

VOLUME 25

PART 1

1939

THE JOURNAL OF EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

PUBLISHED BY
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

Reprinted photographically at the University Press, Oxford 1973

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A STATUE OF RAMESSES II IN THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, PHILADELPHIA

BY PHILIPPUS MILLER

EXCAVATING for the Egypt Exploration Fund in the season of 1891 at Ahnās el-Medīnah, the site of the ancient Heracleopolis, Dr. Naville discovered, in a vestibule of a temple dedicated to Arsaphes, a statue bearing the names and titles of Ramesses II (see Pls. i-iii).¹ It was acquired by the University Museum, Philadelphia, as a gift of Mrs. John Harrison in 1891, and bears the number E. 635. In the original publication Naville stated: 'It is of good Nineteenth Dynasty workmanship.'² Professor Petrie, however, excavating in the same site in 1904, found a fellow statue badly broken up, and wrote: 'The statue found by Dr. Naville . . . is not "of Rameses II . . . of good XIXth Dynasty workmanship". . . . both are older works than Ramessu II, but appropriated by him. On Dr. Naville's statue the traces of older sculpture are shown (*Ahnas* 1, C.), and similar lines of the earlier design, and erasure of an earlier name from the belt, are on the second statue. Probably both statues are of Senusert II or III of the XIIth Dynasty, whose names occur here.'³ It must be said in passing that the drawing, *Ahnas*, Pl. i, C, mentioned in this passage cannot represent the statue in the University Museum, for the inscription on our statue is not the same, and our statue, as far as I have been able to discern, contains no trace of earlier sculpture. It would seem that this drawing, *Ahnas*, Pl. i, C, and *Ehnasya*, Pl. xix, reproduce the left side of the throne of the second statue discovered years later by Petrie.

The Philadelphia statue is of unpolished light yellow quartzite, the entire body and face, and the sides of the throne, being painted red, and the stripes of the head-cloth alternately blue and yellow, now much faded. Its maximum measurements are: height, 2.26 m.; width (at bottom), 0.73 m.; depth (at bottom), 1.46 m. Its weight is about four tons. There are several peculiarities that it may be well to note at this point. There is a hole⁴ about 0.075 m. deep and 0.06 m. in diameter on the left side of the base, a few inches nearer the back than the front. There is another hole⁴ about 0.033 m. deep and 0.04 m. in diameter on the side of the left foot near the heel, and a third, about 0.155 m. deep, on the front right-hand corner of the base (which apparently caused the breaking away of this corner of the base). The two first-mentioned holes were still filled-in when the statue was found, as may be seen in the original photograph.⁵ The hole on the front right-hand corner was evidently also filled in, because plaster can be felt if one sticks a finger into the opening. These holes were evidently filled in anciently with plaster which was picked out by an attendant of our Museum. That he picked some more plaster out of this statue will be seen below. It occurred to me at first that these holes might have been made for the transportation of the statue, but our chemist, Mr. Horton, has convinced me that they are too rough and irregularly shaped inside to have been drilled, and that they are solution-holes which were there before

¹ Naville, *Ahnas el Medīneh*, p. 11, Pl. x.

² *Op. cit.*, 11.

³ Petrie, *Ehnasya*, 15. The broken statue is in the Cairo Museum; see Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.*, iv, 118.




⁴ Visible in Pl. i.

⁵ Naville, *op. cit.*, Pl. x, B.



STATUE OF RAMESSES II.
The University Museum, Philadelphia.



the stone was used for the statue. The presence of crystals hanging on the walls of the cavities gives support to this view.¹

It will be noted that above the second cartouche on the left side of the throne (Pl. iii, 2) there is a double , facing the two groups in opposite directions. When the statue arrived at the Museum, however, and for some time afterwards, this duplicated group was partly filled in with plaster, so that only the  facing right was visible. According to the Museum records the plaster was picked out one day by a museum attendant, who thought it only an accidental adhesion, and the reworking was thus exposed. What happened in antiquity is pretty clear. By inadvertence the draughtsman drew out the whole of this column facing left, whereas it should have faced the back of the statue, as on the other side (Pl. iii, 1; see also the inscription on the back, Pl. iii, 3, for the symmetrical arrangement). After the inscription had been cut an attempt was made to repair the error to some extent by re-cutting the top group , the one most glaringly at fault, while leaving the rest of the column to its fate: the two signs were filled up with plaster, and the stone-cutter cut them again the right way round.

The last peculiarity to which I wish to call attention is a depression a little more than 0.025 m. deep at its lowest point, about 0.23 m. long and 0.45 m. wide, on the top of the base and in front of the feet. It is worn down as are stone steps in ancient buildings, except that in this case the edge is not worn away. Anything one could say about the cause of this condition would be pure conjecture, but one would like to think it was worn down by worshippers over a considerable period of time. On the other hand, the presence on this surface of small rough shallow holes, as though made with a heavy blunt-ended instrument, suggests that the base may have been used for other things at some time.

As may be seen on Plate i, the statue is now in three pieces. This was not the case, however, when it was found. Naville states that it was broken in two, and the photograph taken on the site does not show the break at the neck as at present.² The head must have become detached some time between the taking of this photograph and the statue's arrival at the Museum. In addition to this a piece is missing from the lower left-hand corner of the head-cloth which is visible in Naville's photograph. The original beard is lost, but was replaced at some time (probably that of Ramesses II) by another, which is also lost, and only the cavity which was made for its reception remains.

The incised hieroglyphs which cover the front, back, and sides of the throne and base give the titles and names of Ramesses II, and are as follows:

1. Front of throne, on both sides premen and nomen, introduced by  and  respectively; the inscription on the (statue's) right side is identical, except for direction, with that on the left, for which see Pl. i.

2. On right side of throne: see Pl. iii, 1.³

3. On left side of throne: see Pl. iii, 2, and Pl. i.

4. On back pillar of throne: facing right (see Fig. 1).

5. On back of throne: see Pl. iii, 3.



6. Around base. (A) In front, two vertical cartouches, over which are  and  respectively (see Pl. i). (B) From each side of this, and extending to the ends



FIG. 1.

¹ Furthermore, it is very unlikely that the Egyptians would risk mutilation of the statue by drilling holes. The colossal statue of Djehuthotpe was protected by the insertion of pads of dappled ox-skin under the ropes, see Newberry, *El Bersheh*, 1, Pl. xv, and p. 19. For a discussion of levers and lewises, see Clarke and Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, 85. The holes are too small for the insertion of wooden levers, but might have been used for metal lewises.

² Naville, *op. cit.*, Pl. x, p. 11.

³ There is no bottom framing-line to the rectangle of inscription on this side, or on the back.



1



2

STATUE OF RAMESSES II.
The University Museum, Philadelphia.

the first place we are handicapped by the loss of almost the entire nose. Secondly, the surface of our statue is unpolished and rough. Finally, I am handicapped by having only photographs of the Turin statue for comparison. The face of our statue is oval, but does not give the same effect of length as the Turin face. The eyebrows are represented by a single horizontal ridge, which turns downward very slightly at the ends. The upper eyelids are represented by much thinner ridges, but the lower lids are almost imperceptible. There is enough of the top of the nose left to be able to see when looking at the profile that it probably was a fairly long one, somewhat of the type commonly called Roman. The cheeks are well rounded and full, the lips full, the lower lip slightly sagging, and the mouth turns upward very slightly at the corners. There are two perceptible creases that extend diagonally downward from the corners of the mouth. The chin is slightly cleft, and viewed in profile turns perceptibly upward. In the Turin statue the eyebrows are differently treated, being represented by two arched ridges; and the eyelids are clearly cut, the upper heavier than the lower. The nose is fairly long and narrow and somewhat aquiline. The mouth is very similar to that of our statue, with full lips and slight upward curve at the corners. The chin, however, is round. The full rounded cheeks and the oval face are again similar. This general aspect of oval face, full cheeks, and rather full-lipped mouth common to both faces suggests the possibility that Ramesses II had the face worked over to look more like himself. I cannot regard this statue as an original work of the Nineteenth Dynasty, not only because of the points of difference between its face and several other faces that seem to be of that date,¹ but also on account of many other points about the rest of the statue which I give below.²

If, then, this statue was usurped by Ramesses II, to what period or dynasty may it be assigned? There is a note in our Museum to the effect that Professor Capart, when here in 1932, expressed the opinion that the body of our statue was perhaps Fourth-Dynasty, and the head probably Middle-Kingdom, possibly Old-Kingdom. This is impossible, since, as I have pointed out above, the head and body formed one piece when the statue was found, a fact of which Professor Capart was evidently not aware. As to the possibility of its being of the Old Kingdom, while it possesses some characteristics of this period, notably in the treatment of the legs, body-form, and costume, when one compares it with the seated statues of Old-Kingdom kings in the Cairo Museum and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, which are in the main robust types, with salient muscles and broad shoulders, one is struck by the weaker aspect of our statue, and feels that it can be but a copy of these works.³ In addition to this I should like to point out the difference in the thrones. The Old-Kingdom throne was almost invariably a much lower seat without a back, or else it had a high rectangular back which reached to the level of the shoulders, such as that of the famous diorite Chephren, *CCG*, No. 14. The throne of our statue has the very low type of back over which a rug was draped, and is surmounted by a tapering pillar, rectangular in section, comparable to the Turin Ramesses. I have simply tried to subject it to the 'formal analysis' which Frankfort has claimed in this Journal as a 'lacuna' which Schäfer has left in his admirable works on Egyptian art. See *JE A* 18, 34.

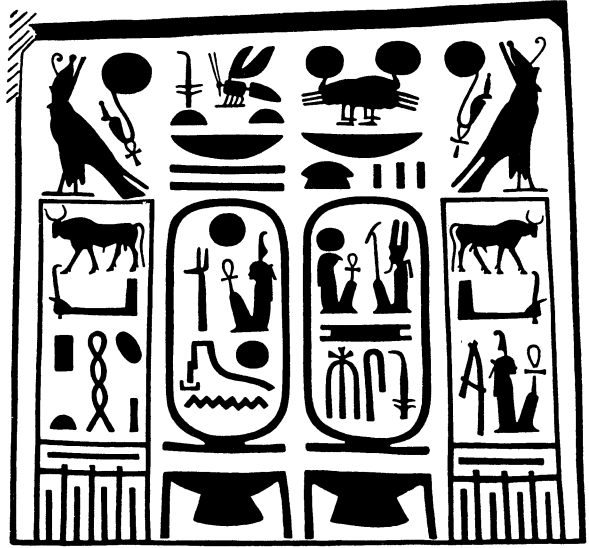
¹ Cf. Borchardt, *Statuen . . . (CCG)*, Nos. 558, 575, 601, 616, and Budge, *Egyptian Sculpture in the British Museum*, Pls. xxx-xxxiii.

² I should like here to call attention to the similarity of the Turin Ramesses to the 'Amarnah art' shown by Von Bissing when he compares it to a statuette of Amenophis IV and a head in the Louvre, published by Bénédite; see *Denkmäler äg. Sculptur*, 48, 49. There is certainly no resemblance to this art in the face or any other part of our statue.

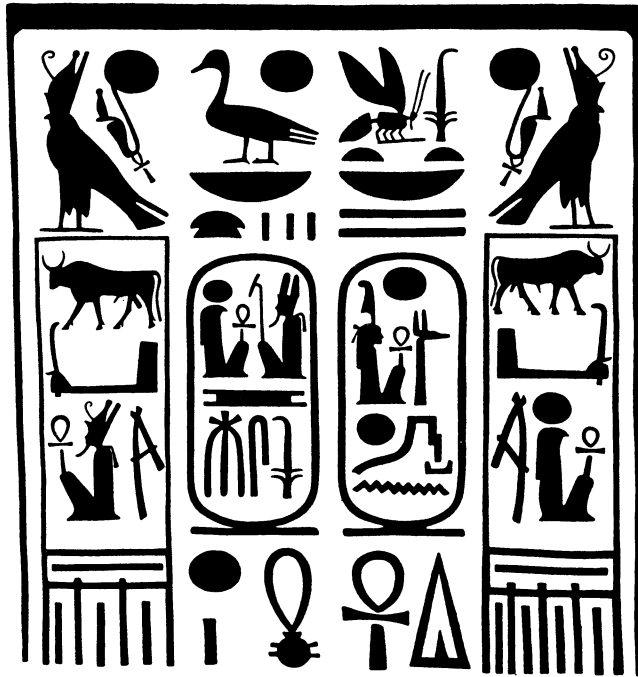
³ Cf. Borchardt, *op. cit.*, Nos. 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 38, 39, 41, 42; also the statues of Mycerinus in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.



1



2



3

Inscriptions on (statue's) right (1), left (2), and back (3) of throne.

STATUE OF RAMESSES II.

The University Museum, Philadelphia.

characteristic of the period from the Middle Kingdom to the early Eighteenth Dynasty.¹ Further, there are a great many other points which do not agree with an Old-Kingdom dating. For example, the distance from the point at which the 'nemes' or head-cloth reaches the brow to the top of the head is greater than in the Old Kingdom. Also the head-cloth from the Middle Kingdom onwards looks more like a solid helmet, while in the Old Kingdom it gives rather the effect of an unstarched cloth.² Again, in the Old Kingdom the head was quite round, with the greatest height in the middle, while the top of the head of our statue is rather flat. Finally, on our statue both hands lie flat, palms downward, on the knees; while this is not unknown in seated statues of the Old Kingdom, I do not know of it in royal statues before Amenemmes III. As a last argument against an Old-Kingdom dating I should like to point out that at the time this statue was discovered no remains of earlier date than the Twelfth Dynasty had been found on the site.³

As mentioned above, Petrie believed this statue to be of Sesostris II or III, the only reasons given being the traces of older sculpture, the erasure of an earlier name from a fellow statue, and the fact that names of these kings occurred on the site. Moreover, the two quartzite statues, usurped by Rameses II and very similar to ours, but larger,⁴ mentioned above as having been discovered at Heracleopolis in 1915 and described by Daressy,⁵ were both assigned by him to the Twelfth Dynasty, the larger of the two to Sesostris III on the evidence of an earlier cartouche on the belt of which nothing remained but a U sign in the lower register, from which he would read 'Khakaurēc'. Evers, however, in his excellent work on Middle-Kingdom sculpture, *Staat aus dem Stein*, would read 'Akheperkarēc,'⁶ and attributes both these statues to Tuthmosis I for a good many reasons which he arrives at after a formal analysis.⁷

There are certainly a great many characteristics of our statue which show Middle-Kingdom influence, though many of these were still present in the early Eighteenth-Dynasty, as Evers has shown.⁸ Moreover, while our statue may well be an original work of the Middle Kingdom, there are several reasons, which I give below, inclining me to believe that it cannot be earlier than Amenemmes III. However, since it has been hitherto believed to represent Sesostris II or III, let us see what characteristics it shows to justify such a conclusion.

Portraits of Sesostris II are rare.⁹ The one which seems to bear the greatest likeness to ours is Borchardt, *op. cit.*, No. 430, which is better photographed in Evers, *op. cit.*, Taf. 67, 68. This is of dark granite, well polished. The face bears a certain likeness to ours in its oval form, the treatment of the eyebrows, and the chin, but here the resemblance seems to stop. The face is a chubbier and rounder one than our statue's. Moreover, the entire body is more robust and muscular and thicker. It is a style which is typical of the seated statues of the Twelfth Dynasty, a body-form which seems to be alive, pliant, strong, and round in construction. There is another style in the Twelfth Dynasty, however, which suggests a

¹ For a study of back-supports, see Evers, *op. cit.*, II, § 341, pp. 48 ff.

² Evers, *op. cit.*, 75-92.

³ Naville, *Ahnas el Medineh*, 2.

⁴ Heights, 4-35 m. and 3-90 m.

⁵ *Ann. Serv.* 17, 33. They were discovered at Kōm el-'Akārib south-east of the Arsaphes temple excavated by Naville and Petrie, near the ruins of a temple, which, on grounds of style, Evers would attribute to the early Eighteenth Dynasty. See *Staat aus dem Stein*, II, § 713.

⁶ II, § 715.

⁷ I have had the pleasure of meeting Dr. Evers, and he has seen photographs of our statue. I am indebted to him for calling my attention to a great many points which I had not noticed and which cannot be ignored when trying to arrive at its date.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, II, §§ 639, 724.

⁹ The only ones I have to compare are Berlin 7264 and *Cairo, Cat. Gén.*, Nos. 430 and 432. The last two have been dated to Sesostris II by Evers. The best photographs of these three statues are in Evers, *op. cit.*, I, Taf. 64-8.

more vertical construction. This may be seen in the well-known Amenemmes III from Hawāra, now in the Cairo Museum, and in the standing figures of this period. It is a studied, quiet, rather weak and unpliant bodily form, but still shows the characteristics of the Middle Kingdom. With this our statue compares better. A hard and unyielding setting-off of the breast-muscles, and a flatness or insipidity of the body, occur to one if it is compared with the seated statues of the earlier Twelfth Dynasty.¹ From Amenemmes III onwards, however, the type seems to change, and the weaker form of body predominates from the Thirteenth Dynasty to the Eighteenth. Perhaps the outstanding characteristic of this Thirteenth-Dynasty type is the pronounced concavity of the sides of the body just above the waist-line, giving an almost effeminately slender and wide-hipped effect. This is especially noticeable in the Sebekhotpe of the Louvre and the Sekhemwadjtawirē of the British Museum.² It is present in our statue, but not to such a marked extent.

As for the possibility of our statue being of Sesostris III, I would suggest comparison with the series in Evers's book not only for the type of body construction, but also for the type of face. There are a great many portraits of Sesostris III and Amenemmes III; but these kings being father and son, their images are similar and easily confused.³ The features, notably the characteristic treatment of the eyes and the high cheek-bones, which are especially noticeable in the king as an old man, give one, I think, the feeling that the sculptor of our statue could never have intended a portrait of either of these kings.

There are other reasons, however, which incline me to date our statue not before Amenemmes III, and I will now take these one by one, mentioning, at the same time, the Middle-Kingdom characteristics which influence me against a Nineteenth-Dynasty dating.

A characteristic of the Middle-Kingdom royal statue is uniformity of the entire outline—throne, shoulders, and head-cloth. In other words, a straight line can be drawn down the side which will touch all these portions at their outward extremities. The head-cloth on our statue is too small for this. It thus conforms to the Thirteenth-Dynasty type. This small head-cloth is also characteristic of the Old Kingdom.⁴

Viewed from the side, the throne of our statue is seen to slant slightly backwards, making the angle with the base greater than a right angle. This is a Middle-Kingdom characteristic. On the other hand, there is an absence of any relief on the sides of the throne; there is an inscription of Ramesses II, of course, but this was incised on a smooth surface, and it is only after the Twelfth Dynasty that the throne with smooth sides is known.⁵

The sharp edge on the front of the legs is a very decided Middle-Kingdom characteristic, but we must also bear in mind the fact mentioned above, that royal statues with both hands laid palm downwards on the knees are not found before Amenemmes III. The feature is common, however, in the Thirteenth Dynasty and later.

¹ For statues of Sesostris II, see preceding note. Cf. also the statues of Sesostris I, especially Borchardt, *op. cit.*, 411 and 413, for the stronger type of bodies. (The best photographs of all the Middle-Kingdom works mentioned in this article may be seen in Evers's work, unless stated to the contrary.)

² Thirteenth-Dynasty types—Sebekhotpe III of the Louvre, Weigall, *op. cit.*, 115; Sekhemwadjtawirē, Budge, *op. cit.*, Pl. xvi; Legrain, *Statues . . . (CCG)*, No. 42023; Borchardt, *op. cit.*, No. 386; Mermeshau, Petrie, *Hist.*, I (1924), p. 217, Fig. 123; Statuette of Neferhotep, Bologna, Petrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 221 f., Figs. 127, 128. The examples of the early Eighteenth Dynasty are rare, but Amenophis II, Legrain, *op. cit.*, 42075, and Amenophis III, Budge, *op. cit.*, Pl. xxii, illustrate this weaker body-form.

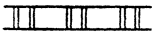
³ Cf. Weigall, *op. cit.*, 94 ff., also H. R. Hall, *JEA* 15, 154.

⁴ Evers, *op. cit.*, II, 75.

⁵ This was pointed out to me by Evers verbally. The extreme hardness of quartzite makes it difficult to work. It is therefore unlikely that any earlier sculpture would be obliterated, and, as I have said before, there is no trace of this. Minor changes in the face, as I have suggested above, are possible.

The uraeus on our statue lies with head curved upward, rather flat on the front of the head-cloth, but the body winds around making a loop on each side of the cobra's head, and the tail goes straight back along the top of the head-cloth, stopping in the middle. These loops on each side are definitely a characteristic of periods later than the Twelfth Dynasty.¹

I have already discussed the type of head-cloth, but I must mention the unique feature that the stripes are painted on a smooth surface, neither sunk nor elevated. I know of no other example of this on a royal statue.

There remains to be mentioned the costume. There is nothing unusual in this, since it is typical on statues over a long period of time and will thus help us very little in the dating. It is noteworthy, however, that the belt, which is destroyed except for a very small portion at the back of the waist on the right, consists of  FIG. 2. a simple pattern of a series of incised bands in groups of two at regular intervals (Fig. 2). The band pattern was used very seldom for the girdles of kings in the Nineteenth Dynasty,² a wavy-line pattern being more common.

On the whole, the style of the statue (especially the slenderness of body, absence of throne relief, and the placing of both hands flat on knees), taken in conjunction with the total lack of portraits of the last two rulers of the Twelfth Dynasty, seems to point to the Thirteenth Dynasty. However, although there seems to be no evidence in the publications that the temple could not have been used continuously from the Twelfth Dynasty to Ramesses II, the likelihood of a monument of the Thirteenth Dynasty being found at the site is not great, since there is no mention made of that period. In a case like this we have only the excavation reports to go by and they cannot be ignored. However, Daressy's description of re-used blocks at Kōm el-'Aḳārib with cartouches of Queen Sebeknefrurē,³ and the early Eighteenth-Dynasty dating of the temple ruins by Evers,⁴ offer the possibility of a late Twelfth or early Eighteenth-Dynasty dating, which would also agree with the style of our statue.

POSTSCRIPT

Since the above lines were written, Mr. L. P. Kirwan has called my attention to a headless seated black granite statue of King Khaḥneferrē Sebekhotpe found on the island of Argo and described by Professor Breasted.⁵ It is now in the Merawi Museum, where Mr. Kirwan has seen it. His first impression upon examining the Philadelphia statue recently was its resemblance to that from Argo. The latter statue is certainly very similar to ours in workmanship, especially in the treatment of the legs and chest, and the position of the hands, lying flat on the knees; and also in the type of throne. This, I think, gives considerable further support to a Thirteenth-Dynasty dating of our statue.

¹ The exceptions to this are the statues, Borchardt, *op. cit.*, Nos. 430 and 432 (dated to Sesostris II by Evers, *op. cit.*, Taf. 65, 67, 68).

² Evers, *op. cit.*, II, § 240.

³ *Ann. Serv.* 17, 34-5.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, II, § 713.

⁵ *AJSL.* 25, 41-4, with Fig. 26.

THE RESTORATION INSCRIPTION OF TUTANKHAMŪN

BY JOHN BENNETT

THE stela of Tutankhamūn was found by the late Georges Legrain in July 1905,¹ in the temple of Amūn at Karnak. It was lying in the north-east corner of the great Hypostyle Hall before the Third Pylon.² Some years later it was brought to the Cairo Museum, where it now bears the Inventory No. 41504. A fragment (50×61 cm.) of a duplicate was found by Legrain in the foundations of the Temple of Montju at Karnak in 1907; it contains parts of lines 15–27, but unfortunately the help it gives us in restoring the lacunae in those lines is but trifling. Its Inventory No. in the Cairo Museum is 41565.

The stela was first published with a good photograph by Legrain in 1907 (*Rec. trav.* 29, 162 ff.), but his copy of the text contains errors and his translation is out of date. In 1909 Lacau gave a good photograph and text in *Stèles du nouvel empire (CCG)*, 224 ff. with Pl. 70, under the Catalogue No. 34183. The only other publication, that of Maspero (*The Tombs of Harmhabi and Touatānkhamanou*, 1912, 113 ff.), is incomplete but, although there are obvious mistakes, several lacunae have been restored plausibly. Partial translations have been made since Legrain's, but never a complete one; these were made by historians and others, who were interested in the development of particular ideas rather than in the inscription as a whole. Such translations occur in Grapow, *ap.* Hermann Haas, *Textbuch z. Religionsgeschichte*, 261, and Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience*, 306. The fragment of a duplicate was published by Legrain in *Ann. Serv.* 8, 256 ff.; and again by Lacau, *op. cit.*, 230 f., under the Catalogue No. 34184.

Contents of the Main Inscription

- § a. Date and royal titulary, l. 1.
Tutelary deities, l. 2.
Epithets referring to the King's divine birth, ll. 3, 4.
Summary of the royal benefactions, ll. 4, 5.
- § b. Former evil condition of the land, ll. 6–8.
Anger and neglect of the gods, ll. 8–10.
- § c. Coronation of the King, ll. 10, 11.
- § d. Restoration of the images of Amūn and Ptah, ll. 11–15.
- § e. Restoration of the temples and priesthoods of the gods, ll. 15–20.
- § f. Construction of divine barques, ll. 20, 21.
Consecration of palace servants, ll. 21, 22.
- § g. Confirmation of the foregoing in the King's own words, ll. 22, 23.
- § h. Joy of the gods and people, ll. 23, 24.
- § i. Gifts of the gods of the temple to the King, ll. 24–7.
- § j. Session of the court, ll. 27, 28.
Epithets relating to the royal might and wisdom, ll. 28–30.
Conclusion, l. 30.

¹ The discovery was reported by Legrain in *Ann. Serv.* 6, 192.

² This, the pylon of Amenophis III, formed the front of the Great Temple in the reign of Tutankhamūn. The stela was originally set up in a prominent position against the pylon face.

Translation*

- §a 1 [Year —],¹ fourth month of the inundation season, day 19, under the majesty of Horus ‘Strong bull, beautiful of birth’, Two Ladies [‘Goodly of laws, he who pacifies the Two Lands’,² Horus of Gold ‘Exalted of crowns, who placates the gods’, King of Upper and Lower Egypt ‘Nebkheprurē’, Son of Rē ‘Tutankhamün, ruler of Hermonthis’, given life like Rē for ever [and ever];³
- 2 beloved of [Amen-Rē],⁴ lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, chief of Ipt-isut; Atüm, lord of the Two Lands and Heliopolis; Rē-Ḥarakhte; Ptaḥ, South of his Wall, lord of [‘Ankhtawe’];⁵ and Thoth, lord of the god’s speech;
he who ap[pears on] the Horus-[throne of the liv]ing,⁶ like his father Rē every day;
- 3 the good [god],⁷ son of Amün;
image of Kamēphis, glorious seed, [splendid] offspring,⁸ scion of Amün himself;
[father of the Two Lands?],⁹ who moulds his moulder, who fashions his fashioner;
- 4 for whom the souls of ¹ Heliopolis assembled, in order that he might be fashioned to act as king of eternity, as the enduring Horus of everlastingness;
the good ruler, who does things beneficial to his Father¹⁰ and all the gods,
- 5 he has made that which was in ruins to flourish as a monument of eternal ¹ age;
he has suppressed wrongdoing throughout the Two Lands;
Truth is established, s[he causes] falsehood¹¹ to be the abomination of the land, as in its (the land’s) first time.
- §b Now when His Majesty arose as king,
6 the temples of the gods and goddesses, beginning from Elephantine [down] to the marshes of the Delta,
[their? — — — had] fallen into neglect,¹²
- 7 their shrines had fallen into desolation and become tracts overgrown with *K[?]*-plants,¹³
their sanctuaries were as if they had never been,
their halls¹⁴ were a trodden path.
- 8 The land was in confusion, the gods forsook this land.¹⁵
- 9 If an [army? was] sent to Djahy to widen the frontiers of Egypt, it met with no success ¹ at all.¹⁶
If one prayed to a god to ask things of him, [in no wise] did he come.¹⁷
If one¹⁸ made supplication to a goddess in like manner, in no wise did she come.
- 10 Their hearts were weak of them’selves (with anger);¹⁹ they destroyed what had been done.²⁰
- §c After some days had passed by this,²¹ [His Majesty app]eared²² on the throne of his father;
he ruled the countries²³ of Horus,
the Black Land and the Red Land were under his dominion,
11 and every land was in obeisance ¹ to his might.
- §d Behold²⁴ His Majesty was in his palace, which is in the estate of ‘Akheperkarē,²⁵ like Rē in the heavens,
and His Majesty was administering this land, and making daily governance of the Two River-banks.²⁶
- 12 Then His Majesty took ¹ counsel with his heart,²⁷
searching out every excellent occasion, seeking what was beneficial to his father Amün,²⁸
for fashioning his august image of real fine-gold.
He has added to what was done in former time,
- 13 he has fashioned (an image of) ¹ his father Amün upon thirteen carrying-poles,²⁹
his holy image³⁰ being of fine-gold, lapis-lazuli, [turquoise,] and every rare costly stone,
- 14 whereas formerly the majesty of this august god had been upon eleven ¹ carrying-poles.
He has fashioned (an image of) Ptaḥ, South of his Wall, lord of ‘Ankhtawe,

* The reference-numbers in the translation refer to the notes which follow.

- his august image being of fine-gold, [upon eleven carryi]ng-poles,³¹
 his holy image being of fine-gold, lapis-lazuli, turquoise, and every rare costly stone,
 15 whereas formerly the majesty of this ' august god had been upon [six ?] carrying-poles.³²
- §e And His Majesty has made monuments³³ for the gods,
 [fashioning]³⁴ their statues of real fine-gold, the best of foreign lands,
 16 building anew their sanctuaries ' as monuments of eternal age, they being endowed with property
 for ever,
 establishing for them divine gifts as a lasting daily sacrifice,
 and supplying them with food-offerings upon earth.
 17 He has added to ' what was in former time,
 he has surp[assed that]³⁵ done since the time of the ancestors,
 he has inducted priests and prophets, children of the notables of their towns, each the son of a
 noted man, and one whose name is known,³⁶
 18 he has multiplied their [wealth ?] with gold, silver, bronze and copper, without limit of [all
 things ?],³⁷
 he has filled their storehouses with slaves, men and women, the fruit of His Majesty's plundering.
 19 All the [possessions ?] of the temples are doubled, trebled and quadrupled³⁸ with silver, gold,
 lapis-lazuli, turquoise, all rare costly stones, royal linen, white cloth, fine linen, olive oil,
 20 gum, fat, ' [— —], incense, *ihmt* incense and myrrh, without limit³⁹ of all good things.
- §f His Majesty (may he live, prosper and be in health!) has hewn⁴⁰ their barques which are on the
 21 river of fresh cedar, the best of the hill-slope, ' the pick of Negau,⁴¹ worked with gold, the best
 of foreign lands; and they illumine the river.
 His Majesty (may he live, prosper and be in health!) has consecrated men and women slaves,
 22 singers and dancers, ' who are servants in the house of the King; and their wages are charged
 to the [— —]⁴² palace of the Lord of the Two Lands.
- §g ' I cause them to be protected and preserved⁴³ for my fathers, all the gods, ' in the desire to placate
 them by doing that which their *kas* love, so that they may protect [Ta-mery].⁴⁴
- §h The gods and goddesses who are in this land, their hearts are joyful,⁴⁵
 24 the possessors of shrines ' are glad,
 lands are in a state of jubilation and merry-making,
 exaltation is throughout [the whole land];
 a goodly [state ?]⁴⁶ has come to pass.
- §i The ennead of the gods who are in the temple,⁴⁷
 their arms are (raised) in adoration,
 25 their hands are full of jubilees [of]⁴⁸ ' eternity and everlastingness,
 all life and prosperity with them (are placed) to the nose of Horus who is born again,
 beloved son [of his father Amen-Rēc, lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands ?—];⁴⁹
 he (Amūn) has fashioned him that he (himself) may be fashioned;
 king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebkheprurēc, beloved of Amūn,
 26 his beloved, ' real eldest son,⁵⁰
 who protects the father who fashioned him
 that he may exercise the kingship over ki[ngs in all lands];⁵¹
 son of Rēc, Tutankhamūn, ruler of Hermonthis,
 a son who is profitable to him who fashioned him,
 wealthy in monuments, rich in wonders,
 27 who makes monuments in righteousness of heart for his father Amūn;
 beautiful of birth, sovereign [who assumed the crowns in Chemmis].⁵²
- §j On this day⁵³ One was in the goodly palace, which is in the estate of 'Akheperkarēc, justified;
 28 behold, [His Majesty (may he live, prosper and be in health!)] ' was rejuvenated,⁵⁴

he who seizes (?) hastened of himself.⁵⁵

Khnūmu has moulded him [as a mighty one (?) — —],⁵⁶

he is mighty of arm,

great of strength, one distinguished more than the mighty,⁵⁷

vast of strength like the son [of Nūt — —],⁵⁸

29 mighty of arm like Horus,

there exists no⁵⁹ equal to him among the mighty ones of all lands together;

he who knows like Rēc,

who [— —s like] Ptaḥ,⁶⁰

who understands like Thōth,

who ordains excellent laws,

who commands [— — —],⁶¹

30 excellent of utterance;

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, lord of rites, lord of the strong arm,

Nebkheprurēc, he who placates the gods, beloved son of Rēc of his body, lord of every foreign


land, lord of crowns, Tutankhamūn, ruler of Hermonthis, given life, stability and prosperity


like Rēc [for ever and ever].⁶²


Notes





1. There is no definite clue to the missing year-number.


2. The *nbty* title of Tutankhamūn is , cf. the *nbty* title of Amenophis III: *smn hpw, sgrḥ twy*.


3. Restore .




4. The lacuna allows room for , of which the | is still visible. The gods mentioned here are named together on several stelae of this period, e.g. the Nauri Stela of Sethos I (*JEA* 13, 196).

5. Restore  as in l. 14; the name of a district in Memphis, see Gauthier, *Dict. Géog.*, I, 149.

6. Read . The head of the first  can be seen. Legrain took it for the top of , but this does not suit the position.— is El-Amarnah style, see Gunn, *JEA* 9, 175.


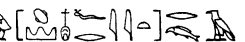
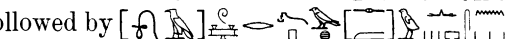
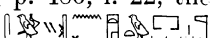

7. Restore .


8. Literally 'egg'; read  from Legrain.—The line is an instance of symmetrical parallelism, see *Griffith Studies*, 88.

9. A lacuna of 2½ groups. The only sign Legrain gives is  at the beginning. Lacau omits it and gives  as the final sign. Restore perhaps , cf. *TSBA* 3, Pl. facing p. 486, l. 11.

10. *I.e.* Amūn.



11. Read  etc.



12. The erasure equals about 15 groups. Read  + *sic* . Next comes a lacuna, which is followed by  etc., *hmw* being restored from l. 23. The large intermediate space of 5 or 5½ groups indicates that there were probably two sentences here. If so *wrw r stp* would be the predicate, not of *rw-prw* 'the temples', but of another subject, some word denoting the part of a temple parallel to *hmw*, *wnnw*, etc. *Rw-prw* might have a predicate or not; either is possible.—In the Turin Coronation Inscription of Haremḥab, *TSBA* 3, Pl. facing p. 486, l. 22, the temples are mentioned in the reverse order, *i.e.* from north to south: . Restore  as first sign of the line.




13.  'Ruine o.ä.'—*Wb*. The references are inconclusive. From the land-determinative, and the fact that the *isw* are said to be overgrown with plants, 'desolate tract'

56. Read perhaps *kd·n sw Hnmw [r kd·f]* 'Khnūmu has moulded him that he (himself) may be moulded', parallel to *ms·n·f sw r mst·f* 'He (Amūn) has fashioned him that he may be fashioned' in l. 25. Possibly a better restoration is *kd·n sw Hnmw [m nht — —]*, 'Khnūmu has moulded him [as a mighty one — —]', cf. Sander-Hansen, *op. cit.*, 13, 17.






57. *M tnw r* 'distinguished more than', cf. *TSBA* 3, Pl. facing p. 486, l. 23.

58. Read  [ — —], i.e. Seth. An epithet probably filled the two remaining spaces.

59.  for , cf. n. 17.


60. Read [— — *mi*] *Pth*. The lacuna of a group and half may have held    'skilled of heart', cf. Gardiner, *Admonitions*, p. 107.

61. Possibly the lacuna of 2½ groups contained a noun and qualifying adjective which, together with *wḏ*, formed a phrase parallel to the preceding phrase.

62. Lacuna of 3 groups. Restore perhaps     , see *Wb.*, v, 509 (14).

The stela, of fine red granite, measures 2·54 m. × 1·29 m., and is 38 cm. thick. It was found lying on its face beneath half a metre of earth. According to Legrain¹ it was still standing in Coptic or even Arab times, when an attempt was made to split it in two, probably for building purposes, by driving great holes into its face along the axis. Fortunately the task was not completed. In later times, when it was lying on the ground, a drum of one of the columns of the great Hypostyle Hall fell and smashed it into five pieces. In spite of such rough treatment at the hands of time and man the stela bears traces of its former beauty.

The structural composition is typical of the Eighteenth Dynasty, resembling that of the large granite 'building stela' of Amenophis III in Cairo.² The treatment of the human figures shows clearly the influence of the art of El-'Amarnah. The hieroglyphs, which for some reason face left, are well formed and artistically spaced, in the style of the Eighteenth Dynasty. They are incised, and were originally filled with blue paste, which, at the time of the erasures, was replaced by yellow.

In the lunette at the top of the stela, two almost identical scenes show the King offering to Amen-Rē and Mūt. Above are the outstretched wings of Beḥdeti, the uraei of which wear the red and white crowns. In the left-hand scene Tutankhamūn, wearing the 'blue helmet', offers bouquets of lotus and papyrus to Amen-Rē, 'Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Lord of Heaven, King of the Gods', who responds by presenting to the King's nose the top of his *was*-sceptre, from which 'life' issues. In such scenes the god usually holds the *was*-sceptre upright before him, but here Amūn extends it, imbuing the King with the divine powers. This seems to be a relic of the fluid style of El-'Amarnah. Standing behind Amūn and wearing the double crown is Mūt, 'Lady of Ishru, Mistress of all the Gods', who rests a hand upon her consort's shoulder. An inscription between the King and the god describes the ceremony as *rdit rnpwt ir·f di nḥ* 'giving flowers that he may make a "given life"'. The words above state the reciprocal act of Amūn: *di·f nḥ nḥ nb ḏdt nb ws nb* 'he gives life and all life, all stability and all prosperity'. The right-hand scene is rough and has been entirely re-engraved. In design it is similar to the other except that the King wears the royal head-dress and offers a vase; there is no explanatory text. The main inscription, in thirty horizontal lines below the lunette, is in good condition, except for the large holes made by the wreckers, fractures at the ends of lines and a long erasure in line 6. Below the inscription, the common motif, *dw rhyt nb* 'all the *rekhyt* adore', is repeated on both sides of the vertical nomen and prenomén, each of which stands upon a sign . Thus the meaning of the whole is 'all the *rekhyt* adore King Ḥaremḥab'. Down the lateral edges

¹ *Rec. trav.* 29, 162.

² Lacau, *op. cit.*, No. 34025 (recto), with Pls. 15, 16.

of the stela the royal nomen and prenomen are set between 𓆎 's held by a god on 𓆎 . Above each column is on the left side the lotus of Upper Egypt and on the right the papyrus of Lower Egypt.

Wherever they occur the nomen and prenomen of Tutankhamūn have been erased and replaced by those of Ḥaremḥab. In many cases it is possible to distinguish the signs of Tutankhamūn's name under those of Ḥaremḥab. The only untouched group in the nomina is the name of Amūn. Curiously enough, the other names of Tutankhamūn's titulary have not been altered. Behind each figure of the King a second figure has been erased and replaced by the words 'be all protection (*sr*), life, stability, prosperity and health behind him like Rē'. Legrain thought he could detect the name of Queen 'Ankhsenamūn, who would thus have been standing behind her husband; and Lacau confirmed this. It is noteworthy that Ḥaremḥab did not use the figures of 'Ankhsenamūn for his wife Mutnedjemte as one might have expected. From this we may perhaps infer that she was of little importance.

At the end of l. 6 of the main inscription occurs a long and clumsy erasure, apparently by an unskilled hand. This attempt at obliteration was not altogether successful: enough remains to catch the general meaning of the damaged line, which deals with the evil condition into which the temples had fallen, *cf.* Notes, No. 12.

The grammar and orthography of the inscription are transitional, and seem to reflect the unsettled state of the country after the reign of Akhenaten. As the period is one of struggle between the reactionary party of Amūn and the revolutionary followers of the Aten, so is the inscription a mixture of old and new words and phrases. Broadly speaking the grammar is that of the royal stelae of the Eighteenth Dynasty before the time of Akhenaten upon which can be seen the influence of El-'Amarnah; *e.g.* in such writings as $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎}$ (l. 2, etc.). On the other hand 𓆎 and 𓆎 , the definite article and the preceding possessives, Late-Egyptian forms occurring first in royal documents at El-'Amarnah, do not appear in this inscription.

The contents of the stela by their symmetry and contrast show an underlying poetic construction. The coronation section (§ *c*) is the inscription's pivot. Before it we have a description of the evil state of the land and the displeasure of the gods (§ *b*), and afterward, in contrast, an account of the King's restoration work (§§ *d, e, f*), and the rejoicing of the gods (§ *h*). Royal and divine names and titles begin and end the work. The sections into which the text may be divided are related to one another. Thus §§ *d* and *e* are almost identical in structure. The first sentence of § *d* forms a general introduction. Then, in both sections, occurs the *wn·in·f hr sḏm* construction, followed by several repetitions of *hr* with the infinitive. Next comes a sort of refrain 'he added to' etc., in the *sḏm·n·f* form, which introduces a series of lines containing the *sḏm·n·f*. Finally, a general summing up in the words 'all their (property?) was doubled, trebled and quadrupled', completes the symmetry, by balancing the first sentence of § *d*.

THREE NEW OSTRACA OF THE STORY OF SINUHE

By J. J. CLÈRE

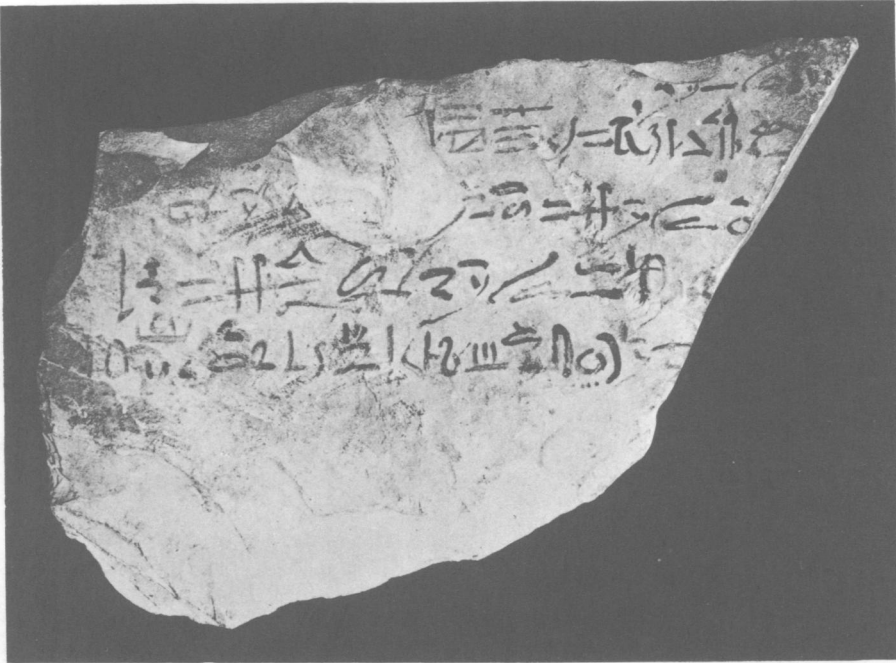
THE ostraca which are the subject of the present article¹ were bought at Luxor at the beginning of the year 1935, the first one by A. Varille, the second by J. Černý, and the last by myself. Like most of the ostraca that were to be seen at that time at the dealers', they almost certainly come from the Royal Necropolis-workers' village at Dēr el-Madinah. Since these three ostraca refer to the same passage of the Story of Sinuhe, it was desirable that they should be studied together; I am therefore specially grateful to my friends Varille and Černý, who kindly permitted me to publish the pieces in their possession. In order to keep to the form already adopted for reference to the various ostraca of Sinuhe, I shall employ for Varille's ostrakon, Černý's, and mine, the abbreviations 'OV', 'OCy', and 'OCI' respectively.

OSTRACON OV.—Of limestone, measuring 11·5 cm. high and 18 cm. wide, and presenting one smooth face (recto, see Pls. iv, 1; v, 1)² and one irregular face (verso, see Pl. v, 2). The two faces are inscribed with a hieratic text in horizontal lines: rt., 5 ll. in black ink (except some red signs at the beginning of l. 4), with punctuation in red; vs., 6 ll. in black with punctuation in red. The top of the rt. corresponds to the bottom of the vs. The ostrakon is incomplete: it is broken on the right (old breakage), and the beginnings of the lines are missing on both rt. and vs. The reconstruction of the Sinuhe text from the other MSS. shows that about three-fifths of the length of the lines is missing. Furthermore, a chip has destroyed, on the rt., the end of l. 2 and caused a lacuna in l. 3. Rt. 1, which is, toward the end, much shorter than the others on account of the oblique form of the upper edge of this face, was the first line of the text. The text of the rt. does not cover all its surface: a blank space exists under l. 5, occupying almost half the height of the ostrakon. The base of the rt. is partly destroyed by chips in several places, but, thanks to the existence of the blank space just mentioned, no line is missing at the bottom of the text. It is, however, possible that the right-hand part—now lost—of the ostrakon may have had 6 ll., the sixth being shorter than the others and not reaching the preserved part. The text of the vs. (which does not belong to Sinuhe) is more damaged than that of the rt., and what remains of it is, moreover, very much effaced.³ A break (old) at the top of the vs. has reduced the two first lines to a few signs. It is, moreover, possible that one or several lines may be lost before l. 1. The last line of the vs. has been damaged by chipping. The writing of both

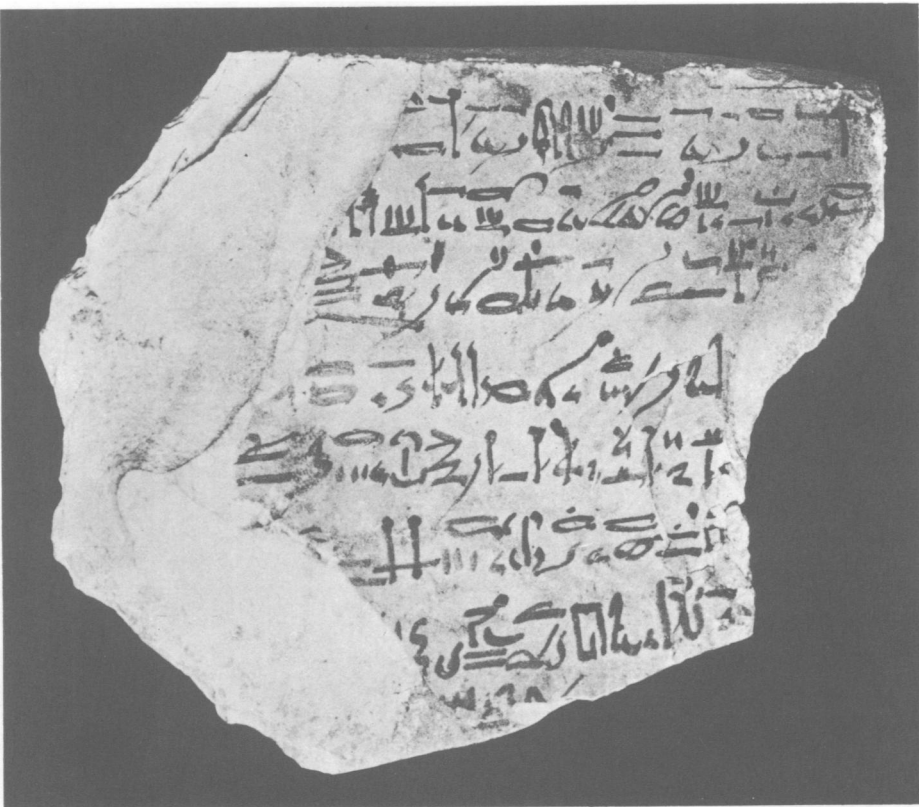
¹ My thanks are due to Alan H. Gardiner, who has permitted me to utilize in my commentary the still unpublished text of an ostrakon belonging to him, and to J. Černý, who has furnished me with several palaeographical and other observations, and has given me help in the difficult transcription of the texts written on the versos of two of the ostraca.

² In the facsimiles hatching indicates the breakages posterior to the writing; places where the ink is completely effaced without the surface of the stone being broken are left blank. Red ink is indicated by stippling with outline.

³ The present text on the vs. seems to have been washed off—not sufficiently, however, for the ink to be completely removed; at the right-hand bottom corner the stone is tinted pink by a red ink wash. The rt. seems also to bear traces of a black ink wash and it is perhaps palimpsest—but if so there remain only a few very doubtful traces of three or four signs of the first text.



1

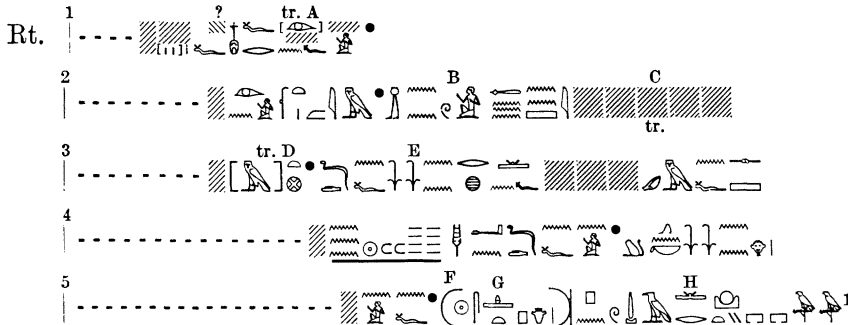


2

1. Sinuhe Ostracon OV. Recto. Scale about 2:3.

2. Sinuhe Ostracon OCl. Recto. Scale about 3:5.

rt. and vs., which are not by the same hand, probably belong, according to Černý, to the second half of the Nineteenth Dynasty.



NOTES TO THE TRANSCRIPTION

A. There remains of \curvearrowright only a small point; under \curvearrowright there is sufficient room for \circ ($\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \curvearrowright \\ \circ \end{smallmatrix} \right]$). B. The scribe has written the ligature for \circ \curvearrowright , but the end of this was so faint that he has had to strengthen \curvearrowright . C. The trace must be the tail of the w of $\square \circ$ in $hkr pw n Rtnw$. D. There remains only a small point of \curvearrowright . E. The second \downarrow incompletely traced owing to the irregularity of the surface. F. Covered by the upper extremity of the curve of the cartouche is a red spot, and half-way up are traces of a rubbed-out sign (correction). G. Correction: probably $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \square \\ \square \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ changed to $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \square \\ \Delta \end{smallmatrix} \right]$. H. Correction: $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \square \\ \square \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ on some effaced, partly indistinct signs ($\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \square \\ \square \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ or $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \square \\ \square \end{smallmatrix} \right]$?).

OSTRACON OCY.—A small piece of limestone measuring 5.5 cm. by 11.5 cm., and presenting one irregular and one smooth face; the latter is the only one inscribed (Fig. 1). The text consists of 3 ll. of hieratic writing in black ink, with punctuation in red. The

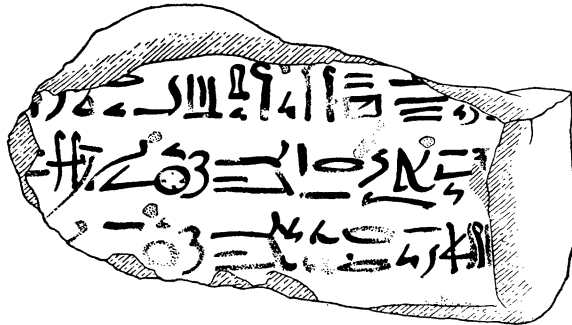


FIG. 1. Sinuhe Ostrakon OCy. Scale 2:3.

ostracon is incomplete: both the beginnings and the ends of the 3 ll. are missing, and it is moreover fairly certain that several lines are lost before l. 1 (the break at the top is fairly recent). The reconstruction, from the parallel texts, of the lost parts between ll. 1-2 and 2-3 shows the present length of the lines to be hardly half their original length. At the bottom the break is old but certainly posterior to the writing, the end of l. 3 having been taken away by this breakage. In view of these facts one cannot affirm that l. 3, in spite of the rather high blank space under it, was the last of the text. Besides, some very faint red traces are visible under the beginning of l. 3 (shown in stippling in Fig. 1), but they

¹ For the text on the vs., see below, p. 28.

might be accidental—it is in any case impossible to identify them with certainty as parts of signs. The writing is fairly similar to that on the rt. of OV, though somewhat less rapid, and it belongs to about the same period.



NOTES TO THE TRANSCRIPTION

A. Restore probably $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{[signs]} \\ \text{tr.} \end{array} \right]$, with the same disposition of the signs as in OB3 33. B. After *sdm·k* a misplaced red verse-point which the scribe has smudged in order to cancel it. C. The signs $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{[signs]} \\ \text{tr.} \end{array} \right]$ added as an afterthought between *ḏd* and *nn* and written in brown ink (*i.e.* red and black inks mixed up—of course by inadvertence). D. Correction: $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{[signs]} \\ \text{tr.} \end{array} \right]$ corrected from two effaced and indistinct vertical signs (perhaps already two $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{[signs]} \\ \text{tr.} \end{array} \right]$ badly formed).

OSTRACON OCL.—Of limestone, 15.5 cm. high and 19 cm. wide, presenting one almost smooth face (rt., see Pls. iv, 2; vi, 1) and one irregular face in which a flint nodule is flush with the surface (vs., see Pl. vi, 2). The two faces are inscribed with a hieratic text in horizontal lines: on the rt., 8 ll. in black ink with punctuation in red; on the vs., 6 ll., the first of which consists almost entirely of a rubric terminated by a red verse-point, all the rest being in black. The top of the rt. corresponds to the bottom of the vs. The ostracoon is incomplete: it is broken on the left (very recent breakage to judge from the absence of patina), and the ends of the lines are lacking on both rt. and vs. The restoration of the text from the other Sinuhe MSS. shows that there remains little more than two-fifths of the original length of the lines. On the other hand, a chip (old) has removed some signs at the beginning of rt. 3–7. Nothing, probably, is missing at the beginning of rt. 8: this line, starting farther to the left owing to the oblique form (old breakage) of the bottom edge of the ostracoon, was shorter than the seventh (itself shorter than the sixth). Under l. 8 there ought to be one or two other lines, each one starting farther to the left than the preceding one, and containing the words necessary for joining the text on the rt. with that on the vs. At the top of the rt. the ostracoon is complete—l. 1 was the first line of the text. Vs. 1 was the first line of this face, although the top of the vs. (= bottom of the rt.) is partly lost. This is explained by the fact that the lines of the two faces are not parallel but disposed as shown in Fig. 2 (where ——— = lines on the vs. and - - - - - = lines on the rt.). On the vs. the first line (which alone belongs to the Story of Sinuhe) begins several cm. from the original right edge of the ostracoon, and the other lines leave in front of them a still larger blank space which occupies about two-thirds of the existing width. The last three lines on the vs., which are very much rubbed out, start 3 cm. farther to the right than the two which precede them. One or more lines may be missing at the bottom of the vs. (see Fig. 2).

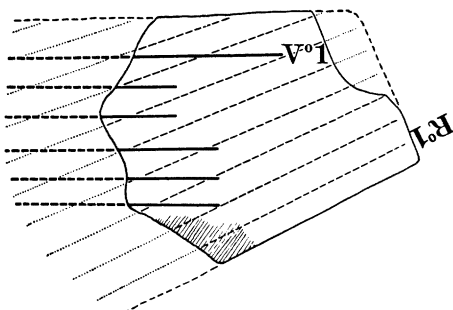
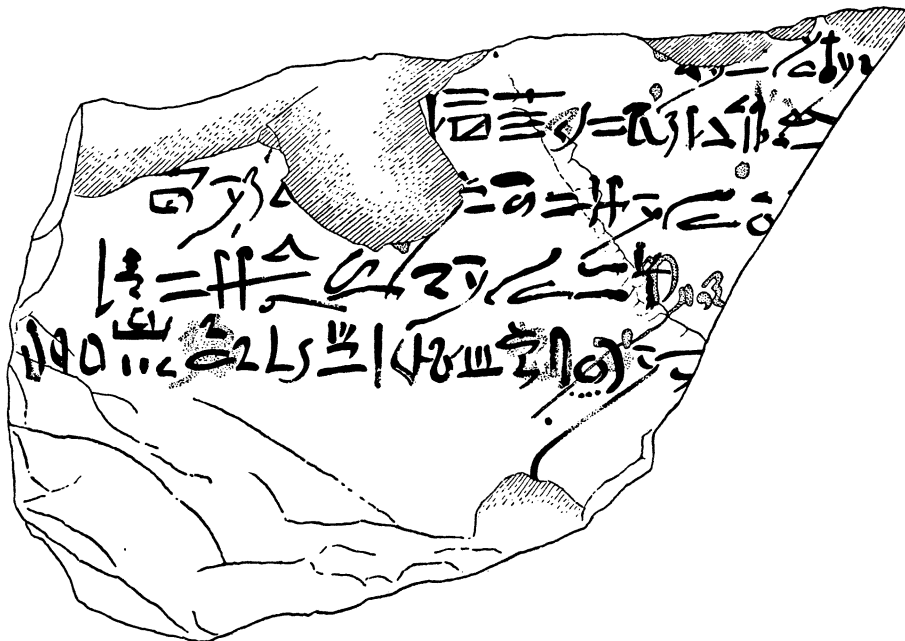
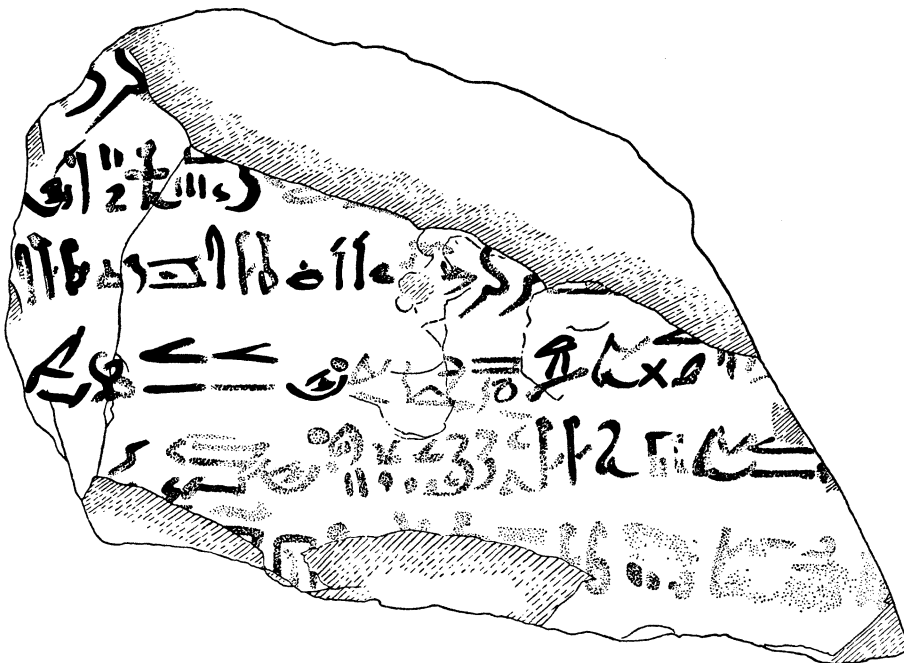


FIG. 2. Ostracoon OCL. Relative position of the lines on the verso and recto.



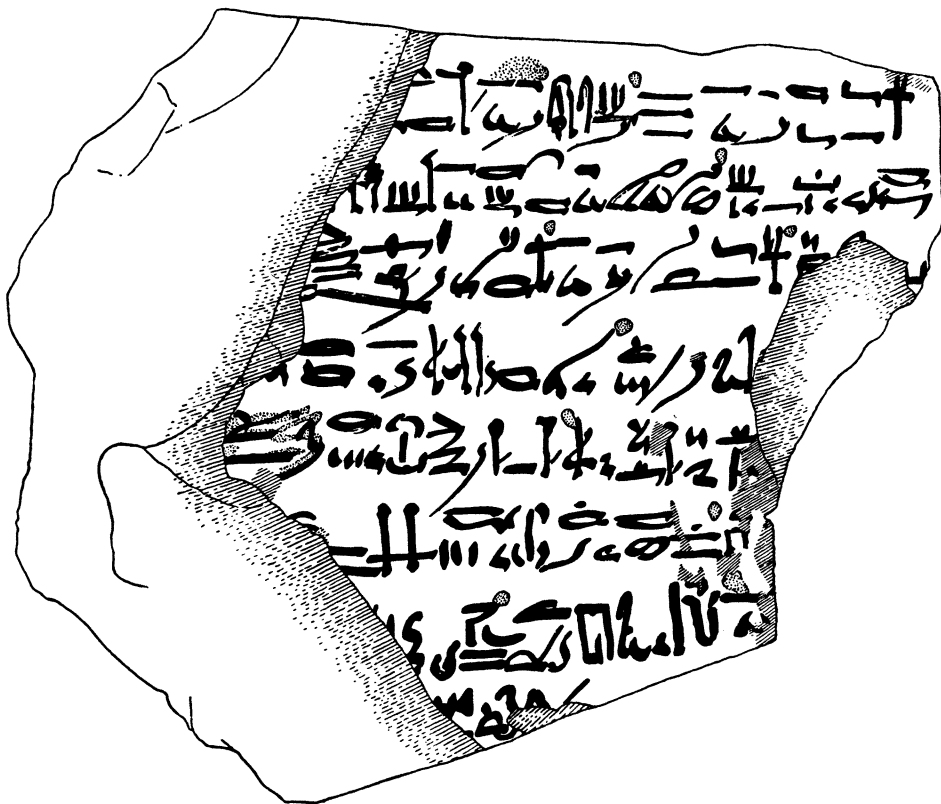
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2

SINUHE OSTRACON OV.

Recto (1) and verso (2). Scale 2 : 3.

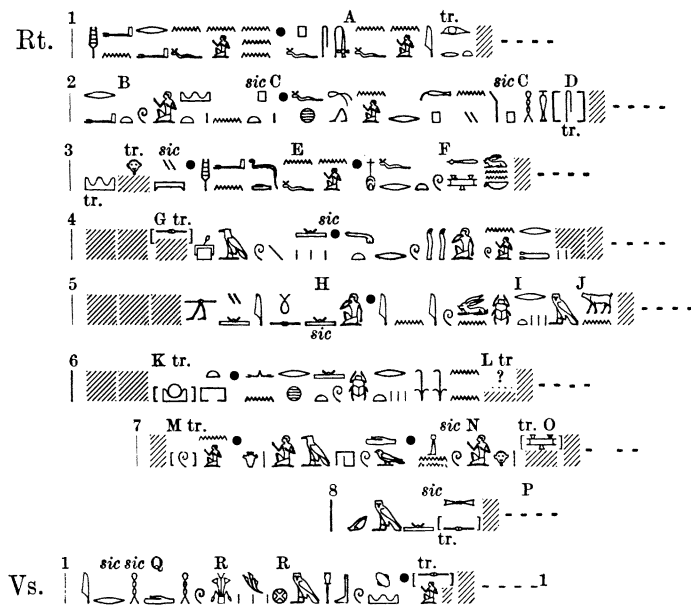


1



2

According to Černý, the writing, of the literary type, probably dates from the second half of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The text on the vs. (ll. 2-6) seems to be in the same hand as that on the rt.



NOTES TO THE TRANSCRIPTION

A. After *psi* a misplaced red verse-point which the scribe has smudged in order to cancel it. **B.** Δ added as an afterthought between — and e . **C.** \square corruption of — (second *hst* and *Kpny*); — is made correctly in the first *hst*, in [*Rtnw*] (rt. 3), and in *šbw* (vs. 1). **D.** Trace suits — better than Δ (which would give — — —). **E.** A correction: — on a sign which looks like — but which is rather a very cursive — (*dd·n·i* for *dd·n·f*); cf. — in *rdit wi* (rt. 2) and *mtr·n wi* (rt. 4). **F.** After *nfr tw* a misplaced red verse-point cancelled in black. **G.** Owing to its level in the line, the trace suits — (of — —) better than the oblique stroke of the hieratic sign for — . **H.** Abbreviated form of — and not — ; similar form in *sy* (rt. 5), normal form in *ššw* (rt. 4), *rh* (rt. 6), *šdm* (rt. 8). **I.** Correction: — on \bullet (Černý). **J.** Correction: — — on some effaced signs which I cannot identify (perhaps already the words *m hnw* badly formed or containing an error). **K.** There remains of — only a small point. **L.** It is not impossible to read — , but the sign would be wider at the top than rt. 3 (— —), and rt. 7 (—); cf. below, p. 25.² **M.** Trace suits a — placed fairly high in the line (Černý). **N.** Correction: — — probably on — — . **O.** Trace does not quite suit — . **P.** On the recto there was one line (or possibly two lines) more after l. 8. **Q.** The scribe has smudged the top of the erroneous — , doubtless to cancel it (cf. above, note A). **R.** — and — first written in red, then inked over in black. Above — a small oblique stroke in black, perhaps accidental.

The three ostraca of the Story of Sinuhe which have just been described all refer to the passage where the hero of the tale, dying of thirst, is received by a Beduin tribe, then, after various peregrinations, meets a prince of Upper Retenu whom he tells of the death of King Amenemmes I, and of the circumstances of his own flight. This passage is well represented in the Middle Kingdom by the papyri B and R, but it is, principally toward

¹ For the lines 2-6 of the vs., see below, p. 29.

² For other signs, e.g. — (cf. above, note H to the transcription), the form is also fairly variable.



the end, one of those where these two documents show fairly wide divergencies. In the New Kingdom this passage was previously known from four ostraca (C, OB¹, OB³, OB⁴),¹ but three of these give only a few words, and the fourth (OB³), which alone covers the whole of it, contains lengthy and numerous lacunae. It is therefore interesting to have the three new documents, even if they are so incompletely preserved.

Of the two ostraca OV and OCl—I except OCy, the original extent of which is difficult to estimate—only OCl contained in its entirety the passage mentioned, which corresponds to B 26–43 = R 51–66. On OV the text reproduced was shorter and stopped at B 36 = R 60.² As for the present text of OCy, it represents parts of B 30–34. Completed by these three new documents the Ramesside version of the Story of Sinuhe—which was not indeed everywhere uniform—is now known over nearly the whole extent of the passage, specially for B 26–36, where only a few words (*šm·n·i hnc·f n whyt* in B 27–28, *·n·i r Kdm̄i* in B 29, *k̄d* in B 32 and *im hnc·f* in B 34) are not yet represented for this period.

The texts OV and OCl started at the same point of the story. If the beginnings of lines lost on OV be reconstructed, the first line being given a length equal to that obtained for the others, it will be seen that this text indeed commenced like that of OCl with the words *ḥc·n rdi·n·f n·i mw* (B 26–27).³ It is probably not by chance that these two ostraca started at the same point. On OB³ the initial phrase of the passage copied also on OV and OCl is written in red, and on C it is preceded by the punctuation sign \curvearrowright ,⁴ which indicates the end of a considerable section.⁵ Hence there was here, for the Egyptians, a clear division in the course of the story, and this probably explains why the two writers of the ostraca OV and OCl have both commenced their copy at the same place.

As is the case for the other documents of the same sort, the text of the new ostraca does not exactly follow either of the two Middle-Kingdom versions. Further, among the divergencies from the papyrus texts that the three new documents present, some are particular to them, *i.e.* do not appear on the other ostraca.

As regards the distribution of the red verse-points and the employment of rubrics,⁶ the bad state of preservation of the New-Kingdom documents does not allow a comparison for the whole of the passage. Where comparison is possible, it may be noticed that there is agreement almost as often as disagreement between OV, OCy, or OCl and the other ostraca. Some important divergencies deserve to be pointed out: in B 28, after *nfr irt·n·f n·i*, OV has a verse-point, while OB³ has \curvearrowright ; in B 34, after *ḥc·n dd·n·f n·i*, OV has a verse-point which is lacking in OB³, but in this last document these words are rubricized; in R 65–6, OCl is the only one to give *Idhy m 3bw* in red, but in B 225–6, where the same phrases appear

¹ We must now add the ostrakon 'OIFAO¹⁰⁴⁵' recently published by Posener, *Ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, Pl. 25; on this remain only—if we confine ourselves to the passage which interests us—the words  of B 38 and  of R 65–6. This was a very large ostrakon; what remains of ll. 2 and 3 represents only about one-fifth of their original length. It does not seem that l. 1, which might have commenced at about B 34, was the first of the text (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 12), and consequently the complete ostrakon probably covered the whole of the passage studied here.

² Or a few words farther, if the ostrakon had 6 ll. (see above p. 16).

³ In OCy—where the greater extent of the lacunae was probably, to judge from the form of the breakages, before the preserved text—the line coming immediately before the present l. 1 should start near *šm·n·i hnc·f*, and the words *ḥc·n rdi·n·f n·i mw* should be in the middle of the preceding line rather than at its beginning. Very likely this ostrakon did not begin at the same place as the two others.
















⁴ Added later (the same in C 6 [= B 13] and in C 7 [= B 19]).



⁵ Cf. Grapow, *Sprachliche und schriftliche Formung äg. Texte*, 53. The ostrakon C has \curvearrowright in places where other documents have a rubric, cf. C 2/OB³ 9 (= R 11), C 3/G 10–11 (= R 19), C 5/G 15–16 (= B 5–6), C 7/G 23 (= B 19–20).


⁶ Cf. *op. cit.*, 51–3.

again, these words are written in red in the papyrus B (the only one in which the passage appears).



The text of the ostraca OV, OCy, and OCl presents a certain number of interesting points—either new variants or readings already attested but of which an additional example confirms the authenticity. These details are pointed out and studied in the following lines.


OCl rt. 1 = B 27. The reading *ps·n·f n·i* of OCl is new. B has  where  is probably an error for ¹ (so in B 88) and C has  (R 51 and OB³ 31 are damaged:  ---). Gardiner (*Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, 20) has proposed to correct into  (according to C 9)² the 'quite meaningless'  of B. So corrected the text must mean, as Blackman has recently pointed out (*JEA* 22, 35–6), 'Then he gave me water, *while* boiling (lit. (while) he was boiling) milk for me'. But it goes without saying that the Beduin Sheikh, finding Sinuhe dying of thirst, *at first* gives him—immediately—some water, then *afterwards* busies himself with boiling milk for him; *i.e.* one would expect a text meaning (as the passage is generally translated) 'Then he gave me water, and he boiled milk for me'. Now it is precisely this sense that the reading *ps·n·f n·i* of OCl has. We are probably not, therefore, in presence of a secondary redaction due to the need of parallelism (two *šdm·n·f* forms)—the text of OCl certainly represents the original reading. This reading should be also that of R, for this text, written horizontally, might quite well be restored  instead of  as is usually done. The same applies to OB³. The text of B is in any case faulty, and as it must be corrected, one correction is as possible as another.³ The reading *ps·f*, which is in fact represented only by C—a Nineteenth- or Twentieth-Dynasty ostrakon the text of which is extremely corrupt (see Gardiner, *Notes*, 3–4 and 4, n. 1)—may be due to the influence of Late Egyptian,⁴ which has a tendency to eliminate the *šdm·n·f* form and to replace it by *šdm·f* (cf. Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.*, § 312); other examples of this fact in Sinuhe are: in C 6 and 7,  for *hpr·n* (B 11, R 36, G 19) and  (also in OB⁴ 5) for *hđ·n tı* (B 20, R 46; cf. also OP² 9/B 248); in OP⁴ 2,  for *kst·n·f* (B 144); in OB³ 32,  for *irt·n·f* (cf. *irt·n·sn* B 28, R 52; OV rt. 1: *irt·n·f*); in OIFAO¹⁰⁴⁵ rt. 5,  (*sic*) for *ht·n·tw* ( B 55, R 80).


OV rt. 1 = B 28. OV has *nfr irt[t]·n·f [n]·i*, lit. 'what *he* did for me was good', whilst the corresponding text of B and R 52 is *nfr irt·n·sn* 'what *they* did was good'. The singular *·f*, referring to the Sheikh only, in place of the plural *·sn*, referring to the whole of the tribe, already appears in OB³ 32, which has . We can easily understand that the sentences 'the Sheikh recognized me . . . —he gave me water—he boiled milk for me—I went with him to his tribe' have led to 'they treated me well' being replaced by 'he treated me well', but the opposite modification would be less easily explicable. Consequently it is the *nfr irt·n·f* of OV and OB³ which must be considered as a deformation of the original text. As to the words *n·i* 'for me' of OV, one would expect to find them already in the Middle-Kingdom texts, a complement of this type usually being expressed in Egyptian (see, moreover,  in B 77).⁵ However, it is impossible to affirm that on this point it is OV which corresponds to the original redaction. The words 'for me' may very well be a later addition, designed to render the text more explicit.

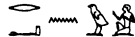
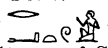













¹ So Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, 20. Sethe, *Lesestücke*, p. 5, n. c: 'statt '; the same Blackman, *JEA* 22 (1936), 35.










² Sethe, *op. cit.*, p. 5, and Volten, *Studien zum Weisheitsbuch des Anii*, 20, have also chosen the reading *ps·f n·i*.






³ Perhaps  for  = *ps(n·f)*, with ellipse of both formative element and pronominal subject.





⁴ See what is said concerning  below, p. 25 (OCl rt. 6).



⁵ Cf. Sethe, *Erläut. Lesest.*, p. 7 (to 5, 4): 'lies '.

OCl rt. 2 = B 28. OCl, as already OB³ 32, replaces  *rdi-n wi* of B and R 52 by  *rdit wi*, which appears to be the 'narrative *sdmt-f* form' frequently employed in the Story of Sinuhe (cf. Gardiner, *Notes*, 14). In some other passages also we find the *sdmt-f* form alternating with the *sdm-n-f* ( B 5, R 29/ C 5;  B 15/ R 41;  B 23, R 48/ C 8, OP¹, OB⁴ 7;  B 107/ H 3), but it is only here, in B 28, that the *sdmt-f* form appears in the latest documents. As this form was much more rarely employed than the *sdm-n-f*, and, further, was almost out of use as a narrative form in the New Kingdom, one may suppose that *rdit wi* of OV and OB³ is not due to the Ramesside scribes, but goes back to a Middle-Kingdom document. But perhaps it is only a meaningless writing due to the influence of  (= *dd tw*, 2nd pers.) of the parallel passage  of B 182. In any case, the presence of the  should be considered as important, since the scribe of OCl, who at first wrote , believed it necessary to correct into .

OCl rt. 2 = B 29. The passage where Byblos is mentioned was preserved only in the Middle-Kingdom documents B () and R 53 ()—OCl gives a more detailed spelling  with the phonetic complement  of *kp* (the same writing e.g. Leps., *Dkm.*, III, 88, f). As we have seen above (p. 19, note C to the transcription) OCl has in fact  with  instead of . This corruption, which is due to the similar form of the two signs, probably goes back to a manuscript anterior to the Ramesside Period, since from the Eighteenth Dynasty onward  and  are clearly distinguished in hieratic. On this passage see further my article *Sinouhé en Syrie* in the *Mélanges Dussaud*, II (in the press).

OV rt. 2/OCy 1 = B 30. For the name of the Prince of Upper Retenu, OV and OCy are quite in agreement with OB³ 33, the three documents having exactly the same spelling  (in OV  is lost). This form corresponds to  of R 54, and the reading  of B, where  seems to be a later addition, remains isolated. On this name see my article cited in the preceding paragraph.

OCy 1 = B 30-1. OCy gives correctly  with both the genitival *n* omitted in OB³ 33 and the *r* of *Rtnw* omitted in B. The spelling of OCy exactly follows that of R 55, where we must restore  with  (cf. Gardiner, *Notes*, 23) and not  (as Blackman, *Middle-Egn. Stor.*, 15).

OCl rt. 3 = B 31-2. Here OCl diverges fairly widely from the three other known texts (B, R, and OB³). In the first place by the employment of the narrative compound form *ḥt-n sdm-n-f* instead of the *sdm-f* form  of B and R 55 (OB³ 34: ). In the literary texts the quotations in *oratio recta* are introduced by the verb *dd* in the *sdm-in-f* or *ḥt-n sdm-n-f* forms, which correspond to a past tense. The *sdm-f* form is employed only when the act of speaking defined by *dd* is presented as an attendant circumstance to (Gard., *Eg. Gr.*, § 213), or as the purpose of (§ 219), another action itself expressed by a form corresponding to a past tense (*sdm-n-f*,¹ *sdm-in-f*,² *ḥt-n sdm-n-f*,³ *sdm pw in-n-f*,⁴ old perfective).⁵ In B 30-1 *dd-f n-i* must therefore be attached to the preceding *in-n*: 'Ammunenshi—he was the prince of Upper Retenu—took me, saying to me: . . .' But the concomitance, or the relation, whatever it may be, of the two actions need not necessarily be put into relief, and instead of a virtual clause of purpose or of circumstance with the *sdm-f* form ('relative

¹ *Shipwrecked Sailor* 67 (*iw wp-n-f*). 137 (see below, n. 5).

² *Peasant* Bt 24, B 1, 53. 88. 139, etc.

³ *Sh. S.* 86. 149.

⁴ *Westcar* [1, 17]; 4, 18; 6, 23; *Peas.* B 1, 74.

⁵ *Sh. S.* 136 (*wn-k(wi) . . . , dmi-n-i . . . , dd.i*).



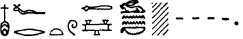
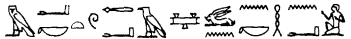
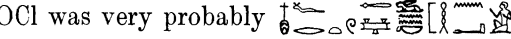
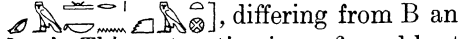

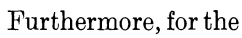

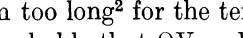
present'), there may be a co-ordinate clause with the construction *ḥc·n sḏm·n·f* (past)—compare *Shipwrecked Sailor* 67–9 (A) with 81–3 (B):

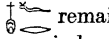


(A) 'He opened his mouth to me, while I was on my belly before him, *saying to me* (or *in order to say to me*): Who has brought thee?'

(B) 'He opened his mouth to me, while I was on my belly before him, *and then he said to me*: Who has brought thee?'




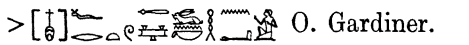
Thus the reading of OCl seems to be in itself as correct as that of B, R, and OB³, and it is difficult to say which is the one that agrees with the archetype. The consensus of B, R, and OB³ is not a proof in favour of the version represented by these three documents, for a redaction secondary but correct in itself had quite possibly been recopied several times already in the Middle Kingdom. It is, however, more likely that *ḏḏ·f n·i* is the original form: this form indicates a circumstantial *nuance* which is characteristic of a *recherché* style—*ḥc·n ḏḏ·n·f n·i* is, on the contrary, one of the commonest forms used to introduce a speech. Since it is employed so frequently in Egyptian tales, it may readily be imagined that a scribe may have mechanically utilized it instead of *ḏḏ·f n·i*—the contrary would be, I think, less easily explainable.




The modification of the continuation of the text is more important. While the two Middle-Kingdom MSS., with the reading , agree with each other, and while OB³ 34, for the New Kingdom, has , the reading of OCl is  ----. At first sight we might think that we have to do with a new redaction, but there exists, farther on in the course of the story, in B 77, a sentence , and it is obvious that the words *ḥ wnn·k* of OCl are interpolated from this passage. The text of OCl was very probably  [], differing from B and R only by the addition of *ḥ wnn·k* between *tw* and *ḥn·i*. This restoration is confirmed by the presence of these same words *ḥn·i sḏm·k r n Kmt* in OCy, which probably also contained—as we shall see below—the same redaction as OCl, namely *ḥc·n ḏḏ·n·f n·i nfr tw ḥ*. The same holds good for OV, in which, however, only the end of the word *Kmt* is preserved. It is the words *tw* and *ḥn·i*, figuring in the two passages B 31 and B 77, which are the source of the confusion. The two sentences are too far apart from each other for it to be a question of a *visual* error, a fault committed in the reading or in the copy—we certainly have to do with an *error of memory*, i.e. a change in the text due to its oral transmission or to its being put into writing from memory. On another Ramesside ostrakon, also coming from Dēr el-Madīnah and belonging to Alan H. Gardiner, we see a similar contamination but one which affects this time the sentence of B 77 for which this text gives (rt. 5) []^{pr.}  (in red) with *nfr* as in B 31 instead of  of B 77 (R 103 has  ----).¹ Furthermore, for the passage B 31–2, as well in OV (rt. 2–3) as in OCy (1–2), the lacunae (respectively from *ḥmmw·nnšī* to *Kmt* and from *Rtnw* to *ḥn·i*) seem too long² for the text of B and R or that of OB³, but suits that of OCl—therefore it is probable that OV and OCy had the same reading as OCl. Although it is at the origin only a matter of a confusion of two similar passages, we have in fact to do with readings characteristic of the Ramesside version of Thebes, and not with errors due to the writers of the ostraca.


¹ On OIFAO¹⁰⁴⁵ (see above, p. 20, n. 1) the  remaining rt. 9 belongs to *nfr irrt·i n·k* (which follows *wnn·k ḥn·i*).


² As far as we can judge in reconstructing the lost parts of the lines.





The reader may have noticed that the changes made in B 31 and B 77 are such that both sentences have become unified:





B 31  > 
 B 77  >  O. Gardiner.


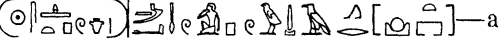

But the two passages which have thus become identical do not appear on the same ostrakon. Further, we notice in the various New-Kingdom documents some divergencies which attest for this period the existence of several versions of the story. Therefore it is possible that actually none of these versions had a unified redaction of the two passages in question, though such a redaction would be quite likely. Changed as they are in the New-Kingdom version, the passages B 31 and B 77 do not thereby cease to be correct Egyptian, but the slightly different meanings that they then have agree less well with the context. There is therefore no doubt that the original redaction is the one preserved in B and R. Concerning this Gardiner remarks (in a letter): 'my ostrakon borrows  from B 31; that it cannot be correct is shown by the same word following almost immediately [in  = *nfr irrt-i n-k* in B 77]—the exceedingly skilful author of the tale would not have been guilty of repeating the word at such close quarters. Therefore  of B must be retained.'

OCl rt. 4 = B 33. The omission of the suffix  after *ššw* is erroneous; see B and R 57 (OB³ 35 has a lacuna in this place).

OV rt. 4. Read  'xth month of *šmw*, day 28'—the date on which the lines of the ostrakon which precede these words were written.

OCl rt. 5 = B 35. OCl is in agreement with  of R 58, already followed in the New Kingdom by OB¹ and OB³ 36—*hr m isst pw* of B continues to remain alone (cf. Gardiner, *Notes*, 24, 155). The writing  of OCl, with  instead of the correct , occurs again on the Ramesside ostrakon Berlin 21454, l. 3 (in an unidentified text), coming also from Dēr el-Madinah.

OV rt. 5 = R 59.  of OV, completing  of OB¹ and OB³ 37 (OB¹ with the mistake  for *rf*), is in agreement with  of R 59; B 36 omits this sentence.

OV rt. 5 = B 36. *Šhtp-ib-r pn* 'this Sehetepibrē' cannot be correct in this place, and  is very probably a false archaism for *pw*,¹ a form which appears in OB³ 37——and, apparently, ought to be restored in R 60 (cf. Blackman, *Middle-Egn Stor.*, 16a, n. 10a); B, on the other hand, has simply *n-sw-bit S. wdrw r šht*. OV follows R exactly in omitting both  of B and the *mꜣ-hrw*, which is peculiar to the New-Kingdom documents (OB¹ and OB³);² one text confirming the other, it is probable that in OV and R we should read *S. pw wdrw r šht*. As de Buck has pointed out (*Griffith Studies*, 60, n. 1), this variant with *pw*—which Gardiner (*Notes*, 156) considered as not yielding a very satisfactory sense—is not incorrect with regard to its construction (cf. Gard., *Eg. Gr.*, § 325) and agrees well with the context, its sense being 'It is that S. has gone . . .' The construction without *pw* of B is, indeed, also correct (cf. *op. cit.*, § 322), but it is less explicit. It is very probable that the original reading is *S. wdrw* of B, and that this construction was very soon reinforced by the addition of *pw* in order to put its role of explanatory answer into relief.

¹ Cf. Sethe, *Verbum*, I, § 225; Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.*, § 115 Anm.

² See also R 6 and variants where *mꜣ-hrw* appears in the New Kingdom (G, OB³, OB¹—except C) but not in the Middle Kingdom (R, A^m).

abnormal absence of the suffix 𓆎 in OCl ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$) occurs already in B ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ —in B 227, where the same sentence appears again, B has this time $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$, with traces of a correction). This absence of the suffix can be only a coincidence: the numerous divergencies existing elsewhere between B and OCl are against the possibility that it rests on a common origin of both texts.

OCl vs. 1 = R 65. We must certainly not read *ir idhw*, which would here give no sense. The scribe must first have written $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ in mistake for $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$; then, doubtless in order to annul the erroneous group $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$, he smudged the top of the 𓆏 (cf. above, p. 19, note Q to the transcription); finally he added the correct group $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$. This passage—the beginning of which is unfortunately lost in OCl as in all the other documents hitherto known—is omitted in B but exists in R 65 as well as on the other New-Kingdom ostraca (OB³ 40-1 and OIFAO¹⁰⁴⁵ rt. 2). For the spelling $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ of OCl, see [$\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$] $\text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ of OB³ and $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ of OIFAO¹⁰⁴⁵. These New-Kingdom writings without 𓆎 , specially those with the ending *-w*, belong actually to the word *idhw* 'the marshlands of the Delta'.

The three new duplicates OV, OCy, and OCl of the Story of Sinuhe present some interesting facts for the establishment of the original text. The most important is that OCl gives for the passage B 27 a new reading *ps·nf n·i*, clearly superior to that of the other documents and seeming really to correspond to the archetypal reading. But it is above all for the details of redaction peculiar to the New-Kingdom Theban documents—which are, for the most part, ostraca coming from Dēr el-Madinah—that the new texts are interesting. For the passage covered by these documents, constant divergencies between the Middle-Kingdom texts on the one hand, and those of the Ramesside Period on the other, are now discernible in two places:

B 28: MK. *nfr irt·n·sn* (B, R)—NK. *nfr irt·n·f (n·i)* (OV, OB³),
 B 28: MK. *rdi·n wi hst* (B, R)—NK. *rdit wi hst* (OCl, OB³).

On the other hand, the lack of uniformity already noticed in several places in the Ramesside documents hitherto known is further accentuated by OV and OCl—thus, in B 28, *n·i* of OV rt. 1 is omitted in OB³ 32; in B 31, OCl rt. 3 has $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗}$ and *nfr tw 𓆘 𓆙 𓆚 𓆛 𓆜* while OB³ 34 has $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗}$ and *nfr hr(t)·k hnc·i*; etc.

For the passage studied here the peculiarities of the Ramesside documents do not seem, generally speaking, to be original readings, going back to an ancient text having some chances of being the archetype. Where the Theban documents differ from both B and R, they give in most cases a more commonplace or more explicit text which clearly appears to be secondary. These deformations which our Ramesside texts show relatively to B and R do not rest on graphic confusions, but seem rather to be due to defects of memory. They are alterations of the type of those that one may expect to meet with in a text transmitted orally, and of which for certain passages the general idea has been retained without the text being remembered word for word. In this way are best explained such modifications as the replacing of *nfr irt·n·sn* by *nfr irt·n·f* (B 28) or of $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗}$ by $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗}$ (B 31), or again the confusion of two sentences separated one from the other in the course of the story, but showing similarities in meaning and form, as is the case for *nfr tw hnc·i* (B 31) and *mk tw 𓆘 𓆙 𓆚 𓆛 𓆜* (B 77) both resulting in *nfr tw 𓆘 𓆙 𓆚 𓆛 𓆜*. It is also possible that some of these changes may be the result of a recension of the tale, i.e. that they are intentional, considered modifications of passages appearing, at a given moment, obscure or imperfect in respect of style, or needing alterations for some other reason—but this is not obvious.

As regards the relationship of the Ramesside documents to those of the Middle Kingdom, the new duplicates corroborate the indications already furnished by the other ostraca: when B and R differ it is generally R that the ostraca follow. In the part of the text which concerns us, only the passage B 40-2 (from *n wfr·tw·i* to *hst tn*) is an exception—here OCl rt. 8 has, with B, the sentence *n sdm·i ts hwrw* (B 41) which is lacking in R.

As to the conditions in which the new documents were written, I thought at first that I had seen in the modification of the sentence *nfr tw hnc·i* in OCl—which cannot be explained by an error of reading or hearing—a proof that this ostrakon has not been copied or dictated but written from memory. But since the same modification appears on Gardiner's ostrakon also, this conclusion is not valid. It is certainly an error of memory, but it is not the writer of the ostrakon who is responsible for it. In fact, the corruptions of signs which occur in OCl, especially the corruption of $\overline{\omega}$ into \square , clearly show that this text—as, I think, the majority of the literary ostraca—was copied from some other document. We can indeed hardly believe that so gross a mistake as the use of \square for $\overline{\omega}$, even under its less striking hieratic aspect, would have persisted through several copies. It is therefore likely that the writer of the ostrakon is himself guilty of this corruption.

We have seen above (p. 22) that, for palaeographical reasons the corruption of $\overline{\omega}$ into \square must rest on a type of hieratic not posterior to the Eighteenth Dynasty. Thus it is not impossible that the document from which the writer of the ostrakon OCl copied his text was a Middle-Kingdom papyrus. The redactional changes which OCl shows relatively to B and R are not in conflict with this view, for they may quite well go back to the Middle Kingdom, and, on the other hand, what is in this ostrakon characteristic of the New Kingdom, namely the spelling of some words, may be due to the scribe's own initiative. The other ostraca, or at least the most part of them, do not seem at first sight to contradict this view. This hypothesis of a Middle-Kingdom original for OCl (and consequently also for other ostraca from Dêr el-Madinah) would be in opposition to the existence of a real New-Kingdom recension of the tale made in the Theban schools. In other words, what seem in the New-Kingdom Theban ostraca to be features of their own, and therefore authorize us to speak of a 'Ramesside version', would in fact go back—at least in the majority of cases—to a hitherto unknown Middle-Kingdom manuscript diverging widely from both B and R in several places. Of course, this hypothesis (briefly alluded to by Gardiner, *Notes*, 163) needs further inquiries, dealing with the whole of the material. The situation must certainly be a very complex one.

The value of the new documents is fairly high if they are considered in themselves and not relatively to an archetype, the exact tenor of which moreover is not known with certitude. The text of OCy—perhaps because it is the shortest!—is the most correct: this text contains no mistakes but the two which have been corrected. Next comes OV, with only some insignificant mistakes, as $\overline{\omega}$ for Δ and \square for *pw* (rt. 5), and an unclassical spelling for *sh* 'horizon' (rt. 5). OCl is a little more corrupt (*cf.* rt. 2, vs. 1); three times it omits a suffix (rt. 4. 7. 8), but it is relatively good on the whole.

Ostraca of the Story of Sinuhe are comparatively rare: among the 108 literary ostraca recently published by G. Posener¹ only two² contain an extract from this text. It is therefore regrettable that the three new documents studied here have come to us in so fragmentary a state.³ Such as they are, they have, however, permitted some additions to be made to our present knowledge of the most famous literary text of ancient Egypt.

¹ *Catalogue des Ostraca hiérat. littér. de Deir el Médineh* (Cairo, 1934-8).

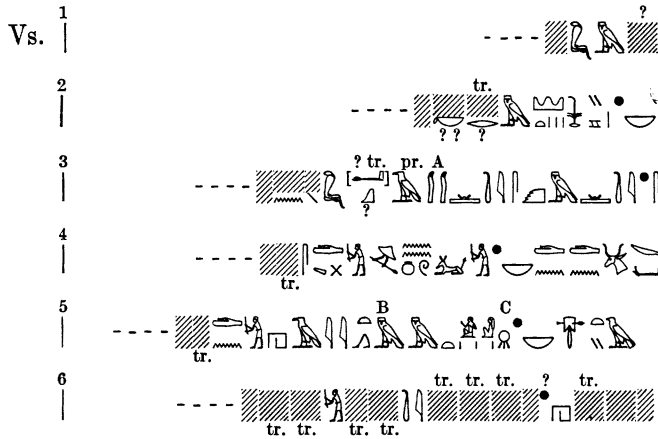
² Nos. 1011 and 1045.

³ It is not impossible that the missing part of OCl, the breakage in which is very recent, may be one day recovered among the numerous ostraca bought during recent years at Luxor.

Appendix

The texts not belonging to the Story of Sinuhe which occupy the versos of the ostraca OV (see above, p. 16) and OCl (see above, p. 18) are the following:

OV.—Vs. 1-6 (or $x+1-x+6$?). Hymn to an unidentified divinity.



NOTES TO THE TRANSCRIPTION

A. The reading 'k' seems to be required by [hieroglyphs], where ' is almost sure; the signs [tr.] would be badly formed on account of the irregularity of the surface. B-C. The transcription of these signs is doubtful (see below).¹

TRANSLATION

'(1)----- (2)----- in the southern countries; Lord (3)---- (the goddess) [Renen]et (?), being precise and completed; (4)---- dispelling the trouble; Lord of fury (5)---- killing (?) the sun-people; Lord of radiance (??) (6)----'

H. Grapow and R. Hecker, who have kindly, at my request, examined the material of the *Wörterbuch*, tell me that there is no text parallel to the preceding. The expression *sd hnnw* occurs only in P. Leyden I. 347, x, 11 (magical text),² in [hieroglyphs] 'his arms dispel the trouble, it will not reach me'.

In l. 3 [tr.] is one possible restoration, but one may also read, for example, [tr.] (*Wb.*, I, 318, 15). For *nb dndn* (vs. 4), cf. *Wb.*, v, 471, 13-14; this epithet denotes different gods, among them Sobek.

In l. 5 what appears to be written [tr.] is very probably, as Gardiner points out to me, a corruption of the spelling [tr.] (Golénischeff Glossary, 3, 15), var. [tr.] (Budge, *Greenfield Papyrus*, Pl. 86), which occurs for [tr.] 'sun-people'.

¹ In ll. 5-6 the signs are in reality much more effaced than the facsimile seems to indicate, and the forms of the greater part of the traces are uncertain.



² Chabas, *Aegypt. Hiërat. Pap. I. 343-71 . . . te Leiden* (in Leemans, *Aegypt. Mon. van het Nederl. Museum van Oudheden te Leiden*, II), Pl. 145.


THE STATUETTE OF AN EGYPTIAN COMMISSIONER IN SYRIA

BY GEORG STEINDORFF

Habent sua fata antiquitates.—At the beginning of the year 1894 was found, reputedly in the Delta, a slightly damaged statuette of black basalt. It reached Cairo, where it was offered for sale to various Egyptologists by one of the largest dealers in antiquities, but none of them purchased it because of the high price demanded. It moved on to Paris, but there, too, it found no purchaser. Its further travels led it to England, and its subsequent fate remained for a long time unknown. Émile Chassinat saw it in Paris, copied with care the important inscription on the back-pillar, and published a description of the figure entitled *Un Interprète égyptien pour les Pays Chananéens* in *Bull. Inst. fr.* 1, 98–100.

To-day the statuette (see Pl. vii) stands in the fine Egyptian Collection of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. 'It came here in 1928, variously described as 'Prince of Ethiopia, period of Ramesses' and 'Statue of a Prince, 26th dynasty', Dr. Dorothy K. Hill, Curator of the Department of Ancient Art, very kindly tells me.¹

The statuette, which bears the Inventory No. 22.203, is 0.305 m. high, and is wrought of a very fine-grained hard serpentine. The feet are missing. The broad back-pillar, the lower end of which is broken away with the feet, extends up to the nape of the neck. A man in upright posture wearing the dress of the Middle Kingdom is represented. He is clad in a long smooth kilt, which begins below the breast and extends down to the middle of the calves. The kilt is supported by two narrow straps indicated in relief, which are placed close to the neck; it is impossible to follow these straps behind because of the back-pillar. The coiffure, too, is that customary in the Middle Kingdom, and resembles, for example, that of the Berlin Khertihotpe (Schäfer, *Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte*, 275): a large wig which leaves the ears free, and reaches down to the shoulders, where its ends are cut in triangular shape in front; the hair is arranged in horizontal waves. The arms are not free but are joined to the body by means of smoothed fillings; the fingers, too, are only slightly separated from each other, although the nails are clearly reproduced. The work is throughout good. The breasts and nipples are surprisingly salient, otherwise the body and also the face with its prominent cheek-bones are treated conventionally, without any individuality. The figure has all the distinctive traits of the art of the Middle Kingdom. The inscription, which was carved in a vertical line on the kilt in front and contained the name of the deceased, must certainly have belonged to this period too. It has been carefully smoothed away, but traces of it may still be clearly seen, especially of the titles  with which the inscription began. How to read the trace which follows I do not know; the title  suggests itself, but does not suit at all (Gunn).

At the bottom of the kilt, and over the old inscription, a scene of adoration has been placed later in sunk relief: to the right Osiris is standing on a  plinth, with the Atef crown

¹ For this and other information concerning the statuette I wish to thank Dr. Hill. I am furthermore grateful to the Board of Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery for granting permission to publish this monument.

I am also indebted to Professor Gunn for the many suggestions, corrections, and references which he has given me in the preparation of this article.




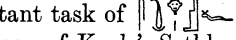

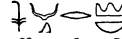


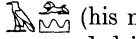
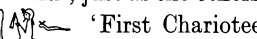


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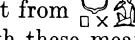


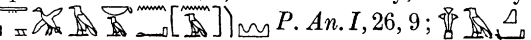
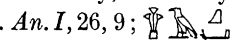

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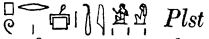
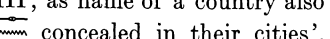
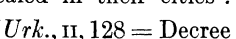
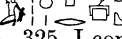
STATUETTE OF AN EGYPTIAN COMMISSIONER.

my *wptwyw* (pl.) to the land *Ctk*, and *Wenamün*, 2, 51 'Indeed I have not done to thee that which has been done to  the *ipwtyw* (pl.) of Kha'emwëse'.¹ The  'king's messengers' occupied a particularly high place among these 'messengers' and were sent by the king himself on special missions into foreign countries. Such a 'king's messenger' is known to us from the Middle Kingdom, but details of his mission are not mentioned: Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, I, § 467. We learn more about them and their duties in the New Kingdom, particularly from inscriptions in Nubia (Abu Simbel and Halfa-Buhen). In the first year of Ramesses-Siptah (end of the Nineteenth Dynasty), the  'king's messenger to all the foreign countries' Rekhpehtewef was entrusted by the king with the important task of  'installing in his office' the newly appointed viceroy of Nubia, the 'king's son of Kush', Setkhy (the future king Sethos II), Breasted, *op. cit.*, III, § 642; Maspero in Th. M. Davis, *Tomb of Siptah*, p. xxi; see also MacIver-Woolley, *Buhen*, 20, where the same man is mentioned. An office-holder contemporary with him was the  Neferhor, who also in the first year of Siptah was instructed to accompany the newly appointed viceroy Setkhy on his first official journey to Nubia, see MacIver-Woolley, *op. cit.*, 25 f. A third  named  Hori had the task in the third year of Siptah's reign of 'installing in office the (Nubian) officials'  Breasted, *op. cit.*, III, § 645; MacIver-Woolley, *op. cit.*, 38. In the sixth year of the same king's reign we again find in Nubia a 'king's messenger to all countries' about whose official activity nothing is mentioned: MacIver-Woolley, *op. cit.*, 36. Lastly I must mention a king's messenger to Syria  (his name is unfortunately lost) who was given missions to Syria and Nubia, and who is also recorded in Buhen, MacIver-Woolley, *op. cit.*, 32. He was entrusted with the high office of 'Fan-bearer on the king's right hand', just as the others appointed to be 'king's messengers' also had their offices as  'First Charioteer (*kdn*) of His Majesty', MacIver-Woolley, *op. cit.*, 36. For the rest, such 'king's messengers' had their counterparts at foreign courts; thus the Hittite king sent two of these officials to Ramesses II, Terteshub and Raemose, in order to deliver the silver tablet containing the peace treaty, Leps., *Dkm.*, III, 146.

However, our *Pedeēset* was probably not one of these envoys of high rank. He is called only *wptwy* (without the additional 'of the king') and was certainly only a simple 'commissioner', see below.

Chassinat (*Bull. Inst. fr.* 1, 99) sees in the  of our inscription a different word from *wptwy* 'messenger'; he derives it from  'expliquer, éclaircir, faire connaître, démontrer'—where is this verb to be found with these meanings?—and translates it by 'traducteur, interprète', that is, something like 'dragoman', thinking of the officials of the royal chancellery, who, as the Amarna-letters show, had the task of translating correspondence in foreign languages. But one would never have spoken of a 'dragoman of Canaan and Palestine'.

VII. By *Kn'n* is meant here not the city (as Leps., *Dkm.*, III, 126, *a*) but the country, as already in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties:  *P. An. I*, 26, 9;  *Israel Stela*, 26;  *P. Harris I*, 9, 1.

VIII. *Plst* (פלשת) Philistaea, *Παλαιστίνη*, the country in which the  *Plst* settled after being driven back by the Egyptians under Ramesses III; as name of a country also in *Medinet Habu*, I, Pl. 29:  *Plst* is high,  concealed in their cities'. That *Plst* is Persia, and that it is connected with  *οι Πέρσαι* (*Urk.*, II, 128 = Decree of Canopus, 6), as suggested by Hall in *Rec. Champ.*, 325, I consider quite impossible.

IX. The personal name *Cpy* is found only here; it is no doubt Canaanite in origin. Burchardt equates it with עֶפֶי, עוֹפִי, LXX Ωφε, Ιωφε; see Ranke, *Personennamen*, 60, 11.

¹ Concerning the lively Egyptian-Syrian trade relations in the New Kingdom, see the 'Diary of a border official' (time of Merneptah), which was treated first by Erman (*ZÄS* 17, 29 ff.), later by Wolf (*ZÄS* 69, 39 ff.). The Egyptian 'messengers' belong to the lord; the *šmsw* are not, as Wolf translates, 'servants', but 'Gefolgsleute', i.e. 'soldiers' or followers of the police troops.

A statuette of the Middle Kingdom—an inscription and a relief of a later period in memory of a *Pedeēset*: when were these additions made, when was the old statuette taken over by posterity with ruthless obliteration of the original name? I think I am correct in assuming for this the period of the Twenty-second Dynasty. It was in this period that the Egyptians remembered their glorious past, the days of the *Senwosrets* and *Amenemhēts*, and also in their art turned back to the models of the Twelfth Dynasty. They imitated the classical forms in plastic art, and indeed often so slavishly and with such success, that to-day even a stylistically well-trained eye has difficulty in distinguishing a genuine work of the Middle Kingdom from a work of the later period. As a striking example of such successful imitation we may take the granite seated figure of a high official in vizier's dress from the Karnak 'cachette' which has been published and discussed by Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes (CCG)*, III, No. 42206, Pl. 13, p. 15. Schäfer, who reproduces it in *Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte*, Fig. 343, 1, explains it, certainly correctly, as a work of the Twenty-second Dynasty, whereas Legrain (*loc. cit.*) places it, though with hesitation, in the Twelfth Dynasty and considers only the inscription to be late. The case is similar with the statue *CCG* No. 42207; this, too, dates from the Twenty-second Dynasty, whereas according to Legrain (*op. cit.*) only the inscription belongs to this period, the statue itself dating from the Twelfth Dynasty, and having been 'utilisée' by the later owner.¹ Such 'usurpations' do however happen, and one example is the statuette of our *Pedeēset*, which may have come from an old temple store-room and has been adapted for a new owner by new inscriptions and a relief.

This new owner is historically important by reason of the office which he fills, naturally on the supposition that our dating (Twenty-second Dynasty) is accurate. *Pedeēset* was a 'commissioner' of Canaan and Palestine. We know that the Syrian foreign policy of Egypt again became active in the Twenty-second Dynasty; the bold and active *Sheshonk I*, the founder of the dynasty, attempted to restore the old suzerainty by military means, and undertook about the year 930 B.C. the expedition against Palestine which is known to us from the biblical Book of Kings, and during which the treasures of the palace and temple of Jerusalem were taken as booty. Of further consequences of this campaign we hear nothing. It was certainly more than a mere expedition of which the only purpose was 'to snatch together as much booty as possible and to fill the empty treasure-chambers with it' (Meyer, *Gesch. Alt.*, II², 47). But it did not effect even a temporary conquest by means of which, as at the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the land was placed under Egyptian administration and the Syrian princes were made tributary vassals of Pharaoh. Diplomatic relations were established with the small states of Palestine (Meyer, *loc. cit.*), and through permanent messengers or commissioners amicable relations were set up which facilitated in particular the exchange of goods. One of the instruments of these relations was doubtless our *Pedeēset*. His father was probably a Syrian, and he himself may have been a Syrian despite his Egyptian name, and consequently specially suitable for this important office. Perhaps he resided in the Delta, say in *Bubastis*, and our statue may have come from the temple of his city, possibly from his tomb. Then the mistakes of the inscription are explained: the inscription was added not by an experienced draughtsman but by a provincial, possibly a non-Egyptian fellow-countryman of *Pedeēset*.²

¹ The somewhat barbarous custom of carving adoration scenes on the kilts of statues, especially of squatting statues, is specially common in the Twenty-second Dynasty; cf. Legrain, *op. cit.*, 42215, 42216, 42221, 42223-8, 42230-32.

² To forestall any possible doubts I should like to stress the fact that I am convinced of the genuineness of the statue, and that in spite of all the peculiarities of the inscription I raise no question as to its ancient origin.

THE WRITING OF *HTP-DI-NSW* IN THE MIDDLE AND NEW KINGDOMS

BY PAUL C. SMITHER

THIS article is an attempt to show that different writings of the extremely common formula known as the *hṭp-dī-nsw* supply interesting chronological data for the Middle and New Kingdoms.¹

The two writings with which we are concerned are:

(a) $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ (or $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$), with 𓏏 as the *third* word in the group.

(b) $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ (or $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$), „ „ *second* „ „

The *Wb.* states (III, 186), concerning these two writings, ‘Pyr—MR (a) $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ häufiger als (b) $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ (seit Dyn. 18 gewöhnlich)’. This statement is perfectly correct as regards *vertical* inscriptions. But in *horizontal* inscriptions, *no example of the writing (b) has been noted prior to the Second Intermediate Period*, from which time onwards it largely supersedes the writing (a).

This can be expressed in the form of a table.

Spelling of the *hṭp-dī-nsw* in Horizontal Inscriptions

Dynasty	(a) $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$	(b) $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$
11–12	usual	none
13	usual	none
14–17	none	usual
18 and after	uncommon ²	usual

The amount of evidence for the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties, and again for the Eighteenth onwards, is so great as to be quite conclusive. But the datable material belonging to the Second Intermediate period, *i.e.* the Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties, is much smaller. The examples will therefore be given in full. It is important to note that reference throughout will be to *horizontal* inscriptions only.

I. WRITING OF *HTP-DI-NSW* IN INSCRIPTIONS DATED TO THIRTEENTH DYNASTY³

Inscription on	King	Provenance	Bibliography	Spelling
1. Squatting statuette of the Vizier <i>Hnms</i>	SEKHEMKARE ^c	Crocodilopolis (?)	<i>PSBA</i> 23, 222	$\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ (a)
2. Rock Inscription of the Vizier <i>Hnms</i> ⁴	SEKHEMKARE ^c	Old Road, Aswān to Esh-Shallāl	De Morgan, <i>Cat. des Mon.</i> , I, 26 (186)	„

¹ The Old Kingdom formula of the type *hṭp di nsu*, *hṭp di Inpw*, for which see Gard., *Eg. Gr.*, pp. 170 ff., will not be dealt with here.

² The writing (a) does sometimes recur at this period, e.g. *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, Pl. 30 ceiling (4 times). Perhaps an archaism.

³ All the kings are named on the Turin King-list except Khendjer, who, however, doubtless reigned shortly before or after the Weserkarēc-Khendjer of the Turin Papyrus; cf Jéquier, *Deux Pyramides du Moyen Empire*, 27.

⁴ Doubtless same man as No. 1; the formula is hatched, but probably certain.

Inscription on	King	Provenance	Bibliography	Spelling
4. Coffin of <i>Cbd</i> , CCG 28108	APOPHIS (III) (<i>Nb-ḥpš-Rc</i>)	Sakḳārah	Lac., <i>Sarc.</i> (CCG) II, 86	𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒 (b)
5. Pyramidion of <i>Sbkḥtp</i> , BM 1163	SEBEKEMSAF (<i>Šḥm-Rc-šd-trwy</i>)	Unknown	<i>Hierogl. Texts</i> BM, IV, Pls. 18–21; <i>Bull. Inst.</i> <i>fr.</i> 32, Pls. 1, 2	„
6. Stela of <i>Tnw</i> , Louvre C 201	KAMOSE	Unknown	Pierret, <i>Rec. des Inscr.</i> I, 59–62; <i>JEA</i> 10, 264	„

Of the kings named in list II, Apophis is known to belong to the Sixteenth Dynasty, and Kamose to the Seventeenth. The position of the remaining kings is not generally agreed upon by historians. None of them, however, has left any record north of Gebelēn, and they must clearly have ruled during the period of disruption which followed the Thirteenth Dynasty. Recent excavation has continued to reveal the power and importance of the Thirteenth Dynasty in Upper Egypt, and it now seems almost impossible, as well as unnecessary, to find room for any local kings in Upper Egypt contemporary with it. Winlock¹ has shown conclusively that the tombs of the two Sebekemsafs belong to the same archaeological group as those of known Seventeenth-Dynasty kings. In view of this evidence, the old theory, based on pure conjecture, that the Sebekemsafs were contemporary with the Thirteenth Dynasty, ought really to be abandoned.²

It is worth while remarking upon the self-consistency of the two lists I and II. Numbers I 5, I 6, II 1, II 4, II 5 all have the *ḥtp-dī-nsu* written more than once but always consistently in either the (a) or the (b) writing. This is noticeable in other inscriptions. At Tell Edfu many private stelae have been found, inscribed in the same peculiar barbarous style of hieroglyphs as those of *Ḥns-m-wst* (II 1) and *Šhr-Ḥr* (II 2), and they must be considered to be of approximately the same date. All these stelae consistently have the writing (b).³

In drawing up the table given on page 34, and the evidence for the Second Intermediate Period in Lists I and II above, only those inscriptions which could be dated to the reign of a king have been considered. The very large number of monuments which can be dated only approximately do, however, supply important confirmatory evidence. For example, Lange-Schäfer's *Grab- u. Denksteine d. Mittleren Reichs* (CCG) contains 58 stelae⁴ which have the writing (b) in a horizontal inscription. The majority of these⁵ are of bad or mediocre workmanship, and some quite certainly belong to the latter part of the Second Intermediate Period on grounds of style, and there is no reason for dating any of them as early as the Twelfth Dynasty.⁶ Three of them call for individual comment. Stela No. 20520

¹ *JEA* 10, 217 ff.

² A recent attempt to prove that Sebekḥotpe III of the Thirteenth Dynasty usurped cartouches of Sebekemsaf at Medamūd has been shown to be incorrect; see Weill, *Rev. Ég. anc.* 2, 163 ff.

³ To the bibliography of stelae found at Edfu given by Gunn in *Ann. Serv.* 29, 5 n. 1, add now Alliot, *Tell Edfou*.

⁴ Nos. 20037, '049, '068, '083, '084, '144, '164, '173, '183, '202, '206, '213, '220, '228, '229, '246, '265, '267, '283, '286, '301, '307, '313, '325, '329, '335, '342, '358, '368, '376, '387, '434, '440, '499, '520, '530, '537, '556, '559, '569, '598, '603, '610, '622, '623, '642, '650, '666, '674, '678, '680, '687, '702, '705, '721, '732, '734, '744.

⁵ Nos. 20049, '068, '084, '144 (another stela of same man, *Hierogl. Texts* BM, v, Pl. 15), '164, '173, '183, '202, '213, '220, '228, '229, '244, '265, '283, '286, '313, '325, '329, '335, '358, '368, '434, '499, '530, '537, '569, '603, '622, '623, '642, '650, '666, '674, '678, '680, '687, '702, '732, '734, '744, and probably some others of which there are no published photographs, nor any comments on the style by Lange-Schäfer.

⁶ Nos. 20705 and '721 are probably of the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

mentions a certain $\textcircled{\text{𓂏}}\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}$, 'Sesostris-II-is-well', as father of the deceased, and No. 20228 names a *Shtp-ib-Rc-ssi*.¹ But personal names were sometimes compounded with the names of long *dead* kings. A few examples quoted at random will show this: $\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}$ '(King) Pepy-is-at-peace', of the Middle Kingdom;² $\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}$, 'daughter-of-Khufu', of the Middle Kingdom;³ $\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}$ 'Sesostris-I-is-well', of the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁴

Stela No. 20702 shows a king worshipping another king and a hawk-headed god. Above the scene is the inscription $\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}$ $\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}$ $\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}$ $\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}$, giving a miswriting of the names of King Sesostris III, 'given life'. The epithet 'given life' was often used of kings in their divine aspects, although they were actually dead.⁵ Indeed, the lines of inscription beneath the scene consist of a *htp-di-nsu* for the dead spirit of King Sesostris III. There are many blunders and corruptions in the simple text, and the whole workmanship is thoroughly crude.⁶ In fact, the appearance of the stela is so unlike what we know of Twelfth Dynasty work that I do not see how it can be contemporary with King Sesostris III.⁷ I have dealt with this stela at some length, because it is the only monument I have found having the writing (b) of the *htp-di-nsu*, and also purporting to date from the reign of a Twelfth-Dynasty king.

CONCLUSION

The writing (b) $\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}\text{𓂏}$ of the *htp-di-nsu* was introduced into *horizontal* inscriptions during the Second Intermediate Period, and probably towards the end of that period, as no certain examples as early as the Thirteenth Dynasty have yet come to light. This fact has a practical bearing on history and archaeology, for many monuments which have previously been attributed to the Middle Kingdom are thereby shown to be not older than the Second Intermediate Period.

¹ Incorporating the premenom of either Amenemmes I or V.

² *ZÄS* 37, 99.

³ *CCG* 20457, i.

⁴ *CCG* 614 (statue group). For further early examples, see *ZÄS* 63, 56 ff.

⁵ Amenophis I, as deified king and patron of the Theban Necropolis, is regularly so called. Examples of other kings could be quoted for the New Kingdom.

⁶ See the published photograph, Lange-Schäfer, *op. cit.*, iv, Pl. 53.

⁷ For example, the writing of the phonetic complement 𓂏 after *h* in the King's name (*Hc-krw-Rc*) is otherwise unknown before the New Kingdom.

AN ARCHAIC HUT IN WĀDI UMM SIDRAH

By G. W. MURRAY

WHILE surveying the Roman porphyry quarries at Gebel ed-Dukhān in February 1938, we camped in Wādi Umm Sidrah about a kilometre above the point where Wādi Ma'āmal turns off to the quarries, and my wife found in the neighbourhood of this camp the remains of an early dynastic hut. This stood on the left bank of a little tributary ravine which here enters Wādi Umm Sidrah from the south (see Pl. viii). Rectangular in shape with roughly rounded corners, it was some 4 m. long by 3 m. broad and was enclosed by rubble walls some 60–70 cm. high.

There were two entrances diagonally opposite one another in two of the rounded corners; three sides of the hut were still in good condition, but the one nearest the ravine had been almost removed by the occasional flood-waters of the last 4,000 years. Such shelters are common enough in the desert, but my wife's attention was first drawn to the site by seeing a small rounded pot (later identified as contemporary with the First or Second Dynasty) which was lying just outside the eastern entrance to the hut more than half buried in silt. She extracted this entire from the ground, and we later cleared the whole floor to a depth of some 15 cm.

Among a large quantity of potsherds, ashes, and fragments of bone we found some interesting objects (see Pl. ix, 2) which are all now in the Cairo Museum. Besides the complete pot, there were fragments of at least five objects like crude pottery lamp-shades (Pl. ix, 1, 2), which had been broken in antiquity and mended with extreme care. Earthenware was evidently very precious in Wādi Umm Sidrah, 160 kilometres by road from the Nile Valley. The ware was compact and pale pink, not of the brown-red kind which is usually found in the Valley.

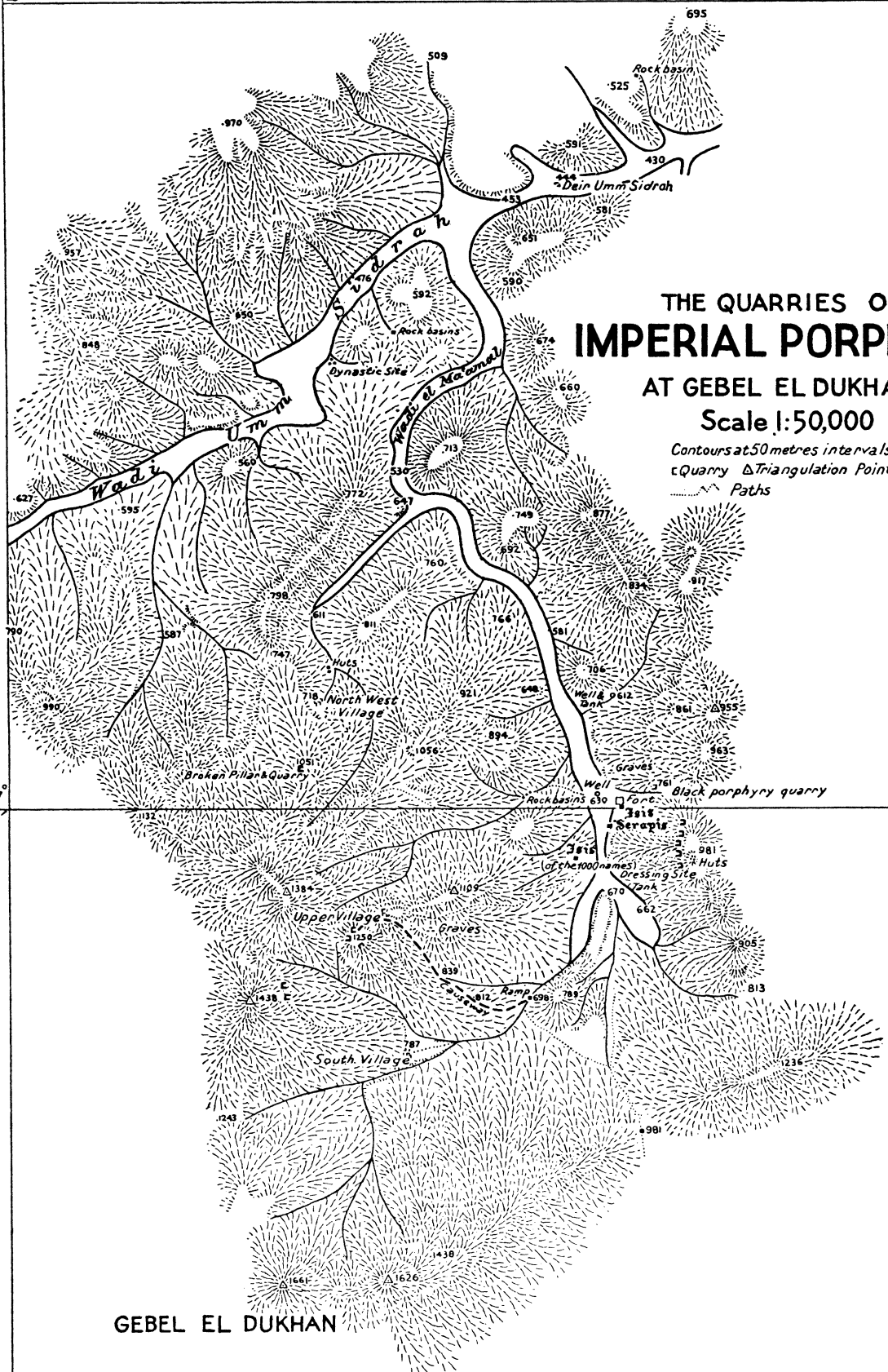
So far as I know, nothing comparable to these 'lamp-shades' has been discovered in Egyptian excavations, but they must have been stands for some of the sharp-bottomed vessels of the period, which held the water or the milk of the family. Besides these pot-stands there were three perforated pottery discs. Again, discs of this type have not yet been found in excavations in the Nile Valley, but they have a wide distribution in the deserts east and west of the Nile. Dr. John Ball informs me that, while accompanying the late Prince Kemal ed-Dīn on one of his expeditions in the Libyan desert, they found, remote from the Nile, 'perhaps in the Sheb-Tarfawi area', half a dozen such discs. This is rather vague, but in 1931 Mr. P. A. Clayton brought in two from a point in lat. 22° 18' N., long. 27° 15' E., that is to say about 430 kilometres west of Wādi Ḥalfa. About the same time, I discovered in the Eastern Desert quite close to Aswān a similar disc jammed inside a hollow cylinder of coarse earthenware (see *JEA* 19, 132). One may note that no particular care was taken to get the perforation in the centre of the disc, and that frequently a distinctive mark such as † or ♣ appears on the rim.

Besides the discs there were four well-shaped flint implements (shown in Pl. ix, 2) and a mass of flint and quartz chips. No flint occurs naturally in the vicinity.

I am greatly indebted to Mr. Guy Brunton and Mr. W. B. Emery for examining these objects; they both agree in dating the complete pot to the First or Second Dynasty.

33° 15'

33° 20'



THE QUARRIES OF IMPERIAL PORPHYRY

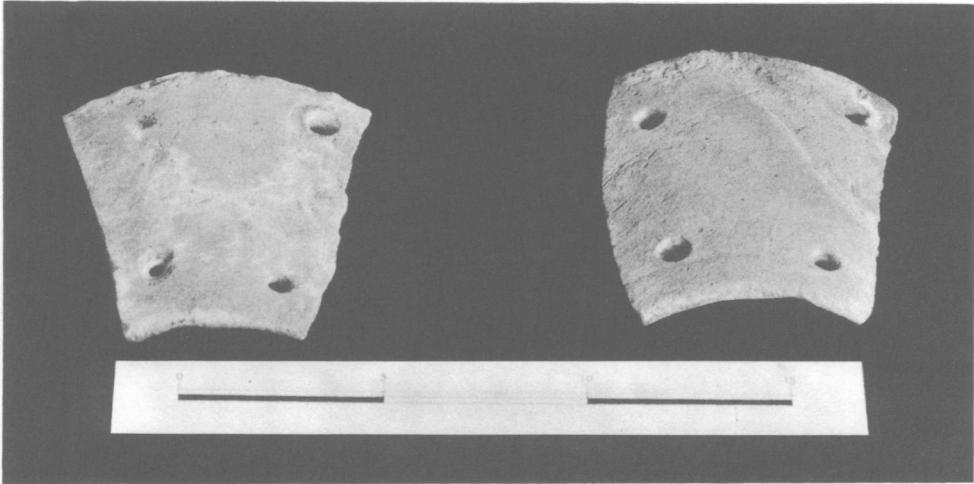
AT GEBEL EL DUKHAN
Scale 1:50,000

Contours at 50 metres intervals
 □ Quarry Δ Triangulation Point
 --- Paths

GEBEL EL DUKHAN

33° 15'

33° 20'



1



2



3

POTTERY AND FLINTS FROM HUT IN WĀDI UMM SIDRAH.
(Scales in cm.).

POSTSCRIPT. Since the above was written, Dr. H. A. Winkler has most kindly sent me photographs (Pl. ix, 3) of two similar discs and a 'lamp-shade' from his site 68, some kilometres east of the eastern end of the *ḥaṭīyah* east of the village of Et-Tanīdah in Dakhlah Oasis. This considerably extends the area over which these puzzling objects have been found in association.

COPTIC TEXTILES IN TWO-FACED WEAVE WITH PATTERN IN REVERSE

BY GRACE M. CROWFOOT AND JOYCE GRIFFITHS

THE two textiles described here are of a class usually described as 'draw-loom weaves in wool'.¹ These are all characterized by a regular repetition of small decorative motifs, suggesting a mechanical adaptation of the loom for the purpose, and these motifs are often rather complicated. In other examples of this class, however, the designs are so simple as to suggest that they might have been produced in some easier way than by the use of a draw-loom.²

The study we have now made shows that these two textiles at least could have been made on a loom with no more than four heddles, and we hope that this discovery may give a clue to the future understanding of the more difficult pieces in the group.

Textile No. 1 is from the Petrie Collection at University College, London; its provenance is unknown. Textile No. 2, also acquired by Sir Flinders Petrie, from Kāw in Upper Egypt, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (No. T. 239-1923). We are most grateful to Professor S. R. K. Glanville for the facilities so kindly given for studying Textile 1, and to the authorities at the Victoria and Albert Museum for facilities given for study and permission to publish the photographs of Textile 2.

Textile No. 1

(University College, London)

This textile is made of wool throughout, with plain white warp, and weft in white and colours, *i.e.* blue, red, and a greenish yellow. The pattern is a geometrical one of octagons framing rectangles, with a filling of checks in the spaces between the octagons. The portion preserved has a selvedge on one side and measures 84 cm. at its greatest breadth.³ Of the other two sides, one is torn, but the other is intact in places and has a plaited border. In the photograph on Pl. x (front), the selvedge is to be seen on the left, the border below.

THE WEAVE

We were extremely fortunate in the abundance of the material, which permitted the dissection of a complete repeat of the design. From this dissection Mrs. Joyce Griffiths, of the Hull School of Art, made the plan and diagram shown in Fig. 1, with full directions for weaving as on a modern hand-loom. It will be seen that the weave is simple, repeating on four heddles. The warp, plain white, does not enter into the pattern at all. To obtain the pattern two wefts are used of different colours in alternate shoots. The weft of the colour

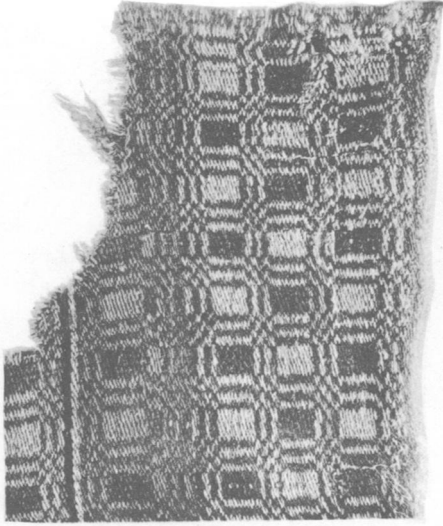
¹ A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles from Burying Grounds in Egypt*, II, Sect. VII, p. 71.

² 'Draw-loom, the loom used in figure weaving, in which the strings through which the warps are passed were pulled by a draw-boy.'—*O.E.D.*

³ This breadth was given by a very narrow ragged fragment which has now been removed and set aside for study; the portion now shown at University College has a breadth of 50 cm.

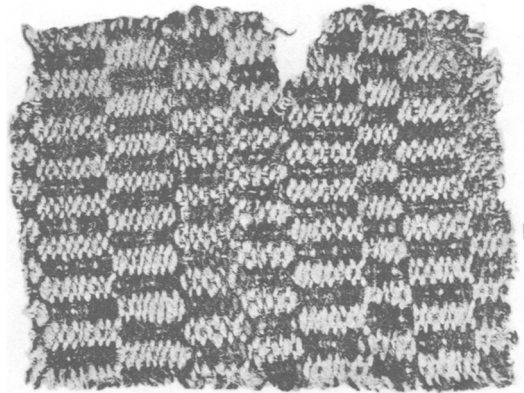


Front

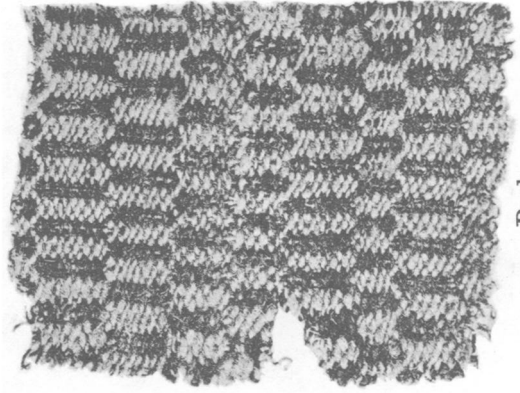


Back

TEXTILE NO. 1.
(Scale nearly 1 : 2).



Front



Back

TEXTILE NO. 2.
(Scale 1 : 1).

wanted for the pattern passing, as it usually does, over three warps while the unwanted one passes over only one, predominates on the front of the cloth, while the back is an exact reverse, the coloured weft unwanted at the front giving the pattern at the back. This is

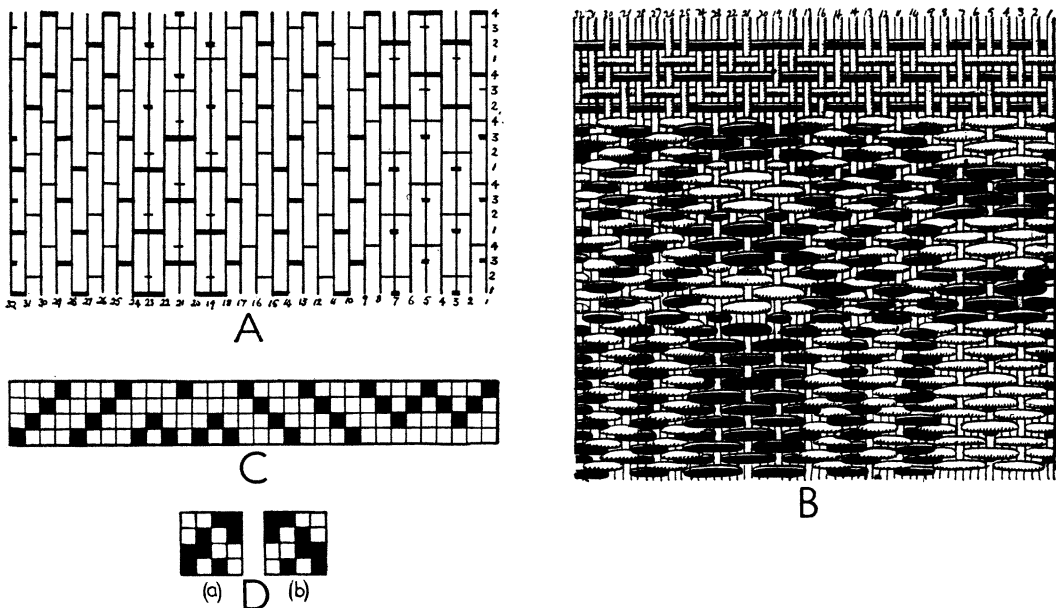


FIG. 1. Textile No. 1.

A: Plan of pattern. B: Diagram of the woven material. C: Entry or threading-up. D: Tie-up.

A. Pedal 1, 2, 3, 4, twelve times over for main central rectangles. Change to 2, 3, 4, 1, 2, 3, 4, four times for zig-zag part (checks &c.).

C. Entry = 1, 2, 3, 2, 1, 2, 3, 2, 1.
 4, 3, 2, 1, 4, 3, 2, 1.
 4, 3, 4, 1, 4, 3, 4.
 1, 2, 3, 4, 1, 2, 3, 4.

D. (a) Raise heddles, as for machine weaving; (b) lower heddles, as for hand-loom weaving. N.B.—Rod-heddles are raised.

(a) Pedal:	(b) Pedal:
1 = heddles 1, 2	1 = heddles 3, 4
2 = „ 1, 4	2 = „ 2, 3
3 = „ 2, 3	3 = „ 1, 4
4 = „ 3, 4	4 = „ 1, 2

Actual pedalling is shown on diagram A.

Warp is one colour. Weft in alternate shoots of a light and a dark colour. Warp 'sett' at 24 ends to the inch as stuff is now, probably 'sett' at 30 to the inch or thereabouts, allowing for shrinkage. As far as we can make out there are about 48 throws to the $\frac{1}{2}$ inch, *i.e.* 96 to the inch. The weft is right-spun, the warp left-spun.

ensured by using a loose weft and beating up hard, as for tapestry-weave. If only one weft is used, the result looks very like tapestry-weave. This is seen in our textile in the narrow, horizontal stripes between the bands of octagons, which may be all red, or all white, and so on, but which on dissection give the same repeats as the figured portions, and this is also the case with the broader band near the plaited border. When dissected, the border was found to consist of the looped ends of the warp, with four strands of three threads each twined through them, giving a chevron or plaited effect. This is identical with Beduin twined weave, so often used as a decoration on the borders of rugs or saddle-bags. Fig. 2

shows a diagram of the border on Textile 1, and below, Beduin twined weave, with two, or four strands for comparison with it. This border must be the breast-beam end of the warp, *i.e.* the beginning of the weaving, because the weaving is so close to the plait. It is impossible to weave a warp right up to the end; it can indeed be darned up to the end, but even in primitive practice it is more usual to leave the warp-ends to form a fringe. In this case darning is out of the question because the pattern-weave is carried right up to the plait; though there is a band in plain colour next to it, as already said, it is not in plain weave. This proves that we have here the beginning of the weaving, and consequently that the warp must have been looped over the breast-beam, or, if not the breast-beam itself, a rod attached to it. Laura Start came to a similar conclusion with regard to a linen textile in the Bankfield Museum, Halifax.¹ She describes the end of the cloth as 'made firm by a plaited edge which is worked by two groups of threads, six in each, by weaving them through the looped ends', and comments on these loops as showing that the warp-threads 'seem to have been looped over the beam as there are no ends'.

Warps made directly on the loom-beams, or on pegs and subsequently passed on to the beams, or a rod tied to the beams, are characteristic of primitive weaving in many lands. The rod-heddles, which are the usual accompaniments of such warps, are made on the warp after it has been placed in position on the beams. We cannot obtain absolute proof that Textile 1 had a warp of this class, for the piece is imperfect, and the warp-ends are missing, and even if present would probably not have been in loops, as the usual primitive practice is to cut the warp-ends to form a fringe; but one thing is certain, that the warp was not cut and passed through heddles to be tied on to the breast-beam as in our modern hand-loom. We have here something more primitive than that.

The question then arises at what moment the twined weave forming the border was put in. It may have been put in as a weft at the commencement of the weaving, to slip up into the loops when the web was finished and taken off the loom, or it may have been put in through the loops after the web was taken off. Experiments have been made with both methods, and we find that the first method is much easier and gives a neater finish.

Textile No. 2

(Victoria and Albert Museum, London.)

This textile (Pl. x) is in wool, the warp natural, the weft blue and red. The only piece preserved is small, and any dissection is therefore impossible; the work done was based mainly on the photographs. We find that it can be woven in the same kind of way as Textile 1 on four heddles; Mrs. Griffiths has made the diagram shown in Fig. 3, and has given full directions for the weaving.

THE WEAVE

The weave in both these textiles, having a pattern in reverse, gives the appearance of a double weave, but this is an optical illusion. In a given portion, for instance, the front will be white and the back blue, but the back colour, the blue, is actually present in front, concealed

¹ Laura E. Start, *Coptic Cloths (Bankfield Museum Notes)*, p. 27, Fig. 2b.

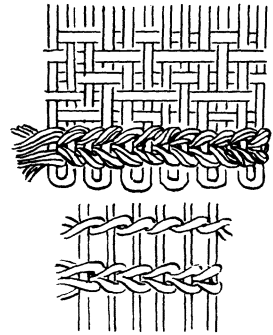


FIG. 2. Above: Textile No. 1: border in twined weave, showing the looped warp-ends. Below: Beduin twined weave.

under the white, and the white at the back under the blue. In a true double weave the unwanted colour would be on neither face, but floating in between.

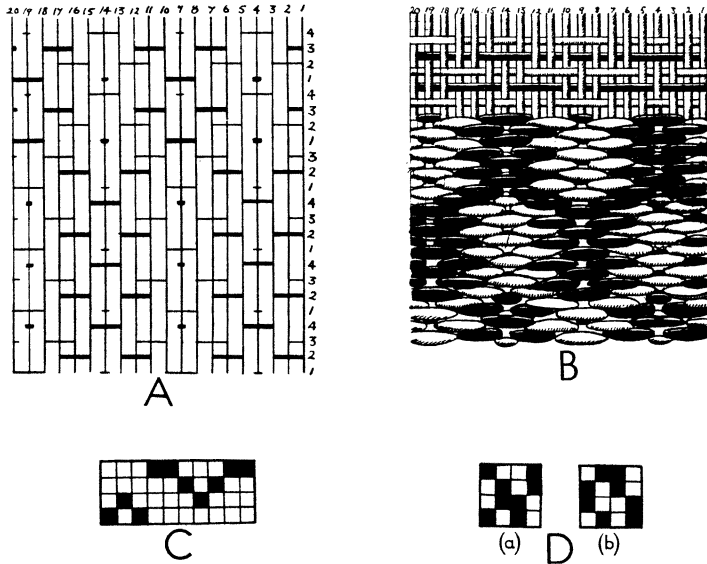


FIG. 3. Textile No. 2.

A: Plan of pattern. B: Diagram of woven material. C: Entry or threading-up (four heddles entered as follows: 1, 1, 2, 3, 2, 1, 1, 4, 3, 4). D: Tie-up: (a) for raising heddles; (b) for lowering heddles.

(a) Pedal:	(b) Pedal:
1 = heddles 1, 2	1 = heddles 3, 4
2 = „ 3, 4	2 = „ 1, 2
3 = „ 2, 3	3 = „ 1, 4
4 = „ 1, 4	4 = „ 2, 3

Pedalling in both (a) and (b) = 1, 2, 3, 4, until change of colour is desired, then pedal 1, 2, 3, missing out 4, and then continue as before. Warp one colour. Weft two colours thrown in alternate shoots.

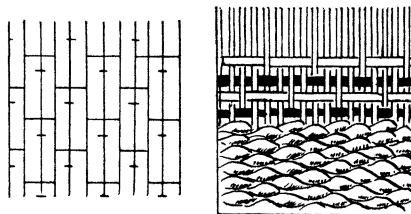


FIG. 4. Navaho two-faced weave.
(From *Navaho Weaving*, by C. A. Amsden. By kind permission of the author.)

It is interesting that exactly the same procedure is used in Navaho weaving to produce the famous two-faced blankets, the weave of which, so long kept secret, has at last been discovered and described.¹ A glance at the diagram of Navaho two-faced weave (Fig. 4) will show the similarity to the Coptic two-faced weave. It is produced on the simple Indian vertical loom by means of three rod-heddles and a shed-rod. But though the weave is so

¹ C. A. Amsden, *Navaho Weaving*, pp. 56-62 and Pl. 32. The problem of the weaving was first solved by Mr. F. K. Hinchman, of the South-West Museum.

similar the resulting textile is something quite unlike ours, Indian ingenuity being directed towards using the method to weave different patterns on the back and the front.

Other textiles in similar weave

NORWICH MUSEUM

There is a textile in Norwich from the Spurrell Collection which is almost identical with Textile 1. The weave, design, and colour are all similar, but it cannot be from the same piece, as the number of threads used in the patterns is different. As no selvedge or border is present, it throws no further light on the manner of weaving.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COLLECTION

Four fragments of textiles in the Michigan Collection from Karanis (Kōm Aushīm) in the Fayyūm district of Egypt are described by Miss L. Wilson as draw-loom weaves.¹ These are Nos. 16, 17, 18, and 19, the first three of which are figured on her Plate iii. No. 16 is a simple check, 17 has a design of oblongs and checks, 18 has lozenges alternating with hexagons. From the illustrations and description we think that these pieces are in a similar weave to that which we are studying here, and that Nos. 16 and 17 could be woven on four heddles and should not be classed as draw-loom weaves; 18 is more complicated and a decided opinion cannot be given on it.

When we discussed this matter with Mr. T. Midgeley of the Chadwick Museum, who made the catalogue of the Karanis textiles, he expressed the opinion that the simpler of these pieces could be woven on four heddles, and in a later letter, speaking of the more complicated pieces in the same class of weave, he was still averse to invoking the draw-loom to explain them. He said: 'In a design repeating with such frequency across what was apparently a considerable area of cloth it is more probable that advantage was taken of multiple heddles which could be worked with regularity and ease, rather than that so many special threads as are involved in some of these designs were pulled up by hand'.

Unfortunately the Karanis pieces are so small that not even one repeat of the pattern is given on any one of them, so that an exact draft could never be made from them. Yet these fragments are of great importance, for they are the first pieces in this two-faced weave that can, together with other interesting textiles found at Karanis, be 'dated with comparative certainty and exactness'. The textiles are not from graves, but from the rubbish of a town site which was in process of abandonment from the beginning of the fifth century A.D. The general dating is given by coins and papyri found in the small houses from which the scraps of textiles came. In Miss Wilson's work Textile No. 16 is given as with coins of A.D. 277-450, and Nos. 17, 18, 19 are classed as fourth century, or fifth century to 460. This dating is of importance because, as Miss Wilson points out, the presence of these textiles gives evidence for a more evolved loom than those known to have existed at the period.²

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

Fourteen pieces are listed in the official catalogue, and three of them are illustrated on Pls. xxiv, xxv. Mr. Kendrick assigns twelve of them to the fourth century, which agrees very well with the evidence from Karanis. Two he thinks may be later, fifth to sixth century.

¹ Lillian M. Wilson, *Ancient Textiles from Egypt: Collection in the University of Michigan*.

² *Op. cit.*, 13: 'Whatever their provenience these pieces and those of twill weaving establish a *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of the horizontal loom.'

These stuffs have been discussed by Mr. J. F. Flanagan,¹ who makes the interesting suggestion that in them we have the forerunners of Byzantine silks. He sees in them evidence for the use of the draw-loom method, but not in a well-developed form. 'In some examples', he says, 'it seems very elementary indeed, the repeating unit of the pattern being arranged on only a few warp threads'. We have shown that in the case of our two textiles the theory that they were made with the draw-loom is unnecessary, but the most important of the textiles studied by Mr. Flanagan is of a more complex nature. This is Cat. No. 537, Reg. No. 243-1890, Pl. xxv. It is a complete piece in brown and buff wool, with patterns of octagons with wavy borders surrounding a bird, and with rosettes in the spaces between the octagons, all in reverse. Both selvages are complete with fringes sewn to them, and the warp-ends are twisted into a cord as in a woollen textile at the Bankfield Museum, Halifax, described by Laura Start.²

A primitive feature of this cloth is that two small squares of purple tapestry are woven into it. Another peculiarity is that the cloth is woven sideways to the design, a feature seen in some other textiles of this class, as also often in Coptic tapestry-weave.

Dissection is out of the question in this perfect and complete piece, and certainly must wait on the possibility of some fragment like it or the other more highly-patterned pieces becoming available for intensive study.

Mrs. Griffiths has made what analyses she can from the fine photographs of the textile supplied by the Victoria and Albert Museum, and she considers the weave to be similar to that of the two textiles which form the subject of our article. While, however, she finds it possible to weave the octagons and borders on four heddles, she thinks that the birds must have been put in some other way, perhaps by some kind of draw-loom attachment. This attachment must have been of a most primitive kind, as the birds are not all alike, repeating differently throughout the length of the material. While, therefore, we have not solved the problem of this textile completely, we feel that we have carried the study a step farther in establishing its similarity to the four-heddle weave of Textile 1.

Patterns

The designs on all the pieces we have yet seen of this class of textile have a strong family likeness. They are all of a geometrical character—diapers of octagons, oblongs or rectangles, hexagons, fret ornaments, lozenges. Of these the octagons seem by far the most popular. In the finer pieces they frame designs of birds, lions, antelopes, or hounds; one has the octagons interlaced by bands with a rudimentary guilloche ornament. These patterns are extremely like those on Byzantine mosaics; the octagons in mosaics usually frame a great variety of animals and figures, while in the textiles we have a repetition of the same figures, but the likeness is unmistakable.

We can get no help from dating here, for this particular fashion in mosaic decoration extended over a long period, the earliest example we can cite being the newly discovered mosaic in the church at Bethlehem, believed to be of the time of Constantine, c. A.D. 332.³ This has a fine interlaced fret design, with octagons, one of which frames a cock with grapes, and another possibly a partridge. There are many other examples in the succeeding centuries.

The examples nearest to the design of Textile 1—octagons framing rectangles, with a

¹ J. F. Flanagan, *The Origin of the Draw Loom used in making Byzantine silk*, in *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 35 (1919), October, with Plate showing Textile No. 243-1890 (V. and A.).

² *Op. cit.*, 89. Textile E.G. 370.

³ William Harvey, *Structural Survey of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem* (1935), Fig. 102.

filling of checks—noted by Miss D. Crowfoot, are on mosaics at Aquileia of the sixth century A.D., and at Grado, and in the Synagogue of Bêt Alpha in Palestine.

The technique of the Coptic two-faced weaves

We have shown that the weave dissected out in Textile 1 can be reproduced on the modern horizontal hand-loom, with treadles and the aid of four heddles. Is this, then, a proof that such a loom was actually used for Textile 1? Or could it have been produced on a loom still more primitive than this, as is the Navaho weave?

It is quite conceivable that Textile 1 could have been made as in Navaho two-faced weave, by means of three rod-heddles and a shed-rod, on either of the ancient Egyptian looms, *i.e.* the horizontal ground-loom of the Twelfth Dynasty and earlier, or the vertical loom of the Nineteenth Dynasty, or further, on the Greek warp-weighted loom, all three of which must have been in use in Egypt in the early centuries A.D. The primitive character of the warp is in favour of a primitive loom. Against it and in favour of a more advanced loom we must set the regularity of repeats and changes for pattern, and the large size of the piece, which had, as we have said, a breadth of over 85 cm. More decisive than this is the presence in this class of weave of the more complicated textiles, some of which cannot be woven on four heddles, and for which some weavers would suggest the use of a larger number of heddles, while others think that parts of the pattern require the use of some form of draw-loom attachment. This points in our view to the use of a horizontal loom with treadles, for on this only can many heddles or a draw-loom attachment be used profitably. There is little to be gained by multiplying heddles unless they can be controlled by treadles. Primitive weavers rarely use many heddles; occasionally they use three, as in the case of the Navaho and other Indians, while up to six are used on the Mexican belt-looms. It is not impossible to use more, but it is difficult to manipulate many rod-heddles on the horizontal ground-loom, and still more difficult on the vertical loom. More often one sees a multiplication of shed- or laze-rods to achieve a complicated design, *e.g.* the Sea Dyak loom with five shed-rods, and the Manipur loom with twenty, both in the Pitt-Rivers Museum; even more are used on looms in Ceylon. Shed-rods are preferred because they can be easily inserted, taken out, and reinserted to continue or change the pattern as desired, tedious as such a procedure is. It is possible in these ways, and with the addition of finger technique, to produce all manner of patterns on primitive looms, but under such conditions all-over repeating patterns are naturally rare, and effort is expended rather on bands and borders.

These considerations incline us to think that the two-faced textiles were woven on a horizontal loom with treadles.

But if this was so, we must admit that in the case of Textile 1, and probably other pieces, the old method of warping persisted, and that heddles capable of being controlled by treadles were made upon the warp when in position on the beam. A possible type might have been the heddle still used on the pit-treadle looms of the Sudan and Upper Egypt. It is made of a double set of loops, an upper and a lower, the upper of which may be thought of as the original rod-heddle, the lower as a duplicate set added for the treadles.¹ This is speculative, but a probable step in the evolution of the loom in Egypt.

Dating and Provenance

The earliest occurrence of these textiles is given by M. Gayet, who found them used as cushions under the heads of 'portrait mummies' of the second and third centuries at

¹ Crowfoot, *Weaving and Spinning in the Sudan*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, April 1921, p. 33 and Fig. 7.

Antinoe.¹ Later we have the certain dating of the Karanis fragments to the fourth century A.D., to which century also Mr. Kendrick would assign most of the pieces at South Kensington. It would be extremely interesting if some comparison could be made between the earlier and the later pieces to see if there is any development in technique, but we have had no opportunity to study material in Paris or elsewhere abroad.

There is some disagreement as to whether these textiles should be regarded as Egyptian or as foreign importations. Mr. Flanagan, for instance, commenting particularly on the tapestry panels of delicate geometrical type which are woven into some of the figured wool materials in South Kensington, concludes that they are 'undoubtedly the work of an Egypto-Roman weaver'.² Miss Wilson, on the other hand, regards the Karanis fragments, on grounds of their technical excellence and rarity, as being of foreign origin.³

We hoped that we might find some definite support for one or other of these theories from an examination of the thread from which the textiles are woven. The thread of ancient Egyptian textiles is usually left-spun, a characteristic also of the spinning of the present day, both in Egypt and the Sudan, where the hand-spindle is still in use. That is to say, when the roll on the thigh is practised, the roll is from thigh to knee in spinning and vice versa in doubling, and this must have also been the fashion in antiquity. When working on the textiles from the tombs at Palmyra, however, M. Pfister found that the thread of the true purple and other Syrian woollens was right-spun.⁴ This method was noted by one of us at Palmyra recently, and also in Trans-Jordan, among the Beni Ḥasan and other weaving tribes, where the roll, when practised, is from knee to thigh in spinning and vice versa in doubling. This must have been the ancient Syrian fashion, as far as the evidence from Palmyra goes.

In our group of textiles we found only left-spun thread in the three South Kensington pieces (*i.e.* our Textile 2 and the two pieces with birds in octagons, T. 243-1890 and 5304-1890) while Textile 1, though it has a right-spun weft, has also a left-spun warp. The number of examples is here too small to give a conclusive result, but it does not seem to point to other than an Egyptian origin.

This origin would be certain (and, we may add, the date would be carried back to the first century) if these weaves could be identified with the *polymita* which according to Pliny were introduced in Alexandria.⁵ What *polymita* means is uncertain; it is sometimes translated 'many threads' or 'many leashes', but these translations seem meaningless, for all textiles have many threads and all heddles many leashes. We would suggest that the expression really means a material woven with 'many heddles'; the words *μίτος*, *μίτοι* are actually used for the heddle in Crete at the present day. We have already given reasons for thinking that a number of heddles implies the use of treadles, and Pliny may here have been recording a notable advance in weaving—the introduction of the treadle-loom in this part of the world, or the coming of 'foot-power' as Edward Worst calls it, which alone makes these repeating patterns easy to produce.

¹ Guimet, *Portraits*, Pl. iii.

² Flanagan, *op. cit.*, 172.

³ Wilson, *op. cit.*, 13.

⁴ R. Pfister, *Textiles de Palmyre*, 38, n., also *Nouveaux Textiles de Palmyre*, 39. The terms 'right-spun' and 'left-spun' are not used in the same sense by all writers. In this article 'left-spun' = 'S-twisted', and 'right spun' = 'Z-twisted'. (This designation of the twist direction by the letters S and Z, the central portions of these letters showing the direction of the twist, has been recently accepted in the textile industry, by international agreement.) We here use 'right-spun' in the same sense as one speaks of a right-handed screw.

⁵ Pliny, *N.H.*, 8. 196: 'Plurimis vero liciis texere quae polymita appellant Alexandria instituit.'

GRAECO-ROMAN LAMPS FROM EGYPT

BY F. W. ROBINS

No country has yielded so much material for the reconstruction of its ancient life as Egypt and, if pottery lamps of the native dynastic periods are conspicuous by their absence (or, more probably, unidentified), this fact is balanced by the enormous number of pottery lamps of the Ptolemaic and Roman epochs found in that area. A large number of these are lamps of typical and normal Greek and Roman forms, but an even larger number are more or less peculiar to Egypt in form and design, though presenting a wide diversity of both in their details.

Leaving aside the unmistakably Greek lamps (forms 21–47 of Walters's *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum*) and the true Roman lamps, the essentially Egyptian types may be broadly divided into two large groups—those approximating more or less closely to Greek types (forms 48–55, British Museum classification) and lamps of a more or less ovoid, convex-topped form of the 'frog motif' type and types approximating thereto. Both groups are usually without handles, a feature which, in the case of the later examples in particular, marks a divergence of development from most of the contemporary lamps of the Mediterranean areas, which, while losing the neat little ring-handle of the true Roman lamp, usually retain a stub-handle or thumb-piece at the back; this occasionally, but not often, appears in the Egyptian lamps.

The dating of the first group appears to be a matter of controversy. Sir Flinders Petrie, in *Roman Ehnasya*, 8–9, seems to regard the lamps of this group as, in some cases at least, later than the 'frog' types and as belonging generally to the third or fourth century A.D. The British Museum catalogue, on the other hand, classes some of them, especially the 'delphiniform' types, as definitely of the first century B.C. (pp. xxi–xxii). Taken on the whole, the evidence from the lamps themselves, apart from any question of their provenance or the associations of their discovery, seems to be more strongly on the side of the earlier than of the later dating. For instance, the nozzle forms of the group as a whole are distinctly Greek in style, being either lozenge-shaped (rarely), 'splayed' (a very typical Greek form which is common in these lamps), or with upturned circular orifices—shapes generally associated with the second and first centuries B.C. Certainly the persistence of the Greek nozzle in Egypt later than elsewhere is not impossible, but it would be rather remarkable, in view of the facts that it disappears after the earlier part of the first century A.D. in other parts of the Roman Empire and is not present in the ovoid, frog, and allied forms, in which, indeed, in most cases, there is no markedly projecting nozzle at all. Again, all these Greek forms of the first group have long or longish 'necks' leading to the nozzle or wick-hole itself, such as are more commonly associated with Greek than with Roman forms. Nor do the makers' marks appear on the more nearly Greek forms. On the other side of the case, there are one or two points which lend a certain amount of colour to the arguments for later dating. One is the fact that one form of lamp combines the frog motif with a projecting nozzle having a blunt terminal (though usually not so markedly Greek in form as the splayed and circular nozzles) and another is that, in rare cases (including one in the author's collection) such lamps have the stub- or thumb-handle which is a recognized sign of a comparatively

late lamp, not earlier than the third century A.D. (*e.g.* lamp No. 8 on Pl. 1, of Mond and Myers, *The Bucheum*). Taking everything into consideration, however, the author is inclined to the view that the majority of these lamps are Ptolemaic, though they may well have persisted side by side with the true Roman lamp well into the Christian era, just as the primitive saucer lamp appears in the Romano-Egyptian excavations in the Bucheum.

The second group may be more unreservedly ascribed to the third century A.D., with some later examples, as given by Petrie, *op. cit.*, 9, 10. This group is very distinctively Egyptian, with no parallels elsewhere, and whereas the lamps of the first group are usually red or black in colour those of the second are most commonly white or grey—though the hybrid frog type with semi-Greek nozzle already referred to is more usually in red ware.

Already, before the third century of our era, Egyptian lamp factories seem to have delighted in abnormal forms, a large proportion of the 'face' lamps of Roman date being from them¹ (Alexandria being suggested as a particular source), and it is possible that one of the commonest and most typical 'breakaways' of Roman Egypt was suggested, in the first instance, by the 'animal' lamps, inasmuch as some of these show an animal, not as the body of the lamp itself but in relief on the lamp (see the mouse example, Pl. xi, 20). Taking these as connecting-links (and bearing in mind that the 'face' lamps take the same course, as evidenced by three other lamps illustrated²—see especially the ovoid form like the 'frog' lamps) there is indicated a possible line of transition to the 'frog' type lamp, which Petrie, *op. cit.*, 10, attributes to the third century A.D. in the first instance. A possible objection to this reasoning is that Petrie dates the lamps showing the whole frog as later than the more numerous examples in which only the head and limbs are shown, *op. cit.*, 9. While it is true that a number of lamps of the 'whole frog' type may be comparatively late in the development of such lamps, the natural order of things seems to suggest that some examples of this complete representation, at any rate, preceded the conventional abbreviation. (The 'frog' lamps with the Greek connexions are, however, generally with part representations—sometimes the legs only—and these would appear to be early forms.) Incidentally, Petrie remarks, *op. cit.*, 9, that it is strange that the frog never has the mouth forming the wick-hole: this, however, is in line with most of the 'abnormal' face and animal lamps of the classical type, in which the spout or nozzle is almost invariably independent of the features.

Generally speaking, the frog lamps and their relatives are more or less ovoid in form, but the Greek spouted form already mentioned is roughly 'D' shape, with a short spout projecting from the straighter 'front' of the lamp. The lamps of this latter form are usually decorated with what Petrie, *op. cit.*, 10, describes as the 'corn' motif and constitute his 'frog and corn' group. The frog itself, as mentioned, *op. cit.*, 10, is usually taken to be an emblem of resurrection; might it not have been emblematic of the great river which was and is the very life-blood of Egypt?

Professor Petrie has drawn up, *op. cit.*, 5-7, a detailed classification of Romano-Egyptian lamps. Such a classification is not an easy matter with the numbers of differing but apparently contemporary types among the thousands of such lamps in existence (and the numerous 'crosses' in design and form); they are probably the commonest of all pottery lamps extant, not even excepting comparatively modern survivals of primitive forms. Petrie enumerates, in all, 25 groups (based on over a thousand examples) plus a number unclassified; excluding lamps which are, or approximate to, true Roman lamps or which show extraneous influence, the markedly Egyptian groups of his classification number sixteen.

¹ More than half the 'face' lamps of which the provenance is given in the British Museum catalogue are from Egypt.

² Pl. xi, Nos. 19, 22, and 23.

Even these, however, include a number of lamps of 'dolphin' (delphiniform) type which may belong to the Greek classification of Mr. Walters (*op. cit.*) but which Professor Petrie, as already stated, connects with types which he dates as third or fourth century B.C. With all due respect to so eminent an authority, the Petrie system of classification seems far from satisfactory, based as it is largely on decorative motifs, with the actual basic form of the lamp relegated, in many of the groups, to a secondary or even non-essential position and the form of the nozzle (generally a significant feature in detecting origins and dates) totally ignored. Such a system means that lamps of similar form are put into different groups and that some of the groups contain lamps of widely differing forms divorced from their relatives. It also runs completely counter to the methods adopted by Mr. Walters and by Herr Finck for Roman lamps (see the British Museum catalogue already quoted) and thus renders difficult any correlation of the classifications.

The author's first group is more or less covered by Petrie (who dates most of them to the fourth century A.D.) under his categories 'W' (Wreath)—some of his examples in this group being of true Roman form, 'K' (Echinus)—some of which, according to his illustrations in *Roman Ethnasya*, have the ovoid body of the frog type while others, the majority, are Greek in form, 'O' (Round-bodied), 'S' (Shouldered), 'V' (Delphiniform), 'U' (Radiate), and 'L' (Loop), groups 'S', 'V', and 'U' being fairly homogeneous. Most of the lamps have long nozzles and are in red ware or (less frequently) black. They have round or 'D'-shaped bodies and convex (domed) tops of late Greek style.

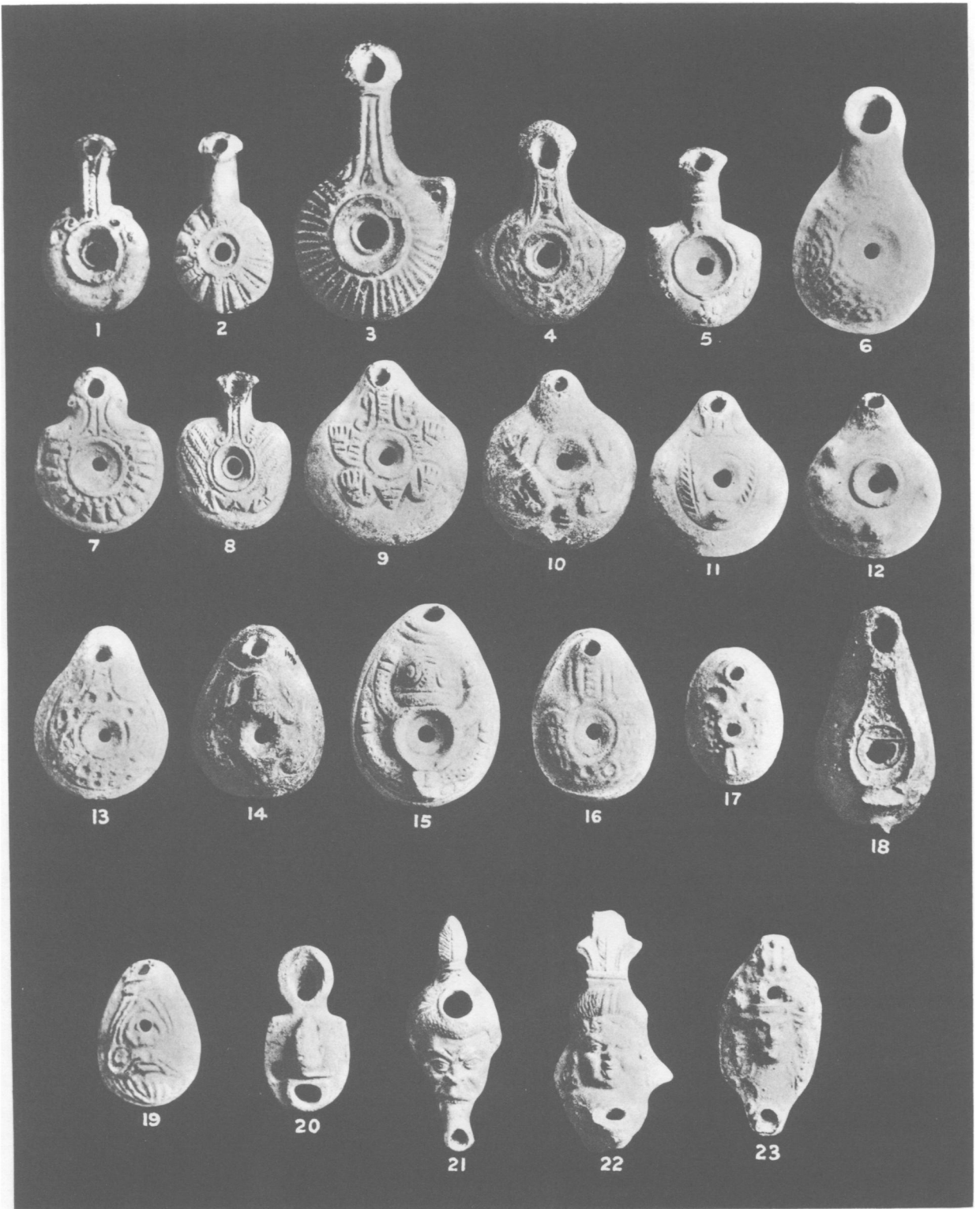
The author's second group covers lamps never found outside Egypt. It includes the frog type and a number of other lamps of similar general form (ovoid, with convex top), usually in a grey or drab clay. Professor Petrie classifies most of them under 'F' (Frog lamps), 'E' (frog and corn), 'D' (corn and palm), 'J' (joint types), 'A' (Arm), 'B' (Boss), 'Y' (Deep-cut) and 'X' (Ankh and Cross). The last-named usually have an incised cross of the 'Tau' type—a Coptic form which seems to be derived from a confusion or amalgamation of the cross and the old Egyptian 'ankh' symbol of everlasting life.

A third and late group covers a number of elongated pear- or shoe-shaped lamps with grooves to the nozzles, which are closely analogous to Syrian and Palestinian types but are usually rather narrower in proportion to their length than the latter. These are commonly in brown or red ware, unglazed. They are both later and less typically Egyptian than the first two groups.

With all diffidence, but bearing in mind the objections to the Petrie 'motif' method of classification, the author would venture to put forward the following alternative general classification for the typically Egyptian lamps of the Graeco-Roman era, illustrated on Pl. xi by specimens from his own collection. The numbers refer to the lamps shown on Pl. xi.

FIRST GROUP

- A. Flattish round body, long nozzle with splayed terminal. (Generally, Petrie's round-bodied types.) No. 1.
- B. Double convex body, long nozzle splayed at end. (Usually of the Petrie 'radiate' type lamp.) A very common form of the Greek group. No. 2.
- C. 'Delphiniform' lamp with single projection at side, double convex body, splayed nozzle. (This can be related to Walters's form 48.) No. 3.
- D. Flattish body, projection at each side, generally with splayed nozzle, often with 'wreath' motif. (Petrie's 'Spur' form.) No. 4.
- E. Flattish round body with 'shoulders' at end next to nozzle; nozzle splayed or plain. (Petrie's 'Shouldered' form.) No. 5.



GRAECO-ROMAN LAMPS.

- G. Pear-shaped double convex body, usually (but not invariably) with rounded nozzle. 'Echinus' motif, with palmette behind nozzle. No. 6.
- H. Shallow 'D'-shaped body, slightly convex top, round nozzle, with volutes. (Near-Roman). No. 7.

SECOND GROUP

- J. Double convex body (round) with a shorter nozzle (blunt ended) than the more purely Greek types. This form is usually, but not invariably, in red or brown ware. Generally, Petrie's 'frog and corn' motif group. No. 8.
- K. Flat 'flask'-shaped body, very little projection to spout, 'corn and palm', 'arm', and 'frog' motifs. No. 9.
- L. Rounder and deeper body than 'K', convex top, slightly projecting spout, 'frog' motif. No. 10.
- M. Similar shape, 'corn and palm' motifs, with knobs, on convex top. No. 11.
- N. Similar shape with knob ornament only. No. 12.
- O. Pear-shaped, no projection to nozzle, which is a simple hole at the narrow end. Sometimes with 'frog' motif. No. 13.
- P. Ovoid, no projection to nozzle, 'frog', 'corn and palm' motifs. Very numerous. No. 14.
- Q. Ovoid, with raised rim around filling-hole, and stub-handle behind latter. Petrie's 'Ankh and Cross' type but also includes deep-cut examples with frogs. No. 15.
- R. Narrow ovoid form body, no projection to spout. Decoration includes degenerate frogs, faces, and other motives. No. 16.
- S. Quite oval form of body, double convex, no projecting spout, no decoration except for 'C'-shaped ridges near nozzle which may be crude attempts to copy volutes. No. 17.

THIRD GROUP

- T. Usually almond form, handled, groove to nozzle. A late type running up to the seventh or eighth century A.D., and connecting with types from Syria, etc. No. 18.

REGISTRATION OF A CHIROGRAPH OF SALE (P. HARR. 143)

BY H. I. BELL

P. HARR. 143 is described by the editor of the volume as 'Portion of the beginning of a lease of land'. It is clear, however, from the formulae (*e.g.* l. 11 and particularly *πεπρα*. [in l. 15) that it is not a lease but a sale. Searching for parallels which might help to complete in some degree the very imperfect text, I have noted some obvious emendations or restorations which it seems worth while to record here. Several points remain very obscure (for me), though it is possible that longer consideration or a more extended search would elucidate these also. The following notes may nevertheless be useful, though they make no pretence to be a final treatment of a document which is of greater interest than appears at first sight.

The editor does not assign the papyrus to any particular reign, but what is left of the dating clause shows that the Emperor was Diocletian. The lines were clearly long, but to insert the name of Maximian would make their length unusually great. Probably, therefore, the date may be taken as the first year, before Maximian was associated with Diocletian in the Empire; and very possibly neither of the titles *Βρεταννικοῦ Μεγίστου Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου* occurred. To supply the usual formula of date and place in l. 1 requires 89 letters in the final lacuna, exclusive of the month date. *λαμπρᾶ*, *λαμπροτάτη*, and *Ἰξυρυγχιτῶν* may have been abbreviated, but it seems unsafe to reckon with less than 80 letters in the final lacuna of each line; more probably the average length is to be taken as from 90 to 100. The letters required in l. 2 number, indeed, only 33, but no doubt this was a short line, ending the prescript, while the body of the document began with a new line, l. 3.

I have called the document a sale, but strictly speaking it appears to be not this but the *ἐκμαρτύρησις* of a chirograph of sale, like P. Oxy. 1208, 1562. With the former of these two papyri it may have a closer kinship than its legal nature. It refers to the same place, and there are sufficient resemblances of nomenclature to suggest that the parties to the two documents belonged, at least in part, to the same family or families. It must be confessed, however, that my hypothesis of an *ἐκμαρτύρησις* cannot be regarded as absolutely certain while ll. 4-7 remain so obscure. The formulae must, apparently, have differed in some degree from those in the two parallel documents; in particular there seems to be insufficient room in l. 5 for the clause *ἦς μοναχὸν ἀυθεντικὸν κτλ.*, which I have accordingly omitted in my specimen transcript below, but which does not seem to be an indifferent part of the formula.

In an *ἐκμαρτύρησις* the purchaser's is the first personal name to be looked for. The vendors in this case were Thonis and Isidorus (l. 15). The purchaser's name occurs in l. 3 but is obscured in the edition by a failure to divide the name from the patronymic. The editor, after *Θαπρηῆτος*, reads *διαλλ*[, which is obscure as it stands. Perhaps the purchaser, though not described as a minor, was represented by a proxy, and I would tentatively suggest *δὲ Ἄλλ[οῦτος*. The four following lines are obscure to me. Somewhere in them must come the beginning of the copy of the chirograph. I would suggest, hesitatingly, that it be looked for at the end of l. 5. In l. 4 *Ἡσμ[ί]ου*, read by the editor, is a most unconvincing name. Is it possible that it conceals the formula *ἦν π[ρ]ο[ε]θέντο*? Or are we to suppose that the docu-

ment was framed on somewhat different lines from the two referred to and that ἡς π[ρ]οέ[θεντο] . . . ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται is to be read? Further, I have thought of no convincing explanation (though hypotheses of a kind might be advanced) for the accusative πατέρα Ἄριον in l. 4; and finally it is unusual to find υἱός (l. 5) or πατρός (l. 7).

I give below a tentative restoration of so much of the document as seems reasonably clear. The wording of such deeds, especially at this period, varies considerably, particular phrases being inserted or omitted at the caprice of the writer, and my supplements must be regarded, in most cases, merely as indicating the probable sense, in no way as an attempt to reproduce the actual wording. I have indicated by κτλ. passages in which it seems hazardous to make any definite suggestion.

TEXT

¹[Ἔτους πρώτου Αὐτοκ]ράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλ[ερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ (month) ἐν τῇ ἀγυῖᾳ ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὁξυρρυγχιτῶν πόλει ²ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου Ἀγαθεῖνου τοῦ καὶ Ὀριγένους ἀσχολουμ[ένου ὠνήν ἀγορανομείου καὶ μνημονείου. ³Ὁμολογεῖ Αὐρήλιος] Ἀμοῦνις Ἀρίου μητ(ρὸς) Θατρήτος δι' Ἀλλ[οῦτος(?) κτλ. ἐκμαρτυρεῖσθαι τῷ ἑαυτοῦ τιμῆματι κτλ. ⁴(c. 15 letters) π]ατέρα Ἄριον Πανασίριος ἦν(?) π[ρ]οέ[θεντο(?) αὐτῷ Αὐρήλιοι Θῶνις κτλ. ⁵(c. 13 letters) Διο]νυσίου υἱὸς ὁ καὶ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων ἐπικ[εκλημένος ἀπὸ κώμης Πακέρκη ιδιόγραφον πράσιν (date), ἡς ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται. Αὐρήλιοι Θῶνις ⁶τοῦ δέινος μητ(ρὸς) Τα]βήτος ἀπὸ κώμης Πακέρκη τῆς [μέ(σης) το(παρχίας) τοῦ Ὁξυρρυγχιτοῦ νομοῦ καὶ Ἰσίδωρος κτλ. ⁷(c. 16 letters)] πατρὸς Διδύμου Σαραπίωνος κατ[κτλ. δι' Ἀλλοῦτος(?) ⁸τοῦ δέινος μητ(ρὸς) Τα]μονοῦτος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. ὄμ[ολογοῦμεν(?) πεπρακέναι σοι καὶ παρακεχωρηκέναι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἡμῖν ⁹περὶ κώμην Πακέρ]κην ιδιωτικῆς ἄρουραν μίαν ἡμισυ [ἡς γείτονες κτλ., τιμῆς τῆς ¹⁰αὐτῆς ἀρούρας μίας ἡ]μίσιους τῶν συμπεφωνημένῃν (sic) πρ[ὸς ἀλλήλους δραχμῶν x, ἃς αὐτόθι ἀπέσχομεν παρὰ σοῦ διὰ ¹¹χειρὸς ἐκ πλήρου]ς. κρατῖν οὖν (σε) καὶ κυριεύειν σὺν ἐκγό[νοις καὶ τοῖς παρὰ σοῦ μεταλημφομένοις τῆς προκειμένης ἀρούρας μίας ἡμίσιους, ἣν παρεξόμεθα σοι καθαρὰν ἀπὸ τε γεωργίας ¹²βασιλικῆς καὶ οὐσια]κῆς γῆς καὶ παντὸς εἴδους καὶ ἀπὸ ὀφιλ[ῆς καὶ κατοχῆς πάσης δημοσίας τε καὶ ιδιωτικῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ ἄλλων τελουμένων δημοσιῶν καὶ ἐπικλασμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ ¹³μερισμῶν παντοίων εἴ]ως τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτο[ς πρώτου ἔτους, πάντα δὲ τὸν καθ' οἷον δῆποτε τρόπον ἐπελευσόμενον ἢ ἐμποησόμενον τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρούρας μίας ἡμίσιους ἢ οἴου ¹⁴δῆποτε μέρους αὐτῆ]ς ἐπάναγκες ἀπ[οστή]σομεν παραχρήμα τ[αῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν (or ἑαυτῶν) δαπάναις καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. Κυρία ἢ πρᾶσις κτλ. ¹⁵(c. 16 letters)] Αὐρ(ήλιοι) Θῶνις καὶ Ἰσίδωρος πεπράκ]αμεν καὶ παρακεχωρήκαμεν κτλ.

NOTES

1. If Λα was written for ἔτους πρώτου, and Αὐρηλίου in l. 2 and Αὐρήλιος in l. 3 were abbreviated, the initial lacunae throughout are smaller, and certain words supplied at the beginnings of lines must be moved to the ends of the preceding lines. Again, if ἐν τῇ ἀγυῖᾳ was omitted and λαμπρ/ καὶ λαμπρ/ Οξ' πόλει was written, room could be found for Βρεταννικοῦ Μεγίστου Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου or one of these titles.

7. Not κατ[οίκου, since the document is from Oxyrhynchus.

8. ὄμ[ολογοῦμεν: ed. ἀμ[φότεροι. If the latter is right the formulae of sale must be shortened.

11. The parallels suggest βεβαίαν καὶ καθαρὰν, but this would make the line rather long.

12. ὑπὲρ ἄλλων (see P. Oxy. 1208, 21) is not a necessary supplement.

14. ἀπ[οστή]σομεν: this seems certain; ed. ἀπ[οδώ]σομεν.

TRANSLATION

[First year of Impe]rator Caesar Gaius Aurelius Val[erius Diocletianus Pius Felix Augustus, (*month*), in the street, in the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, before Aurelius Agath]inus also called Horigenes, lessee [of the agoranomeion and mnemoneion. Aurelius] Amounis son of Arius, his mother being Thatres, [acknowledges] through All[ous(?) . . . that he deposes at his own valuation . . .] father, Arius son of Pausiris, to the [autograph contract of sale, (*date*)], which [the Aurelii Thonis . . .] son of Dionysius also called Agathos Daimon [of the village of Pakerke] concluded(?) [with him, a copy of which is appended. We, Aurelius Thonis son of *X*, his mother being Ta]bes, of the village of Pakerke in the [middle toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome and Aurelius Isidorus . . .] father, Didymus son of Sarapion, [. . . through Allous(?) son of *X*, his mother being Ta]monous, of the same city. We acknowledge(?) [that we have sold and ceded to you from now for all time the] one and a half aroura of private land [belonging to us in the village of Paker]ke, [the boundaries of which are . . . , the price of the said one and a] half [aroura] being the [*x* drachmas] mutually agreed be[tween us, which we have received herewith from you in full, in hand down.] You shall therefore possess and own [the aforementioned one and a half aroura] with your descendants [and successors, and we will warrant it free from the cultivation of royal and usiac] land and every category and from [all] debt [and lien, public and private, and from all public dues and requisitions and quotas paid for other purposes] up to and including the present [first year. And whosoever shall in any way whatsoever proceed against or lay claim to the said one and a half aroura or any part of it whatsoever] we will of necessity and at once repel [at our own costs, as if in consequence of a legal decision. The sale is valid . . .] We Aurelius Thonis and Aurelius Isidorus have sold [and ceded . . .

THE SCORPION IN GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

By MARCUS N. TOD

In the inscriptions and papyri of Graeco-Roman Egypt we find repeated references to the danger presented to health, and even to life itself, by the scorpions which infested the country at that period¹ and are by no means negligible at the present day. These references seem to me to be worth collecting, all the more so because none of them is mentioned in the detailed and interesting article which Steier has recently devoted to the scorpion in the ancient world, its diffusion, its varieties, its place in popular belief, and its representations in ancient art (*PW*, III A, 1801–10).

(1) Among the Greek mummy-labels preserved in the Egyptian Department of the State Museums at Berlin is one, edited by F. Krebs (*ZAS* 32 (1894), 47, No. 36; cf. G. Lefebvre, *BCH* 27 (1903), 370–1, P. Perdrizet, *Rev. ét. anc.* 23 (1921), 283) and subsequently by F. Preisigke (*SB*, 1209), recording the death of a certain Apollonius from the sting of a scorpion.

Ἀπολλώνιος Εὐ|σεβοῦς μητ(ρός) Τάμιτος | ἐτελεύτησεν ὑπὸ σκορπίου | ἐν τῇ νήσῳ
Ἀπολιναριάδος.

‘Apollonius, son of Eusebes and Tamis, died by a scorpion in the island of Apolinarias.’

(2) A second, somewhat similar record is engraved on a limestone stela found in the Christian necropolis of Tehneh (Acoris). It was published by G. Lefebvre, first in *BCH* 27 (1903), 370, No. 101, and later in his *Recueil des inscr. gr.–chrét. d’Égypte*, 120, and was assigned by him to the fifth or sixth century A.D. He states (*Recueil, loc. cit.*) that it is in the Museum at Alexandria, but I can find no trace of it in E. Breccia’s *Iscrizioni greche e latine*.

Αὐρ. Ἀμμ|ώνιον κρου|στὶς ὑπὸ σ|κορπίου ἤρ||⁵πάτη. Εὐ|φύχι.

‘Aurelius Ammonius was carried off, struck by a scorpion. Be of good cheer!’

The engraver, or his patron, was illiterate and also careless. Ἀμμώνιον must stand for Ἀμμώνιος and κρουστὶς for κρουσθεὶς, for I cannot accept Lefebvre’s view that Κροῦστις is the name of Ammonius’ father or mother, nor yet the alternative proposal of κρούστις (κρούστης, *crustarius*, mosaicist) put forward by P. Perdrizet (*Rev. ét. anc.* 13 (1911), 234; 23 (1921), 283), who compares the death of a lion-hunter by a scorpion’s sting commemorated by Agathias in *Anth. Pal.* vii, 578. Ἡρπάτη, too, must represent ἡρπάσθη ἡρπάχθη, or ἡρπάγη, ‘was carried off’. Ἀρπάζω is frequently used in metrical epitaphs to describe a sudden and tragic death, especially in youth, as in *IG* v. 1. 733:

μοῖρα γὰρ οὐδὲ γονὴν οὐλομένη πόρε μοι,
ἀλλὰ με νηλειῶς τρισσῶν ἡρπαξεν ἀδελφῶν
μητρός τε γλυκερῆς κουριδίης τ’ ἀλόχου,

(‘For accursed fate did not even grant me offspring, but cruelly carried me off from my three brothers and my sweet mother and my wedded wife’),

¹ In his study of the light thrown on Egypt by the astrological literature F. Cumont draws a vivid picture of the insecurity of life in the country, and calls attention to the frequency in the relevant texts of such words as *θηριόβρωτος*, *θηριόπληκτος*, and *θηριόδηκτος* (*L’Égypte des Astrologues*, 61).

or *ibid.* 1186. 1:

πέντε [σ]ε καὶ δέκ' ἐτῶν ὁ βαρὺς μίτος ἤρπασε Μοι[ρῶ]ν,

(‘Fifteen years old, the Fates’ grievous thread of destiny carried thee off’),

or in ll. 11–12 of the same collection of epigrams (*cf.* also l. 18):

Ἄτταλον ἀκμάζοντα κα[λ]ὸν καὶ χρηστὸν ἔφηβον
ἤρπασεν ἡ ταχυνὴ Μοῖρα πρὸς ἀθανάτους.

(‘Swift Fate carried off to the immortals Attalus in his prime, a fair and good youth.’)

With the use of the word κρούω to describe the action of the scorpion we may compare Aelian’s account in *Hist. Anim.*, IX, 4: εἶναι μὲν τὸ φάρμακον καὶ τίκτεσθαι ἐνταῦθα, ἅμα δὲ τῇ κρούσει προῖεναι διὰ τοῦ κέντρου καὶ ἐκρεῖν (‘There the poison resides and is produced, but when the blow is delivered it proceeds through the sting and is emitted’).

(3) In his commentary on No. 1 Krebs edited (*loc. cit.*) a sandstone stela with rounded top, found at Abydos and mentioned by Letronne (*Recueil*, I, 112); it also is in the Egyptian Department of the State Museums at Berlin (No. 2134). The script is ‘careless and sloping’. It belongs to a much earlier date than No. 2 and gives us a fuller account of a death similarly caused.¹

Κλεοπάτρας Μένωνος. | Πολυστεσάτη χαῖρε, | ἀκλ[εῶ]ς καὶ ἀκρίτως | βιαίωι θανάτωι
ἀπο||⁵ λωλυῖα, ἀναξί[ω]ς τῆς χρη|στότητος· πληγείσα γὰρ | ὑπὸ σκορπίου ἐν τῶι πρὸς
τῶι | ὄρει Θριπιείωι τῆι δεκάτῃ | τοῦ Θωῶθ τοῦ (ἔτους) λη’ ||¹⁰ ὥρας ε’, μετήλλασε
τῆι ια’.

(‘Tomb of Cleopatra, daughter of Menon. Farewell,, thou who hast perished ingloriously and indiscriminately by a violent death, unworthily of thy goodness; for stung by a scorpion in the sanctuary of Thripis by the hill on the tenth day of Thoth in the 38th year at the 5th hour, she passed away on the 11th.’)

Krebs wrote *Κλεοπατρῶς Μένωνος πολυστεσάτη*, regarding *Κλεοπατρῶς* as a nominative or a vocative; I prefer with Preisigke, who republished the text without comment in *SB*, 1267, and with Zingerle (see below) to interpret it as a genitive, though I am tempted to write *Κλεοπάτρα{ς}*. Cleopatra was stung by a scorpion at the fifth hour on the tenth day of Thoth in the 38th year (almost certainly, to judge by the character of the writing, of Augustus’ reign), *i.e.* on September 7, A.D. 8, and died on the following day.² The rapidity with which the poison did its work perhaps intensified the tragedy, for according to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, XI, 25. 86) scorpions *lenta per triduum morte interficiunt*, though Aelian reports (*Hist. Anim.*, X, 23) that the sting of a particularly large and venomous species found in the neighbourhood of Coptos was immediately fatal, ὄντων σκορπίων ἐνταῦθα μεγέθει μὲν μεγίστων πληγῆ δὲ δξύτατων πείρα γε μὴν σφαλερωτάτων (παίσαντες γὰρ ἀναιροῦσι παραχρήμα). Pliny maintains (*loc. cit.*) that for maidens the sting was invariably and for women generally fatal, but that men died only if stung in the early morning, when the poison is at its full strength.

¹ With characteristic promptitude and courtesy Prof. G. Klaffenbach has answered my questions about this text, himself made a transcript of it, and secured for me a photograph of the stone; to him and to the Museum authorities I tender my warmest thanks. The transcript and photograph show ἀναξί[ω]ς in l. 5 instead of Krebs’s ἀναξίως, and μετήλλασε in l. 10 instead of μετήλλαξε, while they confirm the conclusion I had formed in the light of the evidence collected below, that πληγείσα, not πλαγείσα, was written in l. 6; part of the right-hand vertical stroke of the H is still plainly discernible.

² So Krebs. P. Perdrizet (*Rev. ét. anc.* 23 (1921), 284) holds that τῆι ια’ (l. 10) = τῆι ἐνδεκάτῃ (*sc.* ὥραι), and that death occurred within six hours: this is attractive, but the change of case is somewhat against it.

J. Zingerle has recently discussed this inscription afresh (*Jahreshefte* 30 (1936-7), *Beiblatt*, 143-5: cf. *Suppl. Epigr. Graec.* 8 (1938), 807). He thinks that *πολυσεστάτη* (l. 2), of which Krebs offered no explanation and in which Perdrizet (*Rev. ét. anc.* 23 (1921), 284) saw a corruption of *πολυπαθεστάτη*, is intended to represent *πολυτελεστάτη*,¹ and he offers (note 13) numerous examples of similar errors. In l. 8 he would substitute *θρικγγ>{ι}είωι* for the *Θριπιείωι*² of Letronne, Krebs, Perdrizet, and van Herwerden (*Lex. suppl.*² 675, 1480), but this proposal must, I think, be rejected, despite the impressive array of examples adduced to illustrate the confusion of *ΓΓ* and *Π* by ancient stonemasons and the insertion of a parasitic *ι*. It is true that the word *Θριπιείων* does not occur elsewhere, but the reading is clear and the meaning unmistakable. 'Das *Θριπιείων*', commented Krebs, 'ist ein Heiligtum der neben dem Gotte Min in Panopolis verehrten Göttin Tripe', and this view has been accepted without question by Perdrizet and van Herwerden. The formation of the word is exactly analogous to that of *'Ανουβιείων*, *'Απιείων*, *Βουβασιείων*, *'Ισιείων*, *Σαραπιείων*, for which I refer to Preisigke's *Wörterbuch*, III, 256 ff. The character of the goddess is, it must be admitted, little known. Thus A. Erman wrote: 'This latest national belief is a sealed book to us, and only too often we are ignorant which of the gods it is who is concealed under all the new names and forms we meet with. Who for instance is Thripis?' (*Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, Eng. trans., 224-5). Yet of her existence and her cult we can have no doubt. Preisendanz's brief article in Roscher's *Lexikon*, v (1922), 1126, mentions only two occurrences of the name—(a) *Θρίφιδι θεᾶ [μ]εγίστη* (*CIG*, 4711) engraved on the epistyle of a temple dedicated in A.D. 21 by one who is described as *προστάτη[s] Θρίφιδος*, and (b) [*προστάτη*]s? *Τρίφιδος καὶ Πανὸς θεῶν μεγίστων* (*CIG*, 4714), also on a temple-epistyle bearing the date May 10, A.D. 109. But two more might have been added, namely, (c) a dedication, dated 138-137 B.C., of a temple at Ptolemais (Lefebvre, *Ann. Serv.* 13 (1914), 216, Bilabel, *SB*, 6184; now in the Cairo Museum), of which l. 8 runs thus: *Θρίπιδι Κολάνθα Πανὶ θεοῖς συννάοις τὸ ἱερόν*, and (d) an entry in the 'Casati Papyrus', col. 42, l. 2, also dating from the second century B.C., *Ἔωρος παστο(φόρος) Θρίπιδος* (Brunet de Presle, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, 18 (1865), 148). Zingerle's objections to *Θριπιείωι* are, in my judgement, far from convincing. That the form *Θρίπις* is new, as he asserts (though he admits that this argument carries no weight), is disproved by (c) and (d); that our inscription does not come from Panopolis or its vicinity, as do (a) and (b), is quite inconclusive in view of the discovery of (c) at Ptolemais; the plea that 'even if one is to allow to this obscure local goddess a cult-centre at some other place, this did not require a more precise localization by the addition *ἐν ὄρει*' (the stone has, as a matter of fact, *πρὸς τῶι ὄρει*) presupposes a knowledge of local conditions such as we do not possess; and the claim that 'we shall surely prefer to picture to ourselves the occurrence of the disaster in the open country rather than in a sanctuary, so that instead of the name of a temple we must expect a local appellative' and that 'we have thus won a scene more suitable than a temple to the peculiar nature of the event' leaves me amazed and sceptical. For me there is no difficulty in believing that a scorpion might lurk even within temple precincts, and the poignancy of the simple narrative is heightened if it was in a temple, perhaps in the very act of worship, that the death-blow was received. Our minds go back to Aelian's account (*Hist. Anim.*, x, 23) of how at Coptos the peculiarly large and virulent scorpions scrupulously refrain from molesting the women who gather there for the cult of Isis. Could not Thripis afford a similar protection to her votaries?³

¹ In a letter Freiherr F. Hiller von Gaertringen suggests *Πολυστε(φε)στάτη* as possible.

² Zingerle's *Θριπιείωι* is, I think, a typographical error.

³ For Thripis see further G. Steindorff, *ZÄS* 28 (1890), 52-3; for the view that the name *Τρυφιδώωρος* is a corruption of *Τριφιδώωρος*, derived from this goddess, cf. C. C. Charitonides, *Ἀθηνά* 15 (1903), 449-51.

So to me *Θριπιέωι* still seems the true reading. No one would deny the valuable services rendered by Zingerle to the restoration and interpretation of many inscriptions; but here, and not here alone,¹ he appears to me to have fallen a victim to his own characteristic ingenuity and his extraordinary knowledge of the morbid pathology of the ancient engravers. That these were capable of gross and frequent errors is incontrovertible,² but it is a sound principle not to tamper with the text of an inscription which as it stands makes good sense.

But we must return to our scorpions. The Egyptians devised various precautions against them (*cf.* Aelian, *Hist. Anim.*, x, 23, *μηχανὰς μυρίας ἐς τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν φυλακὴν μηχανωμένων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων*, and the more detailed account of the measures taken by the Libyans in vi, 23) and used divers remedies to lessen the effects of the sting once suffered; these are discussed by Steier (*PW*, IIIA, 1807–8) and I need not here repeat what he has said. But in a magic-ridden land it was inevitable that recourse should be had to charms and exorcisms and similar means of averting the danger, and of these the papyri have preserved some examples.

(4) Most important among these is a 'Christian' amulet, written in clear uncial script on a small sheet of papyrus measuring 10×16 cm. It was bought in Cairo by S. Eitrem, who published it in 1922 with a full commentary and an excursus by A. Fridrichsen on its theological aspects in *Forhandlingar i Videnskapsselskapet i Kristiania*, 1921, No. 1, 1–31 (with a photograph). It was re-edited by F. J. Dölger in *IXΘΥΣ*, II, 510–11, by Eitrem in *Aeg.* 3 (1922), 66–7, by C. Wessely in *Patrol. Orient.* 18 (1924), 422–3, by Eitrem again in *Papyri Osloenses*, I (1925), 21, No. 5, by F. Bilabel in *SB*, 6584, and by K. Preisendanz in *Papyri graecae magicae*, II, 190–1, No. 3, and was discussed by E. Peterson in *Byz.-neugr. Jahrb.* 4 (1923), 135, by U. Wilcken in *Archiv* 7 (1924), 113, and by K. F. W. Schmidt in *GGA* 189 (1927), 463. It is now preserved in the University Library at Oslo. I give only that portion of the text which is immediately relevant to the present study.

ΧΜΓ. | Ωρωρφωρφωρ Ἰαὼ Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωναὶ Ἐλωὲ Σαλαμανταρχι. | Δέννω σε, Σκορπιέ Ἀρτεμισίε τίε· διαφύλαξον τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον | μετὰ τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ, ἀπὸ βασκοσύνης ||⁵ πάσης ἀερίνων πνευμάτων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνου ὀφθαλ[μοῦ] | καὶ πόνου δεινοῦ [καὶ] δήγματος σκορπίου καὶ ὄφεως διὰ τὸ | ὄνομα τοῦ ὑψίστου Θεοῦ κτλ.

'(Christ was born of Mary.) Ororphorphor Iao Sabaoth Adonai Eloë Salamantarchi. I bind thee, Scorpion of Artemis 315. Preserve this house with those who dwell therein from all evil, from all witchery of aerial spirits and the human eye and dreadful pain and bite of scorpion and of snake for the name of God most High, etc.'

In two points only does the reading present difficulties. At the end of l. 2 Eitrem first read *ιρχ.*, which he took to be the name of Christ reversed. Bilabel read Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστέ) and Wessely *Σαλαμάνι ἀρχ(άγγελε)*, both of which Eitrem declined to accept; he regarded with greater favour H. Diels's suggestion of *τύχι*, which won also Wilcken's support. As a matter of fact, none of these proposals is acceptable, as is shown by the three charms given below as Nos. 6–8. All these contain in a similar position a name *Σαλαματαρχε*

¹ Two other examples will be found in *Suppl. Epigr. Graec.* 8. 438c, 760.

² I take this opportunity of mentioning two Greek inscriptions from Egypt in which there may be corruptions due to metathesis, a frequent source of error. The curious name *Κύντος* engraved on the second pylon at Girgeh in the Great Oasis (*Suppl. Epigr. Graec.* 8 (1938), 795a 9) may possibly represent *Κυντός*, and the puzzling *ΣΩΔΕΜΑ* of a metrical epitaph from Cairo (*ibid.*, 502a 9) may be a corruption of *σῶμα δέ* rather than of *σὸν δέμας*, as proposed by G. Arvanitakis.

(*Σαλαμανταρχχει*, [*Σαλα*]μαρθαχι), so that in the Oslo amulet we may confidently read *Σαλαμανταρχι*, or possibly, as appears in Eitrem's final edition, *Σαλαμάν Ταρχι*.

The other problem is raised by the *τιε* of l. 3. Eitrem first read this as *τΤε* and regarded it as an abbreviation of some epithet such as *T(αρ)τ(άριε)ε* or *τ(εράσ)τ(ι)ε*. V. Dobschütz suggested (*ap. Eitrem, Aeg., loc. cit.*) that it might be a shortened form of the Coptic **πιογτε** = **ὁ Θεός**. Wilcken, rightly reading *τιε* (with a horizontal bar above the letters), dubiously proposed *τι(μιώτατ)ε*, while mentioning in a footnote Wessely's view that in *τιε* we have a number (315), used to represent the total numerical value of the component letters of some magical name; he cites the Paris Magical Papyrus 937-8: *κρατῶν ψήφον γχξγ' ἐπὶ μασθούς*, where *γχξγ'* (3663) stands for the name *βανχωωωχ* found, for example, in l. 8 of the Oslo amulet. Better known instances are the frequent use in Christian inscriptions of *ροθ'* as an alternative for *ἀμήν*, and the cryptic words of the Apocalypse, xiii, 18: *ὁ ἔχων τὸν νοῦν ψηφισάτω τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ θηρίου· ἀριθμὸς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτοῦ χξς'* (666). The correctness of Wessely's view has been confirmed by the evidence of P. Oxy. 2061 (No. 6 below).

In ll. 6-7 Wessely prefers *διὰ τοῦ ὀνόμα(τος)*, but Eitrem's version is, I think, correct.

Both Eitrem and Wessely first assigned the amulet to the fourth century A.D., mainly on palaeographical grounds. Wilcken and Bilabel, with whom Eitrem's final edition agrees, suggested that it may be as late as the fifth, and Peterson inclines to date it not much before P. Oxy. 1060 (No. 5 below), which Hunt attributed to the sixth century.

I need not here repeat or summarize the ample and learned commentaries of Eitrem, Fridrichsen, and Wessely, or try to analyse the various elements, Christian, Jewish, and pagan, which compose this strange amalgam. The house and its inhabitants are to be preserved from all evil, including the bite of scorpion or snake, and for this purpose the Scorpion-demon is 'bound'. *Δέννω*, like the Modern Greek *δένω*, is a form of *δέω*, which is found in magical texts, though much less frequently than the compound verb *καταδέω*. On two points only would I supplement what Eitrem has said. In connexion with *Ἄρτεμίσσιος*, the epithet of the Scorpion-demon, it is of interest to note the tradition recorded in Nicander's *Theriaca*, 13-15:

*Τὸν δὲ χαλαζήεντα κόρη Τιτηνὶς ἀνήκε
σκορπίον, ἐκ κέντροιο τεθηγγμένον, ἦμος ἐπέχρα
Βοιωτῶ τεύχουσα κακὸν μῦρον Ἐαρίωνι,*

('But the Titanian maid sent forth the scorpion named from hail, with whetted sting, what time in her rage she devised an evil doom for Boeotian Orion',)

with the Scholiast's comment *Τιτηνὶς δὲ ἡ Ἄρτεμις, ἡ Λητοῦς θυγάτηρ καὶ Κοίου τοῦ Τιτάνος*. Again, Eitrem points out (*Forhandlinger*, 14) that, strictly speaking, the word *δήγμα* (l. 6) applies to the *ὄφεις*, but not to the *σκορπίος*, whose weapon of attack is his tail; but he calls attention to the use of *σκορπιόδηκτος* in Dioscor., i, 4, *Georon.*, xii, 13. 6 (to which may be added xiii, 9. 8, 10), and Schol. Nic., *Ther.*, 653. We may further refer to Schol., *Ther.*, 13 (*τοὺς δεδηγμένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν*) and 785 (*δήγμα*), and to *Georon.*, ii, 47. 12, where *δήγματα* is used of all poisonous reptiles, including scorpions. The more correct terms used of the scorpion's sting are:

παίω, Aelian, *Hist. Anim.*, v, 14; vi, 23; x, 23.

πατάσσω, Arist., *An. Hist.*, viii, 29, 607a 17, *frg.* 605 (Rose).

πλησσω. *Πληγείς* occurs in Arist., *An. Hist.*, viii, 29, 607a 20, Philum., *Ven.*, xiv, 1 (other parts of the verb, *πληγή*, *πλήγμα*, *πλήξις* in xiv), Schol. Nic., *Ther.*, 771, 775, 782, Procop. *Gaz., Epist.*, 136, *Georon.*, xiii, 9. 4-7, 11: *cf. ἔπληξεν, ibid.*, xiii, 9. 6; *πληγή*,

xii, 22. 10, xiii, 9. 2, 11, Aelian, *Hist. Anim.*, ix, 4; σκορπιόπληκτος, Dioscor., iv, 192, Philum., *Ven.*, x, 1. 4, xiv, 7, 8.
τύπτω, Nic., *Ther.*, 775, Philum., *Ven.*, xiv, 2; cf. Nic., *Ther.*, 784 τυπὴν ἰάπτει, 653 τύμμα σκορπίον (not, as cited in Eitrem, *Alexiph.*, 145).
κρούω. See my comment on No. 2 above.

(5) In 1910 A. S. Hunt published a gnostic amulet, P. Oxy. 1060, measuring 9·2 × 6·3 cm., which he assigned to the sixth century. It strikingly resembles the Oslo papyrus, with which it was compared by Dölger (*loc. cit.*), and was re-edited by Eitrem in *Aeg.* 3 (1922), 67, with one or two corrections based on the Oslo text. In 1931 it was republished by K. Preisendanz in *Papyri graecae magicae*, ii, 189–90, No. 2.

+ Τὴν θύραν τὴν Ἀφροδίτην | φροδίτην ροδίτην οδίτην | δίτην ἴτην ττην ττην ην. Ωρωρ | φωρφωρ Ἰαὼ Σαβαῶθ Ἀδονέ. ||⁵ Δένο σε, Σκορπίε Ἀρτεμήσιε· | ἀπάλλαξον τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον | ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ ἐρπετοῦ | πράγματος, ταχύ ταχύ. | Ὁ ἅγιος Φωκάς ὠδέ ἐστιν. ||¹⁰ Φ[α]μενώθ ἰγ' ἰνδ(κτιώνος) τρίτης | τ.

‘+ The door Aphrodite phrodite rodite odite dite ite te e. Or or phor phor Iao Sabaoth Adonai. I bind thee, Scorpion of Artemis. Rid this house from every evil creeping thing, quickly quickly. Saint Phocas is here. Phamenoth 13th, in the third indiction . . .’

Hunt read in l. 5 *δενουσε σκορπίε αρτερησιε* and regarded the first and last words as meaningless; in the light of the Oslo amulet their significance is clear. I cannot, however, agree with Eitrem when he corrects Hunt's *ὠδέ ἐστιν* (l. 9) to *ὠδε (= ὄδε) ἐστίν*. For *ὠδέ ἐστιν* is only a variant of *ὠδε κατοικεῖ* (cf. Preisendanz, *op. cit.*, ii, 190, No. 2a Ἀβραὰμ <ὠ>δε κατ[οικεῖ]), and the phrase is but one instance of a popular apotropaic formula, which seems originally to have taken the form

Ὁ τοῦ Διὸς παῖς καλλίνικος Ἡρακλῆς
ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ· μηδὲν εἰσίτω κακόν,

(‘The son of Zeus, Heracles triumphant, dwells here; let no evil enter’),

and to have been occasionally shortened to

Ἡρακλῆς ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ· μηθὲν εἰσελθοῖ κακόν,

(‘Heracles dwells here; may no evil come in’),

as in an inscription of Kurdistan (see *Suppl. Epigr. Graec.*, 7 (1934), 36) recently rediscovered by Sir Aurel Stein, and which was later Christianized by the introduction of Christ or some saint in place of Heracles (see the examples given and the articles cited in *ibid.*, 7, 812, but especially O. Weinreich, *Arch. f. Rel.* 18 (1915), 8–18, who quotes the present papyrus on pp. 17–18). Phocas, a Syrian saint, was credited with the power, even after death, of healing those suffering from snake-bites (Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum*, 99, in Migne's *Bibl. patr. Lat.*, lxxi, 791).

I close this survey with a group of three Gnostic charms published in 1924 by Grenfell, Hunt, and Bell (P. Oxy. 2061–3) and in 1931 by K. Preisendanz (*Papyri graecae magicae*, ii, 154–5, Nos. xxviii a–c).

(6) P. Oxy. 2061. 5·3 × 5·3 cm. Fifth century. *Ορ ορ φορ φορ Σαβ[α]ῶθ | Ἀδωνέ Σαλαματαρ | χει ἀβρα·σ·αξ. Δένο σε, | Σκορπίε Ἀρτεμισίας ||⁵ τριακόσε δεκαπέν|τε. Παχῶν πεντεκα|δεκάτη*

‘Or or phor phor Sabaoth Adonai Salamataarchi abrasax. I bind thee, Scorpion of Artemis three hundred and fifteen. Pachon fifteenth . . .’

I have already called attention to the light thrown by this charm on the two main textual difficulties of the Oslo amulet. Preisendanz writes *Σαλαμα, Ταρχι, δέννω*, and *τριακόσια*.

(7) P. Oxy. 2062. 9·8×10·2 cm. Sixth century. Ωρ ωρ | φωρ φωρ | 'Ιαὼ | 'Αδωραεὶ ||⁵
 Σαβ[α]ὼθ | Σαλαμανταρχχει. | Δένν{ε}ω σαι, | Σκορπίε | 'Αρτεμίσου. ιγ'.

The final ιγ' (13) indicates, in the editors' opinion, the day of the month, which is noted in the other texts of this group. Preisendanz writes *Σαλαμαν, Ταρχχει*.

(8) P. Oxy. 2063. 7·7×5·2 cm. Sixth century. +++|+ Ωρ ωρ | [φ]ωρ φωρ |
 ['Αδωναὶ? ||⁵ Σαλα]μαρθαχι. | [Δέ]ννο σε, | [Σ]κ[ο]ρπίε | 'Αρτεμίσιε. | Φαμενὼθ ||¹⁰ τέσσαρο
 φωροροροσα | δδδρρρ

The first three letters of l. 12 are inverted rhos. Preisendanz writes [Σαλα]μα ρθαχι, and 'Αρτημίσιε.

Since this article was in proof I have found a further reference to a scorpion in

(9) an ostrakon of about the first century A.D. in the Cairo Museum (*Journal d'entrée*, No. 60329), published by O. Guéraud in *Ann. Serv.* 33 (1933), 59–62, and repeated by G. Patriarca in *Bullettino del Museo dell' Impero Romano* 6 (1935), 135. A certain Senpikōs, writing to her son Melas, says 'Ασπάζομαι Ταπένω καὶ 'Απλωνάριν καὶ ὑποδησμε . . . αὐτήν δια σκορπίον. The editor, who remarks that 'the last letters of the word, pale and ill-formed, do not forbid the reading ὑποδησμεύετε', tentatively suggests that Senpikōs urges that Apollonarian, perhaps her granddaughter, be provided with shoes to protect her against the sting of a scorpion. This explanation seems to me not improbable. The plural imperative may be addressed to Melas and his wife, the present tense may refer to the habitual wearing of shoes by Apollonarian, and the η of ὑποδησμεύετε may be due to the influence of ὑπόδημα and its compounds. The scholiast on Aristoph., *Ecccl.*, 269, glosses ὑποδείσθε by ὑποδεσμεύσατε, as if the latter word were more familiar in his day, and the verb ὑποδεσμέω occurs several times in the same sense.

RECEIPTS FOR ΦΟΡΟΣ ΠΡΟΒΑΤΩΝ IN THE PAPYRUS COLLECTION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

BY SHERMAN LEROY WALLACE

THE receipts here published are, so far as I know, the only ones extant from the second century A.D. in which the rent of sheep (*φόρος προβάτων*¹) is paid by the same individual in successive years. The papyrus, whose inventory number is P. Wisconsin 30, bears at least four receipts for payments *ἀπὸ φόρου προβάτων Μαικηνατιανῆς οὐσίας* at Euhemeria in the Arsinoite nome in A.D. 156/7 or before, in 157/8, 158/9, and 161. The papyrus measures 23.4 × 8.25 cm. and contains three diagonal creases running through the right-hand third of the text on the *recto*; these creases occasionally interrupted the writing of the scribes. On the *recto* the second column, which contains three receipts, is complete and well preserved. The first column, however, is fragmentary. The right-hand ends of four lines of a receipt for *φόρος προβάτων* are preserved at the bottom of the first column. Above this receipt there are only faint traces of the right ends of three lines of a receipt which may also have recorded payments for *φόρος προβάτων*, but this cannot be proved. There was room for another receipt at the top of the first column, but no certain traces of this remain; the one or two ink-marks now visible may have been letters in a heading for the whole document. Hereinafter the beginning of col. I will be ignored. The first line of the half-preserved receipt at the bottom of col. I is numbered 1 in the transcription below, and this receipt will be called the first receipt; I shall refer to the receipts in col. II as the second, third, and fourth receipts. The second and third receipts are written with a fine pen in a small but precise and legible hand. It is probable that the first receipt (at the bottom of col. I) was written by the same hand, although the writing is more crowded. The fourth receipt was written by a second hand, coarser but quite legible, and with a coarser pen. At the top of the *verso* are two lines written perhaps by a third hand. These two lines contain a memorandum of a payment for pasture-land (*δόσις νομῶν*). About 2 cm. to the right of the end of the second line is an annotation beginning with the letter Δ, but this is the only letter which can be read with certainty. In the badly mutilated upper right corner of the *verso* are traces of several lines apparently belonging to a second column, but of this nothing can be read with certainty.

This document is especially interesting because the receipts record payments made in the years immediately before and after the *ἀπογραφὴ προβάτων καὶ αἰγῶν* from the same village of Euhemeria and dated in the 23rd year of Antoninus, A.D. 159/60, which was published by Paul M. Meyer as P. Hamburg 34. The Hamburg papyrus is a report made by six elders of the shepherds from the village of Euhemeria (*πρεσβύτεροι προβατοκτηνοτρόφων κώμης Εὐήμερίας*) with the statement that it contains an account of the sheep and goats under their control (*[ὧν] ἔχωμεν ἐν διαταγῇ*) together with the appended list of shepherds, who were mutual securities, of the estate formerly belonging to Maecenas (*σὺν ὑπογεγραμμένοις [προ]βατοκτηνοτρόφοις ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης Μαικαι[νατι]ανῆς οὐσίας.*). Meyer assumed that these

¹ Previous publications of receipts and other documents pertaining to the *φόρος προβάτων* are listed in my *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Princeton and Oxford (1938), p. 386, n. 10, and to this list an important addition is BGU, IX, 1894.

latter were recorded at the end of the ἀπογραφή, perhaps in the unpublished fragmentary col. IV; but he could not find in the list of προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι any trace of a special designation of these shepherds of the estate formerly belonging to Maecenas. The receipts in our papyrus record payments made by one of the shepherds on the estate formerly owned by Maecenas, namely Sabinus son of Menas (Σαβίνος Μηνᾶ), whose name may have appeared somewhere in the ἀπογραφή προβάτων καὶ αἰγῶν of 159/60, although his receipt for that particular year has not been preserved.

Recto

Col. I

[Ἔτους . . Ἐκτονίου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Ἀθὺρ κ̄α
[διὰ τοῦ δεῖνα πράκ(τορος) Σαβίνου]ς Μην[ᾶ ἀ]πὸ φόρου
[προβ(άτων) Μαικ(ηνατιανῆς) οὐσί(ας) ὑπὲρ τοῦ διελη(λυθότος) . . (ἔτους) δραχ(μὰς) ὀκ]τῶ
/ (δρ.) ἡ ὁμοίως
[δραχ(μὰς) ὀκτῶ / (δρ.) ἡ ὁμοίως Φαρμ]οῦθι α [δραχ(μὰς) ὀκτῶ / (δρ.) ἡ ὁμο]ίως
δρα[χ(μὰς)] εἴκοσι / (δρ.) κ.

Col. II

- 5 Ἔτου[ς κ̄α] Ἐκτονίου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Παοῦνι κ̄ζ διὰ Ὠρίωνος πράκ(τορος)
Σαβίνος Μηνᾶ ἀπὸ φόρου προβ(άτων) Μαικ(ηνατιανῆς) οὐσί(ας) ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαλυθ(ώτος)
κ (ἔτους)
δραχ(μὰς) δεκαδύο / (δρ.) ιβ ὁμοίως δεκαεξ / (δρ.) ις ὁμοίως δεκαεξ / (δρ.) ις {οβ} ὀβ(ολοὺς)
—ιζ.
Ἔτους κ̄β Ἐκτονίου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Ἀθὺρ ι διὰ Ὠρίωνος πράκ(τορος)
Σαβίνος Μηνᾶ ἀπὸ φόρου προβ(άτων) Μαικ(ηνατιανῆς) οὐσί(ας) ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαλυθ(ώτος)
κα (ἔτους)
10 ὀκτῶ (δρ.) ἡ ὁμοίως τέσσαρας (δρ.) δ ὁμοίως ὀκτῶ (δρ.) ἡ ὁμοίως δεκαεξ / (δρ.) ις ὁ-
μοίως ὀκτῶ / (δρ.) ἡ.
2nd H. Ἔτους πρώτου Ἐκτονίου καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν Παοῦνι ιζ̄ διέγρ(αψε)
Ἀρσύθμεως καὶ τῶν λοι(πῶν) προβατοκ(τηνοτρόφων) κώ(μης) Εὐη(μερίας) Σαβείνος
Μηνᾶ ἀπὸ φόρου προβάτων
Μαικηνα(τιανῆς) οὐσίας δραχ(μὰς) ὀκτῶ / (δρ.) ἡ β (ἔτους) Τῦβι α δραχ(μὰς) δεκαεξ /
(δρ.) ις κ̄ε δραχ(μὰς)
15 ὀκτῶ / (δρ.) ἡ Μεχείρ ιθ δραχ(μὰς) ὀκτῶ / (δρ.) ἡ Φαρμοῦθ(ι) δραχ(μὰς) τέσ(σα)ρας
ὀβολ(οὺς) δεκα-
επτὰ / (δρ.) δ—ιζ.

Verso

Δόσις νομῶν τοῦ κα (ἔτους) Ἐκτονίου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
Σαβίνος Μηνᾶ προσβ(άλλει) τέσσαρας (δρ.) δ.

Translation

(II. 5 ff.) 'The 21st year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Pauni 27. Through Horion the collector Sabinus son of Menas (paid) from the rent of sheep of the estate formerly belonging to Maecenas for the past 20th yr. twelve drachmae, total 12 dr., also sixteen, total 16 dr., also sixteen, total 16 dr., 17 ob.

The 22nd year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Hathur 10. Through Horion the collector Sabinus son of Menas (paid) from the rent of sheep of the estate formerly belonging to Maecenas for the past 21st yr. eight, total 8 dr., also four, 4 dr., also eight, 8 dr., also sixteen, 16 dr., also eight, 8 dr.

The first year of Antoninus and Verus the lords Augusti, Pauni 17. Paid to Arsythmis and the rest of the shepherds of the village of Euhemeria by Sabeinus son of Menas from the rent of sheep of the estate formerly belonging to Maecenas eight drachmae, total 8 dr., 2nd yr. Tubi 1, sixteen drachmae, total 16 dr., (on the) 25th, eight drachmae, total 8 dr.; Mecheir 19, eight drachmae, total 8 dr.; Pharmouthi, four drachmae seventeen obols, total 4 dr. 17 ob.'

Verso

'Payment for pastures for the 21st yr. of Antoninus Caesar the lord. Sabinus son of Menas pays four, (total) 4 dr.'

Notes

Ll. 1-4. The introductory formula of the date, etc., so far as it is preserved at the ends of ll. 1, 2, indicates that these first two lines were shorter than the lines of the receipts in col. II. Ll. 3, 4 are very crowded and extend into the right-hand margin between the columns. The date is lost. It is possible that the receipt is to be dated in the 20th year of Antoninus (A.D. 156/7), with the payment made for the 19th year, since the second and third receipts are dated in the successive years 157/8 and 158/9, and the payment in each is for the previous year. But the fourth receipt is dated in 161, and we should like to know why a receipt for the intervening year was not included in this document, for it is a natural assumption that the *φόρος προβάτων* was paid annually, as it was in the third century; cf. P. Strassburg 6-8; 28; 67; 68; P. London, III, 851 (p. 49). We cannot be certain that there was not a break in the sequence of receipts before A.D. 157/8 as well as between 158/9 and 161.¹ The first and third receipts are dated in Hathur, *i.e.* on the 18th and 7th of November respectively; while the second and fourth receipts are dated in Pauni (June 22nd and 12th respectively). In the first receipt an additional payment in Pharmouthi is recorded, and in the fourth receipt additional payments are made in Tubi, Mecheir, and Pharmouthi. In the second and third receipts the dates of additional payments are not specified.

In ch. 6 of my *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* I have stated my theory that the *ἐννόμιον* was a licence-tax paid on privately owned sheep, while the *φόρος προβάτων* was a rent paid by the lessee of sheep owned by the government. In this papyrus Sabinus son of Menas pays the *φόρος προβάτων Μαικηνατιανῆς οὐσίας*. I assume that the other *ὑπογεγραμμένοι προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης Μαικηνατιανῆς οὐσίας* in P. Hamburg 34 likewise paid *φόρος προβάτων*. B.G.U., IX, 1894 is a summary account of the entire income from taxes of the village of Theadelphia in the Fayyūm in A.D. 157; in cols. IX and X the entire income of the *φόρος προβάτων* at Theadelphia is recorded as proceeding from payments credited to the imperial estates.² The *ἐννόμιον*, on the contrary, is not included in the receipts from the imperial estates (the *οὐσιακά* in cols. IX and X of B.G.U., IX, 1894), but is listed in col.

¹ Prof. A. C. Johnson has suggested that the sheep may have been leased for a period of five years and the rent divided into four annual payments, so that in the year 159/60 (when the *ἀπογραφή προβάτων καὶ αἰγῶν* was being made) no rent was paid. Thus the receipt at the bottom of col. I would have been dated in 156/7, and the receipt above it in 155/6, and these two receipts together with the first two receipts in col. II would form a complete series for a cycle of five years; the last receipt in col. II would be the first payment in a new cycle of five years beginning in A.D. 161 after the *ἀπογραφή προβάτων* in 159/60. The land-tax called *γεωμετρία* seems to have been assessed but once in five years, and payment could be made in one, two, or four instalments (cf. my *Taxation in Egypt*, 48, 50), and payment in four instalments would correspond to Prof. Johnson's suggestion for the payment of *φόρος προβάτων* in P. Wisconsin 30. If this suggestion is correct, it is necessary to assume that the method of collecting *φόρος προβάτων* changed in the third century, when the rent was paid every year without exception.

² The *οὐσῖαι Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Πάλλαντος πρότερον Ἰουκοῦνδου καὶ Χρυσίππου* paid 132 dr. 4 ob.; the *Ἀντωνιανή οὐσία* 25 dr.; the *Χαρμιανὴ οὐσία* 201 dr. 2 ob.; the *Γερμανικιανὴ οὐσία* 590 dr.

vii where, unfortunately, the scribe did not fill in the amounts collected. The *ἐννόμιον* probably belonged to the classification of taxes called *εἶδη* in contrast with *διοίκησις* and *ἱερατικά*, as in P. Rylands, II, 213, a document from the Mendesian nome.¹

Of the sheep and goats at Euhemeria those on the estate formerly belonging to Maecenas were certainly subject to the rent on sheep (*φόρος προβάτων*). In the second and third receipts (and probably in the first receipt) this rent was collected through the official collector (*πράκτωρ*). In the fourth receipt the rent was paid by Sabinus to the shepherds of the village (*Ἀρσύθμεως καὶ τῶν λοι(πῶν) προβατοκ(τηνοτρόφων)*).² The rest of the sheep under the control of the six elders of the shepherds (*πρεσβύτεροι προβατοκτηνοτρόφων κώμης Εὐημερίας*) may have been subject either to the *φόρος προβάτων* or to the licence-tax on sheep (*ἐννόμιον*), according as the sheep were leased from the government or were privately owned. It is not impossible that *φόρος προβάτων* was paid at Euhemeria by lessees of government-owned sheep not connected with the *Μαικηνατιανὴ οὐσία*. In PSI, VII, 817, from Euhemeria and dated in the second century A.D., a certain *Ἀρφαῆσις Ὠρείωνος* pays for 8 sheep the sum of 42 dr. $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. I have argued that this was a payment of *φόρος προβάτων*,³ and I see no reason to change my opinion, although there is no indication in the receipt that this payment from Euhemeria was connected with the *Μαικηνατιανὴ οὐσία* or with any other imperial estate. I think that it is a fair assumption from P. Hamburg 34 that no other imperial estate at Euhemeria had sheep for which the *φόρος προβάτων* was collected in A.D. 159/60, since the estate formerly belonging to Maecenas is the only one mentioned in that document. The *Μαικηνατιανὴ οὐσία* at Theadelphia, however, according to BGU, IX, 1894, was not among the estates which paid *φόρος προβάτων*. At Socnopaei Nesus a payment of 29 dr. $4\frac{1}{2}$ ob. for *φόρος προβάτων Γερμανικιανῆς οὐσίας* was made by one *Ἀβούς Σταταβούτος* in A.D. 208, according to BGU, III, 810, *ii*; in other receipts from Socnopaei Nesus the lessees of sheep owned by the government seem to have been priests. In receipts for *φόρος προβάτων* from other districts of Egypt there is no indication of the special circumstances which led to the payment of a rental on sheep before the third century. In that century the great private estates, such as those of Theoninus, Alypius, Antonius Philoxenus, and others, collected the *φόρος προβάτων*; the city of Alexandria also owned and let sheep for which the strategus of the city (*στρατηγὸς πόλεως Ἀλεξανδρείας*) collected the *φόρος* from the shepherd (*ποιμὴν ἢ μισθωτὴς προβάτων*).⁴

L. 6. The spelling *διαιλυλυθώτος*, which occurs also in l. 9, for *διεληλυθότος*, which was usually abbreviated *διελη(λυθότος)*, is noteworthy, although the interchanges of *ε* and *αι*, of *η* and *υ*, and of *ο* and *ω* are not uncommon (*cf.* Mayser, *Grammatik d. gr. Pap.*, I, pp. 85 f., 98, 107). I have restored the correct form in the missing portion of l. 3; but if the first receipt was written by the same hand as were the second and third receipts, it is probable that the scribe wrote *διαιλυλυθώτος* in l. 3 also, and it should be so restored.

L. 7. The sum paid by Sabinus son of Menas in each of the last three receipts is 44 dr. (neglecting the 17 ob. discussed below). Presumably that was the sum paid in the first receipt

¹ In BGU, IX, 1894 the heading *διοίκησις* is not found, but all taxes as far as l. 51 obviously belong to that classification, as is suggested by the editor, Kortenbeutel, who supplied that heading to his table on p. 84. The heading *ἱερατικά* is found in l. 59, but it is probable that ll. 53 f., 57 f., and perhaps ll. 52 and 55 f. also belonged to the *ἱερατικά*. How far the classification *ἱερατικά* extended in the list of taxes is uncertain. *Εἶδη ὑκῆς* which belong to the classification *εἶδη* in P. Rylands, II, 213 are found in l. 69 of BGU, IX, 1894, but between that item and *ἐννόμιον* in l. 75 items occur which are not known to be *εἶδη*, namely *φόρος φοινείων καὶ ἄλλων φυτῶν* and *μερισμὸς πριμοπέλων*.

² The correct reading of *τῶν λοι(πῶν) προβατοκ(τηνοτρόφων)* in l. 13 was kindly supplied by Mr. C. C. Edgar and Dr. H. I. Bell. Mr. Edgar also correctly read the *θ* of *διαιλυλυθώτος* in ll. 6 and 9.

³ In *Taxation in Egypt*, 79 and 386, n. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 79 f., 387, n. 14.

also, and I have restored two payments of 8 dr. each in l. 4 to give that total, although, of course, one of the payments might have been 4 dr. and the other 12 dr., as in ll. 7, 10, and 15, to give the same total; I assume that payments were made in tetradrachms throughout the document. If the payment was for 8 sheep the average rate was $5\frac{1}{2}$ dr. a head, which is but $\frac{1}{4}$ dr. higher than the average rate paid by 'Αρφαῆσις Ὠρείωνος in PSI, VII, 817, from the same village in the same century. The payment of $29\frac{3}{4}$ dr. made at Socnopaei Nesus in A.D. 208 (in BGU, III, 810, *ii*) cannot be evenly divided to give either of the rates above, but the rate may have been higher early in the third century.¹

The payment of 17 ob. recorded at the end of the second and of the fourth receipt is probably for *προσδιαγραφόμενα*, although it is not usual to have the *προσδιαγραφόμενα* reckoned in a large number of obols rather than in drachmae plus obols. In PSI, VII, 817, the payment for *προσδιαγραφόμενα* on *φόρος προβάτων* is at the usual rate of $\frac{1}{16}$, although it is divided into two items of 1 dr. $4\frac{1}{2}$ ob., *i.e.* 4 per cent., and 1 dr., *i.e.* $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. A surcharge of $\frac{1}{16}$ on 44 dr. would yield exactly 2 dr. $4\frac{1}{2}$ ob. or $16\frac{1}{2}$ ob. It is possible that here the *προσδιαγραφόμενα* were collected in a round sum of 17 ob. rather than $16\frac{1}{2}$ ob., but that was not the usual procedure in reckoning *προσδιαγραφόμενα*. It is also possible that $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. for *συμβολικά*, the fee for receipt, is included in the payment of 17 ob. The rate of *προσδιαγραφόμενα* on *φόρος προβάτων* found in BGU, IX, 1894, namely 0.065, would have yielded here 17 ob. 2 chalci; and if that were the rate here, it would be necessary to account for the neglect of 2 chalci, which is, to be sure, a rather insignificant sum. The rate given by an even 17 ob. is approximately 0.0644, which is not found in any other receipt from Egypt known to me.

There seems to have been a dittography of *δβ(ολούς)* in this line, but the *β* is not raised above the line in the first example as it is in the second.

Ll. 14 ff. There is a curious variation in the form of the symbols used to designate drachmae in the fourth receipt. In l. 14 the sign for 'drachmae' is first ζ and then ς , in l. 15 it is ζ twice, and in l. 16 it is γ .

Verso. The only parallel use of *δόσις* known to me comes likewise from Euhemeria. O. Fayyūm 6 is dated (by its editors) in the second century and is a receipt headed *Δόσις βαλ(ανευτικῶν?) τοῦ κ (ἔτους)*, and the payment is 4 silver drachmae.

This payment by Sabinus son of Menas may have been for the *φόρος νομῶν*. So far as I know, no other impost for *νομοί* is attested. The *δόσις νομῶν* is hardly to be identified with the *φόρος προβάτων*, since the payments on the *recto* are complete for the same year (A.D. 157/8). Even if my theory of the nature of the *φόρος προβάτων* and of the *ἐννόμιον* is wrong, and both of these imposts were paid on the same sheep, as has been argued by Miss Avogadro,² it is wholly unlikely that the *δόσις νομῶν* here should be identified with the *ἐννόμιον*, for the following reason: the ratio of the rate of *φόρος προβάτων* to that of the *ἐννόμιον* was approximately 4 : 1 in both the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods,³ whereas the ratio here of *φόρος προβάτων* to *δόσις νομῶν* is 11 : 1.

¹ The rates of taxes on vine- and garden-land were raised by Septimius Severus at the very beginning of the third century; *cf. my Taxation in Egypt*, 55 f., 58, 348, 379, n. 58.

² In *Aeg.* 14, 293-7; *cf. my Taxation in Egypt*, 385, n. 7.

³ *Cf. my Taxation in Egypt*, 386, n. 11.

HOWARD CARTER

HOWARD CARTER, Hon. Sc.D. (Yale University) and Hon. Member, Real Academia de la Historia, Spain, known to all the world as the discoverer of the tomb of Tutankhamūn, was born at Swaffham, Norfolk, in 1873, and died, after a grievous illness, on March 2 last. He was the youngest son of Samuel Carter, the animal painter, whose works depicting famous racehorses, scenes of deer-stalking, etc., adorn the walls of many of our country houses. As a lad Howard was taught painting by his father, and the love and knowledge of animals which he retained throughout life was early fostered by his having the care of his father's menagerie in the garden of the family house in the Richmond Road, South Kensington. He once told the present writer that in his boyhood he made his pocket-money by painting portraits of pet dogs, cats, and parrots for some of his father's clients.

It was in the summer of 1891 that he first became connected with Egyptian studies. I was then in need of assistance in inking-in the mass of pencil tracings that had been made the previous winter at Beni Hasan, and Lady Amherst of Hackney, with whom I was staying at Diddlington Hall, Norfolk, suggested that Howard Carter, who was at the time living at the neighbouring village of Swaffham, would be most useful for this purpose. I interviewed him at Diddlington, and shortly afterwards his father brought the young Howard to London to see Mr. Griffith and myself at the British Museum, where we arranged to engage him for three months on the Beni Hasan tracings. The following October the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund agreed that Carter should accompany me to Egypt and we worked together at Beni Hasan and El-Bersheh till the end of the year. Mr. Petrie had just begun his excavations at El-Amarna, and as he needed assistance there it was arranged that Carter should join him at the beginning of 1892 and excavate, under Petrie's supervision, certain parts of the site on behalf of Lord Amherst of Hackney. This was Howard's first experience of digging in Egypt, and on the termination of the work at the end of May Petrie and he returned to London.

In the autumn of 1892 Carter was appointed draughtsman to the Archaeological Survey of the Fund and joined me at Beni Hasan, where he made the coloured drawings of dogs, birds, and other animals depicted in the ancient paintings that are published in *Beni Hasan*, iv. It had been arranged in London that, after completing the survey of El-Bersheh tombs, we should begin a survey of those a few miles south at El-Amarna. Permission to do this work was applied for from the Antiquities Department but was refused by the Director-General, Monsieur J. de Morgan, on the ground that the French Institute proposed to do it themselves. On this news reaching London we were instructed to explore the region on the eastern bank of the Nile between El-Bersheh and Dēr el-Gebrāwi. Soon after our arrival at the latter place Carter was detached from the Survey and ordered by the London Committee to proceed to Simbelawīn in the Delta, there to join Mr. Guthrie Rogers and help him to excavate that site. Carter left Asyūt early in February and remained in the Delta till the middle of April, but as no permit was received from the Museum authorities, no work could be done; however it was while in northern Egypt that Carter acquired his knowledge of colloquial Arabic.

In the autumn of 1893, when the Egypt Exploration Fund undertook to copy the scenes and inscriptions in the temple at Dēr el-Baḥri, Carter was appointed draughtsman on the

staff of Professor Naville, and during the next six years was continuously at work drawing in the famous temple; his pencil drawings are reproduced in collotype in the six volumes on Dēr el-Bahri published by our Society. At the end of 1899, when Professor Maspero entered on his second term as Director-General of the Department of Antiquities, the Egyptian Government decided to reconstitute the Department, and Carter was appointed Inspector-in-Chief of the Monuments of Upper Egypt and Nubia, with headquarters at Thebes. He at once threw himself whole-heartedly into his new work, and during the three years that he was in Upper Egypt he did much in restoring the temples of Western Thebes, Edfu, and Kōm Ombo. At Abu Simbel he installed an electric light plant, and afterwards carried out the installation of electric light in six of the royal tombs in the Bibān el-Mulūk. In January 1902, at Carter's suggestion, the American, Theodore M. Davis, undertook to finance a systematic exploration of the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes for the benefit of the Department of Antiquities, and this work was carried out under the personal supervision of Carter. Among the discoveries made were the tombs of Tuthmosis IV and Ḥatshepsut. During the three years that Carter remained at Thebes he also put up the iron doors to many of the painted tombs in the Theban necropolis that had been cleared by the present writer; these included the tombs of Imisibe (No. 65), Ḥekernehē (No. 64), Sebkhōtp (No. 63), Thanuny (No. 74), Nespenefrhōr (No. 68), Amenḥotpe-sise (No. 75), Ḥaremḥab (No. 78), and several others.

In 1903 Carter was transferred to the Inspectorate of Lower and Middle Egypt and made his headquarters at Sakkārah. Soon after his arrival there an incident occurred which led to his resigning the post that he held under the Egyptian Government. One afternoon his *reis* of the guards of the necropolis came to Carter's office to report that a party of Frenchmen, very much the worse for liquor, demanded admittance to the Serapeum although they did not possess the necessary tickets. One of the visitors struck a guard, and this led to a free fight. Carter, on his arrival at the scene, remonstrated and was answered by insults. He then ordered the guards to protect themselves and one of the Frenchmen was knocked down. On their return to Cairo the visitors lodged a formal complaint against Carter and the French Consul-General demanded an apology. Carter refused to give it, saying that he had only done his duty, and as a result of his refusal he had to resign his post. Maspero was greatly distressed about this affair and wrote to several of Carter's friends saying that he did not know what the Antiquities Department would do without him, and begged us to persuade him to return to the Department. Carter, however, was adamant in his refusal to apologize and preferred to return to private life. He then gave up archaeological work for a time and earned his living by painting the beautiful water-colour pictures of Egyptian scenery which are a joy to all those who were fortunate to secure examples.

In 1906 Carter was employed by Theodore M. Davis to make drawings of the most important objects that had been found in the tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou in the Biban el-Mulūk; these are published in colour in the volume *The Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou* by Maspero and the present writer.

In 1907 Lord Carnarvon came out to Egypt and obtained a permit to dig at Thebes. When he had completed a short season on his own, Maspero insisted that if another permit was granted an expert excavator must be employed, and recommended Carter for the post. This was the beginning of Carter's connexion with Carnarvon; they spent the next four seasons digging, and the results were published in *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, Oxford, 1912. Carnarvon then decided to explore a Delta site and was given a permit for Sakha (the ancient Xoïs) some thirteen miles to the east of Sais. As it was only possible to excavate here late in the season, Carnarvon, Carter, and the rest of the party did not arrive

at Sakha till April when the weather was abnormally hot, and after a fortnight they were practically driven from their camp by the extraordinary number of cobras that infested the place.

Shortly before the Great War broke out Carter had persuaded Carnarvon to return to Thebes and dig in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings. A permit was applied for and obtained from the Department of Antiquities and Carter was once again back in his favourite haunt. On the outbreak of war all work at Thebes was at once closed down, but Carter in his solitary walks over the necropolis succeeded in finding the long-sought-for tomb of Amenophis I. For his account of this discovery the reader is referred to the paper printed in this *Journal*, vol. 3, 147 ff. Later he located the tomb of Princess H̄atshepsut which the Arabs had recently plundered (*JEA* 4, 107 ff.).

The winters of 1919 to 1921 were spent in exploring the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, but without success of any kind. Then, when the systematic digging was almost completed, Carter made the most sensational archaeological discovery that has been made in Egypt—he found the tomb of Tut‘ankhamūn with its extraordinary wealth of jewellery and furniture. He cabled the news to Lord Carnarvon, who immediately left for Egypt with Lady Evelyn Herbert. After inspecting the chambers of the tomb, Carnarvon and his daughter at once returned to London, and in a speech on the night of January 11 at the Central Hall, Westminster, following a lecture on previous explorations in the Bibān el-Mulūk delivered by the present writer, he gave an account of the discovery and of what he had seen.¹

Carter at once realized that only with the help of a large staff of expert workers could he attempt to clear the tomb of all the treasures it contained. Fortunately this problem was quickly solved through the generosity of the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. In answer to Carter’s appeal, Mr. A. M. Lythgoe, the curator of the Egyptian Department of the Museum, placed at his disposal Mr. A. C. Mace, one of his associate curators, Mr. Harry Burton, their expert photographic recorder, and Messrs. Hall and Hauser, draughtsmen to their expedition. At the same time Mr. A. Lucas, director of the Chemical Department of the Egyptian Government, offered his aid, and all were soon at work. During the years that followed other workers were enrolled, including Dr. Alexander Scott, F.R.S., and Dr. Derry of the Egyptian State University, Cairo. Altogether it took ten years to record the contents of the tomb and to preserve the objects so that they might be safely packed for transport to the National Museum at Cairo. Carter and his staff published three popular volumes on the tomb and its contents between the years 1923 and 1933; but much remains still to be published. The Card Catalogue of the contents of the tomb, as well as the notes made by Mace, Dr. Alan Gardiner, Lucas, and the present writer, have been deposited by Carter’s niece, Miss Phyllis Walker, in the Griffith Institute at Oxford where they will be kept until provision has been made to print them.

P. E. NEWBERRY.

¹ Lord Carnarvon’s speech was printed *in extenso* in most of the English daily newspapers of Friday, January 12, 1922.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

PART I: PAPYROLOGY (1938)

THE work is divided as follows:

- § 1. Literary Texts. E. A. BARBER, Exeter College, Oxford.
- § 2. Religion, Magic, Astrology (including texts). H. J. ROSE, St. Andrews University, Fife, Scotland.
- § 3. Publications of Non-Literary Texts. T. C. SKEAT, Dept. of MSS., British Museum, London, W.C. 1.
- § 4. Political History, Biography, Administration, Topography, and Chronology. E. G. TURNER, King's College, Aberdeen, Scotland.
- § 5. Social Life, Education, Art, Economic History, Numismatics, and Metrology. J. G. MILNE, 23 Belsyre Court, Woodstock Road, Oxford.
- § 6. Law. Unavoidably held over.
- § 7. Palaeography and Diplomatic. T. C. SKEAT.
- § 8. Lexicography and Grammar. L. R. PALMER, The University, Manchester 13.
- § 9. General Works, Bibliographies, Reports on Collections of Papyri, etc. T. C. SKEAT.
- § 10. Miscellaneous. T. C. SKEAT.

The authors wish jointly to express their gratitude to all those scholars who have sent them copies of their publications, a kindness which has greatly facilitated the work of compilation.

The abbreviations of references to periodicals, &c., used in this Bibliography will be found on pp. 258 ff. of the preceding volume; see also p. 92 of that vol.¹

The date '1938' is omitted in the case of books, periodicals, &c., published in that year.

1. Literary Texts

A. GENERAL

Several new collections have been publ. *Papiri della R. Università di Milano, Volume primo*, Milan, 1937, ed. by A. VOGLIANO, contains 22 Gk. literary papp. Nos. 1–5 come from the *Iliad*, viz. i. 39–55, ii. 155–209 (omitting 168, 206), iii. 106–26 (not hitherto found in papp.), vii. 232–49 (omitting 234), xxiii. 451–63. No. 6 contains Ap. Rhod. i. 699–719 with glosses and marginal nn.; No. 7 fragmm. of Aeolic Lyric; No. 8, 14 very fragmentary ll. of Menander (?); No. 8 *bis*, literary scraps. Nos. 9 and 10 contain Plato, *Phaedr.* 267b–268c and *Rep.* 485d, 486c, respectively. After No. 11 (letter of Theon to Heraclides, advising him about reading in the Stoics) come two Demosthenes papp., No. 12 = *De Cor.* 85–6, and No. 13 = *De F. Leg.* 194–5. Nos. 14–16 are medical texts. In No. 17 VOGLIANO repubs. the important comm. on the *Artemis* (according to the plausible suggestion of MAAS) and *Thebais* of Antimachus, also ed. by WYSS in *Antimachi Colophonii Reliquiae*, Berlin, 1936, and in No. 18 the *Diegeseis*. His edn. of the latter pap. marks a considerable advance on that of the first edd. In particular, he has identified two new fragmm., of which Fr. B, from the top of col. I, contains two *lemmata* and their *diegeseis*; Fr. A, from the top of the previous col., the beginning of the *diegesis* of the *Cydippe*. Note also his demonstration (pp. 73–4) that, as MAAS divined, PSI 1216 contains *Iambi* iv–vi. P. MAAS contributes three excursions and L. CASTIGLIONI an essay on the language and style of the *diegetes*. The whole of the pap. is reproduced in two folding pls, No. 19 consists in the *subscriptio* to the *ζητήματα γραμματικά* on *Iliad* xiv of Apollodorus of Athens. No. 20 contains fragmm. of a prose anthology (?), apparently composed in the 2nd cent. A.D.; No. 21 (1st cent. B.C.) a prayer of Alexander the Great to Sarapis (? from a romance); No. 22 Exod. 29. 21–4 (4th cent.).

Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, III (Manchester), ed. by C. H. ROBERTS, contains 16 theological and 79 literary texts, with 10 pls. The foll. may be noted. 473: Sallust, *Hist.* i (?), publ. with an Oxy. P. fragm. of *Hist.* ii, probably from same roll. 477: Cic. *Div. in Caecil.* 35–7,

¹ Add *Act. V Congr. int. Papyrol.* = *Actes du Ve Congrès international de papyrologie*; ed(d). = editor(s); rdg(s). = reading(s).

44-6, with Gk. and Latin nn. (5 new rdgs.). 478: 3 fragmm. of *Aeneid* i with word-for-word Gk. trans.; note 646 ζ[aro] τιμω (caero Bæhrens). 482: 19 ll. of tragedy mentioning Telephus, perhaps from Sophocles' Ἀχαιῶν Σύλλογος, cf. T. B. L. WEBSTER in *Bull. J. Ryl. Lib.* 22, 543-9. 483 and 484: 25 and 17 ll. from comedies. 485: parts of 3 and 7 ll. from Call. *Iambi* iv and v. 486 (late 1st cent. A.D.): 10 ll. from epyllion on Hero and Leander (some unusual words shared with Musaeus, but no connexions with Ovid). 487: 37 hexameters on the Return of Odysseus, cf. perhaps P. Oxy. 1821. 489: Lysias, ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους φόνου and ὑπὲρ Ἐρυξιμάχου. The pap. is inner half of leaf publ. as P. Lond. Inv. 2852 in *JEA* 15 (1929), 75-7, and republ. here. The fragm. of the new speech proves Eryximachus is not the physician of the *Symposium*. 490 (3rd cent. B.C.): 2 fragmm., covering 340-337 B.C., from a *Philippica*. 491 (2nd cent. B.C.): fragm. on Second Punic War (? Polybius). 492: historical fragm. mentioning Marathon. 493: 14 Fables of Aesop, most very fragmentary; many divergencies from the MSS. 494-521: miscellaneous fragmm. of verse and prose. 532: P. 171-2 of Harpocration's *Λέξεις τῶν Δέκα Ῥητόρων*. Supports accepted rdg. of Theopompus Comicus, Fr. 59, and adds two new rdgs. in H., one conjectured by SAUPPE, the other correcting numeration in reference to Ephorus. 533-5: grammatical fragmm. 536: lexicon to *Iliad* xiii. 537: word-list to *Iliad* v. 539 (late 2nd cent. B.C.): *Iliad* i. 92-118, and 244-61. Eccentric text. Several unrecorded rdgs. and two new fragmentary ll. 540: *Iliad* ii. 251-end. Part of pap. publ. by MILNE (P. Lond. Lit. 6). Gives σίχοι in archaic Attic notation as not more than 849 (as against 877 in MSS.). Note 657 after 683; 687 omitted. 541-6: *Iliad* ii. 400-72; v. 473-95; xi. 533-66; xxiv. 169-76; *Odyssey* ix. 122-50 (first halves of ll. only—perhaps school text to mark caesura); xxiv. 459-72. 547: Eur. *Phoen.* 646-57. From same roll as P. Oxy. 224 (now P. Lond. Lit. 76). 548: Thuc. ii. 3, 4. From same codex and sheet as P. Genève 2. 549: Xen. *Cyr.* vii. 2. From same codex as P. Varsov. 1. 550: [Dem.] *Against Theocrines*, 15-18. 551: Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates*, 22-3. Two last are the first papp. of these speeches to be discovered.

In *Tebtunis Papyri* III. 2 (London), Nos. 896-901 contain minor literary fragmm. No. 899 (prob. later than 150 B.C.) is *Iliad* vi. 2-347. Note 4 μ[ε]σ[η]ρ[η]γυς π[ο]ταμοιο Σκαμανδρο[υ] [κ]αι σ[τ]ομαλμνης = Ar. ed. prior, here first in MSS.

G. A. GERHARD has publ. *Griechische Papyri* (Heidelberg) = *Veröffentlichungen a. d. badischen Papyrus-Sammlungen*, Heft 6. No. 174 (Alcaeus) has been publ. by Diehl in *ALG*², p. 227. No. 175 consists of 12 fragmentary ll. from Middle or New Comedy. No. 176 (early 3rd cent. B.C.) contains hexameters and prose, perhaps from epic comm. or paraphrase. No. 177: fragm. of Attic orator, possibly Lysias or Isaeus. In No. 178 GERHARD combines two new lyric fragmm. with those publ. in P. Grenfell II. 8, cf. P. Lond. Lit. 49, and assigns them (on doubtful grounds) to Timotheus' *Elpenor* and *Odysseus* (?). Contents certainly suit a *véκμια*. No. 179 contains satirical verses, perhaps from an anthology. No. 180 (280-240 B.C.) comes from same pap. as P. Hibeh 5 and P. Rylands I. 16a. P. Petr. I. 4 = P. Lond. 487a contains part of same Comedy. GERHARD arranges all the fragmm.

In *Ét. de Pap.* 4, 1-13, A. VOGLIANO republ. with additions art. from *Mél. Bidez* (1934) on Pap. Herc. 176, re-arguing author is Polyaeus. *Ibid.* 121-2, W. G. WADDELL prints 9 fragmentary ll., app. in Glyconics, about birds from an Oxy. pap., and (123-4) republ. P. Fay. 204, identified as Hippocrates, *Aphorisms*, I. 1, 2, by CALDERINI. *Ibid.* 133-96, H. OELLACHER (1) eds. Pap. Graec. Vind. 26740 = *Iliad* vi. 387-410 (school-exercise); (2) republ. P. 26008 and 29329 = (a) literary-aesthetic and (b) doxographic work, perhaps of Aristotle. Cf. A. ROSTAGNI in *Riv. di fil. class.* 66, 295-7; (3) eds. P. 29800 = work of later Platonism concerning Ideas.

Un livre d'écolier du III^e siècle avant J.-C., Cairo, ed. by O. GUÉRAUD and P. JOUGUET, includes a miniature anthology of Gk. verse, viz. Eur. *Phoen.* 529-34 and *Ino*, fr. 420 Nauck²; *Odyssey* v. 116-24; two new Hellenistic epigrams; and three passages from Comedy, the last partly coinciding with the excerpt quoted by Athenaeus (ix. 382c) from the *Φοινικίδης* of Straton.

B. EPIC, ELEGIAC, MIMIC

In *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 383-7, M. HOMBERT and C. PRÉAUX publ. three papp. of the Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth: E. 7354 (1st cent. A.D.) = *Iliad* iv. 199-219 and 238-74 (note punctuation system); E. 7160 (1st cent. A.D.) = *Iliad* i. 535-46; E. 7161 (2nd/3rd cent. A.D.) = *Iliad* xii. 265-92. In *Mél. Boisacq*, I (Brussels, 1937), 191-3, P. COLLART discusses Pap. von Scherling G 99 verso = glossary to *Iliad* ix. 454-68 (omitting 458-61) and suggests that a selected edn. or the like explains the nos. 250 and 260 opposite ll. 454 and 468 respectively, l. 205 of the vulgate being a natural start for a selection. In *Riv. di fil.* 16, 40-9, F. DELLA CORTE assigns P. Lond. 734 verso = P. Lond. Lit. 175 to the lost *Ὀμηρικαὶ Μελέται* of Plutarch. He republ. the fragmm. in a new order with parallel extracts from Plut. *Vit. Hom.*; Stobaeus; and Scholia

Genevensia. In *Mél. Boisacq*, I, 493–7, HOMBERT and PRÉAUX publ. with a pl. P. Bruxelles Inv. E. 7162 (1st/2nd cent. A.D.) = tract dealing with οὐράνιοι τόποι in Homer.

R. PFEIFFER has inspected the papp. of Callimachus, *Aetia* and *Iambi*, and in *Philologus* 93, 61–73, makes the following suggestions: (1) P. Oxy. 2080, 53–5. οἶδα Λεοντίους, [οἶδ'] Ἀδρα[νοῖο πολίχνην / καὶ Μεγαρεῖς, ἔτερ[οι] τοὺς ἀ[πεί]νασσαν ἐκεῖ / Νισαῖοι Μεγαρῆες. (2) P. Oxy. 1011, 23–4. Ἀρτέμιδος τῇ παιδὶ γάμον βαρὺς ὄρκος ἐνικλᾷ, / Λύγδαμιν οὐ γὰρ ἐμὴ Τῆνον ἔκηδε κάσις. (Λύγδαμιν—in apposition to γάμον—is name of Naxian bridegroom; *ibid.* 28 ᾧ Κήνυς ἀλλ' ἦν με θέλης συμφράδμονα θέσθαι (Ceyx = Cydippe's father); *ibid.* 33 confirms HOUSMAN'S [Ζη]νὸς ἀφ' ἱερέων. (3) P. Oxy. 1011, 97. εἰληδὸν ἐσ[μ]εῖουσιν ᾧ Ἐκάτη πλήθεις; *ibid.* 302 τῇ κ[ύ]μβαλοι ψοθεῖσιν, οὐ μὰ Πακτ[ωλόν] . . . (ἤι κ[ύ]μβαλοι Lavagnini). In *Rh. Mus.* 87, 277–84, K. MRAS discusses *Diegeseis*, col. IV. 23 ff. (= statues of Hera at Samos) and proposes *inter alia* καὶ ἀργόν (καταργόν Pap.) in l. 28. W. KLINGER, in *Bull. internat. de l'Acad. polon. des Sciences et des Lettres* (1937), 13–25, writes on the text and interpretation of Callimachus. In *Listy filologické* 64 (1937), 1–20, 102–9, K. WENIG reconstructs the collected edn. of Callimachus on the basis of the *Diegeseis*; cf. rev. in *Phil. Woch.* 58, 435. In *Acta Univ. Latviensis, Filol. un. filol. Fakultates*, ser. IV. 2, 305–476, E. DIEHL has publ. *Hypomnema de Callimachi librorum fatis capita selecta*. It includes a word-index to the latest fragmm. H. SCHWEIZER has publ. a dissertation (Bâle, 1937) on *Aberglaube und Zauberei bei Theokrit*. In *Philologus* 46 (1937), 469–70, J. MESK argues from Plutarch, *Vit. Demetr.* 22, that καὶ θεῶν ψάνειν / ἠπείγειθ' in Herondas, iv. 75–6, is a reminiscence of Apelles' own remark.

C. LYRIC

The most important art. on the new Sappho ostr. is that of W. SCHUBART in *Hermes* 73, 297–303, containing a fresh transcr. and text, and emendations by LOBEL. *Ibid.* 303–6, SCHUBART discusses Diehl 25 and 27a. The ostr. is also discussed by C. THEANDER in *Philologus* 92 (1937), 465–9; by W. SCHADEWALDT in *Die Antike* 14, 77–8; and by V. BARTOLETTI in *St. it. fil. class.* 15, 75–7, who compares Horace, *Od.* iii. 18, especially 7–8 *vetus ara multo / fumat odore*.

In *Mnemosyne* 6, 195–203, and Pl. iv, J. M. EDMONDS restores the text of the Erinna fragmm. in PSI 1090, claiming that c belongs to a and b. C. M. BOWRA in *Hermes* 73, 213–21, traces Corinna's conception of the Daughters of Asopus to Eumelus, who flattered Corinthian pride. In *St. it. fil. class.* 15, 3–41, G. FERROTTA argues that Hipponax is the author of the Strassburg Epodes. Vol. I of DIEHL'S *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca* (Ed. 2) is revd. by A. LESKY in *Phil. Woch.* 58, 913–17.

D. DRAMA

In *Cl. Phil.* 33, 411–13, C. W. KEYES publs. P. Columb. Inv. No. 517A (1st cent. B.C.), which contains in two cols. Eur. *Or.* 204–47 (204–25 ends of longer ll., 226–47 approx. first third of ll.). Four rdgs. differ from all MSS., one (224 νοσ[ω]) being supported by Σ. In *Mnemosyne* 6, 335–49, J. C. KAMERBEEK republs. with comm. the tragic fragm. ed. by E. LOBEL in *Greek Poetry and Life*, 295–8. He identifies the child as Astyanax, who in this version survived to found a dynasty on Ida, and assigns the fragm. to a Hellenistic tragedy—perhaps by Sositheus or Nicomachus. In *Sitzungsb. München*, 1938, 2, 1–64, R. PFEIFFER republs. fragmm. of Aesch. *Δικτυουλοῖ* and Soph. *Ἰναχος* and discusses character of latter. On the *Δικτυουλοῖ* cf. also A. OLIVIERI in *Dioniso* 6, 314–26, with detailed discussion of text. The *Euripides Alexandros* of B. SNELL has been revd. by F. CHARLIER, *Ét. Class.* 7, 284–5; C. GALLAVOTTI, *Riv. di fil.* 16, 60–3; and W. HÖRMANN, *Phil. Woch.* 58, 1297–9. In *Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alex.* 32, 141–57, E. NOIR prints a French transl. of *Perik.* 77–163 with exegetical and textual nn. N. FESTA writes on the *Epitrepontes* in *Dioniso* 6, 217–30. G. COPPOLA has publ. *Menandro: Le Commedie. Testo critico e commento* (Torino). A. KOERTE has publ. the third edn. of his *Menander* (Leipzig), and in *Sitzungsb. Leipzig* 89 (1937), 3, 1–27, a popular lecture on *Die Menschen Menanders*. In *Phil. Woch.* 58, 1101–4, H. LUCAS retraces the controversy about Menander's two Ἀδελφοί, claiming that β' is the original of Terence's *Adelphi* and α' of Plautus' *Stichus*. He compares Men. Fr. 13 with *Stich.* 523 ff.; Men. Fr. 8 with *Stich.* 706 ff.; and the fragm. in Didot Pap. with *Stich.* 128 ff. W. E. J. KUPER writes on the original of the *Epidicus* in *Attische Familiekomedies van omstreeks 300 v. Chr.*, I (Amsterdam). The *Motivstudien zur griechischen Komödie* of F. WEHRLI has been revd. by A. KOERTE in *GGA* 199 (1937), 215–23, and by W. SÜSS in *Gnomon* 13 (1937), 598–603. In *Dioniso* 6, 327–31, V. DE FALCO writes on Menander's σεμνότης λόγου.

E. PHILOSOPHY, ORATORY, HISTORY, ROMANCE

In *Ann. R. Sc. Pisa*, 7, 1 ff., M. NORSA publs. 66 ll. of Peripatetic work on κίνησις from a Florence pap. (8th cent. A.D.) and argues for Aristotelian authorship. G. COLIN writes on the *Epitaphios* of Hyperides

in *Rev. ét. gr.* 51, 209–66 (263–6 critical nn.), 305–94, and in *C.-R. Ac. Inscr. B.-L.*, 253–68. In *Mél. Desrousseaux* (Paris, 1937), 429–34, P. ROUSSEL criticizes the views of DE SANCTIS on the Florence pap. publ. by A. PEROSA in *St. it. fil. class.* 12 (1935), 95 ff., particularly the reference to Lachares. The art. by J. E. POWELL in *Cl. Quart.* 32, 75–9, on *The Archetype of Thucydides*, discusses the papp. M. BRAUN has publ. *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature* (Oxford). In *Hermathena* 51, 135–9, W. B. STANFORD prints nn. on BLAKE'S ed. of Chariton. R. M. RATTENBURY summarizes recent work on Romance in *Year's Work*, 87–94, 95–6. The *Griechische Roman-Papyri* of F. ZIMMERMANN has been revd. by B. A. MÜLLER in *Phil. Woch.* 58, 561–8. In *St. it. fil. class.* 15, 121–30, A. VOGLIANO publs. with two photos. a new fragm. of Achilles Tatius (Bk. vi. 14–17). The date (2nd cent. A.D.) and variants from MSS. text suggest to him that the work may be an earlier version of Achilles' novel.

F. MISCELLANEOUS

KÖRTE has issued a new instalment of his *Literarische Texte* in *Archiv* 13, 78–132.

In *Rev. de Phil.* 12, 228–38, J. COLLART confirms MILNE'S attribution of P. Lond. Lit. 184 to Palaemon, and studies that author. L. FRUECHTEL in *Phil. Woch.* 58, 1437–9, identifies P. Oxy. 1356 (Philo) with Fr. 27 in H. LEWY, *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1932, 82 f., and makes suggestions for pap.

2. Religion, Magic, Astrology

A. GENERAL

A book of considerable importance, although it makes little use of papp., is the excellent treatise of J. BIDEZ and F. CUMONT, *Les Mages hellénisés: Zoroastre, Ostarès et Hystaspe*, 2 vols., Paris, Les Belles Lettres. In the process of giving an account of the great figures of Persian religion as seen through Gk. eyes, and incidentally by those whom the Gks. directly or indirectly taught, it collects a most useful amount of material and comment bearing on such matters as syncretism, magic, astrology, which a papyrologist cannot afford to neglect. Useful guides for the religion of this period in general are the third vol. of O. KERN, *Die Religion d. Griechen*, Berlin, Weidmann, and, much briefer, A. D. NOCK, *The Development of Paganism in the Roman Empire*, in Vol. 12 of *CAH*. The final *Lieferung* (106–7, completing Vol. 6 and last) of ROSCHER'S *Lexikon* contains some relevant arts. Of arts. in periodicals not mentioned below, KERN'S brief account of *Der Glaube Alexanders d. Grossen* and W. W. TARN on *Alexander, Cynics and Stoics* (respectively *Forsch. und Fortschr.* 14, 405 and *Am. Journ. Phil.* 60, 41) may be notd. here.

B. CULTS OF THE GRAECO-ROMAN PERIOD

Perhaps the most general in scope is the dissertation of C. E. VISSER, *Götter u. Kulte im ptolemäischen Alexandrien*, Amsterdam; cf. the appreciative rev. by A. CALDERINI, *Aeg.* 18, 346. A new but unconvincing attack on an old problem is O. SCHÜTZ, *Zwei orphische Liturgien*, *Rh. Mus.*, N.F. 83, 241. He re-examines the Gurob pap. publ. by SMYLY in 1921 and commented on, amongst others, by TIERNEY in *Cl. Quart.* 16, 77. This is so damaged as to have lost a great part of every line; SCHÜTZ'S supplements seem arbitrary and unlikely, neglecting for instance the indications that some ll. are hexameters or fragmm. thereof. A. BATAILLE has discovered a new god, Σοκροβοραός (accent and termination uncertain) at Bacchias in the Fayyūm; in *Ét. de Pap.* 4, 197, he anticipates the forthcoming publ. of the Fuad papp. by editing four docs. relating to this deity's priesthood and temple. CH. KUENTZ, *ibid.*, 206, examines his name. Cf. U. WILCKEN, in *Archiv* 13, 171, for some comment on the discovery. Curiously enough, a Swedish contribution to the same subject was being written while BATAILLE was preparing his art.: in *Bull. de la Soc. roy. des Lettres à Lund*, 1937–38, 119, KR. HANNELL gives an account of papp. in the library of Lund Univ., and most of those he lists and describes pertain to the same cult; there are also others of interest for Egn. religion, a purchase of a priesthood (No. 9) and an account of the sacred beasts (No. 10). BATAILLE also (*Ét. de Pap.* 4, 125) publs. a confusedly written ostr. commemorating the miraculous cure of one Polyaratos by Amenot(h)es, i.e. Imhōtep. H. THOMPSON (*Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 497) studies self-dedications in the temple of Sobek at Tebtynis; the persons who formally and in writing give themselves up to this god apparently become his temple-servants, and there are indications of ritual prostitution. F. ZUCKER, *ibid.*, 598 (cf. *Abh. Berlin*, 1937, Phil.-hist. Kl. 6) examines an inscr. from Hermopolis Magna to 'Apollo' (a Semitic deity identified with A.), and compares Pap. Giss. 99 (2nd or 3rd cent. A.D.) which appears also to mention him. The important numismatic study of A. ALFÖLDI, *A Festival of Isis at Rome under the Christian Emperors of the Fourth*

Century (Budapest, 1937), has been widely revd. One of its most important hypotheses, the shifting of the date of the *navigium Isidis* to coincide with the Vota (Jan. 3), is doubted by T. A. BRADY in *JRS* 28, 88, while CUMONT (*Rev. arch.* 11, 141) is inclined to accept it. ELINOR M. HUSSELMAN outlines in *TAPA* 68, xxxii, her researches into a leaf of a pap. codex dealing with hieroscopy (originally publ. as *P. Amh.* ii, 14), which she has re-edited.

C. RULER-CULT

K. SCOTT (*Cl. Phil.* 33, 380) deals with mentions of this and related phenomena in Gk. novels. Neither he nor MARION ALTMAN (*ibid.* 198), who treats of *Ruler Cult in Seneca*, has much to do directly with either Eg. or papp.; but W. F. SNYDER in *Aeg.* 18, 197, treats of both in his discussion of *ἡμέραι Σεβασταί*. Taking as his starting-point the probable hypothesis that these, with or without dates added to them, are annual commemorations of events connected with the Imperial house, he devotes considerable care and learning to discovering what each of them commemorates. PREISTER (see G. below) sketches this among other relevant phenomena. A. S. HOEY (*Act V. Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 159) briefly discusses the *Feriale Duranum* and announces its forthcoming publ.

D. JUDAISM

The text of the LXX has attracted much attention of late, and although we are still very far from knowing its hist. and solving the problem of its relations to the original Hebrew, undoubted progress has been made. One of the most important contributions is that of A. ALLGEIER, in *Die Chester Beatty-Papp. zum Pentateuch* (Paderborn, Schöningh). After a long and careful examination of P. 961 and 962 of that collection (Fasc. 4 and 5 respectively of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papp.*), in which their rdgs. are compared with the previously known texts, especially those of A and B, he comes to the conclusion (p. 134) that the MS. tradition is on the whole fairly sound, the variants being 'ein ganz schmaler Gürtel, der sich um einen festen Kern legt', although allowance must be made (p. 139) for fairly free handling of the text, quite possibly in pre-Christian times, including corrections from the original. He also discusses (*Biblica* 19, 1) the Manchester pap. (P. Ryl. 458) of Deut. 28, 1-3. The Scheide Ezekiel (*Princeton Univ. Studies in Papyrology* No. 3; see *JEA* 24, 95) loses a little of its value as a preserver of unique readings when two MSS. overlooked by the edd. are taken into account, according to A. VACCARI, *Biblica* 19, 205 (the same review is laudatory of KAPPLER's edn. of I Macc.), but remains highly important and the best authority for that text. H. S. GEHMAN has discussed its relation to other MSS. of Ez. in *J. Bibl. Lit.* 57, 281. An anonymous revr. in *Rev. ét. juives* 2 (102), 1937, 133, is critical of KAPPLER for not taking into account the influence of the (lost) Heb. original. Outside the LXX, CAMPBELL BONNER's edn. (London, Christopher, 1937) of *The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek* is receiving attention and for the most part unmixed praise, although M. ZERWICK (*Biblica* 19, 350) thinks the editor's treatment of the verbal usages too scanty. Discussion of GOODENOUGH's views continues (*JEA* 22, 63); M. H. SHEPHERD, JR., in *Cl. Phil.* 33, 349, joins in the general disagreement with his interpretation of Philon's references to mysteries. MARTIN RIST (*J. Bibl. Lit.* 57, 289) is most interesting in his discussion of the formula 'The God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob' in liturgy and magic, Jewish and other. In *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 31, 191, W. L. KNOX deals with Pap. 4 Preisendanz, 3008 sqq. (the great Paris magical pap.), pointing out that although there are Christian and pagan details added, the bulk of the passage is a good Jewish formula, probably of exorcism, a *κήρυγμα* of the wonderful works of Yahweh. For the cod. Sinaiticus see G below.

E. MAGIC

There is at least one good monograph, the dissertation of HANS SCHWEIZER, *Aberglaube u. Zauberei bei Theokrit*, Basel, Boehm, 1937, which deals mostly with Id. 2 and makes free use of papp. The present writer agrees with the estimate given by E. MCCARTNEY in his account of this work, *Cl. Phil.* 34, 168. H. C. YOUTIE and CAMPBELL BONNER (*TAPA* 68, 43) publ. two *defixiones* on lead from Beisan (Bethshan) with formulae for the most part similar to those familiar from such monuments elsewhere; a curious feature, however, is that the person cursed in No. 2 is identified by adding his father's and not his mother's name. Beroia furnishes (see D. M. ROBINSON in *Class. and Med. Studies in honor of E. K. Rand*, New York, 245) a silver tablet, obviously intended as an amulet, with magic names, etc. H. C. YOUTIE has made the interesting discovery that the words in I.G. 3, app. 66, are to be read backwards, but proceed in order from left to right in the usual manner. A short phrase is treated as a single word in this elementary cryptogram. His inter-

pretation is publ. in *Am. Journ. Phil.* 59, 346. I have not seen TH. HOPFNER, *Ein neues Thymokatochon* (*Arch. Orient.* 10, 128), which includes the publ. of two papp. and a discussion of sundry points of Gk. sorcery. DELATTE's *Herbarius* (*JEA* 23, 86) reached a second, enlarged edn. in 1938.

F. ASTROLOGY

Save for numerous revs. of CUMONT, *L'Égypte des astrologues*, and GUNDEL, *Neue astrologische Texte* (*JEA* 23, 87; 24, 96), I have found nothing to note here, and also nothing touching on Hermetism.

G. NEW TESTAMENT

Mention may be made here, a little belatedly, of a new handbook, HERBERT PRIESTER's *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, Berlin, Töpelmann, 1937, which contains amongst other relevant things chapters on the religion of the times. It is semi-popular and has an appendix of transl. texts. The Chester Beatty papp. continue to excite interest and comment; for example, C. C. TARELLI discusses the linguistic aspects of those which pertain to the Gospels (*JTS* 39, 254) and J. HUGH MICHAEL (*ibid.*, 150) uses them among other evidence for a textual phenomenon which he believes he has found in Rom. Some new fragmm. of an old pap. have come to light and are publ. by J. MERELL in *Rev. bibl.* 47, 5; it was first publ. in 1891 and contains some scraps of Mt. and Lk. E. C. COLWELL (*Cl. Phil.* 33, 112) finds LEGG's edn. of Mk. lacking in 'balance, thoroughness and systematic treatment of the evidence'. But perhaps the most important publ. of this period is not a pap. at all, though closely allied to the study of them. After careful examination under the microscope and by ultra-violet rays, H. J. M. MILNE and T. C. SKEAT have produced a careful study, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus*, modifying and correcting in the light of their more accurate knowledge some of the statements of Tischendorf. Their work is justly praised by L. VAGANAY in *Rev. des sciences relig.* 19, 202. But on the whole, much less than usual seems to have been done on the N.T., at least so far as its text and the evidence of the papp. are concerned.

H. CHRISTIANITY AND CHRISTIAN HERESIES

One of the most interesting docs. which have appeared for some time is the homily of Melito of Sardis, preserved in one of the Beatty-Michigan codd., that one which contains the portion of Enoch mentioned under D. It deals with the Passion, is partly preserved also in Pap. Oxy. 1600, and besides its literary interest (it shows rhetorical elaboration at an earlier date than had hitherto been proved for Christian writers) it contains interesting material regarding the rending of the temple veil and the personal beauty (despite Is. 53. 2) of Jesus, an idea formerly supposed to be not earlier than Constantine. See CAMPBELL BONNER in *Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 94; *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 31, 175; and M. RIST, *ibid.*, 249. A. ALFÖLDI in his study (*Klio* 31, 323) of the persecutions of Christians in the 3rd cent. makes little or no use of papp. but discusses the subject well and has some refs. to Eg. I have not seen A. POCHAN, *Note au sujet de l'ère des martyrs ou de Dioclétien*, *Bull. Inst. d'Ég.* 19, 135. G. GHEDINI has written on *Echi di eresie cristiane nei papiri greci*, *Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 116 (= *Aeg.* 17, 334). PAOLA BARISON deals with the hist., organization, and so forth of Egn. monasteries on the basis of the papp. (scarce for 4th cent., less so in 5th, much commoner in 6th and 8th, though for some reason not abundant in 7th), in *Aeg.* 18, 29. A. EHRHARD's monumental *Überlieferung u. Bestand d. hagiographischen u. homiletischen Literatur d. griechischen Kirche v. d. Anfängen bis z. Ende d. 16. Jahrhunderts*, 1. Teil, *Die Überlieferung* (= *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, 4. Reihe, 5. Bd.), Leipzig, 1937, includes a valuable catalogue (pp. 55-66) of papyrus fragmm. of *Acta Sanctorum* and similar texts. Note particularly the identification of P. Oxy. 851 as the Martyrium of St. Mamas. The *Bull. Soc. d'arch. copte* is not accessible to me, wherefore I merely mention two titles, H. MUNIER, *Le Christianisme à Philae* (4, 37) and DE LACY O'LEARY, *The Destruction of Temples in Egypt* (4, 51). A very singular doc. is edited with excellent comm. by G. BJÖRCK, *Der Fluch d. Christen Sabinus*, Uppsala, Almqvist and Wicksell. Sabinus, having been on bad terms with his relatives, apparently took to his grave a formal complaint to be handed to the authorities in the next world. But the most important novelty is the Manichaean texts which are now in process of publ. (*Manichäische Handschriften herausgegeben im Auftrage d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. unter Leitung v. Prof. Carl Schmidt*. Bd. 1, *Kephalaia*, Stuttgart, 1935-7), which for the first time permit a direct study of that important sect. The general sketch of the subject by A. BÖHLIG, *Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 85, and the study of Gk. elements in their (Cop.) vocabulary by C. R. C. ALLBERRY, *ibid.*, 20 are but forerunners of the large literature which should appear in the next few years.

3. Publications of Non-Literary Texts

A. GENERAL

The Franco-Polish excavations at Edfu (Apollinopolis Magna), while not very fruitful of papp., have yielded a good crop of ostrr., publ. with laudable celerity by G. MANTEUFFEL in *Fouilles Franco-Polonaises*, I: *Tell Edfou 1937*. Ch. v, Les Papyrus et les Ostraca grecs, pp. 141–91, Pls. xlii, xliii, and *ibid.*, II: *Tell Edfou 1938*. Ch. III, pp. 137–65, Pls. xlvi, xlvii, xlviii, xlix. Outstanding in the earlier publ. is the group of ostrr. from the Jewish quarter, including many receipts for the Ἰουδαίων τέλοςμα or, more explicitly, the τιμὴ δηναρίων δύο Ἰουδαίων, the temple-tax appropriated to the fiscus by Vespasian after the rebellion of A.D. 66–70. The latest receipt bears the significant date of 116—the eve of the great Jewish revolt in Eg. Besides these, a small group of Latin ostrr. is an unexpected discovery. Three Byz. papp. are printed, the first (P. Edfu II) with a practically complete protocol in ‘perpendicular writing’. WILCKEN, in reviewing the publ. in *Archiv* 13, 150–1, has pointed out with his usual acumen that while P. Edfu III, of 618, dates by Heraclius, P. Edfu II, written in the following year, omits the Emperor’s name and retains only the Christian invocation and the Indiction. This change of style he convincingly attributes to the Persian conquest of 618, and points out that P. Edfu IV, written in Indict. 1, is likewise to be assigned to the Persian occupation, the date being 627. Also revd. by C. PRÉAUX, *Chron. d’Ég.* 13, 403–5, making some textual corrections.

The second instalment opens with a nearly complete pap., a copy of a letter from Theogenes authorizing a delay of 30 days in the collection of certain taxes. Though the ed. has not attempted to identify Theogenes, I have very little doubt that he is the well-known Dioiketes of Philopator,¹ familiar from P. Lille 3–4, etc. The date is thus 5 Feb. 208 B.C. P. Teb. 705, written the preceding month, is no doubt from the same minister, possibly even on the same subject. The remaining documents, mostly ostrr., include a further group from the Ghetto.

The latest fasc. of the Janda papp. is by JOHANN HUMMEL, *Griechische Wirtschaftsrechnungen u. Verwandtes* (= P. Jand. VIII). Pp. 351–90, Pls. xxv–xxvi. Private accounts are notoriously difficult, and the present, ranging in date from the 2nd cent. B.C. to the 7th cent. A.D., are no exception. Most interesting is P. Jand. 154, a list of ecclesiastical officials in receipt of wine, nicely graded from the ἀρχιπρεσβύτερος down to the humble doorkeeper and muleteer.

M. HOMBERT and C. PRÉAUX continue their publ. of *Les Papyrus de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth*. In No. III, *Fragments de contrats ptolémaïques*, in *Chron. d’Ég.* 13, 139–51, with pl., two contracts of the year 107–106 B.C. are publ., and though the details are mostly lost, the unusually full protocols, giving not only the different priesthoods but (very surprising at this late date) the names of the holders, provide much of interest. The priest of Cleopatra II is Helenos s. of Apollodorus, strategus of Cyprus and holder of other important posts. His sister Thaubarion (note the Egn. name!) is priestess of Cleopatra III. Revd. by WILCKEN, *Archiv* 13, 136–7.

No. IV in the same series (*Chron. d’Ég.* 13, 378–87, with pl.) is a 5th-cent. letter from a deacon ordering a hanging (βῆλον = *velum*) for his church, giving the dimensions and specifying that it should be ornamented with the σημίον Χριστοῦ, presumably a cross or Christian monogram.

No. II of the series (*JEA* 24, 98) has been revd. by WILCKEN in *Archiv* 13, 145.

E. P. WEGENER, *Some Oxford Papyri*, in *JEA* 23, 204–25, publs. 9 papp., all but one in the Bodleian Library. No. I is a loan (A.D. 131, Oxyrhynchite nome) stated to be additional to an earlier and still outstanding loan on mortgage; the details and the juristic position are rather obscure, the pap. not being an original doc., but an isolated col. from the τόμος συγκολλησίμιος of the local γραφεῖον, which perhaps partly explains its rather disjointed and ungrammatical construction. No. II (A.D. 337, Arsinoite nome) is a loan of more ordinary character. No. III, addressed to the logistes, is actually col. ii of the pap. of which cols. iii and iv have been publ. as P. Grenf. II. 79; it is a sworn promise to appear before the Prefect in connexion with a contract of loan alleged by the declarant to be a forgery; the date is c. A.D. 324–5. V is a fragm. of a private letter (3rd cent. A.D.). VI (early 1st cent. B.C.) is an order for payment of ὀψώνιον, partly in silver and partly in copper, to a detachment of Ἰπποθράκες—a hitherto unknown unit in the Ptolemaic army. VII, a land-survey fragm. (early 2nd cent. A.D.), VIII, a customs receipt (A.D. 156), and IX, a receipt for wheat (5th–6th cent. A.D.), are of minor interest. An adequate comm. brings out the points of interest, and the more difficult texts are fully and critically annotated.

¹ He was, in all probability, the amiable individual who compassed the death of the King’s brother Magas by having boiling water poured over him in his bath (*cf.* Edgar, *Ann. Serv.* 20, 98).

P. Mich. III (*JEA* 23, 88–9) has been revd. by H. I. BELL, *JRS* 27 (1937), 280–2; K. FR. W. SCHMIDT, *Phil. Woch.* 58, 343–9; and E. H. KASE, *Am. Hist. Rev.* 43, 347–8.

Most of the revs. I have seen of P. Mich. IV. I (*JEA* 24, 97–8) are ‘marking time’ pending the appearance of the indispensable second vol. AMUNDSEN’s *Michigan Ostraca* (*JEA* 22, 68), which likewise still lacks the promised comm., has been revd. by W. SESTON, *Rev. de phil.* 12, 336–8 (important on the introduction of the Indiction and *capitatio*), H. I. BELL, *JEA* 24, 137, and D. M. ROBINSON, *Cl. Phil.* 33, 231–2 (not seen).

BGU IX (*JEA* 24, 98) has been subjected to an exhaustive and illuminating analysis by F. ZUCKER in *Gnomon* 14, 377–88. Comment of a very different kind comes from H. C. YOUTIE, *Class. Phil.* 33, 424–8; he finds, in particular, that ‘the text constantly raises doubts and the commentary is faulty and inadequate’, and he quotes in support a number of examples. Coming from such an authority in this branch of study these criticisms must be very seriously considered. On the other hand, YOUTIE admits that ‘a careful survey of the plates reveals few serious errors of reading’.

P. Oslo III (*JEA* 23, 89–90) has been revd. by N. LEWIS, *Am. Journ. Phil.* 59, 371–3, B. OLSSON, *DLZ* 59, 517–18, K. FR. W. SCHMIDT, *Phil. Woch.* 58, 297–303, and C. H. ROBERTS, *JEA* 23, 266–7.

E. H. KASE’s P. Princet. II (*JEA* 23, 89) has received a long rev. from K. FR. W. SCHMIDT, *Phil. Woch.* 58, 454–60, with the usual spate of textual suggestions. P. COLLART’s rev. in *REG* 51, 202–3, should be noted.

Most revs. of P. Harr. (*JEA* 23, 89) suggest numerous improvements of rdg. and interpretation; one of exceptional importance is that by V. B. SCHUMAN, *Cl. Phil.* 33, 313–19. M. SAN NICOLÒ’s long notice in *KVGR* 29, 245–60, constitutes an invaluable juristic comm. on the texts. See also H. I. BELL in *JEA* 24, 141–3. H. C. YOUTIE has a *Note on P. Rendel Harris 158* in *Cl. Phil.* 33, 208, in which he corrects the text.

P. COLLART revs. very favourably O. Wilb.-Brk. (*JEA* 22, 67–8) in *Rev. d’égyptol.* 3, 140–1.

B. PTOLEMAIC

The chief publ. of the year is naturally the final vol. of the Tebtunis papp.: *The Tebtunis Papyri*, vol. III, part II, by A. S. HUNT, J. G. SMYLY, and C. C. EDGAR. London, EES, xxiii + 345 pp., 4 pls. Price £2. 5s. EDGAR’s brief preface gives little indication of the devotion and self-sacrificing labour which he brought to the publ. of what he himself is constrained to call ‘these exceedingly dry documents’, and only those who, like myself, have had a glimpse of the originals will be able really to appreciate the difficulty of extracting any coherent information from these wretchedly preserved fragmm. There are really no docs. of outstanding interest, but attention may be drawn to the following: 844, 865, accounts of the great oil monopoly, of the mid-3rd cent. B.C. The former shows that nearly 1 *metretes* of oil was extracted from each 3 artabs of sesame; this was sold by the Government at 48 dr., the cost of the sesame being only half that amount, so that even after allowing for costs of production a large profit must still have accrued. 845, scraps of corn account, notable for their early date (264 B.C.) and provenience (Delta, apparently the neighbourhood of Ṭanta). 860 mentions a *δωρεά* of Sosibius, presumably the famous Dioiketes. 867 (late 3rd cent.), account of the fish monopoly. 874, account of the *ἰδιος λόγος* (179 B.C.), apparently its earliest appearance in papp. 880, list of salt-tax payers (181 B.C.), sheds some light on the obscure history of the *ἀλική* in the 2nd cent. 890, banking accounts (2nd cent.), reveals the high state of development reached by the banking system and gives some interesting details of the silver–copper exchange rate. 894, lengthy accounts of a local club. 895, reprint, with additional fragmm. identified by EDGAR, of No. 778, a petition to the Epistrategus Hippalos. Unfortunately the new fragmm., which show that the doc. ran to at least 4 cols., are too broken to provide much additional information.

The vol. as a whole provides much material for the study of Egn. taxation in the 2nd cent. B.C., but it is not easy to draw reliable conclusions from such enigmatic and discontinuous docs.; in the meantime EDGAR’s nn. always bring out the significant facts, not least in the magnificent index (pp. 248–345) to both parts of the vol.

By a happy coincidence the French excavations at Dēr el-Bahri have brought to light the upper half of a remarkable ostr. publ. by GUÉRAUD in 1927, and containing a much-corrected draft of an inser. in honour of the Egn. healing deity Amenothēs, to whom the dedicant (who we now learn was Polyaratos, a Greek) ascribes his recovery from a protracted illness. The text opens with a dating clause, of 260 B.C. The ed. reprints the entire doc., with transl., and adds a fine pl. of the reconstructed ostr.: A. BATAILLE, *Nouveau fragment d’un ostracon concernant Aménôthès fils d’Hapou*, in *Ét. de Pap.* 4, 125–31. Revd. by C. PRÉAUX *Chron. d’Ég.* 13, 400–1, who notes its similarity of outlook with the famous ‘Prayer of Artemisia’; one might also compare P. Cair. Zen. 59034, 59426.

KOUGEAS, *Ζηνώνιοι Πάπυροι* (*JEA* 24, 100), is revd. by WILCKEN, *Archiv* 13, 134–6, with the usual fertile suggestions, and by C. PRÉAUX, *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 399–400.

P. Col. Zen. (*JEA* 21, 85) has been revd. by J. G. WINTER in *Cl. Journ.* 33, 491–4, making some textual corrections; the most important appeared in an earlier rev., written in conjunction with YOUTIE in *Am. Journ. Phil.*, 1935, 178.

R. SEIDER, in an appendix to his *Beiträge z. ptol. Verwaltungsgeschichte* (cf. § 4 D below), publs. a few Zenon and other Ptol. papp. in Heidelberg; all are very fragmentary.

P. JOUGUET's article, *Quittance de prêt en forme de contrat à six témoins datant de l'an 7 de Ptolémée Aulète*, in *Mél. Desrousseaux*, 229–38, which I could not see last year, turns out to be an interesting doc. in several ways. It is a receipt for 13 artabs of barley in repayment of a loan on which the original debtor, now deceased, had defaulted, becoming liable to the regular 50 per cent. penalty. JOUGUET calculated the amount of the earlier loan at the improbable figure of 8½ art., but WILCKEN, in reviewing the publ. (*Archiv* 13, 137–8), has once again provided the key: the original debt was 8 art., augmented by 4 art. penalty, and 1 art. interest. Besides his juristic comments, JOUGUET has a useful n. (233–4) on Cleopatra Tryphaena.

In *JEA* 23, 261, C. C. EDGAR prints a brief n. pointing out, on the evidence of an unpublished fragm. in Cairo, that *Στρατοκλής ὁ γραμματεὺς* is the correct title of the official in the last line of P. Lille I. 4. EDGAR's gift for textual restoration and lucid exposition, and his deep knowledge of the Ptol. period, are alike exemplified in the last contribution from his pen, *The Stolistae of the Labyrinth*, in *Archiv* 13, 76–7. In these two pages he re-edits and reinterprets PSI 857, publ. as a Zenon pap., showing that it is a letter of the later Ptol. period (I should say 2nd cent.) addressed to the *στολισταί* of the Labyrinth at Hawara, and that the *θεραπεία Ζήνωνος* in l. 5 is the mummification¹ of the correspondent's deceased father. Another letter to the same *στολισταί*, likewise concerned with embalming, is SB 5216 = *Select Papyri*, I, No. 104.

C. ROMAN

A. VOGLIANO, *Papiri della R. Università di Milano*, Volume Primo, Hoepli, Milan, 1937, xxii+275 pp., 3 pls., price L. 500, presents the first-fruits of the Italian excavations at Tebtunis. Among the literary papp. is included, as No. 11, the letter of Theon to Heraclides, respecting a consignment of Stoic literature, which had already appeared in an advance extract from the vol. (cf. *JEA* 23, 92). Six documentary papp. (Nos. 23–8), all from the archive of a single family, are publ., with juristic comm. by V. ARANGIO-RUIZ. No. 23 (A.D. 108) is an unusually elaborate division of property between three brothers, their respective shares being equalized by mutual payments in money. No. 24 (A.D. 117) is a long and perfect private letter containing some remarkable expressions, such as the nautical metaphors in ll. 13–15. No. 25 (A.D. 126–7) consists of lengthy extracts from the *ὑπομνηματισμοί* of the Arsinoite strategus Andromachus and the Archidicastes Julius Asclepiades. In the former, repayment of a loan from the estate of the deceased borrower is claimed by a freedman who, after a lively cross-examination, admits that the loan was not made in his name, but in that of a friend who had transferred it to him. No. 26, a cession of catocic land, ed. by P. JOUGUET, has, like No. 11, appeared previously (cf. *JEA* 23, 92). No. 27 (A.D. 128–9) is a collection of docs. relating to an action brought before the exegetes of Alexandria; it transpires that a letter from the exegetes to the local strategus, asking for the accused person to be sent to Alexandria for trial, remained undelivered for some five months through the procrastination of the appellants, to whom it was entrusted, and who are sharply rebuked by the strategus in consequence. No. 28 (A.D. 162–3) is a long account of receipts and expenses of barley, raising some metrological problems, chief of which is a hitherto unattested *μέτρον κολοβ(όν?)*.² The system of fractions and the method of their expression are also novel. The whole doc. is excellently edited by O. GUÉRAUD. WILCKEN's rev. of the vol., *Archiv* 13, 138–42, contains as usual many illuminating comments.

C. B. WELLES, *The Immunitas of the Roman Legionaries in Egypt*, in *JRS* 28, 41–9, with pl., publs. from the Yale collection (Inv. 1528) a most curious pap. of c. A.D. 63; headed *ἀντίγραφον ἐντυχίας*, it is an informal, and certainly unofficial, account of a series of interviews in which a group of legionaries appeal to the Prefect Caecina Tuscus for protection against the local nome strategi; the Prefect shows a marked reluctance to take any action, and the tone of his final admonition to the petitioners, *πορ(εύ)εσθε ἕκαστος εἰς τὰ εἶδια καὶ μὴ γεί(νε)σθε ἄργοι* is unmistakable. But the doc. as a whole, despite WELLES's skilful editing, remains something of a puzzle.

¹ I may add, from the Corrigenda to Liddell and Scott, that *θεραπεύω* = 'embalm' also occurs in Horapollon i. 39.

² The alternative form *κολοβημ()* also appears; I suggest, with diffidence, that this may stand for *κολοβ() ἦμ(ὦν)*.

H. J. WOLFF, of Panama University, publ. *Zwei juristische Papyri der University of Michigan* in *Aeg.* 17 (1937), 463–78, with 4 illusts. The former is a petition, 1st cent. A.D., to the exegetes (?) from an Alexandrian *divorcée* asking for a guardian in place of her ex-husband, apparently to enable her to fulfil the provisions of the divorce contract. Of considerably greater interest is the second doc., a fragmentary Latin contract of the 1st–2nd cent. by which a Roman gives his daughter in marriage. It is thus a parallel to PSI 730, and the two docs. supplement each other in several important points, well brought out by the ed. WILCKEN, in reviewing the publ. in *Archiv* 13, 143–5, makes some observations of fundamental importance touching the form of the doc., which WOLFF had not fully understood: it is in fact a Rom. *testatio*, with the witnesses' signatures, as usual, on the verso.

A preliminary publ. of a pap. found by VOGLIANO at Tebtunis (destined eventually to appear in P. Mil. R. Univ. II) is undertaken by I. CAZZANIGA, *Torbidi giudaici nell' Egitto Romano nel secondo secolo di Cristo*, in *Ann. Inst. phil. hist. or.* 5 (1937), 159–67, with pl. The earlier cols. are poorly preserved, but the conclusion of the doc. is almost perfect, and contains a vigorous denunciation of recent attacks on the Jews by the Greeks of Alexandria. It may be contended (so runs the argument) that these disturbances are the work of a minority. That is perfectly true; but the mob gives them moral, and the influential classes material support,¹ and the whole city must therefore be held responsible. There must be an end to lynch law. If any one has an accusation to bring,² there is the judge deputed for the purpose by Caesar [*i.e.* the Prefect]. Even the Prefect himself has not the power to put men to death without trial. There must be an end, too, of these complaints of assault; even if they are not altogether fictitious, those who get involved in scuffles have only themselves to blame. Whatever justification may have existed before the war of the Romans against the Jews no longer exists now. Dated, the 19th year of — (name of Emperor illegible according to ed.).

It appears to me improbable that this doc. has any connexion with the so-called *Acta Alexandrinorum*; on the contrary, everything tends to identify it as an *edict of the Prefect of Egypt*. But the real importance of the pap. cannot be assessed until the all-important date is read. The script suggests to me the beginning of the 2nd cent. If, then, the Emperor is Trajan, the Prefect is M. Rutilius Lupus and the date 115–16, the very year of the great Jewish uprising in Egypt and Cyrenaica. Alternatively the pap. might be brought down to the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 134–5), in which case the *Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Ἰουδαίους μάχη* may refer to Bar-Cochba's revolt. The pap. should be edited afresh with revised rdgs. and an adequate comm.

A. G. ROOS, *Mnemosyne* 6, 172–4, has a n. on the meaning of ἀπ' αἰῶνος in the *Acta Appiani* (P. Oxy. 33), comparing the phrase πρῶτος ἀπ' αἰῶνος common in inscr. for something 'unprecedented'.³ The singularity here lay not in the execution of an Alexandrine gymnasiarch—Isidorus had already suffered—but in the spectacle of Appianus hailed to execution wearing the insignia of office. In a PS. on p. 178 Roos discusses a passage in the new Yale fragm. of the *Acta*.

P. COLLOMP and his pupils continue the publ. of the *Papyrus grecs de la bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg* in *Bull. de la Fac. des Lettres de Strasbourg* 16 (1937–8), 250–6. No. 143 is a loan (3rd cent.), 144 a sale of land (A.D. 245), 145 a fragmentary loan (?) of A.D. 61–2, 146 a mutilated extract from the *ὑπομνηματισμοί* of a Prefect who may be P. Sempronius Liberalis (c. A.D. 154–8). As usual, only the text, with briefest of nn., is publ. in each case, though the papp. are by no means uninteresting and some at least deserve fuller comment.

G. A. PETROPOULOS, *Trois papyrus inédits de la collection de la Société archéologique d'Athènes*, in *Arch. hist. dr. or.* 2, 315–34, eds. Nos. 27, 25, and 26 (in that order) from this small but interesting collection. 27 (Karanis, A.D. 150) is a sale of a donkey, 25 (Karanis, A.D. 61) a sale of a hand-mill (μύλον Θηβαϊκόν), 26 (very fragmentary, Ptolemais Euergetis, temp. Claudius or Nero) is perhaps a sale of land or house-property. Very full juristic comment is a feature of the publ.

Under the title *Un nouveau Dieu à Bacchias*, A. BATAILLE publ. in *Ét. de Pap.* 4, 197–205, with pl., four papp. belonging to the Soc. Roy. Ég. de Papyrologie (P. Fouad Inv. 186–9). All four docs. are connected with the priesthood of a hitherto unknown Fayyūm deity, *Σοκνοβρᾶσις*. Nos. 186–7 (c. A.D. 186 and A.D. 207) are declarations by a priest that he has filed the *γραφὴ ἱερέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ*, the annual return of the personnel and property of the temple demanded by the Government. 188 (2nd cent.) is a priest's notification to the Basilicogrammateus, announcing the dispatch of certain *δικαιώματα* to the *ἀρχιερεῖς*. 188 (c. 8–7 B.C.) is a fragmentary account. But the chief interest naturally lies in the god himself, and an appendix by CH.

¹ I read ἀλ[λ'] ἐκφέρουσι αὐτοὺς [οἱ] πλε[ί-]ονες, [κ]αὶ τρέφουσιν οἱ κρείσσονες in place of the editor's ἀνεκφέρουσι αὐτούς, [δ] ἱδιόν ἐ[στι]ν, τρέφουσιν κτλ.

² It is clear that in l. 15 (εἴ τις) κατ[η]γορεῖν θ[ε]λ[ε]ί τ[ι]νος, ἔχει δικαστὴν κτλ. is to be read.

³ Cf. the more explicit ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος οὐκ ἠκούσθη in John ix. 32.

KUENTZ (*ibid.* 206–11) explains Soknobrahis as formed from *Sok*, construct form of Suchos, the crocodile god, +*nob* = 'master', +*-rasis* for which there is a choice of several interpretations. Revd. by U. WILCKEN, *Archiv* 13, 146–7.

In P. Mich. III, as an appendix to No. 167, H. A. SANDERS took occasion to print his own revision, made on the basis of photographs, of two Latin birth-certificates in Cairo most recently ed. by O. GUÉRAUD. The latter, in an art. *A propos des certificats de naissance du Musée du Caire*, in *Ét. de Pap.* 4, 14–32, with 2 pls., now gives the results of a minute and painstaking re-examination of the original docs. Not only has he shown several of SANDERS's rdgs. to be untenable but he has also, in more than one instance, established the true text; a brilliant example is *e lege Pap(ia) Popp(aea) et Aelia Sentia* for SANDERS's *sept[em] t[es]t[is]um praesentia*. This art. is of the first importance for the study of these difficult docs., which owe so much to the long and patient studies of SANDERS. In an addendum GUÉRAUD discusses the *testatio* published by BELL (*JEA* 24, 101), which reveals that the primary object of such docs. was to safeguard the child's rights at a future *epicrisis*.

U. WILCKEN, *Archiv* 13, 152–4, revs. in succession H. A. SANDERS, *A Birth Certificate of 138 A.D.* (*JEA* 24, 101), H. I. BELL, *A Latin Registration of Birth* (*ibid.*), and GUÉRAUD's art. referred to above. The last-named author's *Un édit du Préfet T. Hatérius Nepos au sujet du bas-clergé égyptien*, in *Mél. Desrousseaux*, 1937, 199–209, which did not reach me in time for inclusion last year, proves to be a small but interesting doc. ordering pastophori and other 'χρεακοί' to attend strictly to their duties and not to wear wool. The close parallels with §§ 71–6 of the 'Gnomon of the Idios Logos' are quoted and the relationship of the two considered. Incidentally, the title (κεφάλαιον) of the present doc., which is an extract from a Prefect's edict, leads GUÉRAUD to suggest that we have here an actual example of the kind of κεφάλαια which were digested by the compiler of the Gnomon (τὰ ἐν μέσῳ κεφάλαια συντεμνών). The much-discussed phrase ἐν μέσῳ he takes as 'ready at hand', *i.e.* the compiler did not initiate any special researches, but simply used the mass of κεφάλαια which had accumulated in his office. The question whether the prohibition to engage in 'other' occupations constituted a bar to activities outside the temple, or was merely designed to prevent the various classes of temple servants from encroaching on each other's duties is also considered. G. decides for the latter interpretation. Revd. by O. WILCKEN, *Archiv* 13, 145–6.

N. LEWIS contributes *Two Papyrus Notes* to *Cl. Phil.* 33, 96–9. In the first he corrects the address of P. Bad. 35; in the second, and much more important, he prints a revised and thoroughly convincing text of BGU 475, the arithmetic of which is finally clarified by a new rdg. in l. 2. H. C. YOUTIE, *BGU 475*, in *Am. Journ. Phil.* 59, 475–9, supplements LEWIS's publ., correcting his transl. of certain technical terms.

D. ROMAN-BYZANTINE

A. WIFSTRAND has brought out *Aus d. Papyrussammlung d. Universitätsbibliothek in Lund*; II. *Griechische Privatbriefe, K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundets i Lund Årsberättelse, 1936–7*, VI, 161–72, 2 pls. (Lund, 1937). The publ. consists of five private letters. Chief interest of No. 1 (fragmentary, 2nd cent. A.D.) is the phrase in which the writer describes his military promotion (πριγκιπάρης γέγονα ἐφ' ἔτους). 2–3 are not of much consequence. 4 (3rd cent.), a letter from a son to his mother, is remarkable for a tenderness of feeling unusual in the papyri: I may quote ll. 6–12, καὶ ἀπαξ καὶ δεύτερον καὶ πολλάκις ἔγραψά σοι διὰ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἵνα σε¹ ἀναβῆνε (l. -αι) πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ προσκνήσω τὸ καλόν σου πρόσωπον, and especially ll. 19–22, οἶδας δὲ καὶ μὴ γράφω ὅτι οὐδένα ἔχω εἰ μὴ σε τὴν γλυκυτότην μου μητέρα. No. 5 is an exceedingly illiterate letter assigned to 5th–6th cent., though the form of the valediction suggests a rather earlier date; an apparent equation of ½ solidus with 8000 (talents, or myriads of denarii?) would be of interest if the sign preceding the figure could be read. By the way, κυμνᾶ on the verso is one of the well-known nouns of occupation in -ās studied by B. OLSSON, *Aeg.* 6 (1925), 247–9, and W. PETERSEN, *The Greek Masculine in circumflexed -ās*, *Cl. Phil.* 32 (1937), 121–30; the word itself is found in an inscr. publ. by TOD in *PEQ* 68 (1936), 85. The vol. is revd. by H. I. BELL in *Cl. Rev.* 52, 149–50, making suggestions for No. 4, and by W. SCHUBART in *Gnomon* 14, 568–9. WILCKEN, in noticing the publ. in *Archiv* 13, 147–8, remarks that No. 3, a very fragmentary letter of condolence, is the only doc. of its type save P. Oxy. 115; but I think he overlooks *e.g.* the Christian letter P. Princet. II, 102, not to mention the magnificent epistle in M. NORSA's *Papiri greci delle collezioni Italiane*, II, pp. 29–30.

¹ ἵνα σε is out of place here, and there seems to be a confusion between two constructions (the letter was no doubt dictated); or else ἵνα προσκνήσω may have been intended. In l. 14 qu. δηλοῦντι καταλαβεῖ με, the sense being 'if you wish to come to me, that is, meet me on my way up-river'. But BELL, in his rev. quoted above, suggests a different restoration.

G. A. GERHARD, *Griechische Papyri: Urkunden u. literarische Texte a. d. Papyrus-Sammlung d. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg (Veröffentlichungen a. d. badischen Papyrus-Sammlungen, Heft 6)*, Heidelberg, x+76 pp., 3 pls., includes six documentary papp. The first (168) is an acknowledgement of indebtedness (Oxyrhynchus, 5th cent.). 169 is the *κατ' οίκίαν ἀπογραφή* (A.D. 132-3) of a priest in the temple of Soknebtunis at Tebtunis. 170 is an application for a lease of *δημοσία γῆ* at Theadelphia (A.D. 54). The elaborate address confirms the usually accepted view that the *πρεσβύτεροι κώμης* were distinct from the *πρεσβύτεροι γεωργῶν*, and proves the continued existence of the latter body (a Ptolemaic legacy) well into the 1st cent. 171, a 3rd-cent. private letter, and 172, lease of a *χορτοθήκη* (A.D. 547), are followed by a more unusual doc., 173 (6th-7th cent.), an order for payment from a hospital, the *εὐαγῆς ξενῶν τῶν Εὐβουλάων*, to an official of the Imperial *οἶκος*, of 500 artabs of lentils; this fragment was apparently to extinguish a loan of 48 solidi + interest, but the exact nature of the transaction is rather obscure. See the suggestions of BELL printed by GERHARD at the end of the vol.

E. BYZANTINE

In publishing P. Lond. Inv. 2565 (*JEA* 21, 225) I remarked that it was by far the longest extant record of an Egn. lawsuit. Such claims are always fatal, and since then its position has been challenged not only by the finely-preserved docs. of P. Mil. R. Univ. I, (*cf.* above, under C), but also by a pap. in the Columbia collection, excellently publ. by C. J. KRAEMER and N. LEWIS, *A Referee's Hearing on Ownership*, in *TAPA* 58 (1937), 357-87. This is an account of a trial before the *defensor* of Arsinoe in A.D. 340, and the case, which had been remitted to him by the Prefect, was as follows. The plaintiffs, two women owning an estate at Karanis which they had inherited from their father, had abandoned their property and fled, being unable to pay the taxes assessed upon it. The local *praepositus* assigned the lands to the villagers to cultivate, but subsequently the owners reappeared and claimed their property. The villagers complied with alacrity, and not only handed over the estate but, according to the plaintiffs, other property which did not belong to them, and of which they were trying to disembarass themselves by the present action. The villagers on their part claimed that the plaintiffs' father had remained in undisturbed possession of all the lands in question for 45 years, and quoted a law of Constantine the Great, laying down that 40 years' possession constituted ownership by prescription, without the necessity of proving *justum initium possessionis*. This virtually ended the case, which was only prolonged by the ineffectual efforts of the plaintiffs' counsel to confuse the court. In the end their case breaks down completely, and the *defensor* gives judgement for the villagers.

Interest naturally centres in the rescript of Constantine, previously known only from two unsatisfactory allusions. Now we know for certain the author, the exact wording, and, within certain limits (A.D. 326-333), the date. But apart from the legal aspect, the general anxiety to avoid ownership of land, with its concomitant burden of taxation, sheds a lurid light on the economic position of Eg. at this period, while from the point of view of human interest the duels of the rival advocates, and the witnesses on both sides, make excellent reading. In a very few places the editors' text seems to me susceptible of improvement, *e.g.* l. 7 perhaps *ὡς ματεώτατα*; l. 27, *γάρ ἐστιν* for *πάρεστιν*; ll. 46-7 perhaps *πέπτωκεν* and *καταπεπτωκέναι* for *κατέπρησεν* and *καταπεπρηκέναι*; also in l. 47 *ὅτι* does not mean 'because', but is simply used, as often, to introduce direct speech; can the last word of the pap. be the same as the last word of P. Lond. Inv. 2565, *λέλυται*?

A will of Rom. form, dating from either A.D. 335 or 345, in the collection of New York University, is publ. by LIONEL COHEN, *Heredis Institutio ex re certa and a new will of Rom. type*, in *TAPA* 58 (1937), 343-56. In spite of its fragmentary state, it enables the ed. to re-interpret a vexed passage in the only complete doc. of this class, P. Oxy. 907. The particular passage is the institution of heirs for specific bequests only—a hybrid form of testamentary disposition which is the product of the typical Gk. will leaving specific bequests to the heirs and the pure Rom. will instituting either a universal heir, or a number of heirs among whom the property is divided fractionally. The mixed form seems to be the peculiar product of Graeco-Egyptian law, and was not recognized by the Romans until the time of Papinian. The whole paper contains much that is of importance for the hist. of the Rom. will.

P. M. MEYER, in his *Juristische Papyri*, No. 73, 7, quoted an unpublished pap. which ever since has been widely discussed by both papyrologists and numismatists. It is thus a particularly happy event that the original doc. should now have reappeared in the Rylands collection, in which it bears the number P. Ryl. Gk. Inv. 650. Eventually it will be included in the fourth volume of the Rylands catalogue, but C. H. ROBERTS and H. MARTINGLY deserve our gratitude for making the full text of this important doc. available as soon as possible in their joint article *ITAIKON NOMIEMA*, in *Trans. Internat. Numism. Congr., London, 1936*, 246-51. It is a private letter from a man of some importance to an agent, informing him that the

government has ordered τὸ ἰταλικὸν νόμισμα εἰς ἡμῶν νούμμου καταβιβασθῆναι, and that in consequence he is to spend all the ἰταλικὸν ἀργύριον at his disposal in the purchase of goods. The interpretation of this apparently simple doc. bristles with problems, and the edd. themselves freely admit that these have not yet been fully solved. There is not space here to summarize their very ingenious conclusions, so I will confine myself to noting (1) that in regard to the date of the pap. the designation of the Emperors as οἱ δεσπόται ἡμῶν is of importance (the first instance quoted by PREISIGKE is in A.D. 293, which seems to rule out Carus and Numerian), and (2) in regard to the date of Stud. Pal. xx. 85, where also νούμμοι Ἰταλικοί are mentioned, the edd. do not seem to have realized how convincingly E. H. KASE has proved that the Indiction reckoning did not begin until A.D. 315 (cf. *A Papyrus Roll in the Princeton Collection*, 25–31); the pap. cannot therefore be earlier than A.D. 320–1.

V. MARTIN, *Epistula Exactoriae*, in *Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 260–85, suggests a new way out of an old difficulty. In P. Lond. 233 the prytanis of the Arsinoite senate asks Abinnaeus to obtain for him at the Imperial court an *epistula exactoriae*. This doc. was not an appointment to the office of *exactor*, but a diploma certifying (in this instance, of course, fraudulently) that the office of *exactor* had been duly held; such a diploma gave the holder entry into the class of ex-exactors, with consequent immunity from further office-holding. Step by step MARTIN builds up a powerful argument, and the whole art. is a pleasure to read.

In *Archiv* 13, 148–50, U. WILCKEN revs. successively M. NORSA, *Elezione del ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΩΤΗΣ di una Corporazione del V secolo D.C.* (cf. *JEA* 24, 102), C. PRÉAUX, *Une Reconnaissance de Dette du IV^e siècle après J.-C.* (*JEA*, *ibid.*), in which he makes a few textual corrections, and S. G. KAPSOMENOS, *Zwei byzantinische Papyri a. d. Zeit Justinians* (*JEA*, *ibid.*).

4. Political History, Biography, Administration, Topography, Chronology

A. GENERAL

CLAIRE PRÉAUX writes on *La signification de l'époque d'Évergète II* in *Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 345–54. J. VOGT, *Aegypten als Reichsprovinz im Wandel der Jahrtausende*, in *Klio* 31, 301–12, describes the difficulties, constantly recurring from the 7th cent. on, attending the incorporation of Eg. in an external imperial system. With regard to the position of Eg. under the Rom. Empire he repeats the older view 'Augustus zog das Land als Königsland an sich' (p. 307); considering modern work on the question a more precise formulation would have been desirable. The same view is put forward in O. MONTEVECCHI's lecture *Roma e l'Egitto*, in *Aeg.* 18, 319–32, where, however, the writer is concerned mainly with social and economic questions. H. I. BELL's sketch of the same period, *Roman Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 347–63 (a lecture given at Brussels), is admirably judicious, marked by freshness of outlook and use of the latest material. In *Byzantion* 12 (1937), 71–103, *Les Pharaons romains*, J. MAURICE makes a number of remarks on the influence of Egn. institutions on the development of Rom. policy, with particular reference to the concept of the Pharaoh as model for the position of Diocletian and Maximian as vice-gerents of Juppiter and Hercules, and to the organization of the Egn. pagan 'clergy' against the Christian.

A. CALDERINI, *Documenti per la storia degli Etiopi e dei loro rapporti col mondo romano*, in *Atti del IV Congresso nazionale di studi romani*, II, 315–25, collects some of the relevant papp. and inscr., and concludes that the Ethiopian Kingdoms and peoples had little political, religious, or cultural influence on Eg. or Rome.

B. POLITICAL HISTORY

P. G. ELGOOD's *The Ptolemies of Egypt*, Bristol, xvi + 240 pp., is a lively popular account in a sturdy style. E. BIKERMAN, *Sur les batailles navales de Cos et d'Andros* in *Rev. ét. anc.* 40, 369–83, argues that Antigonos Gonatas's victory over the Egn. squadrons at Cos fell in the year 263–261 B.C., and brought the Chremonidean War to an end. In the following decade the Aegean was not dominated by any one power, while the Island League broke up because of Egn. neglect, partly due to failure in the Second Syrian War. BIKERMAN takes up an agnostic attitude to the battle of Andros: it was a victory for Antigonos, but neither his opponent nor its date can be discovered.

P. JOUQUET, *Eulaeos et Lénaeos: Observations sur la sixième guerre syrienne* in *Bull. Inst. d'Ég.* 19 (1937), 157–74, is a popular lecture on this disastrous episode in Ptolemaic hist. In the main he accepts OTTO's reconstruction of events, but inclines to think the war was forced on Egypt. W. L. WESTERMANN, *Komanos of the First Friends* in *Archiv* 13, 1–12, publs. a pap. in which is a ref. to Comanus τῶν πρώτων φίλων and *strategus* of the Arsinoite nome. In a detailed comm. WESTERMANN identifies him with the Comanus in

charge (together with Cineas) of Ptolemaic policy in 169 B.C., and by dating the letters in (probably) 187 B.C. wins some new information about Comanus's early career.

L. E. LORD, *The Date of Caesar's Departure from Alexandria* in *JRS* 28, 19–40, examines and presents with greater thoroughness the evidence for his thesis, already propounded in an earlier paper (*JEA* 24, 103), that Caesar left Alexandria not later than 1 May 47. A subsidiary result of his investigation is the conclusion that Caesar did not spend a precious two months in a voyage up the Nile with Cleopatra.

E. R. GOODENOUGH, *The Politics of Philo Judaeus, Practice and Theory*, New Haven, xii + 348 pp., is mainly concerned with ideas, but also retells the story of the troubled events in the reign of Caligula and Philo's part in them. I have not been able to consult H. LEISEGANG, *Philons Schrift über d. Gesandtschaft d. Alexandrinischen Juden an d. Kaiser Gaius Caligula* in *J. Bibl. Lit.* 57, 377–405.

H. I. BELL, *The Economic Crisis in Egypt under Nero* in *JRS* 28, 1–8 (summarized *Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 71), argues that the edict of Ti. Iulius Alexander is to be 'treated as a serious historical document, not as propaganda', and supports this point of view by comparing the complaints there made with the evidence of Philo and of contemporary docs., including an unpubl. register from the Rylands papp. C. B. WELLES's publ. *The Immunities of the Roman Legionaries in Egypt* in *JRS* 28, 41–9 (summarized *Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 521), reveals, according to the ed., 'corruption among the civil administration and unrest among the legionaries in the last years of Nero' (cf. § 3, C).

W. SESTON, *Achilleus et la révolte de l'Égypte sous Dioclétien d'après les papyrus et l'Histoire Auguste*, in *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist. publiés par l'École française de Rome* 55, 184–200, investigates afresh the causes, nature, and chronology of the revolt. He argues that the sources of two passages in the *Historia Augusta* (Vita Probi 17, Vita Firmi 3–5) were misunderstood by the compilers, and really relate to Achilleus. The rebellion was based on a revolt of the peasants against intolerable economic conditions but encouraged by the Sassanid Narses as prelude to aggression in Asia Minor. It was put down in the *χώρα* in autumn 296, in Alexandria not till spring 297.

C. BIOGRAPHY

V. EHRENBURG, *Ofella di Cirene* in *Riv. di fil.* 16, 144–51, gathers together the evidence for the interesting career of Ptolemy's first governor of Cyrene, a personality of considerable interest among the minor actors in the drama of the Successors. R. SYME, *The Origin of Cornelius Gallus* in *Cl. Quart.* 32, 39–44 (reprinted *Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 459–70), attractively seeks to place the origin of the first Rom. prefect of Eg. among the highly civilized aristocracy of Southern Gaul. A. STEIN, *Octavius* (37), in *PW*, XVII/2, 1826, writes a short note on the prefect of 2/1 B.C.–A.D. 3. V. A. GIRGIS, *Prosopografia e Aphroditopolis* (Berlin, 175 pp.), is a list of persons either born at Aphrodito or resident there and mentioned in papp. down to the year 700. The choice of this date automatically excludes e.g. almost the whole of P. Lond. IV, while the curious principle of only allowing one reference to each individual deprives the book of much of its value even in its very limited field.

D. ADMINISTRATION

For the Ptol. period there is little to report. R. SEIDER, *Beiträge z. ptol. Verwaltungsgeschichte (Der Nomarches. Der Dioiketes Apollonios)*, Heidelberg, deals with the two unconnected subjects forming the subtitle. He gives, firstly, a collection of the evidence for the hist., functions, and development of the office of *νομάρχης*, together with a list of holders of the office; secondly, a short critical discussion of the position and work of Apollonios, especially in regard to the contributions to this study of EDGAR and ROSTOVITZEFF. E. KIESSLING's paper *Streiflichter z. Katökenfrage* in *Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 213–29, should be well known as it has already been summarized in German (*JEA* 24, 104), and the summary itself has now been transl. into English (*Research and Progress* 4, 265–7). In *PW*, XVII/2 E. ZIEBARTH writes on *Oikonomos* and E. KIESSLING on *Oinologos*.

Chapter XI of A. H. M. JONES's *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford, 1937, xv + 576 pp.) is of first importance to the student of Egn. municipal development. JONES scrutinizes afresh the lists of nomes and their territorial delimitation in the Ptol., Rom., and Byz. period, gives an account of the free cities and, most valuable of all, traces the intricate process by which the *Metropoleis* developed into municipalities on a level with those elsewhere in the Rom. Empire. In *The Election of the Metropolitan Magistrates in Egypt* in *JEA* 24, 65–72 (summarized *Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 171–3), the same author 'attempts to collate what is known of the election of city magistrates in the Roman Empire generally, and in particular in the Greek East, with the evidence of the papyri on this question', and makes a number of interesting suggestions. B. A. VAN GRONINGEN, *Pap. Oxy. 1416 and the History of the Gymnasiarchy* in *Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*,

505–11, argues that at the end of the 3rd cent. the office of gymnasiarch, even when apportioned among several holders, was no longer occupied every day, but revived only for special occasions. E. P. WEGENER, *Notes on the φυλαί of the metropoleis in Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 512–20, argues that φυλαί were introduced into metropoleis in A.D. 206, that the normal number of φυλαί was five (φυλή and ἄμφοδον not being coincident terms), and suggests that the phrase οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς . . . φυλῆς in P. Oxy. 1413 and 1415 means the (five) representatives of that tribe in the βουλή.

Another work of capital importance which every papyrologist will need to possess is that of S. L. WALLACE, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (Princeton, xii+512 pp.). It is revd. appreciatively by CL. PRÉAUX, *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 421–7; W. L. WESTERMANN, *Am. Hist. Rev.* 44, 79–83; and H. I. BELL, *JRS* 28, 241–3. In *Census and Poll-Tax in Ptolemaic Egypt* in *Am. Journ. Phil.* 59, 418–42, WALLACE enters the lists on the side of those who believe that the poll-tax was not a Rom. innovation. He argues that the 14-year census cycle and the institution of poll-tax go back to 220/219 B.C., and were introduced by Philopator's finance minister Sosibius. The reason why there are no extant receipts for these payments is that such receipts were not given. A great part of this argument is speculative only.

A. STEIN, *Ἐπανορθωτής*, *Aeg.* 18, 234–43, inquires into the meaning of the title, and compares instances elsewhere in the Rom. Empire with three known cases in Eg., with special reference to Cl. Firmus mentioned in P. Mich. III, p. 292, and P. Merton 26 (unpubld.) as λαμπρότατος at a time when Eg. had no prefect. Prosopographically he sees no objection to identifying Firmus Ἐπανορθωτής with the Prefect of the same name of ten years earlier. V. MARTIN, *Epistula exactoriae* in *Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 269–85, examines afresh P. Lond. II No. 233, p. 273 (= W., *Chr.*, 44), and shows that the *epistula exactoriae* there sought by a prytanis of Arsinoe was probably an honorary title (*codicillus*) to the appointment, which would at once give a certain status and exempt its holder from further liturgies. The *exactor civitatis* of the early 4th cent. did not differ either in the conditions of tenure of his office or the method of appointment from the *exactor* of the latter part of the cent.

N. HOHLWEIN, *Le Blé d'Égypte* in *Ét. de Pap.* 4, 33–120, is a clearly and attractively presented summary of modern work on this subject. The writer includes chapters on the system of land tenure, the cadastre, the Nile and irrigation, agrarian conditions, Lagid policy, the annona and Rome. The limits he has set himself do not allow him to discuss difficulties of detail in the evidence. A. CALDERINI conducts a *Censimento topografico delle banche dell' Egitto greco-romano* in *Aeg.* 18, 244–78. A. GROHMANN's Congress paper *Zum Steuerwesen im arabischen Aegypten* is printed in *Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 122–34.

E. TOPOGRAPHY

A third fascicule has appeared of G. LUMBROSO's *Testi e commenti concernenti l'antica Alessandria* (*JEA* 23, 95). H. HENNE, *Sur trois nomes du Delta* in *Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 137–58, discusses some of the obscurities in the identification of the 'Αλεξανδρέων χώρα, the nome Μενελαίτης, and the nome of Berenice. H. KEES's note *Oasis* in *PW*, XVII/2, 1681–6, is hist. and topographical. F. M. ABEL, *L'Île de Jotabé* in *Rev. bibl.* 47, 510–38, identifies the island with Tirān at the entrance to the gulf of Akaba, and alludes discursively to the organization of commerce with the East via the Red Sea, and the customs stations from the Ptol. period onwards. F. W. OLIVER and A. DE COSSON, *Note on the Taenia Ridge; with special Reference to Quarries, Sites and an Ancient Road between Alexandria and Abu Sir* (with a *Postilla* by A. [DRIANI]) *Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alex.* 32, 162–176, is inaccessible to me.

F. CHRONOLOGY

The first place must be given to T. C. SKEAT's work, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies; with Tables for Converting Egyptian Dates to the Julian System* in *Mizraim* 6 (1937), 7–40, a *Hilfsmittel* which will prove indispensable. The author gives the necessary minimum of refs. and discussion of disputed points, and the tables allow of conversion of Egn. dates to the Julian system by an easy operation.

C. F. NIMS, *Notes on Univ. of Michigan Demotic Papyri from Philadelphia* in *JEA* 24, 73–82, alludes to a dem. doc. (P. Mich. Inv. 4526, A1, 2) dated in year 6 (Choiak) of Epiphanes. The presence of this date makes untenable one of the hypotheses put forward by F. W. WALBANK (*JEA* 23, 96) to account for the chronology of this difficult period. Instead of the theory that year 6 was suppressed we must suppose that a break occurred part of the way through one Egn. year, and that the period from then to the next Thoth 1 was regarded as a new year. NIMS gives a table of the known documentary dates from the first nine years of Epiphanes' reign.

F. M. ABEL, *L'ère des Séleucides* in *Rev. bibl.* 47, 198–213, outlines the origin and vicissitudes of this era,

with special reference to its use as the chronological basis of Maccabees. W. F. SNYDER, 'Ἡμέραι Σεβασταί in *Aeg.* 18, 197–233, lists the occurrences of these dates, and attempts to identify the events of which they are anniversaries. A. POCHAN, *Note au sujet de l'ère des martyrs ou de Dioclétien* in *Bull. Inst. d'Ég.* 19 (1937), 135–45, I have not been able to see.

5. Social Life, Education, Art, Economic History

A. SOCIAL LIFE

The tabulation of evidence in regard to domestic life and economy contained in ORSOLINA MONTEVECCHI's *Contributi per una storia sociale ed economica della famiglia nell' Egitto greco-romano* in *Aeg.* 17, 338–48, and LYDIA BANDI's *I conti privati nei papiri dell' Egitto greco-romano*, *ibid.*, 349–451, is very valuable. O. GUÉRAUD's publ. of *Décret d'une association en l'honneur de son Président* in *Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alex.* 32, 21–40, throws light on the position of the farming class in the Delta under Augustus. A. E. R. BOAK's *Organization of Guilds in Graeco-Roman Egypt* in *TAPA* 68, 212–20, lucidly discusses these societies in general. For the earliest part of the Graeco-Rom. period W. PEREMANS's *Vreemdelingen en Egypten in Vroeg-Ptolemaisch Egypte*, Louvain, 1937, is useful.

B. EDUCATION

The publ. by O. GUÉRAUD and P. JOUGUET of *Un livre d'écolier du III^e siècle avant J.-C.*, Cairo, is of outstanding importance: the nn. on this handbook are most valuable.

C. ART

A. ADRIANI continues his nn. on the contents of the Alexandria Museum: *Contributi all' iconografia dei Tolomei*, in *Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alex.* 32, 77–111, makes some identifications, and *Osservazioni sulla Stele di Helixo* (*ibid.*, 112–30) provides a comparison with Pompeian painting. There is an important rev. by F. POULSEN, *L'art du portrait dans l'Égypte Romaine* in *Rev. ét. anc.* 59, 385, of P. GRAINDOR's *Bustes et statues-portraits d'Égypte romaine*.

D. ECONOMIC HISTORY

The administration of the Ptolemies as regards economics is vindicated by W. L. WESTERMANN in *The Ptolemies and the Welfare of their Subjects* (*Am. Hist. Rev.* 43, 270–87). A. CALDERINI's *Censimento topografico delle banche dell' Egitto greco-romano* in *Aeg.* 38, 244–78, indexes the material available in a convenient form. Information as to trading connexions in the Graeco-Rom. period is to be found in F. M. ABEL's *L'Île de Jotabé* in *Rev. bibl.* 47, 510–38. C. H. ROBERTS and H. MATTINGLY discuss exchange problems in *Ἰταλικὸν νόμισμα* in *Trans. Int. Numism. Congr.* 1936, 246–51.

§6 (Law) held over.

7. Palaeography and Diplomatic

HENRY A. SANDERS, *The Beginnings of the Modern Book: The Codex of the Classical Era* in *Univ. of Michigan Quarterly*, Winter, 95–111, is a most stimulating study, even though all his conclusions may not be generally accepted. The early use, going back at least to the 1st cent. B.C., of parchment note-books in codex form for memoranda, drafts, accounts, etc., is rightly stressed, but the author is less successful in attempting to prove the equally early use of the parchment codex for copies of literary works.¹ Revised statistics of the proportion of vellum to pap., and roll to codex, throughout successive centuries are welcome, and that edd. in the past have tended to date all codices late, often in defiance of palaeography, is a sound observation (for a clear case see P. Lond. Christ, p. 6). But it should be noted that SANDERS's attempts to push back the dates of Latin vellum codices from Eg. sometimes bring him into conflict with E. A. LOWE, in whose *Codices Latini Antiquiores* they naturally find a place; of this publ. a new fasc. (III) has just appeared, covering Italian libraries in alphabetical order from Ancona to Novara, and thus including the pap. and early vellum fragmm. in Florence, Milan, and Naples. In conclusion, SANDERS voices his opinion that the original MS. of St. Mark's Gospel 'would almost certainly have been copied out in a vellum codex'; hence loss of the final leaf would be easy to understand.

¹ In discussing the passage in Suetonius, *Julius* 56, 6, SANDERS might have referred to C. H. ROBERTS's n. in *JRS* 23 (1933), 139–42.

W. SCHUBART, *Das antike Buch (Die Antike 14, 171-95, 10 figs.)*, is a well-written popular account of the books of the Graeco-Rom. world.

A. SIGALAS, 'Ιστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γραφῆς (cf. *JEA* 22, 90) is very favourably revd. by H. GRÉGOIRE in *Byzantion* 12 (1937), 696-7.

CARL SCHMIDT's paper, *Über moderne Papyrusfälschungen*, in *Actes V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 370-80, 4 figs., exposes the ridiculous charges recently made in Germany against the authenticity of early Biblical papp. Happy indeed is papyrology that forgeries can be so easily and convincingly denounced, and authenticity so triumphantly vindicated!

Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus, by H. J. M. MILNE and T. C. SKEAT, includes discussion of some topics bearing on papyrology, such as the use of dictation in copying literary MSS. (pp. 51-9), the dating of the *Bibelstil* (pp. 60-2), and the change in the method of writing figures for thousands, from the superimposed curl (Å) to the slanting stroke (-A), which appears from documentary papp. (p. 63) to have taken place, in Eg. at least, about the middle of the 4th cent. I should like to repeat here that the statistics quoted are only a hasty collection which makes no claim to be exhaustive; another late instance of the use of the older system is BGU 940, of A.D. 398.

HENRY A. STEIN, *Les Clichés épistolaires dans les lettres sur papyrus grecs* in *Classica et Mediaevalia* 1, 119-76, is unfortunately inaccessible to me.

A catalogue of early Cop. bindings, with technical nn., is included in G. D. HOBSON's art., *Some early Bindings and Binders' Tools* in *The Library* 19, 202-49. Pl. i reproduces the well-preserved binding of P. Lond. iv 1419, decorated with an elaborate ink-drawn design.

A. MENTZ, profiting by the publ. of H. J. M. MILNE's *Greek Shorthand Manuals*, renews his attack upon the Halle wax tablets, in which he now identifies several Christian texts (*Die Entzifferung einiger Texte in griechischer Tachygraphie* in *Archiv* 13, 61-75). He further publs. a stenographic pap. from the Wessely collection in Prague (6th cent.), which he likewise finds to be Christian; a funerary relief from Salona, depicting a youth holding a diptych inscribed in shorthand, is next tackled, and finally ten shorthand signatures of Byz. notaries are reproduced in facsimile. I may notice here the especial importance of P. Harris 51 for the origin of Gk. shorthand. A fragm. of the *κομμετάριον*, it is dated by the ed. in the 1st cent. A.D., the very period to which MENTZ has assigned the inception of the system. It is unfortunate that no facs. of this pap. is available.

The *umbilicus* on which the pap. book was rolled is so familiar from Latin literature that it is remarkable that no examples have turned up in Eg., though there are some from Herculaneum, cf. D. BASSI, *Aeg.* 7 (1926), 220-2. It is therefore worth while to note the use of a reed for this purpose in the pap. publ. by O. GUÉRAUD and P. JOUGUET, *Un Livre d'écolier du III^e siècle avant J.-C.* (cf. p. xi). The architectural columns separating the columns of writing in this remarkable doc. are, I believe, without parallel; they show a striking, though necessarily fortuitous, resemblance to the Eusebian canon-tables of 500 years later.

8. Lexicography and Grammar

Last year saw the posthumous publ. of E. MAYSER's *Grammatik d. griechischen Papyri a. d. Ptolemäerzeit*, Bd. I, Tl. 2, 2te Aufl. Berlin-Leipzig. The vol. has all the completeness and accuracy of the previously issued parts. It has been revd. by H. I. BELL, *Cl. Rev.* 52, 149, and F. BILABEL, *Phil. Woch.* 58, 973-4. Bd. I, Tl. 3, 2te Aufl. of the same work has been revd. by A. DEBRUNNER in *Indogerm. Forsch.* 56, 58-62. He points out many instances where itacistic spellings have been falsely regarded as linguistic variants. DEBRUNNER also contributes a n. on *εἰς 'du bist' in einem Papyrus* in *Indogerm. Forsch.* 56, 177. In P. Goth. 21, 2, for *μακάριος εἰς καλῶς σοι εἶσαι καὶ μακαρία ἡ πόλις σου* he reads *μ. εἰ κ(αι) . . . εἰς* 'thou art' is impossible in a pap. of this period and the above represents the Gk. form (hitherto unattested) of the Cop. formula which E. v. DOBSCHÜTZ (*Z. f. wiss. Theol.* 43 (1900), 446, translated as 'Heil dir und gutes werde dir! und Heil deiner Stadt'. *κ* as an abbreviation for *καί* occurs in ll. 3 and 6. The suggestion is confirmed by H. FRISK. J. A. SCOTT, *The Superlative as a Comparative in John I 15* in *Class. Journ.* 33, 485-6, quotes a parallel for *ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν* from the hypothesis to Eur. *Phoenissae* and shows that the phrase in Acts *τὸν πρῶτον λόγον* may refer to only two books, which disposes of the argument which SIR WILLIAM RAMSAY in *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, 23 and 27 f., based on this phrase. C. C. TARELLI, *Some Linguistic Aspects of the Chester Beatty Papyrus of the Gospels* in *JTS* 39, 354-5, concludes that the new evidence furnished by this MS. does not encourage the belief that deliberate correction played any considerable part in

producing textual variations. C. M. LEE, *Varronian Koine in Angl. Theol. Rev.* 20, 217–20, points out that many of the Gk. words in Varro's Menippean Satires are identical with contemporary *koine* words, e.g. διαθήκη, ἐπαρχία, ἕως πότε 'how long', etc. G. VERGOTE has contributed an art. on *Grec biblique* to the *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible de F. Vigouroux*, fasc. 17, 1320–69. D. STONE has a paper on *The Lexicon of Patristic Greek* in the *Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 453–8, E. KIESSLING a paper on *Fortschritte d. Arbeiten am Wörterbuch d. griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, *ibid.*, 210–12, and C. R. C. ALLBERRY a summary of a paper on *Gk. and Latin Words in the Cop. Manichaean Papp.*, *ibid.*, 20. The most important grammatical contribution of the year is S. G. KAPSOMENAKIS's *Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik d. Papyri d. nachchristlichen Zeit: Beiträge z. Herstellung u. Deutung einzelner Texte (Münch. Beitr., 28. Heft)*, München. This book, which I am to review at length elsewhere in *JEA*, is slightly misleading in its title. It consists of re-readings of a number of post-Christian papp. in which the author's knowledge of medieval and modern Gk. enables him to detect a number of words and expressions which escaped the edd. of these texts. The corrections, which are in the main most attractive, are supported by copious footnotes on various grammatical points, e.g. masc. of participle instead of fem., ἔν = ἄν, confusion of aorist and future, confusion of aorist and perfect, distributive expressions, adjectives in -ής, anacolouthon, adverbs in -α, infinitives in -εν, etc., etc. The author's examples of ἔν for ἄν (35, 70) give point to H. C. YOUTIE's rdg. ἀπ' ὄτεν ἕκα (= ἦκα) for ἀποτε<τε>νεκα εἰς τὴν πόλιν in P. Harris 158 (*Cl. Phil.* 33, 208).

9. General Works, Bibliographies, Reports on Collections of Papyri, etc.

A. GENERAL WORKS

Thanks to the last-minute intervention of the Brussels Fondation Égyptologique, the papers read at the Oxford Papyrological Congress have now appeared in book form (*cf.* M. HOMBERT, *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 184–5): *Actes du V^e Congrès international de Papyrologie, Oxford, 30 août–3 septembre 1937*, Bruxelles, Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, xxix+665 pp. Although most of the arts. in the vol. will have been notd. elsewhere in this Bibliography, it may be useful for those to whom it is not accessible to give a list of the contents. Since up to the very moment of the Fondation Égyptologique's offer to print the proceedings of the Congress no publication of the papers as such had been envisaged, a number of the authors had already made arrangements for their papers to appear elsewhere, and these are (in most cases) represented in the collected volume by brief summaries (asterisked here): *Compte rendu du Congrès* (pp. xi–xxiii); SIR F. G. KENYON, *Fifty Years of Papyrology* (pp. 1–11); E. N. ADLER, *The Adler Papyri* (pp. 12–19); C. R. C. ALLBERRY, **Greek and Latin Words in the Coptic Manichaean Papyri* (p. 20); E. BALOGH, *Die richterliche Kompetenz d. Dioiketen Apollonios* (pp. 21–70); H. I. BELL, **The Economic Crisis under Nero* (p. 71); F. BILABEL, *Neue literarische Funde in d. Heidelberger Papyrussammlung* (pp. 72–84); A. BÖHLIG, *Die Berliner koptischen Manichaika* (pp. 85–93); C. BONNER, **The New Homily of Melito and its place in Christian Literature* (pp. 94–7); A. CALDERINI, *Studi e Studiosi di topografia dell' Egitto romano* (pp. 98–113); S. EITREM, **A few remarks on σπουδή, θαλλός, and other extra payments in Papyri* (pp. 114–15); G. GHEDINI, *Echi di eresie cristiane nei papiri greci* (pp. 116–21); A. GROHMANN, *Zum Steuerwesen im arabischen Ägypten* (pp. 122–34); F. M. HEICHELHEIM, **The Influence of Ptolemaic Administration in Kautilya's Arthaśāstra* (pp. 135–6); H. HENNE, *Sur trois nomes du Delta* (pp. 137–58); A. S. HOEY, **The Feriale Duranum* (pp. 159–61); M. HOMBERT, *Quelques papyrus de Bruxelles* (pp. 162–8); A. C. JOHNSON, **The John H. Scheide Biblical Papyri* (pp. 169–70); A. H. M. JONES, **The Election of the metropolitan Magistrates in Egypt* (pp. 171–3); P. JOUGUET and O. GUÉRAUD, *Le Papyrus 65445 du Musée du Caire* (pp. 174–91); K. KERÉNYI, *Die Papyri u. d. Problem d. griechischen Romans* (pp. 192–209); E. KIESSLING, *Fortschritte d. Arbeiten am Wörterbuch d. griechischen Papyrusurkunden* (pp. 210–12) and *Streiflichter z. Katökenfrage* (pp. 213–29); H. KORTENBEUTEL, *Bericht über d. Stand d. Arbeiten an d. Berliner Papyri* (pp. 230–6); P. KOSCHAKER, **Die Eheschliessung nach d. arabischen Papyrusurkunden* (p. 237); C. J. KRAEMER, *The Colt Papyri from Palestine* (pp. 238–44); C. J. KRAEMER and N. LEWIS, **Constantine's Law on 'Longissimi temporis Praescriptio'* (pp. 245–8); T. LARSEN, **Ueber einen Demosthenes-Papyrus mit eingeschalteten Urkunden in d. Kopenhagener Sammlung* (p. 249); G. VON MANTEUFFEL, *Mitteilung über d. Ausgrabungen in Tell Edfu (1937)* (pp. 250–9); V. MARTIN, *Epistula exactoriae* (pp. 260–85); J. G. MILNE, **Egyptian Currency under the Ptolemies* (pp. 286–90); T. B. MITFORD, *An unpublished Act of Amnesty from Ptolemaic Cyprus* (pp. 291–9); O. MONTEVECCHI, *Contributi per una storia sociale ed economica della famiglia nell' Egitto greco-romano* (pp. 300–13); W. OTTO, *Die zukünftige Gestaltung d. nichtliterarischen Papyrus- u. Ostrakapublikationen* (pp. 314–36); G. A. PETROPOULOS, *Greek*

Papyri in the Library of the Archaeological Society at Athens (pp. 337–43); J. E. POWELL, **The Papyri and the Text of Thucydides* (p. 344); C. PRÉAUX, *La Signification de l'époque d'Évergète II* (pp. 345–54); F. PRINGSHEIM, *Zum ptolemäischen Kaufrecht* (pp. 355–66); H. A. SANDERS, **A fragment of the Acta Pauli in the Michigan Collection* (pp. 367–8); M. SAN NICOLÒ, **Zur Nachbürgerschaft in d. Keilschrifturkunden u. in d. gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* (p. 369); C. SCHMIDT, *Ueber moderne Papyrusfälschungen* (pp. 370–80); A. B. SCHWARZ, *Zum gegenwärtigen Stand d. Katagraphe-Lehre* (pp. 381–450); E. SEIDL, **Demotische Urkundenlehre nach d. frühptolemäischen Texten* (p. 451); B. SNELL, **Neues aus d. Pindar-Papyri* (p. 452); D. STONE, *The Lexicon of Patristic Greek* (pp. 453–8); R. SYME, *The Origin of Cornelius Gallus* (pp. 459–70); R. TAUBENSCHLAG, *The ancient-Greek-city laws in Ptolemaic Egypt* (pp. 471–89); N. TERZAGHI, *In memoria di Girolamo Vitelli* (pp. 490–6); SIR HERBERT THOMPSON, *Self-Dedications* (pp. 497–504); B. A. VAN GRONINGEN, *Pap. Oxy. 1416 and the History of the Gymnasiarchy* (pp. 505–11); E. P. WEGENER, *Notes on the φυλαί of the Metropoleis* (pp. 512–20); C. B. WELLES, **The 'Immunitas' of the Roman Legionaries in Egypt* (p. 521); L. WENGER, *Rechtstheoretische Fragen in d. Juristischen Papyrusforschung* (pp. 522–64); W. L. WESTERMANN, *The Ptolemies and the Welfare of their Subjects* (pp. 565–79); F. ZIMMERMANN, *Der hellenistische Mensch im Spiegel griechischer Papyrusbriefe* (pp. 580–98); F. ZUCKER, *Bericht über eine Inschrift aus Hermopolis Magna. Fortsetzung zu S.B. 4206* (pp. 599–607); F. DE ZULUETA, *A Fourth-Century Latin Juristic Fragment: P. Ryl. III. 474* (pp. 608–14); J. N. COROÏ, *La papyrologie et l'organisation judiciaire de l'Égypte sous le principat* (pp. 615–62).

Among the arts. of general interest to which attention should be drawn here, first place is naturally taken by SIR FREDERIC KENYON'S Presidential address, with its delightful reminiscences of the early days of the science with which his life has been so intimately bound up. PROF. OTTO'S contribution, though on a very different theme, shares with that of KENYON the distinction of being among the very few papers written with direct reference to the Congress. His proposals for regulating future edns. of papp. are drastic and far-reaching: no more miscellaneous vols. with literary and documentary texts of different periods and provenances; re-union of scattered archives of papp. and ostr. by joint publns.; erection of an international *Vermittlungsstelle* to co-ordinate such enterprises and to direct research. Although entirely in sympathy with OTTO, I fear that the practical difficulties—which OTTO himself certainly does not underestimate—are insuperable.

E. SEIDL'S *Demotische Urkundenlehre* (*JEA* 24, 115) has been generally welcomed; M. SAN NICOLÒ in *Z. Sav.* 58, 244–8, while thoroughly appreciative, considers SEIDL'S classification of docs. by the number of witnesses too rigid.

I have not yet seen A. CALDERINI'S *Manuale di Papirologia antica greca e romana ad uso delle scuole . . . universitarie e delle persone colte*, Milan, 196 pp., 4 pls., 20 Lire. From M. HOMBERT'S rev. in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 414, I gather that it is an excellent popular introduction. Another general work which is a model of its kind is the guide to the Pap. Exhibition in the Berlin State Museum, a new edn. of which has just appeared: *Die Papyri als Zeugen antiker Kultur* [by W. SCHUBART and H. KORTENBEUTEL], Berlin, W. de Gruyter, 76 pp., 4 pls. The exhibition illustrates papyrology in its widest sense, without limitation of speech or script.

Finally, F. ZIMMERMANN in his art. quoted above, analyses the moral virtues and qualities exemplified in private letters on papyrus.

B. BIBLIOGRAPHIES

The following bibliographical works are continued:

A. CALDERINI, *Bibliografia metodica, Aeg.* 17 (1937), 495–529; 18, 163–94, 359–400; *Testi recentemente pubblicati, Aeg.* 17 (1937), 479–82; 18, 149–55, 333–40; *Aggiunte, correzioni, riedizioni di papiri e di ostraca, Aeg.* 17 (1937), 485–6; 18, 156–7.

P. COLLART, *Bull. Papyrologique XVI* (1936), *Rev. ét. gr.* 50 (1937), 405–42.

H. HENNE, *Chronique papyrologique, Rev. ét. anc.* 39 (1937), 337–46.

M. HOMBERT, C. PRÉAUX, and others, *Bibliographie papyrologique, Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 152–78, 388–441.

U. WILCKEN, *Urkunden-Referat, Archiv* 13, 132–55.

There is also a section *Papyri u. Ostraka* in the *Bibliotheca philologica classica* (*Beiblatt of the Jahresbericht über d. Fortschritte d. klass. Altertumswissenschaft*), Bd. 63 (for 1936), pp. 133–8.

C. REPORTS ON COLLECTIONS OF PAPYRI, ETC.

Some useful reports of work in progress or contemplated were made to the Oxford Papyrological Congress, viz.: M. HOMBERT, *Quelques Papyrus de Bruxelles, Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 162–8 (on the collection of

the Fondation Égyptologique, now being publ. *seriatim* in *Chron. d'Ég.*). Reports on the *Adler Papyri* by E. N. ADLER (*ibid.*, 12–19) and *The John H. Scheide Biblical Papyri* by A. C. JOHNSON (*ibid.*, 169) can now be disregarded, as the publsh. they foreshadowed have since appeared; F. BILABEL, *Neue literarische Funde in d. Heidelberger Papyrussammlung* (*ibid.*, 72–84); H. KORTENBEUTEL, *Bericht über d. Stand d. Arbeiten an d. Berliner Papyri* (*ibid.*, 230–6); and C. J. KRAEMER, *The Colt Papyri from Palestine* (*ibid.*, 238–44). W. TILL contributes *Tätigkeitsbericht 1937 d. Papyrussammlung d. Nationalbibliothek in Wien* to the newly founded *Archiv f. ägyptische Archäologie* 1, 71–3 (not seen).

Among other works of general papyrological interest, readers of this bibliography will be glad to learn that L. R. PALMER's *Grammar of Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* is ready for publication. The first volume of *The Merton Papyri* is in the press, and vol. II is in active preparation. On the publsh. of the final volume of *The Tebtunis Papyri* (cf. above § 3 B) the whole of the papp. found during the excavations, both publsh. and unpublsh., have been transferred to the University of California.

10. Miscellaneous, Excavations, Personal

Reports on the Fifth International Congress of Papyrology at Oxford come from M. HOMBERT, *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 179–84, and P. KOSCHAKER, *Z. Sav.* 58, 446–8.

The first report on the Franco-Polish excavations at Edfu has appeared: B. BRUYÈRE, J. MANTEUFFEL, K. MICHALOWSKI, J. S.-F. GARNOT, *Fouilles Franco-Polonoises, I: Tell Edfou 1937*. Cairo, Institut français, 1937, viii + 214 pp., 70 illusts., 44 pls. Apparently the second report is already on the way (cf. § 3, A above). The finds of papp. and ostrr. made in the course of the first season's work are briefly described by G. MANTEUFFEL, *Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 250–9.

E. BRECCIA and S. DONADONI, *Le prime ricerche italiane ad Antinoe*, *Aeg.* 18, 285–318 describes the *Scavi dell' Istituto Papirologico Fiorentino* during 1936–7 and 1938. Practically all the finds belong to the Cop. period; they include a funerary chapel with fine frescoes of saints, etc., and some interesting textiles. Nothing Gk.

I have not yet seen A. VOGLIANO's *Secondo Rapporto degli scavi condotti della Missione archeologica d'Egitto della R. Università de Milano nella zona di Madinet Madi (1938)*, Milan, vi + 88 pp., 48 pls.

N. TERZAGHI's paper, *In memoria di Girolamo Vitelli*, appears in *Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 490–6.

M. NORSA writes of Erwin Mayser in *Aeg.* 17 (1937), 493–4.

CARL SCHMIDT, the great Coptic scholar, died in Cairo on Easter Day, 1938. There are obituaries of him by W. SCHUBART, *Forsch. u. Fortschr.* 14, 180; J. VERGOTE, *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 335–9; H. JUNKER, *Bull. Soc. d'arch. copte* 4, 195; A. BÖHLIG, *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 126–9.

PART II: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1937–1938)

By MARCUS N. TOD

THE present Bibliography, which follows the same lines as that for 1935–6 publsh. in this *Journal* 23, 106–9, contains a brief account of the books and arts. issued in 1937 and 1938 dealing with Greek inserr. from Eg. and Nubia or with questions relating to these lands for which the relevant evidence is largely epigraphical, together with some remarks on inserr. which, though not of Egn. provenance, throw light upon the influence, political or religious, exercised by Eg. over other parts of the Gk. world. For the abbreviations here used see *JEA* 24, 258–61; 213, n. 1.

I

No further instalment of A. CALDERINI's *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell' Egitto greco-romano* has appeared, but the first fasc. has been revd. by P. COLLART (*Rev. de phil.* 11, 172–3), M. HOMBERT (*Rev. Belge* 16, 347–9), F. ZIMMERMANN (*Phil. Woch.* 58, 1321–3), and especially fully by J. SIMON (*Orientalia* 6, 132–42).

Shortly before his death in May 1937, E. MAYSER completed the revision of the second part of vol. I of his invaluable *Grammatik d. griechischen Papyri a. d. Ptolemäerzeit m. Einschluss d. gleichzeitigen Ostraka u. d. in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften*, 1², 2, Berlin, 1938; this section, devoted to accidence, has been seen

through the press by H. WIDMANN, W. SCHMID, and E. STAIGER, and has been revd. by H. I. BELL (*JHS* 58, 114–15) and by F. BILABEL (*Phil. Woch.* 58, 973–4), while a short biography of the author has been contributed by M. NORSA to *Aeg.* 17, 493–4.

The appearance of O. W. REINMUTH's work on *The Prefect of Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (see *JE A* 23, 106; revd. by P. COLLART in *Rev. de phil.* 11, 173–4, and by W. F. EDGERTON in *Cl. Phil.* 32, 182–3) has been followed by the same scholar's detailed examination, based on papp. and inscr., of the praescriptio of the prefectural edict (*Aeg.* 18, 3–28). In view of the publ. in 1935 of H. HENNE's *Liste des stratèges des nomes égyptiens à l'époque gréco-romaine* (see *JE A* 23, 106), T. C. SKEAT has decided to postpone, pending the accumulation of new material, the issue of his projected catalogue of nome-strategi of Graeco-Rom. Eg. (*Mizraim* 2, 30–5); to him we owe a valuable series of tables for the conversion of Egn. dates into the Julian system during the Ptol. period (*Mizraim* 6, 7–40).

Other noteworthy studies relating to Eg. as a whole and based on evidence both papyrological and epigraphical are C. E. HOLM's *Griechisch-Ägyptische Namenstudien*, Göteborg, 1936 (revd. by A. CALDERINI in *Aeg.* 17, 115–16, by E. SCHWYZER in *Gnomon* 14, 522–3, and by M. HOMBERT in *L'antiquité classique* 7, 112–13), a detailed inquiry into the cults of Geb and of Kronos, the personal names derived from these deities, and the nationality and social status of those who bore them, and T. A. BRADY's discussion of *The Gymnasium in Ptolemaic Egypt* (*Univ. of Missouri Studies*, xi, 3 (1936), 9–20), the title of which sufficiently indicates its scope.

Vol. VIII of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leyden, 1937, comprises, in addition to the inscr. of Palestine, those of Eg. and Nubia which have been publ., or of which new rdgs. or restorations have been proposed, since the appearance in 1925 of Vol. II of the series; many of the texts have been corrected or further restored by the ed., J. J. E. HONDIUS, and his collaborators. Eg. claims 472 items, among which we may specially note W. H. BUCKLER's restoration of an edict from Alexandria (355), issued probably under Justinian and relating to conditions of labour, a group of Alexandrian metrical epigrams (367–78), the remarkable Graeco-Demotic abacus-inscr. from Xoïs (464), containing a series of votive epigrams engraved on a stela part of which is in Berlin and another part in Cairo, three puzzling grave-poems from Hermupolis Magna (473–5), a long and perfectly preserved honorary decree of a farmers' association (529), a group of four long hymns in honour of Isis-Hermuthis (548–51), discovered by A. VOGLIANO at Madinat Mādī in the Fayyūm, a new edn., resting mainly on a revision by W. PEEK, of the poems of Julia Balbilla and others engraved on the statue of Memnon (715–28), and a revised version by P. JOUGUET of the Edict of Cn. Vergilius Capito, prefect of Egypt (794). The 68 Nubian items are of only subordinate interest.

The excavation of the necropolis of Muṣṭafa Pasha at Alexandria has unearthed an illegible inscr., a list of names, and 31 stamped amphora-handles (*SEG* 8, 365, 442–3), publ. by A. ADRIANI (*Annuaire du Mus. gréco-romain 1933/4–1934/5*, Alexandria, 1936, 18–19, 43–4, 161–2), who has also discussed in detail the painted stele of Helixo, publ. a new epitaph from Hadra, and illustrated an inscribed loculus-door from Shaṭṭbi (*Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alex.* 10, 112–25). A fragment of another door of a loculus of the Rom. period, recently brought to light at Gabbary, is described by B. HABACHI (*op. cit.* 9, 285). M. SEGRE has edited two votives from Alexandria, one of them now near Trieste (see below), the other an unpubl. dedication to Commodus dated A.D. 187/8, now in the Alexandria Mus. (*op. cit.* 10, 138–40). Of Alexandrian inscr. previously known, a dedication now in Turin has been further examined by G. PESCE (see below) and a long epitaph in choliambics (*SEG* 8, 372) by B. LAVAGNINI, who sees in it an anonymous piece of Hellenistic moralizing on death, a school-lesson repeated on a tombstone (*Riv. di fil.* 65, 374–6). C. E. VISSER's *Götter und Kulte im ptole. Alexandrien* (Amsterdam, 1938; revd. by M. HOMBERT in *Chron. d'Ég.* 14, 193–4, and by A. CALDERINI in *Aeg.* 18, 346–7) is an admirably thorough survey of the evidence, derived from literature, inscr., papp., and art, bearing on the cults of the city, Egn., Gk., and Asiatic; it contains a full collection of the sources, including theophoric names, and useful lists of Alexandrian citizens, tribes, and demes.

An interesting and well-preserved decree of 5 B.C., in which an association of γεῶνχοι honours its ἱερεὺς καὶ προστάτης καὶ κωμάρχης for accepting the life-ἀρχιερωσύνη and the annual tenure of the other ἀρχαί and for undertaking the heavy expense of the restoration of an οἶκος and its appurtenances which had been destroyed by flood, was found in 1935 at Kom Truga, S.E. of Alexandria, and is well edited by O. GUÉRAUD (*Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alex.* 10, 21–40). A long-known and much discussed dedication of the late 4th or early 3rd cent. B.C. (E. BRECCIA, *Iscr. greche e latine*, 107) found at Abu Mandūr, S. of Rosetta, which scholars have assigned to Rhodes, Cyrene, or Alexandria, is finally proved to be Rhodian by M. SEGRE (*Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alex.* 10, 131–5), who thinks that the stone may have been carried to Eg. in antiquity; he denies, however, the Rhodian provenance of a fragmentary decree (BRECCIA, *op. cit.*, 164), now in the Alexandria Mus., which shows that about that same period Alexandria possessed a βουλή (*Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alex.* 10, 135–6).

O. GUÉRAUD has examined the origin and history of the curious Graeco-Demotic memorial from Xoïs (Sakha), to which reference has already been made (*SEG* 8, 464), commemorating the healing of Moschion; he publishes a new fragment recently added to the Cairo Mus., reconstructs and translates the extant portions of the Greek text with a full commentary, analyses its metre, and concludes that its author was probably an Egyptian who had acquired a correct use of Greek (*Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alex.* 9, 161-89).

A. WILHELM re-examines and interprets (*Mém. Inst. fr.* 67, 278-81) a metrical epitaph of Hermupolis Parva (Damanhūr), now in the Alexandria Mus., showing that it contains an unintelligent adaptation of an epigram by Gregory of Nazianzus (*Anth. Pal.* VIII, 108). He also discusses and restores (*op. cit.*, 265-76) with characteristic felicity a metrical epitaph (*SEG* 8, 484) from Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehūdīyah) commemorating a girl of twenty who died on the eve of her marriage.

Among the busts and portrait-statues described by P. GRAINDOR (*Bustes et statues-portraits d'Égypte romaine*, Cairo, n.d.; cf. POULSEN, *Rev. ét. anc.* 39, 385-90) is a bust of Herodotus from Benha, now in New York (see below), and a basalt statuette of unknown provenance, acquired by the Cairo Mus., bearing a votive inscr. (*op. cit.*, 132-3, Pl. Ixii). Two inscribed statues from Socnopaei Nesus (Dimē in the Fayyūm), both in the Alexandria Mus. (BRECCIA, *op. cit.*, 123, 124b), are described and illustrated by the same scholar (*op. cit.*, 127-32, Pls. lviii, lx), whose recent death is a severe blow to Graeco-Egn. studies (see the obituary not. by H. G[RÉGOIRE] in *Byzantion* 13, 393-4).

J. ZINGERLE suggests (*Commentationes Vindobonenses* 3, 103-6) a new restoration of the dedicatory inscr. of a *λυχνάπιον* from the Serapeum of Memphis, based upon that of WILCKEN (*Urkunden d. Ptolemäerzeit* I, 35, 643) and rejecting the alternative proposals made by W. CROENERT (*Raccolta Lumbroso*, 476).

A. VOGLIANO's account of the excavations of the Milanese Archaeological Mission to Tebtunis (*Atti del IV Congresso Intern. di Papirologia*, Milan, 1936, 485-96) contains the texts of, and a brief commentary on, the four hymns to Isis-Hermuthis (*SEG* 8, 548-51) of which I wrote in my preceding Bibliography (*JEA* 23, 107), and these also form the subject of short communications by P. ROUSSEL (*C.-R. Ac. Inscr. B.-L.* 1938, 23-4) and C. PRÉAUX (*Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 169-72). A further discovery made on the same site, Madinat Mādī, in 1937 is that of a stela inscribed [*Υπέ*]ρ *Καίσαρος Αἰ[τρο]κράτορος θεοῦ υἱ[ο]ῦ Διὸς Σεβαστο[ῦ ἐπι] Σκάπλου [ἡγε]μόνος*; its interest is well brought out by G. DE SANCTIS, who sees in the Scapula here first mentioned as prefect of Egypt that Q. Ostorius Scapula who became prefect of the praetorians in or about 2 B.C. (*Riv. di fil.* 65, 337-42).

F. ZUCKER has edited with meticulous care an important inscr. of 78 B.C., unearthed in 1932 at Hermupolis Magna (Ashmunēn), closely resembling one found on the same site in 1896 by P. JOUGUET and assignable to 80-69 B.C. (*SB* 4206); it records the dedication to Apollo and *τοῖς συνεστίοις θεοῖς* of a sanctuary and precinct and all their appurtenances on the part of *οἱ παρ[ε]φεδρεύοντες ἐν Ἐρμού πόλει ξένοι Ἀπολλωνιάται* (probably Semites from Apollonia in the territory of Syrian Apamea) *καὶ οἱ συνπολιτευόμενοι [κ]ρίσται* in the name of Ptolemy XIII Auletes and his consort (*Abh. Berlin*, 1937, 6, *Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 599-607, *Aeg.* 18, 279-84; cf. *Sitzungsb. Berlin*, 1937, 191). To the appended list of names, nearly 400 in number, some of which have titles added, ZUCKER devotes a valuable study, throwing new light on the organization and origin of the mercenary force which served under the later Ptolemies. Other inscrs. also from Hermupolis have received special attention. S. EITREM has discussed the two poems (*SEG* 8, 473-4) commemorating Isidora, who met her death by drowning, with special ref. to the religious ideas they express (*Arch. f. Rel.* 34, 313-22), and has also given a revised edn. of one of them and notes on the other, based on a re-examination of the stones by P. JOUGUET (*Symb. Oslo.* 18, 127-8). Another interesting metrical epitaph (*SEG* 8, 621) has been corrected and explained by A. WILHELM (*Anzeiger d. Wien. Ak.*, 1936, 56-65) and R. GOOSSENS has returned to the question of the 'second funeral' there mentioned (*Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 373-7). A newly discovered architrave-fragment containing a mutilated inscr., probably dedicatory, of the 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D., is edited by H. KORTENBEUTEL (*Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 7, 55-6).

E. BRECCIA's report on the Italian excavations at Antinoe in 1936-7 contains photos. of four Cop. inscrs. from the N. Cemetery, wall-paintings, with names of the persons represented, from the tomb-chapel of Theodosia, and a late Greek epitaph from the S. Cemetery (*Aeg.* 18, 285-310). The sculptor's signature on a statue, found at Lycopolis (Siūt) and now preserved in the Alexandria Mus. (*SB* 2060, 3470), is discussed by P. GRAINDOR (*op. cit.* 122-4). H. HENNE's art. on the gymnasiarchy of Sarapis Polieus and the Alexandrian Olympiads (*Mém. Inst. fr.* 67, 297-307) deals with two inscrs. of the third century A.D. from Coptos (*SB* 1555, 7473), maintaining that Sarapis Polieus is the Sarapis of Alexandria and connecting his *γυμνασιαρχία* with the Olympia celebrated there. A. WILHELM shows (*Mém. Inst. fr.* 67, 276-8) that the *Φείδος* and *Γάλλα* named in an epigram (*SEG* 8, 728) engraved on the Memnon-statue at Thebes are Julius Fidus Aquila,

ἐπιστράτηγος Θηβαΐδος (OGIS 700), and his wife Asidonia Galla, who visited Memnon on 22 May, A.D. 134 (CIL III, 45). A. BATAILLE publs. (*Bull. Inst. fr.* 36, 164–74) the inscr. on five sarcophagi from Dēr el-Madinah, dating from the late 2nd or early 3rd cent. A.D.; two of the persons commemorated bear the title of νεωκόρος τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος. He also adds a further fragm., found at Ed-Dēr el-Bahri, to the inscr. (SEG 8, 729), written in ink on limestone, almost completing the text, which testifies to the miraculous healing powers of Amenotes (*Ét. de Pap.* 4, 125–31; cf. *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 400–1).

T. C. SKEAT publs. a dedication, probably dating from A.D. 322, discovered at Hermonthis (Armant), together with nineteen ostraca, of which the most interesting is an account, dating from the third cent. A.D., in which the Bucheum is mentioned (R. MOND and O. H. MYERS, *Cemeteries of Armant*, 264, 279–80). Of an inscr. from Syene (Aswān) or Elephantine, now in Florence, I speak below. Greek inscr. supply part of the evidence on which H. MUNIER bases his art. on Christianity at Philae (*Bull. Soc. d'arch. copte* 4, 37–49).

To P. JOUGUET we owe a series of valuable nn. on the Greek inscr. of the Oasis of Khargeh (*Atti IV Congr. Intern. Papirologia*, 1–22; cf. SEG 8, 794–95a), including copies made by J. VANDIER of the texts engraved on the S. tower, a new copy of the epigram on the second pylon, and a revised version of the edict of the prefect Cn. Vergilius Capito (OGIS 665). H. A. WINKLER's art. on rock-pictures and inscr. from the eastern desert of Upper Eg. contains no epigraphical texts (*Forsch. u. Fortschr.* 12, 237–8).

R. CARPENTER examines palaeographically the graffiti of Abu Simbel, scratched by the mercenaries serving under Psammetichus II in 589 B.C. (cf. SEG 8, 870), and also the vase-fragments from Naucratis, which he dates between 560 and 525 B.C. (*Am. Journ. Phil.* 56, 294–9).

II

We now turn to those inscr. of Egn. provenance which are preserved in museums abroad. F. BILABEL discusses the bilingual dedication of Vespasian (SB 4009), doubtless from Elephantine or Syene, now in the Museo Egizio at Florence, giving a corrected version of the text (*Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 1936, 20–3). G. PESCE deals (*Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alex.* 10, 60–76) with a statue of Imouthes, found in 1819 at Alexandria and added to the Drovetti collection acquired by the R. Museo di Antichità at Turin, on the base of which is a votive inscr. (OGIS 699). M. SEGRE republs. (*Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alex.* 10, 136–8) from P. STICOTTI (*Archeografo Triestino* 21, 249–50) a 4th-cent. honorary inscr. on a statue-base from Alexandria, now at Miramare near Trieste, in which οἱ παρκαῖοι Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, Roman citizens resident in Alexandria, honour a successful athlete.

J. ZINGERLE emends (*Jahreshefte* 30, *Beiblatt*, 143–5; cf. SEG 8, 807) an Egn. epitaph in the Berlin State Mus. (SB 1267), correcting (mistakenly, I think) the Θριπείωι of the stone into θριγγίειωι.

Among the large and varied collection of Greek inscr. left by W. FROEHNER to the Département des Médailles et des Antiques of the Bibliothèque Nat. in Paris, of which L. ROBERT has given us a masterly edn. (*Collection Froehner, I, Inscriptions grecques*, Paris, 1936; revd. by R. MOUTERDE in *Mél. Beyrouth* 21, 257–8, G. KLAFFENBACH in *DLZ* 1937, 1680–3, C. PICARD in *Rev. arch.* 12, 289–91, B. D. MERITT in *Am. Journ. Phil.* 59, 497–502) are ten inscr., nine of which were previously unpubld., from Eg. and one from Nubia. Of the Egn. texts three dedications (Nos. 71–2, 76), one of them that of a κάπηλος Βουβαστίτης, and two epitaphs (Nos. 79, 80) are of uncertain provenance; Alexandria provides a short date-formula (No. 75) from the neck of a bronze vase, which reveals the name and date of a hitherto unknown prefect of Egypt, C. Liternius Fronto, and two epitaphs (Nos. 77, 78), one of which is a long and interesting metrical composition well meriting study;¹ from Leontopolis comes a dedication to Ptolemy VI Philometor, Cleopatra II, and Ptolemy Euergetes II, made between 172 and 169 B.C. by a Milesian ἡγεμῶν ἐπ' ἀνδρῶ[ν] ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν Λεόντων πόλει χάρακος, and from Tanṭa a dedication of 86 B.C. Ἰσιδι Σονοάει θεᾷ μεγίστη καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς. The one Nubian inscr. (No. 81), a Christian epitaph of the characteristic Nubian type, has been frequently edited previously, e.g. in G. LEFEBVRE, *Recueil des inscr. grecques-chréti. d'Égypte*, 664. ROBERT also publs. (*op. cit.*, No. 97) an Egn. votive stela dedicated between 247 and 221 B.C. Σαράπιδι Ἰσιδι Νείλωι καὶ βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι καὶ βασιλίσσηι Βερενίκηι θεοῖς εὐεργέταις. A. BLANCHET discusses (*Mém. Inst. fr.* 67, 283–7) a circular milk-chalcedony, also in the Département des Médailles, bearing a puzzling inscr.,² which he associates with the 'Pistis Sophia'.

C. ALEXANDER describes (*Bull. MMA* 32, 176–7) a faience icosahedron from Eg. recently acquired by the

¹ The word παρρίζους (l. 18), which puzzles the ed., is derived from πάρριζος, a new form of πάνριζος, found in IG VII, 2545, 8.

² For δώδεκα φύτλον we should, I think, read δωδεκάφυτλον.

MMA in New York, each face of which bears a letter of the alphabet, and P. GRAINDOR (*op. cit.* 74–6, Pl. xxiii) deals with a bust from Benha in the same mus., bearing the legend 'Ἡρόδοτος.

III

Finally, ref. may be made to some inscr. which, though not belonging to Eg., illustrate the spread of Egn. influence over the Gk. world.

In *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 30, 183–232, S. Dow gives a full account of the hist. and organization of the Egn. cults at Athens, based on a detailed examination of all the relevant evidence, literary, archaeological, numismatic and, above all, epigraphical. New rdgs., restorations, and interpretations are offered of Attic inscr., including a valuable decree (*IG II²*, 1292), now in the Brit. Mus., passed by the Attic society of Sarapiastae, and the record (*IG II²*, 4692) of the official adoption of the cult about 200 B.C., while another doc., throwing light on the position of the Egn. cults in Athens a century later, is claimed by Dow, agreeing with ROUSSEL against KIRCHNER's attribution of it to Delos, as originating from Athens. That these cults spread to remoter parts of Greece is anew attested by the evidence recently discovered by G. KLAFFENBACH, who shows that in the 2nd cent. B.C. emancipation at Naupactus might take the form of the transfer of the slave to Serapis (*Sitzungsab. Berlin* 1935, 694), as well as by a stela bearing a dedication to Sarapis, Isis, and Anubis, apparently dating from the same cent., which has come to light in the Macedonian village of Akrini and has been added to the archaeological collection of Kozani (CH. I. MAKARONAS, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1936, App. 9).

In his discussion of the worship of Arsinoe Philadelphus in the Gk. cities, M. SEGRE publs. two fragmm. of a stela found at Cos, bearing an inscr. relative to the dedication of a precinct to θεὰ Ἀρσινόα Φιλά[δελφος] at the bidding of an oracle (*Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alex.* 9, 286–98), and F. MILTNER's valuable publn. of recent epigraphical discoveries at Ankara contains (*Jahreshefte* 30, *Beiblatt*, 30–33) a white marble altar dedicated [Δι] 'Ἡλίω μεγάλῳ Σα[ράπιδι καὶ τοῖ]ς συννάοις θεοῖς, probably on the occasion of the safe return of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus to Rome in November, A.D. 176, erected by Apollonius Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῆς μεγά[λης Ἀ]λεξανδρείας, ὁ καὶ Ἀγκυ[ρανός], νεωκόρος τοῦ μεγάλου [Σαράπ]ιδος (*cf.* *IGR III*, 155).

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BY DE LACY O'LEARY

I. BIBLICAL

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L. CERVAUX, *Simple remarques à propos du texte grec du Nouveau Testament en Égypte aux deux premiers siècles*, in *XX Congr. Int. Or. Progr.*, 78*, is the outline of a paper offered to the Oriental Congress.

W. GROSSOUW, *The Coptic Versions of the Minor Prophets (Monumenta Biblica et Ecclesiastica, 3)*, Rome, ix+126 pp., is a very careful critical analysis of the versions in all dialects of Cop. It is revd. by W. TILL in *Orientalia* 7, 407-8, and by L. TH. LEFORT in *Muséon* 51, 350-1.

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2. APOCRYPHAL, GNOSTIC, ETC.

(a) Apocryphal.

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(b) Gnostic.

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(c) Manichaeae.

C. R. C. ALLBERRY, *Manichaeae Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection, II: A Manichaeae Psalm-Book*, Stuttgart, xxiii+238+48 pp., introd. by IBSCHER, 2 pls. Text and transln. facing. Brief textual notes. The material shows Manichaeism adapted to Christian use. Vol. I is still in preparation. The same writer has publ. *Manichaeae Studies* in *JTS* 39, 337-41, dealing with both Cop. and Asiatic material. Also *Greek-*

¹ The date '1938' is omitted in the case of books, periodicals, etc., published in that year.

Bull. Soc. arch. copte = *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte*. *XX Congr. int. Or. Progr.* = *XXme Congrès international des Orientalistes. Programme: Recueil des Communications*. For other new abbreviations see p. 70 above.

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3. LITURGICAL

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4. LITERATURE

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5. HISTORY

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GROTERJAHN BELA, *Sa'idische Bruchstücke*, in *Muséon* 61, 33-67, has the sub-title, *Die Vita des Apa Kyros (cf. Budge, Martyrdoms, 128 ff., from B.M. Or. 6783)*. It deals with the texts in Wien K. 9462, 9461, 9460, Paris 129₁₃, 29, Wien K. 8678, Paris 129₁₃, 28, 26, 131₃, 37.

ST. BINON, *Essai sur le cycle . . . (JEA 24, 121)* is revd. by W. DEROUAUX in *An. Boll.* 56, 146-8, by H. DELEHAYE in *Bull. Acad. roy. de Belge* 28 (1937), 460-1, and by S. EUSTRALIADES in *Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν*, Athens, 13 (1937), 446-52.

D. O'LEARY, *The Saints of Egypt* . . . (*JEA* 24, 121) is revd. by W. TELFER in *JTS* 39, 312–14, by DOM ROMANUS RIOS in *Eastern Churches Quart.* 3, 272–3, and by D. TH. B. in *Irenikon*, 203.

C. CONTI ROSSINI, *La passione del martire Arsenofis e dei suoi compagni nella versione etiopica* appears in *Orientalia* 7, 193–214 (to be continued). These martyrs were of the Christian soldiers of Diospolis who suffered at Lycopolis. Their passions are known only in the Ethiopic version, preserved in three MSS. which the editor has used. Transl. to follow. The contents, perhaps transl'd. directly from the Gk. without intermediary Cop. or Arabic, are interesting.

P. SAINTYVES, *Saint Christophe, successeur d'Anubis, d'Hermès, et d'Héraclès*, Paris, 1936, 55 pp., pl., is an application of theories already stated by the author in his *Les Saints successeurs des dieux, Essai de mythologie chrétienne*, the problem already touched upon by H. DELEHAYE in *Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique*, 1934.

J. SIMON, *S. Hérodé (Hérode) martyr d'Égypte*, in *Atti del XIX Congr. Intern. degli Orientalisti, Roma 1935*, Rome, pp. 626–8, treats the history and cult of the Egn. martyr. The only known fragm. of his passion in Ethiopic has been publ'd. by the same ed. (*JEA* 22, 97; 23, 114).

TOGO MINA, *Le martyre d'Apa Épima* . . . (*JEA* 24, 121) is revd. by E. DRIOTON in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 4, 198–9.

Y. ABD AL-MASIH, *A Sa'idic Fragment of the Martyrdom of St. Philotheus*, in *Or. Chr. Per.* 4, 584–90, gives a text found in leaves discovered in the library of El-Baramūs.

(c) Monasticism.

HEUSSI, *Der Ursprung d. Mönchtums* . . . (*JEA* 23, 114; 24, 121) is revd. by H. v. CAMPENHAUSEN in *OLZ* 41, 302–5.

H. LECLERCQ, *Paul de Thèbes* appears in *Dict. arch. chrét.* 13, 2700–6.

ROSE GRAHAM, *A picture book of the life of Saint Anthony the Abbot, reproduced from a Manuscript of the Year 1426 in the Malta Public Library at Valetta*, Oxford (1937), 144 pp., 67 pls., is an édition de luxe. It is revd. by F. HALKIN in *An. Boll.* 56, 154–6.

L. MAILLET-GUY, *Les reliques de S. Antoine en Dauphiné et non en Provence*, Voiteins (Jura) chez l'Auteur (1937), 75 pp., is also revd. by F. HALKIN in *An. Boll.* 56, 156–7.

J. SIMON, *Les premiers disciples de S. Amûn au Wâdi 'n-Naṭrûn* (*JEA* 24, 121) is continued in *Aṣ-Ṣalâh* 8, 444–6.

J. SVENNUNG, *Untersuchungen zu Palladius u. z. lateinischen Fach- und Volkssprache (Arbeiten utgiona nied understöd av Vilhelm Ekmans Universitetsfond, Uppsala)*, 44 ff. Leipzig (1936), xxxv+698 pp., is revd. by J. KOHM in *Phil. Woch.* 58, 182–94.

J. SIMON, *S. Macaire le Grand* (in Arabic) in *Aṣ-Ṣalâh* (Cairo), 9, 441–5. A brief sketch of the life of St. Macarius of Egypt.

6. NON-LITERARY

F. CUMONT, *L'Égypte des astrologues* . . . (*JEA* 24, 120) is revd. by W. W. TARN in *Cl. Rev.* 52, 34–5; the reviewer points out that the work throws new light on the much debated problem of the κίτροχοι (sect. 11), they are here described as undesirables consecrated in the sanctuary and not allowed to leave. Revs. also by P. COLLART in *Rev. ét. gr.* 51, 297–8, and by H. J. R. in *JHS* 58, 120.

F. W. GRAVIT, *Peiresc et les études coptes en France au xvii^e siècle*, in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 4, 1–22, gives a history of Cop. studies and of some MSS. brought to Europe in the 17th cent., some of which are now in the Bibl. Nationale, others in the Vatican Library.

A. HEBBELYNCK, *Projet d'édition du ms. bohairique B.M. Or. 3812*, which was edited by Lagarde, *Catena*, 1886, 244 ff., appears in *XX Congr. Int. Or. Progr.*, 80*. HEBBELYNCK-VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Codices coptici Vaticani* . . . (*JEA* 24, 121) is revd. by L. TH. LEFORT in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 122–3.

C. KUENTZ, *Planchette copte*, in *Fouilles Franco-Polonaises, Rapports*, I: *Tell Edfou, 1937*, Cairo (1937), 139–201, deals with two fragments of board with lists, chiefly proper names in Cop. (No. 1, 193–9; No. 2, 200–1).

D. O'LEARY, *Some Coptic Manuscripts*, in MOND AND MYERS, *Cemeteries of Armant*, I, 1937, 281–3, gives a catalogue of Bohairic MSS. now in the Wellcome Hist. Medical Museum. The same author has publ'd. *A Primary Guide to Coptic Literary Material*, 8 pp.

V. STEGEMANN, *Neue Zauber- u. Gebetstexte* appears in *Muséon* 51, 73–87, and deals with material in Heidelberg Inv. 1030 and eight Vienna papp.

J. SIMON, *Répertoire des bibliothèques publiques et privées d'Europe contenant des manuscrits arabes chrétiens*

in *Orientalia* 7, 239–63, continues the author's valuable guides to libraries containing Christian material in Cop. (*JEA* 18, 186) and Ethiopic (*ibid.* 19, 183).

OTTO STEGMÜLLER, *Christliche Texte a. d. Berliner Papyrussammlung* (see §3 above) gives three fragm.: (1) P. Berl. Inv. 3602, a parchment fragm. of the 7th cent. from the Fayyūm, a Christian diptych of the Church of Alexandria, perhaps the earliest known; (2) P. Berl. Inv. 13272, parchment of 4th cent. from Ashmunēn, with a passage from the Pastor Hermae; (3) P. Berl. Inv. 12683, from Elephantine, perhaps of 5th cent., with Christian doxology.

W. TILL and H. LIEBESNY, *Koptische Schutzbriefe . . . Mit e. rechtsgeschichtlichen Beitrag v. H. Liebesny*, in *Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 8, 71–146. This deals with safe-conducts chiefly from publ. sources, with translms. and nn. (71–127). Liebesny's essay is on the forms used in the safe-conduct type, and other legal formularies. W. TILL, *Eine koptische Alimenterforderung* appears in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 4, 71–8, and deals with Pap. Wien K. 950, a Cop. text. The same writer's *Bemerkungen zu koptischen Textausgaben* (Nos. 1–6) is publ. in *Orientalia* 7, 100–11. Several of these valuable nn. are mentioned above under their appropriate headings. To these can be added a criticism (No. 3, pp. 104–6) of R. ENGELBACH, *A Coptic Memorial Tablet to a young Girl*, in *Griffith Studies* (*JEA* 19, 182).

H. J. WOLFF, *Zwei juristische Papyri d. University of Michigan* appeared in *Aeg.* 17 (1937), 463–78, and was revd. by M. HOMBERT in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 406–7.

W. H. WORRELL, *An Early Bohairic Letter . . .* (*JEA* 22, 113) is the subject of examination in W. TILL *Bemerkungen*, No. 5 (pp. 109–11).

In works dealing with papp. which may illustrate the hist. of church life in Eg. may be noted EITREM and AMUNDSEN, *Papyri Osloenses*, III (*JEA* 24, 121) which is revd. by K. FR. W. SCHMIDT, in *Phil. Woch.* 58, 297–9, and by N. LEWIS in *Am. Journ. Phil.* 59, 371. F. ZUCKER, *Zu Pap. Osl. III*, in *Symb. Oslo.* 17 (1937), 54–6, gives nn. on papp. which are Gk., not Cop. G. GHEDINI, *Echi di eresie cristiane nei papiri greci*, in *Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 116–21. E. H. KASE, *Papyri in the Princeton Univ. Collections . . .* (*JEA* 24, 122) is revd. by K. FR. W. SCHMIDT, in *Phil. Woch.* 58, 454–9, and by J. G. M., in *JHS* 58, 114. H. KORTENBEUTEL, *Bericht über d. Stand d. Arbeiten an d. Berliner Papyri*, in *Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 230–6. J. G. WINTER, *Papyri in the Univ. of Michigan Collection . . .* (*JEA* 24, 122) is revd. by K. FR. W. SCHMIDT in *Phil. Woch.* 58, 343–9, in *TLZ* 63, 31, by J. G. M. in *JHS* 58, 113–14, and by W. SCHUBART in *DLZ* 59, 698–701. This last includes several Old and New Testament passages.

Two summaries of passing interest and value should here be noted. One of these is the *Actes du V^e Congrès International de Papyrologie, Oxford, 1937*, publ. at Brussels, xxix+665 pp. It is revd. by W. SCHUBART in *Gnomon* 14, 609–11. The other is *XX^{me} Congrès International des Orientalistes. Programme. Recueil des communications*, Brussels, 47+87*+15** pp. Various arts. in these are cited in this Bibliography.

A. ARTHUR SCHILLER, *Prolegomena to the Study of Coptic Law*, in *Arch. hist. dr. or.* 2, 341–65.

7. PHILOLOGY

F. BILABEL, *Zur Vorgeschichte d. koptischen Schrift* is summarized in *XX Congr. Int. Or. Progr.*, 78*.

G. STEINDORFF, in *ZÄS* 74, 69, deals with the etymology of ϩⲟⲟϩ : ϩⲟⲟϩ 'to be bad'.

W. H. WORRELL, *Bohairic versus Sahidic Pointing*, in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 4, 91–5, remarks that 'at present the tendency is to give to Bohairic more of the attention which it deserves' (p. 91). In recent times there has been more recognition of the differences between dialects in Cop.

J. SIMON, *L'aire et la durée des dialectes coptes*, in *Actes du Quatrième Congrès International de Linguistes tenu à Copenhague du 27 août au 1er septembre 1936*, Copenhagen, 1938, 182–6.

8. ARCHAEOLOGY

(a) *Topography, Exploration, etc.*

A. S. ATIYA, *Some Egyptian monasteries according to the unpublished MS. of al-Schäluschti's K. al-Diyarat* is outlined in *XX Congr. Int. Or. Progr.*, 77*.

P. BARISON, *Ricerche sui monasteri dell' Egitto bizantino ed arabo secondo i documenti dei papiri greci* appears in *Aeg.* 18, 29–148. It gives names of monasteries, the localities in which found, names of superiors, categories of monks, economy of the monasteries, etc.

A. CALDERINI, *Dizionario de nomi . . .* (*JEA* 22, 99; 24, 123) is revd. by FR. ZIMMERMANN in *Phil. Woch.* 58, 1321–3. The same writer's *Studi e studiosi di topografia dell' Egitto greco-romano* appears in *Act. V Congr. Int. Papyrol.*, 98–113.

A. KÜMMERER, *La mer rouge . . .* (*JEA* 24, 123) is revd. by J. SIMON in *Orientalia* 7, 188-92, but no part of this work deals directly with Eg.

H. MUNIER, *Le monastère de Saint Abraham à Farshout . . .* (*JEA* 24, 123) is the subject of an art. (No. 4) in W. TILL's *Bemerkungen*, 106-8.

(b) *Art and Antiquities.*

E. KÜHNEL, *La tradition copte dans les tissus musulmans* appears in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 4, 79-85, 8 pls. The author suggests that these tissues were probably the products of Ṭulūnid workshops in the Fayyūm and Delta and that the use of Cop. motives was encouraged.

V. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Monumenti dell' arte musulmana in Italia, I: La cassetta incrostata della cappella Palatina di Palermo* (= *Collezione Meridionale, diretta de U. Zanotti-Bianco, Ser. III. II Mezzogiorno Artistico*), Rome, 26 pp., 97 pls. In studying the source of this coffer the author passes under review certain pieces of encrusted work of Cop. origin, notably some artistic works in the Syrian monastery in the Wādi en-Naṭrūn.

G. GRAF, *Ein alter Kelchthron in der Kirche Abu Sefen*, in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 4, 29-36, 2 illusts., 1 fig.

H. LECLERCQ, art. *Peigne* in *Dict. arch. chrét.*, dealing with liturgical combs, gives special attention to those coming from Akhmīm (2939-41) and Antinoe (2941-2).


E. KITZINGER read a paper before the Soc. of Antiquaries at Burlington House on 20 January 1938 on the development of Cop. sculpture. This paper was reported in *The Times* of 21 Jan.

A guide has been published to the *Archaeologisch Museum der Universiteit van Amsterdam* (1937), ix+239 pp., which includes a collection of Cop. art. It is revd. by O. BROGAN in *Cl. Rev.* 52, 87-8. Also by M. W(ERBROUCK) in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 124.


MARCUS H. SIMAIKA PASHA, *A Brief Guide to the Coptic Museum and to the principal Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, transl. from the French by G. H. COSTIGAN, Cairo, 91 pp., 2 plans, 97 pls., is rendered (some of the pls. different) from the French edn. of 1937 (*JEA* 24, 123), which was based on the Arabic ed. of 1932 (*JEA* 18, 187).

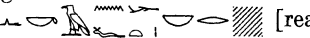

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

A Note on Sinuhe B, 71-72

THIS passage reads , and the usual translations may be exemplified by that of Gardiner in his *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, 170: 'He will conquer the southern lands, but he heeds not the northern lands', and that of Erman, *Lit.*, 45: 'Er wird die südlichen Landschaften erobern und (noch) denkt er nicht an die nördlichen Länder.' In this interpretation a contrast is found between the first and the second clause, on which e.g. Gardiner comments as follows, *op. cit.*, 39: 'Here there is an obvious reason why Sinuhe should say that the king has no plans of aggression against Syria: he is no longer engaged in describing the prowess of Sesostris, but is forecasting the king's probable foreign policy; this he does in a manner reassuring to Amuienshi.' However, Gardiner himself points out that the sentence immediately following: 'He was made to smite the Setiu, and to crush the Sandfarers', stands 'in a quite intolerable contradiction to what precedes'—an undeniable truth if the second clause is thus translated. Nor can the sentence 'He was made, etc.' be explained away by means of emendation as Gardiner tried to do; see his own retraction, *op. cit.*, 157.


But even apart from this difficulty, I have always felt that a phrase limiting the king's imperialistic schemes to the South was an extremely weak spot in the otherwise brilliantly coloured picture of his overwhelming power. Even if it were a forecast of his policy, a truly Pharaonic policy would not be expressed in the cautious words of a modern diplomat with a maximum of self-restraint. On the contrary, from all we know of Egyptian stylistic predilections its phraseology would be practically identical with that of a eulogy. Moreover, Sinuhe's real aim is surely not to reassure Enshi, but to inspire the Palestinian sheikh with a wholesome awe of the all-embracing power of the Egyptian king. The only translation, then, which would suit our context would be a rendering which does not create a contrast between the two clauses, but which makes them express substantially the same thought—the latter the negative counterpart of the former.


Now there exists in Late Egyptian an idiom which also consists of the negation followed by a word meaning 'to think', and which yields exactly the sense required in our passage. It is by no means rare in descriptions of the king's bravery. A good example is found in the Poem on the Battle of Kadesh (ed. Sélim Hassan, 7 A): 'The king is sturdy like a bull ready (to fight) in the arena,  he does not think (seriously) about any land at all (he thinks lightly of, he disregards all lands), a thousand men cannot hold out before him.' For other examples see e.g. *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, IV, 6, 3; 11, 14. In the light of this parallel I have for some years past been inclined to translate our passage as follows: 'He will conquer the southern lands, and he will despise the northern lands.'

However, hitherto I have not been able to produce another example of *ki* used in this way. This coping-stone of my new interpretation I found recently by chance while looking over Schäfer's article on *König Amenophis II als Meisterschütz* in *OLZ* 32 (1929), 233 ff. There it is said (Abb. 5) in a description of the king's wonderful skill in shooting: 'He shoots at bricks of copper, he splits them like papyrus,  [read *rsy*]  he does not mind any wood at all because he is so strong.' This passage confirms both the meaning attributed by me to the passage in Sinuhe and the division of words. The latter perhaps superfluously—to my mind, at all events, the division *ki:f* has always seemed far superior to the *nkrf* advocated by Gardiner, since Gunn's discovery of the future and past meanings of the constructions *sdm:f* and *sdm.f*.

P. Oslo, 1, 105-9 and Metternich Stela, 85-6

P. Oslo, 1, 105-9 is apparently addressed to Seth-Typhon: *Κλῦθί μοι, ὁ κτίζων καὶ ἐρημῶν καὶ γενόμενος ἰσχυρὸς θεός, ὃν ἐγέννησεν λευκὴ χοίρας . . . ὁ ἀναφανὶς ἐν Πηλουσίῳ, ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει κατέχων ῥάβδον σιδηρᾶν ἐν ἧ ἀνέφραξας τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ διεπέρασας* 'Hearken to me, thou who dost establish and make desolate, and hast become a mighty god, to whom a white sow gave birth . . . who didst appear in Pelousion, who dost hold in Heliopolis an iron staff with which thou didst barricade the sea and cause (them) to pass.'

As Eitrem points out in his comment on the passage (*Papyri Osloenses*, I, pp. 55-6), although some of these epithets are used of Seth-Typhon elsewhere in the papyri, others are clearly borrowed from the Septuagint, where they apply to Yahweh. With regard to the 'white sow', he very aptly quotes from the Metternich Stela, where there is mention (l. 86) of 'the son of the white sow that is in Heliopolis'. The sun-god is there described as coming to the help of Horus, 'I have come at the voice of the son of Isis. Lo, the bull bites the blind serpent, the poison goes from every limb of the sick one.' It seems that the poison is then addressed:  'Come on to the ground. It is not the sick one whom thou hast bitten. O Min, lord of Coptos, he who is bitten is the son of the white sow that is in Heliopolis.'

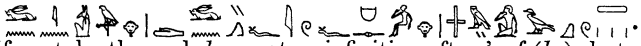
Both Eitrem (*loc. cit.*) and Preisendanz (*PGM*, II, 166) have used a translation according to which Min is himself the son of the white sow. (Preisendanz quotes Golénischeff, *Die Metternichstela*, p. 11.) Thus, too, did Moret translate (*Rev. hist. rel.* 72, 266), and *Wb.*, IV, 405 (11) seems to agree, since it explains  as a designation of Isis. While there is no grammatical objection to the translation, 'He who is bitten is Min, lord of Coptos, the son of the white sow', it does not make good sense. 'He who is bitten' cannot here be Min or Min-Horus, since Horus, as often, is identified with the sick person, to whom deliverance has come, with the result that it is not the sick person who is bitten. Rather is it a case of 'the biter bit', *i.e.* Seth in some form; and Seth, unlike Min, is associated with the pig, although the family colour has strangely changed from that given in *Bk. Dead*, 112. In P. Oslo 1, 105-6 a reference to Seth is likewise more fitting, since Seth is clearly addressed. On the other hand, the facile syncretism of the magical papyri would remove any objection to the assimilation of Min by Seth-Typhon. Is the 'iron staff' of l. 108 a form of Min's 'flagellum'? Eitrem points out that it is probably taken from *Psalms* II, 9 ('Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron'), and what follows is clearly Biblical in its reminiscence of the Israelites crossing the Red Sea. There is therefore no allusion to Min in ll. 108-9. It should be noted that the translations of the Metternich Stela by Roeder (*Urkunden z. Religion d. alten Ägypten*, 90) and Lexa (*La Magie dans l'Égypte antique*, II, 74) both treat *Mnw nb Gbtyw* in l. 86 as vocative.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS.

P. Chester Beatty I, 6, 6

IN *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* Isis contrived, by a magical stratagem, to get herself ferried across to the 'Island-in-the-midst', where the Ennead were sitting at a meal with the Master of the Universe in his arbour. From this point I will quote Dr. Gardiner's translation (*The Library of A. Chester Beatty . . . The Chester Beatty Papyri, No. I*, p. 18): 'And Seth looked and he saw her, as she was coming afar off. Thereupon she uttered an incantation with her magic, and she changed herself into a maiden fair of her limbs, and there was not the like of her in the entire land. And he loved her right sore. Thereupon Seth rose up, and he sat down and ate bread with the Great Ennead, and he went to overtake her, and no one had seen her except him.'

Two things strike one as odd in this passage. First, Seth was of course a member of the Ennead, and might therefore be expected to be already eating with them when Isis arrived. Second, it seems strange behaviour on his part, first to fall violently in love with the maiden at first sight, and then to sit down and have a meal, and only after that to go to overtake her—time would be too precious, for the maiden might wander anywhere, might even leave the island, while he was eating with his companions. The passage which is translated 'thereupon Seth rose up, and he

sat down and ate bread' runs . The difficulties mentioned disappear if we take the verb *hms* not as infinitive after *iwf* <*hr*>, but as Old Perfective after *iwf* only. (I need not point out that in Late-Egyptian texts which omit *hr* before the infinitive, often only the context shows which of the two constructions is meant, when the sentence or clause is in the 3rd pers. masc. sing., masc. or fem. pl.) We may then take *iwf hms* as circumstantial to *wn-in Sth hr dwn-f*, and translate 'thereupon Seth rose up, while he was sitting eating bread', *i.e.* Seth arose from eating bread. I am unable to adduce a similar example from Late Egyptian. In Coptic, however, we have not only the well-known use of verbs meaning 'cease' (ⲟⲓⲛ, ⲗⲟ, ⲕⲏⲏ) with circumstantial clauses, *e.g.*, ⲁⲓⲗⲟ ⲉⲓⲟ ⲙⲙⲟⲡⲏⲁϭⲟⲥ 'I ceased, I being a monk', *i.e.* 'I stopped being a monk' (*cf.* Stern, *Kopt. Gramm.*, p. 252, top), but also the more striking example ⲉϥϣⲁⲡⲟⲩϭⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲉϥϣⲟⲩⲛⲉ 'and when he got well, he being sick', *i.e.* 'when he recovered from sickness', Zoëga, *Catalogus*, 327 = Steindorff, *Kopt. Gramm.*, 26*.

BATTISCOMBE GUNN.

Note on the Treatment of a Bronze Weight.

The weight in question, found by Air-Commodore Walser and in the finder's possession, is in shape a segment of a sphere, with a flat top. This type is familiar in the Roman period, and a number of coins of that age were found at the same site.

The weight was extremely thickly corroded and the decay had split the metal. It was treated in the following manner:

It was first dried in an oven and then weighed. After that it was cleaned by alternate submersions in sulphuric acid (25%, cold) and a solution of 20% caustic soda and 15% Rochelle salts in water. Between each change of immersion it was scrubbed and well washed in running water. When apparently clean it was washed for 48 hours in running water and then dried. During the drying, it was accidentally overheated and the object threw out a series of worm-like protuberances, evidently products of corrosion from the interior. A small globule of lead also melted out and this was unfortunately not recovered. It was then found necessary to repeat the cleaning process; when this was complete and the weight dried in an oven it was again weighed. It was then boiled in beeswax (impure with some paraffin wax added) until it ceased to bubble, when it was presumed that the cavities left by the products of corrosion had been filled with the wax. It was then weighed again. The weights were:

	<i>Grammes</i>
Dirty	8.91
Clean	7.47
Waxed	7.55

Petrie states (*Measures and Weights*, 12) '... it should be observed whether [the corrosion is] of red oxide or green carbonate. The carbonate contains 3/7th gain of weight, the red oxide 1/9th gain, so allowances can be made according to the compound removed.' However, the corrosion frequently contains other compounds, such as those of chlorine, due to common salt in the soil, and more than one kind are found on the same object. For the purposes of calculation we assumed a mean gain of weight of $\frac{1}{4}$ in the corrosion dealt with. The weight lost in cleaning was 1.44 gr. To obtain the original weight we therefore added $\frac{3}{4}$ of 1.44 to 7.47, giving 8.55 gr. as the original weight.

A second method was used as a check on this. The gain of weight in wax was .08. The specific gravity of the wax mixture was roughly obtained at 0.9. The sp. gr. of the cleaned metal was unfortunately not taken, but that of copper is 8.6-8.9, of tin 7.29, and of lead 11.35. A mean of 9.5 was taken, as it was known that lead had been lost. Then the weight of the metal replaced by wax would be $\frac{0.08 \times 9.5}{0.9} = 0.84$, giving an original weight of 8.31 gr.

The mean of the two figures for the original weight obtained by the different methods is

8.43 ± .07 gr. The low probable error suggests that the calculation may be accepted. The weight may be a Daric.

This double method could usefully be applied to any metal weights, but the sp. gr. of the metal should be taken in each case.

O. H. MYERS.

A Postal Register of the Ramesside Age

The text commonly known as 'The Journal of a Border Official', which forms part of P. Anastasi III, has often been discussed by scholars.¹ I should now like to put forward a reinterpretation of the text in the light of a closely analogous Greek papyrus. This is the fragment of a 'Postal Register' known as P. Hibeh 110, of early Ptolemaic date.² In order to show the close similarity between these two documents, I give below extracts from each, showing typical entries.

FROM P. ANASTASI III

(Vs. 6, 6) 'Year three,³ FIRST MONTH OF SUMMER, DAY 22. . . .

(5, 1) GOING UP (to Syria) by Nakhtamūn son of Tjer, a retainer of the fortress of Merneptah-ḥetepherma'at, (5, 2) which is near Djererem. What he carried to Syria: 2 dispatches. In detail:

(5, 3) (For) Penamūn, commander of troops: 1 dispatch.

(For) Ra'messenakhte, steward of this town: 1 dispatch.

(5, 4) COMING IN (to Egypt) by Pamerkhetem son of Any, master of the stable of Merneptah-ḥetepherma'at, a town (5, 5) which is in the district of Irem. What he carried to the place where the King is: 2 dispatches. In detail:

(5, 6) (For) Prē'emḥab, commander of troops: 1 dispatch.

(5, 7) (For) Prē'emḥab, lieutenant: 1 dispatch.'

FROM P. HIBEH 110

(65) 'The 18th, 1st hour. Theochrestus delivered to Dinias from up-country, 3 dispatches.

For King Ptolemy: 2 dispatches.

For Apollonius the dioecetes: 1 dispatch.

Dinias delivered them to Hippolysus. . . .

(75) The 19th, 11th hour. Nicodemus delivered to Alexander from down-country, [. . .] dispatches.

From King Ptolemy for Antiochus in the Heracleopolite nome: 1 dispatch.

For Demetrius, the officer in the Thebaid in charge of the supply of elephants: 1 dispatch. . . .'

There are some minor differences, but the general resemblance is sufficiently striking to prove that we are in each case dealing with the same type of document—a postal register. It must be pointed out that one entry in the Anastasi Papyrus does not conform to the above type. Vs. 6, 4 notes the arrival of the chiefs of bowmen in order to be questioned (?) in the fortress at Sile, and no dispatches are mentioned. It should be remembered, however, that in P. Anast. III we are not dealing with the *original* day-book, but with extracts therefrom copied into a student's miscellany. Nevertheless, these extracts are sufficient to show that postal registers similar to that of P. Hib. 110 were in use in Pharaonic times, at least as early as the Nineteenth Dynasty.

PAUL C. SMITHER.

¹ Lastly by Wolf, *ZÄS* 69, 39 ff., who gives a full bibliography. The best hieroglyphic transcription is that of Gardiner, in *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 31 f.

² Grenfell and Hunt, *Hibeh Papyri*, I, p. 286 f. A revised text and translation are given in Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri*, II, pp. 510-15.

³ Of King Merneptah.

The Transcription of the wšy-hall in P. Westcar

Erman, in his original edition of P. Westcar, transcribed the word *wšy* (Pl. 8, ll. 9. 19. 20) as $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$. The same transcription was adopted by Sethe (*Lesest.*, pp. 30–1), although Möller had already rightly shown that the sign read by Erman as 𓆑 was, in fact, 𓆒 .¹ It is worth pointing out that the *Wörterbuch* (I, 259) gives $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ as the chief writing of the word, although none of the *Belegstellen* gives any support to this. It would seem, therefore, to be based entirely upon Erman's misreading of the examples in P. Westcar.

PAUL C. SMITHER.

Seshat's nš-shrine

THE accompanying scene appears at Neweserrē's *sed*-festival, von Bissing and Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re (Rathures)*, II, Pl. 7, No. 17. It represents the Seshat-symbol with a shrine on a sledge which is labelled $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ *nš*. This must be the shrine referred to in the rare Old-Kingdom title $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓}$, Murray, *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom*, Pl. 43, col. 3, where the sign 𓆒 is clearly to be read *nš* and not merely the generic *ḥ*. Strangely enough von Bissing and Kees have not noticed this title in their discussion of the scene in *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re-Heiligtum des Rathures*, 50. They only refer to a somewhat similar shrine on a sledge shown on a First-Dynasty tablet, though there is no mention of Seshat in the accompanying inscription. On account of its rarity Gardiner would question the reading of the title $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓}$, *JEA* 24, 83. But the existence of the *nš*-shrine shows that the usual reading is correct. Seshat's symbol, but not her *nš*-shrine, was brought again at Osorkon's *sed*-festival, Naville, *Festival-Hall*, Pls. 2, 7; 9, 2; 14, 2, and she herself was present on that occasion, Pl. 17, 14. 15.



G. A. WAINWRIGHT.

¹ *Hierat. Pal.*, I, No. 278. A comparison with No. 352 (𓆑), in the Sinuhe B MS. for example, will show that the two signs are really different.

NOTES AND NEWS

Mr. H. W. Fairman, our Field Director in Nubia, writes as follows on last winter's campaign at 'Amārah West:

'The Nubian Expedition arrived at 'Amārah on November 9th, 1938 and continued working until March 4th, 1939. The whole season was devoted almost exclusively to the excavation of the Temple and its magazines. The Temple, which is now entered from the true north, consisted of a Forecourt with trees and columns in front of the gate, a Peristyle with 14 columns, a Hypostyle Hall with 12 columns, a small Vestibule, and the Sanctuary which contained the large basis for the boat shrine and which was flanked by two small rooms and a stairway to the roof. At present the earliest royal name preserved in the Temple is that of Ramesses II, who, having once commenced the building, completely altered its ground plan and orientation, for the original entrance was on the south. Repairs to the Hypostyle were carried out by Amenmeses and the decoration of the building was completed in the 6th year of Ramesses IX. It is certain, however, that there was an earlier settlement here going back at least to the reign of Sethos I, and future work may establish that a town existed in the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III.

'The temple magazines were well preserved and were once vaulted, one of them, somewhat later than all the others, even having a true arch with a rudimentary stone key-stone.

'The town site is the centre of a large area filled with ancient remains, and in a brief examination and testing of the concession four or five ancient cemeteries were found and a very large settlement (?), probably X-group or slightly later. There are signs that further excavation may reveal a culture of which little, if anything, has as yet received the attention of scholars. The expedition also found a number of "Saharan" sherds, but no evidence was forthcoming to place them at a period earlier than the Nineteenth Dynasty, and the probability is that they are much later—a most unexpected and interesting result.

'The season has yielded a satisfactory number of objects, including 7 large stelae, many smaller ones, two statuettes and many scarabs, amulets and small objects. Inscriptions of Amenophis II, Sethos I, Ramesses II, Merneptah, Amenmeses, Setnakht, Ramesses III, Ramesses VI, Ramesses IX, and Ramesses XI have been found either on stelae or on the walls of the Temple, and among the results of the expedition's work must be included the discovery of two or three new viceroys of Ethiopia, much new information concerning the dating and family relationships of the known viceroys, and two new and long lists of Syrian and Sudanese cities and peoples.

'The work has proved that the site is beyond all question a big and rich one; it is far more deeply buried and in much better condition than was ever expected, and may well prove to be the most complete and best-preserved town of Pharaonic Egypt so far discovered.'

An unusually well-attended Exhibition of objects from the Society's excavations at 'Amārah West last winter was held at University College, London, from June 20th to July 15th. The exhibits included a number of important stelae of the Eighteenth to Twentieth Dynasties, many scarabs and amulets, implements, hieratic ostraca and docketts, specimens of the important 'Saharan' sherds, and a quantity of miscellaneous objects. They were shown in cases kindly lent by the Wellcome Museum of Medicine. On July 6th Mr. H. W. Fairman gave a lantern lecture, at the Royal Society's rooms in Burlington House, on the excavations; the attendance was the largest for some years.

We learn that the sales of the third volume of *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, published last year, have so far proved disappointing. It may be remembered that this large folio volume,

which contains 65 plates of which 13 are in colour and and 24 photographic, deals with the rooms devoted to the cult of Osiris, and is sold at £6 to the public but £5 to Members and Associates, prices which bear no relation to the cost of production. It is by far the best publication of its kind, and Members are urged to do their best to make it better known.

On January 18th, at the Royal Society's rooms in Burlington House, Dr. H. A. Winkler gave a lantern lecture on 'The Predynastic Peoples of the Upper Egyptian Mountains and their Rock Drawings'. In June appeared, as a new publication of our Society, the second volume of Dr. Winkler's remarkable work *Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*, with 48 pages of text and 62 colotype plates, one in colour, at the prices of 17s. 6d. to Members and Associates of the Society who order direct, 25s. to others. This publication has been made possible by the generosity of Lady Mond. The material contained therein, from three regions in the Western Desert, is at least equal in interest and value to that of vol. I; it not only shows many new aspects of early civilizations, but throws fresh light on the problem of Egyptian origins.

On January 21st the Griffith Institute at Oxford, of which some details were given in our last issue (pp. 248-9), was ceremonially opened; a numerous gathering of representatives of Egyptology, Assyriology, papyrology and classical archaeology of Oxford and many other parts of the country joined with University dignitaries in both celebrating the inauguration and paying honour to the principal founders. The Vice-Chancellor, opening the formal proceedings in the Lecture Theatre of the Ashmolean Museum, paid eloquent tribute to the devotion to science and generosity of Professor and Mrs. Griffith. He was followed by the Keeper of the Ashmolean, who described the genesis of the Institute and its partition among the various interests it was to serve; he also stressed the fact that this was but the first step in a far-reaching scheme under which certain branches of archaeology and art as yet not fully organized or housed in this University will eventually find a home beside the Museum. Sir Frederic Kenyon, the principal guest and a friend of Griffith's from early days in the British Museum, added his testimony to the chief founder's character as scholar and man, and touched on the great changes in the attitude of the learned world to archaeology in the last fifty years. Out of his great experience he gave his views as to the functions which the Institute might profitably exercise, including not only academic teaching and the use of the libraries, but also the provision of training for field work, collaboration with similar institutions elsewhere, financial support of expeditions and of the publications which should result from these, and the office of intermediary between aspirants to archaeological posts and those who seek to fill such posts. He then declared the Institute open. After an address of thanks by Professor John L. Myers the company inspected the new building designed by Mr. Stanley Hall. It was felt by those who were present that the completion of the Griffith Institute constituted a notable advance in the promotion of Near-Eastern studies not only in Oxford but in the country generally and perhaps beyond it.

We offer our congratulations to Professor Steindorff, who has found a home in the United States where one congenial task awaiting him is the cataloguing of the Egyptian objects in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; to Sir Herbert Thompson, who attained his eightieth birthday last April; Adriaan de Buck, who in May was made Professor Extraordinarius of Leiden University; Walter B. Emery, who received the honorary degree of M.A. of Liverpool University in June, and Paul C. Smither, who in the same month took a First in Egyptology at Oxford.

We have been asked to publish the following announcement:

Professor Thomas A. Brady, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, U.S.A., has recently published privately a repertory of statuary and figured monuments relating to the cult of the Egyptian Gods. He desires to make his collection as complete as possible before eventual publication of the photographs. Copies of the repertory are available free of charge. Those interested in the subject are requested to send any information bearing upon the materials, as well as photographs of pieces. Prompt payment will be made for photographs and any other expense involved.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Monasteries of the Fayyum. By NABIA ABBOTT. (Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, No. 16.) Chicago, The University Press, 1937. 8vo. 66 pp., 3 pls., 1 map. Published in Great Britain and Ireland by the Cambridge University Press. \$1.50.

In this study pp. 1–21 deal with three Arabic contracts of the Fourth Century A.H. now in the Oriental Institute at Chicago. These are given in facsimile, in transcription, and annotated translation. Several of the notes contain interesting observations on proper names for which Coptic forms may be proposed, and on the forms of Muslim law as used in pious donations by Christians. Only one monastery is mentioned by name, that of Naqlūn in document III. Pp. 22–66 contain ‘A Historical Sketch of the Fayyum Monasteries’. In this the author uses such historical evidence as is available and adds some traditional items from the pious romances which pass as passions of the martyrs. Referring to the martyrdom of Abba Nahraw the writer states, ‘His body was brought back to his home city in the Fayyum by a certain Julius who was then in Antioch’ (p. 25). At first sight it is not easy to recognize this ‘certain Julius’ as the well-known Julius of Aqfahs. In identifying these martyrs (pp. 24–6) the writer draws more freely from the Ethiopic *Synaxarium* than from the Egyptian (Arabic) text, and in this he is no doubt correct, as the Ethiopic compilation seems to be often the better guide. The account of the monasteries begins with Naqlūn on p. 24. Its foundation is traditionally associated with a certain Aūr, Hōr, or Hōr who, it is suggested, was of Iranian origin. The essay then endeavours to find a place for this Aūr in the series of bishops of the Fayyūm. The list given may be outlined thus:

3rd cent.	Nepos.
	Apollonius.
	gap i.
c. 325.	Maximianus.
327.	Melas.
before 347.	Calosiris I.
c. 347.	Andrew.
	gap ii. 362–444.
c. 444.	Calosiris II.
	gap iii. 475–650.

Baudrillart, *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. ecclés.*, iv. 761 ff., inserts Aūr in gap iii, ‘But’, says N. Abbott, ‘no reason at all is given for this position.’ He then suggests that Aūr and a certain Abba Isaac, stated to have been Aūr’s predecessor, may have occupied the see during the intervals i or ii, in the early or late Fourth Century. This, of course, is simple conjecture. To note that means no lack of appreciation of an extremely interesting and valuable monograph; it merely emphasizes the great difficulty of forming any reliable list of the early bishops of the remoter provincial sees.

DE LACY O’LEARY.

Mostagedda and the Tasian Culture. By GUY BRUNTON. With a Chapter by G. M. MORANT, D.Sc. London, Bernard Quaritch Ltd., 1937. 4to. 120 pp., 88 pls. 50s.

For two seasons, 1927–9, Mr. and Mrs. Brunton, with an odd student or two, carried out excavations in the neighbourhood of Mostagedda in the Badāri district of Asyūṭ Province. Settlements of almost every period of ancient Egyptian history were encountered. Of these, the Badarian and Tasian discoveries are, perhaps, of the greatest interest, while an important cemetery of the so-called Pan-grave people is a valuable addition to the rather scanty material representing this intrusive culture.

The outstanding object of Badarian date is undoubtedly the delightful model of a hippopotamus, a delicate piece of carving in ivory, exhibiting the highest craftsmanship. Other features of interest from the Badarian graves were a number of clay ear-studs of Sudanese type—Reisner’s discussion, in *Kerma*, iv–v, 256–7, on the distribution of these objects might have been referred to with advantage—and the evidence

for the roofing of some Badarian graves with wooden beams and matting. On the whole, these latest Badarian discoveries only serve to confirm the author's own conclusions as set forth in *The Badarian Civilisation*. The section, for instance, on Pl. 71 B, seems to settle, once and for all, the question of the precedence of the Badarian and Early Predynastic cultures.

The Tasian finds are of the first importance and, as a whole, leave little doubt that the Tasian culture, certainly more ancient than the Old Kingdom, is probably an earlier phase of the Badarian. Both celts and pottery, like several features of the Badarian civilization, point strongly to a southern connexion. Here the matter is likely to rest until further excavation takes place in the Sudan, south of the Second Cataract. There, the southernmost cemetery, earlier in date than the Old Kingdom, so far excavated, lies no farther south than Gammai, about fifteen miles above Wādī Ḥalfa.

An interesting discovery in a grave well dated to Dyn. 6 was a black incised-ware vase, with a conical lid, imitating basket-work (*cf.* the modern كبريت). There is no doubt, as the author says, of its Nubian origin, and it should be compared with one very similar from a Lower Nubian grave assigned by the excavators (*cf.* Firth, *Rep. Arch. Surv. Nubia, 1908-9*, Pl. 46c, No. 5) to the Early Dynastic period, though one of the three burials contained therein is intrusive and probably of later date. Incised ware of this kind, all of it probably of southern origin, is somewhat rare in Lower Nubia before the C-group period. Possibly its origins should be sought farther to the south, where such wares flourished as late as Meroitic times. The whole question of the origin of this incised pottery, found in Egypt from the Tasian period onwards, is linked with that of the homeland of the Negroes and Negroids who made their way into Egypt from time to time throughout her history. An answer may be found when the archaeology of the Gezīrah, between the Blue and White Niles, and of Kordofān is more fully investigated. Analogies with Lower Nubia, so amply documented by the excavations of the Nubian Survey, are apt to be misleading, largely owing to a misconception of the cultural distinctions differentiating the ancient Sudan north and south of the Fifth Cataract.

We come, then, to the so-called Pan-grave culture, upon which a monograph might well be written. Here the attention of the reader will be drawn to three objects of special interest. The first, a bronze axe-head, is inscribed with the name *Nb-mṣṭ-R*, presumably of the Thirteenth-Dynasty king listed in the Turin Papyrus, though the reading there is uncertain. In view of the importance of this inscribed axe, it is a pity that no better illustration of it is given than that on Pl. 74, where the name itself is all but invisible, even with the aid of a magnifying-glass.

The clearance of the Pan-grave cemetery brought to light more than one deposit of animal horns and frontal bones, many of them painted, such as are found in the later C-group cemeteries of Lower Nubia. Among the painted specimens was one—serving, perhaps, as a funerary stela—with the figure of an axe-bearer; his name, Ḳeskant, inscribed in front of him. The painting of sacred eyes on some of these frontal plates lends colour to the suggestion made by the author that there may be some connexion here with the painting of eyes on Middle-Kingdom stelae. One of the Pan-graves contained a bracer of tooled leather (Pl. 75) like one from Balabīsh (Wainwright, *Balabīsh*, Pl. 12). These bracers seem characteristically Nubian; one of silver from a royal Nubian tomb of the sixth century A.D. at Balāña, though far removed in date, is exactly similar in form.

So far, five Pan-grave cemeteries have been found: at Hū, Rifah, Balabīsh, Ḳāw, and, quite recently, at Armant. Mr. Wainwright, in his excellent analysis of the Balabīsh material, drew attention to the close resemblance between the Pan-grave culture and the latest phase of the C-group civilization in Lower Nubia, and touched on the sharp distinction to be made between the earlier and later phases of the C-group. The identification of the Pan-grave with the latest C-group culture is, however, by no means certain. There is good reason to believe that the population of the latest cemeteries at Kerma (*c.* Dyns. 14–17) was strongly affected by a Negroid migration from the south. One of these cemeteries, moreover, K. Cem. N.,—as yet unpublished—produced pottery related both in form and ware to that of the latest C-group graves in Lower Nubia. The advance of this Negroid wave from the south may, in fact, have some connexion with the appearance of the Pan-grave people in Egypt and with the changes that distinguish the earlier from the later cultural phases both at Kerma and in Lower Nubia during the C-group period.

The C-group and the Kerma cultures are, as Reisner pointed out, fundamentally different in origin, and recent discoveries in the Libyan desert tend to confirm Bates's view that the main connexions of the Early and Middle C-group are with the west rather than with the south.

The solution of the problem of 'Pan-grave' origins probably lies with the physical anthropologist. But at Mostagedda, as elsewhere, the measurable skulls are too few to serve as a reliable basis for a definition of racial relationship. The Pan-grave skulls, it is true, appear strikingly negroid by comparison with those

of the earlier C-group and Kerma tombs. One might suspect here also some possibilities of relationship between the Pan-grave and the later Kerma series. A not unimportant point in favour of a more southern origin for the Pan-grave people than Lower Nubia lies in the fact that the C-group people, to judge from the contents of their graves, were not notably warlike, any more than are their descendants, the Barabra, at the present day: Dongola and not Lower Nubia is the region which supplies the majority of recruits to the Egyptian and Sudanese police.

Nothing of special interest was met with in the excavation of New Kingdom and later sites. A few extra details were, however, added to the published account of the tomb of Suti, a high official under Sethōs I, which had not been reopened since its original excavation by Moḥammed Effendi Shabān for the Egyptian Government in 1899.

Of the drawings of objects in this volume, it need only be said that they are by Mrs. Brunton, which means that they are as good as it is humanly possible to make them. While the cemetery plans, though not especially elegant, are perfectly adequate, the sectional drawings of tombs are not, on the whole, as immediately informative as they should be to the uninitiated eye. There are, for instance, some strangely pendant masses on Pl. 64 which call for further support, while the surface-line in the pit-sections is rarely indicated. But perhaps this is carping rather than criticism.

As in former volumes by Mr. Brunton, the summaries covering the various periods encountered in the excavations are of exceptional value. When, in the future, some attempt is made to organize Egyptian archaeological research, as distinct from excavation, and to produce specialized works on subjects drawn from the excavation reports, such summaries as these will be a boon to the scholar. Excavation continues unabated, excavation reports become larger and larger, and none are ever out of date. Any historian collecting information on a special period must therefore plough through them all, or nearly all. This, it should be remembered, was pointed out by the late Professor Peet who, in his memorable inaugural lecture to the University of Oxford, aptly declared, 'We cannot go on for ever thinking in terms of single cemeteries, we must think in terms of periods. . . . It is in pure archaeology that the need is greatest.'

Mr. Brunton's work, of which this volume is the latest product, is a model for all excavators, his standard a modest scientific integrity not infrequently lost sight of in an exhibitionist world. And special praise is due to him for having found time, despite the arduous nature of his official duties—and those who know the Cairo Museum will understand what this means—to write this most valuable and important work.

L. P. KIRWAN.

A Coptic Dictionary. Compiled by W. E. CRUM. Parts II: ⲉⲓⲛⲉ — ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲥ (pp. 89–252); III: ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲥ — ⲧⲟⲚⲔ (pp. 253–404); IV: ⲧⲁⲚⲟ — ⲩⲱⲛⲧ (pp. 405–572); V: ⲩⲱⲛⲧⲉ — ⲉⲱⲥⲛ (pp. 573–744). Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1930, '32, '34, '37. 4to. 42s. each part.

Since Part I of the *Coptic Dictionary* was reviewed in this *Journal* nine years ago by Sir Herbert Thompson (15, 277–9) the work has been making steady progress. The last fascicle but one is now before us, and the final instalment, to contain indexes and supplementary matter besides the two last letters of the alphabet, will probably be ready in 1939. Surely an average rate of one fascicle every two years is all that could reasonably have been expected. The mere printing of about 160 quarto pages of over 100 lines each in multifarious type and heavily packed with references, would hardly have required much less time, if the necessary degree of correctness was to be attained. But in point of fact considerable additions had constantly to be made in the course of printing. No sooner did Part II leave the press than the Manichaean texts and the Early Fayyūmic fragments of the Solomonic books made their appearance, the former placing Sub-Akhmīmic in the rank of the most plentifully attested among the 'lesser dialects', and the latter showing what literary Coptic was apt to be like before the conventional orthography to which we are accustomed came into use. (It is earnestly to be hoped that Prof. Schmidt's lamented death will not still further jeopardize the eagerly awaited publication of these invaluable texts.) These new materials certainly by far exceeded such margin as the original plan may have allowed for unforeseen additions; a glance at the references from Part III onwards shows to what extent they have been drawn upon.

While a comprehensive appreciation of the work as a whole will more appositely be attempted in connexion with the final part, a few words will not be amiss to describe the obligation under which Dr. Crum has laid the users of his *magnum opus*. It will almost be taken for granted that the vocabulary proper is as complete as available materials go; that the meanings are given with care; and that they are illustrated with abundant and well-chosen examples. But the distinctive features of the *Coptic Dictionary* begin precisely

where most dictionaries of Oriental languages consider their task as done; it is mainly in two qualities that it excels, *viz.* the minute care bestowed throughout upon phraseology and idiom, and the fullness with which the external evidence for the meaning of each word and phrase is laid before the reader. In both respects it is, for aught I can think of, unequalled, and certainly unsurpassed, in the whole field of Oriental lexicography. Besides their immediate usefulness these qualities cannot fail to produce a wholesome influence of an educational nature: the daily handling of such a dictionary teaches 'how to observe in philology'.

Dr. Crum can be assured of the admiration and thankfulness of all those who are to derive benefit from his achievement; we hope to be able soon to congratulate him on the completion of the work.

In spite of the triviality to which they are naturally doomed, I should like to offer a few remarks on some points of detail.

P. 92 *a* 6. In **ⲁⲛⲉ ⲛⲕⲉ ρ ρⲓⲛⲁϥ** Judges xi. 17 *S*, **ⲛⲕⲉ** does not belong to the verb (which would make rather poor sense) but must be the subject, which otherwise would be wanting. Even then a slight emendation can hardly be avoided: read **ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲕⲉ**.

P. 104 *a* 7 from below and 642 *b* 16 from below. Why 'ل. مشيمة'? In Middle and Modern Arabic **شيمة** is the current form for the classical **شيمة** (in the passage from the Life of Maximus and Dometius **شيمة** is also attested by Paris *ar.* 258, 157 *a* and 4793, 131 *b*); for some references *v. S.* Reich, *Études sur les villages araméens de l'Anti-Liban* (1937), 73, n. 6; 192.

P. 151 *b* 16. **ⲗⲁⲥⲉ** is found in *S* outside the *Pistis Sophia*: **ⲗⲁⲥⲉ** (imp., as in Jo. xi. 39 *A*₂) **ⲉⲛⲉⲓⲥⲟⲩⲱⲧ** **ⲧⲏⲣⲟϥ ⲉϥϥⲁϣⲧ** 'let all these created things cease being kept back', Budge, *Hom.*, 85.

P. 155 *b* 5. Add synonymous **ⲟⲩ ⲉⲗⲗⲁ** Guidi, *Framm. copti*, III, 66 *S*.

P. 178 *a* 8. When 'until' is meant either **ⲉⲗⲗⲉ-** is actually written (Sir. xxiii. 20, Matt. x. 23, Luke xxi. 32) or **ⲁⲛⲉ-** is but a bad spelling for it (Job xxvii. 3); *cf.* Stern, § 435, Steindorff, § 326. The same holds good with regard to (ⲉ)**ⲗⲗⲁⲧⲉ-** (p. 179 *a* 3): Stern, §§ 395, 437, Steindorff, *loc. cit.*

P. 178 *a* 11. Esther iv. 2 does not belong here: read **ⲁⲛⲉⲗⲧⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟ**, *v. p.* 393 *a* 4.

P. 218 *b* 19 from below. Read **ⲉϥⲟⲩⲧⲉ-**.

P. 230 *b* 22. **ⲛⲧⲱⲣⲉ** is now abundantly attested both as an Egyptian survival in archaic magical texts (*Orientalia* 4, 18, line 23 **ⲛⲧⲱⲣⲉ** ω 'the Great Goddess', epithet of Isis-Hathor) and as a 'daēvian' word in the Manichaean texts: *Keph.* 143, *Hom.* 10 (read **ⲧⲓⲛⲧⲱⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲟϥⲁⲣⲉ** 'the cruel she-devil') and several times in the *Psalms-Book*.

P. 246 *b* 19. **ρ ρⲟⲩⲧ** is non-existent; the contamination with **ⲟ ρⲟⲩⲧⲉ** (*OLZ*, 1930, 880, n. 3) did not spread beyond the qualitative **ρⲟⲩⲧ**.

P. 252 *b* 4. A particularly interesting 'irregular' use of **ⲛⲥⲓ** is **ⲏⲱⲕ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲏⲕⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲏ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲧⲟϥⲓ ⲧⲟϥⲓ ⲗⲗⲱⲧⲏ** Ruth i. 8; *cf.* Sethe in *ZDMG* 79, 295; Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gr.*, § 422.

P. 260 *a* 26. At least two of the examples quoted for **ⲛⲉ** following the Future must be discarded: Prov. xxiii. 35 seems to be a misquotation; in Rev. iii. 2 the correct reading is **ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲏⲗⲗⲱⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲉ ⲁ ⲉⲙⲉⲗⲗⲟⲛ ⲁⲓⲓⲑⲱⲛⲉⲓⲛ**, *i.e.* Imperfectum Futuri; Ps. cxliii. 4 (unfortunately preserved only in one MS.) is doubtful—one would expect **ⲗⲏⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲗⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲗⲟⲟⲗⲏ ⲛⲉ**. In one of the two remaining *S* examples,¹ Judges xvi. 11, the Future followed by **ⲛⲉ** appears in the apodosis of a conditional sentence. It is a surprise to find that this use is anything but uncommon. During a very short period of reading I came across the following examples, all of them in perfectly normal and by no means out-of-the-way texts: **ⲉⲛⲧⲱⲛⲟϥⲱⲣⲁⲛⲟⲩⲉⲧⲟⲩⲧⲏ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲗⲏ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲗⲏ ⲗⲗⲁⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲧⲏⲗⲗⲱⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲉ** Deut. v. 25 (Ciasca); **ⲉϥⲱⲗⲉ ⲁ ⲧⲁⲟϥⲏⲣⲏⲧⲉ ρⲓⲕⲉ ⲉⲑⲟⲗ ρⲓ ⲧⲉϥϥⲓⲛ . . . ⲉⲓⲉϥⲟ ⲛⲧⲱⲟϥⲏ** (*leg.* -ⲧⲟ-) **ⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲕⲟⲟϥⲉ ⲟϥⲟⲗⲟϥ** Job xxxi. 7-8; **ⲉϥⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲑⲟⲗ ⲡⲏⲁⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲗⲉ ⲗⲏ ⲕⲉⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲓⲥ ⲛⲉϥϥⲥⲟⲩ** Rossi, *Nuovo cod.*, 77; *sim.*, Judith v. 20; Rom. ii. 26. In the following cases the condition to which the event expressed by the Future plus **ⲛⲉ** is contingent has not the form of a conditional clause: **ⲗⲗⲁⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲥⲉⲥⲱⲧⲗⲏ . . . ⲗⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉϥⲕⲉⲧⲟⲟϥ ⲉⲑⲟⲗ ρⲓ ⲧⲉϥϥⲓⲛ ⲗⲗⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲱ ⲡⲏⲁⲕⲱ ⲉⲑⲟⲗ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲉϥϥⲱⲧⲟⲛⲥ ⲗⲏ ⲛⲉϥϥⲏⲑⲉ** Jer. xliiii. 3; **ⲗⲗⲁⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲉⲗⲗⲁⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲱⲁϥϥⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲟϥⲛⲟⲗⲗⲱⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲗⲗⲁⲣ ⲁϥⲱ ⲗⲏ ⲟϥϥⲱⲗⲉ ⲛⲟϥⲱⲧ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲉⲑⲟⲗ ρⲓ ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲁⲟⲥ** Judith vii. 11 (*sim.*, 13. 14). These observations do not apply to *B*.

P. 260 *b* 2. Delete **ⲉⲣⲉⲛ-** *B*, *v.* below *ad p.* 596 *b*.

P. 261 *b* 18 from below. Read **ⲕⲁⲛ** (*kāna*) for **ⲕⲁⲛ** (*ka'anna*), even if actually so written in the MS.

¹ I have not been able to check Rossi, *Pap. copti*, I, iv, 19.

P. 264 *a* 17 from below. Read $\omega\omega\omega\omega\omega\omega$.

P. 266 *b* 2. It was an infelicitous second thought to abandon (Part v, Add. & Corr., vi *a*) the correct reading $\epsilon\ \theta\epsilon\beta\epsilon\eta\eta\ \eta\mu\epsilon\eta\tau\ \pi\alpha\mu\epsilon\eta\tau$ Prov. ix. 18 (*v. Stern in ZĀS* 20, 198) for $\epsilon\theta\beta\epsilon\ \eta\eta\eta\ \eta\mu\epsilon\eta\tau$. Apart from $\epsilon\theta\beta\epsilon$ hardly being a likely rendering for $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ and no Greek variant suggesting a *plural* noun, the reading $\epsilon\theta\beta\epsilon\ \eta\eta\eta$ is excluded by the simple fact that in *B* there exists no plural article π -. That MSS. actually write $\eta\eta\eta$ with a dot is of no consequence whatever; it is due to the fact that $\eta\eta\eta$ 'to (etc.) those' is so common a group of letters.

P. 273 *b* 8 from below. $\rho\alpha\tau\phi\alpha\tau$ 'hare', lit. 'grow-foot', does not mean 'long-footed' but 'whose foot is covered with a growth' = $\delta\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma$, which it translates (orally pointed out to me by the late A. Rahlfs).

P. 285 *b* 24. Bsciai's افنح is an utterly impossible form. Read افنح '(person) walking with feet spread outward'.

P. 325 *a* 21 from below and *b* 30 foll. $\sigma\omega\kappa\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ -, $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\upsilon$, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\theta\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\upsilon$ is certainly distinct from $\sigma\omega\kappa$ 'draw'.

P. 329 *a* 4 from below. $\sigma\kappa\rho\kappa\rho\ A_2$ is more likely to be an (intr.) infinitive than a qualitative; it can, anyhow, be nothing but an infinitive in the *S* passage quoted Part III, Add. & Corr., vii, *ad loc.* (conjunctive). Perhaps also p. 742 *b* 8 from below.

P. 346 *b* 6 from below. In cases like $\pi\omicron\sigma\ \sigma\eta\gamma\ \kappa\alpha\rho\alpha\omega\eta$ the numeral grammatically belongs to $\pi\omicron\sigma$; they ought, accordingly, to be transferred under the heading 'after $\eta\eta$ ', line 4 from below (so also with $\kappa\omicron\gamma\iota$: $\pi\kappa\omicron\gamma\iota\ \sigma\eta\gamma\ \eta\rho\omicron$ *Bull. Inst. fr.* 13, 197). An instance of $\sigma\eta\gamma$ preceding $\pi\omicron\sigma$ is $\sigma\eta\gamma\ \eta\eta\omicron\sigma\ \pi\omicron\eta\rho\iota\omicron\eta$ *Mém. Miss. fr.*, iv, 709.

P. 350 *b* 28. $\tau\alpha\pi\sigma\omicron\eta$ 'countless times'. This translation, though time-honoured, is certainly wrong; the word means 'at the moment in question', 'at any given moment'. *Kephalaia*, 38 $\text{φχειροτονια ετερε ηηασ ταησαη κω μμας αηη πετραηε παραραη}$ 'This laying-on of hands which he who each time is the greater one (der jewels Grössere) lays upon him who is inferior to him' (in my published translation I still followed the traditional rendering, with deplorable results); *ib.*, 172 $\omicron\gamma\eta\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\ \eta\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\sigma\ \psi\omicron\sigma\eta\ \rho\zeta\eta\ \eta\eta\ \mu\eta\tau\alpha\gamma\ \eta\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\sigma$; the reading and restoration of the last words seem to me unlikely; I should suggest $\rho\zeta\eta\ \eta\eta\ \rho\zeta\eta\ \mu\eta\tau\alpha\gamma\ \eta\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\sigma$: 'There are four Worlds in this Body of the Flesh; there are each time (jewels) seven Princes in every single World.' The instances in the *Pistis Sophia* (*v. Schmidt's* glossary) being closely similar to each other, one example will suffice: 7, 16 $\eta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\ \pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\eta\eta\ \tau\eta\rho\zeta\ \rho\iota\ \eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma\ \eta\epsilon$ (superfluous) $\eta\epsilon\gamma\omicron\ \eta\psi\omega\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \eta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\ \omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\ \omicron\gamma\omicron\tau\acute{\eta}\ \epsilon\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\ \eta\epsilon\ \tau\alpha\pi\sigma\omicron\eta$ 'The whole Light in its entirety was of three kinds, and one (kind) was each time more excellent than another (*scil.* in each possible pair of grades).'

Accordingly, Sethe's etymology (*tm ip zp* 'not counting times', a purely factitious collocation of words) must be given up. It seems clear that the word must represent *tnw zp* 'every time', but the η is difficult to account for; can it be due to a contamination with $\epsilon\eta\sigma\omicron\eta$?

P. 358 *a* 12 from below. It is interesting to note that $\chi\omicron\iota\rho\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\eta\omicron$, commonly supposed to mean 'porcupine', is said to be used by the monks of Mt. Sinai for the local variety of rock-rabbit, Arabic جر (Brehm's *Tierleben*).

P. 381 *b* 17. Add $\epsilon\eta\eta\gamma\tau\ S$, 4 Kings xii. 19 (20), xiii. 8; and now *Muséon* 51, 251.

P. 393 *a* 10 foll. Another ex. for $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\omega$ is *Orientalia* 4, 21, line 77, where it is equivalent to $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu$ of certain other texts. That the latter is to be understood in its ordinary concessive sense thus seems confirmed (as against Stegemann in *ZĀS* 70, 126), but the meaning of the formula in question unfortunately remains obscure.

P. 393 *a* 27. Here (*cf.* 11 *a* 20) belongs $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\ \epsilon\eta\sigma\alpha\ \rho\iota\ \epsilon\pi\alpha\eta\alpha\iota$ *Oratio Cypr.* 228 (not $\eta\epsilon\eta\ \alpha\eta\alpha\iota$, Pt. v, Add. & Corr., v, *ad* 81 *b* 5).

P. 430 *a* 11. $\theta\epsilon\rho\ \mu\mu\mu\omicron\zeta$ is invariably followed by ϵ - infinitive (in Num. xiv. 11 Lagarde had better have left untouched the punctuation $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\eta}\theta\omicron\eta$, *v. his Pentateuch*, p. xv), while after $\theta\epsilon\rho\ \eta$ - the bare infinitive is common (besides the 3 exx. quoted, *cf.* Ps. xl. 5, cxliii. 2, cxlvi. 8; Hab. ii. 6; Lagarde, *Catena*, 81₂₄ 125₁₁ 166₃₃; De Vis, *Hom.*, ii, 207; Budge, *St. George*, 89) and ϵ - infinitive is rather exceptional: Ps. cxii. 9 (one of Lagarde's MSS. omits ϵ -); Acts xxvii. 38; and, curiously enough, two exx. with the vb. $\psi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\iota$ 'grow long': Isa. lxi. 11, Matt. xxiii. 5 (*v. Crum in JEA* 8, 187), though it is only by orthographical, not by grammatical,

¹ For this expression ('altogether, all in one, at one time', and sim.), which is particularly frequent in the *Pistis Sophia* (*e.g.*, 6₂₃ 206₃ 253₃ 282₁), no biblical references are given p. 59 *a* 10-8 from below. It renders $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau$. xii. 15 *S*, Mich. ii. 12 *SA*, Nah. i. 9 *A* (*S* $\rho\iota\ \omicron\gamma\omicron\sigma\omicron\eta$), Acts ii. 1 *S*; $\alpha\gamma\psi\omega\eta\epsilon\ \rho\iota\ \eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$ 2 Kings ii. 25 *S* $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\eta\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\eta\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \sigma\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\eta\sigma\iota\upsilon\ \mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\eta$; in Joel iii. 11, 12 *A* $\eta\psi\epsilon\theta\eta\omicron\sigma\ \tau\eta\rho\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\ \pi\omicron\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$ strangely renders $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\eta\ \kappa\upsilon\kappa\lambda\omicron\theta\epsilon\upsilon$. The *A* examples were pointed out by Till in *ZĀS* 62, 117.

arguments that the ε- can be shown to be the preposition and not merely a prothetic vowel, as Spiegelberg thought.

P. 467 a 30. The exact Arabic transcription of ρε, the name of the letter γ, is 𐤀 Balestri *ad* Matt. xxvii. 41 (the same form was obviously meant by Stern, p. 418, where the *Alif* is broken off).

P. 468 a 20 from below. It would have been useful to single out the cases where conjugated ρ ογ, followed by a circumstantial clause, means 'to what end . . .?', e.g. εκρ ογ εκρωσοο εκριλλε ΖΑΣ 21, 143 S; ερερ ογ ερερεμσι πελλ παιρηνι De Vis, *Hom.*, i, 27 B. Note ερ ογ ερο πε ερεϑου . . . Forbes Robinson, *Apocr. Gospels*, 104 B, a curious blending of three different constructions, viz. (a) ερ ογ πα followed by π- noun or ε- infinitive (purely B); (b) ογ ερο followed by noun or infinitive (mainly S, though found in Nitrian B); (c) conjugated ρ ογ followed by circumstantial clause (do.).

P. 501 b 3 from below. Till's *Bauernpraktik* (*Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 4, 121. 136) shows that ογωϣ means either 'Thursday' or 'Friday'. I think that there is some evidence in favour of 'Thursday'. According to the directions appended to the *Oratio Cypr.* (Bilabel-Grohmann, *Griech. kopt. und arab. Texte*, No. 122, lines 264 foll.) the prayer is to be recited 'ετ̄ενρα . . . (i.e. ετ̄ ενρα[ογ]) 'for three days' εσ̄ηη π̄τ̄ ε̄ερ . ᾱρ̄χ̄η (read probably ε<τ>κεριακη) ϣα πογωϣ. If π̄τ̄ π̄τ̄κ̄ριακη be Tuesday (cf. p. 566 b 28) πογωϣ must, at least so it would seem, be Thursday. Is it the 'interval' between the two fast days, Wednesday and Friday?

P. 532 b 16 foll. I fail to find οθε 'way, track, etc.' which ought to appear here (cf. p. 257 a 12 from below). [It is entered, Dr. Crum kindly informs me, on p. 499 a, under ογωτ̄ε.]

P. 536 b 2 from below. Add the qualit. ερι F (ορι is the inf.) from κενορρη ετερι ᾱδαλ Ep. Jer., 9 ἐπὶ τοῦ (σ)τέλους.

P. 540 b 28. ᾱθεσ̄τ̄ϣ *Manich. Hom.*, 78, is from *ἠίσε 'wreck (vb. tr.)', v. p. 48 b 8 ἠίσι B.

P. 579 a ult. Read either ογτω[ϣ], as in the publication, or ογτω[γ] πηρωαε 'among mankind'; the reference is *Kephalaia*, 39.

P. 585 a 5 from below. ϣηπτερζιαε S ('son of the woman') is quite different from ϣελαρζιαε F ('female child'); the latter should be transferred to p. 585 b 4.


P. 591 a 28. ϣτ- can by no means be *stat. cstr.* of ϣωωτ, nor is ḥo a possible writing for ḥωε 'hair' in Manichaean A₂; to be transferred to p. 595 b 16 (more and better exx. are now to be found in the *Psalm-Book*).

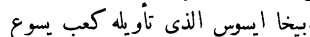
P. 593 b 9 from below. شعب need not be emended into نمر; it can have the same meaning.

P. 596 a 4 from below. This paragraph should probably be deleted. There is no evidence for ε- before noun, and all examples of ερο followed by mis-spellings for ερω. In Matt. vi. 6 B Horner prints εροκ (obviously a tacit would-be correction), but the correct spelling is to be found in Lagarde's *Catena*, 12; F in any case is wrongly quoted here: Maspero has ελωκ.

P. 596 b 3 and 14. Both paragraphs should be joined: *ερεπ- B is practically non-existent,² and ερεπ- does duty for the *stat. nom.* to ερω. Cf. p. 289 b, where the evidence is slightly obscured by the quotation 'ϣηπ ερη- Gen. xxxi. 28 SB'; B, in point of fact, has ερωογ π- (correctly quoted p. 260 b 4). The correspondence between ϣηπ ερεπ- and ερω is illustrated, e.g., by Gen. xxxi. 55, xlv. 15, and xxxiii. 4, xlviii. 10 respectively.

P. 625 a ult. Add ϣτοογ ϣογωτ (*sic*?) Budge, *Apocr.*, 21; fem. ϣτεγ ϣογωτε Paris 131³, 15 a.

P. 625 b 2. Add ϣτεγ εποογ (and varr.) ἀπὸ τετάρτης ἡμέρας Acts x. 30 S. The forms ϣτεγ εποογ and ϣα(η)τ εποογ seem to be the best ones, cf.  Horus and Seth, 5, 10.

P. 629 b 3 from below. The story is recounted in Zacharias of Xoïs' homily on the Flight into Egypt (*Kitāb mayāmīr watajā'ib as-sayyidah al-'adriā*, 2nd edn., 71): .

P. 674 a 18. Is not πεδαε τρε- *Acta Pauli* 51, identical with ϣηπ τρε- A A₂, p. 683 a 20? Possibly πεδαε πτογωρ (= π-τογ-ογωρ) πε *Kephalaia* 103 likewise belongs here.

P. 675 b 12. FR 96 belongs to πτε-, not to πτα-.

P. 676 a 4 from below. I wonder whether ρα B 'forty' is ever found without a superlinear stroke above the α; it is a sportive blending of the numeral ᾱ and the phonetic writing ραε, like ϣ̄ for ϣωογ = ϣτωογ; cf. Gaselee, *Parerga copt.*, i, ii, 1 n.

¹ The preceding word is ᾱο̄ϣ̄, it being the habit of this scribe to place suspended letters above the last letter but one; ϣ̄ is written in the cursive form (*Orientalia* 4, 420).

² Stern, § 537, says 'Im boh. dialect ist diese präposition sehr selten' and quotes one ex. from Ezekiel, the B translation of which book is notoriously bad.

P. 684 b 1. After *S B* add *A*₂ (*Acta Pauli* 37₂₄ ϩⲟⲉ and now *Manich. Psalm-Book* 142₁₃ † ⲁⲁϭ)¹ *F* (*Isa.* xxxvi. 9 Ⲙⲱⲩⲧ, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 22, 106 † ⲁⲁϭ, *Morgan* 24, 10 a ϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲁϭ).

The forms ⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛ- *S*, ⲁⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛ- *A*, ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲉⲛ- *B* raise the question whether ⲉⲛ- *S* is really the familiar preposition 'in', as the *B* form would make us believe, or something quite different (*A* ⲉⲛ-, not ⲉⲛ-). The uses of this preposition are absolutely identical with those of ⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛ- which Dr. Crum now (p. 685 a 36 foll.) considers as belonging to ⲉⲛ- 'in', while in *JEA* 18, 194 he had rejected this view, preferring 'Sethe's derivation (from ⲉⲟ)'. Sethe's opinion (I do not know where he has propounded it) is certainly right, for the following reasons: (a) the *A* form ⲉⲛ- ;² (b) no example is known of a *stat. pronom.* *ⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲧ; while, on the other hand, (c) by far the majority of *S* examples of the preposition ⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛ- (p. 649 a-b) are in the *stat. pronom.* ⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲁⲥ with precisely the same classes of verbs ('speak, cry', 'breathe', 'spit', 'gaze', 'smite, hit, kick', etc.) which are found followed by ⲉⲟⲩⲛ (ⲉ)ⲉⲛ- (*B* also rarely ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲛ-)³ in the *stat. nom.* All this leads to the conclusion that ⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲁⲥ is the *stat. pronom.* to ⲉⲟⲩⲛ (ⲉ)ⲉⲛ- going back to (Roman) Dem. *r-hn* (*r-hr*, v. Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gr.*, § 351 c).

As to ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲉⲛ- *B* we seem to have to assume that it owes its existence to a misunderstood *S* ⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛ- (which does not, of course, mean that every text in which it occurs is a transposition of a *S* original). Dr. Crum quotes three exx. from the Bible (two from Ezekiel, v. n. 2 of the preceding page) and two from Nitrian texts, thus giving the impression that it almost exclusively occurs in texts of notoriously *S* origin. This is not, however, the case; cf. *Matt.* xxvi. 27, xxvii. 30 ⲉⲛ ⲉⲁϩ; *Jo.* xx. 22 ⲛⲓϩⲓ; *Acts* xxiii. 2 ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓ, xxvi. 14 † ⲩⲉⲛⲫⲁⲧ (quoted by Dr. Crum)]; 2 *Cor.* iii. 7 ϫⲟⲩⲩⲧ; Andersson, *Ausgew. Bemerkungen über d. boh. Dialect im Pentateuch koptisch*, 89, quotes *Gen.* ii. 7 ⲛⲓϩⲓ; *Num.* xii. 14, *Deut.* xxv. 9 ⲉⲛ ⲉⲁϩ. In Nitrian texts it is so common as to need no illustration.

On the other hand there exists a genuine *B* ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲉⲛ- meaning 'inside' (one Nitrian ex. is quoted by Dr. Crum, line 12) which also occurs in the Bible: ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲛⲓ *Jo.* xi. 31 ⲉⲛ ⲧḡ ⲟⲓⲕⲓⲁ, but *Gen.* xxxix. 11 ⲉⲛ ⲧḡ ⲟⲓⲕⲓⲁ ⲉⲥⲱ, thus ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ probably rendering ⲉⲥⲱ.

P. 711 a 15 and 23. Read ⲧⲉⲃ for ⲧⲉⲃ.

P. 711 a 24. Read (ⲕⲁⲕⲟ)ⲙⲟⲭⲑⲟⲥ; ⲕⲁⲕⲟ- is expressed by ⲉⲛⲛⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩⲩ.

P. 725 a 4. Amidst numerous exx. of ⲉⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ- 'reconcile with' there is one of 'overtake (sunset)'; though it is a particularly good one (biblical), some more would have been welcome (to those quoted in *OLZ*, 1930, 878 add Rossi, *Pap. copti*, I, v, 10, the Greek text whereof is not accessible to me).

P. 728 a 17. Read ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲣ (at least this is the usual spelling).

I should like to append here a note on one of the new words occurring in Mr. C. R. C. Allberry's *Manich. Psalm-Book*: ⲙⲟⲩⲛ, as Mr. Allberry has convincingly shown (p. 37₁₆ note), means 'breath'. The word goes back to *mhyt* 'north wind', thus brilliantly confirming Spiegelberg's ingenious note in *ZÄS* 65, 131. How it came to be used in a wider sense is easily explained by the particular meteorological conditions of Egypt.

H. J. POLOTSKY.

L'Égypte des Astrologues. By FRANZ CUMONT. Brussels, Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1937. 254 pp. 10 belgas.

To have brought to the notice of scholars new sources, or rather a new type of source, for the social history of the ancient world is in these days a rare distinction, but one which Professor Cumont's new book may justly claim. Stimulated in particular by the appearance of Wilhelm Gundel's *Neue astrologische Texte des Hermes Trismegistos*, but making full use of the older astrological literature to the elucidation of which he, together with W. Kroll, has contributed so much (an index of the neglect into which this branch of study has fallen may be found in the fact that the last edition of Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* was printed in Basle in 1553), Cumont gives us in this book a description of the world as pictured by the astrological writers; the works which they intended should illuminate the future are made to yield a unique portrait of the past. The researches of Cumont and Kroll have shown us not only that the astrological treatises are without exception Egyptian in origin, but that the authors of them drew so extensively on Ptolemaic

¹ In the same line ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲫ ⲛⲉⲥⲉ ⲁⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ[ⲉⲛⲉ] should rather be restored than ⲁ[ⲉⲛⲉ].

² Spiegelberg's proposal (*OLZ*, 1929, 641) to derive ⲉⲛ- from Dem. (*r*) *hn* (*r*) 'till' was, of course, infelicitous.

³ Cf. ⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲛ- and ϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟϭ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲛ- *Rendic. Acc. Lincei*, 1900, 166. But in ⲩⲉⲑⲁⲙ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲛ- 'put to silence' 1 *Pet.* ii. 15 ⲫⲓⲙⲟⲩⲛ and in a passage quoted p. 649 b 1 ⲉⲛⲉⲛ- is a substitute for *ⲉⲛⲉⲛ- (v. above).

sources, making as a rule only superficial adaptations to bring their work up to date (even in this pseudo-science Roman Egypt was uncreative), that the Egypt they portray is in all essentials the land of the Ptolemies. They themselves seem to have been semi-Hellenized clerics attached to the Egyptian temples, themselves out of touch with and uninterested in Greek life and thought, but writing for a Hellenized audience all the more likely to be attracted and impressed by the aloofness and the alien mystery of the authors of these treatises and their surroundings.

The importance of this book to any student of Graeco-Roman Egypt can hardly be exaggerated; it is perhaps particularly easy for the papyrologist to forget how roughly uniform in character his material is, to how great an extent business and administration overshadow the other aspects of life, in particular how little we know (if we except the Serapeum papyri) of the inside life of the great Egyptian temples. The Egypt of the astrologers is contemporary with the Egypt of the papyri, but it is a different country; and it is precisely this difference that makes Cumont's book so valuable. Many students, recognizing that the papyri show them only one side of the picture, must have turned for a corrective to the literary sources for the period and must have found with disappointment that there is relatively little to be learnt from them (compared with what it might have been, how jejune is Strabo's account of the country!); here, at any rate, is another picture, and though the colours are sometimes lurid and sometimes may have been applied too thickly, yet we cannot doubt that there is substantial truth in the portrait. While the papyri tell us much about business and official life (much, too, about the private life of the more Hellenized parts of the community), the astrologers know next to nothing about the Greek cities and the administrative system, but have much to tell us about the manners and morals of the wealthier Egyptians and about the hopes and aspirations of individuals; further, from the detailed information scattered so generously throughout these texts and arranged with admirable lucidity by Cumont we can form an idea, for example, of the place that women took in this society, and get a good general view of the economic activity of the country though not of its organization. The difference in our sources of information may be illustrated by one example. The numerous medical texts that have been found in Greek papyri are, I believe, almost without exception the products of the great Greek schools of medicine (a conspicuous example is P. Ryl. III, 531 which recommends the use of otters' kidneys, an article which can scarcely have been obtained with ease in Egypt); to learn about the very different *ιατρομαθηματικῆ* which was practised in the temples we must go to the astrologers. (Perhaps it is only fair to add that the papyri have also provided us with a number of astrological texts.) If a further proof is wanted that Graeco-Roman Egypt was two nations and not one, it may be found in a different field, that of art. In this connexion I cannot do better than quote a sentence from a review of Mr. Noshy's recent book, *The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt*, by Mlle Préaux (who has added considerably to the value of Cumont's book by her notes, pointing out where the papyri confirm or occasionally correct the astrological texts): 'l'art égyptien et l'art grec se développent parallèlement, sans guère s'influencer. Les œuvres de style mixte sont rares et le plus souvent, manquées. Il n'y a pas, à vrai dire, d'art gréco-égyptien.'

Unlike his modern counterpart, whose prognostications are generally couched in the vaguest terms, the ancient astrologer was expected to give his client tolerably definite information, whatever the subject might be—his future trade or profession, his business prospects, his domestic arrangements, his fortunes in love or war, his travels, and his latter end; hence an efficient astrologer needed a wide and careful knowledge, particularly of the more dramatic possibilities of life in the circles in which his clients moved.

It is this accumulation of facts that makes these works valuable to the social historian, although in their selection of facts the astrological texts somewhat resemble the penny press of to-day. Here, too, we must not assume that because the facts may be correctly given, the emphasis attached to them is equally correct. For example, the lurid picture of sexual morality from which all decency and normality are absent (students of ancient satire might note this part of the book) may be true enough in a sense, but needs to be corrected by the family letters of the papyri; the modern novel might provide the parallel.

It is hard to do justice to the variety and interest of the information conveyed in this short book or to the lucidity and happy phrasing of Prof. Cumont's style; by keeping references, quotations, and detailed discussions for the notes (conveniently placed at the bottom of the page) he has left the text itself free to be read as a continuous narrative. He has divided his work into two parts, in the first of which, 'Le Gouvernement et la Société', we see something of the importance of the *μεγιστάνες* (of whom the papyri tell us little), leading a semi-feudal existence with their great properties, their slaves, and their eunuchs, and glean much miscellaneous information about trade and industry, sport and amusements, the decorative arts, the hazards of life in general (*N.B.* the allusions to the dangers from falling houses, and to the high

mortality among bath-attendants) and of travel in particular. In the second chapter, 'La Religion et la Morale', amid much that is fascinating, the account of the penal system and the description of the great Egyptian temples—their administration, the hierarchy of the clergy and their various functions, the teaching and the religious practices—deserve special notice. Two points of detail may be mentioned: in the discussion on p. 146 of the practice of confession, reference might have been made to the *ἐξαγόραιοι θεοί* of P. Lond. Inv. 2554, published in *JEA* 20, 20 ff., and the statement (p. 145) that, apart from certain survivals at Thebes, temple prostitution was probably unknown to Ptolemaic Egypt will probably have to be qualified in the light of the demotic papyri now being edited by Sir Herbert Thompson (see his article *Self-Dedications* in *Actes du V^{ème} Congrès de Papyrologie*, 496 ff.).

The volume ends with an appendix dealing with historical allusions in Firmicus Maternus, followed by two indices, which should prove useful, one of Greek, the other of Latin words, and a list of corrections made in the text of astrological writers. The book is attractively produced, but some of the misprints, such as Vertel for Oertel on p. 62 and Winckler (!) for Wilcken on p. 57, might have been avoided.

C. H. ROBERTS.

Sir Grafton Elliot Smith. A biographical record by his colleagues, edited by WARREN R. DAWSON. London, Jonathan Cape, 1938. 8vo. 272 pp. 12s. 6d.

This volume is a worthy monument to the memory of a great scientist who made an important contribution to the history of the origins of civilization. Although Cairo gave him his first chair of anatomy, he was not immediately interested in any aspect of the study of Ancient Egypt. He wrote in 1901, after a visit to Memphis, Thebes, and other places: 'But I have now quite resisted the temptation to dabble in Egyptology' (p. 32). At the end of the same year, however, he was examining skeletons unearthed by Dr. Reisner at Nag' ed-Dēr, and from that time onwards he was destined to labour long and fruitfully in the anthropological field. Having made, too, a special study of mummification and of megalithic culture, he came to the conclusion that civilization originated in Egypt, its originators belonging to the Mediterranean race, and that from Egypt there spread to many parts of the world a 'culture pattern' which included numerous crafts, beliefs, and customs.

Mr. Warren R. Dawson was obviously well fitted to write the interesting general biography with which the book opens. Other contributors, who write on various aspects of the late Sir Elliot Smith's life and work, are Doctors A. J. E. Cave and W. J. Perry, the late Lord Rutherford, and Professors J. T. Wilson, F. Wood Jones, J. S. B. Stopford, and H. A. Harris. Fragments of an autobiography, a list of published works, and two short anthropological papers are also included. Despite its somewhat mixed and incohesive nature, the book is eminently successful as a biography, especially in its felicitous combination of vivid personal reminiscences with lucid descriptions of important scientific researches.

How far has the 'Diffusionism' of Elliot Smith been accepted? Mr. Warren R. Dawson says on p. 54 that 'the principle of the Diffusion of Culture is now implicitly or explicitly accepted in current ethnological literature (except by a small minority of die-hards) . . .' On p. 214 Mr. W. J. Perry says of the particular 'diffusionist' controversy in which he and others supported Elliot Smith: 'Though the controversy has somewhat abated, agreement has never been reached.'

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS.



The Egyptian Coffin Texts, edited by Adriaan de Buck and Alan H. Gardiner. Vol. II, texts of spells 76–163. By ADRIAAN DE BUCK. (The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, Vol. XLIX.) University of Chicago Press, 1938. 4to. xiv+405 pp. \$7.00.

An interval of three years has sufficed to enable Dr. de Buck to complete and publish the second volume of this series.

A large number of the coffins here represented are at the Cairo Museum, and many of the texts were formerly available in the publications of Lacau and others. It is, however, a great step forward to have them arranged side by side as parallel texts and in vertical columns, and to know that in 55 cases out of 62 the original inscriptions have been used. (It was impossible to use them in 5 of the other 7 cases; an original copy by Prof. Gunn was used for a Sakḥārah coffin; and in the remaining instance, a coffin at Lisht, there is doubt as to whether it is still extant. Other publications had occasionally to be used for parts of texts, e.g. in II 67c ff. for M28C.)

Among the sources are three papyri—P. Berlin 10482, P. Gard. II, and P. Gard. III, which are, I believe, here published for the first time. It should be pointed out that the introductory material does not contain a full index of previous editions, since the 'List correlating editions of the Coffin Texts' refers to Lacau's *Textes religieux* only, and since previous editions are not mentioned elsewhere except where they have been used in place of the originals. Spell 162 (BH2C) was published by Lacau, *Ann. Serv.* 5, 234–5 (in his *Note sur les textes religieux contenus dans les sarcophages de M. Garstang*); Spell 106 (BH3C) was also published *ibid.*, p. 239; Spell 162 (BH10x) appeared in *ZÄS* 47, 117 ff. (in *Some Middle Kingdom Religious Texts* by A. M. Blackman); Spell 86 (Sq1C) was published by Maspero in *Trois Années de Fouilles (Mém. Miss. fr.,* 1, 224 ff.). In some cases, however, previous editions are mentioned in the marginal notes.


A list of sources with their provenance appears on pages xi–xiii (*cf.* the first volume), but there is no statement of where they occur in the course of the book. Facility of reference would have been enhanced by an additional index of the spells, or portions of spells, in which each source appears, *e.g.* P. Berlin 10482, Spells 89 and 149. The introduction to Vol. I warns us not to expect too much in the way of indexes and notes prior to the appearance of the final volume. However, the interim will necessarily be long, and a concordance of sources and spells, such as the reviewer has himself compiled, would be helpful. One slip has been noticed in the present index. The group of coffins designated B1L–B4L should be numbered B.M. 30840, 30839, etc. (and not 38040, etc.); such is the numbering of three British Museum guide-books.

Examples, taken at random, of new readings yielded by Dr. de Buck's work are II 336*b* and II 341*b*. The coffin of  from Siut provides one of the texts and it was previously published in Chassinat-Palanque, *Une Campagne de fouilles dans la nécropole d'Assiout* and reproduced therefrom in *Die Sprüche für das Kennen der Seelen der heiligen Orten*, in which de Buck himself collaborated with Sethe and others. In II 341*b* the new reading partly vitiates the discussion of the verb  in Sethe etc., *op. cit.*, 65, and the *difficilior lectio* there preferred proves now to be ill-founded.

It remains to be said that Dr. de Buck's work in the present volume and series compels the highest admiration.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS.

Demotische Lesestücke: I. Literarische Texte, mit Glossar und Schrifttafel. By W. ERICHSEN. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1937. 4to. 1. Heft, Texte, [vi]+100 pp. RM. 11.85. 2. Heft, Glossar, 96 pp. RM. 10.65. 3. Heft, Schrifttafel, [ii]+46 pp. RM. 5.50.

This very valuable book will go a long way towards restoring demotic texts to the important place they formerly held in Egyptological studies. For the comparative neglect of these texts is due not only to the shift of interest to the earlier historical periods arising from our increasing knowledge of Late and Middle Egyptian. The difficulty of the script is a very real one, especially at the start; not because of any intrinsic illogicality or exaggerated variability, but because the individual hieroglyphs, from which the demotic signs were developed through hieratic, have ceased in most cases to be recognizable as such in demotic, and in fact cannot have been consciously recognized in many cases by the demotic scribes themselves. Determinatives which had their closely defined uses in the older writing were frequently transferred in demotic (through the similarity of their cursive form to those of totally different hieroglyphs) to words which could not have borne them in hieratic; and other signs were similarly misused (from the historical point of view) through the phonetic changes of the language, which brought words previously clearly differentiated in orthography, as in their pronunciation, into close association. Finally, the abbreviation of forms had become so complete in demotic as to increase the number of homographs already present in Late-Egyptian hieratic to a bewildering extent. As a practical result, a palaeography of demotic in continuation of Möller's standard work for hieratic, desirable as it is, would be of little use to the beginner. Having discovered that  might stand for one of about fifteen (hieroglyphic) signs or groups of signs, he would still be faced with an unknown quantity since he could not be certain that the use of the hieroglyphic equivalent in the particular instance bore any relation to its function known to him in hieratic orthography.

Yet until the appearance of Dr. Erichsen's *Lesestücke* no attempt has been made to meet this fundamental difficulty for the beginner along the obvious and only practical lines. This he has done in his third *Heft*.

Heft 1 contains the passages for reading, starting with the whole of *Setne*, the demotic student's equivalent of the *Gallic War*, written out in a conventionalized hand with an interlinear transliteration into roman characters. By increasingly difficult texts (but avoiding the most difficult) ranging in date from early Ptolemaic to late Roman, the student is led to the Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden. During his pro-

gress he is gradually deprived of the interlinear transliteration, which is then printed after the text to be read; given different passages from the same texts, respectively in conventional and facsimile copies; and finally set down to facsimile copies alone. Both arrangement and facsimiles are admirable.

Heft 2 is a glossary to the texts, which contains a certain amount of grammatical information grouped under certain common forms, e.g. pronouns, prepositions, *ir*, &c., and based on Spiegelberg's *Grammatik*, which is assumed to be in the hands of the student. Coptic forms are regularly quoted.

Excellent as are these first two parts, which in any other phase of the language would comprise a completely adequate 'Lesestücke', the book would fail in its purpose without Heft 3. This is a sign-list of a type not known elsewhere in Egyptological literature, but similar to that of cuneiform sign-lists. Its method is mechanical. The signs—only those found in the author's texts—are divided into four main groups: vertical, oblique, horizontal, and miscellaneous. Within these groups they are arranged under letters, in a number of series of similar signs, from simple to more complicated. Against each sign is set in order its different uses as illustrated by words in the passages for reading, and as corresponding to the different hieroglyphs (listed in the Appendix) whose demotic representations have been reduced to its form. Some uncertainty as to which main group is likely to contain the sign sought for is sometimes inevitable, but after a very little use of the *Schrifttafel* and with the aid of the Appendix referred to, it is possible for a student quickly to run to earth any sign in the texts and so easily to identify the word in which it occurs, which can then be looked up in the glossary. I have so far found only one sign in the text which has escaped Dr. Erichsen—the ⲕ of *mnḥ*, which is certainly represented by ⲕ (or ⲕ) in the orthography given by him in *Setne* II, 2, 11 (*mnḥ·w*) and *ibid.*, 2, 21, as well, I think, as in *Rhind* I, 2, 13; though here a quite different form may well be a reduplication of the phonetic ḥ.

Dr. Erichsen is modestly insistent that his book is for beginners only. These he assumes to be already acquainted with the older Egyptian language and to approach demotic from that side. Hence, perhaps, the priority in his work of the literary texts over the documents, which are to follow in a second volume. Hence also his choice of the 'historical' transliteration sponsored by Sethe, rather than the Coptically inclined system of Griffith and Thompson, the advantages of which, however, he acknowledges.

Without entering upon the vexed question of the principles of demotic transliteration, and assuming that Dr. Erichsen had to choose one or the other of these two systems, one may still question the wisdom of his choice, however attractive it appears at first sight. Literary texts written in demotic form a very small minority of the mass of demotic writings, and new examples rarely come to light. On the other hand, our museums still contain large numbers of unedited documents, and the published examples still present a large field for historical, legal, and economic research. The approach to these texts is naturally more from the side of Greek and Coptic, and from this point of view the Griffith-Thompson system of transliteration is far more useful and less bewildering than the 'historical' system; and the inconvenience of the confusion between a small number of simple and common words which immediately strikes the Egyptologist familiar with the normal transliteration of Middle and Late Egyptian upon his first contact with demotic is superficial, and easily overcome. But this is an expression of opinion rather than a serious criticism, and one, no doubt, with which most Egyptologists will not agree.

S. R. K. GLANVILLE.

Un Livre d'écolier du III^e siècle avant J.-C. By O. GUÉRAUD and P. JOUGUET. (Publications de la Société Royale Égyptienne de Papyrologie; Textes et Documents, II.) Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1938. 4to. 60 pp., 10 pls. P.T. 50.

A useful inventory of *Les Papyrus scolaires* has recently been published by P. Collart in *Mélanges offerts à A.-M. Desrousseaux* (Paris, 1937), pp. 69–80. They are many and varied, but the present text is as important and interesting as any, first for its date (the editors assign it to the last quarter of the third century B.C., but, if we see a reference to the battle of Raphia in line 161, it must be later than 217 B.C.), and then for its contents. It comprises 242 lines and consists of part of a single roll, the beginning and upper part of the whole being lost. The first part of the work contains tables of letters, syllables, and numbers; also lists of the Macedonian months, the Olympian gods, and rivers, and words running from one to five syllables. The second part contains an anthology of Greek verse. First come two passages from Euripides (*Phoen.* 529–34 and *Ino*, fr. 420 Nauck²), in which the syllables, but not the words, are separated by points. In the first passage each verse occupies two lines, the division being determined by the caesura. Next, under the heading *Επη, comes Odyssey v, 116–24 (a queer choice for a school-book!), and then two new Hellenistic epigrams.

The first describes the elaborate architecture of a fountain and (apparently) its dedication to Euergetes and Berenice. The vocabulary is technical and the meaning in several places remains uncertain. Lines 143-4 are transcribed thus by the editors:

ὄς καὶ λάινον [8 ἀ 10 l.]ήκατο δαψιλές οἶκω
κτίσμα πα . [. λ]ευκὴν ἐκποδίσας σταγόνα

In 143 it seems probable that, as Körte has suggested (*Archiv.* 13 (1938), 106), we should read οὐδὸν ἐθ]ήκατο. In 144 the editors interpret the neologism ἐκποδίσας as 'having liberated', and complete πα . [to πα[λιν, the donor having cleaned out an old spring, or alternatively to Πά[ρου, 'ayant mis au jour la blanche coulée de Paros', cf. Strabo v, 224. A third possibility is π[ύου, 'of the hill-side', and ἐκποδίσας may be a slip for ἐμποδίσας, 'having trapped'. The second epigram commemorates Philopator's erection of a temple to Homer, cf. Aelian, *V.H.* XIII, 22. The editors were baffled by line 157, but Körte has since proposed

εἶσατο ὑπὲρ δι[αχῆς, γνούς(?) κ]ατ' ὄναρ, τέμενος.

γνούς is unsatisfactory and seems too long. Perhaps καί will fill the gap. For κατ' ὄναρ, 'in consequence of a dream', see L. and S.⁹, *s.v.* ὄναρ. After the epigrams come three passages from Middle or New Comedy, all monologues of cooks. The first two, containing 8 and 15 lines respectively, are new. The third (31 lines) partly coincides with the excerpt of Athenaeus (IX, 382c) from the Φοινικίδης of Straton, with its well-known reference to Philetas' dictionary of 'glosses'. The divergencies between the two texts are striking, that of the papyrus being generally preferable. The roll concludes with tables of square numbers and the fractions of the drachma. Altogether this is a very interesting discovery, and the editing is worthy of it. The introduction, especially the section treating of anthologies in the papyri, is extremely informing, and the plates are excellent.

E. A. BARBER.

Roman Glass from Karanis found by the University of Michigan Archaeological Expedition in Egypt, 1924-29.

By DONALD B. HARDEN. (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, vol. XLI.) Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1936. 4to. xviii+349 pp., 22 pls., 4 figs. and frontispiece. \$4.00.

In this book Mr. Harden has filled a long-felt want. Kisa perhaps might have done it, had he lived to complete his work. Not only has Harden had the advantage of Lucas's work on the composition of Egyptian glass and Beck's wide knowledge of glass from all the world over, but he has had the co-operation of Professor Turner of the Department of Glass Technology in Sheffield University. Thus we are given a really scientific study of the material used, its composition with the differing effects of weathering on the different qualities, and also the technicalities of glass-working. Added to this is Harden's own comparative study of his glass with that known from all parts of the Roman Empire, his classification of types and qualities, and his attempts at dating the various classes. He is singularly well qualified for the undertaking owing to his wide experience of the subject; other studies of his being a general survey of *Early Byzantine and Later Glass Lamps* in conjunction with Mrs. Crowfoot (*JEA* 17, 196-208), a note on some glass from Nineveh (*Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 20, 184-6), and a study of 39 pieces of fifth- to sixth-century *Glass from Kish* also in Mesopotamia (*Iraq* 1, 131-6). This being so, it is not difficult to see that we have before us a book of prime importance.

Kōm Washīm, as Karanis is now called, has been unsatisfactory in many ways, and not least in the difficulty it presented of dating the contents of any given room. While in use the floors of the rooms gradually rose higher and higher owing to accumulations of sand, &c. A greater difficulty was encountered in the fact that as the city levels grew higher, so did the houses. Hence the lower rooms of a house in due time became its cellars. All the same it is disappointing that no dated coins or papyri seem to have been found in absolute connexion with the glass. Hence the author is reduced to a consideration of generalities, and such comparisons as he can get from abroad. Thus we are still only able to speak in centuries. It is, however, a great advance to have the periods of each type of glass settled within reasonable limits, for at least one site in the Roman world.

However, it proves dangerous to rely on a single site. A piece from Hawāra shows that Class XI existed much earlier than Kōm Washīm provides any evidence for, and in the same way an isolated find by Petrie of a Class I dish shows this type to have existed much earlier than anything found at Kōm Washīm. At our site the use of glass seems to have been most general during the fourth century A.D., and the reason for this is no doubt that suggested on p. 41, namely the remission by Constantine of the tax on glass, or at least on that exported to Rome.

During the first and second centuries the export trade from Egypt covered all Europe from south Russia westward, though this was probably from Alexandria rather than Karanis, for nothing of this date was found there and indeed it is not yet certain that glass was made there.

Harden's book is far more than a mere catalogue of the glass from Kôm Washîm, for it is a study of the whole subject, in so far as that can elucidate the problems under consideration. In a general introduction of forty-six pages the author treats of the technique of glass working, blowing, and decoration, of the composition of the material, and the effects of 'weathering' on each variety. Then we have a full discussion of the factors bearing on the dating, and here it is necessary to consider the glass from Syria, that other great centre of dissemination. Unfortunately the Syrian products are no better dated than the Egyptian, and curiously enough it is material from France and Germany which gives most of the information. Syrian glass seems to be of a rather bluer tinge than the Egyptian, and in Europe factories seem to have been established at an early date. There is some evidence of Egyptian craftsmen, though not necessarily glass-workers, being settled in Gaul and the Rhineland. Those who know the Egyptian's horror of foreign travel cannot but marvel at such a phenomenon.

Kôm Washîm produced no glass of the first century A.D., and indeed the lower strata of the mound hardly produced antiquities at all; a fact, we might add, only too well known to the *sabbākîn*. Harden's dating for some of his earlier glass is earlier than that given by the excavators themselves, but for this he gives reasons that seem cogent. In fact the whole of his material falls between c. A.D. 100 and c. A.D. 450. There was practically no evidence of occupation after A.D. 400, and none at all for anything after c. A.D. 460. Nor were there any of the new types which elsewhere are known to belong to the sixth century, and which link on to the Arab rather than the Roman series. Thus we know with reasonable certainty the limits within which to date our glass, and it is unfortunate that it is not possible to be more precise within those limits. A number of groups were found, which one would have thought could be 'sequence-dated'. But still, do what one will, one cannot get away from Constantine and the fourth century. The reviewer tried to sequence-date his ten boxfuls of glass from this site by means of the material then available, and was reduced to this; a date he is glad to find in agreement with the results he obtained on reworking it with Harden's dates.

The author is no more able than was the reviewer to explain the constriction at the base of the neck which is so common a feature of the flasks. It must have served some purpose, as it is not incidental to the manufacture, but is made intentionally by a separate process. The conical forms have always been evidently lamp-glasses, though hitherto there has been no proof of this other than the shape. Now, however, one of these glasses has been found with the remains of a little oil in it, which clinches the argument. The fruit-dishes, Class 1, are very common in Egypt, but are not found at all in Syria, and indeed only very rarely in other countries. It seems strange, for they are delightful things, and, one would have thought, an ornament to any table of any age. The glass bracelets which are still so characteristic of the Near East were being made then. Those of Roman date were monochrome, mostly black, while the pre- and post-Romans preferred them variegated, as indeed do their descendants to-day. Harden considers that what look like lenses were magnifying glasses, and quotes evidence that such were used as early as the fourth century B.C. at Carthage, and perhaps even as early as 1600-1200 B.C. in Crete. The Cretan ones, of course, were made of crystal. That attractive product of antiquity, the millefiori glass, was made at Alexandria and exported thence all over the Roman world.

In a work on so large a scale many points of interest emerge, of which a few have been mentioned in the last paragraph, and similarly there are bound to be one or two things on which the carping critic may pitch. One is that a tabulation of the periods of the shapes would have been helpful to the reader. Again, although one knows what a terrible labour indexes are, and the present book includes six, one cannot but regret the absence of a general one, which would have accommodated all kinds of useful information. Mr. Harden probably did not intend his remark about the scarcity of good glass before the early nineteenth century to be quite as sweeping as it has turned out to be. There was much beautiful Venetian and German glass at least from the sixteenth century onwards, and no one could ask for finer specimens than are found in the eighteenth century. One would have thought No. 793 would date itself by its shape, for it is a small copy of a type of pottery amphora which is well known and must be well dated. The glasses are often found stored in baskets, pithoi, and highly decorated wooden chests, and some of those under discussion actually were. While perhaps it was not worth while to publish the baskets, the shapes of the pithoi might have given some further clue to the dates of the contents. The wooden chests are sometimes very handsome pieces of furniture and well worth illustrating for their own sakes.

The above are mostly small points, and Mr. Harden is to be congratulated on having produced a classic, for his book will always be a standard work of reference. It has been very favourably reviewed, and from a totally different angle, by Mr. W. A. Thorpe in *Cl. Rev.* 51 (1937), 144-6.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT.

Glazed Tiles from a Palace of Ramesses II at Qantir. By WILLIAM C. HAYES. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art Papers, No. 3.) New York, Metropolitan Museum, 1937. 4to. 46 pp., 13 pls. \$2.00.

The publication of the *Metropolitan Museum Studies* was suspended at the completion of Vol. v, and its place has been taken by *Papers* forming separate monographs of varying length, each to be published as a unit and sold at a price commensurate with its length and number of illustrations. The present study by Mr. Hayes deals with the Museum collection of faience objects from the Ramesside Palace at Qantir in the eastern Delta, about five miles north of Faḳūs. Early in 1921 it was known that the fellaḥīn had discovered the site of a faience factory in the neighbourhood of the village, as terracotta moulds for ring-bezels, plaques, and scarabs were then coming into the hands of Cairo dealers in antiquities. It was, I believe, the late Mr. Blanchard who first traced these objects to their source, and he secured from this locality moulds for scarabs and ring-bezels of most of the Ramesside Pharaohs. It was from Cairo dealers that the Metropolitan Museum bought the fragments of glazed tiles and statues which form the subject of Hayes' monograph, and the Louvre acquired the faience decoration of a doorway of Sethos I which was reported to have come from the same place. Early in 1928 Maḥmūd Effendi Ḥamza of the Cairo Museum was sent to Qantir to inspect and report on the site. Later, he was commissioned by M. Lacau to carry out excavations there, and a report on this work by Ḥamza is printed in *Ann. Serv.* 30, 31-68, with Pls. i-iv.

Unfortunately nearly all the specimens acquired by the Metropolitan Museum are fragmentary, and the glazed surfaces of the tiles have suffered from the dampness of the earth in which they have lain for many centuries. There are no reproductions in colour, and to realize what the tiles were like in their original state we must compare the fragments with the perfect polychrome specimens from the palaces of Ramesside date at Tell el-Yahūdiyah and Medīnat Habu preserved in the Cairo and other museums. One of these is given in colour by Henry Wallis, *Egyptian Ceramic Art*, 1900, Pl. v, and others in collotype by Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 11, Pls. ii-iv of his article, pp. 49 ff., but these reproductions do not give the brilliancy of the originals. All the resources of art were employed on them, and Wallis (*Egyptian Ceramic Art: The MacGregor Collection*, 1898, p. xvii) writes: 'We find therein bas-relief, inlaying, and a palette of the widest range: nothing can be imagined in ceramic art more masterly than the modelling of the human figures and animal forms. . . . The types of the different nationalities (prisoners of war) are seized with an accuracy that may be termed scientific; their costumes display a wealth of imaginative details worked out in schemes of colour so resplendent and harmonious as to be the delight of all artists.' For deep and brilliant colouring the Ramesside tiles have only been equalled, but not surpassed, by the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century potters of Iznik and Kutahia in Asia Minor. It is much to be hoped that before many years have passed a competent ceramist will publish in colour the magnificent examples of Egyptian polychrome tiles dispersed throughout the museums of Egypt, Europe, and America. Such a work might well be undertaken by the Metropolitan Museum.

A very interesting section of Hayes's monograph deals with the stairway and platform tiles and glazed statues which he believes belonged to the Throne Dais; his reconstruction (Fig. 1, p. 13) of their original position is convincing. Another section is devoted to the rectangular plaques with figures of foreigners, probably from the walls of the Throne Room. In a third section the inlay tiles are described, and among these are figures of bound captives representing Nubians, Libyans, Hittites, Mesopotamians, Syrians, and Sea Peoples. The dado tile with canal scene (Pl. xii) is very similar to some pieces discovered in the ruins of the palace of Akhenaten at El-'Amarnah, and the figures of women (alas! mere chips) Hayes regards as coming from the private rooms of the palace. It is worth noting here that in the description of the Delta Residence of the Ramesside kings preserved in *Pap. Anastasi III* it is said that Pi-Ra'messe 'was dazzling with halls of lapis and turquoise', which certainly refers not to real lapis lazuli and turquoise, but to glaze-ware tiles of their colours. The faience bricks (Pl. 1) from foundation-deposits of a building of Ramesses II at Qantir may well belong to buildings in the royal palace itself.

In his introductory paragraphs Hayes discusses the subject of the site of the famous Delta Residence of the Ramesside kings, about which much has been written in recent years. It will be remembered that in 1918 Dr. Gardiner (*JEA* 5, 127-38, 179-200, 242-71) proposed, 'with some qualification of doubt', to

identify the site of the palace Pi-Ra'messe with Pelusium. Twelve years later M. Montet (*Rev. Bibl.*, January 1930) argued that its site must be Tanis. In the same year Maḥmūd Eff. Ḥamza, after excavating at Ḳantīr and discovering hundreds of inscribed tiles and terracotta moulds bearing names of Ramesside kings, as well as a large faience head of a Semitic captive modelled in the round, concluded that Ḳantīr must be the site of the Delta Residence, and gave his reasons for this conclusion. In 1933 Gardiner (*JEA* 19, 122-8) returned to the subject and confessed that his 'identification of Pi-Ra'messe with Pelusium was a mistake and that Brugsch's old identification of the Ramesside capital with Tanis, if not finally demonstrable at present, is at least a thousand times more defensible'. Gardiner says that he owed his conversion 'partly to new discoveries of Montet, the present excavator of Tanis, and partly to other considerations' which he sets out in his paper. Gardiner (p. 128) dismisses Ḥamza's identification by saying that it 'rests upon no serious grounds at all. The potsherds mentioning Pi-Ra'messe are fragments of wine-jars and merely indicate the geographical position of the vineyards in question.' This is hardly a fair statement of Ḥamza's position, for the Assistant Keeper of the Cairo Museum ably sums up in his Report the evidence he had obtained at Ḳantīr, and it rests on much more reliable grounds than the mere finding of ostraca naming Pi-Ra'messe. Hayes inclines to accept Ḥamza's identification of the palace at Ḳantīr with the Delta Residence of the Ramesside kings. He writes, 'We possess a practically unbroken series of royal Ramesside monuments from Ḳantīr, covering a period of almost two hundred years and indicating definitely that the ancient town situated there was by no means a momentary phenomenon fostered by the whim of a single king, but was a place permanently in the royal favour and frequented by nearly all members of the two great dynasties which comprised the Ramesside period. . . . Temples to the gods Amūn, Re', Ptah, and Seth existed there, as we know from ancient records that they did at Per-Ra'messe Mry-Amūn; and the names of Montu (with mention of a temple to the god), Mut, Khonsu, and Sekhmet occur on a monument from the site. Two fine tomb doorways, obviously belonging to persons of wealth and position, have already come from Ḳantīr. The tiles of Sethy I and Ramesses II are clearly from an elaborate royal palace, as are probably also a number of inscribed architectural elements found on the site.' Hayes (p. 8) sums up his position regarding the problem thus: 'Further excavation is required before the identification can be fully established, but the concrete archaeological evidence already discovered at Ḳantīr far outweighs, in the opinion of the present writer, the purely philological arguments which have been advanced to prove that the Delta residence of the Ramessides was situated at Ṣān-el-Ḥagar (twenty-five kilometers to the north of the site under discussion) or elsewhere. Whatever the ultimate solution to the problem may be, it is undeniable that Ḳantīr was, throughout the whole of the Ramesside period, a royal palace city of great importance and that the question of its identity with Per-Ra'mesē Mry-Amūn is one which deserves very serious consideration.' The present reviewer examined all the evidence when Maḥmūd Eff. Ḥamza was writing his report and agreed with him that the site of the Delta Residence of the Ramesside kings must be Ḳantīr, for there is not a scrap of archaeological evidence to indicate that a royal palace of Ramesside date ever existed at Tanis or Pelusium.

P. E. NEWBERRY.

Les Déclarations d'innocence (Livre des Morts, chapitre 125). By CH. MAYSTRE. (Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire, tome 7.) Cairo, Institut français d'arch. or. 1937. 8vo. 161 pp. P.T. 80.

For this edition of the Declarations of Innocence, M. Maystre has studied no less than forty MSS. All the more important readings are given in parallel horizontal lines, after the manner of Naville's *Totenbuch*, and the remaining versions are indicated in the critical apparatus. The line-numbers of the MSS. have, however, been omitted. Despite this large number of parallels, several sentences still defy translation.

The author examines the different versions at great length, and reconstructs a genealogy of the most important MSS. From the absence of any text older than the Eighteenth Dynasty, he concludes that the archetype was composed during the Second Intermediate Period. He also makes the interesting point that the forty-two gods invoked can have no relation to the number of nomes of Egypt, for the provenance of each god is expressly stated and their distribution is quite unequal. Upper Egypt south of Heracleopolis, for example, is represented by only three nomes.

It cannot be said, however, that the book contributes much that is new; a discussion of the ethical and religious problems raised by the text would have added greatly to its general interest and value.

PAUL C. SMITHER.

Medinet Habu, III: The Calendar, The 'Slaughter-House', and Minor Records of Ramses III. By The Epigraphic Survey. (The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, vol. XXXIII.) Chicago, The University Press, 1934. Folio. xvi+2 pp., 62 pls. \$18.00.

The work of the Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago is now so well established that there is little for a reviewer to do but give thanks for the new texts offered for study. The third volume of the survey of Madinat Habu contains Pls. 131-92, comprising, with the exception of the frontispiece in colour, for the most part photographs reproduced by collotype followed by line-drawings of the same scenes. The worn and patched sandstone of Madinat Habu, with its poor Twentieth-Dynasty hieroglyphic forms, presents as unpalatable material as could be found anywhere in Egypt on such a large scale, and the magnificent results achieved in this volume are as close to perfection as any method known to copyists could attain. They fully justify the long processes involved in the combined labours of photographer, artist, and epigrapher, and the constant checking to which they have been submitted. Nor should there be any criticism of the expense that has been put into the reproduction in book form, for the time will come when no device will be sufficient to recover from the temple walls even as much of these texts as now exists. This volume is a little smaller in format than its two predecessors—a concession to convenience in handling which will be appreciated; but it is hoped that the editor will not attempt to reduce the size any more, as thereby much detail in the drawings, representing hours of work in the field, will be lost to the student.

The plates are prefaced by a brief description which gives a very adequate general account of the texts and scenes copied. The greater part are occupied with the calendar inscription of Ramesses III on the outer face of the south wall of the temple. Much of this had been copied before by Champollion, Greene, Dümichen (who has written most on the subject), and finally Daressy, but since Dümichen's day there has been very little serious study of this remarkably interesting text (incidentally 'the longest Egyptian hieroglyphic text extant'). Pls. 170-80 deal with the reliefs and inscriptions on two rooms in the SW. corner of the temple, called by Dr. Nelson 'the temple slaughter-house'. They depict the slaughtering of cattle and other animals, the preparation of meat offerings, as well as the king offering to the Theban gods. At the end of the volume are collected six plates illustrating stones, bearing fragments of the Ramesseum calendar (from which that of Ramesses III was copied), which were used in later additions to the Eighteenth-Dynasty temple at Madinat Habu.

Dr. Nelson notes that the text in the calendar inscription is corrupt through the 'accumulated errors of successive ancient copyists', though it is frequently capable of restoration from the nature of the text with its numerous figures and dates (the editors indicate restorations of which they are certain by dotted lines); and perhaps the highest compliment one can pay to the book is to quote the chivalrous tribute to the Egyptologists of the Nineteenth Century at the end of the preface: 'Much of the unsatisfactory quality that has been at times attributed to earlier modern copies is due not to the poor work of the modern draughtsman but to the errors of the ancient scribes.'

S. R. K. GLANVILLE.

The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt: a Study of Greek and Egyptian Influences in Ptolemaic Architecture and Sculpture. By IBRAHIM NOSHY, Ph.D. (Lond.). Oxford University Press, London: Humphrey Milford, 1937. 8vo. xii+153 pp., 18 pls. 15s. net.

The author, Ibrahim Noshy, is a lecturer in Ancient History in the University of Cairo, and the book is the thesis presented by him for the degree of Ph.D. Its scope is defined by the sub-title: it is an attempt to determine to what extent Greek art was influenced by Egyptian and Egyptian by Greek in the Ptolemaic period. This well-chosen subject is treated with understanding and sound judgement, and it is evident that the author has carefully studied all the available material. Naturally his survey of Greek architecture and sculpture owes a great deal to the work of Breccia, Thiersch, Pfuhl, Lawrence, and other archaeologists; and it is a pity that Schütz's *Typus des hellenistisch-ägyptischen Hauses* appeared too late for him to utilize it. His main conclusion is that the difference between Greek art and Egyptian art was too deep-seated to permit of amalgamation and that such attempts at fusion as can be detected were superficial and far from happy. Which probably no one will dispute.

C. C. EDGAR.†

The Saints of Egypt. By DE LACY O'LEARY, D.D. London, S.P.C.K., 1937. 8vo. x+286 pp. 12s. 6d.

Our knowledge of the (Christian) hagiology of Egypt depends mostly upon the *Synaxarium Alexandrinum* of the Copts, now extant only in Arabic استسكاري, with some help from the Antiphonarium الدفانار and the Theotokia, and references in inscriptions and letters, and some sermons of, and about, the Christian saints. Dr. O'Leary has himself given us provisional editions of the Antiphonarium and the Theotokia, but on the latter at least there is still much work to be done: of the Synaxarium we have two modern texts, that of J. Forget in the *CSCO*, Beyrout, 1905-12, and that of R. Basset in the *Patrologia Orientalis*, Paris (n.d., but concluded about 1929); there is a Latin translation of the former and a French translation of the latter; and of this at least I can claim a fairly close acquaintance as, wearied by the long delay in the appearance of an alphabetical index (the *Synaxarium* is of course arranged chronologically), I made one for myself in 1926.

Dr. O'Leary has used these and other subsidiary materials to put together a list of the Egyptian saints, with brief biographies; and his bibliographical annotations will be useful. There are some misprints, especially when he quotes Greek; but this is probably because the book was printed at Madras, and proof-reading may have been difficult. This, however, hardly excuses the implication (p. 29) that Aswān and Syene are two different places.

The bulk of the book is best described in the author's preface:

The following pages aim at providing a compendium of information about the martyrs and other saints honoured in the Coptic Church, for the most part following the biographies given in the Jacobite (Egyptian) Synaxarium, but with some additional matter necessary to illustrate those lives. References are given to the manuscript and printed sources. So far as the manuscripts are concerned, it has been my aim to include all codices in the libraries of Europe . . .

This was an ambitious design. There are copies and fragments of the Theotokia in the United Kingdom which give in hymns (I have collected details of most of them myself) stories of saints not mentioned here, and I suspect that there is much more in the Continental libraries. But the reader will find much useful material in the rest of the Introduction: a sketch of the foundation of the Church of Alexandria, with a list of the Patriarchs until the Middle Ages; of the Coptic language (this is slight); of the Egyptian martyrs; of the Egyptian monks; and of the Coptic calendar (where there should have been mention of M. Chaîne's monumental work *La Chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie*, Paris, 1925).

The whole is a book most useful to the Coptic scholar and the student of Egyptian Christianity generally.
STEPHEN GASELEE.

Die Netzfischer des Aischylos und der Inachos des Sophokles. By R. PFEIFFER. (Sitzungsb. München, 1938, Heft 2.) 8vo. 62 pp.

In this pamphlet the learned author republishes the fragments of Aeschylus' Δικτυοῦλκοί (*PSI* 1209) and Sophocles' Ἰναχος (Tebtunis Papyri III, No. 692) and discusses these difficult texts with his customary insight. His supplements are generally plausible, but τλήμοσ' ἀνδράσιν (p. 4) surely involves an illicit elision. He convincingly claims the Tebtunis fragments for Sophocles' Ἰναχος and proves that the play was a Satyric drama of the normal type.

E. A. BARBER.

Histoire des Institutions et du droit privé de l'ancienne Égypte: I. Des Origines à la fin de la IV^e Dynastie; II. La V^e Dynastie; III. La VI^e Dynastie et le Démembrement de l'Empire. By J. PIRENNE. Brussels, Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1932, 1934, 1935. 8vo. xii. + 396, 568, viii + 653 pp. 40 belgas each.

The last few years have seen a notable increase in the interest devoted to what one might term the social aspects of Ancient Egypt. In these studies Pirenne has been a prime mover, and this work is his largest and most valuable contribution. He traces the legal and social development of Egypt from the earliest times down to the end of Dyn. VI. In his survey of prehistoric Egypt he follows in the main the theory put forward in Sethe's *Urgeschichte*, but he denies that there ever was a Heliopolitan kingdom. In addition he has much to say of interest concerning this earliest Egypt, especially in the emphasis laid on the distinction between the commercial and urban Delta and the agricultural and seigneurial organization of Upper Egypt.

In historic times, Egypt is shown first of all as a country in which very largely there was equality of opportunity, the hereditary principle was absent and any man could rise to the highest positions in the state. A change is brought about with the reforms of Dyn. IV, and in Dyn. V the civil and military powers

cease to be divorced the one from the other, and as time passes so offices tend to become hereditary and the king is compelled to offer increasingly large and exacting grants and immunities to the nobles and the priesthood, grants and immunities which in the end undermined the power, privileges, and wealth of the king and brought him and the whole country to the point of collapse. It is unfortunate, however, that while these successive stages are clearly described no real attempt is made to relate them to the known history of the times. Even a brief sketch of the history of each dynasty would have greatly increased the value of this work.

In addition, all the important legal and other texts are translated in appendices, lists of officials and titles are appended to the various chapters and sections, and each dynasty is furnished with numbered lists of persons and their titles and analytical lists of these same titles. If only these lists and indexes had been complete and accurate, the whole work would have been of the utmost value, but it requires only a brief and superficial search to reveal that neither the appendices to the chapters nor the indexes to the dynasties are complete, and in some cases, unfortunately, they do not always agree with one another.

There can be no doubt that the general lines of this work are sound, that many of its conclusions can be admitted to be true, and that the legal analyses of the texts are acute, valuable, and suggestive. But the position is not so fortunate when one comes to questions of detail. The treatment and correct translation of titles is the basis of this or any similar work, and it is precisely here that one is filled with grave disquiet.

In the first place, it is clear (especially in the first volume) that Pirenne's information is not all first-hand and is often based on inaccurate and out-of-date sources (*e.g.* the list of the nomes in Vol. I blindly repeats errors and theories which have long since been disproved), and his knowledge of hieroglyphic, as he indeed admits, is distinctly limited. Secondly, many of the translations are of doubtful value and accuracy, and not infrequently identical phrases are translated in different ways. Thirdly, the translation of many titles seems to be purely arbitrary, almost as though they were selected to suit the writer's ideas, and often do not agree with known and accepted facts: *e.g.* there appears to be no valid evidence in support of the translation of '*medou Hap*' as '*porte-parole d'Apis*'. Fourthly, this hasty translation and inadequate philological equipment has led to the creation of quite fictitious titles: a glaring instance occurs in Vol. II, p. 254, where the personal name *Hnw* is misread, and a title referring to the Court (*hnw*) is invented. Finally, it must be confessed that many of the generalizations and statements of fact based on the study of the titles are wrong or misleading. To enumerate these would entail a needlessly long review; it will suffice to quote a few examples, all relative to one group of titles, which has been selected quite at random: (1) '*tepi kher nisout*, . . . titre porté exclusivement par les *sab adj mer*' (Vol. II, p. 118, n. 3): but in Dyn. V, out of 33 *sab adj mer*, 10 did not bear the title *tepi kher nisout*, and of 39 *tepi kher nisout* no less than 16 were not *sab adj mer*; (2) '*un seul vizir (V. 37) . . . porte à la fois les deux titres iri pat et tepi kher nisout*, sans se donner en même temps comme ayant été *sab adj mer*' (Vol. II, p. 129, n. 7), quite overlooking the vizir V. 28; (3) '*en même temps que les gouverneurs de nomes, sab adj mer, prennent le titre de medou rekhit*, ils s'intitulent *ioun kenmout*' (Vol. II, p. 152), and '*depuis la V^e dynastie, tous les sab adj mer . . . portent le titre de medou rekhit . . . ; ils sont, en outre, tepi kher nisout*' (Vol. II, p. 158): for the last statement see above under (1), for the rest, of 33 *sab adj mer*, 15 were not *medou rekhit* and 17 were not *ioun kenmout*, while of 27 *medou rekhit* 9 were not *sab adj mer* and 11 were not *ioun kenmout*, and of 20 *ioun kenmout*, 4 were not *sab adj mer* and 4 were not *medou rekhit*. Eventually it may prove that Pirenne is absolutely right, but on such evidence as is available at present and on the lists published by Pirenne himself, these statements are not only far too sweeping, they are also misleading and wrong. Unfortunately these are far from being the only errors of this type, and the treatment of the titles and all conclusions derived from them must be treated with the utmost reserve.

The reviewer started to read these pages with feelings of pleasant anticipation; he has read them with great interest and no little profit and stimulation, but at the same time it has to be confessed regretfully that this work cannot be recommended either to the advanced student or to the beginner without the qualification that it and its conclusions must be approached with great caution, and that it is imperative that all titles and lists and the discussion of them be submitted to critical and rigorous checking.

H. W. FAIRMAN.

Catalogue des Ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh. By G. POSENER. (Documents et fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, tome I.) Troisième fascicule. Cairo, Institut français d'arch. or., 1938. 4to. vii+20 pp., 38 pls. P.T. 65.

In the preface to Volume I, which is included in this part, M. Posener points out the importance of these

ostraca for an understanding of the language and literature of the Ramesside Age; they yield not only interesting variants of well-known classics, but also new texts.



The part under review contains the indices. All the ostraca which give versions of previously known texts are here correlated. A list of ostraca without parallels elsewhere is also given, but the author does not indicate the character of these. Judging from the ones included in the present part they are very varied indeed. A number are clearly magical, and even a medical prescription is included (No. 1091). There is an interesting example of propaganda on behalf of the god Ptaḥ (No. 1088), entitled, 'Here begins the description of the might of Ptaḥ South of his Wall, to inform men and people of the power and strength of the august God, the chief of the Ennead, who created himself . . .' A large ostrakon (No. 1067) contains part of a new and interesting Late-Egyptian story, but the text is unfortunately very corrupt. It need hardly be added that the plates show the same high standard of clarity and accuracy as in the previous parts.


PAUL C. SMITHER.




La Première Domination perse en Égypte. By G. POSENER. (Bibliothèque d'étude . . . tome xi.) Cairo, Imprimerie de l'Inst. fr., 1936. 4to. xiv+206 pp., 17 pls. P.T. 160.



M. Posener has clearly spent much time and taken much trouble with his inscriptions of the Achaemenid period, hitherto scattered as regards publication, but now for the first time gathered together into one volume. The number of the texts considered is well over a hundred, but the majority of these are short, from vessels and small objects. The most important text historically is that of the naophorous statuette of *Wdj-Hr-rs-nt*, from Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, which has received frequent notice in the past and which contains an account of the arrival and rule of Cambyses. The owner of the statue was an important civil official both before and after the beginning of the Persian dominion and no doubt owed the continuance of this importance to his adherence to the Persian cause, yet he was able to intercede with Cambyses and Darius in favour of his native city of Sais. From this account M. Posener, unlike previous writers upon the subject, sees reasons for doubting that aspect of Cambyses which, based on the writings of the classical authors, describes him as a man of violence. The violence is to be attributed rather to the entry of the 'strangers of all foreign countries' into Egypt with the Persian invasion than to the personal character of Cambyses. In addition the author finds nothing to support Herodotus' account of the slaying of the Apis, since the dates of the births and burials of the bulls from the Serapeum stelae seem rather to indicate that at this time two Apis bulls were living simultaneously. Some stelae from the Canal District and a large number of rock inscriptions from the Wādi Hammāmāt form the greater part of the remaining texts considered. All the texts are accompanied by commentaries and are followed later by a chapter in which the historical conclusions are drawn, a chapter which will be of great use to historians. There is also a chapter on the Egyptian transcriptions of Persian proper names, and the usual indices enable the reader to find his way about. The presence at the head of each page of the number of the inscription there referred to is a happy characteristic. Only about a third of the texts is represented in the photographic plates, but as each text is provided with its own bibliography it is usually possible to obtain some sort of facsimile. Particular care has been taken in the case of the very fragmentary stela of Darius I from Kabrīt, of which almost every available piece has been somehow reproduced.

A few points of textual interest may be noted:

Inscr. I c, l. 28 (p. 18):  might be for *r mn dt* (*Wb.*, v, 509, 19), since there is nothing to indicate that  is plural.

Inscr. I E, l. 45: 'His Majesty allowed them to be given  in order that they might perform every work of theirs; and I furnished them with all things useful to them and all their accessories . . .' Here is a clear case of *nfr* meaning 'necessary', a meaning which it probably has in the funerary formulae in the phrase mentioned, but which translators hesitate to give it.

Inscr. 2, l. 2:  (*sic*) . M. Posener refers to *dr*, *nht*, and *hwi* as possible renderings of . Is not *wf* more likely than any of these? *Wf hswt* was used by Ramesses II, Ramesses III, and Sethōs II in their titularies, and *wf hswt nb(w)t* by two late Ethiopian kings. It is possible also, since the text depends wholly on the copy of Rosellini (see pl. 1), that the beginning of the word was omitted.

Inscr. 16-19, pp. 106-7:  = *hswt nb(w)t*, not *hst hswt nb(w)t*. Seven certain examples could be quoted from late Ethiopian inscriptions in course of preparation for publication by the reviewer in which the words *hst*, *hstyw*, are written with the sign  used twice. These are, of course, later in date by about

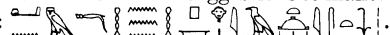

already absorbed the Dynasty of Coptos (Fifth Nome) and had under Intef I (whom it may now be necessary to call Intef II, see *Bull. Inst. fr.* 36, 102 ff.) reached the Tenth Nome. Achthoes II, assisted by Tefibi of the Thirteenth Nome, recaptured the lost land and carried his conquest south to the Eighth Nome. There was, however, at least one peaceful period during his reign when granite was brought from Aswān to Heracleopolis without hindrance.

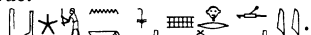


Merikarē was constantly involved in clashes with the expanding southern state, in spite of his father's warning to keep the peace. In these he was assisted by Khety II, Tefibi's son, the inscriptions from whose tomb at Asyūt form part of the substance of Herr Brunner's work. Here it should be pointed out that Professor Scharff very wisely uses the Greek form 'Achthoes' to distinguish the Heracleopolite Kings *Hty* from the nomarchs of the Thirteenth Nome of the same name, whom he calls 'Cheti' (Khety). Herr Brunner, who also gives a summary of his beliefs about the civil wars differing in no important respect from those of Professor Scharff, adopts the same plan, but those who do not read hieroglyphic will do well to remember that the distinction is artificial. From Khety II we learn that the boundary was again contested in the Eleventh Nome, and since he was the last of his line it is reasonable to suppose that at this time his Nome also fell into Theban hands. The stela Br. Mus. 614 shows that under Intef II (or III, see above) the boundary went back to the Eighth Nome, while from Br. Mus. 1203 it is known that Thisis revolted, probably against the Thebans, under Mentjuhotpe I. Lastly, under Mentjuhotpe II/III the northern kingdom fell.

These results do not all come from the 'Instruction for Merikarē', the 'historical portion' of which (ll. 69-110) consists chiefly of statements by Achthoes II about his reconstitution of the Northern Kingdom, but Professor Scharff has been well advised to include them for the sake of historical continuity, just as on the philological side he has included sketches of the contents of the 'Instruction' before and after the historical portion.

Herr Brunner's work covers the same period with special reference to the later part: in fact, whereas Prof. Scharff deals with the period of the 'Prophecy of the Residence' (Merikarē, 71) Herr Brunner deals with its fulfilment. Prof. Scharff does not provide a new edition of *P. Leningrad 1116A verso* itself. This was in fact impossible, as there is a duplicate text in the possession of Prof. Borchardt, of which so far only one page has been published. We can only regret that although Prof. Scharff was able to inspect this papyrus he was allowed to say nothing of its contents. Herr Brunner, however, provides hand-written versions of his texts (Siūt tombs 3, 4, and 5) established chiefly from comparison between those of Griffith (*The Inscriptions of Siūt and Dér Rifeh*, 1889) and Montet (*Kémi* 3, 89-111). Herr Brunner, unlike M. Montet, writes his signs in their correct relative positions, but as his texts are not facsimiles and not collated with the originals, and as his hieroglyphs are often untidy and difficult to read, it is doubtful whether in this respect much advance has been made on Griffith's publication. His translations, however, are mostly new, and although the purely historical portions were rendered by Breasted in *Anc. Rec.*, I, §§ 391-414, Brunner's are the first detailed philological comments that have been published on these texts.

While the reviewer does not agree with all the details of Prof. Scharff's excellent commentary he has found few positive constructive suggestions to make. From the Asyūt texts the following seemed worth notice.

Siūt 5, 7: . It may be that the sense of this has been missed. Khety, with his new canal, made the water flow high enough to wet even the ancient city *tells*. This example might have been quoted in support, if further support were needed, of the contention of Loret and Chassinat (*Rev. égyptol.* 10, 87 ff. and *Bull. Inst. fr.* 3, 144 ff.) that  is a *tell* or *kôm*. Khety's statement is doubtless an exaggeration, but Herr Brunner's interpretation of formerly inundated but now neglected land does not seem to ring true.

Siūt 4, 10: . Brunner sees in the subject of *ir·n·k*, *sb·n·k*, and *rdi·n·k* the nomarch rather than the king, which seems odd, as in the preceding line the king is being addressed with the words, 'How happy is he whom thou hast loved, Merikarē. . .' The passage continues, according to Herr Brunner, 'Thou (Khety) hast caused him (the king) to fare southwards . . .' which he has to confess in a later passage (p. 39) seems a high-handed way of speaking of the sovereign. Does not the whole of the introductory passage refer to Merikarē? For instance, only Merikarē can be called in l. 7 'Lord of the Two River Banks, Darling of the God, Shadow of the entire Land'. Even the difficult l. 8, which speaks of 'the son of a ruler, the son of a ruler's son' can refer to Merikarē, since there is evidently a family connexion between the Khety-family of Heracleopolis and that of Asyūt. From this standpoint it is unnecessary to read  for , which seems to me to refer to the nomarch in the person of *mr·n·k Mry-k3-Rc*. I would therefore suggest the following for ll. 9-10: 'How happy is he whom thou hast loved, Merikarē! [How good] is that which thou (M.) hast done for thy *tst*. Thou (M.) didst cause respect to be spread

The most notable papyri in the British Museum relating to the Book of the Dead have previously been published in separate works, while Naville used others in his *Totenbuch*. It is the object of the present Catalogue to publish the remainder in the form of an *apparatus criticus* appended to one of the previously published 'standard texts'. The first part of the Catalogue, of which this is the first fascicule, confines itself to papyri from the Eighteenth to the Twenty-second Dynasties, a second part being reserved for the later papyri. This first fascicule deals with the text of Spells 1 to 17; the second is to deal with the relevant 'vignettes'. The papyri of Nu or Nebseny provide the bulk of the 'standard text', but they are replaced by one of the new papyri when the new text is confined to one papyrus.

The Catalogue proper comes first, comprising a full description of the papyri. Interesting introductory notes precede the text of each spell, and there are good translations of the more important new texts. It is to be regretted, however, that certain conventions of former British Museum publications are still adhered to. Such is the antiquated device of spacing out the words in the hieroglyphic text, and the use of 'Chapter' for 'Spell'. There are twelve plates illustrating selected hieroglyphic and hieratic papyri, and in one respect these too are unsatisfactory: the rubricized passages have not been reproduced at all clearly. As for the text itself, Mr. Sidney Smith points out that the edition is the first of its kind among Egyptological publications. Where there are many varying versions, the *apparatus criticus* is somewhat cumbersome, but it must be admitted that the whole material is effectively set together in a relatively small space. On the other hand, the method of reproducing manuscript copies of parallel texts *in extenso*, which, incidentally, Mr. Smith wrongly ascribes to Naville (p. vi), must remain the only completely satisfactory one.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS.

The Egyptian Gods. By ALAN W. SHORTER. London, Kegan Paul, 1937. 8vo. xiv + 144 pp., 4 pls. 3s. 6d. net.

In this little book the author sets out to supply the layman who is interested in Egyptian religion with the most important facts about the Egyptian gods, and he does this in an admirably clear and concise manner. He also describes the temple ritual and the various religious books, some of this ground having already been covered by the author in his *Introduction to Egyptian Religion*. But one of the most interesting chapters is that dealing with the *Book of the Dead* and the *Book of Him who is in the Underworld*; for the author, in a short space, succeeds in giving a very good idea of the nature of those curious texts. This he does largely by judicious quotation from the works themselves. In fact, the whole book is useful for its readable and accurate translations. The last chapter includes a reasoned and well-balanced account of the religious doctrine of Akhenaten.

It seems rather a pity that the author should have chosen to use the old transliteration of Egyptian proper names so long sanctioned by Sir Wallis Budge, which gives an unnecessarily old-fashioned appearance to the text. But this is a small point of criticism, and no great drawback to the book.

PAUL C. SMITHER.

Ed Dākhhleh Oasis. By H. E. WINLOCK. Journal of a Camel Trip made in 1908, with an Appendix by Ludlow Bull. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Publications of the Department of Egyptian Art, vol. v.) New York, 1936. 4to. xii + 82 pp, 37 pls. \$3.00.

Besides giving the diary and Winlock's conclusions from the observations made, the book includes the very meagre history of the two chief oases, and drawings of the scraps of faience, potsherds, and the few whole pots encountered. In the appendix Dr. Ludlow Bull studies those inscriptions of Dēr el-Ḥagar which this expedition and others have copied or photographed. The book opens with a very complete study of the results published by modern travellers in the area.

This story begins in the year 1819, but there was an interesting wanderer of an earlier age. He was a man apparently named Sayyār, who has left a graffito at 'Ain Amūr which seems to say that he was journeying on foot alone and was faint from thirst, when he reached the spring in the latter part of the night, and that saved him. If this inscription is Thamudenic, as it may be, we shall have a north Arabian wandering alone in the western desert in pre-Islamic times.

Winlock went by the slightly longer but easier Darb el-Ghubāri route, which was the one followed by the reviewer in 1923, and returned by that of 'Ain Amūr. Though the latter goes up on to the limestone plateau and down again it has the advantage of water at 'Ain Amūr about midway on the journey, whereas the Darb el-Ghubāri is waterless throughout its length of three days. Apparently the 'Ain Amūr road was the usual


route in Roman times, judging by the masses of potsherds found all along it. The ancients seem to have carried their water in pottery barrels and jars, which is astonishing seeing that skins had already been used in Egypt at least as early as the time of Amenhotep III (Leps., *Dkm.*, III, 77, d). Earlier, again, in the Twelfth Dynasty, something is strapped to the back of the lyre-player in Absha's retinue, which looks very like a water-skin (Leps., *Dkm.*, II, 133). In the time of Merenptah the Libyans themselves were using water-skins, for in their flight it is clearly stated that 'they unbound their skins (*hnut*) and threw them to the ground. Their sacks (?) were taken and poured out (?)' (Spiegelberg in Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes*, Pl. 14, l. 6 and p. 26). The passage in the desert is not too difficult for donkeys, especially in winter, or even for cattle, tracks of which were observed on the 'Ain Amūr road.

The author has much to say of the fauna encountered. He speaks of the small birds dead in the desert, apparently blown out from the oases, but does not speak of the sand-grouse, of which the reviewer saw vast flocks. He saw them in January, but perhaps by May, when the author crossed, they had migrated. In the same way Winlock remarks fox-holes, but not the little mice which had pushed out along the road, supposedly living on the scraps which fall from the caravans. The Darb el-Ghubāri produced various rock-drawings of giraffe, oryx, ibex, ostrich, and gazelle, which can only date from a time when this part of the desert was able to support such life. This no doubt would be the late palaeolithic, or possibly neolithic, of which periods flints abound. Conditions at that time must have been at least as favourable as those on the southern edge of the Sahara to-day, where the same fauna flourishes. In fact, it has recently been found right in the desert in the Wādi Hawa north of Darfūr.

The history of the oases is considered, and it is pointed out that they could not have been deserted until Persian times. The complete lack of monuments until that period has given rise to this idea of abandonment, but of course a population can exist happily without leaving monuments, especially if it is poor and lives in an out-of-the-way corner. The present inhabitants, for instance, would leave little monumental evidence of themselves. If there had been no inhabitants of any sort, why should the Egyptians have had business in the oases all through history from the Sixth Dynasty onwards?

Winlock makes an interesting suggestion as to how the existence of the artesian water came to be discovered. Natural springs still exist which are derived from surface rain-water. As this and the springs dependent on it have slowly decreased, it has become necessary to follow the water down by deepening the wells into which the springs rise. Hence, he suggests, in some fortunate spot the impermeable shales were pierced, and this released the flood of artesian water. In some places this can be done at a depth of only some 35 to 40 metres, instead of the usual 80 metres or more.

The names Ed-Dākhlah and El-Khārgah 'the Interior' and 'the Exterior' Oases are inherited from at least the fifth century A.D., when Olympiodorus speaks of 'two large oases, one of them exterior, and the other interior, &c.' The idea is also combated that the Romans grouped El-Khārgah and Ed-Dākhlah together as one place under the name Oasis Magna. Why should they, when they are two to three days' journey apart; a distance comparable to that from Ed-Dākhlah to Farāfrah, and from Farāfrah to Bahriyah? Yet these three have never been considered as one. Undoubtedly Oasis Magna is merely the name of El-Khārgah, which is indeed the largest of them all.

At the temple of Dēr el-Ḥagar Winlock, like Brugsch before him, read the name of the place as  *St-Ḥḥ* 'The Throne of the Moon', in opposition to Gauthier's *St-whst* 'The Place of the Oasis'. He is entirely convincing in his proposal to see in it the origin of the modern name of the district, Siōḥ. But conviction fails when he wishes to find in the present name Mūt a relic of some ancient name compounded with that of the Theban goddess Mūt. He is not able to produce any ancient form which might have given rise to it. The same applies to Ludlow Bull with his suggestions of a *St-Mntw* as the origin of the modern name Smint, and a *Ḳrrut-Imm* for Ḳalamūn. At present all these are hypothetical, and it would seem better to await some concrete evidence. As a matter of fact the ancient name of Mūt was with little doubt *S3-wh3t*. In the meantime Crum's proposed origin for Ḳalamūn seems most probable: he would derive it, like many another Ḳalamūn, from the Greek *καλαμών* 'a reed-bed'. As regards Smint, the reviewer was told that the name came from a cement (*asmant*)-factory established there once upon a time. But this is perhaps a *Volksetymologie*, for the name was in use in 1819 when Drovetti was there.

Winlock scarcely entered Ḳasr ed-Dākhil, and so to his few lines about that village may be added a mention of the two fine sandstone door-jambes which have been re-used in that capacity at the gate of El-Ḥagg Muḥammad el-Ḳuraishy. They seem to be the finest sculptures in the district which name Thoth, and no doubt they come from the neighbouring temple of Dēr el-Ḥagar. It seems strange that in a district called *St-Ḥḥ* 'The Throne of the Moon', Thoth is so rarely mentioned. Pride of place is given to the Theban Triad.

The jambs, however, are inscribed to 'Thoth-[Rēc], Twice Great, Lord (?) of Hermopolis Magna and of Hermopolis Parva' and 'Thoth-Rēc, Lord of Life in . . .'. The reviewer was told they had always been there, and certainly the carved wooden lintel of the gate bore the date A.H. 1083, *i.e.* A.D. 1672.

Winlock mentions the olive trees of Gedidah which provide most of the oil exported from the oasis. He also notes the luxuriance of the 'Omdah's garden at Rāshidah, though he had no opportunity of enjoying the owner's hospitality owing to his absence. The reviewer can assure him of the excellence of the oranges there, having pleasant recollections of their size, sweetness, and juiciness. On his departure from Rāshidah for the return journey to El-Khārgah he had his saddle-bags filled up with them for 5 piastres. While the author inquired into the mechanism of the flour-mills of the oases, he does not mention the stills for 'araki. As with the oranges it was at Rāshidah that the reviewer had an opportunity of inspecting a still and of tasting the product. The 'araki namar wāhid was extremely good to taste and very potent. Three qualities are made, the second and third being each proportionately harsher and darker than the first.

I had the experience with camel men against which Winlock was warned. In my case the camel men did not belong to me, but finding that I was expecting to cross, joined up with me. Yet they stinted their water-supply, trusting to my generosity with my own. We kept them at bay until the last day of the journey, then let them have their fill, as we had more than enough for ourselves. It was extraordinary how little they needed. All through, they gave a most instructive exhibition of the fecklessness of their kind. One's admiration is unbounded for the courage of the early explorers, who trusted themselves in the unknown desert to such as these. Shiftless as they were, in less organized times than the present they might have turned robbers and murderers at any moment.

Dr. Ludlow Bull asks that it be mentioned that the inscriptions referred to on p. 75, 'The Topmost Scenes from the Jambs', 'Pl. xxi centre', do not appear in the photographs, as these were cut down in making up the plate.

Unfortunately the oases have very little to offer in the way of historical archaeology. In his book Winlock has gathered together a great deal of what there is, as well as much general information on the district. The reviewer himself has some more scraps which he hopes to offer the world some day.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT.

POSTSCRIPT. I append a few more instances of the ancient use of waterskins. A waterskin hangs from the central rope of one of Hatshepsut's ships loading at Pwenet (Navielle, *Deir el Bahari*, III, Pl. 74), and two more hang from the rope of another of her ships starting on its return journey (*op. cit.*, Pl. 75). In the Twelfth Dynasty a waterskin is shown hanging from the branch of a tree in the tomb of Khety at Beni Hasan (Champ., *Mons.*, Pl. 365, 1 = Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, II, Pl. 12, 2nd register from the top, where it is too small for easy identification). Petrie has suggested with some probability that the 'tusks' of the early and middle parts of the Predynastic Age were for plugging the holes of waterskins. They are grooved at the broad end, and the remains of leather often still adhere. The 'tusks' are either of ivory or of alabaster, and are generally highly decorated, and so would look well against the dark leather of a waterskin (see *Prehistoric Egypt*, Pls. 32, 33, and pp. 33, 34).

Wesen und Wert der Ägyptologie. By WALTHER WOLF. (Leipziger Ägyptologische Studien, Heft 8.) Glückstadt, J. J. Augustin, 1937. 8vo. 46 pp. 3 RM.

It was in 1934 that Prof. H. Berve, who holds the chair of Ancient History at the University of Leipzig, published an important statement on the position of oriental studies in Germany. He claimed that the appearance of the *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients* marked the end of the productive period in the field of these studies and that from the general historian's point of view and also from the standpoint of Germany's new intellectual standards, the study of the Ancient East was doomed to inactivity and indeed had lost its right to exist. Egyptology, he claimed, dealt with a people and culture which, owing to fundamental differences of race and psychology, must remain in some measure unintelligible to the German mind.

The present work by Professor Wolf falls partly into the category of such essays as Sethe's *Die Ägyptologie: Zweck, Inhalt, und Bedeutung etc.* and Blackman's *The Value of Egyptology in the Modern World*, but it derives special interest from its attempt to defend the science against a threatened eclipse in the Germany of to-day. Himself keenly conscious and appreciative of modern trends in German thought, Wolf resents many of Berve's strictures, and he thinks that Egyptology can contribute even to his own country's knowledge of herself. His book is an Egyptologist's 'Apologia pro Vita Sua' in modern Germany.

If Wolf had happened to agree with Sethe that the true justification for the pursuit of Egyptology was the deep-rooted passion for knowledge, he would doubtless have devoted considerable space to a philosophical discussion of the nature of knowing. As he prefers to emphasize the importance of Egyptology as a branch of historical study, he discusses at some length the philosophical approach to history and is led to reject the belief in evolutionary and progressive development in favour of the theory of development in cycles. In the light of this conception, the civilization of Ancient Egypt assumes a rather different position in history. 'It stands no longer at the distant beginning of a ladder on whose topmost rung we ourselves stand, it is no longer a mere prelude, a promise of something coming after it, but it stands before us as a whole, fulfilled and complete in itself. . . . It is no longer necessary to ask what Egypt accomplished for the "progress of mankind", nor yet what value it possesses when measured by classical canons, but we would know where the genius of Egypt lies, what inner potentialities Egyptian culture has possessed, and in what form they have been realized' (pp. 20-1).

At the same time Wolf is not very sanguine as to how far it is possible for an Egyptologist to understand Ancient Egypt intimately. He quotes with approval the words of Kümmel: 'I hold it as an error to think that the skilled Egyptologist or classical philologist, who perhaps knows more about Egyptian or Greek beliefs concerning the gods than the Egyptians or Greeks themselves, can see an image of one of their gods as they themselves did. The one merely knows about the beliefs, the other believes. It may seem absurd to you, but it is true in my opinion, that a Catholic woman who crosses herself in devotion before a sacred image of the Virgin in a museum, stands after all nearer to the image and its creator than the historian of art who makes the most excellent remarks about the technique, form, age, and type' (p. 33). A somewhat different opinion has been expressed by Albright in *JAOS* 56 (1936), in an article entitled 'How well can we know the Ancient Near East?' He says, *e.g.*: 'An Erman or a Breasted can understand ancient Egypt better than a Pharaoh or a learned scribe, even though the modern interpreter may lack many details needed to present a complete picture. . . . It is likely that we have a clearer idea of the *ku* ("ka") than the ancient Egyptian possessed . . .' (p. 137, and Wolf, p. 43). On the whole, Wolf's less optimistic estimate is more acceptable, but it should be noted that he agrees with Albright in stressing the need for further research.

In conclusion, two criticisms may be offered. The strictures on Erman's work (pp. 12-13) are too sweeping. It may be admitted that in his *Religion der Ägypter* he did not attempt a fundamental and interpretative analysis of Egyptian religion; but he gave a careful presentation of the data, and at least abstained from facile theorizing. It can hardly be said that he hindered the deeper understanding for which Wolf pleads. Secondly, although there are abundant references to the cognate literature, T. E. Peet's *The Present Position of Egyptological Studies* (Oxford, 1934) is not mentioned.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS.

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VOLUME 25

PART 2

DECEMBER 1939

THE JOURNAL OF EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

PUBLISHED BY

THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

2 HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, LONDON, W.1

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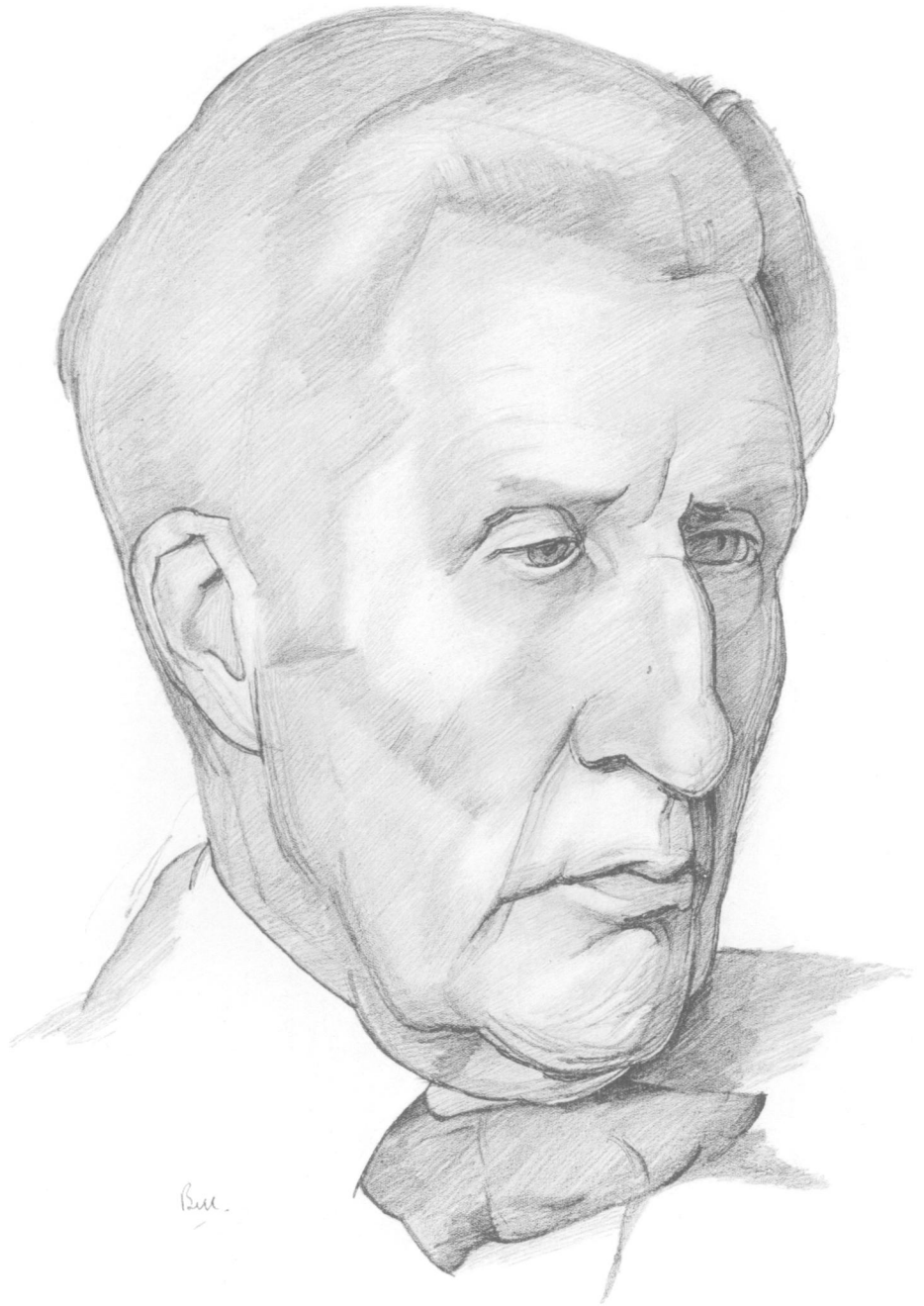
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WALTER EWING CRUM
M.A., F.B.A., HON. D. LITT.

THIS PART IS DEDICATED
TO
WALTER EWING CRUM
M.A., F.B.A., HON. D.LITT.
IN APPRECIATION OF HIS
SERVICES TO COPTIC STUDIES
AND TO MARK THE COMPLETION
OF HIS
COPTIC DICTIONARY

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT 'AMĀRAH WEST, ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN, 1938-9

BY H. W. FAIRMAN

THE first full season's work at 'Amārah West commenced on November 9, 1938, and ended on March 4, 1939. The party was composed of Mr. H. W. Fairman (Director) and Mrs. Fairman, and Messrs. E. D. Bell, surveyor; P. G. Fell, photographer; and J. G. MacDonald, who had previously worked with Mr. O. H. Myers for two years.

We owe a deep debt of gratitude to those who by their donations rendered our work possible: to H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Sweden, who obtained for us a donation on behalf of the Stockholm Museum, to the Musée du Louvre, and above all to the Brooklyn Museum of Fine Arts without whose assistance, even more generous than in past years, the excavations would have been impossible. Our thanks are also due to Professor S. R. K. Glanville for giving us facilities for the developing and printing of our negatives in the photographic laboratory attached to the Department of Egyptology, University College, and to the authorities of University College for the use of a room for the exhibition of the antiquities.

Once more we were deeply indebted to officials of the Sudan Government for their never-failing assistance and help, and in particular to Mr. G. W. Grabham, the Acting Conservator of Antiquities, his successor Mr. A. J. Arkell, Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology, and to Mr. A. C. Walker, the District Commissioner, Mr. R. Harrison, the Assistant District Commissioner, and Dr. H. M. Woodman of Wadi Ḥalfa.

During the season we were fortunate to receive visits also from the Deputy Governor of the Northern Province, Mr. W. F. Crawford, and Mrs. Crawford, Professor and Mrs. van Gronigen of Leyden, and Mr. H. O. Crowther.

Before proceeding to describe the result of the work it is necessary to devote a few words to the vexed question of orientation. In our last report¹ it was stated that since the Nile at 'Amārah flows from west to east local compass points would be used in describing the site. There was some justification for this decision, for it is normal to regard the river as always flowing northwards, and it is now quite clear that the Ancient Egyptians when building the town and temple also used 'local' compass points. On the other hand, it was realized that the use of true compass points upon plans and of 'local' points in descriptions is likely to cause confusion and uncertainty. For this reason in this report all descriptions give the true compass points. It must therefore be borne in mind that at 'Amārah the north-south axis is at right angles to the course of the river.

The ancient town of 'Amārah West lies on the left bank of the Nile, about 115 miles south of Wadi Ḥalfa. The Town crowns a small mound close to the river and consists of a central mud-brick enclosure, from 100 to 150 m. square, and house-remains of uncertain extent outside the walls. On the high ground to the north of the town is the New Kingdom cemetery, partially robbed, and in the intervening dried-up watercourse are a number of small mound-graves of X-group type. In a wide semicircle at least a mile to west, north, and east of the town are other ancient remains. These have not yet been examined by excavation, but

¹ *JEA* 24, 154.

consist mainly of numerous rectangular enclosures of dry stone walls and stone causeways that appear to lead in most cases to a number of mounds of varying size, most of which are certainly of artificial formation with deep accumulations of occupation debris. All these remains appear to be later than the Pharaonic period, but it is not yet possible to write about them with certainty. The pottery, which is profuse, is mainly 'African' in type: some appears to be Meroitic, some has obvious affinities with sherds of the Christian period from other sites, while surface finds of chalcedony arrow-heads and other criteria may indicate some connexion with the Gebel Moya culture. The evidence at present is far too incomplete to permit any binding conclusions, but it is reasonable and safe to deduce that these remains cover a fairly wide period of time and that in the main they represent a Sudanese culture which, though vaguely and superficially familiar, in all essentials has neither been studied nor recorded and may be said to be largely unknown to science.

The work of the expedition was confined almost exclusively to the excavation and recording of the temple, which lies in the north-east corner of the great enclosure (Pl. xiii).¹

In its present form the temple is entered by a gate cut through the north wall of the town. Owing to the direction in which the river is flowing, therefore, this gate is on the side most remote from the Nile and looks out directly over the desert. To protect it brick walls were built outside the town wall and in the court thus formed were discovered tree pits on either side of the entrance, the stumps of the ancient trees still being preserved to a height of about 3 feet, and two small uninscribed columns, which appear to have formed a small portico in front of the gate. On either side of the entrance are stone niches with the remains of stelae. That on the east contains a duplicate of the Dream Stela of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel, and that on the west is a copy of the Marriage Stela of the same king.² The Dream Stela shows no important variations from Naville's copy, but a certain number of new readings and textual variants and additions are forthcoming from the Marriage Stela. It is important, from the point of view of the history of the site and temple, to note that the town wall was built by Sethos I, whose name has been found on the bricks. When the Forecourt was added outside the town wall an additional face of brick was added on the north side. The stelae and niches have not been built into this additional skin but have been built up against it. The obvious inference is that the stelae were added after the Forecourt had been completed, but the Forecourt is clearly later than the temple (since it was only added to protect the entrance from the outer world and the prevailing, boisterous north wind: see below, p. 142), and hence the temple must have been commenced before the 35th year of Ramesses II.

The stone jambs of the gate bear the cartouches of Ramesses VI and the figure and name of Raemesesnakht,³ a Viceroy of Nubia. In the thickness of the gate is an inscription of Merneptah.⁴

Beyond the gate lies the Peristyle, the most damaged portion of the temple. It has the form of a court, open in the centre with a colonnade in front of its four walls. There are remains of 14 columns. At the south end doors to east and west lead to the eastern and western series of magazines. Another door in the south wall leads to the Hypostyle Hall (Pl. xiv, 2). The dividing wall between Peristyle and Hypostyle Hall is the only one on

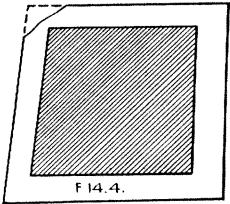
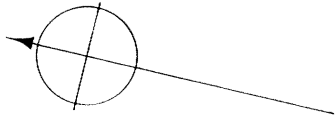
¹ The plan gives only the Ramesside stage, and omits the constructions of later periods with the exception of certain rooms in E. 14, 2 which are post-Ramesside.

² See *JEA* 24, 155, and nn. 1 and 2.

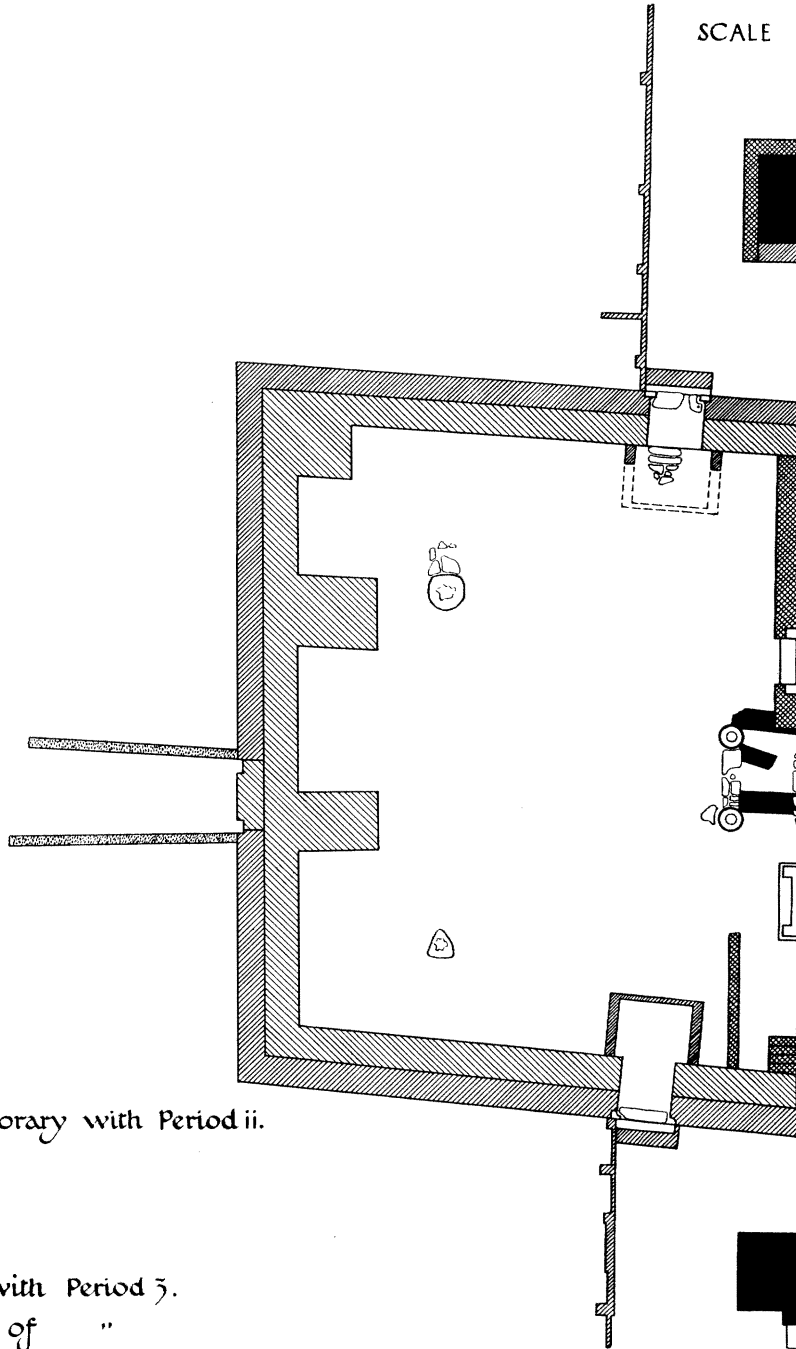
³ When our preliminary tests of the site were made the name was thought to read *R^c-mss-ntw*, as a mistake for *R^c-mss-nht* (*JEA* 24, 155), but the complete excavation has made it possible to obtain the correct reading.

⁴ *JEA* 24, 155.

SCALE



F 14.4.



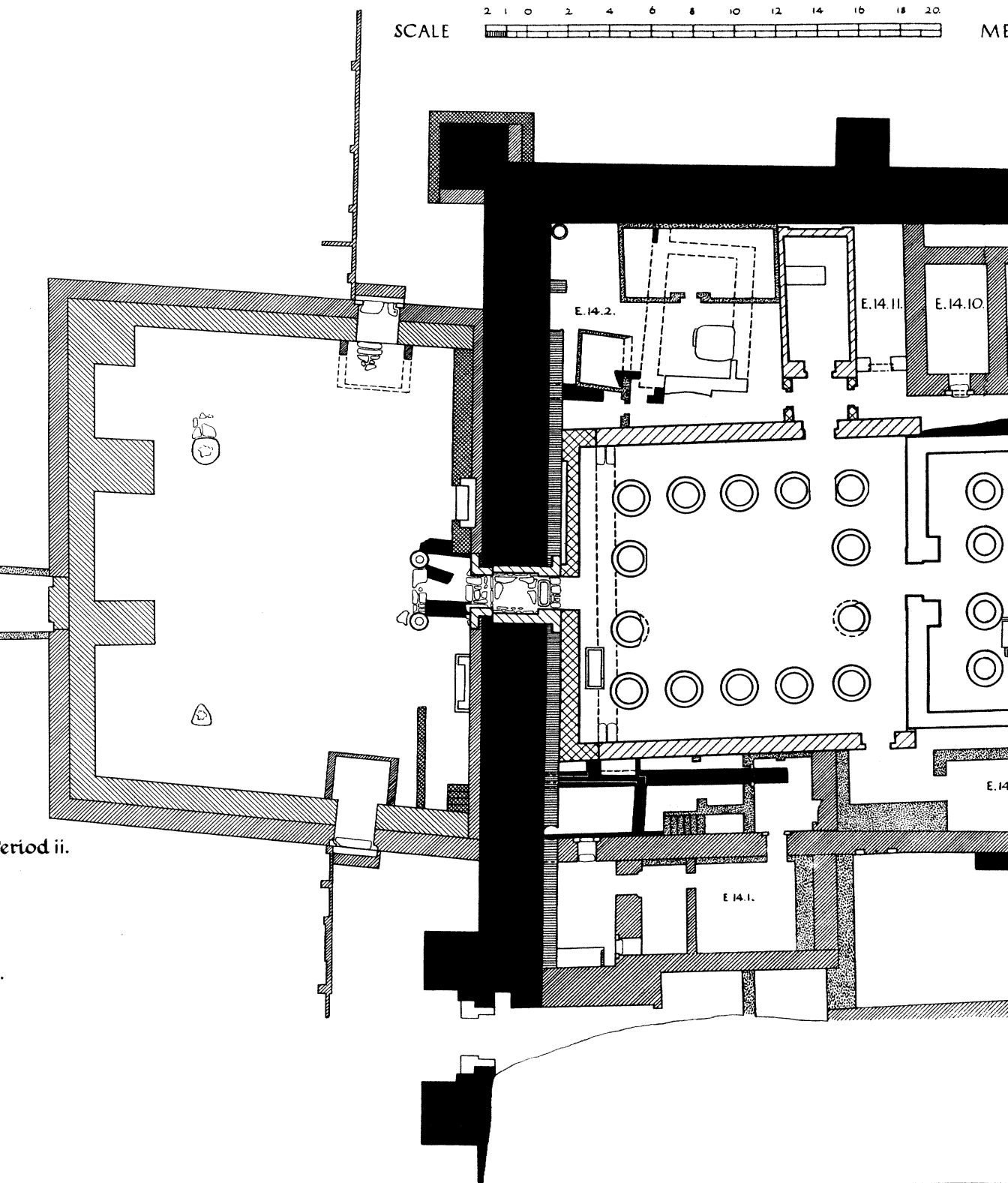
Key

Stone

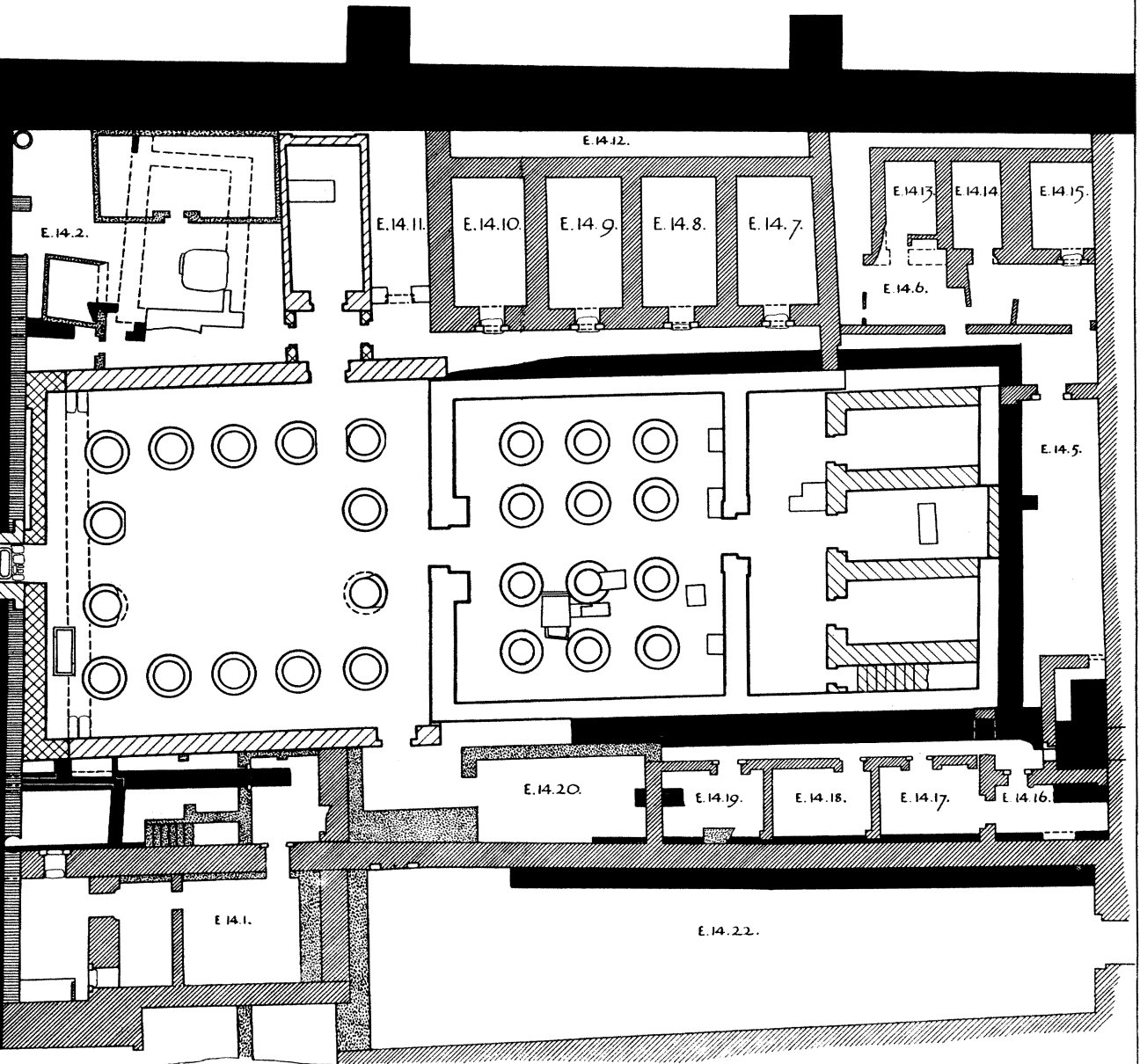
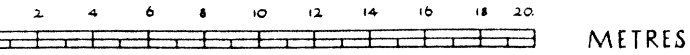
- 1 1ST Period Ramesses ii.
- 2 2ND. " "
- 3 3RD. " " :contemporary with Period ii.
- 4 4TH. " "

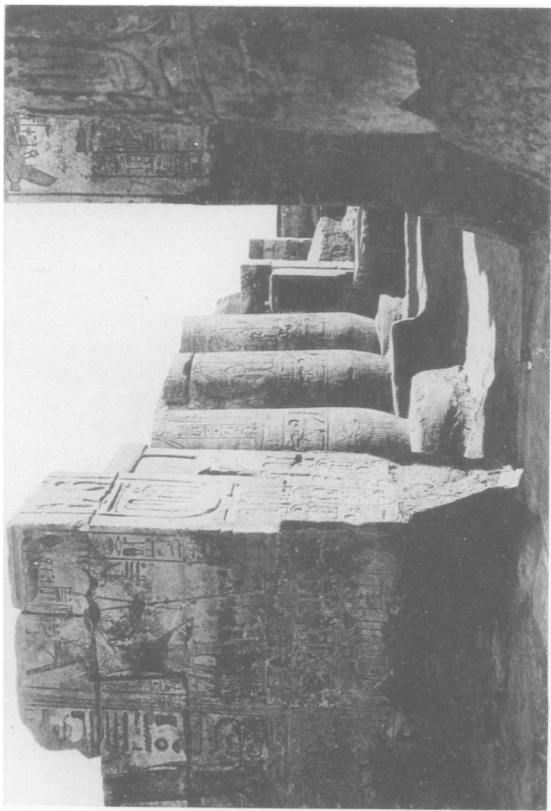
Brick

- i Sethos i.
- ii Ramesses ii: contemporary with Period 3.
- iii " replacing Stone of "
- iv 1ST. stage repair.
- v 2ND. " "
- vi Post-Ramesside.

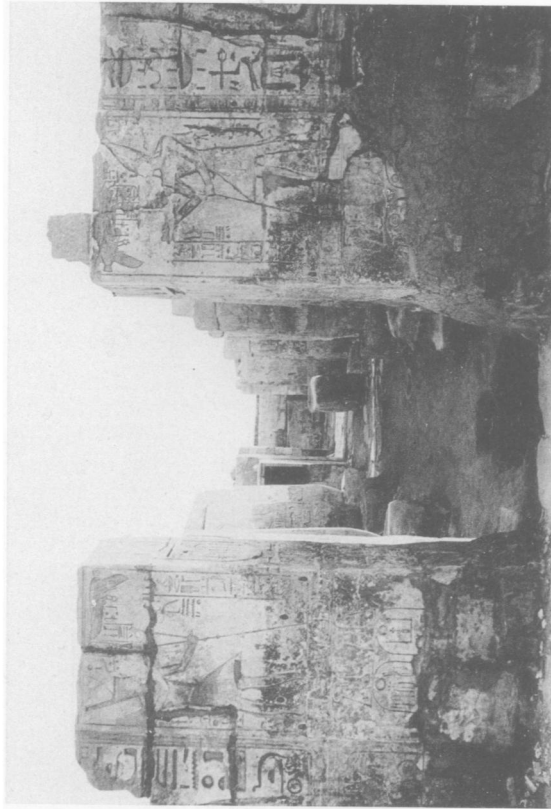


Plan of the Temple in Ramesside Times
 EXCAVATIONS AT 'AMĀRAH WEST, 1938-9

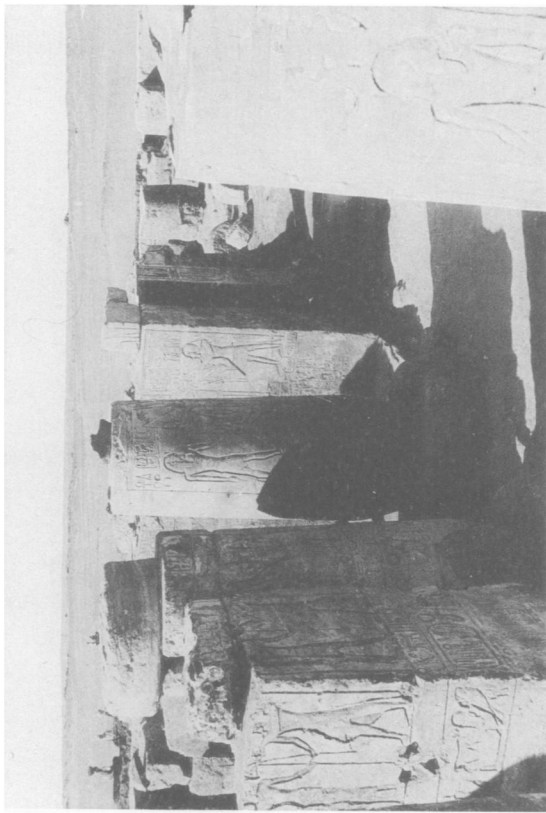




1. The Hypostyle Hall.



2. North Door of Hypostyle Hall.



3. General View of Hypostyle Hall from South-east.





4. Hypostyle Hall: part of list of Syrian names.

which any considerable extent of reliefs is preserved, these being formal scenes of Ramesses II smiting captives. An inscription on this wall mentions 'Year 6, 1st month of *Shōmu*, day 25' of Ramesses IX—presumably the date when the decoration of the temple was completed.

Beyond the Peristyle lies the Hypostyle Hall, with three rows of four columns (Pl. xiv, 1). This is the best-preserved part of the temple, the columns averaging 9 or 10 feet in height, and from here were obtained many of the best results and discoveries of the season. The columns are all inscribed, but only on the sides facing the axis of the temple; all have been reworked, the original small-scale reliefs of Ramesses II having been surcharged with much larger reliefs of the same king (Pl. xv, 3). The two sets of reliefs differ only in their size and the delightful and charming workmanship and colour of the earlier examples. A few columns also bear the titulary of Ramesses III.

The reliefs on the east half of the Hypostyle Hall are all of a formal, conventional nature; those on the west preserve scenes from the Syrian wars of Ramesses II, the most interesting piece, on the west section of the north wall, depicting the siege of a Syrian town, the gate of which is being attacked with axes by two Egyptians who are protected by a hoop-shaped construction.

In addition to the columns the Hypostyle Hall contains several buttresses (see below, p. 142) and two small shrines for statuettes. One of the latter was erected by Ramesses II, the other is stated to have been for a statue of Amenmeses.

The chief point of interest in the Hypostyle Hall, however, lies in the texts of the lowest register on all its walls. In this register is preserved a list of Asiatic and African towns and peoples. The Asiatic list occupies the eastern half of the temple (the local north) and originally consisted of some 104 names. Many have been damaged, but there is much of interest in those which are preserved. A very considerable proportion of them are entirely new; one or two new identifications have already been made, including that of Jericho (?), , and the names of Beduin peoples, each of these beginning  (Pl. xiv, 4). The African series contained about 95 names, and has suffered much damage. The identification of African names is much more difficult than that of the Syrian lists, but it is hoped that useful results will emerge from careful study.

To the south of the Hypostyle Hall lies a small Vestibule, with remarkably fine reliefs on its walls, from which entrance is gained to the Sanctuary area—three rooms in all, the central one being the Sanctuary proper, where the stone pedestal for the boat shrine is still in position. To the west of these rooms a flight of stone stairs once led up to the roof.

Outside the temple, to east and west, lay a series of magazines. Those on the west are much damaged, but those on the east still preserve jambs and lintels inscribed for Ramesses II. They are preserved to a sufficient extent to show clearly that all were originally vaulted, the vaulting having been achieved, as in the Nubia of to-day, without the use of centring and by means of laminated tunnel-vaults in precisely the same way as the better preserved magazines of the Ramesseum.

Such in brief is the present appearance of the temple. A glance at the plan (Pl. xiii) will show that it presents an unusual and unsymmetrical appearance. The excavations have shown that this lack of symmetry is due to the extremely chequered history of the building, which originally was quite different in plan and orientation.

The original temple was planned on a modest scale and consisted only of the present Hypostyle Hall, Vestibule, and Sanctuary. In this first stage it had no entrance through the north wall of the town and the doorway of the temple lay on the south, through the present Sanctuary. The temple, therefore, consisted of the Hypostyle Hall and, south of it,




a court occupying the space now filled by the Vestibule and Sanctuary. The second stage in the history of the site was the building of a sanctuary area to the north of the Hypostyle Hall, in the space now occupied by the Peristyle. The position of the north wall of the new section is marked by a double dotted line on the plan. Possibly it was at this period that the reliefs on the columns were altered.

This second stage was probably never completed. Instead, it was decided to alter the orientation of the temple. The original entrance was blocked up (Pl. xv, 1), a new entrance was cut in the north wall of the town, the north wall of the building north of the Hypostyle Hall was pulled down and the inner face of the town wall was lined with a new stone wall. Thus that part of the temple originally planned to be its Sanctuary was turned into the Peristyle, the columns of which and their foundations were composed of blocks from the destroyed wall or walls. At the south end of the temple this change of plan involved the construction of the rooms and stairs of the present Sanctuary area, and the pulling down of a portion of the east wall and its re-erection a few feet to the west, possibly owing to difficulties connected with the roofing of the new rooms.

Even this, however, did not complete the modifications of the ground plan, for it was found that the north wall of the Peristyle had been built too far away from its columns, and so it was pulled down and rebuilt slightly to the south. Finally, since the temple now lay open to the north and the outside world, it became necessary to build a Forecourt outside the town wall to protect the entrance.

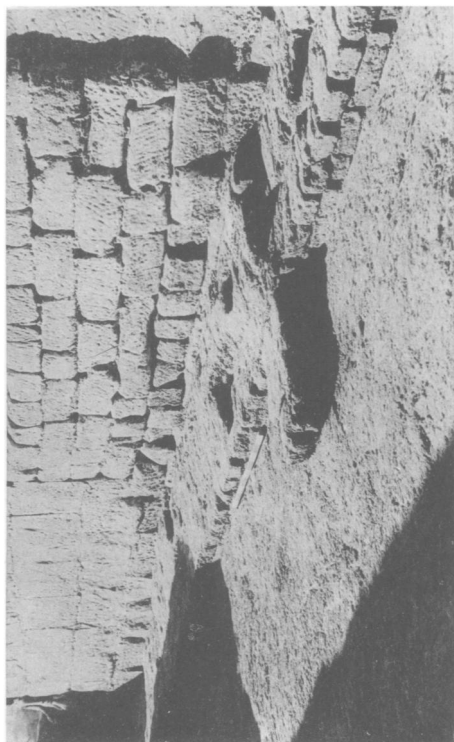
This haphazard method of building could hardly have conduced to the stability of the structure, and it is clear that its builders were in constant difficulties, due very probably to the changes of plan and the use of inferior materials. Even in the reign of Ramesses II it became necessary to add a buttress to one of the columns of the Hypostyle Hall (Pl. xiv, 3), and under Amenmeses, all of whose inscriptions were later reworked by Ramesses III, a series of buttresses were built against the south wall of the Hypostyle Hall, not to support that wall, but to keep the roof from falling in.

There is no evidence that any part of the existing temple was built before the reign of Ramesses II. Whether there was an earlier temple on the site cannot yet be stated, but since the town wall was built by Sethos I it is by no means impossible. The discovery of a stela of Amenophis II (Pl. xvi, 1) and many seal-impressions of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III may afford some grounds for suspecting an even earlier occupation of the site.¹ There is abundant evidence that 'Amārah West was occupied before the reign of Ramesses II.

Satisfactory finds of objects were made, chief among them being a series of sandstone hieroglyphic stelae. The earliest of these is a magnificent text of Amenophis II and the Viceroy of Nubia, Usersatet (Pl. xvi, 1). Contrary to the usual statements, this official appears to have been of the blood royal. Another stela, of Ramesses II (Pl. xvi, 2), has a double interest: it gives the official name of the town, , and states that the town had been built to receive the statues of the gods which the king had brought to Nubia. It seems possible that the town bore a second name, , which, however, occurs only in inscriptions of Ramesses IX; but this identification cannot yet be made with certainty.² Among the stelae are a historical inscription of Sethos I, recording a campaign against the Nubian land of  in his fourth (or eighth?) year, a spirited relief from the

¹ On the other hand, the stela may be an importation from some other site, such as the fortress on the Island of Sâi, where I have noticed a statue with an inscription of 'Ahmose I, and other inscriptions of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

² For *Hnm-wst* see Daressy, *Statues*, II, 25-6 (*CCG*), and *JEA* 6, 50. It was also the name of the Ramesseum; see Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, IV, 200.



1. Sanctuary: Blocking of South Wall.



3. A column in the Hypostyle Hall.

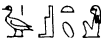
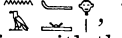


2. Stela of Ramesses III, year 5.
(Scale in cm.)



4. Fragment of a hieratic stela.
(Scale in cm.)

top of another stela of the same king, a stela of Setnakht, and two more of Ramesses III dated in his 5th (Pl. xv, 2) and 11th years. Finally we found fragments of a stela incised in hieratic (Pl. xv, 4), on which is recorded a date in the third year of a king whose name is lost. This is most unfortunate, for it is clear that the text was of a historical nature; it appears to record an invasion of Egypt, which included both a sea battle and a night attack. Statuary was represented by only two pieces, a headless squatting statue of the scribe Amenemhēt, and a cultus image of the ram-headed Khnūm. There was a more than satisfactory yield of scarabs and other small objects of faience and metal.

It is clear that the historical results of the season will not be without importance. Hieroglyphic inscriptions of ten kings from Amenophis II to Ramesses XI have been found; the importance of the lists of place-names is obvious; and finally we have obtained new light on the order and family relationship of the viceroys of Nubia of the Ramesside period. With regard to the viceroys the chief results may be summarized thus: (1) Ḥori, the son of Kama, who is Ḥori I according to Reisner,¹ held office in the reign of Setnakht; he was presumably succeeded by (2) Reisner's Ḥori II² who appears on the stelae of the 5th (Pl. xv, 2) and 11th years of Ramesses III; (3) a new viceroy of Ramesses VI has been found in the person of Siēse, ; (4) the viceroy *Wn-wst* (apparently the same as Reisner's *Wn-tj-wst*)³ is dated to the reign of Ramesses IX, his father being a hitherto unnoted viceroy, Naḥeḥer, ; (5) the viceroy Ra^cmesesnakht⁴ appears in the entrance in association with the cartouches of Ramesses VI, but he may not be contemporary with him since he seems to appear again under Ramesses XI (unless this be a second viceroy of the same name).

An interesting discovery was that of a number of Saharan sherds, some on the surface of the town and even over the temple, and some on the surface of the ancient sites to the north. Saharan sherds have been found by Myers at Armant and on his recent expedition in the Sahara.⁵ They have also been found in French North Africa. The assumption has been that they represent a people who originated somewhere in the south-west Sahara and who emigrated in two main streams, one going northwards towards Morocco, and the other eastwards to the Nile. The significance of the discovery at 'Amārah lies in the fact that it may mean that 'Amārah was the first point in the Nile valley to be reached by the Saharan people, for the site lies at one end of the shortest caravan route between the Nile and Salīma Oasis, a route which is regularly used to-day and which was followed by Myers's supply caravan returning from Salīma, and Saharan sherds have been found in or near Salīma. A difficult chronological problem is raised by this discovery. Myers has dated his Saharan pottery to the Sixth Dynasty and would equate it with the Libyan invasion of that period. At 'Amārah, on the other hand, it is impossible to date any Saharan sherd to a period earlier than that between the reigns of Sethos I and Ramesses II, and they may all be later than this. This is clearly a matter that goes far beyond the province of this report, but it is clear that at 'Amārah we have a site which may yet produce settlements and burials of the Saharan peoples and which is likely to throw valuable light on the obscure early history of Egypt, Libya, and the Sahara.

The excavations have produced another exceedingly interesting result. It will be remembered that in our last report it was noted that the whole town appeared to turn its back on the river, for there seem to be no gates on the east and south.⁶ An explanation

¹ Reisner, *The Viceroys of Ethiopia* in *JEA* 6, 48 (No. 17).

² *Ibid.*, 50 (No. 18).

³ *Ibid.*, 50 (No. 19).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 51 (No. 20).

⁵ Mond-Myers, *Cemeteries of Armant*, I, 267-77; Myers in *Geographical Journal* 93 (1939), 287-91.

⁶ *JEA* 24, 155.

has now been found for this remarkable state of affairs. It appears to be exceedingly probable that when the town was built it lay on an island, and there is every reason to believe that a small and originally stone-faced construction immediately to the north of the temple entrance embodies the ruins of the former landing-stage of the town (Pl. xiii, F.14, 4). If this theory be correct, then an adequate explanation is afforded for the town's turning its back on the river, and for the opening of the temple towards the north. Moreover, the first abandonment of the town, which seems to have occurred about the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, may have been caused by the silting up of the channel between the town and the cemeteries, which would have deprived the town of its importance and at the same time have rendered it difficult if not impossible to ward off the wind-blown sand.

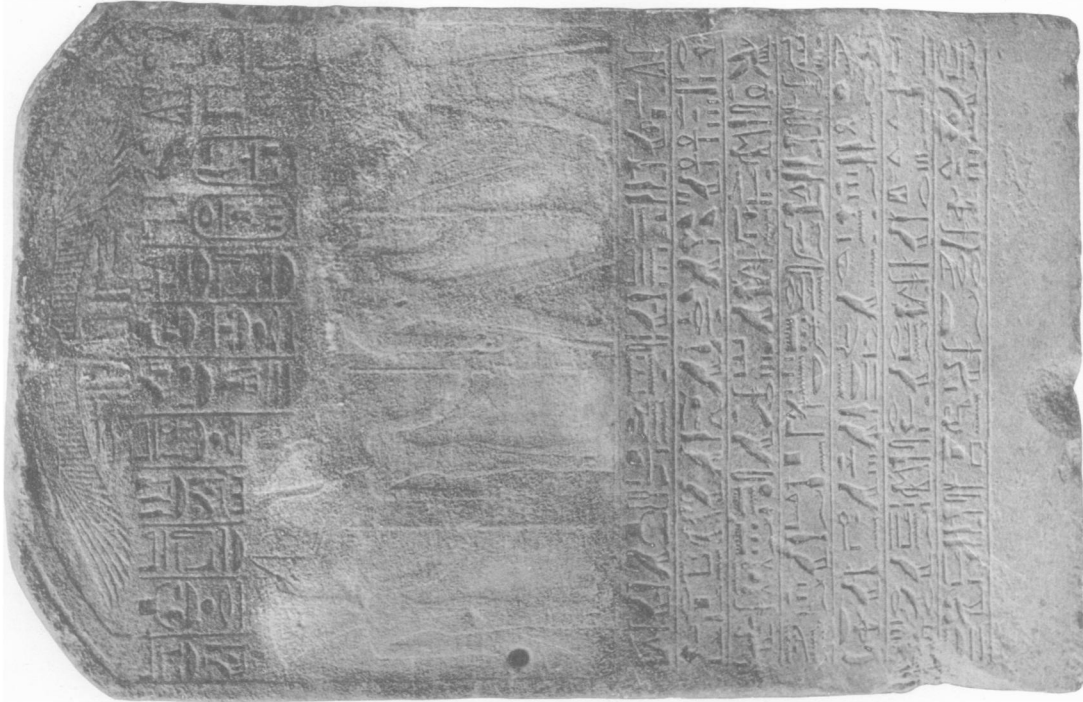
'Amārah, if this assumption be correct, assumes an added importance. Even to-day the river is always difficult and sometimes impossible to navigate. In ancient times the present course of the river may have been well-nigh impassable. At the same time it appears likely that the old bed of the river, between the town and cemeteries, was never seriously obstructed by rocks or rapids. Moreover, the minor rapids of Ginnis a few miles downstream may then, as to-day, have afforded a serious barrier to navigation. The results of this would have been twofold: first, 'Amārah would have controlled the caravan route to Salīma, and, secondly, it would have guarded and controlled river traffic through a difficult stretch of water. It is not impossible that ships may have been compelled (as at Semnah and Buhen) to unload their cargoes and carry them overland for a short distance. If this be so, it would be natural to expect to find another fortress town a short distance downstream.¹ The net result of this speculation, taken in conjunction with the evidence of the stela of Ramesses II (Pl. xvi, 2) is to enhance the importance of 'Amārah West. It clearly differs from the normal towns that were built in Upper Nubia in the New Kingdom, above all in the fact that it was placed in a strategic position, and it may well prove that we have discovered one of the chief administrative centres of Upper Nubia in Ramesside times.

It is clear that the site offers even better possibilities than one dared hope when the preliminary examination was made in February 1938. Quite apart from the likelihood of revealing a new Sudanese culture and of producing valuable data concerning the Saharan people, the remarkable state of preservation of the town itself is most encouraging. It is far more deeply buried than was ever expected, the average depth of the debris being nine or ten feet, with remains of an earlier town below this. The immediate inference from this is that 'Amārah West is possibly more completely and better preserved than any town of Pharaonic Egypt hitherto discovered and presents a unique opportunity for studying Egyptian domestic architecture in exceptionally favourable circumstances, and this leads one to expect important historical and archaeological results as well. The site has now been opened and must be cleared rapidly and systematically if it is not to suffer deterioration. It is earnestly hoped that funds will be forthcoming to permit the continued excavation of this promising and important site. It is not certain that another temple or many more stelae remain to be found, but there is no reason to doubt that from every point of view the results of future work will be valuable and profitable.

¹ In fact, at the end of the season we did receive reports of the existence of such a town between Attab and Ginnis, but lack of time prevented us from examining the new site.



1. Stela of Amenophis II.



2. Stela of Ramesses II.


EXCAVATIONS AT 'AMĀRAH WEST, 1938-39

A COLOSSAL STATUE OF THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY

By SIDNEY SMITH

WELL-KNOWN monuments that have stood for many years in museums sometimes fall into an unmerited obscurity, unless they happen to be included in the regular repertoire of illustrations which pass from one picture-book to another; attention is too exclusively devoted to new finds or recent acquisitions. So the colossal granite figure, No. 61 in the British Museum (height, from present base to top of helmet, 2·41 m.), since it was published in Yorke and Leake, *Principaux Monumens égyptiens du Musée Britannique* . . . , Pl. 1, and described there on pp. 10 and 11, and in F. Arundale and J. Bonomi, *Gallery of Antiquities*, Pl. 42, fig. 160, with Samuel Birch's description on p. 107, has not received much attention. In the *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*, 1909, p. 160, it is called a 'colossal red granite standing statue of Rameses II', while in the *Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collections*, 1930, p. 366, it is called a 'colossal statue, probably of an early king, usurped by Rameses II', an opinion which reverts to that of Birch, 'it is probably older than either king (i.e. Rameses II or Seti II Menephtah) and perhaps appropriated consecutively by each monarch to himself'.¹ The figure is known to have been found at Karnak, and was acquired by the Trustees with other figures in the Salt Collection.

The excellent description quoted here is taken from Samuel Birch's manuscript Catalogue of the Egyptian Saloon as it existed in his time; on this catalogue Birch worked till his death, and the description quoted represents a much later and corrected version of that which he first wrote, or that which appeared in the *Gallery of Antiquities*:

Statue of a monarch wearing on his head the upper part of the *pschent nuter*, and a beard which has been broken off. He wears round his loins the fluted triangular tunic *shenti*, having a fringe in front with a kind of lappet and two *uraei*. The tunic is secured with a belt of zigzag on undulating lines, having on the belt  'Rameses beloved of Amen-Ra' apparently the name of Rameses II, which has been inserted in the place of another royal name previously erased. The king advances the left foot and places both hands on his garment, the palms flat and inwards. The legs of the statue are wanting from the knees downward.² On the shoulders are cut the name and prenomen of Rameses II *Ra usr ma satp en Ra, Ramessu Amen meri*. On the breast immediately under the beard are cut the name and prenomen of Menephtah his son and successor, *Pta meri en hetp her Ra, Ba en Ra meri en Amen*. At the side of the left leg is part of the names and titles of a monarch. The name of the monarch is unfortunately irrevocably lost, and was probably a predecessor of Rameses II. 8 ft. 11 in. Red granite. From Karnak.

The broken inscription is useless as dating evidence; it reads:

- (1)  | =  ³
- (2)  =  ³

The cartouches of Merneptah on the breast are deeply cut, but are clumsily executed. As Yorke and Leake noted, the position of the cartouches is extremely rare, but there is nothing whatever to justify their statement that they appear to be attached to the neck by a kind

¹ Arundale and Bonomi, *op. cit.*, 107.

² The base is now made up level to stand on the mount: the restoration can easily be distinguished on Pl. xvii, 2.

³ Length of break quite uncertain.

of collar; perhaps they misunderstood the broken beard. The cartouches of Ramesses are less deeply cut, but are more neatly executed. But the chief interest must centre on the inscription on the girdle; was Ramesses' name imposed over an erased name, as Birch and, after him, Hall¹ obviously believed? The place has been carefully examined,² but there is nothing to favour this view, no proof that the hammer-blows, the effect of which can be seen on the stone, were delivered before the name was cut; indeed there is a greater probability that the blows were intended to erase the name and have in part successfully done that, as can be seen in the enlarged reproduction of this detail, Pl. xvii, 3. If it be asked why the name of Ramesses was erased, no certainly correct solution can be forthcoming, but it should be noted that there seems to be every sign that this figure was intentionally mutilated: the beard, left arm and inscription on the back pillar have all been hacked away, at the cost of considerable labour and with apparent intention. The damage may have been done at any time between the twelfth century B.C. and the eighteenth A.D. The name of Ramesses on the belt may have been attacked rather than the cartouches on the shoulders simply because it was within easier reach.

If it be admitted, as it should, that no definite argument can be drawn from the inscription on the belt, the question as to the date of this statue must be discussed on other lines, because it is of capital importance in judging the sculpture in the round of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The internal evidence, which amounts to considerations of style, on which opinions notoriously may differ, will here be considered under three heads: (1) pose and treatment of naked body as seen full face, (2) face, both full and profile, (3) posture in profile.

(1) *Pose and treatment of the naked body.* The position of the arms and hands, which is far from common, strongly recalls similar royal figures of the Twelfth Dynasty.³ Moreover the modelling closely resembles such figures in detail, as in the accentuation of the curve below the nipples, and of the fleshy development at either side of the top of the rectus muscle. The marked line of the clavicle is also a point observed in the Twelfth Dynasty; it is at any rate generally neglected⁴ in the Eighteenth. The *šndyt* is an exact copy of the Twelfth-Dynasty rendering,⁵ except possibly for the zig-zag of the belt, which replaces the panel decoration, a point of no importance. If there were no head and neck and no inscriptions, this figure would be merely a large version of some well-known Twelfth-Dynasty statues, and would compare very favourably with them.

(2) *The face.* If the face be considered alone, it is impossible to pass from this statue to the colossal head No. 15 in the same gallery, often attributed to Tuthmosis III, without being impressed by the similarity. The reader may place side by side the profile reproduction on Pl. xvii and that of the basalt figure of Tuthmosis III from Karnak in the Cairo Museum.⁶ The setting of the eyes, as if the pupils were turned slightly inwards to gaze at something near, the smooth rounding of the cheek over the bony structure, which is nevertheless correctly understood, the characteristic and peculiar profile of the nose, all are alike. And in another respect this head markedly resembles Eighteenth-Dynasty work. In making their colossal figures a certain school of sculptors of Tuthmosis III and of Amenophis III adopted a peculiar device; in order that the details of the mouth should be seen from an

¹ *Introductory Guide*, p. 366. Professor Jean Capart also holds this view, if I remember conversations rightly.

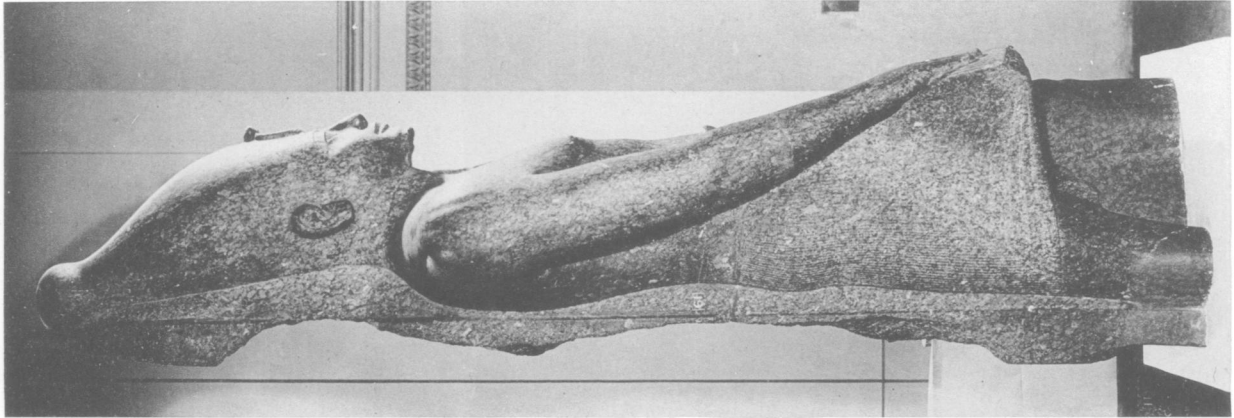
² By myself with a mason to advise me, and by others.

³ Cf. the three figures of Sesostris III presented to the Museum by the Egypt Exploration Society. One is illustrated in Budge, *Egyptian Sculptures*, Pl. 11.

⁴ As it is quite impossible to study any corpus of Eighteenth-Dynasty work, this and all similar statements are to be accepted with reserve, and may be due to ignorance.

⁵ Budge, *op. cit.*, Pl. 19.

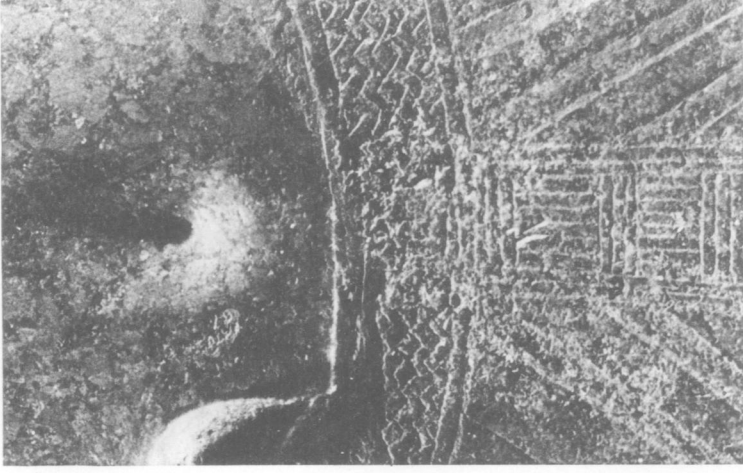
⁶ Schäfer-Andrae, *Kunst des alten Orients*, Taf. 12.



2



1



3

STATUE WITH INSCRIPTIONS OF THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY: BRITISH MUSEUM, No. 61.

acute angle below the figure, deep channels were driven down from the ends of the mouth on either side of the chin. This entailed a curious consequence: the ends of the mouth, left perfectly straight, end in a circular drill-hole which simulates the contraction of the cheek over compressed lips. The most pronounced examples of this device are perhaps the British Museum heads of Amenophis III, Nos. 4 and 6, which have this peculiarity, that when seen from directly in front the channels are not particularly noticeable, and are certainly not disfiguring, as they are if the heads are viewed from slightly below.¹ This ending of the lips can also be seen in its modified form in head No. 15; it is a marked feature of the statue at present under discussion. Taken alone this head would certainly be attributed to the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

(3) *The posture in profile.* Professor Ranke first drew my attention to the slight, but perceptible, thrust forward of the shoulders, neck and chin. This is so much a matter of angles and light that it is impossible to illustrate it; no one who examines the original figure carefully from various points of view can escape the impression that this thrust forward is intentional, and distinguishes this figure from everything else in the same gallery. Now that thrust forward is the typical characteristic of the standing figures of one period only, the period named from El-'Amarna. This indication alone should show that the figure is not earlier than the reign of Akhenaten.

This analysis, if correct, is sufficient to prove that the conception underlying this figure is eclectic; a part is derived from the Twelfth Dynasty, part from work of the time of Tuthmosis III or Amenophis III, and a detail is borrowed from the time of the Aten heresy.² Even, then, were there proof that Ramesses II had erased the name of an earlier Pharaoh on figure No. 61, it would be extremely improbable that the statue was earlier than the end of Tutankhamūn's reign. But since there is no such proof, it is clearly more probable that the figure belongs to the reign of Ramesses II. The figure bears a marked resemblance to the group of red granite statuary in the British Museum,³ especially to the broken figure of Khaemwaset.⁴ Schäfer has pointed out the effects of the 'Amarna period on Nineteenth-Dynasty work,⁵ so very clearly shown in the Turin statue of Ramesses II seated.

These are strong arguments for dating figure No. 61; there is no sound reason for believing that it is earlier than the time of Ramesses II. That it is one of the most important of the neglected works of Egyptian art in the national collection⁶ there can be no doubt, whether the view here stated is accepted or not.

¹ This feature is worthy of note: it is due, I believe, to the fact that the workman, necessarily immediately in front of the head, made the face look right from his position, while receiving instructions from another who made the head look right from the proper distance below. It might be argued that this view is not tenable because monuments and figures are found, ready cut, prone in the quarries at Aswān. But standing and seated figures, as against sarcophagi, may have been roughed out, but cannot have been finished prone; it is not possible to explain how for instance the angles of the channels here discussed could be calculated, they must be observed.

² No account is taken here of the V-shaped groove which can be seen on the right arm just below the shoulder. This groove is to be found on other Nineteenth-Dynasty figures, but not on all, and it appears sporadically in the later dynasties. It also occurs, as it were in embryo, on, for instance, one of the Sesostris III figures in the British Museum, but not on the others. I do not know of any instances in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

³ Although figure No. 61 has been regularly described as of 'red granite', it is not of the red colour which distinguishes certain other monuments of this reign enumerated in the *Introductory Guide*, 366-7, and the stone is certainly not from the same bed.

⁴ See Shorter in *Griffith Studies*, 128-32.

⁵ Schäfer-Andrae, *op. cit.* 205.

⁶ The late Charles Ricketts wrote somewhere that this collection contained only two works of Egyptian art: the head of Amenophis III and one of the lions from Şulb, the rest of the sculpture being quite inferior—a not uncommon error.

SOME SEA-PEOPLES AND OTHERS IN THE HITTITE ARCHIVES

By G. A. WAINWRIGHT

IN seeking for further light on the Sea-peoples mentioned in Egyptian inscriptions of the New Kingdom there has hitherto been only one possibility open to us, and that has been to compare their names with those of classical times, jumping over a period of nearly a thousand years. This comparison has of course been helpful, suggesting as it does that at the time when we meet with them in Egyptian records some of the tribes were coming from the north of the Mediterranean and from Asia Minor, and were in the act of migrating to the homes where they were later to become famous. Such, for instance, have been the Sherden, the Shekelesh, the Peleset, the Aḫaywash, and the Mashwash. But the fact that they were migrating has made it impossible to locate them exactly in Asia Minor, for by classical times many names have been duplicated—usually one in the north-west and another to the south or south-east. Thus, we have Cilicians in the Troad and Cilicians in Cilicia; Pedasos in the Troad and Pedasa in Caria; the well-known country of Lycia on the south coast and the country round the Aesepus River by the Troad which was also called Lycia.¹ At present it is impossible to say which was the place the Sea-raiders started from when we find them harrying Syria and Egypt.

But within recent years the decipherment of the Hittite tablets from Boghaz Keui has begun to open up another line of inquiry. Quite a number of names of the Sea-peoples are to be clearly recognized there, and the evidence from these tablets will be more satisfactory than that from classical times, for the Hittite records are contemporary with the Egyptian, and often show who were the neighbours of the countries in question. These indications will one day enable us to fix their position at the time of their conflicts with the Egyptians. The difficulty of the problem at present is due to the fact that the study of Asianic geography is only in its infancy, and is still utterly chaotic. Thus, Aḫḫiyawā is placed in Cilicia by Mayer and Garstang,² and by Sommer,³ but in Greece by Forrer⁴ and less confidently by Götze,⁵ who later has put it doubtfully in the Troad, while Hrozný⁶ puts it in Rhodes. Forrer originally proposed to put it in Pamphylia, as did E. Meyer, but this has not been accepted.⁷ Similarly the Šeḫa-riverlands, on the position of which much depends, are placed about the Sarus River in Cilicia by Mayer and Garstang,⁸ in Pisidia by Forrer,⁹ and between the Maeander and Hermus Rivers on the borders of Caria and Lydia by Götze.¹⁰ In the course of time no doubt the sites of these regions will be accurately fixed, as

¹ See p. 153 below. There was also Lycaonia between Lycia and Cilicia, but to the north of the Taurus Mountains.

² *British School of Arch. in Jerusalem, 1923, Supplementary Papers, I, Index of Hittite Names*, p. 3.

³ *Die Aḫḫijawā-Urkunden*, p. 327, publ. in *Abh. München, Phil.-hist. Abt.*, 1932.

⁴ *Forschungen*, I, 95.

⁵ In *MVAG 32, Madduwattāš*, p. 53, and *Kleinasien, Map*.

⁶ In *Arch. Orient.* I, 333 ff.

⁷ Kretschmer in *Glotta* 21, pp. 214, 215, 224.

⁸ *Index*, p. 42.

⁹ *Forschungen*, I, pp. 83, 88.

¹⁰ *Kleinasien, Map*.

that of Kizzuwadna has already been.¹ However, it is not necessary to arrive at this happy issue before drawing attention to the names which seem to be identical in both the Egyptian and Hittite records. Unfortunately, however, as will be evident to the reader, the identifications do not yet finally settle the positions of the tribes in question.

From Egyptian sources the names are as follows:

TELL EL-'AMARNAH			
LETTERS	BATTLE OF KADESH	MERENPTAH	RAMESES III
c. 1370 B.C.	c. 1277 B.C.	c. 1220 B.C.	c. 1190 B.C.
Danuna			Dainiuna (<i>dān</i>)
Lukki	Luka (<i>rk</i>)	Luka	
Shirdani	Sherden (<i>šrdn</i>)	Sherden	Sherden
	Pidasa (<i>pds</i>)		
	Dardeny		
	Masa (<i>mś</i>)		
	Ḳarkisha (<i>krkš</i>)		
	Keshkesh		
	Ḳezeweden (<i>kēwdn</i>)		
	Irunena		
	Peleset shown in the sculptures but not named.		Peleset (<i>pršt</i>)
		Aḳaywash (<i>ikywš</i>)	
		Tursha (<i>trš</i>)	Tursha
		Shekelesh (<i>škrš</i>)	Shekelesh
		Meshwesh (<i>mšwš</i>)	Meshwesh
			Thekel (<i>tkr</i>)
			(Zakkaru)
			Weshesh (<i>wšš</i>)

The following is a list of those Egyptian names for which I have found Hittite parallels. A few references are added to each; these make no pretence at being complete, but are merely such as I have been able to find. The writers whose works are referred to do not usually institute comparisons between the Hittite and Egyptian forms, but only study the Hittite names themselves, and give their views as to the positions of the places named. The works referred to are Forrer, *Forschungen*, 1; Friedrich, *Staatsverträge d. Hatti-Reiches* in *MVAG*, 1926; Götze, *Madduwattaš* in *MVAG*, 1927; Mayer and Garstang, *Index of Hittite Names*; Sommer, *Die Aḳḳijavā-Urkunden* in *Abh. München, Phil.-hist. Abt.*, 1932.

<i>Egyptian</i>	<i>Hittite</i>	
Lukki, Luka	Luḳḳā	Sommer, pp. 57, 191 f. Luḳḳā is a near neighbour of Masa and Karkisa.
Pidasa	Pitašša	Friedrich, p. 154, has already made the identification; Götze, p. 153.
Masa	Masa	Mayer and Garstang, p. 33; Forrer, p. 82; Sommer, p. 157. As in the Egyptian, so in the Hittite records it is closely connected with Karkisa.
Ḳarkisha	Karkisa	Forrer, pp. 73-82; Sommer, p. 157. For connexion with Masa see just above. Both are near neighbours of Luḳḳā.

¹ At one time thought to lie on the Black Sea coast, it is now generally accepted as being Cataonia in the mountains north-east of Cilicia, Hrozný in *Arch. Orient.* 7, 162, n. 5; Götze in *AJA* 40, 213.

<i>Egyptian</i>	<i>Hittite</i>	
Keshkesh	Gašgaš	Mayer and Garstang, p. 14. The Gašgaš were very well known, and the Keshkesh may not have been so unimportant as might be thought, for Ramesses II states that he took many prisoners from them, see Petrie, <i>Koptos</i> , Pl. xviii, Fig. 1, l. 5, and p. 15.
Ḳezeweden	Kizzuwadna	Hrozný in <i>Arch. Orient.</i> 7, 162, n. 5; Götze in <i>AJA</i> 40, 213.
Aḳaywash	Aḫḫiyawā	Mayer and Garstang, p. 3; Sommer, pp. 350 ff., specially pp. 358 ff.; Kretschmer in <i>Glotta</i> 21, 213–57.
Tursha	Taruiša	Sommer, pp. 362 ff.
	Tarša	Hrozný, <i>loc. cit.</i> ; Götze, <i>loc. cit.</i>

Comparison with the table on p. 149 above shows that practically all the Egyptian names recognizable in the Hittite records are those of the allies of the Hittites against Ramesses II at Kadesh. The Lukki, or Luka, however, are recorded not only there, but also in the Tell el-'Amarnah letters a hundred years earlier, and yet again fifty years later in Merenptah's reign. The only other tribes who do not appear at Kadesh are the Aḳaywash, who attacked Merenptah, and the Tursha who attacked not only him, but also Ramesses III a generation later.

Moreover, it is strange that some of the tribes who are most prominent in Egyptian records do not seem to appear at all in the Hittite records. These are primarily the Sherden and the Peleset. The Sherden, whose importance greatly outweighs that of any of the others, were fighting in great numbers both for and against Egypt during some two hundred years. The Peleset, Philistines of the Bible, were late in coming in force. Although Ramesses II shows a few as being at Kadesh¹ he does not mention them by name, nor yet does Merenptah, and it was not until Ramesses III's reign that they became conspicuous. But at that time they were very important.

The others who are not mentioned by the Hittites are the less prominent Shekelesh and Meshwesh, and finally the Thekel (Zakkaru) and Weshesh. The Shekelesh and Meshwesh only appear as fighting against Merenptah and Ramesses III, while the Thekel (Zakkaru) and Weshesh are later still, only being mentioned as fighting against Ramesses III. Though almost all the races allied against Ramesses II at Kadesh are recognizable in their Hittite guise, there is one that is not. This is the Dardeny, which however seems to have been a quite unimportant tribe, for the name does not occur under any other Pharaoh. The Danuna are a curious tribe. If, as is highly probable, they are the same as the Dainiuna, then they are only mentioned in the Tell el-'Amarnah Letters and by Ramesses III. Thus, they appear only at the beginning and end of the migrations, and do not seem to be mentioned at all in the Hittite correspondence.

There remains Irunena (Iruna), also read Maunena. The Hittite letters and treaties shed no light upon either of these readings. As the first has often been compared to Ilios, it is interesting to note that the Hittites had relations with a land, the name of which has also been compared with Ilios. It is, however, almost as uncertain as Irunena itself, and in any case is very different from it. In fact, if it were proved to be Ilios, it would be strong evidence that Irunena was not. The Hittite name of this country is Wiluša, which, it has been thought, may have produced *Ἰλιος* through a form *Fἰλιος*.² If it did, the absence of

¹ Ros llini, *Mon. storici*, Pl. civ.

² Kretschmer in *Glotta* 13, 205 ff. The name of the king of Wiluša was Alakšanduš, and this he would identify with Alexander-Paris of Ilios. This, however, leads to difficulties, for he accepts Wiluša as being near Cilicia on the south coast (p. 207) and Alakšanduš as a Luvian name (p. 206), and Luvian was the language of the south coast, whereas Ilios was on the north-west coast. But see further *Id.*, *Glotta* 18,

anything like a *F* from the Egyptian word would make the identification of Irunena and Ilion impossible. Troy, however, offers another comparison which is perhaps interesting. This is with the Egyptian Tursha and the Hittite Taruiša, for each of these without the ethnic *-sha* leaves something superficially like *Τροία*. Certainly on one occasion at least *ta-ru-i-ša* and *ú-i-lu-ši-ia* are mentioned together.¹ But then Wiluša is almost certainly on the south coast of Asia Minor, not on the north-west; in the next paragraph but one another identification is offered for the Egyptian Tursha.

Thus, at present we may divide the Sea-peoples of the Egyptian records into those who were known to the Hittite world, and those who were outside it. Those with whom the Hittites had dealings have already been listed, and naturally were mostly their allies at Kadesh. Those who came from beyond their horizon were the Danuna or Dainiuna, Sherden, Dardeny, Irunena (Maunena), Shekelesh, Meshwesh, Peleset, Thekel (Zakkaru) and Weshesh. With the exception of the Thekel and Weshesh all had appeared before the reign of Rameses III; that is before the time when Boghaz Keui was taken and the records of the Hittite Empire came to an end. They ought, therefore, to have figured in these records if the Hittites had had dealings with them, but, as they do not so figure, it is legitimate to suppose that they had no political connexion with the Hittites. On the other hand some may have been omitted as being too unimportant. This may even have been the case with the Peleset, for they do not become important until Ramesses III's reign, that is to say at the time of the fall of Boghaz Keui. Before then their numbers in the Levant had been negligible, as is shown by the picture of the garrison at Kadesh. But this possibility does not apply to the Sherden, for they had been conspicuous for some two hundred years.

The division of the peoples into those who are mentioned by both the Egyptians and the Hittites, and those who are not, reveals an interesting fact. Apart from the Lukki or Luka and the Hittites' allies at Kadesh, the only peoples common to Egyptian and Hittite records are the Aḳaywash and the Tursha. It is noteworthy that they both come into conflict with Merenptah. The Aḳaywash are recognized by every one to be the Achaeans, and the Aḥḥiyawā of the Hittites are also recognized as being in some way the Achaeans. It has been seen that the Egyptian Tursha might represent the Hittite Taruiša. There is, however, another possibility which may perhaps be more plausible in itself, and certainly has the advantage of apparently bringing the Tursha and Aḳaywash together again. It is that the Tursha (*trš*) may equally well or better represent the Hittite *Tar-ša* which, being named with *Adaniya* on the borders of Kizzuwadna, is almost certainly Tarsus in Cilicia.² This being so, it becomes an interesting fact that a number of scholars wish to place Aḥḥiyawā in Cilicia,³ and that the Cilicians were anciently called Hypachaeans.⁴ Thus it may well be that the Tursha of the Egyptian monuments were the people of Tarsus, rather

161 ff.; Sommer, *Aḥḥiyawāfrage und Sprachwissenschaft*, pp. 54–6 (*Abh. München, Phil.-hist. Abt.*, Neue Folge, Heft 9, 1934). Attempts have been made to identify Wiluša with many places; the island of Elaeusa off the Cilician coast or Ialysos in Rhodes (Mayer and Garstang, *Index of Hittite Names*, p. 48), Elaeusa (Forrer, *Forschungen*, I, 78 f.), or Ilios (Sommer, *Die Aḥḥiyawā-Urkunden*, cf. pp. 362 ff., but see further p. 370).

¹ Sommer, *op. cit.*, 362–4, but see further p. 370. But see also Kretschmer in *Glotta* 18, 167 f.

² The two together can hardly be other than the neighbouring cities of Tarsus and Adana, Hrozný in *Arch. Orient.* 7, 162, n. 5; Götzte in *AJA* 40, 213.

³ Mayer and Garstang, *Index*, 3; Sommer, *Die Aḥḥiyawā-Urkunden*, 327, 359 and n. 1, pp. 375, 376–9; Kretschmer, *Die Hypachäer in Glotta* 21, 213–57. But see Sommer, *Aḥḥiyawāfrage und Sprachwissenschaft*, though his concern is whether the Hyp-achaeans were Greeks or not, rather than the situation of Aḥḥiyawā in the land of the Hyp-achaeans, *i.e.* Cilicia.

⁴ Herodotus, vii, 91. Sommer, *Die Aḥḥiyawā-Urkunden*, 359, n. 1, supposes the name to mean 'lowland Achaeans', but Kretschmer 'mixed Achaeans', see *Glotta* 21, 222; 24, 203 ff.

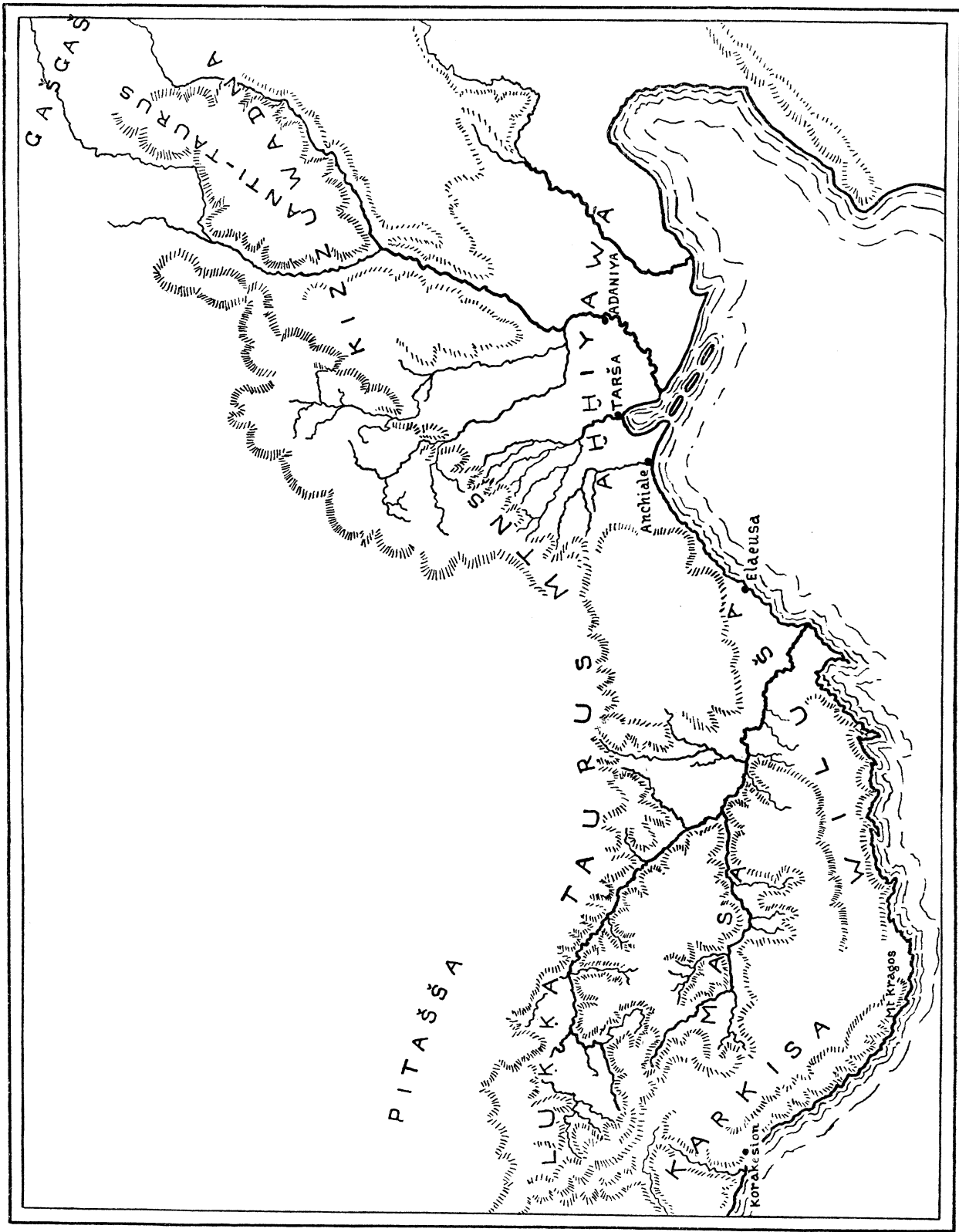


Fig. 1. South-eastern Asia Minor from the Hittite Records.

than the people of Troy. If so, they are hardly likely to be the Tyrsenoi or Etruscans, as has often been thought. In any case there has always been a chronological difficulty in the way of the Etruscan identification.

It will, of course, be only too plain to the reader that certainty is as yet far from attainable. But for the present I would point out that opinion tends to give our tribes, whom we seem able to trace in the Hittite records, positions along the south of Asia Minor, and often on the coast. The pros and cons of the various positions proposed are not discussed here, as they are outside the competence of Egyptologists. The accompanying list and map (Fig. 1) offer only a selection of the possibilities put forward by those whose special study this subject is. Other suggestions place Aḥḥiyawā at the western end of the row in Pamphylia¹ or even at Rhodes, and Pitašša at the eastern end in Cataonia. Such changes, however, do not alter the main point, which is that the Hittite allies at Kadesh, and such other invaders of Egypt's borders as we can recognize in the Hittite records, form a compact group along the Taurus and Anti-Taurus Mountains. For what it is worth the selection is Luḳḳā (Lukki) in Isauria (Forrer), Pitašša (Pidasa) in Lycaonia (Götze, p. 153), Masa (Masa) on the Calycadnus River in western Cilicia (Forrer), Karkisa (*Krkš*) on the coast of western Cilicia about Korakesion and Mount Kragos (Forrer), Tarša (Tursha) at Tarsus in eastern Cilicia (Hrozný and Götze), Aḥḥiyawā (Aḥaywash) also in eastern Cilicia (Mayer and Garstang; Sommer, p. 359, n. 1; Kretschmer), Kizzuwadna (*Kezeweden*) to the north-east of Cilicia (Hrozný, Götze, and others), and Gašgaš (*Kškš*) farther again to the north-east and to the east of the Anti-Taurus Mountains (Mayer and Garstang).

At the time when the tribes appear in the Hittite and Egyptian records they were evidently living about the Taurus and Anti-Taurus Mountains, and largely on the southern coastlands of Asia Minor. No doubt it was from there that they set out for Syria and Egypt. But we do not yet know whether they had always been there, or whether they came there from elsewhere, and if so, when or whence. Actually it is probable that some at least had come at an earlier date from the extreme north-west of the sub-continent. The Lycians are a case in point. At the Trojan War there were two branches of them: one was from the Xanthus River in Lycia and was led by Sarpedon;² the other was from the Aesepus River by the Troad and was led by Lykaon's glorious son, Pandaros.³ It is clear that the main body of Lycians had fled from the Troad a long time before the Trojan War (1193–1183 B.C.), for by that time the name of an adjacent river had been changed. By the beginning of the twelfth century it was called Scamander, and its original name, Xanthus, had become only a memory belonging to the days of old, when the gods had walked the earth.⁴ The Lycians, however, took the old name with them, and called the chief river of their new home Xanthus, which name it kept right down to classical days. As a matter of fact they had evidently fled some two hundred years before the Trojan War, and this with a change of population would have given time for the old name of the river to have gone out of common use. For if the Lukki, who were already raiding the Syrian coast in Tell el-'Amarnah times, were the same as the Lycians, these people would already have got as far as Lycia and much farther by about 1370 B.C. They were some of the first to feel the urge to migrate, and had evidently settled down in their new home before the time of Ramesses III and the fall of the Hittite Empire. They had ceased from troubling Egypt after the time of Merenptah, c. 1220 B.C.

¹ For references see Kretschmer in *Glotta* 21, pp. 214, 215, 224.

² *Il.*, ii, 876–7; v, 479; xii, 312–13.

³ *Il.*, ii, 825–7; iv, 89–91; v, 105, 173. See also Phythian-Adams in *Bull. Brit. School of Arch. in Jerusalem* 1, *Hittite and Trojan Allies*, p. 4.

⁴ *Il.*, xx, 74, says of it 'whom gods call Xanthus, and men Scamander'.

HARVEST RITES IN A THEBAN TOMB

BY N. M. AND N. DE G. DAVIES¹

THE tomb in question (No. 284) is one of those excavated by Dr. Fisher for the University of Philadelphia, all of which are still unpublished. It belonged to one Paḥomneter (𓂏𓂏𓂏), 'scribe of the god's offerings of the divine lords of Thebes', with a wife named Bekwerel (? 𓂏𓂏𓂏) and a father Ra'ꜣ (𓂏𓂏𓂏). These names may carry us as far down as Ramesses III. The tomb has either suffered a change or been usurped, for the walls have been stripped of their original plaster except at the corners in the axis, where the plaster has been merely overlaid. Two antechambers have been added in front of the original façade, that nearest the tomb having paintings on both the walls and the vault. Between them is a very narrow vaulted passage. The original tomb consisted of a small and low transverse chamber and a still smaller one beyond this; the latter has a niche at the back of it with a bench for rock statues. The tomb is very roughly hewn; boulders protrude from the walls and ceiling. Its paintings have no merit and the hieroglyphs are difficult to decipher, the more so as the tomb has been thoroughly burnt.

The scene shown on Pls. xviii, xix, occupies the upper parts of the north side of the wall of entrance (east) and of the east end of the adjacent (north) wall. A small amount has been lost near the entrance (on the right) and there is a considerable gap at the end of this wall. Though the scene is obviously continuous, no care has been taken to set either the base-lines of the two pictures, or the red bands of decoration above them, in line with one another.

A striking feature of the rite depicted is that it takes place in two enclosures surrounded by crenellated walls (yellowish-white?). Outside this on the right is the fragment of a tree, so perhaps the lost part showed a planted approach. The outer enclosure, or compound, entered by a large door, contains in one corner (the other is lost) a little building,² but is otherwise empty, though at the moment it is occupied by a religious procession in which the barks of Mūt and Khons, identified by the figure-heads which are placed at the prow and stern,³ and the larger bark of Amūn (lost except for the porters in the rear) are being carried towards the farther enclosure. These sacred emblems were probably being met by a large figure of Paḥomneter and by a crowd of his male subordinates, divided into two registers, of which only the lower one is extant. Each of the smaller barks is borne on poles by sixteen porters of the inferior clergy, marked by their white shoulder-sashes, now scarcely visible. The priest of the shrine walks by its side in his robe of skin, and a colleague in front of the bark of Khons turns back to cense it. The device containing the signs *wsr* and *stp* scrawled on the curtain of the shrines may possibly be an imperfect writing of the

¹ My wife's name is given precedence here, not merely from politeness, but because this record is due entirely to her initiative in making a study, and later a tracing, of one of the least attractive of the many ritual representations which can still be deciphered in the later tombs of Dirā' abu'l-Naga. Her attention was drawn to this one in particular because it seemed to her to be a late instance of a rite which I had noted in the *Bull. MMA* for Nov. 1929, Sect. II, p. 41. It appears at least to be akin, and in any case is well worth this brief notice.—N. de G. D.

² The door has red slats, and perhaps a design above it.

³ The falcon's head aft seems to wear the disk of the moon, not of the sun.



HARVEST RITES IN A THEBAN TOMB

From East Wall (Scale 1:5)

↑ gap of 29 inches

name of Ramesses II. Bouquets and stems of papyrus fill all the spaces, but are held by no one—a Ramesside mannerism.

The inner enclosure (north wall) shows the institution which is honoured by this visit of the gods. It is a granary, perhaps that of the temple of Karnak and therefore the chief concern of the scribe of the commissariat of the gods of Thebes. A main door and a small postern connect the two buildings.¹ The contents of the granary are shown by sixteen heaps of grain, held in by a low parapet, whether circular or square in shape. As the enclosure is not roofed, birds have access to it and have to be chased away by the personnel. The compartments are arranged in side rows and the centre space is left free. At the far end is the invariable adjunct of a granary, the porticoed shrine of the goddess Renenewtet, mistress of victuals. Two images of her in serpent form are there, before which offerings might be laid. The rite taking place in front of this shrine is poorly preserved, but apparently records a ceremonial visit of the king and queen, though their attendance, like that of the gods, seems to be by proxy, if indeed statues in Egypt ought to be considered as ranking inferior to the actual person. The figure of the queen dominates the scene, as if her sex-kinship to the tutelary deity gave her an advantage. The base on which she stands seems to indicate a statue, holding a sistrum in one extended hand and a tray of food in the other. The *podium* on her head indicates royal rank, else the word 'chantress' which the lost text seems to contain would have suggested Bekwerel. Two officials stand before her in a respectful attitude, and a stand of food indicates that she is the recipient of offerings as well as the profferer—perhaps the transmitter. The presence of the king is a matter of a little doubt, but a tiny image of him is almost certainly to be seen high up near the door with a ceremonial bouquet in front of it; it seems to be borne in by one or more carriers. Two figures bend before it, and there is a heap of grain in front of them over which a libation is just possibly being made.² This action makes the presence of the king's figure on the other side of the heap the more certain.

The absence of texts prevents us from learning the exact nature of the ceremonial, but the presence of the king and queen seems to prove that it is more than an inspection of the yearly income of grain by the gods of Thebes, and amounts to an acknowledgement that the blessing of the harvest, although the annual gift of the gods to Egypt, was mediated by royalty. It may not be without reference to this scene that the adjoining picture on the left (north wall) shows Paḥomneter and his wife adoring a female deity →, crowned with disk, tall feathers, and long horns. The end of a tail betrays the fact that she had a serpent's body, probably in the same form as in the granary scene. Behind her are two trees and a bouquet(?). I have not been able to decipher her name.

The other contents of the tomb are, briefly:

South thickness: the pair ← adoring Rē^c.

North thickness: the pair → going out.

East wall, northern half. *Upper scene* as described above. *Lower scene:* the pair ← in the funeral bark, accompanied by a *ba*-soul. P. disembarks ← and adores Osiris and two goddesses.

North wall. *Upper scene* as described. *Lower scene:* the pair ← adore a large naos, the abode of sixty-two gods.

¹ The large door has very confused outlines. It is probably quite regular, its cornice reaching up to the base-line above.

² I could not see the heaps of grain quite as shown, and the feet of the figures facing one another on the right are a little doubtful.—N. de G. D.

West wall, north half. Upper scene: a figure of the owner is weighed against Truth by Thōth and Anubis. Horus → addresses Osiris. *Lower scene:* the pair → in a booth have offerings consecrated to them. P. → is purified. The pair ← receive food from the tree-goddess.

West wall, south half. Upper scene: P. ← greets the images of a king borne in a palanquin and a queen in a sedan chair. P. → adores a shrine (of Sokar?). *Lower scene:* a priest consecrates offerings to the pair →. A similar rite in the opposite direction.

South wall. Upper scene: the pair ← adore Rē-Ḥarakhti, Anubis, Thōth, and three goddesses.

East wall, south half. Upper scene: the pair ← adore an object now lost. P. → adores about forty royal figures ← standing in two rows. In the upper row are five queens,¹ a prince, a commoner(?) in flowing gown, six princes, three princesses. In the lower row are one queen, three kings, seven queens, two princes, seven princesses. Princes and princesses have side-locks and the former carry *hk*-staves. The kings and queens have cartouches, but in no case, perhaps, can they be read with certainty. The three last figures in each row are on the south wall.

Lower scene (continued on the south wall). Funeral procession. Men → carry the chest (with jars of the viscera?), and others carry the bier on their shoulders. Nevertheless two teams of cattle precede it, as if dragging. The *teknu* (a crouching bundle with head protruding) is dragged by two men. Mourning women and men with caskets hung from yokes precede it. A priest consecrates offerings placed before two bearded mummies supported by a man ←. A tall pyramidal tomb with a stela before it.

The ceiling has a broad central band along its length, occupied by vignettes of P. worshipping such deities as the heron, *akeru*, &c. On each side of this is a long text in columns, partly legible.

INNER ROOM

East wall, north side: the pair ← are purified.

North wall: the pair ← offer to Osiris and a cow-headed goddess within a naos.

South wall, and east wall, south side: the meal of the dead; guests → seated.

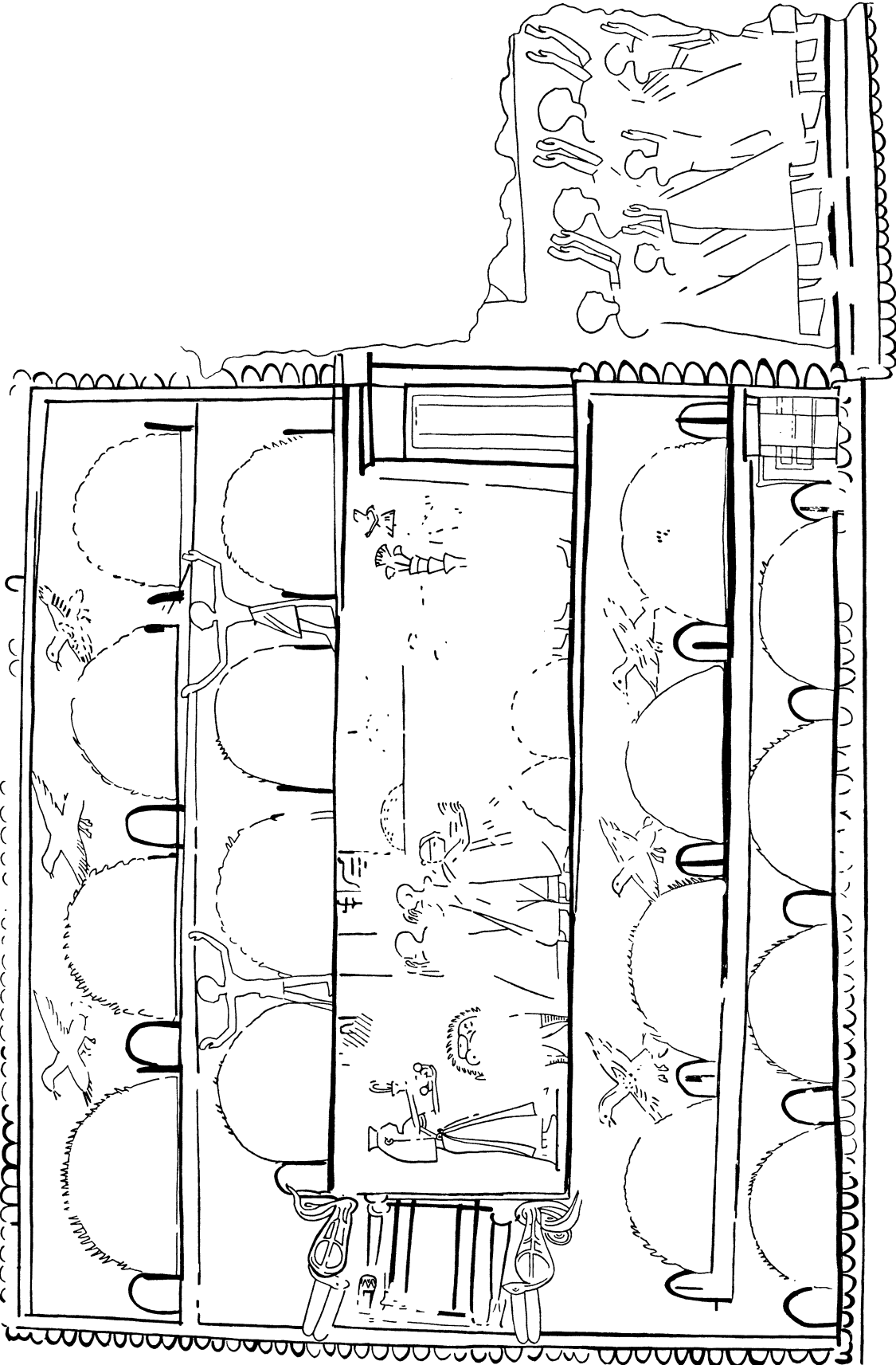
The door-framing has the customary texts. The ceiling is roughly domed. On the coved space above the scenes P. worships various divinities. On the flattened dome are four panels of patterns.

Niche. On the south and north walls the pair are seated at a meal which a priest is consecrating.

The scenes are thus all commonplace, with the exception of the row of royalties (*cf.* tombs 7, 10, 299 and *ll*) and the late appearance of the *teknu* (*cf.* Tombs 36, 41).

¹ Four figures are missing in front of these, but two of them (kings) are preserved on a fallen fragment.

↓ gap of 29 inches



HARVEST RITES IN A THEBAN TOMB
From adjacent North Wall (Scale 1:5)

STELAE IN THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

BY PAUL C. SMITHER AND ALEC N. DAKIN

THE five stelae which are the subject of this article have been in the possession of The Queen's College, Oxford, for nearly a hundred years, for it was in 1841 that they came to the College together with a large number of other objects, under the will of the Rev. Robert Mason. The title of the old inventory of this collection runs as follows: 'Queen's College Oxford. A List of the collection of . Egyptian Etruscan . Greek . Roman British and other Antiquities Form,d by the Late Rev^d Robert Mason D..D.. From the collections of Messrs. Belzoni Salt . Burton . Millengen & Others. 1822 . to . 1839.' Our five stelae are listed as 'Paintings on Stone—5'. As this appears to be the only record of them, it cannot be ascertained which of the early collectors brought them from Egypt. But a companion to No. 1 is now in the British Museum, and two other stelae which were made for the same persons as our Nos. 2 and 3 are now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Stuttgart. All eight doubtless originally came from Abydos.

We are greatly indebted to the Provost and Fellows of The Queen's College for permission to publish these monuments, and to Prof. Gunn for suggesting this work and for a number of helpful criticisms. Stelae Nos. 1 and 2 are here dealt with by Smither, and Nos. 3, 4, and 5 by Dakin.

No. 1

Catalogue No. 1109.¹ Round-topped stela of white limestone (Pl. xx, 1); height, 49 cm.; width, 30 cm.; present thickness, 3·2 cm.² The figure of the man and the hieroglyphs are boldly incised, and although there is no attempt to render interior detail, the forms of the signs and their grouping are on the whole good. There are no traces of paint. It may be dated to the end of the Twelfth or to the Thirteenth Dynasty. The inscription is a copy of the well-known hymn to Osiris, edited by Selim Hassan in *Hymnes religieux du Moyen Empire*, 5 ff.³

The most interesting feature of the stela is its very close resemblance to another one now in the British Museum (Reg. No. 243).⁴ Both were made for the same man, a certain Khentekhtayemhêt, and their dimensions appear to have been the same.⁵ The following differences have, however, been noted. On the British Museum stone the wig and skirt of the man are modelled differently, there is no framing-line before him, and he occupies a rectangular space to the left of ll. 5–9, instead of ll. 4–9 as on our stela. The line-to-line arrangement of the text and the grouping of some of the signs also vary. But on the whole

¹ The numbers are those of the manuscript catalogue of The Queen's College Egyptian antiquities recently compiled by Mr. and Mrs. Philippus Miller.










² Like Nos. 2 and 3, it has clearly been sawn down in modern times.

³ Cf. also Sethe, *Lesest.*, 64 (d). For a translation see Erman, *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (Eng. transl. by Blackman), 145.

⁴ Published in *Hierogl. Texts BM*, iv, Pl. 31, and designated by the letter B in Selim Hassan's comparative edition.

⁵ The bottom of the British Museum stela is broken off, but originally it must have been of about the same height as the one at The Queen's College.

the two texts agree very closely, and even such abnormal writings as those of *hprw* in l. 10, and *mrwt* in l. 11, are shared by both inscriptions. All the important deviations of the British Museum text, the original of which has been collated with the publication, will be pointed out below. But the most striking distinction between the two is in the workmanship, and this perhaps supplies a clue to this unusual duplication. For the execution of the British Museum stela is altogether much coarser and cruder, and some individual signs are very badly formed. The two stones can hardly have been intended to stand opposite one another, as the figure of the man faces the same way in each case. Is it not possible that Khentekhtayemḥēt, having had the British Museum stela made for him, was dissatisfied with its inferior appearance, and ordered the work to be done again by a better craftsman? This seems to be perhaps the most likely explanation.

Before proceeding to the translation, it may be worth while to give here some important corrections to the British Museum publication.¹ L. 11, the second sign is  (*shṃ*); at the end read . L. 13 begins . L. 14,  should stand in place of . L. 15, in lacuna before , traces of . L. 16, the upper part of , and  after *kmz* are clear. L. 16 was not, as indicated on the plate, the last line of the stela; when complete it probably contained the same amount of text as the one at The Queen's College.

THE INSCRIPTION








In the notes to the translation Q refers to the Queen's College stela No. 1, and the other letters are those used by Selim Hassan, *op. cit.*, 5 (B= BM Reg. No. 243).

(1) Hymn to Osiris. (2) Recitation. The room-attendant of the chamber of *hnkt*-offerings, Khent-(3)ekhtayemḥēt, justified,² says:

'Hail to thee, O Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners,
 (4) On this happy day on which thou hast arisen!
 Lord of the Two Horns, (5) high of Atef-crown,
 Lord of fear, great of dignity,
 Who hast been given the Wereret-crown (6) within Heracleopolis,
 Fear of whom Rēc has inspired,
 (7) And reverence³ for whom Atūm has created,
 In⁴ the hearts of men, (8) gods,⁵ the blessed, and the dead;
 Whose manifestation (*bz*) has been placed in Mendes,
 And whose dignity (9) is in Heracleopolis,
 Whose divine image has been placed in Heliopolis,
 (10) Great of mode-of-existence⁶ in Busiris,
 Lord of fear in Yatey,⁷
 Greatly dreaded in (11) Rostaw,

¹ I have to thank the Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities for allowing me to examine the original.



² B omits 'justified'.

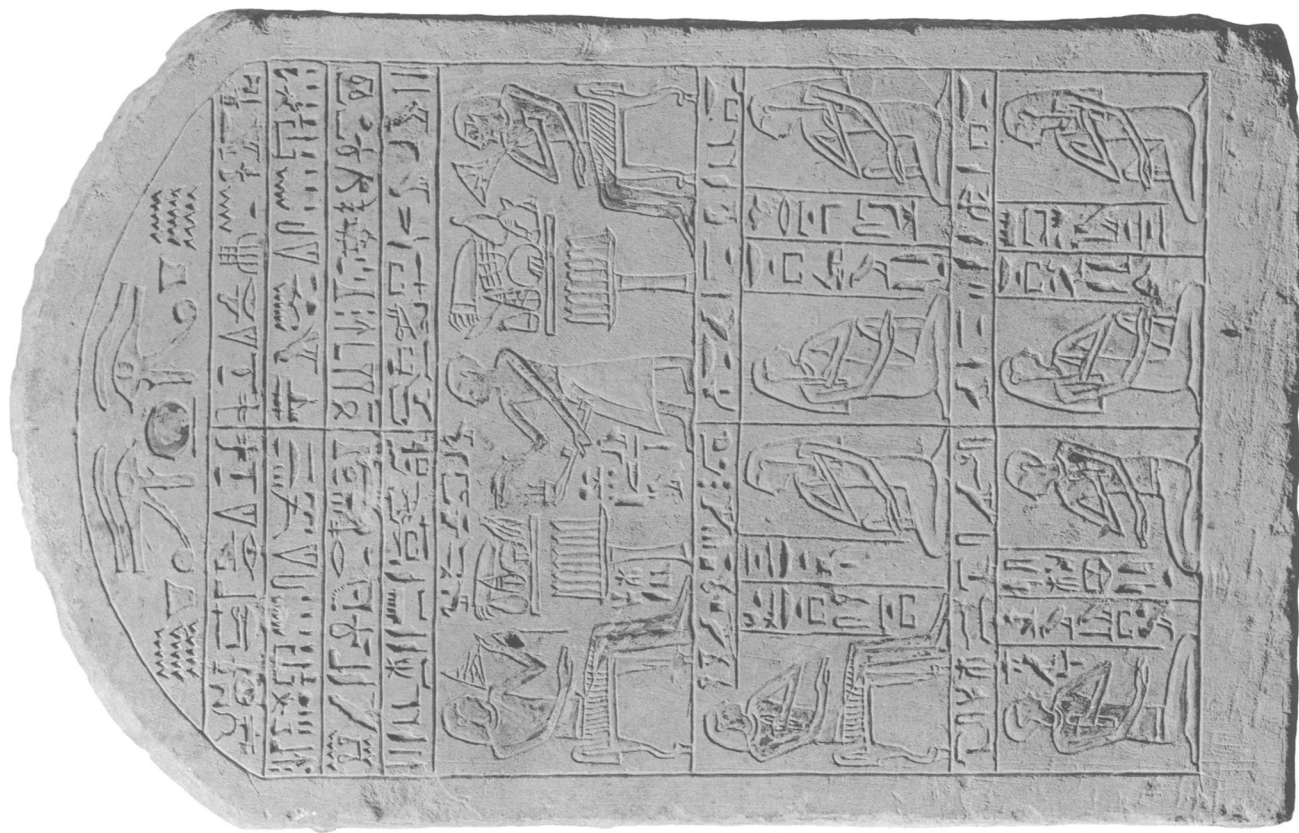
³ B has  (as also C, K), while Q has  with A, E, F, J, L. This is therefore good evidence that  must sometimes be read *šfšft*, and not always *šfyt* as is usually assumed. Elsewhere in this text (ll. 5. 8. 16. 17) Q, A, B, all of the Middle Kingdom, have , or , where later texts have mostly . None of the versions has .

⁴ This clause modifies both the verbs 'inspired' and 'created'.

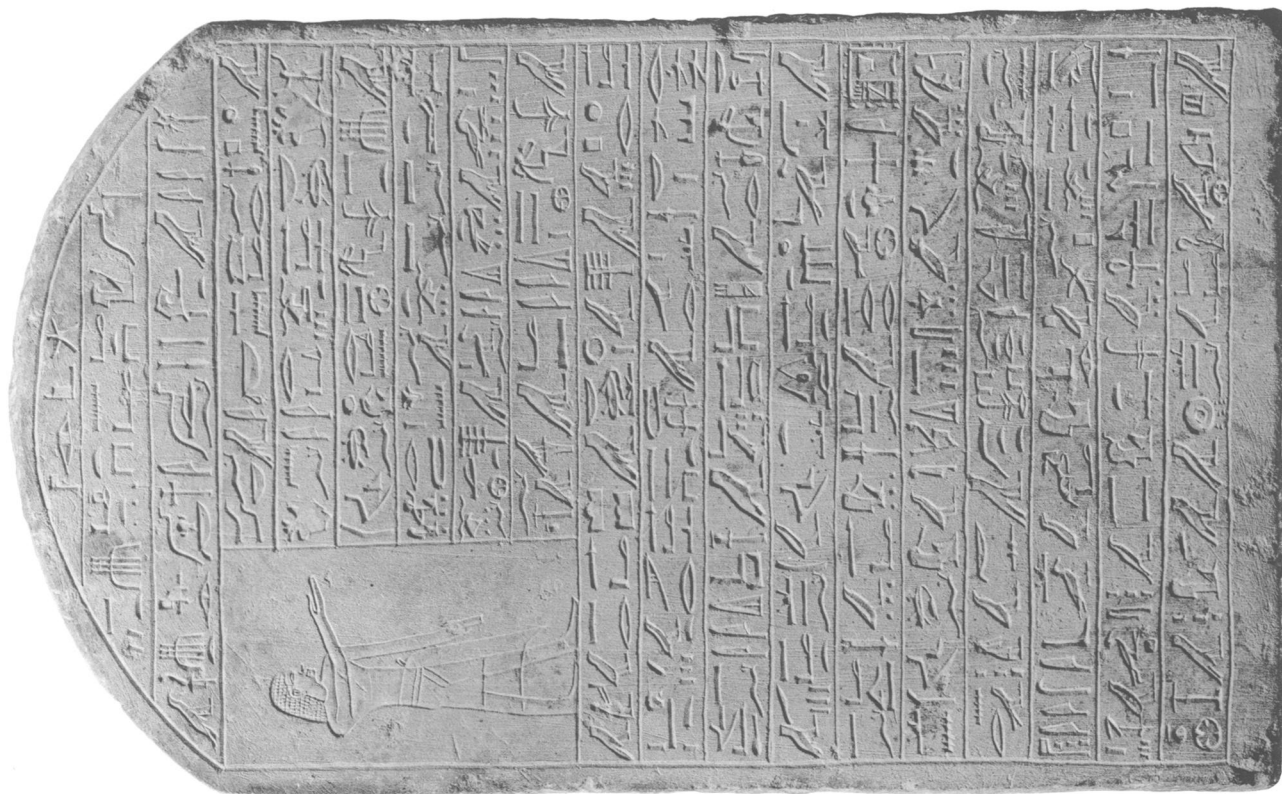
⁵ B omits 'gods' in error.

⁶ B and Q agree in having this abnormal writing of *hprw*.

⁷ Both B and Q appear to have , but the parallels show that the signs should be . *lty* is doubtless a specific place-name and not a general term 'The Two Regions'.



2



1

STELAE IN THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD (1, 2).

Lord of great power in the Tjenenet,¹
 Greatly beloved² upon earth,
 (12) Lord of good remembrance in the palace,
 Great of appearances in Abydos,
 Who has been given justification³ (13) before Gēb and the entire Great Ennead,
 Veneration for whom was created in (14) the Hall which is in Her-wer,
 Whom the Great Powers dread,
 For whom (15) the Elders have risen from their mats,⁴
 Fear of whom Shu has inspired,⁵
 And reverence for whom (16) Tefēnet has created;⁶
 To whom the Two Shrines, Southern and Northern, have come, bowing down
 Because of the greatness (17) of the fear of thee, and the magnitude of the reverence for thee.
 Such is Osiris, the Heir of Gēb,⁷
 Sovereign of the Gods,
 (18) Power of heaven,
 Prince of the living,
 King of those who are (yonder),⁸
 Whom thousands glorify (19) in Kher^caḥa,
 And at whom the sun-folk in Heliopolis rejoice.⁹

No. 2

Catalogue No. 1111. Round-topped limestone stela (Pl. xx, 2); height, 45 cm.; width, 29 cm.; present thickness, 2.5 cm.¹⁰ It is of a type common during the latter part of the Twelfth Dynasty and in the Second Intermediate Period. The hieroglyphs, figures of the men and women, and the offerings, etc., are all roughly incised. The workmanship is rather mediocre.

The following traces of paint remain:—Reddish-brown: interior of \bigcirc in the lunette, flesh of male figures, offerings. Green: ring of \bigcirc in lunette, the two offering-mats. Yellow: women's flesh, slices of bread, some other offerings, censer. The bands of inscription were covered with a yellow wash. Traces of a dark paint, perhaps blue, are preserved in a few signs.

Some of the more important persons mentioned on this stela are also recorded on another, which must have come from the same workshop and which is now in Stuttgart. It is No. 3 in Spiegelberg-Pörtner, *Aeg. Grab- u. Denksteine aus südd. Sammlungen*, I, Pl. 2.

INSCRIPTIONS

(a) Below the lunette,¹¹ the four horizontal lines on the left read: (1) *An offering which the king gives to Osiris, the Great God, the Lord of Abydos, and to Wepwawet*, (2) *Lord of the*

¹ The shrine of Sokaris near Memphis.

² Both B and Q have \searrow as determinative of *mrwt*. It probably stands for \bigcirc *wt*, which is sometimes used as a phonetic det. in *mrwt*, e.g., *Hammámât* (ed. Couyat-Montet), No. 110, l. 8; No. 191, l. 7; *Hierogl. Texts BM*, I, 55, 9. 10. 14; Louvre C 15, (x+)7.

³ B has apparently $\overline{\text{---}}$, but the signs are very badly made.

⁴ Q has a very strange sign as det. of *tmrw* 'mats'. B has a lacuna at this point. All other texts have rightly \dagger .

⁵ Lit. 'given', as in l. 6.

⁶ The remainder of B is lost.

⁷ 'Son of Nut' (C); 'Heir of Nu' (E, L); A omits this phrase.

⁸ Emend *n ntyw* <*im*> with all other texts.

⁹ Both Q and L end here. For the continuation of the hymn see Selim Hassan, *op. cit.*, 61 ff.

¹⁰ The back has been sawn off in modern times.

¹¹ The pair of eyes in the lunette is perhaps to be read *ptr*; see Blackman in *JEA* 21, 2, n. 3.

Sacred Land, that they may give funerary offerings of bread, beer, oxen, fowl,¹ and incense, (3) unguent, and every good and pure thing on which a god lives, to the spirit of (4) the superintendent of the great store-house, Ameny born of Bebi, justified. The right-hand inscription reads: (1) *An offering which the king gives to Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the Lord of Abydos, (2) and to Min-Hornakht, that they may give funerary offerings of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, (3) alabaster (jars), linen, incense, unguent, and the sweet breath of life to the spirit (4) of the superintendent of the great store-house, Yembew, justified.*

(b) First Register. The seated man on the left is doubtless the Ameny mentioned in l. 4 of the inscription immediately above his head. The man standing and making offering to him is *his son the superintendent of provisioning, Yembew, justified, born of Bebi.*² The man seated on the right will be the Yembew named in l. 4 of the inscription above him.

(c) Second Register. Seated on the left is *the overseer of coppersmiths, Ptahpewwah.* Kneeling opposite to him in the same compartment is *his wife, the lady of the house Sehenet, justified, possessor of honour.* The kneeling woman facing right is *the lady of the house Bebi, justified, possessor of honour.* Facing her is *the lady of the house Yewyet.*³ As her name occupies only one line, the sculptor has found room for the name of *the master of the tem, Sonb,* but there is no figure of him.

(d) Third Register. On the extreme left is the kneeling figure of a man who is called *the sfz,*⁴ *Senbefney, born of Senebsiem'ai.* Facing him is *the attendant of the warehouse, Khemi,*⁵ *born of Hebyet.*⁶ Above the head of the woman who faces right is written *the lady of the house Iyey,*⁷ *justified,* and before her *the lady of the house Satyey.* The one figure thus does duty for two persons.⁸ Lastly, on the extreme right is *the nurse*⁹ *'Amet,*¹⁰ *justified.*

We have already remarked on the close resemblance of this stela to one now in Stuttgart; not only the workmanship but also the lay-out of the inscriptions and figures is similar. A number of names are common to both, and they must clearly have belonged to the same family. There are some persons mentioned on the Queen's College stela who are not found on the Stuttgart stone, but as with one exception their relationships are not given they cannot be added to the genealogical tree constructed in Spiegelberg-Pörtner, *op. cit.*, 2. The exception is that the husband of Sehenet¹¹ is now known to be the overseer of coppersmiths Ptahpewwah (second register of our stela).

No. 3

Catalogue No. 1110. Round-topped limestone stela (Pl. xxi, 3); height, 48.5 cm.; width, 29.5 cm.; present thickness, 3.3 cm.¹² The execution of the scenes (in sunk relief)

¹ Written $\frac{\text{sfz}}{\text{O}} \frac{\text{?}}{\text{I}}$, as also on the Stuttgart stela. The two top signs are to be read first, as \circ (a cake) determines *all* the food offerings. An Old-Kingdom example of this use is Leps., *Dkm.*, II, 101, a (two examples). Later occurrences are rare. The form --- , however, is not uncommonly used in the same way in the Middle Kingdom, e.g., Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pls. 24, 33.

² The words 'born of Bebi' are reversed and added between the seated figure of Ameny and the offering-table, but that they must refer to Yembew is clear from the Stuttgart stela. ³ Not known to Ranke.

⁴ Such a title is otherwise unknown. *Sfz* might, therefore, really be an element in the man's name, i.e. *Sfz-snb-f-n-i*, but this has not been found elsewhere. The reading *sftyw* for *sfz* is also possible.

⁵ The determinative is merely an abnormal form of --- .

⁶ Not known to Ranke. The name perhaps means 'the festive one', see *Wb.*, III, 60 (12).

⁷ Known to Ranke only as a man's name.

⁸ A similar arrangement was noticed above in the second register.

⁹ The determinative of *mn't* should be --- , but the sign has additions borrowed from some form of --- , similarly in Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker*, 27, 4 as det. of *mndw* (breasts). ¹⁰ 'The Palestinian'.

¹¹ Wrongly read by Spiegelberg-Pörtner as *Sšnt*.

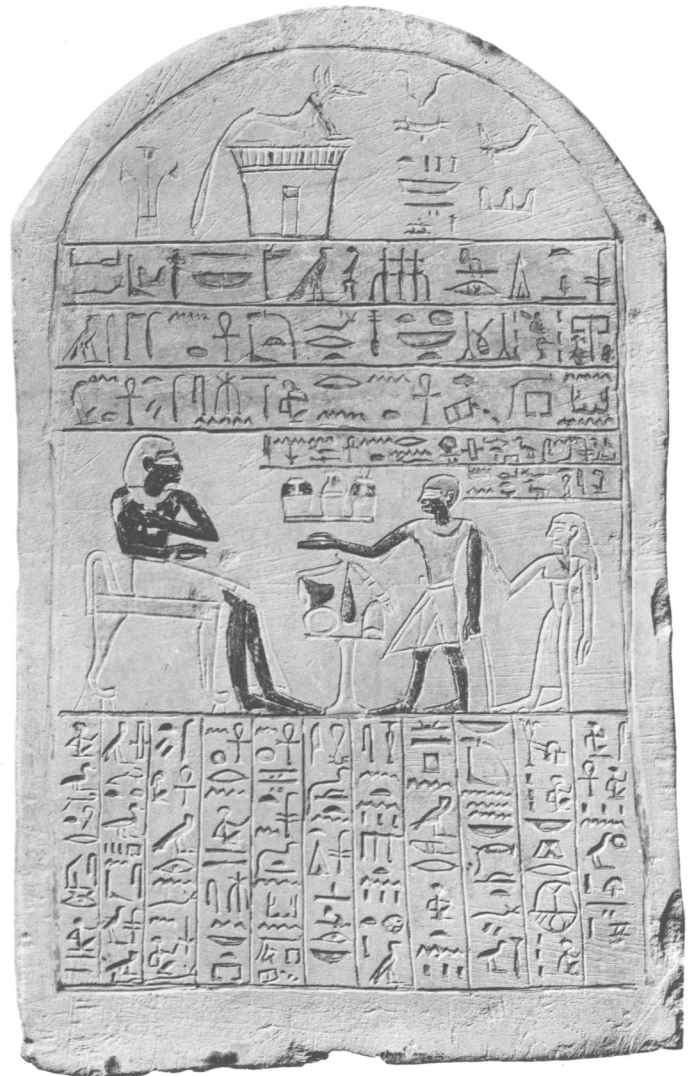
¹² The back has been sawn off in modern times.



5



3



4

STELAE IN THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD (3-5).

and the incised inscriptions is of moderate quality. There has been overworking in two places: the column in front of the seated man on the left in the main register, and again in the bottom left-hand corner. The date is perhaps late in the Twelfth Dynasty.

A good deal of paint is still preserved:—Dark brown: flesh of male figures, milk-jug. Lighter reddish-brown: seats, wigs of standing figure in main register and seated male figures below, flame on censer, and outlines of female figures and of the tables and objects on them.¹ Green: collars on all male and female figures, wigs of two seated figures in main register. Blue: traces in hieroglyphs here and there. A yellowish wash seems to have covered the wigs and flesh of the female figures and the general background. There are no traces of paint on the symbols in the lunette.

The family shown on this stela was also responsible for setting up another, now at Stuttgart, which is No. 2 in Spiegelberg-Pörtner, *Aeg. Grab- u. Denksteine aus südd. Sammlungen*, I, Pl. 1.

INSCRIPTIONS

(a) Two horizontal lines below the lunette and column at extreme left of first register: (1) *An offering which the king gives to Osiris, Lord of Abydos, and Wepwawet, Lord of the Sacred Land* (2) *and Amūn, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, that they may give funerary offerings of bread and beer,² oxen and fowl, on which a god lives,³ to the spirit of the attendant⁴ Reniso⟨n⟩b,⁵ born of the lady of the house Tentetney.⁶* This last phrase is probably to be taken in connexion with 'the attendant Reniso⟨n⟩b' and not with the inscription giving the name and title of Redeyesankh, the seated man, because, as we gather from the Stuttgart stela that Nenen, who is called 'his wife' in register 2 here, was Reniso⟨n⟩b's wife (she sits beside the nameless chief figure there), it is reasonable to assume that 'his mother', applied (also in register 2) to Tentetney, means 'Reniso⟨n⟩b's mother'.

(b) Remainder of first register: the column to the right of the man seated on the left reads *his father, the herald Redeyesankh,⁷ justified*. This column has been inscribed over a

¹ *I.e.*, traces of the original red draft line round these figures, etc.; on part of the loin-cloth of the left-hand main figure there seem to be red guiding lines (not followed by the stone-cutter) to represent creases.

² The sign for 'beer' is clearly a milk-jug, as also on the Stuttgart stela.

³ *Ht nbt nfrt wbt* or the like would have been more usual, followed by *ꜥnbt*.

⁴ Here and everywhere else on this stela the sign 𓆎 stands on two feet like 𓆏 .

⁵ 'My name is well'; the *n* of *-snb* might here have been omitted for lack of space, but the omission in this and similar names is frequent enough (*cf.* Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- u. Denksteine d. M. R.*, III, 131) to suggest that it had a phonetic basis, and Prof. Gunn has pointed out that the middle consonant may have been *l* (as in the cognate Arabic *salima*) and therefore liable to disappear in Egyptian writings. Note that the Stuttgart stela also writes this man's name *Rn-sb* where there is no lack of space. On this analogy ought we to read as *S⟨n⟩b* the *Sb*- with which several M.-K. names begin, *e.g.* Ranke, 303, Nos. 11 (second form), 15, 17, 18? The opposite phenomenon, *Sbk* written *Snbk* (*cf.* Ranke, 314, 20, 21), is not so easily accounted for.

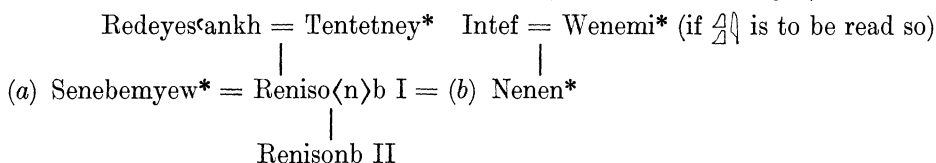
⁶ Apparently for *Tꜣ-ntt-n-ꜥ*, a name common in the M.K., but the writing with a seated man at the end is very strange (though perhaps explicable as due to confusion between the hieratic abbreviations for 'man' and 'woman'), while the writing without the first *n* (twice below) is even stranger; the Stuttgart writing omits the second *n* (*Tꜣ-ntt*).

⁷ This name, which I have read *Rdi-s-ꜥnb(w)*, is written $\text{𓇋} \text{𓇏} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ on the Stuttgart stone, a writing which could be interpreted in three ways. Ranke (301, 9) takes it as *Sꜥnb-R*, but if the present writing with 𓇋 can be trusted it rules out that view. A possible interpretation would be 'She causes me to live', but this could not apply to the example from Heidelberg quoted by Ranke (228, 16), which shows a final *-w*, and in view of the names *Rdi-s* and *Sst-rdi-s* (both in Ranke), I prefer to take the name as meaning 'Rdi-s lives', though I cannot explain the first element.

(iii) The highly coloured central figure is *the scribe of the vizier*¹ *Senṣaṣyebi, justified.*

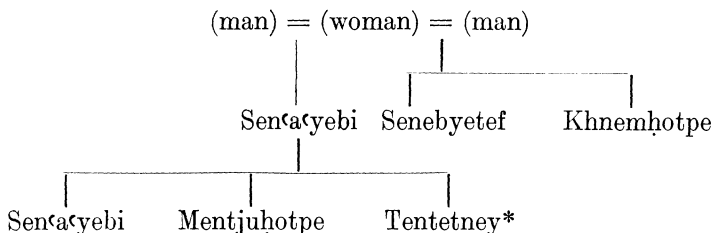
(iv) The right-hand section consists of five columns; if we read them from right to left the third begins abruptly with a name that has no title, while the fourth ends with 'lady of the house' hanging in the air; so probably they are to be read from left to right although the signs face right.² We then have (1) *his maternal half-brother the priest Senebyetef*,³ *justified,* (2) *his maternal half-brother the attendant Khnemḥotpe, the lady of the house* (3) *Memi, her son Meny*,⁴ *her son Nenen,* (4) *the lady of the house Khememet*,⁵ *the scribe of the nome Khnemḥotpe, justified,* (5) *the scribe of the nome Senṣaṣyebi, the lady of the house Merisenbes.*⁶

The relationships of the various people represented cannot be reconstructed with certainty but it seems probable, as mentioned above, p. 161 and p. 162, n. 3, that the figures in the first two registers are defined by their relationship to the Reniso⟨n⟩b of the offering-formula. If that is so our family-tree will read (women indicated by *):



Which was the earlier of Reniso⟨n⟩b I's two wives is uncertain: on the Stuttgart stela Senebemyew is added as an afterthought at the bottom, but here she has the more honourable position of the two, facing right.

The only clue to the relationship of the people in the bottom register with the rest is the recurrence of the name Tentetney in the upper half of the left-hand portion. The main figure of the whole register seems to be the central Senṣaṣyebi, so we are probably meant to relate the other figures to him. We then get:



If this Tentetney is the same person whom we have taken to be Reniso⟨n⟩b's mother this tree must be combined with the one above.

No. 4

Catalogue No. 1113. Round-topped stela of white limestone (Pl. xxi, 4); height, 51 cm.; breadth, 31 cm.; thickness, 6 cm. Figures, etc., and hieroglyphs incised, execution moderate.

A great deal of paint has been preserved:—Blue: framing-line round outside edge and all interior framing-lines, all hieroglyphs, outside lines of collar of Wepwawet, and outlines of his shrine, edges of collars on people, tables and cucumbers(?). Yellow: background of

¹ A very concise writing of *tity*; this might seem a surprising title for a member of a humble family, but cf. Lange-Schäfer, *op. cit.*, 20426 h; again, he may be a distinguished distant relation brought in for effect (possibly Reniso⟨n⟩b's maternal grandfather).

² For a parallel cf. legends to subordinate figures on Louvre C 14 (photo. in *Anc. Egypt*, 1925, facing p. 33).

³ 'May his father be well'.

⁴ Ranke does not show this spelling; the meaning is uncertain.

⁵ 'She who is not known'.

⁶ 'I desire that she may be well'.

upper band of inscription, chair, sugar-loaf cake, upper garment of male figure making offering, flesh of female figure. Brownish-red: central stripe of Wepwawet's collar, bands 1, 5, 9, and 13 (left to right) of cavetto cornice on shrine, square over top of door of shrine, upper part of sealed jars (central one rather lighter in colour), flesh of male figures, pointed loaf (?), joint of meat, traces round female figure. Black: margin of wig of seated man. Light red: wig of standing male figure.

The seated figure carries a folded 'handkerchief' in his left hand, while the standing male figure holds what looks like a similar object hanging down to the ground.¹

INSCRIPTIONS

(a) Lunette: before Wepwawet on his shrine the words *Wepwawet, Lord of the Sacred Land*; behind him the symbol of Lower Egypt.

(b) First three horizontal lines: (1) *An offering which the king gives to Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the great god, Lord of Abydos, that he may give* (2) *funerary offerings of bread and beer,² oxen and fowl, alabaster (jars) and clothing and everything good and pure on which a god lives* (3) *to the spirit of the steward who reckons corn, 'Ankhreni,³ justified, born of Teti⁴ankh.⁴*




(c) Lines facing left: *it is his brother who has perpetuated his name on earth, the 'Imy-ht . . .*⁵ *Senebsewem⁶ai.⁶* This line refers to the standing male figure, while the next gives the title and name of the woman: *his nurse, Sithey.⁷*

(d) Lines below scene:

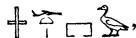




(1) *O ye who are living⁸ upon earth,* (2) *all scribes, all lector-priests* (3) *and every wēceb-priest who shall read this stela,* (4) *as ye desire* (5) *that your local gods favour⁹ you* (6) *so¹⁰ say ye 'An offering which the king gives to Osiris, Lord of* (7) *'Ankh-tawi,¹¹ King of Eternity, for the spirit of the steward who reckons corn,* (8) *'Ankhreni, justified, born of the lady of the house*

¹ Prof. Gunn points out the resemblance of this object to the one trailed along in the *int-rd* rite discussed in Davies-Gardiner, *Amenemhēt*, 93 f.

² The sign is again more like a milk-pot.

³ At first sight 'may my name live' seems more likely than 'he whose name lives', as Ranke translates it, though the name *Ḥht-rn* does support the latter rendering. The det., resembling , would suggest a date late in the M.K. but it is probably a mere slip for ; in l. 8 of the lower inscription the name is determined with  (cf. the names in the lines following).



⁴ 'Teti lives'; Ranke gives only one example of this as a woman's name.

⁵ , a very obscure though fairly frequent title, most often written with  as in l. 10 of the lower inscription here. The element *imy-ht*, apparently originally 'follower', would suggest that the office was a humble one, and, apart from Cairo 270 (O.-K. statue) whose owner is also *sib* and *šhd wcbw*, I do not find any bearer of the title who is at all distinguished. Is there some connexion with 'bird-houses'? The writing ; Lange-Schäfer, 20104 g, might suggest that  is to be read as *sw*, 'sons', but the extreme paucity of examples of the plural of *sw* is against this. *Wb.*, I, 515 (4, 5), takes the title to be a lower grade of .

⁶ 'He is well in my care'.

⁷ 'Daughter of Ḥey'; as Ranke suggests, possibly a hypocoristicon for 'Daughter of Ḥathor'.

⁸ A badly confused writing of *Ḥhw*.

⁹  after *hs* probably for .

¹⁰ *Mi* seems here to arise from a conflation of two possible constructions: (a) *hs tn ntrw . . . mi dd-tn . . .*, 'may the gods favour you . . . according as ye say . . .', and (b) *m mr-tn hs tn ntrw . . . dd-tn . . .*, 'as ye desire . . . say ye . . .'

¹¹ District in or near Memphis, see Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, I, 149.

(9) *Tetiskankh*. (Set up) by the action for him¹ of his brother (10) the 'Imy-ht . . . Senebsewem'ai, (11) son of the overseer of the Shenet,² Res,³ justified.

No. 5

Catalogue No. 1112. Small stela of limestone, with flattened round top (Pl. xxi, 5); height, 25 cm.; breadth, 21 cm.; thickness, 5.6 cm. The figures and symbols in low relief are well executed, but the cutting and disposition of hieroglyphs are rather careless. Paint still adhering:—Black: traces on wigs of women, seat and legs of chair, band on ground-level above inscription. Red: margin of stone, interior of \square , flesh of man. Lighter red, or brown: centre of eyes in lunette, flesh of women, leg of beef and cake(?) on table. Blue: eyebrows, lids and \searrow -markings of pair of eyes at top; hieroglyphs (only in legends beside figures represented); stem of lotus in man's hand; leg of table.

The man seated before the table of offerings is *Nebimose*;⁴ his mother *Senisonb* sits beside him while his wife *Ahmo*se pours water on to the table and offers a slender conical cake.

The two lines of inscription below read: *An offering which the king gives to Osiris, Ruler of Eternity, that he may give funerary offerings of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster (jars) and clothing, incense and unguent and hnt-offerings*⁵ (2) *to the spirit of Nebimose. It is his wife Ahmo*se who has perpetuated his name.

Ahmo

se and Senisonb as women's names and Nebimose as a man's name are all rare in the M.K., but frequent in the N.K. In view of these names and on general grounds of style the date is probably the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty or (more likely) the early Eighteenth.⁶

¹ Literally, '(it) being his brother acts for him', the 'it' in this case referring apparently to the whole act of setting up the stela, rather than merely to the *htp-di-nsw*, as often. For the construction, see Gard., *Egn. Gr.*, §§ 162, 11; 454, 4.

² This title, taken as 'Overseer of a Hundred' by *Wb.*, iv, 498, 1, is in later times connected with temple administration, becoming Gk. $\lambda\epsilon\sigma\omega\nu\iota\varsigma$ and perhaps Cop. $\lambda\alpha\psi\psi\alpha\pi\epsilon$.

³ 'Awake (?)', most easily explained as an abbreviation of a name such as *Rn-f-rs*, *Bbi-rs* or *Cj-rs(w)*; but names like *Rs-nfr* and *Rs-snb* imply rather that *Rs* was the name of a god or of an important person—though in the latter case the origin of the name might still have been that suggested. The fact that while the parentage of 'Ankhreni is indicated by his mother's name only, that of 'his brother' Senebsewem'ai is given by his father's name only, perhaps indicates that 'Ankhreni and Senebsewem'ai were but half-brothers.

⁴ 'My lord is born'; the repeated $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ makes this translation certain.

⁵ Written $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ but doubtless for $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ *hntkw*.

⁶ A further argument for this dating is based on the writing of the *htp-di-nsw* formula, for which see Smither's discussion in this volume, pp. 34 ff.


A NEW USE OF THE PREPOSITION *m*

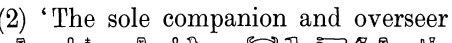
By PAUL C. SMITHER


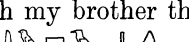
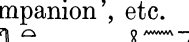
It is with some trepidation that I venture to add to the already formidable number of uses of the preposition *m* in Old and Middle Egyptian. But the evidence quoted below does, I think, show conclusively that this preposition was sometimes used with the meaning 'together with'. Neither Gardiner's *Egyptian Grammar* nor Erman's *Ägyptische Grammatik* recognizes this use. Erman has, however, already divined its existence in Late Egyptian, although the examples quoted in his *Neuägyptische Grammatik* (p. 296) are not very convincing. It is hoped, therefore, that this article may serve a useful purpose by establishing with certainty this meaning for the preposition *m* at all stages of the Egyptian language.

The examples here given are naturally not intended to be exhaustive.


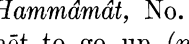

OLD EGYPTIAN

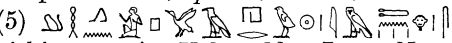
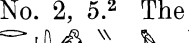
(1) . 'I came down **together with** 300 asses laden with incense.' *Urk.*, I, 126, 17.

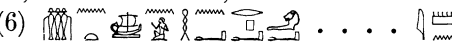

(2) 'The sole companion and overseer of the refreshment departments Kheweni was sent , to meet me **together with** ships laden with date-wine, *mšwk*-loaves,¹ bread, and beer.' *Op. cit.*, 127, 13-15.

(3)  etc. 'I came up to this desert **together with** (or, **accompanied by**) 1,600 men with my brother the companion', etc. Anthes, *Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, No. 6, 6. Cf.  etc.  *op. cit.*, No. 9, 7-8. Note the parallelism with *hnꜥ* which occurs again in exx. (6) and (7).

MIDDLE EGYPTIAN

(4) . 'I came out **together with** an army of 3,000 men.' Couyat and Montet, *Inscriptions du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, No. 114, 12. Cf. 'My Majesty caused the hereditary prince, etc., Amenemhêt to go up (*pr*)  with an army of 10,000 men', *op. cit.*, No. 192, 12, and  'number of the army which came up with me', *op. cit.*, No. 87, 12.

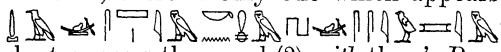
(5)  lit. 'I have reached to-day **with** you nourishing you'. *Hekanakhte Letter* No. 2, 5.² The translation is clinched by a L.-E. version of this idiom,  'I have reached to-day with (*irm*) them', *P. Gardiner II*³, 18.

(6)  . 'I sailed up-stream with the hereditary prince, etc., Ameny; I sailed up-stream **together with** (or, **accompanied by**) 400 troopers consisting of every picked man of my army.' *Beni Hasan*, I, Pl. 8, 12-13. Here again there is parallelism between *hnꜥ* and *m*, as also in the next example.

(7) 'Then I sailed up-stream in order to convey the ingots to the port of Coptos with (*hnꜥ*) the hereditary prince, overseer of the city and Vizier Senwōsret, *hn̄ty-n-i m ḥsb 600 m*

¹ Not in *Wb*. It occurs also in the Ramesseum Onomasticon (l. 221), to be published by Dr. Gardiner, in a list of different kinds of bread, between *ksbty* and *šꜣwt*. ² I am indebted to Prof. Gunn for this example.

³ The 'Adoption Papyrus', to be published by Dr. Gardiner in *JEA* 26.

phil. hist. or. 3, 133 ff.,¹ in which the author suggests that *m* may sometimes have the meaning 'with', and points out the similar use of the Hebrew preposition ׀. Of his examples, however, there is only one which appears to have the meaning 'together with', namely  'She (the goddess) crosses the lake with thee, she traverses the canal (?) with thee', *Pyr.*, § 1370, c. M. Drioton's remaining examples in which *m* is used in the sense of 'having' are dealt with by Prof. Gunn in his note below.

NOTE

Mr. Smither's interesting article prompts me to append a few lines on a related but somewhat different meaning of *m* which, although for the most part recognized by translators, has also not yet found its way into the grammars: 'with' in the sense of 'having'. The following are examples:




1. With parts of the body.


(a) *hr* 'face': *mwt m hrw pꜣt* 'walking-sticks with faces of people' (i.e. having human faces or heads), *Urk.*, iv, 666, 15; *bik m hr n pꜣt* 'a falcon with human face', Piehl, *Inscr. hiérog.*, II, 115, 6; *sꜥh m hr n pꜣt* 'a mummy with human face', Mariette, *Dendérah*, iv, Pls. 35-9, ll. 113, 133; *sꜥh m hr n rmt.* same meaning, *ibid.*, ll. 17, 42 (*m hr m pꜣt*, l. 32); *twt n Fꜣꜥ m hr n bꜣ* 'an image of the god-with-lifted-arm with the face of a ba', Lepsius, *Totenbuch*, Spell 163, 14; *twt n Fꜣꜥ m hr n Nt* 'an image . . . with the face of Neith', *ibid.*, l. 15; *iw·sn hr ifd m gbꜣy[t r] Mktꜣ m hrw n* (sic) *snꜣ* 'they (the enemy) fled pell-mell [to] Megiddo with fearful faces' (*lit.* with faces of fear), *Urk.*, iv, 658, 1-2.

(b) *ib* 'heart': *iw·sn n·s m ib snꜣ* 'they come to her (Hatshepsut) with fearful heart', *Urk.*, iv, 341, 16; *ir·n·i nn m ib mrr* 'I have done this with loving heart', *op. cit.*, 363, 2, and many other exx. of Mid.-Egn. *m ib mrr*, Late-Egn. *m ib mrrw*, *Wb.*, *Belegstellen* to II, 101 (7).

(c) *m·k šꜣ iw·s m hšfw·k . . . m nꜣbut·s nfrwt* 'behold, she shall come to meet thee . . . with her beautiful locks', *Pyr.*, § 282, b.²

§ 194 of Gard., *Egn. Gr.*, discusses idiomatic phrases used as nouns, and concludes: 'Non-verbal expressions of a similar character are also to be found. Exx. *šnyt m tp·hr·mꜣst* [*Sin.*, R 10, restored] the courtiers were head-on-lap, i.e. in mourning. *s nb m hr·m·hrw* [*Leb.*, 119] every man is face-downcast, i.e. abashed. In both these examples the subject is followed by the *m* of equivalence.' But although parallels can be quoted for the identification of a person with a posture, e.g. 'he is upside-down', 'they are arm-in-arm', such identification is somewhat unnatural, and there seems to be no reason why these passages should not be brought into line with the examples given above, and rendered 'the courtiers were with head on lap', 'every man is with face³ downcast'; so also with the further example cited by Gardiner in a note: *mšꜥ·f mꜣ kꜣw m sdw r hꜣwt* 'his (the enemy's) army being like bulls with tails to faces', *Sirut*, Tomb 3, 24.⁴

2. M. Drioton, in the article mentioned in Mr. Smither's postscript, gives examples of 'une formule cryptographique consistant à placer un ou plusieurs objets entre les mains d'un personnage, pour signifier "Un tel avec (m) telle chose"', e.g. Rꜣꜥ holding  in one hand and  in the other, reading *Rꜣꜥ m s sw* 'Rꜣꜥ with s and sw' = *Rꜣꜥ·ms·sw* 'Ramesses'; a man holding , reading *s m sw*

¹ The author, interpreting the cryptogram which is the subject of his article—a seated figure of Month holding a sail —as *Mntw m hꜣrw* ('Month with a sail') = *Mntw·m·hꜣt* 'Mentemhēt', sees the great difficulty of equating *hꜣrw*, Cop. ϩΩΤ, with *hꜣt*, ϩΗ, which the contemporary cuneiform writing *Mantimehē* shows to have been already pronounced *hē* here, and appears to have overlooked Spiegelberg's note in *ZÄS* 65, 131, where the cryptogram is interpreted (more satisfactorily, I think) as *Mntw·m·hꜣyt* 'Month, the north wind', postulating for *mꜣyt* a vocalization *emhē, *ḏḏḥ, since strikingly confirmed by Sub-Akhmimic ḏḏḥ 'breath' (see p. 113 above).

² Quoted by M. Drioton (see below).

³ Erman, *Lebensmüde*, p. 63, n. 1: 'Jedermann ist mit einer Gesicht versehen', with what I think is a somewhat misleading reference to his *Grammatik*, 1st edn., § 307, 3. Erman's other example, *ihw m r·sn* 'pr', *Pyr.*, § 930, is shown by § 930, c, to be invalid, 'pr' referring not to r 'mouth' but to *ih*.

⁴ The fleeing enemies are compared to stampeding cattle jostling closely against one another.

'a man with *sw*' = *smsw* 'eldest', and the sign \equiv interpreted as *i m n*, 'i (value of \equiv in group-writing) with *n*' = *Ymn* 'Amūn'. He discusses, pp. 135-6, the meaning 'avec (= en possession de, en "portement" de)' of *m*, and adduces several passages from the Pyramid Texts, of which § 282, *b-c*, quoted above, is perhaps the most relevant, for some others (§§ 731, *a-b*, 799, *c*, 1215, *a*) may have meant to the Egyptians 'in'. A late example of M. Drioton's is *in:f n:k H'py šmsy m ht:f nb* 'He (the king) brings thee (Montu-Rē) the Upper-Egyptian H'py with (= having) all his (H'py's) goods', Drioton, *Médamoud, Les Inscriptions*, II (*Filles. Inst. fr.*, IV, 2^e partie), p. 18, No. 315, 3. As Mr. Smither points out to me, the inscriptions Nos. 314, 316, *ibid.*, pp. 18, 19, have *hr* 'carrying' in similar contexts.

A further example under this heading, which I owe to Mr. Smither, is *msk: m tknw sdr hr:f* 'a hide with a *teknu* lying beneath it', Virey, *Tombeau de Rekhmara*, Pl. 26, collated with Mr. N. de G. Davies' unpublished copy.

It may be that some of the examples under § 2 should be taken rather as meaning 'together with', and therefore belong more properly to Mr. Smither's article, but this is certainly not the case with the examples of § 1. The preposition *m* clearly has the meanings (1) 'together with', 'accompanied by', (2) 'having'.—BATTISCOMBE GUNN.

THREE POINTS IN COPTIC LEXICOGRAPHY

BY C. R. C. ALLBERRY

THE only serious shortcoming (if it can be called such) of Dr. Crum's *Coptic Dictionary* lies in the Sub-akhmimic material—not in his treatment of it, but because of his limited access to it. That dialect, apart from a few pages in Zoega's *Catalogus*, is confined to three sources, all of them far from complete, all of them far from tainted, yet differing quite considerably among themselves, each of them exhibiting a *patois* that is to be located, I suspect, on the periphery rather than at the centre of the *Dialektgebiet*: the *Acta Pauli*, edited early in this century by Professor Schmidt, Sir Herbert Thompson's *St. John*, and the Manichaean corpus. The last of these is yielding, as the faded pages are gradually read, a great number of new and puzzling words, only a few of which could be included in the *Dictionary*. The following considerations are all prompted by this last, so far as it has been made available by the spasmodic publications of the last five years, namely (1) *Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty*, Bd. I: *Homilien*; (2) *Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin*, Bd. I: *Kephalaia*; (3) *Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection*, Vol. II, Pt. II: *A Manichaean Psalm-book*, all of them published at Stuttgart, and here quoted respectively as *Homilies*, *Kephalaia*, and *Psalm-book*.

I. 'εΚΙΑ' 'anent'.

This has occurred ten times in the *Kephalaia* (and, so far as I know, there alone): 30 33, 38 8, 77 26, 121 33, 127 27, 133 21, 144 22, 161 23, 173 27, 182 2. In the first three instances it is printed εΚΙΑ and translated 'was . . . anbetrifft' (e.g. 38 8 εΚΙΑ πΙΨΟΥ ἁμείνε 'was diese fünf Zeichen anbetrifft'); but at 121 33 the manuscript has [ε]ΚΙ ΠΤΑϚ ΑΠΤΡΟΧΟC rendered 'siehe aber das Rad', and the note is appended 'Das z.B. 30, 33; 38, 8; 76[sic], 26 begegnende εΚΙΑ ist durch ΠΤΑϚ in die beiden Bestandteile εΚΙ und Α zerlegt worden, vgl. εΚΙ ΔΕ Α- 173, 27'. At 173, 27 the words εΚΙ ΔΕ ΑΠἸΠΤCΠΑϚC [Τ]ΗΡΟΥ ΠΖΩΔΙΟΝ are translated 'siehe aber alle diese zwölf ζῳδια'; while in the five remaining examples (though it was half-right to print εΚΙΑ and translate 'was . . . anbetrifft' and half-right to print εΚΙ Α- and translate 'siehe') εΚΙΑ is printed in the text and 'siehe' is printed in the translation, which is wholly wrong. The expression is literally 'as thou comest to . . .', i.e. the 2nd pers. sing. of the circumstantial¹ of the verb εΙ (in its form ι²) followed by the Sub-akhmimic Α- 'to'. This quasi-impersonal use of the 2nd pers. sing. may be seen also in the word ἁεϣΑΚ 'perhaps', from the *śdm*-f form ἁεϣε (Crum, *Dict.*, 201, b, Erman, *ZÄS* 32 (1894), 128 ff. To the instances of ἁεϣε given by Erman and Crum may be added the following from the Manichaean books: ἁἸϣεΚ *Homilies*, 22 2 and *Psalm-book*, 17 13; ἁἸϣεϣ *Psalm-book*, 135 27; ἁἸϣεΠ *Psalm-book*, 157 23; ἁἸϣεϣ [cf. Crum, *op. cit.*, xxiv, a, l. 3] *Kephalaia*, 19 26, *Psalm-book*, 86 3 and 210 27).

II. ἁΙ ΟΥΔἸΨ 'have access to'.

When in 1935 I began to transcribe the *Psalm-book* I came across the following line: [Τ]ΨΥΧΗ ΑΠ ἁἸἁΡΙΑ ΕCΑΧΙΟΥΔἸΨΑΠΕΚΝΑΕ ΠΑΧἸC. It happens that this is the first line on one

¹ Circumstantial rather than 2nd present—see Edgerton in *JAOS* 55, 261, n. 16. At 144 22 the manuscript has ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΕΚ[Ι Α]ΔΑΔΑ.

² Cf. *Kephalaia*, 117 2, 134 29, 188 22, and (I suspect) 119 1.

of the pages (p. 9) of which transcripts and translations were made in 1931 by Dr. Polotsky, who divided **ⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲛⲁⲉ** but gave no translation. The problem is whether the expression found here and elsewhere in the Manichaean books but apparently in no other Coptic text is **ⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲱⲁ** or **ⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱ ⲁ**. Dr. Crum differed from Polotsky: in the *Dict.*, p. 472, b, under the word **ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓ**, the following appears: ‘**ⲁⲓ ⲟⲩ(ⲁ)ⲓ** A², *take way, go*: Mami I **ⲉⲥⲁⲗ. ⲱⲁⲛⲉⲕⲛⲁⲉ**’; suspecting that Crum was wrong and Polotsky right, I wrote the note ‘**ⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲱⲁ-** (cf. Crum *Dict.* 472 b): I am not convinced that the words are to be so divided; perhaps **ⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲛⲁⲉ**, *λαμβάνειν καιρόν εἰς τὸ ἔλεός σου*. The problem was solved in 1936 on the appearance of the third fascicle of the *Kephalaia*: at 107 4 the manuscript has [ε]ϣⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲉⲕⲕⲁⲓⲣⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲁⲑⲉ, which is translated ‘er geht zur rechten Zeit zu einem klugen Arzt’ (the note ‘**ⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱ**, lies **ⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ**; ⲱ ist wahrscheinlich Rest von **ⲱⲁ** “zu”’ should be disregarded). In the *Psalm-book*, 95 28 they have printed **ⲁⲓⲱⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲱⲁⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ**, translated ‘I made my way to the city’. Subsequently Dr. Crum preferred Polotsky’s suggestion that the right division is **ⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱ ⲁ-**: see *Dict.*, xxiii, a (Additions and Corrections).

But is **ⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲱⲁ-** a possible Coptic expression? I doubt it. **ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓ** (*Dict.*, 472, a) means *rush, course, swift movement*: thus **ⲥⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲓ** means *with a rush, violently*. From this noun there are two formations, it seems, with the verb **ⲩ**: (i) **ⲩⲟⲩ**. *go about seeking, seek*; (ii) **ⲩⲡⲟⲩ**, **ⲱⲛⲡⲟⲩ**, **ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩ**. &c., &c. *go forward*. To the instances of these two verbs given by Dr. Crum the following may be added from the Manichaean books:

(i) **ⲩⲟⲩⲟⲓ**

1. *Kephalaia*, 76 31, **ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲥⲁⲛⲉⲩⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ**, translated ‘um hinter seinem Vermögen her-zulaufen’, where ‘um sein Vermögen zu suchen’ would be better;

2. *Kephalaia*, 139 9, **ⲛⲥⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ. . . ⲟⲩ ⲱⲁ. . . . ⲩ**, translated ‘und nähert sich’ which is surely wrong;

3. *Kephalaia*, 139 22, **ⲛⲥⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲛⲥⲙⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲥⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲛⲓⲥⲉⲩⲉ**, translated ‘macht sich auf und forscht und sucht nach diesem Wort’ where the translation ‘sucht und forscht und wendet sich nach diesem Wort’ would be more suitable;

4. *Psalm-book*, 146 38, **ⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲏⲧ[ⲉ]**, ‘seeks thee’;

5. *Psalm-book*, 172 14. 19, **ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲟⲥ ⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲏⲧⲓ**, ‘for which its shepherd searches’;

6. *Psalm-book*, 181 33, **ⲩⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲏⲧⲉ**, ‘searches for thee’.

(ii) **ⲩⲡⲟⲩ**, **ⲱⲛⲡⲟⲩ**, **ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩ**. &c.

1. *Psalm-book*, 151 18, **ⲙⲁⲩⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲁⲕⲓⲣⲉ ⲉⲥⲥⲟⲩⲩ**, ‘it makes not its way to a shrine that is polluted’;

2. *Psalm-book*, 152 4, **ⲛⲥⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲥ ⲩⲁⲩⲛⲉⲩⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲁⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲁⲛⲭⲓⲥⲉ**, ‘the ship of Jesus will make its way up to the height’.

These instances should suffice to show that in the Sub-akhmimic as in other dialects **ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓ** compounds with **ⲩ**, not with **ⲁⲓ**, in the sense ‘make one’s way to’. To return to **ⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱ**, I am indebted to Dr. Alexander Böhlig for permission to use the proof-sheets of the yet unpublished fifth fascicle of the *Kephalaia*, in which further instances of this uncertain verb are found: 203 17, **ⲉⲣⲉ ⲩⲧⲗⲩⲉ ⲥⲓⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱ ⲁⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲏⲩⲩ**, ‘diese zwei Tropfen zu einander gelangen’, and 203 27, **ⲉⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲩⲁⲓ [ⲟⲩ]ⲁⲓⲱ ⲁⲧⲉⲑⲏⲧⲉ**, ‘das in die Schale gelangt’. Why in these two examples does the editor divide **ⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱ ⲁ-** and translate ‘gelangen’? Because on l. 2 of the same page the manuscript has **ⲛⲥⲁⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱⲁⲩⲧⲗⲩⲉⲛⲉⲙⲁⲩ**. Just so: **ⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱ ⲁ-** is literally *occasionem capere alicui*, as in the instance quoted above, *Kephalaia*, 107 4, the expression **ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲉⲕⲕⲁⲓⲣⲓⲁ** (‘er geht zur rechten Zeit zu einem klugen Arzt’) might suggest. It is paralleled by the compound of **ⲟⲩⲟⲓⲱ** with **ⲥⲏⲧⲉ**: Crum, *Dict.*,

500, *a* quotes Philippians, iv, 10 $\alpha\pi\epsilon\tau\bar{\iota}\sigma\alpha\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega = \eta\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon$. Another passage in the *Kephalaia* supports this: 241 23, $\omicron\gamma\bar{\eta}\ \rho\bar{\eta}\sigma\alpha\bar{\nu}\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\ \epsilon\psi\alpha\rho\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\rho\chi\omega\bar{\nu}\ \epsilon\tau\eta\bar{\nu}\ [\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha]\ \epsilon\tau\psi\omicron\sigma\bar{\nu}\ \rho\bar{\eta}\tau\kappa\lambda\omicron\sigma\lambda\epsilon\ \sigma\bar{\eta}\ \omicron\gamma\alpha\iota\omega\ \bar{\nu}\sigma\epsilon\rho\alpha\psi\omicron\gamma\ [\alpha\gamma\kappa\lambda\omicron\sigma\lambda]\epsilon\ \bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\alpha\gamma\ \bar{\nu}\sigma\epsilon\pi\omega\tau\ \bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\sigma\tau\bar{\epsilon}$ 'manchmal finden die Archonten, die zu dem in der Wolke befindlichen Wasser gehören, Gelegenheit und drängen sich [in eine] Wasser-[Wolke] hinein und entfliehen aus ihr'. Here $\sigma\bar{\eta}\ \omicron\gamma\alpha\iota\omega\ \bar{\nu}\sigma\epsilon\rho\alpha\psi\omicron\gamma$ can hardly render other Greek than $\phi\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\sigma\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\chi\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$: and in fact $\phi\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$, in the sense *hingelangen, zu etwas gelangen, etwas erreichen* (e.g. Romans, ix, 31, Philippians, iii, 16, quoted by Preuschen-Bauer, *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterb. zu d. Schriften d. Neuen Test.*, Giessen, 1928, *s.v.* $\phi\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$) would suit the instances of $\alpha\bar{\nu}\ \omicron\gamma\alpha\iota\omega$ quoted above.

III. $\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma$ 'to turn'.

Prof. Walter Till has shown (*ZÄS* 73 (1937), 136 f.) that Crum has not distinguished the two separate verbs $\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\ \pi\alpha\gamma\rho-$ $\pi\alpha\gamma\rho\ \pi\alpha\gamma\rho^{\dagger}$ and $\pi\omicron\gamma\rho\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\rho-$ $\pi\alpha\rho\ \pi\eta\rho^{\dagger}$ (*Dict.*, 241, *b*). The form $\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma$ postulated by Till, as well as further examples of the various states of this verb, occurs in the Manichaean books.

1. $\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma$: *Psalm-book*, 163 7, 178 14, $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\psi\alpha\rho\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\nu}\rho\omicron\bar{\nu}\lambda\omicron\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\psi\alpha\rho\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\nu}\sigma\alpha\lambda\alpha\psi\iota\rho\epsilon$ (var. $\alpha\lambda\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\rho$) $\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\bar{\mu}\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\rho\omicron\gamma\ \bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\gamma\rho\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\bar{\nu}\epsilon\rho\sigma\epsilon$: 'thou art the first weapon of the first Warrior who turned back (see Errata *ad. loc.*) the foe that arose'.

2. $\pi\alpha\gamma\rho-$: *Psalm-book*, 29 26, $\pi\alpha\gamma\rho\ \pi\epsilon\rho\omicron$: 'turn thy face'.

3. $\pi\alpha\gamma\rho\ \pi\epsilon\rho$: *Homilies*, 10 14, 14 26, 23 1, 44 12, 75 14; *Psalm-book*, 7 2, 13 28, 55 24, 87 27, 97 32, 205 9, 207 16, 211 5, 214 20, 218 6.

4. $\pi\alpha\gamma\rho^{\dagger}$ *Psalm-book*, 219 9, $\rho\rho\epsilon\gamma\ \pi\alpha\gamma\rho\ \epsilon\bar{\nu}\ \alpha\tau\chi\omega\rho\alpha$: 'their faces are not turned to the land.'

A COPTIC LOVE-CHARM

BY PAUL C. SMITHER

THE vellum leaf here published was obtained by the late Professor Griffith from an Egyptian *avocat* named Fanous, and is now in the Griffith Institute at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.¹ Its measurements are 10·5 cm. wide and 8 cm. high; it is slightly stained and wormed.

The text is an incantation by Papapōlō²(?) the son of Noah to compel the presence and love of another man, P-hello³ the son of Maure. The creases in the manuscript show that it was folded up into a small, neat packet 2·5 cm. × 1·3 cm., in order, perhaps, to insert it in some crack near the doorway of the person whom it was desired to enchant,⁴ for the text says (l. 6) 'even as I take thee and place thee at the door and pathway of P-hello'. The charm is interesting in having been made for a specific individual⁵ and not, like the majority of extant Coptic magical texts, forming part of a magician's library.⁶

The language is Sa'īdic, but the orthography is of a particularly barbarous kind, the scribe regularly making one letter do duty for two. A striking example is **πεκας** for **ππεκκας** which occurs several times in ll. 9 ff. Such omissions and errors are too numerous to comment on individually. The manuscript may perhaps be dated to the sixth century.

Ϡ σελταταλβαβαλ[.]καραυπειε[.]ππας
 κκεκτε (space) ρησοε ηηω σαφαω ροϣ
 ροϣ · ροϣ · ροϣ · ροϣ · ροϣ · ροϣ · ροϣ
 ⲚⲚⲚ ⲉⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲓⲥⲉ
 ϠϠϠ Ϡταρκο εοκ πεκσοε επεκφηλακτη
 5 ρωη εητοπος ετησοη ρησοϣ επεκ
 ραν κε ητρε ηηαιεε εοκ ταγαρκ ρηρηρο
 εητερϣηεωσε εφλο ηηε πεαγρε εκεϣ
 επεϣρητ πεϣροϣ⁷ εκερχοις επεϣωεα
 τηρϣ εφαρε πεκας ηαρε εϣρεος πεκκας
 10 ηρεος εϣηροτκ πεκας ηηοτκ εϣηηηε
 ηωη ηηεϣεε εϣεε ηηεπολις επολις

¹ I wish to thank the Committee of Management of the Institute for permission to publish this charm.

² Probably 'He of the Apollo'; cf. *παρσοουτ* (Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 278), *πασοιρις* (*op. cit.*, 416). 'Apollo', like other names of the principal Greek divinities, regularly takes the definite article, cf. e.g. T. Mina, *Martyre d'Apa Epima*, 1, l. 13; Budge, *St. George of Cappadocia*, 1, l. 22; 4, l. 1.

³ 'The old man', 'monk', cf. Heuser, *Personennamen d. Kopten*, 28; Crum, *Cop. Dict.*, 669, b.

⁴ For such a practice cf. *JEA* 20, 197, n. 23, and p. 199.

⁵ The embarrassing identity of the sex of charmer and charmed probably renders this spell unique in Coptic magical literature.

⁶ For the methods of a modern Coptic magician see W. S. Blackman, *The Fellāḫin of Upper Egypt*, 192 ff.

⁷ Looks more like εοϣ. The correct reading is due to Mr. C. R. C. Allberry, who kindly read over my article with the original, while on a visit to Oxford.

εχμεσωσε εσωσε εχμεχωρε εχωρε
 шантєи ерат пєрнпотасє ρапєснт пау
 ернтє анок папапωλω πυє нωн ерєтo
 15 οтє лнѣ нанаѳωн нлє шанѣжок ебол
 нєлєлєϥ лєпаογωϣ нрнт лєпєт'лєлє нтл
 πѣγγχн ρнογϣ єнлнογϥ лєнογφιλια нтл
 ϣολ ебол єтл єтл тлχн тлχн арпαροϥ

TRANSLATION

...² by the powers of Iaō, Sabaoth and Rous.³ Rous, Rous, Rous, Rous, Rous, Rous, Rous!
 (Here some magical signs.)

I conjure thee by thy powers and thy charms (*φυλακτήριον*) (5) and the places (*τόπος*) over which thou art and (by) thy names,⁴ that even as I take thee and place thee at the door and⁵ the pathway of P-hello the son of Maure, thou shalt take his heart (and) his mind (*νοῦς*), and thou shalt master his whole body (*σῶμα*). When he stands, thou shalt not allow him⁶ to stand; when he sits down, thou shalt not allow him (10) to sit down; when he sleeps, thou shalt not allow him to sleep; but let him seek after me from village to village, from city (*πόλις*) to city, from field to field, from country (*χώρα*) to country, until he comes to me, and becomes subject (*ὑποτάσσειν*) under my feet—I, Pa(?)papōlō the son of Noah—his hand (15) being full of every good thing (*ἀγαθόν*), until I have fulfilled with him my heart's desire and the longing (*αἴτημα*) of my soul⁷ (*ψυχή*), with a good will (?)⁸ and an indissoluble⁹ love (*φιλία*). Now (*ἤδη*),¹⁰ now! Quickly (*ταχύ*), quickly! Do my work!¹¹

¹ † perhaps also possible.

² I am unable to make any sense out of the first line and a half. 'Tatal', 'Babal' look like magical names.

³ This deity has not been previously recognized, but may he not form part of the personal names *πετεροους* and *πεπεροους* given by Preisigke?

⁴ For these opening phrases cf. e.g. *JEA* 20, 196, l. 8.

⁵ The text appears to have **лн**, but **лп** must be meant.

⁶ Read **π̄νεκκλδλϥ**.

⁷ For the writing **πѣγγχн** see Crum, *Cop. Dict.*, 517, b.

⁸ Reading **ρн(ογ)ογ<ω>ϣ**.

⁹ Read **ατ̄ήωλ ε̄βολ**.

¹⁰ *ἤδη* must, of course, be the correct derivation, and is regular in this context (*ἤδη ἤδη ταχύ ταχύ*) in Greek magical texts, but the Copts spelt the word in every conceivable way, see e.g. Stegemann in *ZĀS* 70, 125. A curious example in which two different spellings are used, as if different words were intended, is Kropp, *Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte*, E, 50, **єтл єтл тлχн тлχн нлн нлн**.

¹¹ Read **αρпαρωѣ** (I owe this interpretation to Mr. Allberry). For the spelling cf. **ατ̄ωλ** in the same line; and for the phrase cf. Kropp, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 78, l. 20 of text; 70, l. 13.

NEW ARAMAEO-JEWISH NAMES IN EGYPT

BY G. R. DRIVER

MR. N. AIMÉ-GIRON's *Adversaria Semitica* in *Bull. Inst. fr.* 38, 1 ff., contains some interesting additions to his *Textes araméens d'Égypte*, published in 1931; in these new texts are certain names which the editor despairs of reading and of which I here put forward what seem to me possible readings and interpretations.

On p. 58, in No. 120, ll. 7–9, the editor publishes an Aramaic ostrakon found in the season 1936–7 by the Franco-Polish Expedition at Kōm Edfu. He prints three lines of the text—a list of names—as in the left column, while I suggest what is given in the right column, below:

1. 7] יב רבא .		נוב רבא 'Nûb, the elder' ¹
1. 8] י. . שהרא		ישי שהרא 'Jesse (son of) Shahārâ'
1. 9] דלה שמעון .		סרלה שמעון 'Sar-lêh (son of) Simeon'.

If these readings are correct, it seems that in l. 7 **נוב** will be the Bab. *Nûbu*,² which has not yet been found outside purely Babylonian texts.

In l. 8 **ישי** must be the Hebr. **ישי**, well known as the name of David's father but not otherwise attested in early Hebrew sources; but the Bab. *Išiya* occurs in one of the texts from the archives of the family of Murašû,³ where many Jewish names are found, and *Išî*⁴ occurs in another of the reign of Darius.

In l. 9 **סרלה**, as I read this name, is the most interesting of them all; for it not only is new but also belongs to a class of names which are not always rightly recognized. I explain it as *Šar-lêh* 'the king (be) for him', *i.e.* his patron.

The equation of the Bab. *š* with the Aram. **ס** is no difficulty, being found in other names; *e.g.* twice in the Aram. **נבוסמסכן** = Bab. (*il*)*Nabû-šum-iškun*⁵ and again in the Aram. **סרנרי** = Ass. *Šar-nûri*;⁶ here it appears in the same form as in the name under discussion.

Such a formation as **סרלה** = *Šar-lêh* 'the king (be) for him', however, though un-Biblical, is found in other Jewish names from Babylonia and Egypt. Such are:

נבולי 'Nabû (be) for me' ⁷	Yāhû-lunu 'Yāhû (be) for us' ⁸
אתרלי 'Aṭar (be) for me' ⁹	
שמשלך 'Šamaš (be) for thee' ¹⁰	Yāhû-lakim 'Yāhû (be) for you'. ¹¹

It must, however, be admitted that the three Aramaic names in this list are not always so explained. Thus **נבולי** and **אתרלי** have been taken to mean respectively 'Nabû/Aṭar

¹ Cf. **זעירא** 'the younger' in l. 11.

² Tallqvist, *Neubab. Namenb.*, 168.

³ Clay, *Murashu* (*PBS*, II, i), 208, 2.

⁴ Strassmaier, *Bab. T.*, Dar. 245, 15, where it is strangely written (*LŪ*)*Išî*.

⁵ Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, vi, 19.

⁶ *CIS*, II, i, 39, 6.

⁷ Cowley, *op. cit.*, v, 18.

⁸ Clay, *Murashû* (*B.E.*, IX) 55, 1, 14.

⁹ Cowley, *op. cit.*, v, 16; xiii, 18.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, xxvi, 8.

¹¹ Clay, *Murashû* (*B.E.*, IX), 28, 15, (*B.E.*, X) 77, 3, L.E., 1–2.

(is) mighty' (as implied by Peiser *ap.* Cowley) or 'Nabû/Aṭar (is) my god' (Cowley). The first explanation fails to reckon with the fact that the Acc. *li'û* contains a **ʿ** which is unlikely to have been represented by a **ʿ**, although it is written as **ʿ** in the only known instance of transliteration;¹ the second explanation fails because of the loss of the **ʿ** required in **אלי** 'my god'.² Again, Cowley implies that **שמשלך** is *Šamaš-šillēk* = 'Šamaš has rescued',³ which is open to the objection that, although there is nothing against the merging of the second **ש** in the third,⁴ this **שלך** 'rescued' is not otherwise recorded except in Phoenician names. Lastly, Noth's explanation of it as *Šum-šillek* = 'Šumu' or 'Išum has rescued'⁵ is equally unconvincing. The parallel *Yāhû-lakim* strongly supports the explanation of **שמשלך** here proposed.

Analogous names are the Ass. *Šamaš-ittiya* = 'Šamaš is/be with me'⁶ and the Hebr. **עִמְנוּאֵל** = 'God is/be with me'. The only peculiarity in the Aram. **סרלה** is the reference to the third, instead of the first or second, person; but that may be illustrated by such a name as the Bab. *Ilu-ana-bītišu* 'God is/be for his house'.⁷

¹ In **סנאל**, which is an obvious error for **סנלא**, as the accompanying Bab. *(il)Sin-DA = (il)Sin-li'û* (Deimel, *Šum. Lex.*, 335/13) shows (Dhorme in *RA* 25, 63-4, 18).

² Cf. Aram. **נבואלה** = Nabû (is) god (*CIS*, II, i, 154, 5).

³ So interpreted after the vulgar Arab. **سَلَّكَ** 'rescued' (Clermont-Ganneau *ap.* Noth, *Israel. Personenn.*, 181').

⁴ Cf. Bab. *Mār-Esaggil-lāmur* = Aram. **מרסגלמר** with only one **ל** (*CIS*, II, i, 61, at bottom).

⁵ Noth, *op. cit.*, 123-4.

⁶ Johns, *ADD*, I, 232 R. 8.

⁷ Clay, *Murashu (PBS*, II, i), 143, U.E., 2.

TRADE BETWEEN GREECE AND EGYPT BEFORE ALEXANDER THE GREAT

BY J. G. MILNE

THOUGH much information concerning the foreign trade of Egypt after the Greek conquest has been obtained in late years, chiefly from papyri, there has been less derived from Egyptian sources relating to earlier periods; on the other hand, exploration in Greek lands has produced a fair amount of evidence which throws light on the nature of the connexions between the two countries.

In the first place, the contents of the trade carried on during the period in question may be reviewed. So far as the exports of Egypt are concerned, the list is brief: the only commodity which was shipped from Egypt to Greece in any quantity, after the fall of the Mycenaean kingdom and before the establishment of that of Alexander, was corn. At a later time there were considerable exports of glass, linen, and papyrus; but the manufacture of glass on a large scale was not developed till the Ptolemaic dynasty at Alexandria, and the export probably did not become important till the Roman period;¹ linen was not a dress-fabric which was popular among the Greeks, and there is no suggestion that the coarse sail-cloths for which flax was chiefly used in Greece were obtained from Egypt;² and papyrus, though it was certainly known to the Greeks at an early date, does not seem to have been commonly employed amongst them before the Hellenistic age.³ The transit trade in goods from the Sudan and the East, which was an important part of the business of Alexandria under the Ptolemies and the Romans, and continued throughout the Middle Ages, had flourished also in earlier times; but towards the end of the eighth century B.C. the passage of goods down the Nile valley was interrupted by political changes. The Assyrian invasion of Egypt under Esarhaddon in 671 and the sack of Thebes by Ashurbanipal in 661 were the culmination of a series of attacks which had begun with the victory of Sargon at Raphia in 720, and created a definite separation between the upper and the lower ends of the Nile valley, which had for centuries before been either under one rule or on terms of commercial intercourse. The Indian trade was probably diverted to the Persian Gulf, and that from the Sudan to the line of oases on the west of the valley, along which it passed to Cyrene; thus the Assyrian conquest of Egypt may have been a reason for the choice of Cyrene as the site of a Greek colony thirty years later, which would have as much weight as the export of wool from the Libyan sheep-farms suggested by the Delphian oracles quoted by Herodotus.⁴ The only commodities which Egypt then had available for

¹ On the manufacture of glass in Egypt, see A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*², 115 ff. Glass-works existed in the Eighteenth Dynasty, but mainly for the making of inlays and decorative work; and the domestic use of glass seems to have been rare before the Roman period. See also D. B. Harden, *Roman Glass from Karanis*.

² See *PW*, s.v. 'Flachs'. The evidence there collected suggests that till Hellenistic times the finer grades of linen were luxury-goods in Greece.

³ The references to the use of papyrus in Greece before the fourth century B.C. quoted by N. Lewis, *L'industrie du papyrus dans l'Égypte Gréco-Romaine*, 82-4, do not prove any general use. For ordinary writing purposes the Greek had his tablets.

⁴ Herodotus iv. 155, 157.

export were native products; and of these the only one which the Greeks wanted was corn.

The return trade from Greece to Egypt was in all probability equally simple. It has been supposed that there was a considerable export of wine and oil from Greece to Egypt before the Greek conquest; but there is no archaeological evidence to support this view. Wine and oil were shipped by the Greeks in jars, and jars inevitably get broken and leave traces of their presence in sherds which are amongst the most enduring forms of proof: there are hardly any Greek pottery fragments of earlier date than 300 B.C. recorded from Egypt, except from the Greek settlements in the Delta; and at Naucratis, the chief centre of trade, a substantial proportion of the fragments were certainly dedications in the Greek temples and presumably had been brought over by the dedicators. On the other hand, from the period after 300 B.C., Greek amphora stamps and sherds are found quite commonly as far up the Nile as the site of Thebes. The native Egyptian drink was beer rather than wine,¹ and all the oil that was wanted could be got from local products;² wine and olive oil were only introduced for the consumption of the populace when there was a substantial body of Greek settlers at Alexandria and Ptolemais and in the Fayyūm. Nor is there any trace of the use of Greek textiles in Egypt: the Greek woollen fabrics were anathema to the native Egyptian, who could supply himself with materials better suited to his wants. Timber was much needed in Egypt; but the natural source of supply of timber to the Nile valley was Syria; and, even if the Macedonian forests had produced more than was wanted in Greece itself, which is not probable, the cost of transport would have made it impossible for this to compete with the output from the Lebanon. The one article which Egypt could not get from any nearer source than Greece, and which Greece could supply in practically unlimited quantity, was silver; and, in view of this fact, it is not surprising that large hoards of early Greek coins have been found in Egypt, not only in the Delta, but as far up the river as Memphis.³ They were of course imported as bullion, to be melted down by the silversmiths: the use of coin as a measure of exchange was certainly unknown in Egypt before the Greek conquest, but the amount of silver employed for such purposes as temple furniture was considerable: for instance, some two centuries before there is any trace of direct trade between Greece and Egypt, a record of offerings made to the temples by Osorkon I in the first four years of his reign shows a total of at least 500,000 pounds of silver, mainly in manufactured articles.⁴ When it is remembered that the value of silver in relation to other metals was exceptionally high in Egypt—under the later Ramessids the ratio of silver to gold was 2 : 1⁵—it is not unreasonable to suppose that there would be a demand for silver, if merely for purposes of luxury or religion, sufficient to balance the export of corn from Egypt.

The Cretans of the Minoan kingdom had discovered the possibilities of trade with Egypt on this basis of exchanging silver for corn, as is shown by the pictures in Theban tombs of Cretan envoys bringing metal vases to the royal court;⁶ they are described as tribute offerings, but there is no conceivable reason why a king of Crete should have wanted to

¹ Wine was produced in Egypt—see Lucas, *op. cit.*, 13 ff.—but mainly as a luxury.

² Herodotus (II. 94) regards castor-oil as the stock Egyptian oil; several other local vegetable oils are named in papyri—see Lucas, *op. cit.*, 269 ff.

³ The hoards of Greek coins found in Egypt have been indexed by S. P. Noe, *Bibliography of Greek Coin-hoards* (2nd edn., New York, 1937).

⁴ Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, IV, § 729.

⁵ *JEA* 15, 150.

⁶ Breasted, *op. cit.*, II, §§ 760, 773: the scenes are fully discussed by Sir Arthur Evans in *Palace of Minos*, II. 739 ff.

pay tribute to a king of Egypt at this period, and it may be taken as certain that the vases were simply brought as payment for corn. The collapse of Crete and the insecurity of communications in the Levant which seems to have ensued thereupon would interrupt this trade; Egyptian objects reached Greece in the Mycenaean age,¹ but it is not clear that there was any regular or direct intercourse. But, when the refugees who crossed the Aegaeon after the Dorian invasion of the Greek peninsula had settled themselves in their new homes on the west coast of Asia Minor and grew in importance as manufacturing communities, they would require to import supplies of food, more particularly of corn, which they could not get from the Anatolian plateau; they might then recall the traditions of voyages to Egypt, and resume the visits to the mouth of the Nile which had been profitable in earlier centuries. Milesian merchants were frequenting the coast of the Delta certainly in the middle of the eighth century B.C., and possibly a good deal before that date;² the first definite settlement of the Greeks at Naucratis was probably in the middle of the seventh century, and the princes who maintained themselves, with varying success, against the Assyrians on the one hand and the Ethiopians on the other relied very largely on Greek help. This help must have come to a large extent from the cities of Ionia and Caria: the names of the mercenaries of Psametik II inscribed at Abu-simbel give evidence of this, including as they do men from Colophon, Teos, and Ialysos.³ So when, about 565, Amasis took steps to concentrate the foreign traders at Naucratis, and allowed them to erect public buildings there, of the twelve cities which are named as participating in the foundation eleven are from the Asiatic side of the Aegaeon, and only one, Aegina, from the western.

The appearance of Aegina in the list is significant, if regard is paid to the objects of the trade of Naucratis. The Asiatic cities would have to find some form of metal in which to negotiate their exchange for corn with the Egyptians: as mentioned before, the Milesian stuffs would not be acceptable in Egypt, and the only product of the west of Asia Minor that would have any appeal there would be the 'pale gold', now called electrum, of the Lydian valleys. But the Egyptians wanted silver more than gold; and the Ionians and Carians, realizing this, found a supply of the desired metal within fairly easy reach in Thrace. There is ample evidence of Ionian interest in the Thracian mines in the sixth century, and stray references carry it farther back;⁴ the line of trade is understandable, since the Thracian tribes would be customers for Ionian manufactured goods, but would not want Egyptian corn; so the Ionians marketed their fabrics in Thrace for silver, which they took out to Egypt and used to buy Egyptian corn: then they brought the corn home, and the triangle was complete. This accounts satisfactorily for the hoards of Thracian coins which have been found in Egypt, dating from the sixth century; that there is not similar evidence from an earlier date may be explained by the fact that it was only in this century that the practice of making up metal in the form of coins was introduced amongst the Thracian tribes.

When silver had to be provided as a staple article of trade the Aeginetans had a clear advantage over the Ionians: they could get their metal from the mines of Siphnos, only a few hours' sail away, while the Ionians had to sail across the Aegaeon to Thasos, which was probably their depot. The mainland Greeks had not shown much interest in silver in

¹ J. B. S. Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca*, 53. The objects are almost all of early or middle Eighteenth-dynasty date.

² *CAH*, III, 291.

³ M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 6, No. 4.

⁴ One of the most definite references is in Suidas, *s.v.* *Χρυσός Κολοφώνιος*, where he ascribes the origin of the term to the working of the Thracian mines by the Colophonians who were driven from home by the Lydians, which was probably in the middle of the seventh century.

Mycenaean times: it may have been regarded as an inferior, or at any rate common, metal, and so have been despised in comparison with gold. But when the new occupants of Greece began to take to the sea, a development which Thucydides dated to about 700 B.C.,¹ the merchants who went to the Levant in search of trade would quickly realize the demand for silver in Egypt and take steps to supply it. Aegina was the leader in Greek maritime enterprise; the island itself produces practically nothing exportable, and may be compared to Hong Kong or Singapore, but the Siphnian silver was just what was needed to secure a position in the Egyptian corn trade. It may be assumed that the ratios of values between silver and corn were about the same as between silver and gold in the Greek and Egyptian markets—in other words, a piece of silver would buy five times as much corn in Egypt as it would in Greece. If this is anywhere near the truth—and it is quite in accordance with economic principles—it is obvious that the Aeginetans would be able to flood the Greek markets with cheap corn, and it is not surprising that in the second half of the seventh century the farmers of Attica found corn-growing an unprofitable business.

The Aeginetan coins give an indication of the date at which the merchants started their trade with the East. The earliest of the turtles, as the coins of Aegina were popularly named from the badge upon them, were struck about 700 B.C., as ingots of metal; they do not appear to be adjusted to any known Greek system of weights, and probably, like the electrum coins of the Ionians, were made up in a form convenient for trade and stamped with the badge of the city as a guarantee of quality. This is quite consistent with their having been intended primarily for shipment as bullion to foreign markets; it would be unnecessary for this purpose to relate them to Greek weights or to give them a fixed value in terms of Greek currency, which would be meaningless abroad; and the testimony of Greek writers is practically unanimous in ascribing the first introduction of values in specie to Pheidon of Argos about 650 B.C., a date which agrees well with the evidence of the coins themselves.² If then the Aeginetans began, about 700, to produce silver ingots stamped with the badge of the city and intended primarily for foreign trade, since the most important market for Greek silver at this time would be Egypt, it is highly probable that the turtles were introduced specifically for that market, and that their introduction was approximately contemporary with the establishment of a regular commercial connexion between Greece and Egypt.³

It is true that this date is earlier than that suggested above for the first settlement of the Greeks in Egypt at Naucratis, but the trade might easily—in fact, on many analogies would naturally—have antedated the settlement: prudent merchants would like to make certain of their market before they built an emporium. The course of events may perhaps be traced from the list of thalassocracies given by Eusebius and Jerome; exact dates are difficult to determine from their statements, but it seems probable that they found a tradition that the chief control of trade in the Eastern Mediterranean had passed through a succession of hands, and that somewhere between the ninth and seventh centuries the order of succession had been Phoenicians, Egyptians, and Milesians, also that the Egyptian domination had lasted for half a century. The only record in the history of Egypt during this period that show the rulers of that country in a position to take an effective interest

¹ Thucydides i. 13.

² For discussion of this see *The First Stages in the Development of Greek Coinage* (Oxford, 1934).

³ This date is supported by the finds of Egyptian objects in Greece catalogued by Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, 82–4 (Sunium), 95–8 (Aegina), 58–61 (Heraeum of Argos). All these are small objects, such as scarabs, of about seventh-century date, except for two or three from Argos, and, as Pendlebury points out, are such as would be dedicated by sailors on their safe return as ‘lucks’; they all come from temple precincts.

in foreign trade come after the revival of the power of the Delta princes beginning about 720 and lasting until the Assyrian invasion of 671. But, if this was the time of the Egyptian thalassocracy, it must have been maintained by Greek ships manned by Greek sailors, as there is no trace of an Egyptian navy or merchant fleet; and the tradition may have been started by the general concourse of traders at the mouths of the Nile, who came from various cities and had no common point except the market where they assembled. The collapse of the Egyptian native rulers would make it desirable for the Greeks to organize their market under their own control, which is what is implied in the settlement at Naucratis; and, as the Milesians were the most important section of the Greek community, the thalassocracy might be said to have passed to them.

The entry of the Aeginetans into the circle of traders with Egypt would not in itself affect the position of the Ionians: the Aeginetan market for the corn brought from Egypt was in Greece, which had not been exploited by the Ionians, and the twelve cities seem to have worked together amicably at Naucratis. The hoards of coins found in Egypt show specimens from both Aeginetan and Ionian sources, and the routes by which the coins came can be traced by a sort of trail: the Thracian silver came by Ionia and Lycia, the Aeginetan by Crete. The first intrusion into the circle occurred soon after the reorganization of the settlement at Naucratis in the reign of Amasis: this resulted from the development of interests in Eastern trade at Athens.

The rise of Athens as a commercial city was due to Solon; but Solon, though he is said to have visited Egypt, showed no intention of opening up a trading connexion in that quarter of the world. He stopped the export of corn from Attica—a measure which was judicious enough, when the Aeginetans were able to cut prices by means of their cheap Egyptian corn—but there is no hint that he imported Egyptian corn direct into Athens, and the export on which he wished the Attic farmers to concentrate their production, olive oil, would command little sale in Egypt outside Naucratis: it was essentially an article of common demand in Greece and South Italy and Sicily.¹ The exploitation of the Attic silver mines at Laureium had probably not commenced, and the coins that were certainly struck for Solon are few in number and of Euboean fabric and standard; this indicates that he was joining the commercial group controlled by Euboea and Corinth, which dealt almost exclusively with the West, and had no concern with Egypt: their coins only occur sporadically in Egypt. The inception of trade with the East by Athens can certainly be credited to Pisistratus, and the evidence of his coinage suggests a carefully devised plan of operations.

Pisistratus, when driven from Athens for the second time, took up his quarters near the mouth of the Strymon in Thrace, and there was at the starting-point of the supplies of silver which went through Ionia to Egypt. It is quite natural to imagine that he would inform himself fully of the nature and conditions of the trade that went on before his eyes, and would decide that in this there was an opening for Athenian enterprise, if a supply of silver could be secured; and it is probable enough that he was aware of the existence of silver at Laureium not far from his home in Attica. It is certain that on his return to Athens and his restoration to power he started a new issue of coins of a character designed to suit foreign, and particularly Eastern, trade. He may have brought some silver with him from the north, as the words of Herodotus suggest; but he supplemented this, also according to Herodotus, with metal obtained locally, which must mean from the mines of Laureium; no other veins of silver are known to have existed in Attica. His new unit of coinage was the tetradrachm, double the unit of Solon; and his reason for the change was in all probability the need to provide an ingot which would be more attractive to the

¹ See *The Monetary Reform of Solon*, *JHS* 50, 179; 57, 96.

Egyptian merchants. From his experience in Thrace he might have learnt that the Oriental markets preferred a heavier ingot than the European; in the next century the Sidonians struck coins twice the weight of the Athenian tetradrachm, and the Egyptian copper units of the Ptolemies weighed over twenty Attic drachms; and the same principle holds good in the East to this day, as may be judged by a comparison of Indian or Chinese coins with those of Western nations. The Thracian mints had met this demand by striking big silver coins substantially heavier than the Aeginetan units; Pisistratus can hardly have failed to notice this, and he followed their example. The change proved successful: the Pisistratan tetradrachms made their appearance almost at once in Egypt and Cyrene, and in fifty years they outnumbered the Aeginetan coins, so far as can be judged from the contents of Egyptian hoards.

It is probable that Athens could undersell Aegina in the silver market after the mines at Laureium were in operation, as they were the property of the state, and the metal came to the mint at first cost. Aegina, on the other hand, was not the actual producer, but had to buy from outside sources, mainly from Siphnos; and the notorious wealth of the Siphnians suggests that they charged a stiff price for their metal.¹ But the other competitors of the Athenians in the trade with Egypt, the Ionians, though they also had to buy from outside, may have got their silver cheaply in Thrace, where the cost of mining would presumably be lower than in Siphnos. They were, however, removed from the field of action not long after Pisistratus had entered it; the expansion of the Persian power to the West in the second half of the sixth century B.C. brought the mining regions into the hands of the Great King, and the produce of the mines would go to his treasury, or at any rate be sold at Persian prices, which were probably higher than Thracian. They certainly seem to have been so in the fourth century, when the Thracian mines were in the possession of Philip of Macedon; so the margin of profit for the Ionian traders in the Egyptian market would be diminished. The desire of Histiaeus of Miletus to obtain a footing on the Strymon near the mines shows how much store an Ionian placed on the Thracian connexion,² and his failure to secure it and the revolt which followed dealt a death-blow to Ionian trade with Egypt. It need not be supposed that the Persian king desired to ruin his subjects, much less to throw trade into the hands of the Athenian merchants; but this was what resulted from his occupation of Thrace.

During the greater part of the fifth century the trade between Greece and Egypt was an Athenian monopoly: since the one commodity that the Egyptians wanted was silver, the Athenians took care that no Greek state should be in a position to ship silver to Egypt in competition with themselves. After the retreat of the Persians from Europe in 479 B.C. the Thracian mines passed into the possession of Alexander I of Macedon, who tried to revive the old export of silver from the Strymon, as is shown by the coins which he struck on the old Thracian model; but the Athenians checkmated him by seizing the island of Thasos, the main depot for shipments from Thrace,³ and by issuing a decree which forbade the introduction of coins of other standards than Athenian into the empire which they had created out of the old Confederacy of Delos. These measures effectively stifled the Macedonian trade, and the only coins struck by the Macedonian kings after Alexander I till the end of the century were small pieces for local use. By the time when the Athenian Empire broke up and the Athenian grip on the Aegean was relaxed, the Egyptians had become so accustomed to Athenian coins that they preferred them to all others, and seemingly regarded the head of Athene and her owl as the ideal types for guaranteeing an ingot of silver. The position was very similar to that which existed on both sides of the

¹ Herodotus III. 57.

² Herodotus V. 11; 23.

³ Thucydides I. 100.

Red Sea throughout the nineteenth century, when the thalers of Maria Theresa had won such a place in the affections of the Arabians and Abyssinians that they would accept nothing else in their place, and the Vienna mint went on striking thalers with the portrait of the Empress and dated 1780 to supply the demand; when the English expedition went out to Abyssinia in 1870 the London mint also struck Maria Theresa thalers for its use, and it was only last year that the Italian government ordered their withdrawal from circulation in Abyssinia. So, in the middle of the fourth century, the Athenian general Chabrias was given old Athenian dies to take with him to Egypt, and he used them there to strike quasi-Athenian tetradrachms for his mercenaries; and, when the native prince Tachos led a revolt against the Persians and issued gold coins in his own name, the types he put upon them were the head of Athene and the owl.¹

But the popularity of the Athenian 'owls' in Egypt had apparently outlasted the Athenian monopoly of sea-borne trade; at any rate comparatively few Athenian coins of the fourth century, other than what appear to be local copies, are found in Egypt, and the contemporary records suggest that Athens relied much more on the Euxine than on Egypt for supplies of corn. The Phoenician fleet was more important in the Levant than the Athenian, and the growth of Phoenician trade in the early part of this century is marked by the great development of coinage at Tyre and Sidon. If there was any shipping done by Greeks it probably went through Cyprus, where the kings of Salamis had built up a considerable power, or through Cyrene, where Persian suzerainty seems to have been shaken off before the end of the fifth century; in either case the base of distribution for the Aegaeon would be Rhodes, not Athens. But the Persian Empire was breaking up, and the whole of the Nile valley was in a state of confusion; the focus of disturbance was usually in the Delta, which would naturally hinder transport from the interior to the sea. Almost the only suggestion of trade with Greeks is in an inscription of Nectanebo, which endows a temple with a tithe on all imports by sea and on the products of Naucratis:² and there is nothing to show whether this endowment ever produced anything. It is quite likely that the direct trade between Egypt and Greece was dead when Alexander the Great conquered Egypt; and it was reconstructed under entirely new conditions.

¹ *JEA* 19, 120.

² A. Erman and U. Wilcken, *ZÄS* 38, 127 ff.

THE LAMPS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

By F. W. ROBINS

It is one of the supposed mysteries of archaeology that little or nothing is known of the means of artificial lighting employed by the ancient Egyptians. Or for 'mystery' should we substitute 'fallacy'? Although undoubted lamps of the dynastic period seem to be almost wholly lacking from recorded finds, other evidence of their existence is available and, while the fact that few vessels have been identified as lamps of that period in Egypt may seem surprising at first sight, an examination of the probabilities as to the types of lamp generally used points to the matter being a question of our failure to identify rather than the lamps' failure to survive.

At the outset, it may be useful to survey the origin of the lamp in some other parts of the ancient world. Broadly speaking, the prototypes of nearly all manufactured lamps are sea-shells and hollowed stones. The use of the sea-shell as a primitive lamp has existed in widely separated areas of the world; Sir Leonard Woolley found positive evidence of such use at Ur, as well as manufactured lamps in calcite and in metal plainly owing their origin and form to the sea-shell lamps and dating from the fourth millennium B.C. Sea-shells have been used as lamps in Japan by the Ainu, in the outlying islands of Scotland, in Wales, and even within living memory in our own Cornwall. Coming nearer to Egypt, the Phoenician 'cocked-hat' type of lamp seems plainly to suggest a shell origin, as do similar lamps found by the Wellcome Expedition in Palestine and dating from the second millennium B.C. The type appears in Egypt, but at so comparatively late a date as to suggest that it was an importation from abroad, and there is absolutely no evidence of the shell being the origin of such lamps as the ancient Egyptians had during most of their history.

The hollowed stone seems a much more likely source, in view of the very extensive use of stone for vessels of all kinds in Egypt, but to the best of the writer's knowledge there is no clear evidence that any of the many stone objects found in Egypt were lamps. It might be worth while looking for such evidence, but, in view of the extremely simple form of most stone lamps, the ascription of such a purpose to likely-looking hollowed-out stones must in most cases be more or less guesswork. A feature which is helpful in this connexion is the frequent and curious resemblance between stone lamps or presumed lamps found in areas which would seem to have had no possible cultural connexion with one another at so early a date. In the writer's collection of ancient lamps, for instance, is one from prehistoric Cornwall, roughly 'D'-shaped, which, in general outline though not in finish, is strikingly close to the form of the Eskimo stone lamp. Others are more like bowls, and this is the type which was used (in pottery) in Egypt if the presumption that the lamp started there as a hollowed-out stone is correct. On the other hand, neolithic finds at Khirokitia, Cyprus, illustrated in *Ill. Lond. News* for December 26, 1936, include a number of stone bowls which may well be lamps; some of these have distinct spouts. But until an examination of early stone bowls and saucer-like vessels is carried out from this particular point of view and yields fairly satisfactory evidence, the original form of the lamp in ancient Egypt must remain mere surmise, based on probabilities in relation to what has happened elsewhere.


There is, nevertheless, a fair amount of evidence that early lamps in Egypt owed nothing

to the shell and were of bowl or saucer form—probably, in the first instance at any rate, without spouts. If this form did not originate in the hollowed-out stone, the only likely alternative is that it grew out of the use of ordinary pottery (or stone) household vessels as lamps by providing them with oil and a wick, just as the natives of the East to-day use cigarette or other tins as ready-made lamps and the Cornish tin-miners quite recently used old brown teapots (especially if the spouts were broken) as handy lamps for the boiler-house and such places. One could multiply such examples wholesale—the candle in the wine-bottle or the saucer, the primitive lamps made of condensed-milk tins used by the soldiers on the Gallipoli peninsula, and the use, both in ancient and modern times, of the sea-shell, are all examples of the way in which any handy vessel may be used to carry a light, given the necessary oil or fat and the material for the wick.

Herodotus (II, 62) states that ‘At Sais, when the assembly takes place for the sacrifices, there is one night on which the inhabitants all burn a multitude of lights in the open air around their houses. They use lamps in the shape of flat saucers filled with a mixture of oil and salt, *on the top of which the wick floats.*’ There is a striking analogy between this and the use of the ordinary *chirags* or peasant open pottery lamps for festival illuminations in India; perhaps even more relevant is the use of open pottery lamps of domestic origin for illuminations in Nigeria, the only part of the dark continent south of the Mediterranean littoral which appears to have had lamps of native origin.

Of particular significance, however, in this passage is the concluding sentence. At the time when Herodotus wrote (fifth century B.C.), Greek lamps, though open (usually with a recurved rim), were all provided with spouts of some sort, though they might be rudimentary ones, and the wicks could not be described accurately as floating in these; the very fact that Herodotus makes particular mention of the point suggests that he found it strange or unusual. Add to this Clement of Alexandria’s attribution of the invention of lamps to the Egyptians (a statement which was perhaps correct relatively to the world he knew but is not absolutely so of course) and the suggestion¹ that certain vessels of the Corinthian period (sixth to seventh century B.C.) in Greece without spouts are lamps, and one is justified in inferring that the floating-wick lamp (*a*) preceded the rounded spout forms and (*b*) originated in Egypt before finding its way to Greece.

If the lamps of ancient Egypt were of the floating-wick type, without any form of spout, this would account for the difficulty of recognizing them. This type of lamp is the hardest of all to identify as such; the absence of a spout or nozzle obscures for us the purpose for which the vessel was intended, and since the flame floated more or less in the centre of an open bowl there are not necessarily any visible signs of burning. Accordingly, unless there is some known peculiarity in the form of the lamp, it may be indistinguishable among many vessels of bowl or saucer form of which the use is not precisely known. Indeed, even if a use is assigned to a given vessel, it does not follow that it was the only use.

Some indication of the shape of early Egyptian lamps is given by the hieroglyph . This, although usually representing a bowl for incense with smoke issuing from it (Gard., *Egn. Gr.*, p. 489, R 7), suggests a simple bowl with a floating wick in the centre. Confirmation of this is found in the wall-paintings reproduced in *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, III, Pl. vii, in which are shown vessels from which a central flame is issuing and having flat bases and straight splayed sides as in the hieroglyph. Elsewhere some variation in form is shown. In a sacrificial scene (*op. cit.*, IV, Pl. xv) there are round-bottomed bowls with rounded rims, each bearing *three* flames. This is a quite possible form of floating-wick lamp; the Jews of Palestine have a festival lamp in which seven wicks float. A similar form of

¹ Walters, *Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum*, xviii f.

vessel is shown as a brazier; this is distinguishable as such by the fact that embers are shown above the rim, but it again suggests that such bowls were not confined to a single purpose, and tends to support the suggestion already made as to the difficulty of identification. Yet another form is a plain, round-bottomed bowl without moulded rim; this is shown with both single and triple flames in a picture of the adoration of the Sun, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. viii, and similar lamps appear in sacrificial scenes elsewhere. In some cases these may, of course, be incense-burners rather than lamps, but it looks as though the same form was used for both, and in view of the close association of the lamp with religious ceremonies at all times and in most parts of the world the mere fact of the vessel being apparently used ceremonially rather than for a purely utilitarian purpose does not settle the point one way or the other.

It seems evident from these facts that the lamps of ancient Egypt were of the floating-wick type. This would be quite consistent with the use of the alabaster vases found in Tutankhamūn's tomb as lamp-holders;¹ a close parallel, with probable direct connexion, is to be found in the glass Arabic lamps (or more properly lamp-containers) of the Middle Ages.

Mr. N. de G. Davies, in *JEA* 10, 9 ff., has an interesting and detailed article on 'A Peculiar Form of New Kingdom Lamp', but the particular device to which he primarily refers would appear to be rather of the nature of a torch, probably of wax and somewhat analogous to the 'staff torches' of the Middle Ages in Europe. Another form with which he deals, however, is a cup-shaped bowl on a columnar stand, from which arises either a candle or torch, or possibly a vertical flame. Although the object in the bowl is more likely to be a candle or torch, the form of the bowl and pedestal provides an interesting comparison with certain red pottery columns surmounted by shallow bowls found at the Bucheum² together with spouted cups and spouted simple saucers, both of which forms are obviously lamps. Although the Bucheum lamps were all spouted and late in date, they probably were improvements on the earlier form and follow the general development of the open lamps.

Assuming that the normal form of the ancient Egyptian lamp was a simple bowl or saucer with a floating wick, it is, as already stated, easy to see why it has not been identified. On the other hand, it should have left some mark on the subsequent development of the lamp, and it is not very difficult to find evidence of this.

Neuburger, discussing the disappearance of the ancient Egyptian lamp in his *Technical Arts of the Ancients*, suggests that it may have been made of glass; although this is out of the question for the Pharaonic period, the suggestion leads us straight to an historical fact. Apart from the almost certain existence of floating-wick lamps in dynastic Egypt (the Jewish seven-branched candlestick was really a group of floating-wick lamps which might easily have owed something to Egyptian influence), the history of the type begins in the fourth century A.D. with glass lamps found *in dwelling-houses* in the Fayyūm. Whence had the idea come if not from ancient Egypt, whose influence in the Fayyūm has lasted in other things to the present day? By the fifth century the Byzantine church had adopted the floating-wick lamp; it scarcely needs emphasizing that much of the practice of the Christian Church in early times and even to-day has a distinctly Egyptian tinge as to both furnishing and ceremonial. From Egypt to Byzantium, from Byzantium to the rest of Europe—that seems to be the story of the use of the glass sanctuary-lamp with its floating wick in the Christian churches of to-day. The story of monasticism, with its roots in Egypt and its branches spreading over the Christian world, is sufficient to explain the spread of the floating-wick lamp and its appearance in the illuminated manuscripts of the early Middle Ages.

In *JEA* 17, 196 ff., there is an exhaustive account of Byzantine glass lamps by Grace M.

¹ Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen*, II, 30 f.

² Mond and Myers, *The Bucheum*, I, 91.

Crowfoot and D. B. Harden. By a comparison with the descriptions of standing and hanging lamps of glass given by ancient writers from the fourth century A.D. onwards, and the lamps depicted in mosaics of the fourth century, the authors (and others quoted by them) have been able to identify a number of surviving vessels or fragments of vessels as lamps. Judging by types found at Karanis (in the Fayyūm) and elsewhere, the earliest recognized forms (fourth and fifth centuries A.D.) were simple cones with pointed or narrow flattened bases or hemispherical bowls. The latter may have been the older type, and it conforms very closely indeed to the forms of the vessels containing flames seen in the tomb-paintings already mentioned. Many of the later forms, in which a stem or knob appears at the base of the bowl, were obviously adaptations or developments of the simple bowl; in fact, if one ignores the base-stem of the type of floating-wick lamp depicted in the European illuminated manuscripts of the thirteenth century or before (*e.g.* Cotton MS. Caligula A. VII, f. 5, German twelfth century, Harl. 5102, early thirteenth century, English psalter, and others in the British Museum), it is not difficult to see a distinct resemblance between these and the round-based bowls depicted in some of the Nineteenth-dynasty tomb-paintings.

Though the Byzantine floating-wick lamps were of glass, it is probable that the ancient Egyptian examples were of pottery. In the writer's collection of lamps there is a yellow glazed flat-based pottery bowl for a floating wick, from Morocco, the form of which is plainly that of the straight-sided Egyptian lamp and the lamp of the hieroglyph, plus the moulded rim of the round-based form and a base-knob which connects it with the glass lamps of the Byzantine era. While indeed the floating-wick lamps of mosque, synagogue, and Christian church are in glass, the use of pottery for the type is not altogether uncommon; another lamp in my collection, from Algiers, is of coarse buff pottery. The traditional conservatism of the East allows us to connect these lamps with a far earlier period than the date of their manufacture.

Since the floating-wick lamp, after its adoption by the Church (which explains its survival at least into the Christian era), has persisted through the ages, its disappearance from ordinary Egyptian use requires explanation. The lamps of the Bucheum suggest the answer. While the floating-wick lamp has its advantages as a hanging lamp (the form in which it has survived), the spouted type is obviously better suited to manual use, and to niches and brackets, and the spouted saucers, coming as they did at a time when the classical world had already adopted a much more advanced form of closed-in lamp, seem to be an 'improved' adaptation of the old saucer-lamp, and as such follow the general history of the lamp in most parts of the world. As the Bucheum lamps are dated to the Roman period, the retention of any open form must have been due to some indigenous influence. From the Ptolemaic era onwards, however, the classical closed-in lamp is more common.

It is curious that many parallels to things of ancient Egypt can be found in another very old civilization—that of China. Just as the eye on the prow of the boat, for instance, is common to both, so is the open saucer-lamp without a spout, and this is all the more curious in that the lamps of the Middle East, on the other hand, are almost invariably spouted—the Indian *chirag* of pottery is an almost exact replica, in many cases, of the spouted saucer-lamps from the Bucheum. The floating-wick principle, however, seems to be peculiarly Egyptian in origin, and it is notable that whereas most of the prehistoric stone lamps seem to have been used with the wick hanging over the edge (and many have a special place for the wick), some of the stone cresset lamps of the medieval monasteries and churches have no provision for the wick at all and are therefore of the floating-wick type, no doubt ultimately inspired by the ancient tradition carried on by the early recluses of the Egyptian desert. Possibly some of the dynastic floating-wick lamps were also of stone.

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THE work is divided as follows:

- § 1. Archaeology. G. A. WAINWRIGHT.
- § 2. Art and Architecture. N. DE G. DAVIES.
- § 3. Conservation. A. N. DAKIN.
- § 4. Demotic Studies. A. N. DAKIN.
- § 5. Excavations and Explorations. M. F. L. MACADAM.
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- § 15. Religion and Magic. P. C. SMITHER.
- § 16. Science, Mathematics, &c. (covering 1937 and 1938). R. W. SLOLEY.

For the explanation of abbreviations used in references to periodicals, &c., see the list at the end of this volume.¹

The date '1938' is regularly omitted in the case of books, periodicals, &c., published in that year.

It is hoped that allowance will be made for any deficiencies in this year's Bibliography; most of the contributors were working in difficult circumstances in the autumn of 1939. Special thanks are due both from the collaborators and from readers of the Bibliography to Mr. Paul C. Smither, without whose zeal it must have been lamentably incomplete; he produced five sections in a short space of time when emergency evacuation compelled a last-minute reshuffle of contributors.

It would help greatly towards making this Bibliography complete if scholars would be so kind as to send offprints of their articles (or at least such as appear in periodicals not devoted mainly to Egyptology or kindred subjects) to the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, which, it is hoped, will in future be the centre for the work (with Mr. Alec N. Dakin as general Editor) and from which offprints could be circulated to contributors working elsewhere.

The contributors wish to express their thanks for the great help received from the bibliographical card-index issued from Brussels by the Fondation Reine Élisabeth. Their task would be almost impossible without this aid.

1. Archaeology

R. ANTHES, *Technik u. Datierung einiger äg. Bronzen mit farbigen Glaseinlagen in Berliner Museen* 59, 69-76, a long description of two Osiris figures in bronze with rough inlay probably of Ramesside date, and a description of an inlaid Hathor aegis of about 700 B.C.

¹ Considerations of space have necessitated compression of the text of this Bibliography by abbreviation of many frequently recurring words. It is hoped that the abbreviations will be self-explanatory, but to avoid any possible obscurity a list of all except the most obvious is given here: anc. = ancient, ancien, -s, -ne(s); Antiq. Dept. = Antiquities Department (Service des Antiquités); archaeol. = archaeolog-y, -ical; art(s). = article(s); BM = British Museum; Byz. = Byzantine; comm(s). = commentar-y, -ies; Cop. = Coptic; dem. = demotic; doc(s). = document(s); ed(d)., -n., -s., = edit-or(s), -ion, -s; Eg(n). = Egypt(ian); Eg. = Égypte; ég. = égyptien, -s, -ne(s); ét. = étude(s); fragm(m). = fragment(s); Gk. = Greek; hierogl. = hieroglyph(ic); hist. = histor-y, -ical; illust(s). = illustration(s); inser(r). = inscription(s); Inst. = Institute; Inst. fr. = Institut français; MFA = Museum of Fine Arts (Boston); M.K. = Middle Kingdom; MMA = Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York); mus. = museum, musée(s); n(n). = note(s); N.K. = New Kingdom; not., -d., -s. = notice, -d, -s; O.K. = Old Kingdom; ostr(r). = ostrac-on, -a; pap(p). = papyr-us, -i; Ptol. = Ptolemaic; publ., -d., -n(s)., -s. = publi-sh, -shed, -cation(s), -shes; rdg(s). = reading(s); ref(s). = reference(s); rev., -d., -r., -s. = review, -ed, -er, -s; Rom. = Roman; transcr(r). = transcription(s); transl., -d., -n(s)., -s. = translat-e, -ed, -ion(s), -es.

H. BALCZ, *Ein Vorläufer d. Königsjacke* in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 48–50, shows Udimu of Dyn. 1 wearing the cross-bands well known in the N.K.; 18, *id.*, *Zu d. 'kannelierten Säulen' d. Djoserbezirkes in Sakkara*, thinks they are derived from wooden precursors, not from bundles of reeds or papyrus-stalks.

G. A. BALLARD in *The Mariner's Mirror* 23, 103–5, discusses SÖLVER's art. on *Egn. shipping of about 1500 B.C.* in the previous vol. He thinks the port of Zeila answers well to the Dêr el-Bahri picture of Pwenet and offers an excellent harbour.

E. BILLE-DE MOT has a useful illustd. art. *Comment les Égns. faisaient leurs statues* in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 220–33.

A. M. BLACKMAN in *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 25, 58 f. revs. BORCHARDT's *Denkmäler d. Alten Reiches (ausser d. Statuen)*, *CCG*, pointing out a number of shortcomings; 45 ff., revs. REISNER, *The Development of the Egn. Tomb down to the Accession of Cheops*, making the remark, which is applicable to all this writer's work, that the reader is often 'unable to see the wood for the trees', and opposing many of the theories propounded; 55, notices Part 5 of BORCHARDT's *Statuen u. Statuetten v. Königen u. Privatleuten*.

C. BOREUX, *Une nouvelle tête amarnienne* in *Mon. Piot* 36, 1–26 and pl. 1 publs. a limestone head of one of the princesses. It does not show the usual deformity as this is hidden by the wig.

BRITISH MUS. issues a *Handbook to the Egn. Mummies and Coffins Exhibited in the BM* as a result of the rearrangement of the galleries.

G. BRUNTON, *Syrian Connections of a Composite Bow* in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 251 shows the strongly Syrian character of the family in the tomb of a member of which was found the beautiful composite bow which is a well-known object in the Cairo Mus.

CAIRO MUS. has publ. a new edn. of *A Brief Description of the Principal Monuments*.

J. CAPART, *A Neo-Memphite Bas-Relief* in *Journ. Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore) 1, 13–17 and figs., shows that two Saite sculptures form part of one scene. The scene includes a representation of the 'Serpent' game. He also publs. a Saite relief of Ankhefensakhmet; in *Bull. Mus. roy. d'art et d'hist.* (Brussels) 10, 83–6 and figs. he publs. *Une statue de Sebekhotep précepteur royal*, an unusual statue of a man nursing a royal prince, almost certainly Amenhotpe III, and works up much information about Sebekhotpe's family and known monuments; 114–16, *La statue du vizir Neferouben* discusses the function and family of the owner of a statue newly acquired by the Brussels Mus. He was one of the rare viziers of Lower Egypt, and has the same name, but not titles, as the father of Rekhmirê⁶. Lord Nugent has a canopic jar of his.

M. CHEHAB, *Un trésor d'orfèvrerie syro-ég.* in *Bull. du Mus. de Beyrouth* 1 (1937), 7–21, pls. and figs., catalogues a magnificent hoard of gold objects of Amenemhêt III's reign. It was found somewhere in Syria and sold in Jerusalem in 1925.

J. D. COONEY in *Brooklyn Mus. Quart.*, 1938, 93–7 describes the recent accessions from the EES excavations at Tell el-'Amarnah and Sesebi; 130, publs. the head of a beautiful little limestone statuette of Senu, Dyn. 18.

P. COREMANS in *Bull. Mus. roy. d'art et d'hist.* (Brussels) 10, 87–91, *Les rayons infra-rouges*, shows some fine examples of the advantage of using this type of photography for antiquities, and gives a bibliography of the subject.

M. CRAMER, *Ein Beitrag z. Fortleben d. Altäg. im Koptischen u. Arabischen* in *Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 7 (1937), 119–27 and figs., considers the curious shape of the Coptic altar-stones to have originated in aa. It then passed to Coptic gravestones, and so to Arab gravestones.

F. W. DEICHMANN, *Zum altäg. in d. kopt. Baukunst* in *Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 8, 34–7, deals with the White and Red Monasteries at Sohäg and the church at Denderah.

R. DEMANGEL, *Triglyphes bas* in *BCH* 61 (1937), 421–38, discusses the origin of the Greek architectural feature, taking it back to oriental sources including Egn.

C. DESROCHES, *Modèle de maison citadine du Nouvel empire* in *Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 17–25, studies a model in the Louvre, and gives a convincing perspective drawing of what the town house must have been.

A. DOBROVITZ, *Harpokrates* in *Diss. in Hon. Dr. E. Mahler*, 71–122, studies at great length the technique of Egn. small bronzes, his basis being a study of many Harpokrates figures.

É. DRIOTON in *Rev. arch.* vi^e Sér., 12, 268 f., revs. A. ROWE, *A Catalogue of Egn. Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals, and Amulets in the Palestine Arch. Mus.*; vi^e Sér., 10 (1937), 293 f., revs. WRESZINSKI's *Atlas*, Pt. III.

EES publs. a small catalogue of the exhibition of its finds at Sesebi-'Amārah West.

R. ENGELBACH, *A Hitherto Unknown Statue of King Tutankhamûn* in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 23–8 and pl. describes the building up of another statue of this king from fragmm. which have long lain in the Cairo Mus.; 95–107 and 5 pls., *A Limestone Head of King Akhenaton in the Cairo Mus.* which seems to have formed

part of a dyad with a head of Nefertiti; 96, n. 1, points out that forgeries of heads of Akhenaten and his daughters are becoming very common; 285-96 and 4 pls., *Some Remarks on Ka-statues of Abnormal Men in the Old Kingdom* and 699, *Addendum* thereto shows dwarfs and various other deformities.

R. ENGELBACH and J. W. MACALDIN, *The Great Lake of Amenophis III at Medīnet Habu* in *Bull. Inst. d'Ég.* 20, 51-61, decide that this was not a pleasure-lake as usually supposed but a harbour for boats in connexion with the palace near by. The period of 16 days given for its excavation proves to have been quite possible.

H. W. FAIRMAN in *Ann. Arch. Anthr.*, 1937, 172 ff., has a long rev. of NOSHY, *The Arts in Ptol. Eg.*, with interesting views on conditions in Eg. at this time.

G. GRAF, *Ein alter Kelchthron in d. Kirche Abū Sefēn* in *Bull. Soc. d'arch. copte* 4, 28-36, describes again this 'altar casket' which BUTLER has already discussed once. The date is A.D. 1564/5.

B. GRDSELOFF, *Zum Vogelfang*, in *ZÄS* 74, 52-5, 136-9 and figs., studies the small bird-trap, of which various portions have been recovered from various places.

W. C. HAYES in *Bull. MMA*, 1938, 107 ff., describes a 6th-Dyn. statuette presented by the Khedive Said Pasha to Commodore PERRY on his way home from opening up Japan, and now presented to the Mus. by Commodore Perry's granddaughter. He also figures a very good Anubis figure of Ptol. date; 182-4, *The Egn. God of the Lotus: A Bronze Statuette* shows a fine figure from Mitrahinah, perhaps of Dyn. 25. He also gives some account of the god Nefertēm; his *Glazed Tiles from a Palace of Ramesses II at Kanīr* is shortly revd. by HÖLSCHER in *OLZ* 41, 19 f., and at length by DRIOTON, who makes a few corrections, in *Rev. arch.* VI^e Sér., 10 (1937), 285 f. On 283 of the same vol. D. gives an appreciative résumé of *Royal Sarcophagi of the 18th Dyn.*

F. M. HEICHELHEIM, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte d. Altertums* draws on the Egn. evidence as well as that from the rest of the world. Eg. naturally appears mostly in the early chaps. and again in those dealing with classical times. The nn. and refs. seem almost encyclopaedic.

J. HORNELL in *Man*, 1937, 143 f. defends his original Indonesian theory and points out the weaknesses in all current theories about the boats on the Victoria Nyanza; *The Mariner's Mirror* 23, 105-7, discusses the build and rig of Hatshepsut's ships.


B. HROZNÝ, *La Charrue en Sumer-Akkad, en Ég. et en Chine*, in *Arch. Orient.* 10, 437-40 and pls., argues that the Egn. plough, and even the Chinese, was derived from Babylonia.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD in *Man*, 1937, 140 f., brings evidence that the boats on the Victoria Nyanza show anc. Egn. peculiarities, in opposition to the theory of Indonesian origin.

Ill. Ldn. News, Feb. 12, objects, &c., from the tomb of 'Aḥa at Ṣaḳḳarah; Mar. 19, description and photos. showing the structure of the sacred lake at Eṭ-Ṭūd; Mar. 26, Chephren's diorite quarries and objects therefrom; July 2, objects from the Baboon Catacombs at Hermopolis.

W. M. IVINS Jr. in *Bull. MMA*, 1938, No. 7, publs. on the cover the picture of the lowering of the obelisk at St. Peter's in Rome in 1586, reproduced from FONTANA's *Della Trasportazione dell' Obelisco Vaticano*, Rome, 1590.

M. KAMAL in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 1-21 and pls., publs. certain objects presented to the Cairo Mus. by King Farouk I. They include a wooden coffin of Dyn. 30 (?) naming Ptaḥ in Avaris; a wooden panel with the name of Antef VIII; a M.-K. offering-table of a Khetu.

L. KEIMER, *Über zwei Fleischfresser aus d. Familie d. Mustelidae im alten u. neuen Äg.* in *Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 8, 38-41, compares anc. Egn. drawings with the modern *Ictonix libyca* and *Mellivora ratel*; 42-5 and pls. 18-21 publs. anc. statuettes and drawings of monkeys with sacks of dōm-nuts under the title *Pavian und Dūm-Palme*; *Ann. Serv.* 37 (1937), 143-72, pls. and figs., *Pendeloques en formes d'insectes faisant partie de colliers ég.* (suite et fin) finishes his series of studies of locusts and butterflies; *Ann. Serv.* 38, 253-63, and *Addendum*, 689 f., *Sur l'identification de l'hieroglyphe nh* , which turns out to represent the guinea-fowl; 297-331, 690-7, *Remarques sur quelques représentations de divinités-béliers et sur un groupe d'objets de culte conservés au musée du Caire*, points out that the sacred animal of Mendes was originally *Ovis longipes palaeoaegyptiacus*. K. puts together a long series of arts. in one vol. entitled *Insectes de l'Ég. anc.*, Cairo.

O. KOEFOED-PETERSEN, *Un Hippopotame de l'Ég. archaïque* in *From the Collns. of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek* 2, 53-64 and figs.

E. R. VON KOMORZYŃSKI, *Die Trompete als Signalinstrument im altäg. Heer* in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 155-7, shows that in the N.K. the trumpet was not merely a musical instrument but was definitely used for signalling; 188-91 has a useful précis of WINKLER's book on the peoples of the rock-engravings; 255-62

describes and gives drawings of a number of objects in *Die äg. Sammlung d. Martin v. Wagner-Museums zu Würzburg*.

H. KÜHN, *Die äg. Perlen als Fixpunkt f. d. Chronologie d. Bronzezeit* in *Ipek*, 1936-7, 137-9, using Leeds's statement of the finds of Egn. beads in England, France, Holland, Spain, gets out a sequence of dates for the European bronze age. None of the beads are earlier than Ḥatshepsut, and those in Spain and England belong to the Tell el-'Amarnah period or to Dyn. 19.

E. KÜHNEL, *La Tradition copte dans les tissus musulmans* in *Bull. Soc. d'arch. copte* 4, 79-89 and 6 pls., provides much detailed information on this subject.

DE LACY O'LEARY, *The Destruction of Temples in Eg.* in *Bull. Soc. d'arch. copte* 4, 51-7, gives important information on this subject.

C. J. LAMM, *Cop. Wool Embroideries* in *Bull. Soc. d'arch. copte* 4, 23-8, discusses these overlooked antiquities with several pls. and line drawings.

A. LANSING in *Bull. MMA*, 1938, 85 f., records the acquisition of a number of objects from the Macy colln., primarily predynastic and protodynastic stone vases and bowls; 240, that of a head of a Ptolemaic queen in white marble, presented by Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.; 199 f. and figs. describes five silver vessels from Mendes of usual Ptol. forms, also a silver bottle found with a silver-gilt strip naming the son of Ptolemy IX as donor.

J.-P. LAUER in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 551-65, describes the method of construction of the panels of blue faience in the Step Pyramid, the marks the tiles bear for the guidance of the ancient workmen, and also the reconstitution of one of the panels in the Cairo Mus.

A. LUCAS and A. ROWE, *The Anc. Egn. Bekhen-Stone* in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 127-56 and 677 is a thorough study of this stone. It proves to be definitely the schist or greywacke of the Wady Ḥammāmāt and also occasionally the fine-grained granite of the First Cataract. LUCAS has a fine illstd. art. cataloguing all the eyes known to him, *Inlaid Eyes in Ancient Eg., Mesopotamia, and India*, in *Technical Studies in the Field of the Fine Arts* (Fogg Art Mus., Harvard) 7, 3-32. The mummies themselves were sometimes fitted with artificial eyes. As might be expected the Egn. eyes are better made than the Mesopotamian.

P. MILLER in *Univ. Mus. Bull. Philadelphia* 7 (1937), 25 f., publs. with photo. *A Granite Relief of Ptolemy II*, said to have come from Samannūd in the Delta.

H. DE MORANT has a good illstd. art. *L'Ébénisterie dans l'anc. Ég.* in *La Nature*, No. 3018, Feb. 1, 65-9. He begins with the bedsteads from Tarkhān, goes on with some of Ḥetepheres' things and takes us down to Tut'ankhamūn and the N.K.; in No. 3029, 15 Juillet, 33-7, he publs. *Jouets et poupées de l'anc. Ég.*, showing the game of ninepins from Naḳādah, the delightful little group of mice with the grains of corn, and the set of four dwarfs who can be made to dance by pulling a string.

G. MOSTNY, *Die Mailänder äg. Sammlung* in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 67-71, gives illstds. of some of the more interesting things from Madinat Māḍi, including a head of Amenemḥēt III and the remarkable N.-K. stela showing Sobk.

H. MÜLLER-FELDMANN, *Zwei Denksteine d. 17. und 18. Dyn.* in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 168-72 and pl., publs. two fragm. in the Berlin Mus., one of Dyn. 18 and the other having reference to a *sed*-festival of Amen-ḥotpe III; *Eine Spätzeitfigur in Wien*, 221-4, describes and figures a bust which he dates to the late 26th Dyn.; *Bericht über d. äg. Sammlung d. Academia Romāna in Bukarest*, 239-41, mentions some of the objects in various Rumanian collns., none of them apparently of importance.

R. NAUMANN, *Bauwerke d. Oase Khargeh* in *Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 8, 1-16, gives plans, descriptions and bibliographies of the Roman fortress of Ed-Dēr, and the Egn. temples of Ḳaṣr el-Ghuēda, Dūsh, 'Ain ez-Zayyān, Nadūra, and a temple near Ed-Dēr.

R. PFISTER, *Les Textiles du tombeau de Toutankhamon* in *Rev. des arts asiatiques* (Paris) 11 (1937), 207-18, gives good photos. of a number of these pieces, with a study of the dyes used, the embroidery, method of weaving, &c. He also records the only known piece of Pharaonic linen woven by the method recorded by Pliny.

G. A. REISNER in *Bull. MFA* 36, 26 ff., describes and figures the objects which fell to the Museum's portion at the recent division, mostly rough statuettes of Dyn. 5.

E. RIEFSTAHL in *The Brooklyn Mus. Quart.*, 1938, 37-48, has a long and valuable study of the literature about the Chinese snuff-bottles which have been found in Egn. tombs.

M. ROGERS, *An Egn. Bronze Cat* in *Bull. City Art Mus. St. Louis* 23, 46-51 and figs., shows another ex. of the well-known class.

A. ROWE collaborates with A. LUCAS in a detailed study of *bekhen*-stone in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 127-56, 677; see further under LUCAS.

Z. SAAD, *Handles for Copper Piercers or Gaming Pieces?* in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 333–44 and pls., pointing out that some objects of horn, ivory, and wood may be handles of awls and not gaming-pieces as described originally. 345 f., W. B. EMERY replies to what appears to be an acrimonious attack on him, and on 346 Z. SAAD returns to the charge.

SALES: May 31, 1937, Christie sold the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava's colln. of Egn. and classical antiquities; July 5–6, 1938, Sotheby sold a colln. of Egn. and Gk. antiquities; Nov. 16–17, Lord Kitchener's colln. was sold by Sotheby.

H. SCHÄFER, *Darstellungen v. Sonnenschiffen u. d. Viergespann d. Brandenburger Tores* in *Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 8, 147–55 returns to the discussion of the unique picture of the two boats of the sun lying side by side; *Zu d. Festungsbildern v. Beni-Hasan* in *ZÄS* 74, 146 f., makes some remarks on this drawing in Tomb 17.

A. SCHARFF, *Die Reliefs d. Hausältesten Meni aus d. alten Reich* in *Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 8, 16–33, studies the reliefs in Munich and Hildesheim which clearly belong together and date to the middle of Dyn. 5 or early 6. They do not belong to the maṣṭabah discovered by Junker at Gīzah; *Ein Spätzeitrelief d. Berliner Museums* in *ZÄS* 74, 41–9 and pl. 3 publs. a relief dating from between 530 and 330 B.C., showing a cock and a harper playing on a 'Mesopotamian' harp.

P. L. SHINNIE shortly revs. I. LEXOVA, *Anc. Egn. Dances* in *JEA* 23 (1937), 270.

A. W. SHORTER mentions H. E. WINLOCK, *The Private Life of the Anc. Egns.* in *JEA* 23 (1937), 272.

E. BALDWIN SMITH, *Egn. Architecture as Cultural Expression* is an excellent, well illustrd., and readable account of the subject. The author has ransacked the literature and woven the results into a comprehensive whole. For this he has called in the help of numerous Egyptologists.

G. SOBHY BEY, *The Survival of Anc. Eg.* in *Bull. Soc. d'arch. copte* 4, 59–70, an immense amount of information on this subject, though mostly philological; again mostly philological *Remains of Anc. Egn. Medicine in Modern Domestic Treatment* in *Bull. Inst. d'Ég.* 20, 9–18.

J. SPIEGEL has publ. a *Kurzer Führer durch d. äg. Mus. d. Universität, Leipzig.*

R. O. STEUER, *Über d. wohlriechende Natron bei d. alten Ägyptern* is revd. in *OLZ* 41, 158–9 by MEYERHOF, who gives a useful résumé.

J. VANDIER D'ABBADIE, *Une Fresque civile de Deir el Médīneh* in *Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 27–35 and pl., publs. a beautiful little fresco of a dancer, which though she does not mention it is very reminiscent of Cretan work. A figure of Bes is tattooed on each thigh, and other cases of this are recorded.

W. VYICHL, *Der Feuerstrom im Jenseits* in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 263–4 finds a belief in the River of Fire of the Book of *Im-Dwat* still surviving among the Copts and Moslems of Upper Eg.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT, *Thoughts on Three Recent Arts.* in *JEA* 24, 59 ff. shows how Ancient Egn. conditions can be illustrd. from those of modern Eg., and how the multiplicity of weights and measures which obtained in antiquity would not have inconvenienced a simple rural society; 143 ff., he revs. PETRIE's *Antaeopolis* and STECKEWEH's *Die Fürstengräber v. Qāw* which are complementary the one to the other.

M. WEBBROUCK, *Les Pleureuses dans l'Ég. anc.* makes a great collection and study with pls., bibliography, &c., of scenes of wailing women; *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 124, draws attention to the new guide-book of the *Allard Pierson Mus.: Archaeologisch Museum d. Universität v. Amsterdam, Algemeene Gids*; *Bull. Mus. roy. d'art et d'hist.* (Brussels) 10, 137–41, *Deux bas-reliefs d'ancien empire* publs. two fragmm. bought from the Scheurleer colln., one a fisherman with a pile of fish, the other birds above a papyrus swamp.

2. Art and Architecture

A. GENERAL

W. M. F. PETRIE, *Egn. Architecture* (London, 4to, 95 pp., 34 pls., 7s. 6d.). A handy collection of reflections on this subject, often wise and sometimes very daring, taken for the most part from the many works of this veteran among veterans. References to unconsecutively numbered figures are exasperating, and to bind an ephemeral appeal for funds into the body of a book is self-depreciation.

H. SCHÄFER, *Ungewöhnliche äg. Augenbilder u. d. sonstige Naturwiedergabe*, in *ZÄS* 74, 27 ff. Two special abnormalities lead the author to disquisitions on the interminable subject of *Geradvorstelligkeit*, entailing no less severe mental strain on the reader than previously. His original explanation of the dominant impulse in primitive art carried conviction, but these attempts in long words to rationalize capricious divergences from rule seem futile, since there is infinite variety in the liminal interpenetration of the Hellenic and of the unhellened attitude towards reality and representational problems. Some polemic against SENK and CAFART.

H. SCHÄFER, *Wieder ungewöhnliche Darstellungen von Sonnenschiffen*, in *Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 8, 147 ff. Presents two examples of puzzle-drawings from the tomb of Ramesses VI. A case is added in which primitive artists and untutored children use a similar device in attempting to depict a complicated frontal aspect.

H. SENK, *Von d. Beziehung zwischen 'Geradvorstelligkeit' u. 'Perspektivischem Gehalt'*, in *ZÄS* 74, 125 ff. The author explains his comparatively slight divergence from SCHÄFER's views on the occurrence of seeming perspective in Egn. design, and attempts to reach a more exact formula.

BALDWIN SMITH, *Egn. architecture as cultural expression* (New York and London, 264 pp., 78 pls., 25s.). This might be termed the first serious attempt at a full treatment of the subject, providing (1) ample documentation by citation and picture, (2) sequence and development of forms, (3) classification (domestic, sepulchral, hieratic), (4) technical methods, (5) analysis of underlying motives (utilitarian, doctrinal, psychological). No single work so far has met these needs so well. In face of the difficulties, any omissions, errors, or prepossessions are wholly outweighed by wide knowledge of the material, lucid descriptions, and wealth of careful illust. Perhaps the search for basic ideas is less successful and sometimes strained.

B. CONTRIBUTIONS OF RESTRICTED SCOPE

H. BALCZ, *Zu d. Bündelsäulen der Eingangshalle im Djoser-Bezirk von Sakkára*, in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 226 ff. To this should be added the brief n. on the grooved columns in the same building, headed *Miszelle*, *op. cit.*, 18.

M. BAUD, *Le Métier d'Iritisen*, in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 21 ff. A self-confident statement of the exact meaning of the words used by the owner of the Louvre stela C 14 when he sets forth his professional attainments and technical procedure. His profession was that of *cimentier émailleur*. But the quality of this monument is at variance with his vaunts.

E. BILLE-DE MOT, *Comment les Égyptiens faisaient leurs statues*, in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 220 ff. In the latter part the probable relation of an Egn. statue to the person represented is well set forth. Plaster masks found in Eg. were taken from the actual face but worked on by the sculptor, thus defining his attitude to portraiture.

C. BOREUX, *Une Nouvelle Tête amarnienne du Musée du Louvre*, in *Mon. Piot*, 36, 1 ff. and Pl. 1. Deals with one of the most attractive relics of the period, with every sign of genuineness. An ideal picture of dignified girlhood.

J. CAPART, *A neo-Memphite bas-relief*, in *J. of Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore*, 13 ff. Musicians and games. A valuable addition to the limited examples of the art of the period.

H. CHEVRIER, *Reconstruction d'un temple de Sesostris Ier à Karnak*, in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 183 ff. Also in *Ill. Ldn. News*, June, 998 f.

H. CHEVRIER, *Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak*, in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 567 ff., Pls. 109–11, shows important reliefs of the Akhenaten period.

W. B. EMERY, *Architecture of the tomb of Nebet-ka*, in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 455 ff. Important for stages of construction (2nd Dyn.).

H. MÜLLER-FELDMANN, *Der Salt-Kopf des Louvre ein Werk der Amarnakunst*, in *ZÄS* 74, 132 ff. A fine head, difficult to date. The pierced ear is probably decisive for the N.K.

A. SCHARFF, *Ein Spätzeitrelief des Berliner Mus.*, in *ZÄS* 74, 41 ff. An interesting discussion of reliefs of the last Egn. dyns.

J. VANDIER D'ABBADIE, *Une Fresque civile de Deir el Médineh*, in *Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 27 ff. A rare instance of mural decoration in a house.

C. REVIEWS

BAUD, *Les dessins ébauchés*, by DU VAL in *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 25, 47 f.

BOSSE, *Die menschliche Figur*, by E.B.M. in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 122; by ROEDER in *OLZ*, 17 f.; by MÜLLER-FELDMANN in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 267 f.

BRUNNER, *Aeg. Kunst*, by ROEDER in *OLZ*, 358.

Anc. Egn. Sculpture lent by C. S. Gulbenkian, Esq., by DAVIES in *JEA* 24, 250.

LAUER, *Pyramide à degrés*, by ASSELBERGHS in *Jaarb. Ex Oriente Lux* 5, 313 f.

MONTET, *Les Reliques de l'art syrien*, by DAVIES in *JEA* 24, 253 f.

NOSHY, *Arts in Ptol. Eg.* by M.S.S. in *JMEOS* 22, 55 f.; by ZAKI in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 4, 200 f.

RANKE, *The Art of Anc. Eg.*, by E.B.M., in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 121 f.

ROEDER, *Aeg. Bronzwerke*, by COREMANS in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 125 ff., including an admirable summary of the process of casting in Eg., based on ROEDER.

SCHÄFER, *Das altäg. Bildnis*, by CAPART in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 120 f., objecting to the term 'pre-Greek'; and by P. L. SHINNIE in *JEA* 24, 255.

VANDIER D'ABBADIE, *Catalogue des Ostrr. figurés* (Fasc. 2), by F.Z. in *Aeg.* 17, 301.

WINLOCK, *Egn. Statues and Statuettes*, by ROEDER in *OLZ* 41, 156 f.

WRZESZINSKI, *Atlas*, III, pts. 1-4, by DAVIES in *JEA* 24, 257.

D. CATALOGUES OF MUSEUMS AND COLLECTIONS

AMSTERDAM (Exhibition of 1938). *Uit de Schatkamers der Oudheid* (Egypt, pp. 49-91, Pls. 10-19).

COPENHAGEN (Ny Carlsberg). *Aegyptisk Billedhuggerkunst* by KOEFOED-PETERSEN (in Danish).

LEIDEN. *Meesterwerken der Egyptische Kunst* by W. D. VAN WIJNGAARDEN (40 pp., 72 pls.).

LEIPZIG. *Kurzer Führer durch das äg. Mus.*, by J. SEIGEL (47 pp., 4 pls.).

WARSAW. *Zbiory Sztuki Starożytniej* (in Polish), by K. MICHAŁOWSKI (26 pp., 4 pls.).

WÜRZBURG (Martin von Wagner). *Die Aeg. Sammlung* by E. VON KOMORZYŃSKI in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 255 ff. (8 pp., 16 pls.).

3. Conservation

H. CHEVRIER, *Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1937-1938)*, *Ann. Serv.* 38, 567 ff., with pls., gives a full account of this year's instalment of the elaborate restoration and consolidation by which he is steadily making Karnak safer and more interesting. He describes in detail the operations involved in the reconstruction of the white limestone shrine of Sesostris I out of broken fragmm. recovered from the 3rd Pylon (it is to be provided with a shelter in summer). Work on the foundations of the Hypostyle Hall involved shifting a fallen architrave block weighing 27 tons; more blocks of Amenophis IV have been found here (one interesting scene apparently shows a duet on the harp, Pl. 110).

In *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 183 ff., C. again describes the Sesostris shrine, and promises an alabaster monument of Dyn. 18 for 1939. Cf. also *Ill. Ldn. News*, June 4, 998 f.

P. COREMANS, *Les rayons infra-rouges*, *Bull. Mus. roy. d'art et d'hist.* (Brussels) 10, 87 ff., with figg., discusses briefly with exx. the ways in which infra-red photography may assist in the reading of docs. otherwise illegible.

R. ENGELBACH, *A hitherto unknown statue of King Tutankhamūn*, *Ann. Serv.* 38, 24 ff., describes the reconstruction out of long-neglected fragmm., along with a recently-purchased head, of a statue that is own brother to the well-known one from the Karnak cachette.

J.-P. LAUER, *Restauration et transfert au Mus. ég. d'un panneau orné de faïences bleues, extrait de la Pyramide à degrés à Saqqarah*, in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 551 ff., with pls.; of four panels made up of courses of small faïence blocks, surmounted by *qd*-pillars, two remained unfinished at Netjerikhet's death; one has been brought out and skilfully restored from a small number of fragmm., the whole being touched up to give an idea of its original colour.

4. Demotic Studies

W. ERICHSEN, *Ein dem. Königseid aus Tebtynis*, *ZÄS* 74, 139 ff., publs. with photo., transcr., transl., and nn. a 'double document' dated 262/1 B.C., recording a singer's oath to return a harp.

E.'s *Dem. Lesestücke*, I (1937), has been the subject of very favourable revs.: in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 108 f., by J. C(APART); *op. cit.*, 109 ff., a transl. of GRAPOW's earlier art. in *OLZ*; by E. VON KOMORZYŃSKI in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 104 f., and by G. ORT-GEUTHNER in *Kémi* 7, 161 ff.

H. GRAPOW in an interesting discussion of the process which led to Cop. (*Vom Hieroglyphisch-Demotischen zum Koptischen*, in *Sitzungsb. Berlin*, 1938, 322 ff.) emphasizes the inexactness of dem. regarded as a phonetic script, which made it unsuitable for reproducing the very different language of the common people, into which the Christian literature had to be rendered. He suggests, p. 342, n. 2, that variant writings in dem. may give the long-sought evidence for pre-Cop. dialects.

F. LL. GRIFFITH's *Catalogue of the Dem. Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus* is revd. by J. CAPART in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 100 ff. (with a transl. of part, 104 ff.); also by E. SEIDL, *KVGR* 29, 245 f.

O. NEUGEBAUER and A. VOLTEN, *Unters. z. antiken Astronomie, IV: Ein dem. astron. Pap. (Pap. Carlsberg 9)*, in *Quellen u. Studien z. Gesch. d. Mathematik . . . Abt. B: Studien*; Bd. 4, 383 ff. This remarkable text from the middle of the 2nd cent. A.D. contains, after a list of dates and of the signs of the zodiac, a

scheme to cover 25 years for finding dates two synodical months apart (apparently dates of new moons); the years are divided into 'great' years, with 13 moons, and 'little' years with 12. The edd. give a photo., transliteration, transl., and full astronomical discussion.

C. F. NIMS publ. in *JEA* 24, 73 ff., a series of *Notes on Univ. of Michigan dem. papyri from Philadelphia*, excerpted from his doctoral dissertation; he promises full publ. of these and another group of dem. papp. Among other points are interesting discussions of *šš n šnh* (supporting THOMPSON's rendering 'endowment' for *šnh*), an independent use of the conjunctive ('I am to . . .'), *m-s* meaning 'pertaining to', and the title *ṣrbj* which is shown to be that of a kind of trustee holding documents.

G. ORT-GEUTHNER's *Grammaire dém.* (1936) is revd. by M. MALININE in *Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 138 ff.

N. J. REICH publ. photos. of the remaining Philadelphia papp. from Dirā' abū 'n-Naga with brief nn. of the contents of the docs., promising full comm., &c., later; *Mizraim* 8, 7 ff. (Pls. 11-20) and 9, 7 ff. (Pls. 21-8). In *op. cit.* 9, 19 ff. R. deals with the Gk. deposit-notes of the record-office on these contracts, and points out (p. 29) that in records of loans connected with mortgage a date in the body of the doc. cannot be taken as the date of the doc. itself.

E. SEIDL, *Dem. Urkundenlehre . . .* (*Münch. Beitr.* 27, 1937) is favourably revd. by W. ERICHSEN in *OLZ* 41, 424 f.

Sir H. THOMPSON, *Self-Dedications*, in *Act. V Congr. int. Papyrol.*, 497 ff., gives a preliminary report on an interesting group of BM papp. of the later Ptol. period, originating from the temple of Sobk at Tebtunis. They contain contracts by which individuals bind themselves to a regular payment and personal servitude to the temple; many are people born in the precinct and in the great majority of cases the paternity is stated to be unknown, which points to temple prostitution. We look forward to the promised full publ.

A. VOLTEN, *Der Ursprung d. dem. Plusquamperfektums (Perfektums)*, *ZÄS* 74, 142 ff., points out the L.-Egn. confusion between *wh̄t* and *wh̄h* and argues from the meanings ('cease on completion' as against 'cease before completion') that *wh̄t* is the original from which the form read *wh̄h* is to be derived.

W. VYICHL, *Die Aleph-Beth-Regel im Dem. u. Kop.*, in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 224 ff. Discussing formations like 'hocus-pocus', V. quotes exx. with prefixed *m-* from the *Dem. Mag. Pap.*

5. Excavations and Explorations

A. EGYPT AND THE SUDAN

Western Desert. R. ENGELBACH gives an account in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 369 ff., with maps and photos. of explorations carried out by the Survey Dept. in the neighbourhood of Dunḳul, Tūshka, and Nakhlai, to establish the correct position of the O.-K. diorite quarries seen in 1932. See also *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 287 ff. = *La Bourse Ég.*, Feb. 26; *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 100 ff.; *Arch. f. Or.* 12, 187 ff.; *AJSL* 55, 430 f.; *N.Y. Times*, Mar. 11; *Ill. Ldn. News*, Mar. 26; *Museum News*, Apr. 1.

The Sir ROBERT MOND Expedn. visited the Gilf el-Kebir, where a large Acheulean site was found and excavated, and 'Uwenāt, where the caves with paintings were visited and new ones discovered. See *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 277 f.; *AJSL* 55, 427 f.; *Egn. Gazette*, June 8, July 9.

The Oases. W. VYICHL, *Reise nach d. Oase El-Chârdje*, in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 129 f. A new report, with plans and measurements, on the antiquities of *El-Khāriḡah* by R. NAUMANN in *Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 8, 1 ff.

A preliminary report on new discoveries made by A. FAKHRY in Bahriyah and Farāfrah is publ. in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 397 ff., with photos. and plans. New temples, rock tombs, and cemeteries are announced at several places. See also *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 293 f.; *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 97 ff., 119 ff.; *AJSL* 55, 321; *Daily Telegraph & Morning Post*, Mar. 9.

Sesebi. On the season 1936-7 of the EES see *Arch. f. Or.* 12, 186 f.; *Rev. arch.* 10, 254. On the conclusion of the excavns. on the site (season 1937-8) see H. W. FAIRMAN in *JEA* 24, 151 ff. Also *Egn. Gazette*, June 28; *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 74 = *Times*, July 5; *Arch. f. Or.* 12, 308; *AJSL* 55, 322 and 432.

Amārah. Excavns. were commenced by the EES on the town site on the left bank of the Nile. The temple there was found to have had its entrance on the N. side. Stelae etc., and a relief of an 'Amarnah princess, were discovered. See *JEA* 24, 151 and 154 ff.; *AJSL* 55, 322 f.; *Egn. Gazette*, June 28.

Anibah. G. STEINDORFF, *Aniba I, II*, are revd. by F. LEXA in *Arch. Orient.* 10, 447 ff.; by F. W. v. BISSING in *Phil. Woch.* 50, 934 ff.; by BLACKMAN in *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 25, 48 ff.; by H. BONNET in *OLZ* 41 (1937), 734 ff.; by B. C[OUROYER] in *Rev. bibl.* 47, 303, and by H. STOCK in *Orientalia* 7, 291 ff.

Edfu. The Franco-Polish Expedn. was concerned as before with several periods. Of the O.K. three maṣṭabahs

were excavated, and two large inverted jar-burials, in which the bodies had been dismembered and placed in piles. The M.-K. burials were characterized by absence of sarcophagi and presence of terra-cotta female figures. Those of the 1st Intermediate Period constantly contained rectangular wooden sarcophagi, without regular orientation. Excavn. of Ptol. houses and of the Rom. town continued. See *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 290 ff.; *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 123 ff.; *AJSL* 55, 319 ff. The final report *Tell Edfou 1937* (Cairo) is revd. by A. CALDERINI in *Aeg.* 17, 114 f., and *Tell Edfou 1938 (Fouilles franco-polonaises. Rapports, II, 1^{er} fasc., Cairo)* has now appeared. I have not seen K. MICHAŁOWSKI, *Tell Edfu 1937, 1938*, in *Sprawozdania z czynności i posiedzen Polskiej Akad. Umiej.* 42 (1937), 124 ff., 43 (1938), 198 ff. or K. MICHAŁOWSKI, *Wykopalska w Edfu. Kampania r. 1938*, in *Biuletyn historii Sztuki i Kultury* 6, 201 ff.

El-Kāb. On the season 1936-7 of the expdn. of the Fondation Reine Élisabeth cf. *AJSL* 55, 99. During the season 1937-8 the expdn. recovered blocks belonging to Dyns. 11-13 and to the N.K. during researches in the crypts of the main temple. See CAFART's report in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 191 ff., and *AJSL* 55, 430; *Egn. Gazette*, June 23.

Et-Tūd. Further notes about the treasure discovered in 1935-6 have appeared in *Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 168 f. and *Arch. f. Or.* 11, 180 ff. On the season 1936-7 see *Arch. f. Or.* 12, 185 f. and *Ill. Ldn. News*, Mar. 19.

Armant. A short notice of the EES expdn. 1937-8 appears in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 277. See also *Arch. f. Or.* 12, 306 f.; *AJSL* 55, 427. For previous campaigns see R. MOND and O. H. MYERS, *Cemeteries of Armant*, I, 2 vols., London (1937).

Thebes (Karnak). The work of the Antiq. Dept. in 1937-8 included various excavns. in the temple precincts; see CHEVRIER in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 567 ff. The discovery of thousands of blocks of Amenophis IV from the foundations of the Hypostyle Hall is reported. The most noteworthy achievement is the rebuilding of the stone chapel of Sesostri I from blocks removed from the 3rd pylon. See also *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 296 ff.; *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 183 ff.; *Arch. f. Or.* 12, 414 f.; *AJSL* 55, 433; *Egn. Gazette*, May 31; *Ill. Ldn. News*, June 4. On the season 1936-7 cf. *AJSL* 55, 323. In *Ann. Serv.* 38, 357 ff., H. RICKE gives, with plan and photos., an account of the excavn. of the small temple known as 'Lepsius 16' in front of the temple of Mut and in the neighbourhood of the small temple of Tuthmosis III and Ḥatshepsut reported previously. See also *AJSL* 55, 209. M. PILLET in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 469 ff. discusses the small temple in the NE. corner of the enclosure of Mut, excavated 1924-5, and shows that it was in fact a temple of Khons, as stated by Chabas in 1861.

Thebes (Madīnat Habu). R. ENGELBACH and J. W. MACALDIN discuss the possibility of the great lake of Amenophis III at Madīnat Habu having been excavated in 16 days, as the commemorative scarabs relate. See *Bull. Inst. d'Ég.* 20, 51 ff. In *Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 99 ff. ROBICHON and VARILLE describe excavns. south of Madīnat Habu near the not yet excavated temple of Ramesses IV.

Thebes (Kōm el-Ḥētān). On the lake in the temple of Amenhotpe, son of Ḥapu, cf. *Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 99 ff. H. KEES revs. favourably ROBICHON and VARILLE, *Le Temple du scribe royal Amenhotep, fils de Hapou*, I, in *GGA* 200, 339 ff.

Thebes (Dēr el-Madīnah). B. BRUYÈRE, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Dēr el Médineh, 2^{me} partie (1934-1935)*, is revd. by M. WERBROUCK in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 90 ff. and by F. Z. in *Aeg.* 18, 160.

Abydos. Encroachments of two modern cemeteries on Antiquities lands have revealed various anc. burials, viz. at Shēkh Nassir, 3 km. north of Abydos, shaft and pit tombs of the O.K. and N.K., and at Ed-Dēr, i.e. west of the cemetery of the Coptic Monastery and of the 'Shūnat ez-Zebīb', shaft tombs of unspecified date. See TEWFIK BOULOS in *Ann. Serv.* 37 (1937), 243 ff.; *AJSL* 55, 323. H. E. WINLOCK's *The temple of Ramesses I at Abydos (MMA Papers, No. 5, New York, 1937)* discusses the discovery of this temple in 1910 and its excavn. in 1927 by the MMA.

Kāw. H. STECKEWEH, *Die Fürstengräber v. Qāw*, is revd. by H. W. MÜLLER in *OLZ* 41, 287 ff.

El-Mustagiddah. G. BRUNTON, *Mostagedda*, is revd. by BLACKMAN in *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 25, 52 ff.; by H. BALCZ in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 26 ff.; and by J. VANDIER in *J. Sav.*, 231 ff.

Tell el-Amarnah. J. D. S. PENDLEBURY, *Les fouilles de Tell el-Amarna et l'époque amarnienne* (Paris, 1936), is a translh. of PENDLEBURY, *Tell el-Amarna* (London, 1935), and is revd. in *Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 135 f., by J. VANDIER.

Tūnah el-Gebel. The Egn. Univ. expdn. in 1937-8 found a further subterranean gallery dedicated to the cult of Thoth. See *Arch. f. Or.* 12, 305 f.; *AJSL* 55, 428 f.; *Egn. Gazette*, June 20; *Ill. Ldn. News*, July 2.

El-Ashmūnēn. G. ROEDER publs. in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 435 ff., with plan and photos., an account of the proceedings of the German Hermopolis-expdn. in the early part of 1938. See also *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 295 f.; *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 158 ff.; *Forsch. u. Fortschr.* 14, 261 ff.; *AJSL* 55, 429.

Madīnat Mādī. A report on the excavns. of the archaeol. expedn. of the Royal Univ. of Milan appears in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 533 ff. The statue of a new king, Sehetepkarē^c, of Dyn. 13 (?) was discovered in the Pharaonic temple. See also *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 70 ff.; *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 162 ff.; also *Mostra delle antichità rinvenute nelle campagne d'Egitto condotte dalla R. Università di Milano 1934-1937 (XII-XV)*, Milan, and A. VOGLIANO, *Secondo Rapporto degli Scavi condotti dalla Missione archeologica d'Egitto della R. Università di Milano nella zona di Madīnet Mādī (campagna inverno e primavera 1936-xiv) a cura di Achille Vogliano*, Milan, 1937.

Sakkārah. FIRTH and QUIBELL, *The Step Pyramid*, is revd. by R. WEILL in *Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 137 f. For the work of the Antiq. Dept. 1936-7 see *AJSL* 55, 210. S. HASSAN describes in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 504 ff. that of 1937-8. The monuments dealt with were six O.-K. maṣṭabahs and the causeway and valley temple of Wenis. The discovery of a 2nd-Dyn. cemetery is also reported. See in addition *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 68 ff.; *ibid.*, 278 ff.; *AJSL* 55, 431 f.; *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 175 f.; *Egn. Gazette*, June 4; *N.Y. Times*, July 10.

W. B. EMERY, *The Tomb of Hemaka*, Cairo. On the discovery of the tomb cf. *JEA* 24, 239 f. Revd. by F. LEXA in *Arch. Orient.* 10, 450 f.; by BLACKMAN in *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 25, 140 ff.; by SCHARFF in *Orientalia*, N.S. 13, 277 ff.; also in *Rev. bibl.* 48, 144 ff. In *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 283 ff. appears an account of the further discovery of a tomb of Dyn. 1 containing pottery and clay stoppers with the name 'Aḥa, and of that of an intact 2nd-Dyn. maṣṭabah. See also *Arch. f. Or.* 12, 303 ff.; *AJSL* 55, 211; *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 50 ff.; *Ill. Ldn. News*, Feb. 12, June 4. In *Ann. Serv.* 38, 455 ff. (cf. *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 21 ff.) EMERY describes the tomb of Nebetka, a 1st-Dyn. noble, and its subsequent alterations, and in *JEA* 24, 243 writes a résumé of recent discoveries.

Gīzah. In the season 1936-7 the Antiq. Dept. found a great stela of Amenophis II with 27 ll. of text, and another of Sethōs I. Both stelae refer to the kings' love of hunting in this neighbourhood; *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 72 ff. Cf. § 14, A.

H. JUNKER (*Giza III: Die Mastabas d. vorgeschrittenen V. Dynastie auf d. Westfriedhof*, Vienna) continues his detailed publ. of O.-K. maṣṭabahs excavated by the Vienna Academy Expedn. W. of the Gt. Pyramid. Seven maṣṭabahs are described, and there is besides general discussion on development of architectural form, style of decoration, funerary cult, etc.

Ma'ādī. M. AMER, *The Excavns. of the Egn. Univ. in the Prehistoric Site at Maadi, near Cairo*, in *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.* 66 (1936), 65 ff., and MENGHIN and AMER, *The Excavns. of the Egn. Univ. in the Neolithic site at Maadi, 1st prelim. Report*, Cairo, 1932, are revd. (?) by F. P[ETRIE] in *Syro-Egypt* 3, 16 ff. MENGHIN and AMER, *The Excavns. of the Egn. Univ. in the Neolithic site at Maadi, 2nd prelim. Report (season 1932)*, Cairo, is revd. by R. LANTIER in *Rev. arch.* 11, 347.

Fusṭāt. A. HAMADA, *The Tomb of Pawen-hatef at al-Fostat*, in *Ann. Serv.* 37 (1937), 135 ff. The same writer describes in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 479 ff. another tomb found in 1937 containing several sarcophagi. See also *AJSL* 55, 98.

Abu Ghālīb. A report on the excavns. of the Egn. Museum of Stockholm is in *Chron. d'Ég.* 12 (1937), 168 ff. Also *AJSL* 55, 97.

Benha. Excavns. by the Liverpool Inst. of Arch. at Tell el-Atrīb in levels dating chiefly from the Ptol. period are described by A. ROWE in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 523 ff. Cf. also § 14, C.

Zakāzīk. For the official report on the discovery of bull-burials etc. made the previous year at Kōm Abu Yaṣīn see A. ABDELSALAM in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 609 ff. The discovery is also reported in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 73 f. and *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 294 f.

Kantīr. See W. C. HAYES, *Glazed Tiles from a Palace of Ramesses II at Kantīr (MMA Papers, No. 3)*. New York, 1937). Tiles from unsupervised excavns. by local inhabitants, now in the MMA. The site is shown by these to have been called Per-Raṣmesse-miamūn and may have been the Delta residence of the Ramessides rather than Tanis. Cf. *JEA* 24, 216.

Šān el-Hagar. At Tanis the Univ. of Strasbourg expedn. concluded the excavn. of the brick building, in which the purpose of the wells or chimneys previously found remains unexplained.¹ Systematic excavn. took place on the large town site, believed to be that of Per-Raṣmesse (cf. above). A noteworthy discovery is that of two granite lions with turned head and crossed paws in the manner of the Prudhoe lions. See *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 292 f. = *Le Temps*, Apr. 26; *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 121 ff.; *AJSL* 55, 432.

Abu Šīr. A report on the work of the Antiq. Dept. at this site is publ. in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 74 ff.

¹ Description suggests *suspensurae* in *calidarium* of Roman thermae.

B. OUTSIDE EGYPT

Chios. W. LAMB, *Excavns. at Kato Phana in Chios*, in *Ann. Brit. Sch. Arch. Ath.* 35. Cf. p. 155, *Faïence scarabs*; p. 163, *The Scarabs*, by A. W. SHORTER. Faïence, steatite, and stone scarabs, many probably made at Naucratis in Dyn. 26, were found in the archaic deposit (M) at Kato Phaná (Φάνα) by the BSA in 1934. They are here publ. by A. W. SHORTER.

Gözlü Kule (Tarsus). Miss H. GOLDMAN's excavns. of the Bryn Mawr Coll. expdn. 1936-7 found a clay ball with name of Puduhepa, mentioned in the text of the treaty between Ramesses II and Hattušil. See *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 77; *AJA* 41 (1937), 280 f.; *Arch. f. Or.* 12, 296 f.

I have not seen L. K., *Altäg. Sphinx aus Split*, in *Jugoslov. Istor. Časopis* 3 (1937), 615 f.

Rās esh-Shamra (Ugarit). A scarab of Amenophis III found in a family vault belonging to a house built before the conflagration makes it probable that the latter took place in the reign of Amenophis IV; see *Syria* 19, 193 ff.

Shēkh Zuwēyid (Anthedon, Sinai). Cf. *Arch. f. Or.* 12, 302 f.

Tell el-'Ajjūl (Gaza). PETRIE announces the discovery of a scarab with a new king's name of the Hyksos period, and other scarabs of Hyksos kings already known; see *Syro-Egypt* 4, 3 ff.

Tell ed-Duwēr (Lachish). Further reports 1936-7 (cf. *JEA* 24, 224) of the Wellcome-Marston expdn. in *Arch. f. Or.* 12, 178 ff.; *AJSL* 55, 101. An inscr. in crude hierogls. on a pottery coffin was found. See also *PEQ* 70, 240 ff.

Wiltshire. G. H. ENGLEHEART and P. L. COLLIGNON, *Two Egn. limestone scarabs found in Wiltshire*, in *Wilt. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Mag.* 47, 412 ff. The scarabs, though 'excavated', were pronounced by NEWBERRY to be modern imitations, and most Egyptologists will concur in this opinion.

C. MISCELLANEOUS

P. GILBERT, *Fouilles marquantes en Égypte en 1937-8*, in *Union des anciens étudiants de l'Université libre de Bruxelles*, Dec., 43 ff.

M. BRION, *La résurrection des villes mortes*, is revd. by CAPART with ref. to the chapter on Eg. in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 127 ff.

Though not Pharaonic, certain items have been included above for the sake of completeness. Here are a few others of the same nature.

EMERY and KIRWAN, *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul*, 2 vols., Cairo, is a very concise and detailed account of the tumuli of the X-Group period (either Blemmyan or Nobatian) excavated by the Arch. Survey in 1931-4. Revd. by F. LEXA in *Arch. Orient.* 10, 449 f.; by R. PARIBENI in *Aeg.* 19, 113 f.

It is announced that the Wellcome excavns. of 1910-1914 at Gebel Mōya and other sites in the S. Sudan are now in course of publ. by F. ADDISON and L. P. KIRWAN; see *AJSL* 55, 427.

6. Foreign Relations

A. AFRICA

FR. W. FRH. VON BISSING, *Senatne un Maksla*, 1 (Riga), 21 ff., *Offener Brief über d. süd-nubischen Tumuli-Gräber*.

J. CAPART, *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 81 ff., revs. favourably W. HÖLSCHER's *Libyer u. Aegypter* (*Aegyptol. Forsch.*, H. 4, 1937); other revs., all favourable, are by R. ANTHES, *OLZ* 41, 680 ff.; H. BALCZ, *Orientalia* 7, 403 ff.; I. E. S. EDWARDS, *JEA* 24, 251 ff.

LABIB HABACHI, *Ann. Serv.* 38, 70, mentions the discovery at Karnak of a Cop. monument, on the back of which are the remains of reliefs of 4 captives, each accompanied by an African place-name.

E. R. VON KOMORZYŃSKI, *Zur Gesch. d. Polizei im alten Aeg.* (*Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 45 ff.) mentions the employment of various Nubian tribes as soldiers and police.

O. H. MYERS writes a brief preliminary n. on work on the Saharan culture at Armant and in the W. Desert, *JEA* 24, 130 f.

A. ROWE, *Ann. Serv.* 38, 157 ff., publs. three monuments of the generals Potasimto and Amasis who led an army composed of foreign (*i.e.* Gk. and possibly some Jewish) mercenaries and Egn. troops on an expedition against Ethiopia during the reign of Psammetichus II.

G. STEINDORFF, *The so-called Omphalos of Napata*, *JEA* 24, 147 ff., rejects the description of this Nubian monument as an 'omphalos' and the idea that it may have connexions with Siwah and Delphi, preferring to regard it as a shrine formed after the pattern of an African circular hut of mats or wickerwork.

S.'s *Aniba* is revd. favourably by F. VON BISSING, *Phil. Woch.* 50, 934 ff.; A. M. BLACKMAN, *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 25, 48 ff.; H. BONNET, *OLZ* 41, 734 ff.; J. CAPART, *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 307 ff.; B. COUROYER, *Rev. bibl.* 47, 303; F. LEXA, *Arch. Orient.* 10, 447 ff.; H. STOCK, *Orientalia* 7, 291.

W. VYICHL, *Asbetai*, *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 135 f., gives Gk. and Tawāreg parallels for Libyan tribe *Ysbt* mentioned under Ramesses III.

E. ZIPPERT, *Arch. f. Or.* 12, 186 f., reports on the excavns. of the EES at Sesebi, season 1936-7; 308, season 1937-8.

B. MESOPOTAMIA

E. CAVAINAC, *Synchronismes babyloniens-ég. des XIV^e et XIII^e Siècles*, *Kémi* 7, 1 ff., see § 8.

B. HROZNÝ, *Arch. Orient.* 10, 369 ff., *Sur quelques rapports entre Sumer-Akkad et l'Ég., au IV^e millénaire avant J.-C.*, demonstrates that Egn. words signifying many of the most important cereals, agricultural appliances, etc., were taken from Akkadian and Sumerian and in consequence he believes that Mesopotamian agriculture exercised at a very early period a strong influence on that of Eg. This influence in his opinion is not the outcome of mere commercial relations, but is more probably the result either of an invasion, possibly during the second predyn. period, by a Semitic people who were subject to Sumer and Akkad, or of infiltration by a race strongly intermixed with these peoples. This thesis is further developed by the author, *op. cit.*, 437 ff.

Syro-Egypt 3, 20; in a comment on M. E. L. MALLOWAN, *Tell Chagar Bazar (Iraq, 1936)*, it is pointed out that an 'upright cup, with stem and foot', linking up with a 9th-Dyn. ex. in Eg., points to E. Syrian influence.

C. PALESTINE AND SYRIA

W. F. ALBRIGHT, *Arch. f. Or.* 12, 157 ff., in a rev. unhappily tinged with animosity, discusses A. JIRKU's *Die äg. Listen palästinensischer u. syrischer Ortsnamen* (1937). Other revs. by K. GALLING, *DLZ* 59, 836 ff.; I. E. S. EDWARDS, *JEA* 24, 252 f.; P. MONTET, *Kémi* 7, 171 ff.; M. NOTH, *Z. deutsch. Pal.-Vereins* 61, 135 ff.; E. OTTO, *OLZ* 41, 215 ff.

ALBRIGHT's *Chronology of a South Palestinian City in AJSL* 55, 337 ff., is a detailed discussion of PETRIE's account of Tell el-'Ajjul, assigning dates several dyns. later than P.'s dating (a long n., p. 350 f., on the chronology of the Hyksos period).

A. ALT, *Eine Bevölkerungsklasse im alten Or.*, *ZDMG* 92, 18* f. (summary of a paper, see now *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 16 ff.), argues that L.-Egn. *mškb* = Canaanite *מַשְׁכָּב*, a 9th-cent. term for an unprivileged class in the N.-Syrian state of Ya'di; earlier inhabitants of Syria and Palestine, reduced to serfdom by invaders, will have come to Eg. as labourers either by barter or capture.

G. BRUNTON, *Ann. Serv.* 38, 251 f., describing a composite bow in the Cairo Mus., states that it belonged to a certain Se-āa(S-⁵) who may have been a Syrian, a view which, according to B., is supported by the style of the weapon.

L. BULL, *Bull. MMA* 33, 39 ff., in connexion with the Mus.'s exhibition of Asiatic objects showing Egn. influence, gives a brief sketch of Egn. relations with Syria-Palestine from earliest times to Cambyses.

M. S. DIMAND's brief art. on *The Museum's Collection of Syrian Ivories and the Ivories from Megiddo* in *Bull. MMA* 33, 42 ff. points out Egn. influences.

H. GRIMME, *Hebr. מִשְׁבֵּט und מִטָּה, zwei Lehnwörter aus dem Äg.*, *OLZ* 41, 149 ff., derives these respectively from *ddft*, 'snake', 'uraeus' and *dḏs*, 'head', 'capital (of pillar)', the latter being the object represented by the corresponding sign in the Sinai alphabet.

S. HASSAN, *Ann. Serv.* 38, 519 f., mentions the discovery at Şakḳārah of a relief showing Egn. slaying Bedouins and also the transport of Asiatic captives by boat; *op. cit.*, 53 ff., remarks that human hands are appended to the winged disk on a stela of Amenophis II, found at Gizah. He concludes therefore that the symbol represents the Aten and suggests that its presence at this early date would argue against the Aten being a Syrian importation.

Ill. Ldn. News, Jan. 22, 137, gives illustrs. of 3 ivories from Ahab's palace at Samaria which display Egn. style and motifs.

C. H. INGE, *PEQ* 70, 240 ff., describing excavns. at Tell ed-Duwēr, records connexions with Eg. and mentions the discovery of a pottery coffin with an inscr. in crude hieroglyphs.

J. JANSEN, *Biblica* 20, 69 ff., *Bemerkungen z. Hungersnot im alten Aeg.*, discusses Gen. 41, 53-7.

J. LEIBOVITCH, *Ann. Serv.* 38, 349 ff., cites a number of passages in *P. Anastasi I* in which a comparison with Heb. throws light on the meaning of the Egn. text.

E. LITTMANN, *Arch. f. Or.* 12, 159 ff., reviewing *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* by Z. S. HARRIS (*American Oriental Series*, 8, 1936), mentions that the book includes comparisons with Egn.

C. DE MERTZENFELD, *Les Ivoires de Megiddo, Syria* 19, 345 ff., discusses a representation of the god Bes, and other Egn. motifs.

P. MONTET's *Les Reliquies de l'Art syrien dans l'Ég. du N. Empire* (1937) is revd. critically by J. CAPART, in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 88 ff.; not so unfavourably by F. CHAPOUTHIER, *Rev. ét. anc.* 40, 323; G. CONTENAU, *Kémi* 7, 166 ff.; N. DE G. DAVIES, *JEA* 24, 253 f.; R.M., *Mél. Beyrouth* 21, 237; V., *Rev. bibl.* 47, 303 f.

In *Kémi* 7, 180 ff., M. deals with inscribed objects found at Rās esh-Shamrah and publ. in several arts. in *Syria*; among them a stela showing a god 'Ba'al Šapūna' whom M. connects with Baal-zephon of Ex. 14.

M. NOTH, *Die Wege d. Pharaonenheere in Pal. u. Syr.: Untersuchungen zu d. hierogl. Listen pal. u. syr. Städte*, in *Z. deutsch. Pal.-Vereins* 60 (1937), 183 ff., with 1 pl., continued *op. cit.* 61, 26 ff., 277 ff. (not seen).

F. P(ETRIE), *Tell el-'Ajjūl, Gaza*, mentions the finding of a scarab in a gold frame with the name of a new Hyksos king (*Syro-Egypt* 4, 3).

A. ROWE contributes matter on the relations of Eg. and Palestine to supplement the hist. section of his *Catalogue of Scarabs* and promises more from time to time, *Addendum No. 1 on Egypto-Canaanite Contacts in Quart. Dep. Antiq. Pal.* 8, 72 ff.

R.'s *Catalogue of Scarabs* (1936) has been very favourably revd. by A. M. BLACKMAN, *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 25, 51 f.; É. DRIOTON, *Rev. arch.* 12, 268 f.; P. GILBERT, *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 86; G. D. H(ORNBLLOWER), *Man*, 156; J. LEIBOVITCH, *Ann. Serv.* 38, 657 f.; F. Z(UCKER), *Aeg.* 18, 158.

H. H. ROWLEY, in an exhaustive essay on the Exodus, reprinted from *Bull. Ryl. Libr.* 22, discusses in the light of archaeological and inscriptional evidence and of their relation to the O.-T. narrative the theories already advanced and concludes that Ramesses II was the Pharaoh of the Oppression, while the Exodus took place under Merneptah.

C. F. A. SCHAEFFER, *Ugaritica*, I (*Mission de Ras Shamra, Tome III*).

J. SIMONS, *Handbook for the Study of Egn. Topographical Lists relating to W. Asia* (1937), is revd. by A. DE BUCK, *Jaarbericht . . . Ex Oriente Lux* 5, 299 ff.; R. A. DYSON, *Orientalia* 7, 398 ff.; R.D., *Syria* 19, 176 f.

P. THOMSEN, *Arch. f. Or.* 12, 178 ff., reporting on the Wellecome-Marston Archaeol. Research Exped. (1936-7) at Tell ed-Duwēr, mentions the discovery of large numbers of scarabs bearing names of Pharaohs, some fragments of a disk with an inscr. in hieratic, and a dagger with a pictographic inscr.; *op. cit.*, 180 ff., reports on the excavns. of the Or. Inst. of Chicago at Megiddo (1936-7) and describes with illustrs. some of the ivories and other objects displaying Egn. influence which were found.

R. W(EILL), *Le dieu cananéen Hwrwn, sous les traits de Horus-faucon chez les Ramessides, Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 167 f., briefly outlines the evidence for this god as so far collected.

Sir L. WOOLLEY, *The Times*, June 13 and Sept. 3, gives a brief account of his excavns. at Atchana (Alalakh) near Antioch, a site which has yielded many objects with Egn. motifs.

I have not been able to see:

P. DEMARGNE, *Crète-Ég.-Asie, Perspectives d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*, in *Annales de l'École des Hautes Études de Gand* 2, 31 ff.

H. DUESBERG, *Les Scribes inspirés. Introd. aux livres sapientiaux de la Bible. Le livre des Proverbes*, Paris.

D. MISCELLANEOUS

A. BASCHMAKOFF, *Cinquante Siècles d'évolution ethnique autour de la Mer Noire* is revd. by F. P(ETRIE), *Syro-Egypt* 4, 13, who points out its value for researches on the migrations from the Caucasus to Eg.

H. BAUER, *Der Ursprung des Alphabets*, is revd. by R.D., *Syria* 19, 88 ff.

H. CHEVRIER, *Ann. Serv.* 38, 605 (Pl. 111) publs. some blocks found at Karnak with reliefs of Asiatics and a negro which date from the time of Amenophis IV, but which had been re-used in the foundations of the hypostyle hall.

R. DUSSAUD, *Ég. et Égée dans les textes de Ras Shamra, C.-R. Acad. Inscr. B.-L.*, 1938, 536 ff.

O. EISSFELDT, *Zur Frage nach d. Ursprung unseres Alphabets, Forsch. u. Fortschr.* 14, 4 f., discusses the recent work of BAUER and others, and concludes that new material is sure soon to lead to more certain results.

A. FAKHRY, *Ann. Serv.* 38, 428 f., in a preliminary account of excavns. at 'Ain el-Muftella, records the discovery of a list of 6 foreign peoples.

E. GRUMACH, *Arch. Orient.* 10, 427 ff., discusses some Cretan signs of measure in the light of Egn. parallels.

W. LAMB, *Ann. Brit. Sch. Athens* 35, 138 ff. (Pls. 27 ff.), reports on excavns. at Kato Phana in Chios and includes a description of some faience scarabs by A. W. SHORTER.

J. LEBOVITCH, *Un premier pas vers le déchiffrement des inscr. énigmatiques du Sinai?* in *Bull. Inst. d'Ég.* 20, 19 ff., believes the writing cannot be alphabetic and applies the principle of acrophony in an attempt to read the inscr. on the Tell ed-Duwēr dagger.

F. LEXA, *Arch. Orient.* 10, 215 ff. and 390 ff., *Le Développement de la langue ég. aux temps préhist.*, includes many Semitic and some Berber parallels for words and usages in Egn.

G. H. MCFADDEN, *Bull. Univ. Mus.* (Philadelphia) 7, No. 2, 10 ff., records an Egn. amphora with hieroglyphics and Cypriote characters found during excavns. at Kourion, the sanctuary of Apollo.

P. TRESSON, *Rev. bibl.* 47, 539 ff., publs. a transl. of the victory stela of Tuthmosis III. He claims, however, only a restricted value for the foreign names mentioned in it.

W. VYČIHL, *Uraeg. Wortschatz, Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 133 ff., quotes parallels from Semitic languages and from Tawāreg, Bishari, Somali, etc., for Egn. roots and special values of hierogl. signs.

E. ZIPPERT, *Arch. f. Or.* 12, 306 ff., reporting on the EES excavns. (Sir R. Mond Expedn.) at Armant (1936-7) records the discovery in the temple of Tuthmosis III of a scene of the king grasping Asiatic and negro captives.

7. Geography and Topography

J. J. CLÈRE in his art. *Un Graffito du roi Djet dans le Désert Arabique* (*Ann. Serv.* 38, 85 ff.) suggests that a rock-inscr. some 5 or 6 km. E. of Bīr 'Abbād points to a route from Edfu to the Red Sea by way of the Wādi 'Abbād already in Dyn. 1.

R. ENGELBACH has an important art. on *The Quarries of the Western Nubian Desert and the Ancient Road to Tushka* in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 369 ff., containing much topographical information about the desert west of Abu Simbel; he has also written about the same discoveries in *Ill. Ldn. News*, Mar. 26, 525. His and J. W. MACALDIN's *The Great Lake of Amenophis III at Medīnet Habu* (*Bull. Inst. d'Ég.* 20, 51 ff.) contains a good air-mosaic of the site. The authors suggest that the lake may have been not a 'pleasure-lake', as it is usually called, but a harbour connected with the Nile, to serve the great complex of Palace buildings. They also explain how the necessary excavation could have been completed in 16 days.

M. HAMZA (*Ann. Serv.* 38, 197 ff.) gives evidence for reading the hierogl. writings of Athribis as *Ht-hryt-ib*.

W. HÖLSCHER's *Libyer u. Ägypter* (1937) is revd. by ANTHES in *OLZ* 41, 680 ff.; by H. BALCZ in *Orientalia* 7, 403 ff.; by CAPART in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 81 f.; and by I. E. S. EDWARDS in *JEA* 24, 251 f.

A. JIRKŮ's *Die äg. Listen palästinenischer u. syrischer Ortsnamen* is revd. by M. NOTH, *Z. deutsch. Pal.-Vereins* 61, 135 ff.; K. GALLING, *DLZ* 59, 836 ff.; I. E. S. EDWARDS, *JEA* 24, 252 f.; P. MONTET, *Kémi* 7, 171 ff.; W. F. ALBRIGHT, *Arch. f. Or.* 12, 157 f.; E. OTTO, *OLZ* 41, 215 ff.

A. LUCAS in *The route of the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt* (London, E. Arnold) suggests a route from the Wādi et-Ṭūmilāt through En-Nakhl to the Gulf of 'Aqabah, but the author glosses over a number of difficulties and some of his identifications of places are over-bold. His and A. ROWE's art. *The Anc. Egn. Bekhen-stone*, *Ann. Serv.* 38, 137 ff., contains nn. on the Wādi Ḥammāmāt region.

H. DE MORANT's *Secrets of the 'Sacred Lakes' at Anc. Egn. Temples: a Long-hidden Structural Problem Solved* (*Ill. Ldn. News*, Mar. 19, 498 f.) contains good photos. of the excavns. of the Inst. fr. at Et-Ṭūd.

I have not seen M. NOTH's *Die Wege d. Pharaonenheere in Palästina u. Syrien: Untersuchungen zu d. hierogl. Listen palästinenischer u. syrischer Städte*, *Z. deutsch. Pal.-Vereins* 60 (1937), 183 ff.; 61, 26 ff., 277 ff.

PETRIE in *The Meaning of the Fayum (Syro-Egypt 3, 12 ff.)* argues that the surface level of the lake may have varied greatly from century to century.

PORTER-MOSS's invaluable *Topographical Bibliography*, v (Oxford, 1937) is revd. by M. WEBBROUCK, *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 114 f.; BORCHARDT, *OLZ* 41, 155 f.

G. POSENER's art. *Le Canal du Nil à la Mer Rouge* (*Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 259 ff.) contains a discussion on possible early attempts to join the Nile with the Red Sea, with special ref. to the canal dug by Darius I.

J. SIMONS's *Handbook for the Study of Egn. Topographical Lists relating to W. Asia* is revd. by A. DE BUCK, *Jaarbericht . . . Ex Oriente Lux* 5, 299 ff.; by R. DUSSAUD, *Syria* 19, 176 f.; R. A. DYSON, *Orientalia* 7, 398 ff.

R. WEILL in an art. *Le problème du site d'Avaris* (*Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 166) insists that the question is still open.

E. ZIPPERT gives a résumé of the discoveries at the diorite quarries in Nubia in *Arch. f. Or.* 12, 187 f.

E. ZYHLARZ in *Die Namen d. Roten Meeres im Spätägyptischen* suggests hypothetical etymologies for $\Phi\iota\alpha\ \nu\upsilon\alpha\rho\iota$ and $\Phi\iota\alpha\ \nu\epsilon\alpha\zeta$ (*Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 111 ff.).

8. History

J. BÉRARD, *Remarques sur une erreur hist. d'Hérodote* (*Rev. ét. gr.* 50, 289–92) is revd. by J. CAPART, *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 130.

L. BORCHARDT, *Hnt-kw-s, die Stammutter d. 5ten Dyn.* (*Ann. Serv.* 38, 209–15) suggests that after a short period of confusion Shepseskaf founded Dyn. 5, assuring his claim by marriage to the daughter of Mycerinus, *Hnt-kw-s*, who certainly bore Neferirkerē^c and probably Saḥurē^c also.

The new edn. of J. H. BREASTED, *The Conquest of Civilization*, has been edd. by EDITH WILLIAMS WARE and contains much new matter.

H. BRUNNER, *Eine neue Amarna-Prinzessin* (*ZÄS* 74, 104–8) publ. three inscriptional fragmm. from the excavations at Hermopolis. The most surprising new discovery is that of a new princess, 'Ankhesenpaaten the younger, who appears clearly to be the daughter of Akhenaten by his third daughter 'Ankhesenpaaten. The third of these blocks also mentions a 'sun-shade' (*šwt-R*^c) of 'Ankhesenpaaten.

H. BRUNNER, *Die Texte aus d. Gräbern d. Herakleopolitenzeit v. Siut*, is revd. by H. BALCZ, *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 152–3; and by J. CAPART, *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 86–7.

W. E. CALDWELL, *The Ancient World*, is revd. by J. CAPART, *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 80.

CAPART and CONTENAU, *Hist. de l'Orient anc.*, is revd. by R.M., *Mél. Beyrouth* 21, 253.

E. CAVAIGNAC, *Synchronismes babyloniens-ég. des XIV^e et XIII^e siècles* (*Kémi* 7, 1–9), selects certain points of interest to the Egyptologist from his *Le problème hittite*. Bases series of Bab. minimum dates by synchronism with Ass. fixed dates and reaches 1302 B.C. as minimum date for accession of Ramesses II, and 1384–1366 B.C. for reign of Akhenaten: considers that the proportion of 'Amarnah letters is against PENDLEBURY's shortening of Akhenaten's reign.

É. DRIOTON and J. VANDIER, *L'Égypte* (*Chio*, 1: *Les peuples de l'Orient méditerranéen*, 2), is an admirable hist. of Ég. from the earliest times to Alexander: specially valuable for its detailed general and sectional bibliographies, and the brief discussions of outstanding points and problems added to various chapters: has been revd. by E. VON KOMORZYŃSKI, *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 265–7; G. CONTENAU, *Rev. d'assyriol.* 35, 197.

G. DYKMANS, *Hist. économique et sociale de l'anc. Ég.*, vols. 1–3 revd. by H. D. SCHAEDEL, *JEA* 24, 138–9; R. WEILL, *Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 141–8; and vol. 3 alone by S. A. B. MERCER, *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 55–6.

W. F. EDGERTON and J. A. WILSON, *Hist. Records of Ramses III*, vols. 1–2, is revd. by A. SCHARFF, *OLZ* 41, 285–7.

W. FEDERN, *Die Söhne d. Königs Dedefre* (*Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 59–66) discusses the three 'eldest king's sons' found at Abu Rawāsh, and asks whether this implies that the title was handed on as elder sons died. Considers there to be no proof that the eldest son became king—Cheops may have been Snefru's sister's son (quotes Tawāreg custom and recalls the Libyan blood in Cheops' family), and Mycerinus was probably Cheops's son.

H. GRAPOW, *Ausgewählte inschriftliche Quellen z. Gesch., Sprache u. Kunst der sog. Mittelmeervölker*, A: *Äg. Quellen* (H. BOSSERT, *Alt-Kreta*, pp. 49–62), is revd. by J. CAPART, *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 82.

H. KEES, *Herihor u. d. Aufrichtung d. thebanischen Gottesstaates*, is revd. by J. CAPART, *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 98–100.

E. VON KOMORZYŃSKI, *Zur Geschichte d. Polizei im alten Aeg.* (*Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 45–8), considers that the question of how long, if at all, policemen were really Nubians is quite unsettled; there is no justification for seeing organized police in the O.K., and a real state police was probably not fully developed until N.K.

H. KÜHN, *Das Problem d. Chronologie in d. Vorgeschichte* (*Forsch. u. Fortschr.* 14, 309), is a study of recent works relative to prehistoric chronology.

EDUARD MEYER, *Geschichte d. Altertums*, Bd. 3, is revd. by ERNST MEYER, *Gnomon* 14, 177–81.

H. MÜLLER, *Die formale Entwicklung d. Titulatur d. äg. Könige*, though not strictly historical, has much useful material and study of the development of the titular of the kings in the early dyns.

O. NEUGEBAUER, *Die Bedeutungslosigkeit d. 'Sothisperiode' f. d. älteste äg. Chronologie* (*Acta Or.* 17, 169–95), brings arguments to show that the 365-day year could be arrived at within one generation from observations of the rise of the Nile, whereas its variation from the true year would only be certainly known after two centuries. Early Dynastic man was no astronomer (if he had been, he would have recognized and corrected his defective year-length within 10 years) and the need for observing the rising of Sothis only arose 200 years later, *viâ* peasants' rule-of-thumb; the 'first fixed date in history' thus vanishes.

K. PFLÜGER, *Haremhab u. d. Amarnazeit*, is revd. by A. N. DAKIN, *JEA* 24, 254.

J. PIRENNE, *Une Nouvelle Interprétation des 'instructions du roi Khety à son fils Merikara'* (*Rev. d'égyptol.* 3,

1-16), emphasizes the importance of this text for understanding the special position of the Delta in First Intermediate Period. This he compares with Delta conditions before Menes and concludes that Delta was not subject to nobles, but only needed to supply men to royal armies; its towns had high level of commerce and civilization, lived under unstable democratic rule, and had to be coerced by king. In transl., but not interpretation, largely follows GARDINER with much airy discussion of the precise meaning of technical terms.

J. PIRENNE, *Hist. des institutions et du droit privé de l'anc. Ég.*, vols. 1-3, is revd. by K. C. SEELE, *Univ. of Toronto Law Journ.*, Lent Term 1938, 406-8.

G. POSENER, *La Première Domination perse en Ég.*, is revd. by R. WEILL, *Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 129-31.

A. ROWE, *New Light on Objects belonging to the Generals Potasimto and Amasis in the Égn. Museum* (*Ann. Serv.* 38, 157-95), publs. three objects, now in Cairo, of the leaders of the punitive (?) expedition of Psammetichus II to Ethiopia, with texts and translns. (not always over-reliable), and nn. on the campaign, the date of the death of Petesomtus and the embalming period.

H. H. ROWLEY, *Israel's Sojourn in Eg.* (*Bull. Ryl. Libr.* 22, 243-90), gives a careful survey of previous discussion, mainly from a chronological viewpoint: suggests that the Exodus, mainly of Joseph tribes, is to be placed under Merneptah, and that the descent into Eg. took place in the 'Amarnah Age. Is also inclined to suggest that Joseph may have been Akhenaten's chief officer of state, thus explaining why no help was sent to Palestine.

H. D. SCHAEDEL, *Der Regierungsantritt Ramses' IV.* (*ZÄS* 74, 96-104), examines the problems connected with the death of Ramesses III and the succession of Ramesses IV and V, and on the whole supports ČERNÝ as against BORCHARDT. In a n. on ḥ^{c} claims that this means 'proclamation' and not 'coronation', and concludes that the day of death of the old king, and the day of proclamation and the coronation day were not and could not have been identical, and that P. Harris and P. Jud. Turin were political docs. issued by Ramesses IV, who was possibly a usurper.

A. SCHARFF, *Ägypten* (*Handbücher d. Archäologie*, hrsg. von W. Otto) I have not seen: revd. by E. VON KOMORZYŃSKI, *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 245-6.

A. SCHARFF, *Der hist. Abschnitt d. Lehre f. König Merikaré*, is revd. by H. KEES, *OLZ* 41, 520-5.

J. VANDIER, *Un nouvel Antef de la XI^e Dyn.* (*Bull. Inst. fr.* 36, 101-16), is revd. by R. W(EILL), *Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 169-70.

J. VANDIER, *L'ordre de succession des derniers rois de la XI^e dyn.* (*Studia Aegyptiaca*, 1 = *An. Or.* 17, 36-47), discusses various hist. questions connected with Dyn. 11, considers that Nebḥapetrē^c and Nebkherurē^c were not one and the same person, confesses to an open mind about the Antef who is supposed to have been co-regent of Mentuḥotpe III and considers, against SETHE and others, that the order of succession at the end of the dyn. was *Nb-ḥwy-R^c* and then *S^cnh-k^c-R^c*.

R. WEILL, *Le Problème du site d'Avaris* (*Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 166 f.), surveys the variations in the official view of the site of Avaris, and maintains that, in spite of recent work, the whole question is still open.

H. WINKLER, *Völker u. Völkerbewegungen im vorgeschichtlichen Oberäg.*, is revd. by E. VON KOMORZYŃSKI, *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 188-91.

H. WINKLER, *Rock-drawings of Southern Upper Eg.*, 1, contains much new material, especially with regard to the prehistoric peoples of the Nile valley.

I have not seen G. VAN DER LEEUW, *Eenige opmerkingen betreffende den huidige stand van onze kennis en ons inzicht aangaande Achnaton* (*Jaarbericht . . . Ex Oriente Lux* 5, 301-4).

9. Law

C. F. NIMS discusses *The sš n snḥ of Marriage Settlements* (dem.) in *JEA* 24, 74 ff. He thinks that *snḥ* means 'revenue-producing property' in these contracts.

I have not been able to see the following:

J. FRIEDRICH, *Das Siegel d. hethitischen Königs Hattusili III., nach d. äg. Fassung seines Vertrages mit Ramses II.*, in *Artibus Asiae curat editionem* R. HADL, Lipsiae, vol. VI, facs. 3-4, 177 ff.

K. C. SEELE'S REV. OF J. PIRENNE, *Hist. des institutions et du droit privé de l'anc. Eg.*, I-III, in *Univ. of Toronto Law Journal*, Lent Term 1938, 406 ff.

10. Literature.

A. M. BLACKMAN proposes a new transl. of *Lebensmüde*, 86-8, based upon the convincing assumption that $\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}} \text{ḥ}^{\text{c}} \text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}$, the crux of the passage, means 'bald-headed birds', i.e. 'vultures', *Orientalia* 7, 6-7.

A. H. GARDINER, *Hierat. Pap. BM*, III, is revd. by A. DE BUCK in *Jaarbericht . . . Ex Oriente Lux* 5, 290–6, and by A. HERMANN, *OLZ* 41, 293–5.

I have not yet seen A. HERMANN, *Die äg. Königsnovelle (Leipz. Ägyptol. Stud., Heft 10)*, J. J. Augustin, Glückstadt.



J. LEIBOVITCH, *Quelques remarques au sujet du papyrus Anastasi I (Ann. Serv. 38, 349–52)*, discusses several passages from this text in the light of quotations from the Hebrew O.T., and concludes that the scribe of P. Anast. I had some acquaintance with Hebrew.

J. MAYER and T. PRIDEAUX, *Never to die: the Egyptians in their own words*, Viking Press, New York, is a vol. of extracts from Egn. literature compiled for the use of the general reader. Revd. by J. CAPART, *Chron. d'Ég.* 14, 122, and A. LANSING, *Natural History*, June 1938, 75.

J. PIRENNE again studies P. Leningrad 1116A from the administrative point of view, *Une nouvelle interprétation des 'Instructions du roi Kheti à son fils Merikara' (IX^e Dynastie)*, in *Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 1–16.

A. SCHARFF, *Der historische Abschnitt der Lehre für König Merikaré*, is revd. by H. KEES, *OLZ* 41, 520–1.

J. SPIEGEL, *Die Erzählung vom Streite des Horus und Seth*, is revd. by S. SCHOTT, *OLZ* 41, 525–9, and by J. GWYN GRIFFITHS, *JEA* 24, 255–6.

V. VIKENTIEV defends the reading  of *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 65 against BLACKMAN's , *A propos des 'sourcils' du roi-serpent*, in *Bull. Fac. des Lettres (Cairo)* 4, 16–21.



A. VOLTEN studies the *Instructions of Anii*, with transl. and comm. of selected passages, in *Studien z. Weisheitsbuch d. Anii (Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selsk., His.-fil. Medd., XXIII, No. 3)*, Levin and Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1937–8.


R. WEILL, *Une page d'histoire littéraire sous la XX^e dynastie, et l'écrivain NFRJ (Rev. d'égyptol. 3, 170–1)* writing on the well-known passage from P. Ch. Beatty IV which names famous authors of the past, seeks to equate Nefry with the Neferrohu of P. Leningrad 1116B.

11. Palaeography

R. ANTHES in his art. *Die Verwendung d. Schriftzeichens { f. d. Lautwert n (ZÄS 74, 109 ff.)* quotes a number of exx. of { with phonetic value *n* from Dyn. 22 onwards.

H. BAUER's *Der Ursprung d. Alphabets* is revd. in *Rev. d'assyriol.* 34, 193; and in *Rev. bibl.* 47, 308 ff. by SAVIGNAC.

J. J. CLÈRE in an art. *Sur un passage de la Stèle Louvre C1 (JEA 24, 242)* shows by means of facsimiles that the damaged group previously read , or the like, is in fact . His *Acrostiches et mots croisés des anciens Égyptiens (Chron. d'Ég. 13, 35 ff.)* contains an interesting discussion on three inscr. in the form of 'cross-words' (*sš . . . šd r sp 2*). He also gives a revised reading of two O.-K. inscr. (*Urk.*, I, 56, 5; 113, 5), in *Sur un nom du Wādi Maghāra (Sinai)*, *JEA* 24, 125 f.


W. R. DAWSON shows that  occurs as early as Dyn. 21 as a writing of the name *Hike'* (*JEA* 24, 128).


É. DRIOTON publs. two more ingenious interpretations of cryptograms in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 109 ff. and 231 ff. The first is a *Note sur un cryptogramme récemment découvert à Athribis*; the second is *Deux cryptogrammes de Senemout* which he interprets as the prenomen and nomen of Queen Hatshepsut.

I have not seen O. EISSFELDT's *Zur Frage nach d. Ursprung unseres Alphabetes* in *Forsch. u. Fortschr.* 14, 4 f.

GARDINER's letter to *The Times* of July 16, 1937, discussing the inscription on the Tell ed-Duwēr dagger was reproduced, with a photo., in *Antiq.* 43 (1937), 359 f. (*Origin of our Alphabet*).


























E. GRUMACH writes on *Kretisch-Ägyptische Scheffelzeichen* in *Arch. Orient.* 10, 427 ff.

L. KEIMER in his art. *Sur l'identification de l'hieroglyphe Nḥ (Ann. Serv. 38, 253 ff., additional n. 689 f.)* convincingly identifies the sign  as the Nubian Guinea-Fowl (*Numida ptilorhyncha*).

J. LEIBOVITCH has an art. *Un premier pas vers le déchiffrement des inscriptions énigmatiques du Sinai?* in *Bull. Inst. d'Ég.* 20, 19 ff., and also discusses possible connexions of  with a sign in the Sinaitic script in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 1 ff.

I have not been able to see G. H. MCFADDEN's *Excavations at Kourion: the Sanctuary of Apollo* which is said to contain an account of an Egn. amphora with hieroglyphics and Cypriote characters (*Bull. Univ. Mus. Philadelphia* 7 (No. 2), p. 17).

I have not seen A. SCHMITT's *Die Erfindung d. Schrift, Erlanger Universitäts-Reden* 22.

G. THAUSING in *Zu Papyrus Westcar VIII, 17 (Arch. f. äg. Arch. 1, 6)* would read   in place of                       

12. Personal Notices

A tribute to L. BORCHARDT by G. STEINDORFF appears in *JEA* 24, 248.

A brief not. of G. DARESSY is publ. in *JEA* 24, 134 f.

Further obituary nots. of ERMAN have appeared: by R. ANTHES, in *Berliner Museen* 59, 19 ff.; by J. CAPART, *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 131 f.; and by A. SCHARFF in *Sitzungsb. München*, 1938, 19 ff.

The transference of the editorship of *Ann. Serv.* from H. GAUTHIER to J. LEIBOVITCH is announced by É. DRIOTON in a preface to vol. 38.

M. W(ERBROUCK) pays a tribute to Mrs. GRIFFITH in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 133; a brief not. also appeared in *Arch. f. Or.* 12, 312.

A not. of G. HEUSER by H. RANKE, *ZÁS* 74, 72.

J. CAPART writes an obituary not. of the Rev. Wm. MACGREGOR in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 132 f.

A long account of Sir Robert MOND's work for Egyptology by P. E. NEWBERRY is publ. *JEA* 24, 208 ff., with pl.; a not. of MOND by A. M. BLACKMAN in *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 25, 69 f.

In the preface to *Mél. Maspero*, I, P. JOUGUET gives an account of the Mission and Inst. fr. and their members and publns.

The death of A. MORET has called forth many appreciations of his life and work. A long art. on him by P. JOUGUET appeared in *Bull. Inst. d'Ég.* 20, 155 ff., and was reproduced in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 322 ff. J. PIRENNE has written a long not. in *Mél. Boissacq.* I, 514 ff., and reviewed M.'s contribution to our knowledge of anc. Egn. law in *Arch. hist. dr. or.* 2, 3 ff.; he has also written in *Le Flambeau*, 1938, 259 f. (not seen). L. JOLEAUD has publ. an art. in *J. des Africanistes* 8, 57 ff., *L'évolution des idées récentes en Égyptologie sous l'influence d'A.M. (1868-1938)*, and has also written in *Rev. scientifique*, 15-5-38 (I have not been able to see either of these arts.) Other nots. of MORET have appeared in *J. Sav.*, 1938, 38 f., by H. D(ÉHÉRAIN); *Arch. f. Or.* 12, 309, by O. KOEFOED-PETERSEN; *Beaux-Arts*, No. 267, 11 févr., 5, by G. H. MARTIN (not seen); *Rev. arch.* 11, 327 f., by Ch. P(ICARD); *Arch. f. ég. Arch.* 1, 75 f., by J. VANDIER D'ABBADIE; and in *JEA* 24, 134.

An account of the Ninth German Orientalistentag at Bonn appears in *ZDMG* 92, 3* ff., with summaries of papers read.

J. CAPART reproduces in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 327 ff. some interesting pages of *Souvenirs du vicomte Jacques de Rougé* describing a tour of Egypt in 1863-4.

A brief not. of L. EARLE ROWE is publ. in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 132.

H. DEHÉRAIN, *Silvestre de Sacy, ses contemporains et ses disciples (Bibliothèque archéol. et hist., 27)*, Paris, gives an account of DE SACY's life and his relations with many famous orientalisists of the late 18th and early 19th cents.

C. SCHMIDT is the subject of several arts.: full nots. by A. BÖHLIG in *Arch. f. ég. Arch.* 1, 126 ff., and by J. VERGOTE, *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 335 ff.; special tribute is paid to his skill in dealing with antiques of all kinds by W. SCHUBART in a not. in *ZÁS* 74, 70 f., and by R. ANTHES in *Berliner Museen* 59, 66 f. Nots. have also appeared by H. JUNKER in *Bull. Soc. arch. copte* 4, 195, and W. E. CRUM, *JEA* 24, 135.

An obituary not. of A. W. SHORTER in *JEA* 24, 211 f. is by A. M. BLACKMAN; a brief not. by E. v. K(OMORZYŃSKI) appeared in *Arch. f. ég. Arch.* 1, 188.

The tragic death of J. L. STARKEY is recorded in *JEA* 24, 134.

A n. paying tribute to G. STEINDORFF on his retirement from the editorship of *ZÁS* appears in vol. 74, 1.

An obituary of the young Austrian Orientalist J. STURM is written by W. BRANDENSTEIN, *WZKM* 45, 1 f.; a brief not. by the eds. appears in *Arch. f. ég. Arch.* 1, 23.

13. Philology

W. F. ALBRIGHT's *Vocalisation of the Egn. Syllabic Orthography* (1934) is revd. by H. RANKE in *DLZ* 59, 765 ff.

H. BALCZ in an art. *Die Haarflechte d. Pfahles d. Anubis (Arch. f. ég. Arch.* 1, 117 ff.) transl. the *ḥnskt mnyt Inpw* of Spell 99 of *Bk. Dead* as 'the lock of hair of the mooring-post of Anubis', and connects this with the well-known symbol of Anubis.

M. BAUD has an art. on the very interesting inscr. of Louvre Stela C 14 (*Le Métier d'Iritisen*) in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 21 ff. Some of the author's philological suggestions should be read with caution.

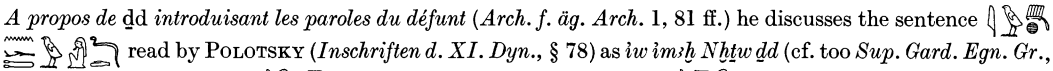
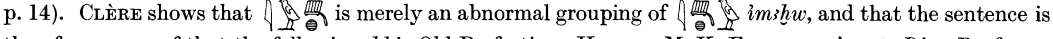
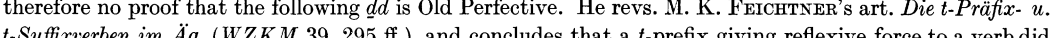
A. M. BLACKMAN in *The Use of the Egn. Word ḥt 'house' in the sense of 'Stanza' (Orientalia* 7, 64 ff.) compares a similar use of a word meaning 'house' in Sumerian, Syriac, Arabic, and Italian. To his list of occurrences in Egn. add P. Anastasi I, 11, 2. B. has also contributed *A Note on 'Lebensmüde' 86-8, op. cit.* 7, 67 f., in which he transl. the word *ḥsw* as 'bald-headed birds' i.e. 'vultures'.

E. BRUNNER-TRAUT's valuable *Der Tanz im alten Ägypten, nach bildlichen u. inschriftlichen Zeugnissen* (Glückstadt), contains a careful analysis of the texts accompanying scenes of dancing with useful philological results, e.g. the instrument *mt* is shown to be a flute, and *mmt* a double-clarinet, these two words being confused by *Wb.* Revd. by GROTERJAHN in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 243 f.

CALICE's *Grundlagen d. äg.-semitischen Wortvergleichung* is revd. by RANKE in *OLZ* 41, 612 ff.

M. CHAÏNE has issued a new M.-Egn. grammar for French readers, *Notions de langue ég., I: Langue du Moyen Empire* (Paris, Geuthner).

H. CHRISTENSEN has a n. *Zur Etymologie d. Wortes Papier* (from *pr* *pr-ḥ*) in *OLZ* 41, 204 f.

J. J. CLÈRE makes a large number of useful additions and corrections to H. RANKE's *Personennamen* in *Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 103 ff. (*Notes d'onomastique à propos du dictionnaire des noms de personnes de H. Ranke*). In his *A propos de dd introduisant les paroles du défunt* (*Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 81 ff.) he discusses the sentence  read by POLOTSKY (*Inscripfen d. XI. Dyn.*, § 78) as *iw imḥ Nḥtḥ dd* (cf. too *Sup. Gard. Egn. Gr.*, p. 14). CLÈRE shows that  is merely an abnormal grouping of  *imḥw*, and that the sentence is therefore no proof that the following *dd* is Old Perfective. He revs. M. K. FEICHTNER's art. *Die t-Präfix- u. t-Suffixverben im Äg.* (*WZKM* 39, 295 ff.), and concludes that a *t*-prefix giving reflexive force to a verb did not exist in Egn. (*Comptes-Rendus du groupe linguistique d'Études Chamito-Sémitiques* 3, 13 ff.).

I have not seen COTTEVIEILLE-GIRAUDET's *A propos du nom de la harpe en vieil ég.* in *Notes étymologiques*, *op. cit.* 3, 32 f.

A. N. DAKIN gives some philological nn. to *The Stela of the Sculptor Sireḥ at Oxford*, *JEA* 24, 190 ff.

W. R. DAWSON in *Pygmies and Dwarfs in Anc. Eg.*, *JEA* 24, 185 ff., points out that *nmḥ* means 'dwarf', while *dng* means 'pygmy'.

DE BUCK's *The Building Inscription of the Berlin Leather Roll, Studia Aegyptiaca*, 1 (= *An. Or.* 17) 48 ff. contains valuable philological nn. and a transl.

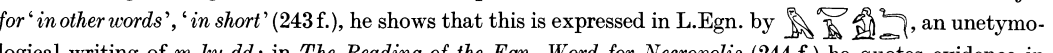
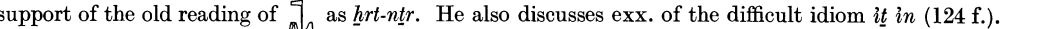
DOWS DUNHAM's art. *The Biographical Inscr. of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo*, *JEA* 24, 1 ff. contains a good transl. and valuable nn.

B. EBBELL publs. further identifications of medical words under the title *Alt-äg. Bezeichnungen f. Krankheiten u. Symptome* (Oslo). His *Papyrus Ebers* (1937) is revd. critically by W. R. DAWSON in *JEA* 24, 250 f.; more favourably by RANKE in *OLZ* 41, 521 ff. I have not seen the rev. in *Isis* 28, 126 f., by O. TEMKIN.

W. F. EDGERTON and J. A. WILSON's *Historical Records of Ramses III*, Vols. I, II (Chicago, 1936) is revd. by A. SCHARFF in *OLZ* 41, 285 ff.


Three more parts of ERMAN-GRAPOW, *Wb.: Die Belegstellen*, 2. Bd. (Hefte 3-5), have been issued during the year. Revd. by ALLEN in *AJSJL* 55, 206 f. and 423, and by KOMORZYŃSKI in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 24.

R. O. FAULKNER concludes his excellent transl. and comm. on P. Bremner-Rhind in *JEA* 24, 41 ff.

A. H. GARDINER has contributed several important arts. to *JEA* 24. In *The Mansion of Life and the Master of the King's Largess* (83 ff.) he demonstrates that the *Hwt-ḥnh* meant primarily 'the living-room of the King', and had no connexion with the *Pr-ḥnh*. This latter term he deals with fully in *The House of Life*, 157 ff., where he proves that the 'House of Life' was not a university but a scriptorium where books on religion, magic, and medicine were compiled. More than 60 exx. are discussed. In a n. *The Egn. for 'in other words', 'in short'* (243 f.), he shows that this is expressed in L.Egn. by , an unetymological writing of *m ky dd*; in *The Reading of the Egn. Word for Necropolis* (244 f.) he quotes evidence in support of the old reading of  as *hrt-nṯr*. He also discusses exx. of the difficult idiom *ḥt in* (124 f.).

J. S. F. GARNOT's *L'Appel aux vivants dans les textes funéraires ég. des origines à la fin de l'Ancien Empire* (Cairo) contains some philological nn.

H. GRAPOW has contributed an interesting art. on the history of words, *Vom Hieroglyphisch-Demotischen z. Koptischen: ein Beitrag z. äg. Sprachgeschichte*, in *Sitzungsb. Berlin*, 28, 322 ff., although dem. is not quite the direct link between L. Egn. and Cop. that the author would suggest. His *Sprachliche u. schriftliche Formung äg. Texte* (Glückstadt, 1936) is revd. by S. SCHOTT in *OLZ* 41, 92 ff. His *Ausgewählte inschriftliche Quellen z. Gesch., Sprache u. Kunst d. sog. Mittelmeervölker, A: Äg. Quellen* (H. BOSSERT, *Alt-Kreta*, 3. Aufl. Berlin, 49 ff., 1937) is revd. by CAPART, *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 82. I have not seen his art. *Kurt Sethe's Ausgabe d. Pyramidentexte*, *ZDMG* 91 (1937), 537 ff., nor his *Wörterbuch d. äg. Sprache in Berichte über d. wissenschaftlichen Unternehmungen d. Akademie*, 51.

B. GRDSELOFF, in *La Lecture et le sens du mot*  (*Ann. Serv.* 38, 353 f.), points out the true rdg. of the word read *db*: by *Wb.*, meaning 'to faint', 'lose consciousness'.

An *Index of words, etc., discussed in JEA 24* is given *op. cit.* 271 f.

R. WEILL has an art. *Les mots bjs 'cuivre', 'métaux', 'mine', 'carrière', 'blocs', 'transport', 'merveille', et leurs déterminatifs* in *Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 69 ff.

14. Publications of Texts

(Of the revs. only those which critically discuss publns. of texts are included.)

A. FROM SITES, MUSEUMS, ETC., IN EGYPT AND THE SUDAN

Western Desert. A. ROWE publs. in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 391 ff., with photos., the short inserr. upon a copper chisel and stelae of Cheops and Saḥurē^s in the neighbourhood of the Diorite Quarries recently discovered between Dunkūl, Nakhlai, and Ṭūshka (*Provisional notes on the O.K. Inscr. from the Diorite Quarries*).

Bahriyah Oasis. Short printed texts from the little temple of Apries at El-Ḳaṣr are given in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 97 ff. (A. FAKHRY, *Die Kapelle aus d. Zeit. d. Apries in d. Oase Bahria*). Translns. and comm.

Edfu. The two reports of the Franco-Polish expedn., *Tell Edfou 1937* and *Tell Edfou 1938* (Cairo), contain small quantities of textual matter. J. J. CLÈRE reports the finding of the Horus-name Ḥ at a spot in the Wādi 'Abbād, to the E. of Edfu, in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 85 ff., with drawing.

Thebes (Dēr el-Madīnah). A third fasc. of G. POSENER'S *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médīneh*, I (Cairo) has now appeared. J. ČERNÝ, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médīneh*, I, II is revd. by H. KEES in *GGA* 200, 339 ff.

Thebes (Karnak). In *Ann. Serv.* 38, 69 ff. L. HABACHI publs. printed texts with photos. from blocks, statues, etc., at Karnak (*Découvertes de Karnak, 1936-1937*). H. H. NELSON, *Ramses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon* is revd. at length by ROEDER in *Arch. f. Or.* 12, 283 ff.

Thebes (Bībān el-Mulūk). STEINDORFF supplies in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 641 ff. the hitherto much-needed texts from the walls of the tomb-chamber of Tut'ankhamūn, with photos.

Thebes (Luxor). A. MORET gives in *C.-R. Ac. Inscr. B.-L.* 37, 239 ff. an autograph-copy of the text, with transln., of the dedicatory inscr. of Amenophis III in the Vestibule of the Temple. This appears from its style to be of great antiquity, and a transln. has not been hitherto attempted. It was inaccurately publ. in 1894 by A. GAYET (*Le temple de Louxor*, Pl. xii).

Thebes (Kōm el-Ḥeṭān). ROBICHON and VARILLE, *Le temple du Scribe royal Amenhotep, fils de Hapou, I*, is revd. by H. KEES in *GGA* 200, 339 ff.

Kena. *Stela of the Boat-Captain Inikaf*, by A. FAKHRY, in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 35 ff. Printed text, transln., and comm., with drawing, of an O.-K. stela belonging to a dealer in Ḳena.

Abydos. A. M. CALVERLEY and M. F. BROOME, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos, III: The Osiris Complex.* The following words, quoted from the Introduction, speak sufficiently for themselves: 'This vol. places on record every scrap of scene and inscr. now existing in the area treated. Much of the material has been publ. before—after a fashion. A careful scrutiny of the earlier publns. reveals, however, such an astonishing degree of inaccuracy that it is hardly too much to say that not one of our reliefs has been adequately reproduced hitherto.' H. E. WINLOCK, *The Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos (MMA Papers, No. 5, New York, 1937)*. Here the texts remaining, which are reproduced in the plates drawn by N. DE G. DAVIES and L. F. HALL, are transld. in the descriptive portion of the work.

El-Mustagiddah. G. BRUNTON, *Mostagedda* (London, 1937), contains a small amount of textual matter, notably on Pl. lxxix, in the coffin of *Suty*, an official of Sethōs I. The drawings are an improvement on the printed publ. in *Ann. Serv.* 2, 137 ff.

Asyūt. H. BRUNNER, *Die Texte aus d. Gräbern d. Herakleopolitenzeit v. Siut*, is revd. by CAPART in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 86 f. P. MONTET, in reviewing the same work in *Kémi* 7, 173 ff., is chiefly concerned to reiterate his own readings publ. already *op. cit.* 3, 89 ff.

El-Ashmūnēn. H. BRUNNER publs. in *ZÄS* 74, 105 ff. blocks of the 'Amarnah period with short texts naming a second princess Ḥḥ-s-n-pi-Itn (*Eine neue Amarna-Prinzessin*). The blocks were found by the German expedn. at Hermopolis.

Zāwīyet el-Mayyītīn. A. VARILLE, *La tombe de Ni-Ankh-Pepi à Zāouyet el-Mayetīn (Mém. Inst. fr., 70, Cairo)*. The textual content of the tomb is very small.

Kīmān Fāris, Fayyūm. Texts from pink granite fragmm. with names of Amenophis III in the ruins of Arsinoë are publ. in *Ann. Serv.* 37, 85 ff., by L. HABACHI.

Ṣakḳārah. Prof. S. HASSAN, *Excavns. at Saqqara, 1937-1938*, in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 503 ff., publs. small texts from maṣṭabahs of *Htp*, *Bḥi*, *Ḥw-f-R^c*, *Ny-Ḥḥ-B*, *Ny-Ḥḥ-Ppy*, and *Nb-ḫw-Ḥr*, and from the cause-

way to the funerary chapel of Wenis. DRIOTON and J. P. LAUER publ. with photos. in *Bull. Inst. fr.* 37 (1937), 201 ff., remnants of a text recording the fact that Kha'emwëse, son of Ramesses II, had the name of Wenis re-cut on his pyramid. This in turn explains other fragmentary parallel texts recording the same service—a policy, we may note, markedly in contrast to that of Ramesses II himself. (*Une inscr. de Khamous sur la face de la pyramide d'Ounas à Saqqarah.*)

Gizah. In *Ann. Serv.* 38, 53 ff. Prof. S. HASSAN publs. photo. and transl. of another stela of Amenophis II discovered together with the large one publ. last year. This has a representation of the solar disk with human arms and hands. S. HASSAN and A. ABDELSALAM, *Excavns. at Giza 1930-31* (Cairo, 1936) contains texts, chiefly O.-K. names and titles from the maṣṣabahs excavated. They are for the most part reproduced by means of line drawings. JUNKER, *Giza III*, publs. facsimiles of scenes with texts from recently excavated 5th-Dyn. maṣṣabahs, with descriptions, discussions of various types of offerings, etc.

Fustāt. M. HAMZA publs. in *Ann. Serv.* 37, 233 ff., texts from a kneeling naophorous statue of Merneptah at Atār en-Nabi. This site he concludes is to be identified with *Hry-ḥr* and with the *Pr-Psdt* of the stela of Pī'ankhy. Printed texts and photos. *Op. cit.*, 135 ff., A. HAMADA gives an account, with texts and photos., of the tomb of *Pj-un-ḥst-f*. The hierogl. texts are from the very large sarcophagus, the discovery of which was reported in this bibliography last year (cf. *JEA* 24, 223).

Cairo. The coffin of *Mn-st*, usurped by *Hr-nht*, in the Cairo Museum store, is publ. with printed text, photos., and transl. by M. KAMAL in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 29 ff. (*An unpubld. M.E. coffin in the Egn. Museum*). Texts from some objects given to the Museum by H.M. King Farouk I are publ. by the same writer in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 1 ff. These are (1) coffin of *Hp-mn*, (2) offering-table of *Hty*, and (3) wooden tablet of King Intef VIII. Good photos. of the same objects appeared also in *Egypt, A Travel Quarterly*, No. 4. M. KAMAL also repubs. (*op. cit.*, pp. 265 ff.) the text of the well-known stela of *Shtp-ib-R'*, Cairo 20538 (cf. SETHE, *Lesest.*, No. 13—an edn. which, though indeed not complete, is not mentioned in the appended bibliography of previous publs. of this text), with drawing of one side, and transl. and comm. of the first 8 ll. The art. is to be continued. A. ROWE, *New Light on objects belonging to the Generals Potasimto and Amasis in the Egn. Museum*, in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 157 ff., contains printed texts from the sarcophagus of *Pj-di-Hr-sm-twy*, libation bowl of the same, and statuette of *Iḥ-ms*, with transl. and separate bibliographies. These two are to be identified with the generals of Psammetichus II, leaders of the mercenaries and Egn. on the Ethiopian expedn. It is a pity that the inscr., almost entirely religious in character, do not yield more historical details. H. KEES, *Die Lebensgrundsätze eines Amons Priesters d. 22. Dynastie*, *ZÄS* 74, 73 ff., publs. printed texts from statue CCG 42225.

Manshiyat eṣ-Ṣadr. A. HAMADA, *A Stela from Manshiyat eṣ-Ṣadr*, in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 217 ff. Printed text, transl. and comm., with photo., of a large stela of Ramesses II from near Heliopolis, previously publ. in *Rec. trav.* 30, 213 ff. by A. KAMAL. The text has 20 ll., is instructive and in good preservation, and is certainly deserving of this more complete publ.

Heliopolis. During the digging of a canal inscribed blocks were found. A. FAKHRY, in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 31 ff., gives an account of these with copies, transl., comm., and photos.

Benha (Tell el-Atrīb). See below, C (DRIOTON).

Ismā'īliyah. G. GOYON, *Deux Stèles de Ramsès II au Gebel Shalouf*, in *Kémi* 7, 115 ff. Two pink granite stelae from the bank of the ancient canal, now in the Ismā'īliyah Museum.

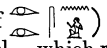
B. FROM MUSEUMS, ETC., OUTSIDE EGYPT

Berlin. H. MÜLLER-FELDMANN in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 169 ff. publs. two small inscribed fragmm. seen at a dealer's in Berlin (*Zwei Denksteine d. 17. u. 18. Dynastie*). A new transcription with comm., and a new transl. of the difficult building inscr. of the temple of Heliopolis on the Berlin leather roll (Berlin P. 3029) are publ. by A. DE BUCK in *An. Or.* 17, 48 ff. The new suggestions are based on readings from photos. taken by the infra-red process and others.

Boston. D. DUNHAM, *JEA* 24, 1 ff., publs. photo. and drawing of the biographical inscr., now at Boston, of *Nḥbw* from his chapel at Gizah. Collation showed that the text differed from the version publ. by SETHE in *Urk.*, I, 219 ff. Transl. and comm.

London. A. W. SHORTER, *Catalogue of Egn. Religious Papyri in the B.M. Copies of the Book Pr(t)-m-hrw from the XVIIIth to the XXIInd Dyn.*, I: *Description of Papyri with Text* (London). A very complete printed text, with *apparatus criticus*, compiled from 24 copies of the *Bk. Dead*, and with 12 selected photos. to illustrate the various hands. Revd. by H. BALCZ in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 194 ff. H. BONNET revs. C. E. SANDER-HANSEN'S *Die religiösen Texte auf d. Sarg d. Anchnesneferibre* in *OLZ* 41, 290 ff.

Oxford. A. N. DAKIN republ. in *JEA* 24, 190 ff., with excellent photos., transl., and comm., the M.-K. stela of *Sr-R'* (*The Stela of Sire^c at Oxford*), Ashmolean Mus., E 3921, cf. NEWBERRY in GARSTANG, *Tombs of the Third Egn. Dynasty*, Pl. 33.

Paris. In *ZÄS* 74, 49 ff. H. RANKE publ. a good photo. of the 'Bentresh Stela' in the Bibl. Nat. in illustr. of his identification of the text on a forged *antika*, a leaden tablet in private possession at Messina. M. BAUD in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 21 ff. republ. with comm. the text of stela Louvre C 14 (of ) and finds meanings hard to reconcile with strict grammar. The shapes of some of the signs in the pl.—which represents in solid black figures and signs in sunk relief—do not seem quite to tally with the photo. publ. in *Anc. Egypt*, 1925, facing p. 33.

Rio de Janeiro. Two stelae with parallels to a hymn to Osiris (S. HASSAN, *Hymnes religieux du M.E.*, 127 ff.) are transl., with comm. and photos., in *Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 91 ff. by B. VAN DE WALLE.


Vienna. E. R. v. KOMORZYŃSKI, *Ein Totenbuchfragment aus d. Wiener Papyrussammlung*, in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 141 ff. Description and drawing.

Würzburg. E. R. v. KOMORZYŃSKI, *Die äg. Sammlung d. Martin v. Wagner-Museums zu Würzburg*, in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 255 ff. Drawings and short texts from unpubl. stelae. Texts from other objects in the collection are mentioned, but not given *in extenso*.

C. MISCELLANEOUS

A. DE BUCK publ. his continuation of *The Egn. Coffin Texts*. Vol. II (Chicago) has texts of spells 76–163 (cf. *JEA* 23, 268).

In an interesting exposition of Egn. cross-word puzzles in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 35 ff., J. J. CLÈRE publ. photos. and figs. that may be included in the section (*Acrostiches et mots croisés des anciens égyptiens*).

DRIOTON continues with admirable mastery his expositions of cryptographic writing. In *Ann. Serv.* 38, 231 ff. he shows how two cryptograms on statue *CCG* 42114 are in reality the names of Queen Hatshepsut, and *op. cit.*, 109 ff., he explains an enigmatic scene and text on a slab lately excavated at Tell el-Atrib by the Inst. of Arch., Liverpool, with printed texts, drawings, and photo. This slab is the subject of another art. in the same vol. (M. HAMZA, *The Correct reading of the Place-name* ) *op. cit.*, 197 ff., where it is quite differently interpreted. Yet a third art., by A. ROWE, *op. cit.*, 525 ff., deals with this 'text', but here the reverse and two sides, containing an inscr. of Ramesses II, are the principal subjects considered.

A. HERMANN revs. GARDINER, *Late-Egn. Miscellanies*, in *OLZ*, 293 ff.

A. LUCAS and A. ROWE, *The Anc. Egn. Bekhen-Stone*, in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 127 ff., 677 contains a summary of texts mentioning *bhn*, each with separate bibliography.

C. MAYSTRE, *Les déclarations d'innocence*, is the subject of a long rev. by CAPART in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 115 ff. It is also revd. by H. KEES in *GGA* 200, 339 ff.

P. MONTET revs. J. VANDIER, *La famine dans l'Ég. anc.* in *Rev. ét. anc.* 39, 237 f. H. KEES revs. it in *GGA* 200, 339 ff.

M. SANDMAN, *Texts from the time of Akhenaten (Bibl. Aeg., VIII)*, is a convenient collection in autograph of texts of this one period. They have all been publ. previously, but the text of one boundary stela has been made from a fresh collation of LEPSIUS's squeeze.

G. POSENER: *La première domination perse en Ég.*, is revd. by H. KEES in *GGA* 200, 339 ff.

15. Religion and Magic

M. ALLIOT's *Un nouvel exemple de vizir divinisé dans l'Ég. anc.* (*Bull. Inst. fr.* 37, 93 ff.) is revd. by LEFEBVRE, *Rev. ét. anc.* 40, 336 f.; by LEXA, *Arch. Orient.* 10, 452 f.

I have not seen M. BEAULIEU-NIVET's *La valeur magique des pierres précieuses dans l'anc. Ég.* (*Thèse présentée à l'École du Louvre*, résumé in *Bull. Musées de France* 10, 128 f.).

F. v. BISSING's *Äg. Kultbilder d. Ptolomaier- u. Römerzeit* (Leipzig, 1936) is given a short not. by E. KOMORZYŃSKI, *WZKM* 45, 274; C. WATZINGER, *OLZ* 42, 154 f.; *BCH* 62, 202.

A. M. BLACKMAN points out, in *Studia Aegyptiaca*, I, 1 ff., that Osiris is described as the maker of corn in two Ptol. texts, showing that the ex. in *P. Chester Beatty* I is not unique. He also has *Some Remarks on a clay Sealing found in the Tomb of Hemaka* which shows the Sed-festival race and possibly the bull Apis (*op. cit.*, 4 ff.).

O. H. E. BURMESTER has an art. *Egn. Mythology in the Cop. Apocrypha* in *Orientalia* 7, 355 ff. He points out that the only passages in Cop. apocryphal writings which we can expect to show traces of anc. Egn. religion are the descriptions of Hell, for pagan religion was regarded as the invention of the Devil.

J. CAPART publs. a popular booklet entitled *Pour transformer un vieillard en un jeune homme* (*Papyrus Edwin Smith*), Liège, G. Thone. It contains Prof. LORET's transl. of the prescription publ. in *Mél. Maspero*, I, 853 ff.

A. DE BUCK in *Een merkwaardige Egyptische voorstelling van Zonsop- en ondergang* (*Jaarbericht . . . Ex Oriente Lux* 5, 305 ff.) publs. a vignette of the Book of 'Am-Duat' showing a personification of the Underworld in the act of swallowing the sun. He has also issued a Dutch transl. of the Great 'Amarnah Hymn, *Het zonnelied van Achnaton* (Amsterdam, Wereldbibliothek-Vereeniging). His *Egn. Coffin Texts*, II (Chicago, Univ. Press) contains much new material for the study of magic and religion.

I have not been able to see H. v. DEMEL's *Eine Statuette d. Göttin Anukis* in *Jahrb. d. Kunsthist. Sammlungen in Wien* 12, offprint No. 113.

É. DRIOTON and J. VANDIER's new history of Egypt, in the series *Clio*, I: *Les Peuples de l'Orient Méditerranéen*, 2: *L'Égypte* contains a chapter on religion. The critical bibliography (110 ff.) will be found very useful. Revd. by KOMORZYŃSKI, *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 265 ff.; G. CONTENAU, *Rev. d'assyriol.* 35, 197. D.'s *Ce que l'on sait du théâtre ég.* (*Éditions de la Rev. du Caire*), has an interesting discussion on the anc. Egn. religious drama.

R. ENGELBACH in *Some Remarks on Ka-statues of Abnormal Men in the Old Kingdom* (*Ann. Serv.* 38, 285 ff.) suggests that men with serious congenital deformities felt it necessary that these defects should be represented in their *ka*-statues.

A. ERMAN's *La Religion des ég.* (Paris, 1937) is revd. by M. WERBROUCK, *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 79 f.

J. S. F. GARNOT's *L'Appel aux vivants dans les textes funéraires ég. des origines à la fin de l'Anc. Empire* (Cairo, Inst. fr.) contains interesting matter. He points out that by the end of the reign of Pepi I the deceased no longer expected actual offerings at the hands of visitors to the tomb, but was content with the pronouncement of the funerary formulae.

P. GILBERT continues his *Idées des noms solaires royaux au Moyen Empire* in *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 59 ff.

S. HASSAN has an art. *A Representation of the Solar Disk with Human Hands and Arms and the Form of Horus of Behdet, as seen on the Stela of Amenhetep II in the Mud-brick Temple at Giza* in *Ann. Serv.* 38, 53 ff.

W. C. HAYES's *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty* is revd. by S. MERCER, *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 56 ff.; by FAIRMAN, *JEA* 24, 140. H.'s *The Egn. God of the lotus: A bronze statuette* (*Bull. MMA* 33, 182 ff.) contains some remarks on the God Nefertēm.

The statuette publ. by R. P. HINKS, *Isis suckling Horus*, *BM Quart.* 12, 74 f., has already been described by HORNBLOWER in *JEA* 15, 44 (Pl. 12, 1).

H. JENSEN has an art. *Zur Frage: Der äg. Horus-Mythus als literarisches Wandelmotiv* in *Arch. f. Rel.* 35, 171 ff.

G. JÉQUIER supplies further valuable material for the reconstruction of a royal mortuary chapel in *Le Monument funéraire de Pepi II*, II: *Le Temple*, Cairo. Many interesting reliefs have been recovered, including representations of little-known gods.

H. KEES's *Herihor u. d. Aufrihtung d. thebanischen Gottesstaates* (Göttingen, 1936) is revd. by CAPART, *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 98 ff.

VAN DE LEEUW's *Das sogenannte Hockerbegräbnis u. d. äg. tjknw* (*Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 14, 151 ff.) contains some interesting remarks. L. derives the *tknw*-figure of Egn. funerary ceremonies from the contracted burials of prehistoric times. This figure represents the deceased and it is given a crouching position and covered by a skin to show that the man is an embryo ready to be re-born. L. quotes parallels from other lands.

A. MARMORSTEIN's *Egn. Mythology and Babylonian Magic in Bible and Talmud* (*Dissertationes in honorem Dr. Eduardi Mahler*, Budapest, 469 ff.) was omitted from the 1937 Bibliography.

C. MAYSTRE's *Les Déclarations d'innocence* (Cairo, 1937) is revd. by CAPART, *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 115 ff.

H. MODERAU has an art. *Die Moral d. alten Ägypter nach Kapitel 125 d. Totenbuches* in *Arch. f. Or.* 12, 258 ff.

A. MORET in *Le rite de briser les vases rouges aux temples de Louxor* (*Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 167) quotes a hitherto unrecognized ex. of this rite in a ritual of the divine cult.

H. H. NELSON in *Three Decrees of Ramses III from Karnak*, *JAOS* 56 (1936), 232 ff. discusses three endowments of offerings to be placed on certain altars of Amen-Rē, made in years 6, 7, and 16 of the king's reign.

P. E. NEWBERRY's *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi*, Fasc. 2 (*CCG*, 1937) is revd. by A. M. BLACKMAN, *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 25, 54 f.; F. ZUCKER, *Aeg.* 18, 159.

E. OTTO has publ. a useful study, *Beiträge z. Geschichte d. Stierkulte in Ägypten* (Leipzig), in which the recent discoveries at Armant and Medamūd have been utilized. Revd. by LEXA, *Arch. Orient.* 10

453 f. In *Thot als Stellvertreter d. Seth*, *Orientalia* 7, 69 ff., O. discusses possible reasons for the substitution of Thoth for Seth in scenes of purification from Dyn. 18 onwards.

I have not seen J. PALFI's art. *Totenopfer u. Opferformeln bei d. Ägyptern d. alten Zeit* (*Dissertationes in honorem Dr. E. Mahler*, Budapest, 1937, 230 ff.).

J. PIRENNE has an art. *La Religion ég. dans l'œuvre d'Alexandre Moret* in *Le Flambeau*, 1938, 385 ff.

A. ROWE's *Catalogue of Egn. Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals and Amulets in the Palestine Arch. Mus.* (Cairo, 1936) is revd. by LEIBOVITCH, *Ann. Serv.* 38, 675 f.; P. GILBERT, *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 86; F. Z., *Aeg.* 18, 158; A. M. BLACKMAN, *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 25, 51 f.; PIEPER, *OLZ* 42, 18.

S. SCHOTT has an interesting art. on *Das blutrünstige Keltergerät* in *ZÄS* 74, 88 ff. He publs. two gruesome vignettes from N.-K. papyri showing gods squeezing out blood from the 'souls' of the damned in a wine-press, and discusses the role played by these 'wine-press gods' in Egn. mythology. S. also points out a curious substitution of 'The Two Enneads' for words for 'teeth' and 'lips' in several passages in the Pyr. Texts (*Die Beiden Neunheiten als Ausdruck f. 'Zähne' u. 'Lippen'*, *op. cit.*, 94 ff.).

A. W. SHORTER's *Cat. of Egn. Religious Papyri in the British Mus. Copies of the Book Pr(t)-m-hrw from the XVIIIth to the XXIIInd Dynasty, I: Description of Papyri with Text* contains the text of Spells 1-17 only. There are translns. and useful explanatory nn. on some of these. Revd. by BALCZ, *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 194 ff. S.'s *Egn. Gods* (London, 1937) is revd. by CAPART, *Chron. d'Ég.* 13, 78 f.; G. MOSTNY, *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 24 ff.

L. SPELEERS has an art. *La Résurrection et la toilette du mort selon les textes des pyramides* in *Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 37 ff. His *Traduction, index et vocabulaire des textes des pyramides ég.* is revd. critically by WEILL, *op. cit.*, 133 ff., as is S.'s *Comment faut-il lire les textes des pyramides ég.?*, *op. cit.*, 131 ff.

J. SPIEGEL's *Die Erzählung v. Streite d. Horus u. Seth* (Glückstadt, 1937) is revd. by J. G. GRIFFITHS, *JEA* 24, 255 f.; by S. SCHOTT, *OLZ* 41, 525 ff.

G. THAUSING has written on *Der äg. Schicksalbegriff* (*Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 8, 46 ff.) with interesting results, and has an art. *Über die Personifikation d. Todes* in *Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 215 ff., and also some nn. on the ceremony of *Das 'Aufhacken der Erde'*, *op. cit.*, 7 ff.

W. VYČICHL gives some nn. on *Der Feuerstrom im Jenseits* in *Pharaonic, Coptic, and Mohammedan Eg.* (*Arch. f. äg. Arch.* 1, 263 f.).

G. A. WAINWRIGHT, in *The Sky-Religion in Eg.* (Cam. Univ. Press), seeks to find the roots of many features of Egn. religion in the worship of sky-deities, as producers of fertility and rain, in very early times.

VAN DE WALLE publs. *Un Hymne du Moyen Empire complété au moyen de deux stèles du Mus. National de Rio de Janeiro*, *Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 91 ff.; this supplies a fuller form of the hymn to Osiris which was ed. by SELIM HASSAN in *Hymnes Religieuses*, 127 ff., and which now appears to have been divided into three strophes.

R. WEILL in an art. *Ceux qui n'avaient pas de tombeau dans l'Ég. anc.* (*Rev. hist. rel.* 118, 5 ff.) rightly stresses the fact that the vast majority of anc. Egnns. never possessed tombs and never expected to have them. W. examines some of the implications of this. He again discusses the question of Haurōn in Eg. in *Le Dieu cananéen Hwrwn sous les traits de Horus-Faucon chez les Ramessides*, *Rev. d'égyptol.* 3, 167 f.

I have not been able to see WESSETZKY's *Herz u. Skarabäus* (*Dissertationes in honorem Dr. E. Mahler*, Budapest, 1937, 365 ff.).

H. F. WOLFF has an art. *Die kultische Rolle d. Zwerges im alten Ägypten* (*Anthropos* 33, 445 ff.).

16. Science, Mathematics, &c. (covering 1937 and 1938)

A. ASTRONOMY

W. GUNDEL and S. SCHOTT, *Dekane u. Dekansternebilder* (*Stud. d. Bibl. Warburg*, 1936) is revd. by L. BORCHARDT in *OLZ* 40 (1937), 505-7. The work includes an important and fully referenced essay by SCHOTT on *Die Altaegyptischen Dekane* (21 pp.) and a reprint of A. POGO's *Der Kalender auf dem Sargdeckel des Idy in Tübingen* (5 pp., 2 diagrams).

O. NEUGEBAUER and A. VOLTEN, *Ein demotischer astronomischer Papyrus* (Pap. Carlsberg 9), in *Q. u. Stud. z. Gesch. d. Math. Astr. u. Physik*. Abt. B, 4, 383-406, is a discussion of the 'earliest text with evidence of Egn. knowledge of mathematical astronomy'. The text (c. A.D. 150) deals with a simple scheme for calculating the beginnings of the months based on a period of 25 Egn. years—each of 365 days—a period almost exactly equal to 309 synodical months. In 9 of the 25 years there are 13 new (or full) moons; in the remaining 16, only 12. It is claimed that the former are 'great years' and the latter 'little years' in the sense of 12th-Dyn. texts (e.g., NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, I, 1893, Pls. 24, 25).

See also correspondence in *Nature* 143, pp. 115 (brief bibliography), 336, 765.

B. CALENDAR

O. NEUGEBAUER in *Die Bedeutungslosigkeit d. 'Sothisperiode' f. d. älteste äg. Chronologie* (*Acta Or.* 17, 167 ff.) casts doubt on MEYER's date 4241 B.C. for the institution of the Sothic Calendar, as being beyond the capabilities of the astronomers of the day. It is claimed that knowledge of the 365-day year could have been derived from observations of the mean lowest Nile level over a series of years.

D. MACNAUGHTON, *A scheme of Egyptian Chronology* (1932, xii+402 pp., 18 pls.) is revd. by T. BURTON BROWN in *JEA* 23, 270. 'A courageous attempt to assist prehistorians.' Dyn. 1 is placed at 5776 B.C., Dyn. 12 at 3373 B.C., Dyn. 18 at 1709 B.C.

W. F. EDGERTON writes *On the Chronology of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty (Amenhotep I to Thutmose III)* in *AJSL* 53 (1937), 188-97.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT in *Thoughts on Three Recent Articles* (*JEA* 24, 61 ff.) notes the importance of calendars in the life of the modern Egyptian, three calendars used simultaneously causing no particular difficulty.

C. MATHEMATICS AND METROLOGY

A. S. HEMMY, *An Analysis of the Petrie Collection of Egyptian Weights* (*JEA* 23, 39 ff.). The statistical method is applied to the data collected by PETRIE in his *Ancient Weights and Measures* (see *Anc. Eg.*, 1935, 83 ff., where HEMMY analysed the weights of the Sumerian and Indus civilizations). The method yields useful results when applied to large numbers of specimens (200 minimum) and when the original weight is known—hence stone and not metal ones are chosen. There is no evidence of systematic fraud. Inaccuracies of anc. balances are considered. With a Graeco-Egn. goldsmith's balance of 600 B.C. a 6% error is possible. A brief hist. of the weight standards of anc. Eg. is given and the confusion and complexity of anc. weight systems are stressed, numerous standards having been in use simultaneously, with a marked degree of variability.

Sir F. PETRIE writes on *The present position of Metrology of Egyptian Weights* in *JEA* 24, 180 f.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT in *Thoughts on Three Recent Articles* (*JEA* 24, 61 ff.) contributes an interesting n. on the confusion in anc. Egn. weights and similar confusion in Eg. to-day.

V. GORDON CHILDE, *The Oriental Background of European Science in Modern Quarterly*, 1938, 105 ff., gives an admirable but necessarily brief summary of present knowledge, especially regarding mathematics and science in anc. Eg. and Babylonia.

D. SCIENCE—GENERAL

L. G. BOYD and W. BOYD, *Blood Groups in anc. Eg.*, in *Chron. d'Ég.* 12, 41 ff., discuss Dr. C. DE BROOKLYN's *Blood group reactions in anc. human skeletons in Amer. Journ. Phys. Anthropol.* 21. Mummified flesh as well as dry bones of Egn. and Indians can be made to reveal blood types. Groups A and B found. A predynastic mummy showed B. Light is thrown on the origin and distribution of blood groups. In pure Indians of N. America, group A is very rare and B is non-existent. The frequencies of A and B in Cairo and Asyūt do not differ greatly from the ancient frequencies. The technique may be applied as a test of paternity and, perhaps, to establish relationships of unknown Pharaohs.

A. LUCAS in *Notes on Myrrh and Stacte* (*JEA* 23, 26 ff.), discusses the properties of gums and resins and gives interesting facts about myrrh, frankincense, and other incense materials and methods of extraction.

A. SEGUIN in *Étude sur le Pétrole dans l'antiquité ég. (Deuxième Congrès mondial du Pétrole, 6 pp., 1937)*, discusses passages in anc. Egn. texts which may refer, e.g. 'huile sortie de terre', *Pyr.*, § 237, a.¹

R. J. FORBES, *Bitumen and Petroleum in Antiquity*, Leiden, 1936, is revd. by P. COREMANS in *Chron. d'Ég.* 12, 225.

A. LUCAS, *Glazed Ware in Eg., India, and Mesopotamia*, in *JEA* 22, 141 ff., is revd. by P. COREMANS in *Chron. d'Ég.* 12, 226.

M. FARNSWORTH and P. D. RITCHIE in *Spectrographic Studies on ancient Glass (Technical Studies, 6 (1938), pp. 155-73)* write on Egn. glass, mainly of Dyn. 18, with special reference to its cobalt content.

A. LUCAS in *Poisons in Anc. Eg.* (*JEA* 24, 198 ff.), points out that arrow-heads were tipped with red ochre for magical purposes and were not poisoned. There is no reason to assume the practice of poisoning. Cases of poisoning were usually accidental and due to bites of serpents or stings of scorpions. Various poisonous plants are discussed.

¹ MASPERO's transl. of 1882 (*Rec. trav.* 3, 223). The word transl. 'huile' is actually 'cobra'. Non-Egyptologists desiring to use transl. of Egn. texts for especial researches would often avoid disaster if they had passages apparently relevant to their studies verified from that standpoint by some competent person.—ED.

A. LUCAS in *Were the Giza Pyramids painted?* (*Antiq.* 12, 26), discusses the patina on ancient rocks and its formation from the chemical standpoint. The reddish colour is oxide of iron and a hardened surface is one of the results of the formation of the patina.

L. BORCHARDT's *Einiges z. dritten Bauperiode d. grossen Pyr. bei Gise*, 1932 (21 pp., 12 pls.), is well revd. by G. A. WAINWRIGHT in *JEA* 23, 127, where he discusses various mechanical problems.

G. BRUNS, *Der Obelisk . . . zu Konstantinopel*, Istanbul, 1935, is well revd. by S. CASSON in *Antiq.* 12, 372. The Byz. reliefs round the base illustrating the mechanical problems involved in the raising of the obelisk are unique. 'The only complete survey of the problem.'

E. TECHNIQUES: METALS

E. W. HULME in *Early Iron Smelting in Egypt* (*Antiq.* 11, 208), considers the subject and its connexion with gold-smelting and explains certain features of early iron manufacture: its limited output, its unprogressive character and high value association with gold in jewellery and use for beads and finger-rings.

H. MARYON's paper on *Soldering and Welding in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages*, read at the Congress of Prehist. and Proto-hist. Sciences, Oslo, and publ. in *Tech. Stud. in the Field of the Fine Arts*, Oct. 1936, is abstracted in *Antiq.* 11, 208. An account is given of the work of the goldsmiths of Sumeria, Egypt, Greece, Etruria, and Ireland in hand-soldering (*not* fusion-welding) processes.

F. TIME MEASUREMENT

J. CAPART in *Clepsydras ég.* (*Chron. d'Ég.* 12, 45 ff.), discusses A. POGO's hypothesis as to the Egn. origin of the scale markings on the Edfu specimen, and suggests that models were used to determine the normal duration of a ceremony or of a civil action, as with our sand-glasses.




J. CAPART in *Horloges ég.* (*Bull. Mus. Roy. Bruxelles*, 1938, 50 ff.), describes four new acquisitions: (1) A fragm. of a clepsydra of the outflow type, in red granite; (2) a portion of a shadow-clock (inclined-plane type of which four examples were previously known) bearing cartouche of Nephertites, Dyn. 29; (3) a graduated dial, and (4) a particularly interesting specimen of unknown use, with notch, circle, circular depressions, and puzzling line markings.

G. ZOOLOGY

L. KEIMER in *Remarques sur le Porc et le Sanglier dans l'Ég. anc.* (*Bull. Inst. d'Ég.* 19 (1937), 147 ff., 6 figs., 3 pls.), discusses the existence of the pig in Eg. from neolithic times, the aversion with which it was always regarded, and its food-value. All our domestic pigs are probably descended from two groups of boars. Two very different types are represented on Graeco-Roman pottery. A more detailed study, interesting to historians and naturalists, is promised.

L. KEIMER in *Insectes de l'Ég. anc.*, 1938, viii + 172 pp., 26 pls., publs. in one vol. studies which appeared in *Ann. Serv.* 31-7.

***M s*: 'except' in Middle Egyptian?**

THE stela of King Neferhotep, published in Randall-MacIver-Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, Pl. 29, deals with the delimitation of a 'Sacred Land' (*ts-dsr*) for Anubis by the erection of four boundary-stones, two at the south and two at the north. The text goes on: 'Now whoever shall be found within these stelae  let him be burned'. Griffith translated (*op. cit.*, p. 93): 'Verily, whosoever shall be found within these stelae, of the children of the priests to their full extent (?), shall be burnt,' with a footnote: 'or perhaps "except a priest in the execution of his duty"'. Indeed, the latter seems to be the only meaning that gives the right sense here. The question is to my mind only how  can mean 'except'. The damaged bird suggests, from its tail and the angle of its body, rather than *m* (the projection of the claws backwards is not significant in this text), and I venture to suggest, with some diffidence, that we have in  a 'wild' writing of *m s*. The meaning 'except' of *m s*, while common in demotic (Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gr.*, § 356—but apparently only after a negative) and in Coptic (Crum, *Cop. Dict.*, 314 *b*—not necessarily after a negative), does not seem to be known in Egyptian; at all events the *Wörterbuch* does not mention it. It is perhaps possible that this meaning was so rare in the Thirteenth Dynasty that the scribe who used it did not connect it with the common 'compound preposition' at all, but thought it a quite independent expression, and invented a special writing, *m-ms*, for it.

BATTISCOMBE GUNN.

A Note on Brit. Mus. 828 (Stela of Simontu)









THE autobiographical inscription of Simontu in the British Museum (Reg. No. 828; Exh. No. 145: *Hierogl. Texts BM*, II, Pl. 21) contains in ll. 5-6 a passage the construction of which offers difficulties. The deceased, after saying that he was born in the reign of Sehtepibrē (Amenemmes I), adds: (5) . . . *ink hrd ts mdh hr hm-f* (6) *sdj m htp n-sw-bit Hpr-k3-Rc nh dt di (w)i hm-f m ss . . .* Breasted (*Anc. Rec.*, I, §§ 597-8) translates: 'I was a child who fastened on the girdle under his majesty (Amenemhet I), when he departed in peace. The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkerē (Sesostris I), living forever; his majesty appointed me scribe . . .'

Breasted explains *sdj* ('departed') as 'a pseudo-participle, in a temporal clause'. The words *n-sw-bit Hpr-k3-Rc* he regards as 'an anticipatory subject, in apposition with "his majesty", of l. 6'. To this there are two objections. First, the Old Perfective (pseudo-participle), though grammatically possible as the verbal form of *sdj*, is yet not the form that one would expect to be used to express the idea that the deceased 'tied on the fillet' (that is to say entered upon adolescence or manhood) at the very moment when Amenemmes I was dying: one feels that a verbal clause, with one of the two forms *sdm-f*, *sdmt-f*, and introduced by a preposition-conjunction, *m* or *hft*, would have recorded this curious coincidence better. Second, a nominal subject placed by anticipation at the beginning of a sentence (*n-sw-bit Hpr-k3-Rc*) would be resumed in the normal place not by another substantive but by a suffix: instead of *di (w)i hm-f* one would thus expect *di-f wi*. Quite recently M. Stracmans (*Mél. Boisacq*, II, 275) has proposed that this part of the text be transformed into *Hpr-k3-Rc <hc m> n-sw-bit* (clause with pseudo-verbal predicate) 'lorsque Kheperkerē se fut levé en roi'—a complicated and not very satisfactory solution.


All difficulties of construction disappear, it seems to me, if, without adding anything to the text, one moves the words *di (w)i hm-f* in l. 6 so as to make the whole sentence read: (5) . . . *ink hrd ts mdh hr hm-f*; (6) *sdj hm-f m htp, di (w)i n-sw-bit Hpr-k3-Rc, nh dt, m ss . . .* 'I was a child who tied on the fillet in the time of His Majesty (Amenemmes I). When His Majesty (Amenemmes I) had departed in peace, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkerē (Sesostris I), may he live for ever, made me a scribe . . .' On this interpretation the word *hm-f* refers both times to the same king, Amenemmes I; on the other hand the verb *sdj* is, like the verb *di*, the perfective *sdm-f* used in the past tense.

G. LEFEBVRE.

NOTE.—The *Wörterbuch* (II, 189, 11) still translates *mdh* in the expression *ts mdh* as 'Gürtel', making it a separate word from *mdh* (II, 190, 1) 'Kopfbinde' ('belegt seit M.R.'). Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.*, p. 492, to S. 10, pointed out that the *mdh* of *ts mdh* means 'fillet' and is 'often wrongly trans-

lated "girdle"; it may be worth while to summarize the evidence for this view. In the Old Kingdom the *mdh* of *ts mdh* is written  with a determinative which is either the generic  (*Urk.*, I, 98, 12) or, strangely, the axe  (*Urk.*, I, 253, 18; cf. also 250, 14) with which *mdh/mdh* 'to hew' is written. In the Middle-Kingdom passage discussed by Prof. Lefebvre *ts mdh* is written  ;  must be a fillet, as pointed out by Gardiner, *loc. cit.*, for a girdle is tied in front, not behind, and moreover has a different kind of knot, on which see Engelbach in *Ann. Serv.* 29, 40 ff. The word *mdh/mdh* in other contexts, rightly recognized by *Wb.* as meaning 'Kopfbinde', is written sometimes with , sometimes with  representing the same fillet seen from the side, the part of the head which it surrounds being shown. The false meaning 'girdle' has obviously been assigned in the past to *mdh/mdh* from identification of this word with the Coptic $\mu\sigma\chi\epsilon$, $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon$, etc. (S); $\mu\sigma\chi\varsigma$, $\mu\sigma\gamma\chi\varsigma$ (B); $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon$ (A) 'girdle'—the same word for 'girdle' occurs also in late demotic as *mdh* (Griffith-Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, Glossary, No. 427). But the demotic and Coptic words can have no connexion with *mdh/mdh*; not only is it impossible (as Gardiner pointed out to me long ago) that the ς , ϵ of the B and A forms (to which add now the h of the demotic) should go back to Egn. h , but also the d , α of the demotic and all Coptic forms cannot have come from the d which the Old-Egn. d in *mdh* had become in the Middle Kingdom (see *Wb.*, *Belegstellen*, s.v.). There is thus no evidence at all that *mdh/mdh* means 'girdle'.—The view generally held (e.g. Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebr. and Engl. Lexicon*; Spiegelberg, *Kopt. Hdwb.*) that the Hebrew מִדְּבַר ¹ 'girdle' is 'borrowed' from the Egn. word is most unlikely: not only does the meaning not suit, but unless the 'borrowing' took place during the Old Kingdom or shortly after, the d of the later form *mdh* would be represented not by ד but by ב ; further, Akkadian has *mezahh*, 'girdle' with probably a late form *mezihhu*. Prof. G. R. Driver informs me that *me-za-ah* occurs in a syllabary V R, 32 b-c 40, and *me-zi-hu* in the time of Nabopolassar (King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones*, 127, 5.13). In view of Min. *hzm*, Ar. مَزَم 'strapped', he suggests that there was perhaps a general Semitic root *mzh/hzm* 'gird', or alternatively that Akkadian, Hebrew, and Egyptian (demotic-Coptic) may all have got the word for 'girdle' from Arabic. Against the first view, he says, is the form of Akk. *mezahh*, without case-ending, thus looking like a 'loan'-word; against the second view the difficulty of explaining the metathesis in such rare words as are the Akk. and Heb. ones.—It has always been clear that *ts mdh* is an act which marks the entry upon manhood, analogous to the assumption of the *toga virilis*; the 'tying-on of the fillet' has perhaps some connexion with the discontinuance of the 'side-lock of childhood'.—BATTISCOMBE GUNN.

'A Pure Place'

EGYPTOLOGISTS are well acquainted with the phrase  st wbt 'a pure place', in which *wbt* has really the meaning 'unoccupied': ex. *ir-n(i) iz pw . . . m st wbt, nn wnt iz im n rmt nb* 'I have made this tomb . . . in a pure place, wherein there was no tomb of any person' (*Urk.*, I, 50, 13-14).

Curiously enough, the adjective *pure* is used likewise, in older English, to mean an 'unoccupied' place. Compare with the afore-mentioned Egyptian text the following sentence from Bacon's *Essays* (chap. 33, *Of plantations*): 'I like a plantation in a pure soil, that is, where people are not displanted to the end to plant in others; for else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation'.

G. LEFEBVRE.

Late Eighteenth Dynasty or Nineteenth?

DATING objects by style, it has been truly said,² rarely meets with unanimous acceptance, at any rate if the objects be Egyptian sculptures, though progress towards agreement surely follows knowledge. A relief in the Gulbenkian collection now exhibited in the British Museum as No. 16 is, it has been said, 'from an XVIIIth Dynasty tomb' and 'seems to resemble a group of stelae from the time of Heremheb',³ while in another view it is 'almost certainly not earlier than the beginning of

¹ Ps. cix. 19, = LXX $\zeta\omega\nu\eta$; the other ex., Isa. xxiii. 10, gives no sense as 'girdle', and is regarded as a corruption of מִן־הַיָּם 'harbour', I am informed by Prof. Driver, who tells me also that the מִן־הַיָּם of Job xii. 21, rendered 'girdle' by Brown-Driver-Briggs, is quite obscure in meaning and very abnormal in form.

² *JEA* 24, 250.

³ The official handbook, p. 10.

Dyn. 19, though of exceptional quality'.¹ The difference in dating is very slight, but there is relevant evidence to settle the point. Professor Ranke has very kindly referred me to his article in *ZÄS* 67, 78 ff., on an *Imn-m-int*, fragments from whose tomb are now in museums at Cairo, Copenhagen, Bologna and Heidelberg. The comparison of the titles in these fragments with the inscription on the relief No. 16 in the Gulbenkian collection is fairly conclusive; the title on No. 16 is clearly to be restored [𓏏] = 𓏏 (𓏏) as on the two fragments in Copenhagen. Ranke has shown that the king addressed in the hymn on the Heidelberg fragment is either *Nfr-hprw-Rc* or *Dsr-hprw-Rc*. Since *Imn-m-int* bears the same official title as Haremhab, he probably was, in the first case, his predecessor, in the second, his successor; the latter is, Ranke naturally concludes, the more likely. A comparison of the Gulbenkian stela with the pieces in Heidelberg and Bologna should leave no doubt that all three are from the same tomb.

It may be added that the funerary stela of the scribe *Yry*, No. 17 in the Gulbenkian collection, about which the same question arises, was assigned by Dr. Gardiner in *JEA* 4, 188 to the Eighteenth Dynasty for three reasons: (1) because 'the combination of Amōsis I and Aḥmōse Nefertere alone is very unusual if it is not unique' so that 'we are the less obliged to date the stele to the Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasty', (2) 'the figure in the lower right-hand corner does not, to my eye, resemble Nineteenth Dynasty work,' (3) 'the kilt does not display the marks of goffering used at that period.' The conclusion that the stela 'is hardly likely to be earlier than the reign of Amenophis III or later than that of Haremhab' is therefore based not only on stylistic grounds, but on a particular religious cult, and on a social fashion as well.

SIDNEY SMITH.

A New Reading of *Lebensmüde*, 131–2

IN ll. 131–2 of the *Lebensmüde* there occurs a word which was transcribed by Erman as 𓏏 𓏏. He noted² that this writing, with the *t* between the two determinatives, was so strange that one might assume some mistake, but he did not suggest any alternative reading. The transcription 𓏏, however, does not really suit the form of the hieratic sign (reproduced in Fig. 1), which has an upward curve and tick at the top never found in 𓏏. The correct reading is 𓏏, as can be seen from a comparison with the form of 𓏏 found in The Ramesseum Onomasticon³ (l. 183), where it occurs in the place-name 𓏏 𓏏 (Fig. 2). Other similar forms of 𓏏 occur elsewhere in M. K. hieratic, e.g. *Shipwrecked Sailor* 10; *Kah. Pap.*, Pl. 9, ll. 3. 4. 19; cf. also Möller, *Hierat. Pal.*, I, No. 194.



FIG. 1. FIG. 2.

We now see that the word in question is 𓏏 𓏏 *himt*, and this must clearly be a metathesis for *ihmt*, just as in *Lebensmüde*, l. 49 𓏏 𓏏 *him* is found as a writing of 𓏏 𓏏 *ihm* (ll. 18–19). Now Scharff has shown convincingly⁴ that this verb *ihm* in the *Lebensmüde* can only mean 'to hold back, to detain' (*zurückhalten*), and if our word *ihmt* is a derivative of this, as is most probable, it will have some such meaning as 'detention'. Let us now see how this suits the context of the sentence.



'Death appears to me to-day <as when> a sick man becomes well,
Like going forth into the open after detention.'

The translation 'detention' thus makes admirable sense.

PAUL C. SMITHER.

¹ *JEA*, loc. cit.

² *Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele*, 66, 67.

³ To be published by Dr. A. H. Gardiner, whom I wish to thank for kindly letting me examine and utilize this material. A preliminary description of the papyrus, which may be dated to the Second Intermediate Period, has already been given in *JEA* 3, 184 ff.

⁴ *Der Bericht über das Streitgespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele (Sitzungsb. München, phil.-hist. Abt., 1937, Heft 9)*, 16–17.

NOTES AND NEWS

WITH the issue of this part the present Editor ceases to conduct this *Journal*. The new Editor will be Mr. C. R. C. Allberry, of Christ's College, Cambridge, whose publications of the Mani texts have secured him a high position as a Coptic scholar. We wish him all success in his new task, and earnestly hope that contributors and subscribers will accord him the same generous support that we have gratefully enjoyed during our five years' editorship.

The war has made it impossible for the Society to send an expedition to 'Amārah West or elsewhere this winter. Mr. Fairman, our Field Director, is actively engaged in editing the inscriptions of Mr. Pendlebury's *The City of Akhenaten*, III, and also in preparing a full report on the temples, town, and cemeteries excavated by the Society at Sesebi (Sudla); the latter volume will, it is expected, go to press next autumn. The first volume on our work at 'Amārah West, dealing with the temple, will appear later. Pending the resumption of excavations there after the war, the fragile reliefs of the 'Amārah temple have, by arrangement with the Commissioner of Archaeology and Anthropology of the Sudan Government, been provided with temporary protection.

On September 1 next the Society will publish *Temples of Armant: A Preliminary Survey*, by the late Sir Robert Mond and Oliver H. Myers, in two volumes quarto, one of text and one of 107 plates, with chapters by M. S. Drower, D. B. Harden, S. A. Huzayyin, R. E. McEuen, and M. I. C. Myers, and numerous scientific contributions by other hands. It will give a full account of all the work done in Armant town; many important inscriptions and fine statues will be published, as well as an extensive series of decorations from Coptic pottery, and the first detailed account of Egyptian domestic dwellings of the fourth century A.D. The price of this work, which the generosity of Lady Mond has made it possible to bring out on the lines originally intended, is £2. 10s. to those who order copies (with remittance) direct from the Society's Secretary before September 1, after which the price will be raised to £3. 3s. *Cemeteries of Armant*, II, which will describe all the work done on the desert edge at Armant, and the results of an expedition to 'Uwēnāt and Gilf-el-Kebīr in the Western Desert, will, it is hoped, appear in the spring of next year. These two works will between them record the last three years' work of the Mond Expedition.

All Egyptian philologists will be very grateful to Mr. Alec N. Dakin for having compiled the complete index of Egyptian words, etc., discussed in this *Journal* from Vol. 1 to the end of Vol. 25, which appears in this Part. By enabling the student to consult far more easily than hitherto the great mass of philological discussions and references scattered in the articles of Griffith, Gardiner, Blackman, Peet, and many others, Mr. Dakin's index will prove a most valuable instrument of research.

American subscribers should note that the new address of the Secretary and Honorary Treasurer of the American Branch, Mr. A. S. Arnold, is P.O. Box 71, Metuchen, New Jersey, U.S.A.

The 'Brief Communication' on p. 101 of this volume, in which Prof. Gunn pointed out that the correct translation of P. Ch. Beatty 1, 6, 6 is 'thereupon Seth rose up, while he was sitting eating bread' was quite unnecessary, as we find that Prof. Blackman had already proposed this in his valuable review, *JEA* 19, 201, of Dr. Gardiner's edition of the papyrus. Prof. Polotsky, in a letter, adduces the further analogous Coptic construction ⲁϣⲧⲱⲟϣⲏ . . . ⲉϣⲏⲕⲟⲧⲏ, lit., 'he arose, being asleep' = ἐγερθεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου, Matt. i. 24; similarly *Kephalaia*, 159, 29; ⲉϣϣⲁⲛ ⲧⲱⲟϣⲏ . . . ⲉϣⲟⲉϣ, Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca*, 263.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces. By A. H. M. JONES. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1937, 8vo. xv+576 pp., 6 maps. 35s.

Mr. Jones sets out to survey the formation and development of city institutions in the area which later formed the eastern half of the Roman Empire. He aims at investigating and recording the facts, at settling foundation dates and founders of cities, delimiting frontiers and territories, and examining the condition of the original citizens and the terms of their liberties. The area surveyed is treated in a series of chapters, written as historical narrative, on Thrace, Asia, Lycia, the Gauls, Pamphylia, Pisidia and Lycaonia, Bithynia and Pontus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Mesopotamia and Armenia, Syria, Egypt, Cyrenaica, and Cyprus. On the basis of this material the writer hopes in a second volume to inquire into a number of general questions, such as the causes of the growth and decay of cities as political institutions, the place of the cities in various administrative systems, etc.

A book that would summarize modern work, that would at last allow the antiquated but unreplaced manual of Marquardt, *L'Organisation de l'Empire romain* to slumber in the dustier part of the bookshelves, has long been wanted. Merely in supplying this want, as regards the Eastern Empire, Mr. Jones's book is of great value. But he has done a great deal more than summarize the work of others. His investigation has been made independently, with continual recourse to the ancient authorities and re-examination of traditional half-truths. Numerous problems are approached from a fresh angle, and a possible solution indicated. Where they must remain unsolved, the difficulties are fairly and judiciously set out. The 'tangle of facts' assembled in the book does not make it an easy one to read, but reference is assisted by an ample geographical index. The text is accompanied by an extensive section of bibliographical notes, compiled and printed with admirable accuracy.

The chapter on Egypt is one of the most attractively presented, mainly because the writer here enlarges his scope and in addition to mining for facts attempts an answer to a number of general problems. He describes the geographical conditions dictating the development of central government, the early history of the nome system and of administration under the Persians, Alexander, and the Ptolemies. The nome lists of the Ptolemaic period are scrutinized before attention is turned to the quartet of cities outside the normal bureaucratic organization. The problems connected with the citizenship, council, and autonomy of Alexandria are succinctly but fairly stated. But *OGIS* 743 *Πτολεμαῖος στρατηγὸς πόλεως* should not be quoted as evidence for the commandant of the city. S. de Ricci in *Raccolta Lumbroso*, 299, finally decided the dubious provenance of this stone by showing that Wilbour copied it in 1887 at Ptolemais. This result does not affect Alexandria (where there is other evidence for the commandant of the city, e.g. SB 2100) so much as Ptolemais. If the inscription does belong to the first century B.C., as suggested by de Ricci, it supplies good reason to suspect (against the author's statement, p. 307) that 'the status of the city was degraded by the later Ptolemies'.

For the Roman (and Byzantine) period the same technique of arrangement is adopted—a survey of the cities, a quintet from Hadrian's time through the creation of Antinoopolis, and scrutiny of the nome lists (for the Little Oasis as an independent nome of the Heptanomis, cf. also P. Iand. 140, P. Harris 62). Particularly valuable is the account of the growth of the bureaucratic and liturgical system, and the introduction of a quasi-municipal organization. The determining factors in liturgization were decline in prosperity, due especially to the one-way flow of tribute out of Egypt, and the government's obstinacy in maintaining the tax assessments at boom figures. The introduction of elements of municipal organization into the *metropoleis* is a parallel growth. Here the motive of the government was nothing more than the desire to find responsible guarantors for carrying on both local and national administration. To meet the first need civic officers were organized into corporations, since even local magistrates had to find successors. The establishment of local senates filled both wants, for a large part of their function was to 'elect a number of magistrates whose duties concerned the general administration of the nome', and to share the responsibility for them. But the older bureaucratic system was still maintained, and even where the bureaucrats went into partnership with the senates' nominees the bureaucrats were the senior partners. The resultant 'diarchy' of functions is excellently analysed. On two minor points I would add a diffident comment. P. 477,

n. 36 (to p. 327): 'I do not know why Wilcken (*Grundzüge* p. 191) regards the *octroi* of *P.Lond.* III, pp. 91–2 as municipal.' Wilcken's later view (*Chr.*, 323: 'ob sie städtisch oder staatlich sind ist dem Text kaum zu entnehmen') should also be noticed. P. 325: 'The register of metropolites and the members of the gymnasium was kept by the strategus and the royal scribe assisted by officials appointed for the purpose.' *P.Ryl. Inv.* 690 (*Archiv* 12, 179) hints that here too there was a double system, and that municipal officers, in this case the *διέπων τὰ στέμματα* (mentioned on p. 477 simply as finance officer), attended at any rate to rankings inside the gymnasium class.

The survey is extended through the Byzantine period, which brought the process of municipalization to a formal completion in conformity with the system of the Empire. The author diverges, rightly in face of the new evidence, from the current theory as to the date of this change, and supposes that Diocletian's reorganization of A.D. 297 was its occasion. He argues also that Heptanomia was in the province of Herculia, not co-extensive with it. For Aegyptus he is able to use the evidence of an unpublished Rylands papyrus.

This bare summary of a single chapter may perhaps serve to exhibit the value of Mr. Jones's work, and for a reviewer in this *Journal* it would be out of place to discuss the other chapters. But there is much in them of interest to the student of Egyptian administration. Such for instance is the account of other areas in the Empire that were directly governed, and the reasons why the Roman government dispensed with city institutions in their administration. In short, this book is likely to be for a long time the starting-point and stimulant of future investigation.

E. G. TURNER.

The Mastaba of Mereruka. Parts I, II, by THE SAKKARAH EXPEDITION. (Oriental Institute Publications, University of Chicago, Vol. xxxi, xxxix.) Chicago, Ill., and Cambridge University Press, 1938. Fol. xxv + 18 pp., 219 pls. (13 coloured, 112 photographic). \$40 or £9; \$50 or £11. 5s.

Just over fifty years ago the reviewer had the privilege of assisting Adolf Erman, his honoured guest in a rough bivouac at Şakḳārah, when the great grammarian was copying the texts of this tomb for the Berlin Dictionary, the sketchy publication of Daressy, which had just appeared, being in our hands. Those to whom the present sumptuous volumes are due have taken away the shame of the long neglect that has intervened. Not that this neglect is rare: knowledge of the fine reliefs of the neighbouring temple of Neweserrē, which was then being excavated by the Germans, is in part still withheld from the public to whom it rightfully belongs.

It is some consolation that by this postponement new standards of publication have been set up, standards to which the promoters and exponents of this work have been more than faithful, and a fresh nation has taken the field. The forty volumes of the *Oriental Institute of Chicago Publications* form as many niches in a fitting monument to the inspiring enthusiasm of Breasted and the inspired munificence of the younger Rockefeller. The Institute has recently lost both these motive powers, but it would be a grave national abstention if this crusade, organized in the grand manner, to hallowed sepulchres in the East had to retreat for lack of reinforcements from home.

The maṣṭabah of Mereruka is scarcely more than second-rate in point of draughtsmanship and execution. This was to be expected from its date, and the adoption of a much higher relief than was in use previously was not happy. The tomb builds on the excellent tradition of the preceding generation; it often approaches and on occasion even equals its forerunners, but in general it betrays clumsiness, and a failure to appreciate the structure and movements of the human body. Nor was the personnel at its disposal able to keep the large field of reliefs at one high level; a good deal was even scamped. But if for many of the stereotyped scenes we prefer to turn to other tombs, there are many here which are precious. Conspicuous among these are the group of mourning relatives and their handmaids (in an excellent drawing on Pl. 131), the otter seizing a fish (Pl. 129), the children's games (Pls. 162–5), the entertainment of a husband with music (Pl. 95), netting the quail in the corn (Pl. 168), the wild animals (Pl. 25), &c. This merit may be in part due to Mereruka's personal interest in the work as evidenced by his readiness to pose as the artist. For in Pl. 7 the seated figure appears to be he. I suggest, by the way, that this figure was faced, not by a son of the owner, but by a second-grade priest, of whom the lector-scribe, Khenu, was a son. Father and son may have been actually architect and draughtsman to Mereruka.

The two volumes contain a foreword by Breasted (completed by Dr. Allen) on the history of the discovery and publication of the Old Kingdom tombs at Şakḳarah and on their contribution to our knowledge of ancient times. This valuation of their sphere of work above all other sites and of their methods of publication in

comparison with those of their predecessors scarcely holds the scales equal; all would no doubt be true if it did not overpass the truth. The statement that the vase paintings of Greece took up the pictured story of the early life of man where it had been dropped by the Memphite necropolis rather takes one's breath away. If, thinking of Egyptian pictures of the chase, Breasted saw 'the coursing hounds speed before the hunters with such life and power that we seem to hear their very yelping as they drag down the exhausted gazelles', it was not this necropolis that evoked that vision but the paintings of other periods at Thebes and on a score of other sites. But it is to our advantage that Breasted saw it so and that when the charge was sounded he took the bit in his teeth; only in this way would he have gone forward so swiftly, so directly, and so far.

Prof. Duell follows with a very full and sober discussion of the date of the owner, his family, the character of the building and of its reliefs, and the technique employed by the draughtsman, the sculptor, and the painter. The modes of presentation, the motives governing sepulchral art, and the arrangement of the scenes here, are also touched upon. All is very orderly and competent.

There is no attempt to translate the brief texts or to discuss the scenes, nor have the supplementary suites of chambers inscribed for the wife and son of the owner been included, except by an enumeration of the subjects presented there. For all this we must still have recourse to Daressy's meagre account and Schäfer's admirable comments in Wreszinski, *Atlas*, Part III. The descriptive labels at the foot of the plates generally sum up the scene correctly enough. But is it so with Pl. 130 B? Nothing could look less like swimmers launching a boat than the three men there. May it not be that these are human victims who are sacrificed or who accept the sanctified death by drowning? The haunch dragged in the water alongside the skiff in later funeral rites would be a milder substitute. Above this there are also remnants of a figure in an attitude that suggests desperation, possibly counterfeited in this case.

It is no doubt entirely a matter for the producers what form their volume shall take and what its contents shall be; but books are written for the purpose of reaching readers and proving of easy usefulness or entertainment to them. Use and entertainment are here in plenty. Are they made accessible and easy? At a rough estimation the two volumes could have been reduced to one of the same size and have lost little or nothing by the compression. It would have been worth while writing a laconic description of the scenes for the sole purpose of adding an index. As it is, an index to the contents of the plates alone would have been a helpful anomaly. Pages which cannot be rapidly run over without considerable physical fatigue call for some such compensatory guide.

The line drawings are beyond serious criticism, though sometimes, through very punctiliousness, they do injustice. The face of Pl. 150, for instance, is not true to Pl. 151; still less that of Pl. 104 to Pl. 156. A bolder shaded line might well have been used for the high relief, allowing grades of depth to be obtained; without this, very faint lines acquire undue emphasis.

It is a great merit that the organizer of the book has not hesitated to place large-scale photographs by the side of most of the drawings. These reveal the modelling which the line drawings could not replace, as well as the technique used. In other cases—too many perhaps—they prove that the drawings have done service in bleaching out the signs of a contemptuously crude rendering of minor actors and their routine of ritual and supply.

The reproduction of colour on monuments where 'few of the colours which remain to-day have their original values' (Part I, p. 10) is a concession to popular predilections which ought not to have played so large a part in a work like this. One or two would have amply sufficed as a witness to the present condition; an unashamed restoration of the original colour would have come nearer to a replica of the past. Pl. 1 is labelled 'an attempt to represent the scene in its original lighting'. How does this tally with Prof. Duell's honest admission on p. 8 that, even granted the existence of window-slits under the ceiling, 'the room must at best have been in semidarkness'? It is quite possible that the darkness was total.

An exemplary and uneventful life can be described in a sentence or two; one of many lapses calls for chapters. It takes few words to say that a book is admirably conceived and carried out, without more elaboration or any express recognition of the long labour and difficult decisions involved. But it is impossible with fairness to compress into as short a space indications of matters in which imitators might aim at betterment. Hence an admiring reviewer looks back over his written impressions in dismay lest his estimate should be wholly misinterpreted by having the small space occupied by the *pros* set against that filled by the *cons*. Let the summing-up in this case be that never has reader been more successfully transported to the site of an ancient monument, been enabled to obtain with more assurance answers to the questions he would wish to put to it, or experienced so nearly the feelings which an actual visit would have aroused.

Götter und Kulte im Ptolemäischen Alexandrien. By C. E. VISSER. Amsterdam, N. V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1938. 4to. ix + 131 pp.

In this work Miss Visser has ably carried out a useful, if very difficult, task. The difficulty arises from the lamentable incompleteness of the evidence. Had circumstances permitted us such a series of papyri from Alexandria as, for example, from the Fayyūm or Oxyrhynchus a very different picture might be drawn, but for the most part we must depend on accidental evidence in papyri from elsewhere, on inscriptions, and on casual remarks in literary authorities. Miss Visser neglects the archaeological material (except coins); not unreasonably, for uncertainties of dating make its evidence precarious, so that it is not easy to know how much of it is relevant to a treatise which confines itself to the Ptolemaic period. A further limitation is that she restricts her investigation to the Greek and Hellenized part of the population; she deals with Egyptian religion only in so far as it affected the Greek.

So limited, and by reason of the paucity and ambiguity of the evidence, Miss Visser's volume cannot claim to present a comprehensive view of the religious life of Alexandria, even in the Ptolemaic age, but within its restricted sphere it gives a welcome and interesting conspectus of existing knowledge on the principal cults, and includes some acute discussions of wider problems. Thus, on pp. 20–4, she examines the problem of the Sarapis cult, questioning, with very cogent arguments, the prevalent view that Sarapis was a link between Egyptians and Greeks. She is almost certainly right in holding that the new cult was only a partial success in the Ptolemaic period; indeed, apart from Memphis and the neighbourhood, where he originated, it may be doubted whether Sarapis ever got much hold on the Egyptian *χώρα*.

The various cults and deities are taken in groups according to origin and affinities; but at the end of the volume, where the 'testimonies' are collected and (usually) published in full, a purely alphabetic arrangement is adopted.

Dealing (under *Ἀλέξανδρος*) with the text in *Dikaiomata*, 260 ff., Miss Visser, doubting whether the Pentereteris and the Ptolemaia were identical, suggests reading, in the lacuna before *ἀγῶνα, πεντητηρικόν* instead of the editors' *Ἀλέξανδρειον*. Her arguments on p. 8 for the *municipal* cult of Alexander seem conclusive.

In a final section, 'Die hellenistischen Dichter und die Religion', Miss Visser discusses the point of view of the Alexandrian poets, with the object of getting beyond the purely formal cults to the religious feeling, if any, which lay behind them. Her discussion is most interesting, but it may be doubted whether anything very substantial emerges. This is not the fault of the author but of her material. She considers that the poets reflect the point of view of the cultured Alexandrian circle. But is this really the case? How much must we allow for literary convention? how much for individual idiosyncrasy? Miss Visser seems to recognize this difficulty herself; see her remarks on p. 50 and also on pp. 63 f. And her excellent characterization of the single poets shows how their attitude to the gods varied. Probably they reflect the standpoint even of the more educated Alexandrian only partially, that of the ordinary citizen hardly at all. To ascertain that we require, not the learned compositions of Alexandrian literature nor the official phraseology of inscriptions, but the private letters and memoranda of common men and women or more of such literary works as the *Adoniazusae* of Theocritus or *genre*-pictures like those of Herodas.

The volume is marred by a rather large allowance of misprints. Most are obvious, but some may cause trouble. There is a serious omission (at least a line and perhaps more) at the top of p. 17, and the last line in the fifth paragraph of p. 35 is a mistaken anticipation of the conclusion of the next paragraph, replacing the true ending. In l. 2 of p. 18 'Philadelpheia' is to be read for 'Theadelpheia'. On p. 43, under *Νέμεσις*, since Miss Visser uses evidence of the Roman period, she might have referred to the destruction of the temple of Nemesis by the Jews in the revolt under Trajan. And in referring to P. Petr. III 142, 19 for the Adonis cult she should have cited the article by G. Glotz, *Rev. ét. gr.* 33 (1920), 169–222.

H. I. BELL.

The Sky-Religion in Egypt. Its Antiquity and Effects. By G. A. WAINWRIGHT. Cambridge, University Press, 1938. 8vo. 120 pp. 8s. 6d.

Mr. Wainwright has frequently contributed to the study of Egyptian religion, and the present work is as interesting as anything he has written, although some of the ideas contained in it are naturally familiar from his previous publications. He claims that behind the worship of Rē and Osiris is the 'Old Religion' which can be traced to Libya. It consisted in the worship of the Pharaohs, considered as rain-maker chiefs and held responsible for the welfare of their people and their crops. In this capacity the Pharaohs were

liable to a ceremonial death which was originally by fire. The death by fire was dropped early, but it re-emerged in the eighth century B.C. under Libyan influence.

If it be objected that Egypt lived by irrigation and not by rain, it might be answered that this was not so in the Libyan source. However, what is claimed to be the evidence for this primitive stage is found to be mainly drawn from Greek sources, and herein lies the chief weakness of the book. Mr. Wainwright does not seek to hide it, but he would claim special importance for the classical writings. 'The great source of information proves to be the writings of the classical authors, whose records consist mostly of folk-memory and of practices which interested the populace. In these writings we get a view of Egypt other than that usually presented by the official inscriptions' (p. x). It may be admitted that these writings are important for their own period, but they can hardly be reliable sources for periods so long antecedent to them.

With regard to the remarks on Sēthian sacrifices on p. 31, it may be noted that it is doubtful whether a red man and his hair are mentioned in P. Chester Beatty 3, *rt.*, II, 5 (Gardiner, *Hierat. Pap.*, BM, III), since *dšr* there probably refers to redness of eye, as it clearly does in a subsequent sentence. As for *dšr* in the passage in P. Ebers, it perhaps means 'bloody', without any Sēthian association.

Mr. Wainwright is frequently obliged to strain and stretch the evidence, but his thesis is skilfully presented. He arouses admiration for his ingenuity, if not the conviction that he is right.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS.

Taxation in Roman Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian. By SHERMAN LEROY WALLACE. Princeton University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press; 1938. 8vo. xi+509 pp. 31s. 6d.

In 1899 U. Wilcken in the first volume of *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien* attempted the first systematic account of taxation in Roman Egypt, based on a detailed and exhaustive exposition of the evidence. This work, the value of which was at once recognized, has remained indispensable to the papyrologist and student of Roman Egypt, in spite of the never-ending accumulation of new material and advancement of knowledge by the solution of difficulties. To say that Mr. Wallace's book will be an equally indispensable successor to Professor Wilcken's is a high but deserved compliment. He has patiently undertaken an Augean labour, thoroughly reorganized the accumulated material, and achieved his intention of 'reducing the new and old evidence to order'.

Others have pointed out the difficulties inherent in this subject. The results are disappointing compared with the apparent mass of evidence available. But the documents to hand come from many different parts of Egypt, are of differing periods, and exhibit a bewildering amount of local variation. Many are not yet adequately deciphered or their contractions sufficiently explained. Any attempt at using a statistical method is likely to fail. Thus little weight can be given to the statement in this book on p. 339, 'There is some indication that the rate of rentals paid for domain and usiac lands rose gradually throughout the three centuries of Roman rule', where the tables compiled by A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 484, n. 2, are quoted. A document such as P. Aberdeen 50, of c. A.D. 202, which mentions side by side rentals of $\frac{1}{4}$ artabe per aroura on the estate of Seneca and of 6 art. per aroura on the estate of Maecenas, shows how essential is exact knowledge of local conditions before judgements of this kind can be made.

It is fair to Mr. Wallace to say that he does not often stray along these lines. The main part of his work consists of a collection of evidence, and the ordering of it after minute analysis. He has worked through editions of papyri with a fine comb, and shows an admirable acquaintance with the secondary literature. No doubt the book has taken a considerable time to pass through the press, so that certain recent papers of importance were not available when the manuscript was finished. Such are that of S. Eitrem, *Remarks on σπονδή, θαλλός and other extra payments*, *Symb. Oslo*, 17, 26 ff.; N. Lewis, *Μερισμός Ἀνακεχωρηκῶτων* in *JEA* 23, 63 ff.; and the very pertinent remarks of Wilcken on the Roman provincial census in Egypt and on *πεδιακόν επικρίσεως* in *Archiv* 12, 75 and 86.

The author begins by a survey of the cadaster in Roman Egypt as a basis for his discussion of the land tax in kind, further obligations in kind, and the collection of the grain tax. He then proceeds to money taxes on land, and taxes on animals. A chapter on the census forms an essential prolegomenon to the account of the poll-tax, capitation taxes, taxes on trades, and taxes pertaining to priests and temples. There follow sections on customs duties and transit tolls, miscellaneous taxes, and the collection of taxes in money before the threads are gathered up in a final chapter on 'The Revenues of Egypt'. Known taxes are treated and classified as far as possible under these headings, but a number persist in defying such grouping and have to be treated alphabetically. The index of Greek terms might with advantage have been fuller—I note as omissions

e.g. θαλλός; τιμή θρεμμάτων (P. Ryl. II 213, 69), of uncertain nature, but discussed on p. 490, n. 245; φόρος πλοίων Ἀντανιανῆς οὐσίας, discussed on pp. 220, 445. An index of passages discussed would have been welcome.

In Chapter VII, 'The Census in Roman Egypt', Mr. Wallace argues that the 14-year census cycle may well go back to 24/23 B.C. In *Am. Journ. Phil.* 59, 418 ff., he develops his views, urging that the 14-year cycle was instituted, along with the poll-tax, by Sosibius, minister of Philopator, about 220 B.C. This is important, for it would mean that Augustus made even less alteration in the financial administration of Egypt than is currently supposed. No account is taken in the text of P. Milan 3, while in the periodical it is brushed aside in a footnote. No doubt attempts to date this papyrus from a comparison of the ages of persons concerned as they are given in this document and in other dated documents are hazardous. A warning on this point is supplied by P. Mich. II 121 R, I, xi; II, v; IV, v; IV, xii, passages in which, during the same year, one Ἀρμούσιος Ὁρσεύτο(s) figures, but the statements of his age vary from μ to vs. E. Seidl also, in *Der Eid im röm.-ägypt. Provinzialrecht*, I, 136 shows from the oath formula that the document must be dated in the reign of Augustus, and it may possibly be assigned to A.D. 6, which would fall in the 14-year cycle. But the remarks of Calderini in *Rendiconti Reale Istituto Lombardo* 64 (1931), 551 ff. on the difference in character between P. Milan 3 and later ἀπογραφὰι κατ' οἰκίαν still appear pertinent to the present reviewer. If this papyrus is considered with P. Grenf. I 45 and 46, it does seem to indicate that there was a considerable experimental period in the reign of Augustus before the census system reached final organization.

Every papyrologist will need to read and possess this book. It may therefore be more useful to add a few notes on points of detail than to recount the author's new theories and solutions of difficulties. P. 21: the reason why uncultivated land in the area of one village was assigned by ἐπιμερισμός to other villages to cultivate was probably in order to multiply responsibility. P. 31: the anecdote of Tiberius' rebuke to Rectus might have been more definitely set aside as irrelevant to the method of assessment of taxes in kind. It does not warrant the inference of an *annual* fixing by the emperor of the amount due from Egypt. In any case, in Dio's account, what Rectus sent to Rome over and above τὸ τεταγμένον was χρήματα. P. 37, n. 41: for ἐγμειρηταί cf. also P. Würz. 10 and (for the Arsinoite nome) P. Aberdeen 30. P. 72 and elsewhere, read φόρος νομῶν. P. 186, n. 18: add BGU III 819, ὑπὲρ παραγραφῆς ἐλαιουργίου. Pp. 291-2: 'Responsibility for deficits in collection was transferred from the praetors to the inhabitants of the various communities' and 'In the third century . . . collectors *again* became responsible for deficits in collections'. It is naive to assume that responsibility was ever shifted from the collectors. The μερισμός ἀνακεχωρηκότων and μ. ἀπόρων were merely practical measures to assist them in filling a deficit. P. 293: 'A Roman διοικητής seems to have been almost wholly confined to judicial functions'. This careless statement will not do. The διοικητής, reintroduced into the civil service apparently by Hadrian (cf. the lists in W., *Grdz.*, 156, n. 5, and P. Oxy. 1409, introduction) had considerable financial duties. Pp. 317-18: other instances of money taxes collected by δεκάπρωτοι are found in P. Fior. 26; SP xx 68; PSI 461. SB 4340 shows that they were not restricted to the collection of land tax. P. 351: 'Nevertheless I believe that it was abuse by unscrupulous officials rather than defects in the system which caused the bankruptcy of the peasants in the middle of the first century.' V. Martin, whose papers (notably that in *Münch. Beitr.* 19, 102 ff., *Les papyrus et l'histoire administrative de l'Égypte gréco-romaine*) Mr. Wallace seems not to have read, has shown that it was the iniquity of the system that forced unscrupulousness on the officials. P. 468, n. 89: for P. Rein. 42 read P. Rain. 42 (now SP xxii 122). P. 475, n. 44: for P. Teb. II 239 read II 289. I note misprints on pp. 85, 122, 140, 161, 261.

E. G. TURNER.

Bauern zwischen Wasser und Wüste: Volkskundliches aus dem Dorfe Kimán in Oberägypten. By HANS A. WINKLER. Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1934. 8vo. xi + 214 pp., 12 pls. RM. 15.

Ägyptische Volkskunde: same author and publisher, 1936. 8vo. xx + 509 pp. 110 pls., map. RM. 39.

These books record the results of the author's observations of peasant-life in Upper Egypt, the first referring to an outlying hamlet of Kift (Coptos) in which he passed some months. They contain accounts of the material side of that life, the tools and implements, both domestic and agricultural, carried sometimes to an excess of minute detail. A selection of folk-tales is included, drawn from the vast stock always current among the Egyptians, who derive a lively enjoyment from the fables, generally humorous or spicy and often satirical, by which they profess to explain various aspects of life, both human and animal, and their own reactions to the Judiciary and the Administration or other things imposed on them from above. A number of folk-songs are added and with the tales help to give relief to the somewhat dry and catalogue-like nature of the account of material things. The amount of information conveyed on the latter is indeed wonderful,

considering the comparatively short stay of the author in the country, but it cannot for that very reason claim completeness and is applicable generally to a section only of the whole country. Some points of real interest find accordingly no mention, such as the actual building of peasant habitations, which differ much in different districts.

For a satisfactory account of the non-material aspects of Egyptian life—a much more difficult subject—a longer residence and deeper research would be necessary; still, there is enough here to provide mental pabulum for any one having contact with the country people, and members of excavation camps, if they have the needed leisure, would find amusement as well as profit in these books and might also enjoy checking the details.

Among matters reflecting the customs and beliefs of ancient Egypt we may mention the offerings which, despite the Islamic prohibition, are still placed in graves, such as bread, water, eye-paint, and jewelry; the fear of evil spirits, especially for mother and child, which was strong also in ancient Mesopotamia with its concept of the grisly *Lamaštu* (formerly read as *Lamartu*—see, for example, R. Campbell Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, 41). The treatment of the placenta, whose importance in ancient Egypt is well known, is notable; it is believed to be efficacious, if properly disposed of, in bringing good luck in various directions, including field-fertility; its importance, as in Nubia and elsewhere, has been largely transferred to the umbilical cord, to which accordingly much attention is given. We may note that similar customs prevail in Mesopotamia (see Mrs. Drower on *Women and Taboo* in *Iraq* 5, 105 ff.). Another noticeable matter is that of the *karīneh* (or *uht* 'sister') which may be regarded as the equivalent, with certain differences, of the *ka* (see the reviewer's article in *Ancient Egypt*, 1923, 67 ff.). This strange spirit figures largely also in Mesopotamia, as Mrs. Drower has shown; she finds it to be probably connected with the placenta, and thereby reveals another similarity with the beliefs of ancient Egypt, which seem to connect the placenta with the *ka* (see the article in *Ancient Egypt*, 1929, 104 ff., and, for the importance of the placenta in modern Egypt, Miss W. Blackman, *The Fellāḥin of Upper Egypt*, 63, 287). One more link with ancient Mesopotamia is the great regard shown in some districts for the date-palm, which is called 'aunt'—always a term of affection in Egypt—and is said to have been created by God from the same earth as Adam. Recent studies in the ancient Near East have elicited much connexion between Egypt and Mesopotamia; the matter related above might well be considered as pointing in the same direction, on the non-material side.

On this side, in modern Egypt, a great deal remains to search out and the task would require a much longer period of residence than the author's; it would further require a woman's co-operation since here, as elsewhere, the women are the most authentic repositories of traditional customs and superstitions but are mostly inaccessible to male researchers, while native men are often shy or ashamed to relate them or are in a state of ignorance or disbelief, as the author found in such a simple matter as spiritualistic practices. Claimants to possession by spirits are fairly common in Egypt; each has his own method and several borrow from European practitioners, as probably did the medium in the case reported by the author: a similar case has been described by the reviewer in *Ancient Egypt*, 1923, 67; the proceedings in both cases are much like those of mediums in spiritualistic séances of the western world.

The author has given some details about a local settlement of the vagrants called *Halebi*, but says nothing of their general status. He distinguishes between them and the *Nuwār* and the *Bahlawān*, but the last are simply wandering acrobats or, more particularly, rope-walkers, such as are known all over the Near East—the word is Persian—while the name *Nuwār* is applied to all vagabonds, gipsies or others, as it is in classical Arabic. Gipsies in Egypt are called either *Halebi* or *Ghagar* which is the commoner term. *Halebi* means a man of Aleppo, and in Syria gipsies are common, as they are throughout North Africa; they all have their particular language, which has been studied and published for the blacksmith gipsies of Syria (*Nuwār*). The author describes those he met as blacksmiths and itinerant musicians; they are—or were in the last generation—always fortune-tellers and their principal wealth was usually in donkeys, in which they deal, and they are notorious for stealing and doping; the women's reputation for virtue is of the lowest. Here indeed is a subject for special and extended research.

The author, as in his earlier work on rock-drawings, gives voice to some speculations on racial origins, but here again long research is needed and the diligent collection of apposite evidence, such as that recently published by W. Hölscher, *Libyer und Ägypter* (reviewed in *JEA* 24, 251 f.).

Great pains have been taken in the matter of transliteration, the slightest changes in pronunciation from place to place being transferred to paper, often with exaggerated minuteness, but the result is a very confusing system based on differing local pronunciations instead of correct spelling, as, for example, in Baedeker's *Guide*—an example always to be recommended.

Such matters as these do not, however, touch on the essentials of the book and are only noticed for the sake of readers who know no Arabic; in the essentials themselves much will be found of real interest.

G. D. HORNBLOWER.

Völker und Völkerbewegungen im vorgeschichtlichen Oberägypten im Licht neuer Felsbilderfunde. By HANS A. WINKLER. Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1937. Svo. vi + 36 pp., 59 pls., map. Rm. 6.

The new rock-pictures described by the author, some of which have been noticed by previous writers, lie in or around the valley-road through the eastern desert from the Nile to the Red Sea, starting from Kift (Coptos). From very early times this was a much used high-road and the designs are accordingly numerous and of considerable variety; they are thus of high interest and well deserving the detailed care bestowed on them in this little book.

They begin in a period which seems to have been, at least to some extent, sub-pluvial since it contained the elephants and giraffes depicted here. How far back in time this was we cannot tell, but it may not have been as remote as some authors have supposed since the figures which adorn the primitive statue of Min discovered by Sir Flinders Petrie at Coptos include an elephant as well as lion and ox, and the same technique was used as in the valley figures, hammering, or pecking, and a certain amount of engraving; thus the early statue-carver was using methods long familiar, while the hieroglyphic emblems of Min found on the statue connect it very definitely with Egyptian civilization, as known to us in its early stage. Further, connexion with the Red Sea is attested by the shells depicted and the saws of the sawfish; these are delineated with an exactitude and detail not found in the rock-drawings, but the latter were made by less finished artists, to a great extent wanderers who had to work hurriedly; they are quite possibly contemporary. The statue is unfortunately undated, and its riddle, like that of the rock-drawings, is yet to be read. The elephants do not perhaps prove so remote a date as is often supposed; they survived in North Syria till the ninth century B.C. (Contenau, *Manuel*, 1048). No reckoning can be made from ostriches, for they roamed the Egyptian desert till the nineteenth century and were exterminated as a result not of any climatic change but of man's use of gunpowder. Besides the statue of Min a link with the age of the rock-designs is the painted scene on the tomb—or whatever the structure may be—found by Quibell at Hieraconpolis; the likeness is duly noted by the author.

Like others who have recorded similar designs in North Africa, Dr. Winkler has made a courageous attempt to discover from them the various races and movements of peoples from which were formed the settled Egyptians of historical times. He distinguishes five classes: first the 'Ensign People', so called from the ensigns borne on the Nile-boats, composed of reed bundles, which characterize these people. The boats sometimes carry cabins and are accompanied by figures of women standing up with arms up-stretched as if in a ceremonial dance—in fact, they exhibit all the features common on painted jars of the Gerzean age. This class is widely distributed through the region surveyed. The second class he terms the 'Mop-head People', or *Dirwa*, from the name given by the 'Ababdeh to the 'fuzzy-wuzzy' style of hairdressing affected by them. Some modern tribes, such as the Hadendowa, still take pride in this exaggerated treatment of the hair, which may have descended to them ancestrally from the people of the rock-drawings. His third class is composed of the 'Feather-decoration People' who stuck feathers in their hair. Here we seem to approach a known period, for the Tasians described by Brunton in *Mostagedda* wore feathers in their hair, the double plume was the early crown of Upper Egypt, and in Pharaonic times the people of the south are depicted on the monuments as bearing the same hair-ornament. Dr. Winkler proposes for these 'Feather' people an origin from the Persian Gulf and connects them with the boats built with high prows and stems which are so noticeable on the knife-handle from Gebel el-'Araḡ and are generally connected by archaeologists with Mesopotamia. The fourth class is called the 'Phallus-sheath People' from the *ḡarnata* worn by the Libyans in the dynastic age. The fifth class derives its title of 'Wedge-style People' from the stylized manner in which the artists have depicted them when clothed; this style has been frequently found in other regions and could hardly be considered an ethnical feature.

In the search for elements which might establish a chronological sequence, such as position, technique, or weathering, the author admits the great difficulty of establishing such a sequence and can only make tentative suggestions, confused, as he says, by constant intermixture in surviving examples. For instance, he considers the *ḡarnata* people to be on the whole very early, but some of their drawings overlie those of the fifth class and therefore must be later. Here he seems not to have reckoned with the long prevalence of this item of dress which, according to some French authors, is still in use in some remote part of the Tuareg country; it is usually considered to be of Libyan origin and used by Hamitic peoples. The author naturally

gives consideration to the Hamitic question, but has no such bold suggestion to make as that of Frobenius, who has postulated a 'Proto-Hamitic' people which started from north Europe and, crossing the north of Africa, ended up in ancient Egypt.

An important feature is the great prevalence of pictures of the 'Ensign People' which are scattered among the designs of every other class; the inference might be drawn that the various classes are fairly contemporaneous and that the prehistoric Egyptian of the Gerzean period was already firmly established when the majority of the designs were executed. Hunting scenes, such as the harpooning of the hippopotamus in Fig. 8, recall the white-line designs on pottery of the earlier Amratian age, but hunting was a common pursuit of all these periods and such scenes may equally belong to the Gerzean, which is plentifully represented in this region.

The domestication of animals is proved by the presence of hunting dogs and of cows, whose udders are conspicuously delineated; this feature may give support to the theory that the first interest of early herdsmen was in cows and milk and not in bulls and meat, and we may perhaps discover here the reason why the primitive deities of Egypt and Mesopotamia were mother-goddesses with a cow-form (see *Man*, Nov., 1935, p. 176). The domestication at least indicates for these people a fairly settled mode of life.

Similarities in treatment with rock-figures of East Spain and North-west and South Africa are easy to discern, but the author has resisted the temptation to build any sweeping theories on them and, in suggesting theories of Egyptian racial origins, has put forth none of startling novelty.

On the magico-religious aspect of the drawings Dr. Winkler has not much to say; he admits its existence in some cases but not, apparently, in all. Other writers have laid more stress on it and rightly, for clearly the drawings could not have been made by any casual passer-by, but must have been executed by a member of a special class, medicine-man or proto-priest, furnished with the necessary tools and material, such as ochre for painting and, above all, with manual skill and an appreciation, often keen, of form. The objects desired were of the usual type such as protection from wild beasts or help in travelling, hunting, or cattle-herding—even, at least in one case (Fig. 46) the facilitation of child-birth or perhaps (Fig. 24) of human fertility. Figures of this nature were crowded on a smooth patch of surface at one point in such quantities that they are thickly superposed over one another, thus displaying a marked parallel with the famous paintings of the Altamira caves and their compeers and causing the author to give this patch the name of 'holy place', applying to it the magico-religious interpretation commonly accepted for the Altamira paintings. There can be little doubt of the essential inner connexion between these works; the practice must indeed have had a remote ancestry, spreading as it did to many regions of primitive human habitation far distant from each other, in Europe and Asia, America (North and South), and even Australia; thus, though the physical link between palaeolithic man and the ancient Egyptian is at present lacking, the spiritual link is to be discerned in the rock-pictures recorded here.

A later development appears on the rock-sculptures of triumphant kings and deities carved on rock-walls overlooking the conquerors' paths, such as those at the mouth of the Dog River in Syria or at Behistun ('the place of the gods') in Persia, which were doubtless made not only as monuments to the conquerors but also with the object of establishing firmly the power of god and king for the welfare of the land.

A few of the recorded Egyptian specimens are of late date, such as those displaying the camel or Greek lettering; the original inspiration may then have disappeared or become much attenuated, yet, even so, they were probably meant at least to bring good luck. The Arabic tribal mark, or *wasm*, had of course a different purpose, constituting, in such places as these, a kind of message.

This book, though small in bulk, is big with ideas and suggestions, and may well arouse keen anticipation for the still richer harvest to be expected from the author's latest researches.

G. D. HORNBLOWER.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN REFERENCES TO PERIODICALS, ETC.¹

- Abh. Berlin (München, etc.)* = *Abhandlungen der Preussischen (Bayerischen, etc.) Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
- Acta Or.* = *Acta Orientalia.*
- Act. V Congr. int. Papyrol.* = *Actes du V^e Congrès international de Papyrologie.*
- Aeg.* = *Aegyptus.*
- Aeg. Inschr. Berlin* = *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den . . . Museen zu Berlin.*
- Aeg. Mon. Leiden* = *Leemans, Aegyptische Monumenten van het Nederlandsche Museum van Oudheden te Leiden.*
- AJA* = *American Journal of Archaeology.*
- AJSJL* = *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.*
- Alte Or.* = *Der Alte Orient.*
- Am. Hist. Rev.* = *American Historical Review.*
- Am. Journ. Phil.* = *American Journal of Philology.*
- An. Boll.* = *Analecta Bollandiana.*
- Anc. Egypt* = *Ancient Egypt, continued as Ancient Egypt and the East.*
- Angl. Theol. Rev.* = *Anglican Theological Review.*
- Ann. Arch. Anthr.* = *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (Liverpool).*
- Ann. Inst. phil. hist. or.* = *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales, later Annuaire . . . orientales et slaves.*
- Ann. R. Sc. Pisa* = *Annali della Reale Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa (Lettere, Storia e Filosofia), Serie II.*
- Ann. Serv.* = *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.*
- Ann. Univ. Roma* = *Annuario della R. Università di Roma.*
- An. Or.* = *Analecta Orientalia.*
- Antiq.* = *Antiquity.*
- 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. = 'Αρχαιολογική 'Εφημερίς.
- Arch. f. äg. Arch.* = *Archiv für ägyptische Archäologie.*
- Arch. f. Or.* = *Archiv für Orientforschung.*
- Arch. f. Rel.* = *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.*
- Arch. f. R. u. W.* = *Archiv für Rechts- und Wirtschaftsphilosophie.*
- Arch. Giurid.* = *Archivio Giuridico.*
- Arch. hist. dr. or.* = *Archives d'histoire du droit oriental.*
- Archiv* = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung.*
- Arch. Orient.* = *Archiv Orientalni.*
- Ath. Mitt.* = *Mitteilungen des . . . deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung ('Athenische Mitteilungen').*
- BCH* = *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.*
- Beschr. Leiden* = *Pleyte-Boeser, Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung des niederländischen Reichsmuseums . . . in Leiden.*
- BGU* = *Ägyptische Urkunden aus den . . . Museen zu Berlin: Griechische Urkunden.*
- Bibl. Aeg.* = *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca.*
- Bibl. égyptol.* = *Bibliothèque égyptologique.*
- Bk. Dead* = *Book of the Dead.*
- BL* = *Preisigke-Bilabel, Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten.*
- BM Quart.* = *British Museum Quarterly.*
- Boll. fil. class.* = *Bollettino di filologia classica.*
- Botti-Peet, Giornale* = *Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe.*
- Breasted, Anc. Rec.* = *Ancient Records.*
- Bull. Acad. Sci. URSS* = *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de l'Union des Républiques Soviétiques Socialistes: Classe des Sciences Sociales.*
- Bull. ASOR* = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*
- Bull. Ass. am. art copte* = *Bulletin de l'Association des amis des églises et de l'art coptes.*
- Bull. Inst. d'Ég.* = *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte.*
- Bull. Inst. fr.* = *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.*
- Bull. Ist. dir. rom.* = *Bollettino dell' Istituto di diritto romano.*
- Bull. MFA* = *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston).*
- Bull. MMA* = *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York).*
- Bull. Ryl. Libr.* = *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.*
- Bull. Soc. arch. copte* = *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte, formerly Bull. Ass. am. art copte (q.v.).*
- Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alex.* = *Bulletin de la Société royale d'archéologie d'Alexandrie.*

¹ The alphabetical arrangement of the abbreviations ignores stops and spaces. The abbreviations used in references to editions of papyri may be found in *CAH*, VII, 889-91; X, 922-4; XI, 927. The form for reference to periodicals is: *JEA* 24, 100, n. 1, if with date: *JEA* 24 (1938), 100, n. 1; for reference to other works in several volumes: *Wb.*, I, 200 (note commas and absence of 'p.').

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- Bursian* = *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.*
Byz.-neugr. Jahrb. = *Byzantinisch - neugriechische Jahrbücher.*
BZ = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift.*
CAH = *Cambridge Ancient History.*
CCG = *Cairo Museum, Catalogue Général.*
Ch. Quart. Rev. = *Church Quarterly Review.*
Chron. d'Ég. = *Chronique d'Égypte* (cited by year-numbers).
CIA = *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum.*
CIG = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.*
Cl. Journ. = *Classical Journal.*
Cl. Phil. = *Classical Philology.*
Cl. Quart. = *Classical Quarterly.*
Cl. Rev. = *Classical Review.*
Cl. Weekly = *Classical Weekly.*
CPHerm. = *Corpus papyrorum Hermopolitanorum.*
CPR = *Wessely, Corpus Papyrorum Raineri Archiducis Austriae.*
C.-R. Ac. Inscr. B.-L. = *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.*
Crum, Cop. Dict. = *A Coptic Dictionary.*
CSCO = *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.*
Dict. arch. chrét. = *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne.*
DLZ = *Deutsche Literaturzeitung.*
EEF = *Egypt Exploration Fund.*
EES = *Egypt Exploration Society.*
Egn. Rel. = *Egyptian Religion.*
Erman, Äg. Gr. = *Ägyptische Grammatik*, 4th edn.
Erman, Lit. = *Die Literatur der Aegypter.*
Erman, Neuäg. Gr. = *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, 2nd edn.
Ét. class. = *Les Études classiques.*
Ét. de Pap. = *Études de Papyrologie.*
Études = *Études: revue catholique d'intérêt général.*
Exp. Times = *Expository Times.*
f. (e.g.) p. 81 f. = *pp. 81-2.*
Flls. Inst. fr. = *Fouilles de l'Institut français.*
Forsch. u. Fortschr. = *Forschungen und Fortschritte.*
Gard., Egn. Gr. = *Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar.*
Gardiner-Weigall, Top. Cat. = *A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes.*
Gauthier, Dict. géog. = *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques.*
GGA = *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.*
Gr. = *Grammaire, Grammar, Grammatik.*
Griffith, Ryl. Pap. = *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyrus in the John Rylands Library, Manchester.*
Griffith Studies = *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith.*
Harv. Theol. Rev. = *Harvard Theological Review.*
Hierat. Pap. Berlin = *Hieratische Papyrus aus den . . . Museen zu Berlin.*
Hierat. Pap. BM: I, II = *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum (First Series, Second Series); III* = *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum (Third Series).*
Hierogl. Texts BM = *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum.*
Hist. = *History of Egypt.*
Hist. Z. = *Historische Zeitschrift.*
IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae.*
IGR = *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes.*
Ill. Ldn. News = *Illustrated London News.*
Indogerm. Forsch. = *Indogermanische Forschungen.*
Inscr. hiéogl. = *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques.*
Jahrb. f. Liturg. = *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft.*
JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
J. as. = *Journal asiatique.*
J. Bibl. Lit. = *Journal of Biblical Literature.*
JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*
JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies.*
JMEOS = *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society.*
JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
J. Rel. = *Journal of Religion.*
JRS = *Journal of Roman Studies.*
J. Sav. = *Journal des Savants.*
JTS = *Journal of Theological Studies.*
Kah. Pap. = *Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob.*
KVGR = *Kritische Vierteljahresschrift für Gesetzgebung und Rechtswissenschaft.*
Lacau, Textes rel. = *Textes religieux.*
Leps., Dkm. = *Lepsius, Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien.*
LQR = *Law Quarterly Review.*
M., Chr. = *Mitteis, Chrestomathie (Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde, II, 2. Hälfte).*
MDOG = *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.*
Mél. Beyrouth = *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth (Liban).*
Mél. Bidez = *Mélanges Bidez (Ann. Inst. phil. hist. or. 2, 1933-4).*
Mél. Boisacq = *Mélanges Émile Boisacq (Ann. Inst. phil. hist. or. 5, 1937).*
Mél. Desrousseaux = *Mélanges Desrousseaux.*
Mél. Maspero = *Mélanges Maspero (Mém. Inst. fr., 66-8).*
Mém. Inst. d'Ég. = *Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte.*
Mém. Inst. fr. = *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.*
Mém. Miss. fr. = *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire.*
Meyer, Gesch. Alt. = *Geschichte des Altertums.*

- M., Grdz. = Mitteis, *Grundzüge (Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde, II, 1. Hälfte)*.
 Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo = *Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*.
 Möller, Hierat. Pal. = *Hieratische Paläographie*.
 Mon. Piot = *Fondation Eugène Piot. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres. Monuments et mémoires*.
 Münch. Beitr. = *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*.
 MVAG = *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft*.
 n. = note.
 Nachr. Göttingen = *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse*.
 Nouv. rev. théol. = *Nouvelle revue théologique*.
 Num. Chron. = *Numismatic Chronicle*.
 OGIS = *Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*.
 OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*.
 Or. Chr. = *Oriens Christianus*.
 Or. Chr. Anal. = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*.
 Or. Chr. Per. = *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*.
 P. = *Papyrus*.
 PEQ = *Palestine Exploration Quarterly, formerly Palestine Exploration Fund's Quarterly Statement*.
 PG = *Patrologia Graeca*.
 Phil. Woch. = *Philologische Wochenschrift*.
 Porter-Moss, Top. Bibl. = *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*.
 Proc. Am. Phil. Ass. = *Proceedings of the American Philological Association*.
 P.-R., Pap. Turin = *Pleyte-Rossi, Papyrus de Turin*.
 PSBA = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.
 PSI = *Papiri della Società Italiana*.
 PW = *Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Mittelhaus, Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*.
 Pyr. = *Sethe, Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte*.
 Rec. Champ. = *Recueil d'études égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de Jean-François Champollion*.
 Rech. sc. rel. = *Recherches de science religieuse*.
 Rec. trav. = *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*.
 Rend. Pont. Acc. = *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia (Serie III): Rendiconti*.
 Rend. R. Ist. = *Rendiconti del Reale Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere*.
 Rev. arch. = *Revue archéologique*.
 Rev. bibl. = *Revue biblique*.
 Rev. crit. = *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*.
 Rev. d'égyptol. = *Revue d'égyptologie*.
 Rev. de myst. = *Revue de mystique*.
 Rev. de phil. = *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*.
 Rev. d'hist. ecl. = *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*.
 Rev. Ég. anc. = *Revue de l'Égypte ancienne*.
 Rev. égyptol. = *Revue égyptologique*.
 Rev. ét. anc. = *Revue des études anciennes*.
 Rev. ét. gr. = *Revue des études grecques*.
 Rev. ét. juives = *Revue des études juives*.
 Rev. ét. lat. = *Revue des études latines*.
 Rev. hist. = *Revue historique*.
 Rev. hist. dr. = *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*.
 Rev. hist. philos. rel. = *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*.
 Rev. hist. rel. = *Revue de l'histoire des religions*.
 Rev. sci. rel. = *Revue des sciences religieuses*.
 Rh. Mus. = *Rheinisches Museum*.
 Riv. di arch. crist. = *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*.
 Riv. di fil. = *Rivista di filologia classica*.
 Riv. indo-greco-ital. = *Rivista indo-greco-italiana*.
 Riv. stor. dir. ital. = *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano*.
 SB = *Preisigke-Bilabel, Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*.
 Sethe, Erläut. Lesest. = *Erläuterungen zu den ägyptischen Lesestücken: Texte des Mittleren Reiches*.
 Sethe, Lesest. = *Ägyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht: Texte des Mittleren Reiches. 2nd edn.*
 Sethe, Üb. Komm. Pyr. = *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*.
 Sitzungsber. Berlin (München, etc.) = *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen (Bayerischen, etc.) Akademie der Wissenschaften*.
 Spiegelberg, Dem. Gr. = *Demotische Grammatik*.
 Spiegelberg, Kopt. Hdwb. = *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*.
 St. econ.-giurid. Univ. Cagliari = *Studi economico-giuridici della R. Università di Cagliari*.
 St. et Doc. = *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris*.
 St. it. fil. class. = *Studi italiani di filologia classica*.
 St. Pal. = *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde, ed. C. Wessely*.
 Sup. Gard. Egn. Gr. = *Supplement to Gardiner's Egyptian Grammar*.
 Symb. Oslo. = *Symbolae Osloenses*.
 TAPA = *Transactions of the American Philological Association*.
 Theol. Rev. = *Theologische Revue*.
 Theol. St. Kr. = *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*.
 Tijdschrift = *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis*.
 Till, Achm.-K. Gr. = *Achmîmisch-Koptische Grammatik*.

234 ABBREVIATIONS IN REFERENCES TO PERIODICALS, ETC.

TLB = *Theologisches Literaturblatt*.

TLZ = *Theologische Literaturzeitung*.

Trans. Int. Numism. Congr. 1936 = *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress, London, June 30–July 6, 1936*.

TSBA = *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.

Unters. = *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens*, ed. K. Sethe, later H. Kees.

UPZ = *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, ed. U. Wilcken.

Urk. = *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, ed. G. Steindorff, later H. Grapow.

Wb. = Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*.

W., Chr. = Wilcken, *Chrestomathie (Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde, I, 2. Hälfte)*.

W., Grdz. = Wilcken, *Grundzüge (Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde, I, 1. Hälfte)*.

W., O. = Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien*.

WZKM = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*.

ZÄS = *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*.

ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

Z. f. kath. Theol. = *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*.

Z. f. Kirchengesch. = *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*.

Z. f. neut. Wiss. = *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*.

Z. f. Numism. = *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*.

Z. f. vergleich. Rechtsw. = *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*.

Z. f. wiss. Theol. = *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*.

Z. Sav. = *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung (Romanistische Abteilung)*.

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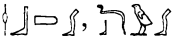
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GREEK

ἀρπάζω, used of sudden death (Tod), 55.
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δένω, form of *δέω*, 59.
διαιλυθώτος for *διεληλυθότος* (Wallace), 65.
ἐνόμιον, licence-tax on privately owned sheep, 64.

κρούω, used of scorpion (Tod), 56, 60.
πολυμιτα, perhaps 'material woven with many heddles', 47.
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INDEX OF WORDS, ETC., DISCUSSED, VOLS. 1-25¹

BY ALEC N. DAKIN

A. EGYPTIAN






I. WORDS AND PHRASES

- št* (?*stiw*), pers. n. or similar designation, may be connected with dem. *'te* (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 50, n. 3.
- šyt*, 'to blench' of the face (Blackman), 16, 65 (6); cf. 22, 43 (29).
- šci*, pers. n., 'she who speaks foreign languages (?)' (Frankfort), 14, 242.
- šwi*, reflexive use, 'arouse (oneself)' (Shorter), 17, 23 (c); *šwi drt*, 'place the hand on' of thieves, probably = 'rob' or perhaps 'identify scene of crime' (Peet), 2, 175, n. 5; *šww n šwt nbt*, 'all that had to be paid (?)' (Gardiner), 8, 192.
- šwt*, 'markings' of a sacred ram (Gardiner), 24, 170, n. 4.
- šbb*, writing of *bbt*, 'source', perhaps to connect with Elephantine (Blackman), 4, 124, n. 13.
- [*šbh*], 'palm (of the hand) (??)' (Gunn), 6, 301, n. 5.
- šbdw*, fish = ḥ*paros*, then = 'fish' in general (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 23 f.; a fish, not a tortoise (Dawson), 19, 137.
- šfyt*, 'heat', possibly connected with *šfr*, 'boil' (Faulkner), 23, 179.
- šm*, some perching bird (Dawson), 18, 151 f.
- šrs* and *šrt*, Ursu-Arzawa (Albright), 7, 81.
- šhw*, adj., 'painful', 'troubled' (Blackman), 10, 198.
- šhpp* or *Hšpp*, Saite pers. n. (Spiegelberg), 16, 74, n. 2.
- šh*: *šh-n-i m šb-i*, 'I considered in my heart (?)' (Faulkner), 23, 181; *šh n*, O.-Egn. relative construction with (Gunn), 24, 128 f.; (Edel), 25, 217.
- šh-s*, unusual spelling of pyramid of Mentjuhotpe IV (Fairman), 20, 3 (o).
- šht*, 'horizon' always means eastern one (Gunn), 9, 173, n. 2.
- šhw*, 'efficiency', 'ability' (Gardiner), 24, 157, n. 5.
- šhšh*, 'be invigorated' (Griffith), 13, 198, n. 3.
- šs* = *šs*, 'brain', also 'noto-chord' (Dawson), 18, 150; 22, 107.
- ššbyt*, goddess identical with *ššbt* (Faulkner), 23, 176.
- šš*, see *šr*.
- ššhr*, Keftiu name, parallels in Pisidia (Wainwright), 17, 37 f.
- škš(t)*, Keftiu name and parallel Cilician names (Wainwright), 17, 35 f.
- (*š*)*g(š)b(t)*, 'river' and 'flooded' land, origin of *Atyvnros* (Naville), 4, 229 f.
- šgb*, see (*š*)*gp*.
- šgb-wr*, name of ram of Mendes, 'Great Flood' (Wainwright), 20, 142.
- šdn*, Keftiu name, parallels in Pisidia and Cilicia (Wainwright), 17, 36.
- š* (in full *šw > šš*, also *š*), 'to say' introducing or following, perhaps never independent of *oratio recta*; *š r*, 'to say to (someone)' (Faulkner), 21, 177 ff.
- š* (voc.) + addressee's name in letters (Clère), 20, 159 (a).
- j* in ending or before plural *-w* usually omitted in O.Egn. (Gunn), 19, 105.
- šš*, 'desolate tract (?)' (Bennett), 25, 11 (13).
- št*, lit. 'backbone', hence arithmetical series of parts (Gunn), 12, 131.
- šty*, place-name connected with Osiris (Smither), 25, 158, n. 7.
- šbt*: *m šbt*, perhaps for *m šwt*, like *m š kš-f* (Faulkner), 23, 179.
- (*š*)*dt*, 'dire affliction (?)', prob. implying malign influence of a supernatural kind (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 40, n. 2; cf. 4, 35, n. 9.
- šr* (L.Egn.), reduplicated in cuneiform (Albright), 23, 197 with n. 5.
- šrw*, interjection expressing grief (Peet), 20, 119.
- šy in*, 'he who hath brought is come', implying temple expects king to be generous (Blackman), 13, 190.
- šyy*, fem. pers. n. (Smither), 25, 160, n. 7.
- šw*, 'apron' and other garments shaped like aprons; element in O.-K. titles (Smith), 19, 154 ff.
- šnw*, interjection, 'woe to' (Gunn-Gardiner), 4, 244, n. 6; 'attention', 'solicitude', hence 'trouble' (Gunn), 16, 151.
- šw* (*š* *š*), before suffix written *š* (Clère), 20, 163 (u); (L.Egn.) as mere junctio (Černý-Peet), 13, 35, nn. 17, 26; L.-Egn. writing *šr* (Gardiner),

¹ The compiler gives fair warning that he has taken up much that may be chaff, to make sure that no grain of wheat fall to the ground. In the belief that now and then even one example may help the earnest seeker he is ready to bear the scorn of those whose hopes are dashed.

The definite articles are ignored in the alphabetical arrangement, as are prepositions used with following substantives to form 'compound prepositions'. A full stop is used to separate the numbers of pages in the same volume and of notes on the same page.

- 16, 224 f.; *iw iir-f sdm*, subordinate perfect in 20th-Dyn. papyri (Peet), 12, 256; but, like Cop. $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\omega\tau\alpha$, of relative present time (de Buck), 23, 159; *iw bwpw-f sdm*, always of relative past time (de Buck), 23, 158, n. 4; *iw bn sw hr sdm*, usual form of circumstantial in L.Egn. (de Buck), 23, 162; *iw-f (hr) sdm*, generally used as second main verb after *sdm-f* in direct speech in L.Egn. (Černý-Peet), 13, 35, n. 23; *iw-f hr sdm*, in L.Egn. used for narrative, 'he heard' (de Buck), 23, 161; *iw-f hr tm sdm*, neg. corresponding to *iw-f hr sdm*, 'he did not hear' (de Buck), 23, 161; *iw-f*+old perf. in circumstantial after *dmn*, in sense 'from . . . -ing' (Gunn), 25, 102; cf. (Blackman), 19, 201; *iw sdm-f*, in L.Egn. always of relative past time (de Buck), 23, 158 f.; *iw sdmw-f*, several times in principal sentences in L.Egn. (Peet), 12, 256; *iw sdm-tw-f*, regularly subordinate in L.Egn. (Peet), 12, 256.
- iw* ($\Delta\epsilon$), auxiliary, 'become', or 'return'? (Gunn), 12, 131; *iw hr*, 'come back from' (Blackman), 16, 68 (13).
- iw*, 'hounds' in 'superintendent of hounds' to be read so (Griffith), 13, 202, n. 9.
- Iw n Tmn-ipt*, 'Island of Amenope', perhaps = cultivable lands round Karnak or between Karnak and Luxor (Gardiner), 22, 181.
- Iw-n-Ttn-tny-hbw-sd*, 'Island of "Aten distinguished in jubilees"', term descriptive of a complex of buildings at 'Amarnah (Fairman), 21, 138.
- Iw-šnšn*, locality S. of Coptos and Kūs (Gardiner), 8, 192.
- iwš*, 'carry out duties of heir' (Gunn), 16, 154.
- iwš*, 'derivative (of a well)' (Gardiner), 19, 26 (12).
- iwšw*, written as if ϵw (Faulkner), 23, 184.
- iwbt (n t)*, 'crumb', as contrasted with crust (Blackman), 22, 105.
- Iwn-mwt-f*, name of one of supporters of Nut (Blackman), 5, 122, n. 7.
- iwnn*, 'shrine', perh. = part of body enclosed within ribs (Blackman), 22, 104, n. 1.
- iwḥ*, 'oppress', with water-det. (Faulkner), 22, 135.
- iwsu*, 'beam' or 'arms' of a balance (Gardiner), 9, 10, n. 4.
- iwty drt-f*, 'unhandy' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 292, n. 2.
- iwtu n pr*, lit. 'land of the house' so 'property' (Glanville-Peet), 14, 299 (8).
- r-iwd*, 'in charge of' (Peet), 10, 120, n. 1.
- ib*, vocalization of (Albright), 23, 200, n. 4 (201); *m-bḥ ib-f*, 'at his own desire' (Faulkner), 22, 135; *nty m ib-f*, 'whom he has in mind', not of affection (Faulkner), 23, 179.
- ibib* of Amūn = divine statue of deceased Amenophis I (Griffith), 4, 283.
- ib-ib*, 'favourite' ('heart to heart') (Gardiner), 22, 183.
- Tbš*, mayor of Byblos, not *Tbšmw* (Newberry), 19, 54.
- Tbšk*, Nubian place-name, = Abocci? (Griffith), 11, 267.
- ibt*, a garment (Smith), 19, 154.
- ip*, 'inspect payment (?)' (Gardiner), 8, 192; *ip ḥnš*, 'reckon with' (a person), *ip m-š*, 'claim from' (a person) (Blackman), 17, 59 (39).
- ip*, with det. of finger, 'a stricken measure' (Davies), 9, 142.
- ipt*, prob. first cylindrical container, then measure (Peet), 17, 105.
- ipwt*, 'secret chambers' (Gardiner), 11, 2 ff.; 'scheme' or 'plan' of magical utterances in pyramids (Green), 16, 34.
- ipt(y)*, independent demonstr., preceding its noun (Gardiner), 16, 22.
- ifd*, 'to be four' (Gunn), 3, 236; 'become square' (Gunn), 12, 132; *ifd, fdw*, 'four' in cuneiform *iptiu* (?) (Smith-Gadd), 11, 236; *ip-ta(?)-u* (Albright), 12, 188 f.
- im*, part of chariot perhaps made of wood and leather (Dawson-Peet), 19, 170.
- im*, coming before Old Perfectives, idiomatic in L.Egn. (Gardiner), 22, 179.
- imy(t)*, 'inside', i.e. 'pulp' of a fruit (Dawson), 20, 42 ff.
- imyw Thnw*, Egns. living in exile among Libyans (Blackman), 22, 35 (1).
- imy-r*, not 'governor' but 'overseer' or 'head of the department' (Reisner), 6, 75; *imy-r ḥst Pr-š*, 'director of music of Pharaoh' (Griffith), 3, 196; *imy-r ḥswt nbw*, 'Overseer of the gold lands' with various modifications, ostentatious paraphrase of title of Viceroy of Nubia (Reisner), 6, 79 f.; *imy-r st*, 'Overseer of the office' in frontier-towns (Newberry), 18, 141.
- Imt*, Nebēshah, capital of XIXth Nome of Lower Eg. (Gardiner), 5, 244; 19, 125.
- imsh*, 'spinal chord' (Dawson), 22, 107.
- Tmn*, mummiform divinity (Blackman), 5, 32 with n. 4.
- Tmn-dt-f*, mummiform divinity with head of bubale (?) (Blackman), 5, 30.
- Imnt*, goddess of Thebes, yet wears Lower-Egn. crown (Scharff), 14, 271, n. 1.
- Imntt*, rare as element in pers. names (Dakin), 25, 162, n. 4.
- Imht*, 'the Well' (Blackman), 5, 31, n. 4.
- in*, introducing nominal subj. of infinitive, same as in participial statement (Gardiner), 20, 15, n. 1; perhaps derived from *i-n*, 'says' (Faulkner), 21, 188 f.
- in ir*+noun (Gunn), 16, 152.
- in*, after quoted speech, indicating speaker = *i-n*, *sdm-n-f* form of *i* 'to say' (Faulkner), 21, 179 ff.
- in* (fish), O.-Egn. name of *Tilapia nilotica* (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 24.
- ini*, 'acquire by purchase' also 'bring in' (as one's share) (Černý-Peet), 13, 34, n. 16; 39, n. 1; *ini m*, 'give for' or 'sell for', *ini r-db*: (perhaps also *ini hr*), 'buy for' (Peet), 15, 275; *int r bl*, 'to lead off (water)' (Gardiner), 19, 26 (12-13); *inn*, strange writing of L.-Egn. perf. pass. part. (Gardiner), 21, 144 (14).
- In-(i)t-f*, pers. n., 'He who brings his father' (Dakin), 24, 192, n. 13.
- In-š-f*, serpent deity connected with Neḥebkau, perhaps misunderstanding of *In-dī-f* (Shorter), 21, 43 f. 48.
- In-ḥrt*, orig. a meteorite (Wainwright), 19, 47.

- in(w)*, 'matting' for roofing (Glanville), 14, 298 f.
t3 int p3 cš, 'Valley of the Cedar' in the Fayyūm (Vikentiev), 17, 76 f.; 'Valley of the Pine' in the Lebanon (Gardiner), 19, 128.
- Inwt*, pers. n. (Miller), 23, 4, n. 9.
- inr*, perhaps some kind of receptacle (Blackman), 12, 183, n. 7; plates as receptacles or measures of *rhs*-cakes (Černý), 23, 61, n. 1.
- Ink-twy*, 'Embracing-the-two-lands', fortress possibly at Sarrat el-Gharb (Gardiner), 3, 190.
- ink ir-i st*, literally 'I have I-do-it' (Gardiner), 20, 14 f.
- ind hr-k*, 'vouchsafe (accord) thy face' or 'favour' (Gardiner), 8, 110.
- ir*, 'describe', 'say' (Gunn), 6, 301 f.; of various mathematical operations, 'work out', 'take', 'treat', 'extract' (Gunn-Peet), 15, 168, n. 2; 'cultivate', 'tend' (Blackman), 16, 69 (16); with dir. obj. of person, 'deal with', 'act against' (Faulkner), 23, 180; with dat. *n*, 'benefit', 'help' (Gardiner), 9, 21, n. 1; with dat. and name of feast, 'celebrate', or perhaps 'say' (Clère), 20, 161 f. (p); with *m*, perh. idiomatic, 'deal with', 'treat' a person (Gunn), 16, 153; *ir n-k sdm*, of specially urgent injunctions (Gunn), 16, 151; active participle written  (Peet), 11, 341; writings of L.-Egn. relative *iry*. (Černý-Peet), 13, 33, n. 1; *ir(r) n-f*, on stela = 'had it made for the deceased' (Gunn), 23, 2, n. 9; *ir ht r*, 'smite' (Fairman), 21, 30, n. 6; *ir X (r) sdm*, in L.Egn. equivalent with nom. subj. of *iw-f r sdm* (Gardiner), 16, 220 ff.; *iry-i*, in 20th-Dyn. contract, perhaps prospective 'all that I may acquire' (Černý-Peet), 13, 33, n. 1, 36, n. 30; *ir(w)*, periphrasis marking continuous present or relative present action (Gardiner-de Buck), 22, 183; *irt(w)-f sdm*, 'until he hears' (Gardiner), 16, 232 ff.; cf. (Peet) 11, 338; see also *iw* (.
- irt*, 'glance' (Blackman), 19, 203.
- irt R*, 'Eye of Rēc', another name for *waze* or 'Eye of Horus', corn-measure (Griffith), 12, 216.
- iry* . . . , in phrases for 'fellow- . . .' (Gardiner), 22, 175.
- iry*, written  (Dunham), 24, 2, n. 5.
- iry nty*, 'myrrh-keeper', i.e. keeper of drugs (Gardiner), 24, 178.
- iry-h-nsu*, 'Guardian of the King's Placenta', title usually read *rh-nsu* (Blackman-Sethe), 3, 244 f.
- ir(y) swht-f*, 'that which appertains to his egg' = 'egg-shell' (Faulkner), 21, 181, n. 5.
- Irhy*, 'Jericho (?)' (Fairman), 25, 141.
- irtt*, plural = 'drops of milk' (Blackman), 19, 201.
- Ithi (Ithwiu)*, place-name (Gardiner), 4, 36.
- ihmt (himt)*, 'detention' (Smither), 25, 220.
- P3-ih-n(y)-Hpy* ('Apis-ox') = Gk. *πᾶπει* (Spiegelberg), 12, 34 ff.
- ihii*, of the stars, 'to darken (?)' (Faulkner), 10, 99.
- Ihy (Ihwy)*, son of Hathor and her priest (Peet), 6, 57; used of Osiris (Faulkner), 22, 132.
- ihy* with det. , obscure word (Faulkner), 22, 139.
- is*, generic 'tomb', specialized 'burial-chamber' (Winlock), 10, 226 with n. 3.
- is*, 'brain', see *is*.
- ist*, see *st*.
- ist*, of gangs and crews, perhaps contemptuous (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 50, n. 9; not 'workers' but position akin to guild master's (Lourie), 17, 63, n. 1.
- ist*, math., 'converting' into area (Gunn), 12, 132.
- isw*, obscure word relating to gods (Shorter), 22, 166 f.
- t3 isbt*, probable cuneiform equivalent (Albright), 12, 189.
- ishmyt* (or *shmyt*?), in 'marsh-waters' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 295, n. 1.
- isk*, 'waiting', perhaps of some phase of burial rites (Gardiner), 4, 138.
- isdmf*, past relative in L.Egn. (Gardiner), 16, 224, n. 1.
- isty* and *pnw*, separate plants (Blackman-Peet), 11, 293, n. 15.
- Ikywš*, tribe-name = Hitt. *Ahḫiyawā* (Wainwright), 25, 150.
- ik*, see *k*.
- Ik'n*, Mirgissah or Dabnarti (Gardiner), 3, 189; (= Acina?) perhaps also = Akiñ, Meroitic province (Griffith), 11, 261.
- ikd*, 'potter (?)' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 288, n. 3.
- ikdi(w)*, vocalization of (Albright), 23, 200, n. 4 (201).
- ikn*, 'cold (?)', $\omega\bar{x}iu(?)$ (Griffith), 12, 209, n. 5.
- (i)gp*, connected with *sgb*, 'pour water' (Faulkner), 10, 99; cf. (Wainwright) 20, 144.
- it-ntr n M3ct*, 'god's father of Mēct' (Blackman), 5, 25.
- It*, king in O.-K. annals, perhaps = Ity recorded at Hammāmāt (Gardiner), 3, 145.
- Ity*, , name of *pehu* of nome XX and of Bubastite river (Gardiner), 5, 249. 258 with n. 4.
- itn*, writing with sun-disk in place of *t* (Shorter), 18, 111; = cuneiform *a-ti* (Albright), 23, 192. 203, n. 1.
- Itnw-pdwt*, 'Warding-off-the-bows', Kummah, $\kappa\gamma\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\gamma$ (Gardiner), 3, 188.
- itrt*, box used as container for *shawabtis* (Černý), 23, 188, n. 1.
- itrw imnty*, see *mr imnty*.
- itrw s*, Canopic arm of Nile, regarded as true Nile (Gardiner), 5, 130 with n. 5; cf. 10, 92 with n. 1.
- ith ns*, 'pull out (?) the tongue' (Gardiner), 3, 104.
- it*, 'where?', 'which?' (Griffith), 12, 211, n. 2.
- iti*, 'take', in effect 'rob' (Gardiner), 9, 14, n. 2; 'to steal' not in non-literary texts after end of Dyn. 19 (Černý), 23, 186, n. 2; *itt wny hr dt-f*, 'he who seizes hastened of himself', obscure phrase (Bennett), 25, 13 (55).
- it in*, expression for disorderly movement (Gardiner-Sethe), 1, 104, n. 3; 'move to and fro', 'waver', etc., of physical or psychical movement (Gardiner), 24, 124 f.
- itit*, an insect (Shorter), 22, 167.
- idt*, 'dew', metaph. 'influence' (Gardiner), 4, 35, n. 9.



- idb*, 'bank', geometrically ratio of 'length' to 'breadth' of a triangle (Gunn-Peet), 15, 173 f.
- m-ç*, of a slave, 'in the charge of', 'in the possession of' or 'with', opp. to *nt* = 'belonging to' (Glanville), 14, 306; 'together with' only of persons; of things, 'held by' (Gunn), 16, 152.
- hr-ç*, 'in default (?)' (Gardiner), 9, 14, n. 7.
- ç-n-Wšdyt-Sssw*, see *Wšdyt n Sty-Mr-n-Pth*.
- çt*, used of many kinds of rectangular enclosed spaces (Gunn-Peet), 15, 168.
- t çt Rçmssw-mry-Imn*, 'The Dwelling-of-Ramesses' = *t çt n Ssw*, 'The-Dwelling-of-Sese' = *t çt p mri*, 'The-Dwelling-of-the-Lion', first station on road to Palestine, not biblical Raameses (Gardiner), 5, 132, 261; perhaps near Tell Habwe (*Id.*), 6, 106 f.; cf. (Neville) 10, 25.
- ç*, like *çš*, 'abounding in' (Shorter-Sethe), 11, 78 f.; of heart, 'be patient' or 'be happy' (Blackman-Griffith), 12, 185, n. 2; *ç stt*, 'at whom men tremble greatly' (Faulkner), 23, 14.
- ç n hšwt nbw n Imn*, title of viceroy of Nubia (?) (Gardiner), 7, 110.
- ç-(i)çf(-i)*, pers. n. = 'my father is great' (Gunn), 16, 155, n. 3.
- ç-nçttw*, 'Great-of-Victories', part of name of Ramesses II, epithet of Pi-Raçmesse, or, alone, as name of latter (Gardiner), 5, 136 f.
- çw*, 'majority' (Gunn), 12, 130.
- çw(t)*, parts of a boat (Gunn), 6, 299.
- çç*, 'influence', disease-causing emanation (Dawson), 12, 241, n. 3; not a specific disease (*Id.*), 21, 39 f.
- çmw*, lit. 'users of the boomerang', name applied to desert Arabs and to Hyksos (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 37.
- çg*, 'thrash', perhaps from *çgt*, 'hoof' (Blackman), 22, 43 (25).
- çgs*, see *šsp çgs*.
- çynn*, perhaps = *çyn*, on road to Palestine (Gardiner), 6, 112.
- çny*, 'coop up (??)' (Gardiner), 3, 106.
- çt špst*, 'Noble Flock' = human beings (Blackman), 16, 66 (10 bis).
- çty* (fem.), 'roll', same word as *çrt*; *çty nt çmç*, 'papyrus-roll' (Gardiner), 22, 182 f.
- çwt*, probably 'club' carried in chariot (Dawson-Peet), 19, 172 f.
- çb m*, 'cling to' (Gardiner), 9, 15, n. 5.
- çb* (in *m-çb*), 'company', 'association' (Gardiner), 9, 15, n. 5.
- çbw*: *çr çw-tn*, 'because of (?) your impurity (?)' (Dunham), 24, 6, n. 6.
- çbç*, 'façade-stela' (Blackman), 10, 199.
- çbc*, 'boasting', writing with two horns (?) (Dawson-Peet), 19, 171.
- çpnnt*, 'slug' (Dawson), 18, 151.
- çpšçy*, *çpçye*, large beetle or cockroach, beetle ideogram to be read so in med. texts (Dawson), 20, 187.
- çç*, 'Sweet Clover', *Melilotus officinalis* (Dawson), 20, 41.
- çmy skç*, 'Asiatic (?) of ploughing', i.e. 'keeper of plough-oxen' (Griffith), 13, 202, n. 4.
- çmç* (also *çm* below?), 'devourer (?)', perhaps from *çm*, 'to swallow' (Faulkner), 24, 53.
- çmç*, plant (Blackman-Peet), 11, 293, n. 14.
- çmm*, 'otolith' of fishes, 'shell' of slugs (Dawson), 18, 150 f.
- çmk*, 'prod' or 'poke' someone, 'poke' something into someone (Blackman), 22, 105.
- çmd*, part of chariot (Dawson-Peet), 19, 174.
- çnt*, 'adze', already in O.K. (Smith), 19, 153.
- çnn*, trans. 'bring back' (Gardiner), 9, 21, n. 6.
- çnh*, before Aten-name in dates, perhaps for *çhr* (Gunn), 9, 169, n. 4.
- çnh n ntr*, 'oath by God' to be read so (Gardiner), 21, 145 (22).
- çnh n tt hks*, recipient from Royal Table (Gardiner), 24, 88, n. 5.
- çnh Rç*, beginning of and abbreviation for Aten's name (Gunn), 9, 172, 173 with n. 1.
- çnh-çprw-Rç*, prenomen of Akhenaten's eldest son-in-law (Newberry), 14, 3 ff.
- çntyw*, perhaps applied to both frankincense and myrrh (Lucas), 23, 28.
- çnd*, name of LXth nome and of *pehu* of IVth (Gardiner), 5, 249.
- çndw*, later *çnd*, later *çntiw*, originally 'ladanum' (Newberry), 15, 94.
- çndty*, god with 'flail', name derived from *çndw*-incense (Newberry), 15, 94; cf. (Baly) 17, 266.
- çr* written $\frac{\text{𓂏}}{\Delta}$ (Faulkner), 23, 14.
- çrt*, 'register' (Gardiner), 19, 26 (10); see also *çty*.
- çryt*, 'lintel-piece', 'lintel', 'doorway', 'court of justice' (Gardiner), 4, 147.
- çrk* with det. 𓂏 and 𓂏 (?), perhaps weapon-case on chariot (Dawson-Peet), 19, 172.
- çhç* fish = both *Lates niloticus* and *Schall* (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 30.
- çhç-mw*, 'boathook', 'pole' for punting (?) (Gardiner), 9, 17, n. 10.
- çhçwty*, 'male' (Černý-Peet), 13, 34, n. 9.
- çhçwty n Hks*, 'Warrior of the Ruler', military title (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 51, n. 4.
- çhç*, 'to wait' (Blackman), 16, 63 (1); 22, 104; *çhç hr* (prep.), 'to attend to', but *çhç hr* (n.) = 'be indulgent to' (Blackman), 17, 59 (30); *çhç r-çst*, 'bear with (?)' (Černý), 15, 248, n. 27.
- çhç-n iw-tw ççf*, unique construction? (Blackman), 19, 201.
- çhç*, 'quantity' in general sense, not concrete (Gunn), 12, 130.
- çhçr* (?), for 𓂏 , 'magazines (?)' (Griffith), 12, 196, n. 13.
- çhy*, 'roasting-birds (?)' (Griffith), 13, 199; cf. (Shorter) 22, 167.
- çhw* with unusual det., perhaps of brazier seen from above (Miller), 23, 2, n. 3.
- çhm*, see *çsm*.
- çst*, (*çrst*?), 'Astarte' (Gunn-Gardiner), 4, 249, n. 4.
- çšt*, 'swan (?)' (Griffith), 13, 198, n. 8.
- çšçš*, 'gullet' (Blackman), 22, 105.
- çsm* (later *çhm*), 'endow with divinity' (Faulkner), 10, 99 f.
- çšg*, 'misuse (?)', 'overlay', 'hide up' (Griffith), 12, 203, n. 1.

- 𓀀, 'adjust' perhaps better with det. Δ ('enter') in transitive use (Griffith), 12, 206, n. 1; 𓀀 *m*, of penetrating in sense of understanding (Gunn), 12, 126; 𓀀 *r pr*, (1) of entry upon marriage (a) of woman, (b) of man, (2) of less regular sexual enterprises (Gardiner), 21, 143.
- 𓀁, 'bread' = '(thieves') booty' (Peet), 11, 41.
- 𓀂, 'strike a rock' or 'upset' (Griffith), 12, 222, n. 9.
- 𓀃-𓀄, metaph. 'in pure essence' (Gardiner), 1, 25, n. 9.
- 𓀅, name of a peculiar bolt (?) (Blackman), 19, 204.
- 𓀆, 'height' of a hemisphere or cylinder (?) (Peet), 17, 104 f.
- 𓀇(?) *-mr dw Hr hnti pt*, 'administrator of (the vineyard) Praising-Horus-at-the-front-of-heaven' (Gardiner), 24, 85.
- 𓀈, wrong-doing generally; *m 𓀈*, of perjury (Gunn), 3, 88, n. 1; 'falsely' not 'shamefully' (Blackman), 22, 44 (31).
- 𓀉, 'helper', hence of supporting pieces on chariot (Dawson-Peet), 19, 171.
- w*-, written out in *status pronominalis* of fem. words (Gardiner), 4, 35, n. 8.
- W-hwt-hry* (?), near Shashotp, perhaps 'Upper Region of Inundation' (Macadam), 25, 128.
- wi*, 1st sing. dep. pron. written \overline{w} (Glanville), 15, 4, n. 9.
- wi hmw*, 'inner side' (Gardiner), 4, 144, n. 1.
- wi šw*: *šw-ntr n wi šw*, 'corridor of the sun's path' i.e. 'open-air c.' (Gardiner), 4, 145.
- W(w)-Hr*, 'Horus-Way', fortress-town near Kan-tarah (Gardiner), 1, 30, n. 4; Tell Abu Šēfah (*Id.*), 6, 115; see also *Tl*.
- Wsy*, 'The evil-minded (?)' (Faulkner), 24, 53.
- wbt*, kind of land (Reisner-Gardiner), 5, 95.
- wbw*, utterly obscure word (Faulkner), 24, 48.
- wh*, in extended meaning 'overlook', 'ignore' (Gardiner), 3, 89, n. 1; 'stack (timber)' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 289, n. 1. 297, n. 7; 'stack', 'stow (a cargo)' (Blackman), 16, 63 (3); 'lay aside' (*Id.*), 16, 65 (8); cf. 17, 60, n. 1; *wh is m*, 'to place a tomb in', also 'to violate' (Gardiner), 22, 173; *wh tp*, 'add cases (or instances) (?)' (Gunn), 12, 124; *wh drt hr*, 'point out', hand being that of those to whom indication is made (Gardiner), 22, 182.
- wh htp-ntr*, 'oblationer' (Blackman), 5, 24, n. 3.
- Wh-ib-Rc-m-ht* and similar 26th-Dyn. names (Griffith), 3, 143.
- why*, 'corn-yield (?)', portion brought by serf to lord (?) (Griffith), 12, 196, n. 3.
- wht* (?), type of boat (Smith), 19, 152.
- Wht-Rc-m-Pr-Bst*, 'Settlement of Rēc in Bubastus' (Gardiner), 5, 259, n. 5.
- why*, no evidence for booth-det. (Smither), 25, 104.
- wis* sceptre, connected with Seth (Wainwright), 20, 148.
- Wsd-mrput*, as masc. pers. n. from Nebty-name of Hatshepsut (Glanville), 14, 308.
- Wdyt n Sty-Mr-n-Pth* = *C-n-Wdyt-Sssw*, fort on road to Palestine, perhaps at Kaṭīyah (Gardiner), 6, 110; near Pelusium (Weill), 21, 22.
- wi*, simplex of *wiwi*, 'helpless' or '*hors de combat*' (Wilson), 17, 213, n. 1.
- Wymn*, in Keftiu spell, perhaps Amanos or Haimōn (Gordon), 18, 67.
- w*, 'one only' (Gardiner), 13, 78, n. 2; with noun or adj., 'the only one who is . . .' (Blackman), 17, 57 (5).
- Wc-n-Rc*, 'confidant of Rēc' or perhaps 'Rēc is the only one' (Davies), 9, 152, n. 3; cf. Gunn in *City of Akhenaten*, 1, 147, n. 7.
- wcw*: *ch n wcw*, 'palace of privacy' (Blackman), 17, 58 (17).
- w*, 'curse' (Černý), 15, 249, n. 36.
- wb* in O.Egn., (a) 'exercise priestly functions', (b) 'enjoy priestly privileges' (Gunn), 16, 154, n. 2; in phrase *st wbt* = 'unoccupied' (Lefebvre), 25, 219.
- wb n ht*, 'fore-priest', front bearer of sacred bark (Griffith), 4, 283.
- wb Shmt*, 'priest of Sakhmet', a doctor or magician of sorts (Gardiner), 24, 173, n. 4.
- wbt*, 'pure place' (also *wbt nt pr nfr*), 'embalming place' (Dawson), 13, 41.
- wf* (*hswt nbwt*), perhaps abbreviated to \overline{w} (Macadam), 25, 125.
- Wcf-hswt*, 'Curbing-the-countries', possibly Shalfak (Gardiner), 3, 189.
- wrtw n tt hki*, officer connected with Royal Table in M.K. (Gardiner), 24, 88, n. 5. 179.
- wb*: *n pr wb*, title of deified Amenophis I (Blackman), 12, 180, n. 2.
- wbn*, 'flowing spring', also as name of artesian wells (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 41, n. 7; cf. 19, 20.
- Wbn-Itm-n-šh-n-Itm-m-pr-hsy* . . . = N.-W. Building in Palace at 'Amarnah (Fairman), 21, 138; cf. (Pendlebury) 22, 194.
- wbn-nht*, name, or = 'shining of the (constellation) Giant' (Griffith), 12, 216.
- wbn-hnmt*, 'well of flowing water' (Gardiner), 19, 20.
- wpi*: *nn wpt-sn* = 'who are virgin' (Faulkner), 22, 132; *wp Imntt*, 'open the West', metaphor for death (Faulkner), 22, 136.
- wp* . . . (?), 'first day of month' (Dunham), 24, 5, n. 9.
- Wp-ti*, 'Beginning of Earth', usually extreme S. of Ethiopia, sometimes N.W. of Delta (Gardiner), 5, 135 with n. 4.
- wpt*, crown of head, including brow, or forehead (Blackman), 6, 60; 'vertex' not 'brow' (Dawson), 22, 106.
- wpt*: *m wpt*, 'in lists', possible cuneiform equivalent (Smith-Gadd), 11, 234; but cf. (Albright) 12, 188.
- wpt*, not *wput* ('business') (Gardiner), 8, 109; *wput*, *wputi*, early pronunciation of (Albright), 23, 196, n. 5.
- wputy*, 'messenger', 'commissioner' (in small Syrian state); *wputy nsw*, 'king's messenger' (Steindorff), 25, 31 ff.
- wf*, with personal suffix as obj. 'support' (Gardiner), 16, 22.
- wmt*, 'thickness' = 'reveal' of a doorway (Gardiner), 4, 147.
- wn*, 'free' from obstacle (?) (Gardiner), 9, 17, n. 10.

- wn*, 'leap over', 'skip', 'neglect' (Griffith), 12, 198, n. 11.
- wn nḥ*, perhaps of missing the joy of life (Faulkner), 22, 134.
- wn ḥwy n pt m Ipt-swṯ*, 'Opener of the doors of heaven in Karnak', title frequently but not exclusively applied to High Priest of Amūn (Blackman), 4, 125, n. 8.
- wn r*, high priest at Letopolis (Wainwright), 18, 6, 160.
- Wn-f-dd-sn*, pers. n. 'He hurries at their bidding' (Dunham), 21, 150, n. 1.
- wnt*, some building dedicated to Thoth (Gardiner), 11, 2 f.
- Wnwty*, demon, not connected with god *Wnty* (Faulkner), 23, 176.
- wnm n sbn-n-f*, a consumer of revenues who does not touch their source (Reisner-Gunn), 5, 82, n. 1.
- wnmy(t)*, 'the devouring flame' (Faulkner), 23, 177.
- wnn*: *pr wnn* perh. = *pr-wn*, 'because' (Gunn), 16, 153; cf. (Davies-Gardiner), 9, 142, n. 1; *wnnt wnt (im)*, 'what is and may be (yonder)' (Gardiner), 16, 21; *wn iw-f r ir(t):f*, L.-Egn. ex. of dem. construction for 'which he was about to do' (Blackman), 22, 44 (32); *wnw* + simple adverbial predicate in L.Egn. has sense of absolute past (Gardiner), 23, 160.
- Wnntw*, possibly *nisbe*-form of *Wnt*, 'He of the Harenome' (Blackman), 5, 33.
- wnš*, wolf skin (Smith), 19, 154.
- wndw wndw*, repetition implies 'a party (just as we are) a party' (Gardiner), 22, 181.
- wr*, 'he who is great(er)', not in good sense (Faulkner), 22, 135; early pronunciation of (Albright), 23, 196, n. 2; *pr-wr(w)* = cuneiform *Pa-werrai(i)* (Albright), 23, 196, n. 3.
- Wr-ḥkrw*, curved handle ending in ram's head (Wainwright), 20, 152.
- Wrt*, sometimes with det. 𓏏 , goddess, either earth or sky (Naville), 4, 229.
- wrm*, 'Nile inundation', and *wrmyt*, 'swelling', from stem *wrm*, root *rm* (Albright), 6, 92, n. 5.
- whm msut*, 'Renewing Births', 'Renaissance' (Peet), 14, 66 ff. with 68, n. 6.
- whmyt*: *ir w.*, of wind, 'redouble (its fury)'? (Blackman), 16, 68 (15).
- whc*, fish, Cop. ⲟⲩⲟⲉ , *Silurus schall* (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 30; 'the prickly fish', *Synodonthis Schall* (Vikentiev), 17, 67.
- whj-ibt*, 'length-of-side' of a pyramid (Gunn), 12, 134.
- ws*, sarcophagus-chamber (?) of pyramid (Gunn), 12, 134.
- Wsir* (Osiris), from Libyan root meaning 'old' (Bates), 2, 207 f.; read *st-irt*, originally = Ladanum-bearing *Cistus* (Baly), 17, 222.
- Wsr-mst-Rc-mry-Innw* = *Rcmssw-ḥkṯ-Innw*, a town of Ramesses III in W. desert (Gardiner), 5, 134 f.
- wsḥ*, of one whose influence pervades (Faulkner), 24, 47.
- wsḥt isk*, 'hall of waiting' in royal tomb (Gardiner), 4, 138.
- Wsḥt-Itn-m-pr-Itn* . . . , 'Broad Hall' = Processional Way and Great Hall in Palace at 'Amarnah (Fairman), 21, 138.
- wsḥt mrkbtī*, 'Chariot-Hall', name of royal sarcophagus-chamber (Gardiner), 4, 148.
- wstn*, 'extravagance'; cf. *m šhr n wstn*, 'irresponsibly (?)' (Griffith), 12, 212, n. 1; cf. 13, 201, n. 5.
- wsṣ ihw*, 'feeder of an ox' (Černý-Lexa), 15, 249, n. 35.
- Wšb*, 'Cow', alluding to Isis (Faulkner), 22, 136.
- wšb* + obj., 'answer for appearance of' in court (Glanville-Frankfort), 14, 305, n. 1; 'protect' (Faulkner), 22, 135.
- wšbt*, 'charge' (Peet), 10, 122, n. 8.
- wšyt*, 'jaw', hence 'mouther (?)' (Gardiner), 9, 17, n. 5.
- wgs*, 'to slit open' fish (Gardiner), 1, 103, n. 16.
- wt*, 'covering', then 'coffin' (Winlock), 10, 239, n. 2.
- wtyt*, 'shoots', 'buds', or 'fibres' of a plant (Dawson), 20, 42.
- wtm*, 'collapse (?)' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 290, n. 13.
- wtn*, trans., 'force a way into' (Gardiner), 22, 177.
- wts*, 'delate' (Gardiner), 9, 21, n. 4.
- wḏ*, 'disturb' etc. (Faulkner), 22, 133; *wḏ (stsw)*, 'deal' (a wound) (Gunn), 6, 301, n. 10.
- wḏ*, vb. 'to be well' with det. 𓏏 (Černý), 15, 250, n. 49.
- pr-[wḏ]-n-šms-n-pr-Itn*, a storehouse at 'Amarnah (Fairman), 21, 139.
- wḏ(t)*, in a general sense 'amulet' (Gardiner), 22, 179.
- wḏtyt*, 'fresh-water mussel' (Dawson), 18, 153 f.
- wḏb*, technical term in connexion with offerings, 'diversion' (Gardiner), 24, 86 ff.; with 𓏏 to be read *wḏb rd* (Clère), 25, 215 f.
- wḏb* 𓏏 , 'give a helping hand (?)' (Blackman), 10, 199, n. 1; 'desist', 'compose oneself' (*Id.*), 22, 39 (13).
- ḃ*, 'break into pieces', 'lay foundation', 'demolish', etc. and kindred words (Vikentiev), 17, 68 f.
- Bṣ n Rc*, a divinity (Blackman), 5, 27 f.
- Bṣ n Gb*, a divinity (Blackman), 5, 27, n. 13.
- Bṣ hr ḥst*, later *Bḥ*, spellings of 'Buchis' (Fairman), 17, 228.
- ḃ šmṣ*, panther skin or perhaps a long robe (Smith), 19, 154 ff.
- ḃy* 'foot-ewer' to be read so, not *by* (Blackman), 21, 3, n. 7; cf. 5, 119.
- Bṣb* (god), usually written with white crown (Faulkner), 22, 139.
- ḃk im*, prob. not used in O.K. between equals (Gardiner), 13, 76, n. 1.
- ḃkw* and *r-ḃ-ḃkw*, used of king's tomb (Černý), 15, 248, n. 28. 249, n. 33.
- Bst*, uncertain foreign locality (Gardiner), 4, 36 f.
- ḃ*, ordinary metals in contradistinction to noble metals (Sethe), 1, 234, n. 2; 'iron', meteoric origin accounts for other meanings, e.g. 'marvel'; doubtful if = 'copper' (Wainwright), 18, 6 ff.
- Bṣw*, 'Mineral-country', probably not general but = peninsula of Sinai (Gardiner), 4, 36.

- bī-n-pt*, later expression for 'iron' = *fenune* (Wainwright), 18, 15.
- bī(?)-rwḏ*, 'hard copper', whence *ḥapwṯ* (Gardiner-Gunn), 4, 36.
- by*, can for feet-ablutions (Blackman), 5, 119; to be read *bry* (*Id.*), 21, 3, n. 7.
- [*bīn dpt r-f*], 'taste of whose mouth is bad', referring to smell of mother's milk (Shiah), 24, 127.
- bs*, 'accept (?)', 'obey (?)' (Griffith), 12, 213, 218, n. 1.
- bw* (neg.): *īw bw ḥprt*, equivalent of *n sḏmt-f* construction (Gardiner), 14, 11.
- bwpyw-w*, anticipation of Cop. 3rd. plur. in indef. use (Peet), 11, 338.
- bw-nb*, early pronunciation reconstructed from cuneiform (Albright), 23, 197 with n. 2.
- bwst*, 'playing-field (?)' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 285, n. 7; 'covert' (Blackman), 16, 70 (19).
- Bwḳnn*, district of Thebes with local Amūn (Blackman), 11, 251, n. 10.¹
- bbt*, 'source', written *bb*, *q.v.*
- bbt*, herb *Inula graveolens*, related to Fleabane (Dawson), 20, 46.
- bn*: *bn sw*, 'he is not' (= M.-Egn. **nn sw*), while *mn* = 'there is nothing' (Černý), 15, 250, n. 44; with *sḏm:f* in oaths and promises, invariably future (Černý), 23, 188.
- bnw* bird, enables deceased's soul to reach next world in safety (Shorter), 21, 173, n. 1; a heron (*Ardea cinerea*, or allied species) (Dawson), 22, 107.
- bnbn*, 'become erect', perhaps etymologically connected with 'pyramidion' (Faulkner), 23, 175.
- bnf* = *wdd*, 'gall' (Dawson), 19, 136.
- bnš*, 'door-jamb' or 'door-post' (Gardiner), 4, 146 f.; *n bnšw*, possible cuneiform equivalent (Smith-Gadd), 11, 238; (Albright) 12, 189.
- bntyt* (fem. *nisbe* of **bnt* 'breast'), 'with shapely breasts' (Blackman), 22, 41 (19).
- Bndbr*, Keftiu name, parallels in Cilicia Tracheia (Wainwright), 17, 31 ff.
- br*, common grey mullet, Cop. *ḳṳṳ*, Ar. *būri* (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 27.
- br-t-f*, phonetic spelling of L.-Egn. form of *ḳṳṳ* (Gardiner), 16, 230.
- Brw*, see *Mrw*.
- Brst*, prob. variant name of goddess *Bst* (Gardiner), 5, 258; *cf.* 19, 128.
- brt:m brt*, 'by corvée' or 'by agreement' (Griffith), 13, 200, n. 10.
- bnn*, 'fan' in N.K. (Blackman), 19, 202.
- bh* (det. ☉) = 'tan' (?), not same as *bh* (det. ☞) (Blackman-Peet), 11, 288, n. 6.
- bhnw*, may be identical with *bhnt*, 'knife' (Faulkner), 24, 50.
- Bhdt*, name of a Delta town, then of Edfu (Gardiner), 5, 223, n. 1.
- pr-bhn-n-Mr-n-Pth-ḥtpw-ḥr-Mst*, perhaps = *pr-bhn-n-Mn-mst-Rc-tv . . . srf*, fort on road to Palestine (Gardiner), 6, 111.
- bhnw*, 'castle', 'citadel' (Gardiner), 5, 187.
- Bh*, see *Bḥ hr ḥst*.
- bs*, 'introduce', *3ae inf.* (Peet), 10, 121, n. 6.
- bs* fish, *Petrocephalus bane* (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 30.
- bkst*, 'pith' of a rush (Dawson), 22, 107.
- bt*, prob. with skin-det., part of chariot (Dawson-Peet), 19, 171.
- Bt* or *Bd*, a god (Naville), 2, 45.
- Bt* in *Pap. d'Orbiney*, corruption of *Btīi*, first king of Eg. (Vikentiev), 17, 72.
- btš*: *msw btš*, 'children of revolt', assuming confusion of *bdš* and *bšt* (Faulkner), 23, 177.
- Bd*, see *Bt*.
- bdn*, 'stare' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 290, n. 6.
- pt*, 'heaven', of canopy shaped like heaven-sign (Blackman), 22, 37 f. (11).
- pr*, def. art., tends to be omitted before noun beginning with *p* (Gardiner), 4, 139, n. 1.
- pr wnn*, see *wnn*.
- pryf sḏm*, 'that he should hear' (Gunn), 16, 153.
- pr*, 'to be primaeval (?)' related to *prw* (Faulkner), 24, 46 f.
- prt*, not *prwt*, 'antiquity' and 'a kind of loaf' (Gardiner), 8, 109.
- prwtyw*, 'substance (?)' perhaps same as *ḳṳṳ* (Faulkner), 24, 49.
- prkt*, see *mḳt*.
- pis*, 'tread in (seed)' (Gardiner), 3, 100, n. 1.
- pw*: math. formula *X pw* (Glanville), 13, 237.
- Pwrm*, pers. n., perhaps Libyan, perhaps = cuneiform *Puayama* (Spiegelberg), 15, 80. 81 with n. 3.
- Pp*, names formed with (Spiegelberg), 16, 74, n. 2.
- prfsw m*, 'what strength?' (Gunn), 12, 136.
- prnṣyt*, 'cataract', 'vortex' or the like (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 51, n. 7.
- prnw*, see *īšty*.
- Prnt*, Keftiu name, parallels in Cilicia (Wainwright), 17, 36 f.
- pr*, most often becomes *pi-* in construct, sometimes retains *-r* perhaps owing to proximity of '*ain*' (Gardiner), 5, 138; 'commercial house', 'firm' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 288, n. 13; perhaps = 'place of business', 'shop' (Blackman), 12, 183, n. 4; *pr pr*, possible cuneiform equivalent (Smith-Gadd), 11, 238; but *cf.* (Albright) 12, 189; *nb(t) pr* written *nbt pt* (Gardiner), 19, 30.
- Pr-irw*, locality on W. border of Delta, not to be read *Pr-ir-šps* (Gardiner), 5, 259, n. 3.
- Pr-Itm-m-šht-Itm*, 'House of the Aten' = larger 'Amarnah temple (Fairman), 21, 137.
- Pr-ṣ*, normally only of living Pharaoh (Černý-Peet), 13, 38 with n. 2.
- pr-ṣnh*, 'House of Life', place where medical and religious books were written, not a training-college or University (Gardiner), 24, 157 ff.
- Pr-ṣnht*, a town between Sohāg and Kōm Ishgāw (Gardiner), 24, 175.
- pr-ṣnh-irw*, connected with ritual revival of a god (Gardiner), 24, 175.
- Pr-Wsr-mst-Rc-mry-Imn*, probably mod. Ramsīs (Gardiner), 5, 130.

¹ According to a MS. n. in the late Prof. Peet's copy *Bw-ḳnn-twḥ* is to be read.

- Pr-Wsr-mst-Rc-Stp-n-Rc* (also without *pr*), variant of name of Delta Residence (Gardiner), 5, 197.
- Pr-Brst*, prob. variant of *Pr-Bst*, Bubastus (Gardiner), 5, 258; = Belbeis (Naville), 10, 31; but *cf.* (Gardiner) 10, 95; 19, 128.
- pr-mḏst*, 'library' of a temple (Gardiner), 24, 177 with n. 2.
- pr nbw*, 'House of Gold', name of royal sarcophagus-chamber (Carter-Gardiner), 4, 139.
- Pr-Rc*, district of Dakhlah Oasis (Gardiner), 19, 52 (6-7).
- Pr-Rcmssw-mry-Imn*, Delta Residence of the Ramessesides, at or near Pelusium (Gardiner), 5, 127 ff. 179 ff. 242 ff.; at Kantarah (Naville), 10, 18 ff.; *cf.* (Gardiner) 10, 88 ff.; but = Tanis (*Id.*), 19, 122 ff.; *cf.* arguments for palace at Kantir (Newberry), 25, 120 f.
- Pr-Rcmssw-mry-Imn*, name of town of Abu Simbel (Gardiner), 5, 133. 271.
- Pr-Rcmssw-mry-Imn*, town at 'Amārah West (Fairman), 25, 142.
- Pr-Rcmssw-ḥks-Iwnw* (ḡ *nhtw*), Delta Residence of Ramessesides, with substitution of Ramesses III's predicate (Gardiner), 5, 136. 192. 194 f.
- Pr-Rcmssw-ḥks-Iwnw-ḡ-nhtw*, unidentified place in Lower Nubia (Gardiner), 5, 134.
- Pr-Rcmssw-ḥks-Iwnw* (c.w.s.) *m pr Pth*, possibly temple of Ptaḥ built by Ramesses II in Delta Residence (Gardiner), 5, 195.
- Pr-Rcmssw-ḥks-Iwnw* (c.w.s.) *m pr Sth*, temple of Seth in Delta Residence (Gardiner), 5, 196.
- Pr-ḥcy-n-pr-Itn* . . ., 'House of Rejoicing' = concrete platforms E. of 2nd pylon in larger 'Amarnah temple; may also be general name of whole of 'official' palace (Fairman), 21, 137 f.
- Pr-Huthr*, 'House of Ḥathor' in Delta (Gardiner), 5, 186, n. 3.
- pr ḥmw*, house of obscure god or shrine of bark of Sokar (Faulkner), 22, 137.
- pr-ḥd*, lit. 'treasury', often = 'storehouse' (Gardiner), 4, 143.
- pr-n-stj*, 'portable chest' (Peet-Gardiner), 11, 40, n. 1.
- Pr-Šjk* (?), unknown place-name (Gardiner), 3, 107.
- pr-twt*, 'statue-house' = serdab (Blackman), 3, 254.
- Pr-Tm*, 'Pithom' = Heronopolis = Tell er-Retābah (Gardiner), 5, 128. 267 ff.; Tell el-Maskhūṭah (Naville), 10, 32 ff.; but *cf.* (Gardiner) 10, 95. 96 with n. 1.
- pr-dwst*, 'House of the Morning', king's toilet-chamber (Blackman), 5, 148 ff.; not necessarily only in temple (Gardiner), 24, 84.
- pryt*, 'houses' (Gardiner), 6, 197, n. 2.
- pr*, with old perf., 'to turn out . . .' (Gardiner), 9, 12, n. 5; of Buchis-bulls = 'be born' (Fairman), 16, 241.
- pryw*, written  perhaps because *-ryw* here sounded like plural of *r* (Gunn), 19, 105.
- pryt*, det. by , 'going forth in dangerous situations' (Polotsky), 16, 198 (20).
- prw*, 'excess', 'surplus' (Gardiner), 9, 19, n. 5; 'inequality' (*Id.*), 9, 20, n. 5.
- pr-m-ws*, height of pyramid (Gunn), 12, 134.
- prī ḥrw* in *šdmty-fy* form (Clère), 25, 216.
- prt šn*, 'hairy fruit' of sacred tree of Heracleopolitan nome, variously determined (Vikentiev), 17, 75.
- prš*, Cop. πηϋϋ, minium (red oxide of lead) (Dawson), 21, 39; *cf.* 20, 188.
- Plst*, country 'Palestine', not Persia (Steindorff), 25, 32.
- plšn* (Meroitic), *p-mr-šn* (dem.), λεσωις, high priest (Griffith), 3, 28.
- ph* (r?) *pt*, 'die (?)' (Peet), 10, 122, n. 5.
- phw*, of a nome, may be connected with places outside nome (Gardiner), 5, 248 f.
- phwy* : *ntyw m phwy*, 'those at the back', i.e. 'slaves' (Gardiner), 1, 35, n. 6; *phwy n pr*, servants' quarters or *ḥarīm* (Glanville), 14, 301; *phwy n*, ex. of L.-Egn. *ph n*, 'behind' (Dawson-Peet), 19, 174.
- Phl*, Rom. Pella (Albright-Rowe), 14, 286, n. 2.
- phdt*, 'log' from *phd*, 'to cut up' (Peet), 17, 158.
- phj mist* (?), 'vent one's spleen (upon) (??)' (Černý), 15, 248, n. 24.
- phph*, of thunderclaps or lashing of waves (Griffith), 12, 200, n. 6.
- phr*, 'unroll' a book (Blackman), 22, 106.
- phr-ih*, name of some cult-object (?) (Gardiner), 1, 105, n. 4.
- phr n nbw*, meaning unknown (Faulkner), 23, 14.
- phr ḥrybt*, 'turning of the shadow', of noon-tide (Faulkner), 23, 176.
- ps*, very large kind of loaf (Černý), 23, 61.
- psš*, 'exert effort', 'strive to cope with' (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 51, n. 7.
- psšt-f*, 'his province' or 'what is due to him' (Peet), 18, 120.
- psd(w)*, 'nine', in cuneiform *pišid* (Smith-Gadd), 11, 236; *cf.* (Albright) 12, 188 f.
- psdt*, personified as one woman (Gunn), 19, 105; *psdt imyt dwst*, perhaps referring to wooden statues of deities in royal hypogea (Carter-Gardiner), 4, 139.
- pš*, 'piece' of ivory (Gardiner), 3, 195.
- pšš*, miswriting as if *pšn* (Blackman), 21, 9, n. 6.
- pkr*, tree at Abydos and its festival (Blackman), 4, 123, n. 2; M.-K. writing without *-r* (Dakin), 24, 191, n. 5.
- pggt*, kind of slug or snail (Dawson), 18, 151.
- piri*, canal or river-arm celebrated for *bjg*-fish (Gardiner), 5, 188, n. 6.
- pds n mswd*, possible cuneiform equivalent (Smith-Gadd), 11, 235; but *cf.* (Albright) 12, 188.
- pdsut nt š*, region about Lake Mareotis (Gardiner), 1, 29, n. 8 with 106.
- pd ḥc*, name of bent double staff, ideogram (?) in *rs*, possibly connected with idea of resurrection (?) (Gardiner), 4, 206.
- fi*, 'carry', hence 'weigh' (Gardiner), 9, 10, n. 4.
- fi inr*, 'stone-carrier', prob. wooden stretcher (Peet), 11, 41, n. 3.¹


¹ But see *Id.*, *Tomb Robberies*, 160.

- fy(t)*, collective, 'carrying-personnel' (Blackman), 12, 182, n. 3.
- fk*, see *fk*.
- fn*, 'be weak' of heart = 'be angry' (Bennett), 25, 12 (19).
- fk*, figurative, 'raze', 'sweep off' (Naville), 2, 200; 'be wasted (?)', possibly old *fk*, 'be shorn' (Gardiner), 3, 102.
- fkty*, kind of priest, identified with Shu (Gardiner), 24, 169, n. 1.
- fdw*, see *ifd*.
- fdk*, 'sunder', 'divide', and of parting of petitioner and judge (Gardiner), 9, 12, n. 12; 'sundered', i.e. unreliable (Gardiner), 9, 14, n. 6.
- m*, after vb. of saying, 'namely', developed in Cop. into $\bar{n}\bar{s}\bar{r}$: $\bar{n}\bar{x}\bar{e}$, i.e. *m ki n* (Gardiner), 5, 190, n. 4; *m* (or *n*), 'namely' after *in:f* etc., 'said he', probably a disguised form of agential *in* (Faulkner), 21, 185; of equivalence, an exception to normal use after undetermined noun (Blackman), 22, 39, n. 3; introducing popular saying 'on-the-principle-that' (Griffith), 13, 197, n. 1; *m msdd*, 'however unwillingly (?)' (Gardiner), 9, 15, n. 7; *m* can = 'from' (in place of *r-šr-m*) in L.Egn. (Peet), 11, 73 with n. 8; *m*, 'together with', 'accompanied by' (of persons of lesser importance) (Smither), 25, 166 ff.; 'with' in sense of 'having' (Gunn), 25, 168 f.
- m*, following verb-form in M.Egn. = enclitic particle, not interrogative (Gunn), 12, 130.
- m*, 'nor (?)' or mistake for *bn* (Blackman-Peet), 11, 292, n. 7.
- msty*, two shafts of heron's crest (Dawson), 22, 107.
- msr dsr (m) ch*, title (Fairman), 20, 4 (D, b).
- msy*, 'seed' (Blackman), 10, 194.
- msr*, trans., (1) 'direct', (2) 'dispatch', (3) 'throw out (a rope)' (Blackman), 17, 59 (31).
- msr-hrw*, unusual writing (Blackman), 5, 27, n. 2; anticipatory, not always 'deceased' (Winlock), 10, 269, n. 4; written simply \equiv or β in late texts (Spiegelberg), 15, 80, n. 3, 82, n. 8.
- msrw X, dsr Y*, in announcements of juridical verdicts (Gardiner), 19, 26 (9).
- msrw*, 'one justified' (Blackman), 4, 124, n. 2.
- msrt*, stressed in inscr. of Amenophis III's reign (Glanville), 15, 5.
- Msrt-Rr*, not goddess but god (Blackman), 23, 149, n. 1.
- msr*, linen (Smith), 19, 153.
- mswy, mswt*, 'sorrow (?)' (Faulkner), 22, 137 f.
- mswt*, perhaps = *msrty*, 'testicles' (Dawson), 19, 135.
- mswt*, perhaps 'rule', 'measuring-rod' (Dunham), 24, 4, n. 14.
- mswt* (cf. 𓂏𓂏𓂏 , 'island'), 'new land' deposited by Nile (Griffith), 12, 196, n. 4.
- mswd*, for *mshw*, 'marking of rhythm by the hands?' (Vikentiev), 17, 79; but cf. (Dawson-Peet) 19, 171.
- M:fdt*, probably cat-goddess, not mongoose (Gardiner), 24, 89 f.
- msms* (reduplicated from *msr*), 'to see' (Dawson-Peet), 19, 169.
- msht*, prob. = *msht*, 'gateway' (Fairman), 20, 3 (s).
- msst*, 'a knee-length skirt or apron' (Smith), 19, 154 ff.
- mskt* (cf. *pskt*), rigid heavenly ladder, opp. to *ks* (Wainwright), 18, 168.
- msst*, 'mandrake' perhaps extended to become a generic term (Dawson), 19, 133 ff. 137.
- Mstt*, goddess (Dawson), 19, 133.
- msi*, 'as though', 'as if' (Blackman), 16, 69 (16).
- m mitt*, beginning clause seems un-Egyptian (Gardiner), 6, 194, n. 2.
- msi*, O.-Egn. form of enclitic reinforcing impv. (Faulkner), 16, 171 f.
- Mswty*, cat-headed mummiform divinity (Blackman), 5, 34, nn. 7, 8.
- Myt nt hsb*, 'Cat of Lapis Lazuli' connected with mummification ceremonies (Blackman), 5, 34.
- Msrm* (and later varr.), 'Anibah (Gardiner), 3, 191.
- msrwt Hnty-Hm*, personified 'Throwing Sticks of H.' (Wainwright), 18, 162.
- msndt*, bark, also ending *-dwt* and *-dyt* (Clère), 20, 162 (r).
- mshtyt*, private tomb, esp. of cenotaphs in Abydos (Winlock), 10, 226.
- mw: mw bin*, 'bad waters' at cataract (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 51, n. 7; *mw pw (?) n*, 'it is the dominion of . . .' (Gardiner), 3, 103.
- ps: mw n ps: Rr*, 'Waters of the Sun', Bubastite branch of Nile (Gardiner), 5, 257 ff. (cf. 197 f.); cf. 10, 92; but = Tanitic branch (*Id.*), 19, 125.
- ps: mw n Hwt-wrt*, 'waters of Avaris' = easternmost channel of Nile (Gardiner), 10, 92; = Tanitic branch (*Id.*), 19, 125.
- mw: ir(t)-n mut-f(-s)*, when not desirable to give mother's name (Gunn), 16, 155, n. 4.
- mfk(s)t*, 'turquoise', prob. of glossy black hair (Faulkner), 22, 140.
- mm*, 'transport (cattle) across the river' (Polotsky), 16, 197 (15).
- mm*, prob. Nubian word, name of drug from plant of genus *Ammi* (Dawson), 21, 37 f.
- mn*, 'there is nothing' while *bn sw* = 'he is not' (Černý), 15, 250, n. 44.
- mnt*, 'rind' of a fruit (Dawson), 20, 45.
- Mni* (Menes), 'steadfast' from *mn* 'be stable, remain' (Albright), 6, 89; = 'pilot' as title of first King (Vikentiev), 17, 70.
- ts: mniwt Wsr-msr-Rr-stp-n-Rr*, possibly the harbour of Pi-Ramesse (Gardiner), 5, 260.
- Mn(n)ws*, ethnical name (of Asia Minor) conn. with Retenu and Keftiu (Davies), 20, 190.
- mnhw*, 'butcher', of executioners who serve Osiris (Faulkner), 23, 176.
- mnšt*, 'yellow ochre' (Dawson), 20, 188.
- mnšt*, 'pottery vessel' (Gardiner), 16, 21.
- Mntw-mhwt*, cryptogram so to be read (Smither), 25, 168, n. 1.
- Mntw m twy*, epithet applied to Ramesses II (Gardiner), 5, 187, n. 8.
- mnđt*, 'cheeks' (Dawson), 12, 141.
- mnđm*, basket for fruit (Gardiner), 9, 13, n. 3.

- mr*, 'pyramid', not simply 'King's tomb' (Winlock), 10, 225 f.
- mr imnty*, perhaps same as *itrw imnty*, and perhaps Canopic arm of Nile (Gardiner), 5, 130 f.; cf. 271.
- p-mr-šn*, see *plšn*.
- mrt*, a musician-priestess (Blackman), 7, 8 f.
- Mrt*, goddess, protectress of gullet, hence identified with it (Blackman), 22, 105.
- Mr-w(y)-s(y)* (?), pers. n., 'How beloved is she! (?)' (Dakin), 24, 192, n. 17.
- Mri-n-Pth*, contains perfective relative form (Albright), 23, 192, n. 3.
- Mry-Imn* (Gk. *Μαμμων*) = cuneiform *Māy-Amāna* (Albright), 23, 192.
- mry n-in*, perhaps 'is . . . desirable to you?' (Dunham), 24, 5, n. 11. 6, n. 12.
- Mry-Rc* = cuneiform *Ma-i-re-ya* (Albright), 23, 192.
- Mryt-Itu* = cuneiform *Maya-ati* (Albright), 23, 191 f.
- mrwt*, writings with \vee and \sqsubset (Smither), 25, 159, n. 2.
- mri*, of a boat, 'to ground' (Gardiner), 9, 17, n. 10.
- mryt*, 'quay', hence pair of lines giving 'height' of triangle, etc. (Gunn), 12, 133; (Gunn-Peet) 15, 173 f.
- Mrw*, also *Brw*, Old Cop. $\pi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\gamma\epsilon$, 'Meroe' (Griffith), 4, 169 f.
- Mrwl*, leading deity of temple of Kalabshah, Gk. *Μανδούλις* (Griffith), 15, 71 ff.
- mrht*, 'Nilometer (?)', elsewhere 'clock' (Blackman-Griffith), 3, 204, n. 2; measuring-instrument somewhat similar to *groma* (Lyons), 12, 244; sighting instrument (Sloley), 17, 169 f.
- mrkbtī*, see *usht mrkbtī*.
- mh*, 'fill', in various senses (Gunn), 3, 283 ff.; 'hold in one's hand', also 'arrest' (Naville), 2, 200; 'compensate' (Gardiner), 22, 181; *mh m* (un-Egyptian), of 'adhesion' to a treaty (Gardiner), 6, 190; *mh m grw*, of finishing reliefs in colour (Gardiner), 4, 137, n. 1; *mh r*, 'begin' (Blackman), 12, 177, n. 17.
- p: mh-ib* = cuneiform *pamaḥā* (Albright), 23, 200, n. 4.
- mh-ꜥ*, word for 'cubit' to be read so (Gunn-Peet), 15, 171, n. 3.
- mht hr*, hardly 'thousandth part' (Gunn), 3, 285.
- Mh*, place-name, near Abu Simbel (Griffith), 4, 172.
- mh:st*, 'place of toll', 'customs house' between Lower and Upper Egypt (Blackman), 16, 266.
- Mhnt-irty*, reading (Blackman), 5, 122, n. 1; god of Letopolis (Wainwright), 18, 164 ff.
- mhrm*, 'dockyard (?)' (Griffith), 12, 202, n. 2.
- msi*, intrans., 'be born' (Peet), 1, 209 ff.; but cf. (Blackman), 11, 348; in O.-K. annals refers to making of statues, not to birth of kings or divine 'birthdays' (Sethe), 1, 234 f.; (Gardiner) 3, 145; used for 'carve' (Gardiner), 4, 2 with n. 1.
- ms hr*, 'tomb-maker (??)' (Peet), 2, 206, n. 1.
- ms*+noun, 'young X' (Blackman), 19, 203.
- msw*, with unusual det. perhaps = hierat. \vee (Gunn-Gardiner), 4, 251.
- Msy*, nickname of king Amenmose (Černý), 15, 255.
- Ms*, tribe-name = Hitt. 'Masa' (Wainwright), 25, 149.
- mswk*, kind of loaf (Smither), 25, 166, n. 1.
- msbb*, 'deal (with)?' (Polotsky), 16, 198 (22).
- msbb* (*šnw* ?), with ref. to displacement of hair (Faulkner), 22, 138.
- mshnt*, 'bearing-stool' (Blackman), 22, 106.
- mshtyw*, constellation 'adze' = Great Bear (Wainwright), 18, 11. 163; 19, 45.
- mss*, 'tunic', 'shirt' (Blackman), 11, 250, n. 8.
- mskz*, 'leather', not 'couch' (Gunn), 16, 148.
- msdw*, 'hated one', i.e. 'rival' (Blackman), 16, 71 (21); fem. *msdtt* (*Id.*), 22, 43 f. (30).
- msdt*, perhaps for *msdmt*, apparently a stone, not 'antimony' (Gardiner), 4, 37 with n. 8.
- mšꜥf*, might be 'driven mad' but perhaps 'gasping' (Griffith), 12, 203, n. 3.
- Mšwš*, short writing *M* (Gardiner), 19, 23.
- mki*, 'protect', written with same dets. as *mkt*, 'place', in word-play (Faulkner), 24, 51.
- mki hwi*, used of what is property of the gods, and so *tabu* (de Buck), 23, 160; indicates protection against external interference (Gardiner), 22, 178; cf. (Bennett) 25, 13 (43).
- mkti*, obscure epithet of Osiris (Faulkner), 22, 140.
- mktz* (*mgdr*), Semitic מגדל ('tower'), $\mu\gamma\delta\omega\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$, Cop. ⲙⲉⲉⲤⲟⲗ : ⲙⲉⲛⲤⲟⲗ (Gardiner), 6, 107 ff.; cf. 10, 89 f.
- p: mktz-n-Mn-mst-Rc*, 'Migdol', 'Magdolo', prob. at Tell el-Hēr (Gardiner), 6, 107-9.
- p: mktz-n-Sty-Mr-n-Pth-mry-mi-Sth*, name of 'Migdol' at Tell el-Hēr (Gardiner), 6, 109 f.
- mg*, 'skirmisher (?)', perhaps a Nubian word (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 50, n. 6.
- mgspw*, 'crates', Sem. parallels (Blackman), 22, 104.
- mgdr-n-Rcmssw-hkz-Iwnw*, name of 'Migdol' at Tell el-Hēr (Gardiner), 6, 110.
- mt*, masc., dem. *mty*, 'the deep', cf. ⲙⲉⲧⲟ (m.), ⲙⲉⲧⲟ (f.) (Griffith), 12, 203, n. 2.
- mty*, 'regular', 'normal', almost 'traditional' (Gardiner), 6, 189, n. 4.
- mtw-*, carrying on vetitive (Griffith), 12, 199, n. 6; *mtw-f*, see *hnt ntf sdm*.
- mtwhr*, title or name of employment (Gardiner), 19, 27 (17).
- mtn*, 'inscribed', used of royal child at birth (Blackman), 13, 191 f.
- Mtn*, Mitanni, nearly all occurrences under Tuthmosis III (Albright-Rowe), 14, 282.
- mtr*: *wꜥ mtr*, 'witness-stela' in land-measurement (Berger), 20, 54.
- mtr*, uncertain whether same as word for 'testimony' (Faulkner), 23, 175.
- mt(r)t*, *mt(y)t*, 'testimony', in M.Egn. (Clère), 24, 242.
- mtꜥm*, 'a veil' (Gardiner), 4, 34, n. 2.
- mtt*, unknown word (Dawson-Peet), 19, 173.
- mdw* (*mdw?*), not *3ae inf.* (Gardiner), 8, 110; *mdw m*, 'dispute', 'find fault with' (Černý-Peet), 13, 35, n. 24; 'speak against' (Gardiner), 13, 77 with n. 1; cf. (Blackman) 16, 63 (2); 12, 182, n. 5; 'speak about' (Dunham), 24, 5, n. 2.
- mdw*, like *mdt*, 'plea' (Blackman), 17, 59 (32).
- mdw k: hd*, O.-K. priestly title (Wainwright), 21, 159, nn. 3. 4.

- mdn*, 'markings' (Griffith), 12, 196, n. 8.
md(w), 'ten', in cuneiform *mutu* (Smith-Gadd), 11, 236; (Albright) 12, 188 f.
mdt, 'depth' horizontally (Gardiner), 4, 138.
mdt, an oil connected with fresh myrrh (Lucas), 23, 31.
Mdy, in non-ethnic sense = 'policeman' (Gardiner), 3, 105; (Gunn-Gardiner) 5, 47, n. 2.
mdh, later *mdh*, no evidence for meaning 'girdle' and not = dem. *mdh*, Cop. $\mathbf{m} \mathbf{o} \mathbf{x} \mathbf{s}$ etc.; *ts mdh*, 'tie on fillet' perhaps connected with discontinuance of side-lock (Gunn), 25, 218 f.
mdtft, chisel of *bt* (Wainwright), 18, 7, n. 1.
- n* (prepn.), after *wsh*, perhaps = 'on' (Glanville), 14, 301; in *n dt*, written like *nn*, *temp*. Tutmosis IV (Shorter-Blackman), 18, 111; of disadvantage, 'from' after *šsp* and perhaps *nhm* (Peet), 20, 119.
n sdm-n-f with gemination, possibly expressing 'not go on doing' something (Blackman), 16, 66 (9).
n for *in*, as (a) interrogative, (b) emphatic particle, (c) expressing agent (Černý-Peet), 13, 35, n. 20.
nyswt, as title of a priest of Harshef in Heracleopolis (Blackman), 11, 213 ff.; cf. 10, 196, n. 4.
nt, primarily 'being', then 'fact' (Gunn), 12, 129.
Nt-šbdw-Sst-Wpwsut, probably a double name (Dakin), 24, 193, n. 8.
nt-t, 'ordinance', 'prescription', 'arrangement' (Gardiner), 6, 186, n. 5.
nr n, not in non-literary texts after end of Dyn. 19 (Černý), 23, 186, n. 2.
Nry-Rmssw-mry-Imn, probably = *Nry-Wsr-mst-Rt-stp-n-Rt*, a place where Sethōs II had vineyards (Gardiner), 5, 189.
nnš, 'joyful', early ex. of predicative adj. introduced by *nr*, Cop. $\mathbf{n} \mathbf{a} \mathbf{-}$? (Gardiner), 14, 11.
N-r-r-f, 'He (or 'it') is not bound', name of a quarter of Heracleopolis Magna (Blackman), 3, 204 ff.
nī, 'javelin' (Dawson-Peet), 19, 171.
nīi, perhaps simply $\mathbf{n} \mathbf{i} \mathbf{i}$ in O.-Egn. summary writing (Gunn), 16, 152, n. 1; 24, 128 f.; cf. (Edel) 25, 217.
Niwt-nt-Bik, Hieracopolis, chief town of 12th Upper-Egn. nome, between Kāw and Abutig (Hall), 16, 2.
nīwty, *nīsbe*-form, probably written $\mathbf{n} \mathbf{i} \mathbf{w} \mathbf{t} \mathbf{y}$ from similarity of pronunciation to *nīwty*, 'two towns' (Gunn), 19, 106.
nyny, 'injury (?)' (Blackman), 5, 28, n. 6.
nīs A hnt B (math.), 'call forth A out of B' (Gunn), 12, 124 f.
nīsw, 'reckoner' (Gunn), 12, 125.
nr, of fields, 'finest (?)' (Gardiner), 3, 104; cf. 19, 21, n. 4.
nr, of soothing (Faulkner), 24, 48.
nr, tree associated with Heracleopolis, perhaps a nome-badge (Blackman), 4, 127, n. 1; cf. (Vikentiev) 17, 76 f.
nr, name of certain catfishes (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 28; properly *Clarias anguillarīs*, but also *Heterobranchus longifilis*, sometimes = *Synodonthis* Schall (Vikentiev), 17, 67.
Nr-b-t-ī, name of founder of Egn. monarchy (Vikentiev), 17, 70.
nrš, 'valorous', with hawk det. (Griffith), 12, 199, n. 5.
nw: *n nw*, 'not (in due) time', 'untimely' (Faulkner), 22, 133.
nw n sty-r, 'time of perfuming the mouth (??)' (Gardiner), 3, 107; apparently 'breakfast time' (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 46, n. 8.
nw, unknown, with det. lip, rib, or crescent moon (Dawson-Peet), 19, 174.
nwt, 'sky', various writings (Faulkner), 22, 133.
nwt, most often = 'collect' (Gardiner), 22, 179 f.
Nwn wr, 'Great flood', mummiform divinity, perhaps a form of Khnum (Blackman), 5, 30.
nwh, of bandaging corpse in mummification (Faulkner), 22, 133.
Nwtnw (also *Nwt*, etc.), 'Hunting-Country', unusual sign in writing (Newberry), 24, 183, n. 3.
nwdw: *irt nwdw*, 'make swingings' or 'oscillations' (Gardiner), 9, 10, n. 4; cf. p. 11, n. 7.
nwdw špsw, 'precious ointments' (Gardiner), 4, 34, n. 3.
nb, early pronunciation of (Albright), 23, 196, n. 2.
pr nb pī dmi, title of deified Amenophis I (Blackman), 12, 180, n. 2.
Nb(-i)-pw-Snwsrt, pers. n. to be read so (Blackman), 21, 1, n. 3.
Nb-mst-Rt, has *i* in first syllable (Albright), 23, 195.
Nb-hprw-Rt, prenomen of Tutankhamūn, perhaps **Nipkhurweya* in Hittite, used of Akhenaten (Albright), 23, 194.
Nb-t, 'Lord of Bread', mummiform divinity, personification of food-offerings (Blackman), 5, 33.
nbt fold. by dat. + suffix abnormal (Gunn), 16, 152, n. 1; but cf. (*Id.*) 24, 128 f.
nb, 'to model' (Gunn), 6, 299.
nbw-w-ṅh, 'gold-amulets (??)', true nature of objects unknown (Dunham), 24, 2, n. 9.
npnpt, 'hem' (Blackman), 22, 40 (17).
nprt, raised piece of ground with flat surface, hence 'bank', 'bench', 'basis' (Blackman), 5, 122, n. 6.
nphw, 'iliac region' (Dawson), 20, 186.
nfr, perhaps as opposite of *kt*, 'bottom', 'level' (Gardiner), 4, 110, n. 1.
nfr, with meaning 'necessary' e.g., in funerary formula (Macadam), 25, 125.
nfr, adv., 'lawfully', 'happily' (Blackman), 16, 72.
nfrw, 'ground-level', 'innermost chamber' (Gardiner), 4, 110, n. 1. 140. 143, n. 4; cf. (Winlock) 10, 237, n. 2; general term for 'end', 'back-part' (Gardiner), 22, 178.
Nfr-ḫw(-i), pers. n., 'The (or, 'my') braziers are good' (Miller), 23, 2, n. 3.
Nfr-wršw, 'Beauty of Daytime', feast of Seth at Dakhlah (Gardiner), 19, 26.
Nfrwsy, city N. of Shmūn (Gardiner), 3, 106; 5, 46, n. 6.
Nfht, pers. n., perhaps for *Nhtf* (Blackman), 4, 40, n. 1.

- nft*, 'slacken', older form of *ntf* (Blackman), 22, 40 (16).
- nmī*, *nmw*, 'dwarf' (Dawson), 24, 185.
- nmṣ*, 'deal partially' (Gardiner), 1, 26, n. 3. 106; 9, 20, n. 12.
- Nmrt*, vocalized *Namilt* (Shorter-Hall), 16, 160.
- nmh*, as general name for poorer population above slave class (Gardiner), 3, 83, n. 3; *mw-nmhw*, 'private waters', *ḥ-nmhw*, 'fields of freemen' = *ἰδιόκτητος γῆ* (Gardiner), 19, 21.
- nms*, perhaps 'to blindfold' with *r mṣ*, 'against seeing' (Faulkner), 23, 15.
- nn* (demonstr.), in apposition to preceding noun and followed by rel. clause (Gardiner), 21, 222 (i).
- Nn-ny-nsu* (*Hwt-nn-ny-nsu*), Heracleopolis Magna, perhaps so called from preservation of Osiris' umbilical cord there (Blackman), 3, 205.
- Nnw*, of supernatural beings, existing before cosmos was organized (Faulkner), 23, 181.
- nnm*, 'slanting' or 'deflection' of plummet of balance (Gardiner), 9, 10, n. 4.
- nnk*, 1st sing. possessive, showing specialized vocalization of *ink* or difference of meaning (Gardiner), 20, 16 f.
- Nrwt*, corrupt writing of (Faulkner), 24, 50.
- nh(i?)*, 'make a garden (?)' (Gardiner), 3, 100, n. 1.
- nhp*, 'generative power (?)' perhaps related to *nkp*, 'beget' (Faulkner), 23, 178.
- nhmhm* and *hmhm*, 'roarings' used of Seth and Amūn (Wainwright), 20, 149; *nhmhmw*, worshippers of Min (*Id.*), 21, 161, n. 10.
- Nhryn*, *Nhrym*, suggesting pronunciation *Nahrin* and *Naharin* (Albright-Rowe), 14, 282 f.
- nhd*, 'conquer (?)' (Faulkner), 10, 99.
- nhz*, 'danger (?)' (Faulkner), 24, 51.
- Nhḥ-hr*, a snake-divinity (Blackman), 5, 26, n. 7.
- nhb*, 'yoke', of compulsory tenancy (Gardiner), 1, 30, n. 1.
- nhb*, 'appoint' (Polotsky), 16, 197 (16); *cf.* (Blackman) 19, 202.
- Nhb-nfr(w)t*, 'Assigner of good (things)', serpent-deity connected with Neḥebkau (Shorter), 21, 43, 48.
- Nhb(w)-kw*, 'bestower of dignities', serpent-god associated with Sun-god (Shorter), 21, 41 ff.
- nhbt*, 'lotus flower', then 'light reed boat' (Smith), 19, 152.
- nhm*, possibly *niph'al* formation from *hmi* (Faulkner), 10, 100; *nhm n*, see *n* (prepn.).
- nhw*, 'fish-pendant' (Blackman), 11, 212 f.
- nhḥz* ('flagellum'), an instrument for collecting ladanum (Newberry), 15, 86.
- nhnh*, see *nšnš*.
- Nhs* = *Nhs-n-pr-wr*, near Raphia (Gardiner), 6, 113.
- nhṯ* ♂, 'strong of arm', *i.e.* adult to a certain degree (Polotsky), 16, 199 (25).
- Nhti*, pers. n. probably shortened from name of type Harnakhti (Miller), 23, 4, n. 15.
- nhwt*, 'stronghold' (Gardiner), 6, 111, n. 4; *m-pr-y-f-nhwt-Wsr-mṣ-t-Rt* = *pr-nhwt-n-Sty-mr-n-Pth*, fort on road to Palestine (Gardiner), 6, 111.
- nhṯ*, some material of bread-like nature (Černý), 23, 61.
- Nsy*, Keftiu name, paralleled in *Συένας* and other Cilician names (Wainwright), 17, 33.
- nswt*, as plural of *nsw*, 'kings' (Černý), 15, 247, n. 6; *cf.* (Blackman) 11, 214.
- nš*, Seshat's shrine on sledge, also in title *ḥrp nš Sšt* (Wainwright), 25, 104.
- nšr*, 'bamboo (?)' (Gardiner), 9, 7, n. 6.
- nšw*, a bronze vessel (Černý), 23, 186, n. 3.
- nšny*, *4ae inf.* (Gardiner), 8, 110.
- nšnš* (or *nḥnh*), verb of thinking or praising (Fairman), 20, 4 (g).
- nšdty*, 'decorator', exact meaning uncertain, perhaps maker of faience inlays (Gardiner), 22, 177.
- nkm*, 'suffer', 'be ill' (Gardiner), 16, 21; originally 'to be bald' (Faulkner), 24, 50.
- Nkiw-mn(i)t*, divinity in form of captive (Blackman), 5, 30.
- ngt*, of 'breaking' sleep (Blackman-Peet), 11, 294, n. 5.
- nty*, *nibe*-form of *nt*, orig. 'he who belongs to existence' (Gunn), 12, 129; *pr nty X*, 'that of X', ordinal expression (Gunn), 3, 285; *nty iw-f(r)* (also wrongly *hr sdm*, future relative in L.Egn. (Gardiner), 16, 224, n. 1; 19, 27, n. 1; *nty tw-i hr sdm*, present relative in L.Egn. (Gardiner), 16, 224, n. 1.
- ntyw*, written *ntw* (Clère), 20, 160 (h).
- ntt*, already pronounced **ente* by end of Dyn. 6 (Gardiner), 14, 89.
- ntf* and other independent pronouns: with implication of identity or possession, acc. to nature of juxtaposed noun (Gardiner), 20, 13; remotely related to *i*, 'to say' (Faulkner), 21, 189.
- Ntt-f-m-nkt*, lion- or panther-headed god (Blackman), 5, 28.
- nt*: *hry nt-f*, epithet of Horus 'who is upon his *nt*-standard (?)' (Gunn), 3, 286.
- ntry*, *4ae inf.* (Gardiner), 8, 110.
- Ntrt*, 'Divine Eye' (Blackman), 5, 32, nn. 1. 2.
- ntrt*, a garment (Smith), 19, 154.
- ndw* = *ntwrt*, and other words with internal *y* not written (Gunn), 12, 135.
- Ndm-ib-n-Kmt*, 'Joy-of-Egypt', epithet of Ramesses III (Gardiner), 5, 188, n. 1.
- ndr*, with det. of man with axe standing on piece of wood (Dunham), 24, 2, n. 7.
- ndrwt*, 'furniture', hence 'household property' (Gunn), 16, 149.
- r* (prepn.), after *iw*, 'bound for' (Gardiner), 9, 8, n. 8; 'at' (Blackman), 10, 199, n. 2; *r nṣ*, 'until now' like *r nn* (Gunn), 16, 153; omitted in O.Egn. before infin. or *ḏr* (Dunham), 24, 2, n. 14.
- r-* used to form compounds with more restricted sense than simplex (Gardiner), 4, 137, n. 4.
- R-ḥt*, 'Gate of the Fields', apparently a district of the Tanite nome (Weill), 21, 17.
- r-ib*, specialized meaning 'cardia' finds no support (Dawson), 24, 251.
- r-nit*, unknown mineral (Gardiner), 4, 36, n. 3.
- r-sz*, 'sarcophagus-slide' (Gardiner), 4, 137; (Černý) 15, 248, n. 18.

- r-stw*, perhaps 'place of passages' (Gardiner), 4, 137.
Rc it, 'Rc the Father' in Aten titles (Gunn), 9, 175.
Rc n hkrw, 'Sun of Princes', epithet of Ramesses II (Gardiner), 5, 187, n. 8.
Rcmssw-mry-Imn, settlement in the Lebanon (Gardiner), 19, 128; not as (*Id.*) 5, 180.
Rcmssw-hkr-Iwnw = *Wsr-mwt-Rc-mry-Imn*, a town of Ramesses III in W. desert (Gardiner), 5, 134 f.
rwi hnc, 'remove from the possession of' (Gunn), 23, 11 f.
rwi, 'two-thirds', not *r 2* (Gunn), 12, 125.
rww hryw-ib, 'Central Districts' distinct from both Upper and Lower Eg. (Fairman), 21, 34, n. 4.
rwty, not 'double lion' but 'lion-like' (Naville), 10, 33.
rwđ, 'success' (Blackman), 10, 197.
rwđ, 'steward' or 'factor' of landed estate (Griffith), 13, 200, n. 7.
rp, of brushing horses' coats, perhaps connected with *rp*, 'rot (?)' (Gunn), 16, 149.
ppy fish = Cop. ΛΑΒΗC, ΛΕΙΓΓΙ, dem. *lbs*, Gk. ἀλαβής, *Labeo niloticus* (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 23 ff.
Rph, Raphia, mod. Rafa (Gardiner), 6, 113.
rm, Cop. ρΑΛΛΙ, Gk. ἀρραίσις, 'fish' in general, then *Tilapia nilotica* or *bolti* (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 24.
rmw pr n irt-i, periphrasis for 'human beings' (Faulkner), 23, 184.
rmđ, writing with \equiv throughout N.K. curious (Gardiner), 15, 52, n. 1; *mđ rmđ*, 'properly' (Blackman), 19, 203; *rmđ-ist*, 'man of the crew', i.e. simple workman in Necropolis, = *hrtj*, 'stone-cutter' in *P. Salt* (Černý), 15, 253, 256; *rmđ n p: tv*, 'ordinary people' (Gardiner), 22, 181.
rn, used in place of *kr* = 'nature', 'character' (Blackman), 3, 242, n. 3; perhaps meaning 'attributes' (Gardiner), 9, 9, n. 8; *m rn-f m*, in cartouches of Aten (Gunn), 9, 174.
pr rn-rn, L.-Egn. group for 'list' to be read so (Gardiner), 21, 144, n. 2; cf. 22, 181.
rnpt: *irt rnptwt*, (a) with dat. 'make years (of life) for . . .', (b) 'pass years' (Clère), 20, 159 (f).
Rnnt, goddess of fate and of the harvest (Griffith), 12, 228.
rri, Cop. ρϩϩ, originally 'wild boar', then domestic 'pig', occasionally 'hippopotamus' (Newberry), 14, 213, 225.
rhny, from *rhn*, 'to wade' and 'to support' (Wainwright), 20, 143, 145.
rhw, 'comrades', 'mates' (Gunn), 12, 251, n. 1.
rh: r rh, 'in the opinion of (?)' (Gardiner), 1, 32, n. 6; *bw rh-i st*, 'I do not know who they are' (de Buck), 23, 157 (c).
rht, 'amount', later ϩϩϩϩϩ, prob. from *rht* > ϩϩϩϩϩ, 'to measure', intrans. 'to suffice' (Gunn), 12, 132.
rh-ht, writing with  (Gardiner), 24, 170, n. 2; means only 'learned', without religious colouring, 24, 176, n. 1.
Rs, Keftiu name paralleled in Cilicia (Wainwright), 17, 33 f.
Rs, pers. n., 'awake (?)', perhaps name of god or important person (Dakin), 25, 165, n. 3.
Rš(r)wt, place of origin of turquoise (Gardiner), 4, 37 with nn. 3, 4.
Rk, tribe-name = Hitt. 'Luḫḫā' (Wainwright), 25, 149.
Rkhw wr, 'Great Heat', divinity (Blackman), 5, 29.
rkk, a snake (Blackman), 5, 30, n. 2; 32, n. 8.
pr-rđ-ibty, 'The-Eastern-Border' of the Delta (Gardiner), 5, 259.
pr-rđ-imnty, 'The-Western-Border' of the Delta (Gardiner), 5, 259, n. 3.
pr-rđ-n-pr-Rc, 'The-Border-of-the-Sun', E. margin of the Delta (Gardiner), 5, 259.
rđ hry, 'lower stairway', referring to valley-chapel of tomb (Reisner), 5, 90.
rđ, use in priestly technical terms, *wđb/dbw rđ*, *int rđ* (Clère), 25, 215 f.
rđ m, cf. ϩϩϩ ϩϩ, 'grow into' (Blackman), 19, 201.
rđi: *rđi wst (r)*, like Cop. ϩ-ϩϩϩ, must = 'direct one's way to' (Blackman), 16, 70, n. 6; *rđi hr gs*, 'act partially' (Gardiner), 9, 10, n. 4; *rđi tw n*, often of setting prisoners at liberty, perhaps also of sparing their lives (Gardiner), 22, 190, n. 3.
rđyt, perf. act. part. with *y* written out, because dual? (Gardiner), 16, 22.
Rđi-s-ḫ(w), pers. n., perhaps to be read so (Dakin), 25, 161, n. 7.
hđ, with *m*, 'forsake' (Gardiner-Gunn), 9, 20, n. 14; with *m*, 'fall to' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 290, n. 4; with *m*, like *ḫ m*, of 'penetrating' = 'understanding' (Gunn), 12, 126; with *r*, (a) 'fall to the lot of', (b) 'be contained in' (Černý-Peet), 13, 34, n. 13.
hđ, transitive 'cast (?)' (Faulkner), 23, 180.
hđ: n hđ nfr, description of wine (Peet), 14, 182.
hđyw, 'sworn testimony (?)' (Blackman), 12, 178, n. 3.
hđpp, see *hđpp*.
hđmm, etc., for *hđmmt*, 'sun-people' (Clère-Gardiner), 25, 28.
hđkr = *hđ-k rđ* perhaps opening words of a dirge (Griffith), 4, 126, n. 1.
hđd, late writing of *hđd* (Faulkner), 23, 181.
hđmt, see *ihmt*.
hđy(t), properly 'ceiling', then 'doorway' (Gardiner), 4, 134, n. 7.
hđp, 'standard' (Gardiner), 9, 9, n. 8.
hđhm, see *nhđhm*.
hđnw, 'neighbours' (Gardiner), 1, 24, n. 6.
hđnw = Cop. ϩϩϩ, measure of capacity (Sobhy), 10, 284.
hđn, 'deer' (Bénédictine), 5, 12.
hđr, 'to milk' (Gardiner), 4, 33, n. 1.
hđr, 'documents' (Griffith), 12, 218, n. 3.
hđri, 'be calm'; *ir hđw*, practically = 'be cautious' (Gardiner), 9, 8, n. 2; *hđw(w)* = cuneiform *arū* (Albright), 23, 197 with n. 3.
hđrw: *n hđw r hđ(w)y*, 'all day and till nightfall (?)' (Gunn), 4, 34, n. 1.
hđd, 'throw down (boundaries)' (Griffith), 12, 204, n. 3.
Hđ, mountain god (Wainwright), 19, 48; writings and titles (*Id.*), 21, 161 f.

- h̄y*, 'lay out (?)' (Dunham), 24, 2, n. 13.
h̄y, particle, perhaps pronounced *hl* (Gunn), 25, 162, n. 12.
h̄y-c, adverb, 'previously (?)' (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 55, n. 3.
h̄y, 'wet land (?)' (Griffith), 12, 200, n. 5.
h̄y-t, 'flood-water' (Gardiner), 19, 20.
h̄st, meaning whole of upper part of head (Blackman), 6, 60.
h̄st and compounds, first in respect of place and time, not of quality (Blackman), 6, 58.
h̄stt, 'unquent for the brow' (Blackman), 6, 58 ff.
h̄wt, only exceptionally = 'choicest' (Blackman), 6, 58.
h̄sty-i n h̄prw-i, 'heart which wills or desires my transformations' (Shorter), 21, 172.
h̄sty-sk or *h̄sty-h̄d*, 'the chief who annihilates, or injures (his enemies)', as name of first king of Eg. (Vikentiev), 17, 79.
h̄sp ht, 'discreet' (Gunn-Touraëff), 5, 126, n. 1.
h̄sk, not 'plunder', but 'seize', 'make prisoner' (Näville), 10, 20; but *cf.* (Gardiner) 10, 89, n. 1.
h̄kt, perhaps always regarded as truncated isosceles triangle (Gunn), 12, 132.
h̄y, 'examination (?)', connected with 𓂏 (?) (Griffith), 12, 211, n. 1.
h̄cw, 'bodies', curiously applied to gates (Griffith), 13, 198, n. 2; pl. of *h̄c*, 'flesh' = 'body' (Blackman), 19, 201.
h̄cy m h̄t, without 𓂏 in later form of Aten name (Gunn), 9, 173.
pr h̄ti, probable cuneiform equivalent (Smith-Gadd), 11, 238.
h̄wt, used of part of temple, 'hall (?)' (Bennett), 25, 12 (14).
ts-hwt-pr-Imn-m-šht-Imn, 'The Mansion of the Aten' = smaller 'Amarnah temple' (Fairman), 21, 137.
hwt-ḥnh, 'Mansion of Life', place where Pharaoh or god lived, not identical with *pr-ḥnh* (Gardiner), 24, 83 ff.
Hwt-wrt, Avaris, prob. between Kāntarah and Pelusium (Gardiner), 3, 99 ff.; rather = Tanis, Šān el-Hagar (*Id.*), 19, 122 ff.; situated at extreme tip of E. side of Tanite nome (Weill), 21, 10 ff.
Hwt-nn-ny-nsw, see *Nn-ny-nsw*.
hwt-Rḥmssw-mry-Imn-m-pr-Rc, also *Hwt-ntr-pr-Rḥmssw-mry-Imn-m-pr-Rc*, name of temple of Derr (Gardiner), 5, 133 f.
hwt-(nt-) Rḥmssw-(mry-Imn)-(-hnty-Hc̄py) (*mry-mi-Tm*), probably mod. village Ramsis (Gardiner), 5, 130 f.
hwt-Rḥmssw-h̄k̄i-Twnw-m-pr-Knc̄n, town or temple in Phoenicia or Palestine (Gardiner), 5, 131 f.
Hwt-Hr, was pre-eminently patron-deity of Falcon-folk (Hornblower), 15, 39.
Hwt-ts-hr(-)ib(-), Athribis, equivalents of (Albright), 23, 200, n. 4 (201).
ts hwt nt h̄hw m rnpwt n n-sw-bit Mn-mst-Rc ib h̄rw m šbdw (abbreviated *ts hwt Mn-mst-Rc ib h̄rw m šbdw*), temple built by Sethōs I at Abydos (Griffith), 13, 205 f.
Hwt-šct or *Hwt-n-š*, 'Castle-of-Sand', fortress town in desert near Lake Mareotis (Gardiner), 5, 134 f.
hwt-k̄i, term for chamber, or group of chambers, forming tomb-chapel (Blackman), 3, 254.
h̄wi, 'tread' (Blackman), 2, 14, n. 5; 22, 38 (13); *h̄wi ts*, 'roving', 'wandering' (Gunn), 22, 38 (13); *hwt c̄ sp 4 r*, 'extending the arm 4 times towards' in making over offering to god (Blackman), 7, 25.
h̄w nmyt, 'executioner' (Griffith), 12, 211, n. 3.
h̄wz, 'throw', L.-Egn. spelling of *h̄wi* (Černý), 15, 248, n. 22.
h̄wšt (?), see *šwšt*.
h̄b Tpt, 'the festival of the Harīm (= temple of Luxor)' (Blackman), 11, 250, n. 3.
h̄b rnpwt, 'Festival of Years', perhaps term for *Sed*-festival (Blackman), 21, 3, n. 8.
h̄b-sd: *irt h̄b-sd*, king's celebration of own jubilee (Gunn), 9, 171; *imy h̄b(w)-sd*, used with earlier Aten name (Gunn), 9, 170 f.; *nb h̄bw-sd*, perhaps title after second jubilee (Gunn), 9, 170 ff.
H̄byt, fem. pers. n., 'the festive one (?)' (Smither), 25, 160, n. 6.
H̄brt, perhaps name of well on road to Palestine (Gardiner), 6, 112.
h̄bsy, 'covering (?)' of a chariot (Černý), 15, 247, n. 7.
h̄bst, title of high-priestess of Horus of Hierakonpolis (Blackman), 7, 11; *h̄bst ntr*, epithet of *H̄wyt* of Athribis (Fairman), 17, 227.
h̄pt, 'clew', for measuring yarn (Černý), 23, 187, n. 1.
H̄pwt, strange writing for pers. n. *H̄tpw* (Dakin), 24, 194, n. 6.
H̄pn, prob. same as *H̄tyn*, name of well near Migdol-of-Menmaṣrēc (Gardiner), 6, 107.
H̄pt-šthy, pers. n., probably 19th-Dyn. (Dunham), 21, 149, n. 4.
hm Hr-nbty, grade in guild peculiar to Edfu and neighbourhood? (Winlock), 6, 209 f.
h̄mi, 'take away', usually 'drive away' (Faulkner), 10, 100.
Hmn, a mummified hawk-god, connected with clouds or storm (Wainwright), 20, 150, n. 3.
hmst, 'living-room' (Glanville), 14, 301.
hn, 'order', 'arrange', 'subdue', 'limit' (Gunn), 6, 300.
Hn-ḥnh-f, pers. n., perhaps form of *H̄s-ḥnh-f* (Gunn), 25, 162, n. 12.
hn̄c, only joins 2 sentences if second begins with infin. (Černý-Peet), 13, 34, n. 14; *hn̄c ntf sdm*, conjunctive tense with fut. meaning, origin of later *mtw-f* (Gardiner), 14, 86 ff.; after *šsp*, 'from (my) means (?)' (Glanville), 14, 311; to avoid repetition of preposition (Gardiner), 22, 180.
hn̄bw, (a) connected with 'flame before the wind', (b) 'sunbeams', (Wainwright), 17, 186.
h̄n̄sktyt (fem. *n̄isbe* of *h̄n̄skt*, 'lock'), 'with braided tresses' (Blackman), 22, 41 (19).
h̄nk, title of priest in Hermonthis, prob. of priest of Buchis (Fairman), 20, 3 (C. a).
h̄nty, 'slaughterer' connected with 'House of Life'? (Gardiner), 24, 169.

- Hr imy Šnwt*, 'Horus in Šnwt (?)' (Gardiner), 24, 164.
hr, 'face', as dimension of door = projection beyond adjacent wall-surface of near face of door-jamb (Gardiner), 4, 147; 'senses' (Gardiner), 9, 14, n. 13; *ir hr (n)*, 'do the bidding (of)' (Gardiner), 4, 34, n. 7; *hr-k r-s*, 'thou art bound in that direction' (Faulkner), 24, 50.
Hr-wr, Antinoë (Naville), 4, 233.
Hrf(-n)-hw:f, 'Turn-face', crocodile-headed divinity (Blackman), 5, 28, n. 7.
hr (prepn.), 'away from' (Blackman), 22, 41 (18); *nty hr-f*, 'within whose jurisdiction he comes (?)' (de Buck), 23, 160; *hr 7 rnpt n k ir-n-i*, 'seven years after I had entered' (Gardiner), 21, 143 (4).
r hry, 'higher' (Blackman), 22, 104.
m hrt, 'in advance of (?)' (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 46, n. 5.
hry-ib, of second of 3 sons (Blackman), 1, 41.
hri wdb (m hwt-mh), 'Master of the (king's) Largess (in the Mansion of Life)' (Gardiner), 24, 83 ff.
hry hkr, 'magician' (Naville), 12, 17 with n. 1.
hr-šfyt, 'chariot-yoke' from resemblance to ram's horns (Dawson-Peet), 19, 169 f.
hry-ti, 'survivor' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 293, n. 1.
hri-tp, for *hri-hbt hri-tp*, 'chief lector-priest', and equivalents in dem., Assyrian, and Hebrew (Gardiner), 24, 164 f.
hryt nst, title of high-priestess of Horus of Edfu (Blackman), 7, 11.
hry . . ., special kind of oath 'that I should be kept afar from . . .' (Černý), 15, 250, n. 47.
hrti, hrtiwny, always optative 'keep aloof' (Gardiner), 9, 19, n. 13.
Hrt(t), Hyksos princess (Carter), 3, 152 with n. 1.
hrp, 'sword' with final consonant fricative not explosive (Dawson-Peet), 19, 172.
Hrrwtl, place-name, source of turquoise (Gardiner), 4, 37.
hh : mh hh n sp, 'one who lives a million times', not a reader's direction (Clère), 20, 160 (g).
Hh, general name of district about Semneh (Gardiner), 3, 190, n. 2.
hsw n wryt, 'fermented mash' (Blackman), 22, 104.
hsw, 'reckoning (?)', 'doom' (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 50, n. 4.
hkr šhty, 'Ruler of the Horizon', name of Aten (Gunn), 9, 169, 173.
hkr-hwt, name given to headmen of villages (Gardiner), 9, 10, n. 2.
hkrw-hswt, 'rulers of foreign countries', probable origin of 'Hyksos' (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 38.
hkrst, better 'gallon' than 'bushel' (Gunn), 12, 126.
Hk, god 'Magic', curious variations in writing (Dawson), 24, 128.
hkrw, written $\begin{matrix} \text{ⲕ} & \text{ⲗ} & \text{ⲗ} \\ \text{ⲗ} & & \end{matrix}$ perhaps because pronunciation resembled plural of *kr* (Gunn), 19, 105.
hkw, 'wing-cases (?)' of a beetle (Dawson), 20, 187.
ht, 'get caught (?)' (Blackman), 11, 212, n. 2.
htw, 'awning' in M.Egn. as in dem. (Blackman), 16, 71 (22).
htyt, perhaps 'rows' of beads (Gardiner), 3, 195.
htp; htpi, 'to be merciful'; 'mercy' (Gunn), 3, 85, n. 2.
htp, sportive writing (Faulkner), 23, 15.
htp (r)di(w) niswt, 'an offering given by the King', not a wish (Gardiner), 24, 89, n. 1; *htp-di-nsu*, writings in M.K. and N.K. (Smither), 25, 34 ff.
htptf, metathetic form of *tphtf*, 'his cavern' (Gunn), 6, 302.
Htpwy, fem. pers. n., 'The Two Peaceful Ones (??)', perhaps with ref. to fight of Horus and Seth (Wainwright), 24, 144.
htt, 'gallery', 'mine' (Gardiner), 4, 35, n. 4.
Htyn, see *Hpn*.
hdn, 'be wroth' (Blackman), 11, 251, n. 4.
h, *hy*, *hw*, originally 'placenta', then 'personality', 'nature', later 'child', finally a mere particle (Blackman), 3, 235 ff.; see also *hw : hr hw-f*.
ht, euphemistically for 'attack', 'rebellion' with *hsf* (Frankfort), 12, 87, n. 2.
hs, 'thousand', by phonetic transference from water-plant *hs* (Gardiner), 2, 72.
hs-b-s, 'thousand are her soul(s)', ref. to countless stars on body of Nūt (Blackman), 21, 5, n. 3.
hs, hsi, prob. = *hnr*, 'pickaxe' (Černý), 15, 249, n. 31, 250, n. 43; generic word for 'tools' (*Id.*), 22, 177.
hs-n-Wsir, probable source of *χενόςσις* = 'gum-cistus' (Newberry), 15, 93, n. 1.
hst, 'sickness', possibly euphemism for 'death' (Blackman-Gunn), 22, 38 (13).
hsi, 'measure out' (Gunn), 12, 136.
hsy, 'measurements' (Gardiner), 4, 145, n. 2.
hsy, 'plumb-line' of a balance (Gardiner), 9, 10, n. 4.
hsyt, with various det., prob. 'executioners' (Faulkner), 24, 49.
hsr, 'let loose' (in hunting hippopotamus) (Gardiner), 9, 15, n. 9; 'play' a fish (Gardiner), 9, 16, n. 10; 'dispatch', from meaning 'throw' (Faulkner), 10, 99.
hswy, see *hrw*.
hswt : hry hswt . . ., title (Glanville), 18, 56 with n. 4.
h(s)b, part of chariot, perhaps with rib as det. (Dawson-Peet), 19, 172.
hsbb, see *hsbb*.
hsbs, see *st*.
hsy, 'bound' = *šyp*? (Blackman), 19, 202.
hsm, 'success (?)' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 291, n. 10.
hsm, 'be folded' of the hands (Blackman), 16, 70 (18); cf. (*Id.*) 17, 59 (25).
Hsr, 'Kharu', the land of the Horites = biblical Edom at the time of Merneptah (Naville), 2, 199.
hst, hswt, etc., written with repeated ⲗ (Macadam), 25, 125 f.
hsyt, prob. 'bryony' (Dawson), 20, 45.
Hsdd, place-name, in unusual writing (Faulkner), 23, 179.
hy (particle), 'as', 'so' (Blackman), 3, 243.
hy r, 'why then (?)' (Gunn-Gardiner), 4, 248, n. 1.
hy kd-k, salutation, 'hail to thee!' (Peet), 12, 71, n. 1; (Glanville), 14, 304.
hw : hr hw-f, 'of his nature', i.e. 'like him', then 'besides' perhaps from 'in addition to his personality' (Blackman), 3, 242 f.; see also *h*;

- but derived from *hw*, abstract from *hwi*, 'exclude', 'prevent' (Gardiner), 8, 110.
- hwi*, see *mki*.
- hwyt*, title of high-priestess of Horus of Athribis (Blackman), 7, 11; a goddess of Athribis (Fairman), 17, 227.
- hws*, (1) 'build', (2) 'do a thing well' (Gardiner), 1, 103, n. 3.
- hbi hnt*, 'to break-off from among' = 'subtract from' (Gunn), 12, 124.
- hp*, used transitively, 'meet' (Gardiner), 5, 29, n. 7.
- hpr*, with *m*, subjectless; written resulted (literally, "resulted in") (Gunn), 12, 125; with *m-c*, idiomatic for 'to be done by' (Gunn-Gardiner), 4, 244, n. 5; see also 6, 299; *hpr 4 npt r ty*, L.Egn. for '4 years ago' (Peet), 11, 38, n. 1; *irt mi hpr*, 'to act properly', 'the proper procedure' (Gunn), 12, 126 with n. 2; with child-det., 'grow up as a child', cf. *hpry*, 'children'; written *hpr* perhaps to show loss of final *-r* (Blackman-Gunn), 21, 3, n. 4; *hr ir ht-sp . . . hpr*, 'now when year . . . had begun' (Gardiner), 22, 176; as auxiliary in L.Egn., marks new event, 'preceded to', etc. (Gardiner), 22, 175.
- hprw*, prob. 'upbringing' (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 49, n. 1.
- hps*, 'falchion' (Gardiner), 22, 179.
- hfy* = *hf*, late var. of *fh*, with sense of 'ruin', 'destruction' (Faulkner), 24, 53.
- hftw*, 'before', with temporal meaning? (Dunham), 24, 2, n. 12.
- Hftt-hr-nb-s*, landing-stage opposite Karnak temple, thence whole of Western Thebes (Winlock), 10, 225 with nn. 2, 3.
- hm*, 'demolish', L.-Egn. writing not to be read *hm* (Gardiner), 22, 178.
- hm m*, 'break into (?)' (Peet), 2, 206, n. 2.
- hm*, with *r* and *hr*, 'be unmindful of' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 287, n. 10.
- Hm*, Letopolis, written with *ks-mwt-f* sign (Wainwright), 18, 159.
- hmn(w)*, 'eight', in cuneiform *haman* (Smith-Gadd), 11, 236; cf. (Albright) 12, 188 f.
- hmt(w)*, 'three', in cuneiform *hamtum* (Smith-Gadd), 11, 235; cf. (Albright) 12, 188 f.
- hmt*, 'companion', lit. 'third' (Gunn), 3, 285.
- hmt*, 'to make three' (Gunn), 3, 286.
- hmtyw*, a plural *nisbe*-form of *hmt*, 'three'? (Blackman), 6, 207.
- hn n mdt*, 'proverb' (Gunn), 12, 282, n. 4.
- hn nfr*, 'benefactions' (Gunn), 16, 154.
- hni*, 'alight', 'stop', hence 'rest' (Gardiner), 3, 102.
- hnw*, 'abode', lit. 'stopping-place', of dwellings of men and chapels of gods (Gunn-Gardiner), 4, 245, n. 4.
- hnw* of parents in an oath, perhaps 'chapel of family's god' (Černý), 15, 250, n. 47.
- hnwt*, a musician-priestess (Blackman), 7, 8 ff.
- hnfy*, 'glow (?)', 'bake (?)', perhaps connected with *hnfw*-cake (Faulkner), 23, 178.
- hnm m*, lit. 'be presented with', of something bad (Faulkner), 24, 49.
- hnmw*, abstract 'friendship' (Rosenvasser-Gardiner), 20, 49.
- hnr*, 'blusterings (?)' (Černý), 15, 249, n. 42.
- hnr*, 'pick-axe', see *hr*.
- hnsyt*, 'scurf (?)' (Dawson), 12, 241.
- Hnsw*, the moon-god Khons, originally 'Pharaoh's placenta' (Blackman), 3, 246 f.; cf. (van der Leeuw) 5, 64.
- m hnt*, 'formerly' (Blackman), 16, 65 (7).
- hnty* with det. 𓆎 in M.K. (Dakin), 24, 192, n. 5.
- hnty dbt*, 'presiding over the (royal) robing-room (?)' (Gunn), 7, 201.
- Hnt-hn-nfr*, name of Nubia or part of it (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 50, n. 1. 103.
- Hnt-hty*, of Athribis, a bull-god (Wainwright), 19, 52.
- ps hnty*, district of Thebes with temple to local Amūn (Blackman), 11, 250, n. 2.
- Hnty-irty*, Letopolitan god (Wainwright), 18, 163 ff.; 19, 51.
- hnty-Hwt-bit*, epithet of Osiris (Dunham-Williams), 15, 165.
- Hnty-Hm*, god of Letopolis (Wainwright), 18, 160 ff.
- Hnty-hty*, evidence that second element is a *nisbe* (Gunn), 24, 191, n. 9.
- hnd*, 'tread on', occasionally 'stride', not 'go' or 'lead' (Peet), 9, 125.
- hnd m*, 'tread upon', unless another verb (Dawson-Peet), 19, 174.
- hr*, royal tomb, purely subterranean passage (Winlock), 10, 226; *ps hr*, tomb of reigning Pharaoh, then entire necropolis identified with it, or name for Bibān el-Mulūk (Gardiner), 22, 186, n. 10.
- hr-Rcmssw-mry-Imn*, possibly variant name of Delta Capital (Gardiner), 5, 197.
- hr*, 'says', prob. verbal, not = *hrw*, 'voice'; also in *sdm-hr-f*, and *hr-f sdm-f* (Faulkner), 21, 188, n. 1. 189 f.
- hr iw sdm-f*, 'although he had heard' (Blackman), 19, 201.
- hr*, with det. 𓆎 , 'spit' (Faulkner), 23, 181.
- hr r wibw*, lit. 'fall to the roots', metaphor for 'die away (?)' (Faulkner), 23, 182.
- hr(w)-fy*, prob. verbal, not = 'his voice' (Faulkner), 21, 188, n. 1. 190.
- hrt-ib*, 'will', 'desires', 'mind' (Blackman), 17, 58 (16).
- hr̄*, = *šr̄*, 'gateway', 'keep'? (Blackman), 19, 203.
- hrp nstī (m hwt-nh)*, 'controller of the two seats (in the Mansion of Life)' (Gardiner), 24, 85.
- hrp hitš km*, 'Controller of the black wine-jar' (Gardiner), 24, 85.
- Hrp (?) H̄c-kw-R̄*, see *Shm*
- Hrpsr*, Egn. writing of Hittite name otherwise unknown (Hall), 8, 221.
- hrš*, 'bundle' of vegetables, mod. Egn. Ar. parallel (Blackman), 22, 42 (23).
- hhwy šbb*, 'neck-ornament (?)', 'bead-necklace (?)' (Gardiner), 3, 195.
- hsf*, 'respond' (Gunn), 6, 300.
- Hsf-Iunw*, 'Repelling-the-Inu', Uronarti (Gardiner), 3, 189.
- Hsf-Md̄w*, 'Repelling-the-Mezaiu', fortress between Wādi Halfa and Anībah (Gardiner), 3, 190.
- hsd̄*, a garment (Smith), 19, 154.
- hšhš*, 'rubble' (Gardiner), 22, 179.

- m-ht*, 'in the service of' (Dunham), 24, 4, n. 11.
ht, 'seal', distinct from *h̄tm*, 'signet-ring' (Peet), 2, 192.
ht-ws, unknown mineral (?) product (Gardiner), 4, 37 with n. 6.
Htyw (m)fkst, 'Terraces of the Turquoise', name of Wādi Maghārah (Clère), 24, 125 f.
h̄tm, see *ht*.
h̄tht, 'come and go' of intermittent pain (Dawson), 20, 185.

ht, 'copy'; *r-ht* (written *i-ht*) = dem. *r-h̄*, 'like' (Gardiner-Griffith), 19, 26 (11).
Hty, pers. n., 'The paunchy (?)' (Miller), 23, 5, n. 5; cf. (Gunn) 24, 191, n. 12.
h̄bb, 'crookedness', connected with *h̄sb*, 'scythe' (Gardiner), 9, 11, n. 8.
h̄s (?), 'to drain, empty' (Griffith), 12, 203, n. 5.
h̄p, 'umbilical cord' (Blackman), 3, 203 f.
Hny, Silsilis (Gardiner), 3, 192.
h̄nw, with more definite meaning, the old Memphitic Residence (Gardiner), 1, 28, n. 8.
h̄nw, perhaps 'watering-station', 'brook' (Gunn-Gardiner), 4, 245, n. 1.
Hnm-Wst, perhaps name of town of 'Amārah West' (Fairman), 25, 142.
Hnmw, 'Khnum' related to root of *h̄nmt*, 'spring', 'well', and *h̄nm*, swamp-birds (Wainwright), 20, 142.
h̄nmt-ww, 'irrigation well' (Gardiner), 19, 20 f.
h̄nmt-h̄bs, 'closed well' (Gardiner), 19, 20 f.
h̄nmt-Mn-mst-Rc-ḥ-nhtw, watering-station near Raphia (Gardiner), 5, 136, n. 2.
h̄rt, 'requirement' (Gunn), 12, 135.
h̄ry-ḥ, 'apprentice' (Gardiner), 24, 159.
h̄rt-ntr, word for 'necropolis' so to be read (Gardiner), 24, 244 f.
h̄rty-ntr, 'stone-mason', pronounced *kharay* (Gardiner), 22, 174.
h̄ry-tp (nsw), 'subordinate (of the King)' (Blackman), 17, 58 (9); cf. with reading *h̄ry-d̄d̄* (?) (Glanville), 18, 53. 54, n. 3.





s, 'man', rare ex. in O.Egn. (Gunn), 19, 105.
S-n-mdw, pers. n., 'The man of the staff' (Gunn), 24, 194, n. 2.
-s for 3rd plur. suffix *-sn* in M.Egn. (Blackman), 16, 64 (5); in O.Egn. (Dunham), 24, 6, n. 15.
st-irt, reading of name Osiris, originally = *Ladanum-bearing Cistus* (Baly), 17, 222.
st st, 'Great Place', applied to Dēr el-Bahri cache (Winlock), 17, 107 ff.; not as (*Id.*) 10, 220, n. 2.¹
st Pr-ḥ, 'Royal Necropolis', perhaps also of tomb of living king (Černý), 15, 248, n. 29.
st mst, a distinct part of the Theban Necropolis (Gunn), 3, 84, n. 3 (cf. 93, n. 1); region occupied by funerary temples of N.-K. kings (Boreux), 7, 120; general name of the Theban necropolis (Gardiner), 24, 163.
st mst-hrw, 'place where divine tribunal is' (Clère), 20, 163 (y).

st nty imn-tl, Bibān el-Mulūk (Černý), 15, 247, n. 15.
st (n) s, 'man of good birth' (Blackman), 22, 104.
Sr-Imn (sr-Rc), perhaps son of Aḥmose I (Winlock), 10, 223.
Sr Bstt, name of a lion-headed god = Nefertēm (Shorter), 23, 36.
sr nsw n Kš, title of viceroys of Nubia after Amenophis II or Tuthmosis IV (Reisner), 6, 78.
sr Rc, perhaps used by heir to throne in Dyn. 17 (Winlock), 10, 223, n. 4.
Sst-rrrw, pers. n., prob. for *Sst-rrw* (Dakin), 24, 193, n. 3.
[*sr hm-ntr*], 'son of the prophet', possibly a term for Horus (Faulkner), 23, 16.
Sr-Spdw-Iy-n-hb, pers. n., 'son of Sopdu—he who has come for the festival' and other similar M.-K. double names (Miller), 23, 2, n. 1.
Sst-Srf-k̄-i, pers. n., 'Daughter of Serefkai' (Miller), 23, 2, n. 2.
Sr-Shst-Hr, pers. n., 'son of Sekhathor' (Dakin), 24, 193, n. 10.
Sst-šmsw, fem. pers. n. (Dakin), 25, 165, n. 4.
st, 'protection' from magic power of cords tied in knots (Hornblower), 16, 17.
st-tv, 'worship' (Faulkner), 23, 16.
stw, with a nuance of captivity (Faulkner), 24, 48.
st, (a) writing of *stw*; (b) for *st̄*, by false transcr. from hieratic (Dunham), 24, 4, n. 10. 6, n. 1.
m-st, possibly = 'except' in Dyn. 13 (Gunn), 25, 218.
hr-st, pregnantly, 'yearning after' (Faulkner), 22, 134.
Sr-wiht = mod. village of Mut in Dakhlah Oasis (Gardiner), 19, 24 (3).
stwy (sw) (L.Egn.), represents old *swt*, not *sw* (Gardiner), 8, 110; cf. 20, 16.
stb, 'dignitary', does not imply elevated rank (Newberry), 24, 184, n. 2.
stb iry mdst, officer who kept records (of an expedition) (Newberry), 24, 184.
stmt, 'dishevelled (?) locks' (Gardiner), 1, 104, n. 5.
stry, with ethical meaning, 'sinner' (Gardiner), 1, 27, n. 3.
st(h)rt, unknown mineral product (Gardiner), 4, 37 with n. 5.
stsh, verb, perhaps 'toe it' i.e. 'jump about' (Blackman), 10, 196; better 'kick' (*Id.*), 22, 43 (25).
stsh m, 'draw nigh to' (Faulkner), 22, 134.
stst, 'repel', 'overthrow' trans. (Gardiner), 3, 105.
stt, exact nature of action not clear (Gunn), 24, 90 f.
sty, dep. pron. for suffix (Gunn), 6, 301.
st̄, an arsenic salt, orpiment, or realgar (Dawson), 19, 135 f.
st̄rrr, ex. of caus. *3ae gem.* (Gunn), 16, 148.
st̄pty (room), perhaps 'drawing office' (Green), 16, 33.
st̄n, lit. 'rub out', 'trample on' (Faulkner), 23, 175.
Stnw, Swn, possibly Pelusium (Gardiner), 5, 253 f.; cf. *Stnw*.
st̄sw, 'six', in cuneiform *ša-u* (Smith-Gadd), 11, 236; (Albright) 12, 188 f.

¹ See also Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, 35, n.

- sikn*, prob. causative of *nik* (Faulkner), 23, 178.
sid, 'make impotent' (Gardiner), 4, 35, n. 2.
sčb, 'make preparations (?)' (Macadam), 25, 128.
sčnh, suggests a sculptor of statues and scenes (Miller), 23, 6, n. 1.
sčryt, two-headed goddess (Blackman), 5, 31.
sčhč, 'raise up (a king)' indicating first of a dynasty (Gunn), 12, 250, n. 1; with *r*, 'establish (crime) against', thence with dir. obj. 'accuse' (Gardiner), 21, 144 (17); *sčhč bt*, 'impeachment', 'accusing of crime' (Griffith), 12, 200, n. 7; *sčhč k* *šnt*, 'setting up of the Bull, the pole', also with *šhn*, 'shrine' (Wainwright), 21, 164 f.
sčš, 'repel (foreigners)' (Albright-Rowe), 14, 282.
sčšt, 'a protective rite', as stage-direction (Faulkner), 22, 134.
sčky, 'one who begets' (Gardiner), 1, 27, n. 8.
sw, pronom. compound, early ex. (Tuthmosis III) (Shorter), 16, 61.
swt, 'force (of wind)', fem. (Macadam), 25, 128.
šw, see *š*.
Swn, see *Sinw*.
swnt, 'price' has suffix in L.Egn., not possessive adj. (Gardiner), 21, 143 (9).
swnt tmw, 'price of beer', perhaps = 'pourboire' (Blackman), 13, 190.
swħi, 'summary' (Gunn), 12, 135.
swħt: *m swħt*, 'in early youth', mod. Egn. Ar. parallel (Blackman), 22, 36 (5).
swħt, with cloth-det., perhaps 'shroud' (Gardiner), 21, 143 (12).
swħwt, rare late word = 'wind' (Gunn), 3, 85, n. 3.
swħ, see *š*.
swđ, perhaps with sense of *swđ*: *ib*, 'inform' (Gunn-Gardiner), 4, 247, n. 6.
swđ: *ib*, possibly = 'to say "wđ: ib-k"' (Gunn), 16, 150.
sb, with various fish-dets. = (a) writing of *sbi* [*hr*], 'intercede [for] (?)', (b) 'in hostility (?)' (Dunham), 24, 3. 4. 5, n. 14. 6, nn. 5. 7; cf. Editor's n., p. 8.
Sb- in M.-K. names perhaps to be read *Snb*- (Dakin), 25, 161, n. 5.
sb, 'star', Cop. $\text{c10}\gamma$, late phonetic writings (Steindorff-Grapow), 25, 31.
p: sb: ('gate'), probable cuneiform equivalent (Smith-Gadd), 11, 238; (Albright) 12, 189.
sb, 'teach', with *r* = 'to' from idea of guiding or leading (Griffith), 13, 281.
sb:k:k, 'avoid (?)' (Gunn), 16, 148.
sbn, see *wmm n sbn-n:f*.
sbnw, a fish, *Synodontis batensoda*, also det. of vb. *sbn* (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 31.
sbħt, 'cell' in house of Osiris (Naville), 1, 166 f.
sbk, 'precious' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 286, n. 2.
tw spt ('throne'): possible cuneiform equivalent (Smith-Gadd), 11, 238; but cf. (Albright) 12, 189.
spi, 'binding', term for boat-building (Breasted), 4, 176.
Spłl, Egn. writing of Shubbiluliuma (Hall), 8, 220.
sphr, 'to copy', in Ptol. times weakened to 'to write, compose' (Gunn), 12, 126; both 'to copy' and 'to register' (Miller), 23, 2, n. 1.
Sptr, Egn. writing of Hittite name otherwise unknown (Hall), 8, 221.
spd, 'restore to order' (Gardiner), 19, 24 (3).
Spd, merely an epithet of Horus (Gardiner), 5, 222.
spdt, applicable to all triangles (Gunn), 12, 132; with clear triangle as det., not 'thorn' (Gunn-Peet), 15, 172; written *sbd* already in M.K. (Gunn-Peet), 15, 174.
sfr, title? (Smither), 25, 160, n. 4.
sfr, 'dowry (?)', perhaps = Heb. ספר 'a writing' (Černý-Peet), 13, 35, n. 18.
sfh(w), 'seven', in cuneiform *šap-ħa* (Smith-Gadd), 11, 236; (Albright) 12, 188 f.
sfht, 'seven' and 'she who has put off (the horns)', of goddess of writing (Gunn), 6, 68.
smt šnw, a sailor's 'hammock of net' (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 49, n. 5.
sm with 'face' = 'cut off' (Naville), 10, 21; but cf. (Gardiner) 10, 89, n. 1.
sm, kind of land (Reisner-Gardiner), 5, 94 f.
sm, 'to darken (?)' (Faulkner), 22, 138.
sm *sst*, 'embankment (?)' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 294, n. 1.
sm *twy*, name of Mentjhotpe III, suggesting he was first ruler of a united Eg. (Baly), 18, 175.
smryt n grħ, night parties, perhaps connected with feasts (Černý), 15, 249, n. 40.
smrč, 'make right' perhaps of surveying, investigating (Gunn-Gardiner), 4, 244, n. 2.
smi, 'report', 'lodge a complaint', in M.Egn. with *m* = 'against'; later use *m* or *hr* = 'about', *r* = 'against' (Clère), 20, 163 (w); with *r*, 'report to', not 'make a charge against' (Černý), 15, 248, n. 25.
Smīt personified, 'the Upland' (Blackman), 21, 2, n. 7. 8 f.
smn (older *zmn*), 'to pound' (Faulkner), 23, 176.
smn goose, connected with Amūn and Seth (Wainwright), 20, 149.
Smnħ-k:Rč dsr-ħprw, name of Akhenaten's coregent and successor (Newberry), 14, 5 ff.
sms, 'plash' of wave (Blackman-Peet), 11, 294, n. 6.
sms: *sš sms*, 'breeding-pool' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 294, n. 14.
smsw hyt, 'elder of the doorway' (Gardiner), 4, 134, n. 7.
snv, curious form of 3rd pl. suffix (Griffith), 13, 202, n. 8.
m snt r, 'according to' (Gunn), 12, 126.
sn *rdw*, 'stretch one's legs', = 'enter'? (Černý), 15, 248, n. 19.
snv-mny, 'upside down' (Gardiner), 1, 104, n. 4.
Snw, 'Pelusium', written within fortress-sign (Newberry), 18, 141; cf. *Sinw*.
snw, 'two', in cuneiform *šina* (Smith-Gadd), 11, 235; (Peet) 11, 239 f.; (Albright) 12, 188 f.
snwt, Common Bindweed of Eg. (Dawson), 20, 186 f.
snwħ, 'marry (?)' (caus.) (Gardiner), 4, 36, n. 1.
snwħ pw, 'it is a burning' as ritual instruction (Faulkner), 23, 176.

- snb*, 'creep away', from *zbn*, with fish-det. (Faulkner), 23, 177.
- snb*, 'to banish (?)' (Gardiner), 1, 104, n. 1.
- snb*, 'be well', middle consonant perhaps *l* (Gunn), 25, 161, n. 5.
- Snb*, pers. n., probably shortened from e.g. *Imn-m-hst-snb* (Miller), 23, 5, n. 2.
- Snm*t, Gk. -σνμς, Bigah (Gardiner), 3, 191.
- snmyt*, a rank weed (Gardiner), 9, 13, n. 8.
- Snh-hr*, a snake divinity (Blackman), 5, 26.
- Snht-n-Rc*, preferable form of 17th-Dyn. king's name (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 48, n. 1; written *Shnt-n-Rc* by error (Winlock), 10, 221; see also *Skn-n-Rc*.
- snkyt*, title of high-priestess of Hathor at City of Apis (Blackman), 7, 11.
- Sngr*, cuneiform *Sanhar* = mod. Djebel Sindjār (Albright-Rowe), 14, 283, n. 4.
- Sntk*, in 'Keftiu' spell = Cilician god Sandokos (Wainwright), 17, 29; cf. (Gordon) 18, 67.
- sntr*, probably 'incense' in general (Lucas), 23, 28.
- snđ*: *m snđ*, not 'through fear' (= *n snđ*) but 'in (a state of) fear' (Gunn), 22, 35, n. 1.
- sr*, always 'ram' (Blackman), 5, 29, n. 12.
- sr*, in view of Cop. ⲥⲟⲡ, perhaps originally 'spread (abroad)'; *sr ḫi*, 'challenge (someone) to battle' (Gardiner), 21, 222 (e) with n. 1.
- sr*, 'wig', also of 'tresses' and 'hide' (Faulkner), 22, 132.
- sr(t)*, 'declaration' (Blackman), 11, 252, n. 12.
- Srt* = **sūrītu* = 'Syrian woman' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 292, n. 16.
- srit*, prob. L.Egn. for old *srw*-goose (Černý), 15, 250, n. 46.
- srwd m*s, 'fresh recruits' (Gardiner), 1, 27, n. 6.
- srs*, 'six', perhaps an old dual related to Semitic *šlš*, 'three' (Gunn), 3, 281.
- srk*, with fish-det. = *Schille*, Cop. ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲕⲓ ⲩⲁⲟⲩⲕⲓ (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 30.
- srtm* (perhaps = *s'tm*), 'foliage' (Griffith), 2, 1202, n. 1.
- sh*s, trans. 'confound (?)' (Gardiner), 16, 22.
- sh*s, 'reduce' medically (Dawson), 20, 185.
- shsb*, 'order' (n.) (Faulkner), 22, 133.
- sh*, lit. 'booth', 'hall', denoting tomb-chapel (Blackman), 5, 27, n. 12; *sh ntr*, 'tent of the god', phrase for embalmer's workshop (Dawson), 13, 41.
- shmyt*, see *ishmyt*.
- shn*, shrine, orig. pole united by cord to hut (Wainwright), 21, 165.
- shty*: *imy-shty* priest (Faulkner), 22, 138.
- shtp* with *hr*, 'propitiate with' (Blackman), 22, 106.
- sh-hr-sh-hr-k*, 'He-who-smites-the-face-of-him-who-smites-thy-face', perhaps name of ape as protector of Thoth (Glanville), 15, 6.
- sh*t, 'country', almost = 'Dodecaschoenus' (Griffith), 13, 207, n. 8.
- Sh-t-Dc*, perhaps = *Sh-t-Dc'nt* (Gardiner), 3, 101; perhaps region of Lake Menzalah, 5, 246 ff.; around Tanis, 19, 126.
- sh*s, 'to spend the night', perhaps related to *swb*s (Gardiner), 3, 106.
- shws*, with apparently reflexive object, 'excuse oneself (?)' (Gardiner), 24, 244, n. 1.
- shpr*, perhaps 'developing' (Blackman), 10, 194.
- sh*m, transitive use with dependent pron. (Faulkner), 24, 50.
- Shm-Rc-šd-trwy*, to be read so, not *-b-trwy*, etc. (Winlock-Gardiner), 10, 238, n. 1.
- Shm-* (or *Hrp-*?) *Hc-krw-Rc-mx-hrw*, Semnah, ⲥⲁⲁⲁⲓⲏⲏ (Gardiner), 3, 188.
- sh*m *trwy*, title of Wepwawet (Dakin), 24, 192, n. 4.
- Shmt*, place-name (Griffith), 13, 203, n. 6.
- sh*mty, epithet of Buto and Nekhebt, who preside over double crown (Gardiner), 1, 105, n. 3.
- sh*n, literally 'armful', then 'reed-float' (Breasted), 4, 174 f.
- sh*n-*sh*, functionary who protects king's spirit (Hornblower-Sethe), 15, 35, n. 2.
- sh*nt, benefits of some kind (Polotsky), 16, 196 (8).
- Shnt-n-Rc*, see *Snht-n-Rc*.
- sh*r: *sh*r *ht*, desires prompted by the body (Gardiner), 9, 16, n. 2; *m sh*rw *nw*, 'in control of' (Blackman), 10, 198.
- sh*sh, 'give way (?)' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 290, n. 14.
- sh*t, 'include (?)' (Gunn), 12, 135.
- sh*d, of a garment, 'upside down' (Blackman), 10, 196.
- sh*s, see *šš*.
- sh*ty, connected with goldsmith's work (Gardiner), 3, 195.
- s*smi, infantile ailment, perhaps 'dribbling' (Dawson), 10, 84.
- sš*, covers 'draughtsman', 'painter', and 'scribe' (Gardiner), 4, 136 f.; *sš sph*rw, 'writer of copies (or, records)' (Miller), 23, 2, n. 11.
- sš*, 'mode of writing' not 'writings' or 'books' (Gardiner), 24, 172.
- m sš* X, introducing end-formula in late documents (Griffith), 12, 225, n. 1.
- sš n pr-ḫh*, in late period used of hierogl. writing and presumably including hieratic (Gardiner), 24, 176.
- sš*, 'tremble', 'quiver' (Davies), 6, 72, n. 1.
- sš* or *sh*s (so originally, not *sš*), 'to write' (Gardiner), 2, 65, n. 1.
- sš*m, 'procedure', 'guiding principle' (Blackman), 17, 59 (38).
- sš*mt, general meaning 'working-out', also 'proof' (Gunn), 12, 126.
- sššt*, 'looped sistrum' in Dyn. 18 (Davies), 6, 70 ff.
- sšt*: *hry-sšt* (*n Wsir bh*), in late period has special ref. to embalming (Fairman), 17, 227; *hry sšt* *n pr-dwt*, 'Supervisor of the Mysteries of the House of the Morning' (Blackman), 5, 148 ff.; cf. 18th-Dyn. ex. (Shorter), 16, 59 f.
- sšd*, dangerous and terrible star (Wainwright), 18, 8, 162, n. 6.
- sšd hny*, 'boatman's circlet' (Winlock), 10, 231 with n. 2.
- skbh*, 'give ease (?)' (Polotsky), 16, 196 (10).
- Skn-n-Rc*, elder of two recorded kings of name, probably rather *Snht-n-Rc* (Winlock), 10, 243 ff.
- skr*, 'to hammer' (Blackman), 10, 195.
- skd*, 'deflection', 'batter' of a pyramid (Gunn), 12, 134; (Gunn-Peet) 15, 176, n. 1.
- sk*, 'destroy (eternity)', *i.e.* 'live through (?)' (Shorter), 21, 45, n. 2.

- sk*: *ir sk* = *ts skw*, of drawing up troops (Gardiner), 21, 223 (*m*).
- skm X m Y*, 'complete *x* from *y*' (Gunn), 12, 130.
- skm ns*, 'hoary-tongued' (Gardiner), 4, 34, n. 6.
- skr*, 'adorn (?)' (Gunn), 6, 299.
- sgm*, 'tallow' (Gardiner), 22, 178.
- sgrw*, 'yards (?)' of a ship (Gardiner), 9, 9, n. 6.
- stl*, acute or 'shooting' pain (Dawson), 20, 185 f.; metaphorical (Faulkner), 22, 136.
- stt*, title of high-priestess at Elephantine (Blackman), 7, 11.
- sty-r*, see *nw n sty-r*.
- Sty*,    , 'Radiance', a divinity (Blackman), 5, 27.
- stz*, 'redeemer', cf. *ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲣⲉ* (Griffith), 12, 219, n. 3.
- stz (r)*, 'claim' (Gardiner), 19, 25 (8).
- stz hbs*, 'lighted candles' (Gardiner), 22, 178.
- stt*, 'censer (?)' (Blackman), 17, 61, n. 9.
- stw*, not 'dirt', but 'wound', 'bruise' (Gunn), 6, 301, n. 10.
- stwt*, 'smooth over' differences (Gardiner), 9, 17, n. 2.
- stwt(y)*, 'collect', arithmetical 'product', 'quotient' (Gunn), 12, 132.
- stwtj*, 'vertical height' of a truncated pyramid, and other phrases for 'height' (Gunn-Peet), 15, 178 with n. 5; cannot be 'area' (Peet), 17, 159 f.
- Stp-n-Rē*, 'He whom Rē has chosen' (Gunn), 23, 192, n. 3.
- stf*, 'rage' of waters rising up in storm (Faulkner), 24, 51.
- stnm*, 'confuse' of ways (Faulkner), 22, 137.
- stnmw*, 'unruly', lit. 'who causes to stray' (Gardiner), 9, 12, n. 5.
- Sth*, god Seth, vocalization (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 44.
- stj-ntr*, 'passage of the god', 'corridor' (Gardiner), 4, 134 f.
- str*, type of boat (Smith), 19, 152.
- sd*, of long tapering tendrils (of bryony) (Dawson), 20, 45.
- sdwz*, 'make an early start (?)' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 289, n. 9.
- sdb*, 'fringe' (Blackman), 22, 40 (17).
- sdb*, 'conceal' (Gunn), 16, 149.
- sd hnnw*, 'dispel trouble' (Clère), 25, 28.
- sdz*, trans., of 'continuing' an official's post (Blackman), 17, 60 (44); see also *sz*.
- sdb*: *wd sdb*, 'make impotent'; *dit sdb*, variant of above (Faulkner), 23, 176.
- sdj tr*, a sort of oath (Černý), 15, 247, n. 16.
- sdm*, 'understand' M. & L.Egn. (Blackman), 16, 69 (17); *sdm-f* in L.Egn. states a fact in the past, 'he has heard' (de Buck), 23, 161; *sdm-f pw* form in passive (Gunn), 12, 131; *isdm-f*, L.Egn. past relative (Gardiner), 16, 224, n. 1; *sdm-in f*, *in* derived from *i*, 'to say' (Faulkner), 21, 186 ff.; *sdm-n-f* form, late writings with *∘* before det. (Faulkner), 22, 135; *sdm-n-f* in fut. perf. use (Dunham), 24, 6, n. 1; *sdm-hr-f*, *hr* prob. from vb. = 'says' (Faulkner), 21, 187, 188, n. 1; *sdm-kr-f*, *kr* prob. from vb. = 'plan' (Faulkner), 21, 188.
- sdm-š m st mst*, priestly title of kind of chamberlains, not 'domestics' (Boreux), 7, 114 ff.
- sdzr*, 'be inert', 'inactive', 'helpless' (Blackman), 16, 68; cf. (*Id.*) 22, 106; *sdzr mst-n-f* (?), 'who spends the night in taking thought (?)' (Fairman), 20, 4 (e).
- sdzryt (nt Šn-Hr)*, bivouac after battle with Osiris's enemies (?) (Dakin), 24, 191, n. 6.
- š*: *imy-r š*, 'sea-captain', lit. 'superintendent of a (sheet of) water' (Gardiner), 4, 34 with n. 9.
- Š-Hr*, biblical 'Shihor', lower reaches of Bubastite Nile-arm (Gardiner), 5, 251 f.; (*Id.*) 10, 93; corresponded to Lake Menzālah (*Id.*), 19, 126.
- Šz* or *šš*, later *Šzw*, god of Hypselite nome found on seals of wine-jars, also = *šzy* (Newberry), 14, 220 ff.; cf. (Shorter) 11, 78.
- šz*, varr. *šw, swt*, a plant connected with Seth (Newberry), 14, 213, n. 1.
- šz*, varr. *šw, šzi*, Cop. *ⲱⲉ*, f. *ⲉⲱⲁⲓ*, 'pig' (Newberry), 14, 212 f.; also cult-animal of Seth (*Id.*), 14, 217.
- šst hdt*: *ps šri n ts šst hdt*, 'the son of the white sow', Seth, not Min (Griffiths), 25, 101.
- šz*...., 'diameter' or 'side' of logs (Peet), 17, 158.
- Šz-shryt*, city in Nubia (Newberry), 14, 222, n. 1; cf. (Fairman) 21, 35, n. 2.
- Šzy*, god of fate and of the harvest (Griffith), 12, 228 f.; = *Šz*, god of Shashōtep (Newberry), 14, 222.
- šzy*, sometimes substituted for *kr* in late texts (Newberry), 14, 222.
- šwt*, 'condemnation', not 'doom' (Gardiner), 22, 182.
- šz*, 'space' or 'volume' (Gunn), 12, 131.
- šz r*, 'as far as', absolute use (Gardiner), 3, 102.
- šz-r ȩrt(w)-f sdm*, L.-Egn. equivalent of *ⲱⲁ(ⲏ)ⲧⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲁ* (Gardiner), 16, 231 f.
- Šz-usf*, flooded land of IXth nome (Gardiner), 5, 246.
- šzby* ('shawabti') misinterpreted as dual (Gardiner), 4, 140, n. 2.
- šzp*, see *hsp*.
- Šz-mntt*, land flooded by waters of XVth nome (?) (Gardiner), 5, 246.
- šzrw*, Cop. *ⲱⲟⲗ*, 'bundle', unit of flax (Gunn), 16, 151.
- šzsw*, see *ⲱⲟⲥ*.
- Šzš-htp*, town-name (= 'pacifying Sha'), Cop. *ⲱⲱⲧⲏ*, Gk. Hypselis (Newberry), 14, 221 f.
- šz*, 'palette (?)' (Dunham), 24, 4, n. 13.
- šzty*, non-concrete unit of value (?) (Gunn), 12, 135; see also (Peet) 15, 275 with n. 1; *šz*, perhaps true coinage (Schaedel), 24, 139.
- šzr, šzr*, of a prison, doubtful whether = Heb. *שַׁעַר* (Gardiner), 22, 183.
- šzd drt m*, 'part with' (Peet), 10, 120, n. 3; *šzd drt n*, literally 'cut off a person's hand', or 'part with' like above (Černý), 15, 247, n. 8.
- šw*, writing (*a*) of *šz*, 'pig', (*b*) of *šz*, plant connected with Seth (Newberry), 14, 213 with n. 1.
- šw kch*, special phrase for fish-ponds (Gardiner), 1, 103, n. 15.
- šwt* (?), 'henchmen' (Gardiner), 1, 27, n. 7.
- šwt-Dhwty*, a species of *Potentilla* (Dawson), 20, 186.
- šwtj*, 'costal cage' (Dawson), 20, 185 f.

- šwīw*, 'emptiness', 'default (?)' (Gardiner), 9, 12, n. 10.
- šwšt* (*hwšt* ?), kind of skin (Griffith), 13, 204, n. 1.
- šb*: *dīt m šb*, 'to sell' (Peet), 12, 71, n. 8.
- šbt* (*ⲱⲃⲏⲉⲓⲱ*), 'value' from *šbi*, 'exchange' (Peet), 12, 71, n. 8; 14, 299, n. 8.
- šbt*, 'meat-portion (?)' (Faulkner), 24, 50.
- šbb* and similar words relating to jewellery (Gardiner), 3, 195.
- šp*, perhaps 'hurl (quoit or the like)' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 285, n. 10.
- špry*, fish, possibly connected with Gk. *κυπρίνος* (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 27.
- šps(t) nšw*, late O.-K. title of men and women (Williams), 5, 169; for writings *cf.* (Peet) 2, 193.
- špt*, det. with \triangle (= 𓂏 ?) (Dunham), 24, 3.
- šfw*, 'blisters (?)' (Dawson), 12, 241.
- šm*: *m šm wš*, 'in a body (?)' (Peet), 2, 205, n. 5; *šm m hrw prw*, obscure phrase, 'who has gone in front of the houses (?)' (Faulkner), 23, 15.
- Šmš-bš*, pers. n. (Glanville), 18, 54 with n. 2.
- Šmš*, Upper Eg., written with 3 grains (Polotsky), 16, 196 f. (12); 'Upper-Egn. barley' perh. to be read $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ *it šmšy* (Peet), 17, 154 f.
- šmst*, musician priestess (Blackman), 7, 8 ff.
- šmm*, 'hot', *i.e.* 'passionate' (Griffith), 12, 227, n. 2.
- šms*: *hr šms*, 'itinerant' (Gardiner), 23, 161.
- šmšmt*, not sesame but 'hemp' (Dawson), 20, 44 f.
- Šn-Hr*, significance of in Osiris-legend at Abydos (Dakin), 24, 191, n. 6.
- šni*, 'call in question' perhaps 'resent', 'feelaggrieved at' (Blackman), 22, 44 (32).
- šny tš*, 'hairs of the earth', a vegetable drug, probably Fenugreek (Dawson), 12, 240 f.
- tš šny*, district of Thebes with local Amūn (Blackman), 11, 251, n. 6.
- šnt*, *šnty*, 'power of withstanding long travel' (Gardiner), 9, 8, n. 5; 'control', then 'patrol' hence 'tread' (Blackman), 22, 41 (18).
- šnt*, primarily 'warehouse' not 'ergastulum' (Gunn), 12, 136.
- šnt*, perhaps 'choking' (Griffith), 12, 210, n. 5. 211.
- Šnt-hn*, corresponding with *Ἀκανθων*, capital of XXIst Upper Egn. nome near Kafr 'Ammār (Griffith), 3, 142.
- šnt-n-kš-n-čnh-Rč* and *šnt-n-Wr-dfšw*, meat storehouses at 'Amarnah, position of (Fairman), 21, 139.
- šnw*, 'net' (Blackman), 10, 195; 'network', to guard against evil powers, hence connexion with *šni*, 'exorcize' (Hornblower), 16, 17.
- šnn*, ' vexation' (Griffith), 12, 205 with n. 8.
- šnn-ht*, 'dissembler (?)' (Griffith), 12, 210.
- šnš* of water, 'brackish'; *cf.* $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ = 'to stink', 'be foul' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 292, n. 9.
- šnty*, of 'bonds', not literally 'hairs' (Faulkner), 23, 179.
- šntw*, 'sheriff' who deals with disputes (Gardiner), 9, 15, n. 2.
- Pš-šrit-(n)-tš-ih*, pers. n. = $\Psi\epsilon\rho\tau\eta\varsigma$, etc., various writings (Spiegelberg), 12, 35 with n. 6.
- Tš-šrit-n-tš-ih*, pers. n. = $\Sigma\epsilon\rho\tau\eta\varsigma$ (Spiegelberg), 12, 35 with n. 6.
- šrc*, see *hrč* and *šcr*.
- šrmt*, 'contribution' (Peet), 11, 163, n. 2.
- šsi*: *nw n šsi*, 'accustomed season' (Gardiner), 1, 104, n. 11.
- šsit*, 'nightfall' (Gunn), 6, 300. 302.
- šsp*: like Cop. $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, 'purchase' (Gardiner), 21, 143 (10); *šsp ʿgs*, 'take the girdle (?)', *i.e.* 'gird oneself' for battle (Gardiner), 1, 32, n. 2; *šsp drit*, 'grasp the hand' in salute, not as dem. 'go bail for' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 291, n. 13; see also *n* prepn.
- šsmt*, kind of apron, also a green mineral (Gardiner), 5, 222.
- šsr* = *ššr*, var. of *šhr*, 'wipe out', 'clean' (Faulkner), 10, 99.
- šš*, 'silly' or 'mad' (Černý), 15, 251, n. 50.
- Ššnk* (22nd-Dyn. king), rare writing with \circ (Langton), 22, 116.
- št(r)-pt*, epithet of Nūt (Fairman), 17, 226.
- Štš-hprw*, mummiform divinity (Blackman), 5, 32.
- štšw*, 'steering-oar (?)' (Blackman), 11, 212, n. 1.
- štm*, 'treason (?)', 'rebellion' (Griffith), 12, 218, n. 4.
- šd*, 'pelts (?)' (Griffith), 13, 203, n. 7.
- šd-hrw*, 'he who lets (his) voice resound' (Blackman), 5, 33.
- šdi*, 'recover' stolen property (Peet), 11, 48, n. 2.
- šdyt*, with wood-det., meaning unknown (Gunn), 3, 89, n. 3.
- šdyt*, 'lump', 'mass' (Blackman), 12, 183, n. 5.
- šdw* prob. = $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, 'dough' (Blackman), 12, 183, n. 5.
- kš*, abbreviated 𓂏 , indication of site of tomb on desert (?) (Gardiner), 4, 110, n. 1.
- kš srf*, 'blustering' or 'arrogant' (Blackman), 17, 58 (24).
- kšy*, perhaps 'high rock', 'crag' (Winlock), 17, 110.
- kšs*, heavenly rope-ladder, opp. to *mškt* (Wainwright), 18, 168.
- kšs*, see *krs*.
- kš*, verb perhaps to be connected with *kšš*, in impv. = 'depart!' (Faulkner), 24, 49.
- kšh*, 'corner', perhaps also 'locality' (Gardiner), 13, 77.
- kšh*, 'bend the arm (?)' in reverence (Polotsky), 16, 198 (22).
- k(w)r n ičw nb*, 'gold-washers' (Gunn-Gardiner), 4, 247, n. 3.
- kš srf*, 'of quiet disposition', 'unassuming' (Blackman), 17, 58 (24).
- kms*, 'throw the boomerang or throw-stick (?)' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 285, n. 9.
- kms*, 'calf' (Peet), 10, 120, n. 2.
- kms(?) phty*, 'of proved valour' (Fairman), 21, 32, n. 2.
- kš*, 'finish off' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 290, n. 1.
- kni*, 'be valiant', vocalization reconstructed from cuneiform (Albright), 23, 197 with n. 4.
- kni šwy*, lit. 'embrace the shadow' = 'swoon' (Blackman), 16, 69 (15).
- kni*, perhaps king-magician's robe of office (Baly), 16, 178.


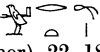












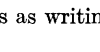


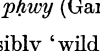






































- kni* *n*, corruption of *kī n* (Gardiner), 1, 103, n. 2.
kni, perhaps = wooden confinement-stool (Blackman), 22, 43 (24).
kniw, used of portable shrine for image (Gardiner), 22, 177.
knbt, permanent staff of temple perhaps acted as court of justice (Černý-Peet), 13, 37 with n. 1; 'chamber' or 'council', not solely judicial; *knbt sdmw*, 'court' (Lourie), 17, 62-4.
kri = *m-kri kri*, 'behind the shrine' = 'in outer darkness' (Faulkner), 22, 134 f.
krcw: *hry krcw*, 'captain of shieldbearers' (Gardiner), 19, 27 (18).
krnt, 'phallus-sheath' (Hornblower), 25, 229.
krr, 'cavern', 'burial chamber', opposed to *šh* (Blackman), 5, 27, n. 12.
krht, 'early ancestor', cf. belief that female ancestor appears as snake (Arkell-Blackman), 19, 176, n. 4.
krs, usually 'bury', perhaps 'wrap up', prob. connected with *krs* (Blackman), 3, 204, n. 3.
Krkš, tribe-name = Hitt. 'Karkisa' (Wainwright), 25, 149, 153.
krđ(n), 'hoe' variously spelled (Černý), 15, 249, n. 32.
kḥ, wooden 'collar' used in securing prisoners (Fairman), 21, 31, n. 7.
kk, apparently of cloth flags (Davies), 6, 72.
kk = Cop. κωκ, 'to strip' (Peet), 11, 46, n. 2.
kd h'w, 'builder of bodies', title of priest of Khnum (Griffith), 3, 142.
Kdy, country round Gulf of Issos ('going round'?) (Smith), 8, 46 f.
Kdwdn, prob. round Gulf of Issos (Smith), 8, 45 ff.; 10, 104 ff.; cf. 10, 175; = Pontus (Albright), 11, 22; (Mayer-Garstang) 11, 23 ff.; cf. (Wainwright) 25, 149, n. 1.
kḏn, *kḏr*, 'hoe', see *krđ(n)*.
ks, equivalent of Ar. *karīnah* or 'uḥt' (Hornblower), 25, 228.
ks (earlier *ky*): *m ks ḏd*, 'in other words', 'in short' (Gardiner), 24, 243 f.
ksw (fem.), 'others', often = 'outsiders' (Griffith), 12, 195, n. 7.
(*ps*)-*ks-ḡ-n-ps-Rc*-(*Hr-šhty*), epithet of Delta Residence of Ramessides after death of Ramesses II (Gardiner), 5, 136 f.
ks n pt, 'Bull of the Sky' (Wainwright), 19, 42 ff.; 21, 163.
ks ḥd, 'white bull', originally of Min, later applied to Buchis (Wainwright), 21, 158 ff.
kš, 'plan', in *sdm-kš:f* and *kš:f sdm:f* forms (Faulkner), 21, 188 f.; *kš* ('think'), negatived = 'not mind', 'despise' (de Buck), 25, 100.
ks, as reinforcing word before exclamatory old perfective (Faulkner), 23, 180.
kt Mntw, poetic expression for 'battle' (Shorter), 19, 61.
kwth, 'workman', in O.K. (Dunham), 24, 2, n. 1; 'clerk of works (?)' of temple (Griffith), 4, 283.
kt-šwt, some kind of lichen (Dawson), 20, 46.
kyp (trans.), 'to roof', 'cover' (intrans.), 'hide one-self', hence 'bandage', etc. (Blackman), 22, 38 (12).
kyp n ḥt, the crow's-nest on a mast (Blackman), 16, 68 (15).
ksmw: *n ps ksmw*, title of deified Amenophis I (Blackman), 12, 180, n. 2.
ksmn, 'to blind', trans. (Peet), 10, 122, n. 4.
kwš, old perf. 1st sing. written 𓂏 (Glanville), 15, 4.
Kpp in Keftiu spell = *Kupapa*, *Κυβήθη* (Gordon), 18, 67.
km, 'profit', 'achieve success' (Gardiner), 9, 15, n. 8.
Km-wy, with bull-det. = *Km-wr*, Athribis (Gardiner), 1, 31, n. 3.
Knmty, 'The dark one (?)' (Faulkner), 24, 53.
Knnrt, 'Chinnereth', pron. *Kennarāt* (Albright-Rowe), 14, 286 f.
kns, 'pubes', 'hypogastric region' (Dawson), 22, 107 f.
Kr, in Keftiu spell = *Kar* founder of Karia (Gordon), 18, 68.
Kry = *Qēre* (Meroitic), S.boundary of Egn. Empire (Griffith), 4, 27.
krs, Canaanite loan-word, 'dance', 'skip' (Blackman), 11, 210 ff.
krs, see *ks*.
khw, participial or substantival form of simplex of **khkh* (Blackman), 13, 188, n. 1.
khkht, 'repeated coughing' (Blackman), 13, 187 f.
ks, prob. = *krs*, 'basket (?)' (Peet), 2, 206, n. 3.
Ks(t), 'Cassite woman' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 291, n. 9.
Ksrw, pers. n., apparently foreign (Frankfort), 14, 242.
Kškš, tribe-name = Hitt. 'Gašgaš' (Wainwright), 25, 150, 153.
kkt, perhaps 'weevil' (Dawson), 20, 187.
kkwt plant, probably = *kškš*, perhaps castor-oil plant (Faulkner), 23, 15.
Kti, pers. n., 'The other one' (Miller), 23, 5, n. 4.
grw, *3ae inf.* (Gardiner), 8, 110.
grwy, 'steed', possibly akin to *equus* (Blackman), 19, 202.
ps grw, town of Gu (?) (Gardiner), 5, 198, n. 4.
grwsw, reduplicated form of *grw*, related to *grw*, perhaps of being 'half-strangled' (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 50, n. 11.
gb, 'uneven' of a fraction, year, etc. (Gunn), 12, 135.
gp, see (*i*)*gp*.
gm, with added *n*, indicating pronunciation ḡme ? (Blackman-Peet), 11, 289, n. 10; *gm ts*, 'finding a word' (Gardiner), 4, 29, n. 2; *gm-k nfr*, 'you will find it right' (Peet), 17, 156.
Gm-ps-Itw . . . = sunken courts in larger 'Amarnah temple (Fairman), 21, 137.
gmty (?), suggests an inscription-carver (Miller), 23, 6, n. 1.
Gnmw, cf. ḡnmw , 'Pleiades (?)' (Faulkner), 10, 99.
gr (orig. *3ae inf.* ?), of absence of motion (Faulkner), 10, 99; Cop. ḡw , 'desist', 'cease', 'stop' (Blackman), 16, 66 (9).









- ḫwt*, 'stolen property (?)' or 'forfeit (?)' (Griffith), 13, 202, n. 6;¹ amount of penalty when stolen goods are restored (Černý), 23, 187 ff.
- ḫbt*, 'loan (of corn)' or '(some sort of) corn?' (Polotsky), 16, 196 (11).
- ḫm*, 'to veil' (Gardiner), 4, 34, n. 2.
- ḫrt*, 'stronghold (?)' (Gardiner), 3, 105.
- ḫwf*, dem. *pr-ḫwf*, 'reed-swamps', as geographical expression (Gardiner), 5, 186, n. 1.
- ḫpht*, used of oral cavity (Blackman), 22, 105; see also *ḫtpt-f*.
- ḫfdn*, 'headlong utterance', $\text{ḫ}\text{f}\text{d}\text{n}$: $\text{ḫ}\text{f}\text{d}\text{n}$ (Griffith), 12, 208, n. 2.
- ḫnit* (?), 'detection (?)' (Griffith), 12, 212, n. 4.
- ḫnw r*, not only 'oral' reminder (Gunn), 16, 148; cf. 16, 21.
- ḫnfyt*, cf. possibly $\text{ḫ}\text{n}\text{f}\text{y}\text{t}$, 'basket' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 293, n. 4.
- ḫnhr*, 'hawk' (Gardiner), 9, 14, n. 8.
- ḫl*, also *ḫl*, *ḫlrm*, the modern $\text{ḫ}\text{a}\text{n}\text{t}\text{a}\text{r}\text{a}\text{h}$ (Naville), 2, 197 f.; town in E.Delta = Rom. *Sile*, Tell Abu Šefah (Gardiner), 5, 242 ff. and (Albright) 10, 6 ff.; = Zoar, $\text{ḫ}\text{a}\text{n}\text{t}\text{a}\text{r}\text{a}\text{h}$ (Naville), 10, 22, 26; but cf. (Gardiner) 10, 94, n. 1.; cf. also *Wwt-Hr*.
- ḫhn*, 'move quickly', 'grapple with' (*ḫnt*) (Gardiner), 3, 102.
- ḫht*, 'glass', from *ḫhnw*, place of origin in N.W. Delta (Newberry), 6, 160.
- ḫht*, 'plot (?)', 'pit' for a tree? (Griffith), 12, 202.
- ḫs*: *ḫs prt*, 'put together (?) seed' (Blackman), 4, 127, n. 2; *ḫs mḫ*, see *mḫ*; *ḫs ḫt hr ḫwy*, 'setting things (or, the meal) in order upon the altar' (Blackman), 22, 106; *ḫs ḫnw*, game of 'arranging the interior' (Griffith), 12, 215, n. 6.
- ḫs*, see *gm ḫs*.
- ḫst*: *ir ḫst*, 'make light (of) (?)' (Gardiner), 1, 27, n. 5.
- ḫkw*, *ḫkt*, 'Succoth', district round Tell el-Maskhūḫ (Gardiner), 5, 128, 266, n. 1, 267 ff.; (Naville) 10, 33 ff.; (Gardiner) 10, 95 f.
- ḫkdn*, confused writing of 'charioteer' (Glanville), 12, 174.
- d* (?), 'domains' (Blackman-Peet), 11, 294, n. 18 (and see under 'Signs and Groups: Hieroglyphic').²
- Dḫr* . . ., 'Repressing- . . .', possibly the southern fort of Semnah (Gardiner), 3, 187 f.
- d(ḫ)ng*, 'pygmy' (Dawson), 24, 185.
- m di*, already in L.Egn. indicating possessive case (Černý-Peet), 13, 34, n. 14; *m di-k*, 'of thine' probably $\text{m}\text{d}\text{i}\text{k}$ (Griffith), 12, 200, n. 8.
- dit*, often omitted after *mtw-i* in first member of oath-sentences (Černý), 15, 249, n. 41; dit imperative (Gunn), 12, 132; *m dit*, prohibitive, see *m-dr*; *dd-i hr-i hr-k*, perh. proverbial, like 'Two heads are better than one' (Glanville), 14, 299 (7); *di ḫt-f*, 'give a bribe' (Peet), 10, 121, n. 8; *di m šb*, 'sell' (Peet), 10, 120, n. 4; *dy hr gs*, 'laid low' (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 51, n. 2.
- dī ḫb*, used of dead king (even with *mst-ḫrw*) when he is still potent to intervene (Dunham-Gunn), 21, 147, n. 1; *ir-s n-f dī ḫb* = 'that she may confer on him the quality of "endowed with life"' (Peet), 17, 264; cf. (*Id.*) 3, 63.
- dīw*, 'five', in cuneiform *tiw* (Smith-Gadd), 11, 236; (Albright) 12, 188 f.
- dw*, 'adore', may be connected with *dw*, 'arise early', etc. (Blackman), 5, 154.
- dw*, two emblems bearing this name perhaps related (Blackman), 3, 245, n. 1.
- Dw-wr*, god connected with royal toilet, etc. (Blackman), 21, 4, n. 2.
- dwt ntr*, title suggestive of Heliopolitan origin (Blackman), 7, 13.
- dwt*, lower parts of tomb (Gardiner), 22, 178.
- dwn*, in late writings = 'rise' by coalescence with *tw* (Gunn), 12, 131, n. 3.
- m dwn* (*sp* 2), 'onward', 'continually' (Gardiner), 22, 175 f.
- Dwn-ḫw*, 'Extender-of-talons' (Shorter-Gardiner), 16, 62.
- dbn*, weight used in scales of a balance (Gardiner), 9, 10, n. 4; probable cuneiform equivalent *tibnu* (Smith-Gadd), 11, 236.
- m dbn im*, 'between (?)' (Faulkner), 22, 139.
- dbh*, 'measuring-vessel', perhaps 1 gallon (Gunn), 12, 136.
- dbhw*, 'requirement', *nomen actionis* from *dbh*, 'ask' (Gardiner), 13, 77.
- dbdb*, 'squirt out (?)' and similarly spelt verbs (Faulkner), 24, 49 f.
- dp*, det. backbone, prob. not 'taste' but 'to make mild (?)' (Gunn), 12, 135 f.
- dp*, var. *tp*, 'be spat upon' = *tpi* (Faulkner), 23, 175.
- pr dmi*, following a name = Engl. prefixed 'the town of' (Gardiner), 5, 133, n. 5.
- dmi*, often = 'haven' (Blackman), 20, 219, n. 1; 'quay', 'landing-stage', connected with *dmi*, 'touch' (*Id.*), 22, 104.
- dni*, 'sunder', 'divide', 'distribute', also 'dam off' (Gardiner), 6, 104, n. 5.
- dniw*, 'share' or 'portion' (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 50, n. 7.
- dnit*, 'part', pronounced without *n* in Dyn. 20 (Gardiner), 22, 180.
- dnyt*, 'terrier' (Griffith), 12, 196, n. 9.
- dnit*, 'dam', rare meaning 'trench' or 'ditch' (Gardiner), 1, 31, n. 2.
- ts dnit*, 'dividing-waters', name of canal on E. edge of Egypt (Gardiner), 6, 104.
- dns*, 'heavy', 'slow-moving' (Gardiner), 9, 16, n. 2, 20, n. 11; 'courageous', 'resolute' (Griffith), 12, 210, n. 2.
- dndn* as transitive verb, 'rage against' (Faulkner), 23, 178.
- Dr-Wtiw*, 'Subduing-the-Oasis-dwellers (?)', Mirgissah or Dabnarti (Gardiner), 3, 189.
- dh*, 'straw' opposed to *ndm*, 'pleasant' (Griffith), 12, 222, n. 8.³












¹ See also *Nauri*, 93, 96; *Elephantine Decree* (13, 208), 7.

² Later read by Peet as *iw*, 'island', and cf. Gardiner, *L.-Egn. Miscellanies*, p. 111 a, l. 6, n. 1.

















³ Actually = *dhr*, 'bitter', with loss of final *r*. B. G.

















-  =  and kindred writings (Gardiner), 22, 182 f.
-  corrupt writing of *v*-vase (Griffith), 11, 298, n. 7.
-  obscure group, for 'his chamber' (?) (Faulkner), 24, 49.
-  common N.-K. writing of *mḥt*, 'tomb' (Gardiner), 21, 144 (18).
-  corrupt writing of *š*, vase in which beer was presented (Griffith), 11, 298, n. 7.
-  *šw*, not *šnw* (Gunn), 19, 105.
-  'first day of month' perhaps original of late  (Dunham), 24, 5, n. 9.
-  to be read *wnmy(t)*, 'the devouring flame' (Faulkner), 23, 177.
-  *wh* = 'fish', hence in enigmatic writing = *wh* = 'interpret' (Gunn), 12, 136.
-  'diversion (of offerings)', to be read *wḏb rd* (Clère), 25, 215 f.
-  writing of goddess *Bḥst* (Gardiner), 5, 258; cf. 19, 128.
-  phonetic writing of  (Gardiner), 5, 138, 198.
-  sometimes as writing of def. art. *p* (Gardiner), 5, 138.
-  *prwy nbw*, 'two houses of gold' but  *pr-ḥḏwy*, 'two white-houses' (Gunn), 19, 105.
-  writing of *phwy* (Gardiner), 22, 178.
-  possibly 'wild' 13th-Dyn. writing of *m-s* in meaning 'except' (Gunn), 25, 218.
-  'tears (?)' (Faulkner), 22, 134; cf. *mwy*, *mwt*, 'sorrow (?)', 22, 137 f.
-  writing of *mḥ* when = 'inlay' (Gardiner), 22, 179.
-  title of Neith (Neville), 4, 231.
-  'cubit', read *mḥ-ε* (Gunn-Peet), 15, 171, n. 3.
-  *w* 'worm (?)' (Blackman), 5, 29, n. 13.
-  probably a writing of *Nrwtt* (Faulkner), 24, 50.
-  rare spelling in royal titles, perhaps only under Sethos I and Ramesses II (Černý), 15, 198; but also Tut'ankhamūn, cf. 16, 145.
-  read *iry*t (Dunham), 24, 2, n. 5.
-  for more usual  () 'in the way of' (Černý), 15, 197, n. 1.
- writing of 'with' (Griffith), 12, 201, n. 1.
-  abnormal spelling = Cop. *εppai* (Gardiner), 22, 178.
-  writing of *ḥsty-ε* (Gardiner), 19, 27 (16).
-  sportive writing for *ḥtp* (Faulkner), 23, 15.
-  not uncommon M.-K. writing of *ḥb nb*, 'every feast' (Gunn), 21, 4, n. 7.
-  'Priest of the Two Placentae of Horus' (Blackman), 3, 243 f.
-  late writing of pronom. form of preposition *hr* (Faulkner), 22, 133, 137.
-  *ḥtp-di-nsu*, in horizontal inscr. regularly so written until end of Dyn. 13, rarely later (Smither), 25, 34 ff.
-  writing of *ḥtp-di-nsu* in horizontal inscr. not found before Dyn. 14, thereafter usual (Smither), 25, 34 ff.
-  frequent O.-K. title, perhaps to be read *ḥw wε* (Blackman), 3, 242, n. 1.
-  fem. pers. n. (Williams), 5, 272.
-  (title) 'to the front over (?)' (Gardiner), 6, 212, n. 4.
-  title of uncertain significance (Dakin), 25, 164, n. 5.
-  *ḥry tp nsw*, reading *tpy nst nsw* refuted (Peet), 2, 193.
-  writing of Osiris (Shorter), 20, 40 with n. 1.
-  unit of square measure = 10 arurae (?) (Gunn-Peet), 15, 170 f.
-  connected with *sd*, 'clothe' or mistake for *dw*, 'garment' (Griffith), 12, 218, n. 1.
-  'confined (?)' (Faulkner), 24, 48.
-  phonetic writing of *sb*, 'star', Cop. *εioy* (Steindorff), 25, 31.
-  corruption of *isw twt*, 'full compensation' (Blackman), 22, 106.
-  'Bank of *Wsd*t of Lower Eg.' perhaps = *ε n Wsdyt n Sssw*, near Pelusium (Weill), 21, 22.
-  perhaps writing of *smwy*, 'darkness' (Gardiner), 22, 136.
-  'knives' (Faulkner), 24, 50.
-  writing of *šty* (Gunn), 12, 135.
-  sometimes to be read *ššft* (Smither), 25, 158, n. 3.
-  'ill (?)' (Faulkner), 24, 51.

-  probably not to be read *Gsmt* and not connected with 'Goshen' (Gardiner), 5, 218 ff.; cf. (Navelle) 10, 28 ff.; cf. (Gardiner) 10, 94.
-  on wine-jar fragments, Ptolemy's 'Agathodae-mon' river (?) (Gardiner), 5, 257, n. 1.
-  to be read as one word 'bull' (Faulkner), 22, 136.
-  *k(r)p*, 'bandage', also as verb 'cover' (Blackman), 22, 38 (12).
-  unusual writing of *Kpn*, 'Byblos' (Newberry), 14, 109.
-  mistake for *gsh* or writing of *gsh* (Blackman-Gunn), 22, 44, n. 4.
-  as writing of fem. demonstr. adj. (Gardiner), 16, 21.
-  'clean linen (?)' (Gardiner), 21, 220, n. 2.














































































-  place-name, perhaps for *Hdd* (Faulkner), 23, 179.
-  as writing of *mdst*, 'book', perhaps only late and secondary (Gardiner), 24, 171.
-  'rise up' assuming confusion with  (Faulkner), 24, 50.
-  word for 'domains' to be read so (Blackman-Peet), 11, 294, n. 18.
-  place-name, *Did* (?), *Md* (?) (Shorter-Griffith), 11, 79.
-  unlikely name for festival marking shift of a month in calendar (Peet), 6, 153 f.
-  'diversion (of offerings)' to be read *dbw rd* (Clère), 25, 215 f.
-  with and without complement  (Peet), 17, 157.
-  place-name perhaps = *Dbtwt* (Faulkner), 22, 139.














ii. Signs and groups (arranged in the order of the Sign-list in Gard., Egn. Gr.)


















-  usually to be read *rmf* in O.Egn. (Gunn), 19, 105.
-  as det. of a dimension-word (Gunn-Peet), 15, 175, 178, n. 4.
-  as qualification of *t*-bread, for *gun*, 'soft' (Černý), 23, 61, n. 5.
-  derived from iconographic presentation of Isis suckling Horus, finger touching lips expressing desire for milk (Shiah), 24, 127 f.
-  (hieratic ) in 22nd-Dyn. titles = *ms* or *wr* (Gardiner), 19, 23; as det. of *bc*, 'boast' (*Id.*), 21, 220, n. 4;  as det. by corruption (Griffith), 12, 195, n. 4.
-  phonogram for *in* (Faulkner), 21, 189, n. 2.
-  see *ks*.
-  double det. of Aten name indicating dual divine and royal nature (Gunn), 9, 175, n. 6.
- hwi*, 'strike', early attempt to render hieratic sign (Gardiner), 15, 54.
-  indication of lacuna in scribe's original (for *gm wš*) (Faulkner), 22, 132 f.
-  reading *ptr* not *mš* (Blackman), 21, 2, n. 3.
-    serdab-squint (Blackman), 3, 251 ff.
- o (?) vague kind of ideogram for 'wig' (Faulkner), 20, 155; as det. of all food offerings in funerary formula (Smither), 25, 160, n. 1.
-  in *is*, 'tomb' borrowed from *is*, 'breath' (Griffith), 12, 196, n. 14.

-  with additions borrowed from  (Smither), 25, 160, n. 9.
-  'he who protects the majesty' (Hornblower), 15, 35, n. 2.
-  with words for 'embrace' or 'clasp', including notion of protection (Hornblower), 15, 34 f.
-  'that which protects the god', naos which holds statue (Hornblower), 15, 35, n. 2.
-  perhaps to be read *wf* (Macadam), 25, 125.
-  marking end of section, derived from or suggested by similar sign in *Pyr. Texts* (Faulkner), 23, 270.
-  = little finger (Gunn), 3, 280.
-  as det. of *hš* not finger but striker (Davies), 9, 142, n. 1.
-  often to be read *š* (Gardiner), 4, 136, n. 6.
-  reading *b(š)h* in *bhmv* (Faulkner), 24, 50.
-  Δ for verb 'to square' (math.); also used for simple addition (Gunn-Peet), 15, 178 with n. 6.
- $\Delta\Delta$ or $\Delta\Delta\circ$ abbreviated writings for *š prt* (Gunn), 12, 130.
-  either for *ist*, 'be defective', or its causative 'falsify' (Gunn), 12, 129.
-  *wrt* (?), 'desert' (Černý), 15, 248, n. 30.
-  with additional signs in nome-standards (Wainwright), 19, 42 ff.
-  cult-animal of Seth, prob. feral pig (Newberry), 14, 217 ff.

¹ See p. 266, n. 2 above.















-  = *mi* in enigmatic writing (Gunn), 12, 137.
 used both with *id* and *idn* (Gunn), 24, 8.
, , , appendages are loops of spinal chord (Dawson), 22, 107.
 late value *md* (Spiegelberg), 15, 82 with n. 9.
 in Coptos nome-name represent Min and Horus (Wainwright), 17, 191.
 'Horus and the Ombite (Seth)' (Hornblower), 24, 129.
 (*nh*) with feather sportively developed to resemble  (Polotsky), 16, 197, n. 5.
 in late writings of *rh-ht* (Gardiner), 24, 170, n. 2.
 *bch*, perhaps bird perched on mast (Gunn), 6, 302.
 'nestling' (Griffith), 13, 281.
 as equivalent of hieratic ligature for *mt* (Gardiner), 5, 221.
 see .
 abbreviation of *pst*, 'nobles' (Gunn), 23, 184.
 originating in belief that female ancestor appears as snake (Arkell), 19, 176.
 represents *Tilapia nilotica* (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 24.
 perhaps has value *sb* in *sbn* (Gunn), 24, 8.
 see *n^cr(w)*.
 read *ps^sry* in med. texts, not *hpr^r* (Dawson), 20, 187.
 wrongly taken over prob. from *isw*, 'reed' for *is*, 'tomb' (Peet), 11, 120.
  enigmatic writing of name Osiris (Peet), 6, 56, n. 2.
 thorn (?), certainly concrete, not a triangle (Gunn-Peet), 15, 172, n. 1.
  'rations', 'donative' not *spd*, but derived from *di* (Gardiner), 8, 109.
 in enigmatic writing = *r* (?) (Gunn), 12, 137.
 abbreviation of *hnmmt*, 'sun-folk' (Gunn), 23, 185.
 substitute for  in cartouches of time of Amenophis III and Tut^ankhāmūn (Glanville), 15, 7 f.
  perhaps reading *dwt*, Tēi (Blackman), 4, 124, n. 12.
 ideogram for Amūn as god of watery abyss of heaven (Wainwright), 20, 145 f.
  and  replacing harmful dets., possibly secondary, from ... etc. (Gunn), 19, 105.
  5 epagomenal days, treated as part of last month (Gardiner), 19, 25, n. 1.
-  abbreviation of *r* (Faulkner), 23, 14.
 = *h, n, nt*, in enigmatic writing (Gunn), 12, 137.
 prob. writing of *twy* (Allen), 10, 175.
 det. of *ww*, triangular tract of irrigated land in oasis (Gardiner), 19, 21.
 as det. does not prove a structure is meant (Gunn), 12, 134.
 encloses text of each spell in Pyramids of Ṣaḳ-kārah (Sethe), 1, 236, n. 4.
 to be read *nš* in O.-K. title   (Wainwright), 25, 104.
 not found as det. of *wšy* (Smither), 25, 104.
 word for 'square root', if masc. prob. *tm* (Gunn-Peet), 15, 170, n. 1.
 pole at Min's shrine, later form due to connexion with Wadjet (Wainwright), 21, 165 f.
 = *im* (Griffith), 13, 202, n. 1.
 for  'successor' (Shorter), 17, 23 (b).
 probably censor rather than lamp (Davies), 10, 10; in enigmatic writing prob. = *h* (Gunn), 12, 137.
 in origin flag placed on grave of deceased ancestor (Arkell), 19, 175 f.
 perch-stand with bird's food-trough and meat (Bénédite), 5, 239.
 a sky-pole (Wainwright), 21, 168.
 sacred object of Min and similar objects of Horus (Wainwright), 17, 185 ff.; 18, 6. 159 ff.
 ensign of high priest of Letopolis (Wainwright), 18, 160; also of high priest of Sebennytus (*Id.*), 19, 46 f.
 Lower-Egn. crown, yet worn by *Imnt*, goddess of Thebes (Scharff), 14, 271, n. 1.
 *i^c*, in O.-K. titles (Smith), 19, 156.
 *hkt*, shepherd's crook (Newberry), 15, 84 f.
 *wt*, crooked stick longer than  (Newberry), 15, 85.
 *nh^sh^s*, originally an instrument for collecting ladanum (Newberry), 15, 86.
 for  first in 22nd-Dyn. inserr. (Steindorff), 25, 31.
 following cartouche, 'trooper of King . . . (Faulkner), 20, 154.
 standing on two feet (Dakin), 25, 161, n. 4.
  (or ) difficult group somehow referring to fact that one man had been arrested on information of another (Peet), 11, 41 f.
  'enemies' (Faulkner), 24, 53.
 later *sb*, perhaps orig. *b^s* (Vikentiev), 17, 69.















 may be *gs* or *ks* or *šs* (Naville), 10, 28; but *cf.* (Gardiner) 5, 221.
 graphic confusion for , biliteral for *mr* and *mt* (Gardiner), 5, 219.
  *ksr*, 'chapel' or *mdt*, 'abyss'? (Blackman), 5, 26, n. 9.
 as symbol on stelae, perhaps salve to anoint magic eyes (Blackman), 21, 8.
 as det. of all food offerings in funerary formula (Smither), 25, 160, n. 1.
 and , writings of *tt* and *ttw*, perhaps due to confusion of  and  in hieratic (Gardiner), 24, 170 f.
 instances in O.K. not determining pictographic character of sign it follows (Gardiner), 24, 84, n. 3; symbol for '1' not a simple vertical stroke, perhaps object of bone or wood used in reckoning (Gunn), 3, 280.
 etc., prob. first common in hieratic (Gunn), 19, 105.

 not found at Amarna, only (Gunn), 9, 174, n. 1.
 abbreviation of *rhyt*, 'plebs' (Gunn), 23, 184.
 for  *wt* in *mrwt* (Smither), 25, 159, n. 2; see also under  above.
 in hierogl. (Piankoff), 20, 158 (c).
 in enigmatic writing might = *s* (Gunn), 12, 137.
 sign for truncated pyramid perhaps to be read *hsk* or *mr-hsk* (Gunn-Peet), 15, 177 f.
 placenta (Blackman), 3, 236 ff.
 in connexion with *bis* and Seth (Wainwright), 18, 9 f.; 19, 51; *wt* as phonetic det. in *mrw* (Smither), 25, 159, n. 2.
   word of uncertain reading and meaning, 'pigment (?)' (Faulkner), 24, 49.
 or  alone for *ms-hrw* in late texts (Spiegelberg), 15, 80, n. 3. 82, n. 8.
 det. of *špt* = ? (Dunham), 24, 3.










III. HIERATIC GROUPS AND SIGNS













i. Groups (arranged alphabetically)

  in 20th-Dyn. hieratic (Peet), 12, 255.
 , group to be transcribed so or  (Shorter), 22, 167.
 often in L.Egn. for  (Gardiner), 22, 178.
 'spelt' to be transcribed so at *Rhind* period (Gunn), 12, 137.
phrt sometimes   in transcr. of N.-K. hieratic (Gardiner), 15, 54.
    read simply *nmī*, confusion of 














































































and  in N.-K. hieratic (Faulkner), 22, 135 f.
  , mistaken late-hieratic writing as if  (Bagnani), 19, 165.
   N.-K. hieratic group for *rmī* (not to be transcribed so) (Gardiner), 15, 52.
   , transcribe so in N.-K. hieratic unless indistinguishable from   (Gardiner), 15, 54.
  in Ramesside hieratic (Černý), 23, 60.

ii. Signs and Groups (arranged in the order of the Sign-list in Gard., Egn. Gr.)

  dets. of *hfty(t)*, tick indicating hostile beings (Piankoff), 20, 158 (κ).
 introducing a charge, not to be read  (Černý), 15, 248, n. 25.¹
 , abnormal form in 1st Interm. Period (Gardiner), 16, 20, n. (e).
 , transcribe det. of *hr*, *shr* so in late hieratic (Faulkner), 21, 51.
 in 22nd-Dyn. titles = *ms* or *wr* (Gardiner), 19, 23.
 in *m(i)niw* (Blackman-Peet), 11, 286, n. 11; *cf.* (Gardiner) 15, 54.
 , form in 18th-Dyn. *Bk. Dead* (Shorter), 20, 36, n. 2.

  mistaken late writing as if a snake (Bagnani), 19, 165.
 , N.-K. group of uncertain origin best transcribed so (Gardiner), 15, 54.
 rather than  in transcribing N.-K. hieratic (Gardiner), 15, 51.
 N.-K. form, confused with  '1' (Gardiner), 21, 144 (13).
 , form in *P. Rhind* often with only one dot (Peet), 16, 271.
 designating 'bad' day in calendar, corruption of  (Dawson), 12, 261.
 and  in late hieratic (Bagnani), 19, 163 f.; *cf.* (Faulkner) 21, 49 f.

¹ Č. now holds the converse view, see *Griffith Studies*, 49, n. 1.

-  cursive group for (Černý), 23, 187 f.
 form in 18th-Dyn. *Bk. Dead* (Shorter), 20, 36, n. 2.
 unusual form (Gardiner), 3, 103, n. (d).
 in transcribing N.-K. hieratic 'plough', *rw* and *šw* signs except when 2 handles are shown (Gardiner), 15, 54.
 late distinctive writing for , also in 'abnormal' hieratic (Griffith), 12, 195, n. 2.
 see  below.
 never without cross in Dyn. 19, both with and without in Dyn. 20 (Černý), 15, 198.
 in N.K. (Dawson-Peet), 19, 170.
 , transcribe so in N.K. unless indistinguishable from  (Gardiner), 15, 54.
 in late Ramesside hieratic (Winlock-Gardiner), 10, 238, n. 1.
 late confused writing (Bagnani), 19, 165; cf. (Faulkner) 21, 50.
 for 'god-sign' rather than  (Gardiner), 15, 51.
 late writing for Sopd, confusion with  (Bagnani), 19, 165; prob. equivalent of  (Faulkner), 21, 50.
 , M.-K. forms (Smither), 25, 220.
 , N.-K. group so transcribed when = 'mother', otherwise  or  acc. to context (Gardiner), 15, 53.
 , form in 18th-Dyn. *Bk. Dead* (Shorter), 20, 36, n. 2.
 , N.-K. group to be transcribed so (Gardiner), 15, 52.
 when = *Gb* add diacritical mark in transcribing N.-K. hieratic (Gardiner), 15, 53.
 bird with two raised wings, should be so transcribed in all cases in N.-K. hieratic (Gardiner), 15, 52.
 distinguish from  in N.-K. hieratic (Gardiner), 15, 54.
 , form in 18th-Dyn. *Bk. Dead* (Shorter), 20, 36, n. 2.
 *smc* bird with special det., sketch of foot of perching bird (Dawson), 18, 151 f.
 to be used (not ) when stick is shown (Gardiner), 15, 51.
 with extraordinary division (Griffith), 12, 204, n. 6.
 , 'Upper-Egn. barley' perhaps to be read so (Peet), 17, 154 f.
 , mistaken late writing with moon (Bagnani), 19, 165; cf. (Faulkner) 21, 50.
 , vertical *ʿ* (Piankoff-Gardiner), 20, 158 (a).
-  very often written vertically esp. in cartouches (Newberry), 14, 4, n. 4.
 in early hieratic resembles  (Gardiner), 11, 3 f.
 , form of det. of *wis* in 18th-Dyn. *Bk. Dead* (Shorter), 20, 36, n. 2.
 , unique form in 1st Intern. Period (Piankoff), 20, 158 (D).
 , form in 18th-Dyn. *Bk. Dead* (Shorter), 20, 36, n. 2.
 , 'halbhieratisch' form (Piankoff), 20, 157.
 , 'halbhieratisch' form (Piankoff), 20, 157.
 , 'halbhieratisch' form (Piankoff), 20, 157.
 , mistaken late writing by confusion with  (Bagnani), 19, 165.
 , mistaken late writing by confusion with  (Bagnani), 19, 165.
 late-hieratic sign also =  (Faulkner), 21, 51; form in Ramesside hieratic in use as adj. with various materials (Černý), 23, 60 ff.
 , form in 18th-Dyn. *Bk. Dead* (Shorter), 20, 36, n. 2.
 , new form of net det. in 18th-Dyn. *Bk. Dead* (Shorter), 20, 36, n. 2.
 abbreviation for *hekāt*-measure, not  (Peet), 17, 155.
 for  and  in transcribing N.-K. hieratic (Gardiner), 15, 51; so transcribe substitute for  and  in late hieratic but not when =  (Faulkner), 21, 51.
 , unusual late writing (Černý), 23, 59.
 , transcribe det. of *fh*, *sfh* so in late hieratic (Faulkner), 21, 51.
 abbreviation for *dm* (ⲁⲟⲟⲁⲁⲉ), 'papyrus-book' (Gardiner), 22, 182.
 form in *P. Rhind* (Peet), 16, 271.
 form in *P. Rhind* (Peet), 16, 271.
 , late sign (also = ) to be transcribed so in *hk* (Faulkner), 21, 51.
 not  in transcribing hieratic (Gardiner), 15, 51.
 not to be read  (Blackman-Peet), 11, 286, n. 8.
 , form in 18th-Dyn. *Bk. Dead* (Shorter), 20, 36, n. 2.
 rather than  in transcribing N.-K. hieratic (Gardiner), 15, 51.
 , det. of *inr* perhaps to be read so (Blackman), 12, 183, n. 7.

◊ and ◊ in late hieratic (Bagnani), 19, 163 f.; cf. (Faulkner) 21, 49 f.
 𓆎 not 𓆏 in transcribing hieratic (Gardiner), 15, 51.
 𓆑 in transcr. of N.-K. hieratic only when clearly differentiated, otherwise 𓆒 (Gardiner), 15, 51.
 ≡ in hieratic and hierogl. (Piankoff), 20, 158 (c).
 𓆓 instead of 𓆔 or 𓆕 in transcribing N.-K. hieratic (Gardiner), 15, 51.
 𓆖, transcribe so in N.-K. hieratic whether = *imi* or *wn* (Gardiner), 15, 53.
 𓆗 to be used in transcribing verb 'to strike' in N.-K. hieratic (Gardiner), 15, 53 f.

𓆘 mistake for 𓆙, abbreviation for *dm̄s*, 𓆘ωω𓆘𓆘, 'papyrus-book' (Gardiner), 22, 182.
 𓆚 artificial sign for transcribing N.-K. hieratic group for *šn* (Gardiner), 15, 53.
 𓆛 for initial phonetic Δ in N.-K. hieratic (Gardiner), 15, 54; late sign, also for Δ (Faulkner), 21, 51.
 𓆜 for *idn* or as det. in N.-K. hieratic (Gardiner), 15, 54.
 𓆝 or 𓆞 for *šw* in N.-K. hieratic, 𓆞 = *m̄st* (Gardiner), 15, 54.
 𓆟 in transcribing N.-K. hieratic whether det. for 'back' or biliteral in *smw*, 'herbs' (Gardiner), 15, 53.

B. DEMOTIC.

iw̄t ('cattle'), see *tp* (*n*) *iw̄t*; *n̄ h̄dw iw̄t*, writing not as in *iw̄t*, 'office' (Nims), 22, 51.
'ywr, Cop. 𐩪𐩣𐩬𐩮, Semitic word for 'deer' (Bénédite), 5, 12.
'mntj, 'west', writings of (Reich), 17, 91.
'ry, with a title, 'be such and such (title)', 'qualify as (?)'; *'ry-f*+title, 'make him an X (?)' (Glanville), 19, 37 (7) with n. 1.
'S-rš, pers. n., writings of (Reich), 17, 95 f.
'te, see *wt̄* (§ A, I).
o-n-s, 'phylarch (?)' (Glanville), 19, 37 (10).
'cy (*'wy*) supersedes *pr* in meaning 'house' in later Ptol. times (Thompson), 23, 258, n. 1.
wt̄ (old *wt̄*), with god det. = sacred animal (Nims), 22, 53, n. 5.
rb̄t, 'trustee' who held record of a transaction (Nims), 24, 78 ff.; doubtful whether connected etymologically with 𐩪𐩮𐩫 (*Id.*), 24, 82, n. 2.
Wn-nfr-p-my, pers. n. (?) (Glanville), 19, 37 f.
wshy(t), usually = Halls of Osiris, also 'hall', 'court' of a temple (Glanville), 19, 36 (4).
wđ (*wđz*), of priesthood, 'full' *i.e.* 'complete (office)', or of candidate, 'sound' (Glanville-Thompson), 19, 37 (8). 40.
by, 'soul', group includes ◊ (Reich), 17, 89.
pr, of ordinary 'house' till early Ptol. times, afterwards of temples or palace (Thompson), 23, 258, n. 1.
pr-dwf, see *twf* (§ A, I).
m̄c (= *bw*), writing of (Reich), 17, 91.
p m̄c nt e X n̄m-f, phrase used with persons (or things) of special distinction (Reich), 17, 93.
mnq mt (*r* or *n*), 'take counsel with (?)' (Glanville), 19, 36 (5).
m̄hj-t, 'balance', dem. writings of (Reich), 17, 91.
M̄hbr = *Meyd̄baroi*, perhaps connected with 𐩪𐩮𐩫𐩮𐩫𐩮, province of Nubia (Griffith), 11, 268, n. 1.
mty, trans. 'agree upon' (Glanville), 19, 37 (6).

mtwz conjunctive used independently as future, implying obligation (Nims), 24, 77 f.
mdh not derived from old *mdh* (Gunn), 25, 218 f.
n, representing L.-Egn. *m*, appositional use (Gunn), 20, 225.
n̄m-f, writings of (Reich), 17, 91 f.
rpy, 'rejuvenate', dem. group (Reich), 17, 89.
rn, 'name', never without det. 𐩪𐩮 (Reich), 17, 91.
ršy, 'rejoice', writings of (Reich), 17, 96.
h p t, 'upon the earth', strange writing (Reich), 17, 94.
Hm-hwy, pers. n. (Glanville-Thompson), 19, 38 (13).
hms, assembly of priests (Glanville), 19, 36 (3).
hp, *hp-f*, introducing sentences, 'now' (Gunn), 20, 227.
h̄tm-w r-f ('his mouth was closed'), denoting end of pleading in court (Gunn), 20, 226.
r-h, see *ht* (§ A, I).
hyr(t) = Gk. τροφή, a 'feeding-place' for sacred animals (Thompson), 23, 258.
hb, title (?) (Spiegelberg), 15, 80.
m-s, 'among the followers of' (Reich), 17, 93.
m-si, 'pertaining to' (Nims), 24, 78.
S'trt's, pers. n., perhaps = *Στρατιώτης (Griffith), 20, 110.
s̄nh in marriage settlements, 'revenue-producing property', 'endowment' (Nims), 24, 75 f.
Sbk-nb-(T')-tn, spelt in two ways (Glanville), 19, 36, (2).
Sbk-hb (?), apparently not = *Sbk-H'yp* which is presumably origin of σοκοῦῶπις (Glanville), 19, 37, (11).
shfe-t, length-measure = 𐩪𐩣𐩬 = parasang (Thompson), 11, 151 ff.
sš n wy, 'cession' (Nims), 24, 78, n. 3.
šc n (?) *Pr-s̄nh*, perhaps simply a hierogl. book (Gardiner), 24, 175.
k, 'bull' written with 𐩪 and 𐩫 (Reich), 17, 95.
 . . . *-kmy*, fem., length-measure = 'Egn. schoenus' (Thompson), 11, 151 ff.

tp (*n*) *iwet*, group for 'small cattle' to be read so (Nims), 22, 51 ff.
din, perf., yet referring to document in which it appears (Nims), 24, 79, n. 1.
z-t with elaborate snake-sign (Reich), 17, 89.

zk-mt, regarded as one word, 'record', 'contract' (Glanville), 19, 35 f.
 𐩧 transcribe god-sign so, not 𐩨 (Reich), 17, 88.
 𐩩 dem. equivalents (Reich), 17, 97.

C. COPTIC.¹

ααλκαστήριον = ἐργαστήριον, 'brothel (?)' (Crum), 20, 197, n. 17.
 ἀελεκον, cf. ἀεγλικον, perhaps = Mod. Gk. ἀθελκτος, 'unbewitched' (Crum-Preisendanz), 20, 197, n. 13.
 Ἀλωσῶα, Egn. *Yl(t)*, Ar. 'Alwah, country of Alodaei in Nubia (Kirwan), 21, 58.
 ἀποδαϕ, 'Nubian', preserving final *-t* (Kirwan-Crum), 21, 60, n. 11.
 ἀρηῆ, 'pledge', doubtful whether can be connected etymologically with dem. *ῥβϕ* (Nims), 24, 82, n. 2.
 ἀσπαρτον, 'wild (ἄσπαρτος)' or perhaps for ἄσφαλτος (Crum), 20, 199.
 ἀσωοϕ, qual. of ἀσαι, 'recklessness' (Crum), 13, 25, n. 1.
 ἀτε-, not negative word but *stat. constr.* of ἀτο, 'number' (Crum), 8, 117.
 ἀϕσωτῳ, continuing relative sentence (de Buck), 23, 162.
 *ἀρε, probable *A* form of ερε, 'cow' (Spiegelberg), 12, 35.
 βαι, шен-, 'blow with a palm staff' (Crum), 8, 117.
 βενπε, from *bi*, 'metal of heaven' = 'iron' (Sethe), 1, 234, n. 2; cf. (Wainwright) 18, 15.
 βαρωτ, from *bi*, 'grown metal' = 'pure copper' (Sethe), 1, 234, n. 2; cf. (Gardiner-Gunn) 4, 36.
 βασπεϑ, from *bi*, 'metal of . . .' = 'tin' (Sethe), 1, 234, n. 2.
 βωϑϑ without εβωλ (Crum), 18, 194.
 ε, of direction towards places, very rarely of persons; co-ordinating substantives as well as verbs (Thompson), 15, 279.
 ειεοϕλ, dem. 'ywr, Semitic word for 'deer' (Bénédite), 5, 12.
 εκι α-, lit. 'as thou comest to . . .' (Allberry), 25, 170.
 εμεϑϑε, *bulfi*-fish, perh. = Ar. *mešt* (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 24.
 εμπε-, correct spelling of form for 'until' (rather than μπε-) (Polotsky), 25, 110.
 εϑϑε, see *ϑϑy*.
 ερε- . . . (ε-), 3rd fut. before nom. subj. = L.-Egn. *ir . . . (r)* (Gardiner), 16, 220 ff.
 ερεκοϕ, word of uncertain meaning (Crum), 20, 199.
 ερηϑ : ϑι πεϑερϑ, etc., 'altogether, all in one, at one time', etc., biblical exx. (Polotsky), 25, 111, n. 1.
 ετι, in magical texts for Gk. ἦδη (Smither), 25, 174, n. 10.
 εϑω, εϑαϑ, see *ϑ*.
 ημϑϑ, the month Mekhīr, cf. Ar. *Imsh(ir)* (Dalton), 3, 36.

ερο μμοϑ always has ε+infin.; ερο π-, bare infin. common (Polotsky), 25, 111 f.
 κωκ, see *kk*.
 καιλε, for σοειλε (Crum), 20, 197, n. 4.
 κελωλ, var. πκοϕλωλ, 'the Cup', name of monastery (Crum), 12, 266.
 κερϑ, fish, *Silurus schall*, perhaps to be read *σερν*, then = Egn. *srk*, Ar. *šarrūk*, *Schilbe* (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 30.
 λα (*ME* λε) and μηπλα = *συκοφαντια* (Bell-Thompson-Crum), 11, 246.
 λαῆϑϑ, see *ry*.
 λειϑι, see *ry*.
 μαιϑωπε, enclosure with church, cells, etc. (White), 10, 76.
 μοϑι, 'island', see *myt*.
 μακοϕρια, province of Nubia, next to ποῦαῖα (Griffith), 11, 266; perhaps connected with *Μεγάβαροι*, dem. *Mhbr* (*Id.*), 268, n. 1; Muḳurrah, Nubian kingdom (Kirwan), 21, 61.
 μαιπομειϑι, a small fish (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 32 f.
 μηπλα, see *la*.
 μῑωϑ, μῑπῑ for *m ir* by confusion with forms involving *pr* (Gardiner), 14, 11, n. 1.
 μῑπεϑσωτῳ from *n pr f sdm* (Gardiner), 14, 11, n. 1.
 μῑπαϑϑσωτῳ, from *n pr f sdm* (Gardiner), 14, 11, n. 1; but cf. (*Id.*) 16, 229 ff.
 μοειτ, from **māti(ē)n (mtn)* (Albright), 23, 192.
 μτο, masc. form of μτω, 'the deep' (Griffith), 12, 203, n. 2.
 μϑϑεϑ, further *A*² exx. (Allberry), 25, 170.
 μϑϑ, 'breath' goes back to *mhyt*, 'north wind' (Polotsky), 25, 113.
 μοϑϑ, etc., not derived from Egn. *mdh* (Gunn), 25, 218 f.
 μεστολ : μῑστολ, see *Mktr*.
 πα-, see *nns*.
 ποῦαῖα (?), northernmost province of Nubia (Griffith), 11, 266; ποῦαῖα, ποῦαῖα = Marūs, Nubian kingdom (Kirwan), 21, 60, n. 7.
 ππε, perhaps neg. corresponding to ϑιπε (Bell-Thompson), 11, 243.
 ποειτ and similar forms, see *ndw*.
 πτε-, πτεϑ, πϑ, conjunctive, see *hnc ntf sdm*.
 πτακ, see (*m*) *di k*.
 πτωρε, 'goddess', etc., abundantly attested (Polotsky), 25, 110.
 ποϑοϑϑ, 'turn', *A*² exx. (Allberry), 25, 172.
 πϑοϑτι, πϑοϑτε, see *tfdn*.
 πῑ, πῑϑε, see *m*.

¹ The transliterated words in the cross-references are in § A, 1 unless otherwise stated.

- οὐλε for λοῦε (Crum), 20, 197, n. 9.
 π-, initial, replaced by α-, oftenest in Middle Egypt (Crum), 13, 23, n. 7.
 παπαπῶλω, pers. n., 'He of the Apollo' (Smither), 25, 173, n. 2.
 πε, following future in apodosis in *S* (Polotsky), 25, 110.
 πιλοτε, pers. n., prob. = φιλοθεος (Crum), 13, 23, n. 3.
 περωσιος, pers. n., 'the heron', and similar names (Crum), 4, 68.
 πρια, Cop. name of Nubian fortress Ibrim (Griffith-Crowfoot), 20, 8.
 περεμογι, not from *Pr-ymn* (as 5, 255), but *Pr-ir-mnt* (Gardiner), 10, 94.
 προου, pers. n., cf. πλωου, πρωου (Crum), 13, 21, n. 2.
 πηρϣ, Egn. *prš*, Minium (red oxide of lead) (Dawson), 21, 39.
 παχωρας = Bakharas, Phthuris (?), modern Faras (Griffith), 11, 259 ff.
 πουε πρητ, 'be weak' (Crum), 13, 25.
 ποχσ, 'spread out' (Crum), 8, 119.
 πισε, rare word (Bell-Thompson), 11, 243.
 ραει, see *rm*.
 ροειπι πογωαι, 'a year's alimony' (Crum), 8, 119.
 ριρ, see *ri*.
 ρογс, unrecognized deity (Smither), 25, 174, n. 3.
 ρηт π, see *rd m*.
 ρατφατ, 'hare' = 'whose foot is covered with a growth' (Polotsky), 25, 111.
 ρωψε, see *rh*.
 ρωῆε, Egn. *sbh*, 'call out' (?) (Gardiner), 20, 197, n. 1.
 ρωκι, ἐκλέγειω etc., distinct from ρωκ, 'draw' (Polotsky), 25, 111.
 ρκρκρ, *A*² and *S*, prob. infin., not qual. (Polotsky), 25, 111.
 ρλῆου fish, perhaps *Schilbe*, cf. χελγαγ (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 29 f.
 ραλογκι, see *srk*.
 ρωλσ, 'wipe out' (not 'destroy') and 'smear' (Crum), 8, 119.
 ργμοс fish, perhaps borrowed from Gk. σίμος (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 32.
 ραειπ, 'physician', old Upper-Egn. form shown in Gk. pers. n. ψενψεειω (Griffith), 3, 197.
 ρητωπε (σινδόνιον), 'linen sheets' (Crum), 18, 197.
 ρωп, 'kohl stick', not 'rebel' (Crum), 8, 119.
 ρ̄р-αλαε εἶολ, not identical in meaning with *sr ch* (Gardiner), 21, 222 (e).
 ραρακωτε, may designate *girovagi*, wandering monks (Crum), 13, 22, n. 8.
 ρωс, perhaps from *ssi* (Gardiner), 3, 105.
 ρωт, full form of *stt*, 'arura' (Gardiner), 3, 286.
 ρερεωτε, see *st*.
 ρφραυϣ, 'interpreter of dreams', from *ss pr-nh* (Gunn), 4, 252.
 ρρε, (1) 'depart, remove oneself', (2) 'be removed' (from one's senses) (Crum), 8, 119.
 ρρηт, absolute 'write' (Crum), 13, 21.
 τῆпп, pl. τῆппоуе, 'beast' from Egn. *tp n iwt*, 'small cattle' (Nims), 22, 53.
 τεῆт, 'fish' in general (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 32.
 τοαι prob. mat. hung over door (Crum), 8, 187.
 τιααλα = τие ελεαεα, 'I am rich' (Crum), 16, 157.
 ταιпсоп, 'at the moment in question', 'at any given moment' = *tnw sp* (Polotsky), 25, 111.
 тппε always earthen dyke (Crum), 8, 187.
 трепери fish = Gk. νάρκη, 'electric eel' (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 27 f.
 τωс, 'become, be hard' derived from Egn. *ts* (Gunn), 24, 125, n. 3.
 τωогп, 'raise', 'rise', perhaps from coalescence of *twn* and *dwn* (Gunn), 12, 131, n. 3; followed by circumstantial clause = 'to arise from' doing something (Polotsky), 25, 221.
 ого(ε)ι: φοго(ε)и, 'seek', *A*² exx.; φпого(ε)и, etc., 'go forward', *A*² exx. (Allberry), 25, 171.
 огоуϣ, perhaps 'Thursday' (Polotsky), 25, 112.
 огоре, see *wh*.
 χπ̄о, cipher for *Μιχαήλ* in Nubia (Griffith), 11, 262, n. 5.
 ωαι, 'swell, rise' from stem *urm*, root *rm* (Albright), 6, 92, n. 5.
 ωпε (perhaps also written оип) = ψωλή (?) (Crum), 20, 196, n. 1.
 ωре: ερι *F* qual. (infin. ори), (Polotsky), 25, 112.
 ωпп, see *ikn*.
 ѱе, see *š*.
 ѱῆῆεиω, see *šbt*; πтѱῆῆεиω χе-, 'instead of being' (Crum), 8, 188.
 ѱпке, see *пте*.
 ѱол, Egn. *šrw* (Gunn), 16, 151.
 ѱαлогки, see *srk*.
 ѱптесрпие *S* ('son of the woman') different from ѱηεсрпие *F* ('female child') (Polotsky), 25, 112.
 ѱа(п)т̄г-сωт̄а, from L.-Egn. *šr-r iirt(w)f sdm* = M.-Egn. *r šdm'tf* (Gardiner), 16, 231 ff.; not as (*Id.*) 14, 94.
 ѱпоуϣ, cf. *šnš*.
 ѱωс, 'herdsman', from *šsw*, 'nomads', (Gunn-Gardiner), 5, 38.
 ѱωсαι, corresponding to ἀνεμόφορος γίνεται in LXX (Crum), 23, 141.
 ѱпте, 'demand' a tax or alms: possibly also = ѱпке, 'dig up' (Crum), 13, 24, n. 1.
 ѱωте, see *šdw*.
 ѱтαι, 'shut' not found with *ε*+noun nor with *εροз* (Polotsky), 25, 112.
 ѱоуϣ, applied indiscriminately to several animals (Bénédict), 5, 13.
 ѱогуϣт, 'cupboard' (White), 10, 76.
 ѱфω, see *shfet* (§ B).
 ѱадогори, Ar. *sabār*, *šabār* = *bolti* (*bulfi*) fish (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 24.
 ѱзпт, 'dye' (Crum), 16, 157.
 ϣ̄ = 99, talismanic value (Bonner-Worrell), 16, 9.
 ϣори, fish = Egn. *br*, Gk. βωρευс, Ar. *būri*, common grey mullet (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 27.
 ϣтег епооу, best form for '4 days ago' (Polotsky), 25, 112.
 ϣ written *S* (Crum), 13, 19, n. 5.
 ϣ (*A*), merely phonetic, separating vowels (Crum), 13, 21, n. 6.

ρδ-, perfect tense prefix for δ-(Crum), 13, 21.

ρε (name of letter γ), Ar. transcription ϖ (Polotsky), 25, 112.

ριτοοῖϛ, see under *ḡrt*.

ριοι, see *hy*.

ρελληι, ρελληος, 'Greek' or 'pagan' (Gaselee), 1, 207 f. 299.

ρλογιε, plural of ρελ, 'servant' (Crum), 13, 21.

ρομμῑ, ρομμῑ, "'bronze", the impure copper in general use' from *hmty*, 'smith' (Sethe), 1, 234, n. 2.

ρην (*hnw*), measure of capacity while ρηααγ, ρηο (*hnw*) = ordinary vase (Sobhy), 10, 284.

ρογην: ερογην (ε)ρη-: ερη- prob. not constr. of ερογην (Crum), 18, 194; ρη- is not prep. = 'in' but from ρο (*hr*), ερογην εραζ being *stat. pronom.*; though ερογην ρην- *B* must arise from misunderstood *S* ρη- (Polotsky), 25, 113.

ρηνε, *ME* equivalent of λααγ: ρλι (Bell-Thompson), 11, 243.

ρηο, see ρην.

ρηααγ, see ρην.

ρογ, = ρωϛ, 'work' (Allberry), 25, 174, n. 11.

ρι ε-, 'interfere with' (Crum), 13, 25, n. 8.

ρι ογαιϛ (cf. ρπογαιϛ), corresponds to *occasionem capere*, φθάνειν (Allberry), 25, 170 ff.

ρο, see *ḡrw*.

ρωλκ, (1) 'stretch', 'prolong' (*B* ρωλκ), (2) 'dive' (*B* ρωλκ) (Crum), 8, 189.

ξελεγαγ fish, perhaps common *Schilbe*, cf. κλβογ (D'A. W. Thompson), 14, 29 f.

ρηογ, see *tnfyt*.

ρηιρε, ρηρι, ραρατε, 'pod'; supposed original *ḡrt* cannot = 'pod' (Dawson), 20, 41 f.

ραξε ρην-, perhaps 'be hard towards' (Crum), 8, 189.

ρηιρε, see *gm*.

ρηιμογῑ, see *Gnmw*.

ραρατε, see ρηιρε.

ρωιϛ, true extended *B* form of ρϛ (Griffith), 19, 107.

ρροϛ, applied indiscriminately to several animals (Bénédite), 5, 13.

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
BY JOHN JOHNSON, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

PUBLISHED BY
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

2 HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, LONDON, W. 1

ALSO SOLD BY BERNARD QUARITCH, 11 GRAFTON ST., NEW BOND ST., W. 1; HUMPHREY MILFORD,
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, AMEN HOUSE, WARWICK SQ., E.C. 4, AND 114 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, U.S.A.;

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, FETTER LANE, LONDON, E.C. 4;
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., 38 GREAT RUSSELL ST., W.C. 1
GEORGE SALBY, 65 GREAT RUSSELL ST., W.C. 1