḫwⁱ t3-tmw sdr.(w)^j ḫrḫ
pḥtyḫf m

⁶ [... (c. 27–30 groups lost)...] *r mkt ḫwnw nḫw.t Tm*
r ḫw.t ḫnb-ḫty^k n T3-tnn
r swd3 st ḫr ḫw.t

Later Historical Records of Ramses III [Chicago, 1932], pl. 82 ln. 32 states of the Meshwesh and Temeh, “they rose up and fled to the ends of the earth.”)

¹³ For example, Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 1, pl. 38, ln. 8 = KRI V 32.6.

¹⁴ JARCE 24 (1987): 27.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ G. Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der ägyptischen Sprache* (Glückstadt, 1960), §360 (p. 175). For further discussion of the *m*-*n* interchange see J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen* vol. II (Mainz, 1976), p. 689; K. Sethe, *Das aegyptische Verbum in Altaegyptischen, Neuaegyptischen und Koptischen* vol. I (Leipzig, 1899), §220 (p. 127); R.J. Demarée, “A Letter of Reproach” in E. Teeter and J. Larson, eds., *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (Chicago, 1999), p. 79 note s; Erman, *Ägyptische Grammatik* (Berlin, 1928), §123; V.L. Davis, *Syntax of the Negative Particles bw and bn in Late Egyptian* (Munich, 1973), table 5.

² [...] [by means of] his [sword] and by means of the power of his father Amun.

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Baenre-meryamun,
the Son of Ra, Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat, given life.

Now as for this good god, the youthful one,

³ [...], every god being as his protection;
at the sight of whom every foreign land is in fear.

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Baenre-meryamun,
the Son of Ra Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat.

⁴ [... fettered,] turned into mounds.

How prosperous is the one who prostrates himself in his time,
for the transgressor of his every border suffers.

⁵ [...] all his plans;
who judges with the breath of life,
so that he might cause the sleeping people to forget terror;
his strength being as [...]

⁶ [...] in order to protect Heliopolis, the city of Atum,
in order to guard Ineb-iti for Tatenen,
in order to keep them safe from evil.

^a The only visible signs are a downward-sloping stroke, probably the tip of a *hps*-sword, coming from the damage at the top of the line, and a clear strong arm. A carved horizontal line, which could correspond to the feet of a bird, is also visible above the *hps*. Kitchen's copy of the Karnak Inscription (*KRI* IV 2.15) restores a *m*-owl and a *hps*-sword which both Helck¹⁷ and Schulman¹⁸ read as the determinative of the word *sm*. The visible tip of the sign certainly is more suited to the khepesh scepter than the knife,¹⁹ the normal determinative for verbs such as *sm*, but since the *hps*-sceptre was a popular royal weapon, monumental inscriptions often insert it in place of the normal knife determinative.²⁰ Considering the parallelism with the following prepositional phrase, *m phty itf*, it is best to take this not as a verb, but as a noun in another prepositional phrase: "by means of his *khepesh*-sword and by means of the power of his father Amun."²¹

^b In Ramesside inscriptions, *phty* is often followed by a deity's name, relating the power granted to the king with the power of a particular god.²²

¹⁷ *Bib. Or.* 27 (1970): 350.

¹⁸ *JARCE* 24 (1987): 27.

¹⁹ Compare the shape of the sign with E. Edel, "Ein Kairener Fragment mit einem Bericht über den Libyerkrieg Merneptahs," *ZÄS* 86 (1961): 102 (fig. 2), as cited by Kitchen in *KRI* IV 2.15. On the column of Merneptah in Cairo, a speech of Ptah reads: *dīā k tp.w Rbw*. Edel reads the sword as *hps*, a verb meaning "bezwingen:" "Ich lasse dich die Oberhäupter Libyens bezwingen" (*ZÄS* 86 [1961]: 103).

²⁰ See the compilation of examples in C. Desroches-Noblecourt and C. Kuentz, *Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel I* (Cairo, 1968), pp. 173–174 (n. 202).

²¹ This is also the translation chosen by Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, p. 153. For the noun *hps* with a strong-arm determinative, see *Wb.* II 270.1–4. One of the many similar statements can be found in §276 of the Kadesh "Poem" (*KRI* II 84.11–14): *šyr.nā hfnw dmd.(w) m hpsā*.

²² For additional examples, see S. Morschauser, "The Speeches of Ramesses II in the Literary Record of the Battle of Kadesh," in H. Goedicke, ed., *Perspectives on the Battle of Kadesh* (Baltimore, 1985), p. 128. Perhaps the original phrase in the Karnak Inscription was similar to the epithet *inny sbws m sgr-nh m phty itf Imn* (*Urk.* IV 1658.11; for a discussion of this epithet and further references to *phty*, see M. Schade-Busch, *Zur Königsideologie Amenophis' III., Analyse der Phraseologie historischer Texte der Voramarnazeit* [Hildesheim, 1992], p. 233).

^c Jansen-Winkeln has classified *ist* as a "zeitlich Textverknüpfende Partikel,"²³ which is particularly appropriate to this text (and the parallel introduction to the Kadesh poem), where the particle *ist* links the list of the foreign enemies with the epithets of the king. Viewed from this perspective, the epithets of the king, often attributed to bombast, serve the purpose of fully elucidating the victories of the king; this coincides with Erman's definition of the function of *ist*: "Es führt... eine Zusatzbemerkung ein, die schon Erzähltes erläutern und ergänzen soll."²⁴ Von der Way, in his analysis of the Kadesh battle texts, also claims that "stehen diese Partikel im Gegensatz zu jenen Konstruktionen, die eine temporale Sukzession markieren;"²⁵ he also notes that although *ist* often indicates a change in actor or location, it does not indicate a chronological progression.²⁶ This is further evidence that the epithet section is intended to be temporally related to the introductory line. Finally, the concomitance of the list of enemies and royal epithets allows the often religious nature of the epithets (like *rnp̄i* below) to cast the battle against the specific foes in universal and cosmic terms.²⁷

^d There are numerous parallels for this predominantly royal epithet, including the beginning of the Kadesh Poem where it is also introduced by a circumstantializing *ist* (*KRI* II 5.1).²⁸ The epithet "youthful" is a logical continuation of the epithet *n̄tr nfr*, since the latter too connotes youthfulness as the younger counterpart of the sun—the *n̄tr ʿ*.²⁹ Often the epithet *rnp̄i* is followed by the phrase "like Re"³⁰ or "like the moon."³¹ Grimal explains of the epithet *rnp̄i*, "la durée et la renaissance quotidienne du soleil appellent l'idée 'comme Rê.'"³² Grapow notes a similar use of the moon as a symbol of regeneration, where "'Daß der König sich verjünge wie der Mond' ist ein Wunsch" and of Osiris it is said "du wiederholst deine Gestalt als Mond."³³

²³ K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik der Texte der 3. Zwischenzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1996), §354 (p. 208–9). His classification coincides with Gardiner's statement (*GEG* §231) "the function of the particle is to describe situations or concomitant facts." For a discussion of the other uses of *ist* in this text, see Chapter 4, §2 (pp. 136–138).


²⁴ Erman, *Ägyptische Grammatik*, §464a; Erman also notes that this function is especially true of the construction *ist rnf*.

²⁵ Von der Way, *Qadeš-Schlacht*, p. 51; see also his comments in *Göttergericht und Heiliger Krieg*, p. 13. Spalinger, *Aspects*, pp. 164–165 also provides a useful list of different uses of the particle and where they occur in the Kadesh Poem.

²⁶ Von der Way, *Qadeš-Schlacht*, pp. 51–52.

²⁷ Compare the embedded theological meaning of epithets of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu and their parallels discussed by J.C. Darnell, "The Message of King Wahankh Antef II to Khety, Ruler of Heracleopolis," *ZÄS* 124 (1997): 103–106.

²⁸ For a list of other texts that begin an epithet section with *ist ir n̄tr nfr*, see A. Spalinger, "Two Ramesside Rhetorical Poems," in L. Lesko, ed., *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker* (Hanover, 1986), p. 141, n. (k).

²⁹ See the references given by O.D. Berlev, "The Eleventh Dynasty in the Dynastic History of Egypt," in D. Young, ed., *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky* (Beacon Hill, 1981), p. 362, n. 7; see also the brief comments of P. Germond, "A propos de l'expression  'beau visage': une lecture au second degré?" *BSEG* 4 (1980): 39.

³⁰ N. Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne de la XIXe dynastie à la conquête d'Alexandre* (Paris, 1986), p. 362 n. 1207.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 430 n. 1482, 463.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 362.

³³ H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Aegyptischen: vom Denken und Dichten einer altorientalischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1924), p. 35.

are the topic of the next statement.⁴¹ The “breath of life” is a term that often appears in martial contexts and other spheres of foreign relations;⁴² as such, the *ḫw n ʿnh* is intimately related to treaties, alliances, and assuring the loyalty of defeated enemies. Thus, if Merneptah “judges” with the breath of life, then the epithet could imply skill in diplomacy: the pharaoh must choose which of his potential allies will receive the breath of his giving.

Additionally, the concept of “judging” can represent the role of the pharaoh in theological and cosmic terms, as in the text “König als Sonnenpriester:”⁴³

ḫw rdī.n Rʿ nswt N tp-t3 n ʿnh.w nhḫ ḥnʿ d.t

ḥr wdʿ rmt ḥr shṯp nṯr.w

ḥr shṯpr mʿ3.t ḥr shṯm ʿsf.t

Re has placed the King N upon the earth for the living forever and ever,
judging people and pacifying gods,
creating order and destroying chaos.

ⁱ Since *smḫ* (Wb. IV 140.16–141.10) is used almost exclusively as a transitive verb, Schulman’s rendition of this passage as “He allows the people to be carefree, sleeping...”⁴⁴ and von der Way’s almost identical rendition “er läßt das ganze Land sorglos sein, indem sie ruhen”⁴⁵ are grammatically tenuous. Interpreting the *dīšf* in the beginning of the clause as a subjunctive *sdmḫ* used in a purpose clause rather than an initial *sdmḫ* also creates a logical link between the two clauses. Merneptah’s judgment with the “breath of life” allows Egypt to sleep without terror, because he can maintain peace both at home and abroad.⁴⁶

⁴¹ In a related passage in the Victory Stela (ln. 3; KRI IV 13.12), Merneptah is described as:

rwī dḫw n ḥm.t ḥr nhḫ.t pʿ.t

dīšf ḫw n rḫy.t wnw nt(w)

Who removes the mountain of copper from the necks of the *pat*-people,
as he gives breath to the *rekhyt*-people who were suffocated.

Yet since this passage does not specifically mention the phrase “breath of life,” it is possible that a slightly different image is being exploited.

⁴² For a listing of attestations and a brief discussion of the term, see Lorton, *Judicial Terminology*, pp. 136–144; for Ramesside examples see Morschauer, in Goedicke, ed., *Perspectives on Kadesh*, p. 134, and his analysis of *ssny ḫw* on pp. 185–187 and n. 469; and S. Israeli, *ḫw n ʿnh* (“breath of life”) in the Medinet Habu War Texts,” in I. Shirun-Grumach, ed., *Jerusalem Studies in Egyptology* (Wiesbaden, 1998), pp. 271–284.

⁴³ J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (Glückstadt, 1970), p. 19. The epithet of the king as “*rnpl*-youthful” in line two of the Karnak Inscription could also refer to this portrayal of the king’s cosmic role as the judge of mankind, since the conclusion of the “König als Sonnenpriester” states that the people jubilate at his “visible form of a child” (ibid., p. 19; see also Assmann’s discussion on pp. 65–67 of the text’s “solarization” of the king.). The juxtaposition of Merneptah’s youthfulness along with his authority to judge all of mankind suggests that behind the practical implications of the “breath of life,” the Karnak Inscription is casting the pharaoh in the role of the solar child who is born again each day.

⁴⁴ JARCE 24 (1987): 30.

⁴⁵ *Göttergericht und “Heiliger” Krieg*, p. 51.

⁴⁶ For a discussion of other texts with this theme and their relation to the Merneptah inscriptions, see von der Way, *Göttergericht und “Heiliger” Krieg*, pp. 54–58 (to which add the more recent discussion of the P. Harris passage in P. Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I* [Cairo, 1994], vol. 2, notes 952–955). This sleep topos is also repeated in line 75 of the Karnak Inscription: “We sleep joyfully at all times.” In terms of Egyptian cosmography, the passage in ln. 5 is also better understood with *ḥr* as a direct object of *smḫw*, because the Egyptians viewed sleep as a dangerous state that brings the living in contact with chaotic elements of the Netherworld. For a discussion of the cosmographic significance of this passage and parallels from other texts, see Chapter 3, §2.4 (pp. 115–116).

^j Although Schulman,⁴⁷ argues that the determinative of *sḏr* is not a “bird on a bed” as Kitchen⁴⁸ and Müller⁴⁹ copy, examination of the text *in situ* indicates that the sign is indeed a “bird on a bed.” This sign is easily explained as a hieratic confusion, because the stroke indicating the mummy in hieratic looks very similar to a bird—there are even two ticks that resemble wings.⁵⁰ One may also compare the word *mḳmq* (*Wb.* II 159.1), which is determined by a bird, rather than a mummy, on a bed.

^k Gauthier identifies this toponym as a shrine to the god Tatenen⁵¹ in Memphis, and his transliteration is followed here;⁵² although *ʾnb-ḥt* may not refer to a specific shrine within the city of Memphis,⁵³ parallel statements in Merneptah’s other texts indicate that this place is nearly synonymous with the Memphite region. In lines 15–16 of the Victory Stela (KRI IV 16.10–13), Merneptah is described as:

p3 nḥp ḥr Ḥw.t-k3-Pth
wšb ʾwnw

The one who cares for Memphis,
who champions Heliopolis

⁴⁷ *JARCE* 24 (1987): 2.


⁴⁸ KRI IV 3.3.

⁴⁹ *Egyptological Researches*, vol. 1, pl. 17, ln. 5.

⁵⁰ G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie: Die aegyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit* (Leipzig, 1909), vol. II, p. 34, no. 384. Already *Wb.* IV 390 cites this as a common confusion since the Nineteenth Dynasty.

⁵¹ It is equally possible that the striding man wearing an atef crown read *ḥt* here should be read as “Tatenen.” This would create a somewhat redundant, but not impossible construction. It is also interesting that if the sign is to be read as Tatenen, it would be further evidence of the toponym’s Memphite associations, because worship of Tatenen was closely connected with the cult of Ptah at Memphis (H.A. Schlögl, *Der Gott Tatenen, Nach Texten und Bildern des Neuen Reiches* [Freiburg and Göttingen, 1980]: 79–82). Schlögl (p. 80), reads this passage as:

r nḳj.t ʾwnw nwt ʾtmw r ḥwj.t wmt.t T3-tnn nwt n(t) T3-tnn
um Heliopolis, die Stadt des Atum zu bewahren und das Bollwerk des Tatenen,
die Stadt des Tatenen zu schützen...

⁵² H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, vol. I (Cairo 1925), p. 81. His interpretation of the toponym is based on E. Chassinat’s analysis of  at Edfu where it appears directly related to *ʾnb-ḥt* (“Note sur un nom géographique emprunté à la grande liste des nomes du temple d’Edfou,” *BIFAO* 2 [1902]: 106–108; M. Rochemonteix and E. Chassinat, *Le temple d’Edfou*, 2nd ed. [Cairo, 1987], vol. I:3, p. 329). The striding man with atef crown and flail can have two possible readings: *ḥt* (E. Drioton, “Recueil de cryptographie monumentale” *ASAE* 40 [1940]: 324) and *nb* (J.C. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 28 fn. 19), but only the former value has been considered by previous scholars. Another possible argument for reading the sign as *ḥt* is a writing on a statue of Merneptah (CG 42148) where Merneptah’s cartouches are written with elaborate figures of dieties. One of the epithets, *ḥt wsr nḥp.wt* (KRI IV 25.15), contains an *ḥt* written identically to the sign in the Karnak Inscription. A final observation, albeit an unlikely one for this text, is the writing of the name of 9th Lower Egyptian, *ʾndty*, with the same striding man adorned with plumes and carrying a flail and sceptre (P. Montet, *Géographie de l’Égypte ancienne*, vol. 1 [Paris, 1957], p. 97).

⁵³ Von der Way, *Göttergericht und “Heiliger” Krieg*, p. 49 reads the *nwt*-sign separately rather than as the determinative of the toponym, transliterating the passage as *r-ḥwj.t jnbw T3-tnn nwt n-T3-tnn* (following Schlögl, *Tatenen*, p. 80). But just in front of this “Heliopolis, the city of Atum” is written with the *nwt*-sign as determinative of Heliopolis and another *nwt*-sign accompanied by a *t*-loaf and stroke. Since the toponym is written with the city determinative in the Victory Stela (KRI IV 17.8), only a haplography would explain von der Way’s reading of “the city of Tatenen,” and this unnecessarily complicates the text.

Comparing this with line six of the Karnak Inscription, where Heliopolis is also mentioned, *Hw.t-k3-Pth* would correspond to *Inb-iti*. A second attestation of the toponym in the Victory Stela (ln. 19; KRI IV 17.8) also gives credence to its Memphite associations:

Mriwy p3 h3m hsy hrw n Rbw iy.(w)
r th3 Inb-iti nty nb swbn s3f r s.t3f

Merey the ignorant, wretched enemy of Rebu came
 in order to attack Ineb-iti, whose lord caused his son to rise to his throne.

Since several names of Merneptah's titulary refer to his intimate relationship with the god Ptah, the phrase modifying Ineb-iti, "whose lord caused his son to rise to his throne," is almost certainly a reference to Ptah; the link between Ineb-iti and Ptah further contributes to a Memphite location for this toponym.⁵⁴ Thus, the Victory Stela recognizes the enemy's ultimate goal—Memphis—and the Karnak Inscription proclaims that Merneptah is that city's defender, "the one who guards Ineb-iti for Tatenen."

III. VANGUARD OF THE ENEMY: TENTS IN THE EASTERN DELTA

⁷ [... (c. 27–30 groups lost)...] *ihw.w^a m-b3h Pr-b3rst^b*
i3rw^c skns^d hr sd3^e iti^f

⁷ [...] tents before Perbarset
 which reached the Shakana Canal at the artificial lake of the Ati Canal.

^a *ihw* (*Wb.* I 119.5) is defined as "Zelt des Nomaden" and is a Semitic loan-word.⁵⁵ The *Belegstellen* only lists two occurrences of this word: line seven of the Karnak Inscription and P. Harris I 76, 10. In P. Harris,⁵⁶ the tents are those of Shasu bedouin, and the word is written in syllabic orthography as in the Karnak Inscription. The more common words for tents are *ihw* (*Wb.* I 118.5–6) and *im3* (*Wb.* I 81.1–5), which respectively designate an overall camp and individual tents, often used of the encampments of the Egyptian military and of the enemy.⁵⁷ In the Libyan War texts of Merneptah, tents are never used to describe Egyptian encampments, but rather consistently refer to those of the enemy; outside of the Karnak Inscription, such descriptions can be found in the Kom el-Ahmar Stela (*KRI* IV 20.14) and Victory Stela (*KRI* IV 14.14):

irw n3y3sn ihy.w m i3.t d3r.t
 Who turns their tents into desert mounds.

d3f.(w) n3y3w ihy.w ir.w m ssf
 Their tents were burned, turned into ashes.

⁵⁴ Schulman, *JARCE* 24 (1987): 30 n. 49, tries to relate the toponym to the "Walls of the Ruler" in Sinhue B 16–17 and believes that "it is tempting to see one of these fortresses on the northwestern marches as 'the wall of the sovereign.'" Yet the parallels in the Victory Stela make this very unlikely—the object of Merey's attack is probably not a fortress northwest of the Delta.

⁵⁵ Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien*, p. 553, no. 11.

⁵⁶ W. Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I: hieroglyphische Transkription* (Brussels, 1933), 76,10; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, vol. I, p. 337; for a discussion of the word, see *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 243, n. 921.

⁵⁷ For a discussion of terms for tents see J. Hoffmeier, "Tents in Egypt and the Ancient Near East," *JSSEA* 8 (1977): 13–28.

Similar phrases occur within the Karnak Inscription itself (lines 15 and 62), further indicating that the tents in this passage refer explicitly to those of the enemy. Indeed, it would be odd for the Egyptians to be camped so close to the major fortified cities of the Delta. Thus, it is almost certain that the tents camped before Perbarset are the vanguard of the enemy forces.

^b Perbarset, a much disputed toponym in the Delta, has been linked with a place in both the western Delta⁵⁸ and with the cities of Bubastis and Bilbeis⁵⁹ in the eastern Delta.⁶⁰ There is virtually no evidence for locating Perbarset in the western Delta, and strategically an attack on the eastern Delta is quite logical.⁶¹ The strongest argument for the association of Perbarset with the eastern Delta is a passage in P. Harris I:⁶²

rmꜥ rdꜥ.nꜥfr pr Bꜥs.t
nb.t Bꜥrst m ꜥꜥ mw Prꜥ

People which he gave to the Domain of Bastet,
mistress of Barset at the waters of Pre.

Since the "waters of Re" are the Pelusiac branch of the Nile,⁶³ this example would argue for Barset being identified with Bubastis, since Bilbeis is not located on the "waters of Pre," but rather on the smaller branch of the Nile that flows east of Heliopolis.

Further debate has centered around spellings of the goddess Bastet as *Bꜥrst* or *Bꜥrt*. Gardiner⁶⁴ cites two such instances, and it is possible that the odd writings of the toponym in the Karnak Inscription and P. Harris I derive from these alternate spellings.

^c Schulman⁶⁵ notes that he is "at a loss to explain the spelling of *ꜥr.w* here with the prothetic group," but in the Late Middle Egyptian grammar of Ramesside historical texts, a prothetic jod marking a participle is not unexpected.⁶⁶ Another possibility is to take *ꜥr.w* as the end of a statement and the following group *ꜥrꜥw* as a Late Egyptian emphatic *ꜥdmꜥf* with plural third person pronoun *w*: "It is at the artificial lake of Ati canal that they made their watering place." Under the latter interpretation, *ꜥkmꜥ*, the object of the verb, would be a common noun rather than a toponym. While both are grammatically possible,

⁵⁸ Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol II, pp. 74–75; Schulman, *JARCE* 24 (1987): 31 n. 52; J. Clédat, "Notes sur l'isthme de Suez," *BIFAO* 23 (1924): 45, disagrees with Gardiner's comparison of Perbarset to Perbastet, but offers no concrete evidence for his opinion.

⁵⁹ Although no major New Kingdom remains have been unearthed at Bilbeis, some blocks with the cartouches of Ramesses II and Merneptah have been found there, but it is possible that these blocks were taken to the site at a later time (A. Eggebrecht, "Bilbeis," *LÄ* I, 793).

⁶⁰ A. Gardiner, "The Delta Residence of the Ramessides," *JEA* 5 (1918): 258; M. Bietak, *Tell el-Dab'a II: Der Fundort im Rahmen einer archäologisch-geographischen Untersuchung über das ägyptische Ostdelta* (Wien, 1975), p. 125; H.W. Fischer-Elfert, *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I: Übersetzung und Kommentar* [Wiesbaden, 1986], p. 23, n. af (discussing a closely related toponym "Barset," he notes that if it is not identical with Bubastis, then it is close by: the mother of Hori [Anastasi I 2,2] is from Barset and a singer of Bastet).

⁶¹ Cf. Schulman, *JARCE* 24 (1987): 31 n. 52; see further pp. 97–100 below.

⁶² P. Harris 62a, 2; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, vol. I, p. 311, vol. II, p. 205, n. 838.

⁶³ Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, vol. II, p. 53, n. 213 and references therein.

⁶⁴ *JEA* 5 (1918): 258; *JEA* 19 (1933), p. 128.

⁶⁵ *JARCE* 24 (1987): 31 n. 53.

⁶⁶ There are three other examples of a participle with a prothetic jod in this inscription: *ꜥr.w* (ln. 43) and *ꜥr* (ln. 69) [*ꜥr*].*ꜥr* (ln. 78). For a further discussion of the Late Egyptian participial forms, see Chapter 4, §6.

the only (preserved) verb in the Karnak Inscription that occurs in the emphatic *l.sdmf* form is *šl*.⁶⁷

^d According to Gauthier, this toponym is otherwise unattested,⁶⁸ but in the context of this passage the "Shakana" can be placed in the eastern delta most likely between Heliopolis and Bubastis. "Shakana" can either be interpreted as a toponym or common noun. The former has been chosen here because of the context, and the existence of two other possible examples of this toponym: "Shakanet," a Delta city in a demotic papyrus⁶⁹ and the "Sharkawieh" canal between the apex of the Delta and Shubin el-Qanatir (to the southwest of Bubastis), which would have been part of the ancient Pelusiac branch of the Nile.⁷⁰ *Wb.* IV 550.5, classifies *škn* as a common noun meaning "Tränkstelle (des Viehes)," based on its relation to a Semitic root.⁷¹ As a toponym, the Shakana "canal" could have also derived its name from a Semitic loan-word. The interpretation of the word also has important grammatical implications (see text note c above).

^e Schulman⁷² translates *šdl* as "artificial lake," but he also cites *Wb.* IV 567.9 and 567.1–2, 11–14. The first of these (567.9) is a word for "field," the next (567.11–14) is defined as various land designations and types of pools for fish and celebrations. The word in this text is probably related to the various designations for types of water, but seems to be closest to *Wb.* IV 567.1–2: "Wasserloch, Brunnen." The general Delta milieu of these geographical terms and its proximity to various canals also makes Schulman's reading "artificial lake" most likely.

^f The Ati Canal was the designation of the waterway next to Heliopolis that connected the main channel of the Nile south of Heliopolis with the Pelusiac branch to its north.⁷³ For

⁶⁷ It occurs three times; for further details, see Chapter 4, §4.6.

⁶⁸ *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. V, p. 109.

⁶⁹ W. Hölscher, *Libyer und Ägypter: Beiträge zur Ethnologie und Geschichte libyscher Völkerschaften nach den altägyptischen Quellen* (Glückstadt, 1937), p. 62, n. 5, citing CG 31169, a demotic onomasticon.

⁷⁰ O. Toussoun, *Mémoire sur les anciennes branches du Nil* (Cairo, 1922), p. 13 and pls. III–IV. This is a tentative suggestion, since "Sharkawieh" is related to a known Arabic root—however, the choice of the Arabic word could very possibly be influenced by the original Egyptian designation of the area.

⁷¹ The exact Hebrew root is a point of contention amongst scholars. Compare Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien*, p. 571, no. 228 and J. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton, 1994), p. 289, no. 414.

⁷² *JARCE* 24 (1987): 31, following *CDME*, p. 274.

⁷³ Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. I, p. 113; Gardiner, *JEA* 5 (1918): 131, fig. 1; P. Harris I 28, 6; 30, 1; 73, 2. In no. 8 of the P. Harris love poems, the Ati Canal is also one of the destinations of a love-stricken girl (P. Harris 500, 3,3; 3,7); she states:

"I am standing with you

at the entrance of the Ity Canal,

for you've [brought] my heart to Heliopolis."

(P. Harris 500 3,7–3,8; translation of M.V. Fox, *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs* [Madison, 1985], p. 14). For further discussion of the identification of this toponym, including maps, see Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, vol. II, n. 378 (pp. 96–97); n. 507 (pp. 121–125 with detailed maps); M. Bietak, *Tell el-Daba II*, p. 126 and Abb. 23. As Bietak notes, the topographical list at Edfu list allows the canal to be precisely located, because the canal is described as the "river" of the 13th Lower Egyptian nome and the *phw* of the 20th nome, explicitly indicating that it is along the Pelusiac branch of the Nile north of Heliopolis.

the Karnak Inscription, the most illuminating attestation of the Ati canal is in the Piye Stela (ln. 101):⁷⁴

wḏs ḥmꜣf r ꜥwnw ḥr ḏw pf n Ḥr-ꜥḥs

ḥr mꜥn nt Sp r Ḥr-ꜥḥs

wḏs ḥmꜣf r ḥmꜣ nty ḥr ḥmnt.t stḏ

Sa Majesté se dirigea vers Héliopolis en passant par ce Mont de Kher-Aha, sur la route de Sepa vers Kher-Aha.

Sa Majesté se dirigea vers le pavillon qui est à l'Ouest de 'Itj.⁷⁵

Although Piye's campaign against the Delta takes place almost five centuries after the Libyan invasion under Merneptah, the details in his stela indicate that the area around the Ati canal remained a strategic location, especially since it was near a Heliopolitan road (the road of Sepa). It is also significant that Piye's next stop is Kem-wer (Athribis),⁷⁶ demonstrating that the land near the Ati canal was a practical camping area for maneuvers into the Delta. Additionally, at this point in Piye's campaign, not all areas have capitulated—most notably Tefnakht's territories, Crocodilopolis (Faiyum), and Aphroditopolis (22nd nome of Upper Egypt); Piye's choice of the Ati canal region was most likely also based on strategic concerns if one of the Delta rulers decided to attack. Thus, Piye's situation shares much with the Libyans who faced threats both from Pi-Ramesses and the Memphite forces.

IV. THE BELOVED LAND WITHOUT A CHAMPION

⁸ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... *Km.t ml(?)*] *ḥwty nwt*

ḥwꜣs ḥꜣꜥ.tḏ m ꜣs n ḥr.w

m-ḏl^a pḏ.wt psḏ.t

ḥwꜣs ḏꜣ.tḏ^b m ḥꜣwꜣ tꜣw-ꜣ

ḥms nswt nb m nꜣꜣw mr.w^d

⁹ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] *t.w(?) bḏty.w m-ꜣꜣ dmlꜣsn*

ḥḥ.(w) m ᜣᜣmꜣw-tꜣ.wꜣꜣ^e n gꜣw mꜣꜣ.w

bn nꜣw^f pḏ.wt r wꜣḥ ḥrꜣw^g

⁸ [... Egypt was as(?)] that which was not defended.

It was abandoned as pasture for cattle

because of the Nine Bows.

It was stormy in the vicinity of the ancestors,

with the result that all the kings sat in their pyramids.

⁹ [...] Lower Egyptian kings were opposite their town,

surrounded by "He-who-guides-the-Two-Lands" through lack of military forces.

They had no bowmen to champion them.

^a Although there are several Late Egyptianisms in this section (i.e. the use of *bn* in line 9), here, *m-ḏl* is being used as Middle Egyptian *m-ꜣ*—"by the hand of"—meaning "through

⁷⁴ N.-C. Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi('ank)y au Musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1981), p. 36*, 6–7.

⁷⁵ Translation of Grimal, *ibid.*, p. 130 [36].

⁷⁶ Piye travels there after performing the proper rites in Heliopolis (*ibid.*, p. 39*, 4).

the agency of," rather than "in the possession of."⁷⁷ This is clarified by parallel statements in the Victory Stela (line 17; *KRI* IV 17.3) and Year 8 inscription at Medinet Habu (*KRI* V 39.12–13):

wšbꜣ pꜣ nty ỉd m-dī ỉs.t nb.t

May he champion the one who is hurt by any foreign land.

Km.t mhy.ty⁷⁸ nī nꜣs mnīw

ỉwꜣsn ỉr ỉd m-dī pꜣ.wt psꜣ.t

Egypt was a fugitive, she had no shepherd,

while they bore woes because of the Nine Bows.⁷⁹

Since the object of *m-dī* in the Karnak Inscription is also the "the Nine Bows," the same translation should apply. The land is abandoned through the agency of the predations of the Nine Bows—or rendered more succinctly—"because of the Nine Bows."

^b *ḏꜥ* (*Wb.* V 534.12) with the road sign and evil-bird determinatives is only attested in this inscription, and the *Wörterbuch* defines it as "wüst liegen." This translation does fit the context, but is unrelated to the other words with the same root, indicating that the determinatives could be a confusion for a better attested meaning of *ḏꜥ*. Given the Egyptian associations of storms with the forces of chaos, the common word *ḏꜥ* for "stormwind" (*Wb.* V 533.11ff.) is an attractive possibility, and the word is also attested as a verb (*Wb.* V 534.8).⁸⁰ A use of the image of a stormwind in the Kahun hymns to Sesostris III⁸¹ is a perfect example of the association the Karnak Inscription calls to mind:

ỉsw ḏw pw mḏr ḏꜥ r tr n nšny p.t

Furthermore, he is a mountain that blocks a stormwind at the time when the sky rages.

Essentially, this statement declares that the pharaoh can subdue even the most powerful of chaotic elements. In the Karnak Inscription, these images paint a vivid picture of chaotic foreigners ravaging the land. The previous line declares that the land has been "abandoned" and the next statement elaborates upon the exact condition caused by the Nine Bows—the land is perpetually "stormy" in the deepest sense of the term for the Egyptians.

^c Although *m ỉw* can have both temporal or spatial meaning (*GEG* §178), the latter is preferable here. When expressing a topos of desolation, other Egyptian texts commonly

⁷⁷ *Wb.* II 45 notes that *m-ꜥ* is synonymous with Late Egyptian *m-dī* and it can mean both "im Besitze von ..." (45.9) and "wegen etwas" (45.11). J. Černý and S. Groll (*Late Egyptian Grammar* [Rome, 1975], pp. 112–114 [henceforth, Černý-Groll, *LEG*]) claim the opposite: Late Egyptian *m-dī* only means "in the possession of" and "with," while *m-ḏr* is used for "because of." In Middle Egyptian, *m-ꜥ* does have the values listed by the *Wörterbuch* (*GEG* §178), and a possible explanation for the observations of Černý and Groll is the splitting of the meaning of this Middle Egyptian preposition into two different prepositions in Late Egyptian – *m-dī* and *m-ḏr*.

⁷⁸ In light of the following discussion in text note d to ln. 1 above (pp. 6–7), it is possible that the Egyptians are punning on the words *mḥl*, to flee (*Wb.* II 126.16–17) and *mḥl*, to be drowned, inundated (*Wb.* II 122.1ff.).

⁷⁹ Translation of Edgerton and Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III*, p. 52–53.

⁸⁰ For a discussion of the "theological implications" of a stormwind, see Darnell, *ZÄS* 124 (1997): 103–106 and references cited therein. Note especially the parallel from Ankhthifi's autobiographical inscription: *p.t <m> ỉgp ỉ m ỉw* "the sky clouded and the earth windy" (*ibid.*, p. 106).

⁸¹ F. Griffith, *The Petrie Papyri: Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1898), pl. 2, ln. 19.

use explicit temporal designations such as “since the (time of) the kings.”⁸² Along with the emphasis upon the pyramids and dwelling places of the deceased pharaohs, the lack of a more specific phrase suggests that *m h3w* is to be rendered spatially—“in the vicinity of.”⁸³

^d The *mr*-sign is here confused with the *hsf*-sign,⁸⁴ arising out of their similarities in hieratic; the top portions of the signs are formed identically, and in later Ramesside hieratic the *mr*-sign can have a horizontal line crossing the vertical that looks very similar to the horned viper crossing the *hsf*-sign. The concept of the kings sitting in their “pyramids” may also be a specific reference to the pyramid fields stretching south of Memphis. The image conveyed by the ancient (even to a 19th Dynasty Egyptian!) pharaohs resting in their pyramids is quite vivid and poetic, one of the most notable literary passages of the Karnak Inscription. For the passage’s historical implications and its relation to the trajectory of the Libyan invasion, see Chapter 3, §1.4 (p. 98), and for further commentary on pyramids as a literary topos, see §2.3 (pp. 113–115).

^e This is the only instance of *Sšmw-t3.wy* cited by Gauthier,⁸⁵ and the other meanings of the word are not helpful in this context.⁸⁶ It is possible that the name refers to a fortification in Memphis,⁸⁷ because two passages in the Victory Stela specifically refer to opening the besieged defenses of Memphis:

wn sb3.w n ʾnbw wn.w db3.w

Who opens the gates of Inebu (Memphis) that were sealed.⁸⁸

wn dm3.w wn.w htm.(w)

whʾsf qn.w ddh.(w) m sp3.t nb

Who opens the towns which were locked,

he having released the many who were besieged⁸⁹ in every nome.⁹⁰

⁸² *fk p3 t3 m skmkn dr nsy.t3w* “the land lay desolate in complete destruction since kings (began)” *KRI V* 22.5 (line 21 of Year 5 Inscription of Ramesses III), trans. Edgerton and Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramesses III*, p. 23.

⁸³ In one of the most famous examples of the area of the pyramids – the Sphinx Stela of Amenhotep II – the king is said to remember (*Urk. IV* 1283.10–11) *bw sd3 hrʾsf r h3w mr.w Hr-m-3ht* “the place which had delighted him at the vicinity of the pyramids and Horemakhet.” Although the use of *h3w* is not exactly parallel to the Karnak Inscription, it is a highly applicable example of the preposition used spatially. For another brief discussion of the confusion that can result in the two meanings of this preposition, see H. Willems, “The Nomarchs of the Hare Nome and Early Middle Kingdom History,” *JEOL* 28 (1983–84): 97. Nonetheless, in many cases the phrase does have a distinct temporal meaning, and can describe the reign of a king (see D. Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day-books* [Mississauga, 1986], p. 139, fn. 55).

⁸⁴ Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. II, p. 42: no. 473 (*hsf*) and p. 63: no. 484 (*mr*).

⁸⁵ *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. V, 63.

⁸⁶ *Wb. IV* 288.18–21. This phrase is an epithet of Horus in the Coffin Texts and one of the oars of heaven in the Book of the Dead.

⁸⁷ Possibly it was originally begun by Senwosret II—the Horus *Sšm-t3.wy* is his Horus name (J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 2nd ed. [Mainz, 1999], p. 85); in fact, this may be a Delta equivalent to the building *ʾnb.w Sšm-t3.wy* located in El-Kab (Posener, *Littérature et politique*, p. 26, n. 5).

⁸⁸ *KRI IV* 13.14.

⁸⁹ Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. II, p. 76 translates: “He has freed the many shut up in all districts.” Since *ddh* is used to describe the state of Megiddo during the siege of Thutmose III (*Urk. IV* 767.6), it probably carries an even more specific military nuance, thus the Victory Stela is specifically indicating that Merneptah freed besieged nomes.

⁹⁰ *KRI IV* 16.12.

^f According to S. Groll, "The Pattern *mn md̄.f Ø-A* is in complementary relationship with the Pattern *bn n̄.f Ø-A*: the latter Pattern is used with abstract nouns to express the non-ownership of a characteristic, permanent quality, or a non-acquirable quality, whereas *mn md̄.f Ø-A...* is used with concrete nouns to express the non-ownership of an object; or for a person, that he is not available."⁹¹ Although it may at first appear that the example of the pattern *bn n̄.f Ø-A* in the Karnak Inscription is an exception to the general rule observed by Groll, she also notes several examples where the possession of a specific group of people or type of people is negated by *bn n̄.f Ø-A* and not *mn md̄.f Ø-A*.⁹² For example, "childlessness" is expressed with the phrase "*bn n̄.f Ø-šr̄i Ø- šr̄.t*."⁹³ Since the Karnak Inscription passage is cast in somewhat mythical terms with the mention of the *blty*-kings and *nswt*-kings, the sense of being "army-less" as a general characteristic, as implied by the grammatical construction, is well-suited to the context.

^g *wšb* appears as an epithet of Merneptah in the Victory Stela (KRI IV 16.12): *wšb ḥwnw*—"who champions"⁹⁴ Heliopolis." Lichtheim⁹⁵ renders the word "to avenge," but her translation implies that something is first done to Heliopolis. Although in many instances, *wšb* and *ḥn wšb* denote actions of revenge, in some cases it implies answering a threat of action rather than avenging a completed action. The notion of championing conveyed by *wšb* comes to the fore when it is paired with the concept of protection, as in P. Harris I 6,8:

ntk p̄syw nby-ḥr

wšb-ḥr ḥrsw

You are their protector,

the one who champions them.

In religious contexts outside of Ramesside military inscriptions, *wšb* also occurs in conjunction with protection, making "to champion" an apt translation in these cases as well.⁹⁶

V. MERNEPTAH: CHAMPION OF EGYPT

ḥpr^a 10 [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] *ḥ s.t-Ḥr*

d̄i.[t]w̄f r s̄n̄l̄ p̄.t

ḥs̄.n̄f m nswt r mkt r̄l̄y.t^b

⁹¹ *The Negative Verbal System of Late Egyptian* (London, 1970), p. 21.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 22–24. J. Johnson, *The Demotic Verbal System* (Chicago, 1976), p. 93, n. 141 also notes that both *nty bn nsw q̄rnt* and *nty mn m-d̄w q̄rnt* "who did not have foreskins" are used in the Karnak Inscription plunder list (Ins. 52 and 54 respectively). While this also seems to contradict Groll's analysis, it is possible that circumcision for the ancient Egyptians could be considered both an abstract quality (compare the metaphorical use of circumcision in the New Testament) and a more concrete matter.

⁹³ Groll, *Negative Verbal System*, p. 22, Ex. 51. Another example can be added from line 7 of the Victory Stela (KRI IV 14.12): *bn n̄.f mw n šd.t* "He does not have water in his waterskin."

⁹⁴ A similar meaning is found in *Wb.* I 371.17–18.

⁹⁵ *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. II, p. 76.

⁹⁶ See J. Leclant, "Osiris *p̄-wšb-ḥd*," in O. Firkow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien* (Berlin, 1955), pp. 197–204. Note also the graffito at Luxor Temple, where Amun-Re is called *wšb-ḥd*—"who protects/champions the wretched one" (see the commentary and references in *The Epigraphic Survey, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple 2: The Facade, Portals, Upper Register Scenes, Columns, Marginalia, and Statuary in the Colonnade Hall* [Chicago, 1998], p. 55, GR. 5, especially note b).

wn phty imꜥf r ḫr.t

sw ḫr [dd] tw.tw^c ḫr [...]

¹¹ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] m3-b3-r3

shn.w^d stp n pd.wtꜥf

sšm.w n(t)-ḫtriꜥf ḫr w3.t nb

nzyꜥf mtr.w^e m ꜥ n ḥnḫ sb3y.tꜥf m ¹² [ibꜥsn(?)] [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...]ꜥf

bw dꜥr.nꜥf ḫfn.w hrw sky

wḏi mnfy.tꜥf

iy.(w) ḫr kfꜥ.w^f

nfr-ḫr ḫr zbl.t^g pd.t r t3 nb

It happened ¹⁰ [...] throne of Horus.

As he was appointed in order to vivify the nobles,

so has he arisen as king in order to protect the people.

Power was within him to act.

He was [saying], "One [...]"

¹¹ [...]mabara.

Who deploys choicest of his archers,

Who guides his chariotry upon every road;

his scouts alive and his instructions in ¹² [their hearts (?)...]

He does not heed hundreds of thousands on the day of battle.

Having returned bearing plunder, his army proceeded.

The one beautiful of appearance conducted the archers against every land.

^a Schulman⁹⁷ appropriately interprets *ḫpr* to be the start of a new section, with the nomen and prenomen of Merneptah as the subject of a verb of appearance. A parallel to this section of the Karnak Inscription is found in P. Harris I 75,3–8, where Ramesses III recounts the turmoil at the close of the Nineteenth Dynasty—the infamous “empty years” ended by the appearance of Sethnakht. Although the wording is different,⁹⁸ the use of the nomen and prenomen of Sethnakht supports Schulman’s restoration.

^b These two clauses are interpreted here as a Wechselsatz, with the first verb form as a reduced *sdm.n.twꜥf*.⁹⁹ Wente translates this instead as two emphasizing clauses: “It is to preserve patricians that he has been appointed, and it is to protect the common folk that he has arisen as king.”¹⁰⁰ Both translations are possible, but differ on the choice of the object of the emphasis.

Piccione¹⁰¹ also notes other examples of Wechselsätze where one verb preserves the Middle Egyptian *sdm.nꜥf*, while the other shows the reduced Late Middle Egyptian form.

⁹⁷ JARCE 24 (1987): 33, citing Erman, *Neuegyptische Grammatik*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1933), §569–570 (henceforth NÄG).

⁹⁸ Rather than a single verb of appearance, the passage in P. Harris I 75,7 states: *lwꜥsn smn sꜥsn pr m ḫꜥ.tꜥsn r ḫꜥ ḥnḫ wḏ3 snb n t3 nb r stꜥw wr Wsr-ḫꜥ-rꜥ stp.n-Rꜥ mry-ḫmn ḥnḫ wḏ3 snb s3 Rꜥ Stḫ-nḫt-mrr-Rꜥ-mry-ḫmn ḥnḫ wḏ3 snb* “They established their bodily son to be ruler, l.p.h., of every land at their great seat, Userkhare-setepenre-mery-amun, the son of Re, Sethnakht, whom Re loves, beloved of Amun, l.p.h.

⁹⁹ Jansen-Winkeln, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik*, §90, 92. For a further discussion of this form in the Karnak Inscription, see Chapter 4, §3.1 (pp. 139–140).

¹⁰⁰ E. Wente, “A Late Egyptian Emphatic Tense,” *JNES* 28 (1969): 9 and n. 55.

¹⁰¹ P. Piccione, “On the use of the *SDM.N.F* in the Historical Texts of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu,” *Serapis* 6 (1980): 107–108.



An example of this phenomenon at Medinet Habu is:¹⁰²

šmꜣ hr mꜥn.wꜣk ꜥy.nꜣ hr wdꜣk

As I went forth upon your paths, so have I returned at your command.

^c This passage is notable, because it contains two First Present constructions; the first Present is used several times elsewhere in this text,¹⁰³ but is more commonly found with a nominal subject, rather than with proclitic pronouns, as is the case in ln. 10. The proclitic pronoun *tw.tw*,¹⁰⁴ referring to the pharaoh, also occurs in the plunder list (ln. 55).

^d *šꜥn* (*Wb.* III 215.11) has the meaning "Truppen beordern." With the sense of troop movement provided by the next line, "deployment" seemed to capture the appropriate connotations of the verb. Merneptah as "the one who deploys" and "the one who guides" is paralleled in praise of Merneptah from P. Anastasi II 4,8: *sw mꜥ sꜥm.w ws.t r-ꜥꜣt ꜥꜣꜣꜣ mꜥꜥ* "He is like a guide in front of his army." Alternatively, *šꜥn* and *sꜥm* could be nominal passive *sꜥmwꜣf*'s, possibly forming another Wechselsatz.¹⁰⁵

^e This word is only attested in the Karnak Inscription (*Wb.* II 172.19: "Art Soldaten: Späher"), but is probably related to *mtr* "to show" (*Wb.* II 171.14), also determined with a painted eye (D5 /D6 ). In this example, *mtr.w* could be a *nomen agentis*—"those who show."¹⁰⁶ Although a *nomen agentis* is the most straightforward derivation for the *mtr*-scout, other possibilities cannot entirely be ruled out. For example, the noun *mtr*, meaning "witness" (*Wb.* II 172.5)¹⁰⁷ and "testimony" (*Wb.* II 172.11–17), could be applied to a military context to mean someone who witnesses or gives testimony concerning the enemy. Further evidence is provided by the idiom *mtr n ꜥr.wy*—"visible testimony,"¹⁰⁸ something in which a *mtr*-scout would be well trained. Finally, it is possible that the word *smtr*, commonly used to express activities such as scouting and reporting,¹⁰⁹ was originally intended in the Karnak Inscription, but the initial *s* was left off in the final carving.

^f This passage was translated by Breasted as: "His infantry marched out, the heavy armed troops arrived, beautiful in appearance, leading the bowmen against every land."¹¹⁰ Yet

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 105 (citing Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, pl. 99, 13 = *KRI* V 85.15–86.1), notes that this can either be translated as two emphasizing clauses or a Wechselsatz.

¹⁰³ For a further discussion of the First Present construction in the Karnak Inscription, see Chapter 4, §7.1.

¹⁰⁴ Černý–Groll, *LEG*, p. 33; *GEG* §330. Here the impersonal pronoun is determined by the seated god sign, but often the pronoun is used without such a determinative. For the latter, see J.C. Darnell and R. Jasnow, "On the Moabite Inscriptions of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple," *JNES* 22 (1993): 273, n. 28.

¹⁰⁵ Also possible is *šꜥnw* as a predicative form, while *sꜥmw* could be either another predicative *sꜥmwꜣf* or an emphatic form. The latter case would support a translation such as: "His bowmen were deployed; it is upon every road that his chariotry was conducted." For a discussion of the passive forms in this text, see Chapter 4, §4.7.

¹⁰⁶ Osing, *Nominalbildung*, vol. I, p. 176 (7.13 β), vol. II, pp. 412, 437.

¹⁰⁷ Note the interesting use of the word *mtr* in *KRI* II 84.6–10 to describe the men faithful to Ramesses II in the Battle of Kadesh (e.g. Menena and the *wꜣ.w*), whom the king calls "my witness in combat."

¹⁰⁸ *CDME*, p. 121.

¹⁰⁹ Especially P. Anastasi IV 10, 11: "the Tjukten that scout (*hr smtr*)," (R. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* [London, 1954], p. 178 and references therein; henceforth, Caminos, *LEM*).

¹¹⁰ *BAR* §578; Breasted is followed closely in Davies' translation: "His soldiers set forth with the mercenary troops, fair of face, sending the troops against every land." (*Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, p. 155).

there are no parallels to support Breasted's assumption that *hr kꜛw* is a military unit (nor are there even plural strokes or a determinative to indicate a collective noun),¹¹¹ and the entire passage is more meaningful if *ly* is interpreted as a stative verb form—"returned"¹¹²—followed by an adverbial prepositional phrase—"bearing plunder."¹¹³ This interpretation also provides textual evidence for Merneptah's campaigns prior to the Libyan invasion of year five. If the infantry proceeds "having returned bearing plunder," then the footsoldiers are coming back victoriously from another campaign laden with spoils. In light of the poetical ending of the Victory Stela, the journal of the frontier official in Syria-Palestine dated to year 3 of Merneptah's reign,¹¹⁴ and the epithet "subduer of Gezer"¹¹⁵ adopted by Merneptah prior to year six, it is quite likely that the infantry is returning from a campaign in Syria-Palestine.¹¹⁶ As Vandersleyen has remarked, the evidence indicates that "L'«invasion des Libyens» suit sans doute immédiatement la campagne en Palestine."¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ Breasted translates *hr kꜛw* as "heavy armed troops," which he notes is literally "those who bear the hand-to-hand fighting" (BAR §578 and n. i), and believes that the term refers to foreign mercenaries. While it is certainly possible that the Egyptians would refer to Sherden mercenaries as heavily armed, the word *kꜛ* does not possess the meaning of "hand-to-hand fighting" which Breasted assumes (although the Egyptians do express the concept "hand-to-hand" fighting with words such *hw.ni r hr* [Wb. III 49.7]). But the word *kꜛ* always relates to plunder (Wb. V 121.2–6 [verb] and 121.10–13 [noun]) and the title *kꜛ qn*—"starker Beutemacher" (Wb. V 121.7–8) is similar in its thrust to the description in the Karnak text (if one assumes that *hr kꜛw* is a military unit). It is also possible that *hr kꜛw* should be rendered "those who bear the plunder" or the more active "those who bear (i.e. engage in) the plundering."

¹¹² Another example of *ly* meaning "to return" in a military context, is the famous "poetical" description of the army's return in the autobiography of Weni (Urk. I 103.6ff.):

ly.n mꜛ pn m htp
lyb.n ꜛꜛ tꜛ hꜛy.w-ꜛ...

That the army returned safely,

was having ravaged the land of the sand-dwellers....

¹¹³ A. Schulman, *Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom* (Berlin, 1964), p. 117 translates this line as: "he did not trouble himself about hundreds of thousands on the day of battle, when his infantry marched out and returned with captures, the one who is pleasing of face when sending forth a host to every land."

¹¹⁴ Papyrus Anastasi III vs. 6.1–5.9 (Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 108–113).

¹¹⁵ Amada Stela, ln. 2 (KRI IV 33.9); the significance of this epithet is also discussed by Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, pp. 560–61.

¹¹⁶ Another possible piece of evidence of Merneptah's campaign in Syria-Palestine is a set of reliefs depicting Merneptah's battles in that region. F. Yurco ("Merneptah's Canaanite Campaign," *JARCE* 23 [1986]: 189–215) argues that the scenes on the south wall of the court adjoining the Cour de la Cachette (which contains the Karnak Inscription of Merneptah) represent the overthrow of some of the cities in Syria-Palestine that are listed in the Victory Stela. For a rebuttal to Yurco's arguments, see D.B. Redford, "The Ashkelon Relief at Karnak and the Victory Stela," *Israel Exploration Journal* 36 (1986): 188–200. Sourouzian, *Merneptah*, also takes issue with Yurco's conclusions, noting that the horses' names are identical with those of Ramesses II (p. 211), and claims that the Cour de la Cachette relief shares the same style and themes as other reliefs known from the reign of Ramesses II (*ibid.*, p. 29, n. 140). For a specific rebuttal of Sourouzian's arguments and a concise overview of the entire debate, see K.A. Kitchen, Review of Hourig Sourouzian, *Les monuments du roi Merneptah*, in *JEA* 79 (1993): 304–305. Note especially the arguments in favor of the campaign made by I. Singer, "Merneptah's Campaign to Canaan," *BASOR* 269 (1988): 1–10, based primarily on archaeological, rather than textual evidence. See also M. Hasel, *Domination and Resistance, Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant, ca. 1300–1185 B.C.* (Leiden, 1998), pp. 199–201 for a brief discussion and extensive bibliography.

¹¹⁷ *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, p. 561.

g *Nfr-hr* is an epithet of Ptah, but can be applied both to other deities and to the king, as it may be here.¹¹⁸ Grammatically, it seems most logical to interpret *nfr-hr* as the subject of an independent clause, although it is also possible, albeit less likely, that the phrase describes the infantry. This statement may imply that the infantry returning laden with plunder are part of the division of Ptah.¹¹⁹

VI. ONE CAME TO SAY: "THE LIBYANS ATTACK!"

¹³ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... *ḫwṯw r dd n ḥmṯf m ḥzbt 5 3bd 2*] *šmw^a r-nty wr ḥsy^b ḥrw n Rbw Mrḫwy s3 Ddy ḥ3.w^c ḥr ḥss.t nt Tḥnw ḥn^c pd.wtṯf*

¹⁴ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... *Š]rdn Škrš Iqwš Rkw Twrš m ḫ3.t tp n ḥ3 nb pḥrr^d nb n ḥss.tṯf in.nṯf ḥm.tṯf ḥrd.wṯf [...]*

¹⁵ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... *wr.w (?)*] *3y.w n ḥ3y pḥ.nṯf tš.w ḥmn.ty m šḫ.wt ntw Pr-ḥrr^e*

¹³ [... One came in order to say to his Majesty in year 5, second month of] Shomu to the effect that:

"The wretched chief of the enemies of Rebu, Merey, son of Dedy, has descended upon the foreign land of Tjehenu together with his bowmen.

¹⁴ [... Sh]erden, Shekelesh, Akawasha, Lukka, and Tursha, consisting of the seizure of the best of every fighter and every runner of his foreign land; he bringing his wife, his children [...]

¹⁵ [...] the great [chiefs?] of the tent.

It is at the fields of Perire that he reached the western borders."

^a In order correctly to restore the date in this part of the text, it is essential to understand which event is being dated. At the bottom of line fifteen, the king is said to "rage like a lion;" the common "rage" topos places this section of the text in the genre of the *ḫw.tw* report, characterized by an account of the enemy's location and activity followed by the pharaoh's fury and vocal response.¹²⁰ Since the text of lines thirteen and fourteen contains a definite and detailed report, Spalinger's restoration of *ḫwṯw r dd n ḥmṯf* is accepted here.¹²¹ Thus, the date ending in Shomu should correspond to the date of the report of the Libyan hostilities and not the date of the battle; this date is given in the Cairo and Heliopolis columns as *3bd 2 šmw* (KRI IV 23.6; 38.3).

¹¹⁸ Grimal, *Les termes de la Propagande*, p. 382, n. 1303; p. 386–87, n. 1318 and references therein for the application of this epithet to Ptah, other gods, and kings. Von der Way interprets *nfr hr* as referring to Ptah: "Der 'Schöngesichtige' (= Ptah) leitete die Bogenschützen gegen jedes Land." (*Göttergericht und "Heiliger" Krieg*, p. 46 n. 305). For further references on the epithet *nfr hr*, especially applied to Osiris and other deities, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 588 and notes 114 and 115. As Germond has also observed, the epithet *nfr hr* often refers to the pacified state of a raging goddess (BSEG 4 [1980]: 39–43).

¹¹⁹ For a discussion of the names of armies and their relation to deities, see Schulman, *Military Rank*, pp. 74–75.

¹²⁰ For a listing and analysis of all the attestations (including likely restorations) of the *ḫw.tw* report, see Spalinger's treatment in *Aspects*, Chapter 1.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 14–15; Spalinger also suggests the same restoration of the date as corresponding to the Cairo and Heliopolis columns.

^b The epithet *hsy* is quite common in Egyptian texts from the Twelfth Dynasty onwards. Lorton argued that the term has the meaning of “defeated,” but his evidence does not seem entirely persuasive.¹²² Although the epithet is often applied to enemies that have been or will be defeated, the meaning of the term is much less concrete. In Egyptian cosmography, the enemies will be defeated because they are “vile” and “wretched,” and it is this concept of moral turpitude that is contained in the epithet *hsy*. In the Kadesh poem, Ramesses II chastises his troops for abandoning him during the Hittite ambush, and to express the “wretchedness” of their actions he states (§186; KRI II 60.6–10):

hr ptr iry=tn sp hsy...

“Now look, you have committed a vile act...”

Ramesses is not saying that his troops are defeated, but rather that they acted immorally. Thus, Merey, the enemy of Merneptah, is here anathematized by claiming that he is immoral and wretched, he is the *wr hsy hrw n Rbw*.

^c The phrase *hsj hr*¹²³ parallels a passage in the Year 11 Libyan inscription at Medinet Habu (Ins. 14–15; KRI V 60.6–7):

p3 Mšwš dr nš gmh.twšf
iw tfy m bw wš tšf hršf
hs.w hr Thnw irw m ssf
flj fk nšw.wtšw nn pr.tšsn

“The one of the Meshwesh had come and gone from a single place,
 previously, before he was seen while his land with him,
 and they descended upon the Tehenu,¹²⁴
 turned into ashes.

Devastated and desolated were their towns, and their seed did not exist.”

Grammatically, the stative form of *hsj* is used in both cases to express the completed action of the verb, corresponding to the *šdm.nšf* of transitive verbs in Middle Egyptian.¹²⁵ Although the Karnak Inscription attestation of *hsj hr* is formally ambiguous (i.e. the Rebu could be descending from the land of the Tjehenu), the more descriptive Medinet Habu passage indicates that the phrase expresses a violent action.

¹²² D. Lorton, “The So-called ‘Vile’ Enemies of the King of Egypt (in the Middle Kingdom and Dyn. XVIII),” *JARCE* 10 (1973): 65–70. While Lorton’s fundamental argument about *hsy* is not accepted here, the conclusion of his article is well expressed: “[The military] texts should thus not be regarded as filled with empty and sterile epithets, be these laudatory epithets of the king or insults directed at foreigners. Though the phraseology of Egyptian texts tends to be stereotyped, the terms should nevertheless be recognized as meaningful, and for the most part technical” (p. 70).

¹²³ *Wb.* II 474.5: “überfallen eines Volkes, einfallen in ein land.” Compare also KRI V 70.6: *hmšf hs.(w) hr-tpšsn mš dšw n mšš* “His Majesty descended upon them like a mountain of granite.”

¹²⁴ Edgerton and Wilson, *Historical Records of Rameses III*, p. 76, fn. 14c, claim that the Meshwesh descend upon the peaceful Tehenu just like the Rebu in the Merneptah inscription; they accept Bates’ suggestion that Tehenu lies between the Meshwesh and Egypt (*Eastern Libyans*, pp. 50ff.). Note also the rendition by E. Wente: “The Meshwesh previously, before he had been seen, was come, having moved away altogether, his land with him and had descended upon the Tehenu made as ashes” (*The Syntax of Verbs of Motion in Egyptian* [Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1959], p. 53).

¹²⁵ Wente, *JNES* 28 (1969): 9.

^dThe *phrr*-runners served as infantry support troops for the chariotry, and during the New Kingdom, both native Egyptian troops and Sherden auxiliaries filled this role.¹²⁶ In this particular instance, though, the use of pronouns indicates that the "best warriors and runners" is not a reference to the Sea Peoples, but rather to the Libyans.¹²⁷ Furthermore, the report makes no mention of chariotry, despite the presence of "runners," and in the preserved plunder lists, forty-four is the highest number of horses captured¹²⁸—all implying that Mererel relied almost exclusively on infantry. Perhaps the armor and armaments of the invaders called to mind the appearance of a runner, so the Egyptians chose to use that term, not having another word for heavily armored troops. If the Libyans had also adopted the fighting techniques and weaponry of the Sea Peoples, in addition to using them as mercenaries, then the term "runner" would convey that the Libyans and their allies were fighting with spears, small shields, and possibly long-bladed swords.¹²⁹

^e Perire¹³⁰ is mentioned three times in the Karnak Inscription of Merneptah (lines 15, 30, and 49), and it is the central location of the battle.¹³¹ The occurrence in line fifteen states that Perire is on the western border of Egypt—this is the only specific information

¹²⁶ For further discussion and references, see Chapter 3, §1.1, pp. 78–80.

¹²⁷ The "report" centers around Mererel, chief of the Libyans, and despite the lacunae, the singular masculine pronoun should refer back to Mererel; thus, *his* bowmen descend upon the Tjehenu, the warriors and runners come from *his* land, and it is *his* wife and children that are brought. While the mention of Mererel's family among the plunder list indicates that the presence of his wives and children is a historical fact, the topos of the family members of Libyan rulers being conquered along with their chief stretches back into the Old Kingdom (J. Leclant, "La «famille libyenne» au temple haut de Pépi Ier," *Livre du centenaire* [Cairo, 1980], pp. 49–54; Leclant also notes those names occur elsewhere, even at the temple of Taharqa at Kawa, but despite the seeming historical deception, he stresses that each of those kings did fight the Libyans [p. 52, n. 11]). Although reliefs from the reign of Ramesses III seem to depict Sea Peoples bringing their families (for an overview of the most recent debate on this topic, see R. Drews, "Medinet Habu: Oxcarts, Ships, and Migration Theories" *JNES* 59 [2000]: 161–190), during the reign of Merneptah, the Sea Peoples are listed only as warriors, while it is the Libyans who invade with their families. This is further supported by the plunder lists, where Mererel's brothers, children, and wives occur among the captured items. (Karnak Inscription lines 50 and 57 [KRI IV 8.5; 9.2], Kom el-Ahmar Stela lines 9–10 and 16 [KRI IV 22.5–6; 22.11]). Additionally, when the Libyans invade, their numbers include both men and women, as the Cairo Column records (KRI IV 23.6):

iwꜣw r dd n hmꜣf thꜣ ꜣꜣ wr hꜣꜣ n Rbw ꜣ ꜣ n Rbw m ꜣꜣ w hmꜣw škrš hꜣꜣ ꜣ nb hmꜣꜣꜣ

One came to say to his majesty: "The wretched chief of Rebu, the land of Rebu—


consisting of men and women—have invaded, the Shekelesh and every foreign land being with him."

Since the Egyptians obviously considered the presence of Libyan women noteworthy, it is highly unlikely that families travelling with the Sea Peoples would have gone unmentioned.

¹²⁸ Heliopolis Victory Column ln. 3 (KRI IV 38.5); additionally, the Karnak Inscription plunder list mentions 12 spans belonging to Libyan chiefs—for a discussion of Libyan chariots and their depiction in Saharan rock art, see Chapter 3 §1.2.3 (pp. 88–90).



¹²⁹ See Chapter 3 §1.1, pp. 77–80 and §1.2.3 (pp. 88–90). Note also the determinative of *phrr* in the Kadash Poem—a man carrying a small shield and spear (KRI II 31.6–14).

¹³⁰ Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. II, p. 58. Two other occurrences of the toponym Perire occur in hieratic inscriptions from Lisht, but neither provides further clues to its location (F. Arnold et al., *The Control Notes and Team Marks* [New York, 1990], pp. 23, 132, 165; I would like to thank Prof. John Darnell for this reference). F. Gomañ also noted (cautiously) that this toponym appears in a 12th Dynasty papyrus (*Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittlern Reiches, II. Unterägypten und die angrenzenden Gebiete* [Wiesbaden, 1987], p. 312), but it does not occur in conjunction with other toponyms.

¹³¹ The toponym also occurs vs. ln. 9 of the Kom el-Ahmar Stela as , followed by the phrase *r ꜣꜣ ꜣw n wp-ꜣ* (for the meaning of *wp-ꜣ* as the steep sides of a wadi, see Grandet, *Papyrus Harris*, vol. II, pp. 249–251; as he notes, the attestation in the Kom el-Ahmar Stela may refer to the area around the Wadi Natrun); the location of the battle does not appear in the Victory Stela.

independent of other unknown toponyms, such as the fortress “Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat, He-Who-Surrounds-the-Tjehenu” which is in Perire (ln. 49). Although the toponym *Pr-ỉrr* occurs in P. Louvre N3136 and P. Bolgna 1097, neither papyrus helps pinpoint the location of Perire (see the Excursus, p. 130). However, the Karnak Inscription indicates that the Libyan attack threatens Memphis and the southeastern Delta around Bubastis, so the location of Perire along the “western border” implies that it must be between the Fayum and Mediterranean coast. Within this range, several different places have been suggested as the approximate location of Perire: Prosopis,¹³² Kôm el-Hisn,¹³³ and Letopolis/Ausim.¹³⁴ While each of these identifications revolves around identifying the spelling of *Pr-ỉrr* or *Pr-ỉr-šps* with other well-known toponyms, no preponderance of evidence points towards any of the suggested locations.






Another line of reasoning, first suggested by Golenischeff,¹³⁵ suggests that Perire was located near Herakleopolis; Golenischeff used evidence from the papyrus that Gardiner called the “Golenischeff Onamasticon,” but his conclusion is based on a misreading of the hieratic.¹³⁶ As Gardiner notes, the name should be read *Ỉry-st* rather than *Ỉry-špst*.¹³⁷

¹³² H. Brugsch, “ oder ,” ZÄS 5 (1867): 98; Brugsch’s identification is based on the transliteration of the toponym as *Pr-yr-šps.t*.

¹³³ H. de Meulenaere, “Cultes et sacerdoxes à Imaou (Kôm el-Hisn) au temps des dynasties Saïte et Perse” BIFAO 62 (1964): 170–171. De Meulenaere admits that the toponym cannot be identified with certainty, but favors a location in the 3rd nome of Lower Egypt and claims that a more southern location in the Letopolite nome (2nd nome of Lower Egypt) is no longer tenable.

¹³⁴ Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. II, p. 58; Hölscher, *Libyer und Ägypten*, pp. 62–63; G. Daressy, “La liste géographique du papyrus n° 31169 du Caire,” *Sphinx* 14 (1910/11): 156. Daressy amends Spiegelberg’s transcription of the demotic text in line 3 from a *wr*-bird to the seated *ỉry*-man (A48), thus reading the group at *Pr-ỉry* and comparing it to the place *Ỉryt* at the apex of the Delta (Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, vol. I, p. 92), immediately next to modern Ausim (ancient Letopolis); Daressy believes that both *Pr-ỉry* of the Cairo demotic papyrus no. 31169 and the *Pr-ỉry* of the Merneptah texts can be identified with *Ỉryt* in the 2nd nome of Lower Egypt. Grandet’s (*Papyrus Harris I*, vol. II, n. 924 [pp. 250–251]) identification rests on the connection between the Wadi Natrun and Letopolis by the Darb el-Hagg, but it is far from certain that the Libyans traveled through the Wadi Natrun on their way to the Nile Valley (see p. 97, n. 124 below for a discussion of the routes leading to and from the Wadi Natrun).

¹³⁵ W. Golenischeff, “Offener Brief an Herrn Professor G. Steinforff,” ZÄS 40 (1902/3): 102. And more recently upheld by C. Vandersleyen, “Les guerres de Mérenptah et de Ramsès III contre les Peuples de l’Ouest, et leurs rapports avec le Delta,” in C.J. Eyre, ed., *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists* (Leuven, 1998), pp. 1201–1202.

¹³⁶ The sign Golenischeff read as the *šps*-seated figure () is actually the seated man with the value *ỉry* () in all examples of *šps* () from Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. II, no. 26, the sign is followed by a vertical stroke, which does not occur in the Golenischeff Onamasticon. Vandersleyen, in Eyre, ed., *Seventh International Congress*, pp. 1201–02 suggests that the sign could be the kneeling *šps* figure () this sign is used in the writing of Perire in ln. 15 of the Karnak Inscription); the one example of this sign in Möller, *Paläographie*, vol. II, no. 46 also lacks the vertical stroke, but it is distinguished in hieratic by the flagellum-shaped object, rather than a single upward-slanting stroke for the *ỉry*-figure (). Additionally, it should be stressed that the toponym in the Golenischeff Onamasticon is not preceded by a *pr*-sign as are all the writings in the Merneptah texts. Even though issue is taken with Golenischeff and Vandersleyen’s reading of the hieratic, the area just south of the Faiyum was considered to be an area of strategic importance, and it was probably along one of the routes taken by the Libyans during the invasion under Merneptah and Ramesses III (for references and further discussion, see Chapter 3, §1.4 [pp. 97–98 and n. 124]).

¹³⁷ Gardiner, AEO II, p. 106*.

Among the locations in the Delta that have been suggested, the extreme northern extent of this range can be ruled out based on evidence within the Karnak Inscription itself. The inscription states that the Libyans had "reached the mountains of the oasis and the *shadu* of the district of Farafra" (ln. 20), indicating that the Libyans are traveling on the western desert routes that connect the Libyan desert with the Nile Valley via the oases.¹³⁸

Thus, the range of locations for Perire seems to be limited to the southern part of the western Delta,¹³⁹ and until further evidence is found,¹⁴⁰ a more precise location within that range appears impossible to determine.

VII. MERNEPTAH'S ADDRESS: PHARAOH RAGES

ist hmꜥf hr.w hrꜥsn mī mꜥ^a 16 [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... ...]ꜥtn
sdmꜥtn tpꜥw-rꜥ nbꜥtn^b

diꜥ mꜥtn r dd ink pꜥ [hqꜥ] nty hr mnꜥtn^c

wrꜥꜥ gmgm 17 [qs.w n hftꜥw (?)...]

[... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...]ꜥtn mī it hr [s]ꜥnhꜥ ms.wꜥf swgꜥ

ꜥw<r><t>n mī ꜥpd.w

bw rhꜥtn nfr n irrꜥ^d

bn wꜥby.t m

18 [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...].tꜥ hꜥ.tꜥ m wꜥy n hꜥst nb

pd.wt psꜥt hr hꜥwꜥ tꜥš.wꜥs

bꜥt.w hr thꜥ.twꜥs^e rꜥ nb

[zꜥ]¹⁴¹ nb hr tꜥ[...]^f

19 [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] r hꜥwꜥ nn n mnꜥ.wꜥs

ꜥqꜥ.nꜥw m shꜥ.wt n km.t

in itꜥw [ꜥ]^h ꜥhꜥ nꜥsn

skm.wꜥsn hrw.w ibd.w hꜥms 20 [imꜥf... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...]

¹³⁸ The exact oases reached by the Libyans will be addressed below in text note i to ln. 20 (pp. 31–32) and Chapter 3, §1.4 (pp. 94–100).

¹³⁹ The same range of Libyan activity is reported by Ramesses III in the P. Harris I historical section (76.11–77.1):

wꜥ Rbw Mꜥšwꜥs sndm.w hr Km.t

hw ꜥꜥw nꜥ dmꜥ.w pꜥ rwdꜥ imnt.t

šꜥ hꜥwt-kꜥ-Pthꜥ r-Qrꜥbn

"The Rebu and the Meshwesh were inhabiting Egypt.

They seized the towns of the western bank,

from Memphis to Qerben."

Since the location of Qerben is unknown (Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, vol. II, p. 246), the topographical specificity of texts describing the Libyan invasion under Ramesses III possesses the same problems as Merneptah's text (for the *rwdꜥ imnt.t* see also text note h to ln. 79 below [p. 75]).

¹⁴⁰ For example, since the fortress "Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat, He-Who-Surrounds-the-Tjehenu" (ln. 49) is said to be in Perire, if remains of a fortress were found that was in or near the western Delta and had inscriptions from the reign of Merneptah, the location of Perire might be more precisely located. Based on similar analysis A. Rowe, "A Contribution to the Archaeology of the Western Desert: II," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 36 (1953-54): 486, 498 identified the north-west Delta site of Ezbet abou-Shawish as Perire and Hut-sha (Ramesses III). However, no known archaeological evidence supports this claim (for a brief description of the possible Ramesside forts in the Delta and a summary of the archaeological work at each site, see G. Edwards, <http://www.geocities.com/zurdig>).

ph~~s~~sn ḏw.w n wh₃.tⁱ š^cd.wⁱ n w n T₃-ihw
 mtr.h_rstw^k ḏr nsw.tyw hr gnw.t kt-ht h₃w
 nn rhtw

Now his majesty raged like a lion because of them. ¹⁶ [... ...]

Listen to the pronouncements of your lord,

so that I may cause you to understand that I am the [ruler] who herds you.

It is breaking ¹⁷ [the bones of the enemies(?)] that I spend the day [...]

[...] like a father nurturing his foolish children.

You are trembling like birds!

You do not know the good deeds of his doing!

There is no answer [...]

¹⁸ [...] and abandoned on account of the advancing of every foreign land.

The Nine Bows are robbing its borders.

Rebels are attacking it every day.

Every man takes [...]

¹⁹ [...] in order to plunder these fortresses.

Into the fields of Egypt have they entered.

It was the [Great] River which opposed itself to them,

with the result that they spent days and months dwelling ²⁰ [within it...]

They reached the mountains of the Oasis, and the *shadu* of the district of Farafra.

Then one bore witness to the annals of other times since the period of the *nswt*-kings.

One was unable [...]

^a The portrayal of the king as a raging lion is a common motif in Egyptian texts¹⁴² and is further exploited in the “rage” section of the Königsnovelle.¹⁴³ The animal imagery creates a rich pictorial reference and implicitly relates the king to the constellation of leonine deities, both male and female. After the king hears of the Libyan’s attack, his rage “like a lion” is tantamount to saying that he manifests himself like Sakhmet.¹⁴⁴

^b Merneptah’s speech as part of the “reaction” section of the *hwstw*-report genre,¹⁴⁵ finds parallels in the beginning of the historical retrospective in P. Harris I and the Inscription of Year 8 at Medinet Habu,¹⁴⁶ in each, Ramesses III addresses his administrative officials

¹⁴¹ This restoration is suggested by Helck, *Bib. Or.* 27 (1970): 350 and followed by von der Way, *Göttergericht und Heiliger Krieg*, p. 16 and Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, p. 154; it fits both the available spacing and the traces recorded by Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, pl. 20, ln. 18.

¹⁴² C. de Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l’Égypte ancienne* (Leiden, 1951), pp. 16–34.

¹⁴³ Spalinger, *Aspects*, pp. 114–119.

¹⁴⁴ For discussion of the king’s relationship to Sakhmet, especially in her lionness form, see Grimal, *Les termes de la Propagande*, pp. 396–408.

¹⁴⁵ For the lexicography of this section in numerous military texts, see Spalinger, *Aspects*, p. 76–86.

¹⁴⁶ Although it is not framed in a direct address, the lexicography of Merneptah’s speech shares much in common with the introduction of the Victory Stela (ln. 2; KRI IV 13.8–9):

sd^d.t n^ysf n^ht.w m t₃.w nb.w
 r dⁱ.t s^m t₃ nb d^md.(w)
 r dⁱ.t p^rst^w n^fr m n^ysf qⁿw

Account of his victories in all lands,

in order to cause every land united to perceive,

in order to let the perfection in his triumph be seen.

and all the branches of the army with words that are similar to those of Merneptah:¹⁴⁷

sdm.w <t>n

dīā sm̄tn m nzyā šh.w i.īrwā

īwā m nswt n rhy.t

*wn p̄s t̄s n Km.t h̄s m rwty*¹⁴⁸...

Listen,

so that I might cause you to understand my effective deeds which I have done;

while I was king of the rekhyt-people.

The land of Egypt had been abandoned in flight...

sdm nāi t̄s r-dr̄f dmd(w) m bw w̄s... [list of officials, royal sons, etc.]

īmī hr̄tn n tp.w-r̄ā

rh̄tn nzyā šhr.w n s̄nh̄tn

sm̄tn m t̄s p̄hty n it̄ā šp̄ss Imn K̄s-mw.t̄f...

*wn Km.t mh̄.ty nī n̄s mn̄w*¹⁴⁹...

Listen to me, o entire land assembled in one place!

Pay attention to my pronouncements,

so that you might know my plans for your survival,

so that you might understand the strength of my noble father Amun Kamutef.

Egypt had fled, she had no shepherd...

As in the Karnak Inscription, a command to listen is followed by a declaration of the pharaoh's efficacy and power; then both Ramesses III and Merneptah go on to describe the dire state of Egypt.¹⁵⁰

^c The king as herdsman of the people of Egypt is a pervasive motif in pharaonic iconography from the Middle Kingdom onward.¹⁵¹ The shepherding of the Egyptians stands in stark contrast to the next statement that must refer to "breaking the bones" of the enemies, once again playing upon the topos of the ruler beneficent to the ordered inhabitants of the Nile Valley and dangerously violent to chaotic outsiders.¹⁵² Without a shepherd, Egypt descends into the chaos of the outside world, and its inhabitants can only "tremble like birds"¹⁵³ (reading *swr* as a "dramatic *sdm̄f*"—see p. 142, n. 41).

¹⁴⁷ Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, vol. II, n. 895 notes the parallel between P. Harris I and the Year 8 inscription at Medinet Habu, to which the earlier attestation in the Merneptah Karnak Inscription should be added.

¹⁴⁸ P. Harris I 75.1-3; Erichsen, P. Harris I, 91.5-7. For an analysis of the phrase *m rwty*, see Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, vol. 2, pp. 217-18 (n. 897).

¹⁴⁹ Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu I*, pl. 46 ll. 12-15; KRI V 39.6-12.

¹⁵⁰ Yet it should also be noted that the passages differ in their overall contexts, because Merneptah is responding in rage to a *hw̄tw* report, while in both texts, Ramesses III is calmly addressing an assembly of civil and military officials after the threat to Egypt has been averted.

¹⁵¹ D. Müller, "Der gute Hirte: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte ägyptischer Bildrede," *ZÄS* 86 (1961): 126-144; D. Franke, "Schöpfer, Schützer, guter Hirte: Zum Königsbild des Mittleren Reiches," in R. Gundlach and C. Raedler, eds., *Selbstverständnis und Realität* (Wiesbaden, 1997), pp. 192-193; von der Way, *Göttergericht und "Heiliger" Krieg*, pp. 52-53; J. Assmann, "State and Religion in the New Kingdom," in W.K. Simpson, ed., *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 1989), pp. 62-63 and n. 21; Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, p. 86.

¹⁵² See references in fn. 34 above.

¹⁵³ For the connection between the herdsman image and the abandonment of Egypt, see von der Way, *Göttergericht und "Heiliger" Krieg*, p. 53 and references therein.

^d A similar statement about not being aware of good deeds (although with opposite implications) occurs in the "Moabite Inscription" of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple. The prince Amenherkhepeshef addresses the Moabites as follows:

ntk b̄in

bw r̄h̄t̄w nfr.w̄k...

"You are bad.

One does not know your good deeds..."¹⁵⁴

^e In the corpus of Late Middle Egyptian texts studied by Jansen-Winkel, the *.t*-ending of the infinitive *th̄i* is written three times in the status pronominalis.¹⁵⁵ His examples, like the orthography *th̄i.tw* in the Karnak Inscription, show the termination written *.tw*.¹⁵⁶

^f The description within a royal speech of the negative condition of Egypt¹⁵⁷ is paralleled in an annotation to a scene from the first Libyan War of Ramesses III.¹⁵⁸

in̄f p̄s t̄s n Tm̄hw Sp̄d M̄šwš

wn.w m̄ īt̄s.w hr̄ s̄d̄s Km.t r̄c nb

dd̄t̄w m̄ ḥd̄byt̄ hr̄ t̄b.tȳ

He has brought (to an end) the land of Tjemehu, Seped, and Meshwesh,
who were robbers destroying Egypt daily.

(But) as a heap of corpses have they have been placed under my two soles!

^g "These fortresses" refers to the series of military outposts that guarded the western frontier of Egypt, both along the Mediterranean coast and in the Libyan desert itself.¹⁵⁹ While some scholars maintain that the fortresses set up by Ramesses II along the Mediterranean littoral were possibly abandoned later in his reign,¹⁶⁰ the plundering of the fortresses mentioned here argues against such a claim. Even if the fortresses were abandoned during the reign of Ramesses II, the Egyptian army would have probably destroyed the outposts, so enemy forces could not use them. It would be illogical for the Egyptian army to abandon usable fortifications and equipment along a frontier with hostile tribes; thus, the "plundering" mentioned here almost certainly refers to attacks against manned fortresses. Additionally, the Karnak text itself indicates that the fortresses being plundered are not abandoned: after the battle, a message is sent from the commander of a "western fortress" to the royal palace (ln. 41).

¹⁵⁴ Translation of Darnell and Jasnow, *JNES* 22 (1993): 273.

¹⁵⁵ *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik*, §158.

¹⁵⁶ For a discussion of the status pronominalis of infinitives in Late Egyptian and their relation to later Coptic forms, see J. Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien I. La morphologie verbale* (Liège, 1992), §75. See also his §108 for other examples of *.tw* marking the status pronominalis in *tertiaie infermae* verbs.

¹⁵⁷ See Chapter 3, §2.2 for a full discussion of the "time of troubles" topos (pp. 110–113).

¹⁵⁸ Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu I*, pl. 22; *KRI V* 14.16–15.3.

¹⁵⁹ See also the discussion in text note a to line 41 below (pp. 48–50).

¹⁶⁰ S. Snape, "Imported Pottery at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham: Preliminary Report," *Bulletin de liaison du Groupe International d'Étude de la Céramique Égyptienne* 21 (2000): 17–22 suggests that the fortress was no longer in use after the reign of Ramesses II. K. Kitchen, "The Arrival of the Libyans in Late New Kingdom Egypt," in A. Leahy, ed., *Libya and Egypt c1300–750 BC* (London, 1990), p. 19 also makes the same assumption—"by Merneptah's time, this early warning system had probably fallen into desuetude." However, since the Libyans are invading along oasis routes in the Western Desert and not along the Mediterranean littoral, the chain of fortresses would have been of limited use as an "early warning system" in this case.

^h The *itrw* 𓆎—"great river"—is used both to describe the main channel of the Nile River¹⁶¹ and the Sebennyitic branch of the Delta.¹⁶² However, the description of Libyan infiltration of Egypt in P. Harris I 77,1-77,2 indicates that the *itrw* 𓆎 should be interpreted here as the Sebennyitic branch of the Nile; after stating that the Libyans had seized the towns from "Memphis to Qerben," the description in P. Harris I continues:

phꜣw itrw 𓆎 rwi.tꜣ nb
ntw fhꜣ nꜣ dmi.w n Hꜣsww m rnp.wt qn.w

They reached the great river and its every bank.

It is they who did damage to the towns of the Xoite nome¹⁶³ for many years.

Although some translations have interpreted the *in* before *itrw* 𓆎 in the Karnak Inscription as a full writing of the preposition *n*,¹⁶⁴ *in* is best interpreted here as the introduction of a participial statement.¹⁶⁵ The previous translations also fail properly to convey the action of the river; *ꜣꜥ n* can convey the meaning "s'oppose à," a use attested in several other inscriptions.¹⁶⁶ An "adversative" *ꜣꜥ n* also directly follows the *hwꜣtw* report in the Heliopolis Victory Column of Merneptah (ln. 2; KRI IV 38.4):

ꜣꜥ.n wd.n hmꜣf mꜣꜥ r ꜣꜥ nꜣsn

Then his Majesty commanded the army to oppose (themselves) to them.

Although it would be convenient to connect the opposition of the river with the annual inundation, the second month of Shomu (the date of the report of the Libyan invasion) in the fifth year of Merneptah's reign would have been approximately May 1208 BC,¹⁶⁷ a time when the level of the river would have been relatively low.

ⁱ Traditionally, "the" oasis in this text has been identified with Bahariya Oasis, the northern oasis closest to the Nile.¹⁶⁸ However, in the Karnak Inscription, *whꜣ.t* is not modified by *mhy.t* as one would expect for the attested writings of Bahariya Oasis, nor is the common designation *Dꜣꜣꜣ* used here for the region of Bahariya.¹⁶⁹ Considering the

¹⁶¹ Bietak, *Tell el-Daba* II, Abb. 23; Gardiner, *AEO* II, 165*.

¹⁶² Bietak, *Tell el-Daba* II, p. 125.

¹⁶³ For the reading of the Xoite nome, see Grandet, *P. Harris I*, vol. II, p. 251.

¹⁶⁴ Breasted, (*BAR* §580) rendered the text as: "They have repeatedly penetrated the fields of Egypt to the [great] river. They have halted. They have spent whole days and months dwelling." This translation is followed by Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, p. 155, but he interprets *in* to mean "by (means of)."

¹⁶⁵ A similar interpretation is found in Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, p. 267: "they penetrated onto the soil of Egypt and it was (only) the Great River that stopped them; they spent days and months dwelling [...]."

¹⁶⁶ P. Vernus, "Littérature et autobiographie. Les inscriptions de *Sꜣ-mwt* surnommé *Kyky*," *RdE* 30 (1978): p. 125 and n. 57. Note also the juridical meaning "être défendeur contre quelqu'un" (p. 125, n. 58). The phrase *ꜣꜥ n* is also used in the *Stundenritual* to describe how a particular hour of the day "raises itself" for a particular god (J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott* [Berlin, 1969], pp. 123-24, with references to other religious texts); while this is a positive activity for an hour, it has a much more threatening connotation when performed by a river against Egypt's enemies.

¹⁶⁷ J. von Beckerath, *Chronologie des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches* (Hildesheim, 1994), p. 73 and n. 402.

¹⁶⁸ *BAR* III §580 n. a; L. Giddy, *Egyptian Oases* (Warminster, 1987), p. 92 and nn. 315-316; Wainwright, *ASAE* 27 (1927): 85 (n. 6 to p. 84). Since Wainwright accepts Golenischeff's identification of the location of Perire with the area south of Herakleopolis, he believes that Bahariya is the best candidate for "the" oasis. Bates, *Eastern Libyans*, p. 216 does not precisely follow the text and refers to it as "the northern oasis." Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, p. 564 identifies "the Oasis" as Kharga, but this oasis was more commonly known as *whꜣ.t rꜣsy.t*.

¹⁶⁹ For a discussion of the use of these two terms to describe Bahariya and examples of their use, see Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, p. 161-163 and references therein.

frequent use of these names, it is unlikely that the author would only employ the word *wḥs.t*, if the intended location were Bahariya Oasis. A stela of Nebhepetre Montuhotep II offers a possible solution to the meaning of "the oasis:"¹⁷⁰

[...] *Wꜣwꜣ.t wḥs.t*
sdm̄.nꜣ(i) st n šmꜣ

[...] Wawat and the Oasis.

I annexed them to Upper Egypt.

Here, as in the Karnak Inscription, *wḥs.t* is not modified further. Considering the location of Wawat, the strategic intent of Montuhotep II, and other inscriptional evidence during his reign, Kurkur, a small oasis west-southwest of Aswan, is almost certainly the oasis in question in the Ballas inscription.¹⁷¹ Even if Kurkur Oasis had an ancient designation, such a name may have been relatively unfamiliar (especially in comparison to the names of Kharga or Bahariya), which may have led the ancient scribe to use *wḥs.t* to refer to a small oasis geographically related to the passage in question. Applying this principle then to the Karnak Inscription, one would need to search for a northern oasis that would be tactically useful for Merey, yet unknown enough to the Egyptians that they refer to it only as "the Oasis." This description points to Siwa Oasis, a small water source just south of the Qattara depression and the perfect stopping point between the Rebu homeland and Farafra Oasis. Even in the Greco-Roman period when Siwa was also known as *Sh.t-šmꜣw*,¹⁷² the list of the seven oases at Edfu first refers to Siwa simply as *wḥs.t*.¹⁷³ The relationship between the Libyans and Siwa is attested in other Ptolemaic texts, where *Sh.t-šmꜣw* alternates with *Tꜣ-Tmḥw*.¹⁷⁴ In fact, Siwa Oasis is still populated by Berber-speaking people,¹⁷⁵ indicating that the oasis remains more closely associated with the desert tribes than the Nile Valley. Thus, textual and geographical evidence coincide in indicating that "the Oasis" is not the well-known and otherwise named oasis of Bahariya, but rather the more distant Siwa.

^j Although previous translators have interpreted *šꜣd.w*¹⁷⁶ as a verbal formation of the verb *šꜣd* "to cut," the presence of walking legs and the overall odd writing has never been explained. Also, the resulting interpretation of the Oasis being cut off from Farafra makes

¹⁷⁰ H. Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome* (Rome, 1964), pp. 112–118; the passage cited here is from line x+12 as shown in fig. 16b (p. 113) and the translation follows Fischer's, p. 114.

¹⁷¹ J.C. Darnell, "The Route of Eleventh Dynasty Expansion into Nubia," *ZĀS* 130 (2003) (forthcoming). I am further in debt to Prof. Darnell for his identification of the oasis in the Karnak Inscription as Siwa and proposing the connection between the two uses of *wḥs.t* without further modification.

¹⁷² S. Aufrère, "La liste des sept Oasis d'Edfou," *BIFAO* 100 (2000): 99–103 and references therein.

¹⁷³ Aufrère, *BIFAO* 100 (2000): 99ff. for his identification of the 4th Oasis as Siwa; the text listing Kharga and Dakhla are destroyed, but Farafra is called *Tꜣ-ḥw* while Bahariya is called the "northern oasis." The other oasis which is also simply called *wḥs.t* can be identified with the Wadi Natrun (ibid., 117; see also his pp. 106ff. for evidence that the 6th Oasis *Sh.t-šmꜣw* is not the Wadi Natrun), which fits well with the theory that less-known and more sparsely inhabited oases can receive the appellation *wḥs.t* without further specification.

¹⁷⁴ Aufrère, *BIFAO* 100 (2000): 120–121.

¹⁷⁵ A. Fakhry, *The Oases of Egypt*, Volume 1: *Siwa Oasis* (Cairo, 1973), p. 35. See Chapter 3 §1.2.1 (pp. 83–84, n. 39) for references to evidence that at least some of the ancient Libyans also spoke a language related to Berber.

¹⁷⁶ The word *šꜣd* as it appears in the Karnak Inscription corresponds to *Wb. IV* 423.7 where it is listed as "eine Ortsbezeichnung (im Zus.hang mit Oase genannt)."

precious little sense under the accepted equation of "the Oasis" with Bahariya.¹⁷⁷ The very fact that the Libyans had taken over an oasis so close to the Nile Valley would automatically imply that Farafra would be cut off from Bahariya—because in order to travel from the northern Nile Valley to Farafra one must go through Bahariya. The same holds true if "the Oasis" is taken to be Siwa—naturally, occupation of Farafra would prevent access to Siwa, and considering the lack of interest in the small oasis prior to the Graeco-Roman period, it is doubtful that Merneptah would be terribly worried about Siwa being cut off from Farafra.

These various problems have a possible explanation if the term *š'd.w* is taken as a noun rather than a verbal formation. The vertebrae sign (𓂏) indicates something sharp or ridged,¹⁷⁸ and the walking legs obviously connote a sense of motion. In a desert context, this description calls to mind the moving knife-like dunes—a common sight in the Great Sand Sea that stretches to the west of Farafra Oasis.¹⁷⁹ Another interpretation of the determinatives is to take the *shadu* as steep desert passes climbing up the 100 meter-high escarpment of Farafra Oasis.¹⁸⁰ Whether the *shadu* are knife-like dunes or roads cutting through an escarpment, the interpretation of *š'd.w* as a noun is almost certain. The resulting translation: "They reached the mountains of the Oasis, and the *shadu* of the district of Farafra," also creates a parallelism between the two phrases as objects of the verb *ph*.

^kNormally passages such as this use verbs of perception, like *m3*,¹⁸¹ and when the annals are mentioned again in the Karnak Inscription, the verb *ptr* is used (ln. 39): *bw ptr-š hr gnw.t bity.w*—"it was not seen in the annals of the *bity*-kings." Since it is possible to bear witness to a particular thing (*Wb.* II 171.11,13) and virtually all meanings of the verb *mtr* involve testimony or bearing witness, it is almost certain that a similar action is intended here in reference to the annals.¹⁸² Grammatically, this *sdm.lyr-š* form draws from Middle Egyptian idiom,¹⁸³ and expresses adherence to an external norm or necessity.¹⁸⁴ Although

¹⁷⁷ Kitchen, in Leahy, ed., *Libya and Egypt*, p. 20 translates: "they have reached the hills of (Bahria) Oasis, (these) being cut off from Farafra Oasis." Like the other scholars who have commented on the Karnak Inscription, Kitchen assumes that "the oasis" must be Bahariya. Another translation is found in Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, p. 83: "they (the Libyans) reached the mountains of the Oasis, they cut off the district of Farafra...."

¹⁷⁸ Compare the use of this determinative in the word *š'd* for sword (*Wb.* IV 423.2–4) and another word *š'd* to describe the notches on the *qd*-pillar (*Wb.* IV 423.5).

¹⁷⁹ R.A. Bagnold, *Libyan Sands: Travel in a Dead World* (London, 1993 [reprint]), pp. 141ff.

¹⁸⁰ K.P. Kuhlmann, "Bauernweisheiten," in I. Gamer-Wallert and W. Helck, eds., *Gegengabe, Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut* (Tübingen, 1992), p. 204, n. 41.

¹⁸¹ For collected examples, see Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, pp. 83–84; the last example he cites, from the Taharqa Stela, provides an excellent parallel for the Karnak Inscription with the phrase "what inundations happened in their time" serving as an elaboration on the "other conditions" sought by Merneptah:

rdl.n hm-š in-šw n-š gnw.t n.t tpyw-š hr m3 Hšpy hpr m hsw-šn ni gm-šw mit.t iry im

"His Majesty had brought to him the annals of the ancestors to see what inundations had happened in their time; but nothing like this was found therein" (following Redford, p. 84).

¹⁸² Cf. Redford's translation: "thorough search was made, since the (period of the) kings of Lower Egypt...." *Pharaonic King-Lists*, p. 83.

¹⁸³ For a discussion of the shift from *sdm.lyr-š* to *lyr sdm-š* and the overall implications of this "contingent aorist" form, see L. Depuydt, *Conjunction Contiguity, Contingency, On Relationships between Events in the Egyptian and Coptic Verbal Systems* (New York, 1993), pp. 208ff.

¹⁸⁴ P. Vernus, *Future at Issue. Tense, Mood, and Aspect in Middle Egyptian: Studies in Syntax and Semantics* (New Haven, 1990), p. 81.

no precise restoration can be offered to complete the sentence, "one was unable..." an abundance of similar phrases in other texts¹⁸⁵ indicates that the import of the passage in the Karnak Inscription is that such a wide-ranging Libyan incursion was not attested in the earlier annals.

VIII. CONCLUSION OF MERNEPTAH'S ADDRESS AND THE OATH

²¹ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] *tw m ddf.wt*

nn wn dī.t^a h₃w hr h.wt₃sn

mry mw.t msddy c₃nh^b

h₃ty₃sn tny r rhy²² .[t]^c

[... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] *p₃y₃sn wr*

wrš₃w hr h₃t-t₃ hr c₃h₃ r mh₃ h.wt₃w n mnt

iw₃sn r t₃ n Km.t r w₃h₃ hr.t n r₃sn

ib₃w [...]

²³ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] *p₃y₃š*

in.tw₃w mī w₃h₃ hr h.wt₃w^d

p₃y₃sn wr m š₃rw n iw₃w^e

zī tw₃ iw₃ty h₃ty₃f

bw h₃ms₃f s(y) r [...]

²⁴ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] *s₃r₃q Pdwti-š₃w^f*

ī.dī₃š^g i₃zy₃tw it.w m mk.w r s₃nh₃ t₃ pn n H₃t₃

mk in₃k p₃ ī.dī n₃r.w k₃ nb²⁵ [n₃f...]

[... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] *hry₃š*

nswt bity B₃-n-R₃ mri-Imn s₃ R₃ Mri.n-Pth H₃tp-h₃r-M₃s.t dī c₃nh₃

w₃h₃ k₃š w₃h₃ t₃ n[h₃t]₃š

rwd.kw m h₃q₃ t₃.wy [h₃]y

²¹ [...] as crawling things,

without giving more than their bellies.

As for those who love death and hate life,

their hearts are different from those of the people (of Egypt)

²² [...] their chief.

To fill their bellies daily do they spend the day wandering and fighting.

To seek the necessities of their mouths do they come to the land of Egypt.

Their hearts [...]

²³ [...] my [...].

It is as fish upon their bellies that they were brought,

their chief being in the manner of a dog,

a wretched man, without his heart.

He did not occupy it until(?) [...]

²⁴ [...] put an end to the Pedjuti-shu.

It is in order to vivify this Hittite land that I have caused grain to be sent in ships.

Behold, I am the one [to whom] the gods gave all nourishment.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, pp. 83–84.

²⁵ [...] beneath me.

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Baenre-meryamun,
the Son of Ra Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat, given life.

"As my ka endures, and as my victory endures,
I am firmly established as ruler of the two lands and heaven.

^a Infinitives, participles, and *sdmꜣf* forms can follow *nn wn* with various shades of meaning. Since the complete context is not provided by the beginning of the line, it is best to consider all three possibilities. In Late Egyptian, the *status absolutus* of the infinitive of *rdl* is *dī.t*,¹⁸⁶ whereas *rdl.t* is the common form of the infinitive in Middle Egyptian (*dī.t* is quite rare; GEG §299). Thus, *nn wn* could here be used like the more expected *nn* to negate the infinitive, meaning "without giving in excess of their bellies."¹⁸⁷ The form *dī.t* would be less common as a form of the perfective participle in Middle Egyptian (GEG §359), but it is the normal form in Late Egyptian.¹⁸⁸ Since *nn wn* is itself a Late Middle Egyptian form,¹⁸⁹ either of these interpretations—infinitive or participle—would work with later forms of *rdl*. A final possibility is that if *dīt* were interpreted as *dīst(w)*, this could be an example of an existential negation of the *sdmꜣf* form (GEG §188,2). Yet out of the three grammatical interpretations, *nn wn* plus infinitive creates the clearest rendition.

^b "Those who love death and hate life" is an obvious perversion of the common formula "those who love life and hate death."¹⁹⁰ A similar reversal occurs in the Piye Stela, where Piye addresses those of Per-Sekhemkheperre (Ins. 78–79):

ꜥnh.w m mw.t sp sn

šwꜣ ḥwr.w ꜥnh.w m mw.t

m mr mw.t msdꜥ ꜥnh

"Oh you who live in death, you who live in death;
you poor wretches, you who live in death!...

Do not love death and hate life!"¹⁹¹

^c For a discussion of the theological implication of the distinction between foreigners and Egyptians, see Chapter 3 §3.3 below (pp. 122–124).

^d The image conveyed by "like *wḥt*-fish upon their bellies" is quite vivid. The *wḥt*-fish is normally equated with the species *Syndontis schall*, a Nilotic fish with a distinctive bony shield covering the head and sharp pectoral spines.¹⁹² Although *S. schall* is the most

¹⁸⁶ Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien*, §143 shows that *dī.t* is normal form of the *status absolutus* of the infinitive in the 18th–19th Dynasties (the same conclusion was reached earlier by Erman, NÄG §407).

¹⁸⁷ This interpretation is similar to the translation by von der Way, *Göttergericht und "Heiliger" Krieg*, p. 28: "ein Gewürm, ohne Zuwachs ihrer Körper."

¹⁸⁸ Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien*, §566.

¹⁸⁹ Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian*, p. 127; Jansen-Winkeln, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik*, §655.

¹⁹⁰ Wb. II 154.4; this statement also relates to the "Psychogramm" of the enemy in the Merneptah texts, as discussed by von der Way, *Göttergericht und Heiliger Krieg*, pp. 25–28

¹⁹¹ Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ank)y*, p. 25*; translation adapted from Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. III, p. 74. Compare also KRI V 69.15: *wḥꜣw pꜣ mw.t ḥrꜣw r Tꜣ mrꜣ* "They placed death upon themselves by being against Egypt."

¹⁹² D. Brewer and R. Friedman, *Fish and Fishing in Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1989), p. 67; I. Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1970), p. 12.

common of the *Syndontis* family, two other species of the genus, *S. batensoda* and *S. membranaceus* have a penchant for swimming upside down.¹⁹³ In fact, one of these two species is depicted in the tomb of Mereruka¹⁹⁴ in just such a position between normal, upright fish. Since there is ambiguity concerning the Egyptian designation for *S. batensoda* and the *wḥr*-fish are specifically described here as being "upon their bellies," it is possible that the term *wḥr* might apply to *S. batensoda* or *S. membranaceus* in addition to *S. schall*.¹⁹⁵ The first annal of Thutmose III contains a similar comparison of enemies to fish (*Urk. IV* 659.3–4).¹⁹⁶

sk.wṣsn sḏr.(w)

m sṯsy mṯ rm.w m qḥ šnw

Their ranks were immobile,

lying upon on their backs like fish in the belly of a net.

^e The comparison of a foreign ruler to a dog is a common motif in Egyptian literature,¹⁹⁷ and it continues the metaphors drawn from the animal world in this section of the Karnak Inscription. H. Brunner¹⁹⁸ noted that a similar passage in Merneptah's Amada Stela is paralleled by a statement in the Instruction of Amenemhat:

Amada, lines 12–13 (*KRI IV* 2.6):

ḏḥf ḥw n(ṣ) tṣ.w n Ḥtḥ ḥr pd.w ḥry mṯ šm tzm.w

He causes that the lands of Khatti come upon their knees like dogs walk.

Instruction of Amenemhat (XIIc):

ḥw ḏl.nṣ ḥry Stḥw šmt tzm.w

I have made the Asiatics do the dog-walk.

Yet after presenting several later parallels, notably an inscription of Taharqa at the temple of Kawa and the Piye Stela,¹⁹⁹ Brunner concludes: "So scheint mir folgendes die wahrscheinlichste, wenn auch keineswegs sichere Annahme: Das Bild, dass die besiegten

¹⁹³ Brewer and Friedman, *Fish and Fishing*, p. 68.

¹⁹⁴ The Epigraphic Survey, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, vol. 1 (Chicago, 1938) pl. 10; the Mereruka fish is almost identical to a fish in the mastaba of Kagmeni (C. Firth and B. Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* [Cairo, 1926], vol. II, pl. 50, upper left).

¹⁹⁵ It is also important to note that although *S. schall* is smaller than *S. batensoda*, their fin placement and external features are nearly identical, cf. Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte*, pl. V nos. 3–4.

¹⁹⁶ The use of the fish metaphor in the text of Thutmose III is one of the examples noted in Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke*, pp. 94–95 to which the Merneptah passage should be added. Another poignant image to be added to the list of fish imagery is in the Lamentation of Ipuwer (2, 13; W. Helck, *Die "Admonitions," Pap. Leiden I 344 recto* [Wiesbaden, 1995], pp. 10–11):

mk ḥndṯw s[ḥt] mṯ rm.w

"Behold, one enters the net like fish."

(Cf. Lichtheim's creative rendition: "People flap like fish," *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. I, p. 151).

¹⁹⁷ Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke*, pp. 75–76 (note also his discussion of positive comparisons to dogs for their loyalty and ability in the hunt).

¹⁹⁸ "Zitate aus Lebenslehren," in E. Hornung and O. Keel, eds., *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1979), pp. 149.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 145–147. For another collection of references to citations referring to "dogs" from Middle Kingdom literature in later Egyptian texts, see R. Jasnow, "Remarks on Continuity in Egyptian Literary Tradition," in E. Teeter and J. Larson, eds., *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (Chicago, 1999), p. 196–97. To these examples should be added a similar reference at Buhen from the reign of Thutmose III (R. Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen* [London:, 1974], vol. I, pl. 62, lns. 13–14).

Feinde sich wie angstvolle Hunde um die Beine des Herrn schmiegen, dass sie "kriechen," ist gemein ägyptisch."²⁰⁰ The occurrence of the dog topos in the Karnak Inscription reinforces the interpretation of the metaphor's general nature, because none of the terminology in the parallels in Amenemhat or even at Amada occurs at Karnak—there is no verb of motion and the word for dog is *lw̄w* rather than *ṭzm*.

^f The painted depiction of a throne base in the tomb of Ken-amun with the effigies of captured enemies surmounting their name circles includes a bound man labeled "Pedjuti-shu."²⁰¹ He has a full, pointed beard and long hair, virtually identical in features to the Tjehenu-Libyan to his right. Although the Pedjuti-shu are one of the Nine Bows,²⁰² "it is only by elimination that they are conjectured to have been peoples of the eastern or north-eastern desert."²⁰³ Possibly these Eastern Desert dwellers are mentioned here by Merneptah to indicate that he has already quelled rebellions in the east, and now he will halt the invasions to the west.²⁰⁴

^g There are two possibilities for *l̄d̄l̄*: a modal emphatic *l̄sdm̄f*²⁰⁵ or a relative form;²⁰⁶ the former is more probable for two reasons: "to vivify this Hittite land" would serve well as an emphasized adjunct, and, if Merneptah has "put an end" to the Pedjuti-Shu, it is quite unlikely that he would use them in a diplomatic mission.²⁰⁷ The shipments of grain could be part of the historical reason for the statement at the end of the Victory Stela (ln. 26; KRI IV 19.3):

H̄t̄s sh̄tp̄(w)

"Khatti is pacified."

IX. THE ORACLE & PREPARATION FOR BATTLE

²⁶ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... *T̄3-mr̄*]̄i

hn̄^a ʾImm hr̄ṭw m̄ W̄s.t

²⁰⁰ In Hornung and Keel, eds., *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren*, p. 147.

²⁰¹ N. Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes* (New York, 1930), pl. XI, detail pl. XII; Davies refers to the Pedjuti-shu as "Eastern nomads" (p. 23). In an 18th Dynasty fragment in the Puskin Museum the name "Pedjuti-shu" appears next to "Hau-nebu," but unfortunately, the man above the name circle for the Pedjuti-shu is not preserved (S. Hodjash and O. Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow* [Leningrad, 1982], p. 119, no. 63).

²⁰² D. Wildung, "Neunbogen," *LÄ IV* (1980): 472–73.

²⁰³ R. Caminos, *A Tale of Woe: Papyrus Pushkin 127* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 32–33 and references therein; see especially K. Sethe, "Die ägyptischen Bezeichnungen für die Oasen und ihre Bewohner," *ZÄS* 56 (1920): 53–4 for his collection of Nineteenth Dynasty examples of this ethnonym.

²⁰⁴ Unfortunately, the Pedjuti-shu do not appear elsewhere in Merneptah's texts, so their significance in his foreign policy is not known.

²⁰⁵ Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien*, §§420ff.; §421, b has other examples of *rd̄l̄* with the common LE orthography that is also present in the Karnak Inscription. Typically this form is called the "prospective emphatic *l̄sdm̄f*," the verb form conveys not as much the futurity of an action, but its modality (past, present, or future), as Winand has shown (*ibid.*, §§432–435). Three other examples of an emphatic *l̄sdm̄f* form are extant in the Karnak Inscription; for an analysis of the use of this form, see Chapter 4, §4.6 (pp. 144–145).

²⁰⁶ In the Karnak Inscription, a prothetic *jōd̄* is used three times to mark a relative form: *l̄d̄l̄* (ln. 24), *l̄dd̄* (ln. 42), *l̄d̄l̄* (ln. 78). See Chapter 4, §6.

²⁰⁷ The contradiction in Breasted's translation (*BAR* §580) is self-evident: "bringing to an end the Pedetishew, whom I caused to take grain in ships, to keep alive that land of Kheta." He is followed in this translation by Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, p. 157.

ḥꜣꜣ.nꜣf ḥꜣꜣf r Mšwš

[bn sw ḥr]^b mꜣꜣ pꜣ tꜣ Tmḥw

ḥwꜣw [...]

²⁷ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] tꜣ pꜣ.wt m-ḥꜣt ḥry

r sksk tꜣ n Rbw

wḏiꜣsn ḏr.t nꜣr ḥnꜣꜣw

Tmn m-[ḏi]^cꜣsn m qꜣꜣ.w

st wḏ.(w)^d [n tꜣ] n Km.t ḏḏ.w

²⁸ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] tꜣ skly r tḥn^e n hrw 14

²⁶ [...Beloved] Land.

“Amun has assented,” so one says in Thebes,

“Against the Meshwesh has he turned his back,

[not even] looking at the land of Tjemeh.

They ...

²⁷ [...] commander of bowmen in front thereof,

in order to destroy the land of Rebu.

The hand of god being with them did they proceed,

Amun with them as shields!

It was commanded [to the land] of Egypt, saying [...]

²⁸ [...marshalling the ranks] in order to make contact (with the enemy) in 14 days.

^a The verb *hnn* (*Wb.* III 495.7) is used to describe the assenting or nodding gesture of a god in an oracle.²⁰⁸ It is likely that “Ta-meri” ends Merneptah’s oath in ln. 25 to which Amun-Re agrees; a parallel to such an event can be found in the Chronicle of Prince Osorkon (ln. 29):

hnnꜣf wr sp sn ḥft ḏḏ.wt

mḏ ḥt ḥmꜣ nꜣf sꜣꜣf

He (Amun-Re) readily assented in agreement with what was said,

like a father whose son is dear to him.²⁰⁹

For a discussion of this oracle in the context of divine participation in the Libyan campaign of Merneptah, see Chapter 3, §3.2 (pp. 119–122).

^b The restoration *bn sw ḥr* was initially suggested by Helck,²¹⁰ and represents a negation of the First Present.²¹¹ The action of Amun against the Libyans is paralleled by a description of Seth²¹² in the Victory Stela (ln. 11; *KRI* IV 15.11):

ḥꜣꜣ Swthly ḥꜣꜣf r pꜣꜣꜣsn wr

ḥly nꜣꜣꜣsn why.wt ḥr st-rꜣꜣf

²⁰⁸ For a brief discussion of this term in its oracular context, see J. Černý, “Egyptian Oracles,” in R. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum* (Providence, 1962), pp. 44–45. Černý relates *hm* in the oracular texts to Coptic ζων, meaning “to approach.”

²⁰⁹ Slightly altered translation of R. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* (Rome, 1958), p. 35.

²¹⁰ *Bib. Or.* 27 (1970): 350. His restoration was followed by von der Way, *Göttergericht und Heiliger Krieg*, p. 38, who does not note that this is a restoration and not part of the original text.

²¹¹ Groll, *Negative Verbal System*, p. 99; Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien*, §§628a. For a discussion of First Present forms in the Karnak Inscription and their negation, see Chapter 4, §7.1 (p. 148).

²¹² Since Seth was often considered to be the god of foreigners and especially the desert, his abandoning of the Libyans is particularly meaningful, see H. Te Velde, *Seth: God of Confusion* (Leiden, 1967), pp. 109ff.

Seth turned his back against their chief,
their settlements having been destroyed at his command.

^c *m-dl* is a characteristic Late Egyptian preposition²¹³ that fits well in this context as a statement parallel to “the hand of the god being with them.” However, the front of the arm is damaged, and this preposition could also be read as *m-ꜥ*, which often is used in its literal meaning—“in the hand of.” Applied to this line, one could alternately read “Amun was in their hand as their shields.”²¹⁴ Although this translation is not as likely, the ambiguity raises the question of various decorations that the Egyptians might have employed on their weaponry,²¹⁵ much like the aegis on Roman shields,²¹⁶ the chi-rho adopted by Constantine, and the cross of the Crusaders. Since the original painted details of weaponry in many military scenes of the New Kingdom have not survived, much information has been irrevocably lost; but one important exception is the tomb of Huy, in which are depictions of shields with elaborate depictions of Amun and the king.²¹⁷ Amun appears on a number of shields in the form of a ram-headed sphinx, an image which itself relates to the pharaoh as deified ruler;²¹⁸ thus, the passage could refer both to the god Amun and the deified king accompanying Merneptah’s army as apotropaic emblems on their shields.

^d This is one of the few instances within the Karnak Inscription of the First Present construction with a proclitic pronoun.²¹⁹ Other translators²²⁰ have interpreted the *st* as a third person plural pronoun, even though this line uses *ꜥw* and *ꜥsn* rather than the impersonal *ꜥst*.

²¹³ Černý–Groll, *LEG*, §7.3.1 (pp. 112–114).

²¹⁴ Note also the interesting parallel in P. Lansing 5,1 (Gardiner, *LEM* 103.15):

wꜥlꜥsn r Km.t r Dꜥhy
nꜥtr n zꜥ nb m-ꜥꜥ

It was with the god of each man in his hand (or: with him),
that they set out from Egypt to Djahi.

²¹⁵ See W. Wolf, *Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres* (Leipzig, 1926), pp. 76–78 for a discussion of New Kingdom shields.

²¹⁶ K.P. Goethert, “Neue römische Prunkschilde,” in M. Junkelmann, *Reiter wie Statuen aus Erz* (Mainz, 1996), pp. 115–124. For a nice example of a restored shield with numerous deities, see the frontispiece of the same volume.

²¹⁷ N. Davies and A. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Huy: Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tut’ankhamun* (London, 1926), pl. XXV. The shields found in the tomb of Tutankhamun also bear martial decorations, like those depicted in the tomb of Huy; of the eight shields found in the tomb of Tutankhamun, four are large “ceremonial shields” with openwork scenes, including one of the king as a sphinx trampling his enemies, while the smaller, functional shields are more stoutly constructed, but are adorned with gilded cartouches (ceremonial shields: nos. 350, 488b, 379b, and 379a (sphinx trampling his enemies); functional shields: nos. 488b, 492, 545, 566 (N. Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun* [London, 1990], pp. 176–77).

²¹⁸ L. Bell, “Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun,” in P. Posener-Krieger, ed., *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, vol. I (Cairo, 1985), pp. 31–60.

²¹⁹ See Chapter 4, §7.1 for more about the First Present in the Karnak Inscription.

²²⁰ Compare Davies’ translation (*Historical Texts of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, p. 157): “... Amun being with them as their shield. [The] land of Egypt was commanded, saying [...]” His transliteration indicates that he is interpreting *wꜥ* as a *sꜥm.nw/sꜥm.ny* form (for this form, see E. Edel, “Die Herkunft des neuägyptisch-koptischen Personalsuffixes der 3. Person Plural –w,” *ZÄS* 84 [1959]: 17–38): *wꜥ.n* [B] *n Km.t*. Although this is slimly possible, it is much less likely than a First Present form. T. von der Way’s translation indicates that he also interprets the *st* as a suffix pronoun: “Amun war mit ihnen als *ihr* Schildträger.” (*Göttergericht und “Heiliger” Krieg*, p. 46, n. 305; my emphasis). Spalinger, *RdE* 39 (1988): 129 does not list this example in his section “FP + vom.”

^e The verb *ḥn* has been interpreted both as “to engage in battle”²²¹ and “to designate the preliminary movements of the troops prior to the actual engagement with the enemy.”²²² An illuminating example occurs in the orders given by Thutmose III at Megiddo (*Urk. IV* 656, 3–4):

ḥw-ḥw r ḥn r ḥs ḥnḥ ḥr pf ḥsy m dwsw

One shall come in order to make contact (with the enemy) and
in order to fight with that vile enemy in the morning

With the limited communication and reconnaissance abilities of ancient armies, making first contact with the enemy, either visually or physically, would not be simultaneous with the actual battle.²²³ Under such an interpretation, *ḥn* can keep its primary meaning of “to meet, draw near” and would only rarely coincide with the opening of the actual battle.²²⁴

X. MESSAGE OF PTAH: THE DIVINE DREAM

ḥḥ.n^a mḥ.n ḥmḥf m rsw mḥ nty wḥ [tw<t>] n Pth ḥḥ.(w) r-[qḥ]ḥw^b pr-ḥḥ ḥnḥ wḥ snb

ḥwḥf mḥ qḥ^c [.. (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] ḥwḥf ḥr ḥḥ nḥf

ḥ.ḥd^d tw dy

ḥwḥf ḥr dḥ.t nḥf pḥ ḥpḥ

mtwḥk rḥw pḥ ḥḥty ḥwḥ ḥmḥk^e

ḥw pr-ḥḥ ḥnḥ wḥ snb ḥr ḥḥ nḥf ḥs³⁰ [t...]

²⁸ Then his majesty saw in a dream, as if a [statue] of Ptah were standing near Pharaoh, l.p.h.

He was as high ²⁹ [...] He was saying to him:

“Seize (it) here!”

As he was giving the scimitar to him:

“And expel the foul heart from yourself!”

Pharaoh, l.p.h., was saying to him: “Now ³⁰ [...]

^a This is the only preserved occurrence of *ḥḥ.n* in the Karnak Inscription,²²⁵ and here is a strong marker of a new section of the text—the “dream sequence.” In this example, the dream section is introduced by a compound *ḥḥ.n ḥḥm.nḥf* verb form, which in the words of Gardiner are “used in some texts only to introduce incidents of outstanding interest.”²²⁶

²²¹ Spalinger, *Aspects*, p. 87.

²²² Morschauser, in Goedicke, ed., *Perspectives on Kadesh*, pp. 161–2.


²²³ This interpretation of *ḥn* would be similar to the term “touch of the enemy” common in military texts of the late 19th century. Two of the many possibly examples of “touch of the enemy” are found in reports made during the Mahdist War, Col. H.E. Colville, *History of the Sudan Campaign* (Nashville, 1996 [reprint]), Part II, p. 15; Maj.-Gen. H. Brackenbury, *The River Column: A Narrative of the Advance of the Nile Expeditionary Force, and its Return down the Rapids* (Nashville, 1993 [reprint]), p. 83. I thank Prof. John Darnell for suggesting this interpretation and the appropriate references.

²²⁴ Cf. In. 31 for another use of the term with the same meaning.

²²⁵ This is noted in the structural chart of the Karnak Inscription in von der Way, *Göttergericht und “Heiliger” Krieg*, p. 7 (on p. 5, correct In. 48, to line 28).

²²⁶ GEG §478.

Yet Gardiner also notes that the construction can be used quite repetitively (e.g. The Shipwrecked Sailor). In other Ramesside historical texts, especially the Kadesh Bulletin and Poem, the ḥr.n sdm.nsf form is used only for marking major changes in the topic of the narrative,²²⁷ as with the single example in the Karnak Inscription.

^b The restoration suggested by Helck²²⁸ of  Δ fits in the available space, and represents a variant spelling of the compound preposition $r qri$ (*Wb.* V 59.6; for spelling $qriw$ see *Wb.* V 7.1–3).

^c The height of the god in a dream also appears in a Greek text from the reign of Nectanebo, where Onuris is said to be 21 cubits high.²²⁹ The probable mention of the exact height of the god Ptah in Merneptah's dream also suggests that the text is alluding to an actual statue at Memphis. The most likely candidate is a colossus of Ptah or "Ptah of Merneptah," worshipped inside the temple complex of Ptah at Memphis.²³⁰

^d This is the sole example of the imperative in the surviving portions of the Karnak Inscription, and it displays the Late Egyptian form with the prothetic yod. For the grammatical implications of this later form, see Chapter 4, §5 (p. 147).

^e For evidence that the "foul heart" in this passage might be the heart of Merer, see Chapter 3 §3.1 (pp. 117–119).

²²⁷ In his *Tabelle II* (p. 62) von der Way, *Qadeš-Schlacht*, has seven occurrences of the ḥr.n "signal" in the Bulletin, but notes later (p. 280) that only the examples in §§52 and 81 are followed by a sdm.nsf verb form. *Ibid.*, p. 280, lists eleven different examples of the compound ḥr.n sdm.nsf in the Poem. This compound verb form does not appear in the Victory Stela, which von der Way attributes to the non-narrative character of the text (*Göttergericht und "Heiliger" Krieg*, p. 12); the same observation was made earlier by Spalinger, *Aspects*, p. 209 who also noted that all wn.nsf hr sdm and sdm.nsf forms were also "studiously omitted" from the Victory Stela. Spalinger, *Aspects*, pp. 165–166, lists occurrences of this form in the Kadesh Poem, and concludes that "nowhere is this grammatical form used for imagery, bombast, or rhetoric." Although Spalinger's statement is true in the sense the form is not used to introduce lists of epithets (a function often served by *ist*), the blanket use of the words "imagery" and "bombast" is problematic. For example, Spalinger's example *a* (P 37) reads: $\text{ḥr.n ḥmḥf šm.w n ḥrḥf mī Mnṯw nb Ws.t}$ "Then his majesty went forward like his father Montu, lord of Thebes." Yet he refers to P153 as "imagery" (p. 165), which states: $\text{dmḏsn m ḥs n ḥtr.w ḥw m ḥq n ḥr.w r t3 ḥ.t}$ "their total was 1000 spans of chariots, coming straight forward into the fire." Additionally, it is difficult simply to label large portions of a historical text as "bombast," when often the seemingly exaggerated epithets have religious connotations and may have subtly conjured images now lost to us. Despite his terminology, though, Spalinger's discussion of the grammar of the Kadesh Poem is an excellent contribution to the understanding of the narrative composition of a military document.

²²⁸ *Bib. Or.* 27 (1970): 350. It should also be noted that Helck's restoration looks unlikely in Müller's copy (*Egyptological Researches*, vol. I, pl. 22), but in photos it is clear that there is more damaged area than Müller indicates; however, the possibility of damage since Müller's nearly century old copy cannot be excluded.

²²⁹ S. Sauneron, *Les songes et leur interprétation* (Paris, 1959), p. 44; G. Vittmann, "Riesen" und riesenhafte Wesen in der Vorstellung der Ägypter (Wien, 1995), p. 30. Although the "heights" of several different Egyptian deities are known, this is only a measurement of one particular physical manifestation, because the gods could change their heights at will. (For a brief discussion with references see D. Meeks and C. Favard-Meeks, *Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods* [Ithaca, 1996], pp. 58–59).

²³⁰ The evidence – textual and pictorial – for "Ptah of Merneptah" can be found in Sourouzian, *Les monuments du roi Merneptah*, pp. 33–39.

XI. THE VICTORY AT THE BATTLE OF PERIRE

³⁰ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... *mnf*]y.t <n>t-*htri*^a m *rlt*^b *grg.(w)* *hr-hst**sn*
hr p3 rwd m h3w sp3.t n.t Pr-rr

ist^c *p3 wr hsy n*³¹ [*Rbw Mrwuy s3 Ddy...*]

[... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... m *h3*]*w*^d n *3bd 3 smw sw 1*^e

*hd t3 n^f thn hnc**sw*

hw pw ir.n p3 wr hsy hrw n Rbw hr tr n 3bd 3 smw sw 3

*in.n**f*

³² [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] *r s3w*^g*sn*

[*p*]*r pw ir.n p3 mšc n hm**f hnc nt-htri**f*

*Imn-Rc hnc**sn*

Nbw.ty^h *hr rd1.t n**sn dr.t*

z1 [...]

³³ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... *hdbw hr s*]*nf**sn*ⁱ *nn sp im**sn*

ist irwuy.n^j (sic) *t3 pd.wt n hm**f 6 wnw.t [n] sksk im**sn**<n>*

*d1.w n dm.t hr r-c.*³⁴ [*lt?*...]

[... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] *n h3s.t*

*ist wnn**sn hr h3*^k

[*hw*] *p3 wr hsy n Rbw h**nc.(w) snd.(w) ib**f bdš.(w)*

*hnc**f pd.w*^l

³⁵ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... *h3**f*] *tb.ty pd.t**f ispt**f m sh3 h3**f*...]

*hnc**f n 3by.t 3s.t*^m [*n*]*t h**nc.wt**f*

*nrv*³ *phr.w m h**nc.wt**f*

³⁶ *ist sm3* [... (c. 15 groups lost)...]ⁿ *m ht**f m*^{ndst}*l**f*^o *hd**f nbw**f hnw**f n hsmn*

*prw n hm.t**f isb.wt**f pd.wt**f h3.w**f*

*k3.wt nb in.n**f*³⁷ *m t3**f m k3.w*^{cnh}*.w 3.w* [... (c. 15 groups lost)...] *r h r m**zw hnc* *h3q.w*

*ist wnn p3 wr hsy n Rbw m sh3 r w**r r t3**f*

*hw rht*³⁸ *rm*^t *m n3 hrw* [... (c. 15 groups lost)...]*n*(?) *m sh**.wt n dm.wt*

*ist d1 st n3 n snn.w nty hr htri n hm**f m-s**sn*

[*r hr*] *m*³⁹ *h3(w) in.w [sm3...* (c. 15 groups lost)...]*nb*

*bw ptr.(w)**f hr gn.t bity.w*

*ist wn t3 pn n Km.t m-d**sn m h**nc id.t m rk nsw.ty**w*

⁴⁰ *nn rhtw hsf**sn* [... (c. 12 groups lost)...] [*i.h*]*3q nn n* [...]

*n mryt s**sn mryt**sn r hwi.t Km.t n nb**ss*

wd3 r3.w-pr.w t3-mry

r sdd.t^p⁴¹ *phity ntr [pn hr nht* (?)...]

³⁰ [...] infantry and cavalry in rank and prepared before them
upon the bank in the vicinity of the district of Perire.

Meanwhile, the wretched chief of ³¹ [Rebu, Merey, son of Dedy ...]

[... in the evening of] the third month of Shomu, day 1.

It was to make contact with them that the day dawned.

The wretched enemy chief of Rebu came at the third month of Shomu, day 3,

he having brought ³² [...]

[...] in order to guard them.

The army of his Majesty together with his chariotry went forth,

Amun-Re being with them,
the Ombite giving them the hand.
[every] man...

³³ [... prostrate in] their (own) blood, without a remnant amongst them.
Meanwhile, the bowmen of his majesty spent six hours destroying them,
they being given over to the sword during [combat...].

³⁴ [...] of the desert land.
Meanwhile, when they were engaged in fighting,
the wretched chief of Rebu was terrified, his heart weak,
finding himself stretched out [...]

³⁵ [... He left] sandals, his bow, his quiver in haste behind [him].
[...] together with him, through his limbs' desire to flee,
great terror having encompassed his limbs.

³⁶ Meanwhile, [...] killing [...] consisting of his possessions, his tribute, his silver, his gold,
his vessels of bronze, his wife's jewelry, his thrones, his bows, his weapons,
and all the supplies which he brought ³⁷ from his land with oxen, goats, donkeys [...] [...]
[...] to the palace in order to present them together with the captives.

Meanwhile, when the wretched chief of Rebu was in haste to flee to his land,
a number of ³⁸ people from the enemy [...] blows of the daggers.

Now the chariot warriors, who were upon his majesty's spans, placed themselves behind them,
[in order to] fell with the ³⁹ arrows which were brought to kill [...] every [...]




It was not seen in the annals of the *bity*-kings.

When this land of Egypt was in their possession in a state of pestilence
in the time of the *nswt*-kings,

⁴⁰ one was not able to repel them [... who plund]ered these [...] [...]
for the sake of their son and their desire to protect Egypt for her lord,
so that the temples of the Beloved Land might prosper, and
in order to relate ⁴¹ the strength of [this god upon victory (?)...]

^a Although the text does not specify whose troops these are, the mention of infantry and chariotry indicates that the Egyptian forces are being described, since nowhere in Merneptah's texts is Meresy said to have chariotry. In the Karnak Inscription plunder list, only twelve spans belonging to Libyan chiefs are captured (ln. 59).²³¹ Considering the enormous lacunae in the Karnak Inscription, this is not in itself conclusive, and the Heliopolis Victory column (KRI IV 38.3), records that forty-four horses were captured, implying a total of approximately twenty-two chariots.²³² Normally, a chariot corps consisted of fifty vehicles, but evidence also suggests a smaller unit of only ten chariots.²³³ Nevertheless, it does not seem that Meresy's chariot forces would have been enough to qualify as *nt-htr̄i*. Additionally, the following clause introduced by the particle *ist* has Meresy as a subject, indicating that a reference to the enemy is a change in topic—from a discussion of the Egyptian army to Meresy's army.

²³¹ See further Chapter 3, §1.2.3 Libyan Military (pp. 89–90.)

²³² The word "horse" is only written with the horse hieroglyph, but a similar writing in the Year 11 plunder list at Medinet Habu supports a reading of *htr̄i* as "horse" and not "span." In the plunder list, 92 chariots and 184 *htr̄i*   (KRI V 53.8) are listed, but later the word horse is just spelled  but the number 184 follows it as well (KRI V 54.4–6).

²³³ Schulman, *Military Rank*, p. 15.

^b This idiom is not in the *Worterbuch*, but *rḥt* can refer to a list (*Wb.* II 448.13–16) and appears in idioms such as, *m rḥt šš.w*, “in grosse Zahl” (*Wb.* II 449.2). Thus, the phrase here modifying military contingents should contain both the sense of an ordered list and a number of troops. The following stative of *grg*, indicates that *m rḥt* is related to a state of preparedness. All these factors support an interpretation of *m rḥt* as “in rank,” encapsulating the concepts of order and number.

^c For a discussion of the particle *ist*, see Chapter 4, §2 (pp. 136–138).

^d The final quail-chick and starry-sky sign (N2) are preserved, making the restoration of *ḥwš* or *wḥš* quite certain.²³⁴

^e This date is the day in Year 5²³⁵ on which Merneptah prepared his army at the fields of Perire to engage in battle with the Libyans and their allies, because the actual battle occurs two days later—third month of Shomu, day 3. The day 1 date is also preserved in the Amada Stela and the parallel texts at Amara West and Wadi es-Sebua (*KRI* IV 34.5–7):

iwṣtw r ḏd n ḥmṣf n3 n ḥrw.w n Wšws.(t) ḥr thm m p3 rsy
ḥpr.n ḥsb.t 5 3bd 3 šmw sw 1
ḥft ḥy.n p3 mšc qn n ḥmṣf
šḥr p3 wr ḥsy n Rbw

One came to say to his Majesty: “The enemies of Wawat are mobilizing in the South,” which happened in year 5, 3rd month of Shomu, day 1, when the valiant army of his majesty came and the wretched chief of the Rebu was overthrown.

In the Kom el-Ahmar Stela (*KRI* IV 20.8) and Victory Stela (*KRI* IV 13.7), though, the introductory date is *3bd 3 šmw sw 3*, referring to the day of battle. Thus, three different dates are found in association with the Libyan war: the day the report of the Libyan invasion reached Merneptah (2nd month of Shomu), the day the army officially arrived at Perire and Merneptah heard the report of the southern invasion (3rd month of Shomu, day 1), and the day of the battle (3rd month of Shomu, day 3).²³⁶

^f Although *ḥd t3* can be rendered as an adverbial clause, the construction is an emphatic sentence,²³⁷ that appears here in the Karnak Inscription as an emphatic *sdmṣf*²³⁸ with a following dative that can be literally translated, “it was in order to engage with them that the land became bright.”²³⁹ Since the third day of Shomu is mentioned in the next passage and day one was mentioned directly above, this passage refers most likely to the second

²³⁴ For a discussion of these terms see E. Hornung, “Lexikalische Studien I,” *ZÄS* 86 (1961): 106–108; he also includes a variant spellings of *wḥš* with a final quail-chick on p. 107, n. 4.

²³⁵ As Kitchen (in Leahy, ed., *Libya and Egypt*, p. 19) correctly emphasizes, there was no Year 4 Libyan conflict recorded in any extant textual material.

²³⁶ There is a fourth date preserved in the Amara West Stela (ln. 1): Year 6, first month of Akhet, day 1, but this almost certainly refers to the date on which the inscription itself was dedicated.

²³⁷ M. Gilula, “Shipwrecked Sailor, Lines 184–185,” in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (Chicago, 1977), p. 75–82.

²³⁸ For the use of *ḥd t3* in other military accounts, see Spalinger, *Aspects*, p. 189.

²³⁹ Following the analysis of Gilula, in *Studies Hughes*, p. 81. The two parallels to this construction noted by Gilula are *Urk.* IV 1860, 13 and line 10 of “The Myth of the Destruction of Mankind,” to which the Karnak example should be added. See also Depuydt, *Conjunction, Contiguity, Contingency*, pp. 153ff.

day of the third month of Shomu. Thus, the *h'm*'ing of the Egyptian army could be interpreted as preliminary maneuvers, or more likely, the first contact with the enemy,²⁴⁰ but it is clear that the full-scale battle did not begin until the arrival of Merety on the next day.

g The walking legs followed by aleph and strong-arm determinative is obscure as a hieroglyphic orthography, but can be explained as a hieratic confusion: the walking reed leaf sign is nearly identical to the seated herdsman (*s3*).²⁴¹ With the aleph as correct phonetic complement and strong-arm as the proper determinative, this hieratic confusion argues for reading the group as *s3w* rather than *ly*.²⁴²

h The god Seth, the Ombite who drives Apep away from the solar bark,²⁴³ is the ideal deity to accompany the Egyptian army into battle. Just as Seth has "turned his back against" the Libyans,²⁴⁴ so too does he aid the Egyptians.

i Like the angry goddess Hathor-Sakhmet who wades in human blood at the request of her father Re,²⁴⁵ the image of the victorious ruler leaving foreigners prostrate in their own blood is a leitmotiv in Egyptian military texts. Two parallels in particular support the restoration suggested here and demonstrate the vividness of this image:

*ir st m tm m wn hdb.w hr snf>sn*²⁴⁶

One who acts completely, with those overthrown being in their (own) blood.


*st hwi m qnl.w ir.w m ssf plhd m hdb.y.t hr s[nf]>st*²⁴⁷

They were threshed as sheaves, turned into ashes,
cast down prostrate in their (own) blood.²⁴⁸

j The morphology of *lry* in a *sdm.nsf* is inexplicable as an actual *sdm.nsf*,²⁴⁹ but just as a Middle Egyptian *sdm.nsf* can be reduced to *sdm>* in Late Middle Egyptian, so too can a Late Egyptian preterite *sdm>* appear as *sdm.nsf*.²⁵⁰ The addition of the *n*-suffix to a

²⁴⁰ See text note e to ln. 28 above (p. 40).

²⁴¹ Compare Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. II, no. 47 (seated herdsman) with no. 284 (walking reed leaf). The similarities of these signs in hieratic also led to the frequent use of the walking reed leaf for the word *s3w* in the Book of the Earth (A. Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire* [Cairo, 1953], p. 2).

²⁴² For a similar confusion of orthographies, compare the writing of *ly* with the aleph and walking legs  in "The Blinding of Truth by Falsehood," 7,3; 8,5; 10,5 (hieratic confusion is noted by A.H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories* [Brussels, 1932], p. 34a, n. 7,3 a). See also the hieratic confusion of *s3w* and *ly* discussed in fn. 283 below.

²⁴³ Te Velde, *Seth*, pp. 99ff.

²⁴⁴ See further ln. 26, text note b (pp. 38–39).

²⁴⁵ For this image, see E. Hornung, *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1982), p. 39.

²⁴⁶ Line 6 of the Gebel Barkal Stela of Thutmose III (*Urk.* IV 1230.2).

²⁴⁷ Line 34 of the Year 5 Inscription of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (*KRI* V 23.8).

²⁴⁸ Translation of Edgerton and Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III*, p. 26.

²⁴⁹ Erman, *NÄG* §312; Jansen-Winkel, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik*, §102 do not have any examples an *.wy* ending for the *sdm.nsf*.

²⁵⁰ Cf ln. 26 of the dedicatory inscription of Ramesses II for Seti I at Abydos (*KRI* II 324.12): *msy.nsf ssm.w nw it>f nswt pw Mn-m3t-r* "He fashioned the images of his father, who is the King Seti I." For several other examples of double-reed leaf endings in *sdm.nsf*'s as writings of the preterite *sdm>*, see F. Behnk, *Grammatik der Texte aus el Amarna* (Paris, 1930), §62.

suffixless form is especially common for the subjunctive/prospective *sḏmꜣf*,²⁵¹ and it can even occur for a subjunctive as the object of another verb.²⁵² However, in the Karnak Inscription the *iry.n* follows the particle *ist*, so the form is interpreted as a preterite *sḏmꜣf* of the verb *iry*—commonly written with the *.wy* suffix²⁵³—and here with a false *n*-suffix.

^k This is one of two examples²⁵⁴ of the construction *wnnꜣf hr sḏm* in the Karnak Inscription; for an interpretation of this form, see Chapter 4, §7.3 (p. 149).

^l Since “standing” and “stretched” seem to describe contradictory actions, this passage is almost certainly an example of *ꜥꜥ* as an auxiliary verb. Literally, *ꜥꜥ* implies that one is in the act of doing something; it expresses a similar aspect as the stative verb form, but with more emphasis on active engagement in the state or action expressed by the stative verb form.²⁵⁵ The image of Meresy as the enemy “stretched out” in a prostrate position calls to mind the ubiquitous representation of the pharaoh standing atop bound enemies.²⁵⁶ Finally, since the description of Meresy in flight is only partly preserved in the Karnak Inscription, the total denigration of the Libyan ruler the text once contained can be assumed from the extant rendition in the Victory Stela (ln. 6; KRI IV 14.8–10):

*pꜣ wr ḥsy ḥrw n Rbw wꜥr m nfrw grḥ n wꜥꜣ
bn mḥt ḥr tpꜣ rd.wyꜣ dgꜣy*

The wretched chief of Rebu fled in the middle of the night alone,
without a feather upon his head, his feet unshod...

^m The word *ꜣst* appears in *Wb.* I 20.17 as “zittern,” but the *Belegstellen* lists only the example from the Karnak Inscription. Rather than a hapax, this word could be a faulty writing of the infinitive of the biliteral verb *ꜣs* “eilen” (*Wb.* I 20.1–8),²⁵⁷ with the unusual bad-bird determinative resulting from a hieratic confusion.²⁵⁸

ⁿ This lacuna after a restored upper block, corresponding to lines thirty-six to forty, spans two courses of masonry.²⁵⁹ Legrain initially published the block in 1901,²⁶⁰ but he was

²⁵¹ Jansen-Winkel, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik*, §91.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, §90.

²⁵³ Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien*, §321.

²⁵⁴ The other occurs just a few lines below in ln. 37.

²⁵⁵ J.M. Kruchten, *Études de syntaxe néo-égyptienne: les verbes ꜥꜥ, ḥmsꜣ et sḏr en néo-égyptien* (Brussels, 1982), p. 29.

²⁵⁶ Compare the image of a prostrate Libyan beneath the feet of Seti I in *The Epigraphic Survey, The Battle Reliefs of Sety I* (Chicago, 1986), pl. 29. For a discussion of the “bound prisoner motif” and references to numerous images of bound enemies, see R. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago, 1993), pp. 113–135. For a collection of images of bound enemies on the soles of sandals and mummy cases, see G. Rühlmann, “„Deine Feinde fallen unter deine Sohlen,” Bemerkungen zu einem altorientalischen Machtsymbol,” *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift Martin-Luther Universität, Halle-Wittenberg* 20 (1971): 61–84.

²⁵⁷ Although biliteral verbs in Middle Egyptian have masculine infinitives (except for the verb *šm*; GEG §278), Winand notes several other biliteral verbs in Late Egyptian that can receive a *t*-suffix in the *status absolutus* (*Études de néo-égyptien*, §§79–81).

²⁵⁸ This interpretation also bears on the reading of a variant deity’s name in CT VII 288f (Spell 1039) written *stḥ*, which R.O. Faulkner identifies as “the trembler,” (*The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. III, [Warminster, 1978], p. 133, n. 4; Meeks, *ALEX* II 78.0093) based only on the entry in the *Wb.* of the Karnak Inscription word.

²⁵⁹ Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, vol. 1, pl. 24.

²⁶⁰ “Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak” *ASAE* 2 (1901): 265–269.

uncertain of its original location; it was copied in its proper place by Müller,²⁶¹ who comments that the block is "now on the ground." In fact, the block has never been restored to its original placement.²⁶² It should also be noted that the very top of the block is decorated with text itself, but the only signs visible are *nb hys.t*, probably referring to Merneptah's domination of all foreign lands.

° *Wb.* II 92.10 lists this word merely as "Kostbarkeiten," but it probably refers more specifically to taxes or tribute. Helck²⁶³ translated *m^cndstl* as "Ausrüstung," and identified this word as the Akkadian "mandattu," meaning "tax." As Hoch has shown, there are related Hebrew words that like the Akkadian word also mean "tribute" or "tax."²⁶⁴ Hoch suggests that this passage in the Karnak text refers both to Merery's personal possessions and "the tax or tribute that he was to receive." While the *m^cndstl* was probably in Merery's possession at the time of battle rather than the potential for tribute, Hoch's suggestion is interesting; it is possible that the *m^cndstl* refer to the tribute and taxes that Merery received from the trade routes between inner-Africa and the Mediterranean coast that pass through Libya.²⁶⁵

¶ The verb *sdd*²⁶⁶ occurs both in the Kom el-Ahmar Stela (recto ln. 4; *KRI* IV 20.11) and the Victory Stela (lns. 1–2; *KRI* IV 13.7; ln. 21; *KRI* IV 18.1):

[... *wḥm^ctw(?) n3]y^f nḥt.w sdd^ctw m n3y^f qny.w m t3 [n Mšwš]²⁶⁷*

[... One repeats h]is victories, one relates his valor in the land [of the Meshwesh]

sdd.t n3y^f nḥt.w m t3.w nb.w

Account of his victories in all lands.

st ḥr sdd.t m n3 nḥt.w ḥr.w Mr-n-Pth ḥtp-ḥr-M3st m Thnw

They related these victories which Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat, made in Libya.

Based on these parallels, the object of the verb is almost certainly a word related to victory, valor, or a similar concept.

XII. FRONTIER REPORT AND SPEECH OF THE CAPTIVES

[...(c. 11 groups lost)...] *n mnnw ḥmnty^a wsty r stp-s3 ^cnḥ.(w) wḏs.(w) snb.(w) m dd r nty^b*
ḥrw Mrḥwy ḥw.(w)
w^cr ḥ^c.w^f <n> n<d>sw^f^c

²⁶¹ *Egyptological Researches*, vol. 1, pl. 24.

²⁶² For a photo of the block "on the ground" see Sourouzzian, *Merneptah*, pl. 27.

²⁶³ *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien*, p. 560 (no. 93).

²⁶⁴ Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts*, p. 131, no. 170.

²⁶⁵ See Chapter 3, §1.2.2 (pp. 85–88) for a discussion of the Libyan wealth.

²⁶⁶ Redford comments that *sdd* is the closest Egyptian word to the modern concept of an "oral tradition," *Pharaonic King-Lists*, p. 257 and n. 1, but there is little evidence to support this assertion; Spalinger, *Aspects*, pp. 226–227 also briefly discusses the use of this term in the headings and bodies of war reports. Of Merneptah's texts, the only preserved instance of *sddt* in the heading of the text is the Victory Stela (*KRI* IV 13.7–8).

²⁶⁷ This restoration is based on the signs copied by Maspero (before the boat carrying the stela capsized and it spent thirty-six years in a canal until it was finally retrieved and safely entered the Cairo Museum), as noted by Lefebvre, *ASAE* 27 (1927): 20.

sn̄l(w) hr̄ā m nfr.w gr̄h m rwd (?)^{d 42} [...(c. 15 groups lost)...] ḥhnn
hr sw ntr nb hr Km.t
n3 šcr.w ḏdd̄f
st wh.y
dd.wt nb r̄f
wdb.w hr tp̄f^e
bw rh̄tw ʿf n m(w).t⁴³ [ʿnh]
 [... (c. 15 groups lost)... m]k sw m b3.w̄f
ir ʿnh̄f bn ḏw̄f r tz̄f
ḏw̄f m hrw sb̄l n p̄ȳf m̄š̄
ntk ḏḏ̄w n r d̄it sm3
⁴⁴ [... (c. 16 groups lost)...] m t3 n Tm̄hw
ḏd̄sn ky r s.t̄f m sn.w̄f nty hr ʿh̄z̄f ḏw̄f hr ptr̄f^g
sd̄tw n3 wr.w m̄-qd̄⁴⁵ [sn]

[...] of the western fortress. Official report to the palace, l.p.h. saying that:

"The enemy Merey has gone.

It is because of his baseness that his limbs fled,

having passed by me deep in the night with [his] bowstring⁴² [cut...?]

All the gods have felled him on account of Egypt.

The promises which he said—

they have failed.

All which his mouth spoke—

has turned on his (own) head,

One does not know his condition of being dead⁴³ [or alive].

[... Beh]old, he is in his awesome power.

If he shall live, he will not command,

he being an enemy, the rebel of his (own) army,

(who say): "It is you who seizes us, in order to cause [our] slaughter

⁴⁴ [...] to the land of the Tjemehu.²⁶⁸

It is from amongst his siblings, who fight with him when he sees him,

that another shall be put in his place,

with the result that chiefs will be broken up in [their] entirety.

^a Like the system of fortifications (consisting of *mnw*-fortresses and smaller desert outposts²⁶⁹) between Aswan and the second cataract region, fortresses were built west of the

²⁶⁸ This is the only occurrence of the word Tjemehu in the Karnak Inscription; for a discussion of the possible origins and meaning of this term, see the commentary in Chapter 3, pp. 82–85.

²⁶⁹ For the relationship between desert outposts with larger fortifications along the Nile, see J.C. Darnell and C. Manassa, "Egyptian *limes*: a strategic analysis of ancient Egyptian fortifications," forthcoming. In the Duties of the Vizier (*Urk. IV 1105.4*), the condition of the "southern" and "northern" *mnw* are reported to the vizier. G. van den Boorn interprets these as city guard outposts, like those from Akhetaten depicted in the tomb of Mahu (*The Duties of the Vizier: Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom* [London, 1988], pp. 46–48); van den Boorn argues that the juxtaposition of the *mnw*-fortresses and *h̄tm.w* imply that both must be located in the city. In fact, the opposite is probably true—the *h̄tm.w* refer to the defenses of the city and Residence while the *mnw* guard the wider borders of Egypt.

Delta as a system of frontier defense and control of trade routes.²⁷⁰ In addition to the "Walls of the Ruler"²⁷¹ in the eastern Delta, Amenemhat I also constructed fortifications at Qaret el Dahr (near the mouth of the Wadi Natrun; pl. 1) that guarded several roads linking the western desert with the Nile Valley.²⁷² For the New Kingdom period, several different fortresses have been discovered that have inscribed material from the reign of Ramesses II: Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, el-Alamein, el-Gharbaniyat,²⁷³ and Tell Abqa'in.²⁷⁴ Any one of these fortresses could be the one mentioned in the Karnak Inscription, despite claims that forts such as Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, just to the west of the major Libyan trading post at Marsa Matruh, were abandoned after the reign of Ramesses II.²⁷⁵ Although the Karnak Inscription does not provide evidence that Zawiyet specifically was still in use under Merneptah, the report sent to the palace indicates that at least one of the fortresses was being used for frontier defense. Even if the far western forts were abandoned, the presence of military garrisons at el-Alamein or el-Gharbaniyat would have controlled one of the major routes from Libya to the Egyptian Delta—the narrow corridor between the Qattara depression and the Mediterranean coast.²⁷⁶ The very presence of these forts during the reigns of Ramesses II and Merneptah provided further impetus for the use of the oasis routes by the Libyans and their allies. This in turn could have led to the abandonment of the forts—not because of a continued direct Libyan

²⁷⁰ S. Richardson, "Libya Domestica: Libyan Trade and Society on the Eve of the Invasions of Egypt," *JARCE* 36 (1999): 151, makes the observation that the fortresses are not guarding the western frontier, but rather the trade along the Mediterranean coast. The fortresses were most likely placed with trade routes in mind, but they were also strategically placed to guard the major route leading from Libya into Egypt—thus guarding the western frontier. For a brief discussion of the economic and military functions of the northern fortresses of Ramesses II, see S. Snape, "Walls, wells, and wandering merchants: Egyptian control of Marmarica in the Late Bronze Age," in C.J. Eyre, ed., *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists* (Leuven, 1998), pp. 1081–84. See also the discussion on p. 30 above.

²⁷¹ Mentioned both in Sinuhe B17 and Prophecies of Neferti 66 (W. Helck, *Die Prophezeiung des Nfr.tj* [Wiesbaden, 1970], XVa [p. 56]; Posener, *Littérature et politique*, pp. 55–57). For a discussion relating the "Walls of the Ruler" to general border defense in the Middle Kingdom, see S. Quirke, "Frontier or Border? The Northeast Delta in Middle Kingdom Texts," in *The Archaeology, Geography and History of the Egyptian Delta in Pharaonic Times* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 261–274. Rather than being a single fortress, S. Quirke's suggestion that the "Walls of the Ruler" is a string of small fortifications seems quite likely. Further evidence in fact comes from an earlier passage in the Prophecies of Neferti (33–34) where the terrible condition of Egypt is described as: "Asiatics have come down into Egypt, for a fortress lacks another beside it, and no guard will hear." (translation of R. Faulkner, in W.K. Simpson, ed., *Literature of Ancient Egypt*, p. 237; Helck, *Nfr.tj*, VII-e [p. 28]). Since Neferti states that this situation will be later rectified by the building of the "Walls of the Ruler," it is obviously not a single fortification, but rather a string of forts protecting a frontier area.

²⁷² A. Fakhry, "Wādi-el-Natrūn," *ASAE* 40 (1940): 845–48, pls. 114–16.

²⁷³ L. Habachi, "The Military Posts of Ramesses II on the Coastal Road and the Western Part of the Delta," *BIFAO* 80 (1980): 13–30. Habachi gives an overall description of the remains and publishes a few stela fragments from the different fortresses; note especially the mention of *Tḥmw* in plate V (Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham) and the reference to *Rbw* on p. 21, fig. 4, ln.4 (el-Alamein).

²⁷⁴ S. Thomas, "Tell Abqa'in: a Fortified Settlement in the Western Delta, Preliminary Report of the 1997 Season," *MDAIK* 56 (2000): 371–376.

²⁷⁵ See references in fn. 160 above; note also the statement in line 19 that the Libyans plundered the fortresses—as noted above, it is unlikely that the Egyptians would have left the fortresses in a state to be plundered if they had already abandoned them. Hopefully further archaeological investigations will provide more precise information on the use and abandonment of the fortresses.

²⁷⁶ See Chapter 3, §1.4 (p. 99).

threat, but rather because the Egyptians realized that it was much more crucial to protect the routes through the oases.²⁷⁷

^b According to Gardiner (*GEG* §224) *m dd* is used for direct quotations, and “when insistence is laid on the fact that the words given are the exact words of the speaker, *m dd* is apt to take the place of *r dd*.” Since *r dd* comes to mean merely “that” in Late Egyptian, this elaborate introduction to the quote could intentionally emphasize that what follows is taken verbatim from the report sent to the palace.

^c The verb *w^rr* “to flee,” appears in a similar construction in Sinuhe B149: *w^rr w^rr n hsw^f*, which is traditionally rendered “A fugitive flees from his environs.”²⁷⁸ However, with the expression “flee from,” one would expect the preposition *m* and not *n*.²⁷⁹ Unless the Sinuhe example of *w^rr n* is interpreted as a *n-m* interchange,²⁸⁰ the *n* here should mean “because of.”²⁸¹ In light of this parallel, the *n* of *n^dsw* in the Karnak Inscription can be interpreted as a haplography for *n n^dsw*, meaning “because of his baseness.” Although *w^rr* as a strong verb cannot morphologically indicate its nominal (emphatic) nature, the clauses following *w^rr w^rr n hsw^f* in Sinuhe B149 are also nominal forms, indicating that *w^rr* places emphasis on why the fugitive flees; similarly the Merneptah inscription emphasizes Merer’s baseness as the impetus for this flight, and it is slimly possible that this is an allusion to the passage in the popular story of Sinuhe.

^d The cut bowstring is another vivid image of enemy surrender for the ancient Egyptians,²⁸² and like the removing of the feather it is a sign of cowardice and defeat. A parallel text from the reign of Ramesses II specifically relates the defeat of the enemy to their breaking of their own bows (*KRI* II 319.7–10):

²⁷⁷ Yet the use of the forts is again attested in the Second Libyan War of Ramesses III, where soldiers in desert fortresses fire upon the invading Libyan army (Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. II, pl. 69)—this re-use of the fortresses could be complementary to larger defensive systems covering the oasis routes. Evidence indicates that after the Libyan incursions under Merneptah and Ramesses III, the 21st Dynasty high-priest ruler Menkheperre placed great importance on controlling the routes connecting the various oases and even the desert roads within the Qena Bend (J.C. Darnell, “Opening the Narrow Doors of the Desert: Discoveries of the Theban Desert Road Survey in the Egyptian Western Desert,” in R. Friedman, ed., *Egypt and Nubia: Gifts of the Desert* [London, 2002], pp. 132–135).

²⁷⁸ Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, p. 65; cf. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. I, p. 228: “A fugitive fled his surroundings.”

²⁷⁹ *Wb.* I 285.9, compare also *KRI* II 229.6; 231.3 (= Meeks, *ALEX* III, 79.0635).

²⁸⁰ See fn. 16 above for references.

²⁸¹ *GEG* §164.5; W. Westendorf, “Sinuhe B 160,” in W. Schenkel, ed., *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, (Wiesbaden, 1968), p. 128. He translates the lines as: “Wegen seiner Umstände floh ein Fliehender, / doch (jetzt) ist meine Rechtfertigung in der Residenz.” The proper emphasis in this passage is recognized already by H.J. Polotsky, “Egyptian Tenses,” in *Collected Papers* (Jerusalem, 1971), p. 79 n. 20.

²⁸² For references to this image, see J.C. Darnell, “Two Sieges in the Æthiopic Stelae,” in D. Mendel and U. Claudi, eds., *Ägypten im Afro-orientalischen Kontext: Aufsätze zur Archäologie, Geschichte und Sprache eines unbegrenzten Raumes (Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens)* (Cologne, 1991), p. 88, n. 71. Similarly, rather than cutting the bowstring or even breaking their bow, an enemy could turn the bow as a potent gesture of surrender (see R. Wilkinson, “The Turned Bow as a Gesture of Surrender in Egyptian Art,” *JSEA* 17 [1987]: 128–133).

²⁸³ In his discussion of this stela, Spalinger (in Lesko, ed., *Studies Parker*, p. 138) does not provide a transliteration, nor does he explain why the word which he translates as “break” is written with the walking reed leaf. In *Wb.* III 419.4, the verb *s^w*—“verbrechen”—is spelled with the seated hersdman sign (A47). In the hieratic of

di hty St.ty^w h³ hr pg³
 sw²⁸³ sn pd.(w)t³sn rd¹.w r h.t

Who causes Asiatics to retreat from fighting upon the battlefield,
 so that they break their bows, which are cast into fire.²⁸⁴

^e This passage of the report from the frontier fortress is very similar to a quote of Ptah in the Victory Stela (Ins. 19–20; KRI IV 17.10):

ddw Pth r hrw Rbw
 shwy bt³.w³ nb wdb.w hr tp³f

What Ptah said concerning the enemy of Rebu:

"All his crimes are gathered, being turned upon his head."

For the impact of this parallelism on the relationship between the various texts of Merneptah's Libyan War inscriptions, see Chapter 3 §2.1 (p. 109).

^f The abrupt transition from the border fortress report to the speech of the captured Libyans has parallels in the texts of Ramesses III.²⁸⁵ As with many of the direct speech portions of the Karnak Inscription, the speech of the Libyan captives contains Late Egyptian verbal forms. Here, the *bn iw³f r tz* is an example of a negative Third Future. When the Third Future functions as the apodosis of a conditional, as it is here, it indicates the "logical outcome of the fulfillment of the condition."²⁸⁶ This observation is also borne out by the context of this statement—even if Merey survives his flight back to Libya, he will never lead another army.

^g As with the hasty flight of Merey, the motif of his own family wishing to slay him occurs in the Victory Stela (ln. 7; KRI IV 14.12–13):²⁸⁷

hr nzy³f sn.w hsz³y r sm³z³f

The look of his brothers was fierce enough to kill him.

On a religious level, this motif of the enemy punishing its own is paralleled in the Underworld, where the punishers of the damned are recruited from amongst the damned themselves.²⁸⁸

this period, the writing of the seated herdsman is nearly indistinguishable from the walking reed leaf, leading to the orthography in the stela (compare Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. II, p. 4, no. 47 [seated herdsman] with p. 26, no. 283 [walking reed leaf]; a similar confusion is also cited by Jansen-Winkel, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik*, §42 [p. 29]). For an example of a similar hieratic confusion in the Karnak Inscription, see text note g to ln. 32 (p. 45 above).

²⁸⁴ This translation follows that of Spalinger, in Lesko, ed., *Studies Parker*, p. 138.

²⁸⁵ Note the interpolation of the statement "Their soul is wretched, their heart is finished..." between two quotes by Libyan captives, as interpreted by Edgerton and Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III*, p. 82 (KRI V 64.1–2). For speeches of enemies in Ramesside texts in general, see Morschauser, in Goedicke, ed., *Perspectives on Kadesh*, pp. 132–134.

²⁸⁶ P. Frandsen, *An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System* (Copenhagen, 1974), §29 (henceforth Frandsen, *OLVS*).

²⁸⁷ For the "self-destruction" of the enemy in Merneptah's texts, see von der Way, *Göttergericht und "Heiliger" Krieg*, pp. 59–62.

²⁸⁸ E. Hornung, *Altägyptische Höllenvorstellung* (Berlin, 1968), pp. 11–12.

XIII. AFTERMATH OF THE BATTLE: EGYPT REJOICES

[... (c. 17 groups lost)...] *tz-pdt mn[f]y.t nt-ḥtrī ḫw.ty^a nb n mš^c
wn.w m n^crn^b ḥr kš^w*

⁴⁶ [... (c. 17 groups lost)... ḫ].*wt ḥr-ḫz.tšs[n] stp.(w) m ḥny qmnt n ḫz.t Rbw
ḥn^c kp.w n ḫzst [nb] wn.w ḥn^cšw
m ḫzr.w ḥr mstl.w ḥt⁴⁷ [...]*

[... (c. 17 groups lost)...] *ḥr]y^w n tšsn*

ist tš r dršf m <ḥ>šy r ḥr.t

dmł.w spš.wt ḥr nhm n nn n bš.wt ḥpr.wt^c

[i]t[rw...]

⁴⁸ [... (c. 18 groups lost)...] *šw m ḥn.w ḥr ššd^d*

r dīt^e mš ḥmšf qnnšf

⁴⁵ [... (c. 17 groups lost)...] officers, infantry, chariotry, and all the veterans of the army who were as *narn*-troops bearing plunder.

⁴⁶ [... (c. 17 groups lost)... donkeys] before them loaded with uncircumcised phalli of the foreign land of Rebu

together with the severed hands of [all] the foreign lands which were with them in containers and baskets; [their(?)] things...

⁴⁷ [... (c. 17 groups lost)...] the enemies of their land.

Now the entire land was rejoicing to heaven,

the towns and nomes acclaiming because of these marvels which have happened.

The river ...

⁴⁸ [... (c. 18 groups lost)...] their [...] as tribute underneath the window of appearances, to let his majesty see that he is victorious.

^a *ḫw.ty*, according to *Wb. I* 29.14, is a "Würdenträger," but this translation seems out of place in a listing of military forces.²⁸⁹ A possible solution is also found in P. Bologna 1094 (vs. 1,2), which mentions a *ḫw n wšw*—an elderly soldier, which could also be translated as veteran.²⁹⁰ The reading of *ḫw.ty* as "veteran"²⁹¹ based on the root "old age," can also be compared to the use of *nfr.w* (*Wb. II* 258.2), determined with a child, to mean "recruits."²⁹² Thus, a translation "experienced" or "veteran" captures the distinctions that the ancient Egyptians made in their military terminology.

²⁸⁹ Meeks, *ALEX III*, 79.0085 (p. 8) lists two examples, both of which occur in a ritual, priestly context.

²⁹⁰ Caminos, *LEM*, p. 32 just translates "elderly soldier."

²⁹¹ Schulman, *Military Rank*, p. 118 similarly translates the term *ḫw.ty* as "veterans."

²⁹² Schulman argues that *nfrw* in fact refers to "elite troops," (*Military Rank*, pp. 20–21). While the maryannu chariot warriors are an example of elite troops who are characterized by "youthfulness," (cf. W. Helck, "Marijannu," in *LÄ III*, 1190–1191; Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien*, pp. 522–26; J.C. Darnell, "Supposed Depictions of Hittites in the Amarna Period" *SAK* 18 [1991], nn. 36–37), the same connotations do not appear to hold true for the *neferu*-troops. As J. Yoyotte and J. Lopez ("L'organisation de l'armée et les titulatures de soldats au Nouvel Empire Egyptien," *Bib. Or.* 26 [1969]: 5) argue, *nfrw* often occurs in conjunction with the word *tz*, "to levy," which makes no sense with elite troops. Schulman claims that his translation is supported by the Knosso stela of Thutmose IV where it states (*Urk. IV* 1546.11):

nḥt.w-š r ḥr.ty m nfrw ḥr-gšf

the warriors were on both flanks, consisting of *nfrw* who were at his side

But this passage does not necessarily imply that the *nfrw* are elite troops, and the placement of the *nfrw* beside the king could even argue for their interpretation as recruits or less-experienced troops, because they would be surrounded by more experienced troops on the flanks.

^b The *nʿrn* are most famous for their timely arrival at the battle of Kadesh, but appear in other contexts as a designation for foreign infantry auxiliaries, with the further connotation of a highly regarded fighting force.²⁹³ Schulman argued that the *nʿrn* were not a special unit, but “merely an Asiatic word for soldiers, and was so used by the Egyptians.”²⁹⁴ Yet the use of the word in the Karnak Inscription indicates that the *nʿrn* are considered to be a force worthy of comparison to the victorious troops of Merneptah,²⁹⁵ and it is illogical to claim that the Egyptian army is being praised with an Asiatic word for soldiers that lacked any further connotations.

Another way to interpret this passage in the Karnak Inscription is to assume a more mundane implication to the *nʿrn*—as foreign auxiliaries, they could also be called upon to carry the plunder for the main army, allowing the Egyptian forces to be free to fight in the event of a surprise attack.²⁹⁶ Although W. Mayer and R. Mayer-Opificius incorrectly identified the *nʿrn* with the *sdm-š* (which they translate as ‘camp followers’),²⁹⁷ their fundamental conclusion is insightful: “Das siegreiche Heer Merenptahs kehrt mit so

²⁹³ Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien*, p. 563, no. 163 translates this term as “Elitetruppe.” Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts*, p. 182 (no. 245) lists this term as “soldiers; special detachment.” For references concerning the Semitic origin of this word, see A. Schulman, “The Nʿrn at Kadesh Once Again,” *JSSEA* 11 (1981): 8, n. 5. In P. Anastasi I, the *nʿrn* also appear as “rebels” against whom Hori’s interlocutor plans his attack (see H.W. Fischer-Elfert, *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I* [Wiesbaden, 1992], p. 119, and his discussion in *Papyrus Anastasi I: Übersetzung und Kommentar*, pp. 150–51 and 154–157). H. Goedicke has suggested (“Considerations on the Battle of Kadesh,” *JEA* 52 [1966]: 80) that the *nʿrn* might be identical with the fierce ‘Apiru, but there is little evidence to support this equation.

²⁹⁴ A. Schulman, “The Nʿrn at the Battle of Kadesh,” *JARCE* 1 (1962): 52. In Schulman’s translation of line 45 of the Merneptah Karnak Inscription (*Military Rank*, p. 118 [no. 190]), he renders this section as “all the veterans, (and) the ones who were *narn*-troops with captures.” Although a seated man or plural strokes would be expected for the participle (*wn.w*), this translation is possible.

²⁹⁵ A. Schulman, *JSSEA* 11 (1981): 10–11 expands upon his earlier article and states that “those who were *nʿrn* carrying plunder’ (*hry kfʿw*) appear in apposition, parallelism, or contrast, to ‘veterans of the army’...” Of these three options, “parallelism” certainly appears to be the most apt, but not in the way Schulman envisages when he also claims (p. 12) that the *nʿrn* were “the squires of the ‘veterans of the army... or... equally possible, they actually were the ‘veterans of the army.’” The phrase “like *nʿrn* bearing plunder,” as shown above, refers to the entire list of military units, not just the veterans. Fundamentally, Schulman wishes to have *nʿrn* designate a generic group, and even goes so far as to say (p. 19) that “the *nʿrn* were no more a distinct or specific body of soldiers than were the *maryannu* whom Ramesses III employed...” In fact, the comparison to *maryannu* is quite appropriate, because like those elite chariot warriors, Egyptian texts, including the Karnak Inscription, indicate that the *nʿrn* were also especially respected for their fighting skills (for the *maryannu* see fn. 292 above).

²⁹⁶ The military complications caused by plundering were also experienced by Thutmose III who was prevented from making a direct assault on Megiddo, because his army stopped to plunder the enemy camp (*Lrk.* IV 658.8–10):

ist h3 n1 lr mšc n hmʿf rd1.t ibʿsn
r h3q n3 n (h)ht n n3 n hr.w
hwʿsn [hr lf] Mkt1 m t3 z.t

Indeed, if the army of his majesty had not given their hearts
over to the plundering of the possessions of these enemies,
they would [have seized] Megiddo at that moment.

²⁹⁷ “Die Schlacht bei Qadeš: Der Versuch einer neuen Rekonstruktion,” *UF* 26 (1994): 354–359. They assume that a passage in §11 of the reliefs (*KRI* II 132.6–14) equates the *nʿrn* with the *sdm-š*, when in fact, it claims that the *nʿrn* arrived at the camp when the *sdm-š* were fighting off the attacking Hittites:

hw p3 nʿrn hr šʿf st
hwʿw hr ʿq r p3 lhy
hw n3 n sdm-š n hmʿf hr hdb st

The *nʿrn* attacked them (the Hittites),
as they (the Narn) entered into the camp,
while the camp followers of his majesty were (also) killing them.

reicher Beute beladen aus Libyen zurück, daß selbst die Veteranen noch, so wie sonst die camp followers, diese tragen müssen."

^cThe "marvels which had happened" is a poetic way of referring to the military victory of Merneptah, as is made clear in the Victory Stela (ln. 14; KRI IV 16.4–6):

b3.wt 3.t hpr.tl n T3-mry
dd ph sw m dr.t3s m sqr-3nh
m n(3) sh.w n nswt ntry
m3.tl r hfty.w3f m-b3h P3-R3

A great marvel has happened for Egypt:
 the one who attacked it was placed in her hand as a captive,
 by means of the counsels of the divine king
 justified against his enemies before Pre.

Both the Karnak example and the parallel from the Victory Stela support G. Posener's conclusion that although the king can be "great" or even "lord" of *b3.wt*, he is not the one who initiates the marvels.²⁹⁸ Thus, although the "marvel" in the Karnak Inscription is linked both with the battle and Merneptah's ability as a military leader,²⁹⁹ the ultimate source of the victory remains with the gods.³⁰⁰

^dThe "window of appearances" calls to mind the image of the king appearing from a high platform and distributing awards to his honored officials,³⁰¹ while the bringing of plunder specifically conjures images of the *durbar* scenes from Amarna tombs.³⁰² The appearance of the king at the *s3d*-window could thus imply the distribution of some of the Libyan booty to the army officials. Although not specifically connected with a battle, the Decree of Horemheb describes a similar occasion where Horemheb, at the *s3d*-window, rewards the royal guard for their service and receives acclamation.³⁰³

^eAlthough this verb could also be read as *rd3t(w)*, a prospective *sdm3f* in a clause of purpose,³⁰⁴ a parallel passage in the Victory Stela (lns. 1–2; KRI IV 13.8–9) indicates the correct interpretation of preposition (*r*) plus infinitive (*dl.t*):³⁰⁵

²⁹⁸ *De la divinité du Pharaon* (Paris, 1960), pp. 49–58; for a discussion of the relation of the epithets 33 *b3wt* and *nb b3wt* to the solarization of the king, see Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande*, pp. 352–355.

²⁹⁹ *B3wt* as an omen of the gods can also be more concretely related to the spoils of war; according to E. Graefe, "Zwischen 'Kostbarkeiten' und 'Omina' als Versprechen des Gottes für den Herrscher besteht ägyptisch gesehen kein wesentlicher Unterschied." ("König und Gott als Garanten der Zukunft (notwendiger Ritualvollzug neben göttlicher Selbstbindung)" nach Inschriften der reichisch-römischen Tempel," in W. Westendorf, ed., *Aspekte der spätägyptischen Religion* [Wiesbaden, 1979], p. 63, n. 11).

³⁰⁰ See further Chapter 3 §3.2 (pp. 119–122).

³⁰¹ For references to this image and a discussion of its appearance on New Kingdom private stelae, see A. Schulman, *Ceremonial Execution and Public Rewards* (Freiburg; Göttingen, 1988), p. 116, n. 218; Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 64–65.

³⁰² For one of several examples, see N. de Garis Davies, *El Amarna II: The Tombs of Panehesy and Meryra II* (London, 1905), pls. XXXIII–V.

³⁰³ *Urk. IV* 2158.2–2159.7; for translation and commentary, see J.-M. Kruchten, *Le Décret d'Horemheb* (Brussels, 1981), pp. 162–77.

³⁰⁴ E. Doret, *The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian* (Genève, 1986), pp. 43–44 and references therein; Winand, *Etudes de néo-égyptien*, §359.

³⁰⁵ Although in ME, the form *dl.t* for the infinitive is rare (*GEG* §299), it is the predominate form in Late Egyptian (Winand, *Etudes de néo-égyptien*, §§160–164 [pp. 87–89]).

sdd.t nzyf nlt.w m t3.(w) nb.w

r dlt. t ʿm t3 nb dmd.(w)

r dlt. t ptrt.w nfr m nzyf qn.w

Account of his victories in every land,
in order to let every land together understand
in order to let the perfection of his valor be seen.

Similarly, the spoils of war are brought to the window of appearances in order to let his Majesty, Merneptah, see his own valor.³⁰⁶

XIV. THE PLUNDER LIST

rht h3q.w inyt m [t3] pn n Rbw^a

hnt h3s.wt in.naf [h]nt[af] m mlt.t

ht [...]

⁴⁹ [...(c. 20 groups lost)... r- lw]d pr-m3^b n Mrì.n-Pth Htp-hr-m3.t [inh Th]nw^c nty m Pr-ìrr

r n3 dml.w hr.w n h3s.t š3 m Mrì.n-Pth Htp-hr-m3.t

⁵⁰ [...(c. 20 groups lost)...] hnn m qrnt

ms.w wr.w sn.w n p3 wr n Rbw hdb.w inyt nzy3sn hnn⁵¹ [m qrnt....]

zì 6

[...]

[...(c. 20 groups lost)...] Rbw hdb.w inyt nzy3sn hnn m qrnt

6,359

dmd ms.w 3 [...]

[...]

⁵² [...(c. 20 groups lost) Šr]dn Škrš ʿqws³ n n3 h3s.wt n p3 ym nty bn nzw q⁵³ [rnt]

[...]

[...(c. 16 groups lost)... qr]nt Škrš

zì 222

ìr n

dr.t 250

Twrš

zì 742

ìr n

dr.t 790

Šrdn

[...]

⁵⁴ [...(c. 20 groups lost)... T]qws³ nty mn m-dìzw qrnt hdb.w inyt nzy3sn kp.w-dr.t

mn m-dìzw⁵⁵ [qrnt.....]

[...]

[...(c. 16 groups lost)... m]r.w^d

inyt(w) nzy3sn hnn m qrnt r p3 nty tw.tw ìm

zì 6,111^e

ìr n hnn m qr⁵⁶ [nt...]

[...]

[...(c. 17 groups lost)... n]zy3sn kp.w

zì 2,362

Škrš Twrš ìy.(w) m hrw n Rbw

[...]

⁵⁷ [...(c. 20 groups lost)...] Qhq^f Rbw inyt m sqb.w-ʿnh

zì 218

hm.wt n p3 wr hr.w n Rbw in.waf ìrmaf

ìwzw ʿnh

Rbw zì.t 12

dmd inyt⁵⁸ [m sqr.w-ʿnh(?)...]

[...(c. 20 groups lost)...]

9,376

h3.w n r-ʿ-ht wn m dr.tzw inyt m h3q

hmt sf.wt Mšwš⁸

9,111

⁵⁹ [...(c. 20 groups lost)... šsr.w n Rbw(?)]^h

120,214

htr.w¹ wn hr p3 hrw n Rbw hnt n3 ms.w n Rbw inyt

ìwzw ʿnh-ʿ

12

³⁰⁶ The use of *qn* in both the Karnak Inscription and the Victory Stela should also be noted.

	<i>lht</i> ⁶⁰ [iny m- sn ⁱ ... (c. 17 groups lost)...] <i>Mšwš</i>	
	<h>q ^k hm f n h wd z snb wn hr h z n z hrw n Rbw	
	mmmn.t šbn	1,307
	n h .w	[...]
61	[... (c. 20 groups lost)...] šbn	64
	hd t b .w n swr	<...> ¹
	[t z]pr rhd.wt sf.[t] kt.[w] ^m mdrn.w ⁿ mh z q.w hn.w šbn ^o	3,174
	w z .tw [...]	
List of the plunder which was brought from that land of Rebu together with the foreign lands which it brought [with it] likewise.		
[Their] things ...		
49	[...c. 17 groups lost...] between the fortified plantation of “Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat, He-Who-Surrounds-the-Tjehenu” which is in Perire, and the forts of the high desert beginning with “Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat[...]”	
50	[...] phalli with foreskins:	6 men
	children of the chiefs and brothers of the chief of Rebu who were slain and their phalli [with foreskins] carried off	[.....]
51	[...] (?) of the Rebu slain and their phalli with foreskins carried off	6,359
	total of the great chiefs [.....]	[.....]
52	[... Sher]den, Shekelesh, Akawasha from the foreign lands of the sea who did not have fore ⁵³ [skins...]	[.....]
	[... fore]skins Shekelesh	222 men
	amounting to:	250 hands
	Tursha	742 men
	amounting to:	790 hands
	Sherden [...]	[.....]
54	[...Aka]washa who did not have foreskins who were slain and their hands carried off, because they did not have [foreskins]	
55	[...] pyramids,	
	so that their phalli with foreskins might be carried off to the place where	
	One (the king) was:	6,111 men
	making uncircumcised pha ⁵⁶ [lli....]	[.....]
	[...] their hands.	2,362 men
	Shekelesh and Tursha who came as enemies with the Rebu. [.....]	
57	[...] Qeheq and Rebu who were brought as captives:	218 men
	Wives of the fallen chief of Rebu whom he brought with him, they being alive:	12 Rebu women
	Total who were brought ⁵⁸ [as captives(?)]	[...]
	[...]	9,376
	weapons of combat which were in their hands brought as plunder:	
	copper swords of the Meshwesh:	9,111
59	[... arrows of the Rebu(?)]	120, 214
	spans which carried the enemy of Rebu and the chiefs of Rebu, they being alive:	12
	Things ⁶⁰ [which they brought with them...] Meshwesh.	
	<plunder> of his majesty from fighting the enemy of Rebu:	

mixed cattle	1,307
goats	<.....>
⁶¹ various [...]	64
silver drinking vessels	[.....]
<i>ṯpr</i> -vessels, <i>rhd</i> -vessels, swords, <i>kt</i> -vessels, weapons(?), razors, and various vessels:	3,174
apart from [...]	

^a This formula is the typical introduction to a plunder list, and occurs several times in the annals of Thutmose III.³⁰⁷ The plunder list in the Karnak Inscription includes several examples of Late Egyptian lexicography³⁰⁸ and the Libyan and Sea People ethnonyms are spelled slightly differently than in the rest of the inscription; this supports Spalinger's conclusion that "there appears to have been an actual differentiation between the war diary and the lists of the tribute taken by the army."³⁰⁹

^b *Wb.* I 515.10 defines this word simply as "villa," but the attestations of *pr-m3* in P. Harris I indicate that the word encompassed a wider meaning. In P. Harris I 5,2 it is a component of the temple gardens of Medinet Habu³¹⁰ and in Harris 31,6 the *pr-m3* is found inside of the *ḥwt Rꜥ-mss ḥq3-ṯwnw* to the north of Heliopolis. According to Grandet, the latter structure to which the *pr-m3* belongs is most likely "une colonie agricole chargée de l'approvisionnement d'un temple funéraire héliopolitain de Ramsès III."³¹¹ The *pr-m3* in the Karnak Inscription³¹² is also attached to a structure bearing the name of the Pharaoh.³¹³ For another mention of "pr-m3 of Pharaoh," see the Excursus P. Louvre N3136 (p. 128 below).

³⁰⁷ For a list of these examples and commentary, see H. Grapow, *Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des Dritten und zu ihnen verwandten historischen Berichten des Neuen Reiches* (Berlin, 1949), pp. 27–31. The plunder list following the Year 11 Libyan War of Ramesses III also begins similarly (*KRI* V 53.2):

p3 ḥ3q in.n p3 ḥpš ṯnr n pr-ꜥ3 ʿnh wḏ3 snb m ḥr.w m Mšwš

"The plunder which the valiant arm of Pharaoh, l.p.h.

brought from the enemies from amongst the Meshwesh."

Since this passage is a label to a scene rather than integrated into a text, the word "list" may not have seemed necessary; also, the label begins with the list of severed hands, and then proceeds to the passage quoted above.

³⁰⁸ For example, the negative morpheme *mn* (ln. 54, 2 times) and the prepositions *lrm* (ln. 57) and *w3st* (ln. 61), which do not appear elsewhere in the inscription.

³⁰⁹ *Aspects*, p. 141.

³¹⁰ Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, vol. II, n. 101 (pp. 23–24) discusses the various nuances of the designation *pr-m3*, and concludes the word in Harris 5,2 means "bassin;" *pr-m3* occurs in the plural in this passage, a further indication an entity smaller than a "villa" is intended. It is also possible that *pr-m3* is related to *m3rw* (*Wb.* II 30.6–7; cf. *m3* *Wb.* II 11.2 and *m3nr* *Wb.* II 30.1), which the *Wb.* renders as "Lusthaus." B. Geßler-Löhr further describes *m3rw* as "Aussichtsplatz" (*Die heiligen Seen ägyptischer Tempel* [Hildesheim, 1983], p. 188 and n. 674; see also pp. 187–91 discussion of this word and pp. 207–18 for the *m3rw* at Akhetaten). Although the term describes a feature within a temple, if *pr-m3* is related to *m3rw*, then it is also possible that the author is extending the definition to also mean a military watchpost. Unfortunately, the handful of attestations of *pr-m3* require the connection with *m3rw* to remain only speculation.

³¹¹ Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, vol. II, n. 519 (pp. 130–131).

³¹² The word also occurs in the Kom el-Ahmar Stela, verso, line 8 (*KRI* IV 22.3), but it is immediately followed by a lacuna.

³¹³ The text itself does not indicate if this is a temple, fortress, or some other building. It is important to note, though, that by the time of the New Kingdom, the distinction between a temple and a fortification was often unimportant, since the outer walls of a temple could take on the appearance of a massive fortress (B. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*:

Furthermore, the location of “Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat, He-Who-Surrounds-the-Tjehenu” along the western border of Egypt—and its bellicose name—indicates a martial function. Thus, combining Grandet’s identification of the building of Ramesses III as a “colonie agricole” with a more military structure would suggest that “Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat, He-Who-Surrounds-the-Tjehenu” was a fortified plantation at the edge of the Delta. As such, this fortress-like institution could have served as the main supply depot for the surrounding forts—much like the function of Askut in the system of forts around the Second Cataract.³¹⁴ This interpretation provides a logical explanation for the existence of villa-like gardens in such an incongruous location—*pr-mb* is used to describe man-made fertile areas, an apt term for a fortified agricultural area.

^c The tradition of giving fortresses bellicose names is well attested in the Middle Kingdom,³¹⁵ and in building names of the Ramesside period these propagandistic epithets are often combined with the name of the ruling pharaoh. “Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat, He-Who-Surrounds-the-Tjehenu” was almost certainly part of the chain the forts that controlled the routes leading into Egypt from Libyan territory, like those known archaeologically today.³¹⁶ The fact that the fortress is located in Perire also holds the potential to locate the site, if a fort with Merneptah’s cartouche were to be found in a likely Delta location. If Libyan War reliefs had survived from the reign of Merneptah, this fortress would have probably been depicted similarly to those at Medinet Habu, which also bear appropriately threatening names such as “Usermaatre-meriamun ‘He-Who-Repels-the-Tjemehu.’”³¹⁷

^d For a discussion of the imagery of the pyramid throughout the Karnak Inscription, including its use as a metaphor for a pile of corpses, see Chapter 3, §2.3 (pp. 113–115).

^e This number of severed phalli clearly refers to the Libyans, since the slain Sea Peoples were circumcised and had their hands removed instead.³¹⁸ The accuracy of the count is supported by a parallel in the Kom el-Ahmar stela (ln. 11; KRI IV 22.6):

Anatomy of a Civilization [London, 1991], pp. 188–190). The most obvious example of this was the giant migdol tower of Medinet Habu (for reconstructed view showing the impressive effect of the migdols, see S. Aufrere, J.-Cl. Golvin, and J.-Cl. Goyon, *L’Égypte restituée: Sites et temples de Haute Égypte* [Paris, 1991], pp. 172–73); for a brief description of the Medinet Habu fortifications and a comparison to contemporary fortresses in Nubia, see A.W. Lawrence, “Ancient Egyptian Fortifications,” *JEA* 51 [1965]: 90–91). Two other depictions—a model of the temple of Ptah and a scene from the Khonsu temple at Karnak can be found in Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 189, fig. 67.

³¹⁴ S.T. Smith, *Askut in Nubia* (London, 1995), pp. 44–50.

³¹⁵ Note the list of 2nd Cataract Fortresses found in the Ramesseum Onomasticon published by A. Gardiner, “An Ancient List of the Fortresses of Nubia,” *JEA* 3 (1916): 184–192 and *AEO* I, pp. 10–11; see also the updated identifications of the fortress names in Smith, *Askut*, pp. 25–26.

³¹⁶ For a list of these and references, see text note a to line 41 above (pp. 48–50). Unlike the mention of a *mmnw*-fortress in ln. 41, though, this fortress is called a *dmī*—for *dmī* as a military fortification, see D. Valbelle, “Précisions apportées par l’iconographie à l’un des emplois du mot *dmī*,” *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, vol. II (Cairo, 1985), pp. 315–19.

³¹⁷ Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* I, pl. 22; for the text, see also KRI V 14.13. See also the two forts shown in use by Egyptian forces fighting the Libyans in Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* II, pl. 69. For further analysis of the appearance of forts in New Kingdom battle reliefs, see S.C. Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches: Eine Bildanalyse* (Vienna, 2001), pp. 119–123.

³¹⁸ For a discussion of the numbers of casualties from the Libyan wars of Merneptah and Ramesses III, see D. O’Connor, “The Nature of Tjemhu (Libyan) Society in the Later New Kingdom,” in A. Leahy, ed., *Libya and Egypt c. 1300–725 BC* (London, 1990), pp. 41–45.

[... *Rbw ḥdb.w*]³¹⁹ *imy nzy^ssn ḥmn.w* zī 6,200 [+ x]
 [... Rebu who were killed], and whose phalli were carried off: 6,200 [+x] men

An interesting entry in the plunder list of the Heliopolis Victory Column allows the number of captives to be estimated as well (ln. 2; *KRI IV* 38.4):

Rbw sm^s.n ḥm^sf m sp w^c
ḥm^c sqi-^cnḥ 9,376
 Rebu whom his Majesty slew at one time,
 together with captives: 9,376

This number—9,376—is the same found at the top of ln. 58 of the Karnak Inscription; from the number of slain Libyans in the Karnak Inscription and the number of slain and taken captive in the Victory Column, it can be calculated that there were approximately 3,265 prisoners, with slightly less if the number of dead in the Kom el-Ahmar list is used. The number of captives of the Qeheq and Rebu tribes in the Karnak Inscription is given as only 218, but since the top of the line is not preserved, this number could refer to the leaders or another subgroup.

^f In P. Anastasi I 17.4,³²⁰ the Qeheq appear as one of the groups of auxiliary troops in the fictitious campaign against the Narn. As a designation of a Libyan group, the use of Qeheq troops in P. Anastasi fits well with the participation of Libyans in the Egyptian army as auxiliaries.³²¹ The Qeheq also appear in P. Harris I, 76.6 and 78.10 as aggressors in the Libyan coalition.³²² Considering the small number of captives listed in the Karnak Inscription plunder list, they seem to have formed but a small part of the Libyan forces under Merneptah.

^g The object denoted by *sf.t* can range from a sword (i.e. a long, double-edged weapon)³²³ to a butcher's knife (i.e. single-edged tool).³²⁴ A depiction of a sword in the tomb of Ramesses III even shows a blending of both definitions: a long-bladed, single-edged weapon.³²⁵ In the plunder list of the second Libyan war of Ramesses III, the noun *sf.t* is

³¹⁹ As noted by Kitchen, these signs were recorded by G. Maspero, "Notes sur quelques points de grammaire et d'histoire," *ZÄS* 21 (1883): 65, before they were lost.

³²⁰ Fischer-Elfert, *Anastasi I*, p. 120 and *Anastasi I: Übersetzung und Kommentar*, pp. 149–150 and n. d.

³²¹ Chapter 3, §1.2.3 Libyan Military.

³²² For a brief discussion and references to early work on the Qeheq, see Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, vol. II, p. 239. Also note the dubious example in *Urk.* IV 36.4 (from the reign of Amenhotep I): *kḫ.nḫ ḥr mḥty ḥmsw kḫk dr.t 3*, which is taken up by Kitchen, in Leahy, ed., *Libya and Egypt*, p. 15 and n. 3.

³²³ Caminos, *LEM*, p. 216 claims that the masculine form of the word means "knife" while the feminine is "sword." (a view already expressed in *Wb.* III 442.7–10). J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramesside Period* (Leiden, 1975), p. 324 n. 69 disagrees and states that "this seems to me without foundation." Interestingly, both the masculine and feminine persist into Coptic, although the masculine is rare (W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* [Leuven, 1983], p. 204; Vycichl notes that there is no distinction in meaning between the feminine and masculine in Coptic, but W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* [Kopenhagen, 1954], p. 429 recognizes a gender-based distinction in meaning in Demotic); for the use of *sfy* to mean both "knife" and "sword" within a single text, note its use several times in the Inaros Cycle of P. Krall (F. Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros, Studien zum P. Krall und seiner Stellung innerhalb des Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus* [Wien, 1996], p. 171, n. 798).

³²⁴ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, p. 324.

³²⁵ Wolf, *Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres*, p. 75.

modified by “four cubits” and then “three cubits” and long swords are shown stacked beneath the text.³²⁶ The accompanying battle scenes also show the Libyans carrying long swords.³²⁷ Based on this evidence, the *sf.t*'s here almost certainly refer to swords.

^h The only signs preserved before the numeral are a throwstick and foreign land sign, yet the especially large number is unique in Merneptah's plunder lists and closely matches the number of captured arrows reported in the Heliopolis Victory Column: 128,660.³²⁸ Once again, the near agreement of numbers argue for the overall accuracy of the plunder list.

ⁱ For a discussion of the Libyan chariots, see Chapter 3, §1.2.3 (pp. 89–90) below.

^j This restoration is based on the Heliopolis Victory Column, where the various metal items, livestock, and weaponry are introduced by the phrase: *ḥt.t ḥny m-ḥsn*.³²⁹ Due to the damage to the plunder list of the Kom el-Ahmar Stela, no further parallels are preserved.

^k The surface of the stone from the end of the word *Mšwš* to the determinatives of *ḥsq* is completely smoothed, and even the vertical lines demarcating the columns have been removed. No obvious reason for the lack of carving is apparent—the signs simply end until the next block.

^l The place where the number would be is not carved, like the corresponding portion in line sixty.

^m The *kt*-vessels mentioned in the Karnak Inscription could have two possible meanings. J. Janssen³³⁰ discusses the various attestations of this term and concludes that it denotes a “larger vessel” and that “the prices show it to be a fairly expensive object.” Yet another clue to their use is a 20th Dynasty letter from Karnak which lists various supplies for Nubian soldiers, including *kt*-vessels;³³¹ since there are 25 *kt*-vessels, just as there are 25 each of loincloths, shirts, and knives, one *kt*-vessel seems to be a standard issue for a soldier. Thus, the *kt*-vessels could be prized possession of the Libyans, or the equivalent of the modern-day canteen for soldiers.

ⁿ Hoch relates the loan-word *mdsrn* to a Ugaritic word meaning “weapon,” which fits both the context and the metal determinative.³³²

^o The several different vessel types—*tbw*, *tpr*,³³³ *rhd*,³³⁴ *kt*, and *ḥnw*, almost always refer

³²⁶ KRI V 53.7; Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. II, pl. 75, ln. 27.

³²⁷ Swords are only shown in the second Libyan War of Year 11, Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. II, pls. 68, 70, 72.

³²⁸ KRI IV 38.6.

³²⁹ KRI IV 38.5.

³³⁰ *Commodity Prices*, pp. 408–412; quoted text appears on p. 409.

³³¹ W. Helck, “Eine Briefsammlung aus der Verwaltung des Amuntempels,” *JARCE* 6 (1967): 143. For a fuller discussion of *kt*-vessels and their use as canteens, see J.C. Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey in the Egyptian Western Desert, I: Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 1–45 and Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscriptions 1–45* (Chicago, 2002), p. 81, n. 340.

³³² *Semitic Words*, p. 178 (no. 241).

³³³ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, pp. 433–34.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 425 notes that these vessels were “definitely made of copper or bronze” and used in food preparation. Despite their mundane use, the prices that survive for *rhd*-vessels are upwards of twenty deben.

to metal vessels.³³⁵ The vast quantities of metal vessels, many made of precious materials, mentioned in the Karnak Inscription provide evidence for the wealth of the Libyan state and their ability to pay for mercenary troops (see further Chapter 3 §1.2.2). Metal vessels are often depicted as tribute from Syria, and the Libyans may have acquired their vessels from trade with the coastal cities of Syria-Palestine.³³⁶ Essentially, the plunder list suggests that the Libyans were a wealthy culture that used their wealth to pay mercenaries in their attempt to take over more fertile agricultural land—the Egyptian Delta.

XV. ROYAL APPEARANCE AND SPEECHES OF MERNEPTAH

62 [...(c. 20 groups lost)...] *hwtw hr di.t h.t m p3 shy^a nzyw hn.w qrm^b*
nb=sn nswt h^c.(w)^c nh^c wd3 snb m wsh.t h.t^d

hw⁶³ [...(c. 20 groups lost)...] hm=f nh^c wd3 snb (m) h^cy hr m3=f
ir.n=f hpr.(w)

hm.w [n pr 3] nh^c wd3 snb m h^cy r hry
p3 šms[w] m itr.ty^e [...]

64 [...(c. 20 groups lost)... n] *nfrw ir.n R^c n k3=*

d3= nh^c(?) f=sn r dd

m⁸ ntr dd phty

di.n mry=f nswt bity B3-n-R^c mri-Imn

s3 R^c Mri.n-Pth Htp-hr-M3.t nh^c wd3 snb

65 [...(c. 14 groups lost)...] *dmd [s]t m b3k.w m hnw pzy=sn dmi^h*

Kš mit.t hr hnw(?)ⁱ

hrw^j diw3 <>mw=f m dr.t3 m rnp.t [n]t-^c

66 [...(c. 6 groups lost)...] *pr=f n nh^c(?) [...] rmt*

[(c. 15 groups lost) p3]y=f wr hr f3^k [...]b3k.w=f r tnw rnp.t m zp[y].t

iry^l h3(y.t) 3 m [tp.w3]n

[d3=] p3 nty nh^c.(w) r mh r3.w-pr.w

67 [...(at least 3 groups lost?)...] *m-b3h*

nfr n km.t^m wšb rmt^l [...] Rbw r-dr=f... (4 or 5 groups lost)]

pzy=sn wr hrw w3r.(w) r-h3.t3

diw3 m[hwt=f] sm3 sw

iry sw m s(s)f hwdt.(w) m3 pd.wⁿ

diw3 t3⁶⁸ [...] [...] (at least 3 groups lost?)...] nzy3 hrw.w

sw km.(w)^o [t3] q3y msdr(?)^p [...(c. 4-5 groups lost)...] [...] tw

³³⁵ For another short discussion of vessels in the Karnak Inscription, see O'Connor, in Leahy, ed., *Libya and Egypt*, pp. 62-63.

³³⁶ S. Richardson, *JARCE* 36 (1999): 156ff. argues (on the basis of only circumstantial evidence) that the metal vessels were specifically produced for the sulphur trade. Much of the debate surrounding the metal vessels of the Libyans has been concerned with the depiction of the elaborate "Syrian" vessels in a scene depicting the prisoners and tribute of Seti I's Libyan campaign (Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of Seti I*, pl. 32). The prisoners are clearly Libyan, but text above the top row refers to "having ravaged Retchenu" and "causing the Asiatics (*ym.w*) to speak" (pl. 32, lns. 24-26). Yet the text between the files of prisoners labels them correctly as "the chiefs of the foreign land of Tjehenu." But despite the mistake in the text, it is clear from the textual evidence under Merneptah and Ramesses III that the Libyans did possess enormous wealth in metal vessels, but whether they actually resembled those in the Seti I reliefs may never be known.

ntry.wy sw

sw m [iʷ(?)] n ntr nb

ntw ms (w)ḷ n3 r nb wᶜ n km.t⁹

hsy thy n3 nhp hrꜣs hr nsy.t^ḷ

hs[y...] Pth

⁶⁹ [...(at least 3 groups lost?)...] *sꜣꜣ^f B3-n-Rᶜ mrḷ-Imn ᶜnhḷ wḍ3 snb*

ḷ.dr lfty.wꜣfq3 t3 nb r dr[ꜣf... (c. 4-5 groups lost)...

nhḷ Rᶜ hpš r pḍ.wt psḍ.t

ḷ.dḷw Swthḷ nhḷ qnḷ n Hr hᶜᶜ m m3ᶜ.t^s hḷwḷ [pḍ.wt psḍ.t]

nswt-bḷty B3-n-Rᶜ mrḷ-Imn s3 Rᶜ Mrḷ.n-Pth Htp-hr-M3ᶜ.t ᶜnhḷ wḍ3 snb

ḷnk [...]

⁷⁰ [...(at least 3 groups lost?)...] *p3 ms.t wḷ^t iʷḷ m s3 smsw hr s.t Gb*

šspḷ ḷ.t n [nswt?...]

[...(c. 4-5 groups lost)...] qn nn ḷt.twꜣf

wḷw n3 Rbw.w hr w3w3 bḷn r ḷrrꜣw hr Km.t

ptr hrꜣ[ḷ] sn sm3ḷ sn ḷrw m mr.w

ptr st

⁷¹ [...(at least 3 groups lost?)...] *n3yḷ nfrw ᶜš3.w m ḷ.t n pᶜ.t*

šḷ.k(w) nꜣw r ḷt mḷw.t^u ms.ḷ(?) [...(c. 4-5 groups lost)...

mḷ ḷ.dḷḷ T3-mry m <s>š m ḷtrw^v

mry wḷ rmtḷ mḷ mryḷ st^w

rdḷḷtw nꜣsn t3w r n3yꜣsn nḷ.wt

nhmḷtw hr rnḷ m p.t t3.w

⁷² [...(at least 3 groups lost?)...] *nᶜt n rhy.t*

ddyḷtw nḷ hsy hr n3yḷ mtr

[...(c. 11 groups lost?)...] gmwꜣsn

ḷr h3wḷ nfrw m r3 n ḍmḷw mḷ ᶜ3 n3 <n> šḷ.wt ḷrrwḷ nꜣsn

ḷw m3ᶜ.t [...] ḍr

⁷³ [...(at least 3 groups lost?)...] *m3ḷtn ḍsy nn ᶜbᶜ*

⁶² [...] Fire was placed in the camp; their tents were ashes.

Their lord, the king, l.p.h., appeared in the broad hall of the palace.

⁶³ [...the army (?) of] his majesty, l.p.h., rejoice at seeing him,

(because) what he has done has succeeded!

The servants [of Pharaoh], l.p.h., are rejoicing to heaven,

and the followers on both sides [...]

⁶⁴ [...] of the perfection which Re made for my ka.

I shall cause that they [supplicate] saying:

"It is god who gives the power,

his beloved, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Baenre-meryamun,

the Son of Re, Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat, l.p.h., having caused ⁶⁵ [...]

[...] united them as workers in their towns,

Kush likewise bearing tribute.

The enemy whom I force to understand is in my hand yearly, the custom(?) [...]

⁶⁶ [...] his domain of eternity(?) [...]

[...hi]s chief bearing [...] his tribute every year from the remainder.

[So that I might] make the survivor fill the temples,
has great slaughter has been made amongst [their leaders].

⁶⁷ [...] previously (?).

It goes well with Egypt, with the result that the people respond: "[...] Rebu in its entirety [...]"
"Their fallen chief fled before me.

I caused [his tribe] to kill him, he is one made into ashes and fettered like birds.

I caused the land [...] ⁶⁸ [...chief of(?)] my enemies.

He was finished off, with the result that [the land] was exalted.

ear (?) [...]

How divine is he!

He is the [heir(?)] of every god.

It is they who bore me to be the sole lord of Egypt,

so that the attacker of those who care for it (Egypt) will fall during my kingship,
praised of(?) Ptah

⁶⁹ [...] his son Baenre-meryamun, l.p.h.

Who subdues his enemies, who tears up every land entirely.

[...] victory of Re, a khepesh-sword against the Nine Bows.

It is to the Horus Who-Rejoices-in-Maat, who strikes [the Nine Bows,]
that Seth gives victory and valor.

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Baenre-meryamun

the son of Re, Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat, l.p.h.

"I am one who [...]

⁷⁰ [...] the one who bore me, while I am the eldest son upon the throne of Geb.

I having received the office of [king?...]]

[...] valorous [...] it shall not be seized.

These Libyans plotted evil in order to do it against Egypt.

Behold, I fell them, I slew them, (they) being turned into pyramids (of corpses).

Behold, [...]

⁷¹ [...] My prodigious perfection is recognized by the nobles.

I am more effective for them than the father and mother who bore [...],

according as I have caused the Beloved Land to move freely on the River.

The people shall love me as I shall love them,

One giving to them breath at their cities,

so that my name is exalted in heaven and earth.

⁷² [...] kindness to the people,

so that praises are said to me because of my rectitude.




[...] which they found.

My reign has passed beautifully in the mouth of the young generation,

in as much as the benefactions which I did for them were great,

while Maat [...]

⁷³ [...] You yourselves see! There is no boasting!

^a The spelling of *ihy* with an aleph  is different from the two other examples of this word (Ins. 7  and 15 ). At first glance, the aleph may

be the phonetic complement to the preceding *pr*, but in this inscription the definite article *pr* is only rarely spelled with a phonetic complement.³³⁷

^b This is the only hieroglyphic example of the word *qrmt* (*Wb*. V 60.12), which occurs as Demotic *qr̄b*³³⁸ and Coptic κωρμ, κρωμ and κρμτϭ, all related to fire and ashes.³³⁹ There is also evidence that *qrmt* is a Semitic loan-word.³⁴⁰ Since the later examples of the word are never used verbally, this passage is best interpreted as an A-B nominal sentence; the post-classical vocabulary in the sentence fits the grammar, since a noun + noun nominal sentence without copular *pw* is a feature more commonly found in Late Egyptian than Middle Egyptian.³⁴¹

^c The word *hr̄*³⁴² is often used to describe the glorious appearance of the king, especially to receive tribute or military plunder.³⁴³ The appearance specifically located in the palace calls to the mind the “setting” of the king in his palace at the beginning of an inscription, which has been used as one of the defining characteristics of the Königsnovelle.³⁴⁴ Yet in this example towards the end of the inscription, the *hr̄ m wsh̄.t* signals the change of setting from the window of appearances to the interior of the palace, where Merneptah addresses his subjects and in turn receives praise.

^d The end of line 62 is characterized by a series of odd writings,³⁴⁵ which could be the result of a general perturbation of the signs. For example, the epithets *nh̄ wds̄ snb*, which should follow directly after *nswt*, are placed instead after the verb *hr̄*. Since the hieratic original would have been written in horizontal lines it is possible that these confusions occurred when the signs were transferred into vertical columns.³⁴⁶

^e “The followers on both sides” is reminiscent of the description of the hall of the vizier,³⁴⁷ an apt comparison since the previous line sets this section within the “broad-hall” of the palace.

³³⁷ Out of the 21 examples, there are only 7 with the phonetic complement; for a further discussion of the orthography of *lhy*, see text note a to ln. 7 above (p. 13).

³³⁸ Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, p. 565.

³³⁹ Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, pp. 85–86; Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 68; Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, (Cambridge, 1976), p. 62.

³⁴⁰ Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts*, pp. 301–2, no. 435.

³⁴¹ Erman, *NÄG* §455.1; Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 163. This nominal sentence fits S. Groll's *tryef* A-B pattern (*Non-verbal Sentence Patterns in Late Egyptian* [London, 1967] p. 23).

³⁴² For an in-depth analysis of this word, see M. Schunk, *Untersuchungen zum Wortstamm hr̄* (Bonn, 1985), and specifically the discussion of the appearance of the living king, *ibid.*, pp. 64ff.

³⁴³ D. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: Seven Studies* (Toronto, 1967), pp. 5–8. Spalinger, *Aspects*, pp. 104–106.

³⁴⁴ For a critique of such a feature as an identifying trait, see Jansen-Winkeln, “Die ägyptische ‘Königsnovelle’ als Texttyp,” *WZKM* 83 (1993): 106.

³⁴⁵ The group *ḥḥḥ* following *nbsn* is a perfect example of this. (See further the Excursus, p. 126.)

³⁴⁶ It is also possible that the intermediary text might have existed on a stela (or pair of stelae) and that the horizontal hieroglyphic lines were transferred into vertical columns.

³⁴⁷ Duties of the Vizier, ln. 2 (*Urk.* IV 1104.8):

wr mdw-šms.w m ḥtr.ty m-bšḥef

The Great Ones of the Tens of Upper Egypt are on both sides before him.

Van den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier*, p. 34 does not include the Karnak example, but cites a parallel from P. Sallier I 5,11 where the *mšby.t* occur with *šny.t* who are on “both sides.” Caminos, *LEM*, p. 314 in the commentary to this section notes that *šny.t ḥtr.ty* does not occur elsewhere; he relates it to the arrangement of officials in law courts rather than ceremonial occasions, as is certainly the case in the Merneptah example of *šmsw ḥtr.ty*. For further references, see van den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier*, text notes 140–144 (p. 34).

^f This verb, the object of *dī*, is written with the aleph-bird and two reed leaves without a determinative. The stone around the signs is oddly smoothed as if parts of the inscription were erased and then recarved in antiquity or were originally left uncarved; although the stone is odd, there is no damage obscuring any signs.³⁴⁸ Helck³⁴⁹ restores *sb3*, but that does not fit the context, and it seems odd that the ancient carvers would leave out several signs.³⁵⁰ Considering the unfinished quality of the carving, the aleph-vulture could be a confusion for another bird sign. One possibility is the word *nhy* (*Wb.* II 289.7), which can be used intransitively, but this is only a tentative solution.

^g This is the only example of *m* in a participial statement in the Karnak Inscription; *m* used to introduce a participial statement is a Late Egyptian variation upon the Middle Egyptian construction with *in*,³⁵¹ which occurs twice elsewhere in the Karnak Inscription.³⁵²

^h Although this passage is not fully preserved, it calls to mind a text from Abu Simbel that describes the resettling of different groups under Ramesses II:³⁵³

inī t3 nḥsī r t3-mḥt
ꜣmw [r] t3-[sty]
rdī.nꜣf Šsꜣw r t3-ḥmnt.t
grg.nꜣf Tḥnw ḥr n3 tꜣ.wt

The Nubian was brought to the Delta,
 the Asiatic to Nubia,
 It is in the western land that he has placed the Shasu-bedouin,
 and it was upon the mountain ridges that he established the Tjehenu-Libyan.



A similar movement of groups specifically for a military purpose also appears in the poetical stela of Amenhotep III (Ins. 29–30; *Urk.* IV 1656.12–17):³⁵⁴

rdīḏ ḥrḏ r ḥmnt.t bīzyḏ nꜣk
dīḏ ḥtꜣk Tḥnw nn whnꜣsn
qd m mnnw pn ḥr rn n ḥmḏ
pḥrw m sbty wr ḥr tkn r pt
grg m msꜣw wr.w ḥwn.tyꜣw Štīt

Turning my face to the west I did a wonder for you,
 I let you capture the Tjehenu, they can't escape!
 Built is this fort and named after my majesty,

³⁴⁸ Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, vol. 1, pl. 29 comments: "signs rudely scratched in; later work?"

³⁴⁹ *Bib. Or.* 27 (1970): 350.

³⁵⁰ The same argument can be applied to Davies' restoration of <*bī*>*yꜣsn* (*Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, p. 164), especially since the word *bīt* always has a quite full spelling in its other examples in the Karnak Inscription (cf. Ins. 47  and 74: .

³⁵¹ Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, pp. 178–79.

³⁵² Line 19: *in ḥtrw [s] ḥꜣ nꜣsn* "It is the [great] river which opposed itself to them" (for this reading see text note h to that line above [p. 31]). Line 78: *in sꜣf nꜣr.y sꜣnḥ rn[ꜣf...]* "It is his divine son who causes his name to live."

³⁵³ *KRI* II 206.13–16.

³⁵⁴ Note that this is the text of Amenhotep III carved on the recto of the stela on which Merneptah would carve his own poetical text, now known as the Victory Stela.

enclosed by a great wall that reaches heaven,
and settled with the princes' sons of Nubia's Bowmen."³⁵⁵

Both of these passages stress that the prisoners are settled in areas far removed from their homes; this would ensure that the captives did not cause further unrest while they worked for Egypt. After Ramesses III's Libyan War, numerous Libyan prisoners were resettled, branded as slaves, and pressed into the service of the temple of Amun, with some of the men serving in the Egyptian military.³⁵⁶ As the above passages demonstrate, this practice had a long tradition, and the actions of Ramesses III concerning the Libyans in particular provide an apt parallel to the Karnak Inscription passage.

ⁱ Müller,³⁵⁷ followed by Kitchen,³⁵⁸ copies $\int \parallel \parallel$ with a question mark next to the *in*-sign. There are only slight traces of a vertical sign, and if it is actually an *s*-cloth and plural strokes as suffix pronoun, the following determinatives lack explanation. The carving in this section, as in many areas in the last lines of the Karnak Inscription is problematic, but a full writing of the word *inw* (*Wb.* I 91.12–15) for "income" may have been the intended word.

^j It is also possible to interpret *hrw* as a preposed object followed by a subjunctive/prospective *sdm_f*. In either case *sm* can be understood as intransitive;³⁵⁹ in such an interpretation, *sm* could be used pregnantly, alluding to Merneptah causing Merety to understand his own evil.³⁶⁰ Less likely, *nt-c* could be an object separated from the verb by two prepositional phrases, an unexpected, but not unattested, word order.³⁶¹

^k The text between the two lacunae (corresponding to [...*p3*]y_f wr hr f*3*l) is no longer extant; Müller³⁶² records these signs on the basis of earlier copies but states that the block was already destroyed. He does not record the text preceding those signs, but the upper-most portion of the line is still extant and was first published by Legrain,³⁶³ who also produced a copy of all the preserved text corresponding to lines 66 to 79.³⁶⁴ Kitchen (*KRI* IV 10.1–2) notes the missing block recorded by Müller and corrects Legrain's copy of the upper-most part of the line.

^l The *r*-mouth is here written in place of the expected *ir*-eye to write the verb *iry*, an emphatic *sdm_wf* passive.³⁶⁵ Although it at first may seem counterintuitive to emphasize a

³⁵⁵ Translation of Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. II, p. 47.

³⁵⁶ P. Harris I 77,5–6; see the discussion of Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, vol. II, n. 924 (pp. 252–54). A similar event is reported in the Year 5 Libyan War text of Rameses III (*KRI* V 24.2–3).

³⁵⁷ *Egyptological Researches*, vol. 1, pl. 29.

³⁵⁸ *KRI* IV 9.15.

³⁵⁹ For the intransitive use of this verb see *Wb.* I 184.18.

³⁶⁰ For the implications of causing an enemy to understand his evil, see Darnell and Jasnow, *JNES* 52 (1993): 266–268.

³⁶¹ *GEG* §507.2 lists such exceptions, but almost all of his examples are prepositional phrases linked with the action of the verb, which is not the case in the passage from the Karnak Inscription. While *nt-c* is here translated as "custom," a translation "treaty" is also possible (for *nt-c* as treaty, see Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*, pp. 73–74).

³⁶² *Egyptological Researches*, vol. 1, pl. 30. In pl. 15, the signs lost since Müller (or before) are indicated by dashed lines.

³⁶³ "Second rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak," *ASAE* 4 (1903): 2.

³⁶⁴ G. Legrain, "Les dernières lignes de la grande inscription de Méneptah à Karnak." *RdT* 31 (1909): 176–179.

³⁶⁵ It is also possible to interpret the *iry* as a circumstantial passive form; for more about the passive emphatic *sdm_wf*, see Chapter 4, §4.7.

statement about the survivors, a "great slaughter" in many military inscriptions is followed by a statement about "living captives."³⁶⁶ Merneptah must slaughter the Libyans³⁶⁷ so that the remainder will capitulate and become part of the ordered cosmos. The topos of the enemy "filling the temples" is also paralleled in a quote from defeated and captured Syrians at Medinet Habu (KRI V 81,4):

dīw n itꜥk Imn hr rd.wyꜥk d.t
mꜣꜣn ssny pꜣ ꜥꜣw
brꜥn n hꜣw.t-nꜣꜣꜣf

Your father Amun placed us beneath your feet eternally,
 so that we might experience³⁶⁸ breathing the breath,
 so that we might serve in his temple.

The two subjunctive purpose clauses indicate that the defeat of the enemies is viewed in teleological terms: the Syrians are defeated so they can receive "breath" from the pharaoh and reconcile themselves with the Egyptian gods by serving in the temples. When Ramesses III presents Libyan and Syrian captives to the Theban triad, he also expresses the ultimate fate of the captives in his speech to Amun (KRI V 86.4–5):

dīꜥk šb n psd.tꜥk m ꜥꜣ ꜣꜣty [n] hꜣꜣꜥk
inꜣsn ꜥꜣ.w ỉꜣꜣ.w r mh šnꜥꜥk
hm.wtꜣsn r nd.wt n.t rꜣ-prꜥk

May you give an equal amount to your Ennead by means of the strength
 of your strong arm,
 with the result that they bring the men thereof to fill your storehouse,
 their women to be servants of your temple.

Another parallel can be found at Medinet Habu, where the Libyans themselves proclaim (KRI V 64.3):

dī n nꜣ nꜣꜣꜣrw rwd zp-snw
r brꜥn r dhꜣn n Tꜣ-mꜣꜣ

The gods allow us to remain, to remain
 so that we might serve, in order to subjugate us to Egypt.

This image also appears in the Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun (*Urk.* IV 2029.13):

mꜣ.nꜣꜣf šnꜥꜣsn m hm.w hm.wt
m inw n hꜣq.t hmꜣꜣf

³⁶⁶ For examples of *hꜣꜣ.t ꜣ.t*, see Spalinger, *Aspects*, pp. 77–80.

³⁶⁷ If Helck's restoration (*Bibl.Or.* 27 [1970]: 350) of *tp.w* prior to the damaged suffix pronoun *sn* is correct, then the slaughter of Libyan leaders is being specifically mentioned in line 66.

³⁶⁸ Edgerton and Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III*, p. 98 interpret this as "Let us see and breathe the breath," which they note is "unsatisfactory." Rather than assuming an omitted subject, using the meaning of *mꜣ* "erleben" (*Wb.* II 8.19–20) reflects the best understanding of the passage. For this passage, especially the word *brꜥk*, see Israeli, in Shirun-Grumach, ed., *Jerusalem Studies*, p. 277, n. 43.

From the produce of his majesty's plundering has he filled their storehouses
with the male and female servants.

The topos of filling the temples can even be found in story of the "Taking of Joppa"
(3,10–3,12; Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, pp. 84.16–85.2):

im̄i iw rmt̄ r it̄i m h̄sq
mh̄k pr n it̄k Imn-R̄c nswt-n̄tr.w
m hm.w hm.wt

Send people to take from the plunder,
so that you might fill the temple of your father Amun-Re,
King of the Gods,
with male and female servants.

Thus, the grammatical analysis of *iry* in the Karnak Inscription as a nominal emphatic passive *sdm.wf* coincides with the underlying meaning of "making a great slaughter," as the numerous parallels demonstrate. The emphatic verb form indicates that the ultimate purpose of military activity is the glorification of the Egyptian deities and their temples, a concept which pervades the Egyptians' own ritualistic historiography.³⁶⁹

^m Although the original context is lost in the lacuna, it is possible that *m-b̄h* is here used as an adverb (*Wb.* I 421.1–6) to describe the previous negative state of Egypt.³⁷⁰ But now that Merneptah has defeated the Libyans and restored order, "It goes well for Egypt."³⁷¹

ⁿ These two descriptions of the defeated enemy—a participle used as adjectival predicate³⁷² followed by a stative—are filled with religious imagery.³⁷³ The word *wd.t(w)*, here interpreted as a stative and translated as "fettered," is defined in *Wb.* I 59.8 as "im Netz fangen," related to the word *bd.t*, "net" (*Wb.* I 36.8–11).³⁷⁴ The fiery punishment of the pharaoh's enemies is also alluded to earlier in line sixty-two, when "fire was placed in their camps, their tents were ashes." A similar fate is also met by the Nubians as reported in the Amada Stela (Ins. 7–8; *KRI* IV 35.5–13):

p̄ m̄i h̄s(s)-hr̄ h̄b̄f p̄ h̄h n r̄sf r̄ t̄s n W̄w̄sy
fh̄(w) st m sp w̄c
n̄i iw̄sn̄
st in̄(w) r km.t m̄ q̄s
h̄s̄(w) h̄t r̄ n̄sȳsn̄ sȳ m-b̄h̄ irw-st

³⁶⁹ Hornung, *Geschichte als Fest*, p. 22.

³⁷⁰ For the "time of troubles" topos throughout the Karnak Inscription, see Chapter 3, §2.2 (pp. 110–113).

³⁷¹ For the construction *nfr* plus dative to mean "it goes well for..." see *Wb.* II 256.3.

³⁷² Spalinger, *RdE* 39 (1988): 129 interprets the first clause as *ir.[i] sw*, but this overlooks the presence of the double-reed leaves following the very *ir*, which are to be expected for a perfective passive participle. For the use of a participle as an adjectival predicate see *GEG* §374B.

³⁷³ See Chapter 3, §3.3 (pp. 123–124) for a discussion of the religious background of the passage.

³⁷⁴ For the derivation of verbs from nouns (verba denominativa), see Sethe, *Das ägyptische Verbum*, pp. 131–32 (§314); note especially the verbs *sn̄t* and *h̄rt* (p. 192) that preserve the *t*-endings of the nouns from which they derive. For *wd.t*, the *Wb.* also notes "D. 20," but the *Belegstellen* I, p. 10 only lists the example from the Karnak Inscription.

The fierce lion sends forth the flaming blast of his mouth against the land of Wawat,
 they were destroyed at one time,
 so that they will not inherit (anything).
 They were brought to Egypt immediately,
 after fire was placed against their chiefs before their relations.

^o In many places in the Karnak Inscription, the *sdm*-ear is barely distinguishable from the *km*-sign.³⁷⁵ Thus, "it was heard that the land was exalted" is another possible interpretation of this passage. Although there is precious little context preserved, the verb is here interpreted as *km*, because one would expect a negative action against the enemy.³⁷⁶ But under either interpretation, the sentence is an example of the First Present construction with a stative verb.

^p The two groups at the end of the top portion of the line clearly write *ms* and *dr*. Perhaps the original statement in the Karnak Inscription was related to part of a hymn to Merneptah in P. Anastasi II (6,2): "Thou hearest the speech of all countries, thou possessest millions of ears (*msdr.w*)."³⁷⁷ Another possibility, although not likely, is that the *ms* is an enclitic pronoun (*Wb.* II 142.4), followed by the preposition *dr*.

^q The signs following the declaration "how divine is he" are complex,³⁷⁸ but the best solution is a nominal sentence with the late Egyptian copula *ns*.³⁷⁹ "It is they who bore me to be the sole lord."³⁸⁰ This translation assumes a spelling of the dependent pronoun with just the seated man; although that spelling is not attested elsewhere in the Karnak Inscription,³⁸¹ it occurs sporadically in Late Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian texts.³⁸² This interpretation of the passage in the Karnak Inscription is supported by parallels in the texts of Ramesses II.³⁸³

³⁷⁵ For example, compare the *km*-signs in the writings of *km.t* in lns. 19, 22, 27, 40, and 70 with the *sdm* in ln. 16, 74, and 76.

³⁷⁶ For *km* to "finish (an enemy)," see *Wb.* V 129.3.

³⁷⁷ Translation of Caminos, *LEM*, p. 49.

³⁷⁸ The rendering of Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, p. 167, although creative, does not make sense: "How divine is he, for he is the [...] of every God who created me, and those to whom the mouth of the sole Lord of Egypt belongs."

³⁷⁹ For this pattern, see Groll, *Non-verbal Sentence Patterns*, pp. 72–73. The spelling *m* for *my* in the Karnak Inscription is paralleled by the examples from the Kadesh Poem on those pages.

³⁸⁰ Another, less likely, interpretation is to take *ntw* as the plural relative adjective—for the relative adjective modifying an undefined antecedent, see J. Gwyn Griffiths, "The Relative *nty* with Generic Reference," *JEA* 54 (1968): 64; J. Allen, "Features of Nonverbal Predicates in Old Egyptian," in G. Englund and P.J. Frandsen, eds., *Crossroad: Chaos or the Beginning of a New Paradigm* (Copenhagen, 1986), p. 21; but this leaves the *m* unexplained.

³⁸¹ The only other certain example of the first person dependent pronoun is in ln. 71, written with the quail chick and seated figure 𓂏 (for the possible example in ln. 70 see text note t below [p. 70]).

³⁸² P. Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-Sixth Dynasty* (London, 1994), p. 75 and n. 265; Černý–Groll, *LEG* §2.3.1; Jansen-Winkeln, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik*, §223a. Another possibility is to interpret the *ntw* as an independent pronoun, with a translation like: "it is they, those who bore me to be sole lord." For the substantive use of *m*, see Erman, *NAG* §119 and passages such as *KRI* V 40.15–16.

³⁸³ These citations are a selection of those found in Meeks, *ALEX*, vol. III, 79.1499 (p. 144). For more examples of *nb w^c* in military texts, see Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande*, pp. 562–63. To Grimal's examples should also be added the following (*KRI* V 66.1–2): *wđ.nf sw r nb w^c mn.(w) hr ns.t^f* "He appointed him to be sole lord, established upon his throne."

ms sw r nb w^c
Who bore him to be sole lord.³⁸⁴

mtwt n nswt-nṯr.w r nb w^c
Seed of the king of the gods to be sole lord.³⁸⁵

mṯw nṯry n nswt-nṯr.w
šḥ^c f ḥr ns.t f tp-t3 r nb w^c n t3 nb
Divine seed of the king of the gods,
It is to be sole lord of every land that he has appeared upon his throne on the earth.³⁸⁶

^r The *t*-loaf is uncertain, due to the difficulty in determining whether the sunk area over the back of the duck is damage, a carved *t*-loaf, or a combination of the two. However, if the phrase “his daughter” ends a statement before the cartouches begin, it is possible that the previous section is a description of Egypt, much like the one occurring in the Victory Stela (Ins. 12–13; KRI IV 16.1):

ḥr Km.t ḥr-ṯw
dr nṯr.w t3 šrḏ.t w^c.ḏ n p3-R^c
s3 f p3 nty ḥr t3 ḥsp.t n p3-Šw
“As for Egypt,” one says,
“since the (time of) gods, the sole daughter of Pre is she,
his son being the one upon the throne of Shu.”

^s This is a sportive use of the Horus name of Merneptah, *k3 nḥt ḥ^cḏ m M3^c.t*. The choice of the epithet *ḥwḏ pd.wt psd.t* could also be influenced by a variant Horus name of Merneptah, *k3 nḥt dr pd.wt psd.t*.³⁸⁷

^t As with so many other passages, there are several different interpretations of this passage. Davies³⁸⁸ translated *mstw* as “the inheritor,” a plausible suggestion based on *Wb.* II 151.10–12. Yet typically, the word *mstw* is followed by a direct or indirect genitive with a god’s name.³⁸⁹ Another possibility, and the one chosen here, is to read the section as: *p3 ms.t wḏ*, where the *t* is otiose.³⁹⁰

^u For a similar statement about the king, compare the praise of Seti I from the Kanais temple in the Wadi Mia:³⁹¹

mnḏw nfr sṯnḥ mš^c f
ḏt mw.t n ḥr nb

³⁸⁴ KRI II 480.14.

³⁸⁵ KRI II 604.12.

³⁸⁶ KRI II 631.9.

³⁸⁷ Von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, p. 157.

³⁸⁸ *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, p. 167.

³⁸⁹ In the *Belegstellen* II, p. 222 and Meeks, *ALEX*, vol. III, 79.1362 (p. 132) all examples are followed by a genitive.

³⁹⁰ A common phenomenon in Late Egyptian participles, since gender is no longer distinguished (Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien*, §562). The group *tw.ḏ* might also bring to mind the so-called “Late Egyptian” direct object pronouns listed in Černý–Groll, *LEG*, §2.5, although their existence is doubtful prior to Demotic (Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 77 and references therein).

³⁹¹ S. Schott, *Kanais, Der Temple Sethos I. im Wādi Mia* (Göttingen, 1961), taf. 19, text A, ln. 2 (= KRI I 65.6). For a recent translation, see Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. II, pp. 52–57.

The good herdsman³⁹² who maintains his army,
Father and mother to every person.

The claim to be more effective than a "mother or a father"³⁹³ can also cast the king into a divine role.³⁹⁴

^v After *T3-mry*, an *m* is recorded in the lost block; thereafter in the extant inscription Müller³⁹⁵ and Kitchen (*KRI* IV 10.15) copy $\overline{\times \Delta}$, and the best restoration for the available space is an *s*-bolt over a *š*-lake $\overline{\text{—}}$. As von der Way notes, giving the people "freedom on the river," relates to the overall image of a peaceful Egypt, when travel is unprohibited.³⁹⁶

^w "The people shall love me as I shall love them" represents an interesting example of the reciprocal love between subject and king, which is also reflected in the *amor dei* on behalf of the worshipper—an expression that becomes more prevalent during the Ramesside period. According to W.K. Simpson, "it is frequently the individual (king or commoner) who commissions the text or monument, the one who pays for the result, who is shown as the recipient (passive) of the god's or king's love (active)."³⁹⁷

XVI. SPEECH OF THE COUNCIL OF THIRTY AND CONCLUDING PRAISE

nswt bity B3-n-Rc mri-Imn s3 Rc Mrì.n-Pth Htp-hr-M3t.t [cñh wð snb]
ddt.n mcb3y.(t) tmm.tì m swš nb mnñ ð t3.wy

nswt-bity B3-n-Rc mri-Imn s3 Rc Mrì.n-Pth Htp-hr-M3t.t cñh wð snb
ddw

s3.wy^a st hpr n km.t [...]

⁷⁴ [... (at least 3 groups lost?)... *dr*]l.w s3.w n3 nt[y] m-b3h3n

bw [ptr] n3y3n ðt.w [...] b3.t r-c m sdm m-dì kt-hw w3.(w)^b

Rbw m3 spr ðw m [kf]c^w

d3k hprw3sn m3 snhm.w m3.t nb^d hnr.(w) m <n>3y3sn⁷⁵ [h3.wt(?)]

[... (up to 14 groups lost)...] *n3m*

d3k h3.ty [n?] z3 nb m h.t3f

³⁹² For the image of Merneptah as herdsmen, see text note c to ln. 16 above (p. 29).

³⁹³ Von der Way, *Göttergericht und "Heiliger" Krieg*, p. 54, n. 358 cites two interesting parallels to pharaohs being compared to a "father" and a "mother:" *Urk. IV* 909.2-4 (autobiography of Amenemheb) and *KRI II* 238.14 (First Hittite Marriage Stela). The latter attestation further supports the "solarizing" aspect of the epithet (*KRI II* 238.14-239.1):

it mw.t n t3 pn m3 qd3f
Šw n idb.wy

Father and mother for this entire land,
Shu of the two banks.

³⁹⁴ Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, pp. 84-85; Hornung, *Geschichte als Fest*, p. 27, n. 71.

³⁹⁵ *Egyptological Researches*, vol. I, pl. 31.

³⁹⁶ *Göttergericht und "Heiliger" Krieg*, pp. 57-58. Freedom of movement can also be granted by the solar deity (Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, p. 112).

³⁹⁷ "Amor Dei: *n3r mrr rm3 m t3 w3* (Sh. Sai. 147-148) and the Embrace," in J. Assmann, E. Feucht, and R. Grieshammer, eds., *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur: Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto* (Wiesbaden, 1977), p. 494.

ḥwꜣw r ḥtp (m) ḥw

[...] ḥryt.tw [...] kꜣ.wꜣk m rꜣ šꜣ sꜣrꜣn m ršw.t r tr nbꜥ

ḥw wn bw-⁷⁶ [nfr/nb (?)]... (up to 15 groups lost)...

[...] n[ꜣ]yꜣk šhr.w [m]nh.w ḥ(ꜣ).wy ḥr [...] sbt[y...]

pꜣ hnḥw^f ḥr sp nb r pr-ḏrḥ

šḥ sdm m nꜣyꜣw wšb

⁷⁷ [... (up to 14 groups lost)...] rnꜣk r nhḥ šꜣ-m p.t r [ḥwt]n

ḥw bn gr ḥr n[ꜣyꜣk] nhḥ ḥr gnwt [...] rnp.wt mḥ Tm

wšḥ kꜣk wšḥ ḥr.t-tpꜣk

hn bw mꜣꜣn st⁷⁸ [... (up to 12 groups lost)...] [ḥr].t-nḥr

ꜣn ḏr.t nt ḥꜣw [ḥr]^g nḥw.tꜣf

ḥn sꜣf nḥr.y sꜣnhḥ rn[ꜣf]

[sꜣ Rꜣ Mrḥ.n-Pth] Ḥtp-ḥr-[Mꜣ.t] ꜣnhḥ.(w) wḏꜣ.(w) snb.(w)

pꜣ [ḥqꜣ(?) ḥ].ḏiw Prꜣ n ts-mry

nswt bity Bꜣ-n-Rꜣ mrḥ-Imn sꜣ Rꜣ Mrḥ.n-Pth Ḥtp-ḥr-Mꜣ.t ꜣnhḥ.(w) wḏꜣ.(w) snb.(w)

⁷⁹ [...(up to 12 groups lost)...] ꜣf ḥr pꜣ rwd^h imnt.t mḥt.t ḥw.t-nḥr n nḥr nb nḥr.t nb[.t...]

[... ḥnb] n ḥnr sphr m ḥꜣ nb [m] sš r ḏ.t

nswt-bity Bꜣ-n-Rꜣ mrḥ-Imn sꜣ Rꜣ Mrḥ.n-Pth Ḥtp-ḥr-Mꜣ.t ḏḥ ꜣnhḥ mḥ Rꜣ [ḏ.t]

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Baenre-meryamun

the son of Re, Merneptah Contented-with-Maat, l.p.h.

What the entire Council of Thirty said, adoring the beneficent lord, who seizes the two lands

the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Baenre-meryamun,

the son of Re, Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat, l.p.h., as they say:

"How great is it, what has happened for Egypt! [...]

⁷⁴ [... valorous] and great things are those before us.

Our fathers did not [witness...] a marvel (like it) nor even just hear from others.

Rebu is like a petitioner who is brought as a captive.

You have caused them to become like locusts,

every road being strewn with their ⁷⁵ [corpses (?)]... rescue.

You have placed the heart of every man in his body;

they will be at rest (in) old age.

[...] terror [...] your provisions are in the mouth until we sleep in joy, at any time.

When ⁷⁶ [everyone/goodness (?)] was [...]

[...] Your excellent plans are exalted because [...] rampart[s...]

One who buttresses at every occasion more than a fortified enclosure.

Hearkening to their replies is effective!

⁷⁷ [... May] your name [endure] forever reaching from the sky to the ground,

for [your] victories upon the annals shall not be [erased(?)]...].

[... May you be given] years like Atum.

As the one who is upon your brow endures, so may you your ka endure!

Had we not witnessed them ⁷⁸ [...] necropolis.

Who turns away the hand of one who descends [upon] his city.

It is his divine son who enlivens [his] name

[the son of Re,] Merne[ptah] Contented-with-[Maat], l.p.h.

the [ruler(?)] whom Pre gave to the Beloved Land.

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Baenre-meryamun

the son of Re, Merneptah Contented-with-Maat, l.p.h.

⁷⁹ [...] upon the western bank, likewise the temple of every god and every goddess [...] [... stone wall], copied in every office [as] a writing for eternity.

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Baenre-meryamun

the son of Re, Lord of Glorious Appearances Merneptah Contented-with-Maat,
given life like Re forever!

^a The ending of the adjective could be the result of the increasing appearance of otiose *t*- and *tw*- endings in Late Egyptian orthography;³⁹⁸ the superlative *.wy* probably also contributed to the confusion.³⁹⁹ Another argument for reading this as simply *ꜥwy st*—“how great is it...” is the parallel statement in the First Hittite Marriage text of Ramesses II (KRI II 252.10–13):

ꜥ.wy st nm n [b]ꜥw.t] ptrꜥn m hrꜥn dsꜥn

“How great is it, these [marvels] which we have witnessed with our own eyes.”

Another possibility is to interpret the *.y* ending as the hortative use of the subjunctive *sdmꜥf*, with the subject *tw*,⁴⁰⁰ referring to the king, resulting in the translation: “May One be great! It has happened for Egypt!”

^b The *wꜥ* is interpreted here as a stative, implying that the forefathers neither saw an equivalent nor only heard of one as great. For a passage with similar meaning, but more clearly expressed, compare the Quban Stela of Ramesses II (ln. 14; KRI II 355.14–15):

tw.n hr ptr qrw m bꜥꜥ.wtꜥk dr hrꜥk m nswt tꜥ.wy

bw sdmꜥn bw mꜥꜥ hr.tyꜥn

tw wn hrꜥr mꜥ-qdꜥsn

We have witnessed the multitude of your marvels since you have arisen as
king of the Two Lands,

(but) we have not heard, nor have our eyes seen
anything that has happened like them.

^c Müller⁴⁰¹ records what appears to be the bottom curve of a *k*-basket, yet hesitantly marks “sic?” next to it. Kitchen, KRI IV 11.9 records a *k*-basket coming out of damage and remarks in a note that this could be a writing “*fkꜥw* for *kfꜥw*.” Kitchen’s suggestion is well supported by an analogous observation in *Wb.* II 579, where *fkꜥ* “mit *kfꜥ* ‘entblößen’ vermischt.”

³⁹⁸ Note the otiose *t* in the word *ꜥ* in the Psametk II Shellal Stela, 11 (Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, p. 75). Winand (*Etudes de néo-égyptien*, §§68–72) discusses various reasons for the appearance of the otiose *tw/tl* groups. He has also observed that some infinitives exhibit unexpected *-t* suffixes through comparison with a feminine noun of the same root (§81). This observation could also be applied to the odd form of the adjective *ꜥwy.tw* in the Karnak Inscription, with reference to the commonly used word *ꜥ.t* (*Wb.* I 165.18–21). Although Jansen-Winkeln does not include the word *ꜥ* among groups with an otiose *t*-loaf, the number of examples in his lists demonstrates that this phenomenon is not uncommon (*Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik*, §31).

³⁹⁹ Although earlier in line sixty-eight, the ending was written properly: *ntry.wy sw*.

⁴⁰⁰ For various writings of this pronoun, including a similarly defective *w*-coil over *t*-loaf, see Erman, *NÄG* §22; Jansen-Winkeln, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik*, §221.

⁴⁰¹ *Egyptological Researches*, vol. 1, pl. 31.

^d The image of small creatures scattered upon roads finds a parallel in the Kom el-Ahmar Stela (ln. 12; KRI IV 21.3):⁴⁰²

mhw.t n.t Rbw hnr hr mr.(t)⁴⁰³ ml [pn.w⁴⁰⁴ ...]

The tribes of Rebu were scattered upon the road like [mice...]

The image of the Rebu being scattered upon the roads may also be a further subtle hint to the use of desert tracks by the Libyan forces. Modern desert explorers have noted that large locust swarms can come regularly from the Western Desert, especially through the oases,⁴⁰⁵ and it is likely that the same locust migrations occurred in ancient times. For the Egyptians, the defeated Western Desert dwellers called to mind the ravenous locusts that came from the same direction. Although the image of swarms of locusts descending upon fertile fields is obvious in the metaphor, further meanings have been explored by other scholars. The image of the locust can be both favorably used to describe the multitudinous Egyptian army and negatively applied to enemy forces.⁴⁰⁶ J. Malek⁴⁰⁷ argued that the locusts on the dagger of Ahmose represented bound and prostrate captives, since they have their arms bent much like the legs of locusts. L.D. Morenz,⁴⁰⁸ on the other hand, rejects Malek's interpretation, and sees in the locust a non-threatening insect that could be easily trampled, thus a perfect metaphor for the enemies of Egypt. While Morenz perhaps underestimates the fear an ancient civilization might have of such a destructive insect, both theories provide possible reasons for comparing enemies to locust swarms. Yet the other descriptions of the Libyans in the Karnak Inscription indicate that their ravenous behavior is perhaps one of the main reasons for the use of the locust metaphor later in the text. The crop-destroying insects could be a subtle allusion to the portrayal of the Libyans in line twenty-two, where they roam the deserts fighting in search for food—also an apt description of the behavior of a locust swarm.

^e This entire phrase appears in *Wb.* IV 409.8 as "deine Speisen sind im hungrigen (?) Munde." Although this statement accords well with the topos of "feeding the hungry" that appears so often in Middle Kingdom autobiographies,⁴⁰⁹ there is no word root that supports the translation of "hungry" for šꜥ.⁴¹⁰ Here the word šꜥ is interpreted as the preposition "bis" (*Wb.* IV 408.12), implying that the people are kept well fed until they lie

⁴⁰² For another text linking the activities of mice and locusts, note P. Sallier I 6,3: "The mice abound in the field, the locust descends, the cattle devour." (trans. of Caminos, *LEM*, p. 315). For the use of mice as "an image of helplessness," see Edgerton and Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III*, p. 76, n. 14a.

⁴⁰³ *Wb.* II 108.11 has this writing of *ml.t*, "Weg." The orthography, which includes a road-sign determinative (N31) and the parallel use of *ml.t* in the Karnak Inscription rules against Spalinger's translation (*Aspects*, p. 210) of this word as "canals."

⁴⁰⁴ As Kitchen records, this word is now lost, but was copied by G. Maspero, *ZÄS* 21 (1883): 65.

⁴⁰⁵ Bagnold, *Libyan Sands*, p. 89.


⁴⁰⁶ E. Brunner-Traut, "Heuschrecke," in *LÄ* II, cls. 1179–1180, nn. 11–12.

⁴⁰⁷ "The Locusts on the Daggers of Ahmose," in *Chief of Seers: Egyptian Studies in Memory of Cyril Aldred*, E. Goring, N. Reeves, and J. Ruffle, eds. (London, 1997), pp. 207–219, note especially fig. 2 on p. 211.

⁴⁰⁸ "Das Lese-Bild von Königskartusche, Löwe und Stier versus vier Heuschrecken"—Königspropaganda und Selbstindoktrinierung der ägyptischen Elite," *ZÄS* 126 (1999): 135–136; note the parallel from the Year 11 text of Ramesses III: *ptꜣꜣf hfn.w ml sꜥ-nꜣm.w* "He regards hundred-thousands as (mere) locusts."

⁴⁰⁹ D.M. Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom* (Leiden, 1998), pp. 196–201.

⁴¹⁰ The Hamito-Semitic roots for hunger listed by V.E. Orel and O.V. Stolbova, *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary, Materials for a Reconstruction* (Leiden, 1995) are "*gal-gal" (no. 885) and "*taw-/tay-" (no. 2381).

down to sleep, but the “determinative”  remains inexplicable. For the place of peaceful sleep in Egyptian theology and its use in the Karnak Inscription, see Chapter 3, §2.4 (pp. 115–116).

^f Although the word *hmn* normally has the meaning “to assent, to nod,” especially in the contexts of oracles,⁴¹¹ a less common meaning of “to support” fits well in this context.⁴¹² The image of “one who buttresses at every occasion more than a fortified enclosure” alludes to the frequent depiction of the king as a “rampart” who protects his army and Egypt as a whole,⁴¹³ such as the description of Ramesses III (KRI V 61.2–3): *ḫwꜣf m sb.ty nḫt mn.ti m rk [nb]* “He is a strong rampart, enduring at all times.”

§ For the violent connotations of *ḫꜣ ḫr* see text note c to ln. 13 (p. 24) above.

^h Since the Libyan incursions are repeatedly associated with the western border of Egypt, it is to this border that the *rwd ḫmntt*⁴¹⁴ should refer. The Karnak Inscription even gives a specific toponym—Perire—for the place at which Merey and his troops reached the *tšw ḫmn.ty* (ln. 15). In P. Harris I 77,1 the Libyans are said to have “seized the towns of the western edge (*rwd ḫmnt.t*),” almost certainly implying the western edge of the Delta. In light of the common practice of setting up boundary stelae (e.g., Thutmose I and Thutmose III at the Euphrates, and other boundary stela like that of Sesostri III at Semna), the *rwd ḫmnt.t* of the Karnak Inscription could refer to the western border of the Delta. In fact, Merneptah could have set up a stela along the very road that the Libyans used to enter the area.⁴¹⁵ Another possibility is that the *rwd ḫmntt* could refer to the western bank of Thebes; just as the text of the Victory Stela was set up both at his mortuary temple and at Karnak, a duplicate copy of the Great Karnak Inscription could have existed at his mortuary temple.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹¹ See text note a to ln. 26 above (p. 38).

⁴¹² Compare KRI II 671.11 (Meeks, *ALEX* III 79.1833) and OTor 57027, vo. 1 (J. Lopez, *Ostraca Ieratici N. 57001–57092* (Milan, 1978), pl. 16a = Meeks, *ALEX* II 78.2504); in both of these examples a building or part thereof is the object of the verb *hm*.

⁴¹³ Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande*, pp. 331–337 and references therein.

⁴¹⁴ Cf. *Wb.* II 413.8 for examples of a *rwd*-bank modified by *ḫmntt* and *ḫbtt*; for another example determined only with the book-roll, see P. Bol. I 7,3 (*Belegstellen* II, p. 611). The *rwd ḫmntt* also occurs in the Kom el-Ahmar Stela (vs. ln. 7; KRI IV 22.2): [...] *nty ḫr pꜣ rwd ḫmnty*. Unfortunately, there is no context to help determine how the term is being used.

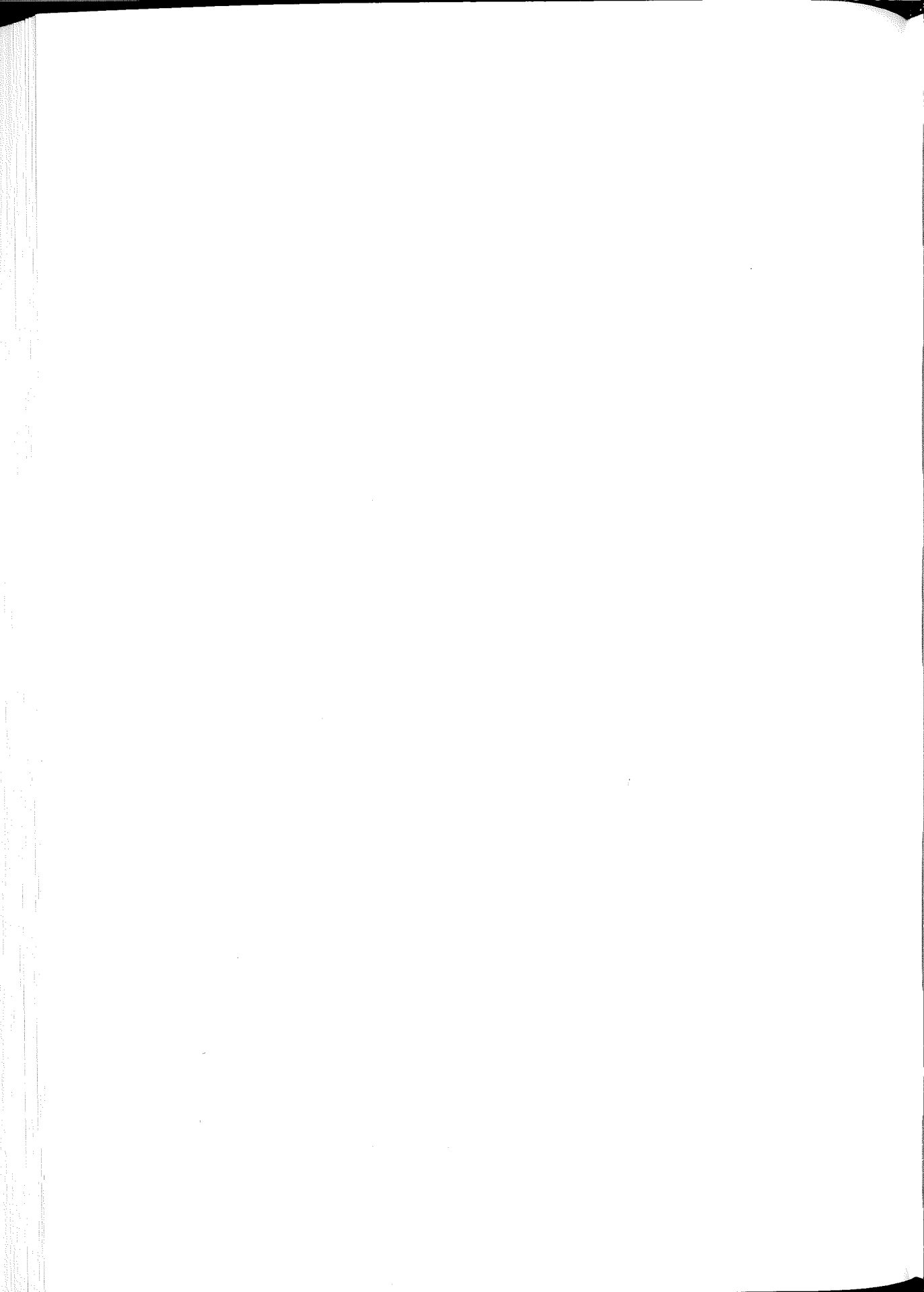
⁴¹⁵ Compare the series of stelae set up by Psamtek I along the Dashur road (H. Goedicke, “Psammetik I. und die Libyer,” *MDAIK* 18 [1962]: 26–49); see further Chapter 3, fn. 126.

⁴¹⁶ A final, less likely possibility is that the *rwd ḫmnt.t* refers to a location within Karnak Temple itself. The *rit/rwd* is a term for the socle upon which the temple was built (J.C. Darnell, “Two Notes on Marginal Inscriptions at Medinet Habu,” in B. Bryan and D. Lorton, eds. *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke* [San Antonio, 1994], pp. 49–51 and n. 93). For the setting up of an inscription at the *rit* note the statement by Ramesses III in P. Harris I 7,1:

ḫryꜣ nꜣk wꜣ.w ꜣy.w n ꜣyꜣk rit

I have made for you great stelae at your socle.

(compare Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, vol. II, pp. 20–21 [note 86] and pp. 33–34 [note 138] where he interprets the word *wꜣ.w* as *w(s)d.w*—“columns”).



Chapter 3: Commentary

§1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Libyan invasions of the late New Kingdom signaled a new era of Egyptian history. Although the Libyans who attempted to conquer Egypt during the reigns of Merneptah and Ramesses III failed in military terms, their Egyptianized descendants were ultimately successful in gaining control over the Delta and even became pharaohs of the Two Lands. While the Libyan invasions under Ramesses III were in some ways repetitions of the Year 5 invasion under Merneptah, the earlier offensive led by Merer, chief of the Libyans, was set apart by the presence of Sea Peoples in the Libyan army. Merer's probable enlistment of Nubian aid to create a distraction on Egypt's southern frontier further differentiates his invasion from those of Meshu and Keper under Ramesses III.¹ Merer's wide-ranging alliances imply a high level of strategic planning, and the events surrounding the Battle of Perire, as reported in Merneptah's historical inscription at Karnak, represent the use of grand strategy in the 13th century BC. This theory is grounded upon a thorough analysis of the identities and military capabilities of the invaders as well as the various places Merer's forces conquered prior to reaching the Nile Valley. Additionally, by approaching the Battle at Perire and the Karnak Inscription from the broader theme of grand strategy, it is also possible to understand the interconnectedness of the three spheres of combat under the first five years of Merneptah's reign: Syria-Palestine, Libya, and Nubia. Although such historical information is often hidden behind difficult phraseology and religious imagery,² the Karnak Inscription reveals that the art of war was not unknown to the ancient Egyptians and Libyans.

§1.1 SEA PEOPLES

The Akawasha, Terusha, Lukka, Sherden, and Shekelesh who appear in the first line of the Merneptah Karnak Inscription as allies of the Libyans are all traditionally termed "Sea Peoples." The identity of these "People of the Sea"³ has been one of the great

¹ Meshu, chief of the Meshu, and his father Keper are the main impetus for the Year 11 invasion (Edgerton and Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III*, p. 87); the chief(s) during the Year 5 invasion are not known. For a brief overview of New Kingdom conflicts with the Libyans, see B.G. Trigger, B.J. Kemp, D. O'Connor and A.B. Lloyd, *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 271–278.

² Note especially the historical implications of the "Time of Troubles" topos discussed in §2.2 (below).

³ Due to the enormous corpus of material on the Sea Peoples, this is only a sampling of references relevant to their general identity and involvement in the invasion during Year 5 of Merneptah's reign: R. Drews, "Medinet Habu: Oxcarts, Ships, and Migration Theories," *JNES* 59 (2000): 161–190; idem, *The End of the Bronze Age: changes in warfare and the catastrophe ca. 1200 B.C.* (Princeton, 1993); W. Ward and M. Joukowski, eds., *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C.* (Dubuque, Iowa, 1992); L. Stager, "Merneptah, Israel and Sea Peoples: New Light on an Old Relief," *Eretz Israel* 18 (1985): 56*–64*; R. Stadelmann, "Seevölker," in *LÄ V*: 814–822; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Darmstadt, 1979); O. Schaden, "Some Observations on the Sea Peoples," in M. Powell and R. Sack, eds., *Studies in Honor of Tom B. Jones* (Kevelaer, 1979); includes a response to A. Nibbi, *The Sea Peoples and Egypt* [Park Ridge, NJ, 1975]); N. Sanders, *The Sea Peoples: Warriors of the ancient Mediterranean 1250–1150 BC* (London, 1978); A. Strobel, *Der spätbronzezeitliche Seevölkersturm: Ein Forschungsüberblick mit Folderungen zur biblischen Exodusthematik* (Berlin, 1976); W. Widmer, "Zur Darstellung der Seevölker am Großen Tempel von Medinet Habu," *ZÄS* 102 (1975): 67–77; G.A. Wainwright, "Some Sea-Peoples," *JEA* 47 (1961): 71–90. For a recent, popular overview of the entire topic of the end of the Bronze Age, with current references, see with caution M. Robbins, *Collapse of the Bronze Age: The Story of Greece, Troy, Israel, Egypt and the Peoples of the Sea* (San Jose, 2001).

mysteries of Bronze Age archaeology,⁴ for they were the groups largely responsible for the demise of that epoch. As Robert Drews has persuasively demonstrated in his seminal work *The End of the Bronze Age*, the Sea Peoples were not masses of migrating Indo-Europeans, but rather fierce warriors who introduced a military revolution.⁵ Although the Karnak Inscription does not inform the fierce debate concerning the origin of the Sea Peoples,⁶ their presence at the battle of Perire demands an analysis of their military capabilities in order to understand key aspects of the Year 5 Libyan War of Merneptah.

Of the Sea People groups listed in the first line of the Karnak Inscription, the Sherden deserve special mention, since they are the first of the Sea Peoples to appear in Egyptian documents. Egyptians encountered Sherden warriors in Byblos as early as the reign of Amenhotep III, and the Sherden appeared as elite Egyptian troops by the reign of Ramesses II.⁷ In the Egyptian depictions, the Sherden always appear as infantry carrying either spears or swords and sporting their famous horned helmets.⁸ When Sherden troops appear in battle reliefs, they fight as infantry units or as chariot "runners"⁹—the footsoldiers that accompanied a chariot corps into battle, fought against the opposing skirmishers, captured enemy chariots,

⁴ Sandars (*Sea Peoples*, pp. 81ff.) discusses the Balkan and eastern European origins of Sea People culture. S. Wachsmann, *Seagoing Ships & Seemannship in the Bronze Age Levant* (College Station and London, 1998), pp. 163–197; idem., "Paddled and Oared Ships Before the Iron Age," in R. Gardiner and J. Morrison, ed., *The Age of the Galley* (London, 1995), pp. 28–34, notes similarities between the double bird-headed ships of the Sea Peoples at Medinet Habu and the similar decorative motifs in the Urnfield cultures of central and eastern Europe (*Seagoing Ships*, p. 178ff.). Evidence of "Sea People" military culture is also found in Spain and throughout North Africa; compare the human figure in the rock inscriptions in M. Brett and E. Fentress, *The Berbers* (Oxford, 1996), fig. 1.5 with the depiction from Spain in K. Randsborg, *Hjortspring: Warfare and Sacrifice in Early Europe* (Oakville, 1995), fig. 57 (references courtesy of Prof. John Darnell). For the pan-European development of heavy infantry tactics, see pp. 79–80 and references therein.

⁵ For a discussion of the alternate theories about the cause of the "Catastrophe" ca. 1150 BC, see Part Two of Drews, *End of the Bronze Age*, especially his refutation of the once popular migration theory in Chapter 4. The following understanding of the role of the Sea Peoples is based upon Drews' insightful analysis of the events surrounding the Catastrophe.

⁶ There are only two short and relatively uninformative descriptions of the origin of the Sea People in the Karnak Inscription: "northerners who come from all lands" (ln. 1) and "from the foreign lands of the sea." (ln. 52). On a cultural level, the plunder list indicates that the Sea People were circumcised (note also the statement in ln. 46 where the "uncircumcised phalli" are taken from the Libyans, but "severed hands" from the Sea People groups).

⁷ Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis*, p. 133 and n. 5–7. Helck notes that the Sherden are first recorded in an inscription of Amenhotep, son of Hapu (*Urk. IV*, 1821.13ff.). It is likely, though, that the Egyptians had encountered the Sherden and other Sea People groups before ethnonyms like "Sherden" appear. The term *thr.w*, "pirates," is most likely one of the early ways of referring to the Sea People raiders prior to the use of more specific designations (Darnell, *SAK 18* [1991]: 135, n. 60).

⁸ For various depictions, see W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1923–45) vol. I, pl. 78 (Egyptian allied Sherden troops besieging Amurru); *ibid.*, vol. II pls. 112a, 114a, 127, 134, etc. (Sherden and other Egyptian mercenaries on parade); also see the similarly outfitted Mycenaean soldiers on the "Warrior Vase" (Sandars, *The Sea Peoples*, fig. 123). It is also possible that *phrr* could be used to refer to infantry outfitted like runners—note the Kadesh Poem, P84–85 (*KRI II* 31.6–14) where the Hittite runners are mentioned and the word *phrr* is clearly determined by a soldier carrying a small shield and spear.

⁹ A Sherden runner is depicted in action against the Hittites during the battle of Kadesh (relief from Abydos; Sandars, *The Sea Peoples*, fig. 11) and against the Libyans in Year 5 of Ramesses III (Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. I, pls. 31, 32). Other groups of Sea Peoples could also be employed as runners during battles (Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. I, pls. 17, 24; note also pl. 36 where Sherden and Pelset accompany Ramesses on a lion hunt). For units of Sherden infantry see depictions in fn. 8 above.

and performed other duties in support of the main chariot force.¹⁰ The employment of Sherden as chariot runners foreshadows the infantry tactics that were to make the Sea People groups so enormously successful against the armies of the ancient Near East, whose military strength lay in archery and chariotry.¹¹

During the late Bronze Age, when the Sherden first appear as “runners” in the Egyptian army, all the major powers of the Mediterranean—the Egyptians, Hittites, Mycenaeans, and even the Minoans—concentrated their land-based military force in chariotry. The popularity of this fighting style is explicable, because without the use of heavily armored infantry, the only way to counter chariots, acting as mobile archers’ platforms, was with other chariots.¹² For the highly developed Mediterranean civilizations, the elite chariot forces were the ideal way to wage war. The entire enterprise of outfitting a chariot corps was of sufficient expense to insure that threats could only come from other major powers. When battles did occur, the mode of fighting probably incurred relatively few casualties in comparison to infantry combat.

The end of this form of chariot warfare was the result of the development of a new type of warfare that begins in Late Bronze Age Europe, especially Central Europe and Italy. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence in these regions indicates the development of a new panoply:¹³ spears, long swords,¹⁴ body armor (i.e. greaves and

¹⁰ The “runners” were defined in this way by A. Schulman, “The Egyptian Chariotry: a Reexamination,” *JARCE* 2 (1963): pp. 89–90; idem, *Military Rank*, pp. 38–39; runners also are discussed in detail in Drews, *Bronze Age*, pp. 141–147. Schulman notes that the Hittites had runners, and suggests that it is “possible and plausible” that the third person in the Hittite chariots at Kadesh is a runner, but “this cannot be proved.” In fact, it is nearly certain that the third person in the Hittite chariot is not a runner; the three-man chariots are depicted in battle, and if one person were a runner, he would have dismounted prior to the engagement, otherwise he could not fulfill his role as a runner! The Kadesh Poem itself states that the three men were fighting in the chariots as a single unit (*KRI* II 32.6–9):

hwšsn m lmt rmt hr ltr

hw hrw smšw

“They were three men upon the span,
acting in unison.”

Additionally, all three people in the chariot are outfitted as infantry men (e.g. they carry spears and small square shields), not as archers as one would expect for late Bronze Age chariot warriors; a close examination of the Hittite chariots also shows that the axle is located in the center of the chariot body rather than at the rear of the chariot like the Egyptian chariots, indicating that the Hittite chariots were designed to hold the weight of three men (compare C. Desroches-Noblecourt, et al., *Grand temple d'Abou Simbel. La bataille de Qadech* [Cairo, 1971], pl. III, c where the three-man Hittite chariots have center-mounted wheels, with pl. III, where the chariot of Ramesses II and the Egyptian troops below have predominately rear-mounted wheels). All this evidence points towards an entirely different conception of chariot warfare for the Hittites at Kadesh, because rather than using chariots as the traditional “moving archer’s platforms,” the chariots are now serving to create mounted infantry (a more detailed study is in preparation by J.C. Darnell, more provisionally see, idem., “Kadesh,” in J. Powell, ed., *Magill’s Guide to Military History* [Salem Press, 2001]).

¹¹ The following discussion is a summary of the conclusions reached by Drews, *End of the Bronze Age*, pp. 104ff.

¹² M.A. Littauer and J.H. Crouwel, “Robert Drews and the Role of Chariotry in Bronze Age Greece,” in P. Raulwing, ed., *Selected Writings on Chariots, other Early Vehicles, Riding and Harness* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 66–74 dispute Drews’ claims that two chariot forces could clash, arguing that a chariot charge “would immediately result in a mêlée of broken legs and wheels since axles projected as much as 25 cm. beyond the wheels” (pp. 68–69). While Drews is uncertain as to the mechanics of the chariot battle, the execution of more choreographed wheeling motions and flanking maneuvers—while shooting arrows into the opposing force (*End of the Bronze Age*, pp. 128–29)—is a more likely scenario than the direct charges and mêlées he suggests elsewhere (p. 136), and avoids the scenario of utter destruction described by Littauer and Crouwel (and to some extent already recognized by Drews, *ibid.*, p. 128).

¹³ R. Osgood and S. Monks, with J. Toms, *Bronze Age Warfare* (Phoenix Mill, Ltd., 2000), pp. 23–32, 76–84, 96–104; Randsborg, *Hjortspring*, pp. 164–177.

¹⁴ As opposed to the thin, continuously tapering rapiers useful only for thrusting, the new infantry forces are equipped with superior Naue Type II sword. The Naue II sword is characterized by a thicker, often “leaf-shaped” blade that continues into the hilt. While an earlier rapier only shallowly set into the hilt would have

corselets)¹⁵ and small round shields. These weapons spread quickly throughout Europe, reaching as far west as the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁶ Body armor and close combat weapons were infantry equipment *par excellence* in the ancient world and presuppose the massed infantry tactics that become the trademark of late Bronze Age raiders known as the Sea Peoples. The massed Sea People infantry, consisting of armored soldiers wielding long slashing swords and spears nullified the effectiveness of chariot warfare. The chariot-borne archers would have had difficulty penetrating armor, and a span could not charge into the massed infantry, but the spears and swords of the Sea Peoples would be effective against the other chariot runners and the chariots themselves. The Sea Peoples had thus developed the ideal weapon to combat almost every major military force in the Mediterranean during the thirteenth century BC. The heavy, massed infantry of the Sea Peoples played the role of pirates and raiders in search of loot,¹⁷ and with their new military technology they could succeed like no previous group; the plunder-driven mentality of the Achaeans who besieged the Trojans was magnified to great proportions,¹⁸ leading to the sacking, pillaging, and burning of most major cities in the Mediterranean. These are neither the actions nor the methods of migrating groups seeking land, and there is little evidence that the Sea Peoples were more than militarized bands that ended the Bronze Age with a revolution in weaponry and tactics.

Now that the impetus for the Sea People's incursions is clear, their specific role in the invasion of Egypt during Merneptah's reign must be elucidated. Since, as Drews has demonstrated,¹⁹ the Sea Peoples did not invade as part of a mass migration to the fertile Nile Valley, an alternate explanation must be sought. W. Helck argues that the Sea

broken if used in a slashing motion, the Naue II sword was made specifically to cut off limbs (for sword development, see Drews, *End of the Bronze Age*, pp. 192–208).

¹⁵ This type of armor stands in contrast to those such as Dendra Panoply, which covered the entire body from the neck to below the knees; the tremendous weight of such armor and the limitations upon the mobility of its wearer indicates that it could only belong to a charioteer (N.M. Verdalis, "The Metal Finds," in P. Astrom, *The Cuirass Tomb and Other Finds at Dendra* [Göteborg, 1977], pls. 12–15). For another convenient image, see also J. Warry, *Warfare in the Classical World* (New York, 1980), p. 12. Significantly, armor such as the Dendra Panoply is not used after the advent of the Sea Peoples, when the lighter armor (i.e. like that depicted on the Warrior Vase [see fn. 8 above]) prevails (Verdelis, in Astrom, *Cuirass Tomb*, p. 45).

¹⁶ Osgood and Monks, *Bronze Age Warfare*, pp. 48–61.

¹⁷ In a piece of Amarna correspondence (EA 38), the king of Alashiya complains of "men of Lukki" who raid his country. The king also protests to the Egyptian ruler that the men of Alasiya are not among the raiders as the pharaoh had previously thought (for a translation of this letter, see W. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* [Baltimore, 1992], p. 111–12). Since the "men of Lukki" are probably Lycian pirates (H. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World* [Liverpool, 1978], p. 82), this letter demonstrates the havoc wreaked by the growing groups of Mediterranean pirates near the end of the Bronze Age. For further references to pirates in the 18th Dynasty and their relationship with *thr*-warriors, see Darnell, *SAK* 18 (1991): 122–23 (especially n. 60).

¹⁸ Classical sources also mention the fierceness of the Greek raiders. Homer's *Odyssey* (XIV, 255ff.) gives a vivid account of Odysseus's landing on the shore of Egypt, and the ensuing battle with the Egyptian army caused by the behavior of his men. The Egyptians fight with bronze weapons and chariots, and are quite successful against the Greek raiders. Herodotus (*Histories* II, 152ff.) also provides evidence for Greeks raiding the Egyptian coast; he describes how Psamtek I goes to an oracle seeking revenge for his exile, and the oracle of Buto decrees that Psamtek I's vengeance will come by "bronze men" from the sea. The mysterious bronze men are Ionian and Carian sea-raiders who wear bronze armour, and proceed to plunder the Delta. Yet when Psamtek I hears that his oracle has been fulfilled, he gains their allegiance for his own purposes (see also the commentary of A.B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II: Commentary* 99–182 [Leiden, 1993], pp. 132–135).

¹⁹ Drews, *End of the Bronze Age*, pp. 48ff.; idem, *JNES* 59 (2000): 182–190.

Peoples first tried to invade the Libyan coast, but were defeated and forced to serve as Libyan allies in their thrust against Egypt.²⁰ Yet it is more likely that the Sea Peoples were mercenaries²¹ employed by the Libyans,²² a group whose services the Libyans received in exchange for some of the Libyan wealth from intra-African trade.²³ Furthermore, Helck's suggestion of a military defeat of the Sea Peoples by the Libyans is problematic for several reasons. First, if the Sea Peoples had mounted a serious invasion of the Libyan coast, it seems unlikely that they would be defeated by the native Libyan forces. Although the Tjemehu appear in a military context as early as the Sixth Dynasty,²⁴ and were militarily active during the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II,²⁵ only with the aid of the Sea Peoples were they ultimately able to mount a large expedition into Egypt.²⁶ Even if the Libyans could have fielded a significant defensive force, the North African coastal plain is suited for the barbarian infantry of the Sea Peoples, and without the geographical protection and naval forces of Egypt, a Libyan victory is doubtful. In the event that the Libyans did succeed in winning, Helck's scenario assumes that they suffered so few casualties that they were able to organize a major campaign to Egypt almost immediately.

²⁰ Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis*, p. 133.

²¹ That Sea Peoples could play the role of mercenaries is clear from the Kadesh poem, §§52–53 (KRI II 20.1–10):

bw wšḥf ḥd nb m tšf

šḥf sw m ḥtḥ nb

rdi.nḥst n ḥs.wt nb.t r ḥn.taw m-ḥf r ḥḥ

He left no silver in his land,

he releasing it from all his possessions,

It was in order to bring them with him to fight that he gave it (the silver)

to every foreign land.

Directly before this statement, the "foreign lands" are specified and the Lukka are among them.

²² Evidence for interactions between the Libyans, Sea Peoples, and Egyptians as early as the late Eighteenth Dynasty can be demonstrated by a painted papyrus fragment at the British Museum (EA 74100), which depicts three groups of men: Egyptians, Libyans wearing their distinctive cloaks and tattoos, and men wearing boar-tusk helmets, a feature indicative of Mycenaean warriors (L. Schofield and R.B. Parkinson, "Of Helmets and Heretics: A Possible Egyptian Representation of Mycenaean Warriors on a Papyrus from El-Amarna," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 89 [1994]: 163–69). Schofield and Parkinson have interpreted the iconography to refer to the employment of Mycenaean warriors by the Egyptians in a military action against the Libyans. Considering the extremely fragmentary nature of the papyrus, it is also possible that the second scene (*ibid.*, p. 162, fig. 2) depicts an Egyptian stabbing a Mycenaean soldier, implying that the Aegean warriors are fighting alongside rather than against the Libyans. See also R. Parkinson and L. Schofield, "Images of Mycenaeans: a recently acquired painted papyrus from el-Amarna," in W.V. Davies and L. Schofield, eds., *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant: Interconnections in the Second Millennium BC* (London, 1995), pl. 8 and pp. 125–126 for an excellent photograph and short commentary.

²³ For a full discussion of this, see §1.2.2 below.

²⁴ Harkhuf reports in his autobiography that he encounters Nubian tribesman going off to fight the Tjemehu, who appear to be located in the far southwestern part of Egypt (*Urk.* I 125.16–126.2). For the further implications of this passage, see §1.2.1 (p. 83) below.

²⁵ Cf. the battle reliefs of Seti I at Karnak showing skirmishes with the Libyans (Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs of Sety I*, pls. 27–32 [also conveniently reproduced in Heinz, *Feldzugdarstellungen*, pp. 248–50]), and the scenes of Ramesses II fighting Libyan foes (Abu Simbel = Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, pls. 180–82; Beit el-Wali = Heinz, *Feldzugdarstellungen*, p. 259). The western forts of Ramesses II also provide archaeological evidence for Libyan problems during his reign (see pp. 30, 48–49). For a brief discussion of the Libyan campaigns of Seti I, see W.J. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh* (Chicago, 1990), pp. 99–100 and n. 190 below.

²⁶ The Libyan invasions under Ramesses III without Sea People assistance is probably due both to increased confidence after the Merneptah attacks and the adoption of Sea People weaponry (see the discussion of the Libyan adoption of the Naue II Type sword in §1.2.3 below).

On the other hand, the use of the Sea Peoples as paid mercenaries is supported by evidence of the wealth of Libya, most likely a result of trade with sub-Saharan Africa and the Mediterranean. Trade between North Africa and the Mediterranean would have also created opportunities for interactions between the Libyans and the Sea Peoples, making future alliances much easier.²⁷

§1.2 LIBYANS

“One of the least known sections of the earth’s surface is that part of the Sahara known as the Libyan Desert, and certainly it is the most desolate. But strangely enough, in the heart of these great wastes there lived an ancient people who developed a mighty civilization ... hidden by the veil of time.”

Byron Khun de Prorok²⁸

The cultures that once occupied the Libyan Desert have remained mostly “hidden by the veil of time,” even since de Prorok’s exciting excavations in the 1920’s and the efforts of many desert explorers and scholars. Only modest archaeological evidence has been identified as late Bronze Age²⁹ and textual evidence from that period in Libya itself is entirely lacking. Thus, the identity of the Tjemehu, Tjehenu, Rebu, and other Libyan tribes must be rediscovered through Egyptian reliefs and inscriptions and inferences from later classical material.

§1.2.1 Lexicography of Terms for Libya

The first attestation of the writing of Tjehenu appeared when nascent pharaonic kingship emerged at the end of the Naqada II period.³⁰ Yet the degree of preservation and change in the meaning of the word during the more than two thousand years that elapsed between the late Naqada II period and the Nineteenth Dynasty is virtually impossible to determine. Traditionally, the two major appellations for Libya that occur prior to the New Kingdom—Tjehenu and Tjemehu—are considered to be primarily anachronistic by the Ramesside Period.³¹ While the antiquity of these terms *prima facie* lends credence to this view, there is evidence that the Egyptians intentionally retained those names for such an extensive period of time because those terms referred to aspects of their western

²⁷ For an exploration of these connections, see §1.2.2.

²⁸ *Mysterious Sahara: Land of Gold, of Sand, and of Ruin* (Santa Barbara, 2001 [reprint]), p. 146.

²⁹ For an overview, see D. White, “Before the Greeks Came: A Survey of the Current Archaeological Evidence for the Pre-Greek Libyans,” *Libyan Studies* 25 (1994): 31–44. One of the few sites in the Sahara with archaeological remains in conjunction with rock inscriptions is Iwelen in the Air region (many of the inscriptions are depictions of chariots), which has been dated to the late third millennium (J.P. Roset, “Iwelen—an archaeological site of the chariot period in northern Air, Niger,” in Leahy, ed., *Libya Antiqua*, pp. 113–146).

³⁰ The famous “Libya palette” (also called the “Cities Palette,” JE 27434 [CG 14238]; H. Asselberghs, *Chaos en Beheersing, Documenten uit Aeneolithisch Egypte* [Leiden, 1961], pl. 92). For the earliest attestations of the term Tjehenu, see Hölscher, *Libyer und Ägypter*, pp. 12–14, and p. 25 for the earliest use of the term Tjemehu.

³¹ Osing, “Libyen, Libyer,” *LÄ* III, cl. 1015; D. O’Connor, in Leahy, ed., *Libya and Egypt*, p. 30; Kitchen, in Leahy, ed., *Libya and Egypt*, p. 25, n. 18; A. Spalinger, “Some Notes on the Libyans of the Old Kingdom and Later Historical Reflexes,” *JSSEA* 9 (1979): 140–41.

neighbors that had remained valid. The proliferation of various tribal names in the Nineteenth Dynasty, the result of increased economic and military contact, is a layer of ethnographic information added to the "traditional" designations based on other criteria. If the terms Tjemehu and Tjehenu did in fact refer to fundamental qualities of Egypt's western neighbors, then their use in the Karnak Inscription would transcend mere archaizing tendencies.

Of the two terms, Tjemehu refers to a much wider geographical range; in the Sixth Dynasty, Tjemehu are found as far south as the third cataract,³² and a few centuries later, Sesostri I leads a campaign against Tjemehu west of the Delta.³³ In the New Kingdom, Tjemehu are attested again both in Nubia³⁴ and west of Egypt itself.³⁵ In contrast, Tjehenu is used almost exclusively for Libyans in the Western Desert north of the latitude of Oxyrhynchus.³⁶ The attacks on the Tjehenu by other Libyan tribes en route to Egypt³⁷ further support the location of the toponym Tjehenu immediately to the west of Egypt. The divergent distributions of these two terms suggest that Tjemehu and Tjehenu refer to different aspects of the Libyans. While Tjehenu is most likely a geographically-based term for northern Libyan groups, Tjemehu apparently refers to any nomadic group inhabiting the western desert. Like the linguistically based designation *šmw* (*Wb.* I 167.19–20) for Western Asiatic Semitic speakers,³⁸ it is possible that Tjemehu is a reference to the Berber language shared by the geographically dispersed Libyan groups.³⁹ The adoption of

³² Spalinger, *JSSEA* 9 (1979): 144ff., discussing Harkhuf's journeys. For a list of further references of the use of Tjemehu and Tjehenu, especially in the Old Kingdom, see Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, p. 61, n. 639.

³³ Sinuhe R12–15. For the location of Sesostri I's Libyan campaign around the Wadi Natrun, see H. Goedicke, "The Route of Sinuhe's Flight," *JEA* 43 (1957): 84–85. Vandersleyen's proposal (*L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, pp. 563–64) that all Libyan groups originate in the south does not do justice to the available evidence both textual and archaeological (i.e. Marsa Matruh). Admittedly, the Libyans have strong ties to the southwestern desert and affinities with the Nilotic Nubian groups, but if there were no threatening Libyan groups in the north, it would be difficult to explain the existence of the western chain of forts built by Ramesses II; a block found at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham explicitly mentions the *Tjmw* (see Chapter 2, fn. 273) and a stela at Alamein refers to a victory over the *Rbw* (*KRI* II 475.7).

³⁴ In Year 44 of Ramesses II, the Viceroy of Kush Setau seizes Tjemehu to work on the Wadi es-Sebua temple (*KRI* III 95.13—stela IX of Ramose).

³⁵ Merneptah Karnak Inscription, ll. 26 and 44; since the invasion under Merneptah encompasses several different routes leading into Egypt (especially the northern area), the use of Tjemehu in the Karnak Inscription further indicates its wide-ranging application.

³⁶ Osing, *LÄ* III: 1015; Spalinger, *JSSEA* 9 (1979): 137–38; see also O'Connor, in Leahy, ed., *Libya and Egypt*, pp. 33–37 for references about the geographical area encompassed by the Tjehenu.

³⁷ This occurs both in the Merneptah Karnak Inscription and the Year 11 War of Ramesses III (see text note c to ln. 13 above, p. 24).

³⁸ D. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, 1992), p. 32; Darnell, *SAK* 22 (1995): 68–69, n. 114; for further discussion see J.C. Darnell, "The Rock Inscriptions of Tjehemau at Abisko," *ZÄS* 130 (2003): 37.

³⁹ I would like to thank Prof. John Darnell for originally suggesting this line of research. A similar proposal based on geographical distribution rather than a common language was also proposed by E. Edel, "Die Ländernamen Unternubiens und die Ausbreitung der C-Gruppe nach den Reiseberichten des *Hr-ḥwḥf*," *Or.* 36 (1967): 156. Edel argued that just as *šmw* refers to all groups living in Western Asia, Tjemehu refers to all groups living west of the Nile. For an early compilation of the evidence for Berber being the original language of the Libyan Desert, see Bates, *Eastern Libyans*, pp. 79ff. One of the most remarkable pieces of evidence is preserved on a First Intermediate Period stela: one of the dogs on the "Hound Stela" of Antef II is called "Abaikur," meaning "hound" in the Berber language (see J.M.A. Janssen, "Über Hundennamen im pharaonischen Ägypten," *MDAIK* 16 [1958]: 180, no. 19 for a list of references). Further evidence of the

Berber loan words into Nubian⁴⁰ and the close connections between the Tjemehu and Nubian C-Group culture⁴¹ indicate that by the time of the New Kingdom, Egypt's western inhabitants could be divided amongst the northern Libyan groups (called Tjehenu and Tjemehu) and the southern Libo-Nubian groups (also called Tjemehu). This distribution of Libyan and Libo-Nubian populations coincides with the description of the Year 5 invasion in the Merneptah's historical inscriptions, with a northern Libyan thrust in conjunction with a revolt by the Libo-Nubians in the south.

Thus, the terms Tjemehu and Tjehenu are not just anachronistic designations, but were used because the characteristics they described still held true during the Nineteenth Dynasty. Tjehenu continued to refer to the geographically limited northern Libyans, while Tjemehu retained its wide-spread and possibly linguistic associations. These broad

linguistic thrust of *Tmhw* as an ethnonym can be found in sources as diverse as a Pyramid Text passage and a stela of Ramesses III. In Pyramid Text utterance 301 (§§455–456) states:

It nsk wrt.t m ssw wr.w sw
hntyw Thnw Sbk nb Bshw

Take the *wrt*-crown from the great and mighty 'foreign speakers,'
 who preside over Libya and (from) Sobek, Lord of Bakhu

(Translation of Spalinger, *JSSEA* 9 [1979]: 130). In his article, Spalinger does not explain this passage further, but only notes that the Libyans "did not speak Egyptian." L. Bell, *Interpreters and Egyptianized Nubians in Ancient Egyptian Foreign Policy: Aspects of the History of Egypt and Nubia* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1976), p. 39 presents a completely different interpretation of this passage, reading *ss* as *sw*—"a watery place," but this interpretation requires rearranging the signs and damages the parallelism of the passage. For the *ssw* as "Egyptianized foreigners, who were used not only as interpreters but as scouts, spies, agents, couriers and foremen of mercenaries" see Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, pp. 29–30; Bell, *Egyptianized Nubians*, pp. 74–84. Thus, it is quite likely that this obscure Pyramid Text passage is referring specifically to the Berber language with the term *ss*. Another, even more explicit, reference to the non-Egyptian language of the Libyans is found in a stela of Ramesses III from Deir el-Medina (*KRI* V 91.5–7):

hsg.nsf hss.t [Tmhw] Rbw Mšwš
dlš šsyw itrw ln r km.t
st lr.w m nht.w n nswt nht
sdmaw md.t rmt hr šms nswt
lryšf swh md.tsn p[n]t(?)š nsaw
šmaw hr ts ml.t hwy hswaw st

He has captured the land of the [Teme]hu, Libu, and Meshwesh,
 he made them cross the Nile, carried off into Egypt,
 they are settled into strongholds of the Victorious King,
 they hear the language of the (Egyptian) people, serving the King,
 he makes their language disappear, he changes (?) their tongues,
 they go on a way they have not descended before.

(Translation of Kitchen, in A. Leahy, ed., *Libya and Egypt*, p. 21). These disparate, yet persuasive pieces of evidence all suggest that the designation Tjemehu may have a linguistic basis, but the Egyptian material does not provide definitive proof for this theory.

⁴⁰ P. Behrens, "Language and migrations of the early Saharan cattle herders: the formation of the Berber branch," in A. Leahy, ed., *Libya Antiqua* (Paris, 1986), pp. 40–50. See also the expanded discussion by idem., "Wanderungsbewegungen und Sprache der frühen saharanischen Viehzüchter," *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 6 (1984/85): 135–216. It is also quite significant that the ethnonyms "Libyan" and "Nubian" are based on the same root as shown by M. Bechhaus-Gerst and P. Behrens, "'Libyans'—'Nubians' Mutations of an Ethnonym," *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 4 (1985): 67–74.

⁴¹ For the connections of the C-group and Tjemehu Libyans, see M. Bietak, *Studien zur Chronologie der nubischen C-Gruppe: Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte Unternubiens zwischen 2200 und 1550 vor Chr.* (Wien, 1968), pp. 147ff.; Edel, *Or.* 36 (1967): 154–157; for evidence that the C-Group also spoke a Berber language, see M. Bechhaus-Gerst and P. Behrens, *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 4 (1985): 72. For a discussion of another Libo-Nubian group, the *Mnty.w*, see Darnell, *SAK* 22 (1995): 66–70.

linguistic and geographical terms were then supplemented by more specific tribal/political designations such as Rebu, Meshwesh,⁴² and Qeheq.⁴³ Yet the rise of specific tribal names during the New Kingdom should not foster claims that the use of the two earlier terms Tjemehu and Tjehenu is devoid of historical information.⁴⁴ Rather, by understanding the cultural and linguistic continuities, one may demonstrate why the Egyptians used the same terms to refer to their geographically dispersed western neighbors for thousands of years.

§1.2.2 Libyan Trade and Wealth

On the western Mediterranean coast of Egypt are the remains of a large Late Bronze Age settlement area on "Bates's Island" near the city of Marsa Matruh.⁴⁵ In addition to Libyan pottery, excavations have uncovered extensive ceramic remains from Cyprus, Crete, Greece, Palestine, and Egypt dating to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries BC, indicating that Bates's Island was a thriving emporium during the late Bronze Age.⁴⁶ The ceramic evidence at Bates's Island thus indicates that the Libyans had connections with the geographic areas associated with the Sea Peoples. Corresponding pictorial evidence from Thera further suggests that the Libyans were in contact with the major power centers of the Mediterranean.⁴⁷ Although there

⁴² The term Meshwesh is traditionally associated with the Machlyes tribe who lived in eastern Tripolitania mentioned by Herodotus (Osing, *LÄ* III: 1016), but as O'Connor notes (in Leahy, ed., *Libya and Egypt*, p. 35) "this equation is by no means certain." For a discussion of the term, see K. Zibelius, *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten* (Wiesbaden, 1972), pp. 129–132.

⁴³ For a distribution of the terms Tjehenu, Tjemehu, Meshwesh, Qeheq and Rebu in the Karnak Inscription, see the corresponding entries in the glossary. A listing of their occurrences in the first and second Libyan War texts of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, can be found in Widmer, *ZÄS* 102 (1975): 74–77; B. Cifola, "The Terminology of Ramses III's Historical Records, With a Formal Analysis of the War Scenes," *Or.* 60 (1991): 47–50. See also O'Connor, in Leahy, ed., *Libya and Egypt*, pp. 40–41 for a discussion of the distribution of the different Libyan "components" in these texts.

⁴⁴ For example, Spalinger, *JSSEA* 9 (1979): 141 claims that the use of *Tjmw* in the Merneptah Victory Stela "indicates its (the stela's) non-historical nature."

⁴⁵ D. White, "1987 Excavations on Bates's Island, Marsa Matruh: Second Preliminary Report" *JARCE* 26 (1989): 87–114. There are also a variety of hilltop settlements, hut foundations, and tent emplacements in the Libyan desert that cannot be precisely dated (G. Barker, "Prehistoric Settlement," in G. Barker, ed., *Farming the Desert: The UNESCO Libyan Valleys Archaeological Survey* [Paris, 1996], pp. 104–107). The hilltop settlements often have early Roman pottery associated with them, yet were probably constructed several centuries earlier (*ibid.*, p. 105). In the other, less substantial structures, only flints and coarse, hand-made pottery has been found, which could date anywhere from the late prehistoric to post-Roman periods. Thus, the archaeological evidence that could further support interpretations of Libyan civilization in the Nineteenth Dynasty could be concealed by the inability to date such structures.

⁴⁶ L. Hulin, "Marsa Matruh 1987, Preliminary Ceramic Report," *JARCE* 26 (1989): 125. In the most recent survey of the potential port sites around Marsa Matruh, D. White and A.P. White conclude that only at Marsa Matruh is there evidence for significant Bronze Age activity ("Coastal Sites of Northeast Africa: The Case Against Bronze Age Ports," *JARCE* 33 [1996]: 11–30). Thus, they do not argue against the trading connections between Libya and the Aegean world during the Bronze Age; however, they see the interactions limited geographically to the one well-protected port from which archaeological evidence has been recovered.

⁴⁷ S. Marinatos, *Excavations at Thera*, vol. VI (Athens, 1975), pp. 44–57; it should be noted that the presence of circumcision that he cites on p. 44 as a reason for considering a figure to be a Libyan is flawed, since the Karnak Inscription clearly indicates that the Libyans were uncircumcised (Ins. 50, 51, 55). Yet the identification of this feature in the fresco is by no means certain and should not be used as evidence to decide for or against the depiction of Libya in the miniature fresco. For large color reproductions of the fresco with detail shots, see also C. Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera* (Athens, 1992), pls. 26–29.

is much controversy surrounding the "miniature fresco" at Thera,⁴⁸ the original excavator and several other scholars⁴⁹ have more recently upheld the view that it depicts some form of contact between the Aegean world and Libya.

The wealth resulting from Libya's trade connections and native industries is most clearly attested in the plunder list of the Karnak Inscription. After the Battle of Perire, Merneptah captured thousands of metal vessels, livestock, and weapons.⁵⁰ A similar, but less extensive plunder list also accompanies the Year 11 Libyan War of Ramesses III.⁵¹ Along with the strong evidence provided by the plunder lists, several other Egyptian reliefs and inscriptions provide evidence for Libyan wealth and trading connections. In the inscription on the base of her obelisks at Karnak, Hatshepsut records (*Urk.* IV 373.6–11):

iw in.(w) nā in.w nw Tjhnw
m zb.w ibh 700 wn im
[m inm.w] šš.w n zbw n mh 6 hr psd mh 4 m šnwšf n zbi šm

The tribute of Tjehenu has been brought to me,
 consisting of ivory and 700 tusks which were there,
 [consisting of] a multitude of panther [skins]
 from Upper Egyptian leopards six cubits along the back
 and four cubits in circumference.

While it is possible that the toponym Tjehenu was mistakenly carved in the place of the more expected Nubia,⁵² there is evidence to support a *prima facie* reading.⁵³ By the time of the New Kingdom in Egypt, Libya would have reached almost modern desiccation levels,⁵⁴ but the Libyans could have either hunted elephants in the Atlas Mountains⁵⁵ or acquired ivory from trade with the elephant territory in sub-Saharan Africa. A tableau in the tomb of Huyia at Amarna, of previously unrecognized significance, also lends credence to Hatshepsut's obelisk inscription in particular and Libyan wealth in general. An inscription accompanying a large scene of foreign tribute proclaims: "King of Upper and Lower Egypt

⁴⁸ For a total rejection of the connection between Africa and the Bronze Age Aegean, see A. Knapp, "The Thera Frescoes and the Question of Aegean Contact with Libya During the Late Bronze Age," *JMAA* 1 (1981): 249–279. He claims that "there are no known Bronze Age archaeological deposits in Cyrenaica, nor anywhere else in Libya" (p. 251), however, excavations at Marsa Matruh and the discovery of a late Bronze Age trading post at Bates's Island contradict Knapp's claims. In general, Aegean connections to North Africa in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries BC are overshadowed by the well-documented trade with Egypt; for example, G. Kopcke, *Handel* (Göttingen, 1990), pp. 53ff. discusses the different trade partners of Crete and the Greek mainland from 1300–1200 BCE, yet does not discuss any of the African material outside of Egypt.

⁴⁹ O. Negbi, "The 'Libyan Landscape' from Thera: A Review of Aegean Enterprises Overseas in the Late Minoan IA Period," *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 7.1 (1994): 73–112 and the extensive bibliography therein.

⁵⁰ For details on the plunder, see the text notes following the plunder list (Ins. 50–61) in Chapter 2, pp. 55–61.

⁵¹ *KRI* V 53.2–9 and 53.14–54.8; Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. II, pl. 75, Ins. 15–38. To the plunder lists of Merneptah and Ramesses III, the spoils of Seti I after his Libyan campaign should also be included. The scene of Seti I presenting Libyan prisoners and plunder is not accompanied by an official plunder list, but the items he offers before the Theban triad are labeled: "silver, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise (and) every precious gemstone." (trans., Epigraphic Survey, *Battle Reliefs of Sety I*, p. 100 [of pl. 32]).

⁵² O'Connor, in Leahy, ed., *Libya and Egypt*, p. 102.

⁵³ Without citing additional evidence, scholars such as Osing, *LÄ* III, cl. 1020 have previously accepted its veracity.

⁵⁴ D. Gilbertson, et al. "Quaternary Geomorphology and Palaeoecology," in G. Barker, ed., *Farming the Desert: The UNESCO Libyan Valleys Archaeological Survey* (Paris, 1996), pp. 57ff.

⁵⁵ H.H. Scullard, *The Elephant in the Greek and Roman World* (Ithaca, 1974), pp. 24–28.

Neferkheperure and the Great Queen Nefertiti appeared in glory upon the great palanquin of [electrum?] to receive the tribute of Kharu, Kush, the West, the East, and every foreign land....⁵⁶ In the commentary to the scene, Davies mentions only the Nubians and Syrians (representing north, east, and south), but in the third lowest register on the west wall,⁵⁷ there are feather-wearing Libyans⁵⁸ carrying several long gold-ring chains and animal skins.⁵⁹

Finally, on a much less luxurious level, the textual evidence, both pharaonic and classical, emphasizes the enormous numbers of livestock owned by the Libyans.⁶⁰ Despite the advanced state of Egypt's civilization, it depended upon agriculture, and the Libyan herds would have been the equivalent of a large fortune.⁶¹

Egyptian texts also suggest that the Libyans were not entirely nomadic, but possessed some form of permanent dwelling, even if only used seasonally. In both the Merneptah texts and the Medinet Habu Year 5 and Year 11 texts, the words *dmi.(w)* and *wḥ.wt* are used in conjunction with the Libyans.⁶² In the Victory Stela of Merneptah,⁶³ those of "his [Merey's] town" speak of the evil fate of their ruler.

This evidence of Libyan wealth and trade connections in the thirteenth century BC can also be compared with the later classical material. Evidence for the ivory trade through Libya seen in the inscription of Hatshepsut is attested in classical texts, and the Chad-Tripoli road was a major caravan thoroughfare in ancient times.⁶⁴ During the New Kingdom, the Libyans would have been in control of this flourishing trade route, and long-distance trade centers such as Marsa Matruh could have produced a considerable amount of wealth for the Libyans. The wealth of the Libyan tribes may also have been related to the trade of a medicinal plant known as silphium, which was a popular product in the classical world and grew only in the Cyrenaic highlands; silphium may also have been traded as early as the New Kingdom and could have been a factor in Libo-Egyptian relations during the wars of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty.⁶⁵

⁵⁶ N. de Garis Davies, *El Amarna III: The Tombs of Huy and Ahmes* (London, 1905), pl. XIII.

⁵⁷ Davies, *Amarna III*, pl. XV.

⁵⁸ They are dressed similarly to the Libyan soldiers in the same scene. Although one may argue that they are merely Libyan auxiliaries, they are carrying tribute, and the Nubians carrying elephant tusks in the register below also wear military sporrans. Compare also a scene in the tomb of Meryra, where the Libyans bring ostrich eggs and feathers (Davies, *Amarna II*, pl. XL).

⁵⁹ Davies, *Amarna III*, p. 11 mistakenly identifies these as Nubians. Herodotus, *Histories*, II 32 remarks on the wide variety of game present in Libya, including panthers, adding further credence to the present interpretation of the Huy reliefs and Hatshepsut obelisk.

⁶⁰ Bates, *Eastern Libyans*, pp. 95–96.

⁶¹ O'Connor's comparison of size the Libyan herds and the number of animals included in gifts of Ramesses III to the temples of Egypt illuminates their potential value (in Leahy, ed., *Libya and Egypt*, pp. 96–97); the interest in Libyan livestock appears as early as the reign of Amenhotep III, where "fresh fat of bulls of the Meshwesh" appear on the docket of a jar dating from his Year 34 jubilee festival (Kitchen, in Leahy, ed., *Libya and Egypt*, p. 16).

⁶² For a collection of all the relevant references, see O'Connor, in Leahy, ed., *Libya and Egypt*, pp. 63–66.

⁶³ KRI IV 14.16–17.

⁶⁴ E.M. Ruprechtsberger, *Die Garamanten, Geschichte und Kultur eines libyschen Volkes in der Sahara* (Mainz, 1997), pp. 26–28; Bates, *Eastern Libyans*, pp. 101ff. Many of the north-south routes from Libya to more southern Africa survive into the medieval period as thoroughfares for slave caravans (J. Thiry, *Le Sahara libyen dans l'Afrique du nord medievale* [Leuven, 1995], pp. 432ff.).

⁶⁵ S. Richardson, *JARCE* 36 (1999): 152ff. Another possible product from Libya is olive oil, see Gardiner, *AEO*, vol. 1, p. 117*. For more information on silphium, see E. Fabbricotti, "Silphium in Ancient Art," *Libyan Studies* 24 (1993): 27–33 (he suggests that the Libyans may have also traded silphium with the Minoans).

The archaeological and textual evidence—including the plunder list at the end of the Karnak Inscription—portrays the Libyans as a wealthy culture astride major trade routes with connections throughout the Mediterranean world. As such, they would have both had the resources to recruit mercenaries and the incentives necessary to mount one of the largest military invasions yet attempted against the Nile Valley from the West.

§ 1.2.3 Libyan Military

Despite the lack of archaeological evidence from Libya itself, Egyptian documents and reliefs contain evidence of the military capabilities of the Libyan groups of the Late Bronze Age.⁶⁶ The Egyptian evidence in turn sheds light upon the rock depictions found in the Tassili-n-Ajjer and other remote Saharan regions, many of which may date to the New Kingdom in Egypt and relate to the Libyan incursions under the reigns of Merneptah and Ramesses III.

Primarily, the late New Kingdom Egyptian material portrays the Libyans as loosely organized infantry armed as archers, along with sword-bearing troops known textually from the Karnak Inscription and Medinet Habu and pictorially in evidence from the Year 11 War reliefs of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.⁶⁷ The rise in the number of sword-bearing Libyan infantry appears to be directly related to their contacts with the Sea Peoples at the beginning of the 13th century BC, and the Meshwesh Libyans seem to be the specific group serving as intermediaries between the Mediterranean groups and the other Libyans. The first evidence for swords in any plunder list relating to a Libyan campaign is during the reign of Merneptah, and in his documents, the number of swords is surprisingly high. The text on the Heliopolis Victory Column shows that the Egyptians captured, from both the Libyans and Sea Peoples, a total of 9,268 swords, 6,860 bows, and 128,660 arrows.⁶⁸ Admittedly, the large number of sword-bearing Sea Peoples⁶⁹ certainly contributed to the high proportion of swords relative to bows. But the otherwise enigmatic “9,111 swords of the Meshwesh” in the Karnak Inscription (ln. 58) alludes to the Meshwesh Libyans’ special role, and by the time of the Year 11 battle of Ramesses III against the Libyans, the main opposition comes from the Meshwesh, who are depicted brandishing their long swords.⁷⁰ The Meshwesh were only one among many Libyan groups in the invasion under Merneptah, but seem to already be linked with swords production and trade.⁷¹ As stated earlier,⁷² the lengths reported for the swords in the

⁶⁶ For an overview, see O’Connor in Leahy, ed., *Libya and Egypt*, pp. 81–89; and the earlier summary with classical citations found in Bates, *Eastern Libyans*, pp. 144–152.

⁶⁷ For a few examples, see Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu I*, pl. 18; the depictions of the Libyans as bowmen stretch back into the late Eighteenth Dynasty (The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple 1: The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall, Translation and Commentary* [Chicago, 1994], pl. 93 and commentary, p. 35 and references therein).

⁶⁸ KRI IV 38.6; unfortunately the number of bows is not preserved in the Karnak Inscription, but the number of swords is given as 9,111 and arrows as 120,214, so it is almost certain that the number of bows would have been similar to the number in the Heliopolis Victory Column.

⁶⁹ See pp. 78–80 (§1.2.3) above for a discussion of the armaments of the Sea Peoples.

⁷⁰ Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. II, pl. 71.

⁷¹ The link between the Meshwesh and trade is probably due to their location close to the Mediterranean coast, but except for the equation with the Malchyes tribe, there is no direct evidence for assigning them to a precise geographical area (for an overview of previous speculations, see O’Connor, in Leahy, ed., *Libya and Egypt*, pp. 33–36).

⁷² See Chapter 2, text note g to ln. 58 (59–60).

Medinet Habu text indicates that the term *sf.t* in the Karnak Inscription (Ins. 58 and 61) refers to swords similar to the Naue II swords associated with the Sea People groups.⁷³ Thus, the high number of swords from the Karnak Inscription is most likely due both to the involvement of the Mediterranean groups, and the adoption of the sword by the Meshwesh.

Just as the Libyans may have adopted the use of a slashing sword from the Sea Peoples, their talents as archers may have been honed through mercenary service in the Egyptian army prior to their invasion of Egypt during the reign of Merneptah.⁷⁴ Libyan auxiliaries seem to be especially common during the reign of Akhenaten, although there is no evidence that they were prisoners from a previous Libyan campaign.⁷⁵ The Libyan troops under Ramesses II have a clear origin as prisoners of war (*KRI* II 289.15–16).

Tḥnw ḥtb.(w) ḥr rd.wyꜣf(y)
šḥm.n šꜥ.tꜣf ḥmꜣsn
ḥꜣq.nꜣf ḥꜣs.t ḥmn.ty
šḥpr.(w) m mšꜥ r šmsꜣf

The Tjehenu are overthrown beneath his feet,
 his slaughter having had power over them.
 With the result that they are transformed into soldiers for
 his entourage, has he captured the western desert land.

The Meshwesh also appear as one of the groups of auxiliary troops mentioned in the fictitious campaign in P. Anastasi 17.4.⁷⁶ Thus, the threat of the Libyan invasion would have been greatly increased by the fact that some of the Libyans and the Sea Peoples may have previously served with the Egyptian army, a quintessential example of “knowing your enemy.”

The contact between Libya and Egypt also added another important piece of equipment to the Libyan arsenal: the chariot. The dating of the chariot in Libya has been a topic of debate, but the late second millennium BC is the traditional date given to the painted and carved images of two horses shown in the “flying gallop” pulling a chariot.⁷⁷

⁷³ See p. 79 and n. 14 (§1.1) above.

⁷⁴ O'Connor, in Leahy, ed., *Libya and Egypt*, pp. 88–89.

⁷⁵ Note their presence in many of the Amarna tombs (for a discussion of the weaponry carried by these Libyans with plate references to the Amarna publications, see the commentary in *The Epigraphic Survey, Festival Procession of Opet*, pp. 35–36). The papyrus from Amarna depicting Libyans slaying Egyptians (see fn. 17 above) could even be another example of the use of Libyans as mercenaries if the scenes are intended to depict some sort of civil war during the reign of Akhenaten. This is quite speculative, but is supported by the appearance of Libyans in the Amarna tombs. Under Amenhotep III, though, there is definite evidence for Libyan captives, but whether they were employed as mercenaries is unknown (*Urk.* IV 1656.12–17; quoted above in text note h to ln. 65 above ([pp. 65–66]).

⁷⁶ Fischer-Elfert, *Anastasi I*, p. 120 and *Anastasi I: Übersetzung und Kommentar*, pp. 149–151.

⁷⁷ For a basic overview see, H. Lhote, *Les chars rupestres Sahariens, des Syrtes au Niger, par le pays des Garamantes et des Atlantes* (Toulouse, 1982); G. Camps, “Le cheval et le char dans la préhistoire Nord-Africaine et Saharienne,” in *Les Chars préhistoriques du Sahara*, G. Camps and M. Gast, eds. (Aix-en-Provence, 1982), pp. 9–22; and the interesting experimental archaeology of J. Spruytte, *Attelages antiques libyens* (Paris, 1996). For the relationship between the tribes inhabiting the central Sahara and the Libyans that invaded Egypt during the New Kingdom, compare the rock paintings from Tassili that show men dressed exactly as the Libyans depicted in Egyptian reliefs (Ruprechtsberger, *Die Garamanten*, pp. 67–70). The dating of the “flying gallop” representations of animals throughout the Mediterranean world, can be found in H. Kantor, *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C.* (Bloomington, 1947), pp. 92ff. A. Muzzolini, “Les chars au Sahara et en

This date is supported by the textual evidence from Egypt describing the invasions that occurred in the reigns of Merneptah and Ramesses III. For example, the plunder list of the Karnak Inscription reports that 12 spans of Merey and the Libyan chiefs were captured (ln. 59), and the Heliopolis Victory Column (*KRI* IV 38.3) records that 42 horses were seized.⁷⁸ The list of plunder captured after the Year 11 Libyan War of Ramesses III gives the much more impressive numbers of 92 chariots and 184 horses.⁷⁹ Additionally, the Libyans appear actually carrying four-spoked chariots after their defeat at the hands of Ramesses III,⁸⁰ probably a conscious portrayal of the Egyptians' own earlier chariot style.⁸¹

Another rock inscription from Nubia depicting a chariot whose span assumes the "flying gallop" position, provides an important clue to the dating of Saharan rock-art depictions and further evidence for the connection between the Libyan groups and the Nilotic Nubian populations. At Nag Kolorodna (between Korosko and Amada) there is a tableau depicting bound prisoners and a chariot;⁸² the way in which the prisoners have their arms bound behind their backs betrays the influence of Egyptian motifs, but the chariot has the same features and perspective as the chariots found in the Sahara.⁸³ This important parallel with its powerful blending of Nilotic and Saharian traditions of chariot and span representation indicates that at least some of the flying gallop chariots in Libya are to be dated to the Egyptian New Kingdom.

Finally, one of the rock depictions from the central Sahara appears to show a Libyan charioteer accompanied by a Sherden warrior.⁸⁴ The carving clearly depicts the same chariot with span in the "flying gallop" as seen in the other inscriptions, but running before the chariot is a man armed with a spear and wearing a horned helmet. The dating of many of the Saharan chariots to the New Kingdom based on the Nag Kolorodna parallel and the appearance of a horned warrior all relate these depictions to the Libyan incursions under Merneptah and Ramesses III. Although no single piece of evidence cited above is alone entirely convincing, the combination of these various facts conclusively demonstrates that the Libyans used chariots both in their own territory and in their attacks on Egypt in the late second millennium BC.

Egypte. Le chars des «peuples de la mer» et la «vague orientalisante» en Afrique," *RdE* 45 (1994): 207–234 disputes both the Egyptian origin of the Libyan chariots and the traditional dating of the "flying gallop" depictions to the second millennium BC, instead placing them in the mid-first millennium. While it is certain that some of the inscriptions do belong to the mid- to late first millennium, he does not present any conclusive evidence that all the "flying gallop" chariots are the result of Greek influence. Furthermore, he ignores the textual reference to Libyan chariots in the Karnak Inscription and depictions of Libyans using chariots at Medinet Habu, in addition to the important inscription from Nag Kolorodna (cf. following discussion and references). Finally, the present author is completely unaware of any evidence for the so-called "chariots of the Sea Peoples" that Muzzolini claims had no bearing on the Libyan chariots.

⁷⁸ For this reading, see Chapter 2, text note a to ln. 30 (especially n. 232).

⁷⁹ *KRI* V 53.8. Compare also the general mention of "horses along with cattle" in the Year 11 Inscription (*KRI* V 62.1).

⁸⁰ Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* II, pl. 75.

⁸¹ Egyptian chariots are depicted with four spokes through the reign of Thutmose IV, when the number changes to six (C. Manassa, "Two Unpublished Memphite Relief Fragments in the Yale Art Gallery," *SAK* 30 [2002]: 260–61 and references therein).

⁸² M.A. Basch and M.A. Gorbea, *Estudios de Arte Rupestre Nubio I, Yacimientos situados en la Orilla Oriental del Nilo, entre Nag Kolorodna y Kars Ibrim* (Madrid, 1968), pls. III–IV.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 50–57.

⁸⁴ Lhôte, *Les chars rupestres Sahariens*, p. 108 (fig. 40) and p. 178 (commentary).

§1.3 EGYPTIAN MILITARY

Although no military “treatises” survive from ancient Egypt, historical texts and documents like Papyrus Anastasi I provide information about troop types and strategy that can be integrated to create general conclusions about military organization.⁸⁵ The different military units mentioned in the Karnak Inscription represent the major components of the New Kingdom military, and in order to elucidate the events of any ancient Egyptian battle, it is crucial to examine the role each component served in combat.

The first unit mentioned is the *pd.wt*, traditionally translated as “bowmen” or “host.” The word can be used to refer to a large army unit, hence the translation “host,”⁸⁶ but when mentioned in conjunction with other troop types designates archers in particular. During the Nineteenth Dynasty, the archers would have been armed with powerful double-recurved bows—a formidable weapon against lightly armored troops.⁸⁷ Even without support from other types of forces, the Egyptian archers would have been quite effective against the nomadic tribes to the east and west (i.e. Shasu and Libyans).

The extension of Egyptian influence over major parts of Syria-Palestine in the early Eighteenth Dynasty coincided with the expansion of the Egyptian military—most notably the creation of a chariot corps.⁸⁸ By virtue of their effectiveness as mobile archery platforms, the chariotry became the backbone of the Egyptian army, as was true with the other civilizations of the Mediterranean.⁸⁹ Yet the description of the battlefield as the “fields of Perire” in the Merneptah Karnak Inscription (ln. 15) also subtly refers to a chariot’s weakness—it could only be effective in certain terrain, and it traveled best on well-maintained roads.⁹⁰ Since the

⁸⁵ The main study to date on this topic is Schulman, *Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom* and the overview by S. Curto, “Krieg,” *LÄ III*, 765–786. Another useful source for the understanding of various titles and the people who held them is P. Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du Nouvel Empire* (Paris, 1994). An analysis of the evidence from P. Anastasi, can be found in Fischer-Elfert, *Papyrus Anastasi I: Übersetzung und Kommentar*, pp. 148–153, passim. For the possible existence of military “schools,” compare the passage in the literary tale “The Blinding of Truth by Falsehood” 5,1–2 (Gardiner, *LES*, 32.12–13): *iwꜣf hr hr.t kꜣ.wt nb.t n ꜥꜣꜣw iwꜣf hr ꜥꜣꜣ m myꜣf iry.w ꜣ.yw nty m tꜣ ꜥꜣ-sꜣꜣꜣ.t irmꜣf* “He practiced all the skills of fighting, surpassing his elder companions who were in school with him.”

⁸⁶ Schulman, *Military Rank*, pp. 30–32.

⁸⁷ For Eighteenth Dynasty bows, see W. McLeod, *Self Bows and Other Archery Tackle from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford, 1982) and idem., *Composite Bows from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford, 1970).

⁸⁸ Concerning the use of Egyptian chariots, W. Decker (“Bemerkungen zur Konstruktion des ägyptischen Rades,” *SAK 11* [1984]: 476) maintains that: “Seine größte Bedeutung hat er jedoch nicht als Streitwagen, sondern als eine Art Statussymbol erlangt. Seine repräsentative Funktion reichte vom “Taxi” bis zum königlichen Zeremonial- und Triumphwagen.” Although chariots were certainly used for the purposes that Decker lists, their use as a status symbol was not the main purpose of chariots in the Bronze Age. Too many chariots are depicted in battle scenes and a chariot corps was too expensive to be used only as status symbols and for royal pleasure (for a discussion of representations of horses in battle, see S.C. Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches*, pp. 116–119). Even for those scholars who accept the military use of chariots, some have argued that the warriors dismounted once they had reached the battlefield via chariot; for a refutation of the view of chariots in the Bronze Age as “battle taxis” and evidence in support of the chariot as “mobile archer’s platform,” see Drews, *Bronze Age*, pp. 113–129.

⁸⁹ Drews, *End of the Bronze Age*, pp. 104ff.

⁹⁰ This could be alluded to in ln. 11 of the Karnak Inscription, where the chariotry is conducted “upon every road.” Obviously, all military units travel best on maintained roadways, but the precautions needed for a horse’s hooves and fragile chariot wheels was much greater than for infantry. An example of a well-maintained road in conjunction with a military outpost is the Alamat-Tal Road on the west bank of Thebes: a cleared path leads from two mud-brick towers, and from textual evidence along the stretch of road atop the high plateau, it is clear that another branch of the same road system was intended for the rapid movement of horses (Darnell, in Friedman, ed., *Egypt and Nubia*, pp. 135, 139–40).

concentration of Merneptah's forces would have been at Pi-Ramesses and Memphis, the chariotry from the Delta capital might have traveled along an extension of the road that Piye used to reach Heliopolis.⁹¹ Since a chariot force required flat expanses and well-maintained roads to fight effectively, such limitations on terrain thus nullified the usefulness of the chariot in battles against irregular forces who would fight in rough terrain using guerilla-like tactics rather than engaging in combat on a flat plain.⁹² Merneptah's strategy at the battle of Perire demonstrates a method by which to avoid the inherent limitations that unsuitable terrain places on chariot forces: he engages with the enemy at the "fields" of Perire, a location that appears to be well-suited for chariots; this is further evidenced by the fact that after the defeat of the Libyans, the chariots are used to pursue the fleeing enemy (Ins. 38–39).⁹³ Pursuit would only be advantageous in flat, even terrain, otherwise the risk to the chariot corps would outweigh the benefit of killing the already fleeing enemy.

Considering the great effectiveness of chariot forces functioning as mobile archers, one might doubt the need for large quantities of infantry archers in conjunction with the more mobile horse-drawn archers; yet during the battle at Perire, it is the *pd.wt* that "spent six hours destroying" the enemy (ln. 33). Since the *pd.t*-archers would have been primarily stationary, their most effective deployment in any battle—not only Perire—would have been on the wings of the army where they could fire their projectiles into the greatest number of the enemy. If the archers were placed as a block directly in front of the enemy army, then their arrows could only directly penetrate into the very first rank; to reach the rear ranks, a steeper trajectory would have to be used, thus limiting the power of the arrow. Archers as the right and left wings of the army could both cover the maneuvers of the chariots with timed volleys and would create a constant attrition of enemy forces. Fire from the wings would also greatly decrease the effectiveness of any enemy charge. This use of Egyptian archers is difficult to prove based purely on textual evidence,⁹⁴ because their exact position in a battle is not specified, but comparisons with armies that also use a combination of archers with a central body of troops—either cavalry or infantry—can provide instructive parallels.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Cf. text note f to line 7 above (p. 16).

⁹² Drews, *End of the Bronze Age*, pp. 138–141. This phenomenon was experienced by civilized forces fighting less-civilized armies all the way through the 19th century; for an examination of the different methods by which more recent civilized armies have similarly adapted to guerilla tactics, see Col. C.E. Callwell, *Small Wars: A Tactical Textbook for Imperial Soldiers* (London, 1990 [reprint]; reference courtesy of John Darnell).

⁹³ The pursuit of an enemy by Egyptian chariots is also depicted in battle reliefs. For references, see A. R. Schulman, "The Egyptian Chariotry: a Reexamination," *JARCE* 2 (1963): 85, n. 67.

⁹⁴ For example, even with a fairly detailed description of the army in the Konosso Stela of Thutmose IV it would be difficult to sketch out the disposition of the different troops (Ins. 11–12 = *Urk.* IV, 1546.9–12):

htr.w m skw tp-mꜣꜣf
mšꜣꜣf hꜣꜣꜣf
nꜣt.w-ꜣ r ꜣtr.ty m nfr.w hr-gꜣꜣf
ps ꜣhr ꜣpr.w m šmsꜣf
 Cavalry in battle formation to his side,
 his army with him,
 the ones victorious of army at the two flanks,
 with the *neferu*-recruits at his sides, and
 the equipped ships in his following.

(for a discussion of the identification of the *neferu* troops, see Chapter 2, fn. 292 above).

⁹⁵ See the discussion on the battle in §1.5 below.

In addition to the archers and chariotry, two further components of the Egyptian army are mentioned: *mtr.w* and *mnfy.t*. As the analysis above demonstrated,⁹⁶ *mtr.w* are almost certainly used for reconnaissance and intelligence. They fill the same function as the geographically knowledgeable *mhr*-scouts in Papyrus Anastasi I⁹⁷ and the *hꜣptꜣw* in the battle of Kadesh.⁹⁸ Since the Libyan war occurs in Egypt itself, it is possible that the *mtr*-scouts were trained in more local geography and employed for conflicts within Egypt's borders against groups like the Libyans and Shasu.⁹⁹ Unfortunately, since *mtr*-scouts occur only in this text, their distinction, if any, from the other types of scouts are difficult to determine.

The designation *mnfy.t*, on the other hand, is one of the most common terms for the Egyptian army, and by the time of the Nineteenth Dynasty seems to refer primarily to infantry troops.¹⁰⁰ In the Karnak Inscription, at the time of entering into battle with the Libyans, the *mnfy.t* have just returned "bearing plunder," probably the result of a campaign in Syria-Palestine (ln. 12).¹⁰¹ In the two other attestations of *mnfy.t* in the Karnak Inscription (lns. 30 and 45), the *mnfy.t*-troops occur only within lists of other military forces. Although the battle narrative is not fully preserved, the extant text does not give the *mnfy.t* a large role within the battle itself; they are "in rank and prepared before" the enemy, but their function during the battle is not elucidated. This is probably an intentional omission on the part of the ancient author, because Merneptah would have

⁹⁶ Chapter 2, text note e to ln. 11 (p. 21).

⁹⁷ Fischer-Elfert, *Papyrus Anastasi I: Übersetzung und Kommentar*, pp. 244–246.

⁹⁸ In the upper right portion of the Kadesh battle scene at Abu Simbel (C. Desroches-Noblecourt, et al., *Grand temple d'Abou Simbel. La bataille de Qadesh*, pl. III d = KRI II 133.13.–14), a mounted soldier is labeled as:

(1) *pꜣ hꜣp.tꜣw n Pr-ꜣ ꜣ.w.s.* (2) *ly r ꜣꜣ pꜣ mšꜣ n Ptꜣ...*

The scouts of Pharaoh, l.p.h. coming in order to overtake the army of Ptah...

Although depictions of mounted Egyptians are rare (A. Schulman, "Egyptian Representations of Horsemen and Riding in the New Kingdom" *JNES* 16 [1957]: 263–271; C. Rommelaere, *Les chevaux du Nouvel Empire égyptien* [Brussels, 1991], pp. 123–134), this label indicates that mounted scouts certainly existed in the New Kingdom, and may have had a much larger role than pictorial and textual records indicate. The long texts describing the battle of Kadesh made no mention of the scouts being mounted, even though the scenes clearly show this to be the case. Thus, the *mtr*-scouts in the Karnak Inscription could also be mounted reconnaissance without being described as such in the text. Unfortunately, since no pictorial record of Merneptah's Libyan war survives, this theory cannot be proven, yet it is an important facet of military organization to consider.

⁹⁹ Compare also Spalinger's ("Psammetichus, King of Egypt: I," *JARCE* 13 [1976]: 140) suggestion the Psamtek I used *hmꜣ-rꜣ nw.w* "overseers of the hunters" in his Libyan campaign because of their desert associations.

¹⁰⁰ Schulman, *Military Rank*, p. 13. C. Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis, fondateur de la XVIIIe dynastie* (Brussels, 1971), p. 179 mentions the line 12 Karnak Inscription example of *mnfy.t* as the spelling that succeeded the older *mnfs.t*. Vandersleyen further notes that *mnfy.t* has both civil and military uses (pp. 180–190), but denies an active military role for them. In fact, the improved translation of line 12 above indicates that at the very least, the *mnfy.t* were active enough to transport booty from a prior campaign, contra Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis*, p. 188, n. 2 who states that the obscurity of the passage in the Karnak Inscription does not provide evidence for their military role. Vandersleyen's extensive analysis of the term and wide-ranging examples contribute to an understanding of the designation *mnfy.t*, but nonetheless do not persuasively prove that they did not have an active military role (Spalinger, *Aspects*, p. 96, n. 64).

¹⁰¹ This position counters Vandersleyen's claim "La Grande Inscription de Karnak ne contient pas d'allusion à la partie asiatique des guerres" (*L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, pp. 561–62), but does provide evidence for his argument that the Asiatic campaign occurs directly before the Libyan and Nubian invasion. For the connection between all three conflicts, see also the discussion of the Amada Stela in Niccacci, in Sigrist, ed., *Études égyptologiques et bibliques*, pp. 94–97. For references relating to the debate concerning the Karnak reliefs which possibly depict the Syrian campaign of Merneptah, see Chapter 2, fn. 116.

been foolish to have his more lightly armored infantry¹⁰² directly engage with the Sea People troops. Instead, as was suggested above (and explained in depth below), the archers were deployed on the wings, and the logical role of the infantry would be as bait for the opposing infantry to bring them into the deadly crossfire of the archers. Considering the large number of Libyan and Sea People casualties, this tactic seems to have worked remarkably well, and when the enemy forces began to flee, then the chariots were put to use in pursuing the routed army.

Thus, the Karnak Inscription indicates that Merneptah was fully aware of the strengths and weaknesses of the various components of his army and was able brilliantly to deploy his troops so as to counter the threat of the heavily armored Sea Peoples and Libyans.¹⁰³

§1.4 GRAND STRATEGY

"For the role of grand strategy—higher strategy—is to co-ordinate and direct all the resources of a nation, or band of nations, towards the attainment of the political object of the war."

—B.H. Liddel Hart¹⁰⁴

The Karnak Inscription of Merneptah is known for its account of the Battle of Perire, but the "higher" strategy that led up to the battle has remained unrecognized. Although the text gives only sparse details concerning the events of the battle itself, there are numerous clues throughout the text that both the Libyan-Sea Peoples coalition and the Egyptians used grand strategy to achieve their goals. When one gathers these diverse facts from the Karnak Inscription of Merneptah and the other Libyan War texts, a fascinating, albeit fragmentary, series of grand strategic events unfolds.

Although the precise geographical origin of the Libyan groups is not known, they necessarily traveled through the Western Desert to reach the Nile Valley. Some interpretations of "the mountains of the Oasis," the first stage of the Libyans' journey reported in the Karnak Inscription, have identified the toponym as a reference to Bahariya Oasis.¹⁰⁵ There are, however, several reasons for identifying "the Oasis" with Siwa: Bahariya Oasis is commonly referred to as *wḥs.t mḥ.ty* or *dsds*; the term *wḥs.t* is used elsewhere to refer to lesser known oases; Siwa is called simply "the Oasis" in later geographical lists; and Siwa has always had strong connections with the Berber language, a form which was spoken by the ancient Libyans.¹⁰⁶ Libyan connections with lesser-known western oases are also attested in Psamtek I's Libyan counter-offensive, which probably involved a raid on Siwa or another small oasis.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Egyptian armor is infrequently depicted, but was probably used by most branches of the military during the New Kingdom. Mail shirts are mentioned among the Syrian plunder in the Gebel Barkal Stela of Thutmose III (ln. 22; *Urk.* IV 1235.9); such armor is also depicted in the tomb of Ken-Amun (Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun*, pl. 16). For a brief discussion of Egyptian armor, see Wolf, *Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres*, pp. 96–98. Yet these bits of armor differ significantly from the heavier Sea People armor, for which see pp. 79–80 above.

¹⁰³ For the tactics employed at Perire, see §1.6 below.

¹⁰⁴ *Strategy*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1991), p. 322. For a more general discussion of grand strategy in the ancient and modern world, see the references cited in fn. 15 of the Introduction.

¹⁰⁵ See Chapter 2, fn. 168 above.

¹⁰⁶ See text note i to ln. 20 above (pp. 31–32, 83–84).

¹⁰⁷ Goedicke, *MDAIK* 18 (1962): 43–44.

From Siwa, the Libyans reach the "the shadu of the district of Farafra," which may refer to the knife-edged dunes around the oasis.¹⁰⁸ There are several known routes from Siwa to Farafra, and a series of smaller oases link the two larger depressions (pl. 1).¹⁰⁹ Although traveling directly to Bahariya from Siwa would have been the shortest route to the Nile Valley, there are more important strategic reasons for controlling Farafra Oasis.¹¹⁰ Farafra is "a focal point for inter-Oases routes"¹¹¹—by controlling Farafra, the Libyans could move throughout the great ring of oases in the western desert and threaten all Egyptian territory at the ends of the desert routes leading into the Nile Valley from both the northern and southern oases. The Libyans always had a strong association with the southern oases,¹¹² an indication that they were capable of using routes between the oases to communicate with Nubian groups, some of whom were themselves a Libo-Nubian mixture.¹¹³ For example, roads such as the Darb el-Arbain, leading from Kharga Oasis directly into Nubia, would have allowed the swift transport of messages between Mery and the leader of Nubian resistance in the south.¹¹⁴ By moving out to Farafra, the Libyans also concealed from the Egyptians the direction of their attack; if they had based their operations out of Bahariya Oasis, the Libyans would have unnecessarily indicated that their attack would be primarily along the northern routes. Thus, control of Farafra was a prerequisite for securing the lines of communication that would allow the Libyans to coordinate their advance on northern Egypt with a (possible) simultaneous Nubian thrust in the south, while masking their final plans from the Egyptians. But before moving directly onto a discussion of the southern theatre of war, one must first determine what impact the control of the oases had on the Libyan thrust into Egypt.

Although Mery may not have possessed detailed knowledge of all the desert routes, it is likely that he knew of the three options open to the Libyan army once it reached Farafra Oasis: 1) threaten the Nile Delta by moving through Bahariya and the northern Fayum,¹¹⁵ 2) attack the Thebaid via Dakhla, and Kharga Oases along routes like the Girga

¹⁰⁸ See text note j to ln. 20 above (pp. 22–23).

¹⁰⁹ W. Jennings-Bramly, "A Journey from Farafra to Siwa, 1898," *Royal Geographical Journal* 19 (1902): 73–75 and the accompanying map; one of the stopping points along the way could have been the small oases of Bahren, to the south-east of Siwa (A. DeCosson, "Notes on the Bahrën, Nuwëmisah, and el-A'reg Oases in the Libyan Desert," *JEA* 23 [1937]: 226–227; Fakhry, *Siwa Oasis*, pp. 15, 135–42).

¹¹⁰ It should also be noted that whether one interprets "the Oasis" as Siwa or Bahariya the following analysis of the capture of Farafra further to the west as part of grand strategy still holds true; either way, the Libyans are taking an indirect approach and securing control of desert routes.

¹¹¹ Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, p. 13.

¹¹² J. Yoyotte, "Un document relatif aux rapports de la Libye et de la Nubie," *BSFE* 6 (1951): 9–14. Yoyotte locates the Tjemehu mentioned in the Harkhuf texts near the small southern oases of Kurkur and Dunqul, an observation which he persuasively supports with the stela of Ramose from the Wadi es-Sebua, describing the activities of Setau.

¹¹³ See discussion of Tjemehu and Tjehenu above §1.2.1.

¹¹⁴ Compare the use of the Western Desert routes in an attempt to transport a message between the Hyksos ruler and the Nubian king during the reign of Kamose, who captures Bahariya Oasis specifically to prevent such communication (D. O'Connor, "The Hyksos Period in Egypt," in E.D. Oren, ed., *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* [Philadelphia, 1997], p. 45 and references therein).

¹¹⁵ Although there is no direct evidence of this in the Karnak Inscription, it is also possible that Mery could have sent some of his troops directly from Siwa through the Wadi Natrun and into the Nile Valley. For a description of this route and relevant sources, see Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, pp. 17–18.

road,¹¹⁶ or 3) use the Darb el-Arbain and other routes from Kharga to invade southern Upper Egypt or northern Nubia.¹¹⁷ Even if the Libyans could exploit only two of these possibilities, the uncertainty of the location of their attack would have given the Libyans the element of surprise. The almost identical use of the Western Oases by the Senussi in WWI vividly demonstrates the feasibility of this strategy; the following description is quoted in extenso because of the striking similarities between two attacks separated by three millennia:¹¹⁸

The coast route was not the only one by which the Senussi could advance against Egypt. Over three hundred miles west of the Nile at the latitude of Beni Suef is the great Oasis of Siwa.... From Siwa are two routes to the Nile Valley, through chains of oases. The northern leads east, with several small oases and wells upon its course, to the great Oasis of Bahariya, of which the eastern edge is less than one hundred miles from the Nile at Minya. The southern runs southeast, through Farafra and Dakhla, to another large oasis, that of Kharga, which is one hundred miles from the Nile at Suhag and rather more from Isna. Siwa had long been one of the chief centres of the Senussi's influence.

Those behind the Senussi contemplated a double attack upon Egypt: along the coast and from Siwa through the oases. These operations were, moreover, to coincide with an attack upon the Sudan by the Sultan of Darfur. The Senussi's influence extended through the heart of the desert down into Darfur, and there is evidence that, despite the vast distance which separated the two potentates, there was coordination in their measures of hostility. The strategic conception behind their actions was remarkable...."

The grand strategy of Merey in 1208 BC was no less remarkable, and like the Senussi, he may have employed the help of Nubian groups in areas of what is now the Sudan. The Amada Stela's description of an attack on Upper Egypt¹¹⁹ indicates that the Libyans used both the northern and southern routes in an attempt to coordinate a joint attack that would engage the Egyptian armies simultaneously in the north and south.¹²⁰ Although an explicit description of the alliance between the Libyans and the southern Libo-Nubians does not occur in extant records, the Amada Stela states that the report of the southern attack occurred two days prior to the battle of Perire.¹²¹ The near simultaneity of the

¹¹⁶ The claim in P. Harris I that fortifications were necessary at Thinis (57.12–13) and Hermopolis (58.6) to defend against Libyan incursions supports the view that Libyan raiders did threaten Upper and Middle Egypt.

¹¹⁷ Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, pp. 13–15 and maps I and II.

¹¹⁸ G. Macmunn and C. Falls, *Military Operations: Egypt & Palestine from the Outbreak of War with Germany to June 1917* (London, 1928), p. 135. I would like to thank Prof. John Darnell for this reference.

¹¹⁹ Lns. 3–4 (KRI IV 1.11): *lwstw r dd n hm f ns n hrtw n Wsw hr thm m p rsi* "One came to report to his Majesty: 'The Wawatian enemies have attacked in the south.'"

¹²⁰ The coordination between the northern and southern attacks has also been noted by Kitchen, in A. Leahy, ed., *Libya and Egypt*, pp. 19–20; idem., "Historical Observations on Ramesside Nubia," in E. Endesfelder, *Ägypten und Kusch* (Berlin, 1977), pp. 221–224; and Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, p. 559.

¹²¹ See text note e to ln. 31 (p. 44) above for a translation of this line of the stela and a discussion of the dates involved in the Libyan invasion.

events combined with the references to the oases earlier in the Karnak Inscription provides temporal and geographical evidence for concerted action between the northern and southern thrusts. Since both the Libyans and the Nubians lived on the fringes of Egyptian-controlled territory, a successful Libyan invasion and Nubian revolt would have served each group well; the northern Libyans would have gained fertile land in the Delta, while the southern Libo-Nubians could have achieved control over the Nubian gold-mines by cutting the region of lower Nubia off from southern Egypt. While these sweeping goals can only remain conjecture, Meresy's implied alliance with the southern Libo-Nubian groups indicates that the Libyan commander formulated and executed strategic maneuvers that transcended the goals of a single conflict.

Once Meresy was in control of the oases and the routes therefrom, he could keep the Egyptians unaware of his exact intended entrance point into the Nile Valley. The Karnak Inscription indicates that Meresy actually reached the western border of Egypt at Perire, probably near the apex of the Delta.¹²² Yet, the text specifically states that he (i.e. Meresy) reached the border at this place; this leaves open the possibility that elements of his forces may have used several different routes.¹²³ In fact, such dispersion is strategically advantageous, because it would have prevented the Egyptians from being able to stop the full momentum of the Libyan and Sea People coalition in a single counterattack. Additionally, a dispersal of invading forces along a number of attack routes would have decreased the problems created by sheer numbers: since over eight thousand Libyan and Sea Peoples were killed during the Battle of Perire, the number involved in the entire attack must have been larger. Considering the famine already taking place in Libya and the desert environment through which the Libyans were traveling, it would have been extremely difficult for the entire army to move along a single route. Evidence within the Karnak Inscription and knowledge of Egyptian topography allow one to suggest three main routes used by the Libyans and Sea Peoples in their invasion of Egypt: Farafrā-Bahariya-Fayum, entering the Nile Valley around Dashur and going into the Western Delta, a second group splitting off at Bahariya, crossing the Nile in Middle Egypt and infiltrating the eastern Delta, and finally a smaller raiding party moving along the Mediterranean coast.

The main starting point of the invasion was an "oasis" (probably Siwa) and the district of Farafra. From Farafra, it is likely that most of the Libyan forces proceeded through Bahariya to the Fayum.¹²⁴ Evidence for the northern group going from the Fayum into the Memphite region is a poetic reference in the Karnak Inscription (ln. 10):

¹²² For a discussion of the location of Perire, see text note e to ln. 15 above (pp. 25–27).

¹²³ Since only part of the *hwstw* report is preserved, it is possible that the following details would have been contained in the now lost portions.

¹²⁴ A trip from Bahariya Oasis to the Fayum could have taken advantage of a branch of the route from the Fayum to the Wadi Natrun that had several watering points along the way; for example, G. Caton-Thompson and E.W. Gardner describe such a site known as "Abu Ballas" as "a stage on the Nile Valley-Wadi Rayan-Bahariya caravan route." (*The Desert Fayum* [London, 1934], p. 158). For a complete description of the route, see Kuhlmann, in Gamer-Wallert and Helck, eds., *Gegengabe*, pp. 199–205. These routes and their use by Libyan invaders were probably one of the main reasons for building fortresses near the Fayum during the 19th Dynasty and again in the 21st Dynasty (for a brief description of the fortresses, see M. Mokhtar, *Ihnâsya el-Medina (Herakleopolis Magna)*, [Cairo, 1983], pp. 23–25). Compare also the fortification of areas in Middle Egypt specifically to control Libyan incursions as described in P. Harris (see fn. 116 above).

“It was stormy in the vicinity of the ancestors,
with the result that all the kings sat in their pyramids.”

The reference to the pyramids immediately brings to mind the ancient road leading directly into the pyramid fields of Dashur and south Saqqara.¹²⁵ Several stelae from the reigns of Taharqa and Psamtek I have been found along this road;¹²⁶ one of the best-preserved stelae records a Libyan campaign during the reign of Psamtek I and the need to patrol routes between the 19th Upper Egyptian nome and the Mediterranean Sea.¹²⁷ The Dashur road and its connections with combat against the Libyans suggests that the image of the pyramids may have been specifically chosen to allude to the Dashur road as another entrance point by some of the Libyan forces.

In addition to the Libyan and Sea People troops entering the Nile Valley near Dashur, another part of the Libyan army probably split off at Bahariya Oasis, crossed the Nile in Middle Egypt (possible near Oxyrhynchus) and preceded to the eastern Delta, enabling them to reach Perbarset—where the Karnak Inscription informs us that the vanguard of the enemy is camped—without confronting any major fortified cities. Such a giant arc through middle Egypt into the eastern Delta would have disrupted communications between the three major military bases in Egypt: Piramesse, Memphis, and Thebes; crossing the Nile between Memphis and Thebes would have created panic in Middle Egypt, while camping in the eastern Delta would have caused problems for the Egyptian troops stationed at Memphis and Piramesse.¹²⁸ Attacking the eastern Delta would have put the Libyans in a precarious position, and invading so far into Egyptian territory would have been a foolish decision for Meresy unless a definite strategic aim was

¹²⁵ M. Basta, “Excavations in the Desert Road at Dashur,” *ASAE* 60 (1968): 57–63. Note also Basta’s reference to Petrie’s theory that the road might have originally led to Siwa (p. 63).

¹²⁶ H. Goedicke, *MDAIK* 18 (1962): 26–29, note especially the sketch-map on p. 27; O. Perdu, “Prologue à un Corpus des Stèles Royales de la XXVI^e Dynastie,” *BSEF* 105 (1986): 23–38; A.M. Moussa, “A Stela of Taharqa from the Desert Road at Dashur,” *MDAIK* 37 (1981): 331–334; H. Altenmüller and A.M. Moussa, “Die Inschriften der Taharkastele von der Daschurstrasse,” *SAK* 9 (1981): 57–84. M. Basta discovered another stela dating to the reign of Psamtek I, which specifically refers to the king inspecting his army and smiting his foes (*ASAE* 60 [1968]: 57–63). It is thus possible, that the Dashur road was a heavily patrolled route that was also used for preventative attacks against the Libyan foes. Another spur of this same track may have also led to a possible fortress at Abu Rowash (M.R. Macramallah, “Une forteresse du Moyen Empire (?) à Abou-Rawach,” *ASAE* 32 [1932]: 161–173); very little is known of this fortress, but Macramallah believed that it would have been crucial in controlling the routes to Tripolitania to the north and the oases to the south (*ibid.*, p. 169).

¹²⁷ Stela VII of Psametik I, lns. 6–7 (Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, pl. 14).

¹²⁸ Pi-Ramesses is attested both textually and archaeologically as a military base. In P. Anastasi III 7,5–7,6, (A. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* [Brussels, 1937], p. 28, ll. 13–15) Piramesse is described as:

t3 st hr šyꜣw n tꜣꜣꜣ nt-ḥꜣꜣꜣ

t3 st snḥ ꜣꜣꜣꜣ mšꜣ

t3 st mnḥ n tꜣꜣꜣ ꜣꜣꜣ mḥš.w

The marshalling place of thy chariotry;

The mustering place of thy army;

The mooring place of thy ships’ troops.

(Translation of Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 101–102). For a discussion of the archaeological evidence indicating that Piramesse was a primary base for the chariot corps, see E. Pusch, “Qantir als ‘...Hauptquartier deiner Streitwagentruppen...,’” in A. Herold, *Streitwagentechnologie in der Ramses-Stadt: Bronze an Pferd und Wagen* (Mainz, 1999), pp. VIII–XIX.

involved. But if the Libyan leader was trying to sever communications between Memphis and Pi-Ramesses as yet another attempt to distract the Egyptian military, his decision would be justifiable. Since Mery's troops probably came into Egypt along several different routes, if his vanguard was attacked along the eastern Delta, other troops could either retreat back to regroup or the dispersed forces could quickly march en masse into the Delta.

Finally, the Karnak Inscription indicates that one more route was used by the Libyans in their invasion of Egypt—the Mediterranean coast. Although a major impetus behind the use of the oasis routes is the presence of fortresses along the Mediterranean littoral,¹²⁹ the Karnak Inscription describes the plundering of fortresses (ln. 19). It is possible that these fortresses are as of yet undiscovered Ramesside fortresses in the oases, but it would be logical for Mery to send a small force along the coastal road to attempt to disrupt communications along the northern front, further distracting and fragmenting the Egyptian army. A limited northern thrust would also provide Mery with a useful counterpart to the probable Nubian revolt in the south.

Since many of Merneptah's texts indicate that Memphis was the ultimate goal of the Libyan ruler,¹³⁰ these elaborate maneuvers indicate that Mery attempted to achieve this objective through the indirect approach¹³¹—rather than directly attacking a fortified city, Mery set out to attack other key locations first to weaken the Egyptian army. By placing their tents next to the Ati canal, Mery's vanguard also strengthened their defensive position, in case the division of the Libyan forces were exploited by the Egyptian army.

Although Merneptah's Karnak Inscription provides only sparse details of the movements of the Libyans and the grand strategy that motivated them, the evidence cited above suggests the following reconstruction of events. After capturing Siwa Oasis, the Libyans proceeded to Farafra Oasis, the lynchpin of the great ring of oases in the Western Desert. From Farafra, the Libyans could descend upon Egypt using a variety of routes leading into the Delta, Middle Egypt, or the Thebaid; Farafra Oasis was also a stepping stone to Kharga and the southerly routes into Nubia. Thus, Farafra Oasis is the ideal starting point for the Libyan invasion, because it keeps the Egyptians uncertain as to their next move, while allowing the Libyans the opportunity to communicate with potential Nubian dissidents in the south. Evidence indicates that Mery ultimately chose a predominately northern route, with some forces traveling through Middle Egypt en route to the eastern Delta. Mery himself is said to arrive at Perire in the western Delta, and his forces were probably divided into two groups: one traveled from Bahariya and the northern Fayum, entering Egypt around the areas of the pyramid fields, while the other split off at Bahariya, crossed the Nile in Middle Egypt, and camped in the eastern Delta. The latter contingent would have successively disrupted communication between Memphis and Thebes and then between Memphis and Pi-Ramesses. A final group may have further distracted the northern forces by plundering the coastal fortresses. Thus, the path of the Libyan invasion cuts across the links between the three major military centers of Egypt and further disrupts the northern armies by infiltrating both sides of the Delta; to

¹²⁹ For information on these forts see text note g to ln. 19 (p. 30), text note a to ln. 41 (pp. 48–50).

¹³⁰ See text note k to ln. 6 in Chapter 2 (pp. 12–13).

¹³¹ As set forth by B.H. Lidell Hart, *Strategy*.

insure that the southern armies do not compensate for the problems in the north, Merer contrives a nearly simultaneous revolt in Nubia.

While the grand strategy of Merer's military offensive is based on these sweeping movements through the Egyptian Western Desert and control of the oasis routes, the essentially defensive nature of Merneptah's position brings an entirely different set of strategies into play, especially those of psychological warfare and the use of buffer states. Although the evidence for Merneptah's use of psychological warfare occurs after the Battle of Perire, it is directly related to the route of Merer's invasion. The Amada Stela vividly relates the pharaoh's treatment of his defeated Libyan enemies (*KRI* IV 34.13–14):

spy hr-tp-lit hr rsy Mn-nfr

The remainder were impaled south of Memphis.

The use of impalement is known from other Egyptian texts,¹³² but it is rare enough to indicate that the Amada Stela does not mention impalement as a mere literary topos.¹³³ Although impalement is a particularly gruesome and extreme form of execution, the impalement of Libyans south of Memphis served a concrete military goal: deterring the Libyans still in Egypt after the Battle of Perire from inciting another rebellion.¹³⁴ Impalement could instill terror into an enemy army by increasing the perceived force of the military, despite their actual strength,¹³⁵ and Merneptah uses this tactic effectively.¹³⁶ The Amada Stela's emphasis upon the area south of Memphis is also a further indication that the Libyans used the desert roads leading into southern Memphis—such as the pyramid field of Dashur. An immediate and brutal response such as impalement would have been visible to any Libyans coming in or out of Egypt through desert routes south of Memphis. Thus, Merneptah's impalement of the Libyans is geographically suited to the Libyan invasion and surely sent a powerful message to Merer and his defeated army.

In addition to psychological warfare, Merneptah uses other tactics to combat the increasing effectiveness of the Sea Peoples in their raids throughout the Mediterranean world; in the conclusion of Merneptah's address after the report of the Libyan invasion, he describes his aid to the Hittite Empire (In. 24):

It is in order to vivify the land of Khatti¹³⁷

¹³² For references to textual attestations, see W. Boochs, "Über den Strafzweck des Pfählens," *GM* 69 (1983): 7; D. Lorton, "The Treatment of Criminals in Ancient Egypt," *JESHO* 20 (1977): 26–28, 34–35.

¹³³ Boochs, *GM* 69 (1983): 10–11 concludes that the motivation behind impalement was based on Egyptian conceptions of the afterlife; impalement represented both the earthly death of a criminal and the dreaded second dead.

¹³⁴ Compare the equally extreme measures taken by Amenhotep II after a campaign in Takhsy: he hangs six princes from the walls of Thebes and a seventh from the walls of Napata (P. Der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II* [Hildeshiem, 1987], p. 50, lines 18–19 [= *Urk.* IV 1287–99]). Thus, Amenhotep II makes a strong statement to Asiatics within Egypt's borders and to the Nubians to the south.

¹³⁵ For impalement as military scare-tactic, compare also its use as part of the "psychological warfare" waged by the Assyrians (W. Mayer, *Politik und Kriegkunst der Assyrier* [Munster, 1995], p. 479; I would like to thank Prof. Benjamin Foster for this reference); for a gruesome depiction of impalement from the siege of Lachish, see D. Ussishkin, *The Conquest of Lachish by Sennacherib* (Tel Aviv, 1982), p. 104.

¹³⁶ A similar strategy is used by the Romans at Masada—although there were only a few Jewish rebels atop the mountain, Vespasian dedicates an entire legion to their destruction. As Luttwak explains, this is almost certainly an example of intentional psychological warfare: "The entire three-year operation, and the very insignificance of its objective, must have made an ominous impression on all those in the East who might otherwise have been tempted to contemplate revolt." (*Grand Strategy*, p. 3).

¹³⁷ Vandersleyen (*L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, p. 571) argues that *Htb* here in Karnak Inscription refers not to the

that I have caused grain to be sent in ships.

As Wainwright noted, Merneptah "had no doubt been informed of the terrible conditions in Asia Minor, and moreover was himself suffering from attacks by Asianic tribes (scil. Sea Peoples) at the very time that he sent the grain.... He would, therefore, have been glad to do what he could do to buttress anyone who might stand between him and further assaults."¹³⁸ By aiding the Hittites, Merneptah is strengthening a military power between Egypt and the invading Sea Peoples. Aid to a geographically intermediate power recalls Egyptian foreign policy in Syria-Palestine during the Eighteenth Dynasty; from the reign of Thutmose III, Eighteenth Dynasty pharaohs maintained a series of vassal states throughout Syria-Palestine to create several buffer states between Egypt and Mittani and then between Egypt and the Hittites.¹³⁹ Just as Egypt attempted to use Amurru as a buffer state against the growing Hittite threat in the late Eighteenth Dynasty,¹⁴⁰ the menacing Sea Peoples forces the Hittites (and possibly the "neo-Hittites" in Syria-Palestine) into such a role during the reign of Merneptah.

Besides the textual evidence of aid to the Hittites, there is also archaeological and textual evidence that may indicate a use of buffer states in Syria-Palestine under Merneptah. Merneptah's campaign in Syria-Palestine, known from his Victory Stela, the military journal in P. Anastasi III, reliefs in Karnak Temple, and an allusion in the Karnak Inscription (ln. 12), suggest the importance of that area.¹⁴¹ In fact, Merneptah's campaign may have been an attempt to secure the loyalty of a region between Egypt and the increasing Sea People threat. Interest in Syria-Palestine is further attested by the presence of a bronze sword with Merneptah's cartouche found at Ras Shamra.¹⁴² This evidence suggests that directly prior to the Libyan campaign, the Egyptian army was returning from successful combat in Syria-Palestine, and at some point in Merneptah's reign Egypt may have sent further aid to Ugarit.

Merneptah's use of buffer states to protect Egypt from the Sea Peoples may also be related to an attempt by Ramesses III to create a client state amongst the hostile Libyan tribes; the affair is recorded in the Year 5 Libyan War Inscription at Medinet Habu (KRI V 22.16-23.4):

ist ỉ.ỉr nṯr pn nb nṯr.w n ʿs km.t r nhḫ hr nḫt
rdỉ.tw dbḫ ḫs.wt wr.w m [ỉbʿsn ḫr ḫm] n nswt ʿs.t nsy.t
ḫmʿf ip whʿ mḯ Dhṯy

Hittite homeland around Hattousa, but rather to the "neo-Hittite" kingdoms in Palestine. There is no direct evidence to deny or support such a conclusion, and it is quite conceivable that Merneptah is sending grain to Asia Minor. Yet whether the ḫt to which Merneptah sends grain is interpreted as Asia Minor or Syria-Palestine, the following analysis of its strategic importance still applies.

¹³⁸ G.A. Wainwright, "Merneptah's Aid to the Hittites," *JEA* 46 (1960): 24.

¹³⁹ For a multi-disciplinary analysis of international relations during the Amarna Period, see R. Cohen and R. Westbrook, eds., *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations* (Baltimore, 2000).

¹⁴⁰ For the use of Amurru as a buffer state, see Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*, pp. 13-21.

¹⁴¹ For evidence relating to Merneptah's Syro-Palestinian campaign, see p. 22 (especially n. 116 on the Karnak reliefs) and p. 93 (especially n. 101).

¹⁴² C. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* III (Paris, 1956), p. 172 fig. 124 and pl. VIII for detail; idem. "Une épée de bronze d'Ugarit (Ras Shamra) portant le cartouche de Merneptah," *RdE* 11 (1957): 139-143. Schaeffer links the sword both with the historical inscriptions of Merneptah and his strategies in Syria-Palestine (*RdE* 11 [1957]: 142-43), and is used by Wainwright, *JEA* 46 (1960): 25 in claiming that Merneptah probably sent mercenaries to Ugarit along with grain to the Hittites. For an overview of Ugarit's problems with the Sea Peoples at this time, see M. Yon, M. Sznycer, and P. Bordreuil, eds., *Le pays d'Ugarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C.* (Paris, 1995), pp. 113-140.

h3.wtsw shr.w ptr.(w) wd^c.(w) m-b3h^f
in hm^f kt n Tmhw
m ms [d^{h3}] n hps.wy^f
dhn nsw r wr r grg t^{sn}
bw sdm(w)^f dr-^c dr nsy.wt

Meanwhile, it was so that Egypt be great and victorious forever
 that this god, lord of the gods acted.
 One caused the foreign lands to request rulers [from their hearts
 before the majesty] of the king, great of kingship,
 his majesty being as wise and clever as Thoth.
 Their hearts and their plans were viewed and judged before him.
 His majesty brought a young man of the Tjemehu,
 as a child [protected] by his two strong arms,
 appointed to be ruler for them in order to establish their land.
 It had not been heard¹⁴³ previously, since the (time of) the *nswt*-kings.

The overall thrust of this passage is strikingly similar to the education of "hostage" Syro-Palestinian princes for the purpose of installing leaders loyal to Egypt.¹⁴⁴ By placing a Tjemehu child—raised by the king himself—in charge of one or more Libyan tribes, Ramesses III was hoping to prevent future invasions and possibly provide a buffer against other hostile tribes such as the Seped and Meshwesh. While the strategy ultimately failed, it is probably another unrecognized use of client states in Egyptian strategy.

During and after the Libyan–Sea People invasion, Merneptah was not merely reacting to an immediate threat, but rather planning grand strategy with far-reaching consequences. One might not be amiss in suggesting that the aid Merneptah sent to the Hittites and Ugarit to assist in fighting off the Sea Peoples contributed to the later success of Ramesses III against the northern invaders. With militarily strong allies in the eastern Mediterranean and Asia Minor sustained by Egyptian grain and weaponry, the pharaohs had a much greater chance to defeat the powerful barbarian troops.

Despite lacunae throughout the text and the resulting obscurity within many of the passages in the Karnak Inscription, enough survives to demonstrate that grand strategy flourished much earlier than has thus far been recognized. Although Mererue ruled over a semi-nomadic civilization with no known written language at the time, the Libyan commander used his practical knowledge of the desert and its inhabitants to formulate an invasion plan that encompassed many of the traditional aspects of grand strategy. Rather than encouraging the Nubians to join him in his northern thrust, evidence indicates that Mererue cleverly used them to create a distraction for the southern Egyptian army. The number and distribution of desert routes available to Mererue contributed to the confusion the Nubian alliance created—from Farafra, Mererue could control the entire ring of Western Desert oases and threaten nearly all the major cities of the Nile Valley. When Mererue approached the Nile Valley, his troops infiltrated Egyptian territory using various routes. He placed the vanguard of his troops at Perbarset in the eastern part of the Delta, in order

¹⁴³ For other Ramesside examples of a passive *sdm.(w)^f* with a suffix pronoun as object, see Chapter 4, §4.7.

¹⁴⁴ E. Feucht, "Kinder fremder Völker in Ägypten," *SAK* 17 (1990): 199–202.

to separate the forces of Pi-Ramesse from Memphis. All these decisions represent a strategic sophistication that transcends the battlefield tactics of massed charges and confused *melées* one often associates with "barbarian" skirmishers. Since the Egyptians had no need for elaborate maneuvering in their own territory, there is less direct evidence for grand strategy on the Egyptian side. Yet Merneptah exploits the psychological aspects of warfare with the impalement of Libyans south of Memphis, and the strategic use of buffer states by sending aid to Asia Minor and Syria-Palestine. Following the strategy that forms the background of the Battle at Perire, it is important to turn next to the actual battlefield tactics that were used on the 3 Shomu 3, 1208 B.C.

1.5 THE BATTLE AT PERIRE

"Let there be no mistake about this—the theory of attack when regular troops are pitted against irregulars, differs fundamentally from the theory of attack designed to meet the case of great operations between armies of the first class."

—Col. C.E. Callwell¹⁴⁵

The strategic maneuvers of the Egyptians and the Libyans culminated at Perire, where the famous six-hour battle ensued. Although Merneptah's historical texts do not specify exactly how the Egyptian forces were deployed, certain tactics are made more likely by the inherent strengths and weaknesses of the Egyptian army in comparison to the Libyan and Sea Peoples troops. Additionally, one can test these dispositions through comparison with other battles throughout history.

Since the Karnak Inscription does not give explicit information regarding the tactics employed by either force at the Battle at Perire, the events that took place on day three of the third month of Shomu, 1208 BC must be reconstructed using indirect evidence from a variety of sources. The composition of the New Kingdom Egyptian army is attested both textually and pictorially, and was divided into two major parts: the infantry and the chariotry. However, neither of these groups were homogenous¹⁴⁶—a Ramesside infantry force would have included archers, close-combat warriors, and various mercenary components,¹⁴⁷ and the chariotry employed both chariot warriors (i.e. drivers/archers and shield-bearers) and runners. The units which fulfilled these various functions were not mutually exclusive; for example, the foreign Sherden warriors, who fought as heavy infantry with metal armor and long, slashing swords or spears, could be used either as units of infantry or as chariot runners. Although most late Bronze Age battles against other major powers were primarily a clash of chariotry, the Egyptian infantry often

¹⁴⁵ *Small Wars*, p. 151.

¹⁴⁶ Schulman, *Military Rank*, pp. 10–16.

¹⁴⁷ Note the distribution of these three different types of soldiers from New Kingdom battle reliefs; for a few examples, see Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. I, pls. 17 and 31 (Pelset, Sherden, and Nubian auxiliaries preceding chariots also accompanied with Egyptian runners) and pl. 24 (bowmen, spearmen, and foreign auxiliaries). See also the discussion of the Ramesside military by P. Grandet, *Ramsès III, histoire d'un règne* (Paris, 1993), pp. 164–75, and the description of the Egyptian military, pp. 91–94 above.

played a greater role in conflicts with the forces of semi-nomadic populations, who tended to fight primarily as foot soldiers and often employed guerilla tactics.¹⁴⁸ The Sea Peoples provide an extreme example of reliance upon infantry tactics, and at the Battle of Perire, the Sea People contingents recruited by Mererptah would have fought entirely as heavily armored infantry.¹⁴⁹ The large number of swords captured from the Libyans in comparison to the trivial amount of chariots strongly suggests that the main Libyan army was also deployed as infantry.¹⁵⁰

The Battle of Perire can thus be summarized as the clash between the Egyptian archers (both on foot and mounted in chariots) and the Libyan-Sea Peoples close-combat infantry. Although there are only a few details concerning the deployment of these two forces, the Karnak Inscription provides two important clues about the use of foot archers and chariotry during the battle: 1) the "bowmen" spent six hours destroying the enemy, and 2) the chariotry pursued the fleeing enemy.¹⁵¹

The preeminence of the bowmen on foot rather than those in chariots in the beginning of the battle is a direct result of the impossibility of chariots charging into massed infantry formations. Although the Egyptians might have mustered many chariots for the battle, the light vehicles would have been of only limited use against the armored Sea People infantry and large Libyan forces. Although not specifically stated in the text, an initial chariot maneuver could have harassed the enemy's front lines, with lethal effect on the less-armored Libyan troops, who probably only wore long leather cloaks. Such a maneuver would have possibly incited Mererptah's forces to charge the Egyptian army. However, if the Sea Peoples and Libyans had succeeded in engaging in a *melée* with the Egyptians, it is possible that they could have overwhelmed the lightly-armored Egyptian infantry, unequipped to fight against long slashing swords and heavy armor. However, as the Karnak Inscription reports, it was the bowmen who destroyed the enemy. This indicates that rather than allowing Mererptah's forces to engage with his own infantry, Merneptah might have deployed his archers as two massed units on either side of his infantry. As the enemy charged, the archers to either side could have poured raking fire into the Libyans and Sea Peoples. Unable to use their close combat fighting techniques, the Libyans and Sea Peoples might have charged several times into the Egyptian formation. The few that succeeded in surviving the arrow cloud would have been outnumbered by the Egyptian infantry and promptly cut down. After several such

¹⁴⁸ See fn. 92 above.

¹⁴⁹ See the discussion to pp. 78–80 above.

¹⁵⁰ See §1.2.3 (pp. 88–89) above on the Libyan military.

¹⁵¹ A. Schulman, "Chariots, Chariotry, and the Hyksos," *JSEEA* 10 (1980): 131 uses the evidence of Egyptian chariots chasing a fleeing enemy to conclude that chariots were primarily deployed after the infantry had been broken. While pursuit was an important function of the chariot corps and the Karnak Inscription does not provide explicit evidence for an initial chariot charge, their mobility was probably also instrumental in breaking up the enemy infantry in the first place. A few wheeling charges would help to weaken the enemy and possibly induce them to come forward to engage with the infantry—where they were then met by the barrages of Merneptah's well-positioned bowmen. In fact, in an earlier article, Schulman (*JARCE* 2 [1963]: 86) vividly describes this function of the chariotry: "[the chariotry] first charged the enemy head on, and then, when within effective arrow range, fanned out and traveled parallel to the exposed enemy front and raked it with a searching fire. In such a situation the hostile infantry was relatively immobile and provided a compact target. Accurate archery would not have been necessary, but rapid fire of missiles into the close-packed mass of the foe could hardly have failed to find a target." For chariot tactics, see also fn. 12 above.

charges and the flight of the Libyan chief, Merey, the enemy probably fled the battlefield, at which point Merneptah's chariot corps were deployed to kill as many of the retreating enemies as possible.

Battles throughout history where armies with large numbers of archers fought forces that relied primarily on close-order combat provide support for this reconstruction of the battle of Perire. In the battles described below, the consistency with which the archers triumph in these conflicts also lends credence to Merneptah's account of the numbers of dead and captured enemies after the Battle at Perire. In AD 552, the Byzantine general Narses engaged a Gothic army at a plain near the village of Taginae;¹⁵² like the Egyptians, Narses recognized that his great strength lay in his archers, while his infantry, the Lombard and Heruli *feoderati*, served as the bait to an enemy bent on close combat. The Gothic army opposing Narses was primarily heavy cavalry that concentrated its force in a single block for a massive charge, the goal of which was to break through the enemy ranks and force a complete *mêlée*,¹⁵³ although the Gothic tactic may seem unsophisticated, it proved amazingly successful against late Roman troops at the battle of Adrianople in AD 378.¹⁵⁴ Narses' innovation was to deploy his archers curving out and forward from his central infantry, forming two horn-like crescents—intending the shower of arrows from both flanks to break the initial Gothic charge and nullify their skill at hand-to-hand combat. Narses' tactic was amazingly successful—the Goths aimed directly for the central infantry and were decimated by the Byzantine archers. After several hours of repeated Gothic charges,¹⁵⁵ Narses' cavalry pursued the fleeing remnants of the Gothic army, while six thousand Goths already lay dead on the battlefield. The battle of Taginae represents precisely the same strengths and weakness of the opposing combatants as those of the two forces at the Battle of Perire; although the Goths had cavalry, unlike the Sea Peoples, both forces relied on weapons best suited for close-order combat with the enemy. In order to use their long slashing swords, the Sea Peoples at Perire were forced to engage Merneptah's infantry in close combat, but if Merneptah and his generals deployed the Egyptian archers on the wings like Narses at Taginae, the Egyptian army could have inflicted enormous casualties on the Sea Peoples and Libyans before the enemy was able to exploit their effectiveness as close-combat infantry.

The tactics employed by Narses and almost certainly by the Egyptian forces of Merneptah are used again almost nine hundred years later in two battles involving

¹⁵² The discussion of the battle of Taginae is based on the accounts presented by L. Fauber, *Narses: Hammer of the Goths* (New York, 1990), pp. 87–97 and J.F.C. Fuller, *A Military History of the Western World* (New York, 1954), vol. 1, pp. 323–329, itself relying on the description given by the ancient author Procopius. The schematic diagram of troop deployment in Fuller, *Military History*, p. 325 is especially useful, because it probably resembles quite closely the deployment at the Battle of Perire. I would like to thank Prof. John Darnell for suggesting this comparative material.

¹⁵³ It should also be noted that unlike the parallels from Crécy and Agincourt discussed below, Narses' troops actually outnumbered the barbarian forces; but it was his tactics and not numerical superiority that secured his victory (for figures, see Fauber, *Narses*, p. 88).

¹⁵⁴ For a general description of this battle, see Fuller, *Military History of the Western World*, vol. 1, pp. 270–274; for the Gothic tactics, see also H. Elton, *Warfare in Roman Europe, AD 350–425* (Oxford, 1996), p. 81.

¹⁵⁵ The battle began in the mid-afternoon and did not conclude until the evening (Fauber, *Narses*, pp. 92–93); this time span is comparable to the six hours of the Battle of Perire—while each individual *mêlée* would have only lasted a short period of time, the repeated charges of the opposing barbarian troops in each of the battles stretched out over several hours.

similar differences between the tactical strengths of two opposing forces. At the battles of Crécy and Agincourt during the Hundred Years War, the English bowmen faced the French cavalry with deadly effect.¹⁵⁶ Upholding the chivalrous code, the French knights' main intention in combat was to engage in combat with the opposing English knights. In each of these battles, the English deployed their renowned long-bowmen on the flanks of their central infantry force¹⁵⁷ in order to shoot at the French cavalry as they charged. At the battle of Crécy, the French outnumbered the English at least three to one,¹⁵⁸ yet the French were overwhelmingly defeated, demonstrating the potency of archers even against armored opponents. The results of these battles lend credence to the numbers of dead reported in Merneptah's texts and also demonstrate that the Egyptians could have been outnumbered greatly by the Libyans and Sea Peoples without casting doubt on their complete victory. At the Battle of Agincourt the English again employ the same tactics as at Crécy, with a nearly identical result; once again, the French charged between the archers in an attempt to engage in hand-to-hand combat with the English men-at-arms.¹⁵⁹ When the Battle of Agincourt was over, nearly ten-thousand French soldiers lay dead, while the English had only incurred a few hundred casualties, despite the fact that once again the French greatly outnumbered the English, probably four to one.¹⁶⁰ At both Crécy and Agincourt, the English long-bowmen demonstrate the potential superiority of projectile weaponry when properly used in massed formation against a tightly packed enemy. The comparison of Perire to battles during the Hundred Years War is further supported by similarities in weapon capabilities; Egyptians archers could have approached the piercing ability and firepower of their medieval English counterparts: three of the composite bows found in the tomb of Tutankhamen are as long as the English long-bow and their range would have been about three-quarters of that of the later long-bow.¹⁶¹

The account of the Battle of Perire presented in the Karnak Inscription is probably the first in a long line of successful battles fought by armies relying primarily on massed archers against armored infantry. Although we may never know exactly what happened

¹⁵⁶ For surveys of the use of archers in the Hundred Years War, see M. Bennett, "The Development of Battle Tactics in the Hundred Years War," in A. Curry and M. Hughes, eds., *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 1–20; J. Bradbury, *The Medieval Archer* (Woodbridge, 1985), pp. 91–115.

¹⁵⁷ Although scholars such as Fuller (*Military History of the Western World*, vol. 1, p. 459) and Burne (*The Crecy War* [London, 1955], p. 172) have proposed that archers were also deployed in triangular shaped formations within the center infantry (as an explanation of the term "en herse" found in the contemporary chronicles), the presence of archers among the infantry is not supported by the evidence (for references to this debate, see A. Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations* [Woodbridge, 2000], pp. 403–404). As M. Bennett notes, the "herce" probably refers to the positioning of the archers behind defensive stakes and not their overall deployment on the battlefield (in Curry and Hughes, eds., *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, p. 15). Additionally, the debate concerning the obscure term "herse" has drawn attention away from the most common use of archers during the Hundred Years War: "on the wings, forward and fanning outwards, so that when the enemy attacked against the main body in the centre, the archers were able to close on them from the flanks" (Bradbury, *The Medieval Archer*, p. 115).

¹⁵⁸ Burne, *Crecy War*, pp. 175–76.

¹⁵⁹ For a discussion of the tactics of the battle of Agincourt and the deployment of troops, see A. Burne, *The Agincourt War* (New Jersey, 1956), pp. 80ff; Bradbury, *The Medieval Archer*, pp. 129–134. Note also the review of modern descriptions of the battle (including Burne's) in Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt*, pp. 394–405.

¹⁶⁰ Burne, *Crecy War*, p. 87 and p. 94; Burne also notes that even among these few hundred casualties, most of them were wounded and not killed.

¹⁶¹ McLeod, *Composite Bows*, p. 30 (length of bows) and p. 37 (performance).

in the fields of Perire in 1208 BC, a close study of comparative military history offers the best means to create the most plausible reconstruction the battlefield tactics of Merneptah's officers and their Libyan and Sea Peoples counterparts.

§2 LITERARY THEMES

Although the Victory Stela is considered to be the most "literary" of Merneptah's military texts, the Karnak Inscription also incorporates literary topoi into its narrative of the Libyan invasion. Some of the more limited allusions have already been discussed in the text notes,¹⁶² but the important larger themes are united in the following sections. While some have maintained that the Karnak Inscription is not a unified composition, the use of the same themes in several different sections of the text demonstrates otherwise.¹⁶³

§2.1 KÖNIGSNVELLE

The term "Königsnovelle" refers to a particular genre of texts, often defined by the presence of certain motifs, such as the appearance of the king upon the throne, a royal discussion with a council, and rage of pharaoh at the council's decisions.¹⁶⁴ The application of the term "Königsnovelle" to the Karnak Inscription will use the four essential elements of the Königsnovelle genre as defined by Jansen-Winkel:¹⁶⁵

1. the theme is based on an important event with the king as "hero"
2. the text is publicly displayed
3. the language is characterized by "Bericht"
4. the composition serves the purpose of "royal propaganda"

The first element is present throughout the Karnak Inscription—as in most Egyptian military texts, the king is ultimately the force behind the Egyptian victory over dangerous foes. It is Merneptah who saved Egypt from its deplorable condition and defenselessness at the hands of the Nine Bows (lns. 10, 40). Additionally, the gods work their marvels specifically through the agency of the king.¹⁶⁶ Yet the Karnak Inscription differs from texts such as the Kadesh Battle texts of Ramesses II, which places nearly exclusive emphasis on the prowess and personal presence of the king; Merneptah's army does not abandon him in the face of the enemy, and several parts of the battle narrative discuss the actions of the Egyptian army in quite favorable terms. In fact, when the army marches into battle, Amun-Re and Seth are specifically said to be with them (ln. 32).¹⁶⁷ The difference in the

¹⁶² For example, the comparison of the enemy and their leader Meret to various animals: fish (lns. 23 and 46), a dog (ln. 23), and locusts (ln. 74).

¹⁶³ *Aspects*, p. 213; to Spalinger's claim that the Karnak Inscription is only a conglomerate of forms, note also K. Kitchen's response in his review of Spalinger's book (*Bib. Or.* 44 [1987]: 638): "Eclectic it may be, mere conglomerate it is not."

¹⁶⁴ A. Hermann, *Die ägyptische Königsnovelle* (Glückstadt, 1938) originally coined the term Königsnovelle, but it has been profitably reanalyzed by K. Jansen-Winkel, "Die ägyptische 'Königsnovelle' als Texttyp," *WZKM* 83 (1993): 101–116, who also collects the relevant earlier bibliography.

¹⁶⁵ *WZKM* 83 (1993): 108. Note also the more general discussion of the Königsnovelle by A. Loprieno, "The 'King's Novel,'" in A. Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 277–295, whose basic definition of the Königsnovelle is "an inquiry into the king's position towards mankind and history" (p. 295).

¹⁶⁶ See text note c to ln. 47 (p. 54).

¹⁶⁷ See §3.2 below on divine participation in battle.

focus of the Karnak Inscription and the Kadesh texts lies not in the personalities or military abilities of Merneptah as opposed to Ramesses II, but is probably a result of the more strategic implications of the Libyan invasion. Since Ramesses II must immediately and personally respond to a battlefield crisis, the narrative revolves around the specific actions of the king. In Merneptah's case, the Egyptian ruler must respond to an attack founded upon grand strategy and encompassing a large geographical area; thus, the deployment of Egyptian troops and even the sending of grain to the Hittites (ln. 24) are the heroic actions of Merneptah which correspond to his father's daring charge against the Hittites. Thus, the praise and divine aid to the Egyptian army do not detract from Merneptah being the central "hero" in the Karnak Inscription, because the pharaoh's army is an extension of the means by which he accomplishes his victory.

The public display of the Karnak Inscription and Merneptah's other Libyan War texts is supported both archaeologically and textually. Although no duplicate copy of the Karnak Inscription has been found, other texts describing the military events of Year 5 are known from the Delta, Upper Egypt, and Nubia.¹⁶⁸ Even more telling is the statement at the end of the Karnak Inscription, which makes provision for setting up copies of the battle account in "the temple of every god and every goddess" (ln. 79). Although the Karnak Inscription was not visible to the public, it would have been quite noticeable to many priests and officials participating in festival processions along the north-south axis of Karnak Temple.¹⁶⁹ Finally, the battle reliefs on the south wall of the Cour de la Cachette publicly proclaimed Merneptah's victory over the Syrio-Palestinians,¹⁷⁰ and similar scenes depicting his Libyan victories may have originally existed in Karnak Temple or Merneptah's mortuary temple.

The third characteristic of the Königsnovelle requires that the text possess a narrative framework, which can include speeches by the king, gods, and councils, provided that the composition still maintains a chronological progression of events.¹⁷¹ The Karnak Inscription provides ample proof of its narrative framework: after the (restored) *iw-tw* report, troops are deployed,¹⁷² the battle occurs, and the plunder is brought back to Egypt. Speeches by Merneptah and the dream sequence are intertwined with the narration of the military events and so become historical events themselves. Grammatically, the battle narrative uses traditional Middle Egyptian narrative forms such as *sdm pw jr.nsf*, and the compound narrative *ḥr.n sdm.nsf* introduces the dream sequence.¹⁷³ These syntactical markers further relate each of the events (i.e. the battle or the divine dream) to the narrative sequence; furthermore, the use of *ist* throughout the inscription allows

¹⁶⁸ For a list of all the texts dealing with the Libyan invasion of Year 5, see fns. 5-6 in the Introduction.

¹⁶⁹ F. LeSaout, in *Cahiers de Karnak* VII, p. 248 discusses the ritual importance of the Cour de la Cachette.

¹⁷⁰ For the debate over these reliefs, see fn. 116 in Chapter 2.

¹⁷¹ Thus, Jansen-Winkel rules out "encomia" such as Merneptah's Victory Stela, *WZKM* 83 (1993): 108-109. Although Jansen-Winkel does not there elaborate on the various persons involved in narrative sequences, the following discussion will use the criteria outlined by Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, pp. 13-14 where narrative sequences can occur in both direct and indirect discourse. See also Jansen-Winkel's discussion of narrative forms in Late Middle Egyptian in *Spätmittelägyptische* §§689ff. For an interesting examination of historical "narration" in direct speech without actual narrative forms, see S. Israeli, "Narrative in the Medinet Habu War Inscriptions," *LingAeg* 1 (1991): 155-64.

¹⁷² The text even states that the deployment occurred 14 days prior to first contact with the enemy (ln. 28).

¹⁷³ For these forms within the context of the grammar of the Karnak Inscription see Chapter 4, §8.

simultaneous events to be reported in a single flowing narrative,¹⁷⁴ placing the Karnak Inscription firmly into the category of "Bericht."

Finally, all Königsnovelle compositions serve functionally as royal propaganda, specifically focused upon actions performed by the king in order to preserve cosmic order. This criterion thus includes such texts as the Piye Stela and the Chronicle of Osorkon, previously excluded from the genre of the Königsnovelle, while insuring that literary texts such as P. Westcar and the Prophecies of Neferti are not included.¹⁷⁵ The Karnak Inscription fulfills this fourth criterion, because the Libyan invasion is portrayed throughout the inscription as a "cosmic" threat by chaotic forces that must be overcome by the pharaoh, champion of Maat.¹⁷⁶ The participation of Sea Peoples troops, the probable alliance with the Nubians, and the strategic approach that led to Libyan control of the oases, all made the Libyan invasion especially threatening to the ordered universe, both in earthly, political terms and on a divine level. These historical facts are then emphasized for religious effect—Merneptah truly does defend the funerary cults of the kings trapped in their pyramids and destroys the threat that would prevent the peaceful sleep of the Egyptians. An invasion by enemy forces is the perfect setting in which to stage a cosmic drama with the king as hero, and the author(s) of the Karnak Inscription brilliantly exploited a threatening invasion to demonstrate the efficacy of Merneptah's kingship.

Assigning the Karnak Inscription to the genre of the Königsnovelle also raises important questions about the relationships between the military texts of Merneptah and the history of their composition. Evidence available for other military texts demonstrates that at least portions of many ancient Egyptian military documents were adapted from the actual day-books of military scribes.¹⁷⁷ Spalinger has divided New Kingdom military documents into those with and those without a day-book core; while the grammatical structures of the "literary" accounts certainly supports his view, the vivid details of the Karnak Inscription¹⁷⁸ could have still been extracted directly from the day-book. In fact, the actual text of the report from the frontier fort (Karnak Inscription, lns. 19–20)—or at least a summary—might have appeared in the day-book of Year 5, along with details of the preparations for the battle and the fighting at Perire. For the Karnak Inscription, the following scenario can be proposed: to the terse narrative infinitives of the day-book, literary forms were added, along with the additional sections of praise in the beginning and end of the text and non-military parts like the dream sequence. Texts with a higher level of religious imagery such as the Victory Stela could have then been based on the historical account of the Karnak text, while the Kom el-Ahmar Stela may represent an abridged version of the historical account. Although there is no concrete evidence to prove the process by which the Karnak Inscription was composed, the similarities between Merneptah's historical texts provide tantalizing hints at the complex compositional history of Ramesside military texts.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁴ See Chapter 4, §2 on the particle *ist*.

¹⁷⁵ Jansen-Winkeln, *WZKM* 83 (1993): 108–111.

¹⁷⁶ For a full discussion of this, see §3.3 below.

¹⁷⁷ Spalinger, *Aspects*, pp. 120ff.

¹⁷⁸ Spalinger classifies the Karnak Inscription as a "literary account," *Aspects*, p. 207.

¹⁷⁹ For example, see Chapter 2, pp. 13, 38–39, 44, 46, 47, 51, 54–55, 59. Compare also the analysis of the transmission of the year 3 inscriptions of Amenhotep II by W. Helck, "Verfassen einer Königsinschrift," in J. Assmann, et al., eds. *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur* (Wiesbaden, 1977), pp. 241–256, especially 249–250.

2.2 TIME OF TROUBLES TOPOS

Throughout the Karnak Inscription, there are references to an abandoned and desolate Egypt, overrun by invaders and lacking a champion to lead her. The most vivid description of the dissolution of Egypt occurs in lines 8–9:

⁸ [... Egypt was as] that which was not defended.

It was abandoned as pasture for cattle
because of the Nine Bows.

It was stormy in the vicinity of the ancestors,
with the result that all the kings sat in their pyramids.

⁹ [... The Upper Egyptian kings] and Lower Egyptian kings were
opposite their towns, surrounded by "He-who-guides-the-Two-Lands"
through lack of military forces..

They had no bowmen to champion them.

Yet this theme is resumed by shorter allusions to a time of desolation in line 18 and lines 39–40:¹⁸⁰

¹⁸ [...] and abandoned on account of the campaigns of every foreign land.

The Nine Bows are robbing its borders.

Rebels are attacking it every day.

Every man takes...

It was not seen in the annals of the *bity*-kings.

Now when this land of Egypt was in their possession in
a state of pestilence in the time of the *nswt*-kings,
⁴⁰ none were able to repel them [... plund]ering these [...]

These "times of trouble" vividly described in the three passages above are certainly not without parallel,¹⁸¹ but a precise interpretation of their particular historical context is frustrated by the omnipresent lacunae in the Karnak Inscription. Fortunately, a careful analysis of other texts which use the same motif can provide an explanation for why the kings "sat in their pyramids" amidst a raging storm when Egypt was in a "state of pestilence."

In most examples of the "time of troubles" topos, the pharaoh laments the pitiful state of a sacred institution—be it a building, cult, necropolis, or the Egyptian religious tradition as a whole.¹⁸² Often an earlier lack of military efficacy is related to neglect of temples; two examples of this juxtaposition occur in the Speos Artemidos inscription of Hatshepsut:¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ Another possible reference to the "time of troubles" topos that is only barely preserved can be found in ln. 67 (for a brief analysis, see text note m, p. 68).

¹⁸¹ J. Assmann, "Königsdogma und Heilerwartung. Politische und kultische Chaosbeschreibungen in ägyptischen Texten," in D. Hellmold, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (Tübingen, 1989), pp. 364–368; D. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, pp. 259ff. To Redford's examples should also be added the description of the reign of Akhenaten in the first lines of the stela of Seti I for Ramesses I at Abydos (*KRI* I 110.15–112.2; S. Schott, *Der Denkstein Sethos' I. für die Kapelle Ramses' I in Abydos* [Göttingen, 1964], pp. 36–42) and the passage from the annals of Thutmose III discussed by W.J. Murnane, "Rhetorical History? The Beginning of Thutmose III's First Campaign in Western Asia," *JARCE* 26 (1989): 183–189.

¹⁸² Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, pp. 259–275. For a brief view of the components of each of his examples, note the chart on p. 274.

¹⁸³ *Urk.* IV 386.1–5; slight alteration of the translation of A. Gardiner, "Davies's Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos Inscription," *JEA* 32 (1946): 46.

mnfy.tā wnt nm st spr.(tī) hr špss

dr h̄stā m nswt

hw.t-ntr n nb.t Qs wnt w3.tī r fl...

My troops, which were (previously) not equipped, (now) possesses wealth,
since I have appeared in glory as king,

The temple of the Mistress of Cusae which had fallen into dissolution...

and the Restoration Stela of Tutankhamen:¹⁸⁴

ist r̄f h̄c.n hm̄f m nswt

[i]w r3.w-pr.w nw ntr.w ntr.yt šc m 3bw [nfry.t] r šit idh[.wt]

[... w3w] r stp...

ir h3b[~~tw~~ mšc] r D̄h̄i r swsh̄ tš.w Km.t

n̄i h̄pr.n rwdt̄sn nb

Now when his majesty appeared as king,

the temples of the gods and goddess from Elephantine [down to the
marshes of the Delta [... had fallen] into ruin...

If an army was sent to Djahi to widen the borders of Egypt,
they were never successful.

After presenting details of the state of the temple of Pakhet at Cusae, Hatshepsut then declares that she built it anew (ln. 19); the same scenario occurs in the Restoration Stela of Tutankhamen—he appears on the throne, restores all the temples, endows them lavishly, and insures that they will be protected. In the preserved portions of the Karnak Inscription, no temples are mentioned in conjunction with the lack of military forces, but the imagery of the pyramids and their neglected funerary cults could take the place of the vivid images of the deplorable state of a particular temple.¹⁸⁵

Yet the question of historicity remains—Tutankhamen's account is verified by evidence from the rule of Akhenaten,¹⁸⁶ and Hatshepsut's inscription could refer to the rule of the Hyksos at Avaris.¹⁸⁷ In these two instances, as in other examples of the same genre,¹⁸⁸ the lamentable state of Egypt is blamed on prior kings; often the term *h3w* is invoked to refer to previous reigns,¹⁸⁹ and it is possible that the term is to be understood in the same way in ln. 8 of the Karnak Inscription—"it was stormy in the reigns of the ancestors." Assuming such an interpretation, then Merneptah is either referring to prior Libyan invasions not attested elsewhere in our corpus of Egyptian historical texts¹⁹⁰ or

¹⁸⁴ *Urk.* IV 2027.1–5 (line 6) and 2027.13–14 (line 9).

¹⁸⁵ For further discussion of the pyramid motif, see §2.3 below.

¹⁸⁶ For the failure of Akhenaten's military expeditions, see Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*, pp. 18–20.

¹⁸⁷ D.B. Redford, "Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period," in E.D. Oren, ed., *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (Philadelphia, 1997), pp. 16–17.

¹⁸⁸ A few examples include: Amun's Injunction to Hatshepsut, Ramesses II's description of the former state of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak and the Abydene Necropolis, and Ramesses IV's description of the neglect of Osiris (all cited by Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, pp. 263–270). Note also the "politically motivated use of history" as an important aspect of the Königsnovelle (Loprieno, in Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, p. 287).

¹⁸⁹ Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, p. 139, n. 55. See also the discussion of *h3w* on pp. 17–18.

¹⁹⁰ Although incursions into the Egyptian Delta or nearby regions could have occurred prior to the reign of Merneptah, no clear textual evidence of such Libyan activities have survived. Although information relating to the Libyan war of Seti I is sparse, there is no evidence that it occurred on Egyptian soil rather than Libyan

simply using the topos of neglect of Egypt during previous reigns without a historical basis. But evidence within the Karnak Inscription itself indicates that the incursions into the pyramid fields happen during Merneptah's reign for the first time because records of prior invasions on a similar scale are not found in the earlier annals.¹⁹¹

Therefore, two possibilities present themselves concerning the interpretation of *h3w* in the description of the pyramid fields in ln. 8 of the Karnak Inscription: either the scene of desolation is based upon events during the reign of Merneptah and ahistorically projected into a distant past (demanding a temporal translation of *h3w*), or the description is actually set in the time immediately before Merneptah's accession to the throne or within the early years of Merneptah's actual reign (implying a spatial translation of *h3w*). Redford claims that during the reign of Merneptah "certain territories, (certainly in the western Delta) had long been abandoned by agriculturalist in the face of the enemy," and that "this situation had prevailed for a considerable length of time."¹⁹² Yet there is no evidence—textual or otherwise—that the Western Delta was overrun by Libyans in the reigns prior to Merneptah. In fact, there is archaeological evidence that fortresses were actively guarding the western Delta during the reign of Ramesses II.¹⁹³ These fortresses together with the battle(s) already fought under Seti I¹⁹⁴ demonstrate the growing problems with Libyans, but do not necessarily imply that they had gained control of the Western Delta nor that the Egyptian inhabitants along the border had fled from their land. Additionally, the "days and months" which the Libyans spent dwelling in the Delta, does not imply a time before Merneptah's accession to the throne five years earlier. Thus, unless Merneptah is using the topos of the "reigns of the ancestors" without an actual historical antecedent, the use of *h3w* in ln. 8 of the Karnak Inscription should refer to the physical area around the pyramids. Under such an interpretation, the threat against the "kings in their pyramids" would not be a long-standing condition. With either interpretation of the passage, although especially with the spatial rendering, the image of the kings sitting in their pyramids probably serves as a poetical reference to the use of desert routes by the Libyans to avoid the Egyptian fortresses as they invaded the Nile Valley.¹⁹⁵

The recent occurrence of the invasion, but growing threat during the two reigns prior to Merneptah, implies that the language used in the Karnak Inscription is intended to express both a historical fact—the invasion of the Libyans and their arrival at the ancient pyramid fields—and to present a "ritual" concept of history.¹⁹⁶ Casting the Libyan invasion in more

territory (as Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*, p. 99 notes, the texts accompanying Seti's Libyan battle reliefs contain virtually no specific information relating to the campaign). Moreover, the forts set up by Ramesses II quite far into Libyan territory (see text note a to ln. 41 above and references therein) indicate that skirmishes were not taking place near the Delta. For a general description of Libyan activities in the early 19th Dynasty, see Hölscher, *Libyer und Ägypten*, pp. 60–61 (he states on p. 60: "Sethos I. muß zum ersten Mal sein Land ernstlich gegen einen Libyereinfall schützend," but does not cite any specific evidence—the campaign of Seti I could instead have been a preemptive strike).

¹⁹¹ Ln. 20: "Then one bore witness to the annals of other times since the period of the *nswt*-kings. One was unable [to find it]" (for the restoration, see text note k to that line above, pp. 33–34); compare also the statement in ln. 39: "It was not seen in the annals of the *bity*-kings."

¹⁹² *Pharaonic King-Lists*, p. 267.

¹⁹³ See pp. 30, 48–50.

¹⁹⁴ See fn. 190 above.

¹⁹⁵ See §1.4 (p. 98) above.

¹⁹⁶ E. Hornung, *Geschichte als Fest* (Darmstadt, 1966), p. 18 states: "Nach unseren Kriterien läge in solchen Darstellungen wie in entsprechenden Aussagen der Texte eine Verfälschung der Geschichte vor; für den

cosmic terms (see §3.3 below) allows the accession of Merneptah to parallel the role of Horus who must establish order after the chaotic effects of Seth. The seeming tension between historical fact and ritual performance (a tension that would not have existed in the minds of the Egyptian authors) can also be seen in the speech of Ramesses III in P. Harris I concerning both the accession of Setnakht¹⁹⁷ and the Libyan invasions.¹⁹⁸

Since the "time of troubles" topos with its religious imagery is not uncommon, yet seems to refer almost exclusively to specific historical events, its use is simultaneously a record of factual events and a reference to the religious connotations of chaos within *T3-mry*. This dichotomy is fully exploited in the Karnak Inscription. The image of a flooded necropolis—or a "stormy" pyramid field—plays upon the fundamental Egyptian belief in the watery aspects of the chaos that surrounds the ordered world;¹⁹⁹ as R.B. Finnestad noted in connection with Edfu temple: "The enemy mythologem is thus applied to the inundation when destructive, to the earth which has not been inundated, and to the foreign foes when attacking Egypt."²⁰⁰ This symbolic mixing of flooding, desert, and invading enemies is also present in the Karnak Inscription—the enemies come from the desert like a stormwind. Merneptah thus arises as king and representative of cosmic order to drive away the chaotic forces who threaten the rule of *Mst.t*; he is "Shu who dispelled the storm cloud that was over Egypt."²⁰¹ But although these lines of the Karnak Inscription call to mind vivid religious themes, their historical importance is undeniable—a very real military event forces the kings of antiquity to "sit in their pyramids" without the proper funerary rites.²⁰²

2.3 PYRAMIDS

The word "pyramid" appears three times in the Karnak Inscription,²⁰³ and represents one of the notable literary motifs of the inscription. Not only does the pyramid serve as a

Ägypter aber gehören auch sie zur *Maat*, zur Wahrheit und Richtigkeit der Weltordnung; in seiner Weltschau können sich auch in Inschrift und Darstellung, in der magischen Wirklichkeit von Bild und Wort, notwendige Dinge ereignen. Zur *Maat* gehört es, daß der König die Feinde Ägyptens vernichtet; die Wirklichkeit, in der er es tut, bezieht den Tempelkult mit ein." Although Hornung is referring here to the seeming falsification of military events, this view also perfectly captures the possibility that the chaos-topos in inscriptions like Merneptah's Karnak text might "exaggerate" the degree of destruction to emphasize the ruler's own defense of *Maat*. In contrast, Redford (*Pharaonic King-Lists*, p. 275) claims that of the examples he uses (including the Karnak Inscription), "all follow and refer to periods of political and social distress the severity of which can be verified on other evidence."

¹⁹⁷ P. Harris I 75, 6ff. The historical background behind the P. Harris account is particularly interesting in light of the stela of Sethnakht from Elephantine (R. Drenkhahn, *Die Elephantine-Stele des Sethnakht und ihr Historischer Hintergrund* [Wiesbaden, 1980]). See also, Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, vol. 2, n. 902 (pp. 226–232) and references therein. To the references of Grandet should be added the new epigraphically based examination and translation by S.J. Seidmayer, "Epigraphische Bemerkungen zur Stele des Sethnakht aus Elephantine," in H. Guksch and D. Polz, eds., *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens* (Mainz, 1998), pp. 363–386. The stela of Sethnakht demonstrates that while P. Harris might be filled with "bombastic" speech, it also contains very real historical facts.

¹⁹⁸ P. Harris I 76, 11–77, 2; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, vol. 2, n. 924 (pp. 245–251).

¹⁹⁹ See Darnell, *ZÄS* 124 (1997): 103–106, for a detailed discussion and references.

²⁰⁰ *Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator: On the Cosmological and Iconological Values of the Temple of Edfu* (Wiesbaden, 1985), p. 15.

²⁰¹ KRI IV 13.10, following Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. II, p. 74, but amending "cloud" to "storm cloud," as *šnr* connotes (*Wb.* IV 507.3).

²⁰² For an in depth discussion of the Libyan movements and how this influences the location of the actual battle, see §1.4 above.

²⁰³ The occurrences of the term are in Ins. 8, 55, and 70.

metaphor for a heap of slain corpses, but one of the references to the pyramids seems to allude to the genre of texts known as the “harper’s songs.” The image of the pyramid in Merneptah’s Great Karnak Inscription further demonstrates the intentional repetition of certain themes to aid in the creation of a unified composition.

The first mention of pyramids occurs in a description of the chaotic state of Egypt prior to the action of Merneptah against the Libyan invaders (ln. 8):

iwꜣs ḏꜥ.ti m hꜣw tpꜣw-ꜥ

hꜣms nswt nb m nꜣyꜣw mr.w

It was stormy in the vicinity of the ancestors,
with the result that all the kings sat in their pyramids.

The image of the ancient kings “sitting” in their pyramids finds an illuminating parallel in the “Harper’s Song” of King Antef (P. Harris 500 6,3–6,6):²⁰⁴

“Bodies pass on while others endure,

since the time of those who came before,

The Gods and those who came into being before me,

And who rest in their pyramid tombs.

The nobles and spirits too, being entombed in their pyramids,

They built chapels, but their cult stations are no more.

What became of them?”²⁰⁵

The context of the Karnak Inscription passage provides an answer to the question posed by the harper: the kings are still in their pyramids, but the chaotic intervention of foreigners prevents the proper funerary rituals from being performed. Yet the image of the kings sitting in their pyramids is not merely a literary device, but probably also conveyed concrete historical information about the Libyan invasion.²⁰⁶ Additionally, although the image of the pyramid appears only once in the descriptions of the “time of the troubles” within the Karnak Inscription, the thematic continuity of the chaos within Egypt is maintained with other metaphors such as attacks by the Nine Bows (ln. 18) and a state of pestilence (ln. 39). The pyramid metaphor then appears in the later lines of the text referring specifically to the heaps of enemy corpses:²⁰⁷

wꜣw nꜣ Rbw.w hr wꜣwꜣ bꜣn r ꜣrrꜣw hr km.t

ptr [grꜥ] sn smꜣꜣ sn

ꜣrw m mr.w

These Libyans plotted evil in order for them to act against Egypt,

Behold, I felled them, I slew them,

(they) being turned into pyramids (of corpses).

²⁰⁴ W.M. Müller, *Die Liebespoesie der alten Ägypter* (Leipzig, 1899), pl. 13, lns. 3–6. For a fascinating depiction of a king “sitting in his pyramid,” see J. Capart, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens* (Brussels, 1902), pl. 45—a New Kingdom statue with a relief showing a man worshipping an image of Teti standing inside his pyramid (on the other side, his wife worships the same image of the Old kingdom pharaoh).

²⁰⁵ Translation of Simpson, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, p. 306. Note also the parallel statement in the harper’s song of Khai-inheret: “They that built houses and tombs as well, they are the men who rest in their pyramids.” (M. Lichtheim, “The Songs of the Harpers,” *JNES* 4 [1945]: 201).

²⁰⁶ See §1.4 above on the routes of the Libyan invasion.

²⁰⁷ Ln. 70 (*KRI* IV 10.13–14). The other attestation occurs in ln. 55 emerging from the damage at the top of the line. But the presence of the word amidst the numbers of dead in the plunder list indicates that it was most likely another comparison of heaps of corpses and pyramids.

This use of the word “pyramid” is not common and has its closest parallel in the texts of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.²⁰⁸ The pyramid of Libyan corpses in the Karnak Inscription may specifically allude to the earlier “kings sitting in their pyramids”—heaps of enemy dead now honor the very ancestors whom the Libyans made defenseless.²⁰⁹

For the New Kingdom Egyptians, the pyramids of the (even then) ancient pharaohs made an enticing literary motif. The image of the “kings who sat in their pyramids” without the proper funerary rituals was a powerful symbol for the overall neglect of the “Beloved Land,” but the Egyptians could also use the pyramid to describe the destruction of their enemies. Combining both of these images into a single text demonstrates the talent of the scribe(s) who composed the Karnak Inscription and their ability to craft complex and meaningful metaphors which retain their effectiveness three thousand years later.

2.4 PEACEFUL SLEEP

A proper appreciation of the theological background of the dangers that lurk in the dark of night is a necessary prerequisite to understanding the concept of “peaceful sleep” in Egyptian literature. One of the most eloquent descriptions of the perils of the night occurs in the Great Hymn to the Aten,²¹⁰ and in many other texts, sleep can be equated with death.²¹¹ In addition to the threatening animals mentioned in the Hymn to the Aten, malignant spirits can also attack people in the defenseless state of unconsciousness.²¹² These dangers of the night are not merely the result of darkness, but owe their ultimate origin to the infiltration of chaos into the ordered world.²¹³ Thus, the guarantee of peaceful and safe sleep is important in Egyptian theology, because it is equated with the greater cosmic order—once the enemies of Egypt are defeated, the entire land can rest. These images serve as the background to the description of Merneptah in ln. 5: “He causes the sleeping people to forget terror.” The sleep topos provides the ancient author yet another image to describe Egypt in a state of Maat.²¹⁴

The ruler’s positive effect on the peaceful sleep of *ts-tmw*—all the people (of Egypt)—can also be contrasted with the discomfited nights pharaoh creates for his enemies. One of the architrave inscriptions in the hypostyle hall at Karnak, says of Ramesses II.²¹⁵

ḥr̄w̄w̄ ḥt̄ ḥs.t nb
sdr̄[sn] ḥr̄ smymy m rn̄w̄

²⁰⁸ N. Grimal, “Le roi, les ennemis, et la pyramide,” in H. Guksch and D. Polz, eds., *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens* (Mainz, 1998), pp. 263–271.

²⁰⁹ The connection between the heaps of corpses and heaps of offerings burnt in holocausts also supports this interpretation, for the enemies are compared to burnt offerings only a few lines before the pyramid metaphor (for the religious connotations of these burnt offerings, see §3.3 below).

²¹⁰ M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten* (Brussels, 1938), pp. 93.17–94.2.

²¹¹ J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy, According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Leiden, 1960), pp. 81–85; H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke*, pp. 139–140.

²¹² Darnell, *SAK* 22 (1995): 59, n. 64. For the dangers of night in general see, C. Cannuyer, “nox in ea nocetur... Les dangers de la nuit dans la littérature didactique de l’ancienne Egypte,” *GM* 73 (1984): 13–21.

²¹³ E. Hornung, “Chaotische Bereiche in der geordneten Welt,” *ZÄS* 81 (1956): 29–30; Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, pp. 99–100.

²¹⁴ For a collection of other references to the peaceful sleep of Egypt and their application to Merneptah’s texts, see von der Way, *Göttergericht und Heiliger Krieg*, pp. 55–58.

²¹⁵ V. Rondot, *Le Grande Salle Hypostyle de Karnak: Les architraves* (Paris, 1997), p. 14, 2*.

His terror is throughout every land,
so that they spend the night calling out his name.

Although not specifically described in the Karnak Inscription, this is almost certainly what the Egyptians envisioned happening to the defeated Meresy and his routed army after the battle of Perire. However, the peaceful sleep of the Egyptians is again affirmed at the end of the Karnak Inscription (ln. 75): "your provisions are in the mouth until we sleep in joy, at any time;" this combination of phraseology continues both the theme of peaceful sleep and Merneptah as "the one to whom the gods gave all nourishment" (ln. 24).²¹⁶ Once again, this demonstrates that the paeans in the Karnak Inscription are not randomly selected traditional phrases, but are purposely chosen to coincide with the historical events being reported (i.e. sending the god-given grain to the Hittites) and to create continuous motifs throughout the text.

The theme of peaceful sleep in the Great Karnak Inscription is also reminiscent of the ending of the Victory Stela, where the serene state of Egypt is described in vivid detail—the fortresses are unlocked and soldiers sleep until awakened by sunlight.²¹⁷ In each inscription, after the battle has been won and the invaders destroyed, Merneptah is extolled in similar terms. The Karnak Inscription also introduces the topos of king as guarantor of peaceful sleep among the epithets concerning his military prowess (ln. 5). The repetition of themes contributes to the view that the praise portions of Ramesside inscriptions are not merely rhetoric and bombast, but meaningful statements about a pharaoh's duty to his people.

§3 THEOLOGICAL CONTENT

"Sie allen stehen vereint in einem Kampf, der niemals endet; sein Ziel wie das der Geschichte ist, der Welt die Vollkommenheit zurückzugeben, die sie im Augenblick ihrer Erschaffung besessen hat. Ein Teil dieses Kampfes spielt sich als zeitloser Mythos in der Welt der Götter ab; ein anderer ist auf Erden aktualisiert, ist Kult, ist Fest, ist Geschichte."

—Erik Hornung²¹⁸

The fundamental religious significance of historical events in the Egyptian world-view implies not only that historical treatises have theological content, but that even in those of primarily

²¹⁶ Compare the praise of Seti I in his Larger Aswan Stela (lns. 6–7; *KRI I* 74.11):

nn sdr hr hqrw m hwt

None sleep while hungry in his time.

Emphasizing the peaceful sleep of the people could also obliquely refer to the sleepless ruler who watches over the people of Egypt (Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey I*, pp. 116–17); for the connection between sleep and food, compare the statement in the early Seventeenth Dynasty Wadi el-Hol literary inscription: "he spending the night hungry until day breaks." (*ibid.*, p. 109). For the king as producer and controller of foodstuffs, see also Assmann, *König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 58–59.

²¹⁷ *KRI IV* 18.5–16 is the section of the Victory Stela describing the wonderful condition of Egypt; for a comparison of various texts, including the Victory Stela and P. Harris, vividly describing the peaceful state of Egypt, see Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande*, pp. 310–317. Also see von der Way, *Göttergericht und Heiliger Krieg*, p. 55–58 for a discussion of the various aspects of sleep, especially how chaotic periods are characterized by sleeplessness.

²¹⁸ *Geschichte als Fest*, p. 29.

religious import, hints of historical fact may be found. Several of the religious images in the Karnak Inscription can be interpreted on a variety of levels, indicating that the ancient author exploited theological principles to give a greater significance to the historical narrative. Some of these images, such as the storm over the pyramids and peaceful sleep of Egypt, relating to the king's military prowess, have been discussed above (§§2.3, 2.4). Other religious topoi in the Karnak Inscription relate more specifically to the relationship between the gods, the king, and the enemy. Parts of the Karnak Inscription, such as the divine dream, highlight the relationship between the earthly and spiritual world, especially during the potentially fatal prospect of battle. As in other cultures, the Egyptians sought divine sanction for warfare, especially through the agency of the sun god's son on earth—pharaoh.²¹⁹

§3.1 DIVINE DREAM

Accounts of dreams occur in many Egyptian texts, ranging from royal inscriptions to private books of dream interpretation.²²⁰ Since the creation of the term "Königsnovelle," royal inscriptions—including descriptions of dreams, whether commandments by gods or revelations concerning the future—have been included in that corpus.²²¹ In the Karnak Inscription, the god Ptah appears to Merneptah in a dream as a statue, whose height is mentioned, but the actual number is not preserved. The heights of deities do appear in other Egyptian texts, including dream accounts, and such detail contributes to the image of a towering omnipotent deity, and possibly alludes to an actual cult statue.²²²

This image of the god handing the khepesh scimitar to the king is a ubiquitous motif in New Kingdom reliefs and inscriptions,²²³ and on the south side of the wall upon which the Great Karnak Inscription is inscribed is a scene of Amun presenting the scimitar to

²¹⁹ Note the contrast that von der Way draws between the "epiphany" witnessed on an Egyptian battlefield and the "theophany" in the Israelite and Assyrian texts (*Göttergericht und "Heiliger" Krieg*, p. 45).

²²⁰ For references to other dreams in Egyptian texts see Sauneron, *Les Songes*; K. Zibelius-Chen, "Kategorien und Rolle des Traumes in Ägypten," *SAK* 15 (1988): 277–293; P. Vernus, "Traum," *LÄ* VI, 747–749. A few of the more interesting parallels to the dream in the Karnak Inscription include the account of the dream of Sethos reported by Herodotus (*Histories* II, 141) in which the king falls asleep in the temple of Hephaestus (=Ptah) and dreams that the god urges him not to "lose heart" in the face of an imminent invasion by Sennacherib. A. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* (Philadelphia, 1956), p. 192 also notes that the presentation of the khepesh sceptre to Merneptah in a dream is similar to the dream of Judas Maccabeus in which the prophet Jeremiah hands the Jewish warrior a golden sword (Macabees 15:11). The Raphia Decree also records a dream proclamation in Memphis of an oracle predicting Egyptian victory (H.-J. Thissen, *Studien zum Raphiadekret* [Meisenheim am Glan, 1966], pp. 52–53); this suggests that Ptah maintained an association with dreams and military oracles. P. Kaplony includes dreams in the "Wundergeschichten" category of "schönen Literatur" ("Die Definition der schönen Literatur im alten Ägypten," in J. Assmann, ed. *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur* [Wiesbaden, 1977], pp. 308–09).

²²¹ Hermann, *Die ägyptische Königsnovelle*, p. 12; M. Görg, *Gott-König-Reden in Israel und Ägypten* (Stuttgart, 1975), pp. 66–69 on the Thutmose IV Sphinx Stela in particular.

²²² For references to the heights of deities and statues of Ptah, see text note c to ln. 28 (p. 41) above.

²²³ For a compilation of the texts that accompany depictions of granting the sword in stela, see A. Schulman, "Take for Yourself the Sword," in B. Bryan and D. Lorton, eds., *Essays in Egyptology in honor of Hans Goedicke* (San Antonio: Van Siclen Books, 1994), pp. 265–277; Morschauser, in Goedicke, ed., *Perspectives on Kadesh*, pp. 129–130; for a theological interpretation of this motif, see O. Keel, *Wirkmächtige Siegeszeichen im Alten Testament* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1974), pp. 51ff. For a 17th Dynasty example, compare the description of the presentation of the sceptre to Kamose by Amun (ln. 34 of the Second Kamose Stela; L. Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose, and his struggle against the Hyksos ruler and his capital* [Glückstadt, 1972], p. 43).

Merneptah.²²⁴ Almost without exception, the presentation of the khepesh scimitar is accompanied by statements proclaiming the inevitable victory of the king over the enemies to be smitten with the divinely given weapon.²²⁵ In Merneptah's dream, the presentation of the scimitar is accompanied by the words: "and expel the foul heart from yourself" (ln. 29). If the expulsion of the "foul heart" is related to the other pronouncements of victory made during the presentation of the scimitar, the heart in question would not be Merneptah's, but rather the organ of his enemy Meresy;²²⁶ in other words, the "expulsion of the foul heart" can be equated with victory over the enemy. While no other texts indicate that Merneptah's heart ever possessed the quality of *ḥrw*,²²⁷ there are many indications that the word would perfectly describe the wretched Libyan chief. In the Victory Stela, Meresy is said to be "one who furtively does evil to all the Memphite gods" (KRI IV 16.6–8) and evidence of his sinful nature appears in all three major Libyan War inscriptions of Merneptah.²²⁸ Since the heart for the ancient Egyptians was the instrument of moral judgment,²²⁹ the epithet "foul" describes Meresy precisely, but in a subtle fashion, without Ptah even needing to utter the enemy's name.

Although the occurrence of the dream is introduced by a literary Middle Egyptian *ḥr.n sdm.n=f*, the description of the events within the dream are characterized by Late Egyptian forms.²³⁰ Unfortunately, Merneptah's reply is not preserved, but one may

²²⁴ Sourouzian, *Les monuments du roi Merneptah*, pl. 26 b; Edel, ZÄS 86 (1961): 102–103; K.A. Kitchen and G.A. Gaballa, "Ramesside Varia II," ZÄS 96 (1969): 23–4. The close relationship between this relief and the accompanying text also reaffirms the argument of W.K. Simpson in "Egyptian Sculpture and Two-Dimensional Representation as Propaganda," JEA 68 (1982): 266–271. Compare also the lunette of a stela now in the Musée de Florence (unfortunately the text is not extant), showing Merneptah with a bladed mace about to smite a Libyan before the god Ptah (Sourouzian, *Les monuments du roi Merneptah*, pl. 43; cover of current volume).

²²⁵ As Schulman claims: "it [the presentation of the sword] illustrates two distinct concepts: the commissioning of the king to undertake a war and, on the other hand, the triumphal outcome of a war" (in Bryan and Lorton, eds., *Studies Goedicke*, p. 267).

²²⁶ The preposition *lm* can imply both "within" and "from"—the latter being a preposition of separation (GEG §162.8).

²²⁷ An interesting passage describing the relationship of Ramesses III to the gods provides a hint as to how such a description would appear for the pharaoh (Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu II*, pl. 37–38; KRI V 42.13–14):

dr.wt.n m lkm n šnbt
r šhr ḏwł [d]yt imy ḥr.w

Their hands are as a shield for my breast,
in order to drive out the evil and malignancy from my body.

While the overall tone of this passage is similar to the description of "driving away" the foul heart in the Karnak Inscription, the distinction between a sickness in the body and a bad quality of the heart should not be underestimated. Compare also the statement in KRI V 107.5:

dr.t *l* *m lkm n šnbt*
ḥr šhrḥ ḏw.t ḥr

My hand is as a shield for your breast,
driving evil away from you.

²²⁸ All the relevant examples from the Victory Stela, Karnak Inscription and Kom el-Ahmar Stela have been collected by von der Way, *Göttergericht und 'Heiliger' Krieg*, pp. 35–36 (the fourth text in the corpus—the Amada stela and its parallels—describes the crimes committed by the Nubians but does not mention the name of Meresy). Also compare the motif of Meresy's rejection by his own tribe (Victory Stela, line 8 [KRI IV 14.16–15.1] and Karnak Inscription line 44 [KRI IV 7.9–10]).

²²⁹ A. Piankoff, *Le «cœur» dans les textes égyptiens depuis l'Ancien jusqu'à la fin du Nouvel Empire* (Paris, 1930), pp. 78ff.

²³⁰ Following the introductory clause, the narrative is continued by a series of *ḥw=f ḥr sdm's*—the Late Egyptian non-initial main sentence. In Ptah's speech to Merneptah, the imperative of *šd* has a prothetic *j*, and the imperative is continued by a conjunctive *mtw=f sdm*.

suggest that his speech also reflected later grammatical forms. The distinction between the grammar of the dream sequence and that of the rest of the Karnak Inscription also suggests that it was composed as a separate unit.²³¹ One can almost see Merneptah reporting his dream to the court scribe composing this text and having the pharaoh's exact words form the foundation of this portion of the inscription.²³²

3.2 DIVINE PARTICIPATION IN BATTLE

The divine world is closely linked with earthly combat from the earliest depictions of warfare in Egypt,²³³ and the underlying theological basis of warfare became even more explicit as Egyptian history progressed.²³⁴ Two different types of divine participation in battle can be distinguished within Egyptian texts: initial endorsement and continued support during combat.²³⁵ The participation of several different deities in these two processes within the Karnak Inscription also corresponds to the geographical distribution of divine involvement, focusing on the two main religious capitals of New Kingdom Egypt: Memphis and Thebes. Unlike the Syro-Palestinian or even Nubian campaigns of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Merneptah must defend Egypt itself; just as the Libyans use grand strategy to threaten the entire territory of Egypt, so too do gods from disparate places in Egypt bestir themselves to defend the Beloved Land.

The first example of divine endorsement in the Karnak Inscription is the visitation of Ptah to Merneptah in a dream, in which the extension of the khepesh-sword from god to king represents the call to arms and a guarantee of its successful outcome.²³⁶ Unfortunately, the precise setting for Merneptah's dream is not preserved and the surviving text preserves no indication of how it relates to the Theban oracle just a few lines earlier:

²³¹ This view is also expressed by Spalinger, *RdE* 39 (1988): 116, but he goes on to reach the conclusion that the "the style of writing and mode of presentation had not yet reached a stage at which a well-organized and thought-out composition could be achieved." Although the grammar does change between sections and various elements—like the dream sequence and plunder list—are combined in a single text, many themes introduced earlier in the text are purposely resumed in later sections (for examples, see §2.3 on the pyramid motif and §2.4 on the topos of peaceful sleep).

²³² A similar observation is made by Zibelius-Chen, *SAK* 15 (1988): 290–91. She notes that most royal dreams, like Thutmose IV, which contain large segments of dialogue are either literary fictions or literary reworkings of dream reports, because dreams normally have few words, but vibrant images, as is even attested in Egyptian dream books. The colloquial grammar of Merneptah's dream, on the other hand, could point towards a real antecedent to the dream in the inscription.

²³³ The two oldest smiting scenes, Tomb 100 and the Scorpion Tableau at Gebel Tjauti are both accompanied by divine images. The religious context of the latter is made especially explicit with the three falcons floating above the scene (Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey* I, pp. 10–19).

²³⁴ For a collection of 18th and 19th Dynasty references to the god protecting the king in battle see von der Way, *Qades-Schlacht*, pp. 183–197; references to divine counsel in battle can also be found in Morschauer, in Goedicke, ed., *Perspectives on Kadesh*, p. 143–144. For a discussion of "Göttergericht" specifically in the texts of Merneptah and their relationship to "holy" wars in ancient Israel, see von der Way, *Göttergericht und Heiliger Krieg*, pp. 35–48; von der Way notes that whereas the wars of the Israelites or the Assyrians were less tied to the person of the king than Egyptian representations. Van Seters, *In Search of History*, pp. 124–125 also notes examples of Hittite texts which express divine sanction for royal actions.

²³⁵ For an example of the distinction between these two events, compare Amun's commandment to Ramesses III at the beginning of the first Libyan War (Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* I, pl. 13, lns. 6–7; pl. 14, lns. 3–4) and the king's prayers in the temple for a successful battle (*ibid.*, pl. 16, ln. 9) with the statement later in the text the gods are on either side of him when he "casts down the Nine Bows" (*ibid.*, pl. 28, ln. 69).

²³⁶ See §3.1 above (pp. 117–118).

“Amun assents,” one says in Thebes,
 “To the Meshwesh has he turned his back,
 [not even] looking at the land of Tjemeh....”

The form of this oracle is also different from other “oracles” that occur prior to battles. In the texts of the first Libyan campaign of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, Amun is said to “command (*wḏ*)” the destruction of the enemies,²³⁷ but the form of this command is not specified. The Karnak Inscription does not specify to what Amun is assenting, but one must assume that it is a declaration of war by Merneptah against the Libyans.²³⁸

This oracle of Amun in conjunction with the dream of Ptah also demonstrates a conscious inclusion of several different cult centers.²³⁹ Since all of Egypt was threatened by the incursions of the Libyans, it is fitting that deities pertaining to cities throughout Egypt aid Merneptah in his defense of the Nile Valley. The same combination of the gods of Memphis and Thebes occurs in the Victory Stela, with further reference to the Ennead of Heliopolis.²⁴⁰ In the beginning of the Victory Stela, the Libyan chief Mery is said to be “in the power of the gods, the lords of Memphis,”²⁴¹ because of the sins and abominations he has committed against the ancient capital of Egypt. The northern milieu is soon extended across the Nile, when the Heliopolitan Ennead judges Mery and predictably finds him guilty of his crimes.²⁴² A few lines later, the lords of Heliopolis fulsomely praise Merneptah; a speech of Ptah about the wretchedness of the Libyan ruler follows, but in the copy of the Victory Stela text at Karnak, Amun delivers these words. Interestingly, the last line of Ptah’s speech contains an explicit reference to Amun and Thebes:²⁴³

m Ḥmn wsf sw m ḏr.tꜣf

wḏyꜣf n kꜣf m Ḥwnw-šmꜣ.w

“It is Amun²⁴⁴ who vanquishes him with his hand,
 so that he might commend him to his ka in Southern Heliopolis.”²⁴⁵

Thus, the Karnak Inscription and the Victory Stela indicate that gods from Upper and Lower Egypt sanction the battle against the Libyans and condemn the insidious actions of Mery. In the Karnak Inscription, there are also numerous passages portraying the gods

²³⁷ *Medinet Habu* I, pl. 12, ln. 13; *KRI* V 10.9.

²³⁸ For a speech of a god preceding an oracle, compare the example in the Chronicle of Osorkon cited above (text note a to ln. 26 [p. 38]).

²³⁹ The use of different deities corresponding to the geographical regions whence particular versions of a single text originate, also occurs in the Karnak and Memphis versions of the Asiatic campaign of Amenhotep II (Helck, in Assmann, ed., *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, p. 249).

²⁴⁰ This fits well with the indications in both the Victory Stela and the Karnak Inscription that the Heliopolis was one of the most threatened areas along with Memphis (pp. 12–13 and §1.4).

²⁴¹ Ln. 8 (*KRI* IV 15.1); this theme is repeated again in ln. 14.

²⁴² Lns. 14–15 (*KRI* IV 16.8); the full passage is cited below on p. 121.

²⁴³ Although it is possible that this is an extra statement following Ptah’s speech, this is unlikely, since the speech begins directly after a cartouche and the statement about Amun is followed directly by another cartouche, indicating that the entire unit is to be read together (for the cartouche as poetical marker, see Chapter 4, fn. 8). Unfortunately, it is impossible to tell what the corresponding statement would have been in the Karnak text, because that section is lost; possibly Amun complements the power of Ptah, just like Ptah does for Amun on the “Memphite” version of the Victory Stela (found in Merneptah’s mortuary temple at Thebes).

²⁴⁴ For the use of *m* to introduce a participial statement in the Karnak Inscription, see Chapter 4, p. 148.

²⁴⁵ Ln. 20 (*KRI* IV 17.12–14).

as active participants in the battle, both by supporting the Egyptians and by abandoning the Libyans. Although not as colorfully described as the Greek deities who struggle alongside their mortal counterparts at Troy, the Egyptian gods play a definite role in the battle at Perire:

“The hand of god being with them did they proceed,
Amun was with them as shields!” (ln. 23)

“The army of his majesty together with his chariotry went forth,
Amun-Re being with them,
the Ombite giving them the hand.” (ln. 32)

The first example could refer to iconic images of the god painted on the soldiers' shields,²⁴⁶ while the general presence of a deity in the second example is perhaps an allusion to the Egyptian practice of carrying a large standard of the god into battle.²⁴⁷ There are also a few references to a more general relationship of divinity to the Egyptian military; for example, early in the inscription, the infantry is led by one “beautiful of face,” often an epithet of Ptah—this could even indicate that the force being described is part of the division of Ptah.²⁴⁸ After the Libyans have been defeated, the commander of the western fortress sends a letter to the palace about the fleeing Meroy in which he states: “All the gods have felled him on account of Egypt” (ln. 42). The emphasis of the letter is not the tactical victory of the Egyptians, but divine retribution against the enemy.

The Karnak Inscription also specifically contrasts the divine abandonment of the Libyans with the support that Egypt receives from its deities.²⁴⁹ Throughout the texts of Merneptah, Meroy and his troops are not only abandoned by Seth, but Meroy is specifically cast as the enemy of the gods.²⁵⁰ One of the most telling of these passages is from the Victory Stela:

wpy hncf m Twnw

hry sw ts psdt m ds hr btš.wf

“He was contended with in Heliopolis,
with the result that the Ennead found him guilty of his crimes.”²⁵¹

In contrast, the rejoicing Egyptians at the conclusion of the Karnak Inscription (ln. 64) proclaim: “It is god who gives the power.” Removed from its context, such seemingly propangandinistic statements seem bombastic and meaningless; in fact, this passage is

²⁴⁶ For a detailed discussion, see text note c to ln. 27 above (p. 39).

²⁴⁷ Von der Way, *Qadeš-Schlacht*, pp. 183–84. As von der Way notes, a vivid depiction of such a standard preceding an Egyptian army into battle can be found at Medinet Habu, where the standard of Amun is carried in its own chariot (Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu I*, pl. 17). For a collection of images and the classic discussion of the topic, see R.O. Faulkner, “Egyptian Military Standards,” *JEA* 27 (1941): 12–18.

²⁴⁸ See the discussion to line 12 above and text note h for references (p. 23). As noted above, it is also possible that this epithet refers to the infantry itself.

²⁴⁹ For the gods of Egypt abandoning a military force (both Egyptian and foreign) because of evil they have committed, see von der Way, *Qadeš-Schlacht*, pp. 174–183. Along similar lines, compare the peaceful sleep a pharaoh gives to his people, while disturbing the sleep of his enemies (§2.4 above).

²⁵⁰ For a collection of references to the enemy of pharaoh also being the enemy of the gods in the texts of Merneptah and Ramesses II, see von der Way, *Göttergericht und “Heiliger” Krieg*, pp. 35–37; *Qadeš-Schlacht*, p. 118, n. 114. See also the portrayal of the Libyans and their ruler as representatives of chaos in §3.3 below.

²⁵¹ Ll. 14–15 (*KRI IV* 16.8).

part of the "long introduction and conclusion with two speeches of self-praise by Merneptah full of stereotyped phrases," according to van Seters.²⁵² Yet viewed within the context of divinely sanctioned warfare, the long conclusion, all the epithets in the introduction, and the "self-praise" of Merneptah's speeches are all references to the ability of the pharaoh not only to rule Egypt, but also to conquer her foes.²⁵³ The Karnak Inscription, as part of the decoration of a vast temple complex dedicated to Amun-Re, demonstrates the devotion of Merneptah to the gods, and his efforts to maintain cosmic order on their behalf. The various elements in the Karnak Inscription and the other texts of Merneptah provide a theological background to the campaign against the Libyans. In summary, this conception of a "holy war" is described by T. von der Way:

Die Überhöhung des historischen Ereignisses "Krieg gegen die Libyer" durch Göttersprüche beinhaltet freilich eine für ägyptische Königsinschriften einzigartige Komponente: Da die Götter Ägyptens dem Feind—nach dessen Verurteilung—aus Gründen strafender Gerechtigkeit den Krieg erklären, wird dieser Krieg in einer Weise theologisiert, wie es von keinem anderen Krieg im alten Ägypten überliefert ist. Die Götter erklären einen Krieg, der wegen seiner "theonomen" Jurisdiktion von einer ganz besonderen "Heiligkeit" geprägt ist.²⁵⁴

§3.3 WAR AS COSMIC STRUGGLE

As with all Egyptian military inscriptions, the Karnak Inscription of Merneptah is an integral component of temple decoration.²⁵⁵ This religious setting has profound implications for the original purpose of military texts and their modern interpretation. To make the inscription applicable to the gods, the earthly enemies of pharaoh must be transformed into the cosmic enemies of the gods. Thus, much of the imagery used in the Karnak Inscription describing the invaders has the specific purpose of portraying the Libyan-Sea People coalition as the minions of Apep.²⁵⁶

Since the land of Egypt represented the rule of Maat, the equation of foreigners to chaotic elements could be achieved by highlighting their diametrical opposition to the Egyptians. This distinction between foreigners and Egyptians is a common theme throughout Egyptian texts,²⁵⁷ and the Karnak Inscription provides one of many examples where foreigners are described as if they were a different class of human beings (ln. 21):

²⁵² *In Search of History*, p. 156.

²⁵³ The conjunction of the divine approval of the ruling pharaoh and a description of his deeds on earth also emphasizes the role of the king as the intermediary between heaven on earth. For a discussion of this motif, see W. Westendorf, "Der Eine im Himmel, der Andere in der Erde," in *Mélanges Aldolphe Gutbub* (Montpellier, 1984), pp. 239–244; Assmann, *König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 58ff.

²⁵⁴ *Göttergericht und "Heiliger" Krieg*, p. 41.

²⁵⁵ Heinz, *Feldzugdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches*, pp. 19–20. For the ritual importance specifically of the Cour de la Cachette, see LeSaout, *Cahiers de Karnak VII*, p. 214.

²⁵⁶ For a discussion of this theme in Merneptah's Libyan inscriptions, see also Garthoff, in Kamstra, Milde, and Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion (Fs van Voss)*, pp. 22–33; note especially his comment on p. 32, n. 28 that Mery's flight "in the middle of the night" (Karnak Inscription, ln. 41) may be intended to compare Mery with Apep.

²⁵⁷ For a general discussion of this topic, see Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis*.

ḥṣtyꜣsn tny r rḥy[t]

Their hearts are different from those of the people (of Egypt).

While *ḥṣty* might at times be used for the physical organ,²⁵⁸ both *ḥṣty* and *ḥb* can be used as the seat of reasoning and moral judgment. Based on these dual meanings of *ḥṣty*, the author of the Karnak Inscription may have intended the statement "their hearts are different" to be linked with the equally condemning description of the Libyans as "those who love death and who hate life."²⁵⁹ Similarly, their chief is said to be "a wretched man, without a heart (*ḥwty ḥṣty*)."²⁶⁰ The choice of the term *ḥṣty* seems to allow for the simultaneous declaration that the Libyans are physically different from the Egyptians and that they utterly lack the capability of ethical judgment.²⁶¹

The meaning of this passage is further elucidated by comparison with an excerpt from the Great Hymn to the Aten (Ins. 8–9)²⁶² with a similar theme, but a completely different outlook:

ḥrꜣk ḥr.tꜣsn wꜣ nb ḥr wnmꜣf
ḥsb.(w) ꜣḥꜣf
nsꜣw wp.w m md.wt qdꜣsn m mṯt.t
ḥnmꜣsn stny.w stnyꜣk ḥṣs.tyꜣw

You create their necessities, everyone having his sustenance,
 his lifetime having been reckoned.

Their tongues differ in speech, their characters likewise,
 their skins are differentiated, for you distinguished the foreigners.

However, the Karnak Inscription reverses the implications of the difference between Egyptians and foreigners. While the Hymn to the Aten hints at a difference in "character" or "forms," the Karnak Inscription unambiguously declares a difference in their hearts, one of the most fundamental components of a person. Moreover, rather than being provided with food, the Libyans crawl on their bellies like serpents without being able to do more than vainly search for sustenance. Although the Karnak Inscription is not a religious treatise, the language describing the enemy is more meaningful when understood in conjunction with theological concepts. The contrast between the Libyans and the Egyptians and the consequent religious condemnation of the enemy is thus serving to demonstrate that the Libyan enemies are minions of chaos seeking to destroy the ordered world of Egypt.²⁶³

The portrayal of the Libyans as cosmic enemies becomes even clearer when one considers the specific language used to describe the state of the enemy, especially their leader Merety. In Merneptah's final speech, he proclaims:

²⁵⁸ Piankoff, *Lé «cœur» dans les textes égyptiens*, p. 13.

²⁵⁹ See text note b to ln. 21 above.

²⁶⁰ Ln. 23; for a brief discussion of this image, see H. Brunner, "Das hörende Herz," in W. Röllig, ed., *Das Hörende Herz* (Freiberg and Göttingen, 1988), p. 4.

²⁶¹ Compare also the heart as the means of communication between man and god, H. Brunner, "Herz," *LÄ II*, 1162–63 and references therein.

²⁶² Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, pp. 94.19–95.2.

²⁶³ For earlier parallels to the chaotic qualities of the enemies in the Merneptah inscriptions, see von der Way, *Göttergericht und "Heiliger" Krieg*, pp. 27–32.

“Their fallen chief fled before me...
he is one made into ashes and fettered like birds.”

In this passage, Merneptah alludes to the fiery punishment of the damned by comparing his defeated enemies to sacrificial offerings. The “fettering” of enemies—often expressed through depictions of enemies with their arms tied in contorted positions—is also related to the chaotic positions of dead enemies, both of which mirror the positions of animals slaughtered for sacrifice.²⁶⁴ The addition of ashes to this constellation of images²⁶⁵ specifically calls to mind burnt offerings presented to the gods.²⁶⁶ Within Egyptian temple iconography, the holocausts offered to deities are equated with the destruction of Egypt’s enemies.²⁶⁷ Merneptah describes the Libyans in terms of fettered and burnt sacrificial animals, just as those animals in temple rituals are equated with Egypt’s enemies.²⁶⁸ The comparison of the enemy to sacrificial animals also enhances the divine justification of the battle against the Libyans: slaughter in battle is also a sacrifice to the gods.

The reciprocally reinforcing images of the destruction of enemies on the battlefield and in temple sacrifice also share a strong connection to the punishment and destruction of the enemies of Re in the Underworld. The binding of enemies is a common punishment in the Underworld²⁶⁹ and is almost certainly behind the fettering of sacrificial animals (and in turn the particularly contorted fettering of war prisoners). The ultimate fiery destruction of the damned is the Underworldly counterpart to the burnt offerings and transformation of earthly enemies into ashes.²⁷⁰ These images of the enemy complement the image of Merneptah as the protector of Egypt and the one who saves Egypt from cosmic disaster. Without casting the enemy into the role of Apep, Merneptah could not rise to the occasion as the earthly embodiment of Re.

²⁶⁴ For a series of depictions of “fettered” enemies in New Kingdom battle reliefs, see Heinz, *Feldzugdarstellungen*, pp. 165–169; H. Junker, “Die Feinde auf dem Sockel der Chaseschem-Statuen und die Darstellung von geopfertem Tieren,” in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien* (Berlin, 1955), pp. 168–175.

²⁶⁵ Compare the Year 5 inscription of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu for a similar grouping of images (Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu I*, pl. 27, lns. 33–34; KRI V 23.6–9).

²⁶⁶ See von der Way, *Göttergericht und Heiliger Krieg*, p. 64, n. 413 for references to other examples of burning of enemies; note also the discussion of “incineration” in the execration rituals discussed in Ritner, *Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, pp. 157–159 and references therein.

²⁶⁷ For an excellent analysis of this phenomenon, see J. Quaegebeur, “L’autel-à-feu et l’abattoir en Egypte Tardive,” in J. Quaegebeur, ed., *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East* (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1993), pp. 329–353. For example, Quaegebeur cites a burnt offering scene from the portal of Euergetes at Karnak that describes the sacrifice as the destruction of the god’s enemies. In fact, red animals were specifically chosen for burnt offerings, because their coloration symbolized Seth (*ibid.*, p. 343).

²⁶⁸ For the blurring of the distinctions of religious and real enemies, see also Hornung, *Geschichte als Fest*, p. 17 and 28.

²⁶⁹ For a description of the “fettering” of the damned in the Underworld in Hornung, *Höllenvorstellungen*, pp. 17–18; Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 78–80; N. Beaux, “Ennemis étrangers et malfaiteurs égyptiens. La signification du châtement au pilori,” *BIFAO* 91 (1991): 33–53; note also the form of the solar deity in the 64th Address of the Litany of Re: *nb inṯt r lftwswf* “Lord of bindings against his enemies.” (E. Hornung, *Das Buch des Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei) nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* vol. I, [Geneva, 1975–76], p. 73).

²⁷⁰ Hornung, *Höllenvorstellungen*, pp. 21–29 (esp. p. 27 for other references to enemies); Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 14–16 and 133–141; Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 213–14.

Excursus: P. Louvre N 3136

EGYPTIAN MILITARY DOCUMENTS immediately call to mind monumental hieroglyphic texts and triumphant images of the pharaoh smiting dozens of bound enemies—although many hieroglyphic accounts of military campaigns derive from day-book material,¹ no hieratic document containing an actual military day-book of the New Kingdom² or copies thereof has yet been recognized. However, papyri such as P. Anastasi I and several texts belonging to the “Late Egyptian Miscellanies”³ include fascinating and important details about the Egyptian military usually absent from monumental texts. The “Late Egyptian Stories” represent yet another genre containing information about the Egyptian army, since some of these tales—such as “The Taking of Joppa”—describe adventures deriving from actual military events.⁴ P. Louvre N 3136—a two-columned and fragmentary papyrus initially edited by A. Spalinger,⁵ and awaiting full publication by him—is another military-based tale that fits into the category of the Late Egyptian Stories. P. Louvre N 3136 describes an attack by the Libyans, consisting of Meshwesh, Rebu, and Hasa, and is the only certain mention of Perire, the location of Merneptah’s battle with the Libyans, in a military context outside of the Karnak Inscription and Kom el-Ahmar Stela; based on paleographical similarities with P. Harris I, P. Louvre N 3136 can be securely dated to the early 20th Dynasty. The fragmentary state of the papyrus makes interpretation difficult without a detailed examination of the text, so the historical implications of P. Louvre N 3136 are discussed after the transliteration and translation below.

COLUMN X⁶

¹ [...] nb.t(?)^asn nwyw(?) [...] drtw^b
 iwtw in [...]

² [...] iw hm^c (hr) in[ε] pwyw h^d [nb(?) ...] r wd sw p^e nht^e [...]

³ [...] Twntw ... ε.w.s. r ~~h~~ t^z nb [...] rš.wy r-[qwy ...]

¹ Spalinger, *Aspects*, pp. 120ff.

² However, P. Boulaq 18 from the late Middle Kingdom (S. Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom* [New Malden, 1990], pp. 17ff.) is a surviving example of an administrative palace day-book, which gives some indication of how a military day-book might have appeared – and one section of P. Boulaq 18 (XXX 2,13–20) appears to be a copy of a military day-book (A. Scharff, “Ein Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes aus der 13. Dynastie,” *ZÄS* 57 [1922]: 15**; Spalinger, *Aspects*, p. 123). For an example of Middle Kingdom rock inscriptions also utilizing day-book forms, see Darnell, *ZÄS* 130 (2003): 35–36 (text note h), 38 (text note a), 41 (text note d).

³ P. Anastasi III may also contain a day-book account of a border official (Spalinger, *Aspects*, pp. 123–24).

⁴ See Spalinger, *Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative*, pp. 348–59 for an overview of literary texts relating to military events, monumental evidence for “heroic narratives” that have not survived, and the literary aspects of hieroglyphic military texts.

⁵ Spalinger, *Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative*, pp. 359–65 and pls. I–III.

⁶ As Spalinger notes, the number of columns before the current preserved text is unknown; rather than presenting an entirely new transcription, the following notes will indicate where the current author differs significantly with the initial transcription published by Spalinger.

⁴ [...] *ndm hstyw m-šs sp-snw im n [ir.nf(?)^t] hpr.w*
ch snw⁸ c.w.s. šps⁵ [...] [p3]-Rc-Hr-šl.ty p3yf it nfr cq3 sp snw m t3 h3⁶ [by.t(?)^h...]
p3 t3 n Km.t hr [...] pr-c3 c.w.s. p3yw šri
M3c.tⁱ ⁷ [...] smt]r.w n3yf ipt(?)[...] m3-qd
n3w^j p3-Rc-Hr-⁸ [šl.ty ...] ...
pr-c3 (hr) nw[y]^k šl.w nb r irzw ...
⁹ [...] *n3 ntr.w ir.w n pr-c3 c.w.s. [p3] hq3 c3 t3 nb*
iw bw irztw¹⁰ [...] p3yw šri nfr [...] r3.w šl.w
nfr¹¹ [.wy(?) ...]
p3 pr-m3¹ pr-c3 c.w.s. m [Pr]-irrm
iw n3 rmt n hry-pd.tⁿ ¹² [...]
iw bw-pwy [...] ... m d3d3 n w^c ...

¹ [...] their mistress(?). Their [...] strong [...],
 and one brought [...]

² [...] His Majesty brought [each of(?)] their warriors [...] who decrees it, "Victory [...]"

³ Heliopolis ..., l.p.h. against every land [...] joyful before [...]

⁴ [...] pleasing their hearts exceedingly therein because [what he has done(?)]
 has succeeded.

The two noble palaces ⁵ [...]

[Pre]-Horakhty, his good and very excellent father being the sh[ade(?) ...]

⁶ The land of Egypt was [...] pharaoh, l.p.h., their son.

Maat [...] ⁷ [pre]cisely(?), his accounts(?) [...] entirely.

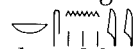
Those of Prehor⁸[akhty ...]

Pharaoh returned all the benefactions in order to carry them out for ...

⁹ [...] the gods who acted for Pharaoh, [the] great ruler of every land,
 without [...] having been done ¹⁰ [...] their beautiful(?) son [...] effective utterances.

[How] good is [...]

¹¹ [...] the fortified plantation of Pharaoh in [Per]ire,
 while the people of the commander of the archers ¹² [...]
 not having [...] ... as the head of one ...

^a It is tempting to transcribe this sign as a *nb*-basket over a large *t*-loaf, based on the odd sequence of signs in ln. 62 of the Karnak Inscription: .⁷ However, the first preserved sign of the papyrus does not resemble the other *nb*-baskets in this papyrus (X, lns. 3, 8, 9; X+1, ln. 8). If this group is indeed related to the similar group in the Karnak Inscription, then the beginning of the Louvre papyrus may have described the appearance of the king in the broad hall of the palace.⁸

^b While these signs may be part of the phrase *r-drazw*,⁹ the reed-leaf is reminiscent of the word *drw* "strong" (Wb. V 599.1ff). Perhaps this adjective was part of a royal epithet like *pr drw* "strong enclosure" (Karnak Inscription, ln. 76).

⁷ Possibly, the addition of the reed-leaves is related to the popular name *Nb-sn*, which appears most often as *Nb-sny* in the New Kingdom (H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* [Glückstadt, 1935], vol. II, p. 143).

⁸ For a discussion of this motif, see text note c to ln. 62 in Chapter 2 (p. 64).

⁹ Spalinger, *Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative*, p. 363.

^c The ink following *lw* is very light and the signs are difficult to see,¹⁰ but a slanting line following the *lw* resembles an *f*-viper, and the ink traces could fit a reading *hmꜣf*.

^d The reading of this partly broken sign as *ꜥb* is a tentative suggestion; since more than one warrior would almost certainly be mentioned, a restoration *nb*—"each of their warriors"—is also suggested with reservation.

^e Although fragmentary, the preserved text at the end of line two—*r.wd sw pꜣ nꜥt*¹¹—is strongly reminiscent of the exclamations of soldiers during the Opet procession:¹²

imn pꜣ ntr wd sw pꜣ nꜥt n pꜣ hꜣꜣ

Amun is the god who decrees it: "Victory be to the ruler!"

Based on this parallel, the *r* before *wd* can be interpreted as a common phonetic variant of the *l*-prefix for participles in Late Egyptian,¹³ although *wd* is written with the determinatives expected for *wꜥt* (*Wb.* I 397.11), the Opet procession parallel and rarity of prothetic jod prefixes in 3ae inf. verbs argue for *wꜥ* rather than *wꜥt* (see p. 147 above). The entire line can thus be restored as follows: *lw hmꜣf (hr) in[t] pꜣyꜣw ꜥb [nb imn] r.wd sw pꜣ nꜥt [n pꜣ hꜣꜣ]* "His Majesty brought [each of] their warriors, (who say): ['Amun] is the one who decrees it—victory be [to the ruler]!" If the passage does indeed refer to "their warriors" (see text note d above), then this passage may put the loyalist statement into the mouths of foreign troops—possibly even the Sherden and Pelset auxiliaries mentioned in X + 1, lns. 8–9. In a brilliant literary allusion to the festival songs of soldiers, the author of P. Louvre 3136 paints a picture of a military review before Pharaoh where even the foreign troops proclaim his god-given power.

^f This restoration is based on ln. 63 of the Karnak Inscription, where Egypt rejoices after the victory of Perire: [...] *hmꜣf ꜥnꜥt wꜥꜣ snb (m) hꜣy hr mꜣꜣꜣ ꜥr.nꜣꜣ hꜣꜣꜣ (w)* "the [army(?)] of his Majesty, l.p.h., were rejoicing at seeing him, (because) what he has done has succeeded."

^g Following *ꜥh* are two strokes—the two palaces could relate to the dual structures used during the sed-festival or the presence of more than one palace at Memphis.¹⁴ Compare the mention of the palace "Beloved-of-Maat" in conjunction with Merneptah in P. Anastasi II 5,6.¹⁵

^h The word *hꜣyb.t* "shade" (*Wb.* III 225.2–7) is tentatively suggested here. The divine connotations of shades¹⁶ support the reading of Pre-Horakhty as the shade, and is

¹⁰ Ibid., pl. II, ln. 2 records "? trs" between the *lw* and *in*-pot.

¹¹ Contra Spalinger's transcription of *pꜣ mnꜥ* – compare the writing of *nꜥt* in X+1, ln. 8.

¹² Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple 1*, pl. 91, ln. 2; translation follows that in the commentary volume, p. 35 (reference courtesy of Prof. John Darnell).

¹³ Winand, *Etudes de néo-égyptien*, pp. 344–49; this phenomenon is also attested in the pre-Amarna period—B. Kroeber, *Die Neuägyptizismen vor der Amarnazeit* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Tübingen, 1970), pp. 177–79.

¹⁴ D. O'Connor, "Beloved of Maat, the Horizon of Re: the Royal Palace in New Kingdom Egypt," in D.P. Silverman and D. O'Connor, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (Leiden, 1995), p. 270; possibly there was even some "double" aspect to the well-known palace of Merneptah at Memphis.


¹⁵ For references to the other named palace—*ꜥh wꜣꜣ-nꜣꜣw*—see Caminos, *LEM*, p. 49.

¹⁶ Bell, in *Mélanges Mokhtar*, vol. I, pp. 32–37.


reminiscent of expressions such as that found in KRI II 345.2: *hmsꜣsn n h(ꜣ)byt hꜣšꜣf* “they sat in the shade of his strong arm.”

ⁱ The sign before the serpent is to be read as the *Mꜣ.t*-feather, lacking the ticks of the *šw*-feather.¹⁷ Additionally, Spalinger’s translation “Shu” overlooks the presence of the serpent determinative commonly attested for goddesses, but not male deities.

^j “Those of Pre-Horakhty” is probably a reference to a division named after the god,¹⁸ just as the mention of *Nfr-hr* in the Karnak Inscription (ln. 12) may be an allusion to the division of Ptah.

^k Before the damaged area of the papyrus,  is visible—the damage ends with two slanting strokes over walking legs. Considering the limited size of the lacuna, it is possible that the verb *nwꜣ* (*Wb.* II 220.16–221.2) is to be restored here; this passage could possibly describe the pharaoh “returning” or “reuniting”¹⁹ the benefactions which were originally bestowed upon him by the gods. Another possibility is to interpret the signs after the damage as a *sꜣm*-ear, reading the texts as: “Listen to all the effective utterances in order to carry them out”

^l In ln. 49 of the Karnak Inscription, a stretch of land is described as being “between the fortified plantation of ‘Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat, He-Who-Surrounds-the-Tjehenu’ which is in Perire, and the fortresses (*dmꜣ.w*) of the high desert beginning with ‘Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat [...]’.” The similarity between the Louvre papyrus and the Karnak Inscription suggests that the same place is being described in both texts. For a discussion of *pr-mꜣ* as “fortified plantation,” see Chapter 2, pp. 57–58.

^m Despite the traces beneath the *ir*-eye, the following  ⊗ support an interpretation of this word as Perire, the location of Merneptah’s battle against the Libyans.

ⁿ The “people of the commander of the archers” recalls ln. 33 of the Karnak Inscription: “Meanwhile, the bowmen of his Majesty spent six hours of destruction among them.” For the role of archers at the Battle of Perire, see Chapter 3, pp. 103–107.

¹ *šꜣ hꜣ.t n pꜣ tꜣ n Km.t* [...] ² *r šꜣꜣ nꜣy.w* (*Rꜣ-ms-sw Mry-ꜣmn*) | ^a [*ꜣ.w.s.*] *pꜣ dmꜣ nty* [*hr pꜣ r*]³ *wꜣ*
imn.ty^b

ꜣwꜣtw hr dꜣt mh nꜣyꜣw sꜣw.tyꜣw(?)^c

ꜣwꜣtw dꜣt hꜣpr [...]

⁴ *hrw n* [*M*]*šwš Rbw Hꜣꜣꜣ*^d *ꜣy.(w) m* [...] ⁵ *hrw mꜣ-qꜣꜣw*

ꜣwꜣw gm pꜣ tꜣ mr.(w) ꜣꜣꜣ.(w) [...]

[*ꜣw*]⁶*ꜣw tfy.(w)*^e *m nꜣ dmꜣ.w*

ꜣwꜣw hꜣy r nꜣ shꜣ.t n Pr-ꜣrr^f [...] ⁷ *m pꜣ pr-mꜣ n pr-ꜣꜣ* [*ꜣ.w.*]*s.*

ꜣwꜣw ptr wꜣ stꜣ^g [...] ⁸ *pr nb.t-shꜣ.t r hꜣy*

ꜣwꜣn dꜣt pry 100 Prst [...] ⁹ *pꜣ sꜣw 200 n Šrdn n nꜣ nꜣt.w ꜣꜣ.[w^h ...]*

¹⁰ *dꜣtꜣn m ꜣqꜣꜣn r hꜣy r-ꜣqꜣw tꜣ stꜣ r ptr(?)* [...] ¹¹ *ph*

ꜣwꜣn gm [600(?)]ⁱ *n Mšwš tꜣy* [...]

¹⁷ Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. II, p. 21.

¹⁸ See Chapter 2, n. 119.

¹⁹ For this nuance of *nwꜣ*, see Meeks, *ALEX*, vol. I, p. 186 (77.2029).

¹ Calling up the best of the land of Egypt [... from ...]² up to those of
 Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun [l.p.h.], the fortress which [is upon]³ the western
 [ba]nk.

One caused their scouts(?) to be seized.

One made [...] happen/succeed [...]

⁴ The enemies—consisting of Meshwesh, Rebu, and Hasa—came from [...] ⁵ all the enemies,
 and they found the land (of Egypt) prepared and supplied [...]




⁶ They were repulsed from the fortresses,
 and they descended to the fields of Perire [...] ⁷ in the fortified plantation of Pharaoh
 [l.p.]h.

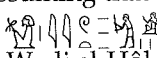
And they saw a flame [...] ⁸ the domain of the Mistress-of-the-Field which is above;
 and we sent forth 100 Peleset [...] ⁹ the days, and 200 Sherden of the great
 strongholds [...]

¹⁰ caused us in our exactitude upwards, in front of the flame in order to see(?)
 [...] ¹¹ arrived(?).

We found [600(?)] Meshwesh, ravaging [...]

^a “Those of Ramesses-mery-amun” is probably a reference to a garrison of a fort; after the epithet “l.p.h.” the fortress is called *p3 dm̄i*—another use of the word *dm̄i* to refer to a fortified structure or town.²⁰ This *dm̄i* is probably one of the chain of fortresses near the Mediterranean littoral west of the Delta.²¹

^b This restoration can be suggested from In. 79 of the Karnak Inscription: *hr p3 rwd̄ imn.ty*. Spalinger’s transcription of  should be corrected to —the end of the word *rwd̄* “bank,” with the stone determinative being borrowed from the homophonous word “granite” (*Wb.* II 412.14ff). This interpretation indicates that the sign Spalinger’s transcribes as  is simply not present; furthermore a mention of *rwd̄ imn.ty* relates the Louvre papyrus more closely with the accounts of the Libyan invasions under Merneptah (for *rwd̄ imn.ty* in general see p. 75 above, and p. 131 below for its use in P. Harris I).

^c Assuming that the damage only accounts for the *w* of *msy-w*, this may be a writing of *sw* as: .²² Although *sw.ty* is not common in military texts, a literary text from the Wadi el-Hôl provides an interesting parallel to “watchmen” in a martial context.²³

^d The Meshwesh and Rebu play prominent roles in the invasions under Merneptah and Ramesses III,²⁴ but the Hasa seem to be attested only in P. Harris I, as part of the Year 11 Libyan coalition during the reign of Ramesses III.²⁵

²⁰ Valbelle, in *Mélanges Mokhtar*, pp. 315–19; see also In. 49 of the Karnak Inscription and the commentary on p. 58 above.

²¹ For the role of these fortresses in Merneptah’s campaign against the Libyans, see Chapter 2, pp. 30, 48–49 and Chapter 3, p. 99; western fortresses also play a relatively important role in both the Year 5 and Year 11 Libyan Wars of Ramesses III (see p. 58, n. 317 above); compare the similarly named *dm̄i* known from the Kadesh Poem (KRI II 14.7–8): *Rc-ms-sw-mry-imn p3 dm̄i nty m t3 in.t p3 ʕš* ‘Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun’—the fortress/city which is in the valley of the pine.


²² Possibly related to *swty* as a title at Deir el-Medina (J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, 2nd ed. [Cairo, 2001], p. 44).

²³ Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, vol. I, p. 114, n. jj.

²⁴ See pp. 84–85, 88–89.

²⁵ Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, pp. 251–52.

^e The verb *tfy* can be used transitively²⁶ or intransitively,²⁷ and is common in texts from Medinet Habu.²⁸ The use of the preposition *m* in P. Louvre suggests a transitive meaning here—"to remove/forcibly repel from." "They were repulsed from the fortresses" is probably an allusion to events similar to those depicted at Medinet Habu where Libyans are fought by Egyptian troops in fortresses.²⁹

^f The spelling of Perire here is parallel to that in P. Bologna 1097 7,9–10: . Unfortunately, like the hieratic example of Perire from the Lisht complex of Senwosret III (see p. 25, n. 130 above), the attestation of Perire in P. Bologna does not give any further clues to the location of the toponym; however the general Delta milieu of the letter in P. Bologna does support a more northerly location for Perire.³⁰ See pp. 25–27 above for a more detailed discussion of the location of Perire.

^g It is likely that the "flame" in this passage alludes to the pharaoh himself, who is often said to be a flame against his enemies.³¹ For the significance of burning enemies, see pp. 123–124 above.

^h The "Sherden of the fortresses" are Egyptian foreign auxiliaries;³² *šrdn n nb nḥt.w* is used here in contrast to *šrdn n pꜣ ym*—"Sherden of the sea"—a reference to enemy Sherden.³³ Sherden had been used as auxiliaries since the defeat of a group of Sherden raiders during the reign of Ramesses II,³⁴ and Ramesses III specifically claims that he settled Sherden in fortresses after his Year 8 Sea People War.³⁵

ⁱ Spalinger's restoration of a number is the most likely possibility for this area of damage, but his reading of plural strokes over two hundred-coils is unconvincing; more likely is a writing of 500 or 600, both of which have three small strokes over a coil with a long tail (500 adding an extra tick to the coil).³⁶

The relationship between Egypt and the numerous tribes inhabiting the Egyptian Western Desert is not clearly defined for any period of Egyptian history. During the

²⁶ J. Janssen, *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications* (London, 1991), p. 30; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 151.

²⁷ P. Anastasi IV, 2,4 (and commentary in Caminos, *LEM*, p. 133).

²⁸ Edgerton and Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III*, p. 7, n. 1a (at Medinet Habu, *tfy* can be transitive or intransitive).

²⁹ See p. 58, n. 317 above.

³⁰ Contra Vandersleyen, in Eyre, ed., *Seventh International Congress*, pp. 1201–02, who argues for a location near the mouth of the Fayum.

³¹ Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, pp. 117–118.

³² For the titles "Commander of the great fortresses of the Sherden" and "Commander of the five fortresses of the Sherden," see Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, p. 62; for specific numbers attached to groups of foreign auxiliaries, compare the fictitious campaign in P. Anastasi I (Fischer-Elfert, *Anastasi I: Übersetzung und Kommentar*, pp. 154ff.).

³³ Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu VI*, pl. 600b; this example demonstrates that *šrdn n pꜣ ym* in P. Harris I 76,7 is not a scribal error (contra Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, vol. II, p. 240).

³⁴ Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, pp. 40–41; see p. 78, n. 8–9 above for depictions of Sherden fighting alongside Egyptian troops.

³⁵ P. Harris I 76,8–76,9; see further Grandet's discussion in *Papyrus Harris I*, vol. II, pp. 203–4 (n. 833) and p. 243 (n. 919).

³⁶ Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. II, p. 57.

Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, a number of primary sources describe military conflict between the Egyptians and Libyans, but an attempt at tracing the exact progression of events is frustrated by the ambiguity of Egyptian historical texts. The "Libyan" section of Ramesses III's address to his army in P. Harris I and the partly preserved text of P. Louvre N 3136 provide excellent examples of the problems inherent in isolating historical facts about the Libyan invasions under Merneptah and Ramesses III. Both papyri fail to draw a clear distinction between the Year 5 invasion under Merneptah and the Year 5 and 11 invasions under Ramesses III,³⁷ and neither document provides year dates. However, toponyms and ethnonyms within monumental sources may enable events mentioned in the papyri to be anchored in a particular reign. For example, several texts of Merneptah refer to Perire as the location of his battle against the Libyans, but Perire is not attested in the documents of Ramesses III. Similarly, Libyan tribes such as the Seped and Sea People groups such as the Pelset are known only in the texts of Ramesses III. Despite the limited nature of the preserved evidence, an example of either the toponym Perire or the ethnonym Pelset in another text probably alludes to the reigns of Merneptah and Ramesses III respectively. Thus, by isolating known facts about each of these individual campaigns from monumental sources, historical interpretations of P. Harris I 76,11–77,6 and P. Louvre N 3136 are possible.

Ramesses begins the Libyan section of his historical retrospective in P. Harris I with the statement (76,11): "Behold, I shall inform you of other events which have taken place in the Beloved Land since (the reigns of previous) kings (*ḏr nsw.tyw*)." Although the rulers to whom *ḏr nsw.tyw* refers are not specified, the events Ramesses III describes are specific in their geographical designations—the Libyans have taken control of the towns along the western bank (*rwd ḏmn.ty*) and are dwelling on both sides of the "great river" (*ḏtrw ʕ*). Both of these toponyms feature prominently in the Libyan war texts of Merneptah. However, P. Harris I also describes the Libyan infiltration "from Memphis to Qerben" and throughout the "Xoite nome"—neither Qerben nor the Xoite nome are specifically mentioned in Merneptah's texts; however, Libyan pressure on these two areas is perhaps the impetus behind the statement in the Victory Stela of Merneptah (KRI IV 16.12): "Who opens the towns which were locked, he having released the many who were besieged in every nome." Thus, it is likely that P. Harris I 76,11–77,2 describes the Libyan penetration of Egypt from Merneptah's accession until Year 5 of the reign of Ramesses III.

³⁷ Fortunately, the monumental record clearly distinguishes all three of these conflicts, so their existence is not in doubt (*contra* L. Lesko, "The Wars of Ramses III," *Serapis* 6 [1980]: 83–86); Lesko argues that there is no Year 5 battle under Ramesses III, but that the texts at Medinet Habu are copies of lost documents from the mortuary temple of Merneptah. Although both conflicts involve the Rebu and Meshwesh, the two wars have little in common. Merneptah's accounts focus upon Meresy as the leader of the Libyan coalition (who is only mentioned in the Year 5 text at Medinet Habu as an *ancestor* of other Libyan chiefs, not as the leader of the Libyan army—see text note b to ln. 1 in Chapter 2), whose goal is to attack Memphis, but who is defeated in a decisive battle at Perire. The Year 5 text of Ramesses III, on the other hand, adds the Seped tribe to the Libyan coalition and describes the appointment of a Tjemehu child (probably the cause of the Year 5 conflict—see above Chapter 3, pp. 101–102), but does not mention any of the numerous geographical terms found in Merneptah's texts. Thus, Lesko's two main arguments about the non-existence of Ramesses III's Year 5 battle—the predominance of the Rebu in both battles and the mention of Meresy in texts of Merneptah and Ramesses III—are overshadowed by the clear differences in the textual accounts. Simply stated, no *positive* textual evidence equates the two Year 5 Libyan invasions, and numerous passages indicate that they are indeed two separate conflicts.

Following the description of Libyan activity within Egypt, Ramesses III claims in a single concise statement that he destroyed the Libyan foes. Ramesses III then goes on to describe in detail a new coalition of Libyan tribes and their subsequent defeat (77,3–77,6); this more complete rendering of events corresponds to Ramesses III's Year 11 Libyan War.³⁸ As in the monumental record, the Year 11 conflict overshadows the Year 5 battle in the P. Harris I account; in fact, only a single festival commemorates Ramesses III's victory over the Libyans, so the Egyptians themselves may have viewed the conflicts in the fifth and eleventh regnal years as two facets of a single campaign.³⁹ Thus, Ramesses III's description of the Libyan invasions of Egypt begins with an account of incursions from Merneptah's reign down to his own, followed by a brief summary of the Year 5 campaign and a more detailed description of Year 11.

Turning now to P. Louvre N 3136, the situation is more complicated—probably the result of the text's literary nature.⁴⁰ The two fragmentary columns are redolent with references to toponyms that occur nearly verbatim in the Libyan War texts of Merneptah: *p3 pr-m3 n pr-s3 m [Pr]-irr* (X, ln. 11), *sh.wt n Pr-irr* (X+1, ln. 6), *p3 dmł nt[y hr p3 r]wd imnt.t* (X+1, lns. 2–3), and *p3 pr-m3 n pr-s3* (X+1, ln. 7). None of these toponyms play a role in the Libyan war texts of Ramesses III in either the monumental accounts or P. Harris I; however, the prominence of “fortresses (*dmł.w*)” is a feature common to P. Louvre N 3136 and the battles of Merneptah⁴¹ and Ramesses III.⁴² Thus, “those of ‘Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun,’ the fortress which [is on the western bank]” could be an allusion to any of the three major Libyan conflicts of the mid-New Kingdom, or could represent an intentional mixing of all three accounts.

However, the ethnonyms in the second column of P. Louvre N 3136 match most closely those found in the texts of Ramesses III; the Libyan enemies are enumerated as “Meshwesh, Rebu, and Hasa”—while the first two are common to the conflicts under both Merneptah and Ramesses III, the Hasa only occur in the P. Harris I description of Ramesses III's Year 11 War. Admittedly, the Hasa could have been mentioned in one of the numerous lacunae in the Karnak Inscription and in the Kom el-Ahmar Stela, but the occurrence of Pelset (X+1, ln. 8) is even more evocative of Ramesses III's reign, because the Pelset do not occur in any Egyptian source prior to his reign.⁴³

Although individual elements in P. Louvre N 3136 are drawn from historical accounts of Merneptah and of Ramesses III, one must also consider the progression of events. Based on the above translation, the following outline attempts to reconstruct the important events described in the papyrus:

³⁸ This analysis of P. Harris I follows Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, vol. II, pp. 245–51.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 246–47.

⁴⁰ As Spalinger, *Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative*, p. 362 notes, forms such as the non-initial main sentence (*twf hr sdm*) and circumstantial negative past (*tw bw pwwf sdm*) indicate that P. Louvre N 3136 is not (directly) derivative of a monumental hieroglyphic source.

⁴¹ Merneptah's texts refer to fortifications as both *mun.w* and *dmł.w* (see pp. 48–49 and 58 above).

⁴² The Year 5 conflict involved *p3 dmł Wsr-ms.t-r' hsf Tmhw* (Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. I, pl. 22) and one of the battles in Year 11 was located between *R'-ms-sw-hq3-twnw p3 dmł nty hr p3 đw n wp-t3* and *Hwt-šy* (Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. II, pl. 70).

⁴³ Helck, *Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis*, pp. 137ff.

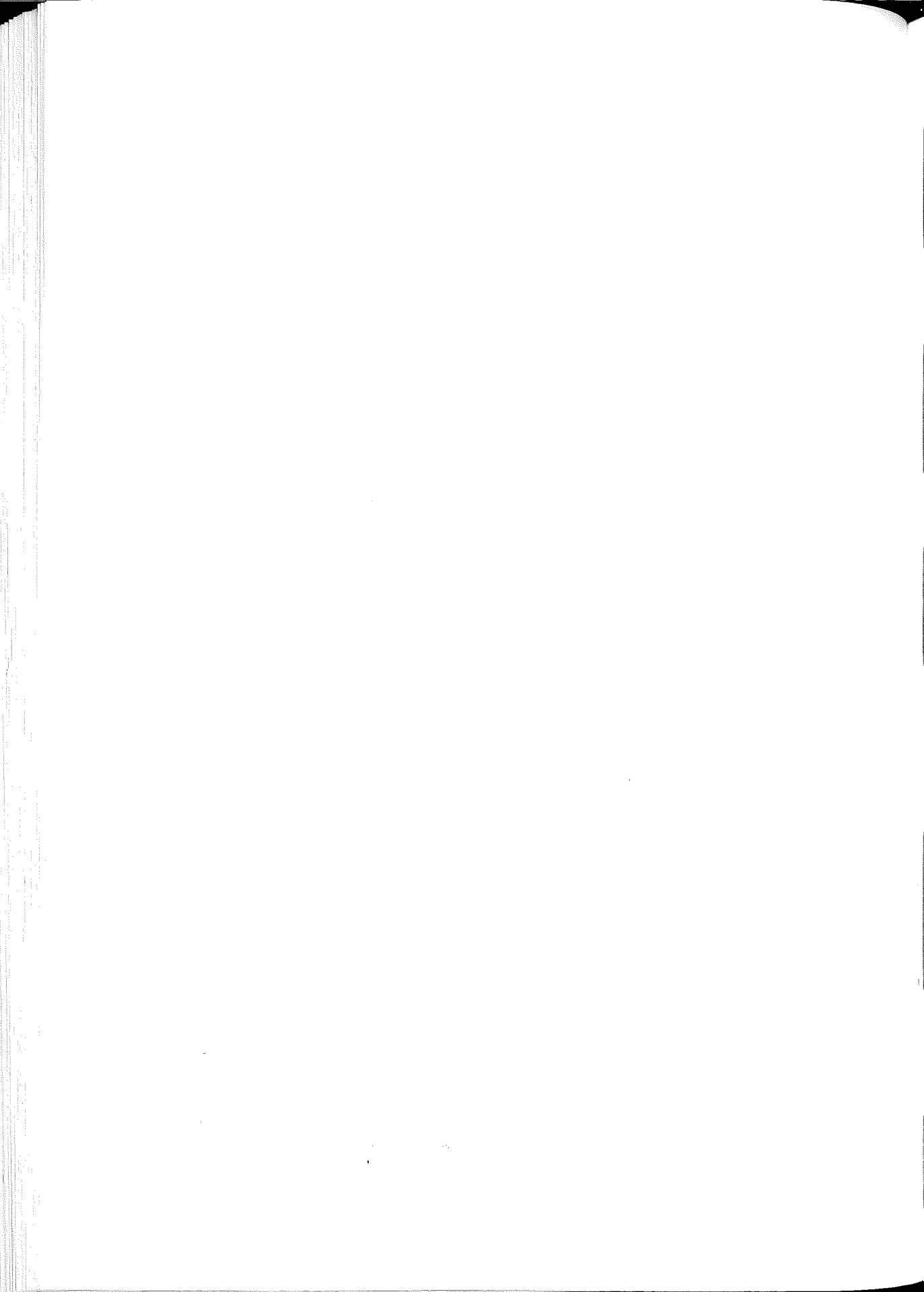
- X Ins. 2–3: a military force appears before the ruler,⁴⁴ perhaps in Heliopolis⁴⁵
 In. 4: royal appearance(?) at “two noble palaces” (possibly where pharaoh is informed of the Libyan invasion?)
 Ins. 5–10: epithets relating the pharaoh to Pre-Horakhty and the gods
 In. 11: deployment(?) of archers at “the fortified plantation which is in [Per]ire”
- X+1 In. 1: marshalling of Egyptian troops
 Ins. 2–3: description of the fortresses along the western bank and the capture of enemy forces
 Ins. 4–6: enumeration of Libyan foes, their defeat at the (western) fortresses, and their descent on “the fields of Perire”
 Ins. 7–9: military activity around the “fortified plantation of Pharaoh” (exemplified by pharaoh as “flame”), including use of foreign auxiliaries (Sherden and Pelset)
 Ins. 10–11: beginning of narration of battle(?) from perspective of the Egyptian army(?) (signaled by the use of the first person plural suffix pronoun)

This overall structure mirrors the account of the Battle of Perire in the Karnak Inscription—the area around Memphis and Heliopolis are threatened (as evidenced in epithets of Merneptah as their protector), Merneptah is praised as the great leader of his army, forces are marshaled to march in 14 days, the negative condition of Egypt at the hands of the Libyans is evoked, and then a battle takes place at “the fields of Perire.” Although further analysis of P. Louvre N 3136 and fragments not included in Spalinger’s initial publication may alter the conclusions presented here, the evidence analyzed above suggests the following understanding of this fascinating literary composition.

After the Libyan Wars during the reign of Ramesses III and the intervening defeat of the Sea People invaders, literary compositions based on these momentous events were probably composed. The historical texts of Ramesses III do not describe a single large battle, so the campaigns of his Year 5 and 11 may have consisted of small skirmishes and counter-attacks from the western fortresses. Thus, the authors of P. Louvre N3136 may have borrowed the exciting and detailed account of the Battle at Perire from the records of Merneptah, but “updated” it by including Libyan and Sea People groups from the reign of Ramesses III. It is equally likely that P. Louvre was intended to be a tale of the Battle of Perire, and extra groups of invaders from the more recent invasions were added to the enemies listed in the older records. The use of the first person plural suffix pronoun towards the end of the second column suggests that the story may even have been told from the perspective of the Egyptian army. In either case, P. Louvre N 3136 is probably one of the oldest examples of “historical fiction” and owes many of its details to the Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah.

⁴⁴ Compare In. 11 of the Karnak Inscription: “who deploys the choicest of his archers, who guides his chariotry upon every road.”

⁴⁵ For the role of Heliopolis in the war texts of Merneptah, see Chapter 2, pp. 12–13.



Chapter 4: Grammatical Analysis

§1 INTRODUCTION

WHILE A SYNCHRONIC APPROACH has been effective in describing the grammar of non-literary texts written in Late Egyptian,¹ the complex layering of various grammatical levels employed in Ramesside Monumental texts demands a diachronic method.² The particular "stage" of the language to which many Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty historical texts belong can be described in various ways, and a variety of terms are commonly used to capture the peculiar blend of forms within these texts: late Middle Egyptian (Spätmittelägyptisch), medio-Late Egyptian, neo-Middle Egyptian,³ égyptien de tradition,⁴ néo-égyptien mixte, and néo-égyptien partiel.⁵

The following classification of important grammatical categories in the Karnak Inscription will employ several of these expressions, especially when referring to the work of a particular scholar.⁶ Rather than propose another set of terms or attempt to fit the Karnak Inscription into a system developed for another corpus of texts, the following examination of the grammar of the Karnak Inscription will borrow terminology for each form. Although the text as a whole belongs to the genre of royal historical inscriptions, the grammar can vary markedly between certain sections within the inscription.⁷

Since many of the key grammatical forms received initial commentary in the text notes in Chapter 2, the following sections will group together the individual occurrences by category (i.e. *sdm.f*, relative form, etc.), rather than simply repeating a line-by-line

¹ Černý-Groll, *LEG*; Frandsen, *OLVS*. A similar success has been attained recently in the field of Coptic studies with the new grammar of B. Layton, *A Coptic Grammar, with Chrestomathy and Glossary, Sahidic Dialect* (Wiesbaden, 2000).

² Wente, *Syntax of Verbs of Motion*; S. Groll, "The Literary and the Non-Literary Verbal Systems in Late Egyptian," *OLP* 6/7 (1975-1976): 237-246; D. Sweeney, "The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramses II at Abydos," in S. Groll, ed. *Papers for Discussion*, vol. II (Jerusalem, 1985), pp. 134-327; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, pp. 49ff.

³ For the texts which belong to each of these categories, see Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 23; idem, "Sprachstufen und Sprachgeschichte," in W. Röllig, ed., *XXII. Deutscher Orientalistentag* (Stuttgart, 1985), pp. 26-33.

⁴ P. Vernus, "Langue littéraire et diglossie," in A. Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 555-564.

⁵ In contrast to "néo-égyptien complet;" for definitions of these terms, see Winand, *Etudes de néo-égyptien*, §22 and his chart comparing the various definitions of Late Egyptian on p. 29. Note also the distinction he draws between "égyptien de tradition" and "néo-égyptien partiel" (p. 13, n. 29).

⁶ For example, the reduced *sdm.nf* form will be referred to as "Spätmittelägyptisch," following the definition of the term as put forth by Jansen-Winkel in his grammar of Third Intermediate Period texts.

⁷ As Jean Winand noted: "un même texte, défini en terme d'appartenance à un genre littéraire, n'est pas toujours homogène d'un point de vue linguistique; plusieurs registres d'expression peuvent s'y croiser." (*Etudes de néo-égyptien*, p. 12). Differences within a text itself are often related to "registers" within the text, such as idioms from daily life, religious allusions, and "high" literary flourishes. For further discussion and definitions, see K. Jansen-Winkel, "Diglossie und Zweisprachigkeit," *WZKM* 85 (1995): 92-102; Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, pp. 18-23; for the application of registers and their corresponding grammatical forms to particular texts, see Vernus, *RdE* 30 (1978): 137-142; O. Goldwasser, "On the Choice of Registers—Studies on the Grammar of Papyrus Anastasi I," in S. Israelit-Groll, *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, vol. I (Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 200-240 (see pp. 212ff. for a discussion of the term "register" as it relates to modern linguistic terminology).

outline. Within each section of this chapter, the examples will be discussed in relation to their context (i.e. direct speech, dream sequence, battle narrative, etc.) and their importance for the grammatical system of the Karnak Inscription as a whole. Following the individual grammatical categories, the greater syntactic relationships between various clauses will be analyzed by examining which forms can appear in each position within the narrative sequence. The conclusions presented here will place this important inscription within the evolution of ancient Egyptian, and should form one more step towards the development of a more complete grammatical description of the intriguing language of Ramesside historical texts.

§2 THE PARTICLE *ist*

The unique properties of the particle *ist* enable it to organize the structure of a text, linking both large sections and individual sentences within a single narrative component. With its frequent use of the particle *ist*, the Karnak Inscription serves as an excellent source for an examination of the particle within Ramesside monumental inscriptions, which in turn aids in understanding the structure of the Karnak Inscription⁸ and specific syntactic relationships within it.

The particle *ist* serves two main functions in Egyptian texts: it denotes concomitance of two events⁹ and typically marks a change in the actor or scene.¹⁰ The particle *ist* fills both of these functions in the Karnak Inscription, but its use as an anaphoric element¹¹ is not apparent. The additional details provided by clauses following *ist* can also be described as "background" information,¹² but the particle does not affect initiality, since it indicates the concomitance of two equally important events.¹³

These various functions of *ist* can be seen in the nine unevenly-distributed occurrences of the particle *ist* in the Karnak Inscription: once in the introduction to the epithets of Merneptah (ln. 2),¹⁴ once after the report of enemy activity (ln. 15), six times in the battle narrative (lines 30, 33, 34, 36, 37, and 38), once after the battle, following a statement concerning the annals (ln. 39), and once introducing the rejoicing of Egypt and the return of the plunder-laden army (ln. 47). In each of the examples in which a verbal form follows *ist*, the particle signals a change in the actor, but not a temporal progression.

⁸ Like royal cartouches (Spalinger, *Aspects*, p. 208, n. 54), the particle *ist* can be used to determine dividing points within the text (although both are to be read, rather than serving *only* as poetical dividers).

⁹ GEG §231. In this function, the particle *ist* can be contrasted with constructions such as *wn.in* that mark temporal progression (as Hartmann, *Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, p. 78 observed, *wn.in* is in inverse proportion to the distribution of *ist* in the Kadesh inscriptions).

¹⁰ Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 87; von der Way, *Qadeš-Schlacht*, pp. 51–52; Hartmann, *Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, p. 95.

¹¹ This function in Middle Egyptian texts was suggested by L. Depuydt, "Zur Bedeutung der Partikeln $\text{𓂏} \text{↪} \text{jsk}$ und $\text{𓂏} \text{js}$," *GM* 136 (1993): 11–25.

¹² This coincides with Erman's definition of the function of *ist* quoted on p. 9 (text note c to ln. 2). Erman also notes that the expression of concomitance is especially true of the construction *ist r.f.* See also the comments of F. Hintze, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen* (Berlin, 1950), pp. 67–70.

¹³ As Loprieno has concisely stated: "the clause introduced by the particle provides contextual background information, and is in this respect *semantically* dependent on the main clause." (*Ancient Egyptian*, p. 152 [the italics are my own]).

¹⁴ For a discussion of *ist* in ln. 2, see text note c to that line (p. 9).

For example, the extensive use of *ist* in the battle narrative allows the focus to shift from the Egyptian army, to the Libyan-Sea People army, to the cowardly behavior of Merey; *ist* smoothly combines several simultaneous events into a single narrative. The same principle of simultaneity also applies to the use of *ist* in the beginning of the inscription (ln. 2), where the particle *ist* follows the cartouches of Merneptah and precedes a list of epithets; here *ist* does not denote a change in the actor, but rather a specification thereof.¹⁵

All clauses following *ist* are syntactically complete,¹⁶ but can contain any number of grammatical forms:

1) NOUN + STATIVE/
PSEUDO-VERBAL:¹⁷

ln. 15: *ist hmꜣf ḥꜣr.w ḥrꜣsn ml rw*
Now, his Majesty raged against them like a lion.

ln. 47: *ist tꜣ r drꜣf m <ḥ>ꜣy r ḥrt*
Meanwhile, the entire land was rejoicing to heaven.

The first example is clearly initial since it follows the end of the *iwꜣtw* report. Since the previous statement describes Merey reaching the western border at Perire, the particle *ist* in line 15 cannot be anaphoric. Instead, the particle signals a shift from the military report to the action of the king—the rage of the king occurs while he is hearing the details of the Libyan invasion. The same principle applies to the second example: the text changes from the description of tribute to the jubilant reaction of Egypt.

2) PRETERITE *sꜣmꜣf*:

ln. 33: *ist lrwy.n (sic) tꜣ pꜣt n hmꜣf 6 wnwꜣt n skꜣꜣsn*
Meanwhile, the bowmen of his Majesty spent six hours destroying them.

ln. 38: *ist dꜣ st nꜣ n snm.w nty ḥr ḥtr.w n hmꜣf m-sꜣꜣsn*
Meanwhile, the chariot warriors, who were upon his majesty's spans, placed themselves behind them.

In the example from ln. 33, the complete context is not clear, but the passage in question refers to the complete destruction of the enemy, making it likely that *ist* signals a change from a description of the Libyans to the concomitant actions of the Egyptian army. The loss of context is even more extreme in the second example, but once again *ist* in line 38 appears to indicate a shift from the defeat of the enemy to the further military actions of the Egyptians. In neither case does the extant context indicate an anaphoric use of the particle *ist*.¹⁸

3) *wꜣnꜣf ḥr sꜣm*

ln. 34: *ist wꜣnꜣsn ḥr ḥꜣ*
pꜣ wr ḥꜣy n Rbw ḥꜣ.(w) snd.(w)
Meanwhile, when they were fighting,
the wretched chief of Rebu was terrified.

¹⁵ This function parallels the use of *ist* in the Kadesh texts to specify a location, as elucidated by von der Way, *Qadeš-Schlacht*, pp. 52–53.

¹⁶ The same observation can be made for the particle *mk*, for which see J.H. Johnson, "The Use of the Particle *mk* in Middle Kingdom Letters," in F. Junge, ed. *Studien zur Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, vol 1: *Sprache* (Göttingen, 1984), pp. 71–86; A. David, "*m.k* + forme nominale au coeur de la controverse," *LingAeg* 7 (2000): 113–123.

¹⁷ For *ist* plus these constructions, see *GEG* §324.

¹⁸ Contra Depuydt, *GM* 136 (1993): 11–25.

Ins. 37–38: *ist wnn pꜣ wr ḥsy n Rbw m sḥs r wꜣr r tꜣꜣ*
ḥw rḥt³⁸ rmt m nꜣ [ḥrw...]

Meanwhile, when the wretched chief of Rebu
 was in haste to flee to his land,
 a number of ³⁸ people from the enemy [...]

These are the only two examples of the *wnnꜣḥr sdm* form in the Karnak Inscription, and the only example of a nominal form of the suffix conjugation following the particle *ist* in the Karnak Inscription,¹⁹ although several substantival forms can follow the particle *ist*.²⁰

4) ADVERBIAL SENTENCE:²¹

In. 39: *bw ptr.(w)ꜣḥr gnwt bity.w*
ist wn tꜣ pn n km.t m-ꜣsn m ḥꜣꜣ ḥd.t m rk nsw.tyw
nn rḥꜣtw ḥsfꜣsn [...]

It was not seen in the annals of the bity-kings.
 When this land of Egypt was in their possession
 in a state of pestilence in the time of the *nswt*-kings,
 one was not able to repel them [...].

The sentence preceding the passage with *ist* has been included in the quotation, because it at first appears that the two sentences are not temporally related. The first statement indicates that such a success in battle against Libyans as that at Perire has not been seen in the annals—a claim that can only be made after the battle has occurred. But the next statement concerning the “pestilence” just as clearly describes a time prior to the battle. Thus, the “time of the *nswt*-kings” must refer to the time covered by the “annals of *bity*-kings”—the *ist* indicates that the topic has changed from the annals of Egypt to a historical description of pestilence, but the time remains that of the archival source.

The verbal forms of the remaining two examples²² cannot be classified due to lacunae, but the above attestations present a consistent use of the particle *ist*. As previously recognized, *ist* can only precede independent main clauses (including nominal forms of the suffix conjugation) and indicates concomitance of action. The statements following the particle provide elaboration on the preceding statements concerning temporally parallel events, almost always including a change in the actor or scene.

§3 *sdm.nꜣꜣ*

The morphological distinctiveness of the *sdm.nꜣꜣ* makes it an attractive starting point for a verbal analysis of the Karnak Inscription before beginning the more complex differentiation of the various *sdmꜣ* formations.²³ Although indistinguishable morphologically, scholars commonly recognize at least two forms of the *sdm.nꜣꜣ* used in different syntactic environments in Middle Egyptian: predicative (circumstantial) and substantival (nominal);²⁴

¹⁹ For a discussion of *wnnꜣḥr sdm* as a nominal form, see §7 below.

²⁰ Cf. Erman, *NÄG* §677 citing a LE emphatic *ḥrꜣꜣ sdm* following *ist* in Wenamun 2,79; and the emphatic *sdm.nꜣꜣ* following *ist* cited by Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, p. 170, ex. 311. Also compare *Urk.* IV 882.13: *ist gm.n ḥmꜣꜣ wꜣ r wꜣs* “It was falling into ruin that his Majesty found (it).”

²¹ For *ist* before adverbial sentences, see *GEG* §142.

²² Lines 30 and 36.

²³ For a corresponding analysis of the *sdm.nꜣꜣ* in the texts at Medinet Habu, see Piccione, *Serapis* 6 (1980): 103–113.

²⁴ A third, the relative *sdm.nꜣꜣ* can also be added. For a discussion of the terminology and previous research, see R. Hannig, *Pseudopartizip und sdm.nꜣꜣ: Der Kernbereich des mittellägyptischen Verbalsystems* II (Hildesheim, 1991), pp. 149–154.

both of these forms occur in the Karnak Inscription alongside the Late Middle Egyptian “reduced” *sdm.nf*.

	Nominal <i>sdm.nf</i>	Nominal <i>sdmf</i> (Reduced <i>sdm.nf</i>)	Circumstantial <i>sdm.nf</i>
2 lit.	<i>ph.nf</i> (ln. 15)		
2ae gem.			<i>m3.n hm</i> (ln. 28)
3 lit.	<i>hc.nf</i> (ln. 10) <i>h3.nf</i> (ln. 26)	<i>w3r hc.wf</i> (ln. 41)	
3ae inf.		<i>in.tw3w</i> (ln. 23) <i>w3sn</i> (ln. 27) <i>w3 mnfy.t3f</i> (ln. 12)	<i>in.nf</i> (ln. 14) <i>in.nf</i> (ln. 31)
4 lit.	<i>q3q.n3w</i> (ln. 19)		
Anom.		<i>d3.tw3f</i> (ln. 10)	<i>d3.n mry3f</i> (ln. 64)

§ 3.1 NOMINAL *sdm.nf*

The nominal *sdm.nf* occurs with both intransitive and transitive verbs in the Karnak Inscription. According to Winand, the appearance of intransitive and transitive verbs in the emphatic *sdm.nf* indicates that the text is composed in “néo-égyptien partiel” rather than “néo-égyptien mixte.”²⁵ The Middle Egyptian use of the nominal *sdm.nf* in the Karnak Inscription appears alongside several examples of the “reduced” *sdm.nf* (a.k.a. perfective emphatic *sdmf*), the use of a *sdmf* form in place of an earlier nominal *sdm.nf*. This is a distinctive feature of “Spätmittelägyptisch” that sets it apart from both Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian.²⁶ The perfective emphatic *sdmf*, which results from a reduction of the suffixal *-n-* in the *sdm.nf* form, only occurs in a limited range of Late Middle Egyptian texts before the earlier forms are completely replaced by either the emphatic *3.sdm* or *3.ir3f sdm*.²⁷ In three instances, the lack of gemination in forms that are apparently nominal²⁸ can be identified as examples of “reduced” *sdm.nf*’s: *d3.tw3f* (ln. 10),²⁹ *w3d3 mnfy.t3f* (ln. 12), *w3sn* (ln. 27). In six other examples, the stem is not expected to geminate, so they could either be emphatic *sdmf* forms or short writings of the *sdm.nf*,³⁰ but two of

²⁵ *Etudes de néo-égyptien*, §408.

²⁶ Jansen-Winkel, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik*, §§90, 92; Winand, *Etudes de néo-égyptien*, §§305, 411–417 (he refers to the reduced form as the “forme emphatique *sdm.f* perfective”). See also A. Spalinger, *The Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative: P. Sallier III and the Battle of Kadesh* (Wiesbaden, 2002), pp. 204–216 for a detailed analysis of the replacement of *sdm.nf* in the monumental versions of the Kadesh Poem by *sdmf*’s in the papyrus version.

²⁷ J.-M. Kruchten, “From Middle Egyptian to Late Egyptian,” *LingAeg* 6 (1999): 21; he also describes a criterion by which one may determine the presence of the perfective emphatic *sdmf*: “every time surroundings exclude a prospective value for a *sdm.f* verb form, and there is no formal (geminating) or contextual reason (stressing adverbial adjunct) to analyze it as a nominal *sdm.f/mrr.f*, we have to conclude that we are dealing with the new short writing of the old *sdm.n.f*” (p. 7).

²⁸ Either because they occur in parallel with a fully written *sdm.nf* as part of a Wechselsatz or are verbs of motion.

²⁹ Cf. text note b to ln. 10 (pp. 20–21) above for a discussion of previous interpretations and parallels of this reduced *sdm.n.tw3f*. This morphology is particularly significant, because the stem *d3* reflects that of the *sdm.nf* and not the expected *dd* for the emphatic *sdmf*.

³⁰ *wr33* (ln. 16), *wr33w* (ln. 22), *hw3sn* (ln. 22), *in.tw3w* (ln. 27), *hd t3* (ln. 31), *w3r hc.w3f* (ln. 41).

these are almost certainly reduced forms because they express completed action: *in.twzw* (ln. 23),³¹ *w'r hr.wsf* (ln. 41).³² By means of comparison, it should be noted that except for three examples of an emphatic *l.sdmef*,³³ there are no preserved instances of Late Egyptian emphatic forms in the Karnak Inscription, such as the emphatic *l.ir sf sdm*. Thus, emphatic constructions within the Karnak Inscription are drawn almost exclusively from a Late Middle Egyptian system, which preserves the earlier *sdm.nsf* alongside its reduced form.

§3.2 CIRCUMSTANTIAL *sdm.nsf*

The remaining four examples of the *sdm.nsf* in the Karnak Inscription are interpreted as circumstantial: two examples are unambiguous while the remaining two lack the proper context due to the damaged state of the text. One definite example of a circumstantial *sdm.nsf* occurs in an *hr.n sdm.nsf* construction: *hr.n m3.n hmef* (ln. 28),³⁴ this clause introduces the dream sequence and is the only occurrence of the form in the Karnak Inscription. Like the predicative *sdm.nsf* itself, the compound construction represents a preservation of a Middle Egyptian form.³⁵ Another two occurrences of the circumstantial *sdm.nsf* are both of the verb *iml* (lns. 14, 31) and occur towards or at the end of a line, but seem to function as circumstantial clauses. Since the nominal form of the *sdm.nsf* retained the full, earlier writing longer than the circumstantial form,³⁶ the very presence of circumstantial *sdm.nsf*'s in the Karnak Inscription indicates a desire to preserve this Middle Egyptian form.

§ 3.3 NEGATION OF THE *sdm.nsf*

There is only a single example of the negated *sdm.nsf* in the Karnak Inscription: *br dr.nsf* (ln. 12). This form corresponds to the Middle Egyptian negative aorist *nì sdm.nsf*³⁷ and represents another of the interesting transitional and transient forms that characterize the grammar of Ramesside historical texts.

³¹ The verb *iml* is written with only a single phonetic complement m ; while this may seem formally ambiguous, the writings of the verb *iml* in the Karnak Inscription carefully distinguish the *n*-suffixed form (*in.nsf* iml) by writing two *n*'s.

³² For a list of four other formally ambiguous examples that are better interpreted as nominal *sdmef*'s, see §4.6 below.

³³ All three examples have the form *l.di*; for an analysis of this form, see §4.6 below.

³⁴ See text note a to ln. 28 (pp. 40–41) above for references to discussions of *hr.n sdm.nsf* construction in the context of Ramesside monumental texts. For compound literary forms in the Kadesh Poem, see Spalinger, *Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative*, pp. 262–69.

³⁵ For a discussion of the preservation of the predicative *sdm.nsf* form in New Kingdom texts, see Winand, *Etudes de néo-égyptien*, §§294ff.

³⁶ Kruchten, *LingAeg* 6 (1999): 15–16. Compare the greater number of nominal *sdm.nsf* forms in comparison to circumstantial forms in the texts at Medinet Habu (Piccione, *Serapis* 6 [1980]: 105; subtracting the forty-three *di.nsf nsk* formulae, the ratio should be adjusted to 23 circumstantial constructions to 36 nominal forms). For a discussion of possible circumstantial *sdmef*'s in the Karnak Inscription from original *sdm.nsf*'s, see §4.5 below.

³⁷ Piccione, *Serapis* 6 (1980): 111. In the papyrus copies of the Kadesh Poem, the mixed form *bw sdm.nsf* in the monumental versions is not replaced by a single form (Spalinger, *Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative*, pp. 235–37); Spalinger attributes this to the scribe's failure to understand fully the *bw sdm.nsf* form. For examples of the late Middle Egyptian negative aorist *bw sdmef*, see § 4.2 below.

§4 *sdməf*

	Preterite <i>sdməf</i>	Prospective <i>sdməf</i> (initial)	Prospective <i>sdməf</i> (noninitial) ^a	Circumstantial <i>sdməf</i> ^b	Nominal <i>sdməf/mrrəf</i>
2 lit.	<i>phəsən</i> (ln. 20) <i>hən ʔmn</i> (ln. 26) <i>hər ntr</i> (ln. 42) <i>hərə</i> (ln. 70)		<i>smətn</i> (O; ln. 16) <i><>məf</i> (O; ln. 65) <i>ddyətəw</i> (PC; ln. 72)	<i>sdətəw n3 wr.w</i> (R; ln. 44) ^c <i>ddəw</i> (ln. 73)	<i>hə t3</i> (ln. 31)
Caus. 2 lit.			<i>smh t3-tmw</i> (O; ln. 5)	<i>skmwəsən</i> (R; ln. 19)	
2ae gem.		<i>m3ətən</i> (ln. 73)	<i>m3 hmf</i> (O; ln. 48)		<i>wnn p3 wr</i> (ln. 37) <i>wnnəsən</i> (ln. 34)
3 lit.	<i>hpr</i> (ln. 9) <i>sm3ə</i> (ln. 70)	<i>sdmətn</i> (ln. 16)	<i>wə3 r3.w-pr.w</i> (PC; ln. 40) <i>nhəf</i> (ln. 43) <i>nhmətw</i> (PC; ln. 71) <i>hprwəsən</i> (O; ln. 74)	<i>hms nswt nb</i> (R; ln. 8) <i>w<r><t>n</i> (ln. 17) <i>həf</i> (ln. 34) <i>wšb rmt</i> (ln. 67) <i>šspə</i> (ln. 70) ^d	<i>wšə</i> (ln. 16) <i>wšəw</i> (ln. 22) <i>hwəsən</i> (ln. 22) <i>sdrən</i> (ln. 75)
3ae inf.	<i>irwy.n</i> (sic) <i>t3</i> <i>pə.wt</i> (ln. 33) <i>ir hswə</i> (ln. 72)	<i>mry</i> (ln. 71; twice)	<i>it3</i> (O; ln. 24) <i>inyət(w)</i> (PC; ln. 55) <i>h3y</i> (PC; ln. 68)		<i>irrəf</i> (ln. 17) <i>qnnəf</i> (ln. 48) <i>irəw</i> (ln. 70)
Anom	<i>d3 n3 n snn.w</i> (ln. 38) <i>d3ə</i> (ln. 67, twice) <i>d3k</i> (ln. 74) <i>d3k</i> (ln. 75)	<i>d3ə</i> (ln. 64)	<i>d3əf</i> (PC; ln. 5) <i>d3ə</i> (PC; ln. 16) <i>d3ə</i> (PC; ln. 66, mostly restored)	<i>rd3ətəw</i> (ln. 71)	<i>hwəsən</i> (ln. 22) <i>id3ə</i> (ln. 24) <i>id3əsən</i> (ln. 44) <i>id3 swth</i> (ln. 69) <i>id3ə</i> (ln. 71)

^a O = object of verb; PC = purpose clause.^b R = result clause.^c This form occurs directly before a lacuna and is consequently quite difficult to interpret (as recognized by Spalinger, *RdE* 39 [1988]: 129); it could also be a preterite *sdməf* as Spalinger proposes.^d This form could also be a preterite *sdməf*.

	Negation of the Preterite <i>sdmꜥf</i>	Negative Aorist	Negative Prospective <i>sdmꜥf</i>
2 lit.	<i>nn rḥꜣtw</i> (ln. 20) <i>nn rḥꜣtw</i> (ln. 40)	<i>bw rḥꜣtn</i> (ln. 17) <i>bw rḥꜣtw</i> (ln. 42)	
2ae gem.	<i>bw mꜣꜣn</i> (ln. 77)		
3 lit.	<i>bw ḥmsꜥf</i> (ln. 23) <i>bw ptrꜥf</i> (ln. 39) <i>bw [ptr] nꜣyꜣn ḫt.w</i> (ln. 74)		
3ae inf.			<i>nn ḫt.wꜥf</i> (ln. 70)

§4.1 PRETERITE (PERFECT ACTIVE) *sdmꜥf*

The preterite *sdmꜥf*, the Late Egyptian successor of the Middle Egyptian *ḫw sdm.nꜥf*,³⁸ has only a limited use in the Karnak Inscription, and occurs most frequently in the speeches of Merneptah and the Council of Thirty in the last twenty lines.³⁹ Two examples that occur outside of direct speech are preceded by the particle *ist* (see §2 above). Morphologically, the verb *rdi* in the preterite *sdmꜥf* always uses the *dī* stem and in one case the verb *iri* has an *.wy* suffix (ln. 33).⁴⁰ Another possible example in direct speech is *ḥn ḫmn* (ln. 26), which could also be circumstantial to the event of the oracle.⁴¹ The seven attestations from the concluding speeches of the inscription are: *dīꜣ* (ln. 67, 2 times),⁴² *ḥrꜣ* (ln. 70), *smꜣꜣ* (ln. 70), *ir ḥwꜣꜣ* (ln. 72), *dīꜣk* (ln. 74), *dīꜣk* (ln. 75).⁴³ In addition to the particle *ist*, the preterite *sdmꜥf* in the Karnak Inscription can also be preceded by the particle *ptr* (ln. 70): *ptr ḥrꜣ*. Two of the examples of the preterite *sdmꜥf* in the Karnak Inscription, *smꜣꜣ*

³⁸ Wente, *JNES* 28 (1969): 1–3; Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, pp. 152–157 and earlier references therein. For the corresponding indicative *sdmꜥf* in Saite Egyptian, see Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, pp. 195ff.

³⁹ Spalinger, *RdE* 39 (1988): 129 lists a total of ten examples (not including the *šd.w* of ln. 19 that he admits is troublesome, cf. text note j to that line [pp. 32–33]) that he interprets as initial *sdmꜥf*'s in the Merneptah Inscription, excluding prospective and circumstantial forms. Although the following analysis agrees with some of Spalinger's identifications, these differences should be noted: *skm.w* (ln. 19) is interpreted as a prospective purpose clause (see §4.3 below); *dīꜣ* (ln. 65) is taken as a relative form (see §6 below); his entry "*iri* (line 67: twice)" is a typographical error; his emendation to *ir.[i] sw* (ln. 67) is a mistaken alteration of a participial statement (see text note n to that line above [pp. 68–69]); *šspꜣ* (ln. 70) could also be a circumstantial *sdmꜥf* (see §4.5 below).

⁴⁰ This form also shows an otiose *-n* suffix, for which see text note j to ln. 33 (pp. 45–46).

⁴¹ For circumstantiality to an event, compare the statement in the Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II for Seti I at Abydos (*KRI* II 324.6–7):


ḫwꜣ rḥ.kw mrrꜣk mꜣ.t
h(n)kꜣ s(y) n nfrꜣk
ḥyꜣ s(y) ḥr dr.tꜣ ḫft-ḥrꜣk

I know that you love Maat,

I am offering it to your perfection.

I am lifting it upon my hand before you.

The text is immediately adjacent to a scene of Ramesses II offering Maat, so the statements about presenting Maat are not circumstantial to a previous statement in the text, but rather to the physical event of the presentation as represented in the accompanying relief. Compare also the example in Polotsky, "Egyptian Tenses," in *Collected Papers*, p. 75, n. 6.

⁴² Both the examples in this line completely lack context, but the quail chick with the *dī*-arm  appears in two other more certain writings of the preterite (Ins. 38 and 75), with another possible example in ln. 65.

⁴³ There are also further questionable examples; for example *šspꜣ* in ln. 70 can either be preterite "I received" or a circumstantial *sdmꜥf*, "I am receiving."

(ln. 70) and *dšk* (ln. 74) occur within a sequence of clauses (e.g. not in initial position), demonstrating a variation upon the narrative sequence of Late Egyptian, in which a preterite *sdm*f appears in initial position. As Spalinger explains, "The syntactic pattern stressed here is not one of a clause of circumstance which is adverbial, for these Ramesside and LE *sdm*f's are predicative... this *sdm*f retains the continuative function of the ME circumstantial *sdm.n*f (and hence has non-initial position), but in a colloquial LE narrative composition it is limited to initial position."⁴⁴ However, *hpr* (ln. 9) is an example of the preterite *sdm*f beginning a section of the narrative, but it is unfortunately directly before a lacuna (see text note a to that line above [p. 20]).

§ 4.2 NEGATION OF THE PRETERITE *sdm*f

The preterite *sdm*f is negated both with *nn* and the Late Egyptian morpheme *bw* in the Karnak Inscription; although the negations *bw* and *nn* alternate in usage throughout the text, there is no preserved example of the Middle Egyptian negation *nì* (spelled with only the negative arms), nor examples of the Late Egyptian negation of the preterite, *bw**pw*f *sdm*.⁴⁵ This is particularly significant in the Karnak Inscription, since the change from *bw sdm*f to *bw**pw*f *sdm* occurs for the most part during Merneptah's reign.⁴⁶

Additionally, one must be careful to distinguish between the negation of the preterite and the negative aorist, which have the same form.⁴⁷ For example, since *bw rh*f is the negative counterpart of *tw.ì rh.kw*,⁴⁸ the negations *bw rh*tn (ln. 17) and *bw rh*tw (ln. 42) can be classified as negative aorists. There are three examples of the preterite negation with *bw* in the Karnak Inscription: *bw hms*f (ln. 23), *bw ptr*f (ln. 39), *bw [ptr] nzy:n ìt.w* (ln. 74). Although the Late Egyptian negation of verbs of perception (*bw ìrh*f *sdm*) can also be the counterpart of *ìw*f *hr sdm* and negate ability, the context of the two passages points towards the negation of a simple past event. Although *bw rh*f is a negative aorist in this text, the negations *nn rh*tw (lns. 20 and 40) are almost certainly writings of *nì rh*tw, a preterite negation of ability: "one was not able."⁴⁹ Thus, the scribes of the Karnak Inscription seemed to have used *nn* in place of *nì*, a common trend in the New Kingdom, as the distinction between the Middle Egyptian negative morphemes faded.⁵⁰ Although

⁴⁴ RdE 39 (1988): 112.

⁴⁵ Winand, *Etudes de néo-égyptien*, §326. The Karnak Inscription also avoids the peculiar mixed forms of the *bw**pw*f *sdm* that occur in other Ramesside texts such as *nn-pwy*sw *nw* in ln. 3 of the Small Year 9 Aswan Stela of Seti I (KRI I 73.12); for a discussion of some of these variations, see Edelman, NÄG §§776–781.

⁴⁶ Winand, *Etudes de néo-égyptien*, §328. The variation between the Middle Egyptian and early Late Egyptian negations in the Karnak Inscription differs slightly from the negation system observed by Jansen-Winkel in his Third Intermediate Period corpus: "Die neuägyptischen Negationen *bw* und *bn* sind nur ganz vereinzelt belegt und unterscheiden sich im Gebrauch nicht von *n(n)*" (*Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik*, §656).

⁴⁷ Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 154 and references on p. 157.

⁴⁸ Groll, *Negative Verbal System*, pp. 27–30.

⁴⁹ Compare *nn rh*f *dxy r p nty py*f *sn šri ìm m-dr n n msh*tw "He was unable to cross over to where his younger brother was because of the crocodiles." (Tale of the Two Brothers, 8,1; Gardiner, *LES* 17.5–6). For examples of the past negation *nn sdm*f in the Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II for Seti I at Abydos, see Sweeney in Groll, ed. *Papers for Discussion*, pp. 162–163.

⁵⁰ Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian*, pp. 127–128; idem., "Topics in Egyptian Negation," in D. Mendel and U. Claudi, *Ägypten im Afro-orientalischen Kontext: Aufsätze zur Archäologie, Geschichte und Sprache eines unbegrenzten Raumes (Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens)* (Köln, 1991), pp. 223–225. The writing of *nn* for *nì* is also consistently used by Pentaweret in his papyrus copy of the Kadash Poem (Spalinger, *Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative*, p. 226).

there are only a few examples of the negation of the preterite in the Karnak Inscription, the use of the *bw* and *nn* indicates a late Middle Egyptian stage of the language; neither the Middle Egyptian *nī sdmꜥf* (in its earlier writing), nor the Late Egyptian *bwꜥꜥꜥf sdm* is present.

§4.3 PROSPECTIVE *sdmꜥf*

Since both the initial and non-initial prospective *sdmꜥf* appear in Middle and Late Egyptian, the occurrence of these forms in the Karnak Inscription does not impact the grammatical stage of the text.⁵¹ Examples of the initial prospective form are spread throughout the Karnak Inscription,⁵² and non-initial prospective forms can serve both as the object of the verb *rdī* and as purpose clauses. There is also a possible example of preposition plus prospective *sdmꜥf*: *r dīꜥꜥꜥw smꜥ* "so that one might kill..." (ln. 43). Many of the prospective verb forms in the Karnak Inscription are not morphologically distinct, although an *.w* ending does appear twice (lns. 19, 74), the double reed-leaf ending three times (lns. 55, 68, 72), and the verb *rdī* appears with the stem *dī* (lns. 5, 16, 43, 64). Unlike the writing of *dī* in the preterite form,⁵³ the subjunctive stem does not show the quail chick intersected by the arm-sign.

§4.4 NEGATION OF THE PROSPECTIVE *sdmꜥf*

There is only one construction that outwardly appears to be a negative prospective *sdmꜥf* in the Karnak Inscription: *nn īꜥꜥꜥꜥwꜥf* (ln. 70). The negation of a future event is expressed elsewhere in the Karnak Inscription with the negative Third Future (§7 below).

§4.5 CIRCUMSTANTIAL *sdmꜥf*

Since there are no preserved examples of *īw sdmꜥf* in the Karnak Inscription, the difficulty of determining the use of the Middle Egyptian *īw* vs. the Late Egyptian *īw* can be avoided in the discussion of the circumstantial *sdmꜥf*. The only examples of circumstantializing *īw*'s in the Karnak Inscription are *īw bn gr īr n[īy...]* (ln. 77) and *īw wn bw-[nb/nfr(?)]* (ln. 75), both of which are in fragmentary contexts. However, the replacement of the Middle Egyptian circumstantial *sdmꜥf* in Late Egyptian by *īw* + main clause does indicate that circumstantial forms in the Karnak Inscription derive from an earlier stage. Although more examples of the Late Egyptian *īw* could be lost in the lacunae, the number of extant examples of the circumstantial *sdmꜥf*—without any complementary use of the later form—is a further indication of the late Middle Egyptian character of the language of the Karnak Inscription.

§ 4.6 NOMINAL *sdmꜥf*

The mix of Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian nominal forms of the suffix conjugation within the Karnak Inscription is reflected in the use of several nominal (*i*).*sdmꜥf*'s,⁵⁴ which

⁵¹ As Junge states (*Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 139): "The prospective *sdmꜥf* still displays the syntactical features of Middle Egyptian *sdmꜥf* usage more distinctly than any other *sdmꜥf* forms of Late Egyptian."

⁵² The two examples not listed in the *sdmꜥf* chart are the use of *wšī* in the traditional oath formulae: *wšī kꜥꜥ wšī tꜥ nīꜥꜥꜥ* (ln. 25) and *wšī kꜥꜥ wšī hr.t-tpꜥk* (ln. 77).

⁵³ See fn. 42 above.

⁵⁴ Note the five different nominal forms distinguished by Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien*, §405: *sdm.n.f* perfective, *sdm.f* perfective (here called the "reduced *sdm.nꜥf*"), *sdm.f* imperfective (*mrr.f*), (*i*).*sdm.f* prospective, and *ī.ir.f*

The forms discussed above have all been initial nominal emphatic forms, but there are also two examples of a non-initial nominal *sdm* as the object of a preposition: *r ḫrrzw* (ln. 70) and *mḏ ḏ.ḏiḏ* (ln. 71). Each of these forms exhibits a morphological characteristic, gemination in line 70 and the prothetic jod in line 71.

§4.7 PASSIVE FORMS OF THE *sdm*

The Karnak Inscription contains only six examples of passive suffix conjugation forms. The first example to be considered is the negation of a preterite passive *sdm.(w)* with the unusual feature of a pronominal subject (ln. 39):

bw ptr.(w) ḫr gnt bity.w

It was not seen upon the annals of the bity-kings.

It is also possible that this is to be read as “He did not see (it) upon the annals of the bity-kings,” with an implied object; as such this would be an example of the negative preterite *sdm*.⁶⁵ However, parallels in other passages describing the annals in Egyptian texts⁶⁶ and examples of the passive *sdm.(w)* in Late Egyptian with pronominal subjects⁶⁷ support the interpretation suggested here. Particularly significant is the passage from P. Harris I 78, 7–8.⁶⁸

bw ptr.w ḫn ḏr ny.w-sw.t

“ils n’ont jamais été vus depuis (le temps) des rois.”

The next example has been analyzed as a negative prospective *sdm*, or less likely a negation of the reduced *sdm.n.tw*⁶⁹ (ln. 70):

nn ḏt.tw

It shall not be seized.

The final three examples of passive forms of the suffix conjugation pose a particular challenge, because they relate to the debate concerning the form of the passive nominal *sdm* form(s), in Late Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian. Winand defines the *sdm.tw* in Late Egyptian as the “emphatique perfectif passif” form in contrast to the “perfectif passif” *sdm.(w)*.⁷⁰ There are two examples of the emphatic perfective passive (reduced *sdm.n.tw*) in the Karnak Inscription: *ḏt.tw* (ln. 10) and *ḫn.tw* (ln. 23). Additionally, one likely example of the nominal passive *sdm.w* occurs in ln. 66:

ḫry ḫ3(yt) ḫ (ḏ)m [tp.w3s]n

[ḏiḏ] p3 nty ḫnḏ.(w) r mḏ r3.w-pr.w

⁶⁵ See §4.2 above.

⁶⁶ Redford, *King-lists and Annals*, pp. 83–84; note especially examples such as *Urk. IV 86.3: mḏ m33tw m gn.wt... “It was not seen in the annals....”*

⁶⁷ Winand, *Etudes de néo-égyptien*, §481.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, §485.

⁶⁹ For a non-negated example of this form, see §3.1 above. If this were a negative reduced *sdm.n*, the translation would be “It cannot be seized.”

⁷⁰ Winand, *Etudes de néo-égyptien*, §475. In §475, he also lists other categories for the *sdm.tw* passive. However, Winand’s system is not all-encompassing. For an example of a reduced *sdm.n.tw* in parallel to a nominal passive *sdm.(w)*, which augments Winand’s classifications, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 520, text note e and references therein; for further examples elaborating upon Winand’s system, see E. Wente, “A Goat for an Ailing Woman (Ostrakon Wente),” in P. Der Manuelian, ed., *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. II (Boston, 1996), pp. 863–865.

[So that I might make] the survivor fill the temples,
has great slaughter been made amongst [their leaders].

Based on parallels with other texts, the emphasis upon survivors filling the temples fits well with the purpose of battle in Egyptian cosmology.⁷¹ These passive forms appear to provide further evidence that an overlap in meaning exists between the *sdm.tw* and the *sdm.(w)* in Ramesside monumental Egyptian, and that both can have an emphasizing function.

§5 IMPERATIVE AND CONJUNCTIVE

There is but a single example of each of these forms in the Karnak Inscription, both occurring within the dream sequence. The prothetic jod prefix to the imperative *išd* (ln. 29) and its continuation with the conjunctive⁷² *mtwꜥk rwi* (ln. 29) are obvious Late Egyptianisms, but their restricted use within the speech of Ptah emphasizes their absence from the rest of the inscription.

§6 PARTICIPLES AND RELATIVE FORMS

Participles and relative forms appear frequently in the Karnak Inscription, but only a handful exhibit the Late Egyptian prothetic jod prefix.⁷³ Out of the thirty-five examples of participles,⁷⁴ only four exhibit prothetic jods: *iḥrw* (ln. 7), *iḥꜣq* (ln. 40; partly restored), *iḥꜣw* (ln. 43), and *iḥr* (ln. 69). Each of the verb classes to which these participles belong are attested with prothetic jod's in Late Egyptian.⁷⁵ A similar distribution can be observed with the relative forms: of the twelve relative forms in the inscription, only three have prothetic jods: *iḥi nṯr.w* (ln. 24), *iḥddꜥf* (ln. 42), and *[i.]dṯw ps-R^c* (ln. 78). The distribution of prefixed forms is notable; two appear within the section of the border report, while another two occur in the direct speeches of praise at the end of the text.⁷⁶ In Late Middle Egyptian, the participle also exists alongside the relative First Present, *nty ḥr sdm*,⁷⁷ of which there are several examples in the Karnak Inscription:

iḥk ps [ḥꜣqꜣ] nty ḥr mnṯn

"I am the [ruler] who herds you." (ln. 16)

⁷¹ See text note 1 to ln. 66 in Chapter 2 (pp. 66–68).

⁷² For the most recent overview of the conjunctive, see J. Winand, "À la croisée du temps, de l'aspect et du mode: Le conjonctif en néo-égyptien," *LingAeg* 9 (2001): 293–329 and references therein.

⁷³ Although their very presence is notable in comparison to other Ramesside texts; for example, there is no example of the participle with prothetic jod in the Kadesh inscriptions of Ramesses II (Hartmann, *Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, p. 54). In Jansen-Winkeln's corpus, this feature is also attested only rarely (*Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik*, §187).

⁷⁴ *iw.w* (ln. 1), *[fḥ.]w* (ln. 4), *ir.w* (ln. 4), *ḥꜣm.w* (ln. 4), *thꜣ* (ln. 5), *wꜥꜥ* (ln. 5), *shꜣw* (ln. 11), *sšmw* (ln. 11), *ꜥḥꜥ* (ln. 19), *mry.[w]* (ln. 21), *msddy.w* (ln. 21), *wn.w* (ln. 45), *wn.w* (ln. 46), *ḥꜣpr.wt* (ln. 47), *iny.t* (ln. 48), *ḥdb.w* (ln. 50), *iny.t* (ln. 50), *iy.y* (ln. 56), *iny.t* (ln. 57), *wn* (ln. 58), *wn* (ln. 59), *dd* (ln. 64), *iry* (ln. 67), *thi* (ln. 65), *nḥꜣ* (ln. 68), *ddy* (ln. 72), *ḥt* (ln. 73), *ḥꜣpr* (ln. 73), *in.w* (ln. 74), *hn* (ln. 77), *sꜥnḥ* (ln. 78).

⁷⁵ Winand, *Etudes de néo-égyptien*, §§542ff.

⁷⁶ There are correspondingly no examples of prothetic jods marking participles or relatives in the plunder list as would be expected (because of the other Late Egyptianisms within it). Yet this is probably due to the verbal classes of the participles within the plunder list, which are almost all 3ae inf. verbs (especially *im*), which do not lose their weak ending and would not be expected to appear with a prothetic jod in Late Egyptian.

⁷⁷ Winand, *Etudes de néo-égyptien*, §540.

... *snwꜣf nty hr ꜥhꜣꜣf ꜣwꜣf hr ptrꜣꜣ*

"... his siblings, who fights with him when he sees him." (ln. 44)

pꜣ nty ꜥnh.(w)

"the one who lives (i.e. survivor)." (ln. 66)⁷⁸

There are also three participial statements in the Karnak Inscription, twice introduced by *hn* (lns. 19, 78) and once by the Late Egyptian *m* (ln. 64).⁷⁹ Thus, these various features of the participle and relative forms strongly indicate a Late Middle Egyptian form of the language.

§7 FIRST PRESENT, THIRD FUTURE, AND COMPOUND FORMS

§7.1 THE FIRST PRESENT

The First Present construction occurs throughout the Karnak Inscription, and the form begins with a noun in a majority of the examples.⁸⁰ However, there are several examples of the Late Egyptian proclitic pronoun in the First Present: *sw hr dd* (ln. 10),⁸¹ *tw.tw hr [...]* (ln. 10), *st wd.(w)* (ln. 27), *st why.(w)* (ln. 42), *sw km.w* (ln. 68). When the verb is a verb of motion or otherwise intransitive, the predicate of the First Present is invariably a stative form of the verb.⁸² First Present constructions occur both in the beginning of a narrative sequence and within it.⁸³ The only example of the negation of a First Present is mostly restored, although it matches the available spacing: [*bn sw hr*] *mꜣ* (ln. 26).

There are a total of six examples of the circumstantial First Present in the Karnak Inscription, three of which occur within the dream sequence: *ꜣwꜣf hr dd* (ln. 29), *ꜣwꜣf hr dꜣ.t* (ln. 29), *ꜣw Pr-ꜣ hr dd* (ln. 29), [*ꜣw*] *pꜣ wr hꜣsy n Rbw ꜥhꜣ.(w) snd* (ln. 34), *ꜣwꜣf hr ptrꜣꜣ* (ln. 44), *ꜣwꜣw hr dꜣ.t* (ln. 62). The examples of the circumstantial First Present *ꜣwꜣf hr sdm* in the dream sequence act as non-initial main sentences,⁸⁴ while the example in ln. 44 instead serves as an adverbial modifier; unfortunately, the example in ln. 62 begins at the end of a lacunae, so its precise use cannot be determined.

§7.2 THIRD FUTURE

The Third Future occurs only a single time in the Karnak Inscription, in direct speech: *ꜣwꜣw r htp* (ln. 75). The negative Third Future occurs twice in the Karnak Inscription, both in direct speech. The first example is within the fortress commander's report to the palace

⁷⁸ Note the use of the stative predicate in this construction rather than the *hr* plus infinitive.

⁷⁹ See note g ln. 64 above (p. 65).

⁸⁰ The Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II for Seti I at Abydos similarly shows a preponderance of First Present forms with nominal subject; as Sweeny noted (in Groll, ed. *Papers for Discussion*, p. 151), the nominal subject may have been preferred because it looked identical to the Middle Egyptian form, as opposed to the proclitic pronouns.

⁸¹ See text note c to ln. 10 (p. 21).

⁸² *Mꜣꜣwꜣy sꜣ Dꜣy hb.w* (ln. 13), *st wd.(w)* (ln. 27), *Mꜣꜣwꜣy ꜣw.(w)* (ln. 41), *st why.(w)* (ln. 42), *nswt hꜣ.(w)* (ln. 62).

⁸³ See §8 below.

⁸⁴ This analysis accepts the arguments of Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, pp. 115–119, 207–212; idem., "Das Sogenannte Narrativ/Kontinuative *ꜣwꜣf hr (tm) sdm*," *JEA* 72 (1986): 113–132.

(ln. 43): *bn iwꜣf r tz*. The second example is partly restored, but demonstrates the use of *ir* before a nominal subject in the Third Future:⁸⁵ *iw bn ir n[ꜣyꜣk] nꜣt.wꜣf* (ln. 77).

§ 7.3 *wnnꜣf hr sdm*

The form *wnnꜣf hr sdm* in Middle Egyptian is the nominalization of *iwꜣf hr sdm*,⁸⁶ allowing emphasis to be placed on a following adverbial adjunct.⁸⁷ This construction crystallizes in Late Egyptian, especially in a bound group where an initial *wnnꜣf hr sdm* expresses concomitance with a following continuative clause.⁸⁸ The two examples in the Karnak Inscription (lns. 34 and 37)⁸⁹ clearly express the simultaneity of the initial action with the following description:⁹⁰ while the armies are fighting, Merey is petrified by fear, and while he is fleeing, his people are slaughtered. In each of these examples, the *wnnꜣf hr sdm* does not express future tense.⁹¹ Both occurrences in the Karnak Inscription are rare examples of a past tense use of the *wnnꜣf hr sdm* not preceded by the particle *hr*.⁹²

§8 NARRATIVE SEQUENCE

Unlike many Ramesside historical texts (e.g. the Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II and the historical texts from Medinet Habu⁹³), the Karnak Inscription lacks long “narrative” sections. Rather than relating a continuous chain of events, the Karnak Inscription describes a series of “episodes,” each one corresponding to a particular iconographic constellation.⁹⁴ However, the short narrative sections within a few of these episodes allow an analysis of the sequence of forms.⁹⁵

⁸⁵ Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 123; H. Satzinger, *Neuägyptische Studien. Das Partikel ir. Das Tempussystem* (Wien, 1976), pp. 205–11; Groll, *Negative Verbal System*, pp. 124–26.

⁸⁶ H.J. Polotsky, “Les transpositions du verbe en égyptien classique,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 6 (1976): 35, 39.

⁸⁷ In addition to several other functions, cf. P. Vernus, “Deux particularités de l’gyptien de tradition: *nty iw + Présent 1; wnnꜣf hr sdm* narratif,” in *L’Égyptologie en 1979*, vol. I, (Paris, 1982), pp. 85–89.

⁸⁸ Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 271; idem, *JEA* 72 (1986): 122–124; Satzinger, *Neuägyptische Studien*, p. 95.

⁸⁹ For a transliteration and translation of these passages, see §2 above (under *wnnꜣf hr sdm*).

⁹⁰ Contra Niccacci, in Sigrist, ed., *Études égyptologiques et bibliques*, p. 70 and n. 35 who emphasizes the adverbial adjunct “to his land” within the *wnnꜣf hr sdm* clause.

⁹¹ For the standard interpretation of *wnnꜣf hr sdm* invariably expressing a future tense in Late Egyptian, see Frandsen, *OLVS*, §98.

⁹² Another non-future use is noted by Satzinger, *Neuägyptische Studien*, p. 98 from the Quban Stela of Ramesses II (*KRI* II 354.9):

*wnn ꜣgꜣ.wꜣf hr ptpt ꜣwntyw
iw ꜣbꜣf hr khb imꜣsn*

“As his horn pierces them,

so do his claws trample the Bedouin.”

As Satzinger emphasizes, the relationship between the two clauses is not always defined by their temporal connection, but as “Adversativsätzen.” (ibid., p. 96).

⁹³ More specifically the long sections of the historical texts Spalinger identifies as containing substantial narrative content (*RdE* 39 [1988]: 107, n.2): the *iw.tw* text in the Year 5 account (*KRI* V 20.14–27.8), the sea battle in the Year 8 text (*KRI* V, 37.10–43.1), and most of the text of both the Year 11 “Poem” (*KRI* V 68.2–71) and historical text (*KRI* V 59–66).

⁹⁴ For example, the “dream sequence” corresponds to the image of the king before Ptah extending a khepesh-sword and the episode shortly before the plunder list is a verbal description of the king’s manifestation at the “window of appearances.”

⁹⁵ The definition of the “Late Egyptian” narrative sequence (preterite *sdmꜣf* or First Present of a verb of motion followed by the circumstantial First Present/NIMS *iwꜣf hr sdm*) follows that described by Spalinger, *RdE* 39 (1988): 107ff, based on the earlier work of Wentz, *Syntax of Verbs of Motion*, pp. 89–94.

The first episode with narrative content is the beginning of the report concerning the Libyan incursions (ln. 13),⁹⁶ which opens with a First Present of a verb of motion (noun + stative). The lacunae make interpretation of the following forms difficult, but the initial First Present seems to be followed by a circumstantial *sdm.nf* and ends with a nominal form of the suffix conjugation. The particle *ist* plus noun followed by the stative of an intransitive verb in ln. 15 then shifts the narrative to the rage of the king; this use of *ist* mirrors its frequent function in the battle narrative.⁹⁷

The next episode (ln. 18) describes the deplorable state of Egypt as a result of the depredations of the Nine Bows. The initial form is lost, but the course of the narrative consists of three First Present forms of noun + *hr* + infinitive. The First Present does not occur within a narrative sequence in Late Egyptian, but such a function is a feature of the mixed grammar of other Ramesside historical texts.⁹⁸

The dream sequence also contains a notable blend of Middle and Late Egyptian forms. The narrative is introduced by the classical *hr.n sdm.nf* (ln. 28), but is continued by three circumstantial First Present *iwf hr sdm* forms (i.e. NIMS; ln. 29). In this short narrative sequence, the classical form takes the place of the preterite *sdmf* in Late Egyptian, while the body of the narrative draws from the later stage of the language.

The longest narrative section in the Karnak Inscription is the battle narrative (lns. 30–41); rather than a Late Egyptian structure of an initial preterite *sdmf* followed by a series of continuative verb forms, the narrative sequence consists of six clauses introduced by *ist* (lns. 30, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38) and two *sdm pw ir.nf* forms (lns. 31 and 32), and a use of the phrase *hd t*. The use of the compound *sdm pw ir.nf* demonstrates Middle Egyptian influence upon this section, and any elements from the typical Late Egyptian narrative sequence are lacking. The narrative as it appears in the Karnak Inscription apparently derives from the original day-book account of the battle,⁹⁹ and this may explain the redundancy of forms—a bare infinitive construction could be easily changed into a *sdm pw ir.nf*, while the *ist* may have been intended to preserve the immediacy of the infinitival accounts.

Two final episodes can be identified: the border fortress report and the rejoicing of Egypt. The former begins with noun + stative again as the First Present of a verb of motion (ln. 41), and is continued by a nominal parenthetical statement and two First Present constructions in a poetic distich (ln. 42). The rejoicing of Egypt is introduced by *ist* followed by noun + *m* + infinitive construction, but the rest of the narrative is lost.

Although Late Egyptian constructions do occur within these narrative passages, especially the First Present, the presence of these forms within the sequence of clauses is not characteristic of the later stage of the language. Instead, like many Ramesside texts, the Karnak Inscription can use First Present forms within the narrative as well as in initial

⁹⁶ Although the phrase *iwatw* is not preserved, the content and format of the report corresponds to the category of *iwatw* reports as identified by Spalinger, see text note a to ln. 13 in Chapter 2 (p. 23).

⁹⁷ See §2 above.

⁹⁸ Spalinger, *RdE* 39 (1988): 110–111.

⁹⁹ For a discussion of the day-books and their relationship to monumental military inscriptions, see Spalinger, *Aspects*, pp. 122ff. While Spalinger's outline of the battle narrative of the Karnak Inscription on p. 212 is essentially the same as the one presented here, he believes that in this inscription "the daybook accounts have been abandoned." See Spalinger, *Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative*, pp. 264–66, for the relationship between *sdm pw ir.nf* formations in the Kadesh Poem and the day-book infinitives.

position. Only the dream sequence employs the expected Late Egyptian non-initial form (*ḥwꜥ hr sdm*) within the narrative, but it is introduced by the classical form *ḥꜥ.n sdm.nꜥf*.

§9 SUMMARY

Although the numerous lacunae and somewhat difficult language of the Karnak Inscription add to the already challenging analysis of the grammar of this Ramesside monumental text, the results of such an investigation are rewarding in proportion to its difficulty. Despite the labeling of Merneptah's historical inscription at Karnak as "Neuägyptisch,"¹⁰⁰ neither individual grammatical forms nor their larger syntactic relationships support this identification. In fact, when the Karnak Inscription does not utilize a purely Middle Egyptian form such as the nominal *sdm.nꜥf*, it resorts to a late Middle Egyptian form such as the reduced *sdm.nꜥf* rather than the Late Egyptian *ḥꜥf sdm*. A similar phenomenon is observed in the negative verbal system: neither the Middle Egyptian past *nī sdmꜥf* nor the Late Egyptian *bwꜥwꜥf sdm* occur in the Karnak Inscription, but the late Middle Egyptian orthographies *nn sdmꜥf* and *bw sdmꜥf* appear in place of the classical form.

Ramesside authors were in the unique position of being able to choose between the greatest variety of forms ever available in the Egyptian language.¹⁰¹ Not only were Middle Egyptian forms still properly used, but it was acceptable to employ Late Egyptian forms in certain contexts; additionally, the short-lived forms of literary Late Egyptian¹⁰² added both a greater number of forms to the repertoire, and new ways to use older forms. In monumental texts especially, the scribes of the Ramesside Period capitalized on the differences between the two different stages of the language, using the traditional Middle Egyptian language for a narrative framework, but introducing more contemporary forms when describing technical subjects or reporting direct speech.¹⁰³ Not only could contemporary and concrete subjects specifically call to mind more recent idioms, but a greater level of emotion within the text could trigger the use of Late Egyptian forms in a particular passage.¹⁰⁴ Such is almost certainly the case with the "dream sequence" within the Karnak Inscription.

Since Ramesside monumental texts deliberately use and mix Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian in specific contexts, the complex grammatical situation during that period is probably the conscious creation of a "scholarly" language,¹⁰⁵ rather than the lack of knowledge of Middle Egyptian on the part of New Kingdom scribes.¹⁰⁶ An excellent

¹⁰⁰ F. Junge, in W. Röllig, ed., *XXII. Deutscher Orientalistentag*, p. 28; he specifically defines "Neuägyptisch" as "rein 'neuägyptische' Satzstruktur mit 'neuägyptischen' Formen und Schreibungen; gelegentliche 'Mittelägyptizismen' in Form und Orthographie, die später verschwinden."

¹⁰¹ Jansen-Winkeln, *WZKM* 85 (1995): 92.

¹⁰² For a concise list of these forms, see Groll, *OLP* 6/7 (1975–1976): 237–39.

¹⁰³ Compare the wealth of examples discussed by Jansen-Winkeln, *WZKM* 85 (1995): 95–99, where the use of Late Egyptian corresponds to the technical portions of the texts.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Jansen-Winkeln's analysis of the Ramesside Period as a time of "Zweisprachigkeit" during which both languages (Middle and Late Egyptian) would have been taught in schools (*WZKM* 85 [1995]: 105).

¹⁰⁶ Contra L. Depuyt, "Analyzing the use of idioms past (with special focus on sovereign Nubia)," *SAK* 27 (1999): 38–44.

parallel is provided by medieval Arabic scholars who knew both Classical Arabic and more colloquial dialects, but intentionally mixed them in specific genres. The resulting "Middle Arabic" was essentially a scholarly koine used in the fields of historiography and science/philosophy.¹⁰⁷ In the Egyptian written by New Kingdom scribes and the Arabic written by medieval scholars, particular topics called to mind specific forms of the language. For example, the direct speeches in the Karnak Inscription, be they of the king, the gods, or the Council of Thirty, contain proportionately more Late Egyptianisms, because as "speech" they call to mind contemporary phraseology. The same can be said of the border fortress report—although the report is quite poetic, the commander of the fort would not have been expected to write it in classical Middle Egyptian. Another example of a less formal register is the plunder list, which has several Late Egyptian features, such as the use of the negative particle of existence *mn* and prepositions found only in New Kingdom documents. The resultant mix in historical or scholarly texts (one is reminded here of P. Anastasi I and the Late Egyptian Miscellanies) is not "impure" Middle Egyptian or an improper understanding of the earlier stage of the language, but a deliberate creation to demonstrate both philological learnedness and the ability to compose works applicable to contemporary situations.¹⁰⁸

The Karnak Inscription of Merneptah reveals the ability of Ramesside scribes to create brilliant literary compositions that purposefully combined earlier and more contemporary stages of the Egyptian language. The intentional avoidance of a unified grammatical system by the scribes who composed Ramesside monumental inscriptions precludes their classification in a single "stage" of the language. Instead, the use of Middle Egyptian, Late Middle Egyptian, and some Late Egyptian forms for particular subjects, such as technical description or discourse, indicates that any analysis of the Ramesside texts must acknowledge the intricacy with which they were originally written.

¹⁰⁷ For an overview and further definition of Middle Arabic, see K. Versteegh, *The Arabic Language* (Edinburgh, 1997), pp. 114–121, and J. Blau, "Das Mittelarabische," in *Grundriß der arabischen Philologie*, vol. I (Wiesbaden, 1982), pp. 89–95 (I would like to thank Prof. Beatrice Gruendler for these references and Prof. John Darnell for suggesting the comparison between Ramesside monumental grammar and medieval Arabic).

¹⁰⁸ Cf. the references given in fn. 7 above, especially Vernus, *RdE* 30 (1978): 137–142.

Continuous Transliteration and Translation

- ¹ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... Mrìyw s₃ D]dy Iqwš Twrš Rkw Šrdn Škrš
mh.t[yw] iw.w n t₃.w nb.w
- ² [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... m] hpsšf m ph_{ty} itšf Imn
nswt bity B₃-n-R^c mrì-Imn s₃ R^c Mrì.n-Pth Htp-Hr-Mš.t dī c_{nh}
ist ir ntr nfr pn rnpī
- ³ [... (c. 27–30 groups lost)...]šf ntr nb m s₃šf
h₃s.t nb.t hr snđ n p₃ m₃šf
nswt bity B₃-n-R^c mrì-Imn s₃ R^c Mrì.n-Pth [Htp-hr]-Mš.t
- ⁴ [... (c. 27–30 groups lost)... fl_y.]w ir.w m š.wt
w(3)d.wy h₃m.w sw n rkšf
th₃ tššf nb nqm
- ⁵ [... (c. 27–30 groups lost)...sl_y]r.wšf nb
wđ^c m t₃w n c_{nh}
dīšf smh_w t₃-tmw sdr.(w) hry.t
ph_{ty}šf m
- ⁶ [... (c. 27–30 groups lost)...] r mk.t Tw_w n_w.t Tm
r h_w.t Inb-ity n T₃-tnn
r swđ₃ st hr đw.t
- ⁷ [... (c. 27–30 groups lost)...] i_{hr}.w m-bš_h Pr-b₃rst
i_{hr}.w škn₃ hr šdi stī
- ⁸ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... Km.t mī(?)] iw_{ty} n_w
iwšs h₃s.tī m š₃ n i_h.w
m-dī pd.wt psd.t
iwšs đ^c.tī m h₃w tp_w-^c
h₃ms nswt nb m n₃yšw mr.w
- ⁹ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...]t.w(?) bity.w m-c₃ dmīšn
i_{nh}.(w) m Ššmw-t₃.wy n g₃w mš^c.w
bn nšw pd.wt r wšb hršw
h₃pr ¹⁰ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...]šf s.t-Hr
dī.[t]wšf r c_{nh} p^c.t
h₃s.nšf m nswt r mkt r_hy.t
wn ph_{ty} imšf r ir.t
sw hr [đđ] tw.tw hr[...]
- ¹¹ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] m₃-b₃-r₃
sh_n.w stp n pd.wtšf
ššm.w n(t)-h₃trīšf hr w₃.t nb
n₃yšf mtr.w m c^c n c_{nh} sb₃y.tšf m ¹² [ibšn(?)] [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...]šf
bw đ^cr.nšf h₃fn.w hrw sky
wđī mnfy.tšf
i_y.(w) hr k^c.w
nfr-hr hr zbīt pd.t r t₃ nb

- ¹ [... Merey son of De]dy, Akawasha, Terusha, Lukka, Sherden, Shekelesh,
the northerners who came from all lands.
- ² [...] [by means of] his [sword] and by means of the power of his father Amun.
The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Baenre-meryamun,
the Son of Ra, Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat, given life.
Now as for this good god, the youthful one,
- ³ [...], every god being as his protection;
at the sight of whom every foreign land is in fear.
The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Baenre-meryamun,
the Son of Ra Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat.
- ⁴ [... fettered,] turned into mounds.
How prosperous is the one who prostrates himself in his time,
for the transgressor of his every border suffers.
- ⁵ [...] all his plans;
who judges with the breath of life,
so that he might cause the sleeping people to forget terror;
his strength being as [...]
- ⁶ [...] in order to protect Heliopolis, the city of Atum,
in order to guard Ineb-iti for Tatenen,
in order to keep them safe from evil.
- ⁷ [...] tents before Perbarset
which reached the Shakana Canal at the artificial lake of the Ati Canal.
- ⁸ [... Egypt was as(?)] that which was not defended.
It being abandoned as pasture for cattle
because of the Nine Bows.
It was stormy in the vicinity of the ancestors,
with the result that all the kings sat in their pyramids.
- ⁹ [...] Lower Egyptian kings were opposite their towns ,
surrounded by "He-who-guides-the-Two-Lands," through lack of military forces.
They had no bowmen to champion them.
It happened ¹⁰ [...] throne of Horus.
As he was appointed in order to vivify the nobles,
so has he arisen as king in order to protect the people.
Power was within him to act.
He was [saying], "One [...]
- ¹¹ [...]mabara.
Who deploys choicest of his archers,
Who guides his chariotry upon every road;
his scouts alive and his instructions in ¹² [their hearts (?)...]
He does not heed hundreds of thousands on the day of battle.
Having returned bearing plunder, his army proceeded.
The one beautiful of appearance conducted the archers against every land.

¹³ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... *lwtw r dd n hmef m hzbt 5 bdt 2*] *šmw r-nty
wr hsy hrw n Rbw Mrtyw s3 Ddy h3.w hr h3s.t nt Thmw hnc pd.wt*

¹⁴ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... Š] *rđn Škrš Iqwoš Rkw Twrš
m t3.t tp n š3 nb phrr nb n h3s.t*
in.nef hm.tef hrd.wef

¹⁵ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... *wr.w (?)*] *šy.w n ih3y
ph.nef tš.w imn.ty m šh.wt nw Pr-irr
ist hmef h3r.w hr3sn m3 m3i* ¹⁶ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] *tn
sdm3tn t3w-r3 nb3tn*

*d33 em3tn r dd ink p3 [h3] nty hr mni3tn
wrš3i gmgm* ¹⁷ [*qs.w n hftiw (?)*...]
[... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] *tn m3 it hr [s]cnh ms.wef swg3
3w<r><t>n m3 3pdw
bw rh3tn nfr n irr3
bn wšby.t m [...]*

¹⁸ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] *t3 h3c.t3 m wdy n h3st nb
pd.wt psdt hr hwr3 tš.w3s
bšt.w hr th3.tw3s r3 nb
[z3] nb hr t3[...]*

¹⁹ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] *r hwr3 nn n minn.w
3q3q.n3w (m) šh.wt n km.t
in itrw [3] š3c n3sn
skm.w3sn hrw.w bdt.w hms* ²⁰ [*im3f ... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...*]
*ph3sn đw.w n w33.t š3d.w n w n T3-ihw
mtr.h33tw đr nsw.tyw hr gnw.t kt-ht h3w
nn rh3tw*

²¹ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] *tw m đdf.wt
nn wn d3.t h3w hr h.wt3sn
mry mw.t msddy cnh
h3ty3sn tny r rh3y* ²² [*t*]

[... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] *p3]y3sn wr
wrš3w hr ht-t3 hr š3 r mh h.wt3w n mn.t
lw3sn r t3 n Km.t r w33 hr.t n r3sn
ib3w* ²³ [...] (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] *p3]y3
in.tw3w m3 wh3 hr h.wt3w
p3y3sn wr m šhrw n lw3w
z3 tw3 lw3i h3ty3
bw hms3f s(y) r[...]*

¹³ [... One came in order to say to his Majesty in year 5, second month of] Shomu
to the effect that:

"The wretched chief of the enemies of Rebu, Meroy, son of Dedy,
has descended upon the foreign land of Tjehenu together with his bowmen.

¹⁴ [... Sh]erden, Shekelesh, Akawasha, Lukka, and Tursha
consisting of the seizure of the best of every fighter and every runner
of his foreign land;
he bringing his wife, his children ...

¹⁵ [...] the great [chiefs?] of the tent.

It is at the fields of Perire that he reached the western borders."

Now his majesty raged like a lion because of them. ¹⁶ [...]

"Listen to the pronouncements of your lord,

so that I may cause you to understand that I am the [ruler] who herds you.

It is breaking ¹⁷ [the bones of the enemies(?)] that I spend the day.

[...] like a father nurturing his foolish children.

You are trembling like birds!

You do not know the good deeds of his doing!

There is no answer ...

¹⁸ [...] and abandoned on account of the advancing of every foreign land.

The Nine Bows are robbing its borders.

Rebels are attacking it every day.

Every man takes...

¹⁹ [...] in order to plunder these fortresses.

Into the fields of Egypt, have they entered.

It was the [Great] River which opposed itself to them,

with the result that they spent days and months dwelling ²⁰ [within it...]

They reached the mountains of the Oasis, and the *shadu* of the district of Farafra.

Then one bore witness to the annals of other times since the period of the *nswt*-kings.

One was unable ...

²¹ [...] as crawling things

without giving more than their bellies,

As for those who love death and hate life,

their hearts are different from those of the people (of Egypt)

²² [...] their chief.

To fill their bellies daily do they spend the day wandering and fighting.

To seek the necessities of their mouths do they come to the land of Egypt.

Their hearts [...]

²³ [...] my [...].

It is as fish upon their bellies that they were brought,

their chief being in the manner of a dog,

a wretched man, without his heart.

He did not occupy it until [...]

- 24 [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... s^c]r_q P_dw_ti-šw
 ð.dì ði ðzyštw ðt.w m mk.w r s^cn_h t₃ p_n n H_t
 mk ðnk p₃ ð.dì n_tr.w k₃ nb²⁵ [n_f...]
 [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] h_ry_ð
 nsw_t b_ity B₃-n-R^c m_ri-^lImn s₃ R^c M_ri.n-P_th H_tp-h_r-M₃.t ði ^cn_h
 w₃h k₃ ði w₃h t₃ n[h_t]_ð
 rwd.kw m h_q t₃.w_y [h_l]_y
- 26 [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... T₃-m_r]ð
 hn ^lImn h_rštw m W₃s.t
 h₃.n_f h₃šf r Mšwš
 [bn sw h_r] m₃ p₃ t₃ T₁m_htw
 ðw₃w [...]
- 27 [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] t_z p_d.w_t m-h₃t ð_ry
 r sksk t₃ n Rbw
 wd_lšn ð_r.t n_tr h_nšw
^lImn m-[d_l]šn m q^c.w
 st wd.(w) [n t₃] n Km.t ðd.w
- 28 [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... t₃ sk]y r t_hn n hrw 14
 š^c.n m₃.n h_mšf m rsw m_l n_ty w^c t[w<t>] n P_th š^c.(w) r-[q₃]w pr-^c ^cn_h wd₃ snb
 ðw₃f m_l q₃²⁹ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] ðw₃f h_r ðd n_f
 ð.šd tw dy
 ðw₃f h_r ð_l.t n_f p₃ h_pš
 mtw₃k r_w ð₃ h₃ty h₃w ð₃m₃k
 ðw pr-^c ^cn_h wd₃ snb h_r ðd n_f ð₃³⁰[t...]
- [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... mnf]y.t <n>t-h_tr_l m r_ht grg.(w) h_r-h₃tšn
 h_r p₃ rwd m h₃w sp₃.t n.t Pr-ð_r
 ðst p₃ wr h₃ ð₃ n³¹ [Rbw M_ršw_y s₃ Ddy...]
 [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... m h₃]w n ðbd 3 šm₃w sw 1
 h_d t₃ n t_hn h_nšw
 ðw pw ð_r.n p₃ wr h₃y h_rw n Rbw h_r tr n ðbd 3 šm₃w sw 3
 ðn.n_f
- 32 [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...]r s₃wšn
 [p]r pw ð_r.n p₃ mš^c n h_mšf h_nš nt-h_tr_lšf
^lImn-R^c h_nššn
 Nb_w.ty h_r rd_l.t nšn ð_r.t
 z_l [...]
- 33 [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... h_dbw h_r s]n_fšn nn sp ð₃mšn
 ðst ð_rw_y.n (sic) t₃ p_d.w_t n h_mšf 6 wnw.t [n] sksk ð₃mš<n>
 ð_l.w n dm.t h_r r-^c ³⁴[h_t?...]
 [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)...] n h₃s.t
 ðst wnnšn h_r š₃
 [ðw] p₃ wr h₃y n Rbw š^c.(w) sn_d.(w) ð₃šf b_dš.(w)
 š^cšf p_d.w

²⁴ [...] put an end to the Pedjuti-shu.

It is in order to vivify this Hittite land that I have caused grain to be sent in ships.
Behold, I am the one [to whom] the gods gave all nourishment.

²⁵ [...] beneath me.

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Baenre-meryamun,
the Son of Ra Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat, given life.

"As my ka endures, and as my victory endures,

I am firmly established as ruler of the two lands and heaven.

²⁶ [...Beloved] Land.

"Amun has assented," so one says in Thebes,

"Against the Meshwesh has he turned his back,

[not even] looking at the land of Tjemeh. They ...

²⁷ [...] commander of bowmen in front thereof,

in order to destroy the land of Rebu.

The hand of god being with them did they proceed,

Amun with them as shields!

It was commanded [to the land] of Egypt, saying [...]

²⁸ [...marshalling the ranks] in order to make contact (with the enemy) in 14 days.

Then his majesty saw in a dream, as if a [statue] of Ptah were standing near Pharaoh, l.p.h.

He was as high ²⁹ [...] He was saying to him:

"Seize (it) here!"

As he was giving the scimitar to him:

"And expel the foul heart from yourself!"

Pharaoh, l.p.h., was saying to him: "Now ³⁰ [...]

[...] infantry and cavalry in rank and prepared before them

upon the bank in the vicinity of the district of Perire.

Meanwhile, the wretched enemy chief of ³¹ [Rebu, Merey, son of Dedy ...]

[... in the evening of] the third month of Shomu, day 1.

It was to make contact with them that the day dawned.

The wretched chief of Rebu came at the third month of Shomu, day 3,

he having brought [...]

³² [...] in order to guard them.

The army of his majesty together with his chariotry went forth,

Amun-Re being with them,

the Ombite giving them the hand.

[Every] man...

³³ [... prostrate in] their (own) blood, without a remnant amongst them.

Meanwhile, the bowmen of his majesty spent six hours destroying them,

they being given over to the sword during [combat...].

³⁴ [...] of the desert land.

Meanwhile, when they were engaged in fighting,

the wretched chief of Rebu was terrified, his heart weak,

finding himself stretched out [...]

- ³⁵ [... (c. 20–24 groups lost)... *h^cef*] *tb.ty pd.tef isptef m shs h[^zef...]*
hn^cef n zby.t zs.t [n]t h^c.wt^cef
n^rw z p^hr.w m h^c.wt^cef
- ³⁶ *ist smz* [... (c. 15 groups lost)...] *m ht^cef m^cndst^lef h^def nbw^cef hn^wef n hsmn*
cp^rw n hm.t^cef isb.wt^cef pd.wt^cef ^ch^z.w^cef
k^z.wt nb in.n^cef³⁷ m t^zef m k^z.w ^cnh^z.w ^z.w [... (c. 15 groups lost)...] r ^ch^z r ms^zw hm^c h^zq.w
ist wnn p^z wr h^zy n Rbw m sh^z r w^cr r t^zef
iw rht³⁸ rmt^z m n^z h^rw [... (c. 15 groups lost)...]n(?) m sh^z.wt n dm.wt
ist d^l st n^z n smn.w nty h^r h^rri n hm^cef m-s^zsn
[r h^r] m³⁹ ^ch^z(w) in.w [smz... (c. 15 groups lost)...]nb
bw ptr.(w)^cef h^r gn.t bity.w
ist wn t^z pn n km.t m-d^lsn m ^ch^c b^d.t m rk nsw.tyw
⁴⁰ *nn rht^zw h^zfsn* [... (c. 12 groups lost)...] *h?* [*h*]q nn n [...]
n mryt s^zsn mryt^zsn r h^wit km.t n nb^zs
w^dz r^z.w-pr.w t^z mry
r s^ddt⁴¹ phty n^r [pn h^r nht (?)...]
- [... (c. 11 groups lost)...] *n mnnw imn.ty wsty r stp-s^z ^cnh^z(w) w^dz.(w) snb.(w) m d^d r nty*
h^rw Mr^wy iw.(w)
w^cr h^c.w^cef <n> n<d>sw^cef
sn^l.(w) h^rz^l m nfr.w gr^h m rwd(?)
- ⁴² [... (c. 15 groups lost)...] *ihnn h^r sw n^r nb h^r Km.t*
n^z š^cr.w i.dd^cef
st wh.y
dd.wt nb r^zef
w^db.w h^r t^zef
bw rht^zw ^cef n m(w).t⁴³ [^cnh^z]
 [... (c. 15 groups lost)...] *m]k sw m b^z.w^cef*
ir ^cnh^zef bn iw^cef r t^z
iw^cef m h^rw sbi n p^zy^cef mš^c
ntk i.š^z.w n r d^lt smz
- ⁴⁴ [... (c. 16 groups lost)...] *m t^z n Tm^hw*
i.d^lsn ky r s.t^cef m sn.w^cef nty h^r ^ch^zef iw^cef h^r ptr^cef
sd^ztw n^z wr.w m^l-q^d⁴⁵ [sn]
 [... (c. 17 groups lost)...] *t^z-pd.t mn[f]y.t nt-h^rri z^w.tyw nb n mš^c*
wn.w m n^crn h^r k^cw
- ⁴⁶ [... (c. 17 groups lost)...] *z].wt hr-h^z.t^zs[n] stp.(w) m hny q^rnt n h^zs.t Rbw*
hn^c k^pw n h^zst [nb] wn.w hn^cz^w
m h^zr.w h^r mst^l.w h^t⁴⁷ [...]

- ³⁵ [... He left] sandals, his bow, his quiver in haste behind [him].
 [...] together with him, through his limbs' desire to flee.
 great terror having encompassed his limbs.
- ³⁶ Meanwhile, [...] killing [...] consisting of his possessions, his tribute, his silver, his gold, his vessels of bronze, his wife's jewelry, his thrones, his bows, his weapons, and all the supplies which he brought ³⁷ from his land with oxen, goats, donkeys [...]
 [...] to the palace in order to present them together with the captives.
 Meanwhile, when the wretched chief of Rebu was in haste to flee to his land, a number of ³⁸ people from the enemy [...] blows of the daggers.
 Now the chariot warriors, who were upon his majesty's spans, placed themselves behind them,
 [in order to] fell with the ³⁹ arrows which were brought to kill [...] every [...]
 It was not seen in the annals of the *bity*-kings.
 When this land of Egypt was in their possession in a state of pestilence in the time of the *nswt*-kings,
⁴⁰ one was not able to repel them [... who plund]ered these [...]
 for the sake of their son and their desire to protect Egypt for her lord, so that the temples of the Beloved Land might prosper, and in order to relate ⁴¹ the strength of [this god upon victory (?)]...
 [...] of the western fortress. Official report to the palace, l.p.h. saying that:
 "The enemy Merety has gone
 It is because of his baseness that his limbs fled,
 having passed by me deep in the night with [his] bowstring [cut?]
⁴² [...] All the gods have felled him on account of Egypt.
 The promises which he said -
 they have failed.
 All which his mouth spoke -
 has turned on his (own) head,
 One does not know his condition of being dead [or alive].
⁴³ [... Beh]old, he is in his awesome power.
 If he shall live, he will not command,
 he being an enemy, the rebel of his army,
 (who say): "It is you who seizes us, in order to cause [our slaug]hter ...
⁴⁴ [... fleeing?] to the land of the Tjemehu.
 It is from amongst his siblings, who fight with him when he sees him, that another shall be put in his place,
 with the result that chiefs will be broken up in [their] entirety.
⁴⁵ [... (c. 17 groups lost)...] officers, infantry, chariotry, and all the veterans of the army who were as *narn*-troops bearing plunder.
⁴⁶ [... (c. 17 groups lost)... donkeys] before them loaded with uncircumcised phalli of the foreign land of Rebu together with the severed hands of [all] the foreign lands which were with them in containers and baskets.

- [... (c. 17 groups lost)... *hr*]yw n t~~z~~sn
 ist t~~z~~ r dr~~f~~ m <h>cy r hr.t
 dmy.w sp~~z~~.wt hr nhm n nn n bis.wt hpr.wt
 [i]t[rw]...
- ⁴⁸ [... (c. 18 groups lost)...]w m in.w hr sšd
 r d~~i~~.t m~~z~~ hm~~f~~ qnn~~f~~
 rht h~~z~~q.w inyt m [t~~z~~] pn n Rbw
 hm~~c~~ h~~z~~s.wt in.n~~f~~ [h]n~~c~~[~~f~~] m m~~i~~t.t
 ht [...]
- ⁴⁹ [...(c. 20 groups lost)... r- iw]d pr-m~~z~~ n Mr~~i~~.n-Pth Htp-hr-m~~z~~.t [inh Th]nw nty m Pr-~~z~~rr
 r n~~z~~ dm~~i~~.w hr.w n h~~z~~s.t š~~z~~c m Mr~~i~~.n-Pth Htp-hr-m~~z~~.t
- ⁵⁰ [...(c. 20 groups lost)...] hnn m q~~rnt~~ z~~i~~ 6
 ms.w wr.w sn.w n p~~z~~ wr n Rbw hdb.w inyt n~~z~~y~~z~~sn hnn ⁵¹ [m q~~rnt~~...] [...]
 [...(c. 20 groups lost)...] Rbw hdbw inyt n~~z~~y~~z~~sn hnn m q~~rnt~~ 6,359
 dm~~d~~ ms.w s~~z~~ [.....] [...]
- ⁵² [...(c. 20 groups lost) Šr]dn Škrš Iq~~wš~~ n n~~z~~ h~~z~~s.wt n p~~z~~ ym nty bn n~~z~~w q ⁵³ [rnt] [...]
 [...(c. 16 groups lost)... q~~r~~]nt Škrš z~~i~~ 222
 ir n dr.t 250
 Twrš z~~i~~ 742
 ir n dr.t 790
 Šrdn [...]
- ⁵⁴ [...(c. 20 groups lost)... I]q~~wš~~ nty mn m-d~~i~~z w q~~rnt~~ hdb.w inyt n~~z~~y~~z~~sn kp.w-dr.t
 mn m-d~~i~~z w ⁵⁵ [q~~rnt~~.....] [...]
- [...(c. 16 groups lost)... m]r.w z~~i~~ 6,111
 inyt(w) n~~z~~y~~z~~sn hnn m q~~rnt~~ r p~~z~~ nty tw.tw im [...]
 ir n hnn m q~~r~~ ⁵⁶ [nt...]
- [...(c. 17 groups lost)... n]y~~z~~sn kp.w z~~i~~ 2,362
 Škrš Twrš iy.(w) m hrw n Rbw [...]
- ⁵⁷ [...(c. 20 groups lost)...] Qh[q] Rbw inyt m sqb.w-~~cn~~h z~~i~~ 218
 hm.wt n p~~z~~ wr hr.w n Rbw in.w~~f~~ irm~~f~~
 iw~~z~~w ~~cn~~h Rbw z~~i~~.t 12
 dm~~d~~ inyt ⁵⁸ [m sq~~r~~.w-~~cn~~h...] [...]
- [...(c. 20 groups lost)...] 9,376
 h~~z~~c.w n r-~~c~~-ht wn m dr.t~~z~~w inyt m h~~z~~q~~w~~
 hmt sf.wt Mšwš 9,111

- ⁴⁷ [... (c. 17 groups lost)...] the enemies of their land.
 Now the entire land was rejoicing to heaven,
 the towns and nomes acclaiming because of these marvels which have happened.
 The river ...
- ⁴⁸ [... (c. 18 groups lost)...] their [...] as tribute underneath the window of appearances,
 to let his majesty see that he is victorious.
 List of the plunder which was brought from that land of Rebu
 together with the foreign lands which it brought [with it] likewise.
 [Their] things ...
- ⁴⁹ [...c. 17 groups lost...] between the fortified plantation of
 "Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat, He-Who-Surrounds-the-Tjehenu" which is in
 Perire, and the forts of the high desert beginning with
 "Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat[...]"
- ⁵⁰ [...] phalli with foreskins: 6 men
 children of the chiefs and brothers of the chief of Rebu who
 were slain and their phalli [with foreskins] carried off[.....]
- ⁵¹ [...] (?) of the Rebu slain and their phalli with foreskins carried off 6,359
 total of the great chiefs [.....] [.....]
- ⁵² [... Sher]den, Shekelesh, Akawasha from the foreign lands of the sea who
 did not have fore ⁵³ [skins...] [.....]
 [... fore]skins Shekelesh 222 men
 amounting to: 250 hands
 Tursha 742 men
 amounting to: 790 hands
 Sherden [.....] [.....]
- ⁵⁴ [...Aka]washa who did not have foreskins who were slain and their
 hands carried off, because they did not have [foreskins]]
- ⁵⁵ [...] pyramids
 so that their phalli with foreskins might be carried off to the place where
 One (the king) was: 6,111 men
 amounting to uncircumcised pha⁵⁶ [li....] [.....]
- [...] their hands. 2,362 men
 Shekelesh and Tursha who came as enemies with the Rebu. [.....]
- ⁵⁷ [...] Qeheq and Rebu who were brought as captives: 218 men
 Wives of the fallen chief of Rebu whom he brought with him,
 they being alive: 12 Rebu women
- Total who were brought [as captives....] [.....]
- ⁵⁸ [...] 9,376
 weapons of combat which were in their hands brought as plunder:
 copper swords of the Meshwesh: 9,111

- 59 [...(c. 20 groups lost)... šsr.w n Rbw(?)] 120,214
 ħtr.w wn ħr p3 ħrw n Rbw ħnr n3 ms.w n Rbw ħnyt
 iwaw ʿnh-ʿ 12
 ħt 60 [iny m-ʿsn ... (c. 17 groups lost)...] Mšwš
 <ħs>q ħmʿ ʿnh wđ3 snb wn ħr ʿħ3 n3 ħrw n Rbw
 mmmn.t šbn 1,307
 ʿnh.w [...]
- 61 [...(c. 20 groups lost)...] šbn 64
 ħd ħb.w n swr <...>
 [tʃp]r rhd.wt sf[t] kt.[w] mdrn.w mħsq.w ħn.w šbn 3,174
 w3.tw [...]
- 62 [...(c. 20 groups lost)...] iwaw ħr dīt ħ.t m p3 ʃhy nzyw ħn.w qrmt
 nbʿsn nswt ħʿ.(w) ʿnh wđ3 snb m wsh.t ʿħ.t
 iw
- 63 [...(c. 20 groups lost)...] ħmʿ ʿnh wđ3 snb (m) ħcy ħr m3ʃf
 ir.nʃ ħpr.(w)
 ħm.w [n pr ʿ3] ʿnh wđ3 snb m ħcy r ħry
 p3 šms.w m ħtr.ty [...]
- 64 [...(c. 20 groups lost)... n] nfrw ħr.n Rʿ n k3ʾ
 dīʾ nhy(?) ʿsn r dđ
 m ntr dđ pħty
 dī.n mryʿ nswt bity B3-n-Rʿ mri-ʾImn
 s3 Rʿ Mri.n-Pth Ĥtp-ħr-M3.t ʿnh wđ3 snb
- 65 [...(c. 14 groups lost)...] dmd [s]t m bsk.w m ħnw p3ʿsn dmi
 Kš mīt.t ħr ħnw(?)
 ħrw dīwʾ <ʿ>mwʿ m dr.tʾ m rnp.t [n]t-ʿ
- 66 [...(c. 6 groups lost)...] prʿ n nħħ(?) [...] rmt
 [(c. 15 groups lost) ... p3]yʿ wr ħr f3 [b3k.wʿ r tñw rnp.t m zp[y].t
 ħry ħ3(y.t) ʿ3 m [tp.wʿs]n
 [dīʾ] p3 nty ʿnh.(w) r mħ r3.w-[pr.]w
- 67 [...(at least 3 groups lost?)...] m-b3ħ
 nfr n km.t
 wšb rmt [...] Rbw r-drʾf... (4 or 5 groups lost)...]
 p3ʿsn wr ħrw wʿr.(w) r ħ3tʾ
 dīwʾ m[ħwtʿ] sm3 sw
 ħry sw m s(s)fīwdt.(w) m3 ʃpd.w
 dīwʾ t3 68 [...(at least 3 groups lost?)...] nzyʾ ħr.w
 sw km.(w) [t3] q3y msdr(?) [...(c. 4-5 groups lost)...] [...] tw
 ntry.wy sw
 sw m [...] n ntr nb ntw ms (w) ħ n3 r nb wʿ n Km.t
 ħ3y thy [n]3 nħp ħrʿs ħr nsy.tʾ
 ħ3[y ...] Pth

- ⁵⁹ [... arrows of the Rebu(?)] 120, 214
 spans which carried the enemy of Rebu
 and the chiefs of Rebu, they being alive: 12
 Things ⁶⁰ [which they brought with them...] Meshwesh.
 <plunder> of his majesty from fighting the enemy of Rebu:
 mixed cattle 1,309
 goats <.....>
⁶¹ various [...] 64
 silver drinking vessels [.....]
 tpr-vessels, *rhd*-vessels, swords, *kt*-vessels, weapons(?), razors,
 and various vessels: 3,174
 apart from [...]
- ⁶² [...] Fire was placed in the camp; their tents were ashes.
 Their lord, the king, l.p.h., appeared in the broad hall of the palace.
⁶³ [... the army (?) of] his majesty, l.p.h., rejoice at seeing him,
 (because) what he has done has succeeded!
 The servants [of Pharaoh], l.p.h., are rejoicing to heaven,
 and the followers on both sides [...]
- ⁶⁴ [...] of the perfection which Re made for my ka.
 I shall cause that they 'supplicate' saying:
 "It is god who gives the power,
 his beloved, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Baenre-meryamun,
 the Son of Re, Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat, l.p.h. having caused ⁶⁵ [...]"
 [...] united them as workers in their towns,
 Kush likewise bearing tribute.
 The enemy whom I force to understand is in my hand yearly, the custom(?) [...]
⁶⁶ [...]his domain of eternity(?) [...]
 [...hi]s chief bearing [...] his tribute every year from the remainder.
 [So that I might make] the survivor fill the temples,
 has great slaughter been made amongst [their leaders].
- ⁶⁷ [...] previously (?).
 It goes well with Egypt,
 with the result that the people respond: "[...] Rebu in its entirety [...]"
 "Their fallen chief fled before me.
 I caused [his tribe] to kill him;
 he is one made into ashes and fettered like birds.
 I caused the land [...] ⁶⁸ [...chief of(?)] my enemies—
 He was finished off, with the result that [the land] was exalted.
 ear (?) [...]
- How divine is he!
 He is the [...] of every god.
 It is they who bore me to be the sole lord of Egypt,
 so that the attacker of those who care for it (Egypt) will fall during my kingship,
 praised of(?) Ptah

⁶⁹ [...(at least 3 groups lost?)...] *ssɤf B3-n-Rc mri-Imn ʕnh wɔɔ snb*
ɪ.dr hftɪ.wɤf fqɔ tɔ nb r dr[ɤf... (c. 4-5 groups lost)...
nht Rc hps r pd.wt psd.t
ɪ.dɪw Swtɪh nht qnɪ n Hr hɤc m mɤ.t hwi [pd.wt psd.t]
nswt-bity B3-n-Rc mri-Imn sɔ Rc Mrɪ.n-Pth Htp-hr-Mɤ.t ʕnh wɔɔ snb
 ɪnk [...]

⁷⁰ [...(at least 3 groups lost?)...] *pɔ ms.t wɪ ɪwɔ m sɔ smsw hr st Gb*
šspɔ ɪ.t n [nswt?...] [..(c. 4-5 groups lost)...
qn nn ɪt.twɤf
wɪw nɔ Rbw.w hr wɔwɔ bɪn r ɪrrɔw hr km.t
ptr hr[ɪ] sn smɔɔ sn ɪrw m mr.w
 ptr st

⁷¹ [...(at least 3 groups lost?)...] *nɪyɔ nfrw ʕs.w m h.t n pɤ.t*
ɔh.k(w) nɔw r ɪt mwt ms.ti(?) [..(c. 4-5 groups lost)...
mɪ ɪ.dɪɔ T3-mry m <s>š m ɪtrw
mry wɪ rmt mɪ mryɔ st
rdɪɔtw nɔsn ɪw r nɪyɔsn nɪ.wt
nhmɔtw hr rnɔ m p.t tɔ.w

⁷² [...(at least 3 groups lost?)...] *nɤt n rhy.t*
ɔdyɔtw nɔ hsy hr nɪyɔ mtr
 [...(c. 11 groups lost?)...] *gmwɔsn*
ɪr hɔwɔ nfrw m rɔ n ɔɪmw mɪ ɔ nɔ ɔh.wt ɪrrwɔ nɔsn
ɪw mɤ.t [...] dr

⁷³ [...(at least 3 groups lost?)...] *mɔɔtn ɔsy nn ɤbɤ*
nswt bity B3-n-Rc mri-Imn sɔ Rc Mrɪ.n-Pth Htp-hr-Mɤ.t [ʕnh wɔɔ snb]
ɔdt.n mɤbɪy.(t) tmm.tɪ m swɔš nb mnɪ ɪt tɔ.wy
nswt-bity B3-n-Rc mri-Imn sɔ Rc Mrɪ.n-Pth Htp-hr-Mɤ.t ʕnh wɔɔ snb
 ɔdɔw
 ɔ.wy st hrp n km.t [...]

⁷⁴ [... (at least 3 groups lost?)...] *dr]ɪ.w ɔ.w nɔ nt[y] m-bɪhɔn*
bw [ptr] nɪyɔn ɪt.w [...] bɪ.t rɤ m ɔɔm m-dɪ kt-hɔw wɤ.(w)
Rbw mɪ spr ɪnw m [kf]ɤw
dɪk hrpɔsn mɪ snhm.w
mɪ.t nb hnr.(w) m <n>yɔsn ⁷⁵ [hɔ.wt]

[... (up to 14 groups lost)...] *nhm*
dɪk hɪ.ty [n(?)] zɪ nb m h.tɤf
ɪwɔw r htp (m) ɪw
 [...] *hrɪt.tw [...] kɔ.wɔk m rɔ šɤ sdrɔn m ršw.t r tr nb*
ɪw wn bw-⁷⁶ [nfr/nb (?)]... (up to 15 groups lost)...

⁶⁹ [...] his son Baenre-meryamun, l.p.h.

Who subdues his enemies. Who tears up every land entirely.

[...] victory of Re, a khepesh-sword against the Nine Bows.

It is to the Horus Who-Rejoices-in-Maat, who strikes [the Nine Bows],
that Seth gives victory and valor,

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Baenre-meryamun
the son of Re, Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat, l.p.h.

"I am one who [...]

⁷⁰ [...] the one who bore me, while I am the eldest son upon the throne of Geb.

I having received the office of [king?...]]

[...] valorous [...] it shall not be seized.

These Libyans plotted evil in order to act against Egypt.

Behold, I felled them, I slew them, (they) being turned into pyramids (of corpses).

Behold, [...]

⁷¹ [...] My prodigious perfection is recognized by the nobles.

I am more effective for them than the father and a mother who bore [...],
according as I have caused the Beloved Land to move freely on the River.

The people shall love me as I shall love them,
breath being given to them at their cities,

so that my name is exalted in heaven and earth.

⁷² [...] kindness to the people,

so that one says to me praises because of my rectitude.

[...] which they found.

My reign has passed beautifully in the mouth of the young generation,
in as much as the benefactions which I did for them were great.
while Maat [...]

⁷³ [...] May you yourselves see! There is no boasting!

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Baenre-meryamun
the son of Re, Merneptah Contented-with-Maat, l.p.h.

What the entire Council of Thirty said, adoring the beneficent lord,

who seizes the two lands the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Baenre-meryamun,
the son of Re, Merneptah, Contented-with-Maat, l.p.h., as they say:

"How great is it, what has happened for Egypt!

⁷⁴ [... valorous] and great things are those before us.

Our fathers did not [witness...] a marvel nor hear from others alone.

Rebu is like a petitioner who is brought as a captive,

You have caused them to become like locusts,

every road being strewn with their ⁷⁵ [corpses (?)...] rescue.

You have placed the heart of every man in his body;

they will be at rest (in) old age.

[...] terror [...] your provisions are in the mouth until we sleep in joy, at any time.

when ⁷⁶ [everyone/goodness (?)] was [...]

[...] n[s]y^zk s_{hr}.w [m]n_h.w h(°).wy hr [...] s_{bt}[y...]

p₃ hn_{iw} hr sp nb r pr d_{ri}

š_h sdm m n_{zy} w wšb

⁷⁷ [...] (up to 14 groups lost)...] rn_zk r n_hh š₃-m p.t r [iwt]n

i_w bn gr i_r n[sy^zk] n_ht hr gnwt

[...] rnp.wt mi Tm

wš_h k_zk wš_h hr.t-tp_zk

hn bw m₃₃n st

⁷⁸ [...] (up to 12 groups lost)...]

°n d_r.t nt h₃w [hr] n_{iw}.t_f

in s₃f n_{tr}.y s_°n_h rn[_f...]

[s₃ R_c Mr_i.n-Pth] H_{tp}-hr-[M₃.t] °n_h.(w) w_d3.(w) snb.(w)

p₃ [h_qs(?) i.]d_{iw} Pr_c n t₃-mry

nswt bi_{ty} B₃-n-R_c mri-Imn s₃ R_c Mr_i.n-Pth H_{tp}-hr-M₃.t °n_h.(w) w_d3.(w) snb.(w)

⁷⁹ [...] (up to 12 groups lost)...] _f hr p₃ rwd imnt.t mit.t h_w.t-n_{tr} n n_{tr} nb n_{tr}.t nb[.t...]

[... inb] n inr sph_r m h₃ nb [m] sš r d.t

nswt-bi_{ty} B₃-n-R_c mri-Imn s₃ R_c Mr_i.n-Pth H_{tp}-hr-M₃.t d_i °n_h mi R_c [d.t]

[...] Your excellent plans are exalted because [...] rampart[s...]

One who buttresses at every occasion more than a fortified enclosure.
Harkening to their replies is effective!

⁷⁷ [... May] your name [endure] forever reaching from the sky to the ground,
for [your] victories upon the annals shall not be [erased(?) ...]

[... May you be given] years like Atum.

As the one who is upon your brow endures, so may you your ka endure!

Had we not witnessed them⁷⁸ [...] necropolis.

Who turns away the hand of one who descends [upon] his city.

It is his divine son who enlivens [his] name

[the son of Re,] Merne[ptah] Contented-with-[Maat], l.p.h.
the [ruler(?)] whom Pre gave to the Beloved Land.

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Baenre-meryamun

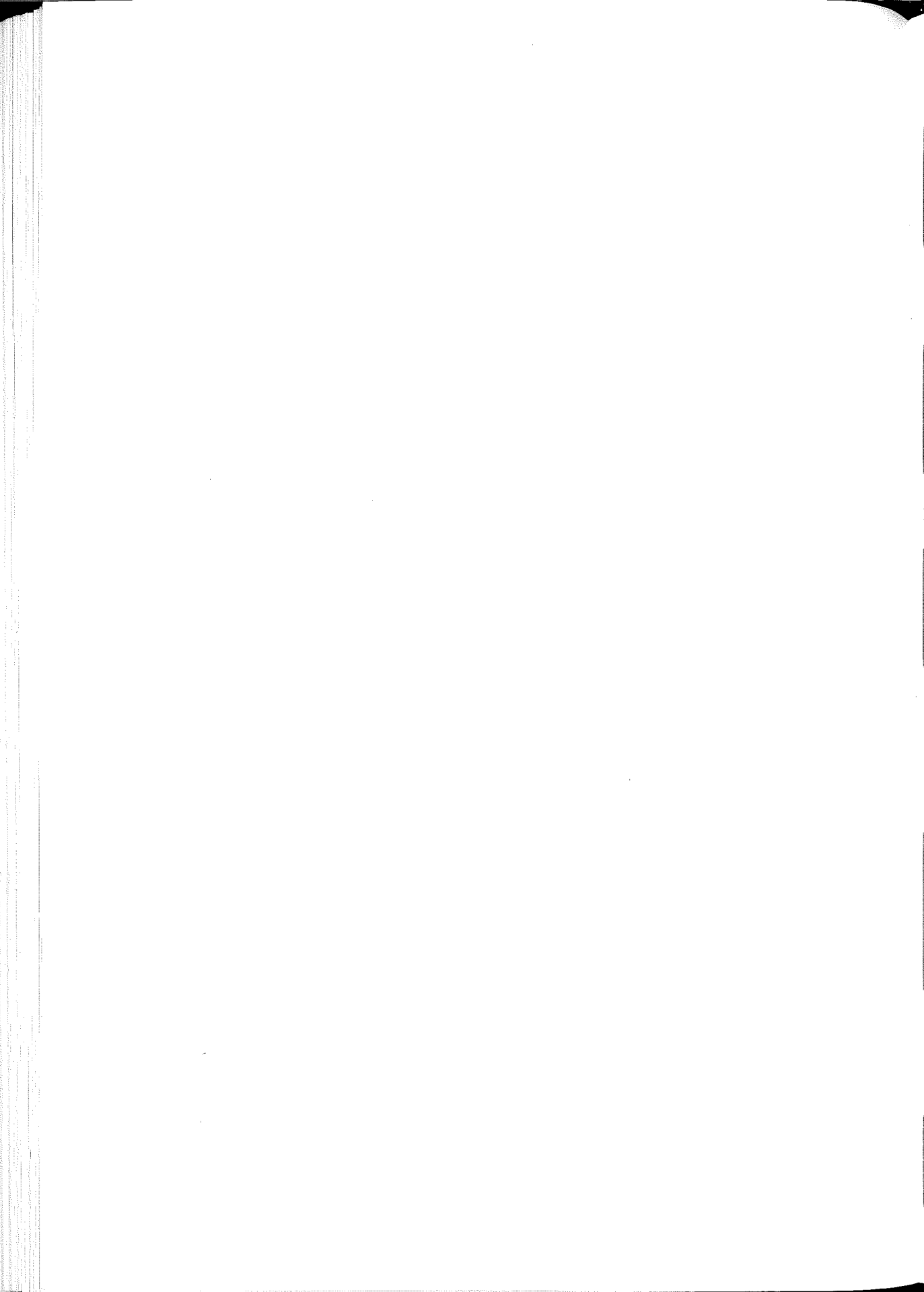
the son of Re, Merneptah Contented-with-Maat, l.p.h.

⁷⁹ [...] upon the western bank, likewise the temple of every god and every goddess [...]

[...] stone wall, copied in every office [as] a writing for eternity.

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Baenre-meryamun

the son of Re, Lord of Glorious Appearances Merneptah Contented-with-Maat,
given life like Re forever!



Glossary

ABBREVIATIONS

adj.	adjective	<i>ḥd.t</i>	n. "pestilence," 39
adv.	adverb	<i>ḥy</i>	vb. "to come," 12, 56
aux.	auxiliary	<i>ḥw</i>	vb. "to come," 1, 22, 31, 41
dem.	demonstrative	<i>ḥw</i>	part. 8 (twice), 26, 28, 29 (thrice), 34 (restored), 37, 43 (twice), 44, 57, 59, 62 (twice), 70, 72, 75 (twice), 77
div.	divinity		
ethn.	ethnonym		
loc.	locality	<i>ḥwḥw</i>	n. "dog," 23
n.	noun	<i>ḥwnw</i>	loc. "Heliopolis," 6
part.	particle	<i>ḥwtj</i>	negative relative adj. 8, 23
PN	personal name	<i>ḥwtj</i>	n. "ground," 77 (partly restored)
prep.	preposition	<i>ḥwdt</i>	vb. (?) "fetter," 67
pron.	pronoun	<i>ḥb</i>	n. "heart," 22, 34
vb.	verb	<i>ḥm</i>	adv. "there," 55

GLOSSARY

ḥ		<i>ym</i>	n. "sea," 52
<i>ḥw<r></i>	vb. "to tremble," 17	<i>ḥmn</i>	div. "Amun," 2, 26, 27
<i>ḥbd</i>	n. "month," 19, 31 (twice)	<i>ḥmn-Rc</i>	div. "Amun-Re," 32
<i>ḥby.t</i>	n. "desire," 35	<i>ḥmn.tj</i>	adj. "western," 15, 41, 79
<i>ḥpd</i>	n. "bird," 17, 67	<i>ḥn</i>	part. 19, 78 (see also <i>m</i>)
<i>ḥq</i>	adj. "effective," 76	<i>ḥn.w</i>	n. "produce," 48, 65 (uncertain)
<i>ḥq</i>	vb. "to be effective," 71	<i>ḥnḥ</i>	vb. "to fetch," 14, 23, 31, 36, 39, 48 (twice), 50, 51, 54, 55, 57 (thrice), 58, 59, 74
<i>ḥq.t</i>	n. "benefaction," 72	<i>ḥnb</i>	n. "wall," 79 (mostly restored)
<i>ss</i>	vb. "to hurry," 35	<i>ḥnb-ḥty</i>	loc. "Ineb-iti," 6
<i>sty</i>	loc. "Ati Canal," 7	<i>ḥnr</i>	n. "stone," 79
<i>stp</i>	vb. "to load," 46	<i>ḥnh</i>	vb. "to surround," 9, 49 (partly restored)
ḥ		<i>ḥnk</i>	first person independent pron. 16, 24, 69
<i>ḥ.t</i>	n. "mound," 4	<i>ḥr</i>	prep. "as for," 2, 43
<i>ḥ.t</i>	n. "office," 70	<i>ḥry</i>	adv. "thereof," 27
<i>ḥw</i>	n. "old age," 75 (uncertain, maybe vb.)		
<i>ḥw.tjw</i>	n. "veterans," 45		

<i>iri</i>	vb. "to do, make, act," 4, 7, 10, 17, 31, 32, 33, 53 (twice), 55, 63, 64, 66, 67, 70 (thrice), 72 (twice), 77	<i>ɛnh</i>	n. "goat," 37, 60
<i>irm</i>	prep. "with," 57	<i>ɛh</i>	n. "palace," 37
<i>ihy/ihr</i>	n. "tent," 7, 15, 62	<i>ɛh.t</i>	n.fem. "palace," 62
<i>ih.w</i>	n. "cattle," 8	<i>ɛhɔ</i>	(1) vb. "to fight," 22, 34, 44, 60 (2) n. "warrior," 14
<i>ihnn</i>	n. unknown meaning, 42	<i>ɛhɔ</i>	n. "arrow," 36, 39
<i>isb.t</i>	n. "throne," 36	<i>ɛhɛ</i>	(1) vb. "to stand," 10, 19, 28, (2) aux.vb. 34 (twice), (3) n. "position, state," 39
<i>ispt</i>	n. "quiver," 35	<i>ɛhɛ.n</i>	verbal prefix, 28
<i>ist</i>	proclitic part. 2, 15, 29 (partly restored), 30, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 47	<i>ɛš</i>	adj. "multitudinous," 71
<i>Iqwš</i>	eth. "Akawasha," 1, 14, 52, 54	<i>ɛqɛq</i>	vb. "to enter," 19
<i>it</i>	n. "father, forefather" 2, 17, 71, 74	<i>ɛw</i>	
<i>it</i>	n. "grain," 24	<i>w</i>	third person pl. suffix pron. 8, 9 (twice), 19, 22 (twice), 23, 26, 27, 31, 37, 46, 48, 52, 54 (twice), 57, 58, 59, 62, 70, 71, 76
<i>itrw</i>	n. "river," 19, 47 (partly restored), 71	<i>w</i>	n. "district," 20
<i>it̄</i>	vb. "to seize," 70, 73	<i>wɔ.t</i>	n. "road," 11
<i>itr.ty</i>	n. "two sides," 63	<i>wɔwɔ</i>	vb. "to plot," 70
<i>it̄ɔ</i>	vb. "to steal, to seize" 24, 43	<i>wɔh</i>	vb. "to endure," 25 (twice), 77 (twice)
<i>ɛ</i>		<i>Wis.t</i>	loc. "Thebes," 26
<i>ɛ</i>	n. "condition," 11, 42, 59	<i>wɔd̄</i>	adj. "prosperous," 4
<i>ɛ</i>	(1) adj. "great," 19 (restored), 35, 51, 66, 72, 73, (2) n. "great (thing, one)" 15, 74	<i>wi</i>	first person dependent pron. 68 (uncertain), 70 (uncertain), 71
<i>ɛ</i>	n. "donkey," 37 (restored)	<i>wɔɔ.tw</i>	prep. "apart from," 61
<i>ɛ.t</i>	n.fem. "donkey," 46 (partly restored)	<i>wɛ</i>	indefinite article, "one, a," 28
<i>ɛbɛ</i>	vb. "to boast," 73	<i>wɛ</i>	vb. "to be alone," 74
<i>ɛpr</i>	n. "jewelry," 36	<i>wɛ</i>	adj. "sole," 68
<i>ɛm</i>	vb. "to understand," 16, 65	<i>wɛr</i>	vb. "to flee," 37, 41, 67
<i>ɛn</i>	vb. "to turn back," 78	<i>wn</i>	preterite converter, 10, 39, 70, 75
<i>ɛnh</i>	(1) vb. "to live," 43, 57, 59, 66, (2) n. "life," 5 (in phrase <i>ɛw n ɛnh</i>), 11, 21 (see also compound <i>sqb-ɛnh</i>)	<i>wnw.t</i>	n. "hour," 33
		<i>wnn</i>	vb. "to be," 21, 34, 37, 45, 46, 58, 59

- wr* n. "chief," 13, 22, 23, 30, 31, 34, 37, 44, 50 (twice), 57, 66, 67
- wrš* vb. "to spend the day," 16, 22
- wḥi* vb. "to fail," 42
- wḥs.t* n. "oasis," 20
- wḥꜥ* n. "fish," 23
- wḥꜣ* vb. "to seek," 22
- wšḥ.t* n. "broad hall," 62
- wšb* vb. "to answer, champion," 9, 67, 76
- wšb* n. "response," 76
- wšby.t* n. "response," 17
- wsty* n. "official report," 41
- wḏi* vb. "to proceed, advance," 12, 18, 27
- wḏ* vb. "to command" 27
- wḏꜣ* vb. "to prosper," 40
- wḏꜥ* vb. "to judge," 5
- wḏb* vb. "to turn back," 42
- b**
- bꜣ.w* n. "power," 43
- Bꜣ-n-Rꜥ*
mri-Imn nomen of Merneptah, 2,3, 25, 64, 69, 73 (twice), 78 (twice), 79
- bꜣk* n. "taxes," 66
- bꜣk* n. "servant, worker," 65
- bꜣs.t* n. "marvel," 47, 74
- bꜣn* adj. "bad," 70
- bity* n. "king of Lower Egypt," 9, 39
- bw* negative part., 12, 17, 23, 39, 42, 74, 77
- bn* negative, part. 9, 17, 26 (restored), 43, 52, 77
- bštw* n. "rebel," 18
- bdš* vb. "to be weak," 34
- p**
- p.t* n. "sky," 71, 77
- pꜣ* masc. sing. def. art. 3, 16, 24, 26, 29 (twice), 30 (twice), 31, 32, 34, 37, 49, 50, 52, 55, 57, 59, 62, 63, 66, 70, 76, 78, 79
- Pꜣꜥ* div., "Pre," 78
- pꜣy* masc. possessive pron., 22 (partly restored), 23 (partly restored), 43, 65, 66 (partly restored), 67
- pꜥ.t* n. "nobles," 10, 71
- pw* copula pron., 31, 32
- pn* dem. adj. 2, 24, 39, 48
- pri* vb. "to go forth," 32
- pr* n. "enclosure," 66, 76
- Pr-ḏrr* loc. "Perire," 15, 30, 49
- pr-ꜣ* n. "Pharaoh," 28, 29, 63 (restored)
- Pr-bꜣrst* loc. "Perbarset," 7
- pr-mꜣ* n. "fortified plantation," 49
- ph* vb. "to reach," 15, 20
- phꜣty* n. "strength," 2, 5, 10, 41, 64
- phꜣrr* n. "runner," 14
- phꜣr* vb. "to go around," 35
- ptr* vb. "to see," 39, 44, 74
- ptr* proclitic part. 70 (twice)
- Pth* div. "Ptah," 28, 68
- pḏ* vb. "to be stretched out," 34
- pḏ.t* n. "bow," 35, 36
- pḏw.t* n. "bowmen," 9, 11, 12, 13, 33
- pḏ.wt psḏ.t* n. "Nine Bows," 8, 18, 69 (twice, once restored)
- Pḏwꜣty-šw* eth. "Pedjuti-shu," 24
- f**
- f* third person masc. sing. suffix pron., passim
- fꜣi* vb. "to lift," 66
- fl* vb. "to fetter," 4 (restored)
- fꜣꜣ* vb. "to tear up," 69

- m*
- m* prep. "in, from, as," passim
- m* part., 64 (see also *ḥn*)
- m-ꜥꜣ* prep. "opposite," 9
- m-bꜣḥ* prep. "before, in the presence of," 7, 67, 74
- m-ḥst* prep. "in front," 27
- m-sꜣ* prep. "behind," 38
- m-dī* prep. "because, by means of, with," 8, 27, 39, 55 (twice), 74
- mꜣ* n. "lion," 15
- mꜣꜣ* vb. "to see," 3, 26, 28, 48, 63, 73 (partly restored), 77
- Mꜣ.t* div. "Maat," 69, 72
- mī* prep. "like, as," 15, 17 (twice), 23, 28 (twice), 44, 67, 71 (twice, once partly restored), 72, 74 (twice), 77
- mī.t* prep. "likewise," 48, 65, 79
- mī-ꜥd* prep. phrase, "entire," 44
- mī.t* n. "road," 74
- mꜣbꜣy.(t)* n. "Council of Thirty," 73
- mꜣndꜣtī* n. "tribute," 36
- mꜣw.t* n. "mother," 71
- mꜣw.t* n. "death," 21, 42
- mꜣ* negation of existence, 54 (twice)
- mꜣḥ* vb. "to herd," 16
- mꜣn.t* adv. "daily," 22
- mꜣnfy.t* n. "infantry," 12, 30, 45
- mꜣmꜣn.t* n. "cattle," 60
- mꜣnꜣw* n. "fortress," 19, 41
- mꜣḥ* adj. "beneficent, excellent," 73, 76
- mꜣḥ* vb. "to love," 21, 40, 64, 71 (twice)
- mꜣy* n. "beloved one," 64
- Mꜣḥ.n-Pḥḥ* pre-nomen of Merneptah, 2, 3, 25, 49 (twice in toponyms), 64, 73 (twice), 78 (twice), 79
- Ḥḥp-ḥr-Mꜣ.t* n. "desire," 40
- mꜣy.t* n-mꜣy.t prep. "for the sake of," 40
- mꜣr* n. "pyramid," 8, 55, 70
- Mꜣḥyꜣw* PN "Merey," 1 (restored), 13, 31 (restored), 41
- mḥ* vb. "to fill," 22, 66
- mḥ.tyꜣw* n. nisbe "northerners," 1
- mḥꜣꜥ* n. "razor," 61
- mꜣs* vb. "to present," 37
- mꜣḥ* vb. "to bear," 68, 70, 71
- mꜣs* n. "chief," 51, 59
- mꜣs.w* n. "children," 17, 50
- mꜣstī* n. "basket," 46
- mꜣḥdī* vb. "to hate," 21
- mꜣḥꜣr* n. "ear," 68
- mꜣšꜣ* n. "army," 9, 32, 43, 45
- Mꜣšwš* ethn. "Meshwesh," 26, 58, 60
- mꜣk* part. 24, 43 (restored)
- mꜣkī* vb. "to protect," 6, 10
- mꜣk* n. "ship," 24
- mꜣtr* n. "rectitude," 72
- mꜣtr* vb. "to bear witness," 20
- mꜣtr* n. "scout," 11
- mꜣḥꜣrn* n. "weapon (?)," 61
- n*
- nꜣ* plural definite article, 38 (twice), 42, 44, 49, 52, 59, 60, 70, 72, 74
- nꜣ* pl. copula pron., 68
- nꜣy* plural possessive article 8, 11, 50, 51, 54, 55, 56, 62, 68, 71 (twice), 74 (twice), 76 (twice)
- nīw.t* n. "city," 6, 71, 78

- n̄i* vb. "to be kind," 72
N̄rn ethn. "Narn," 45
nw̄i vb. "to defend," 8
nbw n. "gold," 36
Nbw.ty div. "the Ombite," 32
nb n. "lord," 16, 40, 62, 68, 73
nb adj. "all, each, every," 1, 3 (twice), 4, 5, 8, 11, 12, 14 (twice), 18 (thrice), 24, 36, 39, 42 (twice), 45, 68, 74, 75 (twice), 76, 79 (thrice)
nfr adj. "good," 2, 12, 17, 67
nfr.w n. "perfection," 41 (in phrase *nfr.w gr̄h*), 64, 71, 72
nn dem. pron. "these," 19, 40, 47
nn negative part., 20, 21, 33, 40, 70, 73
nrw n. "terror," 35
nhp vb. "to care for," 68
nhm vb. "to rejoice," 47, 71
n̄h̄i vb. "to supplicate," 64 (uncertain)
n̄hm vb. "to save," 75
n̄h̄h̄ n. "eternity," 66 (uncertain), 77
n̄h̄t n. "victory," 25 (restored), 69 (twice), 77
nswt n. "king," 8, 10, 62
nsw.tyw n. "kings of Upper Egypt," 20, 39
nsy.t n. "kingship," 68
nqm vb. "to suffer," 4
nty rel. adj. "who, which," 16, 28 (in compound *m̄i nty*), 38, 44, 49, 52, 54, 55, 66, 68, 74
ntw third person pl. independent pron., 68
nt-̄ n. "custom, treaty," 65
nt-h̄tri see *h̄tri*
- ntk* second person sing. independent pron., 43
n̄tr n. "god," 2, 3, 24, 27, 41, 42, 64, 68, 79
n̄tr.t n. "goddess," 79
n̄tr.y adj. "divine," 68, 78
ndsw n. "baseness," 41
ʾ
r prep. "to, towards, against," passim
r-h̄st prep. "in front," 67
r̄ n. "mouth," 22, 42, 72, 75
r̄-̄ part. "as well as," 74
r̄-pr n. "temple," 40, 66
r-̄-lyt n. "combat," (partly restored) 58
r-lyd prep. "between," 49
r-nty prep. "that," 13, 41
r-q̄lyw prep. "near," 28
r-dd prep. "that," 16, 64
R̄-̄ div. "Re," 64, 69 (see also Pre)
r̄-̄ n. "day," 18
rwi vb. "to expel," 29
rwd n. "bank," 30, 79
rwd n. "bowstring," 41 (uncertain)
rwd vb. "to be firm," 25
Rbw loc. "Rebu," 13, 27, 31, 34, 37, 46, 48, 50, 51, 56, 57 (thrice), 59 (twice), 60, 67, 70, 74
rm̄t n. "people," 38, 66, 67, 71
rn n. "name," 71, 77, 78
rn̄p̄i adj. "youthful," 2
rn̄p.t n. "year," 65, 66, 77
rhd n. "vessel," 61
r̄h̄ vb. "to know," 17, 20, 40, 42

- rljy.t* n. "common people," 10, 21 (partly restored), 72
rljt n. "list, number, rank," 30, 37, 48
rsww n. "dream," 28
ršw.t n. "joy," 75
rk n. "time," 4, 39
Rkww ethn. "Lukka," 1, 14
rdi vb. "to give, to cause, to allow," 5, 10, 16, 21, 24 (twice), 29, 32, 33, 38, 43, 44, 48, 62, 64 (thrice), 65, 67 (twice), 69, 71 (twice), 74, 75, 78
h
hš vb. "to descend," 13, 68, 78 (partly restored)
hšw n. "time, vicinity, reign," 8, 20, 30, 72
hn vb. "to nod, assent," 26
hn vb. "to support," 76
hnn part. "if," 77
hrw n. "day," 12, 19, 28
h
hš prep. "behind, around," 26, 35 (partly restored)
hšw n. "excess," 21
hšty n. "heart," 21, 23, 29, 75
hšq (1) vb. "to plunder," 40 (partly restored), (2) n. "plunder," 37, 48, 58, 60 (partly restored)
hš n. "limb," 35 (twice), 41
hš vb. "to rejoice," 47, 63 (twice), 69, 76
hšw.t-ntr n. "temple," 79
hšw vb. "to strike," 69
hšwš adj. "foul," 29
hšwš vb. "to rob, plunder," 18, 19
hm n. "servant," 63
hm n. "majesty," (in expression *hmf*), 15, 28, 32, 33, 38, 48, 60, 63
hm.t n. "wife, woman," 14, 36, 57
hms vb. "to sit, to occupy," 8, 19, 23
hmt n. "copper," 58
hnc prep. "together with," 13, 27, 31, 32 (twice), 35, 37, 46 (twice), 48 (twice, once restored), 59
hmnw n. "vessel," 36, 61
hmn n. "phallus," 46, 50 (twice, once restored), 51, 55 (twice)
hry adj. "upper," 49
hr prep. "upon, because," passim
hr n. "face," 12
Hr div. "Horus," 10, 69
hr.t n. "heaven," 47, 63
hr.t-tp n. "uraeus," 77
hry.t n. "terror," 5, 75
hš vb. "to praise," 68, 72
hšmn n. "bronze," 36
hšqš n. "ruler," 16 (restored), 25
hšri n. "span, horses," 38, 59
nt-hšri n. "chariotry," 11, 30, 32, 45
hšp vb. "to be peaceful, to rest," 75
hš n. "silver," 36, 61
hš vb. "to brighten," 31
h
h.t n. "fire," 62
hš n. "office," 79
hš(y.t) n. "slaughter," 66
hš vb. "to abandon," 8, 18, 26
hšw n. "evening," 31 (restored)
hšm vb. reflexive "to prostrate (oneself)," 4

- hss.t* n. "foreign land," 3, 13, 14, 18, 34, 46 (twice), 48, 49, 52
hy n. "heaven," 25
h^c vb. "to appear," 62
h^c.w n. "weaponry," 58
h^r vb. "to rage," 15
hwi vb. "to protect," 6, 40
hpr vb. "to become, happen," 9, 47, 63, 73, 74
hps̄ n. "scimitar," 2 (partly restored), 29, 69
hfty n. "enemy," 69
hfnw n. "hundreds of thousands," 12
hnr vb. "to scatter," 74
hr vb. "to fall," 38 (partially restored), 42, 67, 70
hr vb. "to say," 26
hrw n. "enemy," 13, 31, 38 (restored), 41, 43, 47 (partially restored), 56, 57, 59, 60, 65, 68
hsf vb. "to repel," 40
ht prep. "throughout," 22
ht n. "thing," 36, 46, 48, 59
Ht̄s loc. "Khatti," 24
h
h.t n. "belly, stomach," 21, 22, 23, 71, 75
hbr n. "container," 46
hn n. "tent," 62
m-hnw prep. "inside," 65
hr prep. "under," 3, 12, 25, 45, 48, 59, 63, 65, 68
hr-hst prep. "before," 30, 46
hr.t n. "necessity," 22
hr.t-ntr n. "necropolis," 78
hrd n. "child," 14
hsy adj. "wretched," 13, 30 (partly restored), 31, 34, 37
hdb vb. "to kill," 50, 51, 54
S
s.t n. "place, throne," 10, 44, 70
s3 n. "protection," 3
s3.t n. "daughter," 69
s3 n. "son," 13, 40, 70, 78
s3w vb. "to guard," 32
zì n. "man," 18 (restored), 23, 32, 50, 53 (twice), 55, 56, 57, 75
zì.t n. "woman," 57
sⁿh vb. "to enliven," 10, 17, 24, 78
s^rq vb. "to finish, to put an end to," 24 (partly restored)
sw third person masc. dependent pron. 4, 10, 26 (restored), 42, 43, 67 (twice), 68 (thrice)
sw n. "day," 31 (twice)
sws̄ vb. "to adore," 73
swr vb. "to drink," 61
swg3 adj. "foolish," 17
Swth div. "Seth," 69
swd3 vb. "to keep safe," 6
sb3y.t n. "instruction," 11 (restored)
sbì vb. "to conduct," 12
sbì n. "rebel," 43
sbty n. "rampart," 76
sp n. "occasion," 76
sp n. "remainder," 33
spy.t n. "remainder," 66
sp3.t n. "region, nome," 30, 47
spr n. "petitioner," 74
sphr vb. "to copy," 79

- sf.t* n. "sword," 58, 61
smb vb. "to kill," 36, 39, 43 (restored), 67 (partly restored), 70
smlḫ vb. "to cause to forget," 5
smsw adj. "eldest," 70
sn third person pl. suffix pron., 9, 15, passim
sn n. "sibling," 44, 50
snì vb. "to pass by," 41
snf n. "blood," 33 (partly restored)
snn̄y n. "chariot warrior," 38
snḫm n. "locust," 74
snd (1) n. "fear," 3, (2) vb. "to fear," 34
shn vb. "to deploy," 11
sh.t n. "field," 15, 19
sh.t n. "blow," 38
shr n. "plan, manner," 5, 23, 76
shs vb. "to hasten," 35, 37
ssf n. "ashes," 67 (written as *sf*)
sš n. "writing," 79
sš vb. "to move freely," 71 (partly restored)
sšm vb. "to guide," 11
Sšm-t3.wy loc. "He-who-guides-the-Two-Lands," 9
sšd n. "window of appearances," 48
sqb-ṣnḫ n. "captive," 57
sky n. "battle, battle-order," 12
sksk (1) vb. "to destroy," 27; (2) n. "destruction," 33
skm vb. "to complete," 19
st third person pl. dependent pron. 6, 38, 42, 65, 70, 71, 73, 77
st proclitic pron. 27, 42
stp adj. "choice," 11
stp-s3 n. "palace," 41
sd vb. "to break up," 44
sdm vb. "to hear," 16, 74, 76
sdr vb. "to sleep," 5, 75
sdd vb. "to relate," 40
š
š3 n. "pasture," 8
š3c prep. "until, to" 49, 75, 77
š3r n. "promise," 42
š3d.w n. "dunes," (uncertain) 20
šbn adj. "mixed," 60, 61 (twice)
šmw n. "Shomu," 13, 31 (twice)
šmsw n. "follower," 63
šrdn ethn. "Sherden," 1, 14, 52 (partly restored), 53
šsp vb. "to receive," 70
škrš ethn. "Shekelesh," 1, 14, 52, 53, 56
škn3 loc. "Shakana Canal," 7
šdì vb. "to seize," 29
šdì n. "artificial lake," 7
q
q3 n. "height," 28
q3ì vb. "to be high, exalted," 68
qmì vb. "to be valorous," 48
qn n. "valor," 69, 70
qr3c n. "shield," 27
qrmṭì n. "ashes," 62
qrnt n. "foreskin," 46, 50, 51, 52 (restored), 53 (restored), 54, 55 (twice)
Qhq ethn. "Qeheq," 57
k
k3 n. "cattle," 37
k3 n. "spirit," 25, 64, 77
k3 n. "food, provisions," 24, 75

- kʷ.t* n. "supplies," 36
ky n. "another," 44
kt-ḥt n. "others," 20, 74
kpw n. "severed hand," 46, 54 (compound *kpw-dr.t*), 56
kʃ n. "plunder," 12, 45, 74
km vb. "to bring to an end," 68
km.t loc. "Egypt," 19, 22, 27, 39, 40, 42, 67, 68, 70, 73
Kš loc. "Kush," 65
kt n. "vessel," 61
g
gʷ n. "lack," 9
Gb div. "Geb," 70
gmgm vb. "to break," 16
gm vb. "to find," 72
gnw.t n. "annals," 20, 39, 77
gr enclitic part., 77
grḥ n. "night," 41
grg vb. "to prepare," 30
t
tʷ n. "land," 1, 12, 22 (twice), 24, 25, 26, 27 (twice, once restored), 31, 37 (twice), 39, 44, 47 (twice), 48 (partly restored), 67, 69, 71, 73
tʷ fem. definite article, 25, 33
Tʷ-ḥw loc. "Farafra," 20
tʷ-mrḥ loc. "beloved land," 26 (restored), 40, 71, 78
tʷ-tm.w n. "people," 5
Tʷ-Tnn div. "Tatenen," 6
tʷš n. "border," 4, 15, 18
tw second person masc. sing. dependent pron. "you," 29
twʷ adj. "wretched," 23
tw.tw proclitic pron., "one," 10, 55
Twrš ethn. "Tursha," 1, 14, 53, 56
twt n. "statue," 28 (uncertain)
tp n. "head," 42
tp n. "the best," 14
tp n. "chief," 66 (restored)
tpḥw-ε n. "ancestors," 8
tpy-rʷ n. "pronouncement," 16
tm vb. "to be complete," 73
Tm div. "Atum," 6, 77
tnw adj. "each," 66
tr n. "time," 31, 75
thḥ vb. "to trespass, transgress," 4, 18, 68
t
tʷ vb. "to seize," 14, 18 (restored)
tʷw n. "breath," 5 (in phrase *tʷw n ʷnh*), 71
tʷpr n. "vessel," 61
tʷbw n. "vessel," 61
tʷb.ty n. "sandals," 35
Tmḥw ethn. "Tjemehu," 26, 44
tnḥ vb. "to distinguish," 21
thn vb. "to make contact," 28, 31
Tḥnw ethn. "Tjehenu," 13, 49
tzḥ vb. "to command, to marshal," 43
tz-pdwt n. "commander of the bowmen," 27, 45
d
dy adv. "here," 29
dm.t n. "knife, sword," 33, 38
dmḥ n. "town, fortress," 9, 47, 49, 65
dmd vb. "to unite," 65
dmd n. "total," 51, 57
dr vb. "to strike," 69
Ddy PN "Dedy," 1 (partly restored), 13

- d*
- d.t* n. "eternity," 79
- d3mw* n. "recruits," 72
- d^c* vb. "to storm," 8
- d^cr* vb. "to heed," 12
- dw.t* n. "evil," 6
- dw* n. "mountain," 20
- dr* prep. "since," 20, 72
(uncertain)
- dr* n. "entirety (in expression *r-draʃ*)" 47, 67, 69
- dr.t* n. "hand," 27, 32, 53 (twice),
54, 58, 65, 78
- drɔw* adj. "fortified," 76
- ds* n. "self," 73
- dd* vb. "to say," 10 (partly
restored), 27, 29 (twice), 41,
42 (twice), 72, 73 (twice)
- ddf.t* n. "crawling thing," 21
- Partial
words:
[...] *m3-b3-r3* loc. "[...]mabara," ln. 11

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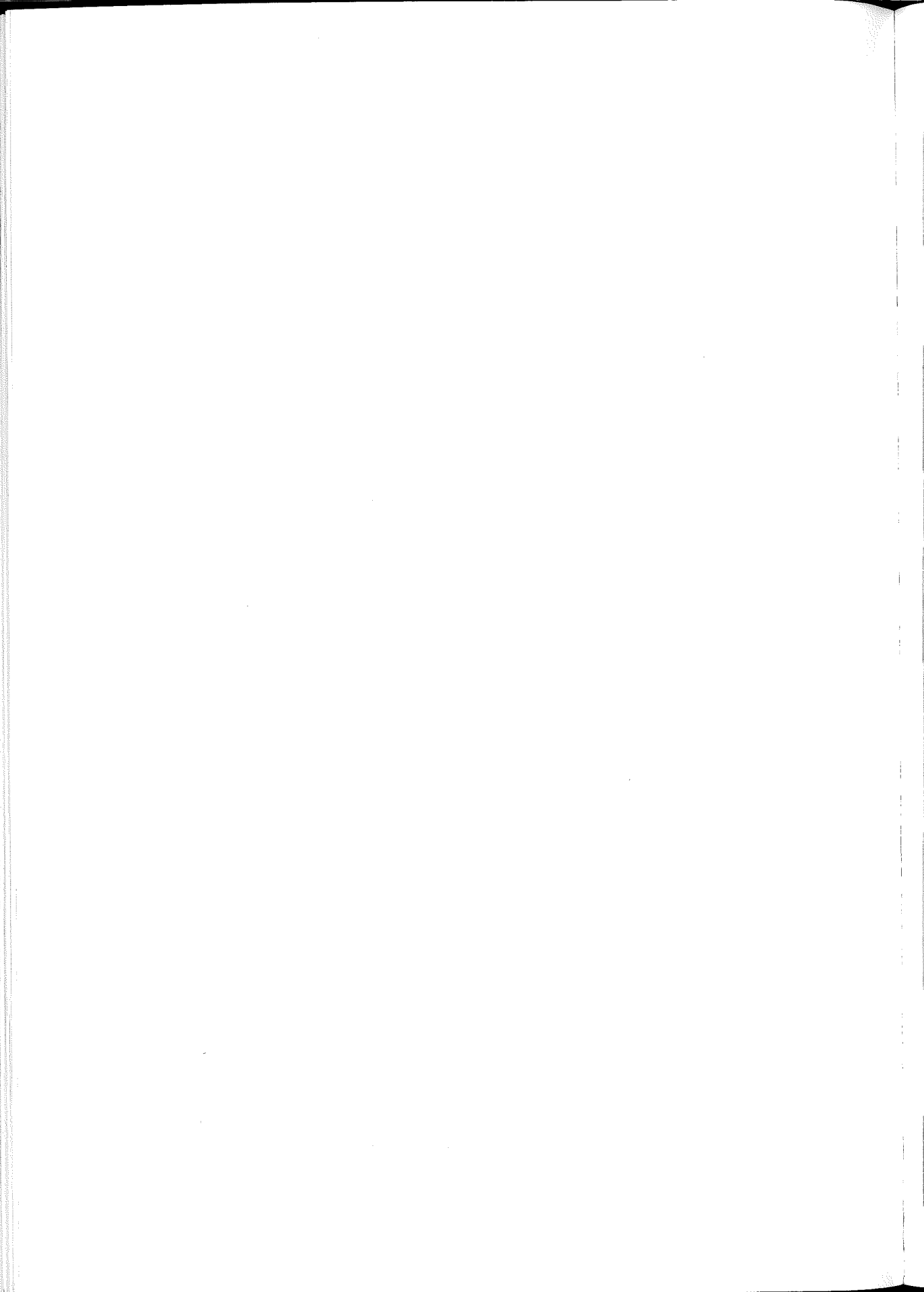
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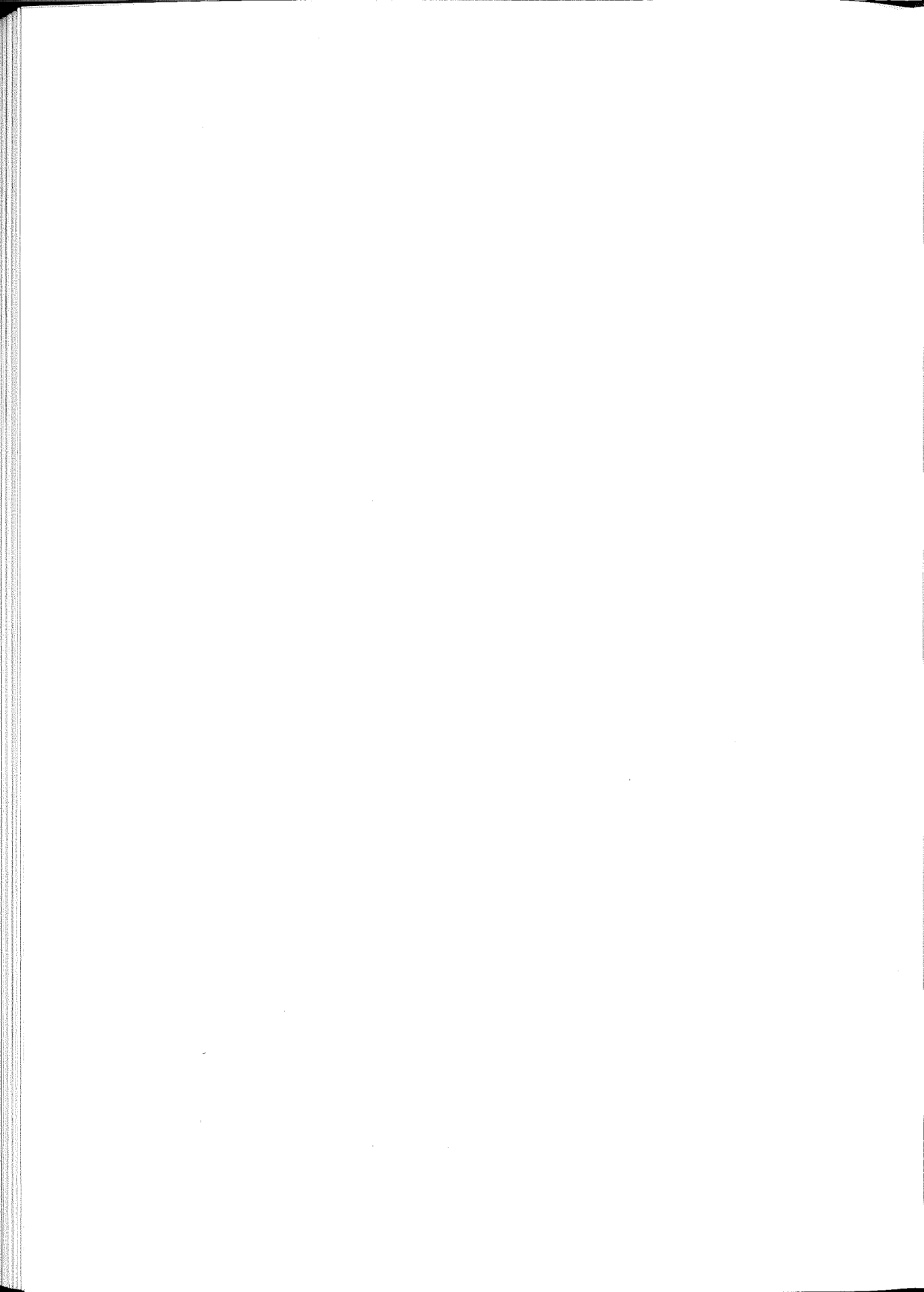
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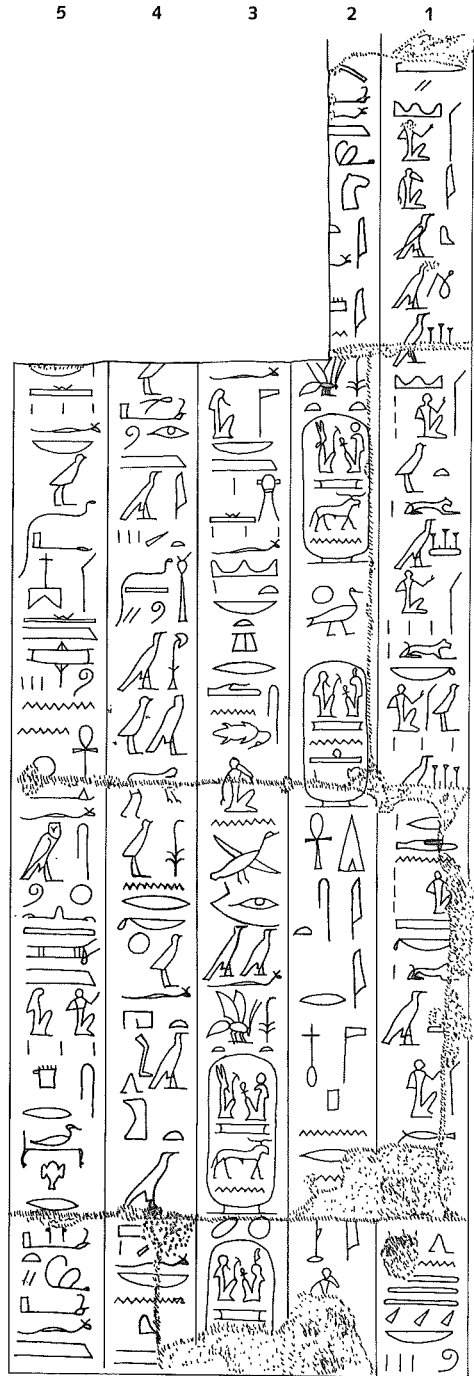


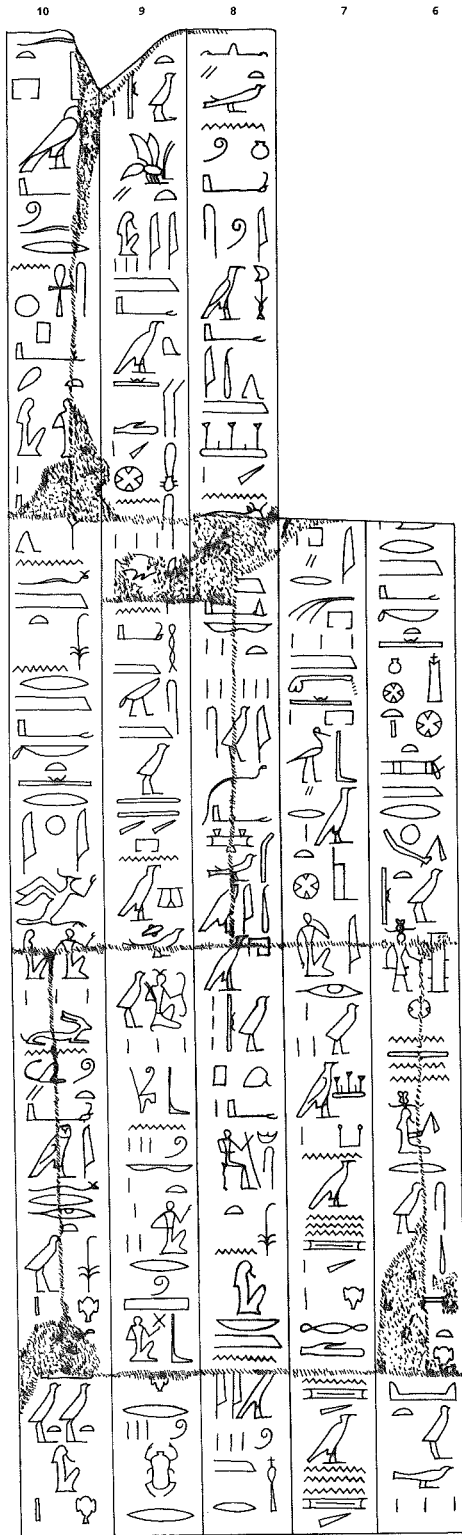
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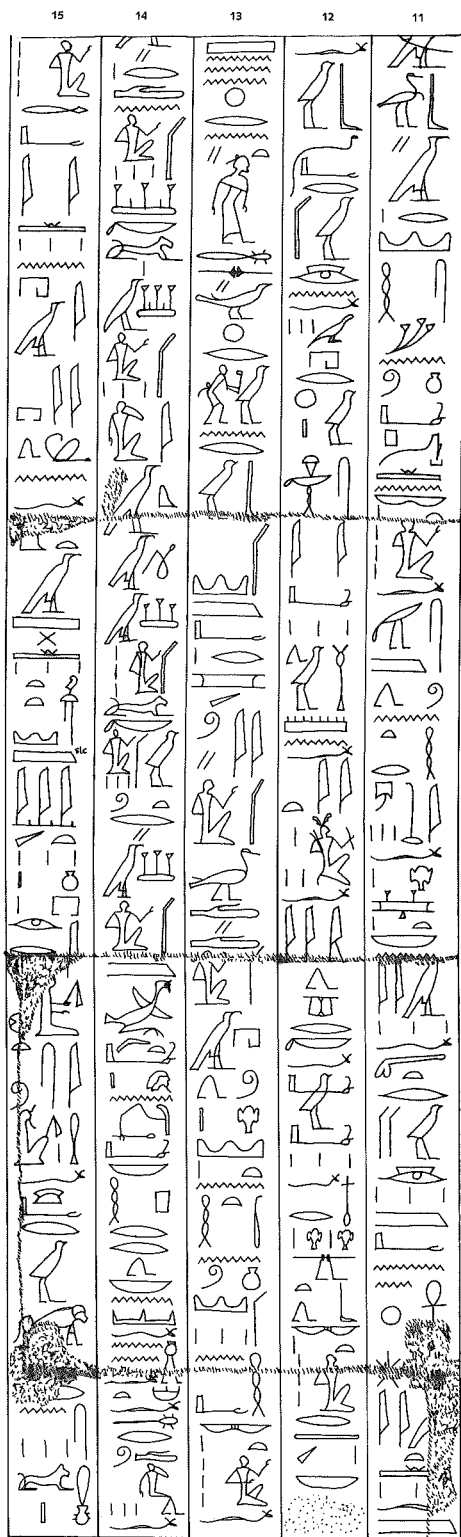
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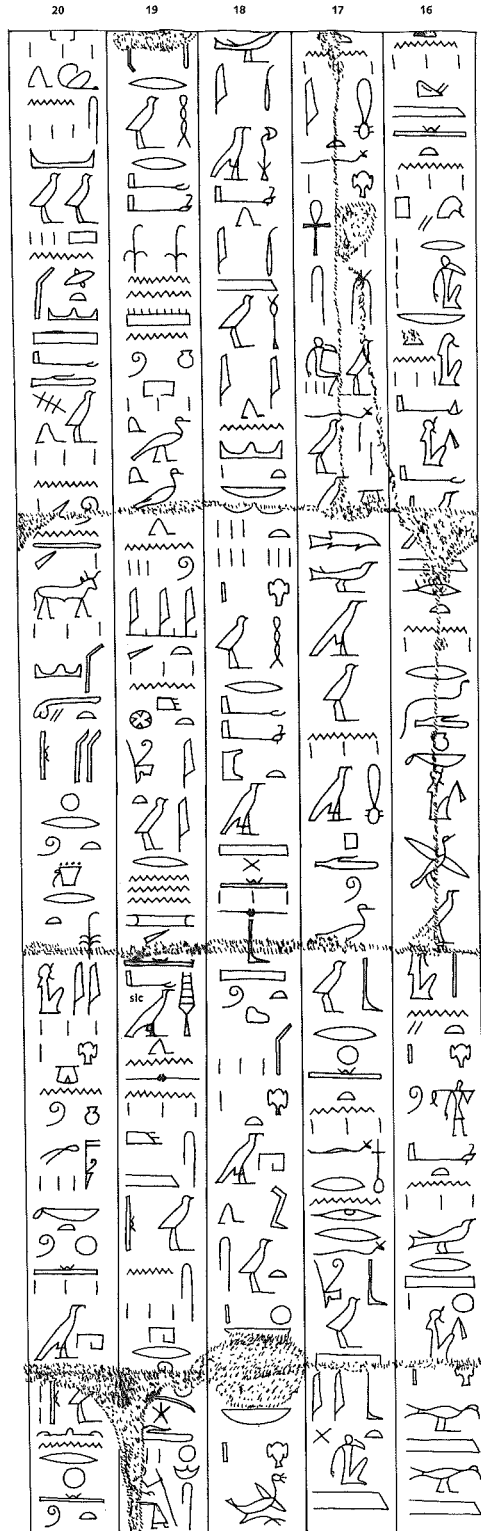
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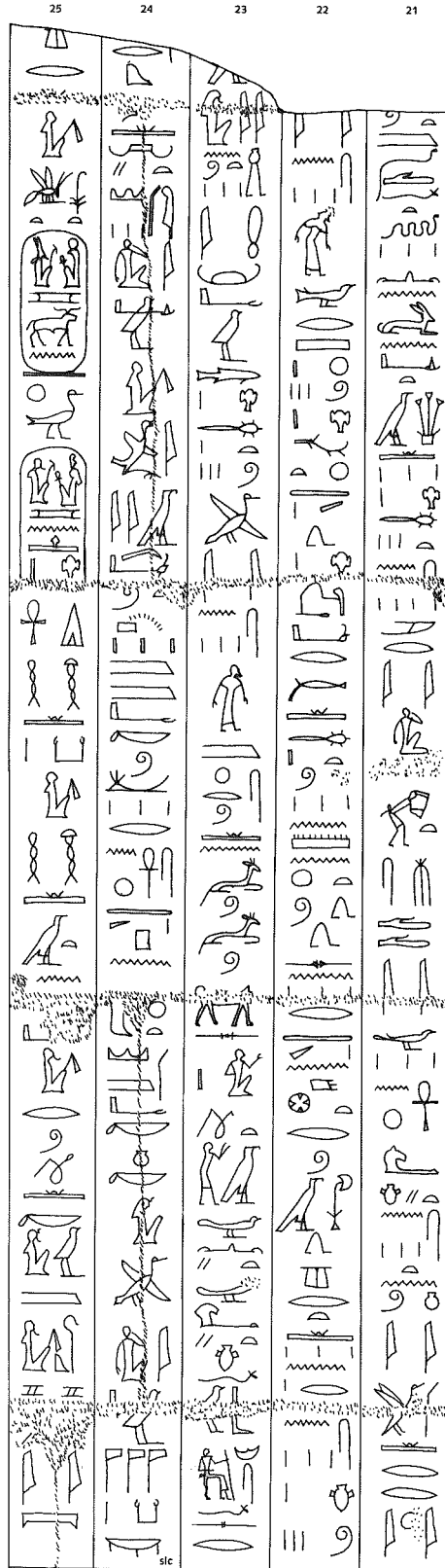


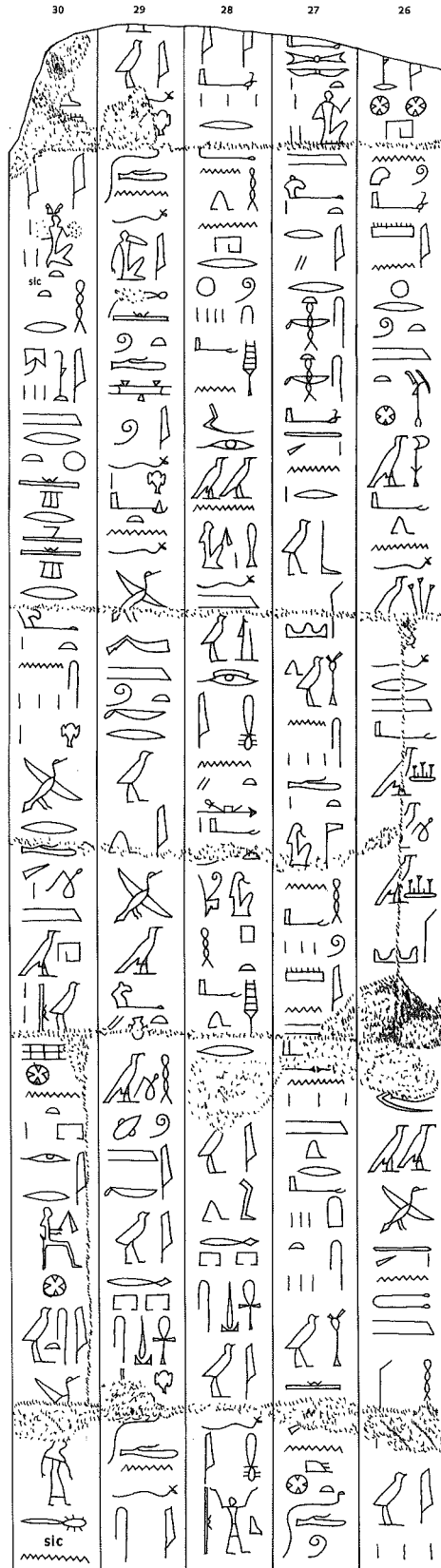


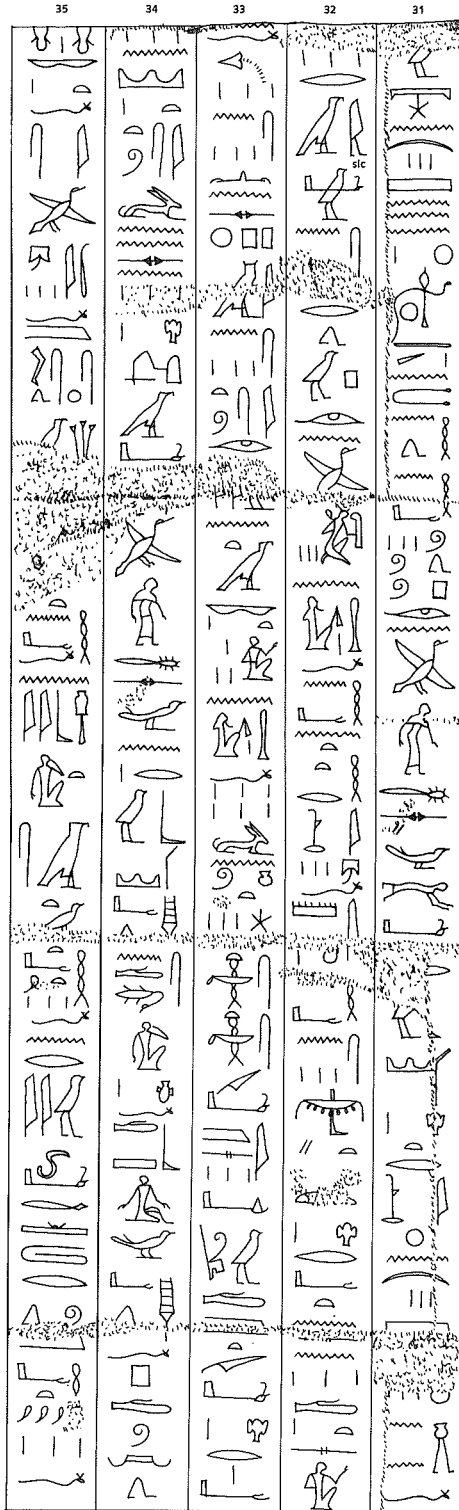


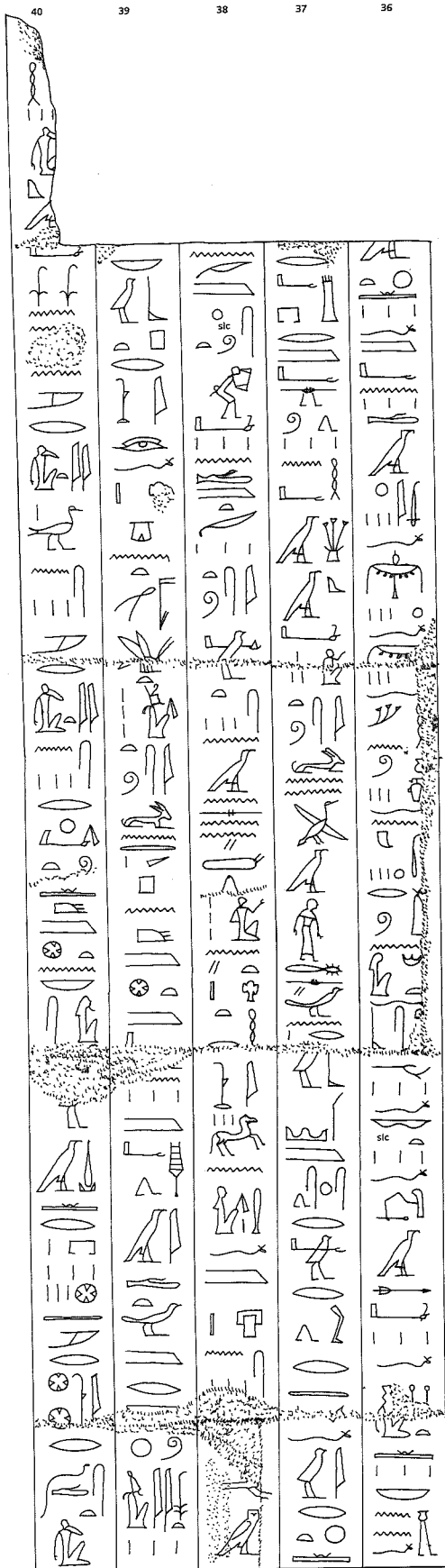
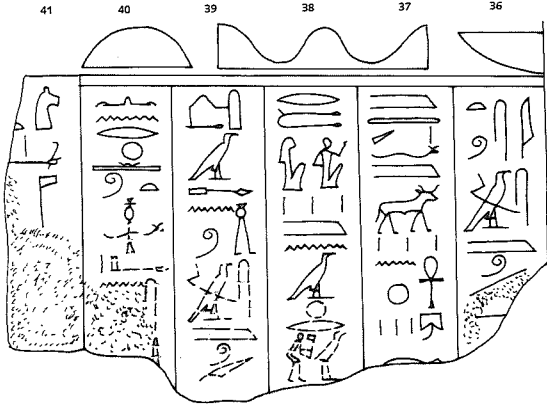


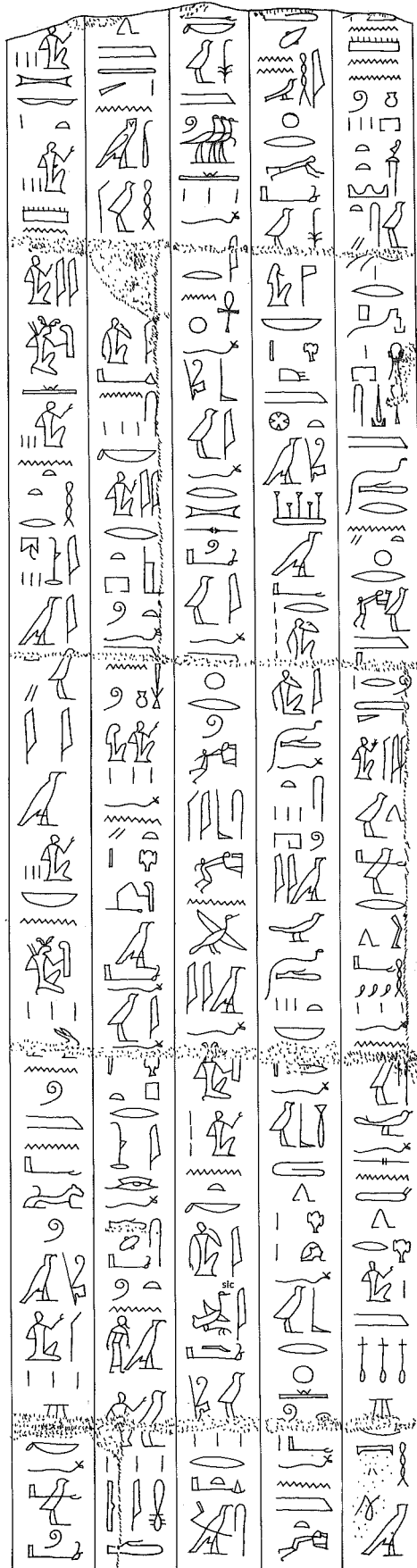


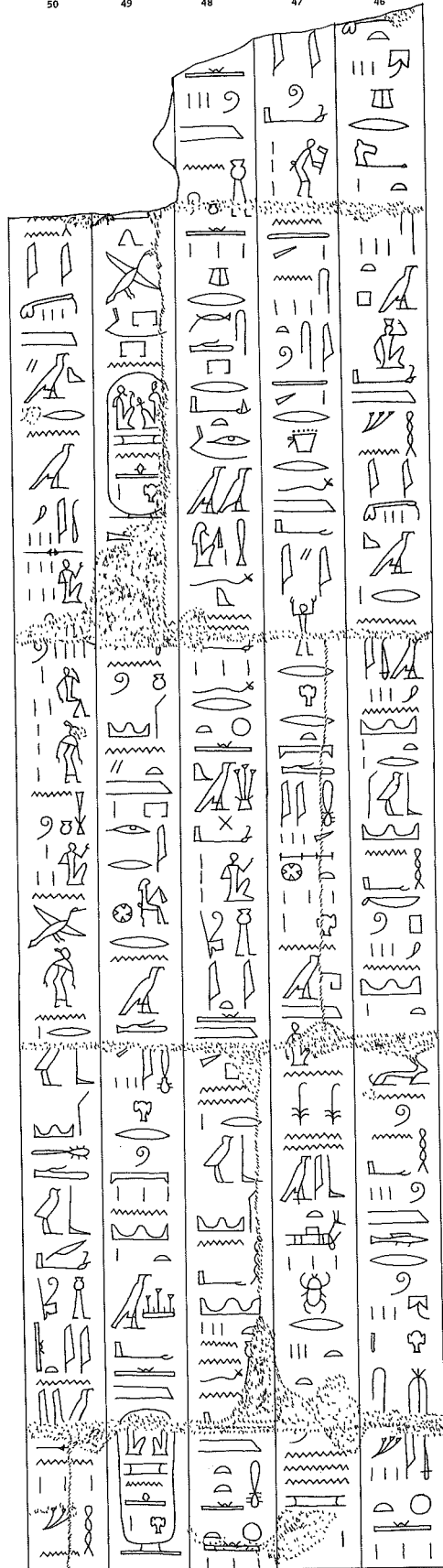


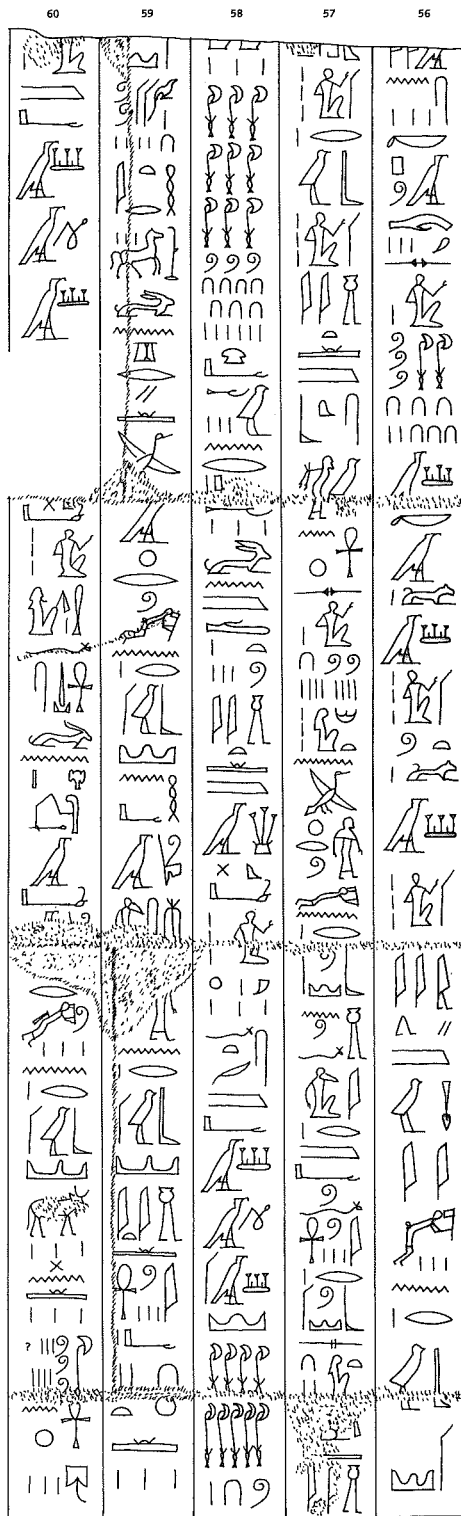


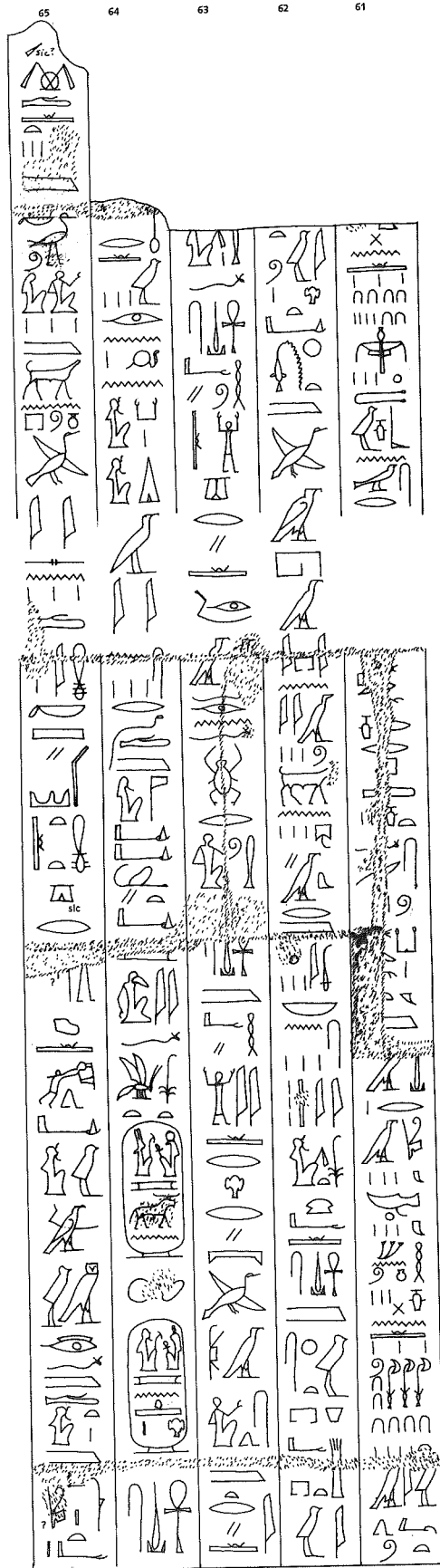


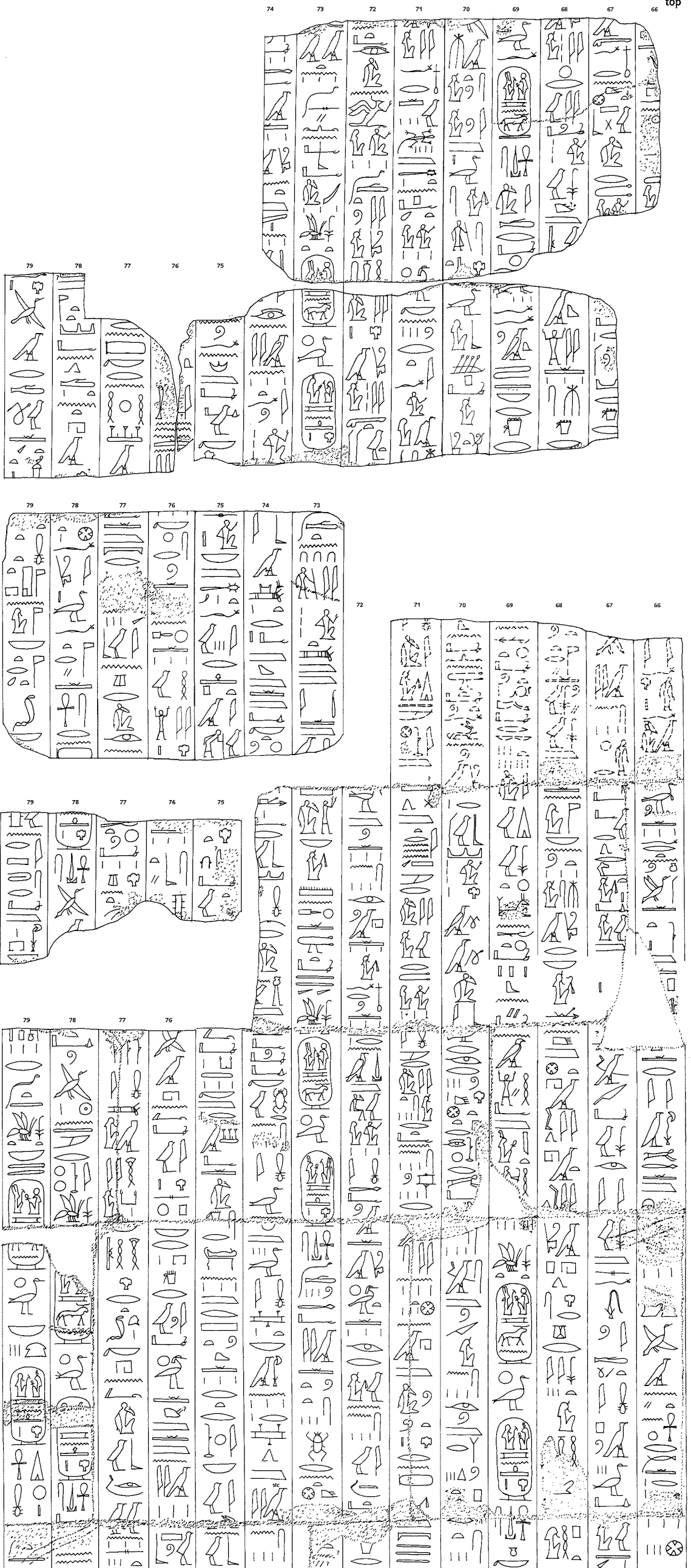














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