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## EDITORIAL FOREWORD

IN recent years this Society has lost many of its notable members by death, but it has now suffered the hardest blow of all in the sudden death on April 26 last, at the age of 56, of its Chairman of Committee, Professor S. R. K. Glanville, Provost of King's College, Cambridge, and Sir Herbert Thompson Professor of Egyptology in that University. We will not dilate here on his scholarship and learning, nor on his invaluable and indefatigable services to the Society, since they will be described by the Treasurer, Mr. I. E. S. Edwards, later in this volume, but we may perhaps personally express our grief at the loss of a friend of thirty years' standing, for whose co-operation we have often had reason to be grateful. His successor as Chairman of the Committee is Professor E. G. Turner, of University College, London.

Yet another lamentable event has been the death on March 9 of Professor A. M. Blackman, late Brunner Professor of Egyptology in the University of Liverpool, at the age of 73. An obituary notice by his successor at Liverpool and intimate colleague Professor H. W. Fairman describes his career and his many contributions to learning, but for the Society his name will be always particularly associated with the six volumes of *The Rock Tombs of Meir* which he so ably recorded and edited for its Archaeological Survey of Egypt.

The excavations carried out by the Society at Saqqārah under the direction of Professor W. B. Emery on behalf of the *Service des Antiquités* were again resumed during the past season with conspicuous success. Another royal tomb of the First Dynasty was discovered which proved to be that of a hitherto unknown Queen Herneit, who died in the reign of King Udimu, fifth of the dynasty. Professor Emery writes:

Although in general design the tomb appears to conform to the earlier type previously found at Saqqārah, it presents many new architectural features, the main importance of which was the use of sculptured stonework in the burial chamber and the combination of two distinct forms of funerary architecture in the one edifice: the tumulus superstructure of Upper Egypt embodied within the panelled brick mastaba of Lower Egypt. Traces of this curious feature have been previously noted in other First Dynasty tombs at Saqqārah, but owing to their ruined state their real function was not recognized.

The southern tombs of the archaic kings at Abydos have long presented an architectural problem, for when they were cleared by Petrie and Amelineau at the end of the last century, it was found that the superstructures over the great burial pits had been entirely destroyed and no evidence remained of their character or design. Only one fact was certain: they must have been far smaller than their northern counterparts. With the combination of the tomb designs of Upper and Lower Egypt revealed in the new tomb, this problem is now solved and it is obvious that the Abydos monuments must have been surmounted by rectangular brick-covered tumuli of the same design as that embodied in the panelled mastaba of Saqqārah.

The burial chamber of the new tomb consists of a deep pit cut in the rock to a depth of 14 ft., with a stairway leading down its north wall. This pit was double-roofed, with timber at ground level

and with timber and stone at half its depth, thus forming two subterranean rooms, one above the other, the lowest being reserved for the actual burial. Although ransacked by ancient plunderers, the burial chamber still contained the remains of a big wooden sarcophagus and the scattered bones of its occupant. Many fine objects were still preserved, the most notable of which were the queen's drinking cup, a necklace of gold and carnelian beads, vessels of ivory, crystal, alabaster, schist, diorite, and breccia. The fragmentary remains of ivory and wooden furniture all gave evidence of what must originally have been a sumptuous burial installation. The south end of the burial chamber was roofed with stone flags resting on a stone lintel on which was carved a design of crouching lions, the earliest example of constructional sculpture yet found in Egypt. After the burial, a low rectangular tumulus of rubble was raised above the pit, and this in turn was covered with a brick casing. Finally this superstructure was buried beneath a great rectangular brick mastaba with the usual elaborate exterior of recessed panelling and its interior divided into magazines which contained extra funerary equipment for the use of the deceased in after life.

This great superstructure, measuring 127 ft. by 56 ft., is better preserved than any other First Dynasty monument yet found. The east façade is still standing at certain points more than 8 ft. in height, and the recessed panelling retains much of its painted decoration in red and light yellow. At the foot of the façade is the usual bench on which were placed the heads of bulls, modelled in clay with real horns. Most of these have long since been destroyed, but sufficient survive to indicate the system on which they were arranged.

Surrounding the whole superstructure is an enclosure wall preserved at some points to its original height of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ft. Between it and the superstructure was a mud pavement which had been painted green. Access to the corridor was gained through a gateway at the south end of the enclosure wall.

No burials of sacrificed servants were found, but the queen's pet dog was interred in the north side of the entrance-gate. Owing to the exceptional preservation of the enclosure wall and corridor, the *Service des Antiquités* has decided to restore the walls to their maximum height and to roof over the corridor, so as to preserve the friable brickwork and to make available for public inspection the earliest example of Egyptian monumental architecture sufficiently well preserved for the purpose. Photographs of the excavations were published in the *Illustrated London News* of June 2, 1956.

## THE CARNARVON STATUETTE OF AMŪN

By CYRIL ALDRED

SINCE its appearance at the Exhibition of Ancient Egyptian art held by the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1922,<sup>1</sup> the gold statuette of Amūn which was then in the collection of the Earl of Carnarvon has been recognized as the *chef d'œuvre* of its kind, and has since been illustrated in practically every work on Ancient Egyptian art (pl. I, 1, 2).<sup>2</sup> There are good reasons why it should have won such universal acclaim: it is almost complete and in excellent condition. Its perfection of workmanship and refinement of detail stand as an impressive testimonial to the skill of the Egyptian metal worker in a medium which, thanks to human rapacity and greed, is but meagrely represented today. The loss is the greater because it is reasonable to suppose that the use of precious metal on such a scale would be confined to the supreme masters of their craft.

The statuette came to New York in 1926 when the Carnarvon Collection was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art and bears the accession number 26.7.1412. In the catalogue of the exhibition of 1922, it is described as 'Statuette of the God in the likeness of Thotmosis III', apparently following the entry in the manuscript catalogue of the Carnarvon Collection by Howard Carter, who therein stresses a resemblance which he detects between the profile of the head of the statuette and that of a relief of Tuthmosis III in the same collection.<sup>3</sup> This attribution has never been challenged by any of the scholars who have published illustrations of the specimen, and the present writer must include himself among those who have accepted without cavil a dating to the Tuthmoside period.<sup>4</sup> As a result of a discussion with Mr. John D. Cooney of the Brooklyn Museum, however, and a close examination of the statuette itself, the writer has come to see that a date in the Eighteenth Dynasty for this specimen is untenable.<sup>5</sup>

According to Carter's notes, the statuette was found by *sebakh* diggers north of the Temple of Amūn at Karnak, in 1916. Since Carter was back at Thebes in the autumn of that year, and was well known as a shrewd buyer of *antikas* who had his ear close to the ground, it is surprising that he was unable to specify a more precise locality for the place where such an important object had been found. In point of fact, he bought it from a dealer in Cairo in the following year, and while a statue of Amūn would strongly suggest to vendor or buyer a Theban provenance, other sources are possible. Thus

<sup>1</sup> Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue . . . Ancient Egyptian Art*, 1922, 106, no. 11, pl. 16.

<sup>2</sup> G. Steindorff, *Blütezeit*, 156; G. Steindorff, *Kunst der Ägypter*, 219; E. Dennison Ross, *Art of Egypt*, 171, 2; H. Ranke, *Art of Ancient Egypt*, 116; G. Steindorff and K. Seele, *When Egypt Ruled the East*, 61; N. E. Scott, *Egyptian Statuettes*, 16; etc.

<sup>3</sup> I have been able to consult this catalogue in the Metropolitan Museum by kind permission of Dr. W. C. Hayes.

<sup>4</sup> Aldred, *N. K. Art*, no. 55.

<sup>5</sup> I have profited greatly from Mr. Cooney's help and encouragement, but this does not absolve me from accepting sole responsibility for the views herein advanced.

Cooney some years ago was told by the son and partner of the dealer who sold the statuette that it was unearthed at ẖuḫt by *sebakhîn* who divided it into appropriate shares by wrenching off the plumes and sundering the figure from its base, and that with it was found another gold object, a sort of phallic *Ba*-bird,<sup>1</sup> which also passed into the same dealer's hands. Like all such information recollected in tranquillity and not obtained by reliable informants on the spot, little credence need be placed in it; and the question of the true provenance of this statuette may best be left open, while not excluding from consideration, however, the possibility of a site in the Delta.

Carter was certainly incautious in emphasizing a resemblance between the features of this statuette modelled on a miniature scale and those of a much larger representation in bas-relief.<sup>2</sup> The identification was all the more rash for overlooking the fact that the idealized Tuthmoside features are a norm to which Egyptian portraiture tends to revert in later ages. Any comparison based solely upon facial similarities and ignoring other stylistic details is likely to be too subjective and to fall into error. As a matter of fact there are two features, the pierced ear-lobes and the scimeter, that put a Tuthmoside dating for this statuette quite out of court.

There are few representations of the god Amūn before the death of Akhenaten that are contemporary, most of them being restorations dating from the reigns of Tutankhamūn and Sethos I. There are, however, a number of reliefs bearing figures of the god which escaped the iconoclastic hammers by virtue of the fact that they had been dismantled and buried before the Aten schism. In this way representations of Amūn have survived from the reigns of Amosis,<sup>3</sup> Amenophis I,<sup>4</sup> Hatshepsut,<sup>5</sup> and Tuthmosis IV.<sup>6</sup> From these sources it is possible to see that the iconography of Amūn in the early Eighteenth Dynasty embraced the wearing of plumes on the cap, a corselet with an imbricated pattern and shoulder straps, a broad collar, and the knee-length kilt usually worn by deities having two pleated flaps that meet in front but do not overlap, or do not greatly overlap. In relief and wall paintings the god is shown carrying a *w3s*-sceptre in one hand and an *ankh* in the other. The corselet may be discarded, but the broad collar is faithfully retained. Occasionally the kilt is upheld by a belt having a *tyet*-buckle. This is in fact a form in which Amūn appears in the round at the end of the dynasty with the addition of bracelets and holding in place of the usual sceptre a *tyet*-amulet.<sup>7</sup> Statues of the god made in the reigns of Tutankhamūn,<sup>8</sup> Ay,<sup>9</sup> and Haremḫab,<sup>10</sup> show that the corselet and collar are worn with wristlets and armlets. In

<sup>1</sup> This curious specimen, now in private possession in New York, would appear to be a representation of Ptaḫ-Sokar, having the human head of Ptaḫ surmounting the hawk body of Sokar, with the phallus of the resurgent Osiris. It has none of the features of Eighteenth Dynasty iconography and style.

<sup>2</sup> Hall in *JEA* 16, 235 has been led by a similar error into expressing an opinion which can command little respect.

<sup>3</sup> Chevrier, *Ann. Serv.* 36, 137, pl. 2, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Pillet, *Ann. Serv.* 22, 240, pl. 1, 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 24, 60, pl. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Chevrier, *Ann. Serv.* 51, 550, figs. 4, 5.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. *University Museum Bulletin* (Philadelphia), xv, 2-3, fig. 30; Daressy, *Divinités*, no. 38001.

<sup>8</sup> Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes*, no. 42097.

<sup>9</sup> Legrain, *op. cit.*, nos. 42093, 42094.

<sup>10</sup> Aldred, *N.K. Art*, no. 170.

early Ramesside times there is little departure from these conventions, the only modifications being that anklets may also be worn,<sup>1</sup> and the *wšs*-sceptre is often replaced by a new implement, the *khepesh*, shortly to be discussed. But from the Nineteenth Dynasty until the Kushite period, it would seem that the dress of the god could occasionally be reduced solely to a kilt which may take on the appearance almost of a *shendyt* apron.<sup>2</sup> In sunk relief it is more difficult to decide whether such accoutrements were discarded because evidently these details could be rendered in paint.<sup>3</sup>

In our gold statue of Amün it will be seen that while the pierced ear-lobes make a dating to the late Eighteenth Dynasty possible,<sup>4</sup> everything else is against it. The god is shown without a corselet, without even a broad collar. He wears neither bracelets nor wristlets, and his unusual pattern of kilt with its deeply overlapping flaps is upheld by a belt which does not taper towards the front but is of uniform width and not clasped by a *tyet*-buckle. Above all, in place of the usual *wšs*-sceptre he holds a *khepesh* scimeter to his breast.

It would appear that the scimeter was introduced into Egypt along with other innovations during the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>5</sup> As a newfangled weapon it was unlikely to figure in the hands of gods whose iconography had been fixed by long tradition. Nevertheless, it is held by the war-god Mont in a scene on the chariot of Tuthmosis IV.<sup>6</sup> It is also brandished by Tut'ankhamün instead of the more usual axe or club as he slays a traditional foe.<sup>7</sup> These ceremonial representations of the scimeter are not far removed from the careful pictures of such weapons in the tomb of Ḳenamün,<sup>8</sup> and from the actual appearance of two examples belonging to Tut'ankhamün.<sup>9</sup> They all show that the *khepesh* was a heavy crushing weapon with a grip made in one with the blade by the insertion of two cheekpieces into appropriate cells. One of the Tut'ankhamün specimens has a rudimentary guard at the root of the blade, and it seems to be a weapon of this type which is gripped by Sethos I in a relief near Aswān as he slaughters an enemy.<sup>10</sup> But also in the reign of this same king there appears in the hands of Amün and Horus Beḥdety a new kind of *khepesh*, more ceremonial than practical, with a thin rod-like handle surmounted by a lily capital from which springs the blade.<sup>11</sup> This type of *khepesh*, less a weapon than a sceptre, is frequently represented in Ramesside times as held by Amün.<sup>12</sup> The blade takes various forms, from a straight cleaver pattern to a curved sickle-shape, in one case at least surmounted by the ram's head and disk.<sup>13</sup>

Nevertheless, despite the design of the scimeter, and the absence of corselet, collar,

<sup>1</sup> Legrain, op. cit., no. 42141.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Cairo, J.E. 37595; Legrain, op. cit. 42153, 42157; cf. also 42165, 42166, 42176.

<sup>3</sup> *Medinet Habu*, I, 7; cf. pls. 13 and 26, 43 and 44. See also Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, 48 and 56a, 184 and 184a; *Karnak*, III, p. viii; cf. pls. 13 and 15.

<sup>4</sup> Aldred, *JEA* 41, 7.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Pottier, *Syria*, 1922, 301.

<sup>6</sup> Carter and Newberry, *Tomb of Thoutmosis IV*, XII.

<sup>7</sup> Davis, *Harmhabi and Toutankhamanou*, fig. 4, cf. *MDOG* 55, Bl. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Davies, *Ken-Amun*, I, xx.

<sup>9</sup> Carter, *Tut-Ankh-Amen*, III, 137.

<sup>10</sup> Leps., *Denkm.* III, 141h.

<sup>11</sup> Op. cit. 139a, 140a.

<sup>12</sup> E.g. *Karnak*, I, 4, 5; *Medinet Habu*, I, 44.

<sup>13</sup> Op. cit. 101.

and bracelets, our statuette is not Ramesside in date, as among other inappropriate factors, the proportions are not in favour of a dating to this period. It is in fact time that we abandoned the examination of stylistic details for an assessment of the sculptural values of the statuette, since it is in these that the clue to a more plausible dating lies.

From the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards there exists a number of metal sculptures of kings which serve to show something of the development of this art-form during the New Kingdom and Late Period. The first in the series is the Acworth statuette of Tuthmosis IV (pl. II, 4).<sup>1</sup> From the reign of Tutankhamūn we have the figurines which surmount the gold and silver ceremonial staves (pl. II, 5),<sup>2</sup> and also a kneeling bronze statuette in Philadelphia (pl. II, 6)<sup>3</sup>. The Ramesside period is unfortunately poorly represented, though there does exist a standing figure of Ramesses IX in the Michailidis Collection (pl. II, 7).<sup>4</sup> From Tanite and Bubastite times, however, a greater wealth of examples has survived, such as the Lanzone Osorkon I,<sup>5</sup> the Louvre group of Osorkon II (pl. I, 3),<sup>6</sup> the Gulbenkian torso of Pedubast,<sup>7</sup> the Mariemont Smendes,<sup>8</sup> the Louvre Karomama,<sup>9</sup> and the 'Usimarē' kings at Baltimore<sup>10</sup> and London (pl. II, 8).<sup>11</sup> From Kushite and later times there are several statuettes of Taharqa at Paris, Copenhagen, Cairo, and elsewhere.<sup>12</sup> A kneeling figure of Necho is at Philadelphia (pl. II, 9),<sup>13</sup> and another of Amasis II is in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.<sup>14</sup> Unidentified and unpublished bronze statues of post-Saite kings are at Kansas City, London, and elsewhere.

The specimens in the first group in this series from Tuthmosis IV to Ramesses IX, are characterized by a somewhat stocky build with heavy limbs and moderately thick waists. The salient feature of these statuettes, however, to which we desire to draw special attention, is the way in which the thorax passes abruptly into the abdomen. The transition is assisted by the design of the belt which is broad at the back and sides and tapers towards the buckle at the front. In general it follows the line of the pelvic

<sup>1</sup> In the British Museum (no. 64564), see Edwards, *B.M. Quarterly*, 15, 55-56. I am indebted to Mr. Edwards for the photographs shown in pl. II, 4, 8, and for permission to reproduce them.

<sup>2</sup> From a photograph in the Griffith Institute by courtesy of Dr. D. B. Harden.

<sup>3</sup> In the University Museum (no. E. 14295), bronze with traces of gold inlay and mortices for the attachment of a crown to the *nemes* and an object held by the king on his lap; ht. 20.5 cm.: identified by J. D. Cooney as Tutankhamūn, and accepted as such by the writer. I am indebted to Dr. Anthes for permission to publish this specimen and that illustrated in pl. II, 6.

<sup>4</sup> Bodil Hornemann, *Types*, 279, where it is described as Ramesses X. I am indebted to Professor H. W. Müller for the photograph produced as pl. II, 7 and for copies of the cartouches, and to M. G. Michailidis for permission to publish it.

<sup>5</sup> The best illustrations are in *Collection Lehmann* (Sale Catalogue, Paris, June 11, 1925), pl. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Boreux, *Guide-Catalogue*, 338. Pl. I, 3 reproduced from a photograph kindly supplied by M. Jacques Vandier, and published with his permission.

<sup>7</sup> Walker, *Sculpture . . . Gulbenkian Collection*, no. 16.

<sup>8</sup> *Catalogue des Antiquités . . . Musée de Mariemont*, E. 52.

<sup>9</sup> Capart, *Documents*, II, 82-84.

<sup>10</sup> Steindorff, *Egyptian Sculpture*, no. 215.

<sup>11</sup> In the British Museum (no. 32747), see Budge, *Third and Fourth Egyptian Rooms*, 280, where the king is identified as Ramesses II. This is, however, undoubtedly incorrect. The nomen is difficult to decipher, but I read it as Pedubast with some reservations.

<sup>12</sup> E.g. Copenhagen AE.I.N. 605, 1595; Cairo Cat. no. 823.

<sup>13</sup> In the University Museum (no. E. 13004), bronze, ht. 23 cm., inscribed on belt buckle with nomen only.

<sup>14</sup> N. E. Scott, *op. cit.* 32.

girdle. But already in the statue of Ramesses IX it is possible to see a departure from this convention in the use of a belt of uniform width placed so as to cut horizontally across the mass of the torso just beneath the waist and expose the navel.

In the second group, all dating from what Steindorff so conveniently called 'the Third Intermediate Period',<sup>1</sup> the proportions are quite different. The torso is elongated, the waist slim, and the limbs slender. The belt tapers very little, if at all, and rests horizontally, well below the waist, on the broadest part of the hips, thus interposing between the thorax and lower abdomen a sculptural mass which attains a virtual independence with the navel as its isolated hub. This feature is prominent in all the male statues in this group, and is particularly clearly seen in the kneeling figure of Pedubast (?) (pl. II, 8), where the pose tends to throw the ventral area into greater prominence (cf. pl. II, 4).

In Kushite times there is evidently a compromise between the style of the first group and that of the second. The proportions are more massive; the belt is worn lower than in the New Kingdom specimens, but does not lie horizontally as in the Bubastite examples, tending rather to follow an ecliptic tilted towards the front. The sculptural expanse in the region of the midriff has little independence but is joined to the thorax by a muscular nexus, and the navel ceases to be an isolated depression but frequently takes on the appearance of an enlargement to the lower part of a vertical channel descending from the sternum, a trait which is already anticipated to some degree in the triad of Osorkon II (pl. I, 3). The bronze sculptures of the Saite and later periods also follow more or less this same tradition, differing slightly in proportion from age to age and in minor details (cf. pl. II, 9).

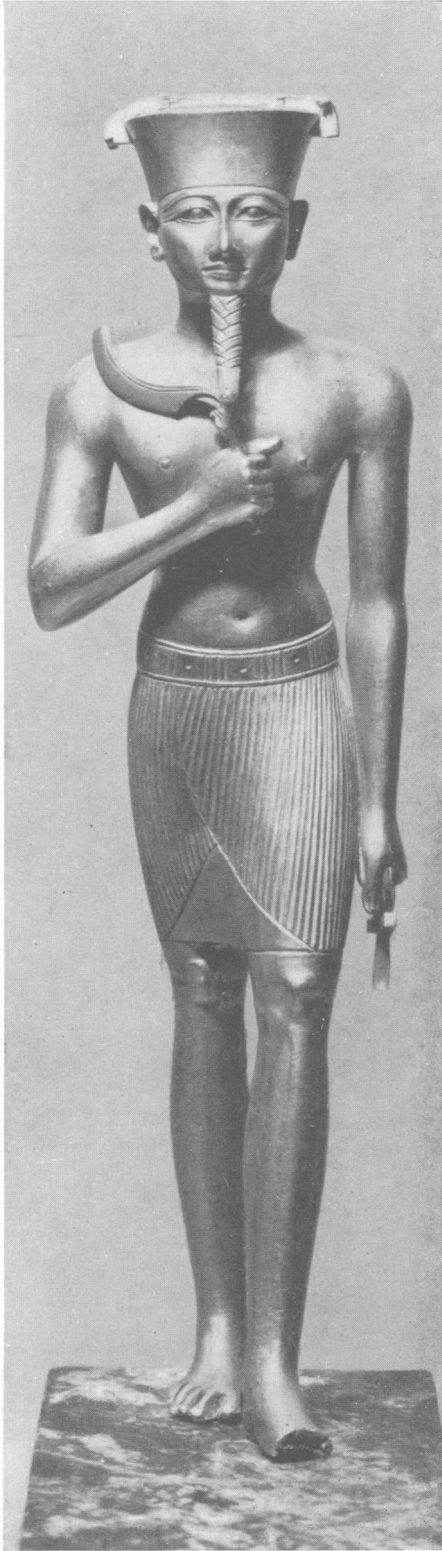
If we return now to the examination of our gold Amûn, we shall see that the prominent mass between the belt and diaphragm puts it squarely into the second group of metal sculptures. There is, in fact, nothing in this statuette which does not belong to the style of the Third Intermediate Period, and everything is in favour of such a date. The absence of collar, corselet, anklets, and armlets is not uncharacteristic of the age, as the triad of Osorkon II shows; and the kilt with its deeply overlapping flaps is paralleled by the example worn by Horus in this same gold triad (pl. I, 3). The scimitar is of exactly the same pattern that Amûn extends to Sesonchis I and Osorkon I on the Bubastite Portal<sup>2</sup> where the reliefs also reveal that a pierced ear-lobe was as much in fashion as it had been in the preceding Tanite Dynasty.<sup>3</sup> The prominent raised nipples, too, are peculiar to this group of sculptures, such details being generally unaccentuated in the New Kingdom and Saite periods. Above all, the slender proportions of limb and torso, and the delicate petite features are so typical as to be unmistakable (pl. I, 2). If a more precise dating within the Third Intermediate Period be insisted upon, then the writer is inclined to place this statuette of Amûn early in the Twenty-second Dynasty, since it shows the stylistic features of such metal sculpture in a fully developed form; and the opulence of the material and the technical skill displayed in the working of it, suggest a period of great industry and achievement.

<sup>1</sup> Steindorff, *op. cit.* 17.

<sup>3</sup> Montet, *Psousennès*, pls. 102, 104, 131, 132; cf. also 22, 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Karnak*, III, 4, 15.

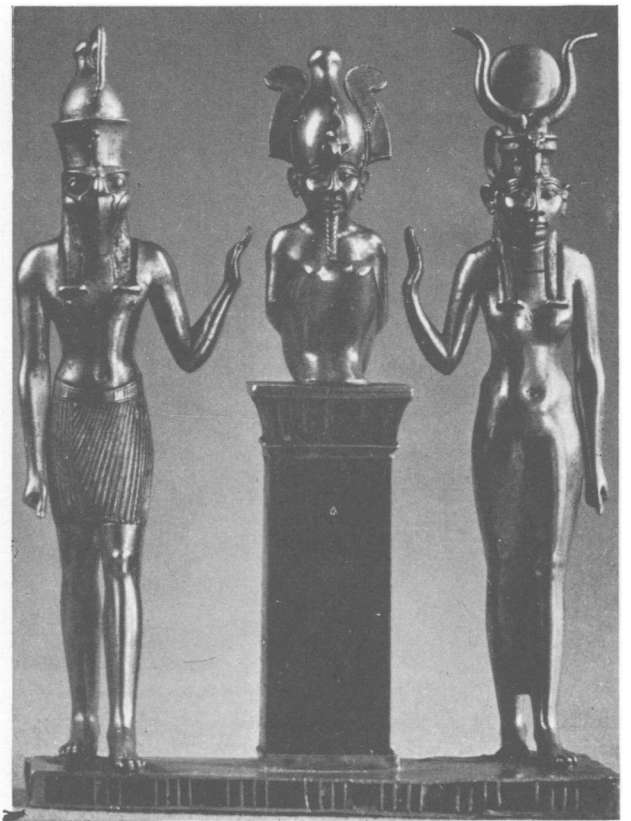




1. The Gold Amūn



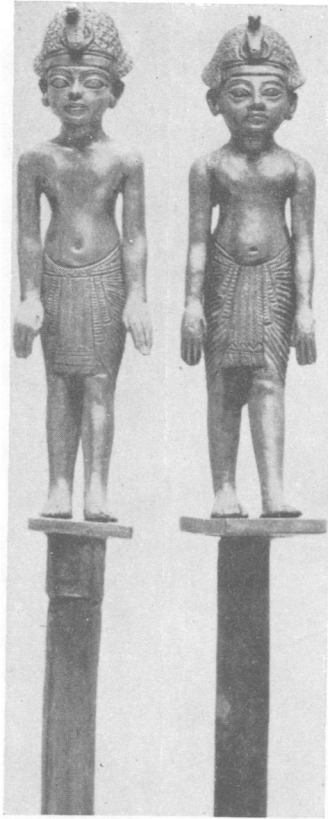
2. Detail of the Gold Amūn



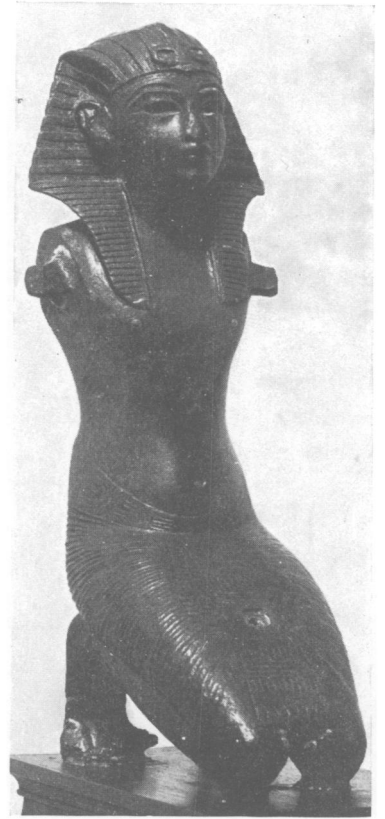
3. The Gold Triad of Osorkon II



4. Tuthmosis IV



5. Tut'ankhamun



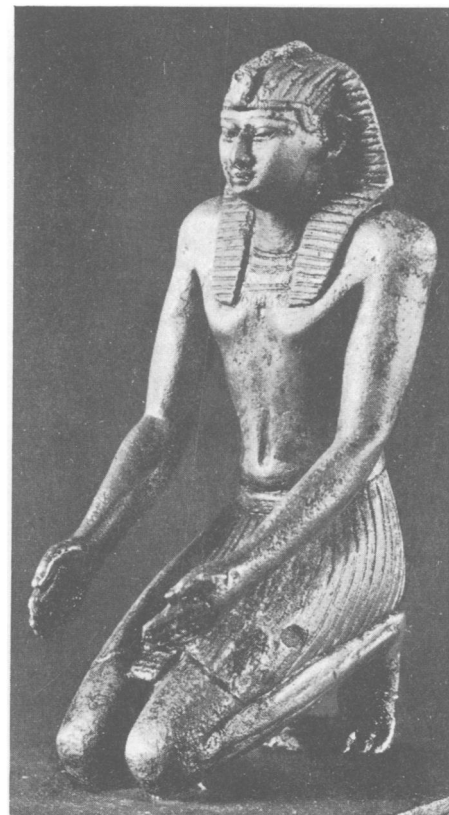
6. Tut'ankhamun



7. Ramesses IX



8. Pedubast (?)



9. Necho

## A PHARAONIC ENCOMIUM (II)

By SIR ALAN GARDINER

THE long and interesting text of which a transcription was given in the last volume of the *Journal* (41, pls. VII–XI) is in the main a hymn of praise and gratitude addressed by a Pharaoh of the Ramesside period to the Theban god Amen-Rē. This is preceded, in the first page that has survived, by an introduction couched in very general terms. Since the opening words ‘. . . he caused him to take his seat upon the throne’ (1, 1) use the pronoun of the third person singular for both king and god, it is evident that their names must have been mentioned in what preceded, and the question arises as to whether there is space for both names in the lacuna at the beginning of the first line. On the assumption that page 1 was as broad as page 4, that possibility cannot be ruled out, so that I have suggested it at the beginning of my translation. The testimony of the verso<sup>1</sup> neither supports nor contradicts the supposition that page 1 of the recto may have been its first, and had a previous page existed, it could only have outlined the king’s youth and activities prior to the accession, and that is unlikely because these are recounted within the body of the encomium itself (2, 1 ff.). Hence I incline, though not without diffidence, to the view just set forth.

The next question to claim consideration is the identity of the king who thus voices his indebtedness to the supreme god of the Theban capital. In the Introduction to my *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (p. xix) the handwriting of P.Turin 1882 (there called Turin A) was ascribed to the late Nineteenth Dynasty, but I now believe this ascription to antedate the truth by about half a century. The difference in time is too small to justify any palaeographical argument, though the critical notes on the hieratic form given to Ⓞ (1, 5, n. <sup>a</sup>) and on the strange sign used to replace ⇐ (2, 10, n. <sup>a</sup>) point rather to the later date. As a pointer in the same direction, it is barely possible to read our text without noticing the similarity in both tone and phraseology to the concluding passages of the various sections of the great Harris papyrus; to this my Commentary will bear ample witness. Far more important, however, is what seems to be a definite allusion to Ramesses IV. In 5, 9 the royal speaker says ‘. . . I being Ruler of Justice (*ḥkꜣ Mꜣꜣt*) and I made my name Beloved of thee’. Now ‘Ruler of Justice’ forms an integral part of the prenomen of Ramesses IV’s *prenomen* Ḥḥḥmaꜣrēꜣ-setpnamūn, and though the epithet *mry Imn* ‘Beloved of Amūn’ presupposed in the second half of the sentence just quoted is too common to have much evidential value, at least it is worth recalling that this epithet occurs in the same monarch’s *nomen* Raꜣmesse-miamūn. Apart from this, our encomium contains but little in the way of

<sup>1</sup> Page 5 of the verso measures 23.5 cm. in width, while the average of the preceding four is about 30 cm. This page 5 of the verso may have been the last, and its missing left end may well have stood directly behind the missing right end of recto, page 1.

historical clues. It is a thousand pities that the fifth and last page has not been preserved intact, since here we might possibly have found a reference to the famous harem conspiracy which according to most recent historians put an end, whether immediate or following only after a brief interval, to Ramesses III's life.<sup>1</sup> Certain criminal acts are mentioned in 5, 3-8 of our text which were certainly not the work of foreign invaders. Now in 5, 8 it is said of these acts that 'they shall be upon the heads of those who did them', and this expression resembles so closely one which occurs in the great Turin papyrus recounting the fate of the conspirators, that it is difficult to believe the coincidence to be fortuitous. Ramesses III is there represented as disclaiming any responsibility for the punishment that was to befall the malefactors, and among the words addressed by him to the judges appointed to deal with the matter in lieu of himself is the command 'Let all that they have done be upon their (own) heads'.<sup>2</sup> It seems significant that in both texts the same thought is couched in the future tense. To conclude this discussion of the date of our papyrus, it may be as well to note that nothing of importance can be deduced from the statement in 2, 1 that the kingly speaker was appointed to be heir to the throne during his father's reign, since this appears to have been the regular custom throughout the Ramesside period.<sup>3</sup>

#### Translation

(1, 1) [The praisings of Amen-Rē made by (?) King Ḥeḫma<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup>-setpnamūn (?) after (?)] he had caused him to seat himself upon the throne, reposing in the Castle of the Lord of the Universe; and he assumed the office of Atum, and the Two Lands (1, 2) . . . . . firm, unshaken; and the sun-folk, the patricians, the common people, and all who are upon earth (brought) gifts of homage, being curbed, not plotters (1, 3) [of rebellion (?)] . . . . . and the princes of all foreign lands came (?)] doing obeisance. Then said the Ennead of Thebes, the conclave of Elect-of-Places, the Ram-headed one of Upper Egyptian On, the great god of (1, 4) . . . . . all the gods and goddesses of this House, who are at the statue-place, (both) those who are here and those who are there (?): Collect ye (?) judges of the Gateway of Decision (1, 5) . . . . . to bear witness to them. The first occasion of speech by this god to appoint his beloved son, and to cause him to be Ruler (1, 6) [of the Two Lands?] . . . . . life and dominion, and the many Sed-festivals

<sup>1</sup> Whilst agreeing with most of de Buck's findings in the admirable article which he devoted to this subject in *JEA* 23, 152 ff., I must take exception to his statement that 'the whole trend of the papyrus suggests that Ramesses III died as a result of the conspiracy, or else was expecting soon to die at the moment when it occurred' (p. 163). For this I find no evidence at all. I am in accord with de Buck, however, in thinking it hypercritical to doubt that Ramesses III actually gave instructions to a board of magistrates independent of himself so as to ensure that justice should be done. Everyone now admits that the Papyrus judiciaire was written after the king's death, and consequently by command of his son and successor Ramesses IV. The Harris papyrus shows how great an interest the latter Pharaoh felt in representing his father as a model of all the virtues. Consequently he may well have deemed it necessary to refute the charges of savage cruelty that were still being bandied about. But so far as I can see, there is no indication either in the long account of the judicial proceedings or in any of the collateral documents hitherto known as to the part of the reign in which the conspiracy took place. Whether the reference to 'mourning' in 5, 7 of our text alludes to the death of Ramesses III is, of course, extremely doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> The sentence is given in hieroglyphic transcription below under 5, 8 of the Commentary.

<sup>3</sup> It has perhaps not been sufficiently emphasized that the position of heir to the throne (*r-pṛt*) was a definite appointment, see *Two Brothers*, 19, 1-2; *Inscr. dédic.* 44, as well as our own passage. In *Harris*, 75, 10 Setnakhte is said to have promoted (*dhn*) Ramesses III to hold this post, and the same verb is used in connexion with Ramesses IV, *ibid.* 42, 8.

which he had celebrated upon earth, they being reckoned and established in the great name of His Majesty, and his duration, (he) being arisen wearing (1, 7) [the White Crown?]. . . . . the gods, he emulating (?) them, they being inscribed in his annals and his cartouches as his titulary. He is Horus on the top of the Banner, and the [entire (?)] earth (1, 8). . . . . his . . . . .

The king himself extols his father Amen-Rē, lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, Bull-of-His-Mother, (most) male of the gods, who made heaven and earth and who created (1, 9). . . . . stretched out upon the earth, and I kiss (the earth) to his noble countenance, they being offered to his feet at the place of thy (?) drawing near to my (?) presence (1, 10). . . . . [I fill] my mouth with thy praises, and sanctify thee with thy laudations.

He said: The good things which thou hast done for me are many, and My<sup>1</sup> Majesty (l.p.h.) (2, 1) is cognizant of them. That which thou sayest comes to pass at once, quickly and without delay. Thou didst aggrandize my father as king, I being placed in front of To-meri as Crown Prince (2, 2) over the head of the Two Lands and (as) Great Commander of the Army. I was a rod upon the head of the Two Regions, and I caused them to minister to thy name, whilst I exerted myself with loving heart with (2, 3) benefactions unto thy house. I was vigilant to seek good things with every useful deed, night being with me (even) as day for thy name's (sake) every day. There was a word that (2, 4) belonged to me continually, to wit: 'Give unto his<sup>2</sup> house, of people and dependants, to fill his<sup>2</sup> temple(s) in South and North.' That which was aforesaid, I multiplied it by millions, and added (2, 5) to their (different) domains. I was successful in finding offering-bearers of the number of the Sea (?), there being amongst them (some) suitable for offices of thy noble (2, 6) house. I made a beginning with thy name at the head, and every (other) god after thee. Not mine was slumber by day, and (my) abomination was sleep by night, I seeking (2, 7) another deed (to do it). Was there a trifle yet undone, I left no customary rites since (things) existed, nor (any) writing(s) of primeval times so as not to delve (2, 8) into them to see them or to inquire concerning thy nature, so as to say in other words (?): 'Be there delay, and One wish to do it, His Majesty is beside the (2, 9) door, his heart filled with compassion.' I did not set aside (any) deed good to be done, when there was advantage in beginning with thee (?). As for the moment that I passed in the tribunal, (2, 10) Justice pursued its straight course, and the way of law stood firm without judgements being disregarded. I kept silent in order to gain knowledge of (3, 1) affairs and to make rejoicing into joy. It was I who revived the heart(s) of patricians and common people, he who had been suffocated being unbound (3, 2) and released. I set every man at his ease, knowing full well that Thy Majesty (l.p.h.) loves kindness to everyone. I spoke at the beginning of my (3, 3) words, whilst my father was (still) in his kingship, in my<sup>3</sup> approach to thee to inquire about affairs and to cause thy nature to be discerned. Thy writings for approaching thee (?) said (?) (that) I (3, 4) should be Ruler of the Two Regions, and the secrets of (my) glorious appearance (would be?) in thy house. Thou didst persist in promoting me, and didst prophesy of me saying 'It is he who shall take office' (3, 5) before this had become known, and it was far from reaching me. Many were the kings since antiquity whom the gods appointed, (3, 6) and they carved thy name in their cartouches. (But) I am beneficial to thy House. From of old (?) one knows (them), but their names escape me (?). I was (3, 7) chosen from the midst of this land. It was Amūn who placed me, it was the lord of the gods who brought me in his hand to induct me into the Castle. An oracle (?) in truth, it was he who (3, 8) said it, Mut and Khons being with him. A deed good and useful is that which he did, a pronouncement to be confirmed, a promise of eternity, an everlasting (3, 9) reward, a testament of millions (of years), a great command for passing hundreds of thousands (of years) was the placing of a son upon his throne.

<sup>1</sup> The papyrus has 'His', see the Commentary.

<sup>2</sup> The original has 'thy' in agreement with the regular blending of *oratio recta* and *oratio obliqua* practised by the Egyptians.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. 'the'.

Come, my voice, turn thee, (3, 10) (I?) call to thee, the making (?) of one contented, which His Majesty (l.p.h.) made from the start, to magnify Thebes the victorious, and to establish my temple <upon> its soil (4, 1) opposite Elect-of-Places. (I?) fashioned thy portrait in thy sacred shape to make festal thy fanes. The increase which I had made previously, and all the gifts of my house (4, 2) were loaded quickly in their bags, and others in heaps, and I brought them immediately <to> thy halls in order to propitiate thy names. That which had been given to me as house-furniture, (4, 3) it was thine in its entirety. If I found whatever it was, I did not conceal it from thee. I persisted in making food-offerings and burnt-offerings daily (4, 4), for it was good to make them before thy face. Coaxings to his countenance, behold I found that His Majesty had given effect to them, and my heart rejoiced. I did this saying (4, 5) 'Thou hast prospered (me) and hast caused me to be on earth', whilst thy godship is in its wisdom perfecting its tasks which are concentrated in (?) thine own well-trying face. Thou didst desire to bring me to thy house (4, 6) and has caused me to apply myself to my endeavours and my speakings of thy name daily. Add more and hold firm to thy command; one shall not turn back upon thy dealings. Thine am I (4, 7) in truth, without exaggeration. I belong to thy offspring who have been here. For it is thou who didst cause me<sup>1</sup> to be brought to the place that thou lovest. What thou hast done is come to pass. What thou sayest is that which stands firm. (4, 8) A long life, thou wilt give it to me, with a kingship of eternity and everlasting. Thou didst make me appear gloriously at the start, saying 'Do Justice for my<sup>2</sup> name('s sake).' I am the repeater (4, 9) of thy words, the image of thy utterance, (that which) comes forth from the mouth of His Majesty (l.p.h.), all commands before him (?). I know full well that thou lovest the doer of Justice for thy soul('s sake). Since I have sat on the throne of Atum, I persevere in doing it. I have restrained lies and have stayed iniquity and have added to its dismemberment. I have given air to (5, 1) him who was choked, and have revived him whose throat was squeezed tight. I have given.....(5, 2) the Thirty, the magistrates of To-meri, all who were sent to His Majesty (l.p.[h.]).....[I have caused] (5, 3) them (to be known?) in their crookednesses, and I have caused them to bear witness.....[and I charged] (5, 4) them saying 'Set the land at its ease, and make it happy with its.....'.....(5, 5) I caused them to be distant from their many oppressions, and the[ir].....(5, 6) good. Now behold, this has been said in order to cause that one should know the.....(5, 7) it is not known. If mourning had been ordered, a deed which is not.....(5, 8) them, I will not bring myself (?). They shall be upon the head(s) of those who did them.....(5, 9) thy witnesses, I being Ruler of Justice and I made my name Beloved of thee, saying [I] have caused..... (5, 10) thou protectest the land for my name('s sake), it being placated with exultation.....[One has made?] (5, 11) me the pattern of one good beyond every king (who?) established the land and put a stop to it[s?]......(5, 12).....(?) lift his head (. . . . .?) the danger on account of (?) the desert-dwellers as enemies (?).....(*the rest is lost*).

### Commentary<sup>3</sup>

1, 1. *Sndm·f hr isb*, cf. *hms hr isb*, P.Ch.Beatty I, vs. B, 7. 23.—*Šsp·n·f iwt Itm*, cf. *šsp·i iwt n it·i*, Harris, 76, 2.


1, 2. The context shows that *tp(y)w nb nw t3* must be rendered 'all who are upon earth' and not 'all the heads of the land', although I have no parallel for the form of the expression.—There can be no doubt that the following word is the Semitic *brk*


<sup>1</sup> The original has ·k 'thee'.


<sup>2</sup> The original has ·k 'thy'.

<sup>3</sup> To avoid the great expense of hieroglyphic type, sentences are here often quoted in transliteration. The transliterations offered are, however, quite superficial and follow the writing, not what is known or presumed to be the phonetic truth; thus I admit such forms as *mmtf* and *itr·i*.


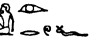
faultily written, and the probability is that it is here not the verb (*Wb.* I, 466, 9), but the noun (*ibid.* 10), though in that case a preposition like *hr* or an infinitival phrase like *hr fꜣy* 'carrying' must be supplied before it. For the noun *Wb.*, loc. cit., quotes *Harris*, 7, 3; 79, 9; *Anast.* I, 5, 7.


1, 2-3. Perhaps restore  or the like; cf. *Wb.* IV, 88, 13, also *ibid.* 10.

1, 3. , appositely compared to Coptic  $\pi\epsilon\alpha\alpha\epsilon\gamma$  in *Wb.* v, 624, 15, is properly a juristic term used to introduce depositions. Perhaps that was why it was used here, see the references to 'judges' (*sdmyw*) in 1, 4 and to 'bearing witness' in 1, 5.—For the determinative  $\frac{1}{2}$  of *dsdt* see *ZAS* 73, 74. *Ipt-sw* is the name of Karnak.—*Bꜣ-šf* elsewhere apparently always followed by  $\frac{1}{2}$ , see *Wb.* IV, 456, 10; from the position in the enumeration this must be the ram of Amūn thought of as distinct from the god himself. Kees has shown (*Orientalia*, 18, 434 ff.) that 'Upper Egyptian On', i.e. the Upper Egyptian Heliopolis, was a name of Thebes, not of Armant, as formerly thought; wrongly still in my *Onomastica*, II, 24\*.

1, 4. *Pr pn* 'this House'; probably the temple of Karnak.—*Rh·n·f* is a word for 'statue', whether of the king (*Harris*, 6, 4; Lieblein, *Deux Papyrus . . . Turin*, pl. 5, l. 2, quoted *Wb.* II, 445, 11) or of a god or gods (*Harris*, 25, 8, plur.; *Ann. Serv.* 47, 17, 4, plur.); here of various deities; *st-rh·n·f* 'Statue-place' again in *Harris*, 6, 4 mentioned above, where it is apparently located in Amūn's Holy of Holies (*kr·k špsy*); note also  'who are upon the Great Seat' in the *Ann. Serv.* passage.—It is doubtful whether the speech of the gods began with *nꜣ nty dy* or only with *twtw*, which must certainly be taken as an imperative having *sdmyw cry(t) n wdr . . . .* as its object, a rare use when it is persons that are 'collected', see *Wb.* v, 259, 5 (additional references, *Late Ram. Letters*, 45, 3 and a late, but valuable one, *Urk.* VI, 133, 14). It is to be presumed that the adverb *dy*, slightly differently written in the two occurrences, corresponds to the Coptic differentiation of  $\tau\alpha\dot{\imath}$  'here' and  $\tau\eta$  'there', though no early parallel seems to be forthcoming.—The strange expression 'judges of the Gateway of Decision' must refer to human magistrates called upon to bear witness to Amūn's proclamation of the new Pharaoh's right to the throne.

1, 5. *Hn* here perhaps combines with the sense of 'appointing' (*Wb.* III, 101, 17) that of 'recommending' (*ibid.* 18) the new king to his subjects.—*R dit wn·f <m> Hkꜣ*, cf. *Harris*, 22, 5, where *Hkꜣ tꜣwy* 'Ruler of the Two Lands' is found, as also *ibid.* 75, 9.

1, 6. Perhaps restore  at the beginning of this line, see the last note.—Possibly there may have followed something like '[and to repeat for him the years of his father . . . .] life and dominion, and the many Sed-festivals which he had celebrated upon earth'; the reference to the new king's father seems necessary, since Sed-festivals were essentially human celebrations, and  must have past meaning.—*Wnw hꜣw* is very difficult to understand unless *wnw* is an old perfective qualifying the suffix of *hꜣw·f*,—*Wts* of wearing crowns see *Wb.* I, 383, 3.

1, 7. The suffix of *stn·f* is certainly displaced. My rendering 'emulating' is a guess based on the verb  meaning 'to compare oneself' with someone, see *Wb.* IV, 359, 9. 10, but the use as transitive verb does not appear to be found elsewhere.



1, 8-10. These lines were undoubtedly intended as a prefatory heading to the encomium proper, which starts after *dd·f* in 1, 10. But in this heading there are obscurities all too clearly reflected in my merely mechanical translation. The suffixes of the 1st and 2nd pers. sing. in 1, 9-10 seem utterly out of place. Even if we assume that from *iry·i snty* (= *sn t3*) down to *snw·k* (= *snsw·k*) have been transferred here from elsewhere, we are still left with the difficulty that *h3wty·k* and *rdwy·k* would be expected in place of *h3wty·f* and *rdwy·f* in 1, 9. Moreover, *st sm3w n rdwy·f* and *hn·k n hft-hr* are incomprehensible.

1, 8. Perhaps  $\diamond_1$  should be understood before *sw3s*.—*Nb nswt t3wy*, doubtless rightly explained by Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, 11 ff., as referring to the Theban god's suzerainty over the lesser potentates of Egypt. Formerly 'Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands' was thought to be a name of Karnak; so still in the first edition of my *Egyptian Grammar*.—*T3y n3rw*, see *Wb.* v, 344, 18.

1, 9. With *pd hr t3* one thinks of those recumbent statuettes of the king holding a stela in front of him. But these words do not appear to be known in that sense.

1, 10. The opening words of the encomium are clear, but for 'His Majesty' one would expect 'My Majesty'. A similar difficulty occurs in 4, 4. 9, where we again find *hm·f*, though if Amūn is there meant, as seems probable, *hm·k* would be expected; in 3, 2 *hm·k* undoubtedly refers to Amūn, being followed by *cnh, wd3, snb*, as everywhere when this periphrasis is used. In 2, 8 *hm·f* is in order as being in a quotation referring to the king who is speaking; the remaining example in 3, 10 probably likewise refers to the king, but the context is too obscure for any certainty.

2, 1. For *ip r*, cf. *ib·i ip r 3st wrt r shrw n st·f* 'my heart is very cognizant of the affairs of his place', *Ann. Serv.* 51, 196, 20, where *ip* is doubtless an old perfective, and therefore must not be rendered 'faire des calculs', as Lefebvre rendered it. There is, however, among the examples quoted by him, one where *ip* is an active verb, and where apparently we must translate *iw ip·n·i m ib·i* by 'I reviewed in my heart' or the like (*Bull. Inst. fr.* 45, 157). *Ip* is an adjective in *ip dt·f* 'become possessed of understanding,' see de Buck, *Stud. Aeg.* 1, 55, n. 26 and in *ip ib* 'comprehending', 'intelligent', *Wb.* 1, 66, 17; *ibid.* 15 knows examples where *ip* is followed by *m*, but none with *r* as here.—*Di·k* towards the end of the line must be the 1st pers. old perfective, often so written in *Harris*, e.g. 22, 1; 76, 3. 4; also here *gr·k*, 2, 10; *stp·k*, 3, 7.

2, 2. *Mdw* as a 'rod' for chastising the wrongdoer, see *ZÄS* 60, 68, 15.<sup>1</sup>—*Hrp*, often used transitively with the meaning 'offer' (*Wb.* III, 327, 10. 11) is rather uncommon without expressed object, *ibid.* 20, add *Harris*, 75, 5 to 59, 11 quoted in the *Belegstellen*. Here followed by *n*, 'minister to' seems an adequate rendering.—For the rare word *ps* see *JEA* 5, 51, n. 7; the *arbeiten* of *Wb.* 1, 550, 20. 21 is not far wide of the mark.












2, 3-4. The construction of *wn mdt iw ink sw m dwn* is of the same form as two other clauses below in 2, 7. 8, and in all three *wn* appears to be the normal Late-Egyptian substitute for Middle-Egyptian *iw wn*. The two later examples seem, however, to need interpretation as clauses of condition, while here a main clause is quite in place. *Iw ink sw*, see Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> §§ 108. 109, the introductory *iw* marking it as the

<sup>1</sup> Through no fault of mine my autographed text was moved wrongly to p. 72.



equivalent of a relative clause after an undetermined noun.—*M dwn* means ‘henceforward’, ‘regularly’ and the like, see *JEA* 22, 175–6; here ‘continually’ is doubtless the best rendering.

2, 4. *P-n hr hst*, literally ‘that of before’, cf. *p-n s nb* ‘that (i.e. the share) of every man’, P.Anast. I, 17, 7; *p-n tsty* ‘that (i.e. the portion) of the Vizier’, Gardiner, Milne, and Thompson, *Theban Ostraca*, 16 i, l. 28. The otherwise splendidly documented article by Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 54, 104 ff. contains no reference to this neuter use, which is also overlooked by *Wb.* I, 492, bottom, though the latter rightly mentions the relevant month-names.

2, 5. In *rmnyt·sn* the plural suffix must refer to the ‘temple(s)’ of 2, 4. Though *hwt-ntr* there has no plural determinative, the following ‘in South and North’ shows that more than a single temple was meant. In my Wilbour Commentary, pp. 110–11, I have shown that *rmnyt* was the name given to the lands of separate domains, each administered by its own director, which were attached to temples or other institutions. I was, however, at a loss to understand the underlying metaphor, though as a pointer I quoted  in *Westcar*, 5, 17, there meaning one ‘side’ of the women-rowers in a boat. I now think that the various derivatives of the stem *rmn* can be explained by realizing that the *rmn* or ‘upper arm’ was one of two counterbalancing limbs of the body. In arriving at this conclusion I have been helped by the notes on *Prisse*, 5, 11–13 contained in a dissertation on the Maxims of Ptahhotpe by Zbyněk Žába, a typescript of which has been in my hands for several years. Like *Wb.* II, 420, 11 Žába understands  to mean *ton pareil qui est en équilibre avec toi* or, as we might say, ‘thy equal who is on a level with thee’. It is in the two previous lines that Žába has made a real advance. *Wb.* II, 419, 12 had given to the verb *rmn* among other meanings that of *aufwiegen*, quoting a perfectly clear transitive example from the Nineteenth Dynasty, but completely misunderstanding *Prisse*, 5, 12. The text there must be divided with Žába  ‘thy self-restraint has equalled his riches’—here I slightly vary the Czech scholar’s version. So, too, in the previous line we must read with the help of the London duplicate  translated by Žába ‘il ne pourra pas t’égalér’. Hence we obtain for  the root-meaning ‘lands belonging to departments on a level with one another’.—For *gm·i drt·i* compare  ‘not one among them had power to fight’, Kuentz, *Qadech*, 257, l. 154.—*Rmt n inw*, literally ‘people of gifts’, ‘tribute’, apparently only here.—The determinative  (one can always hesitate between transcribing thus or as ) must belong to the entire expression *ps·hc·n·ps·š*, but this is otherwise unknown.—*Srw* I believe to be a writing of  *šrw* described as an adjective, *Wb.* IV, 404, 13–18, but surely rather an abstract meaning ‘worth’, ‘value’, which survives in Coptic  ‘worthy’, literally I suppose ‘in the worth (of)’, Sethe, *ZÄS* 47, 144–5 approximated to this etymology without quite grasping the identity of .

2, 7. For *wn nkt iw bw irt·f* see above the note on 2, 3–4, where it was pointed out that both here and in 2, 8 the clause must be understood as conditional; also as in 2, 8 the verse-point has been wrongly placed after *wn*.—For idiomatic *wsh . . . r tm*, see *Wb.* I, 256, 4 and the additional references Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, on

*Anast.* v, 17, 6. Closely similar to the present sentence is one in the great Abydos inscription of Ramesses IV, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 45, 157, l. 3.—*Dr wnn*t perhaps literally ‘since things that were’, i.e. ‘since the beginning of all things’; a strange expression. For *ḥk im-w*, cf. *ḥk m sšw* in *Wb.* I, 230, 14.

2, 8. *Sšm-k* here and below (3, 3) seems to demand the rendering ‘nature’; *Wb.* IV, 290, 2 quotes  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{𓆎} \\ \text{𓆏} \end{array} \right]$  with the meaning *Wesen, Art*, but none of its examples is quite like those of our text; sometimes ‘condition’ or ‘state’ might be a more suitable rendering. The writing here is identical with that of  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{𓆎} \\ \text{𓆏} \end{array} \right]$ , *Wb.* IV, 291, the word for a ‘portrait’ or *Kultbild*, a sense that is unmistakable in 4, 1 of our encomium, while in 4, 9 we apparently have the more abstract meaning ‘image’ or ‘counterpart’. For *kḥ dd* see my not altogether satisfactory remarks *JEA* 24, 243–4, where the obscurity of the present passage is pointed out.—At the end of the line *hm-f*, if I understand aright, refers to the king who here speaks, the pronoun of the 3rd pers. being correct because the word stands in a quotation; see the note above on 1, 10.

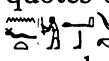
2, 8–9. ‘Beside the door’, i.e. at hand and ready to act, as we might say ‘on the door-step’.

2, 9. Both *nfr n ir-f* and the following clause are difficult, and I merely guess at the meaning.

2, 9–10. Does the king here refer to the time before he succeeded to the throne, and when he may sometimes have served in a judicial capacity? This view seems confirmed by the passage immediately following, which tells us that he kept silence in order to acquire the knowledge necessary for successful government.—Of the two meanings *verderben, vernachlässigen*, given by *Wb.* IV, 207, 1 in quoting this passage, the latter seems appropriate here, and is in accordance with the stem *hry* of which *shy* is the causative.


2, 10. *Wb.* I, 233, 18. 19 renders *m ḥk* by *gegenüber*, a sense very possibly correct in the contexts there quoted. But here we have the word for ‘straightness’ and I believe that the literal rendering should be ‘Justice was in its (own) straightness’. In *Harris*, 75, 2–3 we read ‘the land of Egypt was left to go astray,  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{𓆎} \\ \text{𓆏} \end{array} \right]$  every man was in his (own) straightness’, i.e. was a law unto himself. Similarly in *Harris*, 75, 6 we read ‘Now when the gods turned to be forgiving (*hṭp*) and  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{𓆎} \\ \text{𓆏} \end{array} \right]$  to put the land straight’, where  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{𓆎} \\ \text{𓆏} \end{array} \right]$  or  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{𓆎} \\ \text{𓆏} \end{array} \right]$  must be understood before *ḥk-f*; also *Lansing*, 14, 10  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{𓆎} \\ \text{𓆏} \end{array} \right]$  ‘all that thou sayest is right’, literally ‘on its straightness’. The antithesis of the stem *ḥk* appears to be *nwd* ‘vacillate’, see my note, *JEA* 9, 10, n. 4.

3, 1. The phrase ‘to make rejoicing into joy’ is very strange, but no other rendering seems possible.—No exact parallel for the construction of *wn ink ir-i scnḥ* is forthcoming, but *wn* clearly has imperfective force in the similar *iw wn mntf ir* (participle) *wdh n-n* ‘for it was he who used to smelt for us’, P. Mayer A, 4, 10. So too here of prolonged habit.—*Nty*, translated *gefangen sein, in Bedrängnis sein* in *Wb.* II, 351, 6, seems from the examples in the *Belegstellen* to mean rather ‘be choked’ or ‘stifled’; a possible second example, but wrongly written, below in 5, 1. The contrasted *ntf* which follows appears, however, to have the more general sense ‘loosen’, ‘let loose’, *Wb.* II, 356, 9. 10 citing two more very clear examples; this verb is clearly a metathesis of  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{𓆎} \\ \text{𓆏} \end{array} \right]$  for which

*Wb.* II, 263, 3 quotes only two examples from the medical Papyrus Smith, omitting the important  'unloosed is thy bow' *Sinuhe*, B 274, for which the great Ashmolean ostrakon has *wḥr*; *Wb.*'s renderings *verziehen*, *verdrehen* here seem hardly satisfactory, especially since Coptic  $\pi\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon\chi$  (Crum 232) means 'loosen' and the like.

3, 2. *Dī·i s nb ḥr mdn·f m nxy·sn dmīw* in *Harris*, 79, 1 makes it practically certain that *mdn*, Coptic  $\overline{\alpha}\tau\omicron\kappa$ , is to be emended here, see *Wb.* II, 182, 8. 9, and below, 5, 4; whether  $\alpha$  or  $\overline{\alpha}$  is to be read as the determinative seems uncertain, but the form of the expression here suggests that the noun had originally some such concrete sense as 'resting-place'.—For *ḥm·k* here referring to Amūn, see above on 1, 9.—*Yir·i dd* here seems a good example of the use of this form to stress an adverbial adjunct, as explained by Polotsky, *Études de syntaxe Copte*, § 27.

3, 3. For *·k* as object after the determined infinitive see Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 577; Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> § 409. *Ph* with personal object 'to approach someone' to tell him or ask him something, see *Wb.* I, 534, 3, where this example is quoted together with others equally good.—*Sḥm·k*, see above on 2, 8. For *wḏr* in a sense closely similar to that here, see *Anast.* I, 6, 5.—The next words defy grammatical explanation unless an *m* (= *in*) be supplied before *nxy·k* and *r dd* be taken as a participle. Even then there remains the difficulty of *n ph·k*. I have merely guessed at the sense.

3, 4. *Imnyt* here is probably the word rendered *das Verborgene*, *das Geheimnis* in *Wb.* I, 84, 8, despite the absence of the determinative ; no good sense is obtainable by connecting it with the word for 'established offerings', *Wb.* I, 83, 7.—*Rwd m* with infinitive was a favourite expression with our writer, see below 4, 3. 10, and for two later examples see *Wb.* II, 412, 6.—For the future sense of *mntf ḫr·f šsp ḫwt* see Gunn, *Studies*, ch. 5; the periphrasis with *ḫr* is possibly due to the fact that *šsp ḫwt*, when the definite article was absent, as in *Harris*, 76, 1 (quoted above on 1, 1), was a stereotyped expression, cf. *ḫr·w nd ḥrt·k* in No. 100 of Gunn's chapter, from P. Bologna 1086, 6.

3, 5. In *ḫw·sn wḥw r ph·i*, if the suffix refers to *nn*, one would expect *st* rather than *sn*; *wḥ r* here and in 5, 5, as well as in a particularly clear case, *Max. d'Anii*, 10, 12, means 'be far from', but *Wb.* I, 245, 4–11 records nothing quite similar; *ph·i* 'reach me', i.e. perhaps 'come to my ears', but *ph* twice in 3, 3 has a different sense.—*Pḥwt* here is the equivalent of the more usual *pḥt tpt*, as in 2, 7 above.—In *nty m ts ntrw* grammar seems to demand that *ntrw* should be object of *ts* rather than subject; none the less, I think that the latter alternative should here be accepted, compare the use of *ts* in *its try·f nsyt n sḥ n sḥ·f* 'allot his kingship to the son of his son', words spoken to Amūn in *Harris*, 22, 11–12.

3, 6. The thought appears to be that whereas earlier kings were content with including the name of Amūn in their cartouches, the king who here speaks was an active benefactor in the Theban god's temple.—Two clauses follow which I cannot analyse, and where I merely guess at the meaning. If my guess is correct, *swḥ ḥr* must mean 'pass by' in the sense of 'escape my memory', cf. *Lowre*, C 14, 7.


3, 7–9. The next two lines appear to give, in exaggerated and partly very inappropriate language, praise of the utterance of Amūn which inaugurated the royal speaker's reign. There are grammatical difficulties, but in the main what we have here is a series

of exclamatory nouns each intended to describe the god's beneficence.—*Hrtw* can hardly be divided into *hr tw-i*, and is doubtless the strange word for a divine declaration for which *Wb.* III, 318, 5 gives a number of references, including one from 4, 9 below.—*Wšbt* ought strictly to mean an 'answer', but as *Wb.* I, 372, 12–14 has rightly seen, it often means little more than an 'utterance', this however exclusively in Late-Egyptian texts.—For *šcr* Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, II, gives one or two more references than are to be found in *Wb.* IV, 422, 1; it should be noted, however, that whereas here and elsewhere the word means 'promise' in a good sense, there are others (e.g. P.Mag.Harris, ed. Lange, p. 90) where it definitely signifies 'threats'; P.Bologna 1094, 2, 5 is ambiguous.—Under *tw*, the earlier form of *tw*, the meaning of the noun is given by *Wb.* V, 360, 1 as *Geschenk*, while *ibid.* 2 the verb is rendered *belohnen*. Here 'reward' seems more appropriate for the noun, as also even more clearly P.Ch.Beatty, IV, rt. 8, 6; also in the Will of Naunakhte, 3, 4 *twnw* has the same sense, though here Černý (*JEA* 31, 33, n. 1) takes *m twnw* as a single word, as it certainly is *ibid.*, pl. 2, l. 8; but against this we have simple *tw* in a similar context, Černý and Gardiner, *Hier. Ostr.*, pl. 52, 1, rt. 7.

3, 9–10. In my translation the words following the imperative *mī* have been rendered quite mechanically and, I fear, almost unintelligibly. Some might be tempted to emend *mī* <*r*> *hrw-i*, <*n*> *tw* <*n*> <*š*> *n-k*, <*ir*> *n hr-ib* 'come at my voice, turn thee to one who calls to thee, act for one who is contented', but the changes involved are far too drastic, and the sense remains poor. It is also uncertain whether the auxiliary *ir* is here a relative form, and whether its subject *hm-f* refers to Amūn or to the king. Towards the end of 3, 10 *hwt-i* must surely allude to the king's mortuary temple on the west of Thebes.

4, 1. Here *šsmw*, unlike the similarly written word of 2, 8; 3, 3; 4, 9, undoubtedly means 'portrait' or 'image', see *Wb.* IV, 291, 9; for *tīt*, see *Wb.* V, 239, 4.—Later in this line *šhprw* appears to be parallel to *inw*, and if so must designate things, not persons. In that case  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$  would be expected as the determinative rather than  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ . *Wb.* IV, 242, 18 knows only the present example and that below in 4, 7, where human beings are certainly meant and where the suggested rendering *Geschöpfe* (*des Gottes*) may not be far wide of the mark. To this *Wb.* example must be added *nry-k snw nry-k šhprw* 'thy brothers and thy offspring (?)', Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 14, 9 and *X p; šhprw n s;w pr-ḥd Y* 'X the offspring (?) of the guardian of the treasury Y', P.Brit.Mus. 10052 (ed. Peet), 4, 20. But as adumbrated at the beginning of this note, there exists another word *šhprw* which is a designation, not of persons, but of things. Of this second word the only examples hitherto pointed out are in two marriage contracts of Bubastite date (quoted *JEA* 26, 157) where it is found in parallelism with *m'd* 'profit' and may suitably be translated 'increment'. Černý has now pointed out to me two Ramesside ostraca where matrimonial arrangements are likewise in question, and where the prospective husband swears that if he fails in his duties he will submit to be  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$  'deprived of any increment which I shall make with her'; the text here is quoted from our *Hier. Ostr.*, pl. 64, no. 2; exactly the same formula occurs, though with some lacunae, *op. cit.*, pl. 49, no. 4, but there *šhprw* is doubtless wrongly written  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$  *sphrw*, a curious metathesis. Lastly, in the Bilgai stela, l. 15, we read



this writing is explained as an unusual use of the suffix-pronoun. Note that in  of 4, 7 the old form of the dependent pronoun is retained, see my *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 89, top.

4, 7. *Shprw*, see above on 4, 1.—The participle in *wnw dy* must refer to past time, and the king's predecessors on the throne may well have been meant.—As it stands, *pꜣ ir-k hprw* seems a very fatuous remark, but *pꜣ ir-k* must here be a loose equivalent for 'what thou hast planned'.


4, 8. The definite article in *pꜣ hrw kꜣ* is not easy to explain; does it refer to the famous lifetime of 110 years? The form *idi-k* cannot be the relative form, since if it were the added object *sw* would be contrary to rule; it must be the future form on which I commented *Late-Egyptian Stories*, p. 84a, n. 2, 11 b-c.—*Rn-k* must be understood to mean 'my name', the well-known mixture of *oratio recto* and *oratio obliqua*, see above, p. 10, n. 2.

4, 9. Though the *·k* of *mdt-k* has been cancelled in red by the scribe or his teacher, the parallelism of *mdt-k* and *hrtw-k* (for this see above the note on 3, 7–9) suggests that it ought to be retained.—The word *sšmw* here is written exactly like that rendered 'nature' in 2, 8; 3, 3, but appears to be the other *sšmw* which signifies 'portrait' or 'statue', but here employed in an abstract sense. See the note on 2, 8.

5, 1. The strange word that follows *wnw* is presumably a miswriting of *nty* commented on above under 3, 1.

5, 2. I have found it impossible to guess in what connexion the high officers of the court and the magistracy ('the Thirty') were here mentioned.

5, 3–8. For the possibility that these lines contained allusions to the harem conspiracy against Ramesses III, see above, p. 9.

5, 2–3. Probably restore here ; for *cm* used transitively, see *Wb.* I, 184, 19.—*Gwš*, in Coptic doubtless  $\sigma\omega\sigma\gamma\sigma$  with assimilation of the third radical to the first, 'crooked', the opposite of *rkꜣ*, see *Wb.* v, 160, 12–161, 3; probably used as a substantive also P.Ch.Beatty, IV, vs. 1, 8–9, where, however, the context is broken; it is broken also in P.jud.Turin, 2, 9, which is important in view of my proposed interpretation of the present passage.

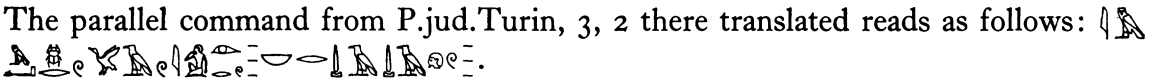
5, 3–4. Perhaps we should restore here 


5, 4. Before *mdn·f* the preposition *hr* must be supplied, see above, on 3, 2.—In *sndm* the determinative of the child is obviously inappropriate, though regularly used when *sndm* has the meaning 'sit', properly 'make oneself comfortable'.

5, 5. *Wꜣ r*, literally 'be far from', see above on 3, 5. For *ꜣšk* both the Semitic original and the passages quoted *Wb.* I, 230 suggest 'extortions' or 'oppressions' as the most suitable rendering. But it remains obscure to whom 'them' and 'their' refers, and whether the oppressions were inflicted by or upon them.



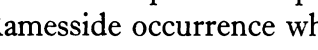
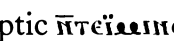

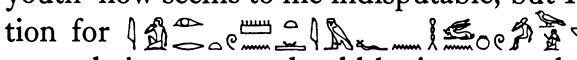

5, 7. *Gꜣsꜣ* (or *gs*) is a very rare word, but the two examples quoted *Wb.* v, 156, 1 leave no doubt as to its meaning. For *inn* 'if' see Černý's article *JEA* 27, 108–9, but no use with following passive *šdm·f* is there quoted.



5, 8. The suffix of the 1st pers. after *int* seems very improbable. Perhaps emend *int·w* 'I will not bring them'. The following sentence has been discussed above, p. 9.

The parallel command from P.jud.Turin, 3, 2 there translated reads as follows: 

5, 9. For the probable significance of the epithet  see above, p. 8. 'Ruler of Justice' sounds strange in English, but we can barely render otherwise; I presume the expression to mean one who rules in accordance with Justice.

5, 10. In the preceding line the suffix 2nd sing. referred to Amūn, since that of 1st pers. clearly referred to the king. Here, however, the position is perhaps reversed since it is Amūn's name, not the king's, that is meant in the phrase *n rn·k* 2, 3; 4, 8.

5, 11. The word  here is undoubtedly that of which *Wb.* II, 65, 6–8, translating *die Art und Weise*, gives a not wholly satisfactory account. As Vogelsang (*Untersuchungen*, VI, 172) first pointed out, this is the feminine counterpart of *mn* 'such and such' a person and consequently, in its most concrete examples, e.g. *Westcar*, 8, 17; *Louvre*, C 1, 11, means 'such a thing' or 'the like'. In *Peasant*, B 1, 231 it is possible to render *mk tw m mnt iry* either as Vogelsang did *Siehe, du bist auch so etwas* or else, as my own translation preferred, 'Behold, thou art in like case'. The transition to the more abstract sense 'sort' or 'kind' is complete in Coptic , and in *Proc. SBA* 38, 181–3 I called attention to a Ramesside occurrence where  signifies 'four of this kind' exactly like Coptic . There remain, however, some examples where *mnt* is preceded by *iri* 'make', and followed by *m* + suffix-pronoun and where, though the general intention is clear, the development is far from easy to grasp. Relatively simple is the instance in the famous stela of Ḥarwerrēc (*Inscr. Sinai*<sup>2</sup>, pl. 25 A, no. 90, l. 5) where  may be freely rendered 'I have seen it indeed, I have experienced the like in my own case.' *Anast.* I, 1, 3 is much more difficult to explain: the meaning 'there is none like him, one takes him as a pattern for every youth' now seems to me indisputable, but I am at a loss to find a precise literal translation for . It appears evident, however, that the example in our text should be interpreted along the same lines, and I propose, therefore, to restore [, at the end of 5, 10.

5, 12. This concluding line is utterly obscure, but it seems desirable to comment upon its component words. It seems unlikely that the opening *hr n* has anything to do with the expression meaning 'to lack' recorded *Wb.* I, 220, 4–5. *Fry tp* is known to *Wb.* I, 573, 1–3 almost exclusively in a hostile sense, but Černý has shown me in *Late Ramesside Letters*, 17, 13 an example of *fry dꜥdꜥ* (so written out, not *tp*) where 'lift the head' has the undoubted sense 'be cheered'.—Two examples of the rare word *hty* occur in the same book (31, 15; 64, 3) in a wish that the recipient or the writer of the letter may be 'saved from every danger which is in the land' (*šd m-ꜥ hty nb nty m pꜥ tꜥ*). The sense 'danger' is not recognized by *Wb.* III, 182, 5–7, but seems certain; probably the word is identical with Coptic  'fear', the more so since the occasional determinative with  (see *Wb.* III, 182, 6 and one of the two cases above-quoted) connects the word with the Coptic homonym meaning 'moment', German *Augenblick*; see too the demotic spelling of the last-named word, Erichsen, *Dem. Glossar*, 338.—It is of course doubtful whether the following *hr* or *hr n* means 'on account of' as suggested in my translation. Also *hrwy* at the end of the line may be either the word for 'enemies' or that for 'war'.

## THE MAN WHO WAS TIRED OF LIFE

By R. O. FAULKNER

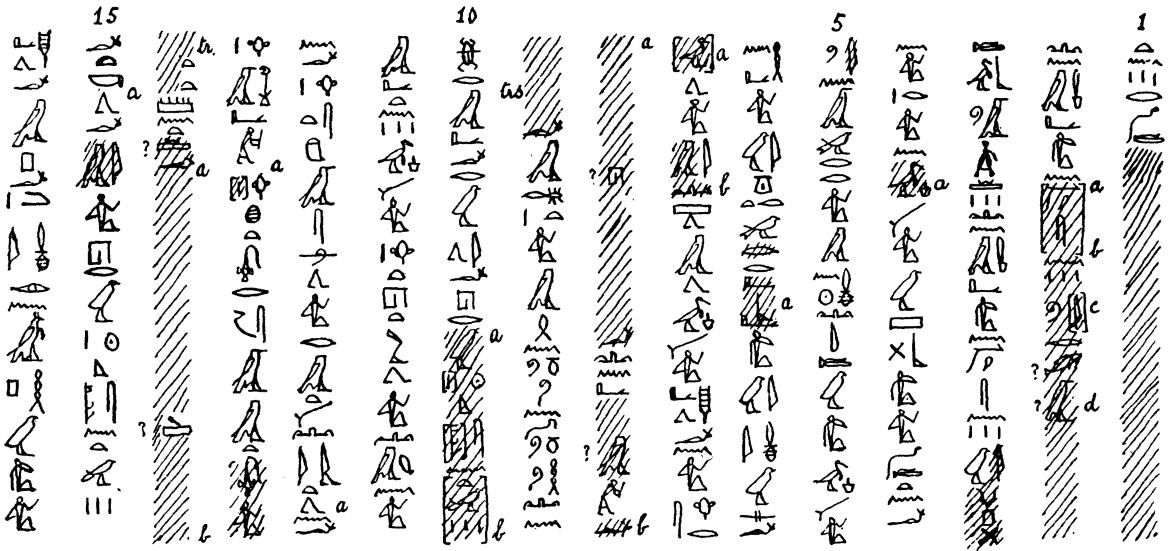
NOT the least remarkable of the literary pieces which have survived from Ancient Egypt is that contained in P. Berlin 3024, namely, a discussion between a man and his soul on the topic of suicide—to die or not to die. It was first published by Erman in 1896 under the title *Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele* in the *Abhandlungen* of the Prussian Academy, and this has remained the standard edition ever since. In 1924 Sethe printed very considerable extracts from the text in his *Aegyptische Lesestücke*, and in 1937 Scharff published a fresh translation and commentary in *Der Bericht über das Streitgespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele* in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy. Shortly after the end of the last war Weill studied the text in *Bull. Inst. fr.* 45, 89 ff., and de Buck turned to the same topic in *Kernmomenten 'Ex Oriente Lux', Mededeelingen en Verhandelingen*, no. 7, 19 ff., an article in Dutch evaluating the composition but avoiding textual and philological discussion; see also Junker in *Anz. Akad. Wien*, 1948, 219 ff. Translations without commentary published in collections of literary texts are those of Erman, *Die Literatur der Aegypter*, 122 ff., Englished by Blackman in *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, 86 ff., and of Wilson in Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 405 ff. But an attempt to use this text for teaching purposes has convinced me that the last word on the topic is as yet far from having been said; the time therefore seemed ripe to attempt a fresh version, which it is hoped will stimulate others to advance our understanding of the text yet further. In this attempt I have had a certain advantage; my copy of Erman's edition was presented to me more than twenty years ago by Sir Alan Gardiner, and in it I found pencilled notes by him on some of the more difficult passages. I have made full use of these, and due acknowledgements will be found from time to time in the Commentary below. The hieroglyphic transcription on pp. 22 ff. is based on the excellent photographs printed in Erman's edition, and provides a certain number of new readings, some of which are again due to Gardiner, as the textual notes will show. In the discussion which follows comment is mainly confined to the detailed studies of Erman, Scharff, and Weill.

### Translation

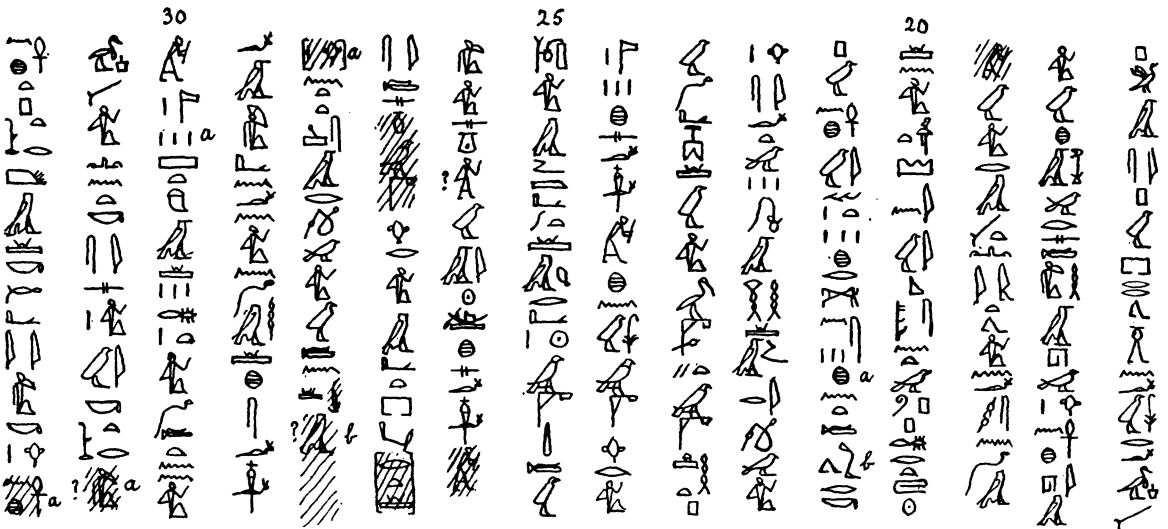
(1) . . . you in order (?) to say . . . (2) . . . [the]ir [tongues] cannot question (?),<sup>1</sup> for it will [be crookedness (?)]<sup>2</sup> . . . (3) payments, their tongues cannot question (?).<sup>3</sup>

I opened (4) my mouth to my soul, that I might answer what it had said: (5) This is too much for me today, that my soul does not argue (6) with me;<sup>4</sup> it is too great for exaggeration,<sup>5</sup> it is as if one ignored (7) me.<sup>6</sup> Let my soul not depart, that it may attend to it for me<sup>7</sup> (8) . . . . . (9) . . . in my body like a net of cord,<sup>8</sup> (10) but it will not succeed in escaping the day of trouble.<sup>9</sup> (11) Behold, my soul misleads me,<sup>10</sup> but I do not listen (12) to it; draws me towards death<sup>11</sup> ere (I)<sup>12</sup> have come to it (13) and casts <me><sup>13</sup> on the fire to burn me . . . (14) . . . . . (15) it<sup>14</sup> approaches me on the

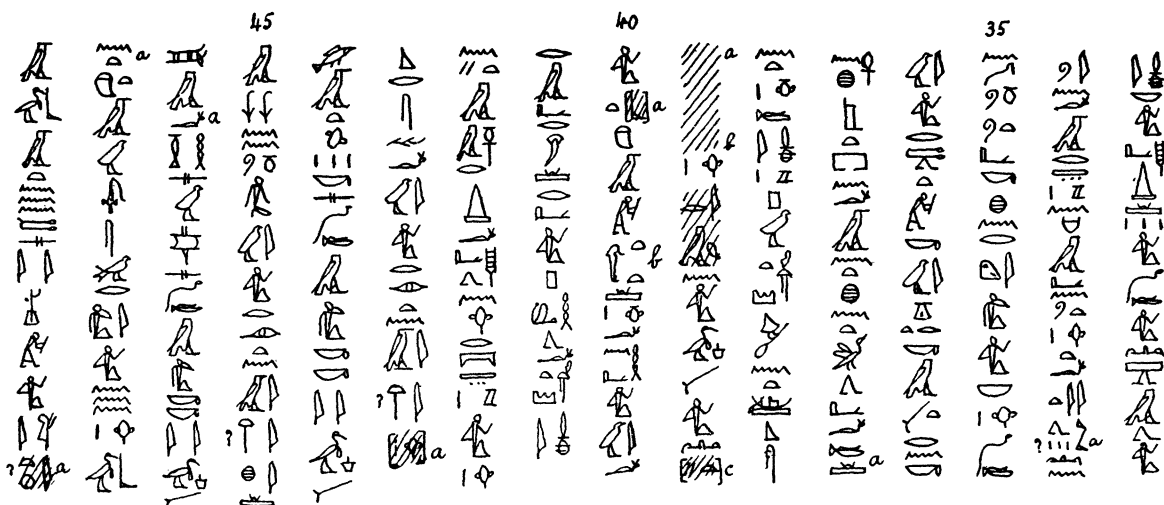




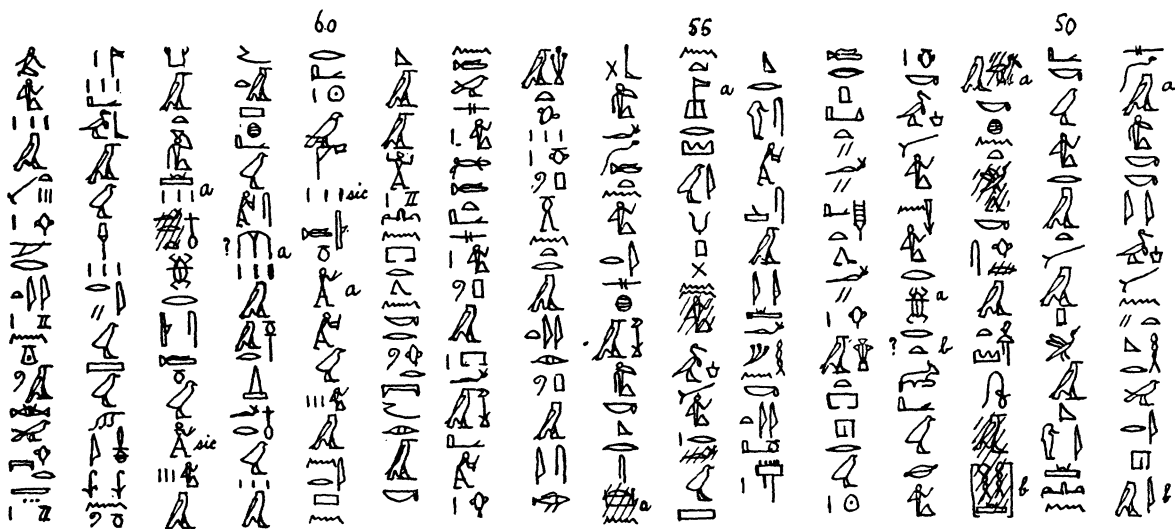
2a-b. Restored from l. 3. 2c-d. For *iw* without subject of l. 6 (*his*). 4a. Cf. below *passim*. For the reading, cf. Möller *Hier. Pal. I*, 209. 6a. There is only the slightest trace of *l*, but the word is hardly doubtful. 7a. The space is small for *-t* but not impossibly so. 7b. A trace only; the reading is due to *sethe*. 8a-b. Only a few signs legible; the rest is indecipherable or entirely destroyed. 10a-b. Restored from l. 15. 12a. Suffix 1st sing. omitted. 13a. Suffix 1st sing. omitted. 14a-b. Destroyed except for indecipherable traces. 15a. Reads *tk(n)*.



21a-f. Read *l* *l* *l* *l* *l* *l*. 28a. Restoration due to Gardiner. 28b. A trace only. There follows a lacuna of 1½-2 cms. in which a masculine word for 'burden' (*sthu*?) should probably be restored. 30a. Almost certainly so to be read rather than *mn*, which yields but poor sense. 31a. The traces are indecisive, but only one sign is involved, and it is hard to see what else it could be. 32a. So Gardiner, certainly rightly.



34a. The plural strokes are according to Brman, who had access to the original, but on the photograph there are visible only some indefinite marks. 37a. Omission of the fem. ending. 39 a-f. Indecipherable traces. 39c. So Scharff. 40 a. So Scharff; see note 38 to the translation. 40f. So Gardiner; the lower  $\Delta$  appears to be prolonged into a ligature with  $\overline{\text{m}}$ , thus giving rise to the reading  $\overline{\text{h}}$  of Brman, Sethe and Scharff. Since the final  $\Delta$  of this stem is a strong radical, it would certainly take precedence of the weak medial  $\overline{\text{w}}$ , and in fact the latter is more often ignored than written. 43a. So Scharff. 46a. For  $\overline{\text{m}}$  read probably  $\overline{\text{m}}$ . 47a. *Sic*, read  $\overline{\text{ntj}}$ . 48a. So Scharff, probably rightly.



49a. Read  $\overline{\text{sd(d)m}}$  as above. 49b. Read  $\overline{\text{ihm}}$  as in l. 18. 51a. Reading due to Gardiner. 51b. Restoration indicated by  $\overline{\text{ib.k}}$  following. 52 a-b. Apparently so, but Gardiner suggests that the ligature may have been intended for  $\overline{\text{hpr m}}$ , which was almost certainly the original reading. See note 41 to the translation. 55a. The top of  $\overline{\text{h}}$  is written over the  $\Delta$  above. 56a. Reading due to Gardiner. 60a. For  $\overline{\text{At}}$ ; so also in  $\overline{\text{skdw}}$  below, l. 62. 61a.  $\overline{\text{h}}$ ; reading first suggested by Brman. 62a. So Gardiner rightly as against Brman's  $\overline{\text{m}}$ .

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 70  
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 85




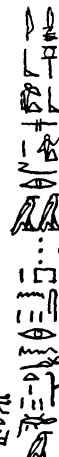

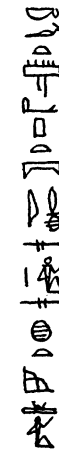





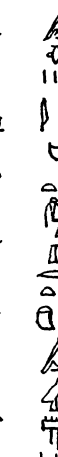
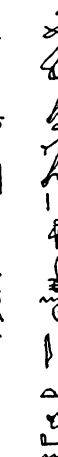

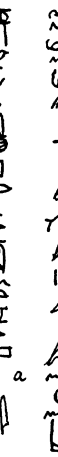

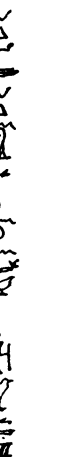
67a. Corrected over an erasure. 69a-b. *Sic*, read 34p. 74a. The *mn* recorded by Brumov is but the top stroke of the more detailed form of *hh*, see Möller, *Sier. Pal.* I, No. 192. 79a. Reading due to Gardiner.

85  
 90  
 95

81a. *Sic*. 81f. A word or words omitted. 82a. Hardly *mn*, see l. 84. 83a. Corrected over *mn*. 84a-b. Read probably *n.s* (87) with ellipse of an *h*. 89a. *Rst* (4) has been omitted. 92a-b. Confusion of *3aw* (l. 84) and *34dw*; the latter is to be read.


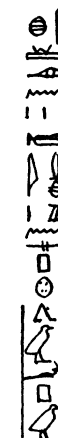
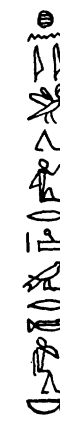
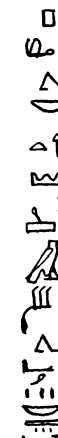
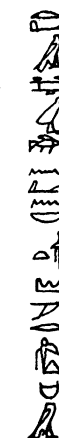
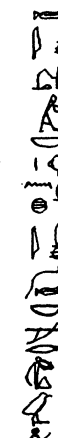



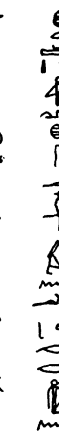

97a. *dic.* 101a-b. Ditto-graph 102a. Preposition *z* omitted 102b. Read probably *ly*, a *z* having been omitted (Yardiner).  
 104a. Not A (bman); for the sign of *stahhotep*, 277.279. 106a. Remainder of line left blank 111a. Preposition *m*.  
 omitted.

113a-b. Confusion of *ns* and *ns* owing to similarity of *Q* and *W* in hieratic; read *ht sw*. 117a. *dic.*, compare *dic.* B202.

130a.  130b.  130c.  130d.  130e.  130f.  130g.  130h.  130i.  130j.  130k.  130l.  130m.  130n.  130o.  130p.  130q. 

130a. *hr* is a later insertion. 130b-c. Read *min mi* as ll. 132, 134-5, 156, 138, 140-1. 131a-132a. Read *hmt*, cf. JEA 25, 220.

137a. A correction. 141a. Erasure of *hr*. 142a. An inexplicable insertion between ll. 141-2.

155.  156.  157.  158.  159.  160.  161.  162.  163.  164.  165. 

148a. *suffix*, 1st sing. omitted. 150a. *lic* (*gardiner*). 150b. *Emend into dd.i?* See Commentary, n. 115.

day of trouble and (16) it<sup>14</sup> stands on yonder side as does a . . .<sup>15</sup> (17) Such is he who goes forth that he may bring himself for him (?).<sup>16</sup> O my soul, (18) who art too stupid to ease (?) misery in life<sup>17</sup> and yet holdest me back (19) from death<sup>18</sup> ere I come to it, sweeten (20) the West for me.<sup>19</sup> Is it (too much) trouble? Yet life is a (21) transitory state, and even trees fall. Trample (22) on wrong, for my misery endures.<sup>20</sup> (23) May Thoth who pacifies the gods judge me; (24) may Khons defend me, (25) even he who writes truly; may Rē<sup>c</sup> hear my plaint, (26) even he who commands (?)<sup>21</sup> the Solar Bark; may (27) Isdes<sup>22</sup> defend me in the Holy Chamber<sup>23</sup> . . . (28) . . . because the needy one (?) is weighed down with (?) [the burden (?)] (29) which he has lifted up for me;<sup>24</sup> it is pleasant that (30) the gods<sup>25</sup> should ward off the secret (thoughts)<sup>26</sup> of my body.

What my soul said to me: (31) Art thou not a man?<sup>27</sup> Indeed thou art (32) alive,<sup>28</sup> but what doest thou profit?<sup>29</sup> Yet thou yearnest for life<sup>30</sup> (33) like a man of wealth.

I said: I have not gone,<sup>31</sup> (34) (even though) that is on the ground.<sup>32</sup> Indeed thou leapest away (?), but thou wilt (35) not be cared for.<sup>33</sup> Every prisoner says: (36) 'I will take thee', but thou art dead,<sup>34</sup> though thy name (37) lives. Yonder<sup>35</sup> is a resting-place attractive (?)<sup>36</sup> (38) to the heart; the West is a dwelling-place,<sup>37</sup> rowing (39) . . . face. If my guiltless soul<sup>38</sup> listens to me (40) and its heart is in accord with me, it will (41) be fortunate, for I will cause it to attain the West, like (42) one who is in his pyramid, to whose burial a survivor attended. (43) I will . . .<sup>39</sup> [over?] (44) thy corpse, so that thou makest another soul envious (?)<sup>40</sup> (45) in weariness (?).<sup>41</sup> I will . . .,<sup>39</sup> then (46) wilt thou not<sup>42</sup> be cold, so that thou makest envious (?) another soul (47) which is hot.<sup>43</sup> I will drink water at (48) the eddy, I will raise up shade (?), (49) so that thou makest envious (?) another soul which is hungry.<sup>44</sup> If (50) thou holdest me back<sup>45</sup> from death in this manner, (51) thou wilt find nowhere thou canst rest in the West. Be so kind, (52) my soul, my brother, as to become mine heir<sup>46</sup> (53) who shall make offering and stand at<sup>47</sup> the tomb (54) on the day of burial, that he may prepare (?)<sup>48</sup> a bier (55) for the necropolis.

My soul opened its mouth to me (56) that it might answer what I had said: If thou thinkest on burial, (57) it is a sad matter;<sup>49</sup> it is a bringer of weeping through making a man miserable; (58) it is taking a man from his house, he being cast upon the (59) high ground; nevermore wilt thou go up<sup>50</sup> that thou mayest see (60) the sun.<sup>51</sup> They who built in (61) granite and constructed halls (?)<sup>52</sup> in goodly pyramids with (62) fine work, when the builders became (63) gods their stelae were destroyed,<sup>53</sup> like the weary ones (64) who died on the river-bank through lack of a survivor, (65) the flood having taken its toll<sup>54</sup> (66) and the sun likewise, to whom talk the fishes (67) of the banks of the water.<sup>55</sup> Listen to me; behold, it is good for men to hear. (68) Follow the happy day and forget care.

A peasant (69) ploughed his plot<sup>56</sup> and loaded his harvest (70) aboard a ship, towing it<sup>57</sup> (71) when his time of festival drew near. He saw the coming of the darkness (72) of the norther,<sup>58</sup> for he was vigilant<sup>59</sup> in the boat (73) when the sun set.<sup>60</sup> He escaped (?)<sup>61</sup> with his wife (74) and children, but came to grief on a lake infested by (75) night with crocodiles.<sup>62</sup> At last he sat down (76) and broke silence,<sup>63</sup> saying: 'I weep not (77) for yonder mother,<sup>64</sup> who has no more going forth from the West (78) for another (term) upon earth; I sorrow rather for her children (79) broken in the egg, who have looked in the face of the crocodile-god (80) ere they have lived.'

A peasant<sup>65</sup> asked for a meal (81) and his wife said to him: 'There is . . .<sup>66</sup> for supper.' (82) And he went out to . . .<sup>67</sup> for a moment (83) and returned to his house as if he were someone else.<sup>68</sup> His wife (84) reasoned (?)<sup>69</sup> with him, but he would not listen to her; he . . .<sup>70</sup> (85) and the messengers were helpless (?).<sup>71</sup>

I opened (86) my mouth to my soul that I might answer what it had said:

Behold, (87) my name is detested,<sup>72</sup>

Behold,<sup>73</sup> more than the smell of vultures<sup>74</sup>

(88) On a summer's day when the sky is hot.

Behold, (89) my name is detested,  
 Behold, <more than the smell of><sup>75</sup> a catch of fish<sup>76</sup>  
 (90) On a day of catching when the sky is hot.

(91) Behold, my name is detested,  
 Behold, more than the smell of (92) ducks,<sup>77</sup>  
 More than a covert<sup>78</sup> of reeds<sup>79</sup> (93) full of waterfowl.

Behold, my name is detested,  
 (94) Behold, more than the smell of fishermen,  
 More than the creeks<sup>80</sup> (95) of the marshes where they have fished.

Behold, (96) my name is detested,  
 Behold, more than the smell of crocodiles,  
 (97) More than sitting by sandbanks (?)<sup>81</sup> full of crocodiles.

Behold, (98) my name is detested,  
 Behold, more than a woman  
 About whom lies are told (99) to a man.<sup>82</sup>

Behold, (100) my name is detested,  
 Behold, more than a sturdy child  
 Of whom it is said: (101) 'He belongs to his rival.'<sup>83</sup>

Behold, my name is detested,  
 (102) Behold, <more than><sup>84</sup> a town belonging to the monarch (?)<sup>85</sup>  
 Which mutters sedition (103) when his back is turned.<sup>86</sup>

To whom can I speak today?  
 Brothers are evil  
 (104) And the friends of today unlovable.<sup>87</sup>

To whom can I speak (105) today?  
 Hearts are rapacious  
 And everyone takes (106) his neighbour's goods.

<To whom can I speak today?><sup>88</sup>  
 (107) Gentleness<sup>89</sup> has perished  
 And the violent man has come down on (108) everyone.

To whom can I speak today?  
 Men are contented with evil<sup>90</sup>  
 (109) And goodness is neglected<sup>91</sup> everywhere.

To whom can I speak (110) today?  
 He who should enrage<sup>92</sup> a man by his ill deeds,  
 He makes (111) everyone laugh <by><sup>93</sup> his wicked wrongdoing.

To whom can I speak (112) today?  
 Men plunder  
 And every man robs his neighbour.

(113) To whom can I speak today?  
 The wrongdoer<sup>94</sup> (114) is an intimate friend  
 And the brother with whom one used to act is become (115) an enemy.

To whom can I speak today?

None remember the past

(116) And no one now helps him who used to do (good).<sup>95</sup>

To whom can I speak today,

(117) Brothers are evil

And men have recourse to<sup>96</sup> (118) strangers for affection (?).<sup>97</sup>

To whom can I speak today?

Faces (119) are averted

And every man looks askance at<sup>98</sup> (120) his brethren.

To whom can I speak today?

Hearts are rapacious

(121) And there is no man's heart in which one can trust.<sup>99</sup>

To whom can I speak (122) today?

There are no just persons

And the land is left over to<sup>100</sup> (123) the doers of wrong.

To whom can I speak today (?)

There is lack (124) of an intimate friend

And men have recourse to someone unknown (125) in order to complain<sup>101</sup> to him.

To whom can I speak today?

There is no (126) contented man

And that person who once walked with him no longer (127) exists.

To whom can I speak today?

I am heavy-laden (128) with trouble

Through lack of an intimate friend.

(129) To whom can I speak today?

The wrong which roams the earth,<sup>102</sup>

(130) There is no end to it.

Death is in my sight today

⟨As when⟩<sup>103</sup> (131) a sick man becomes well,

Like going out-of-doors after detention.<sup>104</sup>

(132) Death is in my sight today

Like the smell of myrrh,

(133) Like sitting under an awning<sup>105</sup> (134) on a windy day.

Death is in my sight today

(135) Like the perfume of lotuses,

Like sitting on the shore (136) of the Land of Drunkenness.

Death is in my sight today

Like (137) a trodden way,<sup>106</sup>

As when a man returns (138) home<sup>107</sup> from an expedition.

Death is in my sight today

Like (139) the clearing of the sky,

Like a man who . . . (140) . . . for (?) something which he knows not.<sup>108</sup>



Death is in my sight today  
(141) as when a man desires to see home<sup>107</sup>  
When he has spent many years (142) in captivity.

Verily, he who is yonder<sup>109</sup> will be a living god,  
(143) Averting the ill of him who does it.

Verily, (144) he who is yonder will be one who stands in the Bark of the Sun,  
Causing choice things to be given (145) therefrom for the temples.

Verily, he who is yonder will be a sage  
(146) Who will not be prevented from appealing to (147) Rēc when he speaks.<sup>110</sup>

What my soul said to me: (148) Cast complaint upon the peg (?),<sup>111</sup> my comrade<sup>112</sup> (149) and brother; make offering on the brazier<sup>113</sup> (150) and cleave unto life,<sup>114</sup> according as I (?) have said.<sup>115</sup> Desire me (151) here,<sup>116</sup> thrust thou aside the West,<sup>117</sup> but desire (152) that thou mayest attain the West when thy body goes to earth,<sup>118</sup> (153) that I may alight after thou art weary; (154) then will we make an abode together.<sup>119</sup>

IT IS FINISHED (155) FROM ITS BEGINNING TO ITS END, JUST AS IT WAS FOUND IN WRITING.

### Commentary

<sup>1</sup> Scharff renders *nm̄c* as 'parteiisch'; it is true that in a number of instances *nm̄c* undoubtedly means 'be onesided (in judgement)', e.g. *Peas.* B2, 104; *Lesestücke*, 79, 19; *Siut*, pl. 5, 249; *Urk.* IV, 971, 14, but in *Urk.* I, 78, 2 the sense seems rather to be 'to question' someone (so Gunn, *Syntax*, 47 [2]), and this rendering suits the present situation, where *nm̄c* is an activity of the tongue. Erman and Weill do not venture on a translation of these fragmentary first three lines.

<sup>2</sup> Restoring tentatively as *iw r h̄[bb]*; *iw* without expressed subject occurs again in l. 6. *H̄bb* 'crookedness' is a pure guess, but appears to fit the context; for the word cf. *JEA* 9, 11, n. 8.

<sup>3</sup> The next clause shows that a speech by the soul ends here.

<sup>4</sup> A strange remark, as arguing is apparently just what the soul has been doing; the point of this comment must lie in the preceding speech by the soul, which is almost entirely lost. For the sense of *mdw h̄nc̄*, which, as Scharff has seen, must carry a stronger colouring here than the baldly literal 'speak with', cf. *ZÄS* 57, 3\*; *Urk.* IV, 1114, 17; Weill renders 'que mon âme ne parle pas d'accord avec moi', so also Junker, op. cit. 220, but the context shows that the speaker complains not that the soul merely disagrees with him, but that it appears to ignore what he has to say.

<sup>5</sup> *Iw wr r c̄bc̄* 'it is too great for exaggeration'; for this use of *r* cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> § 163, 7; another instance *P. Kah.* 3, 33. Weill's 'vraiment cela outrepatte le vraisemblable' is a paraphrase rather than an exact translation, but conveys the sense of the passage.










<sup>6</sup> Regarding *wsf* with Scharff as a transitive infinitive with objective suffix; for the transitive use of this verb cf. *Urk.* IV, 353, 8; *Amarna*, v, 26, 22. Weill's 'c'est comme une forfaiture' ignores the suffix after *wsf*, which he mistranslates; Junker has 'das heißt mich im Stiche lassen'.

<sup>7</sup> For *c̄hc̄ hr̄* 'attend to' see *JEA* 17, 59 (30). The following l. 8 is hopelessly damaged.

<sup>8</sup> Scharff 'Seil und Strick', Weil 'en liens et cordes', but the meaning 'net' for *šnw* is well established, cf. *Adm.* 2, 13; *Urk.* IV, 2, 16; 659, 4.

<sup>9</sup> Lit. 'there will not come to pass by its hand that it escape the day of trouble'; so already Gardiner. The construction is the future negation *nn šdm:f* with a verbal noun-clause as subject; for *rwi* in the sense of 'escape' cf. *Textes rel.* 19, 21. Scharff renders as 'Nicht gibt es einen Tatkräftigen, der sich am Tage der Trübsal (seines Freundes) davonmacht!', taking *nn hpr* . . . as a non-existential clause with participial subject, and Gunn, *Syntax*, 145 (38), adopts a similar view, but this gives a much poorer sense; the clause surely refers to the soul and not to a vague external person. Weill's 'sans qu'il se produise, de sa part, qu'elle fuie au jour de malheur' approaches more closely the rendering adopted here.

<sup>10</sup> *M·tn bꜛ:i hr tht·i* 'Behold, my soul misleads me'; for the sense of *th* cf. *Sin.* B 148. 202; *Peas.* B 1, 281. Weill 'mon âme me violente'; Junker 'greift mich an'.

<sup>11</sup> *Hr stꜛ:i r mt* clearly continues *hr tht·i* in l. 11 and must therefore describe the soul's activities, so too *hr hꜛ<i> hr ht* next following. Weill has seen this, but Scharff's 'wenn ich dem Tode zustrebe . . . wenn ich mich ins Feuer stürze' overlooks the parallelism with *hr tht·i* and also would require *iw·i* before *hr stꜛ:i*. At the same time it must be admitted that the text is contradictory; here the man accuses his soul of dragging him to death, but in ll. 18–20 he complains that it hinders his departure; in ll. 31–33 the soul is caustic over the man's clinging to life, yet in ll. 56 ff. it is expansive on the undesirability of death, and in ll. 148 ff. it advocates clinging to life. Perhaps this is the author's way of indicating the vacillation of purpose in the man's mind, swinging first one way and then another and postponing a decision. The writing of *stꜛ* 'drag' as  here and in l. 70 is paralleled by  *Sin.* B 230; the intrusive  is probably to be explained from the Pyramid Texts. In  *Pyr.* 1070 the door-bolt and the draw-cord usually shown as  have been separated; in other variants from the same source  has been treated as a phonogram for *stꜛ* and the door-bolt added as determinative, cf.  *Pyr.* 685;  *Pyr.* 245; evidently by the Middle Kingdom the significance of the bolt-determinative had been forgotten and the sign came to be regarded as equivalent to , though it is unlikely that the pseudo-*s* was ever pronounced. Junker's version is close to Scharff's.

<sup>12</sup> Suffix 1st sing. omitted, read *n iit·i n:f*. Weill has not realized this, and translates '(la mort) qui n'est pas encore venue', but in l. 19 the same expression shows the suffix.

<sup>13</sup> The objective suffix 1st sing. must be supplied after *hꜛ*.

<sup>14</sup> The suffixes in *tk<n>f* . . . *hꜛ:f* presumably refer to the soul. Both Scharff and Weill interpret these two clauses as wishes, I think wrongly; they seem to me to continue the description of the activities of the soul.

<sup>15</sup> *Nhꜛpw* is a word of unknown meaning. Weill renders it 'Formateur' as name of Thoth, see note *d* in his Commentary, but I cannot follow him; there seems no reason for associating either *nhꜛpw* here or *in:f sw* in l. 17 with Thoth or any other deity.

<sup>16</sup> An obscure sentence with a characteristically Egyptian ambiguity of pronouns. Perhaps the sense is 'Such is the soul who goes forth that he may bring himself for the man's benefit', recalling the visits of the *bꜛ* to the corpse after death, but even so the

passage remains well-nigh incomprehensible. For the sense of *ps . . . pw*, cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> § III. Scharff does not venture on a rendering; Weill has 'celui-là même qui se manifeste pour être l'*Apporteur*', in accordance with his note *d* already referred to. Erman's and Gardiner's versions approximate to that given here, and the latter further suggests that the whole passage from *tk(n)f* to *in:f sw r:f* may refer to the proper conduct to be expected of a *bs*.

<sup>17</sup> The man complains that the soul is unable to help him in life and yet restrains him from death, and is indeed quite ineffective. The verb *sdh* apparently occurs only here, and the meaning assigned to it is not quite certain. Scharff's rendering 'es ist töricht, eines Lebensmüden überreden zu wollen (??)', taking *whs* as an adjectival predicate before *r* and infinitive, cannot be defended; Weill has 'Mon âme, il est insensé de déprimer [davantage encore] un homme lassé de la vie'; for his view of this and the next passage see *Bull. Inst. fr.* 45, 107.

<sup>18</sup> Accepting Scharff's interpretation of *ihm wi r mt* as against 'urgest me to death' or the like of Gardiner, Erman, and Weill; see also Smither in *JEA* 25, 220. The point is that the soul's contribution to solving the problem is quite useless.

<sup>19</sup> The speaker appeals to his soul to act sensibly and to smooth his passage to the next world.

<sup>20</sup> Weill regards the suffix in *msr·i* 'my misery' as a determinative, and renders the passage 'Passe par-dessus la coupable erreur, [pour] soutenir l'infortuné', see also his note *h*, but I much doubt if *whs* can bear the sense 'soutenir'. Surely a better sense is obtained if *whs* is regarded as intransitive here, with *msr·i* as subject.

<sup>21</sup>  $\overline{\text{D}} \text{A}$  only here; the meaning assigned to it is a guess based on the determinative. Weill renders 'l'assembleur', see his note *i*; Scharff's suggestion that it may represent *sgr* 'make quiet, calm' does not seem to fit with the determinative, though Sethe (*Erläuterungen z. d. aeg. Lesestücken*, 62) takes a similar line ('zur Ruhe weist?').

<sup>22</sup> On the god *Isds* see Scharff, p. 19, n. 36; Boylan, *Thoth*, 201 ff.

<sup>23</sup> *ct dsrt* 'the Holy Chamber' in this context is surely the celestial Hall of Judgement, where the man's appeal to the gods to judge and defend him will be acted on; to identify it with the place of embalming, as Scharff suggests, is to make the mention of it pointless here.

<sup>24</sup> Scharff 'meine Not lastet . . . , die sie (die Seele?) (sonst) für mich getragen hat'; Weill 'Ma misère est lourde . . . qu'elle (? l'âme?) a portée pour moi'. I feel, however, that a better sense is obtained if  $\text{I} \text{A} \overline{\text{D}} \text{A}$  be read as 'the needy one' and regarded as the antecedent of the suffix in *f·n·f*; after *wdn* is a trace which I hesitatingly read as instrumental  $\text{A}$ . I must admit, however, that it is far from clear who the 'needy one' is; perhaps it refers to the speaker himself. Certainly the suffix in *f·n·f* must refer to an active agent, and *srr* is the only one available; for *wdn* used of persons who are overburdened cf. *Wb.* I, 390, 7. If my view of this sentence is correct, then in the lacuna after *wdn m* we must restore a masculine word for 'burden' to agree with the following relative form, and the obvious choice is *stpw*, for which see *Peas.* B I, 259; P.Kah. 30, 38; *Adm.* I, 2; 5, 12; p. 100.

<sup>25</sup> Reading  $\overline{\text{I}} \text{I}$  with Scharff rather than Erman's and Sethe's  $\overline{\text{I}} \text{I}$ , though they too

have seen that 𐌹𐌿𐌿 is what is needed here. The straight dash for the plural strokes is not rare; in our text again ll. 61, 62.

<sup>26</sup> Implying that the 'secret thoughts' were unpleasant, which is what one might expect.

<sup>27</sup> So Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> § 491. Scharff and Weill are in substantial agreement with this rendering. Erman's 'Du bist nicht eine Person' misses the point of this sentence, which is a somewhat sarcastic question.

<sup>28</sup> The lacuna after 𐌹𐌿 consists of one sign only; the traces are obscure, but 𐌹 seems the only possibility. This is a common determinative of the particle *tr*, see the examples quoted by Gardiner, *op. cit.* § 495, p. 405. Scharff assumes that a whole word is lost, and renders as 'Bist du denn . . . solange du lebst', but his version demands too great a lacuna, and that here given yields excellent sense. Weill regards this clause as a question and the next as a statement, which is the exact opposite of the real situation.

<sup>29</sup> Lit. 'What is thy profit?'; for this sense of *km* cf. *Peas.* B 1, 182, 203; *Millingen*, 1, 5, 11; *Brit. Mus.* 826, 7 = de Buck, *Reading-book*, 113, 16. Scharff (so also Sainte Fare Garnot, *JEA* 35, 65 (11), discussing *Brit. Mus.* 826) wrongly takes *km* to mean 'aim' 'purpose', following a suggestion by Sethe, *Erläuterungen*, 62, and thus misses the point of the question.

<sup>30</sup> Gardiner's reading 𐌹𐌿𐌿 for the damaged word at the bottom of l. 32 fits the context so exactly as to carry conviction. Scharff has no suggestion to offer; Weill renders 'et tu prends souci de [sépulture] comme un maître des trésors'.

<sup>31</sup> Certainly so; Scharff's rendering 'Ich kann nicht (von hinnen) gehen' would require *n šm-n-i*. Weill's version 'Je ne veux point m'en aller' is likewise inadmissible.

<sup>32</sup> Meaning probably 'my wealth has vanished', taking *nfʒ* as referring back to *hw* in l. 33. Scharff's 'solange (die Frage) des Jenseits nicht geklärt ist' is over-free and seems also to miss the point: he, as also Weill, takes *nfʒ* in the sense of 'yonder place', 'the other world', a permissible rendering, see l. 37 below, but one which does not suit the present context. He has overlooked the fact that here we have *iw* + a noun-equivalent (*nfʒ*) + adverbial predicate in a subordinate clause, an exceptional usage which implies a strong contrast or the like (Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> § 117); the point is surely that the speaker has not yet departed this life *although* he has lost everything. He is in fact refuting the soul's accusation that he clings to life like a rich man.

<sup>33</sup> Scharff in his 'Der gewaltsame Entführer (?) nimmt fort, ohne sich um dich zu kümmern' and Weill in 'Le ravisseur qui enlève violemment, sans se soucier de toi' have both completely misunderstood this sentence. *Nhmn tw hr tfyt* consists of non-enclitic particle + pronominal subject + *hr* + infinitive, a perfectly straightforward construction in which the only doubtful point is the meaning of *tfyt*, here clearly an intransitive verb the sense of which is suggested by *Wb.* v, 298, 10; the next clause consists of the future negation *nm šdm-f* in the passive. The soul may run away, but it will not reap any benefit by so doing.

<sup>34</sup> Erman, Sethe (*Lesestücke*, 44, 13) and Scharff all emend *iw grt-k mt* into *iw grt (hrt)-k mt*, but the emendation is not necessary and spoils the sense; for a suffix attached to an enclitic particle cf. *n-m tr-k ii* 'who art thou that hast come?', *Urk.* v,

148, 3, quoted by Gardiner, *op. cit.* § 256, end. Gardiner suggests in a note that all this passage from *nhmn tw* onward may describe the abandoned state of the soul which does not accompany its owner after death; every prisoner would like to get hold of it, but it is as good as dead. This view is confirmed by ll. 39 ff., where are described the benefits accruing to the soul which does not desert its owner.

<sup>35</sup> Here *nf* certainly refers to the world beyond, the demonstrative subject, lit. 'that (yonder)', following its nominal predicate in accordance with the normal rule.

<sup>36</sup> *ƒd*, the meaning of which is obscure, is shown by the following *nt* to be a feminine word from which the ending *-t* has been omitted, and it is probably an adjective qualifying *st nt hnt* 'resting-place'. Scharff, in his comment on this passage, suggests taking *ƒd(t)* here as the infinitive of *ƒd* 'lead' to a place, *Westcar*, 7, 26, translating literally as 'das Jenseits ist die Stätte des sich Niederlassens und des Hinführens des Herzens'; in his final translation he renders as '. . . wo man sich niederläßt, wo es das Herz hinzieht (?)', but this does not yield very good sense. Since *ƒd* here and *ƒd* 'lead' of *Westcar* are spelt exactly alike, Scharff is probably right in assuming a connexion between them, but a better sense can be obtained by regarding *ƒd(t)* as a participle and by translating literally 'a resting-place-which-leads of the heart', i.e. a resting-place 'attractive' to the heart.

<sup>37</sup> Weill's translation of *dmi pw imnt* as 'c'est la ville de l'Occident' would demand a genitive *n* after *pw*.

<sup>38</sup> Scharff's reading *bꜛi iw[ty] [b]tꜛ* is almost certainly correct; the fact that *btꜛ* normally has  $\text{𓆎}$  for determinative instead of  $\text{𓆏}$  is not enough to invalidate it. The speaker now describes the benefits which will accrue to the soul which stands by its owner.

<sup>39</sup> The meaning of *nisi* is unknown. At the bottom of the line Scharff restores [*hr*].

<sup>40</sup> *Sddm* is clearly the causative of *ddm* < *ddb* 'sting', 'incite', Gardiner, *Notes on Sinuhe*, 50. Here he suggests the sense 'make envious', which is preferable to Scharff's 'verachten' in that it adheres more closely to the literal meaning of the causative. Weill's 'tu mépriseras' seems also to mistake the sense of this verb.

<sup>41</sup> I.e. in the limpness of death? Erman has 'als müde', Scharff 'als (die eines) Müden', Weill 'en faiblesse'.

<sup>42</sup> Scharff and Weill, doubtless rightly, emend *tm·f* into *tm·k*; the 3rd person yields but poor sense.

<sup>43</sup> The benefits here described are a little obscure, but apparently mean that if the soul is good it will neither freeze nor fry.


<sup>44</sup> This passage is quite obscure.

<sup>45</sup> Read *ihm·k*, on which see note 18 above.

<sup>46</sup> Emending the *r hprt* of the text (if that is indeed the correct reading, see the textual note) into *r hpr m* 'so as to become'; as it stands *r hprt iwꜛw·i* can only mean 'until my heir comes into being', which does not fit the context; the preceding *wšh ib·k* clearly introduces a request to the soul itself to undertake the duties of an heir by attending to the obsequies of the deceased.

<sup>47</sup> *ḥr hr* is doubtless to be taken literally here rather than in its derived sense of 'attend to'.

<sup>48</sup> The verb *sy* 'prepare' a bed or a bier is otherwise unknown.

<sup>49</sup> Read not *hst ib* as Scharff, but *nhst ib*, on which see Gardiner, *Admonitions*, 82; Junker, 'so ist das bloß Herzeleid'. The initial , at the bottom of l. 56, is clear in the photograph. Weill renders 'une insanité', which seems a little too forcible, and his note *b* on this passage suggests that he has entirely misunderstood its drift; it does not imply that 'le souci des funérailles' could determine a man's death, but says that the contemplation of death and burial is a depressing and tear-producing business, and implies that the most elaborate funerary arrangements are but a futile effort.

<sup>50</sup> On the construction *mn pr·n·k* see Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> § 418 A.

<sup>51</sup> Lit. 'suns' in the plural.

<sup>52</sup> See the textual note.



<sup>53</sup> *Wš* bears a somewhat stronger colouring than 'empty' (Scharff, Weill, Junker), in that it implies destruction; it has this sense not only in the familiar *gm wš* 'found destroyed', e.g. *Beni Hasan*, I, 26, 162; *Ebers*, 18, 1, but also when used of the loss of hair, Gardiner, *Admonitions*, 62, and as a transitive verb 'make desolate' a place, *Letters to the Dead*, VI, 4 (n.).

<sup>54</sup> *Phwy·fy*, lit. 'its end'. Scharff takes a similar view.

<sup>55</sup> i.e. in the end the pyramid-builders were left no better off than those who never had a burial, but who died by drowning or sunstroke, their corpses being deposited in the river among the fish. The expression 'the fishes of the banks of the water' refers to the fish lurking in the shadow of the river-bank, where a corpse hastily thrown into the water would fall. Scharff's 'das ihre, die Fische reden zu ihnen und (?) der Uferstrand' misses this point; Weill correctly 'et à qui parlent les poissons de la rive'.

<sup>56</sup> Here begins the first of two anecdotes related by the soul which at first sight seem to have little bearing on the topic under discussion; perhaps they were intended to convey to the would-be suicide that there were misfortunes worse than those of which he complains.

<sup>57</sup> Lit. 'he dragged a voyaging'; presumably sailing was impracticable and the peasant could not afford to pay rowers.

<sup>58</sup> *Mhwt* is written here with the two determinatives  and , signifying 'the north wind' and 'flood' respectively. As Scharff has seen, this passage refers to the onset of a norther accompanied by much cloud and heavy rain.

<sup>59</sup> Read *rs* as *rs<·n·f>*, with ellipse of formative and suffix following on *m·n·f*; so also *pr<·n·f>* and *ik<·n·f>* in the following clauses, cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> § 487.

<sup>60</sup> *Rc hr rk*, lit. 'while the sun was entering'; that this phrase describes sunset was noted already by Erman.

<sup>61</sup> The rendering of *pr* as 'escape' is due to Scharff.

<sup>62</sup> For some reason Scharff, followed by Weill, separates *hmt·f* and *msw·f* and renders '. . . und entrinnt mit seiner Frau (der Gefahr). Seine Kinder (aber) gehen auf dem Wasser zugrunde, das gefährdet ist in der Nacht durch die Krokodile', but surely this is completely to misunderstand the passage. Apart from the fact that one would

naturally expect *hmt·f* and *msw·f* to be co-ordinated, there seems little doubt that *šk* is to be interpreted as *šk⟨·n·f⟩* like the preceding *rs⟨·n·f⟩* and *pr⟨·n·f⟩*; Scharff's version would require *hmt·f* to be followed by *iw msw·f šk*, with *iw* marking the contrast. Furthermore, it seems clear from ll. 75 ff. that the wife (and not a daughter, as Scharff thinks, see note 64 below) was eaten by the crocodiles, and finally *šn hr* does not mean 'endangered by' but 'infested with', cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 9, 13, n. 1; so also Weill.

<sup>63</sup> So Gardiner; lit. perhaps 'divided (the silence) with the voice'.

<sup>64</sup> *Mst*, lit. 'child-bearer'; the allusion is clearly to the wife he has lost. Scharff's misunderstanding of the preceding incident has led him to identify this *mst* with a daughter (Weill 'cette fille-là') who while carrying unborn children was seized by crocodiles, but this interpretation is altogether fanciful. The whole point of the speech is that the man mourns not for his wife, who has lived her life and is now eternally at rest in the West, but he weeps for her unborn children, cut off by the crocodiles before they had tasted life. The point of the demonstrative *tfj* before *mst* is thus not that it indicates contempt (so Scharff), but that that it suggest distance, 'yonder' in the West, and the unborn children are doubtless to be regarded as the potential offspring whom the husband had hoped his wife would bear in the future. Here I have followed Gardiner's version, which is altogether superior to any other.

<sup>65</sup> Here begins a second anecdote, shorter and even more obscure than the first.

<sup>66</sup> The name of the dish in question has been omitted.

<sup>67</sup> An obscure causative verb; Scharff, followed by Weill, suggests 'ausschimpfen', but it would not be necessary for the man to go outside to express his annoyance with his wife (for offering him a dish he did not like?). I have no suggestion to offer.


<sup>68</sup> Scharff thinks that the man has calmed down after his outburst of rage, and so changed himself, but that does not accord with the fact that after he returned to the house he continued his alarming conduct. Gardiner's suggestion of sudden insanity seems more to the point, since, judging by the previous story, we must assume that we have here an account of a serious calamity.

<sup>69</sup> So Gardiner, with several 'queries'.

<sup>70</sup> See note 67 above; in the series of successive |'s one has apparently been dropped.

<sup>71</sup> The allusion to 'messengers' is quite obscure; could the word possibly mean 'by-standers'? Scharff suggests emending *wpwtyw* into *wpw* and renders as 'unzugänglich für gutes Zureden (?)', but the *n* in *wš ib n wpwtyw* can hardly be regarded otherwise than as a genitive, in which case the last word must refer to persons. I cannot see how Weill has obtained his 'l'esprit fermé (?) aux raisons'.


<sup>72</sup> In a series of poetic stanzas the man describes his miseries and sums up the arguments in favour of death.

<sup>73</sup> Scharff, Blackman (*JEA* 16, 70) and Junker, op. cit. 225, take this  as preposition + suffix, rendering 'durch dich', 'on thine account' following Sethe, *Erläuterungen*, 65, but there is nothing to show that the soul was in any way responsible for the man's condition. Erman and Weill are certainly right in regarding it simply as a repetition, for purposes of poetic emphasis, of the particle *mk* 'behold'.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Blackman, *Orientalia*, 7, 67 f.

<sup>75</sup> *R st(y)* 'more than the smell of' has clearly been omitted in error.



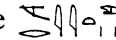
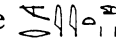
<sup>76</sup> So Scharff, Weill, and Gardiner, certainly rightly, as against Erman's 'Fischemp-fänger'; the fishermen are mentioned in a later stanza.

<sup>77</sup>  is otherwise unknown, and Erman rightly regards it as a confusion of *ḥsw* 'vultures' (l. 87) and *ḥpdw* 'ducks' (*JEA* 38, 128). From the context the latter are obviously meant.

<sup>78</sup> On *ḥwst* 'covert' see Blackman, *JEA* 16, 70.

<sup>79</sup> Erman and Blackman both take *trī* as a writing of *trt* 'willow', but apart from the fact that the genders of the two writings do not agree, the context, as Scharff has seen, indicates clearly that *trī* here is a variant of *twr* 'reed', *Ebers*, 55, 16; Weill correctly 'roseliers'.

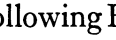
<sup>80</sup> On *ḥsw* see Gardiner, *Onomastica*, 1, 9\*, no. 43; here the reference is to the narrow waterways which intersect the marshes.

<sup>81</sup> Following Erman; the word  which he does not translate, probably refers to the sandbanks whereon the reptiles sun themselves, which would be decidedly odori-ferous; Weill suggests 'la lisière de l'inondation', which seems to me less probable. Scharff strangely reads  and connects the word with *dḥdḥt* 'council', 'assembly'. The collective  here exceptionally spelt  a term for 'crocodiles', seems to be derived from *mryt* 'river-bank' and to signify 'bank-lurkers'.

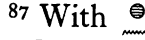
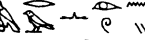
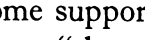
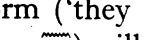
<sup>82</sup> Blackman, *JEA* 16, 71, and Scharff render as 'on account of a man', but would not this require *ḥr tḥy* rather than *n tḥy*? Weill has 'à son mari', but *tḥy* stands for 'male', 'man' in general rather than for 'husband', and here has no suffix.

<sup>83</sup> I.e. is the offspring of adultery. The passage is well discussed by Blackman, loc. cit.

<sup>84</sup> The *r* of comparison has been omitted.

<sup>85</sup> Scharff, following Erman, reads  as *dmi <š>n* and translates 'disloyal town'; Weill adopts a similar reading and renders as 'une ville infestée de rébellion'. Much more probable is Gardiner's proposal to read *dmi n ity* 'a town of the monarch', *ity* being written erroneously with one crocodile instead of two; this reading has the merit of providing an acceptable antecedent for the suffix in *ḥf* 'his back' (see the next note) and yields excellent sense.


<sup>86</sup> Lit. 'his back is seen'; *mḥ* may be the passive *šdmm:f*, compare the 2ae gem. *ḥmm* quoted by Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> § 425. Scharff, misled by his erroneous reading *dmi <š>n* noted above, renders as 'ihren Rücken sieht', referring the suffix in *ḥf* back to *dmi*, but he admits that he does not know what this could mean.

<sup>87</sup> With  'the friends of today are unlovable' compare  'an untreatable disease', Breasted, *Ed. Smith. Surg. Pap.* 159. Cf. also Gunn, *Syntax*, 137-8; Gardiner, op. cit. § 486, Obs. 2, though it seems to me that in the examples with transitive verbs, the verb is always passive in sense; this receives some support from the writing  just quoted, which points to the passive *šdm(w)f* form ('they cannot be loved', 'it cannot be treated'), in which case the ending  (, ) will be a suffix of the 3rd person invariable in respect of gender and of number. This explanation is not new, nor is it generally accepted, but it seems to fit all the



instances quoted by Gunn; in his example no. 5, besides the *ir·n* quoted towards the end of the passage, there is at least a possibility that the *hst·n* near the beginning may exhibit this *n* as subject of a geminated *šdm·t(w)·f* form.

<sup>88</sup> A blank space left in the papyrus, suggesting that there was a lacuna in the scribe's copy; the restoration, however, is obvious.







<sup>89</sup> Weill 'l'homme doux', but in that case we should expect the determinative  after *sf*.

<sup>90</sup> Erman ('der mit ruhigem Gesicht ist elend') and Scharff ('wer ein zufriedenes Gesicht macht, ist schlecht') both take *htp* as a participle and the following *hr* as the word for 'face', and Weill follows them. A better sense, however, can be obtained by regarding *htp* here as impersonal *šdm·f* followed by the preposition; for *htp hr* 'be pleased, contented, with', cf. *Pyr.* § 1; *Urk.* IV, 580, 3; 835, 16.

<sup>91</sup> For *rdi r t:* in the sense of 'leave alone', 'neglect', compare *imi sw r t:* 'let him alone', *Prisse*, 6, 2, in reference to an argumentative dolt.

<sup>92</sup> The rendering with 'should' brings out the intended contrast between what ought to be the state of affairs and what actually happens.

<sup>93</sup> The preposition *m* has been omitted.

<sup>94</sup> The word hitherto transcribed  is in fact written  (so already Gardiner); it thus appears that, owing to a certain resemblance in hieratic between  and , the scribe has perpetrated a *vox nihili* conflated out of  'wrongdoer' and  'disease'. The former is of course the word required. Erman's 'der Sieche' must therefore be discarded; Sethe (*Erläuterungen*, 65) and Scharff render correctly as 'Bösewicht', Weill as 'coquin', but they all wrongly retain the old reading, which cannot bear this sense.

<sup>95</sup> Lit. 'no one acts for him who used to act in this moment'. In his original edition Erman failed to translate this sentence, but in his *Literatur der Aegypter*, 128 he rendered it very closely to our version, and Scharff follows him; Weill has 'on ne s'acquitte pas envers celui qui avait agi dans le moment'. For *ir n* 'help' someone cf. *JEA* 9, 21, n. 1; *Letters to the Dead*, I, 1 (n.).

<sup>96</sup> *Ini m* 'have recourse to' is a well-known idiom, cf. e.g. l. 124 below; *Ptahhotep*, 349 (LII); in English we speak of 'bringing in' outside help.

<sup>97</sup> On *mtt nt ib* see Gardiner, *Notes on Sinuhe*, 75, n. 3.

<sup>98</sup> Lit. 'is downcast of face to'.

<sup>99</sup> Lit. 'on which one can lean'. Both Erman and Scharff take *rhn·tw hr·f* as qualifying *s* 'man': 'no one on whom one can lean has a heart', but a rather better sense is obtained by regarding it as qualifying *ib*: 'there is no man's heart . . .'; *rhn* here implies not physical but moral support. Weill's version is close to ours.

<sup>100</sup> So also Scharff; Weill 'le pays est la proie des malfaiteurs'. For the expression *t:* *šp n* 'the land is left over to' an evil fate of some kind, cf. also *Adm.* 4, 5 = 5, 13.

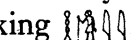
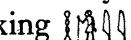
<sup>101</sup> Weill 'pour lui donner l'information', but *srh* always appears to have a connotation of complaint or accusation, cf. *Peas.* B I, 42; *Urk.* IV, 484, 9; 511, 8; *JEA* 16, 195, 5.

<sup>102</sup> On *hw t:* 'roam the earth' see Blackman, *JEA* 22, 38.

<sup>103</sup> The preposition *mi* has been omitted.

<sup>104</sup> On *himt* = *ihmt* 'detention' see Smither, *JEA* 25, 220. Weill has overlooked this note; he has preserved the original misreading and guessed the meaning as 'accident(?)'.

<sup>105</sup> On *ht:w* 'awning' see Blackman, *JEA* 16, 71.


<sup>106</sup> Hardly 'rainy way' as Erman's original version (so also Weill); such a flood-torrent as he envisages there can be far from pleasant. Sethe, *Erläuterungen*, 66, regards *w:t* as infinitive of *w:i* 'be far', and Scharff follows him, rendering as 'wie das Aufhören des Regens'. But Erman was surely right when in his *Literatur*, 129 he translated as 'ein betretener (?) Weg', taking  here as a miswriting of  'trodden'; for this sense of the verb, cf. *JEA* 22, 38. This last version suits the context much better; the allusion is to the pleasure of the returning wanderer at seeing a well-trodden road leading homeward.

<sup>107</sup> On *pr:sn* 'home' see *JEA* 36, 111.

<sup>108</sup> This passage is quite obscure owing to our ignorance of the meaning of *sht im*. Sethe, loc. cit., suggests 'hingeleitet zu', 'aufmerksam gemacht', but these appear to be no more than guesses; as Scharff justly remarks, it is hard to see how they can be derived from any known meaning of the stem, and they do not seem to fit the other occurrences of this verb in *Prisse*, 6, 7. 9, passages which are likewise obscure, but where the sense may be 'entrap'.




<sup>109</sup> *Nty im*, the singular of the well-known expression for the dead.

<sup>110</sup> It is not quite clear whether the suffix in *mdw:f* refers to the sage or to Rēc: with Erman and Scharff I feel that the balance tilts slightly in favour of Rēc. Here ends the poetic advocacy of death; the soul replies by telling the man not to rush on the grave, but to live on until his end comes naturally.

<sup>111</sup> , which is otherwise unknown, is clearly a wooden object; is the soul urging the man to doff his misery like an unwanted garment and to hang it on the peg?

<sup>112</sup> In *nsw:i pn* the demonstrative is used to indicate the vocative; as Erman and Scharff have both seen, *nsw* 'he belongs to' must be interpreted substantivally in the sense of 'relative' or 'associate'.

<sup>113</sup> Compare *wdn n:sn sntr hr sdt* 'offer to them incense on the fire', Budge, *Book of the Dead* (1898), 294, 7-8; the man is urged to offer to the gods and to resume a normal life. There seems no justification for Scharff's 'Du sollst dich aufs Feuer werfen und das (jenseitige) Leben gewinnen', which is followed by Weill; not only does the intent of the soul's speech appear to be the exact opposite, but also the sense given to *wdn* is suspect, and the object-pronoun *tw* which Scharff's version would require is absent. His translation of this passage necessarily colours his rendering of what follows.

<sup>114</sup> For *dmi hr* 'cleave to' something see also Ebers, 91, 14, quoted by Gunn, *Syntax*, 191-2. The first determinative is certainly to be read  (Gardiner) rather than  (Erman and Sethe), but it is quite obscure what this sign is doing here unless under the influence of the following  the scribe absent-mindedly conjured up a vision of the word *ch* 'fight'.

<sup>115</sup> The reading *mi dd:k* of the original has led the previous commentators to assume that in this final speech the soul has agreed with its owner to die, but in my view the exact contrary is the case; the soul is continuing the trend of its previous speech in

ll. 55 ff., and intends this final spate of advice as a counter-blast to the pessimism expressed by the man in the preceding poem. Hence I would emend *dd·k* into *dd·i*, referring back to the soul's previous speech; this corruption would easily occur at the hands of a careless scribe in view of the previous occurrences of the suffix *·k* in *imi r·k . . . wdn·k . . . dmi·k*. It seems to me that the whole of this final speech becomes intelligible only if taken as an attempt of the soul to persuade the man to live out his allotted span; since it ends the papyrus we may suppose that the soul succeeded in its aim.

<sup>116</sup> I.e. keep the soul in company with its owner; *mr* is certainly imperative here, and it is succeeded by two other clauses in the imperative, namely, *win n·k* and *mr hm . . .*

<sup>117</sup> Scharff has misunderstood the imperative with reinforcing dative *win n·k imntt* and has translated as 'nachdem dir der Westen abgelehnt hat' which would more probably have been written *m-ht win n·k imnt*. He has also failed to recognize that the preceding and following clauses with *mr* are also imperatives, and has been reduced to postulating an idiom *mr . . . mr . . .* 'sei es, daß . . . sei es, daß' which so far as I am aware has no other evidence for its existence. The injunction 'thrust thou aside the West' means in effect 'do not yield to the temptation to lay violent hands on yourself'.

<sup>118</sup> I.e. desire that death may come, when come it does, in the natural course of events.

<sup>119</sup> The last two lines of the speech (153-4) recall the scenes and figures which depict the soul revisiting the body after death. If the man dies from natural causes—and is *ipso facto* buried with the proper rites—there will be nothing to prevent the soul from dwelling with him in the Hereafter.

## A FLINT KNIFE OF KING DJER

By W. NEEDLER

THE flint knife illustrated on pl. III was acquired by the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, more than forty years ago. It was bought from a dealer in Luxor in the spring of 1914 by G. D. Hornblower, acting for the museum. Before buying it Mr. Hornblower described it in a letter as 'a very large flint knife, its handle covered with gold and bearing a "hawk" name of an early king. Fine thin flint, broken across in the finding.' It has not been published, except recently in a brief listing by Godron.<sup>1</sup> It is especially important to bring the knife to the attention of Egyptologists in view of Professor Emery's discoveries at Saqqārah.<sup>2</sup>

Its outline and its flaking are characteristic of a type of curved knife with small 'cut-out' handle which has been frequently found in tombs of the First Dynasty. The type appears suddenly at the beginning of the Dynasty, and its characteristic S-curved back and downward-pointing handle-spur tend to degenerate towards a straighter, clumsier outline after Udimu. Handled knives of roughly similar outline and inferior quality come from the temple areas of Abydos and Hierakonpolis. The finer and truly typical specimens have been found only in tombs, principally the great tombs of Abydos, Saqqārah, and Nakādah, but also at Gīzah, Nag<sup>ε</sup> ed-Dēr, Tarkhan, and elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

In the quality of its flint work the Toronto knife compares favourably with any of the known examples of the type. The concavity of its back is about equal to that of the illustrated specimens from Emery's tomb no. 3504 (Wadjy)<sup>4</sup> and is greater than that of the specimens from the tomb of Hemaka (Udimu),<sup>5</sup> thus mildly supporting Petrie's theory of the evolution of the type.<sup>6</sup> The knife is 37 cm. long, much larger than the knives from Emery's tomb no. 3504 and slightly larger than all those from the tomb of Hemaka except the 41 cm. specimen. Its peculiar interest lies in the gold foil covering the handle. A hieroglyphic inscription embossed on the gold contains the name of King Djer, and, indeed, we do not know of any other instance of an Early Dynastic knife having its original gold overlay preserved.

<sup>1</sup> 'Activités de l'égyptologie américaine (en souvenir de Brown University)', in *Bull. Soc. franç. d'Ég.* 11 (Oct. 1952), 63.

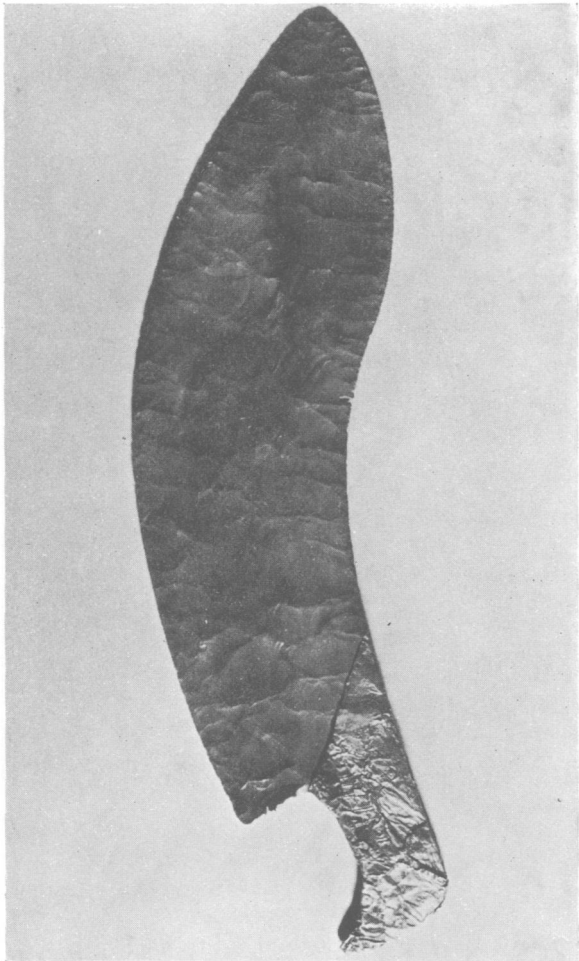
<sup>2</sup> Professor Emery saw the knife when he was in Toronto in April 1955, and expressed the desire to see it published as soon as possible. The writer is indebted to him for speeding a project long overdue. It is hoped that he and other interested scholars will solve the many problems connected with the object.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. the fine specimen, 26 cm. long, from a small private tomb, *ILN*, Jan. 2, 1937, 3, fig. 3.

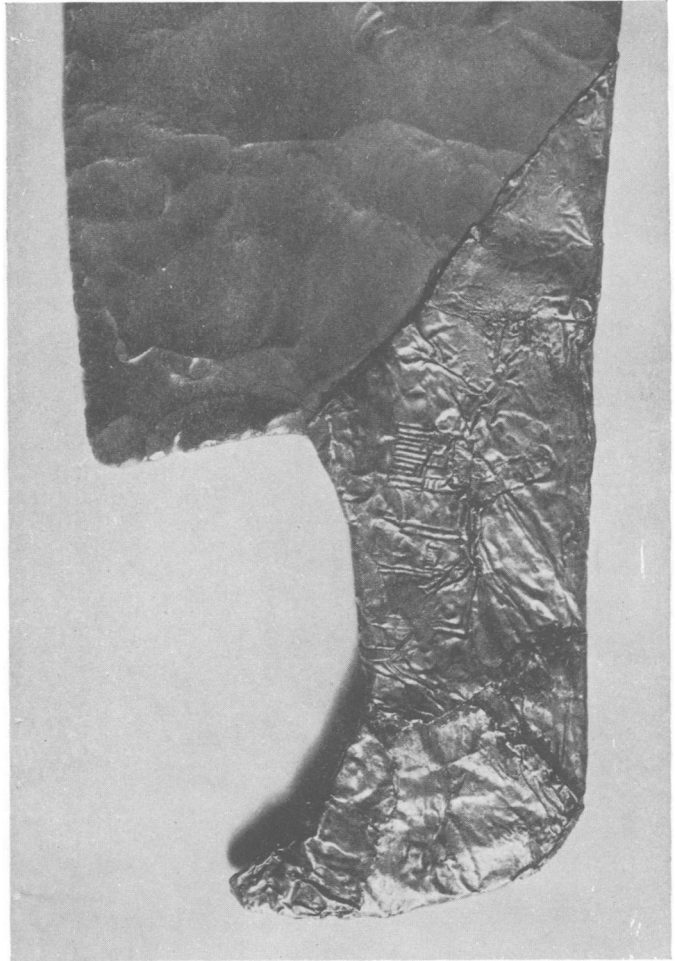
<sup>4</sup> *Great Tombs of the 1st Dyn.* II, 67, fig. 96, and pl. 34.

<sup>5</sup> *Tomb of Hemaka*, p. 19, and pl. 11.

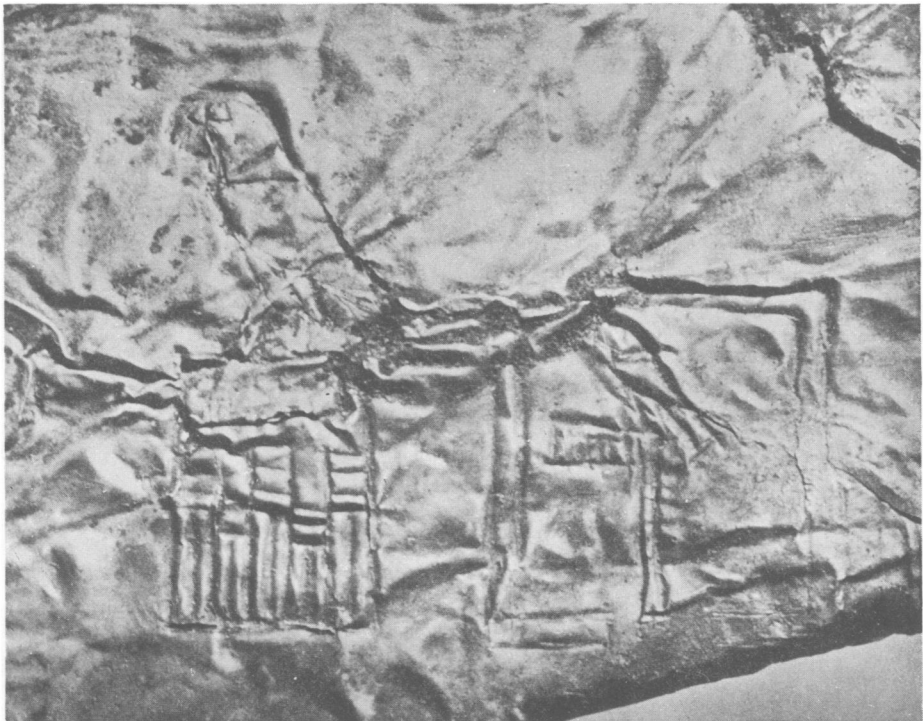
<sup>6</sup> *Abydos*, I, 8. For an exceptionally late example of the characteristic curved outline see Reisner, *Early Dyn. Cem. of Naga-ed-Der*, p. 112, and pl. 40 (a). The knives from the tomb of Hemaka (*Tomb of Hemaka*, pl. 11) show that there was considerable variation in outline among pieces found together. The remarkable variation in size is best seen in *Tombs of the Courtiers*, pl. 6.



1. Flint knife of King Djer with gold-covered handle



2. The gold-covered handle of the knife



3. Inscription on the gold covering of the handle

This overlay (pl. III, 2 and 3) has a straight-cut edge running obliquely on each face from the inner angle of the handle cut-out to the back of the blade. It consists of a large piece folded around the grip, and covering about two-thirds of the obverse, and a smaller piece folded over the end. The whole was carefully cut, folded, and pressed to fit the peculiar outline of the handle. The gold was secured to the stone by means of an adhesive, which has shrunk in the course of the centuries causing the gold to wrinkle and crack.<sup>1</sup> We know of only one other flint knife in which the original gold overlay is preserved, the Cairo knife said to be from Gebel eṭ-Ṭārif.<sup>2</sup> The latter is dated before the First Dynasty, mainly on grounds of flint-working technique. Unlike the gold covering on our knife, the gold of the Cairo knife was cut in two pieces, one

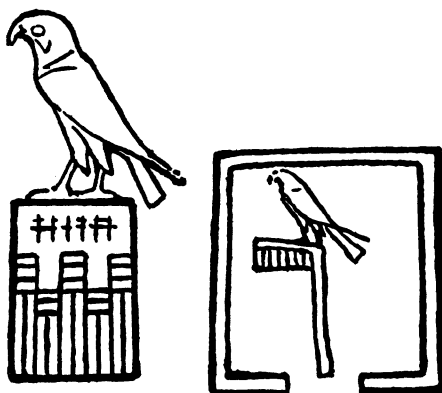


FIG. 1. Inscription on knife of King Djer.

for each face, and secured by sewing down the overlap with gold thread around the edges of the reverse. De Morgan mentions a flint knife (presumably of the same type as the gold-handled knife in Cairo) which was found with gold chlorides on one-third of its length, evidence of a gold covering which had disappeared.<sup>3</sup> Do any known specimens of our type of knife bear such evidence, perhaps undetected, of having been encased in gold? Little gold has escaped the plunderers of the great Early Dynastic tombs at Saqqārah and Abydos, but there is ample evidence that gold foil very similar to the overlay on the Toronto knife was used lavishly for their furnishing.<sup>4</sup> Other knives from the royal tombs of the First Dynasty may well have had this embellishment.



The knife is obviously intended for the right hand, since on the lower edge of the handle the flint is bevelled for the three fingers which would fit snugly between the blade and the spur. It is fitting, therefore, that on the reverse face, which would be

<sup>1</sup> The nature of the adhesive is undetermined. It is perhaps resin, which was used in sealing a jar from the tomb of Hemaka, according to Lucas (*Anc. Eg. Materials and Industries*, 3rd ed., 12).

<sup>2</sup> De Morgan, *Recherches*, I, 84, 112-15; Quibell, *Archaic Objects*, 237, pl. 49 (14265); Capart, *Primitive Art*, 68-69. The object is photographed only in De Morgan, *Recherches*, II, pl. 5, where the foil may be compared with ours for quality and condition. The Gebel eṭ-Ṭārif provenance is uncertain.



<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* I, 113-14.

<sup>4</sup> For examples of gold foil from the Early Dynastic period see *Abydos*, I, pl. 5; *Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. 20 (9); *Great Tombs of the 1st Dyn.* II, pl. 13 (c), and fig. 3.

covered by the hand when the knife was in use, the gold is entirely devoid of decoration. The inscription on the obverse is suitably placed about 3 cm. from the end of the handle and a little below the centre, so that the thumb and fingers would not press against it. This inscription (fig. 1) reads from left to right, and consists of the *serekh* name of Djer followed by the falcon on a perch  within the *pr* sign . The design was made with a pointed instrument which impressed but did not cut the gold. The combined width of the signs is 2.7 cm. and the distance between the top of the large falcon and the bottom of the *serekh* is 2.3 cm. In spite of the wrinkling, which warps and effaces parts of the signs, the hieroglyphs are quite clear on close examination, including the *dr* and the *pr*, which may not show up sufficiently well in the published photograph. I have not succeeded in finding a parallel for this inscription. Was the building a temple, tomb, or palace? It is perhaps not unreasonable to suppose that it was the structure in which the knife was buried.

Since it was purchased in Luxor, it seems nearly certain that the knife was taken by plunderers from the tomb (or cenotaph) of Djer at Abydos. Since it was purchased in 1914, it may have come from the excavations of either Amélineau, Petrie, or Naville. Notwithstanding the large quantities of material lost from Amélineau's excavations, when the tomb must still have contained much treasure, it does not seem particularly likely that the knife was removed from the tomb fifteen years before it was picked up on the market. Not even Petrie succeeded in eliminating theft from his excavations, and it is possible that the knife disappeared during the course of his work at the tomb of Djer. But the purchase date perhaps points to Naville. In April 1911 Hornblower wrote, 'Naville has been digging at Abydos, and has found fine predynastic things, many of which have leaked out owing to his not giving backsheesh, I suppose.' Naville dug at and around the tomb of Djer between 1908 and 1911. He mentions finding in the course of this excavation less important material 'which had at an unknown period strayed from the royal tombs'.<sup>1</sup> One is reminded of Petrie's accidental find at the tomb of Djer of a 'strayed' human arm bearing the four sensational bracelets.<sup>2</sup>

The knife immediately suggests the slaughter of animals offered to the king during or after his funeral, and one can well imagine it being used to slit the throats of oxen or oryx.<sup>3</sup> It is also tempting to see in it the instrument employed to kill a human victim, as pictured on a tablet of Djer,<sup>4</sup> whether or not that scene represents a ceremony at the king's funeral. Its sharply retouched cutting-edge extends around the point and along the back. With this edge and with the small handle the type would be suitable for thrusting as well as for slicing.

It is certain that a hieroglyph on one of the private stelae from Abydos (reign of Udimu) is a knife of the same type as ours. It seems to be a title or part of a title, and it follows the common sign group *h*  within inverted *k* , a group which possibly

<sup>1</sup> *Cem. of Ab.* I, 38-39, and pl. 21, which shows the location and extent of his digging in and around the tomb of Djer.

<sup>2</sup> *Royal Tombs*, II, 16-17.

<sup>3</sup> A very similar knife was used for slaughter of animals at least as early as the end of the Third Dynasty. See Montet, 'Scènes de boucherie', in *Bull. Inst. fr.* 7, 55, and Montet, *Anc. Emp.* 164 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Tomb of Hemaka*, 35-36, pls. 17, 18. The scene also appears in *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. 3 (Aha).

signifies a priestly title.<sup>1</sup> Is the knife on this stele connected with the office of butcher for the royal funerary cult and, if so, does it indicate the function of the Toronto knife? The latter remains a mystery, but close examination shows that the knife belongs beyond doubt to the reign of Djer, and it is thus an important document of the First Dynasty.

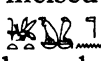
<sup>1</sup> *Royal Tombs*, I, 27, pls. 31, 34 (24). For suggested interpretations of the group which precedes the knife sign, see Scharff, *Altertümer der Vor- und Frühzeit*, I, 188 (501), and Emery, *Great Tombs of the 1st Dyn.* 120 (24).



## A STATUETTE OF KING NYNETER

By W. K. SIMPSON

AMONG the sculptures in the Georges Michailides Collection is a statuette which is, I believe, the earliest example of royal sculpture dated in the reign of a particular king. I am grateful to M. Michailides for his kind permission to publish the statuette and for giving me access to study it on many occasions. Its provenance is unknown, and I have not found any indication that it has been discussed or illustrated previously.

The statuette merits attention both as a document for the study of Egyptian sculpture and for the excellence of the piece itself. The king is represented seated, wearing the short cloak associated with the Sed-Festival and the white crown (pl. IV).<sup>1</sup> He is identified by the inscription incised vertically on either side of the throne, the writing facing right in both cases: . That the inscription is contemporary with the statuette seems clear, and the paleography leaves little doubt that the statuette was inscribed during the reign of the king (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup>

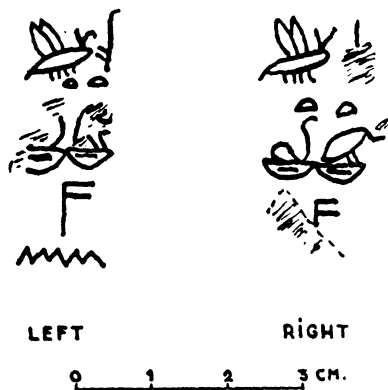
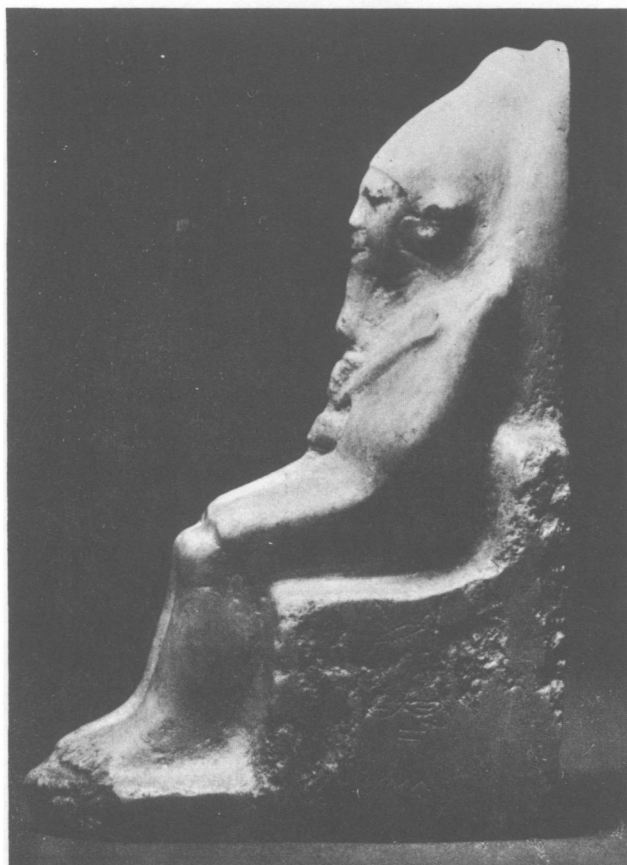


FIG. 1. Inscription on sides of throne.

The statuette is 13.5 cm. high, 8.8 cm. from front to back at the base, and 4.8 cm.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Bernard V. Bothmer for the excellent photographs of the statuette which he has kindly made available to me.

<sup>2</sup> For the forms of the signs in the titles and name, see, for example, Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. 8, 12-13. The writing of the *ntr* sign without the short vertical stroke is typical. The reading of the name as *Nj-ntr* was suggested, but not adopted, by B. Gunn in *Ann. Serv.* 28, 153-74 and subsequently followed by B. Grdseloff in *Ann. Serv.* 44, 287. In connexion with the order of the first three kings of Dyn. II, reference should be made to the evidence of a flint bowl published by Reisner in *Mycerinus*, 102, pl. 70 c, which indicates that H̄etepsekhemwy followed Reṅeb. The generally accepted order (H̄etepsekhemwy, Reṅeb, Nynetjer) is principally based on the occurrence of the cartouches of the kings in this order on a well-known private statue in Cairo (L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* . . . (CCG), I, under no. 1; A. Grébaut in *Le Musée égyptien*, 1, 1 ff.). The replacement of the name of Reṅeb by that of H̄etepsekhemwy on the flint bowl would seem to have more value for the chronology of the dynasty, however, since the order of the names on the statue is not necessarily chronological, as Reisner points out. The order is probably as follows: the Horus Reṅeb, King Nubnefer; the Horus H̄etepsekhemwy, King H̄etep; the Horus Nynetjer, King Nynetjer.



A STATUETTE OF KING NYNETER

wide at the widest point at the base. The material is a hard stone resembling alabaster, with a slight greenish-yellow sheen.<sup>1</sup> The surface has received a matt polish. What appears to be a brown discoloration in the crevices may be intentional in the case of the eyes and other features of the face. Although parts of the throne have been chipped away, the excellent state of preservation of the statuette is remarkable.

The face is carved without meticulous attention to detail. This is most likely the result of the use of a hard material and the small scale of the piece rather than the early date or the aptitude of the sculptor. The eyes are picked out, but they are dominated by a horizontal line. There is no indication of the cosmetic line.<sup>2</sup> The heavy nose is broad, flat at the base, and sharply marked at the root. The mouth has full lips set off by incised depressions above and below. The king wears the traditional beard. The ears are heavy, projecting, and without indication of the convolutions. The general effect of the face is that of a dignified expression achieved with an economy of means.

The king wears the white crown, the terminal of which is proportionately small and unlike the bulbous knobs characteristic, for example, of the Freer Gallery head published by Steindorff and of the Mycerinus triads.<sup>3</sup> The tight-fitting lower part of the crown has the usual flaps above and below the split through which the ear is passed. The large lower flap, or cheek piece, is curved in front. The lower edge of the upper flap does not show clearly, however, the straight line characteristic of this part of the crown; this can be seen better on the right side of the statuette.<sup>4</sup> The treatment of these details is closest to that of the Kha'sekhem statue heads.

The Sed-Festival cloak projects above the king's shoulders, as is usual, and ends above the knees. The hands project from the cloak just below the beard and hold the ceremonial implements, the upper (right) hand the flail (*ladanisterion*) and the left hand the crook. The form of the latter is closer to ∩ than ∪, but the difference is slight. The upper ends of the implements rest on the shoulders. The position of the hands, one above the other, is a feature later iconic of Ptaḥ. Seen from the front, the statuette exhibits a strong vertical axis in the terminal of the crown, the nose, the beard, the hands, the continuation of the crook, and the space between the legs. The piece on the lap, running between the hands and the knees, appears to be a fold in the garment, but it is more likely the continuation of the crook, turned inward to conform to the vertical axis. In a statue of King Menkauhor from Mitraḥinah, which is remarkably similar in costume and pose to the Nyneter statuette, the lower half of the crook rests

<sup>1</sup> It has not been possible to submit the statuette for a thorough mineralogical examination.

<sup>2</sup> Its earliest occurrence in royal statuary is the Ashmolean head of Kha'sekhem.

<sup>3</sup> Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pl. 41; Steindorff, *A Royal Head from Ancient Egypt* (Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, 1, 5), Washington, 1951, pls. 1-4.

<sup>4</sup> The shape and arrangement of the flaps is significant for purposes of dating sculpture and relief. The subject has been discussed by Cooney, 'A Colossal Head of the Early Old Kingdom', *Bulletin, The Brooklyn Museum*, 9, 1-12; Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, II: *Die Vorarbeiten*, 20-21; Abubakr, *Untersuchungen über die ägyptischen Kronen*, 27. The lines of the flaps in the Nyneter statuette are slightly different on either side of the face, but they do not follow the pattern discussed by Cooney: they are closer to the pattern of the Kha'sekhem statues than to the pattern of the Brooklyn colossal head, the Djoser relief from the Step Pyramid, and the Cheops ivory statuette. As Cooney has pointed out, the sides of the Cheops statuette differ from each other in this respect.

on the king's right knee.<sup>1</sup> The legs of the statuette are heavy, without indication of musculature, and the toes of the heavy feet are indicated by straight incised lines.

The king sits on a throne, the seat of which slopes slightly toward the front; the back rest is of the relatively high type typical of the early statues cited below. The back support, beginning in the middle of the back-rest and extending just above the terminal of the crown, is unexpected at this date, as is the absence of recesses in the sides of the throne.<sup>2</sup>

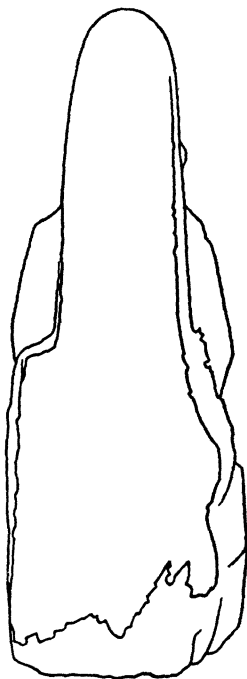


FIG. 2. Sketch of back pillar.

There are few royal statues or statuettes close enough in date to warrant our attention in this context. The delicate statuette in ivory discovered by Petrie at Abydos and now in the British Museum is the first of these.<sup>3</sup> It was found in a level which would make a date in the First or Second Dynasty most probable. The hands are in the same position as those of the Nyneter statuette and the nose is similarly broad and flat at the base. The head seems especially large in proportion to the body. Next in chronological sequence are the two statues of Kha'sekhem from Hierakonpolis, the smaller, limestone statue in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and the larger, slate statue in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo; a head in the collection at University College, London, may also be contemporary with these.<sup>4</sup> Kha'sekhem is generally considered to be identical with

<sup>1</sup> Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* . . . (CCG), I, under no. 40; *Le Musée égyptien*, I, p. 11, pl. 11.

<sup>2</sup> These recesses are a regular feature of royal and private statuary at this time.

<sup>3</sup> The statuette is 8.5 cm. high and is published by Petrie, *Abydos*, II, pp. 23-24, pls. 2, 3, and 13; after a careful cleaning it was described in detail in an excellent article by Glanville in *JEA* 17, pp. 65-66, pl. 9.

<sup>4</sup> The Kha'sekhem statues were first published by Quibell in *Hierakonpolis*, I, pls. 39-41. The statue head in London is illustrated in *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Ancient Egyptian Art* (Burlington Fine Arts Club), London, 1922, 3, pl. 2. The archaic statue in Cairo, J. 71586, may date from Dyn. O or Dyn. I. It is briefly discussed by W. S. Smith in *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, 2nd ed., London,

Kha'sekhemwy or as the latter's immediate predecessor. With the Kha'sekhem statues we have more scope for comparison, as they present a wealth of detail. The general appearance of the statue in Cairo, the better preserved of the two, is quite different from that of the statuette of Nyneter. The angles formed by the lap and the legs and by the lap and torso of the former are more abrupt, and the legs, thighs, and torso are each self-contained, rectangular masses. In spite of the slightly less hieratic position of the hands in the Kha'sekhem statues, they are more rigid. Indeed, the Nyneter statuette resembles the Djoser serdab statue more closely than it does the Kha'sekhem pair in the treatment of the volumes of the body. The ears and eyes of the Kha'sekhem statues are well defined. Using a harder material within a restricted space, the earlier sculptor did not attempt the definition of the features achieved by the sculptor of the Kha'sekhem pair. As mentioned above, the Ashmolean statue shows, for the first time in royal sculpture, the addition of the cosmetic lines to the eyes. The terminal of the white crown is missing in both the Kha'sekhem statues. The base of the crown covers the nape of the neck, as it apparently does in the Nyneter statuette (see view of right side); in the Nyneter statuette, however, the back pillar obscures this detail. On the thrones of the Kha'sekhem statues are recesses indicating the wooden components of the throne, a feature present in the Djoser serdab statue and the ivory statuette of Cheops in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. The absence of these recesses in the Nyneter statuette is surprising, since they are so regular a feature of early royal and private seated statuary.<sup>1</sup> The incised hieroglyphs on the Nyneter and Kha'sekhem statues seem slightly crude in comparison to the quality of the sculpture, and in this feature these Second Dynasty statues contrast with the Djoser serdab statue and its fine inscription in bas-relief. One may note in passing that the writing of Nyneter's name and titles faces right on both sides of the throne, a situation which would be unusual in later statuary.

To the Kha'sekhem statues should be added an unpublished head of a king wearing the white crown. It is at present in a private collection. The head is close to the Kha'sekhem heads in facial structure. It is slightly less than life size and is of an indurated limestone resembling marble. The eyes lack the cosmetic line, and the ears are similar to those of the Nyneter statuette in that they project and do not exhibit the convolutions in detail.

A number of statues and statuettes of the Third to early Fourth Dynasty could be cited as examples of early royal statuary.<sup>2</sup> With the exception of the Djoser serdab statue and the Cheops ivory statuette, however, they have little in common with the Nyneter statuette. Because of the similarity of the Menkauhor statue to the Nyneter statuette, one is tempted to consider the former an earlier work to which Menkauhor added his name; there do not seem to be parallels for such a situation, however, at the time of the Old Kingdom. The possibility merits consideration in any case.

1949, 8 (J. 71586 not 71568). In connexion with the statue, Smith refers to M. A. Murray, 'An Early Sed-Festival', *Anc. Egypt*, 1932, 70-72, in which two similar statues are discussed.

<sup>1</sup> The pertinent examples of early private statuary are discussed by Smith, *op. cit.*, chapters i and ii.

<sup>2</sup> Legrain has assigned a statuette from the Karnak cache to the Second or Third Dynasty on the basis of the recesses in the sides of the throne (lower half of a seated royal statuette, 12 cm. high, CCG 42001). The occurrence of these recesses is not, however, a deciding factor for dating.

The significance of the statuette in the Michailides Collection lies in the appearance of a well-defined canon of royal statuary at the beginning of the Second Dynasty. From the annals of the Palermo Stone we know that Nyneter's reign was particularly long, and it seems likely that examples of royal statuary from this reign and others will eventually come to light. The probability is certainly enhanced by the existence of M. Michailides' statuette. Although not closely similar to the Abydos ivory king or the statues of Kha'sekhem, it is clearly related to them in style. Since the ivory statuette is not dated more precisely, the Nyneter statuette is the earliest example of dated royal statuary, and it thus occupies a distinguished place at the beginning of the history of Egyptian dynastic sculpture.

KING *HWDF*?

By HANS GOEDICKE

THE Turin Royal List (III, 2) gives as the next to the last king of the Second Dynasty the name  $\text{𓆎𓆏𓆑}$ . The same name, although largely destroyed, appears again in III, 7 between *Dsr-Tti* and *Hw-[ny]*. The Abydos list, our best hieroglyphic account, does not mention this king in Dyn. II, and in Dyn. III a king  $\text{𓆎𓆏}$  is indicated in the pertinent place.<sup>1</sup> The other monumental king-list, the Saqqārah list, is likely to have listed this king in Dyn. II (no. 10), but unfortunately this entry is rather severely damaged.<sup>2</sup> No indication of a king with this name is, however, given in Dyn. III. Manetho, the late chronicler, gives neither in Dyn. II nor in Dyn. III a name which could be identified with that in the Turin Royal List. No documents of a king with this name are preserved in any way and the assumption of the existence of a ruler named *Hwdf* in Dyns. II and III is solely based upon the Turin Royal List.<sup>3</sup>

A name of this form is not attested for a private person either. Concerning its existence as a royal name, even in distorted spelling, as is the case with a considerable number of the royal names of the early period, for which the scribe of the Turin Royal List adopted spellings different from those occurring on the contemporary monuments of those Pharaohs, one feature seems particularly striking. It is the use of the group  $\text{𓆑}$ . Even assuming that the late scribe should have used a peculiar spelling for the name of a king whose name was not familiar to him, the presence of this sign, indicating 'evil', as a part of the name appears highly suspicious.

The occurrence of this group  $\text{𓆑}$ , previously also transcribed  $\text{𓆑}$ ,<sup>4</sup> is not restricted to these two occurrences. It appears also three times in col. VIII as part of names.<sup>5</sup> The instances are: VIII, 5 ( $\text{𓆎𓆏𓆑}$ ); VIII, 7 ( $\text{𓆎𓆏𓆑}$ ); and VIII, 10 ( $\text{𓆎𓆏𓆑}$ ). In two of the instances it is with certainty preceded by *df*, as in the names under discussion. It remains to say that neither one of those rulers of the late Middle Kingdom

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the photograph in Capart, *Memphis*, fig. 146.

<sup>2</sup> Meyer, *Ägyptische Chronologie*, Taf. I.

<sup>3</sup> So Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, 2, p. 146, and Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 166, 627.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Meyer, *Ägyptische Chronologie*, opp. p. 125, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> The restoration of the royal name ( $\text{𓆎𓆏𓆑}$ ) in VI, 18 seems highly uncertain, as there are no traces which could justify it. Against it speaks furthermore the fact that this king *Sdfi-krr* is well attested by a considerable number of monuments, none of which uses a determinative of this kind after the element *sdf*. If, indeed, the size of the lacuna should demand the restoration of a determinative, a point which is not clear from the photograph published by Farina, the inclusion of  $\text{𓆑}$  in  $\text{𓆑}$  could only be by erroneous analogy on the part of the scribe. That *df* in this context is not identical with the word discussed here is clear from the fact that it is in the causative. If we discard the restoration of  $\text{𓆑}$  in the cartouche of *Sdfi-krr*, the fact that this name has a definite meaning contrasts it with the unintelligibility of the three names in col. VIII which contain  $\text{𓆑}$  as an element; also these obscure names occur nowhere else, whereas *Sdfi-krr* is well known. For the monuments of this king see *Fouilles de l'Inst. fr.* x, 115 f. and the cylinder in Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, p. 343, fig. 226, top row, fourth from the left.

is attested by any other source. From the occurrences it can be concluded that the group *𐎠* serves as determinative to a word *df*.

In addition to those occurrences as part of a royal name, the group furthermore occurs four times in the Turin Royal List. All of them are connected with the indication of dates. In the earliest example, IV, 16 and IV, 17, it is followed by the indication of six years, both times being part of a summary of the duration of the preceding reigns. In this instance the group *𐎠* is considered to indicate an interregnum between Dyn. VI and Dyn. VIII. It is also found in VI, 6 after the complete entry concerning the King *Shm·k3·rc Imn·m·h3t·snb*, followed by the indication of six years. Since it is already preceded by an account of the regnal years of this Pharaoh, now lost, it cannot be connected with this person. The two other instances, again in column VIII, are in a broken context. In VIII, 12, written as a rubric, it is followed by the entry of days ruled by the preceding Pharaoh, while in VIII, 14 it follows, likewise as a rubric, after the indication of months and days of the reign.

We thus have two principal contexts in which the group *𐎠* appears in the Turin Royal List. The one is as part of royal names, the other in connexion with the length of reigns. It seems justified to postulate identical significance in all cases where the group appears, since the assumption of a varying usage of it as part of the royal name, on the one hand, and in connexion with the date indication, on the other, appears most unlikely to me.

In view of these facts the assumption that *𐎠* is used here as determinative of *df* 'food' cannot be correct, since the use of the same word in connexion with date-indications gives no sense whatsoever.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, *df* 'food' as an element of a royal name is not attested elsewhere, and it seems that it was not used as a compound in names for a king except in the form of a causative verb in the name *Sdf3·k3·rc*, but which application is basically different from the nominal one presupposed for *df*. Finally, the appearance of the 'evil' bird, even though it might result from an erroneous spelling of the scribe, seems highly suspect and would be in strong contradiction to the otherwise highly honorific treatment received by the royal name.

*Df3*, the phonetic value of the word, according to the above-mentioned occurrences, is in my opinion identical with *dfi*, attested by the medical literature with the meaning 'to sink in'.<sup>2</sup> The same root is found as *df* 'to deteriorate', of a building,<sup>3</sup> although only attested from Greek times. Identical with this word is *wdf*,<sup>4</sup> spelled with *d* since the Middle Kingdom. In its intransitive use it has the meaning 'to hesitate'; it also is found as a transitive and has then the significance 'to let become forgotten'.<sup>5</sup> These different forms all are basically identical, the primary trend expressed being material decay. It is in this way that I propose to understand *df3* in the Turin Royal List,

<sup>1</sup> Meyer, *Ägyptische Chronologie*, 166, n. 1 says about its significance: 'Man erwartet etwa "überschüssig", d.h. "nicht mitzuzählen" (oder umgekehrt??). . . .'

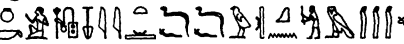
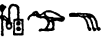
<sup>2</sup> *Wb.* v, 569, 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Wb.* v, 569, 7.


<sup>4</sup> *Wb.* I, 388. For the change of the weak radical, cf. Otto, 'Die Verba Iae inf. und die ihnen verwandten Verba im Ägyptischen', *ZÄS* 79, 41 ff.


<sup>5</sup> *Wb.* I, 389, 4.





indicating gaps in the original from which the text was copied, as frequently done by *wš*.<sup>1</sup> *Dfš* and *wš* are thus to be considered as synonyms. Support for this identification can be found in a passage in the Hatnub Graffito no. 12, 1. 3-4<sup>2</sup> where a man proudly speaks about himself:  'I was a scribe of restoring the gaps (destroyed papyri), skilled with his fingers.' *Dfdfw*, not attested elsewhere, is apparently a reduplication of *dfš*, used here of mutilated papyri. It is in this connexion significant that the man is at the same time *sš mdšt-ntr* 'scribe of the divine book', and it is tempting to assume that his activity as restorer of defective papyri has something to do with this profession of his.<sup>3</sup> A parallel case to this indication concerning the restoration of papyri is already attested from the late Dyn. VI<sup>4</sup> by the title  'scribe of what was found destroyed', but here with the use of *wš*. The holder of this title is likewise *sš mdšt-ntr*, as we have found in the case quoted above.

Since *dfš* thus has to be recognized as having the significance of indicating a gap in the original from which the Turin Royal List was copied, the instances where it occurs become fully understandable. In the cases of those three royal names, mentioned above, it accordingly indicates that only part of them was still legible to the scribe, the rest having been destroyed, which in all cases is the end of the name.

In the same way the indication  has to be understood when used in connexion with the accounts of the length of reigns. In VIII, 12 it probably is to be considered that the figure giving the number of months was missing, while in VIII, 14 it seems necessary to take it as an indication of a gap following the entry. This might either mean that there was a lacuna to the subsequent entry or else that an additional statement in the same line was lost.

As for the occurrence in the grand total after Dyn. VI, where the group  is followed by the indication of six years, it likewise cannot be considered as having the significance of 'interregnum', an idea which hardly would fit to the concept of perpetuity of Egyptian kingship, which demands a continuous occupation of the throne. The occurrence there seems rather to express that for a period of six years the names of the rulers, who represent Manetho's Dynasty VII, were lost in the original, although the length of their reigns was known to the later scribe.<sup>5</sup> In the same way I propose to interpret also the identical entry in VI, 6, following *Šhm·kš·r Imn·m·hšt·snb*.

We now can return to the question with which we started, the King *Hwdfš* of Dyns. II and III. Applying the results of our investigation of the significance of , there can be no doubt that no king with this name ever existed. According to the use of this expression to indicate a lacuna, as found in col. VIII, we might well assume in III, 2, the fully preserved entry, that the missing royal name started with  and that only the other signs of it were lost in the original.<sup>6</sup> Although this explanation appears to be



<sup>1</sup> *Wb.* 1, 368, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Anthes, *Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, 28.

<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to mention that even in modern Judaism a scroll containing the Torah cannot be discarded, but always has to be mended when damaged or partially destroyed.

<sup>4</sup> Cairo 1353 and also Mariette, *Mastabas*, G. h, 438.

<sup>5</sup> The full record of this period is most likely to be preserved by the Abydos list in the entries from no. 43 to no. 52.

<sup>6</sup> The  after  seems hardly to be of any significance, but to be rather a filling.

possible, I wonder if we may not have here a derivative of *df* formed by a *ḥ*-prefix. If my conjecture is correct, even though such a word does not seem to be attested,<sup>1</sup> it would be likely to have the meaning 'fully lost', as a prefixed *ḥ* causes the intensification of the meaning of the simplex.<sup>2</sup> In that case the entry in the original has to be assumed as completely lost, possibly even that in this place there was a larger lacuna, covering more than one line. Supporting such an assumption is the fact that for the specific chronological position occupied by this expression in the Turin Royal List we have more than one ruler attested by the contemporary monuments. This is particularly the case for Dyn. III, where the account given in the Turin Royal List is in wide disaccord with Manetho's record, which gives 9 (according to Africanus), or 8 (according to Eusebius) rulers for Dyn. III, which seems more likely to conform with the monuments of the known Pharaohs of that period than the other account with its rather limited number of kings.

Summing up, we can say that a Pharaoh named *Ḥwdf* never existed in Dyns. II or III, but that this entry in the Turin Royal List has to be understood as the indication of a lacuna in the original from which the scribe of the New Kingdom copied that record.







<sup>1</sup> *Wb.* III, 214, 3 gives *ḥdf* as the name of a deity, but the correctness of the reading is doubted.

<sup>2</sup> Thausing, 'Über ein *ḥ*-Präfix im Ägyptischen', *WZKM* 39, 287 f.

THE HIEROGLYPH 

By E. IVERSEN

THE sign here to be discussed does not belong to that great majority of hieroglyphs which from the very beginnings of hieroglyphic writing had become standardized once and for all, but it displays, especially in the earlier periods, a great variety of forms.

In the Old Kingdom we find  and <sup>1</sup> and occasionally <sup>2</sup>. In the Eleventh Dynasty forms like <sup>3</sup> are found, and as late as the Twelfth Dynasty variations like <sup>4</sup> occur, although  from this period onwards becomes predominant and remains the usual standard form of the sign.

Its pictorial meaning, that is the object which it is actually supposed to represent and from which it must have obtained its phonetic value *š*, has been subject to much discussion. Brugsch was the first to draw attention to a well-known representation

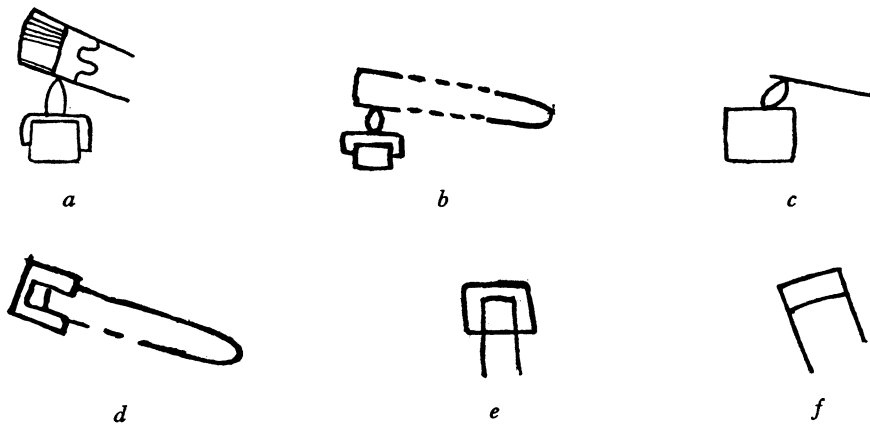



FIG. 1.


from Medīnet Habu, showing Ramesses III in his chariot carrying over his shoulder an open quiver with its lid suspended below.<sup>5</sup> This lid has undoubtedly the exact form



<sup>1</sup> Tomb of Ti, from Montet, *Scènes*, p. 225, fig. 34 a-b.




<sup>2</sup> Bas-relief from Karlsruhe, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 7, 95, fig. 6.


<sup>3</sup> Brit. Mus. 614, 7. 9, cf. *JEA* 17, pl. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Beschr. Leiden*, II, pl. 4, l. 5. Generally speaking, the hieratic form of the sign did not change; however, Černý points out that this sign probably is borrowed directly from hieratic. It must be supposed, therefore, to represent the older form of the sign .

<sup>5</sup> The representation to which Brugsch refers is found on pls. 19 and 25 in the first volume of the Chicago publication of the temple, but several others are found, e.g. *ibid.*, pl. 37 (38) and 42 (fig. 1 a and b respectively). Another form of the lid more closely related to the old form of the hieroglyph is fig. 1 c (*ibid.*, pl. 33 (32)). When the lids are shown in their positions on the quivers they are represented as in fig. 1 d or e (I, 29. 41) and f (I, 35). How the lower rectangular part of the sign is to be explained is doubtful. It may be that some lids were actually provided with a protruding part made to fit into the opening of the quiver after the principle of the cork, but it is also possible that we are faced merely with a technical problem of perspective of a similar kind as those found e.g. in the Egyptian representations of the door . This would explain the interior lines




of the hieroglyph , and Brugsch concluded therefore that the latter quite simply represents 'der Deckel eines Köchers'<sup>1</sup> 'the lid of a quiver'. This interpretation was contested by Borchardt,<sup>2</sup> who explained the Old Kingdom form of the sign as a razor. He considered the main part of the sign  to be a conventionalized picture of the razor itself and the protruding part on top its handle. The later form of the sign he explained as a razor in its case.


An impartial observer would have difficulties in seeing the connexion between the ordinary Egyptian razor as reproduced in Borchardt's article and the hieroglyph, where so many characteristic details are left unaccounted for,<sup>3</sup> but the main argument against his explanation is that the razor does actually occur as a hieroglyph itself<sup>4</sup> in a form which has no connexion whatsoever with the hieroglyph . Borchardt's explanation was flatly rejected by Sethe<sup>5</sup> without further argument,<sup>6</sup> but for once Sethe himself had no convincing explanation to offer apart from a vague suggestion that the sign might represent 'the back of something', proposing the sign  as a possibility. More recently Grdseloff<sup>7</sup> has tried to revive the identification with the razor by a reference to an obscure word <sup>8</sup> supposed to be the name of 'a knife or chisel', while authorities like Gardiner and the *Wörterbuch* have reserved their judgement. Gardiner<sup>9</sup> follows Sethe in his explanation of the old form of the sign 'back of something' and refers to the identification with the cover of the quiver as well as the razor as far as the late sign is concerned; the *Wörterbuch*<sup>10</sup> gives some of the variations of the sign but has no reference to its pictorial meaning.

In all these discussions, however, a small but important article by Jéquier<sup>11</sup> has been overlooked or forgotten. I admit that I have great difficulties in following Jéquier's arguments in detail, but he draws attention to a small Old Kingdom bas-relief from the Museum of Karlsruhe<sup>12</sup> representing a man apparently closing some sort of a box with a lid of much the same appearance as the hieroglyph , and accompanied by an on such representations as *Medinet Habu*, I, 19 (25), which seem made to express that the lid was square and hollow.


<sup>1</sup> Brugsch, *Wb.* IV, 1153.

<sup>2</sup> *ZÄS* 42, 78-79.

<sup>3</sup> If the protruding part on top were actually the handle, the razor would have been represented upside down from its normal position when used. Several Old Kingdom representations, and almost all the later ones, show very clearly that what Borchardt took to be the handle is undoubtedly a loop—see, for example, the two signs from the tomb of Ti. It is generally placed in the middle of the sign and not nearer to one end as Borchardt's drawings would suggest, and the correct form of the sign is undoubtedly  and not . Černý points out that the comparison ought to be based on the forms of the razor found in the Old Kingdom, and refers to Brunton, *Lahun I: the Treasure*, pl. 10 and p. 37; *Kémi*, 4, 187; *Beni Hasan*, II, 7, 3. Even so, the picture of the object has not the characteristics of the sign .

<sup>4</sup>  Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup>, Sign-list, U 37.

<sup>5</sup> Sethe, 'Bedeutung des Striches |', in *ZÄS* 45, 45.

<sup>6</sup> 'Das Zeichen wird nicht, wie Borchardt darzutun suchte, ein Raziermesser, sondern den "Rücken" eines Gegenstandes (ob ) darstellen.'

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in an article by Fairman, *Ann. Serv.* 43, 310.





<sup>8</sup> Lacau, *Sarcophages*, II, 13.



<sup>9</sup> Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup>, Sign-list, Aa 17 and 18.

















<sup>10</sup> IV, 8.














<sup>11</sup> *Bull. Inst. fr.* 7, 94.


<sup>12</sup> Wiedemann and Pörtner, *Aeg. Grabreliefs zu Karlsruhe*, pl. 5 and p. 28.


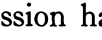

inscription in which the sign occurs<sup>1</sup> in a connexion which makes it difficult to decide whether it is used as ideogram, determinative, or phonetic complement. Jéquier translates the inscription 'remplir le panier à pain de gâteaux', takes  as a determinative, and considers  as a writing of the well-known verb   'satt werden', 'satt sein', 'satt machen' = 'remplir'. His argumentation is not always convincing, but what is important from our point of view is his conclusion that the hieroglyph represents 'un couvercle de panier, couvercle indépendant muni d'une cordelette qui se termine par un nœud ou un boucle servant à le soulever. Comme signe hiéroglyphique, il représente le syllabique sa, qui est sans doute à l'origine le nom même de ce genre d'objet, mais paraît aussi dans le cas du verbe cité plus haut, jouer le rôle de déterminatif.' We shall see that this explanation with only the slightest modification represents the final solution of our problem. It is obvious, however, as in all similar cases, that any proposal, however tempting and however probable, must remain a hypothesis until proved by the simple but indispensable philological test: the demonstration that the Egyptian name of the object which was ideographically expressed by the hieroglyph was identical with the value of the sign when used as a phonetic element.

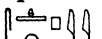
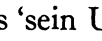
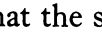




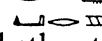
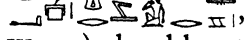


We shall see that this demonstration is possible in the present case, and that the whole problem becomes quite clear when it is realized that the word from which the hieroglyph obtained its phonetic value *s* was neither the lid of the quiver nor the lid of the basket, but quite simply the word 'lid' generally speaking. This explains the great variety of forms, because in practice any particular lid could be used to represent the hieroglyph and express the sound-value *s*. It was not until the final stabilization of hieroglyphic writing about the Twelfth Dynasty that the lid of the quiver became the generally accepted standardization of the sign. That this explanation is correct becomes obvious when it is realized that a word with the sound-value *s*, written with the hieroglyph  and accompanied by the stroke-determinative , actually does occur in Egyptian with the meaning 'lid'. The word is not found in the dictionaries, and has not been registered hitherto owing to its being confounded with the well-known word for 'back', which had the same consonants and was written in the same way,<sup>2</sup> but one indisputable example of its occurrence will suffice to prove its existence.

We find among the prescriptions for the ailments of the eyes, under the heading           (Ebers, 55, 17-18) 'Another remedy to improve the sight by means of applications upon the '*s*' of the eyes', a great variety of remedies about which it is said that they must be applied   'to the *s*' of the eyes' (e.g. Ebers, 55, 19. 21; 56, 2. 5. 6; 57, 9. 15. 17; 58, 3. 15. 17; 61, 2. 4. 9. 17; 62, 8. 10. 12. 22). Elsewhere (ibid. 63, 1) we are told that   must be anointed, and   is

<sup>1</sup> The inscription, placed on either side of the squatting figure, runs:     . Jéquier takes    to be the name of the man and reads:   . In spite of his remark that the inscription offers no difficulties 'quelle que soit la manière dont on groupe les mots', I fail to understand it. It should undoubtedly be read   , cf. *Wb.* iv, 16, 10. Jéquier's conclusion is all that matters, however, for our present purpose.

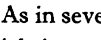
<sup>2</sup> When the stroke-determinative is used together with the hieroglyph in the writing of the word *s* 'back', it is obviously one of the not unknown cases where the combination of the stroke and the hieroglyph has been transferred to a phonetic use, cf. the writing  for the preposition 'upon'. Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 535.

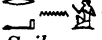

said to be the seat of a lesion,  (ibid. 60, 10) 'an eye . . . the lesion of which is upon the *ś* of the eyes'. *Wb.* iv, 9, 18 has placed the phrase under *ś* 'back' under the heading 'Rücken eines Körpertheils'. It translates 'Rücken der Augen', but with the important explanatory remark that this seems to be an expression for the eyelids. The context makes it quite clear that *Wb.* is right in its reference to the eyelids, and this translation has been generally accepted (e.g. Ebbell, *The Papyrus Ebers*). On the other hand, it should be clear from what has been shown above that from a philological point of view the expression has been misunderstood,  does not mean 'Rücken der Augen', but we have in this case the true ideographical use of the hieroglyph  in its original meaning 'lid'. The whole expression should therefore not only be explained, but also translated, as 'the lid of the eyes', a designation well known from several other languages (English 'eyelids', German 'Augenlider', Danish 'Øjenlaag').

As a matter of fact there are certain indications that a closer examination of the various words and phrases in which the word *ś* appears might provide further examples of the word 'lid'. This investigation would fall outside the scope of the present article but a few suggestive cases might be pointed out. The incense-burner  is mentioned in one of the lists of the Kahun papyri together with a separate part of it which Borchardt transcribes  and translates 'sein Untersatz?';<sup>1</sup> von Bissing,<sup>2</sup> however, has shown from archaeological evidence that in this case 'its lid' must be the correct rendering. It must be obvious therefore that the sign transcribed  (?) by Borchardt should actually be read , which provides us with another example of the sign used ideographically for the word 'lid'. Attention might be drawn also to the word  which occurs in the Pyramid Texts with the characteristic determinatives  or . *Wörterbuch* translates 'ein Bauteil' and the word means probably a 'beam of wood' but seems also used with the specific meaning 'roof'. Cf. Coptic  $\sigma\gamma\epsilon\zeta\sigma\alpha\iota$  (Crum 318a).<sup>3</sup> Considering the ordinary meaning of the phrase  which is undoubtedly 'to throw away' 'to remove',<sup>4</sup> I have also wondered whether the phrase , generally translated 'den Rücken der Lüge zu Boden werfen' (*Wb.* iv, 10) should not be interpreted as 'to remove the lid of the lie', i.e. to disclose it. Be this as it may, we have enough conclusive evidence to assert as the result of our investigation that the hieroglyph  or  in its various forms received its phonetic value *ś* from a current word *ś* meaning 'lid'. Any form of lid could originally be used to represent the hieroglyph, but from about the Twelfth Dynasty the lid of the quiver became its standard representation.

<sup>1</sup> Borchardt, 'Der zweite Papyrusfund vom Kahun', in *ZÄS* 37, 95.




<sup>2</sup> von Bissing, 'Zu den Kahunpapyri', in *ZÄS* 41, 147.

<sup>3</sup> It should be noticed that the hieroglyph occurs in the Sign Papyrus (Griffith's edition, xxv, 1). The papyrus is much damaged but it seems to explain the sign by the word . As in several other cases, this is not an explanation of the sign itself, but of one of the common words in which it occurs, apparently the word 'cattle-pen' (Gardiner, *Onomastica*, A 229). *Ś* and *hwt* would therefore seem to be synonyms, and there is actually a remarkable coincidence in the various uses of the two stems. Cf. op. cit., A 433, where *hwt* is used for 'ceiling', 'roof', and 'hall'; hence it is also used for a 'shelter' for cattle.

<sup>4</sup> Cf.  'I threw away, because there was <too> much on my arms', *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 3. 5. For  see Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> § 157, 4.

## MARU-ATEN: PLEASURE RESORT OR TEMPLE?

By ALEXANDER BADAWY

THE original excavators of the complex of buildings at the southern end of the capital Akhetaten (El-'Amārnah) which has been identified with Maru-Aten have ascribed to it the character of a pleasure resort. This seems to originate in the discovery of numerous potsherds of wine-vessels, and one can read incongruous remarks such as: 'They were certainly no "dry" entertainments that Akhenaten gave in the Precinct of the Southern Pool'.<sup>1</sup> This picture of revelry, surely incompatible with what we know about Akhenaten as initiator of such exalted religious ideas as those displayed in the solar hymns, has happily found no echo among scholars. Nevertheless, the building Maru-Aten was still commonly described as 'Lusthaus o. ähnliches, Gartenanlage'.<sup>2</sup> As is often the case,<sup>3</sup> the earlier lexicographers were nearer the truth with such translations of *mꜣrw* as 'Ort von welchem aus man einen Blick hat',<sup>4</sup> or better, 'Vista, aspetto, prospettiva, veduta'.<sup>5</sup> An adequate description of a *maru* is that by Chabas: 'L'endroit d'un temple où les statues divines étaient placées lorsqu'on leur faisait des oblations; ce mot semble composé comme notre expression ostensor'.<sup>6</sup> The commonest orthography spells the word quite clearly as *mꜣrw* , *mꜣrt* , and only occasionally  *mꜣnr* (*mꜣnl?*) in a proper name. The name has been rightly compared with Hebrew מִרְאָה. I would add that it could also be paralleled by the Arabic مرآى from رأى 'to see'. It has been pointed out that all the *maru* mentioned in texts are connected with solar deities.<sup>7</sup>

Maru-Aten was considered originally by Egyptologists to be a domestic building, but was soon more adequately described by Gunn as 'viewing-place, place of being viewed' for solar gods,<sup>8</sup> so also Fairman.<sup>9</sup> The solar god Horus of Edfu-Beḥdet had a *maru* to the south-east of his Ptolemaic temple, and local texts mention that there had been a *maru* at this place from the early times of King Menibrē (Thirteenth Dynasty).<sup>10</sup> There was another *maru* of Horus at Edfu-Djeba.<sup>11</sup> At Denderah Horus Beḥdy had also a *maru*, thought to originate from the reign of Sesostris.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Peet and Woolley, *City of Akhenaten*, I, 117.

<sup>2</sup> *Wb.* II, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the interpretation of the word *wn-hr* in earlier dictionaries and now in Badawy, 'La Stèle funéraire égyptienne à ouverture axiale', *Bull. Inst. d'Égypte*, 35, 122-3.

<sup>4</sup> Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, v, 525.

<sup>5</sup> Levi, *Vocabolario Geroglifico-Copto-Ebraico*, 1887, III, 35.

<sup>6</sup> Chabas, *Études sur l'antiquité historique*, 1873, 417-18.

<sup>7</sup> Gunn, in *City of Akhenaten*, I, 156-9.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

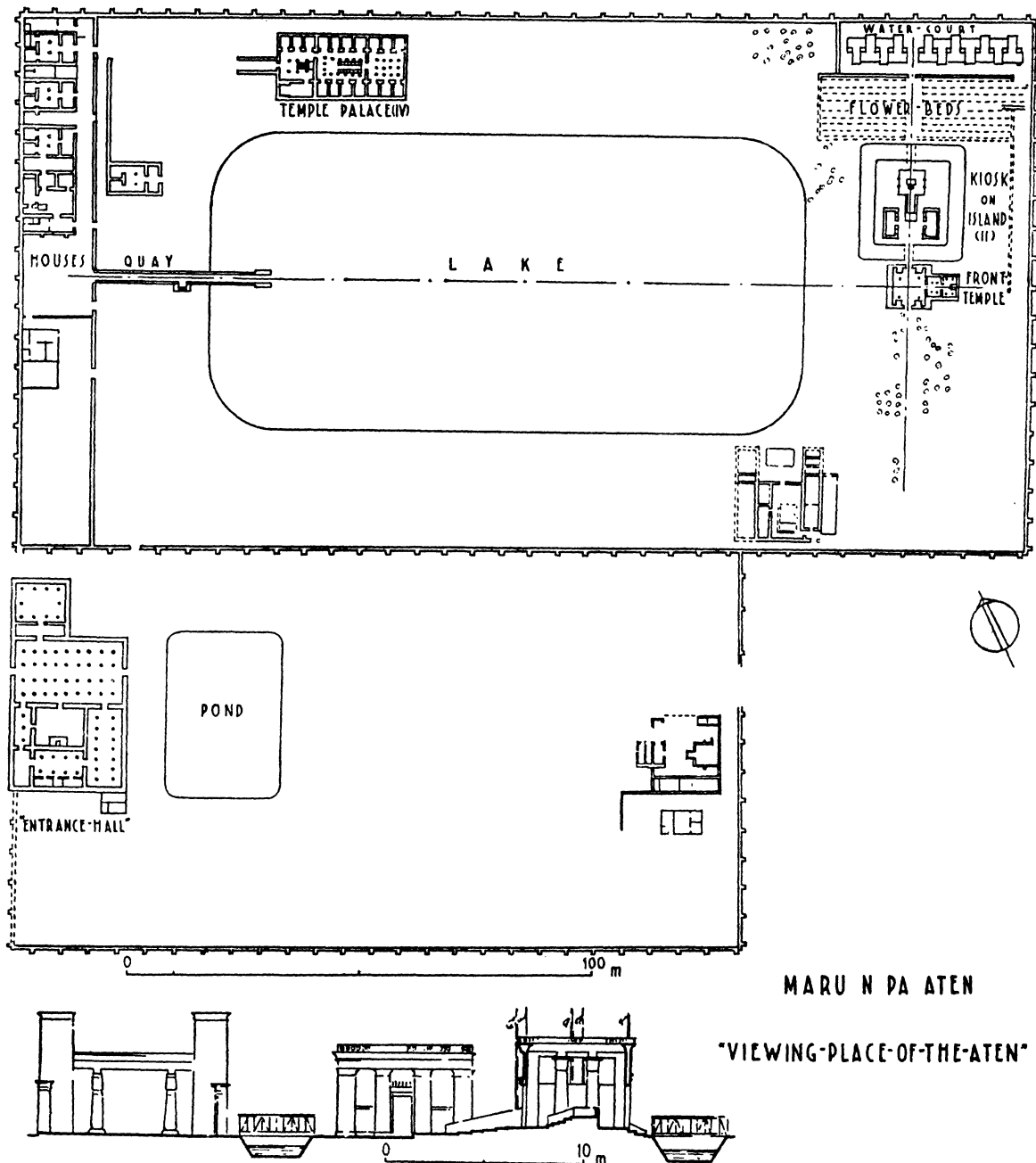
<sup>9</sup> Fairman, in Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten*, III, 208.

<sup>10</sup> Alliot, *Le Culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, 575, 581. Also Chassinat, 'Le Mar du Roi Menibré à Edfou', *Bull. Inst. fr.* 30, 299 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 550-1.

<sup>12</sup> Chassinat, 'Le Temple d'Horus Behouditi à Denderah', *Rev. de l'Ég. Anc.* I, 298 ff.

Whether the *maru* was already known in the Middle Kingdom, as stated in the Ptolemaic texts at Edfu-Beḥdet, cannot be ascertained. The earliest mention<sup>1</sup> of a *maru* occurs on the granite stela of Amenophis III, from the temple of Meneptah in Western



Thebes. Amenophis III describes the building he dedicated to Amūn as: ‘making for him a *maru* as a divine offering (*htp ntr*) over against (*hft-hr*) Southern Ipet; a place of flourishing (*sdjy* “recreation”, according to Petrie-Spiegelberg) for my father at his

<sup>1</sup> Gunn ignored this occurrence when he said that the earliest examples he knew were in the Maru-Aten inscriptions, cf. *City of Akhenaten*, I, 156.



beautiful feast. I erected a great temple in its midst like Rē<sup>c</sup> when he rises in the horizon. It is planted with all flowers; how beautiful is Nūn in his pool at every season; more is its wine than water, like a full Nile, born of the lord of Eternity. Many are the gods of the place, the import of all countries is received, much tribute is brought here before my father, being the offerings of all lands.<sup>1</sup> The location of this temple, probably to be sought in Western Thebes, has not been defined, although one could tentatively consider the building *pr-ḥrj* (⊙𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒) of Birket Ḥabu.<sup>2</sup>

If we accept the idea that Maru-Aten may have been a religious building rather than a domestic one, and compare it with the description of the *maru* built by Amenophis III in Western Thebes, it is noticeable how this description agrees with the archaeological evidence about Maru-Aten. The *maru* of Amenophis III is said to be a 'place of flourishing' (*st sdꜣy*; 'recreation, amusement' would have been *sdꜣy-ḥr*) for Amūn at his beautiful feast, a description not incompatible with that of Maru-Aten as given lately by Egyptologists. In his description of the *maru* at Thebes Amenophis III mentions a great temple 'in its midst, like Rē<sup>c</sup> when he rises in the horizon'. This would imply that the *maru* included all the buildings and architectural features (gardens, pond). At El-'Amārnah the Maru-Aten would then designate the whole complex of buildings surrounded by two contiguous rectangular enclosure-walls. Within the largest one there are, beginning from the west, a series of contiguous houses for officials or priests, a royal palace, a large lake directed west-east, and on its axis, to the east, the front temple. At right angles to this main axis is the ensemble of the kiosk, the flower-garden, and the water-tanks. The latter group of buildings seems to form the basic 'viewing-place' in the Maru-Aten. To the south, inside the main enclosure, is another building with a pond and, at the south-west corner, abutting the external wall, a smaller enclosure with an entrance building and a pond.

The eastern buildings (II) of Maru-Aten have been recognized as being of a religious nature; according to Gunn the purpose of the front temple would have been to view the Aten when he rose in the east,<sup>3</sup> while Fairman would consider the so-called kiosk, or peripteral temple of the island, as a Sunshade, the *šwt Rr* of the inscriptions.<sup>4</sup> In both buildings the disposition of the columns in all the elements of the plan, except in the hypostyle hall of the front temple, points to the fact that there was no roof.<sup>5</sup> The central building on the island has been identified by Fairman as a Sunshade,<sup>6</sup> of a type otherwise known by numerous examples at El-'Amārnah, Sesebi, and Amada, not to mention the hypaetral chapels which were regularly set on the axis of the entrance gateway, in the mansions at El-'Amārnah. It would prove helpful, in this connexion, to investigate what is known about the later Graeco-Roman (?) *maru* of solar deities, such as those

<sup>1</sup> Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes*, 1897, 24-5, pl. 12, l. 12 ff.; Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* II, § 887; Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, pl. 16, no. 34025. This rendering of *sdꜣy* (causative of *wꜣꜣ*) 'flourishing' is supported by the parallel comparison with the epithet of the sacred animal presented as king of Egypt in the Ptolemaic *mꜣrw*. The falcon is called *pꜣ Bik-wꜣꜣ* (at Athribis), the ram *Bꜣ-wꜣꜣ* (Mendes). Cf. Alliot, op. cit. 599, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaaes*, 1952, s. 68 ff., also Nims, 'Places about Thebes', *JNES* 14, 119.

<sup>3</sup> Gunn, *City of Akhenaten*, I, 158.

<sup>4</sup> Fairman, *City of Akhenaten*, III, 206.

<sup>5</sup> Wrongly restored by Newton, op. cit. I, pl. 30. Cf. Fairman, op. cit. III, 206, citing Borchardt, *Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang*, 78, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Fairman, *ibid.* 208.

of Horus at Denderah, Edfu-Djeba, Edfu-Beḥdet, and Philae. These seem to have been of the same type. From texts relating to these buildings it can be deduced that the main architectural element was a *šđt* 'window' in which Horus appeared in the shape of his sacred falcon, hence the name *mꜣrw n ꜥwt.f* 'maru of his sacred animal'<sup>1</sup> for the building. At Edfu-Beḥdet this building stood presumably near the south-east angle of the main temple, opposite the Mammisi. There was a falcon chosen yearly from among the animals reared in the precincts and presented to the people by the statue from this 'Window of Appearance', which was similar to those of royal palaces of Dynasties Eighteen to Twenty.<sup>2</sup> At El-'Amārnah, the Aten was no longer represented in anthropomorphic form, but as a solar disk with rays, and he had no sacred animal. It could be presumed that the (peripteral?) kiosk in the island was the Sunshade, while the neighbouring front temple embodied the essential 'Window of Appearance' opening in its rear wall above the altar. Incidentally, it is noteworthy that it occupies the same place in the layout as did the *mꜣrw n ꜥwt.f* (*Pr-Bik*) with respect to the actual temple. That the *maru* with its 'Window of Appearance' is really taken over from royal palaces<sup>3</sup> is corroborated by its position, similar to that of temple palaces with respect to the funerary temples of the New Kingdom in Western Thebes.<sup>4</sup>

Coming back to the basic description of a *maru* by Amenophis III, we are told 'it is planted with all flowers'. The mention of flowers is paralleled by the evidence of gardens laid out around the religious buildings at Maru-Aten, especially the eight flower-beds on either side of the central pathway leading to the water-court. In the solar hymns of El-'Amārnah it is said to the Aten: 'Thy rays nourish every garden. When thou risest they live, they grow by thee.'<sup>5</sup>

Proceeding with the description by Amenophis III: 'How beautiful is Nūn in his pool at every season', I would tentatively connect this mention of Nūn with the various ponds, the channel around the kiosk-island, and the T-tanks in Maru-Aten. The kiosk is built on an artificial island,<sup>6</sup> presumably as the symbolic abode of the Aten issuing forth from the primaeval Nūn (?). In the Heliopolitan sun-cult water for lustration was brought from a sacred pool attached to the sun temple. The water of this pool 'was identified with that of Nūn, the primaeval Ocean out of which the sun-god was born in the first instance'.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, it is to be noticed that the longitudinal axis of the large lake (120 × 60 m., but only 1 m. deep)<sup>8</sup> coincides with that of a long quay (V) jutting at its west end and with that of the front temple at its east end. This east-west direction suggests at once a connexion with the viewing of the Aten in his daily course, and especially in the evening, when he began his nightly voyage. Would it be too

<sup>1</sup> Alliot, *op. cit.* 569 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 584, 603.

<sup>3</sup> Gunn, *op. cit.* I, 157.

<sup>4</sup> Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, II, 81-82; III, 44-48; 77-78.

<sup>5</sup> Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, 327.

<sup>6</sup> No other artificial symbolical island is known except that of the Osireion of Sethos I at Abydos, also orientated NE.-SW. Here it seems to picture the cosmogonic belief of the Primaeval Hill emerging from its surrounding waters. Cf. Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*.

<sup>7</sup> Blackman, 'Sacramental Ideas and Usages in Ancient Egypt', *Rec. trav.* 39, 45; also *Proc. SBA* 40, 88.

<sup>8</sup> Surely not for irrigation or ornamental purposes or others: 'this lake must often have been the scenes of such gay parties as we see illustrated on the walls of many New Kingdom tombs', cf. *City of Akhenaten*, I, 115.

presumptuous to see in it a symbolic representation of the Nile? The solar hymns expound, among other aspects of the Sun, its creative activity: 'Thou makest the Nile in the Nether World, thou bringest it as thou desirest to preserve alive the people.' And again: '(But) the Nile, it cometh forth from the Nether World for Egypt', and during day 'thy rays are in the midst of the great green sea'.<sup>1</sup>

Amenophis says that 'Nūn is beautiful in his pool at every season'. At Maru-Aten a row of eleven T-shaped contiguous tanks, interlocking about thirteen square bases, has hitherto defied interpretation. They are surrounded by a passage-way in painted plaster, representing panels with two plants each. One area appropriate to a tank has been transformed into a transverse passage, at the same level as the surrounding passage, but curiously enough, not in the middle of the row. It lies, however, on the main axis of the kiosk, and has seven tanks on its east side and four others on its west side. The series of tanks obviously forms the final part of the complete layout, including the front temple, lake, kiosk, and flower-beds. I would tentatively suggest that the kiosk and the eleven tanks were the scenes of the festival of *Mswt-Itn*, which was celebrated monthly.<sup>2</sup> Each of the tanks, with its decoration of plants, will have represented a month, the kiosk playing the role of the missing tank, probably intended for the initial feast. The asymmetrical distribution of both series of tanks about the main axis would express the date of this festival in the sequence of the months. A corroboration of this hypothesis seems to be offered by the fact that the initial festival (consecration) of the Falcon of Ḥor-Rē<sup>c</sup> was celebrated in Ptolemaic times in his *maru* at Edfu on the 1st of Tybi.<sup>3</sup> This month is actually the fifth in the year. At Maru-Aten each of the monthly festivals of the first four months of the year would have been represented by each of the four tanks to the west of the main alley, the initial one (Tybi) by the kiosk on the main alley, and each of the remaining seven festivals by each of the seven tanks to the east of the main alley. Thus the passage in the solar hymns, occurring just after the mention of flowers and gardens, would be rendered: 'Thou makest the seasons in order to create all thy work; winter to bring them coolness and heat that they may taste thee.'<sup>4</sup> A thorough botanical study of the plants decorating<sup>5</sup> the tanks and pathways might perhaps yield some information about their various attributions.

Proceeding further with the description by Amenophis III, we are given, in fine, an emphatic account of the richness of the temple in various items: 'More is its wine than water, like a full Nile, born of the lord of Eternity. Many are the goods of the place, the import of every country is received, numerous tribute is brought here before my father, being the offerings of all lands.' At Maru-Aten such a universality of offerings is clearly illustrated by the numerous dockets found in building IV, the so-called harem.<sup>6</sup> Assuming that the architectural survey was accurate, the front hall with its platform abutting on the rear wall would be a reception hall for the king, adjacent to a large bedroom, both features being characteristic of New Kingdom temple-palaces

<sup>1</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.* 325-7.

<sup>2</sup> Fairman, 'Hieratic Dockets', in *City of Akhenaten*, III, 171.


<sup>3</sup> Alliot, *Le Culte d'Horus à Edfou*, 592, 607.

<sup>4</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.* 327.

<sup>5</sup> von Bissing, *Der Fußboden aus dem Palaste des Königs Amenophis IV. zu el Hawata im Museum zu Kairo*, 1941.

<sup>6</sup> Gunn, *City of Akhenaten*, I, 116-17, 161-8; pl. 29, 4.

in Western Thebes. The central part, with its garden surrounded by a columned portico and bordered by two sets of contiguous rooms, reminds one of a similar arrangement of a pavilion, perhaps connected to a house (R 43.1),<sup>1</sup> at El-'Amārnah itself. Wine coming from various estates and preserved meats, ointments, and fruit seem to have been stored in jars in well-stocked cellars, such as are represented in contemporary scenes. Is it not suggestive that Akhenaten himself depicts, in the hymns, the jubilation of creatures when they behold the sun-rays, 'flowers and what grows in the soil are made to grow because thou dawnest. They are drunken before thee'?<sup>2</sup> No mention of a foreign country is made, a fact well in accordance with the crumbling of the empire. On a boundary stela Akhenaten boasts, however, that 'all lands, the Aegeans bear their dues, their tribute is upon their backs',<sup>3</sup> and in the so-called Hall of Foreign Tribute the king and queen were supposed 'to receive the imports of every land'.<sup>4</sup>

The *maru* was essentially a religious building, best described as 'viewing place', a translation further corroborated by the proper name *H<sup>c</sup>-m-mꜣꜣnr*  (Nineteenth Dynasty). It was connected only with solar gods: Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup> (Amenophis III) at Thebes, Aten at El-'Amārnah, or Horus at Denderah, Edfu-Djeba, Edfu-Beḥdet, and Philae. The earliest objective description of a *maru* dates from the reign of Amenophis III, but the Ptolemaic priests at Denderah and Edfu claimed that *maru* temples had been built by Sesostris and Menibrē<sup>c</sup> respectively.

The buildings of Maru-Aten have been compared with the description of the *maru* of Amūn built by Amenophis III in western Thebes. The architectural layout as depicted in the text of Amenophis III, seems to coincide with the actual remains of Maru-Aten, and this would not be surprising if we remember that Amenophis had been the real reviver of sun-worship, even in its new form of Atenism. He had named a temple in Western Thebes and a royal barge *Itn-tḥn* 'Aten-gleams'.<sup>5</sup> It has been debated whether Amenophis III had a co-regency with his son Akhenaten.<sup>6</sup> The gradual but rapid transformation of 'Rē<sup>c</sup>-Ḥarakhte' into 'Rē<sup>c</sup>-the-Father who has returned as the Aten' is described by texts.<sup>7</sup>

The name '*Mꜣꜣrw-Itn*' will have meant 'Viewing-place of the Aten', a name well in agreement with the title of the high priest of the Aten *mꜣꜣrw wr n pꜣ Itn* 'The great seer of the Aten'<sup>8</sup> and similar names of other temples at El-'Amārnah such as *Gm-pꜣ-Itn* 'The-Aten-is-found', *Wbn-Itn* 'The-Aten-Shines', *Pr-ḥꜣy-n-pꜣ-Itn* 'House-of-rejoicing-of-the-Aten', *Pr-tḥn-Itn* 'House-of-the-Aten-gleams'. That the name *mꜣꜣrw* seems etymologically to be of Semitic origin is understandable when we remember that the Sunshade, which is one of the essential features of Maru-Aten, is chiefly associated with the royal ladies, the queen-mother, the queen, and her daughters,<sup>9</sup> whose pro-Semitic feelings have long been proved.

<sup>1</sup> *City of Akhenaten*, III, 139-41; pl. 55, fig. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.* 331, 334.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 331.

<sup>4</sup> *City of Akhenaten*, III, 24.

<sup>5</sup> Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gauces*, 69-70. A vineyard of this name was known in the time of Amenophis III. Cf. also Breasted, *op. cit.* 320; *City of Akhenaten*, III, 154.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 152-7.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 183.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 179; also Breasted, *op. cit.* 321.

<sup>9</sup> *City of Akhenaten*, III, 208. In Phoenicia the god El was identified with the Aten; cf. R. Dussaud, *Les Religions des Hittites et des Hourrites, des Phéniciens et des Syriens*, 361, 371.

The purpose of Maru-Aten would have been to see the Aten in his function of Creator, renewing his achievements daily. It would embody what was expressed in the contemporary hymns: 'Thou didst make the distant sky to rise therein, in order to behold all that thou hast made, thou alone, shining in thy form as the living Aten, dawning, glittering, going far and returning. Thou makest millions of forms through thyself alone; cities, towns and tribes, highways, and rivers. All eyes see thee before them, for thou art Aten of the day over the earth.'<sup>1</sup>

It is very significant that the architectural layout of Maru-Aten corresponds so closely to that of the *maru* of Amenophis III at Thebes and seems to follow, even to the sequence of the constituent elements, the solar hymns of Akhenaten.

Were Maru-Aten the scene of the celebration of the monthly festivals (*mswt-Itn*), the initial festival of the 'viewing' of Aten, corresponding to the 'viewing' of the sacred falcon of Horus, would have been held in the kiosk of the island. The monthly festival would be connected, in turn, with every one of the eleven tanks, while the daily ritual could be held in the front temple for viewing 'when thou risest in the eastern horizon'<sup>2</sup> and 'when thou settest in the western horizon of the sky', in the 'Nile, coming from the Nether World'.<sup>3</sup> The whole universe would participate in the joy of seeing the Aten: 'All that thou hast made dances before thee.'<sup>4</sup> This conception, basically indicative, as is obvious from the names of the temples, of the high priest and the liturgy of the Aten, is paralleled by the naturalism in contemporary art. The joyful liturgy of the Aten,<sup>5</sup> as held in Maru-Aten, with all the pageantry lent by its close contact with life and nature, could have been intended to replace adequately the dramatic Osirian passion play,<sup>6</sup> so sacred in popular tradition.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.* 328. I would see in the bunches of fowl hanging clumsily about the shafts of columns at El-'Amānah, the contribution of sculpture to the interpretation of the Creator's potentiality.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 324.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 327.

<sup>4</sup> It would be interesting to examine whether the so-called 'zoological garden' in El-'Amānah North was not supposed to play the same role of bearing witness to the Creator as the trees and flowers, the water-court and the lake did at Maru-Aten.

<sup>5</sup> Blackman, 'A Study of the Liturgy of the Aton', *Rec. Champ.* 505 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.* 341.

<sup>7</sup> One cannot help being reminded of the 'festival-house' of Mesopotamian gods, also built on the river bank, outside and south of the city. It marked the middle of the New Year procession of the statues of the various gods brought there by barks and carried back by land. The festival-house outside Assur displayed an open layout of gardens surrounding a square building, with open court, also planted with rows of trees, bordered with two porticoes and having a central cella. According to Andrae, gods and people had to be in the open, as the station at the festival-house symbolized the rebirth of the New Year, after the death of the old year during the sailing upstream from the city-enclosure. Cf. W. Andrae, *Die Feststraßen im Nahen Osten*, 19 ff.

SOLAR BARKS PROW TO PROW<sup>1</sup>

By ELIZABETH THOMAS

THE extensive use quite naturally given the boat in fact and in image by all Egyptians has most recently been indicated by Dr. Abubakr.<sup>2</sup> In the nautical solar imagery of Ancient Egypt, of course the two boats used respectively by the sun-god during day and night had an important place from the time of the First Dynasty.<sup>3</sup>

When the New Kingdom frequently placed these two barks prow to prow, it only followed and perhaps elaborated an old tradition<sup>4</sup> that is, it would appear, to be interpreted as it stands. Since the direction of solar motion actually reverses above and below the earth—E. to W., W. to E.—the juxtaposed barks do not depict simply sunrise or sunset, I believe, but instead represent almost literally solar motion above, below, and around the earth, a suggestion I find Schäfer made without pursuing the matter.<sup>5</sup>

Thus all solar motion above the earth in Egypt appears to be from E. to W., while

<sup>1</sup> This paper, first written and accepted by *JEA* in 1952, could not, as it turned out, be included in vol. 39, 1953. In 1953–4 the opportunity to collate and add at first hand in Egypt presented itself, an opportunity greatly enhanced by the kind co-operation of Dr. Mustafa Amer and other members of the Antiquities Department. New examples of the boats seemed to fall into place as found and to be numerous enough to justify recall of the original manuscript for revision. Of course, these examples did not include the Cheops discovery of 1954; this wooden boat, now in process of examination, appears to be funerary (*Archaeology*, 9, 206–9).

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeology*, 8, 96–101.


<sup>3</sup> Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pls. 10–11. Professor Emery tells me that a single boat N. of the tomb and oriented E.–W. was apparently a regular part of the royal mastaba complex at Saqqārah in Dyn. I (cf. *Hor-aha*, pp. 8, 18; pl. 3; *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty*, p. 75; pl. 19, A; *Illustrated London News*, no. 6048 (March 19, 1955), pp. 500–1). Professor Zaki Saad showed me that a similar procedure was frequently followed at Helwan in private tombs of the first two dynasties; up to May 1954 he had excavated about thirty boats oriented E.–W. and several oriented N.–S., the great majority N. of the related tomb (cf. *Royal Excavations at Saqqara and Helwan (1941–1945)*, *Supplément aux ASAE*, no. 3), p. 111, pls. 40, 59; *Royal Excavations . . . (1945–1947)*, (*Supplément . . .*, no. 14), pp. 41–42, pls. 59–60, plans 17–18, and maps).

<sup>4</sup> Certain in M.K., diagram Ca; probable in O.K., Aa–h, Ba. Bark references in addition to others below include: *Ann. Serv.* 26, 101; *Bull. Inst. fr.* 15, 139–52; Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, vol. VI, pt. 1; de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour, mars–juin 1894*, pp. 81–83, pls. 28–31; *Urk.* I, 249, 1–3. Meaning of the words *mskt* and *m'ndt*: *Mél. Maspero*, I, 381; *Rec. trav.* 25, 152–4; to avoid discussion not pertinent to this paper, the full spellings of the two barks will be used throughout, and they will be taken to mean night and day barks, respectively, unless the reverse is stated.

<sup>5</sup> Considered to be sunrise by Erman, *Ausführl. Verz. des äg. Mus.* 2nd ed., 270–1, and by Sethe, *Lauf der Sonne* (Sitzb., Berlin, 1928), 277–81; midday by Schäfer, *Weltgebäude*, 2nd ed., 112. Later, *ZÄS* 71, 35, Schäfer reached this conclusion: 'Nicht ein Einzelvorgang ist gemeint, sondern die Gesamtvorstellung daß die Sonne auf ihren beiden Schiffen in ewiger Fahrt zwischen Ost und Westen, Aufgang und Untergang, und umgekehrt, ihre Bahn zieht.' But perhaps because Schäfer, like Sethe, published the bark register of Berlin 29—the depiction in question—without the gods of N. and S., shown in diagram Cj below, he did not relate this opinion specifically to the motions of the barks above and below the earth; nor did he repeat it in his two subsequent discussions of the depiction (*ZÄS* 73, 97–102; *Deutsches Inst. . . Mitt.* 8, 147–55; cf. *Bull. Inst. fr.* 38, 65–70), where he thought that the two boats, though shown prow to prow, were actually considered by the Egyptians to be parallel, rather like those on the ceiling of Corridor F (not C), tomb of Ramesses VI.

below the earth the reverse is true, and movement is W. to E.:<sup>1</sup> the sun always 'sails' W. above the earth, E. below it. What simpler and clearer way to show this entire solar course, once the idea is understood, than by boats placed prow to prow?<sup>2</sup> At the same time, the representation is easily adaptable artistically—as barks placed one above the other could not be<sup>3</sup>—to the Egyptian sense of symmetry and balance. Not uncommonly goddesses stand in the prows and their outstretched hands almost meet under a disk which may serve as sun of both day and night, or which may contain the night sun as ram or as child before rebirth at dawn.<sup>4</sup>

If the two ever-recurring motions, E.-W. and W.-E., are indeed meant, it would seem that the primary stress lies on these, and then that the disk indicates the ever-recurring change from boat to boat, rather than the specific changes at precise points in sunrise and sunset, though the idea of the specific changes is certainly present, too. If asked to give the meaning of the representation, the Egyptian might have put it into words even less definite than these: 'Here is the sun sailing around the earth in his two boats from E. to W. and W. to E., and moving from one boat to the other at sunrise and sunset.'

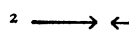

The schematic list which follows, certainly not complete, gives, I think, definite support to this theory, if not positive proof. It contains all pairs of solar barks known to me which are, or could be, prow to prow in the broad or narrow sense.<sup>5</sup> An arrow represents a boat, with its direction of motion, unless a mat on the prow is certain, when  is used. The order of the divisions is roughly chronological; within them that of closest similarity is usually followed. The fullest examples are used as diagrams, while only elements which seem pertinent are included and divergences are simply described in footnotes unless they seem to warrant individual drawing.

#### A. ROCK-CUT BOATS



##### Aa. Dyn. IV. Gīzah. Cheops. S.-N. of funerary temple.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That is, E.-W. and W.-E. broadly speaking; for the N.-S. motions see below. The W.-E. direction above the earth of the midnight sun was called to my attention by Professor Henry N. Russell, who very kindly checked all astronomical details for me. 'Motion' is used throughout for 'apparent motion'.

<sup>2</sup>  of course corresponding to:  or .

<sup>3</sup> See diagrams Ee, Fb.

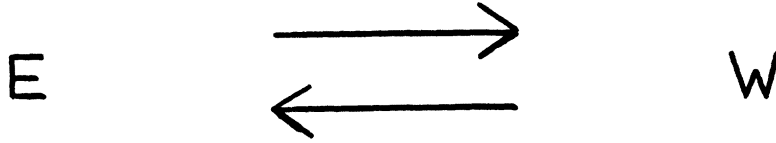
<sup>4</sup> Cj-k, Eb, Ed, Ef, Eh-l. The disk placed exactly between the two boats without indication of direction of its motion can serve equally well for sunrise or sunset, or both. In this position I believe it does represent both suns and both motions when empty, and the day sun when a representation of the night sun or the rising sun is enclosed.

<sup>5</sup> Three possible examples from the Ḥathōr Temple at Denderah are omitted: two use the boats as offerings and do not seem pertinent; my notes for the third, unpublished, now appear inadequate.

<sup>6</sup> Hassan, *op. cit.* 40-43; diagram shows prow of N. boat, now filled, to be S. The N. boat could not be examined in 1953-4, when I was again certain that the deeply cut prow of the S. boat is N. beyond question. For criticism of a contrary view, received after this paper was completed, and further discussion of the rock-cut boats, see 'A Further Note on Rock-cut Boats', p. 117.

Ab. Dyn. IV. Abu Roāsh. Djedefrē. S.[-N.] of funerary temple.<sup>1</sup>

Ac. Dyn. IV. Gizah. Chephren. S.-N. of funerary temple.<sup>2</sup>



Ad. Dyn. IV. Gizah. Cheops. Possible pair S.-N. of second Queen's Pyramid.<sup>3</sup>

Ae. Dyn. V. Saqqārah. Onnos. S. of causeway, 140 m. E. of funerary temple.<sup>4</sup>

Af. Dyn. VI. Saqqārah. Cf. boats or pits on top of mastaba of Kagemni.<sup>5</sup>



Ag-h. Dyn. IV. Gizah. Chephren. Two pairs, N., S. of funerary temple.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chassinat, *Monuments et Mémoires*, in *Fondation Piot*, xxv, 57; Grinsell, *Egyptian Pyramids*, 98-99; photograph 1954 (all photographs and hand copies mine unless otherwise noted). Examination of this boat showed the deep prow to be N., a conclusion concurred in by Mrs. Dorothy Eady. The boat's position, corresponding to that of the S. boat of Cheops and Chephren, makes it virtually certain that a counterpart to the N. was cut or planned.

<sup>2</sup> Hassan, *op. cit.* 56-57, 64-65; notes and diagrams kindly sent me by Mrs. Eady; S. boat, photograph, 1949. While the N. boat could be only a fault in the rock, Hassan and Eady suggest, instead, that inferior limestone—seen in other Chephren boats—caused it to be abandoned after preliminary cutting and before the two ends were distinguished. Hassan believes the prow of the S. boat to be S.; Eady thinks it almost certainly N. for reasons that appear valid: the S. end is higher and somewhat askew, like the stern of the S. Cheops boat.

<sup>3</sup> N. boat: *Life*, June 14, 1954, p. 22; Grinsell, *op. cit.* 102; Eady, *op. cit.*, shows prow to be certainly E., as does examination of the boat itself. S. boat: *Orientalia*, 23, 71; position shown in sketch, the *New York Times*, May 30, 1954, p. 2. Excavated late in 1952 and filled almost immediately, the direction of the S. boat is said to be definitely W. The centre of the N. boat is roughly in line with the centre of the subsidiary pyramids; that of the S. boat is farther W., so that the prow extends beyond the W. face of the small pyramids. But it would seem likely that the two were meant as a pair, for single boats commonly face E.

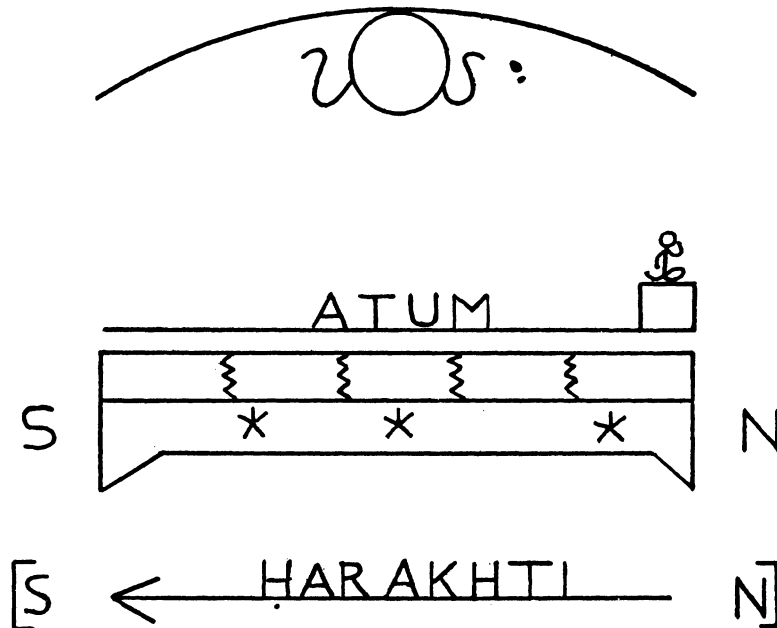
<sup>4</sup> N. boat: Hassan, *op. cit.*, p. 82, pls. 2-3. Both: *Forschungsergebnisse in Ägypten in den Nachkriegsjahren* (Gebr. Gerstenberg, Marburg, 1951), p. 9, fig. 5; *Orientalia*, 19, p. 120, pl. 1, fig. 2, this reference due to Černý, *JEA* 41, 79, n. 6. Without giving evidence Hassan told me in 1954, with kind permission to quote, that the prow of the N. boat is E., that of the S. boat W., as would be expected. From the boats themselves, now partly filled with sand, I could conclude only that directions could quite possibly be determined here, and in Af, by surveying. Neither Ae nor Af is rock-cut strictly speaking, for Ae is lined with stone blocks much like those with which Af is built.

<sup>5</sup> Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, p. 21; pl. 51.

<sup>6</sup> Hassan, *op. cit.* 56-64; Eady, *op. cit.* Hassan believes that the prow of the E. boat, S. of the temple, is W.; Eady, that the wider W. end indicates the prow to be E. In its present eroded condition I could be sure only that the E. end is narrow, less than 2 ft. across. However, both Hassan's and Eady's diagrams show the E. end to be higher, like all sterns, an indication that the W. direction is correct. Direction of the other three is certainly that shown in the diagrams.



## B. BOATS MAKING CIRCUIT OF ROOM, TOMB, OR COFFIN



Ba. Dyn. VI. Saqqārah. Phiops II. [Sanctuary, funerary temple.]<sup>1</sup>

Bb. Dyn. XVIII. Dēr el-Baḥri. Ḥatshepsut. Tympana of W. [and E.] walls, Chapel of Ḥatshepsut, funerary temple.<sup>2</sup> Diagram.

Bc. *ibid.* [Tympana of W. and E. walls, Chapel of Tuthmosis I.]<sup>3</sup>

Bd. *ibid.* Sh. 'Abd el-Ḳurnah. Tuthmosis III. [Tympana of W. and E. walls, sanctuary, funerary temple.]<sup>4</sup>

Be. Dyn. XXVI. Theban Tomb cc, *Bj-sj* or *Bsj*. Tympana of S. [and N.] walls, first room.<sup>5</sup>

Bf. Dyn. XXV. El Kurru. Tanwetamani, KU 16. Tympana of W. and E. walls, Room B, pyramid sub-structure.<sup>6</sup>

Bg. Dyn. XXV. Meroë and Barkal. Tympana of W. or E. walls, pyramid chapels.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jéquier, *Mon. fun. de Pépi II*, II, p. 65, pl. 105, fragments of two boats going in opposite directions found in the sanctuary.

<sup>2</sup> Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, IV, pp. 10–11, pls. 114–16; Werbrouck, *Le Temple d'Ḥatshepsout à Deir el Bahari*, pp. 100–1, 105–6, pl. 26. For simplicity, the diagrams will take Atum and Ḥarakhti to be the gods of night and day, apparently the case as a rule.

<sup>3</sup> *JEA* 15, p. 57, pls. 11–13. The convincing evidence for reconstruction is further supported, I believe, by fragments of inscriptions to the rising sun on the E. wall similar to those in the same place in the Ḥatshepsut Chapel.

<sup>4</sup> Ricke, *Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III*, pp. 11–12, pls. 2, 8, fragments indicating repetition of barks and hours here, also. Ricke notes two similar representations, but boats were not included in the first and it seems unlikely that they are in the second, a late Saqqārah tomb, Lepsius 24, *Bj-k-n-rnf*, now destroyed and inaccessible, for they are not mentioned specifically in Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* III, 171, or included in the listed hour publications.

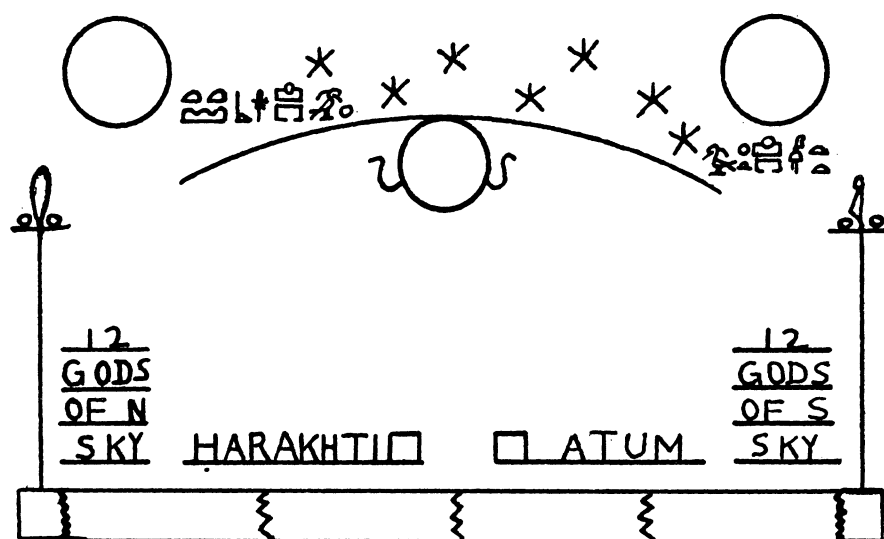
<sup>5</sup> Hand copy. The boat and the wall fragments parallel Bb so closely that the corresponding boat on the N. wall seems a virtual certainty; the ceiling's present condition precludes all evidence for or against original inclusion of the hours, which occur, or are extant, only when noted in the following depictions of this section.

<sup>6</sup> Dunham, *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush: el Kurru*, I, pl. 18.

<sup>7</sup> Chapman, *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush: Decorated Chapels of the Meroitic Pyramids at Meroë and Barkal*, III, pls. 3 (C, E, H), 4 (C), 5 (B), 6 (C), 14 (C, D), 18 (F), 19 (C). In the last example the boat goes S. on the E. wall; in the others, it is N. on the W. In all cases, opposite walls are lacking; offerings comparable to those of Dēr el-Baḥri usually have prominent places on the side walls.

- Bh. Dyn. XIX. Bibān el-Mulūk. Meneptaḥ. Cf. S. and N. walls, Sarcophagus Room.<sup>1</sup>  
 Bi. *ibid.* Tausert-Setnakht. Cf. S. and N. walls, Room J.<sup>1</sup>  
 Bj. *ibid.* Ramesses III. Cf. S. and N. walls, Sarcophagus Room.<sup>1</sup>  
 Bk. Dyn. XIX. Cf. Theban Tomb 106, boats N.-S.<sup>2</sup>  
 Bl. Dyn. XX. Cf. Theban Tomb 65.<sup>3</sup>  
 Bm. Dyn. XVIII-XXVIII. Cf. representations on arched coffin and sarcophagus lids: Abydos;<sup>4</sup> Bologna;<sup>5</sup> Cairo 41001-2, 41009, 41014, 41018, 41022, 41028, 41031, 41040;<sup>6</sup> Leyden M 20;<sup>7</sup> sarcophagi: Anlmani, Nu. VI, Merawi Museum;<sup>8</sup> Aspalta, MFA 23·729.<sup>9</sup>

## C. BOATS IN DEPICTIONS OF THE FOUR POINTS OF THE COMPASS



Ca. Dyn. XIII. Sakḥārah. Khendjer. E. face of pyramidion.<sup>10</sup>

Cb. Dyn. XIX. Abydos. Sethos I. E. side of ceiling, Sarcophagus Room, cenotaph.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> All three rooms in the royal tombs were obviously decorated according to the same plan, though colour differed and much destruction has occurred in the kings' sarcophagus rooms. The Tausert-Setnakht reliefs (Lefébure, *Hypogées Royaux*, II, pl. 67) are virtually complete, however, as is the boat on the S. wall of the Meneptaḥ tomb (hand copy).

<sup>2</sup> Atum goes N. on the E. wall to the right on entering the tomb, sec. 7, Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* I, 134-5; on sec. 11, E. face of the architrave between the central pillars, the bark of Rē goes S. Thus the boats are not precisely opposite each other. Further references include unpublished photographs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: T 2910-2, T 2950-1.

<sup>3</sup> A solar boat goes W. and E. on the S. and N. (MMA photo T 1719) faces of the capitals of the central pillars; cf. text S. and N. of large horizon-sign on ceiling beyond and between these pillars (MMA photo T 3153); second room, five solar boats go W. on S. wall, five E. on N. wall (MMA photos T 3155-64).

<sup>4</sup> Petrie, *Abydos*, I, fragments of two coffins: p. 48, pls. 71-72, 74.

<sup>5</sup> Szedlo, *Il grande sarcofago del Museo Civico di Bologna*, pl. 1, 3.

<sup>6</sup> Moret, *Sarcophages de l'époque bubastite* (CCG).

<sup>7</sup> Pleyte, *Mon. ég. du Musée à Leide: Cercueils de momies égyptiennes*, pl. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Dunham tells me that MFA rubbings closely parallel the Aspalta sarcophagus, below.

<sup>9</sup> MFA photograph of drawing from rubbing. Hours and other solar texts are also found on the lid.

<sup>10</sup> Jéquier, *Deux pyramides du Moyen-Empire*, 21. Simplest form of the diagram: winged disk, Atum and Rē-Harakhti above boats.

<sup>11</sup> Frankfort, *Cenotaph of Seti I*, II, pls. 74-75. Tall sign on extreme right is illegible, but that for W. seems, unaccountably, to be on the left. A break across the top of the relief makes it impossible to determine whether or not anything was put above the winged disk.

Cc. Dyn. XX. Bibān el-Mulūk. Ramesses VI. Ceiling, Hall H.<sup>1</sup> Diagram.

Cd. *ibid.* Ramesses IX. Ceiling, Corridor B.<sup>2</sup>

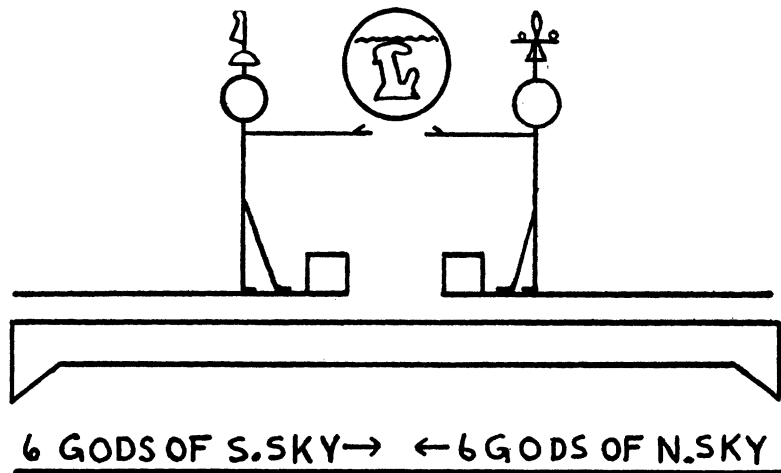
Ce. *ibid.* E. wall, Hall F.<sup>3</sup>

Cf. Dyn. XXII. Tanis. Amenemophis, tomb 4. S. wall.<sup>4</sup>

Cg. Dyn. XXVI. Theban Tomb 33. E. wall, Hall XIX.<sup>5</sup>

Ch. Persian-Ptolemaic. Cairo 29316. Sarcophagus lid, head end.<sup>6</sup>

Ci. Dyn. XXV, Taharqa. Cf. Theban Tomb 132. Tympanum of S. wall, Sepulchral Chamber.<sup>7</sup>



Cj. Dyn. XXVI. Berlin 29. Sarcophagus, foot end.<sup>8</sup>

Ck. Persian-Ptolemaic. Saḳḳārah. Cairo 29306. Sarcophagus lid, foot end.<sup>9</sup>

Cl. Dyn. XXII. Thebes. Cf. top of cartonnage of *Nḥt-f-Mwt*.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* (Bollingen Series XL), II, pls. 183-4. Tall sign for E. on extreme left is restored from Cg; in no examples are both intact.

<sup>2</sup> Photographs by courtesy of Dr. George R. Hughes, the Epigraphic Survey, Oriental Institute, Luxor; description, Lefébure, *op. cit.* II, 21. Enough of the damaged relief remains to show virtual identity with the Ramesses VI depiction, including the starred sky and the disks in the upper corners; the unusual polychrome is quite impressive.

<sup>3</sup> Photograph by courtesy of Natacha Rambova; Lefébure, *op. cit.* pl. 21. No inscriptions above boats; six gods of N., eight of S.

<sup>4</sup> Hand copy, photographs, 1954. Corner disks and star omitted.

<sup>5</sup> Hand copy, photographs, 1954. Essentially as diagram; bottom right is destroyed.

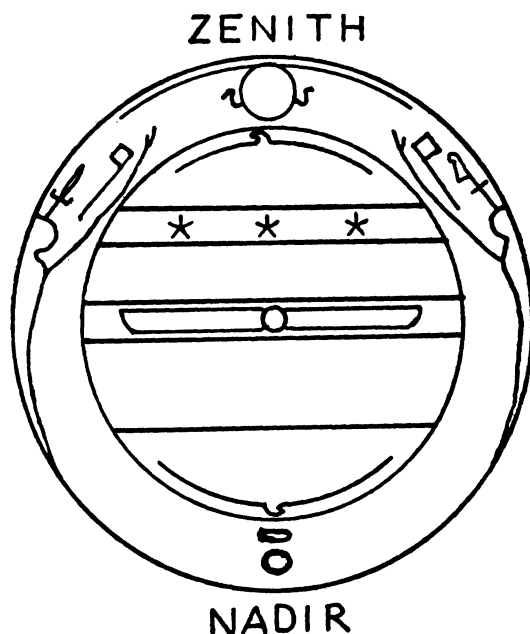
<sup>6</sup> Maspero, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque* (CCG), II, pp. 106-8, pl. 32, 1. Stars omitted; twelve gods of N. and S. replaced by six 'who follow Rē in sky' and six 'who follow Rē in sky (and) Atum in Manu'. Space and shape perhaps influenced the reduction.

<sup>7</sup> Hand copy; W. wall taking tomb entrance to be E., not S.E. Compressed to little more than symbolic confrontation of E. and W. horizons, put above a complete depiction of the revivification of Osiris-N (Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* I, 143, 'king on couch') also shown below Cb-c, Ce-f, Ch.

<sup>8</sup> Photographs by courtesy of the Museum; description, Erman, *op. cit.* 270.

<sup>9</sup> Maspero, *op. cit.* I, pp. 236-9; pl. 19, 1. E. and W. are reverse of diagram.

<sup>10</sup> Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, pl. 16. Boats, separated by top part of lid, carry respectively disk, disk over crescent moon; below, signs for E. and W.

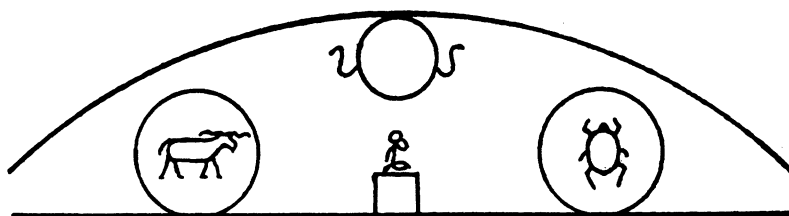


Cm. Dyn. XXX. Saqqārah. Cf. MMA 14.7.1. Top of sarcophagus lid.<sup>1</sup>

Cn. Graeco-Roman. Philae. Cf. centre section of ceiling II', pronaos of Great Temple.<sup>2</sup>

Co. *ibid.* Kom Ombo. Cf. Temple fragment no. 983.<sup>3</sup>

#### D. BOATS CARRYING DISKS



Da. Dyn. XIX. Theban Tomb 4. Ceiling.<sup>4</sup>

Db. Dyn. XIX. Bibān el-Mulūk. Meneptaḥ. Top of anthropoid sarcophagus lid.<sup>5</sup>

Dc. Dyn. XIX-XX. BD 130, *Lc.*<sup>6</sup>

Dd. Graeco-Roman. Philae. Top section of ceiling II', pronaos of Great Temple.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. MMA* 9, 112-20. Even without the bending Nüt figure above, stars, *tv*-sign, and disk apparently show the other two points of this unique representation to be zenith and nadir, rather than N. and S.

<sup>2</sup> Bénédite, *Le Temple de Philae*, p. 136, pl. 50. Boats held by Isis and Nephthys between two bending figures of Nüt; twenty-four circles coloured to represent day and night are on the back of the second figure; on either hand Gēb, below, holds disks which texts indicate to be sun and moon.

<sup>3</sup> De Morgan, *et al.*, *Catalogue des Monuments*, II, 331; fragment obviously from a ceiling similar to that of Philae above.

<sup>4</sup> Hand copy. Prow-to-prow boats hold a disk, go N. and S., are adored respectively by man and woman. Winged disk, child, and single prow occur only in De.

<sup>5</sup> Hand copy; E. boat is visible in *Bull. MMA* 14 (1956), 115. Taking the head as N., as it is in the tomb, boats carrying a hawk-headed man with *cnḥ*-sign on knee go E. and W.

<sup>6</sup> Naville, *Todt.* 1, pl. 144. Disks are empty; man facing right stands between boats which text indicates to be *m'ndt* and *msktt*.

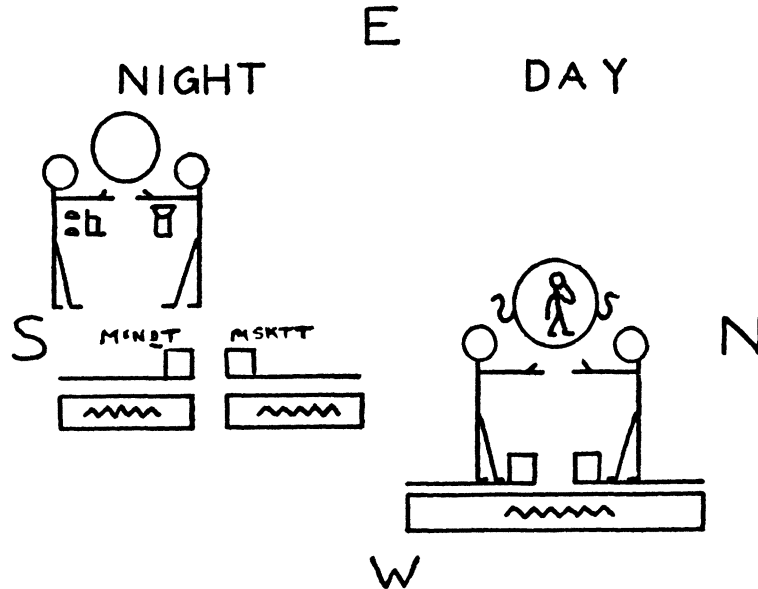
<sup>7</sup> Bénédite, *loc. cit.* Boats, each under a winged disk and stars, carry an empty disk; child on each prow.

De. *ibid.* Ekhmīm stelae: B.M. 1001;<sup>1</sup> Cairo 22017, 22032, 22052, 22069, 22074, 22095, 22114, 22122, 22136, 22141, 22168;<sup>2</sup> Leyden 8;<sup>3</sup> Meux 51-2;<sup>4</sup> Vatican 121;<sup>5</sup> Diagram, typical only.

Df. Roman. Theban Tomb 1447, shroud.<sup>6</sup>

Dg. Dyn. XX-XXI. Cf. Berlin 8, coffin.<sup>7</sup>

E. BOATS AT LAST HOUR OF NIGHT AND FIRST OF DAY



Ea-b. Dyn. XX. Bibān el-Mulūk. Ramesses VI. Ceiling, Corridor C.<sup>8</sup> Diagrams.

Ec-d. *Ibid.* Ceiling, Hall I.<sup>9</sup>

Ee-f. Dyn. XXII. Tanis. Osorkon II, Tomb 1. W. wall, Room 1.<sup>10</sup>

Eg. Dyn. XXV. Taharqa. Theban Tomb 132. W. wall, Sepulchral Chamber.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus.: A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*, 1909, p. 268; pl. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romains (CCG)*, 2 vols.

<sup>3</sup> Boeser, *Denkm. d. ägypt., griech., röm. und kopt. Zeit*, p. 4; pl. 14, 8.

<sup>4</sup> Budge, *Egyptian Antiquities in the Possession of Lady Meux*, 114-34.

<sup>5</sup> Botti, *Le Sculture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio*, pp. 73-74; pl. 57.

<sup>6</sup> Bruyere, *Fouilles (1948-51)*, xxvi, pp. 107-8; pl. 24, 1. Taking head as N., boats on either side of woman's figure respectively carry E. and W. in disks Atum, not Osiris, and Khopri.

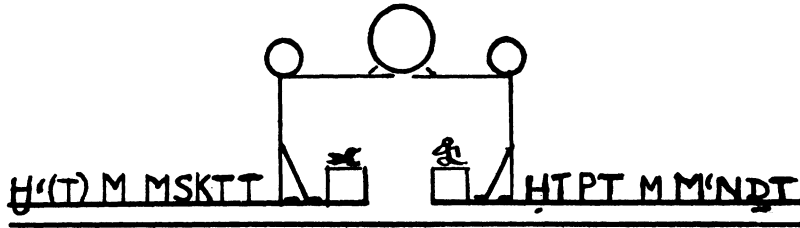
<sup>7</sup> Schäfer, *op. cit.* 115; description, Erman, *op. cit.* 173-4. Boats carrying respectively Atum and H̄arakhti, probably, face each other on the back of a bending Nūt figure; instead of being in disks, the gods hold disks on their heads.

<sup>8</sup> Piankoff, *op. cit.*, pls. 149-50.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 187, 196; *Le Livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 1-3, 80; pls. 1, 8. Boats are E.-W. Ec: reverse goddesses, who stand to right of, not over, boats; disk is over arms of Nephthys. Ed: goddesses are Isis and Nephthys, wear feathers on heads; child is seated.

<sup>10</sup> Montet, *Les Constructions et le tombeau d'Osorkon II à Tanis*, 1, pls. 21, 25. An apparent attempt to reproduce, and necessarily compress, the long corridor of Ramesses VI, of which Ea-b are part, on a short wall; Nūt shown with feet and hands toward the actual ground puts the boats on end and eliminates compass directions of motion. Ee: goddesses are left of, not above, boats; *msktt*, going down, is over *m'ndt* with prow up. Ef: remaining goddess wears feather; disk is empty.

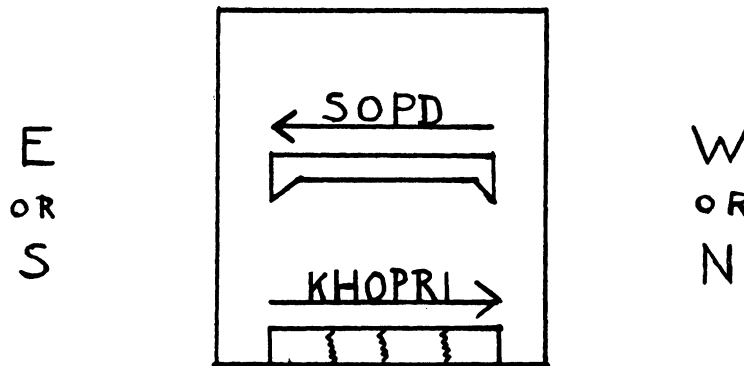
<sup>11</sup> Hand copy; Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* 1, 143, sec. 3, hours only. Boats corresponding to Ea face each other clearly; above, traces show goddesses, names destroyed, and a red disk. Day hours on E. wall, opposite, do not



- Eh. Dyn. XXVI. Louvre D 9. Sarcophagus, foot end.<sup>1</sup> Diagram.  
 Ei. *ibid.* Louvre D 8. Sarcophagus lid, foot end.<sup>2</sup>  
 Ej. *ibid.* Louvre. Sarcophagus lid, end.<sup>3</sup>  
 Ek. Dyn. XXX. Saqqārah. MMA 14.7.1. Sarcophagus lid, foot end.<sup>4</sup>  
 El. Ptolemaic. Ekhmim. Cf. Ny Carlsberg 298. Top of cartonnage.<sup>5</sup>

## F. MISCELLANEOUS

- Fa. Dyn. XX. Medīnet Habu. Ramesses III. E. wall of Rē<sup>c</sup> Chapel, funerary temple.<sup>6</sup>



- Fb. Dyn. XX. Theban Tomb 359. Section VII, W. wall, Room 2.<sup>7</sup>

include prow-to-prow boats in the often highly compressed and strangely juxtaposed reliefs of this unusual tomb.

<sup>1</sup> Vigneau, *Encycl. fotogr. de l'art*; no. 5; *Les Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Louvre*, 152; Sharpe, *Eg. Inscr. Brit. Mus.*, pt. 2, pl. 21, reversed; *Ann. Serv.* 40, 667.

<sup>2</sup> Photograph by courtesy of the Museum; partial publication, Vigneau, *op. cit.* 145. Names only of *m'ndt* and *msktt*; child and jackal on prows.

<sup>3</sup> Lanzone, *Diz. mit. eg.* I, pl. 111. Also *Dd-ḥr* and probably the same sarcophagus as Ei, though unaccountable omissions and divergences in the inscription seem to warrant tentative separate listing.

<sup>4</sup> *Bull. MMA* 9, 119 Boats are not named; goddesses wear E. and W. signs on heads; standing child in disk, uraei outside.

<sup>5</sup> Koefoed-Petersen, *Cat. des sarcophages et cercueils égyptiens*, pp. 38–39, pls. 87–88. *Mrtj* extend arms to child in winged disk.

<sup>6</sup> Line-drawing by courtesy of Dr. Hughes, Luxor. The curve of a boat's hull remains on the third register of the E. wall of the Rē<sup>c</sup> chapel above M.H. A 475 (Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, II, 187, court XXX, sec. 78). A vertical column of text to its right is followed by a fragment of two kneeling figures in the centre of the wall, then by destruction of the rest of the register. In the register below the figures, Nephthys and Isis support a disk, while signs for E. and W. stand under their arms and practically identical texts behind them greet Rē<sup>c</sup>, rising. Thus prow-to-prow boats, perhaps C type, appear virtually certain in the third register. Three other boats are extant in the chapel. One, prow E. on third register of N. wall (A 477), concerns the overthrow of Apophis; it perhaps had a counterpart on the corresponding section of the S. wall, destroyed. The others (A 481, A 488) go S., not N., at sunset, as do the two night barks on the temple pylons (A 53, A 710); as yet I know neither explanation nor parallel.

<sup>7</sup> Bruyère, *Fouilles (1930)*, VIII, pt. 3, pp. 61–64, pls. 18–19; in colour, Vandier, *Egypt: Paintings from Tombs and Temples*, pl. 30. More nearly W. wall by compass; N. if room-entrance is considered to be E.

Fc. Ramesside. Bibān el-Harīm. Tyti. W. wall, Hall.<sup>1</sup>

Fd. Dyns. XXVII–XXX. Prow to prow boats on hypocephali.<sup>2</sup>

The boat pairs obviously show three distinct and easily identifiable traditions: B, C, E; or four if E is taken as night and day, rather than night–day. Of course, there are divergences among the examples as grouped and overlaps between examples in different groups. But virtual duplication is found in reliefs widely separated by time, notably in Bb–e, as restored, in Cb–i, and in large measure in Group E. It is possible that there were only three, or four, traditions: the A boats perhaps belong to one or more of them; Fa quite possibly follows C; the other examples appear derivative and abbreviated, rather than distinctive.

The remaining portions of the arched ceiling adjoining Bb, Dēr el-Baḥri, are as follows: S. side, hours 11–9 of day, a fragment of hour 8; N. side, hours 2–4 of night, a fragment of hour 5. Hours 12 of day and 1 of night are S. and N. of the night bark above the stela on the tympanum of the W. wall. There seems no reason to doubt the obvious meaning of this representation, that the sun circles from S. to N. to set and begin the night journey, or the fact that the three-dimensional depiction of the twenty-four-hour day was originally complete. The missing part of the arch and the E. tympanum must have held the other hours and the other bark.<sup>3</sup> Both ships are intact in Bf, where the ceiling is starred.

However, as Jéquier thought, at least the B prototype probably occurs as early as Phiops II, for the wall reliefs of his sanctuary, where the boat fragments were found, are composed of offerings similar to those of Bb–g, though apparently no hour fragments from the ceiling remain. Both offerings and hours occur in the Tuthmosis III fragments, but the Anubis section inserted above the stela adds to the height of the stone and perhaps precludes virtual certainty that a boat was put above it. Be lacks the stela and now, at least, the hours; otherwise it is quite close to Bb, except that the tomb plan called for boats on the shorter S. and N. walls, not the W. and E.

Bh–l are parallel to Ba–g in having the barks circle the room, but offerings and hours were not included. Under an astronomical ceiling in the three royal tombs, the boat on the S. wall carries Atum W. on the desert in the second; register on the N., the boat of Rē<sup>c</sup> goes E. to enter and come forth from Aker in the bottom register. In Bk, Tomb 106, the bark going N. has as two of its passengers the *kws* of E. and W. as Atum sails to ‘the beautiful West’ to set in Manu. On the E. side of the architrave in front of the tomb entrance a boat takes the disk S., while Rē<sup>c</sup> is adored on rising by apes. In Bl, Tomb 65, solar barks go respectively W. and E. on the S. and on the N. face of the central columns; Rē<sup>c</sup> is adored on rising on the E. face of the N. pillar—the corresponding section on the S. is destroyed—and on the W. face of its architrave. On the ceiling beyond and between these two columns, the deceased kneels S. and N. of a large

<sup>1</sup> Bénédite, *Tombeau de la reine Thiti*, pl. 6; correct orientation, Porter and Moss, op. cit. I, 42. Prow to prow on either side of door; not related to Fb.

<sup>2</sup> Petrie, *Abydos*, I, pp. 49–51, pls. 76–77, 79, three examples and further references. Numerous occurrences require much study and can only be thus noted here.

<sup>3</sup> As Jéquier believed, *Mon. fun. de Pépi II*, II, 65.

horizon-sign to hail Rē<sup>c</sup> respectively when he rises in the E. horizon and when he sets. In the room beyond, five solar barks go W. on the S. wall, five go E. on the N. wall. The tomb total is thus six boats in each direction.

In Bm the coffins also seem to show the complete circuit of the sun, though hour texts are found only on the sarcophagi. However, in all examples Ḥarakhti regularly has twelve towers for his boat on one side of the arch, while Atum has twelve on the other. Seen from above, the boats go in opposite directions; from the side they go around the lid as they do around the temple and tomb rooms.

Perhaps with a simple form like Ca as prototype, Cb–h and Cj–k came to represent in two dimensions the four points of the compass, readily made three-dimensional by turning the gods, in imagination, at right angles with the E.–W. line.<sup>1</sup> *Ḥct m mꜥndt m iḥt iḥtt n pt* on the left and *ḥtpꜥ m msktt m Mꜥnu* on the right in Cb–d, Cf–h<sup>2</sup> seem to show that the twenty-four-hour day is definitely meant, a conclusion presumably confirmed by the disks and stars in Cc–d and Cg, by disks only in Ch. Evidently the sun rises, crosses the sky, sets, is replaced by the starred sky. No texts are included on Cj.<sup>3</sup> But in the vertical inscription over and behind the boats of Ck, the deceased kneels on the E. and W. sides of the relief to adore Rē<sup>c</sup> ‘when he rises (*wbn·f*) in the eastern horizon of the sky’, and ‘when he sets (*ḥtp·f*) in the western horizon’.

In Cl–m and in Ek the E.–W. directions are specified without the N.–S. In Cm the prow-to-prow barks are symmetrically balanced upward on the arms of the goddesses, but the W. goddess must actually have sent her boat E. under the earth; compare Cn–o, where E.–W. are presumably represented by Isis–Nephthys.

In the Ramesses VI tomb the hours are depicted twice: on the ceiling of Corridors C–E, where both day and night are enclosed by a single Nūt figure placed E.–W.; on the ceiling of Hall I, sarcophagus room, where back-to-back Nūts, N.–S., hold the night hours on the W., the day on the E. Thus the Corridor C boats, Ea–b, are N.–S.; the Hall I, Ec–d, are E.–W.

In Ea, to consider first the night depictions, Isis–Nephthys are S.–N., left–right. In Ec Nephthys is on the E., left, corresponding to *mꜥndt*, Isis on the right, perhaps

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bb–m and the three-dimensional representation of the four compass points on a sarcophagus lid, Cairo 5574 (Mariette, *Mon. Div.*, p. 13, p. 46; Maspero, *Guide du visiteur*, 378–9), exhibit no. 704. The hours of day and night are shown as usual in S. and N. in Bb–d, Ea–b, Cairo 5574, while the day and night journeys are made in S. and N. in Berlin 7358, below; but they are in N. and S. in Ea–b, in W. and E. in Ec–d, in E. and W. in Eg. Of course, the gods of S. and N. represent the hours of day and night: 12 each in Bm as towers, in Cb–d, Cf–g; 24 stars on the sky-sign of Cairo 22114, De; 24 circles in two colours on the back of Nūt, Cn[–o]; 6 gods each in Ch, Cj–k, 12 circles in Cairo 22136, De; 8 and 6 gods in Ce, perhaps due to wall space. That the actual points of the compass were a factor in tomb decoration is seen in designations, including NW., SE., and *iḥtt-mḥtt*, on the walls of the unfinished sarcophagus room of Ḥaremhab (Davis, *The Tombs of Haremhab and Touatânkhamanou*, p. 62).

<sup>2</sup> Reading from the photograph where the line-drawing is unintelligible in Cb. In Ch *msktt* is used on both sides, apparently a general word for ‘divine ship’ here, as Sethe, *op. cit.* 278, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> The lid decoration of this Berlin sarcophagus should be noted, however: a big Nūt similar to that in the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, II, pl. 27). The different forms of the sun depicted under her arms would leave no doubt of the meaning of the representation, the course of the sun by both day and night, even without the Berlin text: *Dd mdw in Rꜥ ḥnꜥ Itm hy Wsir N pr[·k] ḥnꜥ Rꜥ m dwꜥy ḥtp·k ḥnꜥ Itm m mmšrw* (sic) *rr nb dt*; cf. Erman, *op. cit.* 270.



by error.<sup>1</sup> In Ee, similar in plan to Ea, the corresponding compass points are eliminated by the wall position of the relief, but Isis and *mꜛndt* are in their customary places on the left when faced as the names are read. In Eg the goddesses' names are no longer legible. In Eh the two, unnamed, are on boats with inscriptions above comparable to those of Group C: *hr(t) m msktt*, *htpt m mꜛndt*.<sup>2</sup> In Ei–j the goddesses, again without names, stand on *mꜛndt* and *msktt*; no hours appear on these sarcophagi, but the text apparently used to join hour 12 of night with hour 1 of day in Ea, Ec, Ee, Eh is seen above the boats.

In the first four night depictions the goddesses stand near, not on, the boats as night ends and Nephthys passes the disk to Isis.<sup>3</sup> But in Ee the prow-to-prow boats, clearly named, are placed one above the other, not in line. The prow directions remain the same; *msktt* has simply been shifted to a position above *mꜛndt* as if, as seems likely, the other figures left available only this space.<sup>4</sup> Since the night boat above is meaningless, purposeful emendation of Ee would probably have put *mꜛndt* above and *msktt* below to show motion around the earth, or would have faced both prows the same way to indicate parallel boats at sunrise for change of disk. In Eh–j, sarcophagi, it is probable that the goddesses stand on the boats, rather than above, for reasons of space; certainly the Eh inscriptions point to the whole course of day and night, not to sunrise only.

In Eb, Ed, Ef, the first hour of day, goddesses and disk are in their usual positions on and between the boats, while sunrise, shown clearly in the birth taking place over the long boat above, is apparently emphasized by the child—omitted in Ef—within and the uraei outside the disk. Though Ek is without inscription, it apparently refers to the same period, for goddesses of E. and W. in the prows hold their hands out to a similar disk. Probably further stylization of the same idea is found in El, also lacking text, where the *mꜛty* reach up to a seated child in the winged disk over the boats. This depiction also appears to be related to Cb–h, in the cartouche between the boats and in the 'revivification' below.

Except for the stelae, the Group D barks do little more than face each other; even the two suns are distinguished only in De–g. But four Cairo stelae should be especially noted. Reference has already been made to 22114, most carefully worked of the series,

<sup>1</sup> Isis is, of course, usually associated with left, E., *mꜛndt*, Nephthys with right, W., *msktt*; see, for example, *Pyr.* 150a, 210a–c; cf. BD 130 (*Lc*), Naville, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> The roles of the two ships are apparently reversed here; see Sethe, op. cit. 278. When *hr* and *htp* are thus opposed, the meanings of 'rise' and 'set' appear certain; in an adjoining text *htp* apparently should be translated 'to rest', 'resting in Nūn'.

<sup>3</sup> Actually shown, whether or not for reasons of space, in Ec and surely meant in the other examples as well. Cf. the parallel boats on the ceiling of Corridor F (*ZÄS* 73, pl. 10a; *Deutsches Inst. . . . Mitt.* 8, 147–8; *Bull. Inst. fr.* 38, pp. 65–70; pls. 5–6), where the change is presumably made, but is not shown. A disk is forward in each boat, while the space over the extended hands of the goddesses is empty; again the primary emphasis is apparently put on the ever-recurring aspect.

<sup>4</sup> In Fb, the other example of boats one above the other going in opposite directions, space had no part. But this apparently has little, if any, relation to the other pairs, for it represents two aspects of the day sun, rather than the sun by day and night. It seems to come from the Book of the Dead, as do the surrounding texts and reliefs, and is perhaps a combination of depictions of Khopri and Sopd similar to those of *Pb* and *Pe* in Naville, *Todt.* 1, 113, BD 100. Likewise unrelated, apparently, are boats one above the other with prows in the same direction: Queens' Tombs 36 (Schiaparelli, *Relazione*, 1, fig. 87) and 40, Theban Tombs 159 and 373, all concerned with offerings; tomb of Ramesses VI (Piankoff, op. cit. II, pl. 121b), concerned with funerary ritual.

where a long sky-sign, stretching under the two boats and extending from tip to tip of the disk wings, contains twenty-four stars for the hours; and to 22136, where a band the same length is divided by vertical lines into twelve sections, each holding a small circle. In parallel inscriptions on 22114 and 22052 the deceased adores Rē<sup>c</sup> when he rises and makes him content in the darkness; his *b* apparently goes to the sky with Rē<sup>c</sup> as they presumably travel in *m<sup>c</sup>ndt* and then moor in *msktt*. In 22141 Rē<sup>c</sup>, rising from Nūn and setting in the western horizon of the sky, is told: 'You come as Rē<sup>c</sup>, you set as Atum', an idea repeated in numerous New Kingdom stelae under a single bark moving from left to right.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest prow-to-prow boats known, the rock-cut, are without inscription and are not definite in themselves alone, as far as excavation and knowledge now go.<sup>2</sup> They lack, too, the positive form and furniture shown in solar bark reliefs and models;<sup>3</sup> but in view of examples of single boats of the same period that are certainly solar,<sup>4</sup> of the whole body of material in the diagrams, and of the frequent occurrence of the two boats in the Pyramid Texts and other Old Kingdom inscriptions, the solar explanation seems most likely by far.<sup>5</sup>

It will be seen that almost half the diagram barks go N. or S., rather than E. or W. In addition single barks are oriented N.–S. on four pyramidia: on three Ḥarakhti sails S., on one Rē<sup>c</sup> goes N.<sup>6</sup> And at least four inscriptions have to do with N.–S. motion: three, northward in *msktt*, southward in *m<sup>c</sup>ndt*; one, southward in *msktt*, northward in *m<sup>c</sup>ndt*.<sup>7</sup>

While the sun's principal apparent motion is E.–W., of course it also has a N.–S.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Steindorff, *Anibe*, II, pl. 104, where a boat with identical ends holds a disk and the deceased addresses Ḥarakhti and Atum on either side of the wall below.

<sup>2</sup> The existence of further boats, or pits, is practically certain in pyramid complexes not fully explored, or not examined at all.

<sup>3</sup> *Ann. Serv.* I, 26; 31–32; 37–38; Boreux, *Études de nautique égyptien*, 67–118; *Bull. Inst. fr.* 9, pp. 37–82; pl. 2; *Bull. MMA* 10 (sup., Feb. 1915), 10–12; Reisner, *Models of Ships and Boats (CCG)*, pp. iii; xxv–vii; 43–44; 101–11; pls. 22, 24; Hassan, op. cit. 148–56.


<sup>4</sup> For example, *Urk.* I, 248, 15–16; von Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum des Ne-Woser-Re*, I, pp. 52–54; pl. 5, where the plan should be compared with boat models and furniture listed above and where the direction of the reconstructed boat is mistakenly W., not E. (Jéquier, *Considérations sur les religions égyptiennes*, 31, n. 2; *Sphinx*, 10, 184–225; Hassan, op. cit. 79).

<sup>5</sup> For contrary views see Junker, *Giza*, IV, 74, and Černý as noted with further discussion below, p. 117. 'Rock-cut' is used purposely, for the detailed interior of the Gīzah boats, pointed out by Ali Marzouk years ago, convinced me that these, possibly supplemented by wood, must have served as boats, rather than boat graves; while the idea of stone boats, like the Djoser stone doors at Saqqārah, seems to accord well with that of the rest of the stone pyramid complex and that of Newoserrē<sup>c</sup> in his brick-built ship. Further, boats could not have been lowered into the under-cut Djedefrē<sup>c</sup> and Chephren examples, and construction of complete ships within, above the rock-cut thwarts, appears unlikely. Compare recent statements by Abubakr and Stock, 'Les Grandes Découvertes archéologiques de 1954', *La Revue du Caire*, Numéro spécial (Cairo, 1955), 35, 97. Onnos and Kagemni are less convincing at present, certainly, while in other cases details were definitely not included and boats have been found: Saqqārah North, Helwan, S. of Cheops pyramid.

<sup>6</sup> Dyn. XX, Dēr el-Medīnah: Louvre D 19; Theban Tombs 217 and 1164; see Bruyère, *Fouilles*, II, pt. 2, p. 34; pp. 32–35; pls. 7–8; VI, pt. 2, pp. 95–96. Dyns. XIX–XX, *ibid.*: Theban Tomb 327, Bruyère, op. cit. XIV, pt. I, p. 27, pls. 8–9.

<sup>7</sup> M.K. bowl, *JEA* 20, 158–62; Dyn. XVIII, Theban Tomb 99, Sethe, op. cit. 281; Berlin 7358: Roeder, *Aeg. Inschr. Berlin*, II, 310, and Sethe, op. cit. 282, '[Sie fährt nordwärts in der Nacht in der *mskt*]t, sie fährt südwärts am Tage in der *m<sup>c</sup>ndt*.' De Buck, *Coffin Texts*, I, 184g.

motion. The E.-W. and W.-E. motions reverse at sunrise and sunset, the N.-S. and S.-N. at noon and midnight. Granted boats and gods of day and of night, E. and W. motions from horizon to horizon present no problem, whether above or below the earth. But there are no corresponding N.-S. boats and gods, nor are these turning-points on the celestial meridian as easily discerned as those of sunrise and sunset. Although N.-S. barks readily show that the sun has a N.-S. motion, they cannot depict it with an exactness comparable to that of E.-W. motion. In Ca, for example, Atum moves N.-S. to sunrise and Ḥarakhti has to go in the opposite direction, N., though he actually continues Atum's southward motion until noon.

Since, however, the sun's course by day lies almost entirely in the southern half of the sky in the northern hemisphere,<sup>1</sup> it should be noted that Ḥarakhti and *mcndt* sail S. in six of the eight examples above, perhaps meaning 'in the S. half of the sky' in this case. Of course, the hours of day and the hours of night are customarily put in S. and N., respectively, while they are represented by gods of S. and N. in Cb-h, Cj-k—by implication in Ch. Finally, all four directions are apparently indicated in the Medīnet Habu sun litany: *ind hr-k m dd n-k dštyw ššm·sn wšwy·k hr*  ·sn.<sup>2</sup> There would seem to be no doubt that the Egyptian was aware of the easily observed facts of the sun's motion in all four directions and that he depicted it in most cases as consistently as the media allowed.

Except for Philae and Kom Ombo the location of the boats is funerary in every case: rock-cut boats in the vicinity of funerary temples or mastaba, Aa-h; reliefs on pyramidion, Ca; in funerary temples, Ba-d, Fa; in tombs, cenotaph, or pyramids, Be-l, Cb-g, Ci, Da, Ea-g, Fb-c; on coffins or the like, Bm, Ch, Cj-m, Db, Df-g, Eh-l; on funerary papyri, Dc; on funerary stelae, De; on hypocephali, Fd. The change of medium is shown to be largely parallel to the change in time, but there is apparently no evidence to indicate that the meaning also changed.<sup>3</sup>

To summarize, solar barks, one above the other, move in opposite directions in Ee, Fb. They have circular motion around wall, tomb, coffin in Ba-m.<sup>4</sup> Both rising in the eastern horizon and setting in Manu take place in Cb-d, Cf-h; in the eastern and

<sup>1</sup> It is always in the southern half by day for six months of the year and for most of the day during the other six, when it rises N. of E. and sets N. of W. Even in Upper Egypt the sun is always S. of the zenith at noon. At night the reverse is true; its course lies for the most part in the northern half of the 'under sky', while it is always N. of the nadir at midnight.

<sup>2</sup> A 491, l. 43, photograph by courtesy of Dr. Hughes, Luxor; note that 'four faces' is written with four *hr*-signs on the opposite wall, A 475, l. 2, N. end of wall. Černý, op. cit. 79, n. 1, has recalled for me the 'four roads' of *Pyr.* 1355a; he does not specify in n. 2 the 'four gates' (*sbj*) of *Pyr.* 1252, or the 'four doors' (*ʿr*) to be presumed in the parallel texts of *Pyr.* 1593 and 1603.

<sup>3</sup> That it did not is apparently proved in Group C, for example: Ca, prototype, Dyn. XIII, pyramidion; Cb-g, almost identical, Dyns. XIX-XXVI, cenotaph or tombs; Ch, closely parallel to Cb-g, Persian-Ptolemaic, sarcophagus.

<sup>4</sup> In Bb if one stands between the two boats—granted the second on the E. wall—then turns to follow their supposed motion, both go in the same direction, N., E., S., W., N.; if only the head is turned from wall to wall, however, the boats are in a sense prow to prow—stern to stern is nowhere seen—as they would be if transferred as they are to a single wall. The same thing applies to the arched coffin lids if one walks around them or looks down from above; and to the motion of the sun: in the same direction around the earth, but E.-W. and W.-E. if one looks up and down, in imagination, at it.

western horizons in Ck; in *msktt* and *mꜛndt* in Eh; in Nūn and Manu in Cairo 22141, De. In addition, Cc–d, Cg–h show a disk, presumably rising and setting, at either horizon, so named; while the first three add stars between the disks—Cg in the sky-sign above the winged disk—apparently to show the night sky as well. The principal texts concern sunrise alone in Ea–f, Eh–j. But sunrise is not a static point; it is a motion, a part of the full motion of the sun, even though it marks a supremely important event for man, the return of the sun and its light. When the static aspect, as it were, is emphasized, the goddesses disembark and stand in another register to exchange the disk: Ea, Ec, Ee, Eg. In Ec they tower above the ships, the very proportions emphasizing, as customary in Egypt, the actual transfer of the sun as night becomes day, while the two barks, now empty, still confront each other and their motion, we may suppose, never ceases: *hꜛt m mꜛndt*, *hꜛpt m msktt*.<sup>1</sup>

Positive proof is not easily found in matters of Egyptian religion and thought processes. But from the material presented above only one conclusion seems possible, that over a very long period of time the Egyptian, however he may have ‘formulated’ it to himself, sought to represent by barks depicted prow to prow the complete and eternal course of the sun, E. to W., W. to E., N. to S., S. to N., above and below the earth, rising, setting, rising. Certainly this would accord with one of the primary Egyptian conceptions of life after death, the period with which these representations undoubtedly have to do, that of rebirth into eternal existence as companion of the sun god on his eternal journey through the sky, or the waters of the sky, above and below the earth, rising with Rēꜥ in the morning, setting with Atum in the evening every day for ever.<sup>2</sup> It accords, too, with the Egyptian emphasis on what is now called ‘eternal recurrence’, if an abstract term may be permitted an effort to lump the great variety of concrete ways used in Egypt to express the endless process of death and birth, sunset and sunrise.<sup>3</sup>

Evidence against this conclusion would seem to be negative, the fact that the representations could not be studied here in the full individual context each often deserves. But perhaps this broad, if often summary, presentation will provoke deeper study in both individual and broad contexts, for the Egyptian conception of solar barks and solar motion is apparently a not inconsiderable part of the cosmology that is to a large extent the framework of Egyptian religion.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the last representation, sunrise, in the three N.K. underworld ‘books’: Caverns, Am-Duat, Gates. Jéquier’s opinion of the third appears to be true of the others as well: ‘. . . me paraît représenter non seulement la naissance du soleil, mais bien son lever et son coucher’ (*Le Livre de ce qu’il à dans l’Hadès*, 8). Here, too, the full motion is depicted at sunrise.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 75, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Other concrete examples include: frequent hymns to the setting and rising sun on opposite walls just inside or outside N.K. tomb entrances at Thebes; disk containing ram-headed man and scarab, commonly put over the entrance or just inside Bibān el-Mulūk tombs; disk at the centre of four pairs of arms in tombs and on papyri; inscriptions comparable to that around Tūtankhamūn’s sarcophagus lid: . . . *ꜥꜥ pr(ꜥ) m bꜥ ꜥnhꜥ r . . . Rꜥ wbn:f hꜛp:f m pt tꜥ rꜥ nb* (hand copy). There have appeared to me indications that the Egyptian recognized, actually, for this rising and setting only one solar bark, *wiꜥ*, called *mꜛndt* by day and *msktt* by night, in much the same way he recognized one sun god, Rēꜥ, often called Khopri or Ḥarakhti by day, Atum by night.

## THE DYNASTIC RACE IN EGYPT

By D. E. DERRY

THE history of Egypt as it is known today has been built up in great part by the painstaking labours of Egyptologists and each new discovery adds a stone to the building. For the past sixty years the systematic examination by anthropologists of the human remains which are an almost invariable concomitant of excavations in Egypt has provided important racial evidence, the influence of which on the interpretation of many facts in Egyptian history is far-reaching. The object of the present paper is to put on record a general account of the facts which led to the conclusion that another race in addition to that represented by the remains found in all reliably dated Predynastic graves occupied Egypt in Early Dynastic times.

The earliest inhabitants of Egypt of which we have any knowledge are the so-called Predynastic people, numbers of whose cemeteries have been excavated in Upper Egypt. Where these people came from is unknown, but there is at least some evidence that they may have been the descendants of the people who inhabited what is now the Eastern Desert at a time when more frequent rain permitted sufficient vegetation to support the flocks of sheep and goats of a pastoral people. That such climatic conditions did prevail we have definite evidence. The numerous *wādīs* on the Eastern Desert bear testimony to the quantity of water which flowed down from the region of the Red Sea hills to the present valley of the Nile at a time previous to the existence of the river. Hume and Craig, quoted by Brooks, *Evolution of Climate*, p. 72, consider the river to be not older than about 14,000 years. The stone implements found in quantity on the desert indicate that in the past a considerably larger population than the scattered tribes of Arabs which now inhabit it must have occupied the country. In this connexion it may be mentioned that in the course of a desert survey and only five miles from the Red Sea coast of Egypt, Mr. George Murray was shown a recently rifled grave from which he took 'a slate palette with green malachite stains, fragments of a grey coarse earthenware pot of a type which Professor Reisner dates as not later than the First Dynasty, not earlier than the late Predynastic period', and a few other articles. He also brought back the skull which I examined and measured. Unfortunately all the bones of the face were missing, but so far as the features of the skull could be examined they accorded well with those of the Predynastic Egyptians (*Man*, 23, no. 9, Sept. 1923).

The first Predynastic cemeteries were discovered by Professor Flinders Petrie in 1895 at Naḳādah on the west bank of the Nile, a few miles north of Luxor. At first he believed he had found a 'new race', but later it was shown that these people were the autochthonous inhabitants of the Nile valley. All the bodies were in the contracted position and copper was present in the earliest graves, although stone weapons and implements were still in use. The skeletons were sent to England and the skulls formed

the subject of a special study carried out by Miss C. D. Fawcett and published in *Biometrika*, 1, 408-67 (1902). In 1901 Dr. George A. Reisner, working for the Hearst Expedition at Nag<sup>c</sup> ed-Dēr about 100 miles north of Luxor on the east bank of the Nile laid bare an early Predynastic cemetery, and the human remains were packed and sent to the Medical School in Cairo, where Elliot Smith was at that time Professor of Anatomy. When Dr. Reisner left Upper Egypt he settled in the vicinity of the pyramid of Cheops and began the excavation of the immense Fourth and Fifth Dynasty necropolis surrounding the pyramid. Here, with the exception of the great tombs (mastabas) of the nobles, the graves consisted of pits of varying depth hewn in the limestone and with a side chamber, sometimes two, in which, in those of earlier date, the body was placed in the contracted position. This began to be given up during the Fourth Dynasty, and the extended position was adopted. When I joined Elliot Smith in 1905 he had already begun a systematic examination and measurement of the human remains in this cemetery, and together we accumulated a large number of measurements to which I added many more during the following summer when, by Dr. Reisner's invitation, I stayed at his camp. Owing to the extreme fragility of the bones, we were unable to transport them to Cairo for more detailed examination in the laboratory, but the results of the measurements recorded at the graveside were to become of inestimable racial value later on. Thus we had at the Medical School the material, either as notes or the actual skeletons, of Predynastic and Early Dynastic cemeteries, both excavated by Dr. Reisner, who at this time believed that the Egyptian culture had evolved in the Nile valley and that the people whose remains we were examining buried round the Great Pyramid were the descendants of the Predynastic Egyptians. It should be said here that this paper deals only with the earliest cemeteries of both Predynastic and Early Dynastic date. As time went on, the mixture of the two races obscured the outstanding differences so clearly demonstrated in the earlier graves. It was not until the year 1909 when, after the second season's work in Nubia, where the archaeological survey of that country brought to light an enormous amount of human material and when comparative figures of skull measurements from various series were called for, that on taking out the means of our measurements on the Fourth to Sixth Dynasty crania from the Giza necropolis, the unexpected discovery was made that the pyramid builders were a different race from the people whose descendants they had hitherto been supposed to be. Naturally after making this discovery I was asked where the invaders had come from. My reply was that quite definitely they had not come from the south as the Dynastic people were far removed from any negroid element. It was improbable that they had entered Egypt from the west, both on account of the difficulties involved in crossing the desert and still more because no such people have ever been identified west of Egypt. If these people came from the north, they must have come across the sea and traces of their presence should be found in the Delta, or if the latter in ancient times was impassable owing to its swampy condition, then on one or other side of the Delta where it is bounded by the west and east deserts; but nothing of the sort has ever been found. We are left then with the east as the most probable region from which an invasion could take place.

Engelbach, in his interesting 'Essay on the advent of the Dynastic Race in Egypt and its consequences' in *Ann. Serv.* 42, says:

That the Dynastic race came from outside Egypt cannot as yet be definitely *proved*; indeed historians are somewhat coy on this all-important subject, but the probability that they did is so strong as to make it practically a certainty. Once it is assumed that a vigorous race of fighters occupied Egypt, notorious for its extreme fertility, many subsequent events, great and small, which are provable, seem to slip into their places almost automatically.

Later in the same 'Essay' (p. 199) Engelbach says:

Before discussing the question of the part played by the Dynastic Race, we have to consider whether their advent to power was the result of peaceful infiltration or of a definite conquest. . . . Though gradual infiltration by an alien people might well profoundly modify the culture of Egypt, it could hardly produce that terrific wave of national energy which followed close on the advent of the Dynastic Race. Such a result might however well follow the invasion and conquest by a race superior in fighting strength, though perhaps far inferior numerically to the old Egyptian stock, the one having discipline, unity and a set purpose, and, above all, the art of writing, and the other having trading enterprise and a good knowledge of the arts and crafts. I consider that the balance of probability is that the Dynastic Race arrived in Egypt as a horde, perhaps after a considerable amount of peaceful penetration had already taken place. . . .

As regards the route which the invading horde may have taken for their descent upon Egypt Engelbach considers (pp. 201-2) that

the invaders took the normal route to Egypt from the east, which is along the Wadi el-Tumilat on the east side of the Delta, which connects the present Lake Timsah with the Nile Valley.

I have quoted at length from Engelbach's interesting essay to illustrate the attitude of one of the younger and most brilliant Egyptologists to the anatomical facts which so strongly influenced the elucidation of many problems of Ancient Egyptian history hitherto largely conjectural.

While this is in no sense an anatomical treatise, some figures will be given at this stage to illustrate the essential differences as between groups of Predynastic and Early Dynastic crania. These results were obtained by several observers at intervals of many years and in different parts of Egypt. With the exception of those indicated as measured by Derry or Elliot Smith and Derry, all have been taken from Dr. G. M. Morant's valuable 'Study of Egyptian Craniology from Prehistoric to Roman Times', *Biometrika*, 17, Parts 1 and 2 (June 1925). My figure for the Nag' ed-Dēr Predynastic and Elliot Smith's and mine for the Fourth and Fifth Dynasty crania from Gīza were published in the *Sixth Bulletin of the Nubian Archaeological Survey*, p. 16. The figures for the Predynastic Badari cemeteries were referred to in my report on the First Dynasty cemetery at Saqqārah which, so far as I know, was never published; but the crania from the latter cemetery are treated in *A Study of a First Dynasty Series of Egyptian Skulls from Sakkara, &c.*, by A. Batrawi, Ph.D., and G. M. Morant, D.Sc.

Even those unfamiliar with craniometry will be struck by the difference in the measurements of the skulls in the two series shown in the table on p. 83. The Predynastic people are seen to have had narrow skulls with a height measurement exceeding the breadth, a condition common also in negroes. The reverse is the case in the Dynastic

THE DYNASTIC RACE IN EGYPT

*Males*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Predyn.</i>	<i>Predyn.</i>	<i>Predyn.</i>	<i>Predyn.</i>	<i>1st Dyn.</i>	<i>1st and 2nd Dyn.</i>	<i>1st Dyn.</i>	<i>4th Dyn.</i>	<i>4th and 5th Dyn.</i>	<i>4th and 5th Dyn.</i>	<i>4th-9th Dyn.</i>
Locality . . .	Nag' ed-Der	Nakādah	Abydos	Badari, 1925, 1928, 1929	Royal Tombs, Abydos	Royal Tombs, Abydos	Sondage, Serapeum, Saqqārah	Saqqārah	Desbashaah and Mēdūm	Giza	Ḳāu
Measured by . . .	Derry	Fawcett and Morant	Thomson and MacIver	Derry	Modley	Thomson and MacIver	Derry	Broca	Thomson and MacIver	Elliot Smith and Derry	Petrie
Length of skull (Glabello-occipital) (mm.) . . .	184.2	184.7	183.5	182.0	184.9	184.8	186.5	185.0	184.9	184.0	184.7
Maximum breadth of skull (mm.) . . .	132.0	132.7	131.4	131.7	136.2	137.7	139.7	141.0	139.3	139.1	139.6
Height of skull (Basio-bregmatic) (mm.) . . .	132.9	133.8	134.0	134.3	132.1	132.8	135.5	137.0	136.0	136.3	136.9



Race, who not only had broader skulls but the height of these skulls, while exceeding that in the Predynastic Race, is still less than the breadth. This implies a greater cranial capacity and of course a larger brain in the invading people. Another remarkable point is the regularity with which the same or nearly the same figures appear in the different groups for the same diameter. In both races there is little difference in the *length* of the skull, but a mean of 132.0 mm. for the *breadth* in the Predynastic people and of 139.0 mm. in the Dynastic Race came to be regarded in my mind as characteristic. The two series in the above table which do not conform to this are both from Abydos and almost certainly, as shown by Dr. Morant, are not the pure Egyptian stock. It was stated above that only the earliest graves are dealt with in this paper for the reason that mixture of the two races at later dates obscures the outstanding differences so marked in the earliest periods. It is, however, important to note that infiltration had begun already in Late Predynastic times, and the results of measurements of skulls from graves of this date frequently show the presence of a larger-headed people. This was the case in Petrie's original discovery at Naḳadah where both Early and Late Predynastic graves were brought to light, the latter including Early Dynastic burials. These are distinguished in Dr. Morant's tables (*loc. cit.*) as A and Q and B.T.R. Only the former, called by Dr. Morant 'Middle?' are included in the above table.

A striking example of the contrast between the two races was seen in a cemetery at Ṭurah on the east side of the Nile valley, a few miles from Cairo, excavated by Hermann Junker in the season 1909-10. The cemetery consisted of graves of Late Predynastic and First Dynasty date, but later interments included a group of Third Dynasty burials. While only a few intact crania were obtained owing to damage by water-soakage, the cemetery occupying ground which had been recently under cultivation, these skulls exhibited very clearly the inherent differences as between the Predynastic and Dynastic races. The means of the few measurements obtained gave the following results:

*Ṭurah*

<i>Measurement</i>	<i>Men</i>		<i>Women</i>	
	<i>Predyn. and First Dyn.</i>	<i>Third Dyn.</i>	<i>Predyn. and First Dyn.</i>	<i>Third Dyn.</i>
Length (mm.) . . .	184.0 (7)	183.7 (6)	176.0 (9)	175.8 (3)
Breadth (mm.) . . .	133.1 (7)	140.1 (6)	131.3 (9)	139.0 (3)
Height (mm.) . . .	131.5 (5)	135.0 (5)	130.6 (7)	129.0 (3)

While these figures in themselves from so few skulls would be of little worth, in the light of what has been proved from a large series of measurements of similar dates elsewhere, they provide remarkable corroborative evidence.

Before leaving the subject of the presence in Egypt of an invading race and one that dominated the country, it is of interest to record the same measurements made on nineteen people, most of whom are of the upper class, found in great tombs or mastabas ranging from the First to the Sixth Dynasty. All of those given are men, and they are listed either by the grave number or by the name of the person.

<i>Name or grave number</i>	<i>Length</i> (mm.)	<i>Breadth</i> (mm.)	<i>Height</i> (mm.)	
<i>First Dynasty</i>				
Saber . . . . .	190·5	140·0 (?)	142·0 (?)	Estimated from broken skull.
<i>Second Dynasty</i>				
3195 . . . . .	189·0	141·5	132·0	
407 . . . . .	195·0	138·0	125·0	
507 . . . . .	200·5	154·0	153·0	
? grave no. . . . .	191·0	144·5	136·5	
<i>Fourth Dynasty</i>				
G. 2000 . . . . .	187·5	148·0	137·0	Large mastaba; probably important person.
East of Great Pyramid . . . . .	196·0	139·0	123·5	
<i>Fifth Dynasty</i>				
Burial B . . . . .	172·5	143·5	136·5	
Ibi . . . . .	186·5	134·0	136·5	
Ankhkha'ef . . . . .	190·0	147·5	129·5	
Seshmu . . . . .	197·5	140·5	128·0	
East of Unas . . . . .	187·5	148·5	137·5	
Shepsesptah (Prince) . . . . .	192·0	142·0	134·0	
<i>Sixth Dynasty</i>				
Mark oo . . . . .	191·0	137·5	139·0	
Neferrē-Ra'en Sedheb . . . . .	189·0	142·5	136·0	
Ptahemhēt . . . . .	181·0	139·5	134·0	
Nefersheshemrē' (Prince) . . . . .	185·5	145·0	136·0	
Mera . . . . .	180·0	145·5	134·0	
Ka-emhēt . . . . .	195·0	154·0	141·0	

If we lump these figures together and take the means of the three measurements, we obtain a result which is very striking and which is so far removed from the mean of the Predynastic people that under no circumstances could we consider them to be the same race. It is also very suggestive of the presence of a dominant race, perhaps relatively few in numbers but greatly exceeding the original inhabitants in intelligence; a race which brought into Egypt the knowledge of building in stone, of sculpture, painting, reliefs, and above all writing; hence the enormous jump from the primitive Predynastic Egyptian to the advanced civilization of the Old Empire. Here are the means of the above figures compared with those of the Early Predynastic from Nag<sup>c</sup> ed-Dēr:

	<i>Length</i> (mm.)	<i>Breadth</i> (mm.)	<i>Height</i> (mm.)
<i>First-Sixth Dynasties</i>			
Mostly nobles (19)	189·3	143·4	135·3
<i>Predynastic</i>			
Nag <sup>c</sup> ed-Dēr (60)	184·2	132·0	132·9

## BURIAL CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS IN THE HEREAFTER IN PREDYNASTIC EGYPT

By M. A. MURRAY

THERE are four clearly recognizable periods in Predynastic Egypt: (1) Badarian, (2) Amratean, (3) Gerzean, (4) Semainean.<sup>1</sup>

The Amratean and Gerzean cultures were first discovered by Petrie and Quibell at Naḳādah and Ballas, two villages to the north of Denderah. The distinction between the two cultures was noted by Petrie in his *Naqada and Ballas*; and was fully worked out, in his *Diospolis Parva*, by a system of sequence-dating, which he himself evolved. The discovery of the Badarian culture was due to J. L. Starkey, and its position in the series was established by Miss Caton Thompson's brilliant excavation of the site, where

Semainean only
Semainean and Gerzean mixed
Gerzean only
Gerzean and Amratean mixed
Amratean only
Amratean and Badarian mixed
Badarian only

FIG. 1. Diagram of the excavation at Badari.

the stratification of the pottery not only showed the age of the culture but also proved the accuracy of Petrie's sequence-dating (see fig. 1). The Semainean, though in many ways a development of the Gerzean, has so many new and foreign features that it must be classed as a separate culture. At the end of the Semainean period the influence of the Dynastic race becomes increasingly prominent, showing an infiltration, more or less peaceful, before the final military invasion.

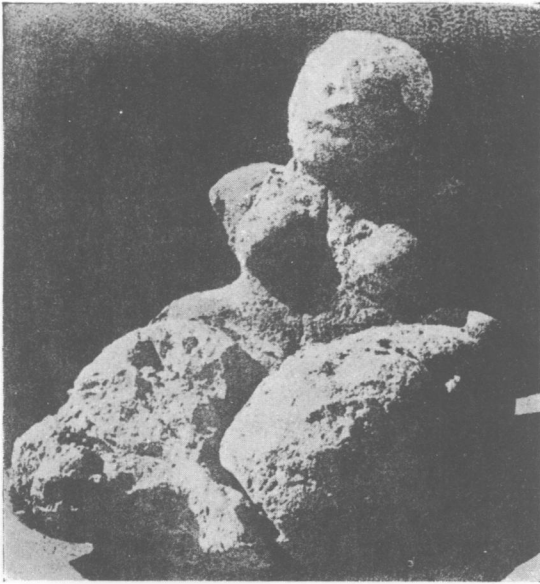
Until the New Kingdom it is clear that only the more important people of the community received burial, and among these are few women and hardly any children.

This is a remarkable fact when taking into account (1) the length of time, not less than 5,000 years from the beginning of the Badarian period till the end of the Second Intermediate period; (2) the size of the population as evinced by the size of the villages; (3) the preponderance of women in any population; (4) the great extent of maternal and child mortality; (5) the fact that the peasants and labourers always outnumber the higher classes by at least ten to one. The question then arises: How were the bodies of the bulk of the population disposed of? The only possible conclusion is that they were thrown out on the fields (as the bodies of dead animals often are) or were cast into the river. And in this connexion it is surely significant that the great scavengers of the air, the land, and the water—the vulture, the jackal, and the crocodile—are among the earliest deities of whom we have record.

Frazer has shown<sup>2</sup> that belief in a life after death is not universal, and that among

<sup>1</sup> The Tasian culture is claimed by Brunton to be earlier than the Badarian. This is doubtful; it seems to be more probably a contemporary culture of small intrusive groups, like the Pan-grave people.

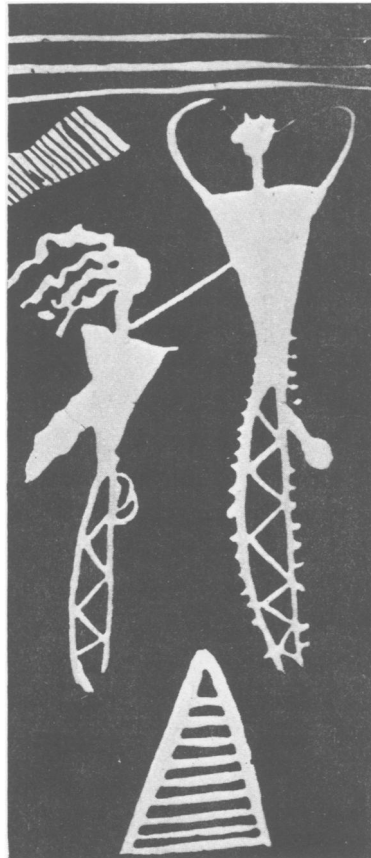
<sup>2</sup> *Fear of the Dead*, 7 (ed. 1933). 'The inhabitants of the Tonga Islands in the Pacific thought the souls of noblemen were immortal, but that the souls of commoners were not.'



1. Amratean steatopygous female figure

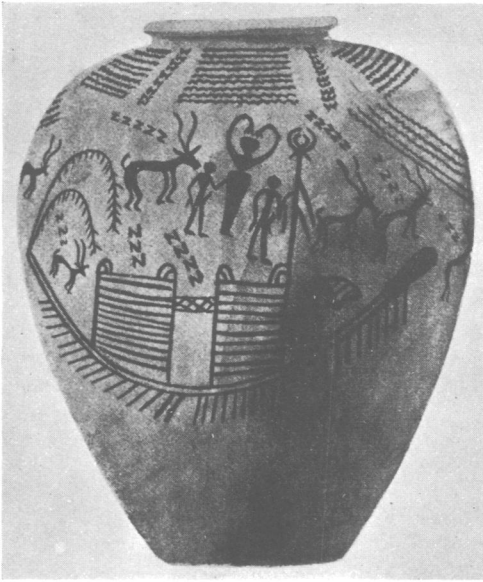


2. Neolithic figure from Grimes Graves,  
Norfolk



3. Slip decoration on Amratean vase

PREHISTORIC FEMALE FIGURES



1. Gerzean vase-paintings showing giant figure of goddess



2. Gerzean slate palette

REPRESENTATIONS OF GERZEAN GODDESS

some peoples it was regarded as the special privilege of the higher classes to attain immortality, while the lower classes were 'as the beasts that perish'.<sup>1</sup>

Taking these facts into consideration it would appear that in the Predynastic and Early Dynastic cemeteries, one is dealing only with persons of the higher ranks. Even the workmen, whose burials often surround the buildings they erected, were the craftsmen, the master masons and master builders, the foremen of the gangs, but not the labourers, not the rank and file who, like the oxen and the asses, did the hard physical work and were treated with the same callousness as the draught and pack animals. Household servants would receive more consideration, especially those in personal attendance on the master. This is shown in the tombs of some of the kings of the First Dynasty at Abydos, where the concubines, men and women household servants, and a few pet dogs were slaughtered at the king's death and buried round his grave. These persons must have been of relative importance, for each had a tombstone with his or her name carved thereon.

#### Characteristics of Badarian burials (fig. 2)

##### *Graves*

Roughly circular or oval; a few with straight sides but rounded corners. Sides are sloped inwards; sometimes there is a row of sticks, as if an attempt were made to keep back the loose soil. Women's graves noticeably larger than men's; the greater number had been anciently plundered, probably because their personal ornaments and other possessions had been buried with them.

##### *Bodies*

Arms and legs flexed but not rigidly contracted, suggesting the attitude of sleep. No evidence of preservative, bodies allowed to decay naturally, only bones remaining, though occasionally also skin or hair remain. They lay on the left side with head to south so as to face west; in the small percentage which lay with head to north, the body was laid on the right side, therefore facing west. A few exceptions faced east. Bodies wrapped in goat-skin with the hair inside. In a few cases, woven cloth had been wrapped round the body under the goat-skin. Matting laid over the body, and sometimes over the grave-goods as well.

No multiple burials, not even of mother and child.

No evidence of dismemberment. The sole exception is one old woman, whose body was complete except for the head, in place of which was a pot.

##### *Cemeteries*

Certain areas reserved for men only, elsewhere sexes mixed.

One of the important points in this culture is that excavation has brought to light

<sup>1</sup> Similar conditions appear to have prevailed in some of the rocky islands of the Mediterranean, where the soil was too scanty to allow of its being permanently occupied by the dead. The bodies were buried till only bones remained, which were then exhumed and placed in ossuaries. This was clearly the case in Minorca, for in the megalithic ossuary, of which I excavated the last poor remains, it was evident that a comparatively small number of the population, presumably those of better class, had been re-interred.



villages as well as cemeteries. It is therefore possible to obtain some knowledge of the customs and beliefs not only of burial and of the Hereafter but also of the daily life and religion of the community.

The grave-goods show only the life of the upper classes. They consist of pottery vessels of all sizes, some obviously for storage or cooking, others for serving food or drink. Slate palettes and stone beads were not uncommon. These all show a belief in some kind of material survival of the dead person after death.

The position of the body facing west suggests that it was to that quarter of the

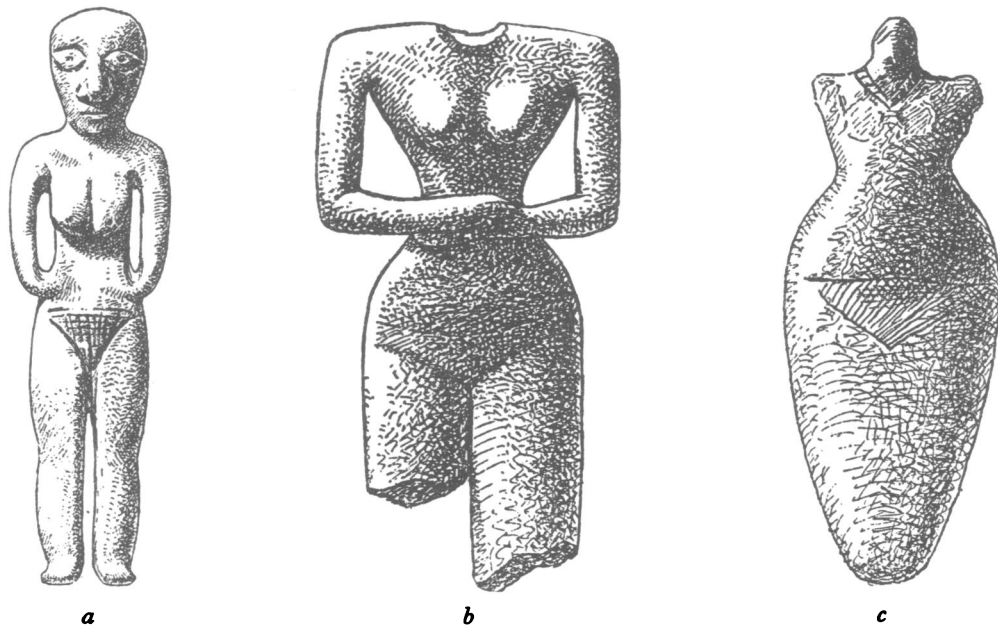


FIG. 3. Badarian female figures: (a) of ivory, (b) of pottery, and (c) of clay.

compass that the surviving entity went, and from which it returned to the body in the grave. The few exceptions to the rule of facing west may have been burials of either foreigners or of members of some special cult, e.g. sun-worshippers.

The three figures of women are peculiarly interesting (fig. 3). Unfortunately the evidence of excavation gives little or no help towards understanding their significance. The ivory and pottery figures were each found loose in the filling of a grave in which the bones had disappeared. The clay figure was in a grave of a 'young individual', whose sex and age are not given. The figures represent nude women, and are remarkable for the fact that the 'sexual triangle' is greatly exaggerated. They therefore belong to a well-known type which occurs throughout the historic period down to and into Roman times. In historic times such figures are found in women's graves only. Under the Romans, figures of the same class, though differing in artistic style, are found in houses in the women's apartments. I have suggested<sup>1</sup> that they belong to a secret cult of women. It is known that such cults existed in Greece and Rome, but nothing has ever

<sup>1</sup> 'Female Fertility Figures', *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.* 64, 93 ff.



been discovered as to the rites and practices of that cult. Similar rites still exist in Africa and in many parts of the East and are also unrecorded.

#### Characteristics of Amratean burials (fig. 4)

##### *Graves*

Circular and extremely shallow, varying from 10 inches to 3 feet in depth. In some graves matting supported on sticks served as a roof.

##### *Burials*

Multiple burials; usually from two to five, but single burials more common. Bodies contracted.

Dismemberment.<sup>1</sup> Evidence: B.24. Trunk dried in one piece, skin still preserved. Skull placed in front of chest; piece of skin with hair placed over severed end of spine. One humerus in place, rest of limb bones scattered. B.37. Two bodies superposed. Lower, skeleton, goat-skin wrapped round sacrum and lumbar vertebrae. Upper, four vertebrae only together, no ribs attached, long bones completely separated and stacked together in handfuls, scapula placed between the jaws. Goat-skin over both bodies. B.102. Five bodies. (1) Male, lying on back, sacrum, tibiae, and arm-bones stacked together at middle of body. (2) Male, no head, long bones stacked together. (3) Cluster of leg bones only. (4) Male, head and bones mixed. (5) Child. Two skulls of women without bones. (Diosp. Cem. B.570 graves.)

Ballas. 21. One skeleton and two skulls. 31. Body complete including finger and toe bones, but no head. 70. Complete skeleton, sharply contracted, skull between knees. 80. Skull, sacrum, and ends of broken long bones only. Note: grave filled up with stones of 20 lb. weight.

Naqādah 1388. Usual contracted position. No head. 1419. Female, usual position. Skull reversed, lower arms displaced. 1420. Knees drawn up rather high, skull reversed. 1480. Usual position, skull missing, replaced by ostrich egg.

The Amratean culture emerges so easily from the Badarian that the only conclusion to be drawn is the peaceful penetration of a higher and more advanced culture which absorbed and altered the previous conditions of life.

The burials give a certain amount of information regarding the religious beliefs of the Amrateans. The multiple burials show a strong family feeling, the members of a family being united in death as in life. This is not found at any other period in Ancient Egypt except under foreign influence.

<sup>1</sup> For similar dismemberment, see G. Caton Thompson, *The Tombs and Moon Temple of Hureidha (Hadhramaut)*, Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, no. 13, pp. 71, 93 (1944). In Tomb A.5 there were forty-two skulls. The skeletons were completely scattered, and not only were none of the bones in articulation but were 'proportionately inadequate for the crania'. Twenty-seven out of the forty-two were set on their bases, and only seven had jaws and those not in articulation. 'A double alinement of fifteen had been arranged at the back of the cave. In one line were eight crania, five of which rested on their bases facing south, the other three on their sides. The second row of seven nearly touched the first row and consisted of six crania resting on their bases and one on its left side. A sixteenth skull lay isolated some  $\frac{1}{2}$  m. away, and three were separate and unaccompanied by other parts or objects in the vicinity.' Miss Caton Thompson dates the find to the seventh-fifth century B.C. See also K. Kenyon, *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly*, 1952, 1953, 1954; A. L. Armstrong, *Report on Derbyshire Caves*.



There are indications that cannibalism was practised. The most definite instance was in a tomb at Ballas (Cem. *T*) where there was a large mass of bones. These were mostly broken at the ends or split, some show marks of having been scooped out forcibly as if the marrow had been removed; others show marks of teeth. The skulls, with the personal ornaments, had been placed carefully apart. Here the suggestion of ceremonial cannibalism is strong. In this tomb, as in the others where the bones had been disarranged, a special reverence had been paid to the skulls. Where they had not been removed entirely, they had been placed in such a position as to suggest that emphasis was laid on the fact of their displacement. In two cases where the skull had been removed altogether, its place was taken by a hollow rounded object—a pot, an ostrich egg. It is obvious that there was some special feeling towards the skull of a dead person. I suggest that these persons had been regarded during life as being possessed of supernatural powers. When the person had been beneficent or much beloved, the skull had been removed to the family hut or village for worship; and it should be noted that the missing skulls were largely female. If, on the other hand, the person had a reputation of evil, the skull was so placed that it could not be joined to the body and so rendered the evil person powerless.<sup>1</sup>

There is a certain amount of information about the religion of the Amrateans which can be gleaned from the remains. In the filling of a grave were found the bones of a dog. This, however, may have been only with the idea that the dog should accompany his master, as seems to have been the case in the tomb of King Udimu at Abydos. But there was also found a pit in which were buried the remains of at least twenty dogs. This suggests the beginning of the special sanctity of the dog, which in the later periods resulted in large cemeteries of dog mummies.

The figures of women, of which there were several, are all of the same type, markedly steatopygous (pl. V, 1). Most of them were made of clay, one only is of limestone. Unfortunately no mention is made of the sex of the persons in whose graves they were found. The two largest were laid at the feet of the skeleton and were covered with a ring-shaped pot. Petrie has called attention to the steatopygous figures of women at Brassempouy and in Malta. There is also the statuette carved in chalk (pl. V, 2), found in the neolithic pit at Grimes Graves, where a curious ritual can be deduced.

An important contribution to our knowledge of the Amratean beliefs is the painting in slip on a vase of this period (pl. V, 3). The giant figure with upraised arms is the earliest representation of the goddess who appears in vase-paintings and also as a statuette in the Gerzean period. She was formalized as *Ḥathōr* in historic times. The zigzag pattern between the legs of each figure on the Amratean vase suggests some kind of skirt. If so, the second figure must be female also; but whether it is male or female the scene appears to represent a ritual dance before the image of a goddess.

<sup>1</sup> The cult of the skull is widespread, and ranges in time from the palaeolithic period to the present day. In ancient Egypt during the Bronze and Iron Ages the cult-centre was at Abydos, where the 'Holy Head' was the chief object of worship. The cult was adopted into Christianity when osseous relics of saints were regarded with reverential awe (cf. the head of St. Oswald). In many parts of the world, head worship is still practised.

## Characteristics of Gerzean burials

*Graves*

Circular, oval, or straight-sided with rounded corners. Often as deep as 10 feet (fig. 4). The arrangement of the grave-goods appears to have followed a regular pattern, showing that a definite ritual had now been evolved.

*Burials*

Orientation of the body not rigidly observed, though usually with head to north. Bodies sharply contracted. Wrappings of bark fibre or woven rhamie fibre. With few exceptions, all single burials. Many bodies covered with thick coating of mud to form a kind of coffin. Wooden coffins occasionally occur.

In the cemetery of Gerzeh there were 249 graves which had never been disturbed. Of these fifty-one were of children.

*Children.* The unusually large proportion of children's graves is in contrast with the earlier cultures. It was also noticeable that the grave-goods of children were richer than those of the generality of the adults. In the grave of a young boy were two iron beads, a limestone mace-head, a slate palette, and an ivory vase. In some cases children were buried with their mothers; of these five were in pots, thus giving each child and the mother separate individual burial.

*Adults.* Evidence of dismemberment. Twelve in which evidence is unimpeachable, though many others in which there is strong suggestion of dismemberment.

- 67. Skull set upright on its base; one neck vertebra placed between shoulders. Yet necklace of gold, iron, carnelian and agate beads undisturbed.
- 142. Greater part of feet missing. Yet mud covering, 2 inches thick, was unbroken.
- 123. Pelvis and lower vertebrae missing.
- 137. Feet entirely missing.
- 138. Sacrum missing; part of each iliac missing; left femur articulated into left iliac. Four inches away were one heel-bone and two other foot-bones with the right femur laid on them.
- 171. Female. Left iliac placed at a distance from sacrum.
- 187. Two hand-bones lay alongside the forearm on undisturbed sand.
- 200. Male. Six uppermost vertebrae missing, yet skull showed no signs of having been moved.
- 206. Tibiae and fibulae inverted. Some of the bones of the feet were laid at the ends of the tibiae; the rest with knee-caps and hand-bones were laid together at the side.
- 251. Head and right leg missing. Grave too small to have held head as well as rest of crouched burial.
- 280. Ends of tibiae broken at ankles, only few foot-bones remaining. Left iliac missing; as body lay on left side the loss was not visible till body was moved.
- 284. Finger-bones of left hand scattered near fore-arm.

A peculiar treatment of the skull was found in several cases. It was filled with sand (in which beads were found, showing that the filling was artificially effected). The sand

had been rammed in tightly, and the skull then placed in position. It then appears to have been cracked into small pieces which were held in place on the sand. When the fragments were removed the sand retained the cast of the brain cavity. Two leg-bones had been treated in the same way.

The Gerzean culture differs in almost every aspect from the Amratean, and is clearly of a more advanced type. It probably began by peaceful penetration, but the great superiority of the Gerzean weapons in number and efficacy and the complete displacement of the Amratean culture suggest a military conquest, by which the Amrateans were either exterminated, or more probably reduced to a subordinate position. At no other period of Egypt's prehistory or history can there be found so complete a change in the continuity of her civilization. The invasion of the dynastic people was preceded by the acceptance of new ideas long before the actual conquest. The centuries of Hyksos rule eclipsed for a time but did not destroy the ancient culture. From the Gerzean period till the Roman conquest Egyptian civilization shows development and even decadence, but not drastic change.

The Gerzean burials show by the arrangement of the grave-goods that there must have been a definite ritual, for the various objects had each its own appointed place. Though dismemberment was practised, there is no indication of cannibalism. Burials were almost invariably single, and this custom is emphasized by the enclosing of the body in a mud case, and later in a wooden coffin.

*Ash-jars.* These large storage jars were ranged on the north side of the grave, in number eight to twelve. They contained nothing but vegetable ashes and a little burnt sand which had been scraped up with the ashes. A few scraps of animal bones were found among the ashes, but no human bones and no object of human workmanship. In some cases a layer of some vegetable paste had been poured on top of the ashes. Petrie suggests a libation of thick beer, of which the solid part lay on the top, while the liquid filtered through.

The aromatic vegetable fat is probably the precursor of the seven sacred oils which were an invariable part of the offerings in the tombs of the Old Kingdom. In the same connexion it is clear that the wavy-handled jar in which the aromatic fat was stored, was the direct ancestor of the cylindrical vase which became the hieroglyphic sign for perfumed oil.

The number and richness of the child-burials seem to show that in the Gerzean community there were certain families of peculiar importance, perhaps royal, whose children these were.

Amulets were common, though unknown before. Magical objects for divination occur in certain graves. Some of these were flat pieces of slate carved at the top with a bearded human head. Important Gerzean men appear to have worn pointed beards, and this custom may have been the origin of the false beard worn by the Pharaoh, even as early as Narmer.

The giant goddess with upraised arms (pl. VI) is found not only on painted vases, but also as a statuette (fig. 5), whose body is covered with magical designs representing tattooed marks. As there is no wood- or stone-working of any size at this period, it is

obvious that the giant figures—always larger than life—must have been made of the materials then in use: wicker-work and clay. In the First Dynasty large wicker-work shrines or small temples were already in use, some in the form of a couchant jackal representing Anubis. Such a figure covered with clay would last many years in a rainless climate, but when neglected would disintegrate and leave no trace.

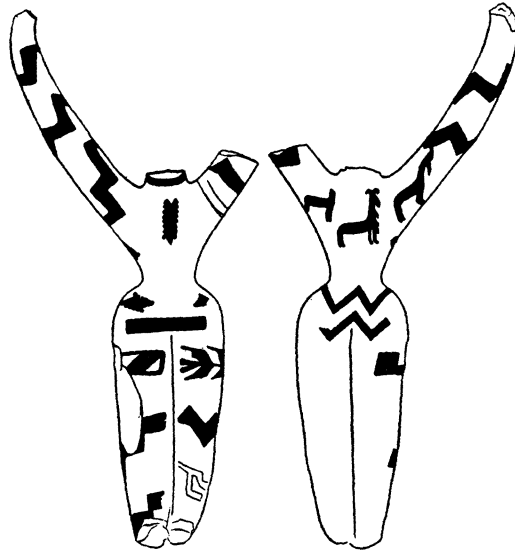


FIG. 5. Tattooed figure of goddess.

#### Characteristics of Semainean burials

Much of the Gerzean culture remained, though often in a decadent form. Single burials were the rule, and the isolation of the body in the grave was emphasized by the increasing use of wooden coffins. Dismemberment was practised, the bones being arranged in square heaps.

The grave-goods are more varied in character and material than in the earlier cultures; and, with the freer use of metal, wooden objects become more common. Ash-jars, though changed in shape, are still a prominent feature in the graves. The decadent form of the wavy-handled jar is common, but filled with mud or entirely empty, the reason being probably that the particular kind of perfume with which the wavy-handled jar was associated was no longer obtainable. Jars full of actual beetles (scarabs and other species) occur occasionally. There are many indications that utility was more valued than beauty, e.g. the slate palettes become mere flat rectangular slabs instead of being shaped in the form of living creatures. But towards the end of the period palettes for ceremonial use were introduced. Beginning with single signs or figures, the designs gradually increased in complexity till they culminated in the magnificent slate palette of Narmer, the first of the dynastic kings of all Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

The Gerzean slate palette is peculiar, and owing to the diagrammatic style of the figure it can be explained in two ways. It may represent the head of a cow; the horns, the ears, and the tuft of hair between the horns being marked by stars. On the other

<sup>1</sup> Petrie, *Ceremonial Slate Palettes*, pl. B. 5.

hand, it may represent the giant goddess with upraised arms, the stars marking the hands, the head, and the horizontal breasts. It is clearly the form of a constellation, possibly part of that now known as Orion, and is the earliest example of the celestial cow-goddess—Hathōr or Nut—whose figure is so well known in the tomb of Sethos I.

The Semainean period has hitherto been neglected by the archaeologist owing to its being regarded as merely showing the decadence of the Gerzean culture. It is true that much of that culture survived (as it did till finally overwhelmed by the Graeco-Roman civilization), but there is evidence to show that the Semainean had its own characteristics as distinct from those of the earlier or later periods. It is, however, considerably more complex than the cultures which preceded it, and as such it offers to the archaeologist more problems for solution than any other of the Predynastic cultures.

## A TEMPLE OF ḤATHŌR AT KUSAE

By P. M. FRASER

IN 1948 W. C. Hayes published<sup>1</sup> a foundation-plaque of opaque glass from a temple of Aphrodite Urania, on the back of which is the following Greek inscription:

βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος  
 βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου  
 καὶ βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης,  
 θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν,  
 Ἀφροδίτῃ Οὐρανίαι.

The front bears a hieroglyphic text translated as follows:

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ptolemaios 'Ankh-djet Mery-Iset, Son of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ptolemaios and (of) the Mistress of the Two Lands, Berenike, the Benefactor Gods: to Ḥathōr Who-is-(in)-Heaven.

According to Hayes, the former owner of the plaque, which is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, said that 'it was obtained in Upper Egypt'.<sup>2</sup>

Neither Hayes, nor those who have subsequently referred to the plaque,<sup>3</sup> noticed that it is evidently part of the same foundation-deposit as a gold plaque published by Breccia in 1931.<sup>4</sup> This plaque was described by Breccia as having been a long time on the market, to and fro between Alexandria and Cairo, and its present whereabouts is not known to me. Breccia added that its provenance was unknown, but that its possessor had stated that it came from Hadra, which, as Breccia saw, if true, can hardly have been its original provenance, since Hadra was the region of the Ptolemaic necropoleis. Breccia was informed that a similar plaque, of terra-cotta, had been found with the gold piece, and had passed into the hands of a Parisian dealer. The Greek text of Breccia's gold plaque corresponds to that of the glass plaque published by Hayes (Breccia does not give the hieroglyphic text), and it is evident that we have here two, or, counting the missing terra-cotta piece (unless that be in fact the piece published by Hayes) three plaques from one shrine. Hayes suggested the temple of Ḥathōr at Dēr el-Medīnah in Western Thebes as the temple thus dedicated, though he pointed out in a footnote that in the hieroglyphic version of the plaque Ḥathōr is called 'who-is-(in)-Heaven' (= Ἀφροδίτῃ Οὐρανία), an epithet which does not occur elsewhere, while the Ḥathōr of Dēr el-Medīnah was 'Ḥathōr who-is-in-the-midst-of-Thebes, the Mistress of the West', and he therefore left the identification open. He pointed out in the same footnote that the head of a column bearing two Ḥathōr-heads between the cartouche of

<sup>1</sup> *JEA* 34, 114.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*; see below.

<sup>3</sup> J. and L. Robert, *REG* 64, 211, no. 241; M. N. Tod, *JEA* 36, 108.

<sup>4</sup> *BSA Alex.* 26, 276, no. 1 = *SEG* VIII, 360 (*SB* 7782).



Ptolemy I was known from Kusae, in Upper Egypt.<sup>1</sup> The sign of Ḥathōr here, according to Griffith, is that of 'Ḥathōr of Gold'.<sup>2</sup>

Kusae was in fact an important centre of the worship of Ḥathōr,<sup>3</sup> but the relevant point is that we have independent evidence that one temple of Ḥathōr at Kusae was regarded by the Greeks as sacred to Aphrodite Urania. Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* x, 27 (= Hopfner, *Font. Relig. aegypt.*, p. 420) says: κώμη Αἴγυπτία Χουσαὶ τὸ ὄνομα (τελεῖ δὲ εἰς τὸν Ἑρμοπολίτην νομὸν καὶ μικρὰ μὲν δοκεῖ, χαρίεσσα γὰρ μὴν), ἐν ταύτῃ σέβουσιν Ἀφροδίτην, Οὐρανίαν αὐτὴν καλοῦντες. τιμῶσι δὲ καὶ θήλειαν βοῦν, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐκείνην λέγουσιν κ.τ.λ.

Since we know of no other temple sacred to Aphrodite Urania in Egypt it is natural to conclude that it is from Kusae that the plaques originate. It looks, therefore, as if a temple to 'Ḥathōr of Gold' was founded, or embellished, by Ptolemy I, while a new shrine to Aphrodite Urania was established by Ptolemy Philopator. It is in keeping with their general policy that the Ptolemies should patronize an important cult-centre of the Pharaonic period, though the fact that the cult-title of Ḥathōr is a translation of the Greek equivalent shows that here the cult was Greek in conception. It may be noticed that the religious activity of the Greek population of Kusae in the Ptolemaic period has left trace of itself in the lintel of a temple (now in Alexandria) bearing an inscription of the reign of Ptolemy Philometor which records a dedication by Lysimachus, the son of Baštakilas, of Thrace, and his sons, of a pylon and gateway to Zeus Soter.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. 115 (n. 3 of 114), referring to Porter and Moss, *Bibl.* iv, 258. It was published by F. Ll. Griffith, *JEA* 10, 305, and pl. 37c. Porter and Moss record the column-head, and the inscription mentioned in note 4 below as the total of known antiquities from Kusae.

<sup>2</sup> See Griffith, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> See in general Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.* 511; and cf. Kees, *RE* s.v. 'Kusae'.

<sup>4</sup> *OGIS* 734; Breccia, *Iscr.* 37, and pl. 9, no. 26.

## S. R. K. GLANVILLE

STEPHEN RANULPH KINGDON GLANVILLE was born in London on April 26, 1900, and died from a heart attack at Cambridge on his fifty-sixth birthday. If the first reaction to the news of his death was one of incredulity that the life of a man so richly endowed with vitality should have ended so abruptly, it was soon followed by a deeper sense of loss which must have been shared by very many, for no Egyptologist of the present generation in this country was loved and esteemed by so wide a circle of friends and colleagues. Looking back, it is not difficult to see that, at least for the past twenty years, there was never a time when he was not trying to squeeze into a day—generally for the benefit of others—far more than most men would attempt, and somehow achieving it, often at the cost of taxing his physical and nervous resources.

Within the limits necessarily imposed on this appreciation it will not be possible to mention many of his varied activities, which ranged from being the Provost of one of Cambridge's most famous colleges and the Master of a great City Company, the Grocers', to helping a host of friends with their personal problems. The picture must therefore be one-sided and, in the main, show only the man as an Egyptologist and one of the most valued members of this Society.

Stephen Glanville went up to Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1919 from Marlborough College with an open scholarship in Modern History which was supplemented by an exhibition from the Grocers' Company. Those were the carefree days immediately after the First World War when an undergraduate's modest burden of responsibilities must have seemed even less onerous than in normal times. The life was one which he enjoyed to the full and he made his own considerable contribution to the happiness of his contemporaries. In 1922 he graduated in Literae Humaniores, without, however, doing himself justice. Whether or not he had already developed leanings towards Egyptology is not clear, but at any rate, on leaving Oxford, he took a post in the education service of the Egyptian Government and used with profit the opportunity which residence in Egypt offered for seeing the standing monuments. Fortunately, he soon found himself able to relinquish this appointment, and in 1923 he joined the Society's expedition at El-'Amārnah, under the leadership first of F. G. Newton and later of Professor F. Ll. Griffith. At once he began to show his potentialities both as an archaeologist and as a student of the Egyptian language, and to the end of his days he succeeded in maintaining an even balance between the two branches of his subject to a degree which is very rare in modern times. Throughout, he remained deeply conscious that he owed to this Society and particularly to Griffith, his first teacher, his chance of embarking on a subject from which he derived so much pleasure and to which he eventually contributed so much.

In 1924 he was elected to fill the vacancy in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum, caused by the retirement of Sir E. A. Wallis Budge. His

PLATE VII



S. R. K. GLANVILLE

nine years in the Museum were perhaps almost the only time in his life when he was able to devote his entire attention to Egyptology. In his second year he married Ethel Mary Chubb and subsequently became the father of two daughters of whom he was justly proud. Apart from doing an immense amount of work on the collection of the Museum and attending to the constant demands of scholars and the public, he contrived to continue his own studies under the friendly guidance of Sir Alan Gardiner and especially of Sir Herbert Thompson, whose encouragement and direction led him to specialize in demotic, a field in which he later became the pre-eminent authority in this country. He was elected by Worcester College, Oxford, in 1929, to hold the Laycock Studentship, and used part of the emoluments for the cost of a visit to Philadelphia in order to study demotic papyri in the University Museum. He published two popular books, edited the Volume of Studies presented by this Society to Griffith, contributed a number of valuable articles to this *Journal* and other learned periodicals, and began the preparation of the first volume of his Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum, which was finally published in 1939 during the keepership of his friend Professor Sidney Smith. The first part of the second volume appeared only a few days before his death.

He left the Museum in 1933 to become Reader, and in 1935 Edwards Professor, in Egyptology at University College London. From the start, he planned the formidable task of reorganizing the College's collection so that the fullest use could be made of its unrivalled possibilities as an instrument of teaching. It involved not merely the re-arrangement, but also the exhaustive documentation, of every class of object. Clearly it was too big an undertaking to be attempted single-handed, so he sought out and trained enthusiastic volunteers, assigning to each a task within his or her competence. It was a model of co-operative work which only a man of clear vision, able to command the devotion of his assistants, could hope to bring to a successful conclusion. Much was in fact accomplished before the outbreak of the Second World War brought operations to a standstill. The war itself saw him playing a very different role, but with notable distinction, in the service of the Royal Air Force in which he rose to the rank of Wing Commander. In spite of his arduous duties he succeeded in finding time to edit the *Legacy of Egypt*, which was published in 1942. His contributions to scholarship were recognized in 1946 by his election to a Fellowship of the British Academy.

When hostilities ceased in 1945, he returned to the College, but in the interim its Museum had been destroyed (fortunately without serious loss to the collection) and his team of helpers had become dispersed. He remained there for only one year before he accepted the Chair of Egyptology at Cambridge University, which had been founded in 1944 with funds bequeathed by Sir Herbert Thompson. He was certainly influenced in taking this step by his devotion to his late teacher, the founder, and by his knowledge that he alone of British Egyptologists could create in Cambridge the conditions for developing the studies to which Sir Herbert Thompson had given a large part of his life. He knew that it would be an uphill venture, for not only was Egyptology a new subject in the curriculum but the University was poorly provided with even the basic publications. A less resourceful man might have felt that he could only hope to be a

pioneer and must leave much to be done by his successors. Such an attitude, however, would have been contrary to Glanville's nature. In the ten years which followed he built up a remarkably comprehensive library (which has now been supplemented by the purchase of part of his own private collection of books) and attracted a large number of pupils, some of whom have already shown their ability to make their own contribution to the advancement of Egyptology. Moreover, some of the leading demotists of the day found it both profitable and congenial to reside in Cambridge in order to pursue their studies in his company.

With his wide experience of practical affairs and his keen interest in so many branches of knowledge he soon became a most valuable member of the governing body of King's College, which had elected him to a professorial fellowship when he was appointed to the Chair of Egyptology. His election to its provostship, when the post became vacant in 1954, was a recognition both of his own gifts and also of the services which he had rendered to the College. One of his colleagues remarked in the obituary published in *The Times* after his death: 'Never before in 500 years had an Oxford man been elected Provost, seldom one who had taken his degree in any other college than King's.' If he had lived he would have become Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1957. His former College at Oxford elected him to an honorary fellowship in 1955.

Perhaps the most congenial of the many duties which he undertook during his life, and one which was unaffected by official changes, was his work for this Society, which, he felt, performed a vital function in Egyptological studies in this country. Apart from assisting in its excavations at El-'Amārah and at Armant, he visited the Sudan and Egypt on three separate occasions to perform important missions, the last immediately before his death when, it is now too clear, he should have had freedom for relaxation. He was either joint or sole honorary secretary for six years, between 1928 and 1936, a very active member of the Committee for thirty years and finally chairman of the Committee from 1951 until his death. Those who served under his chairmanship would endorse the words of *The Times* correspondent who wrote: 'He was a model of what a chairman should be: eminently fair-minded, quietly expeditious, quick to grasp a problem in all its implications and resourceful in finding a just solution.' By his premature death the Society and Egyptology have indeed lost an ambassador without equal, a highly gifted teacher and a fine scholar. His unfailing generosity, his unwavering loyalty and warmth of personality, combined with a delightful sense of humour, were inherent qualities which endeared him to all who knew him within the Society and in circles far removed from his professional connexions.

I. E. S. EDWARDS

## AYLWARD MANLEY BLACKMAN

THE death of Professor Blackman on March 9, 1956, removes from our midst one who in his time rendered distinguished service to our Society and to scholarship.

Aylward Manley Blackman, the eldest son and fourth child of the Rev. J. H. Blackman, was born on January 30, 1883, at Dawlish, south Devon. His mother, a remarkable woman towards whom he had a peculiar devotion throughout his life, was the daughter of the Rev. G. A. Jacob, a former headmaster of Christ's Hospital.

In his very early boyhood misfortune befell the family and they left Dawlish and for some years lived near Brighton. One suspects that it was largely Mrs. Blackman who pulled the family through those difficult years and that this in part explains the exceptional position she held in the affection of all her children. At the same time the stresses and discomforts of those days undoubtedly bred in Blackman certain characteristics and an outlook that never left him.

In another way, too, those were formative years, for his father was a keen amateur archaeologist with a great love of history, and he fired Aylward with his own enthusiasm. Father and son spent many happy days manufacturing and baking 'tablets' which, after being buried, had to be excavated: in these researches were enlisted the services of an unwilling younger brother, who thus acquired a distaste for archaeology as strong as his elder brother's love for the same subject.

After being educated privately for some years, Blackman entered St. Paul's School at the age of 16 and eventually obtained a scholarship to Queen's College, Oxford. There he was a pupil of Griffith, read Egyptian, Coptic, and Arabic, and in 1906 obtained a First Class in Oriental Studies.

His first few years after graduation were spent in Nubia. In 1907-8 he was one of Reisner's assistants in the first of the expeditions of the Archaeological Survey of Nubia. In 1909-10 he took some part in the excavations of the University of Pennsylvania at Buhen and was entirely responsible for the editing and publication of the inscriptions. But at this time his main preoccupation was the recording of some of the Nubian temples, and between January and May 1910 he actually accomplished the immense task of completely recording the temples of Bigeh, Dendur, and Derr, all of which were published between 1911 and 1915. He also began to work in the temple of Gerf Hussein, but according to the surviving notes this was not taken far, apparently owing to a severe attack of typhoid which left him with a permanent weakness. In the same year he was elected Oxford Nubian Research Fellow and became one of the staff of Griffith's first expedition at Faras.

In 1912 there came a change in the direction of his studies. He was elected Laycock Fellow of Egyptology at Worcester College, Oxford. Simultaneously there began that close association with the work of the Society that, as director of various research undertakings and as member of the Committee, was to continue unbroken until his



**AYLWARD MANLEY BLACKMAN**  
*(From the portrait by Sean O'Sullivan, 1930)*

death. On behalf of the Society he undertook the recording of the tombs at Meir, a task which occupied the seasons 1912–14, again in 1921, and finally in 1949–50. In his early years at Meir he did far more than routine scientific work: he lectured tirelessly up and down the country and thus raised a substantial proportion of the money required to finance the work and at the same time gained new members for the Society.

Most of the years after 1918 were spent at Oxford, where he did much teaching, until in 1934 he was appointed Brunner Professor of Egyptology at the University of Liverpool. The outbreak of the war in 1939, however, prevented him from fully developing his work at Liverpool; his home was destroyed in 1941 by a direct hit and he lost all his furniture and the bulk of his library, and damage to the Institute of Archaeology reduced it for some eight or nine years to a bare existence in a basement of the University Library. Nevertheless, he introduced very important changes in the degree courses in Egyptology and saw the final change of the old Institute into a properly constituted School of the University.

In 1936, aided by grants from the University and from Worcester College, he visited Berlin to collate the Middle Kingdom papyri which he intended to include in his *Middle Egyptian Stories*. The autographing of that book was never completed owing to a painful accident which for months compelled him to live in irons, and the published portion was only completed in great discomfort and acute pain. His collations of the remaining texts are almost complete, and it is hoped very soon to print the whole volume.

In 1936–7 Blackman was once again in the Sudan as director of the Society's excavations at Sesebi, and he would have returned again in the autumn of 1937 but for an invitation to act as tutor to the Crown Prince of Ethiopia.

After his retirement in 1948 he returned once more to Meir in 1949–50, the results of his work being published in two splendid volumes in 1953. Unfortunately, while returning from Meir he broke his hip on board ship and arrived home helpless only to learn that his home had been finally broken up by the really tragic fate of his two sisters. This was a blow from which he never recovered, and his last years were full of pain and increasing weakness very gallantly endured, relieved only by the circle of good friends he made at Abergele and by his election in 1952 as a Fellow of the British Academy.

Blackman's special interest was Egyptian Religion. Unfortunately he never wrote a book on the subject, and when pressed was always too modest and self-critical to attempt the task. Nevertheless, his numerous articles on Egyptian Religion and on Middle Egyptian grammar and texts will ever be a monument to his scholarship. He was a prodigious and tireless worker: the surviving notes, indexes, and drafts of his different studies are staggering in their volume, detail, and complexity, and bear witness to intense revision and self-criticism. He was a great stylist and master of English: no British Egyptologist has ever rivalled him in the literary style and clarity of his exposition and in his translations in which scholarly accuracy is combined with vivid, forceful, and readable English.

Blackman was an inspiring teacher. He liked young people, he knew how to win



their trust and confidence and, eventually, their admiration. In him deep scholarship never submerged humanity, nor did it ever cause him to fail to appreciate the real difficulties that students are bound to encounter. Learning, essential kindness, sympathy, and understanding made him a quite outstanding teacher.

I may perhaps be pardoned for ending these few lines on a more personal note. My first meeting with Blackman was in 1929 when he was external examiner at my final examinations. From that time our paths crossed increasingly; I worked under him at Sesebi, and later we collaborated for many years in a singularly happy, free, frank, and stimulating study of Ptolemaic. The public Blackman was neither the best nor the real man; he had foibles and idiosyncrasies that often led to his being misunderstood, but there was another and far different Blackman. The keynotes of his life were pride in family, his intense devotion to his mother, and his very deep and sincere religious beliefs. These three factors made a man of very strong principles, with a stern and strict sense of duty and obligation. When he saw what he considered to be his duty, nothing could alter him, no sacrifice or personal inconvenience was too great. His last years could have been quite different had not this sense of duty impelled him to assume heavy responsibilities, and with them unselfishly and uncomplainingly to make great sacrifices. A man of great personal charm, in private and behind the scenes he was essentially kindly and very human: he had a great sense of humour, wide interests, loved company and a game of bridge, and with his splendid voice and strong sense of the dramatic it was an unforgettable experience to hear him reading or, better still, reciting his favourite authors, above all Swinburne. No one could have asked for a more generous, helpful, and kindly colleague. I personally cherish the memory of an admired and loved mentor, colleague, and friend; a man with frailties, yes, but a scholar who has made a permanent contribution to our subject.

H. W. FAIRMAN

## BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

## GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1955)

By P. M. FRASER

I. *Bibliography*

(1) A survey of Greek epigraphy by J. and L. ROBERT appeared in the period covered by this bibliography: *REG* 68, 185–298. I refer to it as ‘*Bull.* 1955’ followed by the serial number of the entry.

(2) My own survey of the year 1954 appeared in *JEA* 41, 131–40.

(3) J. LECLANT’s survey of ‘Fouilles et Travaux en Égypte, 1953’ appeared in *Orientalia*, 24, 296–317.

II. *Corpora*

(4) The long-awaited first volume of W. PEEK’s *Griechische Versinschriften* containing ‘Grab-Epigramme’ has appeared (Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1955). It contains over two thousand poems arranged according to the types of formulae employed in them. Since, however, there is neither index nor concordance, as a work of reference the value of the work is at present limited, since, unless one knows the opening formula of a poem, there is no means of discovering whether it is included in the volume or not, short of reading the book right through. One sighs for the simplicity of Kaibel. Only when the fourth volume, containing the indexes, is available will the work be fully utilizable. Further, the volume contains a good deal of hitherto unpublished material, which can only be detected by a continuous reading. Nevertheless, in spite of these obvious disadvantages, we have here the fruit of many years’ study of this type of inscription, and the texts are well presented without undue restoration. The result is a work of lasting importance for which the author deserves our warmest thanks, and our lively recognition of the arduous labours involved. The work, in style though not in completeness (see p. xv), is a *corpus*, and no comments on the texts are provided, though these are envisaged for a later volume. It may be noted that P. includes not only inscriptions but also epigrams recorded on papyri and items from the Greek anthology. One may question the editor’s wisdom in thus adding to the already great bulk of the *Epigrammata ex lapidibus conlecta*, to which Kaibel confined himself.

There is not sufficient space here to print the necessary concordance between P.’s publication and the main collections of inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt, but I note a few points which have struck me, mainly in regard to the lemmata, concerning the lapidary epigrams from Egypt, of which there are seventy-six.

593 = Botti, *Monum.* p. 313, no. 353. P. gives the provenance as ‘Hermupolis Parva’ (i.e. Damanhūr), but the evidence for this attribution lies only in the prose part of the inscription (not given by P.), where the dead woman is described as *θυγατήρ* | [*Ἀμ*]μωνίου ἀπὸ Ἐρμουπόλεως. This surely does not settle the provenance of the stone. 643: add to lemma ref. to *C(orp.) I(nscr.) J(udaic.)* 1510, which has a reference to the discussion of Frey, *Biblica*, 11, 373–90. 644: add *CIJ* 1509. 700: add *CIJ* 1490. 808: add *CIJ* 1511. 944: for ‘*Bull. Soc. Alex.* 36, 1942’ read ‘*Bull. Soc. Alex.* 36, 1943–4 (publ. 1946)’. Provenance not Alexandria but Naucratis. Of 1002, a companion piece (the two are reproduced side by side by WACE, *Bull. Soc. Alex.* 36, pl. 1), which was said to have been found together with 944 P. says ‘Naucratis (?)’. There seems no reason to suspect the provenance of either. 1015: the correction *ἡδέ* for *ἦδέ* (Breccia) was made by WESSELY, *DLZ*, 1913, col. 78. 1089–90: ‘Alexandria?’, P. Surely (as Franz (*CIG* 4708) saw) from Abydos on account of 1090 line 6/7, *νῦν δ’ Ἀβυδηναίων τὸν Ὀσειρίδος ἀμφιπολεύω* | *θῶκον καὶ φθιμένων οὐκ ἐπάτησα δόμους*. So also probably 1089. LETRONNE, *JIS* 1830, 503 (followed by Froehner) says of 1089 ‘qui . . . a peut-être été trouvée à Lycopolis’, but this, though it could be true of 1089 (though it seems unlikely), cannot be so of 1090. 1143: add *CIJ* 1489, but see *JEA* 40, 124, no. (4) on the republication in *CIJ*. 1238: add *CIJ* 1508. 1239: add *CIJ* 1513. In line 1 the text reads *ΑΤΕΟΙ*, as P. records in his apparatus, but in his text he gives simply *ἀστοί*. 1240: add *CIJ* 1522 and further bibliography there. 1247: add NÉROUTSOS, *L’Anc. Alex.* 94, no. 4. 1270: add *CIJ* 1512. 1312: cf. *JEA*, 41, 118. 1544: P.’s proposed solution of the difficult last line of this inscription, *σῶ δέματι ρίν* = *ῥέλοι* seems unlikely: the other etacisms are much more

simple. As to the date, Pezopoulos, who saw the stone (now apparently lost), described the hand as 'τῶν λίαν μεταγενεστέρων χρόνων', and P. correspondingly gives 'i/ii'. *SEG* VIII, 502a wrongly has 'ii/ia'. 1556: add NÉROUTSOS, op. cit. 92–93, no. 2. 1846: on line 7 see also *JEA*, 40, 130, no. (29). 2087: not 'Monum. de l'Égypte Gréco-Rom.', as P., but 'Musée gr.-rom. 1925–31, p. 20'. P. evidently did not understand the rather obscure reference in *SEG* VIII, 458.

(5) An index to the *Sammelbuch*, vol. 5, 4. This is executed on the same liberal scale as the previous indexes. It contains, in addition, numerous very necessary 'Nachträge und Berichtigungen' to all the previous volumes, and particularly to the lamentable epigraphical fascicule, v, 3 (8245–8963).

### III. *New Texts*

(6) In his *Griechische Versinschriften* (above, no. (4)) W. PEEK publishes (from photographs) two unpublished epigrams from Egypt, nos. 866 and 1480. 866, of which, through the kindness of A. Adriani, I possess a photograph, is of the third century B.C., and contains an interesting, and, I think, uncommon feature. As usual, the lines are inscribed to the end, and do not correspond to the metrical verses. These latter, however, are not, as commonly, wholly ignored, but a space of one or two letters is left at the end of each such verse, even where it falls at the end of an inscribed line (thus in lines 7 and 9 a quarter of the line is left blank at the end of the hexameter; in lines 4 and 5, where the ends of metrical and inscribed lines coincide, there is naturally no blank space left at the beginning of the subsequent line). 1480, of the second or third century A.D., shows another method of denoting the beginning of new verses, by a stroke over the first letter.

(7) A. A. ALY has published in *Ann. Fac. Arts, Ain Shams Univ.* 3, 113–26 an important 'Latin Inscription from Nicopolis' to which, though it falls outside the scope of this survey, I may call attention, since it is of great interest to students of Roman Egypt. It contains a dedication in honour of Antoninus Pius by the veterans of *Leg. II Traiana fortis*, discharged in A.D. 157, in the prefecture of M. Sempronius Liberalis. It thus resembles *ILS* 2034 (cf. *JRS* 32, 33–38) also from Nicopolis. The ethnics of the 135 discharged veterans are given, and (unlike *ILS* 2034, where the bulk of the legionaries are from Egypt) two-thirds come from North Africa, and none from Egypt. Aly gives a detailed commentary on the racial composition of the veterans, and on the titles occurring in the inscription. This is an important document, carefully published. Aly announces a forthcoming study '*Prosopographia Veteranorum*, a name-list of all Roman veterans attested in Egypt until the fourth century A.D.'

(8) In *Chron. d'Égypte*, 30 (59), 130–3, 'Anses d'Amphores de Crocodilopolis-Arsinoé', J. BINGEN publishes six amphora-handles from Kiman Fares now in the Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire. Five are Rhodian and one Thasian, the latter said to be earlier than 350 B.C.

### IV. *Studies of previously published inscriptions*

(9) In *Chron. d'Égypte*, 30 (59), 124–6, J. SCHWARTZ discusses 'Les stèles de Terenouthis et la mort d'Alexandre Sévère', on the basis of the funerary stelae of the second and third centuries A.D. from Kôm Abu Billu = Terenouthis published by Zaki Aly (see *JEA* 38, 120, no. (20), and *ibid.* 41, 131, no. (5)). He arranges some of the stelae, in which he sees stylistic similarity, in the series Choiak, yr. 14—Tubi, yr. 14—Mecheir, yr. 1. This corresponds to the change of rule between Alexander Severus, who was murdered in Jan. 235, in his fourteenth year, and Maximin, and S. consequently concludes that those of the stelae which have a regnal year above 14 are of the reign of Caracalla, others of the reign of Alexander Severus and Maximin, and in general all of the first half of the third century. He concludes: 'Une étude stylistique sur la base de cette précision chronologique permettra sûrement à de plus qualifiés que moi de classer l'ensemble des stèles de Terenouthis.' In fact one wonders whether a stylistic study would reach solid results, since the general similarities between *orantes*—tombstones as a whole, and between the Terenouthis series and other series, make any argument from style almost impossible. In particular, it is difficult to see any more specific stylistic similarity between the relevant stelae here—those of the alleged fourteenth year of Alexander Severus and of the first year of Maximin—than between any others of the stelae, of widely differing years. All the stelae resemble one another in so far as all are of abominable workmanship, and all present the same or very similar scenes.

(10) In *Mélanges Isidore Lévy* (*Ann. de l'instit. de philol. et d'histoire orient. et slaves*, 13 (1953, publ. 1955)), 603–12, H. SEYRIG publishes 'deux notes d'épigraphie relatives aux cultes alexandrins'. In the first (for the second, see below no. (51)) he discusses the basalt disk published by H. B. WALTERS, *B.M. Quarterly*, 4, 4 f., pl. 6, which has on one side a radiate head of Sarapis, and on the other the inscription  $\Phi\lambda$ .  $\Delta\iota\delta\upsilon\mu\omega\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\omicron\varsigma$   $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$   $\tau\eta\eta$  |  $\mu\eta\tau\rho\iota$   $\kappa(\alpha\iota)$   $\tau\omicron\iota\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\omicron\iota\iota\varsigma$  |  $\kappa(\alpha\iota)$   $\Phi\lambda$ . "Ισιτι κ(αι) Κλ. Εὐτυχι τῶ και | Ασκληπιᾶδῃ τὸ βασιλειῶν [i.e. βασιλειον] ἀνέθηκεν. He questions Walters's interpretation of βασιλειον as 'domestic sanctuary', and prefers the specifically Egyptian meaning of 'divine head-dress', and discusses all the known instances of the word and of its alternative form βασιλεία. The basalt disk formed part, he claims, of such a head-dress of a statue. He analyses the meaning of the word βασιλεία in the Canopus decree (*OGIS* 56, lines 61, 67), and of βασιλειον and βασιλεία in that of ROSETTA (*OGIS* 90, lines 43 ff.), and suggests that the two words are synonymous.

(11) In *Chron. d'Égypte*, 30 (59), 127–9, 'Eastern Desert of Egypt: notes on inscriptions: corrigenda', D. MEREDITH corrects some of his previous publications. Nos. 1 and 3 are corrections made by myself (*JEA*, 40, 128, no. (20)) and repeated here by M. In no. 4 (= *Chron. d'Égypte*, 28 (55), 140, no. 14) he proffers the suggestion of A. H. M. Jones, [*Σουλπίκιος Σίμυλις* (pref. A.D. 107–12) for the previously suggested ἐν ταῖς λατομίαις. From the photograph now reproduced, it is impossible to determine whether the critical letter is alpha or labda. M. now publishes a fully restored text and a photograph. The restoration cannot stand, at least as printed, since the line-divisions of the original are ignored. Since M. tells us that another, unpublished, fragment of the same inscription exists in Cairo, it would surely have been better to withhold publication of this not very important stone until at least a photograph of the new piece became available.

(12) Two brief discussions have appeared of the inscription of Annius Plocamus published by D. MEREDITH in *JRS* 43, 38–40 (cf. *JEA* 40, 127, no. (14)). In *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, 128 ff., SIR MORTIMER WHEELER discusses its implications in the context of a general discussion of the date of the discovery of the Monsoon, while CHESTER G. STARR, *Class. Phil.* 51, 27–29, writes on 'The Roman Emperor and the King of Ceylon', and is concerned only incidentally with the inscription, and more particularly with what Pliny has to say about the nature of Singhalese kingship.

(13) In *AJA* 59, 204–6, MRS. D. BURR THOMPSON, in a discussion of identified heads of Arsinoe II, includes the pieces from faience vases with the inscription ἀγαθῆς τύχης Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου (e.g. WALTERS, *B.M. Cat. Rom. Pott.*, p. 12, K.77, pl. V; cf. BRECCIA, *Iscr.* 8, 9), and a gem from Copenhagen inscribed ἀδελφ(ῶν) (FURTWÄNGLER, *Antike Gemmen*, 157, pl. 32, 10), the authenticity of which, as Mrs. Thompson says, is obviously open to doubt.

(14) In her comprehensive work on Hellenistic sculpture, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, M. BIEBER discusses and illustrates (fig. 153) the ivory theatre-ticket in Alexandria with the name Μένανδρος on one side and a bust of the poet on the other, published *BSA Alex.* 32, 157. She also treats the faience oinochoae (p. 92), but she has little to say, and what she does say is inaccurate. The queens are more commonly identified (at least in published material) by the inscription of their own name on the vase, than by that of their husband.

(15) In *JRS* 45, 39–46, Dr. GISELA M. A. RICHTER, writing on 'The origin of Verism in Roman portraits', discusses the Egyptian contribution, which she regards as small, and in this connexion illustrates some Egyptian pieces of the Ptolemaic and Roman period; pl. V, 13 gives a photograph of the statue inscribed with the name of Eirenaios, BRECCIA, *Iscr.* 123.

(16) *Peintures à fresques et scènes peintes à Hermoupolis-Ouest (Touna el-Gebel)*, by S. GABRA and E. DRIOTON (*Serv. des Ant.* 1954), contains large-scale coloured reproductions of the funerary chapels at Tuna el-Gebel published in S. GABRA's *Fouilles d'Hermoupolis Ouest* (1941). Two of these paintings have names on them, notably the Oidipous-scene with the names Οἰδίπους, Σφίγξ, Ζήτημα, Θῆβαι, Ἄγρνα (sic), Λάϊος, and the Elektra-scene, both in chapel no. 16.

(17) In *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.* 67, 217–58, A. GUILLON writes on 'Le Monastère de la Théotokos au Sinai'. He begins with a history of the monastery, and examines the problem when it became known (as still commonly today) as the monastery of St. Catherine. He then discusses the mosaic of the Transfiguration in the apse of the καθολικόν, and the inscription above it. He gives (pls. 1–3) photographs of the mosaics and inscriptions, taken from G. A. SOTERIOU's article in *Atti viii Congr. Intern. Stud. Bis.*, and discusses the main inscription of the mosaic, and shows that it was inscribed later than the visit of Léon de Laborde in the early part of the nineteenth century. He also refers to the other Greek inscriptions. On 230 ff. he publishes

an unpublished homily by Anastasius of Sinai, on the Feast of the Transfiguration, from a manuscript in the Vatican.

(18) I have not yet been able to see the Milanese periodical *Prolegomena*, 2, containing articles on the hymns of Isidorus from Medinet Madi: pp. 105–22, M. VANDONI, 'Il Tempio di Medinet Madi e gli Inni di Isidoro', and pp. 123–4, R. KEYDELL, 'Metrische Bemerkungen zu den Hymnen des Isidoros'.

### V. Religion

(19) In *Les Statues ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis* (Publ. de l'Institut d'art et d'archéologie de l'Université de Paris, III, 1955), J.-PH. LAUER and CH. PICARD publish and discuss the Memphite statuary originally discovered by Mariette and re-excavated in 1938 and 1951 by the Service des Antiquités (cf. *JEA* 40, 128, no. (19)). Lauer's account of the excavations of Mariette, based partly on the latter's hitherto unpublished plan of the Dromos, and of those of the Service des Antiquités, provide an invaluable basis for the further study of this complex, and usually badly damaged or lost, material. The bulk of the book, by Ch. Picard, develops at length the ideas relating to the sculptures and to the Sarapic cult already recorded in numerous articles (see *JEA*, *ibid.*), and it does not appear that there is a great deal of new material or new interpretation, save in ch. ii, P.'s introductory chapter on the cult of Sarapis. Much of what P. says here regarding the installation of the cult at Alexandria, which he regards as having been effected from Memphis by Ptolemy III, seems to me untenable. P. omits a good deal of very relevant evidence, and misinterprets, in my opinion, a good deal of what he does use. On p. 64 P. establishes to his own satisfaction a connexion between Ptolemy I and Pindar (a representation of whom is the first piece of statuary in the hemicycle): 'Ptolémée I<sup>er</sup>, en Grèce, visitant la Thèbes béotienne, y avait fait graver sur une stèle triangulaire l'hymne pindarique pour Ammon — cette raison expliquerait à elle seule la présence de Pindare dans l'Exèdre de Memphis, consécration due au même Ptolémée'. But Pausanias, to whom P. refers as his authority, says (IX, 16, 1) something very different: speaking of Pindar's hymn to Ammon he writes: οὗτος καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν ὁ ὕμνος ἐν τριγώνῳ στήλῃ παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν ὃν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου τῷ Ἄμμωνι ἀνέθηκε. It was an altar which Ptolemy dedicated to Ammon, and not Pindar's poem. For the rest P. continues to maintain a date in the reign of Soter I for the whole group, on account of the presence of Demetrius of Phaleron (an identification deemed by him certain: cf. *JEA*, *loc. cit.*), and regards the whole exedra as an official monument reflecting the inclination and policy of Soter.

Epigraphically the most important part of the work is the full publication (176 ff.), with (for the first time) a photograph, of the noted and enigmatical 'Lychnaption-Inscription' (*SB* 1934). He dates it to the reign of Soter I, and the lettering is certainly not opposed to such a date. The closest analogies (and they are very close), are with the hands of the early part of the reign of Philadelphus, particularly BRECCIA, *Ischr.* 2 (pl. 1, 2), to which it bears a very striking resemblance (the Memphian inscription is not quite so elegant, and it is on limestone, while Breccia 2 is on marble), and *ibid.* 3 (pl. 1, 3) (For the dating of these two inscriptions to the early part of Philadelphus' reign see *BSA Alex.* 41, 50, n. 2.) There is also an undoubted resemblance with Breccia 1 (pl. 1, 1) of the reign of Soter, but it is less marked. I may note in passing one very peculiar palaeographical feature of the Memphite inscription—omega with an extremely narrow foot. P. has no new restorations to offer of the text.

On p. 182 he republishes the fragment of a sculpture's signature (previously noted in *Mon. Piot*, 46, 9) inscribed on a piece of schist found in 1951 in the neighbourhood of the Dionysiac groups of the south 'Mastaba' of the Dromos. So far as can be determined from the surviving letters (—ηση|—|—vs ἐπο[ίει or ἰησε]), of which a copy is now given, the hand resembles that of the Lychnaption-Inscription, and is probably of about the same date.

In the last chapter, 'Dionysos et Sarapis', P. discusses the evidence for a close connexion between these two deities, in particular the role of Dionysos-Pais, who is a prominent and recurring figure in the statuary of the Memphite Dromos (cf. the same author's article in *Arch. 'Eph.* 1953–4 (*Eis mnēmyn Γ. Οἰκονόμου*, I), 1–8, 'Dionysos Pais et Attis Enfant'). He quotes in this connexion (p. 255, n. 1) *SB* 5863, the dedication to Sarapis-Dionysos and Isis-Aphrodite of the middle or late third century B.C.

Whatever one may think of P.'s interpretation of this material—and there is little in his detailed discussions and arguments that will not evoke substantial doubts—this book provides the essential material for the study of the Memphian Serapeum.

(20) In *Amer. Num. Soc. Mus. Notes*, 6, 95–109, T. V. BUTTREY, JR. discusses ‘*Thea Neotera* on coins of Antony and Cleopatra’ (referring in an *Addendum* to A. D. NOCK’s discussion of ‘*Neotera*’ in *Aegyptus*, 33, 283–96; cf. *JEA* 41, 137, no. (26)). He treats at length the tetradrachm of Antony and Cleopatra sometimes held to have been struck in Antioch, bearing the legends *Ἀντώνιος Ἀυτοκράτωρ τρίτον τριῶν ἀνδρῶν: βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα θεὰ νεωτέρα*. He maintains that the coin does not commemorate the meeting of the two at Antioch in 37/36 B.C., but belongs to 34 B.C., the occasion of the ‘triumph’ at Alexandria. This seems plausible. He next discusses the use of *νεωτέρα θεά* and *νεωτέρα* in inscriptions (for which at times he gives the most antiquated references: e.g. ‘*CIG*, i, 435’ for *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 3585), particularly *IGR* I, 1167 (cf. Nock, op. cit. 289–90), the bilingual inscription from Denderah. Here he identifies *Neotera* with Aphrodite in a later (i.e. Greek) form (‘*Egyptian Aphrodite* (= *Astarte*)’ is, presumably, an oversight): cf. Nock, op. cit. 288. He maintains that it is not possible to equate *νέα* and *νεωτέρα* and that *νεωτέρα* must therefore be given its full comparative force. He also denies the existence of Ptolemaic cult after the end of the dynasty, at least in so far as it affects Cleopatra VII (to whom he denies the ascription of the *Kleopatreion*-inscription, *SB* 647: cf. *JHS* 75, 201). He concludes, therefore, that the title on the coin did not have ‘a divine significance’. He claims, however, that the use of epikleseis is against Ptolemaic numismatic practice, and therefore prefers to understand the title as *Βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα Θεά, Νεωτέρα*, i.e. ‘Queen Cleopatra *Thea* the Younger’, Queen Cleopatra *Thea* the Elder being, in his opinion, the wife of Alexander I Balas and Antiochos VII, and mother of Antiochos Grypos. ‘Cleopatra VII of Egypt is thus Cleopatra *Thea* II of Phœnicia; the Seleucid line is restored.’ The coin thus represents Cleopatra as the legitimate Seleucid and Antony as the *de facto* ruler of the old Seleucid territory. Not all of this is convincing. One may wonder whether the use of epithets and cult-titles was as strict as B. claims, and his historical interpretation, though possible, seems far-fetched. The various articles on this topic in recent years suggest that in the absence of fresh evidence, the significance of Cleopatra as *Θεὰ Νεωτέρα* will remain uncertain.

(21) In *Mnemos.* ser. 4, VIII<sup>2</sup>, 123–44, W. DEN BOER writes on ‘Religion and Literature in Hadrian’s Policy’, and has a good deal to say about Egypt. He seems, however, to misinterpret the numismatic evidence. Thus he says (126) that the type of the reclining Nile with cornucopiae commemorates Hadrian’s stay in Egypt, though the type occurs already under Trajan, and is common under Hadrian. Similarly, when discussing the emperor’s attitude towards Egypt (an attitude which he describes as ‘curious’) he claims that Hadrian was the first emperor ‘to have the images of Isis and Sarapis on his coins’, though both Isis and Sarapis appear on small bronzes of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and are a regular feature of the Alexandrian coinage, both billon and bronze, from Vespasian onwards. His further contention that on the coins ‘the Alexandrian gods are regarded as Roman gods’ is, if I understand it, counter to the whole trend of Alexandrian coinage, with its emphasis on local myths, legends and buildings.

(22) In *Acme*, 7, 307–12, M. VANDONI writes on *Ἀθηνᾶ ἡ καὶ Θεοῆρις*, an identification known at Oxyrhynchos in the second and third centuries A.D., but which she claims is a false equation in so far as the natures of the two goddesses were dissimilar. She attributes the identification to the influence of the religious beliefs of the neighbouring Fayyūm, in which, she maintains, Thokeris was regarded as Neit the mother of Sobk, who was the normal equation of Athena.

(23) In his *Lois Sacrées d’Asie Mineure*, F. SOKOLOWSKI republishes the documents relative to the establishment and *étatisation* of the cult of the Egyptian deities in Magnesia (no. 34) and Priene (no. 36). In his note on line 20/1, of the latter: *παρε[χ]έ[τω δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ] τὸν Αἰγύπτιον τὸν συντελέσοντα τὴν [θυσίαν ἐμπείρωσ]* he says ‘Les prêtres du Sérapeum d’Alexandrie étaient tous Égyptiens, cf. Roeder, *RE*<sup>2</sup> I (1914), p. 2411’. This observation, if true, would be of the greatest importance, but it seems to rest on a misunderstanding: I discuss it in a forthcoming article in *Opuscula Atheniensi* (Act. Instit. Athen. Regn. Suec.).

(24) In *Hellenica*, 10, 58 ff. L. ROBERT, discussing ‘thanks given to deities’ (e.g. *εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Σαράπιδι*), quotes epigraphical instances from Egypt: *OGIS* 717; PREISIGKE, *Gebel Silsile*, 195. On 86, with reference to *μέγα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ*, he refers to the lamp from Medamūd, *SEG* VIII, 711, and the graffito of Kalabshah, GAUTHIER, *Les Temples immergés, Kalabchah* (1911), 286, no. 18: *μέγα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Σαράπιδος*.

(25) In *Wiss. Zeitschr. Karl-Marx Univ. Leipzig*, Gesell. und Sprachwiss. 3, 79–83, S. MORENZ writes on ‘Anubis mit dem Schlüssel’, as represented on a bier-sarcophagus of imperial date, where Anubis appears with the key (*κλειδοῦχος*) in the ancient role of *ψυχοπομπός*. This is a non-Egyptian concept which M. explains from *PGM* I, 82 ff., of c. A.D. 300, where Anubis is described as *ὁ τὰς κλειδας ἔχων τῶν καθ’ Αἴδου*.

M. regards this as a loan from the Greek concept of Aiakos, who appears as κλειδοῦχος in *IG* XIV, 1746 (KAIBEL, *Epigr. Gr.* 646: referred to by M. as 'CIG iii, 6298'), and sees a further instance of Greek influence on late Egyptian religious concepts; cf. his earlier article on a similar instance, summarized *JEA* 41, 136, no. (25).

(26) In the fourth volume of his *Jewish Symbols*, E. R. GOODENOUGH is wholly concerned with the psychology of religion and the interpretation of symbols. He occasionally refers to Egyptian evidence, but there is nothing that is relevant here. I may note that an important review of the volume has appeared, written by A. D. Nock, *Gnomon*, 27, 556-72.

#### VI. *Political and Social History*

(27) In *Aegyptus*, 35, 3-38, J. SEYFARTH writes on 'φράτρα und φρατρία im nachklassischen Griechentum'. She is concerned to discover whether φράτρα, a form which occurs first in the Hellenistic world, bears a different meaning from the Attic form φρατρία. In the first part of the article (3-28) she deals with Egypt, and gives a detailed analysis of the Ptolemaic evidence, P.Hib. 28 (W., *Chrest.* 25) and P.Lond.Inv. 2710 (*HTR* 29, 39 ff.). Her attempts at restoration of P.Hib. 28 take insufficient heed of the condition of the papyrus. Thus in lines 4-5 she would read [<sup>4</sup> ἐὰν εἰς] ἵσθηται εἰς τὰς φράτρα[α]ς, but the editors said 'There is a break below this line (i.e. line 4), and the extent of the gap, if any, is not ascertainable. It is not even certain that ll. 1-4 belong to the same column as ll. 5 ff.' Consequently, even if we regard the supplement as suitable, we cannot use it to link frs. (a) and (b). In lines 8-9 the restoration το[ῖς] π[ρ]ο[τ]ε[ρ]οῖς ἀ[π]ὸ φυλῆς is possible (Mr. C. H. Roberts, who consulted the papyrus on my behalf, tells me), even though G-H mark space for only one letter after τρ in line 8, and say that it may be μ, 'and το[ῦ] μ[ε]ν ἐν[αυτοῦ] is a possible reading'. An alternative suggestion, το[ῖς] π[ρ]ο[τ]ε[ρ]οῖς—, is, S. claims, justified by the photograph which shows the 'noch erkennbare obere Rundung des Buchstaben kann ebenso gut zu einem ρ wie zu einem ε gehören', but Mr. Roberts tells me rho cannot be read. In general she rejects the possibility that the constitution referred to in the papyrus is that of Naukratis. In connexion with the possibility that it refers to Ptolemais she discusses the evidence for the constitution of that city, especially *OGIS* 49, and concludes (rightly, I think) that the constitution is not that of Ptolemais either. In referring to Alexandria she says 'Auch die Existenz einer alexandrinischen βουλή ist für die Ptolemäerzeit gesichert', but refers only to *PSI* 1160. But, however much one may argue about that papyrus, the only direct evidence remains *BRECCIA*, *Iscr.* 164. She prefers Alexandria as the city whose phratry-organization is described in the papyrus particularly because of the coincidence of number between the five *moirai* of the city and the five *phylai* of the papyrus. Unfortunately the evidence of P.Teb. 879 (though published in 1938) did not come to her notice until her paper was completed. In P.Lond. 2710 the φράτρα (line 14) was taken by the editors to be of a very different kind, forming some sort of artificial group within a *synodos*, or else equivalent to the *synodos* itself. S. maintains that the *phratra* belongs to the settlement (probably Philadelphia) of which the members of the *synodos* were inhabitants. This does not seem to me convincing. We must, I think, agree with the first editors that in a town in the Fayyūm there was no such social organization. Finally, after investigating other instances of *phratra* outside Egypt (in the course of which she questions L. Robert's attribution of the Doric inscription published by him, *Hellen.* 8, 5 ff. to Phlius, and suggests that it originates in Kos or in that region of the Dorian world), she concludes that the term does not differ in meaning from φρατρία, and that the φράτρα is at home in Asia Minor, and reached Alexandria from there. The latter contention seems quite unfounded, since most of the evidence from Asia Minor is of Roman date, and centuries later than P.Hib. 28.

(28) In *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Mem. Amer. Philos. Soc. 40), the late W. L. WESTERMANN gives—posthumously—a detailed account of slavery, based on the text which appeared in German in Pauly-Wissowa in 1935, s.v. Sklaverei. The sections (chs. v-viii) dealing with the Hellenistic world are 'quite fully recast and rewritten'. He emphasizes the rarity of slave-labour in Ptolemaic Egypt (not more than 45 slaves mentioned in all the Zenon-papyri), but gives in detail (ch. viii, 46-57) what is known of the topic, including a restatement of his views of the Sarapic κατοχή as a form of παραμονή.

(29) In *AJP* 76, 62-67, N. LEWIS, writing on 'The Prefects of Egypt in A.D. 119', shows that the interpretation of the editors of P.Oxy. 2265 of the note in the left margin of that papyrus, according to which 'the question arises whether Haterius Nepos may have been titular prefect at the time 2265 was written

[i.e. ca. Aug. 4]', does not in fact arise, since the letter of Aug. 4 in which his predecessor Rammius Martialio is so described must have been written in Rome at least a fortnight before. Thus, while Rammius was undoubtedly prefect in mid-July he need not have been later, while 2265, in which ἐξεδόθη, taken by the edd. to mean 'posted' on Aug. 20, in fact means 'issued' in Alexandria, shows that Haterius was prefect by Aug. 20, the date of the marginal note.

In his investigation of the meaning of ἄνω χώρα in this papyrus, which the edd. take to refer to the Thebaid, L. (64, n. 3) discusses the edict of Ti. Iulius Alexander (*Temple of Hibis*, II, 4), lines 47-48, *τὰτα δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατακρίματα οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν Θηβαΐδα μόνην* [εὐρον ἐκτεινόμενα | οὐ]δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πόρρωι νομοὺς τῆς κάτω χώρας, and suggests that the lacuna should be filled by some reference to the ἄνω χώρα, referring to the Thebaid and the Heptanomia. Unfortunately, L. does not offer a precise restoration along these lines.

(30) In *Bull. Fac. Lett. Strasbourg*, 33, 135-48, P. BURETH publishes 'documents papyrologiques relatifs aux préfets d'Égypte'. This contains a list of all the edicts and other prefectual documents (including references to such documents) arranged chronologically by prefects. Based both on STEIN's *Die Präfecten von Ägypten* and H. HUBNER's *Der Praefectus Aegypti von Diokletian bis zum Ende der römischer Herrschaft* (cf. *JEA* 40, 133, no. (50)), this provides the evidence for the prefects' activity in a convenient form, though without any discussion.

(31) I may also note that in *AJP* 76, 279-97, 'Free Men and Dediticii', J. H. OLIVER gives on pp. 287 ff. a text, with bibliography and commentary, of P.Giess. 40, the Constitution of A.D. 212, and discusses some of the *cruces* of the text.

(32) In *TAPA* 85, 168-87, L. CASSON writes on 'the grain trade of the Hellenistic world'. This is a valuable study, supported by the detailed evidence of inscriptions, of the main centres in the third and second centuries. In discussing the importance of Rhodes ('Rhodes was the greatest figure in the international grain trade of the Hellenistic world') he claims (and I warmly agree with him) that the Egyptian traffic was largely in her hands. He discusses the evidence for this, and has some good observations on Rhodian mercantile policy and activity. He counters strongly and convincingly the generally accepted view that Delos succeeded Rhodes in this position (or was at any time a centre for the international grain-trade), and maintains that Rhodes remained the centre of the grain-trade even after her humiliation by Rome, and that as before she still normally drew her supplies from Egypt. At the same time he maintains that even in the Republican period Rome derived much of her corn from Egypt. With regard to the grain-situation inside Egypt in the third century he quotes *OGIS* 56 (Canopus Decree), lines 17-18, *ἐκ τε Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Κύπρου καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων πλείονων τόπων σίτον μεταπεμψάμενοι εἰς τὴν χώραν τιμῶν μειζονων διέσωσισαν τοὺς τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατοικοῦντας*, which show a shortage unexpected in Ptolemaic Egypt. He also refers to *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 502, the Samothracian inscription in which reference is made to a request by Samothrace to Euergetes to import grain duty-free from the Chersonese and elsewhere.

(33) In his *Die hellenistische Schule*, 85 ff. M. P. NILSSON discusses the social significance of the gymnasium in Egypt. In this connexion he mentions (86) the Ptolemaic inscriptions referring to gymnasia at Omboi (*Archiv*, 5, 415 f.), Theadelphia (*SB* 6158) and Aphroditopolis (*SEG* VIII, 531). He also notices the two dedications of αἰρέσεις of ephebes (*OGIS* 176 and 178; W., *Chrest.* 141 and 142). He says of the second that the year in which the group who made the dedication were ephebes is not given ('nicht datiert'; so already M. LAUNEY, *Les Armées Hellénistiques*, II, 858: 'dont l'éphèbie n'est pas datée'). In fact, the year, though not given by Dittenberger, was read by Jouguet as ζ and by Milne as ε, and Wilcken read ζ. I have collated the stone in Cairo, and the zeta (Z) is clear. The inscription (*SEG* VIII, 498) of 94 B.C., which N. describes as 'eine Weihung aus Tebtynis in Jahre 94 v. Chr.' and which again Launey referred to in similar terms ('à Tebtynis en 94 . . .'), is of uncertain provenance. As Breccia saw (*BSA Alex.* 26, 279) the presence of the deity Sokneptunis is not in itself sufficient to locate it. On 92 ff. he discusses 'physical exercise and literary training in Egypt', with particular reference to the Memphite ephebic inscription published by M. N. TOD, *JEA* 37, 86 ff. and treated in detail by J. and L. ROBERT, *Bull.* 1952, no. 180.

#### VII. Prosopography, etc.

(34) In *Studia Antiqua Antonio Salač septuagenario oblata (Studie z Antiky Antonínu Salačovi sedmdesátinám)* (Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd, Praha 1955), R. DOSTÁLOVÁ-JENŠTOVÁ writes on 'Der Name Nonnos: Nonnosforschungen I'. The same subject recently attracted the attention of Campbell



Bonner: see *JEA*, 40, 15-17; *Bull.* 1955, 57. Like Bonner, D.-J. rejects an Egyptian origin for the name, and maintains it is a 'Lallname'. She gives a wide geographical survey of occurrences of the name, and shows that it first appears on east-Celtic coins of the first century B.C. Its usage in Asia Minor and the eastern part of the Empire she shows to be later, and therefore probably not directly connected with its usage in western Europe. She concludes that it spread in Asia Minor from Galatia, where Celtic was a living language in the Christian period. Unfortunately, as she admits, no instance of the name is yet known from Galatia.

(35) In *Tiberius Iulius Alexander*, V. BURR writes on a very popular person nowadays. This is a useful, though at times rather slovenly, book, which records in detail the basic information about Alexander's career. Ch. iii deals with his period as prefect of Egypt, and 39-47 give a clear account of his measures as prefect as reflected in *Temple of Hibis*, II, 4. On 64, discussing the date of Alexander's removal from the prefecture, he refers to the bronze vessel, *Coll. Froehner*, 75, but still dates it, as Robert, who misread it, did, to the first year of Vespasian, and does not know that the correct reading is  $\alpha$ , the eleventh year, as established by Pflaum (see *JEA* 40, 130, no. (27)), and the document is therefore irrelevant to the discussion. With regard to Alexander's subsequent career, he was only able to see Turner's paper, *JRS* 44, 54-64, after the completion of his own work, but in an addendum, 112, he rejects T.'s conclusion, drawn from P.Hib. 215, that Alexander was Prefect of the Praetorian Guard after his Egyptian prefecture. (It will be noted that in his introduction to P.Hib. 215 T. is far less certain than he was in *JRS* that the phrase  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\rho\chi\omega\upsilon$   $\pi\rho\alpha\iota(\tau\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon)$  refers to command of the Praetorian Guard rather than that he was created *praefectus praetorio* in order to command in the Jewish War in Palestine.)

#### VIII. *Lexicography and Language*

(36) In 'εὐπλοία, Études épigraphiques' (*Göteborgs Universitets Årsskrift*, 60 (8)), N. SANDBERG republishes the votive dedications with the εὐπλοία-formula, mainly from the island of Prote. He cites (39, no. 46) a single instance of the formula from Egypt, BRECCIA, *Inscr.* 50, where he accepts in line 3, for the name of the ship, the correction of WILCKEN, *Archiv*, 5, 275, *Νικαστάρτης*, for the published *Νικαστάχτης*. The latter is evidently what is inscribed (see BRECCIA, pl. XII. 34), though it should probably be corrected. As examples of the connexion between Sarapis and the sea he quotes (33) *OGIS* 696 from Koptos, where *Σάραπισ* may be the name of a ship, and *Archiv*, 2, 447, no. 77 (= *IGR*, I, 1062) which contains a dedication of A.D. 194 'on behalf of' Septimius Severus  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\epsilon\upsilon\pi\lambda\omicron\iota\alpha\varsigma$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\sigma\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ , which according to S. 'on peut très bien supposer adressé à Sérapis', though there seems no reason to do so. He also refers (40) to the lamp from Puteoli ('*CIG* 8541', which should be quoted as *B.M. Catal. Lamps*, no. 390), in the shape of a ship, with the word εὐπλοία on it. A discussion of ships' names (14 ff. and 42-43), though incomplete, should be noted. This is not a very satisfactory study, particularly in regard to the interpretation of the numerous graffiti with the εὐπλοία-formula. These graffiti are often very difficult to unravel, and I have not the impression that S. has really grappled with them.

(37) In *Glotta*, 32, 248-61, S. C. CARATZAS writes on 'l'histoire du suffixe de comparatif -τερος', and in the course of his article discusses (255 ff.) the positive meaning νεώτερος = young man, with particular reference to the gymnasial inscriptions of Egypt, but he appears to derive his information second-hand from Forbes's *Néoi*.

(38) In *Mnemos.* 1955, 25-33, C. SPICQ writes on 'le lexique d'amour dans les papyrus et dans quelques inscriptions de l'époque hellénistique' (cf. the same author's unnecessarily long article 'φιλόστοργος' in *Rev. Bibl.* 62, 497-510). For the use of στέργω he quotes the Canopus decree (*OGIS* 56), lines 55-56, and for that of ἀγαπή-ἀγαπῶ, the Rosetta stone (*OGIS* 90), lines 4 ff. the titulature of Ptolemy Epiphanes, ἡγαπημένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Φθᾶ. He also discusses (31-33) the φιλο-compounds of Egyptian epitaphs, such as DAIN, *Inscr. Grec. du Louvre*, 174, *Νῖλος Πασίωνος φιλάδελφε φιλότεκνε φιλόφιλε ἄλυπε χρηστέ χαῖρε*; *SEG* I, 574; *SB* 343, etc., and (for ἀγαπή) the Alexandrian epigram, ΠΕΕΚ, *BSA Alex.* 27, 57-58. He does not seem to know the article of M. N. TOD, *BSA*, 46, 182-90, 'Laudatory epithets in Greek epitaphs', where a good deal more information is collected.

#### IX. *Geography, Topography, etc.*

(39) In *The Red Sea Mountains of Egypt* L. A. TREGENZA, who has long been active in the investigation of the ancient settlements of the eastern Desert (see especially *JEA* 38, 119, no. (14)), publishes an attractive account of a journey made there in 1949. His interests are not confined to, perhaps not even mainly centred

on, the antiquities of the area, but he has a good deal to say about them. On 50 ff. he gives a most graphic account of *Mons Claudianus*, and refers to many of the inscriptions there, republished in recent years by C. H. O. Scaife, D. Meredith, and himself, including those from the temple of Serapis (the inscription mentioned by him on the top of p. 54 is in Cairo, not 'possibly in Alexandria': see MEREDITH, *Chron. d'Égypte*, 29, 110). On 59 he discusses the enigmatical tombstone, published *Bull. Fac. Arts, Fouad I Univ.* 11, 139 (cf. *JEA* 38, 119, no. (13); *Chron. d'Égypte*, 29, 113, no. 31), τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰ||. . σθαι. It appears from T.'s new description of the stone that it is in, or by, a tomb, and thus must be regarded as a tombstone (against my earlier suggestion, *JEA*, loc. cit., that it might be a boundary stone). However it is interpreted, it can hardly be complete. On 93 ff. he gives a description of Myos Hormos, and 119 ff. one of the area of Gebel Dokhan (Mons Porphyrites), mentioning the main dedicatory inscriptions there. On 177 ff. he describes the search which led him to the rediscovery of the stone referring to the building of a church, and dated by a bishop of Maximinianopolis. When publishing this stone previously he said of this place that it was 'presumably one of the towns of the Thebaid' (see *JEA*, loc. cit., no. (14)). He is now inclined to accept the identification Maximinianopolis—Kainopolis—mod. Kena (cf. KEES, *RE*, s.v. Maximinianopolis (i)).

(40) In *JNES* 14, 209–36, J. A. WILSON writes on 'Buto and Hierakonpolis', and tries to estimate the reason for their importance in Early Dynastic times. His method is remarkable. He discusses, mudīriya by mudiriya, the areas of cultivation and the density of population in present-day Egypt, and many other permanent features of the country. Those who survive as far as 225 ff., 'Communications within the Nile Valley', will find there a useful summary of known routes in ancient Egypt both Pharaonic and Graeco-Roman. On 231 ff. he returns to Buto and Hierakonpolis, the former at the northern, the latter at the southern extremity of Egypt, and compares them in terms of contours. The conclusions to all this (236) are more than modest, at least in terms of fact, as opposed to abstract notions, as, for example, 'they [i.e. B. and H.] were quintessential symbols of their sections'.

(41) In *Bull. John Rylands Libr.* 38, 139–65, A. ROWE continues his 'researches' into the archaeology of the Western Desert (cf. *JEA* 41, 138, no. (38), and 140, no. (50)). This third section is mainly (139–61) concerned with 'the temple of Alexander the Great and his palace in Rhacotis'. R.'s purpose is to discuss the form of the tomb of Alexander and its whereabouts. To the former end he describes a normal Alexandrian kline-tomb, and supposes that Alexander's was of this type, with a cult-shrine of the type seen at Hermupolis Magna. The essential element in this hypothesis (νόμος τῶ Μακεδόνων, used of Alexander's burial at Memphis, refers to a κλίνη-tomb) was already put forward in detail by Rubensohn in 1910, and R. adds nothing substantial to it. It remains a possibility. R. goes on to discuss the question of the site of the tomb of Alexander, and decides that it originally lay in western Rhacotis near a palace which, R. maintains, is mentioned in the Satrap-stele, under the name 'The fort of Alexander'—which doubtless refers to Alexandria as a whole. There seems, in any case, nothing to connect this building, if building it was, wherever it may have been, with the tomb of Alexander. Like R.'s other publications on Alexandria, this article serves no useful purpose. In the second part of the article he describes a wall 7½ km. long seen by him stretching from north of the Medūm Pyramid to the Fayyūm.

#### X. Nubia

(42) *The Excavations at Soba* (south of Khartoum) have been published by P. L. SHINNIE (Sudan Antiquities Service, *Occasional Papers*, no. 3, 1955). It contains a few Greek graffiti (50–51) of medieval date, inscribed on pottery; cf. *JEA* 41, 139, no. (46)).

#### XI. The Ptolemaic Empire

(43) In *Historia*, 3, 338–45, W. PEREMANS and E. VAN 'T DACK write 'à propos d'une inscription de Gortyn (Inscr. Cret. iv, 208, Schwyzer 187): Ptolémée Makron, Nouménios et Hippalos'. The inscription is a decree in which Ptolemaios, the son of Ptolemaios, and brother of Ptolemaios ὁ ἐπὶ Κύπρου στραταγός, and Numenius, the son of Heracleodorus, both of Alexandria, and Pedestratus the son of Agetor, of Sparta, are made proxenoi of Gortyn. De Sanctis had identified the Ptolemaios with the homonym of *OGIS* 117, ὁ ἐπὶ Κύπρου, who reappears in Polyb. xxvii, 13 and also (probably) in II Macc. x, 12, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ καλούμενος Μάκρων, who was also governor of Cyprus; and the Numenius with the homonym who appears as συγγενῆς καὶ ἐπιστολογράφος in *OGIS* 139 of c. 125 B.C. MISS GUARDUCCI for her part had identified the latter with the Numenius who went on an embassy to Rome in 167 (Polyb. xxx, 16, 1), rightly pointing out

'nomen tamen *Νουμήγιος* valde usitatum fuisse animadvertendum est'. P. and van 'T Dack develop their arguments rather obscurely, and I hope I have understood them correctly. In regard to Ptolemaios, they too identify him as *Πτολεμαῖος ὁ καλούμενος Μάκρων* of II Macc., and as the son of *Πτολεμαῖος Μάκρωνος* mentioned in the Delphian list of proxenoi, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 585, ll. 138–9, either the *Πτολεμαῖος* mentioned in the inscription as the son, or another son, for whose existence we have no evidence. In either case he was, they maintain, called *Π. ὁ καλούμενος Μάκρων* after his grandfather. Their main conclusion is thus the same as that of De Sanctis. Their further conclusion, that *Π. ὁ καλούμενος Μάκρων* is so called to distinguish him from other Ptolemaioi because he is grandson (or, if it comes to that, son, as J. Lévy maintained) of a Makron, they support (following Lévy) by the analogy of the Rhetor, Apollonius, called after his father either, *A. ὁ τοῦ Μόλωνος*, or *ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Μόλων*, or *ὁ Μόλων*. However, this refers to a father, and not a grandfather, and the authors' single argument against regarding Ptolemy as the *son* of Makron, as Lévy maintained, is very weak: that a man who was proxenos in 188/7 could not still be on active service twenty-five years later. Thus Lévy's conclusion on this main point seems preferable. They identify Numenius with the eponymous priest of Soter and Epiphanes at Ptolemais in 165/4, who appears in *B.M. Dem.* 10/515 as  $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ , son of  $\eta\rho\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ , transcribed by Thompson as *Ἀμμωναῖος* the son of 'Ἡρακλεόδωρος. The new identification seems preferable. The Numenius is, they maintain (following Miss Guarducci), he who was strategos of the Thebaid (see *Prosop. Ptol.* 49–51). They incidentally discuss the case of Hippalos who has usually been regarded as having held the eponymous office at Ptolemais at the same time as the epistrategia of the Thebaid. The parallel of Numenius shows this need not have been the case, since Numenius was priest in 165/4 while his epistrategia ended in 168/7.

(44) In *Mélanges Isidore Lévy* (cf. above, no. (10)), 553–72, J. and L. ROBERT publish 'deux inscriptions de Carie', of which no. 1 (553–68, without photograph) is from the site of Stratonicea, but of the period before the foundation of the city. It is dated *βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου* | *ου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, ἔτο[υ]ς ἐνάτου μηνὸς Πανάμου*, followed by a local magistrate *ἐ[πὶ] ἱεροταμία*. The regnal year is that of Philadelphus, 276 B.C., which gives a *terminus post quem* for the foundation of Stratonicea. In this connexion they reject (at some length) the earlier of the two dates (279–268) proposed by FRASER and BEAN, *Rhodian Peraea*, 102 ff., which, in view of the new evidence, obviously cannot be right. Greater promptitude in the publication of this inscription (it was discovered in 1946, and *The Rhodian Peraea* appeared in 1954) would have enabled F. and B. to have given the correct date. In any case, the new text is of great importance as showing that Ptolemaic possessions in Caria in the reign of Philadelphus stretched far inland.

(45) In *CRAI* 1954, 259–68, P. MONTET describes his excavations at Apollonia in Cyrenaica in 1953, and records the discovery of a tetrastich epigram in which reference is made to a statue of Nike dedicated to Magas.

## XII. The Egyptian Gods

(46) In *Wiener Anzeiger*, 1954 (17), 217–28, J. KEIL publishes 'Denkmäler des Sarapiskultes in Ephesos'. These include two (or possibly three) Ptolemaic dedications which constitute our first Ptolemaic evidence for the Ephesian cult. The first (no. 2) is a normal dedication to Sarapis, Isis, Anubis, and the *σύνναοι θεοί* by a certain Kephalon 'on behalf of' Manites the son of Korragos, *κατὰ πρόσταγμα*. K. argues that the inscription should be dated to c. 262 B.C., when Ephesus first became Ptolemaic, though he admits an earlier date is possible. The other (no. 3) is evidently of later date, and refers to the construction and dedication of a *ἱερόν, ναόν* and *τέμενος*, to Sarapis (probably: he is not named in the surviving portion of the text, but the inscription is referred with great probability to Sarapis by Keil, in view of the frequency with which the formula *κατὰ πρόσταγμα* occurs in dedications to the Egyptian gods) *κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ...τοῦ θεοῦ προστάξαντος*. The dedicant's name is lost (unless it is the priest Glaukias mentioned at the end), but the dedication is obviously a private one. K. dates the inscription to the period '244–204', when Ephesus was continually Ptolemaic. Such automatic datings of Sarapis-dedications to periods of Ptolemaic suzerainty are rather dangerous (as I try to show elsewhere). The remainder are, with perhaps one exception, Roman. No. 1 is an honorific plaque for a certain N. Idrius Melitius, which is headed by the phrase *μέγα τὸ ὄν[ο]μα τοῦ θεοῦ*, which Keil is inclined to take as referring to Sarapis. In this context he refers to the stela published by him in 1908, *Jahreshefte*, 11 Beibl. 154 f., no. 1, *μέγα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ*, | *μεγά τὸ ὄσιον*, | *μέγα τὸ ἀγαθόν* | *κατ' ὄναρ*. No. 4 is an orthostat block containing the end of a dedication *Σαράπιδι ἀνέθηκεν*. K. dates

it to the first century B.C. No. 5 is a republication of *CIG* 2955, which K. dates either A.D. 145 or A.D. 161. He points out, in passing, that *BMI* 722, in which Hicks read *Eἴσειον*, has nothing to do with Isis, but is part of an honorary decree for a gymnasiarch (for *Eἴσειον* reading *εἰσειόν*[[τα- or *εἰσειόν*[[τας-). No. 6 is part of an architrave containing only the words -ἀρχ]ιστόλος καὶ ν[εώκορος]. ἀρχ]ιστόλος, not otherwise attested, K. plausibly connects with the Egyptian deities on the analogy of ὑποστόλος, ἱεροστόλος, etc. No. 8 is a plaque containing a relief of the figures of Artemis Ephesia and of Sarapis, with, between them, a wreath with a large alpha inside it. K. compares the piece with the Homonoia-coins of Ephesus and Alexandria.

(47) In *Annuario scuol. arch. di Atene*, 30-32 (N.S. 14-16), 175-84, 'Antichità greche nel Museo di Treviso', no. 1, M. GUARDUCCI publishes a new dedication from Delos concerning the Egyptian cults, of 109/8 B.C. It is closely akin to *Inscr. Délos*, 2065, another dedication by the same Διονύσιος Ζήνωνος Κηφισιεύς, ὑφιερεύς of Sarapis. The new text permits certain corrections in 2065, which G. reprints in its true form. Combining the two inscriptions, we learn that Dionysus dedicated βωμοί, ἀνάβασις, πυλών and λιθόστρωτοι to the Egyptian gods in this year. ὑφιερεύς is *addendum lexicis*, though ὑφιερεῖαι are known from both Delos itself and from Cos. G. suggests that the term should be restored in *Inscr. Délos*, 2610 at the years 137/6, 120/19, 116/15, and 113/12. She also discusses the distinction between ἱερεὺς γενόμενος and ἱερεὺς ὢν, contesting the view of Roussel, *BCH* 32, 377 ff. that the former phrase refers to a priest whose term of office is over. In this connexion she quotes and discusses the dedication to the Egyptian gods in honour of Protogenes, son of Leonides in 101/100 (*Inscr. Délos*, 2067). She suggests that Theon the Athenian ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά of the Treviso inscription may be the father of the noted Ptolemaic nauarch, Stolos the son of Theon.

(48) In *Studia Antiqua* (see no. (34)), 170-2, and pls. 11-12, R. HAKEN publishes a late πρόσταγμα-dedication from the temple of the Egyptian gods at Aeolian Cyme, inscribed in pointille below a pair of ears on a bronze-leaf tabula ansata: Δωροθέα κατὰ πρόσ|ταγμα τῆς Εἴσειως (with a few spelling mistakes corrected by the engraver). H. dates it on letter-forms to the third century A.D., but it might be considerably earlier. H. concludes that the ears are not an ex-voto for a cure, but rather a simple dedication to Isis ἐπήκοος, of the type analysed by O. Weinreich in *Ath. Mitt.* 37, 1-68 (esp. 46 ff.), especially common in Egypt.

(49) In *BCH* 79, 329, J. BINGEN records (V, 3) an unpublished dedication to Sarapis, Isis, and —, of the second or first century B.C. from Argos.

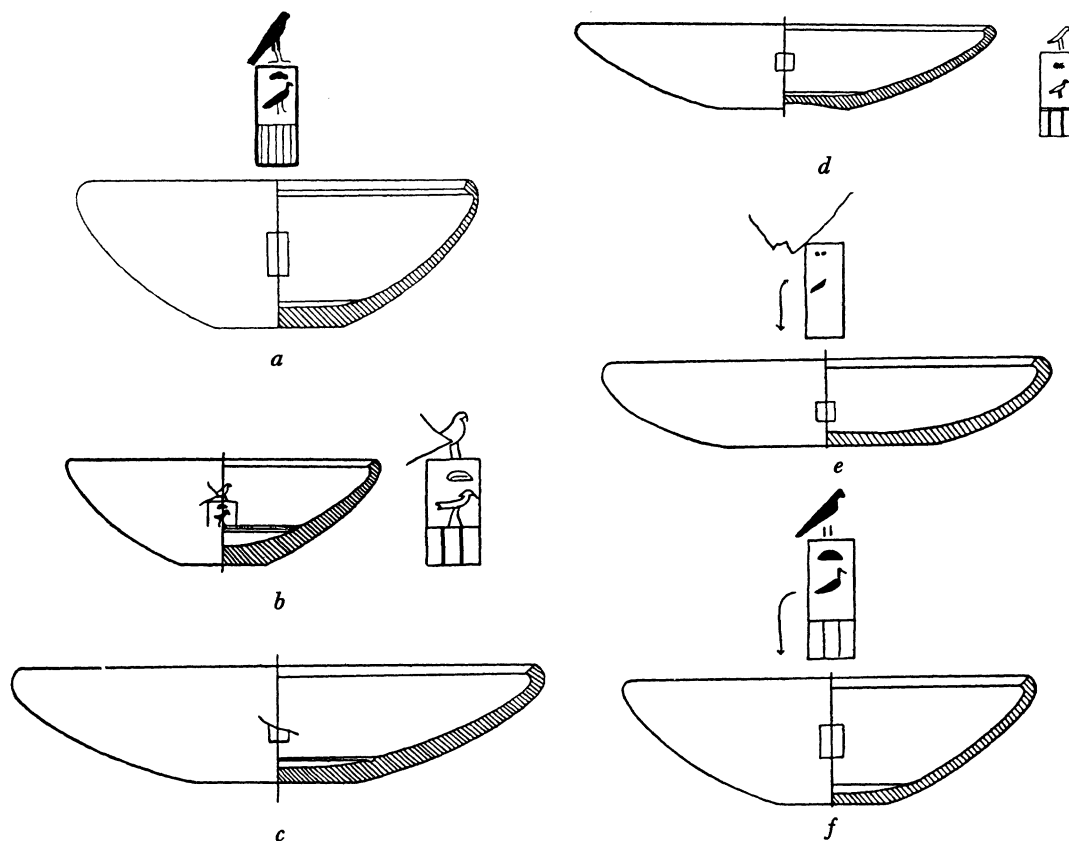
(50) In *CRAI* 1955, 104-13, P. DEMARGNE describes the fifth season of excavations at Xanthus in 1954. The discoveries included some statues of Isis, and D. calls attention in this context to the excellent plaque with a representation of Sarapis and Isis, from Xanthos, now in the British Museum (repr. *JHS Plates* (1885), pl. 58; *B.M. Cat. Sculpt.* 956).

(51) In *Mélanges Isidore Lévy* (see no. (10)), 610-12, H. SEYRIG discusses the inscription on a gold plaque from Rome recently republished by C. BONNER (*Hesp.* 13, 30-45, 349-51) thus: Αἰὼν ἐρπέτα Κύριε Σάραπι δὸς νείκην κατὰ πᾶν ὑπὸ πέτρᾶν. He reports the rediscovery of the plaque by L. Robert in the Cabinet de Médailles, and is able to confirm the reading τῶν for πᾶν which he had suggested conjecturally to Bonner (*Hesp.* loc. cit. 350).

## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

## Stone bowls of Kha'ba (Third Dynasty)

AN incomplete diorite bowl with the *serekh* of the Horus Kha'ba of the Third Dynasty roughly cut on it is in the Flinders Petrie Collection at University College, London. It was purchased on June 26, 1922, at Sotheby's salerooms from the Macgregor Collection (part of lot 1030). Its maximum diameter is  $8\frac{1}{16}$  inches and height 3 inches (fig. 1 (a)). Its provenance is unknown. I am indebted to Miss Rosalind Moss for the reference to *Boston Mus. Bull.* 9 (Dec. 1911), where Reisner, describing



(a) Diorite bowl of Kha'ba in the Petrie Collection.

(b-f) Dolomite bowls of Kha'ba in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

b. No. 11.2336; c. No. 11.2334; d. No. 11.2343; e. No. 11.2344; f. No. 11.2345. Scale: bowls 1 : 4; serekh 1 : 2.

the Third Dynasty cemetery round the Zāwiyet el-'Aryan pyramid says it 'contains four large mud-brick mastabas of the type common in the late Third Dynasty'. In one of these mastabas were found eight marble bowls 'each inscribed with the name of the Horus Kha-ba'. Mr. Dows Dunham of Boston very kindly informs me that five of them are in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, nos. 11.2334, 2336, 2343-5, and they all come from Mastaba Z 500. They are actually of dolomite. A number of diorite vessels were found in that tomb, but none of them was inscribed with the king's name. As so little is known of this king, it is interesting to publish here (b-f above) by courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts the drawings of these five bowls, which have been most kindly supplied by Mr. Dows Dunham.

A. J. ARKELL

### A further note on rock-cut boats

A FULLER discussion of rock-cut boats than their proportion of examples warranted in my article on Solar Barks, pp. 65 ff. above, is called for here by various expressions of doubt as to the possibility of determining their directions with certainty and by several points of disagreement with Professor Černý, 'A Note on the Recently Discovered Boat of Cheops', *JEA* 41, 75-79.

Unfortunately, as it appears to me, boat 'pits'—apparently meaning 'holes' without distinguishing characteristics—has been too common a designation of the rock cuttings discovered prior to 1954, I believe always by those who have made little, if any, personal investigation. Such a description is readily understandable, for they often do look undifferentiated without examination, sometimes without comparison and familiarity as well. Presumably Černý, also, does not take into account the excavations themselves when he 'assumes', as he says, p. 77, directions for Cheops 3-5<sup>1</sup> that correspond to his explanation of function. According to my experience, direction can always, often easily, be determined when conditions allow sufficient examination, even in the case of the trench graves found by Emery and Saad, as plans of the latter show clearly (references above, p. 65, n. 3). The principal criteria, as indicated in 'Solar Barks', are relative draught, height, and width of the two ends, regularly invariable in all boats, ancient and modern, skiff to liner: the prow tends to be deeper and narrower, the stern higher and wider. In exceptional cases, prow and stern may be even, as P4 in Gardiner's *Catalogue*; and they may be the same width, as in reed or papyrus examples like Cheops 2. But no solar sterns to my knowledge are intentionally deeper or narrower, no prows higher or wider.

By these standards there can be no doubt of the directions of Cheops 3 and 5 (4 cannot now be seen, of course): the prow of 3 is N., that of 5 is E., the reverse in each case of the directions given by Černý, fig. 1, p. 77. And the same thing appears true of the wooden boat, Cheops 2: with one tentative exception all photographs available to me reverse Černý's directions (p. 76) in labelling the lower end, the W., as prow, a conclusion supported without expression of doubt by all reports I have had. In this case, however, the condition of the boat should be considered, too, with the possibility that one end could have been pushed up in the cramped space, the other down. Prow and stern curves, Černý's criteria, vary too much in my view to be depended upon alone, particularly here, where part of only one end-post, dismantled and straight against a wall, is visible; compare, for example, the second boat shown on pl. 33 of Černý's reference to Jéquier, and note the drawing in 'Les Grandes Découvertes archéologiques de 1954', *La Revue du Caire*, 'Numéro spécial' (Cairo, 1955), 39. But the direction of Cheops 2 is probably beside the point now, for it is quite possibly known at this writing and preliminary publication may precede that of this note.<sup>2</sup>

Of far greater concern is the 'numerical factor' taken by Černý as making 'unjustifiable' the solar conclusion, four boats, granted a second S. of the pyramid, or five instead of two. But he later explains the fifth as funerary and says that 'it was quite unnecessary for the king to provide solar boats' at all. Of course, it was unnecessary in 'fact', but it may easily have been 'necessary' in symbol, it would appear to me, perhaps to put the pyramid in proper cosmological setting, as it were. This is not to say that there was symbolic necessity, only that present evidence is insufficient to rule it out; compare 'Solar Barks', p. 77, n. 5. And if there was symbolic necessity we are obviously not yet in a position to say how many boats fitted optimum requirements. Certainly three boat excavations were astonishingly found from December 1952 to June 1954 in the complex supposedly best

<sup>1</sup> Černý conveniently numbers the boats in order from the W.: Cheops 1 has not been uncovered; 2 is the wooden boat and its enclosure; 3-4 correspond to the boats of diagram Aa, 'Solar Barks'; 5, oriented E.-W., is N. of the causeway.

<sup>2</sup> The W. direction is now certain; the end-post removed from the section of the enclosure examined first, the E., has proved to be the stern-post of a boat that is apparently funerary (*Archaeology*, 9, 206-9).

known and excavated, though one is probably not directly connected with Cheops himself. And the Antiquities Department has not yet eliminated, as far as I know, the possibility of pairs W. and perhaps N. of the pyramid, or of other boats elsewhere in the area. Lauer has recently referred to the W. side of the pyramid as uncertain and Abubakr to that of the Mycerinus and Snofru complexes ('Les Grandes Découvertes, etc.', 90, 34); Černý has himself noted (p. 79) the need to explore the Onnos complex more fully; and the same need exists, in my view, in the remaining Old Kingdom complexes. It would, therefore, appear certain that no weight either way can yet be given to number of boats.

Further, if the Cheops and Chephren boats are indeed, as Černý thinks (pp. 78-79), the four *zḥn* which transfer the king to the four cardinal points of the sky, would they not be more reasonably put, as they may have been, on the four cardinal sides of the pyramid, rather than on two only? And is W.-E.-S.-N. a 'peculiar sequence' for cardinal points named in opposition by an Egyptian accustomed to orient S.?

At the risk of expressing an opinion already outdated, I think I should add that Cheops 2 appears unlikely to be solar to me, also. My first reason is the presence of propulsion oars: only steering oars are found, as often noted, in the known solar models and the numerous reliefs; likewise, there are never sails or any indication of equipment for them. Is another explanation of the oars possible? The obvious misfit of boat and enclosure would suggest that one was not necessarily intended for the other, but my second reason for doubt has to do with the shape of this enclosure. Photographs taken before removal of the boat have shown the visible portion of the excavation to be, as Stock has said ('Les Grandes Découvertes, etc.', 98), that of a simple rectangular enclosure for a long narrow object, an undifferentiated enclosure having only general resemblance to the other Gīzah rock cuttings, all of which are unmistakable in themselves as boats, of whatever kind.

ELIZABETH THOMAS

### On the statue group: Amūn affixing the crown of the king

IN the preceding issue of the *Journal* I had occasion to discuss the statue group in which a seated god, probably Amūn, affixes the crown of a standing or kneeling king, who is represented, on a smaller scale, with his back to the god. Three heads of the king from such statues were cited, a limestone head in New York, which I attributed, following Lansing, to Tut'ankhamūn, a grey granite head in Alexandria, and a red granite head from Tanis, as well as several of the many examples of the scene in relief. On the basis of an unfinished group statue in Cairo (CCG 42111), I suggested that the king in these cases was probably in the standing position. I gave as a reason that the standing position was more in keeping with the compactness required by sculpture in the round. Alas, how misleading such reasoning can be! In the back courtyard of the excavation house at Mitrahinah is an unpublished statue group said to have been discovered during road construction near Kōm el-Arba'in in 1949. A number of interesting finds were made at this time, although this part of the road was subsequently abandoned as a result of the discovery of a Middle Kingdom cemetery to the west. The statue may well belong to the series which I discussed in *JEA* 41, 112-14. It is of a yellowish-red quartzite and is inscribed, on either side of the base, with the titulary of King Ḥoremḥeb. The height is 1.80 m. and the width of the base 0.60 m.; the figure of the god is over life-size. The upper half of the figure of the seated god is missing, including the lap and the top of the knees. All that remains of the figure of the king is the feet, placed between the feet of the god; there is just enough preserved of the king's feet to indicate beyond the slightest doubt that he was kneeling. By restoring the front part of the base to include the beginning of the titulary, there is clearly enough space for the knees of the king to have rested on the base. The toes are spread apart, as in kneeling statues, and the figure is life-size and smaller than that of the god. I offer the statue as another

possible example of this interesting group, but I would no longer maintain that the king should be considered as standing, except in the case of the head from Tanis. In the last the angle of the hand on the crown suggests that the king was standing. The group of statues belonging to this series should be added to the discussion by the late Alexander Scharff in his article, 'Gott und König in ägyptischen Gruppenplastiken', *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini*, 1 (Pisa, 1949), 312-13.

Group statues in which the king kneels in front of an enthroned god, both figures facing the same direction, are well attested. Mr. Cyril Aldred has kindly called to my attention the Ramesses II dyad in Cairo (CCG 42141) and the Amenophis III group published by A. Varille in *Karnak*, 1, 8-9, pl. 15. These differ in detail from the type which I discussed; in the first the *nemes* head-dress is worn, and in the second the right hand of the god is described as touching the nape of the king's neck. Aldred suggests, however, that a closer examination of the Karnak example might show the hand at the nape of the neck affixing the crown; unfortunately, the head of the king is missing. If this proved to be the case, the Karnak dyad would be the most complete example of the type.

W. K. SIMPSON

### The daily income of Sesostris II's funerary temple

BORCHARDT's interesting article *Besoldungsverhältnisse von Priestern im M. R.* (*ZÄS* 40, 113 ff.) is marred by a misapprehension which, so far as I am aware, no one has yet pointed out. Little fault can be found with his transcription,<sup>1</sup> which I have checked with a photograph, and if any exception be taken to his translation,<sup>2</sup> it is only over trifles. What I fail to understand is how he came to interpret 'the remainder (*wḏst*) of various bread' in l. 8 as a month's accumulation, a view which, as he has seen, carries with it the consequence that the following distribution among the temple staff was an occurrence limited to the same period. On this supposition the month's pay to the Temple Superintendent was only  $16\frac{2}{3}$  loaves of bread and  $8\frac{1}{3}$  jugs of beer, while the lowest paid temple menial received over thirty days no more than  $\frac{5}{8}$  of a loaf! Borchardt failed to see that the whole account is concerned, from start to finish, with daily receipts and payments. This is expressly stated in l. 2, which he renders approximately accurately as *Liste der täglichen Einkünfte*. The aforementioned remainder of 70 loaves and 35 jugs of beer was arrived at by subtraction from the 410 loaves and 63 jugs mentioned a line above, so that if, as Borchardt assumed, the remainder was the result of a month's saving, the same would be true of the total income just mentioned. This would lead to the absurd result that the daily revenue of the temple was  $410 \div 30$  loaves, a little more than 13 *per diem*. For an important temple like that at Illahūn a daily revenue of 410 loaves is by no means exaggerated. In P.Boulak XVIII the king's court received 1,630 loaves and 130 jugs of beer a day,<sup>3</sup> and the Eloquent Peasant in the story<sup>4</sup> was granted four loaves and two jugs for each day that he was detained awaiting the good pleasure of the great steward to whom he had appealed for justice; his daily ration was thus only a little less than the ordinary lector-priest at Illahūn, according to Borchardt, received in a month. The Temple Superintendent whose allowance was  $16\frac{2}{3}$  loaves a day doubtless had to feed his family as well as himself.

ALAN H. GARDINER

<sup>1</sup> In the heading immediately following l. 1 read  $\overset{\circ}{\theta} \times \ominus$ ; in l. 5 for  $\overline{\theta}$  read  $\overline{\theta}$ ; in l. 14  $\overline{\theta} \overline{\theta} \overline{\theta}$  seems probable.

<sup>2</sup> In l. 2 *rht* should be rendered *Betrag* rather than *Liste* and in l. 9 his alternative *Verteilung* is preferable to *Aufstellung*.

<sup>3</sup> *ZÄS* 57, 55-56.

<sup>4</sup> P.Berlin 3023, B 1, 84-85.



## A Ushabti with an unusual formula



THE statuette in question, in the writer's collection, is of the coarser common type of the late New Kingdom with dull blue glaze and black details and inscription; the height is  $4\frac{1}{8}$  inches. It has the fillet instead of the wig, and on the back the bag for carrying sand is shown in outline. The workmanship is poor, and the object has been broken in two.

Its sole interest is in the inscription, of which I append a facsimile with transcription, which deviates somewhat from the standard text. It seems to consist of the pronoun *ink* 'I (am)', followed by the name Mewet-em-'Ipet<sup>1</sup> and the obligatory *mꜣꜥ hrw*.<sup>2</sup>

After the Eighteenth Dynasty the ushabti was as a rule regarded as a servant rather than as a mere substitute for the all too perishable mummy. Accordingly, ushabtis were now provided in considerable numbers and supplied with 'overseers'.<sup>3</sup> However, there persisted a typically Egyptian confusion between different and partly incompatible ideas, whereby the ushabti could be simultaneously (1) a mummy-shaped statue of the defunct; (2) a servant-statuette or 'slave' (*hm*);<sup>4</sup> (3) a funerary figure, either mummy-shaped or in the attire of the living.<sup>5</sup>

The Egyptians then were no more consistent in this than in any other matter touching the religious sphere. It appears, moreover, that under the Twenty-second Dynasty (the approximate date of the present specimen) the ideas, if not the iconographical accessories, connecting it with the corvée in the netherworld fell into abeyance, with the result that the figurine became once more, as here, a substitute for the mummy.<sup>6</sup>

MANFRED CASSIRER

<sup>1</sup> With *n* for *m* (Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.* § 606). Not listed in Ranke's *Personennamen*.

<sup>2</sup> For the spelling, see Speleers, *Fig. fun.* 113. I have to thank Prof. Černý for suggesting the reading *ink*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Petrie, *Shabtis*, 12 f.

<sup>4</sup> See Černý in *Bull. Inst. fr.* 41, 116 f.

<sup>5</sup> Speleers, *op. cit.* 169. See also Gardiner in *ZÄS* 43, 55 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Petrie, *op. cit.* 9.

**A graffito of the scribe *Dḥuṯḥotpe*, reckoner of gold, in the south-eastern desert**

THE graffito shown in the accompanying half-tone (fig. 1) was found at *Abrak*,<sup>1</sup> one of the few wells with a constant water-supply in the south-eastern desert near the Red Sea. Here the object most likely to attract the attention of the traveller is the ancient fortress, but the archaeologist will more probably have his attention drawn to an imposing falcon carved on the rock in the midst of the narrow ravine, at the entrance of which is the well. The rocks in the neighbourhood of the falcon, which were already partially covered with drawings of animals, left insufficient space for the scribe *Dḥuṯḥotpe* to add his inscription, so he turned to the adjacent rock wall to perpetuate his name.



FIG. 1. Graffito at *Abrak*.

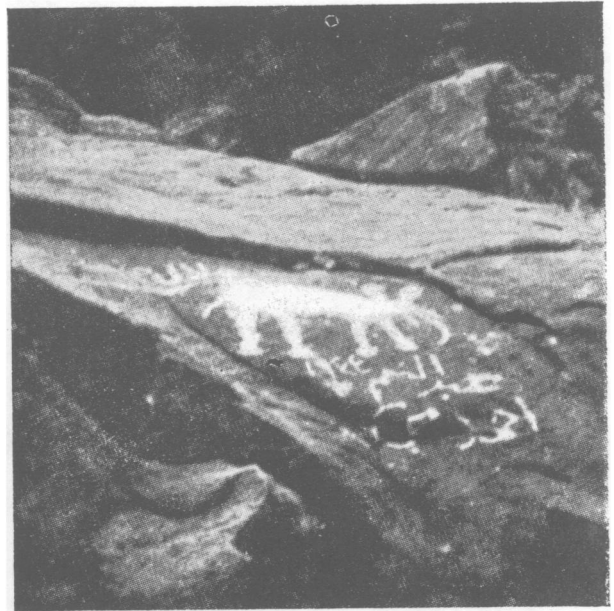


FIG. 2. Ancient drawing of elephant at *Abrak*.

The graffito, which is about 4 metres above ground-level, measures 50 cm. by 30 cm., the individual hieroglyphs being 10 cm. high. It reads *ḥṣty-ꜥ n ṣbw, sš ḥsb nbw, Dḥwty-ḥtp* 'The Count of Elephantine, the scribe who reckons the gold, *Dḥuṯḥotpe*.' The name *Dḥuṯḥotpe* is familiar from the Middle Kingdom, and occurs early at *Ḥatnub*;<sup>2</sup> as the graffito has been carved in the ravine and not near the fortress, it is possible that the latter did not then exist, in which case the graffito might be earlier than the Eleventh Dynasty. The rendering of the first title as 'Count of Elephantine' seems certain, though it is a curious coincidence that around the well, as though guarding it, are drawings of elephants (an example in fig. 2); these, however, appear to be a good deal older than the graffito, and may be Early Dynastic. It is to be hoped that no one will be tempted to interpret *ḥṣty-ꜥ n ṣbw* as 'keeper of elephants'! It is worthy of note that in the south-eastern desert these drawings of elephants have hitherto been recorded only at *Abrak*, though it is unlikely that there is any connexion between the presence of elephants and the name of the locality.

The title 'reckoner of gold' is a clear indication of gold mines not far away. If the attribution of the graffito to the early Middle Kingdom is correct, the date of the commencement of gold-mining in the south-eastern desert must be much earlier than previously imagined—most mining activity

<sup>1</sup> For a description of *Abrak* see Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 22, 169. *Abrak* is about 240 km. south-east of *Aswān*, and about 100 km. south-west of *Berenice*. My thanks are due to General Abd el Aziz Abd el Hay, mudir of *Aswān*, for facilities to visit *Abrak*.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Anthes, *Hatnub*, Graffiti nos. 23. 26.



τετάρτης and that the final *ι* is part of the word *ἰνδικτί(ονος)*. This final *ι* is slightly above the line of the other letters and is followed by an oblique stroke which presumably indicates the end of the inscription. It is also worth noting that the initial *ι* in the words *Ἰωσηφίω* and *ἰνδικτί(ονος)* is surmounted by two dots resembling the modern diaeresis mark. The surface of the stone as a whole is somewhat pitted but the holes in question do not appear to be fortuitous.



I append an amended reading. The inscription is headed by a stylized Chi-Rho monogram.

*Εἰς Θεὸς ὁ β[ο]*  
*ηθῶ(ν) Ἀππα*  
*Ἰωσηφίω ἐπισκ(όπω)*  
*τῶ οἰκοδομή*  
 5 *σαντι τοῦτον*  
*τὸν χαλκευτικὸν*  
*ἐργαστήριον*  
*εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκ*  
*κλησίαν ἐν ὀνόματι*  
 10 *ἸϞ ΧϞ ἀμήν: Ἐν μη*  
*νὶ Φαῶφι τῆς δ' ἰν*  
*δικτί(ονος).*

W. R. CHALMERS

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

*The Ramesseum Papyri.* By SIR ALAN GARDINER. Oxford, 1955. Pp. 18, pls. in collotype 64, in line 13. 63s.

The Ramesseum Papyri constitute a hoard of manuscripts of Middle Kingdom date discovered in 1896 by Quibell in a tomb under the brick magazines attached to the Ramesseum at Thebes. They consist to a considerable extent of texts of a magico-medical nature, but literary and religious texts are also represented, and administrative records are not entirely lacking. The literary pieces have proved of particular interest. They have provided us with the missing beginnings, now long published, of the stories of Sinuhe and of the Eloquent Peasant, with the cryptic document edited by Sethe in the second part of his *Dramatische Texte zur altaegyptischen Mysterienspielen*, and two moralizing works now being edited by Dr. Barns, while the religious texts comprise a series of hymns to Suchus of Crocodilopolis and the remarkable funerary liturgy published by Sir Alan in the last volume of the *Journal*. The papyrus which contains on its recto the copies of official correspondence known as the Semnah Dispatches was doubtless included in the collection because of the magical text on the verso, but it would be of interest to learn how a document presumably belonging to the government archives came into the possession of a writer of magic spells, unless it were disposed of in the course of clearing out-of-date papers from the files. A portion of an official document of similar nature has survived as P.Ram. XVIII and is published in pl. LXII. Other manuscripts of interest from the same source are the Ramesseum Onomasticon, already published, and some agricultural accounts on the verso of P.Ram. III; the remainder are medical or magical in content.

The unpublished papyri included in the present volume have been reproduced in admirable collotype; in fact it is a matter for surprise and congratulation that material in such a bad state as were many of the manuscripts should have reproduced so well. Apart from nos. I-V, which are to be published by Dr. Barns, and no. VI, which Sir Alan is publishing and editing elsewhere, the author has transcribed in the present volume only a limited number of texts, his aim being to render the whole of the outstanding portion of this important find accessible to students without further delay. Apart from the content of these papyri, this publication makes a considerable addition to material available for the palaeographical study of Middle Kingdom hieratic, and on that ground also this volume is welcome.

In the eighteen pages of printed text which precede the plates, Sir Alan has described the vicissitudes which these papyri have undergone since their discovery sixty years ago, and has summarized the contents of each, occasionally translating significant passages. The appearance of the volume leaves nothing to be desired, and it is not of unwieldy size, for which we are grateful.

R. O. FAULKNER

*Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt from the Tomb of Meket-Rē at Thebes.* By H. E. WINLOCK. Published for the Metropolitan Museum of Art by Harvard University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1955. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, Volume XVIII. Demy 4to. Pp. xv+106, pls. frontispiece+ 86. 60s.

The tomb of Meket-Rē at Thebes was plundered as long ago as the Second Intermediate Period and, in any case, had been cleared by Daressy in 1895. When Mr. Winlock started to clear it again in 1920 his only intention was to make a plan, but he had the great good fortune to come upon a small chamber, entered from the floor of the tomb passage, which had not been disturbed since the day of the original burial.

This chamber contained a series of models, some of them unique, which are now to be seen, some in Cairo, some in New York. They rapidly became well known but, although photographs of them have been published from time to time, a detailed publication has hitherto been lacking. This Mr. Winlock has now provided in a book completed by his colleagues, for he did not live to finish it himself.

Meket-Rē lived during the Eleventh Dynasty. The models found, which cover the daily life of his estate, the carrying of offerings to his tomb, and the various boats that he used for business and pleasure, serve to supplement the two-dimensional scenes of similar matters painted on the walls of contemporary tombs.

The residence itself is represented by little more than a portico looking on to a rectangular garden in which a pool is surrounded by sycamore figs. The estate appears in much more varied aspects. There is a lively scene of the inspection of cattle in which Meketrēc and his son sit on high in a pavilion together with the recording scribes while the beasts are driven by below. There is a whole series of separate buildings filled with busy figures and equipped with all the necessary tools and furniture. Here is a stall in which cattle are feeding while some are being specially fattened, a granary in which grain is being recorded as it is brought in and then stored, a slaughter-house complete with hanging joints of meat, a combined brew- and bakehouse, a weaving-shed in which thread is being spun and cloth woven, and a carpenter's shop in which planks are being sawn, timber dressed and smoothed, tools sharpened, and which even contains a tool-chest complete with tools. Two figures of girls, half life-size, each carrying a basket of offerings on her head and a duck by the wings in her right hand, are fine examples of their type. For movement by water Meketrēc is exceedingly well provided. He has large vessels for travelling long distances on the Nile equipped with oars, masts and rigging, sails, even cabins with beds and trunks. These vessels have tenders in which food and drink is prepared. For short pleasure cruises different boats are provided, while there is also a boat for fowling and fishing, and a pair of canoes with a trawl net between. These craft all have crews carrying out their various duties.

Each model is described in detail in the text. Further particulars such as dimensions, materials, construction, position when found, and any restorations carried out, are given in an appendix. The plates, which make up nearly half the book, are of two kinds: photographs and line drawings. The photographs show every model from several angles and often details as well. The line drawings are to scale and consist of plans and sections of the models, and details of tools and other equipment. In all a very satisfactory record is provided, with the aid of which these interesting and charming models may be studied. It would, however, have been most useful if the line drawings had been provided with descriptive labels naming objects and parts of objects and indicating the colours as well.

The note numbered 2 on p. 77 is an error and is to be omitted. Note 2 is on p. 74.

In conclusion I cannot refrain from joining issue with Mr. Winlock over his statement on p. 21 that there is no evidence of there having been oxen in ancient Egypt. Apart from the inherent improbability that the ancient Egyptians should not have had oxen there are such tomb scenes as *Meir*, III, pl. 13; IV, pl. 16, where bulls and oxen are clearly differentiated.

C. H. S. SPAULL

*Die ägyptischen Personennamen.* By HERMANN RANKE. Band II. Einleitung. Form und Inhalt der Namen. Geschichte der Namen. Vergleiche mit andren Namen. Nachträge und Zusätze zu Band I. Umschreibungslisten. Verlag von J. J. Augustin, Glückstadt-Hamburg; J. J. Augustin, Publisher, Locust Valley, New York, 1952. 4to. 5 Lieferungen. Pp. xiv+414. \$90.

It is a pleasant task to welcome the second and final volume of Professor Ranke's great work upon the subject of the personal names of ancient Egypt.

Two-thirds of this second volume are devoted to the discussion of Egyptian personal names. After a general introduction the subject is taken under four heads, namely: Structure, Content, History, and World Position. The remaining third is in the nature of a supplement to the first volume. Firstly, it offers some 2,200 additional names, gathered either from sources not used before or that have become available during the seventeen years that have elapsed since the publication of the first volume. A substantial increase over the original 10,000 or more names. Secondly, there are seventy pages of corrections and additional references to the names already published.

Several points in the introduction are worthy of special mention. Firstly, there is our complete ignorance of how or why an ancient Egyptian acquired his name. The class of names composed of whole sentences does, however, serve to show that sometimes, at least, a child was named from circumstances or words spoken at the time of birth. Another point is the lack of restriction to one sex of personal names in the Middle Kingdom and, to a lesser extent, the New Kingdom. Finally, there is the fact that until a late period any indication of pride of ancestry is wanting, even the mention of grandfathers being rare.

The **structure** of names Professor Ranke divides into two categories: full names and shortened or pet-names.

The full names are either single words or complete sentences. The former consist not only of nouns but also of adjectives, participles, and relative forms; while the latter consist of both verbal and non-verbal sentences. Each grammatical form is discussed separately.

The shortened or pet-names are either full names cut down in some manner or names, whether shortened or not, to which special pet endings have been added. Some pet-names are also formed by reduplication of the whole or part of a name with or without the addition of a pet ending. Professor Ranke shows some desire to seek for purely grammatical explanations of these pet endings within the structure of the Egyptian language, but since most of the endings can be paralleled in modern European languages, it would seem that a psychological explanation of a far wider nature must be sought. For example it is possible to compare the Egyptian *mn-y* (p. 129), *ms-i* (p. 134), *ms-y* (p. 145), *ms-t* (p. 159), *wr-l* (p. 161), *bibi* (p. 163), with such modern name-forms as Sue, Susie, Susette, Gretel, Bebe.

The **content** of the names is divided into three categories: secular names, *k*-names, religious names.

The secular names include numerals used as names, names indicative of sex, family relationships, day of birth, and personal attributes, as well as the names of trees, plants, animals, inanimate objects, professions, etc. Names made from utterances that occurred at the time of birth are also included under the head of secular names.

A few comments on points of detail may not be out of place with regard to this section:

- p. 175, Numeral Names. Surely the name *wr-i* 'The-Only-One' is more likely to refer to the child being an only child than to the mother having died in child-birth.
- p. 176, Family-Relationship Names. Professor Ranke says 'But what can "She-Who-Belongs-to-her-Father" mean?' Some such idea as 'Daddy's Own' comes to mind.
- p. 177, Day-of-Birth Names. It is true that a child could only have been born on one of the Epagomenal days but if the name of these days is considered as a unity there is no difficulty in a child being named after it.
- p. 177, Attributive Names *et sim.* Surely from an oriental point of view 'sweet' is not an unlikely designation for a man.
- p. 179, *Nrr(-t)-ib* means 'Smooth-of-Heart' not 'Colourful-of-Heart'.
- p. 197. *Tki* is surely a writing of *tkw* 'torch', 'candle'.
- p. 200, Names containing the word *nb* 'Lord', etc. Professor Ranke admits that in some cases of names compounded with the word for 'lord' it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the 'baby' is meant. It seems to me that the 'baby' is certainly meant and that the answer to Professor Ranke's question 'Whose lord?' is that it is the mother's lord.
- pp. 206 ff., Names that seem to point to the Idea of a Rebirth. The idea that some names point to the existence of the conception of rebirth is put forward by Professor Ranke but his examples admit of simpler explanations. The following names, for example, are quite readily explained as the exclamations of another child entering the room where its mother is resting after giving birth:

<i>mw-t-i nht-i</i>	'My-mother-is-alive',
<i>mw-t-i rst-i</i>	'My-mother-is-awake',
<i>sn(-i) wḥm(w)</i>	'My-brother-is-repeated'

Even specific names of the form 'NN-is-come-to-life-again' might be explained as arising from the common habit of seeing likenesses to relatives in new-born children.

The *k*-names are very interesting but, as Professor Ranke himself confesses, disappointing in that they fail to throw any fresh light on the nature of that elusive entity, the *k*.

The religious lists are composed of general statements and exclamations with regard to the gods. Some of these names present concepts that are difficult for us to understand.

The **history** of Egyptian names is traced from the earliest surviving predynastic royal names to the time of the coming of Christianity. Change is continuous throughout this time so that it is usually easily possible to say to what period a name belongs. Until the end of the New Kingdom development is constant and new forms are being evolved. Then an impoverishment sets in and the types of name in use become reduced to

less than half a dozen. There is no infiltration of foreign names, despite foreign rule, until the collapse of the old ideas before the advance of Christianity. Some curious facts emerge. These include the fact that no names compounded with the name of Osiris are known before the New Kingdom, and also that in the names of the Old Kingdom a patriarchal relationship of the gods and the king to men, with a complete absence of fear of either, is a noteworthy feature, as is also the existence in both the Middle and the New Kingdom of names in which a man is designated as the son of a god or even as the god himself.

The world position of ancient Egyptian names is discussed briefly and is largely confined to a listing of parallels to be found in Akkadian. These parallels are very close indeed.

Throughout the book is abundantly illustrated with examples. While not absolutely necessary it would have been convenient if these examples had been furnished with volume, page, and number references so that they could have been more quickly found in the dictionary part of the two volumes.

At the end the book has separate indexes of names found transcribed into cuneiform, Hebrew, Aramaic, Phoenician, Greek, and Coptic; and also indexes of foreign names written in hieroglyphics comprising Hittite, Hurrian, Semitic, Nubian, and other African names, Libyan, Persian, Greek, Latin, and miscellaneous foreign names of various origins.

This book is printed in type throughout and is of good appearance, although the paper is not so good as in the first volume. It is the greatest pity that so essential a tool to every practising Egyptologist should be so prohibitively expensive. To buy the two volumes nowadays would cost over £50.

C. H. S. SPAULL

*The Temples of Kawa*, Vol. II. *History and Archaeology of the Site*. By M. F. LAMING MACADAM, with chapters by the late F. LL. GRIFFITH and L. P. KIRWAN. 2 vols. Text pp. xxi and 255 (82 figures in the text). Plates, pp. xx and 21 + CXII plates. Published on behalf of the Griffith Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1955. £8. 8s. net.

The first part of this important work was published in 1949 and reviewed in this *Journal* in 1951. This long-awaited second part completes the publication of the Oxford excavations of the temples of Gematen near Dongola in 1929-31 and 1935-6. Professor Griffith, who with his wife carried out the excavations of the first two seasons, unfortunately died in 1934, and the author only took part in the final season's work as epigrapher, soon after the conclusion of which Mrs. Griffith died also. Since the Griffiths' records, by modern standards, left much to be desired, and many of the objects found were not available for study, Dr. Macadam was faced with a difficult task, which he has carried out in a way which does him and the Griffith Institute every credit.

The first three chapters are by Professor Griffith and give respectively a description of the site, a history of the 1929-31 excavations, and a short account of Nubia and Kawa down to Ramesside times. Chapter 4, by Dr. Macadam, like the rest of the book with the exception of the last chapter, which is by Mr. Kirwan, discusses the history of Kawa as manifested in its temple buildings, and with an important *Post Scriptum* at the end of the book, makes a notable contribution to the history of the Sudan. It is complementary to that made by the first part of the work which recorded and interpreted the historical inscriptions from the site. The remaining chapters describe Temple A (Tutankhamūn, restored by Taharqa), Temple B (Meroitic with traces of an earlier building by Shabako), Temple T (the great temple of Taharqa), the features of the processional way to this temple and around part of the town (the two kiosks, altar, temple gardens, and rams), and the hypothetical reconstruction of the temple with the aid of loose blocks, the so-called 'Eastern Palace', probably another temple, and the results of the trial excavation of three graves in the cemetery. Then follow the Object Register of the 1929-31 excavations and the account of the 1935-6 excavations by Mr. Kirwan.

The history of the site before Tutankhamūn remains unknown, for excavation was not carried below the floor level of the Temple A-B complex, but that there was an earlier occupation is indicated both by the discovery of a large scarab of Amenophis III when search was being made for foundation deposits under Temple B, and also the statement of Tutankhamūn in Temple A that he 'set up what had been in ruins'. Tutankhamūn uses the name Gem(p)aten, which suggests that this was the name given to the place by



Amenophis III. The name of this king on a statue base found above the foundations of a stone pylon near Temple T discovered in 1935-6 (with a red-brick wall even lower still and running below the temple) also suggest constructions dating from the New Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, if not Middle Kingdom. The earlier of these periods is represented not only by a statuette (pl. LXXVa) and sherds of Kerma ware recognized as such (fig. 48 on p. 161) but also by sherds of 'Kerma Nubian' ware (pl. LXXXIVa) and two-lugged stone celts (pl. CIVc extreme right o734; also o890, see p. 49) which resemble some from Kerma (see Reisner, *Kerma IV-V*, pl. 62, 2, nos. 6 and 7). Despite the name Gematen, no evidence of Aten-worship or of any building activity by Akhenaten was found; and Dr. Macadam makes the interesting suggestion that possibly in Cush no measures were necessary to suppress Aten-worship, because the idea had never obtained hold there. Indeed, to the reviewer it seems likely that the activity of Tutankhamūn at this site, Faras, and elsewhere in Nubia, was probably rendered necessary by the heretic king's neglect of Nubia as well as of Asia.

The most important result of the excavation is the knowledge it has given us of Temple T, the great temple of Taharqa, and indeed of the architectural work of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty generally. As Dr. Macadam states 'the stock of preserved reliefs of the 25th Dynasty is very scanty, and the number of those that have been adequately published scantier still'. That is why their successors the Saites have long been, and are still sometimes, credited with having initiated the archaizing movement for which the Cushites were really responsible, so successful was Psammetichus II in obliterating the memory of his predecessors and rivals, as MM. Sauneron and Yoyotte have recently pointed out (*Bull. Inst. fr.* 50, 157-207). But in this work the Cushites are vindicated. *Kawa II* makes clear that the temple built there between 684 and 680 B.C. for Taharqa by Memphite workmen was a purely Egyptian temple with reliefs carefully modelled on Old Kingdom patterns. Specially notable is the representation of the king as a sphinx trampling the Libyans as in the valley temples of Saḥurē and Neuserre at Abuṣir (pl. IX). Anyone who still needs convincing as to the nature and quality of Twenty-fifth Dynasty work has only to visit the shrine from this temple, which has been erected in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. Remarkable, too, is the portrait sphinx of Taharqa (pl. LXXIV), now in the British Museum, in the Middle Kingdom style of the well-known sphinx of Ammenemes III from Tanis.

Other points of historical importance were disclosed by the excavators. One is that it was Aspelta who first included the down-curving horns of the ram of Amen in the royal insignia of Cush, thus providing the prototype of the *tajia umm gerein* worn in later times by Christian and Fung rulers. As is pointed out in the *Post Scriptum* the granite statue with these horns probably belonged to this king, and was presumably deliberately shattered by the troops of Psammetichus II, whose invasion probably took place in the reign of Aspelta, for his name also ends the series of mutilations at Napata. Indeed, the fact that no inscriptions were found at Kawa between Aspelta (c. 568 B.C.) and the great inscription of Aman-nete-yerike (c. 418-398 B.C.), to whom (p. 245) the foundation deposits found beneath the corners of Temple T are to be attributed (as collaboration with Mr. Dows Dunham of Boston makes clear) and who appropriated to himself Taharqa's epithet 'beautiful of monuments of Gematen', suggests that Aman-nete-yerike probably restored the temple desecrated by the Saite invaders and neglected ever since, although some faience plaques of Malenaqen were found there. The transfer of the capital to distant Meroe after the invasion would account for that neglect.

A number of royal names that post-date the third century B.C. and which are additional to those discovered by Dr. Reisner lead Dr. Macadam reasonably to suggest that one group of kings with names like Piankh-yerike-qa, Amen . . . sabrak, Kashta-yerike, Arnekh-amani, and Ary were buried in the earlier group of pyramids at Barkal, and were the rulers of the whole country between Nastasen, the last king buried at Nuri, and Arakakaman, the first king buried in the south cemetery at Meroe. He also suggests that the new evidence leaves no room for Reisner's Second Independent Kingdom of Napata either; and indeed this view has been adopted in the reviewer's *History of the Sudan*.

It has hitherto been generally assumed that the main burning of the temples at Kawa was caused by the Roman expedition of Petronius c. 23 B.C., but evidence brought to light by the 1935-6 excavations shows that it occurred during the final occupation of the site in perhaps the fourth century A.D., while the burning of the granary on Site I may have been caused by the Saites. Who were responsible for this final destruction of Kawa is still uncertain. The reviewer does not like the suggestion of Mr. Kirwan that it was done by

black Nuba driven north by the invading Axumites. Mr. Kirwan points out that the sister temple at Sanam and the later huts within it were similarly burnt. During the last war the reviewer took to the Khartoum Museum a number of shattered statue fragments which had been burnt with timber, on the charred remains of which a hieroglyph was still visible, and buried near the temple at Adu on Sai Island. Was religious fanaticism the common cause of all these fires?

Both Mr. Kirwan and Dr. Macadam discuss the problem of the small conical pots, and here the reviewer would like to side with Mr. Kirwan as against Dr. Macadam in the *Post Scriptum* where, although he admits that these pots all have a perfectly smooth, clean, and apparently unused interior, he adopts the view that they were evidence for iron-smelting. The reviewer paid much attention to this problem when he was in the Sudan. Although he knows the site of Kawa well, he never saw any iron *slag* there. Ferricrete sandstone occurs in the vicinity, as all over the northern Sudan; and badly over-fired examples of these pots occur, looking something like slag, as they do also at the site of the Meroitic temple at Kerma, and at Gebel Barkal. The reviewer has no doubt that they were made at all these temples for sale to the faithful as containers for bread offerings. No doubt as Dr. Macadam points out, some of the bronze statuettes, particularly of Osiris, were cast on the temple premises for sale to the faithful likewise, while others no doubt came from the ceremonial boat, with which King Arnekh-amani may have equipped the temple. But the reviewer doubts the suggestion (p. 43) that faience inlays were also sold to worshippers.

The problem of the *Πεπρος* medallion (p. 167) appears to be solved by Mr. P. L. Shinnie's paper on these and other similar medallions in *Sudan Notes and Records*, 31, 297-9. Presumably the one now in the Ashmolean came from Kawa, while one very like it was found near Merowe and is now in Khartoum (3161).

On p. 1 Dr. Macadam gives several possible meanings for the name Kawa. The reviewer was once told by an educated Sudanese that it is a Sudan Arabic word for 'a thicket on a river bank'. There are trees at both places, which may have been much more plentiful a century or so ago. In the *Post Scriptum* (p. 240) Dr. Macadam discusses the meaning of the word Merowe apropos the name of the quartz rock with the New Kingdom boundary inscription at Kurgus, Hagar el Merwa. *Merwa*, whatever its meaning elsewhere, means 'quartz' in the Sudan, where there is no flint, only a little chert. And there can be no doubt that it means quartz both in that name and that of Merowe. Frequently in the northern Sudan a mass of water-worn quartz pebbles occurs in the Nubian Sandstone. There is a remarkable example of such a layer, from which the pebbles are eroding out, at the downstream corner of Gebel Barkal, and there is a thick strew of such pebbles, resembling a fall of large hailstones, all the way from there to the inland side of Old Merawi or Merawi East (Merowe), which no doubt derives its name from them. Here the reviewer must add that he cannot accept Dr. Macadam's suggestion that Tuthmosis I, having made his way to Tumbus, may have halted there, and then proceeded to attack Napata overland via Korosko and Kurgus. To anyone who knows the country it is unthinkable that the Egyptians, having got their boats safely through the Baṭn el-Hagar and the Third Cataract, should have halted as soon as they reached the downstream end of the navigable reach, at the upstream end of which lay Napata. Rather one would expect them to have sailed straight to Napata as soon as they had had a well-earned rest.

The deformed feet of the bull being offered by Khaṭy to Amen on behalf of Tutankhamūn (pls. Ia and XLc) show that it had been specially fattened. Still today in the Nuba mountains bulls are fattened in grass huts for sacrifice at festivals; and because the bull does not leave the hut to graze but has all its food brought to it, its hoofs become deformed just as shown in this relief.

The *uromastix* lizard (pl. LXXXVIIIe and pp. 115 and 170) is not a skink but a spiny-tailed lizard. One species of *uromastix* is found in the desert west of Dongola and is said to have been in great demand in the palace of the sultans of Darfur until 1916 for magic reasons. Being found in the desert, it is believed not to drink but to absorb the dew through its back. For this reason a person who fears that he has been bewitched washes himself from head to foot standing over one of these lizards, believing that the lizard will thus absorb the witchcraft with the water through its back. It may be because of its value as an antidote to witchcraft that this lizard was represented in bronze. The persea tree (*Mimusops Schimperi*) is not the *lebbakh*, which is an acacia (*Albizzia lebbek*).

Dr. Macadam must have put in a great deal of work into the Object Register and Cross-reference Index of the 1929-31 excavations. He only gives the number of the object in the register when he mentions it in the text. If the reader wishes to find a picture of the object mentioned he has first to look it up in the Cross-

reference Index, to find out to what category of objects it belongs, before he can find it in the Object Register, and only there will he find a reference to the illustration. This necessitates an irritating waste of time.

Another source of trouble, if not to the reader, then in the future, when quotations are made from this book and editors alter Roman figures to Arabic, is that 21 plans and sections are numbered Plates 1-21 in Arabic figures, while the 112 plates of line drawings and photographs are numbered Plates I-CXII in Roman figures; thus Plate 1 is a map of Kawa and the Third Cataract area, while Plate I is of two reliefs from the temples.

Mr. Kirwan's report in chapter 12 very rarely gives the present provenance of objects found in the 1935-6 excavations; and it could have been edited in other ways, for instance on p. 230 it would have helped to insert, in the description of Object 2169, the fact that the cartouches are those of Amanikhabale.

A few misprints and wrong references have been noticed, and it is a little out of date to state that the Sudan's share of the finds are in the Museum of Antiquities, Gordon College, or that there was a Conservator of Antiquities in the Sudan in 1947. But it seems ungracious to mention these small points in connexion with a very fine production for which all Egyptologists and those interested in the archaeology of the Sudan who can afford the almost prohibitive price, will be grateful, as for the first part, to the author, the Griffith Institute, and the printers.

A. J. ARKELL

*The Red Sea Mountains of Egypt.* By L. A. TREGENZA. Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, London. 21s.

This is a day-by-day account of a journey in one sector of the Eastern Desert of Egypt from June to September 1949. The author, starting from Kena on the Nile, proceeds by way of Mons Claudianus to Myos Hormos on the Red Sea coast and returns by way of Mons Porphyrites and the Roman porphyry road to Kena. The journey covers only a small part of the long range named in the title, but an important part that includes the highest peaks of this desert and several Roman sites. The author has refrained from making his journal a textbook of Eastern Desert natural history, geology, archaeology, and desert Arab lore. These, however, all occur in generous measure throughout the book. He notes all that interests him along his route, including many facts told in the form of reconstructed conversations with his guides. The sections on Roman ruins (with inscriptions translated into English) give little that is new to readers of this and other Graeco-Roman journals but bring the simple facts conveniently together within one cover. The book has several good photographs and a good, rather overcrowded line map shaded to show the geological features. The index is useful but includes an unfortunate mistake in referring to James Burton (later Halliburton) as Sir Richard Burton. The rather pointless Guide to Pronunciation of Arabic words (in a shaky transliteration that is the author's own) would be better if, instead of the imitated pronunciation, it gave the English meaning (given in the text). There is no bibliography.

DAVID MEREDITH

*Greek Literary Hands 350 B.C.-A.D. 400.* By C. H. ROBERTS. Corrected impression, 1956, Oxford, Clarendon Press; London, Cumberlege. Pp. xx+24, and 24 colotype plates. 30s.

This volume, the first in the new series of Oxford Palaeographical Handbooks, forms an exciting picture-book. On twenty-four pages of well-executed colotype plates Mr. C. H. Roberts disposes in intelligent and often suggestive groupings sixty different texts (all except one reproduced at facsimile size); on facing pages the characteristics of each hand are succinctly summarized. A quick glance shows that the book is intended to be not only an introductory manual for students but a fundamental contribution to palaeographical knowledge. The writer lays down as a basic methodology the necessity of establishing a series of objectively dated examples of handwriting, and chooses his examples in order to furnish that series. Even approximately dated literary hands are not, however, easy to find. The palaeographer is driven back on such methods as the *termini post* and *ante quem* given by the re-use for a book of a second-hand documentary roll (roll it must be, since there can be no guarantee as to the priority of one side or other when only single sheets were re-used) or the re-use of the back of a book-roll for a dated document; on archaeological contexts and

find-associations, of which association to form cartonnage provides the most reliable indication (incidentally the earliest dated document from Hibeh, P.Hib. 84 (a) is probably to be dated to 285/4 B.C. and not 301/0 as stated on p. 2) while the most treacherous is casual connexion with other documents (to such an association is due an error of over two centuries in the date accepted until recently for the fragment of Euripides' *Orestes* with music, at Vienna). The most promising single criterion appears to be supplied by dated documents written in hands approximating to those we call book-hands. They are never, of course, quite the same thing, as may be seen from a study of the provocatively juxtaposed nos. 12 (a) and 12 (b). In Egypt, as far as I know, no example has yet been produced of a book-hand scribe writing a document. Nevertheless, Mr. Roberts convincingly argues that in the 'highly literate society [of Graeco-Roman Egypt] no sharp line was drawn between book hands and the documentary hands used for official, business and private purposes'. It might be added that the handwritings of the philosophical library found at Herculaneum are of just the same informal, everyday type as characterizes many of the texts of classical works found in Egypt (e.g. no. 13 (b)), and it is therefore legitimate in this respect also to use material found in provincial Egypt as basis for a generalization. The illustrations in Mr. Roberts's book, since they must sustain the new approach, wear an unfamiliar look: some dozen of them are old friends, found in every such collection, the rest are much less frequently reproduced, and of one there is no other published photograph. Twenty consist of well-written documents, not literary works, and the paradoxical result is that a book intended to illustrate literary hands has pictures of only seven that really deserve the name 'book-hand'.

The writer is well aware of these disadvantages and has subjected himself to a self-denying ordinance in the interests of advancing his science. And indeed, the question of method apart, there is hardly a sentence of the all too short preface that is not suggestive or even exciting to the student grounded in his Schubart and Maunde Thompson. What of the beginner? He will profit from working through the examples, will be encouraged to take nothing on trust, and will learn how to observe important features of a hand: but he will not have the perspective that systematic exposition can give, and which, coupled to a generous allowance of illustrations, made the now outmoded and out-of-print *Introduction* of Maunde Thompson so valuable. From this point of view the author, like Tacitus' Caesar, may be regarded as having drawn attention to new territory, but not as incorporating it. The beginner, too, would have been helped with a more liberal ration of transcript of the texts. He should also have been told on p. 16 that the reference is to Callimachus fr. 197 Pf., for he will not find it stated in P.Oxy. 661. The reference on p. 15 to P.Oxy. 1811 is unhelpful since of this text there is nowhere any published reproduction and the original cannot now be traced. It would have been of assistance to the ordinary reader to overprint on the collotypes the serial numbers of the texts they carry.

On p. 7 in the transcript of 7 (b), l. 3 ζ is a misprint for ϛ (ἔτρος). Examination of the original suggests that the following letters should be read as εΛη[, not εδε].

E. G. TURNER