Remarks about Some Events in Tale of Sinuhe

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Abstract

This paper presents remarks about some events in tale of *Sinuhe* represented in death of king *Amenemhat* I, the flee of *Sinuhe* from Egypt and the moment he faced death in the desert because of thirst before being saved by the Asiatic pathfinder as well as the successful life of *Sinuhe* in Asia which leads to make sort of equation between him and king *Snusert* I. The paper aims to propose ideas, indicate morale influences of the sentences and show points of similarities and differences according to the literal thoughts of the tale's author. The paper also suggests significances of some words like *ib*; *gm* and *gmw*; *kmt-wr* and *kmt* and *nmi*.

Keywords: Remarks – Events – *Sinuhe* – Death – *Amenemhat* I – Flee – *Snusert* I - words

Introduction

Tale of *Sinuhe* is considered one of the extraordinary literary works form ancient Egypt for its eloquence and exiting situations. *Sinuhe* recounted important events which happened during his life including (I) death of king *Amenemhat* I which caused great frustration inside the royal palace and required sending messengers to the western desert to inform the king's eldest son *Snusert* I who was on his way back from a military campaign in the *Tjehenu* land; (II) *Sinuhe* panicked when heard speech of one of the king's son against the ascension of *Snusert* I and he escaped from Egypt to Asia: (III) *Sinuhe* faced death because of thirsty before being saved by an Asiatic pathfinder; (IV) *Sinuhe* encountered *Ammunanshi* the chief of Upper *Retjnu* and the later gave him eldest daughter as wife to *Sinuhe* and appointed him as leader of his sons and chief of his army; (V) *Sinuhe* fulfilled military missions for *Ammunanshi* to keep order before defeating a mighty Asiatic warrior (VI) *Sinuhe* desired to come back to Egypt so he sent a plea to king *Snusert* I who accepted his request; (VII) *Sinuhe* appointed his sons as chiefs of Asiatic tribes before returning to Egypt where he was welcomed by the king and his family which is followed by receiving honorable life in the beloved homeland Egypt¹.

¹ For full details of the tale see translation in for example M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. Volume 1: The Old and Middle Kingdoms*, University of California Press, 1973, p. 223-233; R.B. Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems. 1940-1640 BC*, Oxford World's Classics, Oxford, 1997, p. 27-43; J. M. Galán, *Four Journeys in Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Lingua Aegyptia. Studia monographica 5, Göttingen, 2005, p. 64-73; J.P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature. Eight Literary Works of the Middle Kingdom*, Cambridge University Press, 2015, p. 55-154 and T.F. Canhão, *Textos Da Literatura Egípcia Do Império Médio. Textos hieroglícos, transliterações e traduções comentades*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2014, p. 181-257.

Many scholars presented numerous studies concerning the tale of *Sinuhe* to display notes and comments² as well as discussing various subjects like death of king *Amenemhat* I³; reasons of *Sinuhe*'s escape from Egypt⁴, his life under leadership of *Ammunanshi* chief of Upper *Retjnu*⁵, moment of receiving *Sinuhe* in the palace of king *Snusert* I⁶; the various feelings of *Sinuhe*⁷ and making an equation between tale of *Sinuhe* and tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor⁸.

This paper presents remarks on the significant events concerning death of king *Amenemhat* I during absence of his eldest son *Snusert* I and his return to Egypt; flee of the troubled *Sinuhe* from Egypt after hearing speech of the king's son which led him reach edge of passing away because of thirst before being saved by Asiatic pathfinder and the successful life of *Sinuhe* in Asia which included defeating the Asiatic warrior before his desire to return back to Egypt. This aims to suggest ideas, thoughts and emotional impressions as well as significances of some words which might reach minds of readers from this marvelous literal work.

A- Death of King Amenemhat I.

Sinuhe stated date of king *Amenemhat* I with its morale impacts inside the royal palace, the procedure of sending messengers to inform his eldest son *Snusert* I who returned to Egypt. from the circumstances of these situations certain ideas and remarks can be displayed in the following points:-

I.Date of king Amenemhat I's death is: $\begin{bmatrix} 0 & 0 & 0 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 & 0 & 0 \end{bmatrix} = \begin{bmatrix} -1 & 0$

The number "30" in the date might give impression that king *Amenemhat* I had <u>completed his sacred mission</u> as the sovereign of Egypt and it was the proper time for him to leave the world of earth and go up to heaven according to the following aspects:-

² J. Baines, "Interpreting Sinuhe", in *JEA* 68, 1982, p. 31-44. Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems*, p. 43-53; Galán, *Four Journeys in Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 2005, p. 74-94; Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 58-153 and Canhão, *Textos Da Literatura Egípcia*, p. 258-285 and V.A. Tobin, "Secret of Sinuhe", in *JARCE* 32, 1995, p. 161-178 and M. Bárta, Sinuhe, *the Bible, and the Patriarchs*, Praha, 2003.

³ H. Goedicke, "Three Passages in the Story of Sinuhe", in *JARCE* 23, 1986, p. 167-174.

⁴ H. Goedicke, "The Riddle of Sinuhe's Flight", in *RdE* 35, 1984, p. 85; S.M. Morschauser, "What Made Sinuhe Run: Sinuhe's Reasoned Flight", in *JARC* in Egypt 37, 2000, p. 187-198 and M. Bommer, "Sinuhes Flucht. Zu Religion und Literatur als Methode", in *ZÄS* 96, 2014, p. 15-23 and

⁵ A. de Buck, "A Note on Sinuhe B71-72", in *JEA* 25, 1939, p. 100; P. Derchain, "Sinouhe et Ammounech", in *GM* 87, 1985, p. 7-13 and P. Derchain, "La reception de Sinouhe a la cour de Sesostris Ier", Revue d' egyptologie 22, 1970, p. 79-83.

⁶ P. Derchain, "La reception de Sinouhe a la cour de Sesostris Ier", Revue d'egyptologie 22, 1970, p. 79-83.

⁷ R.J. Leprohon, "Sinuhe's Speeches", in Z. Hawass & J. Houser-Wegner, eds., *Millions of Jubilees. Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, University of Toronto, 2010, p. 295-303 and B. Dedovic, "*Heart*", "*Mind*" and *Behavioral Causation in the Songs of Sinuhe*, The University of Chicago, 2021.

 ⁸ E. Otto, "Die Geschichten des Sinuhe und des Schiffbrüchigen als 'lehrhafte Stücke'", ZÄS 93, 1966, p. 100-111.
 ⁹ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 59. R5-R6.

(a) The number "30" is sum of three amounts of ten which represented symbol of <u>totality</u> in ancient Egypt ¹⁰.

(b) Associating number "30" with end of the king's rule was featured in the distinguished "Tale of the Two Brother" when the king was said to enter his horizon after ruling Egypt for 30 years 11 .

(c) The royal ceremony known as the *Sed*-festival had been organized to celebrate rule of the king upon the throne of Egypt for 30 years 12 .

In addition the other numbers " 3^{rd} month of the inundation" and "day 7" were associated with completeness ¹³.

II. As clearly noticed the word $\stackrel{\bigtriangledown}{\cup}$ *ib* "heart" occurred in the throne name of king Amenemhat I $\stackrel{\checkmark}{=} \stackrel{\checkmark}{\longrightarrow} \stackrel{\textcircled{}}{\bigcirc} \stackrel{\textcircled{}}{\bigcirc} \stackrel{\textcircled{}}{\bigcirc} \stackrel{\textcircled{}}{\bigcirc} \stackrel{\textcircled{}}{\bigcirc} \stackrel{\textcircled{}}{\bigcirc} \stackrel{\textcircled{}}{\bigcirc} \stackrel{\textcircled{}}{\bigcirc} \stackrel{\textcircled{}}{\frown} \stackrel{\textcircled{}}{\bigcirc} \stackrel{\textcircled{}}{\frown} \stackrel{\textcircled{}}{\bigcirc} \stackrel{\textcircled{}}{\frown} \stackrel{}{\frown} \stackrel{\phantom{$

Name of king might give the feeling that his death and ascension to the sky caused happiness and satisfaction to the **heart** of god Re. On the other hand, nonexistence of the king inside the royal palace caused great sorrow which is a normal result for the sacred regard towards the king who provided people with morale power.

¹⁰ R.H. Wilkinson, Symbols and Magic in Egyptian Art, Thames and Hudson, London, 1994, p. 137.

¹¹ Ch. E. Moldemke, *Tale of the Two Brothers. A Fairy Tale of Ancient Egypt. The D'Orbiney Papyrus in Hieratic Characters in the British Museum. The Heiratic Text, the Hieroglyphic Transcription, a Translation, Notes, and a Glossary*, The Elsinore Press, Watchung, N.J., 1896 p.104 and W.K. Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt. An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2003, p. 90.

¹² I. Shaw and P. Nicholson, *The British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, The American University in Cairo Press, 1997, p. 256.

¹³ Wilkinson, *Symbols and Magic*, p. 132-136 and p. 142.

¹⁴ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 59, R5 and T.F. Canhão, *Textos Da Literatura Egípcia Do Império Médio. Textos hieroglicos, transliterações e traduções comentades*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2014, p. 182.

¹⁵ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 60, point R6-7 and Canhão, *Textos Da Literatura Egípcia Do Império Médio*, p. 260 note 12.

¹⁶ Canhão, *Textos Da Literatura Egípcia Do Império Médio*, p. 183. *ibw* was translated as "minds" in Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 59, R8.

¹⁷ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 59, R9.

¹⁸ W.C. Hayes, The Middle Kingdom in Egypt, in *Cambridge Ancient History* 1/2, Cambridge, 1971, p. 499; P.A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs. The Reign-by-Reign Records of the Rulers and Dynasties of Ancient Egypt*, Thames & Hudson, London, 2001, p. 79 and A. Dodson, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt*, Thames & Hudson, London – New York, 2004. p. 90. and W.M. Shoaib, "Literary Sources for Ancient Egyptian History", in *JGUAAS* 5, 2004, p. 15.

this represented dangerous condition against stability of Egypt. Thus the main purpose of closing gates of the palace was to prevent any one related to the conspirators from leaving the palace or penetrating inside it. This hypothesis is featured through existence of hand determinative 19 in *htm* and the word 20 *htm* with house determinative 19 in *htm* and the word 20 *htm* with house determinative 120 that means "fortress" 21. These might refer to act of using force to shut the gates of the royal palace and positioning extra guardians which transformed the royal palace into fortified place.

On the other hand, there are persons who took positive actions represented in the $\mathbb{N} \cong \mathbb{N} \cong \mathbb{$

From the previous, the two letters g and m were used in two words to describe two different reactions. The first is *gmw* "weakness and daze" in sentence $\sqrt[7]{11}$

¹⁹ Allen J. P., *Middle Egyptian. An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 429, sign D36.

²⁰ Allen J. P., *Middle Egyptian. An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 439, sign O1.

²¹ Wb 3, 352.9-11 and FCD. 199.

²² Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 59, R8.

²³ *Wb* 1. 59.10-60.11.

²⁴ *Wb* 5, 169.14-16 and FCD, p. 289.

²⁵ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 59, R10.

²⁶ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 59, R10.

²⁷ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 59, R8.

²⁸ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 59, R10.

²⁹ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 61-62, R17.

³⁰ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 61-62, R19.

³¹ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 61-62, R19.

³² Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 61, R19.

*ibw m gmw*³³ to describe the negative condition of the persons who lost the ability to think or take any positive reaction after death of the king. The second word is *gm* "find" in sentence $\mathcal{D} \ \mathcal{A} \longrightarrow \mathcal{A} \ \mathcal{B} \ \mathcal{A} \longrightarrow \mathcal{A} \ \mathcal{B} \ \mathcal{B} \longrightarrow \mathcal{A} \longrightarrow \mathcal{B} \ \mathcal{B} \longrightarrow \mathcal{A} \longrightarrow \mathcal{B} \ \mathcal{B} \longrightarrow \mathcal{$

Also the determinatives of standing man while holding long stick $\overset{\circ}{\mathbb{A}}^{35}$ and seating man $\overset{\circ}{\mathbb{A}}^{36}$ were associated with two different kinds of important persons inside the royal palace according to their reactions represented in (a) $\overset{\circ}{\mathbb{A}} \overset{\circ}{\mathbb{A}} \overset{\circ}{\mathbb{A}}^{\ast} \overset{\circ}{\mathbb{A}} \overset{\circ}{\mathbb{A}} \overset{\circ}{\mathbb{A}}^{\ast} \overset{\circ}{\mathbb{A}} \overset{\circ$

V. Snusert I was described as M = M = M = M bik 'hi.f "the falcon, he flies" ³⁹ when he instantly took decision of returning to Egypt. This was explained to be a precaution from Snusert I to secure the throne for himself and to prevent any person from the royal house to call for the throne ⁴⁰. From the literal point of view, most probably the metaphoric image of king Snusert I as flying falcon intended to make him appear as the savior hero who would return life to its normal course after ascending the throne which would guarantee keeping stability of Egypt and safety of its people. This idea was clearly expressed in word $M = h^3$ with two determinatives of wing that means "to stretch out wings protectively" ⁴¹.

VI. Snusert I left the military camp with his followers to reach the royal palace without telling the army as mentioned in the sentence $- nn rdit rh st ms^c w.f$ "without letting his soldiers know" ⁴². Not informing the soldiers was believed to be incorrect decision because they would have supported *Snusert* I against the critical situations that awaited him inside the royal palace ⁴³. Indeed keeping secrecy might have two purposes:- <u>Firstly</u> to avoid causing disturbance in the military camp and not to badly affect the spiritual conditions of the soldiers who used to have sacred regard towards the king. Secondly not letting news of the king's death reach the soldiers who might make coup against the ascension of *Snusert* I upon the throne. These soldiers might be in retinue of one of the sons of king *Amenemat* I who spoke against *Snusert* I as being heard by *Sinuhe*.

³³ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 59, R8.

³⁴ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 61, R19.

³⁵ Allen J. P., *Middle Egyptian. An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 426, sign A 21.

³⁶ Allen J. P., *Middle Egyptian. An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 425, sign A1.

³⁷ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 61-62, R17.

³⁸ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 61-62, R19.

³⁹ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 59, R21.

⁴⁰ V.A. Tobin, "Secret of Sinuhe", in *JARCE* 32, 1995, p. 171.

⁴¹ *Wb* 3, 13.2.

⁴² Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 61-62, R22.

⁴³ Tobin, "Secret of Sinuhe", p. 171 and Shoaib, "Literary Sources for Ancient Egyptian History", p. 15.

VII. Sinuhe did not mention the assassination of king Amenemhat I by hands of the conspirators ⁴⁴. Most probably Sinuhe did not want to perpetuate memory of this tragic incident which caused great pain in feelings and minds of the ancient Egyptians. This might have also intended to preserve the divine image of the king. However an indirect equation can be presented between king Amenemhat I and god Osiris who was murdered by his brother Seth in certain aspects represented in the followings:-

<u>Firstly</u> the closed men of king Amenemhat I were described as $\frac{\chi}{4^6} = \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{16$

<u>Secondly</u> Snusert was described as 3^{1} in bik "falcon" ⁴⁸ which was the sacred bird of god *Horus* ⁴⁹ who avenged death of his father *Osiris* from his uncle *Seth* ⁵⁰.

<u>Thirdly</u> god *Osiris* was murdered by his brother *Seth* who wanted to usurp the throne of Egypt ⁵¹. The adversary of the brothers appeared in the instructions of King *Amenemhat* I when he in advised his son *Snusert* not to trust a brother ⁵².

<u>Fourthly</u> god *Osiris* was linked with the Nile inundation and cultivation ⁵³ and king *Amenemhat* I was described as the one who provided Egypt with grain ⁵⁴ and the Nile god *Hapi* who provided Egypt with inundation ⁵⁵ loved him ⁵⁶.

B- *Sinuhe*'s Flee:

Sinuhe found himself escape from Egypt because of the fear from the internal dispute he expected to happen inside the royal palace ⁵⁷ after hearing what was said by one of

⁴⁴ W.K. Simpson W.K. "Sinuhe", W. Helck and E. Otto, *Lexikon Der Ägyptologie* 5, 1984, column 950.

⁴⁵ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 59, R10.

⁴⁶ J. P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian. An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 425, sign A 12.

⁴⁷ *Wb* 4, 497.

⁴⁸ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 61-62. R21.

⁴⁹ R. H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses*, Thames & Hudson, London, 2003, p. 202.

⁵⁰ Wilkinson, *Complete Gods and Goddesses*, p. 119.

⁵¹ Wilkinson, *Complete Gods and Goddesses*, p. 119.

⁵² Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature 1*, p. 136 and C. A. Thériault, "The Instruction of Amenemhet as Propaganda", in *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, Vol. 30 (1993), p. 156 and 159.

⁵³ Wilkinson, Complete Gods and Goddesses, p. 118.

⁵⁴ Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature 1, p. 137.

⁵⁵ Wilkinson, Complete Gods and Goddesses, p. 106.

⁵⁶ Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature 1, p. 137.

⁵⁷ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 65, B6-7. It is also interpreted that *Sinuhe* had escaped because of his relation with assassination of king *Amenemhat* I and to save his life, see A. Spalinger, "Orientation on Sinuhe", in *ZÄS* 25, 1998, p. 312 (p. 311-339) and W.V. Davies, "Readings in the Story of Sinuhe and Other Egyptian Texts", in *JEA* 61, 1975, p. 45. Obviously *Sinuhe* was afraid from the internal battle between sons of king Amenemhat I see H. Goedicke, "The Riddle of Sinuhe's Flight", in *RdE* 35, 1984, p. 95 and M. Bárta, Sinuhe, *the Bible, and the Patriarchs*, Praha, 2003, p. 32.

king *Amenemhat* I's sons against *Snusert* I⁵⁸. When *Sinuhe* reached the Asiatic lands⁵⁹ he was attacked by thirst and he surrendered to fate of passing away⁶⁰ until he heard noises of cattle which caused him use power to show himself to the Asiatic tribe from which its pathfinder saved him ⁶¹.

Obviously act of hearing was having great spiritual influences on *Sinuhe* in two situations when he heard (a) speech of the king's son and (b) noises of the cattle. In the first situation *Sinuhe* stated moment of listening to what was said by son of the king as: $P_{ab} = P_{ab} = P_{ab$

⁵⁸ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 64, B1-2. An interpretation referred to existence of Sinuhe in improper moment because of his duty as guardian to king *Amenemhat* I's sons, see Leprohon, "Sinuhe's Speeches", p. 296.
⁵⁹ For the places which were passed by *Sinuhe* during his flee see Bárta, *Sinuhe, the Bible*, p. 31-36.

⁶⁰ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 72, B23.

⁶¹ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 74, B25-26.

⁶² Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 63, B1-2.

⁶³ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 63, B1-2.

⁶⁴ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 64, B1-2.

⁶⁵ Leprohon, "Sinuhe's Speeches", p. 296.

⁶⁶ *Wb* 1, 208.

⁶⁷ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 63-64, B2.

⁶⁸ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 73, B24-25.

⁶⁹ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 71-72, B21-22.

⁷⁰ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 71, B23 and R48.

⁷¹ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 72, B23.

⁷² Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 72, B23.

⁷³ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 73, B23.

my limbs" ⁷⁴. This is followed by *Sinuhe*'s action in showing himself to the Asiatic tribe from which their pathfinder saved him.

It seems interesting to point out to the following remarks:-

(I) The word $intermath{\mathbb{N}}$ *nmi* "to shout" ⁷⁵ in $intermath{\mathbb{N}}$ *nmi n mnmnwt* "shout of the cattle" might have allusion to the sharp argumentative conversation which happened between the sons of king *Amenemhat* I in the military camp. It seems that they spoke in angry way especially what was said by one of them which alarmed *Sinuhe* and caused his panic.

(II) The verb $\stackrel{\circ}{=} \stackrel{\circ}{=} \stackrel{h}{r}$ "to fall" was used in the two sentences to express extreme collapse of *Sinuhe* who lost power over his senses. The first one is $\stackrel{\circ}{=} \stackrel{\circ}{=} \stackrel{\circ$

(III) The pathfinder gave *Sinuhe* "water" then boiled for him "milk" ⁷⁷. The water was not only essential to save *Sinuhe* but also to relieve the sore sensation in his throat. For the milk, heating it might carry symbolic idea that *Sinhue* was reborn again because when he drinks the milk he would be like the embryo in act of suckling warm milk from his mother's breast after the delivery. In addition a hypothetical equation can be made between both water and milk with the lake of Two-*Maat* in the Sycamore field which was passed by *Sinuhe* during his escape ⁷⁸. This is because lake of Two-Maats most probably contained water used for drinking and both the milk and sycamore tree had been associated with goddess Hathor ⁷⁹.

(IV) The word *kmt* appeared twice; firstly to refer to the Asiatic place called $\square \mathbb{A} \cong \mathbb{A}$ *Kmt Wr* "Great Black" which was reached by *Sinuhe*⁸⁰ before collapsing and reaching moment of passing away because of thirsty and secondly through mentioning that the Asiatic pathfinder who saved *Sinuhe* was in $\square \mathbb{A} \cong Kmt$ "Black Land" or "Egypt"⁸¹. Two variant symbolic ideas can be suggested from the two places kmt wr and kmt according to the word $km \square \mathbb{A} \cong$ with papyrus determinative =⁸² that means "to complete and compilation"⁸³. Starting with *kmt wr* "Great Black" might present idea that in its place *Sinuhe* reached extreme limit of endurance and became exhausted after his long journey. For the word *Kmt* "Black Land" or "Egypt", probably it signifies idea of

⁷⁴ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 73, B23-24.

⁷⁵ *Wb* 2, 265.16-17; FCD 133

⁷⁶ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 63-64, B3.

⁷⁷ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 73-74, B26-27. It seems that the ancient people found that drinking boiled milk is better than drinking it cold for healthy purpose; see Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 74, Note B26-27.

⁷⁸ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 65-66, B8.

⁷⁹ Canhão, *Textos Da Literatura Egípcia Do Império Médio*, p. 259 note 6.

⁸⁰ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 71-72, B21.

⁸¹ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 73-74, B26.

⁸² Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, p. 441, sign O49.

⁸³ *Wb* 5, 128.3 and 130.4 and FCD 286.

ending troubles and suffering for Sinuhe after being rescued by the Asiatic pathfinder. The two symbolic ideas can be featured through the determinatives of desert hill $\stackrel{\sim}{\simeq}$ ⁸⁴ in

km wr "Great Black" and city $^{\otimes 85}$ in word *Kmt* "Egypt". Naturally the desert hill illustrates hard life in the desert and lack of water and nourishments while the city implies stability and existence of different kinds of nourishments. In addition relating kmt with the man who saved Sinuhe might have intended to present positive believe about Egypt that it was associated with the good signs of obtaining safety, shelter, security and peace. In another word the name of Egypt has magical influence to improve conditions of the Egyptians in the foreign lands.

C- Success of Sinuhe in Asia.

Sinuhe spent remarkable flourishing life under patronage of Ammunanshi chief of Upper Retinu. The later positioned Sinuhe at the head of his sons, gave him his eldest daughter as wife ⁸⁶ and appointed him as ruler of tribe in wonderful country filled with every good things⁸⁷. Sinuhe as an army leader fulfilled military campaigns by commission of his father-in-law Ammunanshi to suppress rebels and keep order ⁸⁸. Then Sinuhe reached peak of success when he defeated the mighty Asiatic warrior 89 who challenged him in hand-to-hand combat⁹⁰ before presenting his gratitude to god Montu 91 .

The great achievements of Sinuhe in Asia might to lead to hypothetically propose interesting comparison between him and king Snusert I to indicate points of resemblance as shown in the following aspects:-

I. Letter "S" represents the initial for both names of king S-n-Wsrt "Snusert" and S3-nht "Sinuhe". The last part of their names witnessed existence of goddesses; Wsrt in the name of S-n-Wsrt "Senwsert" that means "Man of Wsrt" who was Theban goddess and her name means "Mighty Lady" 92. She was associated with military activities for her illustration while holding bow and arrow ⁹³. For *Sinuhe* his name *S3-nht* signifies "Son of the Sycamore" which was the sacred tree for goddess Hathor ⁹⁴. The name of S3-nht was another variant for the name of "Offspring of goddess Hathor" 95.

⁸⁴ Allen, An Introduction to the Language, p. 441, sign N25.

⁸⁵ Allen, An Introduction to the Language, p. 438, sign O49.

⁸⁶ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 90-91. B78-79.

⁸⁷ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 91-92. B86-87.

⁸⁸ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 95-96. B99-B106.

⁸⁹ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 105-106, B137-B140.

⁹⁰ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 97-98, B109-B112. The fight between *Sinuhe* and the Asiatic warrior was compared with that of David and Goliath, see Bárta, Sinuhe, the Bible, Praha, 2003, p. 49-50.

⁹¹ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 105-106, B141.

⁹² Canhão, Textos Da Literatura Egípcia Do Império Médio, p. 259 note 7.

⁹³ Wilkinson, Complete Gods and Goddesses, p. 169.

⁹⁴ Wilkinson, Complete Gods and Goddesses, p. 141 and Canhão, Textos Da Literatura Egípcia Do Império Médio, 2014, p. 258 note 6. ⁹⁵ Canhão, *Textos Da Literatura Egípcia Do Império Médio*, 2014, p. 258 note 6.

This might lead to symbolically consider both *Snusert* I and *Sinuhe* as sons of *Hothor* because the kings in ancient Egypt were identified with god *Horus* and were regarded as children of goddess *Hathor* ⁹⁶.

II. King *Snusert* I was the eldest son of king *Amenemhat* I⁹⁷. He married queen *Neferu* III who was his sister and eldest daughter of the king *Amenemhat* I⁹⁸. *Sinuhe* get married with the eldest daughter of the ruler *Ammunanshi* which might lead to regard him as an eldest son to his father-in-law.

III. Snusert I ruled as co-regent with king Amenemhat I⁹⁹ which logically placed him at foremost of his brothers in the military campaign which was sent to land of the *Tamahu*. The same happened to Sinuhe who was positioned by Ammunanshi at the head of his sons.

IV.Both *Snusert* I and *Sinuhe* led military campaigns; *Snusert* I was sent by his father king *Amenhotep* I to the *Tamahu* land to punish the desert and to destroy the *Tehenu* tribe ¹⁰⁰. For *Sinuhe* he led the troops by commission of *Ammunanshi* to suppress rebels in the Asiatic countries and keep order ¹⁰¹.

V. *Sinuhe* stated that *Ammunanshi* had chosen him as leader of army because he enjoyed strong hands. *Sinuhe* described *Snusert* I as having powerful arms while subduing the enemies ¹⁰². As the chief *Ammmunanshi* had done to *Sinuhe* no doubt king *Amenemhat* I had selected *Snusert* I because of his abilities not only because he was the eldest son.

VI.*Sinuhe* in his speech to *Ammunanshe*, praised *Snusert* I as the master of benevolence and the one who gained love of the Egyptians to the limit they felt affection for him more than their gods ¹⁰³. Concerning *Sinuhe*, it is found that chief *Ammmunanshi* favored him when all people of the *Retjnu* showed compassion towards him before his combat against the Asiatic warrior although he belonged to their race. Beside *Sinuhe* in spite he was foreigner but he gained the positive emotions of the people who showed sympathy towards him before combating the Asiatic warrior who belonged to their same race.

VII. King *Snusert* I was not only man who depended on power but possessed intelligence and knowledge of effective plans ¹⁰⁴. *Sinuhe* proudly showed his effective acquaintance with the rebels of the Asiatic countries and how to deal with them properly ¹⁰⁵.

⁹⁶ Wilkinson, Complete Gods and Goddesses, p. 141.

⁹⁷ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 61, R12.

 ⁹⁸ A. Dodson, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt*, Thames & Hudson, London – New York, 2004, p. 93.
 ⁹⁹ Canhão, *Textos Da Literatura Egípcia Do Império Médio*, p. 259 note 7.

¹⁰⁰ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 61, R11-R14.

¹⁰¹ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 95-96, B97-B106.

¹⁰² Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 81-82, B51-B53.

¹⁰³ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 99-100, B118-B119.

¹⁰⁴ What made Sinuhe Flight ? p. 196 ---- Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 81-82, B48-50.

¹⁰⁵ What made Sinuhe Flight ? p. 196 ---- Allen, Middle Egyptian Literature, p. 94-95, B97-99.

When the Asiatic warrior challenged Sinuhe the described himself as the VIII. bull of the wild who was harassed by the best of bulls ¹⁰⁶ in what can be considered an elegy. Obviously the best of bull is metaphoric description for the Asiatic warrior who was killed by Sinuhe in the battlefield. For king Snusert I, he was said to pleat the horns ¹⁰⁷ as mentioned in praising of *Sunihe* about him during his conversation with the chief Ammunanshi.

IX.Intention of the Asiatic warrior to seize possessions of Sinuhe including his cattle can be and equated with speech of one of the sons of king Amenemhat I which is understood to be against the legal ascension of king Snusert I upon the throne. Indeed he revealed his plan to usurp the throne from Snusert I. Thus action of Sinuhe in plundering camp of Asiatic warrior might lead to think that probably king Snusert I took procedure of confiscating possessions of his brother as sort of punishment.

X. The Asiatic enemy of Sinhue behaved in a way seemed to be elegant because he came to the tent of *Sinuhe* to reveal his challenge rather than making sudden attack ¹⁰⁸. No doubt this characteristic feature is also found in the insubordinate brother of king Snusert I because of receiving best degree of education inside the royal palace.

XI.Sinuhe described himself as bull ¹⁰⁹ after being challenged by the Asiatic warrior. The bull animal was used generally to depict the heroic image of the ancient Egyptian kings including Snusert I when they demolished the enemies and conquered their lands. This idea was indicated through using bull's horns \forall in word $\forall \times \square \square wp$ st that means to occupy a place ¹¹⁰ and it was early illustrated in image of the bull which incarnated king Narmer while demolishing the enemy and his fortified castle.

XII. Sinuhe showed his gratitude to Montu god of war¹¹¹ after defeating the Asiatic warrior. This might present general positive idea about the Egyptian deities that never abandoned the Egyptians in the foreign lands. The war god Montu was believed to support the Egyptian kings including Snusert I in the battlefield.

Victory of Sinuhe was clear evident for superiority of the Egyptian warriors XIII. over the others from different countries. This is clearly shown in tactic of Sinuhe who waited the opponent start his attack ¹¹² and he avoided his arrows. In this moment the opponent became vulnerable so Sinuhe who took the chance to shoot him and obtain victory. This suits showing the combating talents of king Snusert I who never lose his temper ¹¹³ and no one can escape his arrows ¹¹⁴.

¹⁰⁶ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 99-100, B118-B119.

¹⁰⁷ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 81-82. B54.

¹⁰⁸ H. W. Fischer-Elfert, "The Hero of Retjenu – An Execration Figure (Sinuhe B109-113), *JEA* 82, 1996, p. 199.

¹⁰⁹ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 99-100

¹¹⁰ Wb 1, 301.11-12.

¹¹¹ Wilkenson, Complete Gods and Goddesses, p. 203.

¹¹² Fischer-Elfert, "The Hero of Retjenu", p.199.
¹¹³ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 83-84, B58-59.

¹¹⁴ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 83-85, B62.

XIV. Sinuhe stated that the Asiatic warrior collapsed upon his nose which was regarded as symbol of dignity in social cultures. This might refer to character of the Asiatic warrior who was filled with arrogance but he lost his pride as suitable punishment because he committed big mistake to belittle *Sinuhe*. Image of the Asiatic warrior might resemble character of the son of king *Amenemhat* I whose egotism caused him belief that he was better than *Snusert* I and as a result failure was his inevitable fate.

In addition an equation can be proposed between *Sinuhe* and king *Amenemhat* I. As previously suggested king *Amenemhat* I, fulfilled his earthly mission as ruler of Egypt then he ascended to heaven where he was united with the god who created him. For *Sinuhe* he also appeared as the one who accomplished his mission through his great works in the Asiatic land and appointing his children as chiefs of their tribes ¹¹⁵. Then his return to his beloved homeland Egypt which is the land he belonged to.

Conclusion

From the previous remarks and suggested ideas concerning the displayed events from the tale, the following points can be resumed:

1- It is indicated existence of many points of similarities between *Sinuhe* and king *Snusert* I as clarified in the following table:

Similarity Points	Sinuhe	King Snusert I	
1- Name starts with	Sa-nht (Sinuhe)	S-n-Wsrt (Snusert)	
letter S			
2- existence of	Son of Sycamore symbol	Man of goddess Wsert.	
Goddess in the name	of goddess Hathor		
3- Wife	Eldest daughter of	Eldest daughter of	
(daughter of ruler)	Ammunanshi	Amenemhat I	
4- Military Works	Sinuhe led military	Amenemhat I sent Snusert I	
	campaigns in Asia by	to land of Tamahu.	
	command of		
	Ammunanshi		
5- Characteristics			
5A- Strength	Senuhe described himself	Snusert I seized the horns	
	as bull		
5B- Morale	a- Ammunanshi liked	a- The people loved him.	
Affection	Sinuhe	b- the people favored him	
	b- Asiatic people showed	more than their gods.	
	passion to Sinuhe before	_	
	fighting the Asiatic		
	warrior.		

¹¹⁵ Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 105-106, B137-B140.

5C- Knowledge	<i>Sinuhe</i> knew the right methods to deal with rebels of the Asiatic	intelligence	5.5
	countries		

2- The word *ib* "heart" was associated with death and to clarify different morale conditions as center of emotions:

2A. <u>Death of king Amenemhat I</u>: The throne name $Shtp-ib-R^{c}$ expressed happiness in the heart of god Re for receiving king Amenemhat I. On the other hand death of the king caused great grief to the people's hearts inside the royal palace.

2B. *Sinuhe* died spiritually and lost control over his heart when he <u>heard talking of</u> the king's son and he restored his heart and did not surrender to fate of death after <u>hearing sounds of the cattle</u>.

3- Dramatically the tale of *Sinuhe* presented what is known as <u>Master Scenes</u> for representing <u>Turing Points</u> in the contexts. This is applied in the two situations which witnessed <u>act of hearing</u>.

3A. *Sinuhe* lost the ability to think and decided to escape from Egypt after hearing speech of the king's son.

3B. After hearing sounds of the cattle, *Sinuhe* restored his senses which led to his rescue to start new successful life in Asia.

4- Death of king *Amenemhat* I referred to aspects of the procedures which had been executed in major crises represented in closing gates of the royal palace, sending messengers to *Snusert* I and keeping secrecy of king *Amenemhat* I's in the military camp.

5- The tale showed the abilities of the Egyptians incarnated in personality of Sinuhe to obtain success in the foreign land and his superiority over his opponents.

6- The tale used indirect methods to refer to certain ideas:

6A. The number 30 assured end of the king's rule upon throne of Egypt.

6B. Assassination of king *Amenemhat* I can be identified him with god *Osiris* who was killed by his brother Seth.

6C. King Snusert I as flying falcon assured his essential role in protecting Egypt.

7- There are indirect points of similarities which were suggested:

7A. Sounds of the cattle are insinuation to the fierce conversation supposed to happen between the sons of king *Amenemhat* I concerning ascension of king *Snusert* I.

7B. Challenge of the Asiatic warrior against *Sinuhe* and intention of seizing his camp resembles the opposing position of son of king *Amenemhat* I against *Snusert* I and his desire to usurp his legal right for the throne.

7C. The morale collapse *Sinuhe* resembles the bad condition of the people inside the royal palace.

7D. *Ascension* of king *Amenemhat* I to the sky to be united with the god who created him after fulfilling his earthly mission as ruler of Egypt can be equated with return of *Sinuhe* to Egypt after achieving successful works in the Asiatic land.

8- Mentioning name of Egypt was associated with positive aspects:-

8A. The pathfinder who rescued Sinuhe was in Egypt.

8B. Desire of *Sinuhe* to spend last part of his life in his beloved country Egypt although the extreme success he achieved in Asia.

9- It is shown the literal devise of using the hieroglyphic signs to show different behaviors:

9A. Standing man holding long stick $\overset{\circ}{\mathbb{R}}$ and seating man $\overset{\circ}{\mathbb{R}}$ in names of $\overset{\circ}{\mathbb{R}}$ $\overset{\circ}{\mathbb{R}}$ since "entourage" and $\overset{\circ}{\mathbb{R}}$ $\overset{\circ}{\mathbb{R}}$ smrw "courtiers" who showed negative and positive behaviors respectively.

9B. Ibis bird gm and owl m in words $\mathcal{D} \mathbb{A}^{\mathbb{C}} \mathbb{A}$ gmw "daze" to show inability to think and $\mathcal{D} \mathbb{A}$ gm "find" to express fulfilling missions.

9C. The alliteration between $\mathbb{A} \cong \mathbb{A} \cong$

9D. Using word *km* with meaning of "complete" in word *Kmt wr* to show complete stand for *Sinuhe* before collapsing because of thirst and in word *kmt* to signify the end of suffering.

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ملاحظات عن بعض الأحداث فى قصة سنوحى هشام عز الدين زكى قسم الإرشاد السياحى، كلية السياحة والفنادق، جامعة مدينة السادات

الملخص: يقدم البحث ملاحظات عن بعض الحوادث المثيرة في قصبة سنوحى متمثلة في موت الملك أمنمحات الأول وهروب سنوحى وحياته المثمرة العامرة بالنجاح في آسيا. بالنسبة لموت الملك أمنمحات الاول تم الربط بين سنوات حكم الملك الثلاثين بفكرة إنتهاء حكمه على الأرض نظرا لإرتباط الرقم برمزية الإكتمال في مصر القديمة، وتم الاشارة إلى أن معنى اسم تتويج الملك سحتب–ايب–رع "يسعد قلب رع" يعطى انطباع أن صعود الملك للسماء سيسعد إله الشمس رع لكن عدم وجود الملك يؤدى بطبيعة الحال إلى القاء الحزن في القلوب، كما أن إغلاق بوابتي القصر يعد إجراء وقائي وتم الإشارة إلى وجود نوعبن من الشخصيات داخل القصر الاول من استسلموا لمشاعر الحزن لدرجة العجو عن التفكير والنوع الثاني هم من امتلكوا القدرة على اتخاذ القرارات الصحيحة تتمثل في ارسال فرسان للصحراء الغربية لإخبار وريث العرش سنوسرت الأول دون انتظار عودته. وبالنسبة للموقف الثانى الخاص بهروب سنوحى فتم ابراز موقفين متشابهين لهما تأثيرات مختلفة الأول عندما سمع سنوحى حديث إبن الملك أمنمحات الأول ضد سنوسرت الأول ويشير إلى حدوث نزاعات داخلية مما أدى إلى حدوث موت معنوى لسنوحى وانهيار قلبه وأعضاءه والموقف الثاني عندما أشرف سنوحى على الموت عطشا لكن صوت الماشية جعله يتشبث بالحياة ويستعيد سيطرته على قلبه وأعضاءه، كما تم الاشارة إلى رمزية بعض الكلمات فعلى سبيل المثال كلمة "نمى" بمعنى شجار صوت الماشية يتشابه رمزيا مع النقاش الحاد الذي تم بين أبناء الملك والحديث القوى الذي صدر من ابن الملك ضد سنوسرت الأول وكذلك كلمتي "كمت-ور" و"كمت" وارتبطاتهما بنهاية تحمل سنوحى ونهاية معاناته على التوالي لأن كلمة كمت تعطى معنى الاكتمال، وبالنسبة لنجاح سنوحي في حياته بأسيا التي تضمنت زواج سنوحي بإبنة زعيم ريتنو العليا الذي فضله عن ابناءه واعطى له قياة الحملات الحربية لحفظ النظام بأسيا وكذلك انتصاره على المحارب الأسبوي في القتال المصيري فقد تم عقد مقارنة بين سنوحى والملك سنوسرت الأول في عدد من المظاهر حيث أن الأخير تزوج بالإبنة الكبري للملك الذي أعطى له قيادة الجيش في حملة الصحراء الليبية كما أن صفات سنوسرت الاول تتشابه مع مع صفات سنوحى كما ظهر في كلمات الثناء التي وصفه بها سنوحي أثناء حديثه مع ريتنو العليا. وأخيرا تم افتراض تشبيه صعود الملك أمنمحات الأول إلى السماء ليتحد مع الإله الذي خلقه بعد انجاز مهمته على الأرض بعودة سنوحى إلى بلده الحبيب مصر بعد تحقبق نجاحاته في آسيا.

الكلمات الدال: ملاحظات، أحداث، الموت، امنمحات الأول، كلمات، سنوسرت الأول، هروب.