THE STELE OF KUBAN

TRANSLATED BY PHILIPPE VIREY

THIS monument, discovered by Prisse d'Avennes in the Nubian village of Kuban, opposite Dakkeh (the ancient Pselchis), was removed by Count de Saint-Ferriol to the château of Uriage near Grenoble: a cast of it exists in the Museum of the Louvre. It consists of a semicircle in which offerings are represented. below which is a long text of 38 horizontal lines; the first half of the last 15 lines has been destroyed. The text has been published by Prisse d'Avennes (Monuments égyptiens, pl. xxi.), and after him, but only as far as line 25, by Chabas (Les Inscriptions des mines d'or), and by Reinisch (Chrestomathie, pl. x.) It has been translated or studied by Birch (Archæologia, xxxiv., and Records of the Past, 1st series, viii. p. 67); by Chabas (Les Inscriptions des mines d'or); by Brugsch (History of Egypt, Eng. edit., ii. p. 80), Lauth (Sitzungsberichte der k. bayer Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, 1871, ii. p. 198), Erman (Ægypten, pp. 617-619), Maspero VOL. V В

(Lectures historiques, pp. 47-49), and Schiaparelli (La Catena orientale dell' Egitto, pp. 86-87).

The stele of Kuban states that the working of the mines of El-Etbave having been interrupted by want of water, King Ramses II. remedied the evil by excavating a well. The fact is not very important in itself, and it seems at first as if the glorification of Ramses, which constitutes a principal part of the text, might have been reserved for a more worthy occasion. But we must not forget that the king, as son of the Sun, was the incarnation of divinity in the world of mortals. The action of the deity must be glorified in its humblest as well as in its most exalted manifestations. By introducing water into the desert, the union of which with heat brings about the reproduction of living things, Ramses carried life where it did not previously exist, and thus acted like the Creator. This explanation justifies the pompousness of the language about a matter so trivial, and at the same time enables us to understand the character of the offerings represented in the semi-circular part of the monument.

This part, surmounted by the winged solar disk, "the inhabitant of Hud, the great god who gives life and prosperity," is divided into a northern and southern side by a vertical line, where the following words are found, starting immediately from the winged disk, in order to communicate its gifts to the reigning king: "Râ-usor-mâ Sotpenra. It is

said: I grant thee the gift of all life, continuance and prosperity; of all health; of all strength; of all power, of all power (sic), as the eternal Sun."

From the two sides of the cartouche of Râ-usormâ Sotpenrâ 1 rise two serpents crowned with the white and red crowns, and representing the goddesses of the south and north. They hold suspended the symbol of life which they transmit from the disk and royal cartouche to the figures of Ammon the generator and Horus.

On the side of the goddess of the south, Ammon the generator, crowned with the white crown, stands on a support which represents the $m\hat{a}$ or symbol of truth, reality, and realisation,2 and is in connection with his neck, transmitting by its influence to him the power of realising or producing. Above him are the words: "Ammon the generator in the bosom of the [arid] 3 mountain, beloved of Ammon the generator, renovating [god], master of heaven." Behind him is an altar in the form of a door out of which grow flourishing persea-trees (?) We are reminded of what happened after the death of the bull in the story of the Two Brothers.4 But here, in place of the two fertilising drops of blood, we have two cups of wine

Placed immediately under the disk; see 5 lines above, Objects became real when touched by the fair visage of the goddess Mâ. See my Tombeau de Rekhmara, p. 149, note 2.

³ Perhaps there is here an allusion to the fecundity which the introduction of the water must have brought to the desert.

⁴ Papyrus d'Orbiney, pl. xvi. ll. 8-10; pl. xvii. 1. "He (the bull) let fall two drops of blood . . . the one on one side of the great gate of Pharaoh, and the other on the other side, and they grew into two great persea-trees."

offered by the king, which are to carry life to the desert. "Presentation," says the text, "of two vases of wine to father Ammon the generator in the bosom of the [arid] mountain." Ramses II. stands making the offering, crowned with the helmet out of which the uræus issues. Behind his helmet hang two strings by which the winged disk with the end of its wing "communicates all life behind him (in his neck) as the eternal Sun."

Above the king, who holds the two vases of fertilising liquid, are the words: "[The work of] life [is performed] by the beautiful god 1 Râ-usor-mâ Sotpenrâ, son of Râ, Ramses beloved of Ammon, giving life (by means of the fertilising liquid)." Thus on the side of the goddess with the white crown we see the *principle of humidity* brought by precisely that one of the agents of fertilisation which the king is about to create in the desert by means of a well. To continue the work of life heat is now required; this action will be represented to us on the side of Horus and of the goddess with the red crown.

Ramses II. continues to stand, crowned as on the other side. As on the other side also, the winged disk with the end of its other wing "communicates all life behind him as the eternal Sun." The inscription placed above the king tells us that here we have "the beautiful god, Râ-usor-mâ Sotpenrâ,

¹ Ankh-nuter-nofer. 'The sign ankh, which is not reproduced in all the publications of the text, is very visible on the cast in the Museum of the Louvre. I attribute to it a verbal sense ("performs life").

Ramses beloved of Ammon, who vivifies like the Sun," that is to say, as I have just stated, by the action of heat. Hence it is no longer the generous liquid, the agent of fertilisation, but the flaming incense which the king presents, with the legend: "Burning incense 2 to father Horus, lord of Boki,3 he gives life." The offering is made to Horus, crowned with the pshent, and holding in the right hand the symbol of life which the goddess with the red crown transfers to him, and in the left hand the sceptre of prosperity. It is he, says the legend, "who gives all life and prosperity, all enlargement of heart." "I grant thee," he says to Ramses, "length of years as king." While presenting the incense he "repeats thrice 4: Horus, lord of Bok[i]!" And the god answers him: "I give thee all foreign lands beneath thy sandals." There is here a double meaning.

 Ti ânkh Râ ma, "giving life like the Sun."
 "Making incense." To burn incense after a libation was to prepare for the reproduction of that which has lived. See my Tombeau de Rekhmara, p. 84, note 4; p. 90, l. 12; p. 92, note 6, etc.

3 Identified by Brugsch with Aboccis, must be placed, according to Chabas, between Primis and the Second Cataract. There is here a sort of play on words, Bok being the name of the hawk, the attribute of Horus.

- 4 The operations of incensing, in order to prepare for a reproduction or a birth, are constantly repeated three times. The flame is made to ascend thrice on the altar, in order to prepare for the resurrection of Rekhmara (Tombeau de Rekhmara, p. 92), just as when Cyrene, desiring to revivify the bees of Aristæus, begins by invoking the humid principle:
 - "Oceanumque patrem rerum, Nymphasque sorores,"

and causes the fragrant flame to mount thrice on the burning altar:

- "Ter liquido ardentem perfudit nectare Vestam
- "Ter flamma ad summum tecti subjecta reluxit."

Virgil, Georg. iv. 382, 384, 385.

This flame which rises and falls represents life which unceasingly mounts to heaven and redescends upon the earth. I have studied this question more in detail in Quelques observations sur l'épisode d'Aristée, pp. 21-23.

The word set or test, which signifies "foreign countries," means also "the mountain" or "desert," in opposition to to-r ter-f, "the entire plain" or valley of the Nile, together with the Delta. The desert mountain is the domain of Set, the god of annihilation and sterility. The king representing Horus or the good principle, takes possession of this "foreign land" by introducing into it the water which brings life, and Horus assures to him the conquest of it.

We now reach the text in horizontal lines which contains the historical portion of the inscription.

THE STELE OF KUBAN

I. The year 3, the first [month] of the winter, the 4th day, under the majesty of the Horus sun, the powerful bull, beloved of Mâ, lord of the diadems of the south and of the north, the protector of Egypt, the restrainer of the foreign lands, the golden Horus, rich in renovations, the very powerful king of the south and of the north, Râ-usor-mâ Sotpenrâ, son of Râ, Ramses beloved of Ammon, the revivifier for ever and ever, beloved of Ammon-Râ, lord of Nes-taul, prince of Thebes,

2. rising on the seat of the Horus of the living,³ like the Father Sun,⁴ every day, beautiful god, lord of the land of the south, dwelling in Hud, mottled with plumes⁵ the beautiful silvery hawk,⁶ covering Egypt with his wing and overshadowing ⁷ the rekhit like a strong and powerful rampart,⁸ [he] who has

issued forth

¹ The king is compared with the Sun, burning like gold, who renews himself every day and renews the creation.

2 "The thrones of the two lands" (?), one of the names of Thebes.

3 The Horus of the living or of mortals is the king himself, likened to the rising sun.

4 The Sun is called "father" because his beneficent heat gives life to

nature by producing vegetation.

⁵ The inhabitant of Hud is the solar disk with its feathered wings.

⁶ The sun shines like silver-gilt and soars like a hawk above the mountains of the valley of the Nile.

7 I suppose the shadow which relieves us at certain hours after the solar heat is itself considered a benefit of the sun, the solar disk being held to produce it by covering with its wings (see note 5) the space it wishes to protect.

8 Literally "which is (n for enti) strong and powerful."

- 3. from the loins,1 ready to make use of his power to enlarge his frontiers. It is the might of Month which colours his flesh.2 Horus and Set have rejoiced in heaven the day of his birth.3 The gods [declare]: "It is our blood 4 which is in him!" The
- 4. goddesses [declare]: "He has issued forth from us to exercise the sovereignty of Ra!" Ammon declares: "It is I who have made him, to put (the goddess) Mâ in his place." 5 The earth is assured at the same time that the heaven is tranquillised, at the same time that the divine essence is satisfied by his coming.6 Mighty bull against the vile Kush,7 the wild beast 8
- 5. who howls 9 against the land of the Negroes; his feet are crushing the Petti, 10 while his horn strikes the midst of them. His wishes rule in Khent-han-NEFER, 11 his fear wins the country of KARI; his name revolves among
- 6. all lands, because of his exploits accomplished by his two hands. The gold of the mountain 12 comes
- ¹ That is, who possessed his strength from his birth. The king enlarges his dominions by fertilising the desert and increasing the domain of life.

² Literally "one has given colour to his flesh with the valour (valorous blood) of Month."

³ That is, his birthday has been a day of universal joy; moreover, the creation of a well in the desert conveys the benefits of the king to the domain of Set.

4 Literally "the gods are in [saying]: It is our seed in him."

5 That is, to assure the work of creation by the realisation (Mâ) of existence notwithstanding the agents of destruction. Cf. the introduction. 6 Or perhaps "his action"; literally "his turn," "time" (Latin vices).

⁷ Ethiopia.

- ⁸ The parallelism makes me believe, like Birch and Chabas, that kaha here signifies a fantastic monster like a griffon.
- 9 For this expression see M. Guieysse in the Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie egyptienne et assyrienne (1888), x. pp.

10 General name of the barbarians of the desert, whether Bedouin or

11 The northern part of Nubia betweeen the First and Second Cataracts.

12 There is a double meaning in this phrase. It properly signifies the working of the gold mines of Nubia (of which the district of Aboccis forth at his name, in his character of Father Horus, lord of the region of Bokl. The plain of Egypt with the barbarous countries [forms his] kingdom, in his character of Horus, as well as all the Asiatic region and the region of Buhen; king of the south and the north, Ra-usor-mâ Sotpenrâ.

- 7. the legitimate son of RÂ,⁴ lord of the risings (of the sun),⁵ Ramses Meiamun, vivifier for ever and ever, in [his] character of the Father Sun,⁶ every day. Now his majesty was at Memphis,⁷ performing his devotions to the divine fathers, all (of them), of the south and the north, in order that ⁸ they might give unto him strength, valour, great duration of multitudes
- 8. in the matter of renovations.⁹ At that time¹⁰ behold his majesty seated on the silver-gilt throne, lifting above the crown the double feather,¹¹ in order to examine the countries from whence gold is brought, (and) to consider the project of excavating

9. wells on the waterless roads, having learned 12 that there was gold in abundance in the region of AKITA;

formed part) in the name of the king; and the king is here called *Father* Horus because he is held to produce gold by virtue of his name. But allusion is also made to the appearance of Horus or the rising sun, whose brilliance gilds the summits of the eastern mountains, the domain of the hawk or Boki.

¹ Cf. the preceding note and note 3, p. 5.

² The mountain regions in contradistinction to the plain of Egypt, including the Libyan and Arabian deserts and the oases. The other regions of Asia and Africa are named separately.

3 A region of Nubia, denoting the countries south of Egypt.

4 Literally "son of Ra, of his loins."

 5 Allusion is made to the creative power of Pharaoh, owing to the connection between sunrise and birth.

See above, p. 7, note 4; Horus is the rising sun.
 Literally "Behold his majesty at Memphis."

- ⁸ Ma, "so that." Ma, "thus" has here the value of the Latin "ita
- ⁹ Renovations or renewals of days, existence, etc., assure stability in the creation by repairing losses.

10 Literally "one of these days being."

II See note 5, p. 8. The god or king when he lifts up the double feather, the emblem of realisation, prepares himself to produce or create.

12 Literally "after having learned to know that while there is."

[but that] it being 1 entirely without water, com-

plaints had come from

ro. the workmen ² who wash the gold as regards the place which had been assigned ³ to them; seeing that those who had to come there ⁴ die of thirst on the road, together with the asses which precede them, not finding ⁵ enough to

skins.⁶ Consequently no gold is brought from this region, owing to the want of water. His Majesty said to the chamberlain, who was beside him:

Summon the great men who are in our presence;

[that]

12. his Majesty may deliberate with them about this region.

As for me, I will accomplish the designs proposed.

They passed over the spot before the beautiful god, their hands adoring him whom he represented, with acclamations and prostrations before his beautiful face.

The likeness of this region was described to them

to [allow] them [to]

13. deliberate with the master ¹² about the plan of making a well on the road to it. They said to his Majesty: ¹³

Thou who art ¹⁴ as Râ (the Sun), in all that thou doest, that which pleases thy heart shall happen. ¹⁵

If thou desirest the plan in the night, the earth becoming light it is realised at once. ¹⁶ We who have

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1 Kher, "being." <sup>2</sup> Kari, "porters."
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3 Literally "been made."

Literally "being that those who are to arrive towards (this place)."
 Literally "not being found for them their requirement for drinking."

⁶ The distance was too great to allow of a sufficient amount of water being taken in skins, without being supplemented by water on the road.

7 In the neighbourhood of the royal residence.
8 Literally "in advance."
9 The great men.
10 The king.
11 N-ka-f, "of his double," the divinity of whom the king was the

incarnation.

12 The king, literally "the chief,"

13 Khet-f hon-f, "face to his Majesty.

14 Literally "being thou as Râ." 15 "Is to happen."

16 Like the sun, conceived in the night to be born in the morning.

- 14. to consider the abundance of ¹ thy marvellous acts since thy promotion as king of the two lands, ² we have not heard, we have not seen that [anything] comparable ³ has been produced. All that issues forth from thy mouth is as the words of Harmakhis. ⁴ Thy tongue weighs, thy lips measure,
- 15. according to the exact weight of Thoth. What is there that thou knowest not, and who can discharge it like thyself? Does the plain bear a place which thou seest not, [and] there is no mountain whither thou dost not penetrate. It has come to thine ears
- r6. that it was thy turn of to administer to this earth. Thou [hadst] formed [thy] plans when thou wast in the egg, and in all the conditions of infancy (thou wert) hereditary prince. Thou hast declared unto thyself the needs of the two lands when thou wast a child wearing the lock of hair. No monument has been brought to a happy conclusion which has not been made by thee;
- 17. no mission has produced a result without thy consent. ¹⁵

 Thou has exercised the supreme command of the army, ¹⁶ when thou wast a young lad of ten years.
 - 1 "In the matter of." 2 The north and the south.
 - Literally "be that was production comparable to them" (thy acts).
 Horus whose action extends to the two extremities of the horizon.
- ⁵ Thoth handled the balance in which the actions of the dead were weighed before Osiris, the weight he used being *Truth*.
 - 6 Literally "accomplish that (to know everything) like thyself."
- ⁷ The king is like the Sun, which sees everything it illuminates, that is the whole world.
- ⁸ Literally "thou hast not performed the act of penetrating it," The plain represents Egypt, the mountain the countries of the foreigner.
- ⁹ Literally "thy turn has passed to thine ears that (kher) thou art administrator."
- ¹⁰ Each king administers the world, the domain of God, in his turn as *aden* or vicegerent. ¹¹ Before birth.
- When at the breast, when cutting the teeth, when beginning to walk, and when beginning to speak. Not a single moment of the royal existence has been lost to Egypt.
 13 First son.
 - ¹⁴ Or durable work.
 - 15 Mkhemt-k, or perhaps "without thy knowledge."
 - 16 Literally "thou madest the superior mouth of the soldiers."

No works can be fulfilled but by thy hand which causes the creative action.

If thou sayest to the water: Come upon the mountain! the [celestial] ocean 2 will issue forth

- 18. at once after thy word; because thou art Râ (the Sun) incarnate, Khepra in his production of reality.³ Thou art the living image on the earth of thy father Tum⁴ of Heliopolis; substantiality is in thy mouth; intelligence is in thy heart; the place of thy tongue is the temple of Truth,⁵ and divinity sits between thy lips. Thy words produce [existence]⁶ every day,
- 19. (and) thy thought is accomplished by the mediation of ⁷ Ptah, the creator of works; as thou art the eternal, ⁸ it is done according to thy designs, and all thy words are heard, O sovereign, our master.

These things being said about the region of Akita, the prince of the vile Kush

20. said in regard to it, 10 in the presence of his Majesty:
Such is its condition, without water since the time
of the god. 11 As one dies therein of thirst, it was

Literally "all the works are to produce (a result) by thy hand

causing creation."

² The Egyptians attributed to all waters a common source, the celestial ocean. It is thus that a curl of hair of the daughter of the gods, thrown into the river of the sky, reached the earth by descending the current and perfumed the waves of the Nile, in the capital itself of Egypt (Papyrus d'Orbiney, pll. x.-xi.) I have examined this question in my Observations sur l'épisode d'Aristée, pp. 18-21.

³ This phrase states clearly that the king creates by his word, that the creative power comes from the sun, of whom the king is the incarnation, and that the effect of this power is to produce actually and truly what has

no existence, to bring reality out of nothingness.

⁴ Form of the Sun, who has accomplished his work.

⁵ Truth makes true that which has not as yet existence; the king therefore cannot deceive himself; when he has said a thing it comes into existence by the creative power of the word.

6 Zetu-k hir kheper, "thy words are in (the process of) realising

themselves."

⁷ M sen r Ptah, "in passing by Ptah."

⁸ Literally "as thou art for enduring."

9 Literally "being the region of Akita these things said upon it."

10 The region of Akita.

11 Râ. See line 23.

the ambition of all the kings of old to make there a well; success did not attend them.¹ Thus,

21. King Seti I.2 did accordingly; he caused a well to be sunk 120 cubits in depth. In his time it was abandoned on the road, and the water did not flow from it. [But] if thou thyself sayest to thy father the NILE.3

22. the father of the gods: "Cause the water to rise on the mountain," he will act conformably to thy complete word, and conformably to thy complete designs, which are formed before us without our hearing them uttered aloud, because thy fathers, all

the gods, love thee more than any king

23. who has existed since the god Râ. His Majesty said to these great men: "True, true (is) all that you say and sound (?). No water has been extracted from this earth since the time of the god, as you say. It is I who will make here a well to give water for ever, as

24. a well according to the order of father Amun-Râ, master of Nes-taui, and the Horusmasters of Nubia; 4 so that they shall be satisfied in their desires when I give the indications

25. [these great men set themselves] 5 to adore their master, to bow to 6 the ground, to throw themselves on their stomachs before [the king], and to raise acclamations to the height of heaven.

> His Majesty said to the master of the royal writings: 7 ["At once let there be]

26. [given this mission 8 to the prince of the vile Kush:

agent of creation; like the sun, therefore, it has the title of "father."

⁴ To-gens.

⁵ We may supply something like un an uru apen, "these great men were" or "set themselves." 6 Literally "to smell."

⁷ Zet an hon-f(n) mer suten skha. Only n is effaced; mer is clear in the cast.

8 The beginnings of the last 13 lines are lost. With the help chiefly of other passages in the inscription, and of passages in the inscriptions of Radesieh relating to the same subject, I have conjecturally supplied a text

Literally "their success did not produce itself." Men-mâ-Râ. 3 The ocean or humid element is, with the sun or heat, the essential

cause a well to be excavated at once halfway¹] along the road towards the valley of Akita. Cause a month to become a day.² [This order] being conveyed

27. [by the master of the royal writings to the prince of the vile Kush, conformably to the word of the beautiful god, the order being in writing made ³] conformable (and) presented to him, behold he sets himself to assemble persons

28. [to sink the well. Now a certain number of days afterwards, his Majesty said in his thought: What] is this then that the prince has done? Is it that

the water

29. [which is in the heavens has heard me? Is it that the water rises on the mountain as I have ordered? Is it that the road is practicable] towards the region of AKITA? No deed like (unto it) has happened since the (time of) the kings of old.

30. [There is abundance of water in immense quantities, like the source of the cataracts of Elephantinė. It rejoins the river; it causes] 6 the fish of its basins to make signs (?) to the fish of the Delta (Antehu, Atehu) to rejoice (?) in it; through the creation

31. [marvellous of his Majesty. The barks make evolutions on the water which is on the mountain 7] as they

which would exactly occupy the vacant spaces. The conjectural text, the exactitude of which is of course not guaranteed, is inserted between brackets.

1 [Hir-tot r aput-tu n suten sa n Kush khasi r zet asi ammâ shetu uât

n khnumt m pesesht] n uat.

2 "Cause the day to produce a month." Perform in a day the work of a month.

³ Au hab tu [nen an mer suten skhau r pa suten sa n Kush khasi ma nti m zet n nuter nofer au utu m skhau] ma rait.

⁴ R [shetiu khnumt kher ar m khet haru kennu hir sa nen un an hon-f hir zet m hati-f nimâ]u tar si na aru.

⁵ An au pa mu [nti m Duaut hir sotem na an au mu per hir tep-tu ma utu na an au un ta] uat r test Akita.

⁶ [Au bah n set r âât urt ma tpih nu korti Abu khnum-f n atur tu-f] remu.

⁷ M kemam [n buuaut n hon-f ânkh usa senh au uaa hir skatenu hir mu nti m tuu] ma hem hi mâu.

ply on the inundation. One arrived with a writing from the prince of the vile Kush [to

32. say to his Majesty: As thou hast thyself said to thy father the NILE, the father of the gods; Cause the water to rise on the mountain, so is done]¹ that which thy Majesty has said with his own mouth. The water has risen there 120 cubits, being 4 cubits with them² in depth

33. 3 abroad, according to the plan which God⁴ has made, refreshing his heart in thy desires. No

similar work

34. [has been achieved since the time of the god. There are bright pastures for the wandering shepherd; the king has amplified the land, being valiant; the region of A]KITA . . . 7 rejoice with great joy; those (men) who are afar

35. [set themselves to shout, to raise cries to the height of heaven, to adore their master, to bow down to the ground, to throw themselves on their stomachs in the presence of]⁸ the sovereign to whom the water in the sky is obedient, who has brought the water on the [mountain]

36. ⁹ from the prince to announce that which he had done: It is good to hear (?)

2 Am sen (?).

4 Of whom the king was the incarnation on the earth.

⁵ The fertile earth amplified at the expense of the desert. See above.

⁶ An sop art [mati zer rek Nuter khu aatetu n sau, skeb usekh to suten m per â test A]kita.

⁷ The translation is uncertain. Perhaps the region of Negroes, perhaps the region of Tahonu is referred to.

8 Na unuauu [n retu hir hannu hir skebu r qa pe hir duau neb-sen hir

sen-to rtâ hir khat m bah n] pa hig.

⁹ I can offer no further restorations of the text, More than three-fifths of the last lines has disappeared. We may imagine here something like: [His Majesty answered him who had come to him] from the prince.

¹ R zet hon-f ûnkh uza senb ma zet-k zes-k n tef-k Hapi atef nuteru ammâ bes mu hir tep test kheper] zett n hon-k.

³ I do not understand this passage sufficiently to risk a restoration. Perhaps the sense is: [the water of the well produces a stream which spreads] abroad.

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