THE

INVASION OF EGYPT BY THE GREEKS,
UNDER THE XIXTH DYNASTY.
IN THE REIGN OF MENEPHTAH.

TRANSLATED BY
S. BIRCH, LL.D.

THE text of this inscription is found on one of the walls of a small court lying South of the great outer wall of the principal Temple of Karnak in Egypt. The upper part of the inscription has been broken away and the top of each line has lost from a fourth to third part of its entire length, the lower portion was encumbered with ruins and remained inaccessible till it was uncovered by the late Vte. de Rouge. The text has been published by Professor Lepsius Denkmäler Abth. III, 199, 2, by M. Brugsch, Geographische Inschriften, 4to, 1858, II. Taf. LXXXV, and more perfectly by M. Duemichen, Historische Inschriften. Taf. I–V. Translations of the inscription have also been made by the Vte. de Rouge, Revue Archéologique,
8vo, Paris 1867, p. 167, by M. Chabas, *Études de l’Antiquité historique*, 8vo, Paris 1870–73, the last of which is the most complete extending to the sixty-second line. The historical interest of this text is that it gives an historical account of the first years of the reign of Menephtah I. of the XIXth dynasty the son and successor of Rameses II. In it is detailed the invasion of Egypt from the West by the allied army of the Libyans, the Maxyes, the supposed Achæans or Greeks, the Sicilians, the Tyrrhenians or Etruscans, the Sardinians and the Lycians identified as such by M. de Rougé. It is the earliest historical mention hitherto discovered of the Greeks, while the great antiquity of the inscription shows the state of the population and colonization and civilization of the Mediterranean at that remote period. Exhibiting as it is thought to do the first point of contact between the Hellenic and Italian with the Egyptian and Hamitic races, it offers valuable data for the resolution of the problems involved in the earliest Hellenic legends, history and literature.
INVASION OF EGYPT.

Three fragments marked A, B, C.

FRAGMENT A.
Commencement of five perpendicular lines.

1 Then were smitten the Chiefs . . .
2 of his country, in bulls, cattles, and asses . .
3 men of the fallen enemy . . .
4 their weapons, smitten . . .
5 unknown is the stopping of their hand, they were . .
6 valour of the gods in the moment of time

FRAGMENT B.
Middle of seven perpendicular lines.

1 . . . Total . . .
2 . . . its Chief bearing . .
3 . . . divine
4 . . . the powerful Sun, more powerful than the Nine
   bow barbarians . . .
5 . . . victory. He was not taken the . . . were
6 . . . which I gave Tamera in . . .

FRAGMENT C.
End of nineteen horizontal lines.

1 . . . . . . the safety
2 he received without exception the morning of the
3 . . . of the men who had invaded it the eye of every
   god
4 . . . . . . great. The two lands of Tamera being given

\(^1\) Line 1 of this fragment perhaps continues line 3 of fragment A, line 2
\(^2\) continues line 4 of the same fragment, and so on.
\(^3\) Northern Egypt.
the doers of evil, were pierced by every god who was (beseeching) their heart to see the breath of BA-EN-RA beloved of AMEN.

the temples, they caused them to go into (MERNPTAH) at peace through Truth, may the time of his life be like the sun he answers on

of His Majesty, called NAMASUMERI the not

MERNPTAH at peace through Truth, called AMEN, the Prince of the land of Lubu. Assembled the abominable swiftness (of . . . their) swiftness. The Living Lord will catch him, knowing

joy coming forth from the cities of Tamera.

gods. The Living Lord subdued him commanding

their hand the wells open . . .

slept tranquil close to the fields

the well incessantly calling out at night

the ploughing of the . . . waters

approaching* saying a salutation

land of Mateni and Innu

The principal portion is in seventy-seven lines.

i, the Akuasha, Tursha, Luku, Sharutana, Shekilusha (all the lands of the North of the great sea,) came all the lands

victorious by the valour of AMEN, was the King of the Upper and Lower Country, BA-EN-RA, beloved of AMEN, the Son of the Son of the Sun MERNPTAH at peace through Truth, giver of life. Then that good god was . . .

1 Or called also "the Mauri," Moors. 2 Libya.

3 Northern Egypt. 4 Her tet, probably in or out of the mud or dirt. 5 Greek Isles.

6 Achaioi, Achaeans. 7 Tursenoii, Etruscans. 8 Lycians.

9 Sardinians. 10 Sicilians.
3 . . . followed him every god as his protection, every land was in fear at sight of him the King of the Upper and Lower Country Ba-en-Ra, beloved of Amen, the Son of the Sun, Menephtah at peace through Truth
4 . . . . . capture had been made of the places, he had ordered that they should bow down to his rule, the invaders of all his frontiers to (his) victory . . .
5 . . . all his acts are ordered as the breath of life, he caused men to refuse repose, preponderant was his valour in
6 . . . to guard Heliopolis, the city of the god Tum, to protect Memphis, the fortress of Tanen and to put in good condition what had been ruined
7 . . . lines before Pa-Baris, the environs of the canal of Shakana at the north of the pool of Har
8 . . . (as the plains) uncultivated, which had been left as pasturages on account of the Nine bow barbarians. It had been infested in the time of the ancestors. All the Kings of Upper Egypt reposed in secret monuments
9 . . . and the Kings of Lower Egypt were reposing in their city surrounded by a perishing sepulchre. The troops had not auxiliaries to answer. It happened
10 (that the King Menephtah was raised) on the throne of Horus (where) he had been placed to give life to Mankind, he had gone as King to watch over mortals, there was a courage in him to make him in the . . . . the two lands, I was
11 (ordering him to go) in the land of Bairu he gave orders to the elite of his troops, he sent his cavalry in all directions, his emissaries . . . . his march in
12 his . . . . for he did not care for hundreds of thousands

¹ Atmer, or smer, sepulchres.
² Alluding to the tombs of the Biban-el-Moluk and the pyramids.
³ Or Mabairu.
in the day of battle. His soldiers proceeded coming in good order, leading the auxiliaries to every land

13 . . . . month of the summer for the vile Chief of the the Lubu\textsuperscript{1} Marmaiu son of Tait descended from the land of the Tahennu\textsuperscript{2} with his auxiliaries,

14 (the Mashuash,\textsuperscript{3} the Kahaika,\textsuperscript{4}) the Sharutana,\textsuperscript{5} the Shakalusha,\textsuperscript{6} the (A)kausha, the Tursha\textsuperscript{7} placing them at the head of all the combatants and all the heroes of his country. He led his wife and children

15 . . . the Captains of his troops, the Chiefs of the camp, he penetrated the Western frontier from the field of Pa-ari-sheps. Then His Majesty arose furious against them like a lion

16 (glaring He said to them), Listen ye to all the words of your Lord, I let you know this that is to say, I am the ruler who is leading you, I watch to find out

17 ( . . . your father. Is there one among) you like him to give life to his children? You tremble like geese not knowing what is best to do, not answering the (enemy)

18 (Egypt is) desolated, and abandoned to the incursion of any land, Nine\textsuperscript{8} bow barbarians are overrunning its frontiers; the revolters are invading it daily. Every country is pillaging

19 (its cities coming) to devastate the harbours they go to the fields of Egypt (and) to the river. They stand and remain therein days and months, seated

20 (in the country) They reach the mountains of the land of Ut,\textsuperscript{9} ravaging the circuit of Taahu, acting like it was under Kings in the records of other times in days not known

\textsuperscript{1} Libyans. \textsuperscript{2} Mauritania. \textsuperscript{3} Maxis. \textsuperscript{4} Caicai.

\textsuperscript{5} Sardinians. \textsuperscript{6} Sicilians. \textsuperscript{7} Turseni, Etruscans.

\textsuperscript{8} Supposed to be a confederacy of Nine States.

\textsuperscript{9} A place supposed to be in the Oxyrhynchite nome.
... (coming) as reptiles, they are not made to turn back (crawling) on their bellies, loving death and hating life, their heart does it not revolve.

(evil) ... they follow their Chief, they are looking out in the cultivated land, coming fighting to fill their bellies daily. They come to the land of Kami to search for provisions for their mouths, they give their hearts.

(to settle in Egypt) I ... I find they are brought in like netted fish; their Chief is like a hound a vile person without heart, he sits firm.

... approaching the land of the Petti-Shu which I made take corn in boats to give life to that land of the Khita, for I am the one to whom the gods have brought all support.

... (the whole world) is under my power the King of the Upper and Lower Country BA-EN-RA beloved of AMEN, the Son of the Sun, MENEPHTAH, at peace through Truth, the giver of life, augmenting my support, augmented is (the support of AMEN) I am firm as the ruler of the two countries, the lands.

Upper and Lower Egypt. AMEN has asserted his word in Uast he has turned back his head to the Mashuasha ... (they will not) see the land of Tamahu. Are

... (placed) the auxiliaries in front, let them slaughter the land of Luba, they go forth, the hand of god with them, AMEN (protecting) them with their bucklers. I order the country of Kami saying

(Let the troops be) prepared to unite in the fourteenth day. His Majesty saw in a dream as it were a figure of the god PHTAH standing to prevent the advance of the King. It was as high.

1 Nukhta-ta corn or arable land. 2 Egypt. 3 Or “fowlers.”
4 The Thebaid, West Thebes. 5 Maxyes.
6 Libya. 7 Egypt. 8 Or vigil, watch.
29 ... it said to him, Make a stand. It gave him the scimitar. Do you put away the dejected heart from you. His Majesty then said

30 (What am I to do? It replied) Let the infantry and cavalry in their number, advance in front of them to the cultivated land in the defiles of the nome of Pa-ari-sheps. Then the vile Chief of

31 (the Libyans ... ) the night of the first of the month Epiphi\(^1\) at dawn to meet together. The vile Chief of the Lubu made a march at the date of the third of the month Epiphi, bringing

32 (his troops) ... to fight them. An advance was made by the army of His Majesty with his cavalry Amen was with them Nebti, gave them his hand, (every) one

33 (was slaughtering the enemy fallen in) their blood nothing remained of them.\(^2\) For the auxiliary forces of His Majesty were six hours slaughtering of them, they put them to the sword making

34 ... of the land. When they were fighting the vile Chief of the Lubu (looked on). His cowardly heart was afraid he stretched forth

35 (his legs in flight, he threw down under) the sandals his bow. His weapons in haste were left behind (and all he had) with him a violent despair took him and a great terror circulated in his limbs

36 ... a capture was made) of his things, his money,\(^3\) his silver, and his gold, his vessels of brass, the ornaments of his wives, his thrones, his bows, his weapons and all things which he had brought

37 (with him ... an officer of) the palace to bring them with the captives. Then the vile Chief of the Lubu was hastening to return to his country. Was a number

\(^1\) The 11th month.  \(^2\) Or, without respite for them.  \(^3\) Manatata minas.
INVASION OF EGYPT BY THE GREEKS.

38 (of the enemy escaping) the slaughter from being put to the sword. But His Majesty made the officers who belonged to the cavalry after them. They were falling in

39 (their blood massacreing all) Such was not beheld in the registers of the Kings of Lower Egypt when that land of Kami\(^2\) was in their (power), when the plague\(^3\) was standing in the reigns of the Kings of Upper Egypt

40 . . . so the (gods) on account of their beloved Son to rule Kami by its Lord, to make good the temples of the two TAMERI to declare

41 . . . Western ports a despatch to the living court\(^4\) saying the fallen MARMAIU\(^4\) has gone flying, his limbs to his vileness has passed by me through the favour of the night in the cultivated lands

42 (before Paarisheps) . . . his vile body every god prostrating him on account of Kami; the promises he made have failed, all the words of his mouth have recoiled on his head, it is not known if he is dead

43 (or alive). Thou hast (thrown) him from his power. Should he be alive he will not recover, he has fallen contemptible to his soldiers. Thou art the one who will take them, slaughtering

44 . . . in the land of the Tamahu\(^5\) They will set another of his brethren in his place to contend he seems foul to the Chiefs like filth

45 . . . the officers, the auxiliary troops, the infantry, the cavalry, all the veterans of the army and those of the young foreign troops having ardour

46 . . . . . . before them laden with the cut off members of the Libu (and) the hands of all the nations which

\(^2\) Egypt.

\(^3\) This seems to mean during the absence of the kings of Upper Egypt, with whom the kings of Lower Egypt are disadvantageously contrasted.

\(^4\) The Egyptian king. \(^4\) Name recalling to mind the Marma-rica.

\(^5\) Country of the North, Cyrenaica.
were with them in skins and bunches, (all) things
were repulsed the enemies to their country.
Then the whole land shouted to heaven the villages and
nomes were delighted at the prodigies which had hap-
pened. The canals
things brought under the place of reception for
His Majesty to see his victories. The number of captives
brought from that land of the Lubu and the countries
were led with it likewise, all the things
conducted to the magazines of Menephtah at
peace in truth from the Tahennu who were in Paarisheps
to the upper places of that land, commencing from (the
fort of) Menephtah (at peace in Truth
members cut of six persons, children and brethren of
the land of Lubu killed of which the members were brought
killed Lubu of whom the excised members were
brought 6359  Total of children of Chiefs
Sharutina, Shakalusha, Akaiuasha of the lands of
the sea, of whom the members were not brought
Shakalusha 222 persons, making 250 hands, Turusha
making 790 hands Shairutana
Akaiuasha who were with us we did not let
their members be excised, their fists and hands were
brought by us. We did not let
(to be cut off) ... heaps their members were brought
cut off to the place where he was. 6111 persons, making
excised members
their fists 2370 persons, Shakalusha, Turusha,
coming as the wretches of the land of Lubu
(Kahaka), Lubu, led prisoners alive 218 persons;
women of the vanquished Chief of the land of Lubu
whom he had brought with him, they were natives of the
land of Lubu 12 persons  Total of those brought
\footnote{Phalli of the which the karunata was a part.}
58 (living prisoners) 9,376, weapons which were in their hands brought by the captives, copper swords of the Mashauasha 911.

59 oxen of the land of ... 1,20,214 yoke of horses which were bearing the vanquished of the land of Lubu with the children of the Chiefs of the land of Lubu brought were alive, ... things

60 ... of the Mashauasha (who were) captured of His Majesty the living, fighting the vanquished of the land of Lubu various kinds of bulls 1308, goats

61 (gold vases) various 54, silver drinking vessels other vases, copper swords, cuirasses, razors, various vases 3134

62 ... they set fire to the skin tents, and all their provisions: His Majesty came crowned in the hall of the palace

63 ... (was) his living Majesty rejoiced in seeing (it). He made slaves (of them) (Said His Majesty) shouting to heaven My service is in the horizon

64 ... of the good things the Sun made for my supply.

I gave them praise as said by the god, giving the valour for his words The King of the Upper and Lower Country BA-EN-RA beloved of AMEN the Son of the Sun MENEPHTAH at peace through Truth

65 ... altogether thou hast ... the men in their towns, Kush also having ... I let him see in my hand in the first year the dues

66 ... its Chief brought its product yearly in turn I was making a great overthrow of them. I gave the survivors to fill the Temples

67 ... their Chief vanquished running before me I made ... slaughtering them, I set fire to them, netted like birds, I made the country.

68 ... ed, rendered divine, being the greatest of every gods who was born. HORUS caused me to be born to be

1 Karmuta, an uncertain word, perhaps "baggage."  Ṣ Ethiopia, Nubia.
the sole Lord of Kami.¹ Horus then settled and invaded it. Horus was hidden in it under my dominions, praised
Phtah
69 . . . powerful, Sun, a strong scimitar against the Nine bow barbarians, whom² Set gave power and victory to the
Horus rejoicing in Truth, whom Ra supports daily,³ the
King of the Upper and Lower Country Ba-en-ra beloved of Amen, the Son of the Menephtah at peace in Truth,
the living I am
70 . . . he was not taken. The Lubu were meditating evil to do it in Kami. Lo I vanquished them I slaught-
tered them making a spoil of their country
71 . . . I made the Tamera passable and navigable as I wished, the men also as I wished them. I gave them
breath for their cities, rejoiced in the name of Heaven the countries
72 . . . They were (not) found done: making my good
days in the mouths of families, as the greatest of merits I
performed for them. The whole country was set right
73 . . . worshipping my gracious Lord, the taker of the
two countries, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt
Ba-en-ra beloved of Amen the Son of the Sun Menephtah
at peace through Truth, the living, their great words
Kami was
74 . . . the Lubu⁴ also, I vowed to lead captive, thou
lettest them be as grasshoppers also every road was
blocked up with their (hosts) . . . according thy
supplies with care, we joyfully repose at all times. There
are not
75 . . . the assent it was at all turns at the house, working
the meritors, enduring in the responses
76 . . . the years like Tum, the services placed on thy
assenting head do we not see.
¹ Egypt. ² The king. ³ The standard title. ⁴ Libyans.
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