and it may thus also be supposed that daily funerary cult offerings were (also) performed in the temple (for royal mortuary cult cf. Stadelmann 1985).

[LT]

41 Stela of Psammetich II from Year 3 on his Nubian campaign, from Shellal (near Aswan), 593 BC. H.S. Bakry, Oriens Antiquus 6 (1967), Pls LVI-LIX; H. Goedicke, MDAIK 37 (1981), 187, 189.

Text and translation

At the top from left to right (eight columns)

(reading from right to left)

mry Wd t d ñh snb wss
Beloved of Edjô, given life, health, and dominion.

(reading from left to right)

Ns w-bity Nfr-ib-Rê ñh dt
The King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: “Rê-is-One-whose-heart-is-beautiful”, may he live for ever,

(reading from right to left)

Hr Mn h-ib-Rê d ñh
Horus: “Rê-is-One-whose-heart-is-well-disposed”,

(reading from left to right)

mry S(i)t ñt ëbw
beloved of Satis, Lady of Elephantine,

(reading from right to left)

mry Hnm ñb ëbâ
beloved of Khnum, lord of the Cataract,

(reading from left to right)

Hr Mn h-ib-Rê d ñh
Horus: “The heart of Rê is well disposed”, granted life,
(reading from right to left)

Sr-R¢ Psmtk ʿnh ḏt
Son-of-Rê: Psamtk, granted life,

(reading from left to right)

mṛy Ṁḥbt ḏi ʿnh snb ṃs
beloved of Nekhbet, granted life, health, and dominion.

MAIN TEXT (twelve columns, reading from right to left)

(1) ḫt-sp 3t ʾbd 2 ṣmw (sw) 10 ḥr ḫm n
(1) Third regnal year, second month of Summer, day 10, under the majesty of

Hr Mnḥ-ib<-R¢>
Horus: “<Rê>-is-One-whose-heart-is-well-disposed”,

Nsw-bity Nbty Mṛ-t¢
the King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt, the Two-Ladies, “Whose-arm-is-true”,

Hr-nbw Snfr-Twy Nfr-ib-R¢

Sr-R¢ <n> ḫtf Psmtk ʿnh ḏt
the Son-of-Rê of his body, Psamtk, may he live for ever,

(2) mṛy ḫnm nb ṣḥḥ
(2) beloved of Khnum, lord of the Cataract,

Stt ṃbt ṣbw ʾnkṭ ḫntt Ti-Stī
Satis, Lady of Elephantine, and Anukis, foremost of Bow-land (Nubia),

ntr nfr ṣḥ ṣḥ
the good god, whose counsel is beneficial,

(3) nsw knw mṛ spw
(3) valiant king, whose deeds are successful,

ṭm-t¢ ḫw(y)=f Psḏt
whose arm is strong as he smites the Nine Bows.

wn.in ḫm=f ḫr ʾṣḥ ṣš m ṣ Nfr-ib-R¢
His Majesty was roaming the marshes in Lake “Rê-is-One-whose-heart-is-beautiful”,

280
(4) hr pḥr bḥ=f
(4) moving around in its flood land,

ḥns wwa=f
traveling its ‘two districts’,

mḥ nhwt b ntr ḫr sīn=f
looking at the sycamores of the god’s land on its ‘mud bank’,

ib=f ḫk (5) ḫr mḥ b(w) nfr
his desire being to enter (5) and view beauty

mī ntr ḫ ḫns (for: ḥns) Nwn
like the Great God traversing the Primeval Waters.

ii.n.t (for: tw) īr ḏḏ n ḥm=f
One came to say to His Majesty,

mṣr (6) sb(y)n ḥm=k ṭṬ-Sty
“The troops (6) which Your Majesty sent to Bow-land (Nubia)

pḥ=sn ḫṣt ḫr-nbs
have reached the foreign country of Pnubs.

ṯ pḥw šw m ḫg sḫt šwtr <m> ssm(t)
It is a land that is unsuited for a battlefield, a place unsuited for horses.

‘ḥš.ḥ Nḥš(y)w n ḫš(t)n ṣb (i)r=f
The Nubians of every foreign country rose up against him,

ib=sn ‘mḥ ‘m’ ḫns m-ra=f
their hearts ‘full of violence against him’.

hd=f šn/ḥn ḫm
His victorious attack ... there.

ḏ ḫl ḫs= ṣbw ṭ=f
Anger ... because they set their hearts against him.

(8) ṭw ḥm=f r kīt ḫḥ
(8) His Majesty had decided on the work of battle;

(i) ḫ ḫḥ
and when battle was joined, ḫ ḫkw-ṣb ṣ=in
the rebels showed their backs,
nn wndw/nwdw ‘hrw (i)r=sn r-s(y)
without a weapon being drawn against them,

(9) n(n) wnh drt
(9) without (so much as a hand) being bandaged.

dt.tw m ssw=sn mi n(n)w
One crossed over ... like the Primeval Waters.

n(n) prw tš ‘—’ m skr-‘nh (10) 4200
... ... as prisoners: (10) 4200.

ir sp md (for: mdt)
A successful deed is done.

wnn lb n hm=f nfr ir ht nb
His Majesty’s heart was happier (about this) than anything (else).

rdt.n hm=f (11) mš ‘(i)bt ‘t m iwŠ wndw
His Majesty gave (11) a great offering of short- and long-horned cattle

n ntrw nbw Tšwy
to all the gods of Two-lands,

(12) wdn.t(w) r ntrw stp-sš m ‘h
(12) and one made offering for the gods of the palace in the palace,

ir=f di ‘nh dd ws nb
that he may be given all stability and dominion,

snb nb nwt-ib nb mi Rª dt
all health, and all happiness, like Rê, for ever.

Comments
The stela discovered at Shellal on the western bank near Aswan in 1964 and set up
now at New Kalabsha (cf. H. Goedicke, MDAIK 37 [1981], 187) is a completely
preserved version of a text known from two fragmentary stelae from Karnak (PM II,
37 [135]; Sauneron-Yoyotte 1952, Pls I-II) and Tanis (now Cairo JE 67095, Sauneron-
Yoyotte 1952, Pls III-IV). It records the Nubian campaign of Psammetich II in his
third regnal year, i.e., 593 BC. (We are informed about the composition of the units
sent to Nubia by 42 and 43.) The three texts go back to a common source and give an
identical description of the causes, course, and results of the campaign according to
the traditional genre of the Königsnovelle. Eventual differences between the
individual renderings are indicated by the

[RHP]
The presence of geographical detail in the Tanis version which is absent from the Shellal stela (see below); and the deities invoked in the individual versions have local relevance (the invocations in the Tanis stela have a Lower Egyptian and also Tanite accent; in the Karnak stela Amen-Rê and Monthu are invoked, while the Shellal text invokes the gods of the First Cataract region). The actual reasons of the campaign are unknown; a Nubian aggression as indicated in the text may correspond with the historical reality but was more likely given only as traditional pretext in order to claim *bellum justum*. For lack of evidence, the Egyptian-Kushite relationship of the period between Tanutamani’s withdrawal from Egypt in 664/3 BC (cf. (28)) and Psammetich II’s early reign remains obscure, even if it is known that dignitaries appointed by the Kushite pharaohs in Thebes remained in office under Psammetich I’s reign (see ibid.). Eventual conflicts in the border region of Lower Nubia are indicated by Herodotus, II. 30 (=56) already under the same ruler. Necho II (610-595 BC), successor Psammetich I’s, sent a riverine expedition from Elephantine directed against Trogodytes (nomadic inhabitants of the desert between the Lower Nubian Nile and the Red Sea; Redford 1993, 462 has “Nubian bowmen”), but the inscription commemorating this undertaking is too fragmentary to give an idea of the geographical range of the campaign, in which also vessels transporting horses (for maneuvers on land) were sent upstream; yet it would seem that it could not go farther upstream than the Second Cataract (for the stela fragment of Necho II from Elephantine see Ch. Müller in: Kaiser et al. 1975, 83 f.; Junge 1987, 66 f.; Jansen-Winkeln 1989, 31; Redford 1993, 462). A hostile policy against Kush under the subsequent reign of Psammetich II is revealed not only by 41 but is also attested by the erasure in Egypt of the names (see Yoyotte 1951) of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty rulers on all their inscribed monuments and of their Kushite regalia (i.e., one of the two uraei of the diadem connected with the skullcap-crown and the long streamers of the diadem, see ibid. and Leclant 1965, Pls XIV, XVI, XXIII, XXV, XL, XLVI, L, LIII, LV, LXII, LXXXIX, LXXXVIII etc.; for the erasure of the streamers cf. Leclant 1965, Pls XVI [], XXV, LXXVII [], in all their representations. The memory of the campaign described in 40 and the Tanis- and Karnak stelae is also preserved in Herodotus’ work (see 64).

In the lunette, from left to right, the King’s throne name is confronted with the heraldic form of Wadjet, the goddess of Buto and mistress of the Lower Egyptian crown; his Horus name with the name of Satet, mistress of Elephantine; and again with the name of Khnum, lord of the Cataract; and his Son of Rê name with the heraldic form of Nekhbet, the vulture goddess of the Upper Egyptian crown. The main text starts 1. with the dating (line 1), 2. the titulary of Psammetich II (line 1) which is complemented with the epithets referring to the deities of the First Cataract-Lower Nubian region: beloved of Khnum, Satis, and Anukis, and with a brief eulogy (lines 2-3). In section 3 (lines 3-8) the King’s stay in the region of Elephantine and the preliminaries of the campaign are described. The King’s sightseeing tour in the bucolic landscape (in which Psam-
metich II travels like Rê traversing the Primeval Waters and is thus viewed as fulfilling his royal role as creator of life in the land) is interrupted by a message announcing that his army has reached “the hill-country of Pnubs” in Nubia. Though the place is not suited as a battle-field, the King is enraged over the “evil thoughts” of the Nubians. In section 4 he commands thus his army to wage battle; yet the enemy takes flight without fight and is partly massacred; also 4200 prisoners are taken (lines 8-10). The closing section 5 (lines 10-12) records the King’s satisfaction and thanksgiving offerings to the gods. In return, his kingship is confirmed.

Though the Nubians are called rebels, Psammetich’s claim of a bellum justum is probably unjustified, for it seems that it was him who started war by sending his army south. The dating of the stela (line 1) indicates that the season of inundation was consciously chosen for the campaign, for, as Goedicke suggests (1981, 188-190), during this season the First and Second Cataracts could, at least theoretically, be passed by boat. That in fact this was not the case with Psammetich’s army, is revealed by 41. The place name “hill-country of Pr-nbs (Pnubs)” is identified with Pnubs=Tabo on the island of Argo south of the Third Cataract (for the identification with the Pr-nbs of the Kushite inscriptions [cf. 21, 22, 24, 25, 34] see Kienitz 1953, 128 f.; Sauneron-Yoyotte 1952, 163 note 3; for the identification Pnubs-Tabo see Jacquet-Gordon et al. 1969). In the above-mentioned Kushite texts, however, Pnubs is never written with the hill-country determinative and neither occurs it so in the Philae nomos lists of Ptolemy II and Ptolemy VI (cf. Junker 1958, 265 ff.) either, though in the latter two lists, in turn, Philae, Biggeh, Aniba, Abu Simbel and Buhen are written with this determinative. In Goedicke’s view (1981, 193) the “hill-country of Pnubs”, ḫst Pr-nbs, signifies a larger area with its center at Pnubs, and the “place unsuited for horses” would refer at the impassable Third Cataract. Both the Karnak stela and 41 name the region of Pnubs as the place where the Egyptians won their final victory. By contrast, the Tanis fragment presents a slightly different course of events. In its text the campaign is initiated by the news on the Nubians’ intention to attack Egypt, whereupon Psammetich II, who stays at Elephantine, sends an army against the land ṣs. This army reaches a locality called trgb, where the residence of the kwr is situated, and marches to the town of ṭ ḏḥnt, where the enemy is massacred. The land ṣs is supposed by Sauneron-Yoyotte (1952, 176 note 1) and Zibelius (1972, 156-158) to be identical with ḫst of the Nubia-lists of Tuthmosis III on the Sixth and Seventh Pylons of the Karnak temple (cf. PM II, 88 [238]; 167 [496]) and with the ṣs hrt of the inscription on Neshor’s Elephantine statue (Dyn. 26, Louvre A 90, cf. Zibelius 1972, 60 VII C b 20) and with the royal residence mentioned in the 3rd century BC Debod inscription of the Kushite king Adikhalamani (cf. PM VII, 4 [20]) and see (131)); and they identify this place name, in turn, with the region of Sanam. The principal argument for this identification is apparently the mention of ḫst in Taharqo’s fragmentary Sanam inscription (cf. PM VII, 199 [4]-[5], [6]-[7]), yet the geographical context of this place name.
in the Sanam text is just as undefined as in any of the above-named other texts. The connection of the place name with royal residence(s) does not necessarily imply that it cannot be identical with anything else than the royal residence at Napata/Sanam. Nevertheless, Sauneron and Yoyotte identified Ššt with Napata and/or the region of Sanam under the impression that Napata was the only royal residence in Kush. The place name trgb is unidentifiable and may mean simply “royal residence” (on the variants trgb/qrōb and their connection with the word kwr cf. Zibelius 1972, 178) what is reinforced by the passage in the stela itself: “they reached trgb, it was the residence of the kwr”. The word kwr is known from later Meroitic texts to mean “king” (Mer. qore). As to tš dhnt, it seems to be identical with the nhnt of the stelae of Ary (Kawa XIV) and Harsiyotef (Cairo JE 48864) localized tentatively by Macadam in the Korti area (1949, 79), by Sauneron and Yoyotte (1952, 183) at Dongola el-Aguz, and by Arkell (1955, 145 note 2) with the hill Adu on the island of Sai. Arkell’s suggestion was based on J. Vercoutter’s identification of Ššt with the island of Sai (Kush 6 [1958], 158). In sum, the place names of both the Shellal/Karnak and the Tanis versions are problematic and allow two different reconstructions of the geographical extent of the campaign. 41 and the Karnak stela name Pnubs as the southernmost point reached by the Egyptians. No indication of any further advance towards the Napata region is indicated. The Tanis version indicates, if Vercoutter’s identification of Ššt is correct, that the campaign ended at the island of Sai between the Second and Third Cataracts (cf. also 42). The contradiction between the two versions is puzzling and may perhaps be explained by a different degree of care with which the official campaign report was rendered for publication on monumental stelae set up at different places of Egypt. It is remarkable, however, that the place name Pnubs occurs in the Shellal/Karnak version which was written for an audience which probably knew where Pnubs was situated, while in the Tanis version, though in a greater detail, a geographical context is described which was probably unknown in Lower Egypt. The additional explanation missing from the other version concerning the kwr and his residence may be explained just with this ignorance of an exotic land. There can be no doubt that the individual stelae were edited for the actual places where they were erected. This is clearly indicated by the invocation of the local deities in 41 and in the Karnak fragment. Though, strangely, in the lunette of the Tanis stela Psammetich II is shown offering to Amûn, Mut, Khonsu and Monthu, i.e., to the Theban gods (see Montet 1946, Pl. III), the Theban accent of the scene is, however, counterbalanced by the introduction of the main text where after Amûn, Mut, Khonsu and Monthu also Hathor of Re-nefer (=the Tanis district, see Montet op. cit., 88 f.; Kitchen 1986, § 328 with note 710) and the Ennead of Tanis are invoked (Montet op. cit., 76 and Pl. III); moreover, Amûn is invoked as lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands (of Thebes) and “lord of the fortress of the phoenix”, i.e., of his domain in the eastern Delta (ht-

It may thus appear that the geographical extent and the success of the campaign were fairly limited: the army reached the island of Sai south of the Second Cataract, or, if the Shellal/Karnak version is preferred, Pnubs south of the Third Cataract. Neither version mentions Napata, the royal residence of Kush that was generally known in Egypt. If, as is generally supposed, Psammetich’s army destroyed Napata (cf. (36)), why is such a victory left unmentioned, and the report concluded merely with the description of the Kushites’ cowardice? Though only indirectly, the limits of the campaign are also indicated by the fact that Taharqo’s cartouches were erased in the Horus (or Southern) temple at Buhen (see Caminos 1974, I 58), which was visited by the Greek and Carian mercenaries of Psammetich II’s army. These erasures are, however, the southernmost documents of the systematic damnatio memoriae of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty by Psammetich II (see Yoyotte 1951; for the issue see also (36)).

The limited success of the campaign may also explain the general erasure of all Kushite royal names and royal regalia on the walls of the temples of Egypt. Such a damnatio memoriae was, obviously, directed not so much towards the past, but rather against the existing enemy which could, apparently, be destroyed only magically since the probability of physical destruction in war appeared small. The vehemence of the erasures may be a direct consequence of the limited military success described so contradictorily and cursorily in the three stelae preserved to us (for the intellectual backgrounds of the erasures as “practical” measurement against the enemy cf. J. Assmann’s (1992) recent analysis of the relationship between curses and law. It is thus doubtful whether Lloyd’s view (1988, 164 f.) can fully be shared, according to which Psammetich II’s Nubian campaign “was probably the major event of the reign”.

[LT]

42 Abu Simbel, graffiti of soldiers of Psammetich II. 593 BC.

Source bibliography
Introduction to source

On the left leg of the colossal statue of Ramses II in front of the temple of Abu Simbel there were scratched, apparently in the year 593 BC, six Greek graffiti (a-f). Another one (g) was written below the left knee of a second colossus. The letters of the inscriptions are between 3 and 9 cm high. Dialect and script vary from graffito to graffito, since Greeks of various ethnic origins have each contributed his inscription. The main text (a) is in the Doric dialect, though the script may be characterized as mainly Ionic. Of the shorter graffiti, two were apparently written by Ionians from the west coast of Asia Minor (b, f), another two by Rhodians (c, g).

In constituting our text we have, with a few minor exceptions, followed the Greek text as printed in Meiggs-Lewis (1969, 12-13), which in turn largely follows the detailed documentation supplied by Bernand-Masson (1957, 1-20). There are English translations of all the graffiti in Fornara (1977, 28) and Murray (1993, 233 f.), and of graffito (a) in Meiggs-Lewis (1969, 12-13). The historical conclusions to be drawn from dialect and script are discussed in Jeffery-Johnston (1990, 340) and Murray (1993, 232-235).

Text

(a) βασιλέως ἐλθόντος ἐς Ἐλεφαντίναν Ψαματίχο ταῦτα ἔγραψαν τοὶ σὺν Ψαματίχοι τοῦ Θεοκλὸς ἐπλεον, ἤλθον δὲ Κέρκιος κατύπερθε, ὡς ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνίη, ἀλογλόσος δ᾿ ἦχε Ποτασίμτο, Αἰγυπτίος δὲ Ἀμασίς. ἔγραφε δ᾿ ἀμε Ἀρχον Ἀμοιβίχο καὶ Πέλεφος Οὔδαμο.

(b) Ἐλεσίβιος ὁ Τῆίος.

(c) Τῆλεφός μ᾿ ἐγραφε ὥ ιαλύσιος.

(d) Πύθον Ἀμοιβίχου.

(e) [ - - - ] καὶ Κρῆθις ἐγρα<ψ>αν ἐμ[ ].

(f) Πάβις ὁ φολοφόνιος σὺν Ψαμματῆ.

(g) Ἀναχσάνορ ἔγραφε με ὥ ιαλύσιος, ἥκα βασιλεὺς ἡλασε τὸν στράτον τὸ πρᾶτον, ὥ Ποτασίμτο ἡμα, Ψαμάτιχος.
Translation
(a) When King Psammetich had come to Elephantine, those who sailed with Psammetich, son of Theocles, wrote this. They got beyond Kerkis, as far as the river allowed. Potasimto led those of foreign speech and Amasis the Egyptians. Archon, son of Amoibichos, wrote us—and (so did) Axe of unknown parentage.\textsuperscript{77}

(b) Helesibios of Teos.

(c) Telephos of Ialysos wrote me.

(d) Python, son of Amoibichos.

(e) [- - -] and Krithis wrote me.

(f) Pabis of Colophon, with Psammatas.

(g) Anaxanor of Ialysos [wrote me], when King Psammetich first marched his army [with Potasimto].\textsuperscript{78}

Comments
The graffiti were inscribed by Greek mercenaries taking part in the Nubian campaign of Psammetich II in his third regnal year (see 41). In accordance with the monumental evidence of the campaign, they refer to the King’s stay at Elephantine at the time of the undertaking of his army and informs us about the composition thereof (i.e., about the Greek mercenaries under the command of Potasimto and the native contingents placed under the command of Amasis [for Potasimto see Ratié 1962; for Amasis see ESLP, Pls 48 f.]). The place-name Kerkis was tentatively identified by Sauneron and Yoyotte (1952, 189 f.) with a place in the Napata region, while Kienitz (1953, 128 ff.) and Hofmann (1971, 66 ff.) suggested that it should be identified with some locality north of the Second Cataract. This latter suggestion seems preferable on account of the additional

\textsuperscript{77}Literally “Axe of Nobody” (Οὐδάμο μο = Οὐδάμου), or perhaps “Axe from Nowhere”. Some (e.g., Bernard-Masson and Meiggs-Lewis) prefer to overlook this humorous touch and translate: “Pelekos, the son of Eudamos” (Οὐδάμο = ὁ Εὐδάμου).

\textsuperscript{78}This last graffito is difficult or impossible to read at two places, here marked with [ ]. Each time there is space for just one or two words, and various efforts have been made to fill the lacunae. Bernard-Masson (1957, 13) suggest ἔ[βάδιο] “went” or “marched” in the first line; but the space would also allow ἔ[γραφε μ] (or the like), “wrote me”, which seems preferable, cf. graffiti (a) and (c). In the second line Bernard-Masson (1957, 14) read Ἀμασίς ἡμᾶ, “Amasis at the same time”, i.e., “together with Amasis”; whereas Fraser (1958, 108 f.) suggests Ποτασίμτο ἡμᾶ “together with Potasimto”, which contains the same central letters ΑΣΙ, but seems to fill the space better.
remark of the graffito (a) indicating that the Nile was navigable upstream as far south as Kerkis. From the perspective of Elephantine, i.e., the First Cataract region, this remark makes sense only if it refers to the Second Cataract. From this point, the army had to march on land. The graffiti do not give, however, any clear indication of the southernmost point reached in fact by the troops of Pota-simto and Amasis (cf., however, 41).

[LT]

43 Buhen, Horus Temple, archaic Greek graffito.
SEG 26, no. 1719.

Source bibliography

Introduction to source
On a sandstone block from the Horus temple at Buhen, perhaps originally part of a wall erected by King Taharqo, was found the fragment of an archaic Greek graffito, consisting of ten letters, between 5.5 and 7 cm high. The first seven letters appear to be the last part of a Greek personal name, in that case in the Doric dialect; the remainder may be the beginning of an ethnicon or patronymicon.

The inscription was first published by Masson (1976, 310 f.), who also tentatively suggested a connection with the Abu Simbel graffiti (42). It was reproduced in SEG 26 (no. 1719), and Johnston in Jeffery-Johnston (1990, 476 f.) suggested the date 600-550 BC.

Text
[- - -]νορίδας ΕΛ.[- - -]

Translation
[- - -]noridas79 (of?) El[- - -]

[TH]

Comments
The graffito presumably records the visit of Psammetich II’s Greek mercenaries to Buhen in the course of their return from the Nubian campaign recorded in 41. See the comments to 41 and 42. For name graffiti incised by Carians, probably mercenaries of Psammetich II participating in the same campaign, on the masonry of the Horus temple see O. Masson in: Masson et al. 1978, nos 50-55.

79Masson (1977, 310) suggests [Anta]noridas, but notes that there are many other possibilities.