

from where Avaris once stood. The persecution of Sēt during the Saite and later times, when his image appears to have been systematically excised from the monuments, was probably the result of a religious revival, when all old prejudices and hostilities were aroused by a wave of acute nationalism.

It is unlikely that the Hyksos power in Egypt was much, if at all, curtailed before the reign of Kamōse, who seems to have immediately followed the king or kings named Seknenrē¹, and of whose dealings with the enemy we now have an account of the greatest importance. This is the historical text which fills the obverse of the writing-board known as the Carnarvon Tablet No. 1², which was discovered during the Earl of Carnarvon's excavations at Thebes in 1908, and which is at most fifty years later than the events it deals with. The text, with transcription, translation and comments, has been made the subject of a fairly recent article in this *Journal*³, and this must be consulted for discussions of the more important philological and historical points. The translation which we subjoin is a revision of the one given in that article.

As so often happens, the text is incomplete. The writer of the tablet, who was an ignorant scribe, a careless copyist, and a poor penman, seems to have taken down only as much as would fill one side of the writing-board, and there to have left it. It seems likely that we have here a direct copy from a commemorative stela set up by Kamōse in one of the Theban temples⁴, and although it is preserved to us as a literary piece, there is no reason why we should not rely as much upon its statements as on those of any Egyptian historical narrative of the same *genre*.

Year III, Horus "Manifest-on-his-Throne," Two Goddesses "Repeating-Monuments," Horus of Gold "Making-Content-the-Two-Lands," King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Wazkhe]per[rē], Son of Rē Kamōse, given life like Rē for ever and ever⁵; beloved of Amenrē Lord of Karnak.

The powerful King within Thebes, Kamōse, given life for ever, was beneficent King, and Rē [caused] him to be a veritable King, and handed over to him the power in very truth⁶. And His Majesty spoke in his palace to the council of grandees who were in his suite:—"To what end am I cognizant of it, this power of mine, when a chieftain is in Avaris, and another in Kush, and I sit in league with an A'am and a Negro, every man holding his slice of this⁷ Egypt? He who shares the land with me, I do not pass him (??)

¹ See below, p. 48.

² First published in *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, by the Earl of CARNARVON and HOWARD CARTER, London, 1912.

³ Vol. III, pp. 95 ff.; GARDINER, *The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamōse: The Carnarvon Tablet, No. 1*.

⁴ To the parallel instituted in the article referred to in the last footnote (pp. 109-10) between this document and the Berlin parchment MS. containing an account of the founding of a temple at Heliopolis by Sesostri I, it may be added here that there is in the latter a textual error (*m hmt nb* for *m hmt-k*), which could only have arisen from the misreading (or too slavish copying) of a hieroglyphic original; it is therefore certain that the scribe of the Berlin parchment made a direct copy from a temple stele. This fact has been pointed out by BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, vol. I, p. 245 note.

⁵ The words "like Rē for ever and ever" seem to have been erroneously misplaced in the text. For an analogous error compare *Sphinx stele*, ll. 3-4, and Erman's remarks thereon in his edition of that text; see perhaps also GAUTHIER, *Livre des Rois*, vol. II, p. 369, XVI B.

⁶ This probably means merely that Rē delegated to him his (Rē's) government of the earth, and not that he had already given him victory over his enemies at the point at which the story opens.

⁷ *T* must here have demonstrative meaning, as *Kmt* is used without it in ll. 4 (*bis*), 7, 8, 13. Cf. *t3-n Kmt* l. 5, and *t3 Kmt rst n dm pn*, SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 4 (the biography of Aḥmōse translated below).

as far as Memphis, the water(?) of Egypt. See, he holds(?) Shmūn¹, and no man rests, being wasted through servitude(?) of the Setyu. I will grapple with him and rip open his belly; my desire is to deliver Egypt and to smite(?) the Asiatics."

And the grandees² of his Council said:—"Behold, the Asiatics have [advanced?] as far as Cusae, they have pulled out(?) their tongues all together. We are at ease holding our (part of) Egypt. Elephantine is strong, and the midland(?) is with us as far as Cusae³. Men till for us the finest of their land; our cattle are in the papyrus marshes. Spelt is trodden out(?) for(?) our swine. Our cattle are not taken away.....on account of it. He holds the land of the 'A'amu, we hold Egypt. But [whoever?/] comes to land and to oppose(?) us, then would we oppose him."

And they were displeasing to the heart of his Majesty. "As to this counsel of yours these 'A'amu who..... [Behold I will fight(?)] with the 'A'amu. Success will come. If.....with weeping, the entire land [shall acclaim me(?) the powerful ruler(?)] within Thebes, Kamōse the protector of Egypt."

I⁴ sailed down as a champion to overthrow the 'A'amu by the command of Amūn, just of counsels, my army being valiant in front of me like a blast of fire, troops of Mazoi being in advance of(?)⁵ our strongholds(?) in order to spy out the Setyu in order to destroy their positions, East and West bringing their fat, and my army abounding in supplies everywhere. I sent forth a powerful troop of Mezay while I spent the day.....to coop up(?).....Teti the son of Piopi within Nefrusi⁶. I was not going to allow(?) him to escape⁷. I turned back the 'A'amu who had encroached(?) upon Egypt and he acted(?) like one who.....the might of the 'A'amu. I spent the night in my boat, my heart being happy.

When day dawned I was on him as it were a hawk. When the time of perfuming the mouth⁸ came I overthrew him, I destroyed his wall, I slew his folk, I caused his wife to go down to the river-bank. My army were like lions with their spoil, with slaves, herds, fat and honey, dividing up their possessions, their hearts being glad. The district of Nefr[usi?] was falling; it was no great thing for us(?) to confine its soul(?). The.....Per-shak was lacking when I reached it; their horses were fled within. The garrison(?)......

The Carnarvon Tablet, like the Sallier Papyrus, comes to an abrupt conclusion, leaving us in ignorance as to whether the Theban forces pushed on at once to Memphis, or whether

¹ Hermopolis, the capital of the Hare Nome, in Middle Egypt.

² The text has *wrw* "great men," not *srw* "officials," "grandees," as in 1. 2. In these words hieratic clearly distinguishes signs that are apt to be confused in hieroglyphic, so that we may here have further evidence that the text was copied from a stèle.

³ The capital of the next nome south of the Hare Nome; the modern El-Kusiye.

⁴ A close parallel to this abrupt transition from the third person to the first exists in the "Battle of Kadesh" text of Ramesses II, cf. BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, vol. III, § 327. It is also not uncommon in the royal building inscriptions of the Eighteenth Dynasty; cf. *op. cit.*, vol. II, §§ 601, 804, 900.

⁵ For the obscure *m hrt* possibly compare *ktlt dmlw nty hry-sn* "other towns which are beyond(?) them," *Anast. I*, 22-3.

⁶ A city a few miles north of Shmūn; between the latter and Kôm el-Aḥmar.

⁷ Certainly a future form; here used in the past.

⁸ *nw nī stī rī*, "the time of perfuming the mouth," apparently "breakfast time," compare *Ebers Papyrus*, pl. 50, 20a; *stī rī*, with food-determinative, "breakfast(?)," associated with *trī nī hīwi* "even-tide," *Turin stèle 46*=PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, vol. I, pl. 83. We are indebted to M. Dévaud for these references.