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THE NITOCRIS ADOPTION STELA

By RICARDO A. CAMINOS

THE ancient Egyptian record dealt with in the present paper is a large though incomplete granite stela of the Late Period preserved in the Cairo Museum. The stela is inscribed with a hieroglyphic text which essentially documents the formal entrance of Princess Nitocris into the college of priestesses at Karnak with a view to her eventual accession to the supreme office of God's Wife of Amūn. Princess Nitocris was a daughter of King Psammetichus I, the founder of the Twenty-sixth (Saite) Dynasty, at whose behest she took the veil, so to speak, in the ninth regnal year of that sovereign, which corresponds to 656 B.C.¹

Introductory remarks and bibliography

The stela under consideration was unearthed by Georges Legrain while engaged in clearing and strengthening the western end of the great temple-complex at Karnak in February 1897. It was found lying face down in the forecourt of the temple of Amūn near the triple shrine of Sethos II which, as is known, stands in the north-west corner of the said forecourt. The original position of the monument could not be determined by Legrain and still remains problematic.²

Transferred from the Karnak temple to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo at an unrecorded date, the stela was registered in 1903 in the Museum's *Journal d'entrée*, vol. vii, under No. 36327, and is now set up in the so-called Late Period Room on the ground floor of the Museum.³

The stela, which is of coarse-grained red granite,⁴ is incomplete. The upper part is broken off and missing. Although ragged and uneven the plane of fracture is nevertheless neat and distinct in that it has no flaked or worn borders but exhibits, on the contrary, a sharp, well-defined edge which is discernible in the photograph on pl. VII and still more clearly in the line drawing on pl. VIII.⁵ In its present mutilated condition the stela is a rectangular monolith, a large slab about 184 cm. high,⁶ 145·5 cm. wide, and varying in thickness from 83 to 85 cm. The volume of the block is therefore 2·25 cubic metres with an estimated weight of 6,007·5 kilogrammes. There is no way of ascertaining how much is lost at the top; there can be little doubt, however, that the

¹ Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 451, quoting Parker, *Mitt. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 15, 212.

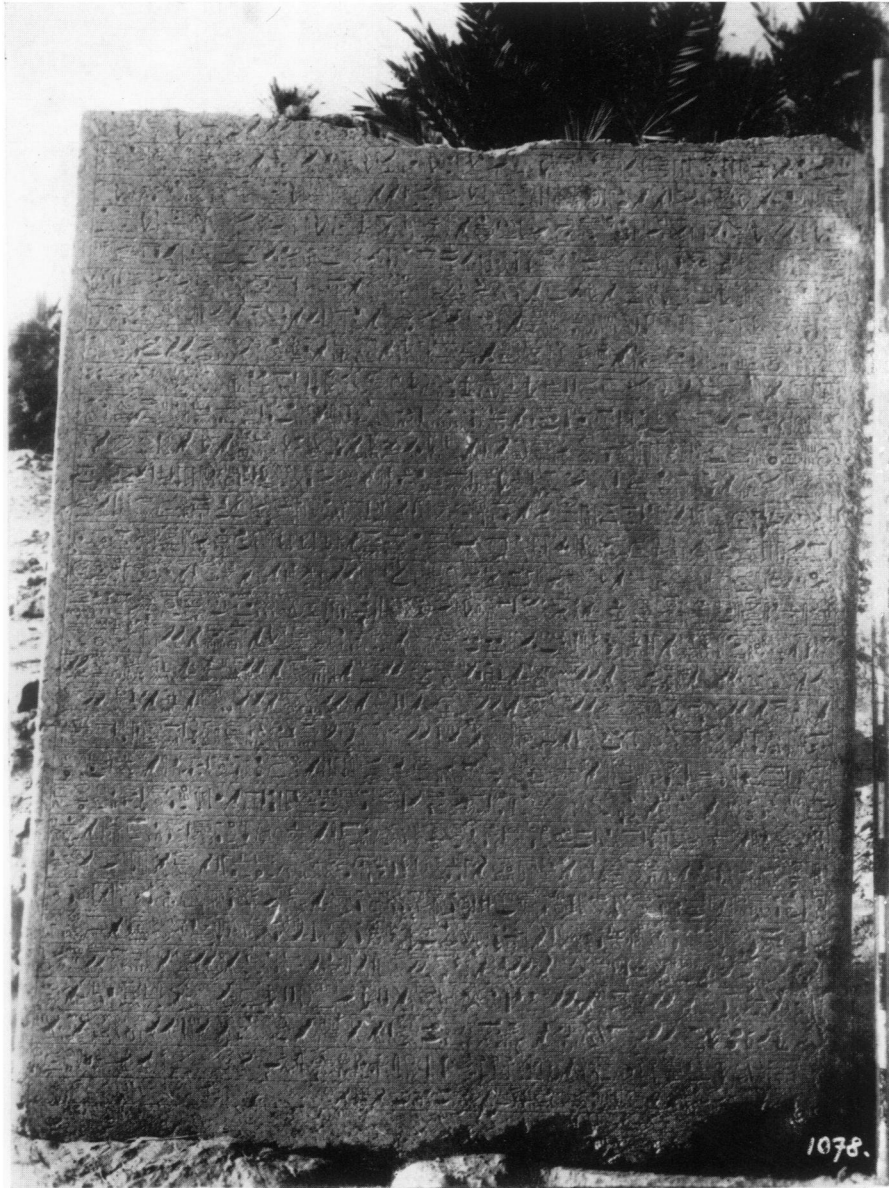
² Legrain, *ZAS* 35, 12; id., *Ann. Serv.* 7, 56; Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, II, 11; Bagnat, *Temple d'Amon-Ré*, 52 with n. 4.

³ Maspero, *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire*³, 205 (878).

⁴ On this stone see Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*⁴, 58.

⁵ Damage suffered by the stela after its discovery and affecting the uppermost preserved line of text is described below, p. 76 with n. 1.

⁶ The maximum height is on the left end: 188·4 cm. The minimum height is in the centre: 179·8 cm. The height on the right end is 184·6 cm.



THE NITOCRIS ADOPTION STELA
(photograph taken at Karnak shortly after its discovery)

surviving portion now kept in the Cairo Museum represents the main body and bulk of the original monument. As far as can be judged from what remains only the face or front of the slab was dressed smooth and carved upon, the sides and back having been left rough, from which it may be surmised that the stela was not a free standing memorial but formed a panel embedded in a wall. On the left side or thickness of the stela, some 105.5 cm. from the top and 83 cm. from the bottom, and much nearer the back than the face of the stone, there is a round cavity or hole about 10 cm. in diameter and 12.5 cm. deep. The function of this obviously man-made hole is obscure to me. Legrain, *ZÄS* 35, 16, described it as a bolt-hole and concluded from its position that the slab had been 'le montant gauche d'une porte monumentale'.

The inscribed field, as preserved, is framed around and divided horizontally by thin incised lines. The width of the inscribed field between the frame lines is 138.5 cm. at the top and 140.4 cm. at the bottom, with margins on either side which vary from 2.5 to 3.5 cm. The distance between the horizontal dividing lines is from 5.7 to 6 cm., but the last inscribed band, which is an addendum to redress an omission in the body of the text, is only 4.7 cm. high. The lowest framing-line is 8.5 cm. from the bottom of the stone. There is no trace of colour anywhere.

Thirty-one horizontal lines of hieroglyphic text are preserved; just how many lines of writing are missing at the top of the stone is unknown. The uppermost hieroglyphic line extant, marked no. 1 on pl. VIII, is badly damaged and for the most part lost, while the rest of the inscription (ll. 2-31) is in an excellent state of preservation. The text runs in the normal direction, from right to left. The hieroglyphs are cut in shallow sunk relief, entirely without interior detail. The style of the signs leaves much to be desired; they are often too thin and of ungainly appearance, the coarse grain of the stone having by no means helped the efforts of the rather indifferent craftsman who carved them. An average full-height \downarrow measures 4 cm., while a full-breadth \rightarrow averages 3.7 cm.

Georges Legrain made the text available to scholars for the first time in *ZÄS* 35 (1897), 16 ff. For an *editio princeps*, published with commendable dispatch, the Legrain copy must be deemed extremely good. It contains very few misreadings, its main shortcoming being the method chosen to reproduce the text, which is printed in run-on lines of type from the Theinhardt fount. Short excerpts from the text were included by Erman in his *Aegyptische Chrestomathie* (1904), 83 ff. Subsequently, in 1940, the text was reproduced in its entirety in Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, Textanhang 2. Both Erman's and Sander-Hansen's editions are hand-drawn, but in executing them the authors made no effort to achieve faithful reproductions of the original; these editions merely reproduce the Legrain copy and therefore possess no independent value. There seems to be no other publication of the text; apparently the Legrain edition has been the basis of all work and research done on this remarkable document since its discovery over sixty-seven years ago.

So far as I can determine there are only two translations of the stela in print. One, the earlier, is by Erman in *ZÄS* 35, 24 ff., published in 1897. The other is to be found in Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, §§ 935 ff., which appeared in 1906. Breasted's English version is avowedly largely based on Erman's German rendering.

Unanimously recognized as one of the most important records surviving from the Saite period, the stela has been repeatedly utilized and quoted. Scholars have on the whole adhered to the substance of the rendering and interpretation set forth six decades ago by Erman and Breasted, deviating therefrom on points of detail only. I have made full use of my predecessors' works; for practical reasons I have, however, abstained both from giving details of my borrowings and from indicating explicitly just where my hieroglyphic readings or my translation or my interpretation are at variance with the readings, translation, and interpretation of previous students of this text. Only very exceptionally have such discrepancies been pointed out in the commentary. Those interested in comparing my results are referred to the literature quoted at the foot of this page.¹

The present paper is primarily and essentially based on the direct, meticulous study of the original document in the Cairo Museum. The preparation of a natural-size facsimile copy, undertaken chiefly as a practical exercise in epigraphy and also as part of an inquiry into the palaeography of the Late Period, occupied me intermittently from 1959 to 1963; the resulting facsimile is shown on a 1:4 reduction on pls. VIII-X.²

¹ The following references are listed chronologically, ranging from 1897 to 1963: Legrain, *ZÄS* 35, 16 ff.; Erman, *ZÄS* 35, 24 ff.; Maspero, *Hist. anc. des peuples de l'Orient classique*, III, 493; Bénédite, *Sur un étui de tablette*, 9 ff.; Budge, *History of Egypt*, VI, 206; Maspero, *Ann. Serv.* 5, 88 ff.; Erman, *Aeg. Chrest.*, 39* ff.; Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, I, 260 n. 2; Petrie, *History of Egypt*, III, 337; Legrain, *Ann. Serv.* 7, 48 f., 56 f., 191 f.; Breasted, *Anc. Records*, IV, §§ 935-58; Buttles, *The Queens of Egypt*, 218 f.; Ranke, *ZÄS* 44, 51; Griffith, *Catalogue Dem. Pap. Rylands Library*, III, 72 ff., 78 n. 11, 89 n. 1; Breasted, *History of Egypt*², 567; Steindorff, *Abhand. Leipzig*, 1909, 888 f.; Legrain, *Rec. trav.* 36, 63; Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, IV, 83 n. 2, 84 n. 2; Kuentz, *BIFAO* 14, 254; Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 18, 30 ff.; Knight, *Nile and Jordan*, 315; Moret, *Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne*, 407 f.; Hall in *Cambridge Ancient History*, III, 286, 294, 307; Roeder, *Statuen ägyptischer Königinnen*, 8 (cf. id., *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 436); Moret, *L'Égypte pharaonique*, 547; Gauthier in *Précis de l'histoire d'Égypte*, I, 204; Erman, *Religion der Ägypter*, 319; Gauthier, *Les Nomes d'Égypte*, p. ix n. 2; Kees, *Nachr. Göttingen*, N.F. 1, 96 (cf. Sauneron and Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 50, 201); id., *ZÄS* 72, 47 f.; Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Anchnesneferibre*, 2; id., *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, 10 (Nos. 26, 27), 30, 43; Vandier, *Religion égyptienne*, 151; Zeissl, *Äthiopen und Assyrer in Ägypten*, 64, 66; Lichtheim, *JNES* 7, 164; Macadam, *Kawa*, I, Text, 119 f., 124 n. 6, 126, 128 (cf. Leclant and Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 51, 34 f.); Scharff and Moortgat, *Ägypten und Vorderasien im Altertum*, 182; Van Wijngaarden, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen*, N.R. 32, 19 f.; Yoyotte, *Rev. d'Ég.* 8, 232 (cf. Christophe, *Bull. Inst. d'Ég.* 35, 147 n. 1); Elgood, *Later Dynasties of Egypt*, 77 f.; Černý, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, 133; Christophe, *Cahiers d'histoire égyptienne*, Sér. iv, fasc. 3-4, 232 ff.; Kees, *Priestertum*, 266 f., 276 f., 281; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 15; Edwards, *BM Quart.* 19, 82; Christophe, *Bull. Inst. d'Ég.* 35, 144, 147 with n. 1 (cf. id., *BIFAO* 55, 78 n. 1; *Ann. Serv.* 54, 93 with n. 5); Barguet and Leclant, *Karnak-Nord*, IV, 127 f.; Otto, *Ägypten: Der Weg des Pharaonenreiches*², 233; Helck and Otto, *Kleines Wört. der Ägyptologie*, 125 f.; Seidl, *Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 29, 50, 67; Leclant, *Rev. hist. rel.* 151, 130; id., *JNES* 13, 160 n. 32; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 231 ff.; Kees, *Mitt. Inst. für Orientforschung* 6, 165 (cf. id., *ZÄS* 58, 99; Vandier, *Papyrus Jumilhac*, 25 n. 1, 58 n. 4); Drioton, *L'Égypte pharaonique*, 178 f.; Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, 15; Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 239, 264, 268, 275; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 354; Drioton and Vandier, *Égypte*⁴, 577 f.; Kees, *ZÄS* 87, 62; Goedicke, *Mitt. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 18, 48; Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 5; Vandier, *Papyrus Jumilhac*, 58 with nn. 3-4; 77 f. (cf. id., *Mitt. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 14, 212); Pirenne, *Histoire de la civilisation de l'Égypte ancienne*, III, 116.

² The work was carried out during three full weeks in July-Aug. 1959, a week in Nov. 1960, and a week in Oct. 1961. In Sept. 1962 a final collation was made, and outstanding problems were rechecked and resolved on Jan. 23, 1963. I wish to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Victor Antun Girgis and Mr. Gamal Salem, Chief Keeper and Keeper of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, for the liberal facilities of work afforded me, including the loan of a ladder, drawing-board, and spot-lights. Special thanks are also due to Mrs. Martha Hough, formerly of Pembroke College, and Mr. Carlos H. Caminos of Brown University, who painstakingly and accurately inked in my pencil facsimile. The photograph on pl. VII was taken at Karnak shortly after the

Translation

[THE BEGINNING OF THE TEXT IS LOST] . . . ‘. . . . (1) to play the sistrum [before] him in who perceives his goodness (?) and he knows him as one heavy of wrath (also). I have acted for him as should be done for my father. (2) I am his first-born son, made prosperous by the father of the gods, fulfilling the ritual requirements of the gods; (a son) whom he begat for himself in order to gratify his heart. I have given to him my daughter to be God’s Wife and have endowed her better than those who were before her. Surely he will be gratified with her worship and protect the land of (3) him who gave her to him. Now then, I have heard that a king’s daughter is there, (a daughter of) the Horus Lofty-of-diadems, the good god [Taharqa], justified, whom he gave to his sister to be her eldest daughter and who is there as Adorer of God. I will not do what in fact should not be done and expel an heir from his seat, seeing that I am a king who loves (4) truth—my special abomination is mendacity—and that I am) a son who has protected his father, taken the inheritance of Geb, and united the two portions as a youth. I will give her (my daughter) to her (Taharqa’s daughter) to be her eldest daughter just as she (Taharqa’s daughter) was made over to the sister of her father.’

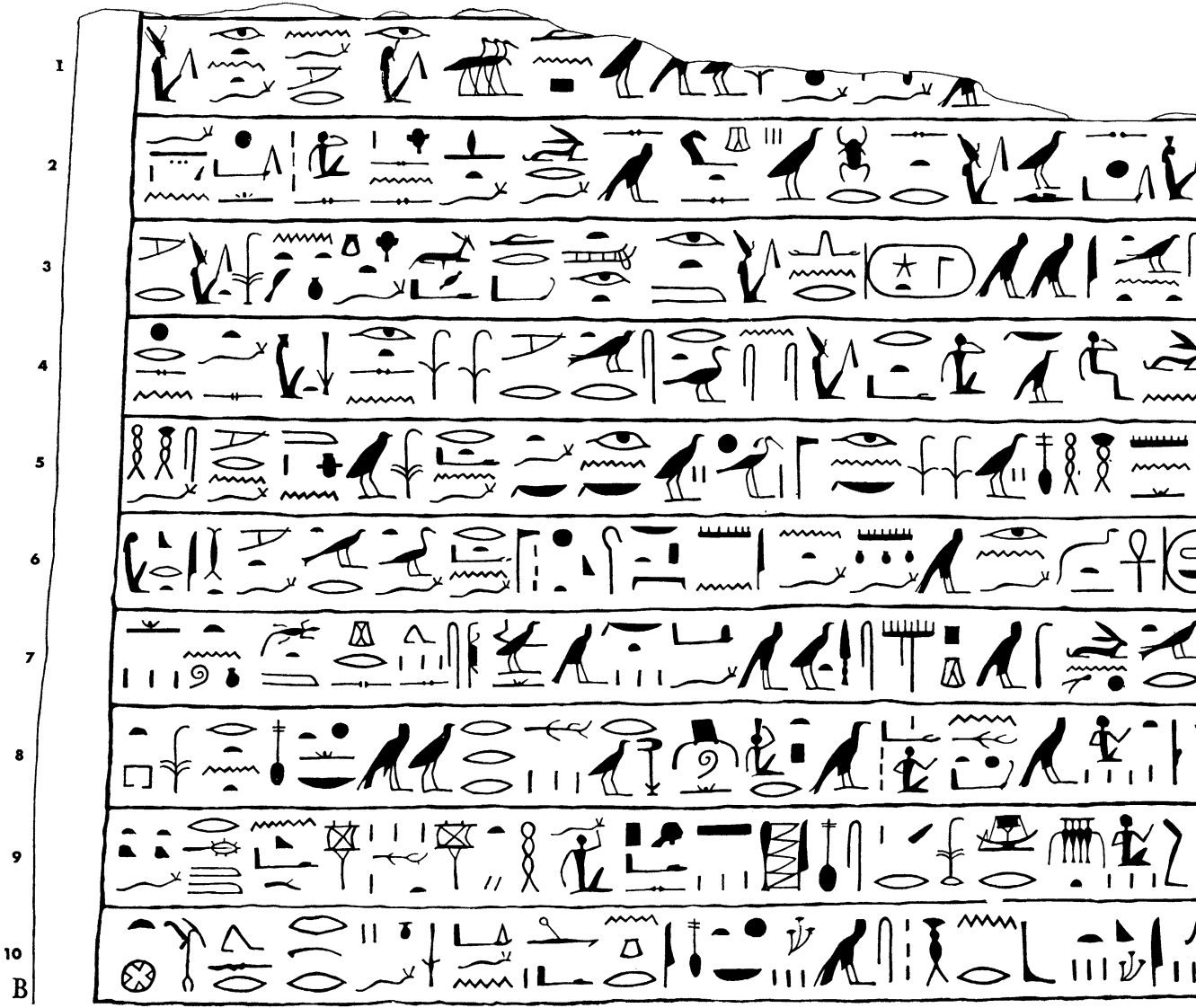
Then they (5) pressed the forehead to the ground and gave thanks to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Wahibrē, may he live for ever; and they said: ‘Firmly and enduringly till the end of eternity your every command will be firm and enduring. How good is this which God has done for you! How advantageous is what your father has done for you! He put (it) in the heart of him whom he loved that he should cause (6) his procreator to thrive upon earth, seeing that he wants your personality to be remembered and rejoices at men pronouncing your name: The Horus Great-of-heart and King of Upper and Lower Egypt Psammetichus, may he live for ever, he made as his monument for his father Amūn, lord of heaven, ruler of the Ennead, the giving to him of his beloved eldest daughter Nitocris, (7) her fair name being Shepenwepe, to be God’s Wife and play the sistrum to his fair face.’

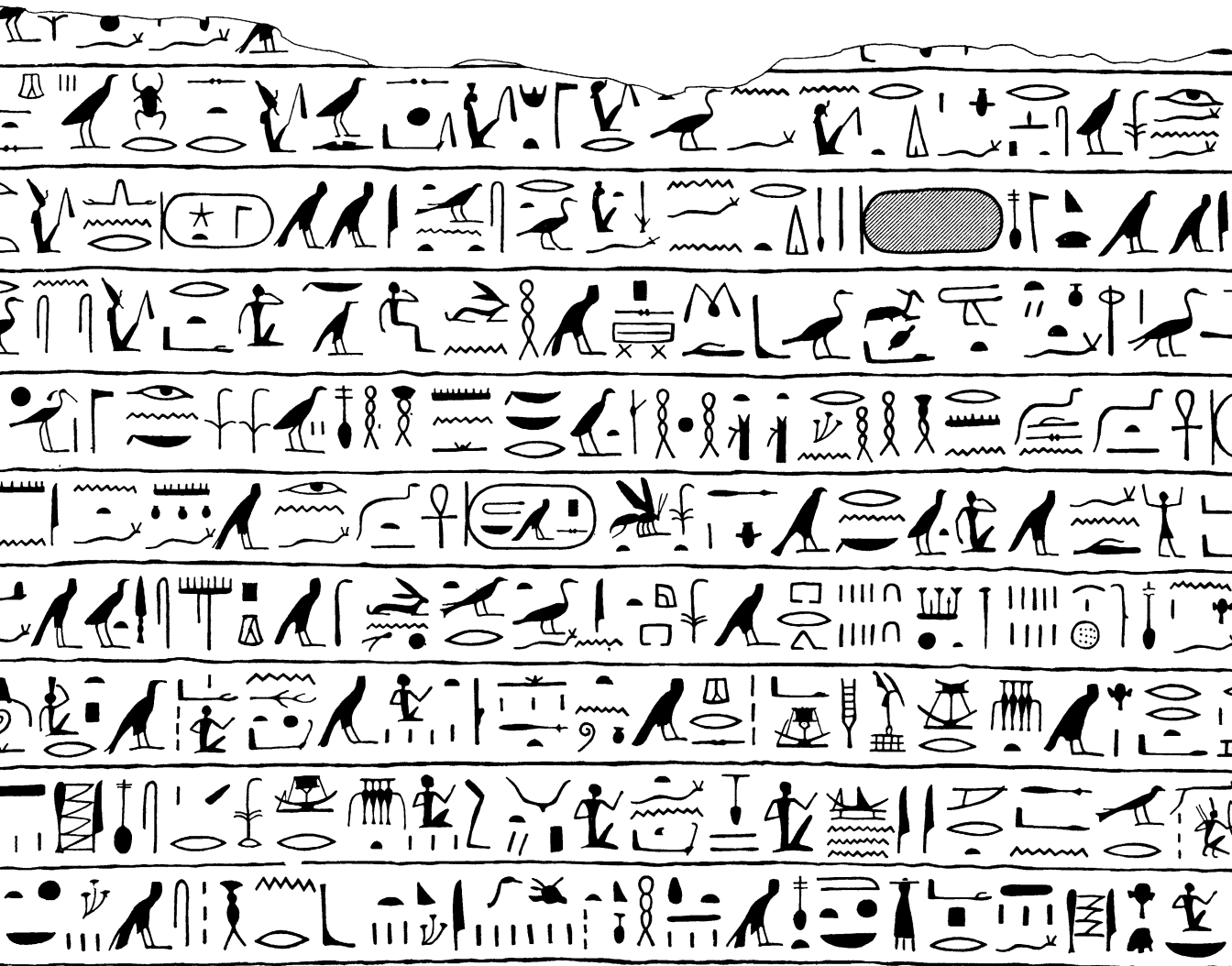
Regnal year 9, first month of Akhet, day 28: Departure from the king’s private apartments by his eldest daughter clad in fine linen and adorned with new turquoise. Her attendants about her were many in number, (8) while marshals cleared her way. They set forth happily to the quay in order to head southwards for the Theban nome. The ships about her were in great numbers, the crews consisted of mighty men, all (the ships) being laden up to their gunwales with every good thing of the palace. (9) The commander thereof was the sole friend, the nomarch of Naṛ-khant, generalissimo and chief of the harbour Samtowetefnakhte, messengers having sailed up-river to the South to arrange for provisions ahead of her. The sail of the mast was hoisted and the rising wind pricked his nostrils. (10) Her supplies were obtained from each nomarch who was in charge of his (own share of) provisions and was furnished with every good thing, namely bread, beer, oxen, fowl, vegetables, dates, herbs, and every good thing; and one would give (way) to the other until she reached Thebes.

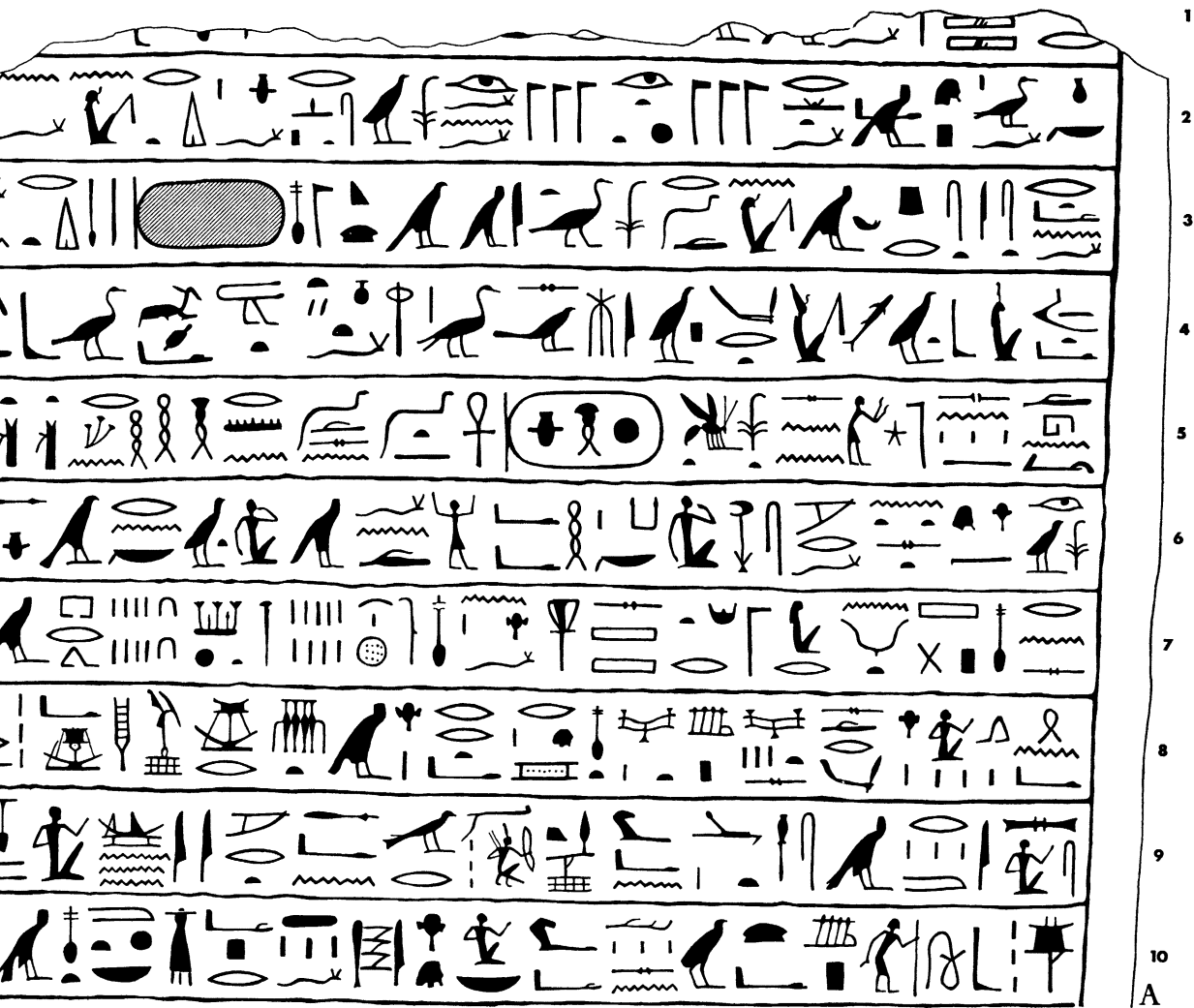
(11) Regnal year 9, second month of Akhet, day 14: Putting to land at the quay of the city of the gods, Thebes. Her front hawser was taken, and she found Thebes with throngs of men and crowds of women standing and jubilating to meet her, surrounded (12) by oxen, fowl, and abundant provisions, many in number. Then they said: ‘Let Nitocris, daughter of the King of Upper Egypt, come to the House of Amūn, that he may receive her and be pleased with her. Let Shepenwepe, daughter of the King of Lower Egypt, come to Ipet-sut, that the gods who are in it may praise her.’

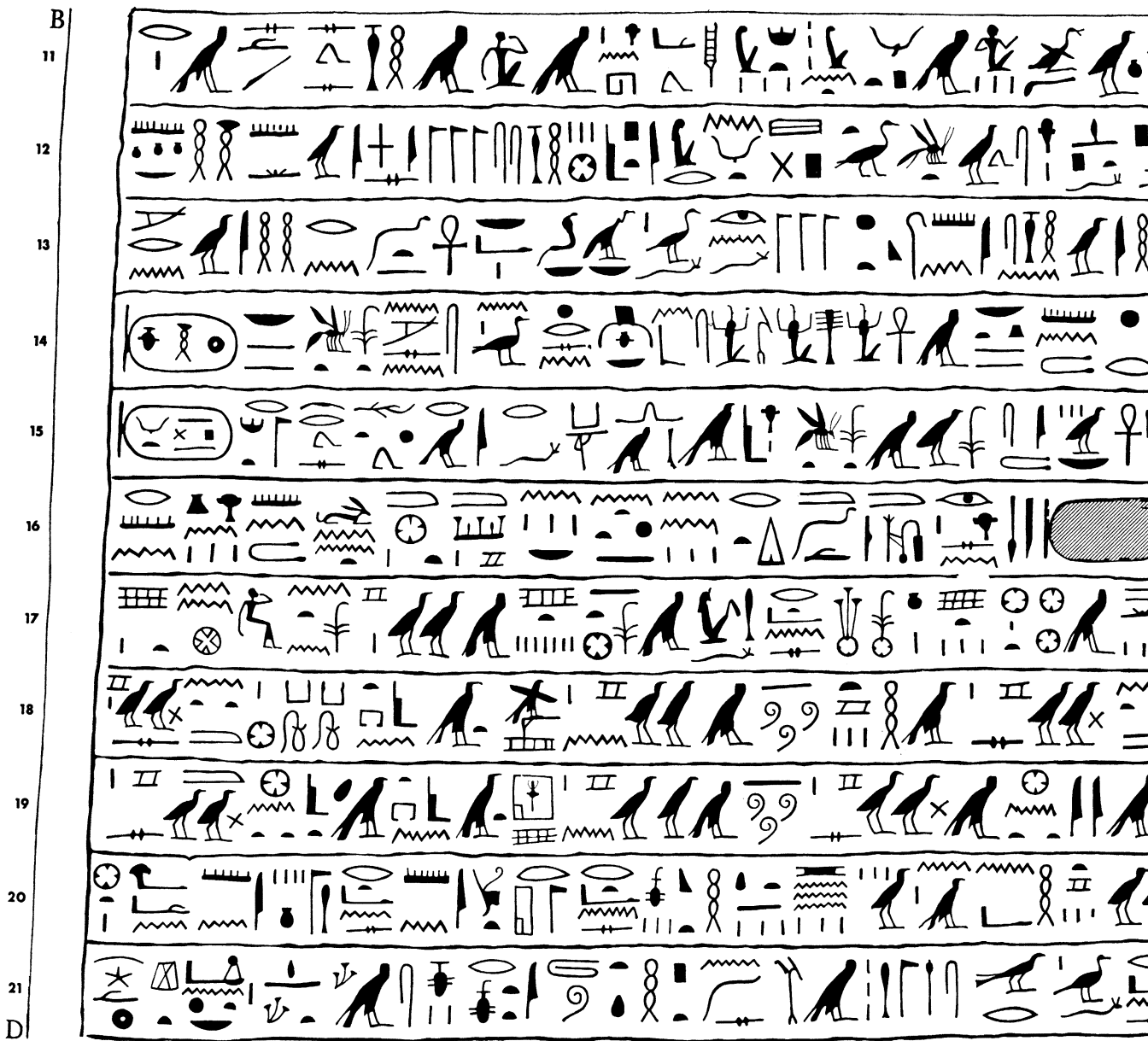
Firm and abiding is every monument of (13) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Psammetichus, may he live for ever unto eternity. Amūn, lord of heaven, king of the gods, welcomed what was made for him by his son the Horus Great-of-heart, may he live for ever unto eternity. Amūn, ruler of the

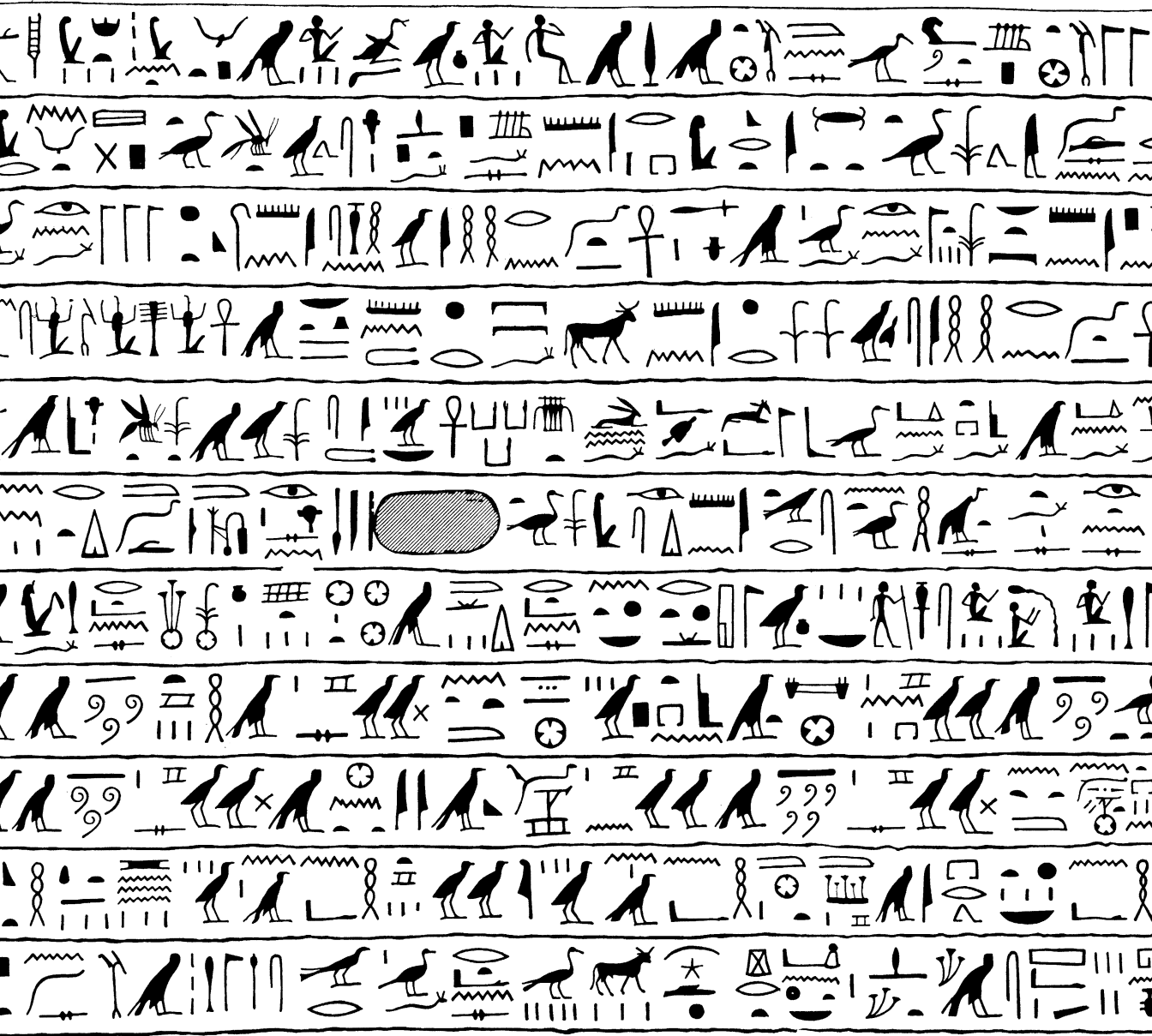
discovery of the stela; the print, here reproduced, is kept in the Griffith Institute, Oxford, and is published by the courtesy of Dr. R. L. B. Moss and the Centre of Documentation, Cairo, where the negative is lodged.

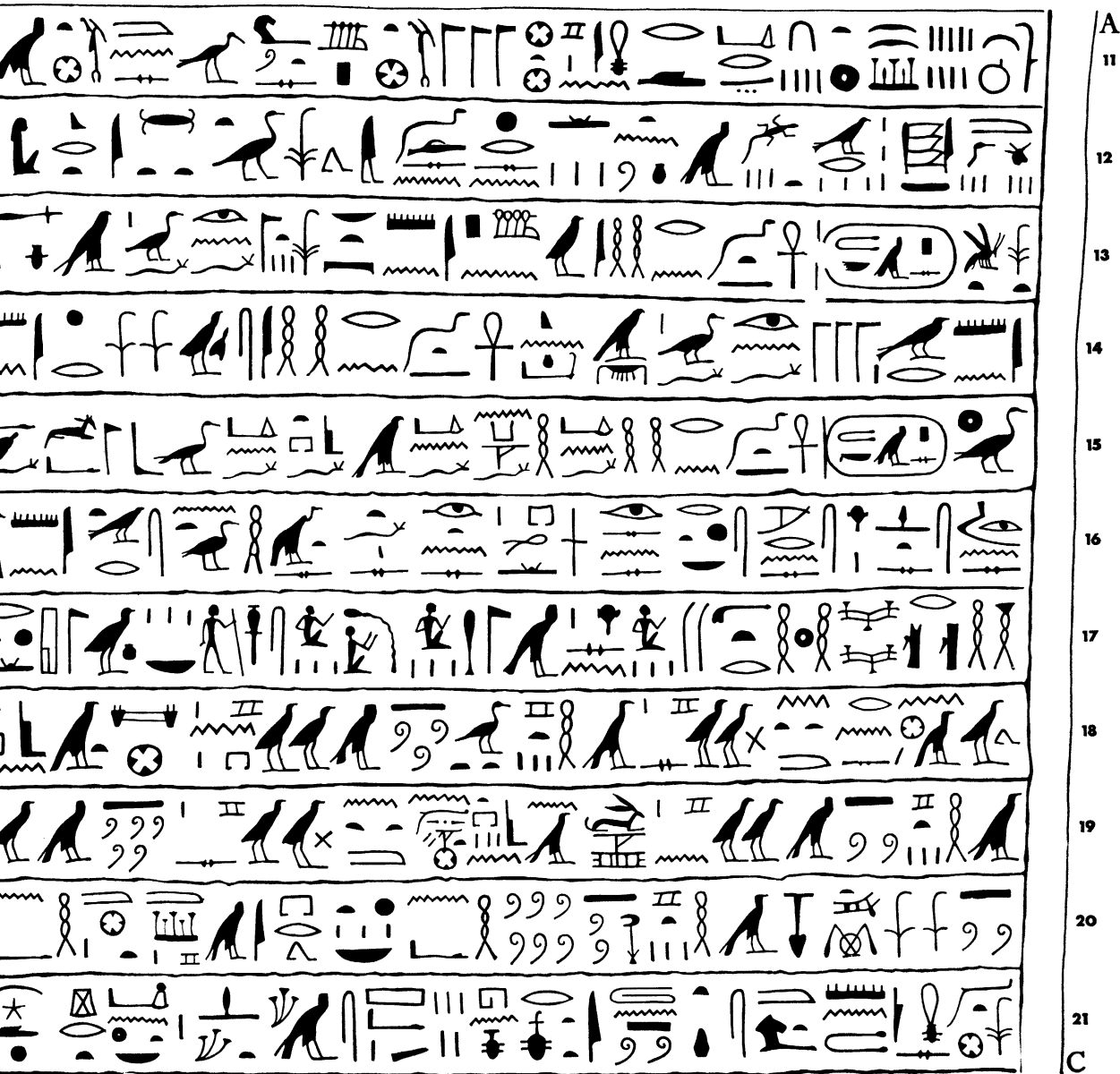


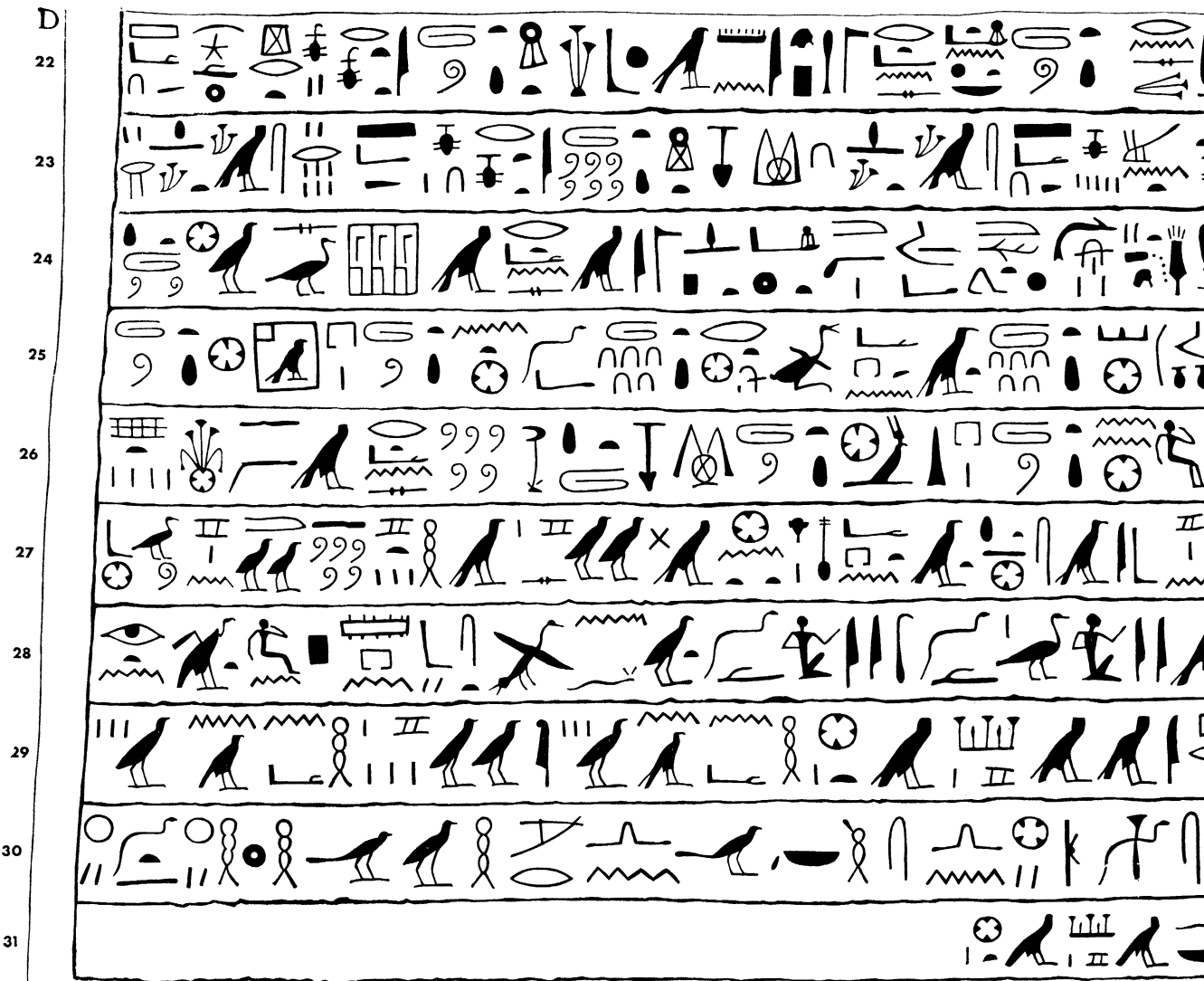


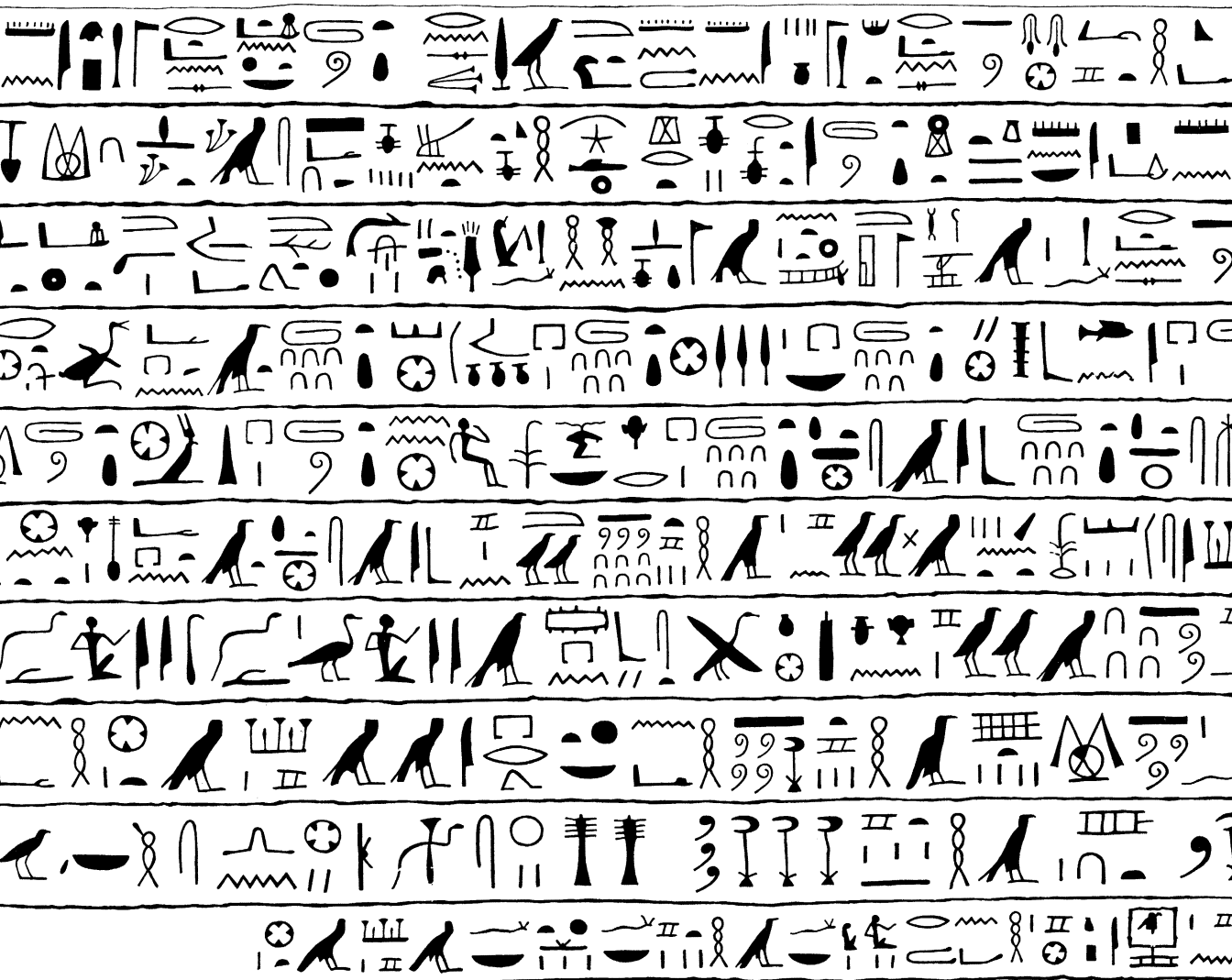








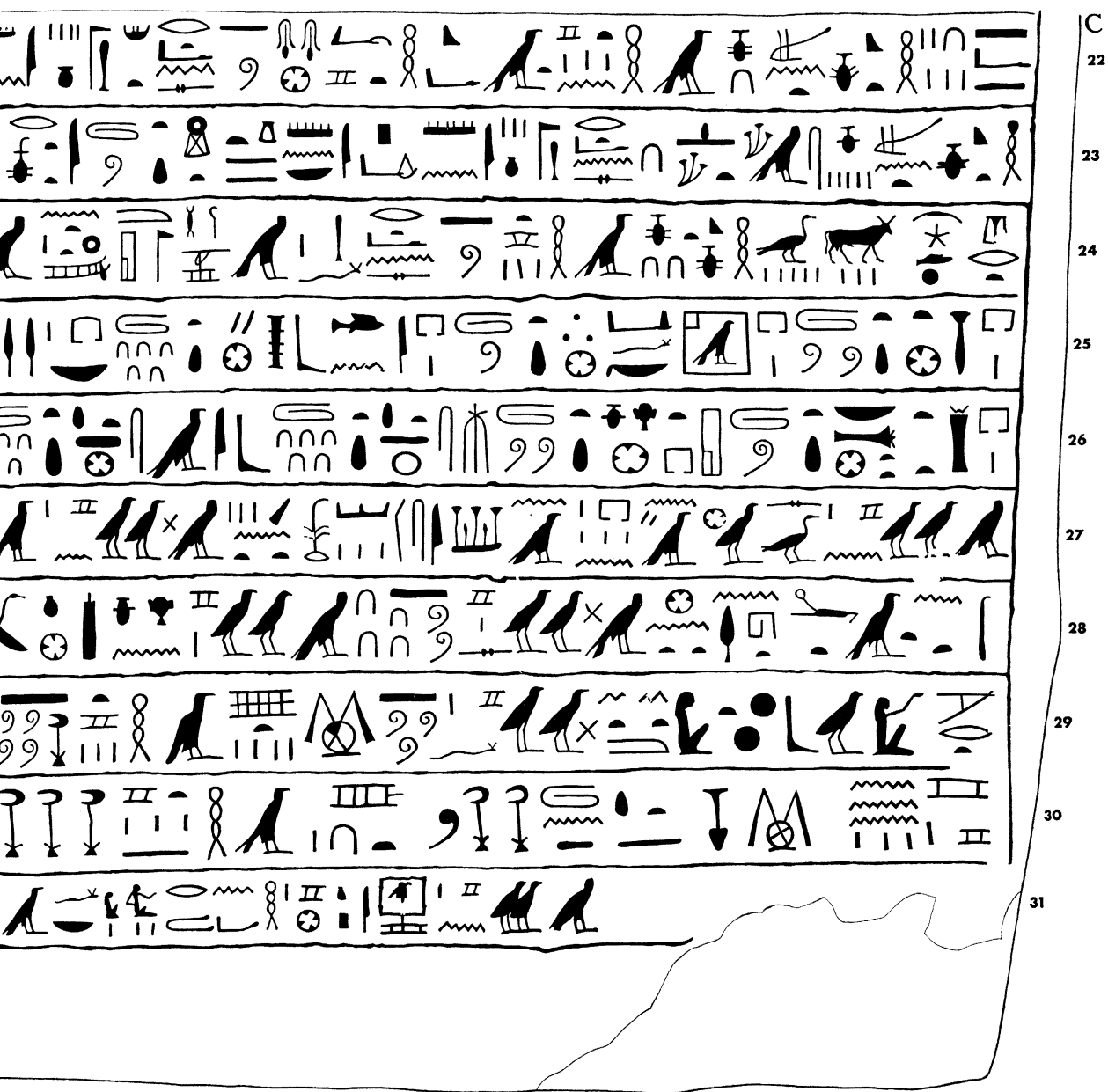




THE NITOCRIS ADOPTION STELA. Lines 22-31. Scale 1/16

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Ennead, praised what was made for him by his son the Two-Ladies Possessor-of-rank, may he live for ever unto eternity. (14) Amūn, the greatest of the gods, esteemed what was made for him by his son the Horus-of-Gold Mighty, may he live for ever unto eternity. The requital for this from Amūn, the bull of his two heavens, and from Mont, lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, is a million years of life, a million years of stability, and a million years of dominion; and all health and happiness from them is for their beloved son, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands Wahibrē, (15) son of Rē^c Psammetichus, may he live for ever unto eternity. <Amūn> has given to him <that he should be joyful> together with his soul, Horus has given to him his throne, and Geb has given to him his inheritance: he will be pre-eminent among the spirits of all the living; in fact he is the King of Upper and Lower Egypt upon the throne of Horus, a personality without equal (?).

Now after she came to the God's Wife Shepenwepe, (16) the latter saw her and was pleased with her; she loved her more than anything and made over to her the testament which her (Shepenwepe's) father and her mother had executed for her; and her eldest daughter Amonirdis, daughter of King Ta[harqa], justified, did likewise. Their bidding was done in writing, to wit: 'Herewith we give to you all our property in country and in town. You shall be established upon our throne firmly (17) and enduringly till the end of eternity.' Witnesses of their bidding were all the prophets, priests, and friends of the temple.

List of all the property given to her as a gift in towns and nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt. What His Majesty has given to her in seven nomes of Upper Egypt:

In the district of Ninsu: an estate called (18) Iwna which is in its territory, 300 arouras of field.

In the district of P-emdje: the place of Putowe which is in its territory, 300 arouras of field.

In the district of Dwen-anwy: the place of Kwkw which is in its territory, (19) 200 arouras of field.

In the district of Wen: the places of Nesmin which are in its territory, 500 arouras.

In the district of Edjō: Ḳay which is in its territory, 300 arouras.

In the district of Ḥe-sekhem: the place of Ḥarsiēse which is in its territory, (20) 200 arouras.

All this, sum-total: 1,800 arouras of field together with everything that comes forth thence in country and in town, together with their dry lands and their canals.

Bread and beer to be given to her destined to the temple of Amūn:

What the fourth prophet of Amūn, mayor of Nō (21) and governor of the entire Upper Egypt Montemḥat, healthy, has to give to her: 200 *deben* of bread, 5 *hin* of milk, 1 cake, and 1 bundle of herbs in the course of every day; monthly due: 3 oxen and 5 geese.

What his eldest son, the instructor of prophets in Thebes Nesptah has to give to her: 100 *deben* of bread, 2 *hin* of milk, and 1 bundle of herbs in the course of every day; monthly due: (22) 15 cakes, 10 *heben* of beer, and (the yield of) a 100-aroura field belonging to the nome of Tjebu.

What the wife of the fourth prophet of Amūn Montemḥat Udjarens, justified, has to give to her: 100 *deben* of bread in the course of every day.

What the first prophet of Amūn Ḥarkhēbe has to give to her: Daily due: 100 *deben* of bread and 2 *hin* of milk; monthly due: 10 cakes, (23) 5 *heben* of beer, and 10 bundles of herbs.

What the third prophet of Amūn Pdamennebnestowe has to give to her: Daily due: 100 *deben* of bread and 2 *hin* of milk; monthly due: 5 *heben* of beer, 10 cakes, and 10 bundles of herbs.

Sum total: Daily due: 600 *deben* of bread, 11 *hin* of milk, 2 $\frac{1}{6}$ cakes, and 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ bundles of herbs; (24) monthly due: 3 oxen, 5 geese, 20 *heben* of beer, and (the yield of) 100 arouras of field.

What His Majesty has to give to her from the temple of Rē^c-Atum in the Ḥek^cadje nome in the form

of divine offerings instituted by His Majesty: 3 *khar* of first-class emmer after it has been offered in the (divine) presence, every day, and the god has been satisfied therewith.

What has to be given to her from the temples of: Sais, 200 *deben* of bread; (25) Pi-Edjō, 200 *deben* of bread; Pi-Ḥathōr-mefke, 100 *deben* of bread; Pi-inbwey, 50 *deben* of bread; Pi-neb-imu, 50 *deben* of bread; Pi-manu, 50 *deben* of bread; T-ʿat-en-Tjar, 50 *deben* of bread; Tanis, 100 *deben* of bread; Pi-Ḥathōr, 100 *deben* of bread; (26) Pu-Bast-neb-Bast, 100 *deben* of bread; Hat-ḥrib, 200 *deben* of bread; Mest, 50 *deben* of bread; Baset, 50 *deben* of bread; Pi-Ḥershef-neb-Ninsu, 100 *deben* of bread; Pi-Sopd, 100 *deben* of bread.

Sum total: 1,500 *deben* of bread.

What has been given to her in four nomes of Lower Egypt:

(27) In the district of Sais: the estates of the southern bedouin which are in its territory, 360 arouras of field.

In the district of Baset: T-ʿat-en-Nofreḥor which is in its territory, 500 arouras of field.

In the district of Geb: (28) Tent-tawatnuhe which is in its territory, 240 arouras.

In the middle district of Ōn: The-wall-of-Ḥory-son-of-Djedty (also) called The-wall-of-Psherin-mut-borne-by-Mertwebkhe (29) which is in its territory, 300 arouras.


Total: 1,400 arouras of field (in) four nomes together with everything that comes forth hence in country and in town, together with their dry lands and their (30) canals.


Sum total: 2,100 *deben* of bread and 3,300 arouras of field (in) eleven nomes.


Enduring and flourishing! Without perishing nor decline eternally and for ever!

[ADDENDUM IN SMALLER CHARACTERS] (31) In the district of Tawēr: Inup together with all its people, all its fields, and all its property in country and in town.

Notes on the translation

LINE 1. Read *r sš n ḥr·f* as in l. 7; the broken sign after the suffix *·f* is . For the role of the God's Wives of Amūn as sistrum-players to the god see Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, 24; Christophe, *BIFAO* 55, 75 (*b* with n. 1); Leclant, *Mitt. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, 15, 170 with n. 7.

Following the long gap, traces and spacing suggest , 'who perceives his goodness'; see, for instance, *Urk.* IV, 347, 14; Cairo 34010, 1 and 34011, 1 (Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, 1, 19 and 22 respectively); and further examples in the Belegstellen to *Wb.* II, 8, 3–5; 260, 2–4; also the much earlier parallels quoted by Goedicke, *Mitt. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, 17, 75 f.; Fischer, *ZÄS* 90, 39 (8).

Read , 'he knows him', following Legrain's copy confirmed by the early photograph on pl. VII, where all five characters are intact and clearly discernible.¹ Obviously the top edge was slightly injured after the discovery of the stela; the break affected the words *rh·fsw* leaving them in the mutilated condition shown in the drawing on pl. VIII.

Wdn bꜣw, 'heavy of wrath' or else 'oppressive of might'. For *bꜣw* as a noun often denoting not just 'might' but angry, punitive, or even vindictive power, especially of a god, cf. Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 122 (§ 192, *i*); 'wrath' is the *mot juste* and was suggested by Gardiner, *JEA* 48, 62 n. 3, apropos of a text which speaks of

¹ This is quite plain on the original print on file at the Griffith Institute; it may not be so distinct on the half-tone reproduction on pl. VII.

'heavy (*dns*) wrath'. Note also *bꜣw·k wdnw*, 'your wrath (*or* might) is heavy', Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42, 25 (iii, 2). As a purely conjectural explanation I would suggest that *bꜣw* was antithetic to the partially restored *nfr(w)*, those two contrasting qualities belonging to one and the same god, namely Amūn, the point being that somebody or perhaps anybody who saw and was aware of Amūn's benignity also knew him to be capable of wrath.

Mi irt n (i)t·i, 'as should be done for my father'. The speaker is King Psammetichus I; by 'my father' he probably means the god Amūn. Σ is a late writing of the preposition *mi*; so too in l. 4 below; cf. *Wb.* II, 37. For the passive participle *irt* expressing moral obligation see Gunn, *Studies in Eg. Syntax*, 103 (top), and Lefebvre, *Grammaire*², § 436, quoting *mi irt n ntr*, 'as should be done for a god', *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 147. Contrast *mi ir n Rꜥ*, 'as was done for Rē', apparently with no nuance of compulsion, in Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42, 17 (i, 27).

LINE 2. *Sꜣf tpy*, 'his first-born son', to be distinguished from *sꜣ smsw* or *sꜣ wr*, 'eldest son' alive at a given time; cf. Sethe, *Die Thronwirren unter den Nachfolgern Königs Thutmosis' I.*, 59 n. 1; *Wb.* III, 409, 2–3.

Ht ntrw, lit. 'things of the gods'; a phrase denoting all that was required by the gods for their daily nourishment, clothing, and so on; cf. Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*, 19.

Irꜣ nꜣ sw, lit. 'he made him for himself', the god Amūn begat Psammetichus I for himself for the gratification of his heart.

Rdi·n·i, 'I have given'; note the presumably otiose *t* which often occurs with finite forms of *rdi* in this inscription and elsewhere in late texts; cf. Caminos, *JEA* 38, 52 (12). A *šdm·nꜣ* is here followed by the *šdm·f* 1st sing. of *šꜣwd*, 'to enrich, endow'; cf. the alternation of those forms at the beginning of l. 16 and note thereon on p. 86 below.

LINES 2–3. *Tꜣ n rdi nꜣ st*, 'the land of him who gave her to him', with the sing. masc. active participle of *rdi* showing an intrusive *t* (see immediately preceding note). As an alternative, the *t* may be regarded as the feminine ending of the infinitive *rdit*: 'he will protect the land because of the giving of her to him'; for *n* of cause before an infinitive cf. *n rwd*, 'because of being strong', Boeser, *Beschreibung der aegypt. Sammlung in Leiden*, II, pl. 10, lunette l. 9; and for the objective pronoun *st* after *nꜣ* cf. Lefebvre, *Grammaire*², § 398 *in fine*. For this second possibility see l. 6 of the present stela: 'he made as his monument for his father Amūn *rdit nꜣ sꜣ stꜣ f* the giving to him of his daughter'.

LINE 3. The Horus *Kꜣ hꜣ(w)* is the Ethiopian king Taharqa (cf. Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, IV, 32 ff.), whose nomen-cartouche is thoroughly erased here, as it is also in l. 16 below and elsewhere; the defacing was done by order of Psammetichus II, cf. Yoyotte, *Rev. d'Ég.* 8, 215 ff. and particularly p. 223, no. 55. That the late king Taharqa should be called *ntr nfr*, 'the good god', is noteworthy, for this epithet is applied in the vast majority of cases to the living Pharaoh and only in exceptional circumstances to the dead king.¹

Taharqa's daughter referred to here is Amonirdis (II); see below p. 86 note on l. 16.




Taharqa's sister alluded to here is the God's Wife Shepenwepe explicitly mentioned



¹ *Wb.* II, 361, 10–14; Peet, *JEA* 10, 126 n. 2; Gardiner, *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia*, 52; Stock, *Ntr nfr = der gute Gott?*, 10 f.

in l. 15 below; cf. Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, 10 (No. 26); Kees, *Priestertum*, 266 f.; Macadam, *Kawa*, I, Text, 121 (cf. Leclant and Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 51, 35); Yoyotte, *Rev. d'Ég.* 8, 219 n. 1. To distinguish her from her namesakes this Shepenwepe, who was God's Wife and sister of Taharqa, is usually referred to in our literature as Shepenwepe (II); cf. Leclant, *Enquêtes sur les sacerdoces et les sanctuaires égyptiens*, 3 n. 3.

Sst·s wrt, 'her eldest daughter', periphrastically for 'her adopted daughter'; cf. Malinine, *GLECS* 6, 13 f.

Dwst ntr, 'Adorer of God'; it might be thought on the strength of this passage that this was the title of the heiress apparent of the *hmt ntr* or God's Wife;¹ such was not the case, however, as shown by other sources; cf. Zeissl, *Äthiopien und Assyrer in Ägypten*, 67. The Adorer of God alluded to here is Amonirdis (II), who is mentioned by name in l. 16 below.

 'I will not do what in fact should not be done'. I am indebted to Goedicke for the important observation that  here is a writing of  in the well-attested Late Egyptian construction *nm iw·f(r) sdm* var. *bn iw·f(r) sdm*. For the archetype see the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty Paḥeri example quoted by Gunn, *Studies in Eg. Syntax*, 173 (E), also Gardiner, *Grammar*³, § 468, 4. For strictly Late Egyptian instances of this construction with occasional omission of the preposition *r*, as is the case in the sentence under discussion, see Erman, *Neuaegyptische Grammatik*², § 752; further examples with ellipsis of the preposition *r* are to be found in Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies*, II, pls. 32 (12, 8), 33 (13, 25); Černý, *JEA* 27, 109 (23) = *ZÄS* 90, 14; id., *Late Ramesside Letters*, 7, 13; 73, 1. For *m* introducing the object of *irt* cf. Caminos, *JEA* 38, 54 n. 35 *in fine*; Jacquet-Gordon, *JEA* 46, 18 (l. 3); and particularly a valuable note by James, *Heḳanakhte Papers*, 104, 6, brought to my attention by Goedicke. James points out the emphasizing function of *m* when used in this particular fashion and suggests rendering it 'in fact', a rendering which I have adopted here; the restrictive 'only' proposed by Baer, *JAOs* 83, 5 n. 26, is inapplicable to the present context. For *tm* here cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*³, §§ 371 and 397; Lefebvre, *Grammaire*², §§ 436 and 456; the masculine expressing the meaning of the neuter is good Late Egyptian usage, as is the infinitive *irt* after *tm* instead of the earlier negatival complement.

LINE 4. *Rd̄i·i n·s s*, 'I will give her to her'; Psammetichus I states here his intention to give his daughter Nitocris to the Adorer of God Amonirdis, Taharqa's daughter. *Rd̄i* shows an apparently intrusive *t* for which see remark on l. 2 above. Note the second *s*:  is the writing of the 3rd sing. fem. dependent pronoun in Old Egyptian, but it may be doubted that it occurs here as a deliberate archaism; in any case, the dependent pronoun which is the object of *rd̄i* stands for Psammetichus I's daughter Nitocris. On the other hand, the suffix  here governed by the datival *n* refers back to Taharqa's daughter Amonirdis, who is the other woman spoken of in this part of the king's speech. It is Amonirdis who is the subject of Psammetichus I's remarks when he says: 'I have heard that a king's daughter is there, a daughter of the Horus Lofty-of-diadems, the good god Taharqa, justified, whom he gave to his sister to be her eldest

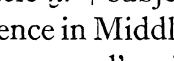
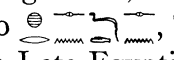
¹ Thus, for instance, Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, 15.

daughter and who is there as Adorer of God.' Observe that he is talking of Taharqa's daughter, the reference to Taharqa's sister being only incidental and required to explain the former's position. Taharqa's daughter Amonirdis is heiress to the office of God's Wife, and Psammetichus I goes on speaking of her when he promises not to exclude her from the succession. It is again Taharqa's daughter Amonirdis whom Psammetichus I has in mind when at the end of his speech he explains the sort of adoption which he envisages for his own daughter Nitocris, who is to be made over as eldest daughter to Amonirdis 'just as she (Amonirdis) was made over to the sister (Shepenwepe) of her father (Taharqa)'. In other words: Psammetichus I, who is aware of just how Taharqa's daughter Amonirdis stands in the college of priestesses of Amūn in Thebes, declares that she shall remain undisturbed as Adorer of God and adopted daughter of Shepenwepe, the then God's Wife, and shall thus continue to be the heiress apparent to this exalted religious office. What he is then resolved to do is to give over his own daughter Nitocris to Amonirdis, so that Nitocris, by becoming her adopted child, should be second in the succession, bide her time, and in due course attain to the position of God's Wife at Karnak. It is clearly to Amonirdis, not to Shepenwepe, that Nitocris is made over as eldest daughter or heiress by King Psammetichus I. That is the gist of the adoption commemorated in the stela, as I see it. Erman and Breasted took, however, another view, as did, explicitly or implicitly, the scholars who subsequently wrote on the subject.¹ They understood *n-s*, 'to her', to mean to Taharqa's sister Shepenwepe, thus giving a very different meaning to the main point of the entire document. According to them Psammetichus I's move made Nitocris direct heir and successor to Shepenwepe and put Amonirdis out of court; on the strength of which scholars have written at length, and in my opinion gratuitously, about the ousting and supplanting of Taharqa's daughter and the Saite king's policy of expansion southward and his tactics to do away with the last remnants of Ethiopic influence and authority in Upper Egypt. Such views and inferences are wholly unwarranted, it seems to me. Not only does the present text indicate clearly enough, at least as Egyptian texts go, that Psammetichus I appointed his daughter successor to Amonirdis, but moreover the circumstances of the case admit of no other interpretation. Here is a king making public profession of his uprightness, love of justice, and sense of duty, and giving formal assurance that he will not deprive the already appointed heiress to the highest religious office in the land of her succession. How could he then announce, literally in the same breath, a course of action to bring about the eviction of the said heiress in favour of his own daughter? Above all, it is unthinkable that such flagrant contradiction, a breach of promise so crude and damning to the king's character, should have been allowed to go on permanent record in a document which is wholly and unreservedly encomiastic about him. Surely the stela says nothing of the kind.

For \sum as a writing of the preposition *mi* see above, p. 77 note on l. 1. *Mi nn* is a variant of *mi nw*, 'like this, even as', the latter form being much commoner; cf. the Belegstellen to *Wb.* II, 37, 10, also Allen, *Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents*, 98,

¹ See the literature quoted on p. 73 n. 1 above.






n. v. Here *mi nn* is followed by *šdm·f* passive voice of *iri*, this verb being used with the meaning ‘to dedicate, make over’; cf. *Wb.* I, 111 (xiv).

LINES 4–5. Particle *hr* + subject in anticipatory emphasis + *šdm·f* has always future or prospective reference in Middle Egyptian,¹ hence , ‘then they pressed the forehead to the ground’, with past meaning, is perhaps to be taken as a Late-Egyptianism; so too , ‘then they said’, in l. 12. I know of no example of just this construction in Late Egyptian, but the closely related *hr šdm·f*, which in Middle Egyptian is future or at all events prospective in meaning, is found in Late Egyptian introducing a new incident or merely marking a new sentence in past narrative; cf. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, 51, 7; Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies*, II, pl. 3, 6, ll. 5 and 11; Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 18, 3. The 3rd person plural pronoun refers back to the king’s listeners, no doubt courtiers, officials, and priests mentioned in the now missing top of the stela.

LINE 5. *Wšh-ib-Rc*, ‘Waḥibrēc’, King Psammetichus I’s prenomen; cf. Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, IV, 66 ff.

R mn wšh r hntt nhḥ may be taken as a composite adverbial phrase placed at the beginning of the sentence which it qualifies in accordance with Gardiner, *Grammar*³, §§ 148, 5 and 208; note also ll. 16–17 in the present text where the same double adverbial phrase occurs in its normal collocation at the end of the sentence. The awkwardness of the English ‘firmly and enduringly till the end of eternity your every command will be firm and enduring’ reflects a paronomasia in the original not at all distasteful to the Egyptians.² As an equally plausible alternative *r mn wšh r hntt nhḥ* could be rendered ‘firm and enduring till the end of eternity!’, viewing it as an interjectional adverbial phrase with elliptical subject (the king to whom the speech is addressed);³ of the same kind, though with expressed postpositive subject, is the exclamation uttered by the priests of Heliopolis to signify their complete submission to Piṅankhy’s will, before whom they too have prostrated themselves upon the ground: not only the words but also the circumstances provide a good parallel; see Schäfer, *Urk.* III, 40, 1–4.

Rdī·n·f sw m ib n mr·n·f swšh·f ir sw, ‘he put (it) in the heart of him whom he loved that he should cause his procreator to thrive’. For the obtrusive *t* in the *šdm·n·f* form of *rdī* see above, note on l. 2. *Sw* is for the enclitic particle *swt*, cf. Caminos, *JEA* 38, 58 (54); id., *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 211 s.v. *sw*, particle. The noun clause *swšh·f ir sw* is the object of *rdī·n·f* and is separated from it by an adverbial phrase; for the word-order here see Gardiner, *Grammar*³, § 507, 2, noting particularly the example he quotes from Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 198, 5–6; for another instance of exceptional word-order in this stela see *r hnmty·f*, ‘at his nostrils’, in l. 9 (see below, p. 83 note on ll. 9–10).

LINE 6. *Ntt* introduces a clause of cause as in l. 3 above (*ntt ink nsw*, ‘seeing that I am a king’).  is in all probability the particle elsewhere written  or , also  or .

¹ Gardiner, *Grammar*³, § 239; note also James, *Heḳanakhte Papers*, 105, 8.

² Grapow, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Stilistik*, 117 s.v. Paronomasie; Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, I, 139 s.v. Paronomasia; also the stylistic device pointed out by Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 309 (on *m nwyt nfr*, ‘with good care’), adding Gunn, *JEA* 41, 89 (on § II, 8).

³ Lefebvre, *Grammaire*², § 639; Gardiner, *Grammar*³, §§ 153 and 258.

here used enclitically (Gardiner, *Grammar*³, § 248); note that the archaic form $\overline{\text{⏏}}$ of the same particle has a variant $\overline{\text{⏏}}$ with the bolt-s, like $\overline{\text{⏏}}$ in the present passage; cf. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 53; Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 213 s.v. *sk* (A 23, B 10). I know of no other instance of *ntt* followed by that particle in any of its forms; only the particle $\overline{\text{⏏}}$ appears to have been noticed after *ntt*; cf. *Wb.* II, 355, 3.

In *shꜣ kꜣ·k* $\overline{\text{⏏}}$ may well be for 'name' (cf. Gunn, *BIFAO* 34, 139 with n. 10), but I have translated it by 'personality', which is well attested for *kꜣ* and makes good sense, because it seemed desirable to distinguish it from *rn*, 'name', which occurs in the next sentence. Similarly *shꜣ kꜣ* and *rn* are twice found side by side in a Twenty-sixth Dynasty text (ll. 3 and 5), for which see Schäfer, *Klio* 4, 155 n. 4 with pls. 1–2; while another stela of the same Dynasty gives *shꜣ rn* and *rn* in juxtaposition, cf. Piehl, *ZÄS* 28, 107. Compare the writing $\overline{\text{⏏}}$ with $\overline{\text{⏏}}$, with standard, twice in l. 15, where it denotes the king's soul in one case and possibly the king's personality in the other; in both sentences, however, the text appears to be corrupt; see remark on l. 15, pp. 85 f. below.

In Psammetichus I's prenomen the sign for *k* was cut without its handle; read $\overline{\text{⏏}}$ for $\overline{\text{⏏}}$.

An almost exhaustive list, with full references, of the many records from which Nitocris, Psammetichus I's eldest daughter, is known, will be found in Christophe, *Karnak-Nord*, III, 113 ff.; see also Wijngaarden, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen*, N.R. 32, 15 ff.; Edwards, *Brit. Mus. Quart.* 19, 81 ff.; Monnet, *Rev. d'Ég.* 10, 37 ff.; Christophe, *BIFAO* 55, 65 ff.

LINE 7. *R sš n hrꜣf nfr*, 'to play the sistrum to his fair face'; see above p. 76 note on l. 1.

Hꜣt-sp, 'regnal year'; for the frequent but yet unexplained writing with $\overline{\text{⏏}}$ see Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 76 (§ 113, a). Professor Richard A. Parker informs me that Psammetichus I's regnal year 9, first month of Akhet, day 28, is March 2, 656 B.C.


Nitocris is said to have started out from 'the king's private apartments' and proceeded with her party to the quay to embark there on the southward journey to Thebes. The name of the locality which was the starting-point in her journey is not found in the surviving portion of the inscription. That it was Sais is a plausible but unascertainable surmise based on the knowledge that that western Delta town was Psammetichus I's dynastic capital. According to Strabo (xvii, 1, 23) Sais lay 'at a distance of two schoeni from the river', which is either 11 or 22 kilometres,¹ and that distance, wholly or in part, may be conjectured to have been covered by Nitocris and her party when 'they set forth happily to the quay in order to head southward for the Theban nome'. However, it must by no means be taken as a matter of course that Sais was the point of departure. Psammetichus I might conceivably have been elsewhere at that moment, and with him 'the king's private apartments', his establishment and retinue. Memphis has been suggested as another possible starting-point; cf. Erman, *ZÄS* 35, 25 n. 4; Bénédite, *Sur un étui de tablette*, 10; see, however, Legrain, *Ann. Serv.* 7, 57.


$\overline{\text{⏏}}$ $\overline{\text{⏏}}$ $\overline{\text{⏏}}$ $\overline{\text{⏏}}$ $\overline{\text{⏏}}$ $\overline{\text{⏏}}$, *mfk(st) m mꜣw(t)*, earlier *mfkꜣt mꜣt*, 'new turquoise', cf. *Wb.* II, 27, 5;

¹ Cf. Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, 27 with n. *.

56, 6. Turquoise is a semi-precious stone apt to deteriorate in colour and lose its sheen, hence the qualification 'new' used here and elsewhere to indicate a stone yet unaltered by time and still retaining its original appearance; cf. Loret, *Kêmi*, I, 109; Lefebvre, *Romans et contes égyptiens*, 79 n. 29; Gardiner, Peet, and Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 10. Much of what has been written on the subject has to be used with caution, however, on account of the general misunderstanding of a crucial term in the Sinai inscription of Ḥarwerrēc, a text often quoted apropos of turquoise. For the correct meaning of the term and gist of that text see Goedicke, *JEA* 47, 155; id., *Mitt. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, 18, 14 ff. For turquoise in ancient Egypt cf. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*⁴, 404 f.; Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 106 ff.

Hr-s, 'about her', again below l. 8 in *ḥrw hr-s*, 'the ships about her'; cf. Coptic *ḡapoz*, *περι-*, 'about (a person)', Crum, *Dictionary*, 632 b.


LINE 8.  is the causative *sdsr*, 'to clear (way, road)', *Wb.* IV, 394, 10.


Tp-š, 'quay' or similar; cf. *Wb.* v, 291, 16; Chassinat, *Edfou*, v, 351, 6; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, II, 366, 16 and 19; further comments by Alliot, *Culte d'Horus à Edfou*, 245 n. 6, 267, 483; Barguet, *BIFAO* 51, 110; id., *Papyrus N. 3176*, 41. In the Belegstellen to *Wb.* v, 291, 16 there is a reference to *Lebensmüde*, 74, *tp š*, 'on a lake'; one could add  in Gardiner, *JEA* 38, pl. 7 (col. 69 top) with p. 16, 8. Palaeographically the dotted channel sign finds a parallel in Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe*, pl. 3; the *š* or garden-pool sign with a row of dots inside it is, however, not infrequent in Late Period and Ptolemaic hieroglyphics.¹

W3st, 'the Theban nome'; for the writing of nome names in this stela see Kees, *ZÄS* 72, 46 f.

Hr-s, 'about her'; see note on l. 7 above.

H3w is an extremely rare word of uncertain meaning; the translation 'gunwales' is a guess and appears to have first been suggested by Budge, *Dictionary*, 530 a; see also Glanville, *ZÄS* 68, 23 n. 2; *Wb.* III, 224, 3-4.

 'thereof'; with *w* written out is noteworthy, for it confirms the reading *irw*; cf. Dumas, *Les Moyens d'expression du grec et de l'égyptien*, 15 with n. 1.

LINE 9.  reads *m*, here preposition of predication; for the writing see Fairman, *Ann. Serv.* 43, 225 no. 175 (a), 268 note xl; similarly Drioton, *Ann. Serv.* 44, 133 (c).

Nrt hntt, lit. 'Pomegranate tree, upper', name of the XXth nome of Upper Egypt of which the capital was *Nn-nsw*, 'Ninsu' or Heracleopolis Magna; cf. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 113*; Montet, *Géographie*, II, 185 ff. On the writing of the nome name here see Kees, *ZÄS* 72, 47 n. 1.

Sms-t3wy-t3f-nht, lit. 'The Uniter of the Two Lands is his strength'. On this important officer see Griffith, *Catalogue Dem. Pap. Rylands Library*, III, 62, 72 ff., 84 n. 7, 108 n. 8; Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 18, 29 ff. Full references and summary of views on Samtowetefnakhte will be found in Yoyotte, *Rev. d'Ég.* 8, 232 f.

LINES 9-10. *Nkr r hmnty-f t3w bw3*, 'the rising wind tingled or pricked his nostrils'. *Nkr*, 'to cut, rip, scratch, prick, incise', and the like; demotic *nkr*, 'to scrape', hence used

¹ See, for instance, Fairman, *Ann. Serv.* 43, 238 no. 250.

of carving as well as defacing, for instance, an inscription; Coptic ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲣⲉⲣ, 'to prick, incise'. It occurs in a variety of contexts, yet never, it would appear, in a context in any way resembling the one under discussion. See Keimer, *Acta Orientalia*, 6, 300 ff.; also Griffith, *Catalogue Dem. Pap. Rylands Library*, III, 363; Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 229; Crum, *Dictionary*, 224 a. The present passage would seem to suggest that as the fleet gathered way the rising wind let itself be felt on the expedition leader's face or, literally, 'at his nostrils'. On *hnmty*, 'nostrils', a term not found in medical or technical texts,¹ see *Wb.* III, 376, 14–16; 377, 1; Blackman and Fairman, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 419 n. 92; Fairman, *Ann. Serv.* 43, 225 no. 175 (b), 269 note xl (c). For the adverbial phrase *r hnmty·f* preceding the subject of the verb *nkr* cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*³, § 507, 2. *Bw3*, 'to become high', here 3rd sing. masc. old perfective.

LINE 10. For *šsp* construed with *n* of disadvantage, 'to receive, obtain from', cf. Peet, *JEA* 20, 119; Gardiner, *JEA* 27, 60 n. 7; Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 10. One wonders whether the supplies and sundry items provided by the nomarchs were paid for or not. I incline to think they were, and it is just possible that the present passage may be even explicit on this point: *šsp* with the meaning 'to buy, purchase' occurs in a Ramesside text; cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 21, 143, who points out that such meaning is frequent with the Coptic ⲩⲟⲛ (Crum, *Dictionary*, 575 a).

Hrw, common with the meaning 'weapons' and often best rendered 'utensils, implements', is actually a blanket term which, like English 'gear, equipment, outfit', denotes a set of articles of a particular kind or required for a special purpose (such as writing, sailing, outdoor entertaining, fighting a battle, having a proper burial), the nature of the articles being inferable from the context or explicitly defined by a genitival adjunct. The context indicates that in the passage under discussion *hrw* refers principally to items of food and drink needed by Nitocris and her retinue for the long upstream journey to Thebes, hence 'supplies, provisions, foodstuffs' seems to me to be the right rendering² despite the not very apposite determinative and my inability to quote an indubitable occurrence of *hrw* with just that meaning elsewhere.³ See *Wb.* III, 243, 3–15; Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, 115 with n. 3; Jéquier, *Frisés d'objets*, 264.

Hr-tp appears to be the verb 'to command, be at the head of, be over', here probably with the nuance of being in charge of, responsible for; cf. Macadam, *Kawa*, I, Text, 29 n. 22.

In *ꜥpr m ht nb nfrt*, translated 'furnished with every good thing', *nfrt* may well have the meaning 'necessary' pointed out by Macadam, *JEA* 25, 125; so too at the end of the list of items.

¹ The term for 'nostrils' in medical texts is *msdty*, cf. Von Deines and Westendorf in *Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter*, VII, part 1, 393 f.; part 2, 864 f.; Edel, *ZÄS* 79, 88 f.

² For a different view see *Wb.* III, 243, 5, where the present occurrence of *hrw* is taken to mean the 'tackle' of ships. Breasted, *Anc. Records*, IV, § 944, translates 'weapons'.

³ In Turin *Love-songs*, 2, 9, the *hrw* brought out by slaves for the purpose of a garden party are picnic things, probably mats, light furniture, vessels, and like 'utensils', and *may* of course include foodstuffs also, even though the actual articles of food and drink appear to be brought out later by servants. See for the text Maspero, *Études égyptiennes*, I, 227 and plate; annotated translation by Müller, *Die Liebespoesie der Alten Ägypter*, 40; Schott, *Altägyptische Liebeslieder*, 60, 226.

Ḥkt is old *ḫkt*, strictly ‘leeks’, also for ‘leek-like vegetables’ (alliaceous plants), and even perhaps ‘vegetables’ in general. I take it to be used in its generic sense here as in, for instance, *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 48, and Westcar, 9, 20. See Loret, *Rec. trav.* 16, 1 ff.; Neustupný, *Archiv Orientální*, 20, 364 ff.; Von Deines and Grapow in *Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter*, VI, 12.

Bnr, ‘dates’, might conceivably be used here as a generic term for ‘sweet fruits’ or the like; cf. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 192, with bibliography, to which add now Von Deines and Grapow in *Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter*, VI, 172 ff.

Ḥt nb nfrt, ‘every good thing’ or ‘every necessary thing’; see above p. 83 bottom.

In gr wr di:f n smw:f is an emphasizing construction with future meaning in both Middle and Late Egyptian; cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*³, § 227, 2; Erman, *Neuaeg. Grammatik*², § 701. Nevertheless, the context makes translation ‘and one gave or would give way to the other’ almost mandatory; see, however, remarks by Gunn, *Studies in Eg. Syntax*, 56 (92). This sentence and the passage in which it occurs suggest that Nitocris’ journey to Thebes was very much like a progress in the old sense of state journey. It was the responsibility of the prince of every nome through which she passed to provision her and her party while they were within his territory,¹ and he would give way to the next nomarch as soon as they had moved out of his jurisdiction into the following nome.

LINE 11. *Ḥst-sp*, ‘regnal year’, again spelt with \curvearrowright ; see p. 81 above, note on l. 7. I take it on the authority of Professor Parker that the date given here corresponds to March 18, 656 B.C. This second date indicates that the river journey from the north to Thebes took sixteen days; on the unmentioned locality which was the starting-point of the voyage see p. 81 above, note on l. 7.

$\overline{\text{𓂏}}$, *wḏi r t3*, ‘to put to land’, cf. Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 31 (§ 46, b). Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 18, 31 f., arguably thought that the landing of Nitocris at Thebes here verbally described was illustrated by reliefs on blocks found in the temple of Mut at Karnak; see, however, Griffith, *Catalogue Dem. Pap. Rylands Library*, III, 73 with n. 2; note also Drioton and Vandier, *Égypte*⁴, 580, 677 f., quoting Yoyotte, *Rev. d’Ég.* 8, 232 f. The present passage affords a particularly clear example of *dmī* with the meaning ‘quay, landing-place’, cf. Posener, *Littérature et politique*, 89 n. 2; Baer, *JAOs* 83, 5 n. 30; Simpson, *JARCE* 2, 54 with n. 4a.

M ḏmaw nw t3y m wpt nt ḥmwt, ‘with or consisting of throngs of men, with or consisting of crowds of women’; for the function of the preposition *m* here cf. Spiegel, *ZÄS* 71, 79 (§ 24).

M ḥs:s, ‘to meet her’; cf. *m ḥs:f*, ‘(coming) to meet him’, Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mirēc*, II, pl. 26, 6, quoted by Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 160*.

LINES 11–12. *Sd-m-r m k3w 3pdw t3bt wr*, ‘surrounded by oxen, fowl, and abundant provisions’; old perfective of the rare verb *sd-m-r*, lit. ‘to be tail-in-mouth’, i.e. like a snake biting its tail and thus forming a circle,² cf. Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*,


¹ The provisioning was not necessarily done gratis by the nomarchs. See remark on *šsp* above p. 83, l. 10 of text.

² Known in Egyptian iconography but not as a character in the Egyptian system of writing, the figure of a snake biting its tail is one of the ‘hieroglyphs’ described by Horapollo (i, 2): the symbol of the Universe, according to him; cf. Sbordone, *Hori Apollinis Hieroglyphica*, 4 ff.

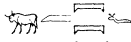

102 (§ 156, *b*), overlooking Goodwin, *ZÄS* 12, 38 f.; for the literal meaning cf. 'he shall triumph over you, *wmn sd·k rdit m r·k* your tail shall be placed in your mouth, and you shall chew your own skin'; Faulkner, *Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, 79, 7; id., *JEA* 24, 44 (top).

LINE 12. *Hr·sn dd·sn*, 'then they said'; see above p. 80 note on ll. 4-5.

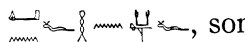

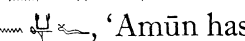
LINES 12-14. The concourse urges Nitocris-Shepenwepe to go to the Karnak temple to receive there the blessings of Amūn and other local deities. The details of her visit to the great temple are omitted from the narrative; only Amūn's wholehearted approval of what King Psammetichus I did for him (obviously the sending of his daughter to Thebes) is explicitly stated, from which it may be safely inferred that she was given a favourable reception by the great god, preliminary to the equally good reception she would shortly after have on the part of the God's Wife Shepenwepe.

LINE 13. Note the Late Period writing  of the word for 'heaven' (*Wb.* I, 490) in Amūn's epithet 'lord of heaven'.

LINE 14. *Ysw nm*, 'the requital for this', cf. *Wb.* I, 131, 4, quoting the present passage; also Macadam, *Kawa*, I, Text, 14 n. 77.

Kꜣ pty·f, 'the bull of his two heavens', as epithet of Amūn is unknown to me elsewhere, but in another inscription of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty an almost identical phrase, , 'the bull in his two heavens', is found as an epithet of Rēꜥ,¹ Rēꜥ's two heavens being also mentioned in Faulkner, *Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, 79, 6. Some might object to this reading and prefer to take  not as the dual *pty* but as *hy*, 'heaven', for which see Wilke, *ZÄS* 76, 94 with n. 14; also De Wit, *BIFAO* 55, 117. Several texts explicitly mention, however, the two heavens² of a given deity; thus, for instance, *pty·f* in Mariette, *Abydos*, I, pl. 52, 8; *pty·k* in Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, IV, 114, right-end column on left hand; *pty·fy* in Gauthier, *La Grande Inscription dédicatoire*, 13 col. 62.

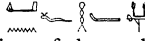
The epithet *nb nswt tꜣwy*, 'lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands', is only exceptionally given to Mont. Apart from the present passage one other instance is known to me, namely Barguet and Leclant, *Karnak-Nord*, IV, 101 (18); it is not found in the many texts referring to Mont gathered by Legrain, *BIFAO* 12, 75 ff., and Bisson de la Roque, *BIFAO* 40, 1 ff.

LINE 15. , something has been omitted in error; read perhaps  , 'Amūn has given to him that he should be joyful together with his soul'.³ For the cliché *ꜣw-ib·f hnc kꜣ·f* cf. Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 31 (l. 22); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 564, 8; Griffith, *JEA* 13, pl. 40, 3; Clère, *Rev. d'Ég.* 11, 29 (partly restored); similarly with other suffixes, Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, II, pl. 51 (right end); Legrain, *Rec. trav.* 23, 196 (l. 8); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 572, 15; see further Naville, op. cit., II, pl. 55; III, pl. 59.

N wḥm kꜣ rf, meaning and grammar obscure. The suggested rendering 'a personality (or king) without equal' is most uncertain; even more uncertain and questionable would

¹ Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Anchesneferibre*, 128 (416).

² One heaven above the earth and one below are probably meant as a rule, cf. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter*, § 207; occasionally, however, the meaning of 'two heavens' may be different, cf. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar*, II, 164.

³ A simpler emendation would be to read , 'Hu has given to him his fortune', in parallelism with the next two sentences; yet the mention of the god Hu here does not seem right somehow.

be to ignore \ominus and translate 'there will be no repetition of his personality'. In any case the sentence is strongly reminiscent of the epithetical phrase *nm* (var. *n*) *wḥmwtꜣf dt*, 'there will be none to repeat him ever' or 'there will never be his like again', for which see Gardiner in Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien*, 1 f., correcting *Wb.* 1, 341, 1, and Caminos, *JEA* 38, 59 (57); note also Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, 12 f. See particularly Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 80, 10 (cf. *ibid.* 81, 7 var. 9); Lepsius, *Denkm.* III, 53 (collated); and Mariette, *Abydos*, I, pl. 22, where that epithetical phrase occurs in contexts similar in meaning to the passage now under discussion. For *kꜣ* in the sense of 'personality' see Gardiner, *JEA* 36, 7 n. 2. As shown by the standard $\ast\top$ the royal *kꜣ* is here meant, or at any rate a soul or personality of divine nature, and it is therefore possible that 'king' would more adequately convey the sense of *kꜣ* here; it will be remembered that *kꜣ* is used sometimes as a respectful circumlocution for Pharaoh; cf. Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, 76.

In Shepenwepe's cartouche the \ominus is extremely flat and might be taken for the land sign \ominus . On Shepenwepe see above pp. 77 f. note on l. 3.

LINE 16. For the alternation of *sdm·n·f* and *sdm·f* forms at the beginning of this line see Kuentz, *BIFAO* 14, 254. See also above p. 77, note on *rdi·n·i* in l. 2.

Imyt-pr, lit. 'content of a house', is a well-known designation of a deed of transfer and cession of ownership; here translated 'testament' in the sense of 'will'. Seidl, *Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 29 with n. 70, suggests 'Hausurkunde', but 'house-document' is a term which, unless explained and glossed over, conveys little sense to the English reader and is at best misleading.¹ Note also Kees, *Nachr. Göttingen*, N.F. 2, 114 ff.

Hn(ꜣ) sꜣt·s wrt Imn-ir-di-s(t), 'and her eldest daughter Amonirdis did likewise'. *Hnc*, lit. 'together with', is used here very much like a preposition of resemblance. That Amonirdis did exactly as Shepenwepe had done (i.e. Amonirdis also approved of Nitocris and made over to her her own testament) is shown by the 3rd and particularly the 1st person plural pronouns in the passage that follows: *their* bidding, *we* give, *our* property, *our* throne.² A very similar use of *hnc* has been pointed out by Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar*, III, 278. That *hn(ꜣ)* in the present passage does not express coordination but resemblance was already noticed, without comment, by Kuentz, *BIFAO* 14, 254, for he translated '(Shepenwepe gave to Nitocris) par testament tout ce qu'elle avait hérité de son père et de sa mère. *En fit autant* sa fille aînée N., fille du roi N. justifié.'

The Amonirdis daughter of the Ethiopian king Taharqa mentioned here is usually referred to in our literature as Amonirdis (II) to distinguish her from her namesake, King Kashta's daughter, generally known as Amonirdis (I). The available documentation on Amonirdis (II) is scanty and uninformative in the extreme; moreover, it is not always possible to determine with certainty whether a given record refers to her or to her predecessor and namesake Amonirdis (I). For source materials see Barguet and

¹ Cf. Seidl in Glanville (ed.), *The Legacy of Egypt*, 199 n. 1.

² For a different interpretation see Leclant, *Rev. hist. rel.* 151, 130; *id.*, *JNES* 13, 160 n. 32. To Leclant the use of the 1st person plural pronoun is indicative of a coregency: the office of God's Wife of Amūn was occupied jointly by Shepenwepe (II) and Amonirdis (II) the daughter of Taharqa; Leclant's view seems to be shared by Arkell, *History of the Sudan*², 134. Note also Macadam, *Kawa*, I, Text, 124 n. 6; 126.

Leclant, *Karnak-Nord*, IV, 112 with n. 4 (pls. 106 f.), 127 n. 3; cf. also Leclant, *JNES* 13, 160 n. 32. See further Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, 10 under no. 26; Macadam, *Kawa*, I, Text, 119 with n. 3, 120, 126 ff.



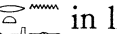
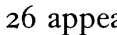
The wilfully obliterated cartouche is that of Taharqa; cf. p. 77 above, note on l. 3. Only the right end of the — sign is still discernible, much as in the Wâdi Hammâmât graffito quoted by Yoyotte, *Rev. d'Ég.* 8, 223 (62).

Ir hr-sn m sš, 'their bidding was done in writing'; for *iri hr*, 'to do the bidding', see Gardiner, *JEA* 4, 34 n. 7.

M š; m nîwt, 'in country and in town', i.e. everywhere; distinctly a legal formula, see p. 97 below, note on l. 31.

LINE 17. *Hr-sn*, 'their bidding'; see note on l. 16.

Hm-w-ntr wcbw smrw nb, 'all the prophets, priests, and friends of the temple'; it is uncertain whether *nb* qualifies *smrw* only or all three categories of people mentioned here. The attestation and witnessing by these various temple functionaries of the document referred to in ll. 16–17 mark the end of the formal proceedings of the 'adoption', at least as far as our stela goes. It is quite likely that there were other ceremonies and functions, about which, however, we have no direct information. I doubt that the damaged beginning of the text on the statue of the Chief Steward Iba (Cairo *J. d'Ent.* 36158) refers to the ceremony of the installation of Nitocris as heir to the office of God's Wife in Psammetichus I's Year 9, as stated by Breasted, *Anc. Records*, IV, § 958A. Iba's text rather describes her actual induction into the office of God's Wife (which took place at an unknown later date), or even some other stately ceremony at which she appeared in great pomp and style; for the text see Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 5, 94 ff.; Daressy's copy is reproduced in Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, Textanhang 3.

, 'all the property which has been or was given to her'; , 'what His Majesty has given or gave to her'. The verb forms involved are perfective passive participle and perfective relative respectively; they are here rendered by the English present perfect or, alternatively, past tense, because 'His Majesty' is undoubtedly Nitocris' father King Psammetichus I who would appear, according to his statement in l. 2, to have endowed her or made her wealthier (*shwd*) some time before her departure from Thebes. Even so, the possibility that these two verb forms should be used here with a prospective meaning implying obligation¹ cannot be wholly ruled out. In fact the perfective passive participle + dative  in ll. 20 (twice), 21, 22 (twice), 23, and 24 (twice) has consistently been rendered 'what has or is to be given to her' on account of the nature of the items (bread, milk, herbs, and such) which are there apportioned to Nitocris and also because of the recurrent character of the stipulated contributions; while again  in l. 26 appears to me to refer to a land settlement already effected and has therefore been translated 'what has been given to her'. In the last analysis this is admittedly guess-work, for there seems to be nothing in the stela to indicate unmistakably the precise time-position of these verbs.

Div, 'gift'; cf. Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Papyri*, No. 1, 33, n. 1; id., *Wilbour*, II, 118 n. 1.

¹ Gardiner, *Grammar*³, §§ 371, 389 (2, b).

Ww, 'district', here and elsewhere in this inscription with the meaning 'nome' (old *spst*); cf. Gardiner, *Wilbour*, II, 40, quoting Kees, *ZÄS* 72, 46 ff. *Nn-nsw*, 'Ninsu', capital of the XXth (Pomegranate tree, upper) nome of Upper Egypt; see above p. 82 note on l. 9, also Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 16 (§ 25). *Ww n Nn-nsw*, 'the district of Ninsu', is tantamount to 'the nome of Nacr-khant'; the name of the main town or metropolis of a nome was sometimes used for the nome itself, cf. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 261, where the Wilbour reference ought to read II, 40.

LINE 18. *Iw-n*, 'Iwna'; place-name unattested elsewhere, cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* I, 54.

Pr-mdd, 'P-emdje', the Oxyrhynchus of the classical authors, modern El-Bahnasa, on the west bank of the Baḥr Yûsuf, in the XIXth nome of Upper Egypt. *Ww n Pr-mdd*, 'the district of P-emdje', is equivalent to 'the nome of the Double Sceptre' (cf. above apropos of *ww n Nn-nsw* in l. 17). P-emdje would appear from this passage to have been the metropolis of the XIXth Upper Egyptian nome at least at the time of Psammetichus I; from Ramesside times onwards the most important town in that nome had been, however, *Spr-mrw*, 'Spermeru', whose exact location yet remains to be determined, and which the author of the great Edfu nome-list gives as the capital of the Double Sceptre nome. See Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 110* f.; id., *Wilbour*, II, 54 with n. 4; also Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* II, 83; Montet, *Géographie*, II, 181, 183; Grohmann, *Studien zur historischen Geographie*, 42.

Tḥ st n Pw-tzwy, 'the place of Putowe', unrecorded elsewhere, cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* v, 77; for *st* as component of place-names see *Wb.* IV, 3, 7.

Dwn-cnwy, lit. 'he of the outstretched wings', is the XVIIIth (Falcon) nome in Middle Egypt, on the east bank, across the river from the town of P-emdje referred to above. H-nēsia, modern El-Kôm el-Aḥmar Sawâris, appears to have been its capital during the Twelfth Dynasty, but there is no way of determining whether that town was the nome's metropolis under Psammetichus I also. The very existence of *Dwn-cnwy* as a separate nome in its own right during that reign has been denied by Kees, who has unconvincingly explained away its mention in the present passage as a misreading of the hieratic original for *Hr-dy*, 'Hardai' (XVIIth nome of Upper Egypt).¹ For a recent discussion of the XVIIIth (Falcon) nome see Vandier, *Papyrus Jumilhac*, 25 ff., 77 f., with full retrospective literature, to which add now Montet, *Géographie*, II, 172 ff.

Tḥ st n Kwkḥw, 'the place of Kwkḥ'; not attested elsewhere, cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* v, 79. For a hypothetical identification of this place see Vandier, *Papyrus Jumilhac*, 77 f.

LINE 19. *Wnt*, 'the Hare nome', XVth of Upper Egypt, earliest capital *Wnw*, 'Unu'; subsequently the metropolis was a town adjoining it, Khmūn, Hermopolis Magna, the modern El-Ashmûnein; cf. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 79* ff.; Montet, *Géographie*, II, 146 ff.

Nḥ swt n Ns-Min, 'the places of Nesmin'; not attested elsewhere, cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* III, 102; v, 78.

Wḥdt, 'the Edjō nome', the Xth of Upper Egypt, the Aphroditopolis nome of the

¹ Kees, *Mitt. Inst. für Orientforschung* 6, 165.

Greeks; the complex problem of its capital or capitals is discussed at length by Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 55* ff.; see further Montet, *Géographie*, II, 115 ff.


Κῶν, 'Kaw'; place-name not attested elsewhere, cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* v, 153.

Hwt-shm, lit. 'the Mansion of the Sistrum', the VIIth (Sistrum) nome of Upper Egypt, capital He-sekhem, Diospolis Parva, on the west bank between Abydos and Dendera. See Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 33* f.; Montet, *Géographie*, II, 92 ff.; Fischer, *JARCE* I, 15.

T3 st n Hr-s3-3st, 'the place of Harsiese'; not attested elsewhere, cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* v, 79.

LINE 20. The sum total of 1,800 arouras equals 492.30 hectares or 1,216.48 acres of field. The total is correct in that it represents the addition of the fields in the six districts listed so far; the area of the land given to Nitocris in the omitted district (Tawēr, entered as a postscript in l. 31) appears to have been included in the sum-total of 3,300 arouras in l. 30; see below p. 96 note thereon.

The numeral for 1,800 is followed by a legal formula which indicates the comprehensiveness of the field endowment and which recurs verbatim in l. 29 of the stela and again, with a slight variation, in l. 31; see below p. 97 note on l. 31.

On the perfective passive participle + dative , twice in this line and taken to convey prospective obligational meaning, see above p. 87 note on l. 17.


LINES 20–21. The powerful Theban prince Montemḥat, whose long civil and priestly career developed under Taharqa and Psammetichus I, is here given his best-known and highest titles. His own name is followed by 𓂏 , which fuller writings prove to be for *snb*, 'healthy'. Found appended to Montemḥat's name and to other names elsewhere, the adjunct *snb* has long been taken to indicate that the person qualified by it is alive in contradistinction to another, mentioned along with him, who is dead.¹ Although apparently valid in most cases, such interpretation of *snb* would appear to apply rather lamely here in view of the context: this is a list of people who are expected to make periodical contributions in kind to Nitocris; it is therefore reasonable to assume that they all should be alive, not only the healthy Montemḥat himself but also Nesptaḥ and the two prophets Harkhēbe and Pdamennebnestowe, even though none of these three is said to be *snb*.² Some might suggest, however, that Montemḥat is here called 'healthy', that is to say 'alive', as opposed to his wife Udjarens who is mentioned in the present list as being also pledged to provide Nitocris with a certain quota of bread every day and who is at the same time given the epithet *m3ct-hrw*.³ It is within the

¹ This interpretation goes back to Devéria, *Catalogue des manuscrits égyptiens au Musée du Louvre*, 92 n. 1. For further references see Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 248 n. 92; Christophe, *Ann. Serv.* 53, 52 n. 9; De Meulenaere, *Rev. d'Ég.* 12, 71 n. 6.

² These three individuals are mentioned again in documents drawn up several years after the events of Year 9 of Psammetichus I which are recorded in the Nitocris Adoption stela. From those later documents it transpires that the first prophet Harkhēbe was still alive and in office in Year 14 of that king, while Pdamenneb- nestowe was probably dead or in any case retired from office by Year 14; as for Nesptaḥ, he was alive as late as Year 17 and had by then succeeded his father Montemḥat as fourth prophet of Amūn and governor of Upper Egypt. See Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 22 (29a), 24 (33), 29 (50).

³ For 𓂏 (the type form is not accurate) as a writing of *m3ct-hrw* and fem. *m3ct-hrw* see *Wb.* II, 17, 16–18, quoting Erichsen, *Acta Orientalia*, 6, 272 f., where this curious writing is discussed with convincing examples to which Epigraphic Survey, *The Bubastite Portal*, pl. 20, A 8 = B 8, could be added.

realm of possibility that Udjarens died in the interval between the stipulation of her commitment and the carving of the stela, and that her name and the particulars of her intended contribution were nevertheless kept on the list as a matter of record. This is just possible though admittedly a bit far-fetched and wholly conjectural. Unfortunately the 'true-of-voice' epithet is no safe, irrefutable criterion to decide whether a person bearing it is dead or alive;¹ just what it means as applied to Udjarens here remains an open question, and likewise the exact purport of Montemḥat's epithet *snb* in the passage under discussion must be left to others to determine. For Montemḥat in the present context see Legrain, *Rec. trav.* 36, 63 f.; Kees, *Priestertum*, 277; Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 239, 264, 267 f., 275; Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 5, 15 (2). See also Kees, *ZÄS* 87, 60 ff.

LINE 21. , another perfective passive participle + dative presumably combining the notions of compulsion and futurity; see above p. 87 note on l. 17.

On Nesptaḥ note particularly Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 24 (33); von Beckerath, *ZÄS* 87, 3 with n. 3; Kees, *ZÄS* 87, 66, and other references quoted apropos of Montemḥat in note on ll. 20–21.

LINE 22. *Tj* *ḳḥt* *Tbw*, 'the nome of Tjebu', exactly as in Glyptotek Ny Carlsberg stela A 759, l. 3 (*temp.* Apries), for which see Kees, *ZÄS* 72, 40 ff. For *ḳḥt*, 'tract', with the meaning 'nome', cf. Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 132 (§ 207, ii) and literature quoted there. Tjebu, Greek Antaeopolis, modern Qâw el-Kebîr, on the east bank of the Nile, and regularly, though perhaps not always, the capital of the Xth (Cobra) nome of Upper Egypt, see Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 49* ff.; id., *Wilbour*, II, 40 with n. 5, 57 n. 4; Montet, *Géographie*, II, 116. Of considerable palaeographic interest is the shape given to the two sandal-hieroglyphs in the present passage; I can quote no parallel.

That Nesptaḥ should have undertaken to give Nitocris a 100-aroura (67·58-acre) field in the nome of Tjebu every month is, of course, out of the question, particularly if one considers that there seems to be no time limit set on the contribution. Accordingly, either the 100-aroura field does not fall under the heading 'monthly due' but is just one single non-recurrent contribution, or else, as suggested in the translation above, the *yield* from that much farmland in the Cobra nome is what is due monthly.

Rdît n·s, 'what (N.) has to give to her'; see above p. 87 note on l. 17.

Udjarens, a lady of Ethiopic descent, is the last recorded wife of the fourth prophet of Amün and mayor of Nō Montemḥat. See Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 264 f. Note her epithet *mꜣrt-hrw* and cf. above p. 89 with n. 3.

On the first prophet of Amün Ḥarkhēbe see Kees, *Priestertum*, 267, 277; Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 29 (50); Kees, *ZÄS* 87, 62.

LINE 23. *Rdît n·s*, 'what (N.) has to give to her'; see above p. 87 note on l. 17.


On the third prophet of Amün Pdamennebnestowe see Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 22 (29a); Kees, *ZÄS* 87, 64 f.

LINE 24. *ḥt stꜣt 100*, '(the yield of) 100 arouras of field'; see above note on l. 22.

Rdît n·s, 'what (N.) has to give to her'; see above p. 87 note on l. 17.

¹ Cf. Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 15 (§ 24, a), quoting id., *JEA* 38, 58 (56).

M Ḥḳꜣ-ꜥḏ m ḥwt-nṯr nt Rꜥ-Tm, lit. 'in (or from) Ḥḳꜣadje, from the temple of Rꜥ-Atum', shows the type of apposition discussed by Spiegel, *ZÄS* 71, 70 (upper; particularly his Abydos reference n. 3). Ḥḳꜣadje is the XIIIth nome of Lower Egypt; capital Ōn, the Greek Heliopolis. The literal meaning of *Ḥḳꜣ-ꜥḏ* is uncertain, 'le Souverain gaillard' recently proposed by Montet, *Géographie*, 1, 155, is not above question; cf. Leclant, *Orientalia*, n.s. 28, 81, 85 with n. 2, overlooking Grdseloff, *Ann. Serv.* 42, 110 f. No locality of the XIIIth nome except its capital appears to have had a sanctuary of the sun god, therefore there can be little doubt that the temple of Rꜥ-Atum mentioned in this passage is that which irrefutable archaeological and philological evidence places at Ōn, the nome's metropolis. The present text clearly refers to it as *one* sanctuary, 'the temple of Rꜥ-Atum', which militates against Rieke's contention that at Ōn there were two separate and equally large temples for Rꜥ-Ḥarakhti and for Atum.¹

The spelling  of the measure of capacity usually rendered 'sack' points to the reading *ḥꜣ(y)*, earlier *ḥꜣr*; cf. Gardiner, *Wilbour*, II, 61 n. 2.

Sꜣw, 'Saw', the Greek Sais, modern Šâ el-Ḥagar, capital of the Vth (Neith-North) nome of Lower Egypt in the western Delta; Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* v, 2; Montet, *Géographie*, 1, 80 ff. It was the dynastic capital at the time of the events recorded in the Nitocris stela. The Saite bread contribution stipulated in this passage may be thought to have been imposed upon the temple of Neith, which was the main religious foundation at Sais, and in which Psammetichus I himself was eventually buried.² Note, however, that within the precinct of Neith's temple there were places of worship devoted to other deities,³ and these annexes or minor temples might have been called upon to share in the contribution.

LINE 25. *Pr-Wꜣdyt*, 'Pi-Edjō', Buto, modern Tell el-Farâ'in in the western Delta, in the VIth nome of Lower Egypt. It was originally two separate towns, Pe and Dep, which merged in one at an early date. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 191*, remarks that *Pr-Wꜣdyt* in the present passage is the second oldest occurrence of this term as a substitute for the more ancient and much commoner appellation Pe-and-Dep; the earliest recorded instance of *Pr-Wꜣdyt* is in the Golénischeff Onomasticon, 5, 12, a document which antedates the Nitocris Adoption stela by about 420 years. In addition to the great sanctuary of the local cobra-goddess Edjō, which was the seat of an oracle rated by Herodotus (ii, 83) as the most celebrated in all Egypt, there was at Pi-Edjō a temple of Horus and Bubastis.⁴ There is no way of telling whether the 200-*deben* quota of bread was to be supplied by one of these temples only or by both of them jointly. See Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 187* ff., with copious references; also Montet, *Géographie*, 1, 91; Habachi, *ZÄS* 90, 42.

¹ Cf. Rieke, *ZÄS* 71, 131 ff., whose contention was sceptically regarded by Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 145* f.; id., *Wilbour*, II, 125 (§ E), 145 (§ 144). Gardiner appears to have been unaware of the strong support lent to his own view by the passage now under discussion. ² So explicitly Strabo, xvii, 1, 18; cf. Herodotus, ii, 169.

³ Cf. Mallet, *Culte de Neit*, 33 f., quoted by Posener, *Première domination perse en Égypte*, 14 (ac). Note also Ranke, *Mitt. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, 12, 118 (2); Habachi, *Ann. Serv.* 42, 381 f.; Andrzejewski, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 25, pt. 2, 10 f.

⁴ Herodotus, ii, 155. Cf. Sethe in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der class. Altertumswissenschaft*, III, part 1 (= 5. Halbband), 1086 ff.

Pr-Ḥwt-ḥr-mfk, probably hypocoristic for ‘house of Ḥathor lady of the turquoise’, the classical Terenuthis, modern Kôm Abû Billo, near the village of Ṭarrâna on the western edge of the Delta. There was a temple of Ḥathor which might have dated back to Ramesses II; it was in any case reconstructed under the Ptolemies. See Montet, *Géographie*, I, 61 f., with literature; also Gauthier, *Nomes d'Égypte*, 96; Gardiner, *JEA* 30, 35 n. 6, 36 n. 1; Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Inscr. of Sinai*, II, 3 n. j; Yoyotte, *Mél. Maspero*, I, fasc. 4, 144 with n. 2, 147 (§ 38); id., *Rev. d'assy.* 46, 213 f.

Pr-ḥnbwy, lit. ‘house of the walls’; exact location unknown, yet likely to have been in the western Delta in view of its position in the present roster, in which places seem to be given not pell-mell but in topographical order. Ranke, *ZÄS* 44, 49, thought, probably rightly, to have found two other mentions of it in a biographic text *temp.* Psammetichus I; cf. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 231. Other identifications have been proposed, cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* I, 81; II, 56; Yoyotte, *Rev. d'assy.* 46, 212 f.

Pr-nb-I(š)mw, lit. ‘house of the lady of Imu’, modern Kôm el-Ḥiṣn in the western Delta, capital of the IIIrd nome of Lower Egypt. There was a temple of Ḥathor there which is known from both philological and archaeological evidence; see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* II, 91; id., *Nomes d'Égypte*, 96 f.; Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 170*; Montet, *Géographie*, I, 57 f.; Yoyotte, *Mél. Maspero*, I, fasc. 4, 147 (§ 38).

Pr-mnw, lit. ‘house of the western ridge’; exact position unknown, though very likely it was in the western Delta, perhaps in the IIIrd nome of Lower Egypt; thus Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* II, 82, and Yoyotte, *Mél. Maspero*, I, fasc. 4, 146. The god Ḥeka is known to have been worshipped in that particular region of the Delta; a Dendera text calls him ‘the great god dwelling in Pi-manu’,¹ which hints at his having had a temple there. In any case the Pi-manu of the Nitocris stela and that of the Dendera text are in all probability one and the same Delta locality, and this particular locality should be carefully distinguished from the Pi-manu which is mentioned in Kôm Ombo and Edfu inscriptions and which was situated in the Upper Egyptian autonomous district ‘Horus of the West’.²

The rest of the list of bread-contributing institutions is devoted to temples in eastern and middle Delta localities.

Tš-ct-n-Tšr, lit. ‘the dwelling or enclosure of Tjel’, probably only here, calls to mind, though it can hardly be the same as, the well-attested *Pš ḥtm n Tšr(w)*, ‘the fortress of Tjel’, often simply *Tšr(w)*, ‘Tjel’ or ‘Sele’, modern Tell el-Aḥmar, near El-Qanṭara.³ Nor is there any valid reason to think that T-‘at-en-Tjar in the present passage is but a later designation of the fortified outpost variously named ‘the dwelling of the Lion’, ‘the dwelling of Sese’, and ‘the dwelling of Ra‘messe-miamün’, which was on the road to Syria and could be reached by boat from Tjel.⁴ For *tš-ct* as a prefixed component

¹ Lepsius, *Denkm.* IV, 58 a, quoted in Belegstellen to *Wb.* II, 29, 18, and by Yoyotte, *Mél. Maspero*, I, fasc. 4, 146 n. 3.

² At variance in one way or another with the above statement are Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* II, 82 (which in turn clashes with id., *Nomes d'Égypte*, 62 n. 3), and Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar*, v, 185. On the term ‘autonomous (or supplementary) district’ see Gardiner, *JEA* 30, 36 f.

³ See, however, Helck, *Verwaltung*, 233.

⁴ For references and literature on the various localities mentioned here see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* I, 163 (at variance with VI, 66); Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 202* ff.; Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 111; Montet, *Géographie*, I, 190.

of place-names cf. Yoyotte, *Mitt. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, 16, 415 n. 2; just what *ct* means in this preformative is not always certain, for *ct* may denote various kinds of bounded spaces like a room, a house, or an enclosure; cf. Gunn and Peet, *JEA* 15, 168 with n. 3; Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 206* f.

Dnt, 'Tanis', modern Şân el-Ḥagar, in the XIVth nome of Lower Egypt. Psammetichus I is known to have added to a vast temple built there by one of the last Shoshenks and dedicated to the Theban triad, but whether this was the particular sanctuary that was singled out to provide Nitocris with a 100-*deben* quota of bread is a question. See Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 199* ff.; Montet, *Géographie*, I, 192 ff.; Andrzejewski, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 25, pt. 2, 12 ff.

Pr-Ḥwt-ḥr, lit. 'house of Ḥathor', presumably the same Delta town of Pap. Anastasi III, 3, 3, for which see Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 80. Exact situation unknown.

LINE 26. *Pr-Bꜣstt-nbt-Bꜣstt*, lit. 'house of Bastet, lady of Bubastis', elsewhere simply *Bꜣst* or *Pr-Bꜣstt*,¹ the Greek Bubastis, modern Tell Baṣṣa; XVIIIth nome of Lower Egypt. A divine triad made up by the cat goddess Bastet and the gods Ḥar-ḥekenu and Atum was worshipped there. The main local temple was of course that of Bastet, but Ḥar-ḥekenu had his own, though lesser, temple, and it is possible that there was a special building for the cult of Atum also; see Habachi, *Tell Basta*, 110; Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* II, 75; Montet, *Géographie*, I, 173 ff.; Andrzejewski, *op. cit.*, 25, pt. 2, 16.

𓆎𓆏𓆑, fuller writings show the original reading to have been *Ḥwt-tꜣ-ḥrt-ib*, see *Wb.* III, 3; VI, 10 (s.v. Athribis); for other views cf. Montet, *Géographie*, I, 119 f., with references, to which add Albright, *JEA* 23, 200 n. 4 (on p. 201). 'The mansion of the land of the centre' was the Greek Athribis, modern Tell Atrīb, just outside the town of Benha, Xth (Black bull) nome of Lower Egypt. The chief temple was that of Horus Khentkhety; our knowledge of this and other local sanctuaries depends mainly on textual references rather than on archaeological evidence; cf. Bergmann, *Rec. trav.* 7, 185 ff.; Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* II, 116; Jelinková-Reymond, *Les Inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-her-le-sauveur*, 5 n. 3, 87 n. 4, 100 n. 10; Habachi, *Mitt. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, 15, 71 f.; but see Fairman, *JEA* 46, 81 with n. 2.

𓆎𓆏𓆑, 'Mest'. Except for the town determinative this place-name could be a writing of the word for 'supper'. This peculiar orthography renders slightly uncertain the identification with *Msd* in the IXth (Busirite) nome of Lower Egypt, proposed by Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 12, 213; 17, 124. The ruins of *Msd* are at Tell Umm Ḥarb, close beside the village of Tell Muṣṣâi, which has preserved the ancient name of the place. Ramesside blocks re-used in the Libyan period have been found there; they are probably the remains of the ancient local temple which, to judge from the inscriptions, appears to have been dedicated to Thoth and his consort Neḥem-away, though Horus and the lion god Miūsis might have also been held in honour there. See Edgar, *Ann. Serv.* 11, 164 ff.; Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* III, 62; Montet, *Géographie*, I, 100 f.

Bꜣst, unidentified place, probably of some political or administrative importance because in l. 27 below it is used almost as a nome name, or at all events as the eponym of one of the four Lower Egyptian nomes in which Nitocris was given fields. There the

¹ Cf. Habachi, *Tell Basta*, 121.

text reads *m ww n Bst*, ‘in the district of Baset’, with *ww* for ‘nome’ and in exact parallelism to *m ww n Nn-nsw*, ‘in the district (i.e. nome) of Ninsu’, and similar adverbial phrases in the list of Upper Egyptian fields of ll. 17–20 and 31 of this stela. See Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* II, 14 (quoting Daressy, *Sphinx*, 14, 160, 6); Bénédite, *Sur un étui de tablette*, 10. The spelling $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ is noteworthy and curiously shows the same ending as the immediately preceding place-name *Mst*. 𓏏 is hardly group-writing for *t* here, but rather hints that this place-name might be also a word for food or some related notion. There is no evidence to justify a connexion with *bst*, a word which denotes a bread or loaf of unknown description and which occurs as a component in the name of a Fifth Dynasty domain.¹

Pr-Hršf-nb-Nn-nsw, lit. ‘house of Arsaphes lord of Ninsu’. Probably a locality in the eastern Delta or at any rate a town doubtless in Lower Egypt like the rest of the places mentioned in the present list; it must therefore be distinguished from the Upper Egyptian Ninsu or Heracleopolis Magna. The highly probable suggestion has been made by Ranke, *ZÄS* 44, 49 n. 4, that Pi-Hershef-neb-Ninsu might be the Heracleopolis Micra mentioned by Ptolemy, *Geogr.* iv, 5, 24, as capital of the Sethroite nome of Lower Egypt to the east of the Bubastite arm of the Nile, and known also to have lain half-way between Tanis and Pelusium. Another name for Heracleopolis Micra appears to have been Sethroë or Sethroïs according to classical sources.² For further identifications, localizations, and references see Daressy, *Sphinx*, 14, 163 (20); id., *Ann. Serv.* 17, 124; Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* II, 116; III, 94 (top); id., *Les Nomes d’Égypte*, 23 ff.; Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 176*. Of the local cult and of the temple or temples at the time of Psammetichus I which might have been called upon to contribute the 100-*deben* quota of bread to Nitocris nothing is known.³

Pr-Spd, lit. ‘house of Sopd’, modern Şaft el-Hinna, probably became the capital of the XXth (Arabia) nome of Lower Egypt at about the time of the Assyrian domination. There was a temple there dedicated to the chief local god, Sopd, a warrior-god, protector of the eastern frontier and worshipped as a mummified falcon. For references see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* II, 127 f.; Montet, *Géographie*, I, 206 ff.; Yoyotte, *Rev. d’assyriol.* 46, 214; id., *Rev. d’Ég.* 15, 107 f.

On the perfective passive participle+dative $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ here rendered by the English present perfect ‘what has been given to her’, see above p. 87 note on l. 17. Unlike the case of the fields given to Nitocris in Upper Egypt, here no mention is made of the donor or donors of the fields given her in Lower Egypt. Was the king again the donor?

LINE 27. *Ww*, ‘district’, with the meaning ‘nome’; cf. above p. 88 note on l. 17.


Ww n Szw, ‘the district of Sais’, is equivalent to ‘the nome of Neith-North’; cf. above p. 88 note apropos of *ww n Nn-nsw* in l. 17. For *Szw* see above p. 91 note on l. 24.

Nz ššisz rsw, ‘the southern bedouin’; there is no determinative 𓏏 to suggest that

¹ Cf. Jacquet-Gordon, *Noms des domaines funéraires*, 359 (12), 364 (97).

² Cf. Müller, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, I, part 2, 712 n. 8.

³ It may be pointed out, for what it is worth, that according to Junker, *ZÄS* 75, 78 f., there was a shrine of Seth at Sethroë in the Old Kingdom; and many centuries later, during the Roman period, ‘the coins of the Sethroite nome show as its god a warrior falcon-god who was doubtless the Horus of Tjel’, thus Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 176*.





this phrase should be taken as a place-name with  as preformative.¹ That southern Syrian bedouin should have possessed estates in the Vth nome of Lower Egypt in the eastern Delta is noteworthy but not surprising. The existence of a Shosu or bedouin settlement in the XXIIInd and northernmost nome of Upper Egypt is attested c. 822 B.C. under Shoshenq III, and they, too, were laid under contribution for the benefit of Amen-Rē; cf. Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 144 (§ 225, o; § 226, q), commenting on *n3 ššw n Pr-nb-Tp-ihw*, 'the bedouin of Ti-neb-Tpēhu'.

For ×    read ×   , 'its territory'.

Bīst, 'Baset', see above pp. 93 f. note on l. 26.


T3-ct-n-Nfr-hr, apparently unattested elsewhere, cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* I, 162. For the preformative *t3-ct* see above pp. 92 f. note on l. 25 apropos of *T3-ct-n-T3r*. There is no way of ascertaining just what *Nfr-hr* stands for. 'Kindly of face' is as a rule a designation of a deity, principally Ptaḥ and Ḥaṭḥōr, but it may denote other gods as well; it may also refer to the king or the queen or be merely used as a personal name; on *Nfr-hr* cf. *Wb.* II, 255, 5–9; Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 53, 115; Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 198, 6 with n. 1.

Gb, 'Geb', an unrecorded locality, yet it must have been well known and significant enough to be used virtually in lieu of the nome's name; so too *Bīst* above.

T-nt-t3-wrt-nht, lit. 'the one belonging to the unique one of the sycomore', locality unrecorded elsewhere. 'The unique one of the sycomore' might conceivably be a designation of the goddess Ḥaṭḥōr, less likely Nut; cf. *Wb.* II, 282, 12–15. For *t3-wrt-nht* cf.    *wrt Ipt-sw*, 'the unique one of Ipet-sut', i.e. Amen-Rē (Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 24, § 37, o); also *Hwt-hr hnwt wr-t*, 'Ḥaṭḥōr the unique lady', Nelson, *Ramses III's Temple*, I, pl. 59, B, 10.² For  as a prefixed component of place-names see Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 6, 2 (cf. Gunn and Gardiner, *JEA* 5, 50 n. 5); Gardiner, *Ram. Adm. Documents*, 70, 4 and 11; Faulkner, *Wilbour*, IV, 67, 71, 74 f., 81, 83 f., 88–91.

Ww hr-ib n Iwnw, 'the middle district of Ōn', with Ōn or Heliopolis doubtless serving here as a designation of the nome (XIIIth of Lower Egypt) of which that town was the capital; see above p. 88 note on *waw n Nn-nsw* in l. 17. *Ww hr-ib n3* has been noted elsewhere, but its exact meaning remains elusive; cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 27, 59 n. 4; id., *Wilbour*, II, 174 with n. 1.

LINES 28–29. *Sbtv*, 'rampart, surrounding wall'; Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 213*, and for the etymology Brockelmann, *Mél. Maspero*, I, 382. Here the word is part of a place-name, which is not uncommon,⁴ though the place itself is unrecorded elsewhere;

¹ Cf. Yoyotte, *Mitt. Deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, 16, 421 with n. 4. The present passage is undoubtedly the sole source for the entry in Budge, *Egyptian Dictionary*, 1037 b, where the expression is taken to be not ethnical but geographical for 'the southern deserts'; so too Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* v, 98, quoting Budge but failing to identify the reference. ² Collated; Brugsch's reading  quoted by Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 125*, is wrong.

³ It would seem that *hr-ib n* in this expression should be carefully distinguished from the rare prepositional phrase *hr-ib-n* var. *hr-iby-n*, 'in the middle of', with either temporal or spatial meaning, for which see Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 117, § 183, adding Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Anchmesneferibre*, 81 (207). For *hr-ib* var. *hry-ib* as adjectival adjunct to topographic terms see Wild, *BIFAO* 54, 184; Montet, *Géographie*, I, 39, 182.

⁴ Cf. *Wb.* IV, 96, 2; Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* v, 23–26; also in Coptic, see Crum, *Dictionary*, 323 a; Yoyotte, *Rev. d'Ég.* 15, 108 ff.

cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* v, 25. As for the personal names involved, Hory is common in the New Kingdom and the Late Period, Psherinmut is likewise well attested from the Twenty-first Dynasty onwards, whereas Djedty and Mertwebkhe appear to occur only here; see Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 118 (19), 158 (19), 251 (17), 412 (11). I can find no trace of any of these persons in other records.

LINE 29. The sum total 1,400 arouras equals 382.90 hectares or 946.15 acres of field. The figure is correct.

The numeral for 1,400 is followed by a legal formula already met with in l. 20. The formula stresses the all-embracing character of the land grant and recurs in a slightly modified form in the last line of the inscription; see note on l. 31 below.

LINE 30. The sum total of 2,100 *deben* of bread undoubtedly represents the 600 *deben* to be contributed daily by the five persons mentioned in ll. 21–23 plus 1,500 *deben* from the temples of 15 Delta localities listed in ll. 24–26. Only the personal contributions amounting to 600 *deben* are explicitly described as day-by-day quotas; the text is silent upon the periodicity of the bread contributions from the Delta temples. However, if modern book-keeping practice and ways of thinking can legitimately be applied to this seventh-century B.C. account, it is inevitable to conclude that the 1,500 *deben* of Delta bread of ll. 24–26 as well as the ultimate 2,100-*deben* sum total are daily amounts too. Converted to modern weight systems 2,100 *deben* equals 191.10 kilograms or 421.37 pounds.

As to the land endowment, the fields in six nomes of Upper Egypt cover 1,800 arouras according to l. 20 and those in four nomes of Lower Egypt add up to 1,400 arouras according to l. 29, which yields 3,200 arouras of field in ten nomes. Now the grand total in l. 30 is 3,300 arouras of field in eleven nomes. It may be safely asserted that the 100-aroura field in the Xth (Cobra) nome of Upper Egypt mentioned in l. 24 is not included in the 3,300-aroura grand total; if that were the case the total of nomes would be ten, not eleven, seeing that the Xth nome has already been counted in as ‘the district of Edjō’ in l. 19. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Upper Egyptian district of Tawēr in the addendum at the bottom of the stela (l. 31) is the nome required to make eleven; the amount of fields in Tawēr is not stated; it must have been 100 arouras, no doubt, if the 3,300 grand total is correct.

For *sp sn*, ‘twice’, as an exclamation mark see Schott, *ZÄS* 79, 54 ff.; Hintze, *ZÄS* 80, 76 f. The *sp*-sign \circ occurs four times in this line: in three instances it is made as a ring \circ , as also in l. 11 above; in one case, immediately after *swd*, it has wrongly been cut as \otimes . The sign is given its traditional, orthodox form \circ in l. 7 above.

Nn mrhw, ‘nor decline’; on *nn* as a conjunction with the meaning ‘nor’, Gunn, *Studies in Eg. Syntax*, 163 (B).

LINE 31. This line is an addendum, in smaller characters, doubtless meant to complete the list of ll. 17–21, where particulars are given of fields in *six* different nomes while according to the heading the number of nomes concerned is explicitly seven. The postscript is unsatisfactory, at all events from our point of view. It mentions, to be sure, a specific locality in a particular nome of Upper Egypt and then develops rather redundantly the formula of endowment; that is all. It is left to the reader to guess that

it is fields that the text is dealing with, and as regards the area of those fields, it is also left unmentioned and must be calculated on the basis of the totals in ll. 20, 29, and 30; see above, note on l. 30. If I am right in assuming that this postscript is meant to complete the list of ll. 17–21, then the donor of the fields in the district of Tawēr is the king.

On *T3-wr*, 'Tawēr', the VIIIth (Thinite) nome of Upper Egypt, cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* VI, 11, 65; Montet, *Géographie*, II, 99 ff. The present occurrence is palaeographically noteworthy, for the frame (*sit venia verbo*) round the fetish of Abydos is very unusual.

Inwp is a place-name unrecorded elsewhere.

The place names are followed by a legal formula which indicates the comprehensiveness of the field endowment and which is just a variant of the one used in l. 20 and again in l. 29; cf. Kees, *ZÄS* 72, 42 (on Z. 4), quoting Gunn, *Ann. Serv.* 27, 217, 219 f.; see also Massart in *Mélanges bibliques André Robert*, 44 with nn. 2 and 5.

Conclusion

The text of the Nitocris Adoption stela is straightforward enough and may on the whole be left to speak for itself. Such points as call for elucidation and comment have been dealt with in the preceding notes. Here, by way of conclusion, I shall merely give a running account of the narrative portion of the text according to my own interpretation of it, followed by a tabulation of Nitocris' itemized endowment.

Towards the middle of the seventh century B.C. King Wahibrē^c Psamtik, otherwise called Psammetichus I, the founder of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, held sway over Upper and Lower Egypt following long years of Ethiopian rule. Sais in the western Delta was the dynastic capital, but Thebes continued to be the religious metropolis of the nation. There in Thebes the votaresses of Amūn formed a college or sisterhood which wielded enormous temporal and spiritual power and was therefore possessed of considerable political influence. The head of that college of priestesses was at the time the God's Wife of Amūn Shepenwepe (II), a sister of the late King Taharqa, and she had with her as adopted child and heiress apparent her own niece, a daughter of Taharqa named Amonirdis (II). Amonirdis (II) bore the title of Adorer of God and had been placed there as direct successor to the office of God's Wife by her own father. The civil authority not only of the city of Thebes and the Theban nome but also, it would seem, of the entire South continued to rest, as in the last years of Ethiopian rule, with the celebrated Montemhat, who held the posts of mayor of Nō and governor of Upper Egypt;¹ his rank in the priestly hierarchy was, however, not particularly exalted, for he was only fourth prophet of Amūn; but then even the first prophet or high priest appears not to have enjoyed in those days the vast authority and prominence which the incumbent of that office had commanded of old. The fact was that the God's Wife of Amūn had by then surpassed the high priest in power and importance.

In Year 9 of Psammetichus I, or 656 B.C., Princess Nitocris, eldest daughter of the Saite sovereign, left the court in the north at her father's behest and went to Thebes to

¹ For the extent of Montemhat's jurisdiction cf. Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 64 (x), 268 (Doc. 9); also Helck, *Verwaltung*, 232.

join the sisterhood of votaresses of Amūn. She was to enter it not as just another acolyte pure and simple, but as Amonirdis (II)'s adopted daughter and heiress apparent, and was thus to become second in the succession to the supreme office of God's Wife of Amūn. Nothing is known of the negotiations which may reasonably be surmised to have been carried on between the Saite king and the Theban group by way of preliminary discussions; once Nitocris' entrance into the college of priestesses of Amūn was agreed upon in principle it must have been necessary to arrange the etiquette and legal details of her formal admission and particularly to settle the all-important matter of her endowment. Whether or not these preliminaries were in any way recorded or alluded to in the now lost portion of the Cairo stela we shall probably never know. At all events, the preserved text starts abruptly in the middle of a speech delivered by Psammetichus I before an audience made up, presumably, of courtiers and high officers of his administration. Time, place, and other circumstances of the gathering, if ever recorded, have not been preserved; very likely it took place at Sais, the dynastic capital, and certainly at a time when the negotiations with the Theban college were already well advanced or had even been brought to a satisfactory end. Mutilated though the speech is today, its gist can still be readily grasped. Psammetichus I announces in it his resolve to consecrate his daughter Nitocris to Amūn that she may become God's Wife. He has generously endowed her for the purpose. He is perfectly aware that the post he seeks for her is by no means vacant, for even the current incumbent has already a duly appointed successor. This was all arranged by the late King Taharqa, who caused his daughter Amonirdis to be received by the God's Wife Shepenwepe as her adopted daughter and heiress apparent. Taharqa's dispositions must stand. He (Psammetichus I) is a just and righteous ruler and will not do what indeed should not be done, as he emphatically puts it: he will not dispossess the rightful heiress Amonirdis of her claim. Amonirdis will simply take Nitocris as her adopted daughter and direct successor. Thus the king, whose idea was then that Nitocris should wait her turn to attain the dignity of God's Wife. When he had done with his announcement his listeners broke out in the usual praises and exclamations of obsequious, unreserved approval.

Nitocris' journey to Thebes was an elaborately organized affair, her train consisting of a whole fleet of fully manned, richly fitted-out vessels under the command of Sam-towetefnakhte, a functionary of great consequence who held, among other posts, the governorship of the Heracleopolitan nome of Upper Egypt. The party left the court on the twenty-eighth day of the first month of Akhet, regnal year 9, that is to say on March 2, 656 B.C. Just where the court happened to be at that moment is not stated; it might have been at Sais, the nation's capital; in any case the place of departure must have been a northern locality because the fleet proceeded upstream to reach the Theban nome. The voyage appears to have had all the pomp and circumstance of a royal progress. The nomarchs of the various districts through which they sailed had been required to look after the comfort and safety of the princess and her party, and having with them heaps of fresh provisions in readiness they were prepared to satisfy the travellers' every want.

Thebes was reached in sixteen days. There Nitocris was met by huge rejoicing crowds.

At the great temple of Amūn she was given, probably oracularly, a warm welcome by the supreme god. Following Amūn's blessing and sanction it was the God's Wife Shepenwepe (II) who gave the Saite princess her official approval, and clearly this was not a merely verbal, *pro forma* gesture on her part because concurrently the title-deed which Shepenwepe (II) had received from her father and adopted mother was endorsed by her in favour of Nitocris, this being probably one of the preconcerted stipulations of the adoption. Finally Amonirdis (II), the Adorer of God and heiress apparent of Shepenwepe (II), also signified in the same handsome way her acceptance of the newcomer, her own immediate successor. These proceedings were properly recorded in writing, a document being drawn up attesting that Nitocris was the recipient of both Shepenwepe (II)'s real property and Amonirdis (II)'s real property, and that her right to succeed to the throne or office of God's Wife was officially sanctioned and acknowledged. Temple officials of various ranks witnessed the document, and in this manner Psammetichus I's eldest daughter Nitocris was, in the ninth year of her father's reign, formally established in Thebes as the successor to Amonirdis (II), who herself was Shepenwepe (II)'s heiress apparent to the office of God's Wife of Amūn.¹ Nitocris must have been very young at the time, since she is known to have died seventy years later, in 586 B.C.² The date of her induction to the office of God's Wife is unknown.

The narrative portion of the stela takes up almost exactly one half of the preserved text, the second half being a detailed account of Nitocris' endowment. Her endowment consisted of (1) real property and (2) periodical contributions in kind. Analyses of these two categories are given in tabular form below. Although the tables are, I trust, self-explanatory, a few complementary remarks may not be altogether amiss.

The properties owned by Shepenwepe (II) and Amonirdis (II) in country and in town which they professed to have given to Nitocris seem not to have been included in the itemized account recorded in the present stela, unless such properties were the various fields in the Delta which amounted to 1,400 arouras and whose donor or donors our text fails to name. This is extremely doubtful, however, and I cannot escape the impression that Shepenwepe (II) and Amonirdis (II) made over to Nitocris their title-deeds merely, and that they retained possession of their land-holdings as long as they lived. Nor can I help the feeling that the 1,400 arouras of land in four nomes of Lower Egypt were a present of Psammetichus I to his daughter, though why the compiler should have left the donor's name out is a question. As for the fields assigned to Nitocris in seven Upper Egyptian nomes, they are explicitly described as the gift of the sovereign; their topographical distribution is, incidentally, worthy of note: covering in aggregate 1,900 arouras those fields were scattered over the northern sector of Upper Egypt only, from the Heracleopolitan nome through the Sistrum nome to be precise, and not one single plot of land lay further upstream. Hardly sheer chance, this, one should think, but rather deliberate choice. Or was it perhaps dictated by the circumstances, the Crown

¹ For a similar, though by no means equally circumstantial, record of 'adoption' see the Cairo stela first published by Maspero, *Ann. Serv.* 5, 84 ff.; for additional references see Christophe, *Karnak-Nord*, III, 115 (11); id., *Ann. Serv.* 54, 88 f.

² Nitocris' death occurred in Year 4 of Apries, fourth month of Shōmu, day 4, according to ll. 7-8 of the Cairo stela quoted in the immediately preceding note. Professor Parker tells me that the date is Dec. 16, 586 B.C.

being drastically short of land south of the VIIth nome? Psammetichus I pledged himself, furthermore, to a daily contribution of not less than 6 bushels or over 200 litres of grain, a goodly amount indeed; and one strongly suspects that it was he too who had imposed upon temples in fifteen different Delta localities the obligation to supply Nitocris with a good 300 pounds (136½ kilograms) of bread every day. In addition, it is just possible that the substantial contributions in kind to be paid out to her in daily and monthly quotas by a group of prominent Thebans were also largely his own contriving. Psammetichus I claimed that he had so endowed his daughter that she would be a wealthier God's Wife than any of her predecessors. Somehow it may rather be thought he had.

Nitocris' endowment

TABLE I. *Real property*

| Location | Donor | Field areas measured in | | |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| | | arouras | hectares | acres |
| Upper Egyptian nomes | | | | |
| 1. XXth | the king | 300 | 82·05 | 202·75 |
| 2. XIXth | the king | 300 | 82·05 | 202·75 |
| 3. XVIIIth | the king | 200 | 54·70 | 135·16 |
| 4. XVth | the king | 500 | 136·75 | 337·91 |
| 5. Xth | the king | 300 | 82·05 | 202·75 |
| 6. VIIth | the king | 200 | 54·70 | 135·16 |
| Total (l. 20) | | 1,800 | 492·30 | 1,216·48 |
| 7. VIIIth ¹ | the king | 100 | 27·35 | 67·58 |
| U. Eg. Total | | 1,900 : 1,900 | 519·65 : 519·65 | 1,284·06 : 1,284·06 |
| Lower Egyptian nomes | | | | |
| 1. Vth | unspecified | 360 | 98·46 | 243·29 |
| 2. unidentified | unspecified | 500 | 136·75 | 337·91 |
| 3. unidentified | unspecified | 240 | 65·64 | 162·20 |
| 4. XIIIth | unspecified | 300 | 82·05 | 202·75 |
| L. Eg. Total | | 1,400 : 1,400 | 382·90 : 382·90 | 946·15 : 946·15 |
| <i>Sum Total</i> | | 3,300 | 902·55 | 2,230·21 |

¹ Added in l. 31. Donor and area figure are conjectural; cf. above pp. 96 f. notes on l. 30 and on l. 31.

Nitocris' endowment

TABLE 2. *Periodical contributions in kind*

| Source | Per day | | | | Per month | | | | | | |
|---|--|---|-----------------|-------------------------|---|------|-------|-------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| | Bread | Milk | Cake | Herbs | Emmer | Oxen | Geese | Cake | Beer | Herbs | Yield of |
| Fourth prophet of Amūn | 200 <i>dbn</i> : 18:20 kilos | 5 <i>hnc</i> : 2:51 litres | 1 | 1 bundle | | 3 | 5 | 15 | 10 <i>lbnt</i> | | 100-aroura: 27:35-hectare field |
| Instructor of prophets | 100 " : 9:10 " | 2 " : 1:01 " | | 1 " | | | | | | | |
| Wife of 4th prophet of Amūn | 100 " : 9:10 " | 2 " : 1:01 " | | | | | | | 5 " | 10 bundles | |
| First prophet of Amūn | 100 " : 9:10 " | 2 " : 1:01 " | | | | | | | 5 " | 10 " | |
| Third prophet of Amūn | 100 " : 9:10 " | 2 " : 1:01 " | | | | | | | | | |
| The king through Ré ^c -Atum's temple at Heliopolis | | | | | 3 <i>hnt</i> : 218:04 litres | | | | | | |
| Sais | 200 " : 18:20 " | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pi-Edjō | 200 " : 18:20 " | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pi-Hathōr-mefke | 100 " : 9:10 " | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pi-inbwey | 50 " : 4:55 " | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pi-neb-imu | 50 " : 4:55 " | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pi-manu | 50 " : 4:55 " | | | | | | | | | | |
| T- ^c at-en-Tjar | 50 " : 4:55 " | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tanis | 100 " : 9:10 " | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pi-Hathōr | 100 " : 9:10 " | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pu-Bast-neb-Bast | 100 " : 9:10 " | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hat-hrib | 200 " : 18:20 " | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mest | 50 " : 9:10 " | | | | | | | | | | |
| Baset | 50 " : 9:10 " | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pi-Hershef-neb-Ninsu | 100 " : 18:20 " | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pi-Sopd | 100 " : 18:20 " | | | | | | | | | | |
| Totals | 2,100 <i>dbn</i> : 191:10 kilos or 421:37 pounds | 11 <i>hnc</i> : 5:54 litres or 9:75 pints | 2½ ¹ | 2½ bundles ¹ | 3 <i>hnt</i> : 218:04 litres or 6 bushels | 3 | 5 | [35] ² | 20 <i>lbnt</i> ³ | [20 bundles] ² | 100-aroura: 27:35-hectare field or 67:58-acre field |

¹ Figure includes the monthly contribution. Size of the unit undetermined.

² Amount is included in the *per diem* total. Size of the unit undetermined.

³ Size of the unit undetermined.