

($W^2 w^2 \cdot t$). Then the negro chiefs of Irthet ($Yrrtt$), Wawat, Yam ($Y^2 m$) and Mazoi ($M\bar{d}^2$)^a drew timber therefor, and I did the whole in only one year. They were launched and laden with very large granite blocks for the pyramid (called): "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful." I then Γ —^b for the palace in all these 5 canals, because I honored, because I Γ —, because I praised the fame of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mernere, who lives forever, more than all gods, and because I carried out everything⁴⁹ according to the mandate which his ka commanded me.

I was one beloved of his father, and praised of his mother; first-born⁵⁰—pleasant to his brothers, the count, the real governor, of the South, revered by Osiris, Uni (Wny).

INSCRIPTIONS OF HARKHUF^c

325. The important inscriptions of this tomb inform us more fully than any other source, of the commercial relations of the Old Kingdom with the Negro peoples of the extreme

^aThe same chiefs do obeisance to King Mernere at Assuan in the year 5. See §§ 316 ff.

^b*snds*.

^cThe tombs of the Assuan nobles were first noticed (1885) and excavations in them were begun by Mustafa, British consular agent at Assuan. They were then excavated by Gen. Sir F. W. Grenfell (1885), assisted by Budge in 1886. See Budge, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, X, 4-40, and Bouriant, *Recueil*, X, 181-98 (supplemented by Scheil, *Recueil*, XIV, 94-96), who published the shorter texts, discovered before the end of 1886. The entire series of inscribed tombs discovered up to date has been published with plans by de Morgan (*Catalogue des monuments*, 141-201). They are seventeen in number, and unfortunately de Morgan's copyists have collated so carelessly that the more difficult texts are worthless. Only three of the tombs have furnished texts of length or great historical importance: that of Sebni (§§ 362 ff.), of Pepi-nakht (§§ 355 ff.), and Harkhuf. Curiously enough, the fellahin on the island of Elephantine discovered a mass of correspondence on papyrus belonging to the same noblemen who are interred in the cliffs opposite. These papyri of the Old Kingdom are in a very fragmentary condition, but will be published by the Berlin Museum, where they now are. One letter has already been translated by Erman in *Aus den Papyrus der Königlichen Museen*, Berlin, 1899, 91, 92.

The inscriptions of Harkhuf were first noticed by Schiaparelli and published by him in *Memorie della Reale Accad. dei Lincei anno CCLXXXIX*, Ser. 4^a, Vol. I, Part I, 21-53 (1892). It was discussed by Maspero, *Revue Critique*, 1892, II, 357-66;

south, involving indirect traffic with the Sudan. Harkhuf was the most successful of the energetic caravan-leaders among the Assuan nobles. He made four journeys to the distant southern Nubian country of Yam and finally thence westward into unknown regions. Three of these journeys were under Mernere (§§ 332-35) and the last under Pepi II (§§ 350 ff.). His inscriptions and those of the other Assuan nobles, for the first time reveal to us the active commerce with the south conducted by these nobles residing on the southern frontier.

326. Harkhuf's full titles were:^a "Count (*h³ ty- ʿ*), governor of the South,^b wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, ritual priest, caravan-conductor." Besides these offices, he was also, "chamber-attendant, attached to Nekhen, lord of Nekheb."

327. He first enumerates some of the less important incidents of his life, in connection with some of the qualities of his character.

328. I came today from my city, I descended from my nome, I built a house, I set up the doors. I dug a lake, and I planted trees. The king praised me. My father made a will for me, (for) I was excellent ——— [one beloved] of his father, praised of his mother,

translated and discussed by Erman, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XLVI, 574-79; with text, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1892, 78-83 (journeys), and *ibid.*, 1893, 65-73 (letter). The entire tomb with plan and texts is published by de Morgan (*Catalogue des monuments*, I, 162-73), but very inaccurately. As Erman's text (in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*) is based on indistinct photographs, no accurate text has yet been published. The accompanying translation is based upon my copy of the Berlin squeezes, photographs by Borchardt, and Erman's recent collation of the original, which he kindly placed at my disposal.

Since writing the above, the excellent text of Sethe has appeared (*Urkunden*, I, 120-31).

^aThis and the following statement of his virtues are inscribed over the door of the tomb. See also the list of titles introducing the journeys.

^bHarkhuf must have succeeded Uni in this office, who held it under Mernere also, dying under this king; but it was now becoming merely a rank.

whom all his brothers loved. I gave bread to the hungry, clothing to the naked, I ferried him who had no boat.

329. O ye living, who are upon earth, [who shall pass by this tomb whether] going down-stream or going up-stream, who shall say: "A thousand loaves, a thousand jars of beer for the owner of this tomb;" I will [—] for their sakes in the nether world. I am an excellent, equipped spirit, a ritual priest, whose mouth knows.^a

330. As for any man who shall enter into [this] tomb [as his mortuary possession, I will seize^b] him like a wild fowl; he shall be judged for it by the great god.

331. I was one saying good things and repeating what was loved. Never did I say aught evil, to a powerful one against any people, (for) I desired that it might be well with me in the great god's presence. Never did I [judge two brothers^c] in such a way that a son was deprived of his paternal possession.

Introduction^d

332. ¹Count, sole companion, ritual priest, chamber-attendant, judge attached to Nekhen, lord of Nekheb, wearer of the royal seal, caravan-conductor, privy councilor of all affairs of the South (*tp-ršy*), favorite of his lord, Harkhuf (*Hr-hwf*), ².^e who brings the products of all the countries to his lord, who brings the tribute of the royal ornaments, governor of all countries of the South (*tp-ršy*), who sets the terror of ³Horus^f among the countries, who does that which his lord praises,^e the revered by Ptah-Sokar, Harkhuf.

First Journey

333. ⁴He says:

The majesty of Mernere (*Mr-n-R*^g) my lord, sent me, together with my father, the sole companion, and ritual priest, Iri (*Yry*) to Yam (*Y'm*), in order to explore a road to this country. ⁵I did it in only seven

^aThis is again a promise to intercede with the powers of the hereafter on behalf of the living who repeat a prayer for the sake of the deceased; as in § 252.

^bSee Seneni, § 338, l. 4.

^cSee Pepinakht, § 357, ll. 3, 4.

^dAt the right of the door in fourteen columns on the façade, before the figure of Harkhuf with staff.

^eSome of the same titles repeated.

^fThe king.

months,^a and I brought all (kinds of) gifts from it [— —]. I was very greatly praised for it.

Second Journey

334. His majesty sent me a second time ⁶alone; I went forth upon the Elephantine road, and I descended^b from Irthet (*Yrtt*), Mekher (*M^chr*), Tereres (*Trrs*), Irtheth (*Yrtt*), being an affair of eight months. When I descended^b ⁷I brought gifts from this country in very great quantity. Never ⁸before was the like brought to this land.^c I descended from the dwelling of the chief of Sethu^d (*Stw*) and Irthet (*Yrtt*), ⁹after I had explored^e these countries. Never had^f any companion or caravan-conductor who went forth to Yam (*Y^om*) ¹⁰before this, done (it).^g

Third Journey

335. His majesty now sent me a third time to Yam; ¹¹I went forth from [—] upon the Uhet (*Wh^ot*)^h road, and I found the chief of Yam ¹²going to the land of Temeh (*Tmh*)ⁱ to smite Temeh ¹³as far as the western corner of heaven. I went forth after him to the land of Temeh, ¹⁴and I pacified him, until he praised all the gods for the king's sake.

^aThis is the length of the entire journey to and from his destination, including his stay there.

^b"Descend" usually means "return," but it is uncertain whether it has this meaning in both cases here, though it certainly does in the second.

^cEgypt.

^dSee Maspero (*Recueil*, XV, 103 f.), who places Sethu on both sides of the river south of Keneset, which is the first district south of Assuan.

^e*wh^o*, cf. § 312, Uni, l. 22, note.

^f*Gmyy* is perhaps a particle.

^gThe conclusion of this journey describes the unusual road taken to reach home, after he has already narrated the journey out, and the gifts brought back.

^hAccording to the analogy of l. 6 ("Elephantine road"), Uhet must be the starting-point of the road. Hence Griffith's proposal to identify this word with *wh^ot* "oasis," seems to me improbable (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XVI, 50). The verb *wh^o* commonly means "to quarry stone;" may this not be a word for "quarry," and the road is then the old quarry road still used at the cataract? Harkhuf then later crosses to the west side.

ⁱSame as later Temeh (*Tmh*) or Temehu (*Tmhw*).

Supplement to Third Journey^a

336. 1 ————^{bt, c} Yam (*Y^om*) who followed — — in order to inform the majesty of Mernere, my lord, 2 ————^b after the chief of Yam. Now when I had pacified that chief of Yam 3 ———— below^d Irthet (*Yrtt*) and above Sethu (*S^tw*), I found the chief of Irthet, Sethu, and Wawat 4 — — 1 — — 1.

I descended with 300 asses laden with incense, ebony, heknu, grain, ⁵panthers, — — 1, ivory, 1 throw-sticks¹, and every good product. Now when the chief of Irthet, Sethu, ⁶and Wawat saw how strong and numerous was the troop of Yam, which descended with me to the court, and the soldiers who had been sent with me, (then) ⁷this [chief] brought and gave to me bulls and small cattle,^e and conducted me to the roads of the highlands of Irthet, because I was more excellent, vigilant, and — ⁸than any count, companion or caravan-conductor, who had been sent to Yam before. Now, when the servant^f there was descending to the court, one^g sent the —, ⁹sole companion, the master of the bath, Khuni (*H^wny*),^h up-stream with a vessel laden with date-wine, 1 cakes¹, bread, and beer. ¹⁰The count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, ritual priest, treasurer of the god, privy councilor of decrees, the revered, Harkhuf.

[Continued §§ 350 ff.]

^aIn horizontal lines from right to left, on the left side of the door (on the façade). Below it Harkhuf's son, Zemi (*D^my*), offers him incense.

^bOver one-third line. Harkhuf evidently sent a messenger to inform the Pharaoh that he had gone "*after the chief of Yam.*"

^cEither Wawat or Irthet preceded, as determinative shows.

^dHe is here giving his return route. ^fModest for "I."

^eOr gazelles; not asses.

^gThe king.

^hOr *R^c-wny*, the *R^c* or *h*-sign is possibly a hole; one is tempted to find our old friend Uni here.

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