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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

ONCE again the Society's expedition to Saqqārah, led by Professor Emery, has had a successful season of excavation on behalf of the Service des Antiquités in the necropolis of the First Dynasty. This season he has cleared a tomb which is probably to be dated to the reign of Udimu, fifth king of the dynasty; it is built of brick and has the conventional 'palace-façade' exterior. As usual, the tomb had long ago been effectively robbed, but Professor Emery reports that examination of the structure of the tomb revealed the curious fact that the original building was apparently not a tomb at all, but was built to serve some unknown purpose, and that it was later altered and adapted to be a place of burial. That the tomb was intended either for a king or for a member of the royal family seems probable from its dimensions (65×27 metres), and within the tomb-enclosure the excavators found a boat-grave containing a wooden funerary boat over 14 metres in length; the custom of burying a boat alongside the tombs of the noble dead is well attested even at so early a date as the First Dynasty. A brief account of the results of the season's work at Saqqārah, with some excellent photographs, appeared in the *Illustrated London News* for March 19, 1955, and in due course a Memoir containing a full record of the excavation will be published by the Society. By a remarkable coincidence another funerary boat, this time of the Fourth Dynasty, has recently been uncovered near the Great Pyramid at Gīzah by Egyptian archaeologists, and the topic of these boats is discussed by Professor Černý in an article in the present volume of the *Journal*.

In January last our Archaeological Survey also sent an expedition to Egypt in the persons of Professor R. A. Caminos and Mr. T. G. H. James, who went to Gebel es-Silsilah to copy the many inscriptions and graffiti to be found on the rocks at that place. They have returned with a goodly harvest of copies which will eventually be published in a Memoir of the Archaeological Survey series, but we understand that there still remains on the site enough uncopied material to occupy another expedition for at least one more season.

An event of outstanding importance for students of Egyptian history, in fact the most important in recent years, has been the discovery by Dr. Labib Habachi, Chief Inspector of Antiquities at Luxor, and his architect colleagues Drs. Hammad and Lutfi, of a stela of King Kamosē buried in the foundations of a statue of Ramesses II at the western entrance of the hypostyle hall of Karnak. The new inscription, in a simple but vivid narrative style, unencumbered with meaningless adulation of the monarch, describes a stage in the War of Liberation against the Hyksos subsequent to the point at which the well-known text on the Carnarvon Tablet No. 1 breaks off, and we learn that Kamosē actually reached the gates of Avaris. A small-scale photograph appears as fig. 36 of 'Les Grands decouvertes archéologiques de 1954', published by *La Revue du*

Caire, but we eagerly await the full publication of the stela which has been promised us by Dr. Labib Habachi.

Owing to the facts that this Foreword is usually written in the early summer, and that last year it went to press unusually early, we were unable to include in our last issue the announcement that the Chairman of our Committee, Professor S. R. K. Glanville, had been appointed as Provost of King's College, Cambridge, and so is the first Egyptologist to become the Head of a College. We offer him our most hearty, even though much belated, congratulations and good wishes.

Never a year goes by but we have to record the passing of some colleague whose loss seems irreparable. To our sorrow we have now to announce the death on April 30 last, at the early age of 31, of Dr. P. E. Kahle, the Lady Wallis Budge Fellow at University College, Oxford. A rising Coptic scholar, his recently published *Bala'izah* is not only a monumental publication but also an admirable treatment of the texts with which it is concerned, and, if he had lived, Dr. Kahle undoubtedly would have made a great name for himself in Coptic studies. A long review from his pen in the present *Journal* has the melancholy distinction of being his last contribution to scholarship. We have also lost an old friend, although not a member, through the death at Khartoum last January of Mr. G. W. Grabham, formerly in charge of the Sudan Antiquities. All those who took part in the Society's excavations at Sesebi and Amara West (1936-8) will remember his friendly co-operation and also the eagerness with which they looked forward to his visits to the camp.

It has long been the custom of the Society to distribute to contributors to the *Journal* twenty-five gratis offprints of all papers printed in it, with the exception that offprints of reviews are supplied only on request. It frequently happens, however, that authors desire additional copies of their contributions over and above the number allowed gratis, and these can be purchased from the Oxford University Press if ordered in good time through the Editor. He wishes therefore to request that all contributors to the *Journal* who desire extra offprints should notify him of the number required when returning the corrected proofs of their articles; requests received after the *Journal* has gone to press or after the type has been scattered can only be fulfilled at considerable additional expense to the contributor concerned. The Editor also requests that authors desiring to have books reviewed will arrange for them to be sent, not to him, but to the Society's office in London, as requested on the inside front page of the wrapper of each issue; compliance with this request would save the Editor the inconvenience of having to re-pack and forward books for review to London.

Will contributors to the *Journal* please note that in future the Editor's address will be Melton Grange Hotel, Woodbridge, Suffolk.

A STATUE OF KING NEFERKARĒ^c RAMESSES IX

By CYRIL ALDRED

A ROYAL statue of the ill-documented period of the later Ramessides is sufficiently rare to deserve more than a passing glance, particularly when the Pharaoh represented happens to be Ramesses IX, a slightly less shadowy figure than his fellows, thanks to the very faint impressions we receive from the Abbott, Leopold II, and Amherst Papyri. It is hoped, however, that the statue illustrated in pl. I will earn consideration as much for its artistic qualities as for its unusual subject-matter.

It first came into the light of a broader day at the Lowther Castle sale of 1947, whence it passed into the collection of Dr. C. T. Trechmann, the well-known geologist, to whom all credit is due for having recognized at once its merit and importance. The writer is indebted to Dr. Trechmann for so cordially affording him facilities to examine and photograph the statue, and for permitting the following details to be published. Its previous history is unknown: it is not mentioned by Michaelis,¹ and though there is a chance that a search through the Lowther Castle archives might unearth further information, the writer has not been able to follow any such lines of investigation. It is doubtful, however, if documentary evidence will ever be forthcoming to show the exact spot where it was found, though we may reasonably conjecture that its place of origin was Heliopolis.

The statue is competently carved in a grey-green stone which in Egyptological parlance is usually called green basalt, but which Dr. Trechmann identifies as a 'fine grained, hard welded grit (a felspathic grit or arkose), an old sedimentary rock, of a dark greenish colour'.² It is a hard compact stone which, while it lends itself to the pecking and rubbing technique of the ancient sculptor, presents difficulties to the scribe using a primitive engraving tool; and the inscription, though clear enough, is not cut with that precision and mastery that are so evident, for instance, in much of the hard stone statuary of the Late Period.³ The king is shown prostrating himself in order to lay before some deity a small tabernacle inscribed with his prenomen (*Neferkarē-setpenrē*^c) and his nomen (*Ramessu-mereramūn-khacemwēse*)⁴ and surmounted by a figure of a beetle which in size and style recalls contemporary heart-scarabs with its striated elytra and boldly curved front and rear legs. The king wears the striped *nemes* wig-cover with

¹ A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, 487 ff. Though Michaelis is chiefly concerned with classical antiquities, he sometimes mentions Egyptian sculptures. At the time of its sale in 1947, this statue of Ramesses IX served as the support for a branch of a tree in a case of stuffed birds, so Michaelis may be excused if he failed to recognize it in such bizarre surroundings, assuming that it was at Lowther Castle at the time of his visit in 1873.

² Cf. second note by Hall, *JEA* 14, 184.

³ Nevertheless, such an idiosyncrasy as the carving of the wings of the *bit*-hornets as *met*-feathers may readily be seen.

⁴ Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, III, 207 ff.

The absence of any mention of Amūn in the inscription, at a time too when that deity had assumed paramount importance in Upper Egypt, does not suggest a Theban origin or habitat for this particular statue, a conclusion which is further strengthened by the nature of the symbol on the tabernacle. The references to Rēꜥ, Ḥarakhti, Atum, and Aten make it clear that the Great Ennead who are in festival every day are the nine gods of Heliopolis. This statue, therefore, was almost certainly destined for a shrine in that city, presumably for the temple of Rēꜥ-Ḥarakhti.¹ Hence, it is probable that the specimen was unearthed at Alexandria, where a number of objects originally from Heliopolis have come to light.²

This statue is one of a well-known type of which all previously published examples date to the reign of Ramesses II,³ and have been discussed by Militza Matthiew.⁴ The earliest existing specimen in the round known to the writer is the green serpentine statuette of Amenophis III formerly in the McGregor Collection⁵ showing the king kneeling on his right knee, his left leg outstretched, and presenting an offering-table inscribed with his prenomen supported by a Ḥeḥ on a *nbw*-sign.⁶ This statuette differs from its congeners in that the king adopts a more upright posture, wears a heavy beard, and presents an offering-table on a high podium. All the others are less than life-size and show the king as a young and vigorous monarch, without a beard, holding between his hands a kind of phylactery inscribed with his name and surmounted by an image or symbol of the deity invoked. A good example of such an object bearing the ram's head of Amun may be seen held on the knees of the seated figure of Sethos II in the British Museum.⁷ A similar tabernacle in a fragmentary statue of Ramesses II combines the ram's head with other symbols to form a rebus of the king's name.⁸

All these prostrating statues evidently represent the king performing that part of the coronation ceremonies in which he made his submission before a particular god and proffered his titulary, in the actual rite doubtless written on a scroll contained within the small shrine of metal or wood and under the protection or sponsorship of the god's aegis. The god would then nod or otherwise indicate his approval. In this statue of Ramesses IX, the cartouches of the king are inscribed on the tabernacle while the aegis of the god is the scarab of Khopri, the new-risen sun-god, a most suitable symbol in Heliopolis for a king who had just appeared on the throne of his ancestors. It may also

¹ Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 145*.

² Daressy, in *Ann. Serv.*, 5, 113 ff., mentions a number, including (p. 116, No. VII) a fragment of a kneeling statue of Ramesses IX, whose name also appears on an offering-table from the same site (Cairo, Cat. No. 23093).

³ Legrain, *op. cit.*, Nos. 42142-4. To these examples should be added the Gallatin statue mentioned below, and the head (E. 16199) in Philadelphia from a similar statue, wrongly attributed to Ḥatshepsut (*University Museum Bulletin*, 15, 2-3, title-page), in my view late Ramesside.

⁴ *JEA* 16, 31.

⁵ *The MacGregor Collection (Sotheby Sale Catalogue, 26th June, 1922, etc.)*, lot 1620; also *Sotheby Sale Catalogue, 6th July, 1954*, lot 211. This specimen is now in the collection of Mr. Albert Gallatin of New York. The rear part of the plinth of this statue also is missing. The form of the uraeus suggests that it is to be dated to the earliest years of the reign; the provenance is unknown.

⁶ A similar motive appears on the back-pillar of the statue-head of Amenophis III in the Kestner Museum at Hanover, *regn. no. 1935. 200. 112*. Also possibly on a companion head in Alexandria.

⁷ Budge, *Egyptian Sculptures*, pl. 41.

⁸ Legrain, *op. cit.*, No. 42143.

have had an ancillary significance for the Ancient Egyptian, and like the green-stone heart-scarab on the neck of the deceased, have prevented false witness from being made, or a contrary opinion from being expressed before the tribunal of the god.

It is difficult to discover whether divine recognition of the pretender's claims to royalty was a normal part of the coronation ceremonies and was performed at every major shrine on the young king's triumphal tour of Egypt, or whether such approval by one god was sufficient.¹ It is to be presumed that such obeisance was usually made to Atum or one of the Heliopolitan sun-gods, but the Karnak statues of Ramesses II at least show that Amūn was also supplicated in this way, though that king was evidently crowned at Heliopolis.² We are forcibly reminded of the incident in the coronation visit of Ḥaremḥab to Thebes, where before Amūn and under the sponsorship of Horus of Ḥnes he 'made his submission' as Gardiner translates the expression *rdit ḥtpw.f*.³ This rendering is particularly apposite since the pose of the king in such statues closely resembles that of Syrians or other foreigners or inferiors grovelling at the mercy-seat of Pharaoh.⁴ Such an abject posture is scarcely thinkable in the Old Kingdom where, for instance, Newoserre^c remains seated in the presence of Anubis who is hardly his equal in stature,⁵ and it is not until the late Sixth Dynasty that the king deigns to kneel to a deity.⁶ It is also a pose hardly possible in the Middle Kingdom, where Sesostri I stands to have his crown adjusted by Atum as one equal performing a service for another.⁷ On the bracelet of Amosis the king kneels to Geb,⁸ and it is doubtless with the pretensions of upstarts in the Second Intermediate Period that precedents were set for such subservience, particularly to the oracle of Amūn. A number of sculptures exist, certainly from the reign of Queen Ḥatshepsut onwards, in which the ruler kneels before Amūn who places the crown upon his head; but for the prostrating statue we have to wait until the reign of Tuthmosis III when in the tomb-chapel of Rekhmir^c are depicted a series of statues, including two examples showing the king making obeisance in the new-fangled manner.⁹ The originals of these painted statues were probably made to commemorate that incident in the king's life when, while still a young neophyte without any strong claims to the throne, he was singled out for preferment by the oracle of Amūn and threw himself on the pavement before the god.¹⁰ It may well have been at this point that Egyptian iconography was extended to take this particular subject into its repertoire. At least no examples of the prostrating statue earlier than the reign of Tuthmosis III can yet be traced and, as we hope to show, there is some stylistic evidence for regarding the archetypes of such sculptures to have been made for that king.

¹ See Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 106–7. The act of submission is apparently not referred to in the Pyramid Texts nor in the 'Mystery Play of the Succession'.

² *JEA* 20, 18–19. On a model of the temple at Heliopolis Sethos I adopts the prostrate attitude when offering wine to Khopri; Cooney, *Egyptian Art*, 51.

³ *JEA*, 39, 19, note hh.

⁴ For good examples of various poses see *JEA* 20, pl. 25. Is it entirely fortuitous that at least three of these prostrating statues should show the king with a *hetep*-table?

⁵ Borchartd, *Ne-user-rē^c*, pl. 116.

⁶ Cooney, *op. cit.* 20.

⁷ *Le Musée du Caire* (éditions 'Tel'), 68, 69. The style and iconography have been copied by Tuthmosis III on the square 'heraldic' pillars at Karnak.

⁸ Vernier, *Bijoux*, No. 52069.

⁹ Davies, *Rekh-mi-rē^c*, pls. 36, 37.

¹⁰ Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* II, § 140.

Certain features of the Trechmann statue are not without interest for the art-historian. For instance, the ear-lobes show a perforation smaller than is the case during the Tell el-'Amārnah period, but still quite distinct. Such a fashion comes into prominence in the reign of Amenophis III, is *de rigueur* in the later Eighteenth Dynasty, and not uncommon in Ramesside times, particularly in royal statuary, and occurs sporadically thereafter until the Kushite age. The *nemes* wig-cover is the simple broad-striped pattern of the dynasty, the lappets having an inner border and rather narrower stripes. The uraeus, however, differs from the usual Ramesside fashion of having the main coils roughly in the form of a figure-of-eight on the brow. Instead, the coils are in an S-shaped fold higher on the crown of the head, thus reverting to the style prevalent in the reigns of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II.¹ This, and the almost horizontal position of the torso, encourage the view that the sculptor may have been deliberately striving to copy or at least recall a celebrated statue of a Tuthmoside ancestor in the temple for which this sculpture was destined. There is some evidence for a harking back to recollect the glories of the imperial age of the Eighteenth Dynasty at all periods of Ramesside art and the writer hopes to give further examples of such eclecticism elsewhere. At the moment it is perhaps sufficient to point out that the Cairo statue of Osorkon III launching a model barque,² a work which is well above the standard of the time, closely follows the fashion of Tuthmoside statuary in its proportions, uraeus-form and choice of the *khat* headdress, and but for the inscriptions might pardonably have been dated to the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty.

The face of the king in the Trechmann statue is evidently a careful portrait and shows certain traits quite peculiar to Ramesses IX, such as the delicate, slightly aquiline nose, the deep lower jaw with its prominent, well-rounded chin, the plump cheeks, and the pronounced furrow at each corner of the mouth. Such features are also rendered in his tomb reliefs³ and show that this statue does indeed represent the king, and that it lacks the marks of usurpation, a vice of which the Ramessides have been so often and perhaps indiscriminately accused. On each shoulder is incised a distinctive mark, a small circle from which spring three long curved lines, rather like the *wbn* determinative, but with the rays prolonged into a sort of *ms*-glyph. Three statues at Cairo⁴ bear on the shoulders a similar mark, which, however, lacks the circle at the intersection of the lines. Two of these statues, both of Ramesses II and closely related in style, size, and material, come from Delta sites; and the third, of Meneptah, is also probably from the Memphis region. But the closest parallel to this mark which the writer has been able to find occurs on a black basalt statue of unknown provenance, now at Brussels, inscribed for a king's son Kha'emwēse, and bearing an almost identical '*wbn-ms*' mark on a slightly different

¹ This feature may also be found on an unpublished statue of Ramesses IV in private possession in England.

² Legrain, *op. cit.*, No. 42151.

³ Guilmant, *Tombeau de Ramses IX*, pls. 27, 55, 76; and especially *Museen zu Berlin . . . Gipsabgüsse*, I, pl. 22, No. 1169.

⁴ Borchardt, *Statuen*, Nos. 562, 573, 620. Probably this kind of mark is to be sharply differentiated from the three vertical furrows, as in the shoulders of the Cairo statue of Sobkemsaf (Cat. No. 386). Bernard Bothmer points out to me that shallow groovings of this latter type appear on the shoulders of the dyad of Mycerinus at Boston. He has also notified me that a statue of Amenophis III from Gebel Barkal (MFA No. 23. 734) has two similar grooves on each shoulder.

area of the shoulder muscles.¹ Capart, who published the specimen, explains the stigmata on the shoulders of this statue as representing the claws of the Inmūtef's panther-skin, but in this he has been led astray by an initial error of recognition, and his suggestion cannot be seriously entertained.² The writer, on the other hand, has no convincing explanation to offer for this peculiar feature and further speculation is best left until more data are available.³

Unfortunately, photographs give little idea of the artistic quality of this statue of Ramesses IX, which is well above the average for New Kingdom productions, even those of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The musculature of the arms and torso has been subtly rendered, though the loss of the right leg upsets the harmony of the proportions. Despite the fillings left between the limbs, the statue has an appearance of release from its matrix in a way that is not always achieved in its congeners.

The illustrations, however, do convey something of the eager and athletic delight with which the king is represented making his submission. The features are youthful, fresh, and jubilant, those of a veritable 'Prince of Joy'; and if the sculptor wished to convey in this statue that same sense of liberation, happiness, and new-born hope that is expressed, for instance, in the Ramesside accession hymns,⁴ we must surely recognize that he has succeeded felicitously in his aim. If surprise should be felt that so fine an object of art could be produced in the declining years of the Twentieth Dynasty, is it not the case that while the Residence was in the north, nearly all our evidence for the period comes from Thebes, and we should perhaps beware of a Theban interpretation of the history of the later Ramessides?

¹ No. E. 6721. See Capart, *Chronique d'Égypte*, 17 (1933), 72 ff. I am indebted to Dr. C. de Wit for this reference.

² The coiffure without side-lock, the long beard, and the absence of a panther-skin make impossible Capart's identification of this fragment as representing the son of Ramesses II in the guise of an Inmūtef priest holding a ceremonial bouquet. I suggest that it is rather of a deity, probably one of the Sons of Horus, grasping a snake-demon, the head of which has been broken off (cf. Daressy, *Divinités*, No. 39273; Budge, *Sarcophagus of Seti I* (1908), 113). In the absence of a cartouche this Kha'emwēse cannot be positively identified on inscriptional grounds as the son of Ramesses II.

³ I should be grateful for any particulars of similar marks on statues.

⁴ Erman & Blackman, *Literature*, 278-9.



THE TRECHMANN STATUE OF KING RAMESES IX

A UNIQUE FUNERARY LITURGY

By SIR ALAN GARDINER

NEARLY all the papyri salvaged by Quibell some sixty years ago from a tomb of the Thirteenth Dynasty beneath the Ramesseum, exhibit two contrasting characters: on the one hand, the exceptional interest of their contents, and, on the other hand, their deplorable state of preservation. By way of evidence it suffices to mention (*a*) the great dramatic text edited by Sethe, (*b*) the Ramesseum Onomasticon, and (*c*) the Semna Dispatches so ably deciphered by Paul Smither. The present article has as its subject the remains of a manuscript at least as remarkable as any of those above-named, but even more fragmentary and in consequence more problematical. The tracings from photographs here shown in plates II–VI comprise, with the exception of a few minute scraps, all that the skill of Dr. Hugo Ibscher was able to rescue of this most cryptic of the Ramesseum papyri. The cursive hieroglyphs in which it is written are perhaps the stateliest and best legible of the entire collection, and in these days when publication demands the strictest economy it seemed superfluous to add plates of transcription. My translations and commentary will, it is hoped, supply all that is needed in this respect.

The tracings,¹ for which I have to thank Dr. Caminos, show the various folds of the papyrus, as well as the isolated fragments, in pretty much the positions that they occupied when first mounted by Ibscher. The vast experience of that famous technician is a guarantee that the pieces have, on the whole, been rightly placed; only in a few cases have I found myself obliged to make some modification. Fortunately good photographs were taken very soon after the unrolling in 1927, and it is in presence of these, as well as in front of the originals, that the tracings have been made. As the result of an air-raid water seeped into the nine pairs of glasses between which the papyrus was mounted, and though only a very few signs were lost, I found myself under the necessity of opening the glasses, drying them, and remounting the whole. The *verso* shows the remains of a business text in a hieratic hand so cursive and so much disfigured by lacunae that I have been able to recognize only a stray word here and there,² and the sole value of this writing lies in its somewhat precarious confirmation of the order in which Ibscher arranged the pieces.

Beginning and end of the *recto* are alike lost, and of the intermediate folds hardly one joins directly on to its neighbour. The whole now extends over some 2½ metres. The manuscript was a narrow one like a number of others from the same find, the height being only 11 cm. Just as in the Hymns to Suchos and the Hieroglyphic medical text

¹ In these tracings signs in red, of which there are a number, are shown in outline. Only in very rare instances can there be any ambiguity.

² At the back of col. 83 the prephenomen of Sesostris I can still be read. A group found at least four times at the head of a column suggests that this recorded the distribution of *Upper Egyptian grain*.

that are being published elsewhere the top is occupied throughout the entire length by parallel lines about 15 mm. apart, the ostensible purpose of which was to contain a horizontally written heading such as may be seen in the Veterinary papyrus from Illahūn edited by Griffith.¹ Here, however, no trace of any heading of the kind is found between these lines, though curiously enough there are to be seen below them two rubricized horizontal headings which I have labelled cols. 14*a* and 95*a* respectively. The space left between the lower of the two rulings at the top and a further ruling at the base is only 8.5 cm. A considerable number of the columns fall short of this height, though others (e.g. 26–27, 55–56, 57–58) reach the base-line and continue into the next column to the right. Short columns are most strikingly exemplified in the last sixty, where they preponderate so greatly that the text as a whole may be described with some fairness as a long sequence of separate items each occupying a single column of its own.

Before embarking upon details it needs to be said that before his lamented death Paul Smither had transcribed the entire papyrus, cleverly restoring some of the broken words and placing correctly a couple of fragments that Ibscher had left unplaced. His teacher Gunn continued this work, but he in turn lived only long enough to make a start. Neither of these scholars left any clue to their understanding of the whole, which, following a name I had previously suggested to them, they termed the Processional Papyrus. I shall now give reasons for describing it rather as a Funerary Liturgy.

The clearest testimony to our text's funerary character is the phrase *dbn² ḥꜣ ḥꜣ ḥꜣ ḥꜣ* 'Circulating round the mastaba four times' in col. 74; remains of the same phrase also in cols. 14*a*. 27. Hardly less significant is the word *ḥꜣ* in cols. 7 (?), 16, 44, 64, 84, though this presents a problem that must be squarely faced. The existence of a verb thus written meaning 'to mourn' is beyond doubt. As a transitive verb it occurs parallel to *rmi* 'to bewep',³ and there is a bird *ḥꜣt* which the Pyramid Texts equate with Isis, while her sister Nephthys receives the more usual name *drt* 'the Kite'.⁴ But apart from the fact that the hieroglyph of the man raising his arms above his head is well known as the determinative of *ḥꜣi* 'to rejoice', there are Old Kingdom reliefs⁵ which associate the verb *ḥꜣ*, or rather *ḥꜣi*,⁶ with dancing—in fact with what, one would think, was an essentially joyous occupation. I relegate to a footnote the principal evidence on this subject, only remarking that the dancing women or men⁷

¹ *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, pl. 7.

² The initial *d* here seems to indicate the reading *dbn*; but one would expect *phr*.

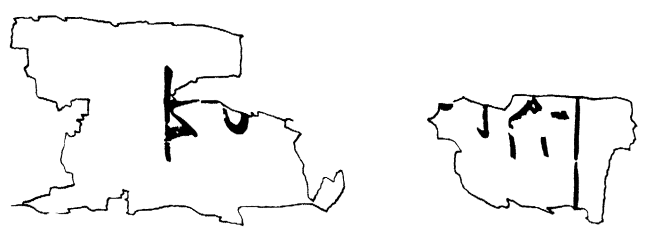
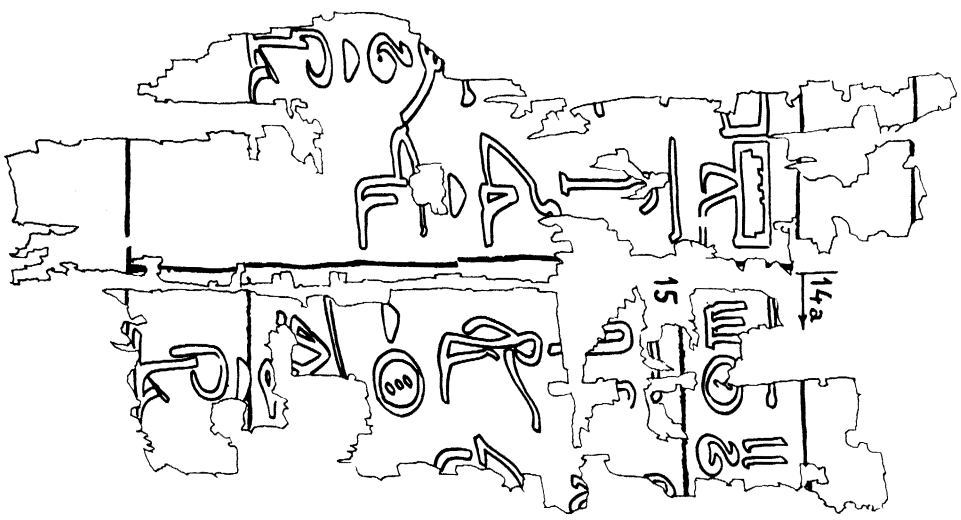
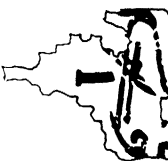
³ *Pyr.* 2117 (restored from Neit); 550; *Coffin Texts*, IV, 372–3; see further *Wb.* III, 7, 1–4.

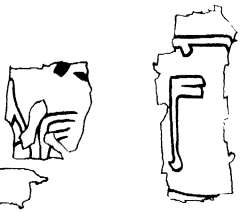
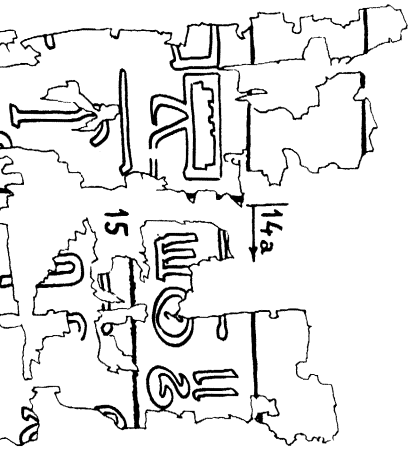
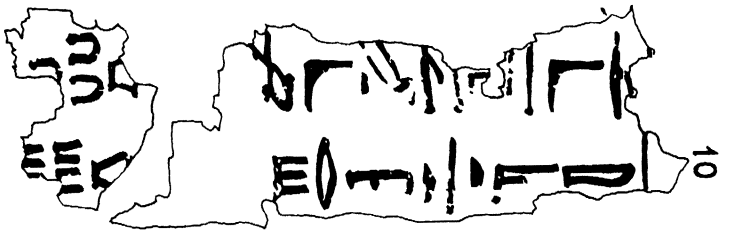
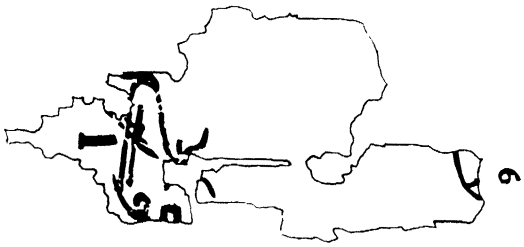
⁴ *Pyr.* 1255, 1280, see *Wb.* III, 7, 8 and III, 7, 7 for further similar evidence.

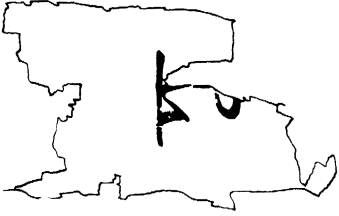
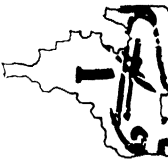
⁵ Most of the Old Kingdom scenes of funerary rites are reproduced in J. A. Wilson's valuable article *JNES* III, 201 ff.; but see also E. Lüddeckens's monograph in *Mitt. d. deutsch. Inst. . . . in Kairo*, XI (1943); B. Grdseloff, *Das ägyptische Reimigungszelt*, 1941; additions thereto, *Ann. Serv.* 51, 129 ff.; lastly, A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, v, pls. 42–43, with pp. 51–56.

⁶ *Wb.* III, 6–7, 1–4, quotes the verb for 'mourn' as *ḥꜣ*, implying that it is different from the verb described as *von tanzenden und singenden Frauen beim Leichenbegängnis*, which is given as *ḥꜣi* (3ae inf.). However, *Pyr.* 744*b*, which is taken by Sethe to contain the former verb, writes *ḥꜣi* as *ḥꜣm.f* form before nominal subject. It will be seen that I believe the two verbs to be identical.

⁷ Women in the tomb of Debehni, Wilson, op. cit., pl. 18 = Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, 1932–3, p. 176 and pl. 50; also in the tomb of Ḳar, Grdseloff, op. cit., p. 37; men in the Leyden mastaba, Wilson,

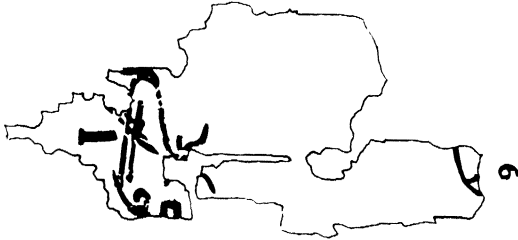








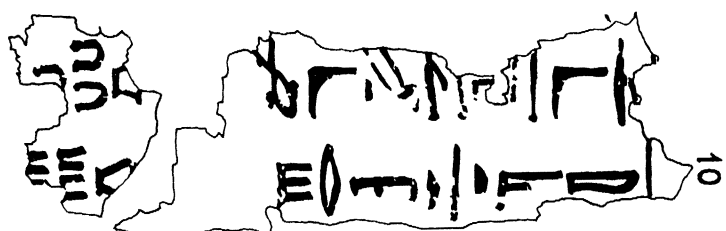
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7



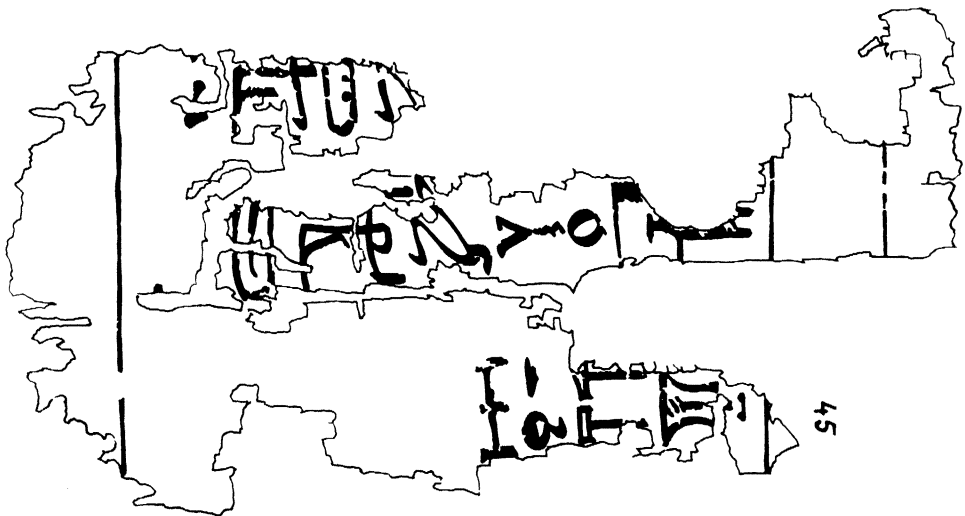
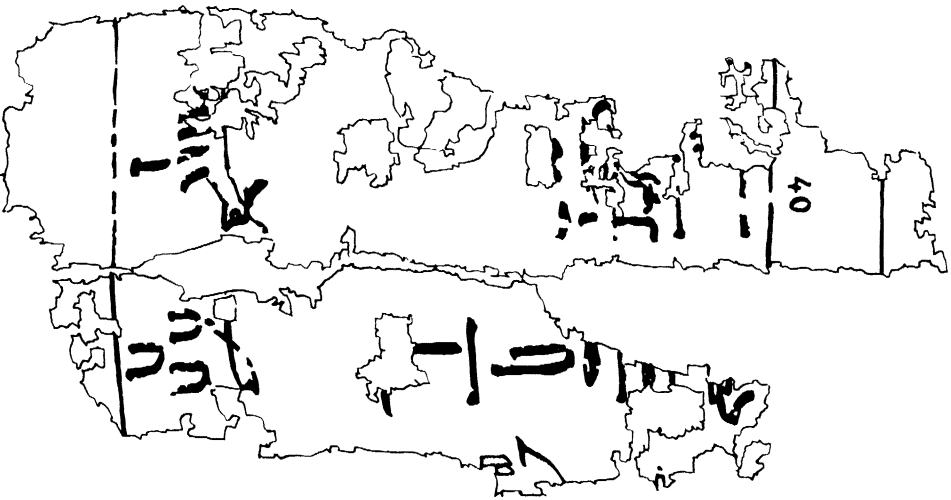
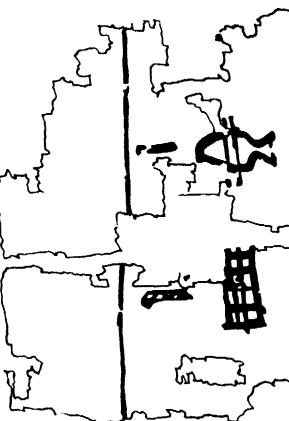
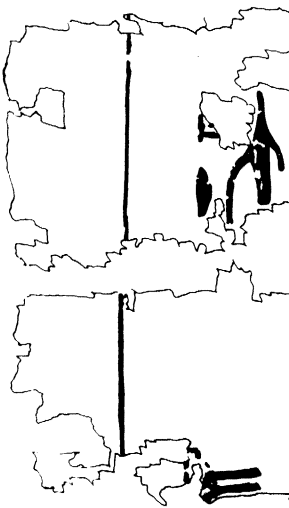
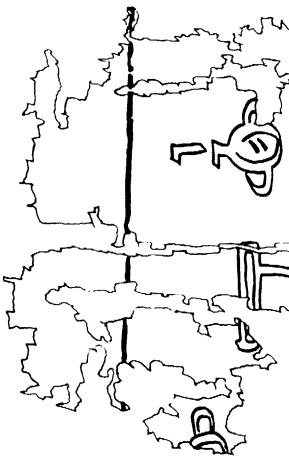
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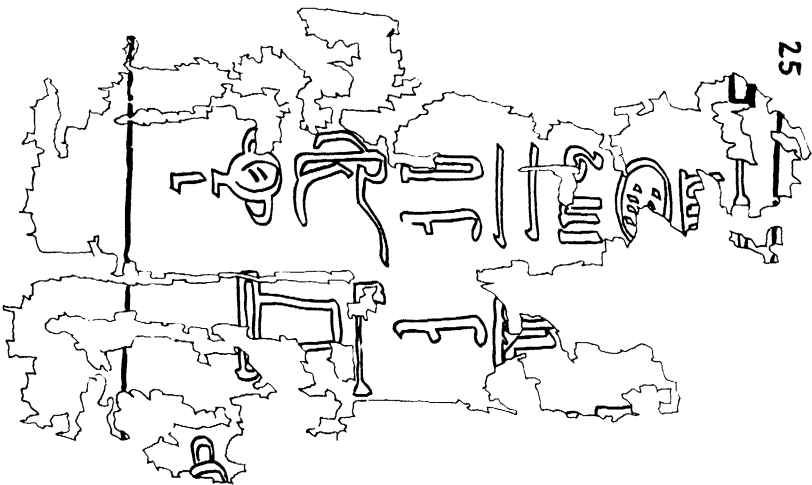
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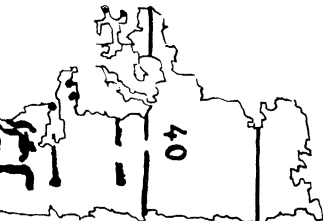
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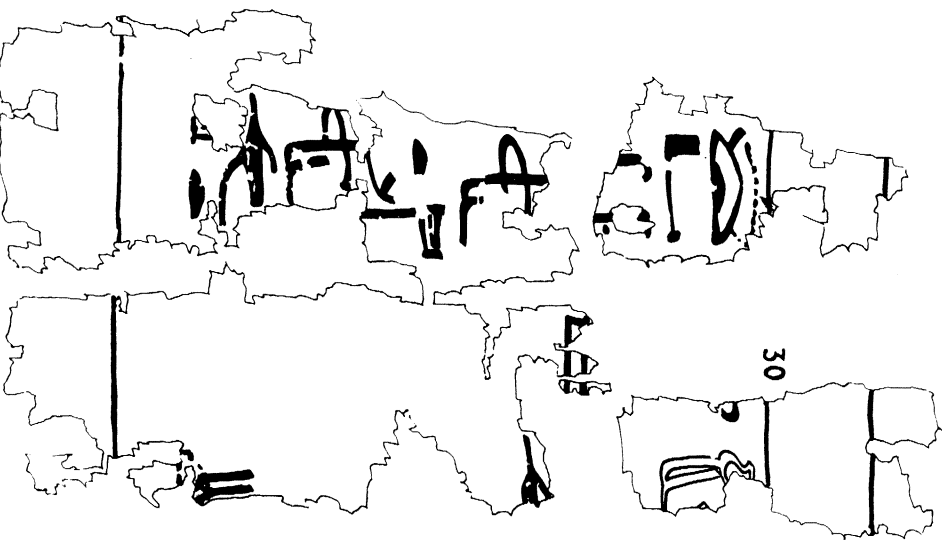
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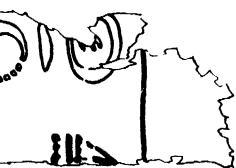
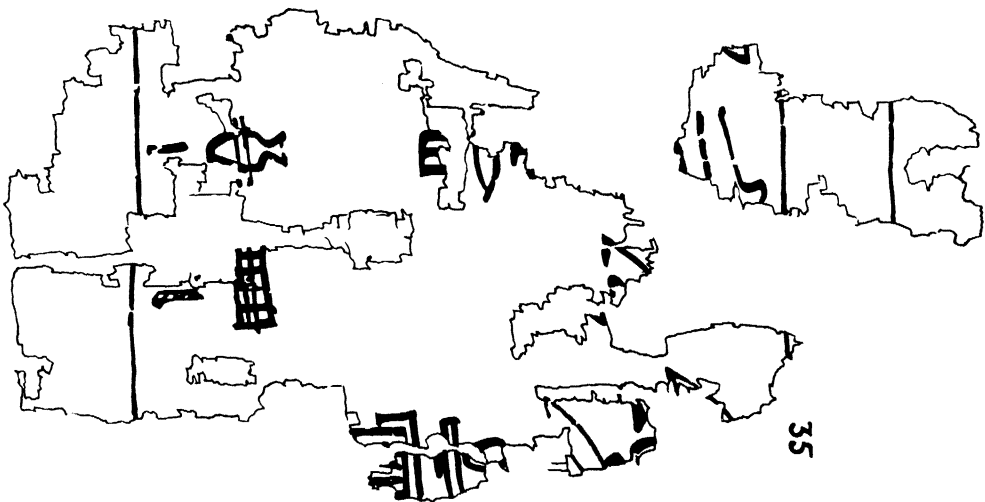
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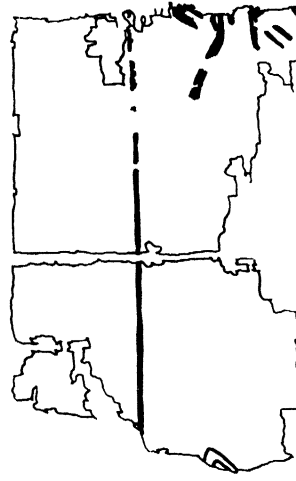
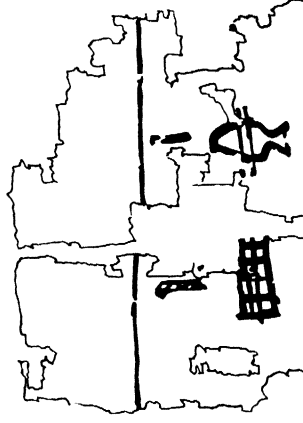
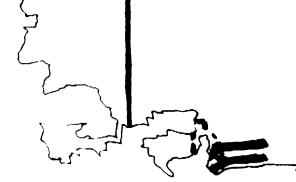


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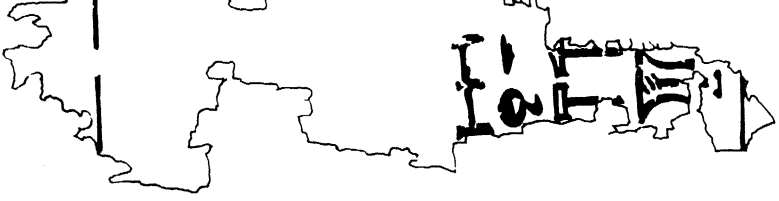


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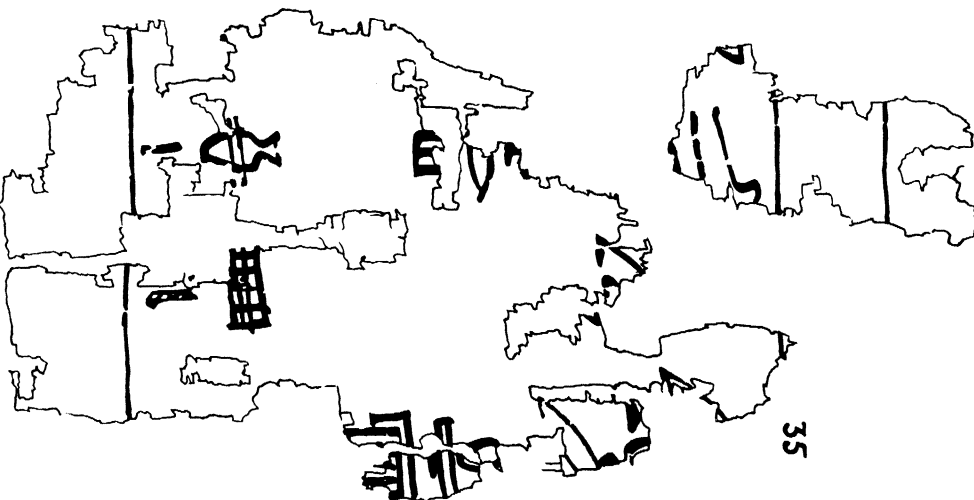


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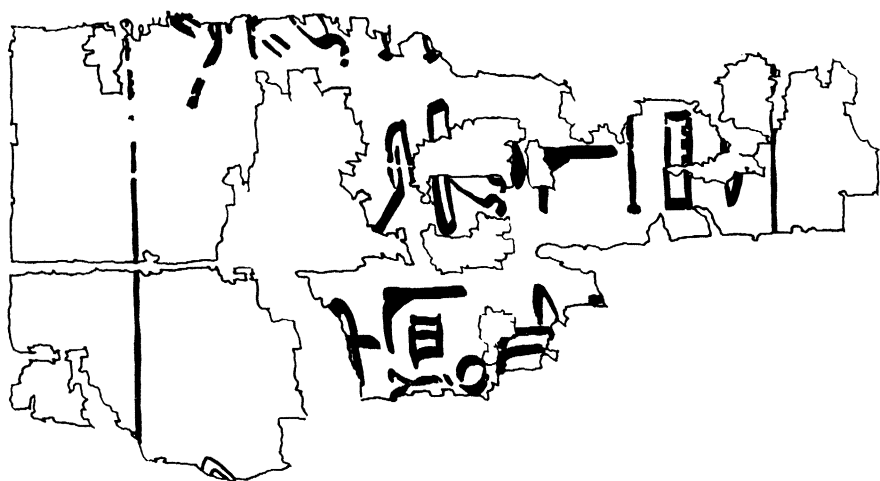




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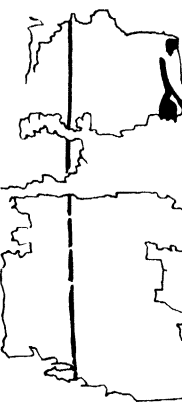
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50



Fragment of hieroglyphic text, likely from column 52. The text is partially obscured by a vertical crease. Visible signs include a lotus flower, a seated figure, and a bird.

Fragment of hieroglyphic text, likely from column 53. The text is partially obscured by a vertical crease. Visible signs include a lotus flower, a seated figure, and a bird. A small box containing the number '70' is located to the right of the text.

Fragment of hieroglyphic text, likely from column 54. The text is partially obscured by a vertical crease. Visible signs include a lotus flower, a seated figure, and a bird. A small box containing the number '75' is located to the right of the text.

卷之五

卷之五
55

卷之五

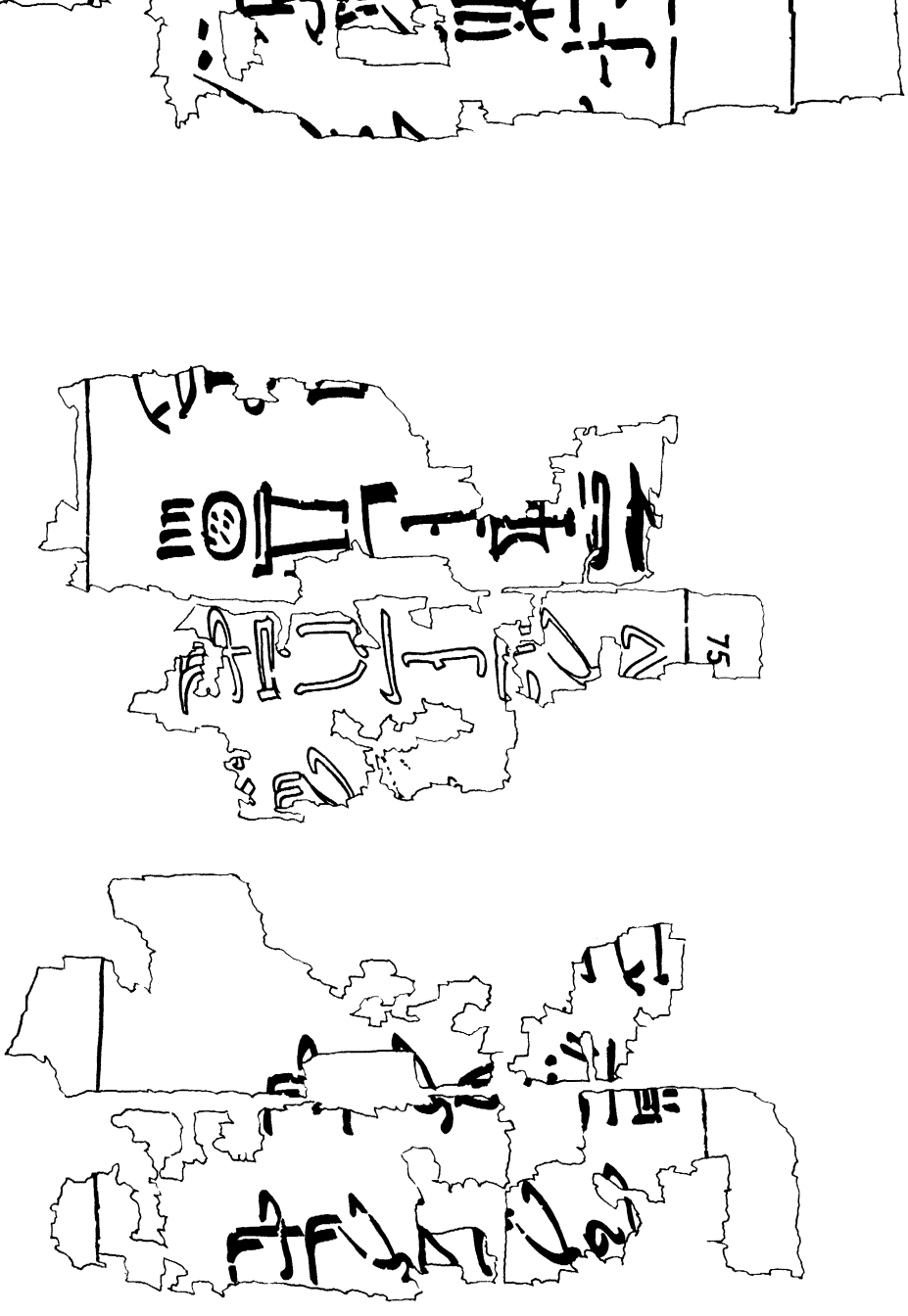
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卷之六

70

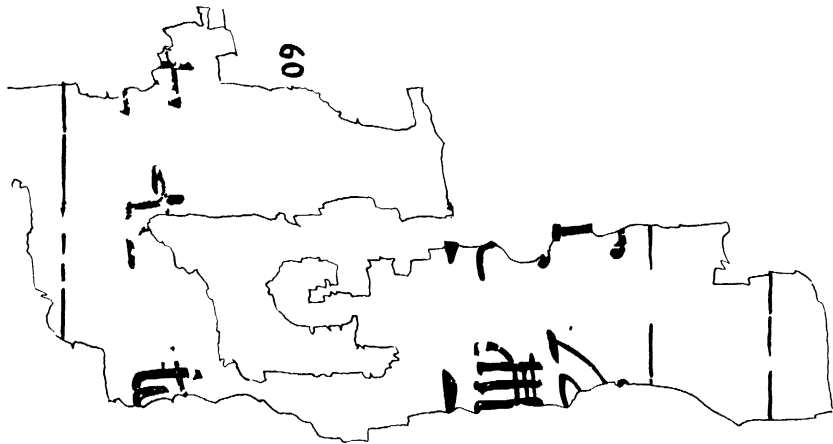
卷之六

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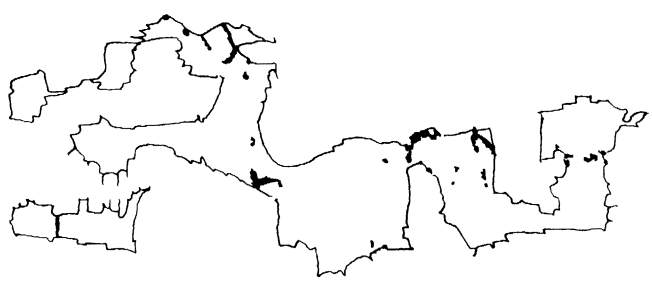




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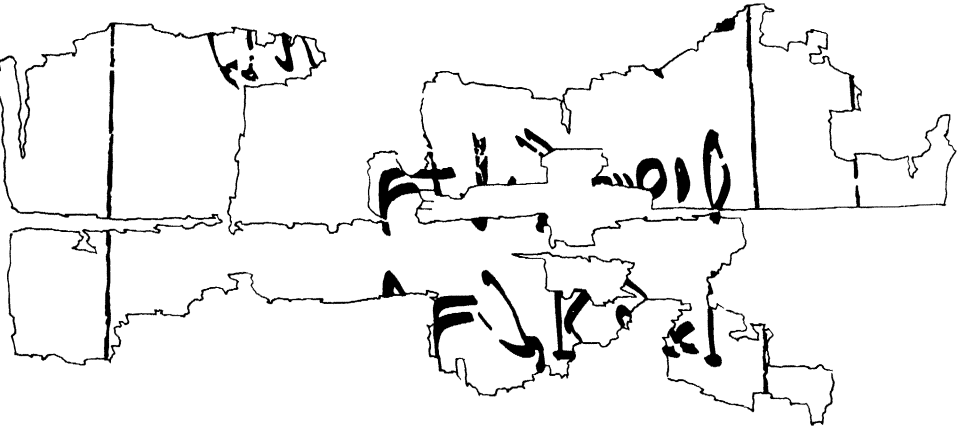
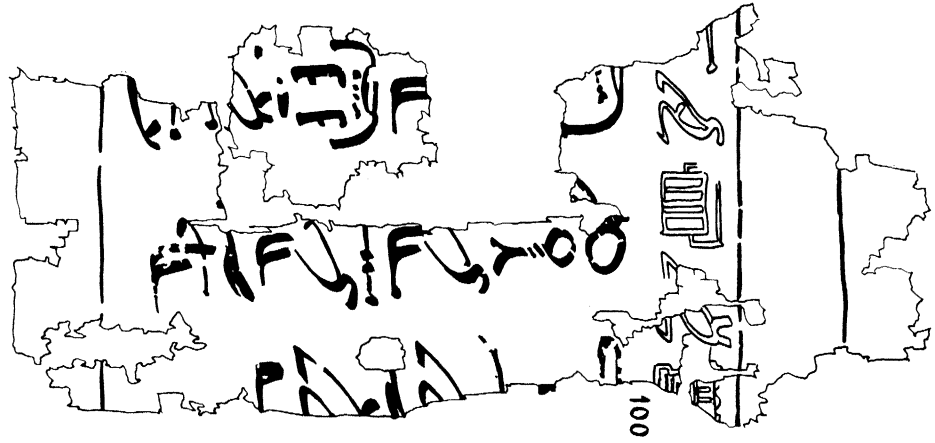
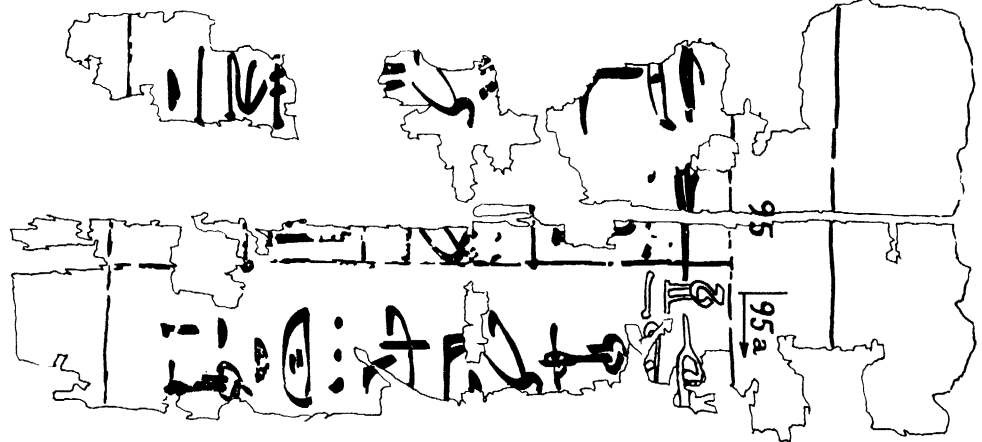
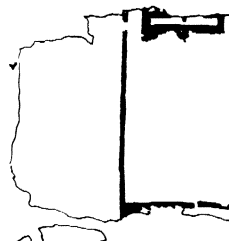
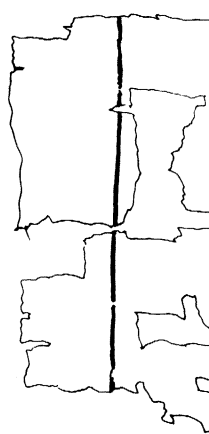
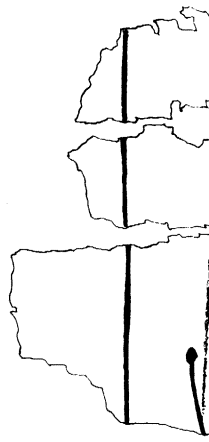


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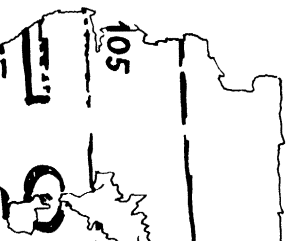
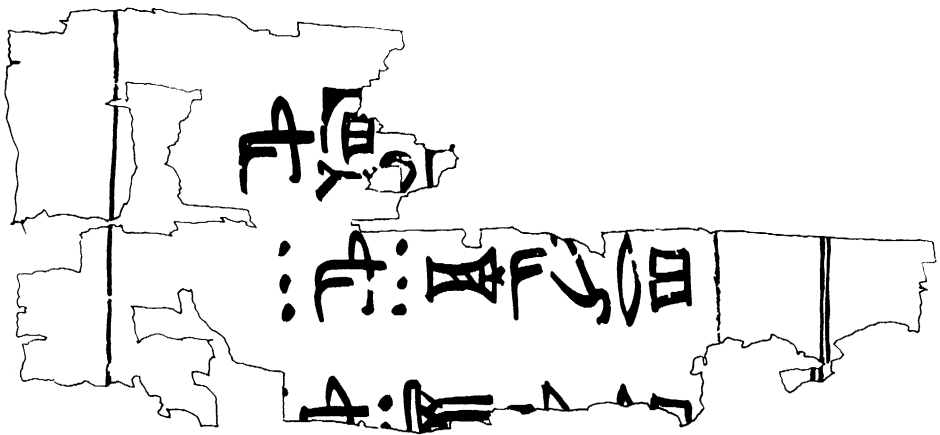
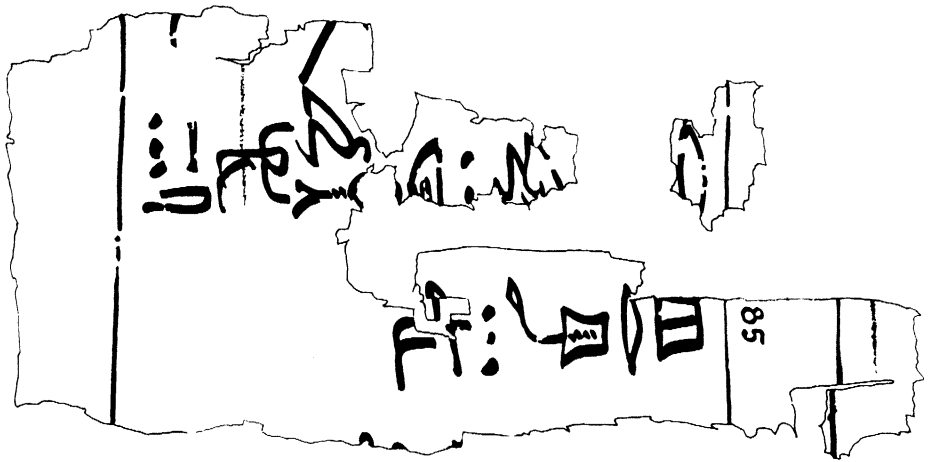
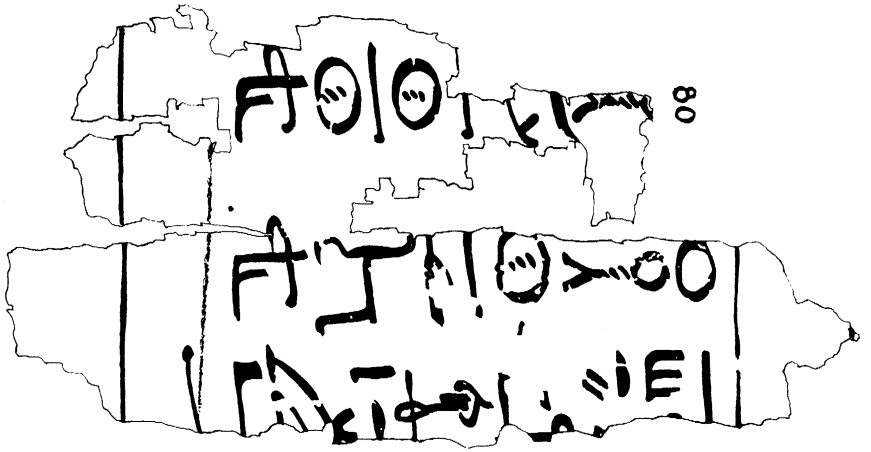
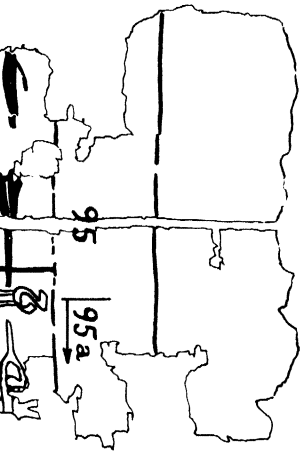


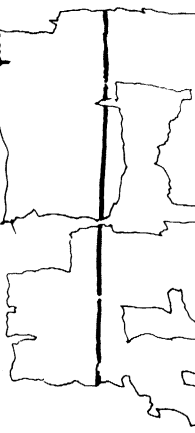
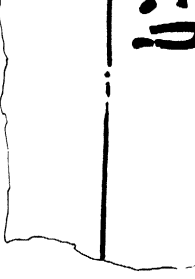
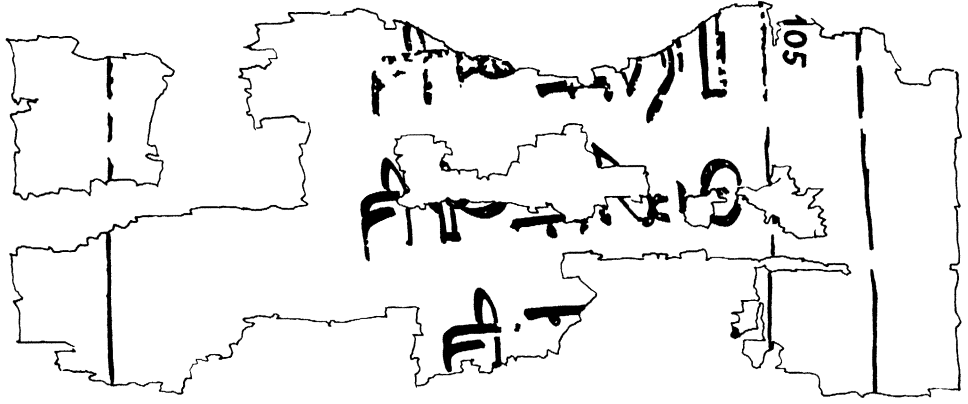
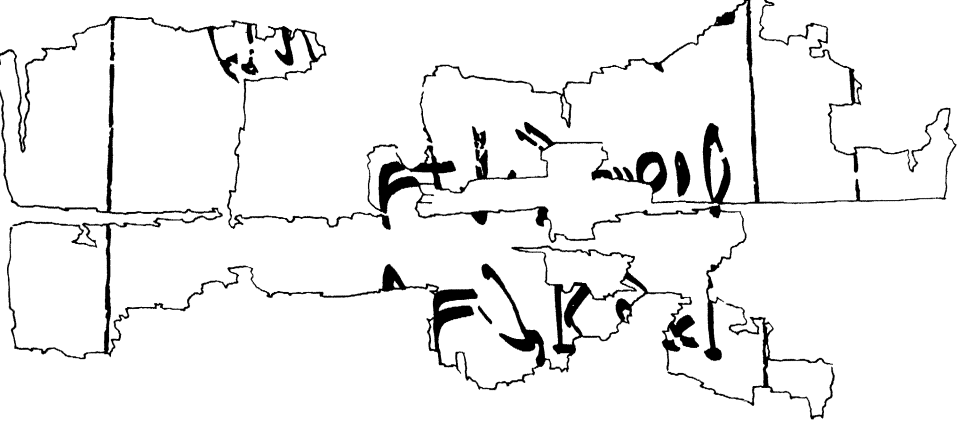
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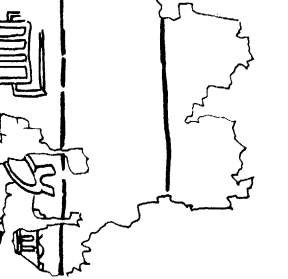
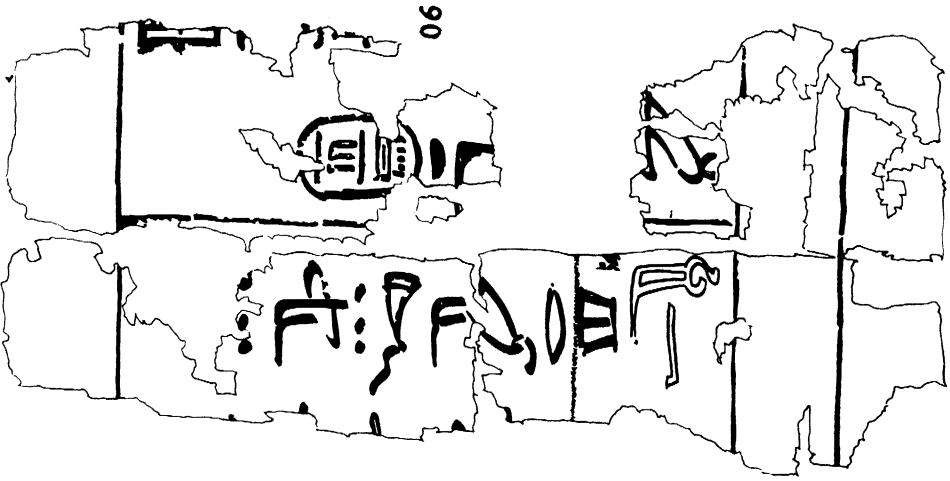
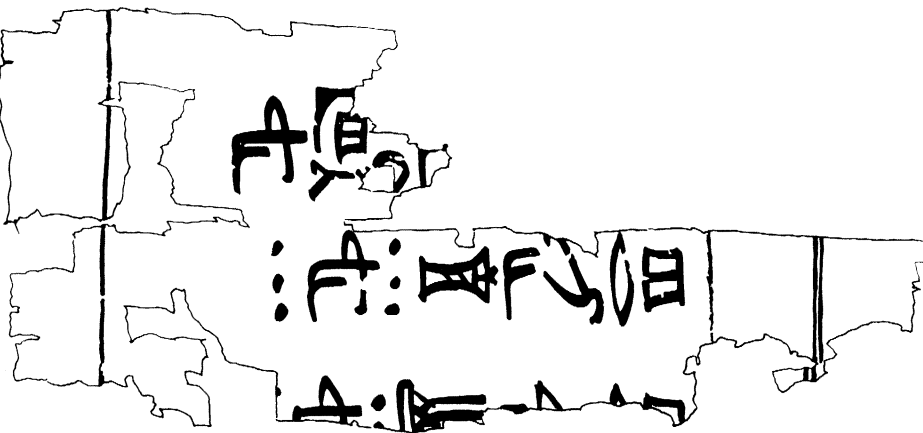




PAP. RAMESSEUM E (A unique Funerary Liturgy), cols. 80-107







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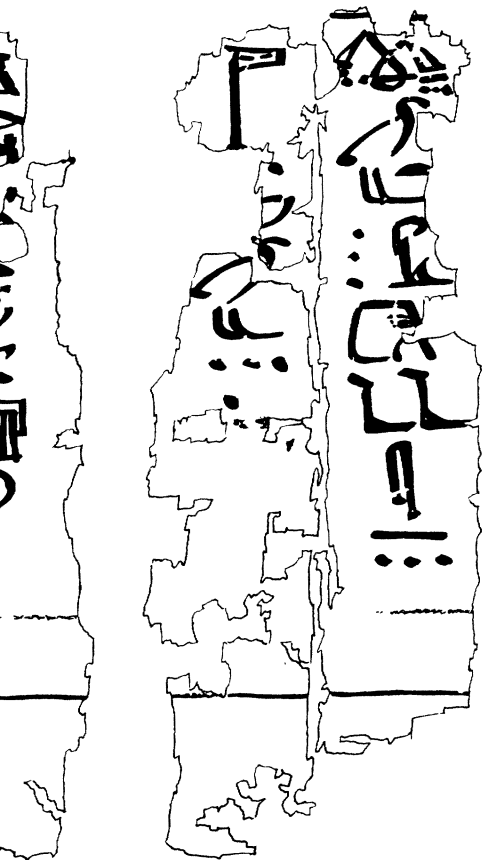


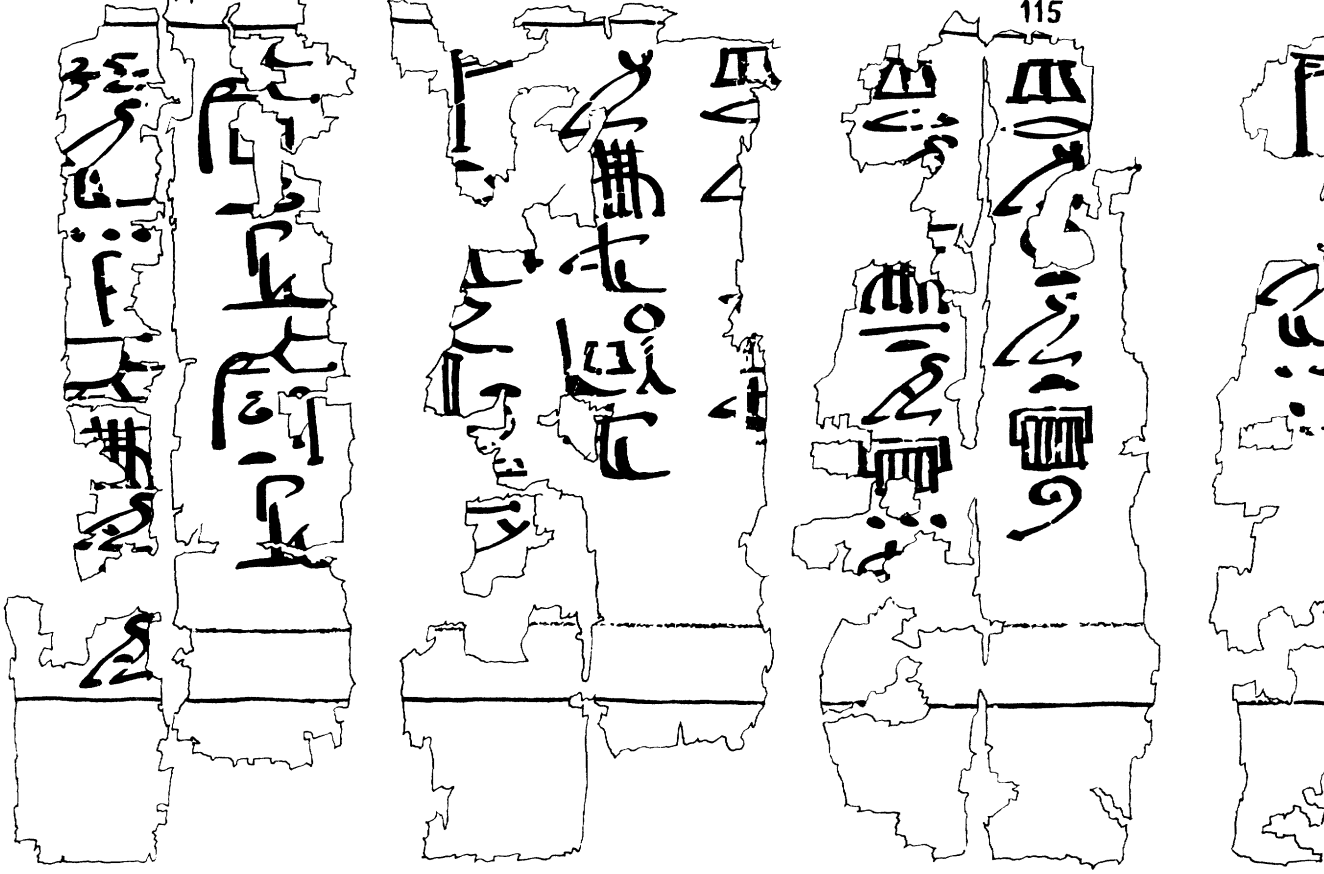
a



b





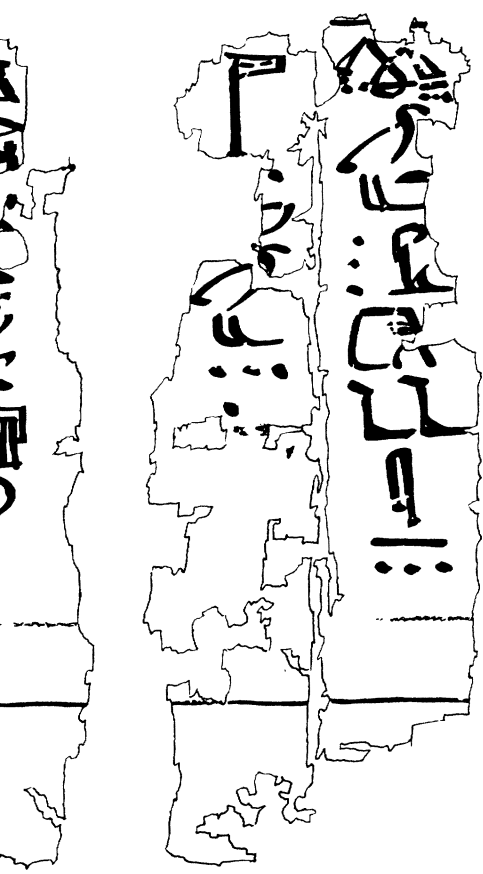


a



b





described by the legend $\text{𓇑} = \text{hst}$ (infinitive) are found exclusively in scenes of funerary rites. It seems to me a plausible suggestion that the verb is the same in both acceptations, and derives from the mournful cry of the bird above mentioned. I propose, therefore, here to render the word as ‘wail’ or ‘bewail’. That funerary dances occur, not only in Egypt,¹ but also elsewhere, is testified by photographs of Albanians behaving in this singular fashion which were published by E. Lüddeckens² some twelve years ago.

Other, but less conclusive, evidence of the funerary nature of our text is offered by the mention several times over (cols. 38, 87, 112) of the usual officiants, namely, the ‘imy-khant priest’ and the ‘lector-priest’.³ The personage for whom the rites are to be performed is referred to as $\text{𓇑} \text{𓇑} \text{𓇑} \text{𓇑}$ *Wsir mn pn* ‘the Osiris this So-and-So’ (cols. 18, 19, 91; also fragm. *a* in pl. VI); once (col. 91) *mn pn* is enclosed in an oval, but it is a mere oval, not a cartouche. Whether our text refers to a royal burial or not remains to be discussed at the end of this article.

The entries contained in the 118 columns of the papyrus may be classified into four categories. (1) First, indications of some ritual action, e.g. in cols. 14*a*–15, 26, 31 (?), 44–48; three times (cols. 14*a*, 92, and 95*a*) these are preceded by a vertical line running from top to bottom and marking a new stage in the ceremonies; this is signalized in cols. 14*a*, 95*a* by a horizontal heading (see above). (2) There are three short sentences clearly addressed to the deceased, all of them much broken and obscure, see cols. 17–18, 20, 36–37. (3) A considerable number of entries (e.g. cols. 38, 59, 61, 62) merely name an officiant or person or persons present, in some cases the bearer (*hri*) of some kind of offering (e.g. cols. 50–51, 88, 89, 92) or some article of furniture (col. 67), or else the representative of some special occupation or craft (e.g. cols. 79, 80, 81). It is these last entries which suggest an elaborate procession of the kind so popular in both Oriental and European countries, a procession somewhat resembling our Lord Mayor’s Show. (4) Lastly, a few columns (e.g. 9–11, 33) laconically name some food or drink-offering, or else perhaps receptacles of one kind or another (col. 35).

After this exordium we are in a position to translate, so far as may be, the various columns from the beginning onwards. The renderings of words and phrases written in red are here given in small capitals. The first column to convey any clear sense is col. 6, where a sacrificial bull with legs tied together was named. Cols. 9, 10 read respectively *dbn n dḥb*—30 ‘Thirty cases of figs’⁴ and *nmst nt irp*—8 ‘Eight *nmst*-jars *op. cit.*, pl. 17; Blackman, *op. cit.*, pl. 42. That the legend *hst* does not refer solely to the movement of dancing is shown by the presence in the tomb of Kar of the specific verb *ibḥ* beside each of the three male dancers, while *mḥ* ‘beating time’ (*Wb.* II, 30, 14) stands beside the accompanying woman.




¹ The dance of the *muwo* is well known, and needs here only a passing reference.





² *Op. cit.*, pls. 21, 22.

³ This opportunity is taken to correct an error which has crept into my *Eg. Gr.*², p. 51, n. 4. That the word for ‘lector-priest’ is to be read *hri-hb(t)*, with the feminine word *hb(t)* is probable from the literal meaning ‘bearer of the festival-roll’, and there are analogies enough for the omission of the feminine ending. But the proof offered by Sethe in *ZÄS* 70, 134, from Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. 39 was shown by Schott, *Untersuchungen zum Ursprung der Schrift*, 80, n. 1 to be a mistake; instead of the reading *hrw-hbt* there seen by Sethe we should read the two separate titles *hri-hb(t)* and *w*_t, the line being a divided one.

⁴ For *dbn* see *Wb.* v, 437, 16. For the determinative of *dḥb* depicting a string of dried figs see Newberry, *Proc. SBA* 22, 148.

of wine'. Wine is mentioned again in cols. 11, 33. Col. 13 refers to a priestess or some other woman in a way which I do not understand; the element *nwt*, perhaps only part of a word, recurs twice again in col. 110, there again equally obscure. The section ends in col. 14 with *šmt n hkꜣ-bꜣt* 'DEPARTURE OF THE *hkꜣ-bꜣt* OFFICIAL';¹ the title is a common one, but its meaning and the function or status of the bearer are unknown.


Next we come to a new section opened by *Zp 2-nw [n dbn hꜣ] ꜣ; nꜣš hft dmdt hꜣ[.šn?]* SECOND TIME [OF CIRCULATING AROUND] THE MASTABA; A SUMMONING IN PRESENCE OF THE CROWD OF WOMEN,² [THEY] WAILING. Cols. 17-20 are so defective that I am extremely hesitant about their sense. The common phrase *Dd mdw* 'Recitation', or part of it, occurs twice, both times written in black, and in the second occurrence (col. 20) the speakers are evidently *dmdt* 'the crowd'. The first of the two utterances possibly began with WOULD THAT THOU³ quickly followed by . . . THE OSIRIS SO-AND-SO FOUR TIMES. TAKE (?)⁴ TO THYSELF THE OSIRIS SO-AND-SO FOUR TIMES. What was said can have been no more than an ejaculation. The crowd's remark is even more incoherent. Next a gap and then col. 21, which appears to have started, like col. 110, with the jackal of Anubis. The entry of col. 22 must, I think, be completed as  'The watchers', the word found in *Pyr.* 744 as subject of *hꜣi* 'wail';⁵ it seems impossible to render 'The great ones' since this would be *wrw*, not *wr[r]w*. The half destroyed bird in col. 23 is  rather than the quite differently made  of col. 84, whence we cannot well translate 'All the common folk'. Whether *hms* 'sit' in col. 24 is rightly placed is quite doubtful, and the tiny trace of a rectangular sign at the top of col. 25 is inexplicable.


It is plausible to suppose that the scribe has simply forgotten to draw a vertical line after col. 25, since a new section clearly began with col. 26. This and the next cols. read THIRD TIME OF SUMMONING [AFTER?⁶ CIRCULATING] AROUND THE MASTABA Col. 29 contains two puzzling words with 'the God's Father' (cf. col. 111) between them; *hꜣy* looks as though it meant 'He who arises in glory', but no such priestly title is known. Even more cryptic is the group at the bottom, its initial sign looking like a hand with exaggeratedly stretched out fourth finger. Passing over the illegible col. 30 we find in col. 31 a red  WERE BROUGHT followed by a blank ending with , which must conceal some word for linen or the like, to judge from the remains of  at the bottom. The next four columns named things which 'were brought' at this juncture for ritual purposes. Second among these (col. 33) was 'a of wine, 1 jar'—the broken word was perhaps the very ancient  *dn*;⁷ then '. crate (?)', the word for


¹ *Wb.* 1, 416, 13. See too now Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln*, 34.

² *Dmdt* again in cols. 20 and perhaps 65; with plural strokes in cols. 47, 116, in this last written *dmdwt* as a feminine plural. It is strange to find here the determinative only of a woman, not both a man and a woman; the same perplexity arises over *mꜣwt* in col. 70 and still more over *mšw nꜣw* in col. 71. The word is possibly identical with the collective *Wb.* v, 461, 12. A corresponding masculine word in the heading of a spell *Dmdꜣw r kꜣš Wšir* 'The crowd at the burial of Osiris', *Coffin Texts*, IV, 371.




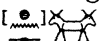
³ *Hw* (?) *kw*, note the archaic dependent pronoun *kw* instead of *tw*.

⁴ I am by no means sure that the broken sign is really .


⁵ Above, p. 10, n. 6. The absence of  as determinative is archaic; it is not found in any *Pyr.* example.

⁶ After *hr* at the bottom of col. 26, Smither wished to restore [*šꜣ dbn*]. The trace above *hꜣ* 'around' is very baffling. At the bottom of col. 28 occurs another red .

⁷ *Wb.* v, 575, 3.



which ended with *ṣ* or *m*. Two fragments rightly placed by Smither together yield a hitherto unknown *mḥtmt*, from its etymology clearly signifying a 'closed' or 'sealed receptacle' (col. 35); this word occurs again in col. 115. The next two columns (36-37) hold the end of a spoken injunction or the like '. thy two hands upon thy breast'. Then doubtless in col. 38 'The [*imy-khant*] priest and the lector-priest'. A bull is now introduced, this time not trussed as previously; above it are the remains of signs which at first sight one would like to read  'Bull of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt', but closer inspection shows that  at all events is impossible.¹ The mention of the bull is very incongruously followed in col. 41 by '*Whḥt*-fish² of health, 30'; the word here rendered 'health' might conceivably be translated as 'famine', since for this *snb* (or *snb-rnpt*)³ sometimes serves as an euphemism. Nothing can be made of the rubricated word in col. 42, nor yet of the class of men trace of whose name is found in col. 43. Cols. 44-45 describe a ritual act of lamentation 'Arises wailing; circulation around the magistrates'. Then follows, possibly after an appreciable gap, FIRE QUENCHED, this all the more mysterious since nowhere previously had there been any reference to the lighting of a torch or flame; the expression occurs also in fragment *a* on pl. VI, 'The crowd' () next intervenes to do something,⁴ '. . . one time moving two ways (?), face to the north' (cols. 47-48). Smither's restoration  in the next column is undoubtedly correct, the determinative suggesting simultaneous movement in opposite directions.⁵

The motive for rubricizing columns throughout this text is often obscure, but it seems likely that the next three columns written in red (cols. 49-51) serve to introduce a new phase in the funerary ceremonies. No less than 40 BULLS are to be sacrificed and this involves the SUMMONING⁶ OF MANY BEARERS OF FORELEGS. Then follows in black [*Cutting off*]⁷ *their forelegs and [draw]ing forth their many hearts. Going and entering into the mansions (of?) the [proph]ets of many Westerners. Going outside⁸ A boon which the King gives to the many western gods.* The hieroglyphs of cols. 52-54 do not reach down to the bottom line, yet it seems certain that these columns contained a continuous text. However, it is quite obscure how the enumeration of particular priests in cols.

¹ Nor do I consider  a really plausible guess.




² *Wb.* I, 350, 12-14 knows this fish only as a masculine.



³ *Wb.* IV, 160, 2.


⁴ After the initial *d* comes a sign like , but holding a stick or the like. I thought of  *Wb.* v, 484, 12, but this yields no sense.


⁵ For *hns* see *Pyr.* 416a, 1266c, 1306a, in the two first of these passages referring to doors or a door, possibly such as could swing both forwards and backwards; Sethe's commentary (II, 177) offers no explanation. My own suggestion is supported by a passage in the tomb of Petosiris (Lefebvre, 81, 31), where *šm rmt m tp-hns* (with the same determinative) is aptly rendered by the editor *Les hommes marchaient dans l'égarément*, which suits the context perfectly. The same hieroglyph probably occurs also in a very obscure passage of the stela C1 of the Louvre, where the confusion wrought among enemies is clearly the subject.

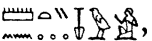



⁶ I am convinced that [*ni*]*s* is to be read at the top of col. 50, since the *s* is certain and the remains of the following determinative exactly suit the sign of the calling man in cols. 15, 26. Yet I fail to see any means of moving *ršw* in col. 51 farther to the right.

⁷ At the top of col. 52 part of  is visible followed by a sign which Gunn suggested might be the remains of , hardly rightly. I have little doubt that *d* near the bottom of the line belongs to the verb [*ḥ*], which is regular in this connexion. The  at the beginning of col. 53 is incomplete, yet scarcely open to doubt.

⁸ Here read  perhaps followed by .

59-63 links up with what precedes. The first of these priests is 'The house-servant in the Per-wēr'.¹ The designations of the second and fifth are lost, though by comparison with col. 38 the latter ought probably to be restored as *hri-hb(t)* 'The lector-priest'. The third name is that of the already mentioned *hkj-bjt* (col. 14). The two next columns (64-65) are unhappily among those that have been destroyed, but the photographs show that col. 64 began with the word *h* 'wail' and that col. 65, with , made mention as before of a crowd of women. Col. 66 named a man of some kind.

Before col. 66 we have already entered upon that part of the papyrus which most persuasively suggests a long funeral procession. Almost every column henceforward names some new person or body of persons whom we naturally think of as lined up to accompany the sarcophagus. Presumably they are named in the order in which a description of them would be presented in a modern newspaper. Col. 67 shows us a man 'Bearing a table of fine gold', col. 68 an 'Abydos handmaid with a rope [in her hand] it (?)'² Col. 70 'Seeing women', i.e. perhaps 'women spectators'. Col. 71 'The King's children', apparently with *mšw*, not *mšwt*, although the absence of the feminine ending would then contradict the woman determinative. Col. 72 'Many', the tail of  being certain. Col. 73 '. [a leopard(?)]-skin'³ upon him'. Here a section comes to an end with the words 'Circulating around the mastaba four times' (col. 74).

There is no vertical line of division, but the next two cols. (75-76) are written in red, suggesting that the procession was now halted to welcome 'The coming of the scribe [in order to (?)] the' (a plural word). In col. 78 we may have to read , but this is unintelligible. The *nwdw* of col. 79 is evidently the *Salbenkoch* of *Wb.* II, 226, 10, as was recognized by Gunn. Three or four craftsmen now enter upon the scene, first (col. 80) a '*Fnhnh*-carpenter',⁴ the unknown quinquiliteral word recalling a very ancient craftsman called *fnh* whose tools included a saw and an adze (*Wb.* I, 576, 15). Then (col. 81) a 'Carpenter of chair(s)', followed (col. 82) by what we must probably read  a '*Nhpty* with a drill in his hand'; the word *nhpty* is unknown, but evidently comes from the same stem as the verb *nhp* 'make pots on the potter's wheel' (*Wb.* II, 295, 1-6); it is uncertain whether the word for the tool he employed is to be read *hmt* like other words written with the same sign. Passing over the almost completely destroyed col. 83 we come to 'All the common folk wailing' or 'bemoaning the bearer of skins' in case col. 85 is to be regarded as the continuation. In col. 87 we meet again our old friends '[The *imy-khant* priest] and the lector-priest', accompanied by 'The bearers of unguents' (col. 88) and 'The bearers of linen-cloth'. At the end of col. 90 there seem to be traces of the sign  for a wall and the section concludes with what may well be the  'place of embalmment', where the


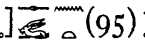
¹ For *hm-pr* see *Wb.* III, 87, 10 and for the Per-wēr *JEA* 39, 24-26.



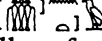






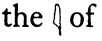

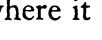
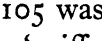
² The restoration [*m-*], of which there remains a trace, is due to Smither. The *f* at the bottom of col. 69 must refer to *nwh* 'rope' if, as seems evident, the preceding column referred to a woman.


³ For the partly broken sign see col. 85.

⁴ The sign following [*md*]*h* appears to be the knife , curiously absent from the same word in the next col.

corpse was prepared for final burial;¹ the entire column would then read 'in (or "from") . . . the place of embalmment of this So-and-so' (col. 91).

After the line of division a red 'WERE BROUGHT' ushers in 'bearers of forelegs', after the mention of whom there is a column (93) in lacuna. Smither with great plausibility read the next two columns as (94)  (95) , but who these 'Askers' were who carried 'arrows'—the feminine word is unknown—adds yet another problem to the many we have to face. The section that here ends is a very short one, and gives place to another naming a number of fresh craftsmen and the like.

The rubricized heading which follows the vertical line separating the new section from the old looks as though it were intended to group under a general head all the occupations enumerated below. Unhappily the initial WERE BROUGHT (cf. cols. 31, 92) is continued in words at once broken and of great obscurity. First comes a group of which the upper sign might be  and that below it is almost certainly . Immediately after this we must have , as Smither doubtless correctly restored on the strength of col. 114. Finally, after the preposition *m* is seen the sign for a crenellated fortress with its name written within it; this name I have tried without success to read as  Itj-towe.² The word *hntyw* signifies the piece of temple furniture that was discussed by H. Nelson in his valuable article 'Three Decrees of Ramses III from Karnak';³ in the New Kingdom this was no longer merely the jar-stand which the hieroglyph  depicts, but rather a sort of sideboard for food as well as drinks. The entire rubric remains utterly obscure. The first two vertical columns (96, 97) read 'All craftsmen with [their] tool(s) [in their hands]', where  must have a wider application than in col. 82. Next (col. 98) comes 'The goldsmith with a gold collar⁴ in his hand'. After him a 'Carpenter sawyer with a saw in his hand'; the broken word for saw was undoubtedly written , *tif*, though in the tomb of Ti⁵ the spelling is  *tf*(*?*), see *Wb.* v, 298; the  of our papyrus is guaranteed by the name of a sanctuary  *Itf-wr*, see *Wb.* I, 144, 3. The next craftsman (col. 101) has lost his name, but he too carried some significant object 'in his hand'. The following  *rhty* supplied my Sign-list (U 31) with the long sought reading of the word for 'Baker'. Another unknown word follows in col. 103, where it is uncertain whether we should read  or . The *škry* of col. 105 was probably a 'Coiffeur', the male counterpart of the *hkrt* found with the meaning 'coiffeuse'.⁶ In the tomb of Ti⁷ the *htmy* of col. 106 is seen boring a hole in a cylinder-seal, and is, therefore, there at least, a 'seal-maker', not a 'sealer'. The name of the next artisan is lost, and this col. was followed by one of which not a trace is left; it must have contained a plural, since col. 109 reads '. . . . the many

¹ Note, however, the absence of the determinative . On the various senses of this ambiguous word see my *Admonitions*, p. 26; further also Grdseloff, op. cit., pp. 12 ff.

² This name of Lisht, the capital at the beginning of Dyn. XII, is so written Cairo 20515, 20516.


³ *JAOs* 56, ii, 232-41.

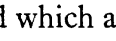


⁴ *Nbyt* is absent from *Wb.*, but is found at least once on a Middle Kingdom coffin; see S12 in my sign-list.

⁵ Steindorff, pl. 133.

⁶ *Wb.* III, 401, 6. Compare too the related titles discussed by Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 34, 162-4.

⁷ Steindorff, pl. 133, see too Newberry in *Proc. SBA* 27, 286. *Wb.* III, 352, 4 translates *Der Siegeler*, a sense that might possibly be correct in *Pyr.* 1523, but is not so in the tomb of Ti.

. . . . by Anubis of the Khantyu', whatever may be meant thereby. I have commented already (p. 12) on the two designations of women found in col. 110. The precise meaning of *mst* in col. 111, where we find a 'God's Father (cf. col. 29) with a reed in his hand', is uncertain; there is no doubt that it literally means a 'reed', whence it may also signify a flute.¹ It is unlikely to have had that meaning here, and there are several other possibilities;² equally cryptic is the use in the biography of the architect Nekhebu,³ who tells us that when his brother was appointed to be an Instructor (? *shd*) of Builders,  'I carried his *mst*'. In col. 112 we again encounter the ubiquitous '*Imy-khant* priest and the lector-priest'. The next three entries all named the 'Bearers' (*hriw*) of something or other; the thing borne by the 'Bearer' (singular) of col. 113 is withheld from us by a lacuna; then come 'Bearers of the *hntyw*', pieces of furniture already discussed; in the third place we have the 'Bearer of 100 closed receptacles'; for *mhtmt* see above in col. 35. We near the end of our analysis with a mainly destroyed two-line entry (cols. 116-17) ending with '. all gods', after which remains only 'The crowd (of women) on their feet'. Here our text comes to an abrupt close.

Gunn religiously transcribed the dozen or so small fragments that remain unplaced, but with three exceptions they are unworthy of being recorded in print. One written entirely in red is reproduced as *a* in Plate VI; it names the 'Osiris this So-and-so' followed by an unintelligible word which appears to be , while on the right we read '. . . see the fire, it not having been extinguished', cf. col. 46. Of the others, *b* shows the beginning of a line with the word  'Bearer' and *c* has the complete entry  'Bearers of the red pots'. These pots were a regular part of the funerary equipment,⁴ and the smashing of them to symbolize the annihilation of the deceased's enemies is a practice that has been much discussed.⁵

I doubt if my colleagues will bless me for inflicting upon them so tattered a manuscript, but in self-defence I claim that for several good reasons this is worthy of attention. Those who collect new Egyptian words with the ardour of philatelists will range themselves on my side, but it is not there that my own interest lies. To me, above all things, it seems salutary to be reminded of the one-sidedness and incompleteness of our sources. As a footnote (p. 10, n. 5) has made clear, we possess not a few reliefs displaying scenes from Old Kingdom burials, but these contain, apart from the inevitable posturings of grief, no hint whatsoever of the elaborate goings on revealed, in however fragmentary a form, by this unique papyrus. In a recent article⁶ I had similarly occasion to mention how tantalizingly the dramatic text edited by Sethe introduced us to coronation rites of which the conventional sources betrayed not a single glimpse. Whatever ill may else be said of the present unfortunate manuscript, there can be no doubt that it greatly widens our horizon.

¹ *Wb.* II, 6, 8-10.

² *Wb.* II, 6, 11-12; also *ibid.* 27, 9-13.

³ *Urk.* I, 216, 11; see too *JEA* 24, 4, n. 14, where the writer says: 'hardly "staff", since that would be carried by the owner. Perhaps "rule".'

⁴ Grdseloff, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 30.

⁵ See the discussion by Lüddeckens in *Mitt. d. deutsch. Inst. . . . in Kairo*, XI, 12-13. For this rite in the divine cult see *Rev. d'Ég.* 3, 167.

⁶ *JEA* 39, 24.

A question difficult to answer arises as to the age of the ceremonial here recorded, and closely bound up with that problem is the question as to whether the rites envisaged were designed for a royal funeral or for that of some less distinguished personage. The presence of so many actors, whether craftsmen or mere onlookers, shows that the deceased can hardly have been of lower rank than a nomarch. Černý, with whom I have discussed this matter, tends to believe that the substance of the text goes back as far as the Third Dynasty. He points out the unlikelihood that the king's children would have attended a lesser occasion than that of a royal funeral. If this argument be conceded, then a clue to the date may well be found in the use of the word $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ *ir* 'mastaba' rather than the word $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ *mr* 'pyramid'. Černý's suggestion is plausible, and may be correct, but it cannot be regarded as certain. The concision of the phrases used suggests a high antiquity, since the farther back our inscriptions go, the less help their authors give to the reader. For this reason alone I should hesitate to place the composition as late as the First Intermediate Period.

The employment of the phrase 'this So-and-so' shows that our papyrus was intended to present a normal funerary programme, not one tied down to a particular reign or a particular demise. A question less easy to decide is to what stage of the funerary proceedings the rites there described refer. As Grdseloff among others has rightly insisted, there were two main occasions that called for solemn ceremonial, namely, the day of the removal of the deceased from his home to the place where his corpse was mummified or at least prepared for burial, and the day or days, many weeks later, when the body thus prepared was brought to its final resting-place. In view of the fragmentary condition of our text and the obviously incomplete picture provided by the tomb reliefs, it is by no means clear how this question ought to be answered. The only clue lies in the words recording the circumambulation of the tomb. Those words would seem to point to the day of final burial.

THE INSTALLATION OF THE VIZIER

By R. O. FAULKNER

THE text from the tomb of Rekhmirē^c at Thebes—with fragmentary replicas in the tombs of Woser and Ḥepu—which gives the address by the king to his newly appointed vizier, wherein are laid down the principles which should govern the minister's conduct of his office, is one of the best known of Egyptian secular inscriptions, but the problems it presents are by no means entirely solved. It was first published in 1900 by Newberry, *The Life of Rekhmara*, pls. 9 and 10, and his version is still of value in that it shows the state of the inscription as it was at the beginning of the century. The first edition to show the texts of Rekhmirē^c, Ḥepu, and Woser^a in parallel, together with translation and commentary, was that of Gardiner in *Rec. trav.* 26, 1 ff. (1904); in 1906 Breasted printed a translation in his *Ancient Records*, II, §§ 665 ff.; while in 1907 Sethe republished the text in *Urkunden*, IV, 1086 ff.^b He returned to the subject, this time with translation and commentary, in his *Einsetzung des Veziers (Untersuchungen*, v, 49 ff., 1912), but thereafter the topic slumbered until Davies published his monumental *Tomb of Rekh-mi-rē^c at Thebes* in 1943. In this publication he gave the results of an exhaustive study of the tomb; in Vol. II (Plates) he records on pls. 14–15 all that was then visible of the Installation text, and on pls. 116–18 he gives his collation of all three versions,^c while on pp. 85 ff. of Vol. I (Text) he provides a translation. As regards the hieroglyphic text, Davies's great skill and long experience in the copying of tomb inscriptions makes him the final court of appeal, and it is in the highest degree improbable that anyone will succeed in extracting more than he has done. His translations, however, are somewhat bold and free, and here and there it seems to me that he has failed to see the true drift of the text, so that I have ventured with some trepidation on the launching of a new rendering. My own version is frequently worded somewhat differently from its most recent predecessor, but it has seemed unnecessary to devote space to minor differences; only those passages where our views are really divergent will be discussed below. Figs. 1–3 give the basic text reconstituted as far as possible from Davies's collation.

The Introduction

Instructions enjoined upon the vizier Rekhmirē^c. The Court was admitted to the audience-hall of Pharaoh, and it was ordered that the newly appointed vizier Rekhmirē^c should be ushered in.

The Speech of Pharaoh

(1) *Thus said His Majesty to him: [Look]¹ to the office of the vizier, (2) be vigilant concerning [all that] is done² in it, for it is the mainstay of the entire land. Now as for the vizierate,³ it certainly is not pleasant; indeed it is as bitter as gall.⁴ See,⁵ (3) he is⁶ copper*

^a Hereinafter cited as R., H., and W. respectively.

^b It is to this text that the allusions to Sethe refer.

^c It is upon this that the following translation is based.

Introduction

𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄𐀅𐀆𐀇𐀈𐀉𐀊𐀋𐀌𐀍𐀎𐀏𐀐𐀑𐀒𐀓𐀔𐀕
𐀖𐀗𐀘𐀙𐀚𐀛𐀜𐀝𐀞𐀟𐀠𐀡

The Speech of Pharaoh

1. 𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄𐀅𐀆𐀇𐀈𐀉𐀊𐀋𐀌𐀍𐀎𐀏𐀐𐀑𐀒𐀓𐀔𐀕𐀖𐀗𐀘𐀙𐀚𐀛𐀜𐀝𐀞𐀟𐀠𐀡𐀢𐀣
𐀤𐀥𐀦𐀧𐀨𐀩𐀪𐀫𐀬𐀭𐀮𐀯𐀰𐀱𐀲𐀳𐀴𐀵𐀶𐀷𐀸𐀹𐀺𐀻𐀼𐀽𐀾𐀿𐁀𐁁𐁂𐁃𐁄𐁅𐁆𐁇𐁈𐁉𐁊𐁋𐁌𐁍𐁎𐁏𐁐𐁑𐁒𐁓𐁔𐁕𐁖𐁗𐁘𐁙𐁚𐁛𐁜𐁝𐁞𐁟𐁠𐁡𐁢𐁣
𐁤𐁥𐁦𐁧𐁨𐁩𐁪𐁫𐁬𐁭𐁮𐁯𐁰𐁱𐁲𐁳𐁴𐁵𐁶𐁷𐁸𐁹𐁺𐁻𐁼𐁽𐁾𐁿𐂀𐂁𐂂𐂃𐂄𐂅𐂆𐂇𐂈𐂉𐂊𐂋𐂌𐂍𐂎𐂏𐂐𐂑𐂒𐂓𐂔𐂕𐂖𐂗𐂘𐂙𐂚𐂛𐂜𐂝𐂞𐂟𐂠𐂡𐂢𐂣
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𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿�0�1�2�3�4�5�6�7�8�9�A�B�C�D�E�F�G�H�I�J�K�L�M�N�O�P�Q�R�S�T�U�V�W�X�Y�Z

FIG. 1. THE INSTALLATION OF THE VIZIER

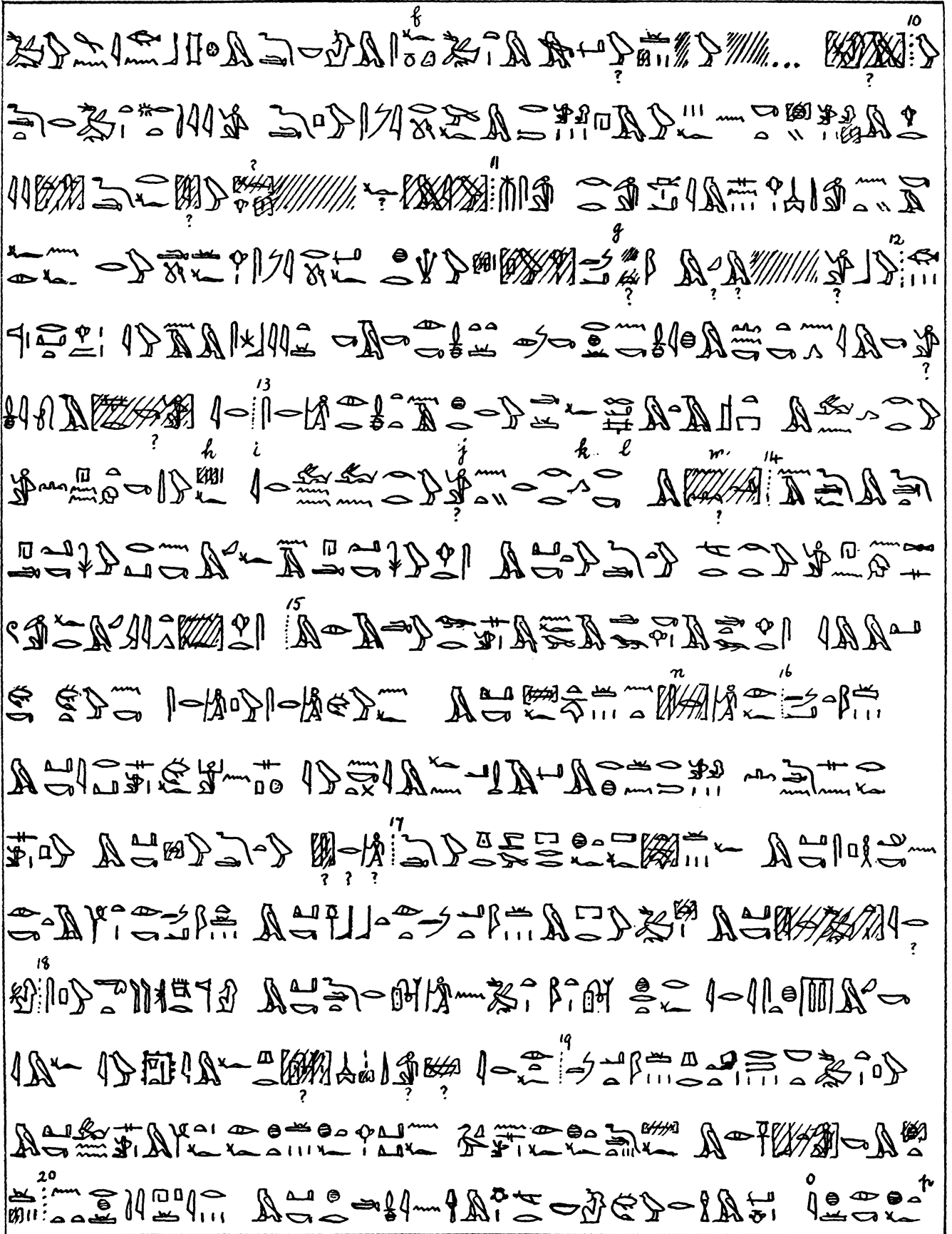
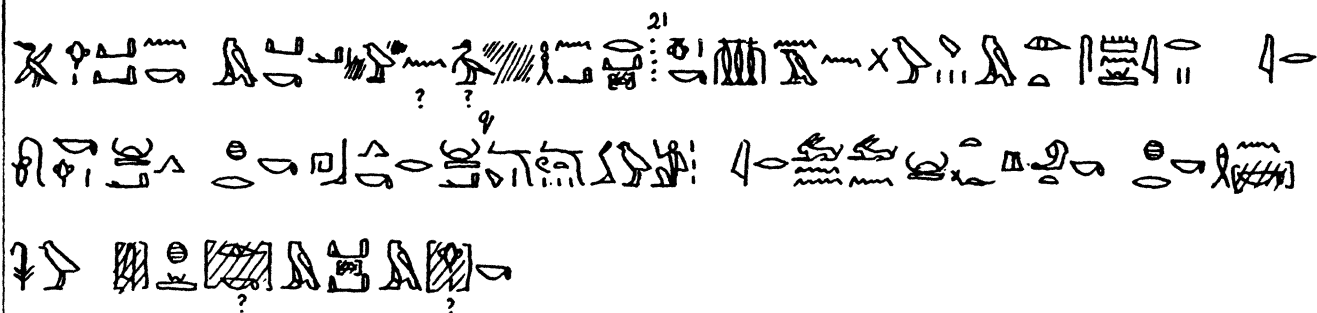


FIG. 2. THE INSTALLATION OF THE VIZIER



Textual Notes

- a. This and other restorations are dealt with in the Commentary.
- b. R. has for as often; this error is henceforward corrected without comment.
- c. H. has ; in R. there seems insufficient room for .
- d. Restore perhaps ? See Commentary.
- e. Restore perhaps ? See Commentary.
- f. Cf. W.
- g. Newberry has . B.
- h. So apparently Davies; Newberry omits the plural strokes.
- i-l. So W.; R. is very defective.
- j. W. has which is an inferior reading; R. has a vague trace, probably of .
- k. So W., but in this context would be more appropriate.
- m. Davies . This is difficult to fit to any known verb as it stands, but it may be the slightly misread remains of or 'reject', see Commentary.
- n. H. only, but R. invariably employs the full writing.
- o-p. So R. and W. Newberry has inexplicably whence Sethe's text.
- q. W. det. .

enclosing the gold of his [master's]⁷ house; he is one who does not turn his face towards magistrates or councils,⁸ and who does not make for himself [a partisan] of anyone.⁹ See, as for [all] that a man does¹⁰ (4) in his master's household, he will be happy,¹¹ and there is nothing which he does¹² . . . for anyone else.¹³

See, there come the petitioner(s)¹⁴ of Upper¹⁵ and Lower Egypt, even the entire land,¹⁶ equipped [for (?)] hearing (?) in the [vizier's] hall (?),¹⁷ (5) therefore you should see¹⁸ that everything is done in accordance with what is in the law and that everything is done exactly right when [placing a man on] his vindication.¹⁹ Now as for a magistrate who judges in public,²⁰ (6) wind and water make report of all that he does, and there is no one who is ignorant of his deeds.²¹ If he makes a [mis]take (?) concerning his case (?),²² and it is not pointed out by (?) the (proper) official (?),²³ it shall be made known (7) by the pronouncing of his decision (?),²⁴ which is to be made in the presence of the (proper) official²⁵ in the words: 'I will not deliver a verdict (?),²⁶ but will send the petitioner [to another court (?)] (8) or magistrate', and his deeds will not be unknown.²⁷ See, the magistrate's safeguard is to act in accordance with regulations, in doing what has been said,²⁸ a petitioner who has been judged [shall not say: 'I have] not [been placed] (9) on my vindication.'²⁹ See, it is a maxim which is in the Book of Memphis,³⁰ being the word of the Sovereign, the mercy (?)³¹ of the vizier and . . .³²

[Beware (?)]³³ (10) of what was said of the vizier Akhtoy; the saying was that he impoverished his associates for the benefit of others, through fear³⁴ lest it should be said of him [that he] . . . [wrongfully (?)].³⁵ (11) When one of them appealed against a judgement which he³⁶ had devised and executed,³⁷ he³⁸ succeeded³⁹ because of his (unjust) impoverishment. Now [that is] more [than] justice.⁴⁰

Do not judge (?) [unfairly (?)],⁴¹ for (12) God abhors partiality. This is a teaching; act accordingly. Regard him whom you know like him whom you do not know, him who is near you like him who is far [from you],⁴² as for (13) the magistrate who acts thus, he will be successful here in this place.⁴³ Do not pass over a petitioner before you have attended to his pleas. If there is⁴⁴ a petitioner who would appeal to you, do not reject (?)⁴⁵ (14) what he has to say as something which has (already) been said, (but) dismiss him (only) when you have caused him to hear why you dismiss him, for men say that a petitioner prefers that his speech should receive attention to the judging of that for which [he has] come.⁴⁶ (15) Do not wrongfully show anger with a man, (but) be angry over that over which one should be angry; inspire respect⁴⁷ for yourself that men may respect you, for the magistrate who is respected is a (real) magistrate. See, the (real) worth of a magistrate is that he does (16) justice, but if a man inspires excessive respect,⁴⁸ there is something wrong about him, in the opinion of the people; they do not say of him: 'He is a (good) man.' Again, men say that a magistrate (17) who speaks falsehood is one who will go forth in proportion to his worth,⁴⁹ but you will succeed in exercising this office and doing justice.⁵⁰ See, what is desired is the doing of justice by the fiat (?)⁵¹ of the vizier. Now [as for the vizier], (18) he has been its^a rightful guardian since (the time of) God.⁵²

See, men say of the vizier's chief scribe, 'Scribe of Justice'⁵³ is said of him. And as for the office in which you judge, there is a spacious room in it full of [the records (?)] of all (past)]

^a I.e. of justice.

judgements.⁵⁴ *As for him who shall do*⁵⁵ (19) *justice before all men, he is the vizier. See, a man shall continue in his office if he acts in accordance with the charge given to him, and a man is clear of character*⁵⁶ *if he acts according to what has been said to him. Do not do your [own will]*⁵⁷ *in matters (20) whereof the law is known; further, it befalls*⁵⁸ *the contentious man that the Sovereign prefers the respectful man to the contentious; act therefore in accordance with the charge given to you.*

*See . . .*⁵⁹ *and pay (21) attention to the ploughlands when making confirmation thereof.*⁶⁰ *If you are absent from (?) an investigation,*⁶¹ *you shall send the overseers of lands, chief sheriffs*⁶² *and w'rtw*⁶³ *to investigate. If there is anyone who shall have made investigation before you,*⁶⁴ *you shall question him; thus [shall you act (?)] in respect of what has been laid to your [charge].*⁶⁵

Commentary

(1) The restoration [𐤀𐤁], which goes back to Gardiner and Sethe, is surely correct. 𐤀𐤁 (with 𐤀 for 𐤁 as often in R.) is reflexive dative reinforcing the imperative, Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*² § 337, 2.

(2) Restore 𐤀[𐤀𐤁𐤀] as already Gardiner and Sethe.

(3) Cf. Sethe, *Einsetzung*, 6, 39; Gardiner, *Sinuhe*, 89.

(4) The emphatic words 'certainly', 'indeed' seem the best way of rendering in modern English the repeated *mk*, the purpose of which is to stress the contrast between what one might imagine the vizierate to be and what it really is.

(5) So W.; the restoration [𐤀]𐤀 is obvious.

(6) Taking *pw* to refer now to the vizier himself. Davies takes it as referring to the vizierate, and accordingly renders 'it is'.

(7) So Gardiner and Sethe. The size of the lacuna in R. seems to demand the restoration [𐤀] with genitival *n*.

(8) I.e. who does not favour them. The position of *pw* indicates that 𐤀𐤁 is to be understood as 'his face' and to be taken with the preceding *wsh*, so that Davies's rendering 'it is to have no consideration for himself or for the officials of the magistracy' falls to the ground; for *wsh* + noun + *hr*, lit. 'lay something on', cf. *Urk.* IV, 367, 9. Again, I am somewhat sceptical of his interpretation of *srw dšdšt* as a direct genitive 'officials of the magistracy'; to me a co-ordination seems more probable, especially as in the present text *sr* is itself best rendered 'magistrate'.

(9) Sethe restores [𐤀]𐤀𐤀 'partisan' after *ir nf*, and the space and sense both fit. For the word cf. Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 68, 24 (𐤀); *Urk.* IV, 972, 1 (𐤀𐤀𐤀 sing.); the sense of the whole passage is surely that the vizier is to take sides with neither high nor low. For this reason Davies's version 'and not to make slaves (?) of the general public', though not impossible, seems not to fit the context.

(10) For 𐤀[𐤀] see W. In the following short lacuna restore presumably [𐤀], to which corresponds the doubtful 𐤀 (read 𐤀?) of R.

(11) *Hr-f nfr*; hardly 'it will be good' which would require *hr-s nfr-ti*. Davies's rendering 'he speaks approvingly' is impossible; not only is such a use of *hr* unprecedented, but also *nfr* cannot have the sense he assigns to it.

removed from my own view, except that he is thinking of misconduct rather than inadvertent error; *r sp·f*, which could mean ‘according to his fault’, is presumably what Davies renders over freely ‘and he is to blame (?)’. Unfortunately the ambiguity of the noun *sp* precludes a definite decision between our two versions. In the lacuna after *nkt* one is tempted to restore [𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍], following R. 16, but in that case the following 𐤏 must belong to [*rd*]w, and the det. 𐤍 is lacking.

(23) Davies’s version ‘he is not to be reinstalled (?) on the authority of an acting official’ is grammatically impossible, for *nn bs·tw·f* is what would be required; furthermore, there has been no question of the suspension of the vizier, and therefore none of his reinstallation, which in any case would surely be done by the king in person, and not by an official. Actually *tm·f* must be a conditional negative referring back to the masc. *nkt*, lit. ‘if he does something wrong (?) . . . and if it does not flow forth upon the mouth of the official, it shall be made known . . .’ etc.; for the two virtually homophonous verbs *bz* ‘instal’ and *bs* ‘flow forth’, cf. Gardiner, *Sinuhe*, 71; *Wb.* I, 473–4. For *hr r n* Davies has ‘on the authority of’, a rendering which in any case is questionable; the literal meaning ‘upon the mouth of’ seems to me to fit the context.

(24) Davies’s ‘men shall learn of it *hr r n wpy·f* on the authority of his proper judge (?)’ does not fit at all well into the picture; on *hr r n* see above. The crux of this clause is *wpy*, and Davies, in note 42 to his translation, admits the precariousness of his rendering. If *hr r n* is taken quite literally here also, then *wpy* must refer to a person, but the absence of the det. 𐤎 speaks against this, and I am inclined to conjecture that *wpy* here means ‘decision’—perfective passive participle of *wp*, lit. ‘something judged’—and that *hr r n* must be understood in the figurative sense ‘by the utterance of’.

(25) Lit. ‘in saying it on his part in the presence of the official’; the vizier is to announce in open court his decision not to proceed with the case. Davies has ‘by a pronouncement with regard to it, he (the judge) being associated with the acting official’. Here again disregard of the rules of grammar has led him astray; he has clearly taken *ntf* as the subject of a clause with adverbial predicate—*ntf r-gs iry-sšm*—which is virtually impossible. Actually *ntf* indicates the semantic subject of the infinitive *dd*, cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*² § 300, where this very passage is among those quoted to illustrate this construction.

(26) Lit. ‘it is that I will not lift up my voice’.

(27) Our respective versions of the rest of this difficult section are not far apart in essentials, though worded rather differently. Nevertheless, where in the lacuna I guess the restoration [‘to another court (?)’] or something like it, Davies has ‘to be judged by the vizier’; clearly in his view it is his hypothetical judge (*wpy*) who is speaking, but it is difficult to ascertain exactly what picture of the proceedings Davies had formed in his mind.

(28) Davies’s text supersedes Sethe’s here. The former translates ‘in execution of current instructions’, but I see in this phrase rather a reference to what has already been laid down by precedent.

(29) Restoring [𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍] with Sethe, except that for his 𐤎 we should have the *šdm·f* form *rdi·tw·i*. The traces in Davies are very doubtful,

and can hardly be held to contradict this restoration; his \ominus (?) might well be \ominus , his 𓆎 (?) could be the 𓆎 of $\cdot tw$, and the two vertical strokes which he shows at the bottom of the column might in fact be the sides of the trunk of 𓆎 . Davies renders somewhat differently from myself: 'then a litigant who is judged [may say, "There has been no impediment] to my having my right"', but it is difficult to see how he would have restored the passage; in the first lacuna (before ---) there seems space for another square before $dd:f$, where Sethe puts --- , while his 'there has been no impediment' is very hard to fit to the traces he saw; the Egyptian version of this would be something like --- .

(30) An utterly obscure allusion. Davies renders 'Lo, it is a maxim which is (as binding) as the formulary (?) of Memphis', but there is no need for the parenthesis, which to my view distorts the sense; there is no difficulty about rendering $wn m$ simply as 'which is in'. For the writing of the name of Memphis cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* I, 81.

(31) Davies renders $sfnw$ as 'severity (?)'; it is hard to choose between zfn 'be merciful' (*Wb.* III, 443) and sfn 'be harsh' (IV, 115), but in view of the general trend of the text the former alternative is perhaps preferable. In either case the word apparently refers to the customary bearing of the vizier towards those who attend his court.

(32) The words following $t:ty$ defeat me. Davies renders 'or as the naming by edicts (?)', evidently taking 𓆎 as the verb dm 'pronounce' someone's name, but this sign originally read hsk 'decapitate', cf. *Pyr.* 635. 962. Neither suggestion seems to fit very well into the context.

(33) Restoring 𓆎 , the 𓆎 being at the top of line 10. The suggestion 'Beware' is due to Davies.

(34) Restoring 𓆎 ; a trace of \cap is visible.

(35) Restoring 𓆎 ; $m iwms$ was first suggested by Gardiner. Davies's 'for fear of the objection that he was partial. Therein he favoured the unjust' is surely going somewhat beyond his brief in the present state of the text. Otherwise there seems no essential difference between our respective versions.

(36) 'he' refers to the vizier Akhtoy.

(37) It is by no means clear why $ks:f$ should be in the $sdm:f$ form and $ir:n:f$ in the $sdm:n:f$. It is an easy way out to suggest that the ancient copyist may have dropped an n from $ks:n:f$, but in point of fact his work is not impeccable, witness the frequent \ominus for \ominus , and the miswriting of $rud:f$ below.

(38) The appellant.

(39) For --- read --- .

(40) Restoring --- with Gardiner and Sethe.

(41) Such seems to have been the drift of this battered clause, but it is hard to decide exactly what to restore in the lacuna after sdm .

(42) Restoring --- on the model of the preceding --- ; this seems preferable to Sethe's --- and fills the space better.

(43) Presumably the vizier's hall; Davies 'in this department'.

(44) Reading --- with W.; judging from the spacing R. can have had --- only.

(45) The traces in Davies suggest the verb *nī* 'reject'; for the writing with — cf. *Pyr.* 1230; *Peas* B1, 110. Sethe's restoration [—] must therefore be discarded.

(46) Read $\text{𓏏𓏏}[\text{—}]$ by combining R. and W.; cf. also the somewhat similar passage Dévaud, *Ptahhotep*, 264 ff., see Davies, translation, note 45. This disposes of the apparent 𓏏𓏏 , which puzzled the earlier commentators.

(47) I.e. 'fear' in the sense of the awe a great if benevolent authority should inspire in those under it; 'fear' in the sense of 'terror' is not intended here.

(48) Lit. 'behold, if a man gives the fear of him a million times'.

(49) I.e. will get the ill-repute he deserves. At the bottom of l. 16 R. is apparently to be read $[\text{—}]$, though W. shows — after *dd·tw*; there is no space for this — in R., and the sense does not seem to require it, so that we may have here either an ancient error or a modern misreading of the — of *sr*. Alternatively, the text of W. may have differed from that of R.; another such instance occurs in l. 21, where W. has — and R. — . If the reading *dd·tw sr* is accepted, we will have here a sentence with nominal predicate, *sr ddw grg* being the subject and *pr hr šft·f* the predicate. Davies's rendering of the passage is difficult to reconcile with the text as it stands; it runs: 'Lo, it is false to say that an official who speaks crookedly will get on in proportion to his luster' (*sic*). This demands too much space in the lacuna at the bottom of l. 16, and furthermore the construction seems all wrong; his version would read in Egyptian $\text{𓏏𓏏}[\text{—}]$.

(50) Lit. 'you will arrive at "You exercise this office and do justice" '; the causative *sph* is unknown to *Wb.* in this sense and writing. The passage points a contrast between the unjust judge who gets his due deserts and the good vizier who will make a success of his new duties. Davies has 'Lo, thou wilt reach (a point) where "Thou doest thy office" and "Thou doest right" (are one)', but the parentheses are unnecessary and spoil the sense.

(51) For — read perhaps *prw-n-r* 'utterance'. Davies has 'Lo, the ideal is that right-dealing should constitute the success of the vizier', which seems not only over-free but also to miss the point.

(52) At the end of l. 17 I would suggest $\text{𓏏𓏏}[\text{—}]$, with the suffix *·s* referring back to *mꜣꜣt*; Sethe's — cannot be reconciled with the traces seen by Davies. The use of *iry* in the sense given to it here is unusual, but there seems no doubt as to the reading of W.: one would expect *šw*. Davies's reading *s(i)pw* at the top of l. 18 (see his note 46) is ruled out by the preceding *iry*, and in any case it would almost certainly have had the det. — . His rendering 'Lo, his role has been the exercise of exact supervision from the divine age down' must therefore be discarded.

(53) In his note 47 Davies strangely suggests an alternative reading *sšyt mꜣꜣt* 'hand-writing of Māꜣꜣt' for which I can see no grounds whatever.

(54) Restoring *iw wsht im·f hr* $[\text{—}]$; so already Davies, except that he favours *mꜣꜣꜣt* rather than *sšw*, see his note 48.

(55) The *šdm·ty·fy* form; for the — see W.

(56) *Bšk n-s* is adjectival predicate + dative, cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*² § 141; for the sense of *bšk* cf. Gardiner & Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, note on 1, 3.

(57) Sethe restored [𓂏𓂏𓂏] 'any delay', but Davies has a clear 𓂏, which points rather to the reading [𓂏𓂏] 'your will'; this fills the lacuna better and is more in accord with the context, which constitutes a prohibition of arbitrary decisions. Davies had already arrived at this conclusion.

(58) *Dmi n*, lit. 'it touches to'; I can find no precisely similar use among the examples of *dmi n* quoted by *Wb.* v, 454-5.

(59) Reading 𓂏𓂏𓂏 with Davies, pl. 118. The following *hnc rdit* points to this obscure passage containing a direction to the vizier, but it seems impossible even to guess what originally stood there. On Davies's pl. 15 𓂏 is fairly certain and 𓂏 quite so, but it requires more than the eye of faith to read 𓂏 in the remaining traces, though Davies must have had what seemed to him good grounds for his reading. Newberry has 𓂏, where 𓂏 has lost the hand and the following stroke is absent, and the rest is a lacuna down to the 𓂏 of *hnc*. Sethe restored 𓂏𓂏𓂏[𓂏𓂏𓂏], but this is too much for the available space, nor can it be reconciled with Davies's text. He translates the damaged clause as 'Lo, this is the part of a co-worker to give', etc., but it is hard to see how he arrives at this; for 'co-worker' he may have been thinking of the Old Egyptian 𓂏𓂏 'mate', overlooking that *hnc* here almost certainly governs the following infinitive.

(60) I.e. of the boundaries of the holdings of the respective tenants; I much doubt whether *smn* can ever bear the meaning 'organization' assigned to it by Davies.

(61) 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏, taking *wš* in the sense of 'be far'. Davies has 'If thou gettest into difficulties when making an inquiry', but again I question if there is any justification for assigning this sense to *wš*.

(62) So W.: the 𓂏𓂏𓂏 of R. is clearly a blunder.

(63) I agree with Davies that the *wrtw* of R. is preferable to the *whmw* of W.; 𓂏 and 𓂏 are easily confused.

(64) R. 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏; for *whc* W. has 𓂏 reading perhaps 𓂏[𓂏] 'who shall have come before you'. Note the use of the *šdm-ty-fy* form to express the future perfect; *hr-hst* is presumably to be interpreted temporally. Davies has completely misunderstood the closing phrases of the inscription in his 'If the person who is to make inquiry be a superior official, then ask him, "What hast thou done in the matter which was put in thy charge?"'

(65) Reading [𓂏𓂏]𓂏; Davies regards *ih* here as the interrogative particle and consequently would have to read [𓂏] next following, but *ih* elsewhere in this text is the particle introducing a desired future consequence (Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*² § 228), and there seems no reason for taking a different view here, especially as a final injunction is an appropriate and natural way of ending a text of this nature. We agree in reading *dd[t] m [hr]·k* at the end.

On re-reading the text of the Pharaoh's speech to his newly appointed vizier, one cannot refrain from remarking once again on the high standard of conduct expected

from the greatest of all Egyptian officials. Rank is not to be regarded as an opportunity for aggrandizement and enrichment, and while the recipient of this high honour was certainly much gratified by his selection for it, the Pharaoh points out most explicitly that the responsibilities it involves are far from enjoyable. Favour is to be shown to none, neither high nor low, neither friend nor stranger, and in deciding those cases which come within the vizier's purview, he must not step outside the limits laid down by law and precedent; there is, however, a hint that where these fail, he may act on his own judgement; 'do not do your [own will] *in matters whereof the law is known*'. At the same time, he is to give as much latitude as possible to petitioners stating a case, and if his decision goes against them, he is to make his reasons clear. A noticeable point is the attention paid to public opinion, which must have been a real force even in those far-off days; not only must justice be done, it must appear to be done. As has often been remarked before, the standard of conduct inculcated would not disgrace any civilized nation; if practice often fell short of precept, at least the ideal to be aimed at was clearly seen.

One remarkable point about this text is the absence of any reference to criminal procedure. Even in the 'Duties' inscription the penal powers of the vizier seem to be confined to the punishment of local officials who maltreat his messengers,^a and it would appear as if his judicial functions dealt solely with civil cases. Probably in Ancient Egypt there was no equivalent of our Central Criminal Court; murder, assault, robbery, and riot were doubtless dealt with by the local police and magistracy, and only the very occasional *cause célèbre* would come under the eye of the vizier, who, nevertheless, could have access to the criminal archives in case of need;^b possibly records of all criminal cases throughout the land were filed in a central office in the capital.

^a *Urk.* IV, 1108-9.

^b *Loc. cit.*

A PHARAONIC ENCOMIUM

By SIR ALAN GARDINER

THE text given in transcription in plates VII-XI stands on the *recto* of a papyrus in the Turin collection which has in part long been known. It is that which bears the number 1882 in the catalogue by A. Fabretti, F. Rossi, and R. V. Lanzone, and had been published much earlier in a facsimile which, considering the standards prevailing at the time, was not at all bad; see Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, Leyden, 1869-76, pls. 17-19, supplemented in pls. 73-75 by a large fragment only subsequently recognized. A valiant attempt to translate the more comprehensible parts was made by Pleyte in the printed pages of the same work. No doubt it was the disappearance of so many folds which deterred Egyptologists for the next sixty years from paying attention to what had obviously been a pair of highly interesting literary compositions. This situation was ameliorated by a visit paid to the Geneva Museum by M. Capart in January, 1937. He there observed, hanging in frames on the wall, a number of badly mounted hieratic papyri, and among them part of a work of the kind since collected in my *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*. Correspondence with Capart resulted in the sending of all these fragments to be re-mounted in my London house by Dr. Hugo Ibscher. It then emerged that some of them belonged to *P. Turin* 1882.¹ The enlightened and liberal assistance afforded by M. Déonna, the keeper of the Geneva Museum, made it possible for an exchange to be arranged, whereby the fragments in question could be incorporated in the larger portions already in the Turin collection. Here I am concerned only with the *recto*, which now presents itself as a nearly continuous text of five pages, of which the first and last are incomplete. The breadths of the five are respectively, 29, 34, 32, 37.5 and 15.5 cm.

The necessity of employing sideways plates for reproducing the transcription would have made the presence of a translation and commentary in the same volume of the *Journal* highly inconvenient, so that these have been reserved for Volume 42.

¹ As much of the *verso* as was known before the discovery of the Geneva fragments was published in transcription in my *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, pp. 121-4, with a description of the entire papyrus *ibid.*, Introduction, p. xix. There the papyrus was designated Turin A in order to distinguish it from three other fragmentary Miscellanies called by me Turin B, C, and D respectively. After the re-mounting had been effected, the completed opening letter was transcribed in my *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, pp. 82-83, while the remainder was given in Appendices I and II of Caminos's *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (pp. 507-11), the whole of the *verso* being translated and annotated in pp. 449-64 of the same work.

IV

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NOTES. II, 1^a < 4>? b-c Emend 11111. ^a Here perhaps emend 111, though not in IV, 7. II, 2^a t; any other reading is barely possible.
 b < 7. IV, 3^a Perhaps emend 111. 4, 6^a b certainly b, quite different from 1 mdw in I, II, 3. III, 2. IV, 7^a See above, II, 1, note d. IV, 8^a Rightly
 cancelled in red. ^b Made as two separate signs. IV, 9^a Cancelled thus with a thin red diagonal stroke.

PAP. TURIN 1882, recto, page 4
 Pleyte and Rossi, Pl. L.XIII, completed on left by a Geneva fragment

^d V

~~^c~~

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¹⁰

NOTES. V, 1^{a-b} Probably to be emended into $R^x II_a$ as in III, 1; the fish of the inexplicable ~~sign~~ is not the int-fish ~~sign~~. ^{c-d} More than half a line lost. V, 4^a Insert <18>, see III, 2, note ^{b-c}. ^b Probably to be omitted. V, 8^a Emend into !? V, 9^a Wrongly(?) cancelled in red. V, 10^a Squeezed in as a later addition.

A DEIFICATION OF A PRIVATE PERSON IN THE OLD KINGDOM

By HANS GOEDICKE

ON a stela of the late Sixth Dynasty which appeared some time ago on the New York market occurs the expression 𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏 ¹, which interesting passage is, as far as I am aware, unparalleled among the inscriptions of the Old Kingdom. The *imšhw*-formula as stated on this stela expresses that the deceased was 'honoured' by 𓏏𓏏𓏏 . It is possible to assume thereby that *ntr* ϵ *nb pt* is in apposition to 𓏏𓏏 , but an accolade seems more probable, that, namely, *imšhw hr* refers to 𓏏𓏏 and to *ntr* ϵ *nb pt* simultaneously. Only the first of those two deities interests us here.

About 𓏏𓏏 very little is known, especially as far as the Old Kingdom is concerned. Elsewhere than in the passage under discussion the deity is mentioned in two cases of a priesthood 𓏏𓏏𓏏 ¹ and 𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏 .² Furthermore, the name of the deity occurs as a compound in two private names of the Sixth Dynasty, 𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏 ³ and 𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏 .⁴ A number of other mentions of this deity belong to the New Kingdom,⁵ but they are only of limited interest for our discussion.

The name of the deity 𓏏𓏏 is generally rendered as *Dd šps* 'the glorious Djed' and considered as a synonym of Ptah.⁶ The centre of his worship seems to have been Memphis, for which localization there is strong evidence.⁷ Several scholars have dealt with the nature of the divinity and connected him with the *djed*-pillar. The latter, a symbol of obscure origin, is regarded as of Busirite provenance,⁸ and accordingly Sethe,⁹ Kees,¹⁰ and Holmberg¹¹ assume a link between Busiris and Memphis, taking 'the glorious Djed' as a local form of the *djed*-pillar. It is in this connexion of the greatest importance to note that the *djed*-pillar is a divine object and not itself a deity. This means that it is considered as material in character, although incorporating divine power, and not imagined as a personality, the Egyptian concept of their gods.

If then the 𓏏𓏏 is a local form of the *djed*-object, it would mean that it is equally an 'object' and not a 'deity'. This conclusion, however, would lead to a discrepancy indicating that there is *no* direct link between the *djed*-object and the deity called 𓏏𓏏 .

¹ Mariette, *Mastabas*, C I (p. 113) = BM (682) (*British Museum Stelae*, I, pl. 12).

² Cairo 1565 = Mariette, op. cit., E 12 (p. 414).

³ Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 180, 27 and II, 366 where he renders the name 'Besitzer von Kas ist der herrliche *dd*-Pfeiler'.

⁴ Ranke, op. cit. I, 326, 9 and II, 390 'Herrlich ist der herrliche *dd*-Pfeiler'.

⁵ Those examples are collected by Sandman-Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 157-62.

⁶ So *Wb* v, 627, 6.

⁷ This results primarily from the close connexion between this deity and the worship of Ptah, as the two bearers of a priest-title of 𓏏𓏏 are at the same time 'high-priests of Ptah'.

⁸ Junker, *Onurislegende*, 64 ff.

⁹ Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens* (Unters. III), 138.

¹⁰ Kees, *Götterglaube*, 295; cf. also Kees, *Rec. trav.* 37, 59.

¹¹ Sandman-Holmberg, op. cit. 157.

For the latter is certainly a personal god; from the Nineteenth Dynasty Ptah is several times identified with the god under discussion. This is possible only if both are of equal character, otherwise it would be a way of describing the deity, but not an identification with him. The second, much stronger, indication is supplied by the passage which gave rise to this investigation, *imshw hr* 𓆎𓆏. Although the precise meaning of the expression *imshw hr* is hard to determine, it is certain that it signifies a personal relationship between two persons, of whom one might be the king or a god. No instance is known to me where it is used in the Old Kingdom in connexion with an 'object' such as the *djed*-pillar. It is therefore necessary to consider 𓆎𓆏 as a god, and no connexion with the *djed*-pillar is visible except for the element *dd* in the writing of the name.

Since the link between the god under discussion and the *djed*-pillar is not as close as usually assumed, and, moreover, since the two are basically different in their nature, it seems essential to investigate anew the name of this god. Nineteenth-Dynasty spellings like 𓆎𓆎𓆏, ¹ 𓆎𓆎𓆏, ² 𓆎𓆎𓆏𓆏, ³ 𓆎𓆎𓆏𓆏𓆏 would suggest a transcription *dd šps*. On the other hand, the Old Kingdom examples write 𓆎𓆏 throughout without any phonetic complement. Therefore, the rendering *dd šps* cannot be considered as proved. Moreover, there are important reasons for doubting it. *šps* as a part of a name is usually written in the Old Kingdom with one or two 's' as phonetic complements, as, for example, in the private name 𓆎𓆏𓆏𓆏 'glorious is the *dd*-pillar'. Furthermore 𓆏 is used widely as a determinative for divine or deified persons, expressing their deified nature. I am therefore inclined to consider the sign 𓆏 in 𓆎𓆏 as a determinative and to read the name of this deity *Dd* or *Ddy*. The spellings occurring in the New Kingdom may have resulted from a misinterpretation by which the sign 𓆏, originally a determinative, was wrongly taken for *šps*. The only difficulty as far as the rendering for the Old Kingdom is concerned seems to be in 𓆎𓆏𓆏 (Cairo 1565) where there are two determinatives, but this text shows a certain inclination for the use of 𓆏 as determinative.

If the proposed assumption is correct, namely, that 𓆏 is to be understood as determinative without any phonetic value, 𓆎 *dd* might well be a name of a private person who was deified in the Old Kingdom. In this connexion it is tempting to think of the well-known *Ddy* who is mentioned in the Westcar Papyrus.⁵ According to this text he lived in the reign of Cheops and was a famous magician of his time. His important position as it is impressively described in the Westcar Papyrus would make a deification of this *Ddy* quite likely. A deification of private persons in the Old Kingdom is known in at least two cases,⁶ namely, those of *Ddf-Hr*, the son of Cheops and author of a wisdom-text,⁷ and *K:gmny*, the vizier of Tety to whom also a 'teaching' is assigned.⁸

¹ Calverley, *Temple of King Sethos I*, II, pl. 27; *Bull. Inst. fr.* 6, 161, pl. 6.

² Berlin 7305 (Roeder, *Äg. Inschriften . . . Berlin*, II, 139); *Mem. Miss. franç. au Caire*, v, 614.

³ Pap. Sallier IV, vs. 1, 7.

⁴ Ranke, op. cit. II, 318, 28.

⁵ Erman, *Märchen des Pap. Westcar*, 21.

⁶ The mentions of a deification of *'Issy*, the nomarch of Edfu who lived at the end of Dyn. VI, belong all to the Middle Kingdom. For the problem of the deification of private persons in the Old Kingdom cf. Otto, 'Gehalt und Bedeutung des ägyptischen Heroenglaubens', *ZÄS* 78, 28-41.

⁷ Junker, *Giza*, VII, 26 p.

⁸ Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemetery*, I, 130.

Both these persons are mentioned on late Sixth-Dynasty tomb-stelae where the owner calls himself *imshw hr* 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏, *Kgmny* respectively. Priests of either are not mentioned, although their cult might have been of some importance and not restricted to the small circle of descendants as Gunn¹ wanted to assume.²

While in these two cases the authorship of a 'teaching' might have been the reason for a later deification, *Ddy* might have received this honour for his fame as a magician. In his case the deification must have taken place rather soon after his death, as the earliest mentioning of a 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 dates from the Fifth Dynasty. This relatively short spell of time between the death of a person and his deification occurs also in the case of *Kgmny* who lived in the reign of Tety and who is already mentioned as a divine person at the end of the Sixth Dynasty.

It therefore seems highly tempting to see in 𓂏𓂏 a private person, presumably the magician *Ddy* who lived in the reign of Cheops and who was deified before the Fifth Dynasty. One important question remains to be settled, namely, the close connexion of this deity with Memphis and its god Ptaḥ. To offer any satisfactory explanation seems impossible, and the Westcar Papyrus does not furnish any indication. However, it might be that *Ddy* himself was a priest of Ptaḥ in Memphis and that this relation is the origin of the later link.

The assumption submitted here, namely, that the deity 𓂏𓂏 is to be considered as the deified magician *Ddy* known from the Westcar Papyrus, is in some ways still an hypothesis. However, it is highly suggestive and might furnish a further step in the still obscure problems of the religious beliefs of the Old Kingdom.

¹ Ibid.

² Junker, loc. cit., doubts the restriction of the cult and is more inclined to assume a wider circle of worshippers. [In an excavation report as yet unpublished Labib Habachi has shown that the Sixth Dynasty nomarch Pepinakhte enjoyed, under his surname Ḥekayeb, a posthumous cult at the First Cataract which endured as late as the Thirteenth Dynasty.—Ed.]

THE ORIGIN OF THE GREEK THEATRE¹

By B. H. STRICKER

THE building which we call by the Greek term theatre, *θέατρον*, has a history that goes back to the first centuries of the ancient classic civilization. The modern theatre is, generally speaking, the same as the Roman (fig. 1) and the latter is a younger variant,

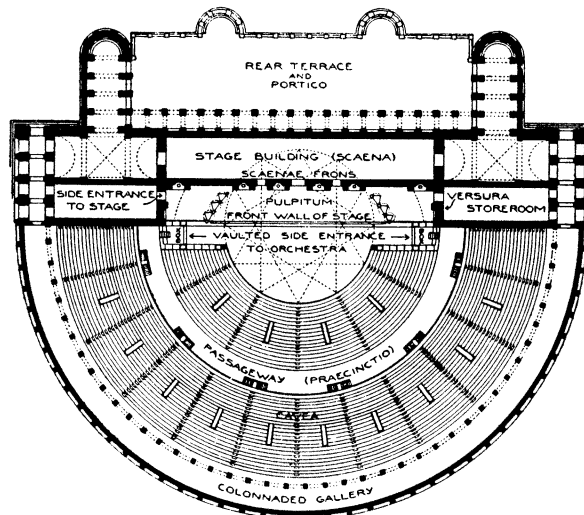


FIG. 1. The Theatre of Marcellus, Rome.

and undoubtedly no more than a variant, of the theatre in which in Greece the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and the comedies of Aristophanes were produced (fig. 2). In whatever style the building may be constructed, it always consists of three easily distinguishable parts: a stage, on which the actors play their roles; an intervening space, where the choir or the orchestra is placed; and an amphitheatre for the spectators. Following its historic development rather more closely, we find that in the distant past the theatre, without for one moment repudiating its proper character, presented an aspect somewhat different from its present one. The Roman theatre is a closed piece of architecture, in which the three parts communicate with each other and have sacrificed their individual independence for the sake of the unity of the whole. The Greek theatre, on the other hand, is invariably a structure of three completely independent elements, only partly deserving the name of building, which lie spread out in the open over a considerable area.

We see this change of character even more clearly when we consider the separate

¹ Lecture given at the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists, Cambridge, on August 23, 1954. We have to express our gratitude to Mr. G. Daux, Director of the French School at Athens, who kindly allowed us to reproduce his new plan of the temenos of Apollo at Delphi (fig. 3, p. 40). A good introduction to the antique theatre is given by M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, Princeton, 1939.

developments of the three parts. Originally the stage was much less prominent than it is today. Although the Roman stage was even bigger than ours, the Greek one was a relatively insignificant building. The intervening space or orchestra, which still in

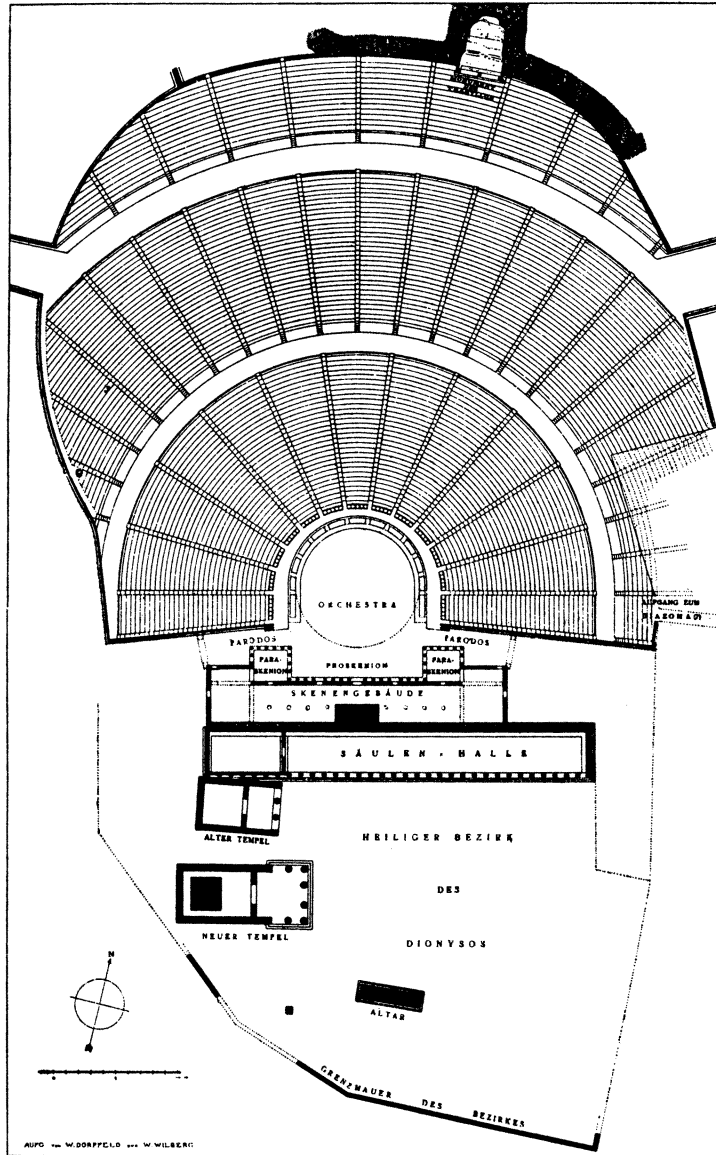


FIG. 2. The Theatre of Dionysus, Athens.

modern times keeps its slightly curved form, was shaped like a semicircle or arc of a circle in the Roman theatre, whereas the Greek theatre had always a complete circle, a space of considerable dimensions, which separated the spectators in the most drastic way from the stage. In ancient times, moreover, the amphitheatre was bigger than ours and it was biggest of all amongst the Greeks. The theatre at Athens, for instance, provided accommodation for no less than fourteen thousand persons. This theatre, which

is considered as the prototype of all others, leads us back to the sixth century before the beginning of our era, when it did not yet possess its existing shape, though the general scheme was already in being. We cannot reach any farther back in history. What therefore is the origin of this building? Did the Athenians create from nothing, or did they copy some existing model?

The answer which we shall give to these questions is to be found in a direction that may be indicated first in general terms.¹ The oldest theatres are all situated in the vicinity of a sanctuary, and in the temenos of it, the one at Athens immediately next to the temple of the god Dionysus. In each theatre an altar was set up in the middle of the orchestra, on which a sacrifice was made before and after the ceremony. The performance took place, not as with us over a period of time, but only once a year, on the festival-day of the god worshipped in the temple. This god was personally present at the meeting, which lasted from morning till night, one whole day. His idol was conveyed to the theatre by the priest, and the latter had a seat of honour reserved for him there. The performance was not an act of free will, but was considered a religious duty and the cost was defrayed by well-to-do citizens designated by the state for this special occasion. The actors were in a state of purity. They were, it is true, not persons of priestly rank, but they had sanctified themselves by fasting before the ceremony and by abstaining from sexual intercourse. Originally they could not be foreigners, and they were exempt from military service, so that they could not defile themselves by worship of foreign gods or by manslaughter. They were inviolable, too, both in person and in property, and any transgression against them was judged as sacrilege. When acting, they stood, generally with a staff in their hands and, in order to stress the transcendental character of their profession, with a wreath on their heads. Their cloaks, which belonged to the treasure of the sanctuary, were red in colour, worked with cosmic representations, such as figures of stars, animals, flowers, and set off with gold. In one case they were copies of the cloak of the high priest. And not only the actors, but the other participants likewise were in a state of purity. The choreges, who paid the expenses of the day, had the same duties and the same rights as the players. The public, from which in early times foreigners and possibly women were excluded, was cleansed by a purificatory offering, and the people were wreathed and dressed in festive attire. Putting together all these details, we get a clear picture. The theatre was a sacred place, the actors were sacred persons, their action was sacred action, and it was performed at a sacred time. Therefore the theatrical institution was a part of divine worship. It was liturgy and it had the function of liturgy. We recall Aristotle's statement, that the theatrical performance effects purification, *κάθαρσις*, of those present.²

Let us now analyse the building, starting with the most conspicuous part of it, the amphitheatre. This is an enormous stone structure, that completely dominates the rest. But it is not of great age and, as appears from investigations on the spot, it is found

¹ References for the following paragraph can be found in A. Müller, *Lehrbuch der Griechischen Bühnenaltertümer*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1886. A systematic collection of them in my forthcoming study *De Brief van Aristoteles*.

² Aristot., *Poetic.* 6,2; Jambl., *De Myster.* 1,11.

nowhere before the middle of the fourth century B.C. From the texts we know what preceded it. It was likewise an amphitheatre, but an amphitheatre made of wood, which could be taken down after the end of the performance¹ and was only replaced by a stone one when the public became more numerous and collapses were the order of the day.² And even this wooden amphitheatre was not very old, as we infer from a passage in the work of the writer Valerius Maximus,³ who tells us, how towards the middle of the second century B.C. 'a decree of the Senate forbade the Roman citizens to place benches in the town or within the distance of a mile therefrom and to look at the plays while seated.' Because, he explains, they undoubtedly wished the spectators to persevere in standing, perseverance being a quality especially belonging to the Roman people and which it was desirable to maintain even during public amusements. We do not possess any such statements about Greece and we might indeed consider this a typically Roman institution, were it not that parallels can be adduced contradicting Valerius's opinion and making his information also applicable to the old Greek theatre. The theatrical performance was a religious ceremony and the standing attitude was the attitude of reverence. The servant stood before his lord,⁴ the wife before her husband.⁵ The praying person,⁶ the one who sought an oracle,⁷ the prophet,⁸ the priest,⁹ and even the king¹⁰ stood before God. On Sinai the people stood waiting for the divine miracles¹¹ and so too they stood before Ezra, when he read the Holy Scriptures to them.¹² When the priest of God, Moses, judged the nation, he himself was seated, but the people stood before him.¹³ Sitting was forbidden to the inferior, and there is even a Jewish tradition that Satan is involved whenever in the text of the Bible the word 'sitting' is used.¹⁴ The wooden or stone amphitheatre is therefore a secondary element, that could develop only when the religious content of the theatrical institution had been lost, and it was kept away by the authorities as long as possible. The oldest public simply stood round the play. However, just as Moses when judging was seated, and as the Egyptian king during religious ceremonies did not leave his throne, in Greece seats may have been reserved for some few prominent persons, as for instance the priest of the god or the magistrates. As time went on, there came more claimants and the number of seats increased continuously until, at last, the whole public had abandoned the original pious

¹ Dio Chrysost., *Orat.* 33,9; Liban., *Argum Demosth. Olynth.* 1,8; *Lexic. Sud.*, sub voce 'Ἰκρία; Schol. in Aristoph. *Thesmophor.* 395. Cf. the references in p. 41, n. 4.

² *Lexic. Sud.*, sub voce Αἰσχύλος ἐν Πρατίνας.

³ Valer. Maxim., *Fact. et Dict. Memor.* II, 4,2. So also Liv., *Epitom.* 48; Vell. Patern., *Hist. Rom.* I, 15,3; Tacit., *Annal.* 14,20; Appian., *Bell. Civ.* 1,28; Augustin., *De Civ. Dei.* 1,31; 2,5; Oros., *Hist.* IV, 21,4. No hats in the theatre: Dio Cass., *Hist. Rom.* LIX, 7,8.

⁴ 1 Sam. 16,21, 22,6; 1 Kings 12,8.

⁵ 1 Kings 1,2,28 (the king).

⁶ 1 Sam. 1,26; Jer. 7,10; Ps. 134,1, 135,2; Job, 30,20.

⁷ Judges 20,28.

⁸ 1 Kings 17,1, 18,15, 19,11; 2 Kings 3,14, 5,16; Jer. 15,19, 18,20.

⁹ Deut. 10,8, 17,12, 18,5,7; Neh. 12,44; 1 Chron. 6,17 (= 32), 18 (= 33), 23,30.

¹⁰ 1 Kings 8,22; 2 Kings 11,14, 23,3; 2 Chron. 6,12,13, 20,5,9, 34,31.

¹¹ Exod. 20,18,21; Deut. 4,10.

¹² Neh. 8,5. Cf. Josh. 8,33; Neh. 9,2; 2 Chron. 34,32.

¹³ Exod. 18,13,14. Cf. Deut. 19,17; Isa. 50,8.

¹⁴ T. B. Sanh. 106a; Midr. Gen. Rabb. 38,7, 84,3; Midr. Ex. Rabb. 41,7; Midr. Sifr. on Num. 25,1, § 131.

attitude and was seated. Even then the priestly chair was distinguished from the others by its more elaborate adornment.

The stage, too, is an element of the theatre that has developed only gradually. According to the authority of writers like Vitruvius¹ and Pollux² the Greek actor was long supposed to have played his role as the Roman did, either on the stage or immediately before it, but at the end of the last century it came to be understood that he really did so within the circle of the orchestra, a theory suggested by the architect W. Dörpfeld, after close investigation, which has since been accepted in all quarters.³ The arguments are the following: (1) In the earliest times the stone stage is lacking. Its name, *σκηνή*, literally 'tent', indicates that originally temporary arrangements sufficed. (2) In the extant ancient tragedies and comedies, passages occur where the actors and chorus are supposed to stand in each other's immediate vicinity and on the same level. Now there is no doubt whatever that the chorus was placed on the orchestra. (3) The amphitheatre was constructed so as to have a full view of the orchestra, whereas in some theatres the stage cannot be seen at all from the seats in the extreme corners. (4) The *λογείον*, the platform before the stage, on which the acting was thought to have taken place, had a height of no less than 10–15 feet and could not be surveyed from the seats of honour in the front row, while it had so little depth—some 7–12 feet only—that there could scarcely have been room for acting. Nevertheless, if originally the acting was done on the orchestra, in later times it was certainly removed to the stage. The actors and the chorus, who in early days walked to and fro on the orchestra and could be seen from all sides by the public standing around, had of necessity to be distinguishable. The actor, as long as he was the only participant, probably spent most of his time near or on the steps of the altar in the middle, but when more actors came to take part a platform had to be built. The stage came to birth at the decisive moment that an axis developed in the playing either because the 'tent', which stood on one side and possibly contained the stage-properties, came to be used as a background, or because the actors formed the habit of playing with their faces directed towards the seats of honour. The platform was then gradually shifted to the edge of the circle, the surface of which thereby became foreground, and so it more or less developed into a stage. It is a point of controversy whether this stage ever crossed the circumference of the circle. We do not think it very probable. In some theatres, it is true, the *λογείον* lies at a distance of some feet from the orchestra; in most Greek and in all Roman theatres, however, the actor undoubtedly stood within the circle, as the stage was constructed over the back part of it. We conclude that the stage, as 'tent', may be of a certain age, but was never an essential element in the original theatre.

Amphitheatre and stage having been eliminated, the orchestra remains, the circular space on which the performer of those centuries not only acted, but, judging from the name, derived from the verb *ὀρχέομαι*, 'to dance', danced his part. The oldest theatres so far excavated actually consist of nothing beyond such a piece of ground. Since both

¹ Vitruv., *De Archit.* v, 6,1–2, 7,2.

² Poll., *Onomast.* 4,123.

³ W. Dörpfeld and E. Reisch, *Das Griechische Theater*, Athens, 1896.

for the amphitheatre and for the stage only occasional provision was made, one expects the much simpler orchestra to have been originally designated by drawing a circular line on the ground whenever required. However, this is not the case, the orchestra being marked by a row of rough-hewn stones. It therefore had a permanent site and was, in short, sacred ground. Within the row of stones it was made of stamped earth,¹ occasionally whitewashed² and in Roman times covered with marble. According to Aristotle³ the orchestra was strewn with chaff. Plutarch,⁴ who borrows this assertion, adds earth (*χοῦς*) to the chaff, and Pliny the Roman,⁵ writing about the custom in his day, when bloody spectacles were performed in the theatres, mentions the same practice, but speaks of sawdust and sand. Such was the primitive appearance of the orchestra, the prototype of the later theatre. It was an extremely simple construction, almost without any characteristic features and composed of parts that seem to be completely adapted to their function. For all that, we think we can indicate an irrational element in it, which allows us to penetrate into a phase in the development of the building, older even than can be laid bare by the excavator's spade. If the orchestra was originally strewn with chaff, this presumably came about simply because it had once been a place where chaff is naturally present, that is to say a threshing-floor. Otherwise the use of sand, as was normal later, would have been more to the purpose, more economical, and more effective. It is a fact, that up to the present day the round-dances in the Greek villages are performed on the threshing-floor and that this threshing-floor strikingly often is situated in the immediate neighbourhood of a church.⁶ There is in Greece even a common superstition that during hot summer days the Nereides and other mysterious beings come out at noon to execute their dances there.⁷ Meagre as these data are, they seem to confirm each other. Turning aside, therefore, from the orchestra and Greek archaeology, we may consider the threshing-floor in ancient literature, in order to ascertain how far our supposition is corroborated by the texts.⁸

In the classical texts the threshing-floor is not mentioned very often, but from the few quotations available it appears to have been a place of considerable importance. Among the Greeks, Homer⁹ already speaks of the 'sacred threshing-floors' of Demeter, and this can be compared with a statement of Hesiod¹⁰ about the 'sacred grain' of the same goddess. When the grain had been threshed, the festival of the *Thalysia* was

¹ Jer. 51,33.

² *Inscriptiones Graecae*, vol. XI, fasc. 2 (F. Dürnbach), Berlin, 1912, p. 88, No. 203, A 79 (*καταχρῖσαι*).

³ Aristot., *Probl.* 11,25.

⁴ Plutarch., *Non Posse*, 13,7.

⁵ Plin., *Nat. Hist.* 11,270.

⁶ Information given by Prof. S. Antoniadis, Leyden. An example in J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, III, 437 (Dr. H. Brunsting).

⁷ Prof. G. A. Megas, Athens, refers me to a study by N. G. Politis, *Παραδόσεις*, Athens, 1904, vol. I, p. 37, no. 61; p. 412, nos. 700 and 701; vol. II, p. 705, no. 61.

⁸ Cf. A. J. Wensinck, *Some Semitic Rites of Mourning and Religion*, Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, deel XVIII, Amsterdam, 1918, pp. 1-11. In the still unedited poem *Bahr ed-Dumū'* of the Berber poet Muhammed el-Awzālī the threshing-floor is mentioned in lines 486 and 507 as the place of the last judgement. Cf. *Midr. Eccles. Rabb.* I, 11.

⁹ Homer, *Il.* 5,499.

¹⁰ Hesiod, *Oper.* 597-8; 805-6. Cf. Homer., *Il.* 11,631.

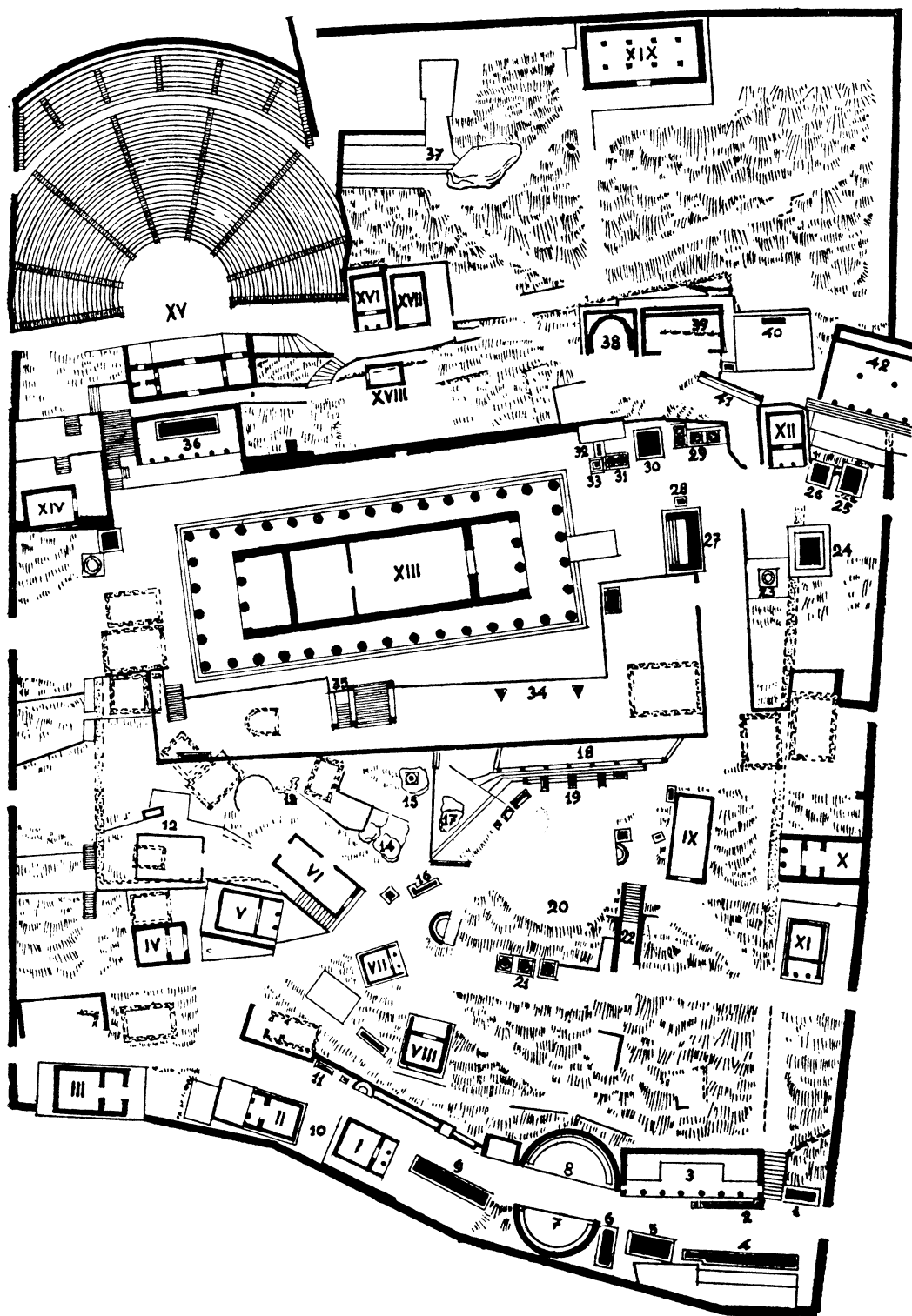


FIG. 3. Temenos of Apollo at Delphi restored.

The threshing-floor is the empty circular space, no. 20; the staircase Doloneia immediately to the right, no. 22; the temple of Apollo, no. XIII; the theatre, no. XV.

With acknowledgements to Mr. G. Daux.

celebrated on the threshing-floor, and an offering of first-fruits was brought to Demeter.¹ An important sanctuary of the goddess was found at Eleusis, where she was venerated together with her protégé, Triptolemus. The Raric Plain situated there was supposed² to have been the first sown and the first fruit-bearing field of primeval times. 'Therefore he³ had ordered the inhabitants to take the sacrificial barley and to make the cakes for the sacrifices out of its produce. Here is shown what is called the threshing-floor of Triptolemus and the altar.' The plain was situated within the temenos, and the ancient writers, who are very diffident about discussing the mysteries, are unwilling to tell us what holy actions took place there. At Athens, where besides the orchestra near the temple of Dionysus another one was found in the market-place,⁴ the Odeum built by Pericles deserves mention. It was a circular hall, formed in the shape of a tent,⁵ perhaps for cosmic reasons. There poetic and musical meetings were held, as well as the opening ceremony of the dramatic performance to be given in the theatre. At the same time the building was used as a shed for grain, as a tribunal for disputes over corn, and as a meeting-room for officers.⁶ A 'sacred threshing-floor' was found in the temenos of the sanctuary at Delphi, next to the temple of Apollo (fig. 3). Priests and laymen assembled there for the great procession that set out for the shrine of the god on festive days.⁷ But there is more. 'For the hut, which is erected here near the threshing-floor every eight years, is not a nest-like serpent's den, but a copy of the dwelling of a despot or king. The attack on it, which is made in silence by the stairs called Doloneia, by which the priests⁸ with lighted torches conduct the boy, who must have two parents living, and after applying fire to the hut and upsetting the table, flee through the doors of the temple without looking back, and finally, the wanderings and servitude of the boy and the purifications that take place at Tempe—all prompt a suspicion of some great and extraordinary deed of daring.' The quotation is from Plutarch.⁹ The struggle is the struggle of the god Apollo against his foe the cosmic serpent, vanquished by him in primeval times.¹⁰ It is still a mystery play, but if anywhere, we have here drawn close to a theatrical performance, and the writer adds that the theologians at Delphi permitted poets and prose-writers to tell of this struggle in the theatres.¹¹ Finally, we find

¹ Theocrit., *Idyll.* 7,155; Add., in *Anthol. Palatin.* 6,258.

² Pausan., *Graec. Descr.* 1, 38,6, with commentary by Frazer. On the 'holy threshing-floor', see G. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, vol. II, Leipzig, 1900, p. 311, no. 587,233.

³ Triptolemus.

⁴ Arrian., *Anabas.* III, 16,8; Poll., *Onomast.* 7,125; Tim., *Lexic. Platon.*, sub voce 'Ορχήστρα; Hesych., *Lexic.*, sub voce 'Ικρία; Eustath., *Comment. in Homer. Odys.* 3,350; Phot., *Lexic.*, sub voce 'Ικρία εν 'Ορχήστρα.

⁵ Plutarch., *Vit. Pericl.* 13; Pausan., *Graec. Descr.* 1, 20,3. For the cosmic relation, cf. R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*, Munich, 1910.

⁶ Demosth., *Orat.* 34,37, 59,52,54; Xenoph., *Hellen.* II, 4,9-10,24; Poll., *Onomast.* 8,33; Phot., *Lexic.*, sub voce 'Ωδειον; *Lexic. Sud.*, sub voce 'Ωδειον; Schol. in Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1109; I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. I, Berlin, 1814, pp. 317-18.

⁷ Dittenberger, op. cit., 3rd edn., vol. II, p. 178, no. 631,7; p. 245, no. 671, A9; p. 251, no. 672,58.


⁸ Λαβύδαι. Cf. Pauly's *Realencyclopädie*, XII, 307 ff.

⁹ Plutarch., *De Defect. Orac.* 15.

¹⁰ See my study on 'De Grote Zeeslang' (the great sea-serpent), *Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptische Gezelschap 'Ex Oriente Lux'*, No. 10, Leyden, 1953.

¹¹ In later days a separate theatre was built at Delphi, not on the place of the threshing-floor, but north of the temple and within the walls of the temenos, cf. fig. 3. Liturgy and drama had gone their separate ways.

two passages where it is stated that on certain occasions people used to dance and make speeches on threshing-floors.¹

In ancient Egypt the threshing-floor had a shape  well-known from the hieroglyph used in writing the word, see fig. 4.² It was a circular plot of land on which the grain was spread in order to be trodden by oxen and asses, after the oriental custom. When the work was going on, its circumference was defined by the circle of piled up stalks, and perhaps some floors were surrounded by a row of stones. On the reliefs of the Old Kingdom it is represented as a rectangle under the feet of the treading asses.³ Later, the raising of

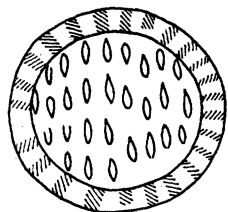



FIG. 4. The Egyptian sign of the threshing-floor.



FIG. 5. An Egyptian threshing-floor.

the circumference is clearly indicated on both sides, the diameter of the floor generally being reduced in order to fit better within the surrounding relief, so that the plot takes the shape of the hieroglyph , the cosmic mountain.⁴ We find the threshing-floor mentioned in Egyptian texts in two interesting passages.⁵ In the Ramesseum dramatic papyrus a scene occurs in which spelt, and another in which barley, are laid on the threshing-floor. Sethe has shown in a well-known study that this text can be considered as an old Egyptian instance of what in a somewhat modified form is

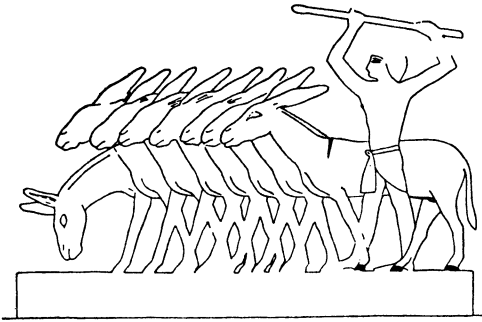
¹ Harpocrat., *Lexic.*, sub voce *Ἀλῶα*; Eustath., *Comment. in Homer. Il.* 9,530. An oracle on a threshing-floor perhaps in Pausan., *Graec. Descr.* IX, 39,5. For the festival of the Haloa, cf. Schol. in Lucian. *Dial. Meretr.* 7,4.

² Fig. 4 after Griffith, *Hieroglyphs*, pp. 27, 67, with pls. 3, no. 32; 7, no. 87. Fig. 5 after Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes*, pl. 40, cf. pl. 30.

³ Fig. 6a, after Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep*, II, pl. 8. Other instances in Klebs, *Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches*, 50 f.; Montet, *Vie privée*, 212 ff., with pl. 18.

⁴ The numbers b-f in fig. 6 all date from the New Kingdom and are borrowed from Tylor and Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri*, pl. 3 (figs. b and c); Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, pls. 231, 233, 234 (figs. d, e, and f). The last-mentioned are reproduced in colours in Mekhitarian, *La Peinture égyptienne*, 76 f. For a representation from the Middle Kingdom see Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. 11. Others from the New Kingdom are found in Lepsius, *Denkm.* III, pl. 232; Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd ed., II, 419 ff.; Lanzzone, *Dizionario*, pl. 6; Tylor, *The Tomb of Renni*, pl. 5; Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. 19; Id., *The Tomb of Antefoker*, pl. 3; Capart, *JEA* 7, pl. 5; Wreszinski, op. cit. I, pls. 279, 346.

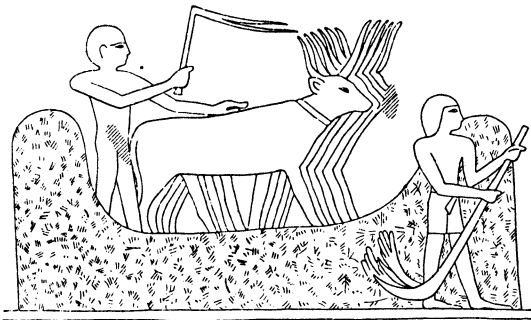
⁵ Construction of a temple on a threshing-floor (*htiw*): Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris*, I, 105; II, 37.



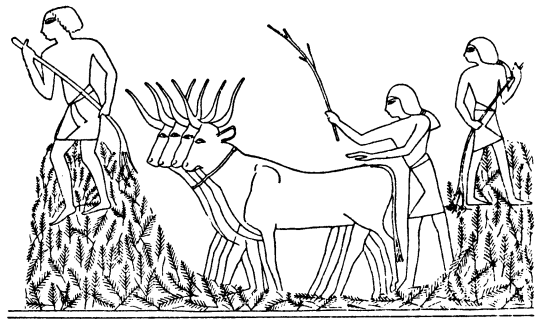
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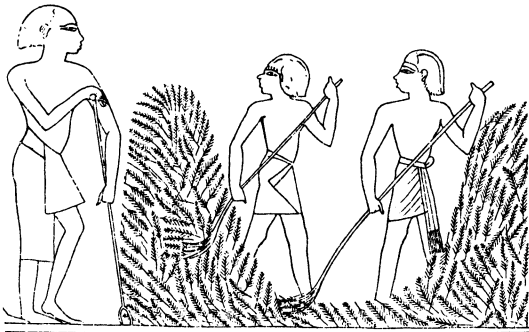
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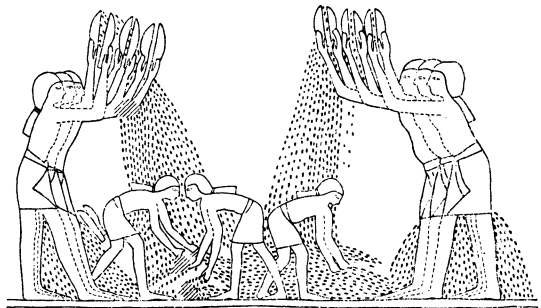
c



d



e



f

FIG. 6. Ancient Egyptian threshing-floors.

later called tragedy at Athens.¹ The place where this play was enacted is not clearly indicated. Besides the threshing-floor, mention is made of two ships, of the erection of a *dd*-column, of the presentation of several offerings and of a divine palace.² Of the first scene nothing remains but the title.³ In the second, certain animals, oxen and asses, are being driven on to the threshing-floor to tread the corn.⁴ The god Horus addresses them as servants of the wicked Seth and prohibits the slaying of Osiris, who in this context must be represented by the grain to be trodden. But they do it, nevertheless, and thereupon Horus, the avenger of his father, says to Osiris: 'I strike for thee those that have struck thee', which must mean that he sacrifices the animals.⁵ The play was performed at the accession to the throne of King Sesostri I of the Twelfth Dynasty, who took the role of the god Horus in it.⁶ The other passage concerns a similar ceremony and was treated some years ago by A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman in this *Journal*.⁷ It occurs in a number of variants on the walls of Egyptian temples, in most detail at Edfu, but in a more summary form on other sanctuaries, and is to be dated as early as the Old Kingdom. Here, too, the king plays the part of the god Horus and he drives four calves of different colours on to the threshing-floor to tread the grain, called by him the grave of his father Osiris. These animals have the task of expelling enemies from the grave and of concealing it from them. The enemies, it is explained, are snakes and worms, that affect the grain. The ceremony is therefore intended to make the grain-harvest a rich one, and it is perpetuated on the temple-wall so that thereby the cosmic order and the power of the Pharaoh may be established.⁸

In the Old Testament the threshing-floor is likewise spoken of, and in some cases in situations that have little to do with agriculture. On the threshing-floor, situated in a high place on account of the wind,⁹ an altar stood.¹⁰ On this first-fruits were offered at the end of the harvest, and this ceremony was in some way related to the Feast of Tabernacles, celebrated at the same date.¹¹ On such a threshing-floor King David made an offering, intended, somewhat as in the Egyptian ceremony treated above, to bring his people recovery from an epidemic. For that purpose he bought the threshing-floor of Arauna the Jebusite at Jerusalem, erected a stone altar on it, killed, as in Egypt, the oxen that had done the threshing, and burned them with a fire fed by the wood of the threshing-sledge and the harness. The epidemic ceased, and in remembrance of this happy event the great temple of Jerusalem was built on this plot.¹² The threshing-floor

¹ Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*. Cf. also Drioton, *Le Théâtre égyptien*; Id., 'Théâtres et Mystères', in *L'Amour de l'art*, 28, 200 ff.; Id., 'Le Théâtre à l'époque pharaonique', in *Revue des Conférences françaises en Orient*, 13, 459 ff.; 'A la Recherche du Théâtre de l'ancienne Égypte', in *Arts asiatiques*, 1, 96 ff.; 'Le Théâtre dans l'ancienne Égypte', in *Revue d'Histoire du Théâtre*, VI, 7 ff.

² Sethe, *op. cit.* 96 ff.

³ *Ibid.* 119.

⁴ *Ibid.* 134.

⁵ The word for 'to strike' is *hwi*. The Coptic word for 'to thresh', *ϣϣ*, is to be distinguished from *ϣϣϣ* 'to strike', but both are derived from Egyptian *hwi*. Cf. *Wb.* III, 47, 11; Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 643, 732.

⁶ Sethe, *op. cit.* 94 f. A representation in the tomb of Kheruef at Thebes, cf. Fakhry, *Ann. Serv.* 42, pl. 39.

⁷ Blackman and Fairman, 'The Significance of the Ceremony *Hwt Bhsu* in the Temple of Horus at Edfu', *JEA*, 35, 98 ff.; 36, 63 ff.

⁸ Cf. Ammian. Marcellin., *Res Gest.* xxviii, 5, 14: (The king of the Burgundians) 'according to an ancient custom, lays down his power and is deposed, if under him the fortune of war has wavered or the earth has denied sufficient crops, just as the Egyptians commonly blame their rulers for such occurrences'.

⁹ Job 5, 26.

¹⁰ 2 Sam. 24, 18; 1 Chron. 21, 18.

¹¹ Deut. 16, 13.

¹² 2 Sam. 24, 14-25; 1 Chron. 21, 13-30. See above, p. 42, n. 5.

is the place where from the death of the ear the life of the grain originates,¹ and therefore, it was supposed, it could present man with life or with recovery from illness or revival from death:² 'Rejoice not, O Israel, for joy, as other people; for thou hast gone a-whoring from thy God, thou hast loved a reward upon every threshing-floor.' Ruth, the Moabite, resorts during the night to the threshing-floor, to lie down next to Boaz,

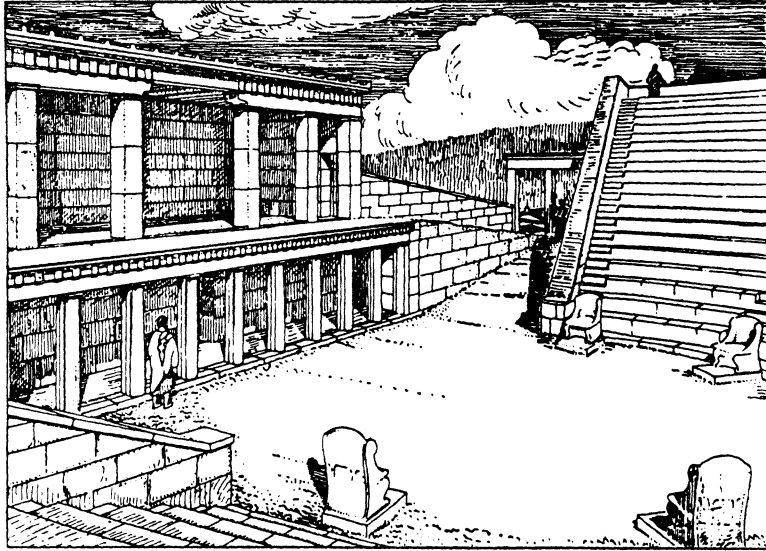


FIG. 7. The Theatre at Oropos. The seats of honour on the orchestra.

the man of her choice,³ Palestinian farmers today celebrate the marriage-ceremony there.⁴ But mourning takes place there too.⁵ 'And they came to the threshing-floor of Atad, which is beyond Jordan, and there they mourned with a great and very sore lamentation.' Goren-ha-Atad, 'threshing-floor of thorns', is not to be taken here as the name of a village, for again it is on the threshing-floor that the modern Palestinian farmer does his mourning.⁶ Above all the threshing-floor is a place of miracles and miraculous apparitions. On the threshing-floor which he bought King David saw the angel that brought the plague to Israel, standing between heaven and earth, his sword stretched out over Jerusalem.⁷ The judge Gideon gets an oracle by laying a fleece on the threshing-floor and by examining this the next morning as to its humidity.⁸ Uzzah is killed by Jahwe in a miraculous way when he lays hands upon the holy ark, that is carried over Nachon's threshing-floor.⁹ Even the prophets seek inspiration there.¹⁰ 'And the king of Israel and the king of Judah, Jehosaphat, sat each on his throne, having put on their robes, on a threshing-floor outside the gate of Samaria, and all the prophets prophesied before them.' They were no less than four hundred in number. One is strikingly reminded here of the fact that in some Greek theatres the seats of honour are placed, not immediately before the orchestra, but on it (fig. 7).¹¹

¹ Cf. Job 5,26. ² Hos. 9,1. ³ Ruth 3. ⁴ P. Volz, *Die biblischen Altertümer*, Stuttgart, 1925, p. 337.

⁵ Gen. 50,10.

⁶ P. Volz, *op. cit.* 325.


⁷ 2 Sam. 24,17; 1 Chron. 21,16.

⁸ Judges 6,33-40.

⁹ 2 Sam. 6,6-7; 1 Chron. 13,9-10.

¹⁰ 1 Kings 22,10 (LXX: ἐν ταῖς πύλαις Σ.); 2 Chron. 18,9 (LXX: ἐν τῷ εὐρυχώρῳ θύρας πόλης Σ.).

¹¹ As at Oropos and at Priene. Cf. Vitruv., *De Archit.* v, 6,2; Sueton., *Div. August.*, 35,2; *Div. Claud.*, 25,4.

Whence does the threshing-floor borrow its sacred character? In part certainly from the mystery-play of death and life, that was enacted on it in the threshing of the ears and in the liberation of the grain. But there is another reason for its holiness, and in order to make this understood we quote a passage from the romance of Alexander, erroneously attributed to Callisthenes.¹ On his journey to the far east, it is told there, Alexander the Great wished to visit heaven, and so he let himself be drawn upwards by two birds. Arrived at a certain height, he cast a glance downwards and saw a huge serpent in the form of a circle, surrounding a *ἄλωσ* or threshing-floor. A bird in human shape who happened to fly past him gave the explanation. 'Dost thou know what this is? The threshing-floor is the world, the serpent is the Ocean that surrounds the earth.' We should be extremely cautious in drawing conclusions. The Greek word *ἄλωσ* can, like the Hebrew תְּרֵא, signify not only 'threshing-floor', but also 'circular space',² and a translation 'disk' would certainly fit well in this passage. Nevertheless, we believe that a threshing-floor is really intended here and that the threshing-floor therefore was considered by the ancients as an image of the world, this being thought of as a flat circular disk.³ In the play at Delphi the Python that was being vanquished was clearly the cosmic serpent that guards the world. In the Greek theatre the orchestra is surrounded by a channel with an average breadth of 2-3 feet and the same depth. This channel is generally taken as an outlet for rainwater, but the enormous volume conclusively speaks against this. A gutter of a few inches wide would have been amply sufficient. It is rather a representation of the Ocean that surrounds the earth. On the Egyptian reliefs the threshing-floor is, we think intentionally, pressed together, so as to make it resemble as much as possible the hieroglyph , an image of the eschatological mountain surrounding the Ocean and the world we live on.⁴ The Egyptian god is standing with his feet placed on the world and his head touching the ceiling of heaven above, exactly like the angel with the drawn sword seen by King David on the threshing-floor of Arauna.⁵ The world is a threshing-floor. So Jahwe says to his prophet Isaiah:⁶ 'Behold, I will make thee a new sharp threshing instrument having teeth. Thou shalt thresh the mountains and beat them small and shalt make the hills a chaff.' And even more than by these details the cosmic character of threshing-floor and orchestra is indicated by the nature of the actions performed there.

The ancient mystery-play was a sacrificial rite that was considered as a reiteration of the creation and not only imitated this eschatological fact but was wholly identical with it. In however many variants it may have been produced, it occurs in two fundamental types. In the one the struggle of the god against the powers of evil and his victory over them in primeval times were represented, in the second the performance concerned the creation of the world and the procreation of life. To speak more clearly, the first play was ritual murder, the second ritual violation. Actors and spectators were

¹ Pseudo-Callisth., *Vit. Alexandr.* 2,41. The same in Talm. Jer., 'Ab. Zar., III, 42c; Midr. Num. Rabb. 13,14.

² The Greek word is also used for the 'nest' of an animal, cf. Aelian., *De Natur. Animal.* 3,16, or for the 'coils' of a serpent, cf. Aeschyl., *Sept. Contr. Theb.* 489; Nicander, *Ther.* 166; Schol. in Aristoph. *Vesp.* 18. For the Hebrew word, see Mišn., *Sanh.* 4,3; *Midd.* 2,5 and perhaps Epiphani., *Panar.* 80,1,6.

³ The Egyptian ideas on the configuration of the world are treated in the study referred to above, p. 41, n. 10. Eustathius, *Comment. in Homer. Odys.* 17,209, mentions the disk-shaped form of earth, heaven, theatre, and threshing-floor in one breath.

⁴ *De Grote Zeeslang*, 10 f.

⁵ *Ibid.* 7.

⁶ Isa. 41,15.

all members of the religious community. Participation in the play or presence at the performance imparted a share in the god's victory and therefore produced 'purification'.¹ The main role was in the known cases reserved for the king, for the bad roles in the instances cited above oxen and asses were used, but in olden days undoubtedly human beings, such as foreigners, slaves, or criminals under sentence of death. Actual executions occurred even in historic times. Ptolemy Philopator, who wished to exterminate the Jews in his realm, had them transported to the hippodrome at Alexandria, to be trampled there by his elephants.² His successor slaughtered the Egyptian rebels he had vanquished at Lycopolis in the Delta 'with the same ritual, with which in primeval times at this very place the gods Rē^c and Horus, son of Isis, had put their enemies to death.'³ Other insurgents were sacrificed by him at Memphis, on the anniversary of his accession to the throne, that is at the festival, at which the Egyptian Pharaoh performed the play of the threshing-floor in this town.⁴ The Jewish king David put his vanquished adversaries 'under harrows of iron',⁵ his god Jahwe in his anger threshes both Israelites and heathens, as if they were a threshing-floor.⁶ An actual execution is rarely mentioned to have happened in a Greek theatre. The citizens of the town of Messene disposed of their tyrant Hippo in this way,⁷ while in the Roman period gladiatorial fights were introduced into Greece and enacted in the theatres.⁸ The gladiatorial fight is supposed to be a typically Roman institution, but a prototype of it was found at Sparta, where boys in a state of purity fought a ritual combat in all seriousness, and this happened on a plot of land called 'Plane-tree Grove', surrounded by a circular moat on all sides, into which the boys tried to push each other.⁹

The mystery-play survived not only as such, but also in several derived forms, e.g. the sacrificial rite, the gymnastic match, the judicial ordeal, the marriage ceremony, and, finally, the theatrical performance. The Attic tragedy is still located in primeval times, if not in the time of the gods at least in the time of the heroes. The actors have put on heroic stature by tying on cothurns, wearing elongated masks, and by padding their clothes. The theme of action is mythological, the hero fights evil and comes out of this struggle triumphant. The old cult-community, which originally carried the entire action, has given way to the actors and has transformed itself into a chorus, which only serves as an accompaniment and tends gradually to disappear altogether. The tragedy, as well as the gladiatorial fight, is performed on the festival of a god, but also after a victory over an enemy, at a marriage ceremony, and at burials. Like the four hundred Jewish prophets at Samaria, the actors have the gift of prophecy, at least utterances of prophetic purport are frequent in all Greek tragedies.

¹ Cf. above, p. 36, n. 2. ² 3 Macc. 4,11, 5,1-2. ³ Decree of Rosetta, Demotic version, 15.

⁴ Ibid. 16. Cf. above, p. 44, n. 6.

⁵ 2 Sam. 12,31; 1 Chron. 20,3. Cf. Judges 8,7; 2 Kings 13,7; Amos 1,3.

⁶ Isa. 21,9-10, 27,12; Jer. 51,33; Mic. 4,12; Hab. 3,12.

⁷ Plutarch., *Timol.* 34. Cf. Phil. Jud., *Flacc.* 84-85; Plutarch., *Crass.* 33; Polyæn., *Strateg.* VII, 41.

⁸ Dio Chrysost., *Orat.* 31,121; Philostrate., *Vit. Apollon.* 4,22.

⁹ Pausan., *Graec. Descr.* III, 14,8-9, cf. VIII, 47,3 and Cicer., *Tuscul. Disput.* v, 27,77; Lucian., *Anachars.* 38. Something of this kind in Herod., *Hist.* 2,63. In the medieval legend the hero Digenis Acritas contends with the angel of death Charos on a threshing-floor of marble. Prof. Antoniadis refers us to N. G. Politis, *Ἐκλογαὶ ἀπὸ τὰ Τραγοῦδια τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Λαοῦ*, Athens, 1914, 104-5.

SURVEYING GEBEL ES-SILSILAH

By RICARDO A. CAMINOS

ON February 10, 1955, Mr. T. G. H. James and the writer encamped on the edge of the western desert at Gebel es-Silsilah, Upper Egypt, and set about the task of recording the antiquities of the site on behalf of the Society.

Gebel es-Silsilah, the Kheny or Khenu of Pharaonic times, is a forlorn spot on the Nile 90 miles south of Luxor and 40 miles north of Aswān for which the nearest, or rather the least distant station is Kāgūg, a mere halting place served by awkward trains. At Silsilah the Nile is at its narrowest, for there the sandstone cliffs which have been running parallel to the river on either side of it and far apart, suddenly converge and come down to its very banks. Between the foot of the barren hills and the water's edge there is, for nearly a mile, barely room for a path; indeed there is no room at all on a good stretch of the west bank where the sandstone cliffs drop vertically into the river.

The place was intensively exploited for the sake of building stone from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards. The largest quarries are on the east bank, where the ancient town of Kheny appears to have lain, but it is on the west side of the river that the most important monuments and records are to be found. Pre-eminent among them is the speos or rock-chapel hewn in the cliff for King Ḥaremḥab late in the fourteenth century B.C. South of the speos the steep hillside edging the river is dotted by a long succession of shrines cut in the cliff face, and interspersed between these are stelae, niches, rock-drawings, quarry marks, and ancient scribblings of all sorts.

Plans for work at Silsilah were drawn up by James and myself in London in the spring of 1954. It was then decided, (*a*) to deal with the west bank first, and (*b*) to devote the first season to recording as many monuments on that bank as we possibly could, though omitting the speos, which it was deemed better to leave for another season. Once out in the field we realized that on grounds of scientific expediency and general convenience, far the best course would be to give complete priority to the shrines, namely that we should endeavour to finish recording and copying all of them before turning to other monuments. Accordingly the shrines became the season's first objective.

Broadly speaking a Silsilah shrine is a single chamber hewn high up in the sandstone cliff overlooking the Nile. It is small, roughly rectangular in shape, with a ceiling which is rarely flat and colour-patterned, but more frequently barrelled and unadorned, and always low. At the far end there is a life-size statue of the dead owner sitting either alone or, oftener, in the company of relatives inside a niche, whence they all gaze vacantly across the room and through the open doorway at the stream without. The doorway takes up most of the front wall and is framed with inscribed jambs and lintel.

Beyond the frame of the door the cliff face stretches bare and rough, but within the shrine the walls are dressed and decorated with painted reliefs and inscriptions. Writing is scanty and as a rule confined to the ever-recurring funerary formulae of offering and to label texts: proper names, titles, headings of scenes.

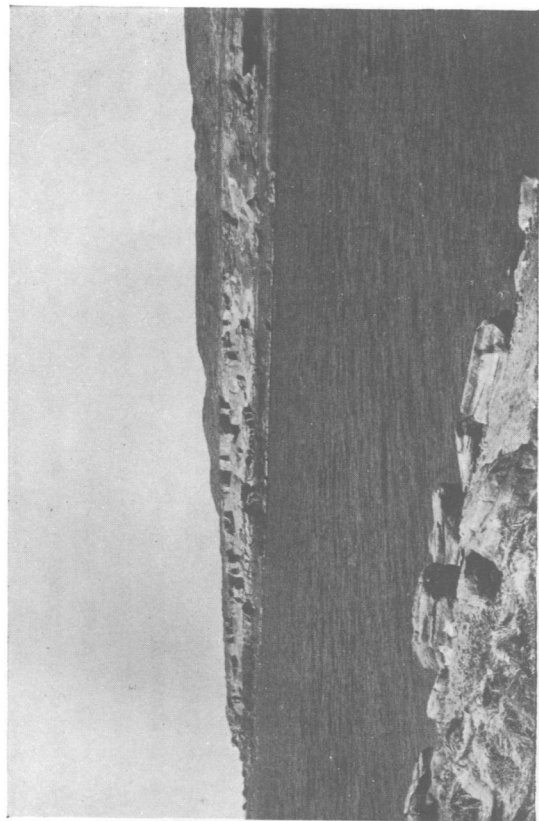
The above description applies to the average shrine and leaves out of account unusual features and individual peculiarities. For naturally the shrines vary, and at times do so considerably, in size, shape, plan, and decoration, not to mention quality of execution, degree of completeness, and state of preservation. Thus the largest shrine, which belongs to one Menkh who flourished under Amenophis II, is over 3 m. wide and 7 m. in length from the doorway to the rear wall of the sculpture recess at the far end. The recess contains the seated statues of Menkh and his wife, and itself measures 1.50 m. \times 1.35 m. These are generous proportions for a niche. In fact Menkh's niche alone is larger than the whole of the next shrine, which is 1.30 m. \times 1.41 m. and houses no less than four anonymous statues. The height of this last shrine cannot be exactly determined because the floor is fallen, but it must have been in keeping with the exiguous length and breath of the monument. Moreover, an idea can be gained from Minnakhte's shrine, which lies just four feet south of it and is but a trifle larger (1.40 m. \times 2.00 m.), the height being 1.46 m. only. These are extreme cases, however. Medium-sized shrines are perhaps those of Senenmūt and Hēpusonb; the former being 2.47 m. deep, 2.45 m. wide, and 1.98 m. high, and the latter 3.68 m. \times 2.73 m. \times 1.88 m.

As for variations in shape and plan, the above-cited shrine of Menkh is distinctly rectangular, and so are Amenemhēt's and a few others. Some, like the shrine of Senenmūt, the dimensions of which are given above, are almost exactly square. A shrine presumably belonging to one Dḥutmose is cruciform, while that of Senynūfe has a large entrance hall followed by an even larger chamber against the rear wall of which five statues sit unniched.

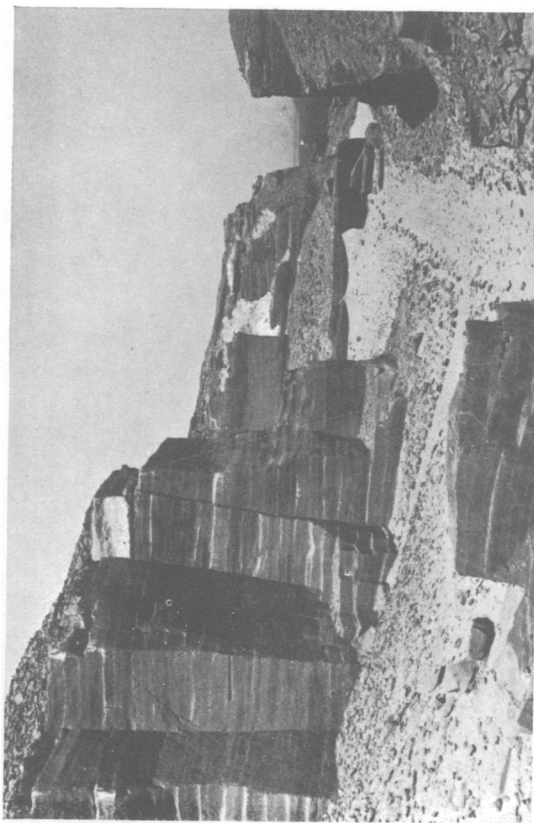
There are other divergent features. A shrine may house from one to five statues, and in the above-mentioned cross-shaped shrine there are as many as ten. All shrines look out on the river except Minnakhte's, which faces north. As regards decoration, a recurring motif on the walls is that of the deceased, usually with his wife, sitting at a table of offerings heavily laden with provisions, the children and nearest kinsmen standing or squatting in orderly fashion before them or bringing further victuals and gifts. Not all these scenes of feasting are, however, of the same type. Two kinds of banqueting scenes that Sir Alan Gardiner discerned in the tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty at Thebes and elsewhere, can likewise be observed in the contemporary shrines of Silsilah. One represents the daily funerary rites of offering with priestly attendants performing such acts as water-pouring, censuring, fumigating, and 'bringing the foot'. The other reproduces an earthly banquet, although it is often difficult to distinguish it from the former: as a rule there are more guests in the scenes of the second type, and merry-making is more markedly worldly, enlivened by musicians, singers, and dancers. The two kinds of banqueting scene are well represented at Silsilah, the finest specimens being perhaps those in the shrines of Hēpusonb, Senynūfe, and Amenemhēt. On the other hand, Senenmūt's shrine is decorated quite unlike the



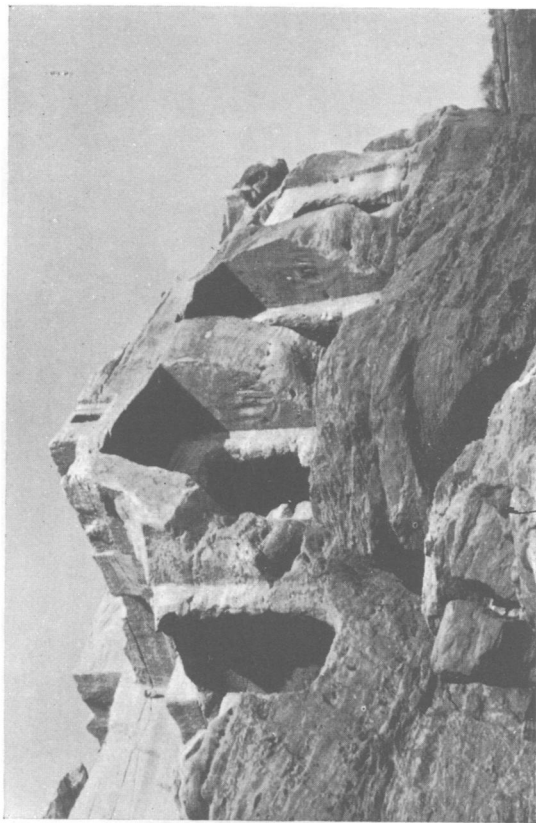
1. The Society's camp in front of the speos



2. West Silsilah from across the river

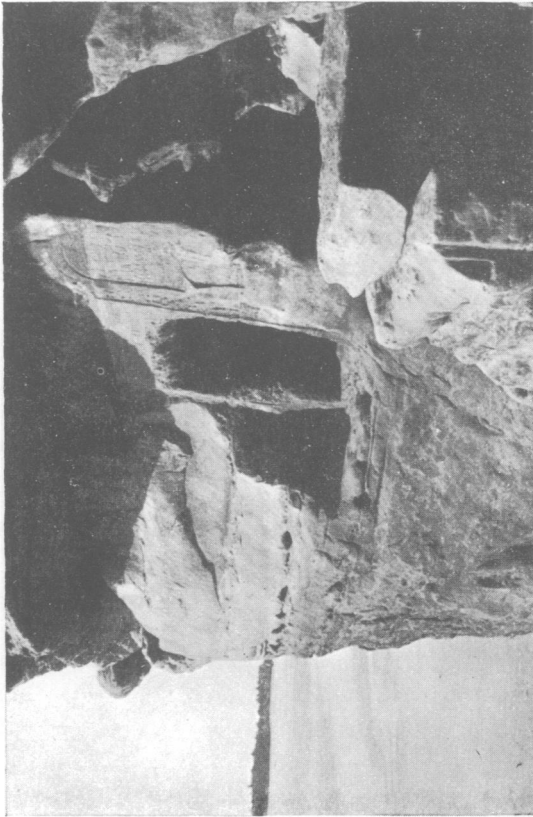


3. Partial view of the quarries on the west bank



4. Shrines of (l. to r.) 'Ametju, Senenmüt, Hepusomb, and Neḥesy

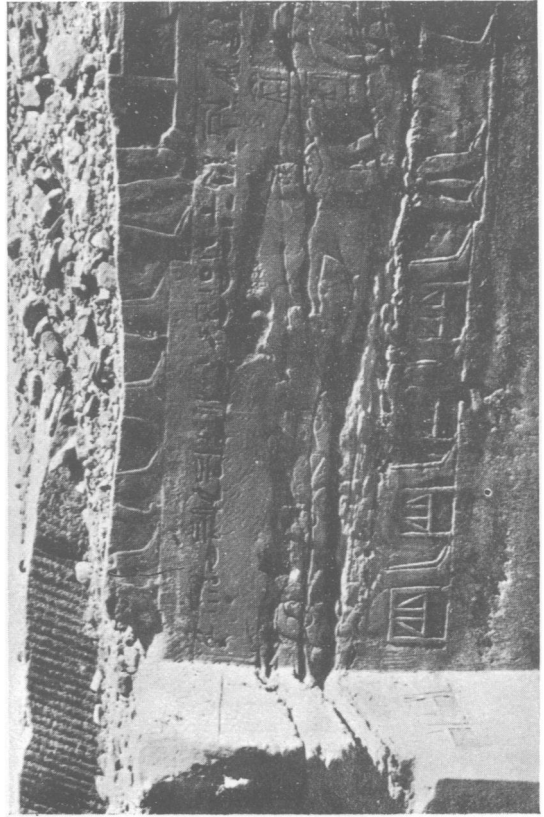
GEBEL ES-SILSILAH



1. Stelae and anonymous shrine in cliff overhanging the river



2. The cruciform shrine: rear niche and part of entrance to south niche



3. Senynūfē's shrine, south wall. Damage caused by ancient quarrying



4. The roofless shrine of ʿAmetju and Woser

others. The walls of it show rows of gods receiving with an impassive countenance the offerings and praises of its owner, Ḥashepsowe's celebrated architect and vizier. The customary mortuary scenes are here absent, yet textual evidence, fragmentary as may be in this particular shrine, leaves no doubt as to the nature of Senenmūt's monument, which is funerary.

All the shrines at Silsilah are funerary. They are cenotaphs by definition, for though decorated, inscribed, and generally laid out as tomb-chapels, they were undoubtedly not meant to serve as chapels for actual places of burial. There is no evidence of their having ever been so used by their original proprietors. On the contrary, the actual tombs of some owners of shrines at Silsilah have been found in the Theban necropolis. Nevertheless, the exact significance and true *raison d'être* of these monuments yet remain to be elicited. In this connexion one cannot fail to observe that all the datable shrines belong, and the undatable shrines appear to belong, to one period exclusively, namely, the Eighteenth Dynasty. Furthermore, as far as can be ascertained, they were built for high dignitaries and for people with important Theban connexions. A few names will suffice. The architect Senenmūt, Ḥashepsowe's well-known favourite and vizier, has already been mentioned as the possessor of a shrine at Silsilah. 'Ametju, also called 'Aḥmose, chief judge and vizier under the same queen, shared a shrine with his son Woser or Usiamūn, himself a vizier and uncle of the celebrated Rekhmirē. His contemporary Neḥesy, overseer of the seal and probably leader of the queen's expedition to Pwēnet, had a shrine too. Another much travelled officer with a shrine at Silsilah was Sennuferi; we know from his tomb at Thebes that he was sent by sea to Byblos to fetch cedar for the flag-poles of Amūn's temple, and that he accompanied Tuthmosis III to Sinai. Hēpusonb, Minnakhte, and Min were also distinguished officers of the time who possessed tombs in Thebes and cenotaphs at Silsilah. Subsequently the building of shrines would appear to have ceased rather abruptly, and a number of them were even left perplexingly unfinished. It looks as though at some time under the Tuthmosides it had suddenly been thought that a courtier *comme il faut* must have a shrine at Kheny, and as suddenly the place fell out of favour only a few generations later.

The best preserved shrine is that of Amenemḥēt, which is really in very fine condition; for even the colour is undamaged almost throughout, not excluding the ceiling. Only the west wall, on either side of the doorway, has been ill-used, and the floor disturbed by the digging of four coffin-shaped pits, clearly later graves. That shrine, however, and a few others are exceptional on the score of preservation. The condition of the shrines is on the whole poor. It is to be noticed that at Silsilah destruction has been wrought not by man alone. The cross-shaped shrine tentatively ascribed to Dḥutmose has been broken in two by a movement of the rocky cliff which itself split and slipped down producing a chasm about 1.50 m. wide; other shrines have also suffered from similar natural causes. Quarrying indubitably done in ancient times also has brought about considerable damage: Senynūfe's extremely fine shrine has been levelled down to less than half its height; and all that remains of an anonymous shrine near the south end of the site is a rear wall with four decapitated statues, the rest having

been quarried away entirely. Other shrines have been badly defaced by the rubbing of the walls for stone powder, a widespread superstitious practice which seems to date back to ancient times. As for more recent mishaps, drawings and statements by Norden and Denon show that the shrine of 'Ametju and his son Woser preserved at least until the end of the eighteenth century a barrelled roof; of this there is no trace left at present, and the statues, though already defaced in Norden's and Denon's days, look as though they had suffered further mutilation since.

Mention has been made above of shrines that were never finished, some of them having been left in that utterly baffling state of incompleteness not seldom found in Egyptian buildings, in which a wall panel, half a door-post, a corner of the ceiling or some small detail is finished to the last touch of paint, while the rest of the wall, door, ceiling, or indeed at times all the rest of the monument has been barely commenced. A case in point is the shrine of an unnamed king's son of Cush under Amenophis III: the lintel without is neatly finished, but the chamber is scarcely more than a rough hollow hacked in the rock.

There are thirty shrines at Gebel es-Silsilah, and all lie on the west bank. James and I carefully recorded each one of them, and made life-size facsimile copies of all reliefs, paintings, and texts remaining in them, however small or fragmentary, without exception. Furthermore, having with us an exhaustive compilation of previous copies and records of the monuments, we were always able to check, sometimes not unprofitably, the work of our predecessors in the site.¹

Having thus accomplished our first objective, we turned our attention to ancient remains of various kinds which are to be found scattered among the shrines along the river and up on the *gebel*.

We recorded twenty stelae, including three royal ones of stately proportions. One is a square stela of Ramesses III; the field of it measures 2.95 m. × 2.95 m. and is entirely occupied by an incised relief showing the king, larger than life, offering Ma'et to the Theban triad. Then a stela of Ramesses V, 2.58 m. high and 2.42 m. wide, the largest extant monument of that shadowy monarch. The third royal stela belongs to Shoshenq I and contains a longish historical text which is not without interest, the more so in that it is one of the very few records in that famous quarry district in which quarrying is dealt with at all. The other stelae with which we concerned ourselves were, or appeared to be, private ones. Many of them were badly injured, and a few wholly blank, but even these we sedulously put on record besides reproducing in facsimile those in which the least trace of scene or writing could be detected.

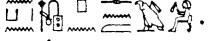
Some thirty-five graffiti were next facsimiled. Of these one is demotic and two are Coptic, all others being hieroglyphic and hieratic graffiti dating from the Old Kingdom onwards. They are on the whole rather brief, consisting for the most part of names and titles. Some of them are quite sizable, however. A graffito of a god's father, written in

¹ The first volume of our work on Silsilah will deal with the shrines. In it we shall acknowledge the help the expedition received from various quarters. We hope to publish it before long. Yet we cannot await the appearance of the book to voice our profound gratitude to two friends, Professor George R. Hughes and Chief Inspector Labib Habachi, for the help they gave us so graciously and so readily—help so great, so fundamental, that it is no exaggeration to say that without it we could not have managed.

shallow, very untidy, enormous characters, stretches over 3·50 m. with a height varying from 50 to 80 cm. approximately.

The remainder of the season's gleanings is made up of life-sized facsimiles of a score of quarry marks, eighteen rock-drawings of animals, five rock-drawings of boats, six token foot-prints, one of them inscribed, and six groups of miscellaneous scribblings of obscure import but indubitable antiquity; lastly, annotated drawings on scale of five uninscribed niches.

We were too closely engaged to devote much time to exploring the district. We spent two mornings inspecting the vast and really striking quarries on the east bank with a view to gathering ideas for next season's programme of work. There is not much there in the way of hieratic and hieroglyphic texts and Pharaonic monuments generally. Yet working there will not be a simple matter. It will take careful planning, much equipment, and great determination and *sang-froid* to reach Amenophis IV's stela, which overhangs the plain at the top of a high, precipitous cliff, seemingly inaccessible. And clearly the place is the home of even more vipers than West Silsilah.

On March 31st we visited the village of el-Ḥōsh, at the foot of Gebel Heshan, on the west side of the river and some 12 km. north of Silsilah. We went by boat but walked down the west bank the best part of the way back for the sake of texts and drawings known to be on rocks along the river generally, and particularly at Khōr Tangūrah and Shaṭb er-Rigāl. There are ancient sandstone quarries at Gebel Heshan; there the prevailing quarry marks are a circle with a horizontal line across and a harpoon pointing upwards, both marks being also frequent at East Silsilah. The quarries are mostly to the north of the village of el-Ḥōsh; immediately south of this there is a much eroded sandstone hillock on the top of which are carved figures of animals (giraffe, elephant, ibexes), obviously of great antiquity. From there upstream in the direction of Khōr Tangūrah the west bank is very rocky, and the sandstone cliffs and hill slopes facing the Nile bear innumerable ancient drawings of animals, hieratic and hieroglyphic graffiti, and a lesser number of Greek inscriptions. Marking the entrance of Khōr Tangūrah, a fairly wide wādi which reaches the river side half-way between Gebel Heshan and Shaṭb er-Rigāl, there is another rock hill with yet more animal drawings and a brief dedicatory legend besides. Since this may well prove the only Egyptian text in the wādi, and yields a proper name which appears not to be mentioned elsewhere, I give it here: .

In those journeys we were happy to have the company of ghafir Ahmed Abbas, a fellah from the village of El-Ḥammām whose business is the surveillance of the antiquities in the vast and desolate tract between Silwah and Fares. He was splendid and helped us in all manner of ways throughout the season. I had made his acquaintance when I first travelled to Silsilah in 1950. James and I were met by him at Kāgūg on our arrival at the site early last February, and when camp broke up in the morning of April 10, he once more ferried with us to the east bank, succeeded against all obstacles in getting us to Kōm Ombo, and there, visibly moved, saw us safely off on the evening express.

THE MEMPHITE STELA OF MERPTAḤ AND PTAḤMOŠĚ

By KATE BOSSE-GRIFFITHS

RUDOLF ANTHES, in an article which he wrote in 1936,¹ deals with a number of monuments of high officials of the Eighteenth Dynasty, all of whom bear the name of Ptaḥmošě. Among those monuments a stela in Leyden² is of special archaeological interest because three of the five persons represented on it wear a peculiar costume which is generally attributed to the High-priest of Memphis.³ About this stela Anthes says: 'Die Pfoften der Nische enthalten beide eine *ḥtp-dj-nsw*-Formel, deren Abschluss mit den Nennungen des Namens jetzt fehlt.'

In 1938, while working in the Egyptian Collection of University College, London, I came across the lower half of a stela of two high dignitaries of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the Chief Steward of the Mansion of Amenophis III, Merptaḥ and the High-priest of Memphis Ptaḥmošě. Consulting Porter and Moss,⁴ I found that in the Egyptian Collection of the Rijksmuseum in Leyden there is the upper half of a stela with the names of the same dignitaries.⁵ This is the stela mentioned by Anthes. A comparison of these two pieces made it evident that both belong to the same stela,⁶ and I was able to examine the Leyden portion in August 1939.

The material of the stela is limestone (pl. XIV). The measurements of the part in Leyden are: width at top 95 cm., height 83 cm., the measurements of the broken edge are: width 81 cm., thickness 17 cm. The measurements of the part in London are: width 80.3 cm., height 55 cm., thickness of the broken edge 9 cm. The difference of the thickness is due to the fact that the back of the part in London has apparently been cut off, perhaps in order to facilitate its removal to Europe.

The stela is complete except for a narrow strip of about 12 cm. in the middle, probably destroyed when the stela was deliberately broken. The lower half was broken into two pieces which have now been joined together. A hole has been pierced through the right ledge of the frame. Fortunately the fracture and the hole have done little damage

¹ *ZÄS* 72, 60 ff., *Die hohen Beamten namens Ptahmose in der 18. Dynastie*.

² Anthes, *op. cit.*, No. 4a and No. 5b. Abb. 1 on p. 65.

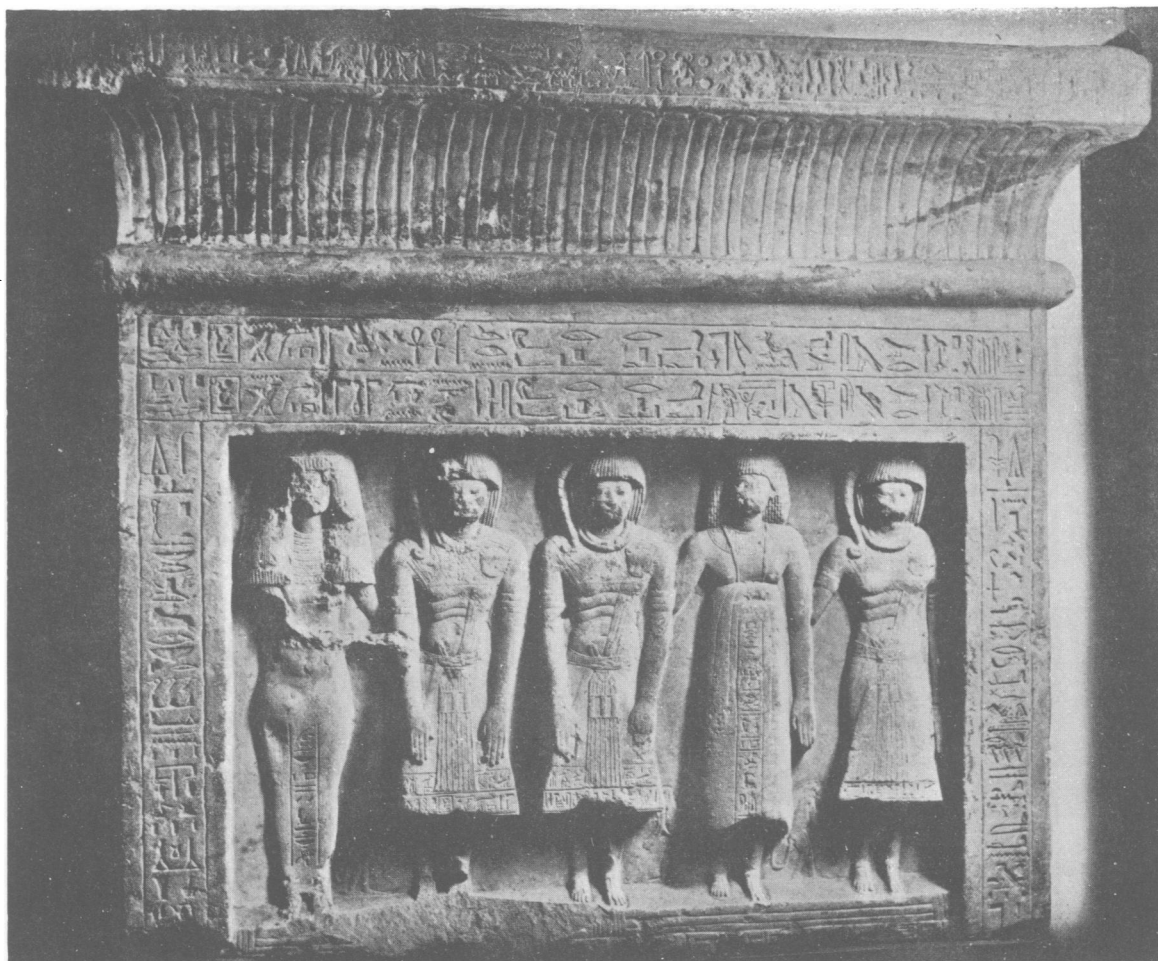
³ Anthes, *op. cit.* 66; 'die Kinderlocke, den eigentümlichen Halsschmuck, das Pantherfell und das Perlengehänge. Das macht, soviel wir wissen, das Amtskleid des Hohenpriesters von Memphis aus.'

⁴ Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* III, 191.

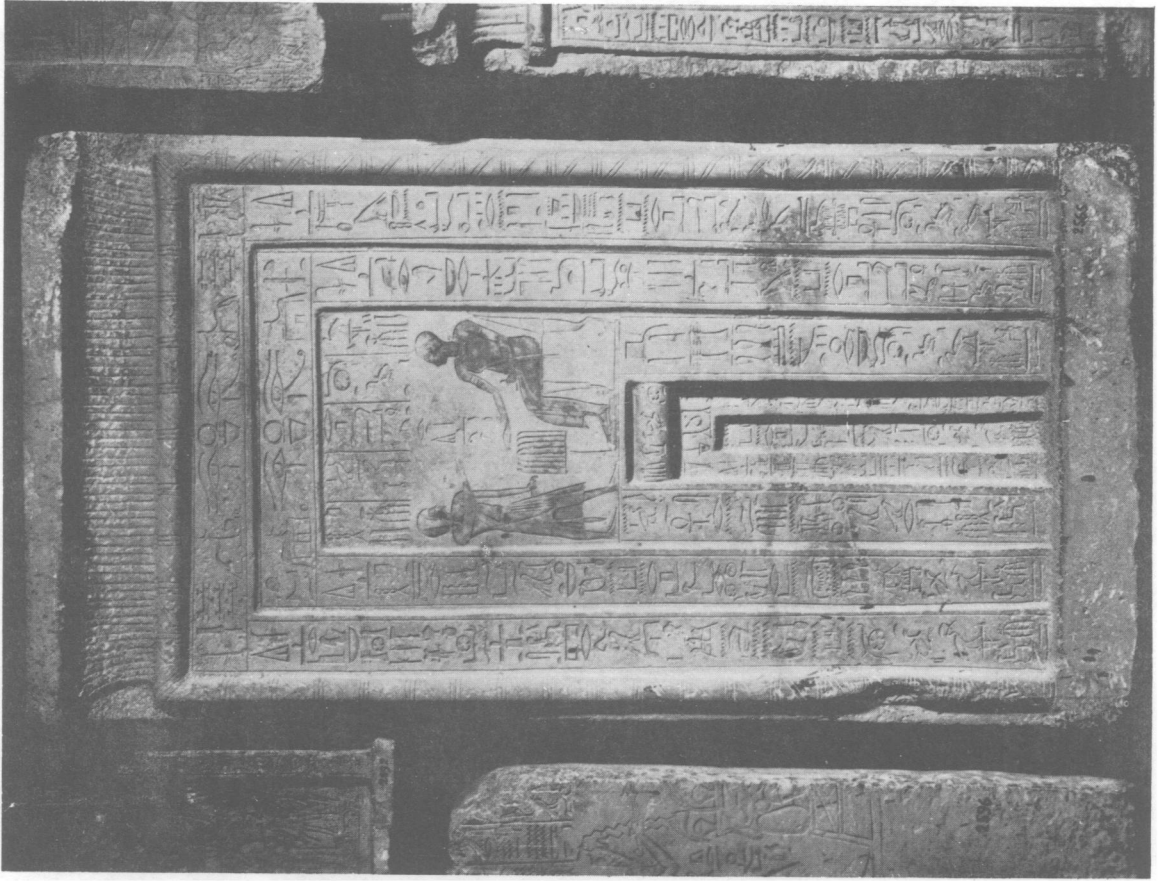
⁵ *Beschr. Leiden*, VI, pl. 15, No. 27, p. 8.

⁶ I wish to thank Professor S. R. K. Glanville for the permission to publish the lower portion of the stela here for the first time and Dr. W. D. van Wijngarden for the permission to republish the upper portion and also for giving me the measurements of the broken edge of the stela. I am indebted to Prof. Giacomo Caputo, superintendent of the Egyptian Museum, Florence, for his permission to publish the funerary stela Florence No. 2565 and the squatting statue Florence No. 1790. The Firme Alinari, Florence, gave permission to reproduce their photographs of these two monuments: Alinari No. 43837 and Alinari No. 31114.

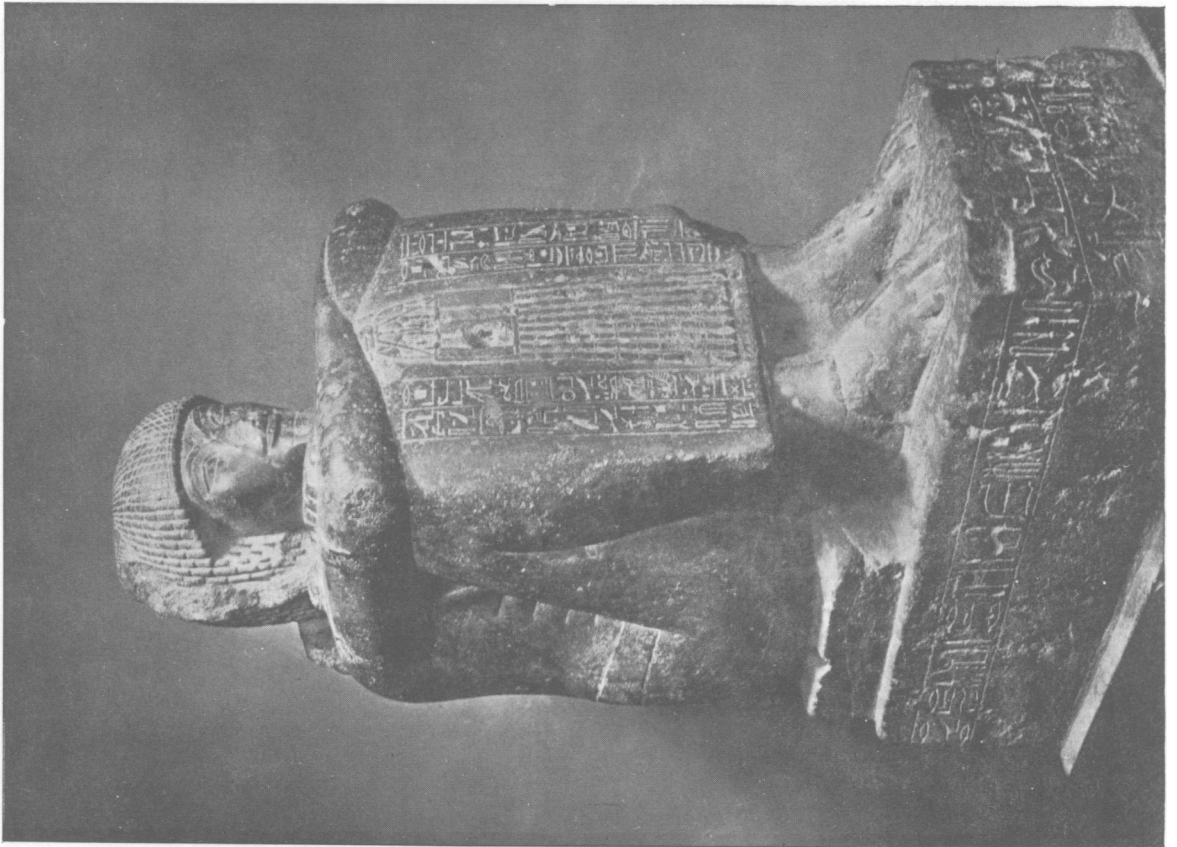
The portion in London has no registration number. For literature concerning the portion in Leyden see Porter and Moss, *loc. cit.*, *Beschr. Leiden*, *loc. cit.*



THE MEMPHITE STELA OF MERPTAḤ AND PTAḤMOSE



STELA OF PTAḤMOŠÉ AND HIS FATHER DḤUTMOŠÉ



STATUE AT FLORENCE OF PTAḤMOŠÉ, HIGH-PRIEST OF PTAH

to the text. Otherwise the scenes and inscriptions are well preserved. Nothing definite is known of the provenance, but internal evidence makes it likely that the stela came out of a tomb in Memphis. The part in Leyden belonged to the Collection J. d'Anastasy. In reply to a question concerning the part in London Professor Petrie wrote that he did not remember its provenance.

The stela is of the rectangular type with raised frame and a cavetto cornice. Ledges with inscriptions surround the text and reliefs on three sides. There is also a line of inscription over the cavetto cornice. Within the frame the stela is divided into three parts: the upper part in the form of a naos containing five human figures sculptured almost in the round; the middle part representing two offering scenes in sunk relief, the upper half of which is destroyed; the bottom part with a prayer for the Prophet, the Chief Steward of the Mansion of Amenophis III, MerptaḤ.

Inscriptions

The inscriptions may be translated as follows:

I. On the ledge over the cavetto cornice:

Recitation: O all ye overseers, scribes, wꜥb-priests or lector-priests who shall pass by this tomb, may the primeval god who came into being at the First Occasion favour you, may you hand down your offices to your children after a long old age, provided that you say: An offering which the king gives, a thousand of all beautiful and pure things for the ka of the Prophet and Chief Steward, MerptaḤ, justified.

II. On the upper ledge of the frame:

Left half, upper line:

The count and governor, the eyes of the King of Upper Egypt, the ears of the King of Lower Egypt, the Prophet and Chief Steward of the Mansion of Amenophis III, MerptaḤ, justified.

Left half, lower line:

The count and governor, beloved Sole Companion, confidant of the Good God, the Prophet and Chief Steward of the Mansion of Amenophis III, MerptaḤ, justified.

Right half, upper line:

The count and governor, the beloved Father of the god who is over the secrets of the Great Seat, Sem-priest, Chief of the Master-craftsmen, PtaḤmošĚ, justified.

Right half, lower line:

The count and governor, one great in his office and important in the palace, Sem-priest, Chief of the Master-craftsmen, PtaḤmošĚ, justified.

III. Left ledge of the frame:

An offering which the king gives (to) PtaḤ, Sokar, and Osiris, lord of Rostaw, that they may give invocation offerings of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, alabaster jars, clothing, incense and ointment, wine and water (?) for [the ka of the] beloved of the Good God, the Prophet and Chief Steward of the Mansion of Amenophis III, MerptaḤ, justified.

Over a kneeling figure:

The servant (sdm ʿš?)¹ PtaḤnen.

¹ The reading *sdm ʿš* is uncertain.

IV. Right ledge of the frame:

An offering which the king gives (to) Anubis who is in his shroud, lord of the sacred land. May he grant to go in and out in Rostaw and to smell the breath of myrrh and incense of Rē. For the ka of the Sem-priest, Chief of the Master-craftsmen, Ptaḥmosē, justified.

Over a kneeling figure:

[The servant] Ptaḥnen.

V. On the figures in the naos, from left to right:

1. *His mother, lady of the house, Tawy, justified, possessor of honour.*
2. *Son of the Overseer of the City and Vizier Dhutmosē, the Prophet and Chief Steward of the Mansion of Amenophis III, Merptaḥ, justified.*
3. *Son of the Overseer of the City and Vizier Dhutmosē, the Sem-priest, Chief of the Master-craftsmen, Ptaḥmosē, justified.*
4. *All that comes forth from upon the offering table of Onnophris for the ka of the Vizier Dhutmosē, justified.*
5. *Chief of the Master-craftsmen, Ptaḥmosē, son of the Prophet Menkheper.¹*

VI. Prayer on the lower part of the stela:

An offering which the king gives to these gods who are in the netherworld in the following of Onnophris, that they may grant to be a spirit, to be strong and endure for the hereafter, (2) the good name being justified; the taking of incense for the mummy in the Sacred Land, the excellent region of sunlight and shadow; such is the provision for (3) one like me. May you be a protection for the sarcophagus (and) keep secure this coffin for eternity, your arms protecting him who is in it. (4) May I follow my Lord among his attendants, joining (him) as one of them. May they raise me up among (5) his great ones while my heart remains in its place. May I receive sustenance consisting of bread, beer and water of the great one who came forth (6) in Abydos. May I ascend into the Neshemet-bark without my being repelled at the hour of the Wag-festival. May my heart be put into the house (?) (7) of my Lord Onnophris in possession of the offerings² of food and provisions which are left over by his ka.³ For the ka of the Prophet and Chief Steward of the Mansion of Amenophis III, Merptaḥ, justified, possessor of honour.

Notes

I. **The owner.** Anthes's question about the missing name (or rather names) at the end of the ledges of the frame can now be safely answered as follows: 'The Chief Steward of the Mansion of Amenophis III, Merptaḥ' and 'the High-priest of Memphis, Ptaḥmosē.' There remains, however, the question about the main owner of the stela. The figures in the naos represent the two brothers Merptaḥ and Ptaḥmosē together with their parents and a 'High-priest of Memphis' Ptaḥmosē, son of Menkheper. The name of Merptaḥ appears:

1. On the uppermost ledge with the invocation of the passers-by.

2 and 3. At the left hand side of the two parallel ledges above the figures in the naos.

¹ For the reading of this name see Anthes, op. cit. 62.

² ← instead of 𓄠.

³ Written 𓄠𓄠.

4. At the end of the main prayer under the offering scene.
5. It may be assumed that it appeared also above the sitting figure looking towards the left in the offering scene.
6. At the end of the left vertical ledge of the frame.
7. On the figure in the naos.

The name of PtaḥmošĚ, son of DḥutmošĚ appears :

- 1 and 2. On the right hand side of the two parallel ledges above the naos.
3. On the figure in the naos.
4. At the end of the right vertical ledge of the frame.
5. It may be assumed that it also appeared above the sitting figure looking towards the right in the offering scene.

As the name of Merptaḥ appears on the two most important places, in the invocation and in the main prayer, it can be safely stated that Merptaḥ is the main owner of the stela.

II. **The date.** Anthes has dealt with this question quite convincingly.¹ Following his conclusion I take the date of our stela to be that of his No. 4 and No. 5 (PtaḥmošĚ, son of DḥutmošĚ and PtaḥmošĚ, son of Menkheper), that is, the reign of Amenophis III.

III. **Gods.** The gods mentioned in this stela have all some kind of relation to Memphis, apart, perhaps, from Onnophris, as Merptaḥ desires to have part of Onnophris's offerings in Abydos.

Pꜣwty ḥpr sp tpy, 'the primeval god who came into being at the First Occasion', is here presumably another name for Ptaḥ. Ptaḥ is considered as primordial creator-god already in the 'Denkmal memphitischer Theologie' or 'Shabaka text'. There it is said about Ptaḥ that he 'is called "He who created the All and brought forth the gods"'. Then, 'He is indeed Tatenen who created the gods and from whom all things have come forth'.²

Ptaḥ, Sokar, and Osiris were identified with one another and named as one person at least as early as the Middle Kingdom, especially on sepulchral stelae from Abydos.³ There are, however, some stelae from Abydos where the three gods are mentioned together but in such a way that it is clear that several gods are referred to, as on the sepulchral stela Cairo 20742.³ Sandman-Holmberg states about these cases: 'Owing to the lack of material it cannot be stated whether these conditions at Abydos were paralleled elsewhere.' In our stela we find exactly such a case at Memphis and our text on the left ledge of the frame must therefore be translated: 'An offering which the king gives to Ptaḥ, Sokar, and Osiris, Lord of Rostaw, that they may give. . . .'

IV. Although this stela is the only one known where three figures wear the peculiar costume of the *wr ḥrp ḥmwot*, the high-priest of Memphis, there is a certain precedent in the Twelfth Dynasty in the group of the *Sem*-priest, the High-priest of Memphis, Šhetepibraʿankhnedjem and his son the governor, the High-priest of Memphis *Nebpu*.⁴

¹ Anthes, op. cit. 61 and 68.

² Quoted from Sandman-Holmberg, *The God Ptaḥ* (Lund, 1946), 21.

³ Sandman-Holmberg, op. cit. 138.

⁴ Louvre A 47; Boreux, *Cat.* (1932) I, 52; *Encycl. Photogr. de l'Art*, Tome I, 43.

Here the figures of father and son are standing side by side in a naos, identically dressed. They both wear the peculiar jackal-collar, shoulder band, and an elaborate bead-pendant hanging from the belt. But they possess only a smooth wig that leaves their ears free. From the Nineteenth Dynasty we know a group of a high-priest of Memphis and a vizier. It is the sitting group of the High-priest of Memphis Pḥemnūte and of the Vizier Ḥori.¹ The high-priest wears the jackal-collar, leopard-skin, belt with bead-pendant, and a wig with side-lock. The vizier, too, is dressed very much like the Vizier Dḥutmosē on the Leyden stela, as he wears the long, tight skirt which is held up by a narrow tape round his neck, a costume which is peculiar to viziers.

V. There exist several other representations of the two persons named Ptaḥmosē in the Leyden stela.

A. Ptaḥmosē son of Dḥutmosē occurs together with his father on a stela in the form of a false door with cavetto cornice (pl. XV, top).² The Vizier Dḥutmosē is shown sitting in front of an offering table; facing him, stands the High-priest of Memphis Ptaḥmosē stretching his right hand out while he is dedicating the offering. The vizier wears the same long skirt as on the Leyden stela but no wig. Ptaḥmosē, too, wears the same costume as on the Leyden stela but no jackal-collar.

B. A squatting statue of Ptaḥmosē, son of Menkheper (pl. XV, bottom).³ As on the Leyden stela Ptaḥmosē wears the wig with side-lock, jackal-collar (although only the head and hands of the jackal and a small part of the frame are visible), and bead-pendant. According to Schiaparelli's description he is wearing also the leopard-skin on his shoulders and in his right hand the emblem of *mꜣt*, but these are not visible in our reproduction.

C. Pyramidion in Berlin with the kneeling figure of the High Priest of Memphis Ptaḥmosē adoring the sun.⁴ The name of the father is not given; but his titles prove that he is Ptaḥmosē, son of Dḥutmosē. Here Ptaḥmosē is wearing only a smooth kilt and the side-lock.

D. There exists also a pyramidion in Florence⁵ (fig. 1) which shows the sitting figure of either Ptaḥmosē A or Ptaḥmosē B in front of an offering table while the choirmaster of Ptaḥ, Ptaḥꜥankh, is bringing him an offering of incense and water. Here the insignia of Ptaḥmosē are the wig with side-lock, the *wꜣs*-sceptre and the *šꜣm*-sceptre. As on the Leyden stela he is wearing two golden torques round his neck.

E. A statuette of a miller may also have represented one of our two Ptaḥmosēs.⁶ Here the High-priest of Memphis, while grinding corn, is wearing the wig with side-lock and the leopard-skin.

¹ Louvre A 72, Boreux, op. cit. 55 and pl. 4.

² Florence 2565; *Cat. Schiaparelli*, 1570; Phot. Alinari 43837. Anthes, op. cit., No. 4b, p. 61.

³ Florence 1790; *Cat. Schiaparelli*, 1505; Phot. Alinari 31114. Anthes, op. cit., No. 5a, p. 62.

⁴ Berlin 2276; *Äg. Inschr. Berlin*, II, 230 f.; Anthes, loc. cit., No. 4d, p. 61 and pl. 3.

⁵ Florence 2537; *Cat. Schiaparelli*, 1571; Anthes, op. cit., No. 9f, p. 64, here falsely called 'Stele': also *ZÄS* 72, pl. 6, 3.

⁶ Gardiner, *ZÄS* 43, 55 ff.; Anthes, op. cit., No. 9b; present location unknown; it once belonged to the private collection of Cardinal Lambruschini.

There is a similar statuette in the Louvre¹ of a man dressed in a wig with side-lock and panther-skin, grinding corn. His name and titles are 'Prince and *Sem*-priest Dḥutmosě'. Gardiner says about him that he 'was thus probably the predecessor of Ptaḥmosě as the High-priest of Memphis.' But unless we take for granted that the



FIG. 1.

office of the *sem*-priest was always connected with the office of the high-priest of Memphis (*wr ḥrp ḥmwot*) this statement is questionable. On the other hand, this statuette makes it more likely that the two persons called Ptaḥmosě on the Leyden stela are wearing leopard-skin and wig with side-lock as insignia of their dignity as *sem*-priest and not as *wr ḥrp ḥmwot*. The leopard-skin is usually worn by one of the priests who are taking part in the so-called 'Opening of the Mouth',² the side-lock occasionally.³ From the Middle Kingdom onwards it was thought that Ptaḥ took part in the Opening of the Mouth, while in the Pyramid texts it was mainly Horus.⁴ It is therefore possible that in the cases when the *sem*-priest is wearing the side-lock he is wearing it in the same way as Horus when opening the mouth of his father was entitled to the lock of youth,

¹ Louvre Inv. 792; *Cat. de la Salle Historique* (1882), II, No. 10.

² See British Museum, *The Book of the Dead*, II: The Ceremony of 'Opening of the Mouth' being performed on the mummy of the royal scribe Ḥunefer.

³ Budge, *The Book of Opening the Mouth*, II (1909), 150.

⁴ Sandman-Holmberg, *op. cit.* 94-95.

and also as a priest of Ptaḥ who takes the place of Horus. The monuments A–D give almost contemporary representations of high officials with the title *sm wr ḥrp ḥmwt*. Of these all five wear the wig with side-lock, three wear the leopard-skin, but only one wears the jackal-collar.

VI. **The costume of the five figures of the Leyden stela.** The mother Tawy wears the simple narrow dress which Egyptian women usually wear until the Eighteenth Dynasty, together with a broad bead necklace and the heavy wig of the New Kingdom, also some armlets and hair-decoration. The vizier Dḥutmosē wears a long skirt tied under the shoulder and held up by a tape round his neck, a dress which is usually worn by viziers;¹ also a small wig, bead-collar, and sandals. The three other men wear identical costumes; a wig with side-lock, leopard-skin, a plaited scarf from shoulder to belt, a belt with a broad bead-pendant, two gold torques, sandals, and the jackal-collar. Of these the wig with side-lock and the leopard-skin can be attributed to the *sem*-priest,² and the shoulder scarf is the distinguishing garment of the *ḥry-ḥbt* priest. The greatest problem is raised by the jackal-collar, which is generally considered to be the distinguishing ornament of the high-priest of Memphis, the *wr ḥrp ḥmwt*.

VII. The most recent treatment of the occurrence and meaning of the jackal-collar is by G. A. Wainwright. He gives a list of ten known wearers of it.³ To these I can add four, the three wearers of the Leyden stela and the upper half of a statue in Cairo.⁴ The jackal-collar is first known with Khabawseker of the Third Dynasty.⁵ It remained essentially the same through more than a thousand years. It consists of a jackal-shaped elongated figure with two hand-shaped front legs which are raised in adoration and three pairs of legs. The jackal-head lies on the one (usually the right) shoulder of the wearer; the thin strip-like body reaches over the breast while the hind legs lie on the other shoulder. This figure is connected with a narrow ring round the neck of the wearer by means of three zigzag strips. Over or under this collar lie about twelve strings, each of them supporting one amulet. In the case of Khabawseker there are six *ankh* amulets and six of circular shape.

The problem is, how did the high-priests of Ptaḥ come to make this collar their prerogative?

As the animal represented is a jackal, one would be inclined to connect this collar with the service of Anubis. As a matter of fact Khabawseker was connected with two priesthoods of Anubis but had no apparent connexion with Ptaḥ, although his 'great name' was formed with the name of Sokar, and it must be remembered that Sokar later on became intimately connected and almost identified with Ptaḥ.

The jackal-collar, as far as I know, is only once mentioned in Egyptian texts. On a relief of the Nineteenth Dynasty, a man wearing the wig with side-lock and the jackal-collar

¹ See Borchardt, *CCG* II, 427, Middle Kingdom; and *Cat. Boreux* (1932), 55 and pl. 4, Louvre A 72, Dyn. XIX.

² See above under note V.

³ *JEA* 26, 38, n. 3; see also 36.

⁴ Borchardt, *CCG* III, 870, from the Saḳḳārah Serapeum, N.K., with jackal-collar, side-lock, leopard-skin, and shoulder scarf.

⁵ M. A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I, pl. 1.

is shown,¹ while the words written beside him are: '[Receive] me on the Island of Truth, the Sacred Land. I am coming in peace while I am wearing the sḥ-collar.' The determinative of sḥ is here the jackal-collar. In this case, apparently, the jackal-collar gave some kind of protection in the life after death.

There is only one example of a wearer of this collar which is known not to have come from Memphis.² It is in a representation of priests in a festival procession following the divine barks. One bark is accompanied by a number of priests with shaven heads wearing the leopard-skin, but only one of these wears the jackal-collar. Of twelve known bearers of the jackal-collar since the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, seven are known to have been *wr hrp ḥmwṯ*.³ With three it is very probable that they were *wr hrp ḥmwṯ*; although the inscriptions on their monuments are not complete there are strong indications that the owners were connected with gods of Memphis.⁴ The representative of the jackal-collar in the reliefs of the temple of Ramesses III is less certainly an *wr hrp ḥmwṯ*; but even he has an exceptional position. The only real exception to the rule is the chief steward Merptaḥ on the Leyden stela. One must either accept the explanation that Merptaḥ had once been an *wr hrp ḥmwṯ* and had kept the costume but not the title, or one has to admit that it was possible for people other than the *wr hrp ḥmwṯ* to wear the jackal-collar. On the other hand, the bearers of this title were in no way obliged to wear the jackal-collar in all their portraits.

VIII. The two praying servant-priests with shaven heads and short kilts (or rather one man twice figured) at the bottom end of the two vertical ledges have a parallel in the servant-priest on the pyramidion in Florence,⁵ the choirmaster of Ptaḥ, who with shaven head and in short kilt brings an offering of incense and water in front of Ptaḥ-mošĚ.

IX. The monkeys which accompany the two PtaḥmosĚs and Merptaḥ are of a kind which were used as pets in the New Kingdom and have no religious significance.

X. If the upper part of the middle relief had been preserved we would probably know who was the real dedicator of the stela. It is worth noticing that the standing figures in front of the offering tables are wearing the leopard-skin in the same way as PtaḥmosĚ on the stela in Florence⁶ in front of his father DḥutmosĚ. But on the Leyden stela the persons who receive the offerings also wear the leopard-skin, as is indicated by the tail-ends that hang in front of the chairs.

¹ Berlin 12410, part of a tomb wall; Erman, *ZÄS* 33, 22-23. A recent reproduction of the head of this man in Rudolf Anthes, *Meisterwerke Ägyptischer Plastik* (1947), pl. 36, makes it quite clear that the other end of this collar was not a falcon-head, as Erman presumed, but a short tail.

² *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak* (Chicago), I, *Ramses III's Temple*, I, pl. 21a, lower register.

³ They are: Middle Kingdom, Šetepibraʿankhnedjem and his son Nebpu, Louvre A 47, *Cat. Boreux* (1932), I, 52; *Encycl. Photogr. de l'Art*, I, 43. New Kingdom, the two PtaḥmosĚs on the Leyden stela; PtaḥmosĚ, son of Menkheper, Florence 1790, *Cat. Schiaparelli*, 1505; Pḥemnūte, Louvre A 72; *Cat. Boreux* (1932), 55, pl. 4; Khaʿemwġse, Louvre, *Cat. Boreux*, 481, Erman, *ZÄS* 33, 23, fig. f.

⁴ They are: on a wall relief, Berlin 12410; Erman, *ZÄS* 33, 23, fig. d; fragment from Saḳḳārah, Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I, pl. 36, 3; fragment from Saḳḳārah, Borchartd, *CCG* III, 870.

⁵ Cf. above p. 60, D.

⁶ Cf. above p. 60, A.

A FRAGMENT OF THE STORY OF A MILITARY EXPEDITION OF TUTHMOSIS III TO SYRIA

(P.TURIN 1940-1941)

By GIUSEPPE BOTTI

AT the time when I was recording the contents of the ten fragments of the above papyrus of the Museo Egizio at Turin,¹ I was obliged to study them under glass, without being able to move them in order to see whether they could join up with one another. In pointing out a close similarity of subject-matter between them and the so-called 'Poem of Pentwēre', it seemed to me that I was entitled to deprive the latter of the honour of novelty, since it was preceded by an older model, perhaps earlier even than the Turin text, which had been used to celebrate the most famous victories gained by the Pharaohs in their campaigns in foreign lands. This conclusion received very favourable acceptance, especially on the part of Capart in *Chron. d'Égypte*, 5, 45 f.; in *Mélanges Maspero*, 1, 227 and again in *Chron. d'Égypte*, 15, 78, in a review of Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte*, who later on, in the appendix to the second edition of their volume (p. 657), did not fail to make a note of it. My view was accepted also by B. van de Walle in his work *La transmission des textes littéraires égyptiens* (Brussels, 1948), 37.²

After Farina, the then director of the Turin Museum, had rearranged the fragments in the manner in which they appear here (pls. XVI-XVIII),³ my friend Černý, who had an opportunity to study them, recognized in them no longer a prototype of the poem of Pentwēre, as it had seemed to me, but merely a fragment of a tale concerning an episode of a military expedition to Syria undertaken by King Tuthmosis III. Thus determined it was listed by Posener under no. 42 of his conspectus of Egyptian literature,⁴ though he reserved the right of removing it from the list if on the integral publication of the papyrus the text should prove to be of a different nature. Now that Dr. Scamuzzi, Soprintendente of the Museo egizio of Turin, has kindly given permission to publish the document in its entirety, I am very glad that in so doing I can show that Černý's view of the text is correct and reassure Posener that the papyrus is rightly placed in the list compiled by him. I wish to express my thanks to Scamuzzi for his generosity and to Černý for a few suggestions concerning the transcription.

¹ *Rendiconti della R. Acc. Naz. dei Lincei*, 31, 348 ff.

² Cf. also the reviews by Griffith *JEA* 9, 207, and by Peet, *JEA* 10, 188 f.; *OLZ* 26, col. 526.

³ By bringing together the fragments belonging to page 1 (Pap. no. 1940) and by assigning to this text the entire fragment no. 1941. After Farina had in this way brought together no. 1940 and fragments 1-3 and had allotted the unnumbered fragment to page 3, there remain excluded, as not belonging to this papyrus, only two fragments among those listed under no. 1940, see Fabretti-Rossi-Lanzone, *R. Museo di Torino, Antichità egizie* (Turin, 1882), 251. The fragment numbered 1941 figures there on page 252.

⁴ 'Les richesses inconnues de la littérature égyptienne', in *Rev. égyptol.* 6, 40 f.

As reconstructed by Farina the papyrus consists now of three pages on the recto, of which the first has preserved only the ends of the lines and the third shows only the beginnings, while the second presents numerous gaps in the centre, especially in the lower part; throughout this page the sentences are punctuated by red dots, as is usual in literary papyri of New Kingdom date. A detached fragment certainly belongs to the latter part of the third page, and the fragments numbered 1-3 undoubtedly form part of the papyrus, though it is not possible to assign to them their proper positions. The verso has only two lines of hieratic writing which contain the beginning of a letter, and in the first of which occurs the cartouche of Ramesses II already mentioned by Champollion¹ and published, together with the last three lines of the second page of the recto, by Pleyte and Rossi.²

The papyrus which has a maximum length of 35.5 cm. and height of 19.5 to 20 cm. is reproduced here on pls. XVI-XVIII. It can be dated on palaeographical grounds to the Twentieth Dynasty, and because of the mention of Amen-Rē^c and Mont, the two principal deities venerated at Thebes, certainly comes from the Theban necropolis. As for the contents, very little can be gathered from the isolated fragments (nos. 1-3), or from the ends of the lines of the first page of the recto and the beginnings of those of the third. The second page, however, despite numerous lacunae, permits us to determine the literary character of the text. In fact, the Pharaoh Tuthmosis III is represented as describing while the battle rages a particular episode of a campaign undertaken by him, and Amen-Rē^c and the three Monts, those of Hermonthis, Djerty (Ṭōd) and Thebes, come to his aid in the fighting. The story does not lack descriptive power, and makes us regret that only such a small part of it has come down to us, not only because, if complete, it would have considerably enriched the collection of literary papyri owned by the Turin Museum, which is still small compared with that of papyri of an administrative character, but also and above all because it would have given us a literary text hitherto unknown.

Translation of Papyrus no. 1940 (Pl. XVI)

Fragment 1, recto (fig. 1)

(1) *Menkheper[rē^c], l.p.h.* (2) *Menkheper^c, l.p.h.* (3) *we went* (4) *from (or in) my* (5) *the mouth* (6) *it. As (?)* (7) *he . . . the*

Fragment 2, recto (fig. 1)

(1) *prayers wh[ich]* (2) *seven days* (3)

Fragment 3, recto (fig. 1)

(1) *Menkheper[rē^c], l.p.h.* (2) *their*

Page 1, recto (fig. 1)

(1) *your heart(s). My* (2) *came to me. Now, he heard the* (3) *they said to me, It is good* (4) *answer. I* (5) *face toward him. I managed to do* (6) *[hay] for the mouth(s) of my horse[s]* (7) *seize the weapons* (8) *great* (9) *[for]eign workmen*³ (10) *you have* (11) *darkness*

¹ *Lettres à M. le duc de Blacas d'Aulp*, II, 58.

² *Papyrus de Turin*, pl. 83, fig. B; cf. *Texte*, p. 121.

³ In view of the defective state of the papyrus it seems better to render *ḥprw* thus, as in *Wb.* I, 181, without attempting to see here a reference to the Hebrews.

Papyrus no. 1940+1941 (Pl. XVII)

Page 2, recto (fig. 2)

... (1) before my face. [I] found [him]¹ like a bird pinioned in the hand of a fowler whose secret he does not know. Now after (2) a long time² Pesiūr, son of³ Tarōya, answered: 'Allow me to say,⁴ "Make you heart steady, O King Menkheperrē, l.p.h. (3) Behold, your good father Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, has come to you that he may do for you all the things that are in your heart." My heart found a halt and my heart was (4) in joy. All that I did⁵ became Mont, their horses became Sētekh, great of strength, and Bacal (5) in his hour, while he⁶ shoots to the right and seizes to the left, and I acted with my hand to the south of (6) Amen-Rē, King of the gods. ... Let one of the hostile winds come to me, while three Monts are in it, being hidden (7) ... [of] gold, while Mont, lord of Hermonthis,⁷ was at my right [arm]; Mont, lord of Djerty,⁸ at my (8) ... and [Mont], lord of Thebes, exterminated them in front of King Menkheperrē, l.p.h. (I) found that (9) Amen-[Rē] ... made ... of great lions ... he was prostrated together with their cha[riots(?)]⁹ (10) ... Menkheperrē, l.p.h. smashed down ... of the asses of the prince of Syria ...

Papyrus no. 1940+1941 verso (fig. 2) (Pl. XVIII)

(1) ... [NN] to the temple-scribe with pure hands ... Mont of Thebes, Pen ... [of the Mansion] of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usimarēr-setpenrē ...¹⁰ (2) to the effect that I say to Amen-Rē, King [of the gods].

Papyrus no. 1941+fragment without number (1940) (Pl. XVIII)

Page 3, recto (fig. 3)

(1) he hit ... (2) pair of horses ... (3) ... prince of Syria ... (4) soldiers ... (5) they ... (6) the King ... soldiers ... (7) women ... total: various countries ... (8) Behold ... which I have done ... (9) Amēn, the ... flight (?) which you caused ... (10) ... Amen-Rē, King of the gods, the vizier who pronounces [a just judgement] ...

Papyrus no. 1940 verso (Pl. XVIII)

Fragment no. 1 (fig. 4)

(1) ... [Amen-Rē, King] of the gods: Cause ... (2) ... against(?) King Men[kheper] rē ... (3) ... [day?] of your oath ... (4) [m]y lifetime ... (5) ... went forth ... (6) ... I said ... (7) ... lifetime ...

Fragment no. 2 (fig. 4)

(1) ... [King] Menkheperrē ... (2) ... and likewise the ... (3) ...

Fragment no. 3 is not inscribed

¹ This restoration fits the lacuna.

² The two signs of the standing man with stick written above the line are to be regarded merely as trials of the pen.

³ The use of *p* here instead of *p* *n*—as a substitute for *s* 'son'—corresponds to Coptic πα.


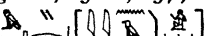
⁴ Probably corrupted from *immi dd(i) n(k)*.

⁵ Read *p* *iir(i) nb*. The suffix of the first person is omitted as often in Late Egyptian.

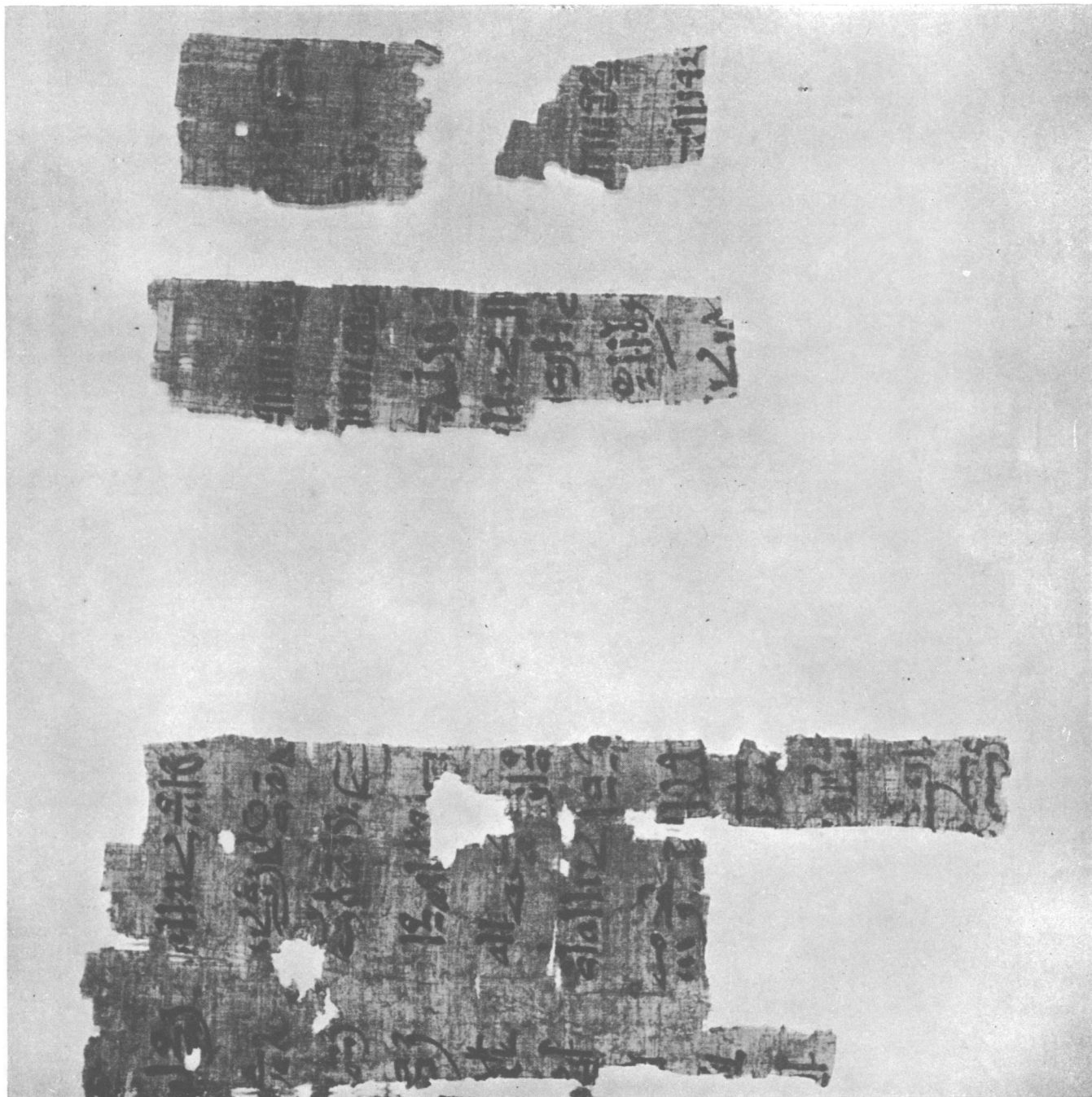
⁶ I.e. Amen-Rē.

⁷ 'Iwnw here is clearly short for 'Iwnw šm.

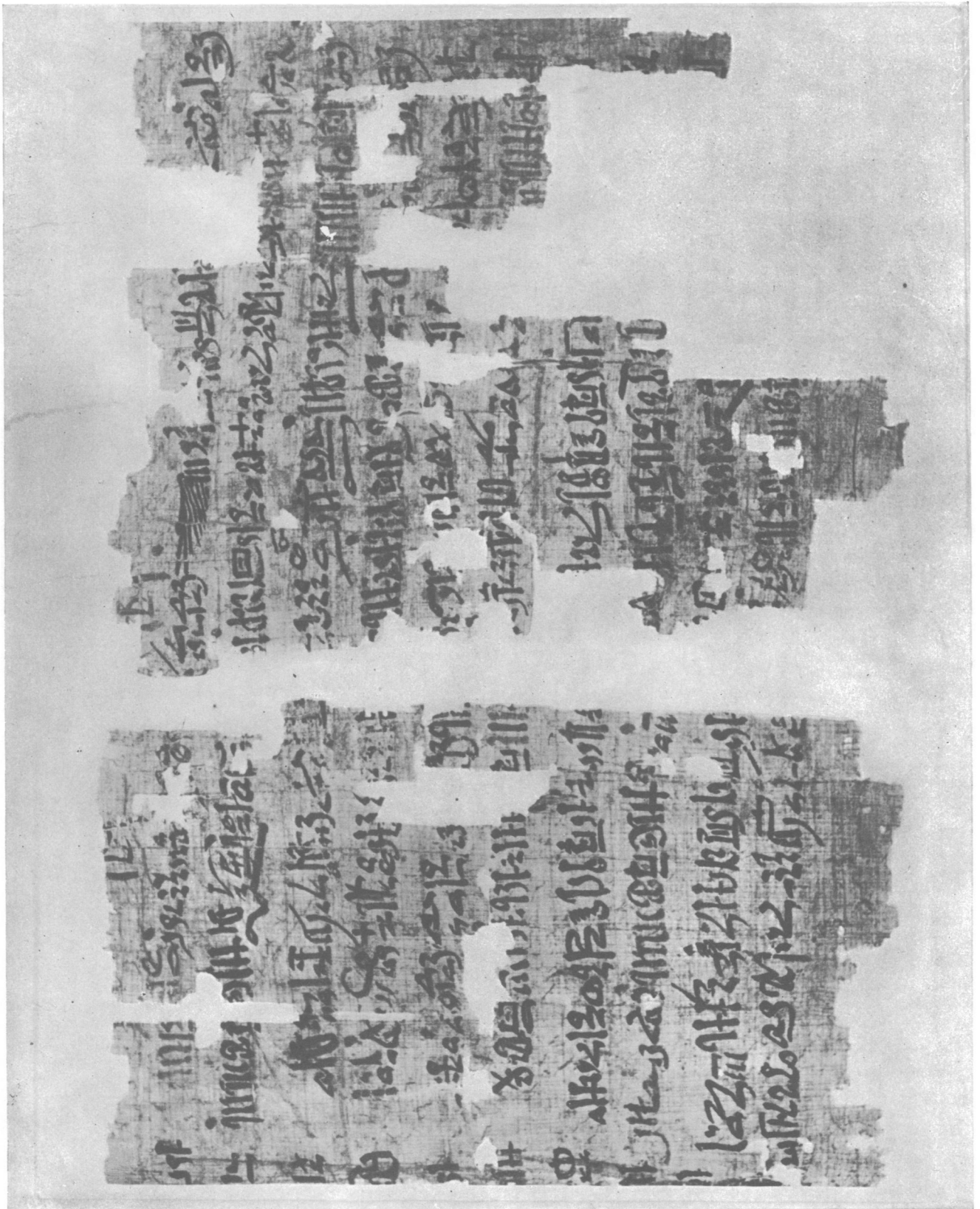
⁸ For this locality, 17 km. south of Luxor, sacred to the god Mont, and later called Τούφιον (= Tuphium), see Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.* 956; Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* VI, 130 f., 137; Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 21* f.

⁹ Restore probably  but  'Syrian commanders' is also possible.

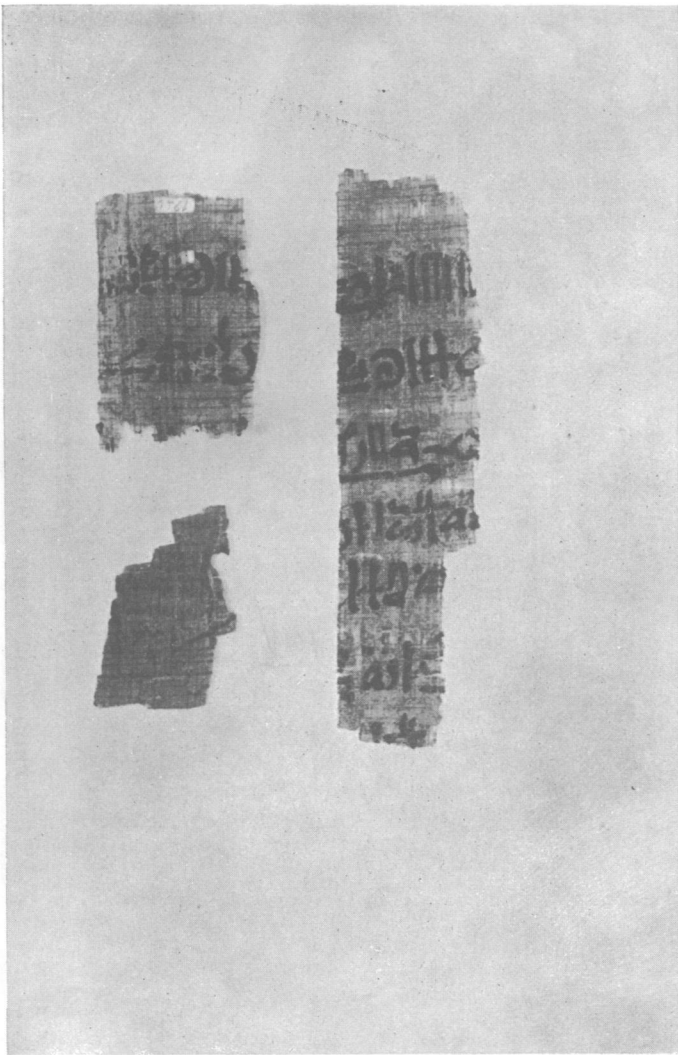
¹⁰ Here must have stood the name of the recipient of the letter, the preceding lacunae having contained parts of his titles; the last of these shows a connexion with the cult of the Pharaoh Ramesses II.



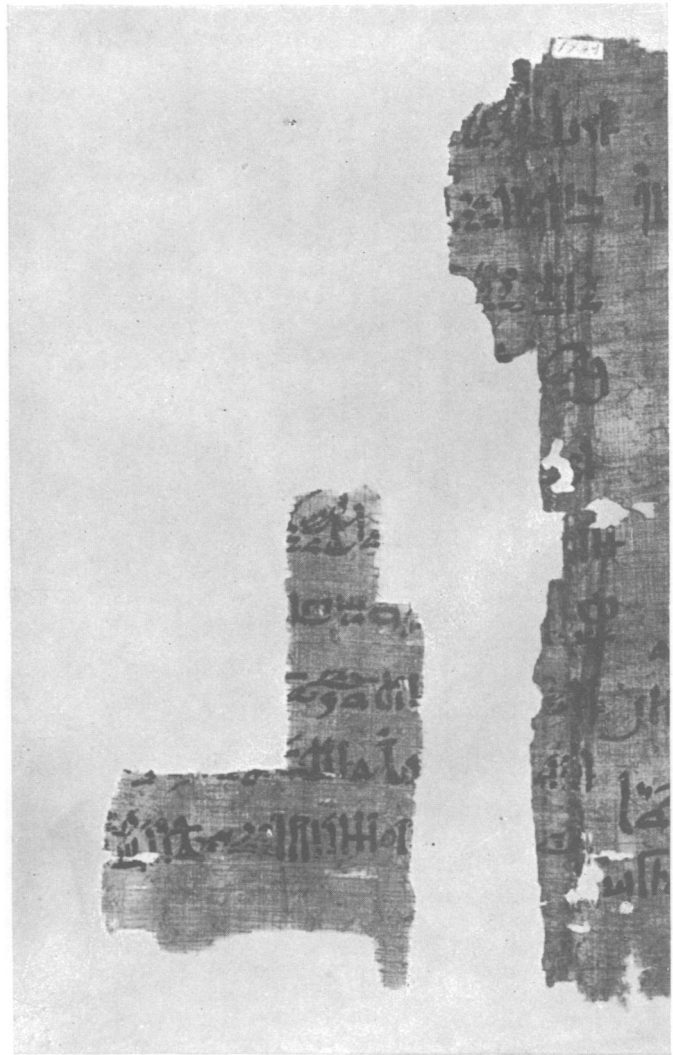
TURIN PAPYRUS no. 1940 *recto*, col. 1



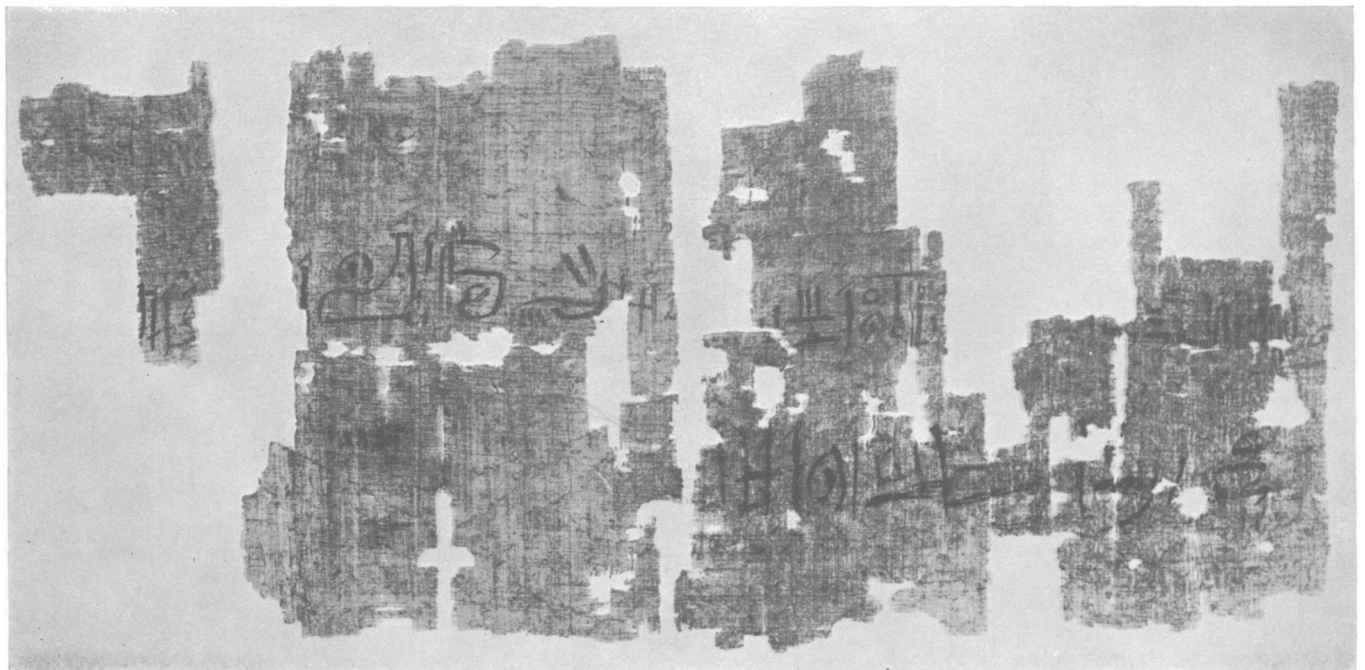
TURIN PAPYRUS nos. 1940+1941, recto, col. 2



Turin Papyrus no. 1940, *verso*, fragm. 1-3



Turin Papyrus no. 1941, *recto*, col. 3



Turin Papyrus nos. 1940+1941, *verso*
TURIN PAPYRUS Nos. 1940+1941

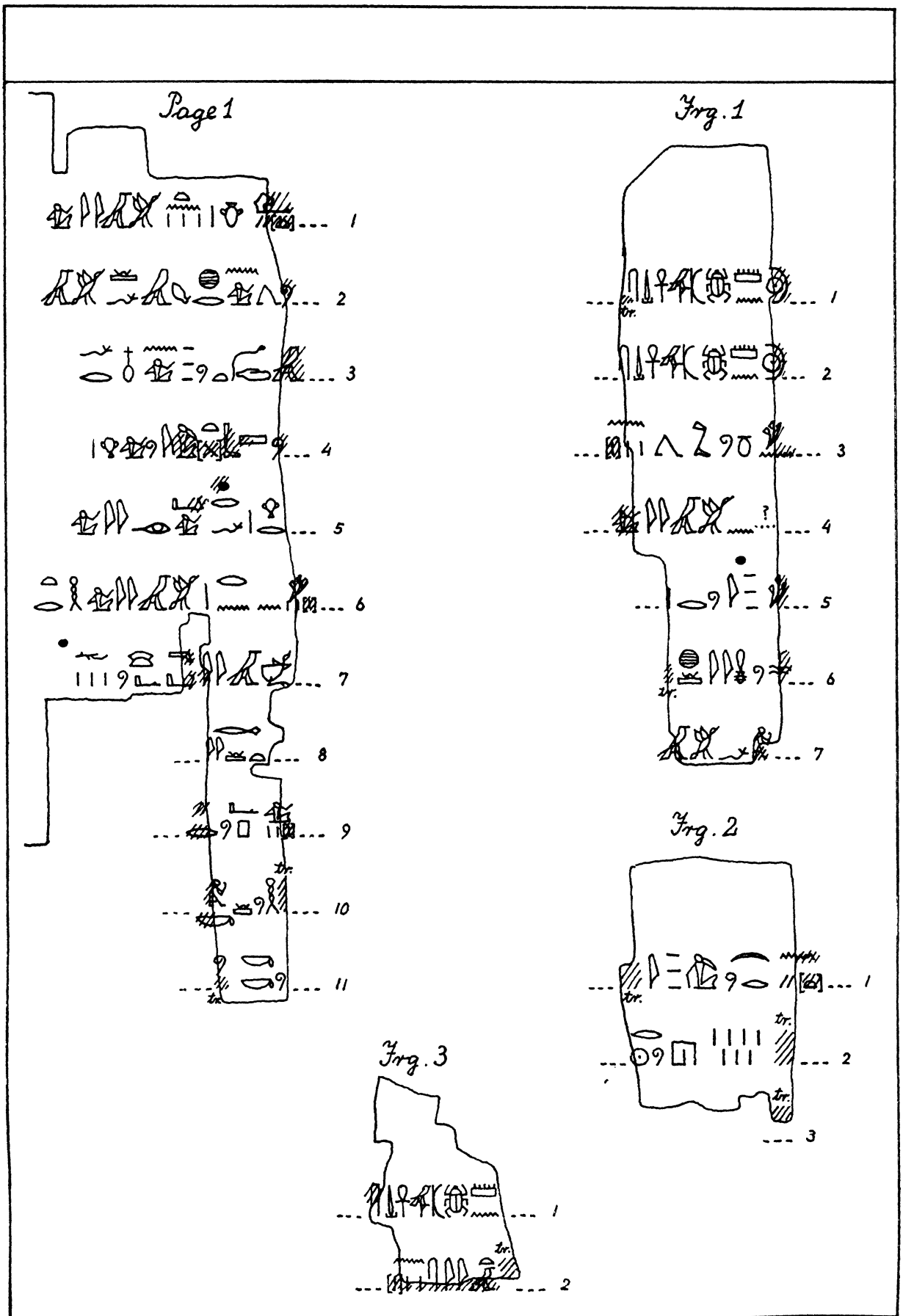


FIG. 1.

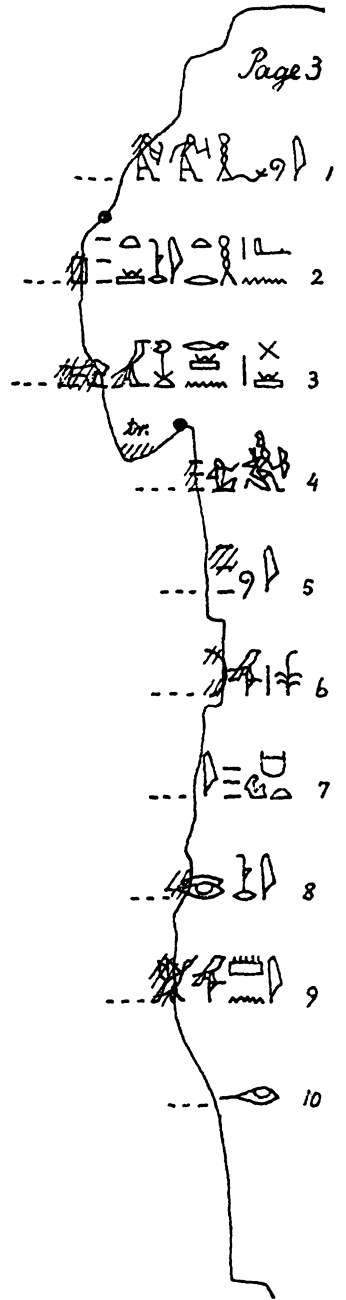
A complex diagram consisting of a grid of handwritten symbols and a vertical line with a zigzag path. The symbols include various geometric shapes like rectangles, circles, and lines, some with dots or shading. The path starts from a small square at the top, moves down, then zigzags horizontally and vertically through the grid, ending near the bottom right.

Handwritten symbols and lines at the bottom of the page, including a small square with a zigzag path and a series of connected lines and shapes.

END

A hand-drawn diagram of a page layout, labeled 'Page 2'. It features a central vertical line and ten horizontal rows of symbols, numbered 1 through 10 on the right side. The symbols are abstract, consisting of various geometric shapes, lines, and patterns. Row 1 includes a small figure on the left and a large, fan-like shape. Row 2 has a series of connected shapes. Row 3 shows a sequence of shapes with some internal patterns. Row 4 contains a large, complex shape with internal divisions. Row 5 has a series of shapes with some internal patterns. Row 6 shows a series of shapes with some internal patterns. Row 7 has a series of shapes with some internal patterns. Row 8 contains a series of shapes with some internal patterns. Row 9 has a series of shapes with some internal patterns. Row 10 shows a series of shapes with some internal patterns. A dashed horizontal line runs across the page, separating rows 6 and 7.

A hand-drawn diagram of a page layout, labeled 'Pages 2 & 3 verso'. It features a central vertical line and two horizontal rows of symbols, numbered 1 and 2 on the right side. The symbols are abstract, consisting of various geometric shapes, lines, and patterns. Row 1 includes a series of shapes with some internal patterns. Row 2 has a series of shapes with some internal patterns. A dashed horizontal line runs across the page, separating rows 1 and 2.



*Frg.
without number*

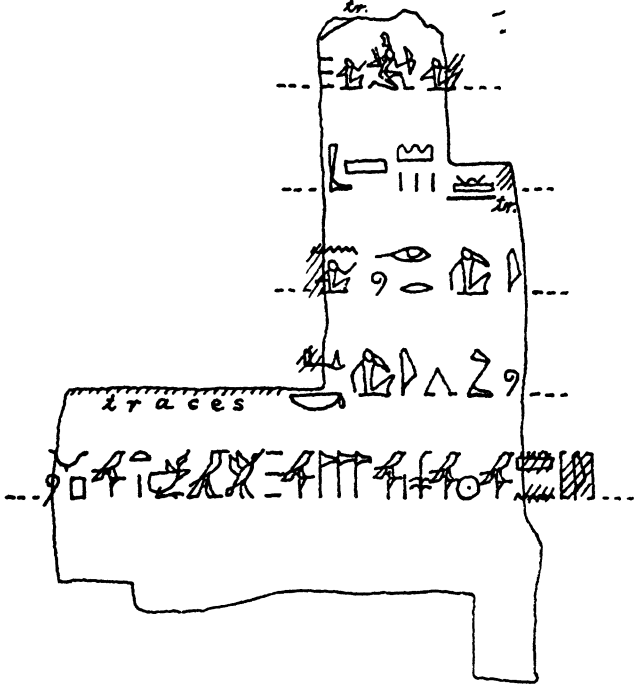
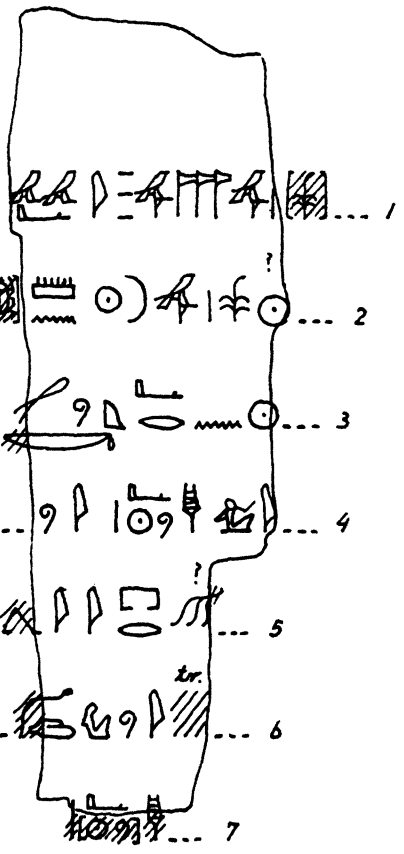
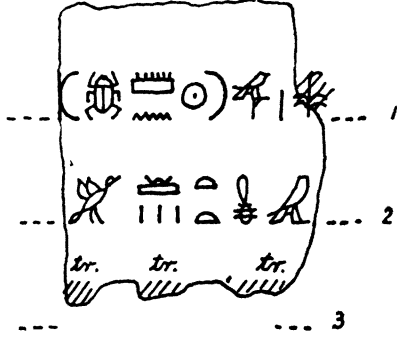


FIG. 3.

Frg. 1 verso

Frg. 2 verso



Frg. 3 verso,
blank

FIG. 4.

A GRANITE GROUP OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

By M. CASSIRER

THIS group, of black Aswān granite, representing an official and his spouse, is 11½ in. high, and was at one time in a private collection in Berlin. It is in an excellent state of preservation, with only a small part of the left-hand side of the seat missing. A crack cuts into the lower part of the woman's dress and the seat, being also visible on the



plinth, but it is not continuous. A yellow vein in the stone runs across the man's breast. The couple are shown seated and embracing each other in accordance with Egyptian convention, the man's right hand being placed on the woman's right shoulder, and the woman's left hand on her husband's left shoulder. Her other hand lies flat on her lap, while the man's shows the 'lying' fist and is grasping the usual symbol, which is slightly abraded. Both wear the old, tight-fitting dress reaching to the ankles. In each case, the lower part of the garment is inscribed with the title and name of the person represented, as well as a dedication by a daughter. In the case of



A GRANITE GROUP OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

the husband, who is shown to the left of his wife (a somewhat uncommon feature), the legend runs: *The Overseer of Craftsmen, Neferkhawet,¹ the justified; (made) by his daughter, who causes his² name to live, Ruyw.³*

The inscription on the lady says: *The Lady of the House, Rennūfer;⁴ (made) by her daughter, the Lady of the House, Ruyw.* (See Pl. XIX.)

Between the two protagonists of the monument, on the horizontal part of the seat, the donor, once more described as *the Lady of the House, Ruyw*, is depicted in low relief. She is seated on a chair, smelling a lotus-flower. The surface of the stone is here somewhat decayed, but forms a pleasing contrast to the beautiful high polish preserved through the centuries on other parts of the group (fig. 1).

Below this relief, on the perpendicular part of the seat, between the couple, a male relative is similarly shown on a chair, lotus in hand (fig. 1). The accompanying legend seems to be intended for *Bak,⁵ the justified*. Whether or not, as is likely, this man is one of the couple's children—perhaps the eldest son—this is the obvious explanation of the other persons carved in low relief on either extreme of the perpendicular part of the seat and on the same level with Bak. These are:

- (1) Next to Rennūfer, a daughter, Amenhotpe;⁶
- (2) Next to Neferkhawet, a son, Amenemhēt⁷ (partly invisible in the reproduction, Pl. XIX).

Both the latter are shown standing as strictly subordinate in the composition. The comparative shallowness of the engraving of the reliefs and inscriptions, especially when compared with that of the sacrificial formulae on the sides of the seat, is possibly due to the artist's unwillingness to distract from the two main figures.⁸

Pl. XIX show the inscriptions on the left and on the right of the seat respectively. Both consist in the main of the familiar *hṭp-dī-nsw* formula.

(1) Next to the woman, and for her benefit: *A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris, the Ruler of Eternity, that he may give all things good and pure, (consisting of) all offerings⁹ and all fruits, (even) all that goes up upon the offering-table of the Good God,¹⁰ to the spirit of the Lady of the House, Rennūfer.*

(2) The husband is promised: *A boon which the king gives (to) Amen-Rēc, that he may give all that comes forth from his temple in the course of every day on all his festivals of sky and earth¹¹ to the spirit of the Overseer of all Craftsmen, Neferkhawet.*

We may take it, accordingly, that the statue was erected not in the tomb-chapel of the deceased parents but, in accordance with the occasional practice¹² of the New Kingdom,

¹ The name is only attested twice elsewhere according to Ranke (*Personennamen*, 199, 1); once, of the father of *Mn-hpr-rc-snb* on a Cairene statue, the other instance of a man bearing the same title, and probably identical, on a stele in the National Magyar Museum. He is, in any case, a different person from the one depicted in this group.

² Emending *rn.s* 'her name' to *rn.f*.

³ Ranke, *op. cit.*, 221, 5.

⁴ *Ibid.* 222, 25.

⁵ *Ibid.* 90, 13.

⁶ *Ibid.* 30, 12.

⁷ *Ibid.* 28, 8.

⁸ This does not necessarily imply that the same artist was responsible for the sculpture, the reliefs, and also the inscriptions.

⁹ The damaged sign is fairly certainly a- ; cf. *Wb.* II, 435, 8.

¹⁰ I.e., the king. The restoration of the genitival *n* is certain.

¹¹ I.e., those that are astronomically fixed, and those that are not; cp. Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten*, pp. 46-47, and *Wb.* III, 57, 7.

¹² Cf. Cooney in *JNES* 12, 15.

in the temple of a god, thus enabling those perpetuated by it to partake of the festive offerings to the deity.

The back of the statue is of interest in that it makes more explicit the title and social position of Neferkhawet, who was evidently, to judge by the material and quality of the monument, a person of some importance, though elsewhere he calls himself, as we have seen, rather vaguely, an 'overseer' of craftsmen. Here, on the plinth (which is rounded at the top corners; see Pl. XIX), there are two columns of inscriptions, the left referring to Neferkhawet, and the right to Rennūfer and their common benefactor.

(1) On the right: *She who is honoured with Osiris, the Lady of the House, Rennūfer, the justified, (and) her daughter, who causes her name to live, the Lady of the House, Ruyw.*

(2) On the left: *He who is honoured with Osiris, the Overseer of all Craftsmen of the God's Wife (ḥmt ntr)¹ the Scribe of Truth, Neferkhawet, the justified.*

The man's title as here given in full is otherwise unknown; nevertheless, its significance can be gauged with a fair amount of certainty. It is beyond doubt that Neferkhawet occupied a prominent position in the household of a queen or princess.² This suggests the office of major-domo, who is known to have been in charge of such building enterprises as it was incumbent on the *ḥmt ntr* to see to.³ As a reliable scribe (*sš mꜣrt*) it might have been his duty to attend to her correspondence.⁴

Unfortunately, the identity of the *ḥmt ntr* in question is a matter of pure conjecture.⁵ On the other hand, however, comparison with the well-known statue of Queen Tetisheri in London⁶ shows that the present group must be assigned to the commencement of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The resemblance is perhaps most striking in the facial expression and in the position of the head, which is thrust forward, and it extends to the pigtails of the headdress.

To conclude, it is possible to enumerate at least five points which mark this group as a rare piece.

- (1) It may be confidently assumed on stylistic grounds that it belongs to the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, of which there are few comparable objects;
- (2) It is made of black (hornblende) granite, and not of the commoner⁷ but less suitable variety;
- (3) Its small size is somewhat unusual for the material employed;
- (4) It is a temple-stature dedicated by a daughter;
- (5) It appears to assign to the major-domo of a 'God's Wife' a seemingly unparalleled title.

To these considerations may be added that of the general competence of the workmanship in a very hard medium, and its aesthetic appeal as a work of art.

¹ See Sander-Hansen's monograph *Das Gottesweib des Amun* (Historisk-filologiske Skrifter, 1, 1).

² Sander-Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 34, where, however, this task is ascribed to a subordinate official.

⁵ A list of god's wives is given, *ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

⁶ E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Sculptures in the British Museum*, pl. 17. Cf. also C. Aldred, *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt*, p. 42, 3. A limestone figure of the lady Tetisonb in the Kestner Museum, Hanover, illustrates the same kind of wig as that of this group.

⁷ A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, 3rd ed., pp. 73 and 469.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 33 and 41.

A NOTE ON THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED BOAT OF CHEOPS

By JAROSLAV ČERNÝ

THE discovery on May 26, 1954, of a boat alongside the southern side of the pyramid of Cheops with the probability of another buried immediately to the west was a surprise, not only because of the perfect state of preservation of one at least of these two boats, but also because they brought up to five the total number of boats placed in the vicinity of this pyramid, for, in his excavations east of the pyramid of Cheops, Selim Hassan had already found three cavities which, judging by their shape, once contained or were destined to contain boats, two along the east side of the pyramid, north and south of the mortuary temple situated against the centre of this side, and one parallel with the end of the causeway leading from the valley to this temple.¹ While we have thus obtained the same number of boats for Cheops as had been found at the pyramid of Chephren,² we once again face the problem of determining the character and purpose of these boats and explaining their number.

The first reports which were published in newspapers and illustrated magazines declared the newly found boat of Cheops to be solar, an explanation probably suggested by their fortunate discoverer,³ but soon voices could be heard insisting on the uncertainty of any guess made as to the nature of the boats before they had been completely cleared, studied, and published. Such caution is undoubtedly justified from the strictly scientific point of view. Pending the final publication, however, frequent reference to the boats is almost inevitable, and it therefore seems excusable to print, even at this early stage, a warning against any hasty acceptance of their solar character. The remarks which follow are essentially the result of considerations suggested to the present writer by a study of information then available, and submitted to a small circle of students at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, on March 14, 1955. They would have remained unprinted had not a small volume⁴ recently come to my notice which contains no longer mere unauthoritative views of journalists concerning the boats, but the opinions of a number of Egyptologists, most of them renowned for their special studies in Egyptian religion. As could only be expected, their opinions are reserved, though in the main they express doubts as to the solar nature of the two new boats.⁵ The present note is an attempt to justify my own doubts which had been reached

¹ Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, VI, Part I (1934-5), (Cairo, 1946), pp. 40 ff. and fig. 14.


² *Ibid.*, pp. 56 ff.

³ Evidently following Selim Hassan, *op. cit.*, p. xiv, who thinks 'that the boats orientated east-west, whether occurring singly or in pairs, are easily recognized as being solar-boats'. From his conclusions on p. 55 (point 3) it appears that he considered the boats directed north-south as solar-boats also.

⁴ *Les Grandes découvertes archéologiques de 1954*, *La Revue du Caire, Numéro spécial* (Cairo, 1955).



⁵ A mere possibility of the solar character of the boats is admitted by Stock (*loc. cit.* 97) and Ricke (p. 132);

quite independently, and to suggest an explanation which seems to agree with the facts so far known.

Before discussing the character of the boats buried round the pyramids, however, it seems worth while first to examine the position in its groove of the eastern and, so far, the only accessible one of the new pair, the blocking of the western one being still untouched so that nothing whatsoever is yet known about the boat which it presumably contains. The photographs taken through the breach effected in the blocking of the eastern boat show that its two ends were formed by wooden posts in the shape of a bundle of reed or papyrus flowers held together by rope indicated by several rings carved in the wood. The boat is therefore of a type frequently found in Egyptian representations and which is nothing else but an enlarged imitation in wood of a primitive reed or papyrus boat or raft. The bow and stern of such boats differed in so far as the prow-post protruded in a slight curve, while the stern-post first turned at a sharp angle towards the inside of the ship (i.e. in the direction of the movement of the ship) and only then curved gradually upwards, as is shown in the hieroglyphic sign  (P3 in Gardiner's *Catalogue*).¹ One wooden model of this type is found among the sixteen boats of Queen Neith (Sixth Dynasty);² from the Middle Kingdom several are known, among them two of Meketrē,³ and four again come from the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn.⁴ It was Reisner who pointed out their funerary use,⁵ though boats of other types occasionally show one end or both shaped like a bunch of reed flowers. The sun-boats depicted in reliefs or wooden models show prows and sterns curved in a very similar way, though not always ending in bunches of reeds, but this is enough to show that they too have their origin in reed boats or rafts.⁶ The distinctive marks of sun-boats are, however, various symbolical objects on the deck and a curtain or mat hanging on the prow, but these all seem to derive from the royal ships of the earliest dynasties.⁷ Anyhow, no trace of their presence in the boat of Cheops has been reported.

The two end posts of Cheops's boat had been dismantled for lack of space in the groove and had been placed beside the body of the boat. The photographs taken in the direction of the eastern end of the ship⁸ show clearly that its post is only slightly curved; it is correct, therefore, to label this eastern end of the boat as the prow as has been done under the published photographs; consequently the boat faced east. The

sceptical are Lauer (p. 89), Kees (p. 102) and Vikentiev (p. 111 and especially p. 122); definitely against are Sauneron (pp. 105-6) and Mme Desroches-Noblecourt (p. 127), while Abubakr (p. 34) and Drioton (p. 74) are entirely non-committal.

¹ The hieroglyphic P2 shows approximately the same boat provided with a mast and a sail, but it faces in the wrong direction in the fount:  instead of .

² Jéquier, *Les Pyramides des reines Neit and Apouit*, p. 34, fig. 18, and pl. 33. They have been studied by J. Poujade, *Trois flotilles de la VI^{ème} dynastie des Pharaons* (Paris, 1948), pp. 7 ff. (I owe this reference to Carminos.)

³ Winlock, *Models of Daily Use in Ancient Egypt from the Tomb of Meketre at Thebes*, figs. 45-48, and 78-81 (see also p. 61).

⁴ Carter, *The Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn*, III, p. 58 and pl. 61, A. The total number of Tut'ankhamūn's boat models was fourteen (op. cit., p. 56).

⁵ Reisner, *Models of Ships and Boats (CCG)*, pp. xxi ff. (Class V, Form I).

⁶ Op. cit., p. xxv (Type VI).

⁷ See the determinative of the expression for the royal progresses *šms-Hr* on the recto of the Palermo Stone.

⁸ *Les Grandes découvertes*, &c., figs. 27 and 30.

curve of the end-post on the opposite side is invisible on the photographs, and it will probably be some time before we hear whether it really has the expected sharp angle of a stern, and more time still before the blocking of the western boat is opened and the direction of this boat is determined. It seems, however, reasonable to expect that this latter boat will be found heading west.

Though there is nothing in the shape of the boat which would definitely preclude its being considered a solar boat, it is the numerical factor that makes such a conclusion unjustifiable. For sun-boats were at all periods thought to consist of two only, one for travel by day (*mꜥndt*) and one for the night journey (*mꜥsktt*), and nothing authorizes us

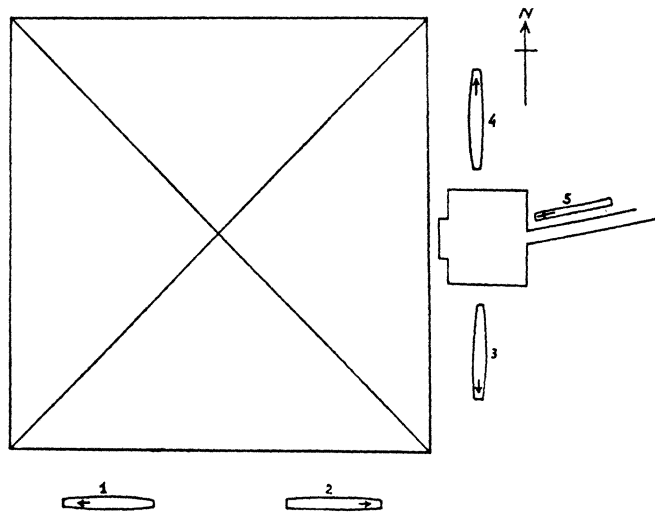


FIG. 1. Boats of Cheops.

(Adapted from Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, VI, Part I, p. 41, fig. 14.)

to increase their number to four (if we count only the boats along the southern and eastern side of Cheops's pyramid), or to five (if the boat beside the end of the causeway is included). Moreover, even if we suppose that the later belief that the king after his death joined the sun-god Rē^c was fully developed at this early stage—though neither Cheops nor his successor Djedefrē^c call themselves sons of Rē^c—still it should be clear that it was quite unnecessary for the king to provide solar boats. He was not expected to bring the (or a) *mꜥndt* and *mꜥsktt* to Rē^c, because the sun-god had his two boats already, and the belief never went any farther than that the sun-god admitted the deceased to his two boats as a travelling companion. And the Egyptians were logical even in such matters.¹

Assuming then that the two boats south of the pyramid (1 and 2 in fig. 1) faced west and east respectively (as indicated by arrows in the accompanying figure)—an assumption against which there seems no argument so far—and that the two boats along the

¹ It is only much later, in the Middle Kingdom, that models of real solar boats appear and then very seldom (see Reisner, *op. cit.*, p. xxv, to whom only three are known). The case of the solar boat which was built in the vicinity of a sun-temple in the Fifth Dynasty is quite different. Here the boat was a materialization of the sun-god's own barque.

eastern side (3 and 4 in fig. 1) faced south and north, we obtain four boats heading towards the four cardinal points of the sky, ready for the dead king whenever he chose to depart for any destination he liked. The fifth boat (no. 5 of fig. 1) could then only be the actual boat which brought the body of the dead king from the valley, was hauled up the causeway and, after the king's body had been disembarked in front of the funerary temple, was buried outside and parallel to the causeway at this spot since it could not be used for any other purpose.¹

A generation later, at the death of Chephren, the same number of five boats was buried near his pyramid (fig. 2) but it was no longer thought necessary that they should

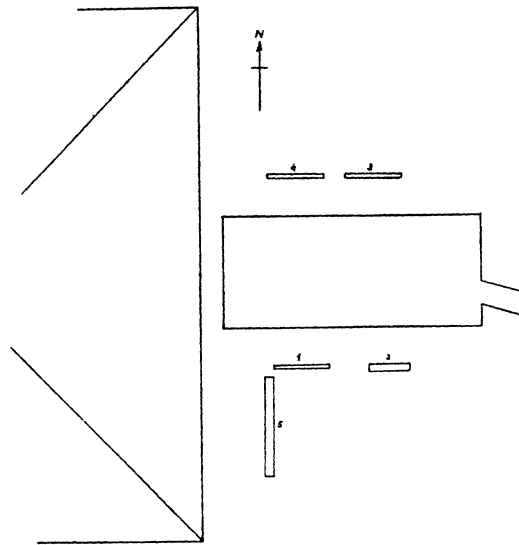


FIG. 2. Boats of Chephren.
(After Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, VI,
Part I, Pl. opposite p. 40.)

face the four cardinal points. We can conjecture that the boats 1-4 were meant for use in the Beyond, while no. 5 was the boat that had served for the funeral. Under the Sixth Dynasty Queen Neith has only small models (sixteen in number) ranged side by side in a row outside her pyramid. We can thus roughly trace the decline of the practice.

It was Erman who first saw² that the 'two *zḥn*', so frequently mentioned in the Pyramid Texts,³ were primitive reed rafts on which the sun-god, with the king in his company, was supposed to cross the sky, and Breasted found such rafts still in use in Nubia.⁴ The 'two *zḥn*' were thus predecessors of the two sun-boats of later less primitive times.⁵ In fact the shape of these later sun-boats, as we have seen, still

¹ The single boat, the cavity of which was found parallel to the causeway of Unas (though south of it) at this point (Selim Hassan, *op. cit.*, p. 82), was undoubtedly of the same nature.

² *ZÄS* 31, 80-82.

³ *Pyr.* 337a-d; 342a-d; 351a-c; 358 a, c, e, g; 926 a, c; 927 a, c; 932 a, c; 933 a, c; 999 b, c; 1000a; 1084c; 1085 a, c, e; 1086a; 1103a, b; 1179a; 1206c, e; 1705a; 1706a. The word is not attested outside the Pyramid Texts, see *Wb.* III, 471, 3-8.

⁴ *JEA* 4, 174-6, and the then Editor's note on p. 255. See further Dawson, *JEA* 10, 46.

⁵ Breasted, however, took the 'two *zḥn*' for the two reed-bundles forming one single float, while they clearly

betrays their original construction in reed (or papyrus). In one passage (*Pyr.* 464*b*), however, the 'western gods, eastern gods, southern gods and northern gods' give the deceased king 'four *zḥn*' on his coming up (*prt*) to the sky, evidently so that he might join them in their respective seats.¹ Is it too rash to interpret these four floats as predecessors of wooden boats such as the four which we find round the pyramid of Cheops? If we follow his boats west to north, in the order in which they are numbered in fig. 1, we even obtain the same peculiar sequence of cardinal points² used for enumerating the four groups of gods in *Pyr.* 464*a* west-east-south-north!

The boats which have occasionally been found outside tombs of private individuals of earlier periods³ were, of course, also destined to transport the deceased in the imaginary world beyond, but owing to the more modest status of the tomb owner they appear singly.

There is no reason for thinking that a sun-boat or the cavity for one has been found excepting the brick boat near Neuserre's sun-temple at Abusîr. Nor is there any reason ever to expect one to be found beside a tomb, whether royal or private.

Postscript

H. W. Fairman, who read the manuscript of the foregoing note, has pointed out two facts which are not mentioned there. The first, namely, the existence of a *single* boat on the south side of the northernmost of the three Queen's pyramids associated with the pyramid of Cheops (G 1*a* of Reisner).⁴ I had not overlooked it, but I refrain from discussing it until more is known about it from the excavator's notes than can be learnt from a photograph.⁵ It had, on the other hand, completely slipped my memory that the groove of a second boat was found in 1949 parallel to the one situated by the Unas causeway.⁶ Here indeed the occurrence of *two* boats would admit of interpreting them as solar, but before the possibility of this issue is seriously considered, the vicinity of the pyramid of Unas should be explored with an eye to the possible existence of further boats there. Should any such boats be traced, the problem would again get back to the stage where the number exceeding two would have to be accounted for, as with the boats of Cheops and Chephren.

are two separate floats. This is proved by the occurrence of 'four *zḥn*' in the passage of the Pyramid Texts now to be discussed. Selim Hassan, in his long discussion of *zḥn* (*Excavations at Giza*, VI, Part I, pp. 1-29) follows Breasted.

¹ Note also that according to *Pyr.* 1355*a* the deceased has to go on 'four roads'.

² Also *Pyr.* 164-6, 554, 1588; order different in *Pyr.* 321, 1252, 1593, and 1603.

³ Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty*, p. 75 and pl. 19, A; *Illustrated London News*, No. 6048 (March 19, 1955), pp. 500-1; Zaki Youssef Saad, *Royal Excavations at Saqqara and Helwan (1941-1945)*, (*Supplément aux ASAE*, no. 3), p. 111 and pls. 40, 59.

⁴ For its position see Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, I, Maps 1 and 3; Reisner-Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, II, fig. 1.

⁵ Baikie, *The Glamour of Near East Excavations*, pl. opp. p. 80; Grinsell, *Antiquity*, 17, pl. 5. The latter (*loc. cit.*, pp. 47-49) lists further examples from Abu Roash, Saqqārah and Dahshur.

⁶ So far the only account and photographs of it are by U. Schweitzer, *Orientalia*, 19, p. 120 and pl. 1, fig. 2; *Forschungsergebnisse in Ägypten in den Nachkriegsjahren* (Gebr. Gerstenberg, Marburg, 1951), 9 and fig. 5.

TWO PICTURES OF TEMPLES

By NINA DE G. DAVIES

PICTURES of temples are not uncommon in Theban tombs—especially in late periods. Here we have two, from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties respectively, and both provide items of interest.

Fig. 1 is from no. 147. The walls of this large tomb are painted and the scenes generally well-preserved in the outer chamber under a thick coating of sooty black which defies penetration. The inner room is far less obscure and there are interesting funerary ceremonies on the right and left walls.

The owner's name seems to have been composed with 'Amūn' and is now erased. The style of the tomb dates it perhaps to the reign of Tuthmosis III or IV. Nothing from this tomb has been published so far.¹

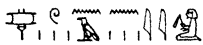
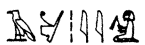
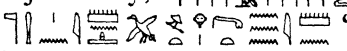
The funerary procession on the left culminates, in the words of the text above, with the 'Arrival at the beautiful temple which is in Busiris'² (at X in plan, fig. 2).

A large break has destroyed all but the prow of the boat which abuts on a bouquet of papyrus heads whose stems are fringed down their height by blue corn-flowers (?) each bearing a red calyx.

A feature of this temple is that the name 'The Temple of Busiris' is inscribed in large blue hieroglyphs between the cornice and the lintel, thus clearly identifying it.

The building is white, with lintel and jambs also white round a yellow wooden door. The tapering masts are yellow (wood) until about an inch above the cornice when they are red (perhaps sheathed in copper) for the rest of their height. The cavetto cornice is in the usual sequence of blue, green, blue, red. Trees are common features in front of temples and here we have a sycamore to right and to left which show their red stems but have lost most of the green—always an evanescent colour—from their leaves.

Fig. 4 from the small Nineteenth-Dynasty tomb no. 134,³ was considerably damaged and not very easy to make out when it was copied shortly before 1937. It has now further deteriorated.

The owner is one Tjauenany,  also named  Any, and he has the rare title of  'Prophet of Amenophis who navigates on the sea of Amūn'. A scene in the tomb of Userhēt (no. 51), where an enshrined black statue of Tuthmosis I in a boat and attended by priests is towed across a lake, might perhaps refer to a similar function in connexion with Tjauenany's title.⁴ Here, however, our picture seems to indicate the symbolic voyage to Abydos, for traces of the funerary catafalque can be made out farther to the left. A priest with his back to it offers

¹ I am indebted to Miss Moss for the plan and the information that Dr. Schott photographed some scenes.

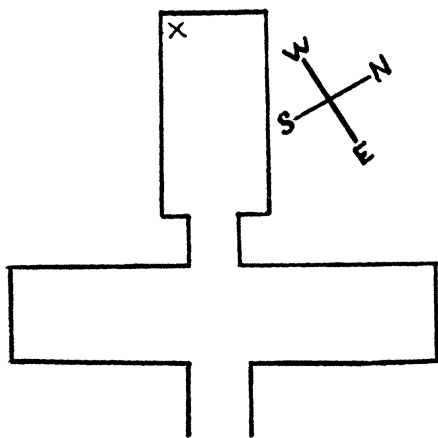
² Sir Alan Gardiner has drawn my attention to *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. 16, where there is another mention of a visit to Busiris.

³ It was formerly numbered 135.

⁴ Norman de G. Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. 16 and pp. 23-24.

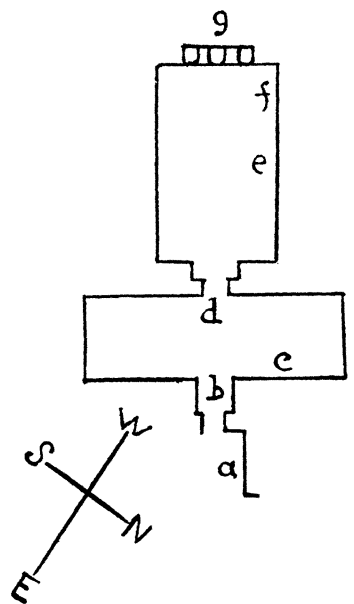


FIG. 1.



T. 147

FIG. 2.



T. 134

FIG. 3.

incense in the direction of the temple. The barge is towed by a boat manned by oarsmen and a man with a pole. They approach a low white corniced landing-stage with a sloping ramp leading into the temple enclosure which has two sycamore trees beside it and a curious dark yellow erection, somewhat like a stela, on top of the cornice. The upper part is destroyed and no trace of text is visible. A similarly coloured object, damaged at top and bottom, is placed above and between the first and second trees. Part of what seems to be a subsidiary shrine is above the group of figures. It is white with traces of blue and yellow on the two papyrus columns resting on white bases. Fragments of red, indicating a door, are visible between.

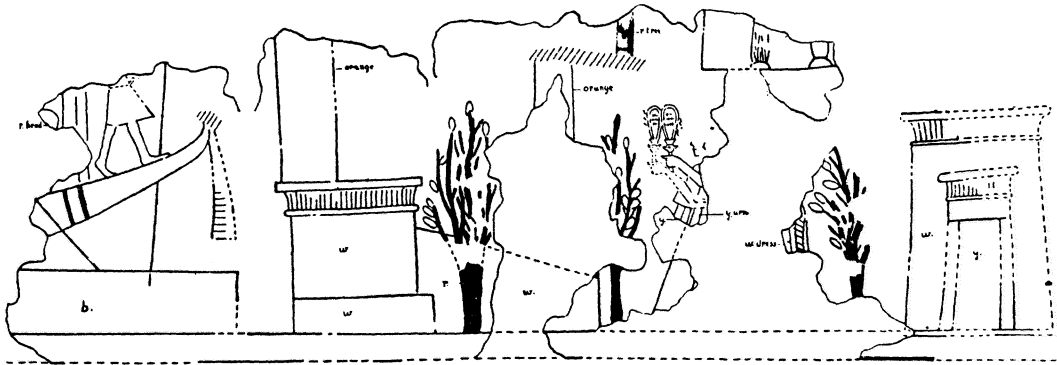


FIG. 4.

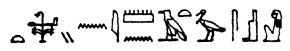
Three (or possibly four) priestesses shaking sistra face the approaching boats. Behind them is another sycamore with red branches and faded green leaves. A white corniced building with a corniced doorway, having a yellow lintel and door, ends the extant scene.

The register below this shows some scanty fragments which indicate what appears to be a kiosk. There are three red columns, one apart, and two closer together, between which are hawk's heads and traces of a front view of a bull's head against a yellow ground. These registers are at *c* on the plan (fig. 3).

Other scenes elsewhere are briefly noted.¹

Entrance. At *a*, a stela. At *b*, deceased worships bark of Ḥarakḥti.

In the first room, at *d*, on the lintel, deceased kneels before three divinities. A frieze of Ḥathōr heads, three *nefers* and *udjet* eyes, is round the walls.

In the second room a frieze shows deceased worshipping Anubis. At *e*, ceremonies before mummy. At *f*, deceased and son worship Osiris and Amenophis I← and Ḥarakḥti and Aḥmosē Nefretari → and Ḥarakḥti and Amenophis I←—. The three statues are those of Tjauenany, Osiris, and the wife of Tjauenany  the Chantress of Amūn, Tabast.

The well-preserved ceiling in this room is designed in squares filled with the names and titles of Tjauenany. A pattern which is very similar is in the Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of Pesiūr (no. 106).

With the exception of some texts in Lepsius nothing has been published from this tomb.

¹ From notes by N. de G. Davies and Miss Moss. For plan and bibliography see Porter and Moss, I, 143.

THE DECREE OF AMONRASONTHĒR FOR NESKHONS

By the late BATTISCOMBE GUNN¹

Introduction

MUCH has been written about the theocratic nature of the Egyptian state during the Twentieth to Twenty-second Dynasties, when a host of matters, great and small, general and particular, were decided by oracles of Amen-Rē^c and other Theban deities, who made their will known by conventional movement of their cult-images, and through their priests delivered lengthy pronouncements tending to the welfare of their devotees.² Of these oracular utterances none is more interesting than the Decree promulgated in about 995 B.C.³ by Amen-Rē^c, King of the Gods, with regard to the after-death existence of the Princess⁴

¹ *Editor's Note:* In his article entitled 'The Split Determined Infinitive', which appeared in Vol. 32, pp. 92-96 of this Journal, the late Professor Gunn expressed his intention of publishing a new translation of the Decree of Amonrasonthēr for Neskhons complete with commentary. When he died in 1950 both these projects, although still in draft, had reached their final stages of preparation, and only the Introduction, apart from one paragraph, remained to be written. The draft of the article and the unfinished Introduction are here reproduced without alteration or addition in the belief that no substantial changes would have been made by Professor Gunn if he had lived to finish his work. In an Appendix, I. E. S. Edwards, who has piloted this article through the press, adds a hieroglyphic transcription of the hieratic board in the Cairo Museum inscribed with a text of the decree and comments on two passages in the light of some contemporary documents not seen by Professor Gunn.

Abbreviations:

NP = Hieratic Papyrus of Neskhons, no. 58032 in the Cairo Museum, published by W. Golénischeff in the *Cat. gen. Papyrus Hiératiques*, pp. 169-96. For previous publications see Golénischeff's bibliography, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

NB = Hieratic Board of Neskhons, no. 46891 in the Cairo Museum, published by I. E. S. Edwards in the Appendix to this article, pp. 100 ff.

MT and RT = McCullum and Rogers Boards (in the British Museum and the Louvre respectively) inscribed with the hieratic text of the Ushabti Decree of Neskhons, most recently published by J. Černý in *Bull. Inst. fr.* 41, 105-33.

P = Hieratic Decree of Pinūdem, no. 58033 in the Cairo Museum, published by W. Golénischeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-209.

² For the history of this period see especially Ed. Meyer, *Gottesstaat, Militärherrschaft u. Standeswesen in Ägypten . . .*, *Sitzungsb. Berlin*, 1928, 495 ff.; *id.*, *Gesch. Alt.*, II, 2, pp. 6 ff.; Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Dér el-Baharî* in *Mem. Miss.* I, 511 ff. (hereafter cited as *Mom. roy.*), *passim*; Petrie, *Hist. of Eg.* III, 188 ff.; Breasted, *Hist. of Eg.* 523 ff.; Lefebvre, *Hist. des grands prêtres d'Amon de Karnak*, 205 ff.; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte* ('Clio' series 3rd ed. [1952]), 511 ff., 556 ff.; Gauthier, *Précis de l'histoire d'Égypte*, I, 189 ff.; *id.*, *Livre des rois*, III, 229 ff. For Egyptian oracles, see Meyer, *loc. cit.*; Breasted, *op. cit.* 522 ff.; Erman, *Äg. Religion and Religion d. Ägypter*, indexes s.v. 'Orakel'; Blackman in *JEA* 11, 249 ff.; 12, 176 ff.; Černý in *Bull. Inst. fr.* 27, 159 ff.; 30, 299 ff.; 35, 41 ff.; 41, 13 ff.; Drioton-Vandier, *op. cit.* 470; 519-20; 559; 616.

³ She was buried in year 5 of an unnamed king (see Maspero, *Mom. roy.* 520 ff.), who was, however, certainly Siamūn of Tanis, whose reign began about 1000 B.C.

⁴ 'King's daughter.' Her other titles include 'Chief among the principal Concubines of Amonrasonthēr (*wrt hnrwt tpywt n' Imn-Rc-nsu-ntrw*) or in shorter form 'Chief among the Concubines of Amūn' (*wrt hnrwt n' Imn*); 'Chief over the Ladies' (*hryt tūwt*, var. *hryt špswt*); Prophetess of Amūn-united with Thebes' (*hmt-ntw Imn hnm Wist*); 'Prophetess of Khnum, Lord of the Cataract District' (*hmt-ntw Hnmw nb Kbhū*); 'Prophetess of



Neskhons,¹ daughter of King Smendes,² founder of the Twenty-first Dynasty, and wife of the First Prophet of Amūn,³ Pinūdem,⁴ who survived her by five⁵ years, and was a contemporary of Siamūn, the last king but one of that dynasty.

(Unfinished)

Khnum, Lord of Geḥesti'; 'Prophetess of Nebet-ḥetep of Serwedet'; 'Prophetess of Ḥathōr, Lady of 'Agana'; and, very strangely, 'Viceroy of Cush, Overseer of the Upper-Egyptian Countries' (*ḥt-nsw n Kš, imy-r ḥswt šmꜣw*). See for these titles Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, III, 276, 280 ff.; Budge, *Greenfield Papyrus*, x ff. These are all the titles occurring on objects specially prepared for Neskhons (Canopic vases, stela, Book of the Dead, shroud). Half-a-dozen other titles occur on the coffin originally made for Esemkhebye, an aunt of hers, and usurped by Neskhons. These were doubtless titles borne by the first owner only; however, Budge, *op. cit.* x f., ascribes them all to her and commits a number of errors, mostly taken over from *Mom. roy.* 578 (for a somewhat more correct copy see Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales (CCG)*, 112-13). Petrie, *Hist.* III, 216, calls Neskhons 'queen', as does also J. R. Buttles, *The Queens of Egypt*, 186 ff., with no reason.

¹ *N-s-ḥnsw* 'she belongs to Khons'. The initial *n*, which is absent from all Aramaic and Greek writings of names of this type, and had disappeared by 668 B.C. (see Ranke, *Keilschriftliche Material*, 29), may well have been still sounded at the beginning of the tenth century. For accounts of Neskhons, with lists of objects belonging to her, see Maspero, *Mom. roy.* 710 ff. (for 'linceul', p. 712, line 9 up, read 'cerceuils'); Budge, *op. cit.* ix ff.; Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, III, 280 ff.; Buttles, *op. cit.*, 186 ff. For her mummy, see Maspero, *op. cit.* 578 f.; G. Elliot Smith, *The Royal Mummies (CCG)*, 107 ff. For her usurped coffins, see Daressy, *op. cit.* 110 ff.

² For the evidence of this filiation see Gauthier, *op. cit.* III, 280.

³ Pinūdem had also the titles 'Great Overseer of Soldiers' (*imy-r mšꜣ wr*) and 'Leader' of the army (*ḥrwty*); see Gauthier, *op. cit.* III, 277 (where for  read ) , 279. For this person see *Mom. roy.* 640-730, *passim*; Petrie, *Hist.* III, 215 ff.; Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* IV, §§ 662 ff.; Gauthier, *op. cit.* III, 274 ff.; Drioton-Vandier, *op. cit.* 517-19, 559. For his mummy, *Mom. roy.* 571 f.; Elliot Smith, *op. cit.* 107. For his coffins, *Mom. roy.* 571; Daressy, *op. cit.* 95 ff. It is, of course, a complete mistake to regard this Pinūdem as a king, as is sometimes done, whether by description (thus, Petrie, *op. cit.* 218, calls him 'the king', his wife Neskhons 'the queen', and his daughter Esemkhebye 'the princess', and so on), or by including him in lists of kings, and especially by calling him, as historians regularly do, 'the Second'. Only one king of this name is known to us, namely, the immediate successor of Ḥriḥōr. The history of the Twenty-first Dynasty has been unnecessarily confused by including as sovereigns persons who make no pretensions to royalty in any documents that have come down to us.

⁴ *P(ḥ)y-ndm* 'this pleasant one'; usually called Painozem, Pinedjem, Pinezem, Pai-netchem, etc., all these transcriptions ignoring the fact that *ndm* had become *ndm* long before, cf. Coptic ⲛⲟⲓⲛⲁ

⁵ He died in a regnal-year (of Siamūn) which is usually read *ḥst-sp 16*, but is almost certainly *ḥst-sp 10* (*Mom. roy.* 523, fig. 5). He was already deceased (*mꜣr-ḥrw*) in year 14 of Siamūn, see *Rec. trav.* 21, 61.

Translation

§ I

(41 = NB 5) Amonrasonthēr,¹ the very great Primordial God,² has sent forth³ his very great, august oracle⁴ to deify Neskhons, the⁵ daughter of Tehenedḥowt, in⁶ the West, to deify her in the Necropolis.

§ II

Amonrasonthēr, the very great Primordial God, has said:

'I will¹ deify Neskhons, this daughter of Tehenedḥowt, in the West; I will deify her in the Necropolis. I will cause (45 = NB 6) her to receive water of the West;² I will cause her to receive food-offerings in the Necropolis. I will deify her soul³ and her body in the Necropolis, and⁴ I will not allow her soul ever⁵ to be destroyed in the Necropolis. I will deify her in the Necropolis like any god and any goddess who is divine, like any being and any thing⁶ which is divine in the Necropolis.

'I will cause every god and every goddess, and every thing and every being which is divine in

the Necropolis, to receive her. I will cause entities of every kind⁷ to receive her in the Necropolis with a good reception.⁸

'I will cause to be done⁹ for her everything good which befalls¹⁰ a person if¹¹ he falls (50 = NB 8) into this condition which has befallen her, and he is taken away to the Necropolis, and he is deified,¹² and every good thing is done for him there, and he is caused to receive water and food-offerings, and he is caused to receive his *pꜣwt*-loaf, provided that a *pꜣwt*-loaf is what those who are divine have received, and he is caused to receive a temple-offering, provided that a temple-offering is what those who are divine have received.'

§ III

Amonrasontĕr, the very great Primordial God, has said:

'I will cause Neskhons, this daughter of Tehenedĥowt, to eat and drink in the same manner¹ (55 = NB 11) as any god or any goddess who is divine in the Necropolis.

'I will cause Neskhons to be in every good condition² that has befallen any god or any goddess who has become divine in the Necropolis, and will save Pinūdem, my servant, from any accusation³ of wrong because of it (the condition),⁴ and no wrong shall be done to⁵ Neskhons, according to any wrong of the Necropolis, because of it.⁴

'I will allow her soul to go forth, I will allow it to go in, as it pleases,⁶ and it shall not be hindered.'

§ IV

Amonrasontĕr, the very great Primordial God, has said:

'I will turn the heart¹ of Neskhons, this daughter of Tehenedĥowt (60 = NB 13), and she shall not do anything evil² to Pinūdem, the son of Esemkhebye.

'I will turn her heart, and I will not allow her to curtail any³ of his lifetime, and I will not allow her to cause any of his lifetime to be curtailed (by others).

'I will turn her heart, and will not allow her to do to⁴ him anything evil in the heart of a living person.⁵

'I will turn her heart, and I will not allow her to cause anything to be done to him which is grievous⁶ to a living person.'

§ V

Amonrasontĕr, the very great Primordial God, has said:

'I will bring it about that¹ she shall not seek² anything evil for (65 = NB 16) Pinūdem, the son of Esemkhebye, or anything deadly.³

'I will turn her heart, and she shall not do to him anything, any thing whatsoever that does wrong to a person, and she shall not cause any god or any goddess who is divine to do it to him, or any spirit, male or female, who is divine; and she shall not cause entities of any kind to do it to him, or any being which exercises authority,⁴ or any being whose voice⁵ is heard,⁶ or indeed⁷ entities of any kind.

'I will turn her heart to seek good for him while he is upon earth.

'I will bring it about that seeking for him a very long life while he is upon earth, he being alive and well, and being strong (70 = NB 18) and mighty, is what she shall do.

'I will bring it about that seeking for him everything good⁸ is what she shall do, in every place in which her voice⁵ shall be heard.

'I will bring it about that she shall not seek for him anything evil of any kind which does wrong to a person, which causes grief to (?)⁹ Pinūdem the son of Esemkhebye.

'I will bring it about that she shall not seek anything evil, anything deadly,¹⁰ anything evil of any kind which causes grief to (?) a person, and does wrong to a person, for any person for whom Pinūdem has affection,¹¹ for whom he (75 = NB 21) will be grieved¹² if anything evil befall them.¹³

'I will bring it about that what is in good order shall be in the heart of Neskhons and with her

soul, and that her heart shall not turn away¹⁴ from him,¹⁵ and her soul shall not turn away from him, and that he shall not turn away from Neskhons in any manner of turning away that befalls man¹⁶ when he is in this estate which has befallen her, he being divine in the Necropolis, and being of¹⁷ any kind; and that he shall not do evil to Neskhons in¹⁸ any condition which befalls a person who is in this estate which has befallen her, and that he shall be satisfied with her (80 = NB 23-24), provided that everything good, a very long life while he is upon earth, he being strong powerful and mighty, is what will befall Pinūdem, and that none of his lifetime be curtailed, and that nothing evil of any kind which does wrong to a person, or which is grievous to a person, will befall Pinūdem, and that it will not befall his wives or his children, or his brethren, or Itawi, or Nestenebtashru, or Mesehret, or Tjanūfer,¹⁹ the children of Neskhons, and that it will not befall her brethren.

‘I will bring it about that she shall have (85 = NB 26) what is beneficial²⁰ (in)²¹ every manner, and that it shall give her comfort²² in every manner of comfort that befalls a person who is in this estate which has befallen her, provided that everything good, and a very long life, will really and truly befall²³ Pinūdem and his wives and his children and his brethren, and the children of Neskhons, and her brethren.’

§ VI

Amonrasonthēr, the very great Primordial God, has said:

‘Everything whatsoever¹ and every condition that befalls a person who is in this estate which has befallen her, and through which he becomes divine, I will cause them to befall her. I will cause “The blessing of Rē^c is great”² to be said to³ (90 = NB 29) my⁴ name, and her soul shall never be destroyed in the Necropolis.’

§ VII

Amonrasonthēr, the very great Primordial God, has said:

‘Anything which will be good for Neskhons, and which will deify her, and which will cause her to receive water and food-offerings, and which they have forgotten¹ to mention before me, as well as the things which have been mentioned, I will do them all for her, without exception.²

‘Any boon which has been mentioned before me in connection with Neskhons, I will do it for her so long as³ the sky is fixed and the sun shall go up, and no evil shall assail her of anything evil which assails a person who is (95 = NB 32) in this condition in which Neskhons is, so long as the sky is fixed and the sun goes up and water bears boats.

‘Everything which they have mentioned before me, saying “Do them for her”, as well as those which they have forgotten to mention before me and which may be good,⁴ I will do them for her so long as the sky is fixed and the sun goes up and water bears boats, from today onwards.⁵

‘Everything which is bad for a person who is in this condition which has befallen her, and which they have forgotten to mention before me, as well as those which they have mentioned, I will keep them all away⁶ from her,⁷ without exception (100 = NB 34), so long as the sky is fixed and the sun goes up and water bears boats, from today onwards.’

§ VIII

Amonrasonthēr, the very great Primordial God, has said:

‘I will cause “The blessing of Rē^c is great” to be said to¹ my name, and I will not allow to befall her any shortcoming of anything² good which befalls a person who has fallen into this condition in which Neskhons is. I will cause her to receive food-offerings—bread, loaves, beer, water, *hww*,³ wine, *sdh*-wine, milk and fruit. I will cause her to receive anything and everything which is good for a person who is in this condition in which Neskhons (105 = NB 36) is, and who becomes a blessed person, and who is deified.⁴ I will cause her to receive, like any god or any goddess, any thing which is acceptable when it is deified in the Necropolis.⁵ I will cause her to receive her temple-endowments⁶ similarly to⁷ the gods.’

§ IX

Amonrasontĥĕr, the very great Primordial God, has said:

'As to their having said¹ "A food-offering of the Fields of Yalu, and land of the Fields of Yalu—is² (it) a boon for a person who is in this condition in which Neskhons is, if one should do it?"³—I will give a food-offering of the Fields of Yalu, and land of the Fields of Yalu, to Neskhons the daughter of Teĥenedĥowt, provided that that is what will be good for her, and in no small quantity,⁴ provided that (110 = NB 40) that is what will be good for her.'

§ X

Amonrasontĥĕr, the very great Primordial God, has said:

'All good things which they have mentioned before me, saying "Do them <for>¹ Neskhons the daughter of Teĥenedĥowt", I will do them for her in no small quantity, and not one of them shall be² taken away, and no curtailment of them shall ever be made, so long as the sky is fixed and the sun goes up, but rather she shall receive them, numerous to the extent of³ whatever will be good for her (115 = NB 42), like all persons and all gods who are divine⁴ and go forth and enter in and go anywhere as they wish.'⁵

§ XI

Amonrasontĥĕr, the very great Primordial God, has said:

'All good things which they have mentioned before me, saying "Mayest thou do them for Pinūdem, this son of Esemkhebye, thy servant, and his wives, his children, his brethren, every person for whom he has affection, and for whom he will be grieved¹ if evil befall them"—I will send forth my very great, august oracle to every place in which the boons are to² befall (120 = NB 44) Pinūdem and his³ wives and his children and his brethren and every person for whom he has affection, provided that one goes thither, saying "An oracle of Amonrasontĥĕr, the very great Primordial God, will do (?)⁴ them", and I will cause that they be caused to be done.'⁵

That which this great god has said.⁶

Notes


§ I

1. Greek forms of 'Imn-R^c-nsw-ntrw 'Amen-Rĕt, King of the gods' seem to be known from only two sources: (1) *CIG* 4717 = *OGIS* 194 ll. 3, 27, which together give *Αμονρασωνθηρ*; (2) Pap. Grey, l. 29. In the latter the writing is somewhat smudged; *Αμονρασωνθηρ* is read by Young, *Account of some Recent Discoveries*, 146; Dittenberger, *OGIS* 1, p. 277, n. 7; Kenyon, *Gk. Papyri in the Brit. Mus.* 1, p. 46; Griffith, *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.* 118; Mitteis, *Chrest.*, no. 129, Wilcken, *UPZ* II, 131, 29, and is confirmed orally by Mr. Edgar Lobel as far as the best facsimile (Kenyon, op. cit., pl. 27) goes, so that Brugsch's reading here *Αμονρασωνθηρ* in *Lettre à M. le V^e de Rougé*, 58, is clearly wrong (he gives the correct form in *Gramm. Démotique*, 47); Griffith's form *Αμενρασωνθηρ*, *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.* 433 (no source given) also seems to be erroneous. On the name see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. (an article containing six mistakes in eight short lines!).

2. On this epithet see Appendix, note A (Ed.).

3. *Nty wd* with the prefixed *nty* which often introduces *šdm-f* with perfect meaning in Late Egyptian, and is derived from *r ntt* (on which see Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.* § 225, end, to which, in my opinion, the examples cited p. 167, n. 2 belong), and perhaps enters into the Coptic Second Perfect in Saïdic, Bohairic and Sub-Akhmimic, despite

the different view taken in *Études de syntaxe copte*, 70 by Polotsky, who does not appear to take into account this derivation, already suggested by Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.* § 680.

4. *Hrt-tw*, also 37, 119, and 121, P 32. NB (4, 44, and 45) writes it .

5. The text has sometimes (42, 109, 112 = NB 5, 39, 40) *tʃ šri* 'the daughter', sometimes (43, 54, 59 = NB 6, 10, 13) *tʃy šri* 'this daughter', NP and NB agree exactly in this variation. Similarly of Pinūdem, thrice (60, 65, 72 = NB 14, 16, 20) *pʃ šri* 'the son', once (117 = NB 43) *pʃy šri* 'this son', with the same agreement of the two manuscripts. P has only *pʃy šri* 'this son'; MT and RT have *tʃy šri* throughout. Cf. also *tʃy šrit*, *Mém. Miss.* 1, 705-6, ll. 14, 22 of text. I am quite unable to see any grammatical reason for the variation between *pʃ*, *tʃ* and *pʃy*, *tʃy* in these filiation clauses, and suppose the exact agreement in this respect (as in nearly all others) between NP and NB to be due to one of the two manuscripts being a very close copy of the other. The forms *pʃy*, *tʃy* seem to be used very often in descriptive clauses and epithets (including titles) placed in apposition after personal names.

6. The preposition *m* is written sometimes *m*, sometimes *n* in NP, NB, and P; NP and NB agree exactly in this with one exception (*n pʃi shr* 88-9 = *m pʃy shr* NB 28, 29). In these three texts *n* is used rather more than *m* (about *n* 34 to *m* 30 times, taking NP and NB as one text); MT and RT use *n* only. The choice between the two writings is apparently quite arbitrary, yet to some extent consistent, e.g. in NP, NB always *m Hrt-ntr* (14 times), but in P always *n Hrt-ntr* (8 times); in NP, NB, P always *n 'Imntt* (7 times) with one exception; before initial *p* (*pʃ*, *pʃy*) *m* in the three texts 10 times to *n* once; before initial *m* (*mdt*) *n* (twice). Cf. Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.* § 606.

§ II


1. The '3rd Future' (*iwf r sdm*) is regularly written without the *r* in NP, NB, P.



2. *Mw 'Imntt* (so also NB 6); cf. also P 34. Apparently direct genitive; Černý refers me to *Wenamūn*, 2, 59: *iw-k šsp mw 'Imntt* 'thou shalt receive water of the West'. So also Maspero, *Mém. Miss.* 1, 600: 'l'eau d'Occident.'

3. 'Soul' renders *bʃ* throughout. 'Her soul' is *bʃs* here and in the next line (=NB 7), but *pʃy·s bʃ* in 58, 75-76, 76 = NB 12, 21, 22, without apparent reason for the difference. P has *bʃf*, *bʃw* throughout (13 times)







4. The 'circumstantial' *iw* may often be suitably translated as 'and', and what follows it may be taken as a principal sentence, when this sentence depends on a previous sentence in the same tense; this is the case many times in N, especially when both sentences are in the '3rd Future', the second one being negated (*iwf <r> sdm . . . iw bn iwf <r> sdm . . .*).

5. *cn̄n* here and in 90, 113 = NB 7, 29, 41 also P 39, 47 (see pl.), 59 after a negative here means 'ever' as in demotic, cf. Griffith, op. cit. 210, n. 2. Cf. also Golénischeff, *Papyrus hiératiques (CCG)*, no. 58035, 63, 93.

6. I have tried to be consistent in translating throughout *nty nb* (written ) as 'every being' or 'any being', *nkt nb* as 'every thing' or 'any thing', *mdt nb* as 'everything' or 'anything', *mdt nfrt* as 'boon', *mdt b̄int* as 'evil', *nʃ nty wndw nb* as 'entities of every kind'.

7. *Wndw*, a word almost peculiar to just this period, cf. *Wb.*, *Belegst.*, s.v.
8. For *šsp . . . m šsp nfr* (also P 39–40) Gardiner refers to *Ann. Serv.* 15, 141; ll. 6–7 of text.
9.  NP 49;  NB 8.
10. 'Befall' translates throughout *hpr mdi*.
11. On *m-pš* 'if', 'provided that' see *JEA* 32, 92 ff.
12. NP wrongly *nt(r)i n·f* = *nt(r)i·f* rightly NB 9.

§ III

1. Lit. 'to make the manner of eating, the manner of drinking (*pš kī wnm*, *pš kī sw(r)i*, cf. $\pi\sigma\iota\kappa\omicron\gamma\omega\lambda\lambda$, $\pi\sigma\iota\kappa\epsilon\omega$) that any god etc. has done.'
2. I have felt obliged to translate *kī* in two different ways: (1) 'manner', as in the previous n., (2) 'condition' as here. In the second meaning it is almost synonymous with *shr* as used in this text; I have, however, rendered the latter as 'estate' to distinguish it.
3. *Hn(w)*, variously written  (the last two signs corrupted from $\text{𓆎}?$), 57 =  NB 12,  P 51,  (111), Naville, *Inscr. Hist. Pinodjem III*, ll. 11, 13, 13, seems to mean something like 'accusation'.
4. *R dbš·tw·f* ($\epsilon\tau\beta\eta\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$) here may mean 'on account of him'.
5. In Golénischeff's transcription of l. 57  and  both seem to belong to the earlier writing, before the correction. || NB 12 has, after *r dbš·tw·f*, *iw bn iw·w ir btš n* (sic) N, etc.
6. 'As its heart prompts', *m dd ib·f* (cf. P 44, 64), apparently a Middle-Egyptianism. Wrongly explained as a participle, Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.* § 382.

§ IV

1. *Phr hšty*; cf. $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$ and our 'change of heart'. To the examples in this text add Borchardt, *Statuen u. Statuetten. . .* (CCG), no. 1040 (with references), 5, *iw·k phr hšty·i r ir mdt* (?—cf. Daressy's copy) 'thou shalt turn my heart to do . . .'; 10, [*i*]*w·k phr hšty·w m sš sš Rr W*. 'thou shalt turn their hearts to follow (?) the Son of Rēc Osorkon'. See also *Wb.*, *Belegstellen* to 1, 544 (14), 545 (1), and *Inscript. dédicatoire*, 42, 97. Spiegelberg's suggestion, *ZÄS* 57, 149, n. 6 that *phr* in this decree means 'enchant' is certainly wrong, despite the fact that the verb has this meaning in demotic and Old Coptic—to Spiegelberg's references add Griffith-Thompson, *Dem. Mag. Pap.*, Gloss., no. 318; Griffith in *ZÄS* 38, 93; Crum, *Copt. Dict.* 282, b.
2. In NP 60, 62, 70, 71, 73, 73, 75, 78, 80, 81, 86, 93, 94, 94, 102, 108, 111, 116, 118, the words *nfr*, *bin*, qualifying *mdt* 'thing'—whether separated by *nb* (as mostly) or not—take, to make them agree with the feminine noun they qualify, a quite clear \ominus (strangely mistranscribed \ominus by Golénischeff) after the determinative, \ominus , \ominus |, | or 𓆎 . In NP 49 the \ominus has been given an erroneous tick as though 𓆎 were intended; in 64 it is omitted with (*mdt nb*) *bin* and in 119 with (*nš mdt*) *nfr*. In NB similar writings occur in 20, 24, also probably 38 (= NP 73, 80, 108); and \ominus after *bin* in 13 (= NP 60) is doubtless an error for \ominus (see n. 4 below); in the other places corresponding to those in NP given at the beginning of this note, \ominus either is written in the usual way before the

determinative, or is omitted, namely, in 15 (= NP 62), where 𓂏 , left out in NP, is found; 16, 19, 21, 44 (= NP 64, 71, 75, 118). The same curious writing in *mdt nfrt* MT, end. See on these writings Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.* § 216, Anm. 1. A 𓂏 seems to have been added wrongly to *šri* in NP 110 (omitted in || NB 39), for it does not qualify a feminine noun. Cf. also the writing of *bint* in the contemporary decree Pleyte-Rossi, *Pap. Turin*, 140, l. 93. This placing of the feminine ending after determinatives is of course regular in demotic of all periods. The practice may be connected with the common Late Egyptian one of writing the feminine ending after the determinatives when followed by a suffix, e.g. 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 ; examples of this NP 28, 30, 50, 57, etc.

3. Partitive *m*.

4. The choice of prepositions to express doing something bad 'to' a person is curious. (a) *R*. Usually *irt btꜣ r* 'do wrong to' (57, = however *n* NB 12; NP 66, 72, 74, 82 = NB 16, 19, 20, 25); *irt dhr ḥꜣty r* 'cause grief to' (if not 'concerning') (72, 73-74 = NB 19, 20). (In NB 13 we have 'to do anything evil to (*mdt nb* 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) Pinüdem' = no preposition NP 60; *bin r* is probably an error for 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 , on which see n. 2 above.) (b) *N*. 'To do to someone anything (*mdt nbt*) evil (*bint*), which is bitter (*nty dhr*), which does wrong' (*nty ir btꜣ*) (62, 63, 65, 66, 67 = NB 15, 15, 16, 17, 17); 'anything evil (*bint*) to the heart' (15 = no preposition NP 62); 'anything which is bad (*bin*) for a person' (98 = NB 33). Cf. Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.* § 600, 5. (c) *Mdi*. 'To do anything evil to Neskhons' (78 = NB 23).

5. I.e., 'anything which any living person (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) considers to be evil'.

6. Lit., 'which embitters the heart of'. We have in this text three constructions with *dhr* 'be, make bitter' and *ḥꜣty* 'heart':

(a) *Ḥꜣty* subject, *dhr* Old Perfective: *ḥꜣtyf dhr n* 'his heart being bitter because of', i.e. 'he being grieved for' someone, 74-75, 118 = NB 21, 43-44; cf. *II Khacemwēse*, 3, 6, 10, 11, 15, 17; 7, 9.


(b) *Dhr* transitive, infinitive, *ḥꜣty* object: *nty dhr ḥꜣty n rmt* 'which embitters the heart of', i.e. 'which is grievous to' a person, 63, 82 = NB 15, 25. Differently explained by Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.* § 601.

(c) *Dhr* noun 'bitterness' with *ḥꜣty* in direct genitive: *nty ir dhr ḥꜣty r rmt* 'which makes bitterness of heart' i.e. 'causes grief to (? concerning) a person, 72, 73-74 = NB 19, 20. Cf. *dḥi n ḥꜣty* 'grief' in demotic, *I Khacemwēse*, 4, 35; *II Khacemwēse*, 3, 9.


§ V

1. Note the construction, apparently peculiar to this text, *iw-i <r> dit hpr* followed by a sentence which is circumstantial to *dit hpr*, being introduced by *iw*; so also 69-72, 75, 84 = NB 16, 18-21, 26. Similarly *iw bn iw* after *iw-i phr ḥꜣty n N*. (or *ḥꜣty:s*) where one would expect a final, not a circumstantial, clause, 60-63, 65-67 = NB 13-16.

2. *Whꜣ*. Wherever the word occurs in this text (64, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73 = NB 16, 18 [ter], 19, 20) it could equally well be translated 'wish', giving it the meaning it has acquired in Coptic as ⲟⲩⲱⲩⲩ . But I hesitate to do this, although *Wb.* gives 'wünschen, begehren' among the meanings of *whꜣ*, and cites our text as evidence of this meaning. Of the dozen references (including NP) under this heading in the *Wb. Belegstellen*, I

see only one (P. Anast. iv, 10, 3) in which the meaning 'wish' perhaps suits the context better than 'seek', and several where it is less suitable. Even in Ptolemaic demotic the meaning 'wish' seems to be only beginning to emerge—a clear example *Rosetta*, dem. 31 =  hierogl. 13.



3. Both NP and NB 16 have *n mdt nb n mwt*; I find the first *n* difficult to account for.

4. NP has here immediately after *shr* a *nty* lacking in || NB 17, which accordingly reads 'any being which exercises any authority, or whose voice is (?) heard'. The second *n*: *nty wndw nb* seems to be a vain repetition. *Irt shr* >  *B* 'have power, authority', Griffith, *Stories*, 184, n. to l. 6. In a Late Egyptian text, *Urk.* vi, 71, 4 it translates the Middle Egyptian verb *ph̄ty* (Gardiner), although itself going back to Old Egyptian, cf. *Urk.* i, 102, 9.

5. For Golénischeff's  read .


6. The significance of this construction, *nty iir·tw sdm*, in this context is obscure to me. *Iir·tw* is hardly for *iw·tw* followed by <*r*> *sdm* future, for *iw·tw* is regularly written as *i·tw* in this text (cf. 58, 81, 90, NB 13, 30—also P 45, 46, 64—but NB 24 *iw·tw*), as elsewhere in hieratic of this period. See also *nty iir n*: *mdwt nfrw h̄pr*, 119, and n. thereto (§ XI, 2).




7. *Hr mdi*, translated 'as well as', 92, 96, 99.

8. For Golénischeff's  after *nfr* read .

9. Or 'concerning'? So also in l. 74, where the original seems to have *r*, not *n*.

10. Lit. 'of death'; *n mwt* also 73 (= NB 16, 20).



11. Lit., 'has desired'; a good example of  as verb. This construction with *n* (also 118, 120 = NB 20, 43, 45) is unknown to *Wb.*

12. For *h̄ty dhr* cf. § IV, n. 6 above. Note that in this text *h̄ty* when it follows *iw* (74, 118 = NB 21, 43) and only then, receives the prothetic  (a writing unknown to *Wb.*), which in NP 74 is actually written over the line as a correction. Cf. the Bohairic pronominal form  of ; here, however, the pronominal form has the normal writing when not preceded by *iw*. (See further note B in the Appendix, pp. 98–9, Ed.)

13. (See B. Gunn, 'The Split Determined Infinitive', *JEA* 32, 92 ff., Ed.)

14. *Gwš*. Primarily 'to become askew, bent, twisted', hence 'to turn away'; cf. P. Edwin Smith, 4, 6; P. Anast. iv, 11, 10; *Medinet Habu*, 1, pl. 27, 28; P. Judic. Turin, 2, 9; Maximes d'Anii (ed. Suys), Gc2 = B IX, 19; X 13; and Suys, *La Sagesse d'Ani*, 109 (which, Gardiner tells me, is from a Petrie ostrakon of Dyn. XX). Gardiner refers also to *Rec. trav.* 13, 11, where Isis is *t̄ h̄rt gwš* 'the abandoned (or distracted?) widow.'

15. *Wb.* v, 161 (1, 2) and Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.* § 531 Anm., take *f* here as having *p̄ nty m šs* for antecedent, and not Pinūdem, overlooking the fact that in 78 *f* must refer back to Pinūdem.

16. *P̄ rmt* 'man' (also P 41), cf. , , e.g. Psalms 8, 5 (what is man?—*S*), Job, 5, 7 (since m. was first placed on the earth—*B*), 20, 4 (m. is born to trouble—*B*); in these places Greek has *ἀνθρώπος* without article. Gardiner thinks the use of the definite article is usual in references to species in Late Egyptian, and refers to *Late-Egn. Stories*, 1, 6–7: 'he shall die through *the* crocodile or *the* snake, likewise *the* dog'.

The similar passages *mwt·f n msh*, *mwt·f n hfꜣw*, P. Sall. iv, 6, 6; 7, 1, doubtless lack the article because the language of this text (Calendar of lucky and unlucky days) is Middle Egyptian.

17. NB 23 *n* (lit. belonging to); || NP 78 omits.

18. The preposition *m* is several times omitted in NP, but only before either *kī* (79, 85 = NB 23*, 26) or *pꜣy kī* (102, 108 = NB 35, 38*) or *pꜣy shr* (79 = NB 23*); the starred references to NB write the *m*.

19. Nothing more seems to be known of any of these four children but the second, whose mummy, two mummy-cases, beautiful Book of the Dead (P. Greenfield) and other funerary objects are in Cairo, London, and elsewhere (see Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus*, Introduction). All four were presumably children of both Neskhnons and Pinūdem II. In Nestenebtashru's Book of the Dead Pinūdem (with no titles) is mentioned only once (Budge, op. cit., pl. 2, l. 5; in countless other places she is referred to as 'Nestenebtashru, whose mother is Neskhnons'—an interesting point. On her coffins, the texts of which are mostly covered over with bitumen, there is but one visible reference to a parent: 'The daughter of the First Prophet of Amonrasonthēr, Neste . . .' (Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales*, CCG, 200); here the father's title is given, without the name, a very abnormal form of filiation. The preceding reference to the children of Pinūdem is of course meant to include those by wives other than Neskhnons.

20. The word-order here is interesting. One might expect *iw n·s pꜣ nty sh*; but perhaps Late Egyptian no longer places a dative with suffix immediately after *iw*.

21. *M* omitted in both NP 85 and || NB 26.

22. Cf. ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲏ; the only transitive use of ⲙⲉⲧⲟⲏ seems to be the reflexive.

23. See n. 13 above.

§ VI

1. Lit. 'every being, every thing'; the phrase is common in demotic legal documents, e.g. P.Dem. Ryl. x, 3; XI, 1.





2. The group after *dd·tw* here and in 101 is quite clearly ⲛ in || NB 29, 35; but in NP it resembles '70' and has been so read; however, we have the same form for *wr* in the contemporary decrees P. Boulaq 20, ll. 52, 84; Pleyte-Rossi, *Pap. Turin*, pl. 139, ll. 1, 37, 39, 43 (the last three in *swr* 'drink'). As Černý points out to me, the form is exactly that of *wr* in late cursive ('abnormal') hieratic. *Wr ḥs Rꜣ* was probably a common saying, expressing appreciation of blessings from on high, for in *Amenemope*, 7, 7–8 we read 'All tranquil persons in the temple say "The blessings of Rēꜣ are great"'. The phrase must be an old one, since *Rꜣ* has not the definite article.

3. Or 'in' (*n* for *m*)?








4. The text of NP has clearly *rn·i* (ⲛ), as in || NB 29, and not, as Golénischeff read, *rn·s*.

§ VII





1. This word *shꜣm*, which occurs also 96, 98 (= NB 30, 32, 33), P 60, has been misunderstood hitherto. Maspero translated it 'prononcer' (op. cit. 610, 611), Daressy 'consécration' (*Rec. trav.* 33, 183), while *Wb.* iv, 243 (1) gives 'parallel zu *dd*; von Worten (im Inf. mit Objektssuffix)' of which every statement is wrong. It is merely 'to forget'

7. The same writing  in || NB 34; it is not given in Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.* § 609, Anm., but cf.  + suffix *Amenemope* 19, 5; 24, 12; 25, 17; Maximes d'Anii, 6, 11, and very frequently in 'abnormal' hieratic, e.g. Möller, *Zwei äg. Eheverträge*, p. 11, ll. 3, 4 of p.; *Proc. SBA*, 32, 6, l. 8 of text; *Griffith Studies*, pl. 5, ll. 3, 4, and the demotic preposition  (before suffixes, however, ) 'to', also 'from(?)' a person, cf. Griffith, *Ryl. Pap.* 325, and Stricker's remarks, *Acta Or.*, 16, 95.

§ VIII

1. Cf. § VI, n. 3 above.
2. || NB 35 has *mdt nfrt* without *nb*.
3. *Hww*, elsewhere *hwwy*, *hwww*, a drink. Gardiner refers also to the Golénischeff Onomasticon (no. 560); P.Anast. III, 3, 6; P.Sall. IV, vs. 4, 5. 'Evidently a sweet drink', says Gardiner, 'since in the P.Anast. III passage it "surpasses honey" '.
4. || NB 37 has after *nt(r)i* the suffix , which || NP 105 probably also had or has—the passage is illegible in Maspero's photograph; cf. 50 = NB 9, P 42.
5. The last words are obscure to me. Cf. Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.* § 696. An alternative translation is: '... like any god or any goddess or anything that receives when it ...'.
6. The determinative of *htp ntr* is obscure in the photograph, but is not  as Golénischeff gives; || NB 37 has .
7. || NB 37   (*ntrw*); the word is evidently connected with demotic  'like'. Cf.  *ntrw* in the similar passage P 35.

§ IX

1. Lit. 'that saying that they have made', the common Late Egyptian construction for the 'past infinitive'.
2. This, the only example of  in the whole of the Late Egyptian parts of Neskhons' and Pinüdem's decrees among many examples of , must be not the negative word but a writing of the interrogative *in*, *en-*, as in the view of Černý and myself, differing from that of Gardiner, it is in *Wenamün* wherever it occurs (refs. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, 65a). (The so-called 'double negative'   is certainly a negative in the interrogative; Černý has kindly pointed out to me two new similar examples: (a) *nn bw sdm-k rn n NN* 'hast thou not heard the name of NN?' P.Anast. I, 9, 7 (Dyn. XIX); (b) *hr nn bn ib-k r dit p; kxr* 'but dost thou not wish to give up the boat?' P.Cairo Cat. no. 58056, 8 (Dyn. XIX-XX, unpublished).
3. This sentence—clearly a question addressed to the oracle of Amonrasonthēr, presents difficulties. In the first place one would expect the anticipated 'offerings . . . and land . . .' to be introduced by *ir*, as in similar cases elsewhere (88, 91, 93, 96, 98, 111, 116 = NB 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 40, 43). Černý, however, would take these words as direct objects of *dd*: 'as to their having mentioned offerings . . . and land . . .—is (it) a good thing', etc., with the same sense as my translation. Secondly, *mdt nfrt* seems to be a predicate without a subject; but perhaps *m-py-tw ir-f* was felt to function as a subject. Anyway, a sentence consisting of a nominal predicate with omission of the (pronominal) subject is no rare phenomenon in Late Egyptian, cf. *sp ksn hr ib n ntrw*

'(it is) a course painful to the mind of the gods', *Rec. trav.* 13, pl. 2, 12; *ṯṯ bwt n pṣ ntr* '(it is) the abomination of God', *Amenemope*, 13, 16; 15, 21; *mr sp 2 m bṣh pṣ Rc* '(it is) very evil in Rēc's sight', *Amenemope*, 25, 21; *bn wpt in* '(it is) not a deputation at all', P. Abbott, 5, 15; *bn šrw ṯy iwṯ in* '(it is) not at all worthy of this office', P. Salt 124, vs. 2, 1; *bn mṣt in* '(it is) not truth at all', *Mes*, N, 24; *ṣd* '(it is) false', P. Mayer A, 3, 22; 4, 16; 5, 18.¹

Finally, what exactly does the suffix of the closing word *ir-f* refer to? Perhaps by this time the author had lost his way and thought he had begun by speaking of *giving* (infinitive) offerings and land to Neskhnos.

4. Free translation of *iw bn sw <hr> šri* (so || NB 39; NP wrongly *šrit*) 'it not becoming small'; so also 112 = NB 41.

§ X

1. The *n* is omitted; it may have been assimilated to the initial *n* of Neskhnos, which was perhaps not yet lost as it was some 330 years later (Ranke, *Keilschriftliches Material* . . ., 29, s.v. *Išpimātu*).

2. Lit. 'all of them shall not be'.







3. Lit. 'in the greatness (or quantity) of'. *ṣwy* (illegible in my photo. of || NB 41) occurs, in the same writing, in 30, where *n ṣwy n* represents the old *n ṣt n*.

4. I take *nt(r)ṯ-w* not as *śdm-f* but as Old Perfective 3 pl. with the ending *w* written *ṣ* after the determinative, as in Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.* § 355.

5. Taking *n mr-w* (similarly *n mr-f* P 46, twice) as = Middle Egyptian *m mrr-sn*.

§ XI






1. See Appendix, Note B, Ed.

2.  here before a noun is perhaps equivalent to *iw* before a suffix in the '3rd Future'. This word, usually written  or  (see Gardiner in *JEA* 16, 220 ff.), occurs in our text written  76 (twice), 81, 94, =  NB 21, 22, 24,  NB 31; but another example, written as here (and after *nty* as here) occurs P. d'Orbiney 17, 10 (see op. cit. 227).

3. The *nṣy-f* required before 'wives' here is present in || NB 43.

4. The only way to make sense of this passage seems to be to take *iir* in 121 as future. The antecedent of 'them' (*st*) here is clearly *nṣ mdt nfr* 'the boons' of 119.

5. *Hpr* is of course often used as equivalent to the passive of *iri* 'do', 'make', as with *ḳwne* in Coptic.

6.   *pṣy ntr ṣ*; so also at the end of P. The end of || NB 45, is smudged, but seems to be the same. Golénischeff wrongly  for . This closing phrase evidently contains the verb  'to say', last discussed by Faulkner in *JEA* 21, 177 ff., in the perfective relative, fem. for neuter. No other example having a substantive as subject is known to me in Late Egyptian. The phrase is clearly an archaism.

¹ I am indebted for the last example to Černý, and for the three negative examples to Gardiner's article in *ZÄS* 41, 132.

APPENDIX

By I. E. S. EDWARDS

THE purpose of this appendix to the late Professor Gunn's article is twofold: to comment on Gunn's interpretation of two passages in the Decree, quoting material which was not seen by him, and to publish for the first time a complete hieroglyphic transcription of the hieratic text of the Decree inscribed in ink on a board in the Cairo Museum (no. 46891). Gunn's translation is based on the text of the papyrus, but the most important variant readings¹ on the board, apart from those in the preamble² (NP 1-40 = NB 1-5, with which the article does not deal), are noted in his commentary.³ The two passages which require re-examination in the light of fresh evidence are the following:

(A) *ntr ʿ3 wr (n) š3c hpr*. This epithet, which is found in the introductory formula to each section of the Decree, occurs eleven times, always in NP with *n* inserted after *wr*, but twice in NB (10 and 42) without *n*. Gunn notes⁴ two other variant writings: (a) *ntr ʿ3 wr n š3c n hpr* (e.g. Naville, *Inscr. historique de Pinodjem III*, horizontal text 17; Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 41, 2); (b) *ntr ʿ3 wr m š3c hpr* (inscription of Yewerity, *ZĀS* 35, 14, 1 of text).

After recording some fifty instances of this epithet Gunn examines the grammatical function of *wr* and points out that some scholars⁵ have treated it as an adverb ('the very great god') and others⁶ have considered it as being independent of *ʿ3*. Commenting on these two interpretations Gunn remarks:

It may be thought that the writing 𓏏 of *wr* (e.g. NP in every instance of this epithet), followed as it is sometimes by 𓏏 (e.g. NB 6, 13, 28, 29, 35 and 42), is in favour of the second view: it may seem unlikely that a mere attributive adjective or an adverb would be written thus. But it is not so; the word *wr*, in these uses, is found written 𓏏 𓏏 in the following contexts: *itn wr h3y styw*, 'great disk, of brilliant rays' (NP 6-7 = P 5-6); *nwr wr*, 'the great Nun' (NP 15 = P 13-14); *ntr wr*, 'the great god' (P 67); *ntr wr m š3c hpr* (NP 13 = P 11); *p3y:f hr-tw ʿ3 wr špsi*, 'his very great, august oracle' (NP 41); similarly with *p3y:i*, 'my' (NP 119 = NB 44 = P 32). Thus the writings 𓏏 and 𓏏 𓏏 ⁷ are no evidence against the adverbial nature of *wr* in *p3 ntr ʿ3 wr*; and it is of interest that these

¹ Many of these variant readings were noted by Maspero in the footnotes to his transcription of the papyrus (*Mom. roy.* 594-615). I am indebted to Abbas Bayoumi, Director General of the Cairo Museum, both for permission to publish the transcription and for the photograph of the board reproduced on pp. 100 ff. and Pl. XX. Abbas Bayoumi kindly informs me that the dimensions of the board, which was found, like the papyrus, in the Dēr el-Bahri cache, are 76 × 57 cm.

² See Meyer, *op. cit.*

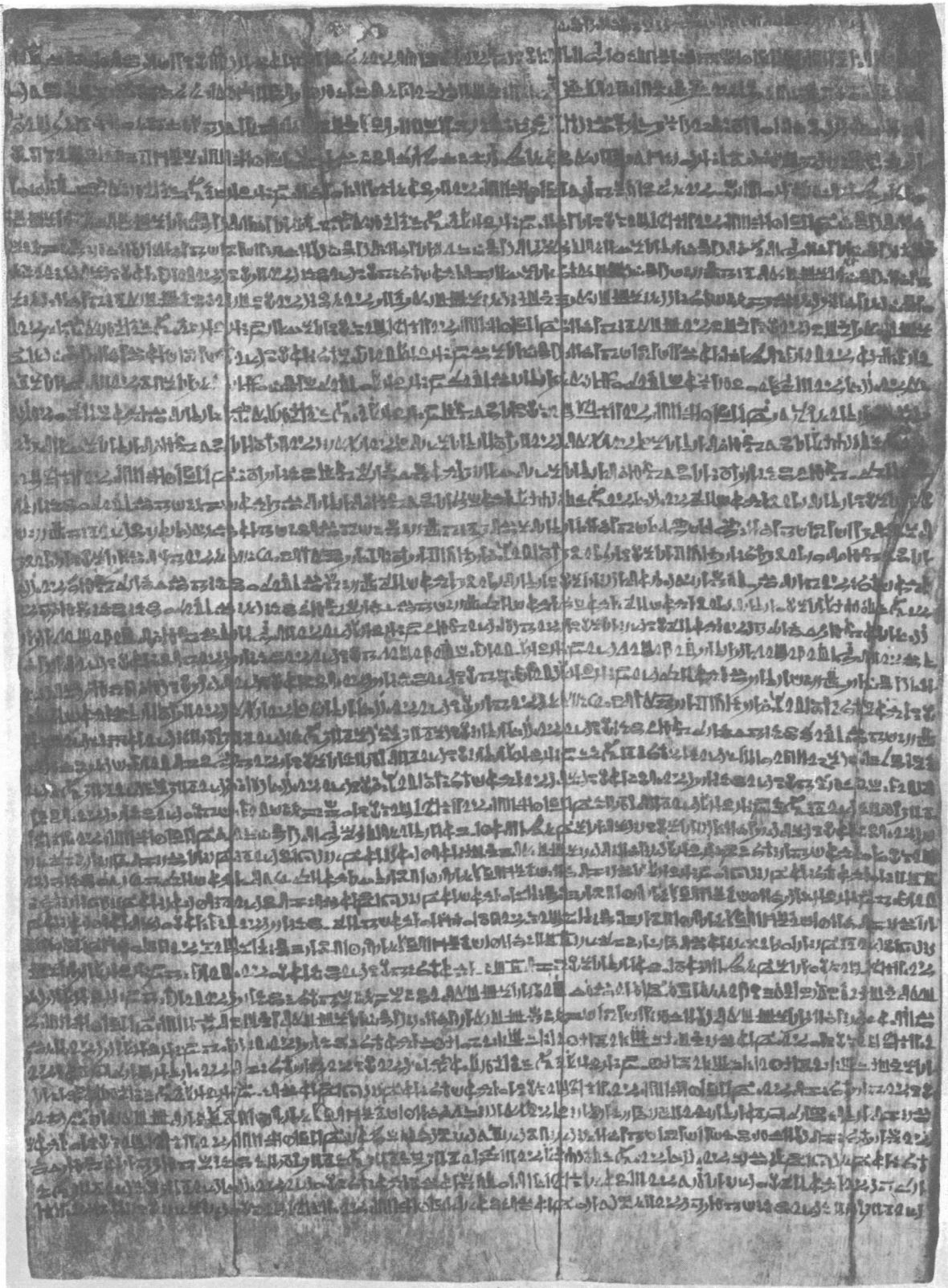
³ The scribe of NB omitted some words in l. 8 but marked the omission with two crosses and inserted the words at the top of the board. The words have been restored to their proper position in the transcription (p. 100) and indicated thus: (a) (b).

⁴ The following quotations from Gunn's manuscript were apparently intended for publication in a separate article, or perhaps an Appendix to this article, dealing with all the instances of this epithet known to him.

⁵ Maspero, *Rec. trav.* 2, 17; *Id. Mom. roy.* 599-614, *passim*; Spiegelberg, *ZĀS* 57, 149; Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 18, 221.



⁶ Gardiner, *Wb.* slips on this Decree, translates 'The great god, chief in originating existence'; Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, 316; Černý, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 41, 110 (= MT and RT); Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* IV, § 795.

⁷ Gunn adds the following footnote:—'But 𓏏 𓏏 is of course used also for "great one" in N and P: *wrw wryw* "great one of great ones" (NP 10 = P 9); *wr wrf r ntrw* "a great one who became greater than the



HIERATIC BOARD OF NESKHONS

Cairo no. 46891

writings occur only in hieratic, while in the hieroglyphic texts (e.g. Naville, loc. cit., Maspero, *Mom. roy.* 706, 22 and 26 of text, Mariette, loc. cit. and *ZÄS* 35, 14, 1 of text) *wr* in this context is regularly written  or  with no god-determinative. To me, then, it seems most probable that *pꜣ ntr ꜥꜣ wr* here means 'the very great god'.


Before contesting Gunn's conclusion regarding *wr* it may be well to complete this summary of his views by giving his analysis of the grammatical structure of the words which follow *wr*.

The phrases *n šꜥ hꜣpr* and *n šꜥ n hꜣpr*, in both of which *šꜥ* is in the infinitive, probably differ but little in meaning. In the first, *šꜥ* evidently takes *hꜣpr* as direct object, and has its common meaning 'begin to' with the object of the thing begun. In the second *šꜥ* is no doubt followed by the indirect genitive. Thus both constructions will mean 'of the beginning of coming-into-existence.' In my translation of N I have avoided this clumsy expression by using the roughly synonymous 'primordial'. In *šꜥ hꜣpr*, *šꜥ* must be participle and have its other meaning 'who was the first to come-into-existence'.¹ *M šꜥ hꜣpr* is no mere graphic variant of *n šꜥ hꜣpr*, for the two are carefully distinguished in NP and P, which both have in the long preamble to the decree *ntr wr m šꜥ hꜣpr* [NP 11 = P 13] against *pꜣ(y) ntr ꜥꜣ wr n šꜥ hꜣpr* in the decree itself. The translation of the former phrase is doubtful (to me, at least): 'great god in the beginning of coming-into-existence' or 'great god as he who first came-into-existence' according as one takes *šꜥ* here as infinitive or participle.'

Gunn concludes with the following comment:

'It is a striking fact that the only published texts in which these epithets seem to occur are texts containing oracular pronouncements of certain gods—mostly Amonrasonthēr, but also of Amenesti-towi, Mut, Khons and Month.² It therefore seems a necessary conclusion that these epithets are borne only by gods when making oracular pronouncements, or alternatively by gods who are in the habit of pronouncing them. But what the connexion may be between a claim that a given deity was the first to come into existence and the delivery of oracles, I am unable to imagine.'

It will have been noticed that Gunn expressed his opinion on the meaning of *wr* in this context with caution; he did not deny that it could be used independently of *ꜥꜣ*, but maintained that the graphic evidence in the instances known to him did not argue against the interpretation of the word as an adverb and showed that this use could be justified grammatically. Gunn was, however, not aware that the epithet sometimes occurs in the plural, which implies no criticism because no clear example is to be found in a published text.³ Two examples, both of which occur in amuletic decrees of the

(other) gods" (NP 11 = P 10). On the other hand  is used in N, P regularly to write the adjective when followed by an "accusative of respect": *wr ꜥꜣnhwy* "the large-eared" (NP 23 = P 20); *wr nꜣrw* "of great authority" (NP 26 = P 23); *wr ḥꜣḏꜣwt* "of great beams" (NP 33); *wr wꜣḏꜣwt* "great in commands" (NB 4); *wr ꜣꜣw* "great in dignity" (P 4); as adjectival predicate (e.g. NP 40 = NB 5 = P 30; NP 89, 101 = NB 29, 35); in *wꜣꜣf* (NP 11 = P 10), and in *wꜣꜣf* "his great name" (P 11).'

¹ 'Cf. *šꜥ hꜣpr m sp ꜣꜣy* "who was the first to come-into-existence in the First Time" (of Amūn), *ZÄS* 42, 32; *šꜥ hꜣpr m ꜣꜣwt* "who was the first to come-into-existence in the old time" (of Ptah), P.Harris, I, 44, 4; *šꜥ hꜣpr ḥnt* "do. do. formerly" (of Ḥathōr), Mariette, *Dendera*, III, 55, b¹, 67a, l. 8, right. These references are from Erman's *Wb.* article on *šꜥ* lent me by Gardiner.'

² 'Note that in the great majority of cases in which the name of the deity is followed by one of these epithets, the name follows immediately upon *ḏḏ* "has said" or *ḏḏ n* "speech of", or else is directly connected by the immediate context with the utterance of an oracle.'




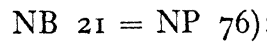

³ Two examples, however, occur in Cairo 58035 3-4 and 97-98 (Golénischeff, *Papyrus Hiératiques*, 216-30, whose transcription of this passage is incorrect; Mariette, *Papyrus de Boulaq*, II, pl. 57). Although the text in

Twenty-first–Twenty-second Dynasties written in very cursive hieratic, will suffice to illustrate the normal writing of the epithet when used with reference to more than one deity:—

*Turin I983, vs. 108–9*¹ 

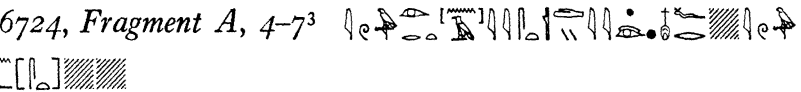
*Turin I984, vs. 112–13*¹ 

In both these instances *wr* is in the plural and cannot be an adverb, but must be grammatically independent of *crw*, i.e. ‘the great gods, the chief (or the eldest) . . .’ and it is hard to believe that a different construction is intended when the epithet occurs in the singular.

(B)  (NP 74 and 118 = NB 21 and 43–44), ‘for whom he will be grieved’. Gunn’s explanation (§ V, n. 12) of the strange  before *hsty:f* is open to two objections: (a) Although the word *hsty* occurs fifteen times in this decree it is preceded by  in only these two identical passages; (b) Grammatically in Late Egyptian a clause referring to the future with a noun as its subject, whether it be a main or a subordinate clause, requires the insertion of the verb *iri*² before the subject. A clear example of this construction occurs later in the same line of the text on the board (i.e. NB 21 = NP 76):  ‘her heart shall not turn away from him’. A different explanation therefore seems necessary and for this purpose reference must again be made to the amuletic decrees already mentioned. In a passage found in five of the twenty-one decrees now known a similar  occurs in two versions while three versions have *iri*:

*Turin I984, rt. 10–13*¹ 

‘We (i.e. the deities) shall make her dreams good, those which every other male or other female will see for her (we shall make them) good likewise.’

*Philadelphia Papyrus E 16724, Fragment A, 4–7*³ 

‘I shall make her dreams good, I shall make those which another (person) will see for her [good]. . . .’

both places is mutilated it is possible to see in a photograph of the decree kindly supplied by the Cairo Museum the following:

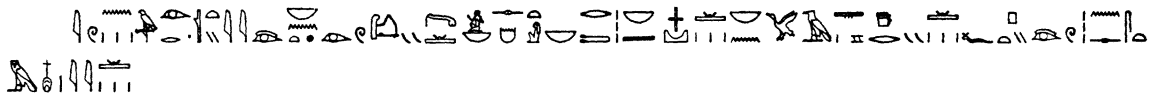
(3–4) 
 (97–98) 

¹ From a photograph kindly presented by Professor Scamuzzi. A publication of all the known texts of this character is now in preparation.

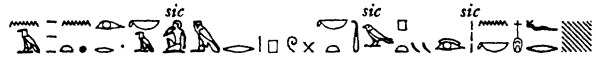
² See Gardiner, ‘The Origin of Certain Coptic Grammatical Elements’, *JEA* 16, 220–8. See also Gunn’s note on § XI, 2 above.

³ I am indebted to G. Posener for bringing this decree to my knowledge and to R. Anthes and H. Fischer for supplying me with a photograph which I was able to collate with the papyrus in Philadelphia.

Turin 1983, rt. 23-26 (= *Pleyte and Rossi, Papyrus de Turin, pl. 139*)




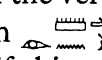






'We shall make every dream, which every male and female and all people of every kind in the whole land will see for her, good.'

*Turin 1985, rt. 20-21*¹ 

'[We shall make] those which another male or another female will see for thee good.'

*Louvre 8083, rt. 4-7*² 

'I shall make her dreams good; I shall make the other (dreams) which another will see for her good.'

It is clear from the three examples last quoted that  in the first two examples represents a hitherto unrecognized variant writing of the verb *iri* which appears to occur only when this verb is employed in the construction . Both the orthographic and the grammatical difficulties disappear if this explanation is applied to the two passages under discussion in the Decree of Neskhons. In order to account for the orthographic transition from  to  it is only necessary to remember that in this construction  is sometimes substituted for ³ and that , as a preposition, is often written as . To what extent this new variant will throw light on the problem of the origin of the Coptic *epe-* of the Third Future is a question which is irrelevant to the purpose of the present note, but at least it may be said that it constitutes a new factor which cannot be ignored.

¹ From a photograph kindly presented by Professor Scamuzzi.

² Unpublished. I have a photograph of the original through the kindness of J. Vandier.

³ See the numerous examples quoted by Gardiner in the above-mentioned article and a further note emphasizing the significance of this variant by the same author in *JEA* 32, 101.

(For a transcription of the Neskhons Board see pp. 100 ff.)

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A STRANGE MONUMENT OF THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD FROM CROCODILOPOLIS

By LABIB HABACHI

IN a lecture given at Oxford on March 4, 1948, entitled 'Popular Religion in Graeco-Roman Egypt: The Pagan Period', subsequently reprinted in *JEA* 34, 82 ff., Sir Harold Bell showed that in the late period, when the Egyptians came into contact with many foreign peoples, they began to favour some deities which had been unpopular or even unknown before. He remarked on those deities which now came into popular favour, the attitude of the people towards religion and the part which it played in their life, relying largely on the evidence of private letters, though occasionally he referred to other documents, such as domestic inventories, seals, and the adornments of houses.

The monuments which bear on this topic are few, so I am glad to be able to publish here a strange monument which was found recently at Crocodilopolis,¹ and which gives us some idea of the deities who became popular in that important place. We shall see below that at the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, when a Greek colony settled there, Suchus was no longer the sole god of Crocodilopolis, but that other divinities were worshipped there also; that is to say, deities who had few or no local connexions, but had associations with the Nile.

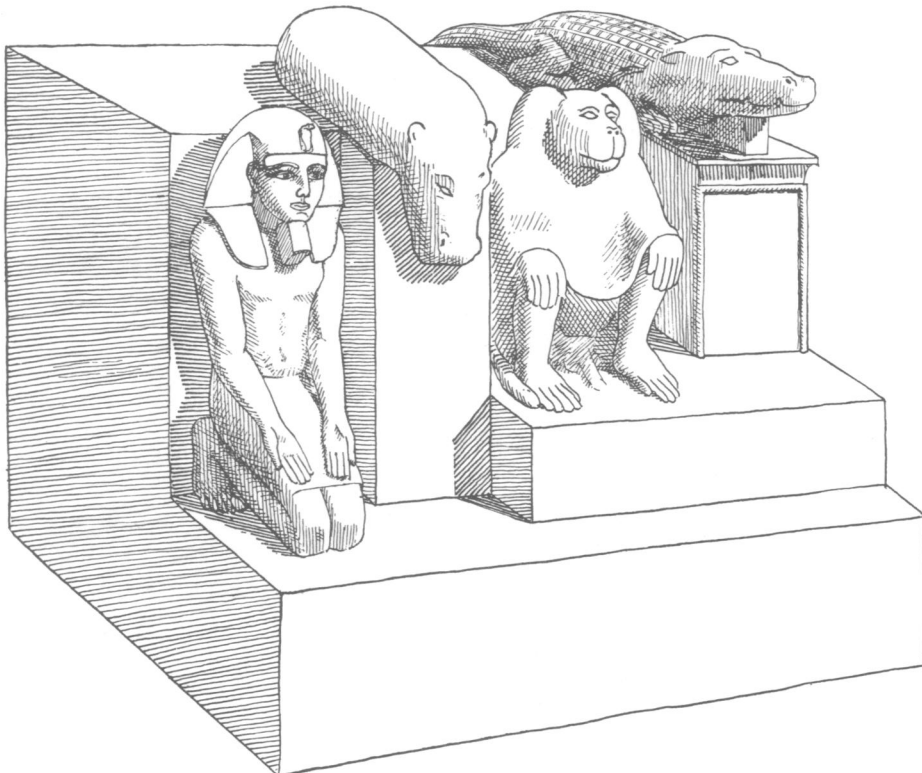
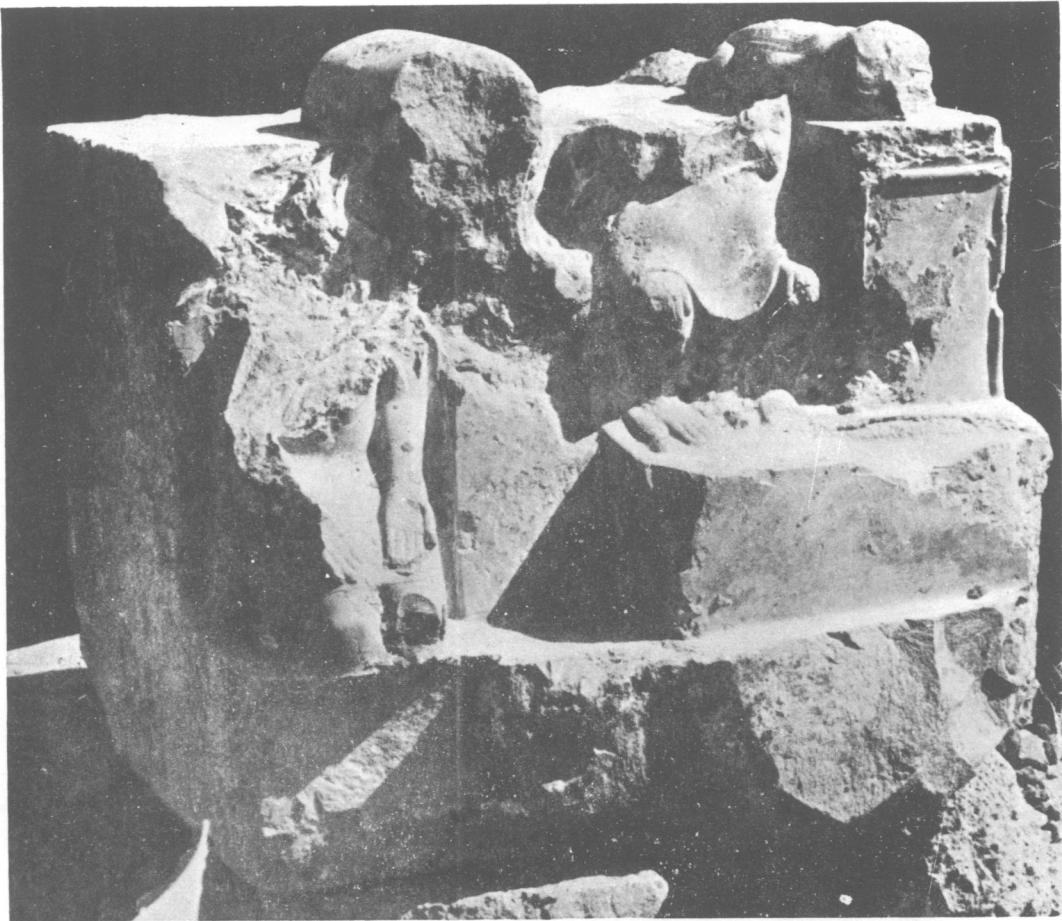
The present monument² (pl. XXI, top) is quite unusual in form and subject; it shows the figures of three animals and of a man on a L-shaped basis which may have symbolized a throne. Though all the heads are missing, there seems little doubt that the group was so designed that the heads were all on one level, though on account of the different sizes, shapes, and attitudes of the individual statues, they stood at varying heights, see M. H. Chevrier's reconstruction, pl. XXI, bottom. The first figure on the spectator's right represents a crocodile, its tail turned to the left,³ lying on a shrine-like pedestal which itself stands on a slab or step rising from the real base of the monument. This step also accommodates a seated baboon with his back to the vertical plinth. The third figure is that of a hippopotamus lying on top of the 'throne' with its head hanging downwards; it is but partly carved in the round, only the body and head being disengaged, and its forepart is supported by a rectangular projection from the plinth which may also have simulated a shrine. The fourth and last statue represents a man kneeling on the base of the monument with his back to the plinth. The upper part of the figure is missing, but enough remains to show clearly that the kneeling man wore a kilt and that his hands lay open on his lap palm upwards.

This monument was found close to the fragments of the papyriform columns in red

¹ Found in March 1953, during the removal of *sebakh*.

² It is in hard limestone, 45 cm. high by 60 cm. broad by 45 cm. deep.

³ The crocodile was modelled in such a way that it was possible to include its length on the top of the plinth; it was the longest of the four figures on the monument.



A STRANGE MONUMENT FROM CROCODILOPOLIS

granite of Ammenemes III at Kimān Fāris (Crocodilopolis), and it becomes necessary to inquire whether these columns are in their original positions and whether there is any connexion between them and our monument. In 1937 I studied the fragments of these columns, copying the inscriptions on them and endeavouring to deduce thence the complete texts which once decorated each column,¹ and I have pointed out that they show that Ammenemes III was responsible for the erection of a 'Great Hall' for Suchus in Crocodilopolis.² The question now arises whether this 'Great Hall' originally stood at the south end of the ruins where the fragments of the columns were unearthed. Petrie, when clearing the temple at the north end of the ruins, found two blocks inscribed with the name of Ammenemes III which he believed to have stood in that very place.³ But these were the only blocks found reused in this building, while in the place where our monument was unearthed, fourteen fragments of columns of the same king⁴ with bases and capitals were discovered. Near at hand there have been brought to light in the last ten years a part of a large statue of a crocodile in red granite, two fragments of a stela of Ramesses II in grey granite, and a fragment of a palmiform column in red granite with the remains of an inscription which mentions a pavement probably belonging to the same 'Great Hall' of Ammenemes III.⁵ Since there is no reason to suppose that all these fragments, of differing dates, have been transferred from elsewhere to the place where they were found, we must therefore conclude that the 'Great Hall' of Ammenemes III once stood in the same place where its remains were found together with the above-mentioned fragments and the monument now under discussion.

There is no inscription whatever on the object to give us a clue to its date; there may have been a dedication on the front of the base, which has been broken off. But by considering the style of the monument we may be able to obtain some indication of the date when it was carved. It is strange alike in form and in subject, and nothing like it has ever been found among the many monuments of the Pharaonic period; it should therefore probably be ascribed to the late period, of which monuments are comparatively

¹ 'Une "Vaste Salle" d'Amenemhat III à Kiman-Farès (Fayoum)', in *Ann. Serv.* 37, 85 ff. It may be of interest to point out that in 1940, when I was acting as *Nazir* of the Cairo Museum, I noted the presence of a drum of a column of the same 'Great Hall' near the entrance to the Museum Library. That drum bears an almost complete inscription which proves to be identical with the one which I reconstructed from the incomplete inscriptions on the fragments from *Crocodilopolis*, 88. On this drum, as well as on some of these fragments, we have in the vertical line numbered 11 the inscription *Hr hry-ib Sdt*, 'Horus Residing-in-Crocodilopolis'. Despite the fact that I have shown clearly that this Horus should be regarded as a god assimilated to or identified with Suchus of the Fayyūm (pp. 94-95), some scholars still consider it to be either another form of the Horus-name of Ammenemes I or the name of quite a new king of Dyn. XIII, see Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte*³, 285, 314, 324. ² *Op. cit.* 92. ³ *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, pp. 57-58; pl. 27, 10. 11.

⁴ Three more fragments of similar columns are to be found in the Cairo Museum near the entrance to the Library, these doubtless came originally from the same place. I have referred already to two of these in *Ann. Serv.* 37, 90, while the third is referred to above, n. 1.

⁵ The fourteen fragments mentioned above, and the parts of bases and capitals, were found a long while ago. The other fragments, however, were from time to time found nearby during the removal of *sebakh* undertaken at my request under the supervision of expert workmen. My thanks are due to my colleagues Ed. Ghazouli, H. Riad, and Yacoub Farag for giving orders for the work to be done. I am particularly grateful to Yacoub Farag, who was kind enough to permit me to publish the monument which forms the subject of the present article.

rare. It was during the Graeco-Roman period also that the worship of theriomorphic deities attained its greatest popularity and that whole classes of animals came to be regarded as sacred.¹ The same period is suggested by the rectangular shape of the pedestals on which the crocodile and the hippopotamus recline, whereas in the Pharaonic period such pedestals usually show a slight upward taper or batter.² All these points indicate that this monument is to be dated to the Graeco-Roman period, and the delicacy of detail in the carving of the figures, especially in that of the crocodile, suggests the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, when Egyptian art was still keeping to its old traditions.

Having decided the probable date of this monument, we now turn to the discussion of its four figures and the deities they represent. The first stands undoubtedly for Suchus, the chief divinity of Crocodilopolis at all periods. He was worshipped also in other places in the region of the Fayyūm, such as Theadelphia,³ and in places outside the Fayyūm such as Er-Rizēkat, but the main centre of his cult was always in the Fayyūm and his name usually occurs in the form *Sbk Šdty*, 'Suchus of Shedet', i.e. Crocodilopolis.⁴ It is natural, therefore, to find a monument portraying the animal sacred to this god in the ruins of this town, and in particular among the remains of a hall erected in his honour. But it is strange to find on the same monument the figures of a baboon, a hippopotamus, and a kneeling man. It is, of course, well known that the baboon was the sacred animal of Thoth; there is no record of the cult of this god in Crocodilopolis, but as pointed out by Sir Harold Bell in his lecture, there was in Philadelphia, also in the Fayyūm, among other temples a Hermaion or temple of Hermes-Thoth.⁵ It is also to be remarked that the worship of Thoth had become widespread in the late period to which we date the monument here discussed.⁶

The third figure is that of a hippopotamus and undoubtedly represents the goddess Thoëris. The chief centres of her worship were Oxyrhynchus, Thebes, and Kerkeosiris,⁷ but, as Bell pointed out,⁸ there was another temple devoted to her cult in Philadelphia, and in Crocodilopolis itself there was another temple or small chapel. The presence of this was revealed to us by the discovery in the ruins of a small stela which was published by Lefebvre more than forty years ago. According to him, this stela was dedicated 'à la déesse Thoëris ce sanctuaire et ses dependances'.⁹ Thoëris seems to have had a certain connexion with Suchus, for each had an aquatic creature as sacred animal,

¹ J. Vandier, *La Religion égyptienne*, 224 f.

² For this compare, for example, the shrine on which the god sits on stelae Cairo 42727 and 42728, cf. Lefebvre, 'Égypte gréco-romaine', in *Ann. Serv.* 10, 162 ff. and pls. 1, 2. For the crocodile on a shrine in the Pharaonic period see Gardiner, *Sign-list*, I 4.

³ Lefebvre, loc. cit.

⁴ Cf. Kuentz, 'Quelques monuments du culte de Sobk', in *Bull. Inst. fr.* 28, 113 ff.; Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 43; id., *Onomastica*, II, 116* f.

⁵ *JEA* 34, 85.

⁶ As Boylan rightly said: 'The cult of Thoth was affected greatly by the Ptolemaic religious revival, and it would seem as if the ancient god of ritual enjoyed in the period of renaissance a greater popularity and exercised a greater influence than at any period of Egyptian history', *Thoth the Hermes of Egypt*, 165.

⁷ In the late period her cult was widespread, see Vandier, op. cit. 217, 220.

⁸ *JEA* 34, 85.

⁹ 'Égypte gréco-romaine', I, in *Ann. Serv.* 9, 231 f.

and the goddess is often depicted as partly crocodile and once with a crocodile standing behind her.¹

It remains to speak of the last figure, that of the kneeling man. At first glance it might be thought that this stood for the king or private person who dedicated this monument, but in such a case his effigy, on a smaller scale, would have faced the divinities. But here it is treated on the same footing as the other figures, and should therefore represent a fourth divinity. Who then could be this divinity portrayed in the form of a kneeling man? We have already seen that our monument was unearthed in the hall erected in honour of Suchus by Ammenemes III. After his death this king was worshipped in the Fayyūm province, but only in the Ptolemaic period did his cult become popular there. It was then that he became known as Poremanres, which is a version of *Pr-ꜥꜣ N-mꜣꜣt-rꜣ*, 'Pharaoh Nema'rē' or 'Pharaoh Lamares'. It has been suggested that he was then identified with Suchus, but what is certain is that he was worshipped in more places than one in the Fayyūm, e.g. Hawāra² and Philadelphia.³ It would therefore be only natural that there should be a cult-centre of his in Crocodilopolis, and the logical position for it would be in the hall built by him in that town. That the deified king should be shown kneeling and with his open hands lying palm upwards on his lap is a feature for which we can find no exact explanation. It may well have been due to the desire to bring the top of his head more or less on a level with the other statues and yet to portray him with his figure projecting far enough forward to be in line with the others; the only attitude which could effect this is that of kneeling. The kneeling pose with the palms of the hands lying open on the lap may also have been intended to give the impression that the deified king is praying for the welfare of his worshippers.

Our monument is marked off from the common run by unusual, even unique, characteristics. It was not easy for the sculptor to combine on one pedestal the statues of three entirely different animals with that of a man, but the way in which he has achieved this result, by aligning the heads and frontal aspects, must excite our admiration; by so doing he has succeeded in imparting unity to the composition of the group and has placed all the figures on an equal footing.⁴ The hardness of the limestone in which the monument was carved and the minute details of the statues have added much to its beauty.⁵ Though thoroughly Egyptian in style, it is probable that it was dedicated

¹ In the Cairo Museum stela No. 13/2/22/9 the goddess is portrayed thus.

² For the cult of the deified king see Guéraud, 'Une stèle gréco-romaine au cartouche d'Amenemhat III', in *Ann. Serv.* 40, 553 ff. In this interesting article Guéraud shows that on all the stelae dedicated to him he is represented as a king, as on our monument. Guéraud thinks that the name Poremanres is derived from Egyptian *Pr-ꜥꜣ Mꜣꜣt-rꜣ*, but I believe that it comes from *Pr-ꜥꜣ N-mꜣꜣt-rꜣ*. Guéraud also showed that all stelae bearing a reference to the cult of Ammenemes III are to be dated to the Ptolemaic period and that they come from Hawāra.

³ *JEA* 34, 85.

⁴ The skill shown by the sculptor in solving the problem of grouping these four very different figures on one base reminds us of the way in which a somewhat similar problem was treated some twenty-five centuries earlier. In the statue-group of the dwarf Seneb and his family, the dwarf is shown squatting cross-legged on the top of a pedestal, while his two children stand in front of it where the legs of a seated man would usually come, thus balancing the seated figure of his wife, who is of normal stature. See Junker, *Vorläufigen Bericht . . . Gizeh*, 1927, p. 113 and pls. 2, 3, and Anwar Shukry, *Die Privatgrabestatuhen im Alten Reich*, p. 164 and fig. 37.

⁵ It is only in the statue of the crocodile that the fine detail can be observed, but there can be no doubt that the other figures were carved with equal care.

by one of the early Ptolemies, who encouraged the building of temples and their embellishment with statues and the like. At that time there was a Greek colony living in the Fayyūm, and instead of having one deity only, the Greeks as well as the Egyptians worshipped Suchus, Thoth or Hermes, Thoëris or Athena, and Ammenemes III or Poremanres.



FIG. 1. Terra-cotta lamp-handle from the Fayyūm. (Kindly drawn by D. Champion)

Can we find any explanation of this collocation of deities in the Fayyūm? We may perhaps find a clue to this problem in the handle of a lamp in the famous collection of Greek terra-cottas from Egypt formed by M. Fouquet (Fig. 1). Describing this handle, Perdrizet says: 'Pl. L. à droite en bas, H. 120. Fayoum. Poignée de grande lampe; terre brune à couverte rouge. Le Dieu Nil assis . . . Devant lui des lotus en bouton et en fleur, et des rinceaux: sur le rinceau de gauche, un crocodile; au milieu en bas un hippopotame: au-dessus, un animal indistinct. Sur les deux fleurs de lotus, à droite et à gauche du dieu, semblent posés des animaux, peut-être un singe à gauche et un grenouille à droite.'¹ On this handle we seem to have the four beings carved on our monument; the animal described as 'indistinct' might well represent the kneeling man.² But on the handle we have also the god of the Nile shown on a larger scale, which is presumably due to his superior importance; this would not be strange in the Fayyūm, where the

¹ p. 63 [162].

² It has the face of a man, though the rest of the body is not clear.

Nile has always been of outstanding importance, and the other divinities shown on this handle are closely associated with the Nile-god. Thus Suchus was 'Lord of To-she', the 'Land of the Lake', just as elsewhere he was associated with other lakes and the Nile. Thoëris is shown on another handle as carrying the Nile-God,¹ and in Silsilah, where Ḥaṣpy and Suchus were worshipped, she seems to have been of special importance.² Among the numerous titles given to Thoth is one describing him as 'The Great One who came forth from Ḥaṣpy';³ the inclusion of Ammenemes III in our group is due to the fact that he set on foot extensive operations of irrigation in this region, which doubtless led to his deification, especially in the Ptolemaic period, when much attention was paid to projects of irrigation and reclamation. Thus the worship of Ammenemes III, Thoëris, Thoth, and Suchus in Crocodilopolis during the Ptolemaic period arose out of the fact that in one way or another they were all connected with the Nile.

¹ Perdrizet, *Antiquités grecques de la collection du Vicomte du Dresnay*, pl. 40.

² Cf. Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.* v, 216 ff.

³ Boylan, *op. cit.* 184.

THE HEAD OF A STATUETTE OF TUT'ANKHAMŪN IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

By W. K. SIMPSON

IN volume 37 of the *Journal* Mr. Ambrose Lansing published the limestone head of a king acquired by the Museum in 1950 which bears the Museum number 50.6 (*JEA* 37, 3-4, pl. 1). At the time of its purchase the writer made a study of the head, and the following notes are offered in the hope that they will be of interest to readers of the *Journal* and serve to supplement Mr. Lansing's informative account.

As will be remembered, the sculpture is a limestone head of the king wearing the *khepresh* crown, the most unusual aspect of which is a right hand of larger scale affixing the crown at the rear (*JEA* 37, pl. 1). As Mr. Lansing suggested, the head derives from a group statue representing the god Amūn setting the crown upon the king's head. Such a scene is indeed familiar from the relief on the four triangular faces of the fallen obelisk of Ḥatshepsūt at Karnak in which the enthroned Amūn extends his arms so that his right hand almost touches the crown and his left the shoulder of the kneeling 'king'.¹ Both god and king face the same direction, so that the back of the king is turned toward the god.

Sculpture in the round representing the scene is rare. In addition to the example under discussion, the writer has been able to find only three others, Alexandria no. 406, a statue group in the Cairo Museum, and a red granite head from Tanis. The first is the black granite head of a king wearing the *hprš* published by Ludwig Borchardt as 'Königskopf von einer Gruppe Amon setzt Amenophis III. die Königsperrücke auf' in *Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alex.* 23, 349 ff. Little more than two fingers of the god's right hand on the crown are all that remain of the larger figure. Borchardt plausibly assigns the head to Amenophis III, although other identifications might be suggested. The second is an unfinished and undated example from the Karnak cachette published and discussed by Legrain in the *CCG* 'Statues et Statuettes' under the number 42.111. It is 0.70 m. high and represents the king standing before the god, the former on a smaller

¹ The Egyptian word for this action of affixing the crown is *šmnt*, as is evident from the inscriptions on the relief in the Luxor Temple (*Mém. Miss. fr.* xv, pls. 19-21; 54) and many other places. The translation 'affixing' is borrowed from Sir Alan Gardiner, 'The Coronation of King Ḥaremḥab', *JEA* 39, 25. The exact nature of the action is difficult to determine. Is it in fact the coronation of the king, the formal act of the inauguration of the ruler into kingship, which must have taken place at the outset of the reign, or is it a graphic, general statement to the effect that Amen-Rē' has conferred kingship upon the ruler? We must remember that the ceremonies connected with an Egyptian coronation were indeed complex and that the familiar concept of crowning with the Red and White Crowns is more strictly familiar from representations of the Sed festival.

A different series of coronation statues is that in which the king is represented almost prostrate; see Militza Matthew, 'A Note on the Coronation Rite in Ancient Egypt', *JEA* 16, 31 f. For early representations of 'coronation' scenes in relief, reference should be made, for example, to W. M. F. Petrie, *Koptos*, London, 1896, pl. 7, no. 16a (two deities affixing the double crown) and the Eleventh Dynasty series in F. Bisson de la Roque, *Tôd (1934 à 1937)*, Cairo, 1937, 72-74, fig. 26; 79-81, fig. 32.



HEAD OF A STATUETTE OF TUTANKHAMÜN

scale (Dyn. XVIII?). The substitution of the standing for the kneeling position is in keeping with the compactness required in statuary as opposed to relief representation. The third example was published by W. M. F. Petrie in *Tanis*, Part 1, London, 1885, pl. 14. 2. According to Mr. John D. Cooney, to whom I am indebted for the reference, it is now in private possession in Cairo. The head like the others shows the king, here probably Ramesses II, wearing the *hprš* with uraeus and a right hand of larger scale affixing the crown at the rear. On the analogy of the unfinished example from Karnak, it is probable that the other heads derive from statue groups in which the king is in the standing position.¹

The statue group of two figures, one standing before the other, is a composition frequent in Egyptian art. The type closest to the one under consideration is represented by a group in Cairo of Amūn directing the steps of Amenophis III by placing his hands on the king's shoulders.² Another type is that represented by the Louvre statue of Tut'ankhamūn standing before Amūn; the god's hands hold the king by the latter's upper arms. In later times the position of the god is reversed in the many statues representing an individual holding a naos or cult statue of the god before him. The specific group under discussion, however, is a 'coronation' group, previously only recognized by Borchardt on the basis of a single example, but now represented by four. A similar but more complex group of the same nature is perhaps to be recognized in that published by Borchardt in *CCG*, 'Statuen und Statuetten', II, 176-7, pl. 116a (no. 629). The group is of Ramesses III and two (?) gods, but the photograph and the description do not make clear several of the details.

The purpose of this communication has been to assign the Metropolitan Museum head to the group which Borchardt was the first to recognize, and in citing the other examples, to establish the type. There are several details in connexion with the Metropolitan Museum head that may be of interest for the study of Eighteenth Dynasty sculpture, in addition to the basic data of size and material, which are here offered.

Size: The head is 0.15 m. (c. 6 in.) from chin to top of crown, 0.23 m. (9 in.) from face to break at rear of hand, and 0.07 m. (2¾ in.) wide from ear to ear. *Material*: 'Indurated' limestone showing traces of paint, red along the body of the uraeus and along the fold at the top of the headband, and a dark pigment indicating the pupils of the eyes. The limestone is very similar to that from Tell el-'Amārnah, which is said to come from the quarry over the edge of the northern cliffs. *Provenance*: Unknown, possibly Thebes or even Tell el-'Amārnah. The head reflects the traditions of the Tell el-'Amārnah workshops from the point of view of style, material, and craftsmanship. It is not generally appreciated that as late as the reign of Ḥaremḥab these *ateliers* were producing sculpture and relief, but this situation is attested by the limestone sphinx of Ḥaremḥab to which reference is made in *JEA* 13, 210,³ and the relief bearing this king's

¹ A representation of an alabaster statue group, however, shows the king kneeling; the scene occurs on the wall of the Theban tomb of the Chief Steward of Ḥatshepsūt, Amenḥotpe (No. 73), and is illustrated in the article by Borchardt cited above.

² Published by Legrain in *CCG*, 'Statues et Statuettes', under no. 42.086.

³ Probably the same fragment as in J. S. Pendlet ury, *The City of Akhenaten*, Part III, London, 1951, vol. 1, 12; vol. II, pl. 60, 3; also vol. I, 4.

name in W. M. F. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, London, 1894, pl. 11. 5. It is not unlikely that the statuette head may have been executed at Tell el-'Amārnah for use at Thebes. *The crown*: The rings of the crown are cut in much the same manner as those on a fragment from Petrie's excavations which the Metropolitan Museum acquired at the Amherst Sale,¹ except that a chisel-type instrument was used for the cutting of the rings on the Amherst fragment and a drill was clearly used in the latter stages of the head under discussion. Traces of a square grid roughly scratched for the insertion of the rings can be seen at the rear of the crown. The streamers hanging down from the crown are carved on the back support. The *hprš* crown, once considered erroneously as a wig by Borchardt, has been discussed in detail by Steindorff and Schäfer.² The uraeus is slightly chipped. The front fold extends down to the top of the headband, as is the case in most of the excavated pieces of this date. Traces of paint in this region are mentioned above under 'material'. *The face*: The eyes are clearly cut, without the paint streak, and the eyebrows are indicated by a change in plane and not by relief. The mouth is characterized by lips which have a slight downward curve, reminiscent of the Teye portraits; they are somewhat damaged, but the traces show that they were not as heavy as those of the Akhenaten portraits. The chin is slightly flat on the under-surface with an irregularity caused by a crystal formation in the stone. The face shows great sensitivity in contrast to the monumental statuary following the death of Akhenaten and is in this respect closer to the funerary material from the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn. If the attribution to Tut'ankhamūn is correct, as seems virtually certain (see Lansing, *op. cit.*), this is by far the finest sculpture head of the king exclusive of the tomb equipment. *Ultra-violet light examination*: cursory examination with simple equipment indicates that the break occurred anciently. The surfaces of the break are clean, unlike the rounded surfaces which the writer has often noted in forgeries. The coloration under the light approximates that of the Amherst Sale fragments in the Museum.

¹ Metropolitan Museum no. 21.9.606.

² G. Steindorff, 'Die blaue Königskrone', *ZÄS* 53, 59 ff.; H. Schäfer, 'Zur blauen Krone', *ZÄS* 70, 13 ff.

THREE HELLENISTIC EPIGRAMS FROM EGYPT¹

By P. M. FRASER AND P. MAAS

THE three inscriptions here published by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum were purchased by the Museum in 1926-7 along with some other stones of which two have been recently published.² These have remained unpublished. They were bought from Cairene dealers, and no information survives as to their provenance. They have been studied and read by both editors together. Of the comments which follow those on the grammar and style are due to Maas, those on the palaeography to Fraser; for the rest the editors accept joint responsibility.

I. Inv. no. 1927, 4-13-1, bought from N. D. Kytikas. Limestone plaque, complete. H. 0.21, W. 0.30, Th. 0.035, letters 0.005/008 between inscribed lines. Pl. XXIII.

Ἐσχατον ὠδίνων βάρος, Ἡδύλη, εἶδες ἐκεῖνο,
 τὴν πικρὴν τέκνου κῆρ[α λο]χευσαμένη·
 Αἰδης γάρ σε ἄστοργος ἐχώρισε κα(ι) ξυνομεύου
 καὶ μητρός, στυγνὴ δ' εἰς Ἀχέροντ' ἔμολες,
 5 ἐν δεκάσιν τρισσαῖς ἐτέων καὶ πέντ' ἐνιαυτοῖς
 τέρμα βίου μοίρηι στυγνὸν ἐνεγκαμένη·
 πλὴν εἰ μὴ σε ταφαὶ πάτρης Σπ.^{2/3}ισσαν ἔχουσι,
 ἢ Δαναοῦ δ' ἱερὴ Μέμφις ἔκρυψε κόνει,
 ἀλλ' οὐγ γ' εὐσ[ε]βέων ναίεις μέτα, πατρὶ σύνοικος
 10 Διογένει, τὸν καὶ ζῶσα πάροισ' ἐπόθεις.
 Αἰακὲ καὶ Μίνως, τήνδ' εἰς πόσιν εὐνέτιν ἐσθλήν,
 Κλειογένη, χύμεις μῶμου ἔχοιτε δίχα.

Line 7: the stone cutter omitted one sigma after the eta of *πάτρης*, and inserted it in smaller letter above the line. The next word begins with Σπ and ends with *-ισσαν*. Between are the confused traces of 2-3 letters, which we have been unable to decipher with certainty. Presumably the word is a feminine ethnic, but none suggests itself to us.

On the reverse of the stone, at the bottom and facing upwards (thus the original top of the reverse) is inscribed in the same hand the word *ἔσχατον*. Probably the stone cutter tried this surface first and found it unsuitable.

The hand is irregular, and is difficult to date since it has little similarity with the more formal hands of dedications to the reigning sovereign which form the basis of a chronological study of Ptolemaic epigraphical hands. The main features, pi with curving hastae (particularly the right), very small omicron sometimes suspended and sometimes

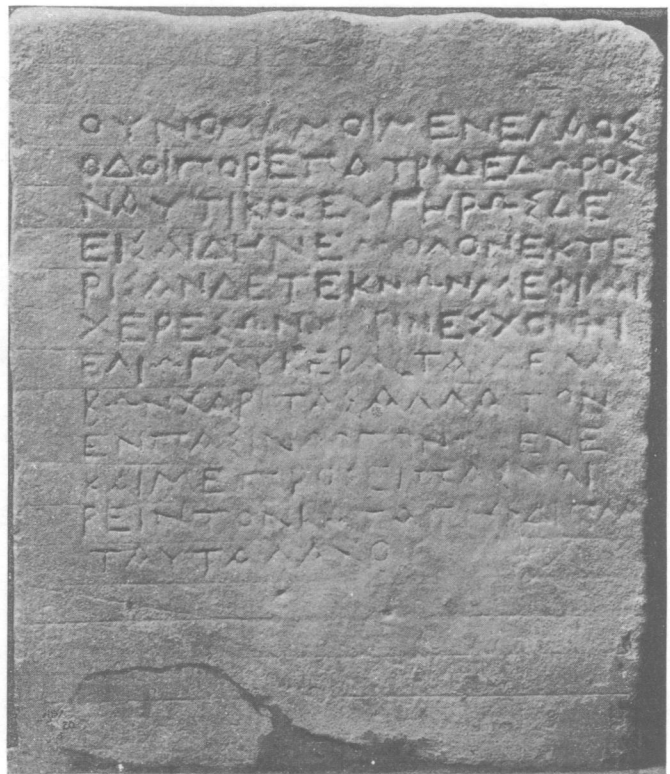
¹ We must express our gratitude to the Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, under whose care the stones are, for giving us every assistance in our study.

² See *JEA* 38, 65-74.

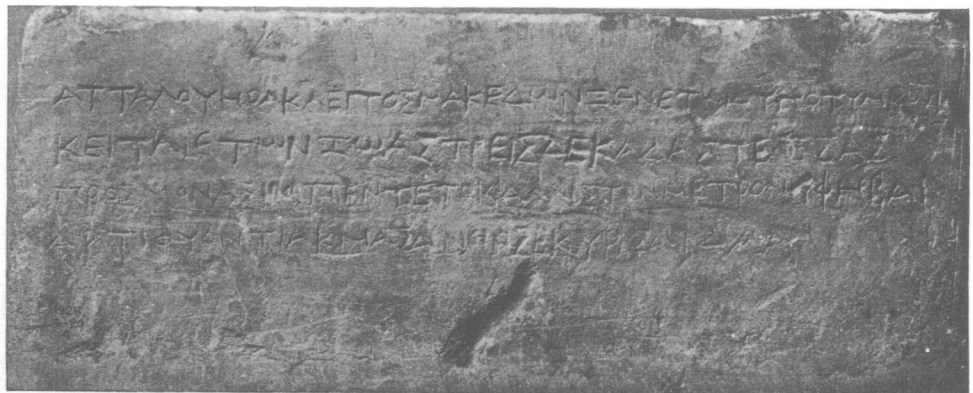
I



II



III



THREE HELLENISTIC EPIGRAMS FROM EGYPT

central, sigma with roughly parallel hastae, alpha with horizontal cross-stroke, lambda with right hasta far longer than the left, and very long rho, mostly have their closest analogies in the hands of documentary papyri of the later third century.¹

Lines 1–2: Hedyle apparently died after having given birth to a stillborn child. The expression is rather clumsy.

Line 6: the instrumental dative, *μοίρηι*, and the repetition of *στυγν*—(after line 4) are not in the best style.

Line 7: *πλήν* marks the transition to a new subject prosaically; see L. and S., s.v., iii, 2.

Line 8: *Δαναοῦ*. See below.

Line 9: *ἀλλ' οὐγ γε*, 'still at least', after line 7, *εἰ μὴ*, also prosaic; cf. Denniston, *Greek Particles*², p. 444.

Metre: enjambement in 3–4, and 11–12.

The names of relatives and places are carefully spread over the whole poem, the husband (who probably ordered the stone) modestly introducing himself in the last line.

The interest of the poem resides in line 8, in which *Μέμφις* is called *ἱερὴ Δαναοῦ*. This is a surprise. But since Io's wanderings end at Memphis in Aesch. *Suppl.* 310, and her son Epaphos was regarded as founder of Memphis,² Epaphos' great-grandson Danaos may well have had his cult there. This is important for the text of Aesch. *Suppl.* 1006 f.:

*πρὸς ταῦτα μὴ πάθωμεν, ὦν πολὺς πόνος,
πολὺς δὲ πόντος οὐνεκ' ἠρόθη δορί.*

πόνος . . . ἠρόθη δορί is *audacissimi zeugmatis exemplar* according to Hermann. There does not appear to be a similar example, and we should probably read *πόρος*, 'waterway', which would refer to the Danaids' journey by bark from Memphis to the *προστόμια Νείλου* (called *ἐπτάπορος* by Mosch. *Eur.* 52), where they took ship to Argos (*Suppl.* line 3).

II. Inv. no. 1926, 4–30–3, bought from M. Nahman. Limestone stela, complete. H. 0·27, W. 0·23, Th. 0·03, letters 0·005/0·010, omicron 0·005, between lines c. 0·013 apart. Traces of red in letters. Marginal line on left.

In the transcription the vertical lines represent the line-division on the stone.

*Οὐνομά μοι Μενέλαος, | ὄδοιπόρε, πατρὶ δὲ Δῶρος, |
ναυτικός· εὐγῆρως δὲ | εἰς Αἴδην ἔμολον.
(5) ἐκτέ|ρισαν δὲ τέκνων με φίλαι | χέρες, ὦν χάριν ἔσχον
'Η{ι}|ελίω, γλυκερὰς τάσδε λα|βῶν χάριτας.
(10) 5 ἀλλὰ τὸν | ἐν πᾶσιν λόγον, ὦ ξένε, | καί με προσείπας
'χαί|ρειν τὸν κατὰ γ[ῆ]ς', διπλ(ό)α | ταῦτα λάχοις.*

The hand is not very well formed, but the stone has a soft, unsuitable surface. The lettering is clearly of good Ptolemaic date, and resembles in some respects the hand of a dedication of the period 270–246, though there are differences of detail, and it is

¹ See the autotypes of P. Petr. i, particularly xix–xx (225 B.C.), and *YEA* 39, 91.

² Cf. Pind. *Nem.* 10, 5 (of Argos, *Δαναοῦ πόλις*), *πολλὰ δ' Αἰγύπτῳ καταοίκησεν ἄστη ταῖς Ἐπάφου παλάμαις*.

considerably more regular.¹ The most noticeable features are the long rho, the sigma with very divergent hastae, and the very high suspended omega.

Lines 1–2: *ναυτικός* presumably belongs to Menelaos, though syntactically it could equally well be attached to the father. The author's syntax is primitive.

Lines 3–4: *ὦν . . . χάριτας*. This seems to imply worship of Helios, with thanks to the god for the possession of children. This is a natural consequence of the Greek recognition of the creative power of the sun.² *γλυκερὰς χάριτας* refers to the children; nicely, if not very clearly, expressed.

Line 5: *καί με*. This should be *κάμέ*.

Line 6: *χαίρειν τὸν κατὰ γῆς, διπλ(ό)α ταῦτα λάχοις*. Both halves of this pentameter contain unfamiliarities. *χαίρειν τὸν κατὰ γῆς* could be understood in either of two ways. It might be a set formula applicable as a greeting to a nameless grave. This, however, seems out of place here, since the name is recorded in the first line. Alternatively, it may simply refer to the ordinary formula of farewell, in which the dead person is addressed by name, *τὸν κατὰ γῆς* meaning no more than *τὸν δεῖνα*: 'Farewell, x'. For the use of a general formula we may compare the line in an epitaph from Herakleopolis, *ἀλλὰ σὺ 'Χρηστὴ χαῖρ', Ἀμμωνία', ὡς ἔθος εἰπὼν (sic).*³ *διπλ(ό)α ταῦτα λάχοις* is also strange. It suggests a belief in the efficacy of the repetition of the words of farewell. The closest parallel for this is perhaps to be found on a very few West Greek tombstones, on which the name of the dead person is written twice, followed by *χαίρε*.⁴ The derivation of the belief, or the practice, is not clear. It may derive from the practice of invoking deities and others twice, presumably to ensure the prayer being heard. The present passage suggests also that some profit was felt to accrue to the dead person through the repetition.

Metre: elegant enjambement 1–2, 3–4.

III. Inv. no. 1926, 4–20–4. Bought from M. Nahman. Limestone plaque, complete. H. 0·105, W. 0·28, Th. 0·040, letters 0·004/007, omicron 0·002. Pl. XXIII.

Ἀττάλου Ἡράκλειτος Μακεδών, ξένη, τῶιδ' ὑπὸ τύμβῳ
 κείται ἐτῶν ζωᾶς τρεῖς δεκάδας τελέσας
 πρὸς μονάσιμ πέντε, τὸ κάλλιστον μέτρον ὑφ' ἡβᾶι
 ἄρτι φύοντι ἀκμᾶς ἄνθος ἔκυρσ' Αἶδαν

5 vac. Δ[vac. (?)]

The partly cursive, irregular lettering can hardly be dated, but some factors speak

¹ *Coll. Froehner*, 72, and pl. 38. The hand of this piece is very crude, and the stone was cut for, if not by, an Egyptian. However, the similarity of beta, rho, and sigma in the two stones is very marked. The main difference resides in the fact that our piece has a very small high omega of lapidary form, while the other piece has a cursive omega, and our piece has alpha with broken, the other piece alpha with horizontal, cross-bar.

² See in general Nilsson, *Gesch. Gr. Rel.* II, 486 ff., who quotes *Plat. Rep.* 509 b, where the sun is said to give οὐ μόνον τὴν τοῦ ὀράσθαι δύναμιν . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γένεσιν καὶ αὔξην καὶ τροφήν.

³ J. Schwartz, *Ann. Serv.* 50, 403; cf. F. Zucker, *JEA* 40, 118 ff.

⁴ See, for example, *IG IX*, I. 919. A discussion of this and other tombstones inscribed in this way will be given elsewhere.

for a Ptolemaic date, and none against one.¹ The second distichon is more lightly engraved (except at the end of line 3) than the first, but the hand seems to be the same.

In the first distichon *Ἡράκλειτος* is scanned – ∪ ∪ –, and the phrase *ὑπὸ τύμβῳ* does not seem correct. In the second, metre, grammar, and sense are all at fault to a degree which we do not remember having encountered elsewhere in Greek epigrams. The first couplet is complete in itself, and the lapicide may have been improvising or experimenting in the second, lightly engraved couplet. One may wonder whether this piece ever left the mason's yard.

The meaning of the Δ [(?) in line 5 is not clear.

¹ Note particularly the small omicron, and the mu with curved joining stroke (cf. the inscription illustrated *JEA* 38, pl. 14, top, of 193–180 B.C. where this mu occurs three times). The cursive omega is no bar to such a date: see above, p. 117, note 1. The hand, however, is so irregular and crude that the widest limits must be allowed.

ADDENDUM

With regard to II. 6 *διπλόα ταῦτα λάχοις*

A very similar phrase, embodying the same concept, occurs in another Hellenistic epigram from Alexandria (M. Segre, *BSA Alex.* 34, 1941, p. 27, nv. vi; cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7, 1949, 158 f.), ll. 3 ff.

ἀλλὰ σύ, Μουσείοις καμ[άτο]ις τεθραμμέν' ὄδιτα,
 ἴσχε καὶ ἀυδήσας 'σῆμ' Ἀλίνης' ἄπιθι
 5 'χαῖρ' εἰπὼν δις [α]ὐτὸς ἔχοις τόδε. τέκνα δὲ λείπω
 τρίζυγα, καὶ ποθέοντα ἄνδρα λέλοιπα δόμοις.
 5 δις [δ' α]ὐτὸς would restore the metre.

PICTORIAL COIN TYPES AT THE ROMAN MINT
OF ALEXANDRIA
A THIRD SUPPLEMENT

By JAMES W. CURTIS

(*Dedicated to the late J. G. Milne*)

THE series of articles concerning pictorial coin types of the drachmas of Roman Egypt,¹ published in recent volumes of the *Journal* by the late Dr. Milne, has focused much attention on this unique series, occurring principally during years 4–10² of Antoninus Pius. It is the purpose of the present article to give additional information, not available to Dr. Milne, but which was probably surmised by him.

In his first article,³ Dr. Milne mentioned a reverse type of Chiron and Achilles, of 'an uncertain year'. Neither the coin nor a cast was apparently available, as the type was not shown on the accompanying plate, nor described in detail. In the author's private collection is a specimen in a sufficiently good state of preservation to reveal the date clearly as year 5 (pl. XXIV, no. 1). The condition of the only other known specimen⁴ is so poor, that comparison of the dies is virtually impossible. The author's coin, however, shows clearly the vigour of style and execution associated with the artist of the Asiatic Greek school, whom Milne has traced through the series of pictorial drachma reverses of Pius's fourth, fifth, and sixth years.

The style of this artist is more clearly illustrated by the coin type appearing as no. 2 on the plate. This reverse depicts Herakles and Kerberos, of the 'labours of Herakles' series. Also from the author's collection, it is the finest known specimen of this type, by the aforementioned artist. The illustration in Dattari⁵ is of a badly deteriorated specimen, while Dr. Milne does not illustrate it in his articles. The present specimen is dated year six. The vigour of the advancing Herakles is in marked contrast to the evident fatigue of Kerberos, who sits panting with open mouth. The die of year 10,⁶ executed by an inferior artist in imitation, is lacking in these characteristics.

Two additional 'labours of Herakles' types from the author's collection appear as nos. 3 and 4 on the plate. Both coins are of year 10, and reflect the work of a weaker artist, probably the same one who engraved the later die of Herakles and Kerberos. The illustrated die of Herakles in the Garden of the Hesperides (no. 3) is the same as that which was reproduced by Milne as no. 7, pl. IV, in his original article. However, the author's coin is less worn, and brings out additional details which reveal a higher level of artistic quality than might be inferred from the earlier plate. The work of this later artist lacks the robustness of his predecessor, and only a moderate amount of wear obscures some of the finer details. The reproduction of Herakles and the Amazons

¹ *JEA* 29, 63; 36, 83; 38, 101.

² Years of reign according to the Alexandrian chronology.

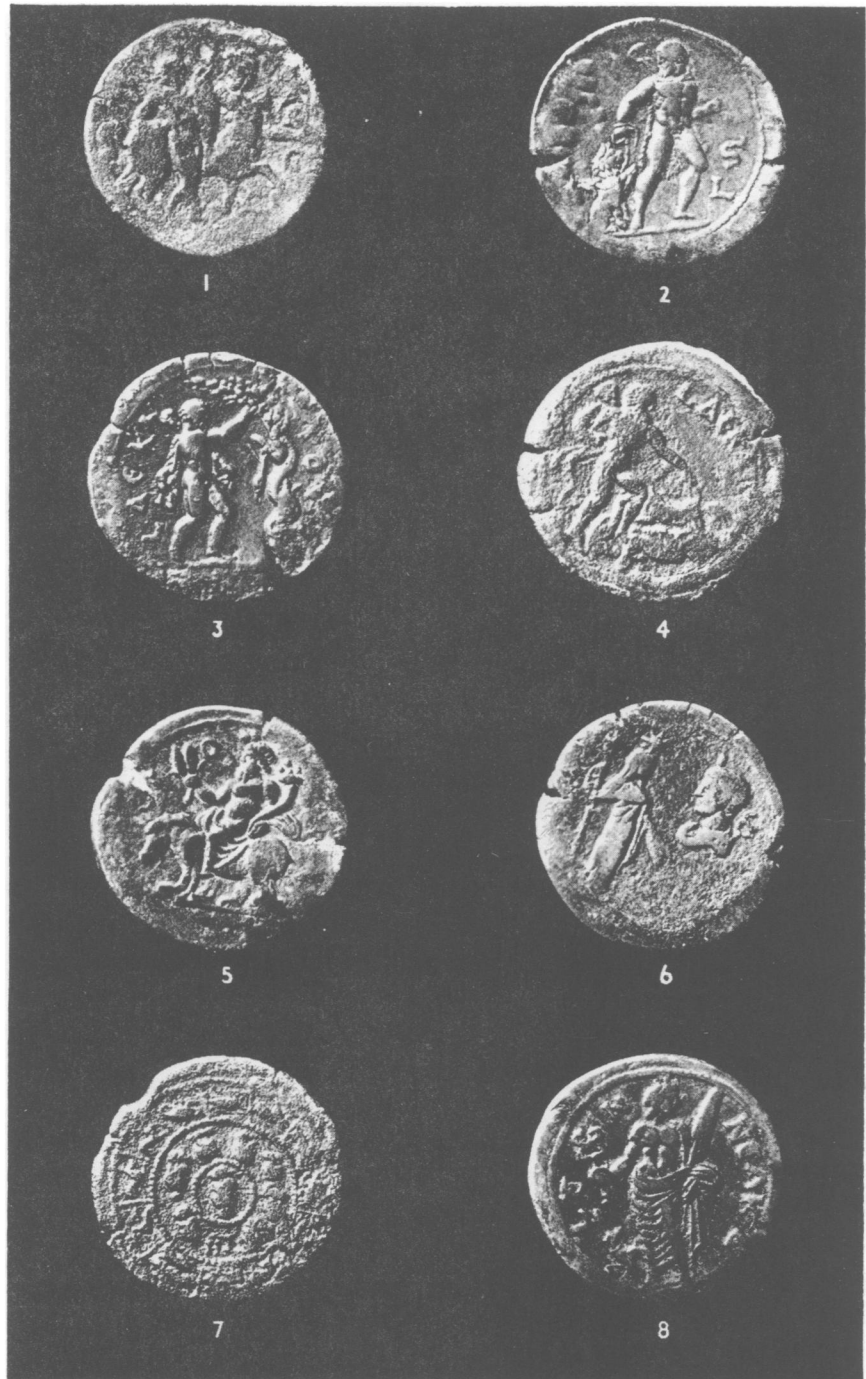
³ *JEA*, p. 9, 63.

⁴ Dattari 2505.

⁵ Dattari 2607.

⁶ Dattari 2608.

PLATE XXIV



COINS OF THE ROMAN MINT AT ALEXANDRIA

(pl. XXIV, no. 4) is a good illustration of that fault. This 'Amazon' reverse had not been shown on the plates accompanying Dr. Milne's articles.

Nilus riding a hippopotamus (pl. XXIV, no. 5) was one of the earliest reverse types of a pictorial nature, being first minted in year 2 of Pius's reign. Although Milne considered it a pictorial type, its appearance in the *Journal* was in a plate accompanying his article 'Alexandrian Coin Types Acquired by the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford',¹ rather than in the present series. The author's specimen represents a different die, apparently cut by a second artist. This second artist produced a somewhat superior design, including a more natural treatment of the animal's rump, a more slender and graceful figure of Nilus, and a less crowded arrangement.

The astronomical types, discussed by Milne in his original article, but not illustrated, are represented here by nos. 6 and 7 on the accompanying plate. The first represents Mercury in Virgo, portrayed by the bust of Hermes facing a well-draped virgin with staff in hand and star above head. The second depicts the head of Sarapis, wearing a modius, surrounded by concentric zodiacal circles. These are the two rarest types of the astronomical series. Both would appear to have been executed by artists inferior to the originator of the Herakles series.


In general, these specimens tend to confirm the conclusion of Dr. Milne in his last supplement. The special group of pictorial types would seem to represent a temporary interest in mythological subjects on the part of the Alexandrian mint officials, probably reflecting imperial inspiration. This interest was divorced from any clear relationship with native Egyptian culture, and seemed to lack specificity, except in the series of Heraklean labours. An imported artist set a standard of skill for three years that could not be matched by the local artists, although at least one individual made a creditable effort, and the general level of skill was relatively high. After year 10 of Pius's reign, the production of pictorial coin types was spasmodic, and no longer a matter of policy.


The seeds of this interest in Hellenic mythology would seem to lie in the antiquarian policies of Hadrian, although the results flowered early in the reign of Antoninus Pius. A high level of artistic skill, which did not suffer from comparison with the work of the imported artist mentioned above, was evident in the Alexandrian mint during the late years of Hadrian's reign, as is shown by the standing figure of Hermanubis (pl. XXIV, no. 8), struck during his nineteenth year.

¹ *JEA* 31, 85.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

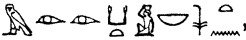
An unexplained passage in the inscription of Weni

IN a valuable, but deplorably long-winded, article entitled 'Zur Personifikation von Pyramiden' (ZÄS 70, 56-83) Carl Wilke collected and discussed a number of hieroglyphic writings where the figure of a female offering-bearer is appended as determinative to the name of an Old Kingdom pyramid. Of the nine places whence Wilke culled his examples the oldest will suffice to illustrate the type:  The pyramid 'Horus, lord of Appearances, Šahurēr-Khar-ba'.¹

Wilke rightly stressed the resemblance of such a determinative to the Nile-gods depicted around the base of many a temple; just as these personify provinces which through their inundation bestowed sustenance and other blessings on the Pharaoh, so too the royal pyramid was evidently conceived of as a female divinity who heaped material benefits upon the monarch resting within it. Thus much could be fairly inferred from the writings themselves, but clearly it would be desirable to find confirmation also elsewhere. Such confirmation Wilke was able to unearth only upon a Ptolemaic sarcophagus in the Cairo Museum, where the goddesses Edjō and Nephthys are shown accompanied by a third goddess identified by the legend as (*The pyramid*) Mn-nfr, lady of the Two Lands, mistress of all that is in it to all eternity.² There exists, however, a far earlier indication of the rightness of Wilke's contention, this in a no less well-known inscription than that of Weni, the highly favoured official whose career extended over the reigns of the three first kings of the Sixth Dynasty. There Weni recounts how he was sent both to the land of Ibhe and to Elephantine to fetch a sarcophagus, pyramidion, and other parts for a pyramid described as  (ll. 38 and 40).³ Most scholars, so far as I can see, have been at a loss to account for the last word in this designation: Erman thought it to be somehow part of the name of the pyramid,⁴ and Tresson held a similar view;⁵ Breasted⁶ rendered 'for the pyramid (called) Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful of the queen', an obviously wrong interpretation not saved by the accompanying footnote, since it was undoubtedly Mernerēc's own pyramid that is here in question. Alone among the translators known to me M. Stracmans⁷ has printed the right rendering, namely *pour ma maîtresse la pyramide de Merenre (dont le nom est) 'belle d'apparition'*. Preserving the word-order of the original I prefer to substitute *for the pyramid Mernerēc-khar-nūfe, my mistress*, and it would be impossible to find a more convincing confirmation of Wilke's general thesis.

ALAN H. GARDINER

The proposed new reading of the word for 'Overseer'

In ZÄS 79, 76-77 H. W. Helck makes the not unpalatable suggestion that , which he has found on a Third Dynasty block,⁸ is a variant of the very common Old Kingdom

¹ Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Saḥu-er*, 1, 56, fig. 65.

² Op. cit., p. 72. That it is the pyramid of Phiopt I, and not the city of Memphis, that is here personified, is shown by the reliefs on the opposite side, where Nekhbe and Isis are accompanied by Mn-rnh, the pyramid of Phiopt II, here however represented as a male deity. The reason for this difference of sex remains utterly obscure.

³ Sethe, *Urk.* 1, 106, 17; 107, 5-6.











⁴ ZÄS 20, 22.




⁵ P. Tresson, *L'inscription d'Ouni*, under *hnou-it* in the vocabulary (p. 30): 'employé dans le nom de la pyramide de Métésouphis Ier, comme une sorte de surnom'.

⁶ *Ancient Records*, 1, 148.

⁷ 'La carrière du Gouverneur de la Haute Égypte Ouni', in *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales*, III (1935), 513.

⁸ Berlin 13503, published *Äg. Inschriften*, 1, 31 and Weill, *II^e et III^e Dynasties égyptiennes*, pl. 7.

title elsewhere always introduced by the word for 'overseer' in its normal writing . Without disputing Helck's premiss, I find it very necessary to question the new reading *mr* which he bases upon it. In this wholly isolated early writing, we must, he tells us, indubitably (*ohne Zweifel*) read the hieroglyph of the 'two eyes' as *mr*(·*tj*), whence the hitherto accepted reading *imi-r* (Helck *imj-r*) must be regarded as a secondary and later misinterpretation. It is true that the word  for 'eye' (*Wb.* II, 107, 10-15) may be very much older than the New Kingdom Book of the Dead where it is first encountered, but what chances are there that Helck's  should be read *mr* on the strength of it? His theory ignores both the initial *m* and the twofold writing of the eye. For the initial *m* he may perhaps quote such Old Kingdom spellings as  for  and  for , but the assumed evaporation of the feminine dual ending presents an insuperable obstacle. In the absence of such a writing as * as a variant of , Helck's new reading *mr* must surely be adjudged mere groundless speculation, the more so since he himself reads the well-known nautical title  as *imj ir-tj*¹ in agreement with *Wb.* I, 106, 17.

I must confess myself utterly at a loss to find a satisfactory explanation of Helck's . On the whole I should be tempted to read this as *imi irti* or *imi irwi*² and to guess that, if it is really an equivalent of , which is distinctly doubtful, it may be some sort of 'sportive' writing. But I attach no importance to this suggestion. It remains, however, to note Helck's failure to mention the reason for which I originally proposed the reading *imi-r*.³ That reason was the feminine writing , of which at the time I was able to quote only a single Middle Kingdom example; *Wb.* II, 94, 13 quotes three more, all dating from the Old Kingdom.

ALAN H. GARDINER

The name of the scribe in the Louvre—a note

THIRTY-THREE years ago, in *JEA* 7, 186, the late Professor Capart sought to prove that the two Fifth Dynasty statues of 'Le Scribe Accroupi' and Kai (A 106), found at Saqqārah and now in the Louvre, in fact represent the same person. The proposed identification was based on the circumstances of the finding of the statues as far as these can be discovered from Mariette's notes, and supported by the existence of the parallel De Morgan pair.

The identification has been generally accepted, and Capart himself in subsequent publications cited the Louvre 'pair' and the two statues of Ra'nofer at Cairo in arguing that the Egyptians were not concerned to make portraits of the same person alike. That he was wrong in the case of the Ra'nofer statues was proved by Engelbach's ingenious experiment (*Mélanges Maspero*, I, 101), which revealed the striking similarity of the two faces. No one would suggest that the statues of Kai and of the Louvre scribe are facially identical, but it seems to me that any criticism of Egyptian portraiture based upon this is invalid, since the two statues cannot represent the same person.

In *Ann. Serv.* 38, 285, in an article dealing with the five *ka*-statues of deformed persons in the Cairo museum, Engelbach pointed out that of just over one hundred seated statues of the Old Kingdom in the museum, four only have the 'napkin' in the left hand instead of the right. These he believed to be the *ka*-statues of left-handed people, since the proportion of left-handedness in life varies between 4 and 8 per cent. Examination of a large number of other statues and the rarity of left-handed examples leads me to believe that Engelbach's conclusion was correct, and that such left-handedness is deliberate.

Now the Louvre scribe holds his pen in his right hand, the normal attitude, while Kai has the 'napkin' in his left; the one, that is, represents a right-, the other a left-handed person. The two cannot, therefore, be the same, and Capart's identification of the scribe as Kai, and any conclusions

¹ Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln*, Index, p. 144.

² For *irwi* see *Wb.* I, 108, 1 and under D4 in the Sign-list of my *Egyptian Grammar*, 2nd edition.

³ *ZAS* 40, 142.

Two Canopic jars of the Eighteenth Dynasty

THESE two pots were bought by the writer in London in 1954. Of the original set of four, only those of Imsety (I) and of Khebsenuf (K) have survived. As often,¹ they are not identical, the disparity in size amounting to 1 in. in favour of K, which is 12 in. high. Both jars are of fine workmanship, turned on the potter's wheel with square shoulders,² and inscribed in hieratic with corresponding texts by the same hand, whereas the stoppers are rather individualistically treated. In each case the



FIG. 1.

preservation is nearly perfect, but the patination suggests that they have been in this country for some time. The inscription on I reads: $\overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{W}}$ *Speech by Imsety: I come that I may be thy protection.* The inscription on K is identical except for the god's name $\overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{B}} \overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{U}} \overline{\text{F}}$ and for the writing out of the suffix 1st sing. $\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{I}}$ in *wn.i*.

The stopper of I was likewise made on the wheel, and the face was subsequently carved out.³ Eyelids and eyelashes were picked out in black, and so was the wig. The length of the socket is $1\frac{3}{10}$ in. It is adorned with an *anh*-sign painted in red; another one, of the same colour, is to be found on the

¹ Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, 324.

³ This observation is due to Mr. Anthony Marshall.

² Reisner in *ZÄS* 37, 63.

top of the wig (see fig.). The purpose of these symbols of life must be the magical one of bestowing it on the jar or its contents, though this feature is not otherwise attested in this connexion.¹

The other stopper (K) is entirely hand-moulded with similar traces of pigmentation. The face has a different expression and is beardless, while I (and, presumably, the two missing ones) is shown wearing the short chinbeard.² The socket is only $\frac{1}{2}$ in., and therefore much shorter than that of I.

Judging by their shape and general appearance, these Canopic jars antedate the later part of the New Kingdom, when animal-headed stoppers, more obviously representative of the four sons of Horus, came into fashion. The fortunate circumstances of their being inscribed in hieratic characters allows them to be dated on palaeographical grounds to the first part of the Eighteenth Dynasty.³

MANFRED CASSIRER

Two Petrie manuscripts

IN unpacking the Petrie Collection, one page of manuscript in Petrie's handwriting was found which must have become detached from his *Funeral Furniture* (published in 1937) before it went to the printers. It runs as follows:—

'A model of the sarcophagus is sometimes placed before the figure.

'Those here are

654. Hollow figure in two halves; three long columns of inscription in stucco in front, gilded and scraped bare, too rough to be read. Edwards. 21·8 h.

655. Solid figure, painted red, with blue network over the body, and blue hair; column of inscription on front, illegible. 11·0 h.

656. Plain wood figure, good work, 17·5 h. Hawara.

657. Base of a similar figure, incised "Osiris give life, and Anup in Ut, for Heka". 12 long. Hawara.

'The Amulets found with the mummy are mainly the figures of the gods, and amulets relating to the gods. The arrangement of them is shown in the plans of mummies in *Amulets*, pls. 50-54.

'Lastly the Coptic crosses placed over the graves belong expressly to the continued belief in the revived body.'

With the above was found the missing manuscript of the Catalogue volume 14, *Glass and Glazes*, also in Petrie's handwriting, but without any illustrations, and with only the numbering of the glass objects completed. It is hoped that it will be possible to complete this volume and publish it in due course.

A. J. ARKELL

An archaic representation of Ḥathōr

WAINWRIGHT'S suggestion in *Labyrinth Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*, p. 22, that the palette on pl. 6, 7 may represent Ḥathōr in an astronomical aspect has received striking confirmation from a study of the pieces from the large fluted porphyry jar found by Quibell at Hierakonpolis and published in *Hierakonpolis*, II, pl. 59, figs. 4-7, and pp. 14 and 31. Some of the fragments are in the Petrie Collection at University College, London, and others including all those with relief on them, are in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford; and it is by courtesy of the Keeper of the Antiquities Department at the Ashmolean that it has been possible to make this study.

¹ They cannot be marks 'for the purpose of identification' as on the objects described by Reisner (op. cit. 64, n. 1; cf. Hayes, op. cit. 323).

² Reisner, op. cit. 62-63. According to Sethe (*Zur Geschichte d. Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern*, 15), the face of Imsety is shown beardless during the M.K. because the deity was originally female. On the other hand, early types of stoppers often show the likeness of the deceased rather than a representation of the sons of Horus. In the present case, anyhow, it is Kēbḥsenuf who lacks the beard.

³ For this statement I am much indebted to Professor Černý. Curiously, phrases such as *wnn.ḏ m sṯ.k* are elsewhere attested on late specimens (Dyns. XXII-XXV) only; cf. Reisner, op. cit., 68-69.

It is seen that all these fragments come from one large stone bowl about 2 ft. in diameter, as Quibell says 'a magnificent vase, similar in shape and size to that on pl. XXXVI. 4' and not only 'adorned with vertical fluting' but with figures in relief on the flat rim and with a base ring in relief representing a ring of grass bound with palm-leaves (as still used as stands for *gabana* coffee-pots in the Sudan—compare also, perhaps, Emery, *The Tomb of Hemaka*, pl. 30, fig. 2). Indeed, it is not impossible that it was made by the hand of the master craftsman who made the Narmer palette. Both were found at Hierakonpolis, and a fragment of the fluted pot in question came like the Narmer palette from the main deposit there.

One of the figures in relief on the rim must have been a head of Ḥathōr as a cow, similar to the heads in pairs at the top of the Narmer palette, but with stars at the tip of each horn, on top of the forehead and at the tip of each ear. Quibell, *op. cit.*, pl. 59, 5, shows the star at the tip of the right horn and one ray of the star in the middle of the forehead. But it is the fragment at the left of fig. 6 which gives all the clues to the solution. The published photograph of it shows the star at the tip of the left ear, but it does not show clearly either the pupil of the eye in relief (similar to the eye of the pelican(?) in fig. 4) or—between this eye and the star—a line of herring-bone incisions, like those inside the cow's ears of Ḥathōr on the Narmer palette. It does show, also in relief, the left-hand angular corner of the base of the Ḥathōr head (as on the Narmer palette and the Gerzeh palette). An attempt will be made to reconstruct this unique jar, and if successful a further note on the jar will be published.

Can any one with a knowledge of astronomy suggest an actual constellation which may have given the ancient Egyptians the idea of representing Ḥathōr thus 'pointed' with stars; or was she just the Cow Lady of Heaven, the sky goddess who sometimes is represented with stars as here, sometimes with the moon between her horns, as frequently in Sinai, and sometimes the sun (Černý, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, p. 29)? The Cow of Heaven is represented occasionally with stars on her belly, as in the tomb of Sethos I. Probably the resemblance of the new moon to a cow's horns was the reason why a cow goddess was first associated with the sky. She would then soon be thought of as giving birth to the moon and the stars at nightfall. In this way seems to have arisen the concept of Ḥat-ḥōr, 'the house of Horus' the sun-hawk.

A. J. ARKELL

Modern designs on predynastic slate palettes

SCHARFF in his *Die Altertümer der Vor- und Frühzeit Ägyptens* (1929), p. 125 and pl. 31, published as No. 223 a fish-shaped slate palette which was obtained in 1900 by Dr. K. Reinhardt in Egypt but is of unknown provenance. It is Berlin No. 14411. It has on it an incised design, which is given in detail in Abb. 73, and the antiquity of which was doubted by Scharff. He said he knew of nothing comparable to it. There is, however, at University College another slate palette which Petrie bought in Egypt and published in *Prehistoric Egypt* (1920), pl. 45, fig. 24, without any description. It is of the shape which he called the *pelta* and his type 30 D (pl. 44). Both these slates have a complicated design, which Scharff thought might be a net. It differs in each case, but in each at the same time there is a dog-faced man (?) facing right, and a dog-like animal with its tail erect facing left. Nothing about the designs appears to be Egyptian; and the incision is done in a peculiar way so that all lines and hatching are made up of zigzags, either well spaced out or very close, which look as if they had been made by 'walking' a small chisel-shaped tool; and although it would not have been impossible to have done this with a small predynastic copper chisel, I have little doubt that though the palettes are genuine, the designs incised on them are modern, made by the same hand, and that they belong to a similar school of forgeries as the predynastic pots with designs recently painted on them, published by Guy Brunton in *Annales du Service*, 34, 149-56.

A. J. ARKELL

The jackals of the sun-boat

IN this *Journal*, 31, 105, Mr. Dawson published a note in which he mentions the representation of the sun-boat towed along the river of night by jackals. Two recent publications give me occasion to return to this subject.

The author only names one text, that on the 'chess-game' with a duplicate. Now there are many more. I quote Berlin stela 7306, l. 9 (the oldest example I know: Dyn. XVIII); Mag. Pap. Harris, v, ll. 4-5; Leps., *Denkm.* Text, III, 301, and Piehl, *Inscript.* I, pl. 141, l. 2 (both Theban tombs); de Morgan, *Kom Ombos*, I, 87, pl. 107, l. 3 below (all mentioned *Wb.* III, 420, 10); Brugsch, *Große Oase*, pl. 25, l. 9 (var. of Harris; Pieper, *ZÄS* 66, 25); Pap. Berlin 3049 vs., XIV, l. 6¹; Varille, *Ann. Serv.* 50, pl. 22, I, i.m.; Klasens, *A Magical Statue Base (Socle Béhague) in the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, Leiden, 1952, 108, h 38 (?). The first four of them and the game-text are prior to the Twenty-first Dyn., the period which is recorded by Dawson as the oldest for the occurrence of pictorial representations.

A propos of the latter it may interest the reader to get some details. The number of the animals varies. To give examples: B.M. coffin 36211 shows one (*Handbook*, 39), the Saitic stela Hildesheim 1874 two (Scharff, *Sonnenlieder*, fig. 6) whereas the papyrus of Dirpu at Cairo depicts three of them, black, yellow, and red (Vigneau-Drioton, *Le Musée du Caire* [Paris, 1949], 155; Dyn. XXI), and Dawson's Turin vignette four² (as in the text of Lepsius). On the Saitic or later coffin Hildesheim 1953 it is Osiris who is drawn in the boat (Capart, *Chron. d'Ég.* 18, fig. 28).

One of the recent publications to which I allude is an archaeological survey by M. Leclant in *Orientalia*, n.s. 22, fasc. 1. He describes there among other things a cleaning of the tomb of Ramosē, treasurer of Taharqa (Shēkh Abd el-Ḳurnah 132), by M. de Stoppelaëre. Pl. 13, fig. 26, shows a wall-painting with the sun-boat towed by three jackals. What struck me on this photo is that a legend was added to the animals which is to be read *Bꜣw Nḥn* 'Souls of Hieraconpolis'. So the name of those jackal-headed beings who jubilate at dawn both in literature and in picture figures here also.

The other edition is the Bollingen publication of the tomb of Ramesses VI (Piankoff-Rambova; Dyn. XX) and in that work the Book of Night in particular. On pls. 150-2 of part II one sees four jackals towing together with and in front of the anthropomorphic 'Hmw-wrd' stars and guided by the god *Pꜣwty nnty*. According to the related text of the Book their name is *Bꜣw imntyw* 'Souls of the West', whereas their colleagues in a similar but not the same position (they precede the drawers) have been allotted the legend *Bꜣw iꜣbtyw* 'Souls of the East' (pl. 159; Day).³

M. HEERMA VAN VOSS

The costume and insignia of the king in the *sed*-festival

PROFESSOR Samuel A. B. Mercer in his book, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1949), 122 states that in the *sed*-festival 'the king assumed the costume and insignia of Osiris', adding (in n. 114) that the present writer in *JEA* 28, 71 'contradicts this generally accepted statement without furnishing any adequate proof'. I was there reviewing G. D. Hornblower's articles, 'Osiris and His Rites', and my brief statement ('... it is not true to say that the king wears Osirian dress at the *sed*-festival') seems now to call for a slight elaboration.

The king is depicted in two forms in representations of the *sed*-festival. When he performs the festival dance he is shown wearing a short kilt with a long 'tail' behind. It would be interesting to

¹ Zandee, *De hymnen aan Amon van papyrus Leiden I 350*, Leiden, 1948, 14.

² Cf. too Schott, *ZÄS* 74, pl. 6 and p. 89, who calls it Ramesside.

³ Cf. I, 400, 426, 427 and the edition of the Book by Piankoff and Drioton, 76-79, 89-93, and pl. 8. M. Piankoff refers to Bruyère, *Deir el Médīneh* (1930), Le Caire, 1933, 53, and pl. 15 where four jackals are asked to announce the deceased in the cabin and to draw him in the 'golden boat' (Dyn. XX).

know where Osiris is depicted in this form. The king is also represented in a pavilion, and his appearance here varies. In one early example (Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, I, xv, no. 16) he wears a long robe reminiscent of the shape of a mummy or of Osiris, but on his head is a Double Crown, which does not suit Osiris. In *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re II*, Taf. 1 (= Kees, *Opfertanz*, Abb. 11) he has the White Crown, but his cloak is a short one which barely reaches the knee. I know of no example where the form is entirely Osirian. As to the insignia (which I did not mention), they of course include the flail and sceptre which are also carried by Osiris. But it is open to question whose attributes they were first of all, the god's or the king's. My own belief is that they were the king's.

The phrase 'generally accepted', used by Mercer of his statement, is an exaggeration. Frazer, Moret, Petrie, and Margaret Murray seem to have taken this view, although Petrie (*The Palace of Apries*, 8) made reservations. The opposite view has been propagated by Gardiner (*JEA* 2, 124); Kees, *Opfertanz*, 165 (of the dress outside the pavilion), cf. *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1927, 196, and *Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*, 32; Newberry, *Ägypten als Feld für anthropologische Forschung*, 21; and Wainwright, *The Sky-Religion in Egypt*, 20, where some other references to the literature of the subject are given.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

A note on Ast-Raset

IN *JEA* 33, 58-62, Mr. Wainwright argues for the identification of the Ast-Raset mentioned in the Nastasen stela with the group of wells now known as Abu Tuleih.¹

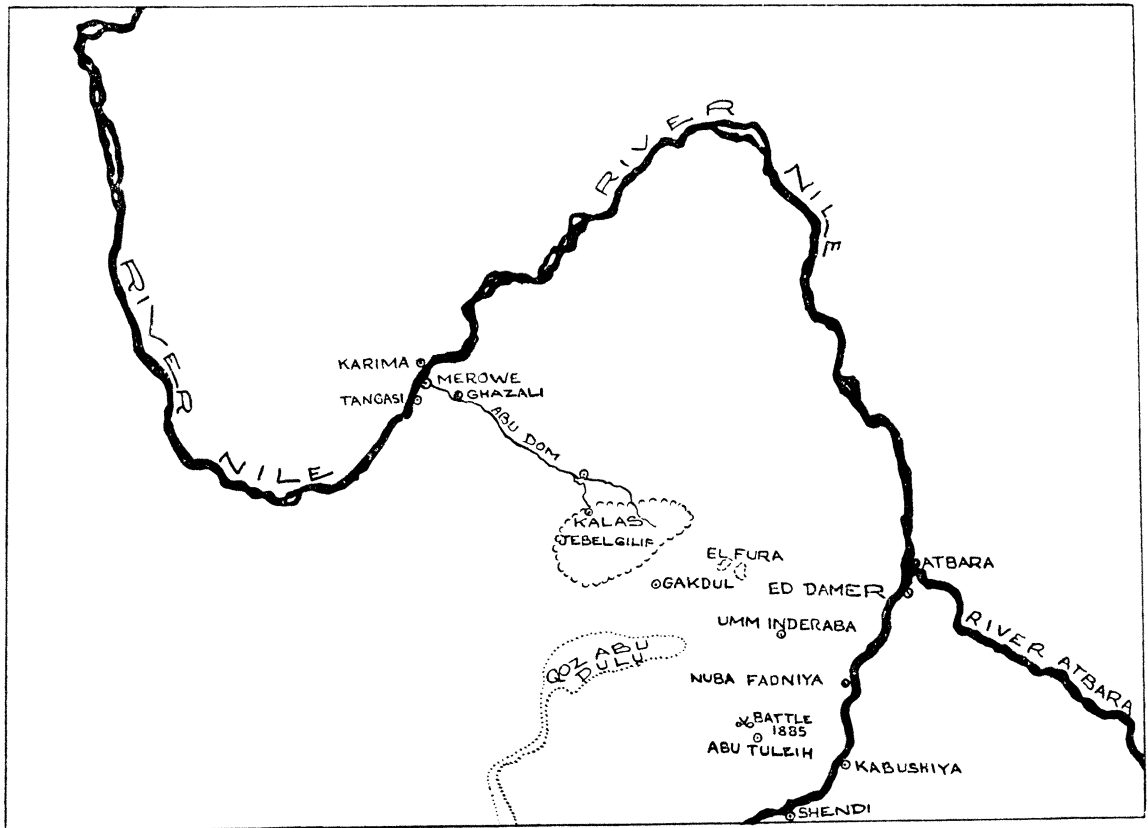


FIG. 1.

¹ This name is certainly ابو طليح, طليح being the plural of طلع, the *acacia seyal*, a particularly attractive red barked acacia. The name is most appropriate, as coming from the desert this is the first place that the tree, common near the river, is found. The version Abu Klea arises from mishearing by British soldiers.

Having made the trans-Bayuda journey in March 1954, by camel, in the reverse direction to Nastasen, from Ghazali 10 miles up the Wādi Abu Dom from the site of Napata, to Metemma, a few comments may be helpful.

Mr. Wainwright may be right in his identification. There is no archaeological proof to be found at Abu Tuleih itself, the only buildings being two forts built by the Gordon relief expedition in 1885, but this is no disproof, as a watering-place may well have had no permanent installations. I would like, however, to point out that there is another route, not followed by me on this occasion, which has several advantages. This is the route which leaves the river a little north of Meroë, at Nuba Fadniya, and goes via the wells of Umm Inderaba to Fura.

There can be no certainty as to which route was used in antiquity, but the starting-point for Umm Inderaba is nearer to Meroë than is that for the Abu Tuleih route. If Nastasen spent his first night at Abu Tuleih, he cannot have gone by way of Metemma, as Meroë to Metemma is a day's journey before the river is left. To travel from Meroë to Abu Tuleih in one day, the royal party would have had to go straight from a point on the west bank opposite Meroë to the wells. There is no route nowadays between these points, such traffic as there is going down the Wādi Silbu straight to Metemma, but the country is open and there is nothing impossible in the direct way.

If the Umm Inderaba route was taken, the first night was probably spent by the river on the west bank near to Nuba Fadniya. There is water up the Wādi el-Widai before Umm Inderaba is reached, but probably not sufficient for a royal camping ground. Umm Inderaba would have been reached on the second day. Meroë to Nuba Fadniya is about 25 miles, an easy day's journey.




The advantage of this northern route is that it avoids the bad patch of sand dune, the Qoz Abu Dulu', which lies across the other route. This dune is of very soft sand and is difficult going for camels. For Nastasen, who must have gone with horses and donkeys, it would have been impassable.

A careful search along the route I traversed, Wādi Abu Dom, Wādi Kalas, Wādi Mugara, Jakdul, Fura, Metemma, failed to throw any archaeological light on the problem of the ancient route. All the way there are graves in their hundreds, some of mound type, presumably Meroitic in tradition, and rectangular stone built ones of Christian type. In many cases the two types occur together in the same cemetery and the difference may be cultural and religious rather than chronological. The only ancient building to be found is the fort at Fura described by Crawford.¹

This fort may well be Napatan or Meroitic in date, and it is probable that it represents the main resting- and watering-place on the ancient route. It is well placed, being approximately half way between Meroë and Napata; the wells provide plentiful water and it is now the most important watering-place for the Arabs of the Hasaniya tribe for many miles around. Direct evidence of date is lacking; careful search only revealed a very few worn sherds which could be Meroitic.

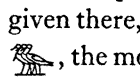


The journey took nine days, but this was slow going, five to six is considered normal, and in emergency the journey Damer-Merowe has been done in three days. P. L. SHINNIE

The non-existence of a vizier Khentybau in the Middle Kingdom

IN examining the inscribed material from the site of the pyramid of Ammenemes I at El-Lisht in the records of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, I found it increasingly difficult to understand the position of a certain vizier named Khentybau. The name, written , is cited by A. Weil in his *Die Veziere des Pharaonenreiches*, 38, No. 4, as being mentioned in Louvre Stela C 169, a stela from the reign of Ammenemes I. He evidently considered the first  in the name an error for . Since the date is based on the occurrence of the cartouche Sehetepibrēt in a title, it seemed possible that the

¹ Sudan Antiquities Service Occasional Papers No. 2, *Castles and Churches in the Middle Nile Region*, 36-38.

vizier in question lived in the Thirteenth rather than the Twelfth Dynasty. Indeed, the absence of any other reference to him seemed to favour this alternative.

Reference to the text of the stela, however, shows even on the most summary examination that there never was such a vizier. The stela was formerly in the Anastasi Collection and was published from a squeeze by Sir Alan Gardiner in 1897 (*Rec. trav.* 19, 85). From the text and description given there, supplemented by an examination of the stela itself, it is evident that the name is , the mother of the owner of the stela (see line four and the label given to the first of the two figures of ladies in the lower right-hand corner of the stela). The error stems from the copying of the first element as  'vizier' instead of  'daughter' by the indexer to the *Wörterbuch* from whose *Zettel* Weil derived his reading. The name Sitkhentyetbau is known also from Cairo Stela 20734 (*CCG.*), and Ranke, who records both instances in *Personennamen*, 1, 292, interprets it as 'daughter of [the goddess] Khentyet-Bau'. To the vizier we can no longer accord even the most dubious existence.¹

Since we have so summarily dismissed Khentybau from office, it might not be out of place to review briefly the situation in the vizierate at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, in so far as it is known. At the end of the Eleventh Dynasty the office was held by the famous Amenemhêt whose service under Nebtowyre Menthotpe is recorded in the Wâdi Hammâmât inscriptions. Not without reason, it is generally assumed that he usurped the throne to become the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty. His immediate successor in the vizierate, after his rise to the kingship, is unknown. It may have been the owner of a large mastaba complex situated southwest of the king's pyramid, if this mastaba is indeed contemporary with the pyramid. It was in this complex that the subsidiary burial of the lady Senebtisy was excavated by the staff of the Metropolitan Expedition. It is well established, however, that the vizierate was occupied during part of the reign of Ammenemes I by an Inyôtefokre, the name of whose mother and wife was Senet. He built a small mastaba south-east of the king's pyramid, a second tomb at Thebes (no. 60), more strictly that of his wife, Senet, and possibly the large mastaba north of the pyramid of Sesostri I.² At the site of this last mastaba an interesting but fragmentary biographical text records the service of an individual in several reigns, the last and only preserved reign mentioned being that of Ammenemes I. Hayes has plausibly suggested that the mastaba might be attributed to Inyôtefokre (see note 2 above). His vizierate spanned the end of the reign of Ammenemes I and the beginning of that of Sesostri I. In the latter of these reigns the tomb at Thebes was decorated. Recent evidence seems to indicate that he held office as late as the tenth year of Sesostri's sole reign, for a certain Wen, son of the vizier Inyôtefokre, inscribed a stela in Wâdi el-Hûdi in year twenty of an unmentioned king, almost certainly Sesostri I;³ the text seems to indicate that the vizier was then still alive, although we have the names of at least two other viziers from this reign, who must have succeeded him. We do not yet know whether Inyôtefokre took office at the beginning of the reign of Ammenemes. In any case he was never preceded in the vizierate by the fictitious Khentybau.

W. K. SIMPSON

¹ W. C. Hayes has suggested that one of the two mastabas north-east of the pyramid of Ammenemes I might have belonged to Khentybau, *The Scepter of Egypt*, New York, 1953, 177.

² The first tomb was excavated and recorded by J.-E. Gautier and G. Jéquier, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht*, Cairo, 1902. The second was published by N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostri I, and of his Wife, Senet (no. 60)*, London, 1920. For the mastaba at the South Pyramid at Lisht, see especially A. Lansing in *Bull. MMA*, 28, 25-26, 31, fig. 38; and W. C. Hayes, *op. cit.* 183.

³ A. Fakhry, *The Inscriptions of the Amethyst Quarries at Wadi el Hudi*, Cairo, 1952, 24, 26-27.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1954)

By P. M. FRASER

I. *Bibliography*

- (1) One survey of Greek epigraphy by J. and L. ROBERT appeared in 1954: *REG* 67, 95-193.
- (2) My own survey of the years 1952-3 appeared in *JEA* 40, 124-41.
- (3) J. LECLANT's survey of 'Fouilles et Travaux en Égypte, 1952-3' appeared in *Orientalia*, 23, 64-79.
- (4) A bibliography of the writings of SIR HAROLD BELL appeared in *JEA* 40, 3-6; of †A. REHM in *Philologus*, 98, 5-13; and of †P. JOUGUET in *Bull. Inst. fr.* 54, 163-72.

II. *New Texts*

(5) ZAKI ALY continues, in *BSA Alex.* 40, 101-50, his publication of funerary stelae from Kōm Abu Billu (cf. *JEA* 38, 120, no. (20)). The present publication contains 34 stelae reproduced in photographs which show the reliefs clearly, but, for the most part, not the inscriptions. The reliefs are of the same types as those published in the previous article, and characteristic of the *chora* of Roman Egypt as a whole: the dead person portrayed in the usual crude style, either in the *Orans* position, or as reclining at a *Totenmahl*. The reliefs are carefully, if quaintly, described. The inscriptions are largely illiterate, and it would be unsafe to quarrel with the readings, improbable though many of them seem. There is some confusion between nos. 1 and 2: the descriptions have been mixed up, so that fig. 1 evidently represents stela II and fig. 2 stela I. The inscription of stela II (Aly's stela I) is given by him p. 105, bottom, as *εὐψύχει*. I cannot see this at all, but I can see a name, illegible, on the photograph (beginning *ζαν-*?), followed by the age, *IS* i.e. 17. Stela IV: Aly reads *.ταθερμουῦθις* and tentatively restores *[II]ταθερμουῦθις: Παθερμουῦθις* is more likely (for this name and its variants see now Vergote in no. (44) below, p. 15, no. 81). Stela VI: *Αρχιβιόαπις* should, of course, be *Αρχιβιόαπις* and not *Αρχιβιόαπις*: for names in *Αρχι-* (Horus-compounds) see Vergote, op. cit. p. 7, no. 8. Stela XVI: a family group: A. discusses a similar unpublished relief in Baltimore. Stela XVII: an instance of the deceased reclining on his couch, being carried on a boat. Stela XIX: the tombstone of a woman of 26 who died *ἐνκνος*. Stela XX: with *Αρνέκτης* compare *Αρνεκτώτης*, Vergote, op. cit. p. 7, no. 12. Stela XXXIV: of some interest. It consists of a rectangular plaque containing in a sunken field an amphora in relief flanked by a vertical stylised decoration (palm-leaf?); below is the inscription "*Ἡρων ὑδ(ρ)οφόρος ἐτὸν (sic) μθ.*" A.'s comments are largely irrelevant, but he is probably right in regarding the amphora as indicating Heron's profession.

(6) In *Bull. Sch. Or. and Afr. Stud.* 16, 211-46, E. LITTMANN continues his publication (cf. *JEA* 40, 127, no. 14, *fin.*) of the Nabataean inscriptions from the Eastern Desert, based on material from the papers of H. A. Winkler, put at his disposal by D. Meredith. This article and the previous one are said (214) to comprise 'practically all Nabataean inscriptions from Egypt, as far as we know'. A good many of them are bilingual Greek-Nabataean but none of them are of sufficient importance to justify separate examination. The caption to pl. 5 (no. 79) says that the rock there reproduced contains 'several Greek inscriptions, one dated October 2nd A.D. 16', but the inscription is apparently not published. On 235-46 Meredith contributes 'classical notes' on the inscriptions, in which he discusses the dates of the Roman stations and other evidence of Roman military occupation and tax-collection. Much of this is derivative, but it is a useful collection of material. The jar-handles (*SB* 5732-5741) referred to on 244 as 'of the Roman (and possible Hellenistic) period' are mainly Rhodian and certainly Hellenistic.

(7) D. MEREDITH continues his articles on the topography and epigraphy of the Eastern Desert (cf. *JEA* 38, 119, no. 14; 40, 126, no. 14). (a) In *Chron. d'Égypte*, 29, 103-23, 'Eastern Desert of Egypt; Notes on Inscriptions', he publishes the continuation of *ibid.* 28, 126-41. The new part is concerned with inscriptions from Mons Claudianus, twelve of which were previously published (see below, no. (10)), and seven unpublished. These latter are insignificant. No. 34: a Latin epitaph of an *eq(ues) coh(ortis) I Fl(aviae) Cil(icum)*

eq(uitatae) tur(mae) Scaevae (?); 35 is an incomprehensible graffito; 36 names on amphorae (only one given); 37, Latin fragment; 38, quarry marks published and unpublished; 39, graffito; 49, fragments of inscribed pottery. (b) *ibid.* 281-7, 'Inscriptions from the Berenice Road', M. publishes three graffiti from Wādi Menīh from H. A. Winkler's notebooks (M. published a fourth, Latin, graffito from the same source in *JRS* 43, 38), and one from Afrodito from Wilkinson's notebooks. (1) C. Numidius Eros hic fuit anno xxiix Caesaris exs Inda redeo menos Phamen(oth). A. H. M. Jones reconstructs the last line plausibly as Ind(i)a red(i)es, etc. The Greek date, in Latin characters, is noteworthy: the reverse, Latin in Greek characters, is much more common, and one wonders why the evidently Greek slave was concerned to write a private document in Latin characters. (2) 'Hic fuit' of a centurion of Leg. xxii. (3) Within a tabula ansata (the ansae are not visible on fig. 44, but surely they were intended, if not actually executed), προσκύνημα of Euphemus, slave of Lucius Felix, on behalf of Leonidas the son of Areios, his good friend, dated April 29, A.D. 44. Leonidas was presumably a free man, and it is interesting that the slave should refer to a free man as his ἄγαθὸς φίλος. It may be noted that the majuscule text of the inscription given by M. shows once more, when compared with the true forms on the photograph, how wildly misleading such majuscule texts may be. They are best dispensed with. (4) a Latin inscription of the prefectship of Iulius Ursus (A.D. 84) from Aphrodito, recording the repair of some building (the text is based on a drawing of Wilkinson, and the readings are uncertain).

I may also note that in *JRAS* 1954, 119-23, E. LITTMANN publishes from a photograph of Winkler's, provided by M., an Ethiopic inscription of the fourth century A.D. from the Berenike road. M. discusses briefly the evidence for contact between Egypt and Ethiopia in the early Byzantine age.

(8) In *Excavation of Medinet Habu, V, Post-Ramessid Remains* (Univ. of Chicago Orient. Inst. publications, vol. lxvi), p. 61, U. Hölscher publishes some obviously Rhodian amphora-stamps: (1) [ἐπι] Αἰνήτορος Σμυθίου, (2) Δαμοκράτους, (3) [Διο]γυσίου, (4) ἐπι Τειμ[α]γόρα Ἀρταμιτ[ίου], (5) Ἀριστόλα. Cf. below, no. (9).

III. *Studies of previously published inscriptions*

(9) In no. (8) above, U. HÖLSCHER republishes, 58 f., *SB* 1530. He does not say either that it has been published before, or that it is in Cairo (see A. BATAILLE, *Memnonia*, 94).

(10) In *Chron. d'Égypte*, 29, 103 ff. (cf. above no. (7)), D. MEREDITH republishes some inscriptions from the Eastern Desert: 22 = *OGIS* 678, with photograph. In M.'s note on line 4 for 'Fig. 2' read 'Fig. 9'. The text is as in *OGIS*, save that in line 4 κατεσκευάσεν is determined, and that Σεβαστοῦ, omitted by previous editors, should be added as the last word before the date. 23-25 = *IGR* 1259, *ILS* 5741, with photograph. Of the dedication on the plinth, commonly read as Ἄμμωνις Κησωνίου Μαλλίτης, M. says 'the left-to-right order of the names on the stone is, however, Κησωνίου Μαλλίτης Ἄμμωνις'. It is surely clear that the inscription must be read in the order *A.K.M.* The town in Cilicia of which Μαλλώτης is the ethnic is Mallos and not Mallo. 26 = *ILS* 2612, with photograph. 27 = Milne, *Cairo Cat.* p. 34, no. 9277. In lines 8-9 M. gives the line-division as Ἀλεξ|ανδρεὺς, with all editors except Milne who gave Ἀλεξ|ανδρεὺς. M. does not mention this small point, and one may still wonder who is right. In 29 = *IGR* 1, 1260 referring to a Herakleides, ἀρχιτέκτων, I suspect that M. chooses the wrong Lupus as prefect in *IGR* 530, where Herakleides also occurs. Surely the absence of *Deiotariana* shows, on the evidence as quoted by M., that the inscription is earlier than A.D. 107. 31 = *Bull. Fac. Arts.* 11 (2), 139-40. 32 = *ibid.* 140. 33 = *Chron. d'Égypte*, 26, 354-63.

(11) In *Prosopographica (Studia Hellenistica* 9), W. PEREMANS and E. VAN 'T DACK study various documents, papyrological and epigraphical. I note those belonging to the latter group. (I) They offer a careful reconstruction of the lost inscription, STRACK, *Dynastie*, 107. Basing themselves on the aulic titulature in lines 5-6 they abandon the long line of Letronne, and return to the short line postulated by Francke in 1830. As titles of Menandros (lines 5-6) they propose [—ἱππάρχης ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ γῆς βασιλικῆς][οἰκονόμος (οἱ νομάρχης) καὶ—ἐπιστάτης (οἱ στρατηγός) τοῦ Ὀμβίτου. They maintain that there is a fixed order for these titles, that στρατηγός (οἱ ἐπιστάτης) should follow immediately ἱππάρχης ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν and precede οἰκονόμος βασιλικῆς γῆς, and that the reverse order is observed here because of the ambiguity which would result owing to the order στρατηγός καὶ οἰκονόμος γῆς βασιλικῆς τοῦ Ὀμβίτου, an ambiguity, however, which would only exist if the two titles στρατηγός and οἰκονόμος were adjacent. They therefore assume that the lacuna in line 6 is confined to οἰκονόμου καὶ στρατηγοῦ (οἱ ἐπιστάτου). This reduces the length of restoration by about thirty letters per line. However, as the authors admit, the fixed order is unfortunately not always followed

(they give as examples the evidence of the careers recorded under *Pros. Ptol.* 367, 381), and it is therefore unsafe to theorize concerning a possible violation of that order here. This proposed restoration has a decisive effect on the dating of the inscription, since line 1 can, on these conditions, have held only [βασιλεὶ Πτολεμαίω καὶ βασιλίῳ]ση Κλεοπάτραι and will thus be dated most probably in the period 131–24. Other modifications are of course necessary throughout the text. Line 2 is of critical importance. It contains the name of some deity, —μεγίστωι. It was on this that Letronne based his restoration of the long line. The deity worshipped at Ombos was, he claimed, Aroeres, identified with Apollo, as in *OGIS* 114, *Ἀροήρει θεῶν μεγάλωι Ἀπόλλωνι*. On the calculations of P. and van 'T Dack this is too long, but they cannot find a suitable supplement. That required is, I think, *Σούχωι*, since the temple at Kōm Ombo was shared, in a unique way, between Sobk and Haroeris (Souchos and Aroeres). The part played by Sobk was certainly the larger, and it is more suitable for him to be called μέγιστος than Aroeres who in the other inscription is called only μέγας. This restoration can thus be made wholly plausible, and I am inclined to favour it, but the other cannot be disproved. (II) 'Contribution à l'interprétation de *SB* I 1586 et *V* 8036'. With regard to 1568, the main interest of which lies in the offices held by the honorand, Apollodorus, the authors maintain that they are in 'hierarchical', that is to say, anti-chronological, order. This seems likely enough, and removes the difficulties in the interpretation proposed by O(ΤΤΟ) and B(ENGTSON), *Niedergang*, 14 ff. With regard to the possible identification of Apollodorus with the father of Helenus in the Brussels papyrus, it should be noted that the reading *Ἀπολλ(οδώ)ρου* is now abandoned by Hombert and Préaux as quoted in no. (18) below, p. 57, bottom. *SB* 8036 is the inscription made famous by O. and B.'s treatment of it, op. cit. 1–22. Here they follow Volkmann (reviewing O. and B. in *BPW* 1939, cols. 1007–10) in denying the identity of the dedicant of this inscription with the honorand of *SB* 1568, and rejecting the restoration [*τροφεὺς τοῦ βασιλέως*] (the title borne by the other Apollodorus in 1568) proposed by O. and B. They restore the more suitable [*ἱππάρχης ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν*]. This reduces the length of the supplement by three letters. They seem unnecessarily exacting in reducing the length of the other supplements on this account; a difference of three letters would hardly be felt in the space occupied by something over fifteen. Nevertheless, on grounds of style and formula, the restorations of Volkmann in lines 1–4 are preferable to those of O. and B. (III). Here the authors collect and reinterpret the evidence for Komanos τῶν πρώτων φίλων, known particularly from PCol. Inv. 481 (*Archiv*, 13, 1 ff.) The evidence is largely, but not wholly, epigraphical. They bring important new evidence to bear on the career of K. from the second decree of Philae, *SETHE, Urkunden*, II, no. 38, 214–30, which shows Komanos (if it be he) suppressing a rebellion in the Theban nome in 186 B.C. PCol. Inv. is dated to year 18, and this they regard as year 18 of Epiphanes, 187 B.C. This seems likely to be right, and I see only one difficulty. They claim that Komanos, who was undoubtedly τῶν πρώτων φίλων, was on that account not (as Westermann restored) στρατηγός of the Arsinoite nome, since the aulic rank τ. π. φ. was not held by simple στρατηγοί. It is, however, held by a strategos of the same Arsinoite nome in c. 143–1 B.C. (see *BGU* 1250, line 8, and cf. WESTERMANN, *Archiv*, loc. cit. p. 4, note on line 8, and PEREMANS and VAN 'T DACK, p. 24, note 7), and it would be unwise to conclude that the rank could not be held by a strategos of the same nome earlier. Otherwise, this reconstruction of the career of Komanos is very plausible. (V) deals with Lochos, the leading figure of the reign of Euergetes II, and attempts to trace the stages of his career, known from Delian and Egyptian inscriptions and Greek and Demotic papyri. The comments on *OGIS* 147 seem to me very sensible. (VI) 'Notice au sujet de *SB* I 2100' deals with the dedication by ἡ πόλις in honour of Lycarion. The authors have not consulted the edition of the text (equally unknown to Preisigke in *SB*) by BRECCIA, *Rapport sur la Marche du Service du Musée en 1912*, 39, no. 90, which gives (fig. 13) a careful facsimile of the text, the lettering of which is ΕCΩΠΞ. Unreliable though epigraphical criteria are, they are less so in Ptolemaic inscriptions than in many places, and this hand is hardly conceivable before the first century B.C. It closely resembles the hand of Alexandrian inscriptions of the Imperial period (see e.g., BRECCIA, pl. 30, no. 72). The date proposed by P. and van 'T Dack, 128–119 B.C., thus seems very unlikely on these grounds, and I should prefer a date the best part of a century later. No doubt the same names were continued in the family for successive generations, and this late date for *SB* 2100 does not upset the rearrangement of the family stemma proposed by the authors. (XIX) see no. (36).

(12) In his article on the *Curator Civitatis* (Gk. λογιστής) in Egypt, *JJP* 7/8, 83–105, B. R. REES refers to the relevant inscriptions (84, note 7; 85, note 13). He rejects the traditional restoration of *CIG* 5085 and 5090, according to which the inscriptions contain references to a λογιστής, claiming that the drawing in

GAU's *Antiquités de la Nubie*, XIII, 15, shows the restoration of 5085 to be impossible. This is confused: GAU, op. cit. XIII, 15 gives not *CIG* 5085 but 5090, while 5085 is given on XIV, 32. In any case, the inscriptions of Dakke should be consulted in the edition of RUPPEL (*Die Tempel von Dakke*, III (1930)), where these two inscriptions bear respectively the numbers 3a(5085) and 15(5090). As Rees suspected, the correct reading is indeed not *λογιστής* but *χειριστής*.

(13) In *Archiv*, 15, 7104, 'Orakelfragen und Orakelantworten, I. aus Ägypten', A. WILHELM deals with the inscription published by G. KLAFFENBACH, *Archiv*, 10, 215f. (= *SEG* VIII, 653 = *SB* 7560), and interprets *Θερμοῦθις* as the epithet of Isis (cf. *SEG* VIII, 653), and *Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων* and *Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη* as the common Egyptian proper-names. The inscription thus becomes a normal request to an oracle. It can hardly be doubted that Wilhelm has found the right solution here. The combination of dedicatory altar and oracular inscription is strange.

(14) *Ibid.* 97-103, 'Gedicht aus Philai', WILHELM proposes corrections and new supplements to *IGR* 1, 1299, occasioned by Zingerle's discussion of line 1 in *Archiv*, 9, 10 ff. In line 1, for *[π]όρπαν* he proposes *(τ)όρ(μ)αυ = turmam*, which gives excellent sense, but the recovery of Lepsius' squeeze (see *Nachtrag*, 103) shows that the stone has undoubtedly *πόρπαν* and the double corruption hardly seems likely, so *πόρπαν* remains unexplained. His other supplements (line 31 *init.*, *ἂ παν(εο)ρτεύουσα*; line 5 *init.* [*Αἰθίοπων γὰρ φ*]ῦλα; line 6 *init.* [*νικάσας πολλ*]άς; line 7 *init.* [*ληφθείσας κατὰ*]; line 8 *init.* [*Εἶσω ἐτίμασεν κ*]αί), restore logic and sense to this hitherto rather chaotic poem.

(15) In *JEA* 40, 118-23, 'Grabgedicht aus Herakleopolis', F. ZUCKER discusses in detail the epigrams published by J. SCHWARTZ, *Ann. Serv.* 50, 402 ff. (cf. *JEA* 38, 119, no. (15)). He accepts the emendations of A. OGUSE given by J. and L. ROBERT, *Bull.* 1952, no. 181, but does not seem to know those proposed by P. MAAS, recorded by me, *JEA*, loc. cit. He corrects the view of SCHWARTZ that the language is a mixture of Dorisms and Ionisms, and claims that the Ionic eta is preserved in all save three places. Of *Μᾶτρῖς* he says 'Von den vielen mit *μήτηρ* gebildeten theophoren Namen begegnen einige wie *Μάτρων*, *Ματρείας*, *Μᾶτρῖς* überhaupt, soviel ich sehe, überwiegend mit *α*'. But of *Μᾶτρῖς*, the name in question, this is not true, since the form *Μῆτρῖς* is common, for instance, at Sinope (*FdD* III, 4, 13; *IG* II², 10339; ROBINSON, *Anc. Sinope*, pp. 312-13, no. 40, 1. 5). Z. also has some penetrating remarks on the general style of the epigrams.

(16) In *Archiv*, 15, 60-70, 'Ein angebliches Zeugnis für eine syrisch-hellenistische Götterdreiheit', ZUCKER discusses the dedication from the grotto of Astarte at Wasta, north of Tyre, *CIS* I, 6, rejecting Dussaud's restoration (*Notes de myth. syr.* (1905) 109), and confirming the original reading of RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, 647 f. (whence *CIS* and STRACK, *Dynastie*, no. 10). Unfortunately, he had not access to the republication of the inscription, together with a detailed discussion of the grotto, by A. BEAULIEU and R. MOUTERDE in *Mél. Beyrouth*, 27, 3-20 (cf. J. and L. ROBERT, *REG* 62, 58, no. 197a and M. N. TOD, *JEA* 36, 108-9), where the reading is established (photo of squeeze) to be *Π[τολεμαί]ωι*. Z., then, reads *Π[τ]ολ[εμ]αίωι* and dates the inscription to the beginning of the third century on palaeographical grounds. He produces a considerable amount of parallel material to support this early date, but yet I cannot agree with him. A date towards the end of the century seems much more probable to me. Z.'s comparison of the letter-forms is confined to *ΒΠΦΩ*, and none of these letters are of the same vital significance for dating as are alpha and sigma, neither of which he discusses. The alpha, in every instance except one, has a broken cross-bar (Dussaud's copy, which formed the basis of Z.'s study, is very inaccurate here, so no blame attaches to Z.: D. gives all alphas with straight cross-bar), the hastae of the sigma are horizontal and not divergent. These features are common from the time of Philopator onwards and rare earlier. On the other hand, the features adduced by Z., though they undoubtedly occur, as he shows, in the earlier Ptolemaic period, are mostly more common later. Thus the rho with long vertical stroke is found in non-monumental inscriptions at any time (see BRECCIA, nos. 316-17 and pl. 31, 74 (Eueg. II?); 1 (iii. a.c.?); *JEA* 39, pl. V), and both it and the pi with curved right-hand stroke are most common in papyri of the later third century (see PPetr. I, pls. 11, 13, 14, 15, etc.; PEnt. pl. 3, no. 15) and the Hadra vases (BRECCIA, pl. 44; *JEA*, loc. cit.) and in inscriptions of a far later date, for example, the *προσκυνήματα* at Philae (see LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, 12, B1. *passim*). I think that it may well be that the features picked out by Z. as characteristic of the earlier period were fairly common through much of the Ptolemaic period in inscriptions other than those carved in the monumental style by professional lapicides on which we normally base our palaeographical criteria.

IV. Religion

(17) In *Aegyptus*, 33, 347–57 (and pl.) ‘Il culto dei Dioscuri in Egitto’, F. VON BISSING publishes an un-inscribed relief in the Museo Egizio of Turin representing two mounted figures armed with spears, and with stars attached to their bare heads by a rod. B. identifies these horsemen with the Dioscuri, and emphasizes the importance of their cult in Egypt. He quotes the inscription from Ṭihna, *OGIS* 94, giving new evidence for the text in the form of a copy made by H. DRAGENDORFF about fifty years ago. The third line runs, according to this copy, Ἀκορις Ἐργέως Ἰσιδι Μοιχιάδι Σωτείραι. Μοιχιάδι hardly seems likely. He also mentions a relief of the Dioscuri cut in the rock at Ṭihna (pl. *ibid.* below), and refers twice (394, note 2, end; 352) to *SB* 987, a dedication to the Dioscuri also from Ṭihna; he describes it as of ‘the Alexandrine period’, but if this means Ptolemaic he is wrong, since the dedicant is called Χαρικλῆς ναύαρχος στόλου σεβ(αστοῦ) Ἀλεξανδρίνου. He discusses in general terms the evidence from inscriptions and papyri referring to the Dioscuri in both the Ptolemaic (cf. VISSER, *Götter und Kulte*, 83–84) and the Roman periods. He also gives the evidence of coins, lamps, etc. This is a useful, if rather chaotic, article.

(18) S. R. K. GLANVILLE and T. C. SKEAT, *JEA* 40, 45–58, ‘Eponymous Priesthoods of Alexandria from 211 B.C.’, must be considered along with

(19) F. HINTZE, *Mitt. Inst. Orientforsch.* 2, 208–17, ‘Bemerkungen zu den eponymen Priestern von Alexandrien’. The two articles are independent of one another and on the whole complementary. Both are necessary. The English scholars give a documented list of known priests, in chronological order, for the period in question. Their only thesis is the existence of a law (which they call ‘Bell’s Law’ in honour of the Jubilar of the volume of *JEA*) according to which ‘normally the athlophorus of one year was the kanephorus of the next’, and they note under the years in question all instances where it does and does not operate. The first part of H(intze)’s article is concerned with one particular problem (see below), while the second part, by happy chance, also deals with the same ‘law’ (which H., perhaps wisely, hesitates to call a law) in the reverse way; that is to say he gives a list of the pairs of years in which the ‘law’ works, a list of the instances in which there is a gap of one year in the tenure of the kanephoria after the athlophoria, and so on. Thus the two lists supplement one another. A few details may be noted. The priest of 211–10 was read by PLAUMANN, *PGrad.* 15, as Διοτέλ[ο]υ[s]. G(lanville)-S(keat) incline to reject this (and cf. H. 212–13), but I think there is an argument in its favour, or at least one which demands that the papyrus be re-read. The Alexandrian inscription, BRECCIA, *Inscr.* 164, the attribution of which to Alexandria has been a matter of such uncertainty, but which cannot well be denied in view of the reading of line 8 [—Ἀλεξανδ]ρέων (see, for the reading, SEGRE, *BSA Alex.* 33, 135–6) is dated in line 1 by the eponymous priest, ἐφ’ ἱερέως Διοτέλους. Since there can be no doubt that the inscription is of the third century there is at least a probability that we have here the same eponymous priest. I note a few other points. For years 3 and 5 of Epiphanes (G.-S.’s nos. 5 and 7), where the name of the athlophorus of the latter year appears in the demotic form as Sṫrtꜣs, on which G.-S. comment ‘The Greek name of Athl. is uncertain: perhaps Σωστράτις, though this form does not seem to be exemplified’, H. observes (216) the obvious similarity between this name and that of the kanephorus of year 3, and says ‘Zu Sṫrtꜣs bemerkt Thompson: “Is insoluble so far”, aber Σωστράτης scheint mir eine mögliche Auflösung zu sein’. This suggests that H. is prepared to regard the latter form as a possible feminine termination (he in fact gives the name of the Kanephoros of year 3 in this form). H. gives evidence for the nineteenth year of Epiphanes, 187/6, (between G.-S.’s nos. 16 and 17) for which G.-S. say that ‘no names are recorded’, from SETHE, *Urkunden*, II, 216 and a papyrus in Berlin where Demetria the daughter of Philinus occurs in demotic dress. On their no. 32 G.-S. do not state that the reading Μελανκόμα in P^Teb. 811 is a correction of Schmidt, *BPW* 54, col. 1317; the editors read Μελλικομόνου. G.-S. suggest that he is identical with the Ptolemaic ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως of Kition (*OGIS* 134). Their 46, the eponyms of the thirty-third and thirty-fourth years of Euergetes II, is the subject of the first part of H.’s paper. The latter shows, by reference to *PSI* 1311 (not quoted by G.-S.) that the names of PAmh. 44, combined by G.-S. with the evidence of PdemCairo 30619, to form their 46, belongs to the thirty-fourth and not the thirty-third year. H. (214, no. 10) is also able to add evidence for a year previously blank, the thirty-fifth of Euergetes II, 136/5, falling between G.-S.’s nos. 46 and 47, from a demotic papyrus in the Eremitage museum, Inv. Golenisčev. 1122, published in 1950. Under no. 58 G.-S. quote as the only example of an Alexander-priest of the first century B.C. the inscription *BSA Alex.* 19, 128–9, no. 6, which they regard (partly, I fear, at my instigation) as Ptolemaic on account of the omission of the name of the ruler before

the date. I find, however, that in *SB*, 987–9, all of which are Imperial, no emperor's name is given before the year, so it would be unwise to build much on this criterion.

(20) In *Griechische Papyri der hamburgener Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek* (1954), 187, CHR. HABICHT discusses no. 182 of the volume, of 249 B.C., a letter written in Mesore of that year, which says: *καὶ γὰρ αἱ ἑορταὶ αἱ μέγιστα αἱ ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τούτῳ* H. seeks to identify the festival or festivals involved, and after excluding on valid grounds the Ptolemaieia, the *γενέθλια* of the monarch, and the Theadelphia, he concludes in *aporia*. However, if only one festival is meant, it is, I think, pretty certain that the one in question is the Arsinoeia (not mentioned by H.), attested both in the Fayyūm and in Alexandria, and which was certainly held in Mesore: see *PCZ* 59.096 (cf. VISSER, *Götter und Kulte*, p. 76, no. 20, and cf. *PCol. Zen.* 56 = no. 19 in Visser) of 257 B.C., eight years before PHamb. 182. The recto of the Cairo papyrus asks where Apollonius will spend 'the festival', and is dated 'Mesore 2' while the verso has *Ζωίλου, εἰ Ἀπολλώνιος παρ' αὐτῷ ἄξει τὰ Ἀρ(σινόεια)*. This suggests a major public festival in keeping with the language of PHamb. 182.

(21) I may note here, in passing, the publication by D. K. HILL, *Rev. Arch.* 1954 (1), 44–50 of 'Four Fragments of Ptolemaic High-Relief Faience'. Two of these royal oinochoai (in the Walters Art Gallery) are of the usual type, but no inscriptions survive. For what I regard as at last the correct interpretation of these 'royal oinochoai' see no. (24) below.

(22) In *Archiv*, 15, 7–45, 'Die Götter von Memphis in der griechisch-römischen Zeit', E. KIESSLING analyses the attitudes and practices revealed in *UPZ* 1, and summarizes in the main the conclusions reached by WILCKEN in his notable introduction to that volume. He gives an alphabetical survey of the various gods worshipped at Memphis, and refers in passing to the epigraphical material where necessary.

(23) In *Le Nouvelle Clio*, 6, 258–77, P. LAMBRECHTS and P. NOYEN contribute 'recherches sur le culte d'Atargatis dans le monde grec'. Their study of the Greek inscriptions relative to the cult does not lead to any new conclusions. The material is already collected in the article of F. R. WALTON, in *Realex. f. Antike und Christentum*, s.v. Atargatis (an article to which the authors refer once, 268, note 3, and attribute to the editor of the *Realex.*, TH. KLAUSER). They mention the main sites where the cult is found, and claim that their list, which does not mention Egypt, is exhaustive. They thus ignore the important Ptolemaic instances, *PEnt.* 78 (yr. 1, Philopator), l. 3 (recognized by the editors of *POsl.* 94), and *PFreiburg* edited by WILCKEN in *Festgabe Deissmann*, 9 ff. (= *SB* 7351), both of which refer to an *Ἀταργάτειον*. For the Imperial period, Walton already gave references to *POxy.* 1449 (and *POsl.* 94 where it is a supplement).

(24) In *Mainz. Abh.* (Geistes- und sozialwiss. Klasse), 1952 (10), 719–63, 'Der Gott auf dem Elefantwagen', FR. MATZ discusses six Dionysiac sarcophagi of the Imperial age, in which he regards the figure of the God on the elephant-chariot as deriving from representations of the God symbolizing the apotheosis of Hellenistic rulers. He seeks to determine in which particular dynasty the type originated. In this connexion he discusses the evidence for the introduction of Dionysus-worship under Philopator. He gives an admirable, and to my mind wholly convincing, explanation (735–6) of the 'royal oinochoai' (see above, no. (21)) with representations of the Ptolemaic queens, as Anthesteria-vases, on the basis of the account of Arsinoe III's participation in that festival, recorded by Eratosthenes (*FGrH* 241, fr. 16). I am not aware that this explanation has been given before. The fact that at Athens the *βασιλεύς* dressed up as Dionysus for the Choesteria further justifies M. in his supposition that the figure of the ruler identified as Dionysus may have formed the model for the Dionysus figure of two of the six sarcophagi (nos. 1 and 2). In the other sarcophagi, according to M., the elephant appears in connexion with, and forming part of, a light-symbolism which M. explains (737 ff.) as part of an Alexandrian system of symbols. He quotes two passages from Juba of Mauretania concerning the votive-offerings of Philopator after Raphia, in which the elephant and Helios are closely connected. The connexion with Dionysus may derive from the enemy's (Seleucid) cult-practices, and M. believes the eventual origin of this elephant-symbolism to be Achaemenid. 'Der Sieger (Philopator) macht sich in dieser Form die Lichtsymbolik zu eigen.' Though some of what M. has to say in the latter part of the paper does not convince me, the explanation he offers of 1 and 2 seems satisfactory.

(25) The article of S. MORENZ, 'Ptah-Hephaistos, der Zwerg, Beobachtungen sur Frage der interpretatio graeca in der ägyptischen Religion', *Festschrift Zucker*, 277–90, is an interesting general survey of the equation of deities, with particular reference to the equation Ptah-Hephaistos. He suggests that the concept of Ptah as a dwarf is due to the Greek notion of Hephaistos, and compares the figure of Sarapis with its

Greek figure but Egyptian history. He attributes this *interpretatio graeca* to the first Ionian and Carian inhabitants of Memphis. In note 20 he refers to *CIG* 4893; this is republished as *OGIS* 130. Note 35, in discussing the Coptic Cambyses-Romance he does not seem to know the detailed treatment by A. Klasens in *Ex Oriente Lux*, 3 (1944-8, publ. 1952), 339 ff.

(26) In *Aegyptus*, 33, 283-96, 'Neotera, Queen or Goddess?', A. D. NOCK, on the basis of a passage of the *Contra gentes* of Athanasius, takes further the study of the title *νεωτέρα* recently undertaken by †CAMPBELL BONNER and himself (*HTR* 41, 213-15). He discusses several inscriptions, in particular the bilingual dedication at Denderah to Neotera, *IGR* 1, 1167. While admitting that Neotera might here be Cleopatra VII (he gives examples of the survival of Ptolemy-worship in the Imperial age: I should prefer to leave open the question whether *SB* 3448 of 118 B.C. refers to Soter I: it is from Philae, whereas the other instances of the separate worship of Soter I at such a date are, as one might expect, from Ptolemais), N. prefers the identification with Aphrodite Ḥathōr, and concludes 'I think it probable that Neotera in Egypt under the Roman Empire always meant Aphrodite (Hathor)'.

(27) I may note a further study by CH. PICARD on the Memphian statuery (cf. *JEA* 40, 128, no. 19), *Mon. Piot*, 47, 77-98, 'La Statue-portrait de Démétrios de Phalère au Sarapieion de Memphis'. He is mainly concerned with the iconography of Sarapis (the hermiform head of whom, supporting the figure identified by him as Demetrius, he regards as representing the original Bryaxean form, 85, 92 f.), which lies outside the field of this survey.

(28) In *Syria*, 31, 88-89, H. SEYRIG suggests that the Heliopolis-name of Baalbek may derive from an equation of the Heliopolitan Supreme God with a deity in Egypt, where the sun-god was supreme, e.g. Zeus Sarapis. The identity of the name Heliopolis with that of the Greek name of the city in Egypt leads him to suppose that this interpretation may belong to the Ptolemaic age. He quotes other evidence for Egyptian elements in the Syrian cult, and adds that this attraction is only natural if Baalbek was an important city during the Ptolemaic occupation of Syria. I may note, for others to assess, that in *Kemi*, 13, 76, P. MONTET publishes a part of a statue with a hieroglyphic inscription found near Baalbek. The statue is of the Pharaoh Khaṣneferrē, and Montet concludes: 'Sur le statue de Baalbek Kheneferre est aimé de Re-Harakhte qui est l'un des deux grands dieux de Héliopolis. Il est donc permis de penser que ce n'est pas par hasard que son monument a été trouvé si près d'un site voué sans doute de toute antiquité au culte du soleil.'

(29) In *HTR* 47, 153-64, writing on 'Fees and Taxes in the Greek Cults', F. SOKOLOWSKI refers to line 17 of *SEG* VIII (*sic*, not *v*), 529, a decree of a *συναγωγή* of *συγγεωργοί* in which the right is conferred on the honorand to introduce three friends into the synodos free of charge: *ἐπιδέξασθαι δὲ εἰς τὴν σύνοδον δωρεὰν τοῦς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τιμωμένους ἄνδρας τρεῖς*. S. says 'in some circumstances the tax could be remitted', but refers only to this text. I wonder if there are other instances of this practice? Normally remission of entrance fee is granted only to relatives of deceased members: see POLAND, *Vereinswesen*, 300.

V. Political and social history, constitutional law

(30) In *Ann. fac. lett. Univ. Ibrah. Pacha*, 1, 179-94, M. AWWAD writes on 'The sixth Syrian War and the Commencement of Dynastic Strife in Egypt'.

(31) In *Journ. Theol. Stud.* 1954, 224-7, A. H. M. JONES writes on 'The Date of the *Apologia contra Arianos* of Athanasius'. In this connexion he discusses the date of the introduction of the office of *speculator* in the *officium* of the Augustal (prefect). He refers to *CIG* 4816 (republished as BAILLET, *Inscr. de Syringes* 1380), a *προσκύνημα* of Tatian, probably the first Augustal of Egypt; another *προσκύνημα* of Tatian is BAILLET, *ibid.* 1118.

(32) Of general interest for the study of Roman administration in Egypt is the article of H. M. LAST, *JEA* 40, 68-73, on 'The *Praefectus Aegypti* and his Powers', in which he wrestles with the statement attributed to Ulpian in Dig. I, 17, 1, that the *imperium* possessed by the Prefect of Egypt was 'ad similitudinem proconsulis lege sub Augusto ei datum'.

(33) Also of general interest is the article of E. LUDDECKENS in *ZDMG* 104, 330-46, 'Herodot und Ägypten', in which he warmly supports the historicity of Herodotus' account of the material aspects of Egyptian civilization. This clear and straightforward account derives some of its ideas from an as yet unpublished commentary on Her. II and III, 1-39, by the late GEORG MÜLLER (ob. 1921), which L. will apparently edit.

(34) In *Festschrift für Zucker*, 293–97, ‘Zum Edikt des Tiberius Iulius Alexander’, W. MÜLLER proposes a fresh interpretation of 3 (lines 18–26) of the inscription. (He knows nothing of the definitive edition of this inscription by EVELYN-WHITE and OLIVER, *The Temple of Hibis*, II (1939), and refers only to *OGIS* 669 and *SB* 8444, though the failure of the latter to heed the text of Evelyn-White and Oliver has been repeatedly stressed: e.g. *JEA* 38, 116.) He attempts to determine the identity and status of the injured parties referred to in lines 19–21. He seems to be right in claiming that they are private citizens, and not officials in debt to the state. The author refers in note 1 to his Leipziger Dissertation *Das Edikt des Tiberius Iulius Alexander* (Leipzig, 1950), which I regret I have not seen.

(35) In *Ann. fac. lett. Univ. Ibrah. Pacha*, I, 173–78, I. NOSHY BEY writes on ‘The War Navy of the Ptolemies’.

(36) In *Prosopographica* (cf. no. (11) above), 105 ff. XIX, PEREMANS and VAN ’T. DACK write on ‘Les instances administratives de l’Ombite d’après les *Ostraca Pr. Joachim*’. These are difficult, illiterate, and illegible documents, but in several instances the authors are able to improve on the interpretation of Preisigke.

(37) In *Chron. d’Égypte*, 29, 312–27, CL. PRÉAUX writes on ‘Les origines des monopoles lagides’, suggesting that the familiar inscription regarding the synoecism of Teos and Lebedos, Welles, *Roy. Corr.* 3, contains in lines 80 f. a monopolistic system put into effect by Antigonos, which may have been the type of institution which was the model of the Ptolemaic system. As Mlle Préaux readily admits, the measures of Antigonos were taken at a time of political anxiety to himself, when he needed to ensure by stable corn-supplies the loyalty of cities, and it seems unlikely that his measures would themselves have formed a conscious model. She claims, rather, that a general influence from the eastern Greek world of which we see one example in the letter of Antigonos, is likely, particularly in view of the number of eastern Greeks in Egyptian service. She offers, *en passant*, some alternative supplements to the inscription: line 86 she reads *ὑμῖν* for *ἡμῖν*; line 89 *φροντίζομεν* for Dittenberger’s *ἐφροντίζομεν*; lines 94–95 for *σίτων*] she suggests *ὠνίων*].

(38) In *Rylands Bull.* 36, 128–45, 484–500, A. ROWE makes ‘A Contribution to the Archaeology of the Western Desert’. In the first part he gives a list of the monuments found in the region, and references to the Mareotis in inscriptions of the Pharaonic period and in writers of the classical period. The geographical information derives largely from GAUTHIER’S *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, and the additional information is rather naive (see e.g. p. 137, under ‘Pharos island’), cf. also no. (50).

(39) In *BSA Alex.* 40, 63–81, J. SCHWARTZ writes on ‘Les Palmyréniens et l’Égypte’, tracing the complicated story and chronology of the Palmyrene invasions of A.D. 268–70. He notes the inscriptions, particularly those from Koptos (*IGR* I, 1169, 1181; on 64, in the text he quotes the latter inscription as evidence for Alexandrian merchants at Koptos, but in footnote 5 he emphasizes the weakness of the current restorations, and says ‘il paraît plus prudent d’attribuer l’inscription à un Coptite ce qui n’élimine nullement le commerce alexandrien à Koptos’; the second part of the sentence seems ambiguous; if the inscription refers to a Koptite then it at least is not evidence for Alexandrian commerce at Koptos). He discusses, 79, *OGIS* 711 (BRECCIA, *Inscr.* 93), the inscription referring to Claudius Firmus the *corrector*, where in line 1 he follows Clermont-Ganneau in referring *Σεβαστοῦ* to Vaballath.

(40) Mention must be made of the appearance of the second edition of T. C. SKEAT’S invaluable *The Reigns of the Ptolemies* (Münchener Beiträge, 39). The work has been carefully revised, and will be an invaluable aid for all who, like myself, like their sums done for them. The clear statements of the difficult chronological problems involved in the dates of accession of the various rulers have been brought up to date.

(41) In *JRS* 44, 54–64, E. G. TURNER writes on Tiberius Iulius Alexander, making an attempt to reconstruct the cultural relationships between Greek and Jew in Alexandria in the first century A.D. He discusses in this respect the Tell el-Yahudiyah epitaphs (*CIF* 1451 ff.). The immediate interest of his paper lies, however, in the new evidence T. provides from an unpublished PHib (215) of A.D. 70–130 in which Alexander is referred to as *Τιβ. Ἰουλ. Ἀλέξ. τοῦ ἡγεμο[νεύσαντ]ος γενομένου καὶ ἐπάρχου πραι[τωρίου]* which seems to show that Alexander was Prefect of the Praetorian guard, after his Egyptian prefecture.

VI. *Prosopography, etc.*

(42) In *JEA* 40, 15–17, ‘Two Notes’, †CAMPBELL BONNER discusses ‘I. the Names Nonnos, Nonne’. He attacks the view expressed in Pape, s.v., that both names are Egyptian and mean ‘holy’. With regard to the

Delphian inscription of the late second century A.D., *Syll.*³ 847, where *Nónnos* ὁ καὶ [Δη]μήτριος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς occurs, he says 'it is doubtful whether the versatile Nonnus-Demetrius had a drop of Egyptian blood in his veins'. He gives many instances of the name in late documents of Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, and concludes (no doubt correctly) that it is a 'Lallname'.

(43) In *Acta Antiqua*, 2, 68–71 (Russian) and 73–75 (German) L. CASTIGLIONE discusses, in connexion with a mummy-ticket in the Hungarische Museum der bildenden Künste bearing the names Σένωρος Ἀπολλω[νίου], personal names having a grecized form of Horus in the second part, and points out they more usually combine in -υρις (Σενύρις, Ψενύρις, etc.), and concludes that the form in -ωρος is not found earlier than the second century A.D. He regards the change as due to a change in pronunciation, and parallels the transformation in the Greek forms of Hathor, Ἀθύρ, and Ὀσιρις~Υσιρις (see Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* 34, in HOPFNER, *Fontes*, 237). He dates the mummy-ticket, on this and other grounds, to the second half of the second century A.D.

(44) In *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava*, 7, 'Les Noms propres du P. Bruxelles Inv. E. 7616', J. VERGOTE studies the names occurring in the papyrus edited by M. HOMBERT and CL. PRÉAUX as *Pap. Lug.-Bat.* vol. 5, 'Recherches sur le recensement dans l'Égypte romaine', a papyrus of A.D. 174, containing a list of κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί of villages of the Delta. The Greek names are normal, and the comments on them insignificant. The greater part (122 out of a total of 158) of the names are Egyptian in Greek transcription. They mostly occur in *Namenbuch*, but V. has useful remarks on their derivation, and the value of the dissertation lies in this section.

(45) In *Philologus*, 98, 94–100, 'Zu hellenistischen Dichtern', no. 2, 97 ff. F. ZUCKER discusses the epigram of Asclepiades, *APV*, 184, line 5, καὶ παρὰ Θαυβορίου ῥοδινοῦς ἐξ πρόσλαβε [πλοχμούς]. He interprets Θαυβόριον as a form of the feminine name familiar from Greco-Roman Egypt. He discusses the 'sociology' of the name, pointing out that it is found in the highest Ptolemaic society in the person of the priestess of Kleopatra Thea Euergetis ἡ καὶ Φιλομήτωρ in 107/6; this Thaubarion is related to the governors of Cyprus, being apparently granddaughter of Helenos (Z., like Peremans and van 'T. Dack, see above, no. (11) on II, accepted the reading of the Brussels papyrus which makes Apoll(odorus) the father of Helenos). On Thaubarion see also WILCKEN, *Archiv*, 13, 136 and HINTZE, above, no. (19), 212, note 23.

VII. Nubia and Ethiopia

(46) In *Kush* (Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service), 1, 26, O. G. S. CRAWFORD refers to some Byzantine inscribed bricks from Geteina on the east bank of the White Nile, fifty miles above Khartoum. Two bear the name Μιχαήλ, one ΚΟΥΤΚΟΥΤ (?) The place of discovery is said to mark 'the southern limit of mediaeval Nubian Christianity'.

VIII. The Ptolemaic Empire

(a) New text.

(47) In *Quaderni di Arch. della Libia*, 3, 33–66, G. CAPUTO writes on 'La protezione dei monumenti di Tolemaide negli anni 1935–1942' and publishes on 66, note 7, a base found in the stylobate of the Temple in the forum bearing the inscription

Βασιλέα Πτο[λεμαίων]
Φιλομήτορα τ[ὸν (βασιλέως(?)) Πτολεμαίου]
καὶ Κλεοπάτρα[s, θεῶν ἐπιφανῶν,
ἡ πόλις

In view of the absence of βασιλίσα—before Κλεοπάτρα—the reference is presumably to Philometor's mother, Kleopatra I, and I restore accordingly. In l. 2 βασιλέως, which is not essential to the formula, makes the line much longer than the following one.

(b) Discussions, etc.

(48) In *BCH* 78, 336, no. 13, CHR. DUNAND and J. THOMOPOULOS publish an improved text of *IG* XII, 5, 541, which now has reference to an Athenian [τεταγμένος ὑπ]ὸ τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαίων (line 1), who acted as δικαστής. They date the piece to the reign of Philadelphus. The stone is badly worn; the combination of a very small (both suspended and central) omicron and repeatedly straight-barred sigma suggests a date in

the middle of the century. As other Cean texts referring to officials of the Ptolemies they refer to *ibid.* 1061 and 1066.

(49) In *Archiv*, 15, 69–70, discussing the Ptolemaic formulae of dedication (cf. above, no. (16)) F. ZUCKER treats of the Cypriot bilingual, *OGIS* 17, which Renan had compared with the inscription from the grotto Wasta (no. (16) above). The opening lines run *Ἀθηνᾶι Σωτείραι Νίκη καὶ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου* and Zucker regards this mixed formula as due to confusion on the part of the (wholly or partly Phoenician) author as to whether the true formula was the simple datival one or that with *ὑπὲρ* followed by the genitive. This solution, which I regard as the most likely to be correct (there can be no certainty, since something has evidently gone wrong) was already proposed by WILAMOWITZ. *Hellen. Dichtung*, p. 25, note 2 in a short note ('Der Mann schreibt konfus, weil er den Altar der Athena weiht, aber eigentlich den Ptolemaios nennt. Er hätte wie andere *ὑπὲρ βασιλέως* sagen sollen. Er war ein Kyprier, das zeigt das Schlußwort [i.e. ἀγα[θ]ῆι τύχηι] dem alten *ἰ τύκα* entsprechend') and also (seemingly independently) by A. D. NOCK, *HTR*.

(50) In *Rylands Bull.* 36, 484 ff. (cf. above, no. (38)), A. ROWE gives a brief and insignificant account of the history of Cyrene.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Der Ka in Theologie und Königs kult der Ägypter des alten Reiches. By LISELOTTE GREVEN (*Ägyptologische Forschungen*, Heft 17). Glückstadt-Hamburg and New York, 1952. 51 pp., 14 half-tone figs.

The nature of the *ka* is one of the most elusive problems with which the student of Ancient Egyptian religion is faced: 'the *ka* can be in the other world to receive the deceased who goes to his *ka*; it can accompany him when he goes with his *ka*; they abide together in the Beyond, yet it resides in the tomb where the dead man lies, and receives the offerings of his descendants' (*JEA* 27, 168 f., the present reviewer's summary of Junker's discussion in *Giza III*). If to this sufficiently contradictory statement be added Sir Alan Gardiner's remarks (*JEA* 36, 7, n. 2) to the effect that the king's *ka* can be identified with his kingly office, and that in appropriate contexts the word can be approximately equivalent to 'attribute', 'nature', 'temperament', 'rank', 'fortune', or 'personality', the Egyptologist might well be excused for leaving the puzzle aside as beyond solution.

Such a counsel of despair, however, does not advance knowledge, and Dr. Greven is to be congratulated on a fresh attempt to tackle the problem, even though her researches are confined to the Old Kingdom. In the *Einleitung* the author describes briefly previous attempts to explain the *ka* by von Bissing, Erman, Kees, Maspero, Steindorff, and Junker, but curiously makes no mention of Gardiner's articles *Proc. SBA* 37, 257; 38, 83 or of his above-mentioned note in *JEA* 36; it is true that some of the meanings of the word proposed by him may have arisen in periods subsequent to the Old Kingdom, but one of his propositions at least, that the *ka* can be identical with the kingly office, is surely implicit in many of the passages from the Pyramid Texts quoted by the author in the first part of the study proper. Thus in those cases where the king is regarded either as being or as containing the *ka* of Horus (e.g. *Pyr.* 587b; 610d; 582d; 647d) the underlying idea seems to be not only that the ruler embodies in his person the essential characteristic of Horus, but also that that 'essence' of Horus is the kingship; in her discussion of the passages here cited G. has missed the significant point that it is not Osiris who is the *ka* of Horus but the 'Osiris King X'. Similarly in *Pyr.* 1328b Osiris is not the *ka* of Horus but has his *ka* brought to him by his son the king, here in the role of Horus; this might well mean that the loyal son here restores to his father the kingship which had been the essential attribute of Osiris, but of which he had been wrongly deprived. Looked at in this light, it seems possible to put a new interpretation of the passage *Pyr.* 149d, quoted by G. on p. 15, which reads *n šk·k n šk kꜛ·k tꜛwt kꜛ*; this might well mean 'if thou perishest not, thy kingship will not perish, for thou art kingship'. A similar notion of the *ka* as the essential attribute of some being or beings clearly underlies sentences of the type *tꜛwt kꜛ n nꜛrw nb* 'thou art the essence of all the gods' (*Pyr.* 1609a; 1623a), while the plural '*kas*' refers to the varying natures of the individuals concerned (*Pyr.* 776b; 1626). To me it seems that the primitive notion of the *ka* was that it was the essence, the fundamental nature, of the god or king who possessed it, and because in all probability the king originally was the one earthly person who had a *ka*, and that solely by virtue of his being the mundane representative of Horus, the word *kꜛ* in appropriate contexts came to signify the kingly office, just as in other contexts it came by an easy step to mean the personality of whosoever possessed a *ka*. Thus I do not agree with the author's conclusion on p. 19 that 'Der Ka ist der göttliche Wesensursprung, insofern als er göttlich-belebende Wirkkraft ist'; in my view each god from the beginning possessed an individual *ka* of his own, though the attribute of divinity which he shared with all the other gods was one aspect of it. On the other hand G. has seen (p. 27) 'daß der Ka dem Wesen des Königs zugehörig ist', though I would have put it much more strongly, namely, that in association with the king the *ka* is the quality of kingship.

To the inveterate Egyptian habit of personifying abstract qualities and ideas is doubtless due the conception of the *ka*, the 'essence' or 'personality' of someone, as having a separate concrete existence of its own as a double of its owner, to which testify not only the passages quoted by G. on pp. 22 ff., but also the existence of *ka*-statues in which the personality of the dead might find a home at need, and the depiction

of the royal *ka* as an exact double of the royal child at, for example, Dēr el-Baḥri. That a single god might possess a plurality of *kas* is indicated by *Pyr.* 2087b, where mention is made of 'great *kas*' and 'ordinary *kas*'. Whether these belong to Horus, as supposed by G., or to Gēb, is not altogether clear, nor is their function or nature in this context obvious, except that in some way they support the Eye of Horus, and so appear to link up with the protective aspect of the *ka* as indicated by the remaining passages quoted by G. on p. 26.

I have left myself but little space to discuss the rest of the book. In pp. 29 ff. the author maintains Scharff's theory that the notion and cult of the *ka* arose in Lower Egypt, primarily on the grounds that the primitive Delta folk were settled agriculturalists as contrasted with the nomad pastoralists of Upper Egypt, and so were more likely to develop a *Totenkult*, since they were always within reach of their dead, who in fact were sometimes buried under the houses of the living. Here I must confess to scepticism. It may be so, but the evidence is slender, and theorizing as to origins is a hazardous occupation.

In the discussion of the *ka*-statue (pp. 32 ff.) the author is doubtless right in stating that originally only a dead king could have a *ka*-statue in his tomb, since only a king could possess the quality of kingship, i.e. have a *ka*; but when with the gradual democratization of funerary beliefs and rites private persons came to be recognized as also having a *ka* which represented their essential personality, then they also came to have *ka*-statues when dead. Where we differ in our views is that G. regards the *ka* as a spark of divinity and thus as a guarantee of eternal life for its owner, whereas for me it is the owner himself, his 'essence' or 'soul', which after the destruction of its original home, the body of flesh and bone, needed an external simulacrum thereof in which to dwell. So far as I can see, the only guarantee of eternal life, in Egyptian eyes, was the provision of food and drink to nourish the departed. As regards the theology of the *ka*, to which the author devotes the third part of her book, I can only say that she may be right in her views, but that they seem to me highly subjective and to have but little incontrovertible basis. But my criticisms of this book express only my own opinions on a very controversial topic, and the student who is interested should read G.'s work for himself and then judge between us. A book that provokes argument is a book that was worth writing.

R. O. FAULKNER

La Rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne. By CONSTANT DE WIT. Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1951. 4to. Pp. xxxvii+473. Price 40 gld.

This book is a research into the significance of the lion in Ancient Egypt. It comprises an examination of the symbolism, cults, and ideas connected with that animal, starting from the earliest times and continuing down to the Roman period and occasionally even to the present day. It is divided into six sections entitled respectively: Lion and Sphinx, Gods associated with the Lion, Goddesses associated with the Lion, Varia, The Lion in Geography, and The Lion in the Egyptian Language. Finally, there is a chapter of conclusions, an index of the names of divinities, and a list of corrections and additions.

The first section deals mainly with the lion, the sphinx, and the various double lions. It is shown how the lion, originally abundant in Egypt, continues well-known down to Roman times. It was probably domesticated as early as the First Dynasty and is a common subject in scenes of hunting, of war, and of certain domestic occasions. Even in prehistoric times the king was represented as a lion; a practice that continues through all subsequent periods. A common scene is that of the king in leonine form trampling his enemies. In the language the lion is essentially associated with the king in metaphor and simile. The sphinx, properly a lion with a human face, is shown to be interchangeable with the lion and to be beyond doubt a symbol of the king.

The lion is essentially a guardian, a warder-off of evil, for which reason it stands at the gates of temples, and is used as a shape for door-bolts, movable barriers, and gargoyles. When the temple came to be considered as a cosmos in little, and its gate equated with the portals of the Underworld, inevitably lions and sphinxes standing at this gate came to be associated with the double lions of the entrance and exit of the Underworld. These double lions, Aker, Shu and Tefēnet, and Ruty are all found in the Pyramid Texts,

¹ To be rendered thus in contrast to *wrw* 'great', rather than 'vielen' as translated on p. 26; for this sense of *ṛš*; cf. *ḥm-nṯr ṛš* 'ordinary prophet', Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 70, 4; *ḥry-ḥbt ṛš* 'ordinary lector-priest', *P.Kah.* 14, 152.

while representations of a being similar to Aker are found on archaic objects. Aker does not simply guard the gates of the Underworld, he absorbs everything that arrives at the western horizon and brings it forth at the eastern horizon. Shu and Tefēnet, the children of Atum, are in origin an abstraction of the priests of Heliopolis. They are confusedly equated with the two eyes, the evening and the morning barks, the rising and the setting sun. Ruty is Yesterday and Tomorrow, the two souls of the sun-god, and consists of two lions sitting back to back supporting now the horizon, now the sky, now the sun's disk. These double lions are associated one with the other.

There are numerous references to the sun as a lion, an idea that is borne out by various classical references. In addition there is the lion of Manu which is equated with the sun-god. Manu is a mountain which was originally the horizon where the sun set, the mountain of the eastern horizon being Bakhu, although in early instances this too is associated with the west. The curious reference of Aelian to the two windows, one to the east and one to the west, through which the temple lions could look, is called to mind. Each day the sun overcomes the forces of darkness and is reborn after passing between the two lions. Similarly the king, whose life is closely associated with the daily phenomenon of rebirth, uses thrones flanked with lions or fitted with leonine feet. Beds with a lion on each side are well known and Osiris was, in fact, resurrected on such a bed. The lion, it is concluded, is a symbol of the resurrection and the essential mystery of the double lion is that it does not lose its power of generation in death but is capable of resurrection.

Two long sections are now devoted to divinities connected with the lion. The first deals with gods, the second with goddesses. Over sixty divine beings are the subject of individual essays: these include Atum, Shu, Heḥa, Amūn, Onuris, Bes, Ptaḥ, Miūsis, Mīn, Nefertēm, Horus Tjam, Haroēris, Arensnuphis, Bast, Matyet, Mehyt, Haṥhōr, Shesmet, Sakhmis, and Tefēnet. It is pointed out how few of these beings are in origin lions, most having acquired leonine characteristics at a late date as the result of various assimilations.

Under the title *Varia* a great number of beings (genii, demons, &c.) found represented with lion-heads are discussed, the appearance of the lion amongst the decans and zodiacal figures is described, the association of the lion with the Nile and with the bull is investigated, while finally there is a chapter on the lion in every-day life in which are noted occurrences in priestly titles, personal names, magic and the applied arts.

The next section of the book lists the places in Egypt where there is any indication of a lion cult, Leontopolis being the subject of special attention. The object of this section is to show that, although no great temple to a lion divinity is known, the cult of the lion was widespread.

The last section consists of a list of words found in relation to the lion in the Egyptian language. These include not only words for the lion itself but also words connected with parts, actions, and so on of the lion.

This long and very detailed book is rounded off by a short chapter of conclusions. This I feel the reader would be well advised to read first, because by so doing he will gain an immediate guide to the author's main lines of thought. Dr. de Wit has performed a gigantic piece of research and has set out the results of his work in the minutest detail. Every page bears witness to the prodigious energy and tireless patience of the author, who has ransacked the literature of Egyptology in the pursuit of his theme: the list of books consulted runs into no less than 27 pages. One could wish that the book could have been shorter and the evidence more thoroughly digested, but had this been done its present exhaustive character would perhaps have been lost.

The ample references with which every page of the book is furnished give it a secondary value, perhaps not visualised by the author, which is that it can be used as a general source of references, especially when seeking information about individual gods. I have already had several occasions to feel grateful to Dr. de Wit in this regard.

C. H. S. SPAULL

The Temple of Hibis in el Khārgah Oasis, Part III, The Decoration. By NORMAN DE GARIS DAVIES. Edited by Ludlow Bull and Lindsley F. Hall, New York, 1953. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, Volume XVII. Folio. Pp. xi+36, pls. 80. In portfolio. No price stated.

The publication of the temple of Hibis in El Khārgah is now complete. The first part appeared in 1941 and dealt with the excavation, the second part dealing with the Greek inscriptions appeared in 1939, while the third part which is now to hand deals with the decoration of all the walls both interior and exterior.

The book is made up in portfolio form and consists of a short descriptive text, with title-pages and indexes,

The Egyptian Coffin Texts: Vol. V. By ADRIAAN DE BUCK. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, Vol. LXXIII. University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. xv+400. \$10.

Once again Professor de Buck has put us in his debt by producing the fifth volume of his massive edition of the Coffin Texts. The present volume maintains the excellent standard of its predecessors in both quality and appearance; we may remark that the method of indicating rubrics by shading instead of by printing in red, which for reasons of economy was initiated in Vol. IV, is continued in Vol. V, and will doubtless remain standard practice in this series; if less pleasing to the eye than printing rubrics in red, it is just as effective, and financially more economical. In fact, it is a method which might be more widely adopted in the publication of hieratic manuscripts containing rubrics, since it is more striking to the eye than the conventional underline.

Of the various spells included in this volume (Nos. 355-471), the majority occur also in the *Book of the Dead*, see the list on pp. xiii-xiv, but the Pyramid Texts are represented only by §§ 505, 511-12; twenty-two spells are confined to the Coffin Texts. The regular appearance of these volumes means that there is now available to scholars a really considerable body of Middle Egyptian funerary texts. The Old Kingdom is represented by Sethe's edition of the Pyramid Texts, but for the *Book of the Dead* of the New Kingdom or later there is no comparable publication except Naville's *Todtenbuch*, now almost seventy years old. Is it too much to hope that in due course an English University or organization will set on foot an edition similar to de Buck's of at any rate those texts of the *Book of the Dead* which are available in accurate publications?

R. O. FAULKNER

Ancient Egyptian Religion. By JAROSLAV ČERNÝ. Hutchinson's University Library, London, 1952. Pp. xi+159. 8s. 6d.

Professor Černý has written, within the rather restricted space at his disposal, a survey which is carefully and lucidly conducted. As a work of popular exposition, its readability commends it; as an authoritative study by an eminent philologist, its accuracy is above reproach. Černý, it is true, has not devoted special attention in the past to problems of religion. But what Egyptian philologist can avoid being aware of them? Further, his position of having been, previously, an interested spectator rather than an eager protagonist, probably makes his study more balanced and objective. He has no hobby-horses to ride, and his remarks on the major controversies are guarded and unbiased.

There are, of course, debatable statements, of which the following is one: 'The king (Akhnaten) does not show on his monuments any concern for non-Egyptians, indeed he is entirely absorbed by his own relation to Aton . . .' (p. 65). Now the long Aten-Hymn contains a famous passage which states, among other things, that Aten provides sustenance for 'all the distant peoples'. The hymn begins and ends with expressions of the special relation of the king and his consort to Aten, but it is not fair to ignore the universalism of this reference, anticipated though it is in some earlier literature. Černý himself states, in a previous sentence, that 'it is possible that Ekhnaton realized the international character of his god . ..'. One has to agree that the realization did not result in practical expressions of concern for other peoples. But there is a spiritual concern.

I am glad, incidentally, to see forms like Abydos and Byblos in this book, rather than Abydus and Byblus. Why should the traditional Greek endings be latinized?

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Coptic Ostraca from Medinet Habu. By ELIZABETH STEPHANSKI and MIRIAM LICHTHEIM (The University of Chicago Oriental Publications, vol. LXXI). Chicago, 1952.

When Medinet Habu was excavated in 1929-30 by the expedition of the Chicago Oriental Institute, a large number of Coptic ostraca were found. These were entrusted to Miss E. Stephanski for publication and she worked on them for many years; when she died suddenly in 1948 she left behind the finished hand-copies of 400 texts with a number of translations in draft form. Miss M. Lichtheim then undertook the completion of the edition and added some translations, notes and commentary, and an index. The publication of these ostraca is extremely welcome as many of them are of exceptional interest and importance.

The ostraca fall into two main groups: 1-217 are mainly lists, legal documents, and letters; 218-400 tax-receipts, with the exception of 243 and 326 which are receipts for fines. The 180 tax-receipts are a very important addition to the 180 tax-receipts from Thebes known previously, but I am proposing to deal with these documents elsewhere and the present review will be concerned with numbers 1-217 only.

In two respects these texts as a whole seem to differ from the collections of Theban ostraca published so far. As the editors point out, most of the texts, which include a surprising number of legal documents, deal with financial and business matters, and we hear little of the desert monks and monasteries or even ecclesiastical matters. Also, while most of the ostraca from Thebes so far known can be dated with fair certainty in the sixth or early seventh centuries, most of the texts in the present collection appear to be from the late seventh or eighth centuries, though including a few texts which are obviously earlier (137-40, 145, etc.).

The texts are very well transcribed and this is true not only of numbers 1-217, but also of the tax-receipts which are extremely difficult to decipher. The introduction has some useful notes on weights and measures which occur in the texts. Many of the texts have been well translated, but it seems a pity that so many others have remained without a translation (e.g. 20, 64, 65, 71, 75, 76, etc.). Commentary is on the whole confined to a few words and phrases. The index, with the exception of the Greek words, is somewhat unsatisfactory. There is no index of Coptic words at all; this seems difficult to justify. The index of proper names is unfortunate as only the names are given without the names of the fathers, sons, etc.; many of the persons mentioned in these texts occur in other documents from Thebes and with this index identification is very inconvenient.

There are a number of new words not found in Crum's *Dictionary*: αἰαου (?) 183⁸, τ-ἡαπε 87¹, μοχт (? = μογχρ) 76⁶, σκπωρε πρηт 11², 9, тарше (probably a measure) 41⁵, шпте (?) 132³, зегпо (? = зон) 89⁶, жорпил (or т-жорпил) 207⁴, 6, жажмагсе 28³. Other words are rare or occur in unusual forms: аке 5¹⁴, ἡαω 5¹¹, 7, ελαγ (? = αλω) 162², рпе (= нрп) 155⁴, 8, локε 5²², моспе 587, мижке 5¹¹, 10, 84³, тпп (? = тппоγ) 154⁶, cf. тω 201², жхжохт 169⁵, σλομλλε (пп) 68¹⁰, and cf. κογпжог 5¹⁹-σонжог 27²-спжог 27⁷-когжог 75⁴, 84². There are many unusual names, e.g. ἡαпате 167, ἡαρε 124², οιοζιс 113², напг, капп 26², 65², менапое 8⁵, пекωпг 199⁶, ппарон 15⁶, пистие 30⁷, ппай 30⁸, поггар 65¹¹, пшωтс 21³, сггсг 67, 8³, тωрш, тωршш 15⁸, 26¹, 31³, фрө 18³, cf. also егга (= ега) 131⁴, this spelling occurs also in Genesis iv, 1 (B.M. 932) and elsewhere.

All the texts are in Sahidic, but half of them show traces of dialect and in about half of these the dialectal forms are due to Achmimic influence. For the Theban dialect in general see Winlock-Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius*, vol. 1, chap. x (here cited as *Ep.* 1) and my *Bala'izah*, chap. VIII (here cited as *Bal.* VIII).

Achmimic influence is mainly confined to α = ε (c. 50 times), e.g. α-, αρο-, αρογп, αргαι note, however, арпγ (AA² ерпγ) 186⁶; α = о (c. 30 times), e.g. жаеис, салсл, гтаг; η = а (11 times) in пнзп, (пнзк, пемнзк), also оγжнп 201⁵, cf. пнше (11 times); ε added in оγшше (vb. and nn.) 58⁵, 60³, 72¹³, 73¹⁶, 82⁴, 142⁴, ла(а)γе (7 times). More remarkable Achmimic forms are анре (= епег) 83⁹, cf. епнг 72⁹, 73¹², 17, 125⁴, аἡαλ 207¹⁰, 2, мееω (= мееаγ) 134¹⁰, 18, оγантк 154⁶, ега-, ега- (*Fut.* III, cf. *Bal.* VIII, par. 129) 97³, 159¹⁰, 195⁶, and the use of the absolute for the construct in verbs (cf. *Ep.* I, p. 250 and *Bal.* VIII, par. 80j) кω- 152⁹, таγо- 153¹⁰, 9, оγωг- 72⁴, 73⁵, 75⁴, 96⁶, оγωрг- 143⁷.

Typical for the dialect of Theban texts are: ога- (verbal prefix) 133¹², 162⁶, 11, 12, 179⁸, 189⁶, 199¹⁰, 8, 10, жо(о)гч (= жоогс cf. *Bal.* VIII, par. 127G) 133⁶, 8, 134⁹, 149⁶, 204⁹; пе, те, пе = пей, тей, пей (passim); па- = п- (11 times, always with persons, cf. *Ep.* I, p. 248); шог- = ат- 149¹², 162⁵, 190³; the omission of the verb † (e.g. еγ(†) пак, cf. *Ep.* I, p. 251) 134¹², 19, 151⁸, 159¹¹; the pronominal forms of the verb † (*Ep.* I, pp. 246 f.) тпгч 50³, 52⁶, 55⁹, 149⁹ (†гч), †гогч 56³, 59⁷, 70¹¹, 74⁸, 191⁵; оγω = ω (*Ep.* I, par. 240, 242) паогпке 61¹¹, епекогорж 61¹⁵, оγωпωрос (онпωриос) 8¹, cf. оγше = оγшше 72¹³; one might also mention κ = σ (*Bal.* VIII, par. 126) which occurs frequently, e.g. пекωш, пωлк, калσил 27⁵, 6.

A number of dialectal forms occur which are not confined to the Theban dialect; the following may be singled out: пгек- = пг- (conj., see *Bal.* VIII, par. 138) 150⁷, 156¹¹; ког- = ке- (*Bal.* VIII, par. 28) 142⁹, 143⁶, 10; сωг- (construct of сгас) 56⁹ (again in ST 353 cited in *Ep.* I, p. 247); presence of г in герепек, гпрпвнк (name) 28¹⁰, 103⁴, 212², 4, 5, 7, 8, cf. нарп = пагрп 73²⁴; unusual construct forms of рωмле (*Bal.* VIII, par. 154): рωмле- 58², 59², 63², 4, рмлеп- 99¹, 2, 101³, 121⁷, рωмле- 186¹¹, 12; remarkable is пσап for кап 161⁵ (bis) (cf. *Bal.* VIII, par. 79A). Surprising at Thebes, though common farther north are мегре for

ⲙⲡⲧⲣⲉ 123⁵ (cf. *Bal.* VIII, par. 82) and the irregular use of ⲛⲉ in ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲛⲉ ⲓⲱⲥⲛⲫ ⲡⲗⲁⲓⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲣⲁⲓ 71¹ which is extremely common in the Fayyūm and its neighbourhood but practically unknown elsewhere.

A few corrections, notes, and translations may be useful; where the corrections can be made from the published plates I have added (pl.); a few others I owe to Professor Till who has kindly agreed to their inclusion here, indicated by (Till).

4² ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉ, if right, presumably for ⲉⲧⲁⲉ-ⲥⲉ 'who went to Jesus'.

5¹¹.⁹ ⲟⲩⲱⲁⲣ I. ⲟⲩⲥⲁ(ⲁ)ⲣ (Till).

17⁴ ⲉⲙⲁⲓ I. ⲛⲙⲁⲓ.

26⁴ ⲟⲩⲱⲥ I. (?) (ⲛ)ⲟⲩⲱⲥⲉ.

41⁴ ⲗⲁⲕⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲙ I. ⲗⲁⲕⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲛⲛⲙ, cf. *ib.*³ ⲗⲁⲕⲓⲛⲉ ⲱ (Till); alternatively ⲱ in line 3 ought to be ⲥ and belongs to ⲛⲙ in line 4 (ⲥⲛⲛⲙ).

50² ⲕⲡ ⲣⲟⲗⲟ ⲛⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲟⲛ and 51⁴ ⲕⲡ ⲣⲗⲗⲟ ⲛⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲟⲛ stand for ⲧⲥⲉ ⲛⲣⲗⲗⲟ ⲛⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲟⲛ; translate: 'Kouloje the daughter of Hello the son of Katharon'. The same person occurs as Kouloje the daughter of Hello in 72 and 73. It may be noted that all four texts (50, 51, 72, 73) were found at the same site (29.211).

54¹ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲓ I. ⲛⲛⲙⲁⲓ ? (Till).

57⁹ ⲧⲉⲕⲣⲁⲓ ought to be ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲓ.

59⁵ ⲉⲛⲣⲙⲙⲛⲥⲉ ought to be ⲧⲉⲧ(ⲙ)ⲙⲛⲥⲉ (Till). In the same line ⲡⲣⲟⲥ indicates 'at the rate of'; cf. my *Bala'izah*, 102, n. 12 and references.

60³ The description 'in Jēme, it being a castron of Ermont' for the usual 'in the castron Jēme in the nome of Ermont' is remarkable.

62⁵ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ I. ⲥⲛⲁⲩ (pl.); *ib.*⁸ ⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⲟⲉ I. ⲗⲁⲓ/ⲓⲉ (pl.).

63⁶ ⲉⲣⲧⲁⲥ I. ⲉⲣⲧⲁⲥ (pl.); *ib.*⁹ ⲛⲁⲧⲗⲁⲁⲩⲉ I. ⲛⲁⲧⲗⲁⲁⲩⲉ (pl.).

69¹⁵ delete [ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛ].

70⁹ I. [ⲓ]ⲗⲟⲥ.

73^{10f}. ⲛⲥⲁⲥⲟⲩ I. ⲛⲥⲁⲧⲟⲩ (pl.) and translate: 'I have no power to redeem them'.

80¹² supply ⲉ[ⲡⲱⲓ ⲛⲉ]; *ib.*¹⁵ supply [ⲉⲡⲁⲛ]ⲁⲥⲥ.

82⁹ ⲣⲱⲫⲧ I. ⲣⲟⲩⲛⲧ (pl.), and translate: 'From the time we depart (any) matter that will occur we shall pay for jointly, and any passenger who shall embark with us, half (of his fare) is for me and half for you'.

83³ ⲛⲧⲁ- I. ⲛⲧⲁⲩ- (cf. *Bal.* VIII, par. 17).

83¹² ⲫⲃⲗⲭ[ⲉ]] ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲥⲓⲭ I. ⲫⲃⲗⲭ[ⲉ] ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲓⲭ.

87 Translate: 'The . . . (?) which feeds the well (ⲧ-ⲥⲱⲧⲉ) is that of Samuel and Lesabek (= Elisabeth)'.

88¹ ⲥⲉⲡⲉⲓⲧⲟ[ⲡⲟⲥ] I. ⲥⲉⲡⲉⲓⲧⲟⲟⲩ (pl.).

89 and 90 ⲣⲁⲛⲣⲛⲧ . . . ⲣⲁⲛⲥ, cf. my *Bala'izah*, 188, n. 11.

91 'By this place, by its authority. As regards the whole inheritance of my fathers I will not deceive you (f.) (even) as far as the value of half a trimesion, and I will not require (? I. ⲕⲛⲟⲩⲛ) of you (m.!) (anything) as far as my share in the yard below (I. ⲙⲉⲡⲉⲓⲛ ⲛⲙⲁⲑⲉⲟⲥ—Till) Matthew. If I do not assign it to you (m.) I shall give it as offering for my mother (ⲙⲁ = ⲙⲁⲁⲩ, cf. Crum, *Varia Coptica*, 10⁶ ⲧⲉⲗⲁ = ⲕⲉⲗⲁⲁⲩ).'

92⁹ I. ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲣⲣⲁⲓ?

93 'By this place which is here. From this gold necklace as far as (i.e. including) these two solidi of gold, I have not removed anything from it (even) as far as these two solidi and their interest.'

94 'By this place which is here (to) which we sent them (the stones?) up; my boundary with Matoi is the road (I. (ⲛ)ⲙⲁ(ⲉⲓ)ⲧ which is outside (ⲉⲣⲣⲓⲃⲟⲗ) the stones which we sent up.'

134¹⁵ Why alter ⲥⲓ to ⲕⲓ? Translate: 'and weigh the other twenty-five bronze ⲥⲉ with him and send them to us.'

141¹³ I. [ⲧⲥ]ⲧⲟⲕ (Till).

150⁶ ⲉⲃⲃⲁⲗⲛ I. ⲉⲃⲃⲟⲗⲛ (pl.) for ⲉⲙⲃⲟⲗⲛ the corn-tax which was generally paid in kind: 'having loaded the corn-tax.'

150^{8f} I. ⲫⲥⲣⲟⲩⲧ| ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲩⲁⲉ (pl.) and translate: 'Since I have no leisure, nor will Kamoul find the means of coming north to Tehne.'

151 A translation of this text presents some difficulties. In line 4 ⲉⲣⲁⲓ stands for ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ (cf. my *Bala'izah*,

VIII, par. 98); for ρμοος ερραι μπ- see Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 680b, esp. 1 Kings XXIV, 16 πρρμοοο ερραι πμμμκ which corresponds to the Greek δικάσαι μοι ἐκ χειρός σου; in line 7 ετα- stands for ετπα- (*Bal.* VIII, par. 130); in line 8 ερπηγ is for ερεφ παγ (cf. above). The peculiar αποκ πε recurs in 192: 'Be so kind and send my three donkeys to me, that I sell them and give the wine to the man. Do not be negligent (ἀμελεῖν) at all—I am somebody—Give it to Pamo from Phoibammon.' This phrase asserting personal importance is found a few times in the New Testament, corresponding to the Greek εἶναί τι, τινά; esp. Gal. vi. 3 'For if anyone says: "I am somebody (ἄ αποκ πε)" when he is nothing, he deceives himself alone'; cf. Acts v. 36; viii. 9; Gal. ii. 6.

Translation: 'I Pahatre am writing to Kouloje, saying: since I have settled my affair with you, delivering (myself) out of the hands of you and Daniel—I am somebody—; (as regards) the solidus and the wheat, I told you: the man who shall bring you this ostrakon, you shall give him the articles—I am somebody—do not go to court! Farewell. Give it to Kouloje, from Pahatre.'

152¹⁴ l. ? πατροс.

153 An interesting letter: '. . . your paternity. Since you came into the monastery (τοπόс) of Apa Phoibammon with me on the Sabbath with my brethren concerning the matter of the prayer; afterwards they took me away from it (?) out of the presence of your paternity, and afterwards they wished to bind me once again and to turn me out (l. μμμο[ι]), and having sent, they brought the priest . . . (a few lines obscure) . . . find occasion against him. Now be so kind and go and ask the superior Apa Helias the son of Kalapesios and send the document to him that he might bring in his consideration (σκοπός) for me, as to what he wishes me to do. Farewell . . .'. In line 7 αγθοлт прггг is very unusual, but cf. *Ep.* 439¹⁴.

155⁷ ечан l. ечан for ерчан, cf. *Ep.* I, p. 249.

156 'First I greet [your] fraternity and him that is [with you] in your house. Be so kind [and send] the trimesion to me [as you] agreed with me for [. . . (?)] for Apa Kyriakos. Now [hasten (?) and] send it to me, for they are pressing (ἀναγκάζειν) me concerning it. I adjure you by almighty God, if they were not pressing (ἀν.) me concerning it, I should not ask you for it. Come and bring it to me. Give it to my dear honoured brother Pekosh from Amos his brother. Farewell in the Lord.'

189⁷ пссалор l. пссалш (Till).

A few passages are obscure to me: 9¹ оурау cf. ? оура 14¹; 9⁴ тоуртис; 47³ оуам/μωас; 65⁸ тирс (? тетарт-нс); 95³ прωχн (? for προάρησις, cf. this word in the Jēme Corpus); 115⁵ пенкрпр; 118² ρκггг (? place); 133⁷ κаргг (? place); 139^{vo} 6 епептак κеога; 184⁸ прзет псоп (? ρзет l. ρарп = шорп); 186⁸ тѣе (? Greek).
P. E. KAHLE

Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt. By SIR H. IDRIS BELL. *The Forwood Lectures for 1952.* Liverpool University Press, 1953. Pp. x+117. 15s.

The subjects of the four lectures delivered by Sir H. Idris Bell under the Forwood Foundation are 'The Pagan Amalgam', 'The Jews in Egypt', 'The Preparation for Christianity', and 'The Christian Triumph', and their speedy publication in this volume is very welcome. Readers will know what qualities to expect in any work by Sir Idris, nor will they be disappointed here. One has to admire constantly the mastery of the material, especially that emanating from the papyri, and the scrupulous fairness with which all the evidence is treated. Another gift which Sir Idris uses to great advantage is that of clear and attractive presentation, which is here all the more commendable in view of the difficult and often complicated nature of the sources.

It may be that at the outset the author has drawn too strong a contrast between the religions of Egypt and Greece. 'Egyptian religion', he says, 'consisted largely of primitive and barbarous myths, of magical formulae and practices, and of highly formal ritual.' This is acceptable as far as it goes, but it omits to refer to the higher aspects, which produced an ethical emphasis (atrophied though it often was through the influence of magic), a notable wisdom-literature, and an eschatology which was confidently colourful. We are told, on the other hand, that 'the religion of Classical Greece was on the whole of an open, sunny kind, and its priests did not in general form a special order in society'. The differing status of the priesthood is doubtless a point of great importance. But is the general suggestion justified that the Greeks enjoyed a religion which was pleasantly serene? One needs to remember not only the serenity of Pindar and the Homeric Hymns but also the primitive crudities which attended the cult of Artemis at Brauron and Halai, the darker affinities of the

chthonian cults, the gloomy and awe-inspiring shrines at Delphi and Dodona, and the shadowy Hades of Greek eschatology—the happier Elysium was undoubtedly imported, probably from Egypt via Crete. Sir Idris is, of course, not unaware of all this; indeed, he expressly refers to some of these matters afterwards; and he shows how the Greeks found in Oriental cults something that the official religion of Greece could not offer, and how they also characteristically contributed to the interpretation of these cults an element of philosophic speculation.

It may be worth noting a few points which provoke disagreement. The author still believes, with Sir William Tarn, that Alexander the Great ‘proclaimed . . . the idea of the unity of mankind and the brotherhood of man’, though he now adds the reserving clause ‘if he did not actually originate (it)’. Very few scholars, it seems, have accepted either of these claims, but this is not the place to argue the matter. It is stated (p. 14) that ‘the Persians, with their hatred of idolatry and their monotheistic tendencies, had probably in general kept aloof from the Egyptian cults’. Both Cambyses (in the early part of his reign) and Darius I took an active part in Egyptian cults: see *CAH* IV, 22–25. Nor was Persian policy generally suggestive of monotheism or hatred of idolatry. ‘The Persian Empire’, according to Nock (*Conversion*, 35), ‘had in religious matters no policy save toleration.’ Bell is able to show (p. 31) that in Egypt the Persians specially favoured the Jews.

On the difficult question of the ruler-cult in Ptolemaic times the view is taken that the Egyptian and Greek cults were severely separate. In favour of this is the fact that the Greek phraseology employed in the cult does not seem to owe anything to Egyptian sources. Does it follow, however, that there was no influence in a general way? One is not entirely convinced by the argument advanced here (p. 23) that ‘the worship of a living ruler . . . was only an extension of the practice’ among the Greeks of paying ‘divine honours after death to outstanding men’. There are, at any rate, Pharaonic precedents for some features of the cult, e.g. the tending of the king’s statue in temples; and its historical starting-point seems to be Alexander’s visit to an oracle in Egypt.

A fact of some interest about early Christianity in Egypt is that many Christians continued to practise mummification. The practice runs counter, as we are told on p. 90, to St. Paul’s conception of a new spiritual body in the future life. But it could possibly be reconciled with the other conception, also found in the New Testament, of a resurrection of the old body.

One could wish for space to dwell on the book’s many virtues, among which is a sympathetic approach to all religious phenomena. When necessary, at the same time, a rationalistic explanation is readily adopted, as in the case of the cures in the temple of Asklepios (p. 69).

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

ADDENDUM

In my note on the date of the ‘Hyksos’ sphinxes (p. 123) I stated in error that the B.M. sphinx of Ammenemes IV ‘has hitherto been overlooked’, having myself lost sight of von Bissing’s article in *ZAS* 65, 116, from which, however, I differ in regarding the unfamiliar form not as a gauche combination of true sphinx and ‘Mähnensphinx’, but as the result of later remodelling.

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