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CONTENTS

TUTANKHAMÜN'S GOLD DAGGER	The Editor	1
NOTES ON AMMENEMES I	Battiscombe Gunn	2
SOME RUBBINGS OF EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS MADE A HUNDRED YEARS AGO	Rosalind Moss	7
EGYPTIAN MILITARY STANDARDS	R. O. Faulkner	12
RAMESSIDE TEXTS RELATING TO THE TAXATION AND TRANSPORT OF CORN	Alan H. Gardiner	19
A TAX-ASSESSOR'S JOURNAL OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM	Paul C. Smither... .. .	74
GROWTH OF THE <i>Htp-Di-Nsw</i> FORMULA IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM	C. J. C. Bennett	77
THE STELA OF SHOSHENQ, GREAT CHIEF OF THE MESHWESH	A. M. Blackman	83
SYRIANS IN THE TOMB OF AMUNEDJEH	N. M. and N. de G. Davies	96
A GREEK EPIGRAM FROM EGYPT	Marcus N. Tod	99
<i>Inn</i> IN LATE EGYPTIAN	Jaroslav Černý	106
THE TUNIC OF TUTANKHAMÜN	G. M. Crowfoot and N. de G. Davies	113
A RAMESSIDE LOVE CHARM	Paul Smither	131
THE HIEROGLYPH FOR THE FLEDGLING	Nina M. Davies	133
THE TÜKH EL-ĶARĀMÜŞ GOLD HOARD	J. G. Milne	135
THE ATTEMPTED SACRIFICE OF SESOSTRIS	G. A. Wainwright	138
NOTES ON EGYPTIAN LEXICOGRAPHY	Battiscombe Gunn	144
EGYPTIAN ASTRONOMY	Letters from Dr. Eisler and Dr. Chatley	149
BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT		
GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1939-1940)	Marcus N. Tod	153
BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS: The Use of Red for Amounts of Cereals in Hieratic by Battiscombe Gunn, p. 157; The Writing of <i>Htp-Di-Nsw</i> by C. J. C. Bennett, p. 157; Egyptian Sea-going Ships: a Correction by R. O. Faulkner, p. 158; The Cow's Belly by Alan H. Gardiner, p. 158; The Tall Story of the Bull by Paul C. Smither, p. 158; The Name of Sesebi by A. J. Arkell, p. 159; Big Game Hunters in Ptolemaic and Roman Libya by Marcus N. Tod, p. 159; On Medinet Habu Ostracon 4038 by F. M. Heichelheim, p. 161.		
NOTES AND NEWS		162
REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS:		
BATAILLE, A., GUÉRAUD, O., JOUGUET, P., LEWIS, N., MARROU, H., SCHÉRRER, J., WADDELL, W. G., <i>Publications de la Société Fouad I de Papyrologie. Textes et Documents III. Les Papyrus Fouad I Nos. 1-89</i>	Reviewed by F. M. Heichelheim	176
ENGBERG, R. M., <i>The Hyksos Reconsidered (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, No. 18)</i>	„ R. O. Faulkner	171
HEBBELYNCK†, AD., and VAN LANTSCHOOT, ARN., <i>Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae . . . Codices Coptici, Tomus I: Codices Coptici Vaticani. Recensuerunt</i>	„ W. E. Crum	179
JUNKER, H., <i>Giza II and Giza III</i>	„ R. O. Faulkner	166
KAPSOMENAKIS, S. G., <i>Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit</i>	„ L. R. Palmer	177
LANGTON, N. and B., <i>The Cat in Ancient Egypt</i>	„ Alan H. Gardiner... .. .	173
PETROPULOS, G. A., <i>Papyri Societatis Archaeologicae Atheniensis (Παρυμαρτίαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν)</i>	„ F. M. Heichelheim	177
PRÉAUX, C., <i>L'Économie royale des Lagides</i>	„ H. I. Bell	174
SETHE, K., <i>Vom Bilde zum Buchstaben. Die Entstehung der Schrift (Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens, Bd. XII)</i>	„ R. O. Faulkner	169
SPIEGEL, J., <i>Die Idee vom Totengericht in der ägyptischen Religion</i>	„ A. W. Shorter†	173
TURNER, E. G., <i>Catalogue of Greek and Latin Papyri and Ostraca in the Possession of the University of Aberdeen</i>	„ H. G. M. Bass	176
LIST OF PLATES		183
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT		184
INDEXES:		
General		185
Index of Words, Etc., Discussed		190

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
TUT ^{ANKHAMŪN} 'S GOLD DAGGER	The Editor 1
NOTES ON AMMENEMES I	Battiscombe Gunn 2
SOME RUBBINGS OF EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS MADE A HUNDRED YEARS AGO	Rosalind Moss 7
EGYPTIAN MILITARY STANDARDS	R. O. Faulkner 12
RAMESSIDE TEXTS RELATING TO THE TAXATION AND TRANSPORT OF CORN	Alan H. Gardiner 19
A TAX-ASSESSOR'S JOURNAL OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM	Paul C. Smither... .. 74
GROWTH OF THE <i>Htp-Di-Nsw</i> FORMULA IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM	C. J. C. Bennett 77
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SYRIANS IN THE TOMB OF AMUNEDJEḲ	N. M. and N. de G. Davies 96
A GREEK EPIGRAM FROM EGYPT	Marcus N. Tod 99
' <i>Inn</i> IN LATE EGYPTIAN	Jaroslav Černý 106
THE TUNIC OF TUT ^{ANKHAMŪN}	G. M. Crowfoot and N. de G. Davies 113
A RAMESSIDE LOVE CHARM	Paul Smither 131
THE HIEROGLYPH FOR THE FLEDGLING	Nina M. Davies 133
THE ṬŪKH EL-ḲARĀMŪṢ GOLD HOARD	J. G. Milne 135
THE ATTEMPTED SACRIFICE OF SESOSTRIS	G. A. Wainwright 138
NOTES ON EGYPTIAN LEXICOGRAPHY	Battiscombe Gunn 144
EGYPTIAN ASTRONOMY	Letters from Dr. Eisler and Dr. Chatley 149
BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT	
GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1939-1940)	Marcus N. Tod 153
BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS: The Use of Red for Amounts of Cereals in Hieratic by Battiscombe Gunn, p. 157; The Writing of <i>Htp-Di-Nsw</i> by C. J. C. Bennett, p. 157; Egyptian Seagoing Ships: a Correction by R. O. Faulkner, p. 158; The Cow's Belly by Alan H. Gardiner, p. 158; The Tall Story of the Bull by Paul C. Smither, p. 158; The Name of Sesebi by A. J. Arkell, p. 159; Big Game Hunters in Ptolemaic and Roman Libya by Marcus N. Tod, p. 159; On Medīnet Habu Ostracon 4038 by F. M. Heichelheim, p. 161.	
NOTES AND NEWS ... ..	... .. 162

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS:

BATAILLE, A., GUÉRAUD, O., JOUGUET, P., LEWIS, N., MARROU, H., SCHÉREUR, J., WADDELL, W. G., <i>Publications de la Société Fouad I de Papyrologie. Textes et Documents III. Les Papyrus Fouad I Nos. 1-89</i>	Reviewed by F. M. Heichelheim ...	176
ENGBERG, R. M., <i>The Hyksos Reconsidered (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, No. 18)</i>	„ R. O. Faulkner ...	171
HEBBELYNCK†, AD., and VAN LANTSCHOOT, ARN., <i>Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae ... Codices Coptici, Tomus I: Codices Coptici Vaticani. Recensuerunt</i>	„ W. E. Crum ...	179
JUNKER, H., <i>Giza II and Giza III</i>	„ R. O. Faulkner ...	166
KAPSOMENAKIS, S. G., <i>Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit</i>	„ L. R. Palmer	177
LANGTON, N. and B., <i>The Cat in Ancient Egypt</i>	„ Alan H. Gardiner ...	173
PETROPULOS, G. A., <i>Papyri Societatis Archaeologicae Atheni- ensis (Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν)</i>	„ F. M. Heichelheim ...	177
PRÉAUX, C., <i>L'Économie royale des Lagides</i>	„ H. I. Bell ...	174
SETHE, K., <i>Vom Bilde zum Buchstaben. Die Entstehung der Schrift (Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens, Bd. XII)</i>	„ R. O. Faulkner ...	169
SPIEGEL, L., <i>Die Idee vom Totengericht in der ägyptischen Religion</i>	„ A. W. Shorter† ...	173
TURNER, E. G., <i>Catalogue of Greek and Latin Papyri and Ostraca in the Possession of the University of Aberdeen</i> ...	„ H. G. M. Bass ...	176
LIST OF PLATES ... ..	... ..	183
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT ... ..	... ..	184
INDEXES:		
General ... ..	... ..	185
Index of Words, Etc., Discussed ... ..	... ..	190

TUT'ANKHAMŪN'S GOLD DAGGER

By the EDITOR

SINCE this volume of the *Journal* appears in a new style of print and with a new cover, it has seemed fitting to celebrate the occasion with a coloured plate. Our readers will, it is hoped, agree that for this no more attractive subject could have been chosen than Mrs. Brunton's beautiful painting of the gold dagger from the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn. So eloquently does Plate I speak for itself that little is required in the way of description, the more so since the dagger is dealt with in some detail in the discoverer's own account.¹ The full records of the tomb are now deposited in the Griffith Institute at Oxford, and exhibit the neat precision characteristic of all Howard Carter's work, besides being illustrated with beautiful pencil drawings such as few artists, and certainly no living archaeologist, could have surpassed. From this source has been taken the slight additional information here added by way of supplement to Carter's published statements.

The gold dagger, of which the fellow is one with iron blade and crystal knob, measures 31·9 cm. in height, i.e. roughly a third as much again as the present reproduction. The materials used in the cloisonné bands alternating with the granulated gold work of the haft are given in Carter's notes as lapis lazuli, carnelian, malachite, green felspar, and jasper red glass. The cartouches on the top of the knob are of applied embossed gold, and most of the semi-precious stones already mentioned are employed also there. The blade is of specially hardened gold with a reddish tinge, for which Carter suggests an admixture of copper. It must be realized that of the sheath all that is shown in the Plate is the back, as is indeed clear from the two gold loops through which perhaps passed a girdle that has been preserved. The front is much less attractive, exhibiting a feather pattern of cloisonné work beneath a frieze of palmette ornament, and terminating at the point with a jackal's head in embossed gold.² The animals on the back recall the hunting scenes found in many a tomb, but are even more charmingly displayed in the limited space available between the row of spirals above and the elaborate floral device below. The present writer sees no reason to suspect Aegean influence. A tiny detail invisible in our painting is the rosette on the shoulder of the lion, which, together with a cheetah, is engaged in biting the lower of the two ibexes. The liveliest depiction of all is the little calf at the bottom; it is portrayed in full flight, having thus far escaped the attention of the hounds and their owner.

¹ Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tut'ankh'amen*, II, 131-3, with pls. 87, 88.

² *Op. cit.*, pl. 88, A.



TUTANKHAMUN'S GOLD DAGGER

NOTES ON AMMENEMES I

By BATTISCOMBE GUNN

I

THE little book entitled *The Instruction of Ammenemes I* is, alike because of the intimate and individual character of its contents and the importance of the monarch to whom it is attributed, one of the most remarkable literary works that have come down to us from Pharaonic Egypt; and the poor or fragmentary manuscripts by which it is alone represented at present are worthy of the closest study, pending the discovery of a good and complete Middle Kingdom copy. A very important contribution to the proper understanding of it was made in 1934 by Prof. De Buck in *Mél. Maspero* I, 847 ff.; setting out from the statement in *P. Chester Beatty IV*, vs. 6, 13–14 that its author was a scribe Akhtoy, he made out a good case for the view that the *Instruction* was not, as has been widely held, written by the king himself towards the end of his lifetime for his son and successor Sesostri I as ‘a book which would serve both as a memorial to his mighty deeds and an apologia for his retirement from the kingly office’,¹ but that in this work ‘the *dead* king is talking or is supposed to talk out of his tomb’ (p. 849). De Buck supported this hypothesis by a number of considerations (including the probability that Ammenemes therein relates his own murder) which it is unnecessary to summarize here.

Curiously enough De Buck seems to have overlooked the fact that in the second half of the last century a number of scholars took the same view, namely that in the *Instruction* Ammenemes is speaking after his death. This followed from their interpretation of the words *m wpt mꜣct* in the introductory passage: ‘Here begins the Instruction which the Majesty of King . . . Ammenemes, justified, made, when he spoke *m wpt mꜣct* to his son, the All-Lord, saying: “Thou who art arisen as a god, hearken to what I shall tell thee . . .”.’ They interpreted this phrase in the *Instruction* by reference to another example of it in the Stela of Taimḥōtep, wife of Psherenptaḥ, High Priest of Memphis, with which I am dealing in an article in the next volume of the *Journal*. Taimḥōtep records there (ll. 8 ff.) that she and her husband having had three daughters and no son, they prayed to Imouthes (Imḥōtep) for a male child. ‘And he hearkened to our supplications, he heard his (Psherenptaḥ’s) prayers. The Majesty of this god came to the bedside² of this High Priest of Memphis *m wp(t) mꜣct*,³ and he said, “Cause a great building to be made in the adytum of ‘Ankhtawi, the place in which my body is con-

¹ Gardiner, *Hierat. Pap. BM*, III, p. 44, quoted by De Buck, p. 848.

²  (so clearly in the Williams impression at the Griffith Institute). I take this to be a sportive writing (similar to  *hrt hrw*; cf. also the variation of  with  in the old title) of *hr tp*; for the curiously specialized meaning of this phrase see my note on p. 145, below.

³ Written ; for the monogram cf. *P. Ani (Bk. Dead)*, pl. 3, over the balance, right.

cealed, and I will reward thee for it with a male child.” And upon this he awoke (*nhs pw ir-n-f hr nn*) and adored this august god.’¹ Birch, in his article *On Two Egn. Tablets of the Ptolemaic Period*, published in *Archaeologia* xxxix (1864), translates *wpt<t> mꜣꜣt* here as ‘a dream’, and adds in a footnote (p. 32 of the offprint) ‘This expression for a dream has been recognized both by myself and Mr. Goodwin,² who also finds it repeated in the second Sallier Papyrus, which, at the opening, gives an account of the dreams of Amenemha I.’ (The attribution of the dream to Ammenemes is of course wrong.) Chabas, in *Réponse à la critique* (1868), reprinted in *Bibl. égyptol.*, xi, 203 ff., corrects (p. 259) Brugsch’s reading of the group in Taimhōtep’s stela as ‘*âp-šū*’ and identification with *ꜣḥw*, *ꜣḥw*, ‘sleep’ in his *Wörterbuch*, I, 59 (1867), by reference to the same phrase in the *Instruction*: ‘M.S. Birch a depuis longtemps signalé le sens *rêve, songe*, du groupe $\begin{smallmatrix} \vee \\ \times \\ \beta \end{smallmatrix}$ M. Brugsch . . . peut voir la forme complète du mot dans les Instructions politiques qu’Amenemha I^{er} révèle à son fils. . . . Décomposé, le mot paraît signifier: *avis de vérité, révélation*. M. Birch avait raison aussi bien pour la lecture du mot que pour le sens.’ Maspero, translating the text in *Records of the Past*, 1st Series, II (1874), reprinted in his *Études de Myth. et. d’Arch.*, III (= *Bibl. égyptol.*, VII, 165 ff.), gives (p. 11, or p. 166 of the reprint) ‘he says in a dream—unto his son the Lord intact . . .’, without comment. Birch, *Ancient History from the Monuments: Egypt . . .* (n.d., but 1875), 61: ‘A papyrus in the British Museum records the instructions given in a dream by Amenemha I to his son.’ Pierret, *Dict. d’arch. ég.* (1875), 519, art. ‘Songes’, states: ‘Les songes jouent un grand rôle dans la littérature égyptienne. Amenemha I^{er} apparaît en songe à son fils Ousertesén I^{er} et lui donne des conseils sur l’art de régner (Pap. Sallier, II.)’ Schack-Schackenburg, in *Die Unterweisung des Königs Amenemhat I.* (1882), 2, translates ‘indem er das Rechte offenbart’. In a note he says that if *wpt mꜣꜣt* means ‘a dream’ the Horus-name of Antef^o of Dyn. XVII is ‘sehr auffällig’, and considers the punctuation to preclude the meaning ‘dream’. Maspero, in *Hist. anc. des peuples de l’orient classique: Les origines* (1895), 466: ‘La réputation de sagesse qu’il acquit . . . devint telle qu’un écrivain, à peu près son contemporain, composa sous son nom un pamphlet où il était censé adresser à son fils ses instructions posthumes sur l’art de gouverner.’³ Il lui apparaissait en rêve et, l’apostrophant. . . .’

After this, however, the translation of *wpt mꜣꜣt* in the *Instruction* as ‘dream’ or ‘revelation’ seems to have been given up. Griffith, in *ZÄS* xxxiv (1896), 35 ff., considers that Ammenemes wrote his *Instruction* ten years before his death, on associating his son with him on the throne, and translates ‘in dividing (or declaring) truth’, without comment. Shortly afterwards, in *A Library of the World’s Best Literature* (1897), 5324, he gave ‘which he spake as a dividing of truth to his son . . .’, with a

¹ This has been rightly recognized as an example of the ‘incubation’ which was much practised at the temple of Imouthes-Asclepios at Şakkārah: cf. Hurry, *Imhotep* (2nd edn.), Index, s.v. ‘Incubation’; Foucart, pp. 35 ff. of the article cited p. 4 below.

² I have been unable to find any published statement by Goodwin to this effect; in his article *On Hieratic Papyri* in *Cambridge Essays* (n.d., but 1858), 269, he had translated, without comment, ‘speaking counsels of truth [or precious counsels] to his son’.

³ The passage, to this point only, is repeated from the small 1886 edition, 96.

reference to 2 Tim. ii. 15 ('rightly dividing the word of truth'). Erman, in *Aus d. Papyrus d. kgl. Museen* (1899), 44: 'Er sagt als Weisheitsbotschaft', without comment. Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, I (1906), § 478: 'while distinguishing truth', without comment. Gunn, *The Instruction of Ptah-hotep* (1906): 'In discovering words of truth,' without comment. Erman, *Literatur d. Aegypter* (1923): 'in einer Botschaft der Wahrheit', without comment. Foucart, in *Hastings Encycl. Rel. Ethics*, v (1912), 36, s.v. 'Dreams and Sleep (Egyptian)', says: 'Cases of direct intervention by the dead are not of great frequency in the literature at present known to us. The view of Pierret (*Dict. d'arch. égypt.*, Paris, 1875, s.v. "Songe"), that the famous papyrus of "The Teaching of Amenemhat" has reference to an appearance of the king's father, who came in a dream to instruct his son, is nothing more than hypothesis.' Maspero, in his edition of the text in the *Bibl. d'étude*, vi (1914), refers, p. xiii, to *m wpt mꜣrt*, 'que j'ai traduite par "songe", après Brugsch, admettant, comme Chabas l'avait fait, qu'elle désignait un de ces songes prophétiques, par lesquels les dieux, — et les Pharaons morts étaient des dieux, — révélaient leur pensée aux hommes: c'était donc après sa mort qu'Amenemhaît  "se levant en dieu",¹ aurait donné des conseils à son fils. Griffith, sans repousser résolument cette manière de voir, préfère penser qu'Amenemhaît I^{er} était vivant encore au moment où il parla, et les derniers versets prouvent qu'il a raison.'² On the same page he translates *m wpt mꜣrt* by 'en message sincère'.³ Finally, De Buck, *op. cit.*, 852, refers to 'the emphasis which the opening words lay on the truth of what follows (*ḏḏ-f m wpt mꜣrt*)'.

For my part, I am strongly inclined to agree with the view of the older writers that Ammenemes appeared posthumously to his son in a dream or revelation, and to see in this a valuable confirmation of De Buck's interpretation of the text. It would be pleasant to be able to adduce further examples of this meaning of *wpt mꜣrt*, but I am unable to do so.⁴ Nor am I able to extract more evidence from the text than De

¹ Other translators have taken *ḥꜣ m nꜣr* as the first words of Ammenemes' address (*i.e.* as object of, and not as circumstantial to, the second *ḏḏ-f*). If Maspero's view were correct we should have here additional evidence of the posthumous character of the *Instruction*; but I fear that the other is to be preferred, not so much on grammatical as on stylistic grounds: (a) for the address to begin with an imperative, without any apostrophe before it, would be very harsh; (b) the balance of phrases seems to require these words as part of the discourse: *ḥꜣ m nꜣr | sḏm n ḏḏtī-ī n-k || nswy-k tꜣ | ḥkꜣ-k ḏbw*; (c) for both occurrences of *ḏḏ-f* to be followed by adverbial phrases would be very clumsy. *Ḥꜣ* is not used in other accounts of dreams in which a divine being appears (Sphinx Stela, Karnak Inscr. of Merenptah, l. 29, Bekhten Stela, Dream Stela of Tanutamūn, Stela of Taim-ḥōtep). And 'se levant en dieu' implies that Ammenemes has become a god only since his death, which would be quite contrary to Egyptian beliefs. *Ḥꜣ* will refer to the accession of Sesostriis, and since he has already acceded (note that he is referred to as *Nb-r-ḏꜣr*) we should take the word as a perfect participle in the vocative ('O thou who hast appeared as a god'), and not, with Griffith, as an imperative ('shine forth as a god').

² Maspero's final view (*Bibl. d'étude*, vi, xlv) was that Ammenemes escaped with his life from the murderous attack, but was then forced to give up the throne to Sesostriis I, whom he regarded as the accomplice if not the instigator of the assassins. I am unable to find any evidence of this in the text. His translation of *ih iry-ī shrw-k* (*P. Millingen*, 2, 6), as 'que (désormais) j'agisse selon tes dessins' is not impossible, according to *Wb.*, IV, 260 (7), but 'therefore let me direct thee' is the *primâ facie* meaning. I do not understand his reference to the final verses.

³ Making *mꜣrt* adjectival, 'true'; but in all texts the word is written with β and III, which are correct for 'truth', but would be quite wrong in 'true'.

⁴ *Wp mꜣrt* is well known as an epithet of Thoth (but not of Imouthes), the king and the vizier (see *Wb.* s.v. with the references) but in that use doubtless means 'revealing truth' in a quite general sense.

Buck has done to support his view, except on one point. De Buck says (p. 850, n. 3) that the epithet *mꜣr-hrw* which follows Ammenemes' name in all the manuscripts may be an addition of the later scribes, and that it is therefore perhaps unwise to attach any importance to it. But if it is there a later addition we ought to find it also after the name of Sesostri I, near the end of the text. This, however, is not the case: in the two manuscripts known to me (both late) in which this passage is preserved, one¹ has $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ after the name, the other² has $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$. To my mind this is pretty good evidence that *mꜣr-hrw* after Ammenemes' name *is* to be taken seriously, as having probably stood in the original text.

II

The more recent historians³ have been in agreement in taking Manetho's entry 'Ammanemes, 38 years, who was murdered by his own chamberlains (or, eunuchs)' to refer to Ammenemes II; naturally enough, since this is the second king of the name mentioned in the *Aegyptiaca*. But it is strange to find De Buck, after giving evidence amounting almost to demonstration that Ammenemes I was murdered by his chamberlains, still taking that view and saying (p. 849, n. 1) 'What would naturally happen in those circumstances⁴ is shown by the famous case of Ramses III and Manetho's note about the death of Amenemmes II: $\delta\varsigma \ \upsilon\pi\omicron\tau\ \tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon\ \iota\delta\iota\omega\upsilon\upsilon \ \epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\chi\omega\upsilon\upsilon \ \alpha\upsilon\eta\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta$.' Surely it now becomes imperative to refer Manetho's note to Ammenemes I! A great deal has been said about Manetho having drawn on popular traditions in the compilation of the *Aegyptiaca*; here is an admirable example, for the evidence that has been adduced, and the date of the latest manuscripts of the *Instruction*, show (a) that Ammenemes I was murdered by his own chamberlains, and (b) that the tradition of this survived during more than half the period which elapsed between his time and Manetho's. And it would *a priori* be exceedingly probable that the dastardly murder of the great and glorious founder of the Twelfth Dynasty was remembered long after his *Instruction* ceased to be read. It is to be noted, further, that the Ammenemes who was murdered by his chamberlains is actually the *first* king of the name in Manetho's Twelfth Dynasty; the king who is always regarded as Ammenemes I is placed between Dyns. XI and XII.

Some of the older historians were on the right track, but based their view on the story of *Sinuhe*, not on the *Instruction*.⁵ Lauth, *Manetho u. d. Turiner Königspapyrus* (1865), 221-2, says 'Hr. Chabas hat in einem der Berliner Papyrus die wichtige Entdeckung gemacht, dass 'Αμηνέμης I durch ein Palastereigniss verunglückt ist. Manetho hat uns diese Notiz überliefert mit den Worten: $\upsilon\pi\omicron\tau\ \tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon \ \iota\delta\iota\omega\upsilon\upsilon \ \epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\chi\omega\upsilon\upsilon \ \alpha\upsilon\eta\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta$. Aber sie ist von den Auszüglern dem zweiten 'Αμηνέμης beigefügt worden, weil

¹ P. Sallier II, 12, 3.

² Posener, *Cat. des Ostraca hiérat. litt. de Deir el Médineh*, No. 1103, l. 4.

³ E.g., Wiedemann, *Äg. Gesch.* (1884), 248; Petrie, *Hist.*, I, 174 (of 10th edn.); Meyer, *Gesch. Alt.*, I (2), 2nd and 3rd edns. (1907, 1913), § 280; Maspero, *Bibl. d'Étude*, VI (1914), xxix, xlvi; *CAH*, I (1923), 306.

⁴ Namely that 'A living Amenemmes would always be a dangerous rallying point for the many devoted partizans he was bound to have and the conspirators having successfully dealt the first blow would certainly be wise enough to do their work thoroughly by murdering the king at once.'

⁵ Several of the earlier writers regarded the attack described in the *Instruction* as an incident in the king's struggle for the throne and crown at the beginning of his reign; see Brugsch, *Gesch. d. alt. Aegyptens unter d. Pharaonen* (1877), 117; Rawlinson, *Hist. of Anc. Egypt* (1881), II, 146; Maspero, *Hist. ancienne* (1886), 94; cf. also Meyer, *Gesch. Alt.*, 1st edn. (1884), I, § 97.

Amenemes I ihnen ausserhalb der XII. Dyn. steht.' And Unger, *Chronologie d. Manetho* (1867), 120, referring to Manetho's note: 'Auffallend ist, dass, wie Chabas in einem Berliner Papyrus gefunden hat, den Amenemhet I dies Schicksal betroffen hat, in einer Palastrevolution umzukommen. Man hat daher die Stellung der manethonischen Notiz für einen Textfehler erklärt;¹ die Verwechslung kann auch von Manetho selbst herrühren.' The references to Chabas (Unger may derive from Lauth in this matter) are apparently based on his book *Les Papyrus hiératiques de Berlin* (1863; reprinted in *Bibl. égyptol.*, x, 289 ff.), in which he remarks, commenting on *Sinuhe*, B 36–7, that Ammenemes I seems to have died in mysterious circumstances (pp. 323, n. 1, 325 of reprint).² Von Bissing, *Gesch. Ägyptens im Umriss* (1904), 155, n. 58, and Maspero, *La XII^e dynastie de Manéthon* in *Rec. trav.* xxviii (1906), 11, reject this emendation of Manetho's text, Von Bissing saying merely that there is no occasion to make it, Maspero that the *Sinuhe* passage had been misunderstood, the story showing us that Ammenemes I died a natural death while his son was waging war in Libya. Yet we find Maspero taking a different view two years later: 'Le vieux souverain avait-il été victime de quelque conspiration de palais, et doit-on croire qu'il avait été assassiné par ses eunuques, comme son second successeur Amenemhaît II le fut, d'après la tradition recueillie par Manéthon? On peut le supposer . . .' (*Mémoires de Sinouhit* (1908), xxxiii–iv). Maspero here comes very near to what must now be regarded as the correct view, without, however, explicitly identifying the attack described in the *Instruction* with the murder of the king. He, and some of the other authorities whom I have quoted, seem to have failed by a hair's breadth only to arrive at this conclusion.

III

It will perhaps have been noticed with surprise that throughout this article the Greek form of *Imn-m-hꜣt* has been spelt 'Ammenemes', and not in the current form 'Amenemmes'. The reason is that there appears to be no classical authority at all for this spelling. The forms found in the manuscripts of Manetho are: in Dyn. XII and just before, in the version of Africanus, 'Αμμενέμης twice, 'Αμμανέμης twice; in the version of Eusebius 'Αμμενέμης twice, with variant 'Αμενέμης in one manuscript, and 'Αμμανέμης once; in Dyn. XIX, 'Αμμενεμνήης once (Africanus), 'Αμμενέμης once (Eusebius).³ The *Book of Sothis* has 'Αμενέμης once (No. 9), 'Αμμενέμης once (No. 55). Of these four forms, none of which has the second μ doubled, 'Αμμενέμης predominates, and should in my opinion be used. It seems to be as good a transcription of *Imn-m-hꜣ(t)* as one could desire; for the doubled first μ cf. 'Αμμῶν and many personal names beginning with the god's name in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*. The form 'Amenemmes' was perhaps due to Sethe, who used it in 1904 (*ZÄS* xli, 38);⁴ since then it had been employed in many much-read German works, such as Baedeker's *Aegypten* (and *Egypt*), and by those English Egyptologists who write kings' names in their Greek forms, with the exception of Griffith, who always wrote 'Ammenemes'.

¹ He is probably referring to Lauth.

² Chabas may have expressed himself more definitely on this point in his article on *Sinuhe* in *Panthéon littéraire* I, which I have not been able to see.

³ See Waddell, *Manetho* (Loeb Library), 62 ff., 148, 150, 234, 244.

⁴ And was still using it in 1929 (*Amun u. d. acht Urgötter*, § 9).

SOME RUBBINGS OF EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS MADE A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

By ROSALIND MOSS

FOUR albums containing rubbings of Egyptian monuments made between 1830 and 1840 by a certain John Williams have recently been presented to the Griffith Institute at Oxford by his grandson. John Williams was Assistant Secretary of the Royal Astronomical Society, and author of a book entitled *An Essay on the Hieroglyphics of the Ancient Egyptians* published in 1836, in which he gives an example on pl. III of 'the application of Lithography to a mechanical method of producing perfectly accurate copies of inscriptions on engraved stones', a private invention for which he received the silver medal of the Society of Arts. Encouraged by this, Williams evolved a plan for making copies of all suitable Egyptian objects in museums and private collections including those on the continent, which would indeed have been a most valuable record had it been carried out. An outline of this scheme is attached to the volumes of rubbings, evidently intended to be submitted to some learned society which might finance the undertaking.

'From the increasing interest manifested at the present time in the study of ancient Inscriptions and more particularly to those relating to the Hieroglyphics of the ancient Egyptians, it is highly desirable if not absolutely necessary that perfectly accurate copies of as many monuments as possible should be collected and deposited in some one place where free access might be had to them by all persons engaged in this interesting branch of study. The advantage of studying from authentic copies is too obvious to need any remark. Its convenience must be evident to all who have at any time had occasion to compare original monuments with each other situated either in different and distant parts of the same museum or in separate collections, possibly many miles apart and it may be in different countries. It is therefore much to be wished that copies of the various monuments in the continental museums in Egypt, Greece and Rome should be collected and in this manner deposited in one place. For this purpose Mr. Williams who has for many years past adopted with great success a mechanical method of copying inscriptions on engraved stones (for which he received the silver medal of the Society of Arts) which is exceedingly rapid in its execution, and easy in its application, and which ensures perfect accuracy, would be happy to offer his services. His proposal is, first to make copies of all the articles in the British Museum and other collections in this country to which his process will apply. To visit the Continent and in like manner obtain copies of the various objects in the different Museums, and if it should be thought advisable, to proceed to Egypt and secure in this way copies of a number of the valuable inscriptions which are it may be said hourly disappearing in that country, or which in consequence of the massive nature of the monuments on which they are sculptured cannot be removed. These copies to be placed in the British Museum as the national depository where access to them would be the most easy to all engaged in their investigation. [This was never carried out. J.W.] For this purpose it would be desirable that a permanent office of moderate emolument with a reasonable allowance for travelling expenses should be granted to him. Mr. Williams would refer to his extensive series of copies taken in this manner

from Egyptian and other Monuments as a proof of the efficacy of this system and also as shewing a method of mounting and binding them up into volumes. He has also succeeded in applying this process to Lithography so that copies may be indefinitely multiplied at a very cheap rate should it be thought desirable to do so. Should this project be carried into effect it is manifest that the collection of copies thus made would be one absolutely unrivalled in extent and importance for as it would present perfect facsimiles it would (as far as the inscriptions are concerned) be of as much value to the student as the original monuments and would be one worthy of that nation in which the first probable clue to the meaning of the highly interesting inscriptions of the ancient Egyptians was discovered. Mr. Williams would at any time be happy to attend and shew his method of copying ancient monuments, and also explain fully the manner of his proceeding.'

Apparently the hoped-for subsidy was not forthcoming, and the rubbings were confined to antiquities in English collections, presumably at the inventor's own expense, and consist chiefly of stelae, statues, and sarcophagi in the British Museum and Dr. Lee's Collection at Hartwell House, with a few others from the Ashmolean Museum, the Soane Museum, etc., of which a list will be found at the end of this article.

The exact method used by Williams is described in the following extract from the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Arts*.

'The Silver Isis Medal was presented to Mr. J. Williams, of the School-house, Spitalfields, for his method of obtaining Impressions from engraved Stones, or Plates of Metal. Mr. Williams's method is not at all intended to vie with or supersede common copper-plate printing, being applicable only to large and coarse works, such as copying monumental brasses, or inscriptions or hieroglyphics on marble and other stones. The specimens produced by Mr. Williams for the inspection of the Society were—a copy of the hieroglyphic, Coptic, and Greek inscriptions on the celebrated Rosetta stone, now in the British Museum, made in two hours and a half; and a copy of the hieroglyphics on part of the splendid sarcophagus, known commonly by the name of Alexander's tomb, also in the British Museum: the whole of the sculptures on this latter relic of antiquity might be copied, according to the candidate's computation, in about fourteen hours. Nothing can be simpler and more readily portable than Mr. Williams's apparatus, or more easy and expeditious in its use. To travellers, therefore, especially in the countries of classical antiquity, it would probably be found of great value, by enabling them to obtain, in a short time, not merely copies, but *fac-similes*, of curious and valuable inscriptions. The method employed by Mr. Williams is as follows: He makes damp a proper quantity of demy printing paper, and lays a sheet evenly on the surface of the stone: this he covers with another sheet of paper blackened on one side, the blackened side being downwards; he then, with a piece of smooth soft wood, rubs forcibly on the upper surface of the blackened paper (examining it from time to time) till the characters become quite distinct on the damp paper, the ground or flat surface of the stone being represented by a black tint, and the figures being left in white. Where the surface to be copied is larger than a single sheet, others are to be added successively, and the blackened paper is to be transferred from one to the other. A single piece of blackened paper may be used four or five times, after which it must be replaced by another, or must have a new coating of pigment laid on. The pigment is composed of black lead in very fine powder, mixed well, by beating in a mortar, with hard soap; the mass is then to be diluted with distilled or soft water to the consistence of thin paste, and is to be laid on the paper by means of a soft brush: when dry, it is ready for use.'¹

The rubbings seem to have been fixed with a solution, perhaps milk. In some cases they have been brushed over with a grey wash to bring out the detail more distinctly: the stela, pl. III, fig. 1, is an example of this method, and that on pl. II of the untouched

¹ *Transactions of the Society of Arts*, XLIX, pt. ii (1833), 18–19.



STELA OF THE METAL-ENGRAVER TUNENNEHEBKHONS
from a rubbing by John Williams

rubbing. For stones inscribed in low relief, and for incised texts on wood, the process is most successful, very high relief being of course impossible. There is one cuneiform text, the inscription of Nebuchadnezzar at East India House, which is particularly clear, and in one instance there is a reproduction of a lithograph which has been made from a rubbing. Williams's invention certainly gives remarkably good results, and as a mechanical process has not been superseded to-day; it compares very favourably with squeezes, or even with photographs, and is much more reliable than many published copies.

Samuel Sharpe seems to have made use of this material for many of the plates in his *Egyptian Inscriptions* (1837-55), as in his preface he says that they were traced from Williams's mechanical process. It is quite obvious, however, that they are free-hand copies and not tracings, as Sharpe's plates show a number of misreadings which do not occur in the rubbings. There is also an indirect reference to them in an article by Wiedemann in 1889,¹ where he describes a series of sheets of lithographs of monuments in the Hartwell House Museum made by Madeley, Lithographer, 3 Wellington Street, Strand, about 1835, which had been acquired by the University Library at Bonn. These lithographs were very indistinct, and had been corrected by Dr. Leemans of Leyden, and supplemented by copies and rubbings. There seems no doubt that the latter were those made by Williams, as all the objects mentioned in Wiedemann's paper appear among them, and the description (*op. cit.*, 421, No. 8) of a text 'given by Captain Brace to the United Service Museum' is evidently taken from Williams's own note in ink in our copy. We even have a specimen of the unsatisfactory lithographs at Bonn pasted in by Williams beside his rubbing of the statue of Sebkhōtpe (*op. cit.*, 418-19, No. 2), where the badly shaped and inaccurate hieroglyphs form a striking contrast.

The majority of the objects dealt with are in the British Museum, and include a number of stelae only published somewhat unsatisfactorily in line, or merely mentioned in the Guides. Among these are the 'crossword' hymn to Mut of the time of Ramesses VI (Brit. Mus. 194), hitherto unpublished, the so-called *Denkmal memphitischer Theologie* of Sabacon (Brit. Mus. 948), which has not been reproduced by photography, the stela of a metal-engraver Tunennehebkhōns (pl. II), marked as belonging to Mr. Cureton but now in the British Museum,² and the small stela of Amennakhte before Meresger, acquired from the Belmore Collection in 1843 (pl. III, fig. 1), only published in line.³

The objects at Hartwell House belonging to Dr. Lee are interesting, as most of them have never been reproduced. The whole collection was bought by Lord Amherst, and the antiquities were sold with his own at Sotheby's in 1921, and are now presumably scattered among museums and private collections where most of them still await rediscovery. (Incidentally I shall be very glad of any information concerning the present whereabouts of inscribed objects from the Amherst Collection, other than those in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek at Copenhagen which have appeared in the Museum

¹ *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* xi, 417 ff.

² Brit. Mus. 700, *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*, 1909, p. 205, Exhb. No. 745.

³ Brit. Mus. 374, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, vii, pl. 29, left; Bruyère, *Mertseger*, p. 11, fig. 6.

publications.) Among the Hartwell House rubbings are some curious little reliefs (pl. III, fig. 2) from a statuette: on each side are two kneeling captives with cartouches of a King apparently  or , and on the back is a bull of somewhat Cretan type beneath the inverted end of papyrus-plants. From a marked catalogue belonging to Dr. Lee, now in the Griffith Institute Library, we know that this small piece was bought by him at Sotheby's Sale in May 1833 for £1. 12s., outbidding a Mr. Till who offered 30s. The Sale Catalogue (No. 330) describes it as follows: 'A Seat, or rather Throne, in silacious (*sic*) Stone, the occupants broken off, probably Isis suckling Horus, height 3¼ inches. Most interesting, representing in bas-relief two slaves on each side, with their respective "Cartouches".' Of its subsequent history nothing is known, as it does not appear in the Hartwell House Catalogue. From the Soane Museum we have the sarcophagus of Sethos I, and two stelae from Abydos,¹ and from the Ashmolean Museum the well-known tablet of Shery,² a fragment of the sarcophagus of Parkep now joined to the other fragment in the British Museum,³ and a board from a late coffin of Khaḥap. An interesting stela marked 'Cureton', of Yuny  Chief King's scribe, and his wife Ernütet , with physicians, and a scribe bearing trays of medicines and surgical instruments (?), is now likewise in the Ashmolean Museum.

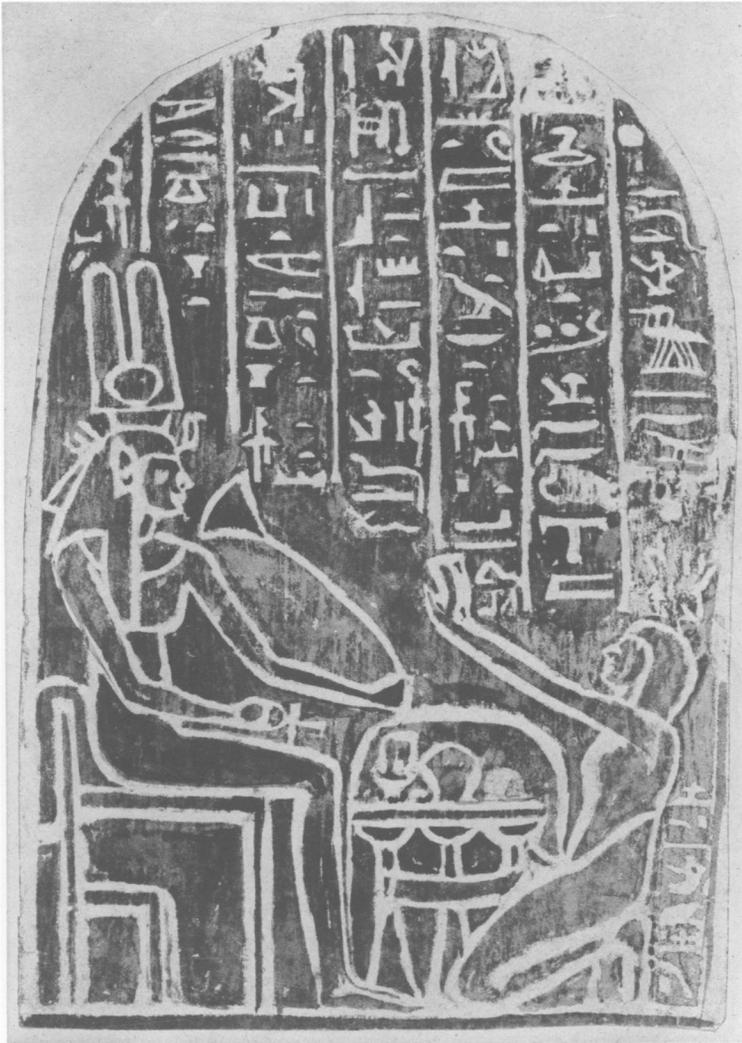
There remain a few unidentified objects, which must now be in some museum or private collection, and I should be glad of any information about them. An Eleventh Dynasty stela of Ameny and a Middle Kingdom stela of Neferḥōtep and his family are said to have belonged to Mr. Dodd. Mr. Sidney Smith informs me that the British Museum used to purchase antiquities from Dodd, and it is possible that these stelae were also among those acquired; but they do not appear in the publications, and the Museum records are not available at present. Besides the stela of Yuny, just described, and that of Tunenneḥebkhōns, now Brit. Mus. 700 (see pl. II), there is another 'Cureton' stela still unidentified, which has Anubis attending a mummy on a lion-couch with two mourning goddesses, and a Greek inscription at the bottom. A small stela with a child offering flowers to Sipar as young prince, dedicated by Nanay , may also be in the British Museum. From the United Services Museum come three inscriptions, of which the Museum knows nothing: a stela of the scribe Pshed, showing the deceased in the bark of Rēc-Ḥarakhti at the top and kneeling below with a hymn to Rēc, a late stela with Ḥarresnet, master of the mysteries of the God's Mother, third and fourth prophet of Onuris, lord of terror, before six divinities, and a block with the titles of an Old Kingdom official called Kaemmedu . The text of Kaemmedu⁴ comes from a false door which was sold at Sotheby's in 1921 with the Amherst Collection (Sale Catalogue No. 212), so the two stelae were probably disposed of at the same time. There is also one stela marked Lee Collection which does not appear in the Hartwell

¹ Texts published by Capart in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* xxix, 311-14, and one stela by Roy in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* vi, 418-19, with plate.

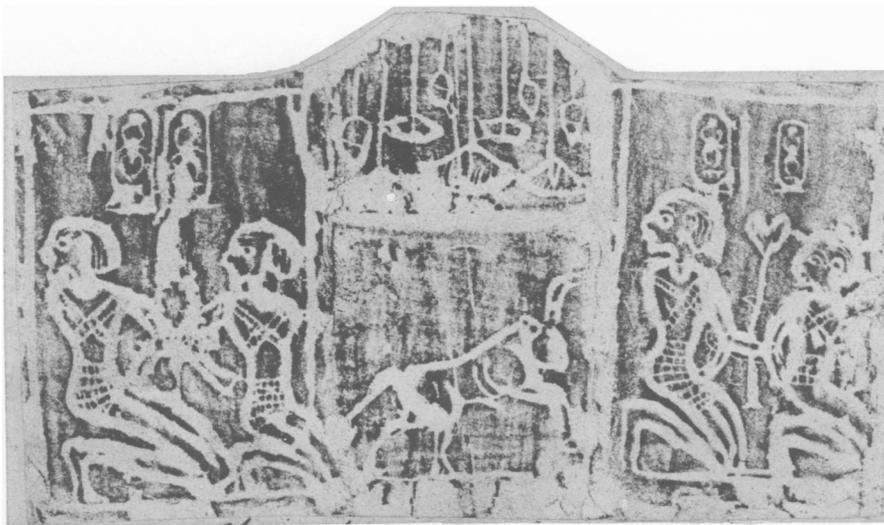
² Lepsius, *Auswahl*, pl. 9, top.

³ Brit. Mus. 1387; Sharpe, *Eg. Inscr.*, 2nd Ser., pl. 76; *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*, 1909, p. 240, Exhb. No. 882-3, where the name is wrongly read as Pep-āri- . . . -sep?, see also rather similarly Ranke, *Ägypt. Personennamen*, 131, 9.

⁴ Published in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* xi, No. 8.



1



2

1. STELA OF AMENNAKHTE, SCRIBE OF THE PLACE OF TRUTH
2. BACK AND SIDES OF A STATUETTE FORMERLY IN THE LEE COLLECTION

from rubbings by John Williams

House or Amherst Collection Sale Catalogues. It is a New Kingdom stela of a carpenter Menna  in three registers: at the top Anubis is seated facing Osiris and the Western Goddess, below two men with a child offer to Menna with his wife and daughter (?), and at the bottom is the mummy in a sarcophagus mourned by the widow and a small girl.

The following is a list of Williams's rubbings from museums. British Museum: Registration Nos. 1-3, 5, 10, 17, 20-1, 23-4, 26-7, 29, 31-4, 37, 43, 48, 57, 66-7, 83, 86, 92, 100-1, 103, 108, 111-12, 123, 128-32, 134, 138-9, 141-3, 146-8, 150-2, 158, 161-7, 187, 190, 193-8, 200-2, 204, 206, 208-11, 214, 217, 219-20, 223-4, 226-8, 230-2, 234, 239-40, 242-7, 251, 253-6, 258, 288-95, 297, 300, 304-5, 309, 312, 314, 316-17, 320-1, 325, 327-8, 330, 332, 338, 344-9, 354, 358-9, 361-3, 365, 368-70, 372-4, 378, 380, 386, 389, 391, 395-6, 414, 447, 471, 478-9, 498, 507, 517, 528, 530, 557-8, 560, 562-9, 571-9, 582-5, 587, 644, 700, 772, 886, 998, 1131, 1377, 1382, 1387, 5621, 8497, 8501, statue of Neferebrēmakhet, canopic-jars, etc. Hartwell House: Nos. 21, 83, 416-17, 419, 446, 551-4, 556, 573-4, 591-3, statuette (cf. pl. III, fig. 2, stela of Menna, pyramidion, ushabti of Tamyt. Soane Museum: stelae 447, 448, sarcophagus of Sethos I. East India House: cuneiform inscription of Nebuchadnezzar. Ashmolean Museum: stelae of Shery and Yuny, board from coffin of Khaḥap. Berlin Museum: offering-table No. 1159. Brussels Museum: two cones E. 3983, 3992.

EGYPTIAN MILITARY STANDARDS

By R. O. FAULKNER

THE custom of carrying military insignia is almost as old as the art of war itself. When warfare emerged from the indiscriminate tribal scrimmage into the status of an organized pursuit, and armies became large enough to be subdivided into regiments, it became customary for each component body of the host to have its own standard or ensign, raised high on a pole so that it could readily be seen in the confusion of battle. These standards, borne at the head of the regiments, served two purposes. They enabled the commander-in-chief, even in the thickest of the fight, to see at a glance where his regiments stood and how they fared, and, what was perhaps even more important, they served as a focus for the *esprit de corps* of the unit itself. To lose your standard, be it the eagle of a Roman legion or the colours of an English regiment, was dire disgrace, and many a commander has owed his victory to a desperate struggle to save a standard from capture at a crucial moment of the battle. Only within the last hundred years, when the increasing range and accuracy of modern weapons have rendered imperative the concealment and disguise of combatants, have military standards disappeared from the field of battle and become relegated to ceremonial parades, though even to-day the regimental colours of an army are the objects of strong sentimental attachment as the embodiments of tradition and the memorials of valorous deeds in past wars.

We find this custom of bearing standards or ensigns into battle already in force in Ancient Egypt as early as the Wars of Unification in the proto-dynastic period. On votive palettes of slate deposited in the national fane at Hierakonpolis we see the ensigns of the levies composing the army of the South symbolically breaching the walls of the Northern fortresses—themselves enclosing the ensigns of their garrisons¹—or grasping a rope to which are bound prisoners taken in battle.² On another palette depicting a lion-hunt—to a weakly armed people no sport, but a dangerous necessity akin to warfare—we actually see standards being borne by participants in the attack.³ Thereafter, however, the use of the standard seems to have lapsed for many centuries. Neither in the rare battle scenes of the Old Kingdom⁴ nor in those of the Middle Kingdom⁵ are military standards depicted, while the well-known models of marching infantry from Asyūt have no ensigns at the head of their columns.⁶ Even in the

¹ *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, xxii, pl. 5, following p. 138.

² *loc. cit.*, pl. 4. The figures of the prisoners are lost, but there can be no doubt as to the significance of the rope, compare the figure of the falcon leading the Delta captive on the famous Narmer palette.

³ Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, 231.

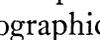
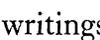
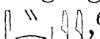
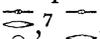
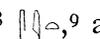
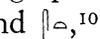
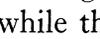
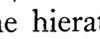
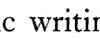
⁴ Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 4; Quibell and Hayter, *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid, North Side*, frontispiece.

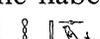
⁵ Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, pls. 14, 16; II, pls. 5, 15.

⁶ Erman and Ranke, *Aegypten*, pl. 41. 2; cf. also the carving of marching soldiers at Asyūt, Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, pl. 15.

procession accompanying the transport of the colossal statue of Dḥuḥṭpe of El-Bersah¹ the military escort appear to bear no insignia, although on similar ceremonial occasions in the New Kingdom the ranks of the troops were gay with standards.²

The invasion of the Hyksos and their subsequent expulsion seems, however, to have brought about a complete revolution in Egyptian military methods. Not only did the Egyptians acquire a new weapon of warfare, the horse and chariot, but the whole army was put on a more fully organized footing. Once again the standard came into use, but as a regimental, and not as a tribal, distinction, and the rank of standard-bearer became a regular grade in the Egyptian military hierarchy. The standards which now came into use show great variety, ranging from the simplest to the most elaborate designs, and in this paper an attempt has been made to collect a number of the most typical, though in present conditions of research it can hardly be hoped that none have been overlooked. In this connexion I would like to express my deep gratitude to Mrs. N. de G. Davies, who not only generously put at my disposal a large number of drawings of standards made by herself in Egypt, but also consented to ink in the figures for pls. IV–VI. I am further indebted to Dr. A. H. Gardiner, who kindly lent me all his notes on standard-bearers.

The Egyptian word for 'standard' was *sryt*, surviving only in the title *tjy sryt* 'standard-bearer'. The word exists in such a variety of spellings as to suggest that it was of foreign origin, and it is possible that we have here a stray survivor of the Hyksos language. Apart from ideographic writings³ we meet such spellings as ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ and ¹⁰ while the determinatives may be ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ or even ¹⁴. The most extreme hieratic writings of the title *tjy sryt* are  and  in the unpublished Wilbour papyrus now being edited by Dr. Gardiner.

The first appearance of military standards in the Eighteenth Dynasty is in the processions depicted in Queen Ḥatshepsut's temple at Dēr el-Baḥri. The commonest form of standard is probably the semicircular fan on a long pole shown by the hieroglyph ; a typical standard of this description is shown in fig. 1. This ensign called *sryt*, which is confined to military and naval use, is identical in appearance, at least so far as its shape is concerned, with the flabellum *bht* borne about the person of the Sovereign, whose bearers were called ¹⁵. The fact that two apparently identical objects have not only distinct names, but also are never confused the one with the other, hints at a fundamental distinction between them which is not obvious to the eye, and I would suggest that while the flabellum *bht* which fanned the king was really made of ostrich feathers, the standard *sryt* was an imitation of it in painted wood (cf. the

¹ Newberry, *El Bersheh*, I, pl. 15.

² e.g. Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, pls. 88, 89, 91.

³ e.g. Davies, *Two Officials*, pls. 20, 26, in the latter case with the ideogram of a ship-standard; de Rougé, *Inscr. Hiérog.* 264.

⁴ Davies, *op. cit.*, pl. 21.

⁵ *JEA* xx, 155.

⁶ Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, 13, a, 3.

⁷ Louvre, C60.

⁸ Davies, *Amarna*, III, pl. 12.

⁹ *Two Officials*, pl. 21, top right; the restoration  can hardly be doubted.

¹⁰ *JEA* xx, 154.

¹¹ *Two Officials*, pl. 21.

¹² *Op. cit.*, pl. 26.

¹³ Spiegelberg, *loc. cit.*; perhaps only in hieratic.

¹⁴ *JEA* xx, 154. It is possibly only a blunder for .

¹⁵ *Amarna*, vi, pl. 20; see Gardiner, *Egn. Hierat. Texts*, I, 42*, n. 2.

determinative \curvearrowright) or sometimes, in view of the determinative \mathcal{D} , in metal; such an ensign would stand the wear and tear of military usage far better than one of real feathers, which would speedily become hopelessly ragged and disreputable. Usually the fan is painted to imitate coloured feathering, but sometimes it is of a solid red colour.¹ Good examples of this standard will be found in Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, pls. 88–91, where a procession of ships on the river is accompanied by a military escort on the river-bank. Thus in pl. 91, which shows the head of the procession, we see detachments of marines and of infantry, each with the \mathcal{F} -standard borne at its head and its own special standard carried further along the ranks. From notes made by Mrs. Davies it appears that the marines are wearing over their loin-cloths the leather net with a square patch of leather on the seat—not shown in the plate—which was apparently peculiar to the navy.² The purpose of this leather garment was presumably to protect the loin-cloth from being speedily worn out by the friction of the rowing-bench, and lacking conclusive evidence to the contrary I would regard its presence in the costume of a fighting man as a clear indication of service on ship-board.³ In the water procession the royal barges, each with a flabellum leaning against the empty throne to typify the spiritual presence of the Sovereign, are accompanied by other vessels of state.⁴ In the bows stand men armed with battle-axe or club, one of whom has also a spear and shield, another bearing the \mathcal{F} -standard, while on three of the ships a third man carries a curious object, pendent from a long staff, to which we will return later. These armed men are presumably officers of the royal bodyguard accompanying the rich offerings in the state barges. The same standard is seen borne by the troops in the other military processions at Dēr el-Bahri;⁵ by the guards escorting King Akhenaton on his drives abroad, sometimes with coloured streamers (red, red and green) attached to the shaft (fig. 2);⁶ by the escort in the great procession of the Feast of Opē under King Tutankhamūn;⁷ and in other military ceremonies.⁸ It appears in the triumph celebrated by Ramesses III after his victory over the peoples of the sea,⁹ while on the field of battle it is seen in the hands of charioteers in the fighting before Kadesh under Ramesses II¹⁰ and in Ramesses III's victory over the Libyans.¹¹ It should not be confused with the flabellum borne (or supposed to be borne) as an appurtenance of state behind the charging king.¹²

Another type of standard in common use was a rectangle mounted on a long shaft, which occurs in a number of different forms. In the simplest (fig. 3) the rectangle is entirely unadorned, and the shaft may or may not be decorated with streamers.¹³ Then

¹ *Op. cit.*, I, pl. 9.

² Naville, *op. cit.*, pl. 126, bottom left, shown by the accompanying inscription to be naval men; Davies, *Two Officials*, pl. 31, worn by the crew of the king's ship *Beloved-of-Amin*; Davies & Gardiner, *Tomb of Huy*, pl. 5.

³ Good examples of this garment in N. M. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pl. 45; presumably its Nubian wearers served as marines.

⁴ Naville, *op. cit.*, pls. 88–91.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pls. 126, 155. Similar groups of three armed men with standards on board state barges in pl. 153.

⁶ *Amarna*, I, pls. 9, 15; III, pl. 31; in II, pl. 17, bottom, it is borne by a charioteer.

⁷ Wreszinski, *Atlas*, pl. 192, left.

⁸ *Two Officials*, pl. 27.

⁹ Nelson, *Medinet Habu* (I), pl. 42.

¹⁰ Wreszinski, *Atlas*, pl. 92 a, top right.

¹¹ Nelson, *op. cit.*, (II), pl. 72.

¹² e.g. *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pl. 78.

¹³ Without streamers, *Two Officials*, pl. 27; *Amarna*, II, pl. 13; with streamers, *op. cit.*, VI, pl. 20; Theban Tomb 78 (unpublished). In the last instance the streamers are white with red outlines.



FIG. 1

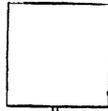


FIG. 3

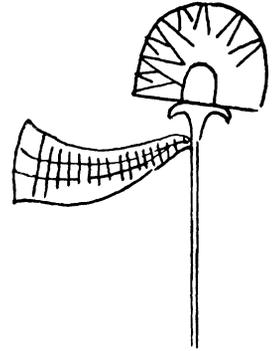


FIG. 2



FIG. 6

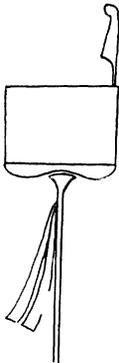


FIG. 4

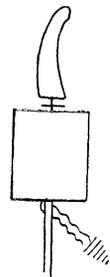


FIG. 5

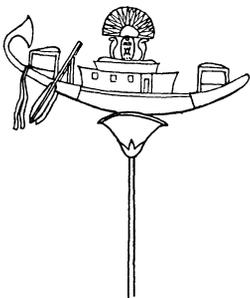


FIG. 8

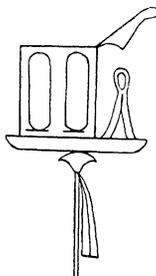


FIG. 7

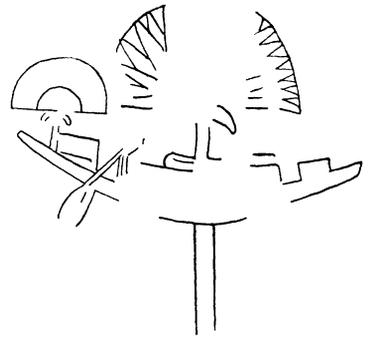


FIG. 9

we find the rectangle still empty, but with an ostrich feather (probably imitation) attached to one corner. This also may be found with or without streamers;¹ the specimen shown in fig. 4 occurs in a scene where Ramesses III is issuing equipment to his troops before a campaign.² Rarely the plume appears in the middle of the top edge (fig. 5).³ A blank space, however, is not very ornamental, and sometimes we find this standard embellished with symbolic devices of various kinds, often doubtless with reference to the names of the corps to which they belonged. An excellent example is the standard of 'The Wrestlers', borne by Nubian marines (fig. 6);⁴ another instance of a more general nature is a design from El-^cAmarnah which, though damaged, apparently represents the king smiting a foe.⁵ Sometimes the decoration consists of royal cartouches or the like; an example from El-^cAmarnah shows a rectangle bearing the cartouches of the Aton mounted beside an object somewhat resembling the hieroglyph 𓂏 (fig. 7).⁶ Another standard, copied by Mrs. Davies in Theban Tomb No. 74, though almost entirely destroyed, shows in the top left-hand corner the sign 𓂏 and to its right a curved line which may be part of the frame of a cartouche. The colour of the rectangle itself, whether decorated or undecorated, is usually yellow,⁷ but white⁸ and red⁹ also occur. These standards are sometimes provided with a pointed butt for sticking them upright in the ground,¹⁰ but in one instance a wooden stand is used.¹¹ At El-^cAmarnah the palace guards, when off duty, stood their standards in pedestals.¹²

The two types of standard already discussed, however, are not the only ones, for each ship of the Egyptian navy apparently had its own boat-standard. The most usual kind is a cabined craft surmounted by a small fan-standard, thus betraying its descent from the basic 𓂏 -type. A good example is the standard of the king's ship *Beloved-of-Amūn*, of which Nebamūn of Tomb 90 was standard-bearer (fig. 8),¹³ but no two are exactly alike, see for instance figs. 9¹⁴ and 10.¹⁵ Such standards are also summarily depicted in El-^cAmarnah and elsewhere;¹⁶ in the battle of Kadesh a boat-standard indicates the presence of a contingent of marines in the division of Ptaḥ, though here they are acting as ordinary infantry.¹⁷ A less elaborate type of boat-standard is shown in fig. 11;¹⁸ here we seem to have a religious allusion to the boat of the sun, and it is possible that this may not be a naval ensign at all, but may belong to a contingent of troops recruited from Heliopolis or some other centre of sun-worship.¹⁹

So far we have discussed standards which were not only used on the parade-ground, but also went to war. There are others whose elaborately ornamental nature makes it

¹ Without streamers, *Amarna*, I, pl. 15; III, pl. 12; VI, pls. 20, 30; with streamers, *op. cit.*, I, pls. 15, 20; III, pl. 31. Carried on active service, Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, pl. 84, top left.

² Nelson, *op. cit.* (I), pl. 29; cf. also pl. 42.

³ Tomb 74 (unpublished).

⁴ *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pl. 45, see above, p. 14, n. 3.

⁵ *Amarna*, IV, pl. 17.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, I, pl. 26.

⁷ Two yellow standards in Tomb 74 and six in Tomb 78; of all these only one is decorated.

⁸ *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pl. 45.

⁹ *Amarna*, I, pl. 15.

¹⁰ See fig. 6.

¹¹ Quibell and Hayter, *op. cit.*, pl. 12.

¹² *Amarna*, VI, pls. 20, 30.

¹³ *Two Officials*, pl. 26, with bow restored. A more generalized version in pl. 28.

¹⁴ Dēr el-Baḥri (unpublished fragment).

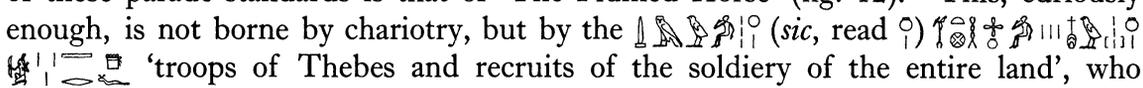
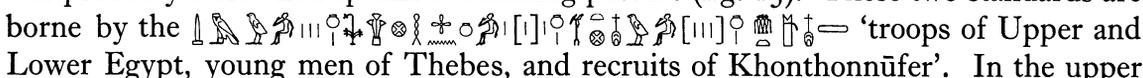
¹⁵ Tomb 78.

¹⁶ *Amarna*, I, pls. 15, 26; II, pls. 11, 13; III, pl. 31; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, pls. 84, 192, 194.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, II, pl. 84.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, II, pl. 200; a slightly variant form Nelson, *Medinet Habu* (I), pl. 42.

¹⁹ For other standards of a religious nature see below, p. 16.

clear that their use was confined to ceremonial occasions, and good examples are found in the distinctively 'regimental' standards at Dēr el-Baḥri. One of the most interesting of these parade-standards is that of 'The Plumed Horse' (fig. 12).¹ This, curiously enough, is not borne by chariotry, but by the  (sic, read ) 'troops of Thebes and recruits of the soldiery of the entire land', who march on foot. The horse is represented as white with a red outline. Another horse-standard depicted in a private tomb, though unfortunately damaged (fig. 13),² clearly did belong to the chariotry, since it is carried by a man with two horses, while behind him follow two more horses. Another parade-standard from Dēr el-Baḥri consists of the *prenomen* of Queen Ḥatshepsut surmounted by horns, plumes, and uraei (fig. 14),³ while another in the same group of men consists of upraised *ka*-arms with the hieroglyph  between them; on the upraised hands are still visible the lion-paws of what was probably a crowned sphinx in standing posture (fig. 15). These two standards are borne by the  'troops of Upper and Lower Egypt, young men of Thebes, and recruits of Khonthonnūfer'. In the upper register of the same scene two squads of  'trained soldiers (?)' have standards consisting respectively of a falcon-head with disk and plumes and a plumed human head, possibly with reference to the gods of the localities whence they were recruited (figs. 16 and 17). In the tomb of Nebamūn (No. 90) there is a similar standard consisting of disk and plumes on the *dad*-sign (fig. 18).⁴ The naval detachments also had their special parade-standards. The  'crews of the king's ships' bear a most elaborate standard consisting of a seated crowned figure (probably intended for Queen Ḥatshepsut, though in its present state the face is more like that of Khnum) in a bark of state, the whole surmounted by a fan (fig. 19),⁵ while another squad of marines has a 'Lion and Fan' standard (fig. 20).⁶ Another naval standard is the 'Falcon and Ostrich-Plume' (fig. 21).⁷ A standard belonging to the armed police of the capital is the 'Gazelle and Ostrich-plume' (fig. 22).⁸

Closely associated with the military standards already described are some curious objects pendent from long staves, which assume the most varied forms, see figs. 23–30.⁹ They are borne by the soldiers exactly as if they were standards, but not infrequently they appear alongside -standards as if supplementing them in some way.¹⁰ In the case of fig. 30 the colours are preserved; the long pendant like a pointed bag, which hangs from a lotus-flower, is red, while the band across the upper part is yellow with red

¹ *Deir el Bahari*, pl. 91. All the parade-standards from this source have been redrawn with fuller detail by Mrs. Davies, and it is from her drawings that the figures have been prepared.

² Tomb 85 (unpublished).

³ *Deir el Bahari*, pl. 155, lower register.

⁴ *Two Officials*, pl. 27.

⁵ *Deir el Bahari*, pl. 91; similar standards pl. 155 and on an unpublished fragment from pl. 122.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pl. 126.

⁷ Davies and Gardiner, *Huy*, pl. 5. A standard of the Ḥathōr-cow on what is apparently a private yacht, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pl. 28, may possibly be the owner's private idol or ensign.

⁸ *Two Officials*, pl. 26. In pl. 27 it is borne by a 'lieutenant of police'.

⁹ Fig. 23, *Deir el Bahari*, pl. 91, on board a ship of state, cf. also pl. 153; fig. 24, *op. cit.*, pl. 90, borne by soldiers ashore; figs. 25 and 26, Davies, *Ken-amun*, pl. 22 A, among other military equipment. Figs. 27 and 28, *Amarna*, I, pl. 16; fig. 29, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 29; fig. 30, from Tomb 56, I owe to Mrs. Davies.

¹⁰ e.g. *Deir el Bahari*, pl. 91; *Amarna*, I, pl. 26.

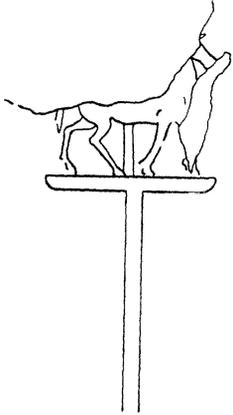


FIG. 13

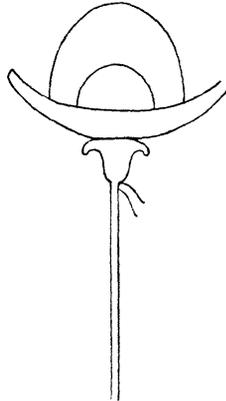


FIG. 11

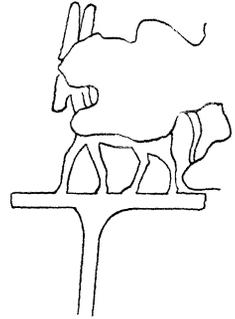


FIG. 12



FIG. 16



FIG. 18



FIG. 14

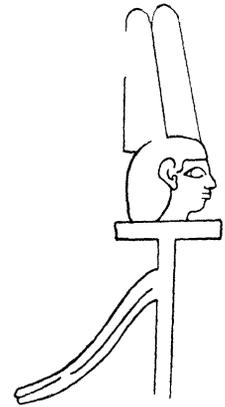


FIG. 17

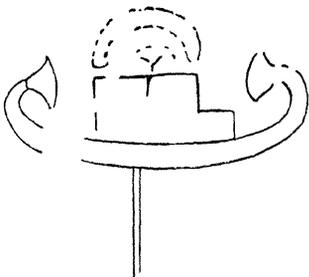


FIG. 10

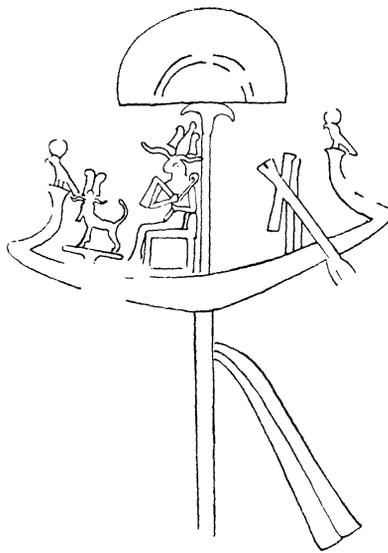


FIG. 19

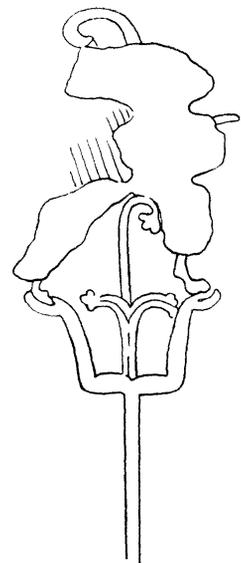


FIG. 15

EGYPTIAN MILITARY STANDARDS

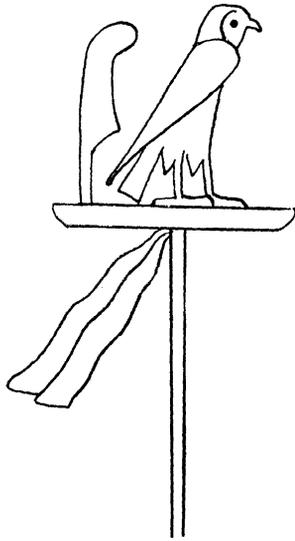


FIG. 21



FIG. 23

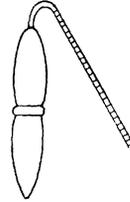


FIG. 25

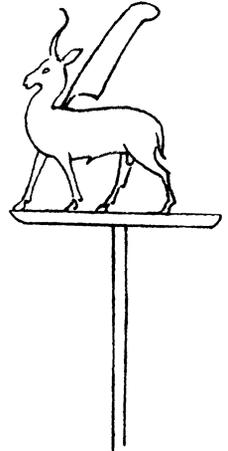


FIG. 22

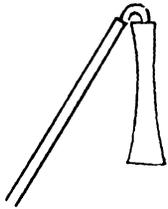


FIG. 24

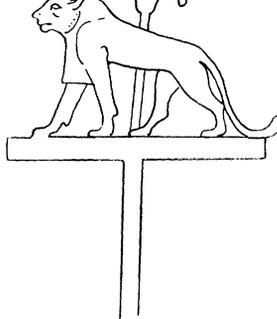
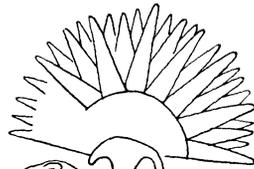


FIG. 20

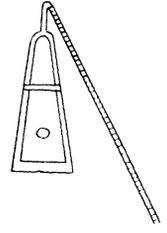


FIG. 26

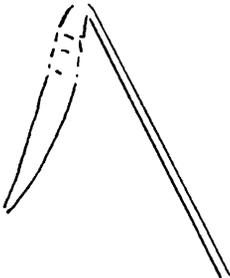


FIG. 27

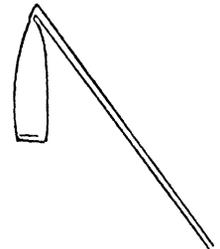


FIG. 28



FIG. 29

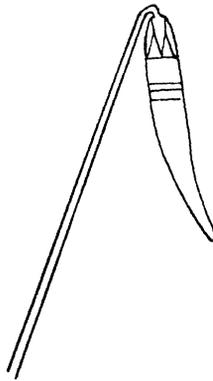


FIG. 30

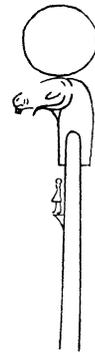


FIG. 31

lines. To me the materials of which these objects were made and the purpose for which they were intended are alike obscure; it is difficult to believe that they were regimental standards in the ordinary sense of the word.

In addition to the 'regimental' standards already discussed, the Egyptians appear to have had 'divisional' standards, corresponding to the main divisions of the Egyptian army, which were named after the principal gods of the realm; at the battle of Kadesh under Ramesses II the divisions mentioned are those of Amūn, Rē, Ptaḥ, and Seth. Of these 'divisional' or 'army' standards, however, only one has been recorded, namely a standard of Amūn which preceded King Ramesses III on the march (fig. 31).¹ This consisted of the ram's head of Amūn crowned with the solar disk and erected on a tall pole mounted in a chariot driven by a single man; on the front of the pole, below the ram's head, appears a statuette of the king, who is thus placed under the protection of the god. That this standard actually represents the god leading the Egyptian armies to victory is made clear by the accompanying inscription, in which Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, promises to Ramesses III a triumph over his foes. This has already been noted by Schäfer, who points out that an exactly similar custom existed in the armies of Assyria.² Fig. 1 of his article shows the Assyrian chariot-standard going into action, while fig. 3 depicts an Assyrian camp with offerings being made to the standards by priests, which is conclusive proof of their divine nature. It seems safe to assume that the Egyptian army-divisions of Rē, Ptaḥ, and Seth were likewise under the protection of similar symbols of their respective gods, even though no pictures of their ensigns have survived.

Of the title of the men who bore the ensigns of the Egyptian army we have already made brief mention. Each regiment of the army or ship of the navy appears to have had its own standard, and the standard-bearer ranked as an officer; according to Helck³ he commanded a ḫꜣ sꜣ 'regiment' or 'company' of 200 men, but was himself subordinate to the ḫꜣꜣꜣ-ḫꜣꜣꜣ 'troop-commander'. In its full form the title of 'standard-bearer' includes the name of the unit in which this officer served; thus in the army we find mention of the standard-bearers of the following regiments:

sꜣ n ḫꜣꜣꜣ-ḫꜣꜣꜣ 'His Majesty's Regiment' (The King's Own), Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, 86 (No. 19 e). The royal bodyguard?

sꜣ n Nḫt-ḫꜣꜣꜣ-ꜣꜣꜣꜣ 'the regiment *Victorious-is-the-Ruler-of-On*', Turin 166.

sꜣ n Rꜥ-n-ḫꜣꜣꜣꜣ 'the regiment *Sun-of-Rulers*', Golénischeff, *Hammamat*, 1.

sꜣ n Nb-mꜣꜣꜣꜣ-Rꜥ ꜣꜣꜣꜣ-ꜣꜣꜣꜣ 'the regiment of King Nebmarē *Aton-glitters*', Br. Mus. 1210.

Apparently a *corps d'élite*, compare 'The King's Own' above.

sꜣ n mgꜣꜣꜣ ḫꜣꜣꜣꜣ-n-ḫꜣꜣꜣꜣ ꜣꜣꜣꜣ 'the regiment of skirmishers (?)⁴ *Aton-appears-for-him*', Davies, *Amarna*, III, pl. 12.

In a number of instances the word sꜣ is omitted, and in such cases it may be uncertain whether the following name refers to a regiment or a ship. The following examples may be quoted:

Kꜣ-m-Tꜣ-Sty 'Bull in Nubia', *JEA* xx, 155. Almost certainly a regiment.

¹ Nelson, *Medinet Habu* (I), pl. 17. A similar standard clearly referred to by Tuthmosis III, *Urk.* IV, 652, 15-16.

² *Klio*, VI, 393 ff.

³ *Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. ägyptischen Dynastie*, 37.

⁴ On this rendering of mgꜣꜣꜣ see *JEA* v, 50, n. 6.

Mn-hprw-Rc-sk-sk-Hr 'Tuthmosis IV, destroyer of Syria', Louvre C202.¹

S3s3-Hts 'Repeller of the Khetes-folk', Vienna 79.

Hc-m-m3ct 'Manifest in Justice', Spiegelberg, *op. cit.* 89 (9 c). Probably not a ship in this instance, though a ship of this name is known.

Apart from named regiments we find these officers in various kinds of auxiliary troops. Thus there are standard-bearers of recruits (*nfrw*);² of mercenaries (?) (*iwcyt*);³ of Sherden mercenary troops;⁴ of Tjuk-troops (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒),⁵ probably Libyan mercenaries; of 'the West of the City', i.e. the necropolis police;⁶ and of temple militia or police.⁷ One officer entitled 'standard-bearer of the army' (*mšc*)⁸ may possibly have had charge of one of the divisional standards discussed above.

On the naval side we have standard-bearers of named ships. Their titles assume various forms, so that we have (1) *t3y sryt n im nsw X* 'standard-bearer of the king's ship X';⁹ (2) *n im X* 'of the ship X';¹⁰ (3) *n X* 'of the X', with the word *im* omitted, but with the boat-determinative after the name;¹¹ and (4) *n hntyt n X* 'of the sailors of the X'.¹² There is also a standard-bearer *n p3 im n t3 ch3t* 'of the warship', the name of whose ship is lost.¹³ The following list gives the names of ships of which standard-bearers are known:

cnh-wd3-snb-hpr-r-Kmt 'Prosperity has befallen Egypt', Spiegelberg, *op. cit.* 83 (11).

Pth-r-h3t-f 'Ptaḥ is before him', *op. cit.* 85 (18).

Mn-c3-hprw-Rc 'Amenophis II is firmly established', *op. cit.* 82 (7 a).

Mry-Imn 'Beloved of Amūn', Davies, *Two Officials*, pl. 26; Spiegelberg, *op. cit.* 82 (8), 83 (12), 85 (19).

Nfrw-Itn 'Beauty of the Aton', Louvre C207 = *op. cit.* 83 (10). The reading *nfrw* is due to Gardiner, Spiegelberg having *thn*.

H3t-nfrw 'Foremost of Beauty', *op. cit.* 85 (21).

Hc-m-ipt 'Manifest in Opē', *op. cit.* 84 (13).

Hc-m-m3ct 'Manifest in Justice', *op. cit.* 83 (9).

Šhtp- . . . 'Propitiating . . .', *op. cit.* 84 (14).

Rcms-mi-Imn-šhtp-Itn 'Ramesses-miamūn who propitiates the Aton', *op. cit.* 84 (16).

Thn-mi-Itn 'Glittering like the Aton', *op. cit.* 84 (15).

Whether the military standards of Egypt were considered to be the embodiment of the honour of the regiment or ship to the same extent as, say, the eagle of a Roman legion, may perhaps be doubted, but that some attachment was felt for them is suggested by the fact that the bearer of the standard was an officer of some rank, about whom it doubtless shed an aura of additional authority. Whether it was considered a disgrace to lose your standard in battle we do not know, but it is safe to assume that the sight of his standard swaying over the press on occasion inspired the Egyptian soldier to feats of valour of which he would otherwise have been incapable.

¹ Classed by Spiegelberg as a ship-name, *op. cit.*, 83 (8 b).

² *Op. cit.*, 9, b, 3, 5.

³ *P. Jud. Turin*, 2, 4; 6, 7; for the translation 'mercenaries' cf. *Amarna*, VI, pl. 17.

⁴ Several in P. Wilbour, e.g. 27, 43; 47, 13; 61, 44.

⁵ *P. Wilbour*, 46, 28.

⁶ *Two Officials*, 29.

⁷ 'Standard-bearer of the temple of Amūn', *P. Br. Mus. 10054*, rt. 2, 14 = Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. 6.

⁸ De Rougé, *Inscr. Hiérog.* 264. The publication has  cross-hatched, but the reading is hardly doubtful.

⁹ *Two Officials*, pl. 26; Spiegelberg, *op. cit.* 83 (9 a).

¹⁰ Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, 84 (13).

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, 82 (8).

¹² *Op. cit.*, 82 (7 a), 83 (12).

¹³ *Op. cit.*, 82 (5).

RAMESSIDE TEXTS RELATING TO THE TAXATION AND TRANSPORT OF CORN

By ALAN H. GARDINER

THE present article, though not wholly confined to texts hitherto untranslated, aims principally at bringing to the notice of scholars certain little studied documents that may provide a background to the great Wilbour papyrus about to be published by the Brooklyn Museum. That papyrus, which dates from the reign of Ramesses V, is in sheer bulk of written matter the largest of all Egyptian secular manuscripts, and affords more information about land-tenure and the assessment of land than we ever dreamt of recovering. At the same time it raises problems that I cannot solve single-handed, and it is to be hoped that the translations here offered will enable others with a better understanding of economic problems to clear up at least some of the difficulties.

§ 1. Passages from the Miscellanies

Let us start with new renderings of some relatively familiar passages from the Miscellanies, or collections of heterogeneous short compositions, which I recently gathered together in a single volume.¹ Here is a piece professing to be addressed by a teacher to his pupils, and evidently modelled on the so-called *Satire des métiers*, a much admired Middle Kingdom text contrasting the advantages of the scribe with the miseries of other callings.²

I am told you have abandoned writing and taken to sport, that you have set your face towards work in the fields and turned your back upon letters. Remember you not the condition of the cultivator faced with the registering of the harvest-tax, when the snake has carried off half the corn and the hippopotamus has devoured the rest? The mice abound in the fields. The locusts descend. The cattle devour. The sparrows bring disaster upon the cultivator. The remainder that is on the threshing-floor is at an end, it falls to the thieves. The value of the hired cattle (?)³ is lost. The yoke of oxen has died while threshing and ploughing. And now the scribe lands on the river-bank and is about to register the harvest-tax. The janitors carry staves and the Nubians rods of palm, and they say, Hand over the corn, though there is none. The cultivator is beaten all over, he is bound and

¹ Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, Brussels, 1937.

² In the whole range of Egyptian literature there is no less intelligible or more corrupt piece of writing than this, at least as found in the two principal manuscripts, *Sallier II* and *Anastasi VII*, and on ostraca. The difficulties may be realized from the excerpts given in Erman's *Literatur der Aegypter*, 100 ff., or from Blackman's translation of the same work, 67 ff. A writing-board giving a far better text of certain portions has been published by Piankoff in *Revue d'Égyptologie*, 1, 51 ff.

³ (*P*) *ꜥꜥꜥꜥ ꜥꜥꜥꜥ* is obviously one of those fanciful substantival expressions dear to the Egyptians. If the literal meaning is 'its hoof in copper' the allusion may be to the money represented by the cattle hired out for use in the fields. In two other places it occurs in connexion with some such agricultural operations, see Mariette, *Pap. Boulaq XII = Rec. Trav.* xv, 142, and the related Cairo papyrus published *ZÄS* xix, 119. *Wb.* 1, 235, 8 is on the same track, but suggests that the reference may be to the lent cattle themselves. The previous explanations *ZÄS* xxxii, 131; xxxiv, 167, are clearly wrong.

at time of . . . to see what you have done and find it red and sticking to the ground, it has fastened on the stone. The yoke of oxen that you took to plough has fallen in the mire.¹ The herdsman is come to take it back, and you stand confounded. The overseer of cattle is come to make his round of inspection, and you are placed in the position of saying, They are not there. You are fined the two cows, their calves being removed. Mark it well.

Rare or unknown words made it impossible to give more than a paraphrase, but I have some confidence of having caught the main drift. The reference to the hired oxen amplifies what was stated very obscurely in the previous passage, and the part played by the overseer of cattle is interesting. It must be remembered, however, that both these excerpts probably date from a period anterior to Ramesside times. In this later period oxen were regularly used for threshing as well as ploughing; but curiously enough our ostraca refer only to the borrowing of the donkeys employed for bringing in the harvest.²

Of greater importance for our present object, however, is the light thrown by the Turin passage on the status of the  *ihwty* (*ḥwty*) 'cultivator', as I have translated the word throughout this article. The assessment of 300 sacks is considerable, if we accept the current and probable view that the sack or *khar* of corn was equivalent to 2 bushels.³ I am indebted to Prof. J. A. S. Watson for the information that 600 bushels of barley, and possibly also of spelt, would amount to about 14 tons and demand a space of about 770 cubic feet, *i.e.* over 9 feet in every direction. This fact, and indeed the mere fact of his being assessed at all, indicate that the *ihwty* was more than a simple farm labourer. We shall come across a number of other large assessments, the figure in one case (*P. Louvre 3171*, 3, 1, below, p. 57) being as high as 1,421 sacks. Thus the *ihwty*, at least in one sense of the word, is comparable to the Ptolemaic *γεωργός* or 'tenant-farmer',⁴ though the relation of such a man to the State or to his immediate employers requires much more investigation. It is right, however, to point out that in other Ramesside passages *ihwty* undoubtedly means simply a farm or field labourer, for which occupation there appears to have been no other common singular term.⁵ This signification is evident in *P. Bologna 1086*, 9 ff.⁶

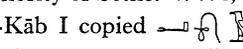
I have investigated (the matter of) the Syrian of the House of Thoth about whom you wrote to me. I found he had been put as field labourer of the House of Thoth under your authority in year 3, second month of the Summer season, day 10, from among the slaves of the ship's cargo brought back by the commander of the fortress. . . .

¹ All this part is much altered and expanded in *P. Lansing*, 6, 3 ff. In the translation *JEA* xi, 289, the authors do not seem to have realized that the oxen were hired from the herdsman.

² Černý, *Ostr. hiér. . . . Deir el Médineh*, nos. 62-72.

³ 1 bushel = 36.347 litres.

⁴ This view was enounced by me on different evidence *Eg. Gram.*, 500, n. 5, on T 24, and I am pleased to note Glanville's agreement with it in his commentary on *P. Brit. Mus. 10447*, for which see below, § 5.

⁵ Demotic has *wir*, in Coptic ογοειε, for which latter Spiegelberg, *Kopt. Handwörterb.*, s.v., suggests *Eg. ḥw* 'reap' as the etymology, on the authority of Sethe. *Wb.* I, 171, 18 does not quote any such title, but in the Dyn. XVIII tomb of Ipusonb at El-Kāb I copied  which may mean 'reaper of His Majesty'. This, however, cannot have been a very generally used appellation.

⁶ Latest edition by Wolf, *ZÄS* LXV, 89 ff. This letter is of considerable importance for agricultural life at the period, but presents difficulties with which I cannot here attempt to cope.

So too in the other and longer Bologna papyrus:¹

Another communication for my Lord's good pleasure, to the effect that two of the field labourers of the *minē*-land of Pharaoh which is under my Lord's authority have fled before the face of the stable-master Neferḥōtep, he having beaten them. And now, look, the fields of the *minē*-land of Pharaoh which are under my Lord's authority are abandoned and there is no one to till them. This letter is for my Lord's information.

Accordingly we must always, in studying Late Egyptian texts in which the word  *ihwty* figures prominently, bear in mind these two possibilities: either it may mean 'farmer', 'cultivator', or else it may mean 'field labourer'. Note further that the phrase  *di r ihwty* 'put someone to be an *ihwty*' is by no means a rare one.² In the Bologna letter the phrase is used of a Syrian slave who has been made a field labourer, of course without being consulted. But in the Turin passage the lazy pupil is threatened with the fate of becoming an *ihwty* of the superior kind, so that even this position cannot have been regarded as enviable. One is reminded of the arbitrary way in which the Ptolemies settled their veterans on the land, finding in that course an easy method of extending the cultivated area.

Other passages from the Miscellanies are either of little interest or not immediately relevant to the topics here to be considered.³ One or two exceptions are reserved for my commentary on the Wilbour papyrus. The texts on the *verso* of *Sallier IV* may well be copies of original documents, and for that reason are not given here, but further below in § 7.

§ 2. P. Turin 1895+2006

This is a report by the well-known scribe of the Necropolis Dḥutmosē on his collection of taxes at various places south of Thebes. Facsimiles of the hieratic text are given in Pleyte and Rossi's publication, but in a disjointed and disorderly fashion, and the connexion with the first page, also given in facsimile, was not, I believe, recognized until my first stay in Turin in 1905.⁴ The transcription then made was re-collated in 1938, and I hope to include it in my *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, a preliminary instalment of which has been already issued. The text is translated below in its entirety,⁵ but the sequence is interrupted from time to time to give such explanations as seemed necessary. I have tried to preserve, so far as possible, the general disposition of the original, or at least to follow the intention of the scribe as regards the line-endings and the spacing. Rubricized words at the beginning of lines are shown by small capitals, and rubricized numbers—we shall find the colour to have been of real significance—by

¹ *P. Bologna 1094*, 3, 1 ff. = *L.-E. Misc.*, 3.

² See further *L.-E. Misc.*, 11, l. 9; 16, l. 14. As punishment, Nauri decree, 73. 118.

³ Complaints of excessive taxation: *Anast. V*, 27, 3-7 (= *L.-E. Misc.*, 71-2), of considerable importance, but defective; *P. Bologna 1094*, 5, 8-7, 1 (= *op. cit.*, 5-6) deals with various commodities, but not with corn. Collection of taxes, but not corn: *P. Chester Beatty V*, 7, 12-8, 6, see too my Text volume, pp. 48-9, and below, p. 67.

⁴ p. 1 (in larger writing than the rest) = Pleyte & Rossi, *Pap. Turin*, pl. 65, c; p. 2 = pl. 100; p. 3 = pl. 155 (in part 101); p. 4 = pl. 156; p. 5 = pl. 157 (in part 97). Of the *verso* only p. 1 has been published, namely *op. cit.*, pl. 96. Pending the publication of a complete transcript the student will be able to control my translation by the published facsimile, which is moderately good.

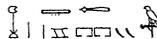
⁵ An inadequate transcript and partial rendering of the first page will be found in Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, 34.

italics. Note that, in most dates, the months and days are given in red, though, for superstitious reasons, not the years; these last facts I have also tried to indicate in my own fashion.

- 1, 1 YEAR 12, second month of the Inundation season, day 16, under His Majesty the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaṛē-setpen[ptah, the son of Rē, 1, 2 the Lord of Diadems], ¹ Raṣmesse-khaṣemwēse-mereramūn, the god ruler of Heliopolis, given life eternally [and for ever . . .].
- 1, 3 DOCUMENT of receipts of corn of *khato*-land of Pharaoh from the hand of ¹ the prophets [of the 1, 4 temples of Upper Egypt which ?] ¹ the fan-bearer on the right of the King, the Royal scribe, 1, 5 the general, the overseer of granaries of [Pharaoh,² the King's son of] ¹ Cush, the commander of southern lands, the leader of the troops [of Pharaoh]³ Penḥasi [ordered to be delivered?].
- 1, 6 DONE by Dḥutmosē, the scribe of the great and noble Necropolis of Millions [of Years of Phar]aoh.
- 1, 7 [BROUGHT] to the necropolis [of] the corn of *khato*-lands of Pharaoh by the hand of the prophet of Such[us Pḥeni].
- 1, 8 [SUMMARY]⁴ of receipt of it:

The bottom third of the page is lost. It was probably blank, since p. 2 appears to be the direct continuation.

The reign is that of Ramesses XI, the last of the Ramessides, under whom the Royal son of Cush Penḥasi, after quelling disturbances in Middle Egypt, became the principal personage of the realm. The events of the period and the controversies that have arisen over the dynastic facts are excellently summarized in Drioton and Vandier's volume *L'Égypte in Clio, Introduction aux études historiques*, 352-3 and 372-3. The reason why we find the collection of the taxes entrusted to a 'scribe of the Necropolis' (or 'of the Royal Tomb', if that translation of  be preferred) doubtless is that the corn in question was destined for the rations or wages ( *diw*) of the Necropolis workmen. This is suggested by a nearly contemporary letter published by Černý (*Late Ramesside Letters*, 69-70), where we read: 'Send your scribe with Efnamūn the scribe of the Necropolis, the janitor Dḥutmosē or the janitor Khensmosē. Let them go to fetch the corn, lest the people hunger and stop work upon the command of Pharaoh.' We shall see later that the two janitors named in this letter are the very same as accompanied the scribe Dḥutmosē on the mission to the south described in our Turin papyrus.

The expression  'khato-lands of Pharaoh' has long been known, but further light is thrown by the Wilbour papyrus on the Royal possessions called by that name. Apparently they were fields set apart to supply revenue to the Crown from among

¹  *m-drt*. Throughout this article it has been deemed advisable to render 'by the hand of' or 'from the hand of', as the case demanded, though neither translation makes very idiomatic English.

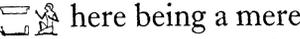
² So restored from the titles of Payṓnkh, Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, III, 241. In *Ostr. Cairo* (ed. Černý) 25744. 25745 the viceroys Ḥerihor and Payṓnkh show this title in the form 'granary-overseer of the granaries of Pharaoh', but there does not seem to be room for as much here.

³ So too Payṓnkh, Gauthier, *loc. cit.*; also of Penḥasi himself, Pleyte & Rossi, *op. cit.*, 66, 4-5.

⁴ The trace suggests  and the entire phrase is found twice in an unpublished Turin papyrus (1903/180) known to me only from Peet's note-book VII, 134. 136.

- 2, 10 Arrived¹ and delivered to the scribe Nesamenopě and the female musician of Amūn
 2, 11 Hentowě in year 12, third month of the Inundation season, day 23,² corn, 33 sacks. $3\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{32}$.
 Deficit, to the account of the fishermen, $\frac{2}{4}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}$ sacks, to the account of the fishermen [*sic*].
 Total, sacks.³
- 2, 12 RECEIVED in the town of Imiotru by the scribe Dḥutmosě and the two janitors (delivered) by
 2, 13 the hand of ¹ the foreigner⁴ Pkhal in Year 12, third month of the Inundation season, day
 28, 10 sacks. Total come from him,⁵ $183\frac{2}{4}$ sacks.
- 2, 14 ARRIVED and delivered to the mayor of the West of the City Pwerco in Year 12, third month
 2, 15 of the Inundation season, day 29, of the ¹ corn of the foreigner Pkhal, 10 sacks; given to the
 cultivator Pbeki.

The total of $183\frac{2}{4}$ sacks in 2, 13 shows the operations recorded in p. 2 to have been taken as a whole complete in itself, though extending over no less than forty-three days. The papyrus provides no explanation for that length of time, since the corn received at Gebelēn on the 16th of the second month was delivered in Thebes on the 21st, while that received on the 19th of the third month at 'Agni, a little north of Esna,⁶ was delivered in Thebes on the 23rd. The distance from Esna to Luxor by river is about 36 miles, about double that from Gebelēn, and there would be no difficulty about accomplishing the longer of the two journeys downstream in the time indicated. It is not clear why the amounts from two different towns are added together, the more so since they were not received in the same month, and were disposed of differently on arrival.

In collecting the taxes Dḥutmosě was assisted by two janitors or door-keepers, and we are reminded of the similarly described men found exercising a like function in the passage with which this article began. The identity of function increases the likelihood of the writing  here being a mere abbreviation for the  written there, in accordance with the view suggested by the Berlin dictionary (I, 165, 2). It is, however, a curious fact that the title of the two janitors of the Necropolis is regularly found in the shorter form, see Pleyte and Rossi, *op. cit.*, 90, 4; 108, 4; 109, 16. 23. The assistants of the scribe Dḥutmosě are doubtless these Necropolis janitors. Though men of humble station—their rations were less than those of the Necropolis workmen—they do not remain anonymous. One was a namesake of the scribe Dḥutmosě, and the fact that he is said to be of 'The Mansion', *i.e.* of Medīnet Habu⁷ (4, 6), confirms the often voiced conjecture that the Necropolis administration was centred in that temple. The other was named Khensmosě, and a small payment to him is recorded in 4, 3. A letter

¹ By way of exception this initial word of the line is written in black.

² The whole date is exceptionally in black. For this reason I print the word 'year' with a small initial letter.

³ The number is omitted. It ought to have been 37, as confirmed by the grand total of $183\frac{2}{4}$ sacks below.

⁴ The designation *ꜥꜣ* is quite general, meaning properly 'speaking in a foreign language'. South of Thebes people of alien race who had settled on the land were regularly so described, and the *verso* of our papyrus provides particularly good evidence of their numbers. See further *JEA* XII, 257–8; XIV, 67–8. In the Wilbour papyrus, which deals with the Fayyūm and southwards, the Sherden play a similar part.

⁵ The pronoun 'him' here must refer to the scribe Dḥutmosě, not to Pkhal. I hope, at no distant date, to deal with the expression  in a special note.

⁶ For the town of 'Agni see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* I, 160, and a still better account by Junker in *WZKM* XXXI (1924), 74–6. The local deity was Ḥathōr, and a prophet of hers is mentioned in Černý's letters, see *op. cit.*, 48, l. 8.

⁷ See the article by Černý, *JEA* XXVI, 128–30.

already quoted couples the janitors Dḥutmosē and Khensmosē together, and shows them engaged in the same kind of mission as here.

At Gebelēn the prophet Pḥeni shared his responsibility for the corn deliveries with two other temple-officials, of whom the scribe Saḥtnūfe is mentioned again in 5, 7, where we find further payments of corn in Gebelēn a few months later. We may perhaps take it that 'the Northern Loam' where the policeman 'Ankhatir paid his tax was in the same neighbourhood. It is curious that no mention is made of the officials from whom the corn was collected at 'Agni.

What adds a special interest to our papyrus is the fact that it not only records the details of the amounts collected as taxes, but also states the ways in which these amounts were disposed of on arrival at Thebes. A considerable portion was handed over to the well-known mayor of Western Thebes Pwerō, by this time probably a man of some age, since the scandal of the tomb-robberies in which he played so important a part¹ took place at least fifteen years earlier. He is here mentioned by name in 2, 5. 14; 4, 1, and alluded to in 4, 5. Most of the corn delivered to him was stored away in the granary, presumably because not needed for immediate use. A little more than a sixth part was given to the scribe Nesamenopē and to Hentowē, a female musician of Amūn; these two, presumably husband and wife, are mentioned together in 2, 10; 3, 6, and the lady alone in 4, 8; 5, 3; and they occur also in the correspondence published by Černý, see *op. cit.*, Index, pp. 77-8. Among that correspondence is an important letter belonging to the Geneva museum (*op. cit.*, p. 57) in which this same Hentowē writes to Nesamenopē, there revealed to be a scribe of the Necropolis, about just such receipts of corn as are here described. I must leave to Černý the task of translating and explaining the said letter, but it should be noted that the prominence of Hentowē in our papyrus is thence seen to have been due to her undertaking the duties of Nesamenopē during his absence from Thebes. Also it must be added that the letter refers to the transport of the grain in question by a fisherman named Yetnūfe (l. 13 of the letter), to whom we shall find a small payment in 4, 3. Lastly, 10 sacks received at Gebelēn from the foreigner Pkhal (mentioned again 4, 11; 5, 2) were at Thebes handed over by the mayor Pwerō to the cultivator Pbeki (2, 14-15); the reason is not clear.

The account rendered by Dḥutmosē in this first section of his report balances fairly well, but there is at least one small discrepancy which arouses suspicion of 'cooking'. In 2, 3-4, Dḥutmosē acknowledges having received at Gebelēn $54\frac{2}{4} + 80 + 134\frac{2}{4}$ sacks, but this is two sacks short of the total recorded in 2, 7 as having been stored away in the granary at Thebes under the supervision of the mayor Pwerō, and we shall find the amount of $136\frac{2}{4}$ sacks presupposed in the final total of $183\frac{2}{4}$ sacks. In 2, 3-4, the component items of the $134\frac{2}{4}$ sacks are both written in red, but in the amount of $136\frac{2}{4}$ sacks subsequently delivered at Thebes $131\frac{2}{4}$ sacks are written in red and the remaining 5 sacks, written in black, are given as  *it-m-it* 'barley'. Here we find for the first time evidence of a remarkable habit of Egyptian scribes applicable, not only to Ramesside times, but also to the Eighteenth Dynasty;² *whenever black and red ink are*

¹ This I have described in *JEA* xxii, 185 ff.

² For earlier times see Gunn's note, below, p. 27.

both being used, red ink is employed for $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ *bdt* 'spelt' and black for $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓}$ *it-m-it* 'barley'; though subsequently when both kinds of grain are being added together as $\text{𓆔} \text{𓆕}$ *šs* 'corn' (see above, p. 24, n. 3) red ink may be used. Some of the evidence upon which this important generalization is based is given in the footnote,¹ and though I have not searched very widely, the examples are more than ample to justify my statement. So firmly rooted was the habit that, as Gunn points out to me, it is actually found in a mere story; the faithless wife of Anūp is filled with desire for Bata, her husband's younger brother, because she sees him carrying a load of 'spelt ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ *bdt*) 3 sacks and barley ($\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓}$ *it*) 2 sacks, total 5'; and here the 3 and the total 5 are written in red, and the 2 in black.² Henceforth, wherever we discover this contrast of colours in connexion with corn, we shall be justified in taking the black amount as referring to barley, and the red amount as referring to spelt. A further important consequence henceforth to be held in view is that, since the amounts written in black are both smaller and fewer than those in red, most payments in corn, and especially tax-payments, were made in 'spelt' (*bdt*), not in 'barley' (*it*). This agrees with the result of Griffith's investigations³ for the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and until Ptolemaic times, when 'wheat' (*πυρός*, in Coptic ⲛⲟⲩⲟ , Egyptian $\text{𓆖} \text{𓆗} \text{𓆘} \text{𓆙}$ *swt*) was substituted for spelt as the principal cereal, and 'barley' took the second place.⁴ The supremacy of $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓}$ *it* $\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ 'barley' apparently belongs only

¹ In our Turin papyrus the evidence is as follows: in 2, 7 the special reference to *it-m-it* accompanied by a number written in black presupposes that the unspecified cereal of which the amount precedes and is written in red must be of a different kind. Again in 4, 6 we find $8\frac{2}{4}$ sacks of *bdt* written in red and followed by $2\frac{1}{4}$ sacks of *it* (here evidently synonymous with *it-m-it*) written in black; in the detailed account given of these in the following line the kinds of grain are not expressly named, but $7 + 1\frac{2}{4} = 8\frac{2}{4}$ sacks are written in red, and $1\frac{2}{4} + \frac{3}{4} = 2\frac{1}{4}$ sacks in black, *i.e.* in harmony with the previous indications. Yet again in 4, 9-10 three items of $4 + 1 + 1\frac{2}{4}$ sacks are written in black, and an item of $1\frac{2}{4}$ sacks is written in red; in 5, 2-3 the first two of these items (the third and fourth are forgotten) are still in black, and in 5, 4 have evidently been added to an item of $1\frac{2}{4}$ sacks written in black in both 4, 11 and 5, 2 to form the black total of $6\frac{2}{4}$ sacks, while the amount of 12 sacks written in red immediately before these $6\frac{2}{4}$ sacks is clearly identical with the same amount written in red alike in 4, 11 and again in 5, 1, this amount being definitely stated to be *bdt* 'spelt' in the latter place. Finally, in vs. 2, 9 there is a single black amount of 2 sacks contrasting violently with all the neighbouring red entries, and it is clear that here the black ink must have a reason. In the Amiens papyrus studied further on in this article there is a similar alternation of red and black figures, clearly marking a similar distinction, but the only quite explicit testimony is vs. 2, x+9, where the figure accompanying *it-m-it* is in black, and that accompanying *bdt* is in red. In Pleyte & Rossi, *op. cit.*, 91, all the numbers, including one example of *it-m-it*, are in black except those accompanying *bdt*, which are four and all in red. Even more striking are the accounts, *op. cit.*, 108-11: in 109 a total of *it-m-it* is given and followed by the items composing it, all in black; 109, 19 and onwards a total of *bdt* is given in red, followed by itemized entries all with figures in red. For the Eighteenth Dynasty I can quote, not only the Louvre papyrus treated below, pp. 56-8, but also the accounts in *P. Petersburg III 16 A, verso*, ed. Golénischeff, pl. 15; in both these documents black and red amounts of corn are juxtaposed, and the distinction of the two can be only for the same reason as has been demonstrated for Ramesside times. The above results had been already ascertained when I came across a partial observation of the same fact by Černý, *Ann. Serv.* xxvii, 209. He is there dealing with a Cairo ostrakon (J. 51518) in which the rations of the Necropolis work-people are set forth. These rations were in grain, and Černý says: 'Ces grains étaient de deux sortes: les quantités de l'une sont écrites à l'encre noire, celles de l'autre à l'encre rouge. Les quantités exprimées en rouge sont toujours plus grandes que celles notées en noir, excepté à la ligne 8 où elles sont égales.'

² *Tale of the Two Brothers*, 3, 4-5. According to the accepted view, the *hjr* 'sack' is equivalent to 2 bushels. I am informed it would take a man of exceptional strength to carry a load of 5 bushels for 100 yards, and here Bata is declared to have shouldered double that load!

³ *Rylands Papyri*, III, 78, n. 11, a detailed and highly valuable note.

⁴ See the table in Grenfell & Hunt, *Tebtunis Papyri*, I, 562. Wheat was known in Egypt from the earliest time, always supposing that the word *zwt*, later *swt*, has not changed its meaning during its long history.

to the Old and Middle Kingdoms.¹ Thus it seems possible to observe a deterioration of the corn in Ramesside and post-Ramesside times, and a subsequent improvement of quality when the Greek period is reached. It seems agreed that the 'spelt' so prominent in the Ramesside age and later was of the kind known scientifically as *Triticum dicoccum* or 'starch-wheat', a poor kind of cereal.² The same meaning is attributed by all authorities to the Greek ὄλυρα,³ the word which Coptic renders by Ⲭⲱⲧⲉ, i.e. the old $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{16}$ $\frac{1}{32}$ *bdt*.⁴ The Golénischeff Onomasticon (6, 8–9) distinguishes at least seven kinds of *bdt*, among them varieties called respectively 'white', 'black', and 'red'. For this reason it seems hardly likely that the colour of the actual grain played a part in the scribe's choice of inks.

Returning now to the details of the figures, we see that at 'Agni Dḥutmošē received $33\frac{3}{4} + 3\frac{3}{4}$ sacks, the former in red for spelt, and the latter in black for barley. The resultant 37 sacks added to the $136\frac{3}{4}$ from Gebelēn together with the subsequent 10 from Pkhal yield the grand total of $183\frac{3}{4}$ sacks. The disposal of the $33\frac{3}{4} + 3\frac{3}{4}$ sacks at Thebes is expressed (2, 10–11) in a rather puzzling way, and though able to offer an explanation I am not sure it is the right one. If the ordinary practice was observed, the word for 'deficit' must refer to the figures that follow, not to those that precede; but this involves taking the second 'to the account of the fishermen' as tautologous and a mistake. Another curious point is that there is a small space after the number 33. None the less, it is obvious that the 33 sacks of spelt (because in red) paid to Nesamenopē and Hentowē represent the $33\frac{3}{4}$ received at 'Agni, and that the payment of $3\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{32}$ (= $3\frac{13}{32}$) sacks of barley (because in black) represents the $3\frac{3}{4}$ sacks from that same town. It seems then likely that of the $\frac{3}{4} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32}$ (= $3\frac{19}{32}$) sacks deducted for the fishermen, the $\frac{3}{4}$ reducing the $33\frac{3}{4}$ received to the 33 sacks delivered will have been the amount paid for transport of the spelt, and the $\frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32}$ (= $\frac{3}{32}$) will have been the amount paid for the transport of the barley.⁵ It is barely an objection that the whole of the amount deducted is written in red, instead of partly in red and partly in black.

Let it be recalled that units of the sack or *khar* ⲡ are written with the ordinary integers, that units of its fourth part the $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{16}$ $\frac{1}{32}$ *ipt* or *oipē* are shown as dots, and that fractions of the *oipē* are given in the so-called 'eye'-notation; see my *Eg. Gram.*, § 266, p. 198. Here I render all corn-measures in terms of the sack.

To conclude these lengthy comments, the question must be raised whether, in spite of the presumption arising from the statement on the title-page (1, 3), some of the corn collected at Gebelēn did not belong to some other category of tax than that derived from *khato*-lands of Pharaoh. The amount received from the police-officer 'Ankhatir

¹ Note, however, that in the temple offerings only 'barley' (*it*) seems to have been used. At all events the Medinet Habu Calendar mentions only barley, this of two sorts, barley of Upper Egypt and barley of Lower Egypt; other references for these, *ZÄS* XLIV, 19; also Kees, see in the next note.

² See the monographs quoted in Peet, *Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 114, n. 1; also Kees, *Kulturgeschichte*, 31–2; Hartmann, *Agriculture*, 48–53.

³ So (e.g.) Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 98; Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.

⁴ Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 45, gives as the meaning 'durah', and for this he seems to have some ground in Arabic translations. Schweinfurth, however, appears to have strenuously denied (see Hartmann, *op. cit.*, 53) that durah, i.e. *Sorghum vulgare*, was known to the ancient Egyptians.

⁵ See also the comments below on 4, 9–10.

Pleyte and Rossi, *op. cit.*, 61; whether, like the House of Mont, it belonged to the complex of sanctuaries at Karnak is unknown. The House of Mont was the northernmost building of that complex, and some of its high-priests had their tombs at Kurnet Mur'ai on the West bank. Its localization at Karnak helps to explain why a 'scribe of the counting'—I fancy the title is rare at this period¹—belonging to the temple of Amen-Rē was placed at the disposal of the priest of Mont.

The entry (3, 3) with regard to the mason with the strange name Irusharē (Ranke, 39, 20) appears to end, after some half-destroyed and unintelligible signs, with a red dot, *i.e.* 1 *oipē* or $\frac{1}{4}$ sack of spelt. This small item is forgotten when the 6 sacks to which it belonged are mentioned again in 3, 8. Further payments of the corn-tax for which the scribe Nesamūn was responsible are mentioned below in 4, 6; 5, 6. 8. 10. 11. It is characteristic Egyptian inconsistency that Dḥutmosē, though giving a full account of the way in which the corn of the Portable Shrine was disposed of, omits to do the like for that from the temple of Mont.

- 3, 9 YEAR 12, fourth month of the Inundation season, day 18, setting forth from the West of the City by the scribe of the Necropolis Dḥutmosē with the boat of the skipper Dḥutweshbi and the boat of the fisherman (Kadōre).²
- 3, 10 RECEIVED in the town of Esna in Year 12, fourth month of the Inundation season, day 20, by the scribe of the Necropolis Dḥutmosē and the two janitors, of the 402 sacks of corn of ¹
- 3, 11 the House of Khnūm and Nebu from the hand of the deputy-superintendent Pwerō and the temple-scribe Penḥasi in the granary of Khnūm and Nebu at Esna, 337 sacks. Details of it:
- 3, 12 RECEIVED on this day from the hand of the deputy-superintendent Pwerō:³ the cultivator
- 3, 13 Sahtnūfe, of his harvest-tax, 120 sacks. ¹ Again from his hand and the cultivator Butehamūn and the cultivator (Nakht?)amūn,⁴ 80 sacks. Again from their hands, $6\frac{2}{4}$ sacks. Again from
- 3, 14 their hands, $13\frac{2}{4}$ sacks. Total 220 sacks, put upon the boat of ¹ the skipper Dḥutweshbi.
- 3, 15 RECEIVED from their hands on this day by the scribe Dḥutmosē. Put upon the boat of the fisherman Kadōre, $98\frac{3}{4}$ sacks (and) $24\frac{2}{4}$ sacks;⁵ total, $123\frac{1}{4}$ sacks.
- 3, 16 TOTAL, $343\frac{1}{4}$ sacks. Given for the expenses,⁶ $6\frac{1}{4}$ sacks. [Placed?] to (the credit of) Pharaoh, 337 sacks. Balance on the account of the temple-scribe Penḥasi, 65 sacks. Total, 402 sacks.
- 4, 1 RECEIVED in Year 12, fourth month of the Inundation season, day 24, by the mayor of the West of the City Pwerō, of the corn brought by the scribe of the Necropolis Dḥutmosē and
- 4, 2 the two janitors ¹ in the boat of the skipper Dḥutweshbi and the boat of the fisherman Kadōre,

¹ Presumably the title is a shortening of what was written in Dyn. XVIII as 'scribe, counter of the grain of Amūn in the Granary of Divine offerings', see Gardiner & Weigall, *Top. Cat.*, no. 231, *cf.* also nos. 38, 82, 179.

² As above in 3, 7 a word has been omitted at the end of the line. Here it is the personal name Kadōre, for which see 3, 15; 4, 2. 3. His boat was of the kind called , though of this the element  has been carelessly left unwritten. Since in the sequel Kadōre's boat is written simply  like that of Dḥutweshbi it is probable that the word for 'boat' in this text is to be read *kr* everywhere. However, in Černý's letters (*op. cit.*, 58, l. 3) a fisherman's boat that carried corn is described as .

³ This heading is pure repetition and quite superfluous.

⁴ Part of the name is erroneously omitted. My suggestion assumes that , the determinative of 'cultivator', is to be read a second time as Nakht-.

⁵ It is strange to find these two amounts in red juxtaposed, but the previous lines leave no doubt that they are correctly so written. Perhaps the smaller amount came from the scribe Penḥasi.

⁶ For this sense of  *cf.*  'Given to them for expenses of the boat in which they are, 1 sack' in the unpublished part of the Turin papyrus, Pleyte & Rossi, *op. cit.*, 68-9; from Peet's note-book v, 129.

- 4, 3 from the town of Esna, 337 sacks. Details of it: Arrived and delivered to the mayor, ¹ of the corn of the fisherman Ẹadōre, 110 $\frac{1}{4}$ sacks. Given as rations to the fisherman Yetnūfe 1 sack; total 111 $\frac{1}{4}$ sacks. Deficit, 2 sacks. The details of the deficit: the janitor Khensmosē, 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ sacks.
- 4, 4 Nesamenopē, $\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8}$ sack; Ẹadōre, $\frac{1}{4}$ sack.¹
- 4, 5 ARRIVED and delivered to the mayor of the West of the City, of the corn of the skipper Dḥutweshbi, 203 $\frac{3}{4}$ sacks. Given for the expenses of the skipper, 20 sacks. Total, 225 sacks.

In this, the clearest and in some ways the most interesting section of the papyrus, there is unmistakable evidence that the accounts have been faked. The explanations down to the arrival of the boats at Thebes are impeccable, at least so far as the figures are concerned. From 3, 10–11 it appears that the temple at Esna of Khnūm and his consort Nebu² (earlier  *Nbt-w*, 'Mistress of the region') was assessed with a tax of 402 sacks, out of which 337 sacks were immediately paid, this being the part for which the deputy-superintendent Pwerō was personally responsible, while his colleague the temple-scribe Penḥasi, mentioned again in connexion with the same temple in vs. 3, 2. 3, was left with a liability of 65 sacks to be paid later (3, 16). In point of fact the deputy-superintendent (not to be confused with the Theban mayor of the same name) had managed to squeeze 343 $\frac{1}{4}$ sacks out of the three cultivators concerned, and this amount was actually shipped to Thebes in the two boats (3, 16). To bring these 343 $\frac{1}{4}$ sacks down to 337 Dḥutmosē at once deducts 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ sacks for expenses (3, 16). Of the 343 $\frac{1}{4}$ sacks shipped 220 were placed on Dḥutweshbi's boat and 123 $\frac{1}{4}$ on that of Ẹadōre, the items composing these (120 + 80 + 6 $\frac{2}{4}$ + 13 $\frac{2}{4}$ = 220; 98 $\frac{3}{4}$ + 24 $\frac{2}{4}$ = 123 $\frac{1}{4}$) adding up correctly. Arrived at Thebes, however, Dḥutmosē feels it incumbent upon him to account for these two freights, and forgetting all about the 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ sacks already deducted, he proceeds to deal with the 343 $\frac{1}{4}$ sacks as follows. Taking Ẹadōre first, he admits paying 110 $\frac{1}{4}$ sacks from his boat to the mayor Pwerō, and adds that 1 sack was given as rations to another fisherman named Yetnūfe (4, 3).⁴ This yields, however, only 111 $\frac{1}{4}$ sacks, and now Dḥutmosē makes the blunder of thinking that he has only 2 sacks more to account for, whereas, Ẹadōre's load being 123 $\frac{1}{4}$ sacks, the amount to be explained was actually 12. Overlooking this, he marks down 2 sacks as the unexplained remainder, assigns 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ to the janitor Khensmosē, and then, as an afterthought, attributes $\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8}$ to Nesamenopē, doubtless his colleague as scribe of the Necropolis, while the poor fisherman Ẹadōre gets only $\frac{1}{4}$ sack. The three items (1 $\frac{1}{4}$ + $\frac{3}{8}$ + $\frac{1}{4}$) come as near to 2 sacks as matters, but we see that Dḥutmosē has falsified his statement, since he had clearly forgotten one amount already accounted for and has misread one number as another ten less than it. With the freight of Dḥutweshbi's boat he deals in yet more cavalier fashion: he records having handed over 203 $\frac{3}{4}$ sacks to the mayor, and then states he has given 20 sacks to the skipper for expenses; and lastly he wrongly adds

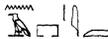
¹ Added below l. 3 before l. 5 was written.

² Both deities are often depicted upon the walls of the temple, see Porter & Moss, *Bibliography*, VI, 113–17; the earliest mention of Nebtu (Nebu) appears to be on a Dyn. XVIII group of statues, in which the father of the principal person was a mayor of Esna, and the mother a female musician of Nebtu, see *Rec. Trav.* XIV, 26–7, and again Borchartd, *Statuen u. Statuetten*, II, no. 549.

³ This good writing seems preserved only in the name of a queen of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, see Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, II, 273. In pronunciation the *t* of the feminine was possibly not preserved as in the older goddess's name *Nepthīs*.

⁴ Allusion is made to this fisherman in one of Černý's letters; see above, p. 30, n. 2.

- 4, 11 RECEIVED in the town of Imiotru from the hand of the scribe of the counting Nesamūn from ploughing of the foreigner Iunē, 12 sacks; the foreigner Pkhal, $1\frac{3}{4}$ sacks. TOTAL, corn, $13\frac{3}{4}$ sacks.
- 5, 1 RECEIVED in Year 12, first month of the Summer season, day 9, of the 12 sacks of spelt
- 5, 2 fetched from the town of Imiotru from the ploughing of the foreigner Iunē, ¹ together with the $1\frac{3}{4}$ sacks¹ of the foreigner Pkhal, TOTAL, corn, $13\frac{3}{4}$ sacks. The herdsman Penḥasi, son of
- 5, 3 Pkamen, in the town of Nimu, 4 sacks; ¹ the chief of Medjoy-policemen, Nesamūn, 1 sack, TOTAL, 5 sacks. RECEIVED on this day by the female musician of Amūn Ḥentowě on top² of
- 5, 4 the garner. ¹ Entered into the first magazine ('The garner) overflows', 12 sacks, $6\frac{3}{4}$ sacks. Entered into the storeroom³ which is on top of 'the Pure Land',⁴ of corn, $18\frac{3}{4}$ sacks.

A large space both precedes and follows this section, marking it off as complete in itself, and this is confirmed by the fact that the receipts from the tax-payers and the deliveries to the authorities at Thebes balance one another. Nevertheless we are here confronted with a number of difficulties. In 3, 1-2 we found the scribe of the counting Nesamūn delivering the corn of the House of Mont at Karnak, and though the same source is not mentioned in regard to the amounts received from him and set forth in 4, 6-8 we can well believe that it was thence that they came. But what is to be made of the statement in 4, 11 that grain was received from this Nesamūn in Gebelēn, a statement confirmed by 5, 1-2? Did fields belonging to the House of Mont exist at Gebelēn? Moreover, this Gebelēn interlude is placed between and combined with taxes from an unknown⁵ town called  Npiimu in 4, 9 and  in 5, 2. It is possible, but unprovable, that the element  found in the first spelling ought to have been placed before , in which case the name of the town would have meant 'The Tents'; for *imw* somewhat similarly spelt see *Wenamūn* 1, 33. 47.

The lines 4, 6-8 are self-contained and complete, and their figures which, as has been seen in a footnote (p. 27, n. 1), provide conclusive testimony that amounts written in red refer to spelt (*bdt*) and amounts in black refer to barley (*it* or *it-m-it*), present no difficulties. The $8\frac{3}{4}$ sacks of spelt received from Nesamūn are made up of amounts of 7 and $1\frac{3}{4}$ sacks respectively, and the barley received ($2\frac{1}{4}$ sacks) is likewise made up of two amounts, namely $1\frac{2}{4} + \frac{3}{4}$ sacks. The total of $8\frac{1}{2} + 2\frac{1}{4} = 10\frac{3}{4}$ sacks is then recorded in 4, 9 as delivered in Thebes to the lady Ḥentowě.

As already observed, the remaining lines of the section (4, 9-5, 4) are curiously arranged, and information is withheld from us which we should have been glad to have. One can hardly doubt that it was the scribe Dḥutmosē who delivered the grain to the lady Ḥentowě at Thebes, though his name is not mentioned; perhaps by this time he was tired of writing about himself. The previous sections were concerned only with a double operation, (1) receipts in provincial places and (2) delivery to the authorities in Thebes. Here the operation is tripartite: (1) receipts in the provinces (4, 9-11); (2) receipt in Thebes presumably by Dḥutmosē (5, 1-3); and (3) receipt—the word *šp* here exceptionally takes the place of *iw swd* 'arrived and delivered'—at Thebes by

¹ Here the words   begin with the feminine article, though  *hr* is a masculine word. In an unpublished article Černý has plausibly suggested that though what is written is 'the $1\frac{3}{4}$ sacks', what was read was 'the 6 *oipē*', the word *ipt* *oimē* being feminine.

² Here we have *(hr?) dīdī n*, probably *ḡḡn*, whereas in 2, 5 *tp-hwt* 'roof' was used.

³ For *šyt* see above, p. 24, n. 2.

⁴ Obscure; the sign  is not quite certain.

⁵ The place is not mentioned in Gauthier's dictionary.

Hentowě (5, 3); and strangest point of all, what is the final part of every operation recorded in the papyrus, namely the entering of the corn into the granary, here (5, 4) is duplicated, the same grain (12 sacks of spelt and $6\frac{2}{4}$ of barley, a total of $18\frac{2}{4}$ sacks) being stated to have been stored in two different places! Was this corn transferred from one granary to another? We are not told. Strange are the ways of Egyptian book-keeping!

If, as seems likely, Dḥutmosē was staying at home at this moment—the word  'fetched' in 5, 1 seems significant—who was it that collected the taxes at N(pi)imu and Gebelēn? Not the scribe Nesamūn, unless the expression 'from the hand of' () in 4, 11 is a mistake for 'by' (). Hitherto we have found that the smaller amounts taken in a provincial town from specified cultivators and others were first collected by some higher local functionary or functionaries (e.g. the scribe Nesamūn in 3, 2) and by him or them passed on to the tax-collector from the Capital. In N(pi)imu no such mediating authority is named. The corn sent from N(pi)imu consisted of four amounts, three of barley ($4 + 1 + 1\frac{2}{4}$ sacks in black) and one of spelt ($1\frac{2}{4}$ sacks in red). The two items of $1\frac{2}{4}$ sacks each said to have come from fishermen disappear completely hereafter. Were they returned to them as payment for transport? In the statement of the receipt of the grain at Thebes (5, 1-3) the amounts received at Gebelēn are dealt with first; they were 12 sacks of spelt and $1\frac{2}{4}$ of barley, totalling $13\frac{2}{4}$ sacks. Then the $4 + 1 = 5$ sacks of barley from N(pi)imu are noted, the two amounts from the fishermen being omitted, as aforesaid. In the first statement with regard to the binning away (5, 4), the spelt (12 sacks) and the barley ($5 + 1\frac{2}{4} = 6\frac{2}{4}$ sacks) are sorted out afresh, and it is only in the second statement (see above) that we are explicitly informed of the net amount ($18\frac{2}{4}$ sacks) received from the two towns.

- 5, 5 RECEIVED in Year 12, fourth month of the Winter season, day 13,¹ from the hands of the two janitors, of the corn of the store of Pharaoh which is on the account of the scribe of the
- 5, 6 counting of the House of Amūn Nesamūn, 4 and 20 sacks. ¹ TOTAL COME from him of the 72 sacks of corn, $55\frac{3}{4}$ sacks. Deficit, $16\frac{1}{4}$ sacks.
- 5, 7 RECEIVED in Year 12, fourth month of the Winter season, day 13, from the hand of the scribe
- 5, 8 Saḥtnūfe of the corn of the foreigner Eroy,² 20 sacks. Details of it: the deficit of ¹ grain of the House of Suchus, lord of Imiotru, $10\frac{2}{4}$ sacks; grain of the store of Pharaoh which is on the account of Nesamūn the scribe of the counting belonging to the House of Amen-Rē, King
- 5, 9 of the Gods, 8 sacks; ¹ what the prophet of Suchus paid in excess,³ $1\frac{2}{4}$ sacks. TOTAL, 20 sacks.
- 5, 10 RECEIVED . . . ⁴ from the scribe of the counting of the House of Amūn Nesamūn of corn of the store of Pharaoh from the hand of. . .
- 5, 11 RECEIVED [from the scribe of the counting] of the House of Amūn Nesamūn. Given to the priest of Mut, 3 sacks . . . TOTAL (?). . .

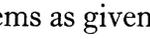
This final section of the *recto*, perhaps the conclusion of the entire document, is obscured by the lacunae in its last two lines. It is even more perplexing than the previous sections, but at least we can see that all the lines are concerned (5, 7-9 perhaps only in part) with the obligations of the scribe of the counting Nesamūn. We glean from 5, 6 that he had to collect 72 sacks of grain due to Pharaoh; the facts that he was made

¹ Or 12; the figure is not quite clear.

² For this man see below, pp. 35-6.

³ Lit., 'what is (in) excess of the prophet' etc.

⁴ A small lacuna followed by a blank. Perhaps a date had been intended.

The Ḥaṭḥōr mentioned here is unlikely to have been the goddess of 'Agni mentioned above, p. 25, n. 6, partly because the foreigner Eroy in vs. 1, 8 is doubtless identical with the man named in rt. 5, 7 as belonging to Gebelēn, while Pkamen and Pentḥōres occur again below in connexion with that town (vs. 2, 9, 10), and partly because the epithet 'lady of 'Agni' would then be urgently needed. Ḥaṭḥōr was worshipped at or near Gebelēn at the town of Pi-Ḥaṭḥōr (Pathyris) and also with the name of , var. , 'Lady of the two egg-shells', see Kees, *ZÄS* LXXI, 151. The items as given above add up only to 29 $\frac{2}{4}$ sacks, but one or two of the numbers are damaged or difficult to see, and perhaps the total given by the ancient scribe may be correct after all.

vs. 2, 1 ¹	RECEIVED in Year 14, first month of the Inundation season, day 11, in the town of Smen.	
	The ² foreigner Penernūte	2 $\frac{2}{4}$ sacks
	The foreigner 'Anefsu	10 sacks
	The foreigner Eḥowtenūfe	7 $\frac{2}{4}$ sacks
vs. 2, 5	The foreigner Penḥasi	4 sacks
	Total	24 sacks

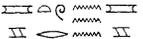
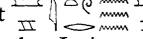
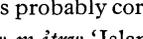
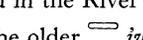
This brief paragraph is marked off from what precedes and what follows by a curved line running below and to right of it; the same procedure is found in various Late-Ramesside papyri, e.g. *P. Wilbour*, pls. 40, 57; *P. Chester Beatty IV*, pl. 15 A. The town of  *Smn* is that originally written  and the like; it is elaborately discussed by Kuentz in *Bull. Inst. fr.* XXVIII, 123–54. In the Golénischeff Onomasticon Imiotru intervenes between it and Armant, and for that reason it can hardly be located at Rizeikāt where Gauthier (*Dict. géogr.* v, 17) still places it, that village being only 4 miles to the south-west of Armant. As Kuentz³ and Kees (*ZÄS* LXXI, 151), as well as others, have seen, it is probably the ancient Crocodilopolis, the twin-city of Pathyris at Gebelēn.

vs. 2, 7	RECEIVED in the town of Imiotru: ⁴
A ⁵	The foreigner Kha'emtir, 3 (+?) sacks
A	The foreigner Pkamen, 2 sacks

¹ From here onwards the text is unpublished.

² Here the items are on the level of the first word of the heading, not inset as in col. 1.

³ His statement (*op. cit.*, 153) is obscure. He seems to identify *Swmnw* at once with Rizeikāt and with Gebelēn, though these must be some fourteen miles distant from one another.

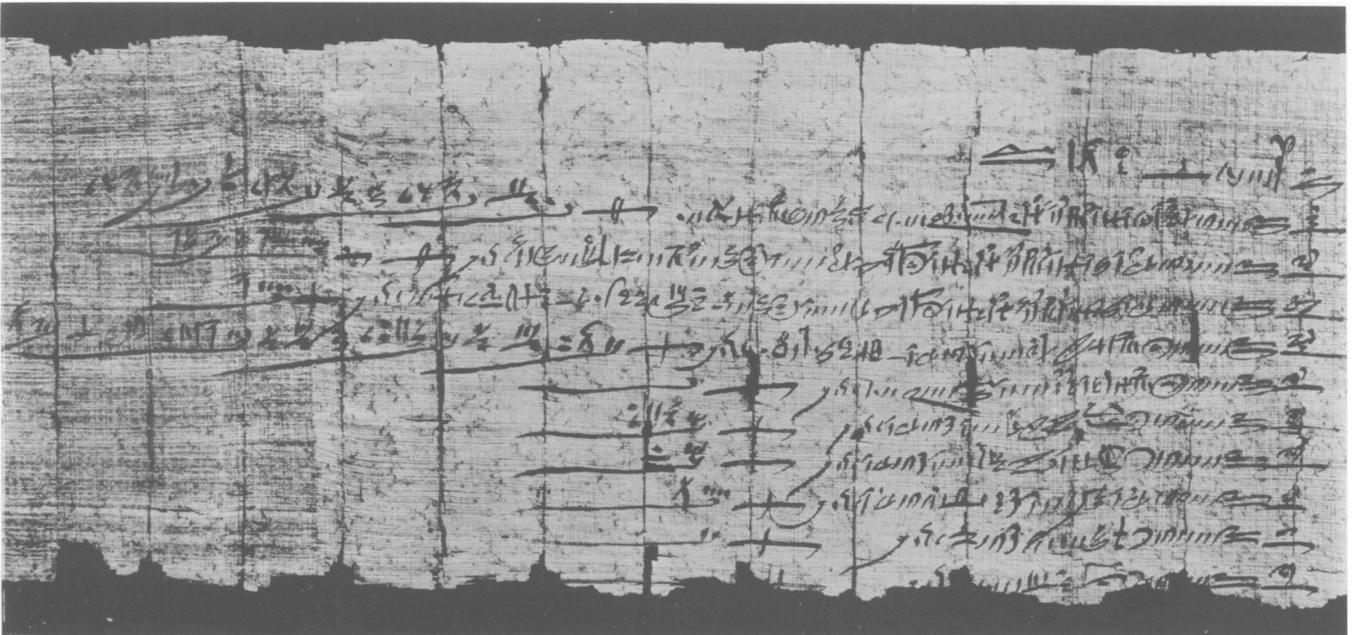
⁴ The writing of the town-name  deserves some comment. In the *recto* (2, 6, 12; 4, 11; 5, 1) the spelling is the same, but in 5, 8 we find the variant ; the Golénischeff Onomasticon (4, 14–5) has . The pronunciation Imiotru, or rather Imiatru, is probably correct for the Middle Kingdom, the etymology being clearly seen in the writing  'Iw-m-itrw 'Island in the River'—variants see Gauthier, *op. cit.*, I, 42–3; *ZÄS* LXXI, 151. The initial  doubtless represents the older  *iw*, as it does in group-writing for *i*, but it seems quite possible that the value *mi* or *m* found in  *Moipus* also played a part and enabled the essential *m* to be omitted in the Ramesside spellings. In view of the well-known conservatism of proper names, it might be in theory possible that the pronunciation Imiotru survived on throughout the New Kingdom, although in the word for 'river' the spelling , the Hebrew אֵרֶב, and the Coptic εἰοορ are plain evidence that the *t* was early lost. However, Demotic indicates the pronunciation Amūr for the place-name, see Griffith, *Rylands Papyri*, III, 421; *Rec. Trav.* xxxiii, 128.

⁵ I use A to represent Δ written later in the margin and meaning A(rrived). In l. 11 the same sign has possibly been written and then erased.

PLATE VII



recto, p. 1



recto, p. 5

THE AMIENS PAPYRUS

- vs. 2, 10 A The foreigner Pentḥōres, 3 sacks
 The foreigner Pḥonamennakhte, 4 sacks
 A The foreigner Katja, $3\frac{3}{4}$ sacks
 A The foreigner 'Autiroy, 3 [sacks]
 The foreigner Sebks'ankh [son of? . . .], 1 (?) $\frac{3}{4}$ [sacks]
 vs. 2, 15 A [The foreigner Eḥowte[nūfe?], *x* sacks]

Two of the men mentioned occurred in vs. col. 1, see above. No total is given here or in col. 3. It is significant that the number in vs. 2, 9 is given in black, and this can only mean, in accordance with my previous demonstration, that the payments were in *bdt* 'spelt', except in this one instance, where the payment was in *it-m-it* 'barley'.

- vs. 3, 1 FIRST month of the Inundation season, day 25. On this day, received, (in) the House of
 vs. 3, 2 Khnūm and Nebu at Esna, ¹ from the hand of the temple-scribe Penḥasi, corn, 80 sacks.
 vs. 3, 3 SECOND month of the Inundation season, day 7. On this day received from the hand of
 the temple-scribe Penḥasi, 70 sacks. Total, 150.
 vs. 3, 4 SECOND month of the Inundation season, day. . . . On this day, received from the
 hand of the prophet of Amūn P'ankhaḥ, 10 sacks.

For the gods and temple of Esna, as well as for the temple-scribe Penḥasi, see above, pp. 30-1. The prophet P'ankhaḥ is a new acquaintance. Here the texts of the *verso* come to an end.

§ 3. The Amiens papyrus

I pass on to the most important document which we possess with regard to the transport of corn, namely a papyrus at Amiens recently published for the first time in my *Rameside Administrative Documents*, pp. 1-13. In the Introductory Note to that fascicule I have acknowledged my indebtedness to Peet, who was preparing an edition at the time of his death; also to two French colleagues and friends who helpfully arranged for the loaning of the manuscript to the Louvre there to be re-mounted under my supervision by Dr. Ibscher. Here our business is solely with the contents, and I can curtail my description of external features. It is a manuscript about 2½ metres in length, inscribed on both sides in a highly cursive Late-Rameside hand, a sample of which is shown on pl. VII. Both *recto* and *verso* were written by the same scribe and treat of the same topic. None the less the text is not continuous, since the *verso* starts at the same end as the *recto*; had it been continuous, the scribe, on reaching the inner margin, would have turned his roll horizontally and have proceeded boustrophedon. One or more pages are lost at the beginning of both *recto* and *verso*. Still more regrettable is the loss of about half the height throughout. The usual height of large business papyri at this period was 37-42 cm.; of that amount only 17 or 18 cm. still remain, the bottoms of pages being lost on the *recto*, and the tops on the *verso*.

For reasons that will emerge later I translate the whole of the *recto* before proceeding to the commentary.

One or more pages are lost at the beginning.

- 1, 1 SHIP OF 'Ashafēyew, (son of) Bekenkhons, of the House of Amūn,¹ under his authority:
 1, 2 Given to him in the Island of Amūn Every-land-comes-for-the-love[-of-him, on] the

¹ The phrase 'of the House of Amūn' probably belongs both to the ship and to the ship's captain. So also several times below.

threshing-floor of the chief workman Pḥamnūte, being corn of domain of the House of Amūn 'Ashafē, 100 sacks.

1, 3 Given to him in this place on this threshing-floor, being corn of domain of the House of . . .¹ in the Granary of the House of Amūn, under his authority, 50 sacks.

1, 4 Given to him in this place on this threshing-floor, being corn of domain of [the House of] Raḥmesse-miamūn in the House of Amūn of Ḥe-e-pwoid, under his authority, 154 $\frac{1}{4}$ sacks. Balance, 54 sacks. Nesamūn, 100 sacks.

1, 5 Given [to him] on the river-bank of Djaḥ-khe, being [corn of this domain, under his authority; which had been in the ship of Seti, [son of] Psekhemnē, 20 sacks.

1, 6 [Given to him [in ?] . . . in² . . ., [being] corn of [this] domain, by the hand of the controller Amen . . ., 32 $\frac{23}{4}$ sacks.

1, 7 [Given to him in] the [new] island [we]st of Khenu (?), [on] the threshing-floor of the prophet of the House of Meḥye-weben [Ḥōri]⁴, being corn of the House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, which Pharaoh newly founded, under his authority, 100 sacks.

1, 8 [TOTAL] . . . this [pl]ace (? ?),⁵ [32 $\frac{23}{4}$]⁶ 424 [sacks]. Rations of his crew, . 9 sacks.

1, 9 [SHIP OF the] . . . of the House of Amūn Setmosē, under his authority:

1, 10 [Given to him in the Island of Amūn] Every-land-comes-[for-the-] love-of-[him, on the threshing-floor of . . ., being corn of domain of] the House of (Raḥmes)se-miamūn of Ḥe-e-pwoid, 142 sacks.

1, 11 [Given to him in this place on] the threshing-floor of the priest K[eson,⁷ being corn of domain of] . . ., 228 sacks. Balance, 28 $\frac{1}{8}$ sacks. [Domain] of Khen-Min: 199 $\frac{3}{8}$ sacks.

1, 12 [Given to him in this place on the threshing-]floor of . . . 74 $\frac{3}{4}$ [sacks].

Some twelve or more lines are lost at the bottom of the page.

2, 1 Given to him in the Island of Amūn He-seizes-every-land, on the threshing-floor of the controller 'Anerē,⁸ being corn of⁹ the House of Amūn, domain of Khen-Min, under his authority, 50 sacks.

2, 2 Given to him in the Island of Amūn Filler-of-granaries, on the threshing-floor of the scribe Pmerit,¹⁰ being corn of domain of the House of Raḥmesse-miamūn of Ḥe-(e)-pwoid, 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ sacks.³

2, 3 TOTAL, given to him, 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ 840 sacks. Rations of his crew, 59 sacks.

2, 4 SHIP OF the commander of ships Mins'ankh, son of Bekamūn, of the House of Amūn, under his authority:

¹ There is not room for [Amūn 'Ashafē] as in 5, 9. None the less that temple must be meant; perhaps the epithet 'Ashafē alone was written.

² Part of a place-name.

³ In black; so always with numbers not printed in italics.

⁴ This line is undoubtedly to be restored in accordance with 4, 7. My published text is incorrect. After 'island of' part of the tail of  is visible; in the name traces of the tail of  can still be seen; the  must, as often, have been written above; for  read . I am, however, unable to reconcile the varying writings of the geographical name after 'west of'.

⁵ Such a phrase in the total is quite abnormal; the restoration is, therefore, doubtful.

⁶ Restored from 1, 6. The black number, referring to *it-m-it* 'barley', stands before the red (*bdt* 'spelt') in the totals 2, 3. 9; 3, 3. 12; 4, 3, as also in the summary 5, 2. 3. 5.

⁷ Restored from 2, 5. However, the threshing-floor mentioned there was in a different place; perhaps this priest owned two.

⁸ The same man at the same place, below 2, 8; he is mentioned also in 3, 10.

⁹ Note the absence of the word *rmnyt* before the name of the temple here and again in 2, 8; the reason is its presence before 'Khen-Min', which suffices to show that the reference is to provincial property of the temple. However, *rmnyt* is found both before and after the name of the temple in 3, 10.

¹⁰ The same owner of a threshing-floor at the same place below 2, 7; 3, 11. The pronunciation of the name is doubtful; in 3, 11 it is written *ps-mrwyt*, which is unknown to Ranke. My suggestion Pmerit 'the beloved' is at least intelligible.

- 2, 5 Given to him in the Island of Amūn Overrunning¹-his-boundary, on the threshing-floor of the priest Keson, being corn of domain of the House of Raḥmesse-miamūn of Ḥe-e-pwoid, under his authority, 600 sacks. Balance, 335. Domain of Tjebu, $37\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}$ sacks.
- 2, 6 Given to him in this place on this threshing-floor, being corn of domain of the House of Seti-merenptaḥ in the House of Amūn, under his authority, $227\frac{2}{4}\frac{1}{8}$ sacks.
- 2, 7 Given to him in the Island of Amūn Filler-of-granaries, on the threshing-floor of the scribe Pmerīt, being corn of domain of the House of Raḥmesse-miamūn of Ḥe-(e)-pwoid, 10 sacks.
- 2, 8 Given to him in the Island of Amūn He-seizes-every-land, on the threshing-floor of the controller ḤAnerē, being corn of the House of Amūn, domain of Khen-Min, by the hand of the controller ḤAnerē, 100 sacks.
- 2, 9 TOTAL given to him, 10 700 sacks. Rations of his crew, 63 sacks.
- 2, 10 SHIP OF the commander of ships Wennofrenakhte, son of ḤAshafēnakhte, of [this] house, under his authority:
- 2, 11 Given to him in the Island of Amūn [Overrunning]-his-boundary, on the threshing-floor of the priest [Keson],² being corn of domain of the House of Raḥmesse-mi[amūn] . . . ,³ 600 sacks. Balance, 140 sacks. House of [Sethos], 460⁴ [sacks].

Some twelve or more lines are lost at the bottom of the page.

- 3, 1 Given to him in the Island of Amūn Spirit-in-Thebes, on the threshing-floor of the cultivator ḤAshafēheryeb,⁵ being corn of this domain, 232 sacks.
- 3, 2 Given to him,⁶ being corn of domain of the House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, which Pharaoh newly founded, under the authority of the Steward; which had been in the ship of Seti, son of Psekhemnē, $52\frac{3}{4} 145\frac{1}{4}$ sacks. Balance, 45 130 sacks.
- 3, 3 TOTAL, given to him, 50 $930\frac{2}{4}\frac{1}{8}$ sacks. Balance, 45 $920\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{8}$ sacks. Rations of his crew, $40\frac{3}{4}$ sacks.
- 3, 4 SHIP OF the captain ḤAshafēmḥab, son of Neferronpe, of the House of Amūn, under his authority:
- 3, 5 Given to him in the new island west of Inmut, on the threshing-floor of the controller Pentwēre, being corn of domain of the House of Raḥmesse-miamūn of Ḥe-e-pwoid, under his authority, 260 sacks. Balance, $84\frac{1}{4}$ sacks. The domain of Pharaoh, $175\frac{3}{4}$ sacks.
- 3, 6 Given to him in this place, on the threshing-floor of the cultivator Peieroy, son of Amen-ḥimaḥu, being corn of this domain 100 $\frac{3}{4}$ sacks.
- 3, 7 Given to him in this place, on the threshing-floor of the controller Pḥesy, son of Pentwēre, being corn of domain which Pharaoh newly founded, under his authority, $328\frac{3}{4}$ sacks. Balance, $128\frac{3}{4}$ sacks. Domain of Khen-Min, 200 sacks.
- 3, 8 Given to him in the Island of Amūn Spirit-in-Thebes, on the threshing-floor of the cultivator ḤAshafēheryeb, being corn of domain of the House of Raḥmesse-miamūn of Ḥe-e-pwoid, under his authority, 110 sacks.
- 3, 9 Given to him on the river-bank of Djaḥ-rūhe, being corn of this (?) domain; which had been in the ship of Seti, son of Psekhemnē, 5 sacks.
- 3, 10 Given to him in the island east of Djaḥ-rūhe, on the threshing-floor of the cultivator Wennofrē, being corn of domain of the House of Amūn, domain of Khen-Min, by the hand of the controller ḤAnerē, 100 sacks.

¹ The transitive use 'run beyond', 'overrun' does not appear to be known elsewhere, see *Wb.* III, 473, 11-15. For this place see below, p. 45, n. 4.

² Restored from 2, 5 above.

³ There is insufficient room to restore 'of Ḥe-e-pwoid' as in 2, 5.

⁴ My edition gives 360, but the number is half destroyed, and $600 - 140 = 460$ is clearly required.

⁵ The same man in the same place, below 3, 8.

⁶ Here 'in this place' has possibly been omitted.

- 3, 11 Given to him in the Island of Amūn Filler-of-Granaries, on the threshing-floor of the scribe Pmerīt, being corn of domain of the House of Raḥmesse-miamūn of Ḥe-e-pwoid, under his authority, 10 sacks.
- 3, 12 TOTAL, given to him, 10 $904\frac{2}{4}$ sacks. Rations of his crew, 42 sacks.
- 3, 13 SHIP OF the captain Khensemḥab, son of Nebʿan, of the House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, under the authority of the Steward of Amūn:
- 3, 14 Given to him on the river-bank of . . ., on the threshing-floor of the controller [Pennes]towě, being corn of regular domain of the House of Amūn, under his authority in the region¹ of Tjebu, $40\frac{1}{4}$ 70 sacks.
- 3, 15
2(+ . . .) sacks. Balance, $31\frac{3}{4}$ 79 (+ ?).

Some twelve or more lines are lost at the bottom of the page.

- 4, 1 Given to him in the Byre of Pḳal, on the threshing-floor of the cultivator Pentwēre, being corn of ⟨this⟩² domain, under his authority, 10 sacks.
- 4, 2 Given to him,³ being corn of domain of the House of Raḥmesse-miamūn of Ḥe-e-pwoid; which had been in the ship of the captain Seti, son of Psekhemnē, 28 sacks. Balance, 24.⁴
- 4, 3 TOTAL, given to him, 28 310 sacks. Balance, 24 310. Rations of his crew, 51 sacks.
- 4, 4 SHIP OF the captain Psmennakhte, son of ʿAshafēnakhte, of this house, under his authority:
- 4, 5 Given to him in the Village of Medjed, on the threshing-floor of the retainer Amenḥotpe, being corn of domain of the House of Amūn, (founded) for (?) the people who were brought on account of their crimes, $95\frac{1}{4}$ sacks.
- 4, 6 Given to him in the Island of Amūn His⁵-Spirit-is-in-Thebes, on the threshing-floor of the controller ʿAshafēheryeb, being corn of ⟨this⟩ domain, under his authority, 155 sacks.
- 4, 7 Given to him in the new island on the west of Khenemti, on the threshing-floor of the prophet of the House of Meḥye-weben⁶ Ḥōri, being corn of domain which Pharaoh newly founded, 50 sacks.
- 4, 8 TOTAL given to him, $300\frac{1}{4}$ sacks. Rations of his crew, 38 sacks.
- 4, 9 SHIP OF Nebʿan, son of Hadnakhtu, of this house, under his authority:
- 4, 10 Given to him in the *parē*-land⁷ of Ḥe-nūte, on the threshing-floor of the controller Sethiwenmaf, being corn of domain of the House of Raḥmesse-miamūn (founded) for (?)⁸ the people of the Sherden, 200 sacks. Domain which Pharaoh founded, 52 sacks.
- 4, 11 Given to him in [this place, on] this threshing-floor, being corn of domain of the House of Amūn which Pharaoh newly founded, 175 sacks.
- 4, 12 [Given to him] . . . [of corn of domain of the House of Amūn (founded) for the people who were brought on account of] their crimes, 71 + *x* sacks.

Some twelve or more lines are lost at the bottom of the page.

- 5, 1 TOTAL, this expedition, 21 barges, making . . .⁹
- 5, 2 Corn of domain of the House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, which Pharaoh newly

¹ Cf. vs. 2, x+6.

² The same omission, and accompanied by the same peculiar tick, in 4, 6.

³ The place where the corn was given is here curiously omitted.

⁴ Both numbers here are probably written in red by mistake, since in the total (4, 3) they appear in black.

⁵ The possessive 'his' in this place-name only here.

⁶ On this reading, not recognized in my edition, see p. 38, n. 4, and for the place, see p. 48.

⁷ The exact meaning of this term, common in the Wilbour papyrus, is unknown.

⁸ Here,  ought doubtless to have been read in place of ; see the notes on 5, 3. 4 in my edition.

⁹ The number of sacks carried has been left for later insertion.

That name is followed, except in l. 2, by the phrase $\text{Ⓞ} \text{Ⓜ} \text{Ⓜ} \text{Ⓜ}$ 'under his authority', and l. 2 shows the pronoun to refer to the Steward Ra'messenakhte—the expression for 'steward' is $\text{Ⓜ} \text{Ⓜ} \text{Ⓜ}$, literally 'house-overseer', closely corresponding to the Greek *οἰκονόμος*. The phrase 'under the authority of the Steward Ra'messenakhte' or 'under his authority' can hardly refer to the temple or chapel itself, since this will have stood under the control of its own priesthood, and ultimately under that of the High-priest of Amen-Rē at Karnak. It seems clear that the phrase must qualify the word $\text{Ⓜ} \text{Ⓜ} \text{Ⓜ}$ 'domain': not the temples, but the fields belonging to them, were subject to the authority of the Steward. This word $\text{Ⓜ} \text{Ⓜ} \text{Ⓜ}$, in more uncial hieratic written as $\text{Ⓜ} \text{Ⓜ} \text{Ⓜ} \text{Ⓜ} \text{Ⓜ}$ *rmnyt*, was exceedingly rare when first deciphered by me in the Wilbour papyrus, where it occurs very often. Since then it has emerged, not only in almost every line of the Amiens papyrus, but also in the Griffith fragments to be described below in § 8. Full discussion must await my commentary on the Wilbour papyrus. Suffice it to say here that *rmnyt* evidently signifies those lands which, even if widely separated from one another and from their owners, belonged to some landlord institution mentioned in a following genitive. 'Domain' seems a suitable rendering. In the Wilbour papyrus the genitive is sometimes followed by $\text{Ⓞ} \text{Ⓜ} \text{Ⓜ}$ 'under the authority of . . .' in order to indicate the official under whom lay the administration of the 'domain'; at other times, when an inferior official is to be named, $\text{Ⓜ} \text{Ⓜ} \text{Ⓜ}$ 'by the hand of', 'through', is substituted. When the genitive is the name of a town, as in the two expressions of the Amiens papyrus 'domain of Khen-Min', 'domain of Tjebu', this apparently means that those towns, which were centres of provincial administration (capitals of nomes), were somehow concerned with the management of the estates in question or with the collection of the corn expected from them. 'Domain of Pharaoh' will turn out to be an abbreviation. Lastly, it must be mentioned that one and the same temple may have many different 'domains',¹ each distinguished from the other, not by the locality in which it lay, but by the different functionary responsible for its management.

All the temple-lands referred to in the summary thus stood under the authority of the 'Steward Ra'messenakhte' (5, 2), elsewhere (3, 2; also vs. 2, x+9; 4, x+2. 4. 7; 5, x+4) designated simply as 'the Steward' and once (rt. 3, 13) as 'the Steward of Amūn'.² The presence of the definite article and the omission of the name in the two latter variants are sure signs that he was an official of the highest rank, and the prominence given to the Steward Usima'rēnakhte in the Wilbour papyrus, where likewise the variant 'the Steward of Amūn' is sometimes found, confirms the impression that in him we have one whose place in the administration of the vast estate of the Theban god was second only to that of the High-priest himself. Throughout the *recto* of the Amiens papyrus it is always the Steward Ra'messenakhte to whom the words 'under his authority' refer, and it is evident that the ships, no less than the arable land, were under his supervision. He must have been mentioned near the beginning of the document, perhaps after the opening protocol giving the date, reign, and heading at the beginning

¹ For this reason I at first rendered the word as 'department', e.g. 'department of this house under the authority of X', but further study made it clear that *rmnyt* is a collective term for fields in different parts united by the common bond of belonging to the same institution and under the administrative control of the same official.

² 'Amūn' is here, as in the title of the First prophet, short for 'Amen-Rē, King of the Gods'.

of the lost first page. I have sought in vain elsewhere for references to this particular Steward, the namesake of the High-priest under Ramesses V, of an 'overseer of hunters' mentioned below in vs. 2, x+5, and again of a 'Royal scribe, overseer of granaries' mentioned in vs. 4, x+9. As noted above, the holder of the office of Steward of Amūn in the Wilbour papyrus was Usimaṛēnakhte, and that document has also a rather mysterious reference (A, 80, 9) to a steward named Peēl, who may conceivably have been Usimaṛēnakhte's predecessor. The Wilbour papyrus is dated to the reign of Ramesses V, and since the Amiens papyrus is known to be later than Ramesses III, there seems but little room for Raṁmessenakhte in the interval.

There is, moreover, a good reason for not placing Raṁmessenakhte, and with him the writing of the Amiens papyrus, in the reign of Ramesses IV. From vs. 2, x+8. 9 it seems to follow that the document dates from a king whose day of accession lay between the 29th day of the seventh, and the 7th day of the ninth month, and that king can have been neither Ramesses IV (*ZÄS* LXXII, 109) nor Ramesses IX (*JEA* XXII, 177). I am inclined to assign it to one of the ephemeral successors of Ramesses V. Other prominent officials of the period are mentioned on the *verso*, but none of them is known from outside sources. That the Amiens papyrus is posterior to Ramesses III is evident from two foundations the names of which (*e.g.* rt. 5, 3. 4) embody his *prenomen*, and from a third (rt. 5, 6) the name of which contains his *nomen*; while the term 'Pharaoh', customarily used at this period of the still living king, is found in the name of a foundation mentioned just before, see rt. 5, 2. At this point there comes into view an interesting phenomenon common both to the Wilbour and the Amiens papyrus: temples in one of the great capitals are enumerated chronologically backwards, starting with the king under whom the document was written. In the summary of *recto*, p. 5 of the Amiens papyrus the first foundation mentioned (5, 2) is an addition made by 'Pharaoh' to the estates of the great temple of Amen-Rēṯ at Karnak; then follow in order two similar additions by Ramesses III (5, 3-4), then after one exception to be discussed below (5, 5) successively foundations by Ramesses III (5, 6), Setnakhte (5, 7), Sethos I (5, 8), an anonymous one (5, 9, see below), and lastly two by the Queens Nofretiri (5, 10) and Ḥḥotpe (5, 11) respectively.

All these foundations, except the two oldest from the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty and a third bearing the odd name 'House of Raṁmesse-Ruler-of-Heliopolis (*i.e.* Ramesses III) Maker of New Land (?) (5, 6)', are said to be 'in the House of Amūn',¹ confirming the conjecture, based on the logic of the situation, that all of them were at

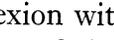
¹ Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, p. 4, makes the interesting observation that the Greek names of cities like Diospolis, Hermupolis, Heliopolis, etc. are translations of the old Egyptian designations with $\overline{\text{ḥ}}\overline{\text{w}}$ 'House of . . .'. He does not give as examples 'House of Amūn' and 'House of Rēṯ' but I suppose he would have considered both as such. I doubt if the Egyptians would have added these epithets to names of temples unless they regarded them as actually within the Theban or Heliopolitan territory. The only dubious cases known to me are the places called (1) 'Those of the Mansion of Raṁmesse-Ruler-of-Heliopolis in-the-House-of-Rēṯ, north of Heliopolis', the later Nathō and the modern Tell el-Yāhūdīyah, and this can quite plausibly be interpreted to mean colonists from the temple of Ramesses III in Heliopolis living farther north; (2) a Memphite temple mentioned in the Wilbour papyrus and called 'House of Raṁmesse-miamūn, Repeater of *Sed*-festivals in the House of Rēṯ', where again 'in the House of Rēṯ' may qualify the epithet 'Repeater', etc., and not the word 'House'.

Thebes. Some doubt might arise, however, with regard to the exceptionally placed foundation mentioned above. This (5, 5) incorporates the *nomen* of Ramesses II, and unlike any of the other foundations mentioned, is followed by the name of a town Ḥe-e-pwoid which must be presumed to have been somewhere in the provinces. The full description of the fields owned by the foundation is 'domain of the House of Raḥmesse-miamūn in the House of Amūn of Ḥe-e-pwoid' (5, 5; also 1, 4), but elsewhere 'in the House of Amūn' is omitted. Since 'of Ḥe-e-pwoid' follows 'in the House of Amūn', that qualification is undoubtedly to be linked up, not with the name of the possessing temple, but with the words 'domain of' that precede it. Thus we may paraphrase as follows: 'fields in the vicinity of Ḥe-e-pwoid belonging to the House of Raḥmesse-miamūn in the House of Amūn'. If this interpretation be correct, two reasons may be suggested why a foundation of Ramesses II has been sandwiched in among the three foundations of Ramesses III. As in the Wilbour papyrus, the great Karnak temple of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, is given precedence over all other temples. To that temple belonged, in our Amiens summary, the foundation of 'Pharaoh' and the first two of Ramesses III. But 'the House of Raḥmesse-miamūn in the House of Amūn' is certainly none other than that portion of the vast Karnak complex which comprised the famous Hypostyle Hall. As a part of that complex it occurs also in the Wilbour papyrus, where, unlike any other Theban temple, it is named actually as sub-heading to a paragraph devoted to the great temple of Amen-Rē (§ 117). Perhaps its administration was completely merged in that of the parent temple. I now incline to believe that the third foundation of Ramesses III (5, 6) is identical with what is definitely stated in vs. 4, x+9 to belong to the temple of Amen-Rē. Administratively, however, its relationship to the latter may have been less close. But if this conjecture be thought unconvincing, another reason for the precedence of the sanctuary of Ramesses II over Ramesses III's third foundation can be found in the vast amount of corn recorded as coming from its provincial fields. This amount is nearly three times as much as that obtained from the Karnak foundation of Pharaoh, itself greatly in excess of that accruing from any of the other foundations.

To return now to the place-name Ḥe-e-pwoid,¹ the translation of which may well be 'Mansion over against the stela' or the like. This name seems unknown except in our papyrus, but there is some slender, though rather striking, evidence for associating it with the well-known town of  Tjebu, the capital of the Xth nome of Upper Egypt. Recent discoveries make it nearly certain that Tjebu is to be identified, not with Abu Tig, where Sethe was inclined to locate it,² but with Kāw el-Kebīr, full 25 kilo-

¹ In rendering the first element of this name without the feminine ending *-t* preserved in the very ancient names of the goddesses Athyr (Ḥathōr) and Nephthys I am guided by the Babylonian *Ḥikuptah*, the Assyrian *Ḥininši*, and the Coptic *Ⲅⲏⲏⲉⲣⲉ*. Gunn has shown me that the *status constructus* of feminine nouns as first element in Coptic compounds regularly drops the *-e(t)* of the ending; typical examples are *ⲓⲉⲡⲓⲩⲱⲧ* 'trade', *ⲉⲡⲓⲩⲱⲧ* 'thorn of date-palm'. Accordingly I wrote above Ḥentowē, Nebu rather than Ḥenttowē, Nebtu.

² *Urgeschichte*, p. 41, on the strength of the statue Cairo 585, which Daressy, who first published it, stated was found 'près d'Aboutig', *Rec. Trav.* xi, 87. Borchardt, however, in his *Statuen u. Statuetten*, II, 140-1, gives the more definite information 'Gekauft 1886, nach Angabe des Verkäufers gegenüber von Abutig gefunden'. Such a statement on the part of a dealer or fellāh is naturally unreliable and in any case the person represented merely addresses his formula of offering to the god of Tjebu.

metres farther south.¹ Now an Eighteenth Dynasty statue referring to Tjebu and its god gives to its owner 'the controller Hōri' the subsidiary title  'prophet of the stela',² and this strange and singular designation may not improbably have some connexion with  He-e-pwoid in our papyrus. In the detailed specification of the cargoes (rt. pp. 1-4) corn belonging to this foundation of Ramesses II is seen to have been put on board at seven or eight different places (*a*, 1, 4. 10; *b*, 2, 2. 7; 3, 11; *c*, 1, 5; *d*, 2, 5. 11; *e*, 3, 5; *f*, 3, 8; *g*, 3, 9; doubtful, 4, 2), and this fact militates somewhat against the suggestion that He-e-pwoid, if not merely another name for Tjebu, was at least a town in its immediate neighbourhood. One of the places where corn was taken on board was Dja^c-rūhe ('Evening storm'), which the Golénischeff Onomasticon (5, 2) mentions as the third town after Akhmīm, and the fourth before Tjebu. Now the distance between Kāw el-Kebīr and Akhmīm is well over 50 kilometres, and if we conjecturally locate Dja^c-rūhe midway between the two, it is not easy to see how fields there could have belonged to the domain of He-e-pwoid. Moreover, the latter expression would then compete with the 'domain of Tjebu', from which came part of a consignment belonging to the domain of the House of Ra^cmesse-miamūn of He-e-pwoid which was handed over to the ship's captain at 'the Island of Amūn Overrunning-his-boundary'³ (2, 5). However, in support of the view here taken it can at least be affirmed that the domain embodying the name of He-e-pwoid shows closer connexions with Tjebu than with the other large town mentioned on the *recto*, namely Akhmīm. In 3, 5 corn of this domain is shipped at 'the new island west of  Inmut',⁴ and the latter name recalls a place named  Inmet, having Mut as its goddess, which occurs on the jamb of a late tomb copied by Chassinat at Kāw el-Kebīr (*Bull. Inst. franç.* 1, 104). We shall find Inmut again in the Griffith fragments, see below, pp. 65-6.

In the summary of Theban foundations contained in p. 5 of the *recto*, there is placed before the Chapels of Nofretiri and Aḥḥotpe a sanctuary bearing the name of Amūn 'Ashafē,  'great in dignity'. The epithet of Amūn here found is, as Sethe has pointed out (*Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, p. 23, in *Abh. Berlin*), an allusion to, or play of words upon, the ram's head often affected by Amūn of Thebes,

¹ At Kāw were found (1) the stela of a mayor of Tjebu, Dyn. XIX, Brunton, *Qau and Badari III*, pls. 32-3 and pp. 20, 32, (2) the stela of a 'skipper of the boat of the Double god, lord of Tjebu', Steckeweg, *Die Fürstengräber von Qāw*, pl. 17 *b*, with p. 53. I mention only monuments explicitly naming Tjebu; references to its god are found in several other inscriptions from Kāw. Steindorff (*op. cit.*, p. 5) strongly upholds the identification with Kāw el-Kebīr. Kees (*ZAS* LXXII, 51) groundlessly suggests Kōm Asfaḥt 15 km. to the N.W.

² The statue is that mentioned in p. 44, n. 2, above. Daressy gave  in place of . It is not the first time I have found Borchardt's copies of hieroglyphic inscriptions almost incredibly inaccurate. He omits  and then reads . But *p* is quite clear on the small photograph which he publishes in pl. 105, and this eliminates *pn* as a possibility. The perhaps superfluous  between the title and the name is confirmed by the photograph.

³ See the next note.

⁴ It is extremely curious that a place named  occurs also in *P. Wilbour*, A 26, 10. 11; 38, 28, since the section in which it occurs deals with localities literally hundreds of kilometres farther north. This coincidence is enhanced by the fact that the same section of the Wilbour papyrus mentions another 'Island of Amūn Over-running-his-boundary', see above and *P. Wilbour* A 21, 25. 27; B 10, 21. I can see no way of avoiding the conclusion that these two names each referred to two different places in different parts of Upper Egypt; and the same holds of the place-name 'the Mound of Naḥīḥu' in *P. Brit. Mus.* 10447, below, p. 59, n. 5.

cf. the word  'ram's head'.¹ It is strange that no less than four personal names in the Amiens papyrus should be compounded with the epithet 'Ashafē, the more so since Ranke (*Äg. Personennamen*, 58, 11. 12) could quote only two; the names in the papyrus are 'Ashafēyew, 1, 1; 'Ashafēmḥab, 3, 4; 'Ashafēnakhte,² 2, 10; 4, 4; and 'Ashafēheryeb, 3, 1. 8. Ranke's second example, 'Ashafēmwēse,³ *i.e.* 'Ashafē is in Thebes', confirms the fact, if confirmation were needed, that Amūn enjoyed a cult in that city under that particular aspect. I am inclined to think the position of House of Amūn 'Ashafē in the summary (5, 9) no mere accident, since Tuthmosis III dedicated in the central axis of the Karnak temple a door to the Amūn thus called.⁴ But though, accordingly, Tuthmosis III may have been the builder of the Theban chapel of Amūn 'Ashafē, the addition 'in the Granary of the House of Amūn' suggests that it lay elsewhere than in Karnak itself.⁵ Evidently this cult gained a fresh popularity in the Twentieth Dynasty, all the personal names compounded with the epithet 'Ashafē dating from that period. A usurper of the lower tomb of the High-priest Menkheperasonb at Ḳurna styles himself 'prophet of Amūn 'Ashafē', and attributes the same title to his father also.⁶

I have dwelt upon the summary too long already, but a last comment of detail has still to be made. It is extremely interesting that of the two foundations which Ramesses III added to the Karnak temple (5, 3. 4) one was to give agricultural employment to convicted criminals, and the other to his mercenaries of Sherden race—these very incongruously coupled with 'the Royal scribes of the army'.

The loss of the lower half of the page prevents us from knowing whether the summary mentioned further foundations besides the ten enumerated in the upper half. Only six of those ten are named in the detailed specifications of cargoes preceding the summary, and these are sometimes indicated in forms sufficiently abbreviated to render their identity a little uncertain. We can be sure, however, that the four missing foundations were referred to in the lost parts of the specifications. Conversely, the detailed specifications ought to have mentioned no foundation absent from the summary, if the latter were to fulfil its purpose completely. It seems impossible, however, to discover any equivalent in the summary to the foundation described as 'House of Amūn, domain of Khen-Min' (2, 1. 8; 3, 10), or to that described as 'regular ( 3, 14; *cf.* vs. 2, x+6; 4, x+8; 5, x+4) domain of the House of Amūn'. In both these expressions 'House of Amūn' signifies 'House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods', *i.e.* the great Karnak temple, as is not unusual, and as indeed is proved for the latter expression by vs. 4, x+8. It will be explained later that 'domain of Khen-Min' merely restricts the reference to fields falling under the nome administration centred in the town of Akhmīm, and analogies in the Wilbour papyrus suggest that the term 'regular domain'

¹ *Wb.* iv, 456. For two references see *Urk.* iv, 183; *Rec. Trav.* xx, 42.

² Ranke gives a Twentieth Dynasty example of this name, but has misinterpreted the sign for *-nht* as the determinative of *šfyt*.

³ The same name occurs also in the Theban tomb quoted below in n. 6.

⁴ See Porter & Moss, *Bibliography*, II, p. 33, under (35).

⁵ In Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 22, l. 17 mention is made of a lady 'who dwells in "Granary of the House of Amūn" '.

⁶ Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperasonb, &c.*, pl. 29.

signifies those fields which were the most ancient possessions of a temple and were no longer tied down to any special Royal foundation. There seems little likelihood that the corn of 'domain of Khen-Min' or that of the 'regular domain' was included in the amounts which the summary allots to the special departments of the Karnak temple named in 5, 2-4, or to the following subordinate temples. Nor again is it probable that these two domains were mentioned farther on in lost lines of the summary, since, as already pointed out, the summary, in agreement with the practice of the Wilbour papyrus, gives precedence to the Karnak temple over all lesser sanctuaries. The only hypothesis which has any plausibility is that the two domains were ignored in the summary because corn which was not definitely earmarked for the special foundations there enumerated would naturally fall into the general stock of the superior religious institution governing all the rest. But this hypothesis is pure speculation and is not favoured by the *verso*, so far as the 'regular domain' is concerned, since in one of the summaries there (vs. 5, x+4) the 'regular domain' of the Karnak temple actually stands at the top of the list.

Of the twenty-one ships united in this same expedition, the headings recording the names of the captains are preserved in only eight cases. That the ships themselves belonged to the great temple of Amūn is plain from the words 'of the House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods' in one case (3, 13), and from the shorter descriptions 'of the House of Amūn' (1, 1. 9; 2, 4; 3, 4) or 'of this house' (2, 10; 4, 4. 9) in the rest. It had been previously known from the Harris papyrus (4, 12-5, 1) that the Theban god possessed ships of his own for the transportation of corn,¹ though in a document of the reign of Ramesses III they are naturally said to have been made for the temple of Medīnet Habu, rather than for that of Karnak; Ramesses added 82 vessels in all, but of these some were mere ferry-boats (*Harris*, 12 b, 11-12). The ships employed in the present instance were no mere fishing-boats, as in the Turin papyrus translated above, but were cargo-vessels of considerable size, since two of them carried over 900 sacks apiece (3, 3. 12), which at two bushels to the Egyptian *khar* or 'sack' would weigh about 42 tons, and would occupy a space of about 2,313 cubic feet.² Three of the captains bear the title  *hry wsht* (3, 4. 13; 4, 4), but as this is a fairly common designation I prefer to render it simply as 'captain', rather than as 'master of a broad boat' or 'barge'. The more imposing epithet of  *imy-r chw* 'commander of ships' is given to two of the captains (2, 4. 10), and for this epithet 'admiral' would be hardly too exalted an equivalent. The three other skippers mentioned (1, 1. 9; 4, 9) are left without description. Apparently one ship came to grief *en route*, since we thrice read of consignments 'which had been in the ship of Seti,³ son of Psekhemnē' (1, 5; 3, 2; 4, 2).

The headings are followed in each case by a number of single lines supplying details of the cargo, and all following a stereotyped pattern. After the initial 'given to him' comes the name of the port of lading, or alternatively 'in this place'. The name of the port is usually supplemented by the mention of the particular 'threshing-floor'⁴ whence

¹ For ships used for carrying corn see Klebs, *Reliefs u. Malereien d. neuen Reiches*, 1, 204-5.

² From the information kindly given by Prof. J. A. S. Watson already quoted above, p. 21.

³ With title 'captain' in 4, 2.

⁴ For the word *dnw* here used see below, p. 68.

the corn was taken. Then, after 'being corn of . . .', the domain and foundation to which the consignment belongs are named, and lastly come the amounts together with any other information deemed necessary. At the close of each section we find a total giving the entire load of the ship, accompanied by a statement of the amount deducted for the rations of the crew.

It is noteworthy that in several cases the same place and threshing-floor yielded of its produce to several different ships, whether for economy of time or for mutual control. The owners of the threshing-floors were often men whose official position was that of $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏} \text{rw}dw$ 'controller',¹ a title common in the Wilbour papyrus and elsewhere in connexion with agricultural matters; of these six are named.² There are also four 'cultivators'³ (*ihwty*, above, pp. 21-2), one 'retainer' (4, 5), one 'scribe' (2, 2. 7; 3, 11), one 'prophet' (1, 7; 4, 7), one ordinary 'priest' (1, 11; 2, 5. 11), and a 'chief workman' (1, 2). So far as I am aware, the title 'chief workman' (*c n ist*) has been found hitherto only in connexion with the Theban Necropolis, to which this particular individual is unlikely to have belonged. The twice-mentioned 'prophet' interests us because his title (1, 7; 4, 7) incorporates the name of a temple mentioned as a town in the Golénischeff Onomasticon (5, 1-2); there $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏} \text{Pi-me}hye\text{-weben}$, occurs just after Abydos and The-storehouses-of-Thinis and just before Thinis itself, this latter being followed immediately by Akhmīm.⁴ Pi-me $\dot{h}ye\text{-weben}$ may well be the southernmost locality mentioned in the Amiens papyrus. Most of the places, except those already discussed, are unknown, but the mentions of the 'domain of Khen-min' (Akhmīm) and of the 'domain of Tjebu' practically confine the activities of the ships to the stretch of river bordered by the Panopolite (IX) and the Aphroditopolite or Antaeopolite (X) nomes. A point of interest about the place-names is the prominence of Amūn in connexion with 'islands' ($\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏} iw$), no less than five being called after, and their names including epithets of, that god.⁵ The same peculiarity is found in the Wilbour papyrus, where the names are in a different part of Egypt. Was Amūn regarded specially as the creator of new land? I find no reference to such a belief in the hymns. In this connexion it must be remembered that the Egyptian word for 'island' need not necessarily refer to islands in our sense of the word; the modern Egyptian term *gezīrah* here offers a warning.

¹ In view of the corresponding verb (*Wb.* II, 413, 10) meaning to 'look after', 'manage' I now prefer the rendering 'controller' to 'agent', which I formerly used.

² They are: Amen . . . 1, 6; 'Anerē, 2, 1. 8; 3, 10; Pennestowě, 3, 14; Pḥesy, 3, 7; Pentwēre, 3, 5; and Sethiwenmaf, 4, 10.

³ They are: 'Ashafēheryeb, 3, 1. 8; Peieroy, 3, 6; Wennofrē, 3, 10; Pentwēre, 4, 1.

⁴ Egyptologists have shown themselves strangely shy of expressing an opinion as to the exact whereabouts of Thinis (This). That it is in the neighbourhood of Girgah is certain from the frequency of monuments there mentioning either the god Onūris or persons whose name is compounded with his; so especially at Nag^c ed-Dēr (Dunham, *Naga ed-Dēr Stelae*, index, pp. 109-10) and not far away at Nag^c el-Mashāyikh (besides Porter & Moss, *Bibliography*, v, 28, see the articles by Kees in *ZÄS* LXXIII, 77 ff.; LXXV, 85 ff.), but a couple of stelae of the kind were found by Garstang at Er-Raḳāḳnah on the west bank (*Tombs of the Third Dynasty*, pl. 33). For my part I am inclined to follow Sayce in identifying Thinis with Nag^c el-Mashāyikh, but Kees, who knows the latter site well, evidently does not favour that view, though his evidence for the name Beḥde possibly shows no more than that this was an exceptional designation of the place.

⁵ Cf., however, below, p. 66, what seem to have been three separate places all described as 'Island of Khons'.

The actual figures remain to be discussed, and it is pleasing to have little fault to find with the scribe's arithmetic. Confirmation is obtained of the custom of writing amounts of *it-m-it* 'barley' in black, and of *bdt* 'spelt' in red. Besides the explicit evidence in vs. 2, x+9 quoted above, p. 27, n. 1, the *recto* a few times juxtaposes black and red figures (*e.g.* 3, 2), and the same numbers are as a rule kept apart in the totals (*e.g.* 2, 3; 3, 3). Obviously this has been done with a purpose, and the purpose can only have been to distinguish spelt and barley. Spelt predominates greatly. The totals concluding the specifications of the cargoes of the different ships give the sum, faultlessly or nearly so, of the first numbers in the foregoing lines. Thus the total in 3, 12 names 10 sacks in black, and $904\frac{2}{4}$ sacks in red; the black ten sacks are found in 3, 11, and the six preceding lines give in red, as the first of their figures, $260 + 100\frac{3}{4} + 328\frac{3}{4} + 110 + 5 + 100 = 904\frac{2}{4}$ sacks. Similarly the totals in 1, 8; 2, 9, and 4, 8 add up correctly, if the presence of a subsequently neglected quarter-sack in 1, 4 is ignored, and if the $227\frac{2}{4}\frac{1}{8}$ sacks in 2, 6 are disregarded as being part of the 600 sacks of 2, 5, a point which will be discussed very shortly. The remaining totals cannot be tested, some of the items composing them being lost. It may be interesting to compare the cargoes of the various ships, so far as we are able to do so. Taking the totals in order, the respective amounts of spelt are 424, 840, 700, $930\frac{2}{4}\frac{1}{8}$, $904\frac{2}{4}$, 310, and $300\frac{1}{4}$ sacks, to all of which except the last must be added a small quantity of barley, namely [$32\frac{2}{4}$],¹ $12\frac{2}{4}$, 10, 50, 10, and 28 sacks respectively. To these totals are appended the following amounts of spelt to be deducted for the rations of the crew: x+9, 59, 63, $40\frac{3}{4}$, 42, 51, and 38 sacks respectively; it will be seen that these rations bear no fixed proportion to the cargoes carried, and that the pretensions of the crews transporting the heaviest burdens were smaller than those of the rest.

In the Turin corn-collecting papyrus the reader will have noted the Egyptian habit of giving a larger number first of all, and of then adding the details composing it; the expression used for this purpose is $\overline{\text{w}} \text{ } \overline{\text{p}} \text{ } \overline{\text{st}}$ 'details (lit. "opening") of it'. In many of the entries of the Amiens papyrus there is a similar itemization of the consignments obtained from a given temple-domain, the number of sacks first being stated in full and only afterwards being explained in detail. A strange feature of these itemizations is that they start, instead of ending, with the word for 'balance'.² There can be no

¹ A lacuna has destroyed this number in the total itself (1, 8), but it is preserved in 1, 6.

² *Wb.* II, 63, 11 renders *Restbetrag*, which is approximately correct. I prefer, however, to reserve the translation 'remainder' for $\overline{\text{w}} \text{ } \overline{\text{p}} \text{ } \overline{\text{st}}$ *spyt* used *e.g.* below, p. 57. Of the three examples given by *Wb.* under 63, 11 the first two are highly problematical, and ought to be suppressed. The third (*Mayer A*, 4, 7-8) not only admirably illustrates the sense 'balance', but also hints at the etymology 'to remain': it runs, 'the lady Èse . . . (received) 1 *deben* of silver; she gave me 2 *kite* of silver; balance remaining with her ($\overline{\text{w}} \text{ } \overline{\text{p}} \text{ } \overline{\text{st}}$), 8 *kite*'. Under 64, 1 *Wb.* gives other examples, but they require much more context to vindicate their meaning. The first deals with some work done for a lady on some coffins, and ends 'Total, all the money for the coffins, silver, 329 *deben*. Received from her ($\overline{\text{w}} \text{ } \overline{\text{p}} \text{ } \overline{\text{st}}$), 188 *deben*. Balance to be paid, 141 *deben*'. This example is published Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 41, l. 21, where $\overline{\text{w}} \text{ } \overline{\text{p}} \text{ } \overline{\text{st}}$ is read with $\overline{\text{w}} \text{ } \overline{\text{p}} \text{ } \overline{\text{st}}$ for $\overline{\text{w}} \text{ } \overline{\text{p}} \text{ } \overline{\text{st}}$ of *Wb.*, a reading for which I was responsible. Examining the photograph, I now believe the doubtful group to be a correction or confusion of some kind; probably the scribe intended $\overline{\text{w}} \text{ } \overline{\text{p}} \text{ } \overline{\text{st}}$; *mn r rdit-w*. In Pleyte & Rossi, *op. cit.*, 91, 3, in a very similar and convincing context $\overline{\text{w}} \text{ } \overline{\text{p}} \text{ } \overline{\text{st}}$ *mn (r) rdit-w* is indubitably the right reading. This is *Wb.*'s fourth example, the fifth being *op. cit.*, 155, 16, in the corn-tax collecting papyrus translated above. Another excellent

differing from 'domain of Khen-Min' only in the substitution of the name of *Ḳāw el-Kebīr* for that of *Akhmīm*. Now in 2, 1. 8; 3, 10, where there is no corresponding itemization, the consignment consists of corn of '(domain of)¹ the House of Amūn, domain of Khen-Min', where 'House of Amūn', as already explained, doubtless means the 'House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods', *i.e.* the Karnak temple. The Wilbour papyrus enables us to understand what is meant by 'House of Amūn, domain of Khen-Min', since we there find (A 39, 18) the precisely parallel expression 'House of Amūn, domain of Ḥardai'. The latter occurs in a context of which it is at least one of several possible interpretations that to a smaller local temple named 'House of Amūn, Founder-of-the-Earth' this domain contributed part of the corn which would otherwise have had to be entirely forthcoming from the harvest gathered by the smaller temple itself. There are in the Wilbour many examples of similar relations between two temples, and the contributor of the part (if the said possible interpretation be correct) may be either a small or a large temple, either one in the provinces or one at Thebes or another capital city, and correspondingly the receiving temple may be large or small, provincial or otherwise. Thus far the conditions seem exactly similar to those presupposed in the Amiens papyrus. But to return to our parallel 'House of Amūn, domain of Ḥardai'—whenever in the Wilbour an expression of this precise type occurs, it is always in connexion with a temple at Thebes or Heliopolis which presumably had some of its provincial agricultural affairs managed by the nome-administration in some prominent nome-metropolis. Now the Wilbour papyrus employs a peculiar sort of double book-keeping which gives a little more information about a domain like 'House of Amūn, domain of Ḥardai'. The heading of the paragraph containing the cross-entry to A 39, 18 would, but for a simple reason explained in the footnote,² have run: 'Apportioning domain of the House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, domain of the Tract of Ḥardai' (22, 11). Here, to begin with, the expanded expression 'the Tract of Ḥardai' (𓆎𓆏𓆐𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕𓆖𓆗𓆘𓆙𓆚𓆛𓆜𓆝𓆞𓆟𓆠𓆡𓆢𓆣𓆤𓆥𓆦𓆧𓆨𓆩𓆪𓆫𓆬𓆭𓆮𓆯𓆰𓆱𓆲𓆳𓆴𓆵𓆶𓆷𓆸𓆹𓆺𓆻𓆼𓆽𓆾𓆿𓇀𓇁𓇂𓇃𓇄𓇅𓇆𓇇𓇈𓇉𓇊𓇋𓇌𓇍𓇎𓇏𓇐𓇑𓇒𓇓𓇔𓇕𓇖𓇗𓇘𓇙𓇚𓇛𓇜𓇝𓇞𓇟𓇠𓇡𓇢𓇣𓇤𓇥𓇦𓇧𓇨𓇩𓇪𓇫𓇬𓇭𓇮𓇯𓇰𓇱𓇲𓇳𓇴𓇵𓇶𓇷𓇸𓇹𓇺𓇻𓇼𓇽𓇾𓇿𓈀𓈁𓈂𓈃𓈄𓈅𓈆𓈇𓈈𓈉𓈊𓈋𓈌𓈍𓈎𓈏𓈐𓈑𓈒𓈓𓈔𓈕𓈖𓈗𓈘𓈙𓈚𓈛𓈜𓈝𓈞𓈟𓈠𓈡𓈢𓈣𓈤𓈥𓈦𓈧𓈨𓈩𓈪𓈫𓈬𓈭𓈮𓈯𓈰𓈱𓈲𓈳𓈴𓈵𓈶𓈷𓈸𓈹𓈺𓈻𓈼𓈽𓈾𓈿𓉀𓉁𓉂𓉃𓉄𓉅𓉆𓉇𓉈𓉉𓉊𓉋𓉌𓉍𓉎𓉏𓉐𓉑𓉒𓉓𓉔𓉕𓉖𓉗𓉘𓉙𓉚𓉛𓉜𓉝𓉞𓉟𓉠𓉡𓉢𓉣𓉤𓉥𓉦𓉧𓉨𓉩𓉪𓉫𓉬𓉭𓉮𓉯𓉰𓉱𓉲𓉳𓉴𓉵𓉶𓉷𓉸𓉹𓉺𓉻𓉼𓉽𓉾𓉿𓊀𓊁𓊂𓊃𓊄𓊅𓊆𓊇𓊈𓊉𓊊𓊋𓊌𓊍𓊎𓊏𓊐𓊑𓊒𓊓𓊔𓊕𓊖𓊗𓊘𓊙𓊚𓊛𓊜𓊝𓊞𓊟𓊠𓊡𓊢𓊣𓊤𓊥𓊦𓊧𓊨𓊩𓊪𓊫𓊬𓊭𓊮𓊯𓊰𓊱𓊲𓊳𓊴𓊵𓊶𓊷𓊸𓊹𓊺𓊻𓊼𓊽𓊾𓊿𓋀𓋁𓋂𓋃𓋄𓋅𓋆𓋇𓋈𓋉𓋊𓋋𓋌𓋍𓋎𓋏𓋐𓋑𓋒𓋓𓋔𓋕𓋖𓋗𓋘𓋙𓋚𓋛𓋜𓋝𓋞𓋟𓋠𓋡𓋢𓋣𓋤𓋥𓋦𓋧𓋨𓋩𓋪𓋫𓋬𓋭𓋮𓋯𓋰𓋱𓋲𓋳𓋴𓋵𓋶𓋷𓋸𓋹𓋺𓋻𓋼𓋽𓋾𓋿𓌀𓌁𓌂𓌃𓌄𓌅𓌆𓌇𓌈𓌉𓌊𓌋𓌌𓌍𓌎𓌏𓌐𓌑𓌒𓌓𓌔𓌕𓌖𓌗𓌘𓌙𓌚𓌛𓌜𓌝𓌞𓌟𓌠𓌡𓌢𓌣𓌤𓌥𓌦𓌧𓌨𓌩𓌪𓌫𓌬𓌭𓌮𓌯𓌰𓌱𓌲𓌳𓌴𓌵𓌶𓌷𓌸𓌹𓌺𓌻𓌼𓌽𓌾𓌿𓍀𓍁𓍂𓍃𓍄𓍅𓍆𓍇𓍈𓍉𓍊𓍋𓍌𓍍𓍎𓍏𓍐𓍑𓍒𓍓𓍔𓍕𓍖𓍗𓍘𓍙𓍚𓍛𓍜𓍝𓍞𓍟𓍠𓍡𓍢𓍣𓍤𓍥𓍦𓍧𓍨𓍩𓍪𓍫𓍬𓍭𓍮𓍯𓍰𓍱𓍲𓍳𓍴𓍵𓍶𓍷𓍸𓍹𓍺𓍻𓍼𓍽𓍾𓍿𓎀𓎁𓎂𓎃𓎄𓎅𓎆𓎇𓎈𓎉𓎊𓎋𓎌𓎍𓎎𓎏𓎐𓎑𓎒𓎓𓎔𓎕𓎖𓎗𓎘𓎙𓎚𓎛𓎜𓎝𓎞𓎟𓎠𓎡𓎢𓎣𓎤𓎥𓎦𓎧𓎨𓎩𓎪𓎫𓎬𓎭𓎮𓎯𓎰𓎱𓎲𓎳𓎴𓎵𓎶𓎷𓎸𓎹𓎺𓎻𓎼𓎽𓎾𓎿𓏀𓏁𓏂𓏃𓏄𓏅𓏆𓏇𓏈𓏉𓏊𓏋𓏌𓏍𓏎𓏏𓏐𓏑𓏒𓏓𓏔𓏕𓏖𓏗𓏘𓏙𓏚𓏛𓏜𓏝𓏞𓏟𓏠𓏡𓏢𓏣𓏤𓏥𓏦𓏧𓏨𓏩𓏪𓏫𓏬𓏭𓏮𓏯𓏰𓏱𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷𓏸𓏹𓏺𓏻𓏼𓏽𓏾𓏿𓐀𓐁𓐂𓐃𓐄𓐅𓐆𓐇𓐈𓐉𓐊𓐋𓐌𓐍𓐎𓐏𓐐𓐑𓐒𓐓𓐔𓐕𓐖𓐗𓐘𓐙𓐚𓐛𓐜𓐝𓐞𓐟𓐠𓐡𓐢𓐣𓐤𓐥𓐦𓐧𓐨𓐩𓐪𓐫𓐬𓐭𓐮𓐯𓐰𓐱𓐲𓐳𓐴𓐵𓐶𓐷𓐸𓐹𓐺𓐻𓐼𓐽𓐾𓐿𓑀𓑁𓑂𓑃𓑄𓑅𓑆𓑇𓑈𓑉𓑊𓑋𓑌𓑍𓑎𓑏𓑐𓑑𓑒𓑓𓑔𓑕𓑖𓑗𓑘𓑙𓑚𓑛𓑜𓑝𓑞𓑟𓑠𓑡𓑢𓑣𓑤𓑥𓑦𓑧𓑨𓑩𓑪𓑫𓑬𓑭𓑮𓑯𓑰𓑱𓑲𓑳𓑴𓑵𓑶𓑷𓑸𓑹𓑺𓑻𓑼𓑽𓑾𓑿𓒀𓒁𓒂𓒃𓒄𓒅𓒆𓒇𓒈𓒉𓒊𓒋𓒌𓒍𓒎𓒏𓒐𓒑𓒒𓒓𓒔𓒕𓒖𓒗𓒘𓒙𓒚𓒛𓒜𓒝𓒞𓒟𓒠𓒡𓒢𓒣𓒤𓒥𓒦𓒧𓒨𓒩𓒪𓒫𓒬𓒭𓒮𓒯𓒰𓒱𓒲𓒳𓒴𓒵𓒶𓒷𓒸𓒹𓒺𓒻𓒼𓒽𓒾𓒿𓓀𓓁𓓂𓓃𓓄𓓅𓓆𓓇𓓈𓓉𓓊𓓋𓓌𓓍𓓎𓓏𓓐𓓑𓓒𓓓𓓔𓓕𓓖𓓗𓓘𓓙𓓚𓓛𓓜𓓝𓓞𓓟𓓠𓓡𓓢𓓣𓓤𓓥𓓦𓓧𓓨𓓩𓓪𓓫𓓬𓓭𓓮𓓯𓓰𓓱𓓲𓓳𓓴𓓵𓓶𓓷𓓸𓓹𓓺𓓻𓓼𓓽𓓾𓓿𓔀𓔁𓔂𓔃𓔄𓔅𓔆𓔇𓔈𓔉𓔊𓔋𓔌𓔍𓔎𓔏𓔐𓔑𓔒𓔓𓔔𓔕𓔖𓔗𓔘𓔙𓔚𓔛𓔜𓔝𓔞𓔟𓔠𓔡𓔢𓔣𓔤𓔥𓔦𓔧𓔨𓔩𓔪𓔫𓔬𓔭𓔮𓔯𓔰𓔱𓔲𓔳𓔴𓔵𓔶𓔷𓔸𓔹𓔺𓔻𓔼𓔽𓔾𓔿𓕀𓕁𓕂𓕃𓕄𓕅𓕆𓕇𓕈𓕉𓕊𓕋𓕌𓕍𓕎𓕏𓕐𓕑𓕒𓕓𓕔𓕕𓕖𓕗𓕘𓕙𓕚𓕛𓕜𓕝𓕞𓕟𓕠𓕡𓕢𓕣𓕤𓕥𓕦𓕧𓕨𓕩𓕪𓕫𓕬𓕭𓕮𓕯𓕰𓕱𓕲𓕳𓕴𓕵𓕶𓕷𓕸𓕹𓕺𓕻𓕼𓕽𓕾𓕿𓖀𓖁𓖂𓖃𓖄𓖅𓖆𓖇𓖈𓖉𓖊𓖋𓖌𓖍𓖎𓖏𓖐𓖑𓖒𓖓𓖔𓖕𓖖𓖗𓖘𓖙𓖚𓖛𓖜𓖝𓖞𓖟𓖠𓖡𓖢𓖣𓖤𓖥𓖦𓖧𓖨𓖩𓖪𓖫𓖬𓖭𓖮𓖯𓖰𓖱𓖲𓖳𓖴𓖵𓖶𓖷𓖸𓖹𓖺𓖻𓖼𓖽𓖾𓖿𓗀𓗁𓗂𓗃𓗄𓗅𓗆𓗇𓗈𓗉𓗊𓗋𓗌𓗍𓗎𓗏𓗐𓗑𓗒𓗓𓗔𓗕𓗖𓗗𓗘𓗙𓗚𓗛𓗜𓗝𓗞𓗟𓗠𓗡𓗢𓗣𓗤𓗥𓗦𓗧𓗨𓗩𓗪𓗫𓗬𓗭𓗮𓗯𓗰𓗱𓗲𓗳𓗴𓗵𓗶𓗷𓗸𓗹𓗺𓗻𓗼𓗽𓗾𓗿𓘀𓘁𓘂𓘃𓘄𓘅𓘆𓘇𓘈𓘉𓘊𓘋𓘌𓘍𓘎𓘏𓘐𓘑𓘒𓘓𓘔𓘕𓘖𓘗𓘘𓘙𓘚𓘛𓘜𓘝𓘞𓘟𓘠𓘡𓘢𓘣𓘤𓘥𓘦𓘧𓘨𓘩𓘪𓘫𓘬𓘭𓘮𓘯𓘰𓘱𓘲𓘳𓘴𓘵𓘶𓘷𓘸𓘹𓘺𓘻𓘼𓘽𓘾𓘿𓙀𓙁𓙂𓙃𓙄𓙅𓙆𓙇𓙈𓙉𓙊𓙋𓙌𓙍𓙎𓙏𓙐𓙑𓙒𓙓𓙔𓙕𓙖𓙗𓙘𓙙𓙚𓙛𓙜𓙝𓙞𓙟𓙠𓙡𓙢𓙣𓙤𓙥𓙦𓙧𓙨𓙩𓙪𓙫𓙬𓙭𓙮𓙯𓙰𓙱𓙲𓙳𓙴𓙵𓙶𓙷𓙸𓙹𓙺𓙻𓙼𓙽𓙾𓙿𓚀𓚁𓚂𓚃𓚄𓚅𓚆𓚇𓚈𓚉𓚊𓚋𓚌𓚍𓚎𓚏𓚐𓚑𓚒𓚓𓚔𓚕𓚖𓚗𓚘𓚙𓚚𓚛𓚜𓚝𓚞𓚟𓚠𓚡𓚢𓚣𓚤𓚥𓚦𓚧𓚨𓚩𓚪𓚫𓚬𓚭𓚮𓚯𓚰𓚱𓚲𓚳𓚴𓚵𓚶𓚷𓚸𓚹𓚺𓚻𓚼𓚽𓚾𓚿𓛀𓛁𓛂𓛃𓛄𓛅𓛆𓛇𓛈𓛉𓛊𓛋𓛌𓛍𓛎𓛏𓛐𓛑𓛒𓛓𓛔𓛕𓛖𓛗𓛘𓛙𓛚𓛛𓛜𓛝𓛞𓛟𓛠𓛡𓛢𓛣𓛤𓛥𓛦𓛧𓛨𓛩𓛪𓛫𓛬𓛭𓛮𓛯𓛰𓛱𓛲𓛳𓛴𓛵𓛶𓛷𓛸𓛹𓛺𓛻𓛼𓛽𓛾𓛿𓜀𓜁𓜂𓜃𓜄𓜅𓜆𓜇𓜈𓜉𓜊𓜋𓜌𓜍𓜎𓜏𓜐𓜑𓜒𓜓𓜔𓜕𓜖𓜗𓜘𓜙𓜚𓜛𓜜𓜝𓜞𓜟𓜠𓜡𓜢𓜣𓜤𓜥𓜦𓜧𓜨𓜩𓜪𓜫𓜬𓜭𓜮𓜯𓜰𓜱𓜲𓜳𓜴𓜵𓜶𓜷𓜸𓜹𓜺𓜻𓜼𓜽𓜾𓜿𓝀𓝁𓝂𓝃𓝄𓝅𓝆𓝇𓝈𓝉𓝊𓝋𓝌𓝍𓝎𓝏𓝐𓝑𓝒𓝓𓝔𓝕𓝖𓝗𓝘𓝙𓝚𓝛𓝜𓝝𓝞𓝟𓝠𓝡𓝢𓝣𓝤𓝥𓝦𓝧𓝨𓝩𓝪𓝫𓝬𓝭𓝮𓝯𓝰𓝱𓝲𓝳𓝴𓝵𓝶𓝷𓝸𓝹𓝺𓝻𓝼𓝽𓝾𓝿𓞀𓞁𓞂𓞃𓞄𓞅𓞆𓞇𓞈𓞉𓞊𓞋𓞌𓞍𓞎𓞏𓞐𓞑𓞒𓞓𓞔𓞕𓞖𓞗𓞘𓞙𓞚𓞛𓞜𓞝𓞞𓞟𓞠𓞡𓞢𓞣𓞤𓞥𓞦𓞧𓞨𓞩𓞪𓞫𓞬𓞭𓞮𓞯𓞰𓞱𓞲𓞳𓞴𓞵𓞶𓞷𓞸𓞹𓞺𓞻𓞼𓞽𓞾𓞿𓟀𓟁𓟂𓟃𓟄𓟅𓟆𓟇𓟈𓟉𓟊𓟋𓟌𓟍𓟎𓟏𓟐𓟑𓟒𓟓𓟔𓟕𓟖𓟗𓟘𓟙𓟚𓟛𓟜𓟝𓟞𓟟𓟠𓟡𓟢𓟣𓟤𓟥𓟦𓟧𓟨𓟩𓟪𓟫𓟬𓟭𓟮𓟯𓟰𓟱𓟲𓟳𓟴𓟵𓟶𓟷𓟸𓟹𓟺𓟻𓟼𓟽𓟾𓟿𓠀𓠁𓠂𓠃𓠄𓠅𓠆𓠇𓠈𓠉𓠊𓠋𓠌𓠍𓠎𓠏𓠐𓠑𓠒𓠓𓠔𓠕𓠖𓠗𓠘𓠙𓠚𓠛𓠜𓠝𓠞𓠟𓠠𓠡𓠢𓠣𓠤𓠥𓠦𓠧𓠨𓠩𓠪𓠫𓠬𓠭𓠮𓠯𓠰𓠱𓠲𓠳𓠴𓠵𓠶𓠷𓠸𓠹𓠺𓠻𓠼𓠽𓠾𓠿𓡀𓡁𓡂𓡃𓡄𓡅𓡆𓡇𓡈𓡉𓡊𓡋𓡌𓡍𓡎𓡏𓡐𓡑𓡒𓡓𓡔𓡕𓡖𓡗𓡘𓡙𓡚𓡛𓡜𓡝𓡞𓡟𓡠𓡡𓡢𓡣𓡤𓡥𓡦𓡧𓡨𓡩𓡪𓡫𓡬𓡭𓡮𓡯𓡰𓡱𓡲𓡳𓡴𓡵𓡶𓡷𓡸𓡹𓡺𓡻𓡼𓡽𓡾𓡿𓢀𓢁𓢂𓢃𓢄𓢅𓢆𓢇𓢈𓢉𓢊𓢋𓢌𓢍𓢎𓢏𓢐𓢑𓢒𓢓𓢔𓢕𓢖𓢗𓢘𓢙𓢚𓢛𓢜𓢝𓢞𓢟𓢠𓢡𓢢𓢣𓢤𓢥𓢦𓢧𓢨𓢩𓢪𓢫𓢬𓢭𓢮𓢯𓢰𓢱𓢲𓢳𓢴𓢵𓢶𓢷𓢸𓢹𓢺𓢻𓢼𓢽𓢾𓢿𓣀𓣁𓣂𓣃𓣄𓣅𓣆𓣇𓣈𓣉𓣊𓣋𓣌𓣍𓣎𓣏𓣐𓣑𓣒𓣓𓣔𓣕𓣖𓣗𓣘𓣙𓣚𓣛𓣜𓣝𓣞𓣟𓣠𓣡𓣢𓣣𓣤𓣥𓣦𓣧𓣨𓣩𓣪𓣫𓣬𓣭𓣮𓣯𓣰𓣱𓣲𓣳𓣴𓣵𓣶𓣷𓣸𓣹𓣺𓣻𓣼𓣽𓣾𓣿𓤀𓤁𓤂𓤃𓤄𓤅𓤆𓤇𓤈𓤉𓤊𓤋𓤌𓤍𓤎𓤏𓤐𓤑𓤒𓤓𓤔𓤕𓤖𓤗𓤘𓤙𓤚𓤛𓤜𓤝𓤞𓤟𓤠𓤡𓤢𓤣𓤤𓤥𓤦𓤧𓤨𓤩𓤪𓤫𓤬𓤭𓤮𓤯𓤰𓤱𓤲𓤳𓤴𓤵𓤶𓤷𓤸𓤹𓤺𓤻𓤼𓤽𓤾𓤿𓥀𓥁𓥂𓥃𓥄𓥅𓥆𓥇𓥈𓥉𓥊𓥋𓥌𓥍𓥎𓥏𓥐𓥑𓥒𓥓𓥔𓥕𓥖𓥗𓥘𓥙𓥚𓥛𓥜𓥝𓥞𓥟𓥠𓥡𓥢𓥣𓥤𓥥𓥦𓥧𓥨𓥩𓥪𓥫𓥬𓥭𓥮𓥯𓥰𓥱𓥲𓥳𓥴𓥵𓥶𓥷𓥸𓥹𓥺𓥻𓥼𓥽𓥾𓥿𓦀𓦁𓦂𓦃𓦄𓦅𓦆𓦇𓦈𓦉𓦊𓦋𓦌𓦍𓦎𓦏𓦐𓦑𓦒𓦓𓦔𓦕𓦖𓦗𓦘𓦙𓦚𓦛𓦜𓦝𓦞𓦟𓦠𓦡𓦢𓦣𓦤𓦥𓦦𓦧𓦨𓦩𓦪𓦫𓦬𓦭𓦮𓦯𓦰𓦱𓦲𓦳𓦴𓦵𓦶𓦷𓦸𓦹𓦺𓦻𓦼𓦽𓦾𓦿𓧀𓧁𓧂𓧃𓧄𓧅𓧆𓧇𓧈𓧉𓧊𓧋𓧌𓧍𓧎𓧏𓧐𓧑𓧒𓧓𓧔𓧕𓧖𓧗𓧘𓧙𓧚𓧛𓧜𓧝𓧞𓧟𓧠𓧡𓧢𓧣𓧤𓧥𓧦𓧧𓧨𓧩𓧪𓧫𓧬𓧭𓧮𓧯𓧰𓧱𓧲𓧳𓧴𓧵𓧶𓧷𓧸𓧹𓧺𓧻𓧼𓧽𓧾𓧿𓨀𓨁𓨂𓨃𓨄𓨅𓨆𓨇𓨈𓨉𓨊𓨋𓨌𓨍𓨎𓨏𓨐𓨑𓨒𓨓𓨔𓨕𓨖𓨗𓨘𓨙𓨚𓨛𓨜𓨝𓨞𓨟𓨠𓨡𓨢𓨣𓨤𓨥𓨦𓨧𓨨𓨩𓨪𓨫𓨬𓨭𓨮𓨯𓨰𓨱𓨲𓨳𓨴𓨵𓨶𓨷𓨸𓨹𓨺𓨻𓨼𓨽𓨾𓨿𓩀𓩁𓩂𓩃𓩄𓩅𓩆𓩇𓩈𓩉𓩊𓩋𓩌𓩍𓩎𓩏𓩐𓩑𓩒𓩓𓩔𓩕𓩖𓩗𓩘𓩙𓩚𓩛𓩜𓩝𓩞𓩟𓩠𓩡𓩢𓩣𓩤𓩥𓩦𓩧𓩨𓩩𓩪𓩫𓩬𓩭𓩮𓩯𓩰𓩱𓩲𓩳𓩴𓩵𓩶𓩷𓩸𓩹𓩺𓩻𓩼𓩽𓩾𓩿𓪀𓪁𓪂𓪃𓪄𓪅𓪆𓪇𓪈𓪉𓪊𓪋𓪌𓪍𓪎𓪏𓪐𓪑𓪒𓪓𓪔𓪕𓪖𓪗𓪘𓪙𓪚𓪛𓪜𓪝𓪞𓪟𓪠𓪡𓪢𓪣𓪤𓪥𓪦𓪧𓪨𓪩𓪪𓪫𓪬𓪭𓪮𓪯𓪰𓪱𓪲𓪳𓪴𓪵𓪶𓪷𓪸𓪹𓪺𓪻𓪼𓪽𓪾𓪿𓫀𓫁𓫂𓫃𓫄𓫅𓫆𓫇𓫈𓫉𓫊𓫋𓫌𓫍𓫎𓫏𓫐𓫑𓫒𓫓𓫔𓫕𓫖𓫗𓫘𓫙𓫚𓫛𓫜𓫝𓫞𓫟𓫠𓫡𓫢𓫣𓫤𓫥𓫦𓫧𓫨𓫩𓫪𓫫𓫬𓫭𓫮𓫯𓫰𓫱𓫲𓫳𓫴𓫵𓫶𓫷𓫸𓫹𓫺𓫻𓫼𓫽𓫾𓫿𓬀𓬁𓬂𓬃𓬄𓬅𓬆𓬇𓬈𓬉𓬊𓬋𓬌𓬍𓬎𓬏𓬐𓬑𓬒𓬓𓬔𓬕𓬖𓬗𓬘𓬙𓬚𓬛𓬜𓬝𓬞𓬟𓬠𓬡𓬢𓬣𓬤𓬥𓬦𓬧𓬨𓬩𓬪𓬫𓬬𓬭𓬮𓬯𓬰𓬱𓬲𓬳𓬴𓬵𓬶𓬷𓬸𓬹𓬺𓬻𓬼𓬽𓬾𓬿𓭀𓭁𓭂𓭃𓭄𓭅𓭆𓭇𓭈𓭉𓭊𓭋𓭌𓭍𓭎𓭏𓭐𓭑𓭒𓭓𓭔𓭕𓭖𓭗𓭘𓭙𓭚𓭛𓭜𓭝𓭞𓭟𓭠𓭡𓭢𓭣𓭤𓭥𓭦𓭧𓭨𓭩𓭪𓭫𓭬𓭭𓭮𓭯𓭰𓭱𓭲𓭳𓭴𓭵𓭶𓭷𓭸𓭹𓭺𓭻𓭼𓭽𓭾𓭿𓮀𓮁𓮂𓮃𓮄𓮅𓮆𓮇𓮈𓮉𓮊𓮋𓮌𓮍𓮎𓮏𓮐𓮑𓮒𓮓𓮔𓮕𓮖𓮗𓮘𓮙𓮚𓮛𓮜𓮝𓮞𓮟𓮠𓮡𓮢𓮣𓮤𓮥𓮦𓮧𓮨𓮩𓮪𓮫𓮬𓮭𓮮𓮯𓮰𓮱𓮲𓮳𓮴𓮵𓮶𓮷𓮸𓮹𓮺𓮻𓮼𓮽𓮾𓮿𓯀𓯁𓯂𓯃𓯄𓯅𓯆𓯇𓯈𓯉𓯊𓯋𓯌𓯍𓯎𓯏𓯐𓯑𓯒𓯓𓯔𓯕𓯖𓯗𓯘𓯙𓯚𓯛𓯜𓯝𓯞𓯟𓯠𓯡𓯢𓯣𓯤𓯥𓯦𓯧𓯨𓯩𓯪𓯫𓯬𓯭𓯮𓯯𓯰𓯱𓯲𓯳𓯴𓯵𓯶𓯷𓯸𓯹𓯺𓯻𓯼𓯽𓯾𓯿𓰀𓰁𓰂𓰃𓰄𓰅𓰆𓰇𓰈𓰉𓰊𓰋𓰌𓰍𓰎𓰏𓰐𓰑𓰒𓰓𓰔𓰕𓰖𓰗𓰘𓰙𓰚𓰛𓰜𓰝𓰞𓰟𓰠𓰡𓰢𓰣𓰤𓰥𓰦𓰧𓰨𓰩𓰪𓰫𓰬𓰭𓰮𓰯𓰰𓰱𓰲𓰳𓰴𓰵𓰶𓰷𓰸𓰹𓰺𓰻𓰼𓰽𓰾𓰿𓱀𓱁𓱂𓱃𓱄𓱅𓱆𓱇𓱈𓱉𓱊𓱋𓱌𓱍𓱎𓱏𓱐𓱑𓱒𓱓𓱔𓱕𓱖𓱗𓱘𓱙𓱚𓱛𓱜𓱝𓱞𓱟𓱠𓱡𓱢𓱣𓱤𓱥𓱦𓱧𓱨𓱩𓱪𓱫𓱬𓱭𓱮𓱯𓱰𓱱𓱲𓱳𓱴𓱵𓱶𓱷𓱸𓱹𓱺𓱻𓱼𓱽𓱾𓱿𓲀𓲁𓲂𓲃𓲄𓲅𓲆𓲇𓲈𓲉𓲊𓲋𓲌𓲍𓲎𓲏𓲐𓲑𓲒𓲓𓲔𓲕𓲖𓲗𓲘𓲙𓲚𓲛𓲜𓲝𓲞𓲟𓲠𓲡𓲢𓲣𓲤𓲥𓲦𓲧𓲨𓲩𓲪𓲫𓲬𓲭𓲮𓲯𓲰𓲱𓲲𓲳𓲴𓲵𓲶𓲷𓲸𓲹𓲺𓲻𓲼𓲽𓲾𓲿𓳀𓳁𓳂𓳃𓳄𓳅𓳆𓳇𓳈𓳉𓳊𓳋𓳌𓳍𓳎𓳏𓳐𓳑𓳒𓳓𓳔𓳕𓳖𓳗𓳘𓳙𓳚𓳛𓳜𓳝𓳞𓳟𓳠𓳡𓳢𓳣𓳤𓳥𓳦𓳧𓳨𓳩𓳪𓳫𓳬𓳭𓳮𓳯𓳰𓳱𓳲𓳳𓳴𓳵𓳶𓳷𓳸𓳹

the former is evidently an abbreviation for 'domain of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, which Pharaoh newly founded' (5, 2), intermediate forms being 'domain which Pharaoh newly founded' (3, 7) and 'domain which Pharaoh founded' (4, 10). The last-named occurs in an itemization where the balance-item of $200 - 52 = 148$ sacks is omitted. The balance-item is, indeed, superfluous everywhere, since the subtraction could easily be made by the reader for himself. It is, however, strange that in one or two cases (3, 2; 4, 2 with the total 4, 3; so too in the summary, 5, 2) the balance-item alone should be given, withholding from our knowledge the complementary item that is indispensable. Can the latter item have been left over for later payment?

So full a commentary has been devoted to the *recto* of the Amiens papyrus, that I shall greatly abbreviate my explanations of the *verso*. Of this, however, a translation must be given to enable those wishing to do so to follow up the topics already discussed. Page 1 of the *verso* contains little more than a few figures. The top half of p. 2 is lost:

- vs. 2, x+1 brought from
the house of the prophet (?) Kēn(?) . . . from the farm-land that he tilled, $4\frac{2}{4} 7\frac{3}{4}$
sacks; balance, $12\frac{3}{4}$.
- x+2 [Given to] him (on the) river-bank.
Hōri, brought of corn of the priest Tja'ō 1+x sacks, being corn of domain of
the controller Ptaḥmosē by the hand of the cultivator Efenennebu, brought from
the house of the overseer of cattle Amenḥotpe, $1\frac{1}{4}$ sacks.
- x+3 [Given to] him on this river-bank, being corn of domain.
..... $\frac{2}{4} 1 2\frac{2}{4}$.
- x+4 [Given to] him on the river-bank of Khmūn² in year 1, third month of the Winter
season, [day] 10. by the hand of the scribe Pennestowē,
brought from the house of the sandal-maker Heryebḥimāē from the farm-land
that he tilled, ^{BALANCE $2\frac{1}{8}$} $2\frac{1}{4} 4\frac{1}{8}$ sacks, total $6\frac{2}{4}$ (?), balance 4.
- x+5 [Given] to him on this river-bank in year 1, third month of the Winter season,
day 17, being corn of domain of the House of Amūn under the authority of the
overseer of of Pharaoh, the overseer of hunters [Ra']messenakhte, brought
from [the house of] the lady Rokha (?) from the farm-land that [she] tilled $4\frac{2}{4} \frac{1}{8}$
sacks, ^{BALANCE $4\frac{2}{4}$} balance $2\frac{2}{4}$ sacks.
- x+6 ●³ [Given to] him on this river-bank, being corn of regular domain [of the House of
A]mūn, being corn of region of.,⁴ by the hand of the scribe Pennestowē,
contribution (?) of the scribe P'aemtopē, in the name of the scribe Pen (?)
[from] the farmland that he tilled, $50\frac{2}{4}$ sacks.

¹ The *verso* teems with cancellations, diacritical marks, superlinear additions, &c. These are reproduced in print just as they stand in the original, mostly without comment.

² Coptic $\mu\alpha\alpha\sigma\gamma\mu$, Hermopolis Magna, the modern El-Ashmūnēn.

³ In red as often below, both singly and also twice repeated. Such dots are common as diacritical marks in other Ramesside texts, see e.g. Text B of the Wilbour, and *P. Louvre 3171* (below, p. 57), and may mean that the line has been checked and found correct.

⁴ We expect here the name of a nome-capital, cf. rt. 3, 14. Just possibly Nefrusi was the administrative capital of the Hermopolite nome (XV) at this time, see below, vs. 2, x+9.

It seems likely that p. 2 of the *verso* constituted a whole complete in itself, and enumerated, much in the manner of the *recto*, the items comprised in the cargo of a single ship. Here, however, there is the difference that the account of the cargo is not followed by a summary collecting the amounts under the heads of the religious institutions to which they belonged. The reason clearly lies in the different nature of the items, which appear to be mainly tax-returns or rents from private tenants; *cf.*, however, vs. 2, x+5. 6. 12. 13 and the cancelled line 7. The region of collection is evidently the Hermopolite nome. The total at the end is quite irrational, since, as vs. 3, x+1 shows, the last figure ought to add together the barley (black) and the spelt (red) in the previous total where they are kept distinct.

The top half of vs. p. 3 is lost, and all that is left of this page is a total:

vs. 3, x+1 TOTAL 6, $60\frac{2}{4}\frac{1}{8}$ sacks. Total $66\frac{2}{4}$.

In the final figure, as in rt. 1, 4, the small fraction of $\frac{1}{8}$ sack is ignored as of no importance. Doubtless p. 3 contained the details of the cargo of a single ship.

Apart from some insignificant jottings, the *verso* now becomes blank for the space of 77 cm. Then follows the account of two more ships, quite in the style of the *recto*. The top half of vs. p. 4 is lost:

vs. 4, x+1(tiny traces only)
 x+2 Given to him in Ta(?) . . . sabu, being corn of domain of the [House] of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, under the authority of the Steward, which is in farm-land of Nefrusi, by the hand of the scribe Pennestowě 5 sacks.
 x+3 Given to him in this place, being corn of domain of this house under his authority by his hand, brought by the Sherden Kharoy $3\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}$ sacks.
 x+4 Given to him in Na(y)-Usimaṛēṣ-miamūn on the river-bank of Khmūn, being corn of domain of the House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, under the authority of the Steward, which is in farm-land of Nefrusi, by the hand of the scribe Pennestowě, brought by the scribe Pṛamtopě from¹ farm-land that he tilled $9\frac{2}{4}$ sacks.
 x+5 TOTAL given to him, 50 sacks.
 x+6 TOTAL, this expedition, 2 ships, making corn² 5 105 sacks. Total, 110 $55\frac{1}{4}$.³
 x+7 Corn⁴ of domain of the House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, under the authority of the Steward, by the hand of the scribe Pennestowě, 60 sacks.
 x+8 Corn of regular⁵ domain of the House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, under his authority, from farm-land of Nefrusi. 5 $38\frac{1}{4}$ sacks.
 x+9 Corn of domain of the House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, the Maker of New Land (?),⁶ under the authority of the Royal scribe, overseer of granaries, Raṛmessenakhte $4\frac{2}{4}$ sacks.
 x+10 Corn of domain of the House of Mut by the hand of the scribe Ptaḥmosě $2\frac{1}{4}$ sacks.

Here the chief point of interest is the place-name Nay-Usimaṛēṣ-miamūn, said to be 'on the river-bank of Khmūn', *i.e.* Hermopolis, El-Ashmūnēn. The town, which

¹ The preposition *r* is doubtless a mistake for *m*, *cf.* vs. 2, x+1; x+5.

² I am not wholly convinced of the correctness of the reading given in my edition, so ignore this problem here.

³ The last number is quite obscure.

⁴ Here begins the summary; so too below vs. 5, x+4.

⁵ For this expression see above, p. 46.

⁶ Comparison with rt. 5, 6 makes it well-nigh certain that  is to be read and that the foundation of Ramesses III discussed above, p. 44, is meant. My provisional edition must be altered accordingly.

has two paragraphs devoted to it in the Wilbour papyrus (Text A, §§ 89, 140), is there mentioned as possessing a temple called 'The House of Thoth, Pleased at Truth'. The name Nay-Usima^rrē^c-miamūn suggests a colony or settlement of Ramesses III, since *ny*, the Coptic **ⲛⲁ-**, means 'those belonging to'. There exists a wine-jar¹ mentioning a vineyard in Nay-Usimarē^c-setpenrē^c,² i.e. with the *prenomen* of Ramesses II, and unless this was in the Delta, like many vineyards, the place might be the same as Nay-Usimarē^c-miamūn, the name having been later altered by Ramesses III. Now if the reader will consult the map, he will see that the nearest point on the river from El-Ashmūnēn is exactly opposite Esh-Shēkh 'Ibādah, the site of the ancient Antinoupolis, and here are the remains of an important temple of Ramesses II.³ Is it not at Esh-Shēkh 'Ibādah that we must place Nay-Usima^rrē^c-miamūn?

The only other remark I have to make on p. 4 is one that applies to the whole of the *verso*: the amounts of corn mentioned seem too small to have formed the entire cargoes of the ships concerned.

Verso, p. 5 again constitutes a unit, since in its summary the line x+7 is substantially identical with the line x+2 in the summary of p. 6. This would be irrational if what remains of p. 6 were the continuation of the summary of p. 5. Moreover, that summary would be far too extended.

vs. 5, x+1	.....	(nothing legible)
x+2	[Given] to him in this place, being [corn] of domain of the House of Amen-Rē ^c , King of the Gods, under the authority of Ra ^c ia, overseer of cattle of the House of Amūn, by the hand of the scribe 'Antimosē; they gave — ditto ⁴ — 3 sacks. ⁵	
x+3	TOTAL given to him, 49 sacks, corn . . . (?).	
x+4	Corn of regular domain ⁶ of the House of Amen-Rē ^c , King of the Gods, under the authority of the Steward, by the hand of the controller Setekhmōšē, 6 sacks.	
x+5	Corn of domain of the House of Amen-Rē ^c , King of the Gods, under his authority, which is in farm-land of Nefrusi, by the hand of the scribe Pennestowē	23 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ sacks.
x+6	Corn of domain of the House of Amen-Rē ^c , King of the Gods, under the authority of the First Prophet of Amūn, by the hand of the scribe Nesdḥowt	5 $\frac{2}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ sacks.
x+7	Corn of domain of the House of Amen-Rē ^c , King of the Gods, under the authority of Ra ^c ia, overseer of cattle of the House of Amūn, by the hand of the scribe 'Antimosē, 8 sacks. ⁷	
x+8	Corn of domain of the House of Mut, the Great, Lady of Ishru, by the hand of the controller Nekhemūt, 2 sacks.	
x+9	Corn of domain of this house, by the hand of the controller Ptaḥmosē	1 $\frac{2}{4}$ sacks.
x+10	Corn of domain of this house, by the hand of the controller Tjanwend	2 $\frac{2}{4}$ sacks.

In the sixth and last page of the *verso*, which runs nearly up to the inner margin of

¹ Spiegelberg, *Hieratic Ostraca*, 19, no. 145.

² *JEA* v, 188-9. I no longer think this can be the same as Nay-Ra^cmesse-miamūn in *Anast.* iv, 6, 11.

³ For details see the references in Porter & Moss, *Bibliography*, iv, 175-7. The list of scenes on p. 176 shows that Thoth was just as prominent there as Khnūm, if not more so; and there is no mention at all of the frog-goddess Ḥeḳe, Khnūm's partner at , which Sethe sought to place here (*Urgeschichte*, p. 51), but which Griffith much more plausibly located at Hūr about 9 km. north-west of El-Ashmūnēn, see p. 53, n. 3.

⁴ The previous lines being lost, we cannot know to what this 'ditto' refers.

⁵ Part only of the amount mentioned below in the summary, vs. 5, x+7.

⁶ See above, p. 46.

⁷ See above, n. 5.

the roll, only parts of the summary are left, the foregoing specification of the ship's cargo being entirely lost.

- vs. 6, x+1 Corn of the Portable Shrine¹ of Muterĕ(?), brought by the scribe Pmershewne, 5 sacks.²
 x+2 Corn of the House of Amen-Rĕ, King of the Gods, under the authority of the overseer of cattle Raĭa, brought by the scribe 'Antimosĕ, 5 sacks.
 x+3 Corn of the House of Amen-Rĕ, King of the Gods, brought by the scribe Pneb'apred, 6 sacks.
 x+4 Corn of the House of Amen-Rĕ, King of the Gods, brought by the priest Ere'o, by the hand of the scribe Nesamūn, $\frac{3}{4}$ sack.
 x+5 Corn of—ditto³—brought by the deputy P'an, by his hand $\frac{1}{4}$ sack.
 x+6 Corn of—ditto—brought in place of the honey $1\frac{1}{4}$ sacks; total $18\frac{1}{4}$ sacks.
 x+7 Corn of the House of Amūn which he⁴ took at the beginning⁵—9 sacks.
 x+8 Corn which Pmershewne gave him, 8 sacks; total, 17.
 x+9 Total, all the corn which he took $35\frac{1}{4}$ sacks.

Note the characteristically Egyptian way in which the scribe twice (x+6, x+8) checks the amounts given in the previous items. All the figures add up correctly.

§ 4. P. Louvre 3171

An Eighteenth Dynasty analogon to the Amiens papyrus is provided by No. 3171 of the Louvre, a strip of papyrus 63 cm. broad and 16.6 cm. high⁶ gummed upon paper. Devéria, in his *Catalogue des manuscrits égyptiens*, pp. 184–6, gives a description and translation which are remarkably good considering that they were written sixty years ago. No facsimile has been published, but the text is given, together with a translation and notes, in Spiegelberg's *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I*, pl. 18 with pp. 29–30 and 74–6. In addition to this I have been able to use a careful transcription by Peet which I hope to reproduce at some future time in my *Ramesside Administrative Documents*. The facsimiles of a few individual signs given by Peet confirm the date ascribed to the manuscript by all three scholars above mentioned.⁷

The first column is too much damaged for much of interest to be elicited. L. 1 mentions 'year 9', this of some value because 3, 8, as we shall see, speaks of 'seed of (*i.e.* for) year 10'. L. 2 gives part of a personal name. The third line, upside down, gives the opening words of a didactic treatise of which a considerable part of the beginning is contained in the leather MS. *Brit. Mus.* 10258.⁸ L. 4 offers evidence, confirmed by 1, 8; 2, 8 of two different kinds of grain, the one kind, no doubt barley, written in black,

¹ See above, pp. 29–30.

² All the figures on this page being black, perhaps the scribe was not here seeking to differentiate between barley and spelt.

³ At this point the scribe (like the present translator) tired of constantly repeating 'the House of Amen-Rĕ, King of the Gods'.

⁴ The pronoun here and in the next two lines refers to the ship's captain.

⁵ Not 'previously', which would be *hr hst*, cf. the Turin tax-collecting papyrus, rt. 3, 8.

⁶ The figures are those given by Peet. There is something wrong with Devéria's statement of the height.

⁷ In particular, the back-turned strokes for \mathcal{Q} characteristic of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

⁸ See *ZÄS* IX, 117. Many ostraca contain parts of the text. Some years ago I surrendered to M. Kuentz my considerable material on this composition, but whether in the present difficult circumstances he will be able to produce his edition is, of course, uncertain.

and the other kind, doubtless spelt, written in red; Peet gives as the probable figures '200 1900, total 2100'. In l. 5 we read 'SHIP OF Amenem [harvest-tax?] of the deputy-superintendent, 205 sacks'. This amount, added to '36 sacks' in l. 7 and '20 70 sacks' in l. 8 yields the 'total, 331' given at the end of the latter line after a lacuna. But the tiny traces of l. 6 look as though they too gave an amount of corn, and this would throw the reckoning out. Lastly, l. 9 names '. . . child of the privy apartment¹ Rish[a]', *cf.* 3, 4, but in what connexion is obscure. The rest of the column is lost.

Of col. 2 the first nine lines are nearly complete:

- 2, 1 THE CULTIVATOR Maḥu, son of Amenḥotpe, in the Village² of Meḥ (?), harvest-tax, 1000 sacks.
DISPOSAL OF IT, conveyance by river to the granary of Memphis:
- ³ SHIP OF Amenḥotpe, son of Neferḥōtep 400 sacks
 - SHIP OF Hewnūfe 314 sacks, total 714.
- 2, 5 Remainder 286 sacks
DETAILS of the rest: taken by the quartermaster of the army,⁴ of Tjuna, 200 sacks.
Deficit with the cultivator Maḥu 86 sacks.
- THE CULTIVATOR Nebnūfe in the Village of Teti, harvest-tax 50 606²/₄ sacks, total 656²/₄.
- 2, 9 ● DISPOSAL OF IT, conveyance by river to the granary of Memphis by the scribe Penroy:
.....

The rest of col. 2 is lost. Col. 3 then continues as follows:

- 3, 1 ● THE CULTIVATOR Amenmosē in Mesyt, harvest-tax, 1421 sacks
● DISPOSAL OF IT, conveyance by river to the granary of Memphis by the scribe Penroy:
● SHIP OF Akitesub,⁵ son of Amenḥotpe 514 sacks
● SHIP OF Hita of the river-journey, being lading of Risha:⁶ •
- 3, 5 ● Given to him in the Island of Ibi, being corn of the cultivator Amenmosē, 176³/₄ sacks.
● Given to him in the Village of Idima, being corn of —ditto— 13²/₄ sacks.
● Given to him in this place in the house of Ḥuy the black, —ditto— 37²/₄ sacks.
● Given to him⁷ for seed of year 10 —ditto— 80 sacks.
TOTAL GONE OUT 821²/₄ sacks
- 3, 10 Remainder 600 sacks

There are traces of an eleventh line, but the rest of the column is lost, and here the papyrus comes to a close.

¹ . The title *hrd n kp* appears to indicate that the bearer, now of course no longer a child, had been brought up together with the Royal children. In his interesting article *Bull. Inst. fr.* xxxviii, 222, de Linage throws doubt on the reading *hrd*, but I think certainly wrongly. It is true that one example of  *ihms* with the 'child'-determinative does exist (Cairo 20143, c. 1), but not followed by *n kp*. For the reading *hrd n kp*, on the contrary, there is indisputable testimony.

² The writing , with  in place of later , is further evidence of the Dyn. XVIII date. The rendering 'Village' will be defended in my commentary on the Wilbour papyrus.

³ For the dots at the beginning of the lines here and below, see above, p. 52, n. 3.

⁴ The word for 'army', recognized by neither Spiegelberg nor Peet, seems certain from the latter's facsimile of the trace. For the title see *Wb.* 1, 288, 14, both of the New Kingdom; also de Rougé, *Inscr. hiér.* 56.

⁵ For this interesting name embodying that of the god of the Hittites see Ranke, *Personennamen*, 48, 27; his reference to *Mél. d' arch. ég.* 1, 275, shows that de Rougé had studied our papyrus.

⁶ The rendering is not quite certain, but Spiegelberg seems right in his remark that *stp* cannot here mean 'load', since *stpyt*, the Egyptian for this, is feminine. For the name Risha see above, 1, 9; it is unknown to Ranke.

⁷ The pronoun 'him' here probably refers to the cultivator Amenmosē, whereas in the three previous lines it has referred to the ship's captain Hita. Spiegelberg misread the word for 'seed' .

- 2 Remainder outstanding from¹ year 54, by the hand of the scribe of this house Amenemōnē: the cultivator [Huy] (?), son of Ptaḥ[pd]i, and the cultivator Nebwṛōt,² son of Ptaḥmy, 400 sacks.
- 3 Year 55, by the hand of the scribe of this house Ḥarmin, in this town, 400 sacks. Details of it:
- 4 What is with the stable-master of the Residence³ Ḥatiay, son of Nakhtmin, of the Mound of Naḥiḥu: the cultivator Nebwṛōt, son of Ptaḥmy, 200 sacks.
- 5 What is from the town of Pṛashpu in the middle country⁴ of Nefrusi. The cultivator [Huy], son of Ptaḥpdi, whose mother is Bekenbi 200 sacks. Total 800.

Docket written at the bottom of the left half of the *verso*, so placed as to be visible when the papyrus was folded:

Account (?) of the great statue of Raḥmesse-miamūn Beloved-of-Atūm.

There is no means of knowing where the great statue of Ramesses II here referred to was set up. It may have been, as Glanville surmises, 'in some small temple or local shrine of Atum' near Nefrusi in the Hermopolite nome.⁵ But I am inclined to suspect, both on account of the epithet 'great' and because of the reference to Atūm, that it was erected in a temple at Heliopolis. If so, the fields supplying 400 sacks of corn annually to the cult of the statue may have been the gift of some rich functionary at Nefrusi, just as the Royal Scribe and Great Steward Amenḥotpe presented 210 arouras of land in the Northern province and 220 that had been given him by Pharaoh to the statue of Amenophis III which that monarch had placed in his mortuary temple at Memphis.⁶ The Amiens papyrus has shown that comparatively insignificant chapels at the Capital could possess fields at a distance, and the Wilbour papyrus contains further evidence of the kind. It is true that in l. 1 the words 'in the Southern province' are ambiguous in their application; the docket proves that they are not part of the name of the statue, but they might qualify either 'the great statue' or 'corn' at the beginning of the line; I am in favour of the latter view.

To the two scribes Amenemōnē and Ḥarmin must be ascribed the part played by Dḥutmosē in the Turin corn-tax collecting papyrus, the scribe Penroy in *P. Louvre 3171*, 2, 9; 3, 2, and the scribe mentioned in the passage from the Miscellanies with which we started. Their duty was to control and register (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *sphr*)⁷ the amounts delivered on the threshing-floors, and then to accompany them to the granary. That a part of the payment might be allowed to be postponed is suggested by the two original documents above mentioned, but it is surprising that a whole year's contribution should

¹ Lit. 'of'.

² Or Nebwaw, as written in l. 4.

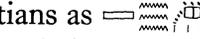
³ Here for once Glanville is at fault in his transcription; the superlinear addition reads 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏, not 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏.

⁴ *P. w ḥry-ib*, so too *P. Wilbour*, B 5, 15; *Horus and Seth*, 5, 9. 12, etc., but in the last-named text 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 as variant of 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 'island'. It remains to be determined whether the expression has the sense of *μεσόγειος* as employed by Ptolemy.

⁵ On the location of Nefrusi see above, p. 53, n. 3. The town called the Mound of Naḥiḥu (Naḥiḥu is a well-known personal name) is homonymous with one mentioned several times in the Wilbour papyrus, but they cannot possibly be identical. For similar cases see above, p. 45, n. 4. The town of Pṛashpu in l. 5 is unknown.

⁶ Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, pl. 80, ll. 22-3. In my translation (*op. cit.*, p. 34) I have divided wrongly: one should read 'Fields, 210 arouras in (*m*, not ½) the Northern province, and lands, 220 arouras of what, etc.'

⁷ See above, p. 20, n. 4.

have been held over. Concerning the two cultivators Glanville's statement 'Clearly they rented their land on condition that they (each) supplied 200 sacks of grain a year to the temple chest' cannot be far wide of the mark, though 'rented' must remain a query-mark for the present. I take this opportunity of saying that for the moment I make no attempt to distinguish between rents, taxes, and simple returns of revenue by employees. Nor can it be stated with certainty whether the deliveries here made would have been described by the Egyptians as  *šmw* 'harvest-taxes'.

A final comment is needed on l. 4. It is uncertain whether  means 'what is with' or 'what is from', *i.e.* whether the stable-master retained or paid out the amount here indicated as due from the cultivator Nebw^cōt; 'deficit with' in *P. Louvre 3171*, 2, 7 suggests the former. Possibly the situation underlying this entry is that depicted in *Sallier I*, 9, 2-9 and often alluded to in the Wilbour papyrus, whence it appears that stable-masters who looked after the horses of Pharaoh had the right to lay claim to certain lands needed by them for grazing and for their personal requirements.

§ 6. The Elephantine scandal (P. Turin 1887)

In spite of its many lacunae and peculiarly difficult handwriting the Turin papyrus treated by Peet in this *Journal*, x, 116 ff., and before him by Spiegelberg,¹ is the most informative document we possess in regard to the internal administration of a Ramesside temple. It is a long indictment recounting the crimes committed at Elephantine by a priest of Khnūm and certain accomplices of his. Several of the charges are concerned with the temple's revenue in corn. It is very tantalizing that the explanatory introduction to the main passage has suffered more severely than almost any other part of the text. Enough of the story remains, however, and its details are sufficiently picturesque, to warrant its inclusion here, though it is only in the more conjectural portion that I have any serious modifications of Peet's version to suggest. Publication of a transcript must be deferred for the moment.

- vs. 1, 7 [Charge concerning the fact² that King Usima^crē^c-miamūn], the Great God, cultivator[s] seed³ so as to cause them to [bring?]⁴ 700 sacks of corn⁵ to Khnūm, Lord of Elephantine, here in the Southern province, and they used to be conveyed by water
1, 8 Elephantine. He (?) conveyed them by water and [delivered] them in full⁶ in the granary of the god, and they were received from him⁷

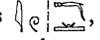
¹ *ZÄS* xxix, 73 ff. Spiegelberg apparently worked only from Pleyte's facsimile, and consequently did not succeed in rearranging the fragments in their proper order. This was, I believe, first done by myself in collating the papyrus for the Berlin dictionary some thirty-six years ago.

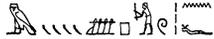
² Every separate charge had hitherto begun with the group , perhaps *šb' r* rather than *šmit r*, and I have little doubt that the same was true of this exceptionally long paragraph.

³  *prt* 'seed', not 'grain' as Peet has, but what seed is doing in this context is very obscure.

⁴ As Černý has shown, amounts containing the word for 'hundred' are preceded by the feminine article or possessives. For this reason my old reading , in which Peet followed me, cannot be correct, and the damaged group must conceal a verb.

⁵  probably in the general sense of 'corn', not 'barley', since later on the numbers are written in red.

⁶ Peet misunderstood this , which indeed contains the whole point of the passage.

⁷ . Peet does not seem to have been aware of the curious fact, first pointed out to me by Griffith and noted in my *Inscription of Mes*, p. 18, n. 38, that *šp* (*šsp*) followed by *n* means 'receive from'.

- vs. 1, 9 every year. Now in the year 28 of ¹[Usimaʿrēc-miamūn, the Great God, sickness befell?] this ship's captain and he died. And, who was prophet of the House of Khnūm, 1, 10 brought the merchant and . . . ¹ Khnemnakhte and appointed him ¹ [ship's captain] corn there in the Northern province, and he started conveying it by water.² But in year 1 of King Ḥeḫmaʿrēc-setpenamūn, the Great God, he made many defalcations with the 1, 11 corn.³ And this ship's captain ¹ 140 *deben* of the treasury(?) of Khnūm, and so (?) the gold was not in the treasury of the House of Khnūm.⁴ And as for his (?) defalcations with the corn, it is⁵ not in the granary of Khnūm, he having taken¹ 1, 12 [it] Khnūm.⁶
- 1, 13 [Year 1 of King Ḥeḫmaʿrēc-setpenamūn, the Great God, there ca]me to Elephantine by the hand of the ship's captain 100⁷ sacks. Deficit, 600.
- vs. 2, 1 Year 2 of King Ḥeḫmaʿrēc-setpenamūn, the Great God, 130 sacks. Deficit, 570.
- 2, 2 Year 3 of King Ḥeḫmaʿrēc-setpenamūn, the Great God, 700 sacks; he brought none of it to the granary.
- 2, 3 Year 4 of King Ḥeḫmaʿrēc-setpenamūn, the Great God, 700 sacks. There came in the ship of the Sacred Staff⁸ by the hand of the skipper Pnakhtta 20 sacks. Deficit, 680.
- 2, 4 Year 5 of King Ḥeḫmaʿrēc-setpenamūn, the Great God, 700 sacks. There came for the offerings of the Sacred Staves of Khnūm 20 sacks. Deficit, 680.
- 2, 5 Year 6 of King Ḥeḫmaʿrēc-setpenamūn, the Great God, 700 sacks. He did not bring it.
- 2, 6 Year 1 of Pharaoh, 700 sacks. He did not bring it.
- 2, 7 Year 2 of Pharaoh, 700 sacks. There came by the hand of the ship's captain Khnemnakhte 186 sacks. Deficit, 514.
- 2, 8 Year 3 of Pharaoh, 700 sacks. There came by the hand of this ship's captain 120 sacks. Deficit, 580.
- 2, 9 TOTAL, corn of the House of Khnūm, Lord of Elephantine, in respect to which this 2, 11⁹ ship's captain combined with the scribes, controllers, and cultivators ¹ of the House of Khnūm and made defalcations with it, and they used it for their own purposes, 5004 sacks.

From this interesting passage the god of the southernmost town of Egypt is seen to have derived an income in corn from fields in the Delta (vs. 1, 10), and it agrees with what has been learnt from the documents previously studied that the persons upon whose integrity this revenue depended, though of course in the last resort the prophet mainly of succession, but also in other cases, as here and vs. 1, 3 of this same papyrus; so too *P. Brit. Mus. 10100*, 15, qu. below p. 108; referring to succession, *Brit. Mus.* 138 (Decree of Amenophis), 7; the Berlin dictionary (IV, 530-3) overlooks this usage. The difficulty here is to discover to whom the pronoun 'him' refers. It might refer to the man mentioned as dying in vs. 1, 9, after whose death the defalcations began, but is the lacuna at the beginning of vs. 1, 8 large enough to have introduced him? Otherwise we might have to take 'him' as referring to Ramesses III (vs. 1, 7); this would be extremely interesting, but seems unlikely.

¹ A second title apparently. From vs. 2, 7 it is clear that a Khnemnakhte was a ship's captain, probably the same man as here.

² There can be recognized the traces of  in the lacuna. It seems to be implied that in years 29 and 30, *i.e.* until the end of the reign of Ramesses III, the new ship's captain delivered the corn in full.

³ Is the merchant Khnemnakhte the subject? The entire passage is obscure in the extreme.

⁴ I have ignored a very unintelligible superlinear addition.

⁵ Apparently present tense.

⁶ A short line. After a blank space there is what appears to be a later addition charging someone of having annexed people of the ship and having employed them, not for the service of the god, but for his own purposes.

⁷ All amounts of corn are in red from here onwards.

⁸ A ram-headed staff which was a sacred emblem of Khnūm and object of a cult. See, too, vs. 2, 4.

⁹ The line vs. 2, 10 is an intercalated remark, which appears to read thus: 'As for Tjauemdikhnūm (?), who used to take his corn, he sits on top of the storehouse, and has no corn'.

or prophets of the temple, were the cultivators, scribes, controllers (*rwḏw*), and ship's captains concerned in the transit from threshing-floor to granary. It is something of a surprise to find the annual return from these fields fixed at 700 sacks, since that return might have been expected to vary according to the satisfactory or unsatisfactory height of the year's flood; still, such a fixed amount is implied in the assessment of the two cultivators of *P. Brit. Mus. 10447* at 200 sacks each in both of two successive years. The fixed amount of 402 sacks named in connexion with the temple of Esna in the Turin corn-tax collecting papyrus differed inasmuch as the amount was there paid *by*, not *to*, the temple. Perhaps, however, the underlying principle may have been the same, a definite number of sacks being demanded from the cultivators, and they making what profit they could out of the yield in excess of the assessment. But here I am going beyond my brief. Leaving these conjectures, let us note that the red writing of the figures denoting numbers of sacks of corn is the more likely to be significant since, with the solitary exception of the word 'TOTAL' in vs. 2, 9 there is no other rubric in the entire papyrus. We can hardly doubt, therefore, that the temple's revenue was reckoned in spelt. For the false addition in the total, see Peet's explanation *loc. cit.*, 126.

Two more of the many accusations contained in the same papyrus have to do with corn. In the first of the two it is not clear against whom the charge is directed:

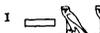
vs. 1, 4 [Charge concerning] their having opened one garner¹ of the House of Khnūm which was under the seal of the controllers of the granary who do the controlling (*rwḏ*) for the House of Khnūm, and they stole 180 sacks of corn from it.

The second accusation is against the same ship's captain as before, and is separated from the account of his previous defalcations perhaps only because the taxes extracted and purloined by him had been paid in commodities other than corn:

vs. 2, 12 Charge concerning this ship's captain of the House of Khnūm having exacted produce²
vs. 2, 13 to the value³ of 50 sacks, Rōme, son of Pen'anūke, and to the value of 50 sacks, ¹Pwakhd, son of Ptjēumyeb, total 2 (persons), making 100 sacks, from year 1 of King Heḫma'rēc-
vs. 2, 14 setpenamūn, the Great God, to ¹year 4 of Pharaoh, making 1000 sacks. He used it for his own purposes and brought none of it to the granary of Khnūm.

§ 7. The texts from P. Sallier IV *verso*

By way of illustrating and amplifying some of the passages already studied, it may be well to cast a glance at the agricultural texts on the *verso* of the famous Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days.⁴ These texts appear to have attracted but little attention since the days when Goodwin and de Rougé commented on them, the former suggesting that they were genuine records of the reign of Merenptah,⁵ the latter regarding them simply as 'le fruit d'une dictée ou comme des exercices tracés par un écolier'.⁶ For my

¹  *šmmt*, doubtless identical, despite the feminine gender and the twice written *m*, with the *šmyt* commented upon above, p. 24, n. 2.

² *Šd b'kw*, see *Harris I*, 28, 5; 48, 2.

³  *f'y*, here perhaps with the extended meaning 'value', may well be the word *f'* or *f'y* which Černý and I have found on a number of stones inscribed in hieratic with the meaning 'weight'. Another possible meaning might be 'amount', a meaning apparently actually found in     'an amount of leather' to make into sandals, *Ostr. Petrie* 37, rt. 2.

⁴ See my *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, pp. 93-6.

⁵ *ZÄS* v, 57 ff.

⁶ *ZÄS* vi, 129 ff.

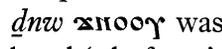
own part, I find it somewhat hard to believe in the latter view; would any teacher have inflicted on his pupil the task of writing the day by day calendar in vs. 13, 13 *a*, and 13 *b*? On the other hand, it seems over-bold to employ these jottings for chronological purposes, as Goodwin sought to do. Happily our concern is with the contents, not with the historical value.

The first text of any consequence is a letter:

vs. 9, 1 The Royal scribe and steward of the Mansion of Millions of Years of King Binerēmiamūn in the House of Amūn¹ Ḥarnakhte says to the deputy-superintendent Mentḥikhopshef: This letter is brought to you that you may apply yourself to perform well and efficiently all tasks with which you have been charged. Let no fault be found with you. Further, the overseers of the granary have been quarrelling with me over the corn which you put as load upon the boat of the granary of Pharaoh under the authority of the King's scribe and overseer of the granary Neferronpe who (?) is the superior (?) of the deputy-commander of the army Mentḥētef, they saying it is bad and unworthy of the work of
 vs. 9, 5 Pharaoh. So they said, and I went to see it and found it was really not at all good. ¹ Why do you act thus? You ought to act after the wish of the controllers. But [do not] let them embitter you, for you know their way, that. . . .

Here the letter breaks off in the middle of a sentence, giving place after an interval to some short jottings:

vs. 10, 1 Year 3, fourth month of the Inundation season, day 4. Threshing-floor of the scribe Ḥakhpe to the south of Metri:²
 Amount of work done in winnowing³ on the great platform of high ground, 545 sacks.
 Entering into the great magazine, 200+x sacks. What is in another and second magazine, 134 of it. Total 545 sacks.
 Year 3, fourth month of the Inundation season, day 11. Another and second platform. Entered into the magazine, 155.
 vs. 10, 5 Fourth month of the Inundation season, day 12 Another and [thi]rd (?)⁴ 177. Total, [corn?], 332.

Two words for threshing-floor are here employed, both preserved in Coptic, and the manner in which they occur makes it practically certain that  *dnw*  was a large area containing several  *htiw* ,⁵ which I have rendered 'platform', since the word appears to be identical, except for its technical significance here and fairly frequently elsewhere, with the *htiw* 'platform' on which the god Min is depicted as standing, or the *htiw* 'terrace' used in reference to the slopes leading up to the Lebanon. The word *dnw* was found frequently in the Amiens papyrus, just as  *mhr* 'magazine' was encountered in the Turin corn-tax collecting papyrus. It will be

¹ This is the funerary temple of Merenptah on the west side of Thebes, the remains of which were discovered by Petrie, see Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I, 159.

² This otherwise unknown place is mentioned without a reference in Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* III, 64.

³ *Hh*, in Old Egyptian  *h'ḥ*, in Coptic  especially in the compound  'winnowing'. See *Wb.* III, 233, 17.

⁴ In my edition I suggested that '[sec]ond' was to be read. I now think that the third *htiw* or 'platform' must be meant.

⁵ *Wb.* III, 349, 10 quotes only the extended Akhmimic form  but Crum, 629 *a*, cites examples of simple .

observed that in vs. 10, 5 the number 177 is in black; unless this is a mere mistake, barley will have been meant.

After a square of dots which Griffith explained as a device used in counting,¹ and below this the drawing of a bull, there come the first words of a never written letter by the scribe 'Akhpe who was mentioned as owner of the threshing-floor. Then, after another rectangle of dots, follow the words

vs. 12, 1 Copy of the flax of the . . . -land 1000. Corn, 30 sacks. Balance, 12 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ sacks 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ sacks. These seem to be disconnected jottings. They are followed by the above-mentioned day by day calendar painfully recording every single day from the 26th day of the second month of the Inundation season in year 3 down to the 29th day of the third month. Only on five days are any events noted; they are:

Beginning of going down to thresh ($\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} = \text{𓂏} \text{hi}$) on the great platform of high ground.

Another and second platform of the high ground.

The day when he went.

The day when he came.

They did not thresh in it.

It is really superfluous to translate the few lines that remain, as they teach us nothing new.

Those interested in details of threshing and winnowing in Egypt may be referred, for ancient times, to Klebs, *Reliefs und Malereien*, I, 50-2 (O.K.); II, 72-3 (M.K.); III, 12-15 (N.K.); for the Graeco-Roman period, to Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 172-82; for modern times, to Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs* (ed. Birch), II, 422 ff.; and for winnowing, to Newberry in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* xxii, 153-4. These, of course, are only typical references, and many others, not far inferior, could be given.

§ 8. The Griffith fragments²

The first instalment of my *Ramesside Administrative Documents* had already been issued, and the commentary on the Wilbour papyrus was well on the way, when Gunn drew my attention to some papyrus fragments of considerable and unexpected relevance to both. These fragments had been purchased by Griffith at Luxor in 1887, and now belong to the Griffith Institute at Oxford. When they came into my hands as a loan from the Institute, they were mounted on strips of tracing paper two or three at a time, except a few having writing on the *verso*, which were between glass. All have now been re-mounted and placed between glass. It was soon seen that they belonged to a single papyrus, and after a certain number of joins had been made, there emerged an almost continuous piece 65 cm. in length and 18 cm. in height, to the right of which we must suppose once to have stood the fifty or more still unplaced fragments. The same very cursive hand was responsible for both *recto* and *verso*, but though the latter is the same way up as the former it is not its continuation, since the *recto* comes to an end about 15 to 18 cm. from the inner margin. No account will here be given of the *verso*, for the good reason that, at least to some extent, it has defied decipherment up to the present.

¹ *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* xiv, 425-6.

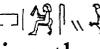
² Permission to give the following account has been generously granted by the Committee of the Griffith Institute.

summing up the amount of each kind of land, and stating the yield in corn of each, black being used for barley and red for spelt. The second total confines itself to giving the exact figures for the barley and the spelt. So far as can be seen, the arithmetic is accurate and red dots placed before the lines perhaps indicate that the data have been checked.

Turning to details, the first word here, as in other paragraphs, is the technical term *rmnyt* encountered so often in the Amiens papyrus.¹ 'The House of Māte, daughter of Rēc' seems likely to be that $\square \mid \beta \setminus \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ 'House of Māte in the City', where the Vizier heard some of the cases of the Theban tomb-robberies;² this is the more likely since, as we shall see, the papyrus gives great prominence to the god Khons, even naming one temple of his definitely known to have been at Thebes. The last words of the heading are, however, very troublesome. My first thought, remembering how often in Ramesside times the solar disk is depicted containing a ram-headed god, was to take 'Khnum the a[ged?]'—the restoration is quite uncertain—as in apposition to 'Rēc'. This, however, is extremely unlikely, 'daughter of Rēc' being an *epitheton constans* of Māte, and complete in itself. The only plausible hypothesis is that 'Khnum the a[ged?]' was the name of this particular domain, and not part of the name of the temple. Other paragraph-headings we shall meet with below tend to confirm this hypothesis. The first line after the heading is rather obscure, but 'high land of Penḥasi' occurs again on a fragment, though not in conjunction with '[house of] the Crown Prince' again found on another, there followed by 'which is (in) the House of Mut'. This Mut may possibly be the goddess of Inmut mentioned in the second line after the heading. It is a strange coincidence that the Amiens papyrus and the Griffith fragments should both refer to that little-known town, which we saw (p. 45) to have lain in the neighbourhood of Kāw el-Kebīr, and to have had Mut as its goddess.

There is other evidence, however, that the fields with which the fragments deal were situated in or near the Xth nome of Upper Egypt, the Aphroditopolite or Antaeopolite. The best evidence comes from an eight-line paragraph too defective to quote in full. The heading is 'Domain of the House of Khons $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓}$ ', the last divine name or epithet being utterly obscure, but possibly, as in a case already mentioned, forming part of the name of this particular domain. Three lines then all start with 'Region of the Island of Khons in . . .' and end with the area of the fields in those places. All the land mentioned in this paragraph appears to have been *nḥb*-land, since l. 5 begins with that word and ends by giving the very considerable amount of spelt (red) derived from the land in question. The remaining lines (ll. 6–8) must be reproduced entire:

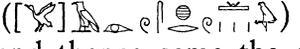
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of Ḥe-kak' comes fifth after the deities of Akhmīm and fifth before those of Antaeopolis, and in the Golénischeff Onomasticon (5, 2)  Ḥe-kak follows Dja^c-rūhe (above, p. 45) immediately, and is removed only by two towns from Tjebu farther north. There can thus be but little doubt that Ḥe-kak lay in the Xth Upper Egyptian nome. Now lower down in the paragraph—it is the long paragraph at the bottom of pl. VIII—mention is made of fields north of Ḥe-kak and east of Ḥe-kak. So too we find 'north of Ḥe-kak' on a fragment that is unplaced, and on another there are no less than three mentions of  'the House of Shopsi'. There can thus be no shadow of doubt concerning the part of Egypt with which the Griffith fragments are concerned.

Consideration of the other place-names in the Griffith fragments must be deferred until the text can be completely published, but it comes within the scope of this article to enumerate the various paragraph-headings there found, since each of these speaks of a landlord institution possessing fields in the Xth nome and exacting taxes or rents therefrom.

Paragraph-headings or parts thereof visible on unplaced fragments and consequently belonging to columns lost to the right of the large continuous strip:

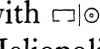
Domain of the House of Khons [. . .] youth. ¹	} On the same pair of fragments.
Domain of the House of Khons the Contriver.	

Whether or no the former of these two 'Houses of Khons' is the larger temple of that name at Thebes (see further below), the latter is not. The temple of Khons the Contriver () was in the eastern part of the Karnak complex of buildings, and thence came the celebrated stela of the Healing of the daughter of the Prince of Bakhtan.²

[Domain of him]self(?) Amūn
 [Domain of] the Mansion of Ḥeḫma^crē(?)

If the royal name is rightly read, this heading probably refers to the funerary temple of Ramesses IV on the west of Thebes, for which see Robichon and Varille, in *Revue d'Égyptologie*, III, 99–102.

[Domain of the House of] Atūm

Since in the following lines detailing the fields the topographical indication twice ends with  'House of Rēc',³ it seems likely that the temple owning the fields was in Heliopolis, and we might even have found in the last line of the paragraph 'Brought to the Granary of Heliopolis'.

..... founded anew by the prophet⁴

Thoth at Ashmūnēn, and indeed in the Medinet Habu list itself he appears, but human-headed, between Thoth and Neḥem-^cawāye among the deities of that place. With regard to Daressy's identification with El-Agagiyah, about 20 km. north-west of Sohāg, I will only say that I do not find that name on the Survey 1: 50,000 map.

¹ 

² Porter & Moss, *op. cit.*, II, 89. For this god, in Greek *Χεσμοσιχίς*, see *ZÄS* LVIII, 156–7.

³ Note that such an addition to the topographical indication is not uncommon; we have already come across 'this house', 'House of Mut', and 'House of Shopsi' similarly used.

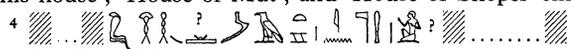
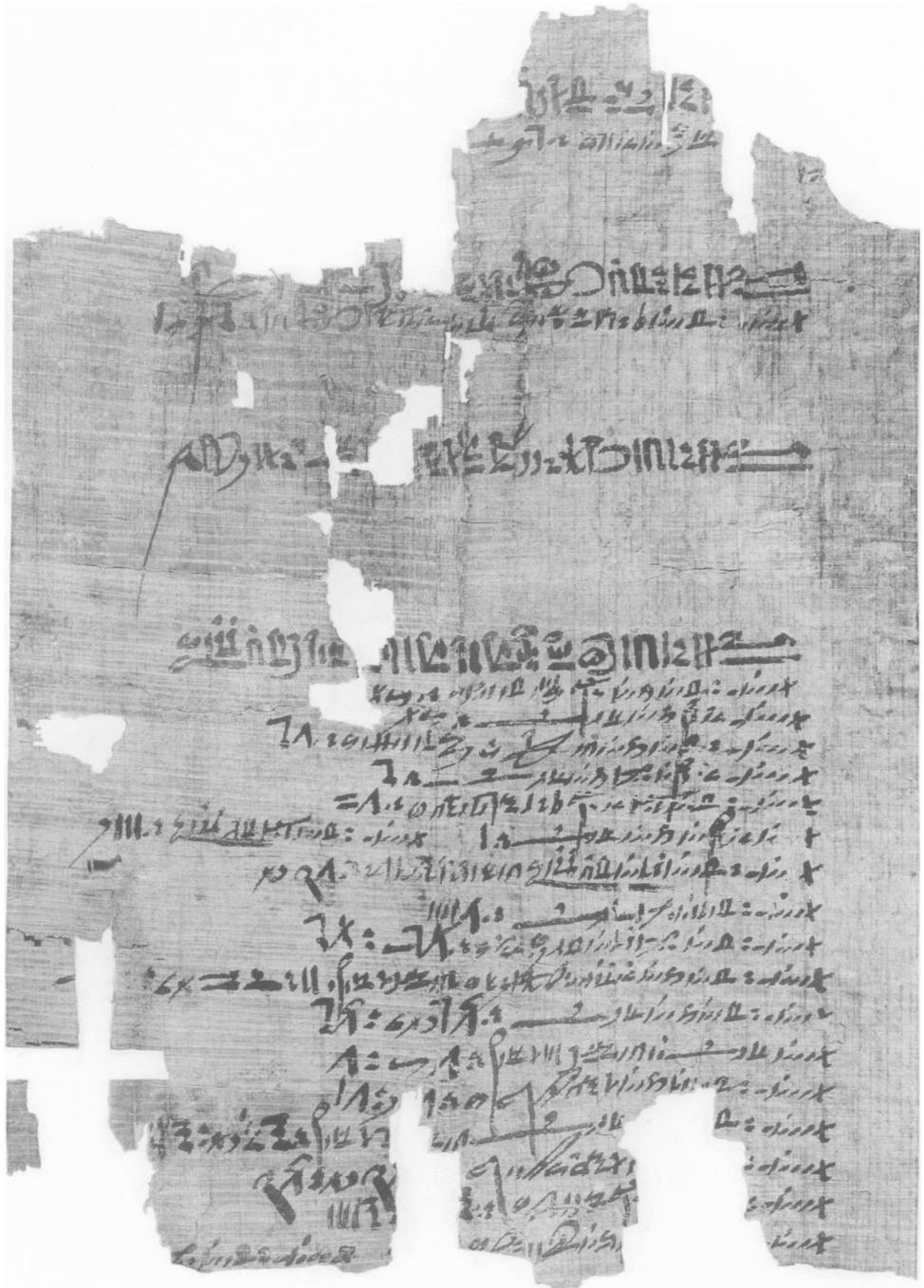
⁴  The heading thus seems to have mentioned the temple of a goddess.

PLATE VIII



Scale 1:1

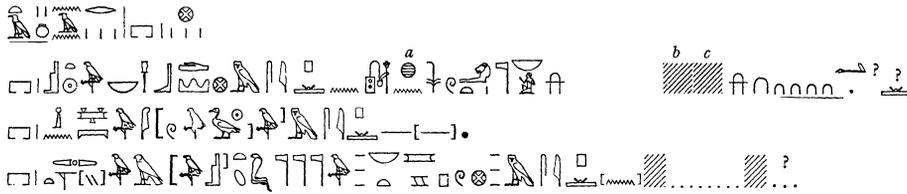
THE GRIFFITH FRAGMENTS
penultimate column

in this position, perhaps the Theban temple of Ptaḥ published by Legrain in *Ann. Serv.* III is meant; the title of Ptaḥ there is 'South of His Wall, in Thebes', e.g. *op. cit.*, 109, but I find no trace at Thebes of the epithet 'the Great', which seems confined to Memphis. In view of what was said above about a 'House of Atūm', we cannot be certain that the great Memphite temple was not intended.

Domain of the House of Mā'ce, the Daughter of Rēc, 'Khnum the a[ged?]'.

See above, p. 65.

At the bottom of the last column we find in the same larger writing of the paragraph-headings:



^a Badly made; this name once again, Ranke, 271, 11. ^{b-c} Deleted signs after a blank space.

After this an unknown number of lines lost.

THE SECOND. The (subsidiary) temples.¹

The House of Osiris, Lord of Abydos, inspected by the scribe Khenseḥēnūtenib, sacks (erased) sacks 10 40 . . . (?)

The House of Onūris Shu, [son of Rēc],² inspected by ditto.

The House of Min, Horus, and [Isi]s,³ the gods lords of Ipu, inspected by . . .

The purpose of this section is quite obscure, the more so since the mention of corn which might have been appointed for delivery to the temples of the list is confined to its first entry. In the heading it is unknown what feminine substantive is to be supplied in thought after THE SECOND—could it be *dnit* 'list'? It is also uncertain whether 'the temples' should be regarded as a second heading, as I have taken it, or whether it is a genitive after what precedes. The one thing that is clear is that here stood a list of provincial temples similar to that of *Harris* 61, a, 3 ff., arranged in geographical order from south to north; the three lines preserved mention the main temples of (1) Abydos, (2) Thinis, and (3) Akhmīm.

§ 9. The Louvre leather fragments

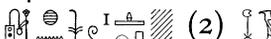
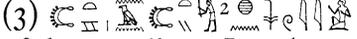
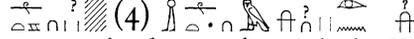
The last new document to be adduced is one of which, owing to present circumstances, my final collation is not accessible to me. At the best of times it would be a most incomplete and unsatisfactory document, raising far more problems than it solves. And yet it is desirable not to disregard it completely. My attention was drawn to this recent acquisition of the Louvre by Černý, and the fragmentary and brittle roll was opened and mounted by Ibscher at the same time as he dealt with the Amiens papyrus. For opportunity to study under the best auspices these blackened and dis-

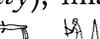
¹ *R-pr* seems sometimes to imply a temple of secondary rank or a provincial temple.

² For the restoration, cf. *Harris*, 57, 11. 12, in conjunction with *ibid.*, 61, a, 3. 4.

³ See *ibid.*, 61, a, 12.

jointed scraps of leather I am indebted to the same two friends and colleagues who facilitated my work on the Amiens manuscript, namely M. Boreux and M. Vandier.

The date is probably Nineteenth Dynasty, and the writing is easy to read wherever well preserved. Fragments A and B are possibly to be placed side by side, with a continuous heading in the top line. After a date 'Year 2, third month of the Summer season . . .' there is a lacuna of some size, followed by  'measurement (?) . . . midday (?) through the House of Amūn'. Below the top line the text divides into two columns, which I call cols. *a* and *b*. I give my imperfect and unrevised copy of col. *a*, ll. 1-4 for the benefit of those who can make anything of them: (1)  .  (2)  . . .  (3)  (4)  . L. 1 gives the names of three scribes. L. 2, 'measurement in the . . . through the House of Amūn'. L. 3, 'farmland of the farmers (?) of Khons (?), 12 (?) arouras'. If we could but understand l. 4, and particularly its initial verb *in*, probably the secret of the entire document would be revealed. A purely literal translation seems to give: 'brought, 10 arouras at (?) 12 sacks, makes 150 sacks (?)'; this, however, is a piece of arithmetic which does not carry conviction. For 'brought' we might conceivably substitute 'bought', since *in* sometimes has that meaning.

What lends importance to the document is not, of course, this mysterious exordium, but the many entries which follow. They are of the stereotyped form: 'Title + name X, son of name Y, *x* arouras  : with (or "at"?) $1\frac{2}{4}$ sacks', and the peculiar point about them is that, whatever the amount of land—it is always a small plot, never exceeding 3 arouras, *i.e.* about 2 acres—the number of sacks remains constant at $1\frac{2}{4}$. Those who subsequently study the Wilbour papyrus will not fail to note the strong similarity to the entries in what I shall call the apportioning paragraphs. There we continually find the names of small-holders followed by three sets of figures, one in black, and two in red, the last following the sign  *ipt* 'oipe-measure', hardly simply 'corn', and the last figures, as here, are always $1\frac{2}{4}$. It can be proved that the preceding figures refer to 'arouras', and the most plausible explanation is that the small-holder in question cultivated *x* arouras, but had to pay tax only on *y* arouras, which he did at the standard rate of $1\frac{2}{4}$ *oipe* (or sacks—there lies a knotty problem!) *per aroura*. Is it possible to interpret the Louvre fragments in a similar manner? The resemblance is incontestably great, so great that a connexion seems undeniable. But here I must leave the question, only mentioning the fact that the small-holders of the Louvre fragments are soldiers (*wꜣw*), coppersmiths (*hmty*), inlayers of faience (?) (*nšdy*), bringers of wood (), withdrawers of rations³ (), and men in other callings the nature of which is lost in lacunae. Lastly, two sample lines may be quoted by way of illustration:

(1, *a*, 5)  :

(1, *a*, 6)  :

The soldier Pentwēre, son of Neferronpe, $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$ (= $\frac{3}{4}$) aroura, at (?) $1\frac{2}{4}$ sacks.

The soldier Setmosē, son of Huy, 1 aroura, at (?) $1\frac{2}{4}$ sacks.

¹ Left in pencil in my copy, and therefore doubtful.

² *nꜣ n ihwty* doubtful.

³ I have not met with this strange occupational name elsewhere.

⁴ The upper sign represents \curvearrowright *rnn*, the $\frac{1}{2}$ -aroura.

§ 10. The Harris papyrus

It may perhaps be wondered why this article has paid so little attention to the great Harris papyrus, well-known to be the principal source of our knowledge concerning temple-property, a topic inseparable from the subjects that have been occupying us here. The reasons are, firstly that it seemed more useful to bring new material to bear upon the matter, and secondly that any adequate discussion of the papyrus would have demanded far more space than could be allotted to it. As an afterthought, however, I have decided to give some brief indication of the present position of Egyptological opinion in regard to this fundamental document. Until five years ago scholars had seemingly settled down to a comfortable belief in the conclusions reached almost simultaneously by Breasted¹ and Erman² some thirty years earlier. In 1936, however, appeared a monograph³ which fell like a bombshell in the midst of our preconceived notions. Breasted and Erman had maintained that, though the Harris papyrus professes to record only the benefactions of Ramesses III to the temples of the three great Capitals, and to those of the provinces, in reality his assumed gifts included all the temples' previous possessions, the king having 'confirmed' the latter and having thereby established his claim to be regarded as the donor. Schaedel's essay, on the contrary, strongly reasserted the earlier view that the papyrus is concerned with nothing but real additions to the temple estates made by Ramesses III. But if this is true, then obviously the document cannot be used, as Breasted and Erman used it, to estimate the total wealth of the priesthood. I desire to put on record my conviction that Schaedel has completely proved his main contention; indeed, retrospectively, it is difficult to conceive how the opposite view can have prevailed so long. In one vital particular, however, Schaedel has failed to shake himself free from a remarkable error shared by his predecessors. Each of the main divisions of the papyrus contains a section devoted to the yearly contributions made to the temples by their dependants during the thirty-one years of the king's reign. The essential part of these sections consists of separate items (metals, materials, animals, &c.) accompanied by figures stating the amounts or numbers, and this essential part is preceded in four out of the five cases⁴ by an introductory heading that differs slightly in form in each of the four. The following is a translation of the fullest of these headings, that prefixed to the items in the division of the papyrus devoted to Thebes (12, a, 1-5):

GOODS, dues and produce of people and all dependants of the Mansion of King Usimaṛēṣ-miamūn in the House of Amūn⁵ in the southern and northern provinces under the authority of officials:

of the House of Usimaṛēṣ-miamūn in the House of Amūn⁶ in the City;
of the House of Raṣmesse-Ḥeḳ-Ḑn in the House of Amūn;⁷

¹ *Ancient Records*, IV, §§ 151-181.

² *Zur Erklärung des Papyrus Harris*, in *Sitzungsb. Berlin*, 1903, 456 ff.

³ H. D. Schaedel, *Die Listen des grossen Papyrus Harris*, being Heft 6 of the *Leipziger Ägyptologische Studien*.

⁴ In the fifth case the heading is dispensed with, see Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 185, n. d.

⁵ i.e. the great temple of Medīnet Habu.

⁶ i.e. the temple of Ramesses III near the temple of Mut, see Schaedel, *op. cit.*, 26-9.

⁷ i.e. the small Karnak temple, *op. cit.*, 23-4.

of the Mansion of Raḥmesse-Ḥek-Ḍn United-in-joy in the House of Amūn¹ belonging to Opë;
of the House of Raḥmesse-Ḥek-Ḍn in the House of Khons;²
and of the 5 herds of cattle which are kept (?) for this house;³
which⁴ King Usimatrēḥ-miamūn, the Great God, placed as a gift in their treasuries, magazines,
and granaries as their⁵ yearly contributions.

Erman's treatment of these sections is most peculiar. Scrutinizing the figures attached to the various items, he finds them high. He therefore jumps to the conclusion that they represent the total contributions received in the course of the entire reign, and accordingly divides them by thirty-one in order to ascertain the average yearly deliveries. The figures thus obtained are now, however, declared to be too low, and consequently we find Erman voicing the conjecture that they were not the full annual deliveries received from this source, but only 'subsidiary taxes' ('*nebensächliche Steuern*'). It suffices thus to summarize this mode of argumentation in order to detect its weaknesses. As a matter of fact, the best of arguments can be produced to show that the figures state the annual deliveries, not those of the entire reign. Nor are the figures really high. It is impossible to demonstrate my point here, but I hope to do so elsewhere. In the meantime, the mere statement of the results of my investigation may perhaps be of some service.

§ 11. Conclusion

Those readers who have bravely worked their way through this lengthy article will doubtless feel the lack of a unifying thought, of a steadily developing argument running through the whole. This apparent defect lay in my intention, and will perhaps come to be viewed as a virtue if my purpose is rightly understood. That purpose was to present some little-known material bearing on a circumscribed topic, to treat each item separately on its own merits, and so to leave other scholars to form unbiassed opinions. If any synthesis of mine ever sees the light, it will be in the Text volume to the Wilbour papyrus.

¹ i.e. a destroyed chapel of Ramesses III in Luxor, *op. cit.*, 24-6.

² i.e. the temple of Khons in Karnak, as all have recognized.

³ i.e. the entire estate of Amen-Rēḥ, King of the Gods.

⁴ The relative pronoun refers to the 'goods, dues and produce', mentioned at the beginning.

⁵ 'Their' refers to the people and dependants mentioned in the first line.

A TAX-ASSESSOR'S JOURNAL OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

By PAUL C. SMITHER

MANY Middle Kingdom business documents and letters still remain to be published. The largest collection is in Berlin, but many valuable fragments are, or were, preserved in University College, London. Before the war I began a study of those available to me. Professor Gunn kindly gave me permission to publish the papyri discovered at Harageh by the British School of Archaeology in Egypt,¹ and catalogued by him in Engelbach and Gunn, *Harageh* (1923), 32-3. Most of these are mere fragments.² But one of them, a page from the diary of a scribe of the revenue department, is of sufficient interest to be published separately here.³ The palaeography closely resembles that of the papyri from El-Lāhūn, a few miles away, and must be of the same period, i.e. the very end of the Twelfth or beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The papyrus is badly riddled with worm-holes, but repetitions and useful traces have made it possible to restore most of the lacunae with certainty. Photograph and transcription are given in pls. IX, IX A.

In the following translation I have retained the line arrangement of the original. The scribe has written vertically the beginning of l. 12, to show that it is to be read *after* each of lines 7-11, as we use a bracket.⁴ The same device is used again in l. 26. At the *beginning* of a line a blank space serves as the equivalent of *ditto*-marks. Red signs are underlined in the transcription, and rendered by small capitals in the translation.

TRANSLATION

1	RECEIVING		
	The clerk of land	Senebteyfey	
	” ” ”	Seneb	
	The envoy of the steward	Ḥōr[i]	
5	The stretcher of the cord	Satpēḥu	
	The holder of the cords	Ibi	
	Year 2, SECOND MONTH OF INUNDATION, DAY 15		
	” ” ” ”	DAY 16	} (12) Spent in measuring (?) with the clerks of land of the Southern District.
	” ” ” ”	DAY 17	
10	” ” ” ”	DAY 18	
	” ” ” ”	DAY 19	

¹ They were found in the surface rubbish and in some of the tombs during excavations on the Gebel Abušīr, in the winter of 1913-14.

² It is hoped that one day these may be included in a volume with the University College fragments to form a *Kahun Papyri II*.

³ It has been numbered 3 by Prof. Gunn. Its present measurements are 26 × 23 cm. There are a few small traces of signs belonging to the previous page; opposite l. 11 the personal name Ibi—occurring in ll. 6, 21—is perhaps to be read. The *verso* is blank. My wife has kindly autographed pl. ix for me.

⁴ Another example is *Kah. Pap.*, pl. 9, where *nmḥyt nt ḥrtyw-ntr wrt mḥtt* is to be read after ll. 4-7.

Year 2, SECOND MONTH OF INUNDATION, DAY 20.

SPENT assessing for him (?) the dues^a in the Office of Land of the Northern District, [and]
 15 REGISTERING^b IN THE OFFICE OF THE TREASURER OF THE KING AND OVERSEER OF LAND OF THE
 NORTHERN DISTRICT REDYNYPTAH.^c

LIST OF THE NAMES OF THE CLERKS OF LAND WHO ARRIVED FOR THE REGISTRATION ON THIS
 REGISTERING^d DAY.

THE CLERK OF THE *Tema* AND CUSTODIAN OF THE REGULATIONS,^e PAENTYNEY

The clerk of land Senebteyfey

" " " Seneb

20 [The envoy] of the steward. Ḥōri

The holder of the cord Ibi

The stretcher of the cords Satpēhu

Year 2, SECOND MONTH OF INUNDATION, DAY 21

" " " " DAY 22

25 " " " " DAY 23

(26) Spent [assessing for him (?)] the dues
 in the Office of Land.

NOTES

(a) Lit. 'writing for him the exaction of dues'. *Wb.* refers to only one example of *hbi inw* before the Ptolemaic period, namely in the 'Duties of the Vizier' (*Urk.* iv, 1114, 13), , 'It is he (the Vizier) who deals with the exaction of the dues of the temples (and to him the Great Council report their taxes)'. In the Graeco-Roman period the expression is surprisingly frequent, but the examples are all of a similar character and it will be sufficient to quote one¹ from a speech of Nephthys to the King, *it·k Kmt, hk̄·k Dšrt, hb·k inw m iwntyw*, 'Thou dost hold Egypt, thou dost rule the Deserts, thou dost exact tribute from the Troglodytes', Chassinat, *Temple d'Edfou*, I, 188 (*Mém. Miss. fr.* x). It is difficult to see why the *Wb.* (III, 252), regards the *hbi* in *hbi inw* as a separate verb from *hbi* (*ibid.* 251) 'to diminish', 'subtract'. The sense of 'exacting (dues)' is clearly derived from the primary meaning 'to subtract'. In our case *hb* must be a noun and not the infinitive, which would be *hbt*.

(b) The word *snhy* is mostly used of registering people, and the examination of tenants or owners of lands may be meant here. The *snhy* is again associated with the land-survey and taxation on a fragment of a journal from El-Lāhūn (*Kah. Pap.*, pl. 23, 12 ff.), , 'What was paid at the registration, 1st month of Summer, day 22. Amount to-day paid, 50. Arrears, 5'. The next entry (day 23) gives the division (*psšt*) of certain lands between the towns of Hetep-senwosret and Kha^c-senwosret.

(c) We have here what seems to be an early example of a construction extremely frequent in L.E. When writing certain titles accompanying a man's name the Ramesside scribe regularly inserted the personal name within the title. Thus the 'mayor of the City Psiūr' was written , i.e. 'The mayor Psiūr of the City'. So here the name Redynptah is inserted between 'overseer of land' and 'of the Northern District'. Similar M.K. examples are *Kah. Pap.*, pl. 9, 11; 13, 12.

¹ For further examples see *Wb.*, *Belegstellen*, I, 91 (16).

² *snhy* was incorrectly read by Griffith. The ligature of  has a very similar form in the same word *op. cit.*, pl. 14, 5.

(d) *Snhh*. I am unable to account for this strange geminating form of *snhy*.

(e) The □ is broken, but *hp* is the only word which can be read. I know of no other example of this title *iry hp* 'custodian of the regulations', but one may compare $\overline{\square} \overline{\square}$, 'overseer of the regulations', Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- u. Denksteine d. Mittleren Reichs* (CCG), III, 46.

The scribe has not recorded in this journal his private affairs, nor has he noted down the amounts of taxation which he assessed; he has merely made brief entries of how he spent his business hours and the names of those who worked with him. It is likely enough that officials who travelled on Government business were required to make a return to the central office of how they spent their time.

Perhaps the most interesting of our scribe's colleagues are the 'stretcher of the cord(s)' and 'holder of the cord(s)'. Both these titles are new to us, but the figures of

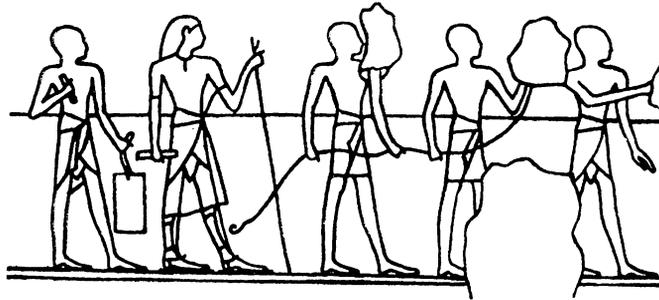


FIG. 1

these men are well known from a number of Eighteenth Dynasty tombs,¹ where they are seen accompanied by officials and scribes, measuring the standing corn (fig. 1).² Despite the differences in date³ it seems fairly safe to assume that among the other officials in the scene are to be found 'Two clerks of land', 'The envoy of the steward', and 'The clerk of the *Tema*, and custodian of the regulations'. Can this latter person be the aged man who holds the *w3s*-sceptre and swears that the boundary stone is in its right place?

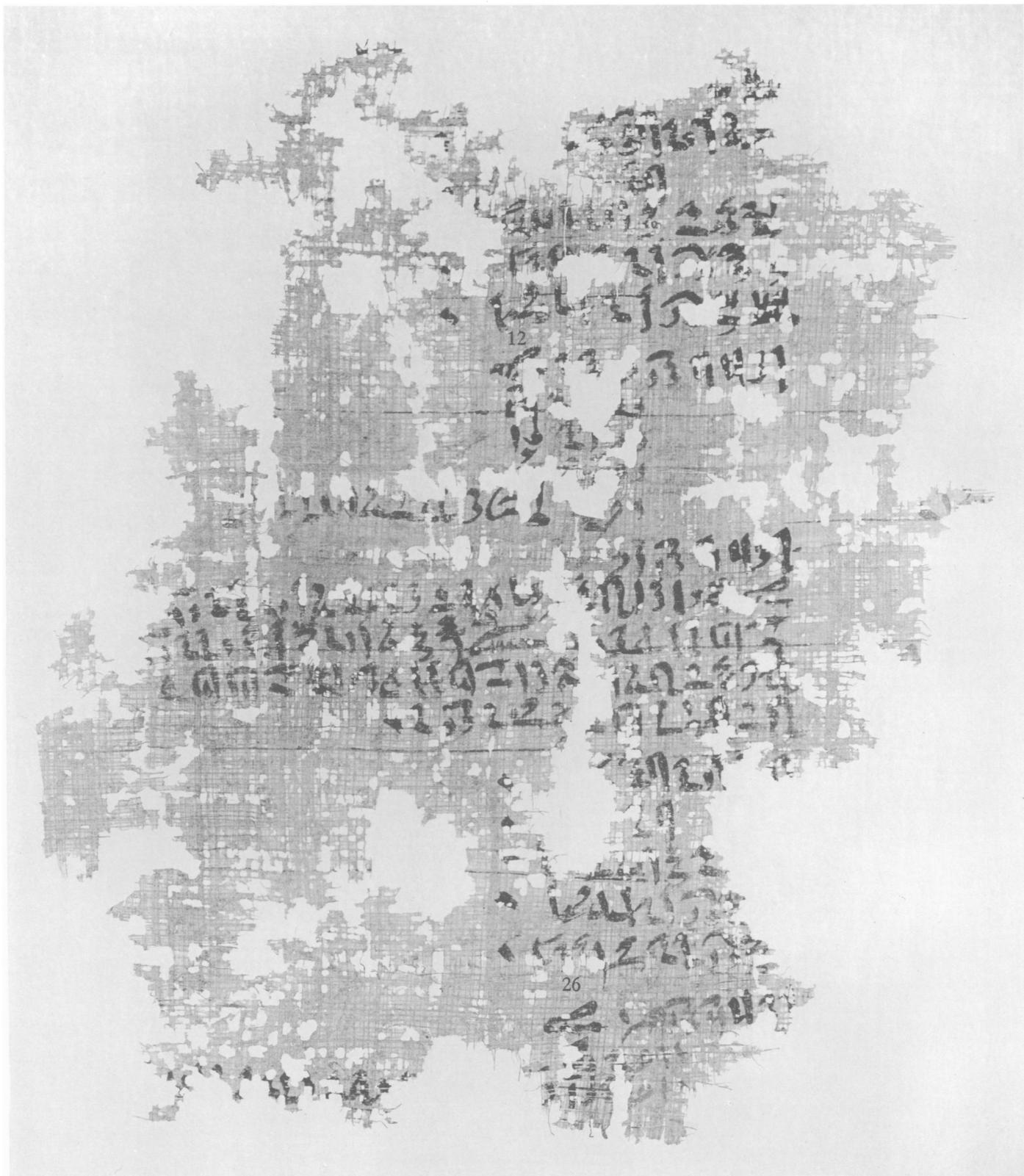
In conclusion I should like to touch upon a point of chronology. In a letter dated in year 7 of Sesostris III⁴ it is recorded that day 16, fourth month of Winter (*pṛt*) coincided with the rising of Sothis *i.e.* about July 19th of the Julian Calendar. On palaeographical grounds our papyrus must be judged to be of about the same date or a little later. The first date mentioned in the journal, second month of Inundation, day 15, will, therefore, have fallen on about January 19, or earlier. I leave it to others to judge whether this would be a suitable time of year for measuring cornfields for taxation.

¹ Photographs of three of these are given in S. Berger's article *A Note on some Scenes of Land-measurement*, *JEA* xx, 54 ff. The scene also occurs in the tomb of Amenhotpesase (No. 75), Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials*, pl. 10; in Tomb No. 86 (Davies, *The Tomb of Menkheperrasonb, etc.*, pls. 17, 18); and in Tomb No. 297 (unpublished).

² From the Tomb of Djoserkara'sonb (No. 38), after Wreszinski, *Atlas*, pl. 11.

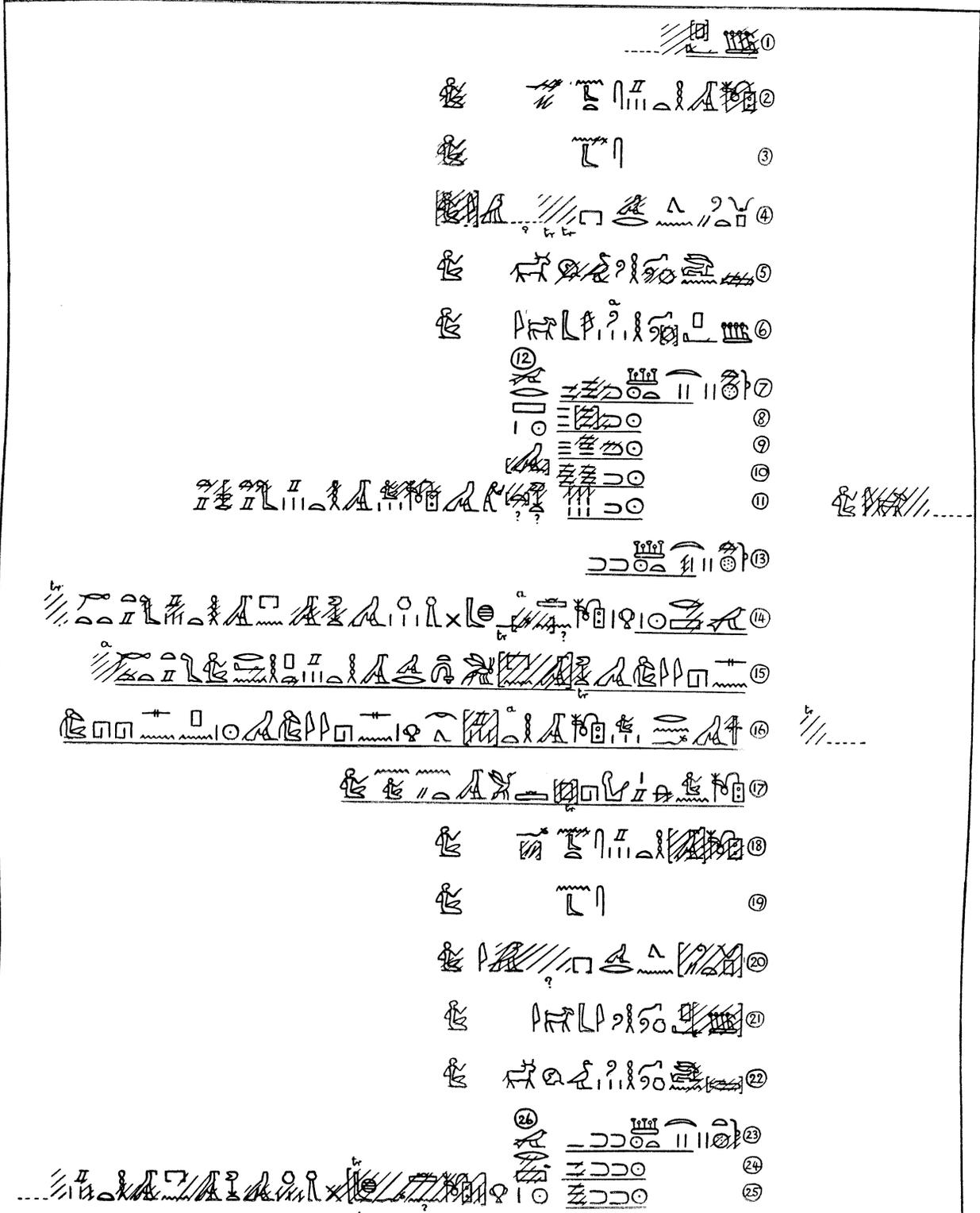
³ In these Theban paintings the measuring-cord was originally adorned with the ram's head of Amūn; this would naturally not have been the custom in the Middle Kingdom.

⁴ *ZÄS* xxxvii, 99.



Scale 3:4

P. HARAGEH 3



3, 6^a Different from Pin. l. 5; similarly below l. 22. 3, 14^a The trace seems only to suit \rightarrow .
 3, 15^a Probably nothing lost. 3, 16^a Δ on a small piece now folded under.

GROWTH OF THE *HTP-D'I-NSW* FORMULA IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

By C. J. C. BENNETT

WHILE working on the funerary stelae of the Middle Kingdom it occurred to me that an analysis of the *htp-di-nsw* formula might help to date these monuments. I therefore collected as many dated examples of the formula as possible, 121 in number, and grouped them in periods. Having divided each formula into its component parts, e.g. Osiris, *Nb Ddw*, etc., I worked out the frequency of occurrence of each part at various periods throughout the Middle Kingdom. The results were embodied in the percentage tables which appear below.

The first fact emerging was that *the htp-di-nsw formula changed continuously throughout the Middle Kingdom.*

The second fact was that it was possible *to distinguish between formulae of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties; and further, between those of the early and late Twelfth Dynasty.*

Of the formulae used, 14 are dated to the Eleventh Dynasty; 35 to the reign of Sesostris I; 21 to that of Ammenemes II; 10 to Sesostris III; 26 to Ammenemes III; 7 to Ammenemes IV; and 5 to the Thirteenth Dynasty. Only one example is dated to the sole reign of Ammenemes I; and two to that of Sesostris II. These two reigns have therefore been omitted from the tables of analysis.

In these tables, where two numbers occur in the same square, the left hand gives the number of formulae bearing the section of the formula in question, the right hand the percentage.

The period marked 'Later' represents the reign of Ammenemes IV and the Thirteenth Dynasty. The Thirteenth Dynasty is the latest limit for Middle Kingdom *htp-di-nsw* formulae because in the next dynasty the formula appears to take its New Kingdom form, i.e. *di-htp-nsw*, see *JEA* xxv, 34.

A bracket round a number indicates that the number is insufficient basis for a percentage.

References and a list of formulae, classified according to period, will be found at the end of the article.

I. CHANGE IN THE GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE OF THE FORMULA

The grammatical structure of the formula changes in one respect during the Middle Kingdom. In the Eleventh Dynasty *pri-hrw* 'an invocation' is used; while in the Twelfth Dynasty *di-f pri-hrw* 'that he may give an invocation' is preferred. Thus the formula must have been re-interpreted in the Twelfth Dynasty.

In the table of analysis below the later form can be seen ousting the earlier.

<i>Period</i>	<i>pṛt-hrw</i>	<i>di:f pṛt-hrw</i>	<i>Total</i>
XIth Dynasty . . .	14 100	0 0	14
Sesostris I . . .	11 42	15 58	26
Ammenemes II . . .	4 20	16 80	20
Sesostris III . . .	1 14	6 86	7
Ammenemes III . . .	1 5	19 95	20
Later	0 0	8 100	8

2. CHANGE IN THE WRITING OF THE NAME OF OSIRIS

Throughout the Middle Kingdom changes occur in the orthography of certain words in the formula. Thus in the Eleventh Dynasty, and often in the early Twelfth Dynasty, the name of Osiris is written with the determinative ; later the determinative is usually dropped. Note that instead of ,  often appears in the Eleventh Dynasty and early Twelfth Dynasty. The writing  does not occur in these formulae before the reign of Sesostris III.

<i>Period</i>	<i>With determinative</i>	<i>Without determinative</i>	<i>Total</i>
XIth Dynasty . . .	9 90	1 10	10
Sesostris I . . .	13 48	14 52	27
Ammenemes II . . .	7 44	9 56	16
Sesostris III . . .	1 13	7 88	8
Ammenemes III . . .	0 0	18 100	18
Later	1 11	8 89	9

3. THE TITLE *Hnty Imntyw*

As in the name of Osiris, the determinative  of *Hnty Imntyw* occurs early in the Middle Kingdom and drops out later. The frequency of the title at each period is noted in the first column of the table, the change in the orthography in the second and third columns.

<i>Period</i>	<i>The title as a whole</i>	<i>With determinative</i>	<i>Without determinative</i>	<i>Total</i>
XIth Dynasty . . .	9 90	5 55	4 45	10
Sesostris I . . .	14 59	11 79	3 21	27
Ammenemes II . . .	5 28	3 (60)	2 (40)	18
Sesostris III . . .	5 63	0 (0)	5 (100)	8
Ammenemes III . . .	7 33	0 0	7 100	18
Later	1 16	0 (0)	1 (100)	6

4. THE TITLE *Nb Ddw*

This title occurs in all the Eleventh-Dynasty Osiris formulae, but shows a steady decline throughout the Twelfth Dynasty. The writing  is usual until the time of Sesostris III.  and  are also early forms, occurring in the Eleventh Dynasty and in the reign of Sesostris I.  is a later form and occurs most

frequently under Ammenemes III, when four formulae out of six have it. Its earliest appearance is in the reign of Sesostris I.

<i>Period</i>	<i>Nb Ddw</i>	<i>Total</i>
XIth Dynasty . . .	10 100	10
Sesostris I . . .	22 81	27
Ammenemes II . . .	13 81	16
Sesostris III . . .	2 25	8
Ammenemes III . . .	6 33	18
Later	0 0	6

5. 'THE GREAT GOD'

The words ꜥꜥ 'the Great God' after the name of Osiris rarely occur until the Twelfth Dynasty.

<i>Period</i>	'Great God'	<i>Total</i>
XIth Dynasty . . .	1 10	10
Sesostris I . . .	22 81	27
Ammenemes II . . .	10 63	16
Sesostris III . . .	1 13	8
Ammenemes III . . .	12 66	18
Later	2 33	6

6. DESIGNATION OF THE DECEASED

In the Eleventh Dynasty and usually in the reign of Sesostris I the deceased is designated ꜥꜥꜥꜥ, ꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥ, etc. 'honoured one'. By the time of Ammenemes II ꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥ is placed in front making ꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥ 'the spirit of the honoured one'. Finally, in the reign of Sesostris III, the older designation drops out leaving ꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥ 'the spirit of'. Thus the fact that 'honoured one', originally an earthly title, changed to 'the spirit of' indicates a radical change in religious belief at this time. The dead man was no longer conceived as an 'honoured' man, but as a spirit.

<i>Period</i>	<i>imꜥꜥꜥꜥ</i>	<i>kꜥ n imꜥꜥꜥꜥ</i>	<i>kꜥ n</i>	<i>Total</i>
XIth Dynasty . . .	12 100	0 0	0 0	12
Sesostris I . . .	16 53	10 33	4 13	30
Ammenemes II . . .	2 11	12 66	4 22	18
Sesostris III . . .	0 0	2 29	5 71	7
Ammenemes III . . .	0 0	7 28	18 72	25
Later	0 0	0 0	10 100	10

7. THE OFFERING-LIST IN THE FORMULA

The usual offerings mentioned in the formula in the Eleventh Dynasty are bread, beer, oxen, fowl, alabaster, and linen. In the Twelfth Dynasty incense and oil are often added.

<i>Period</i>	<i>Incense and oil</i>	<i>Total</i>
XIth Dynasty . . .	0 0	13
Sesostris I . . .	7 25	28
Ammenemes II . . .	3 16	19
Sesostris III . . .	6 86	7
Ammenemes III . . .	9 64	14
Later	2 25	8

8. THE PHRASE 'ON WHICH THE GOD LIVES'

The phrase $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ 'on which the god lives', which occurs in the formula after the list of offerings, appears first under Sesostris I. Later it is often combined with *didit pt kmst t innt Hꜥpy* 'which the sky gives, the earth fashions, and the Nile brings'.

<i>Period</i>	<i>'On which the god lives'</i>	<i>Total</i>
XIth Dynasty . . .	0 0	13
Sesostris I . . .	12 40	30
Ammenemes II . . .	6 29	21
Sesostris III . . .	2 25	8
Ammenemes III . . .	9 43	21
Later . . .	2 29	7

9. DIVINE NAMES

Of the gods invoked in the *htp-di-nsu* formula, Osiris and Anubis share the honours in the Eleventh Dynasty. But in the Twelfth Dynasty Osiris is far and away the most popular, often becoming Ptaḥ-Soker-Osiris in formulae of the reign of Ammenemes III and later. Anubis loses favour and is replaced in many cases by Wepwawet. The latter appears most often in the reign of Sesostris III. Among the other gods, Ptaḥ, Ḥathōr, and Khnūm and Ḥeḳet, the two gods of resurrection, are invoked most often. Their names occur early in, but not before, the Twelfth Dynasty, and become very common by the time of Sesostris III.

10. THE PHRASE 'IN ALL HIS PLACES'

The phrase $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖}$ 'in all his places', often augmented to 'in all his beautiful and pure places', which appears after the name of Osiris, is a characteristic of the Eleventh Dynasty. It occurs in eight out of ten (80 per cent.) of these formulae. In the Twelfth Dynasty it falls out of use, appearing in dated formulae only once, in the reign of Sesostris I.

11. THE COMBINED TITLES OF OSIRIS

The combined titles of Osiris are of interest chiefly because they change in each period. Thus in the Eleventh Dynasty they are usually $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$, $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕}$, and $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓}$. In the reign of Sesostris I the title $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ is added. Under Sesostris III all the titles are usually dropped, except *Hnty Imntyw*. From the end of the reign of Ammenemes III Osiris, sometimes called Ptaḥ-Soker-Osiris, often bears the title $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕}$.

Thus the formula in the Middle Kingdom is seen to be a growing organism; not merely a collection of ancient meaningless phrases, an idea held in some quarters.

In the accompanying table, for the sake of brevity, the titles are given the following letters: *d*, *nb Ddw*; *k*, *hnty Imntyw*; *n*, *ntr 𓆑*; *a*, *nb 𓆓bdw*; *t*, *nb 𓆎ḥ-Tꜥwy*.

<i>Period</i>	<i>dka</i>	<i>dkna</i>	<i>dna</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kna</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Total</i>
XIth Dynasty . . .	9 90	—	1 10	—	—	—	10
Sesostris I . . .	—	11 42	8 31	1 4	1 4	—	26
Ammenemes II . . .	1 7	2 13	6 40	2 13	1 7	—	15
Sesostris III . . .	—	—	1 11	5 63	—	—	8
Ammenemes III . . .	—	1 6	5 29	—	4 24	1 6	17
Later . . .	—	—	—	—	1 13	4 50	8

SUMMARY

In order to differentiate clearly between formulae of the Eleventh Dynasty and Twelfth Dynasty, and between those of the early and later Twelfth Dynasty, the results of the analysis tables are here summarized.

The period marked 'Early XIIth Dynasty' in the tables is from Sesostris I to Ammenemes II; the period 'Later XIIth Dynasty' from Sesostris III to the Thirteenth Dynasty.

CHARACTERISTIC ELEVENTH-DYNASTY FORMS

	<i>XIth Dynasty</i>	<i>Early XIIth Dynasty</i>	<i>Later XIIth Dynasty</i>
1. <i>prt-hrw</i>	14 100	46 33	35 6
2. Osiris with determinative	10 90	41 47	35 6
3. <i>Hnty Imntyw</i>	9 90	45 47	32 38
4. <i>Nb Ddw</i>	10 100	43 81	32 25
6. <i>Imshw</i>	12 100	48 38	42 0
10. 'In all his places'	10 80	43 2	35 0
11. <i>dka</i>	10 90	41 2	33 0

CHARACTERISTIC EARLY TWELFTH-DYNASTY FORMS

	<i>XIth Dynasty</i>	<i>Early XIIth Dynasty</i>	<i>Later XIIth Dynasty</i>
3. <i>Hnty Imntyw</i> with determinative	9 55	19 74	23 0
5. 'Great God'	10 10	43 78	32 47
6. <i>K3 n imshw</i>	12 0	48 46	42 21
11. <i>dkna</i>	10 0	41 32	33 3
11. <i>dna</i>	10 10	41 34	33 18

CHARACTERISTIC LATER TWELFTH-DYNASTY FORMS

	<i>XIth Dynasty</i>	<i>Early XIIth Dynasty</i>	<i>Later XIIth Dynasty</i>
1. <i>di-f prt-hrw</i>	14 0	46 67	35 94
2. Osiris without determinative	10 10	41 56	35 94
3. <i>Hnty Imntyw</i> without determinative	9 45	19 26	23 100
6. <i>K3 n</i>	12 0	48 17	42 79
7. Incense and oil	13 0	47 21	29 59
8. 'On which the god lives'	13 0	51 35	36 36
11. <i>k</i>	10 0	41 7	33 15
11. <i>kna</i>	10 0	41 5	33 15
11. <i>t</i>	10 0	41 0	33 15

References

- Cairo Museum: 1. 20518. 2. 20516. 3. 20515. 4. 20542. 5. 20539. 6. 20131. 7. 20239. 8. 20025. 9. 20656. 10. 20733. 11. 20536. 12. 20140. 13. 20773. 14. 20231. 15. 20691. 16. 20310. 17. 20683. British Museum: 18. 614. 19. 1203. 20. 572.

21. 828. 22. 567. 23. 583. 24. 829. 25. 569. 26. 570. 27. 257. 28. 573. 29. 559.
 30. 202. 31. 249. 32. 831. 33. 1290. 34. 557. 35. 827. 36. 101. 37. 1164. Louvre
 Museum: 38. C 1. 39. C 3. 40. C 2. 41. C 166. 42. C 4. 43. C 167. 44. C 170.
 45. C 5. 46. C 8. 47. C 7. 48. C 12. 49. C 14. 50. C 7. Berlin Museum: 51. 1192.
 52. 1199. 53. 1198. Leyden Museum: 54. V 2. 55. V 3. 56. V 4. 57. V 6. 58. V 7.
 59. Munich Museum, No. 27. 60. Garstang, *El Arábah*, pls. iv, v. 61. 62. 63. Spiegel-
 berg & Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine*, 1, 18. 64. 65. Petrie, *Qurneh*,
 pl. 2. 66. Alnwick Castle Museum, 264. 67. New York, *Guide to the Collections (1934)*,
 10. 68. *JEA* XIV, 237. 69. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, 1, pl. 12. 70. *Op. cit.*, pl. 19. 71.
Op. cit., pl. 15. 72. 73. *Op. cit.*, pl. 7. 74. *Op. cit.*, pl. 20. 75. *Op. cit.*, pl. 15. 76.
Op. cit., pl. 37. 77. *Op. cit.*, pl. 24. 78. 79. *Op. cit.*, pl. 33. 80. 81. *Op. cit.*, pl. 24.
 82. *Bull. MMA*, 1920-1, 51. 83. 84. 85. *Op. cit.*, 46. 86. 87. *Deir el-Bahari*,
XI Dyn., III, pl. 2. 88. *Op. cit.*, pl. 3. 89. *Cairo Mus. Catalogue (1931)*, No. 623.
 90. Blackman, *Meir*, 1, pl. 9. 91. 92. *Op. cit.*, II, pl. 12. 93. 94. *Op. cit.*, III, pl. 19.
 95. *Op. cit.*, pl. 9. 96. *Op. cit.*, pl. 27. 97. 98. Griffith & Newberry, *El Bersheh*, II,
 pl. 7. 99. 100. 101. Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, pl. 4. 102. *Op. cit.*, pl. 10. 103. 104. 105.
Op. cit., pl. 7. 106. Petrie, *History of Egypt*, 1, 197. 107. 108. 109. Gardiner & Peet,
Inscr. of Sinai, pl. 32. 110. *Op. cit.*, pl. 41. 111. *Op. cit.*, pl. 11. 112. *Op. cit.*, pl. 36.
 113. *Op. cit.*, pl. 45. 114. *Op. cit.*, pl. 48. 115. Davies, *Tomb of Antefoker*, pl. 30.
 116. Griffith, *Siût and Dér Rîfeh*, pl. i. 117. Brit. Mus. 1348. 118. Vienna, 65. 119.
 Geneva, d 50. 120. De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, 94. 121. *JEA* XIV, 237.

Classification of Formulae according to Period

Eleventh Dynasty: Nos. 18, 19, 37, 49, 64, 65, 82-9.

Ammenemes I: No. 90.

Sesostris I: Nos. 1-5, 20, 38-41, 43, 44, 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 59, 67, 69-75, 90, 91, 92,
 97, 98, 99, 102, 115, 116.

Ammenemes II: Nos. 6, 7, 8, 21-6, 42, 55, 76-81, 93-6.

Sesostris II: Nos. 27, 28.

Sesostris III: Nos. 9, 10, 29-32, 60, 68, 119, 121.

Ammenemes III: Nos. 11-17, 33-6, 45, 53, 58, 100, 101, 103-12.

Ammenemes IV: Nos. 47, 50, 61, 62, 63, 113, 114.

Thirteenth Dynasty: Nos. 46, 48, 117, 118, 120.

Judging from the squeezes the surface of the stone in the lower portion of the monument is in worse condition than it is in the upper portion, and the signs in the second half of the text are cruder and less legible than in the first half. Indeed the hieroglyphs in the last line (26) are so badly engraved and so much damaged that Gunn and I were able to make very little of them, despite a special squeeze of this section of the text made for me by Stricker. So indistinct are they that the very existence of the line in question escaped the notice of Mariette, for he makes his copy of the inscription end definitely with l. 25.

Gunn has remarked to me how uncertain he regards the numbers as being. This uncertainty is due not only to breaks and to what may be accidental markings in the granite, but in some cases to apparent alterations made by the engraver. Possibly an examination of the original in a strong side light might settle many points that look dubious in the squeezes.

TRANSLATION

. [and thou wilt suffer?] (1) the great prince of princes, Shoshenḳ, the justified, his son¹, [to dwell]² in the Seat of the Blessed³ near his father (*i.e.*, Nemrat); thou wilt⁴ suffer him to [magnify?]⁵ his beauty in the city of Tewwēr⁶ over against *Rsi-wdꜣ*⁷; thou wilt suffer him to be in honour until the attaining of old age⁸, his son (2) continuing thereafter; thou wilt suffer him to participate in (?)⁹ the festivals of His Majesty, sharing united victory¹⁰? This great god assented very plainly¹¹. Then His (Majesty) spake again in the presence of this great god: My good lord¹², thou wilt slay¹³ the (3) officer of the army¹⁴, the sergeant¹⁵, the scribe, the inspector, any messenger¹⁶, any one sent on an errand to the country¹⁷, who shall seize¹⁸ property belonging to this statue(?)¹⁹ of the Osiris, the great chief of the Meshwesh²⁰, Nemrat, son of Mehetemweskheth²¹, which is in Abydos; and (4) any people who shall take (aught)²² away from its sacred property, to wit its land²³, its people, its cattle, its garden, any of its oblations, any endowments²⁴ belonging to it, thou wilt exercise thy great and mighty power against them and against their wives (5) and their children? This great god assented. Thereupon His Majesty kissed the ground before him. And His Majesty said: Thou art justified, O justified Shoshenḳ, thou great chief of the Meshwesh, prince of princes, my great one²⁵, together with all thine adherents²⁶, (6) and thine army likewise²⁷, inasmuch as Amonrasonther favours thee because of all that thou hast done²⁸ for thy father; thou shalt obtain old age, abiding upon earth, thine heirs being upon thy seat for ever.

Thereupon His Majesty sent the statue of the Osiris, great chief of (7) the Meshwesh, prince of princes, Nemrat, justified, northward to Abydos, many²⁹ king's messengers having been assigned to it with many boats without number³⁰, beside the messengers of the great chief of the Meshwesh. It was caused to rest in the (8) noble palace, the sanctuary of *Rsi-wdꜣ*, in order that its purification³¹, which takes place in the . . .³² of Tewwēr might be carried out at the tendering (to it) of the Opening of the Mouth³³. Its purification was performed and they censured³⁴ it in (accordance with) the formulae of the House of the Morning³⁵ four days(?)³⁶. Its ritual³⁷ was recorded in (9) the office of archives³⁸, according to what the lord³⁹ of gods had said. A tablet of stone³⁹ of Elephantine was set up for it bearing the decree of *Imn-rn-f*, and it (the statue) was caused to repose in the sanctuaries of the gods for ever and ever.

Regulations for maintaining the statue(?) of the Osiris, great chief of the Meshwesh, (10) Nemrat, justified, son of Mehetemweskheth, which is in Abydos.

Brought from Lower Egypt⁴⁰ by the inspectors (*rwꜣw*) of the great chief of the Meshwesh who came with the image, the foreigner⁴¹ of Syria, the page Akhamenkanekht, justified (?)⁴², and the foreigner (11) of Syria, Akhptahkanekht, justified (?): 15 deben of silver⁴³.

What His Majesty gave⁴⁴ in addition : 20 deben of silver.

Total : 35 deben of silver.

Specification.

Value⁴⁵ of those⁴⁶ 50 arouras which are in the district of the high tract⁴⁷ south of Abydos, called *Wsh-(12) nsyt*⁴⁸ : 6 deben of silver.

Those that are in the West⁴⁹, in the land dependent for water on the well⁵⁰ which is in Abydos : 50 arouras of land, making in silver 4 deben.

Total. Tenanted land⁵¹ in these two places, in the district of the high tract south of Abydos and the district of the high tract (13) north of Abydos, 100 arouras of land, making in silver 10 deben.

The tenant-farmer(?)⁵² *Pewēr*, son of . . .⁵³; his bondman, *Irbak*⁵⁴; his bondman, *Bpuamenkhaḳi*⁵⁵; his bondman, *Nashenumeh*⁵⁶; his bondman, *Denitenḥor*⁵⁷.

Total : (14) 5 men, making in silver 4 deben, 1 kite⁵⁸.

10 oxen, making in silver 2 deben⁵⁹. Their herdsman *Pshērinmut*, justified, son of *Ḥarsiēse*, justified⁶⁰, making in silver $6\frac{2}{3}$ kite⁶¹.

The garden which is in the district of the high tract north of Abydos, making in silver 2 deben. The gardener *Ḥarmosē*, justified, son of *Penmenkh*⁶², (15) making in silver $6\frac{2}{3}$ kite.

The weaver (?)⁶³, *Nemeriu*⁶⁴, justified, son of *Meḥḥarenpaireref*⁶⁵, justified, whose mother is *Teḳēnet*⁶⁶, making in silver $6\frac{2}{3}$ kite.

The weaver (?)⁶³, *Nestatayt*, justified, whose mother is *Tedimut*; the bondwoman, *Tediēse*, daughter of *Nebthepet*, her mother being *In . . . (16) imakh*⁶⁷; the bondwoman, *Tepeteramūn*⁶⁸, daughter of *Peneḥsy*, justified, her mother being *Tenternū(tet)*⁶⁹, justified⁷⁰.

Bee-keepers : 5 men, each one $6\frac{2}{3}$ kite per person, making in silver $3\frac{2}{3}$ deben⁷¹, paid into the treasury of Osiris; and $\frac{1}{2}$ hin of honey passes out (17) daily from the treasury of Osiris to the sacred property of the Osiris, great chief of the Meshwesh, *Nemrat*, justified, for ever and ever, as the contribution of these (5)⁷² bee-keepers whose silver has been paid into the treasury of Osiris, so that they shall never die, so that they shall never be missing (?)⁷³.

Thurifer(s) : (18) 5 men, each one $6\frac{2}{3}$ kite, making in silver $3\frac{2}{3}$ deben⁷¹, paid into the treasury of Osiris; and the ⁷⁴ 5 kite of incense passes out daily from the treasury of Osiris to the sacred property of the Osiris, great chief of the Meshwesh, *Nemrat*, justified, whose mother is *Meḥetemweskhēt*, for ever and ever, as (19) the contribution of the 5 thurifers whose silver has been paid into the treasury of Osiris, so that they shall never die, so that they shall never be missing (?).

Oil-man (?)⁷⁵ : 1 man, making in silver $6\frac{2}{3}$ kite, paid into the treasury of Osiris; and $\frac{1}{2}$ hin of (20) luminant oil passes out daily from the treasury of Osiris for the lamp of the Osiris, great chief of the Meshwesh, *Nemrat*, justified, whose mother is *Meḥetemweskhēt*, for ever and ever, as the contribution of the oil-man (?), whose silver has been paid into the treasury of Osiris, so that he shall never die, so that (21) he shall never be missing (?).

One man's gift.⁷⁶

Brewer(s)⁷⁷ : 2 men, each one $6\frac{2}{3}$ kite of silver }
 Confectioner : $\frac{1}{4}$ man, making in silver 1 kite⁷⁸ } paid into the treasury of Osiris, and this⁷⁹

barley and spelt passes out daily as bread and beer⁸⁰ of the store-house from (22) the granary of Osiris and the brewery (?) of Osiris to the sacred property of the Osiris, great chief of the Meshwesh, *Nemrat*, justified, whose mother is *Meḥetemweskhēt*, for ever and ever, as the contribution of this cellar (?)⁸¹ of the brewery (?) and of the confectioner whose silver has been paid into the treasury of Osiris (23) . . . together with the harvests of this land from the 100 arouras which go into the granary of Osiris in the course of the year, so that they shall never die, so that they shall never be missing (?).

Total.

The silver of the people which has been paid into the treasury of Osiris :

(24) 8 deben $7\frac{2}{3} + \frac{2}{3}$ kite of silver⁸², making in men $12\frac{1}{4}$ ⁸³, whose contributions shall pass out from the treasury of Osiris to the sacred property of the Osiris, great chief of the Meshwesh, prince of princes, Nemrat, justified, son of the great chief of the Meshwesh, Shoshenḳ, justified, whose mother is Mehetemweskhēt, for ever (25) and ever.

Total.

The sacred property of the statue(?) of the Osiris, great chief of the Meshwesh, justified (*sic*), Nemrat, justified, son of Mehetemweskhēt, which is in Abydos :

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Land | 100 arouras |
| Men and women | 25 ⁸⁴ |
| Garden | 1 |
| Silver altar | 1 |
| Service-vessel ⁸⁵ | 1 |
| Libationer (?) (26) making in silver deben | |

COMMENTARY

1. Taking with Gardiner the view that *pꜣf šri* is in apposition to Shoshenḳ and not the object of a verb of which Shoshenḳ is the subject.

2. Restoring  or similar.

3. Or, perhaps, the 'Abode of Spirits', but anyhow meaning Abydos; *cf. Stela of Intef son of Senet* (Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 80, 13 ff.) which speaks of Abydos as , 'a blessed place since the time of Osiris'.

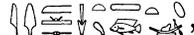
4. Sc. *iw k r dit*.

5. See pl. XA, n. 1^b.

6. A locality, sacred to Onuris of This and Osiris, adjacent to Abydos or possibly a special quarter of Abydos itself, Gauthier, *Dict. géog.* vi, 65. According to Griffith, *JEA* XIII, 197, it was the sacred quarter of Abydos.

7. = the Healthy Wakeful One, *i.e.*, Osiris, see *Wb.* II, 451.

8. The reading is certain. Is *šspw* an abstract noun, or is it a participle and the passage to be translated 'thou wilt suffer him to be more honoured than one who has attained old age'? Such words would apply well in the circumstance to Shoshenḳ. *Šsp* occurs again with *khkh* (*iw k r šsp khkh*) in l. 6.

9. Contrary to *Wb.* I, 79, instances occur in Ptolemaic texts of *imꜣ* with a direct object, *e.g.*, , 'his sister Isis befriends him there', Chassinat, *Edfou* vi, 21, 2; , 'the Upper Egyptian crown fraternizing with the Lower Egyptian crown', *op. cit.* v, 101 ff.; see also 70, 14 ff. The context suggests that in our passage *imꜣ* means 'participate in', lit. 'fraternize with', 'befriend'.

10. For the expression *dmꜣ m sp wꜣ* see *Wb.* v, 459.

11. For this meaning of *wšd* see *op. cit.* I, 375.

12.  = *pꜣi nb*,  being placed after  on calligraphical grounds. For this mode of addressing a god when asking for an oracular response see Blackman, *JEA* xi, 250 ff.; XII, 181; also *Stela of Banishment*, ll. 10 ff.

13. The *r* of futurity is here omitted, as so often in Late-Egyptian texts, before the infinitive.

for *wr*, and that accordingly the sign was read *ms* or *wr* indifferently. Note that in our inscription the man's head in the sign  = *ms* (*wr*) is in all cases adorned with a long tuft of hair which projects above the forehead.

21. See Ranke, *Ägypt. Personennamen*, 164, 5.

22. Sc. *nty iw'w r hb*. *Hb n = hb; m*, see *Wb.* III, 253, 11. For the confusion of *hb;* and *hbi* see *op. cit.* III, 251; 253.

23.  here = the *m* of equivalence.

24. See *Wb.* III, 90. Gardiner tells me that he is dealing fully with this word in his *Commentary to Pap. Wilbour*.

25. The sign following  I take to be a determinative; otherwise, as Gunn points out, one would expect  after it, as at the beginning of l. 8.

26. Is this, asks Gunn, why the names of nearly all the persons connected with Nemrat's funerary cult at Abydos are designated *mꜣr-hrw*? However, as he points out, the people mentioned in the *Ewerot Stela* are similarly designated. Perhaps the people designated *mꜣr-hrw* on the Stela of Shoshenḳ bore that attribute because they were connected with the cult of Osiris at Abydos, being under the control of his priesthood or actually in that god's service, see also below, p. 93.

27. Cf. *m-mitt iry*.

28. Perf. relat. *šdm-nf*. In the missing portion of this inscription there was evidently some reference to the cult which Shoshenḳ intended to institute for his dead father at Abydos.

29. Probably so rather than 'great king's-messengers'. Cf. *wr* 'how many', Copt. ⲟϥⲏⲣ.

30. *Nn*  is, as Gunn observed to me, obviously a bungled writing of *nn r-ꜣsn*, see *Wb.* II, 394.

31. See pl. XA, n. 8^b. Emend  and cf.  farther on in the same line.

32. Neither Gunn nor I have been able to decipher this badly engraved and apparently mutilated group of signs. The accompanying cut represents all that I can  see of them. It is difficult to decide on what are engraved lines and what are  breaks or scratches.

33. For the significance of this rite see Blackman, *JEA* v, 59 ff.; x, 57.

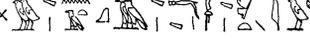
34. Probably, as Gunn suggests, = *snt(r)w sw*, the  of  being for , although placed before the determinative, and the *r* having dropped off as in *contē*, 'incense'.

35. For *pr-dwt* (originally the royal toilet-chamber) as a name of the place, usually designated *pr-nbw*, 'House of Gold', in which the Opening of the Mouth was performed on statues, see Blackman, *JEA* v, 159, and for other instances of its employment in connexion with the funerary liturgy, *op. cit.* v, 162.

36. That  represents , 'four days', and not , '4 times' as one might well have expected, in view of the frequent directions in Egyptian liturgical texts for the fourfold repetition of a formula or ritual act,¹ is suggested by the fact that elsewhere in this inscription *sp* has the form  not .

¹ See, e.g., Budge, *Book of Opening the Mouth*, II, 2, 3, and 11; Moret, *Rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte*, 205 ff.

46. The use of the demonstrative here suggests that mention had been made of the 50 arouras in the lost portion of the inscription.

47. With *ww k* here and in the following line cf.  *Ewerot Stela, 2.*

48. = 'Enduring of Kingship.'

49. The reading is practically certain (see pl. XIA, n. 12°). As these particular 50 arouras are said just below to be north of Abydos, it is to be supposed that the author of the document meant to imply that though they were situated north of the city they also lay somewhat to the west of it.

50. Gardiner wrote to me suggesting that  is possibly connected with the verb *sdf* (*Wb. IV, 383*) = 'feed', 'victual', 'provision'. He compared  (*Wb. IV, 370, 1*),  (wrongly transcribed  in *Wb. IV, 197, 16*) which are apparently Late-Egyptian writings of  (*Wb. IV, 384, 1*). The word *sdf* (*sdf*) occurs in the phrase *hr sdf* (*sdf*) *n*, which seems to mean 'dependent for its supplies on', lit. 'upon the supply of', judging from the passage  Petrie, *Tarkhan, I, pl. lxxx, l. 21*. This passage I would translate: 'His Majesty made this House dependent for its supplies (income) on the House of Ptaḥ.' Our word is evidently a noun followed by the genitival  and, in view of the determinative, I take it to mean something like 'land sustained by water'. Hence my rendering 'the land dependent for water (on the well)'. Gardiner now tells me, however, that he feels practically certain that *sdf* cannot be the reading here, especially on account of the determinative . However, he finds himself unable to suggest any alternative.

The masculine word  is common in *Pap. Wilbour*, according to Gardiner, and it will be fully treated by him in his Commentary on that text. The same scholar also tells me that in the *Onom. Golénischeff* it is separated from  and he adds that it may mean 'well', but has nothing to prove it.

Is the well (?) in question that of which Strabo speaks (see Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos, 32*)?

51. This rendering of *ḥt nmḥw* has been suggested to me by Gardiner, see also his remarks, *JEA XIX, 21*, with n. 4.

52. The accompanying cut is a facsimile of the sign, which I suggest may be a bungled form of . For the meaning 'tenant-farmer' see Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*, p. 500, T 24, n. 5.

53. See pl. XIA, n. 13^{d-e}. For the name Pewēr see Ranke, *op. cit.*, 104, 4.

54. A name not elsewhere recorded; see Ranke, *op. cit.*, 415, 24.

55. Not elsewhere recorded, but cf. Ranke, *op. cit.*, 94, 15 (*Bw-ḥꜣꜣf*); 262, 18 (*Ḥꜣꜣ-sw-ḥmn*); 262, 20 (*Ḥꜣꜣ-sw-n-ḥmn*).

56. Not otherwise known; see Ranke, *op. cit.*, 422, 13.

57. See Ranke, *op. cit.*, 400, 10-12.

58. If the four bondmen were worth 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ kite each, as are most of the people listed below, the farmer was worth 1 deben 4 $\frac{1}{3}$ kite.

59. If the reading || is correct an ox was worth 2 kite of silver.

¹ From my own copy made from a squeeze. The very short diagonal stroke under  is possibly accidental.

60. See above, n. 42. For the name Pshērinmut, see Ranke, *op. cit.*, 118, 19.
61. This seems to be the value of each man—apart from the farmer Pewēr (see n. 58)—whose services were employed in the maintenance of the cult of Nemrat's statue.
62. See Ranke, *op. cit.*, 108, 10.
63. Or possibly 'the fowler', see *Wb.* IV, 263.
64. An unintelligible and hitherto unrecorded name.
65. Unknown elsewhere; see Ranke, *op. cit.*, 423, 3.
66. Unknown elsewhere; see Ranke, *op. cit.*, 423, 18.
67. Of this name Ranke wrote: 'Namen, die mit  beginnen, kenne ich nicht. Ebensowenig solche, die das Wort  enthalten!'
68. A name otherwise unknown; see Ranke, *op. cit.*, 430, 20.
69. *Cf. op. cit.*, 109, 16 and 17.
70. The value of Nestatayt and his bondmen is not given, an omission probably due to the carelessness of the sculptor.
71. The amount should be $3\frac{1}{3}$ not $3\frac{2}{3}$ deben.  is probably a mistake of the engraver for .
72. See pl. XIA, n. 17^e.
73. So Gardiner suggests *iw bn iw-w sk* should be rendered. See below, p. 94.
74. The use of the definite article here indicates that this daily contribution of incense had been mentioned in the missing portion of the text.
75. Possibly a *nisbe*-form derived from *crndw*, see *Wb.* I, 208, 7.
76. The lost portion of the inscription would probably have informed us as to the identity of this mysterious 'one man'.
77. Have we here a *nisbe*-form from *cr̄t*, 'portal', the *y* not being written, as it also is not in the case of  in l. 19 (see n. 75)? The fact that the two men of the *cr̄t* seem to be responsible for the daily allowance of beer offered to Nemrat's statue and the statement that 'this barley and spelt pass out daily as bread and beer . . . from the granary of Osiris and the *cr̄t* of Osiris' suggest that in the temple of Osiris at Abydos *cr̄t* was at this period the designation of the temple brewery. *cr̄t* = *cr̄yt* (*Wb.* I, 210, 17) lit. means 'portal', and we may suppose that the brewery in question was situated in or closely attached to some large ornamental gateway in the temple precincts known as 'the portal'. We possibly therefore shall not be going far wrong if we render  in l. 21 (= *cr̄ty*?) by 'brewer' and *cr̄t* in l. 22 by 'brewery'.
78. Should be $1\frac{2}{3}$ kite.  has evidently been omitted by the engraver (see n. 82).
79. The use of the demonstrative adjective here suggests that the daily contribution of bread and beer had already been discussed earlier in the missing lines.
80. For this writing of *hnkt* see *Wb.* III, 169. For a facsimile of the somewhat mutilated group of signs in question see the adjacent cut. 
81. The reading  is by no means certain. For the meaning assigned to it here see *Wb.* I, 402.
82. 8 deben + $7\frac{2}{3} + \frac{2}{3}$ kite = 8 deben $8\frac{1}{3}$ kite. This amount is correct, being the value of 5 bee-keepers, 5 thurifers, 1 oil-man, and 2 brewers at $6\frac{2}{3}$ kite each, and $\frac{1}{4}$ baker at $1\langle\frac{2}{3}\rangle$ kite (see n. 78).

83. Should be $13\frac{1}{4}$.
 84. The number should surely be $24\frac{1}{4}$.
 85. *Hbnt n šms*.

CONCLUSIONS

After having somewhat blindly adhered to Breasted's opinion¹ that the Shoshenḳ responsible for the erection of this stela was the father of Nemrat, I am now convinced by Dr. Gardiner's arguments, propounded to me in several interesting letters, that Wiedemann was correct in making this Shoshenḳ Nemrat's son, the future Shoshenḳ I, founder of the Twenty-second Dynasty.² Where Wiedemann has erred is in maintaining that Shoshenḳ was actually occupying the throne at this time and that 'His Majesty' in ll. 2 and 5 refers to him, a view which this new version of the text shows is impossible. If Gardiner's suggestion, which I accept, is correct, the king in question must be the last of the priestly rulers of the Twenty-first Dynasty, namely Pesibkhenno II, *circa* 958–945 B.C.

Reading between the lines the situation which led to the erection of this stela seems to have been as follows. Nemrat, a powerful military chief, we may suppose, like his son Shoshenḳ, had been not only in control of the district round about Heracleopolis Magna, where his family had long been settled,³ but held sway also in Abydos, which he had made the seat of his executive and administrative powers. When Nemrat died Shoshenḳ desired to establish a funerary cult for him in Abydos, the most important centre of the worship of Osiris, the king and god of the dead. The inscription gives us no reason for assuming that Shoshenḳ intended, as Breasted imagines, to bury Nemrat at Abydos—his tomb was more probably situated in the necropolis of his native city, Heracleopolis—but on the contrary plainly indicates that what he wanted to do was to erect a statue of him in the temple of Osiris. By this means Nemrat could participate in all the ceremonies performed in and near that temple and obtain the spiritual benefits to be derived from such participation.⁴ Furthermore Shoshenḳ claimed from the king the right to succeed to his father's important office, as is evident from the words in ll. 1 and 2 of our inscription.

Before acceding to either request the king consulted the god Amen-Rē^c,⁵ appealing for an oracular response in the customary manner.⁶ The god, having assented to both propositions, was then asked if he would punish with death any people who should misappropriate or plunder the landed property and other endowments by which the cult of Nemrat's statue was to be maintained. To this question the god replied in the affirmative, whereupon the king informed Shoshenḳ that he was 'justified' together with all his adherents and his army, inasmuch as Amonrasonther favoured him because of all that he had done for his father, a statement clearly indicating that it was Shoshenḳ

¹ *Anc. Rec.* iv, § 669.

² *Aeg. Gesch.*, 543 ff. Shoshenḳ as the name of the *father* of Nemrat only occurs in l. 24, where it is mentioned incidentally.

³ Breasted, *op. cit.* iv, §§ 787 ff.

⁴ See A. M. Blackman, *JEA* xxi, 6–7.

⁵ Nebwenenef and Osorkon in the reigns of Ramesses II and Takelothis II respectively were similarly appointed high priests of Amen-Rē^c by an oracle of that god; see Sethe, *ZÄS* xliv, 32; Erman, *ZÄS* xlv, 4.

⁶ Cf. Gardiner, *JEA* xix, 19, with n. 3.

himself who had demanded the erection at Abydos of Nemrat's statue and the establishment of its cult there. It should here be pointed out that Breasted, as Gardiner noted some years ago,¹ has gone completely astray in his interpretation of the question laid before Amen-Rē^c concerning the misappropriation of endowments, not recognizing that ll. 2 ff. are simply the protective formulae common at this period² and that they refer to the future and not to the past.

It can surely be claimed that this new version of the text of the *Stela of ShoshenḲ* possesses some historical importance, throwing, as it does, a ray of light on the hitherto somewhat obscure course of events leading up to the establishment of the Twenty-second Dynasty. It is clear, as Gardiner has remarked to me, that at the time when this inscription was engraved Nemrat's son ShoshenḲ was a powerful military chief who professed to be a friend and supporter of Pesibkhenno II. So great, indeed, was his power that the king is represented as asking Amonrasonther that he may participate, as a nearly equal partner, in the royal festivals and victories! In due course, like Ammenemes I many centuries before, ShoshenḲ took advantage of his exceptionally strong position and mounted the throne as the founder of a new line of pharaohs.

The account of how Nemrat's statue was solemnly conveyed to Abydos, and there set up in the temple of Osiris, after the performance of the necessary rites, is followed by an enumeration of the endowments—land and other sources of revenue—by which its cult was to be maintained.

How were these endowments administered? It will have been observed that the herdsmen, the gardener, the two weavers (?), and one weaver's bondwoman are given the attribute 'justified', but not the farmer Pewēr and his bondmen. Does this imply that the former were regarded as actual servants of Osiris, and that the garden, the 10 oxen, and the weavers (?) were directly controlled by the priests, whereas Pewēr, because he was farming 'tenanted land', was not technically a servant of the god, but was only bound by contract to hand over to the temple authorities the harvests of the land he tilled (see l. 23), less, no doubt, the amount he was allowed to retain for the support of himself and his dependants? This contract was perhaps fully set forth in the earlier, and now missing, part of the inscription, which may well have contained a detailed account of how all the endowments were to be administered (*cf.* Commentary, nn. 19, 74, and 79) as well as a description of the actual cult itself.³

It will have been noted that the values of all the above-mentioned people, cattle, and land, are given in terms of silver,⁴ in order to make clear to the priests of Osiris the exact worth of what they were receiving in return for the services to be rendered by them to the statue and for their furnishing the necessary materials for the upkeep of its cult. Beside this not inconsiderable accretion to their wealth the priests, no doubt, received also the 35 deben of silver, the joint gift of the king and ShoshenḲ.

But the cost of maintaining this cult did not end here. Honey was required for

¹ See above, p. 87, n. 18.

² See *e.g.* *Ewerot Stela*, ll. 26 ff. = *ZÄS* xxxv, 15 ff.

³ See the words in l. 9, 'according to what the lord of gods had said', words evidently referring to some passage in the lost beginning of the text.

⁴ Except by the engraver's carelessness in the case of Nestatayt and his two bondwomen.

sweetening the cakes presented to the statue, incense for its fumigation, oil for the lamp kept burning in front of it,¹ while bread had to be baked and beer brewed for the daily offerings. Accordingly the value in silver of five bee-keepers, five thurifers, and one oil-man was paid into the temple treasury, doubtless by Shoshenḳ, in return for which $\frac{1}{2}$ hin of honey, 5 kite of incense, and $\frac{1}{2}$ hin of luminant oil were delivered every day to those who administered the statue's 'sacred property'. Furthermore a person designated 'one man' (see Commentary, n. 76) paid into the temple treasury the value in silver of two brewers (?) and $\frac{1}{4}$ confectioner to ensure the daily supply of bread and beer for the statue. The reason for the payment of only the $\frac{1}{4}$ value of a confectioner was evidently because the priesthood was to receive every year the harvests produced by the 100 arouras of land.

We are not told in the surviving part of the inscription who were to perform the ceremonies on behalf of the statue. Probably these duties devolved on members of the temple-staff, including possibly the 'five thurifers'. And it may well have been the duty of the oil-man to tend the lamp and see to the lighting of it.

The recurring formula 'so that they shall never die, so that they shall never be missing (?)' and the words 'for ever and ever' (*r-šꜣr nḥḥ dt*) obviously imply that Shoshenḳ intended the cult of his father's statue at Abydos to be maintained in its entirety for all time. It is to be noted that, when the formula in question is employed, no names are mentioned, the reason being that the services envisaged are not those of specified individuals, whose death would put an end to their activities, but of endless relays of officiants, selected as required by the priesthood from their own body or from among their underlings.

In Breasted's opinion² this text should furnish us 'with useful data for determining the current value of various property in modern standards'. Accordingly it might here be pointed out that every male attached to the cult of Nemrat's statue, except Pewēr, appears to have been valued at $6\frac{2}{3}$ kite, while in the *Ewerot Stela*³ 32 male and female slaves are valued at 15 deben $1\frac{1}{3}$ (*sic*) kite, which averages about $4\frac{2}{3}$ kite each. In the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, however, a Lower Egyptian slave cost in Thebes 2 deben 4 kite,⁴ and, according to a Twentieth Dynasty papyrus published by Gardiner,⁵ a slave-girl changed hands at 4 deben 1 kite. This, as Gunn observed when drawing my attention to these facts, is an extraordinary range of prices.

Unfortunately the numerals in our text are by no means certain, and before any definite conclusions are drawn, the original monument, as already remarked (p. 85), should be carefully examined.

My colleagues will be glad to know that the squeezes are now lodged in what I trust is a fairly safe place.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

Since this article was printed, Dr. Gardiner has suggested to me that the word *hnt* in ll. 3, 9 and 25, which elsewhere means 'altar' (see *Commentary*, n. 19) is in these three instances a variant or miswriting of *hnty* 'statue'. At first I was disinclined to accept this somewhat daring proposal,

¹ See *Urk.* IV, 771, 1; 772, 2. 6.

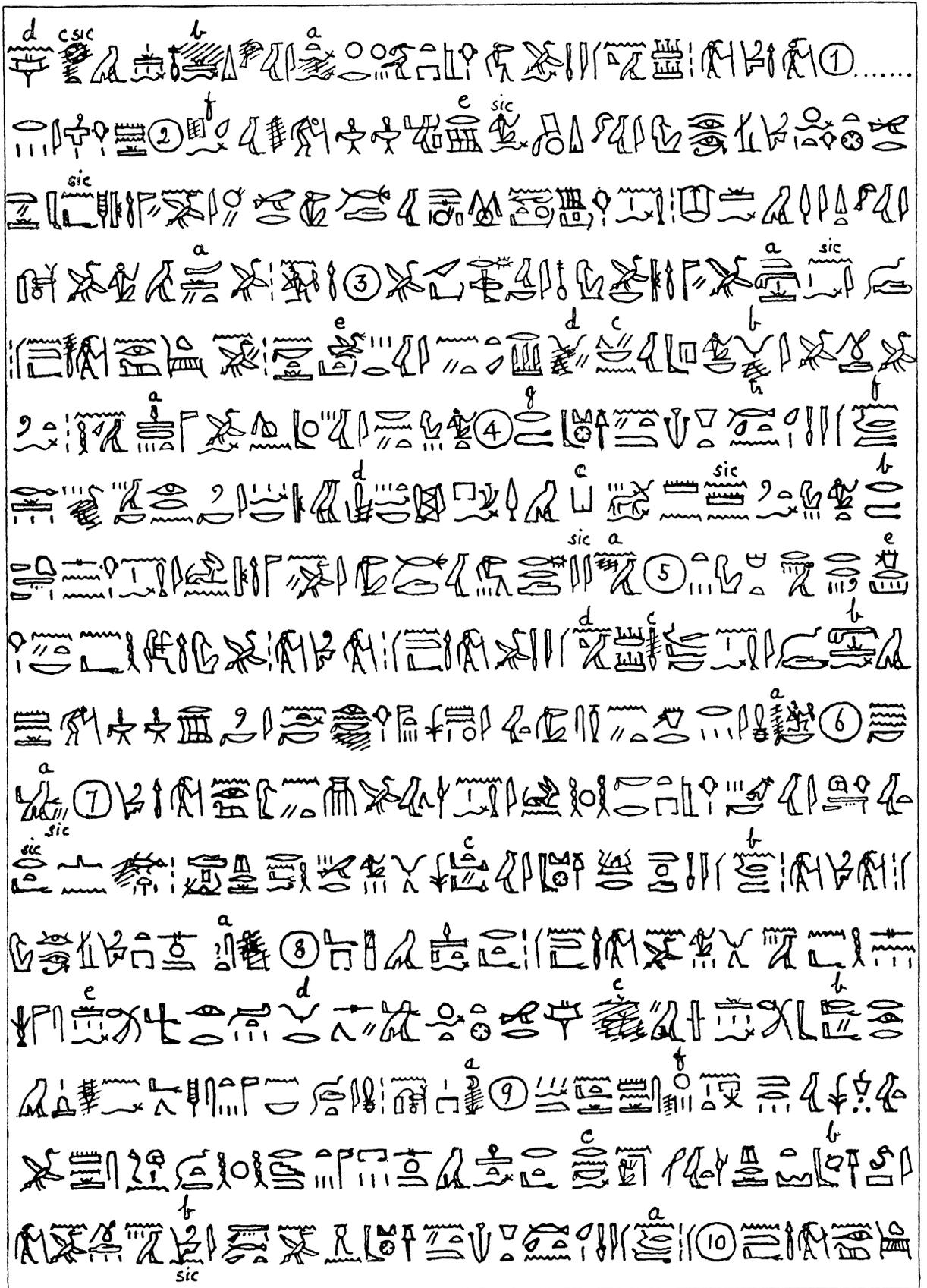
² *Op. cit.* IV, § 669.

³ *ZÄS* xxxv, 21.

⁴ Möller, *Zwei Eheverträge*, 26.

⁵ *JEA* xxi, 140 ff.

but the more I considered it the more it appealed to me. As Gardiner remarks, it is very odd that ll. 3, 9 and 25 should talk of a *hnt* 'altar' of Nemrat and l. 6 of a *hnty* 'statue'. 'This fact', he goes on to say, 'gives an illogicality to the entire inscription which I feel to be intolerable.' I frankly confess that I now find myself in agreement with this view, and have accordingly somewhat modified n. 19 and substituted 'statue (?)' for 'altar' as the rendering of *hnt* in the Translation. Gardiner's suggestion finds further support in the fact that the equipment of the *hnt* (l. 25) comprised a silver altar (*hwy*), which would surely be superfluous if the *hnt* were itself an altar.



THE STELA OF SHOSHENK, GREAT CHIEF OF THE MESHWESH, II. 1-10

1^a The 1 between the two ~-signs is not quite certain. 1^b Probably  is to be restored.
 1^c Possibly only . 1^d  is certain. 1^e  quite certain but clumsily cut. 1^f ~ is clear but badly shaped.

2^a 1 under  is certain.

3^a The  looks like a badly formed . 3^b The reading is certain. 3^c Δ II instead of the normal Δ . 3^d Δ II seems certain. 3^e The Δ is not quite certain but very possible. The  is squeezed in between  and . 3^f The bottom sign is as given here and is neither  nor . 3^g The lower sign is , not .

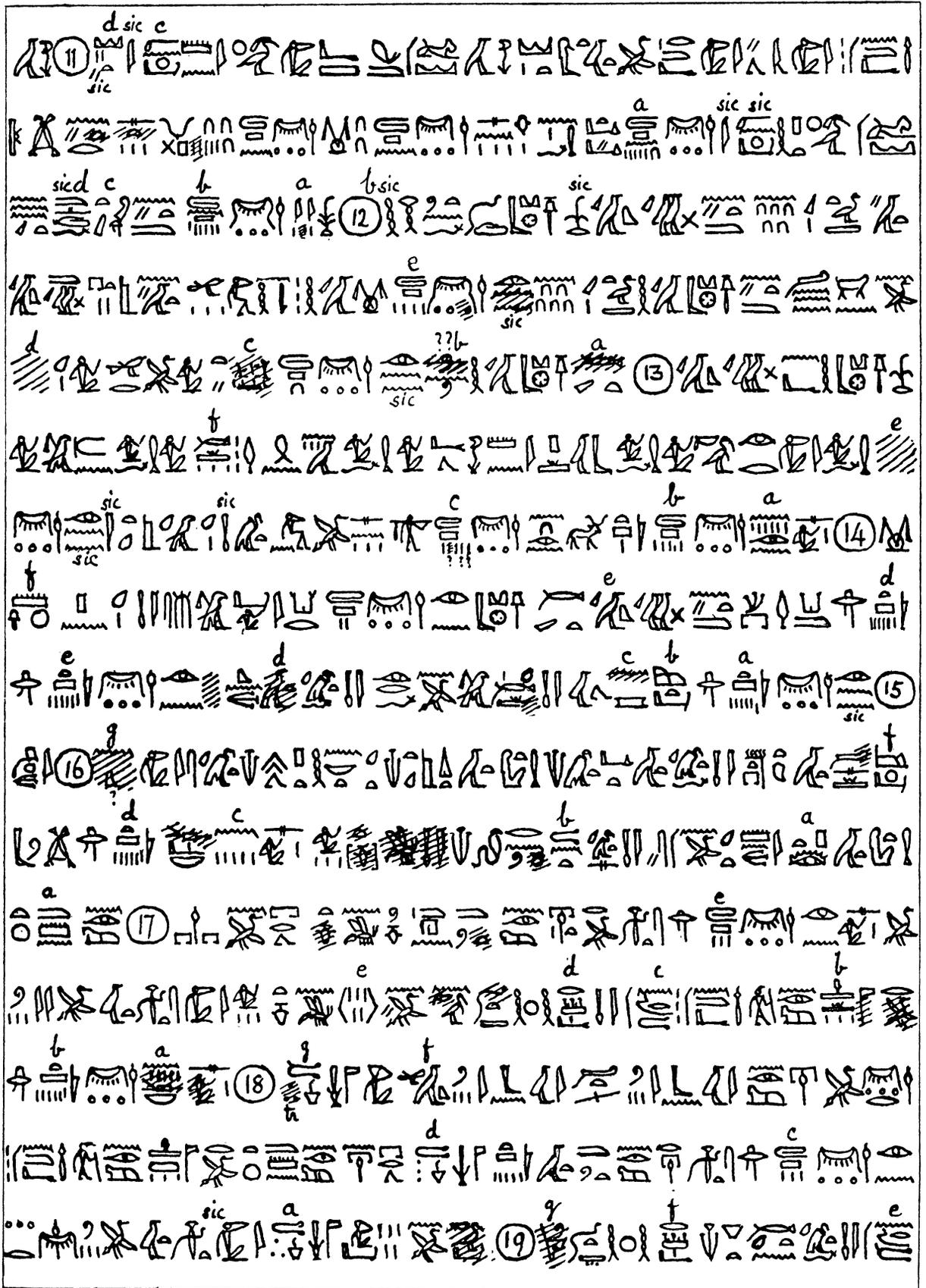
4^a The -sign in this inscription always has a very tall loaf. The sign beneath it here is clearly , not . 4^b  badly made, and possibly . 4^c The hands not indicated.
 4^d = . 4^e Gunn read , but the three strokes III are practically certain.

5^a The three strokes III are almost certain. 5^b There is possibly no 1 under . 5^c Δ is certain. 5^d The Δ is badly made and looks more like Δ .

6^a I think I can see traces of i.

7^a III probably accidental. 7^b Clearly  and not . 7^c II almost certain.

8^a The Δ seems fairly certain. There is a vacant space between Δ and the following group.
 8^b Gunn and I read , but a careful re-examination of the squeeze revealed , the  having been lightly engraved by mistake and then partly obliterated and covered by . II almost certain. 8^c A quite indeterminate group of which a facsimile is given in the Commentary, n. 32. It is very difficult to detect on the squeeze what are breaks or scratches and what are parts of signs. 8^d Not . 8^e Possibly , but more like . Gunn and Cerny read .
 8^f Could be  but is probably  = . The last 1 on the left was perhaps added later.
 9^a Δ seems certain. 9^b The Δ is very badly made. 9^c  is due to a misreading by the sculptor of the hieratic form of .
 10^a Apparently  and not . 10^b The apparent  is possibly accidental.



THE STELA OF SHOSHENQ, GREAT CHIEF OF THE MESHWESH, II. 10-19

10^a here and in the following name is probably a badly formed $\overline{\omega}$ and possibly a mistake for $\overline{\rho}$, sc. $\overline{\rho}$. 10^d $\overline{\omega}$ and $\overline{\rho}$ are possibly accidental scratches and $\overline{\omega}$ sic should be read, a mistake for $\overline{\rho}$.

11^a $\overline{\omega}$ is practically certain. 11^b No $\overline{\rho}$.

12^a $\overline{\omega}$ under $\overline{\rho}$ certain. 12^b The last 1 on the left may have been added later. 12^c Gunn reads $\overline{\omega}$, but I now think the reading adopted here is certain. 12^d Clearly a badly made $\overline{\omega}$ and not $\overline{\rho}$.

12^e The numeral is almost certainly $\overline{\omega}$, not $\overline{\rho}$.

13^a Clearly $\overline{\omega}$. 13^b Traces suit $\overline{\rho}$. 13^c This sign is badly cut and difficult to decipher. Perhaps it represents a bungled version of $\overline{\rho}$. For a facsimile see the Commentary, n. 52. 13^{d-e} Two spaces left blank. 13^f Badly formed $\overline{\omega}$.

14^a Last 1 on left perhaps added later or accidental. Context demands $\overline{\omega}$. 14^b Probably $\overline{\omega}$ is to be read, second 1 on right being accidental. 14^c Perhaps only $\overline{\omega}$ or $\overline{\rho}$, $\overline{\omega}$ more likely. 14^d Probably $\overline{\omega}$ and not $\overline{\rho}$. 14^e Apparently so. 14^f $\overline{\omega}$ badly formed; looks more like $\overline{\rho}$.

15^a First 1 on right possibly added later. 15^b $\overline{\omega}$ and not $\overline{\rho}$ as in the title of Ns-t3-t3yt in the same line. 15^c $\overline{\omega}$ is probable. 15^d Looks like this. 15^e First 1 on right possibly added later. 15^f Looks like badly formed $\overline{\omega}$. 15^g So Cerny. Gunn very dubious.

16^a Possibly badly formed $\overline{\omega}$ rather than $\overline{\rho}$. 16^b Apparently not $\overline{\omega}$. 16^c $\overline{\omega}$ practically certain. 16^d First 1 on right possibly added later. 16^e $\overline{\omega}$ certain.

17^a M-mnt is certain. 17^b Apparently $\overline{\omega}$, not $\overline{\rho}$. 17^c Apparently not $\overline{\omega}$. 17^d The 1 above $\overline{\omega}$ seems certain. 17^e For this obvious restoration see $\overline{\omega}$ in l. 16, and cf. p3 5f3-snt3 in l. 19. 17^f This group quite certain. 17^g Possibly so rather than $\overline{\omega}$, but not certain.

18^a $\overline{\omega}$ is probable in view of $\overline{\omega}$ in l. 19. 18^b First 1 on right possibly added later. 18^c Probably $\overline{\omega}$, though Gunn thinks $\overline{\rho}$ possible. 18^d Probably not $\overline{\omega}$. 18^e Apparently $\overline{\omega}$. 18^f The 1 above $\overline{\omega}$ just possible.

19^a Clearly $\overline{\omega}$ and not $\overline{\rho}$.

19^b \rightarrow : So Gunn with? 19^c Δ certain. 19^d Possibly \Leftarrow rather than \Leftarrow . 19^e Last 1 on left perhaps accidental.

20^a \Leftarrow seems certain. 20^b Not \Leftarrow .

21^a // not certain. 21^b Apparently \rightarrow instead of \rightarrow . 21^c Could quite well be ||||| ! 21^d Might be ||||| , but probably only |||| . 21^e Δ seems fairly certain. 21^f For Δ . 21^g This reading seems certain. For a facsimile of this group see Commentary, n. 80.

22^a There are just possibly traces of ||||| here, in which case correct [K] to ||||| . 22^{b-c} Gunn and I originally read ||||| , but I now favour ||||| and am inclined to think that the mutilated sign in front of \square may be ||||| .

23^a A lacuna of probably only one group. 23^{b-c} The reading n-hat npt seems to me quite certain. 23^d Perhaps \Leftarrow . 23^e $\frac{3}{4}$ group at the most, but perhaps nothing lost.

24^a Perhaps only ||||| , but context demands 8. 24^b Possibly ||||| , but I think ||||| . 24^c Apparently so (Gunn). 24^d Or possibly |||| , one unit having been inserted later. 24^e Not \Leftarrow .

25^a ||||| seems certain. 25^b Not \Leftarrow . 25^c Probably ||||| . 25^d Clearly so. 25^e Traces suit Δ .

26^a Apparently so. 26^b Or |||| 26^c Traces of signs 26^d Possibly no more signs after this.

SYRIANS IN THE TOMB OF AMUNEDJEḤ

By N. M. and N. DE G. DAVIES

THE most valuable relic of this ruined tomb (No. 84 at Thebes) is the picture of the tribute of the north and south lands found on the west wall of the front hall (pl. XIII).¹ Not that it presents much that is new, but confirmation of other records is of value and enough remains of the interspersed docket to be of special interest. As usual, the close similarity of the picture to other versions of the theme never amounts to mere copying; it was easier for the facile draughtsman to make independent drawings. The tomb dates from the last years of Tuthmosis III, its owner being therefore a contemporary of Rekhmirē. AmunedjeḤ appears also in the tomb of Userḥēt (No. 56), without any statement of his relation to his host. This mention has been taken to mean that AmunedjeḤ lived and worked on into the reign of Amenophis II, but that view is probably erroneous.² The text introducing the scene³ describes it as

'The ceremonious appearance of the King on the great throne in the palace of Heliopolis of Upper Egypt,⁴ his heart very greatly uplifted with prowess and victory. Thereupon men brought tribute to the might of His Majesty from the lands of wretched Retnu⁵ for his father Amen-Rē, who formed him and created his dignity (?) and set the Mehenit uraeus [enduringly?] on his head, the Divine Ennead being his companions. The south lands bearing their offerings and the north (land) loaded to the utmost were brought to him by . . . AmunedjeḤ.'

This text is placed over an erased figure of AmunedjeḤ, and is followed by Syrians bringing gifts in three (five?) registers, of which only the upper two have survived. The men are alternately of the fair-complexioned type with cropped hair and wearing a long, white, sleeved gown, and of the dark, bushy-haired type, clothed in a kilt. Both garments have blue edgings. The men are introduced by a docket in three columns, the broken state of which can partially be made good.



'The arrival in peace of chiefs of Retnu, . . . with humble obeisances.'

¹ Mrs. Davies is responsible for the more important contribution here, the tracing and inking in of the plate. The text is by Mr. Davies.

² W. Hayes in *Ann. Serv.* xxxiii, 6-16. The implication is that he married the daughter of Userḥēt. But he was old for this and the wall may have stated otherwise (his wife's father being perhaps Amenerḥētef). I suggest that he may have been the father of Userḥēt and that he shared the fate of Rekhmirē, and perhaps of other officials whose misfortune it was to be bequeathed to Amenophis II from the previous reign. For his tomb was defaced and given over for re-use by Mery, high-priest of Amūn and subsequently owner of Tomb 95. But Userḥēt ventured to immortalize AmunedjeḤ once or twice in his tomb by a brief and vague appearance. A stela at Marseilles (*Rec. Trav.* XIII, 120; Lieblein, *Dict. des Noms*, 2150) will probably have come, like the statue in New York, from the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III at Thebes. ³ Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 951.

⁴ Note that the palace of Amenophis II was at Erment, a place with which the kings of Dyn. XVIII had specially close relations and which lay within the Theban nome.

⁵ The tomb of Rekhmirē adds, after 'Retnu', 'all the northern lands of Farther Asia' (Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 1101), but this is not suggested by the remains in the lacuna here.

The first man carries a vase the rim of which is fenced with groups of pomegranates. A blue frog of lapis lazuli (?) sits on an unseen pedestal in the centre. This vase is labelled *nbw ḥnw* (?), 'a vessel of gold'.¹ This admired design, or a variant of it, is shown in other tombs also.² A second man brings a blue cruse. A third drags a chariot of the usual type by its pole and carries its quiver (, 'a chariot and its fittings').³ A fourth brings a bow and quiver and, on his shoulder, a falchion and a sword (?).⁴ A fifth leads a horse with a neck as exaggeratedly long and thin as that in the tomb of Rekhmirē.⁵ A sixth does the same and carries a bow and a halberd. A seventh man bears a blue, double-handled jar. The docket is what one would expect, 'vessel of lapis lazuli'.⁶ The last man in the row is an Egyptian scribe.

Second Row. There is again a descriptive note in five separate columns:



'The chief of Naharain prostrates himself, while giving praise to His Majesty because of the greatness of his might throughout the north land (or "all lands").'

Four men were shown here on their knees in an adoring or beseeching attitude, presenting as a propitiatory gift the seductive frog-vase and probably an additional bribe, now lost with the lower figures. The dress of these four leaders is slightly different, not as a sign of rank, but because the gown opened out in front with the stretching of their legs. Both of the two men preserved have close-cropped skulls. The man behind them brings a basket of lapis lazuli (so named) in blue lumps, and a dagger. The next carries a jar of *šntr* incense and one of those horns of ointment ending in a hand, into the palm of which the salve pours when the horn is reversed. The name of the object or its contents ended in *b*. The seventh man carries a white single-handled jar labelled *ḥd ḥnw*, 'a silver vessel', a strip of cloth, and a quiver. The eighth man brings a basket of lapis lazuli and a white linen sash or dress-piece having a red and blue edging and tassels.⁷ A ninth Syrian brings some of those hard-wood sticks which are always done up in bundles⁸ and a silver vase, in form and description like the preceding one. The last man holds a bear in leash. The animal is excellently drawn and probably was as acceptable a present as could be brought.⁹ A scribe again closes the file.

It will be seen that the details of the corresponding scenes in the tomb of Rekhmirē appear to have been in the memory of the draughtsman, making it likely that the same

¹ The vase is now red instead of yellow, the tomb having been fired. It should be noted that the colours shown in the unattractive plates of Max Müller (*Egypt. Researches*, II, pls. 23-8) must be ignored. Half of them are completely wrong or uncertified, and the rest only approximately right.

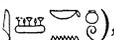
² See Davies, *Theban Tombs Series*, v, p. 8, No. 44, with references.

³ Dr. Gardiner has filled the lacuna for me. Cf. Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 691.

⁴ Davies, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 59, 61, 76, 77.

⁵ Davies, *Paintings. Tomb of Rekhmirē*, pl. 11.

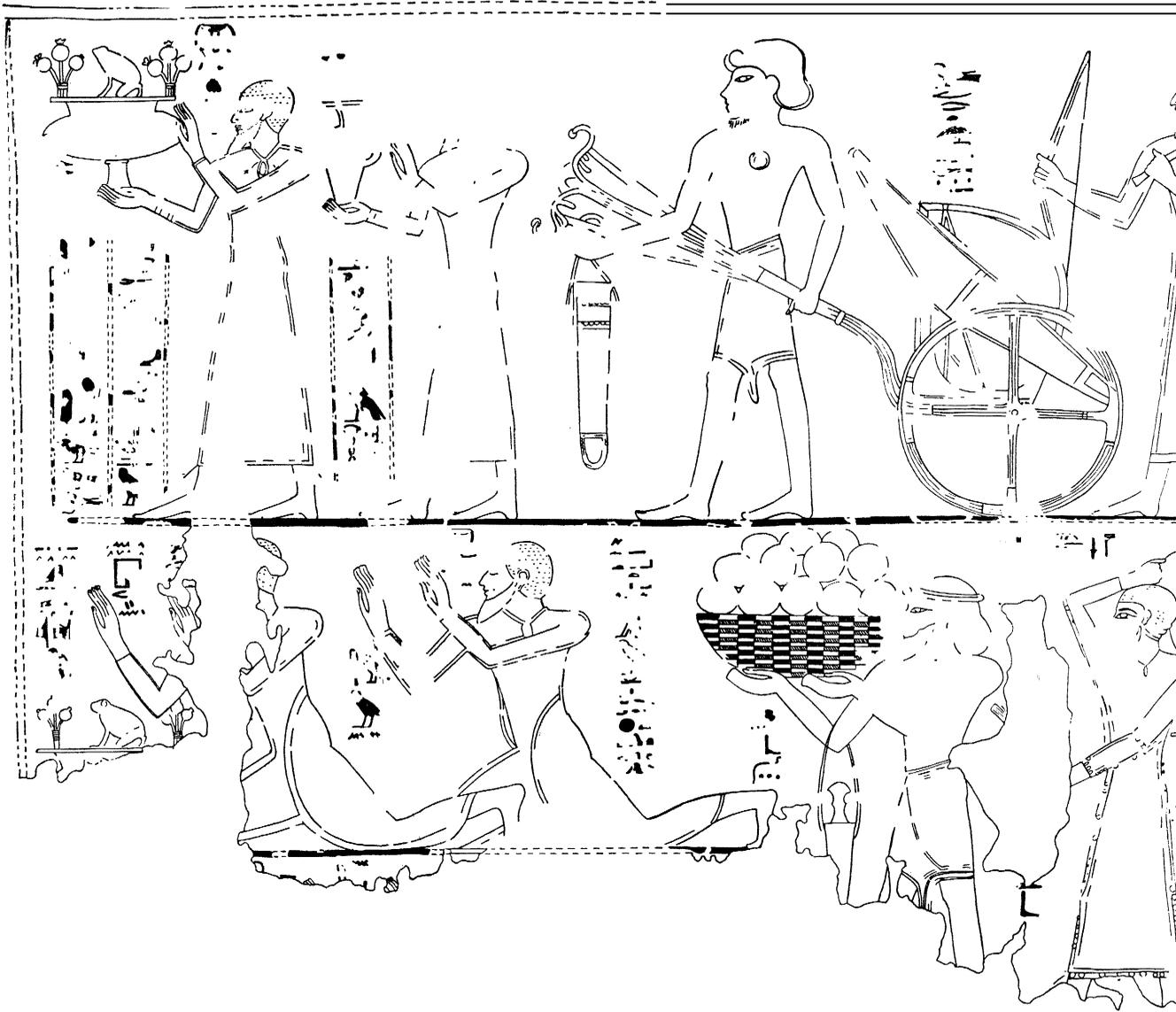
⁶ . All these short docket are written from right to left, probably conforming to hieratic memoranda supplied to the draughtsman.

⁷ Both these sashes (?) are called *iškn* (, fairly obviously a foreign word, as might be expected for a Syrian article of dress.

⁸ These sticks are named *ʿwnt*, . For the colour see Davies, *Paintings. Tomb of Rekhmirē*, pl. 11.

⁹ Cf. *op. cit.*, pl. 7.

man was employed in both cases. Amunedjeh had a narrower interest in the north Syrian campaign as aide-de-camp to the king during its course, so that his design furnishes only the more commonplace features of the larger tomb. He follows Menkheperresonb of Tomb 86 in giving kilts to alternate Syrians; the simpler decoration he uses on them is more likely to be normal usage than the elaborate patterns in that tomb. The tribute of the South from Tomb 84 may be the subject of a similar article in the next issue of this *Journal*.





SYRIANS FROM THE TOMB OF AMUNEDJEH. Thebes, tomb No. 84



A GREEK EPIGRAM FROM EGYPT

By MARCUS N. TOD

IN March 1930 the Rev. Dr. Colin Campbell of Callander sent to Professor F. Ll. Griffith a photograph, taken 'some years' previously, showing two fragments of stone seen by Dr. Campbell in a dealer's shop 'in Egypt', together with a rough copy of the text engraved on them. He added that 'the dealer couldn't tell where in Egypt it was found'. These materials Professor Griffith passed on to me. Later, with the kind assistance of Dr. Werner Peek of Berlin, I found that the epigram in question had been already published by Monsieur Théodore Reinach in *Rev. ét. gr.* xxviii, 55-7 (cf. *JEA* vi, 217) from a squeeze supplied by Daninos Pasha; the stone, M. Reinach remarked, had recently been in the hands of an antique-seller at Luxor, and its Theban provenance was almost certain.

On comparing the published text with that of the photograph I discovered to my surprise that, whereas the former comprised eleven lines in column I and a few letters of a twelfth, together with the opening letters of thirteen lines in column II, the photograph proves that the first column contains nineteen lines and the second the beginnings of nineteen more. It thus becomes evident that the squeeze read by Reinach was far from being complete, and this fact, not to speak of the corrections which must be made in his transcript, calls for a re-edition of the epigram, which is remarkable rather for its length¹ than for its literary quality.

The text of column I, so far as I have succeeded in reading it from the photograph, runs as follows:

*Ω πάτερ, εἴ με ποθεῖς, μετάθου τῆς λύπης ἱκετεύω,
 ῥητὸν γὰρ δάνος ἦν τοῦθ' ὅπερ εἶδα φάος·
 ἴσ(θ)ι δὲ τοῦτο σαφῶς ὅτι τοῦτο πεπρωμένον ἦν μοι
 γεννηθέντι, θανεῖν εἴκοσι πρὶν ἐτέων.
 5 Ἐγγυὸς μὲν ναίω Δημητρίου τοῦ φιλαδέλφου,
 νῦν τὸν ἴσον τούτῳ χώρον ἄλυπον ἔχων,
 ἢ λήθη δέ μ' ἔπαυσε σαφῶς χ(αλ)επῶν δὲ μεριμνῶν.
 Σοὶ δὲ παραιναιτικῶς τοῦτο, πάτερ, προλέγω,
 δεῖ γὰρ πάντας ὑπὸ φθιμένοις ζωοὺς καταβῆναι·
 10 ἡ γοῦν μοι πείθη, καὶ σὺ μέτελθε γόων,
 μητρὶ φίλην δὲ παραίνει τὸ τὰς λύπας ἀποθέσθαι·
 ἡγεῖται δὲ βροτῶν πανδαμάτωρ [ὁ χρ]όνος.
 Τοῦτο δέ σοι πέμπω παραμύθι[ον ὦ]ς ὅτι ἀλύπως
 ῥητῶς ἔσχα τρυφὴν πρὶν εἰς Ἀ[ἰδ]ήν μ' ἀναλῦσαι·

¹ In *Philologus*, lxxxviii, 142, W. Peek claims a thirty-line grave-epigram from Itanus, in E. Crete, as the longest metrical epitaph hitherto known.

- 15 ἦχα γὰρ ἀφθονίαν παρά σοι· [σπάνι]ν οὐ μεμάθηκα,
 οὐδέ ποτ' ἐν βίῳ μοχθοῦν [ἄλυπο]ς ἔχω.
 Σοὶ δὲ γ[έν]οιτο βιοῦν καὶ λο[- - - π]ροκομίζεσθαι.
 Πῶς δέ σ' ἐγὼ πείσω καλοῦ - - - - τελευτᾶν;
 Αἴσα μόνον ζωῆς πρὶ - - - - αθεῖν.

'O father, if thou mournest for me, put from thee thy grief, I beseech thee, for this light which I have seen was my appointed loan; but know thou this assuredly, that this was allotted me by fate at my birth, that I should die before reaching twenty years. I dwell near to Demetrius who loves his brother well, and now I occupy the same painless region as he, and forgetfulness has assuredly relieved me from grievous cares. But to thee, father, I proclaim this by way of exhortation. All living men must needs go down to the dead beneath; so, if thou wilt obey me, do thou too cease from lamentations and exhort my dear mother to put aside her griefs. Time the all-conquering is the ruler of mortals. But this I send thee to console thee, that without pain I enjoyed luxury, as was appointed, before removing to Hades. For with thee I had abundance; I have not learned want, nor do I, free from pain, ever have hardship in life. But may it befall thee to live and to make further progress in days to come! And how shall I persuade thee . . .

Reinach's chief variants, apart from punctuation and accentuation, are as follows. In l. 3 he wrote ἴσοιδε (*sic*), which he took as representing εἴσοιδε: but there can be no doubt that the third letter is a θ the cross-bar of which has been accidentally omitted, as was pointed out by A. Pallis in *Rev. ét. gr.* xxviii, 375. In l. 10 Reinach wrote ἦγονν, which he admitted that he could not understand, and suggested as an alternative ἦ γοῦν. My ἦ γοῦν (= εἰ γοῦν) was anticipated by G. V[ollgraff] in *Mnemosyne*, XLVII, 54; but ἦ γ' (= εἴ γ') οῦν is also possible. In l. 11 Reinach read πάραυτε πέρας λύπας, calling attention to the 'barbarism' πάραυτε, but the reading παραίνει τὸ τὰς λύπας is clear in the photograph. In l. 12 Reinach gave η . . . ν - - - να - - - απ - - - - - .

In l. 7 the engraver wrote χλαεπων instead of χαλεπῶν.

The *iota mutum* is regularly added (l. 6 τούτωι, l. 16 βίῳτωι), for the πείθη of l. 10 is probably written for πείθει rather than for πείθη, as ἦ for εἰ in the same line.

Metrical errors are frequent. In l. 1 τῆς, in l. 11 τό, are metrically redundant, and in l. 5 Δημητρίου transgresses against the metre, unless this is, as Vollgraff suggested (*loc. cit.*), an example of synizesis. L. 14, which should be a pentameter, is a hexameter, while ll. 17, 18 are both hexameters. Among the grammatical forms appearing in the poem we may note εἶδα (l. 2), ἔσχα (l. 14), ἦχα (l. 15), and βιοῦν (l. 17), unless this last is intended for βίον.

The writing is crude and unskilled, giving the impression of having been scratched with a pointed tool rather than engraved with a chisel. The letter-forms used are

ΑΛΔΕΖΘΛΛΜΠΣΦΩ

but Σ occurs sporadically (ll. 1, 3), and once (l. 3) ω is used in place of ω. Reinach regards this capricious writing as indicating a transitional period, probably the reign of Hadrian.

The extant portion of the epigram is devoted almost wholly to a single theme, the consolation of the parents bereaved of their son. No mention is made either of their names or of his, though that of a brother, Demetrius, who had previously died, is recorded in l. 5; the dead man and his parents were, we may assume, named in the

latter part of the poem. The inescapable nature of death and the all-mastering power of fate are emphasized in its earlier portion, and with these thoughts two others are associated, that of the union of the two brothers in the same 'painless region', where forgetfulness banishes care (ll. 6, 7), and that of the comfort enjoyed by the dead youth while still living in his father's home (ll. 13–16).

The topic of death's inevitability is common among the Greek tomb-epigrams and enters into many of the consolatory decrees (*ψηφίσματα παραμυθητικά*), of which numerous examples have come down to us, chiefly, but not solely, from the island of Amorgos.¹ In these we find recurrent phrases like *μοιριδίως ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν πεπρωμένην αὐ[τ]ῷ | εἰμαρμένην* (*IG XII* (7), 53 [= *SIG* 889]. 11), *τά τε νῦν ἐπιστάσα | [ἡ ἀ]πα[ρέ]τητος εἰμαρμένη ἀπήγαγεν* (*IG XII* (7), 54. 12), *τὰ νῦν ὑπὸ | τῆς ἀνηλεοῦς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου εἰμαρμέν[ης] | αἰφνίδιον ἀνήρπασται καὶ ἀπελήλυθεν ἐξ [ἀν]θρώπων* (*ibid.* 51. 4), *τὰ νῦν ὑπὸ τῆς βα[ρ]είας καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνηλεοῦς εἰμαρμένης ἐξήρπασται | καὶ ἀπενήγκεται ἐξ ἀνθρώπων* (*ibid.* 410. 13), *ἀπαραιτήτος ἐστίν | ἡ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὠρισ[μένη] μοῖρα* (*ibid.* 396 [= *SIG* 866]. 32; *cf.* 240. 23, 399. 15, 401. 5, 408. 9). But a special poignancy attaches to the deaths of those carried off in youth or in the flower of their age, and this is often emphasized, as in the poem before us or in an epigram of Heracleum (Crete),

*οὐ τὸ θανῖν ἀλγειόν, ἐπεὶ τό γε Μοῖρα ἐπέκλωσε,
ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἡλικίας καὶ γονέων προτέραν*

(*Philologus*, LXXXVIII, 144; *cf.* Kaibel, *Epigrammata graeca*, 198), and in two of the consolatory decrees just mentioned, *ἀπήγαγεν ἔ[τι] νέω[τε]ρον ὑπάρχοντα ἐτῶν μ'* (*IG XII* (7), 54. 13), *συνέβη δὴ τὸν παῖδα, πρὶν ἢ τῆ τῶν ἀνδ[ρῶν] | ἡλικία προσελθεῖν, [το]ῖς τῆς ἀπαραιτήτου πεπ[ρω]μέ- νης ἀναγκαίοις [νόμ]οις ὑπαχθέντα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελθεῖν*. The same thought probably underlies a short epitaph from Gerasa, *Θάρσει Ἀπολλωνίδη | ἄωρε ἐτ(ῶν) 5', | γενέσει || χειρισθεῖς | ἀπέθανες· | εὐψύχει* (*SEG VII*, 904; C. H. Kraeling, *Gerasa*, 455, No. 230), as interpreted by L. Robert, *Mélanges Bidez*, 793 f.

I add a few notes on words or phrases of interest.

L. 1. *Μετάθου τῆς λύπης* caused some difficulty to Reinach, who commented: 'Μετατιθέναι avec le génitif signifie 'changer de', ce qui ne répond pas exactement à la pensée de l'auteur.' According to Liddell & Scott *μετατιθεμαι* means 'change what is one's own' or 'for oneself', 'change one's opinion', 'retract', 'change sides'. It usually governs an accusative (*νόμους, τὴν δόξαν, τοῦνομα, τὸν τρόπον, &c.*), but Appian writes *τῆς γνώμης μετατίθεσθαι* (*Bell. Civ.* III, 29), and in the present instance *λύπης* may represent a partitive genitive or a genitive of separation. The meaning is plainly 'set aside your grief'; *cf.* *Philologus*, LXXXVII, 230 *πένθος ἀποστρέφετε*, which Peek renders 'klaget nicht'. Slightly different is the professed object of a decree of Aegiale (Amorgos), to lead the relatives and friends of the deceased *φέρων συνμέτρως τὰ τῆς λύπης* (*IG XII* (7), 396. 31).

L. 2. The conception of life as a revocable loan appears also in a Roman epitaph, *πνεῦμα λαβὼν δάνος οὐρανόθεν τελέσας χρόνον αὐτ' ἀπέδωκα* (*IG XIV*, 2000). Life is very often represented under the image of light, *φάος* (*SEG II*, 874. 3; *IG VII*, 2541 (*cf.* *Hermes*, LXXII, 236 ff.); *Ath. Mitt.* LVI, 121), *φῶς* (*IG XIV*, 1915. 7; *Philologus*, LXXXVII, 236 (*bis*);

¹ On this class of document see K. Buresch, *Rhein. Mus.* XLIX, 424 ff., *SIG* 796 B note 6, and O. Gottwald, *Comment. Vindob.* III, 5 ff.

Ath. Mitt. LVI, 126), *φέγγος* (*SEG* VIII, 369. 3, 372. 4), or *σέλας* (*SEG* VIII, 502 a 3). *Ῥητός* (*ρήτῳς*) is a favourite word with our author, who uses it also in ll. 14, 21, 29; in meaning it approaches the *κεκρμμένον* of *SEG* I, 573 *ὀ(λί)γον ζῆσα χρόνον κε(κ)ρμμένον*. For the idea of fate (*τὸ πεπρωμένον, ἡ εἰμαρμένη, αἴσα, μοῖρα*) as determining death see the quotations given above from the consolatory decrees of Amorgos.

L. 4. With *γεννηθέντι* cf. *Philologus*, LXXXVII, 232 *γεινομένῳ*. *Πρὶν*, which may be metrically long (as here and in l. 14) or short (as in the above-quoted epigram of Heracleum; *Ath. Mitt.* LVI, 121, 129; *SEG* VIII, 497. 1), not infrequently appears as a preposition governing a genitive (e.g. in *Ath. Mitt.* LVI, 129 *πρὶν ὄρας*). Death at twenty years is regarded as untimely (*ἄωρος*) in *SEG* VIII, 484 (cf. I, 567; VIII, 482).

L. 5. A further source of comfort is the fact that the deceased is now reunited with his brother Demetrius in the realm where grief and anxiety are unknown. The epithet *φιλάδελφος* refers to the love borne by Demetrius to his brother, which guarantees the warmth of his welcome to the new-comer. Reinach comments on l. 5 thus: 'Vers faux. Il serait juste avec *Πτολεμαίου* (au lieu de *Δημητρίου*) et c'est peut-être ce nom qu'on lisait dans le modèle démarqué par notre auteur. Mais s'agissait-il vraiment du roi Ptolémée II Philadelphé?' But even if *Δημητρίου* is not regarded as an example of synzesis, and therefore metrically unexceptionable, slight departures from metrical correctness are very common with proper names, and any reference to Ptolemy Philadelphus seems to me to be in the highest degree improbable. In an Alexandrian grave-epigram (*SEG* VIII, 374. 7 f.) the word recurs,

[ὦ]ς καὶ γὰρ φιλάδελφος ἔων καὶ πᾶσι πολείταις
χρηστὸς ἔκοιμήθην πλησίον αἰμογενῶν.

L. 7. Reinach writes *Λήθη*, I prefer *λήθη*. The same doubt attaches to a line in an epitaph of Leontopolis (*SEG* VIII, 482. 9 ff.),

Ποσσαέτης δ' ὄλισθας ὑπὸ σκοτόεν κλίμα Λάθας;

and in another from Naucratis (*Hermes*, LXVI, 331),

ἀλλά σε πρὸς Λάθας ἀνιόχῃσαν ἔδος

(cf. *Ath. Mitt.* LVI, 119; *Philologus*; LXXXVII, 237). Occasionally the reference to the River Lethe admits of no doubt, as in *Ath. Mitt.* LVI, 132,

*Φερσεφόνας δὲ ἀδιάυλον ὑπὸ στυγερὸν δόμον ἦλθον
πανσιπόνῳ Λάθας λουσαμένα πόματι.*

The *δέ* before *μεριμνῶν* is otiose and is inserted merely *metri gratia*. A Roman epitaph (*IG* XIV, 1729) speaks of the dead as *ἀποπρολιπούσα μερίμνας πευκεδανοῦ βίου*.

L. 8. *Προλέγω* is here used of a formal and emphatic utterance rather than of foretelling; a similar use is that in *IG* XIV, 1409 *ὃς προλέγει θνατοῖς εὐφροσύνης μετέχειν*.

L. 9. Again the thought of the inevitableness of death is stressed. *Ζωοί* is a frequent alternative for *βροτοί* (e.g. in *Philologus*, LXXXVIII, 145; *Hesperia*, VII, 473; *Ath. Mitt.* LVI, 122), as is *φθίμενοι* for *νεκροί* (e.g. in *Philologus*, LXXXVII, 231; *SEG* VIII, 367. 2; *IG* VII, 2541; XIV, 1857. 6, 1915. 6). Reinach remarks that '*ὑπὸ* est bizarre'; but the preposition is a natural one to indicate descent to the world below, and the strangeness lies rather in the use of the dative *φθιμένοις* in place of the more normal accusative (as in

Ath. Mitt. LVI, 132, quoted above); perhaps the dative is preferred because the thought is that not merely of descending to, but also of dwelling in, the nether world.

L. 10. With *πέιθη* cf. *SEG* VIII, 768. 22 *μη̄ τρύχεσθ' ἐπ' ἐμοῖς ἄχθ[ε]σι πειθόμενον*. *Μέτελλε γόων* is, I think, preferable to Reinach's *μετέλλε γο[ῶ]ν* and must, in view of the context, denote 'desist from lamentations', though I can find no parallels for this use of *μετέρχομαι*, which can, however, mean 'migrate', 'change one's abode'; the word here seems very similar in meaning and construction to the *μετατίθεμαι* of l. 1. Cf. *SEG* VIII, 369. 4 *πατρὶ λιποῦσα γόους*.

L. 11. From the father's grief we turn momentarily to that of the mother, which the father is bidden to assuage. The verb *παραινέω* rightly governs the dative *μητρὶ*, and the use of the accusative *φίλην* agreeing with it is a serious error of grammar or of engraving. The *τό* is redundant both metrically and grammatically, but it may have been meant to produce a phrase in the accusative somewhat like the *τοῦτ'* of *IG* IX (1), 883. 1 *Τοῦτ' Εὐόδος βροτοῖσι πᾶσι παραινῶ*. 'Αποθέσθαι recurs elsewhere of griefs (Kaibel, *Epigrammata*, 298. 6 *ἀπόθου θυμοδακείς ὀδύνας*) or other burdens (*ibid.* 710 *ἀπόθου φόρτον ὀδοιπορίας*).

L. 12. The *δέ* is weak; we should rather have expected *γάρ*. The phrase *πανδαμάτωρ χρόνος* recurs in an Ephesian epigram, Kaibel, *Epigrammata*, 1050. 4, and perhaps *χρόνος* is understood in the epitaph from Cairo, now at Göttingen, *Sammelbuch*, 5765 (cf. P. Jacobsthal, *Hermes*, XLVI, 318 ff.),

*πεντήκο(ν)τα τριῶν ἐτέων κύκλον ἦδ' ἀνύσαντα
αὐτὸς ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἦρπασεν εἰς Ἀἴδην,*

though it is fate rather than time which is usually regarded as man's master, as in *Ath. Mitt.* LVI, 119 *ἴσθ' [ὄ]τι τῶν πάντων Μοῖρα κρατεῖ γε μόνη*.¹

L. 13. The bereaved father is further comforted by the reminder that his son, while yet alive, had been treated by him with unstinting generosity. I restore *παραμύθι[ον ὦ]ς* with some hesitation; but there is room for three, or at most four, letters between the *ι* and the *ς*, and the word following *παραμύθι[ον]* should metrically be a monosyllable beginning with a vowel or diphthong. 'Ως may go pleonastically with *ὄτι*, or we may write *ῶς*, translating 'This I send thee as a solace'. *Παραμυθούμαι* and *παραμυθία* are frequent in the consolatory decrees (*IG* IV², 83. 13, 84. 39, 44, 86. 23; V (2), 517. 14; XII (7), 53. 20, 54. 16, 239. 37, 394. 10, 20, 399. 11, 400. 9), while *παραμύθιον* occurs in several grave-epigrams, e.g. *IG* III, 768 a; *Festgabe T. Wiegand dargebracht*, 31; Kaibel, *Epigrammata*, 298. 7 *τῆς ἐπ' ἐμοὶ λύπης παραμύθιον ἐμ φρεσὶ θέσθε τοῦτον*, and *Ath. Mitt.* LVI, 119,

*Στήλη, τίς σ' ἔστησεν ἀριπρεπέως ἐσορᾶσθαι;
Μήτηρ | Τειμοκράτους, ἕν' ἔχη παραμύθιον αὐτῆ,
μνήσκεισθαι ζῶσα εὐὸ τέκνιο πρόσωπον.*

On this last line Peek comments 'für ζῶσα sollte ζήσασα . . . stehen'. But the present

¹ In this epigram I should prefer *τᾶνδρί* to Peek's *τ' ἀνδρί*, since it is a case of crasis rather than of elision. In the same article, p. 122, *φαρετρηφόρον ἰόν* should be *φαρετρήφορον ἰόν*, for the arrow does not bear, but is borne by, the quiver. On p. 128 Peek publishes the Thespian epitaph of a woman of eighteen who had died *ἀρχιτόκοισιν ὠδεῖσιν* and comments: 'ἀρχιτόκος ist nur in einer boiotischen Inschrift AM. 5, 1880, 127 belegt, dort in anderer Bedeutung: ἀρχιτόκω οὕτω ἀργυρίω (fehlt bei Liddell & Scott)', unaware that the inscription was republished in *IG* VII, 1738, where the editor rightly reads *ἀρχι τόκω οὕτω τῶ ἀργυρίω*.

participle is required and the aorist is intolerable; if, therefore, any change is to be made, I would suggest ζώ(ου)σα.¹

L. 14. *Τρυφή* and *τρυφῶ* are common in tomb-epigrams, e.g. Kaibel, *Epigrammata*, 261. 19, 344. 3, 362. 5, 387. 2, 4, 614. 1. *Ἀναλύω* occurs elsewhere also to describe the soul's migration at death to the nether world, as in Kaibel, *Epigrammata*, 340. 7 ἐς δὲ θεοὺς ἀνέλυσα [κ]αὶ ἀθανάτοισι μέτειμι, 713. 2 πῶς μοι βεβίωται καὶ πῶς ἀνέλυσα.

L. 15. Probably four or five letters are lost after σοι. No satisfactory restoration occurs to me on the basis of - - νου or of - - ν οὐδ, but [σπάνυ]ν οὐ gives a word of the requisite length and provides a sharp contrast to ἀφθονίαν. The asyndeton is, however, somewhat harsh, and μεμάθηκα must be taken to mean 'I have experienced'.

L. 16. Again the proposed restoration must be accepted with reserve, as it is offered with diffidence. There seem to be five letters missing, of which the first must, for metrical reasons, be a vowel; nor is it hard to believe that once more the writer had recourse to ἄλυπος, already used in ll. 6, 13.

L. 17. The dead son, it would seem, wishes his father continued life and prosperity, but the restoration is difficult. The meaning assigned to προκομίζω by Liddell and Scott is 'bring forward', 'produce', or, in the passive, 'to be carried on before', 'to be borne in procession'. Here, if βιοῖν is an irregular form of, or an engraver's error for, βιοῦν, προκομίζεω must be intransitive and bear some such meaning as 'progress', 'prosper'. I had thought of λῶ[ιον ἔτι π]ροκομίζεω or λῶ[ἴτερον π]ροκομίζεω, but the letter following λ is curved and the form of ω used almost everywhere in this inscription is rectilinear; so I suggest λο[ιπὸν ἔτι (or ἐν) π]ροκομίζεω. On the other hand, if βιοῖν is an error for βίον, we may read βίο[ι]ν καὶ λο[ιπὸν ἔτι π]ροκομίζεω, retaining the transitive force of the verb and translating the phrase 'still to prolong your life in days to come'.

L. 18. It is not clear of what the dead wishes to persuade his father. Is it that, after all, death in youth is a blessing rather than a disaster? If so, we might restore καλῶ[ν ὡς νέον ὄντα] τελευτᾶν; or καλῶ[ν εἶναι ὧδε (or ὧκα)] τελευτᾶν;

L. 19. This line wholly baffles me, and I attempt no restoration or interpretation. The last letter partially preserved before the gap may be ι or ω, and the concluding letters probably belong to παθεῖν or μαθεῖν.

Of the remaining nineteen lines little need or can be said, for only the opening letters of each survive. I give my readings from the photograph, which are somewhat fuller than those of Reinach.

L. 20. τοῦτο γὰρ ρ - - -

L. 21. ῥητῶς γὰρ - - - Of the last letter only the down-stroke survives.

L. 22. η γὰρ παιδ - - - The engraver wrote Ι·Γ. The initial letter, almost certainly η, may represent ἦ (so Reinach) or ἦ̄ or even ἦ̇ (= εἶ).

L. 23. κλαίων αν - - -

L. 24. ἀλλὰ θεοὶ - - - Reinach gives θεο[- - -

L. 25. ἦς νεοτη - - - Reinach writes τῆς νεότη[τος - - -], but I can see no trace of the horizontal bar of a τ at the beginning of the line, where I read Ι - C.

L. 26. μηδὲν ῥ̇ - - - The last letter may be β.

¹ Cf. *BCH* XLVII, 95 ζώουσα, *IG* XII (8), 600. 9 ζώουσι, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Bulg.* VII, 13 ζώων.

L. 27. ἤδη γὰρ | - - -

L. 28. Τιτὰν ου - - - Reinach gives ΤΙΤΑΝΟΥ[- - -]. If the engraver has not blundered, I see no alternative to taking the first five letters as *Τιτάν*, which is metrically a spondee.

L. 29. ῥητῶς ῥ - - - The last letter is doubtful and may be β.

L. 30. ἴσθι δὲ κ - - -

L. 31. εἰ δὲ βασ - - - This is very uncertain. Reinach read εἰ δὲ βα[- - -], but εἶδε is also possible, the δ might be λ, the α might also be λ, and the σ might be ο or ε.

L. 32. ὑμεῖς ε - - - The last letter may be θ.

L. 33. θρηνη - - -

L. 34. ὑμῶν - - -

L. 35. μηκε - - - Probably μηκέ[τι - - -

L. 36. εἶθι - - -

L. 37. The first two letters are mutilated, but the second is probably λ; the third is ε.

L. 38. νεκ - - - Possibly νεκ[ταρ - - -

Below are some marks on the stone, which might possibly be the survivors of a thirty-ninth line, but on the whole I regard them as accidental scratches.

INN IN LATE EGYPTIAN¹

By JAROSLAV ČERNÝ

IN a number of Late-Egyptian texts, some of which belong to our old stock of philological material, occurs a group 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *inn* that has always embarrassed translators, grammarians, and lexicographers. Erman² hesitatingly declared it to be an interjection, and Spiegelberg followed him by rendering it as *eh bien, ah, or äie*.³ With the appearance of new texts the number of examples has increased greatly, and it has gradually become clear that this group represents several words of quite distinct origin and meaning. To Spiegelberg⁴ belongs the merit of first segregating the ancestor of the Coptic pronoun ⲁⲛⲟⲛ 'we', 'us'; that was in 1904, and as late as 1911 Gardiner⁵ had no better explanation for the remaining examples than to interpret them all as 'so said we', the first pers. plur. of the well-known expression 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 + suffix. Strangely enough, the Berlin dictionary⁶ registers only the pronoun *inn*. Ten years ago Peet⁷ undertook to classify all instances then available, and following, if I remember rightly, a suggestion of mine, he recognized a further word *inn* 'if' and yet another which he took to be an alternative writing of the post-positive negational complement ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲛⲓ , the Coptic ⲁⲛ . The second edition of Erman's *Neuägyptische Grammatik* ignored the progress made by Peet and, whilst acknowledging the existence of *inn* 'we', 'us' (§ 102), still adhered to the old theory of *inn* as an interjection (§ 688).

Quite recently I have come across some new and interesting passages which go far towards clearing up the various meanings, and for that reason it is perhaps worth while to re-classify all the material, the more so since Peet's *inn* = *i(w)n(s)* proved non-existent and can be replaced by an explanation that admits of no doubt. The independent pronoun *inn* is included in the following collection because the examples of it have not been assembled in any of the usual books of reference.

I. 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *inn* 'we', 'us', Coptic ⲁⲛⲟⲛ

For this the only authority used to be Erman's *Äg. Gr.*, 3rd ed., p. 84, where the unpublished Karnak inscription (below, 1) was quoted; his *Neuäg. Gr.*, 2nd ed., § 102, adds one more example, the Abusir graffito (below, 2). *Wb.* gives three examples without noticing that the last two are identical. Gard., *Eg. Gr.*, p. 53, n. 10, quotes Erman, *Äg. Gr.*, and W. M. Müller in *OLZ* xv, 452; the latter gives the spelling 𓂏𓂏𓂏 as

¹ [At my friend Černý's wish and suggestion I have edited this paper somewhat drastically, and part of the responsibility for it, though none of the credit for its admirable conclusions, must therefore rest upon me.—A.H.G.]

² *Neuäg. Gr.*, 1st ed., § 142.

³ In the translations given in his *Correspondances du temps des rois prêtres*, 43, 44, 70, 76.

⁴ *Rec. Trav.* xxvi, 153.

⁵ *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, 20*, n. 8.

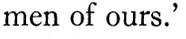
⁶ *Wb.* I, 97, 5, 6.

⁷ *The Great Tomb-Robberies*, 164, n. 55.

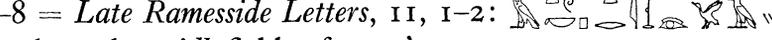
'spät, aber gut belegt'; no reference is given, but the Old-Demotic *P. Rylands IX* is evidently meant, see Griffith, *Ryl. Pap.* III, 329.

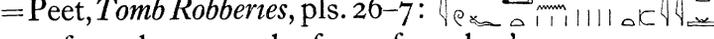
(1) Unpublished stela of Ramesses IV on the east side of the Court north of Pylon VII of Karnak, ll. 5-6:¹  'It was we who made the titulary and the cartouche (*mnš*) before the reign of the righteous ruler.' ('Righteous ruler', *hkꜣ Mꜣct*, is a quotation from the prenomen *Hkꜣ-mꜣct-Rꜣ* of Ramesses IV.)

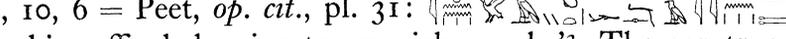
(2) Hieratic graffito in the mastaba of Ptaḥshepes at Abušīr, published by Spiegelberg, *Rec. Trav.* xxvi, 153:  'We, the scribes of Ptaḥ, our father, will say it to him.'

(3) So too probably the damaged example *Anast. VIII*, I, 18: . . . []  ' . . . [these] two men of ours.'

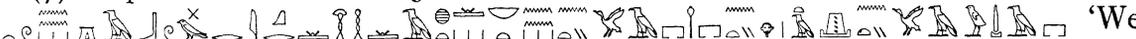
In hieratic the higher of the two  is sometimes surmounted by two strokes that warrant the transcription  or, by omission of , .

(4) *P. Leyden 370*, vs. 7-8 = *Late Ramesside Letters*, II, 1-2:  'and look after these three *idb*-fields of ours.'

(5) *P. Brit. Mus. 10052*, 3, 7-8 = Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pls. 26-7:  'and he gave us four shares, to the four of us also.'

(6) *P. Brit. Mus. 10052*, 10, 6 = Peet, *op. cit.*, pl. 31:  'To us belongs this coffin belonging to our rich people.'² The construction seems clear, but the sense is obscure.

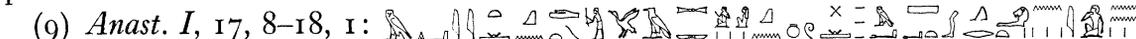
Finally, an early Nineteenth Dynasty spelling  occurs:

(7) Unpublished ostrakon 113 of the Oriental Institute, Chicago University,³ vs. 7-8:  'We are in extreme misery, all the things of ours which come from the Treasury, from the Granary, and from the Magazine being neglected.'

II. 'so said we'

(8) *P. Mayer B*, 6:  'We said to him: "We will take you (to) the place where [we] found it and you shall fetch away (some) for yourself as well." So said we to him.'

There seems only one more passage which could possibly admit of a similar interpretation:

(9) *Anast. I*, 17, 8-18, 1:  'Do not make the commander angry. Long is the march in front of us. So we said. What means it, that there is no (?) bread at all? Our night-quarters are far off.'⁴

¹ See *Rec. Trav.* xxxi, pl. 2 opposite p. 176. The Plate is illegible, but I am able to quote from a copy by Mille Ch. Desroches, verified with an excellent photograph kindly supplied by Dr. Nelson.

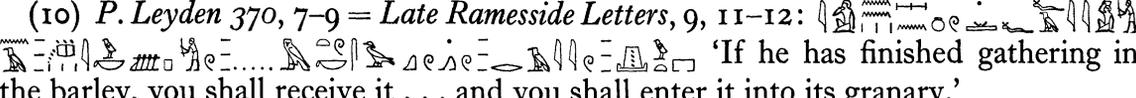
² The reading  instead of Peet's  was communicated to me by Mr. B. H. Stricker on the basis of a good photograph. [I would suggest 'This coffin belongs to us and to our rich people'.—A.H.G.]

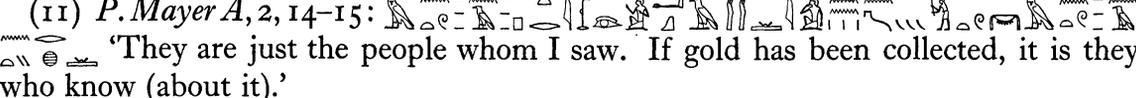
³ I am greatly indebted to Dr. Nelson for permitting me to study and quote this ostrakon.

⁴ [Černý has not emancipated himself sufficiently from my old translation. 'So we said' makes very poor sense, and by one means or another *inn* here must surely be taken as the pronoun. Perhaps read *n* for [*b*] *n* and render 'What bread have we at all?'—A.H.G.]

III.  'if'

(a) Followed by *šdm·f* or its negative correlative *bwꜣw·f šdm*.

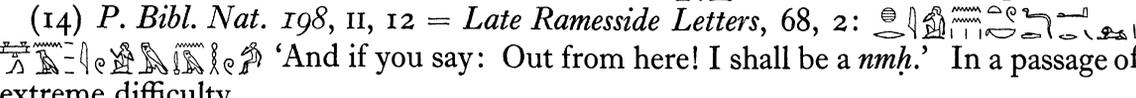
(10) *P. Leyden 370*, 7–9 = *Late Ramesside Letters*, 9, 11–12:  'If he has finished gathering in the barley, you shall receive it . . . and you shall enter it into its granary.'

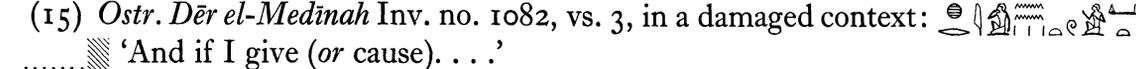
(11) *P. Mayer A*, 2, 14–15:  'They are just the people whom I saw. If gold has been collected, it is they who know (about it).'

(12) *P. Brit. Mus. 10100*, 14–15 = *Late Ramesside Letters*, 50, 16–51, 2:  'And if you have not received them, you shall go to the place where Hrēre is and shall receive them from her.'

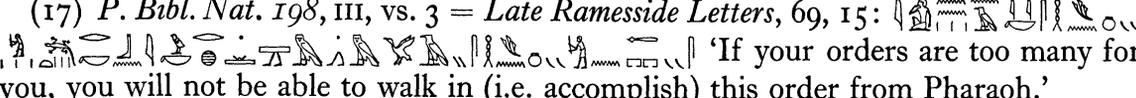
(13) *Ostr. Berlin 10628*, 4 = *Hier. Pap. aus . . . Berlin*, III, pl. 39:  'If you have not written on the papyrus, let it be brought to me; I am in a hurry for it.'

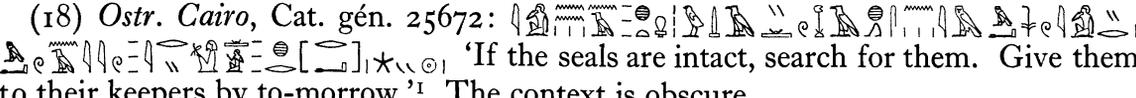
(b) Followed by the pseudo-verbal construction  + infinitive or + old perfective.

(14) *P. Bibl. Nat. 198*, II, 12 = *Late Ramesside Letters*, 68, 2:  'And if you say: Out from here! I shall be a *nmh*.' In a passage of extreme difficulty.

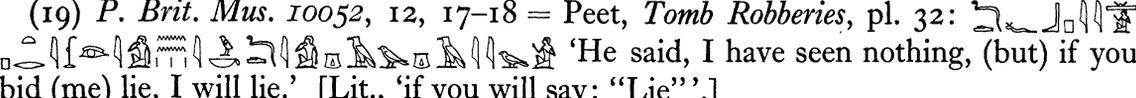
(15) *Ostr. Dēr el-Medīnah* Inv. no. 1082, vs. 3, in a damaged context:  'And if I give (or cause) . . .'

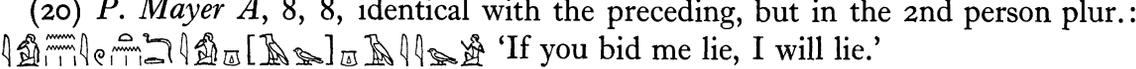
(16) *Ostr. Edgerton 1*, ll. 2–3: 'Send twenty *deben* of copper to pay for (*mḥ*) your she-donkey in money;  and if you do not give them, let my she-ass be returned to me.' In a letter written by a woman.

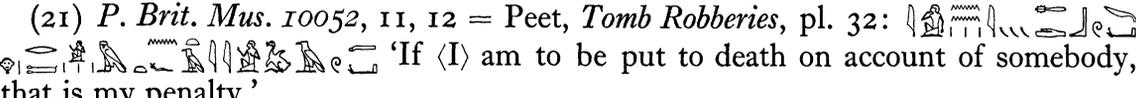
(17) *P. Bibl. Nat. 198*, III, vs. 3 = *Late Ramesside Letters*, 69, 15:  'If your orders are too many for you, you will not be able to walk in (i.e. accomplish) this order from Pharaoh.'

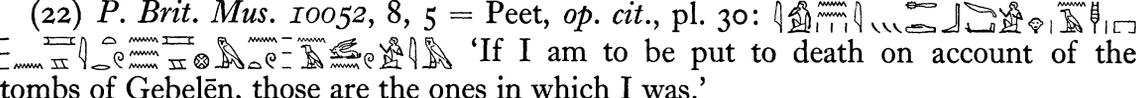
(18) *Ostr. Cairo*, Cat. gén. 25672:  'If the seals are intact, search for them. Give them to their keepers by to-morrow.'¹ The context is obscure.

(c) Followed by the future *iw·f (r) šdm*.

(19) *P. Brit. Mus. 10052*, 12, 17–18 = Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 32:  'He said, I have seen nothing, (but) if you bid (me) lie, I will lie.' [Lit., 'if you will say: "Lie"'.]

(20) *P. Mayer A*, 8, 8, identical with the preceding, but in the 2nd person plur.:  'If you bid me lie, I will lie.'

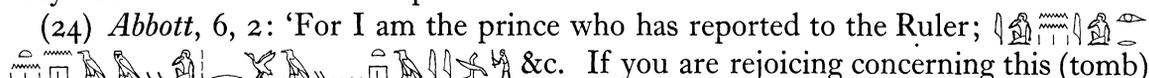
(21) *P. Brit. Mus. 10052*, II, 12 = Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 32:  'If (I) am to be put to death on account of somebody, that is my penalty.'

(22) *P. Brit. Mus. 10052*, 8, 5 = Peet, *op. cit.*, pl. 30:  'If I am to be put to death on account of the tombs of Gebelēn, those are the ones in which I was.'

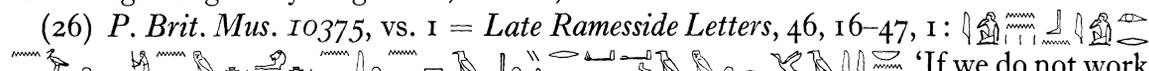
¹ [Perhaps rather: 'search them out in company with their keepers, and deliver them by to-morrow.'—A.H.G.]

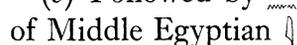
(23) *P. Mayer B*, 4-5:  'As for the silver which you found, if you will not give me (any) of it, I will go and tell it to the Prince of the West.'

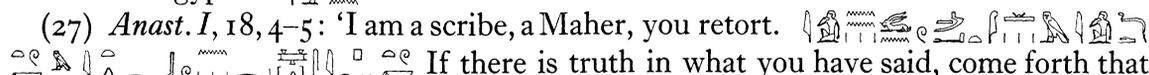
(d) Followed by the emphatic *ūr-f šdm*, apparently with present meaning, but probably with a nuance which escapes us:

(24) *Abbott*, 6, 2: 'For I am the prince who has reported to the Ruler;  &c. If you are rejoicing concerning this (tomb) in which you have been . . . , yet [King] Sekhemrē-shedtawē, Son of Rē, Sebkemsaf, has been desecrated.'

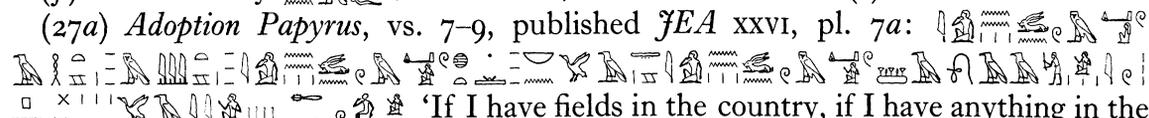
(25) *P. Brit. Mus. 10052*, 13, 5 = Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 33: 'And I said to them:  If you say this to me regarding this young sailor, behold, he took them.'

(26) *P. Brit. Mus. 10375*, vs. 1 = *Late Ramesside Letters*, 46, 16-47, 1:  'If we do not work for you as we would have wished (?), we shall write to let our lord know.'

(e) Followed by  + substantive, where *wn* means 'there is' and is the equivalent of Middle Egyptian .

(27) *Anast. I*, 18, 4-5: 'I am a scribe, a Maher, you retort.  If there is truth in what you have said, come forth that you may be tested.'

(f)² Followed by  + substantive, an extension of use (e).

(27a) *Adoption Papyrus*, vs. 7-9, published *JEA* xxvi, pl. 7a:  'If I have fields in the country, if I have anything in the world, if I have merchandise, they shall be divided among my four children.'

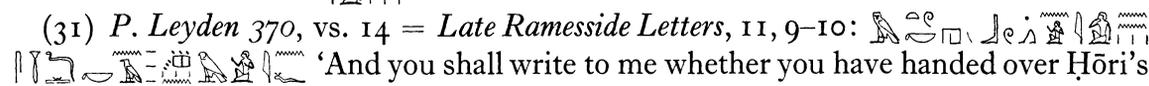
(g) For completeness' sake I quote from damaged contexts three examples which I dare not classify more closely:

(28) *Anast. I*, 11, 7:  Gardiner translated 'Tell me what thou knowest (of them). Then shall I answer thee: Beware lest thy fingers approach hieroglyphs. So say I: . . . as when . . . sits to play draughts.'

(29) *Anast. VI*, 45 = Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 76, 1: 

(30) *Ostr. Nash 5*, 10: 

IV.  'if', 'whether' in indirect questions

(31) *P. Leyden 370*, vs. 14 = *Late Ramesside Letters*, 11, 9-10:  'And you shall write to me whether you have handed over Ḥōri's barley to him.'

¹ [See, too, below no. 29.]

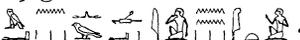
² [Added by A.H.G.]

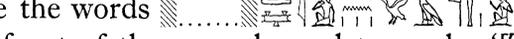
³ [Surely to be placed under (e) above. The example is interesting as illustrating the stage from which (f) arose, the preposition *m-dī* not yet being placed before the real subject of *wn*.—A.H.G.]

V.  'except'

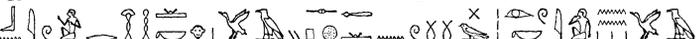
This hitherto unknown meaning emerges from the following examples:¹

(32) *Adoption Papyrus*, rt. 19–20, published *JEA* xxvi, pl. 6a. A lady speaks of three children of a slave woman whom she brought up as her own, and after pointing out their exemplary kindness to herself she adds: . 'I not having (lit. there not being) (any) son or daughter except them.'

(33) *P. Mayer A*, 11, 21 and 13, C. 9 give a woman's name which, after slight correction of Peet's transcription, reads . This must surely mean 'There is no one but Mā'et', i.e. 'Truth'.²

(34) Gardiner has shown me a small fragment of papyrus in his possession, probably from a Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasty letter. This has as the last line of its text and followed by a blank space the words . Gardiner proposes to restore [, sic] in front of these words, and to render '[There is no one] here except Pḥamnūte' or, less probably, 'the prophet'. This suggestion agrees well with no. 33.

(35) *P. Mallet*, 3, 8 = *Rec. Trav.* 1, 47 ff. 'Get these thousand (pieces) of wood and fifty sacks of charcoal ready in accordance with what I said to you; . I have no wood in store except my yearly tax.'

(36) *Anast. VIII*, 3, 14–4, 1: . 'I will not pardon you for this great fault you have committed except (through) the quantity of commissions I have told you to perform.'

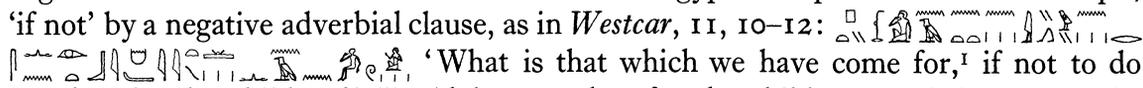
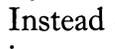
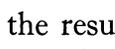
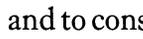
The etymologies of *inn* 'we', 'us' and of *in·n* 'so said we' being known, it remains only to search for those of *inn* 'if' and of *inn* 'except'. It can be assumed *a priori* that if several different words are thus expressed by means of the same group of signs, this must be due to their pronunciation in Late Egyptian being at least approximately the same.

The pronoun preserved in Coptic as $\alpha\iota\omicron\alpha$ 'we' provides a valuable clue to that pronunciation; it derives from **inōn*, where *i* > *ā* as (e.g.) in **inūpew* > $\alpha\iota\omicron\gamma\pi$. *In·n* 'so said we' points to the same vocalization: if it were a *šdm·f* of the verb *in* 'say', the vocalization could hardly have been other than **inō·n* > **anōn*, since biconsonantal verbs form **mnō·f* and consequently, for the 1st pers. plur., **mnō·n*; but even if it is a *šdm·n·f* form of a verb $\imath i$, as Faulkner has persuasively argued (*JEA* xxi, 177 ff.),³ the two $\overline{\text{mn}}$ being always written side by side (the one the formative of the *šdm·n·f* form and the other the suffix-pronoun), it is certain that the accent must have fallen between them, and since Late Egyptian, like Coptic, has only one accentuated syllable, the vocalization **i·nō·n* seems the only one possible. Now so far as *inn* 'if', 'whether' in indirect questions (our category IV) is concerned, there can be no doubt that this is the same as the conditional *inn* 'if' (III), since the two are identical in many languages. Thus

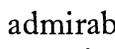
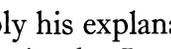
¹ [In the unedited manuscript of this article Černý generously, but incorrectly, ascribed to me some part in his brilliant discovery. For that reason I have rewritten the section.—A.H.G.]

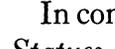
² [I imagine this must mean: 'There is no one (here, in this woman) except Mā'et', i.e. she is Mā'et in person.—A.H.G.]

³ The sole objection I have is that this would be the only case of a uniconsonantal verb.

them; namely to suppose for the first an original meaning 'if not', 'if it were not'. 'There is no one if not Mā'et' (above no. 33) is practically the same as 'There is no one except Mā'et', but if we accept this explanation we should have to admit the presence of a negation inside *inn*. As a matter of fact Middle Egyptian expresses the idea 'except', 'if not' by a negative adverbial clause, as in *Westcar*, II, 10-12:  'What is that which we have come for,¹ if not to do wonders for the children?' (lit. 'doing-wonders-for-the-children not being existent'). By analogy we should expect 'There is no one, Mā'et not being existent' (**in*β₂ or **in*β₂). Instead of this we find , and its well-established vocalization **inōn* suggests that in cases where it stands in the meaning 'if not', 'except' it derives from **in-nn-wn*, pronounced at that time **n-n-wōn* or the like. The two 'n were, of course, extremely apt to coalesce into one when not separated by the accent,² and if they did so in this case, the result would be a simple , as though there were no negation at all. There would be no danger of confusion with the other meaning 'if', since (1) the 'if not' clause would follow the main clause, thus differing from the case of *inn* = 'if', where the conditional clause always precedes; (2) the main clause is always negative. This latter fact induced Peet in nos. 35, 36³ to make one sentence of *inn* and the preceding negative and to consider *inn* in such cases as a mere alternative writing of the negation .

Postscript

It was not until Černý's article was in the hands of the Printer that I realized how admirably his explanation of  'if' as from * is borne out by an isolated construction in the Legend of Astarte. In that story from the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty we find the sentence  'If thou art asleep, I will wake [thee]', *Ast.* 2, *x*+6 = *L.-Eg. Stories*, 78, 6, following an example in the previous line of which only *ir wn* is left. The construction is practically the same as III (b) in Černý's article, the main difference being that the particle used for 'if' is not *in*, but the more usual Middle Egyptian *ir*. The literal meaning is, no doubt, 'if it (so) be (that) thou art in sleep', the semantic function of the strictly superfluous *wn* being to stress the contingency already conveyed by the conditional particle.

In conclusion, Gunn has quoted to me a hieroglyphic example of  'we' in Legrain, *Statues de rois et de particuliers*, III, no. 42206, b.

ALAN H. GARDINER

¹ This is merely a rhetorical question instead of a negative sentence (= 'we have not come') found in all Late Egyptian passages.

² Cf. *ipnn* > *ṛanū* and *sgnn* > *coṣn*.

³ [Also in the sentence supposed to end with the first word of no. 17 above.]

THE TUNIC OF TUT^cANKHAMŪN

By G. M. CROWFOOT and N. DE G. DAVIES

THE discoveries made in the tomb of Tut^cankhamūn were published in three volumes¹ full of magnificent photographs taken by Mr. Harry Burton of the Metropolitan Museum of New York; a succession of fine plates, some in colour, of the shrine, coffins, and other more important objects, appeared in the *Illustrated London News* on various dates. But, inevitably, these publications did not give details of all the objects found, some of which of necessity were described only cursorily or set aside altogether for future study. This was the case with the textiles: some were described briefly and illustrated in volume III (pls. 39, 40), some in the *Illustrated London News* (Aug. 3, 1929, pp. 196, 197), and some in the first issue of the journal *Embroidery* (Dec. 1932). Mention was made in volume I of other interesting pieces to be studied later. Of the robes found in the antechamber, Howard Carter wrote: 'Many of these are decorated with patterns in coloured linen threads. Some are examples of tapestry weaving, similar to fragments found in the tomb of Thothmes IV, but there were also undoubted cases of applied needle-work. The material from this tomb will be of extreme importance to the history of textile art, and it needs very careful study' (vol. I, p. 172).

Thus stimulated, expectations were roused, but for some years no further publication appeared. The chief reason for this delay seems to have been the difficulty presented by the study of textiles so unique in character and in such an extremely delicate condition. In the words of Mr. Lucas (vol. II, Appendix 2): 'One of the disappointments of the tomb was the very bad state of preservation of practically all the textile fabrics. . . . These, most of which had been white originally, varied in colour when found from light yellowish brown to very dark brown, almost black, and were generally in very poor condition; the best preserved were fragile and tender, and the worst had become a mass of black powder.' This was probably due to fungoid attack and chemical changes induced by warmth and humidity. Further, many of the garments were badly crumpled: 'decorated robes were bundled and thrust into boxes' (vol. I, p. 135) probably because, after a ransacking of the tomb by plunderers, the guardians had cleared it up and repacked them, but carelessly and in haste. Some of the textiles, Howard Carter considered, had been replaced in the fine coffers and caskets in the antechamber where they were found, but others, including the tunic which is the subject of this study, were clearly out of place. Still, in respect of this careless packing, the textiles had no worse treatment than some of those in the tomb of Tuthmosis IV, which lay crumpled up in a mass of rubbish on the floor and were first discovered by an intruding pariah puppy! Ancient linen textiles will stand an incredible amount of handling if they are in good condition, but, as already said, those in this tomb had suffered

¹ Howard Carter & A. C. Mace, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen*, vol. I, 1923; vol. II, 1927; vol. III, 1933.



THE TUNIC OF TUTANKHAMUN

The two sleeves are shown above

from a state of dampness unusual in Egypt, and further study was clearly a ticklish matter.

When at length Monsieur R. Pfister undertook, with the permission of Howard Carter and the Egyptian Museum authorities, the study of certain of the textiles which he published in 1937, he found them in a lamentable state.¹ It would seem that the process of deterioration had continued since their deposit in the Museum, in spite of treatment with preservatives,² for it was impossible to detect colours which had been noted by Howard Carter, and certain photographs taken during the excavation, when compared with later ones, show that there have been changes for the worse in the fabric also. In spite of difficulty, Pfister found it possible to study and describe eighteen of the more important pieces, most of which are illustrated by him. Among these is the tunic of our study. The tunic then as now was in a swing case between two sheets of glass so that both back and front could be seen, but the garment is so brittle that the Museum authorities, perhaps rightly, refuse to allow it to be opened. In the circumstances it is not remarkable that Pfister, whose time in Cairo was limited, devoted himself mostly to textiles that could be examined more closely and gave but a brief description of the tunic.

Though the authors of this paper also have been obliged to depend upon a study of the tunic under the glass, they have been more fortunate in other respects. In the first place, Mrs. Crowfoot's original observations were made not long after the discovery; the tunic was already encased but the fabric was less dark than it has since become, and the glass above it was clean and clear. Secondly, she has been able to study the admirable notes made by Howard Carter when the garment was first found, and the photographs taken by Mr. H. Burton before it was under glass. Finally, Mrs. Brunton's drawings, made from the panel itself, reproduced on pls. XVII, XVIII, XX, XXI, and XXII, have at last made it possible to study the interesting subjects on the embroidery.³

The following sections, 1-3, dealing with the tunic and the technique of the bands decorating it, are by Mrs. Crowfoot; the last section, 4, on the designs and their implications, is by Mr. N. de G. Davies.

1. The Tunic in general

See pl. XIV

This tunic (now Cairo, Textile 642; Carter's number, 367 j) was found in a box (No. 367) in the store-room of the tomb; it was obviously not in its original place, for the proper contents of the store-room should have been only such things as oils, fats,

¹ R. Pfister, *Les textiles du tombeau de Toutankhamon*, in *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, tome XI, fasc. 4, 1937. See especially p. 207, and with regard to the condition of the tunic, p. 202: 'Cette tunique est en très mauvais état de conservation, elle est toute noire et les couleurs qui existaient sans doute ont disparu. . . . La bordure du bas est décorée d'animaux et de motifs végétaux mais elle est actuellement complètement noire et pratiquement illisible.'

² These were mostly duroprene dissolved in xylol and celluloid dissolved in amyl acetate.

³ Mrs. Brunton undertook the task in March 1940, completed the drawings in October 1940, and sent them to England, where they arrived in January 1941. Her success was achieved in spite of great difficulties. The work, she tells us, was very slow and laborious, and it was next to impossible to see the details here and there because the glass was dimmed in places by a grey deposit due probably to the preservative with which the garment had been treated.

unguents, and foodstuffs. A second tunic in elaborate tapestry-weave (367 i), rolls of fine linen, and a variety of other objects, lay in the same box. This was of wood decorated with yellow faience work and red paint and was very roughly made; the textiles had been crumpled up and thrust into it carelessly. In spite of this rough treatment the garments were more complete than those found in the antechamber, our tunic being the better preserved of the two, possibly because it lay underneath.

The tunic is a sleeved robe of fine plain linen decorated with applied bands, both in pattern-weave and embroidery, and fringed along the lower edge. It was probably

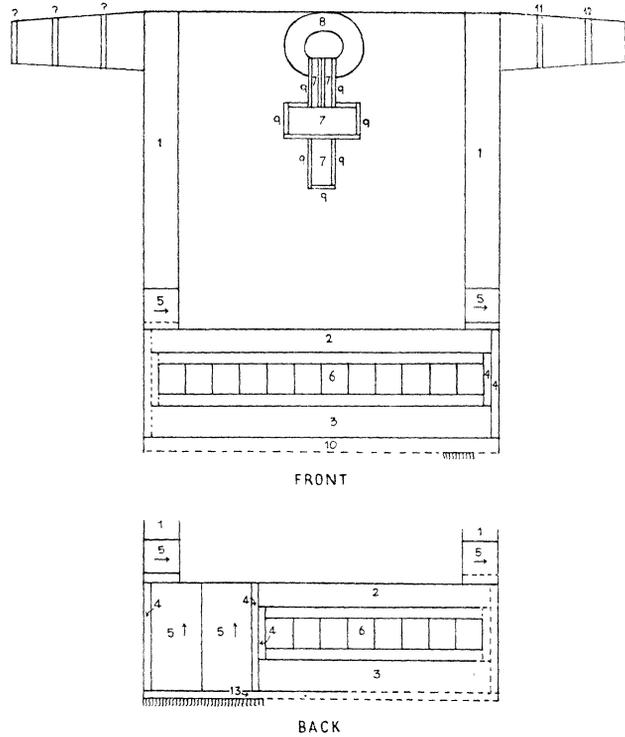


FIG. 1. Key to the position of the Bands.¹

made in one length of cloth folded in two; the selvages were sewn together along the sides, and openings were left into which the sleeves were sewn; a hole and vertical slit for the neck were cut in the front below the fold; it seems strange that this neck opening should be placed so low, but a model made to measure fitted well. The garment measures 113.5 × 95.0 cm. without the fringe. The sleeves, which are now separated from the tunic, are made of finer linen; they are about 36 cm. long and would extend from elbow to wrist of the wearer, the body of the tunic being sufficiently wide to cover the upper arm. Other garments found in the tomb differ from this tunic chiefly in the absence of sleeves; in other respects the shape was the same as that shown in fig. 1 in all cases where it could be recovered; openings were left for the arms above, and sometimes a few inches were also left unsewn at the bottom to give greater freedom in walking. The dimensions of these garments, where ascertainable, varied a good deal;

¹ The arrows on Bands 5 indicate the direction of the warp.

some are ample, some narrow, some, like our tunic, probably came down only to just below the knee, others right down to the feet.¹ A belt, placed low down, would almost need to be worn with a garment of this type, and many girdles, or long shawls that could have fulfilled the same purpose, were found in the tomb.

The position of the decorative bands, both woven and embroidered, is indicated in fig. 1. The stitching by which they were sewn to each other and to the garment can be seen clearly in places on the original; it is not easy to distinguish the stitches on the photograph, pl. XIV, but they are shown well in several places on the drawings, pls. XVII–XXII. In decoration the tunic again has a unique feature, a chest piece in the form of a cross, which taken together with the collar may, as Pfister suggests, represent the *ankh*, and, though other embroideries came from the tomb, none had subjects of such variety and interest. But all the garments, complete or fragmentary, were decorated in an astonishing variety of ways, sometimes with bead work and sequins of gold and faience, but more usually with woven patterned bands, sewn on or inwoven, and in some cases with embroidery. The favourite position for the bands was down the sides, back and front, and round the bottom of the skirt, and a fringe at the bottom was formed from the warp ends. Applied collars were frequent, the nearest to that on the tunic being Carter 21 aa and o.

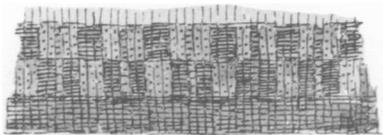
It is not possible to be certain of the complete colour scheme of any garment, but Carter's notes give valuable help in a few cases. The prevailing tone of the decoration on the tunic is still, and probably always was blue, but there were originally touches of red, green, and black in several places. In the companion garment in tapestry-weave (367 i) the colours were blue, red, and white, with blue predominating. A very different effect must have been given by 50 a, a robe in yellow linen with narrow stripes in green and dark brown and bands with flying ducks in green, and by the plainer 50 j, with stripes in brown and green bands. Another robe had bands alternately in black and red.²

Decorated garments must have been in use at an earlier date, for among fragments of robes decorated in tapestry-weaves of several colours, red, blue, green, yellow, brown, and black, found in the tomb of Tuthmosis IV, one bears the *ka*-name of Tuthmosis III, another the nomen of Amenophis II.

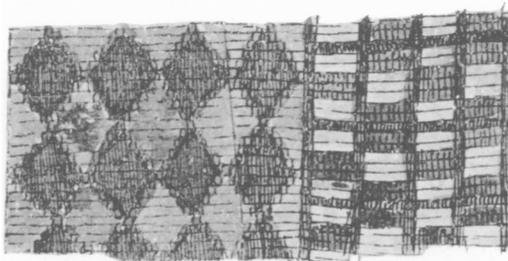
If we turn and look forward, it is interesting to see how like these garments are to the tunics of the Coptic period with their decorative bands of purple or other colours. The latter are similar in shape, and made in much the same way, but they always have sleeves, often woven in the piece, and the neck-opening is a horizontal slit made along the fold. The sleeves are already woven in this way on the earliest tunic known of this

¹ The following are the measurements of the most complete among the garments: tunic 367 i, 125 × 82 cm.; 50 a, 137 × 85 cm.; 50 j, 138 × 103 cm.; and the child's dress 21, 80 × 50 cm.

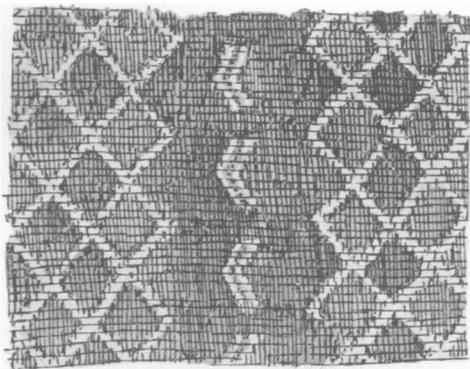
² The red of some of the pieces in the tomb has been examined by Pfister and found to be madder. The blue, which was not examined, is, as he says, undoubtedly indigo, but I do not agree with him that the plant used was woad, *Isatis tinctoria* L. I suggest that a more probable source was *Indigofera argentea* L (= *tinctoria* Forsk.) which is cultivated and sub-spontaneous in Lower Egypt and indigenous in Upper Egypt and the Sudan, unless indeed *Indigofera tinctoria* L., so widely exported later, had already been brought from India. Till now it has not been possible to distinguish the indigo of different plants, but Hj. Ljungh (*Birka*, III, 182) speaks as if he could detect some difference between the indigo of woad and the true indigo (*Indigofera tinctoria*); it is to be hoped he will publish more on this subject.



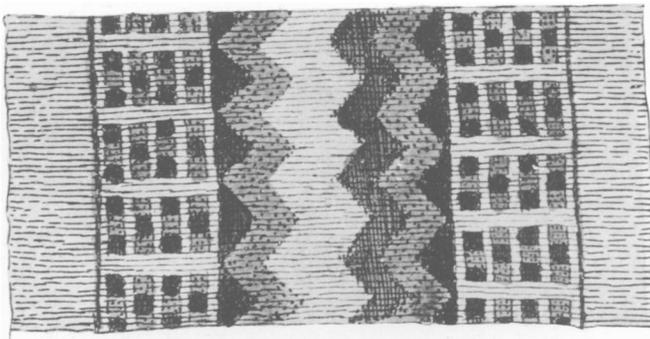
1. Band No. 5, border



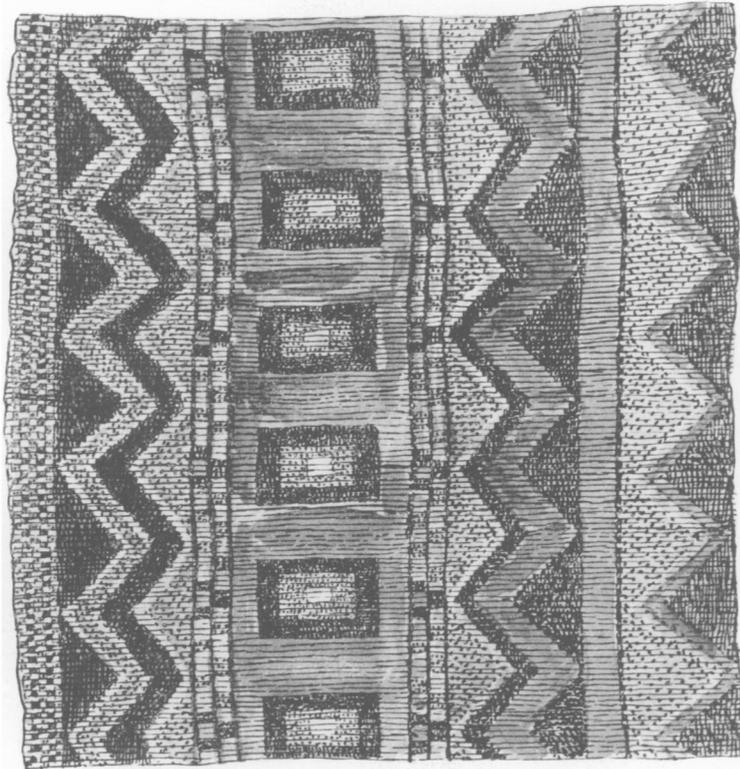
2. Band No. 5, part



3. Band No. 2



4. Band No. 3



5. Band No. 1, from left side of Tunic



6. Band No. 1, from right side of Tunic

WOVEN BANDS FROM THE TUNIC

Nos. 1-5 from paintings by Mrs. Brunton. No. 6 from a photograph

class, one believed to be of the second century A.D. from Palmyra. This tunic has a medallion and bands woven in wool dyed in the true Tyrian purple; hence Pfister suggests in his work on the textiles of Palmyra that the fashion of using purple bands as decoration began in Syria and passed to Egypt, where it continued for several centuries.

Howard Carter delighted in calling this tunic a dalmatic. Pfister, alluding to this, says in his conclusion: 'L'analogie de ces tuniques somptueuses avec la dalmatique byzantine est frappante; ces vêtements sont donc les précurseurs de ceux qui, encore aujourd'hui, sont utilisés dans le culte chrétien.'¹

2. The woven Bands

For position see fig. 1, Nos. 1-5, 8-13

Like the tunic itself, the bands can be presumed to be of linen.

In all previous publications these woven bands are referred to as being in tapestry-weave.² This is not remarkable since many fine pieces in this weave were found in the tomb and at first sight these bands give the impression of tapestry-weave, that is, a weave in which the weft gives the pattern and the warp is concealed. Closer examination of the bands has shown that in fact some of them are certainly, and the others most probably, in a warp-face weave, in which the close-pressed warps give the pattern and the weft is concealed, as in Textile 1045 shown in pls. XVI, XIX.

It is, of course, impossible to examine the backs of the bands in general, but at certain places on the tunic they are torn and turned over, revealing floating threads on the back. This occurs at the top of Band 2 on the left side of the tunic and at the bottom of Band 3 slightly to the left of the centre; the instances can be located and recognized in pl. XIV by means of the key, fig. 1. The fragment marked in the key as No. 10 is especially important because it hangs free from the garment, and therefore both sides are visible through the glass of the case, one side giving part of a design, the other floating threads. On the back of the tunic places can also be seen where the bands have been torn away from the garment and floating threads appear. No photograph is available, but the floats can be seen in the drawings, especially in pl. XVII.

These observations, the results of two visits to Cairo, show that the backs of the bands, where visible, are entirely covered with floating threads; this alone is proof that they are not in tapestry-weave, in which the back and front should show the same kind of pattern. At the same time, as the bands are all sewn to the garment and the back and front cannot be seen of any piece except in the case of tiny fragments like No. 10, it would have been difficult to carry the study further if it had not been for the discovery of the textile shown in pl. XIX. As first recognized by Mr. Lucas, who pointed it out to me, this bears a strong resemblance to the patterned bands on the tunic, and the conclusions arrived at with regard to them are based on the study of the more accessible

¹ Pfister, *op. cit.* 218.

² Carter speaks of 'A linen dalmatic decorated with tapestry-woven and needlework ornament' (vol. III, pl. 39); 'a long loose vestment having richly ornamented tapestry-woven borders down both sides' (*J.L.N.*, Aug. 3, 1929, p. 194); 'it is ornamented with strips of tapestry-woven polychrome geometric pattern sewn to the basic linen' (*Embroidery*, Dec. 1932, fig. 1 and p. 10); so also 'Tunique d'apparat, a) encolure et devant brodé, b) bordure latérale en gobelin' (Pfister, *op. cit.*, pl. 52, a, b; *cf.* p. 212).

textile (see pp. 122-5). A weaving draft made for the best preserved of the bands (No. 1) is shown in pl. XVI, 1. In spite of the difficulties of examination I believe the draft is substantially correct and can be used by a weaver with confidence.

BAND NO. 1. See pl. XV, 5. 6; pl. XVI, 1. 3.

Position. Bands with this design form a side border to the tunic, back and front. There appear to be some slight differences between the bands on the right and left of the tunic in front; it is possible that they are two different bands, not pieces cut from the same one. The size in both cases is the same, width about 9.5 cm. The band shown in pl. XV, 6 and pl. XVI, 1. 3 is from the right-hand side of the tunic, that in pl. XV, 5 is from the left side.

Weave. Warp-face, weft concealed.

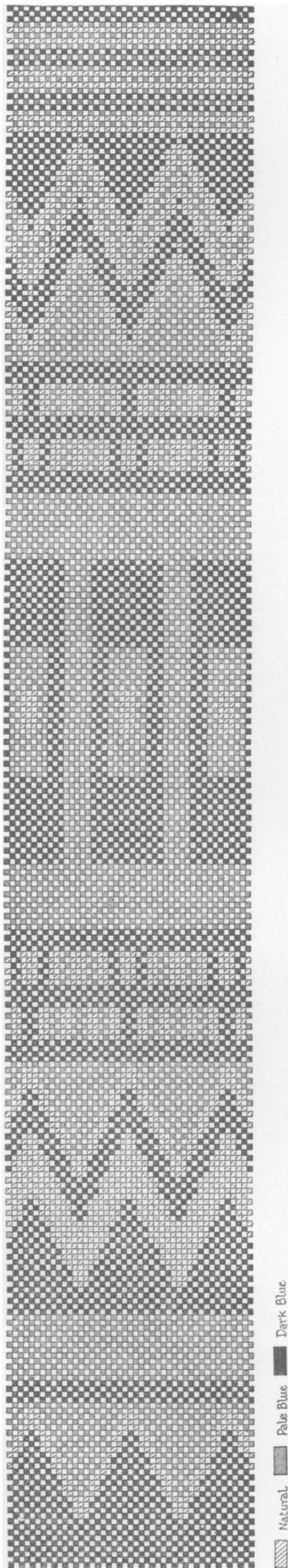
The back of this band has not been seen and the weave is based on its resemblance to Textile 1045 (pl. XIX), Bands Nos. 2 and 3, and the fragment No. 10. The character of the weave is supported by the presence of what appear to be the selvages right and left of the band; the selvedge on the right of the right-hand band in front low down is clearly to be seen, sewn to the selvedge of the similar band on the back of the tunic. This sewing together of the two bands is well shown in the drawing in pl. XXI. It can be taken then that, looking at the band in pl. XIV or pl. XV, 6, the warp is vertical, the weft horizontal.

The count for the draft pl. XVI, 1 was made from the photographs and not from the textile itself; the actual number of warps given (558) is probably too low, as the finely packed threads are difficult to estimate, but the proportions cannot be far from the original.

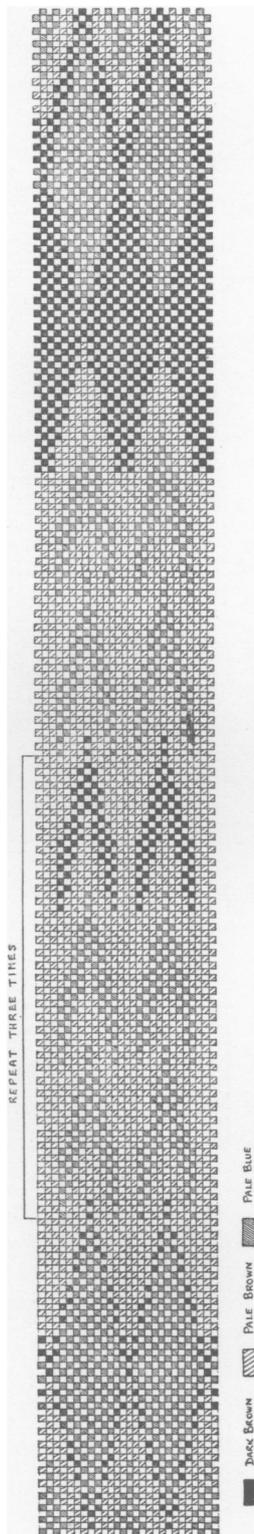
Design. The pattern of squares and zigzags or chevrons is reminiscent of some ceiling patterns; the zigzags also appear on the girdle of Ramesses III in the Liverpool Museum. The design repeats on eighteen weft-throws. It could not be woven on less than ten heddles. It could also be woven by means of Beduin pattern-weave by the procedure described in dealing with Textile 1045, p. 124. I have woven a sample of about the same degree of fineness in the Beduin weave and did not meet with any difficulty except that in parts of the pattern the colour design makes it necessary to set up three warps instead of the usual two. In the three-thread portion the floats are particularly heavy. It is interesting to find that in his notes Carter describes this band as a border of 'thick heavy material'; this would agree very well with the character of this class of weave.

Right and left of the bands next to the selvedge there is a simple pattern of checks. Checks are the only patterns that can be carried out in Beduin warp-face without floating threads. If the back of this part of the band were to be examined it ought to show the same design as the front, unless indeed several colours were used, and on this point there is no evidence.

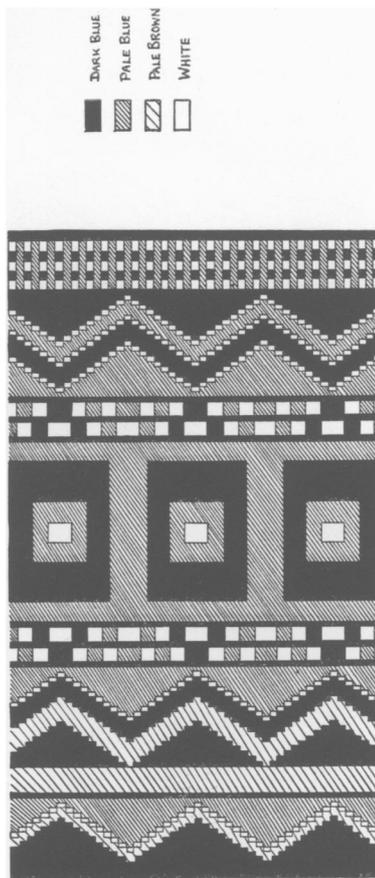
Colour. The only colours that I could see on this band are pale blue, dark blue, and brown. The brown varies much in shade and is in parts so light that I took it to have been originally the natural linen thread. In my draft, pl. XVI, 1, I used therefore only three colours, pale blue, dark blue, and natural. Later I came to the conclusion that



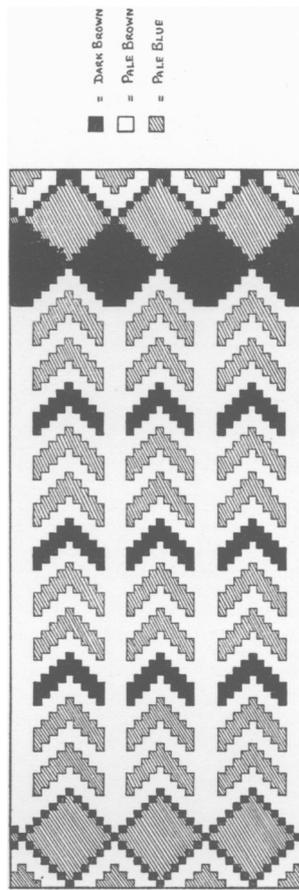
1. Draft for Band 1 of the Tunic.



2. Draft for Textile 1045.



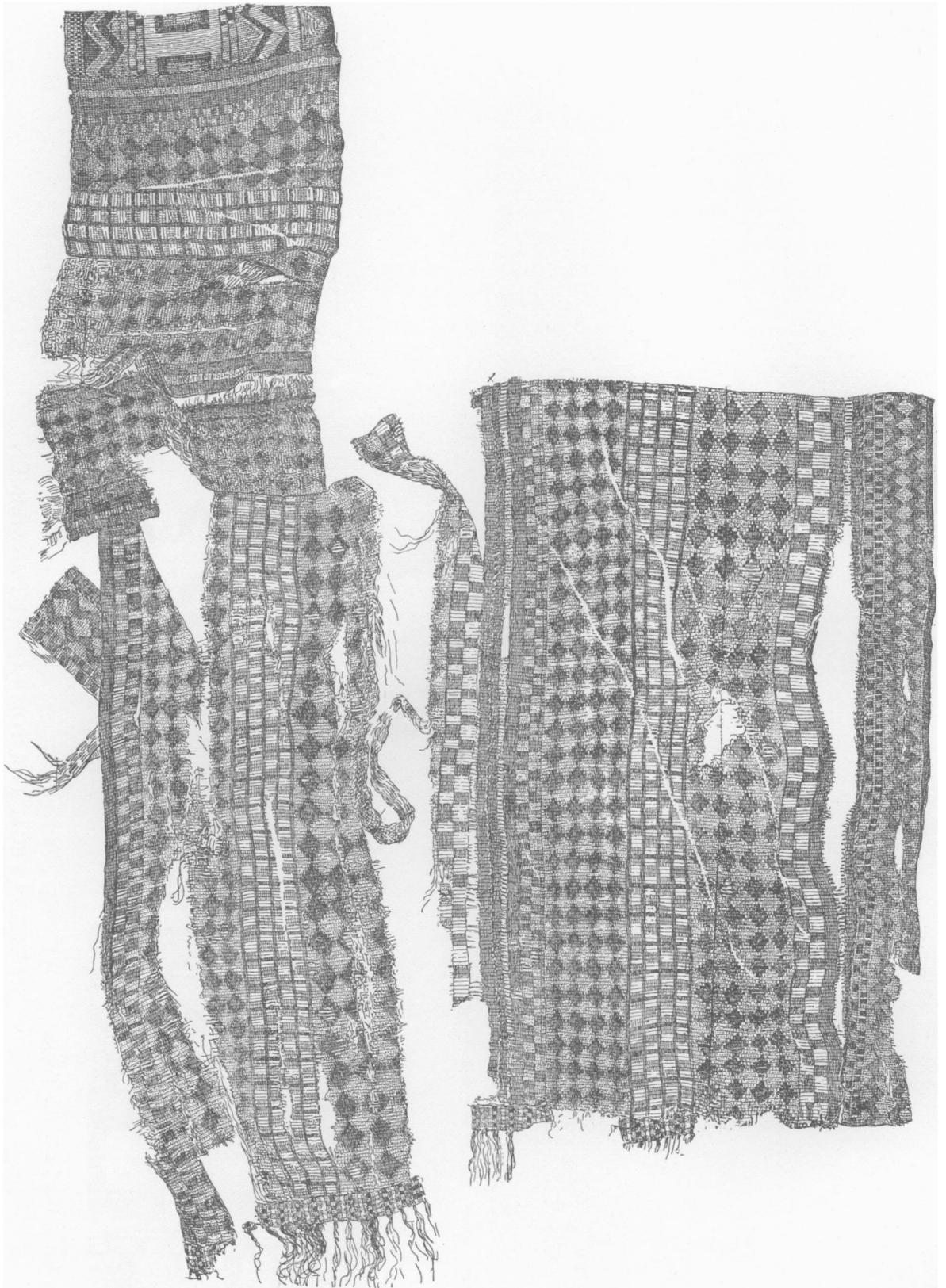
3. Design of Band 1 of the Tunic.



4. Design of Textile 1045.

TEXTILES FROM THE TOMB OF TUTANKHAMUN

Drafts and Designs.



Scale 3 : 7

BACK. Side Border.

THE TUNIC OF TUT'ANKHAMÜN

some parts now brown must have been originally of some shade darker than natural. In the drawing of the pattern, pl. XVI, 3, these parts are shown as brown. Later still, on studying Carter's notes I found that other colours besides blue had been visible in a few places on the band when first discovered, that is, red, green, and black. The tracts marked brown in pl. XVI, 3 were red, some of the squares marked as blue in the little border right and left of the centre were green, and the dark filling near the check pattern was black. The original colouring would therefore be: *warp*, blue (pale and dark), red, green, black, and natural; *weft*, natural.

BAND NO. 2. See pl. XV, 3.

Position. This band is seen above the embroidered panels (No. 6) on the back and front of the tunic.

Weave. It is very much torn in front and is folded over on the left side at the top, showing floating threads on the reverse. It is therefore certainly in warp-weave; as seen in the plate the warp is vertical.

Design. Diamonds and chevrons.

Colour. The ground in the centre and the darker rows of diamonds are brown; the lighter alternate rows are blue outlined with white; the chevrons down the middle are white with a blue centre.

BAND NO. 3. See pl. XV, 4.

Position. This band is seen below the embroidered panels (No. 6) on the back and front of the tunic.

Weave. It is certainly in warp-face weave; as seen in pl. XV, 4 the warp is vertical. The portion on the front, torn and turned over at the bottom to the left of the centre, clearly shows the floating threads of the reverse side. On the front of this band part of the pattern has blocks of three coloured squares with bands of white or a pale colour intersecting them and the long floats of the white threads carrying over the squares are most conspicuous on the reverse side; this is a most characteristic feature of this class of weave.

Design. Zigzags and squares.

Colour. The colour scheme is gay; the centre zigzag and the outer edges, now brownish, were probably natural or white, as also the bands intersecting the blocks of blue and red brown squares; the zigzag on the left of centre is blue, the two on the right are red and blue, and the filling is red-brown.

BAND NO. 4. Visible in pl. XIV and pl. XVII, right side.

Position. Pieces of bands in this design are seen on the front of the tunic on the right-hand side of Band 3 and the embroidered panel, and to judge from Carter's notes there must have been similar pieces on the left side of the tunic also, now in a very ragged condition. Two similar bands are present on the back of the tunic on the left side, one is the side border, the other is next to the embroidered panel; another probably once existed on the right side, now in poor condition.

Weave. Floating threads can be seen on a piece turned over on the back as shown in the drawing, pl. XVII, so the band is probably in the same weave as the others.

Design. The design is one of squares, bands, and zigzags with rhombs down the centre.

Colour. Blue, grey, and brown were the only colours recognizable here and there.

BAND NO. 5. See pl. XV, 1. 2.

Position. The complete design of this band is only to be seen on the back of the tunic, left of the embroidered panel (pl. XVII); the warp is here taken to be vertical. This is the broadest of all the bands, 14 cm. wide. Pieces obviously cut from this band are seen right and left on the front of the tunic above Band 2, the direction of the warp is here horizontal; the raw edges of the band are apparently turned in and sewn down right and left, while one selvedge can be clearly seen sewn over the lower end of Band 1 and the other, not so clearly, sewn to a piece of another band below, see pl. XV, 6. There is a somewhat similar arrangement of pieces from this band on the back also, see pl. XVII.

Weave. The evidence from torn places is slight, but it is probably in the same weave as the others.

Design. Diamonds and squares in a rectangular network.

Colour. The diamonds are in alternate rows of blue and grey, outlined in pale brown; the network of lines is blackish, enclosing squares in brown and natural; the border, pl. XV, 1, is in brown, blue, and grey.

BAND NO. 8. See pls. XIV, XVIII.

Position. The collar is an applied woven band about 5 cm. broad sewn on to the tunic; two embroidered bands edged with braids on one side form borders to the opening. According to Carter's notes the collar was tied with two strings, and one of these can still be distinguished in pl. XIV.

Weave. Unfortunately I had no time when in Cairo to study the collar; the texture is difficult to make out from the photograph, but it is probably in warp-weave. There is a strong resemblance between it and two other collars of simpler pattern shown in photographs among Carter's notes. These come from shirts of the size for a child found in casket 21 in the antechamber. The weave here is seen to be of the nature of a braid, several wefts being put through together to form loops at each selvedge. Through these loops on one side the string is threaded to draw the collar in. This appears to be the case also on the collar of the tunic, but the edges are in bad condition and difficult to distinguish with certainty.

Design. There is a row of cartouches down the centre side by side, reading Neb-kheprurē. On one side of it are two rows of squares, very like those to right and left of the centre on Band 1; on the other possibly there is a check pattern. This design appears to repeat on thirteen weft-throws, and could probably be woven on eight heddles or by Beduin pattern-weave, but I have not been able to make a draft for it.

Colour. Blue, brown, and white or natural are still visible in parts.

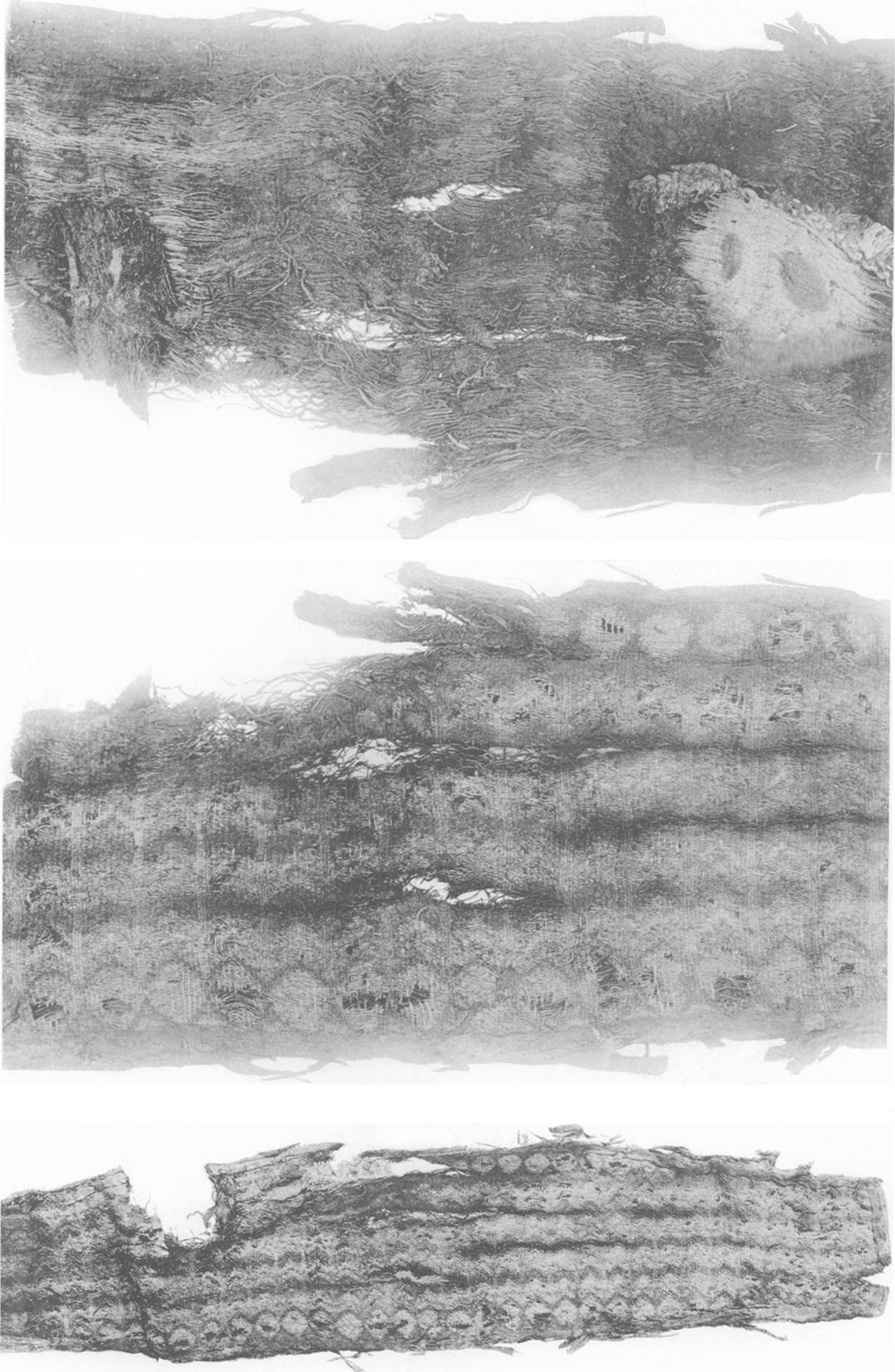
BAND NO. 9. See pl. XVIII.

Position. The embroidered panels on the chest below the collar are bordered on all sides with a narrow band in a check pattern.



Scale 3 : 7

FRONT. Decoration of the Neck Opening.
THE TUNIC OF TUTANKHAMÛN



3

2

1

TEXTILE 1045 FROM THE TOMB OF TUTANKHAMUN

- 1. Linen panel with design of chevrons and rhombs: *Scale approx. 1:3.*
- 2. Part of front: *Scale 7:8.*
- 3. Part of back: *Scale 7:8.*

Weave. Unless many colours are used, and of this there is no evidence, such a pattern can be woven in plain warp-weave.

Design. Checks. This band, like Nos. 11 and 12, is very like the little band in checks that binds the broad end of the girdle of Ramesses III at Liverpool.

Colour. No evidence.

BAND NO. 10. See pl. XIV.

Position. This band is a fragment hanging from the lower edge of the tunic on the right-hand side; it is probably the only remaining fragment of the original lower border, for part of a fringe still hangs from it and must, from Carter's notes, have been more voluminous when first discovered.

Weave. When I examined the band in Cairo I could see floating threads at the back of it, and it is probably in some kind of warp-weave. The band may have been made on the warp ends as suggested for Band 13, or woven as a separate piece and sewn on.

Design. The design of this fragment cannot be made out. A zigzag runs across it.

Colour. No evidence.

BANDS NOS. 11 AND 12. See pl. XIV.

Position. The sleeves were decorated with three narrow bands in check patterns.

Weave. These bands could be carried out in plain warp-weave.

Design. It is not possible to be certain of the designs but it is a check pattern in both cases.

Colour. Blue occurs on them according to Carter's notes.

BAND NO. 13.

Position. This band, in a check pattern with fringe hanging from it, is seen at the back of the tunic, bottom left, in pls. XVII and XXII.

Weave. Unfortunately I made no study of this band from the original and no photograph is available. Fringes on this kind of garment are usually made from the warp ends. If this is the case here, the check border may have been made on them, in the same way as such borders are made at the present day in Cairo and Omdurman. A warp is laid on the little 'fringe loom' to form the border, and the warp ends of the garment are put through as wefts, hanging down to form the fringe below it. This may have been done on some simple loom or frame for the border and fringe on the tunic, or border and fringe may have been made separately and sewn on; there is no evidence to prove which method was used.

Design. Checks.

Colour. No evidence.

COMPARATIVE MATERIAL.

As already noted, one textile (Textile 1045) from Tut'ankhamün's tomb bears a strong resemblance to the pattern border. The examination of this textile was of considerable assistance in the study of the weave of the pattern-bands, and it is therefore described in detail below (see pp. 122-4). So far no other textile from the tomb has been noted in this warp-weave to compare with them. All the other patterned pieces that

I have seen are in tapestry-weave of marvellously fine quality, such as the second tunic (367 i)¹ and the famous gloves and girdles.² These compare well with the beautiful fragments of robes decorated in tapestry-weave from the tomb of Tuthmosis IV, as is recorded by Carter in his notes.³

Altogether I only know of three textiles from Ancient Egypt in warp-weave to compare with those from our tomb. These are the girdle of Ramesses III⁴ (Liverpool Museum), the Hood textile,⁵ and Textile 251-1921⁶ (Victoria and Albert Museum), and none of these gives an exact parallel for the weave of the tunic bands.

THE GIRDLE OF RAMESES III is in warp-face double-weave; the colours are blue, red, green, and natural. There are points of resemblance to the tunic bands in the appearance of the weave and in the zigzags which form part of the pattern. The resemblance between the braid which binds it and that which binds the breastplate of the tunic has already been noted.

THE HOOD TEXTILE (Victoria and Albert Museum, T21-1940), from Thebes, uncertain in date, of fine linen in blue and natural, is in warp-face weave, but the pattern, apart from simple checks, is achieved by a fantastic substitution of wefts for warps.

TEXTILE 251-1921 (Victoria and Albert Museum), found by Carter in an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb, is in coarse linen, 3 ft. 2 in. × 1 ft. 5½ in. It has a simple geometric pattern in blue, brown, red, and natural, repeating on four throws of weft; to judge from the class of faults it shows, it was probably woven on three heddles or two heddles and a shed rod.

The bands in warp-weave from the tomb of Tutankhamūn are therefore up to the present unique both in designs and weave.

TEXTILE 1045 (Cairo). Carter, No. 54 p. See pl. XVI, 2. 4 and pl. XIX. This textile, which has a strong resemblance to the bands on the tunic, came from a casket (No. 54) of ebony and painted wood, found in the antechamber; it has floating threads at the back and is certainly in warp-face weave. It was this which gave me the key to the weave of the bands, a weave which has not previously been described from Ancient Egypt. The design also is interesting: the rows of chevrons with dividing lines between them occur also on many other objects from the tomb; they seem to have been a popular form of decoration at this period and one not seen much before it.

The description of the textile given here is based on an examination made in Cairo Museum by kind permission of the authorities, and on subsequent study of photographs and the making of samples.

Material. Linen; the thread is S-spun, as is usual in Ancient Egyptian weaves.

Description. This textile is 39 cm. long, 8.5 cm. wide in the centre, and 5.5 cm. wide at the ends; it has a binding in fine plain linen on all four sides; presumably it had been sewn on to a garment. It is described in Howard Carter's notes as: 'a tapestry-woven

¹ Carter, *J.L.N.*, Aug. 3, 1929, p. 196; *Embroidery*, Dec. 1932, fig. 2 and p. 10.

² Pfister, *op. cit.*, pls. 51 a, b, d; 52 c; 53 b.

³ Carter & Newberry, *The Tomb of Thoutmosis IV*, 1904, pls. 1, 28.

⁴ C. H. Johl, *Altägyptische Webestühle*, 61; T. O. Lee, *Liverpool Annals of Art and Archaeology*, vol. v; G. M. Crowfoot, *op. cit.*, vol. x.

⁵ Crowfoot, *Ancient Egypt*, 1933, frontispiece and p. 43.

⁶ Pfister, *op. cit.*, fig. 5.

strip backed with ordinary cloth'. This backing, fortunately for the student, is now much perished, and where it has disappeared it is now plain that the textile is not in tapestry-weave, for if this were the case the back would have shown the same pattern as the front, whereas it is a mass of floating threads. This part of the back of the textile is shown in the enlargement in pl. XIX, 3, where the floating threads are seen clearly except where the weave is confused by fragments of textiles adhering to it. The adherent piece at the top of the photograph is probably a fragment of the textile itself; that at the bottom may be a folded fragment of the original backing bordered by a narrow braid. This braid is similar to two others from the tomb; of these one is described fully by Pfister (*op. cit.*, fig. 4) and the other is seen on the embroidered panel from the robe 101 p (*op. cit.*, pl. 53 a).

On the face of the cloth the pattern shows well in the original in spite of a heavy brown stain. The colours now visible on the chevrons are a repeat of pale brown, pale blue, dark brown, and pale blue with dividing lines in pale brown, as shown in pl. XVI, 4. Pfister also noted these colours: 'bleu clair, beige, brun noir'.¹ I am inclined to think that some colour changes must have taken place, for in Howard Carter's notes, besides blue, mention is made only of yellow and green (?). The traditional colours in this type of design on the wall-paintings are usually red, blue, and green, with dividing lines in yellow. It may be that the pale brown was originally yellow, while the dark brown, which has run badly, staining parts of the textile, may originally have been red, possibly dyed with madder, which from Pfister's discoveries is now proved to be the 'Pharaonic red'. He found the pieces in madder red examined from the tomb to be but poorly dyed, and liable to run when wetted. This is not surprising, for modern weavers experimenting with vegetable dyes find it extremely difficult to dye linen with madder satisfactorily.

Weave. As already said, the piece is in warp-weave. Before coming to this conclusion I had to consider the possibility that it might be in a weft-face weave other than true tapestry-weave, in which floating threads could occur at the back. There is a weft-face weave of this kind used to-day in Morocco for patterned bands on women's dress.² This is put in entirely by hand while the cloth is on the loom; some threads are carried through and float at the back where not needed for the pattern, but in certain motifs the threads are returned, or cut off to avoid a long float, and rows of tapestry or twined weave are often combined with it; it is, in fact, a mixed technique. On the other hand, the character of the weave in Textile 1045 is consistent throughout, for all the pattern threads appear to go from top to bottom of the piece. More important still is the fact that in one place at the side the binding is frayed and the textile revealed has the closely packed threads peculiar to a selvedge. The position of a selvedge here, taken with the texture, gives proof that the textile is in a warp-weave.

The warp threads are vertical as shown in pl. XIX, 1, that is, on the long axis of the

¹ *Op. cit.*, pls. 51 f. and p. 214. An illustration is given and a short description of the textile, but no discussion of the weave.

² Miss de Rivière kindly showed me examples of this weave in the Trocadero Musée de l'Homme, Paris: museum nos. 29, 37, 81; provenance stated as 'Maroc, Moyen Atlas'.

piece; those not required in the pattern float at the back. The weft, in natural linen, is concealed except where the fabric is torn.

The draft of the pattern is given in pl. XVI, 2. Like all warp-face drafts it distorts and elongates a pattern which really depends on closely packed threads, and the design in more accurate proportions is shown in pl. XVI, 4. The draft has a count of 780 warps, but only shows the warps visible from binding to binding. With the addition of the portions under the bindings the total count would be not less than about 880, but these figures must be taken with caution. I think the proportions of the draft are good, and if used for weaving will give the right effect, though the actual warp numbers may be slightly higher than my estimate. The narrowing of the piece at either end may have been achieved by a folding of the edge under the binding, as a little of the pattern is lost on either side.

The design repeats on twelve weft-throws, and could not be woven on less than seven heddles. It could be woven by a more simple procedure like that of Beduin pattern-weave, and I think that the latter is more probable for the following reasons. At this period the Ancient Egyptians already had two looms, the ground loom and the vertical loom. The latter is the perfect loom for tapestry-weave and it is an interesting fact that it appears on the monuments first in the Eighteenth Dynasty, when also the earliest fine tapestry-weaves appear. But neither the ground loom nor the vertical loom are ideal looms on which to multiply heddles, and as already noted, seven are required for the textile now under discussion, and ten for Band 1 of the tunic. I therefore suggest Beduin pattern-weave as a possible alternative. It is used for decorative bands on tents in the Western Desert (Egypt), Palestine, Transjordan, and Syria. The women weave on the ground loom¹ equipped only with a rod heddle and a shed rod. The procedure is to set up a double warp for the patterned portion, two threads, say black and white, in each leash of the rod heddle and two threads, black and white, on the shed rod. The weaver chooses which of the two colours she needs for her pattern and the other floats at the back. The resulting texture is closely packed, the pattern is in the warp, and the weft is entirely concealed. None of these Beduin weaves, in wool of course, are as fine as the linen weave of Textile 1045, but the procedure is extremely simple and would present no difficulty on either of the looms to someone with the right kind of eyesight. In this particular pattern three threads of different colours have occasionally to be set up in one leash of the heddle instead of two. I have woven a small sample myself and found it possible to manage this and obtain a result that seems to resemble the original.

Design. Rows of chevrons in different colours, now pale brown, dark brown, and blue, run across the textile. The chevrons end in rhombs at the edges of the material, and are separated from each other by narrow bands in pale brown. The central part of this design, the rows of chevrons, is similar to the type of chevron pattern classed by Van Gennep and Jéquier as Theme C.I. in their discussion of the chevron patterns on girdles worn by Pharaoh.² A magnificent example is seen on the kilt and also on the

¹ The same procedure could be easily carried out on the vertical loom.

² *Le Tissage aux cartons*, etc., 1916, fig. 10. 'Les zones décorés de chevrons (Thème C). Quand les zones sont au nombre de plus de trois, le décor le plus fréquent est formé par une série de petits chevrons de couleurs, tous égaux et la pointe dirigée en arrière, séparés par des lignes, également en chevrons, de moitié plus étroites,

shoulder covering of Ramesses III as portrayed in the Tomb of Amenkhopshef at Thebes.¹ On the kilt blue and green chevrons are separated by yellow lines. The same type of pattern is found in the decoration of other objects in the tomb of Tut'ankhamün, for example, on the second state chariot which was 'encrusted with semi-precious stones and polychrome glass' (Carter, *op. cit.*, II, pls. 17, B; 38), on the second coffin, 'of oakwood overlaid with sheet gold on gesso, inlaid with opaque polychrome glass, simulating red jasper, lapis lazuli, and turquoise' (pls. 23. 68), on the third (innermost) coffin of gold 'in rich cloisonné work' (pls. 24, 71), on the throne and footstool (III, pl. 33), and on the miniature gold coffin (pl. 54). Howard Carter refers to this chevron design as 'feathered',² possibly because it is seen on the tails of the vultures on the gold coffin (pl. 71), on the King's ear-rings (III, pl. 18), and on the tail of the hawk and the tail and lower wing of the vulture on the Pectoral (II, pl. 80). In these examples the rounded tip of each 'feather' is indicated; in our textile the rhombs in which the rows of chevrons end might be a conventionalized form of these 'feather-tips'. It is not surprising that a design so popular that it was carried out in the most costly materials should appear also on one of the fine textiles of the King's apparel.

It does not seem to have been popular much before this period; I do not know of any instance earlier than those already cited of the Eighteenth Dynasty. But there is one very curious instance of survival. This chevron design is seen on the skirt and back of the royal sphinx on the painted casket from the tomb (I, pl. 54), and precisely the same design is to be found as a skirt decoration on royal sphinxes on the ivories of Arslan Tash³ in Syria, and on those of Samaria in Palestine, both *circa* ninth century B.C.⁴

3. The embroidered Border and Bands

For position see fig. 1, Nos. 6, 7

The embroidered decoration includes the panels forming the broad border on the back and front of the tunic, and the bands forming the cross on the chest, all no doubt worked separately and sewn to the garment. According to Carter they are all worked upon 'a fine diaphanous cellular fabric' (*Embroidery*, Dec. 1932, p. 10). Mrs. Brunton distinguished a small portion of a plain textile visible on the front as 'the edge of the strip of fine muslin which was embroidered before being stitched to the garment'.

c'est-à-dire ayant exactement la largeur des lignes longitudinales. Les chevrons successifs sont alternativement bleus, verts et rouges, et la ligne de bordure toujours jaune, de même que les petits chevrons de séparation.' See Guilmant, *Le Tombeau de Ramses IX*, pl. 76; Leps., *Dkm.*, III, pls. 1, 217; Champollion, *Mon.*, pls. 237, 260, 268, 271. See Lepsius, *op. cit.*, also III, pl. 1 (New Kingdom); two centre rows on the kilt have this type of chevron, and also the flail; the order of colour is blue, green, blue, red, with yellow between. *Op. cit.*, III, 190, pl. 19 (Abu Simbel: in colour) kilt with chevrons; approximately this design; blue and red on gold. *Op. cit.*, III, 115, Dyn. XVIII (Thebes) belt and kilt of Pharaoh: five rows of chevrons; red, green, blue, with yellow between. *Op. cit.*, III, 118, belt and kilt of Pharaoh: three rows of chevrons in red, green, blue, and yellow between each and yellow lines.

¹ Nina M. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pl. 103.

² Of the second coffin he says: 'It has the Nemes headdress and its ornamentation is of the feathered type', and of the miniature gold coffins, comparing their design with that of the second coffin, he says 'They are far more elaborately inlaid in feather design'.

³ F. Thureau-Dangin and others, *Arslan Tash* (in *Biblioth. archéol. et hist.*, XVI, 1931), pls. 28, 23. 25; 30, 29. 30; 31, 31. 33.

⁴ Early Ivories, J. W. & G. M. Crowfoot, *Samaria-Sebaste*, II, pls. 5, 3; 7, 12. 14.

These expressions would indicate that the linen ground was in an open weave, in which the threads, though fine, could be clearly distinguished, a texture very suitable for embroidery.

Colour. Colour is not mentioned in Carter's notes. Blue can be seen in parts of the bands, but Mrs. Brunton writes that no colours are now visible on the borders, merely shades of brown from biscuit to nearly black. However, in one place she notes: 'The background is faintly green. The plants have a trace of white thread outline.' Pfister¹ also noted a white outline in some places. This is extremely interesting because in Carter's description of another embroidered panel found with the linen robe No. 101 p he mentions patterns of green thread outlined by white thread in a running stitch.

Stitches. Mrs. Brunton recognized two stitches with certainty, outline stitch and chain stitch, the latter only in a few places. Pfister also recognized chain stitch on two other embroidered pieces from the tomb; these were the panel mentioned above from robe 101 p and a piece with four 'Maltese' crosses (*op. cit.*, pls. 53 a; 54 e).

Another note made by Mrs. Brunton stresses the fact that parts of the embroidery have perished. She says of her drawings: 'Where the linen is spotted this represents needle-holes. The background was originally filled in as intact patches remain here and there.'

Subjects. The subjects on the embroidery are arranged in small panels or squares, and these appear to be designed so that the panels alternately have the subjects light on a dark background and dark on a light background. The subjects are fully discussed in Section II by Mr. N. de G. Davies, who has also provided key drawings to them in plates XX and XXII.

Comparative Material. There are several other instances of embroidery from the tomb besides those already mentioned, but none with subjects similar to those on the tunic. The only two other examples of embroidery of this period known to me both come from the tomb of Tuthmosis IV.² One, No. 46526, is the fragment of a robe with the name of Amenophis II, the other, No. 46529, is part of a robe thought by Carter to be possibly of the time of Tuthmosis IV. The first is of a very simple character, with rows of fine black stitches marking off the tapestry designs. The second is rather more elaborate, having rows of rosettes with pale green centres and pale pink petals embroidered on a white linen striped in pink.

4. The Subjects on the Embroidered Panels

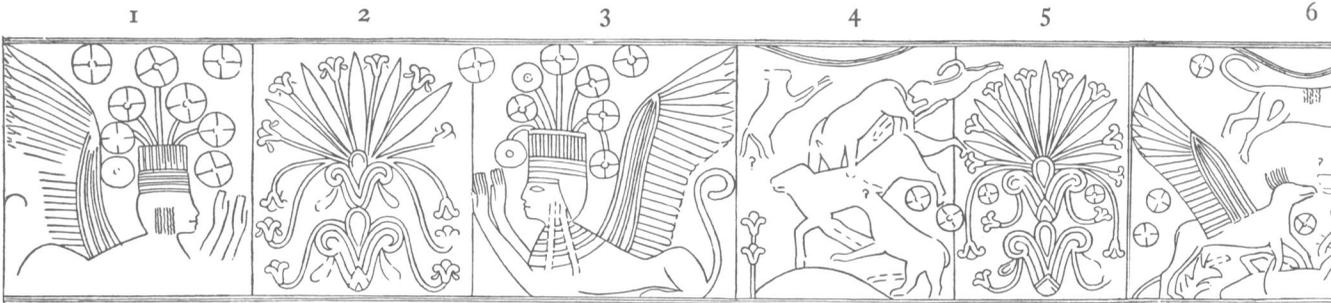
By N. DE G. DAVIES

Most of the embroidered panels were worked separately as small squares and sewn together before being applied to the garment, and are marked out by being alternately in a different stitch (?) and possibly in a different colour.³ At times several panels are

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 212. 'Le tissu qui supporte la broderie est ajouré par endroits; certains contours de la broderie sont exécutés en fils très blancs dont il n'était malheureusement pas possible d'établir la nature.'

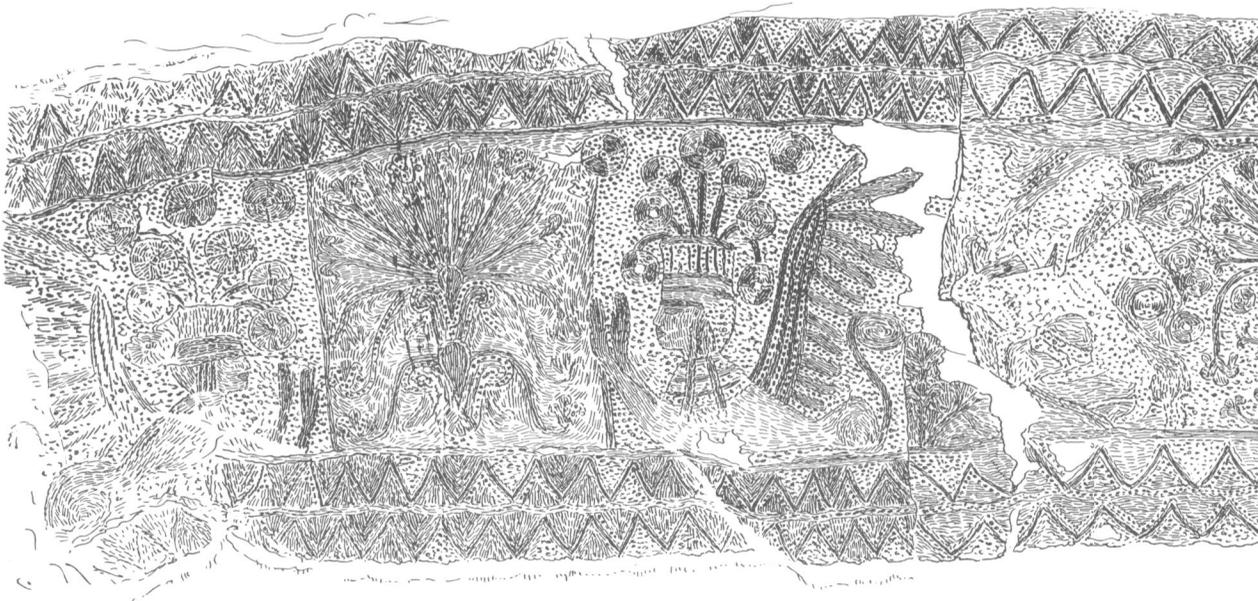
² Carter & Newberry, *op. cit.*, pl. 28.

³ A. 10 is half in one stitch, half in another (A standing for the front, B for the back). The embroidered borders of zigzags above and below the panels also show this variation, but with great irregularity. These borders are made separately out of snippets, generally two or three panels long.



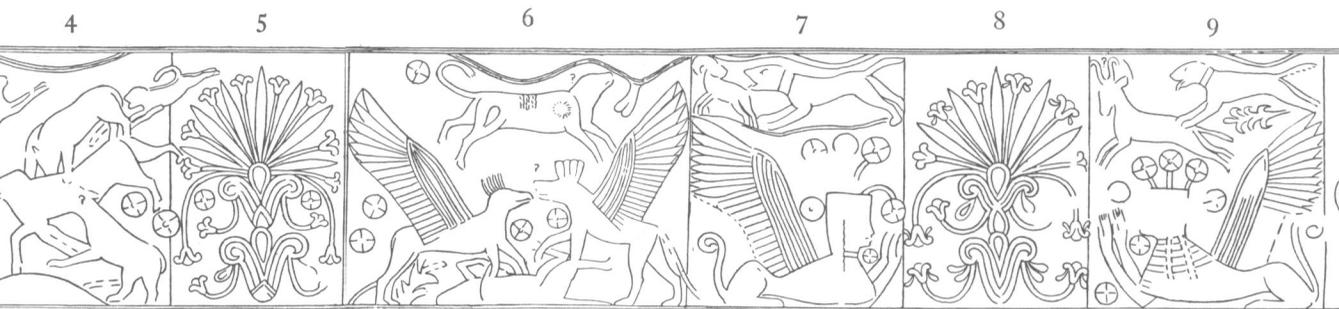
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FRONT.

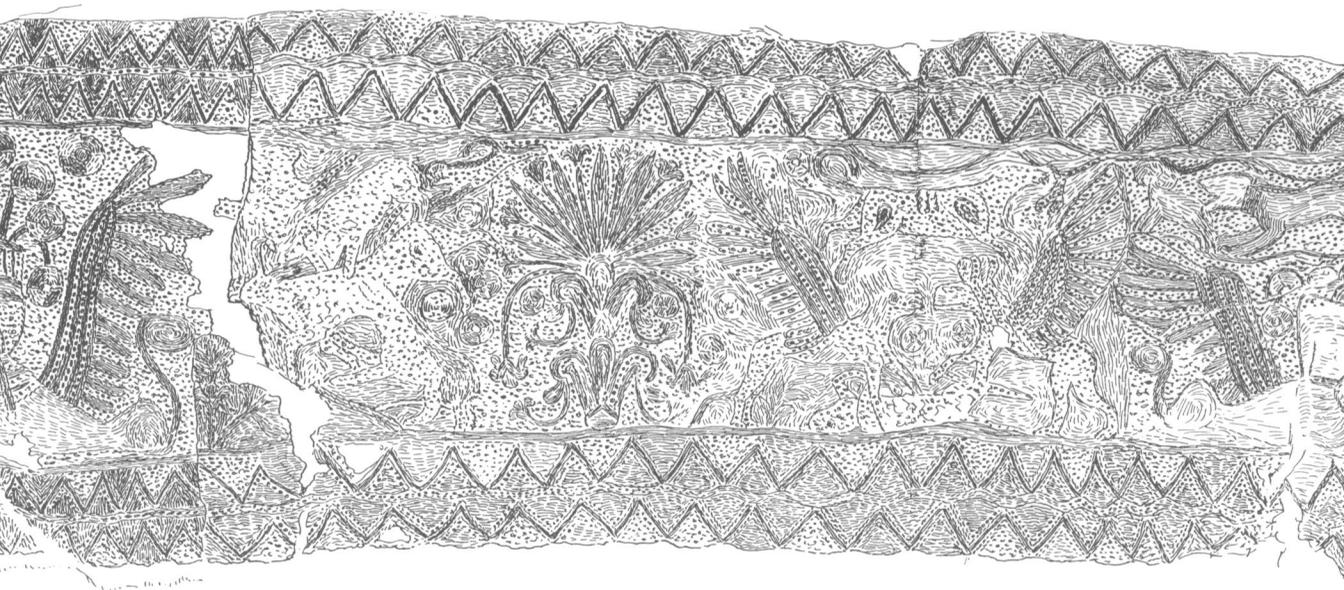


Scale 1 : 2

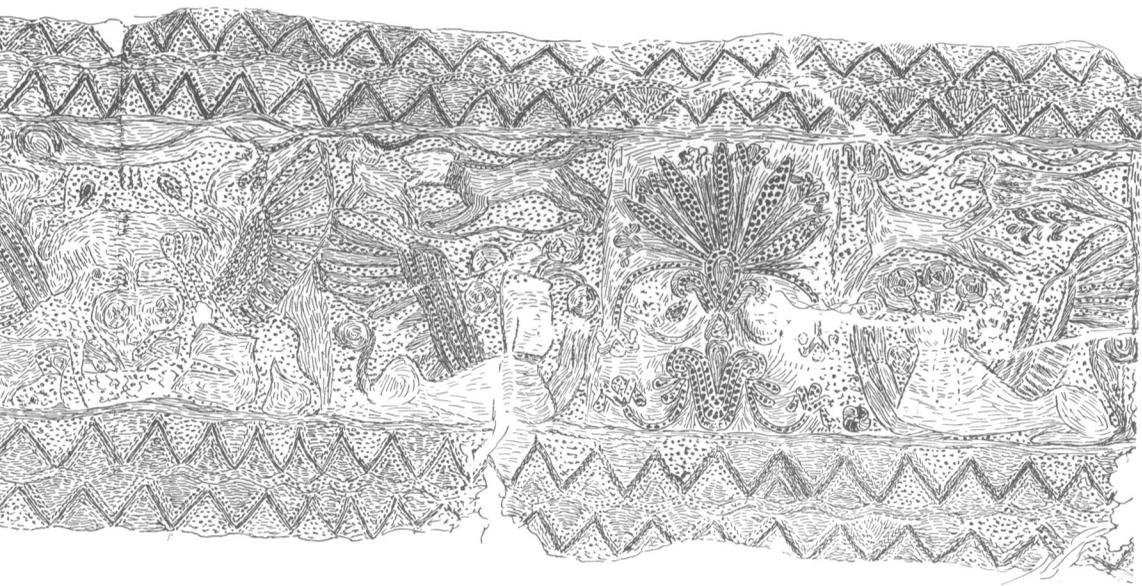
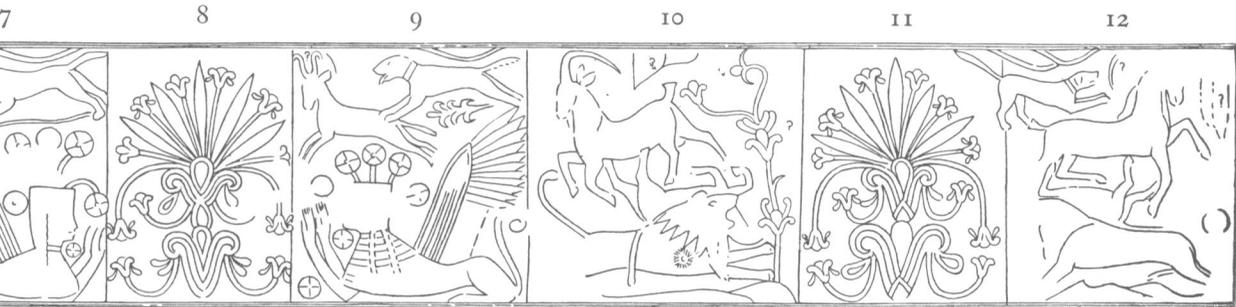
FRONT. EP
THE TUNIC



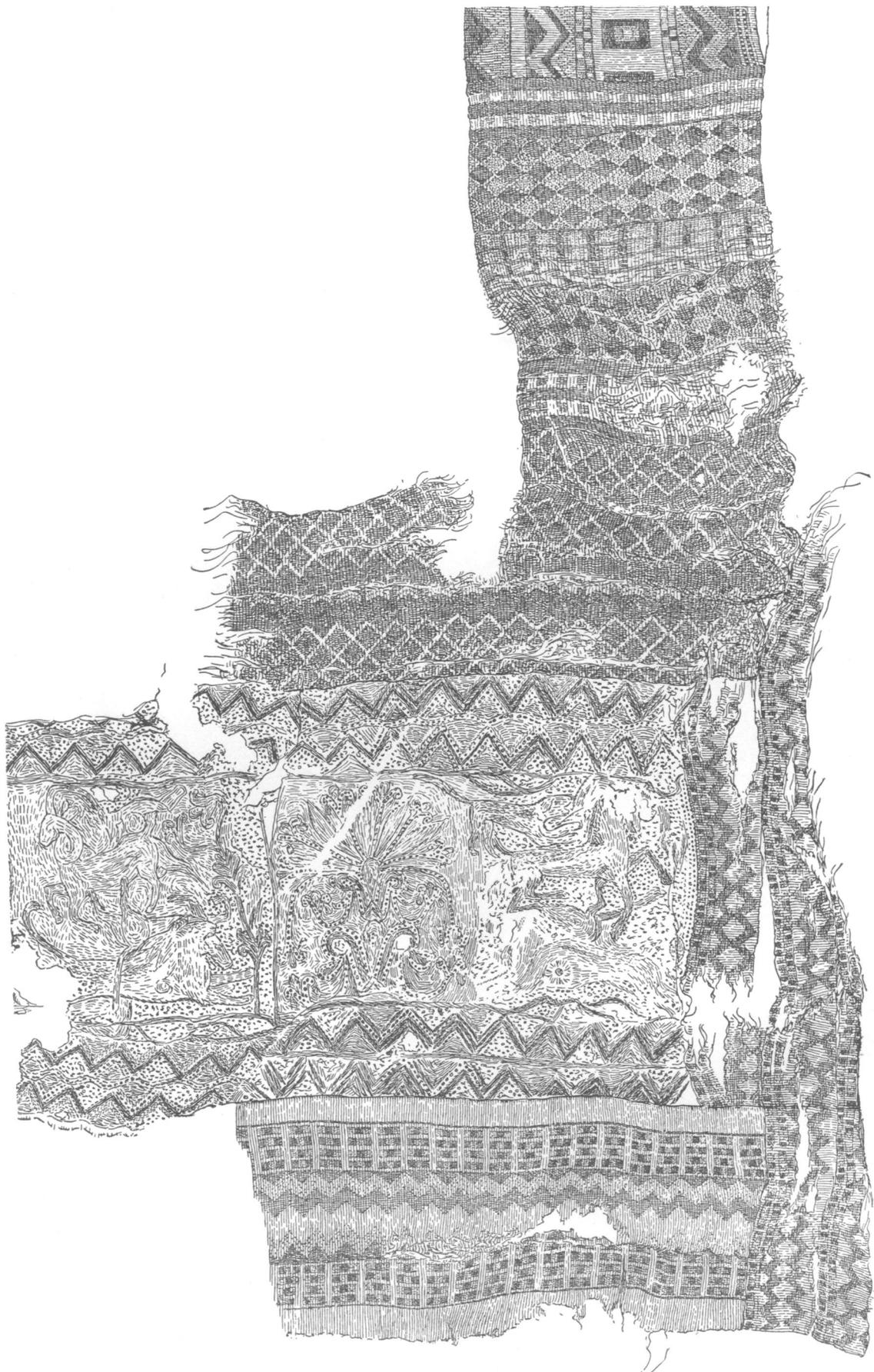
FRONT. Key to the Panels



FRONT. Embroidered Panels 1-9
THE TUNIC OF TUT'ANKHAMÜN



1-9
AMUN



FRONT. The Embroidered Panels 10-12 and Side Borders.
THE TUNIC OF TUT'ANKHAMŪN

worked on one piece.¹ The front strip is longer than the back one, a square of woven work on the left side of the back taking the place of embroidered subjects, with astonishing asymmetry. Since the detail can scarcely be trusted now, the panels are chiefly of interest as an answer to the question whether they are Egyptian products or Syrian, or, it may be, worked in Egypt by Syrian needlewomen. It may be said in advance that they prove to be distinctly Syrian in character, though they show marked Egyptian influence. Nothing definite can be said as to their merit as works of art, since needlework depends for its effect on masses of colour and on texture rather than on line, and all three have to be reconstructed in imagination in this case. But the original aspect can scarcely have failed to be very rich and may well have been a marvellous achievement of the weaver's and the embroiderer's art.

The inclination towards scenes of hunting was so strong and agelong in Egypt that where this subject is used by Syrians one may suspect some concession to Egyptian tastes. Here the details conform in general to Egyptian models, especially to those of the Eighteenth Dynasty (foreshadowed earlier at Mēr), in which the animals are distributed about the field, with or without ground under their feet, instead of being ranked in processional files. The mingling of the regular life of the desert fauna with their terrified flight before beasts of prey or trained dogs is very characteristic of Egyptian pictures. In some points, however, these embroidered designs are in discord with it. The cantering legs of the ibex, the frequent appearance of the lion and his violent action, the unreal position of the tail between the legs in attack,² the interspersed flowers without stem or leaf, the alternation of excerpts from the hunt with the palmette design, and the absence of any hunter,³ though his dogs, slipped from the leash (as the collars show), are so prominent, are all un-Egyptian. In addition, even where only animals appear, they carry a latent symbolism of that victory of the divine hero over his enemies which is so striking a feature of Mesopotamian art.⁴ To crown all, the garment seems to be Syrian, as is indicated by the bands of decoration on the lower hem, on the sleeves, and up the side hems, as well as by the cross-wise gusset below the neck-opening, and even more decisively by the long sleeves.⁵ To establish this conclusion let us proceed to examine the symbolic elements of the design and the scenes of chase.

The Palmette. This was probably introduced into Egypt from Syria and at first

¹ e.g. A. 4, 5, 6, (and 7?) together; so too A. 11, 12; also B. 3, 4, 5.

² This is paralleled only in such designs as one may suspect to be Syrian, e.g. M. 155, 186, 202; St. 273, 305; *I.L.N.* 1937, p. 708. (I use M. for Montet, *Reliques de l'Art Syrien*; St. for Steindorff, *Die Kunst der Aegypter*; W. for Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder*; *I.L.N.* for *Illustrated London News*).

³ The hunter is shown in M. 171 and *I.L.N.* 1937, p. 708.

⁴ The relics of Tut'ankhamün show it, as regards the royal hero, in the parallelism of the scenes of hunting and war on the casket and the decorations of the pyx (St. 273).

⁵ For three bands on the sleeves, and perhaps false memories of the gusset, see *Bull. MMA*, March 1926, II, p. 47 and *JEA* xx, pl. 25. For a cross at the neck, see Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs* (ed. Birch), I, p. 246, 6. Apart from the sleeves and decoration, the gown is not unlike the Egyptian shirt, worn below the kilt (Davies, *Tomb of Ramose*, pl. 7; *Tomb of Two Sculptors*, pl. 29). For shirts extant see Winlock, *Private Life of Ancient Egyptians*, pl. 9, and Mond, *Liverpool Annals of Art and Archaeology*, xvi, 57 and fig. 8. I estimate that the garment would have fallen well below the knee of the king, and the sleeve to the wrist at least, for Derry gives his height as 5 ft. 6 ins. Probably the king never wore it, unless he had a Syrian harem like his forefathers. Yet it was not left behind to be a prized heirloom, as were the garments in the tomb of Tuthmosis IV.

chiefly occurs as the decoration of the weapons—daggers, sheaths, bow-cases—which Egypt imported. In the restricted spaces offered there the design assumed a simple and attractive form which was akin to Egyptian ornamentation, being derived apparently from floral forms.¹ The later development, florid as well as floral, might also at its time be acceptable in Egypt, just because exotic.

The probable origin of the palmette is in the Assyrian tree of life, so much identified with the palm.² The essential features of this are the spreading head of foliage, the hanging fruit, the outcurving fronds at the root, the long bare trunk. But, as the last was adverse to decorative treatment, it is replaced in Syria by floral forms, the leaves furnishing volutes curving both up and down, flowers such as the iris (or the Egyptian 'lily') presenting a similar curve by its curling sepals and its mass of stamens, and the whole plant the spreading head. Additional height was given to it by repetition of the characteristic element which seems to have undergone a previous architectural stylization.³ The Assyrian embellishment of the palm is still more unsatisfactory (W. 470-86). The simpler forms of the palmette are seen in St. 303, 305, and it is noteworthy that in the latter instance we see the palmette as a plant growing in the desert. So also in Borchardt, *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten*, pl. 13. Interesting variants of the palmette are found in M. 146, 172, 186.

The Sphinx. The Eastern conception of the sphinx, so different from that of Egypt, is here transferred to the latter country, and other examples of the same period can be cited as witnesses of the surprisingly friendly reception it had there.⁴ In Egypt the human-headed lion is the embodiment of conscious supremacy; in the East the composite lion,⁵ whether as sphinx or as gryphon, from being a monster inimical to the gods has become a symbol of submission to higher powers or their ally (W. 307-9, 351, 480). The sphinx is given a woman's head,⁶ and wings proclaim her to be superhuman or even a goddess. As such she is perhaps at times to be identified with Astarte or, on emigration to Egypt where she is almost exclusively to be discovered, with Hathōr. For she appears on ointment horns (as a head only),⁷ jewellery, toilet boxes, etc.⁸ Her

¹ In Davies, *The Tomb of Kēnamūn*, pl. 14, floral palmettes surround *dūm*-palms, perhaps as the rim and central ornaments of a noble epergne of gold.

² For a full and lavishly illustrated discussion of the subject consult Danthine, *Le Palmier dattier et les arbres sacrés*, Paris, 1937.

³ This mode of building up a decorative element perhaps helped to produce the Ramesside column with superimposed capitals. A clever synthesis of floral elements is seen in the 'botanical garden' at Karnak (Meyer, *Fremdvölker*, 157-77). It may be Syrian work.

⁴ Female sphinxes in Egypt comprise really Egyptian ones and also Syrianized forms. Egyptian: 1, the queen of Tuthmosis III, Newberry, *Life of Rekhmara*, pl. 22; 2, perhaps the same, von Bissing, *Denkmäler*, pl. 37; 3, queen Shepenupet of Dyn. XXVI, Berlin, *Verzeichnis*, fig. 51; 4, small sphinx resembling no. 2, *Ann. Serv.*, xxxi, 128. Syrianized: 5, queen Teye at Sedeinga, Lep., *Dkm.*, III, 82, with the tail between the legs; 6, on a statue of queen Mutnedjemet at Turin, Champollion, *Lettres au Duc de Blacas*, pl. 1; 7, on a toilet box, Abbott collection, Prisse, *L'Art Égyptien*, II, pl. 35, 4; 8, on a dish, Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob*, pl. 20; 9, on a vase in the pavilion, Medinet Habu, Prisse, *op. cit.*, pl. 35, 5; 10, 11, on vases at Karnak, Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, 49, 59; 12, painting, Borchardt, *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten*, pl. 13. ⁵ Or cheetah. So Borchardt.

⁶ Rarely the teats of a lioness (nos. 5, 11 above, and *I.L.N.*, 1937, p. 709), once the breasts of a woman, Borchardt, *Porträtkopf der Teye*, fig. 30.

⁷ M. 37-9. Cf. N. M. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pl. 42, and Petrie, *Qurneh*, pl. 25.

⁸ M. 148, 149, 200-2. Also in *I.L.N.*, *loc. cit.*; G. Loud, *Megiddo Ivories*, pl. 7, 21. 22.

floral head-dress also has Egyptian parallels in those of women of the harem, dancers, etc. Its many variants are against a specific identification with any divinity; the Syrian sphinx may be no more than a well-disposed genius, representing to Egypt the submissive soul of that land.¹ The addition of the pursuit of a caprine animal by a dog above the sphinx on panels A 7, 9, besides its use as a filler, may carry some allusion to the victorious power of the gods which compels erstwhile foes to adoration (W. 480). It may even show that the female sphinx of Syria was regarded as a real member of the animal world. The painted scene on the side panel (?) of a chariot² is intensely interesting in its close analogy to the panels we are considering. Its position would call for a real hunting scene; yet we have here, besides lions and a dog or hunting cheetah attacking a bull, a winged gryphon as the leading beast of prey and a female sphinx calmly posed above a conflict, in which there is no other sign of symbolism. The Syrian origin of the scene is plain in the position of the tails and the exceptionally broad stride of the animals.

The Gryphon. The lion with the head of a crested bird, and generally with its wings also, perhaps had its ultimate origin in Mesopotamia, a land rich in composite animals; but it, or its like, found a more graceful form in Crete³ and thence passed directly to Egypt (as regards the head at least)⁴ and later by way of Syria as a complete animal of pacific nature. But in Mycenaean times and centres it had acquired grim reality as a ferocious beast of prey.⁵ Its role in Egypt, where it had a native but disregarded predecessor,⁶ is benevolent, though the desert is its home.⁷ In Eastern glyptic art, where the animals change their natures so bewilderingly, the gryphon may be an enemy,⁸ or, with the lion as a comrade, may take the place of the triumphant hero-god and his associate.⁹ The blurred head of the right-hand animal in panel A 6 leaves us in doubt whether it be a lion or a gryphon. Probably two gryphons are facing one another in a common victory.¹⁰ The bull placed overhead there is only a second picture of the victim-to-be, a frequent feature in such scenes.

In conclusion the scenes depicted in these two strips of embroidery may be briefly analysed.¹¹

¹ On the gem of Amenophis III (*JEA* III, pl. 11) the sphinx may be taken to represent the homage of the king's Syrian consort, and that on the group of Haremhab and Mutnedjmet at Turin, the homage of Syria, or its goddess, to the throne. The indication of the sex of the animal is surprising at this date. On the ceiling of Tomb 65 at Thebes two female (?) sphinxes with long necks and with a lotus on their heads adore the setting sun. In my drawing on pl. XX I have made the tail more leonine than Mrs. Brunton suggests. But it does end in a decorated circle in *Syria*, xviii, pl. 39.

² Borchardt, *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten*, pl. 13.

³ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, iv, pl. 32.

⁴ M. 79, 150, 152, 166, 167.

⁵ *I.L.N.*, 1939, p. 163; 1937, p. 708.

⁶ Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, II, pl. 16.

⁷ M. 101, 118, 148, 149, 155.

⁸ M. 195. Cf. the late Cyprian bowl (Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, III, fig. 546), where the outer ring seems to reflect the Eastern world, but the central ring and centre, Egyptian ideas. Other bowls of similar origin often show a like incongruous admixture (*op. cit.*, figs. 547-52).

⁹ A lion is the companion in M. 172 and in Montet, *Byblos*, pl. 42.

¹⁰ M. 154, 172. For the comb on the head of the gryphon see Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 911. Note too the square-tipped ears or crest of the animal on the painted chariot, Borchardt, *loc. cit.* In form, colour, spots, and collar it closely resembles the cheetah (?) above it.

¹¹ The line drawings on pls. XX and XXII are only meant to send the student to the beautifully patient copy by Mrs. Brunton and to remind him that these panels are twisted, stretched, crumpled up. Her outlines have neither been closely followed nor boldly amended, but some attempt has been made to get closer to the original design than the present state of the embroidery permits.

A (front series, pl. XX) 1-3. Here two of the dividing palmettes are used as an object of adoration by confronting sphinxes.

A 4. Two dogs, at least one of them full face as in Egyptian scenes, bring down a wild ox. A smaller dog rushes up to join the fray. A plant of the 'lily' type pushes up stiffly from the ground.

A 10, 12. These two (pl. XXI) are treated as counter-scenes. A lion runs away with a victim thrown over its shoulders (*cf.* M. 186). An ibex is trying to break into a gallop, though a dog is springing on its back. Fanciful desert plants are shown.

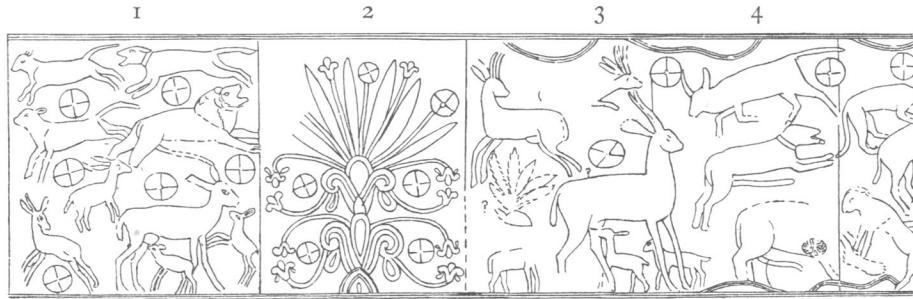
B (back series, pl. XXII). Only two palmettes are used, cutting off the end panels from the central ones.

B 3, 4, 5. These apparently form one piece of embroidery. The scene changes from a group of watchful gazelles to one of flight from the enemy.¹ Three dogs attack a gazelle. An ibex and a bull seek to escape in the confusion. Below a lion is at grips with a dog (?).

B 6. A lion seizes an addax (?) by the hind leg. A dog, this time one of the *slugi* breed, leaps at the head of an ibex.

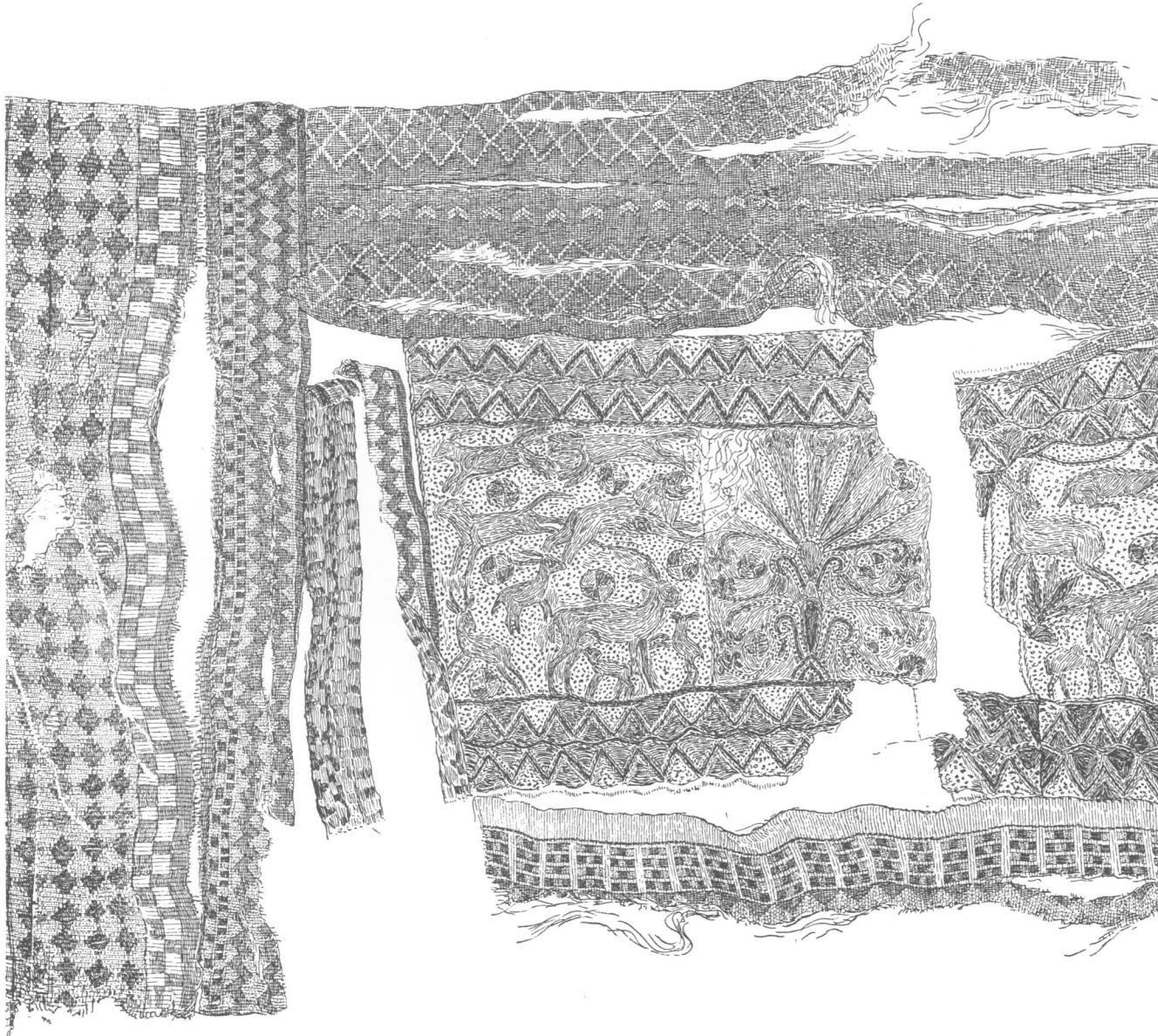
B 8. A dog pursues an animal (lost). Two lions bring down a wild bull. In general there cannot be any serious identification of the animals, details of horns, tails, etc., being so insecure.

¹ By negligence I have left the reclining animal incomplete.



Scale 2 : 5

BACK. Key t



Scale 1 : 2

BACK. The
THE TUNIC O



BACK. Key to the Panels

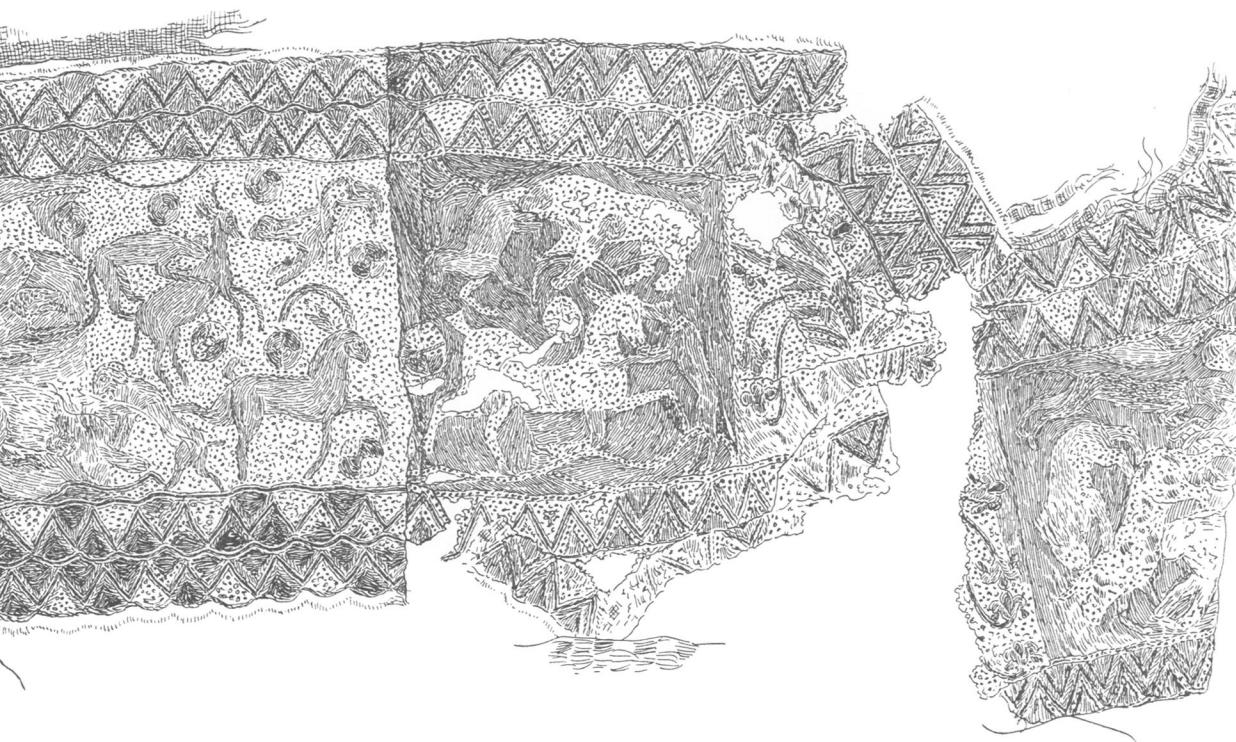
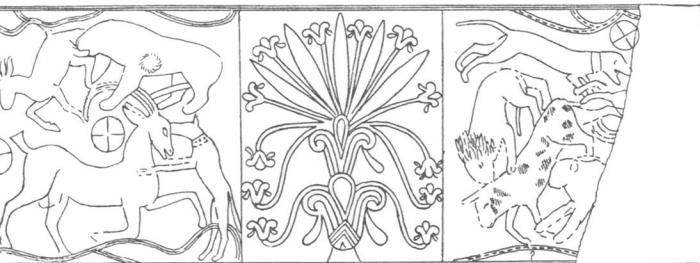


BACK. The Embroidered Panels
THE TUNIC OF TUT'ANKHAMŪN

6

7

8



A RAMESSIDE LOVE CHARM

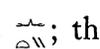
By PAUL SMITHER

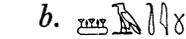
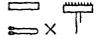
WHILE preparing my article on a Coptic Love Charm (*JEA* xxv, 173 ff.) I made a search for earlier examples for comparison, but, strangely enough, I was able to find only one belonging to Pharaonic times.¹ This is a little text written on an ostrakon of about the time of the Twentieth Dynasty. No translation of it has yet appeared, although a facsimile and transcription have been published by Posener, *Cat. des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, tome I, No. 1057, pls. 31 and 31 a. The text, though short, very well illustrates the psychology of Ancient Egyptian magic. For this reason, and because of the extreme rarity of this class of text, a translation and a few notes may interest readers of this journal.

TRANSLATION

Hail to thee, O Rēc-Ḥarakhte, Father of the Gods!
 Hail to you, O ye Seven Ḥathōrs
 Who^a are adorned^b with strings of red thread!
 Hail to you, ye Gods lords of heaven and earth!
 Come <make>^c so-and-so (f.) born of so-and-so come after me,
 Like an ox after grass,^d
 Like a servant^e after her children,
 Like a drover after his herd!
 If you^f do not make her come after me,
 Then I will set <fire to> Busiris^g and burn up <Osiris>.^h

NOTES

a. Posener has ; the correct reading should be , the blob at the top of the group being a much abbreviated form of the superfluous *r* often prefixed to *nty* in Late-Ramesseid texts, see Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.* § 839.

b.  must be a syllabic writing of the old word *št*, to 'wear', 'adorn', written  in the Pyramid Texts.

c.  has been omitted by the scribe, who has been guilty of several other stupid, but obvious, blunders.

d. The same phrase again 'like an ox after grass' in a prayer to Prēc-Ḥarakhte, *P. Anastasi* II, 11, 1. Doubtless a cliché.

e. It is tempting to emend  'servant' to  'mother',  and  having some resemblance in hieratic.

¹ Unless the definition of a love charm be extended to include the spell published in Schack-Schackenburg, *Zweibegebuch*, pl. 16, 11-13. Those in Griffith & Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leyden*, are of Roman date, and in any case largely influenced by foreign ideas, particularly Greek.

f. MS. *w*, 'they'.

g. Posener transcribes ...[?] , but the facsimile shows that the scribe meant  , although  is very clumsily made with three vertical strokes instead of two.

h. The last two sentences should be emended on the basis of Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, pl. 135, 10, to read   (— also omitted by P. Turin)                             .

The invocation to the Seven Ḥaṭḥōrs, the Fates of Ancient Egypt, with their seven threads, is interesting. One cannot help being reminded of the Klōthes, spinners of Destiny in Greek mythology. But there is no evidence that the Ḥaṭḥōrs were ever spinners, and their threads appear to have been solely for the purpose of tying the protective knots so commonly used in Egyptian Magic. Compare a similar passage in another magical text (Pleyte and Rossi, *op. cit.*, pl. 135, 12-13):                               'The seven daughters of Prēc stand making lamentation and tying seven knots in their seven bands (*idg*).' It is not surprising to meet again the famous threat against Osiris already familiar to us from a Turin Papyrus,¹ for the Ancient Egyptians are well known to have adopted this attitude towards their gods when it suited their purpose. Like human beings the gods were to be won over by gifts, or prayers, or threats.

But why should the magician single out Osiris for punishment if Rēc-Ḥarakhte and the other gods failed to perform his will? The answer, I think, lies in the partly mortal nature of Osiris. He alone among the gods was deemed to have been slain on earth, and, although he had subsequently risen from the dead, his body was still believed to be preserved in his tomb at Busiris,² where it was visited by many pilgrims. Not only was Osiris joined to the multitude of Egyptians by a greater spiritual bond, but he was physically more within their power than remoter deities like the sun-god.

¹ Referred to in note *h*. Exactly the same threat, although damaged, in Posener, *op. cit.*, pl. 27 (No. 1048), ll. 5-6.

² Other towns also laid claim to the possession of some part of the body of Osiris. 'I will tear out his soul and annihilate his corpse, and I will set fire to every tomb of his', Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Third Series*, 1935, p. 73.

THE HIEROGLYPH FOR THE FLEDGLING

By NINA M. DAVIES

THE sign  for *t3* 'fledgling', G 47 in Dr. Gardiner's sign-list and fig. 1 below,¹ seems from indications on the monuments to represent a duckling. Sometimes, as part of a vase decoration, one or more ducklings are shown in the nest with open beak and spread wings, the whole forming a symmetrical design with a parent duck



FIG. 1

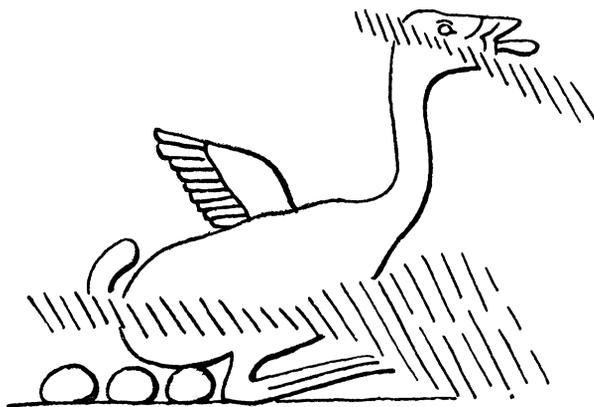


FIG. 2

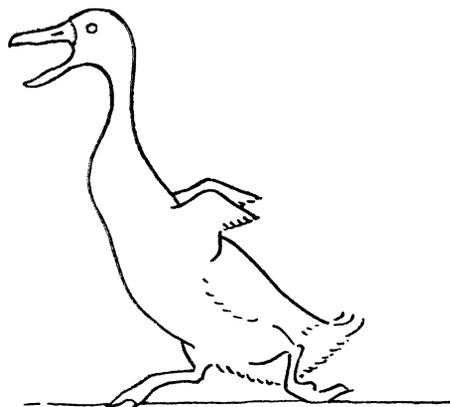


FIG. 3

on each side. An example of this is on the elaborate vase seen among the gifts presented to Tuthmosis IV in the Theban tomb (No. 76) of the general Tjenena.²

The hieroglyph  for *s3* 'nest', G 48 in the sign-list, comprises one or three fledglings drawn in exactly the same manner, but in the synonymous sign  (G 49) ducks, rather than ducklings, are seen swimming in a pool. The scene in Davies, *Deir el*

¹ From the Theban tomb of Rekhmirê (No. 100), see Newberry, *Tomb of Rekhmara*, pl. 2, l. 13 from right.

² A facsimile of my own, unfortunately at present not available for publication, clearly shows the form of the fledglings. See, too, Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altäg. Kulturgesch.*, pls. 46 (a) (b); Hay MSS. 29852, 1, fols. 171.183.

Gebrâwi 1, pl. 5, left, provides a good illustration of the former sign, and here a duck hovers immediately above the three ducklings in the nest.¹ On the north end-wall of the tomb of Hekerneheh at Shêkh 'Abd el-Kurnah (No. 64) the young prince Amenemhet holds the ⚡-shaped bird in one hand and a duck in the other, but only the head and wings of the first are now extant, and the wings of the second, see *JEA* XIV, pl. 12.

A sculptured example from Abu Gurâb now in Berlin (fig. 2) shows the fledgling evidently just emerging from the egg, though the disproportionate sizes of bird and eggs might rather suggest that the duckling was sitting upon them. Here the shape, with the long neck, oval body ending in the incipient up-turned tail, and large splayed foot, is very much that of a duckling in nature (fig. 3). Other nestlings were, however, drawn by the Egyptians in a similar manner, as for example in the Theban tomb of Menna (No. 69), where a young pigeon was probably intended.²

The colour of the hieroglyph ⚡ is often a clear light yellow with blue or black markings, the yellow being perhaps meant to represent the down. The fringe of little hairs on the breast and under the tail is red on white. The eye is a yellow circle with a blue or black pupil. The beak is red, and so is the large foot, which is not webbed. But neither are the feet of other aquatic birds webbed in the Egyptian pictures, those of the Meydûm geese not showing this feature in spite of their remarkable fidelity to nature. An alternative colour scheme is sometimes used, giving the body a light pink with blue or black markings, the circle of the eye white with a blue or black pupil, and the other parts red, as in the first case. A rather exceptional treatment, when the bird is painted against a yellow background, is that of a pink body with no markings but the ends of the tail feathers and claws touched with black (Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, pl. 45). The same variations of colour are found for the quail-chick ⚡, G 43, the sign for *w*. Blue and black, and sometimes yellow and pink, are interchangeable in Egyptian paintings.

¹ See also Davies, *The Tomb of Kenamûn*, I, pl. 28, where two fledglings in a nest undoubtedly belong to the group of ducks on the right.

² N. M. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pl. 50.

THE ṬŪKH EL-ḲARĀMŪŞ GOLD HOARD

By J. G. MILNE

THE great hoard of treasure found at Ṭŭkh el-Ḳarāmūş in 1905 included a group of 108 trichrysa of Ptolemy I and II: a list of these was given to me by the late Mr. C. C. Edgar in 1906, but, as I understood that he proposed to publish it, I did not use it. It does not, however, appear to have been printed, and no details as to the coins have been recorded, beyond the weights of 40 specimens selected for the Alexandria Museum, which are given in vol. iv of Svoronos' Corpus of Ptolemaic coins. As the composition of the group is a matter of some interest, I have summarized the list, substituting for Edgar's descriptions references to the numbers in Svoronos, and arranging them in his series: the weights, notes on dies, and marks are as given by Edgar.

PTOLEMY I. Series B, *a*.

| | | | |
|-----------|--------|------|--|
| Svor. 181 | 2 exx. | wts. | (1) 17·70, (2) 17·70. [Different dies.] |
| 196 A | 2 | | (1) 17·80, (2) 17·70. [Different dies.] |
| 204 | 6 | | (1) 17·80, (2) 17·80+, (3) 17·85, (4) 17·95, (5) 17·85, (6) 17·85+. [Five dies: (1) and (2) same die: (5) punch-marked with circle on obverse.] |
| 207 | 7 | | (1) 17·80+, (2) 17·80, (3) 17·80, (4) 17·70—, (5) 17·80, (6) 17·85, (7) 17·75. [(1), (2), and (3) same die: (4), (5), and (6) same die.] |
| 208 | 2 | | (1) 17·75, (2) 17·80. |
| 210 | 11 | | (1) 17·80, (2) 17·85, (3) 17·80, (4) 17·80+, (5) 17·85—, (6) 17·85—, (7) 17·80+, (8) 17·85, (9) 17·85, (10) 17·85, (11) 17·85+. [Different dies: monogram of (11) indistinct: (2) punch-marked with cross on obverse.] |
| 222 | 1 | | (1) 17·80. |

PTOLEMY II. Series A.

| | | | |
|-----------|--------|--|---|
| Svor. 357 | 3 exx. | | (1) 17·80, (2) 17·85+, (3) 17·70. [(2) and (3) same die.] |
| 365 A | 1 | | (1) 17·90—. |
| 367 | 5 | | (1) 17·85+, (2) 17·90, (3) 17·90, (4) 17·85, (5) 17·90. [Three dies: (3), (4), and (5) same die.] |
| 374 | 1 | | (1) 17·80. |

Series E.

| | | | |
|-----------|-------|--|------------------------------------|
| Svor. 537 | 1 ex. | | (1) 17·85. [Scratched on reverse.] |
|-----------|-------|--|------------------------------------|

Series Z, *a*.

| | | | |
|-----------|---------|--|---|
| Svor. 547 | 23 exx. | | (1) 17·80+, (2) 17·80, (3) 17·85, (4) 17·85, (5) 17·85, (6) 17·85+, (7) 17·85, (8) 17·70+, (9) 17·80, (10) 17·85+, (11) 17·85, (12) 17·85, (13) 17·80+, (14) 17·85, (15) 17·85—, (16) 17·85+, (17) 17·75, (18) 17·85, (19) 17·85, (20) 17·85, (21) 17·90—, (22) 17·80, (23) 17·75. [(1), (2), and (3); (5) and (6); (8) and |
|-----------|---------|--|---|

(9); (11) and (12); (13), (14), (15), (16), and (17); (18) and (19); same die for each group.]

Series Z, β .

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|---|
| Svor. 551 | 7 exx. wts. | (1) 17·80+, (2) 17·80+, (3) 17·85, (4) 17·90-, (5) 17·85, (6) 17·85, (7) 17·85+. [(1), (2), (3), and (4) same die.] |
| 558 | 1 | (1) 17·80. |
| 566 | 6 | (1) 17·80, (2) 17·85, (3) 17·85, (4) 17·90, (5) 17·85, (6) 17·75. [(1) and (2) same die: Σ scratched on reverse of (3).] |
| 573 | 2 | (1) 17·80, (2) 17·85. |
| 583 | 7 | (1) 17·85, (2) 17·80, (3) 17·85, (4) 17·85, (5) 17·85, (6) 17·85+, (7) 17·85. [(1) and (2) same die.] |
| 590 | 8 | (1) 17·90-, (2) 17·80+, (3) 17·90-, (4) 17·90+, (5) 17·90, (6) 17·85, (7) 17·85, (8) 17·90-. [(1) and (2) same die: (7) and (8) same die: (7) punch-marked with circle on obverse.] |
| 595 | 3 | (1) 17·75, (2) 17·75, (3) 17·85+. |

Series H (Tyre).

| | | |
|-------------|---|--|
| Svor. 630 A | 1 | (1) 17·80. |
| 633 A | 2 | (1) 17·70, (2) 17·70. |
| 639 | 4 | (1) 17·80, (2) 17·75, (3) 17·90, (4) 17·80. [(1) and (2) same die: date-letter of (4) badly struck and uncertain.] |

Series H (Sidon).

| | | |
|-----------|---|---------|
| Svor. 712 | 1 | 17·75+. |
| 715 A | 1 | 17·80. |

The weights given in this list show a noteworthy exactitude; only one coin is definitely over 17·9 grammes, and none below 17·7; if 17·8 be taken as the mean, the variation is less than one-half per cent. either way. That this is not exceptional in Ptolemaic gold coins appears from the weights given by Svoronos: in the series of trichrysa represented in this hoard he quotes 71 examples, of which only 1 is over 17·9, and 5 below 17·7; but of the latter, two are only just below, weighing 17·68, one is quoted from a sale catalogue in which the weights are unreliable, and the lightest, which weighs only 17·19, is described as ἀτεχνότερον—*i.e.* probably an ancient forgery. A similar exactitude is shown in the larger mnaeia of the same period: the weights of 86 are given, the mean being 27·7 grammes; three are over 27·8 and two below 27·6; and the later series, which go down to the mnaeia of Ptolemy VIII, keep up the tradition. Such a careful adjustment of weight is a thing almost unknown in Greek civic coinages of silver; the only instance is in the tetradrachms of Athens, other important commercial coinages commonly varying as much as 10 per cent., and the issues of minor states even more widely.

It would appear, however, that this care in securing the exact metal content of the coins was exercised by the Alexandrian officials only in the case of gold; the silver tetradrachms of the period in question range in weight from 14·40 to 12·15 grammes, and later ones are even more irregular in weight and also show a constantly increasing debasement, till by the end of the dynasty there is often only one part of silver to three of alloy. As for the copper, there seems to have been no attempt to adjust weights; the largest copper of Ptolemy II ranged from 105 to 74 grammes, the next size from

78 to 59, and so on; as a practical matter, the denominations of copper seem to have been distinguished by diameter, not by weight, and for this purpose the flans were cast in bevelled moulds before they were struck.

These facts point definitely to the conclusion that the Ptolemaic gold was designed for use in foreign exchange; the international Greek standard was based on silver, but the exceptionally high valuation of silver in Egypt made it impracticable to use the same silver currency in external and internal transactions, and so for international purposes silver values were expressed in gold currency. The standing of the Ptolemaic gold in the third century B.C. was not dissimilar to that of the English sovereign for a century after 1816; here also the standard was a silver one in origin, but the pound sterling was expressed in gold, until the inflation in the price of gold made it impossible to coin sovereigns without loss to the nation.

It is of interest to examine P. Zeno Cairo 59021 in relation to these facts. The papyrus contains a letter to Apollonius, the chief finance minister, from Demetrius, who had been directed to strike gold; Demetrius stated that he could recoin foreign gold of good weight and trichrysa, but could not handle gold plate or worn gold which was refused by the merchants, as he had no means of assaying it; so he asked to be provided with skilled assistance. This suggests that the ordinary operations of the mint—if it deserves the name—at Alexandria were of a rough-and-ready kind, and its products in silver and copper confirm this view; it was not equal to the task of striking coins of exact weight and fineness. If Demetrius got hold of a bunch of trichrysa like the one from the Ṭŭkh el-Ḳarāmūş hoard, he could manage to restrike them, but that was as far as he could go. It is rather surprising to find such inefficiency in the Civil Service of Alexandria, which is usually supposed to have been well organized.

The letter also suggests a question as to the dating of the trichrysa given by Svoronos. It was written in 258 B.C., and according to Svoronos the trichrysa of series Z, the latest of Ptolemy II, only go down to 266. Some of the coins are undated, others dated; and he regards the undated as earlier than the dated. But Demetrius evidently contemplated striking trichrysa eight years after the latest of the dated coins; and it may be that some at any rate of the undated coins are later than the dated. The contents of the Ṭŭkh el-Ḳarāmūş hoard would support this view: if the coins from the mints of Tyre and Sidon are excluded, on account of the distance from their home, there are 27 dated coins and 30 undated of series Z; the dated are 558 (1), 566 (6), 573 (2), 583 (7), 590 (8), and 595 (3), the undated 547 (23) and 551 (7). Amongst the dated there are four pairs of coins from the same die; amongst the undated one lot of five, one of four, one of three, and four of two, with a common die. As the general tendency of coins from the same die is to get separated in the course of circulation, the dated coins in the hoard had presumably seen more circulation than the undated; and, unless the hoard represents an accumulation over several years, its evidence is in favour of the undated coins of series Z being later than the dated.

THE ATTEMPTED SACRIFICE OF SESOSTRIS

By G. A. WAINWRIGHT

IN Bk. II, 107, Herodotus reports the attempt to put Sesostris to death by fire and the king's escape. He says that the would-be sacrificer 'piled wood round the house and set it on fire. When Sesostris was aware of this, he took counsel at once with his wife, whom (it was said) he was bringing with him; and she counselled him to lay two of his six sons on the fire and to make a bridge over the burning whereby they might pass over the bodies of the two and escape. This Sesostris did; two of his sons were thus burnt, but the rest were saved alive with their father.'

The king's escape from the fire and the death of the two substitutes was clearly a fertility sacrifice; for Sesostris, in this case at any rate, represents Ramesses II who was lauded by his courtiers as a fertility-king, and under whom there was a great resurgence of the fertility-religion;¹ the attempt on the king took place at the end of nine years,² which is well known as one of the regulation periods of the fertility-religion; the death was by fire, as so often in these cases; Manetho, as quoted by Josephus and Eusebius, records that the king, 'Sethosis who is also called Ramesses' as they call him, was summoned by the priest 'who was appointed over the sacrifices of Egypt'; the guards made little or no attempt to save the king (Diodorus); the attempt was made by his

¹ Wainwright, *The Sky-Religion in Egypt*, 14-17, 19, 62, 72, 75. The Sesostris story is compounded of many elements, the details of which are mainly indeed taken from the deeds of Darius I, Posener, *Bull. de l'inst. fr. d'arch. or. du Caire*, xxxiv (1934), 78-81. Though the name Sesostris is taken from that of Senwosret of the Twelfth Dynasty (Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, II, 8) the exploits themselves were attributed to Ramesses II, and were reflections of his conquest of the many Asiatic peoples at Qadesh. Thus from Egyptian sources we have the late story of Bentresh of Bakhtan, which is founded on Ramesses II's Hittite war and his marriage with the Hittite princess (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, III, §§ 429 ff.; Posener, *op. cit.*, 75-7) and ascribes to Ramesses far-reaching influences in Asia. Tacitus, *Annals*, II, 60, says that the world-wide conquests with the vast army were made by 'King Rhameses', and were sculptured on the temples at Thebes. Diodorus, I, 47, speaking of the Ramesseum sculptures of the Battle of Qadesh says that Osymandyas (*Wsr-mrt-rꜥ*, i.e. Ramesses II, Sethe, *op. cit.*, 6) led a vast army against the Bactrians, i.e. against distant parts of Asia. It is apropos of the two colossi of Ramesses II before the temple at Memphis that Herodotus, II, 110, tells the story of Sesostris, and Diodorus, I, 57, that of Sesosis, of his large army, world-wide conquests, and the attempt on his life. Finally Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I, §§ 98-102, quoting from Manetho, tells the story of 'Sethosis who is also called Ramesses'. Eusebius unfortunately cut the story in two, giving the latter part to 'Sethosis who is also called Ramesses' correctly, but transferring the first part to the Twelfth Dynasty, no doubt on the strength of the name Sesostris.

² The tradition of the nine years' period is strong. Diodorus says that the attempt at sacrifice took place at Pelusium on Sesosis' return from a victorious campaign (I, 57), which in I, 55, he says lasted nine years. Again, Eusebius in his quotations from Manetho also says the campaign took nine years in that part of the story which he gives to Sesostris (J. B. Aucher, *Eusebii Chronicon Bipartitum*, I, 211), but in the part given to 'Sethosis who is also called Ramesses' he, like Josephus (*Contra Apionem*, I, 100, 101) whose extract from Manetho he is here copying, says the king was recalled to Pelusium 'after a considerable time' (Aucher, *op. cit.*, 233). The duration of Sesostris' campaign is given again as nine years in Syncellus' two copies of Eusebius' extract from Manetho (Dindorf, *Georgius Syncellus in Corp. Script. Hist. Byz.*, Pars VII, I, pp. 111, 112).

brother, the would-be successor to the throne; finally though they all mention that the king took his kingdom again, or merely tell of his later acts, there is no mention of vengeance on the brother except by Herodotus in passing,¹ which would be extraordinary if it were merely a case of attempted murder. Though not an annual New Year ceremony, this very evident fertility sacrifice corresponds with the, presumably annual, human sacrifices which were anciently carried out in Egypt by fire 'in the Dog-days', *i.e.* at the Rising of Sirius, or in other words at the New Year,² and were perpetuated in modern Egypt at the festival of Naurūz, equally the New Year.³ Here the Mock King, the Abu Naurūz, was conducted in procession to the fire, out of the midst of which in modern Egypt he was allowed to jump, leaving his insignia behind to be burned.

In mentioning this old custom of human sacrifices Manetho and Diodorus make no mention of two victims, but as they are speaking generally, the one simply says that 'they used to burn living men to ashes', and the other that 'anciently men who were similarly coloured to Typhon were sacrificed by the kings'.⁴ The modern Egyptian survival has reverted to the single victim, as was usual in other countries. On this occasion the picture of the procession drawn by one visitor shows only a single Mock King or Abu Naurūz 'Father of the New Year' as the victim was called, and another observer only speaks of him in the singular.⁵ In reporting the Sesosis-Sesostris incident Diodorus, I, 57 confirms the detail of burning down the house, or 'tent' as he calls it, but as regards the sacrifice he merely tells that the king himself escaped, leaving it to be inferred that all the rest of the royal family perished in the flames. Though Josephus and Eusebius add the important pieces of information which have been mentioned above, they are not interested in the attempt on the king's life and finish their extract from Manetho with the return to Egypt and the fact that he took his own kingdom again.

It is Herodotus' account which concerns us here. Hitherto his mention of two victims would have seemed a mere mistake, which has crept into the story through some chance, such as the number of statues he was shown at Memphis, or some similar accident.⁶ But in view of what follows it becomes much more probable that it was the result of the dual capacity of the Pharaoh as King of Upper Egypt and King of Lower Egypt. In any case, it was clearly not chance, but a true record, that two substitutes are named instead of the usual one, as well as the curious and, as one would have thought, unnecessary procedure of burning down the house, or tent as Diodorus calls it, with the victims inside. Until recently I had been able to find only two parallels to the destruction of the house for the consummation of the sacrifice. One was in Sweden on the occasion of a famine which was ascribed to the lack of sacrifices by the king. The people, therefore, 'surrounded his house, and burnt him in it, giving

¹ For the references and discussion see Wainwright, *op. cit.*, 47, 48.

² *Op. cit.*, 60; Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, § 73 quoting from Manetho. Diodorus, I, 88, mentions the human sacrifices, but gives no particulars either as to the date or the method of carrying them out. He only says the victims must be 'red', the colour suitable to Seth-Typhon the storm-god.

³ Wainwright, *op. cit.*, 59, 60.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 53.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 59 and pl. ii facing p. 60.

⁶ Cf. *op. cit.*, 50, n. 2.

him to Odin as a sacrifice for good crops'.¹ The second comes from Greece. At the Stepterion festival at Delphi a hut was set up over the threshing-floor every nine years. It imitated the dwelling of a king, and contained a table of first-fruits. The royal hut was set on fire, and the table overturned, by a boy, who fled and returned crowned in triumph as the young New Year.² Both of these are singularly apt. They both are fertility sacrifices; in one case the king himself is burned in his palace; in the other the imitation palace is burned with its contents. The Greek festival is specially like the drama of Sesostris, for it took place at the end of a nine-year period, and the palace that was destroyed was a temporary one set up for the purpose. It is like the Naurūz festival in bringing in the New Year. In neither of these cases, however, was there more than the usual single victim. The sacrifice of two victims was peculiar to Egypt—to the Two Lands.

Hence it is of exceptional interest that not only the burning of the temporary hut set up for the purpose, but also the mock sacrifice of a pair of victims inside it has actually survived on African soil, and with strong suspicions of an Egyptian-Ptolemaic origin. This is among the aborigines of the island of Zanzibar, among whom it takes place at the Naurūz or the New Year, like the Egyptian ceremony.

In describing the life of the aborigines of Zanzibar and Pemba Mr. Ingrams says that the people of Makunduchi have some customs peculiar to themselves. One is that at the New Year festival, which is called Naoruz or Siku ya Mwaka 'they build a small hut or banda of dried coconut leaves and put two people inside. They then set fire to the hut and throw stones into the flames. The two men are supposed to remain inside, but in reality escape unseen through the back of the hut'.³

Whereas the Swedish and Greek cases just quoted were very good parallels to the Sesostris sacrifice, here at Zanzibar the parallel is complete, for we have not only the burning down of a temporary hut, but also the two victims instead of the usual one. Moreover, the fact that the house is only a temporary hut set up for the occasion, and is made of dry leaves, may account for Diodorus' variation in calling Herodotus' 'house' a 'tent' and the fuel 'reeds' instead of Herodotus' 'wood'. Hence the structure put up for Sesostris was probably the *reshshah* (رَشَّشَة) which may be seen everywhere in the fields of modern Egypt. This would be the Egyptian equivalent of the Zanzibari 'small hut or banda of dried coconut leaves', for it is a temporary residence of dry maize stalks, or no doubt of reeds if they were handy, and would burn furiously if set alight.

There is much evidence to make it practically certain that the custom at Zanzibar was introduced there in Greek times and under Ptolemaic influence. In this case it would actually be a modern survival of the Egyptian custom itself, and not merely an independent, but parallel, occurrence. In the first place the custom is clearly ancient, for it is peculiar to the aborigines of the island, the newer-comers not sharing in it. Then it is well established that the influence of the Ptolemies was steadily spreading down the Red Sea and out along the east African coast. This was due to their desire

¹ S. Laing, *The Heimskringla* (London, 1889), I, 323, and cf. Wainwright, *op. cit.*, 48, n. 2.

² Jane E. Harrison, *Themis*, 426, 427.

³ Ingrams in *Man*, 1925, 141.

for elephants for their wars, and caused them to maintain hunting establishments all along the coast as far away as Cape Guardafui. Ptolemy II Philadelphus sent out Satyros and Eumedes,¹ and perhaps also a certain Pythagoras.² Ptolemy III set up an inscription at Adulis saying that he caught elephants like his father.³ One of his chief huntsmen was Lichas, whom he sent out in the early years of his reign.⁴ Another was Pytholaos whose clerk at the end of the reign, in 223 B.C., was given a draft on the royal banker at Edfu for the pay of the expedition.⁵ Pythangelos is also often mentioned in the correspondence of this reign.⁴ Ptolemy IV Philopator sent out Lichas again,² and also Charimortos and his relief Alexander, the first and last of whom have left us inscriptions.⁶ Leon was also probably sent by him.² Charimortos was at work again under Ptolemy V Epiphanes.²

Fortunately we can trace these peoples' activities, and so we know that they took them right down as far as Cape Guardafui, the Horn of Africa. In Ptolemy II's reign Satyros founded Philotera-Kosseir, Strabo, xvi, iv, § 5, and Eumedes founded Ptolemais Epitheras,⁷ three thousand stadia north of Adulis,⁸ hence probably near Suakin. Ptolemy III went farther south, to Adulis itself which is near Axum in Abyssinia and south of the modern Massawa in Eritrea. He even went outside the Straits of Bāb el-Mandeb, where his chief huntsman, Pytholaos, left his name (Strabo, xvi, iv, §§ 14, 15). In the same reign Pythangelos organized two hunting-grounds in the same district, one nearly as far as the Straits, Strabo, xvi, iv, § 14, and the other outside them, Strabo, xvi, iv, §§ 14, 15. Pytholaos and Pythangelos were by no means the only ones to pass outside the Red Sea, for besides them Lichas, Leon, and Charimortos all left their names along the coast as far as Notu-ceras, Cape Guardafui.⁹ Ptolemy II reigned from 283 to 245 B.C., and Alexander's inscription can be dated from internal evidence to 208–206 B.C.,¹⁰ and Ptolemy V Epiphanes reigned from 203 to 181 B.C.

Thus, Ptolemaic influence was stretching down towards Cape Guardafui during much of the third century B.C. A hundred years later this influence had reached right down to Zanzibar, for a coin of Ptolemy X Soter, 115–80 B.C., has actually been found at

¹ Rostovtzeff in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, iv (1908), 303. A Satyros, who is no doubt this one, made a dedication at the desert temple of Redesiyah, probably on his way out, see Hall in *Classical Review*, xii (1898), 280, n. 2.

² Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, 303.

³ The inscription itself has not yet been recovered, but is known to us from a copy made in the sixth century A.D. by the monk Cosmas Indicopleustes when on his travels, J. W. McCrindle, *The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk* (Hakluyt Society, 1897), 57, 58.

⁴ Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, 302.

⁵ E. R. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 176.

⁶ Hall, *op. cit.*, 275, 276, 280.

⁷ Strabo, xvi, iv, § 7. A hieroglyphic inscription was set up by Ptolemy II at Pithom recording the voyage of an elephant-hunter, who founded a town, named it after the king, ploughed fields there, captured elephants, and brought them back by ship, Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, pl. x, ll. 22–4, and p. 18, or better, Brugsch in *ZÄS* xxxii, 85, 86. The naming of the city after the king shows that the inscription refers to Eumedes and Ptolemais, and not to Satyros and Kosseir. Moreover, no fields could have been ploughed in the hopeless desert at Kosseir. In any case corn-growing was not a success at these southern places, for the expeditions had to be kept supplied from Egypt. We have a letter written from Berenice in 224 B.C. about the distress caused to one of Pythangelos' (apparently) settlements through the shipwreck of a cargo of grain, Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, 303; Bevan, *op. cit.*, 176.

⁸ W. H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, 22, § 4.

⁹ Strabo, xvi, iv, § 15, Deire being at the Straits themselves, *cf.* § 4.

¹⁰ Hall, *op. cit.*, 275.

Msasani on the mainland, described as being a little north of Dār es-Salām, which would place it a little south of Zanzibar.¹ By the middle of the first century A.D. trading voyages from Egypt were being regularly undertaken, in which ships called at the various ports all down the coast as far as Rhapta and Menuthias, places at present unidentified but clearly in the neighbourhood of Zanzibar. This is shown by the *Periplus*, which was written about the year A.D. 60,² and gives the sailing instructions and the imports and exports of each place. The same document says that a colony of Greeks was by that time established on the island of Socotra, where they formed part of the cosmopolitan trading community.³

In view of this steady advance of Egyptian-Ptolemaic influence some of the customs peculiar to the aborigines of Makunduchi in the island of Zanzibar take on a special significance. The one, which has just been discussed, of simulating the sacrifice of a pair of victims at the New Year festival and of burning down a hut to do it, does not stand alone as coming from Ptolemaic Egypt. Another is clearly the dance to exorcize a sea-devil, stated to be foreign, who came in a canoe holding a trident in his hand. The dance is performed with boats, paddles, and various weapons, one of which is the un-African trident. As Mr. Ingrams says, one cannot but see the Greek god Poseidon in the trident-bearing, foreign sea-devil.⁴ As a matter of fact Poseidon had been worshipped on the Abyssinian coast at some time before A.D. 522, in which year⁵ Cosmas copied another inscription at Adulis besides the above-mentioned one of Ptolemy III. This inscription records the conquests of an Axumite king whose name has been lost, who says among other things that he 'offered sacrifice to Zeus and to Ares and to Poseidon, whom I entreated to befriend all who go down to the sea in ships'.⁶ There is at least one more custom still observed in the neighbourhood of Zanzibar which clearly originated in Egypt. It is that, inland from Mafia Island in the Ulanga Valley, the Wandamba consider that it is good for a pregnant woman to eat hippopotamus meat.⁷ In Egypt the hippopotamus was sacred to Seth the storm- and fertility-god, the female hippopotamus, Thoëris, was his concubine.⁸ It is more important still at the moment that she was patroness of pregnancy and childbirth.⁹ In modern Egypt native would-be mothers have discovered her well-known black, or dark-green, basalt statue of Twenty-sixth Dynasty date which is now in the Cairo Museum.¹⁰ They come there to rub it and

¹ Ingrams in *Man*, 1925, 140. This is no isolated phenomenon, for a Jewish copper coin of the almost contemporary, but somewhat earlier, Simon Maccabaeus, 143-136 B.C., has been dug up at Marianhill behind the harbour of Durban. This is right down in Natal, farther south from Zanzibar than Zanzibar is from Cape Guardafui, and comparatively not very far from the southern extremity of Africa. The coin had been very little used, and stone implements were found in the same stratum, Otto and Stratmann in *Anthropos*, IV (1909), 168, 169.

² W. H. Schoff, *op. cit.*, 15.

³ Schoff, *op. cit.*, 34, § 30. For the identification of Dioscorida as Socotra see 133.

⁴ Ingrams, *op. cit.*, 140. The tridents are made of iron. ⁵ J. W. McCrindle, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. x.

⁶ *op. cit.*, 66.

⁷ Hodgson in *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, LVI, 65.

⁸ Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, § 19; Roeder in Roscher, *Lexicon*, s.v. *Thuëris*, col. 889, c. In Greek times her cult was specially strong at Seth's city of Oxyrhynchus, Rusch in *PW*, s.v. *Thoëris*, col. 304.

⁹ Seligman and Murray in *Man*, 1911, No. 73; Roeder, *op. cit.*, cols. 894-7; Rusch, *op. cit.*, col. 303.

¹⁰ Daressy, *Statues de divinités*, No. 39145; Maspero, *Guide to the Cairo Museum* (trans. Quibell) 5th edn., 190, No. 1016 and fig. 56. For the shrine in which it was found see Roeder, *Naos*, No. 70027. It is also fig. 2, pl. H of Seligman and Murray's article.

then rub themselves. This, however, can hardly be a survival from ancient Egypt, but need only be a case of self-evident sympathetic magic.

Thus it is certain that the east African coast received much influence from Egypt in Ptolemaic times. Hence anything of an Egyptian nature that is found there can confidently be derived from that country. Thus the fact that a ceremony is still carried on by the aborigines of Zanzibar including two unusual features which are reported of Sesostris in Egypt, makes it certain that these are really derived from Egypt. It also makes it certain that ancient Egypt really had a form of the world-wide sacrifice of the king that was peculiar to itself. Its peculiarity consisted in the sacrifice of two victims instead of the usual one. No doubt one was required as a substitute for the Pharaoh as King of Upper Egypt, and the other as a substitute for him as King of Lower Egypt. The same amelioration of the horror of the original sacrifice has taken place at Zanzibar as in modern Egypt for Abu Naurūz. In both cases the victims are nowadays allowed to escape out of the fire which has been lighted round them. The Zanzibar ceremony has, however, retained the old characteristics which the modern Egyptian one has lost. There the house or tent is still burned down and the two substitutes still play their part. But they probably do it without any memory of the august personage whom they represent.

NOTES ON EGYPTIAN LEXICOGRAPHY

By BATTISCOMBE GUNN

I. The idiomatic expressions *hr tp, tp mꜣ*

EGYPTIAN lexicography in its present stage suffers chiefly from two defects: first, that to many words, such as names of plants, birds, garments, implements, occupations, no meaning, except within the limits of a rather large category, can be attached with confidence; secondly, that although the meanings of many words and phrases have been ascertained fairly closely, for us they are still synonymous with other words and phrases, which makes it probable that we do not understand them exactly. Further progress with the study of some words of the former class seems to be at present impossible; we have, for example, a few occurrences of a word for a kind of plant, and we may be sure that the plant meant is known to us, but the data for identification are lacking, and we can only await new examples of the word in contexts which will tell us more about the *differentiae* of the plant meant. For some words and phrases of the second class the prospects are more hopeful, for probably in many cases the material for a more precise determination of the meaning is accessible in known texts, and only requires careful study for distinctions of meaning or usage to emerge. This may be specially true of some short phrases of the kind which are often called ‘compound prepositions’; two of these are dealt with here.

1. *Hr tp > hr dꜣdꜣ > ḳꜣꜣꜣꜣ-, ḳꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣ*

Literally ‘under the head of’, this phrase means ‘beside’ in the quite special sense of a person or thing being beside a recumbent person. The following examples are known to me.

A. *Old Egyptian.*

(1) ‘It is a reminder of (the time when) a messenger of Beḥesti came for some leather while I was sitting beside you (*m wn-i hms-k hr tp-k*) . . . and when you said “May the wood of this my bed which bears me . . .”’, Gardiner & Sethe. *Egn. Letters to the Dead* 1, 2, with *JEA* XVI, 147.

B. *Middle Egyptian.*

(2) ‘He found him lying (*sdr*) on a mat . . ., a slave standing beside him massaging (?) him (*hmw hr tp-f hr cm:m:f*), another rubbing his feet.’ *P. Westcar*, 7, 14–16.

(3) ‘The Majesty of this god came beside this High Priest of Memphis’ (*iy-n hm n ntr pn hr tp wr hrp hmwt pn*). BM No. 147 (Stela of Taimḥōtep), l. 9. The High Priest was asleep; see pp. 2–3 above.

C. *Demotic.*¹

(4) ‘A recumbent female figure, . . . two images of Anubis being by her feet’

¹ I have no example of the phrase in Late Egyptian.

(*wrt rpyt iw's sdr*, . . . *iw twt 2 n Inp hr d:d: rd's*). *P. Fun. Rhind* 2, legend of vignette of p. 3; see Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind*, 56, bottom. Note that here the presence of 'head' in the phrase is forgotten.

(5) 'And you lie down (*mtw-k sdr*) on a rush mat. . . . Then he makes answer to you by dream. . . . Formula . . . "O great god . . . come in beside me (*im r hnw hr d:d:i*)".' *P. Dem. Mag.*, 5, 17-21.

D. Coptic.

(6) 'The living will go beside the dead (ϩⲁⲗⲟⲟϥ (*sic?*) ⲡⲏⲛⲉⲧⲙⲁϥⲧ) saying "Arise".' *Apoc. Elias*, ed. Steindorff, *A* text, 31, 11.

(7) 'And I will stretch thee upon the earth . . . and I will cause all the birds to be beside thee' (ϩⲁⲗⲟⲛ: ἐπὶ σέ). *Ezekiel*, *B* text, ed. Tattam, xxxii. 4.

(8, 9) "'When thou arisest in the morning, the monk's habit which thou wilt find beside thee (ϩⲁⲗⲟⲛ), put it upon . . . Shenūte". . . . And Apa Pjōl arose in the morning, and he took the monk's habit which he had found beside him (ϩⲁⲗⲟϥ) . . .'
Sinuthii Vita, ed. Leipoldt, 11, 10. 20.

No doubt in the earlier language *hr tp* was still used with conscious reference to the head end, so to speak, of a recumbent person; on Middle Kingdom coffins we find the following speeches of Nūt to the recumbent deceased: 'I place Isis by thy head (*hr tp-k*) for thee', and 'I place Nephthys by thy feet (*hr rdwi-ki*) for thee', Lacau, *Sarcophages* . . . (*CCG*), p. 201 (28055), etc., quoted in Gardiner & Sethe, *op. cit.*, 14. Compare the frequent pictures of the two goddesses standing at the head and feet of the mummy respectively.

And *hr tp* was also used with quite literal meaning. In Middle Egyptian we have examples in *Bk. Dead*, Spell 162 (Lepsius, *Totenbuch*), title and ll. 6, 7, 9. In the rubric directions are given for a picture of the celestial cow *Iht* to be drawn upon a sheet of new papyrus which is to be placed *hr tp-f*. This certainly means 'under his (the deceased's) head',¹ for hypocephali bear pictures of this cow, and are inscribed with extracts from this spell. We must therefore take *hr tp* elsewhere in the spell as referring to the generation of heat under the head of the deceased, and not beside him. The Coptic ϩⲁⲗⲏ-, ϩⲁⲗⲟⲗ has a number of meanings other than that given above, the commonest of these being 'in advance of', in space or time.

In the light of the idiomatic meaning of *hr tp* we can doubtless interpret the old title which is written sometimes $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$, sometimes $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$, but which must be read *hri tp nsu*, as was shown in Gardiner & Sethe, *op. cit.*, 15, from a passage in the stela of Tjetji (BM 614, l. 4; cf. also Blackman in *JEA* xvii, 56). The *hri tp nsu* was doubtless 'chamberlain' in the archaic sense of 'an officer who attended the king in his bedroom' (*NED*, s.v.). That it implies an intimate attendance on the king is shown by the passage from Tjetji quoted Gardiner & Sethe, *loc. cit.*: *sk wi m b:k-f n dt-f, hri tp-f n wn m:c* 'I being his personal servant, his veritable chamberlain'.

¹ The scribe of this papyrus seems to have tried to show that the phrase is here to be taken literally by writing *tp* all four times in this phrase as $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$, the determinative 𓆏 being used with this word in only four other places (17, 18; 78, 40; 97, 2; 154, 13) in the 165 spells of the papyrus; full references in Lieblein, *Index. alphab. du Livre des Morts publ. par R. Lepsius*, s.v.

2. *Tp mꜣꜥ*.

Literally 'on the temple', this phrase means 'accompanying', 'escorting', and expresses the spatial relation of a moving person or thing to a moving person beside him or it. I have the following examples, all Middle Egyptian.

(1, 2) From the well-known inscription, *El Bersheh* 1, pl. 14, accompanying the scene of dragging the colossal statue of Dhuthotpe. 'I came to fetch it, rejoicing, . . . boats equipped with good things accompanying my army of young men, troops bearing lances escorting it' (*hrwꜣw ꜥprw m špssw tp mꜣꜥ n mšꜥ-ꜥ n nfrw, dꜣmw hr skw tp mꜣꜥ-f*). The statue is of course in motion; it is evidently being transported along the bank of the Nile or a canal, and barges laden with refreshments of various kinds are keeping up with the 'army of young men' who are seen hauling the statue on pl. 15. 'Troops bearing lances' are shown on pl. 13; they presumably form a guard of honour to the colossus. Cf. Gardiner, *Notes on . . . Sinuhe*, 92, where this passage is similarly interpreted.

(3) 'I went forth from the Palace in gladness . . . (lacuna) . . . my city rejoicing along with me' (*nꜣwt-ꜥ hr nhm tp mꜣꜥ-ꜥ*). *Rīfeh* 7, 16.

(4) *Sinuhe*, B 243 ff. 'There came a capable head-caterer of the Palace, with gifts from the King for the Asiatics who had come in charge of me to conduct me to the Roads of Horus. . . . Every butler was at his task. I set out and sailed, kneading and straining being done beside me (*šbb ꜥth tp mꜣꜥ-ꜥ*), until I reached the landing-place of Itj-tawi.' *Sinuhe* will have travelled, with a few personal attendants, on a passenger-boat, accompanying which was such a 'kitchen boat' as that found by the MMA Expedition among the tomb-models of Meketre, and described by Winlock in *Bull. MMA*, Dec. 1920, Pt. II, 30;¹ on this kitchen boat the beer was brewed. Gardiner, *Notes on . . . Sinuhe*, 92, would transpose *šbb ꜥth tp mꜣꜥ-ꜥ*, making it follow immediately after *wꜣꜣw nb hr irt-f*, and so make the brewing take place before *Sinuhe* set sail, on the ground that the two phrases are inseparable. I do not agree with this, for *wꜣꜣw nb hr irt-f* may well describe the busy preparations for the journey apart from the brewing, which was done *en route*. This was the view of Maspero, *Mémoires de Sinouhit*, 72: 'On lui fit de la bière fraîche, de la *bouza*, tout le long du voyage.' I am not convinced that Egyptian beer would keep (*būza* does not), and the journey by water from El-Ḳanṭarah to Lisht will have taken some time.

(5) De Morgan, *Cat. Mon.* 1, 66 (another bad copy *Rec. Trav.* xv, 178-9), ll. 9-12. From an inscription of Tuthmosis IV describing his expedition to quell a revolt in Nubia. 'After this His Majesty proceeded to overthrow . . . in Nubia, valorous in his boat . . . like Rēꜥ when he shows himself in the Mesenktet bark . . . full of red and green cloth, horses in ranks accompanying him (*htrw m skw tp mꜣꜥ-f*), his army with him (*mšꜥ-f hꜣꜣꜥ-f*) . . . the fleet, equipped, following him.' Evidently the king was proceeding by water, and the chariotry was keeping abreast of him on the bank; cf. ex. 1.

¹ After pointing out that cooking meals on a passenger-boat would have been very inconvenient, he says: 'The kitchen therefore was upon a second boat which followed behind and was moored alongside at meal times. On board women ground flour; men baked. . . .'

Wb., *Belegst.*, s.v. *mꜣꜥ*, gives two examples of a phrase *m tp mꜣꜥ* with which I can do nothing.¹ Anyhow this phrase, with *m* before *tp*, is a different one; here *tp* will of course be a noun. *Tp mꜣꜥ* occurs in *P. Ebers*, 99, 16, in the dual, as parts of the head.²

II. 'It m 'to take possession of' or the like

The idiomatic use of $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$, though it has several times been implicitly recognized by translators (of exx. 1, 2, 4, 11, 13 below), is not given in *Wb.*, and so far as I know has never been pointed out; it therefore seems worth while to put its existence on record, illustrating it with examples in which the literal meaning 'to take away from' seems to be excluded.

1. 'I cause them to see Thy Majesty as the Lord of the Pinion,' *it m dggt-f r mrr-f* 'who takes possession of what he sees as much as he wishes'. *Urk.*, IV, 617, 9 (Poetic Stela of Tuthmosis III).

2. 'His (Rē's) lips trembled, all his members quaked,' *mtwt it-n-s* (var. *it-s*) *m iwꜣ-f* 'the poison, it took possession of his flesh.' Pleyte & Rossi, *Pap. Turin*, 132, 7 = *P. Ch. Beatty* XI, *rt.*, 1, 12 (Legend of Rē and Isis).

3. *Nb wr hr itt m iwꜣt nb-s* 'The great lord takes possession of that which has no lord.' *Peas.*, B 1, 92-3.

4. *Hnm-t m iwꜣ-f, rd-t m tp-f, it-t m wpt-f* 'Thou (the uraeus) unitest with his flesh, thou growest upon his head, thou takest possession of the crown of his head'. Erman, *Hymnen an d. Diadem*, p. 53 (20, 1-2).

5. 'I have come into this land,' *it-n-i m rdwi-i* 'having got control over my feet'. *Bk. Dead*, Spell 17 (Nu), 109.

6. *Ink . . . it m Dꜣt hꜣryt* 'I am . . . one who has taken possession of the nether Dē'et.' Lacau, *Textes Rel.*, 19, 14.

7. 'Orion has said to the Great Bear:' *it m š(?)³·k, it-i m š(?)³·i* "'take possession of thy pool (?), and I will take possession of my pool (?), that we may make a place for this N.'" Lacau, *Textes Rel.*, 20, 85-92. The meaning is somewhat obscure to me.

8. 'He (the serpent) set me down intact,' *wꜣꜣ-kwi, nn itt im-i* 'I was unharmed, not being overpowered.'⁴ *Sh. S.*, 79-80.

9. 'He (Sesostris) is a master of grace, great in sweetness,' *it-n-f m mꜣꜣwt* 'he has gained love.' *Sinuhe*, R 90 = G 46. B has here (l. 66) *it-n-f mꜣꜣwt* with similar meaning.⁵ The 'love' is that felt for the king by his subjects; the text continues 'his city loves him more than itself.'

10. 'Behold, Egypt has, alas, poured⁶ water to the ground;' *it n-f nꜣt ꜥ m mꜣꜣr* 'strength

¹ A phrase *m mꜣꜣwi* (if that, and not *m gꜣwi*, be the correct reading of $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$) occurs *Urk.* III, 4, 5 (Naples Stela): 'they (the Asiatics) killed very many on both sides of me (*m mꜣꜣwi-i*) without any one raising his hand against me.'

² The difference between *mꜣꜣ* and *tp* (noun) *mꜣꜣ* is perhaps that the former is the whole of the temple, the latter the top of it.

³ $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$, $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$.

⁴ 'To take away from' a person is not *it m* but *it m-ꜥ*.

⁵ Omission of *m* here perhaps due to initial *m* of *mꜣꜣwt*.

⁶ After *stt* $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ is to be read, a further determinative, not $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$. $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ is not uncommon in this manuscript, but elsewhere regularly has a low sign (usually another determinative) over it.

Senmut tomb, Ramesseum, &c. The "Foreleg" constellation was quite familiar to the Hebrews. The *Kesil* כְּסִיל of Job ix, 9 is, of course, the same word as כְּסִיל vocalized *kaesael* by the Massoretes in Lev. iii, 4. 10. 15; iv, 9; vii, 4; Ps. xxxviii, 8; Job xv, 27; Sirach xlvii, 19, translated "loin" in AV and *φολα* in the LXX; Babylonian *kaslu* Kujunjik 8614; Holma, *Körperteile*, 62; cf. *kuzallu* (read *ku-sal-lu*) "big-loined". כְּסִילִים in Isa. xiii, 10, wrongly vocalized as a plural *kesilim* by the Massoretes and mistranslated "constellations" in AV, is obviously a dual *keslayim* "the two Forelegs" and refers to Ursa maior and Ursa minor both having the characteristic shape  of a *hpš*. The author of the "Blessings of Jacob"—a poem comparing the twelve tribes of Israel to the twelve signs of the zodiac—knew the astromythical explanation of these two constellations, for he says of the Twins *Shimeron* and *Levi* "in their arrogance they mutilated *shor*" = Taurus, cp. Zimmern, *ZA* VII, 162.

It is probable that the Hebrews got the "Foreleg" constellation from Egypt, since no constellation of this name is found in the Babylonian star-lists we know, and since *kesil* is coupled in Job ix, 9 with the hitherto unexplained constellation  *āsh* (שֶׁשׁ in Job xxxviii, 32 trs. and read עֶשֶׂר) which is evidently No. V  *shw* *šw* "the many stars" in the Theban list of hour-stars: Brugsch, *Thes.* I, 188 a star-cluster: *Coma Berenices*. The Babylonians write MULMUL-MUL = constellation star-star for the Pleiades.

The Greeks represent the Bull as a mere *protomē*, "forepart", evidently supposing that the two hind-legs were wrenched off. Both the "Foreleg of the Bull", the "Bucranium", and the "Wailing goddess" standing between the two Lions—Leo and Leina on Proctor's map, *neshu* and *neshtu* "Lion" and "Lioness" on the cuneiform uranographic tablet found in Assur and published by Weidner, *Archiv f. Orientforschung*, IV, 73 ff.—is shown on an early Greek (?) vase-painting found in Boeotia (Wolters, *Eph. arch.*, 1892, 221, pl. 10, 1). Both these lions are seen on the Denderah circular planisphere.

Dr. Chatley has overlooked the far-reaching discovery of Prof. P. V. Neugebauer (*Vierteljahrschrift d. Astronomischen Gesellschaft*, LXIX, 76, review of G. Martiny's book) that the planisphere of Denderah is oriented in such a way that the shorter axis of the temple runs through η Ursae Maioris and Spica, that is through the great circle used for the orientation (on New Year's morning before sunrise) of all Assyrian temples. This being the case, and the close affinity of the figures of Sagittarius, Capricornus, and Aquarius in Denderah with their Babylonian counterparts being known since Hinke's publication on the Babylonian boundary-stones (pp. 98–102, fig. 32–5), it was legitimate to search further in that direction.

This has been done with complete success and far-reaching results. But I wish to add one more example to show how impossible it is for the astronomer to succeed by guesswork where only philology and archaeology combined can succeed:

The  *Ht nwt* "womb of heaven" (Brugsch *hst mw* "uterus aquarum"), identified by Pogo with the Pleiades—Dr. Chatley seeing quite well that the rectascensional distance from Sirius excludes this possibility—is represented in the Senmut

tomb as a characteristic almond-shaped configuration , see Gundel, *op. cit.*,

pl. 3, fig. a. This figure survives in King Alfonso el Sabio's *Libros del Saber*, I, 116 for Corona australis—and that is what it is, of course.

'On the ceiling of the tomb of Sethos I in Thebes (Gundel, *op. cit.*, pl. 5, fig. b) the constellation is shown clearly as a wreath (*corona*) with the fourteen stars of it catalogued by Hipparchus and the clasp closing the *corona* known as *gemma* in the parallel figure used for Corona borealis.

'This identification yields, of course, another very welcome fixed point in the decan-series besides Orion and Sirius. The *Srkt* (Hugo Winckler = Arabic *Suleiqah*) or Scorpion-goddess is the goddess *Isharra* in Scorpio. The Fishes (*hanni*) identified p. 124 for unknown reasons with Scorpio are Pisces and nothing else. The Bell-wether ^{MUL}LU-LIM of the Babylonians (our Andromeda) is the Ram ($\sigma\rho\omega$) and the ship in the Senmut tomb is our Argō (Plutarch, *de Iside*, c. 22).

'The "Giant" *nht* of the Theban "hour-stars" list is "the Giant" = "^{MUL}GULA" = "^{kakkab}rabū" identified by Father Kugler with the Aquarius of the Babylonians; the *pšw* "that single star" the ^{kakkab}edū "the single star" = μ Herculis of the Babylonians (Kugler, *Sternkunde, Erg.* II, 186, No. VI).

'Neither the hour-stars nor the decans are confined to an "equatorial" belt 60° broad. The Babylonian so-called astrolabes or lists of thirty-six decan-stars—three for each month—show that they belong to all three "roads" or "wheels" (*harran* means both) of the sky, to the *harran* "En-lil or northern cap, to the *harran* "Anu 16½° north and south of the Equator, and to the *harran* "E-A, the southern "oceanic belt", e.g. Corona australis.'

Dr. Chatley replies as follows:

'Dr. Eisler's interesting letter calls for a few remarks:

'(1) My reference to the "obviously Greek" elements in the Denderah planisphere related to the zodiac and planets and did not exclude an ultimate Babylonian origin for the zodiac.

'(2) The "jackal on hoe" which appears on the Denderah ceiling is too near the pole to be satisfactorily identified with Cassiopeia.

'(3) The relation of the Gilgamesh legend to the Pyramid and Coffin texts is new to me and I do not feel competent to discuss it.

'(4) Ursa minor has not previously been identified with a second ox-leg.

'(5) Professor P. V. Neugebauer's orientation suggestion had not come to my notice, but it needs further study, since it does not agree with the orientation actually referred to in the inscriptions in the Denderah temple itself. Since the almost complete failure of Lockyer's *Dawn of Astronomy* to provide any results consistent with archaeology the subject of orientation has been suspect. One of the objections is that if no date is fixed beforehand there is a wide choice of stellar risings to which any orientation can be referred.

'(6) The positions of Corona Australis, Scorpio, Pisces, and Aries are all inconsistent with Dr. Eisler's identifications. In this connexion I would mention Petrie's new book *The Wisdom of the Egyptians* (1940), which I had not seen when my article was sent in.

Broadly speaking, Petrie arrives at the same results as myself, although there are some important differences in detail.

(7) The Babylonian "decans" have been discredited in most recent writings on the matter, the suggestion being that there were three stars in the three belts each month and not, as with the true Egyptian decans, one star (or star group) every ten days. It is a fact that Diodorus Siculus speaks of the Babylonian stars in the latter way but this may have been a confusion with Egyptian ideas.

'As to the width of the belt, some of the hour constellations probably went outside the sixty degrees, but I fail to see why the index stars should do so. Petrie puts the decans flatly on the ecliptic and the major part of the horary groups on the equator. H. O. Lange and O. Neugebauer (*Papyrus Carlsberg No. 1*, Copenhagen, 1940) identify Nut with the decanal ecliptic band.'

BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT¹

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1939-1940)

By MARCUS N. TOD

THE following Bibliography, covering the years 1939 and 1940, continues that for 1937 and 1938 published in this *Journal*, xxv, 89-93. The restriction of communications due to the war precludes access to the continental publications of the latter part of 1939 and the whole of 1940, and I am well aware of the incompleteness of the present survey. Nevertheless, in view of the importance of the materials here noticed and the advisability of maintaining, so far as is possible, the periodic appearance of this Bibliography, I gratefully accept the Editor's offer to publish it despite its inevitable imperfections.

R. FLACELIÈRE and J. and L. ROBERT give a brief summary of recent work on the Greek inscriptions of Egypt in their admirable 'Bulletin Épigraphique' (*Rev. ét. gr.* LII, 531-5).

The death of C. C. EDGAR on May 10, 1938, removed one who had rendered valuable service to epigraphical as well as to papyrological studies; see the obituary appreciations by H. I. BELL in *JEA* xxiv, 133-4, and by O. GUÉRAUD in *Ann. Serv.* xxxix, 3-10.

F. BILABEL has issued a further instalment of the invaluable *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten* (v, 2, Heidelberg, 1938), which he has continued since the death of its founder, F. PREISIGKE; the new fascicule comprises 592 documents, of which 288 are inscriptions. To J. ZINGERLE we owe (*Jahreshefte*, xxx, *Beiblatt*, 164-5) corrections of a number of proper names appearing in inscriptions included in earlier volumes of this work (Nos. 1684, 1780, 1808, 1839, 4046, 4272, 5858, 5860); most of these are examined and rejected by L. ROBERT (*Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, 248 ff.; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LII, 532-4, Nos. 541-2, 548, 552-4).

Inscriptions contribute to the materials of the important work of W. OTTO and H. BENGTSON on the decline of the Ptolemaic Empire (*Zur Geschichte des Niederganges des Ptolemäerreiches*, *Abh. München*, xvii; cf. W. W. TARN, *JHS* LIX, 323-4, C. B. WELLES, *Cl. Weekly*, xxxiii, 279-81, J. and L. ROBERT, *Rev. ét. gr.* 530-1, Nos. 529, 531, 535), and also, though not largely, to W. PEREMANS's study of the position of foreigners and natives in Egypt during the third century B.C., the relations of the various ethnic groups to each other and to the government, and the government's attitude to immigrants (*Vreemdelingen en Egyptenaren in Vroeg-Ptolemaisch Egypte*, Louvain, 1937; French résumé, 266-89; cf. the same author's summary in *Ex Oriente Lux*, iv, 183-6), which has been reviewed by various experts in *Aeg.* xix, 116-17, *Museum*, xlvi, 178-81, *Gnomon*, xv, 242-8, *ZSav.* LIX, 606-12, *L'antiquité classique*, vii, 430-2, *Klio*, xxxii, 109-11, *Cl. Weekly*, xxxiii, 295-7. Similarly U. WILCKEN's account of the royal cult of the Ptolemies (*Sitzungsb. Berlin*, 1938, 308-17) is based in part upon epigraphical materials.

By an unfortunate oversight I omitted to mention in an earlier bibliography the important role played by inscriptions in the thorough examination of the economic life of Roman Egypt by A. C. JOHNSON, which forms the second volume of TENNY FRANK's *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore, 1936); of the 445 documents there translated, 16 are epigraphical, including the edicts of Capito, Lusius Geta, and Tiberius Julius Alexander (Nos. 369, 392, 440; the remainder are Nos. 1, 2, 62, 136-7, 139, 235, 247, 253, 278, 345, 390, 403). Among the documents selected by M. P. CHARLESWORTH to illustrate the reigns of Claudius and Nero are a dedication from Tentyra, dated April 3, A.D. 42 (*OGIS* 663 = *IGR* I, 1165), and an inscription of Ptolemais—either the famous city of that name or Ptolemais Euergetis in the Fayyûm—erected in honour of Nero in A.D. 60 or 61 (*Documents illustrating the Reigns of Claudius and Nero*, Cambridge U.P., 1939, 26, No. 35, 41, No. 18).

In a chapter on 'Musicians, athletes and acrobats in the astrological writings' L. ROBERT discusses F. CUMONT's recent work *L'Égypte des astrologues* and in particular restores in the relevant texts some

¹ For reasons that need no elaboration the papyrological portion of this Bibliography has had to be postponed until after the war.—ED.

technical terms relating to athletes or musicians, on the basis, in part, of the available epigraphical evidence (*Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, 76–108). F. ZUCKER traces the Germans found in Roman and Byzantine Egypt (*Geistige Arbeit*, VI, 13, 3–6), and H. KORTENBEUTEL deals with the same theme in an article mentioned below. L. BRINGMANN's thesis *Die Frau im ptolemäisch-kaiserlichen Aegypten* (Bonn, 1939) I have not seen. The documents discussed in M. N. TOD's article on the scorpion in Graeco-Roman Egypt (*JEA* xxv, 55–61) include stelae from Acoris (Ἰήννα) and Abydos, the latter now in Berlin, commemorating a man and a woman killed by scorpion-stings. The posthumous work of P. GRAINDOR on the terra-cottas of Graeco-Roman Egypt (*Terres cuites de l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, Antwerp, 1939) contains a general discussion of the signatures and other legends found on terra-cottas, especially frequent in Egypt (pp. 19–27), and publishes four inscribed objects (pp. 154, 168, 170, 181).

In an article dealing with the three ἐπινορησθέντες known to us from Egypt (*Aeg.* xviii, 234–43) A. STEIN discusses especially Claudius Firmus, whose name is found in an inscription of Alexandria (*OGIS* 711, Breccia, *Iscr. greche e latine*, 93). A. VONPREMERSTEIN's full and learned edition of a new papyrus-fragment, now in the Giessen University Library, of the so-called 'Alexandrian Acts of the Martyrs' contains chapters on the Alexandrian citizen assembly of the 180,000 and on the Alexandrian γερονσία (pp. 42 ff., 57 ff.), the material of which is partly derived from epigraphical sources (*Alexandrinische Geronten vor Kaiser Gaius*, Giessen, 1939; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LII, 531, No. 536). C. E. VISSER's work on Alexandrian gods and cults (cf. *JEA* xxv, 90) has been reviewed in *L'antiquité classique*, VII, 429–30, *Cl. Weekly*, xxxii, 113–14, *Theol. LZ* LXIV, 6, *Rev. ét. anc.* XL, 337–9, *Rev. hist. rel.* CXIX, 93–5, and *Am. Journ. Phil.* LXI, 119–21, and the same authoress has published a brief discussion of the Alexandrian citizen-names in *Ex Oriente Lux*, IV, 186–9. W. KOLBE has re-examined the inscription (*OGIS* 36) painted on a cinerary urn found in a cemetery to the east of Alexandria, and maintains that this proves that the Soteria founded at Delphi by the Aetolians was a penteteric festival and occurred in Olympian, not in Pythian years (*Hermes*, LXXV, 57–8). O. GUÉRAUD devotes a long discussion to the four-sided 'Monument of Agrios', of which the upper part, reputed to have been found at Alexandria, has long been in the Cairo Museum (*Milne, Catalogue*, 9267), and the lower has recently been unearthed at Akhmīm; a second monument of the same Agrios of Panopolis has come to light at Abu Tig in Upper Egypt. After investigating the history and significance of the memorial and the character of its dedicator, GUÉRAUD goes on to establish the text of its inscriptions with an ample commentary (*Ann. Serv.* XXXIX, 279–303, 784).

In l. 34 of the honorary decree of the γεοῦχοι (cf. *JEA* xxv, 90), found at Kōm Truga, G. KLAFFENBACH has corrected ἐπ' ἀκμήν into ἔτι ἀκμήν (*Archiv*, XIII, 213; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LII, 532–3). Two metrical inscriptions of Hermupolis Magna (*SEG* VIII, 473–4) have evoked from C. PICARD comments on the symbolism of the shell and the seasons in relation to the funerary cult (*Rev. arch.* XIV, 79–82), and R. GOOSSENS claims that burial-rites in Buenos Aires and in Madagascar throw light on the 'second burial' mentioned in another epitaph (*SEG* VIII, 621) from the same site (*Chron. d'Ég.* XV, 152–3; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LII, 533–4). L. ROBERT comments (*Rev. de phil.* XIII, 179–80) on some of the personal names which occur in the long list of mercenaries forming the garrison of that city in 78 B.C. (*Abh. Berlin*, 1937, 6; cf. *Aeg.* xviii, 279–84, *JEA* xxv, 91, *Studia et documenta*, v, 600). A. WILHELM discusses (*Wien. Stud.* LVI, 58–9) the text and metre of two grave-epigrams (*SEG* I, 570–1) from the Jewish community at Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehūdīyah).

M. RAPHAEL publishes the few surviving words of the Greek text of a bilingual decree, probably dating from the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator, found at Cairo and now preserved in the Egyptian Museum there, the object of which was to increase the religious honours of the King and his predecessors (*Mém. Inst. fr.* LXVI, 509–12). A. WILHELM retains (*Wien. Stud.* LVI, 87), despite hiatus and asyndeton, τόνδε ἐγώ in l. 9 of a metrical epitaph of the third or fourth century A.D. (*SB* 4229) from Saḳḳārah, preserved first at Cairo (*Milne, Catalogue*, 9222) and subsequently at Alexandria (Breccia, *Iscr. greche e latine*, 319).

A. VOGLIANO's second report on the Italian excavations at Medīnet Mādī contains five Greek votive inscriptions (one of which bears the unerased name of Domitian, another dedicates a statue to Hermuthis and Anubis, and in a third a τεχνίτης dedicates his handiwork to Isis), two graffiti, and a dipinto (*Secondo rapporto degli scavi . . . di Madīnet Mādī*, Milan, 1937, 44–51). G. FARINA comments on the name and position of Isidorus, the author of the four now famous hymns (*SEG* VIII, 548–51), claiming him, on the strength of the Greek transcriptions of three Egyptian terms, Ἐρμούθις, Θιοῦι, and Ἰπποράμηνης, as a native of Alexandria or its neighbourhood (*Riv. Stud. Orient.* XVII, 279–82). WILHELM examines a passage in one of these hymns (549, l. 8), proposing to read ταχέως ἦς instead of ταχέως σῆς and adducing many

epigraphical parallels for the synzesis of σοὶ ἐξάμενοι and for the occurrence of a spondee in the second half of a pentameter verse (*Wien. Stud.* LVI, 69–70). Elsewhere VOGLIANO inserts in a preliminary report on the fifth campaign on that site an inscription (*Ann. Serv.* XXXIX, 692) on a limestone block brought from Crocodilopolis (Kīman Fāris) to Medīnet el-Fayyūm, bearing an ex-voto of 245–221 B.C., in which οἱ ἐν Κροκ[ο]δίλων πόλει Ἰουδ[αῖ]οι dedicate their synagogue (τὴν προσευχῆ[ν]) for Ptolemy Euergetes I, Berenice II, and their children; this dedication he discusses more fully in *Riv. di fil.* LXVII, 247–51 (cf. *Cl. Weekly*, XXXIII, 251), calling attention to its resemblance to OGIS 726 and Breccia, *Inscr. greche e latine*, II, and commenting upon the early Jewish settlers in Egypt. F. M. HEICHELHEIM publishes (*Études dédiées à la mémoire d'André Andréadès*, 1939) a stone, now in the collection of E. N. Adler in London, found at Euhemeria (Kasr el-Banāt) and purchased at Medīnet el-Fayyūm, dated April 18, 69 B.C. and marking a τόπος συνόδου γεωργῶν ιδίων, 'Pächter zur besonderen Verwendung des Königs', Ptolemy XIII Neos Dionysos. G. PATRIARCA includes in his survey of Greek inscriptions relating to the Roman world a dedication to Apollo from Kōm el-Aḥmar (*SEG VIII*, 608), now in the Cairo Museum (*Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* VI, 135).

The above-mentioned work of OTTO and BENGTON on the decline of the Ptolemaic Empire opens with a discussion and restoration of a Greek votive inscription of 110–9 B.C. found at Coptos (*Abh. München*, XVII, 1–22; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LII, 534, No. 551), and P. JOUGUET gives provisional copies of inscriptions on four statue-bases discovered at Karnak (*Ann. Serv.* XXXIX, 603–5), two of which are in honour of Augustus, Καίσαρα Ἀυτοκράτορα θεοῦ υἱὸν Δία Ἐλευθέριον Σεβαστόν, and one of Titus, θεοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ υἱὸν θεὸν Τίτον. G. DE JERPHANION discusses (*La voix des monuments*, Rome, 1938, 95 ff.) the text of Athanasius' letter πρὸς τοὺς μονάζοντας in the light of the literary tradition, both Greek and Latin, and of the very imperfect epigraphical copy preserved at Thebes (*CIG* 8607, Evelyn White and Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, II, 124, 306–7). A. BATAILLE examines and corrects (*Bull. Inst. fr.* XXXVIII, 129–39) a graffito from the Mons Thebanus first published by P. JOUGUET (*Mélanges Glotz*, II, 493–500), and himself edits 71 scratched graffiti from the same place, between the Valley of the Queens and Dēr el-Baḥri, of which Nos. 6, 10, 14, 15, and 37 are the most interesting (*ibid.* 141–79), as well as a fragmentary stela from the funerary chapel of Hatshepsut bearing a dedication of the first or second century A.D., probably to Amenotes, Imouthes, Asclepius, and Hygiea (*Ann. Serv.* XXXVIII, 63–7).

H. KORTENBEUTEL's article on the Germans in Egypt (*Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, VIII, 177–84) cites only one epigraphical reference, an epitaph from Apollonopolis Magna (Edfu) contained in Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscr. grecques-chrét. d'Égypte*, 559. M. SEGRÈ skilfully restores a mutilated text on a block of granite brought from Syene (Aswān) to Cairo and thence to the Alexandria Museum, interprets it as a petition, probably of 149–8 B.C., presented by temple priests relative to the renewal of privileges granted to a sanctuary of the god Mandulis either at Philae or at Elephantine, and points out its interest for the relations between Egypt and the Ethiopians to the south (*Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alex.* x, 325–32).

Of outstanding importance is the publication, based on a MS. of H. G. EVELYN WHITE and revised by J. H. OLIVER, of the 42 Greek inscriptions copied by the former scholar, who died in 1924, at the great temple in the Oasis of El-Khargah (*The Temple of Hibis in el Khārgēh Oasis*, II, New York, 1939; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LII, 534–5). On the gateways are engraved the edicts of Cn. Vergilius Capito, A.D. 48 (OGIS 665, *SEG VIII*, 794), and Tiberius Julius Alexander, A.D. 68 (OGIS 669, *SEG VIII*, 793), already well known, and the epigram of Hermeas (*SEG VIII*, 795): to these are added the edict of L. Julius Vestinus, A.D. 60, a second text of that of Alexander, and a new epigram of Hermeas. From other parts of the temple come 36 miscellaneous inscriptions, mostly graffiti and dipinti, of which nineteen are here published for the first time, including an inscription of Ptolemy II (No. 7), dating from 283 to 245 B.C. OLIVER has added a useful concordance, and the texts are illustrated by thirteen photographic plates. The edict of Alexander is also used by W. SCHUBART in his essay on 'Das Gesetz und der Kaiser in griechischen Urkunden' (*Klio*, XXX, 60, 69), and is fully discussed in A. C. JOHNSON's work mentioned above. A. ROWE devotes an article (*Ann. Serv.* XXXVIII, 157–95) to the sarcophagus and a libation-table of Potasimto (Pedi-sma-tawy) and a statuette of Amasis (Iēḫ-mes), now in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo, using their inscriptions to throw light upon the careers and titles of these two generals who took part in the Nubian expedition of Psamtek II, the Psammis of Herodotus, as is recorded in the Abu Simbel graffito (*SIG* 1, Tod, *GHI* 4).

H. JUNKER offers a new and greatly improved interpretation (*Zts. f. neutest. Wissenschaft*, XXXVII, 281–5)

of a puzzling text from Djebel Barkal, first published in *Harvard African Studies*, 1, 197-8, and H. KORTENBEUTEL publishes (*Zts. f. neutest. Wissenschaft*, xxxvii, 61-4) another Nubian text of uncertain provenance (it was acquired by F. ZUCKER at Luxor in 1910), dating from A.D. 1157; it is now in the Egyptian Department of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin. Of another sandstone stela in the same Museum, originating from Abydos, M. N. TOD gives a revised edition in *JEA* xxv, 56-8 (cf. L. ROBERT, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, 87, note 3). A. WILHELM proposes (*Gött. Nachr.* III, 143-5) to read ἀΰξομε<ν> γενεή in l. 10 of an interesting grave-epigram from Egypt, now in Göttingen (cf. P. JACOBSTHAL, *Hermes*, XLVI, 318-20), and gives epigraphical examples of the substitution of a trochee for a dactyl in the first foot of the second half of a pentameter. Of an inscription from Euhemeria, now in the collection of E. N. Adler in London, something has already been said, and four stamped amphora-handles, acquired in Egypt and now housed in the Museum of the American Academy at Rome, are published by C. P. LUDLUM in *Mem. Am. Acad.* xv, 19. L. ROBERT has shown (*Rev. de phil.* XIII, 183-4; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LII, 532, No. 540) that a small altar inscribed ὁ χρησμολό[γος] Βρύων Διὶ Λαβραύνδω, which was claimed by J. Schaefer as indicating a cult of that deity in Egypt, was found at Mylasa and was later transported thence to Egypt.

Publishing a Samian inscription of the third century B.C., consisting of a list of fifteen names and ethnics, of which the last is Ἀμμώνιος Φαρβαιτίτης, L. ROBERT claims (*Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, 113-18) that it gives us an interesting aperçu of the composition of the Lagid garrison in Samos; he collects and discusses the inscriptions which attest the relations of the island with the Ptolemies, calls attention to a slab found at Samos bearing an Egyptizing relief and a bilingual dedication in Greek and Demotic, and recognizes in an inscribed fragment found at the Heraeum a list of the Egyptian months.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

The Use of Red for Amounts of Cereals in Hieratic

IN connexion with Dr. Gardiner's remarks, pp. 26–7 above, on the use of red ink for entries of amounts of spelt (*bōte*) in New Kingdom papyri, I give examples of this method of distinguishing cereals—mostly spelt, but sometimes also wheat (*swt*)—from documents of earlier date.

1. Hēkanakhte Papyri (Metropolitan Museum, New York). No. 3, a letter, and No. 5, a sheet of accounts, both mention amounts of Lower Egyptian barley and spelt. In No. 3 'spelt' is in red throughout, in No. 5 it is in black; in both documents the amounts of spelt are in red throughout, and in both all references to L. E. barley (the only other cereal mentioned) are in black. No. 7, an account of spelt, uses black throughout; no other cereal being concerned, no distinction has to be made.

2. A writing-board held by a scribe from a model granary, published Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 271–2, bears an account of L. E. barley, spelt, wheat, *bšš*, *wcḥ*, figs, and something the heading of which is illegible; 'spelt' and its amounts are in red, everything else is in black.

3. *P. Harageh 2* (unpublished, cf. Engelbach and Gunn, *Harageh*, 33), Dyn. 12, has an account of Upper Egyptian barley, spelt, *bšš*, and wheat, in that order; the amounts of spelt and wheat are in red, everything else, including all headings, is in black. The colours alternate, perhaps by intention.

4. *P. Berl. 6619* (*ZÄS* xxxviii, 140), verso, a mathematical problem, twice mentions 'U. E. barley', with its amounts, in black, and twice 'spelt' in black but its amounts in red. No other cereal is mentioned.

5. *P. Bülak 18* (Mariette, *Pap. de Boulaq*, II, pls. 14 ff.; *ZÄS* LVII, pls. 1** ff.). The 'larger manuscript' mentions cereals only in the account pl. 29, B, 9 ff., where *bšš*, dates, wheat, and spelt are entered. The amounts of wheat are in red, everything else, including spelt, being in black. In several places (pls. 15, 25, 30, 35, 44) the numbers of cakes or loaves (*bšit*, *pct*, *prsn*, *hrt*) are given in red as well as in black, and it may be that, as Scharff suggests (*ZÄS* LVII, 56) the difference of colour represents a difference in the cereal used. The 'smaller manuscript' gives an amount of spelt (pl. 49, middle, 12), and one of wheat-flour (pl. 51, middle, ult.) in red.

6. *P. math. Rhind*. In the accounts ('No. 86') on a piece of papyrus used to repair the volume, spelt, with amounts, occurs 8 times, all in red, L. E. barley (the only other cereal mentioned), with amounts, at least 3 times, all in black. The papyrus itself uses only black for cereals (references ed. Peet, 114) and their amounts.

7. *Kahun Papyri*. These mention cereals with amounts in the accounts (pls. 15, 18, 19, 20, 26, 26a) and letters (pls. 27, 30, 36). All are in black (including spelt, pls. 26, 56; 30; 41) except the numbers, in red, of *hekats* under a heading which is lost, pl. 26, 56 ff. In pl. 26a, 17 a number '30' of *prsn* cakes is given in red; cf. the remark under No. 5 above.

BATTISCOMBE GUNN

The Writing of *Htp-Di-Nsw*

P. C. SMITHER has attempted to prove (*JEA* xxv, 34 ff.) that the spelling $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ with 𓏏 as the second sign does not occur in horizontal inscriptions before the Fourteenth Dynasty. An exception is $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ Gardiner & Peet, *Inscr. of Sinai*, pl. 11, no. 24, from the reign of Ammenemes III. From

the same reign comes $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ *op. cit.*, pl 36, No. 104, but in this case the writing is half horizontal,

half vertical. This new evidence lends support to the opinion that the material quoted by Smither is hardly sufficient to warrant the conclusions drawn.

C. J. C. BENNETT

Egyptian Sea-going Ships : a Correction

IN my remarks on the subject of the hull-construction of Egyptian sea-going ships on p. 4 of the last volume of this *Journal*, I quoted the Twelfth Dynasty royal barge at Chicago as an example of the technique there described. This was an error induced by a misunderstanding of a photograph; the barge in question was built by the method customary with most riverine boats in Ancient Egypt, i.e. by mortising many small pieces of wood together, see Clarke and Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, fig. 35. While thus acknowledging my mistake, however, I find it incredible that such a flimsy mode of construction could have been used for sea-going vessels often over 100 feet long and carrying cargo, and although I cannot now quote chapter and verse for my view, I am still of opinion that some such method of building as that postulated in my article must have been used. The long timbers necessary for planking a hull of that type would doubtless have been imported from the Lebanon, whence Snofru obtained the timber for the great ships whose building is recorded on the Palermo Stone, and whence Wenamūn sought the materials for the sacred bark of Amūn.

As regards the fastenings of such hulls, I had assumed that they were wooden pins, though this point was not raised in my article. Professor Newberry, however, has pointed out that down to comparatively recent times vessels engaged in the Red Sea trade were not pinned but sewn, owing to the numerous reefs which might be encountered, and he questions whether this method of fastening may not go back to Ancient Egyptian times. While there does not seem to be any direct evidence bearing on this matter, the method of fastening deck to hull by lacings current in the Old Kingdom certainly raises the possibility that the planking of the hull might have been sewn in a similar manner, though whether this held good of the ships of the later period it is impossible to say.

R. O. FAULKNER

The Cow's Belly

TO the Arab geographers the apex of the Delta, some 23 km. north of Cairo, was familiar under the name *بطن البقره* *Baṭn el-Baḡarah*, 'The Cow's Belly', and Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne*, I, 6, n. 2, quotes from Ampère, *Voyage en Égypte et en Nubie*, p. 120: 'Ce nom, donné à l'endroit où commence la partie la plus fertile de l'Égypte, n'est-il pas un souvenir de la vache divine, d'Isis, symbole de fécondité et personnification de l'Égypte?' It is at least interesting to note that the comparison of the Nile Valley with the belly of a bovine animal goes back as far as Ramesside times. In the Story of the Blinding of Truth edited by me from a papyrus presented by Mr. Chester Beatty to the British Museum, the hero, who is none other than Horus, son of Osiris, under a thin disguise, refuses to accept any substitute for the ox filched from him by Falsehood, i.e. by the wicked god Seth. In making this refusal he says: 'Is there any ox as large as my own ox? If it should stand in Payeamūn,¹ the tuft of its tail would rest upon Pdjowf ('the Papyrus-reeds'), its one horn being on the mountain of the west, and its other one on the mountain of the east, and the Great River as its place of repose.' I leave it to others to elaborate or to reject this suggestion.

ALAN H. GARDINER

The Tall Story of the Bull

DR. GARDINER having kindly sent me a proof of the above Brief Communication, it occurred to me that this was a good opportunity for drawing attention to a passage in Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*,² which affords a striking parallel to the episode of the bull in the Story of the Blinding of Truth. The story as told by Plutarch runs as follows:

And a saying is reported of one Geradas, a Spartan of very ancient type, who, on being asked by a stranger what the punishment for adulterers was among them, answered: 'Stranger, there is no adulterer among us.' 'Suppose, then,' replied the stranger, 'there should be one.' 'A bull,' said Geradas, 'would be his forfeit,

¹ Diospolis parva in the extreme northern centre of the Delta, the modern Balamūn.

² *Life of Lycurgus*, 15, sect. 10. I have used the Loeb translation, Plutarch's *Lives* I, pp. 252-5. The same story in a corrupt form again in Plutarch's *Moralia*, 228B, c (*Apophtheg. Lacon. Lyc.* 20).

a bull so large that it could stretch over Mount Taygetus and drink from the River Eurotas.' Then the stranger was astonished and said: 'But how could there be a bull so large?' To which Geradas replied with a smile: 'But how could there be an adulterer in Sparta?'

In the story of the Blinding of Truth the hero describes a similarly impossible bull (translation by Dr. Gardiner above) and the herdsman, like the stranger to Sparta, quite naturally, retorts: 'Is there any ox as large as you have said?' The Son of Truth thereupon takes the herdsman and Falsehood before the Tribunal and answers them by saying, 'And is there a knife as large as you have said?' He then reveals that he is the Son of Truth and has come to avenge his father, condemned by the same tribunal because of the exaggerated claims made by Falsehood concerning the unique size of his knife.¹ The point of both stories lies in the *tu quoque*, as much as to say, one 'tall' story is as good as another. In the Egyptian tale we are given a vivid impression of the size of the bull, but in Plutarch's story this is not made so clear. We are not told, for example, where the bull is standing to enable it to stretch over Mount Taygetus. Is it not possible that in the story, as originally told, this bull stood in the River Eurotas with one horn stretching over (*ὑπερκύπτω*) Mount Taygetus (and the other over Mount Parnon)?

If these two stories had a common origin, as seems likely, the question naturally arises, Did the original come from Egypt or Sparta? My own feeling is that the bull story is more at home in the Egyptian tale. One thing is certain, it demonstrates again that the peoples of the Ancient World, differ as they did in race and language, had many things in common in outlook and ideas.

PAUL C. SMITHER

The Name of Sesebi

IN his *Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Sesebi (Sudla) and Amārah West, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1937-38* (*JEA*. xxiv, 151) Mr. H. W. Fairman discusses the origin of the name Sesebi, and mentions its use by Lepsius. I do not know, however, whether the following quotation from p. 265 of Lepsius's *Discoveries in Egypt, Ethiopia and the Peninsula of Sinai*, 2nd edn., London, 1853, has met Mr. Fairman's eye: 'We arrived on the 4th of July at Sêse, a mountain on which is the remains of a fortress. Our servant Ahmed (from Derr), informed us that after the death of every king, his successor was led to the top of the mountain, and decked with a peculiar royal head-dress. . . . The ruins, lying about a quarter of an hour to the south of Mount Sêse, are called Sêsebi. Here stood an old temple. . . .'

The name Sesebi is certainly looked on by the natives to-day as a foreign corruption of the name Sesi. As a personal name Sesi is known in the Sudan, and it is possible that it has therefore replaced an earlier form Sesibi or Sesiba, which may have been preserved for posterity by Lepsius. But what the origin of the name is and the reason for it have not yet been discovered. It is probable that it is to be found in the Nubian language. For instance, the northern end of Sai Island is known as Sai-sab, 'the head of Sai'. I am not suggesting that there is any connexion between the names Sai-sab and Sesebi. If Lepsius is right, Sesebi may mean 'old (ruined) Sesi': compare *bai* = 'kill', *bōbai* = a disused village site (N. Darfur). On the other hand *sibē* 'mud', and *sōbe* 'wall' may equally well for local reasons be thought to have contributed to the formation of the name.

A. J. ARKELL

Big Game Hunters in Ptolemaic and Roman Libya

IN 1899 A. Conze and C. Schuchhardt published (*Ath. Mitt.* xxiv, 203 f., No. 8), without commentary, an epigram engraved on a block of white marble discovered in an old cemetery south-east of

¹ Parallels to other parts of the Story of the Blinding of Truth from modern Greek folk-stories have been given by Pieper in *ZÄS* LXX, 92 ff., and some European and Asiatic examples by J. Bolte in *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, 1931, Band III, Heft 2, pp. 172-3.

Klissekeui Skala, in the neighbourhood of Pergamum. Its opening couplet reads, in their version,

Ὀὐ μὲν θηρητῆρ γενόμεν ΔΙΒΥ - - ιδος ἄγρης,
ποῦ γάρ μοι θηρῶν ἀντίον ἐλθέμεναι;

In *Oesterr. Jahresh.* xxiii, Beiblatt, 409 f., No. 10, J. Zingerle commented thus: 'Mit Verbesserung von Δ zu Λ gewiss Λιβυστίδος, Anspielung auf die berufsmässigen Jäger, die in Afrika und sonstwo die Grosstiere für die Tierhetzen und für die kaiserlichen Menagerien zusammenfingen.' This restoration was duly registered in *Suppl. Epigr. Graec.* iv, 705.

With Zingerle's interpretation I am in full agreement; nevertheless, I hesitate to accept the conjecture which he regards as certain. For it involves a serious metrical error, inasmuch as elsewhere the ι of Λιβύη and its derivatives is, to the best of my knowledge, invariably short. True, metrical inaccuracies are all too frequent in Greek epigrams;¹ but I am unwilling to attribute so flagrant a mistake to one whose work is otherwise metrically flawless. I therefore suggest <Λ>ιβυ[άτ]ιδος or <Λ>ιβυ[ήτ]ιδος, which conforms with the requirements of metre.

I admit that, unlike Λιβυστίς,² this form does not occur elsewhere, even among the numerous variants recorded by Stephanus Byzantinus;³ but the very number of these alternatives indicates that the form selected was open to individual choice or invention, and it would have been strange if no one had invented a local adjective ending in -άτης, -άτις (or -ήτης, -ήτις), for which there are abundant analogies.⁴ Possibly this form Λιβυάτις is that written by Hesychius in the entry which has come down to us as Λιβυσάτιδες· τινές τῶν νυμφῶν οὕτω καλοῦνται. The editors are agreed that the word as it stands is corrupt, and Meineke conjectured Λιβυστίδες (*Philol.* xii, 633); or Λιβυστιάδες, both of which forms are attested by Stephanus Byzantinus. For these Libyan Nymphs see Höfer in Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. u. röm. Mythologie* II, 2043, Herter in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll xvii, 1566, *Suppl. Epigr. Graec.* ix, 266, 275, &c.

The hunting of wild beasts, notably elephants, in Africa is epigraphically attested by an inscription from Egypt dating from the late third century B.C., now preserved in the British Museum,⁵ which contains a dedication of Ἀλέξανδρος Συναδαίου Ὀροανεύς, ὁ συναποσταλῆς διάδοχος Χαριμόρτωι τῶι στρατηγῶι ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τῶν ἐλεφάντων and a body of troops under its commandant (ἡγεμῶν), and by two other votives, in almost identical terms, dedicated by Λίχας Πύρρου Ἀκαρνάν, στρατηγὸς ἀποσταλῆς ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τῶν ἐλεφάντων τὸ δεύτερον.⁶ The full commentaries of Hall and Dittenberger render further discussion here unnecessary, but I may refer to the vivid picture of the insecurity of the Egyptian country-side painted in a recent work by F. Cumont (*L'Égypte des astrologues*, 59 ff.) and to C. Préaux's account of the organization of the elephant-hunts under the Lagid monarchs (*L'Économie royale des Lagides*, 34 ff., 201, 357);⁷ on the animals, many of them brought from Africa, used for the Roman *venationes* see L. Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*⁹ II, 77 ff. (*Roman Life and Manners* II, 62 ff., IV, 181 ff.).

MARCUS N. TOD

¹ See especially the abundant examples cited and discussed by A. Wilhelm in a recent article, *Wiener Studien* lvi, 54 ff. (cf. *Gött. Nachrichten* III, 138 ff.), and those collected by O. J. Todd in *Cl. Qu.* xxxiii, 163 ff.

² Apoll. Rhod. iv, 1753; Dionysius, *Periegesis*, 614 (*Geogr. Graeci Minores*, ed. Didot, II, 143); Steph. Byz. (see following note).

³ Τὸ ἔθνικὸν Λίβυς Λιβυσσα Λίβυ, Λιβυκός Λιβυκή, καὶ Λιβύστιον . . . καὶ Λιβυστινον καὶ Λιβυστινος καὶ Λιβυστινή, καὶ Λιβυστιάς καὶ Λιβυστίς, καὶ Λιβυσσοαία ἀπὸ τοῦ Λίβυσσα· καὶ κτητικὸν "Λιβυστικὰς πλάκας" Λυκόφρων.

⁴ Cf. Steph. Byz. s. vv. Ἀσεία, Ἀσία, Καρύα, Λυκόα, Μεσσόα, Μίδεια, Ναξία, Πανεός, Πισή, Πιτύη, Φενεός, &c.

⁵ Published by H. R. Hall (*Cl. Rev.* xii, 274 ff.) and subsequently re-edited by M. L. Strack (*Archiv* I, 205 ff., No. 18), Dittenberger (*OGIS*, 86), and F. H. Marshall (*Greek Inscriptions in the B.M.* 1064).

⁶ (a) From Edfu: J. P. Mahaffy, *BCH* xviii, 148 f., No. 3; M. L. Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, 237, No. 56; Michel, *Recueil*, 1236; Dittenberger, *OGIS*, 82. (b) In the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad: S. de Ricci, *Rev. Épigr.* I, 153, No. 1; *SB*, 7306. Lichas and Charimortus are mentioned in Strabo xvi, 4, 15.

⁷ Mr. G. A. Wainwright has called my attention to Rostovtzeff's article on the organization of the elephant-hunts from the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus to that of Ptolemy Epiphanes, *Archiv* iv, 301 ff.

On Medīnet Habu Ostrakon 4038

THIS demotic gardening agreement¹ contains references to the coinage used during its own period in Egypt which are not only of importance for the date of the text but also shed light on the economic conditions of the Nile country during the later time of the Principate. B 32 provides for payment in gold, C 5 for payment in 'gold-(pieces) . . . of the infamous queen "Old Woman"', C 11 f. in 'refined bronze'. Parker suggests that the gold pieces in question were issued by the Palmyrene queen Zenobia near A.D. 271; but aurei of Zenobia have never been found, and it is not likely that they existed, because the queen seems to have tried to acknowledge the superiority of the main emperor as long as her own position was not questioned by him. The numismatic heritage of her short reign consists, therefore, of nothing else than rare billon tetradrachms of her Egyptian province and, perhaps, two types of antoniniani, both suspect and not sufficiently confirmed.²

On the other hand, it is well known that Ptolemaic coins were in use in Egypt during the inflation of the Roman denarius and the deterioration in the weight of the aureus in the third century A.D.,³ the period of the new text according to its grammar and palaeographic appearance. Probably a hoard of Ptolemaic gold coins with portraits of Arsinoe Philadelphus, Berenice II, or Arsinoe Philopator⁴ had come into the possession of Talamas, the owner of the garden land, so that she could promise payment in them. The honorary title 'Old Woman' as well as the word 'infamous' would be suitable for an Egyptian queen from a defeated dynasty. The 'refined bronze' of our text is most likely the late billon tetradrachmon of the Egyptian province, which consisted of bronze with a minute and negligible admixture of silver.

F. M. HEICHELHEIM

¹ Cf. R. A. Parker, *JEA* xxvi (1941), 84 f.

² H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, & P. H. Webb, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, v 2 (1933), 572, 584; J. G. Milne, *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins in the Ashmolean Museum* (1933), p. xxiv and No. 4353; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Alexandria* (1892), 311; G. Macdonald, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow*, III (1905), 539 ff.

³ Cf. F. Preisigke & E. Kiessling, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, III (1931), 352.

⁴ Cf. for possible types J. N. Svoronos, *Tὰ Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων*, III (1904), pls. 15, 29, 39, 40, 47, 51.

NOTES AND NEWS

On Prof. Gunn's resignation from the editorship of this *Journal*, his place was taken by Mr. C. R. C. Allberry, of Christ's College, Cambridge, and it is to their combined energy that Vol. xxvi was due. In course of time Mr. Allberry joined the Air Force, with the result that responsibility for this periodical reverted to one of its earliest editors. The chances of obtaining good material for Vol. xxvii looked black at the outset, with excavations at a standstill, museums inaccessible or closed, and all younger colleagues engaged in war work. The usual bibliographies (excepting that by Mr. Tod included in the present volume) were rendered impossible by the absence of foreign publications. Happily the Old Guard has come valiantly to the rescue, and our members will not be dissatisfied with the fare here provided. How much that fare owes to the material and how much—to continue the metaphor—to its culinary preparation it would be invidious to inquire; but it must be manifest to all that Dr. Johnson, our superlative *chef* at the University Press, has once again excelled himself, and has set a new standard as regards the garnishing and the dishing up which will, it is hoped, stimulate our purveyors to even keener activity. It need not be concealed that we have had to ask ourselves seriously (1) whether the circumstances of the moment justified a volume of the present scope, and (2) whether our finances would stand it. Encouragement from American friends has gone far to reassure us on the first point; on the second we should indeed have had to retrench drastically but for the fact that staunch supporters of the Society have come forward to make good the difference between the total cost and what our admirably prudent Hon. Treasurer would allow us to spend. The Committee are deeply indebted to some authors of articles who have not only consented to write them, but also to contribute towards their printing.

Whatever doubts might be entertained by outsiders as to the propriety of scientific publication during the worst crisis this country has ever had to face, scholars will no doubt, as a whole, take the longer view and realize that our organization had to be kept alive and that it was only by present efforts that our future could be assured. When the post-war period arrives, it will become known what a large number of our leading researchers have thrown themselves wholeheartedly into the common cause. But there have been others, older men, whose duty seemed to lie in intensifying their researches and so striving to outstrip their competitors in the field of scholarship. It will be curious to learn what the lands under Nazi control, and above all Germany herself, have been able to produce in the domains of Egyptology and papyrology in this time of stress. The Danes at all events have not been idle, and a monograph by Profs. Lange and Neugebauer on an interesting hieratic and demotic cosmological papyrus has reached this country, as well as a long article on the Divine Wife of Amūn by Prof. Sander-Hansen. From neutral Switzerland has been received an interesting little book by Prof. Jéquier on his twelve years of excavation in the Memphite Necropolis, and many well-wishers will desire to congratulate that admirable archaeologist on this rounding off of his work in Egypt.

Meanwhile British scholars have something to show. The recently issued new volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* is described below. *Temples of Armant*, another important work due to our Society, was mentioned in the last *Notes and News*. N. de G. Davies's stately publication of the *Tomb of Ramose*, the coping-stone to our late President's labours in Egypt, is a magnificent monu-

ment to his memory, thanks to the combined efforts of author and printer. To the present writer is due a large folio volume of Plates introducing to Egyptologists one of the most important secular hieratic papyri in existence, called the *Wilbour Papyrus* after the distinguished American Egyptologist from whose funds the cost of the publication has been defrayed; this deals with the taxation of land under Ramesses V, and deep gratitude will be felt to the authorities of the Brooklyn Museum for sponsoring so extensive an undertaking; the Text volume is in course of preparation. We understand that W. F. Laming Macadam's book on the inscriptions of Kawa, of which report speaks very favourably, is already in the hands of the printer; it is much to be desired that the results of the late Professor and Mrs. Griffith's important excavations on that Nubian site should be completely published with as little further delay as possible. We cannot but feel regret that our Society's memoirs on El-'Amarnah, Sesebi, and 'Amārah West are postponed owing to the engagement of their authors upon war work of various kinds, and the publication of the temple of Sethos I at Abydos is likewise at a standstill.

Dr. Bell writes: 'Part XVIII of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, edited by Mr. E. Lobel, Mr. C. H. Roberts, and Miss E. P. Wegener, will appear in the autumn of this year. It is a volume of somewhat outstanding interest, even in the remarkable series of which it forms part. Theological texts are, indeed, of minor importance, though an addition to the few papyrus fragments of Philo is welcome, but the new classical fragments give this Part a very notable place among editions of papyri. Fragments of no less than six of the lost plays of Aeschylus, besides two of his surviving ones, are here published; and of the new plays the *Δικτυουλκοί*, the *Θεωροί ἢ Ἰσθμιασταί* (?), and the *Ἐάντριά* are represented by a fair number of lines. The remains of Alcaeus are increased by a most interesting, if difficult, poem of biographical interest; there are considerable fragments of Callimachus, and not only fragments of poems by Hipponax but also a commentary on him. An imperfect but interesting fragment of the so-called *Acta Alexandrinorum* makes a useful addition to the surviving specimens of this class of literature. Among known literary works the *Oedipus Rex* of Sophocles and Plato's *Phaedo* are represented by substantial fragments.

'Documentary papyri, though not so numerous as in some former volumes, are of good quality and include some notable texts. Among them are a long letter, one of the most interesting examples of epistolography yet found among the papyri, from an "undergraduate", probably at the university of Alexandria, to his father, a letter announcing the writer's arrival at Puteoli after a voyage in which he "experienced no discomfort such as usually occurs, particularly on one's first voyage", another, of quite special interest, concerning books and mentioning a bookseller who may have one of the works required, two curious Christian letters which, though in Greek, begin with a Latin quotation, and some important accounts from the Apion archive.'

We have grievous losses to record among our collaborators, colleagues, and other supporters, foremost among whom are Prof. C. G. Seligman, the well-known anthropologist, Sir Arthur Evans, the famous pioneer of Minoan excavation, and Mr. Harry Burton, the skilled photographer of the tomb of Tutankhamūn and of many of the Theban excavations undertaken by the Metropolitan Museum of New York. Some paragraphs were consecrated to the first and third of these in our recently issued *Annual Report* for 1940. In Sir Arthur Evans we mourn, not only a great scholar and very generous patron of archaeology, but also a liberal contributor to our Society; it would be otiose to dilate here on a career which has been described at length in the daily papers, and will doubtless be dealt with thoroughly in the proceedings of the societies with which he was yet more closely associated. Here, however, we may fitly dwell on the work of Miss Bertha Porter (d. Oxford, Jan. 17, 1941), inasmuch as she was very closely associated with the late Professor Griffith, the first of our own Society's students. For many years she had contributed to the *Dictionary of*

National Biography and (to quote her obituary notice in *The Times*) 'by her labours in the British Museum and other libraries, became an expert bibliographer'. Unless the present writer is mistaken, it was to him, despite his youth at the time, that Miss Porter owed her first introduction to Egyptology. Casting around for some new field of scientific endeavour when her work on the Dictionary came to an end, she copied many of the stelae in the British Museum on behalf of her young friend Alan Gardiner. It was only at a later date that she went to Göttingen to study with Professor Sethe, and subsequently was recommended by Erman and Sethe as the most suitable person to be entrusted with Griffith's projected conspectus of the ancient monuments. In 1924 Miss Rosalind Moss was asked to collaborate, and thus originated that remarkable partnership to which we owe the six invaluable volumes of the *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, to which others remain to be added. Though Miss Porter dropped out, owing to ill health and old age, before actual publication was far advanced, it was to her that the planning and the first stages of this all-important undertaking were mainly due. Apart from her literary achievements, Miss Porter will be long remembered for her warm-heartedness, encouragement to young aspirants, and great gifts in various directions.

At this point we digress a little to pay a tribute to the work of British women in the field of Egyptology. Risking the anger of those whose modesty may be embarrassed, we cannot refrain from taking this opportunity to express our admiration of the ladies who have thrown their energies into our subject. In what other country, though most possess or have possessed some excellent lady Egyptologists, has so great a mass of outstanding work been attributable to their talent and enthusiasm? The monumental tomes devoted to Egyptian Painting by Mrs. Davies and to the temple of Sethos I by Miss Calverley and Miss Broome, stand side by side with the above-mentioned volumes of the *Bibliography* as pre-eminent examples of feminine achievement. But there are many other important names that could have been mentioned, and it is only through fear of omitting one or other that we refrain from enumerating them all. Every Egyptologist will be able to fill out the lacuna for himself.

Among foreign scholars we have also to record the deaths of the American Prof. Clarence S. Fisher and the French Prof. Hyvernat. Fisher excavated for the University of Pennsylvania various sites in Egypt and Palestine, perhaps his greatest success being at Memphis. Unfortunately, his published work was very slight, the only book of any size due to him being one on the minor cemetery of the Old Kingdom at Gīzah. Dr. Crum writes with regard to Hyvernat: 'Born in 1858 near Lyons, he migrated in 1889, after some years in Rome, to the Catholic University at Washington. He was an excellent Coptic scholar; the many texts which he published are unlikely to call for re-editing. For years past he had devoted himself to the study of the vast Pierpont Morgan collection of MSS. Of these he produced, in 1919, a summary *Check-List*—still our sole guide to the contents of the 56 volumes—and he had long been preparing an elaborate Catalogue, unfortunately left unpublished.'

There are many who will be anxious for news of their colleagues abroad, and as regards the French we are indebted to Dr. Černý, himself in Egypt, for interesting information. Great sympathy will be felt with Prof. Lefebvre in the loss of his son on the field of battle. M. Boreux has surrendered his position as Conservateur at the Louvre, M. Drioton having been appointed in his place; but during the absence of the latter in Egypt, where he has been retained as Director of the *Service des Antiquités* for another two years, M. Vandier is replacing him in Paris. M. Jouguet has retired from his Directorship of the French Institute at Cairo, and has been lecturing on Greek and Roman History at the University of that city; his successor at the Institute is M. Kuentz.

Another appointment of interest is that of Mr. A. Rowe as Director of the Museum at Alexandria. M. Chevrier, who was in charge of Karnak, is said to be a prisoner of war, and so, too, was that able archaeological architect M. Robichon, who, however, has since been released. At Brussels M. Capart is said to be well, and to be no less full of scientific activity than is his wont.

It was hardly likely that much would be going on in the way of excavation, but Dr. Černý reports whatever is to be reported. At Kōm esh-Shuḳāfah in Alexandria Rowe has resumed the excavations in the catacombs, finding tombs of the first and second centuries A.D. Beautiful jewellery was discovered on the body of a lady encased in a coloured and gilded plaster shell modelled in the form of a goddess; this comprised a necklace having suspended from a chain a wheel-pendant with eight spokes, the emblem of Nemesis; also an armlet among other objects all of gold. Nearby in a partly robbed tomb was a female skeleton from which were taken three golden rings with a cameo in each; the largest of the rings had an onyx cameo on which were engraved Leda and the swan; the cameos of the other rings were of agate, the one with a figure of Harpocrates holding a cornucopia and the other showing Mars with spear and shield. Less important tombs were also found, and in the hands or mouths of some of the dead were discovered bronze coins wherewith to pay the ferryman; the bodies had been placed either in loculi or in troughs, and lay on their backs upon a layer of clean sand.

At Saḳḳārah Chief Inspector Zaky Saad completely excavated, with funds given by H.M. the King, a large tomb of 'Persian' type near the pyramid of Onnos similar to those found in 1900. The shaft, more than 20 metres deep, was filled with sand. At the bottom was found a vaulted chamber the limestone walls of which are carved with Pyramid Texts. The owner was one Ametefnakhte, chief of the king's bodyguard, and he seems to have lived in the second half of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The burial chamber was entirely filled with an enormous sarcophagus of hard limestone, 4 metres in length. In this was an anthropomorphic coffin of schist. Though the tomb was unrobbed, the body did not yield any jewels or indeed objects of any kind.

At Mit Rahīnah to the right of and not far from the road leading to Saḳḳārah, Mustafa el-Amīr, the inspector of Saḳḳārah, discovered walls probably belonging to the temple of Apis. A large offering-table ($4\frac{1}{2}$ by 2 m.), with a base about $5\frac{1}{2}$ m. long, was hewn out of a single block of alabaster. This had the form of a bed with lions on both of the long sides; a few steps lead up to the table from the base; on the opposite, northern side a circular alabaster base received the water from the surface of the table. Close at hand was a smaller bed, likewise consisting of one piece of alabaster, bearing the name of king Nechos (Dyn. XXVI) 'beloved of the living Apis'. West of the large bed was another of limestone smaller in size. Other finds were a block of alabaster with the name of Amasis and a large alabaster vase of Darius. These excavations came to an end through lack of funds.

Just before this volume goes to Press, the news reaches us of the death, at a ripe old age, of the distinguished Russian Egyptologist Wladimir Golénischeff. No details are known, and for an adequate notice here both material and space are lacking. Deep regret will be felt at the passing of one not only an eminent scholar, but also a great-hearted gentleman, the friend of old and young alike, whose innate dignity and simplicity were thrown into sharp relief by heavy pecuniary losses at the conclusion of the last war.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Giza II and *Giza III*. By HERMANN JUNKER. Vienna and Leipzig, 1934 and 1938. *II*, vi+218 pp., 16 half-tone pls.; *III*, vi+256 pp., 14 pls., 4 coloured, 10 half-tone.

These two volumes carry on the reports of the campaigns of excavation at Giza conducted by the Viennese Academy under the leadership of Professor Junker, of which the first results were published in *Giza I*. Vol. II deals with the maṣtabas of the early Fifth Dynasty in the western cemetery. The earlier part of the book is devoted to archaeological discussions of various topics on which the excavations have shed further light, while the second part is concerned with describing the individual tombs, namely, those of Ensedsjerka, Meryēb, Kaninisut, and Seshathotpe. The general discussions fall into three main groups, of which the first is concerned with the architectural features of the tombs, the second with the methods of dating them, and the third with the funerary ritual.

The architectural section deals in turn with the superstructure of the tomb, the cult-chamber, the false door, the serdab, the scenes and inscriptions, and the burial-chamber. Of these, the third receives the fullest treatment. The false door strictly so called, which was intended to give the deceased egress from his tomb, is considered to be of Lower Egyptian origin, and is contrasted with the early tomb-stelae from Abydos, which apparently were primarily intended to mark the spot where the funerary offerings were to be made. The two notions soon converged, however, owing to the fact that in Lower Egypt offerings were naturally made at the spot where the deceased could come forth to receive them, and ere long the two types of monument became merged in the later form of false door which bore, not only the representation of the doorway, but also the name and titles of the deceased, and often the formula of offering. To the false door is added as early as the Second Dynasty the scene of the deceased seated at table, which has no connexion with the false door *qua* door, but is obviously relevant to the spot where offerings were made. This *Speisetischszene* is regarded as being possibly of Lower Egyptian origin, though the evidence is admittedly inconclusive. Regarding the sculptures and inscriptions of the tombs here described, these are concerned almost exclusively with the funerary ritual, the bringing of offerings, and so forth, and do not include those scenes of daily life which elsewhere are found in such profusion. The austere style of the sculpture and the lack of lively scenes is linked by Junker with the monumental but solemn artistic mood of the Fourth Dynasty, with its very sparing use of inscription and decoration. As regards the date of these tombs, the author places them in the early Fifth Dynasty, partly on the basis of their situation and structure, and partly on the evidence of the names and titles of the owners.

Not the least interesting portion of *Giza II* is that dealing with the funerary ritual. The first section deals with the *ḥtp di niswt* formula, which, incidentally, is still translated as 'der König sei gnädig und gebe' instead of 'a boon which the King grants'. Its history is traced from the beginnings down to the developed formulas of the later Old Kingdom, but the author entirely ignores Gardiner's detailed study (Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, 79 ff.), and his treatment suffers in consequence. Regarding the joint formula *ḥtp di niswt*, *ḥtp di Inpw* (or other god), Junker elaborates a view which apparently originated with Erman, to the effect that the references to king and god form a dichotomy, and not a combined heading to what follows. He thinks that *ḥtp di niswt* may have to be regarded as an abbreviation of the formula for food offerings, *ḥtp di Inpw* (&c.) being a separate formula desiring for the deceased a goodly burial, a happy entry into the other world, and so forth. The suggestion is ingenious, but not very convincing. Although it is true that in the single formulas the king is usually concerned with food-offerings and the gods with burial and future welfare, contrary instances are by no means unknown, and there is nothing in the combined formula either in the Old Kingdom or later to suggest that the Egyptians were conscious of any division therein of the functions of king and god; see, too, Gardiner's remarks, *op. cit.*, 88-9. On the other hand, the suggestion is rather that of co-operation between sovereign and deity.

A long section is devoted to a discussion of the identity of 'the great god' invoked in such expressions

as *imsh hr ntr* ♂ 'honoured with the great god' and the like. Gardiner and Sethe, commenting on this deity in *Letters to the Dead*, pp. 11–12, point out that although both Rē^c and Osiris have been considered by various authors as good candidates for the title, there is at least a possibility that in tomb-inscriptions, particularly those threatening violators of the tombs, this epithet may refer to the dead king. Junker, however, who goes into the question at greater length, is of opinion that 'the great god' was originally a universal sky-god named *Hrw* 'the distant one' whose role and name were taken over at a very early date by a falcon-god who as Horus thus became 'the great god' and was incarnate in the reigning king. It is true that he bases his view principally on Ptolemaic texts, but these late inscriptions do seem often to reflect the thoughts and dogmas of a far earlier period, and Junker's theory possesses some degree of plausibility. He admits that at a later date the title of 'great god' may have been transferred to Rē^c, and even, at the end of the Sixth Dynasty, to Osiris, but maintains that neither transference can have occurred early, since Osiris often, and in one inscription Rē^c as well, are named beside 'the great god' as separate entities. He also remarks that sun-worship in Egypt did not attain the rank of an official state religion until the Fifth Dynasty, and that this recognition preceded its entry into the funerary cult. As regards the relationship between 'the great god' and the king, Junker points out that the epithet *ntr* ♂ could be applied to both the living and the dead king, but nevertheless denies that the *ntr* ♂ of the early funerary formulas can be the king, on the ground that the deceased can be *imshw* with 'the great god' and the king (*nswt*) in one and the same inscription. On this and other grounds he thus rejects the view that 'the great god' to whom appeal is made against tomb-violators can be the dead king. On this point, however, the habitual imprecision of Egyptian thought should be borne in mind. Even admitting that the epithet *ntr* ♂ belongs primarily to Horus as the universal sky-god, it should not be forgotten that this title, on Junker's own showing, could also be borne by the king, whether alive or dead. When an Egyptian appealed for justice to 'the great god', may he not have had at the back of his mind the notion that he was at the same time appealing to his divine sovereign, the natural fount of justice? Just as he looked to the living king to redress injury in earthly affairs, so he might well turn to the dead ruler to avenge his wrongs in ghostly matters, whether he regarded him as embodied in Horus or Osiris or simply as his departed lord.

The remaining discussions are concerned with the formula of 'travelling on the goodly roads whereon the blessed travel', with the festivals named in the funerary inscriptions, and with the ceremonies performed at the tomb. Here an attempt is made to deal with the functions of the priests who performed the rites, among them the *hry wdb*; the section on this officiant should be read in the light of the later article by Gardiner in *JEA* xxiv, 83 ff. Then follows an account of the funerary boat-journey as depicted in the tombs, and finally there is an important discussion of the offering-lists. Here a useful feature is the setting out of both the shorter and the longer lists in tables comparing the various versions. Junker places the change over to the longer list in the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty.

The rest of the book is devoted to the individual tombs, and is illustrated with architectural plans and diagrams and with line-drawings of the sculptures, supplemented by sixteen photographic plates at the end of the volume. Of the tombs here described, the most interesting architecturally is that of the princess Ensedjerka, which is not only exceptionally well preserved, but imitates the contemporary form of a nobleman's house with unusual fidelity. In the description of the maṣṭaba of Meryēb, a good point is made regarding the dating of Old Kingdom tombs from the names of localities compounded with royal names. It is shown that such place-names cannot be safely used for dating without confirmatory evidence; for example, a tomb having place-names compounded only with the name of Cheops does not necessarily date from his reign, but simply indicates that at some period in the history of the owner's family someone belonging thereto was endowed with land by that king. In the tomb of Kaninisut occurs the title $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$, a writing hitherto unknown before Saite times. Junker rightly equates it with the Old Kingdom title $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$, hitherto rendered 'controller of (the town) *Yskmt*', and demonstrates, on the evidence of *Pyr.* 33b, that the true translation is 'controller of the black jar', suggesting also that it may have some connexion with the cult of Hāthor. Another interesting suggestion, made apropos of a title in the tomb of Seshathotpe, is that the Queen's title $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ 'companion of Horus', usually read as *tist Hr*, is really *ist Hr*. In discussing the title *hm-ntr Hnty-hm* 'priest of Khantkhem' on p. 191, the author remarks that he knows of no other mention of this god in the Old Kingdom. He must, however, have forgotten the Pyramid Texts, for *Hnty-hm* occurs in *Pyr.* 908e; 1723a; as *M-hnty-hm* in 419a and as Horus *Hnty-hm* in 810b.

and receives the offerings of his descendants. Hence both the tomb itself and a special part thereof, the statue-chamber, can be called *ḥwt-ka* 'Mansion of the *ka*', while the same term can be applied to the landed endowments of the tomb.

The second part of the book is devoted to an account of eight separate tombs, and is illustrated with plans and line-drawings, as well as with fourteen photographic plates, of which the first four reproduce in colour the sculptures in the tomb of Seshemnūfer III. One has the impression, however, that the line-drawings of the sculptures in this third volume are not quite up to the usual standard, and do not fully represent the quality of the originals. We cannot but regret, also, the reversion to the old Theinhardt hieroglyphic type after using Gardiner's fount in *Giza II*, though even there an occasional Theinhardt sort is to be found, making a mixture which is a little disconcerting. Nevertheless, such surface blemishes do not detract from the general excellence of these admirable and well-indexed books, which are indeed essential to the student; if here and there we have ventured on a few criticisms, that is but evidence that the works under review have fulfilled the important function of provoking discussion.

R. O. FAULKNER

Vom Bilde zum Buchstaben. Die Entstehung der Schrift (Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens, Bd. XII). By KURT SETHE, edited by HERMANN KEES. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs Verlag, 1939. vi+84 pp., 2 half-tone pls.

In this work, Sethe's last and posthumous contribution to the invaluable series of *Untersuchungen* which he founded in 1896, the author develops his views on two kindred topics to the understanding of which he has contributed on other occasions, namely, the development of writing and the origin of the alphabet. Beginning with attempts at communication by means of a single pictorial composition (*Bilderwendung*), examples of which are quoted from various sources, chiefly North America and Mexico, he shows how this gradually gives rise to an ideographic script (*Bilderschrift*) in which not actual events, but objects and ideas, are represented by picture-signs which do not change their form with their context, this being the primitive basis of—*inter alia*—the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Chinese scripts.

The next stage is the development of a phonetic script, as the manifold signs of ideographic writing become associated in the mind with the sound rather than with the meaning of the words they represent. As a typical example we may take one quoted also by the author: the ideogram \diamond for Egyptian *ḥr* 'face' is first used as a phonogram for the homophonous preposition *ḥr* 'upon' and its derivatives, and then is used simply as a sign for the consecutive consonants *ḥ+r* in the writing of any word where they occur in that order, without any regard to syllabic division. That at least was the course of events in the case of the purely consonantal script of Egypt, which depended upon the principle of the rebus for the development of phonetic signs from the original ideograms. In Babylonian, however, events took a rather different course, since that language developed a syllabic script in which each sign represented not a consonant or group of consonants, as in Egyptian, but a syllable composed of consonant(s)+vowel, or possibly only a single vowel. Sethe's view is that the Babylonian signs obtained their phonetic value from the first syllable of the word represented by the original ideogram, thus employing the method of acrophony, but in a footnote (p. 28, n. 4) the editor quotes a comment by Prof. von Soden to the effect that Sethe is in error here, since the Babylonian syllabic signs take their value from the monosyllabic *Sumerian* words which they originally represented. According to Sethe, the Chinese syllabary developed from this monosyllabic tongue in a manner similar to that postulated for cuneiform by von Soden, while a few Mexican instances suggest that this people was on the road to an acrophonic syllabary when their culture and script were destroyed by the Spanish conquest.

Of the various primary modes of writing invented in ancient times, only three have had any influence on the subsequent developments of that art, namely, those of Babylon, China, and Egypt. From the cuneiform script of Babylon the Persians chose 41 signs to form a syllabary of their own, while Japanese writing is a similar artificial adaptation of Chinese; such adaptations Sethe describes as 'secondary syllabaries'. To anticipate a little, he claims that from the Egyptian hieroglyphs the Phoenician alphabet was ultimately derived, and that this was the parent of all known alphabets with the exception of the Semitic dialect spoken at Ras Shamra, which employed an alphabet written with selected cuneiform signs on clay

tablets. This alphabet had apparently but a short life, and Phoenician inspiration may have underlain its invention. The Sabaean alphabet, itself a close relative of the Phoenician, gave rise, curiously enough, to two 'tertiary' syllabaries, the Ethiopic of Abyssinia and the Devanāgarī of India.

As regards the origin of the Phoenician alphabet and thus ultimately of our own and all other modern alphabets, Sethe of course adheres to the now widely held view of which Gardiner and he have been the main protagonists, that it is a development of the Sinai script, which took selected signs from the Egyptian hieroglyphs and, on the principle of acrophony based on their Semitic names, used them as alphabetic letters. He retraces the steps by which this discovery has been worked out, not omitting to state that the really decisive clue was the decipherment by Gardiner on the Sinai stones of the Semitic word *Baalat*, but further makes the point that the idea of a true alphabet could only have arisen among a people in contact with Egypt, because the Egyptians, and they alone, already possessed an alphabet which, had they been less conservative and realized its possibilities, would ere long have entirely displaced the phonograms which render Egyptian writing so complicated. In Sethe's view cuneiform, like all other syllabic scripts, was in its very nature a cul-de-sac which could never in normal development have led to an alphabet. Of the various stages through which he traces the growth of our own alphabet from its Phoenician ancestor there is no need to speak here, for few scholars will now dispute the fact.

To Sethe's account of the development of the alphabet, which has been summarized above, Dr. S. Schott, who prepared his manuscript for publication, has added a postscript. After describing the methods employed in converting the materials left by Sethe into a coherent whole, Schott embarks on a review of the book in which he controverts Sethe's view of the ultimate dependence of the Semitic alphabet upon the Egyptian hieroglyphs, since he maintains that the Egyptians never had a true alphabet. He likens the Egyptian hieroglyphs to the Babylonian syllabary, since most Egyptian phonograms represent combinations of consonants. He compares these with the cuneiform syllables of consonants and vowels, and considers that the Egyptian 'alphabetic letters' are no more true letters than the cuneiform syllables consisting of a single vowel. But here he is certainly in error. Whatever may have been the original line of development of the Egyptian uniconsonantal signs, they were certainly felt by the Egyptians themselves as alphabetic letters. This is shown clearly by the fact that on occasion the Egyptians could take a word normally written with a phonogram (with or without phonetic complement) and spell it out solely with alphabetic letters; a case in point is $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ 'mix', which in one case is written $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ (*Sebekkhu*, 3), i.e. it is spelled purely alphabetically and without any determinative; other instances could readily be found. Since, furthermore, the instance quoted occurs in a secular text of the Middle Kingdom, it shows that the alphabetic spelling of Egyptian words is not merely a mark of the oldest texts, as Schott would claim (p. 79). It is thus clear that the Egyptians were conscious of possessing a consonantal alphabet which they could and did on occasion use without the addition of bi- or trilateral phonograms, and only their innate conservatism prevented them from taking the further step of discarding a mass of unnecessary phonetic lumber from their writing.

If the view be accepted that the Egyptian alphabet is as much a true alphabet as the Phoenician, then the whole of the ground is cut away from under Schott's attempt to minimize the influence of the former on the formation of the Semitic alphabet. Even if the course of events is not yet crystal clear, what evidence there is strongly suggests that the inventor of the Sinaitic alphabet got the basic notion of an alphabet from Egypt and invented one to suit his own tongue, taking such Egyptian hieroglyphs as were suitable and adapting them to his own purpose; from this script there can be little doubt that the Phoenician alphabet was derived, see the comparative tables published by Gardiner, *JEA* III, pl. 2, and by Sethe on p. 58 of the work under review.

However obscure may be the details of this development, to deny its Egyptian basis is surely to reject whatever evidence there is in favour of personal prepossessions. The existence of a cuneiform alphabet at Ras Shamra in no way affects the arguments of Sethe and Gardiner, since the Ras Shamra alphabet is clearly a short-lived local effort outside the main stream, it having disappeared without leaving descendants. The probabilities are that the Ras Shamra folk got the idea of an alphabet from Phoenician traders, but, since they were accustomed to using the clay tablet, preferred to construct their alphabet from the cuneiform script, which was that best adapted to their writing materials.

The Hyksos Reconsidered (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, No. 18). By ROBERT M. ENGBERG. University of Chicago Press, 1939. xii+50 pp.

Although the story of the conquest of Egypt by the Hyksos and their subsequent expulsion is familiar to all students of the ancient history of the Near East, at least in its broadest outlines, the details of this great disaster are still wrapped in obscurity; not only have we no contemporary narrative of events, we do not even know with certainty who the Hyksos were. In the study under review, Dr. Engberg has attempted to gather up into a convenient compass all that is known or can be deduced about the Hyksos, and he has put forward some extremely interesting suggestions.

He first deals with the ancient literary sources. After quoting Josephus' excerpts from Manetho, he passes in review the Egyptian references to the conquest and subsequent expulsion. He accepts Breasted's view that after the fall of Sharuhēn the Hyksos continued to be the dominant factor in Palestine and Syria until finally crushed by the victories of Tuthmosis III. On the matter of the actual descent upon Egypt, Dr. Engberg questions the current view of the catastrophic nature of the invasion, and suggests that the incoming of the Hyksos began with a gradual infiltration as early as the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty, and that when Egypt became politically helpless through disunion, their domination arose by usurpation from within rather than from without, though he does not exclude the possibility of an invasion as well. He is also disposed to question the view that the Hyksos power extended far above Middle Egypt.

Here the present reviewer is inclined to differ from the author in some respects. While not denying the possibility of a certain amount of Hyksos infiltration into Egypt before the invasion, one cannot ignore the tradition embodied in Manetho that the invasion itself came as a sudden and overwhelming catastrophe, bringing destruction and enslavement in its train, and it is in the highest degree probable that, as has long been thought, the utter collapse of resistance in the Delta was due as much to the possession by the victors of the new weapon of horse and chariot as to disunion among the Egyptians; Dr. Engberg himself remarks on the close association of the horse with the Hyksos. As to the extent of their dominion in Upper Egypt, the author seems seriously to underestimate the significance of the traces of Hyksos temple-restoration at Gebelēn. It is hardly conceivable that the alien rulers would have executed architectural work in a town which was not, at least for the time being, firmly in their hands.

At the same time, however, it seems likely that Hyksos rule over Upper Egypt proper, including the Thebaid, was not of very long duration, and perhaps I may be forgiven for putting forward at this point a conjecture of my own. At about 1730 B.C. the Hyksos in their first onset apparently overran all Egypt to a point somewhere south of Gebelēn. Since, however, roughly a century later we find the Sekēnērē dynasty ruling an independent Theban kingdom which had its northern frontier at Cusae, it does not seem likely that the Hyksos held the Thebaid more than perhaps sixty or seventy years. It is therefore possible that even after the invaders had advanced beyond Thebes, there still remained in the far south a nucleus of Egyptian resistance which they failed to overcome, and I am tempted to place the front line of this stubborn opposition at the easily defensible gorge of Silsilah, the ancient frontier of Zety-land. If there be any truth in this supposition, it will have been this band of Egyptian die-hards who eventually flung the Hyksos out of Thebes and established there a kingdom which was ultimately to prove the downfall of the invader. As for the events following the outbreak of the War of Liberation under King Kamosē, the main facts are sufficiently well known to be beyond dispute.

As evidence for his view of early infiltration into Egypt, Dr. Engberg cites the occurrence of pottery of Tell el-Yahudiyah type in Nubia and Egypt in the mid-Twelfth Dynasty, and, likewise on the basis of archaeological data, puts the first appearance of the Hyksos in Syria at about 1900 B.C. This would argue a very rapid spread southward of the new power, which might well be accounted for by their possession of the horse and chariot. As regards the racial connexions of the Hyksos, the author admits that the first wave of invaders which overwhelmed Egypt was largely Semitic, or at least Semitic-speaking, but, following A. Götze, he argues for a strong Hurrian element, and, in view of their possession of the horse, possibly even an Aryan admixture. It is true that such racial questions, apart from the known Semitic element in the Hyksos, are at present rather a matter for speculation, but they indicate an interesting line of investigation which might well be followed up in the better times to come, when once again the Near East will be open to archaeological exploration.

*Die Idee vom Totengericht in der ägyptischen Religion.*¹ By JOACHIM SPIEGEL. Leipziger ägyptologische Studien, Heft 2. Glückstadt & Hamburg, J. J. Augustin, [1935]. Pp. 81.

The author of this interesting essay, the second of a new series edited by Professor Wolf, has set himself the task of tracing the origin and development of the idea of Judgement after death in Ancient Egypt. While welcoming most sincerely Herr Spiegel's contribution to the subject there will, we fear, be many who will regret that it is expressed in such difficult language, and, in our opinion, at a quite unnecessary length. The reviewer feels strongly that what is said in this essay could have been much simplified and compressed, and for the benefit of those who have not the time or opportunity to work through it he gives herewith a summary of the contentions which it sets forth.

The Egyptians believed, says the author, that all activity ended in a concrete result, which result remained a final and unchanging quantity. Thus the tomb and its paraphernalia formed the concrete result of the life of the owner. Together with its statues, pictures, and inscriptions it summed up, as it were, the life of the dead person and rendered that life imperishable. For the early Egyptian idea of the Hereafter was not the idea of a different realm, a spiritual world into which the deceased must venture. It was, on the contrary, a prolongation *ad infinitum* of the present life, which prolongation was accomplished by the tomb and its ritual. The tomb was the concrete *result* of a man's life, a condition which, it was hoped, would remain unchanged for ever. In its simplest form the Hereafter consisted of life in the tomb itself, the tombs of the nobles being grouped around the pyramid of the king, the whole idea being of a continuation of the court-life on earth. In the more developed conception of a supra-earthly existence, the idea was still entirely modelled upon this world, the dead passing into the presence of the 'great god' (*i.e.* Rē^c) just as they had on earth into that of Pharaoh. The whole measure of the next world was the measure of this. In the Old Kingdom the solid order of this world, with its stable ranks and classes, was thought to continue, in fact to be identical, in the next life. The paraphernalia of the tomb was an expression of the concrete rights and social worth of the deceased, which would continue to avail him in the Hereafter.

When, however, at the end of the Old Kingdom the social order began to break up, the whole of this idea was thrown out of gear. On all hands were the rich and powerful sunk to poverty and weakness, the poor and wretched risen to high estate. Even as the nobles had wrested from Pharaoh part of his earthly power, so they had seized for themselves part of his tomb-paraphernalia and ritual. The necessary consequence of this was that the tomb ritual became divorced from the real values of which it had once been the expression and tended to degenerate into a mere magical formula by which the dead person could attain a rank in the next world higher than he had enjoyed in this. The only antidote to such a tendency would be found in the creation of a new standard, and this new standard had its origin in the beliefs surrounding the sun-god Rē^c. According to the old idea the king, when he entered the next world, was acknowledged as legitimate son and heir by Rē^c. In the same manner every individual, who in this world stood in some sort of relation to the king, hoped to secure a position in the Hereafter enjoying exactly the same relation. When, however, as described above, the social order became inverted and the funerary ritual was applied to persons other than those for whom it had been once intended, the private individual could no longer, like the king, hope for positions and rank on the grounds of actual earthly position and rank. The more spiritual mind, therefore, which was not satisfied that the funerary ritual should degenerate into mere magic, began to claim that the real basis for immortality was the merit acquired by a righteous life—this would render the next world attainable by the general run of mankind. The righteousness of Rē^c, as creator and ruler of the Universe, was the main ingredient of the conception of Judgement after death which was to develop out of this new idea. The cult of Osiris, on the other hand, had no influence on its development. Originally hostile to the dead, Osiris had secured his favourable connexion with them by merging into the person of a prehistoric king, thus becoming the prototype of dead kings. The immortality of the Osiris worshipper would depend upon identification with his god, who had died and come to life again, and that could be properly true only of the Pharaoh himself. The application of this idea to others was merely the result of that same political upheaval which transferred the whole funerary ritual of the king to non-royal persons. Since, then, this wholesale transference resulted in the funerary ritual degenerating

¹ This review was offered for consideration and discussion only a little time before Mr. Shorter's death. The intended discussion was thus rendered impossible, but the reviewer's analysis of an obscure monograph is well worthy of publication even at this late date.—ED.

into a magical formula, as a protest against which the idea of a Judgement founded upon ethical values came into being, it must necessarily follow that to the Osiris cult itself, which was properly concerned only with the king, this idea of the Judgement must have been completely alien. The Osiris cult was concerned only with the magical divinizing of the dead, and contributed nothing at all to the idea of Judgement after death with which, owing to the triumph of his cult, Osiris is henceforward closely associated. We can no longer speak of an 'Osirian Judgement'.

The most radical development of thought which brought about the conception of a *Totengericht* was the new belief that evil was an offence to God, and not to men only. It was the change from the earthly idea of an accusation brought against a dead person in the next world by an injured party, to the supernatural idea of an accusation by God, thus presupposing an ethical norm. The tomb-biographies, if followed from the Old to the Middle Kingdom, show the beginning of this idea. The dead man identifies himself with the accepted ideal of a good man—an un-individual, universal conception of righteousness typical of the Egyptian outlook on the world in general. This is demonstrated with examples, and the demonstration carried on through the Instruction of Merikarē and the *Lebensmüde*. The whole idea of the *Totengericht* is at first attached to the solar theology, Rē being the divine judge, and even in the Book of the Dead the original solar aspect is visible beneath the surface. The gradual annexation of the *Totengericht* by the Osiris cult and its consequent transformation into a magical formula are demonstrated by a study of certain portions of spells XVII and CXXV. The remainder of the essay is concerned with an examination of the Judgement as it appears in the Book of the Dead during the New Kingdom, upon which Herr Spiegel has some interesting things to say.¹ He concludes by saying that the association of righteousness with the god (Rē or Osiris) has little or no connexion with the origin of the *Totengericht*. The latter is grounded upon a purely human and earthly basis, the god being brought into line with this afterwards, so as to be thought of as loving good and hating evil.

A. W. SHORTER

The Cat in Ancient Egypt, illustrated from the collection of Cat and other Egyptian figures formed by N. and B. LANGTON. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1940. Small 4to. xii+88 pp., 20 collotype plates. 25s. net.

Members of our Society will remember how charmingly our Exhibition in 1936 was enlivened by the collection of cat-figures formed by Mr. and Mrs. Langton. There were cats in all sorts of materials, seated, standing, crouching, cat families, cats in company with various deities, cats with their worshippers, cats on scarabs. It was a happy inspiration of the owners to specialize in these not uncommon relics of Egyptian antiquity, and the permanent record of their 336 specimens forms a monograph of a type new and welcome to Egyptology. The book is very attractive, well written and well printed, and though the authors claim no deep erudition, they have gathered together much information on the subject, and set it forth in a pleasing manner. They would hardly pretend, I think, that many of their specimens are of very high artistic merit, nor, to judge from a rather desultory search among the books at my disposal, do examples of exquisite quality exist anywhere. The Cairo Museum appears to possess some bronzes of superior preservation, but none of outstanding craftsmanship.² My own preference, among those I have found illustrated, is for that in the Louvre of a cat playing with its little one.³ The king of Egyptian cats, however, is undoubtedly the glorious representation in an Eighteenth-Dynasty Theban fresco preserved in the British Museum,⁴ and I am a little surprised that this has not been mentioned in the Introduction. A word of special commendation is due for the way in which the rare inscriptions in the present collection have been reproduced and translated; here the authors had the help of Mr. H. W. Fairman. If I have any less favourable criticism to make, it is that I am unconvinced that the plates could not have been bettered.

ALAN H. GARDINER

¹ e.g. that the series of denials of sin made by the deceased in Chap. CXXV are to be taken in close connexion with the weighing of the heart. As the deceased denied each specific sin, the balance indicated whether he was telling the truth or not.

² See Daressy, *Statues de Divinités*, in *Cat. gén. du Musée du Caire*, II, pl. 50.

³ C. Boreux, *Musée du Louvre: Antiquités égyptiennes, Catalogue-guide*, II, pl. 53.

⁴ N. M. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, II, pl. 66.

L'Économie royale des Lagides. By CLAIRE PRÉAUX. Bruxelles, Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1939. Pp. 646.

A good deal has been written on the economic structure of Ptolemaic Egypt, but most works on the subject recent enough to incorporate the large amount of material published in the last thirty years are either devoted to particular problems or are broad general surveys, not going into detail. There was therefore need of a systematic and comprehensive treatment. This is supplied by the present volume. There is nobody more fitted to perform the task than Mlle Préaux. All students of papyrology are familiar with the articles and reviews contributed by her to the *Chronique d'Égypte* and other periodicals, articles invariably distinguished by wide knowledge of the subject, the gift of acute and penetrating analysis, the power to educe from a multitude of often trivial details some general principle or broad line of development, and a lively pen which gives interest to even the least attractive themes. These qualities are conspicuous in the volume under review, for which Mlle Préaux's incidental studies of Ptolemaic problems are now seen to have been a preparation, and which, even in so fluid a subject as papyrology, where new discoveries are always liable to upset the most careful construction or render obsolete the most complete collection of material, is likely to remain for years a standard work.

As Mlle Préaux emphasizes in her preliminary survey of the sources, the evidence is always incomplete and haphazard and often wholly inadequate. It is, too, geographically ill distributed, a serious handicap when dealing with a country where topographical conditions and administrative arrangements showed marked differences. What is true of the comparatively well-documented Fayyūm is not necessarily true of the much more sparsely represented Thebaid; what can be predicated of that may be quite inapplicable to the Delta, for which we have practically no Ptolemaic evidence. Naturally, therefore, there are numerous problems which defy a satisfactory settlement, or of which any solution must at best be provisional. That not a few of Mlle Préaux's conclusions may prove untenable on a closer view or in the light of new material she would herself be the first to admit; but she shows an admirably critical spirit, stating the evidence fairly and, so far as I can judge, fully, rarely if ever forcing it, and allowing due consideration to factors which make in a contrary direction, while she never commits the blunder, too common among scholars, of treating the probable of one section as the proved of the next. To discover errors of fact or interpretation, if they exist, would require a closer knowledge of the field than the present reviewer can claim. I would merely note that her rendering of ἰδιος λόγος as 'compte privé' (p. 409) is now generally regarded as inexact ('special account' is truer to the facts).

When Mr. Sherman LeRoy Wallace published his *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* many who welcomed that invaluable work must have sighed for a similar one on the Ptolemaic tax system. This Mlle Préaux has now given us; and she has given much more. She treats other sources of revenue than taxes; she deals with expenses as well as revenues; and she supplies (a matter in which Mr. Wallace's book, for all its merits, left a good deal to be desired) a general estimate and evaluation of the whole system. The formal exposition of this is found in the concluding chapter, 'Fonctionnement de l'économie royale', but all through the volume we find, as those familiar with her work would expect, general reflections, little touches which bring out the significance of an isolated fact or single institution, or a group of facts or institutions, and show its bearing on the royal policy or its significance for historical development. Such are the reasons suggested for the absence from Ptolemaic Egypt of that liturgical system so conspicuous in Roman times (p. 46); her remark on the possible co-existence of monopolies with taxes on the workers in the monopoly ('le monopole annule l'initiative économique, mais non la vie économique', p. 113); those on the policy which inspired the customs tariff (pp. 375 f.) or on the reasons for the limited development of personal taxes (pp. 379 f.); her suggestion that if it had lasted longer 'l'empire aurait sans doute reçu un régime fiscal unifié' (p. 423); and many others.

So many scholars of outstanding ability have studied the Ptolemaic period that any very novel conclusions are hardly to be expected from a new treatment of the subject. What Mlle Préaux does provide is a reasoned and critical survey which sums up the knowledge and the theories so far arrived at and corrects exaggerated views. Impressed by the sad mess which the Romans eventually made of the government of Egypt, some scholars have given a too favourable picture of their predecessors; others, in reaction from this estimate, have unduly stressed the failures of the Ptolemaic régime. Mlle Préaux, resolutely refusing to allow undue

weight to any single aspect of the development, as revealed by our evidence, returns a balanced and, as it seems to me, essentially just verdict.

On the whole, though she brings out all that was well designed in the system, her judgement is not favourable. The Ptolemaic dynasty was Macedonian in origin, but we rightly think and speak of its government as Greek. One might expect, therefore, remembering the Greek gift for philosophy, that the system established would embody, however imperfectly, some general theory of government. It is clear that this was not the case. As Mlle Préaux remarks, in one of her pregnant asides (p. 208), 'l'économie lagide ne poursuit pas la réalisation de quelque idéal scientifique ou social préconçu; elle n'est qu'un tissu de problèmes pratiques, résolus par des moyens pratiques'. It used to be supposed, for example, that at least the early Ptolemies favoured the Greeks as against the Egyptians, but there is really no evidence for any policy of racialism. Till the Battle of Raphia they employed exclusively Greek or Hellenized troops; but that was because their armies were recruited (apart from the Macedonians) from mercenaries, and mercenaries were drawn from Greece or the Hellenized peoples of Asia. They employed Greek officials, engineers, financiers; but that was because the Greek world supplied the sort of talents they required. If an Egyptian possessed the necessary qualifications he was not excluded on the ground of race. Again, we think of monopolies as characteristic of the Ptolemaic industrial and commercial system; but it was not the only method, nor was there any single unvarying pattern; each case was treated on its merits, in a purely practical way. We can find in Ptolemaic Egypt elements of mercantilism (see p. 432) or of capitalism; but the Ptolemies were out for no '-ism'; their end was practical, not theoretic.

What then was this end? Mlle Préaux excellently sums it up under four heads (p. 431): 'accumuler le plus de richesse possible, dépenser le moins possible, changer le moins possible l'ordre existant, courir le moins de risques possibles.' The Lagid régime was in fact not the embodiment of any theory of government, any ideal of organized life. It may, in its best days, be compared with an efficient and adaptable commercial firm; and the present volume shows well the dangers of such a conception. A State, however practical may be the aims of its government, is not, and cannot be, just a commercial firm. A commercial firm is formed for a specific and limited end; its employees have a life and an interest independent of it; if unsatisfactory they can be dismissed, if dissatisfied they can give notice. The end of a State is far more complex, and its citizens are an integral part of it; it and they stand and fall together; they can neither contract out of it nor be dismissed. The concentration of interest on the exploitation of Egypt as a great estate, combined with the resolute determination to take the minimum of risk, was thoroughly disastrous, though at first the business efficiency of the earlier rulers and their agents produced real prosperity. Mlle Préaux well shows the effect of their introduction, into a country where *Naturalwirtschaft* had been the rule, of a money economy. This was inevitable when Egypt was made an integral part of the Hellenistic world; but since the old economic system could not be changed in the *χώρα* without a more drastic reorganization than the Lagids were prepared to undertake, the money economy was orientated towards Alexandria and the outer world; it did not create a big purchasing public within the country or stimulate a lively internal trade. Thus it tended rather to lower than raise the standard of living among the Egyptian peasantry. When the empire began to shrink, external sources of revenue shrank with it. Meanwhile the desire to avoid risk inspired dubious methods of securing the internal revenue. The responsibility of officials and tax-farmers for the full payment of the quotas required from them led inevitably to oppression and crooked methods of raising money. The pressure of the Egyptian 'Church', eager to recover lost privileges, the constant effort of the military cleruchs, on whom the King relied for his army, to convert their contingent holdings into hereditary property, won from a government ever more and more conscious of its weakness concessions which lowered the total yield of taxes except in so far as these could be shifted on to other shoulders. Thus, although the king might honestly desire to remedy the sufferings of the people, though high officials might issue to their subordinates warnings and exhortations which breathe the most excellent sentiments, though heavier penalties might be imposed on evil-doers, such attempts to rectify abuses were bound to fail while the basis of the system remained unchanged. As Mlle Préaux well remarks (p. 525), 'la sévérité des peines n'a jamais donné vigueur à des ordonnances qui prétendent redresser les vices d'une société sans en atteindre les causes et, particulièrement, un droit pénal féroce n'a jamais rendu la force aux pouvoirs souverains ébranlés'. Nor was there any moral force that could supply the deficiencies in the economic fabric, for the whole system had tended to eliminate a factor which only a

free acceptance by the governed of the social order can give; to quote Mlle Préaux again (p. 568), 'une notion économique ne saurait constituer une fin morale'.

The history of Egypt during the millennium covered by the Greek papyri (of the dynastic period I am not competent to speak) shows a curious uniformity. Whatever differences there might be in the details of administration (and they were not few), the underlying spirit was the same and the development followed broadly the same lines throughout the Ptolemaic, the Roman-Byzantine, and the Arab periods: first a new efficiency and force in the administration, with a consequent increase of prosperity, then, as the first impulse exhausted itself and the underlying vices of a system based on exploitation once more made themselves felt, a steady and progressive decline. Egypt is thus an object lesson for political theorists; and it is not the least merit of Mlle Préaux's volume that, while presenting a comprehensive survey and investigation of the known evidence, in which she neglects no relevant detail, she brings out so clearly, not in pursuance of any *parti-pris*, but indirectly, by the objective statement of facts and a severely critical analysis, the undying truth that as a government sows so shall it reap.

H. I. BELL

Catalogue of Greek and Latin Papyri and Ostraca in the Possession of the University of Aberdeen. Edited by ERIC G. TURNER. (Aberdeen University Studies, No. 116.) Aberdeen, The University Press, 1939. Svo. xx+116 pp., 5 pls. 8s. 6d.

In this volume are edited all the Greek and Latin papyri at Aberdeen that the editor considers to be worthy of publication. It includes in all 229 texts, of which only a small proportion, and this mainly receipts, is complete. Of these texts thirty-eight are ostraca and ninety-six are summaries. The collection is an extremely mixed and varied one, containing theological and literary pieces as well as non-literary documents. There are texts dating from the third century B.C. to the eighth century A.D.; eight only are Ptolemaic. The provenance of the majority of the papyri is the Fayyūm; from it come also a few of the ostraca, though these latter are chiefly from Upper-Egyptian sources.

The greater part of the literary texts had already been published by Winstedt (*Class. Quart.* 1, 258 ff.) and are here republished more adequately; the remainder are very fragmentary and of little importance. Besides the Latin fragment of St. John's Gospel, the theological texts include a narrative of the Baptism of Jesus, showing Coptic influence, and hymns.

The non-literary papyri, which are much more numerous, refer to all manner of public and private activities. The more interesting among them are an official circular concerning the exemption of priests from *Χωρικά Λειτουργία*, a receipt for corn transport fees which throws new light upon the transportation of grain for shipment from the Fayyūm, receipts for the desert guard tax of an unusual kind, a Latin receipt following Greek formulae, and four ostraca of a new type, containing records of payment of the beer tax. The summary publications include several examples of new or rare words.

The texts are accompanied by introductions describing and discussing their contents and are followed by short commentaries and in most cases translations. The illustrations include the Latin receipt and the Baptism of Jesus ostrakon; one whole plate is devoted to literary fragments.

Although he has not had the opportunity to add a great deal to our knowledge of Graeco-Roman Egypt, Mr. Turner deserves credit for so carefully editing texts that often can mean very little by themselves. In most cases he has not attempted to do much in the way of restoration, but has preferred to publish in the hope that he is providing clues for the understanding of connecting fragments in other collections.

H. G. M. BASS

Publications de la Société Fouad I de Papyrologie. Textes et Documents III. Les Papyrus Fouad I Nos. 1-89. Edited by A. BATAILLE, O. GUÉRAUD, P. JOUGUET, N. LEWIS, H. MARROU, J. SCHÉRER, W. G. WADDELL. Cairo, Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1939. xii+254 pp., 8 pls.

This is one of the best editions dealing with papyri, second only to the publications of Grenfell, Hunt, and Wilken. The seven editors, well-known American, British, and French papyrologists, take only occasionally joint responsibility for a text, e.g. for No. 8, a difficult fragment which deals with the celebrations in Alexandria of Vespasian's ascent to the throne and sheds new light on the ruler cult in the Roman Empire. Nos. 10-14 have already been published, but are carefully revised by A. Bataille and O. Guéraud.

The most important texts, and at the same time the best edited ones, are those which form part of J. Schérer's share of the publication. I specially mention No. 21, a *ὑπομνηματισμός* on the *immunitas* of *veterani* which is connected with Pap. Yale Inv. 1528 and has recently been discussed by A. Segrè, *Journ. Rom. Stud.* xxx, 153 ff. and, more convincingly, by W. L. Westermann, *Class. Phil.* xxxvi, 21 ff. The administrative problem behind this difficult text is, in my opinion, the *deductio veteranorum*. Next in importance is No. 46, a loan, according to which the value of 1 *mnæion* of gold was 90 silver drachms in 23/2 B.C. We knew already that the *mnæion* of gold was equal to more than 80 and less than 90 *denarii* during the second half of the first and the earlier half of the second centuries A.D. (cf. *Klio*, xxv, 124 ff.). The new text proves, finally, that the provincial silver drachm of Egypt, which was reduced to one-quarter *denarius* by Tiberius, was made of equal value with the *denarius* by the Roman administration during the earlier decades of Augustus, except for a small discount.

The economic texts dealt with by N. Lewis and H. Marrou's edition of letters written by monks of the sixth century A.D. give useful solutions of special questions. A. Bataille's No. 85, a gentleman's letter to his brother who is sowing his wild oats in female society, is a gem and will be often made mention of.

A few restorations and emendations may be suggested. In No. 44 (Schérer), l. 30 *δανειακόν* seems a better emendation of the unintelligible *δαμειουκόν* than the editor's *δανειούχον*. Restore in No. 25 (Waddell), col. II, l. 5 [κατ(?)]*έλωψε αὐτοὺς ἀπά[ντας] τοὺς*, in col. II, l. 7 *τούτ[ων μ]εμφόμεθα*, and, perhaps, in col. II, l. 15 [όκ]οῦνός πατήρ Ζεύ[ς εἰς] τὸ μέλλον χρόνον. Restore in No. 57 (Waddell), l. 15 *δ[ο]ύλου*. A few printer's mistakes have been overlooked on p. 252, but no serious ones (correct p. 21, 'L. 6' to 'L. 9' and p. 164, l. 15 *ἔδωκεν*).

F. M. HEICHELHEIM

Papyri Societatis Archaeologicae Atheniensis (Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν). By GEORGIOS A. PETROPULOS. Vol. I. Athens, 1939. xxvi+470 pp., 24 plates.

A newly formed collection of papyri will always be of interest to scholars, especially if it has a fairly good standard and has been well edited. Therefore it is with pleasure that we welcome this publication of the seventy best pieces from the collection of the Archaeological Society of Athens, which includes, with translations and notes, texts from the time of Zenon in the third century B.C. to the Byzantine period.

However, some additions to and corrections of the editor's restorations are necessary. Some but not many of his readings seem to be uncertain, and will, we hope, receive due revision after the end of the war. I give a few examples which do not require lengthy discussion. No. 1, line 1: restore *ἀξ[ίων γράφαι]* instead of *ἀπολογεῖσθαι*. No. 3, line 7: restore *πορευ[τά?]*. No. 14, lines 33-4: read and restore: 'Ως | [κατακεχωρισμένη ἐν δη]μοσίῳ (cp. P. Rendel Harris 83, line 16; also 146, line 7 for this formula). No. 18, lines 15-17: The year 3 of Marcus Aurelius and Verus (A.D. 162/3) can be restored here. The titles *Parthicus* of the Emperor Marcus and *Felix* of Verus would be unofficial provincial honours well understandable immediately after the first great victories in Armenia and Mesopotamia:] < γ *Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσα(ρος)* | [*Μάρκου Ἀυρηλίου Ἀ]γτωνεῖ-νου (?) Παρθ(ικοῦ) | [Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Οὐή]ρου Ἀρμ(εναικοῦ) (?) Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ*.

The alternative] < γ *Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσα(ρος)* | [*Μ(άρκου) Ἀυρ(ηλίου) υἱοῦ θεοῦ Ἀ]γτωνεῖνου Παρθ(ικοῦ) | [*Μεγ(άλου) Σεουή(ρου) Ἀλεξάνδ]ρου Εἰσ(εβοῦς) (?) Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ* which would date the text in the year 3 of Alexander Severus (A.D. 223/4) is not very attractive in spite of P. Fay. 20. No. 19, lines 16-17: restore *Βεβαίωσις ἧ[δε κυρία. Περὶ δὲ] | λοιπῶν*. No. 70, lines 3-4: restore *ἐκ παντός τόπ[ου εἰς πάντα] | τόπον*.*

The notes of the edition show an inclination to survey the complete problems touched upon, perhaps owing to an intention of Professor Petropulos to create a guide and text-book for future papyrological research in Greece; but they are, on account of this, no less useful and to the point. The editor can be congratulated upon his achievement and will certainly allow me to conclude with the wish that there may be many successors in papyrological research in his country.

F. M. HEICHELHEIM

Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit. By S. G. KAPSOMENAKIS. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung usw. Heft 28. Munich, 1938. Pp. xvi+148.

Long ago Albert Thumb delivered a lecture to the Classical Association (*Cl. Quart.*, 1914, 181-205) on 'The Value of Modern Greek for the Study of Ancient Greek'. This doctrine, long accepted by philologists, is given new point by this book, for by means of his knowledge of modern Greek the author is enabled to throw light on many dark places in the papyri. For instance in P. Flor. 1, 50, 2 [III] *ἀπὸ κορμοῦ εἰς κορμόν*

is interpreted as 'vine by vine' where both the word (*κορμί*) and the distributive expression are modern Greek. In the same way K. sees a compound adverb *εἰσάμα* in P. Russ-Georg. III, 4, 19 (cf. *εἰσάπαξ*, *εἰσότης*, etc.); for *φωνὴν ἀντῶ ἐβάλομεν* 'we urge insistently' MG *βάνω* (*τῆ*) *φωνή* is quoted; in P. Oxy. 1299, 5 *ἔπιτα ἀπό* = *μετά* 'after', as in late and MG; in this pap. l. 8 *πέρου* = *πέρουσι* 'last year' and not the editor's reading <ύ>πέρ σ<ο>ύ while *ἐφέτος* is the MG adverb 'this year' and not 'yearly'; in PGM, II, 13, 136 *κατάκου* is the imperative of *κατακείμαι*; *ibid.* 438 *βαλὲ παρὰ μέρος* = 'lay on one side' cf. MG *παράμερα*; in P. Oxy. XIV, 1684, 4 *εἰσοφόριος* = 'what is worn underneath' cf. MG *σωφόρι* 'undergarment'; *ἀφορμάριος* is a new word in *SB* III, 7168, 4 = 'one who attempts evasion' cf. *ἀφορμαρής* (= *-is*) in medieval Greek; *ἐπαίρω* PKF 27, 3 has the modern sense 'I take'; *πισσωμένα* *BL* I, 433 [= P. Bas. 19, 1, 5] is not from *πισσώω* but = *πησόνεμα* 'nails' as in MG; in *SB* I, 4755, 6; 19 an adverb *πρόσκολλα* occurs = 'close to, hard by' which should replace *προσκολλατός* in Preisigke's lexicon. Enough has been quoted to show the value of Kapsomenakis's approach to the linguistic problems of the papyri. Apart from this the author makes a number of ingenious corrections to various papyri and supports them by copious linguistic observations collected from the post-Christian papyri. Of particular value to the papyrologist are his observations on orthography: *ἀμφιβολουσι* in *PSI* VIII, 901, 13 and *ἀμφιβολουσι* *ibid.* l. 22 are interpreted as *ἀμφιβολεῦσι* and this is confirmed by numerous examples of *εου* = *ευ* and *αου* = *αυ*; in P. Giss. II, 8/9 *ἔπεσταλ(η)ν* *μένος* is convincingly explained as *ἔπεστάλην. μόνος*, for the interchange of *ε* and *ο* is a common phenomenon in these texts. The interchange of *ε* and *α* likewise frequently obscures interpretation: the mysterious *γὰρ γενας* of P. Flor. II, 175, 32 turns out to be no more than *σαργάνας*; here belongs, too, the frequent appearance of the particle *ἄν* as *ἔν*, in the light of which *ὁ ἐνδῶσι σοι κέρμα* P. Flor. II, 274, 7/8 is seen to be *ὁ ἐν* (= *ἄν*) *δώση*; this makes attractive K.'s suggestion that *δι' οὐ εἰδοκιμάσης* in P. Thead. 19, 17 = *δι' οὐ ἐν δοκιμάσης*, which is better syntax and rids the dictionaries of a ghost-word *εἰδοκιμάζω*.

There are a number of points where the author has carried ingenuity beyond the bounds of probability. In P. Fay. II, 17/22 for *τὴν εἰκθὺν πέμσις τῆ κδ εἰ κε* K. wishes to read *εἰκε = ἦκε* 'come' with a stop after *κδ*. This is hardly plausible in view of the similar expression in P. Fay. II, 12: *καὶ τῆ ιη εἰ ιθ τῆ πόλει πέμσις εἰκθύας*, which the author dismisses in a foot-note. This leads K. to suggest that *ἐκτιναγμός* and *ibid.* l. 22 means 'departure'. In support of this interpretation he quotes Hesychius *ἐκτινάξαι. ἀποκινήσαι* and Suidas *ἀποκινεῖν. τὸ ἀπέρχεσθαι*. But it is the practice of lexicographers to explain unusual usages by the Attic equivalent. Consequently *ἐκτινάξαι* in Hesychius must be understood as transitive and it is quite inadmissible to fuse the two authorities to produce evidence that *ἐκτινάξαι = τὸ ἀπέρχεσθαι*. Nor am I convinced by K.'s interpretation of *ἐκτιναγμός* in P. Flor. II, 209, 13 and *τιναγμός* in Flor. 246*, 3/6 and *ibid.* 196, 2/10. *μὴ ὑπηραθῆ ὁ ἐκτιναγμός* in the first pap. is equivalent to *ἵνα μὴ ὁ τιναγμός ἐμποδίσθῃ* in the second and it is fairly clear that the wine in question is meant as payment for the (olive) harvest. The fact that *ἐκτιναγμός* is used in one case and *τιναγμός* in the other is of no great moment and to insist on it smacks of special pleading. It hardly warrants our isolating this one usage of *ἐκτιναγμός* from the whole family of *τινάσσω* words and basing our explanation on an ambiguous gloss of Hesychius.

In the Silko inscription the notorious *ἐφιλονικήσουσι* is explained as = *ἐφιλονικήσασω* where the ending of the future has intruded into the aorist. Despite the undoubted interaction of these two tenses in post-classical times, it is difficult to find parallels for the ending *-ουσι* in the aorist indicative. K.'s attempt to interpret P. Lond. 1916 (= Bell, *Jews and Christians*) is hardly convincing and to insist that in *τεθελήκουσι* P. Amh. II, 130 we have the future ending and not the present, is quite arbitrary. It is significant, however, that the above form and the *παραπεσοῦσι* of P. Lond. 1916, 29 both occur after *ἐπειδή*. Does then *ἐφιλονικήσουσι* stand for *φιλονικήσωσι*? K. himself (p. 102) quotes many examples of the introduction of indicative endings into the subjunctive, and the intrusion of the augment into non-indicative moods is a well-attested phenomenon, as is the omission of *ἄν* and the interchange of subjunctive and optative in frequentative clauses: *ἐπειδή ἐφιλονικήσουσι* stands then for the classical *ἐπειδή φιλονεικήσειαν*.

On p. 100 f. K. enumerates examples of the coalescence of similar vowels such as *ύγη* for *ύγιη* etc., and apropos of this he criticizes my remarks (*J. Theol. Stud.*, 1934, 171 f.) on *ἐὰν δεῖ*, which he regards as an example of *ἐάν* with the indicative in conditional clauses. It is not to be denied that the indicative often appears in such constructions, but that is not the point which I was stressing in the above article. What I wished to make clear in this paper is that orthographical variants such as *τέθεικα* and *τέθηκα* should not be treated as significant linguistic facts once the equivalence of *η* and *ει* has been established. Similarly if

εαν δει occurs in a papyrus, it is an arbitrary procedure to print εαν δει and catalogue this as an example of εαν with the indicative, for it may equally well be εαν δει = δεη. This is borne out by K.'s own remarks, for he notes that Ἀλλθεει (dative of Ἀλθαιεύς) also appears as Ἀλθεει ('oder Ἀλθεει zu lesen!'). This is precisely parallel to δει. May we not say with equal truth 'δει oder δεει zu lesen'? Consequently this particular example cannot be regarded as unambiguous evidence for the use of the indicative in conditional clauses.

It is difficult to understand what the author means by the 'Angleichung der Endungen des Konjunktivs an die des Indikativs' (p. 102¹); ἵνα γένεται etc. are possibly examples of the substitution of the indicative for the subjunctive. On the other hand in cases like ἵνα ἀνέλθουσι P. Flor. II, 175, 27/9 and εἶνα μοι μαρτυρήσουσιν P. Oxy. VII, 1068, 19 there are two possible explanations: (1) that we have a substitution of the future indicative for the aorist subjunctive (a common phenomenon), or (2) that -ουσι is an orthographic variant for -ουσι. In most examples of this interchange of ου and ω it is possible to adopt a morphological or syntactical explanation: ἐν τημοσίου κατακεχωρισμένον BGU 71, 23 may be regarded as a genitive construction (though this is more difficult in examples like ἐν τῇ Σοκοπαίου νήσου CPR IV, 8 (i) and ἐν τῷ ἐποικίου P. Lond. 232, 2). In ἐδέξου BGU 984, 9 (iv), ἀπεγράφου P. Oxy. 1157, 25 (iii) etc., again, the -ου may be an intrusion from the strong aorist; but a certain example of ου for ω is to be found in P. Oxy. 36, ix, 11 (iii/iv) where the editors read ὀκκου for ὀκτώ, and μαλλουτός = μαλλωτός in P. Masp. 6, ii, 65 (vi). The second of the above explanations is, therefore, not to be dismissed, but until further statistics are available for the interchangeability of ου and ω in the papyri, the first explanation is to be preferred. There can, however, be no question of the 'assimilation of the endings of the subjunctive to those of the indicative'.

I cannot agree, further, that ειδότες, ἐκφυγοτες, ἀπελθωτα etc., are necessarily instances where perfect endings have been introduced into the aorist. ν is a notoriously unstable sound in Greek and its omission is frequent. Maysen I, 191 quotes ἀνεενκάτων, τοὺς γράψατας, ὄτες = ὄντες etc. The above forms are, therefore, nothing more than orthographical errors. Through a similar misapprehension the editors of P. Oxy. xvi have inserted a new word καταβαίνωτος in the index. The text (1978, 4, 8) reads καταβαινωτα ἀπὸ ἀχάης, which is, of course, no more than καταβαίνοντα. . . .

This review, however, would convey a false impression if I allowed it to end on a note of criticism. The book, despite its small compass, is one of the most valuable contributions to the language of the post-Christian papyri that has yet appeared.

L. R. PALMER

Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae . . . Codices Coptici, Tomus I: Codices Coptici Vaticani. Recensuerunt AD. HEBBELYNCK† et ARN. VAN LANTSCHOOT. In Bibliotheca Vaticana, MCMXXXVII. Pp. xxix+698.

This review is unpardonably belated, yet it is still, so far as I know, the first to appear in this country. The book, upon which the late Mgr. Hebbelynck and Fr. van Lantschoot spent many years of labour, will be a landmark in Coptic studies, as was its great predecessor, Zoega's catalogue, over a hundred years ago, though in the present volume only the Bohairic manuscripts come under consideration. An immense amount of minute and invaluable information relating to the manuscripts is given us. The space devoted to the liturgical books far exceeds indeed that allotted to the remainder (cf. *Praefatio*, p. 1); but seeing that most of these others have by now been published—in many cases more than once and by editors of varying quality—Coptic scholars have no reason to complain. Being no liturgiologist, I have paid attention chiefly to the descriptions of the famous series of parchment volumes, brought from Nitria, more than two centuries ago, by J. S. Assemani. Until their arrival the Coptic manuscripts in the papal libraries had been insignificant: the Inventory of 1481 shows merely a few service books, of which the librarian of that day could make little. He found them described as *littera aegyptia caphitu (cophyto), cum glossa arabica*; but he says they are written in Greek characters, intermixed with *chaldaea litterae* (presumably the 6 Coptic letters) and adds *puto linguam esse monachorum aegyptiorum*. The acquisition of the 14 Nitrian volumes (here Nos. 1, 5, 35, 57-69) gave to the Vatican collection the first place in Europe; what was previously to be found in other libraries consisted, as here, of relatively modern liturgical manuscripts. Assemani introduced the learned world to Coptic 'literature'. The very varied contents of these volumes had been long since described or listed: by Assemani himself, by Quatremère—after Bonaparte

had carried them off to Paris—and by Zoega, though he knew only Tuki's unreliable copies. The present work, following the lines laid down in Hebbelynck's *Inventaire Sommaire* (in the Ehrle *Miscellanea*, 1924), gives us the title of each piece (of which in some volumes there are more than a dozen, in others only three), with *incipit* and *explicit*, the indication of the Greek original where identified—a most welcome feature—bibliography of text and related publications, besides a quantity of facts as to script, make-up of the volumes, and so forth. Of the texts themselves much has already been written; they comprise, besides two biblical volumes (Nos. 1 and 5), martyrdoms, encomiums, lives, a few apocryphal texts, and a number of homilies—among these the finest manuscript of all, No. 57, consisting of 38 unpublished discourses of Chrysostom. Incidental names and places have been discussed elsewhere,¹ though plenty remains to be said about many of them. Of the biblical manuscripts one is the beautiful, still unused Pentateuch, the text whereof will prove disappointing, owing to its many omissions and inaccuracies; the other a thirteenth-century Psalter, likewise ignored hitherto by editors. But Assemani had overlooked (or despised?) the many stray leaves that lay neglected in the monasteries and after him Curzon, Tattam, Tischendorf, and finally Evelyn White succeeded in bringing away a considerable number, which eventually found homes in London,² Manchester, Leipzig, and Old Cairo respectively.

It may be said that, liturgical texts apart, Bohairic literature is in origin Nitrian literature. Service books of various types have indeed come from these monasteries, but written only in later ages and—with the exception of No. 35 here—upon paper. It is true that the books we are at present concerned with, homilies as well as martyrdoms and lives, are properly speaking liturgical in purpose; for all belonged to the *Synaxarium* (as Zoega was the first to recognize), to be read, as the rubrics show, throughout the year, and in the Assemani series all months are represented, most frequently Pachôn and Epêp; whereas the homilies seem mostly to be proper to Lent. It has been assumed that these manuscripts, dateable almost all in the ninth and tenth centuries, were collected to reconstitute an earlier library, which had perished in the last of the destructive raids upon the monasteries.³ Whence did they come? Certain pieces were written actually in the Macarian monastery; ten at least for that community.⁴

Of the many scribes employed one, Chael, son of Matoi, is conspicuously diligent: there are 22 specimens here of his hand—some 325 folios in all—and more in other collections. No other hand recurs more than eight times. But, besides the scribes, many users of the books have immortalized themselves: readers who often name their place of origin—*κατὰ τοῦ πατρῆος*, pp. 439, 484, &c.—and thus raise questions as to where the volumes had been, before being deposited in Nitria. For, besides the above-named Chael, himself from *τρυεῖλαι*-Daqahlah, these readers seem mostly to be natives of the eastern or north-eastern Delta and there is not evidence to show whether they had handled the books in those districts, or were monks (possibly pilgrims), who found them already in the Nitrian libraries. The towns they speak of are in or near to those parts where once the Bushmûric dialect could be heard and one might be tempted to see, in certain features of the idiom noticeable in these readers' *conscribillationes*, traces of that extinct (?) speech.⁵ However, comparison with the usage of the scribes themselves shows that few, if any, of the readers' peculiarities but may be found there likewise and unless the Nitrian idiom were to be regarded as an import from across the Delta, they seem more plausibly to be explained as mere illiterate aberrations within the normal 'Bohairic' dialect, when written by natives of the eastern provinces. Examples of such abnormality are the frequent use of absolute for construct verbal forms; of initial *ει-* for *η-*, of *ῥ* for *οῖ*, *Ϸ* for *τ* and *vice versa*, *ϕ* for *ϕ* (rarely), *ψ* for *Ϸ* (ditto); the dropping of initial, final, and even medial syllables and conspicuously of initial *η-* in the subjunctive (*τε-*, *τα-*, *τεκ-*, *τεϕ-*, *τοῖ-*⁶); frequent metathesis of

¹ The former in *PSBA* xxix, 289, 301, the latter also there and of course in Amélineau's *Géographie*.

² Presumably the parchment leaves in the British Museum are, almost all, Nitrian (v. my *Catal.* p. xvii n.). One or two belong in fact to Vatican volumes and that is the case with some in the three other collections also.

³ Beginning of ninth century; v. Evelyn White, *New Texts*, p. xxxii.

⁴ That is, ten of a round hundred which the volumes comprise. Those showing scribe's colophons will have been the last in the respective volume, as originally constituted.

⁵ On this dialect, its home and survival, cf. *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 1939, 249 ff.

⁶ I have noted the following occurrences in Nitrian texts of another *τοῖ-*, as 1st pres. prefix: *MG* 25, 127 *αιψανηε πιααχι τοῖςωτεα αν* (and thrice more there), *Cat.* 34 *ιαε τοῖςεηι*, *C* 86, 239 *ις ζ προαηι τοῖερ ἕααανηζην*, *EW* 12 *ις τοῖψοερωρ*. Also in *S*: *JA* '88, 369 *εψωηε αῖρη πορηα . . . τοῖο ηραεε* (cf. 371

consonants. It is not surprising to meet occasionally with Fayyūmic-speaking readers: pp. 484 *inf.*, 496, 510 (the well-known long colophon), 518, but there is no taint of Fayyūmic influence in the texts themselves, though often enough of Saʿīdic,¹ from which dialect most at any rate of them are admittedly adapted.² And besides these extraneous dialects there are the specimens of that remarkable Graeco-Coptic script (if not idiom), lately described elsewhere:³ pp. 410, 412, 427, 446.

These readers' notes preserve many a strange name, not hitherto recorded. The long family memorial, for instance (p. 473), appended to No. 65—a volume presented to a village church probably in the eastern Delta—has eighteen, some of them of decidedly un-Egyptian aspect: among the men $\Theta\omega\varsigma$ and $\epsilon\pi\theta\omega\varsigma$ (var. p. 470 $\epsilon\pi\theta\omega\psi$), $\mu\epsilon\pi\alpha\pi\iota\varsigma\alpha\text{†}$; among women $\mu\epsilon\pi\alpha\pi\alpha\theta\iota$, $\varsigma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\mu\epsilon\pi$, $\text{†}\mu\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho$ (doubtful),⁵ $\text{†}\Phi\alpha\eta\tau$, $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\iota$. It may be noted here that in another Nitrian colophon (Leipzig Tischendorf xxiv, 31) we find $\mu\eta\eta\alpha$ $\overline{\iota\eta\varsigma}$ (*Jesus*),⁶ the donor's father, and $\text{†}\kappa\omicron\gamma\rho\tau\iota$ his mother, natives of $\pi\eta\iota\text{†}\mu\epsilon\text{†}$. $\text{†}\mu\omicron\gamma\varsigma\eta$, both names and place otherwise unknown. Many others might be cited, but they will no doubt all be recorded in the promised second volume of Fr. van Lantschoot's *Recueil des Colophons*.

Some of the incidental place-names too appear here for the first time, or in improved readings. But does not $\text{†}\chi\epsilon\Phi\rho\eta\epsilon$ (p. 456) look better as read in C 86 269 $\text{†}\chi\epsilon\Phi\rho\eta\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\varsigma[\eta\tau]$, even if the second word be questionable?⁷ On p. 467 $\pi\iota\psi\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ is a place, بشنا , near Damietta (Ibn Duqmāḡ 5, 78). On p. 519 $\tau\epsilon\rho\pi\omicron\eta\tau$ is scarcely to be identified. The word is presumably the same as in $\tau\epsilon\lambda\pi\omicron\eta\tau\omicron\gamma\rho\omega$ (Evelyn White 94, 95) and $\tau\epsilon\lambda\theta\omicron\eta\tau$ -*Τελθωνθις* (Kr 133). But these are in Upper Egypt, whereas in the Delta a place Talbant occurs thrice (Boinet 515). On p. 473 I would propose $\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma[\lambda]$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\tau$, comparing $\pi\iota\theta\omicron\rho\alpha\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ $\tau.$, itself near Damietta, with which this manuscript is connected. There are of course plenty of Arabic-written place-names in the subscriptions to the liturgical books, some easily located, others elusive. I will mention only one—and that perhaps no place at all—leaving others to explain it. As title to the lessons for the feast of John the Baptist (p. 562) we read $\text{الخدمة تاني يوم بعين كارم}$, or again $\text{مايجب قراته في عين كارم}$.

Finally a few emendations and additions may be suggested to a work whose completeness and minute accuracy are among its conspicuous virtues. P. 13 read H. G. Evelyn White.—P. 22 *inf.* and elsewhere, why *bašnas*, rather than *bašans*?—P. 140 for *barmahât* read *barmûdah* and below, before 'die 8', insert *epêp*.—P. 383, 5 read p. 326.—P. 386 perhaps $\pi\iota\chi\iota\eta\eta$ (نجيب) $\pi\omicron\gamma\iota\omega\tau$ and below *Orientalistische*.—P. 390, 8 $\epsilon\theta\omicron\gamma\alpha\delta$.—P. 395, 3 read P.G. 89.—P. 399, 9 read n. 51.—P. 435 *ult.*, Armenian version transl. Conybeare in *Am. J. Theol.* 1905, 719.—P. 448 Martyrianus ed. Chaîne in ROC xxvii, 140.—P. 452 *inf.* Rylands 438.—P. 456, 8 from below, $\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\varsigma\iota(\pi\iota)$.—P. 471 re-edited C 86, 90 ff.—P. 482 *med.*, ? $\alpha\pi\omicron\gamma\lambda\iota\omicron\gamma\mu\epsilon\pi$ ($-\mu\epsilon\epsilon\lambda$, Cairo 8025).—P. 510 re-edited I. Guidi in ALR 1906, 472.—P. 513 Greek in P.G. 60, 765 (De Vis).—P. 518, 12 from below, $\pi\iota\tau\iota$ $\mu\eta\eta\alpha$.—P. 646, 10 from below, خطوط .

W. E. CRUM

$\varsigma\epsilon\omicron$ $\pi\rho.$), Sphinx 10, 3 $\eta\epsilon\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma$ $\pi\rho\sigma\kappa\gamma\eta\epsilon\iota$. . . $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\tau\omicron\gamma\mu\alpha\delta\kappa\gamma$; and in *F*: MR 5, 33 $\pi\epsilon\eta\iota\alpha\text{†}$ $\tau\omicron\gamma\epsilon\lambda$ $\pi\rho\sigma\kappa\gamma(\pi\iota)$. This appears to stand to $\varsigma\epsilon-$ as subjunct. *B* $\pi\tau\omicron\gamma-$ to $\eta\varsigma\epsilon-$, the former of which ($\pi\tau\omicron\gamma-$) is met with here and there in *S* also: LAP 528, GuDorm 345, Balestri p. xliii.

¹ Cf. Lefort in *Muséon*, XLIV, 123 ff.

² The lives even of the Nitrian saints were written in Saʿīdic; cf. Ryl. 95 (Macarius), Morgan 40 (Maximus and Dometius).

³ *Proc. Brit. Ac., ut supra*.

⁴ More like a place, but for preceding 'and'.

⁵ This curious text has suffered, the editors tell us, from the attentions of rash restorers. Unfortunately a photograph is not given by Hyvernat.

⁶ The Syrian type in *-ishoʿ*, or the Ethiopic in *-iyasûs* cannot be compared, since the first element in these is always a verb or noun, not another proper name.

⁷ Cf. شبرا خيت ? (Boinet 156).

LIST OF PLATES

| | PAGE |
|---|--------------------------------|
| TUT'ANKHAMŪN'S GOLD DAGGER | |
| Plate I Tut'ankhamūn's Gold Dagger | <i>Frontispiece</i> |
| SOME RUBBINGS OF EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS MADE A HUNDRED YEARS AGO | |
| Plate II Stela of the Metal-Engraver Tunenneḥebkhōns, from a rubbing by John Williams | <i>facing p. 8</i> |
| Plate III 1. Stela of Amennakhte, Scribe of the Place of Truth
2. Back and Sides of a Statuette formerly in the Lee Collection, from rubbings by John Williams | ,, 10 |
| EGYPTIAN MILITARY STANDARDS | |
| Plate IV Egyptian Military Standards | ,, 15 |
| Plate V Egyptian Military Standards | ,, 16 |
| Plate VI Egyptian Military Standards | ,, 17 |
| RAMESSIDE TEXTS RELATING TO THE TAXATION AND TRANSPORT OF CORN | |
| Plate VII The Amiens Papyrus, <i>recto</i> , pp. 1 and 5 | ,, 37 |
| Plate VIII The Griffith Fragments, penultimate column | ,, 69 |
| A TAX-ASSESSOR'S JOURNAL OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM | |
| Plates IX and IXA P. Harageh 3 | <i>between pp. 76 and 77</i> |
| THE STELA OF SHOSHENḲ, GREAT CHIEF OF THE MESHWESH | |
| Plate X The Stela of ShoshenḲ, Great Chief of the Meshwesh, ll. 1-10 | ,, 82 and 83 |
| Plate XA The Stela of ShoshenḲ, Great Chief of the Meshwesh, notes on ll. 1-10 | ,, 82 and 83 |
| Plate XI The Stela of ShoshenḲ, Great Chief of the Meshwesh, ll. 10-19 | ,, 82 and 83 |
| Plate XI A The Stela of ShoshenḲ, Great Chief of the Meshwesh, notes on ll. 10-19 | ,, 82 and 83 |
| Plate XII The Stela of ShoshenḲ, Great Chief of the Meshwesh, ll. 19-26 | ,, 82 and 83 |
| Plate XII A The Stela of ShoshenḲ, Great Chief of the Meshwesh, notes on ll. 19-26 | ,, 82 and 83 |
| SYRIANS IN THE TOMB OF AMUNEDJEḲ | |
| Plate XIII Syrians from the Tomb of AmunedjeḲ. Thebes, tomb No. 84 | ,, 98 and 99 |
| THE TUNIC OF TUT'ANKHAMŪN | |
| Plate XIV The Tunic of Tut'ankhamūn | <i>facing p. 113</i> |
| Plate XV Woven Bands from the Tunic | ,, 116 |
| Plate XVI Textiles from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn. Drafts and Designs | ,, 118 |
| Plate XVII The Tunic of Tut'ankhamūn. Back. Side Border | ,, 119 |
| Plate XVIII The Tunic of Tut'ankhamūn. Front. Decoration of the Neck Opening | ,, 120 |
| Plate XIX Textile 1045 from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn | ,, 121 |
| Plate XX The Tunic of Tut'ankhamūn. Front. (Top) Key to the Panels
(Below) Embroidered Panels 1-9 | <i>between pp. 126 and 127</i> |
| Plate XXI The Tunic of Tut'ankhamūn. Front. The Embroidered Panels 10-12 and Side Borders | <i>facing p. 127</i> |
| Plate XXII The Tunic of Tut'ankhamūn. Back. (Top) Key to the Panels
(Below) The Embroidered Panels | <i>between pp. 130 and 131</i> |

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| A TAX-ASSESSOR'S JOURNAL OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM | |
| Fig. 1 | 76 |
| THE TUNIC OF TUTANKHAMŪN | |
| Fig. 1. Key to the Position of the Bands | 115 |
| THE HIEROGLYPH FOR THE FLEDGLING | |
| Fig. 1 | 133 |
| Fig. 2 | 133 |
| Fig. 3 | 133 |

GENERAL INDEX

A

- Abydos, 84 ff.
 Adulis, town, 141.
 'Agni, town, 24 ff.
 'Aḥḥotpe, queen, 43, 45.
 Akhamenkanekht, page, 84; 89, n. 42.
 'Akhpe, scribe, 63, 64.
 Akhptahkanekht, Syrian foreigner, 84; 89, n. 42.
 Akhtoy, scribe, 2.
 Akitesub, ship's captain, 57.
 Alexander, elephant-hunter, 141.
 Amen-Rē, standard of, 17; oracle of, 92.
 Amenemōne, prophet, 29.
 Amenḥima'u, father of Peieroy, 39.
 Amenḥotpe, retainer, 40; overseer of cattle, 52; ship's captain, 57; father of Akitesub, 57; of Maḥu, 57.
 Amenmosē, cultivator, 57.
 Amennakhte, stela of, 9.
 Amentefnakhte, chief of the king's bodyguard, 165.
 Ameny, stela of, 10.
 Amherst collection, 9 ff.
 Ammenemes I, 2 ff.
 Ammenemes II, 5.
 Amūn, creator of new land, 48.
 Amunedjeḥ, tomb of, 96 ff.
 'Anefsu, foreigner, 36.
 'Anerē, controller, 38, 39.
 'Ankhatir, policeman, 24, 26, 28.
 'Antimosē, scribe, 53, 55, 56.
 Anubis in *hṯp-di-nsw* formula, 80.
 Aquarius, 150, 151.
 Argō, 151.
 Aries, 151.
 ARKELL, A. J., The Name of Sesebi, 159.
 'Ashafē (*rī šfyṯ*), epithet of Amūn, 45, 46.
 'Ashafēheryeb, cultivator, 39; controller, 40.
 'Ashafēmḥab, ship's captain, 39.
 'Ashafēnakhte, father of Wennofrenakhte, 39; of Psmennakhte, 40.
 'Ashafēyew, ship's captain, 37.
 Astronomy, 149 ff.
 Attempted Sacrifice of Sesostri, The, G. A. WAINWRIGHT, 138-43.
 'Autiroy, foreigner, 37.

B

- Barley, 24, n. 3; 27, 28; black ink used for amounts in, 27.
 BASS, H. G. M., Review by, 176.
 BATAILLE A., and others, *Publications de la Société Fouad I de Papyrologie. Textes et Documents III. Les Papyrus Fouad I, Nos. 1-89* (reviewed), 176-7.
 Baṯn el-Bakarah, 'The Cow's Belly', name of apex of Delta, 158.
 Bekamūn, father of Mins'ankh, 38.
 Bekenbi, mother of cultivator Ḥuy, 59.

- Bekenkhnos, 53; father of 'Ashafēyew, 37.
 BELL, H. I., Review by, 174-6.
 BENNETT, C. J. C., Growth of the *Hṯp-Di-Nsw* formula in the Middle Kingdom, 77-82.
 The Writing of *Hṯp-Di-Nsw*, 157.
 Bibliography: Graeco-Roman Egypt, Greek Inscriptions (1939-40), MARCUS N. TOD, 153-6.
 Big Game Hunters in Ptolemaic and Roman Libya, MARCUS N. TOD, 159-60.
 BLACKMAN, A. M., The Stela of Shoshenḳ, Great Chief of the Meshwesh, 83-95.
 Blinding of Truth, Story of the, 158, 159.
 Bondman, value of a, 90, n. 58; 91, n. 61.
 Bupuamenkhaṯ, bondman, 85; 90, n. 55.
 Butehamūn, cultivator, 30.

C

- Cairo Stela *Journ. d'entrée* 66285, 83 ff.
 Capricornus, 150.
 Cassiopeia, 149, 151.
 ČERNÝ, JAROSLAV, 'Imm in Late Egyptian, 106-12.
 Charimortos, elephant-hunter, 141.
 CHATLEY, Dr., Letter on Egyptian Astronomy from, 151-2.
 Chevron decoration, 124, 125.
 Chief workman, title, 48.
 Coinage of Egypt, 135 ff., 161, 177.
Coma Berenices, 150.
 Controller, agricultural title, 48.
 Corn, taxation and transport of, 19 ff., 74 ff.
 Corona australis, 151; borealis, 151.
 Cow's Belly, The, ALAN H. GARDINER, 158.
 Criminals employed on land, 46.
 CROWFOOT, G. M. and N. DE G. DAVIES, The Tunic of Tut'ankhamūn, 113-30.
 CRUM, W. E., Review by, 179-81.
 Cultivator, title, 21, 22, 48.

D

- Dagger, gold, of Tut'ankhamūn, 1.
 DAVIES, N. de G. (with G. M. CROWFOOT), The Tunic of Tut'ankhamūn, 113-30.
 DAVIES, NINA M., The Hieroglyph for the Fledgling, 133-4; and N. DE G., Syrians in the Tomb of Amunedjeḥ, 96-8.
 Decans, 151, 152.
 Decorated royal garments, 113 ff.
 Denitenḥor, bondman, 85; 90, n. 57.
 Dḥutemḥab, chief of the ergastulum, 32.
 Dḥutmosē, scribe of the Necropolis, 22 ff.; janitor, 23 ff.
 Dḥutweshbi, ship's captain, 30 ff.
 Diodorus, 138 ff.
 Divine Adoratress, House of the, 69.
 Dja'-rūhe, town, 45.
 Dodd, antiquity dealer, 10.
 Durah, 28, n. 4.

E

- Efenennebu, cultivator, 52.
 Efnamūn, scribe of the Necropolis, 23.
 Egyptian Astronomy, Letters from Dr. EISLER and Dr. CHATLEY, 149-52.
 Egyptian Military Standards, R. O. FAULKNER, 12-18.
 Egyptian Sea-going Ships: A Correction, R. O. FAULKNER, 158.
 Eḥowtenūfe, foreigner, 36, 37.
 EISLER, Dr., Letter on Egyptian Astronomy from, 149-51.
 Elephant-hunting, 141, 160.
 Embroidery, 115 ff.
 Endowments of statues of Nemrat, 93, 94.
 Enduring-of-Kingship, a locality near Abydos, 90, n. 48.
 ENGBERG, ROBERT M., *The Hyksos Reconsidered* (reviewed), 171.
 Ereʿo, priest, 56.
 Ernūtet, wife of Yuny, 10.
 Eroy, foreigner, 34 ff.
 Eumedes, elephant-hunter, 141.

F

- Farmer, value of a, 90, n. 58.
 FAULKNER, R. O., Egyptian Military Standards, 12-18.
 Egyptian Sea-going Ships: A Correction, 158.
 Reviews by, 166-71.

G

- GARDINER, ALAN H., Ramesside Texts relating to the Transport and Taxation of Corn, 19-73.
 Tutankhamūn's Gold Dagger, 1.
 Postscript to ČERNÝ, J., 'Imm in Late Egyptian, 112.
 The Cow's Belly, 158.
 Review by, 173.
 Gebelēn, Egn. Imiotru, town, 24 ff.; writing of, 36, n. 4.
 GOLÉNISCHEFF, WLADIMIR, Prof., death of, 165.
 Great God, the, divine title, 79; 166, 167.
 Greek Epigram from Egypt, A, MARCUS N. TOD, 99-105.
 Griffith papyrus fragments on corn-taxation, 64 ff.
 Growth of the *Htp-Di-Nsw* formula in the Middle Kingdom, C. J. C. BENNETT, 77-82.
 Gryphon as decorative *motif*, 129.
 GUNN, BATTISCOMBE, Notes on Ammenemes I, 2-6.
 Notes on Egyptian Lexicography, 144-8.
 The Use of Red for Amounts of Cereals in Hieratic, 157.

H

- Hadnakhtu, father of Nebʿan, 40.
 Harmin, scribe, 59.
 Hārmosē, gardener, 85.
 Harnakhte, royal scribe, 63.
 Hārresnet, master of the mysteries of the God's mother, 10.
 Hārsiēse, father of Pshērinmut, 85.
 Hāthōr, worshipped at 'Agni, 25, n. 6; at Pathyris, 36; invoked in *htp-di-nsw* formula, 80; the Seven Hāthōrs, 132.
 Hātiay, stable-master, 59.
 Hatshepsut, queen, 13, 16.
 He-e-pwoid, town, 44, 45.
 He-kak, town, 67, 68.

- He-wēre, town, 53, n. 3; 55, n. 3.
 HEBBELYNCK, AD. and ARN. VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae . . . Codices Coptici*, Tomus I (reviewed), 179-81.
 HEICHELHEIM, F. M., On Medinet Habu Ostrakon 4038, 161.
 Reviews by, 176-7.
 Hentowē, female musician of Amūn, 25 ff.
 Heracleopolis, seat of Shoshenḳ family, 92.
 Hēriḥor, viceroy of Cush, 23, n. 2.
 Herodotus, 138 ff.
 Heryebḥimaʿe, sandal-maker, 52, 53.
 Hewnūfe, ship's captain, 57.
 Hieroglyph for the Fledgling, The, NINA M. DAVIES, 133-4.
 Hippopotamus, 142.
 Hīta, ship's captain, 57.
 Hkt, var. Hkʿyt, goddess of He-wēre, 53, n. 3; 55, n. 3; invoked in *htp-di-nsw* formula, 80.
 Hnty Imntyw in *htp-di-nsw* formula, 78.
 Hōri, prophet, 40; controller, 45, 53; steward's envoy, 74, 75.
 House of the Morning (*pr-dwst*) used for rite of Opening the Mouth, 88, n. 35.
 Hrainūfe, master of the Portable Shrine, 29.
Htp-di-nsw formula, 77 ff., 157, 166.
 Hūy, cultivator, 59; the black, 57; father of soldier Setmosē, 71.
 Hyksos, 171.

I

- Ibi, holder of surveying cords, 74, 75.
 Imiotru, see Gebelēn.
 Imouthes, god, 2.
 Incubation in temples, 3, n. 1.
 Indigo as dye, 116, n. 2.
 In . . . imakh, mother of Tediēse, 85; 91, n. 67.
 Inmut, two towns so named, 45, n. 4; 66.
 Instruction of Ammenemes I, 2 ff.
 Irbak, bondman, 85; 90, n. 54.
 Irusharēʿ, mason, 29, 30.
 Island of Amūn Overrunning-his-boundary, two localities so named, 45, n. 4.
 Island of Khons, three localities so named, 48, n. 5.
 Iunē, foreigner, 33.

J

- JUNKER, HERMANN, *Giza II and Giza III* (reviewed), 166-9.

K

- Ḳadōre, fisherman, 30, 31.
 Kaemmedu, O.K. official, 10.
 KAPSOMENAKIS, S. G., *Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit* (reviewed), 177-9.
 Katja, foreigner, 37.
 Ken (?), prophet, 52.
 Keson, priest, 38, 39.
 Khaʿemtir, foreigner, 36.
 Khaʿḥap, coffin of, 10, 11.
 Khantkhem, god, 167.
 Kharoy, fisherman, 32; Sherden, 54.
 Khensehēnūtenib, scribe, 70.
 Khensemḥab, ship's captain, 40.
 Khensmosē, janitor, 23 ff.; cultivator, 32.

Khmūn, town, 52.
 Khnemnakhte, ship's captain, 61, 62.
 Khnūm, god, 31; 53, n. 3; invoked in *htp-dī-nsw* formula, 80.
 Kṛūr, builder, 29.

L

Lady of the two egg-shells, epithet of Ḥaṭḥōr, 36.
 LANGTON, N. and B., *The Cat in Ancient Egypt* (re-viewed), 173.
 Leather net worn by marines, 14.
 Lee collection, 8 ff.
 Leon, elephant-hunter, 141.
 Lichas, elephant-hunter, 141.
 Looms for weaving, 124.
 Louvre leather fragments on corn-taxation, 70 ff.
 Love charm, 131, 132.

M

Madder as dye, 116, n. 2; 123.
 Maḥu, cultivator, 57.
 Maiu (?), House of, 32.
 Manetho, 138, 139.
 Marrui, foreigner, 35.
 Medīnet Habu Ostrakon 4038, On, F. M. HEICHEL-HEIM, 161.
 Meḥetemweskhēt, mother of Nemrat, 84 ff.; 88, n. 21.
 Meḥḥarenpaireref, father of Nemeriu, 85; 91, n. 65.
 Menna, carpenter, 11.
 Mensnēu, stable-master, 50.
 Mentehētef, deputy-commander of the army, 63.
 Mentḥikhopshef, deputy superintendent, 63.
 Menuthias, town, 142.
 Merenptah, king, 62.
 Mery, high-priest of Amūn, 96, n. 2.
 Metri, unknown locality, 63.
 MILNE, J. G., *The Tūkh el-Ḳarāmūs Gold Hoard*, 135-7.
 Mins'ankh, commander of ships, 38.
 Mi'ō, herdsman, 32.
 Mock King, 139.
 Mont, House of, 29, 30, 33.
 Mosh'enūfe, female musician of Amūn, 29.
 MOSS, ROSALIND, *Some Rubbings of Egyptian Monuments made a Hundred Years ago*, 7-11.
 Mound of Naḥīḥu, two localities so named, 45, n. 4; 59, n. 5.

N

(Nakht?)amūn, cultivator, 30.
 Nakhtmin, father of Ḥatiay, 59.
 Nanay, stela of, 10.
 Nashenumeḥ, bondman, 85; 90, n. 56.
 Naurūz, festival of, 139, 140, 143.
 Nay-Ra'esse-miamūn, town, 55, n. 2.
 Nay-Usima'rē'-miamūn, town, 54, 55.
 Nay-Usima'rē'-setpenrē', town, 55.
 Nebamūn, standard-bearer, 15, 16.
 Neb'an, ship's captain, 40; father of Khensemḥab, 40.
 Nebḥōtep, goddess, 58, n. 2.
 Nebnūfe, cultivator, 57.
 Nebthepet, father of Tediēse, 85.
 Nebtu (Nebu), goddess, 31.
 Nebuchadnezzar, inscription of, at East India House, 9, 11.
 Nebw'ōt, cultivator, 59.

Necropolis administration in Medīnet Habu, 25.
 Neferebrē'makhet, statue of, 11.
 Neferḥotep, stela of, 10; stable-master, 22; father of ship's captain Amenḥotpe, 57.
 Neferronpe, king's scribe, 63; father of 'Ashafēmḥab, 39; of soldier Pentwēre, 71.
 Nefrusi, town, 52, n. 4; 53, n. 3; 54, 55, 59.
 Nekhemūt, controller, 55.
 Nemeriu, weaver (?), 85; 91, n. 64.
 Nemrat, great chief of the Meshwesh, 84 ff.
 Nesamenopē, scribe, 25 ff.
 Nesamūn, accountant, 29 ff.; chief of police, 32, 33; foreigner, 35; prophet, 35; scribe, 56; without title, 38.
 Nesdḥowt, scribe, 55.
 Nestatayt, weaver (?), 85.
 Nimu, town, = Npiimu, 33.
 Nofretiri, queen, 41, 43, 45.
 Northern Loam, the, place-name, 24, 26.
 Notation of corn-measures, 28.
 Notes on Ammenemes I, BATTISCOMBE GUNN, 2-6.
 Notes on Egyptian Lexicography, BATTISCOMBE GUNN, 144-8.
 Npiimu, town, 32 ff.

O

Oracle of Amen-Rē', 92.
 Orion, 151.
 Osiris, in *htp-dī-nsw* formula, 78 ff.; threats against, 132.
 Osymandyas, 138, n. 1.
 Ox, value of an, 90, n. 59.

P

P. Amiens, 37 ff.
 P. Brit. Mus. 10447, 58 ff.
 P. Harageh 3, 74 ff.
 P. Harris, 72, 73.
 P. Louvre 3171, 56 ff.
 P. Sallier IV, *verso*, 62 ff.
 P. Turin 1887, 60 ff.; 1895 + 2006, 22.
 Paentyney, clerk of the *tema*, 75.
 PALMER, L. R., Review by, 177-9.
 Palmette as decorative *motif*, 127, 128.
 P'amtopē, scribe, 52, 54.
 P'an, deputy, 56.
 P'ankha', prophet, 37.
 Parkep, sarcophagus of, 10.
 P'ashpu, town, 59.
 Payeamūn, town, 158.
 Pay'onkh, viceroy of Cush, 23, nn. 2, 3.
 Pbeki, cultivator, 25, 26.
 Peēl, steward, 43.
 Peieroy, cultivator, 39.
 Pen'anūke, father of Rōme, 62.
 Pendḥowt, foreigner, 35.
 Peneḥsy, see Penḥasi.
 Penernūte, foreigner, 36.
 Penḥasi, viceroy of Cush, 23; foreigner, 29, 36; temple-scribe, 30, 37; herdsman, 32, 33; father of Tepteramūn, 85.
 Penmenkh, father of Ḥarmosē, 85; 91, n. 62.
 Pennestowē, controller, 40; scribe, 52 ff.
 Penroy, scribe, 57.
 Pentḥōres, foreigner, 35 ff.
 Pentwēre, controller, 39; cultivator, 40; soldier, 71; father of Pḥesy, 39.

Peshed, scribe, 10.
 Pesibkhenno II, 92, 93.
 PETROPULOS, GEORGIOS A., *Papyri Societatis Archaeologicae Atheniensis*, Vol. I (reviewed), 177.
 Pewēr, tenant-farmer (?), 85; 90, n. 53.
 Pḥamnūte, chief workman, 38.
 Pḥeni, prophet, 23 ff.
 Pḥesy, controller, 39.
 Phoenician alphabet, origin of, 170.
 Pḥonamennakhte, foreigner, 37.
 Pi-Ḥathōr (Pathyris), 36.
 Pi-meḥye-weben, town, 48.
 Pi-Nebḥōtep, town, 58, n. 2.
 Pi-shes (Pshes), town, 53, n. 2.
 Pisces, 151.
 Pkamen, foreigner, 35, 36; father of herdsman Penḥasi, 33; son of Pwa'amūn, 35.
 Pkhal, foreigner, 25 ff., 33; brander of cattle, 32.
 Planispheres of Athens and Denderah, 149 ff.
 Pleiades, 150.
 Plutarch, 158.
 Pmerit, scribe, 38 ff.
 Pmerkaē (?), scribe, 53.
 Pmershewne, scribe, 56.
 Pnakhtemthō, fisherman, 32.
 Pnakhtta, ship's captain, 61.
 Pneb'apred, scribe, 56.
 PORTER, BERTHA, death of, 163.
 PRÉAUX, CLAIRE, *L'Économie royale des Lagides* (reviewed), 174-6.
 Psekhemnē, father of Seti, 38 ff., 47.
 P-sha-wa'ḥ, unknown locality, 53.
 Psherenptaḥ, high-priest of Memphis, 2.
 Pshērinmut, 85; 91, n. 60.
 Psmennakhte, ship's captain, 40.
 Ptaḥ and Ptaḥ-Soker-Osiris in *htp-dl-nsw* formula, 80.
 Ptaḥmosē, controller, 52, 55; scribe, 54.
 Ptaḥmy, father of Nebw'ōt, 59.
 Ptaḥpdi, father of cultivator Huy (?), 59.
 Ptjēumyeb, father of Pwakhd, 62.
 Ptolemaic gold coins, 135 ff., 161.
 Ptolemais Epitheras, town, 141.
 Ptolemy II, 141.
 Ptolemy III, 141.
 Ptolemy IV, 141.
 Ptolemy V, 141.
 Ptolemy X, 141.
 Pure Land, the, 33.
 Pwa'amūn, father of Pkamen, 35.
 Pwakhd, son of Ptjēumyeb, 62.
 Pwēr'co, mayor of the West of the City, 24 ff., 30, 31; deputy-superintendent, 29 ff.
 Pwōnesh, deputy-superintendent of the House of Suchus, 24.
 Pythagoras, elephant-hunter, 141.
 Pythangelos, elephant-hunter, 141.
 Pytholaos, elephant-hunter, 141.

Q

Quartermaster of the army, title, 57.

R

Ra'ia, overseer of cattle, 53, 55, 56.
 Ramesses II, 14, 17, 44, 45; as Sesostris, 138, 139.
 Ramesses III, 5, 14, 15, 17, 43 ff., 72, 125; girdle of, 118, 121, 122.
 Ramesses IV, 43, 68.

Ramesses V, 19.
 Ramesses IX, 43.
 Ramesses XI, 23.
 Ra'messenakhte, Steward of Amūn, 41 ff.; overseer of hunters, 52; royal scribe, 54.
 Ramesside Love Charm, A, PAUL SMITHER, 131-2.
 Ramesside Texts Relating to the Taxation and Transport of Corn, ALAN H. GARDINER, 19-73.
 Red ink used for amounts of cereals in hieratic, 27, 157.
 Redynptaḥ, King's Treasurer, 75.
 Regiments of Egyptian army, 17, 18.
 Rekhmirē, vizier, 96, 97.
 Rhapta, town, 142.
 Risha, child of the privy apartment, 57.
 Rokha (?), lady, 52.
 Rōme, son of Pen'anūke, 62.
 Royal scribes of the army settled on land, 46.
 Rubbings of Egyptian Monuments made a Hundred Years ago, Some, ROSALIND MOSS, 7-11.

S

Sacred Staves of Khnūm, 61.
 Sacrifice of king, 138 ff.
 Sagittarius, 150.
 Saḥtnūfe, scribe, 24, 26, 34, 35; cultivator, 29, 30; 32, n. 1.
 Satpēhu, stretcher of surveying corn, 74, 75.
 Satyros, elephant-hunter, 141.
 Scorpio, 151.
 Seat of the Blessed, name of Abydos, 84; 86, n. 3.
 Sebks'tankh, foreigner, 37.
 Seneb, clerk of land, 74, 75.
 Senebteyfey, clerk of land, 74, 75.
 Seoosis, 138.
 Sesebi, The Name of, A. J. ARKELL, 159.
 Sesostris, sacrifice of, 138 ff.
 Sesostris I, 2.
 Sesostris III, 76.
 Setekhmosē, controller, 53, 55.
 Seth, god, 139, n. 2; 142.
 SETHE, KURT, *Vom Bilde zum Buchstaben. Die Entstehung der Schrift* (reviewed), 169-70.
 Sethiwenmaf, controller, 40.
 Sethos I, 43; sarcophagus of, 10, 11.
 Sethosis called Ramesses, 138.
 Seti, ship's captain, 38 ff., 47.
 Setmosē, ship's captain, 38; soldier, 71.
 Setnakhte, king, 43.
 Seven Ḥathōrs, the, 132.
 Sherden, House of the, unknown locality, 53.
 Sherden mercenaries settled on land, 46.
 Shery, tablet of, 10, 11.
 Ships, owned by Amūn of Thebes, 47; construction of, 158.
 Shopsi, god, 67, 68.
 SHORTER, A. W., Review by, 172-3.
 Shoshenḥ, father of Nemrat, 86; 92, n. 2.
 Shoshenḥ I, king, son of Nemrat, 84, 92, 93.
 Silver as standard of value, 93.
 Sipar, prince, 10.
 Sirius, 150, 151.
 Slaves, prices of, 94.
 Smen, town, 36.
 SMITHER, PAUL C., A Tax-Assessor's Journal of the Middle Kingdom, 74-6.
 A Ramesside Love Charm, 131-2.
 The Tall Story of the Bull, 158-9.

Spelt, 24, n. 3; 27, 28; red ink used for amounts in, 27, 157.
 Sphinx as decorative motif, 128, 129.
 SPIEGEL, JOACHIM, *Die Idee vom Totengericht in der ägyptischen Religion* (reviewed), 172-3.
 Standard-bearers, 13, 17, 18.
 Standards, military and naval, 12 ff.
Status constructus of fem. nouns in Coptic compounds, 44, n. 1.
 Stela of Shoshenq, Great Chief of the Meshwesh, The, A. M. BLACKMAN, 83-95.
 Suchus, House of, 34.
Sumnuw, early form of town-name Smen, 36.
 Syrians in the Tomb of Amunedjeh, N. M. and N. DE G. DAVIES, 96-8.

T

Taimhōtep, wife of Psherenptah, 2.
 Talamas, garden-owner, 161.
 Tall Story of the Bull, The, PAUL C. SMITHER, 158-9.
 Tamyt, ushabti of, 11.
 Tax-Assessor's Journal of the Middle Kingdom, A, PAUL C. SMITHER, 74-6.
 Taxation, 19 ff., 74 ff.
 Tediēse, bondswoman, 85.
 Tedimut, mother of Nestatayt, 85.
 Teḳēnet, mother of Nemeriu, 85; 91, n. 66.
 Tenternū(tet), mother of Tepteramūn, 85; 91, n. 69.
 Tepteramūn, bondswoman, 85; 91, n. 68.
 Tewwēr, locality at or near Abydos, 84; 86, n. 6.
 Thinis, location of, 48, n. 4.
 Thoēris, goddess, 142.
 Threshing, 64.
 Threshing-floors, 48, 63.
 Tjanwend, controller, 55.
 Tja'ō, priest, 52.
 Tjauemdikhnum (?), 61, n. 9.
 Tjebnet, town, 58, n. 2.
 Tjebu, town, 44, 45, 67.
 Tjuna, town, 58.
 TOD, MARCUS N., A Greek Epigram from Egypt, 99-105.
 Big Game Hunters in Ptolemaic and Roman Libya, 159-60.

Bibliography: Graeco-Roman Egypt, Greek Inscriptions (1939-40), 153-6.
 Ṭūkh el-Ḳarāmūš Gold Hoard, The, J. G. MILNE, 135-7.
 Tunenneḥebkhons, metal-engraver, 9, 10.
 Tunic of Tutankhamūn, The, G. M. CROWFOOT and N. DE G. DAVIES, 113-30.
 TURNER, ERIC G., *Catalogue of Greek and Latin Papyri and Ostraca in the Possession of the University of Aberdeen* (reviewed), 176.
 Tutankhamūn's Gold Dagger, the EDITOR, 1.
 Tuthmosis III, 17, n. 1; 96.
 Tuthmosis IV, 67, 69.
 Typhon, 139.

U

Ursa maior, 150; minor, 149, 150.
 Use of Red for Amounts of Cereals in Hieratic, The, BATTISCOMBE GUNN, 157.
 Userḥēt, vizier, 96.
 Usihēnakhte, foreigner, 29.
 Usima'rēnakhte, Steward of Amūn, 24, 42, 43.

W

WAINWRIGHT, G. A., The Attempted Sacrifice of Sesostris, 138-43.
 Warships, Egyptian, 18.
 Weaving, 113 ff.
 Wennofrenakhte, commander of ships, 39.
 Wepwawet in *hṯp-di-nsw* formula, 80.
 Wheat, 27; red ink used for amounts in, 157.
 Williams, John, inventor of a process of making rubbings, 7 ff.
 Winnowing, 64.
 Writing of *Hṯp-Di-Nsw*, The, C. J. C. BENNETT, 157.

Y

Yetnūfe, fisherman, 26, 31.
 Yugaben, foreigner, 35.
 Yuny, chief king's scribe, 10, 11.

Z

Zenobia, queen, 161.

INDEX OF WORDS, ETC., DISCUSSED

A. EGYPTIAN

I. WORDS AND PHRASES

- sr*, 'foreigner', 25, n. 4.
šht nmhw, 'tenanted land', 90, n. 51.
iw, 'island', compared with mod. *gezirah*, 48.
im, 'participate in (?)', 86, n. 9.
imhw, 'honoured one', 79.
imy-r chw, 'commander of ships', 'admiral', 47.
inn, (1) 'we', 'us'; (2) 'so said we'; (3) 'if'; (4) 'if', 'whether', in indirect questions; (5) 'except', 106 ff.
ir wn, 'if', 112.
*iry-*r**, 'janitor', 20, 25.
iry hp, 'custodian of the regulations', 76.
ihwty, 'cultivator'; *di r ihwty*, 'put to be a cultivator', 21, 22; see also 90, n. 52.
iškn, 'sash (?)', 97, n. 7.
it, (1) 'barley'; (2) 'corn' in general; *it-m-it*, 'barley', 24, n. 3; 27.
it m, 'take possession of', 147, 148.
ci n mšc, 'officer of the army', 87, n. 14.
ci šfyt, 'great in dignity', epithet of Amūn, 45, 46.
cwnt, 'stick', 97, n. 8.
cn, 'oil-man (?)', 91, n. 75.
crt, 'brewery'; *crtj (?)*, 'brewer', 91, n. 77.
chw, 'store', 35, n. 1.
g^{it}f m bi, 'its hoof in copper', expression referring to the value of hired cattle (?), 19, n. 3.
w^pm^{ct}, 'revealer of truth', epithet of Thoth, king and vizier, 4, n. 4.
w^pt m^{ct}, 'dream', 'revelation', 2, 3.
w^pt-st, 'details of it', 29, n. 4; 49.
wšd, 'assent', 86, n. 11.
bht, 'flabellum', 13.
bd^t, 'spelt', 24, n. 3; 27, 28.
p, def. art., in conjunction with *nb*, 'every', 87, n. 16.
pⁱ w h^{ry}-ib, 'the middle country', 59, n. 4.
pⁱ-i nb, 'my lord', mode of addressing a god, 86, n. 12.
pct, 'a kind of land', 40, n. 7.
f^{ry}, 'weight', 'value', 'amount', 62, n. 3.
m^{ct}-hrw, 'justified', perhaps used of persons connected with cult of Osiris, 88, n. 26.
*mint Pr-*r**, 'a class of Crown lands', 24.
mn, (1) 'balance' in accounts; (2) '*stet* (?)' above erasures; *m mn*, 'at the fixed rate of', 49, n. 2.
m^h m h^{my}, 'scatter the seed (?)', 20, n. 8.
m^{hr}, 'magazine', 24, n. 2.
mtry, obscure word with bad meaning, 148.
n^{hb}, 'land recently brought under cultivation', 65.
r of futurity omitted, 86, n. 13.
r-pr, 'temple' of secondary rank, 70, n. 1.
rwdw, 'controller', 48.
rmnyt, 'domain', 41, 42; *rmnyt mty*, 'regular domain', 46, 47.
Rsi-wdⁱ, 'the Healthy Wakeful One', epithet of Osiris, 84; 86, n. 7.
rdi hr, 'give in addition to', 89, n. 44.
hw, 'expenses', 30, n. 6.
h^{ry} wšht, 'ship's captain', 47.
hty, 'sergeant', 87, n. 15.
hⁱ n šš, 'office of the archives', 89, n. 38.
h^{ry}, 'weigh-house (?)', 32, n. 4.
*hⁱ-i Pr-*r**, 'a class of Crown lands', 23, 24, 28, 32, 35.
hr, 'appear', used of accession of kings but not of divine manifestations, 4, n. 1.
hb inw, 'exaction of dues', 75.
hb n, 'take from', written for *hbⁱ m*, 88, n. 22.
hnty, 'statue', written like *hnt* 'altar', 87, n. 19; 94, 95.
hh (h^h), 'winnow', 63, n. 3.
htiw, 'platform' for threshing, 63.
hn, 'well (?)', 90, n. 50.
hr tp, *hr dⁱdⁱ*, 'beside', 144, 145; see also 2, n. 2.
hrd n kp, 'child of the privy apartment', 57, n. 1.
swt, 'wheat', 27.
sph^r, 'registration' of taxes, 20.
snhy, 'register' people, 75.
sryt, 'standard', 13.
šht, 'country', 87, n. 17.
šhsh, 'run beyond', 'overrun', 39, n. 1.
šdf, 'land sustained by water (?)', 90, n. 50.
šyt, 'dues', 20, n. 3.
š^{ryt}, 'storeroom', 24, n. 2; 33, n. 3.
šp, see *šsp*.
šmyt (masc.), 'garner', 24, n. 2.
šmw, (1) 'harvest'; (2) 'harvest-tax', 20.
šmmt, 'garner', 62, n. 1.
šmw^t, 'granary', 24, n. 2.
šš, old *šš^r*, 'corn', 24, n. 3.
šsp (šp) n, 'receive from', 60, n. 7; *šsp khkh*, 'attain old age', 86, n. 8.
št, 'tax-payers', 67.
šd bⁱkw, 'exact produce', 62, n. 2; *šd diw*, 'withdrawer of rations', 71.
kyt, 'arable land of the best quality', 65.
k^h, 'tract', 67.
k^{niw}, 'portable shrine', 29, 69.
kr, 'boat', 30, n. 2.
tp m^{ct}, 'accompanying', 146, 147.
tryt, obscure word with bad meaning, 148.
dmd m sp w^c, 'united', 86, n. 10.
q^{nw}, 'threshing-floor', 63.

II. HIEROGLYPHIC AND HIERATIC GROUPS AND SIGNS

(Arranged alphabetically)

△, marginal notation, 'arrived', 36, n. 5.
, writing of *ipwt*, 'messenger', 87, n. 16.
, writing of *inr*, 'stone', 89, n. 39.
, abbreviation of *iry-r*, 'janitor', 25.
, colour variations of, 134.
, writing of *wpt mꜣrt*, 'dream', 2, n. 3.
, writing of *wht*, 'village', 57, n. 2.
, used for (1) *wr*, 'great'; (2) *ms*, 'lord', Libyan *mss*, 87, n. 20.
, abbreviation of *Mšwš*, 87, n. 20.
, abbreviation of *mn*, 'balance', 49, n. 2.
, preceding cardinal numbers perhaps misunderstanding of hieratic space-filler, 89, n. 43.

, marginal notation perhaps meaning 'feet beaten', 53, n. 1.
, late writing of *Ḥr-wr*, mod. *Ḥūr*, 53, n. 3.
, late writing of *hnkt*, 'beer', 91, n. 80.
, writing of *hꜣsty*, 'foreigner', 89, n. 41.
, sportive writing of *hr tp*, 2, n. 2.
, 'charge concerning', perhaps reads *shꜣ r* rather than *smit r*, 60, n. 2.
, ducklings in nest, 133.
, ducks swimming in pool, 133.
, writing of *št*, 'wear', 'adorn', 131.
, sign depicts a duckling, 133, 134.
, var.  , hieratic writings of *šꜣy sꜣyt*, 'standard-bearer', 13.

B. DEMOTIC

wir, 'farm-labourer', 21, n. 5.

| *hr dꜣdꜣ*, 'beside', 144, 145.

C. COPTIC

ⲁⲛⲟⲡ, 'we', Egn. *inn*, 106, 110.
 ⲁⲣⲟ, 'store', Egn. *ḥꜣw*, 35, n. 1.
 ⲁⲱⲧⲉ, 'spelt', Egn. *bd*, 28.
 ⲁⲙⲁⲟⲛ, 'there is not', Egn. *mn < mn wn*, 111.
 ⲥⲟⲎⲟ, 'wheat', Egn. *swt*, 27.
 ⲧⲟⲎ-, prefix of 1st pres., 180, n. 6.
 ⲟⲎⲟⲉⲓⲉ, 'farm-labourer', Dem. *wir*, 21, n. 5.

ⲱⲱⲁⲉ, 'tribute', 'tax', 20.
 ⲱⲱⲱ : ⲉⲱⲉ, 'winnow'; ⲣⲉⲉⲱⲱⲱ, 'winnow', from Egn. *hh*, 63, n. 3.
 ⲉⲣⲉⲓⲧ, ⲉⲣⲉⲣⲉⲉⲓⲧ, 'threshing-floor', Egn. *htiw*, 63, n. 5.
 ⲉⲁⲁⲛ-, ⲉⲁⲁⲱⲟ, 'beside', Dem. *hr dꜣdꜣ*, 144, 145.
 ⲁⲛⲟⲟⲎ, 'threshing-floor', Egn. *dnw*, 63.

D. GREEK

ἀναλύω, used to describe the soul's migration at death, 104.
 Μάζυες, perhaps = Egn. *Mšwš*, 87, n. 20.
 μετὰθον τῆς λύπης, 'set aside your grief', 101.
 μέτελθε γόων, 'desist from lamentations', 103.

ἄλυρα, 'spelt', = Egn. *bd*, 28.
 προκομίζω, 'progress', 'prosper', 104.
 πυρός, 'wheat', = Egn. *swt*, 27.
 φόρος, translated in Coptic by ⲱⲱⲁⲉ, 'tribute', 'tax', 20.

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