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THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY  
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## EDITORIAL FOREWORD

The year 1963 has been a sad year for Egyptology, and an especially sad year for the Egypt Exploration Society. In the spring, after a winter in which she had suffered much from bad health, our Secretary, Miss Keeves, died. Dr. Edwards, who as Honorary Treasurer worked for years in close association with her, has written the following short tribute:

By the sudden and unexpected death of Miss Winifred Keeves on April 7th the Society has lost a most valued Secretary who had served its members with the utmost devotion for nearly twenty-four years. Many will remember her with gratitude and affection, especially those who had reason to seek her help; while keeping a constant watch over the Society's interests she always showed an understanding and considerateness which enabled many a difficulty to be overcome by goodwill and accommodation. These qualities and her obvious integrity won friends for the Society and certainly helped it to carry out its work.

After graduating in English at London University Miss Keeves held a number of secretarial posts before taking up her duties with the Society in 1939. One of her employers was the novelist George Moore and the fact that his last work has survived is due to her foresight in making an extra copy against the advice of the author himself. She had only been with the Society for a few months when the Second World War broke out and its activities were necessarily reduced to what could be done for its members in this country; apart from the editing of the *Journal* by Sir Alan Gardiner, Miss Keeves shouldered almost the entire burden of keeping the Society in effective existence during those dark years. Later, when peace was restored, the steady growth in the Society's work, both in the field and at home, and most recently the demands on its services made by the government in connexion with the emergency in Nubia all involved an immense amount of office work which Miss Keeves dealt with herself, often in time when she should have been at leisure. As a token of their affection and of their appreciation of her twenty-one years of service the Committee in 1960 held a dinner in her honour and made a presentation to her. It was a tribute which had been richly earned.

Among members of the Society whose deaths we especially mourn are Professor C. E. Sander-Hansen and Professor J. M. A. Janssen. The former, who died in late January, was professor of Egyptology at Copenhagen and an authority on religious texts and Old Egyptian grammar. In 1947 he instituted a brave attempt to bring together Egyptologists after the war by founding the International Association of Egyptologists. As a general movement it was short-lived, but it had one abiding result, the *Annual Egyptological Bibliography*. This exceptional tool of scholarship was compiled and edited from its inception by Professor Janssen; with his death in late August Egyptology has lost a devoted worker and Egyptologists a kind and generous friend. It is earnestly to be hoped that a worthy successor will be found to continue the *Bibliography*.

Outside the Society there have been further serious losses among Egyptologists and scholars in related fields. Early in the year we learned of the deaths of Dr. A. Volten, the eminent Danish demotist and of Professor A. D. Nock of Harvard University,



the latter much to be missed by his many friends among British classical scholars. Later came the news of the deaths of Professor P. Lacau, Dr. William C. Hayes and Professor J. Sainte Fare Garnot. As one-time Director of the French Institute in Cairo, and later as Director-General of the Antiquities Service, Lacau served our studies well in Egypt, and many British Egyptologists had cause to be grateful to him. Dr. Hayes, Curator of the Department of Egyptian Art in the Metropolitan Museum, died most tragically at a time when his plans for a new and much-needed history of Egypt were only just beginning to yield fruit. Professor Sainte Fare Garnot, who had been Director of the French Institute at a most difficult period, was at the time of his death professor at the Sorbonne and President of the Société française d'égyptologie. His premature death will be much regretted.

During the winter we also heard of the death of Mr. George Salby, for many years an agent for the sale of the Society's publications, whose shop in Great Russell Street was an essential calling-place for Egyptologists visiting London.

Last season again saw a great deal of activity in Egypt and the Sudan arising from the international campaign to investigate and preserve the sites and monuments threatened by the new High Dam. Professor Emery in a summary report describes the Society's work in the Sudan:

The activities of the Egypt Exploration Society's expedition to Buhen during the winter 1962-63 were centred on the task of dismantling the temple of Hatshepsut in co-operation with the Sudan Antiquities Service. Work was started on November 13th 1962, and concentrated at first on the construction of two great earth ramps, one to the river and the other to the excavation dumps, to carry a light railway for the transport of sand into the temple to act as a cushion in the dismantling process. Meanwhile the modern protective roof over the temple was taken down, and this was followed by the treatment of the stone of the temple.<sup>1</sup> On January 20th the dismantling of the temple was commenced in earnest, and the task was completed successfully on April 10th, with all the blocks packed and delivered to Khartûm where the temple is to be re-erected in the grounds of the new museum.

During the inevitable intervals between work on the temple and as part of the operation of building the ramps, advantage was taken to excavate both in the fortress and in adjacent areas. To obtain material for the ramps, it was decided to excavate the denuded area inside the fortress, which we had hitherto considered unworthy of clearance. This led to unexpected results; traces of foundations were uncovered and it proved possible to ascertain the general plan of this part of the Middle Kingdom town. After the ramps were completed, we continued this excavation until January 16th 1963. By this time an area of more than 3,000 square metres had been examined in detail; many fragments of stone lintels and other architectural elements of Middle and New Kingdom date were recovered. One door lintel bore the Horus name and prenomen of Sesostris I; a part of another found in the temple area showed the kneeling figures of Hori, Viceroy of Kush, and Hormose, Governor of Buhen, before the cartouches of Ramesses III. The most outstanding object found in this seemingly barren area was the face of a small male statue of red quartzite—a work of considerable merit.

In the dismantling of the reconstructed south enclosure wall of the temple and of the modern roof, a number of blocks were recovered which, if not belonging to Taharqa, certainly are to be dated to the Ethiopian period. For more than sixty years the sanctuary of the temple had been protected by a wooden roof which was supported on square pillars built partly of brick and partly of stone which the builders had found on the floor of the partly excavated structure. The white painted

<sup>1</sup> An account of the techniques used will appear in *Kush*.

stucco on the pillars had obscured the nature of the incorporated material, but on dismantling it was clear that most of the inscribed blocks were identical both in style and execution to the so-called Taharqa material, and it became obvious that they belonged to some additional structure of the temple. Their original location and function were later revealed when the pavement in front of the sanctuary was cleaned preparatory to the removal of the colonnade in front of it. There can be little doubt that they formed part of a screen wall built between the columns; for they fit in the grooves cut in these columns and in trench-cuts in the paving. Also from the dismantled pillars came part of a large historical stela of Akhenaten, pieces of which were found by Woolley and Maciver in 1910 in the forecourt of the North Temple, which was probably its original location. It records the crushing of a revolt by the Viceroy of Kush which had broken out in the land of Akita.

After the town area had been cleared we turned our attention to a feature of the fortress defences which had long puzzled us. At the bottom of the brick wall which blocks the end of the north ditch is the mouth of a stone-built conduit opening out at a level 70 cm. above the floor level. In order to discover whether it was built to drain the ditch or to let water into it, we began a series of pits to trace its outlet. So far the conduit had been traced for more than 130 metres in a northerly direction parallel to the river; as yet there is no sign of its source nor any indication of its turning towards the river. Further investigation of this puzzling feature will be made next season.

During an interval of a few days early in December 1962, we explored the large cemetery situated south-east of Gebel Trub. This proved to be late X-Group, bordering on early Christian. It was so completely plundered that only 35 graves were excavated; they were of two types, the lateral niche and the barrel vault. All had originally been covered with circular earthen tumuli, but all had been reduced to ground level by plundering and wind-erosion.

A further expedition was sent to Qaşr Ibrîm in Egyptian Nubia. Professor Plumley reports:

The Society's work at Qaşr Ibrîm was commenced on 20th January, 1963. The expedition staff consisted of Professor J. M. Plumley of Cambridge University, Dr. G. F. Dales of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Mr. C. M. Spufford of the S.W. Essex Technical College (student surveyor) and Mr. Ali el-Kholy, Inspector of the Service des Antiquités.

Since it had been decided that the work on the fortress should be a preparatory examination with a view to future full-scale excavation, the expedition confined its efforts to a number of selected projects. The first of these was a survey of the whole rock on which the fortress is built. The plan of the fortress area has been completed; each walled structure has been allotted a number, 325 in all. Detailed ground plans of the church, the temple, the main gateway and a selected Bosnian house have been made. These structures have been photographed in detail, and a photographic record of the exterior of the whole of the fortifications has been made.

Actual excavation work was confined to two areas: the church and part of the south fortification. In the church four trial trenches were dug. As a result of these investigations, the remains of an earlier apse under the present apse wall were discovered; the floor of the church, a fine sandstone pavement 115 cm. below the present level of the church floor, was revealed; and two crypts, one in each corner of the two aisles of the nave, were found. The excavations in the church suggest the possibility that the outside walls may antedate the use of the building as a church. A very deep deposit of occupation debris on the sandstone floor of the church points to a long period of time between the destruction of the church (probably in the twelfth century) and the reuse of the structure as a mosque. A trial trench dug at the exterior north-west corner of the church uncovered the rock face at 190 cm. below the present level. Evidence suggests that at least three main stages of building occurred, and that it is improbable that there was any Pharaonic building on this part of the site at least.

On the south side of the fortress advantage was taken of a gap in the outer wall to start a trench which reached the rock-face at 4.50 m. below the present surface level. All of this depth consisted of clearly stratified levels. A great mass of pottery was found, some of which was in very good condition, more particularly a hoard of small bowls, probably of the earliest Christian occupation, nearly all in perfect condition. This trench also revealed that much rebuilding of the fortifications has occurred in the history of the site.

Examination by means of a small trial trench alongside the so-called 'platform'—a most unusual feature of the southern wall—revealed that the structure runs back into the fortress. Enough evidence was uncovered to suggest that this is likely to be a most important area for excavation.

During the expedition's work the existence of two gateways was established along the base of the south fortifications. Among the stone work recovered from various parts of the site may be mentioned blocks bearing the cartouches of Tuthmosis III, Ramesses IV and Taharqa. It is as yet too early to attempt an outline of the history of the site, but the broad indications are that the fortress may date back at least to the time of Taharqa, and that the site has been continuously occupied for a period of about 2,500 years.

The work of the expedition was greatly assisted by the loan of a houseboat and tug by the Service des Antiquités, and the thanks of the Society are due to the Director General and his staff for their help and advice at all times. The expedition is particularly indebted to the Inspector, Mr. Ali el-Kholy, whose help and assistance were always most generously given.

In addition it is a pleasure to report that the Society has been able also to participate in the epigraphic expedition of Professor R. A. Caminos to Semna in the Sudan. The work, carried out under the principal auspices of Brown University, continues the happy association between that institution and the Society which has resulted already in the recording of the shrines at Qaşr Ibrîm and the Temple of Buhen. In the course of the winter Professor Caminos copied completely the scenes and texts in the temple of Tuthmosis III at Semna West.

Readers of this volume of the *Journal* will see with regret that it contains no Bibliography of the inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt. Mr. Fraser asked to be excused this arduous and voluntary chore this year because of pressure of other work. He fully intends to resume this valuable contribution in next year's *Journal*.

We have been asked to commend to the notice of readers of the *Journal* a projected large-scale compilation of the material for the study of Pharaonic Egypt, entitled *Handbuch der Ägyptologie*. It is under the direction of Professors E. Otto and W. Helck and will be produced by Harrassowitz of Wiesbaden. It is hoped that this potentially valuable scheme will receive the co-operation of all scholars.

#### Postscript

The unhappy list of deaths of Egyptologists is lengthened by the news that Dr. W. Till died, at the age of 69, on September 3. Dr. Till, a leading Coptic scholar, was for some years Reader in Coptic at Manchester University.

As we go to press we learn that Dr. M. S. H. G. Heerma van Voss has agreed to continue the work of the late Professor Janssen as editor of the *Annual Egyptological Bibliography*. He asks that communications and books should be sent to him at Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Noordeindsplein 4-6, Leiden, Holland. We wish him all success in undertaking this important task.

## THE NORTHAMPTON STATUE OF SEKHEMKA

By T. G. H. JAMES

THE fine limestone seated statue illustrated on pls. I and II represents a high official named Sekhemka. At present it is exhibited in the principal picture gallery of the Central Museum in Northampton. Until recently it was kept in relative obscurity in the Abington Museum in the same town. The records of the Northampton Museums and Art Gallery contain no precise information concerning its acquisition, but it is known that it was presented in about 1870 by the third Marquis of Northampton. A further grain of information is provided by a press cutting, dated 1899, describing the contents of the Abington Museum, which states that 'in the Egyptian Room are specimens of papyri . . . a case of small Egyptian articles collected by Spencer Joshua Alwyne Compton, President of the Royal Society, and other Egyptian figures'.<sup>1</sup> Spencer Joshua Alwyne Compton, the second Marquis of Northampton, was a distinguished amateur of the arts and sciences, and, in addition to being President of the Royal Society, was also a founder member and President of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. He made a journey to Egypt in 1850, the year before his death, and it was on this journey in all probability that he collected the Egyptian antiquities which eventually found their way to the Abington Museum.<sup>2</sup> There seems to be no good reason for doubting that the statue of Sekhemka, presented by the third marquis, was acquired by his father on the same journey.<sup>3</sup>

In height the piece is 75 cm., the length of the base from front to rear being 43 cm. The thickness of the base at the front is 5.5 cm. and the height of the seat at the back is 28 cm. Sekhemka is represented in a traditional attitude, seated on a simple block-seat, holding on his knees a partly unrolled papyrus.<sup>4</sup> An inscription incised on the top of the base, beside the left foot, describes the subject of the statue as *Inspector of scribes of the house of the master of largess*,<sup>5</sup> *one revered before the great god, Sekhemka* (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏). He wears the usual tight-fitting wig with rows of curls, carefully cut, which still bear considerable traces of black paint. The features of the face, although

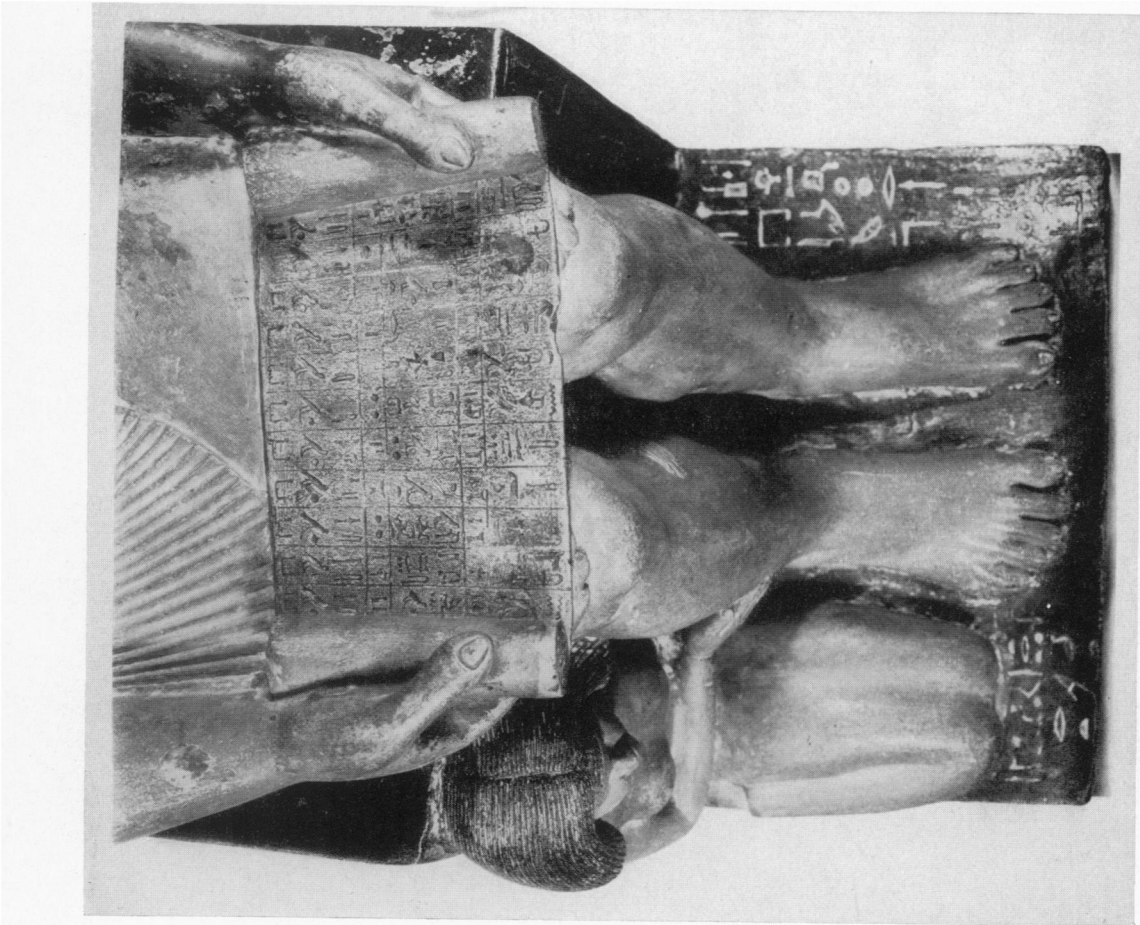
<sup>1</sup> For these details I am much obliged to Mr. W. N. Terry, Curator of the Central Museum, Northampton, and to his Senior Assistant, Miss J. M. Swann, who also gave me much assistance on a visit to Northampton in Aug. 1962. To the committee of the Museums and Art Gallery, Northampton, I am grateful for permission to publish the piece here. The photographs were taken by the Northampton photographers H. Cooper & Son. Dr. R. L. B. Moss first drew my attention to the statue and encouraged me to write this article.

<sup>2</sup> Details of the life and career of the second marquis can best be found in the obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, n.s. 35 (Jan.-June 1851), 425-9. He died in Jan. 1851.

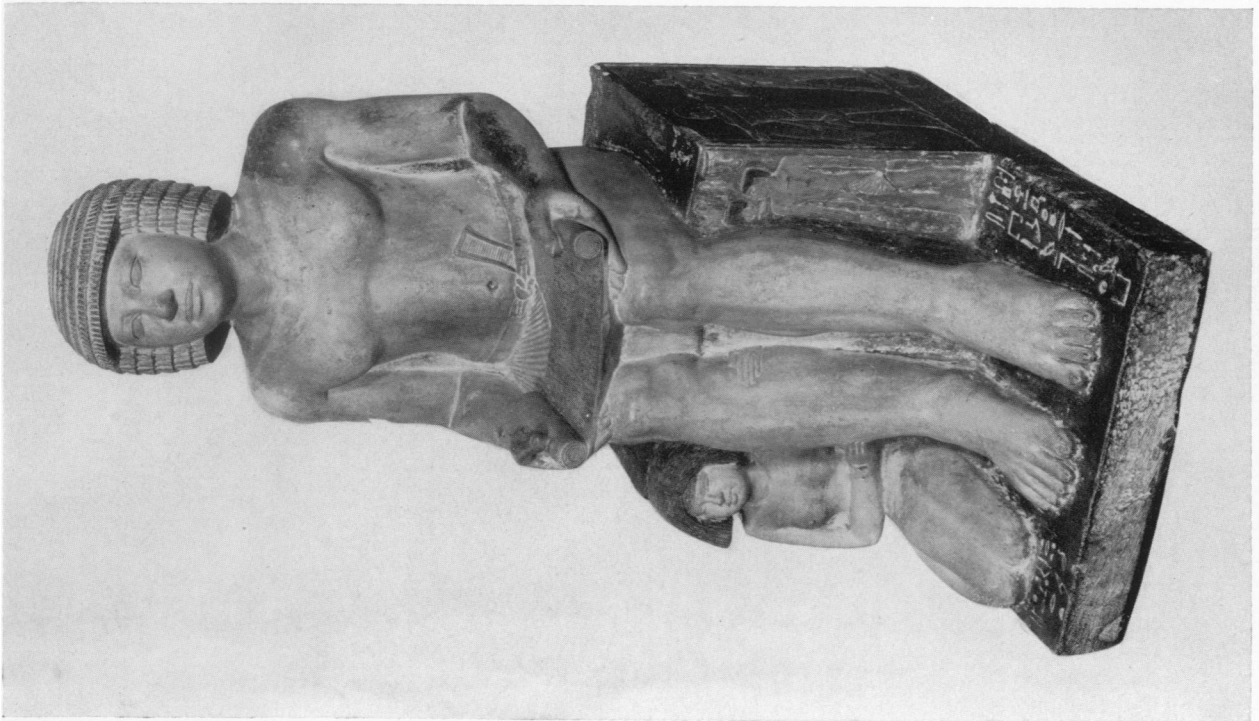
<sup>3</sup> The excavations published in Northampton, Spiegelberg and Newberry, *Report on some excavations in the Theban Necropolis* (1908), were sponsored by the fifth marquis, a grandson of the second marquis.

<sup>4</sup> For the simple seated figure, see Vandier, *Manuel*, III, 64 ff., who can, however, cite only one example in stone of a seated figure holding an unrolled papyrus on his knees, cf. *ibid.* 66 and pl. xx, 3.

<sup>5</sup> The meaning of *hry-wdb* remains under debate; for the fullest discussion, and for the meaning used here, see Gardiner, *JEA* 24, 83 ff.



b.



c.

THE NORTHAMPTON STATUE OF SEKHEMKA

conventionally conceived, are finely expressed. The eyes, which look slightly down, are not inlaid, but the pupils are painted black; they are sharply outlined and the brows are subtly moulded, not carved in relief. The nose, which is undamaged, is the least attractive feature of the face; it is short, broad, and slightly turned up; it has drilled nostrils. On the other hand, the mouth is beautifully modelled and the lips are carefully outlined. There is a fullness in the cheeks which endows the face with a youthful

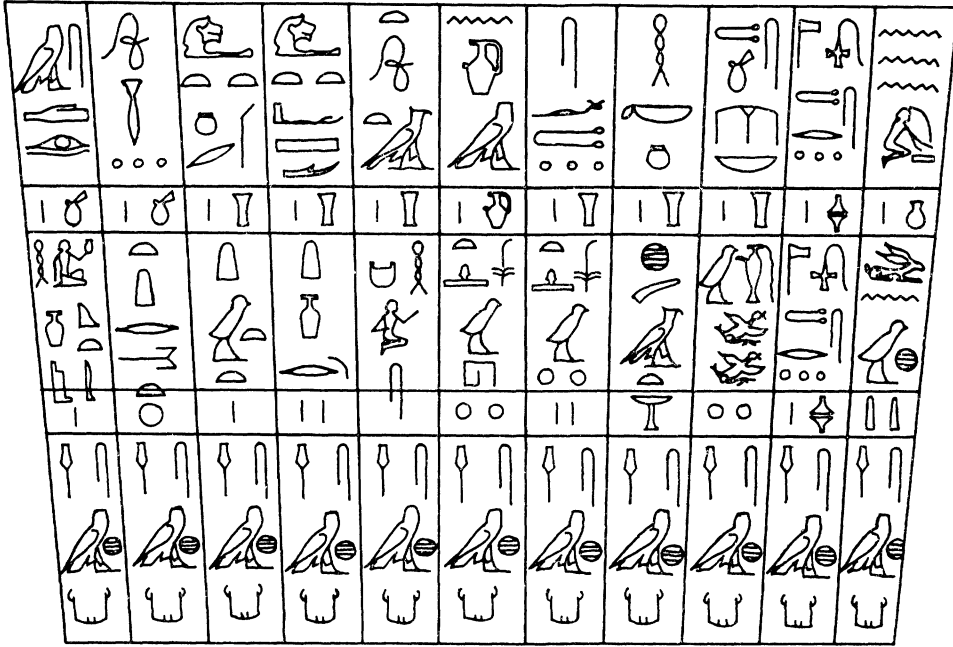


FIG. 1

appearance, scarcely modified by the gentle furrows running from the nostrils to the corners of the mouth. It cannot be claimed that this face, which presents an almost circular shape from the front (the profile is very much stronger), is a portrait.

A short kilt is the only garment worn by Sekhemka. One side (the right), as is so often the case, is pleated, while the other is left plain and smooth. Otherwise the body is represented nude. It is fully modelled without being over-muscular; the collar bones are clearly indicated with no undue emphasis; the chest is full and clearly separated from the rest of the torso, the nipples being shown as incised circles. Forearms and hands rest in a very natural attitude on the thighs, and the hands in particular are beautifully rendered. After the manner of much Old Kingdom sculpture, the legs are somewhat heavy, but their muscular and bony structure is more satisfactorily realized than is usually the case, while the ankles are relatively shapely.

Twenty-two items are included in the offering-list inscribed on the open papyrus on Sekhemka's knees (pl. I, *b*). The two rolled parts of the papyrus are carved with great verisimilitude, the convolutions of the rolls being shown precisely. The text, which is incised, is arranged in three registers, each of eleven divisions; the two upper registers contain the items of the offering-list, and the bottom register, Sekhemka's

name repeated in each division. Fig. 1 gives a hand-copy of the text; the twenty-two items are those normally found at the beginning of the standard offering-lists of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties:<sup>1</sup>

- Register I: 1. *Water-pouring*  
 2. *Fumigation*  
 3. *Festival perfume, one jar*  
 4. *hknw-oil, one jar*  
 5. *šft-oil, one jar*  
 6. *nḥnm-oil, one jar*  
 7. *twꜣwt-oil, one jar*  
 8. *First quality cedar-oil, one jar*  
 9. *First quality Libyan oil, one jar*  
 10. *Green eye-paint, one bag*  
 11. *Black eye-paint, one bag*
- Register II: 1. *Cloth strips, a pair*  
 2. *Fumigation*  
 3. *Cool water; two pellets (of natron)*<sup>2</sup>  
 4. *An offering-table*  
 5. *Royal offering, two cakes (?)*  
 6. *Royal offering of the hall, two cakes (?)*<sup>3</sup>  
 7. *Sitting*  
 8. *Breakfast: bread and beer*<sup>4</sup>  
 9. *One ttw-loaf*<sup>5</sup>  
 10. *One t-rth-loaf*  
 11. *One nmšt-jar of beer*<sup>6</sup>

In the repeated writings of the name in the bottom register, the 𐎃-sign is regularly written with two small ticks in place of the swellings representing the muscles of the upper arms. This is an early case of a graphic peculiarity not uncommon in Middle Kingdom texts.<sup>7</sup>

To the right of Sekhemka's right leg is the figure of a lady, carved to a smaller scale, who is described in the text incised on the base in front of her knees as *She who is concerned with the affairs of the king, one revered before the great god, Sitmeret* (𐎃𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢). She is represented sitting with her left leg bent beneath her body, her right leg, which is also bent, being set to one side of her body so that her weight settles on the left leg.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For many examples, see Selim Hasan, *Giza*, vi, part 2, plates.

<sup>2</sup> A conflation of two items in longer lists.

<sup>3</sup> In later lists usually 'Royal offering which is in the hall' (*imy wšht*). The two circular signs in the numeral and determinative compartment probably indicate that the offering consisted of two cakes or of something similar, cf. the preceding item.

<sup>4</sup> The two strokes here do not indicate that this item is doubled; one stroke belongs with 𐎃 and one with 𐎠.

<sup>5</sup> The reading of this item has been much questioned, cf. Caminos and James, *Gebel es-Silsilah*, 1, 49.

<sup>6</sup> This item normally is *ḏšrt nmšt* 'a *nmšt*-jar of *ḏšrt*-drink', cf. Selim Hassan, *Giza*, vi, part 2, 295 ff., from which also note the common determinative of a seated man holding up a jug or bowl, here placed at the head of the item.

<sup>7</sup> See the remarks of Kitchen, *JEA* 48, 159.

<sup>8</sup> This position of the legs is found for both wife and daughter in the famous statue-group of Akhy (Cairo 44), cf. Aldred, *Old Kingdom Art*, fig. 50. Also cf. Brooklyn 37.17E, see *Bull. Brooklyn*, 13 (1952), 11 and figs. 5, 6.

Beneath the ankle of the right foot appear the toes of the bent left leg. The thighs and the legs below the knees are very much elongated in proportion to the body; in height from the base the figure is 23·5 cm., while the distance from knee to back is 19 cm. The effect of this elongation is not, however, to distort, but to add elegance to what is in fact a very beautiful figure. The pose, which might be considered somewhat awkward to adopt, is made to appear natural and easy. Sitmeret is shown wearing a heavy wig (painted black), and on her brow is a line of small neat circular curls.<sup>1</sup> Her face is modelled with a round fullness similar to that of Sekhemka's face; her nose is small and snub, her mouth pouting. One arm extends behind Sekhemka's right leg, which the hand grasps affectionately; the other is bent across her body and touches the same leg lightly with outstretched fingers. She wears the characteristic long dress of which no paint details remain apart from traces of blue where the shoulder straps and neck-line were shown between the breasts and behind the right arm; there are six or seven blue lines. The bottom edge of the dress is carved where it lies on the right ankle. This ankle carries an anklet and the right arm a wristlet, both of which are shown in relief, carrying traces of black paint. Her breasts are full, but not over-emphasized, the nipples being indicated in relief. The division of the legs between the thighs is clearly marked.<sup>2</sup> There is no indication of the relationship between Sitmeret and Sekhemka, but the intimate posture in which she is shown, leaning gently against his leg, makes it probable that she was his wife.<sup>3</sup>

The front of the seat to the left of Sekhemka's leg bears a figure of a man, walking left, holding a lotus-flower in one hand. He is *the scribe of the house of the master of largess, Seshemnefer* (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓅓), who may have been Sekhemka's son.<sup>4</sup> The figure and the hieroglyphic signs are carved in fine low relief. A considerable part of the figure retains its original red paint; the hair is black, as is the whole of the seat.

An unusual feature of this statue is constituted by the scenes carried on the two sides and back of the seat, each surface containing representations of offering-bearers.<sup>5</sup> All are dressed alike, with tight curled wigs and short white kilts, the ties of which are set, unusually, at the back. The red colour on the bodies is well preserved, so too the black of the wigs and background. On the right side, of two offering-bearers, walking right, the first carries two papyrus-flowers with long stems, and a goose held by its wings; the second bears a small calf in his arms (pl. II, *a*). The back of the seat shows three men walking right (pl. II, *b*), the first holds two long strips of cloth, the second

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the figure of Iti, wife of Sekhemka, owner of Saqqara mastaba C. 19, in the statue-group Louvre A. 102, *Encyc. phot. de l'art. Les Antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Louvre* (ed. Tel), pls. 34. 35; also the figure of Ni-kau-nebu, wife of Ni-ka-Rê, in the group-statue Brooklyn 49.215, cf. Cooney, *Bull. Brooklyn*, 13 (1952), 3 and fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The division is clearly indicated also on the female figure of the group Brooklyn 37.17E, see Cooney, *op. cit.*, fig. 5.

<sup>3</sup> For the type see Vandier, *Manuel*, III, 83–84 (section XIII Bb); W. S. Smith, *Eg. Sculp. and Paint. in the O.K.* 78–79.

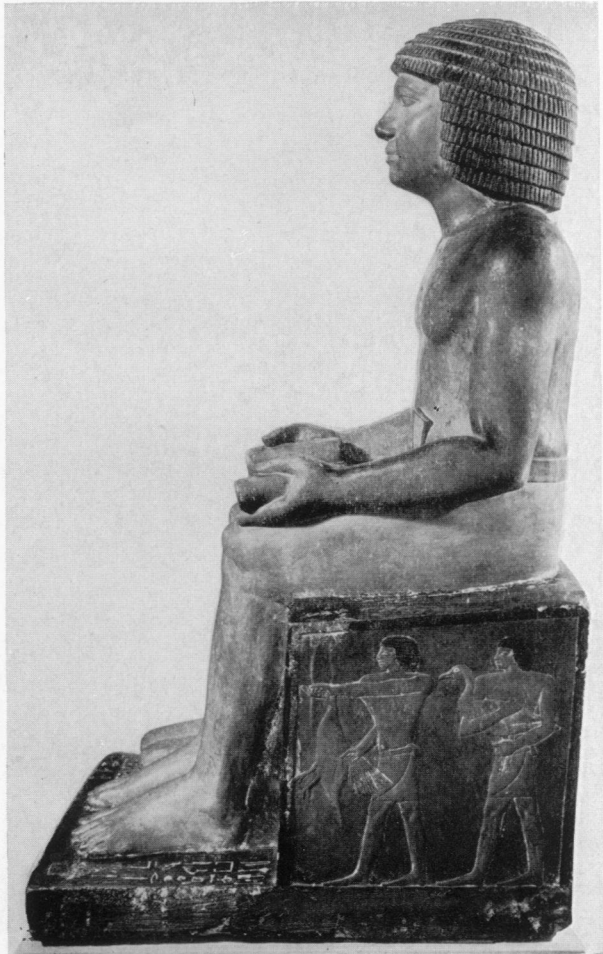
<sup>4</sup> This possibility is suggested not only by the position of the figure (one sometimes occupied by a figure in the round of the son of the statue-owner), but also by the fact that this figure alone of the eight carved in relief on the sides of the seat, is given a name and title.

<sup>5</sup> For other examples, see W. S. Smith, *op. cit.* 80 f.; Cooney, *op. cit.* 15 with figs. 7. 8. 9.





a.

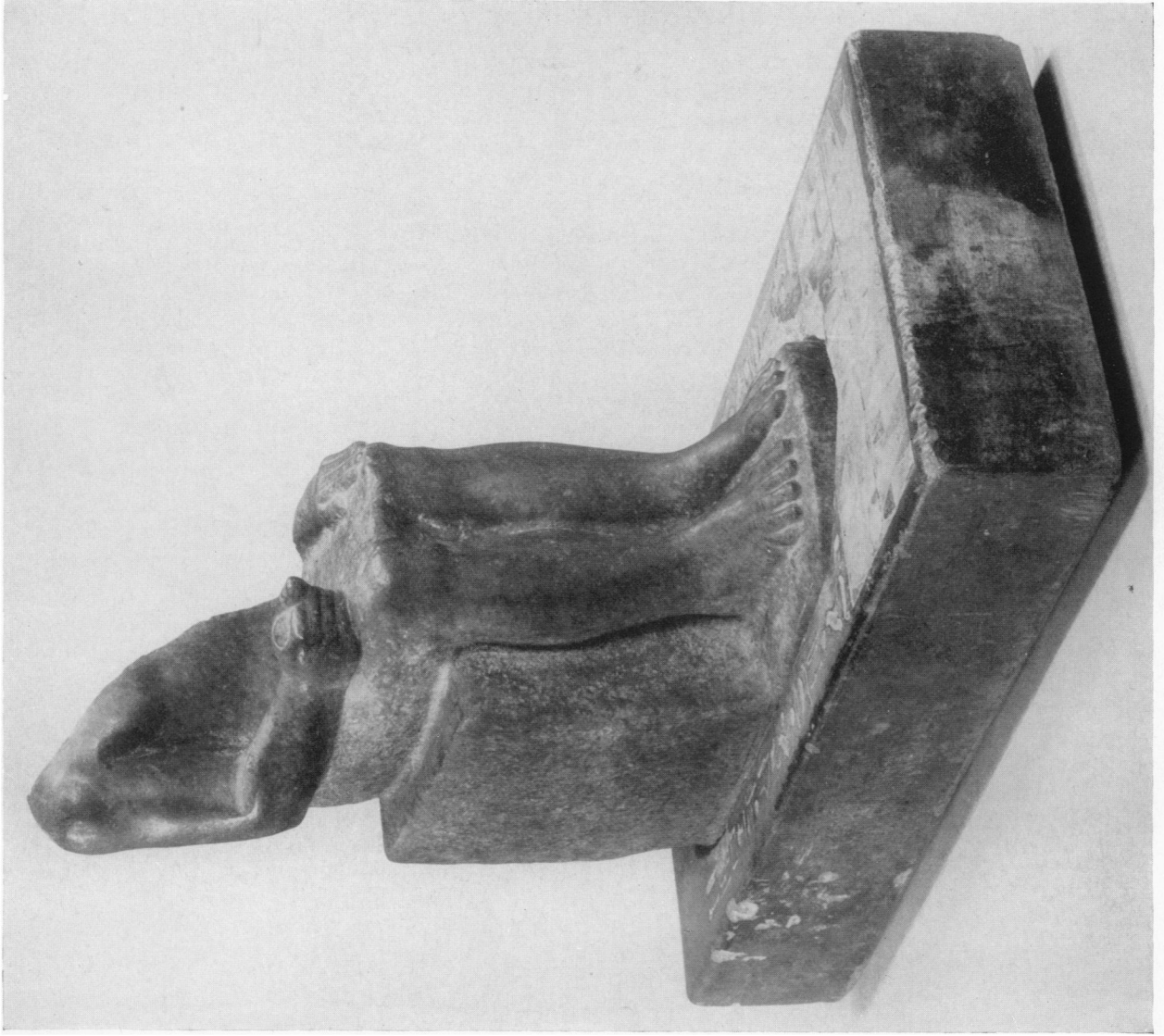


c.



b.

THE NORTHAMPTON STATUE OF SEKHEMKA



a.

THE BROOKLYN STATUE OF SEKHEMKA (acc. no. 37.23E)



b.

THE BROOKLYN STATUE OF SEKHEMKA (acc. no. 37.23E)

offers incense from a censer,<sup>1</sup> while the third carries two vessels for ritual liquids. On the left side two offering-bearers, walking left, carry geese (pl. II, *c*); the first holds his goose in front of him, grasping it by the neck and crossed wings; the second holds his goose closely in his arms. All the figures in these scenes are carved with much modelling of muscular detail, in a rather heavy style.

A fortunate error in the dispatch of some photographs brought this statue-group to the attention of Mr. Bernard Bothmer of the Brooklyn Museum, who, on examining the photographs, recognized a similarity between the inscription naming Sekhemka and that on the base of the badly damaged statue no. 37.23E at Brooklyn (pl. III).<sup>2</sup> The statue itself is made of diorite<sup>3</sup> and it is mounted in a limestone base which bears on its top two lines of inscription to the left and right of the statue-socket (pl. III *b*): on the left, *Inspector of scribes of the house of the master of largess, one revered before his lord, Sekhemka*; on the right, *Inspector of scribes of the house of the master of largess, one concerned with the affairs of the king, one revered before his lord, Sekhemka*. In the matter of the principal title and of the name, there is an identity between the two pieces. It is true that in the name Sekhemka on the Brooklyn statue, the element *ks* is written  $\curvearrowright$ , while on the Northampton group it is written  $\sqcup$ , but this variation is common and of little significance. There is also a close similarity between the cutting and forms of the hieroglyphic signs in the texts on the bases of the two statues.

The Brooklyn Sekhemka is represented seated on a simple block-seat similar to that found in the Northampton group, but left rough and undecorated. It is, above its limestone base, 29.7 cm. high and 25.8 cm. deep from front to back. The right hand is placed on the right knee, the fist grasping the conventional baton, the thumb uppermost; the left hand is laid flat downwards on the left knee.<sup>4</sup> The head and half the torso are missing; a circular hole has been cut into the break on the left side—no doubt the mark of an attempt further to break up the piece. In front, the base of the statue proper is rounded. Despite the damaged condition of the piece, it still exhibits signs of having been a striking sculpture. The hard stone, which was not much used for private statuary in the Old Kingdom, presented a greater challenge to the ancient sculptor than the regular limestone. The result lacks detail and finish, but has good modelling and considerable strength. It is difficult to compare it with the Northampton statue in view of the difference of material and of size, and the absence of the head. Attention may, however, be drawn to the fullness of the chest and the clear division made between it and the rest of the torso—features found also on the Northampton statue. Even if both statues represent the same man, there is no reason to suppose that they were carved by the same sculptor. On the contrary, the two materials might well require two

<sup>1</sup> Cairo 35205 (mentioned by Smith, *op. cit.* 81) carries figures of offering-bearers like those on this side of the seat; one carries an incense-burner, and another strips of cloth.

<sup>2</sup> I am grateful to Mr. Bothmer for details of the piece, and to Mr. Cooney and the trustees of the Brooklyn Museum for permission to publish it here, and for the photographs reproduced on pl. III.

<sup>3</sup> Vandier, *Manuel*, III, 65, n. 3, notes that the base is painted to simulate basalt. It is more probable that the colour of the base was intended to match the colour of the diorite of the statue.

<sup>4</sup> This position of the hands, found first in the statue of Hemiunu, varies at Saqqara in the Fifth Dynasty, with one in which the fist of the right hand is laid, palm downwards, on the right knee, cf. Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 125; Smith, *op. cit.* 78; also Vandier, *Manuel*, III, 65 ff.

sculptors. Yet there can be no doubt that the makers of both were very accomplished craftsmen.

Apart from the two lines of text mentioning Sekhemka, the base of the Brooklyn statue (which is 41·4 cm. long by 20·5 cm. broad by 8·3 cm. thick) carries a panel of fine low relief-work on the upper surface in front of the statue-socket (pl. III *b*). The decoration, arranged in two registers, consists of representations of the customary food and drink offerings which formed elements of the feast to be enjoyed by the deceased.<sup>1</sup> Part of the upper register has been damaged along the edge of the statue-socket. The components of the design are arranged with the skill and feeling for pattern commonly found in the depictions of such groups in the wall reliefs of Old Kingdom tombs; the carving in detail is here also very good, the group of ducks in the lower register being especially noteworthy. Much colour is preserved on the various offerings and the base otherwise has been painted black to imitate diorite or basalt (as has been mentioned above).

The suggestion, made here, that the Northampton statue and the Brooklyn statue represent the same man is not susceptible of absolute proof; it may further not be possible to establish any connexion between this Sekhemka and others of the same name whose tombs are known at Gîza and Saqqara. A tentative identification of the owner of the Brooklyn piece with that of the famous Louvre 'scribe'<sup>2</sup> was based on the supposition that the latter came from the tomb of a Sekhemka at Saqqara.<sup>3</sup> The belief that the Louvre 'scribe' belonged to the mastaba of Sekhemka (Mariette's number C. 19) was shown by Capart to be a misinterpretation of the evidence;<sup>4</sup> equally mistaken, therefore, is the identification of the Brooklyn Sekhemka with the 'scribe'. There remains, however, the possibility that the Sekhemka of mastaba C. 19 was the same as the owner of the two statues published here. Among the titles preserved on the false door stela in that tomb is *hrp zš pr hry-wdb*, 'director of scribes of the house of the master of largess'.<sup>5</sup> This connexion with the *pr hry-wdb* makes the identification somewhat possible, but the title *šhd zš pr hry-wdb* of the Northampton and Brooklyn pieces is not identical with that found in mastaba C. 19. A further obstacle to the identification is presented by the names of the wife (Iti) and the son (Kawehem) of the Sekhemka of C. 19, which are to be found on a family group-statue now in the Louvre—one of four statues discovered by Mariette in C. 19.<sup>6</sup> The places on the Northampton statue approximately equivalent to those occupied by Iti and Kawehem on the Louvre statue-group are filled by Sitmeret and the official Seshemnefer. These two are not stated to be the wife and son of Sekhemka, but the relationships are probable;<sup>7</sup> further, their presence effectively prevents the equating of the two Sekhemkas.

<sup>1</sup> A photograph of this relief was reproduced in the booklet *Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum Collection*, fig. 17. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, see the note on fig. 17. <sup>3</sup> Cf. Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* III, 113.

<sup>4</sup> *JEA* 7, 186 ff. See also W. S. Smith in Reisner, *Tomb Development*, 402; Vandier, *Manuel*, III, 122 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 150.

<sup>6</sup> The group-statue is Louvre A.102, cf. Vandier, *Manuel*, III, pl. xxxi, 6; *Encyc. phot. de l'art. Antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Louvre* (ed. Tel), pls. 34, 35. The other three statues are A. 103, A. 104, and A. 105, see Vandier, *op. cit.*, pls. xlv, 4, 5 and xlvii, 6.

<sup>7</sup> On groups of the kind discussed here, see Cooney, *Bull. Brooklyn*, 13 (1952), 1 ff., and note the remarks on p. 12 concerning Brooklyn 37.17E, an uninscribed Old Kingdom group of man with woman (wife ?) and child (son ?).

In spite of the good case that can be made against identifying the Sekhemka of Northampton and Brooklyn with the Sekhemka of mastaba C. 19, there remains a nagging doubt which is reinforced by the fact that the Northampton and Brooklyn statues were acquired apparently at about the same time as the excavation of the mastaba C. 19 by Mariette. According to the details furnished by Capart in his discussion of the name of the Louvre 'scribe', Mariette arrived in Egypt on October 2, 1850, and discovered mastaba C. 19 in the course of excavating the Avenue of Sphinxes in front of the Serapeum between November 1, 1850 and January 1, 1851.<sup>1</sup> It has already been shown above (p. 5) that the Northampton statue was probably acquired by the second marquis on his visit to Egypt in 1850. Precise details of the acquisition of the Brooklyn piece are not available. It formed part of the collection of Dr. Henry Abbott who lived in Egypt for many years, returning with his collection to New York in 1851.<sup>2</sup> His collection was put on exhibition in the Stuyvesant Institute in 1853 and, in the catalogue issued in 1854, the Brooklyn statue of Sekhemka can be identified as item 167: 'A marble statue, unfortunately imperfect, of a keeper of volumes, an officer of high rank; on each side of the pedestal is an inscription of hieroglyphics of very early style, and on the front are offerings most beautifully carved. From Sakkarah.'<sup>3</sup> In 1843 an earlier catalogue of the Abbott Collection had been compiled by Bonomi, but no mention of this statue can be found in it.<sup>4</sup> It may therefore be concluded that Abbott acquired the piece between 1843 and 1854, when the New York catalogue was published. The date of acquisition may further be limited to the period between 1846, when the Bonomi catalogue was published, and 1851, when Abbott transferred his collection to New York. It is possible that he obtained the statue from Saqqara in about 1850. The identity of this date with that of the discovery of mastaba C. 19 by Mariette is, unfortunately, purely coincidental. It can be shown that the Marquis of Northampton was in Egypt early in 1850, whereas C. 19 was not discovered until late in the same year.<sup>5</sup> Consequently there is little possibility that the Northampton and Brooklyn statues came from mastaba C. 19. On the other hand, it does appear likely that they were acquired by their respective owners about the same time, a possibility which reinforces the opinion that the two statues represent the same man.

Like many other pieces in the Abbott Collection, the granite statue of Sekhemka is described as having come from Saqqara, and there seems no reason to doubt this fact. Abbott was a resident in Egypt for many years, and had the opportunity not only of

<sup>1</sup> *JEA* 7, 186. Detailed references to primary sources for this information are given by Capart.

<sup>2</sup> Dawson, *Who was Who*, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Cat. of a Collection of Eg. Antiquities the Property of Henry Abbott, M.D.* (New York 1854), 17. A later edition of this catalogue was reproduced verbatim by the New York Historical Society (who had purchased the whole Abbott Collection, later transferring it to the Brooklyn Museum), in its *Cat. of Eg. Antiquities* (New York, 1915), in which the statue of Sekhemka is no. 169 (p. 13).

<sup>4</sup> *Cat. of a Collection of Eg. Antiquities the Property of Henry Abbott, Esq., M.D.* (Cairo, 1846). On p. 35 the contents are dated 1843 and the name Joseph Bonomi appended.

<sup>5</sup> In the obituary notice of the marquis in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, N.S. 35 (Jan.-June, 1851), 427, it is stated that he hurried home from Egypt to preside over the annual meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute at Oxford. This meeting took place between June 18 and 25, cf. *Archaeological Journal*, 7 (1850), 317.

acquiring good antiquities from dealers and other collectors,<sup>1</sup> but also of seeking them out at the principal sites. His statements on provenance may, therefore, have greater reliability than is often the case with nineteenth-century ascriptions of origin. Apart from Abbott's explicit statement, Saqqara as the provenance is favoured by the style and quality of both statues of Sekhemka. The merits of the fifth-dynasty school of sculpture, which existed to serve the needs of the Memphite necropolis, have rightly been much praised.<sup>2</sup> There are good reasons for regarding the Northampton and Brooklyn pieces as products of this school on stylistic and iconographic grounds. Both pieces, but particularly the Northampton group, show a high standard of workmanship and finish, while yet lacking the outstanding individual characteristics found in some of the work from Saqqara of early Fifth Dynasty date. A date late in the Fifth Dynasty is suggested by the fact that the eyes of the Northampton piece are not inlaid, by the type of the same piece, which is a family group, and finally, by the presence of carved relief on the sides of the seat.<sup>3</sup> It may be the case that the Northampton statue of Sekhamka cannot be included in the small group of master sculptures which especially distinguish Old Kingdom art; it remains, nevertheless, a piece of fine quality. There can be little doubt that the Brooklyn statue of the same man was originally also a splendid small-scale work. It is a matter of regret that the tomb of this Sekhemka is unknown; it might well contain fine reliefs, if one may judge from the quality of the statues provided for his burial.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Dawson's remarks, *JEA* 35, 161, n. 8.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, W. S. Smith, *Art and Arch. of Anc. Eg.* 66 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For the analysis of the characteristics of late Fifth Dynasty sculpture from Saqqara, see W. S. Smith, *Eg. Sculp. and Paint. in the O.K.* 77 ff.

<sup>4</sup> For the various other burials made for officials named Sekhemka, see Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* III, and W. S. Smith in Reisner, *Tomb Development*, 390 ff.; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 129-30.

## THE ORIGIN OF STORM-GODS IN EGYPT

By G. A. WAINWRIGHT

AT present Egypt is noteworthy for its cloudless sky and practically rainless climate. It is, therefore, strange to us that the ancients should have concerned themselves with storm-gods. Yet such was the case. The outstanding god of this nature was, of course, Seth, who remained a major god all through Egyptian history. There were others who had a stormy side to their natures, though in historical times this remained subordinate to other aspects of such gods' characters. Such was Min, and even his derivative, the ithyphallic Amūn.<sup>1</sup>

In a way these two gods, Seth and Min, form a pair, for they originate the one from Koptos on the east side of the Nile and the other from Nubt near Ballâs just opposite across the river. Suitably enough the one became lord of the Oases on the west while the other became protector of the roads to the Red Sea on the east. Both of them are among the most ancient members of the historical pantheon.

Seth was the god *par excellence* of Nubt (Ballâs), taking his title, Nubti, from it.<sup>2</sup> Nubt was the great predynastic city going back to Naqâda I (Amrati) times, though, as it happens, it is not until Naqâda II (Gerzean) times that we get definite evidence of his existence there.<sup>3</sup> In that town was found a figure which is almost certainly that of his sacred animal, for it has the holes for the upright tail and ears, all of which, however, are unfortunately missing. The figure is well dated to s.d. 44-64,<sup>4</sup> which covers practically the whole of the Naqâda II (Gerzean) period.<sup>5</sup> Apart from that one figure in his own city, Seth does not appear at all in Naqâda II times, not even once on all those Decorated pots where so many other gods are represented by their standards.

<sup>1</sup> For Amūn's identity with Min see Wainwright in *JEA* 20 (1934), 139 f., and the accompanying article 'The origin of Amūn', pp. 21-23 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> He had a temple there at least from the Fourth Dynasty onwards, and was honoured in the New Kingdom certainly from the reign of Tuthmosis I. It is curious that the predynastic people should have left no signs of themselves at the temple (Petrie and Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, pls. lxxvii-lxxix and pp. 66-70). It has been suggested that the small step pyramid at Nubt near the Seth temple is the tomb of the Seth king Peribsen. However, Lauer (*Revue archéologique*, 1961 (ii), 15, n. 2) thinks it might more likely be the tomb or cenotaph of a queen of his family.

<sup>3</sup> There are several animals from Naqâda I times which have been taken for the Seth animal, but they are very dubious, Baumgartel, *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt*, I (1955), 30; II, 49, 61. Two of the paintings discussed on p. 49 may perhaps be of an age transitional from Naqâda I to Naqâda II.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* I, 37; II, 75, 149, and pl. vi, 6. It comes from Tomb 721. The hippopotamus was in historical days one of Seth's sacred animals and these creatures appear very commonly in predynastic art. But we cannot say that they represent him. They may have been merely magical (*ibid.* II, 61, 73). On the other hand, they may have represented Thoueris the wife of Seth and the fertility goddess of women. Dr. Baumgartel shows that the great divinity of the Naqâda I people was a mother-goddess, though in the form of a cow. The hippopotamus is already figured in Badarian art, *ibid.* I, 58.

<sup>5</sup> The Naqâda II period is now considered to end with the rise of the First Dynasty at s.d. 65 and not s.d. 78 as was originally thought.

Hence, as the Naqâda II (Gerzean) people replaced the Naqâda I (Amratian) civilization by their own at Nubt (Ballâs), it is probable that Seth was the god of these earlier people.<sup>1</sup> But all the same, whether he was or not, he was already in existence in Naqâda II (Gerzean) times. Elsewhere, however, we probably have a figure of his animal from Naqâda I (Amratian) times. This comes from grave H 29 at Maḥâsna, a little north of Abydos, and is dated by the excavators to some time before s.d. 41 and by Petrie as early as s.d. 34?<sup>2</sup>

We need not trace his later history beyond remarking that along with Min's his standard appears on the Scorpion's mace (Great Mace III) of protodynastic times. In fact his worship was by that time sufficiently widespread for two of them to be shown.<sup>3</sup>

Min was another of these gods, though, as his connexion with the weather is not nowadays so self-evident, some of these connexions may be usefully mentioned here. Thus, his symbol is the many-pointed weapon which, as I have brought much evidence to show, was the light-weapon, the thunderbolt.<sup>4</sup> Min wore the high feathers and streamer just as did Amûn who was god of the winds.<sup>5</sup> His sacred animal was a bull,<sup>6</sup> and bulls are common representatives of sky-gods in the Near East.<sup>7</sup> In Egypt the Bull of the Sky was well known.<sup>8</sup> Min's animal strode upon the mountains, themselves commonly belonging to the storm-gods,<sup>9</sup> and Min had a class of worshippers called 'Bellowers'.<sup>10</sup> Bellowing or roaring was an attribute of storm-gods elsewhere in the Levant and in Egypt itself of the storm-god Seth.<sup>11</sup> A pole was attached to the little primitive hut forming his shrine, and indeed, was no mere appurtenance thereto but had an individuality of its own.<sup>12</sup> It was crowned with the bull's horns.<sup>13</sup> A pillar in Egypt represented the air,<sup>14</sup> and elsewhere pillars are known as symbols of sky-gods or as supports of the sky.<sup>15</sup> In due time Min was identified with such storm-gods as Resheph and Perseus.<sup>16</sup> Min, therefore, was, or had been, one of these storm-gods him-

<sup>1</sup> Baumgartel, op. cit. I, 34. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Ayrton and Loat, *The Predynastic Cemetery at el-Mahasna*, pl. xii, 2, and p. 27. For their date see p. 9 and for Petrie's date see *Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. lii. It has the long snout of the Seth animal, also large upstanding ears which, however, are not of the usual shape. Also it has no tail, upright or otherwise, which may be due to its having probably decorated a comb where an upright tail would not be possible. Dr. Baumgartel does not reject the belief that this may be the Seth animal, op. cit. I, 34.

<sup>3</sup> Quibell and Petrie, *Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. xxvi c, 1.

<sup>4</sup> 'The Emblem of Min', *JEA* 17 (1931), 185-95. See further p. 15 *infra*, the latter part of n. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Spiegelberg in *ZAS* 49 (1911), 127 f.; Wainwright in *JEA* 17 (1931), 194; 20 (1934), 144.

<sup>6</sup> *JEA* 21 (1935), 158 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *JEA* 19 (1933), 42-52; *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1934, 37. To these may be added the statement that in Herakleopolitan times the Four Winds are called 'Bulls of Heaven', Kees, *Totenglauben*, 320.

<sup>8</sup> *JEA* 21 (1935), 163.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 161 f.; 19 (1933), 47 f. For the picture of Min's bull on the mountains see Petrie, *Koptos*, pls. iii, iv bottom right-hand corner, or *JEA* 19 (1933), 49, fig. 9, and again *JEA* 20 (1934), 150, fig. 8.

<sup>10</sup> *JEA* 21 (1935), 161. Min's derivative, Amûn, was 'Great of Roarings', *JEA* 20 (1934), 149.

<sup>11</sup> *JEA* 20 (1934), 149 f. Besides roarings Amûn had other things in common with Seth, *ibid.* 147-50.

<sup>12</sup> *JEA* 21 (1935), 163 ff., and for the pole-climbing ceremony for Min or his counterpart, the ithyphallic Amûn.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 165 f., figs. 4. 5. 6.

<sup>14</sup> Pillar of the Sky, *ibid.* 167 and fig. 9, p. 168. While we today know the air to be a sphere surrounding our globular earth, those who thought the earth was flat naturally considered the air to be a pillar standing upright on it.

<sup>15</sup> *JEA* 21 (1935), 167 ff.

<sup>16</sup> RESHEPH, *JEA* 17 (1931), 192; 20 (1934), 152 f.; PERSEUS, *JEA* 21 (1935), 157 f.



self, though in historic times this side of his nature had been eclipsed by the fertility side, and more particularly that of Man. Fertility, first that of the vegetation, hence that of the animals and so finally of Man, is due to rainstorms in these hot climates.

Min was ancient, for his symbol is well known in Naqâda II (Gerzean) times. Here, I think, we must distinguish between pot marks which must have been scratched locally up in the south and the paintings on the Decorated pots which are likely to have been imports from the north.

At Naqâda and Ballâs and again at Diospolis Parva the symbol is one of the commonest pot marks of the Naqâda II period. There is only one occasion on which it may have appeared in Naqâda I (Amratian) times. In her great study of the tomb groups Dr. Baumgartel says that this is on an isolated pot dating to s.d. 30-34, but that this pot is of a type which is common in Naqâda II times and apparently was not in use in the earlier period.<sup>1</sup> It, therefore, probably belongs to the earliest advance of the Naqâda II people. Otherwise the dates of those that can be dated are: *Diospolis Parva*, graves U 182, U 195, s.d. 42 and 43, *Naqada and Ballas*, graves 540, B 91, s.d. 50 and 61.<sup>2</sup> At el-'Amra, almost half way between Koptos and Akhmîm, it was carved on a slate palette dating according to Dr. Baumgartel to s.d. 56-64.<sup>3</sup> Thus, Min's symbol occurs all through the Naqâda II (Gerzean) period starting from the very beginning. These pot-marks and carving can hardly refer to any other than Min himself, for they were made locally by the owners of the objects living far up there in the south. Farther north, at Matmar, it was scratched on another pot, this time of protodynastic date.<sup>4</sup>

The symbol is well known on the Decorated pottery of Naqâda II date.<sup>5</sup> But although these pots have also been found in the south it cannot in these cases be indubitably ascribed to Min, for this object was also the symbol of the city of Letopolis.<sup>6</sup> Though nothing has been found at Ausîm-Letopolis itself, examples of the object have been discovered in some quantity not so very far away. Thus, at Abu Rawâsh, only some 6 miles to the south, a remarkable ivory carving came to light. It shows the head of Hâthor flanked by a pair of 'thunderbolts' and is said to be of First Dynasty date,<sup>7</sup> but if so it is of very unusual workmanship. Again, across the Nile at Helwân, some 22 miles to the south-east of Letopolis, a number of faience and alabaster 'thunderbolts'

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. I, 33. It is scratched twice on that pot, Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, pl. liii, nos. 117. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pl. liii, nos. 117. 119-22; id., *Diospolis Parva*, pl. xxi, nos. 69. 73-79. The dating will be found in the tables in Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, pls. li, lii.

<sup>3</sup> Maciver and Mace, *el Amrah and Abydos*, pl. viii, 2 and pp. 20 f.; Baumgartel, op. cit. II, 89-90, who thinks it is apparently latish in the period. Maciver and Mace (op. cit., p. 38) date it to s.d. 60-63, and Petrie to s.d. 58 (*Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. li, el Amrah, B. 62). El-'Amra is 6 miles south of Abydos.

<sup>4</sup> Brunton, *Matmar*, pl. xxii, 28 and p. 28. See pl. xx, 1005 for the tomb-group and the date, s.d. 81.

<sup>5</sup> Newberry in *LAAA* 5 (1913), 136 and the list of cult-signs, 138 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Wainwright, 'Letopolis', in *JEA* 18 (1932), 159-72, where many references are given. For numerous examples of the name see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* IV, 175, *l̥m*; V, 45 f., *sl̥m*, of which the earliest is in the Tomb of *M̥n*, Fourth Dynasty, Sethe, *Urk.* I, 6. For variations in the drawing of this object from predynastic times onwards and also a number of 'thunderbolts', see Newberry in *LAAA* 3 (1910), pl. xix. It was he who first realized that the object represented a 'thunderbolt', op. cit., pp. 50-52.

<sup>7</sup> Klasens in *Phoenix* (ex Oriente Lux), IV (1958), fig. 28 and p. 48. Horus-Khenty-Khem is named on a fragment of an inscription of Nectanebo I which comes from Abû Rawâsh, Bisson de la Roque, *Abou-Roasch* 1922-3, pl. xxxv, 4.

were found and also faience Horus falcons. Besides these there was a copper object showing the Horus falcon actually mounted on the 'thunderbolt'.<sup>1</sup> This clearly represents the combination Horus-Khenty-Khem which in historic times was the full title of the god of Letopolis, the 'thunderbolt' belonging to Khenty-Khem. The same debris in which these were found produced a cylinder seal showing a 'thunderbolt' among the various figures as well as what seems to be the *serekh* and name of Ḥor-Aḥa. It also produced faience plaques with the names of Narmer and Djer.<sup>2</sup> As Horus was already united with Khenty-Khem in the earliest First Dynasty, the implication is that the 'thunderbolt' was older there than that—in other words that it existed at Letopolis in predynastic times, that is to say the time of the Decorated pottery.<sup>3</sup>

The foregoing already suggests that the symbols of the Decorated pottery might have belonged to Letopolis, and such a view is supported by a further study of the subject. In the first place, the Decorated pottery itself is of northern origin, as Petrie himself originally pointed out. The clay is the same as that of the wavy-handled pots,<sup>4</sup> and now more recently ledge- or wavy-handled pots of the Chalcolithic and early Bronze Ages have been discovered in Palestine.<sup>5</sup> No elaborate designs are painted on the Palestinian pots, hence those on the Decorated ware are of local Egyptian origin. Indeed, the birds that figure there so prominently have been satisfactorily identified by Newberry as flamingoes, common birds of the Delta Lakes.<sup>6</sup>

Now to return to the drawings on the Decorated pottery. It is found that 116 of the symbols or ensigns are the Harpoon<sup>7</sup> which later on represents the seventh (Metelite)

<sup>1</sup> All these came from the debris surrounding the tombs H 3 and 40, Z. Saad in *Ann. Serv.*, Cahier 3, pp. 165 ff., fig. 15 and pls. lxxi, lxxii. There was also one vulture, p. 166 and pl. lxxii E. Following Helck, Kaplony calls these objects Min harpoons (*ZÄS* 83 (1958), 78), though they bear not the slightest resemblance to such a weapon. Actually, of course, they are another version of the view that originally represented the light-weapon as an arrow.

<sup>2</sup> Z. Saad, *op. cit.*, figs. 13, 14.

<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact Letopolis was no doubt quite an ancient place. At any rate, the edge of the desert in that neighbourhood had been occupied in the very earliest days and continued to be so into early dynastic times. Thus, a large village at Merimda-Beni Salame had existed for a very long time, long enough to leave deposits of about a depth of 2 metres (Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, 1, 100). The village was a properly laid out one, the community was a settled one, cultivating the soil and using threshing floors and large granaries for the grain produced (*ibid.* 117–22). All this was taking place in Faiyûm A times, that is to say, a considerable time before Naqâda II (see Huzayyin in Mond and Myers, *Cemeteries of Armant*, 1, 194; Larsen in *Orientalia Suecana*, 7 (1958), 40. 42. 51 and cf. *ibid.* 8 (1959), 72; Charles in *JNES* 16 (1957), 248). Later on, in the Second Dynasty, the neighbourhood was still inhabited, for a grave of that period has been discovered at Wardan quite close to Beni Salame (Larsen, *Orientalia Suec.* 5 (1956), 3–11). These two places are only about 20 miles away to the north-west of Letopolis along the edge of the western desert. As to Letopolis itself, it has been seen in the text that it had a religion which had already developed and suffered changes by the time of Ḥor-aḥa.

<sup>4</sup> *Naqada and Ballas*, 40. Cf. also *Koptos*, 8. Petrie concludes that this pottery was made on the Mediterranean coast. More than this an imitation in ivory of a late wavy-handled vase has the shrine of Neith of Sais cut on it (Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. ii, no. 12). Yet Dr. Baumgartel disputes the view that the Decorated ware was made in the Delta (*Cultures*, 1 (1955), 13 f.).

<sup>5</sup> Kantor in *JNES* 1 (1942), 177–82 and cf. 199 f.; *id.* in Ehrich, *Relative Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, 4. Actually connexions between Palestine and early Egypt go back to Badarian times, well before that of the Decorated pottery, Kaplan in *Israel Exploration Journal*, 9 (1959), 134–6.

<sup>6</sup> Newberry in *LAAA* 5 (1913), 135.

<sup>7</sup> Not knowing what else to call it, I once called this symbol the Z-sign. However, it is no doubt the harpoon

nome near the mouth of the western branch of the Nile.<sup>1</sup> 14 bear the crossed arrows of the fifth and fourth nomes, those of Sais and Prosopis,<sup>2</sup> farther up the same branch in the direction of Letopolis. Letopolis itself, if Letopolis it be and not Akhmîm as Newberry takes it, provides 9 examples. Thus, out of 288 cult-signs catalogued by Newberry 139 belong to the western edge of the Delta.<sup>3</sup>

It was the western edge of the Delta that was important in early times and it was much concerned with the Powers of the Sky. Not only was Letopolis there with its 'thunderbolt' god Khenty-Khem but also there was Neith, the sky- and warrior-goddess of Sais,<sup>4</sup> with her crossed arrows, which no doubt once more represented the light weapon.<sup>5</sup> She, as represented by her crossed arrows, appears very commonly on the earliest cylinder seals.<sup>6</sup> The little evidence we have for the date of these objects shows them to belong to the very latest predynastic and the earliest dynastic times.<sup>7</sup> The prominence of Neith in the First Dynasty was shown long ago by Newberry.<sup>8</sup> That influence from that western edge of the Delta was already percolating through into the south in Naqâda II (Gerzean) times is indicated by the Red Crown which is moulded on a pot of s.d. 35-39 from Naqâda.<sup>9</sup> The Red Crown, of course, belonged to Sais, and dating, as it does, to the very end of Naqâda I, would in that case<sup>10</sup> represent the earliest advance of the northern influences observable in the Naqâda II civilization.<sup>11</sup> It may be noted that this is practically contemporary with the earliest appearances of the symbol which, as pointed out above, could be definitely assigned to Min, i.e. s.d. 30-34, 42, 43.

As was seen above, there is no sign of Min in the Naqâda I (Amratian) period whereas in the Naqâda II (Gerzean) period there are many. Min had a great temple at Koptos which was built on top of a site containing white-cross-lined pottery of the Naqâda I (Amratian) age.<sup>12</sup> Koptos is just opposite Nubt (Ballâs) where the Naqâda II people supplanted those of Naqâda I. At any rate by protodynastic days we have clear evidence of Min as a great god. His symbol takes its place among the standards on the Scorpion

that Newberry took it to be. In this case it would be doubled, threatening in each direction just as the Min-Letopolis symbol is doubled and as two arrows are used for the Neith-Sais symbol.

<sup>1</sup> Newberry, loc. cit., cf. also in *LAAA* 1 (1908), 17-22. It should, however, be noted that there was in historic times an Eastern Harpoon nome, the eighth, at Heroonpolis-Pithom in the Wâdi Tummilât in the eastern Delta. Also two wavy-handled pots, which are very unlike the usual ones, were found in the enigmatic village of Maadi on the eastern bank of the Nile just south of Cairo. Vandier, op. cit. 1, 474, fig. 317.

<sup>2</sup> Newberry in *LAAA* 5 (1913), 135. Cf. also Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* v, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Newberry in op. cit. 135 f.

<sup>4</sup> Rusch in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. Neith, cols. 2199 f., 2202 f.

<sup>5</sup> Wainwright in *JEA* 18 (1932), 160-2.

<sup>6</sup> See the tables in Petrie in *Ancient Egypt* 1 (1914), 69 ff.; 2 (1915), 79, 81, or id., *Scarabs and Cylinders*, p. i ff.; Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl. iii, nos. 2, 3, 5, 7; pl. iv, no. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Petrie, op. cit. 10.

<sup>8</sup> *PSBA* 28 (1906), 68-70.

<sup>9</sup> Wainwright in *JEA* 9 (1923), 26-33.

<sup>10</sup> The presence of this so definitely Saitic object at Naqâda has given rise to much discussion. In considering this problem it must not be forgotten that the Cairo fragment of the Palermo Stone shows that there were kings of the united country before Menes (Breasted in *BIFAO* 30 (1930), 711, 724, and pl. i). But fortunately we are not here concerned with any further implications but only with the fact that there the object was. For other connexions with the western edge of the Delta see Appendix, 'Sais-Letopolis and Akhmîm-Koptos-Qûs,' p. 20 *infra*.

<sup>11</sup> Others are the use of such northern materials as lapis-lazuli, silver, and obsidian.

<sup>12</sup> Petrie, *Koptos*, 5. There was black-topped pottery there as well. Cf. also id., *Diospolis Parva*, 2.

King's great mace from Hierakonpolis where it comes between the two standards of Seth<sup>1</sup>. Thus, Min was with little doubt the great god of the Naqâda II people,<sup>2</sup> and, therefore, nearly as ancient as Seth who is likely to have belonged to the closely related Naqâda I people.

Naqâda I and II are very remote times, and it is now known that conditions in Egypt were then completely different from what they are today. At Armant, for instance, south of Luxor, large trees had been growing sparsely all over the low desert at a height of 20 or more feet above the present cultivation level and, therefore, probably about 40 feet above in predynastic times. The workmen told Mr. Myers that trees like this were to be found in every part of the Nile Valley. Some of these trees at any rate were earlier than either the Late or the Middle Predynastic Periods, for graves of these dates had been cut through their roots. Again, a small wâdi had been silted up<sup>3</sup> and trees had been growing in it. This had happened after Badarian times, for sherds of this date were found on the native rock below, and before the Middle Kingdom when a grave had been dug into the filling.<sup>4</sup> In Middle Egypt, up and down the desert edge round about Mustagidda, large numbers of such trees had once been growing. This was before the Old Kingdom because two graves of this date had been cut through the roots of some of them, and, though this may be only chance, an Old Kingdom burial was found at the foot of another. Another such tree was found on the edge of the rubbish dump of a predynastic village, though here again the connexion may perhaps be fortuitous.<sup>5</sup> This was all on the low desert, and similar wet conditions are found to have prevailed on the high.

It is the history of the Faiyûm Lake that provides the information. From geological times its depth and size have fluctuated enormously. It is, of course, only the comparatively recent times that concern us, and during those times the lake had been shrinking steadily. But while the surface was still 140 feet above its present level there was a long pause marked by a well-defined beach. Man occupied and cultivated the moist land round this beach and has left signs of his presence, and these show that he lived in the area from late neolithic to Old Kingdom times. Miss Gardner says that this pause in the shrinking of the lake 'must be attributed to greater rainfall and therefore greater run-off into the lake' which would counterbalance the rate of evaporation.<sup>6</sup> As

<sup>1</sup> Quibell and Petrie, *Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. xxvi c, 1, or better J. Pirenne, *Histoire des institutions et du droit privé de l'ancienne Égypte*, I, pl. ii b. It also figured on those 'archaic' statues at Koptos (Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. iii, 2, 3), if, indeed, they be archaic, for Dr. Baumgartel brings evidence to show that they date from the First Intermediate Period (*Ann. Serv.* 48 (1948), 533-53). See further 'The Origin of Amûn', p. 22, n. 9 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Baumgartel, *Cultures*, I (1955), 46. Moreover, as noted in n. 4 on p. 13, the Naqâda I people's idea of human fertility seems to have expressed itself in a female mother-goddess, not in a male god such as Min.

<sup>3</sup> The silt is of fine water-laid mud, and thus very different from the stones and pebbles brought down by the modern *sêl* (cloud-burst). While I was at Asyût there were reports of a fearful deluge in the eastern desert and I went out to see the results. A mass of these stones and pebbles to a depth of about 3 feet had been deposited on the field at the mouth of the wâdi.

<sup>4</sup> Mond and Myers, *Cemeteries of Armant*, I, 7. 8. 34, and pl. viii, figs. 2-5. The trees appear to have been sycamore and acacia.

<sup>5</sup> Brunton, *Mostagedda*, 67 f. In this case the trees prove to have been tamarisk and doubtfully acacia.

<sup>6</sup> Gardner in Caton-Thompson and Gardner, *The Desert Fayum*, I, 15 and cf. 16, § 13. For the Old Kingdom evidence, see pt. II, pp. 95 ff.

on the edge of the desert in predynastic times, tamarisks and even reeds had been growing round the lake of this period and down to the age of the Old Kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Today, of course, the area is hopeless desert. In Nubia we get definite evidence that this damp climate lasted on even slightly later than that. There, in the First Intermediate Period (2300–2150 B.C.), the C-Group people were able to keep large herds of cattle where today a man has difficulty in keeping one or two oxen alive throughout the year.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from Egypt, much work has been done on the climatology of the Sahara, producing results similar to those already quoted. Thus, Brooks finds a generally wet period to have lasted down to about 3000 B.C.,<sup>3</sup> and Joleaud would bring it down to about 2540 B.C.<sup>4</sup> For Egypt itself Huzayyin mentions a date of about 2500 B.C. for the ending of the wet phase and the beginning of the advancing desiccation which has continued to the present time.<sup>5</sup> Forde Johnston sums up the various views of the oscillations of climate and makes the Atlantic wet period last down to about 2500 B.C.<sup>6</sup>

3000 B.C. is roughly the end of the Naqâda II period and the rise of the First Dynasty, whereas 2500 B.C. corresponds to the middle of the Old Kingdom. As a convenient estimate something in the neighbourhood of 4000–3500 B.C. may be taken as a central date for Naqâda I and II times, Naqâda I having been in existence from long before then.

Thus, Min in Naqâda II, and still more Seth in Naqâda I, would have originated well within the wet rainy ages and have continued in them for a thousand years and more. It was very natural, therefore, that the people of those days should have looked upon their gods as gods of the blessed yet dangerous storm. This nature adhered to the gods all through their lifetimes in historic Egypt, although the conditions in which it grew up were gradually disappearing until at last they had ceased to exist, as we see today.

As the rains grew rarer and the Egyptians came to rely more and more on the Nile, which they were in the process of taming, so Seth slipped from his ancient high estate. He, his rain and his fertility rites, became a nuisance and an offence to his people until by the end he had become the personification of all evil, the very Devil himself.<sup>7</sup>

Min was saved from this fate, no doubt in the first place because his connexion with the storms had early been overshadowed by his patronage of fertility, primarily human fertility. This again would no doubt have been due to the decline in the frequency and value of the rains. Further he must have been protected from any degradation such as overtook Seth by the triumphant career of his derivative Amûn.

<sup>1</sup> Caton-Thompson and Gardner, *The Desert Fayum*, I, 61, 80, 81, 95.

<sup>2</sup> Arkell, *A History of the Sudan* (2nd edition), 49.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix B in L. S. B. Leakey, *The Stone Age Cultures of Kenya Colony*, 269. Another wet period began c. 850 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> *Histoire de la formation d'une désert*, 31 ff. (Soc. de Biogéographie, Mémoire VI, 1938). These statements and more will be conveniently found in Forde Johnston, *Neolithic Cultures of North Africa*, 12.

<sup>5</sup> *The Place of Egypt in Prehistory* (*Méms. Inst. d'Égypte* 43 (1941)), 319, and 'roughly middle of the 3rd millennium B.C.', 328.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit. 11. G. W. Murray, *Geographical Journal* 117 (1951), 429. 434 notes the rainy period, but, contrary to the others, makes it to have ceased as early as about 4000 B.C. But on p. 432 he notes that people were living in the western Nubian desert down to First or Second Dynasty times and that certain places, e.g. the Gilf Kebir, were still occupied by the C-Group people (c. 2300–2150 B.C.).

<sup>7</sup> For much of this see Wainwright, *The Sky-religion in Egypt*, 99 ff.

## Appendix

## Sais-Letopolis and Akhmîm-Koptos-Qûs

SAIS is on the western branch of the Nile where Letopolis also lay, and there was a certain affinity between them. Thus, on the Decorated pottery the crossed arrows of Sais are represented in the Letopolite symbol as a pair, or a double or even triple pair, of arrows pointing in opposite directions.<sup>1</sup> At the other end of Egyptian history the crossed arrows of Sais form the ensign of the High Priest of Letopolis.<sup>2</sup> Again, *ḥt-byt* 'The House of the Bee' was the name of a temple at Sais,<sup>3</sup> and it was also the name of a place in the nome of Letopolis, perhaps at Letopolis itself.<sup>4</sup> Thus, this district along the western branch of the Nile formed an entity in itself.

This world exercised an influence on the country between Akhmîm and Qûs in Upper Egypt. Thus, in the first place there was influence from Sais, for it must have been that that caused the Red Crown of that city to be moulded on a black-topped pot. As was seen in the text, this was found at Naqâda, just opposite Koptos, and it dates to s.d. 35-39. Sais had evidently been important in quite early times, for later on, as Newberry showed (*PSBA* 28 (1906), 68-74 and pls. i, ii), it was the leading centre of the Delta at the time of Narmer's conquest and throughout the First Dynasty.

However, it was Letopolis that mostly affected the southern country. Thus, as has already been seen in the text, Khenty-Khem of Letopolis shared the 'thunderbolt' with Min of Koptos, but the Letopolite connexion was not confined to that city. It spread to the whole neighbourhood—to Qûs, 6 miles to the south, and to Akhmîm, the next nome to the north. Thus, the Letopolite god, Haroëris, was specially connected with Qûs. It was there that he was said to have been born, it was there that he had the title 'Lord of Upper Egypt', and in numerous cases Qûs appears alongside Letopolis as another centre of his worship.<sup>5</sup> The nome of Akhmîm, the Panopolite, where Min himself was the god, bore as its standard the 'thunderbolt' which Letopolis used as the ideogram for its name.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, Letopolis and Akhmîm also revered the same sacred animal, the shrewmouse.<sup>7</sup>

It is at these two places, Letopolis and Akhmîm, and so far as is known at no other in Egypt, that the cliffs abound in such fossils as have been widely considered in the world to have been 'thunderbolts'; *Lithodomus* at Akhmîm, *Nerinea Requieniana* at Letopolis.<sup>8</sup> These fossils were the cause of the two gods of these places adopting the 'thunderbolt' as their ensigns. They are also the reason that the sacred animal at these two places was the shrewmouse, for Plutarch says that the Egyptians deified it because they thought it was blind.<sup>9</sup> It was, therefore, an animal suitable to be connected with 'thunderbolts', for a dazzling flash of lightning is, of course, a blinding sight.

<sup>1</sup> See Newberry's list of cult signs in *LAAA* 5 (1913), 138 ff. It is worth noting that the weapon is doubled at yet another place on this western edge of the Delta. This was in the Metelite nome where the harpoon is doubled and similarly threatens in opposite directions, see p. 16, n. 7. <sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.* II, 1377.

<sup>3</sup> Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* IV, 65.

<sup>4</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> Junker, *Die Omurislegende*, 33-35. Of course he was also worshipped at Ombos (Kôm Ombo), but there he only shared a temple with another god, Sobk.

<sup>6</sup> Wainwright, 'The emblem of Min', in *JEA* 17 (1931), 185; id., 'Letopolis', in *JEA* 18 (1932), 159 f. Many references are given in each case. <sup>7</sup> Id., loc. cit.

<sup>8</sup> Id. in *JEA* 17 (1931), 194 f.; *JEA* 18 (1932), 171 f.

<sup>9</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia, Quaestionum Convivialium*, IV, problem 5, 670 B. Its near congener, the mole, is commonly said by us today to be blind. See further Wainwright in *JEA* 18 (1932), 170.

## THE ORIGIN OF AMŪN

By G. A. WAINWRIGHT

THE older Egyptologists had no doubt that Min and Amūn were the same, for instance, Lefébure in *Sphinx* 4 (1901), 164-70; Erman, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, 19; Max Müller, *Egyptian Mythology*, 21, 129, 138.

But since their time Sethe has tried to derive Amūn from Hermopolis in his long study *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (*Abhandl. Preuß. Ak. Wiss.*, 1929, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Nr. 4, Berlin, 1929). Yet he has much to say of the resemblances between Min and Amūn, and that Amūn borrowed his form and much else from Min. But he cannot admit their identity because he has set out to show that Amūn came from Hermopolis.

Sethe's theory has gained a large measure of acceptance, but some voices have been raised in dissent. Gauthier, for instance, rejects it outright saying: 'Amon n'est pas autre chose dès son origine qu'un Min thébain'.<sup>1</sup> Now, more recently, Drioton has pointed out that Sethe's theory is not well founded<sup>2</sup> and then produces evidence of Amūn's importance in pre-Theban times, for the details of which see the last paragraph but one of this article. Actually the theory is full of difficulties, if not fallacies, for some of which see Wainwright in *JEA* 17 (1931), 151 f., to which the reader is referred, so that there is no reason to repeat them here. As a matter of fact it is clear that far from being native to Hermopolis Amūn was an intrusion into the Ogdoad there, and a late one. Indeed, sometimes his intrusion made the Ogdoad into a Decad.<sup>3</sup>

After his excavations at Hermopolis Roeder says that the temple of Amūn there was only founded in the Nineteenth Dynasty, apparently by Ramesses II, and that it was dedicated by Meneptah.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, it was then a new foundation on virgin soil,<sup>5</sup> and one of the earliest mentions of the god in connexion with Hermopolis was also made by Ramesses II, who there calls him Amen-Rē.<sup>6</sup>

The evidence seems clear, and Amūn's introduction to Hermopolis seems proved beyond doubt. Yet, presumably under the influence of Sethe's idea, Roeder proceeds to argue that the inscription of the dedication of his new temple cannot refer to the well-known god of Thebes, but to some special, but unspecified, form of him which was settled in Hermopolis and inserted into the native pantheon.<sup>7</sup> This last remark is an admission after all that Amūn was not native to Hermopolis but was an intrusion

<sup>1</sup> Gauthier, *Les Fêtes du dieu Min* (1931), 133 f. The full passage reads: 'Bien loin donc d'être originaire d'Hermopolis, ainsi que l'a pensé M. Sethe, Amon n'est pas autre chose dès son origine qu'un Min thébain, une réplique tardive à Thebes du dieu de la génération que l'on vénérât depuis la plus haute antiquité à Coptos.'

<sup>2</sup> *Bull. soc. fr. d'Égyptologie*, no. 26 (1958), 34.

<sup>3</sup> Sethe, *Amun*, pl. i, nos. 8. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Ann. Serv.* 52 (1954), 319. 363 f. 370.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 364.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 370. It is in a list of the various forms of Amūn in the Luxor temple.

<sup>7</sup> *Loc. cit.* Cf. also Roeder, *Hermopolis*, 1929-1939, 177, §§ 21. 22.

thither at some time or other. The above evidence leads to the conclusion that that time was the Nineteenth Dynasty.

However, it turns out that the god had been introduced to Hermopolis slightly earlier than that, and there again he is called Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup> in the statement. Thus, Hatiay says that he made images for many gods. Among these he lists those for 'Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup> *hry-ib* Unu'.<sup>1</sup> Hatiay's use of the expression *hry-ib* is the final proof that Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup> was not native to Unu-Hermopolis but was introduced thither. As Hatiay was working in the Eighteenth Dynasty that is evidently the time that Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup> was brought to Hermopolis. Almost all the major gods of Egypt are represented at Hermopolis, and Amūn's nature as god of the air and wind would have suited him for a place alongside of the Ogdoad. Moreover, it was not unnatural that the priests there should have wished to connect their city with the great god of imperial Thebes who was then at the height of his glory. By the Nineteenth Dynasty Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup> had become so well established there that, as has been shown above, Ramesses II thought it worth while to found a temple to him. But still it is not until the time of Amasis in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty that a list of the Ogdoad includes the names of Amūn and Amaunet.<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, whatever similarities Amūn's nature may have had with those of the Hermopolite Ogdoad he was essentially Min,<sup>3</sup> as used to be appreciated. Sethe himself suggests that the name Min might have had an older form Amīn (?) and that this would have been similar to the name Amūn.<sup>4</sup> More than this, if the restoration is correct, in one of the earliest mentions of Amūn he takes the place of Min. This is in the Pyramid Texts, where in § 1712*b* Pepi II uses a name which Sethe completes as Amūn for the Min which his predecessor had written. In this case Amūn actually represents Min. By this time Amūn had established an individuality of his own, for it was about 150 years earlier, at the end of the Fifth Dynasty, that he had already diverged from Min and had begun to develop a separate personality.<sup>5</sup> It is at this time that Unas invoked him along with Amaunet in § 446 of the Pyramid Texts.<sup>6</sup>

Pepi II also concerned himself much with Min's city, Koptos, building there and calling himself 'Beloved of Min'.<sup>7</sup> He was the last king of any importance of the Sixth Dynasty, and it was then or in the First Intermediate Period that those unique 'Min' colossi<sup>8</sup> prove to have been set up at Koptos.<sup>9</sup> In fact by Pepi's time and immediately

<sup>1</sup> Boeser, *Aeg. Sammlung, Stelen, Neues Reich*, III, pl. i, l. 13. Roeder quotes him locc. citt.

<sup>2</sup> Sethe, *Amun*, pl. i, no. 6. No. 1, which is taken from the Pyramid Text, §§ 446-7, is not a list of the Ogdoad but only a number of gods who happen to be invoked together, Nyw and Nenet, Amūn and Amaunet, Atum and Rwrwty (Shu and Tefnut).

<sup>3</sup> Wainwright in *JEA* 20 (1934), 139 f. 146. 153.

<sup>4</sup> Sethe, op. cit., p. 22, § 30.

<sup>5</sup> For some of the differences between them, see Wainwright, op. cit. 153.

<sup>6</sup> This whole Utterance, no. 301, of which § 446 is part, is not included in any of the later versions of the Pyramid Texts.

<sup>7</sup> Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. v, 7, 8, and p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. iii, iv, v, fig. 4, and pp. 7-9 = Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, fig. 166. They are so unparalleled that they have been vaguely supposed to have been of Archaic date.

<sup>9</sup> Baumgartel in *Ann. Serv.* 48 (1948), 535-537 f. 553. Their peculiarities are the bald head, whiskers, and nakedness except for a multiple belt of strips. While otherwise unknown in Egypt, Dr. Baumgartel is able to show that these all belong to the Mesopotamian civilization and there to one definite period. Thus the bald head with whiskers and beard was known in Assur, was the standard thing in Mari, and has been found at Khafajah. Again, a bearded figure, naked but for this belt, was found in the temple of the fertility-god Abu



afterwards in what is called the Eighth Dynasty the rulers of Koptos had become extremely powerful, as is made manifest in the famous decrees.<sup>1</sup> It was also at this very time that Min himself was sufficiently important for two of the fainéant Pharaohs in far-away Memphis<sup>2</sup> to form their names on his, Nefer-ka-Min and Nefer-ka-Min-*nu*.<sup>3</sup> Yet again, it is in the Sixth Dynasty that we get the earliest cryptographic writing of Amūn's name. This is on a button.<sup>4</sup> It occurs again in the Eighth Dynasty, once more on a button, and also on a scarab.<sup>5</sup> The Eighth Dynasty follows shortly after Pepi II's time and is contemporary with the ascendancy of Koptos. As one of the nomarchs of Koptos, Idy (?), was appointed Governor of Upper Egypt 'southward to Nubia',<sup>6</sup> his jurisdiction would have included the Thebes of those days. It was, therefore, no doubt at this time that Min established himself at Thebes in the guise of Amūn.

All this was before the Eleventh Dynasty, when Sethe supposes that Amūn was brought from Hermopolis to Thebes to be honoured there although a conquered god. It is a long time before we have any evidence of him at Hermopolis, and a much longer time again before the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, when it was under Amasis that he was first included as a member of the Ogdoad there.

at Tell Asmar, and the well-known heroes who fight with beasts also wear this multiple belt but are otherwise naked and are bearded. The bull-man who accompanies these heroes also wears this belt and is otherwise naked and is bearded. Again, he is ithyphallic like the Koptos colossi. Min, of course, had much to do with bulls and was an ithyphallic fertility-god.

In Mesopotamia these details are peculiar to the late Early Dynastic and Sargonid Period, which runs down to something after 2400 B.C. (Porada and Buchanan, *The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library*, 1, table at the end). A short lapse of time for the influence to have reached Koptos would bring the date of the colossi to the late Sixth Dynasty or First Intermediate Period. We may add that the lions (Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. v, fig. 5, and p. 7 = Capart, *Primitive Art*, fig. 142) are also un-Egyptian but are rough examples of a Mesopotamian type.

It is striking that, as in Archaic days, it was Upper Egypt that the Mesopotamian influence reached. It came no doubt via the Red Sea and the Wādi Ḥammāmāt at the end of which Koptos is situated.

<sup>1</sup> Often published and their significance discussed, as for instance most recently by Hayes in *JEA* 32 (1946), 3-23.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 16.

<sup>3</sup> Sethe in *Gött. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1912, 718; Mariette, *Abydos*, 1, pl. 43, nos. 47. 52 = Stock, *Die erste Zwischenzeit Ägyptens*, 42 and 32. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Brunton, *Matmar*, pl. xxxiii, 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Id. loc. cit.*, nos. 16. 56, and then again on buttons and scarabs from the Ninth to the Eleventh Dynasties. *Ibid.*, nos. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 84; *id.*, *Mostagedda*, pl. lx, 66. 67. 68; *id.*, *Qau and Badari*, 1, pl. xxxiii, 186. 187. 188. 189. 190; ten of the fourteen being dated to the Ninth Dynasty and the others only vaguely within the period. For the assurance that these cryptograms really do represent the name Amūn, see Drioton in *Bull. soc. fr. d'Égyptologie*, no. 26 (1958), 37. This article carries farther Drioton's original study in *WZKM* 54 (1957), 11-33, specially 28-30.

<sup>6</sup> Hayes, *JEA* 32 (1946), 16.

## EXCAVATIONS AT HIERAKONPOLIS FORT, 1905: A PRELIMINARY NOTE

By BARRY J. KEMP

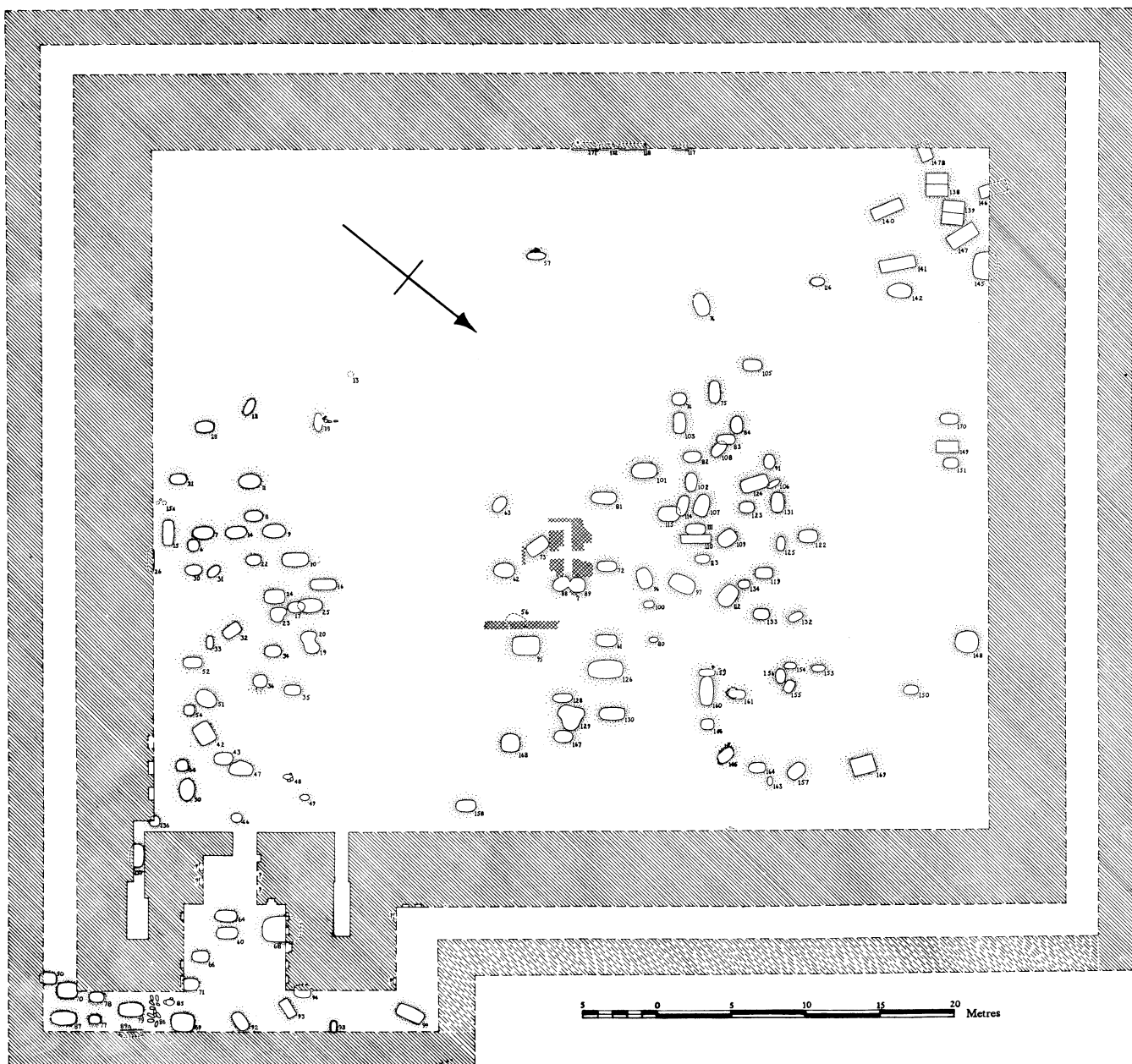
As part of an extensive campaign of excavation in Upper Egypt on behalf of the Institute of Archaeology (now School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies) of the University of Liverpool, the late Professor John Garstang devoted much of the 1905 season to continuing the work of Quibell and Green at Hierakonpolis, both at the fortress and in the early town-site. The work at the fortress consisted of excavating those parts of the underlying predynastic cemetery which lay undisturbed, and of clearing and planning the main gateway. Of this work a brief report with photographs appeared in *Annales du Service* 8 (1907), 136–7 with pls. v–vii. Pending a more extensive publication of this excavation, a plan and these notes have been prepared to guide others working on this site and to make available certain details hitherto unpublished. The material is derived from Garstang's remaining records, consisting of field notes, sketch-plans, and photographs, and in addition, some of the actual objects found. All these are now kept in the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies in the University of Liverpool. I am indebted to Professor H. W. Fairman for permission to publish them and for encouragement and helpful comments.

### The fortress

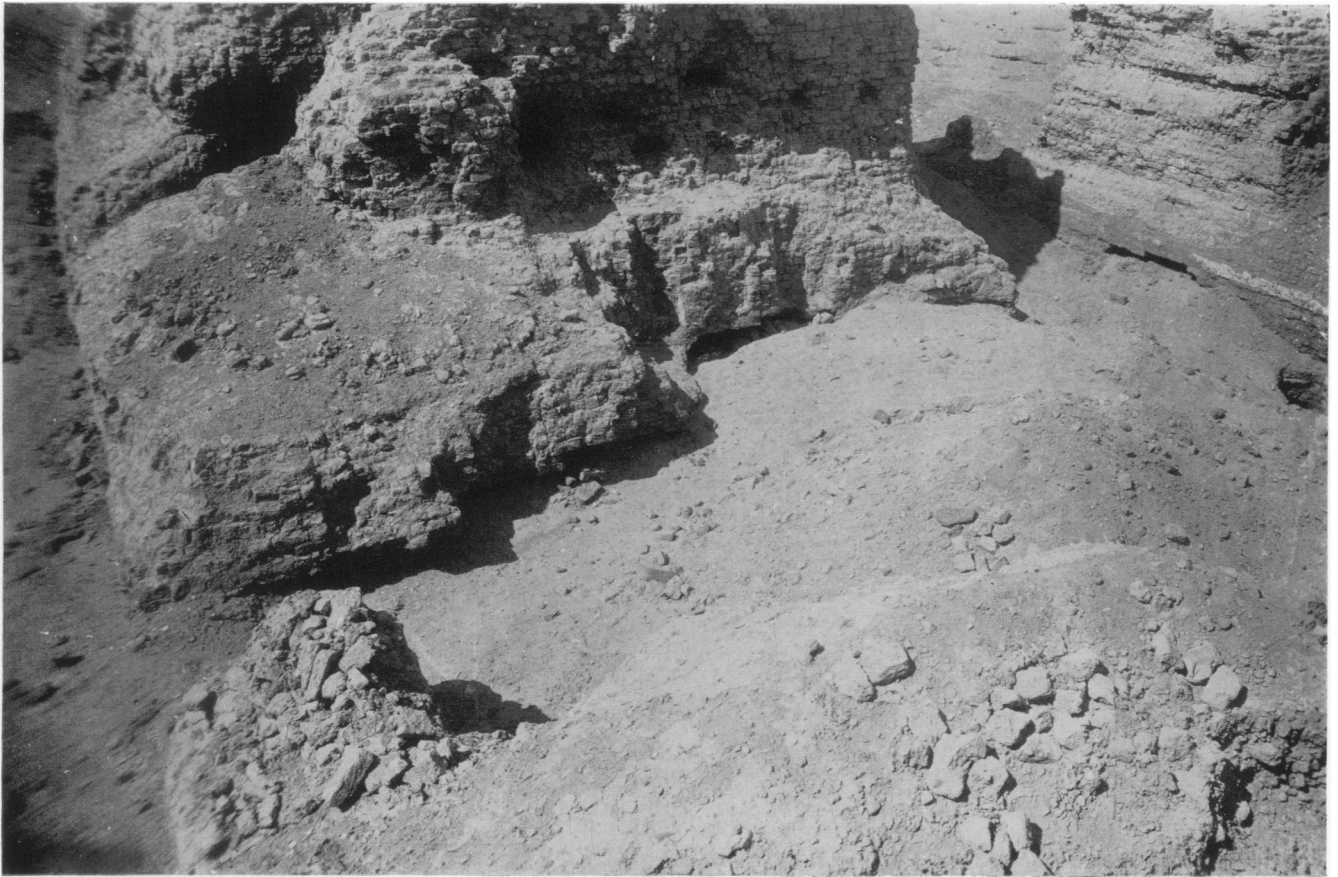
As stated in his preliminary report, one of Garstang's principal aims was to examine the construction of the gateway in the south-east corner of the fort.<sup>1</sup> The resulting plan (pl. IV) differs in certain details from that made by Somers Clarke.<sup>2</sup> Now that the projection at the outer end of the southern wall of the entrance is shown to be non-existent, the layout appears simply as an open gateway between two projecting bastions. At its inner end it is restricted by a projection from its south wall which may be seen in the left foreground in pl. V *a*. As for the bastions themselves, they now appear more closely parallel with each other, although the passageway in the southernmost is now seen to contain a right-angled turn (see pl. V *b*). This turn was indicated by Maspero in the 1907 edition of his *L'Archéologie égyptienne*, p. 28, fig. 29. It is interesting to note that in the first edition of 1887, p. 27, fig. 28, the passage in the northern bastion is filled by a staircase (so also in the English edition of 1902, p. 27, fig. 31); whether this is based on observation or supposition is not stated. Neither Garstang nor Somers

<sup>1</sup> Although the fort is orientated with its corners pointing to the cardinal points, for convenience and following Garstang's own practice, it is assumed to be orientated with its sides running north-south and east-west. The main entrance is thus in the south-east corner.

<sup>2</sup> In Quibell and Green, *Hierakonpolis*, II, pl. lxxiv, and pp. 19–20.



HIERAKONPOLIS FORT. PLAN (after Garstang's records)



*a.* North side of Gate



*b.* Interior, south-east corner

HIERAKONPOLIS FORT

Clarke noted actual traces of staircases, but the most natural function of the bastions would seem to be to contain stairs, as the latter has suggested.<sup>1</sup>

Concerning the outer enclosure wall, Garstang indicates some uncertainty as to its actual course along the east side, particularly on the north side of the salient formed by the gateway. At this point Maspero indicated an entrance on his plan in the 1907 edition of his *L'Archéologie égyptienne* and Somers Clarke also thought this likely.<sup>2</sup>

The original surface of the main inner enclosure wall has been much destroyed by denudation and collapse of the brickwork. Nevertheless, Garstang's plan indicates the remains of recessed panelling on the exterior face, noted by Somers Clarke<sup>3</sup> and confirmed by more recent photographs<sup>4</sup> of the south wall not exposed by Garstang where the original surface is preserved for some considerable length. This recessed panelling appears to be of the simple, regular, rectangular type which in funerary architecture first appears at the end of the First Dynasty<sup>5</sup> and continues in use throughout the Old Kingdom. It occurs also on the north, south, and west walls of the Shûnet-es-Zebîb at Abydos and on the south and west walls of the 'Middle Fort' at the same place.<sup>6</sup> At Hierakonpolis the panelling differs slightly in springing from a plain dado. The panelling is continued on the walls of the gateway, and here a compound recess is inserted between two simple recesses (see pl. V *a*). Alternation of this kind is common and occurs on the east walls of the two Abydos forts. Whether it indicates that a pattern of this type also occurred on the east wall at Hierakonpolis is uncertain owing to the poor state of preservation of the walls. For this reason, no attempt at restoration of the wall-surfaces has been made.

As is clear both from Garstang's plans and the photograph published here as pl. V *b*, there are clear traces of recessed panelling on the inner face of the main south wall, though on a rather larger scale than that on the outside. It is not certain whether this feature ran completely round the interior of the fort owing to the disappearance of most of the wall surface. Nevertheless, Garstang noted further traces of recesses, apparently of slightly smaller size, in the north-west corner, although not in sufficient detail to allow for inclusion on the plan. This treatment of an interior wall surface recalls that of the great courtyard of the Step Pyramid complex at Şaqqâra<sup>7</sup> and also the open courts of some of the temples in the Mycerinus pyramid-complex.<sup>8</sup> As much of the Step Pyramid complex seems to be an imitation in stone of royal domestic architecture, the parallel is an instructive one. If the fort is dated to the reign of Khasekhemui, as is indicated by the granite fragments bearing his name found just outside the gateway by Lansing<sup>9</sup> and also by its general similarity to the more definitely dated Abydos structures, there can have been only a relatively short period of time between the construction of the fort and of the Step Pyramid complex.

Of great interest is the fact that slightly to the south-west of the centre of the fort

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. 19-20.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Kees, *Ancient Egypt, A Cultural Topography*, pl. 20b, and *MDAIK* 17 (1961), taf. ivb.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. west wall of Tomb 3505 at Şaqqâra (reign of K̄a), cf. Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty*, III, pl. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Ayrton, Currelly, and Weigall, *Abydos*, III (1904), pls. vi and vii.

<sup>7</sup> Lauer, *La Pyramide à degrés*, II, pls. li, I and lii.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 25, 58, and 90.

<sup>9</sup> *BMMA*, section II, Nov. 1935, pp. 42-43 and fig. 11.

were uncovered the badly denuded remains of a brick building preserved up to a height of some three or four courses. Unfortunately little in the way of plans or measurements has survived, and the areas of brickwork marked on the plan have been derived largely from a careful study of the photographs. While no positive evidence for the date of these walls was found, a parallel with buildings in the two forts at Abydos is immediately suggested, and the massiveness of the walls tends to confirm the possibility that they are contemporary with the fort. It is thus particularly unfortunate that no precise record exists of the position of two granite blocks discovered during the course of the excavation. The only record is a photograph (neg. H. 50) showing them in position and labelled 'Granite stones—base of pillar'. The column base referred to is shallow and circular with a slightly raised edge running round the outside forming a depression in the centre. It forms the upper part of a thick square block the sides of which appear to be unworked. This lower apparently unworked part was presumably intended to be sunk in the floor.<sup>1</sup> In view of the uncertainty surrounding their position it would be hazardous to connect these blocks automatically with the brick structure in the centre of the fort, itself of uncertain date. Yet it is difficult to see to what other construction they could belong, for a granite column base presupposes a building of some size and dignity, and the fragments found by Lansing show that granite was probably used somewhere in the fortress, perhaps as a door-frame.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the question must remain open until further work is done on the site.

### The cemetery

The cemetery excavated by Garstang within and beneath the walls of the fortress was clearly but a small part of a much larger cemetery extending to the north, north-east, and north-west.<sup>3</sup> The fortress was built over the cemetery without regard for individual graves which had presumably been forgotten and lost sight of. In some cases the walls run over graves, as in the case of no. F. 68 partly beneath the north wall of the gateway the top of which is visible in pl. V a.<sup>4</sup>

The evidence at present available for the dating of the graves is in the first place the objects in the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies. These comprise some 37 pots and a number of slate palettes assignable to definite graves. This material has been supplemented by the photographs and the drawings in the field notebooks. Many of the pots examined are of types which, according to Petrie's Sequence Dating,<sup>5</sup> cover a relatively long period.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Engelbach and Somers Clarke, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, p. 132, fig. 140; p. 134, fig. 143.

<sup>2</sup> For the use of granite at this period cf. Stevenson Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, pp. 131–2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *MDAIK* 17 (1961), 10 f.

<sup>4</sup> In the following cases there is insufficient evidence to locate the graves exactly: nos. F. 27, 37–39, 45, and 53, all apparently in the group near the south wall; nos. F. 29, 40, and 41, apparently in cavities beneath the south wall; no. F. 104, near nos. F. 102 and 103; no. F. 143, somewhere outside the north wall in the passageway between the two walls. The following are groups of unlocated pots, mostly found in the debris: F. nos. 5, 55, 59, 65, 120, 121, 127, 135, 144, 152, and 162. For nos. F. 1, 2, and 4, no details are given, while no. F. 3 appears to be the stone axe-head illustrated in *Ann. Ser.* 8 (1907), pl. vii, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt Corpus*.

Typical are:

Inv. E 6084	from Tomb F 87	of type P 40e	dated s.d. 42-70
„ E 4890	„	F 151 „ L 36a	„ s.d. 58-81
„ E 6059	„	F 66 „ W 19	„ s.d. 52-66
„ E 6055	„	F 70 „ D 63a	„ s.d. 48-63

The only pots which could be dated definitely before s.d. 60 are:

Inv. E 6087	from Tomb F 46	of type P 56b	dated s.d. 31-58
„ E 6111	„	F 47 „ D 34k	„ s.d. 51
„ E 3032	„	F 42 „ D 10c <sup>1</sup>	„ s.d. 44

To this it should be added that there is no evidence for any of Petrie's C-ware, characteristic of the Naqâda I culture which is conventionally assumed to finish at s.d. 37. There is thus no definite evidence that the cemetery belongs to any but the Naqâda II culture.

Many of the graves, perhaps even the bulk of them, seem to be relatively late in date, in terms of Sequence Dates from about s.d. 70 onwards. Here belong the following pots:

Inv. E 6088	from Tomb F 72	of type W 62	dated s.d. 75-79
„ E 6091	„	F 145 „ protodynastic 65U <sup>2</sup>	„ s.d. 78
„ E 4430	„	F 24 „ L 53K	„ s.d. 78-80
„ E 4330	„	F 12 „ L 59B <sup>3</sup>	„ s.d. 80
„ E 4539	„	F 101 „ cf. protodynastic 94K	„ s.d. 77
„ E 4149	„	F 141 „ L 71G	„ s.d. 77
„ E 6061	„	F 149 „ protodynastic 46F	„ c. s.d. 77-78

Also the following slate palettes:<sup>4</sup>

Inv. E 5303	from Tomb F 149	of type 94	dated s.d. 80
„ E 5306	„	F 25 „ 87L <sup>5</sup>	„ s.d. 77
„ E 5311	„	F 164 „ 96G	„ c. s.d. 77-81 <sup>6</sup>

From the sketches in the field notebooks another 35 tombs contained the cylindrical jars, either plain or with wavy ridges, which Petrie classed as debased wavy-handled jars. All of these types, W 62 ff. and protodynastic 46, 47, and 50, seem to be dated to s.d. 75 and after. In two other tombs rectangular slate palettes of type 94 dated to s.d. 80 are noted. Very common are the large storage jars of hard, smooth pinkish-buff pottery, chiefly types 58-63 in the Protodynastic Corpus, which are also characteristic of the period. Significant is the scarcity of black-topped, red polished pottery. Only 7 pots of this class were found, of which 3 were lying loose. Of the remainder, one, Inv. E 6203, as noted above, is dated to s.d. 35-68.

<sup>1</sup> With a decoration of continuous wavy lines.

<sup>2</sup> Petrie, *Ceremonial Slate Palettes and Corpus of Proto-dynastic Pottery* (London, 1953). Inv. E 6091, of course, does not have the pot-mark.

<sup>3</sup> Decorated with groups of vertical wavy lines in dark red paint.

<sup>4</sup> Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt Corpus*, pls. lii-lix.

<sup>5</sup> Slightly irregular in outline.

<sup>6</sup> This particular type is not given a sequence date, but all the other variants of type 96 are dated s.d. 77-81.

In the system of classification suggested by Kaiser,<sup>1</sup> the graves seem to belong largely to stages IIIa2 and IIIb, although individual graves would seem also to belong to earlier stages, at least as far back as IIc (type W 19 from grave F 66 = Inv. E 6059), or even IIa (type B 58a from grave F 92 = Inv. E 6203).<sup>2</sup> However, until the system is worked out more fully ascription is rather tentative.

As s.d. 78 seems to be tied fairly closely to the beginning of the First Dynasty<sup>3</sup> this assures an absolute dating for some of the graves. Furthermore, if sequence dating has any basis of reliability at all, most of the graves would seem to be contemporary with or later than the painted tomb at Hierakonpolis apparently dated to the s.d. 50's<sup>4</sup> and also the stylistically related objects treated by Miss Kantor dated to the s.d. 50's and 60's.<sup>5</sup> As all of these seem to belong to the period immediately prior to the beginning of the First Dynasty, this cemetery must presumably cover a comparatively short space of time and belong to the transition period from predynastic to dynastic times.

At some later date, when the fortress was no longer used, cavities were cut into the lower courses of the massive brick walls and used as tombs. After the burial had been made, each cavity was bricked up again. As objects from these tombs were rare there is little indication of their date. Tomb no. F. 29, situated apparently beneath the south wall, had a covering of stucco, very much damaged. It seems to have been painted with figures of divinities and to have borne a hieroglyphic inscription almost entirely destroyed. In another burial, no. F. 118, the body was mummified. Two pots were found with it of which one seems to be similar to a type dated by Petrie to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.<sup>6</sup> Two other burials, nos. F. 15 and F. 110, may also belong to a late date, the bodies being laid fully extended on their back.

<sup>1</sup> In *Archaeologia Geographica*, Jahr 6, Aug. 1957, pp. 69-77, pls. 15-26.

<sup>2</sup> The form B 57a included by Kaiser in Stufe IIa on pl. 22 is clearly intended to be B 58a; cf. pl. 21, Stufe Ic.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., for example, Petrie, *Corpus of Proto-dynastic Pottery*, type 50d from the royal tomb at Naqâda, first published in de Morgan, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte*, II (Paris, 1897), p. 173, fig. 572. A pot similar to this form occurred in grave F. 140.

<sup>4</sup> *JEA* 48 (1962), 10.

<sup>5</sup> *JNES* 3 (1944), 110-36.

<sup>6</sup> Petrie, *Qurneh*, pl. liv, nos. 833, 834, p. 16.



## PAPYRUS BERLIN 10463

By RICARDO A. CAMINOS

THE document which forms the subject of the present article is a mid-Eighteenth Dynasty hieratic letter written on a small papyrus preserved in the Egyptian collection of the State Museums in Berlin where it is registered as P. 10463. For permission to publish it here I must thank the authorities of the aforesaid collection.

**Description of the papyrus**

Photographs 1 and 2 on pl. VI are slightly smaller than the original and show the document in its present condition. It is a single rectangular sheet of papyrus 18 cm. wide by 9 cm. high, made up of two unequal pieces pasted together with a 1-cm. overlap. The join, neatly done, may not be readily discernible on the photographs, and has for clarity's sake been indicated in the line drawings on pl. VI A. The papyrus itself is fawn-brown in colour, mediocre of texture, and very thin. The state of preservation is excellent: in the entire document there is not a single sign injured beyond recognition, let alone wholly lost; the text is complete and its legibility unimpaired throughout.

The text begins on the technical recto<sup>1</sup> of the papyrus in lines running parallel to the join and therefore against, not with, the so-called horizontal fibres which there on the recto lie uppermost. The letter ends overleaf, upon the true verso,<sup>1</sup> where again the writing is parallel to the join, hence in the direction of the vertical fibres which on the back of the sheet are topmost. This is quite the normal New Kingdom practice in letters, memoranda, brief business or legal records, and similar short texts on papyrus.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, both recto and verso in our document are written the same way up, an arrangement which, though not at all uncommon at earlier periods, is very unusual for the New Kingdom.<sup>3</sup>

There are seven full lines of writing on the recto, and the verso bears, apart from the address,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lines. The full lines are about 17 cm. in length and stretch across virtually the entire width of the page, the side margins being narrow in the extreme. The scribe dipped his brush three times per line in most cases and used black ink only.

<sup>1</sup> Wilcken, *Hermes*, 22, 487 ff.; 41, 104 with n. 1; Ibscher, *Arch. für Papyrusforschung*, 5, 191 f.; Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, 39 f.; id. in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der class. Altertumswissenschaft*, XVIII, part 3 (= 36. Halbband, 2. Drittel), 1117; Černý, *Paper & Books*, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Erman, *Abhandl. Berlin*, 1913, pls. 1-5; Glanville, *JEA* 14, 297, n. 1; 303, n. 1; 307, n. 1; *ZÄS* 66, 106; Gardiner, *JEA* 21, 140; 26, 23; *Rev. d'Ég.* 6, 116; Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, p. xviii; id., *Paper & Books*, 21. For deviations from this practice see, for instance, Peet, *Ann. Liv.* 17, 83; Barns, *JEA* 34, 35 and presumably also *JEA* 35, 69.

<sup>3</sup> A New Kingdom parallel is supplied by one of 'Aḥmose of Peniaty's letters; cf. Glanville, *JEA* 14, 297, n. 1. The current New Kingdom practice was, however, to invert the sheet when writing overleaf so that the top of the verso corresponded to the bottom of the recto; see references quoted in the immediately preceding footnote.

When prepared for dispatch the letter was folded flat into several<sup>1</sup> narrow elongated folds parallel to the lines of writing, and then it was bent double with the crease in the middle, addressed, tied with string, and sealed. The result was the flat oblong package, about 9 cm. by 1·7 cm., reproduced at the bottom of pl. VI. Photograph 3 shows the face bearing the sender's name; the opposite face with the recipient's name appears on photograph 4. The names are written not the same way up so that, as observed elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> one could pass from the one to the other by simply rolling the package over in the fingers, not by turning it over longways from right to left. On the unfolded letter the address appears, docket-like, near the bottom of the verso (pl. VI, no. 2).

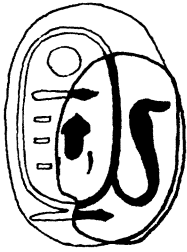


FIG. 1

The seal (pl. VI, no. 4)<sup>3</sup> was a lump of clay which, although whole in itself, bore an incomplete impression showing the lower right end of a vertical cartouche flanked by a uraeus. Obviously the imprint was made with a stamp much too large for the clay blob upon which it was pressed, so that only a portion of the engraved design came to be reproduced. In the inset (fig. 1) on this page the heavy line indicates the actual clay seal which was found intact upon the letter, while the light line is a restoration of that portion of the stamp which failed to leave a mark owing to lack of room. Although in points of detail the restoration suggested here is, admittedly, not above question,<sup>4</sup> enough remains of the cartouche to put the reading 'Akheprurē' (Amenophis II's prenomen) beyond doubt.<sup>5</sup>

Our document adds to the meagre store of hieratic texts which can be ascribed with reasonable certainty to the reign of Amenophis II,<sup>6</sup> approximately 1436–13 B.C.<sup>7</sup> Its palaeography and grammar point roughly to that period; the seal just described supplies no more than a *terminus a quo*. What dates the Berlin letter unmistakably is, however, its sender, the mayor of Thebes Sennūfe; he can be no other than the owner of the celebrated 'Tombeau des Vignes' at Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna,<sup>8</sup> whose tenure of office under Amenophis II is well attested.

The papyrus was acquired through purchase by Professor Carl Schmidt in Egypt in

<sup>1</sup> Six folds as an estimate. It appears that no record was made of this technical detail when the papyrus was unrolled.

<sup>2</sup> Peet, *Ann. Liv.* 17, 84.

<sup>3</sup> For seals on letters see James, *Hekanakhte Papers*, 45 with pl. 9 (iii); Leemans, *Papyrus égyptiens hiératiques I. 343–371 du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide*, pls. 171, 173–6, 178 (cf. Janssen, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen*, 41, 33 f.); Erman, *Abhandl. Berlin*, 1913, 14 f.

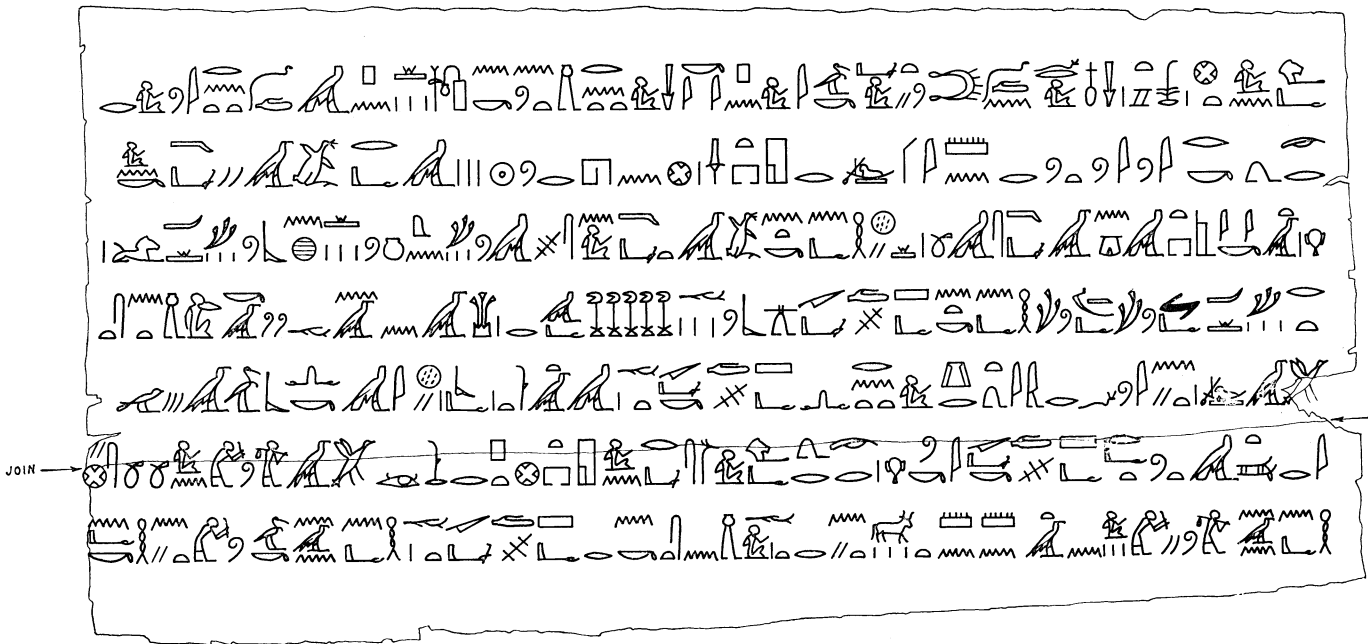
<sup>4</sup> The proportions of the preserved part do not admit a twin uraeus on the left; even the left-hand edge of the cartouche might have been missing as, for instance, in Ward, *The Sacred Beetle*, pl. 6, no. 261; Newberry, *Scarab-shaped Seals (CCG)*, pls. 3 (nos. 36146, 36149), 4 (no. 37315); Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs in the British Museum*, 1, 92, nos. 943, 946. The plural strokes were no doubt to the left of ꜥ, not beneath it, and might have been disposed differently, as in Hall, *ibid.* 1, 158, no. 1609, or in Petrie, *Historical Scarabs*, pl. 36, no. 1116; the arrangement in fig. 1 above is borrowed from Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, pl. 30, no. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, II, 284, n. 3.

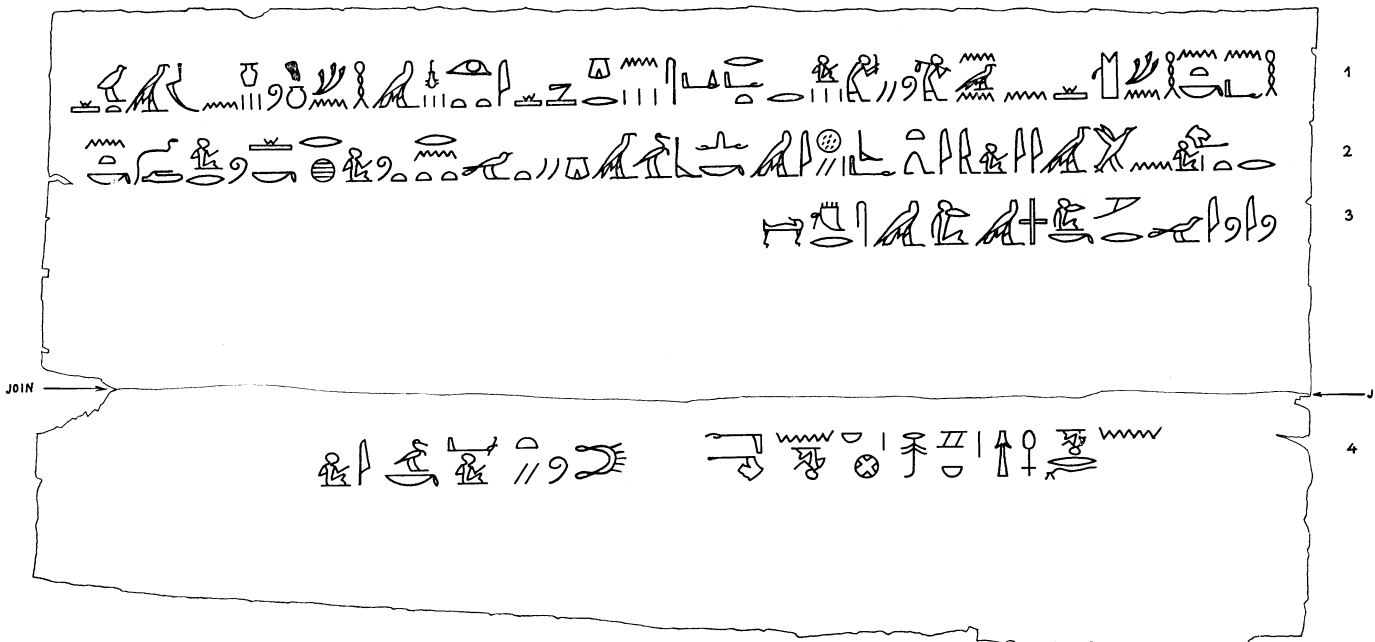
<sup>6</sup> See the lists drawn up by Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, II, 8; *ZÄS* 56, 36. Note also Pap.BM 10056 written when Amenophis II was still prince and had not yet succeeded his father Tuthmosis III on the throne; Glanville, *ZÄS* 66, 106.

<sup>7</sup> Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 443.

<sup>8</sup> Theban Tomb 96; see below, p. 31, note on *rt.* 1.



1. Recto



2. Verso

1. Recto (slightly smaller than original)

Hieroglyphic text on a papyrus fragment, consisting of approximately seven lines of characters.

1. Recto (slightly smaller than original)

2. Verso (slightly smaller than original)

Hieroglyphic text on the reverse side of a papyrus fragment, showing three lines of characters.

2. Verso (slightly smaller than original)

3. Sender (natural size)

A small, narrow fragment of papyrus with a few hieroglyphic characters.

3. Sender (natural size)

4. Addressee (natural size)

A small, narrow fragment of papyrus with a few hieroglyphic characters.

4. Addressee (natural size)

1935, and has been in the Berlin collection since. Nothing is known about its provenance and the circumstances of its discovery.<sup>1</sup>

So far as I can ascertain, P. Berlin 10463 has never been published, nor was it put on slips for the purposes of the Berlin *Wörterbuch*. Only three references to it in print are known to me, namely Černý, *JEA* 35, 29, n. 1; Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 9; and id., *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 132 (§ 207, ii) with n. 2.

### Translation

RECTO |<sup>1</sup> The mayor of the Southern City Sennūfe speaks to the tenant-farmer Baki son of Kysen as follows: This letter is brought to you by way of saying that I shall |<sup>2</sup> approach you when one will land at He-sekhem within three days. Do not let me find fault with you |<sup>3</sup> concerning your post. Do not have it lacking in good, good order. Also pick for me many plants, lotus blossoms and flowers |<sup>4</sup> . . . . fit to be offered. Also cut 5000 boards (?) and 200 . . . .; then |<sup>5</sup> the boat which is to come carrying me will fetch them, seeing that you have not cut wood in this year. Now mind, you shall not slack: |<sup>6</sup> if you are not allowed to cut you shall approach Woser, the mayor of Hū. Look here, the herdsman of Qûš |<sup>7</sup> and the herdsmen of the cattle which is under my authority, fetch them for yourself in order to cut wood along with the workmen who are with you.

VERSO |<sup>1</sup> Also give command to the herdsmen in order to cause them to have milk made ready in new jars |<sup>2</sup> in anticipation of my coming. Now mind, you shall not slack, for I know that you |<sup>3</sup> are sluggish and fond of eating lying down.

|<sup>4</sup> [*Address:*] The mayor of the Southern City Sennūfe to // the tenant-farmer Baki.

### Notes on the translation

RECTO 1. Sennūfe, mayor of Thebes under Amenophis II, is well known from various sources, two of which deserve special notice. One is a fine realistic statue of him, his wife, and his daughter in the Cairo Museum (no. 42126; Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes*, I, 76 ff. with pl. 75).<sup>2</sup> The other is his own tomb (no. 96) at Thebes, justly admired for the beauty and ingenious arrangement of its decoration; cf. Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* I (2nd ed.), part 1, 197 ff. Texts related to him are gathered in Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1417–38. See also Newberry, *PSBA* 22, 59 ff.; Kees, *Priestertum*, 55 ff.; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 423 f., 525 (6).

On *ḥwty*, 'tenant-farmer', see James, *Heḳanakhte Papers*, 10 ff.

*Pn* for *p; n* > *na*, 'son of', cf. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 54, 106 (3). I can find no trace of either Baki or his father Kysen in other records; for the names see Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 90, 13 and I, 343, 10; II, 393 respectively.

*In·tw n·k sš pn m dd*, lit. 'this letter is brought to you in saying *or* by way of saying';

<sup>1</sup> The information in this paragraph I owe to the kindness of Dr. W. Müller of the Papyrus Collection, State Museums in Berlin.

<sup>2</sup> Dated by Amenophis II's prenomen twice tattooed on Sennūfe's body; cf. Keimer, *Remarques sur le tatouage*, 49.

for parallels cf. P.Anastasi v, 22, 1 and P.Turin 1881, vs. 2, 4.<sup>1</sup> Note the use of *r dd* in Ostr. D. el-Medīna 114, rt. 2–3:<sup>2</sup> *in·tw n·k sš pn r dd*, ‘this letter is brought to you to say’. Closely related is the epistolary formula of introduction which, though well attested, is found in precisely this form in model letters only.<sup>3</sup> For differing views on this formula see Erman, *Neuaeg. Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, § 418 at variance with *ibid.* § 114 and *Wb.* III, 477, 14. To go into this problem here would take us too far afield. Suffice it to say that instances such as P.Chester Beatty IV, vs. 7, 3<sup>4</sup> and P. Leyden 348, vs. 9, 7<sup>5</sup> lend colour to the Dictionary view that is the demonstrative *pn* (cf. *Wb.* I, 510, 1; *JEA* 38, 52 top) and active participle, lit. ‘which says’.

RECTO 2. The indefinite pronoun *tw*, ‘one’, here doubtless denotes the writer, who has just referred to himself explicitly by the suffix *·i*, ‘I’. This is probably not strictly a case of *·e* representing the 1st singular suffix which is found mostly after feminine infinitives and nouns; see Erman, *Neuaeg. Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, §§ 63, 64; Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, 100, s.v. Pronouns, 101 on p. 42a; *id.*, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 141a, s.v. Pronominal suffixes. However, *·e* for *·i* suffixed to a masculine word is not wholly unexampled, see Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 484 (2, 5). Also possible but not likely is, I think, a reference to an imminent royal visit to Ḥe-sekhem with Sennūfe in the entourage: *tw*, ‘One’, for Pharaoh is well known and may occur without the kingly determinative; cf. Gardiner, *JNES* 12, 149, n. *k*.

*Ḥwt-šhm*, ‘Ḥe-sekhem’, Diospolis Parva, the capital of the VIIth nome of Upper Egypt, on the west bank of the Nile, some 117 km. or nearly 73 miles downstream from Sennūfe’s seat of office and only 53 km. or 33 miles north of the same by the ancient desert track skirting Gebel Qarn el-Gîr. See Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 33\* f.; Montet, *Géographie*, II, 93; Fischer, *JARCE* I, 15; see also below note on *rt.* 6 and concluding remarks on p. 36.

*Tꜣy* with following dative, ‘to find fault with’, is a well attested idiom; cf. Gardiner, *JNES* 12, 147 n. *a*, also Černý, *Catalogue des ostr. hiér. non litt. de Deir el Médineh*, II, pl. 1 (114, *rt.* 4); Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, I, pl. 54 (3, 2). What makes the present occurrence noteworthy philologically is that the idiom is here qualified by an adverbial adjunct; this is rare in the extreme.

RECTO 3. *Ngꜣ*, elsewhere ‘to lack, be destitute’, is here construed with preposition *m* and appears to be used transitively and dynamically for ‘to have (something) wanting in’, ‘to deprive (something) of’, a meaning to which the determinatives are pretty well

<sup>1</sup> Both passages are all right as they stand, in my opinion. For a different view see the emendations proposed by Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 68a (9<sup>a</sup>), 126a (9<sup>a</sup>). Note that the Anastasi and Turin parallels here quoted are from model, not real, letters.

<sup>2</sup> A real letter published by Černý, *Catalogue des ostr. hiér. non litt. de Deir el Médineh*, II, pl. 1. Note the analogue Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 46, 4; also Rossi and Pleyte, *Papyrus de Turin*, pl. 66, 5.

<sup>3</sup> So aptly remarked by Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography from the 18th to the 21st Dynasties* (Oxford, 1941; unpublished), 58. A score of occurrences have been noted, all of them in the writings variously known as *Schülerhandschriften* or *Miscellanies*.

<sup>4</sup> A model letter. Here again I consider it unnecessary to emend the text. For a different view see Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, II, pl. 21 (note on vs. 7, 3, b).

<sup>5</sup> A model letter, unfortunately damaged at the crucial point; see, however, Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 136a (5<sup>b</sup>).

suites. I can quote no parallel, but the cognate and synonymous verb  $g_3(w)$ , which also admits of the construction with  $m$ , is known to have a transitive meaning 'to deprive, cause to be without' beside the intransitive 'to lack'. See *Wb.* II, 349, 7; v, 152, 1-6; for the alternation of  $ng_3(w)$  and  $g_3(w)$  cf. Montet, *Sphinx*, 14, 225 f.; note also Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 128. Since  $\parallel$  may conceivably be a writing of the 3rd singular feminine dependent pronoun,<sup>1</sup> it remains uncertain whether  $ng_3$  here is the infinitive or the negatival complement; note that in *rt.* 2 it is the negatival complement of *rdi*, 'to give', which is used after the vetitive  $m$ .

*Hnc ntk tjt*, lit. 'with on your part the picking', serves here as a continuation of the preceding negative imperative; so too in Černý, *Catalogue des ostr. hiér. non litt. de Deir el Médineh*, II, pl. 1 (114, *rt.* 5). For the relatively ephemeral construction *hnc ntf sdm* cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 14, 86 ff.; Barns, *JEA* 34, 39 (8); Černý, *JEA* 35, 28. The present instance is one of the earliest on record; the construction recurs below, *rt.* 4 and *vs.* 1.

*Knw*, 'many', also an early instance. *Wb.* v, 46 f. knows of no occurrence of this word used for 'many' before the 'Amarna period'. *Knw* is often used for  $\epsilon\delta$  in Late Egyptian; cf. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 445.

*Nhbw*, 'lotus blossoms', also an early instance. *Wb.* II, 307, 3-8 quotes many occurrences of this masculine substantive, but none anterior to the Twentieth Dynasty. The equation of *nhb* to feminine *nht* (a word already attested *Pyr.* § 1223e) proposed by Loret, *Rec. trav.* 1, 192, n. 5, is questionable; see also Roeder, *ZÄS* 48, 118.

RECTO 4. The word following *hrrt*, 'flowers', is a crux to me. I can quote no other instance nor establish its reading with any degree of certainty. The sign left untranscribed might be  $\equiv$ .

*Mscw*, 'which are offered or fit to be offered'; cf. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 495 (under P. Leyden 348, *vs.* 7, 6). The determinative  $\text{𓂏}$  is used here because plant and floral offerings are being thought of.

*Hnc ntk šcd*, lit. 'with on your part the cutting', carries over the *hnc ntf sdm* construction in *rt.* 3, which is in turn a continuation of an imperative.

*Sbw*, another occurrence, earlier than those known hitherto, of this extremely rare substantive; cf. *Wb.* III, 432, 18; Erman, *ZÄS* 48, 35. The passages where it occurs afford no clue as to its meaning; 'boards', suggested above, is a sheer guess. The fact that Sennūfe ordered 5,000 of them to be cut at what seems very short notice might be taken as an indication that the *sbw* which he wanted were not very large or at all events not too difficult to cut. See also below p. 36 with n. 4.


*Mrhnm*, an unknown word of Semitic appearance.

RECTO 4-5. *Kš int st pš imw(?)*, 'then the boat shall fetch them'. For *kš sdm:f* in Late Egyptian see Erman, *Neuaeg. Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, § 675. For the intrusive, unexplained *t* in the *šdm:f* form of *ini* see Gardiner, *Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, § 447. The reading *imw* of masculine  $\text{𓂏}$  is not beyond doubt.

RECTO 6. *In-k hr spr*, 'you shall approach'. Apodosis of a conditional clause. The future or prospective meaning seems to me indisputable. Further examples of *iw:f hr sdm* conveying future or prospective meaning are: Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, 4,

<sup>1</sup>  $\parallel$  is used as objective 3rd person plural ('them') after *šdm:f* in *rt.* 4 and after imperative in *rt.* 7.

10; 16, 3; 24, 4, 10; id., *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 6, 3; 9, 10; 28, 3; 43, 1; 46, 16; 66, 5; 68, 9; 80, 7; 87, 10; 119, 1; Goedicke and Wente, *Ostraka Michaelides*, pl. 43 (66, *rt.* 7); Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, I, pls. 45 (3, *vs.* 2-3), 107 (*vs.* 1); Černý, *Catalogue des ostr. hiér. non litt. de Deir el Médineh*, II, pls. 1 (114, *vs.* 2), 4 (118, *vs.* 4). These references were gathered in the course of a rapid search through my files; careful investigation would no doubt disclose more. For a view different from that here set forth see Černý, *JEA* 35, 29. Černý denies the possibility of *iw·f hr šdm* being used with future or prospective meaning.

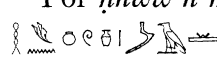
*Hsty-c Wsr n Hwt*, 'Woser, the mayor of Hû'. This Woser seems not to be mentioned elsewhere. Just one other mayor of Diospolis Parva appears to be on record, namely a Senwosre, known only from a statue found at El-Kâb and said to be Middle Kingdom in date; cf. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, II, 19 (no. 407). *Hwt* is short for *Hwt-Šhm*, Diospolis Parva, modern Hû (see above note on *rt.* 2); the abbreviated form  is found elsewhere, but the present instance is perhaps the earliest one so far observed;<sup>1</sup> in any case it shows that the town now known as Hû was thus called already in the fifteenth century B.C.

*Gsy*, 'Gasy', modern Qûş, cf. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 27\* f.; Montet, *Géographie*, II, 81 f. Identical spelling as in our papyrus occurs in the Abydene geographical list; cf. Mariette, *Abydos*, II, pl. 12 (20, right). It has been suggested that Qûş might have been Sennūfe's ancestral home;<sup>2</sup> one of his grandfathers, at all events, was a second prophet of Haroēris at Qûş,<sup>3</sup> and he himself held the office of overseer of prophets of the same god and place.<sup>4</sup>

RECTO 7. *Mniwy*, 'herdsmen'. The group rendered  $\omega$  in the autographed transcription is no doubt a very cursive writing of  $\mathcal{Q}\mathcal{Q}$  (cf. *ty* in *rt.* 2), which is a frequent plural ending in Late Egyptian.

VERSO 1. *Hnc ntk hn*, lit. 'with on your part the commanding', continues the imperative *in*, 'fetch', in *rt.* 7. For the construction cf. above note on *rt.* 3.

*Mniwy*, 'herdsmen';  $\omega$  is for  $\mathcal{Q}\mathcal{Q}$ , see note on *rt.* 7 above.

For *hnwꜛw n mꜛwt*, lit. 'hnw-jars of newness', i.e. new *hnw*-jars, cf. P.Ebers 53, 1-2:  'new *hnw*-jar', where the text is undoubtedly meant to be taken literally;<sup>5</sup> I cannot help feeling, however, that in our text the 'newness' meant is that of the product contained in the jars (that is, it is fresh milk that Sennūfe wants, not new containers), even if the genitival adjunct strictly qualifies *hnwꜛw*; so too Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 51, 5, where fresh or newly collected honey is almost certainly meant.

VERSO 2. *R-hst·i n pꜛy·i iit*, lit. 'in front of me for or because of my coming'. For *r-hst* used with temporal sense see Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 202. The possessive

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 132 with n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Kees, *Priestertum*, 55; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 423.

<sup>3</sup> Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1433, 15. 17; for the unpublished context of the two dockets see Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* I (2nd ed.), part I, 198 (8), II and 199 (21) respectively.

<sup>4</sup> Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1422, 7 (partly restored); 1427, 20.

<sup>5</sup> Grapow and others, *Grundriss der Medizin*, IV, pt. I, 161; V, 283; VII, pt. I, 343 (s.v. *mꜛ*); VII, pt. 2, 606 (s.v. *hnw*).



adjective *pꜣy·i* shows that the infinitive  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  is syntactically treated as masculine in gender, which is the normal Late-Egyptian usage; cf. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, 14, 14; 16, 9; 17, 12; Erman, *Neuaeg. Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, § 400. The strange request for milk (see below p. 37) at first led me to render *n pꜣy·i iit* ‘because of my ill-condition’, with *iit* for *iyt* (*quod venit*)<sup>1</sup> simply determined with  $\Delta$  as in Peasant B. 1, 154; for the lack of concord of gender (*pꜣy·i* masc., *iit* fem.) I found a parallel in *pꜣ wdt·n pꜣ·i nb* ‘that which my lord commanded’, quoted Gardiner, *Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, p. 417, n. 14. On second thoughts I rejected this interpretation as being, though possible, rather far-fetched.

VERSO 3. *Wi(ꜣ)wi(ꜣ)*, ‘sluggish’, or else ‘spiritless, languid, lacking in mettle, feeble’. Exactly the same spelling will be found in a Berlin–Glasgow ostrakon; cf. Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, 1, pl. 42 (4 *rt.* 2, *vs.* 2) superseding *Hieratische Papyrus aus den könig. Museen zu Berlin*, III, pl. 30 (P. 10616, *rt.* 2). *Wiꜣwiꜣ* is a 6-*lit.* adjective verb formed by reduplication. Its simplex has been pointed out by Wilson, *JEA* 17, 213 n. 1; noteworthy is the occurrence in Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, 1, pl. 44 (4, 2).

*M sdr*, ‘while lying down’, meaning not quite beyond question. It might also mean ‘while being inactive, at rest’; for this very ancient sense of *sdr* cf. Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, 28 (6). Some may also interpret it as a mere adverbial phrase of place and translate ‘(you love eating) in bed’, in view of *sdr*, ‘bed’, *Wb.* IV, 392, 11; Goedicke and Wentz, *Ostraka Michaelides*, pls. 48 (14 *rt.* 7, 8), 57 (6 *vs.* 6).

### Commentary

The document translated and annotated above is a business letter plain-spoken and curt to a degree, clearly the letter of a high-ranking functionary to an inferior far beneath him. The preamble is cut down to a bare minimum; it merely indicates who the sender and the recipient are and contains no opening greeting or salutation of any kind. The mayor of Thebes Sennūfe writes to Baki, an obscure tenant-farmer in the Sistrum nome in Upper Egypt. He goes straight to the point, informing Baki of his imminent arrival at He-sekhem and ordering him to procure for him a number of different articles: plants, flowers, and pieces of wood of unknown description, also milk. His orders are precise and peremptory. He may perhaps trust Baki’s ability to execute them, but he is under no delusions about his industry and disposition. He tells Baki bluntly that he is well aware of his lack of mettle and lazy habits. This uncomplimentary remark brings the letter to an end. There is no closing formula of farewell.

The letter sheds light, however dim, on Sennūfe’s career and activities. Mayor of Thebes is only his highest and best-known title; it is a matter of record that at one time or another he occupied posts of consequence in the administration of Amūn’s temporal holdings also.<sup>2</sup> He was, among other things, overseer of the gardens of Amūn, overseer of the orchard or tree-plantation of Amūn,<sup>3</sup> and overseer of the cattle of Amūn.

<sup>1</sup> Maspero, *Rec. trav.* 40, 12; id., *Hymne au Nil*, pp. xxv f.

<sup>2</sup> The necessary references will be found on p. 31 above, note on *rt.* 1, in the literature quoted apropos of Sennūfe.

<sup>3</sup> The exact nuance of the title *imy-r ct nt ht nt Imn* is elusive; regarding *ct nt ht* one wavers between the physical meaning ‘enclosure of trees’, i.e. orchard or tree-plantation, and ‘department of trees’, with emphasis on the bureaucratic aspect. See *Wb.* I, 160, 13; Kees, *ZÄS* 72, 42 (S. 6); Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones*, pl. 23 (129, 1); particularly Gunn and Peet, *JEA* 15, 168; Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, 9, n. 4.

It is not known, however, just when he held these posts. At the head of the letter Sennūfe calls himself mayor of Thebes, and it is the simplest course to assume that it was in that official capacity that he wrote it: plants and flowers might have been wanted for state offerings and the wood for, say, public works. Alternatively, the letter could be interpreted as being a strictly private document: a pious man of means might have placed just such a request for floral offerings, while the instructions concerning wood are such as a wealthy landowner might have sent the bailiff of his estate. The employment, for the task of cutting wood, of herdsmen of cattle which was under Sennūfe's authority merely but which was not his own, is no obstacle to viewing the letter as a record written in connexion with personal, as opposed to official, business. Embezzlement is as old as the world; the mayor of He-sekhem was friendly and accommodating and it would not be awkward to resort to him if necessary. There is, however, a third and to my mind quite likely possibility, and that is that the letter concerns neither the civil administration of Thebes nor Sennūfe's own private affairs, but is a document related to the management of Amūn's temporal estates. Sennūfe was overseer of the gardens, the fields, and the tree-plantation of Amūn, and as such it behoved him, among other matters, to concern himself with items like plants, flowers, and timber, and he was now ordering such articles from estates of the god in the Sistrum nome. The cattle mentioned in the letter was cattle belonging to Amūn, bred and tended by herdsmen in holdings of that god also situated in the VIIth nome. As overseer of the cattle of Amūn Sennūfe had authority to order its herdsmen to help in the cutting of wood, all the more as the operation was on business of the god. Should this third alternative prove to be the right one, it would follow that the above-mentioned posts in the administration of Amūn's temporalities were held by Sennūfe at the same time that he was mayor of Thebes; indeed, one might think that as mayor of Thebes he occupied some of those posts *ex officio*.<sup>1</sup>

The letter poses other problems which for reasons of space cannot be investigated here, and I must make shift with a few random remarks. Sennūfe's arrival at He-sekhem by river is announced within three days of, presumably, the date of writing, but just where he is writing or arriving from is not stated. Assuming the letter to have been written and dispatched from the Southern City, an average courier could have taken it overland to He-sekhem in a matter of hours,<sup>2</sup> while it would have taken Sennūfe from two to three days to sail downstream thither from Thebes.<sup>3</sup> However, it must not be taken for granted, by any means, that Sennūfe wrote and/or proceeded to He-sekhem from his headquarters at Thebes.

As for the requested wood, even if the uncertain *sbw* and the wholly unknown *mrhnn* should turn out to be pieces of small size and easy to cut such as pegs or wedges or rough sticks, the sheer number of pieces wanted, 5,200 in all, makes the order rather tall.<sup>4</sup> It

<sup>1</sup> The question has been raised by Helck, *Verwaltung*, 423.

<sup>2</sup> For the distance see above, p. 32, note on *rt. 2*.

<sup>3</sup> Information orally supplied by Reīs Mohamed Abd er-Rasul of Nag' Hammādi, a skipper with forty years' experience on the Nile. Navigation in that stretch of the Nile where He-sekhem lies and the river flows east-west is notoriously difficult and slow; cf. Kees, *Ancient Egypt: A Cultural Topography*, 98 f.

<sup>4</sup> For wood in amounts of 5,000 units or more see P.Harris I, 37a, 12; Černý, *Catalogue des ostr. hiér. non litt.*

would be interesting to know whether they were to be cut straight off trees still standing in plantations at or near Ḥe-sekhem or sawn from timbers kept in some local magazine. In Egypt woods and trees were notoriously scanty, so one rather inclines to think of a lumber-yard in the Sistrum nome with stores of native and imported timbers. On the other hand, one cannot help recalling N-shene-n-Sētekh, a locality mentioned in New Kingdom texts which suggests the existence, at the time, of neighbouring woods or at least a grove: *Nš-šny-n-Stḥ* means 'The trees of Seth', and the place thus named was in the immediate vicinity of Ḥe-sekhem, across the river, in the same nome.<sup>1</sup> It appears it was left to Baki to guess how much time he would have to make ready the 5,200 pieces of wood, seeing that the letter was not explicit as to just how long Sennūfe's ship would stop at Ḥe-Sekhem waiting for them. Surely there was no time to lose, for at any rate there were also plants and flowers to pick and in addition milk had to be got ready against Sennūfe's arrival. Coming as it does from a grown-up the request for *milk* is perplexing. Was he in poor health and required it for his own feeding? Or were there children in his party? Or was it for offerings?

The clay seal stamped with a cartouche and uraeus found upon Sennūfe's letter has been described above. There are parallels for the use of seals with kingly names and emblems upon letters from people not of royal or even exalted station.<sup>2</sup> It may be pointed out, however, that Sennūfe might have used his own scarab had he chosen to do so. We know he had one.<sup>3</sup> The seal was intact when the papyrus reached the Berlin Museum in 1935. Obviously the letter had been written, folded, sealed, and, whatever vicissitudes befell it afterwards, it had never been opened. It seems idle to speculate why it had not. Scores of reasons, possibilities, and situations can be readily imagined, all equally plausible and *pari passu* all unascertainable. One circumstance we can be reasonably sure of, however, and that is that Baki never read Mayor Sennūfe's letter.

#### Postscript: Addition to pages 33 f. above, note on Recto 6

The typescript of the foregoing article was already in the printer's hands when there came to my notice Wenté, *Syntax of Verbs of Motion in Egyptian*, 127, 133; and id., *JNES* 20, 122, n. j. Wenté refers to the time-position of *iw-f hr šdm* and quotes many cases of that construction where, in his own words, 'a future rendition is mandatory'.

[On this construction see also the *Brief Communication* on page 173. Ed.]

*de Deir el Médineh*, II, pls. 16 (143, *rt.* 6), 17 (144, *rt.* 14, 16), 19 (147, *vs.* 3, 8); IV, pl. 31 (334, 2). All these cases refer to ordinary firewood, and the unnamed unit may be surmised to be either a faggot or a small single stick; moreover, the high amounts in these texts are totals, not single deliveries as in Sennūfe's letter. Note remarks by Maspero, *Rec. trav.* 1, 59, quoted by Hartmann, *L'Agriculture dans l'ancienne Égypte*, 23.

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 31\* f.

<sup>2</sup> Janssen, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen*, 41, 33 f.

<sup>3</sup> One scarab bearing his name has been found, see Newberry, *Scarabs*, 163 (no. 8) with pl. 29 (no. 8). Of doubtful attribution is the one published by Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, pl. 80 (no. 37).

## A LONG-LOST PORTRAIT OF PRINCESS NEFERURĒꜣ FROM DEIR EL-BAḤRI

By K. A. KITCHEN

WHILE passing through Dundee in late July of 1956, I paid a very brief visit to the City Museum and noticed among the Egyptian antiquities on display the fragment that forms the subject of this note. I was immediately struck by its resemblance to the portrait of the princess NeferurĒꜣ from Deir el-Baḥri reproduced by Petrie<sup>1</sup> from Rosellini.<sup>2</sup> Reference to the plates of Naville's publication<sup>3</sup> showed that by his time the portrait-heads of NeferurĒꜣ on both the south and north walls of the central sanctuary had been removed or destroyed. As it faces towards the right, the Dundee fragment could conceivably have come from the scene on the south wall in which NeferurĒꜣ appears (Naville, pl. 141).

There the matter had perforce to rest through pressure of other concerns until August 1962 when I revisited Dundee. The fragment was no longer on display, but in response to my inquiries the Curator, Mr. J. D. Boyd, and his staff kindly enabled me to examine the stone personally and provided me with a rubbing of the sculptured face. A subsequent comparison of the measurements of the fragment with the scale drawing of Naville's pl. 141 made it more than probable that this head now in Dundee is that seen and copied *in situ* by Champollion and Rosellini in 1828/9. At one stroke this fact adds very greatly to the interest and importance of the Dundee fragment and restores to the knowledge of Egyptologists the only known surviving 'portrait' in low relief<sup>4</sup> of the famous but curiously ephemeral daughter of the redoubtable Queen Hatshepsut and ward of her brilliant favourite Sennemūt, builder of the temple from which this fragment comes.

In view of the interest of this piece, it seemed desirable to make it more widely known. For their kind permission to publish the relief, I am indebted to the Dundee Corporation Art Galleries and Museums Committee, and am especially grateful to Mr. J. D. Boyd, the Curator, and his staff for their interest and prompt helpfulness in supplying information requested and not least for the excellent photograph (pl. VII, 1) which accompanies this note.

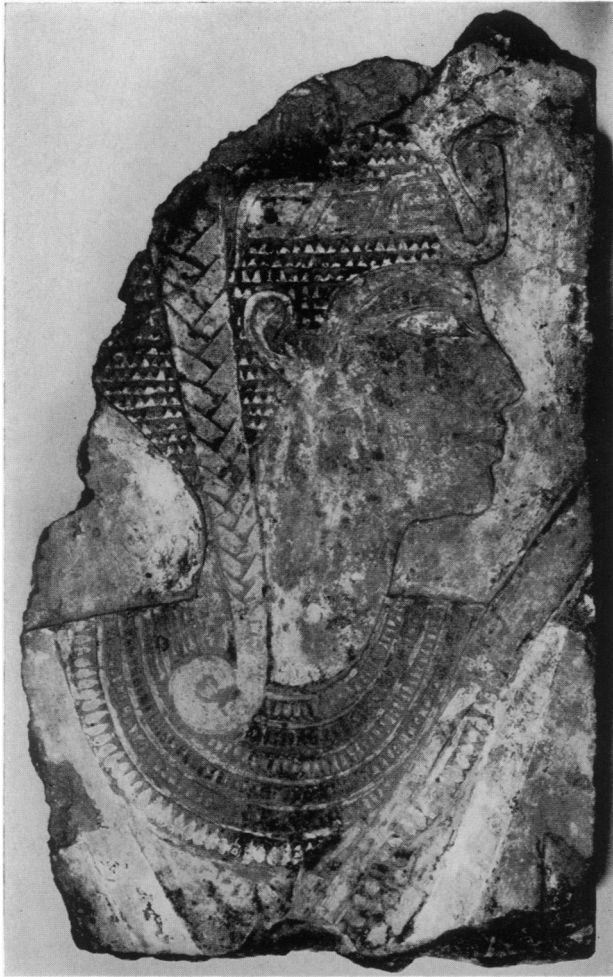
The photograph makes any extended commentary unnecessary. The crisp, precise style of the piece is typical of Deir el-Baḥri low relief work. The maximum height of the stone near the right-hand side is 29.8 cm. The maximum width, across the shoulders,

<sup>1</sup> *History of Egypt*,<sup>4</sup> II (1904), fig. 38, p. 77 (but erroneously reversed, following Rosellini).

<sup>2</sup> Rosellini, *Monumenti storici*, pl. 2, 8; cf. Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* II, 126 (137).

<sup>3</sup> *Temple of Deir el Bahari*, v, pls. 141, 143.

<sup>4</sup> For conventional heads of NeferurĒꜣ in the round on statues of Sennemūt, cf., for example, Aldred, *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* (1951), pls. 30-33.



1. A PORTRAIT OF PRINCESS NEFERURE



2. CANOPIC CHEST OF QUEEN TIA

is 18.8 cm. The fragment is thickest at the bottom right-hand corner, 8.6 cm., thinning to 5.8 cm. near the top right-hand corner, and to only 0.5 cm. along the left-hand edge. On the right-hand edge, the lower line of the sceptre meets that edge at about 2.7 cm. from where the shoulder-line also meets the edge. From the shoulder-line to where the upper line of the sceptre meets the edge is about 4.4 cm. Some traces of paint still remain. The projecting uraeus is yellow, and the hair or close-fitting wig has traces of a dull greenish blue. Traces of red paint can be seen in the eye. The two diagonal shoulder-straps show some white paint. On the elaborate collar, the thin dividing lines next to the neck and between the segmented bands are yellow. The five segmented bands show blue, green, blue, green, blue, beginning with blue on the band nearest to the neck. The row of 'drops' that edges the collar shows traces of red. Between the shaft of the sceptre and the right-hand shoulder-strap (below the edge of the collar) are further spots of blue and yellow of uncertain significance.

A few hints about the modern history of the block can be gained. It must have been removed from Deir el-Bahri sometime between 1828/9 when Champollion and Rosellini copied it *in situ*<sup>1</sup> and 1894 when Naville observed<sup>2</sup> that 'these scenes have been much defaced since the time of Lepsius',<sup>3</sup> while five years later the Misses Benson and Gourlay remarked<sup>4</sup> that 'The quaint portrait of this princess . . . was preserved until lately at Deir el Bahari'. How 'lately' is uncertain, but since Naville mentions that the famous scenes of the fat Queen of Punt were stolen 'Since the publication of Mariette's Deir el Bahari',<sup>5</sup> i.e. since 1877, it is possible that the NeferurĒ head was cut out at the same period, i.e. between 1877 and 1894. It then passed into the antiquities trade at Luxor, as indicated by an old legend in black ink on the right-hand edge of the block: 'Dundee—taken from the tombs at Thebes.'<sup>6</sup> The eventual purchaser was Sir James Caird of Dundee from whom it finally reached the Museum: 'This piece came to us as part of the Sir James K. Caird Bt. Collection Bequest in April 1917. Caird was an industrialist in the city and a personal friend of Sir Flinders Petrie. He did actually accompany Petrie on one of his expeditions.'<sup>7</sup>

Of the career of Princess NeferurĒ herself, little enough is known. She was daughter of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis II, and the titles,<sup>8</sup> *King's Daughter of his body, his Beloved, Lady of the Two Lands, Mistress of the South and North, God's Wife* indicate her

<sup>1</sup> Champollion, *Monuments*, pls. 192, 3; 194, 1. 3. Rosellini, loc. cit., and pl. 19, 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Deir el Bahari, Introductory Memoir*, 27.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. since 1844-5 (cf. Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia and the Peninsula of Sinai* (1853), 243-74, 321-2 (Letters 28-30. 34); Deir el Bahri, 255-6; *LD Text*, III, 113). Only the north wall scene was copied and published in the *Denkmäler* (III, 20c; *Text*, III, 112). The cartouche of NeferurĒ on the north wall was removed after Lepsius's time and before Naville's copy.

<sup>4</sup> *The Temple of Mut in Asher* (1899), 169.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit. 24, n. 1. One sculpture was recovered and is in Cairo (W. S. Smith, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (1958), 136, pl. 92b).

<sup>6</sup> The rock-cut sanctuary at Deir el-Bahri would easily be included in this loose definition by a non-Egyptologist. A more recent ink legend adds: 'New Kingdom: 24.'

<sup>7</sup> Communication from Mr. Boyd, Curator.

<sup>8</sup> From north wall of the sanctuary, Deir el-Bahri: Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, v, pl. 143; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 391; on south wall, only *Beloved King's Daughter, God's Wife* (Naville, pl. 141; Sethe, loc. cit.).

exalted rank of Crown Princess and future queen of Egypt.<sup>1</sup> However, Neferurē<sup>c</sup> never seems to have become queen-consort (*hmt-nsw*) of Tuthmosis III, although she lived at any rate until the 11th year of the joint reign of Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut;<sup>2</sup> her relationship to the young pharaoh is never more than *King's Sister*, as on scarabs.<sup>3</sup> Why Neferurē<sup>c</sup> never became queen-consort is not certainly known. If she was born only shortly before Tuthmosis II's death and died while yet a child of 12 or 13 years in or soon after the 11th year of Tuthmosis III, her early death might be sufficient explanation, but this is pure conjecture. The famous Sennemūt was High Steward to both Hatshepsut and Neferurē<sup>c</sup> as God's Wives,<sup>4</sup> and served as Tutor (or 'nurse') to Neferurē<sup>c</sup>. It is possible that, when Sennemūt took on the major charge of High Steward of Amūn, he passed on the stewardship of Neferurē<sup>c</sup>'s estate to his brother Senmen.<sup>5</sup>

### Postscript

Since writing the above, I have visited Deir el-Baḥri and was able to place the pencil-rubbing of the Dundee head in the gap in the south wall of the Sanctuary. It fitted exactly. The provenance of this relief is thus placed beyond all doubt. My thanks are due to Dr. L. Dabrowski and Eng. W. Kolataj of the Polish expedition working at Deir el-Baḥri for their practical help on the spot.

<sup>1</sup> Especially from the title *God's Wife* (cf. Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun* (1940), 13, 45-46) and the designations *s(t)-s wrt* (*Urk.* IV, 34, 16) and *sst-nsww wrt* (Allen, *AJSL* 44 (1927), 53) see Sethe, *Das Hatshepsut-Problem*, 16 and n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, Peet, Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, 1<sup>2</sup>, pl. 58 and II, 151-2 (no. 179), the date being curiously attributed to Neferurē<sup>c</sup> herself.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Petrie, *History*, II, fig. 39, p. 78 or his *Scarabs and Cylinders*, pl. 26, 38.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri*, 145-6; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (1958), 357-61, 363, and full references.

<sup>5</sup> So Helck, *op. cit.* 361. Helck's remarks on Senmen and Hatshepsut (p. 358, based on Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 418, 15 ff.) require revision in the light of Davies-Macadam, *Corpus of Egyptian Funerary Cones*, no. 120; compare already, Davies, *PSBA* 35 (1913), 283. At his tomb (no. 252), Senmen had an effigy of himself holding Neferurē<sup>c</sup> sculptured from a suitably shaped rock (Davies, *op. cit.*, pl. 49).

## THE PARENTAGE OF KING SIPTAḤ

By CYRIL ALDRED

## I

RECENT study by various scholars<sup>1</sup> has thrown into sharp relief the reign of King Siptah and some of the problems of his period. In this article the present writer would like to keep the spotlight trained on the subject for a little longer in order to draw attention to some neglected features of the reign which may have an important bearing on the history of the later years of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

Among the items of funerary furniture which Harry Burton retrieved from the sarcophagus chamber of the tomb of King Siptah, no. 47 in the Bibân el-Molûk, in the seasons of 1912 and 1913 while working for Theodore M. Davis,<sup>2</sup> were fragments of an alabaster canopic chest<sup>3</sup> illustrated in pl. VII, 2 and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. I am greatly indebted to Dr. William C. Hayes and Mr. Eric Young for supplementing my recollection of this object with further particulars, drawings, and photographs, and allowing me to publish them here. Dr. Hayes has already referred to this object in his *The Scepter of Egypt*, part II, pp. 356-7, where he deals with the material recovered by Burton, and describes the chest as belonging to the 'King's Wife, Ti-*a*'. His warrant for this ascription is the name, which appears in a broken cartouche on the more extensive wall of the chest, and most of her title of *hmt-nsw*<sup>4</sup> apparent in two examples written in opposite directions on adjacent sides (see fig. 1). Hayes points out that though this queen is not mentioned in extant documents of the late Nineteenth Dynasty, the style of her canopic chest and its authenticated finding-place make it impossible that she can have been the better known Queen Ti-*a*, the consort of Amenophis II.<sup>5</sup> Apart from surmising that she appears to have been one of the more important members of Siptah's harem, Hayes cautiously declines to identify her husband, though at a first view the inference is strong that she can have been no other than a wife of Siptah himself. Despite the lack

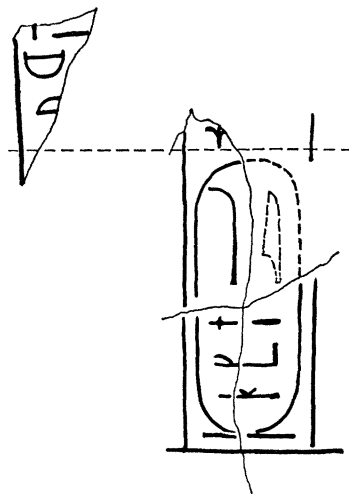


FIG. 1

<sup>1</sup> V. Beckerath, *ZDMG* 106, 241-51; *JEA* 48, 70-74; Christophe, *Bibl. Or.* 14, 10-13; Gardiner, *JEA* 40, 40-44; *ibid.* 44, 12-22; Helck, *ZDMG* 105, 39-52. <sup>2</sup> Burton, *Bull. MMA* 19, 17 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Size, H. 22.1 cm., W. 26.5 cm., D. 10.5 cm. <sup>4</sup>  $\text{𓆎}$  and  $\text{𓆏}$  are also possible, see p. 46, n. 3, below.

<sup>5</sup> Gauthier, *L. des R.* II, 287. It is also probable that it is the earlier queen whose chapel is referred to in P. Wilbour as being in the House of Amûn (Gardiner, *Wilbour*, II, 132).



of any reference to her in existing documents of the period, she was sufficiently exalted to have had her name enclosed in a cartouche and is therefore unlikely to have been one of Siptah's concubines.

The fact that Ti'a's canopic chest was found in Valley Tomb 47, and from its stained condition bears signs of having been used, makes it certain that the queen was buried there. Accordingly, we should expect to identify other bits of her equipment among the debris, and, indeed, it would seem that some of the alabaster fragments belong to her sarcophagus.<sup>1</sup> It may well be that the upper part of a fine alabaster shawabti-figure of a woman, unearthed by Ayrton in his initial clearance, was also from her deposit,<sup>2</sup> and hers may be the 'scattered human bones' that were found in the granite sarcophagus of the king,<sup>3</sup> since his own mummy was found by Loret in the tomb of Amenophis II. Much more significant, however, is the piece of wood casually referred to by Ayrton, who, unfortunately, omits to supply any illustration or diagram, as incised with blue painted glyphs reading, 'The Royal Mother, Thi'y'.<sup>4</sup> Through the courtesy of Dr. Victor Girgis, Chief Keeper of the Cairo Museum, and his staff, I was enabled on

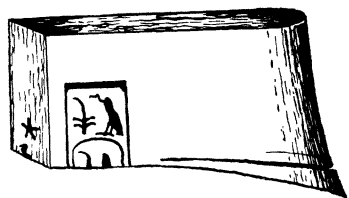


FIG. 2

a recent visit to Cairo to trace this fragment which is described by Daressy (?) in the *Journal d'entrée* as follows: '38778. Morceau de bois (haut de sotep?) portant gravé  $\downarrow$   $\text{N}=\text{[sic]}$   $\text{C}||\text{||}$  sur deux côtés et  $\star$   $\text{B}[\text{sic}]$  en avant: bois, longueur 0.08m. Vallée des rois; Davis, 1905-1906' (see fig. 2).

The wood is hard, and nut-brown in colour, the glyphs being neatly incised and inlaid with blue pigment. All the faces, with the exception of the bottom edge, are worked. My scale drawing of the object does not give its true thickness, which is 2.5 cm. Daressy's suggestion that this fragment was part of a *dua-wer* adze<sup>5</sup> is very plausible, especially in view of the inscription on its front face which is probably to be restored as  $\star$   $\text{B}[\text{sic}]$ . Its size, too, would accord with such an identification, though the instrument must have been rather less elaborate than the specimen found in the tomb of Amenophis II.<sup>6</sup> The fact that this object was found below the hard, compacted, water-laid rubbish in the second corridor is in favour of its being part of the original tomb deposit, and there can be little doubt that the name of the Queen must be restored as  $\text{C}||\text{||}$ . We thus learn that Ti'a was not only a King's Wife but a King's Mother also, and this fact makes it certain that she cannot have been the consort of Siptah, as no son of his is known

<sup>1</sup> Burton, loc. cit. Siptah's sarcophagus was of red granite, but he may also have had an outermost coffin of alabaster similar to the famous example made for Sethos I.

<sup>2</sup> Davis, *T. of Siptah*, 13. Miss E. Thomas reminds me that Howard Carter's Ms. I. J. 387, in the Griffith Institute, mentions his finding 'east of (Valley) Tomb 47, foot-hill, two fragments, faience, model coffin, Queen Thiaa (No. 351)'. These presumably entered the Carnarvon Collection and are those described by Hayes in *Scepter* II, 146. They must refer to the Ramesside queen since their finding-place is nowhere near Tomb 43 or 35, the only other obvious sources.

<sup>3</sup> Burton, op. cit. 16. The possibility has to be admitted, however, that if Cairo *Cat. Gen.*, no. 61080 is the mummy of Siptah, then no. 61082 may well be the body of Ti'a, since conditions conducive to the survival of the first probably also operated in the case of the second. Both were found together in Tomb 35.

<sup>4</sup> Davis, loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> Davis and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, 59.

<sup>6</sup> Daressy, *Fouilles*, no. 24330.

to have assumed the Double Crown. She must therefore have been the mother of SiptaḤ himself, since he would hardly have granted the unusual honour of burial in his own tomb to a woman who was not intimately related to him either as chief wife or mother.

If Queen Ti'a was the mother of SiptaḤ, we may properly seek to identify the king who was his father. For this purpose we shall require to make something of a digression.

## II

The reliefs on the walls of the Second Court of the Great Temple at Medinet Habu showing the procession of royal statues,<sup>1</sup> give the sequence of those kings of the Nineteenth Dynasty whom Ramesses III considered his legitimate predecessors. From this representation we can see that MerenptaḤ is immediately followed by Sethos II and Setnakhte. Amenmesse, SiptaḤ, Queen Twosre, and the usurper 'Irsu' have been excluded, though they are known to have ruled for a total of nearly twenty years, and all left large tombs in the Bibân el-Molûk. A long discussion by Gardiner in two recent articles<sup>2</sup> has succeeded in clearing up a number of ambiguities in the order of succession of the later kings of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and makes it evident that Sethos II was immediately followed by SiptaḤ, and he by Queen Twosre who then assumed a Pharaonic titulary, adding Sitrē'meramûn to her name. The position of Amenmesse is still somewhat problematical but there is little doubt that he has to be intercalated between MerenptaḤ and Sethos II in view of the evidence afforded by the succession of the contemporary viziers. Pinḥasy and Pensakhmet were the incumbents in years 7 and 8 of MerenptaḤ.<sup>3</sup> The Pra'emḥab of years 5 and 6 of Sethos II<sup>4</sup> was replaced by Ḥori later in year 1 of SiptaḤ<sup>5</sup> and the latter continued to hold office into the earlier Twentieth Dynasty. Between Pinḥasy and Pra'emḥab, the vizierate for a time at least must have been in the hands of that Amenmose who was discharged by the 'Mose' of P.Salt 124.<sup>6</sup> As Černý has pointed out, this dismissal could only have been effected by a Pharaoh, and the Mose in question is almost certainly Amenmesse.

It is clear that SiptaḤ's claim to the throne was but slender and that in after-years he was ignored as a usurper whereas Sethos II was commemorated as a legitimate king, the only legitimate ruler, in fact, of the later years of the Nineteenth Dynasty. SiptaḤ, therefore, is unlikely to have been a son of Sethos II as Gardiner surmises, and in fact there is indirect evidence for an antipathy on the part of SiptaḤ towards his predecessor's memory, as we hope to show. Since SiptaḤ was still a young man when he died, it seems that he was little more than a minor at his accession, and his pretensions were therefore probably promoted by such powerful officials as the Great Chancellor Bay, who openly boasts of having 'fixed his eye on him alone'<sup>7</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *Medinet Habu*, IV, pls. 203. 209.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *JEA* locc. citt.

<sup>3</sup> Cairo Ostr. Cat. no. 25504, *rt.* II, 7; *vs.* II, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cairo Ostr. Cat. no. 25515, *rt.* I, 1-3; *vs.* IV, 4; no. 25538, 1-2.

<sup>5</sup> Cairo Ostr. Cat. no. 25517, *rt.* 8, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Černý, *JEA* 15, 255.

<sup>7</sup> Naville, *XIth Dyn. Temple at D. el-B.* II, pl. 10k.

‘established him on the throne of his father’.<sup>1</sup> Siptah’s dependence upon Bay has been so well underlined by Gardiner that there is little point in further stressing their relationship. But it would, indeed, be exceptional if such a prince in such a situation did not have his claims made good by the time-hallowed custom of marrying the royal heiress, who in this case, in view of her subsequent arrogation of power, can have been no other than Queen Twosre, the widow of Sethos II and the central figure in the history of the late Nineteenth Dynasty. Although her parentage is unknown, she must have been the only surviving heiress in the direct line of descent, a daughter of hers, presumably by Sethos II, having died young.<sup>2</sup> The position of Twosre, in fact, offers some striking parallels to that of Ankhesenamun at the end of the previous dynasty. Despite Gardiner’s change of opinion regarding Twosre’s exact status, the present writer sees no reason for doubting that age-old precedents were scrupulously followed and that she was married to Siptah. Surely it is in the light of this circumstance that the reliefs in the entrance corridor of her tomb have to be interpreted, showing that when they were carved soon after his regnal year 2,<sup>3</sup> he was represented in them as taking precedence of her as her husband. By the time that the inner pillars of her original sarcophagus chamber (hall J)<sup>4</sup> came to be decorated, presumably after the death of Siptah, Twosre had the figure of her consort changed to that of her first husband,<sup>5</sup> and it was probably also then that the names of Siptah were replaced by those of Sethos II throughout the tomb. It would hardly have been anyone other than Twosre who could have been responsible for making these alterations. ‘Irsu’, if he were Bay as seems probable (see below), can have had no obvious reason for erasing the name of his particular protégé in this way, and Setnakhte would surely not have changed the cartouches of Siptah into those of Sethos II if he intended to usurp the entire tomb. The subordinate position of Twosre at the beginning of the reign of Siptah is therefore amply demonstrated. The change of ruler on day 19 of the first month of winter<sup>6</sup> takes place smoothly without special comment in such documents as have survived. If Twosre had been at this time the all-powerful character that some scholars would like to make her, she would hardly have had herself depicted in the privacy of her tomb as subordinate to the young Siptah, nor have waited until his death before changing the cartouches of her consort into those of Sethos II. Nor would she have been shown at Amada worshipping the names of Siptah,<sup>7</sup> especially as these are in the form approved for the later years of his reign when her grip on affairs might be thought to have become even firmer.

The alterations in the tomb of Twosre have to be considered, then, in relation to similar changes in the tombs of Siptah and Sethos II where the royal cartouches, with the exception of one or two oversights, have been obliterated and subsequently

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *JEA* 44, 17.

<sup>2</sup> See my Brief Communication on p. 176 of this issue.

<sup>4</sup> Porter and Moss, *Top. Bib.* 1, 14.

<sup>6</sup> Cairo Ostr. Cat. no. 25515, *vs.* II, 21 ff.; *JEA* 5, 190–1. Černý points out to me that Siptah’s tomb appears to have been begun some three months after the change of ruler, since on day 21, month 4 of Winter the workmen were instructed as to the work for Siptah and issued with tools for the purpose [O. 25515, *vs.* IV, 5; v, 1–2].

<sup>3</sup> Cairo Ostr. J. 72452; *JEA* 40, 43, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *JEA* 40, 42; *ibid.* 44, 18–19.

<sup>7</sup> Gauthier, *Le Temple d’Amada*, pl. 21.

restored. The present writer is well aware that surcharged cartouches give no sure indication of the order of succession of various kings, yet they provide useful ancillary information when that order has been established on other grounds. Thus, in view of the refusal of the Twentieth Dynasty to regard SiptaḤ as a legitimate Pharaoh, the restorations in his tomb must be earlier than the advent of Setnakhte, whereas the erasures must be later than the reign of SiptaḤ himself. There seems no alternative, therefore, but to conclude that at the same time as Twosre replaced the names of SiptaḤ with those of Sethos II in her own tomb (no. 14) she excised the names of SiptaḤ in his tomb (no. 47), and it can only have been 'Irsu' who restored them in paint,<sup>1</sup> presumably after the death of Twosre-Sitrē'meryamūn. The pattern for all this vindictiveness was probably set by Sethos II who, when he assumed the supreme power, is likely to have denied burial in the Bibān el-Molūk to the usurper Amenmesse and his family and to have cut out his name wherever it appeared; though there were, of course, the usual oversights. In turn it must have been SiptaḤ who erased the cartouches in the tomb of Sethos II, though they were later re-cut, doubtless by Twosre at the same time as she restored her first husband's names to favour in her own tomb. Of all the rulers between Sethos II and Setnakhte who would have had the opportunity and power to injure the memory of Sethos II, the most likely candidate is SiptaḤ.

If the above reasoning is sound it follows that SiptaḤ was a usurper, but in view of his youth and lameness,<sup>2</sup> it is unlikely that he seized the crown by the dynamic exercise of power or by force of arms. He must therefore have had strong claims of birth as is suggested by the phrase in which Bay asserts that he placed him on the throne of his father, for this can only mean that his father was a king, as is also suggested by the title of King's Wife, borne by his mother Ti'a. But what king? Sethos II is ruled out, as we have already suggested, by virtue of the fact that his immediate successor was not regarded as legitimate by posterity. Besides, what cause would Bay have had to boast if he had merely put a son of Sethos II on the throne? No special influence would have been required to enable the son of a ruling king, even by a secondary wife, to assume his inheritance on his father's death. Moreover, the hostility which we have detected in SiptaḤ's attitude to his predecessor does not look particularly filial.

The same objections would largely apply to any attempt to make Merenptah the father. SiptaḤ would then have had to be born in the old king's last years, a very remote possibility, and to have been a younger brother of Sethos II. As such, his legitimacy would surely have been recognized in the ensuing dynasty. On the whole, the candidate with the strongest claims to the paternity of SiptaḤ is Amenmesse. At least there are grounds for regarding the two kings as closely related by situation. Both were later ignored as usurpers and both described their deprived youth as having been spent in the exile of Chemmis. That there was a closer relationship between them than that of companions in adversity, however, appears to be demonstrated by the pair-statue no. 122 in the Munich Glyptothek recently published by von Beckerath.<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to accept von Beckerath's conclusion that the erased figure in this dyad was that of Queen Twosre. In the first place, the larger figure is clearly shown wearing man's

<sup>1</sup> *JEA* 44, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot Smith, *Royal Mummies*, 71, 72.

<sup>3</sup> *JEA* 48, 70-74.

apparel and there is no evidence to show that Queen Twosre was represented in Pharaonic costume and as seated on a king's throne during the reign of Siptah. On the contrary, in the entrance corridor of her tomb she is shown as a mere queen, dutifully following her lord, and this relief must have been carved about the same time as the pair-statue was inscribed, or even earlier. Secondly, whoever the larger figure represented, its removal, as distinct from its mere alteration, has mutilated the entire statue and rendered it quite useless for that usurpation by a later ruler that von Beckerath claims was the purpose of the excisions. The hacking out of the larger figure must therefore have been done for reasons of policy, not utility. It is not easy to see what ruler after Queen Twosre would have obliterated the larger figure and left the smaller member of the group reasonably intact. Certainly not any of the successors of Irsu—they would surely have destroyed the complete statue. Bay is unlikely to have had the larger figure cut out so as to leave the smaller image of his protégé ambiguously suspended, when a change of cartouches could have turned the larger figure into that of any selected ruler. When all the probabilities are weighed, the conclusion that emerges is that Siptah was represented on the lap of a king who was anathema to Twosre and whose figure and names she had obliterated at a convenient moment, though she did not go quite so far with the image of Siptah. The statue was carved after the second or third year of the reign of Siptah, not so much to show his extreme youth, as his line of descent from a king whom he regarded as legitimate and whom he wished to rehabilitate by emphasizing their relationship. The inferences are that this king must have been Amenmesse, and he was the father of Siptah. If Amenmesse and Ti'a were the parents of Siptah there is about as much evidence that he had Syrian blood in his veins as there is for any other prince whose mother bore an Egyptian name and whose father was a Pharaoh. The theory that Siptah was the Syrian usurper Irsu is, therefore, without any foundation.

### III

If the foregoing interpretations of the all too scanty data are correct, then the history of the later Nineteenth Dynasty will be seen to be nearer to that reconstruction proposed many years ago by de Rougé,<sup>1</sup> who postulated that Amenmesse and Siptah formed a sort of sub-dynasty of their own intercalated within the larger period. The feud in the royal house doubtless arose as the result of the long reign of Ramesses II who outlived the older of his many sons, and so confusing the line of descent. On the death of Merenptah, the throne appears to have been occupied by Amenmesse who was probably a grandson or son of Ramesses II, perhaps by his daughter Takha<sup>c</sup>et.<sup>2</sup> The Chief Wife of Amenmesse was presumably that Baktwerel who is represented on the walls of his tomb,<sup>3</sup> but in addition he must have had another wife Ti'a, the mother

<sup>1</sup> De Rougé, *Œuvres diverses*, III, 291 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *JEA* 44, 17; but see *ibid.* 48, 70, n. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *L.D.* III, 202g; *Text*, 206. Miss E. Thomas, who is making a survey of the Royal tombs at Thebes, is of the opinion that the queens represented in Tomb no. 10 are usurpers, perhaps subsequent to Setnakhte. Although Ti'a is described on the canopic fragment as a 'King's Wife', on the model coffin in the M.M.A. her titles appear as 'God's Wife and King's Mother'. If the shawabti figure described by Hayes (*Scepter*, II, 146) also refers to her, she was indeed a 'King's Chief Wife', but this object was found at Medinet Habu.

of his son SiptaḤ who was probably born soon after his assumption of power. Sethos II, a son of Merenptah,<sup>1</sup> succeeded Amenmesse on the latter's death or deposition, and reinforced his claims by marrying Twosre who, though her parentage is unknown, was evidently regarded as the royal heiress and probably belonged to her husband's branch of the family. The children of Sethos II, a daughter by Twosre,<sup>2</sup> and an heir, the eldest prince Seti-Merenptah,<sup>3</sup> apparently predeceased him, and on his death he was immediately succeeded by SiptaḤ, the son of Amenmesse of the rival branch of the royal house, and a mere boy of scarcely more than a dozen years. This succession was promoted by the Chancellor Bay who was probably of Syrian origin as Helck has argued,<sup>4</sup> and had advanced to great authority under Sethos II. The minority of the royal princes must have given him the opportunity for exerting his influence. What Bay's motives may have been, apart from the exercise of power, are now obscure. It may well be that there were no other aspirants with a better claim than SiptaḤ's; or Bay, by marrying the young boy to Twosre, hoped he could unite both factions of the royal house. At least it would seem that if any of the sons of Sethos II survived the death of their father, and were displaced by the usurper SiptaḤ, they all died in the next decade, since the first king of the new dynasty, Setnakhte, was already of advanced age at his advent, having a son, the future Ramesses III, some thirty years old.

It is probable that each change of king resulted in proscriptions and rehabilitations. Soon after his accession SiptaḤ changed his name from Ramesses-SiptaḤ to Merenptah-SiptaḤ, perhaps to emphasize a claim to be considered the legitimate head of the hitherto rival branch of the royal family as well. The occasion of the burial of Sethos II appears to have been made the opportunity of re-interring Amenmesse and members of his family in the tomb he had prepared in the Bibân el-Molûk, since P. Salt 124 speaks of an event when the burials of 'all the kings' were made in circumstances that encouraged the Chief Workman Pneb to treat the memory of Sethos II with scant respect.<sup>5</sup> As Queen Ti'ca was evidently still alive at her son's accession, a burial-place was reserved for her in his tomb which was started almost immediately (see n. 6 on p. 44). It is also probable that at this time SiptaḤ attempted to re-consecrate some of the defaced monuments of Amenmesse by restoring or adding his own name on them, so making them joint-memorials of a similar kind to the Munich dyad.<sup>6</sup>

It would also appear that changes were made in the ranks of the Court officials. New viziers, at least, seem to have been appointed at each new accession. Amenmesse

<sup>1</sup> Naville, *Bubastis*, 45; Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, no. 1240.

<sup>2</sup> See my Brief Communication on p. 176 of this issue.

<sup>3</sup> Chevrier, *Le Temple Reposoir de Sêti II*, 37, 39, 45, 46, 56.

<sup>4</sup> *ZDMG* 105, 44 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Černý, *JEA* 15, 244-5. Since his acrimonious accuser makes no charge that Pneb broke into the sealed tomb of Sethos II in order to steal from it, we must presume that the crimes were committed during the time Sethos II was being entombed (see particularly rt. 1, 7-8). Could the expression *nswtyrw drw* have been used here to refer to 'majesties' or 'royalties', i.e. a king, his queens, and children removed to more honoured burial in the royal cemeteries at the same time as Sethos II was interred?

<sup>6</sup> The stelae of Amenmesse in the temple of Sethos I at Qurna have been only partly usurped by SiptaḤ, since the names of the former king have been left intact in places, though also tampered with by a later ruler. See Caminos, in Firchow, *Studien*, 17 ff. Černý thinks that the names of Amenmesse were excised in his tomb by Setnakhte when he broke into it while hewing Tomb no. 11.

dismissed Amenmose,<sup>1</sup> and his unknown nominee<sup>2</sup> was doubtless replaced by Pra'emḥab in the reign of Sethos II. Such fluctuations do not appear to have affected to the same extent the fortunes of the King's Sons of Kush, who, remote from the Residence in their seats of government, doubtless managed to keep free from Court intrigues. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that soon after the accession of Siptaḥ sweeping changes were made in the higher state appointments, Hori replacing the vizier Pra'emḥab, and Setui the King's Son of Kush, Messuy. Since the Chancellor Bay was sufficiently powerful to stay in office for most of the period, these dismissals and appointments must have had his approval if he did not actually instigate them. The epithets which he applied to himself, 'banishing falsehood and admitting truth',<sup>3</sup> convey the strong impression that he regarded his own nominee as having restored the legitimate line. It must surely be such an *éminence grise* who as Černý suggests is later referred to in the Harris papyrus as the 'Syrian Upstart'.<sup>4</sup>

On the death of Siptaḥ, Twosre, presumably in the absence of any heirs in the direct line of descent either in the Merenptaḥ or Amenmesse branches of the family, assumed supreme power like Hatshepsut in the previous dynasty; and doubtless like her continued to rule with the aid of powerful officials of whom Bay was evidently the chief. How long she ruled alone, whether she dated the years of her reign from the accession of Siptaḥ, and whether Bay was able to remain long at the head of affairs after her death are questions that are largely dependent upon chronological considerations and outside the scope of this paper; but the restorations of the name of Siptaḥ in his tomb and perhaps on some of the monuments of Amenmesse would suggest that Bay for a time at least exercised supreme power, though not as a Pharaoh, since it is impossible to find any other ruler who would have had any motives for rehabilitating the memorials of this obscure boy-king.

<sup>1</sup> Černý, *JEA* 15, 255.

<sup>2</sup> Probably not Merysakhmet. Cf. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 329-30.

<sup>3</sup> Maspero in Davis, *T. of Siptah*, xix.

<sup>4</sup> Gardiner's suggestion (*JEA* 44, 21, n. 2) that 'Irsu' is a fictitious name later given to an undesirable person, is very attractive. The name in this context must mean something like 'the self-made Foreigner', i.e. Upstart or Parvenu.

## A NEW APPRAISAL OF SOME LINES FROM A LONG-KNOWN PAPYRUS

By CLAIRE EPSTEIN

ALMOST half a century has elapsed since W. Golénischeff published Papyrus Hermitage no. 1116A.<sup>1</sup> The verso of this document contains two interesting passages which have been given far less attention than is their due by scholars engaged upon the task of widening our understanding of the geographical and political background of Syro-Palestine in the middle of the second millennium B.C. These lines (68-78 and 183-90) contain a record of the rations distributed by the Egyptian palace officials to foreign envoys from eleven towns, the majority of which can be equated with towns mentioned in Tuthmosis III's Karnak list,<sup>2</sup> most of them being located in north Palestine. In the year following the publication of the papyrus, W. M. Müller devoted a short article to these lines,<sup>3</sup> at the same time giving his translation of the text and his suggestions for the identification of the topographical names. While other scholars have referred to the place-names mentioned,<sup>4</sup> little attempt was made to interpret this material in the light of the wider inferences implicit in it, and it was only many years later that R. T. O'Callaghan, giving a short résumé of the contents, discussed other aspects of the information it contained, apart from the towns named.<sup>5</sup>

While examining material relating to the extent of the diffusion and political ascendancy of Hurrian elements in Palestine and Syria, the writer approached Dr. R. O. Faulkner with a request for his reading of the relevant lines,<sup>6</sup> on the basis of the photographs in the original publication, in the hope of revealing additional evidence which might assist in a further recognition of the places named. But since the photographs published in 1913 were not always very clear and in view of the improvements made since then in photographic techniques, new photographs were made specially

<sup>1</sup> W. Golénischeff, *Les Papyrus hiératiques Nos. III5, III6A et III6B de l'Ermitage Impériale à St.-Petersbourg* (St. Petersburg, 1913), no. 1116 A vs., ll. 68-78 and 183-90.

<sup>2</sup> Hereinafter referred to as List I; ed. J. Simons, *Handbook of Egyptian Topographical Lists* (Leiden, 1937), 111-22.

<sup>3</sup> W. M. Müller, 'Ein ägyptischer Beitrag zur Geschichte Palästinas um 1500 vor Chr.', *OLZ* 17 (1914), 103-5.

<sup>4</sup> A. Alt, 'Tenni', *ZDPV* 39 (1916), 264-5; E. Dévaud, 'Études de lexicographie égyptienne et copte', *Kêmi* 2 (1929), 3-4; H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* (Cairo, 1921-31), hereinafter referred to as *Dict. géog.*; A. Jirku, 'Die ägyptischen Listen palästinensischer und syrischer Ortsnamen', *Klio*, N. F. 25, Beiheft 38 (Leipzig, 1937); F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, II (Paris, 1938); A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (Oxford, 1947), hereinafter abbreviated to *AEO*.

<sup>5</sup> R. T. O'Callaghan, 'New light on the *maryannu* as "chariot warrior"', *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung* 1 (1951), 310-11.

<sup>6</sup> I wish to thank Dr. R. O. Faulkner for having given me so generously of his time and assistance.



by the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad (pl. VIII).<sup>1</sup> Owing to the worn condition of the papyrus, no further light was shed on the names which had so far not yielded to identification; nevertheless, it was felt that the text itself merited a reconsideration.

The interesting passages consist of two almost identical lists recording the allocation of beer and corn to messengers from *Djahy*. In the first list, the envoys are, in addition, designated as *m-r-y-n* and the order in which they are mentioned is the following:<sup>2</sup>

<i>P.Hermitage no. 1116A</i> verso, lines 68-78	<i>Tuthmosis III,</i> <i>list I</i>	<i>Identification</i>
No. 1. <i>M-k-t</i>	No. 2	Megiddo
No. 2. <i>K-n-n-r-t</i>	No. 34	Kinnereth
No. 3. <i>ʿ-k-s-p</i>	No. 40	Achshaph
No. 4. [ <i>Š</i> ]- <i>m-r-n</i>	No. 35	Shimron
No. 5. [ <i>T</i> ]- <i>ʿ-n-k</i>	No. 42	Ta'anach
No. 6. [ <i>M</i> ]- <i>š-i-r</i>	No. 39	Mishal
No. 7. <i>T-n-n</i>	—	Uncertain
No. 8. [ <i>Š</i> ]- <i>r-r-n</i>	No. 21	Sharon
No. 9. <i>ʿ-[s]-k-r-n</i>	—	Ashkelon
No. 10. <i>H-[d]-r</i>	No. 32	Hazor
No. 11. <i>H-t-m</i>	No. 118(?)	Ham(?)

In all respects the first list is the more detailed of the two (though the names of the towns are not so well preserved), the amounts of beer and corn being recorded after the representative from each town named, the majority of whom receive one measure of each. The emissary from no. 11, however, receives three measures of beer and four sacks of corn. From this it would appear that a larger contingent had come from this town and this may be an indication of its size, despite the fact that the two important cities of Megiddo and Hazor do not seem to have sent specially large delegations and receive a standard-sized ration. In the second list the term *maryannu* is not preserved and the word *wḫwtj* is not included, as it was in the first list. Likewise no. 6 (Mishal) is omitted, while no. 11—which is rendered as *H-t-t-m*, with the determinative for man—heads the list. The remaining names occur in the following order: nos. 1, 8, 2, 9, 3, 10, 4, 5, and 7.

It has already been remarked upon that of the eleven towns named in the first list, all but three occur in list I and that all eight are situated in north Palestine, being linked together by virtue of their being part of a distinct geographical region which includes Upper and Lower Galilee and the more north-westerly sector of the valley of Jezreel—an area which is to a large extent covered by nos. 31-43 in list I.<sup>3</sup> In P.Hermitage, Ashkelon (no. 9) is the only identifiable town mentioned which is not situated in this geographical zone, but it is quite possible that nos. 7 and 11 (which are difficult to

<sup>1</sup> I am greatly indebted to the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, for having arranged for these new photographs to be specially taken and for permission to reproduce them.

<sup>2</sup> Unless otherwise stated, the numbers referring to the towns are those of the sequence in which they occur in the first list of the P.Hermitage no. 1116A vs., ll. 68-78.

<sup>3</sup> Simons, *op. cit.* 116; S. Yeivin, 'The third district in Tuthmosis III's list of Palestino-Syrian towns', *JEA* 36 (1950), 53-54 and map on p. 52.



a. Verso, lines 53-78



b. Verso, lines 183-94

identify) may also have been located outside the above district, although not necessarily in the south. The inclusion of Ashkelon in this group has led to a wider geographical interpretation being placed on what would otherwise have been considered a clearly related series of cities whose emissaries had arrived in Egypt together.<sup>1</sup> Müller recognized that this was no fortuitous grouping and considered that not only were all the places named to be sought in Palestine, but also that the party represented a caravan composed of the envoys of a number of petty kingdoms in the north who had been joined *en route* by the emissary from Ashkelon.<sup>2</sup> Since it is almost certain that the purpose of their journey was to bring tribute from their cities to Egypt, the local dynasts of the area concerned might well have arranged for their contingents to join forces and make the journey together. Once arrived, the envoys were accommodated by the palace authorities and they must therefore have been men of some standing.<sup>3</sup> This can likewise be inferred from the use of the term *maryannu* to describe them, which expressly designates members of a chariot-warrior aristocracy, known to have enjoyed a social status below that of the ruling dynast and sometimes referred to as his 'brethren'.<sup>4</sup> It is clear, then, that P.Hermitage records the reception of persons of rank who, although not named individually, are referred to collectively by their title of *maryannu* and who may even have made the journey to Egypt in their chariots—to judge by the daily ration, which included a sack of grain which may well have been for fodder. It can therefore be assumed that these chariot-warrior nobles who had joined together in order to make the journey down to Egypt would elect to spend the night in a suitably situated town in the south which was also ruled by an aristocracy which was similar to their own and where they would be sure of finding their 'brethren'. Herein appears to lie the explanation for the somewhat unexpected inclusion of the representative from Ashkelon in the party after its arrival in Egypt, since from a geographical point of view he is clearly the 'odd man out'. Thus it is possible to go even farther than Müller and to suggest that after the party of *maryannu* had spent the night in Ashkelon, the local dynast caused his own envoy to join it on the second stage of the journey. Such a suggestion becomes even more plausible when it is recalled that the same papyrus contains a separate entry recording the allocation of rations to the emissary from another south Palestinian town who is *not* designated as a chariot-warrior. This is the envoy from Lachish,<sup>5</sup> whose entertainment at Thebes seems to have been unconnected with that of the *maryannu* from the north.

The existence of two complementary lists, which clearly refer to the same group, greatly facilitates the task of identification, while the more or less contemporary lists of Tuthmosis III at Karnak provide further comparative material. Thus there has been general agreement among scholars regarding the interpretation of nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, and 10 which can be equated with nos. 2, 34, 40, 42, 39, and 30 of

<sup>1</sup> Golénisheff, *op. cit.* 5; O'Callaghan, *op. cit.* 310, 'in no particular geographical order'.

<sup>2</sup> Müller, *op. cit.* 105.

<sup>3</sup> O'Callaghan, *op. cit.* 311.

<sup>4</sup> W. F. Albright, 'A prince of Ta'anach in the fifteenth century B.C.', *BASOR* 94 (1944), 16 ff., letter no. 5, ll. 4-5 and letter no. 6, ll. 15-20.

<sup>5</sup> Golénisheff, *op. cit.* 5 and P.Hermitage, no. 1116A *vs.*, l. 2.

list I (Megiddo, Kinnereth, Achshaph, Ta'anach, Mishal, Sharon, and Hazor).<sup>1</sup> The identification of no. 9 (Ashkelon) is also quite clear, although the city is not mentioned in any of the Eighteenth-Dynasty topographical lists. It has been pointed out by Gardiner that apart from a doubtful identification in the Execration Texts, the mention in P.Hermitage is the earliest known Egyptian reference to Ashkelon,<sup>2</sup> although it is well known from later Egyptian sources, as well as from the 'Amarna correspondence. The uncertain town names are, therefore, nos. 4, 7, and 11.

Regarding no. 4, it is the last two syllables which are not clear in both contexts. While suggesting possible alternative transcriptions for this name, Golénischeff added that it should be compared with no. 35 of list I (*Š-m-n*). On its second occurrence, he proposed among possible readings *Š-m-r-n*, which is very close to the Biblical Shimron.<sup>3</sup> Commenting on this name, Dévaud likewise considered that it should be thus interpreted.<sup>4</sup> No. 35 has been equated with *Samhuna* of the 'Amarna letter 225 and both have been identified with Shimron, located at modern Khirbet Semūniyeh.<sup>5</sup> This is based on the equation of the Graeco-Roman town of Simonias-Simoniyah with no. 35, as well as with a possible Hebrew Shim'on, which is reflected in the LXX version. Thus confusion in the Hebrew forms of this place-name would seem to be an indication of earlier variants of it,<sup>6</sup> these in their turn being preserved in the alternative versions occurring in the Egyptian texts: *Š-m-r-n* of P.Hermitage and *Š-m-n* of list I.

In attempting to locate the geographical position of no. 7, Golénischeff was of the opinion that it should probably be sought in Galilee.<sup>7</sup> Certainly, a northern location appears to be indicated, since apart from Ashkelon, the southernmost of all the cities mentioned is Ta'anach. In the preamble to the first list, the envoys are collectively referred to as coming from *Djahy*, a term generally used to describe Palestine at this period. However, Gardiner has shown that in some contexts its use was extended to include regions as far north as Lebanon,<sup>8</sup> while in the 'Annals' referring to Tuthmosis III's fifth campaign it is expressly stated that the king was in *Djahy* and that he captured an unidentified city which served as the garrison town for Tunip, in the north Syrian plain.<sup>9</sup> Here again is evidence that there was considerable elasticity in the use of the term *Djahy*; and it is possible that no. 7 is to be sought in a region which lay north of and beyond the confines of Palestine proper.

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that Abel, following Golénischeff, considered that no. 10 was to be located in the south, at modern Yasūr (east of Ashdod) on the grounds of its mention after Ashkelon in the first list, Abel, *op. cit.* 28. He failed to note, however, that in the second list Hazor occurs after no. 3 (Achshaph), so that there is no justification for suggesting that it must be a southern city, or any other but the Biblical Hazor of the north.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *AEO* 1, 190\*.

<sup>3</sup> Joshua, 11, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Dévaud, *op. cit.* 3-4.

<sup>5</sup> W. F. Albright, 'Bronze age mounds in northern Palestine and the Hauran', *BASOR* 19 (1925), 9-10; B. Maisler (Mazar), *Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Palästinas* (Giessen, 1930), p. 68; Abel, *op. cit.* 15 and 464; Yeivin, *op. cit.* 56 f.

<sup>6</sup> Gauthier, *Dict. géog.* v, 103, where he suggests that this is possibly a defective form.

<sup>7</sup> Golénischeff, *op. cit.* 5.

<sup>8</sup> Gardiner, *AEO* 1, 145\*-6\*.

<sup>9</sup> J. A. Wilson *apud* J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Princeton, 1955), 238 and n. 2, hereinafter referred to as *ANET*.

A couple of years after the publication of P.Hermitage, Alt proposed to equate no. 7, *T-n-n*, with *Tenni* (or *Tienni*) which occurs in an isolated instance in the 'Amarna letters.<sup>1</sup> While this identification has much to recommend it from an epigraphic point of view, nothing is known of its location.<sup>2</sup> Albright, who read no. 7 as *Ti-in-ni*, accepted Alt's identification,<sup>3</sup> while Müller favoured a similar vocalization, adding that the double *n* was essential to any suggested identification.<sup>4</sup> Golénischeff, on the other hand, thought that this name should be read as *Ta-nu-ni*, or possibly *Tanni*.<sup>5</sup>

In attempting to find a suitable geographical equivalent for no. 7, the modern village of Tennūneh, some 12 kilometres west of Homs, would seem to be a possible location. According to Dussaud, the name in medieval times was Tanūniyah<sup>6</sup> and this, in his opinion, is to be equated with the cuneiform *Tunanat*, referred to by Akizzi of Qatna in the 'Amarna correspondence as being the seat of a prince loyal to Egypt.<sup>7</sup> This identification was also accepted by Abel.<sup>8</sup> Since Dussaud gave no indication of the archaeological remains found at Tennūneh, there is no corroboratory evidence of the occupation of the site in the middle of the second millennium B.C. However, the modern village is situated at the end of a subsidiary valley which joins that of the Orontes and lies slightly north-west of the lake of Homs, between ancient Qadesh (Tell Nebi Mend) to the south and ancient Qatna (el-Mishrifeh) to the north-east. That both of the last were flourishing cities long before the fifteenth century B.C. has been established both by excavation and the mention of them in much earlier source material; while tablets found at Qatna, which refer back to a period of over a hundred years, not only contain evidence for kings and their consorts bearing non-Semitic and Hurrian names during the fifteenth century B.C., but likewise a reference to a king Duruša of Qadesh, who also bears a distinctly non-Semitic name and who can probably be dated to the beginning of the century.<sup>9</sup> Thus at the time of the P.Hermitage lists—which have been dated to the second half of the reign of Tuthmosis III<sup>10</sup>—the region of Tennūneh-Tanūniyah was almost certainly dominated by a Hurrian ruling class which, following the expected pattern, would have been composed of *maryannu* chariot-warriors, who are, indeed, mentioned in a contemporary account which refers to one of the later campaigns of Tuthmosis III against Qadesh.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Alt, op. cit. 264-5 and Knudtzon, *El-Amarna Tafeln*, no. 260, ll. 13-14.

<sup>2</sup> From another letter (Knudtzon, op. cit., no. 245) it would appear that the local dynast, Ba'lu-mihir, had supported the notorious Laba'yu in his raids in the Acre-Jezreel region. Since Laba'yu's capital was Shechem, it is not unlikely that his ally also came from a town situated outside the area of their operations and possibly in the Shechem district.

<sup>3</sup> W. F. Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (New Haven, 1934), 46, group IX, B9.

<sup>4</sup> Müller, op. cit. 104.

<sup>5</sup> Golénischeff, op. cit. 5.

<sup>6</sup> R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Paris, 1927), 110.

<sup>7</sup> Knudtzon, op. cit., no. 53, l. 43.

<sup>8</sup> Abel, op. cit. 6.

<sup>9</sup> R. Bottéro, 'Les Inventaires de Qatna', *Rev. Assyr.* 43 (1949), 23 ff.; W. F. Albright, 'New light on the history of Western Asia in the second millennium B.C.', *BASOR* 78 (1940), 23. That Duruša was a contemporary of Naplimma can be inferred from the record of his gift to the temple which occurs between entries recording gifts from the Qatnian king.

<sup>10</sup> Golénischeff, op. cit. 3; Müller, op. cit. 103; Jirku, op. cit. 8; O'Callaghan, op. cit. 310; Gardiner, *AEO*, I, 190\*.

<sup>11</sup> The biography of Amenemheb, translated by J. A. Wilson, *ANET*, 241.

In further support of the above identification, it should be noted that both the medieval and modern Arabic names preserve the double *n*, which has been stressed as integral to no. 7, though neither contains vowels which would seem to be related to the vocalization proposed by Albright and Müller. On the other hand, there is a close resemblance between the vocalization originally suggested by Golénischeff (who read no. 7 as *Tanūni*), which was accepted by Gauthier.<sup>1</sup> There is, then, much in favour of the equation of *T-n-n* with Tennūneh-Tanūniyah (possibly, also, with the *Tunanat* of the 'Amarna letters) and what is known of the political and social background of this region during the period with which we are concerned ties in well with the picture that emerges from P.Hermitage. Thus a *maryannu* envoy from this city might well have made his way to Hazor and from there have continued with the Galilean party to Egypt, just as in all probability the Ashkelon envoy joined it in the south. Should such, indeed, have been the case, the term *Djahy* would still have been applicable to the whole group, since in other contemporary contexts this has been seen to have been used to refer to regions as far north and as far inland as Tunip.

The third enigmatic city name, no. 11 (*H-t-m*), now remains to be considered and at the outset it must be conceded that this is a task which is complicated by the uncertainty of its recording. For not only is it written in each list with a variant orthography, but the use of a different determinative in the second entry adds to the impression of unreliability of the copy made by the Egyptian scribe. This is further aggravated by the fact that while the order in which the envoys are recorded is not the same in each list, it would, nevertheless, appear as though no. 11 had originally completed the second list—as it did the first—since the quantities of rations after this name probably represent the sum total of the day's issue to the whole party.<sup>2</sup> It is this inaccuracy which makes it difficult to put forward an identification for no. 11. Müller considered that *H-t-m* might be a corrupt form of *Huma* (no. 118 in list I),<sup>3</sup> which has been located at modern Ham, situated some 8 kilometres south-west of Irbid, east of the Jordan.<sup>4</sup> The place still bears the name of the Biblical town mentioned in connexion with the Elamite king, Chedorla'omer,<sup>5</sup> which was situated on the important caravan route which passed through Bashan and linked Damascus with Elath.<sup>6</sup> Such an identification is only possible if the middle syllable is disregarded altogether, whereas it is precisely this syllable which is doubled in the second entry (albeit, written with different symbols).

Golénischeff read this name as *Hatumâ* and was followed in this by Gauthier,<sup>7</sup> but this reading does not bring identification any nearer and it must be admitted that the bafflement or carelessness of the Egyptian scribe has made it almost impossible to suggest any more precise geographical location for this city. All that can be said of it is, that like the other ten with which it is mentioned in P.Hermitage, it sent as emissary to Egypt a member of the *maryannu* aristocracy, from which it can be inferred that it,

<sup>1</sup> Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, VI, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Müller, *op. cit.* 103.

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

<sup>4</sup> W. F. Albright, 'New Israelite and pre-Israelite sites', *BASOR* 35 (1929), 10-11.

<sup>5</sup> *Gen.* 14, 5.

<sup>6</sup> B. Maisler (Mazar), 'Die Landschaft Basan im 2 vorchr. Jahrtausend', *JPOS* 9 (1929), 82.

<sup>7</sup> Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, IV, 3.

too, was dominated by a Hurrian ruling class and that it was likewise situated in *Djahy*, possibly in north Palestine.

The value of P.Hermitage lies not only in the routine character of the evidence which it contains, which is seen to corroborate the revelant sections of the topographical lists of Tuthmosis III with which it is contemporary, but also in the fact of its adding to our knowledge of the ethnic and social composition of the regions in the north of Palestine and in Syria. For while the envoys are seen to come for the most part from towns situated in the former, it has been shown that some may have come from farther afield. More significant still is the fact that all are described specifically as *maryannu*, from which it may be deduced that their city-states were dominated by a small Hurrian aristocracy, who at a somewhat earlier date must have imposed upon them the characteristic feudal social structure associated with them. Elsewhere, this was accompanied by the continued use of Indo-Aryan names—especially among the kings and chieftains—a tradition reflecting what was doubtless a very much earlier symbiosis between Hurrian and Indo-Aryan groups.<sup>1</sup> Of this there is no direct evidence in P.Hermitage in which the envoys are not named individually. It may, however, be inferred, since a similar social pattern is still apparent at the time of the 'Amarna letters, some three generations later, when the ruling dynasts of at least four of the cities mentioned (nos. 1, 3, 8, and 9) are seen to bear Indo-Aryan names: Megiddo, Achshaph, Sharon, and Ashkelon.<sup>2</sup>

Still closer in time are the cuneiform tablets found at Ta'anach, which on linguistic and palaeographic grounds have been dated to the second quarter of the fifteenth century B.C.<sup>3</sup> and to a period not long after the battle of Megiddo. From the Ta'anach letters it is seen that two of the local chieftains (one of whom is referred to as 'king') bear Indo-Aryan names,<sup>4</sup> while other names mentioned are clearly Hurrian.<sup>5</sup> In these texts the term *maryannu* is not used, but they nevertheless show that the city was governed by an aristocracy of chariot-warriors, since the contents of the letters make their connexion with chariots and chariot-warfare plain. At the same time they reflect the familiar social pattern wherein the chariot-warrior nobles form the upper class and the *ḥupšu* the lowest class of inhabitants.<sup>6</sup> The letters thus confirm the interpretation put forward above concerning the wider significance of the use of the word *maryannu* in P.Hermitage as applied to Ta'anach, so that there is every justification for considering a similar interpretation as equally applicable to the other ten cities named.

From this it may be understood that in the early fifteenth century B.C. a considerable part of Palestine as well as of Syria was dominated by a small Hurrian minority of

<sup>1</sup> R. T. O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim* (Rome, 1948), 64–68.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 60–62.

<sup>3</sup> Albright, *op. cit.*, *BASOR* 94 (1944), 25–26; *idem*, *ANET* 490 and n. 28.

<sup>4</sup> O'Callaghan, *op. cit.* 62, nos. 57 and 62.

<sup>5</sup> A. Gustavs, 'Personennamen in den Tontafeln von Tell Ta'annek', *ZDPV* 51, 177–9; H. L. Ginsberg and B. Maisler (Mazar), 'Semitised Hurrians in Syria and Palestine', *JPOS* 14 (1934), 251–2.

<sup>6</sup> D. Wiseman, *The Alalakh tablets* (London, 1953), 11; I. Mendelsohn, 'New light on the *Ḥup'u*', *BASOR* 139 (1955), 9–11.

whose arrival, mingling with the local population, and subsequent rise to positions of power there is little direct evidence. For this reason the lists from the Theban palace commissariat files are of special significance, since they add to our knowledge of the social and ethnic composition of those regions and throw light on contemporary power politics at a time when Egypt and Mitanni were pitted against one another in the struggle for supremacy in them.



*P*ḥ *HR* *HN'I* *HNW* / *N* *HNW* *HN'I*, A DESIGNATION  
OF THE VALLEY OF THE KINGS

By ELIZABETH THOMAS

IN his valuable study of the tomb robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty, Peet includes this paragraph in the pages devoted to the topography of the Theban Necropolis:

It is singular that these papyri do not furnish us with the name of the Valley of the Kings. Indeed we know no name for it save 'The Valley', *t*ḥ *int*, which occurs on ostraca actually found there and need not necessarily be its full name.<sup>1</sup>

The ostrakon cited is Cairo 25302,<sup>2</sup> but no mention is made of the application of the same phrase to other areas; for example, in the inspection of the wâdi between that of the unfinished temple of Se'ankh-ka-rē' and Deir el-Medîna,<sup>3</sup> and in that of the left branch of Gabbânat el-Giroud.<sup>4</sup> *T*ḥ *int* thus appears to be a familiar abbreviation for a wâdi as occasion indicated,<sup>5</sup> rather than the name of any particular necropolis.

However, Peet quite rightly expected a specific name for the royal Valley and apparently just failed to recognize two designations for it, because of the Egyptian fondness for using the same word, phrase, and even clause in one or more meanings.

The first of the two he considered to be the name of 'the great Necropolis of Thebes' as a whole, *p*ḥ *hr* ḥ *špsy n hḥw n rnpwt n pr-ḥ* ḥ *cnḥ wd*ḥ *snb hr imntt W*ḥ *st*, 'The Great, Noble Necropolis of Millions of Years of Pharaoh—may He Live, be Prosperous, and Healthy—on the West of Thebes.'<sup>6</sup> 'This name, used in the protocol of official documents, was too long for common use, and was abbreviated into "The Necropolis" *p*ḥ *hr*, or "The Necropolis of Pharaoh".' Peet further finds *hr* curiously 'used in these papyri not only for the Necropolis but for single tombs in it (e.g. Abbott, 5, 3)'. But in failing to apply this 'curious' yet typically Egyptian usage to the expression as a whole he fails to realize that here he has the official name he sought,<sup>7</sup> parallel to *t*ḥ *st nfrw*, 'the Place of Beauty', the Valley of the Queens.

<sup>1</sup> *Tomb Robberies*, 1, 10.

<sup>2</sup> 1, 2, going to *mryt m t*ḥ *int*; 2, 5, *r*ḥ *n t*ḥ *int* (Daressy, *Ostraca (CCG)*, 77 f.). Other examples include: Cairo 25559, same provenance, Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques (CCG)*; *Ann. Serv.* 27 (1927), 206 f.; *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 185 f.; Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 27, 178 f.; graffiti in the West Valley (Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*), nos. 78, perhaps 120, and in 897 *t*ḥ *int* (*Nb-m'rt-Rc*) (emending the questionable *Nb-m-ḥ't*), comparable with *int Nb-ḥpt-Rc*, no. 968, in the vicinity of this king's Deir el-Baḥri temple.

<sup>3</sup> 'Vallée de l'Aigle', Černý, *Graffiti hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques de la nécropole thébaine (DFIFAO)*, 1x, no. 1110, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1359, 6.

<sup>5</sup> For example, the Deir el-Baḥri bay and its temples when the Feast of the Valley is involved, as Dr. Edward Wente, who has kindly discussed several phases of this paper with me, has suggested; in this instance Černý's interpretation as Bibân el-Molúk (*BIFAO* 27, 186) appears improbable.

<sup>6</sup> *Tomb Robberies*, 1, 9; transliteration and translation slightly changed.

<sup>7</sup> So considered by Otto, apparently without question, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaus (Untersuchungen)*, xvi, 56 f.; suggested by Gardiner, *JEA* 22 (1936), 186, n. 10, and by Edgerton, *JNES* 10 (1951), 137, n. 1.

Unlike the latter, however, *pꜣ hr ʿꜣ špsy n ḥḥw n rnpwt n pr-ʿꜣ* could also be applied to the Theban Necropolis as a whole, ‘the great Necropolis of Thebes’ in the words of Peet, while the principal official of the principal wādi must have served at this level in the total area, as Amen-nakhte’s role in the Strike Papyrus indicates and as will be suggested more fully in connexion with Papyrus Abbott below. The official name, moreover, could not only be abbreviated and extended. It could also be supplemented by the familiar *tꜣ int*, by other appellations on occasion,<sup>1</sup> and I believe by the specific, unique *pꜣ hr ḥni ḥnw / n ḥnw ḥni* that is our present concern.

Placed in chronological order as far as possible, except for A, the occurrences of this term presently known to me are as follows:

- A. *Hꜣt-sp 18 ʾbd 1 sw 28* | *sš nswt Dḥwty-ms n ḥnw* (𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄) *sꜣ* | *sš nswt Hꜣ-m-ḥdt*  
*sꜣ sš nswt Hꜣri-šri sꜣ* | *sš nswt Imn-nḥt n ḥnw* (as last).<sup>2</sup>
- B. *Imn-nḥt pꜣ sš n pꜣ hr ḥni* (𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄).<sup>3</sup>
- C. *Irw in sš Imn-nḥt n pꜣ hr ḥni* (as last).<sup>4</sup>
- D. *Sš Tꜣy sꜣf Imn-nḥt* | *it-f Imn-nḥt pꜣ sš ḥrt* [sic] *ḥni ḥnw* (𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄𐀅𐀆𐀇𐀈, var. 𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄𐀅𐀆𐀇𐀈𐀉).<sup>5</sup>
- Ea. *Sš Hꜣri-šri sꜣ Imn-nḥt* | *n pꜣ hr n ḥnw ḥni* (𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄𐀅𐀆𐀇𐀈 var. 𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄𐀅𐀆𐀇𐀈𐀉).<sup>6</sup>
- Eb. *Nꜣ sšw n pꜣ hr n ḥnw* (𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃).<sup>7</sup>
- F. *Sš nswt m ʾht nhḥ Dḥwty-m[s n pꜣ hr n]* | *ḥnw ḥni* (𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄𐀅𐀆𐀇𐀈) *sš Dḥwty-ms*.<sup>8</sup>
- G. *Pꜣ 3 ḥntyw n pꜣ hr ḥni* (𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄) *ḥr imntt Wꜣst*.<sup>9</sup>

Granted the suggested emendation in F and the variant readings, each inscription

See particularly P.Abbott 6, 5 f., quoted below, p. 62, n. 5, and the *Turin Necropolis Journal*, *rt.* 9, 8; other occurrences include: Abbott, 1, 3, 7 f.; 6, 15 f.; Leopold II+Amherst, 1, 4; Turin Taxation Papyrus, *rt.* 1, 6; graffiti (Spiegelberg, *op. cit.* nos. 136, 248, 408e, 412, 450; Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1307); very frequently in Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, subsequently abbreviated *LRL*. Edgerton and Gardiner hold very similar views on *pꜣ hr*. Edgerton says: ‘The Late Egyptian expression *pꜣ hr*, “the tomb”, though applicable to any tomb, often means specifically the tomb of the reigning Pharaoh and probably means also the Theban necropolis or some considerable part of it (the Valley of the Kings?). . . . The choice [of translation] between “tomb” and “necropolis,” in most cases, is somewhat arbitrary.’

<sup>1</sup> Including *tꜣ st pr-ʿꜣ* in some instances, e.g. Abbott, 7, 14, as Černý, *JEA* 15 (1929), 248, 29; but his ex. in Salt 124 seems ambiguous, at least, and is perhaps more readily construed as ‘tomb’.

<sup>2</sup> Year 18, probably of Ramesses XI; graffito, ‘Vallée de l’Aigle’, Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1109. The genealogy of this important family can be considerably extended by working from the indexes of Černý here and those of Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, and from ‘Stammbaum I’ of the latter (p. 171); it has been discussed by Černý, *Chron. d’Ég.* 11 (1936), 247–50, and more fully by Christophe, *BIFAO* 56 (1957), 173–88 (this reference due to Wentz).

<sup>3</sup> Years 29–30, Ramesses III, Turin Strike Pap., *rt.* 1, 3; 2, 13; 3, 20–19a, see *RAD*, 52, 17; 55, 7 f.; 58, 14 f.; cf. *vs.* 6, 3 (*RAD*, 48, 10 f.), where Amen-nakhte is simply *sš n pꜣ hr*, as quite frequently.

<sup>4</sup> Year 3, Ramesses V, ‘Will of Naunakhte’, Document I, col. 5, 8, Černý, *JEA* 31 (1945), pl. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Two graffiti, West Valley presumably, Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, nos. 785, 787.

<sup>6</sup> Year 16, Ramesses IX, P.Abbott, *rt.* 5, 16 f.; 6, 9 f. The second ex. appears to omit the second *pr*-sign (*Tomb Robberies*, II, pl. 3), as in F and G.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, *rt.* 6, 18; the scribes are Ḥori-sheri and Pbēs, the latter elsewhere only *sš n pꜣ hr*.

<sup>8</sup> Graffito, West or East Valley, Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, no. 405, only [s n] restored; collation is highly desirable.

<sup>9</sup> From a letter found by the French Institute at Deir el-Medina in 1940, so noted by Černý without reference to date (*JEA* 31, 36).

concerns one or more officials of *pꜣ hr*: (*pꜣ hr*) *n hnw*, A; *pꜣ hr hni*, B, C, G, G adding *hr imntt Wꜣst*; *pꜣ hr hni hnw*, D; *pꜣ hr n hnw hni*, Ea, F; *pꜣ hr n hnw*, Eb. The total consists, I think, of five permissible variations of the same thing, of which A and Eb are simply abbreviations. But the published translations fail to agree as to precisely what this is, the interpretations being as follows.:

A, D, F. None.

B. “‘The scribe of the Secret (?) Tomb,’” Edgerton, *JNES* 10, 139, I; 140, VI; 142, XIV, in each case without comment.

C. “‘The scribe of the King’s Tomb of forbidden entry,’” Černý, *JEA* 31, 32. His and other arguments will be presented below.

E. “‘The scribe Horisheru son of Amennakht of the Necropolis of Khen-kheni,’” “‘The scribes of the Necropolis of Kheni,’” Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, I, 40 f. “‘The scribes of the tomb of the inner part,’” Gardiner, *JEA* 22, 189.

G. “‘The three chiefs of the King’s tomb *hni* on the west side of Thebes,’” Černý, *JEA* 31, 36; *hni*, “‘of forbidden entry,’” in his translation of C.

Finally, the *Wb.* (vol. III) includes (*hnw*) *hnr*, variant *hni*, twice: p. 296, under *hnr*, ‘belegt *D. 20* im Namen einer Nekropole in Theben’; p. 370, Ic. under *hnw* (‘Wohnort, Residenz’) ‘als Name eines Teils der theban. Nekropole, *Nä.*’<sup>1</sup>

After suggesting that the term be further investigated, Gardiner asks, ‘Can the addition “of the inner part” refer simply to the fact that royal tombs at this period were in reality divided into two halves, the cult-temple being on the fringe of the cultivation, and the actual tomb far inland in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings?’ Černý believes Gardiner’s translation ‘nearly correct’, his explanation ‘improbable’.<sup>2</sup> But he is then led astray, in my view, by the fact that Amen-nakhte could be called simply *sꜣ pꜣ hr*<sup>3</sup> and by restricting *hr* to a single meaning, (reigning) ‘King’s Tomb’. Taking *hnw* as ‘the well-known word for “interior”’ and *hni* as ‘old *hnr*’, *Wb.* III, 296, “‘to close in order to hinder access,’” he concludes:

The King’s Tomb therefore was called ‘closed’, ‘prohibited’ or ‘of closed interior’, which is quite natural, as the tomb *once finished* [italics mine] was certainly blocked with stones and provisionally closed either for religious reasons or to avoid any damage to the reliefs and inscriptions, until the day of the burial, when it was finally closed and sealed.

One point of disagreement has been indicated in *hr* above, while my italics will have suggested another. Since few royal tombs were completely finished even on the day of the king’s funeral,<sup>4</sup> and all were thereafter ‘finally closed and sealed’, the choice of *pꜣ hr hni* as a synonym of *pꜣ hr* as reigning king’s tomb would, on the contrary, appear unnatural to me. Instead, I believe it is necessary to return to Peet’s and the *Wb.*’s translation of *hr* as ‘necropolis’, then to consider the location of Bibân el-Molûk in itself and in comparison with that of the other necropolises, excepting only a wâdi of

<sup>1</sup> Reference is made only to our B and the first two exx. of E.

<sup>2</sup> *JEA* 31, 35 f.

<sup>3</sup> As in col. 1, 8 of his text; for another ex. of this frequent abbreviation see p. 62, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Only that of Ramesses III occurs to me off-hand as a possibility. The tomb in the Černý text (no. 9) was cut for less than half its length by Ramesses V; at his death it was extended by Ramesses VI for himself, but never fully completed.

an eighteenth-dynasty queen that is found similarly described below. For both branches of the Valley of the Kings are 'of the interior', or well 'within' the *gebel*, in sharp contrast to the openness of the private cemeteries and the only slightly more secluded Valley of the Queens.

Indeed, a wider province than that of a single tomb, no matter how exalted, appears to be implicit in several graffiti of these scribes. The first and most interesting is found 'in dem Thale, an dessen Eingang das Grab Amenophis' III liegt':  $s\check{s} \text{ } nswt \text{ } n \text{ } wst \text{ } htp \text{ } rc \text{ } | \text{ } im\text{-}s \text{ } Imn\text{-}nht \text{ } s \text{ } Ipwy$ ,<sup>1</sup> 'King's-scribe-of-the-*wst*-on-which-the-sun-sets Amen-nakhte, son of Ipuw'. *Wst*, 'way', is first considered by Spiegelberg as the modern road to Bibân el-Molûk by the Qurna temple of Sethos I,<sup>2</sup> then, with the publication of the graffiti in full, as perhaps the name 'das Thal der Königsgräber (Bibân el Mulûk)'. Actually we may have here another example of part for whole and of a double meaning: *wst* as 'way to' perhaps also representing the destination itself; *wst*, in addition, as 'side' of a place (*Wb.* I, 248, 11), the side (of Thebes) on which the sun sets, possibly also capable of being narrowed here to the two royal wâdis or even the West Valley, the more westerly in direction, as well as location, and that in which the text was inscribed. But in any case this graffito seems definitely to broaden the office of Amen-nakhte to King's scribe of a larger portion of the necropolis than that of a single tomb.

In the other examples Dḥutmose,<sup>3</sup> Butehamûn,<sup>4</sup> and Pa-khy<sup>5</sup> are scribes of  $p \text{ } hr \text{ } . \text{ } . \text{ } . \text{ } pr\text{-}c$ , rather than  $p \text{ } hr$  alone; that is, of the Valley of the Kings according to our arguments above, or of Peet's Theban Necropolis. Peet suggests, moreover, a comparison of the first graffito, 408e, with the three passages from the Strike Papyrus, our B, 'for the [Abbott] scribes' full title'.<sup>6</sup> Does this mean that he found reason in 408e to equate  $p \text{ } hr \text{ } c \text{ } \check{s}psy$  and  $p \text{ } hr \text{ } n \text{ } hnw \text{ } hni$ ? If so, it seems odd that he failed to compare them directly, but no other explanation occurs to me.

The Abbott contexts also appear to fit this equation, while the interpretation as Bibân el-Molûk would seem to clarify in part the passages in question, 5, 16-18; 6, 8-14. 17-23. Here Ḥori-sheri, scribe of  $p \text{ } hr \text{ } n \text{ } hnw \text{ } hni$ , and Pbēs, scribe of  $p \text{ } hr$ , both together scribes of  $p \text{ } hr \text{ } n \text{ } hnw$ , report 'five serious charges' directly to the mayor of East Thebes, rather than to the vizier as their predecessors had done. No explanation is offered; presumably they feared the latter would not have acted had the information gone only to him.<sup>7</sup> Yet 'in spite of the indiscreet disclosures' for which they were verbally chastised, Ḥori-sheri, at least, retained his office.<sup>8</sup> As scribe of Bibân el-Molûk we have suggested that he was a chief official of the entire necropolis, perhaps

<sup>1</sup> Spiegelberg, op. cit., no. 87; see pp. 11 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Zwei Beiträge*, 9; Otto, *Topographie*, 56, where no account of Spiegelberg's later suggestion is made.

<sup>3</sup> Spiegelberg, op. cit., no. 408e. In *LRL* this longer title is too frequently applied to Dḥutmose to warrant enumeration; it is also applied to still further scribes (see index of names) and once to Butehamûn (21, 6); Pa-khy is entirely absent.

<sup>4</sup> Spiegelberg, op. cit., nos. 136, 412; Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1307.

<sup>5</sup> Černý, loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup> *Tomb Robberies*, I, 9, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the report of a workman to Amen-nakhte and a chief workman, his threat to go over their heads, and his criticism of the Vizier Ḥori in the Strike Pap. (*RAD*, 57, 10-58, 6; Edgerton, *JNES* 10, 141, x).

<sup>8</sup> Gardiner, *JEA* 22, 191; Černý, *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 248 f.

subject to demotion only on order of Ramesses IX himself; while he and his second in rank, the scribe of this king's tomb, would have been in the best possible positions to learn of the most serious violations, those concerned with royal tombs.

The translation of our phrase in its various forms has purposely been held for last consideration. In full it appears to be approximately 'the closed, or "forbidden", necropolis of the interior', or 'within' (the *gebel*).<sup>1</sup> But a more precise rendering of *hni* is perhaps possible.

The Strike Papyrus, of our B examples, is partly concerned with 'the passing of the five walls (*inbt*, fem.) of the Necropolis by the crew' in order to complain of lack of rations. But the usual word for wall is *inb*, masculine, while Edgerton points out that the exact meaning of *inbt* is unknown, the *Wb.* suggesting 'Festung, Sperre' (I, 95), and Faulkner 'fence, stockade'.<sup>2</sup> Edgerton continues:

I conceive the five *inbt* of the Necropolis (or of the Tomb?) as five small forts or guardhouses or fortified gateways which had to be passed successively by anyone following the valley route to or from the Tombs of the Kings, but various other interpretations are possible.<sup>3</sup>


That he has proposed the correct solution would seem likely, however, for remains of such enclosures are probably *in situ* today.

Though infrequent, *inbt* occurs as early as the Pyramid Texts, where Pepi II is 'this *ng*-bull who comes forth from *inbt*', the context and second determinative together indicating specifically a small corral enclosed by a dry stone wall.<sup>4</sup> More generally, this would be any such enclosure, perhaps literally 'what is walled',<sup>5</sup> logically a derivative of a verb *inb*, though the *Wb.* attests this form only for the New Kingdom (I, 95, 11). One guardhouse or sentry-box of this type is now found at the edge of the cliff west of the tombs of Ramesses VI and Tutankhamūn; two are nearly opposite each other on either side of the entrance of the Valley of the Queens, beside Tomb 1 and in front of the remains of the Coptic monastery, Deir er-Rūmi,<sup>6</sup> across the modern road. Whether five of these are still discoverable along the wādi route from the Valley of the Kings I do not know, unfortunately, but one remains to the right as one leaves the East Valley, a few metres within the now largely destroyed 'gate' or limestone 'waterfall' that once served as natural obstacle to this branch. On top of the low *gebel* beside the present road, it is invisible from the latter. Such 'walls' are common all over the Theban necropolis, of course, their frequency and unobtrusiveness contributing to the lack of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 62, n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 23; reference due to Wente.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. 139 and n. 10.

<sup>4</sup> 2047c. In my unpublished photograph this det. is a thin oval of stones joined by lines; cf. the primary *Wb.* ex., I, 95, 10. As a rule only the usual wall det. is present in the Strike exx. (*RAD*, 54, 13; 55, 5; 56, 13; 57, 1), but  is added twice (49, 15; 52, 14). Gardiner considers the latter 'due to conflation of *inb* "wall" and *int* "valley"' (p. 49a; cf. *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 31. 177, n. 2; P.Anast. v, 20, 2). Yet the desert location of most of the enclosures may have been a factor as well.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sinuhe, B 116, R 141; *CT* I, 60e; *BD* 169, 6, where *inbt*, rather than Gunn's *inbw* (*Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, 6), is probably to be read.

<sup>6</sup> Winlock, *The Monastery of Epiphanius*, 7. No. 1 is perhaps more reasonably interpreted as outpost than tomb because of its form, as now visible, and distance from the others; its clearing could prove valuable. Photographs of it and of the three stone structures will be included, I hope, in a study of the royal necropolises now in preparation.

attention given them; in a few cases they probably are what they sometimes appear to be, modern wind-breaks.

It is reasonable to suppose that Bibân el-Molûk was also once protected more strongly, perhaps in part by unrecognized positions among the foundations, still extant or recorded and removed, now classed wholly as workmen's huts. The Strike Papyrus, in fact, alludes twice to 'the fortress of the Necropolis', *pꜣ ḥtm n pꜣ ḥr*,<sup>1</sup> and names its door-keeper,<sup>2</sup> while in a Year 6 the vizier Nefer-renpet came 'to see' *pꜣ ḥtm n pꜣ ḥr*;<sup>3</sup> other references are frequent,<sup>4</sup> though equally lacking in details. Regardless, however, of firm evidence of requisite buildings other than the sentry-boxes, this wâdi must have possessed facilities for its own protection naturally suitable for the purpose of local allusion and designation.<sup>5</sup>

The verb *ḥnr*, variant *ḥni*, means 'to restrain', 'to lock up', 'confine', 'block', 'shut up', and in Černý's words, "'to close in order to hinder access'". Of the nouns derived from it, *ḥnrt* is a 'shutting' or 'closing', a 'bastion', 'bulwark', 'fortress', and the 'closed' or 'restricted section of the palace'; while *ḥnr* is 'the harem', also closed, restricted, guarded. Taking these definitions together with the contexts of the inscriptions in the broadest relationships possible, the following translations are suggested:

- A. 'Year 18, 1 *pꜣrt*, Day 28, King's scribe Dḥutmose (of the Necropolis) of the Interior,<sup>6</sup> son of the King's scribe Kha-em-ḥedjet, son of the King's scribe Ḥori-sheri, son of the King's scribe Amen-nakhte (of the Necropolis) of the Interior.'
- B, C, G. 'Amen-nakhte, the scribe of the Guarded (Protected, Restricted, Fortified?) Necropolis', using B, the pertinent words being the same in all three; G adds, 'on the West of Thebes'.
- D. 'The scribe Tjay, his son Amen-nakhte, his father Amen-nakhte, the scribe of the Guarded Necropolis of the Interior.'
- Ea, F. 'The scribe Ḥori-sheri, son of Amen-nakhte, of the Guarded Necropolis of the Interior', using Ea.
- Eb. 'The scribes of the Necropolis of the Interior.'

Since the Valley of the Queens also had its sentry-boxes, at least, is reference

<sup>1</sup> *RAD*, 54, 7; 56, 1; Edgerton, op. cit. 142, XI; 140, VII.

<sup>2</sup> *RAD*, 46, 1 (*vs.* 2, 6); Edgerton, op. cit. 142, XV.

<sup>3</sup> Spiegelberg, op. cit., no. 790.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Cairo 25273, 25504 *rt.*; Černý-Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, 43, 4; 68, 1; Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh (DFIFAO III-VII)*, nos. 40, 45 *vs.*, 103 *rt.*, 161 *rt.*, 252 *rt.*, 380, 386.

<sup>5</sup> Cf., regardless of the exact interpretation to be given them, these words of the Police Chief of Ramesses IX (Abbott 6, 5-7): 'All the kings, together with their royal wives, mothers, and children, that rest in the Great, Noble Necropolis, and those that rest in the Place of Beauty are safe (*wḏꜣ*). They are protected (*ḥwy*) and guarded (*mky*) throughout eternity.' Cf. *Tomb Robberies*, I, 41; Gardiner, *JEA* 22, 178. 189.

<sup>6</sup> Two other meanings of (*n*) *ḥnw* are possible, of course. The first, 'residence,' apparently the *Wb.* choice, seems the least likely to me, though it would have been probable in this example A in the absence of B-G. The second is the preposition *m-ḥnw* as a var. L.E. form (*Wb.* III, 371, 29) or in the writing of *n* for *m*. *M-ḥnw n ḏwv*, 'within the mountains', or *gebel*, actually occurs in the wâdi chosen for Ḥatshepsut's cliff tomb (Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1394, 1, cf. l. 2), while it would fit this text and E-F. In D *ḥnw* must be a noun or an otherwise unattested adjective, 'inner', actually my preference in translating. Though 'Interior' has here been retained overall, consistency is as obviously lacking in the texts as it surely was in usage generally. Indeed, the Arabic Bibân el-Molûk and the English Valley of the Kings are themselves ambiguous in designating both royal wâdis and at the same time the East only.

anywhere made to it as 'the Outer Guarded Necropolis' or 'the Guarded Necropolis of the Outside'?

#### Note

In regard to the projected study of the royal necropolises mentioned in note 6 on p. 61, unpublished information (apart from that contained in the Burton, Hay, Wilkinson, Lane, and Carter MSS.) would be appreciated and fully credited when used. It is needed particularly in connexion with tombs now partly or wholly inaccessible, including: Valley of the Kings, nos. 4 (pit and any openings therefrom), 5, 10, 12, 13, 18, 21, 27, 31, 33, 37 (record of discovery and clearing), 39, 41, 58, 59, 60; Valley of the Queens, nos. 27, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 49, and any others not presently known and numbered.

## AN UNUSUAL DONATION STELA OF THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY

By JAC. J. JANSSEN

IN 1843 the British Museum acquired an important collection of Egyptian antiquities which had previously belonged to the late Earl of Belmore, together with the lithographic blocks which the latter had prepared for a publication of his possessions. Among these antiquities was a stela, now numbered B.M. 588, which was published by the Museum in one of the two volumes devoted to the Belmore collection<sup>1</sup> for which the afore-mentioned blocks were used. Though not bad in itself the publication is not altogether reliable by modern standards, and is, moreover, very rare, so that it seems worth while to publish the stela anew, the more so since both the text and the scene at the top are somewhat unusual.

The provenance of the stela is unknown. The publication says that it was found 'in a tomb at Thebes in 1818', and it will appear that this was probably Tomb no. 359 of the famous chief workman of the necropolis Anḥerkhēw. In its present state the measurements of the stela are: height 75·5 cm., breadth 53·5 cm.; but we shall see that the original height was probably 3 cm. more. The photograph (pl. IX) shows that the top and the bottom have both been damaged, and that part of what was lost has been restored. The lines of the original breaks are clearly visible. That at the bottom starts in the left column of the text about 4 cm. below the beginning of the signs (through the left stroke of III) crossing the figure of the kneeling man just beneath his chin and through his left upper arm, and then curving through the lower part of all the other columns. The break above begins near the top of the left-hand cartouche, cutting through the right-hand cartouche and curving just across the head of the figure of the king until it reaches the vertical line behind his head, from where it passes almost vertically through the middle of the column between the heads of the king and the goddess.

It is of some importance to follow the lines of these breaks very closely, since, as the photograph shows, the upper part of the royal head-dress at the top and the kneeling figure at the bottom have been restored. This restoration must have taken place when the stela was in the possession of the Earl of Belmore or even before he acquired it, but certainly before the lithographic blocks were made, since the publication of the Belmore collection shows the monument exactly as it is now.<sup>2</sup> The restoration appears, however, to be incorrect at both top and bottom.

<sup>1</sup> *Tablets and Other Egyptian Monuments from the Collection of the Earl of Belmore, now deposited in the British Museum* (London, 1843), pl. xiii (the plates are not numbered). The author is indebted to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish the stela in photograph.

<sup>2</sup> This also applies to the gap in the first three lines of the text, so that nothing can be read in the publication which cannot now be seen on the original itself.





THE STELA OF HORI (BM 588)

On looking at the photograph one is immediately puzzled by the head-dress of the king which consists of the white crown with two horns on either side. Such a head-dress is not wholly unknown and even occurs in the Theban necropolis, but it is that of the goddess Satis and not of the king.<sup>1</sup> When, however, one considers what is left of the original representation and how much is restored at this point one can see that the head-dress of the king was not in fact the horned crown but the blue crown,<sup>2</sup> the line which starts above the ear belonging to that helmet, as can be seen in fig. 1.<sup>3</sup> If the stela itself is studied with this in mind there remains no doubt that such is the case. A clear cut can in fact be seen just under the front horn (not visible on the photograph), while the horn at the back of the head intrudes even into the hieroglyphs of the column. The white crown seems, moreover, to be rather unsatisfactorily executed, being slightly too large on the left at the top, and since what remains of the figures shows the sculptor to have been remarkably skilful, these aberrations are certainly due to the modern restorer.

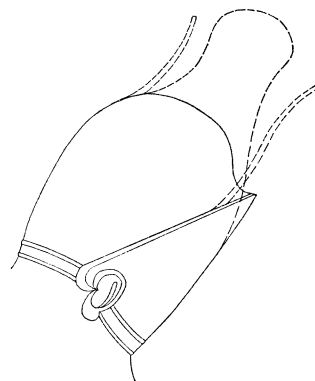


FIG. 1

It cannot be said that the form of the kneeling figure at the bottom is unlikely in itself, but one does get the impression that the proportions are not quite normal. The colour of the face and the left arm (original) is lighter than that of the other arm and of the feet, though this is not necessarily impossible, and the light grey colouring of the body looks old at first sight. Since, however, the text proves that the bottom of the stela was originally about 3 cm. lower than it is now (see below), the figure must also have been longer and therefore differently proportioned. That the restorer carefully compared other representations of the New Kingdom before starting work is clear from his achievement, and although the author has not been able to find any particular representation which is likely to have served as his model, it may perhaps exist in a tomb or on a stela of the Ramessid period.

Having pointed out the differences between the original state of the stela and its present appearance we may now turn to the content. In the upper half we see on the left a man with shaven head, standing before the seated Ramesses IV (his names in cartouches in the centre). Behind the king stands the goddess *Maat*, *Daughter of Rē*, *Mistress of Heaven*, enfolding the Pharaoh with her wings. Although several representations are known from the Theban necropolis of *Maat* with her wings around the statue of King Amenophis I<sup>4</sup> and also with the god Ptaḥ,<sup>5</sup> I do not remember having seen this combination of *Maat* with the living king.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the representation in Theban Tomb no. 335 (Nakhtamūn): Bruyère, *Deir el Médineh* (1924-25), fig. 106 (p. 159), and Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), pl. ii.

<sup>2</sup> My attention was drawn to this point by Dr. J. R. Harris, who also provided me with some valuable information on other points.

<sup>3</sup> This figure is partly taken from the beautiful drawing on Ostr. Deir el-Medīna no. 2568 (cf. Vandier d'Abbadie, *Catalogue des Ostraca figurés de Deir el-Médineh* pl. lxxii).

<sup>4</sup> Cf., for example, Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), fig. 14 (p. 189).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Stela München no. 42 (Spiegelberg *et al.*, *Aeg. Grabsteine und Denksteine aus süddeutschen Sammlungen*, part ii, pl. xix, no. 27); Stela Strassburg no. 201 (*op. cit.*, part i, pl. xix, no. 34).

The person in front of them is called *the messenger who comes to his* (i.e. Pharaoh's) *face, the royal scribe and royal butler Ḥori (justified), son of Ptaḥemwia (justified), born of Ḥathor (justified), of Thebes, for ever and ever.* Although all three names are accompanied by the signs ꝓꝓ this does not in Ramessid times mean that they were already deceased when the stela was made. The royal butler Ḥori, son of Ptaḥemwia, is known from some other monuments, the most important being the fragment of a stela (numbered 151), found by Bruyère at Deir el-Medîna (in the temple of Ḥathor),<sup>1</sup> which appears to have been a very close parallel to that under discussion. In this case we see Ḥori, with his titles above and behind his head, in almost the same attitude as on our stela and again standing before Ramesses IV<sup>2</sup> (cartouches in a similar position). The stone is broken through the middle of the figure of the Pharaoh, and although there are no wings around the king, who is standing and not sitting, as well as certain minor differences in the inscriptions, this stela bears a very close resemblance to that studied here.

Another mention of *the royal butler Ḥori, son of Ptaḥemwia* is to be found on an ostrakon from the same site with a drawing of the standing king,<sup>3</sup> which may possibly have been a draughtsman's study for the fragmentary stela just mentioned. The name appears a third time in Ostr. Deir el-Medîna 45, l. 15<sup>4</sup> of the second year of Ramesses IV, where a group of men, consisting of the vizir Nefronpet and the royal butlers Ḥori and Amenkhēw, son of Tekhy, are said to arrive at Thebes to search for a suitable place for the tomb of Ramesses IV.<sup>5</sup> A last<sup>6</sup> but very doubtful occurrence of our Ḥori may perhaps be on the offering-table from Deir el-Medîna no. 43586,<sup>7</sup> which bears the names of Ḥori and a woman called Djimiro (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒), but without any titles. This seems to be hesitatingly ascribed to our Ḥori by Bruyère,<sup>8</sup> but since the name is so very common the identification cannot be proved. If, however, the supposition is correct, Djimiro might be the name of Ḥori's wife.<sup>9</sup>

The father of Ḥori, Ptaḥemwia, is not known to me except from the monuments of his son. He does not seem to have been an important man, since he nowhere bears a title. Ḥori was therefore probably one of those who reached a high position solely

<sup>1</sup> Bruyère, *Deir el Médineh* (1935-40), pl. xvii and p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Bruyère has Ramesses IX by mistake.

<sup>3</sup> Bruyère, *Deir el Médineh* (1934-35), p. 362, fig. 212 = Vandier d'Abbadie, *Cat. des Ostraca figurés*, no. 2551, pl. lxix.

<sup>4</sup> Černý, *Cat. des Ostraca non littéraires*, pt. i, pl. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Černý, *ZĀS* 72 (1936), 112.

<sup>6</sup> In his transcription of the ostraca of the Cairo Museum, Daressy thought it possible to read on Ostr. 25295 (*Cat. gén. du Musée du Caire, Ostraca*, p. 75) another occurrence of the title *wḏpw* with the name Ḥori. Spiegelberg, however, to whose article *Zwei Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie der thebanischen Necropolis* Daressy himself refers, saw the far more probable title *sš-ḥd*, which is also read by Černý. This is certainly not a reference to our Ḥori.

<sup>7</sup> Bruyère, *Deir el Médineh* (1935-40), p. 6 and fig. 72 on pl. i.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, index of names, p. 168. Bruyère also mentions another possibility, namely, that it is the son of Nebnofre.

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Harris has provided me with some information about Djimiro. The Ashmolean Museum (Oxford) possesses 4 shawabti with this name, one being illustrated in Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 32, fig. 4. Another two shawabti of Djimiro are to be found in the British Museum: no. 8652 (wood), cf. *Guide to the 4th, 5th, and 6th Eg. Rooms* (1922), p. 8, and no. 8812 (stone). Since the name Djimiro is clearly Semitic it seems all the more probable, if she really was our Ḥori's wife, that Ḥori himself was also a Semite.

UNUSUAL DONATION STELA OF THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY 67

by the favour of the king,<sup>1</sup> like so many of the butlers in the Ramessid period. Whether he was a foreigner by origin like many of his colleagues<sup>2</sup> remains unknown, but his purely Egyptian name is no proof to the contrary. His mother's name Ḥathor is again far too common to provide any means of identification.

The lower half of the stela contains a text of an unusual character. Before entering upon a discussion of its meaning we shall give a translation with some additional notes.

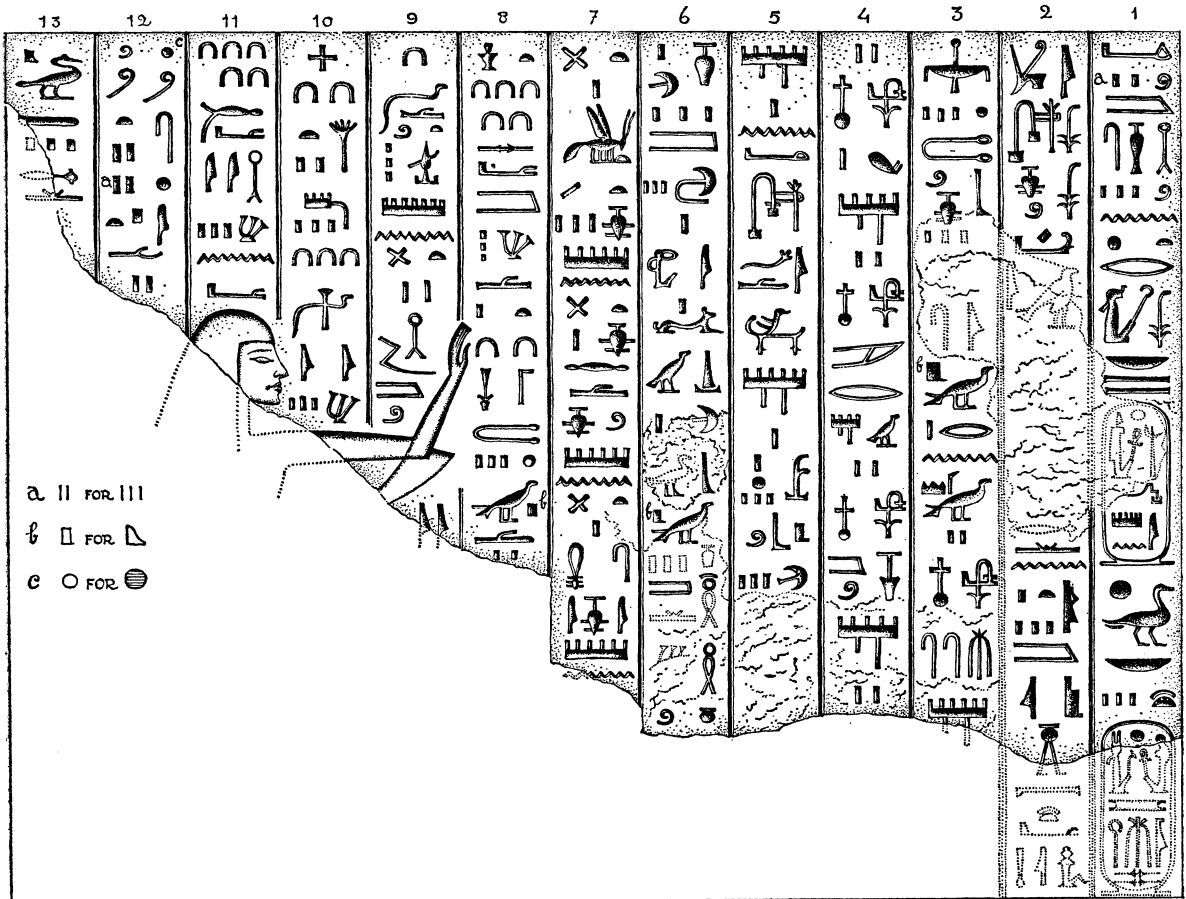


FIG. 2

Translation

<sup>1</sup> Given as a favour from the King, Lord of the Two Lands, [Usima'rē'-] Setpenamūn, son of Rē', Lord of Diadems, Ra[messe-Ḥekama'rē'-miamūn]<sup>2</sup> | by the royal scribe and royal butler Ḥ[ori]<sup>b</sup> ..... chief of the crew in the Place of Truth An[herkhēw]<sup>b</sup>:

<sup>3</sup>   silver <i>tbw</i> -vases [from? As]kalon <sup>c</sup>	2
<i>mss</i> -garments <sup>d</sup> of fine Upper-Egyptian cloth	...

<sup>1</sup> For the position of the royal butlers under the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties cf. Helck, *Verwaltung des m. und n. Reichs*, 273 ff.; cf. also de Wit, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philol. et d'Hist. orientales et slaves*, xv (1958-60), 72 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Helck, op. cit. 273.

..... <sup>e</sup>	†	2
<i>idg</i> -garments <sup>d</sup> of fine Upper-Egyptian cloth		2
<i>mrw<sup>f</sup></i> -cloths of fine Upper-Egyptian cloth		2
<i>smzw<sup>g</sup></i> -cloths of fine Upper-Egyptian cloth		2
..... <sup>5</sup>   cloth		1
sheet <sup>h</sup> of smooth cloth		1
bronze <sup>i</sup> <i>kbw</i> -vases		...
..... <sup>6</sup>   vase with flowers		1
<i>ird</i> -vase <sup>k</sup>		1
sweet Ben-oil, <sup>l</sup> jars		...
..... <sup>7</sup>   [ <i>mn</i> ]-jar		1
honey, <i>mnt</i> -jar		1
fat, <i>mnt</i> -jar		1
cream, <i>mnt</i> -jar		...
..... <sup>8</sup>   ..... <sup>m(?)</sup>		50
<i>scm</i> -plants, <sup>n</sup> handfuls		20
incense, lu[mps](?) <sup>o</sup>	†	10
olives, <i>mnt</i> -jars		2
fenugreek, <sup>p</sup>   <i>khar</i>		20
emmer, ( <i>khar</i> ?)		30
vegetables, <sup>11</sup>   (bundles?)		50
flax, bundles <sup>q</sup>	† <sup>12</sup>	200
<i>sty</i> , <sup>r</sup> <i>oipē</i>		2
<sup>13</sup>   big loaves .....		...

### Commentary

(a) Comparing this cartouche with its parallel at the top of the stela one can calculate that the bottom of this column, and consequently of all the first seven columns, was about 3 cm. lower than the point at which the restorer indicated the base line.

(b) A discussion of what may have been lost in the gap, as well as of the persons mentioned in this column, is to be found at the end of the article.

(c) [*Is*]*k<sup>r</sup>n*. The restoration is not completely certain, but gives good sense. Silver is known to have been brought as tribute from several lands east of the Mediterranean, including Retenu (cf. Harris, *Lexicogr. Studies in Anc. Eg. Minerals*, 42 f.). For Askalon cf. Gardiner, *Onom.* 1, 190\* ff. The shape of the *tbw*-vase is known, for example, from the list of donations of Tuthmosis III (*Urk.* iv, 636). Actual examples of silver *tbw*-vases are to be found among the famous Tell Basta treasure (cf. Simpson, *BMMA*, N.S. 3 (1949-50), 64 top, the first and third from left) and in the collections of the Berlin Museum (Scharff, *Berichte aus den preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Jhrg. 51 (1930), 115, fig. 4 right = Simpson, op. cit. 65). It is of some interest to note that another vase of the Tell Basta treasure belonged, like our *tbw*-vase, to a royal butler

(Simpson, loc. cit.); these vases seem to have formed part of the official possessions of this functionary.

(d) The exact meaning of both *mss* and *idg* is unknown. The usual translation of *mss* as 'shirt' seems to me unfounded (cf. Janssen, *Two Ancient Eg. Ship's Logs*, 74).

(e) The lost words at the bottom of col. 3 certainly contained the name of another kind of garment, to which the number '2' at the beginning of col. 4 belongs. Possibly the word lost is *dšw*, which is usually found with *mss* and *idg*.

(f) *mrw*. The *Wb.* (II, 105, 9–10) translates 'Zeugstreifen, Binde', since the same word occurs also as a measure of vegetables, etc.

(g) *smšw*. I know of only one other example of the word, in P.Mallet II, 1.

(h) *ifd*. Certainly 'sheet', as is shown by the determinative. It was usually made, as here, of *ncc*, 'smooth cloth'; cf. Gardiner, *Hierat. Pap. in the Brit. Mus.*, Third Series, p. 41, n. 5 and p. 49, n. 1.

(i) *hsmn*, 'bronze'. Cf. Harris, *Lexicogr. Studies*, 63 f. The sign  $\text{𓆎}$  (also in the first word of col. 6) is one of the many different variants of the more normal  $\text{𓆏}$  (cf. Harris, *Lexicogr. Studies*, p. 61, n. 1).

(j) It remains uncertain whether another word for vase is lost in col. 5 or whether  $\text{𓆑}$  is meant to be the name of the vase.

(k) *ird*. Though the determinative is partly lost (it may have been either  $\text{𓆒}$  or  $\text{𓆓}$ ) it appears from the context that a particular kind of vase is meant, and not a flower as the *Wb.* (I, 117, 8 and Belegstellen) seems to suppose. A vase called *ird* is, however, unknown; perhaps the *irr*-vase is meant, probably also written *idr* in Ostr. Gardiner 8, 3 (*Hier. Ostr.* 31, 5); cf. *Wb.* I, 155, 16; Goedicke-Wente, *Ostr. Michaelides*, pl. 62 (nr. 7, 8).

(l) For *bšk* 'Ben oil' cf. Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), p. 93 and Keimer, *Kēmi* 2 (1929), 92 ff.

(m) The sign  $\text{𓆔}$  at the top of col. 8 looks like the representation of a particular kind of pot, but the number 50 is rather high compared with the other numbers. It seems more probable that it is the determinative of another commodity.

(n) *scm*. Cf. *Drogenwörterbuch*, 427: 'eine unbekannte Pflanze'.

(o) *kd[rt]*. Cf. P. Harris I, 64c, 10 and 70b, 11, probably also 33b, 10. It is certainly the Semitic  $\text{קִטְרֶת}$  (cf. Burchardt, *Fremdworte*, II, no. 947), meaning 'incense'. From P.Harris as from our stela it looks like a measure for *sntr*, but the equation with  $\text{קִטְרֶת}$  may point to a particular kind of incense.

(p) *hmswy*. The word is continued under the arm of the kneeling figure, the determinative being lost. The context makes the appearance of 'salt' here improbable, so it will be the well-known homonym of salt; cf. Gardiner, *Onom.* I, 19, 21. For the meaning 'fenugreek' cf. Loret, *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 868 ff.

(q) Flax is normally measured in *nch*; cf., for example, Ostr. Petrie 46, 5 (*Hier. Ostr.* 24, 5); Ostr. Gardiner, 91, *rt.* 7 (*Hier. Ostr.* 59, 1); P.Harris I, 12b, 5 and passim.

(r) *sty*. A word of unknown meaning, possibly the fruit of a plant; cf. Janssen, *Two Anc. Eg. Ship's Logs*, 87 f.; Goedicke-Wente, *Ostr. Michaelides*, pl. 62 (nr. 7, 8).

From the unusual list of commodities in this text it is clear that the stela does not contain an offering-list, but belongs to the class of donation texts, and the opening

formula also points to this. Even for a donation, however, the text is still uncommon, since these usually contain gifts of land, either to a temple or to private persons.<sup>1</sup>

The main question is who was giving all the goods to whom, and the solution lies in col. 2. Although it remains uncertain exactly how the words lost between the name Ḥori and the title *ʿ3-n-ist* should be restored, it is apparent that the goods are given ‘by . . . Ḥori to the chief . . . . Anḥerkhēw’. The reason for the donation is not stated. It may have been lost in the gap, though the space is rather small, and it is more likely that only further titles of Anḥerkhēw such as *sš-nswt* were mentioned. Since the donation was made to Anḥerkhēw it is probable that he, and not Ḥori, is the man represented at the bottom, the more so since this person wears a wig while Ḥori in the scene above has a shaven head.

The chief workman Anḥerkhēw is far better known than the royal butler Ḥori. He was the son of the chief workman Ḥay and the owner of Theban Tomb no. 359.<sup>2</sup> He acted first as a deputy chief of the workmen of the necropolis<sup>3</sup> and succeeded his father as chief workman in the 21st or 22nd year of Ramesses III,<sup>4</sup> holding this position for a long time, as is proved by a whole series of ostraca and papyri, at least until the 1st year of Ramesses VI.<sup>5</sup> He was in turn succeeded by his son Ḥormose.<sup>6</sup> Bruyère has published a list of stelae which belonged to him,<sup>7</sup> but since he did not at first recognize that there were two persons with the same name and rank it seems relevant to note with which of these monuments we are concerned. They are:

1. Stela Marseille 38 (Maspero, *Cat. du Musée ég. de Marseille* (1889), 24).
2. Stela Turin 48 (now: Sup. 7358; Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia egizia* (1882), pl. 121 left).
3. Stela Louvre 338 (now: N 665; Bruyère, *Deir el Médineh* (1930), fig. 38).
4. Cairo frag.  $\frac{218}{1515}$  (Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, p. 267, fig. 133).
5. Stela Orient. Inst. Chicago, Inv. no. 403 (Bruyère, *Deir el Médineh* (1945-47), fig. 59).

To this list our stela certainly belongs, and since it is stated to have been found in a Theban tomb it appears probable that it was placed in Anḥerkhēw’s Tomb no. 359. It seems that this chief workman, though an important official, was still very proud of the donation of commodities from the king, which he received by the hand of the royal butler Ḥori.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the list of donation stelae drawn up by Lourie in *Эпиграфика Востока* 5 (1951), 106-9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bruyère, *Deir el Médineh* (1930), 33 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Mentioned as *idnw* in year 17 (O. Flor. 2620 = *ZÄS* 18 (1880), 97), year 18 (Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1296), year 20 (O. Nash 5, 4 = *Hier. Ostr.* 53, 2 *rt.*) and year 21 (P. Berlin 10496, *rt.* 3 and 6 = Erman, *Zwei Aktenstücke, SPAW* (1910), 331).

<sup>4</sup> Ḥay was still *ʿ3-n-ist* in the 19th year of Ramesses III (cf. O. Cairo 25584, I, 1). Anḥerkhēw still an *idnw* in the 21st year (see n. 2), is *ʿ3-n-ist* in O. Deir el-Med. 222, III, 18 of year 22.

<sup>5</sup> Theban graff. 1269. Probably even until the 7th year of Ramesses VI (cf. O. Deir el-Med. 207, 4).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Pleyte and Rossi, *P. Turin*, 29, 5-6 (year 8 of Ramesses IX).

<sup>7</sup> *Deir el Médineh* (1930), 109 ff.

## WAS MAGIC USED IN THE HAREM CONSPIRACY AGAINST RAMESSES III?

(P.ROLLIN AND P.LEE)

By HANS GOEDICKE

By good fortune there have survived parts of the records of legal investigations conducted against the participants in a conspiracy in the reign of Ramesses III. The most substantial portion of these is contained in the so-called 'Judicial Papyrus of Turin', which consists of a rather bureaucratic summary, listing the accused, their crimes (in a general way), their trial, and the verdicts. There are only a few details included in this text, which cannot be considered a *procès-verbal* of the hearings conducted. It is rather a compressed account, containing only the main features of the investigation. This part of the extant records is commonly considered the juridically more interesting and has been treated on several occasions.<sup>1</sup>

The other documents preserved pertaining to the same event are less substantial. Though both were originally part of the same papyrus roll, one is now part of the P.Rollin, and consists of one complete column, while the other, P.Lee, contains two columns, both unfortunately incomplete. These remnants have aroused less interest than the account now in Turin, particularly in regard to their juridical content. Since Devéria's splendid edition, they have been, as far as I am aware, translated only by Breasted and by Lexa.<sup>2</sup>

Undoubtedly one of the reasons for the neglect of these fragments rests on the assumption that their contents relate cases of magical practice. The fact that the texts in question pertain to the harem conspiracy, however, implies *a priori* their juridical character, whether 'magic practising' did or did not play an actual or alleged role in the event. These texts, like the papyrus in Turin, are not verbatim transcripts of the trials, but narrative accounts of them based on the actual records. While the Turin Judicial Papyrus gives a condensed survey, the description in the P.Rollin and P.Lee is more

<sup>1</sup> The most important study is by de Buck, 'The Judicial Papyrus of Turin', *JEA* 23 (1937), 152-64. A more recent translation is offered by Wilson in Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 214-16; previously the text was rendered by Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, §§ 416-53, where the early literature can also be found. Other papyri concerned with the same event had survived from antiquity but disappeared during the nineteenth century. The copies made of them by Rifaud are the only records preserved. Their character was established by Sauneron and Yoyotte, 'Le Texte hiératique Rifaud', *BIFAO* 50 (1952), 107-17. The many insoluble puzzles form an insurmountable obstacle to a detailed knowledge of their contents and leave us with tantalizingly scanty information. On palaeographical grounds Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, XVIII f. assumes that the P.Varzy is another remnant of these records, although the preserved text contains no reference to the harem conspiracy.

<sup>2</sup> Devéria, 'Le Papyrus judiciaire de Turin et les papyrus Lee et Rollin', *Journal Asiatique*, 6<sup>e</sup> série, tome X (1867), 402 ff.; Newberry, *The Amherst Papyri*, 19 ff., pls. ii-iii; Pleyte, *Les Papyrus Rollin*, pl. xvi; Breasted, op. cit., §§ 454-6; Lexa, *La Magie dans l'Égypte antique*, II, 116.



elaborate and sheds some light on the details of the plot. The following discussion is an attempt to evaluate P.Rollin and P.Lee as historical sources and to utilize the available information to 'reconstruct the crime'.

For the convenience of the reader a transcription of the text is here given, based on the excellent copies of Devéria and collated with the photographs published.

### Papyrus Rollin

#### Translation

<sup>1</sup> It happened because writings were made for enchanting, for banishing, for confusing<sup>a</sup>—because some 'gods' were made into wax and some men (also)<sup>b</sup>—and (furthermore) for enfeebling the limb(s) of men<sup>c</sup> <sup>2</sup> and which (writings) were placed in the hand<sup>d</sup> of *Pꜣy-bꜣk-kꜣmn*<sup>e</sup>—(oh) that Rēꜥ had not allowed that he act (as) chief of the chamber<sup>f</sup>—and (of) the other capital offenders, saying:<sup>g</sup> 'Let them come close!'<sup>h</sup> And one let <sup>3</sup> them come close. And when he caused<sup>i</sup> the doers of crimes to enter,<sup>j</sup> he—(oh) that Rēꜥ had not allowed that he grow up—acted along with them.<sup>k</sup>

He was examined and fact was found in every offence <sup>4</sup> and every crime which his heart had conceived to do them—there was fact in those (crimes).<sup>l</sup> He had committed them in full together with the other capital offenders of his kind.<sup>m</sup> <sup>5</sup> Offences worthy of death were these, and the full abomination for the country was this which he had done.<sup>n</sup> And when he understood that those offences which he had done were worthy of death, he brought death to himself.<sup>o</sup>

#### Commentary


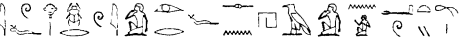
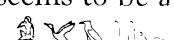
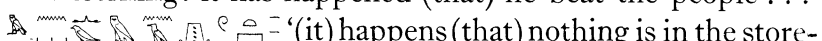
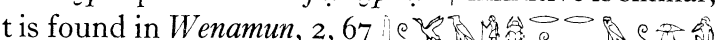
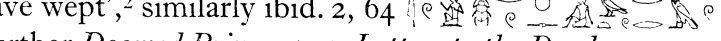
(a) It is uncertain whether the P.Rollin contains the whole of the case it relates. While ordinary Egyptian court records introduce every person concerned with the procedure, this administrative routine is lacking here. On the contrary, there is an obvious tendency to keep the account ambiguous in every way. We have here rather a narrative indicating the order of actions connected with the conspiracy. This descriptive narrative is interspersed with quotations from the judicial records.

Owing to the particular character of the text, partly narration and partly administrative report, the information given is highly incomplete. The name of the accused is lacking and one cannot even say if it was given in what preceded. Still, his role in the plot is clear: he helped the actual conspirators, headed by *Pꜣy-bꜣk-kꜣmn*, to enter into an unspecified place. By combining the information from this account with that supplied by the Turin Judicial Papyrus we are able to establish the identity of the accused, as will be shown.

The construction *iw·f hpr* also occurs twice in P.Lee (I, 3 = n. v and I, 4 = n. x), and these occurrences provide the basis for understanding it. They have been considered as examples of the construction *iw·f (hr) hpr hr* and accordingly rendered 'he began to do'. While such a construction is well attested in Late Egyptian, in literary as well as non-literary texts, it is impossible to assume it in the three instances in question. This is particularly clear from P.Lee I, 3 (n. v) where *iw·f hpr hr* clearly introduces


Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a transcription of a papyrus roll. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be stylized or abbreviated. The script is dense and fills most of the page.

PAPYRUS ROLLIN (Transcription after Devéria)

a cause on account of which (*hr*) a specific action can take place. The same is the case in the other two instances, where the suffix *f* likewise does not refer to the accused, but is to be taken impersonally: ‘it happened because’. It is different from the other construction in that the latter is *iw·f hr hpr hr* + infinitive, although the first *hr* might be omitted.<sup>1</sup> It is only this construction which can be rendered ‘to begin something’. The other constructions with *hpr*, considered indiscriminately to be identical with the latter, have to be differentiated. Two can be distinguished: the first is the impersonal reference to a past event as here. Further instances are *Apophis and Sekenenrē*, 2, 6  *iw bw rh·f cn smi n pꜣ wpty* ‘it happened (that) he did not know how to answer the report of the messenger’. Similarly P.Anastasi VI, 15  ‘when it was done, he registered the document for me’ different from *ibid.* 13 f. *iw·tw hr hpr hr snhꜣ n·i tꜣ mrw* ‘one began to register for me the bondsmen’. It seems to be a peculiarity of the administrative language as it occurs also P.Salt 124, vs. 1, 4  *ir·f knkn nꜣ rmtꜣ* ‘report concerning: it has happened (that) he beat the people . . .’ and *RAD* 56, 15  ‘(it) happens(that) nothing is in the store-rooms’. The second construction with *hpr* apart from *iw·f hr hpr hr* + infinitive is similar, as it likewise emphasizes a fact. It is found in *Wenamun*, 2, 67  ‘(and) the prince happened to have wept’,<sup>2</sup> similarly *ibid.* 2, 64  ‘so I sat down and wept’, further *Doomed Prince*, 4, 5; *Letters to the Dead*, VIII, 22; P.Mayer 2, 4; P.d’Orb. 8, 1.

In the beginning of P.Rollin *iw·f hpr* is thus not to be taken as referring to the action of a particular person but is rather to be understood as a general description of the causes leading to *the* event, i.e. the assault on Ramesses III, and it is this event which is the antecedent of the suffix *f*.

*Iri sꜣw* in itself is ambiguous, but it seems certain that it is used here with the common meaning ‘to compose a writing’. Since it appears unlikely that the culprit was accused of composing magic writings, the above explanation of the introductory *iw·f hpr hr* as giving reasons for the happening of an event receives additional support.

On *iri sꜣw* four infinitives depend, each one introduced by the preposition *n*, stating different purposes for which the writings were made.  like the following terms is to be regarded as infinitive<sup>3</sup> and does not specify *sꜣw*, as apparently understood by Breasted. The word occurs again below in P.Lee 1, 5 likewise parallel with *stwhꜣ*. The context of the latter rules out the possibility of seeing in it a ‘magic procedure’—except in that non-supernatural sense in which ‘to bewitch’ is used in modern times, with the implication of causing confusion.<sup>4</sup> Although the meaning of *hkꜣ* might be

<sup>1</sup> So, for instance, *Doomed Prince*, 5, 12, but correctly *ibid.* 7, 4.

<sup>2</sup> The translation ‘da weinte der Fürst’ of Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, § 570 is certainly superior to Hintze’s ‘der Fürst begann zu weinen’, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache*, 104. The story is that Wenamun’s letter to the prince succeeded in moving the latter to tears, but certainly only for a limited time.

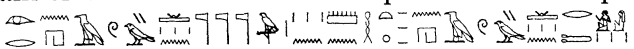
<sup>3</sup> For the verb cf. *Wb.* III, 177, 7 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The oldest occurrence of the word, Hatnub Gr. 12, 13, is indicative of the development of the term. The claim *iw hkꜣ·n(i) hr·indꜣ* ‘I bewitched the (demon) sick-face’ is probably to be understood as some sort of exorcism. By this act the sickness-bringing demon is ‘repelled’ in its advance, which is to be distinguished from the other magic act of ‘expelling’, for which the Egyptians use the verb *šnt*.

interpreted rather widely, it still has to be understood here as referring to an immediate and practical effect and not as an 'act of magic' of uncertain outcome. This is clear at once when considering the particularities of the situation not only here but also below (cf. n. (aa)). The conspirators were in too risky a situation to entrust the outcome of their plot to magical procedures. The writings serve rather the immediate and very practical goal of deceiving the guards, as expressed in the following (see n. (b)). From the fact that *hkꜣ* does not specify *sꜣw* 'writing' but states their purpose as being parallel to *stꜣwhꜣ* 'to make inactive' and *shꜣnwꜣ* 'to confuse', the assumed use of magical implements in the plotting can be denied. There were no 'magic rolls' used but human writings 'to bewitch' the guards.

*Stꜣwhꜣ* is given as another purpose of the writings. The term is peculiar to magic literature<sup>1</sup> and could best be rendered 'to cause unintentional inactivity'. It occurs again below in P.Lee I, 5 as a reason why the conspirators succeeded in penetrating to the king and there again undoubtedly does not refer to an 'act of magic' although the figure of speech might seem to imply it. The next verb, *shꜣnn*, is translated *Wb.* IV, 270, 1-3 'to arouse, to stir up rebellion', a rendering which has a political implication not justified in the present context. The two preceding stated purposes of the writings were to cause inaction, and a similar meaning can be assumed for *shꜣnn*, namely to divert people from their duties.

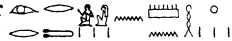
(b) The passage beginning with *hr ir* has been considered parallel to the preceding *hr ir* and thus was made dependent on *iwꜣf hꜣpr*. The assumption of two parallel main clauses leads, however, to considerable difficulties in the construing of the passage. There can be no doubt that  $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$  in the beginning of line 2 refers back to *sꜣw* 'writings', as is clear from the *r-dd* which concludes the clause. It would be difficult to see how  $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$  could be connected with *sꜣw* if an unrelated sentence intervenes, especially if *n dit gnn ct n rmt* is connected with the second and not with the first sentence; in such a case it would be necessary to specify the object that was given into the hands of *Pꜣy-bꜣk-kꜣmn* and his conspirators. In view of this it seems necessary to maintain the unity of the first sentence and consequently consider the passage introduced by *hr ir* not as a second main clause but rather as an explanation of the preceding *shꜣnn*.

 has been considered a reference to a magical practice of making figurines of wax to act as a medium for ritual exercises against a person. Practices of such a kind are attested as early as *CT* I, 157a, where detailed instructions are found about the forming of a figure of one's enemy made of wax, over which certain spells are to be recited. Another early instance is presumed in the episode P.Westcar 2, 23 ff. where the lector-priest *Wbꜣ-inꜣr* is credited with having revenged himself on the adulterer of his wife with the help of a 'crocodile of wax' which transformed itself into a real animal at the appropriate moment.<sup>2</sup>

The passage of P.Rollin has a parallel in P.Lee I, 4 where an event is explained as the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lange, *Der Magische Papyrus Harris*, *Det kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-fil. Meddelelser*, XIV, 2, 89, and *Wb.* IV, 334, 11-12.


<sup>2</sup> A further instance of this type is in P.Bremner-Rhind, 29, 13. Not to be considered a 'magical' instance is the mention of a wax figure of an ibis in P.Ebers, 94, 8 in a recipe which uses fumigation.

consequence of  which is also usually interpreted as an act of magic. Considering the context there it becomes difficult to imagine how it could refer to sorcery, since before the passage in question<sup>1</sup> it is said that the culprit succeeded in reaching the 'other high place', and after it, that the conspirators were taken inside. To assume that at such a moment anyone should start to make figurines for magic purposes and that those should have such a prompt effect requires a high degree of confidence in the efficacy of Egyptian magic. The situation as described presupposes that the passage states an act of much more direct consequence than could be expected from sorcery.


There can be no doubt that one should read *ir . . . m mnḥ*.<sup>2</sup> But even then it is ambiguous since the phrase can mean either 'to make out of' or 'to make into'.<sup>3</sup> Of these two possibilities the latter seems to me preferable, even in *CT* I, 156h–157a where it is the figure (*twt*) of an enemy that is to be made. Consequently it seems necessary to understand *ir rmt m mnḥ* in P.Lee I, 4 as 'making people into wax' which can only be a figure of speech like P.Harris 76, 7 n: *Tkl Plst ir m sf* 'the Thekel and Pelset were made into ashes'. The meaning of such a metaphor is obvious; the particular characteristic of wax is its malleability, and the figurative use of 'to make into wax' can only mean 'to influence a person' and thereby make him amenable to one's plans.

While the passage in P.Lee I, 4 seems clear, namely, the 'people were moulded into wax', the occurrence in P.Rollin offers some difficulties. Even after we have established a figurative meaning of 'making someone into wax' the question of how *nh: n ntrw* is to be understood remains to be solved. It is not clear from the parallel passage with its secular meaning how the 'gods' are to be impressed by the writings in question. There are two unlikely implications in such a view. One is the possibility of fooling or cheating the gods. Though the Egyptians envisaged their gods as man-like beings, one could assume that their judgement would penetrate beyond the appearance of the faked documents (cf. note (x)). Even if this improbable thing should happen, however, and some gods were deluded, it is yet hardly conceivable that the gods should be impressed to that extent by any human writings, faked or authentic. I am thus tempted to understand *ntrw* not as referring to 'gods' *per se*, but to some kind of earthly beings. With some hesitation I venture to regard those *ntrw* as 'priests', i.e. 'godly ones', in opposition to *rmt* 'laymen'. Some support for such a view can be drawn from the occurrence of *ntrw* in P.Harris I, when it is paired with *rmt*, while the references to actual deities include the specification *nbw Šmc Mhy* 'lords of Upper and Lower Egypt'.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, notes (z) and (y).

<sup>2</sup> So *CT* I, 157a; P.Bremner-Rhind 29, 13 writes *irt mnḥ* while *ibid.* 29, 14 has  *mnḥ*. For *n* cf. further Brugsch, *Drei Festkalender*, Taf. VIII. 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Wb.* I, 110, 1–6.

<sup>4</sup> P.Harris 3, 3; 9, 8; 75, 6; 79, 2; possibly also 42, 4. An instance of particular interest and one which might furnish the explanation of the presumed use of *ntrw* in reference to priests, is found in P.Harris 67, 1. The final summary of the donations of Ramesses III to the gods of Egypt commences *shwy nn n ntrw rmt nbw*, which is rendered by Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, § 383 'list of the things of the gods and the men: gold . . .'. But since in the following account 'heads' (= men?) are the second item after  it seems unlikely that the sentence should be divided in the above way. It seems rather that *nn n ntrw* is the first item in the list of the donation of Ramesses III. *Nn n ntrw* can mean either 'that of the gods' or 'those of the gods'. In the first case it would denote materials, in the second, personnel. The occurrence of *ht* in the preceding summaries (P.Harris 10, 1; 31, 1; 51a, 1; 61a, 1) seems to suggest the first possibility; but since *ht* in P.Harris does not denote

*Nh3 n rmt* is parallel to *nh3 n ntrw* and refers directly to the event stated in P.Lee I, 4 (cf. n. (x)). It is not unlikely that *rmt* has here a specific meaning and it is possibly to be compared with Turin Judicial Papyrus, v, 1, *rmt (nw) p3 sb3 n pr hnr* 'the men of the door of the harem' where *rmt* is applied to guards. On the other hand, the other use of *rmt* in that papyrus (v, 4, 6; vi, 1, 6) makes such a view less certain, except that the people are all laymen and not priests.

(c) *N dit gm ct n rmt* is parallel to the preceding three specifications introduced by the preposition *n* and thus to be connected with *s3w*. *ct n rmt* is a rather strange expression but its meaning does not seem to be in any way dubious.

(d)  $\overline{\text{𓄀}} \overline{\text{𓄁}}$  refers to *s3w* as it results from *r dd* which concludes the passage and which necessarily has to be considered as introducing the contents of those writings. *M drt* is undoubtedly to be taken literally; that is, that those writings were handed over to *P3y-b3k-k3mn* and the other conspirators.

(e) *P3y-b3k-k3mn* is indicated here as the leader of the conspiracy. This is in agreement with the Turin Judicial Papyrus (IV, 2) where this man is listed first and where he is accused of plotting with the queen Tiye.

(f) The Late-Egyptian *bwpw* usually negates a past event,<sup>1</sup> and it is in this way that the passage is generally understood. The construction which occurs again in the following line<sup>2</sup> appears to be used here in a different way, since a rendering in the assumed form yields an illogical meaning. If understood with factual meaning, i.e. that Rēc had not permitted *P3y-b3k-k3mn* to be *3-n-ct*, it would be denial of Rēc's omnipotence if the man nevertheless had occupied this position. The fact that the man did hold this position was *a priori* possible only with the consent of Rēc, so that any negation in this connexion can only be in the form of a wish. Thus I surmise that we have here the negated form of the construction quoted by Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, § 415, Anm. 1.<sup>3</sup>

(g) *Kt-h(t) hrw 3y* continues the reference to the holding of the writings in question by *P3y-b3k-k3mn*, their leader. The words are not an integral part of the statement itself, but accompany and supplement the mention of *P3y-b3k-k3mn*.

*R dd* introduces the quotation of the contents of the writings concerned, although not *in extenso* but only as far as it is here pertinent to the account. There is no specific addressee mentioned,<sup>4</sup> which could suggest that they were of a general character. This would agree with the nature of the request contained, which is not restricted to one particular person, but capable of general application. In view of this peculiarity the writings in question cannot be considered as 'messages' in the exact meaning of the term, but rather as general 'permits'.

'properties' but 'revenues' such a view seems untenable. In view of this it seems necessary to accept the second possibility and to understand *nm n n3 ntrw* as 'those of the gods', namely as priestly offices. It is from this term that the use of *n3 ntrw* in reference to 'priests' appears to be derived.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hintze, *Untersuchungen*, 252 f.; Gardiner, *ZÄS* 45 (1908), 78, where the passage in question is translated 'whom Phre never caused to act as *3 n ct*'; and Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, § 776 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Two parallels occur in document A, lines 5. 9 of the P.Rifaud, *BIFAO* 50 (1952), 112 ff.

<sup>3</sup> A further instance occurs in Davis, *The Tomb of Queen Tiye*, 18.

<sup>4</sup> There is the possibility that *n rmt* at the end of line 1 is to be taken as dative in which case it would introduce the recipients of the writings in question. But even so the addresses would not be specified beyond the level of a group of people.

(h) *Wb.* III, 373, 18 proposes for *hni* a special meaning 'heimlich herbeigebracht werden, eingeschmuggelt werden' for which only the two instances here are quoted.<sup>1</sup> In all its other occurrences the verb has the meaning 'to come close (to a person or a place)'<sup>2</sup> and is used in particular for the approach to the king. It is the latter usage which I am inclined to surmise here as well, and thus to understand the quotation as an order to the guards to let the bearers of the writings, i.e. the conspirators, approach the king: and this order was promptly carried out.

(i) For the temporal function, cf. Hintze, *Untersuchungen*, 65 f. As restoration for the lacuna I propose *ck*, which seems required by the context and would agree with the traces remaining. The meaning of the passage does not seem to need much comment. To facilitate the entry of the conspirators is tantamount to taking part in the plot, although the particular person appears not to have participated in the events which followed the entry.

(j) *Yr n; bin* is subject to *ck* and denotes the actual conspirators. Those 'crimes' (*bin*) of which they are accused refer in all probability to their actions against Ramesses III.

(k) For the inserted passage, cf. above, n. (f).  $\overline{\text{ⲉ}} \text{ⲛ} \overline{\text{ⲉ}}$  appears to be a writing for *rd*, which is attested from the Middle Kingdom with the meaning 'to grow up (of children)'.<sup>3</sup> When taken this way the insertion furnishes an important indication; the offender most likely was young. Furthermore, taking into consideration that the person had great influence and was close to the king,<sup>4</sup> it seems not too daring to surmise that the undisclosed offender in this section of the account is to be identified with the royal prince for whose elevation the plot was designed. He had the name *Pn-t;wr* and was the son of Queen Tiye; his condemnation is mentioned in the Turin Judicial Papyrus v, 7, where his crime is not specified except for his collusion with his mother Tiye. Cf. below, n. (o).

(l) The idiom *iw mꜣst m*, *Wb.* II, 19, 7, lit. 'it is truth in', means that something corresponds with facts. The symmetrical formulation points to a double form of investigation. Although hampered by the uncertainty of the precise meaning of the two terms, it seems that the establishing of truth was effected twice, corresponding to the two participants in the proceeding. From the application, i.e. that *bt;* is that act which brings about punishment, it seems possible to make a distinction between *bt;* and *bin*. The first, *bt;*, appears to denote the effect on the recipient or object of that act, whether a person or the abstract principle of law; it can thus be rendered 'offence'. *Bin*, on the other hand, signifies the act from the standpoint of the agent. As such it denotes the action which he performs and is to be rendered 'crime'.

(m) The adverbial *r dr-w* 'fully', lit. 'to their limit', seems to be a technical term indicating full guilt of an offence; the emphasis of the total condemnation implies the possibility of a partial one.

*Mi kd:f* specifies *ꜣ* which seems used here like the qualitative in Coptic; thus the expression is literally 'the other criminals, great like him'.

<sup>1</sup> This rendering stays in line with Devéria 'pénétrer' and Breasted 'to take in'.

<sup>2</sup> *Wb.* III, 373, 9-17; *Rev. d'Égyptol.* 6 (1951), 121.

<sup>3</sup> *Wb.* II, 463, 3.

<sup>4</sup> This seems required by the role which he played in the plot, of opening the way for the conspirators through the king's guards.

(n) For *btzw c3y n mwt*, cf. below, n. (ac). The parallel *bwt c3y n p3 t3* probably has no juridical significance, but is more likely a piece of political 'propaganda', claiming that the aims of the plot were condemned by the country.

(o) *cm m* possibly better 'to understand' as Gunn, *JEA* 16 (1930), 153 suggested. *c3y*, as before, is qualitative; otherwise the meaning of the passage is lost, as in Breasted's translation. The passage states that he committed suicide when he learned that his crimes had merited the death penalty. The fact of self-destruction is in agreement with the identification of the unnamed criminal with *Pn-t3-wr*, made above (n. (k)). Concerning the latter, his suicide is recorded in the Turin Judicial Papyrus v, 7 with the words: 'they found him guilty; they left him in his place; he took his own life.'

### Papyrus Lee

#### Translation

[He took an Oath of the] <sup>1,1</sup> Lord, l.p.h., for substantiating every trustworthiness<sup>b</sup> by swearing at every [time,<sup>g</sup> saying: 'I did not give a piece of writing to any person] <sup>1,2</sup> of the office in which I was (or) to any person of the country'.<sup>r</sup> When *Pn-hwy-bin*, who was (formerly) overseer of cattle,<sup>s</sup> said to him, 'Give to me a piece of writing for giving to me power (and) authority', <sup>1,3</sup> he gave him a piece of official paper of *Wsr-m3ct-rc-Mri-imn*, l.p.h., the great god, his lord.<sup>u</sup> And it happened because of (the feast of) the Arrival of the God and the excitement of the people<sup>v</sup> that he reached the <sup>1,4</sup> harem side of that other very high place.<sup>w</sup> It happened because the people were made into wax (and) because of the writings of demand<sup>x</sup> that one allowed that they were taken in<sup>y</sup> in the charge of the commissioner 'Idrm;<sup>z</sup> <sup>1,5</sup> and while (members of) one group banished and the others deceived,<sup>aa</sup> the few conspirators taken led the others on.<sup>ab</sup>

When one examined him <sup>1,6</sup> about them, one found fact in every offence and every crime, which his heart had conceived to do them—there was fact in those (crimes). He had committed them in full together with the <sup>1,7</sup> other great criminals of his like, the abomination of every god and every goddess. And one applied to him the punishments, worthy of death, which the gods said, 'Do them to him'.<sup>ac</sup>

<sup>2,1</sup> . . . . . among their . . . . . on the basket (?).<sup>ad</sup> He went . . . . . with his feeble hand.<sup>ae</sup> When <sup>2,2</sup> [the officials . . . . . examined him] about them,<sup>af</sup> one found fact in every offence and every crime, which his heart had conceived to do them—there was fact <sup>2,3</sup> [in them. He had committed them in full together with the other] great criminals of his like, the abomination of every god and every goddess. And the offences they were worthy of death and the abomination <sup>2,4</sup> [of the country was what he had done. And when he understood that those offences,] which he had done, were worthy of death, he brought death to himself. When the officials, who were in charge of him, learned: 'He killed himself'<sup>ag</sup> <sup>2,5</sup> . . . . . Rē<sup>c</sup> entirely that which the writings of the divine words say, 'Do it to him'.<sup>an</sup>



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## Commentary

(p) The occurrence of the expression *sdfꜣ tr* was recognized first by Černý<sup>1</sup> in the fragmentary beginning. The first word preserved, *nb*, is part of the technical term 'Oath of the Lord', the particular kind of oath used in the later New Kingdom in juridical matters.<sup>2</sup> The context is somewhat uncertain, since it is not clear if the person, undoubtedly the defendant, was made to take the oath, as Wilson understands it, or if this particular oath<sup>3</sup> was taken voluntarily to substantiate a statement. Of the two alternatives the latter seems the more likely, because of the evidence which follows. It is stated that the person had made a false oath, since he had handed out the object in question, contrary to the sworn denial.

The purpose of the oath, administered or taken voluntarily, is specified by the dative *n sdfꜣ tr nb*. The phrase *sdfꜣ tr nb* is considered a technical term to denote a particular form of oath,<sup>4</sup> but a satisfactory explanation has not been found. Wilson,<sup>5</sup> with much reserve and stressing the uncertainty of such a view, translates it 'to undertake fealty'. Among the occurrences two forms of application can be distinguished: first, one in connexion with subdued foreigners pledging their loyalty.<sup>6</sup> In these cases a rendering 'to undertake fealty' would seem to suit the context but still leaves unanswered the lexicographical problem of how to reconcile such a meaning with the common application of the words used in the compound phrase. Secondly, it occurs in purely legal contexts, as in the case under discussion.<sup>7</sup> These instances have in common that they occur in juridical investigations of crimes in connection with the weighing of evidence. Our passage and that in the *Teaching of Amen-em-ope* indicate that the expression does not denote an oath itself, since in these two instances an oath (*ꜣnh*) is mentioned leading to (*n*) the *sdfꜣ-tr*. Thus, I am inclined to understand *sdfꜣ-tr* as a term denoting the 'establishing the veracity' of a statement differing from the views held by the investigating party. *Sdfꜣ*, lit. 'to feed', appears to be used metaphorically 'to substantiate, to support'.<sup>8</sup> The specification of the exact meaning of its object (*tr*) is more difficult. This is partly due to the unusual determinative  in the occurrence in the Gebel Barkal stela.<sup>9</sup> Other than this the occurrences of *tr* show a more or less uniform spelling by which the word can be recognized as a noun,<sup>10</sup> which is most likely to be connected with the verb *trꜣ* 'to treat respectfully' and would mean 'respectful treatment'. As for its specific juridical usage, I am inclined to understand the technical term as 'establishing

<sup>1</sup> *JEA* 15 (1929), 247 followed by Wilson, *JNES* 7 (1948), 136 who renders the passage '[. . .] "was made to take" the Oath of] the Lord of "an undertaking of fealty", ["saying: "I have not given] any [magic roll"] of any place in which I am to anybody of the land!"']

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wilson, op. cit. 152 f.

<sup>3</sup> For this use of the Oath of the Lord, cf. Wilson, op. cit. 135 f.

<sup>4</sup> So *Wb.* iv, 384, 3; *JEA* 15 (1929), 247.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit. 130.

<sup>6</sup> Badawi, *Ann. Serv.* 42 (1942), 12 f.; Reisner, *ZÄS* 69 (1934), 32, l. 24.

<sup>7</sup> Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, pl. xlvi, 3; P. Salt 124, *rt.* 1, 16 (Černý, *JEA* 15 (1929), 245); *Amen-em-ope*, XXI, 11 (Lange, *Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope*, 104 f.); Griffith, *JEA* 12 (1926), 210.

<sup>8</sup> In the stela of Tuthmosis III from Gebel Barkal (*ZÄS* 69 (1934), 32) *sdfꜣ* is clearly a verb used transitively.

<sup>9</sup> It may possibly be a reflection on the questionable trustworthiness of the people of Megiddo and thus would be a specific case without bearing on the principal meaning of *tr*.

<sup>10</sup> The indicative example from Gebel Barkal suggests such a view, *sdfꜣ* still being used verbally with *trꜣt* as object.



prosecuted. The silence in the records can only be explained by postulating that the man either died before the investigations began or that he succeeded in escaping.<sup>1</sup>

(t) The request expressed in this quotation is vital for the understanding of the teamwork of the conspiracy. What *Pn-ḥwy-bin* asks for is not a 'magic charm'<sup>2</sup> but a piece of writing which would give status to its possessor and impress people. This 'paper' is used consequently as a kind of *laissez-passer* to get by the guards and to the king.

Beyond its immediate interest the passage also shows that there were writings which conferred authority by their mere existence without being specifically issued to their holder. However, some caution may be necessary concerning this point, in view of the special circumstances. The later description of the situation prevailing at the time the 'writing' was utilized to enter the palace suggests that it was not properly examined by the guards who otherwise could have detected its misuse.

(u) The essential term in this passage, describing the object handed over to *Pn-ḥwy-bin*, has found different explanations. Devéria<sup>3</sup> rendered it 'un écrit des livres (du roi)', but stressed his misgivings about his suggestion. For no apparent reason, Breasted<sup>4</sup> changed this into 'a magic roll', while Lexa translated it 'un grimoire de la bibliothèque du roi'.<sup>5</sup> According to the particular mode of determination we have here a compound expression of which both elements and also their combination receive a determinative. *Sš n rnw*, lit. '(piece of) writing of the (royal) names', appears to be a technical term used to denote the kind of writings used by the king. From the meaning of the expression it is tempting to picture it as carrying the formal names of the royal sender in an ornamental or calligraphic display. Presumably such sheets of official paper were prepared in advance and available in the royal chancellery. By their outer form alone those documents were recognizable as conveying the will of the king.<sup>6</sup>

Such a document would fulfil the wishes of the man who requested it, by 'giving power and authority to him'. It is not specified here if a royal order was also falsified, but from an indication in the next line (cf. note (x)) this seems to have been the case.

(v) Once the necessity of finding an application of magic powers has been removed, the passage, which has caused considerable difficulties, finds a simple explanation. *Ph-ntr* is attested twice in the inscription of Pinodjem at Karnak<sup>7</sup> and denotes there the event of the arrival of the god (Amūn). Considering the literal meaning of the term it might seem doubtful if it referred to one particular event;<sup>8</sup> one could possibly apply it to any ceremonial journey of a god, since each of them would include an 'arrival of the

<sup>1</sup> The name is rather puzzling. In the frequent name-pattern construed with *p:n* the element to which the person is linked is either a deity or an institution while attributions in this form to mortals are not attested. The name *P:n-sn-Hrw*, cited in Ranke, *Personennamen*, II, 238 as 'Abstammungsname', is in all probability likewise a theophorous name, especially since *p:n* does not express descent but dependence.

<sup>2</sup> *Sš* is any form of 'writing' but not *a priori* a 'scroll', which would rather be called *mḏst* and even less a 'magic charm' (*nht*). The use of *sš* to denote 'Zauberbuch' quoted *Wb.* III, 477, 7 is derived entirely from the occurrence in P. Rollin I (n. (a)) and the passage here.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibl. égypt.* V (1897), p. 197, note on l. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ancient Records*, IV, § 455.

<sup>5</sup> *Magie*, II, 116; cf. also *ibid.* I, 126.

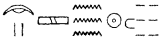
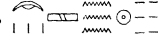
<sup>6</sup> In their character they are comparable with the Turkish firman. A fragment of such a document is possibly preserved in the remnants of an Old Kingdom papyrus (Borchardt, *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten*, Bl. 14).

<sup>7</sup> Naville, *Inscription historique de Pinodjem III*, plate, upper left corner.

<sup>8</sup> *Wb.* I, 535, 13 interprets it as a specific feast.

god' with variations in time and place according to the particular visit. However, in view of the occurrence of the expression in the inscription of Pinodjem it seems safe to presume a connexion between *ph-ntr* 'the arrival of the god' and the cult of Amūn. By doing so we gain an important indication of the place where the conspiracy took place. Since Amūn made no usual journeys outside the Thebaid—and from the formulation used one gets the impression that *ph-ntr* refers here to a familiar event in connexion with the yearly journeys of Amūn<sup>1</sup>—the *coup d'état* against Ramesses III has to be placed in the Theban region. It seems possible to specify the place even more precisely; from what we learn later, the place where the plot was staged had a harem and thus can safely be identified as a royal palace. Of the places visited by the bark of Amūn on its annual journeys, only one place satisfies all the details of the account, namely Medīnet Habu, that palace–fortress–temple of Ramesses III on the west bank of Thebes.

But not only the setting of the final act of the conspiracy can be deduced from the occurrence of the term *ph-ntr*, 'the arrival of the god', but also its date can be established. According to the list of feasts inscribed on the walls of Medīnet Habu,<sup>2</sup> the Feast of the Valley, i.e. the occasion when the cult-bark of Amūn was brought across the river,<sup>3</sup> was celebrated at the beginning of the second month of the summer season. The beginning of the feast, which lasted only two days,<sup>4</sup> appears to have been governed by the cycle of the moon; according to the list at Medīnet Habu, it is the day of the new moon on which the feast commences.<sup>5</sup> This calendrical indication can be applied to the day of the *coup d'état* against Ramesses III which took place on the very day of the 'arrival of the god' at Medīnet Habu for the celebration of the Feast of the Valley.

Since it is a moveable feast we still are unable to define the date according to the calendar, especially since there is no agreement on the dates of the reign of Ramesses III.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, information is available to narrow down the period in which the event could have taken place. The earliest possible date appears to be  mentioned in P.Harris 17a, 3<sup>7</sup> which was the end of the great royal feast of Amūn at Thebes, at which time the king was still alive.<sup>8</sup> The *terminus ante quem* is 

<sup>1</sup> It is conceivable that *ph-ntr* could refer to the arrival of the king, especially since at the time of the investigation he was presumably dead, which would agree even better with the designation *ntr*. Since the term, however, is otherwise attested in connexion with the cult of Amūn, and since furthermore the concise form of the expression points to an established use, no other interpretation than the one proposed seems tenable.

<sup>2</sup> *Medinet Habu*, III, pl. 142, no. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstantale*, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Schott in Nelson-Hölscher, *Work in Western Thebes 1931-1933* (Orient. Inst. Comm., no. 18), 73 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten*, 107, nos. 150-3. The passage quoted from Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques*, 25538, 3 'second month of summer, day 25, day of the journey of Amūn to the Town' demonstrates well the shifting character of the feast, in the latter case to be attributed to a particularly late occurrence of a new moon in that month.

<sup>6</sup> The more recent views are: Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II, 2, 585, 1197-65 B.C.; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*<sup>4</sup>, 432, 1198-1166; Scharff, *Ägypten und Vorderasien im Altertum*, 192, 1197-1165; Rowton, *JEA* 34 (1948), 72, 1170-1138; v. Beckerath, *Tanis und Theben*, 108, 1192-1160; Otto, *Ägypten*, 267, 1170-1138; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, II, p. xv, 1192-1160; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 446, 1182-1151; Parker, 'Egypt-Chronology' in *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1179-1147.

<sup>7</sup> The edition of Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, v)*, 21, erroneously gives 14.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Schaedel, 'Der Regierungsantritt Ramses IV', *ZÄS* 74 (1938), 96 ff. against Černý's ('Datum des Todes Ramses III. und der Thronbesteigung Ramses IV', *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 109 ff.) arguments for dating the death of Ramesses III to III Šmꜛw 15.

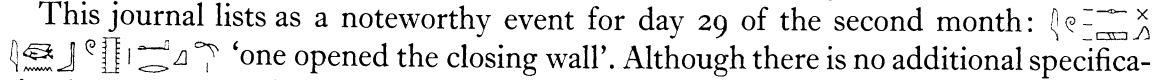
(P.Harris 1, 1) at which time Ramesses III was apparently dead, although the introductory line refers to him as if he were alive. The assassination of Ramesses III must thus have fallen within this critical period of twenty-one days. The date given by P.Harris is beyond the range of time in which the Feast of the Valley could occur, the latest date for it being the twenty-eighth day. This discrepancy leaves the following possibilities:

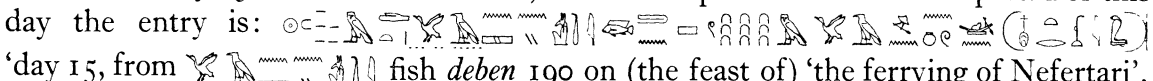
- (1) the conspiracy is not connected with the end of the reign of Ramesses III.
- (2) Ramesses III did not die instantly but survived a few days.
- (3) the date of the Papyrus Harris is not the actual but the 'official' date of the death of Ramesses III.

Concerning (1): The correspondence of the date of death as given by P.Harris with the date to be derived from the account of the conspiracy is so close that a most remarkable coincidence would have to be assumed in order to support such an assumption.

Concerning (3): It would seem unnecessary to establish such a fictitious date since the official announcement—at least to the workmen of Deir el-Medîna—was made nine days later, on day 15 of the third month.<sup>1</sup> In addition, the P.Harris is hardly a political manifesto,<sup>2</sup> but rather a summary of the king's pious deeds to be laid before the gods in the hereafter. Understood in this way, the date of the 'account' can only be the last day on which the king was alive.<sup>3</sup>

Concerning (2): This leaves us only the second possibility, that Ramesses III lived a few days after the *coup d'état*. Since the event must have occurred before the beginning of the third month it is necessary to search for information to narrow down the period of twenty-six days. Fortunately a work-journal for the royal necropolis at Thebes is available for the period in question, contained in O. IFAO 38.<sup>4</sup>

This journal lists as a noteworthy event for day 29 of the second month:  'one opened the closing wall'. Although there is no additional specification it seems natural to connect this 'closing wall' with the tomb of the contemporary king.<sup>5</sup> For our purpose this 'opening' seems highly indicative. It is at least most unlikely that the blocking of the prepared tomb should be removed without some good cause. This fact seems in itself sufficient reason for assuming that the condition of Ramesses III on that day was such that his death was to be expected and preparations appeared necessary. In other words, the *coup d'état* must have fallen before the twenty-ninth day.

For the preceding days nothing pertinent to our question seems to be indicated until we come to day 15 of the second month, the earliest possible date for the plot. For this day the entry is:  'day 15, from fish *deben* 190 on (the feast of) 'the ferrying of Nefertari'.

<sup>1</sup> See Černý, loc. cit., and Schaedel, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> This explains why in the entry-line the king is referred to as being alive while later he is pictured as deceased.

<sup>4</sup> Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh* (Doc. de Fouilles IFAO, 3), pl. 19.

<sup>5</sup> From the basic meaning of *crk* 'to tie around, to complete' (*Wb.* I, 211 f.) the significance of *inb crk* is literally a 'completing' or 'tied around wall'. This denotes the temporary closing of a tomb from the time of its completion until its occupancy.

This *pꜣ ḥnw n Nfrtri* is undoubtedly a feast like *pꜣ ḥnw n Mwt*<sup>1</sup> and consists of a voyage on the river. As it occurs as the only feast in the critical period, I surmise that *pꜣ ḥnw n Nfrtri* is a specific designation of the great feast of the valley used by the people of Deir el-Medīna on account of their special attachment to the cult of Nefertari. In view of this situation I assume that the 'arrival of the god' and thus the *coup d'état* took place on day 15 of the second month of *šmw* which must have been the day of the new moon.<sup>2</sup>

Combining this information with the passage in P.Harris 17a, 3 it can be deduced that the festive season on the eastern bank was continued and concluded by a ferrying of Amūn to the West side for the celebration of the Feast of the Valley.

There is possibly a piece of additional information to be derived from O. IFAO 38, 12. The man who makes the payment has the most unusual name *pꜣ-(n)-nšn* which means 'the one of the rebellion'.<sup>3</sup> It would be again an accident of a remarkable kind if on the very day for which the occurrence of political turmoil could be established a man should be mentioned with a personal name of this otherwise unattested kind. No other explanation seems possible than to understand *pꜣ-(n)-nšn* not as a personal name but as a reference to a participant in the conspiracy. That such a person should make a payment to the workmen on the day of the plot can hardly be accidental but is probably part of the conspiracy, either to win the support of those people or to distract their attention. This in turn not only demonstrated the detail in which the plot was planned, but also shows what wide circles were connected with it in one way or another.<sup>4</sup>

The occasion for carrying out the plot was deliberately chosen, for the commotion connected with the event and the consequently diminished attention of the guards. That this factor was taken into consideration by the conspirators is revealed by the indication *syḥ n nꜣ rmt*. *Syḥ* which appears to be attested only in this one instance has been compared<sup>5</sup> with *ϣϩε* and is possibly related to the verb *ϣḥ* 'to capture'; the context suggests a word for 'excitement, rapture', i.e. that religious or festive emotion roused in the people by the arrival of the divine bark of Amūn. Anyone who has witnessed the commotion at the feast of Sheikh Abu'l-Haggag at Luxor can easily picture the commotion on the day of *pḥ-ntr*, 'the arrival of the god'.

*Rmt*, 'people', is used here not so much in a general sense, but seems to refer particularly to those in charge of the gates.

(w) *Tꜣ rit pr-ḥnr* is to be understood as a unit in which *pr-ḥnr* is used as a specification. The entire expression is connected with *pr-ḥnr*, specifying that side which is facing towards the harem. For *rit*, cf. in particular the use of *tꜣ rit ḥnw* 'the inner side' (*Wb.* II,

<sup>1</sup> *Wb.* III, 375, 13. Cf. further *pꜣ ḥnw Sthꜣ*, Gardiner-Černý, *Hieratic Ostraca*, I, pl. xxv, 2 vs. 7. The ferrying of *Nfrtri* on day 15, second month of *šmw* also *ibid.*, *rt.* 3 f.

<sup>2</sup> This coincidence should allow us to establish an astronomical date for the day in question and thus to settle the existing uncertainties about the chronology of the early Twentieth Dynasty.

<sup>3</sup> For *nšn* denoting political disorder, cf. Posener, *La Première Domination perse en Égypte* (Bibl. d'Étude XI), p. 19, n. b.

<sup>4</sup> Three days later the workmen receive another, even larger, payment by a person referred to as *pꜣ-n-pꜣ-ḥnty*, also mentioned O. IFAO, 142, vs. 7; 80, 3; 81, 2, etc. It is possible that this again is not a personal name but the designation of an emissary of the administration (*ḥnty*). Should this later payment be considered a reward to the workmen for their conduct during the critical days?

<sup>5</sup> *Wb.* IV, 40, 7 suggests hesitatingly 'ob Wahnsinn?'

400, 13; Lefebvre, *Inscriptions des grands prêtres* 66), *scil.* the 'inside'. *Rit* not only denotes a particular surface but implies also the possibility of access through that side as an 'approach'. This seems particularly clear from the instance under discussion, where *rit* cannot denote only a particular side of the walls of the building, but has to include also a doorway through which the conspirators entered. In other words, the text tries to specify the particular approach used by the conspirators, the side-door of a building still to be identified, which opened towards a harem.

The building into which the conspirators penetrated with the help of the royal docu-

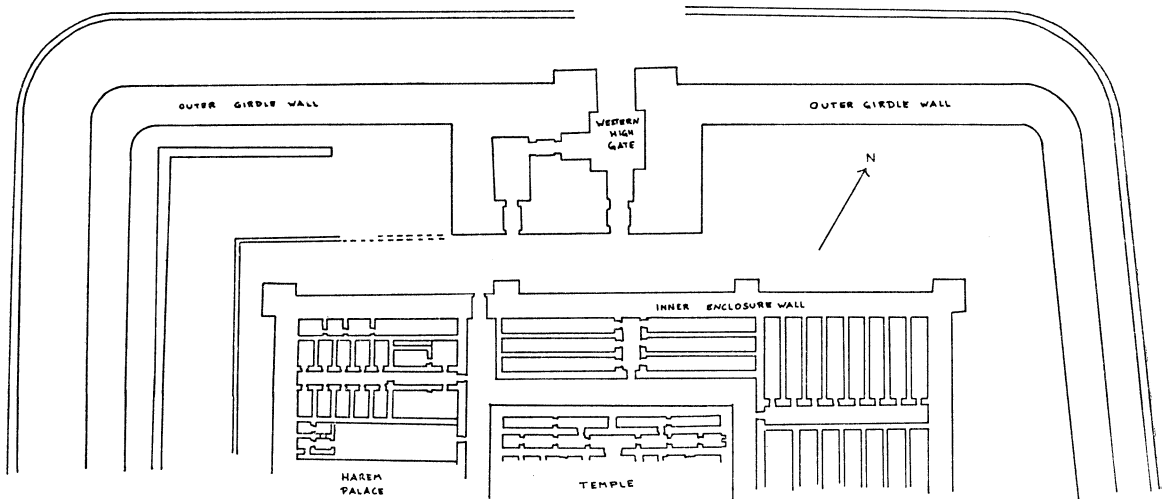


FIG. 1

ment is called *try k(y)t st ʿst mdt*, lit. 'that other very high place'. In this term the occurrence of *k(y)t* as a distinguishing element furnishes an important hint: that one is described as 'that other' implies the existence of two equals. We thus must look for a building with two parallel structural elements in the Theban area. The other specifications contained in the term are equally indicative: the group  $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$  can be read *st-ʿst mdt* 'the high great-place' or *st ʿst-mdt* 'the very high [lit. highly deep] place'. *St-ʿst* is attested as a compound expression, but appears to be restricted to the royal tomb<sup>1</sup> and is not used for any place in use by the living. Since such a meaning obviously does not occur in this instance, the second rendering proposed is to be applied. Considering that this 'seat' or 'residence' is specified as 'very high',<sup>2</sup> it prompts us to identify it with the lofty structure of the so-called 'High-Gate' of Medinet Habu. Now only one 'tower' on the east side remains, but originally it was matched by a similar structure at the western side of the enclosure.<sup>3</sup> Such an identification is in full agreement with the particulars of the text and we have already above suggested Medinet Habu as the presumable site of the plot (see above, p. 82).<sup>4</sup>

Of those two towering buildings, the western, now destroyed, is the place more likely

<sup>1</sup> See in particular the discussion by Bruyère and Kuentz, *La Tombe de Nakht-Min* (MIFAO 54, 1), 51 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For *mdt*, cf. *Wb.* II, 184, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Hölscher, *Medinet Habu* (*Morgenland* 24), 32 f.

<sup>4</sup> The possibility that Ramesses III died in Thebes was first expressed by Černý (*ZÄS* 72 (1936), 112),



meant here (fig. 1). The reason is the use of *k(y)t*, generally applied to the less conspicuous of two things. The eastern High-Gate, being behind the landing facing towards the Nile, is likely to be considered the more prominent. The other gate surmounted the western entrance into the walled enclosure of Medînet Habu, but did not serve only as a gateway. Judging from its counterpart in the east it also contained a suite of rooms on its upper floors.<sup>1</sup> The reliefs there<sup>2</sup> show that those rooms were not the domicile of the doorkeeper, as one might suspect, but were evidently a favourite place of the king, where he enjoyed himself in female company away from the official atmosphere of the court. There were two approaches to this *petite maison*:<sup>3</sup> one approach opens into the south side of the passage through the gateway and thus could be reached from outside; the other opens into the passage around the inner enclosure somewhat south of the axial main door of the western gateway. This side door, leading up to the apartments on the upper floors of the towering structure, is almost directly opposite a door in the inner enclosure wall<sup>4</sup> through which one reached the buildings of the harem and the royal palace, south of the actual temple. The specification *tꜣ rit pr-hnr* 'the side (approach) of the harem' not only becomes clear but also confirms the identification of *tꜣ k(y)t st ʿst mdt* with the western High-Gate of Medînet Habu.

With only a little imagination we can vividly reconstruct the situation. The king was enjoying himself in his private harem up in the western tower, far removed from the noise and commotion at the landing on the other side where the bark of Amûn was arriving.<sup>5</sup> All attention would be captured by the opening of the great feast and so the

although on different grounds from those given here. His view was strongly opposed by Schaedel (*ZÄS* 74 (1938), 101, Anm. 1) who supported the view of Erman (*Ägypten*, 457) that Ramesses III died in Lower Egypt. This assumption has been deduced from the prayer in P.Harris 3, 4: 'May you [Amûn] protect me, after I came to Thebes, your sacred city.' There is no indication that this journey was made after Ramesses III died. The picture we can develop now is that Ramesses III came to Thebes for the celebration of the great feasts and was not to leave it again.

<sup>1</sup> For the plans of the eastern Gate, see Hölscher, *The Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III* (part II) (*The Excavation of Medînet Habu*, IV), 4 ff., figs. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> Hölscher, op. cit., pl. 23; id., *Das Hohe Tor von Theben* (12 *Wiss. Veröff. d. d. Orient-Gesell.*), pp. 15 ff., Abb. 7-8. The remains of the western Gate (Hölscher, *Exc. of Medînet Habu*, IV, pl. 26) depict the same topics as the scenes from the eastern Gate, showing the king in the company of young girls. Hölscher, *Exc. of Medînet Habu*, V (*Post-Ramesside Remains*), 1 claims that the western Tower was never completed, but this does not necessarily imply that it was not used. It was later destroyed, according to Hölscher (loc. cit.) at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, since a plaster fragment inscribed with the cartouche of Ramesses IX was found in the debris. It might be significant that those later remains are completely different in character from the frolicking harem scenes of the time of Ramesses III, and depict religious topics.

<sup>3</sup> See Hölscher, *The Mortuary Temple of Rameses III*, II, pp. 8 f., fig. 6.

<sup>4</sup> See the plan in Hölscher, op. cit., fig. 1.

<sup>5</sup> This seemingly insignificant coincidence might be worth noticing, and might furnish an additional clue about the motives of the conspiracy. That on a day of such religious importance as the beginning of the Feast of the Valley the king enjoyed himself in his private harem instead of partaking in the religious ceremonies looks almost like a blasphemy. Could this possibly reflect an attitude of Ramesses III toward Amûn considerably different from that which the P.Harris pictures? Since the latter was written posthumously (cf. above, p. 83) and was destined for funerary purposes, it might very well be an attempt to appease Amûn, since the king's assassination could have been interpreted as being caused by the wrath of the offended god. One could also surmise in the suspected attitude of the king toward Amûn an additional stimulus for the conspiracy, so that not only those immediately interested in the elevation of Tiy's son Pentawer were involved, but also others with a religious zeal to defend or avenge Amûn.



being omitted as being understood.<sup>1</sup> In the instance under discussion, the normal usage of the designation *rwd* 'commissioner' (or, better, 'commissioned one') in connexion with an institution in carrying out a duty or service, applies only within certain limitations. If one is not willing to see here an exceptional case of an unspecified usage of the term<sup>2</sup> one needs to assume that the required specification is omitted. On the other hand, a connexion of the person with any administrative institution seems unlikely, since he appears to belong to the king's personal retinue. We find such personal agents in the king's service denoted as *rwd nswt* (cf. *Wb.* II, 413, 14) but also as *rwd rj*.<sup>3</sup> It is in this way that I am inclined to understand the indication *rwd* here as a personal servant of the king who did not occupy a position outside the royal service.

The man's name, which for palaeographic reasons is better to be read *Ydrm*,<sup>4</sup> signifies him clearly as a foreigner. The name is apparently derived from the identical geographical term *Ydrm* denoting a town in Palestine, which has not been identified with certainty.<sup>5</sup> It is hard to decide if *Ydrm* is to be understood as a personal name or as an ethnic designation, but in either case it is certain to refer to a foreigner in the immediate service of the king, a fact which is at least noteworthy.<sup>6</sup>

(aa) For *hr + sdm.f*, cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, § 165, 11. Gardiner assigns to it only the introduction of a reason, but the quoted examples also have a certain temporal significance, referring to a relative past.<sup>7</sup> *Hr* in our instance could also be taken as co-ordinating (Gardiner, op. cit., § 91, 1; Erman, op. cit., § 193) for which usage 'additive' might be a more accurate term.

*Stwhj*, cf. above, n. (a). It is somewhat difficult to grasp the exact meaning of the word; the way I am inclined to interpret the situation is that the faked *laissez-passer* caused the guards to 'retreat'<sup>8</sup> and thus make way for the entry.

The significance of *ist* is somewhat dubious; it denotes a plural and thus cannot be connected with the aforementioned *rwd* who appears to be isolated. Thus *ist* possibly refers not to the sentries of the royal apartment, but denotes 'one group' of conspirators

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gardiner, *Inscription of Mes*, N 23, which is likely to be a shortening of the full *rwd n snw's* occurring in N 3.

<sup>2</sup> It is conceivable that *rwd* is to be understood here in its literal meaning 'the commissioned one', denoting the person who was ordered to take the conspirator into the royal suite.

<sup>3</sup> *Wb.* II, 413, 23-24; cf. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I, 32\*; Kees, *Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat*, 223 f.; *Ann. Serv.* 22 (1922), 261. The earliest occurrence of these *rwd rj* appears to date to the reign of Ramesses III in P.Harris 31, 6-7.

<sup>4</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 43, 16 follows Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, § 455 in reading *Yrrm*, while Devéria, *Bibl. égypt.* v (1897), 197, n. 7 has already the correct reading *Ydrm*.

<sup>5</sup> P.Anastasi I, 22, 5. Cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géog.* I, 126; further Burchardt, *Die Altkanaanäischen Fremdworte* II, 11, 201.

<sup>6</sup> From the way the text refers to the man it can be considered certain that he did not participate in the conspiracy. We can conclude this from the fact that his designation *rwd* is stated before the name, while the rank of the conspirators is always given as *wntw m* 'who has been in (the position of)', a formulation which is only logical since with the failure of the plot the conspirators lost their positions. An additional confirmation comes from the Turin Judicial Papyrus where this name is not mentioned.

<sup>7</sup> The assumed temporal use of the preposition *hr* (Gardiner, op. cit., § 165, 4; Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 25) has to be mentioned in this connexion.

<sup>8</sup> This seems to be the basic meaning of the causative verb, namely, 'to make retreat', from *twwh*, *Wb.* v, 255, 5. 'To retire' seems best to convey the prevailing idea.

who were divided into several small groups in order to facilitate their entry. The one referred to by *ṯ wrt ʾst* would be that group using the faked permit for their entry. This explanation seems confirmed by the grammatical construction, since *stwhs* is used actively.

*Kthw* denotes the 'other' conspirators and is to be understood as subject of *ḥkz*. For the meaning 'to deceive', cf. above, n. (a).

(ab) *Mdwt* is probably identical with *mdwti* in *Merikarē* 23, 27. *Wb.* II, 182, 6 renders it 'Vielredner o.a.' which is followed by Volten<sup>1</sup> as 'Wortemacher'. The context, particularly of the second occurrence, deals with rebellion, so that a translation 'talker' does not meet the implications of the passage. A rendering 'plotter, conspirator', i.e. one engaged in malicious talk,<sup>2</sup> suits better the requirements of the occurrences in *Merikarē* and seems clearly required here.

For *int r bnr* 'to lead off', cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 19 (1933), 26, used there of the flow of water.

(ac) *Sbwt ʿy n mwt*, lit. 'punishment (being) great up to death', with *ʿy* serving as qualitative. From the juridical as well as moral point of view the following indication is of special interest. While in the case contained in P. Rollin the verdict is only passed but followed by suicide of the culprit, in the present case the death sentence is actually carried out. The existence of the death penalty is attested as early as the *Teaching of Ptahhotep* (P. Prisse 9, 7-13), in particular for adultery<sup>3</sup> but also for sacrilegious offences.<sup>4</sup> The crime in our case is probably also a sacrilegious offence in transgressing the divine order and thus likely to be dealt with accordingly. Very little is known about how the death penalty was administered, except for the rare specification in the decree of Neferhotep. There the evil-doer is threatened with burning, and his ashes are to be scattered.

From our text it is clear that the passing of a death sentence was not within human jurisdiction. It is significant that before the reference to the penalty we find *bwt ntr nb ntrt nb(t)*, indicating that the crime offended every deity. This allusion to the gods in connexion with the execution of the death sentence occurs again at the end of the line. There the passing of it is directly attributed to the gods and formulated as requested by 'the gods'.<sup>5</sup>

(ad) Unfortunately, the really interesting part with the description of the crime is almost completely lost, and what remains is too fragmentary to furnish much indication. It is even uncertain when the action described is to be placed in the development of the plot.

What is intelligible is that some metal object (as indicated by the determinative  $\text{D}$ )

<sup>1</sup> *Zwei altägyptische politische Schriften*, 9, 11. The rendering proposed by the *Wörterbuch* seems to originate from Gardiner, *JEA* 1 (1914), 23 'a man who talks much'. Similarly also Wilson, in Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 415 who translates it 'talker'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the frequent use of *mdw* in reference to evil talk: *Wb.* II, 179, 17 f.; *ZÄS* 63 (1928), 111; *Ann. Serv.* 48 (1948), 506; *JEA* 24 (1938), 5; *Ann. Serv.* 27 (1927), 228; *JEA* 16 (1930), 63.

<sup>3</sup> Similarly *Ani*, III, 16 (*bt ʿ n mwt*).

<sup>4</sup> Cairo 20538; *Decree of Neferhotep*, ll. 5 f.; cf. Kees, *Kulturgeschichte*, 223.

<sup>5</sup> This indicates that Egypt had a divine law which governed the moral conduct of the people and which had all the quality and enforceability of law. It corresponds to the old royal law which covers the complex now comprised by the criminal code.



From what we can see, each participant in the conspiracy had a particular role assigned. We still have no specifications about the activities of two main figures in the plot, namely those of the queen Tiye and the former *ḥn* with the modified name *Pḥy-bḥk-kḥmn* 'that blind servant'.<sup>1</sup> The texts discussed furnish us with detailed information about the two other main figures, namely *Pntḥwr*, apparently the son of Queen Tiye, for whom Ramesses should give way, and *Pn-ḥwy-bīn* who was 'overseer of the herds', presumably in the service of Amūn.<sup>2</sup> The two worked hand in hand although their circles of activity were different. While *Pntḥwr* was active in the immediate vicinity of the king, preparing the way for the conspirators, *Pn-ḥwy-bīn* was the one who arranged the entry of the plotters into the place where the king was. It is not explicitly stated, but from what can be gathered these preparations were made in advance of the date set for the *coup d'état*.

For the uprising, as discussed, the beginning of the Feast of the Valley was chosen. In the confusion of the beginning of the feast the conspirators could gather, possibly somewhere near the harem in the south of the enclosed district of Medīnet Habu. *Pn-ḥwy-bīn*, presumably accompanied by a few others, made the advance to the place where the king was at the time. Possibly to avoid the bustle, or just to pursue his pleasures, the king had left his official palace and retreated to the suite of rooms in the upper floors of the western High-Gate. This place, far removed from the commotion of the feast, was not much guarded on the occasion. Still, the sentries had to be passed, for which the faked royal document was used at the side entrance of the building. Once inside it still was necessary to reach the king, a point when *Pn-ḥwr* again came into action. Being in league with the advancing plotters he gave orders to let them in to the king.

While it seems certain that the plot almost reached its goal, the assassination of Ramesses III,<sup>3</sup> it is unclear why the plot ultimately failed, bringing about the arrest of

<sup>1</sup> I wonder if the alteration of this name is not based on a phonetic pun by combining the two elements of *bḥk-īmn* into that derogatory designation. The name *Pḥy-bḥk-īmn* is frequent; cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 90, 14. Since the person is one of the main leaders, an identification would be desirable in order to understand which circles were dissatisfied with the prevailing conditions and therefore tried to gain control, in addition to the more personal interests of Queen Tiye.

<sup>2</sup> For the title, cf. Loret, *Rec. trav.* 38 (1916), 61 ff.; Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, II, 34\* f., 276\*; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*, 171 ff. It is striking that not one priest is mentioned among the participants of the plot; it seems hard to believe that no member of the cult of Amūn should have taken part in the conspiracy and this cult, which as representative of the 'genuine' (Upper) Egyptian attitude had some basis for resentment towards those rulers in the Delta, should have abstained from rebellion and even supported the king. We have all the more reason to be suspicious since the date for the *coup d'état* coincides with the feast of Amūn on the western bank. On this occasion would be gathered the followers of Amūn who might have been considered as potential support in an attack against the king. Choosing this feast as the time of action had also the advantage that people from the eastern bank could be brought across the river without arousing suspicion. Altogether, one can hardly reject the feeling that the priesthood of Amūn was spiritually and most likely also physically involved in the plot aimed at the overthrow of a Delta-king (here Ramesses III), a goal which Ḥerihor attained in a less radical way a generation later. That there was tension between the royal house and the Amūn-cult seems indicated by two further points: first, the fact that we have no First Prophet of Amūn attested for the late reign of Ramesses III (cf. Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon*, 260 ff., 164 ff.); but even the lower ranks in the 'clergy' are absent (cf. Kees, *Priestertum*, 317 ff.). Secondly, the enormous donations listed in the P.Harris in favour of the cult of Amūn and the king's prayer there (3, 8 ff.) seem gauged to counterbalance discontent, rather than to indicate harmony.

<sup>3</sup> Although the text contains no details about this point, there seems no reason to doubt that the death of

the conspirators. Probably some loyal member of the royal family—possibly the later Ramesses IV—reacted quickly and quelled the rebellion when it was still in its beginning. Nothing is said about this in the extant documents, and we also remain uninformed about the fate of two prominent members of the conspiracy, the queen Tiye and *Pn-hwy-bin*.

It still remains necessary to discuss the nature of the fragments and their relationship to the Turin Judicial Papyrus and the P.Harris I. De Buck<sup>1</sup> has shown that the Turin Papyrus is not specifically a judicial document but that it contains a narrative, which he considered a tale. Compared with this text the more fragmentary remains of P.Rollin and P.Lee are even more in the form of a narrative, so much so that the Turin Judicial Papyrus seems more like an excerpt from this more detailed account. On the one hand, the information is so detailed that the possibility of fiction can be ruled out. On the other hand, the account lacks the clumsiness of judicial documents. Thus the entire group of texts, including the P.Harris I, is likely to have been written not for political or administrative reasons but for primarily religious motives. The idea, expressed by de Buck, that they were meant as a record of the activity of Ramesses III as king to be presented in that final judgement in the netherworld seems the only plausible explanation. Thus the group of papyri are to be understood as the notes for the king in his confession before Osiris. The religious significance of such an explanation has to be left aside here, especially since our primary task was the question of the use of magic in the conspiracy against Ramesses III.

Ramesses III is directly connected with the conspiracy, although he survived the *coup d'état* by 21 days. Gardiner's (*Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 291) objection that the plot might have occurred much before the end of the reign of Ramesses III does not agree with the facts. There is no reason to assume that Ramesses III ordered the trial personally, which Gardiner takes as fact. We should not overlook the fact that until the coronation of the new king his predecessor was theoretically still ruling, so that all events during the interregnum were allotted to the reign of the already deceased king. It seems certain that the trial took place almost immediately after the collapse of the conspiracy and presumably before the coronation of Ramesses IV. How to account for the fact that the mummy of Ramesses III shows no wounds (Elliot Smith, *The Royal Mummies*, 84–87; Maspero, *Les Mummies royales*, 563–6) escapes me. However, the texts do not indicate that Ramesses was killed by a dagger or similar weapon.

<sup>1</sup> *JEA* 23 (1937), 163.

## THE EGYPTIAN RELIEF CHALICE

By G. A. D. TAIT

### 1. Introduction

THE chalices with relief decoration have for years formed a well-known group;<sup>1</sup> but they have been too small a group and not of precise enough definition to be placed securely in context. In the whole range of Egyptian study few categories of object have attracted more attention by their rarity and their superb technical skill and yet defied accurate assessment. For none of them was found in controlled excavation; and being as a group unparalleled among objects of earlier and later date, and giving no clear hint of sequence, they could be placed in the Twenty-second Dynasty, as in the Catalogue of the 1895 Burlington House Exhibition, or in the late Eighteenth Dynasty, as in the Burlington House Exhibition Catalogue of 1921 and in the Sotheby Catalogue of the 1922 MacGregor Sale (a dating perhaps influenced by Ricketts's misleading paper in *JEA* 5 (1918), 145), or again recently in the Twenty-second Dynasty by Hayes,<sup>2</sup> or in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty by Stevenson Smith<sup>3</sup> and by Brunton.<sup>4</sup> Freiherr von Bissing was their protagonist: he first discussed them in his introduction to *Fayencegefäße* in 1902, and again in the Berlin *Jahrbuch* of 1910, pp. 198 ff., and 1923, pp. 189 ff., in the *Sitzb. Bayerisch. Akad. Wiss.* 1941, II, 55, and finally at the Göttingen Academy on July 4, 1941.<sup>5</sup> His intention was to date them and to trace their influence on the Phoenician metal bowls which reached Cyprus, Greece, and Etruria in the eighth century B.C. and contributed to the development of Greek orientaling art.<sup>6</sup> He postulated that, being made in the period between the end of the New Kingdom and Saite times, they were copied from metal vases which carried the New Kingdom tradition of metalwork through that period to the great era of Phoenician expansion.<sup>7</sup> He described all the chalices and fragments that he knew. In 1923 (p. 203) he had written: 'With that the material accessible to me is exhausted. The pieces belonging to the group kept in our Museums may not be exhausted.' I have learnt much from reading von Bissing; but the justification for going over the ground again is that I have been able to study several fragments scattered in museums which he knew must exist but never saw.

Three chance finds led me to make this study. In 1936 when Professor Newberry most generously helped to arrange the Myers Collection at Eton for its new museum, I was with him when a small packet was found in a cupboard, containing among other fragments the rim of a chalice with a cartouche (no. XVI below); and he instantly

<sup>1</sup> When I began this study I knew of seven chalices and a few fragments at Eton: II, IV, XIV, XIX, XX, XXXII, XXXIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Scepter*, II, 405.

<sup>3</sup> *BMFA* 1959, 44.

<sup>4</sup> In Engelbach, *Introduction to Egyptian Archaeology*, 234.

<sup>5</sup> *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 119.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, II, 48.

<sup>7</sup> Von Bissing, *Fayencegefäße*, xvii; id., *Jahrb. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910, 198.



explained its importance for dating. Years later, after the Second World War, I chanced to see among the offprints in the Library of the Hellenic Society the copy of von Bissing's Göttingen paper which he generously sent to the Society when the Second World War was over. These two finds prepared my mind for the third: three years ago, passing through Truro, I looked at the Egyptian pieces in the County Museum with the help of Mr. Douch, the Curator, and found nine fragments of relief chalices which had originally been in the MacGregor Collection. One of them fitted a fragment at Eton, and the Museum Council generously allowed them to be sent to Eton on loan. Clearly there had to be a search for more. The British Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum, the Petrie Collection, University College, Harrow School Museum, and the Fitzwilliam Museum had fragments; and most generously many pieces were allowed on loan. The Metropolitan Museum sent me photographs of their pieces, and Dr. Wenig of the Staatliche Museen in East Berlin kindly helped with photographs of their fragments which had been destroyed in the Second World War. Mr. Bothmer of Brooklyn advised me to try the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, and their photograph made clear that their one fragment fitted the Eton-Truro piece; and most kindly the trustees allowed it to be sent on loan (no. XV). A fragment in Berlin published by von Bissing<sup>1</sup> clearly belonged to the same chalice, and Wenig's photograph confirmed that it would have made a join. One of the Metropolitan fragments had part of the titulary of chalice XVI, and two other of their pieces clearly belonged with three Truro pieces to another remarkable chalice, no. XVII. None of these pieces would make a join; but when I saw by photograph that the Metropolitan piece with the titulary had a twist round a papyrus stem identical with a twist on another Truro piece, I knew that the Truro piece must be part of that important chalice and would provide some of its main scene which was entirely missing. Dr. Hayes and Miss Scott immediately responded to my request, and the Metropolitan Trustees allowed all their fragments to be sent on loan for a year. Through that generous action the two finest of all these chalices, XVI and XVII, have been recovered from oblivion.

In the nineteenth century the story of the chalices had been as follows: the first man to find a relief chalice was the Italian Passalacqua, who went to Egypt as a horse-dealer and turned to the collection of antiquities as the more profitable business.<sup>2</sup> He took a big collection to Paris for sale in 1826 and sold it to Wilhelm IV for the Berlin Museum, where his important chalice, no. XXXII, is. Another chalice (no. XXXIII) was given to the National Museum in Athens by I. Demetriou.

Meanwhile lotiform chalices were reaching European collectors: Leiden. A.D. 150, for instance, was given by Anastasi in 1828 to the National Museum of Antiquities. In the 1890's the huge Tûna cemetery near Hermopolis Magna was plundered by the local villagers. No one knows, and no one ever did know, the extent or the richness of the finds because they were sold piecemeal; but we do know that Henry Wallis, who visited Egypt each winter to buy from villagers and sell in Europe,<sup>3</sup> went to Tûna;<sup>4</sup> and Wallis, MacGregor, and Myers bought much that came from Tûna, including

<sup>1</sup> *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, pl. III, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Dawson, *Who was Who*, 119.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 163.

<sup>4</sup> Wallis, *Ceramic Art* (1898), xvii.

three relief and several lotiform chalices. When I began to study the collection left to Eton College in 1899 by Major Myers, his sister Mrs. Vandaleur most kindly gave me the diary which he had kept through his life. Unfortunately, some of the 1890 volumes were missing, and we cannot read today what he wrote when he bought his main Tûna pieces; but on March 3, 1897, he rode out to the village of Tûna from the railway at Mallawi:

‘Got a man to guide me to the desert where digging was going on and could see some fifty men at work. However when I was about a mile off they spied me and were off double quick reminding me of the dervishes at Ginnis. Visited the cemetery and at one tent found a few shabtis and pots on the ground which had been left behind. All the graves seem to be Roman, not remarkable. Where the mummies and blue things came from is some distance away in the hills as far as I could make out from a man who accompanied us. It is difficult to tell whether he is speaking the truth but very likely not. Afterwards visited Ali’s house in the village. He had nothing however except two fragments of a cup. As soon as he gets any things, he sends off to Mallawi as no tourists or dealers ever come out here.

That familiarity with Ali’s house suggests that Myers had been there before; but we have those blank years in his diary. Newberry also was in Egypt in the 1890’s and kept a diary: he knew Myers and MacGregor and knew about Tûna, but unfortunately he made no mention of it in his diary, from which two of the 1890 years are missing.<sup>1</sup> But the quotation from Myers’ diary helps to explain why these fragments, now so widely scattered, belong to each other. After I had gathered them together for study I found in a marked copy of Sotheby’s Catalogue of the MacGregor Sale that Lot 293, twenty-two fragments of faience chalices with relief scenes, was bought by the dealer Birtles who later sold them in groups. The nine Truro fragments were MacGregor’s, bought by de Pass from Birtles and given to the Truro Museum; probably the Baltimore and some of the Metropolitan pieces came originally from MacGregor. Some of the Berlin fragments were given by Dr. Reinhardt in 1899. I have no doubt that all these fragments were sold piecemeal by the Tûna villagers; and there is a significant hint about their methods. Both the Truro and the Baltimore fragments of chalice XV were in two pieces, and on each the weathering of the upper and lower parts is different and that difference is identical on each fragment, which suggests that the chalice had been broken centuries ago and a portion of it was broken, perhaps deliberately, in recent times. Later in this paper I will discuss the problem of the Tûna provenance.

## 2. Lotiform chalices

Lotiform chalices were made in the Eighteenth Dynasty, but there is no evidence for a relief chalice before the Twenty-second Dynasty. Lotiform chalices should, then, be considered first; and to understand them we must consider the plants themselves, if possible in House 15 at Kew Gardens.<sup>2</sup> The Ancient Egyptians knew two species,

<sup>1</sup> Information kindly given by W. R. Dawson.

<sup>2</sup> I have used *Descr. de l'Ég., Hist. Nat.* 1, 416; plates, vol. III, 60; Goodyear, *Grammar of the Lotus*, 18; Keimer, *Rev. Ég. anc.* 2, 210; id., *Aegyptus*, 7, 169; Spanton, *Anc. Egypt*, 1917, 1 ff. I am also grateful to Dr. Lewis of the British Museum (Nat. Hist.) who kindly allowed me to consult him.

*Nymphaea caerulea*, the Blue Lotus, and *N. lotus*, the White; and in their decorative and representative art they made far more use of *Caerulea*, though Lotus is said to be more common today.<sup>1</sup> Both species flower from December to March, Lotus through the night till 11 a.m. and *Caerulea* from about sunrise to midday. *Caerulea* rises slightly above the water and opens and closes daily without submerging, until the withered flower is withdrawn below the surface. Each *Nymphaea* has four green sepals which are almost as long as the petals. 'As it expands, the colour and coarseness of the sepals mark them distinctly from the delicate petals, so that from any of four viewpoints the flower shows three spikes, symmetrically divided, between which the numerous petals appear' (Goodyear). In *Caerulea* the petals, twelve to sixteen in number, are blue, and both sepals and petals are narrow and pointed, the sepals alone having on their outside a series of purple spots, which Egyptian artists sometimes wrongly represented on the petals too. *Caerulea*'s profile, then, is triangular, with tapering internal markings. In Lotus the petals, sixteen to twenty in number, are white, and both sepals and petals are ovoid with rounded point, and the sepals alone have a pronounced vein which the Egyptians often put in their representations of *Caerulea*. The profile is rounded, with ovoid internal markings. *Cyperus papyrus*, which we shall have to consider too, is a very different plant.<sup>2</sup> Extinct in Egypt when Napoleon went there,<sup>3</sup> but growing in marshes west of the Nile opposite Thebes in the Eighteenth Dynasty,<sup>4</sup> papyrus needs marshy ground and perpetual water, and, unlike *Nymphaea*, it cannot grow in pools dependent on the inundation. The rhizomes grow into interwoven masses, and the leafless culms rise freshly each season in clumps to a length of up to 4 metres. The umbel has about fifty rays up to 45 cm. long, with ten or more sheaths at its base. Each ray is ramified in the narrow flowering circumference. In some New Kingdom paintings the umbel is shown with skilful naturalism.<sup>5</sup> The conventional New Kingdom representation of the umbel is like the relief chalices in contour and in internal markings (Ⓜ).

Faience chalices nearly all represent *Caerulea*; but something should be said first about the few *N. lotus* chalices. Small alabaster stemmed cups of New Kingdom date are not uncommon:<sup>6</sup> e.g. B.M. 4565, von Bissing, *Steingefässe*, 18439-40, and Petrie, *Stone Vases*, pl. XXXII. Of Petrie's examples no. 818, from 'Amarna, with petals in relief, is *N. Lotus*, as is 819. 818 recalls the well-known scene in the tomb of Huya<sup>7</sup> where Akhenaten and Nefertiti drink wine with their visitor, the Queen Mother Tiye. The king drinks from a Lotus chalice and the two queens have bowls. The Germans

<sup>1</sup> Loret, *Sphinx*, 5, 232.

<sup>2</sup> To be seen in House 15 at Kew; cf. Täckholm, *Flora of Egypt*, II, 99.

<sup>3</sup> There is no illustration in *Descr. de l'Ég.*

<sup>4</sup> Keimer, *Bull. Inst. Ég.* 37 (1956), 215, 219.

<sup>5</sup> Davies, *Two Officials*, pl. 28; Budge, *Papyrus of Ani* (1913), pl. 37.

<sup>6</sup> Lotiform chalices (not mere stemmed cups, e.g. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. 13A; *Making of Egypt*, 125-7) are, as far as I know, represented before the Eighteenth Dynasty only in Lepsius, *Denkm.*, Ergänzungsband, xxxi, which shows two chalices with vegetable contents in a row of vases in the Old Kingdom mastaba of Niuty at Giza—a solitary and unreliable instance which makes slender evidence for their use at that early date. The Middle Kingdom example given by von Bissing, *Fayencegefässe*, p. xvii, was more reasonably described by its excavator as a coarse cup (Quibell, *Ramesseum*, 16 and pl. 3). In the common Eighteenth Dynasty pottery the shape was neither usual nor graceful. Nagel, *Céramique du N.E.* 199, gives eight pieces of *Caerulea* or Lotus shape; cf. *City of Akhenaten*, I, 139 and pl. 52, no. 45.

<sup>7</sup> Davies, *El Amarna*, III, pl. 6.

found in a house at el-‘Amarna an unfinished relief in sandstone, probably one of the sculptor’s models:<sup>1</sup> the king holds up a similar Lotus chalice into which the queen (or Smenkhkarē(?), cf. Desroches-Noblecourt in *Ugaritica*, iii, 194) pours wine from a flask. Another such chalice is taken from a servant by an official who seems to be tasting before presenting to the king in Davies, *El-Amarna*, ii, pl. XXXII. Myers had a small plaque in green faience, with holes for stringing on a necklace (Eton 376), on which in deep relief Tutankhamūn is shown drinking from another of these big Lotus chalices (fig. 1)<sup>2</sup>; the cartouche with *Nb-hprw-Rc* is incised. On Twosre’s silver bracelets from Theban Tomb 56 Sethos II holds the same Lotus chalice in right hand and the Heḥ-amulet of Eternity in his left, while Queen Twosre in sumptuous robe pours wine for him from a flask as had been done for Akhenaten on the ‘Amarna relief.<sup>3</sup> Four such alabaster chalices are extant. The fragments of two were found by Petrie in the turquoise mining settlement of Sinai,<sup>4</sup> and they were largely reconstructed by Young in the Ashmolean.<sup>5</sup> On the better preserved of the two, sepals and petals are carved in low relief, and the incised titles of Amenophis III are filled with red ochre. Round a swell above the stem is the name of the dedicator Pinḥasy. Leeds referred to Pinḥasy’s dedication on the base of a statue which contains the name of Hermopolis,<sup>6</sup> and he suggested that as there is no alabaster in Sinai the chalice was probably made at Hermopolis with stone from the quarry across the river at Het-nub. Another alabaster Lotus chalice is in the Metropolitan Museum,<sup>7</sup> said to come from a tomb in Upper Egypt not at el-‘Amarna. It was found with a long-necked globular ewer, like the gold ewer found near Psusennes’ gold Caerulea chalice.<sup>8</sup> The Metropolitan chalice is incised with low relief like the Sinai chalice and has the cartouches of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. The fourth alabaster Lotus chalice was in Tutankhamūn’s Tomb.<sup>9</sup> From el-‘Amarna came a chalice in painted pottery of comparable size and Lotus shape but with Caerulea petals;<sup>10</sup> and Miss Scott tells me that in the Metropolitan Museum there is a blue-glazed fragment of a Lotus cup (26.7.955) which may have had a stem, with incised petals below, and, above a block border, probably a scene of which too little survives for identification, with *Nb-Mꜣrt-Rc* in cartouche on a sepal. Petrie found a glazed Lotus chalice with a group of objects of Amenophis III date;<sup>11</sup> and Steindorff found two more, with petals in relief, in the Nubian Viceroy’s Residence at ‘Aniba.<sup>12</sup> This evidence suggests that from the ‘Amarna period *N. lotus* chalices were used as stately vessels for drinking.



FIG. 1.  
Plaque of  
Tutankhamūn.

<sup>1</sup> Borchardt, *Mitt. deutsch. or. Ges.* 50 (1912), 27, fig. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Willink kindly made the drawing of this plaque.

<sup>3</sup> Vernier, *Bijoux*, II, pl. 20; Davis, *Siptah*, 39; *JEA* 44, 16. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, 138.

<sup>5</sup> Gardiner, Peet, and Černý, *Sinai*, I (2nd ed.), pl. 65, no. 217; II, 168.

<sup>6</sup> Hayes, *Scepter*, II, 293, fig. 181.

<sup>7</sup> Montet, *Psousennès*, pl. 67; id., *Mon. Piot*, 38, 20.

<sup>8</sup> Carter, *Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen*, I, pl. 46.

<sup>9</sup> *BMQ* 2, pl. 39.

<sup>10</sup> Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pl. 17; von Bissing, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 130, queried this date.

<sup>11</sup> *Aniba*, pl. 91.

The earliest datable representation of a Caerulea chalice, except that questionable Old Kingdom example from Giza<sup>1</sup>, is on a wall in the S. Hall of Offerings at Deir el-Bahri,<sup>2</sup> and nearly contemporary examples are on a wall of the Hall of Annals at Karnak,<sup>3</sup> where Tuthmosis III brings offerings to Amūn from his Syrian campaigns; among the offerings of gold is a Caerulea chalice called 'lotus of offering' (*sšn n wdn*), another of silver,<sup>4</sup> and others of gold and lapis and malachite.<sup>5</sup> As other offerings in these inscriptions are of Egyptian type, there is no proof that the chalices were of Syrian manufacture and not made in Egypt with the spoils of conquest.<sup>6</sup> This lotiform type of chalice, which follows closely the shape of the Caerulea flower opening just above the water, seems to have been established in the reign of Tuthmosis III, and from the reign of Amenophis II they are frequently seen on the walls of Theban tombs.<sup>7</sup> In the tomb of Rekhmirēc two metal chalices are shown among the offerings of temple furniture,<sup>8</sup> and three chalices are among the provisions set for a special celebration,<sup>9</sup> perhaps the 'beautiful Festival of the Valley'; but in the scenes of the provisions for daily meals no chalices are shown.<sup>10</sup> In a scene in Tomb 78<sup>11</sup> Haremḥab is brought a wide-stemmed bowl of wine by his wife and daughter, and in front of him on a table is a Caerulea chalice with its contents showing above the brim. Elsewhere in this tomb<sup>12</sup> is another chalice, and Caerulea flowers and buds shown above the rim are either set in the liquid inside the chalice or represent the internal decoration.<sup>13</sup> None of these chalices is actually being used for drinking; and the other examples on tomb or temple walls or on stelae are shown as used for ritual purposes.<sup>14</sup> In the scenes a big chalice stands on the ground or on a stand near an incense bowl or a row of offering-jugs; on stelae liquid is poured into it while the offerer raises in his other hand an incense-burner, the water purifying the dead and the incense the food-offerings.<sup>15</sup> An early example on a stela of the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty is in the Metropolitan Museum;<sup>16</sup> for others see Lacau, *Stèles*, nos. 34049, 34061, 34086, 34087, 34096, 34114, 34125, 34150, 34152, 34172; also B.M. 351, 371, 589, 1356, 1369. Among the twenty Apis stelae illustrated in Mariette, *Serapeum*, three have a chalice in front of the Apis, all being of the Nineteenth Dynasty. A stela more interesting for its provenance was found by Roeder in a fill at Hermopolis: on it the goddess Toēris is shown before

<sup>1</sup> See n. 6, p. 96, above.

<sup>2</sup> Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, IV, pl. 109.

<sup>3</sup> *Urk.* IV, 629; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, 33b.

<sup>4</sup> *Urk.* IV, 636.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 637.

<sup>6</sup> Montet, *Les Reliques de l'art syrien*, 59, and later in *Mon. Piot*, 38, 30, claimed the shape of the Egyptian chalice to be Syrian. The two faience chalices from Ras Shamra which he gives as evidence (*Syria* 10, 288, pl. 52; *ibid.*, 13, 12, fig. 8), one of which was found with Egyptian alabaster vases and ivory boxes, may be provincial copies but cannot be the prototypes of the elegant chalices seen among Syrian tribute in the scenes in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, e.g. Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, 7, pl. 4 (a gold example according to Davies) and pl. 34; also cf. the New Year gifts presented to Amenophis II in Davies, *Kenamon*, 29, pl. 20, and to Tuthmosis IV in Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, 51 and pl. 72; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, 46. The Syrian chalice-shapes are not comparable with those of the Egyptian lotiform chalices, e.g. Duncan, *Corpus of Palestinian Pottery*, 17; Woolley, *Atchana*, pl. 120; Tufnell, *Lachish*, II, pl. 47; III, pl. 103; cf. also the possible Mycenaean copy in *BSA* 52, 38.

<sup>7</sup> Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstantale*, 783.

<sup>8</sup> Davies, *Rekh-mi-Rēc*, II, pl. 55.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 109.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 63-67.

<sup>11</sup> Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, 39, dated to the period Tuthmosis III to Amenophis III, cf. Porter-Moss, *Top. Bib.* I (2nd ed.), pt. 1, 152.

<sup>12</sup> Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, 18.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the same scene in Davies, *Two Officials*, pl. 23.

<sup>14</sup> Schott, *loc. cit.*

<sup>15</sup> Jéquier, *Considérations sur les religions égyptiennes*, 170.

<sup>16</sup> Hayes, *Scepter*, II, 51, fig. 24.

a stand with a lotus laid on it and a *Caerulea* chalice on the ground beside the stand.<sup>1</sup> The chalice also occurs on some trial sketches on ostraca.<sup>2</sup> On the 'Amarna tomb walls a chalice is sometimes shown set on the ground instead of a tall stand beside rows of provisions or jars.<sup>3</sup> Different in shape, and similar to a much smaller Syrian chalice illustrated in Tufnell, *Lachish*, ii, pl. XXV, no. 3, is the vessel brought by the Syrians in Davies, *El Amarna*, ii, pl. XXXVII. In the Eighteenth Dynasty Theban Tomb 90,<sup>4</sup> Nebamūn's thank-offering to Amūn outside the temple includes wine poured from a flask into a chalice, which is of gold according to Davies. In a Ramesside tomb<sup>5</sup> the harvest-goddess Termuthis in an enclosure by the grain-store receives offerings which include toasted bread (Davies) on a *Caerulea* chalice. In the Nineteenth Dynasty Tomb of Ameneminet (no. 277) the dead man, brought back to life, is greeted by Hathor at the gates of the Mountain of the West: from the sloping mountain the head of Hathor emerges through a papyrus-thicket, as so often shown,<sup>6</sup> and in front of the cow is a chalice filled with vegetable offerings.<sup>7</sup> The same offering to Hathor occurs on an Eighteenth Dynasty votive cloth found at Deir el-Baḥri,<sup>8</sup> and in the tomb of Neferḥotep (no. 49, reign of Ay).<sup>9</sup> Jéquier<sup>10</sup> says that stems growing from a vase before the cow sometimes take the place of the papyrus thicket through which the cow pushes its head. In the Middle Kingdom the vessel used for this ritual purpose had been a bowl on a stand;<sup>11</sup> it was still used sometimes in the New Kingdom.<sup>12</sup>

I have put together this tedious list of references to confirm what search has convinced me, that the *Caerulea* chalice, unlike the alabaster Lotus chalice, is never shown being used for drinking but is frequently shown as a cult vessel in the ritual of the dead.<sup>13</sup> Its beautiful shape was not reached by slow development; vessels in metal or glaze or glass suddenly appear, shaped closely to the form of the natural *Caerulea*. It was not merely decorated with lotus petals, as Egyptian vases often were; it was truly the *Caerulea*, no withering flower but an eternal flower in gold or glaze, and like the natural flower it emerged thus far on its stem before the bud opened. The bowl on a stand had been transformed into a bloom on its stem. To judge from the surviving examples, they were at first sturdy and short-stemmed; by the Twenty-second Dynasty they had

<sup>1</sup> Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929-39*, 94 (§ 31b I), 303 (§ 1, no. 94/III), pl. 69.

<sup>2</sup> E. Brunner-Traut, *Altäg. Scherbenbilder*, pl. 1, no. 87; pl. 30, no. 79; Vandier d'Abbadie, *Ostraca figurés*, II, pl. 84, no. 2633; pl. 87, no. 2655; pl. 95, no. 2731.

<sup>3</sup> Davies, *El Amarna*, I, pls. 11. 12. 25. 33; ii, pls. 18. 19; iii, pl. 30; iv, pl. 18; vi, pls. 2. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Id., *Two officials*, 31 and pl. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Id., *Two Ramesside Tombs*, 58, pl. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Keimer, *Bull. Inst. Ég.* 37 (1956), 219.

<sup>7</sup> Vandier d'Abbadie, *Deux tombes ramessides*, 20 and pls. 14. 15; also *ibid.* 44 and pl. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple*, III, 15 and pl. 30.

<sup>9</sup> Davies, *Nefer-hotep*, 66 and pl. 54.

<sup>10</sup> *Considérations sur les rel. ég.* 224.

<sup>11</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- u. Denksteine*, nos. 20233, 20311, 20313, 20561.

<sup>12</sup> Davies, *Two Sculptors*, pl. 9; Naville, *op. cit.* I, pl. 25; *JEA* 30 (1944), pl. 7; Davies, *Puyemrē*, II, 19, n. 2; also before Hathor and Amentet on a Twenty-first Dynasty sarcophagus, P. Lugn, *Ausgewählte Denk. aus äg. Samml. in Schweden*, pl. 23.

<sup>13</sup> Nagel, *Céramique du N.E.*, 200, divided the few chalices from Deir el-Medīna into two groups, big chalices up to 30 cm. high, and small chalices of similar shape; and, although he noted the curious fact that the chalices are not shown being used in banquet scenes, except that in the tomb of Ḥuya, he assumed that the big chalices were for ritual purposes and the small for drinking: 'Malgré le pauvreté des représentations nous pouvons être certains de cet emploi des petits chalices; ils ne semblent pas avoir pu servir à autre chose.'

become more slender goblets,<sup>1</sup> and their outline changed from that of *Caerulea* to something approaching the conventional representation of the papyrus umbel. Wolf<sup>2</sup> and von Bissing<sup>3</sup> saw how that change in outline (which gave the chalice its more gracious shape) led to the inappropriate decoration of the artificial flower with relief scenes. This change may have been more subtle than they saw: if I am right in the classification which I have attempted below, it appears that at first the arrangement of the reliefs corresponded to the structure of the papyrus-umbel, with a narrow rim-zone for the inflorescence, the papyrus background of the main scene for the long umbel stems, and the flower at the bottom for the umbel's sheaths; and a glance at the naturalistically represented papyri in Davies, *Tomb of Two Officials*, pl. 28, shows how the long gap between the inflorescence and the sheaths might invite decorative treatment. By this stage in the development, however, the *Caerulea* had vanished, the mistake had been made, and, as I have discussed below, after chalice no. XV, the process of deterioration accelerated. These rare collectors' pieces are fascinating and brilliantly worked monstrosities.

Of extant *Caerulea* chalices the earliest are the two in the treasure of Tuthmosis III's three Syrian wives,<sup>4</sup> one of blue glass, gold-rimmed, with sepals and petals incised, wide-mouthed, well shaped to *Caerulea*'s outline on its slender stem above the water, and the other of alabaster, gold-rimmed, with spreading contour and an unnatural swell above its stem, as on the alabaster Lotus chalices. One is of stone, the other is incised and coloured as if made of turquoise. The less attractive glass chalice, Munich no. 630, with the name Men-kheper-Rē<sup>c</sup>, was firmly assigned by Capart to the priest-king of the Twenty-first Dynasty;<sup>5</sup> but I do not think that Newberry, who had described it in *JEA* 6, 155, pl. XVI, agreed with him. Hidden in the wall of an 'Amarna house was found a well-shaped bronze chalice, more metallic in form and more flaring than the glass chalice, with sepals and petals incised inside and out.<sup>6</sup> In chalice-form are the two alabaster lamps found beside Tut'ankhamūn's shrine, one shaped like *Caerulea* and flanked with the offering of eternal life in open-work, and the other a triple lamp with central *Caerulea* and two opening buds rising above the leaves which are shown as flat on the water.<sup>7</sup> In a tomb at Gurob, the contents of which Petrie dated to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, was a graceful alabaster *Caerulea* chalice, apparently without sepal and petal markings.<sup>8</sup> In the Nineteenth Dynasty was made the gold chalice of Queen Twosre, found in the Bubastis cache, less tasteful in design, with *Caerulea*'s sepals but the outline of Lotus.<sup>9</sup> Of Twenty-first Dynasty date is the far more attractive gold chalice with the name of Pinudjem, from the treasure of the tomb of Psusennes, 21 cm. high, standing well on its stem and with a fine contour.<sup>10</sup>

Few of the many surviving faience *Caerulea* chalices have been found in controlled

<sup>1</sup> Hayes, *Scepter*, II, 405.

<sup>2</sup> In Bossert, *Gesch. des Kunstgewerbes*, IV, 57.

<sup>3</sup> *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 138.

<sup>4</sup> Winlock, *Treasure of the Three Princesses*, 58 and pl. 35; Hayes, *Scepter*, II, 139.

<sup>5</sup> *Chron d'Ég.* 12 (1937), 214.

<sup>6</sup> *JEA* 18, 145.

<sup>7</sup> Carter and Mace, *Tut-ankh-amen*, II, pls. 45. 47.

<sup>8</sup> Brunton and Engelbach, *Gurob*, 15 and pl. 28.

<sup>9</sup> Möller, *Metallkunst*, pl. 35.

<sup>10</sup> Montet, *Psousemmès*, 100, fig. 41 and pl. 70; id., *Mon. Piot*, 38, 20.

excavation. A piece of a polychrome chalice, with green sepals and blue petals, was found at el-ʿAmarna.<sup>1</sup> From an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb comes a wide-mouthed, straight-sided, low-stemmed chalice with grooved petals.<sup>2</sup> In the Petrie Collection there is a dark blue chalice of similar shape, with sepals and petals marked by deep grooves and with their tips in relief, which was found in the foundation deposit of the Temple of Seth at Tûkh (Nubt) which was built in the Eighteenth Dynasty and rebuilt by Ramesses II.<sup>3</sup> Petrie thought that the chalice dated from the time of the rebuilding. The light blue chalice in the Ashmolean of more slender shape, with sepals and petals modelled in relief, tall ribbed stem and leaves on the expanding foot, was found in pieces at Maidûm in conditions that allowed no dating;<sup>4</sup> a date for that piece would have helped. Quibell found a similarly slender chalice at Saqqara outside the head-end of a coffin in a late New Kingdom group.<sup>5</sup> Fragments of a chalice were found at el-Lâhûn with a scarab of Shoshenq I;<sup>6</sup> but the complete chalice from el-Lâhûn<sup>7</sup> was found in an undated intrusive burial in a Twelfth Dynasty Tomb no. 650,<sup>8</sup> perhaps of Twenty-second Dynasty date according to the pot no. 5 G on pl. LIX.<sup>9</sup> The two chalices in Cairo from el-Ĥîba<sup>10</sup> can be dated to the Twenty-first or Twenty-second Dynasty when the fort was built; but von Bissing, unfortunately, did not illustrate them. These few pieces give only a slender framework for dating, but enough to suggest a sequence of style. Earlier chalices are heavier, with thicker walls, thick low stem, and the outline of sepals and petals grooved deep and wide so that the glaze ran thick and dark enhancing the outline. Others, perhaps later, have sepals and petals lightly modelled, with grooved outlines, the cup cut slightly back at the top between the petals to leave them in low relief, and sometimes with a grooved vein running up the sepal.<sup>11</sup> Others are more elaborately worked: the grooving is lighter, the modelling of sepals and petals is more subtle, the cup is cut back more sharply at the top to leave the petals in more pronounced relief, and carefully modelled veins run up the sepals and central petals. Each cup differs from the others in detail; but they reach an impressive uniformity in size and shape and can be set in an hypothetical progress (e.g. on pl. XII, 1, 2, 4, 5), until the standard is reached of Greville Chester's superb chalice in the British Museum (no. 26226, pl. XII, 3). So fine is the work on this chalice that in three places the incisions for the sepals and for the outline of the veins made the material so thin that it melted into glass in the firing, and the chalice wall is translucent at those three points. In measurement (15 cm. high), in proportion, and in delicate workmanship, this chalice is the peer of those with relief scenes. Moreover, its maker has already begun what he or his fellows did on those relief chalices: he has given it a narrow block border on the rim and inverted palm-leaves on the slender stem and widely expanding foot, and instead of the usual lobes beneath the sepals he has put eight papyrus umbels

<sup>1</sup> B.M. 59302; cf. another in Nagel, *Céramique du N.E.* 200.

<sup>2</sup> Maciver and Mace, *El Amrah*, pl. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Petrie and Quibell, *Naqada*, 70.

<sup>4</sup> Petrie, *Meydum and Memphis III*, 37 and pl. 28; Ross, *Art of Ancient Egypt*, 190.

<sup>5</sup> *Saqqara 1906*, 79 and pl. 35.

<sup>6</sup> Brunton, *Lahun*, II, 36.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 67.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>9</sup> Von Bissing made this suggestion, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 130.

<sup>10</sup> Von Bissing, *Fayencegefässe*, nos. 3701, 3702.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. Munich 1514, in Steindorff, *Kunst*, 276, and the chalice in the Petrie Collection.



and five smaller umbels between them. Still more elaborate are Louvre E. 11349 and Florence 3254, both of unknown provenance (pl. XIII, 1. 2). Each is 14 cm. high. The Louvre chalice, bought in Cairo in 1913, has a block border, four sepals and three intervening petals, in the gaps between which are alternately a papyrus and a palmette, each palmette with pendants from their tips; the sepals are splayed out sharply and pinched at the top so that the conical cup has a very lightly rectangular lip.<sup>1</sup> The block border and the alternation of papyrus and palmette between the petals, which was used on some relief chalices (e.g. nos. XVII and XIX below), are also found on two rim fragments of chalices at Eton and one in the Metropolitan (26.7.980) and one in Strasbourg,<sup>2</sup> and another fragment in the Metropolitan (26.7.976) has a papyrus in each gap; but on none of these fragmentary chalices, one of which has the quality of the Louvre chalice, is there a sign that the sepals were pinched out to make corners. The Strasbourg piece was bought by Spiegelberg at Mallawi in 1902, which suggests that it came from Tûna; and it would not be surprising if all the chalices of this kind were of Tûna ware. The Florence chalice, acquired from the Medici Collection in the eighteenth century, has a narrow block border, four sepals, and three intervening petals but no papyrus or palmette. The sepals are splayed out sharply and the top 3 cm. of the conical shape are straightened to the rim, which is nearly square, 7.5 by 8.5 cm.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the splaying of the sepals to four corners was intended to represent the way in which they curl over in the fully blown flower.<sup>4</sup> Elaboration also characterizes most of the chalices which are decorated with carbon black lines. MacGregor had one from Tûna;<sup>5</sup> and very similar to it is the chalice on the charming camel from Abydos,<sup>6</sup> in blue glaze with details in black (pl. XIII, 3). The vase is a camel, ridden by an Asiatic and carrying on each side two big Canaanite amphoras;<sup>7</sup> and a *Caerulea* chalice, absurdly out of scale, sits on the middle of its back, with a small opening through to the camel's interior. Chalices with black decoration are usually more slender than the others, and their decoration often has papyrus alternating with the *Caerulea* petals.<sup>8</sup> Most significant of them is one of Myers' chalices at Eton (no. 74, pl. XII, 5), 13 cm. high, of beautifully slender shape. Above a low *Caerulea* flower at the bottom of the cup is a water-zone of zigzag lines, from which rise seven *Caerulea* flowers and two buds between each. Above each flower is an inverted *Caerulea* of similar size hanging from the rim, and above each pair of buds a *Caerulea* fits the triangular space between the inverted flowers. Round the rim runs a black line with tiny leaves. On the slender stem and foot

<sup>1</sup> I owe this information to Mme Desroches-Noblecourt and Mr. J. Bolton. Cf. Capart, *Art ég.* iv, pl. 737; Boreux, *Cat. Louvre*, 590 and pl. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Spiegelberg, *Aeg. Samml. Strassburg*, 18 and pl. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Information from S. Bosticco and R. Macnaghten; see Wallis, *Ceramic Art* (1900), p. xvi, fig. 7.

<sup>4</sup> I cannot agree with Frankfort, *JEA* 18, 46: 'Many a flower-shaped faience calix, round in section at the stem, takes all of a sudden a square shape at the rim', and that this was an Egyptian attempt to square the circle.

<sup>5</sup> MacGregor Sale Catalogue, no. 274. Now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, no. 48, 416.

<sup>6</sup> Von Bissing, *Fayencegefässe*, no. 3830; Wallis, *Ceramic Art* (1898), 52; Capart, *Art ég.* iv, pl. 650. Maspero dated it Saite, von Bissing to the Late New Kingdom and Capart, with a query, to the Middle Kingdom.

<sup>7</sup> For the shape, cf. the amphora of Osorkon I date in the series given by Virginia Grace in *The Aegean and the Near East* (ed. S. S. Weinberg), 92, pl. 10, 12; cf. Montet, *Osorkon*, 82, no. 32 and pl. 46.

<sup>8</sup> Von Bissing, *Fayencegefässe*, nos. 3698, 3706, 3712; B.M. 15666; Fitzwilliam Museum, no. 255.1939 (from Hornblower).



1. Eton 69



2. Eton 75



3. BM 26226



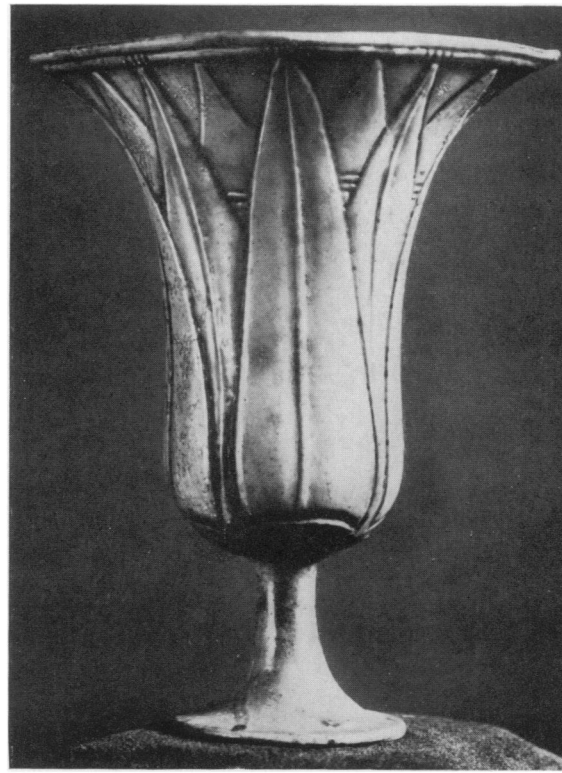
4. Eton 73



5. Eton 74



1. Louvre E 11349



2. Florence 3254



3. Terracotta camel with a chalice  
on its back. Cairo 3830



4. Chalice I (from Saqqâra)

are four inverted *Caerulea*, and under the foot a black line with leaves runs round the edge.<sup>1</sup> Here the water-zone above the bottom *Caerulea* is shown as in the marsh scenes on the relief chalices; and here is the free use of the vase surface for decoration, regardless of its shape as a lotus.<sup>2</sup> The link with the relief chalices is very close; and I suggest that these elaborations which I have discussed were developed in the same workshop and either just preceded or were contemporary with the relief chalices.

### 3. Catalogue of the relief chalices

In the absence of external evidence I have arranged them all in what seems to be a sequence of style, which is a notoriously treacherous guide. I happen to have convinced myself that this sequence, not, of course, in every detail but as a general line, is more than my imagining and that they are closely connected in time; but in giving the evidence in detail I can say that I have tried no deception and plead no proof.

I. Chalice from Saqqara. Pl. XIII, 4. H., 18 cm.

In 1939 Zaki Saad dug the area between the south wall of the Step Pyramid and the Pyramid of Unas. The area was covered with dumps from excavations, and many Saite and Ptolemaic coffins were found at different levels. In his report this chalice is illustrated among several objects found in the debris; but he made no mention of it in his text.

In the narrow rim-zone is a frieze of birds to right, alternately with fluttering or with closed wings and a nest of two eggs above the bird. In the main zone, below two relief lines enclosing a row of pellets, are marsh reeds with alternate leaves. At one point, instead of three reeds are three papyri with buds on shorter culms between them and a bird or a nest with two eggs above the bud. The potter has given to these papyrus culms, which in nature are leafless, the alternate leaves of the reeds, just as the painter in the tomb of Nakhte had done for the papyrus culms with reeds shooting above them.<sup>3</sup> The bottom of the cup has the four sepals and three intervening petals of *Caerulea*. The sepals have incised veins, and horizontal lines are incised below the petals.<sup>4</sup> The stem and foot have inverted leaves with incised vein, as on the Maidûm lotiform chalice in the Ashmolean.<sup>5</sup>

The reeds of the main zone are *Phragmites communis*, the common reed whose one-sided panicle Dr. Täckholm identifies as the hieroglyph,  $\text{𓆎}$  (*i*).<sup>6</sup> The panicles, as the birds, face to the right. The potter has correctly given papyrus and phragmites the same height, for they both grow up to 5 m.<sup>7</sup> The effect of the alternate leaves is to give the cup a net pattern, which is similarly used with the reed *Arundo* on two reliefs from the Palace of Sennacherib in the British Museum (Dept. of Western Asiatic Antiquities, nos. 124773 and 124782). This chalice gives a rare example of the upright stem of *Phragmites*;<sup>8</sup> it occurs on other chalices and on the Evans bowl of later date.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Burlington Catalogue* (1921), 57, no. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Berlin 9066 has marsh flowers and birds nesting, painted in black, *Verzeichniss* (1899), p. 445.

<sup>3</sup> Davies, *Nakht*, pl. 24.

<sup>4</sup> These horizontal lines, which are frequent on representations of the two Nymphaea during the Eighteenth Dynasty (e.g. the Amarna bronze chalice, *JEA* 18, pl. 14), have no botanical meaning. Keimer, *Rev. Ég. anc.* 2, 210, saw no explanation of the lines; Montet, *Reliques de l'art syrien*, 76, 169, regarded them as a Syrian mannerism, perhaps intended to show the lotus as half in the water. They are certainly a mannerism, for on the big craters depicted in the tomb of Imiseba the lines are added decoratively to a lotus which is shown hanging upside down. <sup>5</sup> Petrie, *Memphis III*, pl. 28. <sup>6</sup> Täckholm, *Flora of Egypt*, I, 215.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* I, 210; II, 99; Greiss, *Mem. Inst. Ég.* 55, 63, 76.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas, *JEA* 45, 48; Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pl. 1A; Nina Davies, *Anc. Eg. Painting*, pl. 20; *id.*, *Picture Writing in Anc. Eg.* 33; Petrie, *Amarna*, pls. 2, 4; also the hunting scenes at Medinet Habu, cf. Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, I, pl. 35; II, pl. 117.

<sup>9</sup> B.M. 57385, *CAH* plate vol. II, 120b.

The chalice is slightly taller than the others but has the proportions and contour of the best of them. I put it first in the catalogue because it suitably opens the series by giving the background to the marsh scenes.

*Ann. Serv.* 40 (1940), 681 and pl. LXXVII.

II. Chalice. Metropolitan Museum 13.182.53. Pl. XIV. Bought from Tano in Cairo 1913. H., 14.1 cm.

Round the rim, between two relief lines, is a narrow band marked by vertical incisions as a block border. The main decoration of the cup is in two zones, each composed in horizontal pattern and the two patterns vertically linked to each other. The smaller zone above has a composition of two balanced groups. In one group are two fluttering ducks with heads turned back to left, each with a nest and two eggs, and one duck with head forward to its nest. In the other group two geese are tending their goslings and between them is the fluttering duck watching excitedly its two eggs in the nest. For one goose the goslings are emerging from their eggs and—poor goose!—the potter has given it a body out of scale and not left room for its head; the other goose has one gosling on its back and the other in the nest. The division between these two groups is above a boat in the bigger zone and emphasizes its centrality. The main zone has this centre boat and to each side a man on the bank and a boat, in the simple pattern of A-B-A-B-A, all moving to the right. In the centre boat a calf lies in the bow and a girl sits on the stern post pulling a papyrus to propel the boat. To the right of the boat a man walks on the bank holding a nest with a chick, and to his right a girl punts forward a boat which has in the bow two serpent divinities wearing plumes. Above the stern flutters a bird which may be a pigeon.<sup>1</sup> To the left of the centre boat a man walks to right on the bank, stooping under the weight of a large calf, and to his left a girl punts an empty boat, while a duck (or pigeon?) flutters above it. Perhaps the girls are manœuvring the boats for the men on the bank. In the background are two rows of papyri, the umbels of the lower row filling the spaces beneath the larger umbels. Above one of the small umbels is a nest with two eggs. The large umbels touch each other at their tips, and a pellet fills the triangular space above the point of contact. Beneath the boats the water is marked by zigzag incision and fish swim to right, lightly incised under the water; one lotus leaf varies the scene. The bottom of the cup has four *Caerulea* sepals, with incised vein, and seven petals between the sepals, the central petal of each group incorrectly veined.<sup>2</sup> On the stem and foot are inverted *Caerulea* and buds.

The chalice is sturdier than the more graceful chalices to follow; but in using it to display the marsh scene the potter enhanced its height and circularity. The frieze of birds, the row of umbels, the boats and the water carry the eye round, while the upward thrust of the bottom sepals and petals is continued by the papyrus culms till the eye is taken by the umbels to the extremity of the rim. The fish may swim free in their watery element; but the firm rim and the pattern and the grip of the bottom *Caerulea* hold the cup taut to the eye when it is seen being filled to the brim.

III. Four fragments of a chalice. A and B Metropolitan 26.7.975. C Eton 155, and D Berlin 14430. Pl. XV, 1. 2. The Metropolitan piece A, H., 7 cm.

The Eton piece belonged to Myers. The Metropolitan pieces were in the Carnarvon Collection and, I think, must have been no. 1788 in the Meux Collection: Budge, *Catalogue*, 329: 'Green glazed faience fragment of a vase with the figure of man, papyrus plants etc., in relief. Very fine work. From Tūna.' The Berlin piece was given by Dr. Reinhardt in 1899. The three pieces do not join; together they would make just over half the circumference. Their contour is similar to no. II.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the 'Amarna pigeon in the papyrus marsh, N. Davies, *Anc. Eg. Painting*, pl. 75. I owe this suggestion to Mr. T. Motley.

<sup>2</sup> Keimer, *Rev. Ég. anc.* 2, 210: 'Sometimes the Egyptians incorrectly showed the sepals' ribs on the petals.'



a.



b.



c.



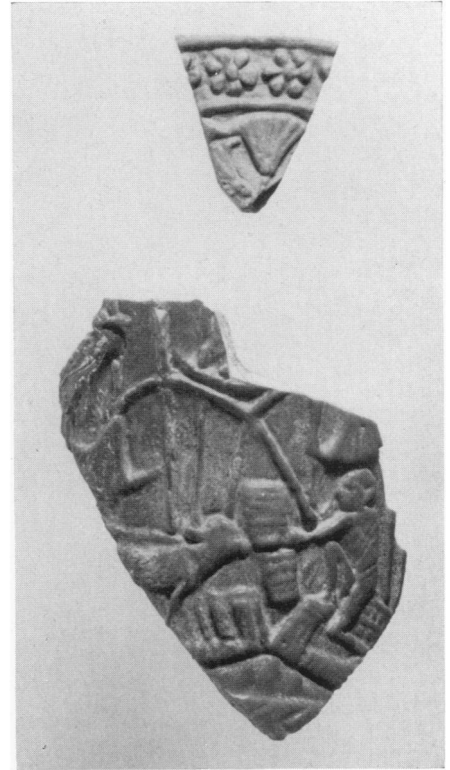
d.



A (MMA 26.7.975A)      B (MMA 26.7.975B)      C (Eton 155)  
 1. Chalice III A-C



2. III<sub>d</sub> (Berlin 14430)



4. Chalice VI A (Eton 155)  
 and B (Eton 161)



a.      b.  
 3. Chalice V (Fitzwilliam E. 256.1939)



5. Chalice VII  
 (Boston MFA 11.1525)

Round the rim are three relief lines, the middle line marked by groups of pellets as a block border. In the small upper zone seven ducks flutter up to right with spread wings, a nest with two eggs in front of each. Two of the ducks have no nest but a chick trying its wings to the left. Another duck has a chick in the nest. One duck also breaks the uniformity and flutters to the left. In the main zone a man with black wig, apparently naked but with a strap across his left shoulder, stands to right in the centre of a boat of which only a piece of the cross-strapping survives. He balances delicately with bent knees and hips, his left arm well forward and right arm brandishing a boomerang behind.



FIG. 2. Chalice IV.

The section of the right broken edge shows that his left arm ran farther across the papyrus stem, and probably he was holding a decoy bird. In the background are two regular rows of papyri, as on chalice no. II, with the same pellets, and the gaps, which are distinct between the culms in no. II, are here filled with buds to make the palisaded background comparable with that in the marsh scenes of the tombs of Ti or Mereruka in the Old Kingdom and of Nakhte and Nebamūn in the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>1</sup> Beneath, when allowance is made for the depth of the boat and for the water-zone, 3 cm. would remain for the *Caerulea* flower at the bottom, a normal measurement on these chalices.

The similarities between chalices II and III are clear, and I think that they were made by the same man or two partners. The papyri have the same regularity and the same pellets; hips and knees bend in the same cautious balance. Not enough remains to show any composition in no. III. Its culms are longer, the umbels smaller, and the scene extends farther down the cup.

IV. Chalice. Bought by Wallis from Tūna in the 1890's (Myers mentions this in his diary) and sold to MacGregor. Bought at the 1922 MacGregor Sale by Feuarent. In the collection of Mr. Edmond de Rothschild. Fig. 2.<sup>2</sup> H., 15.2 cm. (as in the *Burlington Catalogue*; Wallis gives it as 16 cm.)

In the small rim-zone, bordered by single relief lines, two geese face each other and eat from the

<sup>1</sup> N. Davies, *op. cit.*, pls. 47, 65.

<sup>2</sup> Reproduced from the *Sale Catalogue of the MacGregor Collection*, pl. 6.



same bin. To either side a pattern begins, with two ducks and a nest, and for the rest of the scene geese pick from the ground and ducks flutter in varying attitudes and directions, with no set pattern. Of six ducks' nests, four have two eggs each, one has two chicks with two more below it, and in the sixth a chick seems to emerge from the egg. In the main zone two boats move to right, bow to stern. In the front boat a man stands to right in the stern, punting and looking back to fend off the boat behind from making a bump. In the middle of the boat a cow lies with forelegs folded. On the prow a man balances firmly with right foot, his left foot delicately set forward on a lotus which is tied round the neck of a cow in the water; he leans his weight back, right hand brandishing a boomerang and left hand holding forward a decoy (heron?). Above the cow in the boat three papyrus heads are bending downwards, and two nests with two eggs in each rest on them,<sup>1</sup> and a third nest seems to have a chick. In front of the boat, with mouth touching the fowler's front toes, the cow is struggling out of the marsh, front legs stretched forward. A man stands behind the cow to left, lifting it by a horn and its neck; and next to him another man stands idly looking to left, holding across his shoulders a punt-pole from which a basket hangs. Behind these two men four papyri bend, two to left and two to right, to make a group with the men. In the rear boat a man stands in the bow holding with outstretched hands a triangular net.<sup>2</sup> To his right a cow's head emerges out of the papyrus thicket behind. In the middle of the boat a man punts, left leg bent forward at knee and right leg pushing straight behind. In the stern a man kneels to left, looking back to right, with left hand stretched back to hold his companion for balance, and right arm reaching out to lift a cow which is jumping forward from the water. Another man stands in the water behind the cow, left hand helping the cow and right hand prodding a pole in the water. All the men wear kilts. In the background are two close-set rows of papyri, as in chalices II and III. The upper umbels are tip to tip, but there are no pellets. Once two buds take the place of an umbel in the lower row, a curiously slight break in the monotony of the background. In this patterned scene of varied activity, on either side of the central point between the two boats, are four men, two cows, and the two boats themselves. In the third, narrower zone, bordered by relief lines, two horses struggle to right out of the water and a crocodile between them jumps on the back of the leading horse. On either side of this central group of three figures is another group of three, all moving to the right: in one, a man struggling out of the water, left arm forward, right arm brandishing a stick, drives two horses from the water, and in the other a man similarly drives two cows.<sup>3</sup> The bottom of the cup has the sepals and petals of *Caerulea*. On the stem and foot are inverted palm-leaves in sharp relief, ending in a firm rim.

As von Bissing pointed out,<sup>4</sup> the two geese eating from the bin in the upper zone are set above the point between the two boats in the main zone and emphasize its centrality; and in the third zone the crocodile is under the same central point. The whole cup, then, has a centre, with a tentative grouping in the upper zone, an equation of numbers in the main zone, and more exact grouping in the third zone, the pattern thus tightening its grip as the contour of the chalice slims gracefully down to its lotus bottom. In the main zone bending papyri, nests, waving arms and punt-poles send the eye rapidly round the cup at half its height. Vertically and horizontally these varied scenes are given the cohesion that the cup requires.

This chalice links with no. II in its regular rows of papyri and the vertical and horizontal pattern, but I think it was made by another potter: it has no block border, it is taller and more slender, the upper zone is narrower, the umbels are smaller, making the gap between the culms narrower with no room for buds, as on no. III, and the water-zone has a controlled scene, thus putting three full scenes on the cup and reducing the space for the bottom lotus. And more, the vitality and brisk movement and drama, a pressure of time and space, are not found in the steady progress of no. II.

<sup>1</sup> Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi*, II, pl. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Davies, loc. cit.; Hayes, *Scepter*, II, fig. 226 (silver bowl from Bubastis); Blackman, *Meir*, III, pl. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Davies, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 128.

Wallis, *Ceramic Art* (1900), pls. 9. 10; *Burlington Catalogue* (1922), pl. 44; *Sale Cat. MacGregor Coll.*, frontispiece and pl. 6; von Bissing, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 126 ff.

V. Fragment of chalice. Fitzwilliam Museum 256.1939. From Hornblower's Collection. Pl. XV, 3. H., 8.5 cm. 1 cm. is missing to the top of the cup and 2 cm. to the bottom.

Of the main zone one boat survives. In the middle a black-wigged man stands to right, wearing a long kilt to his knees and a strap across his left shoulder. In his left hand he holds downwards a decoy (heron?), and his right brandishes a boomerang behind him. In front of his legs, and so beside him in the boat, which is an unusual feat, a calf crouches on back legs and stretches up its front legs, while a naked woman, with black wig, sitting to left on a round basket, reaches her right hand behind the calf's head and holds her left hand down to lift its body. Behind her in the bow a man leans forward to right with left leg bent forward at knee, right arm held back to hold a loop at the corner of a triangular net. His head and shoulders are missing. In the stern a naked, black-wigged girl, wearing a necklace, leans her weight back against a punt-pole held behind her, her left hand grasping the pole above her head and the right hand reaching down the pole to full extent. Her legs are to right, the left knee bent and pushing against the stern-post, her shoulders to front; her head turns back to left. The other woman's left shoulder is foreshortened in a common Egyptian manner; but this expert punter is spatially conceived as she propels this boat-load with such nonchalance and air of disdain. She must be a rare creature in Egyptian art and recalls the graceful girls on New Kingdom glazed bowls and ointment spoons. In the background the upper row of papyrus umbels is regular, the lower row has blooms and buds at uneven heights. Alternating in the gaps between the culms are a nest with two eggs and a flying mother duck. Below the boat, in the water marked by zigzag incision, fish are incised; and the tips of one sepal and three petals of the bottom *Caerulea* survive.

I think that this chalice is by the same hand as no. IV. The top zone would be as narrow, the scene goes low down the cup, the culms are long and umbels small, and culms are marked below the bow of the boat to correspond unequally with those marked above it,<sup>1</sup> the figures are tall, each chalice has a fish-net and similarly well-loaded boat, each has a sense of depth in the relief and an abounding vitality, as nearly every figure, human and animal, is in movement, the one inactive cow and the one human spectator on no. IV providing a stable element in the little group to which each belongs. If they were by the same potter, he has not been content to repeat himself: in no. V he has no scene in the water-zone, the papyrus thicket is less regular, not so thick, less of a backscreen, and the family scene, probably as so often a husband with wife and daughter, is quieter than the rough vigour of the boatmen in no. IV.

VI. Two fragments of a chalice. A Eton 155 and B Eton 161. Myers Collection. Pl. XV, 4. H., A 6 cm. and B 2.5 cm.

I know of four rim fragments with papyri rising to a rosette band or to a block border. These four pieces differ in detail and in thickness and belonged to different chalices. None of them makes a join with other fragments, and I have allotted each to a bigger fragment which has the same thickness and glaze and for which it would be a suitable rim. Eton 161 suits Eton 155: each is equally thick in section and of similar glaze; if set one above the other according to the curve of the contour, there would be a 1-cm. gap between them, which suits the scale of the scene; the umbels are shaped similarly, and the waving umbels of 161 would correspond with the uneven gaps between the culms of 155. We cannot prove that they come from the same chalice; but I think it likely and describe the two pieces together.

In the rim-zone, between relief lines, is a frieze of rosettes with six petals. In the main zone

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the photograph, *Burlington Catalogue* (1922), pl. 44.

papyrus umbels are at the top. Above the water-zone, which is a band with zigzag incision, two boats are bow to stern. In the front boat a man, facing left and half sitting on a square basket, kneels on left leg with right leg sharply bent up on the stern-post for purchase and stretches out his arms, only one shown, either to two baskets, one balanced on the other, or to a calf which is standing to right in the bow of the second boat. The calf has a collar, and a straight relief line above its back may be the lead. The man wears a kilt, and straps cross his body from the shoulders. Below the bow and stern are short vertical lines, presumably intended to correspond with non-existent culms above the boat. In the background the culms are unevenly spaced. Two are bent right over, crossing each other and crossing upright culms. Where the culms cross each other, the modelling of the relief lines is continuous at the joint; but where they cross upright culms, they pass through a break in the vertical line, which suggests that the curving lines in the pattern were modelled first. Above the point where the two curving culms cross each other there seems to be a long nest with an egg. On one of the hanging umbels a heron stands with folded wings. The chalice is broken at the neck of the other hanging umbel. If a bird was standing on it, as I suspect, a pattern is clear, centred on the point where one boat bumps the other: above this point the crossing between the culms would have on each side a bird on the umbel, while man balances calf below.

This fragment has a similar activity to nos. IV and V, with bending knees and curving culms, and a close contact between the boats; and the scene goes low down the cup. But I do not think that it was made by the same hands: umbels are bigger, and the papyrus background is much less regular and thick-set.

VII. Fragment of chalice. Boston Museum of Fine Arts. 11.1525. Pl. XV, 5. H., 6 cm.

In the main zone a crane, to right, is pulling a fish (*Tilapia*) from the water. Behind the crane is the bow of a boat. To the right of the crane a frog perches on a bending lotus leaf, and to its right another leaf and a *Caerulea* flower are bending over, probably under the weight of an animal which is missing. Two papyri survive in the background, with what seem to be buds drooping from the culm, an unnatural feature which does not occur on other chalices. The water zone is a band with zigzag reliefs. Two tips of the bottom *Caerulea*'s petals remain below the water-zone. There is room at the top for a rim-zone.

VIII. Two fragments of a chalice. A Petrie Collection, 14556, the bottom of a cup, from Petrie. B Eton 155, a rim, from Myers. Pl. XVI, 1 and fig. 3. H., A 5.2 cm., B 2.5 cm.

The piece of rim, so similar to that of no. VI, is thinner and slightly different in section and has five petals in the rosettes. It has the same thickness as Petrie Collection 14556 and very similar glaze; and if set above it at the distance allowed by the contour, the gap between the two pieces would be 2.8 cm., which suits the scale and design. I think that they belong to each other.

Round the rim, between relief lines, is a frieze of rosettes with five petals. In the main zone, against a background of thick-set papyri, are seven calves to right (fig. 3):<sup>1</sup> five are walking and two are lying, forelegs folded beneath the body, one with its head turned back to the calf behind. At the back of each calf a man moves to right, tending the procession with arms in different attitudes. They wear kilts and a band crosses the left shoulder. At one point a heron (or, for its size, is it a crane?) stands to right. At two other points is a rectangular basket, and heron and baskets divide the scene into three parts. The water-zone, a band with zigzag incision, has no fish. The *Caerulea* at the bottom of the cup has ceased to be botanically accurate: it has seven sepals and twenty-one petals. The stem is broken off near the top: it had inverted papyri, and the ribbing of the culms is similar to that on chalice XX.

This chalice may have been by the same hand as no. VI: the modelling of men and calves, the

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Mr. O. Thomas for the drawing of this scene in extension.

water-band and the baskets are similar, and it is likely that they both had rosette bands round the rim.

IX. Two fragments of a chalice. A Eton 155 and B a piece of rim, Eton 155.<sup>1</sup> From Myers. Pl. XVI, 2. H., A 4 cm. and B 3.7 cm.

These two pieces are equally thin in section, and the vertical gap between them would be 1.2 cm, which suits the scale and design. They may well belong to each other.

Round the rim are three relief lines, the middle line divided by groups of three pellets as a block

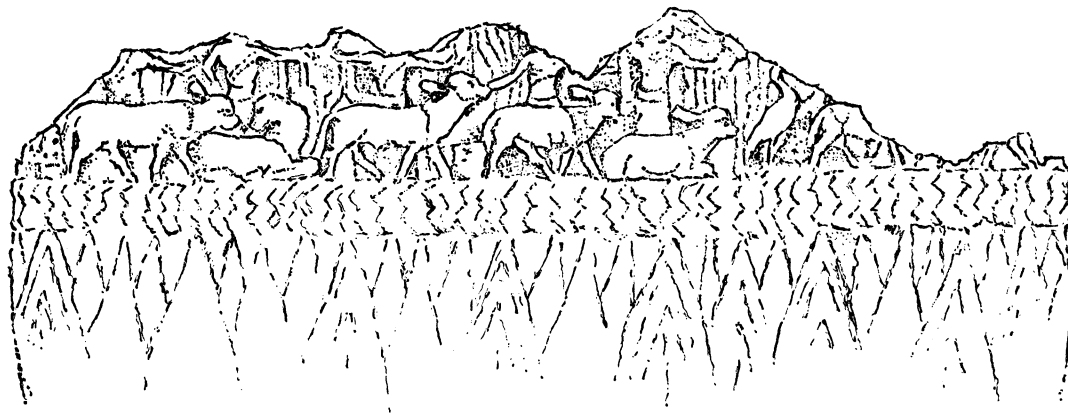


FIG. 3. Chalice VIII.

border, as on chalice III. Beneath this border papyrus umbels are in two rows and one culm is bent across two others. Above the zigzag water-zone, which is just visible beneath a relief line, a man stands to right in the bow of a boat. He wears kilt with strap across his left shoulder. He holds his left hand forward and in his right hand a round object which I suggest is a coil of rope. Behind him in the boat a calf stands to right, only its head surviving. A heron (?) stands on a bending umbel. Below the bow of the boat are short vertical lines of culms which have no corresponding lines above the bow. The scene went low on the cup, with room for only a narrow water-zone above the bottom lotus. The upright figure, with taut, square shoulders, and its sedate stance link this chalice with no. VIII.

X. Fragmentary chalice. Brooklyn Museum 49.133. Bought by J. Brummer from the Cairo dealer Demetrioiv in 1929. Bought by Brooklyn Museum at the Brummer Sale in 1949, no. 19 in the catalogue. The cup was in fragments, and the stem and much of the upper part are missing. The cup was restored at Brooklyn, and in the photograph the cross-lines mark the restored parts. Pl. XVI, 4. H., 9.7 cm.

Beneath a thick rim a block border, marked by groups of vertical incisions, is enclosed in two relief lines. The cup has one scene in two groups, moving to right. In one group a cow is urged forward from behind by a man who stretches forward his left hand to grasp a papyrus and holds up a lasso<sup>2</sup> in his right hand behind him. The cow lifts its head in a moo. In the other group a man bends forward to left holding one hand to the mouth of a Hathor cow with disk between its horns, and the other hand to a calf which is running for its milk. The horns of the Hathor cow rise vertically round the disk, but the surviving horn of the other cow is horizontal. The two men, back to back, frame that end of the two groups. On the opposite side of the cup stands a third man, separating cow from cow. His head, shoulders, and arms are missing: the arms must have been

<sup>1</sup> Eton 155 comprises a number of chalice fragments.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Blackman, *Meir*, II, pl. 3.

raised above his head, and I suggest that he was carrying a calf on his shoulders, to which the cow behind is mooing. The men wear kilts with cross-straps. In the papyrus background waving umbels frame the top of the scene, and more umbels fill the background at varying heights, and their culms do not all run to the ground. Large ducks, out of scale, flutter among the papyri. The men and cows stand on a relief line which frames another block border of similar kind. The bottom of the cup has five *Caerulea* sepals with central vein and three petals between them. Underneath the cup is a circular hole into which the missing stem had been inserted. Myers had a fragment of one of the six-lobed stemmed cups in faience, now at Eton, which had a similar hole at the bottom for the insertion of the stem; but I know no other chalice with a similar arrangement.

The figures on this chalice are in flat relief; the outlines are cut back sharply, and the internal markings of eyes, details of dress, and the navels are clearly cut, and there is no sense of depth as there is on no. VIII.

XI. Fragment of chalice. Cairo 3774. Bought 1895. H., 10 cm. 1.6 cm. is missing to the top. The fragment runs right round the cup. Von Bissing suggested that it was bought through the mediation of Wallis. The date of its accession suggests that it came from Tûna.

At the top of the fragment an umbel, broken at the neck, bends downwards; and with 1.6 cm. of the cup missing to the top, if other umbels were erect, as usual, there would be room for no more than a narrow block border, as on IX and X. The cup has one scene. Above a narrow water-zone two rather flat boats move to right. The pattern of the scene centres on a calf which jumps to left from bank to boat, although to help the pattern, and perhaps for ease of modelling, it seems to jump from boat to boat. Behind the calf a man stands to left on the bank with right arm forward to hold the calf's head. Each boat has two men. The man in the stern of each punts with bent knees, left hand at the top of the pole and right hand effectively gripping the pole at his side. The man standing to right in the bow of the left boat bends forward and reaches his hands to the calf's head. In the bow of the other boat a man stands to right, left leg forward; but his body above the waist is missing. The head of one of these four men survives and his ear is clearly incised, which is unusual on these chalices. They wear kilts and a strap across the left shoulder. In the background are seven widely spaced, gently curving culms, one with a bud, and an umbel is bent downwards at the top. The bottom *Caerulea*, as on VIII and X, is not botanically accurate.

This chalice, I think, was made by the potter of no. X. The relief is as flat, and the outlines and internal markings are sharply cut; each chalice has a single scene in two groups, and on each the scene runs up to a narrow border.

Von Bissing, *Fayencegefässe*, frontispiece and no. 3774; id., *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 129.

XII. Fragment. Harrow School Museum 393. From Wilkinson Collection. Pl. XVI, 3. H., 4.2 cm.

The glaze is dark green outside and blue inside. The fragment comes from the middle of the cup; the figure sits at the same level on the cup as the seated girl on no. V and is of similar scale.

A wiggled man sits to left in the bow of a boat. He stretches both hands to a calf in the middle of the boat, whose head only survives. He wears a criss-crossed kilt, and a strap runs straight down from his right shoulder. In the background are gently waving culms. The internal markings are sharply cut, but not in the same way as on nos. X and XI.

Budge, *Harrow Catalogue*, no. 393.

XIII. A possible fragment of a chalice. Naville, *XI Dynasty Temple*, III, pl. XXXII, 25. No description of it is given in the text.

The plate has a drawing of a small piece which shows the bow and stern of two boats above the



b. VIII A



c. VIII A



2. Chalice IX A and B (Eton, 15)



d. VIII A



3. Chalice XII (Harrow 393)

1. Chalice VIII A (U.C. 14556) and B (Eton 155)



a.



b.



c.

4. Chalice X (Brooklyn 49.133)



a.



b.



c.

1. Chalice XIV (MMA 26.7.971)



a. XVI A (Eton 159)



b. XVI B (MMA 30.8.154)



c. XVI c (Truro)



d. XVI D (UC 14557)

2. Chalice XVI A-D



a. XVII A (MMA 30.8.153)



b. XVII C-E (Truro)



c. XVII B (MMA 26.7.971)

3. Chalice XVII A-E

zigzag water, and a man in long kilt punting in the stern of the front boat. Regular culms fill the background.

Von Bissing recognized this fragment as coming from a relief chalice, and he commented that, although the whole plate of objects is described as of Eighteenth Dynasty date, Hall's text on p. 26 shows that objects of later date were found in the same excavations. I include this fragment because von Bissing may have been right in seeing it as from a chalice, and if so, it is the only fragment of them known to have been found at Thebes. But the drawing on the plate is too sketchy for conviction; and the fragment may be from a vase with an incised scene like that from the Malkata Palace published by Hayes, *JNES* 10, 235, and *Scepter*, II, 253. The Malkata fragment is not from a chalice. Von Bissing, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 130, n. 15.

XIV. Chalice. Metropolitan Museum 26.7.971. From the Carnarvon Collection. Bought by Carter in Cairo who wrote in a note now in the Metropolitan Museum that it was said to be from Tûna. Pl. XVII, 1. H., 14.4 cm.

Round the rim are three relief lines, the middle line marked by groups of incisions as a block border. In the upper zone, bigger than in the chalices described so far, a man stands to right holding firmly by the neck a large bird which is probably a goose, and with left hand he grasps a papyrus. On each side of him a man, with kilt and strap across left shoulder, struggles with outstretched arms to hold two animals: on the right the man holds a large bird (goose?) and a fine Nubian ibex, and on the left an ibex and a cow. At the opposite point to the central man with the goose is a bulky calf which walks sedately down a bending papyrus. In the background are isolated panicles of Phragmites in no kind of arrangement. In the middle zone, separated from the upper by a thick relief line, three boats move to right, bow to stern, one of them set centrally under the man with the goose in the upper zone. The boats are unusually flat, with little rise to bow and stern, as on chalice XI. In the middle of the central boat a man, with bending knees, balances precariously on his shoulders a bird cage from which birds' heads emerge.<sup>1</sup> In the bow a calf is about to jump into the next boat, its back legs braced for the jump and forelegs set on the stern-post of the next boat. In this next boat, entirely unconcerned with what is happening behind him, a man in the middle kneels on right knee and holds a calf on his shoulders while the calf turns its head to lick him.<sup>2</sup> In the bow an ibex puts its front left hoof over to the stern-post of the next boat preparatory to a jump. Resting on the back of the ibex is a nest with two eggs. In the stern of the boat sits sedately another of the large birds which may be geese. In the third boat a man punts in the stern, left hand up to top of the pole and right arm bent at elbow ready for the shove. In the middle of the boat a calf stands to right, and in the bow sits another goose (?) with wings aflutter behind.<sup>3</sup> In the background are papyri, upright or waving to right or left, two Phragmites and three stemless buds, one with a nest and two eggs perched on it. A second nest rests on nothing, and the third is on the ibex. Above the water-zone, which is a band with zigzag incision, is a frieze of fish (*Tilapia*) with crisscross lines. The *Caerulea* at the bottom has six sepals with incised veins and three petals in the intervals. On the stem and foot inverted papyri and buds are in relief. The foot has the usual conical hole underneath, 'modelled as an open papyrus flower'. The chalice is mounted on a base in New York, and this statement in the *Burlington Catalogue* cannot now be checked; but cf. chalice XX.

This is the best known of the chalices and, superb as it is with its turquoise colour and fine condition, it was made, clearly, by a different man with a different approach: he seems to have the informality and lightness of touch and lack of restraint that were shown by Egyptian artists on

<sup>1</sup> Lepsius, *Denk.* II, 60, for a bird-cage in an Old Kingdom boat.

<sup>2</sup> Von Bissing, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 149, calls it a bull, and the potter made the animal big enough for it; cf. the man entering a boat with a calf on his shoulders, *Beni Hasan*, II, pl. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the vigilant goose of Amûn on Nebamûn's bow, N. Davies, *Anc. Eg. Paintings*, pl. 65.



ostraca—what Dr. Kantor calls folk art: ‘The folk art copied some motives of major art but altered them in a manner that sometimes suggests a satirical or at least a comical intent.’<sup>1</sup> The genet-cat may walk up a papyrus on an Old Kingdom tomb wall; but here a huge, clumsy calf balances his way down. A man may, in an Old Kingdom tomb at Deir el-Gabrâwi, grasp a duck in each outstretched hand; but here he struggles to control both ibex and calf and is spread-eagled between them. Nests with their eggs do often look delicately poised in an Old Kingdom papyrus thicket; but here one is perched on a lonely bud and another on nothing. And Amūn’s goose in the bow of a boat: here one is put in the stern, huddled like a cox, and another, on the lookout forward, seems to be asking for a laugh. Further, who would kneel in a papyrus skiff as he holds a large calf on his shoulders? We are fortunate that this splendid chalice survives undamaged and cannot be called in question for its robust fun.

*Burlington Catalogue* (1922), pl. XLIV. *Von Bissing Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 128.

XV. Six fragments of a chalice. A and B Eton 158 and 1179. C and D at Truro. E Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore 48.1601. F Berlin 14493. Pl. XVIII. H., to base of cup, 11 cm.

Two pieces at Eton from Myers. Two pieces at Truro from MacGregor. The Baltimore piece was sold to Walters probably by Kelekian, who bought much at the MacGregor Sale; Birtles bought the Lot 293 with the chalice fragments, and we cannot be certain that the piece did belong to MacGregor. The Berlin piece, destroyed in the Second World War, was given by Reinhardt in 1899. All the pieces join except one piece of the second zone which can be arranged accurately in position. The Berlin piece would have fitted exactly the reconstructed cup at its right edge. Mr. Martin Burgess of the Petrie Collection took a cast of the Baltimore piece and skilfully reconstructed the cup. There are gaps in the reconstruction and the stem is missing.

Round the rim are three relief lines, the middle line marked with incised lines as a block border. The decoration is in three zones, two of equal height and the lowest a little bigger. In the upper zone three calves, to right, survive, separated in panels by a stylized tree whose leaves are in relief. The Berlin piece would join the right end of the reconstruction and is positioned roughly in place on pl. XVIII, *b*; with it the distance between two trees can be measured, and by applying that measurement room is found in the zone for eight similar panels. Of the extant calves two are trotting with head up and the third between them is grazing. There may have been, then, four of each kind in alternate panels. Above and below the trotting calves a five-petalled rosette fills the field. The calves have two incised lines across the neck and effectively irregular markings for the coat. In the second zone, below an irregular relief line, remains of four ibexes survive, separated by the same trees as in the upper zone, and there is room for a fifth. Each ibex trots to right and the two whose heads survive nibble a wide-spreading flower (lotus?). Their coats are marked as the calves’, and their horns are marked with the multiple rings. Six-petalled rosettes, one with seven petals, fill the spaces in the field. In the third zone, below another relief line, four boats move to right, each carrying one calf. On two of them the calf stands to right, on the third the calf lies with forelegs bent underneath, and the middle of the fourth boat is missing. The calves have the same incisions on the neck and the same coat markings. At one point between two boats a man walks to right on the bank holding a calf in his arms. There is no space in the zone for another such man. Beneath the bows and sterns, where they survive, is a single vertical line which was probably intended as the bottom of a papyrus. The man’s feet are huge and project far under the stern ahead, leaving no room for a vertical line. In the background are two rows of papyri, the upper row set regularly, not quite tip to tip; the lower row sways a little unevenly, and at two places a group of three buds replaces three umbels. As these two groups of buds are spaced on the cup, a third similar group in the missing part would divide the

<sup>1</sup> *AJA* 61 (1957), 53; also W. S. Smith, *Art and Architecture*, 235.



*a.*



*b.*



*c.*



*d.*

Fragment numbers, as indicated: A (Eton 158), B (Eton 1179), C and D (Truro), E (Walters Art Gallery 48.1601), F (Berlin 14493; photo. of this destroyed piece superimposed on photo. of reconstruction).

LOTIFORM CHALICE WITH SCENES XV RECONSTRUCTED

frieze at equidistant points. There is no water-zone but another relief line. With the three full zones the *Caerulea* at the bottom has as little space as on chalice IV: it has eight sepals and two petals between them and in one instance three petals. The arrangement of them, then, was not well planned and the initial outline cuts were not always followed. One small petal, of which only the bottom remains, was broken away before glazing. Unsure workmanship is visible, too, in the two upper zones: two outline cuts had been made for the back of the grazing calf, and the horn of one ibex was altered. It was probably careless, too, to give one rosette seven petals when the others had six. Von Bissing, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 128 and 142, pl. iii, 2.

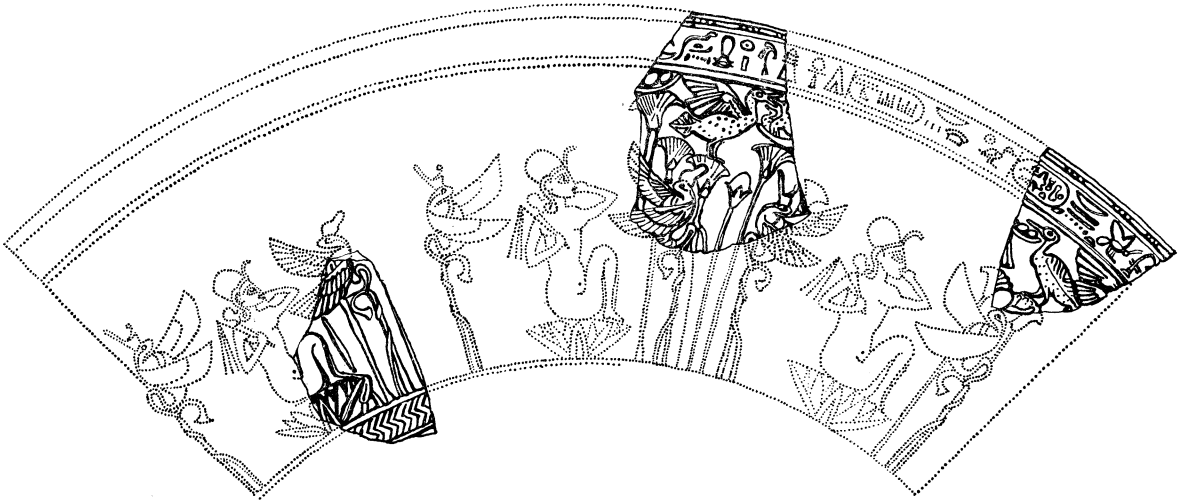



FIG. 4. Chalice XVI reconstructed.

With chalices XIV and XV there seems to come a parting of the ways, marked by two very different men. Hitherto, as I have arranged the series, there has been some feeling for the chalice as a unity, however much it has ceased to be a lotus; but now the cup has broad zones inorganically superimposed like the registers on a tomb wall, and, as was to happen on Greek Pottery, the cup has become a panel for the artist's skill. Such zones do well for the Phoenician metal bowls which follow soon; but the taste is questionable when they are applied to a vessel originally designed as a lotus. To say that these two men mark the parting of the ways is purely imaginary, for we have no evidence that these chalices were made in this sequence. But let us imagine them: the man who made XIV a gifted, gay, humane man, but the other must surely have been a dull fellow to put those umbels half-way up the cup with ibex trotting above them. It has been exciting to recover this chalice from such widely scattered fragments; but in itself it is neither skilful nor interesting.

XVI. Four fragments of a chalice. A Eton 159. B Metropolitan Museum 30.8.154, C Truro. D Petrie Collection 14557. Eton piece from Myers, Metropolitan piece from the Davis Collection, Truro piece from MacGregor. Petrie left no record for his chalice pieces in University College. Pl. XVII, 2, fig. 4. H., A 3.5 cm.; B 5 cm.; C 4.5 cm.; D 4.4 cm.

The reconstruction of this chalice is certain; since it is a key piece, the accuracy of the reconstruction must be clear. This will be more easily explained if the chalice as a whole is described first.

Round the rim are three relief lines, the middle line neatly marked by pellets as a block border. Beneath this border is a band for an inscription of which part of a titulary remains. The signs are carefully incised in a smooth surface. Of the figures on all the chalices only these signs are incise and not in relief. The surface in which they are cut is the front plane of the reliefs, and whereas the

reliefs were made by cutting back the field, the hieroglyphs were cut back themselves. The *nsw* and the *nb* signs seem to have been impressed with a stamp; the other signs were cut free-hand. The hieroglyphs are clear in the photograph: *King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Hedjkheperrê-Setpenrê* [Son of Rê Lord of Diadems, Shoshenq, given Life] *Stability Power like Rê for ever*. The *nb trwy* has four dots beneath and the tongue of land sign on either side of them. When the fragments had been set by measurement on a projection, the missing signs just filled the space between them, as Veronica Ray has shown in her drawing (fig. 4). Her drawing also makes clear that the part of the inscription which might explain the significance of the chalice is entirely missing and only the titular survives. When Newberry first saw the cartouche on A,<sup>1</sup> he read its second sign instantly as *sh̄m*, and so Osorkon I. Further study made certain that that sign is *h̄d*, and the name is either Shoshenq I or Takelot II. I used to favour Takelot because in *Rec. Trav.* 18, 52 Takelot's premen on a stela is preceded by *nb trwy* written  as on the chalice. Sir Alan Gardiner, however, kindly pointed out that this grouping is not uncommon in late times (cf. *Wb.* v, 217) and I understood that the chances were equal for Shoshenq or Takelot. Now, after full study of these chalices, I have no doubt that the reign of the active and enterprising usurper Shoshenq is much more likely for such skilful and novel workmanship than the disturbed and obscure reign of his successor Takelot. On this questionable premen alone the date of the chalices hangs, and there is a difference of a hundred years between the two kings; but this chalice is the finest of these remarkable works, and common sense insists that it must be dated to Shoshenq's reign.

At three equidistant points round the main zone the infant sun-god squats on a Caerulea, flanked by winged cobras twisted round a papyrus culm, one with the red crown on his left and the other with the white crown on his right. In the background are papyri at varying heights, and ducks are busy at their nests perched on the umbels. One of the surviving ducks anxiously watches her two eggs in the nest, and the other with fluttering wings (on B) feeds her two fledglings that must almost be heard chirping in New York. The piece B is the finest of the lot. A water-zone with incised zigzag lines completes the main scene, and this leaves room at the bottom for a Caerulea, of which nothing remains. On the stem D are inverted papyri with buds alternating with palmettes in delicate relief with thin culms. The flat grooves between the culms are of varying width and so were not impressed by one broad tool. The foot has no relief underneath. The usual conical hole narrows and pierces right up the stem, as on chalice XX and on the Greville Chester chalice (B.M. 26226). The chalice is exceptional for its quality, for its inscription, and for the appearance of the sun-god in the papyrus marsh. It is a link between those with marsh scenes and the commemorative and ritual scenes that are to follow.

For the reconstruction of the chalice my mathematical colleague, H. Babington Smith, gave his skilled help. Taking measurements from chalice XIX, he made two conical projections, one from the rim down to the waist and the other from the block border up to the first. By dropping verticals at 2-cm. intervals along the line joining these projections he made it easier to apply measurements from the doubly curving surface of the fragments. The inscription identified A and B as coming from the same chalice. The loop round a papyrus is identical on B and C, and their identity was certain when B arrived for inspection. After some study of these four fragments I do not hesitate to add the stem D to the chalice: among the few surviving stems of chalices it is of incomparably superior quality, just as the fragments of this chalice have a quality that can be set only beside XVII; and piece D looks more like XVI than XVII. It has the same straight, thin culms, and delicately marked umbels and superb glazing. The keys to the reconstruction were these:

1. A white crown on a cobra is clear on B, though before I saw it I thought from the photograph that it was a bird's beak; and the tip of a white crown is just visible on A, though not recognized as

<sup>1</sup> See p. 93 above.

such until the three pieces were studied together; and the position of the white crown on C is easily calculated by reference to B; A, with the tip of the crown, could not be placed above C, which is broken off below the crown, because the papyrus on A would not correspond with the culm on C. Each piece, then, is part of a separate group, and there were at least three groups on the cup.

2. By putting the twisted loops on B and C at the same level together, the height from the rim (on B) to the water's edge (on C) could be measured. This measurement is the same as to the bottom of the block border on chalice XIX.

3. C shows the sun-god on lotus with the cobra to his right. The central sepal of the lotus, which is the central point of the group, survives, and also the papyrus culm that frames the group on the right, as it does also on B. This gives the measurement of half a group at the water's edge as 2.3 cm. The width of a group at that point then is 4.6 cm., which makes 13.8 cm. for three groups.

4. On B are the white and the red crown of two groups, and the papyrus that frames the group behind each of them. This gives the width of a gap between the groups. By applying B to the projection, that gap at water's edge can be measured as 0.9 cm., and three gaps will cover 2.7 cm.

5. The circumference of chalice XIX at that level is 16.5 cm. On XVI the width of three groups added to the width of three gaps gives 16.5 cm for the circumference at water's edge. There were, then, three similar groups on the chalice.

6. Three pieces in a circle may be arranged either as ABC or ACB. By arranging A and B on either side of each other on the projection, it was clear that A came to the right of B because it gave the correct spacing for the broken end of the cartouche on A and the correct continuation of the titulary with the second cartouche of Shoshenq and half the  $\text{𓆎}$ , the other half appearing on B. When the order of the three pieces was known, to arrange them, accurately spaced, on a plasticine model made for me by two pupils, R. Mathew and W. Shawcross, was not difficult. By chance the three pieces are equally spaced round the chalice, and a photograph cannot show their grouping. Veronica Ray took great care over the measurements for her admirable drawing on the projection.

XVII. Five fragments of a chalice. A Metropolitan Museum 30.8.153. B Metropolitan 26.7.979. C, D, and E, three pieces from Truro. A from the Davis Collection. B from the Carnarvon Collection (it must be Meux 1787, cf. Budge, *Catalogue*, 329, 'Blue glazed fragment with a fish, flowers etc. in relief. Very fine work from Tuna.'). C, D, and E from the MacGregor Collection. Pl. XVII, 3, fig. 5. H., A, 9 cm.

The chalice is decorated in five zones. The rim-zone has a scene of ducks to right in a papyrus marsh. In what remains of it a larger duck stands fluttering its wings or squats with folded wings above the heads of two of the king's figures in the main zone; and on either side of them papyri are erect or bend as smaller ducks perch on them. It seems probable that in the larger ducks the scene has three focal points above the main figures on the chalice. In the narrow second zone is a frieze of six-petalled rosettes. In the background are several irregularities of surface which suggest that the planning of the rosettes had been altered. The rosettes were cut free-hand. The main zone had three identical scenes spaced round the cup. The god of the Inundation, Hapy, black-wigged and kilted, with papyrus clump on his head, squats to right clasping in each outstretched hand a notched palm branch which curves inwards to the king above, and as usual the tadpole of 100,000 under each branch faces inwards. On Hapy's left elbow stands an *ꜥankh*-sign. On each side of him, outside the palm branch, a similar Hapy squats facing inwards, holding the palm with his nearer hand and reaching forward his farther hand in adoration. Enthroned on a relief line above the central Hapy, the king faces right, wearing the blue crown with uraeus and a heavy necklace but no trace of a robe. In his right hand he holds the flail over his shoulder and in his left he holds forward a curving sceptre or scimitar. In front of him, presented by the palm-branch, are two *ꜥankhs*, and behind him an *ꜥankh* and a *wꜥs*-sceptre. The two side Hapys are slightly taller than the central Hapy, and above each of

them, on a relief line, a Bes dances inwards towards the king, holding out in both hands the *udjat*-eye, with an *ankh* below it. A papyrus umbel rises from his tail, and horizontally above his head is a long feather. Usually Hēh, the god of Eternity, holds up the palm-branches, and Bes is attendant at births. Here the Nile-god offers millions of years of life and power to the unnamed monarch; and

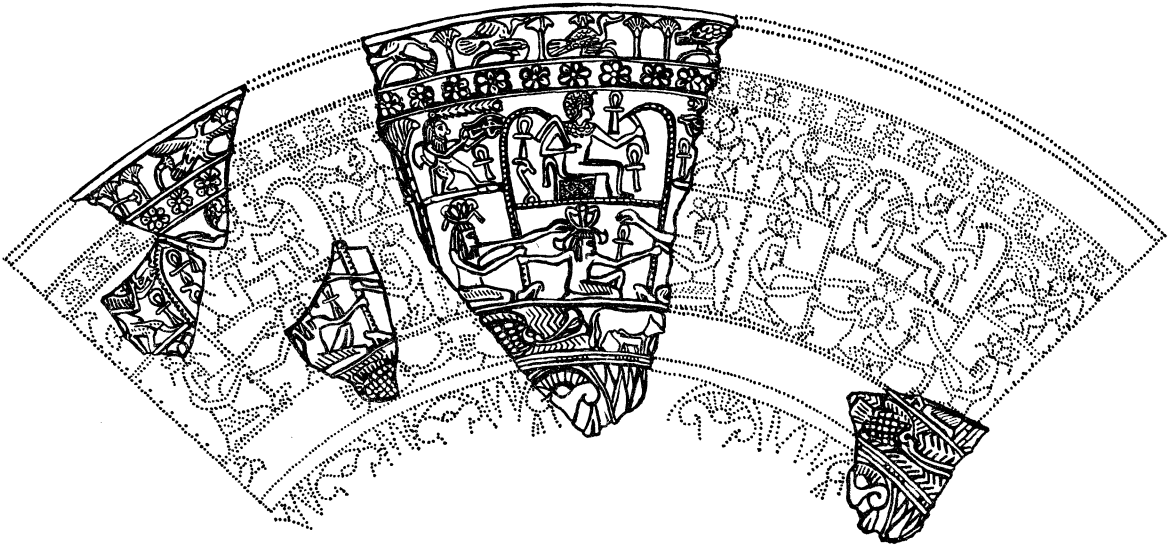


FIG. 5. Chalice XVII reconstructed.

the scene may be commemorating a coronation or a *sed*-festival.<sup>1</sup> These three scenes are separated from each other by a tall papyrus whose culm has two ribs with alternate notching. In the fourth zone, on A, a fish (*Tilapia*) nibbles two lotus stems, and immediately in front of it a black-rumped cow suckles its calf. On B a black-eyed *Tilapia* nibbles at two stems, and part of a *Tilapia* is on E. By measuring the length of the fish-lotus and of the cow-calf group and plotting them along the projection with the surviving pieces in position, I found that fish-cow-fish-fish-cow-fish is a possible arrangement for them, if, as I assume, similar figures of similar length filled the zone. Below the fourth zone is a thin block border, placed as on chalice XIX and very like the rim border of XVI, though close inspection suggests that they were not by the same hand. The fifth zone decorates the bottom of the cup, and pieces of it are on A and B showing an alternation of lotus with buds and palmette. The width of the two together can be measured; and by plotting them round the projection, with the surviving pieces in position, I found that five of each, alternate, complete the zone and the surviving pieces are correctly placed. Fig. 5 gives the suggested reconstruction of the decoration.<sup>2</sup>

The keys to the reconstruction were these:

1. Piece A enables the main scene to be identified in nearly every detail, and the other pieces confirm the details for similar scenes; A gives the proportions of the four upper zones.
2. A shows the double-stemmed papyrus framing the scene on the left but does not extend to the right frame. B has the bottom of the double-stemmed papyrus framing a similar scene on its right. By applying B to A, thus completing its bottom right corner, the width of the whole scene at the bottom can be measured, 6 cm.
3. That there was no gap between the scenes can be shown in two instances: on A, at top left, behind the framing papyrus, can be seen an *ankh* and the tail of a Bes moving to left in the next

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aldred, *JEA* 43, 115; 45, 25.

<sup>2</sup> The drawing was kindly made by Veronica Ray.

scene; and on B, behind the papyrus, are the tiny ends, broken off, of the Hapy kneeling to right in the next scene.

4. On A, B, and E a tadpole under the palm-branch faces left, thus showing that there were at least three similar scenes. What the white crown did for the reconstruction of XVI this tadpole does for XVII.

5. With 6 cm. for the width of one scene at its bottom, the circumference of three such equal scenes at that level would be 18 cm. On chalice XIX the circumference at that level is 17.5 cm.; and a difference of 5 mm. may well be expected when the walls of the chalices are of unequal thickness.

6. There were, then, three similar scenes, to be arranged in order of 1, 2, 3 or 1, 3, 2. B, with the tadpole, having a portion of the next scene to its right would not fit to the left of A and so must be on its right; and E, the third piece with tadpole to left, having no part of a contiguous scene, can and must be on the left of A. C and D, which touch each other and have the king's head, may be above either B or E; for convenience of grouping I put them above E.

This splendid chalice shares with XVI a clear supremacy among them all. I am inclined to think that they were not made by the same man: the master of XVII crowds his field repetitively, while the master of XVI gives a broad, commanding sweep to the royal title and then, in the framework of his thrice-repeated sun's birth, he allows himself the freedom of the more developed marsh scenes. But both men had wonderful skill in cutting their reliefs. Mme Desroches-Noblecourt has published a four-sided ivory unguent basin, probably late Eighteenth Dynasty, in the Louvre.<sup>1</sup> On one side two Hapys hold in a rite of protection a *Tilapia* fish which nibbles the stem of a lotus. I owe to the learned interpretation of the basin these comments which may throw light on the symbolism of this chalice. Hapy making the gesture of protection is found in vignettes of the Book of the Dead, and the vignettes adorn tombs from the Nineteenth Dynasty. In the tomb of Queen Nefertari Hapy holds the notched palm and protects the ovoid germ in which is figured the falcon's egg.<sup>2</sup> On the ivory basin the fish is Inet, the image of being, in gestation before rebirth, protected by the spirits of the primeval water, while it nibbles the lotus which announces the first vegetation of the dawn of the world, a plant symbolizing the reborn sun.<sup>3</sup> A translation is given of a religious text from Moret, *Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne*: 'At the dawn, the god abandons his form of mummy, and is reborn in the sanctuary as in the eastern sky as a young son, a child rising from the lotus, or a milking calf.'<sup>4</sup> On another side of the basin a man punts a calf in a boat, and another man pulls the cord of a clap-net enclosing ducks. Like the ivory basin, chalice XVII seems to be a vessel with a 'graphic version of symbols to express, by themes ceaselessly renewed, the idea of the preliminaries of rebirth'.<sup>5</sup>

XVIII. Fragment of chalice. Formerly in von Bissing's collection.

On this tiny fragment from the middle of a chalice two figures of Bes dance to right, one of them holding, on a relief line, an *ankh* flanked by two *wss*-signs. The subject and the precise reliefs and incisions are similar to those on XVII.

Von Bissing, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 121 and pl. II, 7.

XIX. Chalice. Eton 72. Myers Collection, from Tûna. Pl. XIX. H., 14.8 cm.

This chalice had been broken and some pieces are missing. It was patched and mended before Myers bought it. The stem is missing: the present stem, with palm-leaves in relief, had been glued in place though it belonged to another chalice. The cup is very slightly shorter and more slender than XX. Ricketts' projection drawing in *JEA* 5, pl. 25, is very useful.

<sup>1</sup> *Mon. Piot*, 47 (1953), 1 ff.; also *Les Merveilles du Louvre*, 78.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. Piot*, 47, 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* 20.

Round the rim, between relief lines, is a frieze of ducks and papyri and nests with two eggs as on the rim of XVII. Not enough remains to detect a pattern in the frieze. The main decoration is in two broad zones, the lower slightly bigger than the upper. Two pieces are missing from the upper zone, but nearly all its details can be detected. It has two groupings. In one a deity sits on a throne to left; only his legs and the prong of his sceptre remain. Behind him a kilted figure, whose head is missing, faces left and holds forward a tall stem (a fan?). In front of the throned figure is a vertical thin relief line, broken at the top and therefore indeterminate; and beyond it to left a king faces right, with red crown, necklace, and long pleated kilt or apron, holding both hands forward in adoration of the god. To the left again, behind the king, another figure of a king, wearing the blue crown and uraeus, necklace, long kilt, and strap across left shoulder, strides to right, brandishing a staff (mace?) behind his head with right hand and pushing forward with left hand two prisoners whose arms are bound. A cartouche is in front of the king's face. Behind this king, facing left, with arms bound, is a third prisoner who is placed as if he were being lifted up by the king as in the relief of Sethos I in Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, 36A. Balancing these four figures at the other end of the group, behind the fan-bearer, is a large falcon with disk, standing to right on a shrine in front of seven papyri which spring radially from a clump. Closely connected with this falcon on the shrine is a cartouche. Spatially this falcon belongs to this group; but it faces to right to the other group, and I suspect that in its significance it belongs there, or perhaps it belongs to both groups and is present at both proceedings. In the centre of the second group the infant sun-god, sadly mutilated, squats on the *nbs*-sign (gold). To his right the winged cobra with white crown twists its tail round a papyrus-stem, and offers the *shen*-ring; of the cobra goddess with red crown to the sun-god's left only the bottom twist of the tail round the papyrus remains.<sup>1</sup> On each side of this central triad are two identical triads: in each of them, on the left a falcon-headed, kilted deity to right, wearing what seem to be disk and plumes, pushes forward with left hand a wriggling prisoner with bound arms, while facing him to left a long-robed wigged goddess, wearing disk and horns, holds up in right hand a *hps*-scimitar. The upper part of the left triad is missing; but the figures were the same. In the lower of the main zones three kings advance victoriously to right, two in chariots and one on foot. Presumably the same monarch is at work and there was not room for a third chariot. In each chariot he stands erect, brandishing with right hand a long staff or mace and holding out with left hand his bow and the reins which are drawn straight back from the horse's bit. The single horse to each chariot is caparisoned with a criss-cross pattern. Each chariot has the six-spoked wheels which were still used in the Twenty-second Dynasty. Bow- and quiver-cases are set obliquely as usual; but the axle is set under the middle of the car in the Syrian fashion, unlike the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty chariots with axle at the back.<sup>2</sup> Each horse seems to have a disk and horizontal feather on its head. Von Bissing suggested that this may have been the fan held by the attendant of the triumphant king on Phoenician bowls.<sup>3</sup> One horse walks and the other charges in the flying gallop. Beneath the charging horse a foe is prostrate, and his body and the ground beneath him are scored with incised lines. Can this mean blood? Two other foes lie above the horse. Above the walking horse are two heads and a fallen foe. In front of each horse a bound enemy walks upright, one with a feather on his head; and another bound enemy is, in the walking attitude, upside down from the border above. The third figure of the king, of which much is missing, strides to right, brandishing a staff or mace and with left hand prodding a bound enemy forward. In front of each chariot group and the striding king is a cartouche, and a fourth is between the last mentioned prisoner and a chariot. Two of the cartouches have a sign that resembles the flying duck,  (*ps*); but all the other signs in the cartouches of XIX and XX are dots and lines, and unhappily the cartouches are no help in the

<sup>1</sup> Ricketts in *JEA* 5, pl. 25, did not recognize the significance of these damaged figures in his drawing, which is otherwise accurate.

<sup>2</sup> Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, II, 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Jahrb. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 38/39 (1923/4), 198; *Ex Or. Lux* 1945/8, 355.





a.



b.



c.



d.



1. Chalice XX (Eton 71)



2. Chalice XXI (BM 48004)



a. XXIII A (Cairo 3812)

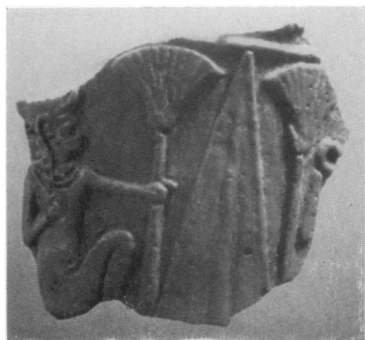


3. Chalice XXII (Truro)



b. XXIII B (V. and A. C. 401)

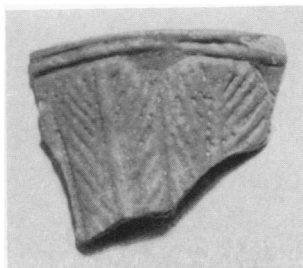
4. Chalice XXIII



5. Chalice XXIV (Eton 156)



6. Chalice XXVII (MMA 26.7.977)



7. Chalice XXX (Truro)



8. Chalice XXVI (Truro)



9. Chalice fragment (?) (Turin Suppl. 1416)



10. Chalice XXVIII A-C (U.C. 14558, 14559, 14560)

LOTIFORM CHALICES WITH SCENES XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXX

dating. Beneath this zone is a block border between relief lines, bigger and marked more clearly by vertical incisions than on XVII. Beneath it the potter had left himself more room than usual for decorating the bottom of the cup, and he filled it with alternate papyri and buds and palmettes on long culms. As on XVII, the palmettes have pendants hanging from their volutes.

The lower of these main scenes is the conventional scene of conquest, and the feather on the head of a prisoner suggests that the struggle had been with Libyans. In the upper zone the infant sun-god is flanked by Horus offering a prisoner and Isis offering the scimitar of warrior-might; and to the unknown deity of the other group the king makes his adoration and (presumably the same king) offers prisoners. The falcon on the clump alternates with the infant sun on the cella wall of the late Ptolemaic temple of Monthu at Armant.<sup>1</sup> Is it Horus the Behdetite 'equated with the Sanctified God who came into being at the First Occasion'?<sup>2</sup> And is that staff in front of the unknown seated deity on this chalice the spear which is in front of the Behdetite at Edfu who rests on a thicket of reeds?<sup>3</sup> Does this chalice, then, commemorate the defeat of his foes at the birth of the sun, and on the lower zone the defeat of his foes by the sun's representative on earth? The spacers to be described later, which I do not doubt were made in the same workshop, have comparable scenes.

*JEA* 5, 145, pls. 23, 25; Wallis, *Ceramic Art* (1900), fig. 37; *Burlington Cat.* (1922), 107; *5000 Years of Eg. Art* (Arts Council Cat.), no. 114, pl. XXXI; von Bissing, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 124, 134.

XX. Chalice. Eton 71. Myers Collection, from Tûna. Pl. XX, 1. H., 15.5 cm.

The chalice was broken when found and some pieces are missing. It was patched and mended before Myers bought it. The stem is original: it had been broken off and was glued in place with a matchstick up the central hole into the bottom of the cup.

Round the rim, between relief lines and separated into panels by relief lines, are fourteen *udjat*-eyes, each differing from the others in their free-hand modelling. The main decoration has two panelled zones of the king smiting a prisoner, the upper zone 3.5 cm. high and the lower zone 3 cm., six panels in the upper zone and five in the lower, the different height suiting the contour of the cup. In each panel the king takes a long stride to right, brandishing a mace with right hand and holding the enemy's hair with outstretched left hand. The mace has a notch to mark the joint of the mace-head. The king wears a kilt and alternately the red crown and the atef crown above a wig. The kilted, bearded enemy crouches with bent knees, holding his arms up and with head averted from the blow. In the upper zone his body is always to left. In the lower zone twice his body is to right and once to left, and from two panels he is missing. Two vertical lines above each prisoner's head are probably his feathers. Once in each zone, instead of the feathers above his head is a crooked line, which von Bissing suggested is the bow as sign of conquest.<sup>4</sup> Or is it a scimitar? In the space above each prisoner's head are two cartouches, with one only in three of the eleven panels where the potter had not left himself enough room. Each cartouche is meaningless. Round the bottom of the cup the *Caerulea* has eight sepals and three intervening petals. Under each sepal the curving line often shown there on lotiform chalices has been made into a papyrus umbel in relief, as on the Greville Chester chalice. The stem and foot have in relief six inverted papyri with buds between. The underside is incised, with the tips in relief, in a *Caerulea* pattern with six sepals and three intervening petals; there is some such pattern underneath chalice XIV. A narrow hole runs vertically up the stem from the usual conical hole and into the base of the cup. Mr. Hodges of the Institute of Archaeology tells me that this hole would have been made to prevent excessive inequality in the thickness of the paste. As alkaline glazes have a high surface tension when melted,<sup>5</sup> the surface contraction after

<sup>1</sup> Lepsius, *Denk.* iv, 65.

<sup>2</sup> *JEA* 48, 87.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 81.

<sup>4</sup> *Jahrb. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 38/39 (1923-4), 198.

<sup>5</sup> D. Rhodes, *Clay and Glazes for the Potter*, 107.

firing varies considerably according to the thickness of the paste, and the stem is much thicker than the wall of the chalice. Each chalice which I have examined has a conical hole underneath the stem; but the only holes I know running right up the stem are in chalices XVI, XX, XXXV and the Greville Chester chalice.<sup>1</sup>

*JEA* 5, 145, pls. 24, 25; Wallis, *Ceramic Art* (1900), fig. 36; *Burlington Cat.* (1922), 107; *Ex Oriente Lux*, Deel III, 357, fig. 31; *5000 Years of Eg. Art*, no. 113, pl. XXXI; von Bissing, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 123 and 134.

XXI. Fragment of chalice. British Museum 48004. Bought 1926. Pl. XX, 2. H., 7 cm.

The fragment has part of two main zones of equal height, separated by a thick relief line. In the upper zone a long-robed figure sits to right on a throne. Behind the throne is a tall amphora on a tripod stand. Behind the amphora a figure with long pleated robe moves to right carrying a mirror. In the lower zone, against a background of papyri of the same height as the men, a black-wigged fisherman faces right and holds in his outstretched arms behind him a net, one arm along the top to the corner of the net and the other half-way down the net. To his left a second black-wigged and kilted fisherman walks to right, holding one fish in right hand and two in left. Two more fish are under the net. Perhaps one fisherman is emptying his catch for the other to take. Beneath is incised a block border as on XIX; and tips of papyri and buds are left from the bottom decoration of the cup. 3 cm. are missing from the top of the cup, which would leave room above the scenes for a narrow rim-zone. The zone round the bottom must have been the smallest of any that are extant.

XXII. Fragment of chalice, a rim. Truro. From MacGregor. Pl. XX, 3. H., 3 cm.

Round the rim is a block border, the middle line divided so irregularly that it has almost become a pearl border. In the upper zone is a frieze of *Caerulea* flowers alternating with its buds to which they are attached by looping lines, the lotus and bud design. In the main zone, below a relief line, a man facing right, with conical cap, holds out in both hands a curving implement with double lines. Is it a scimitar? Behind him is a papyrus umbel and a bud whose stem bends at a rightangle and is then broken and no more remains. Traces of relief on the broken edge to the right of the man are equally nondescript; and as with chalice XXVI we can only hope to find more of this piece.

XXIII. Two fragments, probably of the same chalice. A Cairo 3812. B Victoria and Albert Museum C. 401.1917. Pl. XX, 4. H., A 8 cm.; B 3 cm.

On the inside of the Cairo piece is a note 'Kurna. Feb. 1862'. The B piece was bequeathed by Wallis in 1917. Wallis died in 1916, and the piece may have been in his possession for years. Not having seen the two pieces together, I can only suggest that they come from the same chalice. No other extant chalice has a block border of this size round the rim, and on each piece both the figures and the papyri reach to the border and are of similar scale. If the pieces belong to each other, they would take up half the rim.

Round the rim a broad block border is marked with incised lines. On A the infant sun-god sits on the lotus, with double crown and uraeus, side-lock, and left hand to mouth. Von Bissing says that he carries a staff in right hand: from the photograph I suggest that it is intended for the flail. Papyri and buds rise on either side of him. On B a man with conical cap and necklace faces right. One papyrus is in front of him and the tip of another is immediately behind his head. The broken right edge of the sherd runs along a relief which seems to have the trace of the conical cap and left arm of a second figure. Such a conical cap, also in chalice XXII, is shown in Egyptian art, as far as

<sup>1</sup> Commenting on the splaying base of the Mycenaean kylix, Elizabeth Wace, *BSA* 49, 285, says: 'The dent beneath allows for a more even thickness of clay throughout the vase, and helps thus to prevent accidents in firing.'

I know, only on the heads of foreigners, like the young prince of Tunep in the tomb of Menkheperre'sonb<sup>1</sup> and the members of the 'Amarna Court band.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, in both the chalice scenes which have this cap too little survives to allow an interpretation.

Von Bissing, *Fayencegefäße*, 3812 and frontispiece; Wallis, *Ceramic Art* (1898), fig. 37.

XXIV. Fragment of chalice. Eton 156. Myers Collection. Pl. XX, 5. H., 4.5 cm. 2 cm. are missing to the top of the cup and 5 cm. to the bottom.

In the main zone the infant sun-god sits to right on the lotus; a trace of the lotus can be seen beneath him. He has uraeus, side-lock, and double necklace. He holds out his left hand to grasp an upright papyrus, and in right hand he holds the handles of the flail and crook; a trace of the flail is along the broken edge, and behind the side-lock is a cavity for the crook. Beyond the papyrus a big sepal of *Caerulea* rises, clearly from the bottom of the zone, to the upper border, and another papyrus is farther to the right. Beyond the second papyrus are the heads of the crook and of the flail of another figure of the sun-god. There were, then, at least two of the infants, separated by the sepal. Calculating the probable width between two sepals and applying the result to the chalice projection gives room for four sepals, as there should be. Of a tiny fragment of relief in the rim-zone I can make nothing.

XXV. Chalice. Formerly in the collection of Levy de Benzion in Cairo.<sup>3</sup>

Round the rim are three relief lines, the middle line marked with pellets as a block border. The cup has one zone. Four *Caerulea* sepals, deeply grooved for the central vein, run from the bottom to the rim border. In one intervening space a Hathor head with sistrum is set on a papyrus umbel, flanked by taller papyri up to the rim border. In another intervening space the infant sun-god sits on a big *Caerulea* flower, with right hand bent to hold the crook or flail which is missing, and left hand raised to lips. A papyrus rises on each side to the border. Part of a third intervening space is just visible in the photograph and is almost certainly another infant on *Caerulea*, and the whole design probably had alternate figures of the infant and Hathor. On the stem are inverted *Caerulea* flowers and buds.

Keimer in *Bull. Inst. d'Ég.* 37 (1954-5), pt. 1, 230, figs. 16 and 17.

XXVI. Fragment of chalice. Truro. From MacGregor. Pl. XX, 8. H., 4.2 cm.

Round the rim, set in panels between relief lines, are *udjat*-eyes, the brow and eyeball in carbon black. Two eyes survive, and they differ enough to show that the reliefs were cut by hand. Each eye has on each side three vertical relief lines, the centre line in the two surviving groups being broader than the outside lines, so that in this instance a development of the Egyptian block border is a curious anticipation of the Greek triglyph and metope frieze. In the main zone a Hathor head with sistrum head-dress rises from a papyrus, and another papyrus rises obliquely to the left with, presumably, a balancing papyrus to the right. The workmanship is fine, and I regret very much that no more of this chalice has been found, for there are tempting tips of relief round the bottom edge which do not disclose more of the scene.

XXVII. Fragment of chalice. Metropolitan Museum 26.7.977. From the Carnarvon Collection. Pl. XX, 6.

In the rim zone, below a narrow block border, are two *Caerulea* flowers and between them a curving *Caerulea* leaf cleft nearly to its centre. In the main zone is a Hathor head on a papyrus of which a corner remains; and a papyrus rises from each side, as on XXVI.

<sup>1</sup> N. Davies, *Anc. Eg. Painting*, pl. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Davies, *El Amarna*, III, 6, pl. 6; VI, 6, pls. 5. 7.

<sup>3</sup> This collection was sold in Cairo in March 1947. The chalice is item 534 (or possibly part of 531) in the Catalogue of the Sale—information kindly supplied by Mr. B. V. Bothmer. Its present whereabouts are unknown.

XXVIII. Three fragments of a chalice. A, B, and C, Petrie Collection, 14558-60. Pl. XX, 10. A (14558) part of the bottom of the cup. H., 2.8 cm.; B (14559) part of the main zone, H., 5.5 cm.; C (14560) part of rim, H., 2.8 cm.

Petrie left no record of these pieces. 14558, one piece of 14559, and 14560 have been together in the museum for years. Arkell recently found elsewhere in the museum two other pieces for 14559 and made the join. One of them has an inked L on the inside, which Arkell is certain is a mark for Lahun and was inked by Brunton, and therefore the piece was probably found in the Lahun excavation where were many glazed pieces of the Twenty-second Dynasty. The rim 14560 cannot be regarded for certain as part of this chalice; but I think it very probable because it was found in the Petrie Collection with two of the other pieces, it has a closely similar glaze in similar condition, it has the same thickness, and the level of its rosette band just allows room for the head and feathers of the Bes below it. In this description of the chalice I am assuming that 14560 is part of its rim.

Round the rim is a tiny block border above a frieze of six-petalled rosettes. The main zone is divided into panels. In each panel Bes stands to front, flanked on each side by three thin lines in relief, interrupted by three cross-lines above which the three upright lines are continued. I do not know what these lines represent; but if 14560 is part of the rim, a papyrus umbel immediately below the rosette zone must have been above the upright lines and next to the feathers of Bes. On each side of the surviving panel is a fragment of a similar Bes. There were, then, three such panels, and by measuring the arc of the panel on a plotted circumference room is found for a fourth panel. Round the bottom of the cup are two rows of papyri, the lower umbels smaller and at varying levels. Sherds of a painted store-jar found at el-'Amarna<sup>1</sup> anticipate these figures of Bes on the chalice: the excavators considered that three figures of Bes alternated with clumps of papyrus.

XXIX. Fragment of a chalice. Formerly in von Bissing's Collection. Deep blue glaze. No measurements given.

Round the rim is a frieze of rosettes between relief lines. Five surviving rosettes have six petals and one has four. In the main zone a Bes stands to front with four lofty feathers, protruding tongue, long hanging serpents, and arms akimbo. To his left a papyrus reaches the level of his ears, and rising from it is an object which is obscure in the photograph. To his right is a Hathor head on top of a papyrus.

Von Bissing, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 141, pl. II, 3.

Chalices XXII to XXIX differ in detail and in skill, but they are similar in subject, with Hathor or Bes or the infant sun or that capped man, and the figures on each are of comparable scale, larger than on the chalices previously discussed and reaching with their heads to the rim-zone. They seem to make a group.

XXX. Fragment of chalice rim. Truro. From MacGregor Collection. Pl. XX, 7. H., 3 cm.

Though it has no figured scene, I include this piece here because it is of Tûna style and is not decorated as a lotiform chalice. I know no parallel to it.

Below a rim of two relief lines two contiguous palm leaves in relief, and the edge of a third, run up the cup, just as they run down the stem of chalice IV and the stem wrongly fixed to XIX.

XXXI. Stemmed foot and lower part of cup. Strasbourg 1409. Bought by Spiegelberg at Mallawi, and therefore probably from Tûna.

Between each of four *Caerulea* sepals which run right up the cup is a *Caerulea* flower, half-way up the cup, with bud on each side. Above one of the flowers is the broken edge of an object which

<sup>1</sup> *City of Akhenaten*, I, 141, pl. 45.

Spiegelberg thought may be a nest, but the chalice probably had a design similar to that on XXV. On the stem and foot are six inverted papyri, with a bud between each.

Spiegelberg, *Aeg. Samml. Strassburg*, 18, pl. XII, 40; von Bissing, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 130.

The following fragments of relief cups are probably parts of Tûna chalices:

1. Meux Collection, no. 1390. From Tûna. Fragment of green glazed vase with a crocodile in relief. Budge, *Catalogue*, 360; not illustrated, and I do not know where it is now.

2. Pushkin Museum, Moscow, no. 4328.

A naked girl, playing a lute, moves to right with head turned back to left. A papyrus umbel is below her to right. Like the punter on chalice V she recalls the girls on New Kingdom ointment spoons.

3. Pushkin Museum, no. 4329.


Two zones are separated by a narrow black border above a water-zone with incised zigzag. I interpret the photograph in that way; but Pavlov and Khodjash describe it as a fir-tree and horizontal stalks of plants intercepted by vertical strips. In the lower zone animals, called mountain goats by the authors, are lying down to right against a background of small papyri. Of the upper zone little remains and it is described as a repetition of the lower zone. The authors compare the piece to the Cairo chalice fragments in *Fayencegefässe*.

4. Pushkin Museum, no. 1845.

A naked girl walks to right, holding a large fish in each hand, against a background of marsh stems, presumably papyri.

For 2-4, V. Pavlov and S. Khodjash, *художественное ремесло древнего египта*, 160, pl. 55.

5. Turin Suppl. 1416. Pl. XX, 9.

In the main zone, separated by two relief lines from the rim-zone which is missing, a duck flies to the right and above it two papyri bend towards each other, reaching to the top of the zone. To the left is a cartouche surmounted by a disk. The signs in the cartouche seem to be , which can scarcely be read *Ni-mst-Rc*; they are probably not intended to be meaningful. To the right of the duck is a part of an object of which too little remains for identification. My impression is that this fragment comes from a chalice belonging to the group of chalices XXII to XXIX.

Von Bissing, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 134.

The remaining chalices form a recognizable group of different style, with coarser body, flatter relief, bigger figures, and lacking the neat precision of Tûna-work. No. XXXII was said to have been found at Memphis, and XXXIV and XL were found in the Delta; and perhaps they were all made at Memphis. For convenience I am labelling the two groups as Tûna and Memphite. There is a possible link between the Tûna-work and Memphite: Petrie published in *Memphis II*, 16, pl. XXVI, an impression from a pottery mould, undated, with two Bes heads and a chariot and two bound prisoners and a dead foe above the horse. Unfortunately, the mould cannot be found in the Petrie Collection. Its figures have similarities with those on some chalices; but the mould seems to be a mixture of two scenes and is apparently not curvilinear.

XXXII. Chalice. Berlin 4563. Bought from Passalacqua in 1826. Pl. XXI, 1. H., 12 cm. Pale blue glaze.

A big piece of the rim and the foot are missing. The cup has recently been unpacked in West Berlin by Dr. Kaiser, who has kindly supplied photographs.

The cup has a slender body and a wide splaying mouth. Round the rim are three relief lines, the middle line marked with pellets as a block border. The main decoration is in two equally big zones separated by a relief band which is incised diagonally as if to represent a cord. The upper zone contains (moving left to right) Bes, *udjat*-eye on *nbw*-sign, Bes, Hathor-head on lotus, Bes, *udjat*-eye on *nbw*-sign, cat on papyrus-column, Bes, Hathor-head on lotus-flower. In the lower zone are represented nine deities, seated and holding feathers of Ma'at on their knees (apart from one, cat-headed, who holds a sistrum): cat-headed with sun-disk and sistrum (facing right, ? Bastet), falcon-headed with sun-disk (facing right, ? Rē'-Harakhty), cow-headed with moon-disk and horns

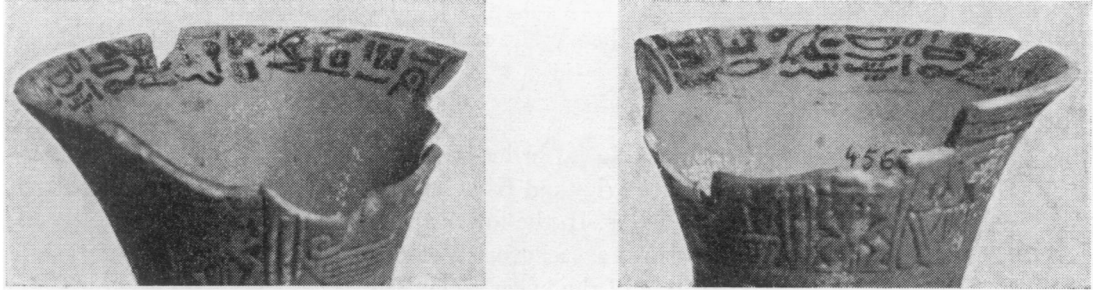


FIG. 6. Chalice XXXII. Text on the inside of the rim.

(facing left, ? Hathor), Nephthys (facing left), papyrus-pillar with plumes, lion-headed with sistrum head-dress (facing right, ? Sakhmet), ram-headed with disk (facing right, ? Khnum), falcon-headed with disk (facing right—identification of head not certain), human-head with red crown (facing right, ? Neith—head not certain), human-headed with feather head-dress (facing right, ? Ma'at—head not certain). The bottom of the cup has the *Caerulea* flower in relief and papyrus umbels beneath. Inside, round the rim, an inscription was written in black before the glazing. Dr. Wenig kindly sent me a copy of this text from the Berlin Inventory, and the signs can mostly be read on the photographs shown in fig. 6:



Nearly half of the rim, and presumably of the text, is missing. Professor Černý, who kindly allowed me to consult him, thinks that the text, when complete, probably consisted of something like the following: [*May . . . give all that*] the sun-disk [*encompasses*] to the ka of the Crown Prince of his Majesty Shoshenq justified, son of the Lord of the Two Lands, whose mother is Karama justified. Černý thinks that this must be Shoshenq II because he is called son of the king, which Shoshenq I was not. Von Bissing, too, said that it must be Shoshenq the son of Osorkon II.<sup>1</sup> His name and his mother's are on a lapis lazuli scarab in the Petrie Collection,<sup>2</sup> and on an Apis stela.<sup>3</sup> The gap of some eighty years between the two Shoshenqs may help to explain the change in style of the chalices.

*Berlin Verzeichnis* (1899), 445; von Bissing, *Jahrb. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 38/39 (1923-4), 202; id., *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 119, pl. II, 1; Wallis, *Ceramic Art* (1900), fig. 38.

XXXIII. Chalice. Athens, National Museum 566. From the Demetriou Collection. Pale blue glaze. Pl. XXI, 2. H., 18 cm.

The rim-zone has a frieze of birds to right, most of them sitting, four of them with head turned back and three with fluttering wings. Von Bissing regarded them as hieroglyphic; but they seem to

<sup>1</sup> *Jahrb. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 38/39 (1923-4), 201.

<sup>2</sup> Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, pl. 50, 22, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Mariette, *Serapeum*, 22, pl. 31.





a.



b.

1. Chalice XXXII (Berlin 4563)



c.



a.



b.

2. Chalice XXXIII (Athens 566)



3. Chalice XXXIV (Harrow 385)

LOTIFORM CHALICES WITH SCENES XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV



*a.*



*b.*

1. Chalice XXXV (BM 65786)



*c.*



2. Chalice XXXVIII  
(Berlin 16024)



3. Chalice XL (Harrow 384)



*a.*



4. Chalice XXXVI  
(Fitzwilliam E. 356.1932)

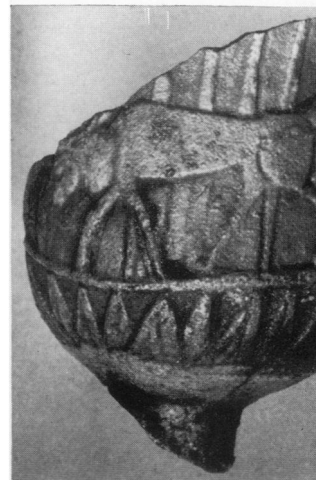


*a.*



*b.*

5. Chalice XLII (Royal Scot. Mus. 1910.101)



*b.*

6. Chalice XLIII  
(Leyden F. 1955.2.17)

be an unskilled and uninspired repetition of some Tûna rim-zones. In the main zone, bordered above and below by a thick relief line, three Bes figures dance to right, one holding up a large flower (?) behind him, another a cymbal, and the third with arms akimbo. A fourth Bes, to left, turns his head back to right as his left hand grips by two feathers the head of a little prisoner behind him. The prisoner has a hook nose and has been given only one leg. Each Bes wears an apron and has a long tail and a single feather on his head. In the background are tall-stemmed palmettes. Von Bissing suggested that the three are dancing in honour of the fourth Bes who has caught his foe. In the bottom zone are five *Caerulea* sepals, with an intervening petal and palmettes in the gaps behind. The stem and foot have palm-leaves in sharp relief with a deep central groove.<sup>1</sup> Von Bissing, *Jahrb. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 38/39 (1923-4), 202; id., *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 120; Wallis, *Ceramic Art* (1900), fig. 39.

XXXIV. Fragment of chalice. Harrow School Museum 385. From Sir Gardner Wilkinson's Collection. Found in the Delta. Pl. XXI, 3. H., 11.5 cm.

A third of a chalice cup, broken where the contour begins to curve in to the bottom. Glaze mostly perished: light greeny blue, with black for wigs.

In the rim-zone are alternate palmettes and rosettes with thirteen petals. The main decoration is in two big zones separated by thick relief lines. In the upper zone Hēh, the god of Eternity, sits to right holding the two notched palm-branches; and from each elbow hangs a square plaque on which a figure is in relief, one of them clearly the tadpole.<sup>2</sup> On his right a cobra faces right; on his left something is set on a lotus growing from the ground, and the little of it that remains looks like the leg below the knee, the arm bent at elbow and raised to the mouth, and the tip of a horn of the Atef crown, which suggests the infant on the lotus. In the lower zone a boat moves to right. In its centre is an amphora on a stand, and in the stern a man, black-wigged and wearing a kilt with cross-straps, stands to right holding, by a curious mistake, a boomerang forward with left hand and a decoy bird behind with right. An object in the bow is indecipherable. A sepal and three petals of the bottom *Caerulea* survive.

Budge, *Harrow Catalogue*, no. 385; Wallis, *Ceramic Art* (1898), fig. 38; von Bissing, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 121.

XXXV. Fragment of chalice. British Museum 65786. Bought from a dealer in 1962. This piece may have been in a private collection for years. Pl. XXII, 1. H., 13 cm.

A third of a chalice cup. The contour, the height of the rim-zone and the reliefs are very similar to those on XXXIV. Thick, sugary, green glaze survives in patches, with black for wigs.

The rim-zone is divided into panels by broad bands with incised lines. In the surviving panels are a Hathor head, an *udjat*-eye, a clump of three papyri, and two cobras. The main decoration is in one zone, with thick relief lines at top and bottom. The zone has two boats to right, set symmetrically in each half. One boat survives intact: a man punts and four ducks flutter on the boat; a second man kneels on the stern-post brandishing a boomerang, and a third in the bow holds up a duck. Beneath the boat are a *Tilapia* fish and two ducks. In the second boat a man stands in the bow, leaning over after casting a triangular net: this is a pleasant variation on the theme where the man is usually holding the net. The rest of the boat is missing. A man whose head and shoulders are at the top of the zone seems to be standing on a rope which is towing the second boat. Beneath the boat is a *Tilapia*, and a man kneels to left on the bank with eyes fixed on his right hand with which he holds a mooring peg(?). His left hand is raised behind him in the act of striking; above him flies

<sup>1</sup> I owe the photographs of this piece to the kindness of Miss Virginia Grace and they are reproduced by courtesy of the German Institute in Athens.

<sup>2</sup> As on the two Twelfth Dynasty pectorals from el-Lâhûn, cf. Winlock, *Treasure of El Lahun*, pl. 7.

a duck. In the background are papyri where space allows. On the bottom of the cup are incised four sepals and seven intervening petals, and the plane is cut back at the top to leave the tips in relief. A narrow hole, running up from the missing stem, pierces the base of the cup, as on XVI and XX.

The chalice is unusual in the series in that figures are superimposed above each other as part of the same scene: there is no water-zone, as there is none on XXXIV, and the boats seem to float in space or to be propped up on two-ribbed stems, and beneath the boats ducks flutter their wings and the man kneels on the bank. The scene is conceptual and has no trace of an 'Amarna influence, of a desire to make it correspond to visual perception as had been attempted on some Tûna chalices.

XXXVI. Fragment of chalice. Fitzwilliam Museum E.356.1932. From the Towry White Collection. Pl. XXII, 4. H., 6 cm.

The contour makes clear that the top of the fragment is the rim-zone. In what survives of the zone are pieces of two twelve-petalled rosettes and between them are uncertain objects, probably two Phragmites stems set obliquely and a *Caerulea* and two large blobs. The main decoration is in two zones separated by the usual thick relief lines. In the upper zone a duck feeds a pellet into its young's beak, and in the background are three upright papyri and a clump of five papyri with the two outer culms bent over. In the lower zone a black-wigged girl to right holds her left arm forward behind an antelope's head. The group of girl and antelope is flanked by inward-sloping Phragmites.

XXXVII. Fragment of chalice. Formerly in von Bissing's Collection.

A small piece of a chalice with the lower part of the main zone and a narrow zone beneath. In the little that remains of the main zone a man bows to left before what may be a figure sitting to right on a throne. In the narrow zone a girl swims to right with arms outstretched to catch a fish of which a tiny fragment remains. Behind the girl's head is a *Caerulea*.

The piece is small; but comparison of it with its neighbour on von Bissing's plate, which is the Berlin piece of chalice XV, leaves little doubt that it comes from a chalice of this second group. It is a pleasure to welcome on the chalices one of the charming swimmers, known at their best on the Nineteenth Dynasty Turin ostrakon,<sup>1</sup> on the Twenty-first Dynasty Tanis bowl,<sup>2</sup> on the Nineteenth Dynasty Bubastis bowl,<sup>3</sup> on several New Kingdom ointment spoons, and on a Saite relief in Cairo.<sup>4</sup> Keimer has given a delightful account of these swimming girls and the Egyptians' skill at swimming to catch birds and fish.<sup>5</sup>

Von Bissing, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 144, pl. III, 3.

XXXVIII. Fragment of chalice. Berlin 16024. Bought by Borchardt at Qurna; destroyed in the Second World War. Green glaze. Pl. XXII, 2. H., 6.4 cm.

There would have been room at the top for a rim-zone. The main decoration is in two zones separated by a very thick relief line. In the upper zone two horned animals, perhaps oryx, move in procession to right against a background of conventional trees. In the lower zone a man drives a chariot to right, holding left hand forward to the reins and with right hand brandishing a mace. The chariot has one horse, and the six-spoked wheel is under the middle of the body. The wheel, the quiver- and bow-case, and the horse's tail are hugely out of proportion. Behind the chariot walks a prisoner with arms bound, and behind the prisoner is the forepart of a charging horse trampling on a fallen foe. The bottom of the cup has two rows of papyri in relief, as on chalice XXVIII.

Von Bissing, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 135. 142, pl. II, 4.

XXXIX. Fragment of chalice. Berlin 17329. Bought by Borchardt at Luxor.

A small fragment of a chalice with a horned animal, perhaps oryx, moving to right, and behind

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. Serv.* 52, pl. 1; *Mon. Piot*, 47 (1953), 8.

<sup>2</sup> Montet, *Psouennès*, pl. 55, fig. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Maspero, *Musée égyptien*, II, pl. 48.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 42.

<sup>5</sup> *Ann. Serv.* 52, 59.

it the head of, perhaps, an ibex. Palmettes fill the background, and in front of the oryx is a conventional tree. Von Bissing thought that this piece might have been part of the upper zone of no. XXXVIII (Berlin 16024); but neither the animals nor the plants are comparable, and more probably they came from similar chalices.

Von Bissing, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 142, pl. III, 4.

XL. Fragment of chalice. Harrow School Museum 384. From Wilkinson's Collection. Found in the Delta. Green glaze, mostly perished. Pl. XXII, 3. H., 7.5 cm.

Round the rim is a flat band. The decoration is in a big zone running up to the rim. In the surviving piece two figures of Bes with crown of four feathers dance to front, one of them with arms akimbo and a papyrus behind him on each side, and the other with arms extended and a palmette on each side. Between them a *Caerulea* sepal runs up to the rim from, obviously, the bottom of the cup.

Budge, *Harrow Catalogue*, no. 384.

XLI. Chalice. Pushkin Museum, 5930. Probably from the Golenischeff Collection. Blue glaze. Stem and foot are missing. H., 13.1 cm.

Two relief lines run round the rim. Four *Caerulea* sepals run from the bottom of the cup to the rim. In the triangular spaces between them are two figures of Bes and two of the infant sun-god on lotus. The text of the publication describes both figures of Bes as holding papyri and the sun-gods as flanked by papyri. The Bes visible on the plate 50 is holding stemmed palmettes, or, as I suggest on chalice XL, is dancing with palmettes behind him; a papyrus is all that can be seen in the adjoining space. Perhaps one Bes has papyri and the other palmettes as on XL. Each Bes stands on a relief line half-way up the cup, and a palmette fills the space below the line.

This Moscow chalice is almost identical with the Harrow fragment XL. The sharply splayed rim, the spacing of the sepals and figures, and a brown incrustation on much of the glaze are the same on each. The Harrow Bes stands at the same level on the cup as his Moscow companion, and below him, presumably, was a palmette, and perhaps two infant suns completed the decoration. The Moscow chalice differs in one slight detail only, in the two ribs round the rim instead of a smooth band. Of all these forty-three chalices only these two can be called companion pieces.

V. Pavlov and S. Khodjash, *художественное ремесло древнего египта*, 152, pl. 50.

XLII. Fragment of a chalice. Royal Scottish Museum no. 1910.101. Bought in Luxor. Faint trace of green glaze on inside. Pl. XXII, 5. H., 9 cm.

In the upper zone a procession of oxen moves to right against a papyrus background. In the main lower zone, to right, an ox lies with four legs bent in centre of boat. A wiggled man in the bow balances with left leg forward and both arms raised on each side, presumably holding boomerang and decoy-bird. Another man wades up to his knees, holding an ox across his shoulders. Both men are kilted and wear cross-straps. In the background, close set, is a double row of papyri. Beneath a heavy relief line is the bottom *Caerulea*. The modelling is flat and unskilled.

XLIII. Fragment of chalice. Leyden National Museum F 1955.2.17. Bought from Keimer. Bluish green glaze. Pl. XXII, 6. H., 7 cm.

In the main zone two oxen move processionally to left before a background of irregular stems. They are on an equally irregular relief line, beneath which is the *Caerulea*. The chalice is unique in the series in that the animals move to the left. In style it is similar to XLII.

#### 4. Related material

There are many vessels and other objects in glazed ware which are similar in subject-matter and technique to the chalices of both groups. I have in this section

collected some examples for comparative and illustrative purposes, but have made no attempt to be comprehensive. The vessels in group A are closely related to the chalices of the second (Memphite) group. The objects in groups B–E are almost surely the work of the craftsmen of the Tûna chalices. The finger-rings (D) and spacers (E) are intimately connected with the second group of Tûna chalices in subject matter and technique, particularly with chalice XIX. Some specimens were illustrated by Wallis, *Egyptian Ceramic Art* (1900), pl. 11, all coming from Tûna. In *Egyptian Ceramic Art* (1898), p. xviii, he mentions the spacers obtained by Myers as coming from Tûna.

#### A. Flasks

i. Glazed flask. Berlin 17329; destroyed in the Second World War. Bought by Borchardt in Luxor.

In the top zone a scale-pattern is incised, and the bottom of the flask has the *Caerulea* in relief. The main decoration is in three zones, the upper one with ducks among papyri, the middle with oxen among lotus flowers, and the bigger bottom zone has four figures of Bes shaking in each hand by their tails two monkeys who clamber up him to snatch at his feathers, while other agile monkeys scramble in the free spaces between them.

Capart, *Documents pour servir*, ii, pl. 76.

ii. Fragment of a flask. Petrie Collection 16152.

Part of a relief scene with Bes dancing, arms extended, and papyrus behind.

#### B. Ovoid flasks with narrow necks<sup>1</sup>

i. Fragment. Metropolitan Museum 17.194.2260. Given by Pierpont Morgan; from the Greau Collection. Light green glaze. Pl. XXIII, 1. H., 5.2 cm.

This piece is not from a chalice: its contour is gently convex whereas a chalice contour would be curving into the concave sweep to the rim, and unlike a chalice, it is not glazed inside.

Above an incised water-zone a long low boat, as in chalice XIV, moves to right, with a calf lying in the middle and another preparing to jump off in front. The calf in the middle has a leash held back from the collar. Clumps of papyri and buds sway in the background, and two birds stand on them. A nest with two eggs is in the gap between two umbels. The quality of the work is superb: the sharp relief, neat glazing, and the marsh scene are the work of a chalice-potter.

ii. Fragment. Eton 157. From Myers. Green glaze. Pl. XXIII, 2. L., 4 cm.

Two wiggled men move to right. The man in front stretches his left arm forward and holds his right arm braced behind him. The second man holds a calf on his shoulders. Each has kilt and strap across left shoulder. All below their waists is missing: I think they are not in a boat but move in procession as on chalice VIII, and the man in front may be urging a calf forward. In the background are papyri.

iii. Fragment. Metropolitan Museum 26.7.978. From the Carnarvon Collection. Green glaze. Pl. XXIII, 3.

At the top are three floral bands, rosettes, leaves and inverted *Caerulea* flowers. In the main zone a man punts to right against a background of papyri. The piece is similar to chalice III, but is from a globular flask.

<sup>1</sup> For the shape, cf. von Bissing, *Fayencegefässe*, no. 3711.



1. Ovoid flask  
(MMA 17.194.2260)



2. Ovoid flask  
(Eton 157)



4. Ovoid flask (?)  
(Turin Suppl. 1417)



3. Ovoid flask  
(MMA 26.7.978)



5. Bowl (BM 26305)



6. Bowl (BM 26306)



7. Bowl (Boston MFA 59.422)



8. Ring (Eton 517)



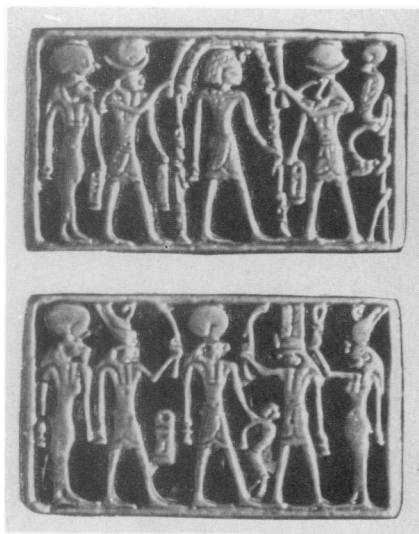
1. Spacer (BM 36071)



2. Spacer (BM 26233)



3. Spacer (BM 26303)



4. Spacer (BM 14556)



5. Spacer (Eton 458)



6. Spacer (Eton 459)



7. Spacer (Eton 460)



## iv. Fragment. Turin Suppl. 1417. Pl. XXIII, 4.

It is just possible that this fragment comes from a chalice, but from the photograph I suspect that it has the contour of a flask. In style and subject it resembles some of the spacers.

In the main zone a young prince faces right, naked and with conspicuous navel, as on the chalices. He has the side-lock. Two deities administer the rite of baptism, perhaps Thoth on the right and Horus on the left; each wears the horned moon-disk. Of the zones above and below too little remains for identification.

C. *Bowls*

## i. Rim of blue glazed bowl with relief decoration on inside and out. B.M. 26305. Pl. XXIII, 5.

*Inside:* A billy-goat springs up to right with forelegs stretched forward. A stylized tree is in front and behind, and probably the whole zone was divided in panels. Eight-petalled rosettes are in the field, and trees and rosettes are similar to those on chalice XV.

*Outside:* Against a background of papyri a man facing to right holds his arms behind him and bends a papyrus down. A goose flies to right with neck stretched forward.

## ii. Rim of similar bowl. B.M. 26306. Pl. XXIII, 6.

*Inside:* In the outer zone, of the same size as the top zone of chalice XV, an ibex moves to right nibbling a wide spreading lotus (?) flower as on the second zone of XV. Five-petalled rosettes, of the smaller, rounder kind in the upper zone of XV, are in the field. Separated from the ibex by a stylized tree is half another ibex, and probably the zone was a frieze of them in panels. Their coats are marked as on XV.

*Outside:* In the narrow rim-zone is a frieze of ducks to right, alternately with fluttering and closed wings. In the main zone, against a background of papyri, two men facing each other stretch their hands forward tip to tip, perhaps dancing. Part of the head of another man is low to the left.

These two bowls are similar in size, in the smooth incurving rim, and in the different styles of the inside and outside reliefs, the inner reliefs being deeper and more sharply cut. In *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1941, 127, pl. III, 1, a, b, c, von Bissing published three fragments of bowls with similar reliefs which were in his collection.

iii. Fragment of a bowl with reliefs on both sides. Boston Museum, no. 59.422. Pl. XXIII, 7.<sup>1</sup>

The fragment comes from the flat base and lower wall of a bowl.

*Inside:* Against a papyrus background, a quadruped moves to right, only its rear legs surviving; two ducks squat on bending papyri and between them a nest with two eggs is set on an umbel.

*Outside:* A chariot, with high quiver- and bow-case and nine-spoked wheel, is drawn to right by a horse. Standing above the bodywork are the feet of the driver. Behind the chariot a man advances with arms akimbo, holding a prisoner in each elbow as Sethos I does on the wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.<sup>2</sup> Behind the man comes a prow, all that remains of a boat.

*BMFA Annual Report*, 1959, p. 44.

D. *Blue glazed rings*

## i. Eton 517. Pl. XXIII, 8. H., 2.6 cm.

Rings of pierced faience usually had flat figures of gods and lotus flowers.<sup>3</sup> This ring is of much finer delicacy, and the figures are held together by tiny struts. On one side a *djed*-pillar with disk and feathers is flanked by winged cobras, and on the other an Infant, with side-lock and uraeus and left hand to mouth, sits on a *nbw*-sign with a winged cobra on his right. There is no room on the ring for a second cobra on his left.

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Dr. W. Stevenson Smith for permission to reproduce the photograph of this piece.

<sup>2</sup> Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, 36a. <sup>3</sup> E.g. seven examples at Eton, all from Myers; also cf. *Bull. MMA* 15, 92.

ii. Petrie Collection 16079. Ring of equal delicacy.

Winged cobras, with *shen*-rings, on shrines (cf. the falcon's shrine on chalice XIX) flank a missing object, perhaps an infant. At the back behind the cobras is a solar disk on boat with lotus at each end.<sup>1</sup>

E. *Spacers with openwork scenes on each side*<sup>2</sup>

i. B.M. 36071. From the Carmichael Collection. Pl. XXIV, 1. 4.5 cm. long. 7 string-holes.

*Obverse*: Infant on *nbw*-sign with crook and left hand to mouth, flanked by winged cobras twisted round papyrus. At right end a falcon-headed deity with double crown brings two bound prisoners. Before his head is a blank rectangle for a cartouche.

*Reverse*: Horus-falcon, with double crown, on a shrine, flanked by winged cobras on papyrus, behind each of which is a cobra with double crown on papyrus.<sup>3</sup>

BMQ i, pl. 36.

ii. B.M. 26233. Pl. XXIV, 2. 4 cm. long. 7 string-holes.

*Obverse*: Infant on lotus, flanked by winged cobras.

*Reverse*: Isis on throne suckles Horus in papyrus clump. cf. the amulet in Wallis, *Ceramic Art* (1900), pl. 11. On this spacer are illustrated the two legends of Horus, born on a lotus at Hermopolis and hidden by Isis in the marshes at Chemmis in the Delta.

iii. B.M. 26303. Pl. XXIV, 3. 5.5 cm. long. 9 string-holes.

*Obverse*: Sakhmet, with disk, holds a prisoner, flanked by winged cobras on papyrus. A prisoner is tied to each papyrus. On the right the falcon-headed deity holds up scimitar and Isis holds papyrus staff. On the left Horus holds up scimitar and grasps a prisoner by the hair.

*Reverse*: Falcon-headed Horus to right has a bound prisoner (one damaged) on each side, flanked by a double-crowned and Atef-crowned Horus holding a scimitar. At the left end is a goddess with disk and horns holding sistrums (?), and at the right end are Mut with two sistrums and Isis with sistrum and *ankh*.

iv. B.M. 14556. Pl. XXIV, 4. 5.5 cm. long. 9 string-holes.

*Obverse*: A young king with uraeus stands to right being baptized by Horus and Thoth with *w3s*- and *ankh*-signs.<sup>4</sup> On the left is Sakhmet, on the right a cobra on papyrus.

*Reverse*: Falcon-headed Horus to right holds prisoner, flanked by double-crowned or Atef-crowned Horus holding scimitar. Sakhmet on left; Double-crowned goddess with uraeus on right; holding *ankh*.

v. Eton 458. Myers Collection. Pl. XXIV, 5. 5.5 cm. long. 10 string-holes.

*Obverse*: The infant sits on lotus with left hand to mouth and flail in right, flanked by winged goddesses with disks.

*Reverse*: Hathor head, flanked by winged cobras on shrines.

vi. Eton 459. Myers Collection. Pl. XXIV, 6. 6 cm. long. 10 string-holes.

*Obverse*: Falcon-headed Horus with disk grasps in each hand a papyrus on which a cobra coils. The papyrus umbels bend over on to rectangular plaques, one of which has meaningless signs incised and the other has  $\text{w}^{\dagger}\text{f}^{\dagger}\text{6}$  (*wpt-rnpt-nfrt*). On the right Nephthys, on the left Sakhmet, offer a scimitar and bound prisoner. The inscription suggests that some or perhaps all of the spacers were made for the New Year Festival at Hermopolis.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Petrie, *Illahun*, pl. 29, 24; another in Wallis, *Ceramic Art* (1898), xv and fig. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Wallis, *Ceramic Art* (1900), pl. 11, illustrates two, one in the Cairo Museum and one in the collection of Madame Brugsch.

<sup>3</sup> For the motifs on this spacer, cf. those on chalice XIX.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gardiner, 'The Baptism of Pharaoh', *JEA* 39, 3 ff. and esp. pl. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 133 below.

*Reverse:* Ram-headed scarab, with disk, on lotus is adored on the right by Sakhmet with disk, holding a staff, and on the left by a snake-headed deity holding a bound prisoner and scimitar. At each end is a papyrus column and buds, supporting a Hathor-head with pendent uraei.

vii. Eton 460. Myers Collection. Pl. XXIV, 7. 6.5 cm. long. 10 string-holes.

This spacer is exceptional in having the same scene, cut with minor differences, on each side. In the centre a king, kilted and with uraeus to right, is flanked by a falcon-headed and a ram-headed deity, who grasp his wrists and raise their other hand in adoration. Beyond them are, on the left Neith and on the right Nephthys; and in the corners winged cobras, coiling on a papyrus to which a prisoner is bound, offer the *shen*-ring. This spacer may have been made by the same man as chalice XIX: it has exactly the height of the chalice's zone of gods, and the figures are very similar, especially the writhing prisoners.

### 5. Conclusions

The Tûna chalices, lotiform and relief, were shaped round a core, perhaps a sand-core wrapped in a bag as used at Kerma.<sup>1</sup> Inside they have the bumpy surface noticed by Reisner in vessels found at Kerma, which was caused by the core and not the glazing. In several chalices patches at the bottom of the interior are unglazed, and the dirty gritty surface may have been caused by the burning of the core in the first firing. The conical hole under the stemmed foot could have held a core to help the delicate shaping; and since that hole sometimes penetrates up the stem to the base of the cup, the core was probably of wood. In nearly all the chalices which I have examined there is a round protuberance in the bottom of the interior, made presumably by the pressure of a wooden tube from above when the paste of the stem was kneaded to the cup. Usually Egyptian potters did not put a foot on their faience vessels, as they were using a relatively non-plastic material and, if the shape were not simple, the glaze would be subject to flaws in the firing. Some chalice stems are clumsy and stubby; but the men who put the feet on the best of them were superb craftsmen. So, too, with their reliefs: the outlines of the figures were cut deep into the paste, a cut that is often still visible after the glazing, the background was pared away, and the modelling was finished free-hand with such delicacy that, as can be seen on broken edges, tiny details are sometimes in pure glass, the thinnest paste having been fused to glass. Light incision was used for internal markings. In glazing they had learnt to coat the astonishingly delicate reliefs and openwork figures on spacers and rings so smoothly that the minutest details were not choked;<sup>2</sup> and whereas in other Egyptian faience, even in the fine glazing of Twenty-sixth Dynasty *shabtis*, the colour runs thicker and darker in incisions, on Tûna-ware the colour is uniform throughout, except where carbon black was added for a detail. Their adaptation of the marsh scenes to the shape of the chalice was as careful as their manipulation of the body-material and the glaze: the flaring rim of the cup, its cylindrical centre and its curving bottom, each was emphasized by the decoration, while the decorative elements were also the human and animal figures in the descriptive scenes. The ablest of them had their eyes on the disciplined unity of the

<sup>1</sup> Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma* (*Harvard African Studies*, IV and V), 137.

<sup>2</sup> Petrie, *Illahun*, 25.

whole. And, supremely on Tûna-ware, the cup was circular: the figures were set facing right, inviting the observer to turn in leftward motion and follow them round into the cup's third dimension. Chalices VIII and XV were simply processional; IV, X, XI, and XIX are seen in two halves, while II, XIV, XVI, and XVII are seen from the three viewpoints which a cylindrical cup demands. XXVIII probably had four viewpoints, which were used on some of the Memphite group. After studying the Tûna-pieces I find it hard to believe that they were not all made by the same group of men over no long period of time, for their peculiarities are in common, peculiarities of shape, decoration, and technique. It is impressively true that each chalice was differently conceived and executed; but in their common peculiarities of shape, proportions are so similar that, by using a model or a drawn outline, I could set any fragment at its exact height on its cup by its contour; and in their decoration, whether I am right or wrong in suggesting that the marsh scenes developed into the ritual figures, through the whole series similar decorative details are used, and the Greville Chester lotiform chalice (B.M. 26226), with its block border on the rim and the small papyri round the cup's bottom, and the palm-leaves on the stemmed foot, links the lotiform to the relief chalices, and its superb finish alone sets it with the best of the relief chalices. Thirdly, the technique of graving and glazing the reliefs on a Tûna piece can easily be distinguished from other relief wares. Yet ceramic styles do not simply evolve in a workshop's collective activity but are created by an individual:<sup>1</sup> someone for some reason made the first.

Tûna as the provenance of many lotiform and relief chalices is well attested;<sup>2</sup> and Tûna as the cemetery used by the citizens of Hermopolis from the Eighteenth Dynasty through Roman times<sup>3</sup> indicates Hermopolis for the workshop where the chalices were made.<sup>4</sup> But why Hermopolis? Can we do more than regard it as 'a provincial atelier where skilled work was done'?<sup>5</sup> *Hmnw*, city of the eight gods, later called *Pr-Dhwty* ('House of Thoth') and so by A.D. 135 'Ερμουῦ πόλις,<sup>6</sup> the place had been of political and religious importance from early times.<sup>7</sup> Hermopolis commanded the south end of the broad cultivable land west of the Nile stretching from the dangerous reach Gebel Abû Fôda down to the Faiyûm. That reach with its steep cliffs on the east bank was a natural boundary between north and south and was the administrative frontier for

<sup>1</sup> W. B. Honey, *European Ceramic Art*, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Of eighteen lotiform chalices or fragments in Cairo catalogued by von Bissing in *Fayencegefässe*, nine are given a Tûna-provenance, two come from el-Hîba, not far to the north of Hermopolis, and four are given no provenance. Myers had five lotiform chalices, MacGregor three, Hilton Price one (Louvre 22542), all from Tûna.

<sup>3</sup> The Tûna cemetery, below the hills 5 kilometers west of Hermopolis (map in Lefebvre, *Petosiris*, I, fig. 1), was first examined in 1902 when Chassinat reported that the villagers had disturbed the tombs so seriously that excavation did not seem likely to be productive, cf. *EEF Archaeolog. Report* 1903, 31. In 1912 Weill dug tombs in the New Kingdom part of the cemetery, cf. *Mon. Piot*, 25, 419; in 1919 Lefebvre dug the fourth-century tomb of Petosiris which had been reported by villagers; in 1922-30 Sami Gabra excavated the ibis-cemetery of which Herodotus had heard, cf. *Chron. d'Ég.* 24, 185; 27, 94; 28, 278. I have heard of no chalice-fragments coming from these excavations, which suggests that they were made during a short period of time and buried in a group of tombs which were thoroughly plundered in the 1890's.

<sup>4</sup> Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929-1939*, 98 (§ 35b).

<sup>5</sup> Hayes, *Scepter*, II, 273.

<sup>6</sup> Méautis, *Hermoupolis*, 17.

<sup>7</sup> I owe my understanding of this to Wainwright, *Ann. Serv.* 27, 76.

the Thebaid. In the Old and Middle Kingdoms the chiefs of this district were buried in the cliffs along the east bank, at Beni Hasan, Deir el-Bersha, el-Sheikh Sa'īd and Deir el-Gabrawi, and at Meir west of the river and south-west of Hermopolis. For provisioning el-'Amarna in its enclosed plain on the east bank much of this fertile land on the west bank was included in the city's area when the North Boundary Stela was set up near Tūna. The Twenty-first Dynasty rulers at Thebes defended Hermopolis from the north by building two forts at el-Ḥība and el-Shurafa, over 20 miles to the north on the east bank; and as Wainwright says, el-Ḥība must have been used for archives because the papyrus containing the *Tale of Wenamūn* was found there. Shoshenq I, a descendant of the Libyans whom the Theban builders of those forts probably most feared, enlarged the temple at el-Ḥība.<sup>1</sup> Of the Twenty-second Dynasty little record has been found at Hermopolis; but kings of the late New Kingdom had done much there. In his excavations Roeder found the sacred area of the Primeval Hill set in the Isle of Flame, where by one tradition the Hill rose at Hermopolis out of the sea which had lain since eternity in darkness and the Young Sun appeared on a lotus.<sup>2</sup> Ammenemes II built a temple in the area, and in an inscription on the pylon, which is all that survives, several references are made to the god on the Primeval Hill.<sup>3</sup> A little to the north of the Middle Kingdom construction a temple of the sun-god was founded by Ramesses II, was built by Merneptah, and finished by Sethos II;<sup>4</sup> and according to an inscription on the pylon Merneptah gave the temple a park with fruit-trees and ponds in which lotus and papyrus grew,<sup>5</sup> a park which Petosiris repaired after tourists had trampled in it: 'I protected the enclosure of the park to stop it from being trampled on by the people, for it is the place where all the gods were born at the beginning of the World, and the common people trampled on it. There was indignation because of it in the whole land, and it did no good to Egypt.'<sup>6</sup> The Great Harris Papyrus includes in its list of Ramesses III's donations to temple-estates a chapel for the sun-god in the Sacred Area at Hermopolis and offerings for the New Year Festival.<sup>7</sup> The festival was held in the area of the Primeval Hill, commemorating the story of the Creation each year, when the birth of the Sun in Creation and his victorious fight against his enemies were displayed in a mystery play.<sup>8</sup> Roeder found the area and the Merneptah inscription; but for the purpose of this paper his careful excavations at Hermopolis produced nothing more. Though he found potters' workshops,<sup>9</sup> not a fragment of a chalice has its known provenance at Hermopolis. Part explanation may be that the huge mound, 2,000 m. by 1,500 m., well mapped in *Description de l'Égypte*, iv, pl. 50, has been in occupation through the centuries, especially in Roman times, and in the last century the villagers used the debris from the brick ruins as fertilizing material for their fields and

<sup>1</sup> Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 18.

<sup>2</sup> For the full report of the excavations see Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929-1939*; for the specific discoveries mentioned here, id. *MDAIK* 2 (1931), 79.

<sup>3</sup> *MDAIK* 2 (1931), 123 with map; *ibid.* 3 (1932), 27.      <sup>4</sup> Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929-1939*, 65 (§ 83).

<sup>5</sup> *Ann. Serv.* 52, 347 and 319-74 for a discussion of the inscription; also Roeder, *op. cit.* 36 (§ 38).

<sup>6</sup> Lefebvre, *Petosiris*, I, 140; Roeder, *op. cit.* 36 (§ 38).      <sup>7</sup> Roeder, *op. cit.* 89 (§ 20a) and 196 (§ 61c).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 36 (§ 38), 169 (§ 8), 196 (§§ 61. 62); *id.*, *MDAIK* 3 (1932), 6; *id.*, *Ann. Serv.* 52, 361.

<sup>9</sup> Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929-1939*, 31 (§ 36 c); *id.*, *MDAIK* 2 (1931), 124.

ruined the surface of the mound.<sup>1</sup> This much, however, is established: in the Twenty-second Dynasty Shoshenq I attached importance to the fort defending Hermopolis, which was the link between his capital at Bubastis and Thebes;<sup>2</sup> for the citizens of Hermopolis their most sacred area had been brought into prominence by Merneptah and Ramesses III, and they saw in the New Year Festivals the Mystery of the sun-god which is shown on the chalices. Activity, then, and skill in the Hermopolis workshops during the reign of the vigorous Shoshenq need not surprise us, nor the first recognizable fashion of representing the Infant Sun on the lotus.

The tradition which made Hermopolis the scene of the sun-god's appearance on a lotus has, as far as I know, no textual evidence as early as the Twenty-second Dynasty; and the localizing at Hermopolis of this version of Creation's story has been regarded by Morenz and Schubert as due to a late tendency to link cosmogony with Hermopolis.<sup>3</sup> But the evidence of the chalices and their companion rings and spacers is strong, and I think that we are on sound ground in connecting them with the Hermopolis myth. Doresse<sup>4</sup> and Drioton<sup>5</sup> are convinced that for the text of Ptolemy VIII on the Second Pylon at Karnak—*He formed the body like that of an anointed child which comes from a lotus in the middle of Nun*—an Eighteenth Dynasty codification of dogma was used, probably preserved in a temple library. The first representation of the child on the lotus is attributed by Morenz and Schubert<sup>6</sup> to the attractive wooden head of Tutankhamūn on the lotus found in the entrance to the tomb of Tutankhamūn.<sup>7</sup> The Infant, naked and with side-lock and uraeus, is shown suckled by the Hathor-cow on a gold pectoral of Ammenemes III.<sup>8</sup> Akhenaten was shown as a seated child in open-work faience amulets,<sup>9</sup> as is Tutankhamūn on the gold perfume vase found at the bottom of his sarcophagus.<sup>10</sup> A gold statuette of Amenophis III from Tutankhamūn's tomb shows him as a squatting child,<sup>11</sup> and in the Louvre there is a plaque with Ramesses II shown as a squatting child.<sup>12</sup> An attractive picture of the infant Sun occurs in the coffin of Neskhons, late Twenty-first Dynasty:<sup>13</sup> at the head of the interior a bark carries the sun's disk on the horizon, and inside the disk the Infant sits holding the flail, not on a lotus. More interesting for this paper are the Infant on the lotus on the gold cloisonné bracelets in the British Museum, made for Nimlot who may be a son of Shoshenq I,<sup>14</sup> and the Infant Sun on the lotus, holding crook and with left hand to mouth, on a stela in Cleveland which bears the name of Shedes-Nefertum,

<sup>1</sup> Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929-1939*, 26 (§ 30a).

<sup>2</sup> Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, 212, for the importance of holding this area in the Bubastite period.

<sup>3</sup> Morenz and Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume*, 47.

<sup>4</sup> *Hiéroglyphes à la croix*, 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Ann. Serv.* 44, 117. 157.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* 69.

<sup>7</sup> Carter and Mace, *Tut-ankh-amen*, III, pl. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Bull. Mus. Beyrouth*, 1, 1, pl. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Hayes, *Scepter*, II, 290; cf. the moulds in Petrie, *Amarna*, pl. 17; id., *Amulets*, pl. 15, 126a. At Eton there is an example in red glaze of 'Amarna-style with no royal regalia.

<sup>10</sup> Carter and Mace, *op. cit.* II, pl. 74.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* III, pl. 25.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Boreux, *Louvre cat. somm.* (1932), ii, 479-80, pl. 66 right.

<sup>13</sup> Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales*, no. 61030, p. 133, pl. 49.

<sup>14</sup> B.M. 14594-5; acquired in 1850 and said to have come from Sais. Mr. James has kindly provided this translation of the text on the insides of the bracelets: *Made for the King's-son-of-Ramesses, the leader of the whole army, Nimlot, justified, whose mother is the daughter of the great chief of the Meshwesh(?), Pa-ta-resh-nes.*

High-Priest of Memphis under Shoshenq I (fig. 7).<sup>1</sup> The sun is flanked by winged figures of Ma'at offering the *ankh*-sign, as in a scene in the Twenty-first Dynasty temple of Khons at Karnak.<sup>2</sup> The stela must come from Memphis and has therefore the Nefertum variation of the myth, the 'wholly beautiful child';<sup>3</sup> but its date helps to make the iconography characteristic of the Twenty-second Dynasty. What does the infant sun-god mean on the chalices? What, for that matter, does Tutankhamūn's wooden head mean? Has the young king risen like the god of the Morning?<sup>4</sup> Or is it the dead king

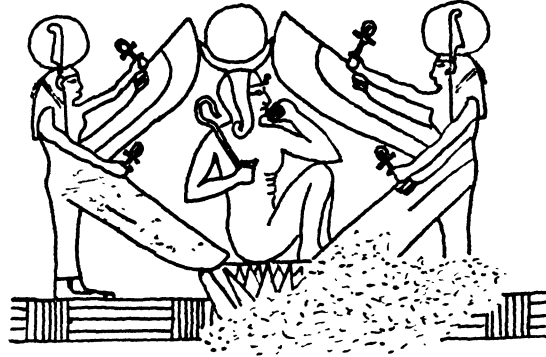


FIG. 7. Part of Cleveland stela 201.14.

rejuvenated like the rising sun?<sup>5</sup> Do the chalices commemorate an accession, or a claim to the kingship when the claim is not strong,<sup>6</sup> or a *sed*-festival? Or is it simply the old poetic conception of the sun's vital power in creation, born on the Hill in the Isle of Flame with the glow of the momentous first sunrise, seen each year by the Egyptians when a hillock emerged at dawn from the receding inundation and heralded the beginning of a new season?<sup>7</sup> Whatever the explanation, here on these chalices and spacers and rings is the Infant at Hermopolis, where the sun's birth was dramatically displayed, and he is connected on chalice XVI with some event in the reign of Shoshenq I.

The Shoshenq of the First Book of Kings, who befriended the refugee Jeroboam, gave him his wife and, no doubt, helped his return and his separatist movement, and who 'in the fifth year of King Rehoboam came up against Jerusalem and took away the treasures of the House of the Lord and the treasures of the King's House; he even took away all'<sup>8</sup>—that Shoshenq has been recognized recently as a bigger man of war than was once thought.<sup>9</sup> In his march on the rich kingdom of Solomon's heir he seems to have proved himself a bigger man of peace too, for he left Rehoboam on his throne in continuing prosperity,<sup>10</sup> and he renewed the friendly contact between Egypt and Phoenicia which had been broken by the twelfth-century Sea Raiders and was still

<sup>1</sup> The drawing reproduced as fig. 6 is taken from the photograph accompanying C. R. Williams' note on the stela in *Bull. Cleveland Mus. Art*, Oct. 1918, a copy of which I owe to the kindness of Dr. Andrew Bongiorno of Oberlin College, Ohio. Also cf. Petrie, *Ancient Egypt*, 1921, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Lepsius, *Denk.* III, 244.

<sup>3</sup> Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, 83; Morenz and Schubert, op. cit. 66.

<sup>4</sup> Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929-1939*, 190 (§ 50a); Morenz and Schubert, op. cit. 69.

<sup>5</sup> H. Jucker, *Das Bildnis im Blätterkelch*, 180.

<sup>6</sup> Aldred, *The Egyptians*, pl. 72, with note on p. 259.

<sup>7</sup> Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 154.

<sup>8</sup> 1 Kings, xiv. 25.

<sup>9</sup> Albright, *BASOR* 21, 37; Crowfoot, *Ivories of Samaria*, 51; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 329.

<sup>10</sup> O. Tufnell, *Lachish*, III, 53.

insecure some eighty years later in the days of Wenamūn when Phoenician commerce was expanding.<sup>1</sup> The direct evidence for the renewal of this Phoenician contact consists of the statue of Shoshenq I at Byblos—a huge granite block shipped from Egypt—and another in red quartzite of Osorkon I.<sup>2</sup> A further fragment of direct evidence is the alabaster jar with the name of Osorkon II found with an ivory openwork winged uraeus at Samaria.<sup>3</sup> The indirect evidence is the strong Egyptian influence on the ninth-century Phoenician ivories found stored at Nimrud, Samaria, and Arslan Tash on the Euphrates.<sup>4</sup> In these ivories the Infant Sun on the lotus flanked by winged goddesses, the winged uraeus, and Ḥeḥ of Eternity, are motifs derived from Egypt; and Crowfoot derived the Samaria and Nimrud openwork ivories with coloured inlay from Egyptian cloisonné work. The Infant at Nimrud and Samaria is plumper and less erect than his predecessor in Egypt;<sup>5</sup> but the derivation is clear. The exchanges between Egypt and Phoenicia had often been mutual: Egypt wanted Phoenician timber and Phoenicia perhaps wanted Egyptian corn; and in the New Kingdom Egyptian craftsmen had been strongly influenced by Syrian ideas.<sup>6</sup> Solomon's temple which Shoshenq I plundered had recently been built by Hiram of Tyre, and the plunder may have included ivory panelling with which the Phoenicians decorated walls and furniture.<sup>7</sup> Were, then, the workshops of Shoshenq's Egypt flooded with new ideas, or at least stirred to greater enterprise and skill?<sup>8</sup> In 1891 Petrie wrote that a profound separation existed between the Twenty-second Dynasty and all that was previous, and that the new men of the Delta must have obtained their habits from a fresh source.<sup>9</sup> Crowfoot<sup>10</sup> called the Twenty-second Dynasty art second-rate, and the Phoenician ivory-workers to whom it appealed he called miniaturists. That is the word I wish to use of the Hermopolis craftsmen whose work was found at Tūna. It is my belief that this contact with Phoenicia was vital in both directions, that in Hermopolis men were inspired to work in the siliceous paste with the tools and the precision of the ivory-worker. Those who have discussed the Tūna chalices have agreed that they were 'influenced by the shape and design of engraved metal prototypes'.<sup>11</sup> The contour of the Eighteenth Dynasty chalices seems to start as if cut in stone; later they acquired the delicate lines of metalwork with the finely splayed rims and the slender stemmed feet. The gold and silver vases in the Bubastis Treasure<sup>12</sup> and in the Tomb of Psusennes,<sup>13</sup> and above all the Eighteenth Dynasty bronze bowl in Cairo<sup>14</sup> show what the Hermopolis potters may have had in mind when they planned a narrow rim zone above a broad main zone divided into groups. But for relief-work metal is beaten up from behind and finished with incision,

<sup>1</sup> Albright, *Studies presented to D. M. Robinson*, I, 230; Crowfoot, *op. cit.* 50; Barnett, *Nimrud Ivories*, 58.

<sup>2</sup> *Syria*, 5, 145; 6, 101.

<sup>3</sup> *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, 247, fig. 205 and pl. 56, g; Crowfoot, *op. cit.* 4, 51.

<sup>4</sup> Barnett, *op. cit.* 52, 125, 126, 134.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 13.

<sup>6</sup> Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, II, 35.

<sup>7</sup> Barnett, *op. cit.* 58.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Aldred, *JEA* 42, 7 (bottom).

<sup>9</sup> *Illahun*, 26.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.* 52.

<sup>11</sup> Aldred, *The Egyptians*, 155. Similarly the Mycenaean kylix has a metallic shape, cf. Stubbings, *BSA* 42, 26, 60; Persson, *New Tombs at Dendra*, 135, fig. 117.

<sup>12</sup> Maspero, *Musée ég.* II, pls. 43 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Montet, *Psouennès*, pls. 65–71.

<sup>14</sup> Von Bissing, *Metallgefässe*, no. 3553; *Jahrb. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898, 28.



while the chalice reliefs were cut back from the front plane as in wood or ivory.<sup>1</sup> Work of this Hermopolis school in other material than metal can be traced back to the Eighteenth Dynasty. MacGregor got from Tûna two examples of intricate workmanship which are dated to this time: the ivory ointment spoon with men and apes in a palm-tree, part in relief and part in the round,<sup>2</sup> and the openwork glazed case for a kohl tube in the form of a palm-leaf column, with Hathor-head flanked by Bastet and Thoeris round the centre band.<sup>3</sup> It is possible that from the plundering of Hermopolis and Tûna came other such famous pieces which are now of unknown provenance. Maspero saw a connexion between the 'Amarna style and Hermopolis;<sup>4</sup> but the evidence is unhappily meagre. Kees<sup>5</sup> says that most of the 'Amarna officials and architects were from a new class, not from the old Theban families; but there is no evidence, though every likelihood, that craftsmen from Hermopolis moved across to el-'Amarna where they would have been so much in demand. Lefebvre<sup>6</sup> says that the master craftsmen moved to Hermopolis after el-'Amarna was abandoned, and their distant successors retained the old skill when they made the glass hieroglyphs for the sarcophagus of Petosiris. This tradition which the chalice-makers inherited can be seen in the ivory conical case, perhaps from the arm of a statue, found by the Germans in a house at el-'Amarna, with the incised scene of Tuthmosis IV smiting a Libyan enemy and behind him the cobra on papyrus.<sup>7</sup> A provincial example, close in spirit to some of the chalice scenes, is in the incised panels of an ivory box of Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasty date, found by Petrie in the fortified palace at Tell Fara near Gaza.<sup>8</sup> Thirty miles south of Hermopolis, across the river, may have been another source of inspiration. From the Sixth Dynasty rock tomb of Ibi at Deir el-Gabrâwi some scenes were copied in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty for the Tomb of another Ibi at Thebes, perhaps in a claim to the ancestry. Davies suggested that the Theban sculptor may not have seen the actual Deir el-Gabrâwi wall-paintings but used a copy made from them.<sup>9</sup> So, too, the Twenty-second Dynasty Hermopolis craftsmen may have had a copy of such scenes as *Deir el-Gebrawi*, i, pl. 5, or ii, pl. 3, and conceived from it the rim-zone of birds fluttering above papyri, the main zone with the palisaded papyri, and the bottom zone of fish in the river: both at Deir el-Gabrâwi and on the chalices the three zones are distinct.

Such were the stock and the skills with which these men approached their task; and what did they achieve? They were doing what some of the Twelfth Dynasty Kerma potters had attempted when they put black swamp scenes of birds and fish on the main zones of their bigger faience jars,<sup>10</sup> and what Amenophis III's potters did not attempt on their gaily painted jars: they were decorating the doubly curving surface with

<sup>1</sup> I owe the suggestion of the influence of woodwork on the relief chalices to Mr. Douch.

<sup>2</sup> *Cat. of the MacGregor Sale*, no. 702, pls. 10, 44; *BM Cat. of Gulbenkian Coll.*, pl. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Now in the Metropolitan Museum; cf. *Burlington Catalogue* (1922), 93; Hayes, *Scepter*, II, 192 and fig. 108 right.

<sup>4</sup> Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929-1939*, 15 (§ 24e).

<sup>5</sup> *Ancient Egypt*, 297.

<sup>6</sup> *Petosiris*, I, 20.

<sup>7</sup> *Mitt. deutsch. or. Ges.* 52 (1914), 31, pl. 5; Capart, *Art ég.* IV, 675.

<sup>8</sup> Petrie, *Beth-Pelet*, I, 19, pl. 55; also C. Decamps de Mertenfeld, *Ivoires phéniciens*, 53, pl. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi*, I, 1, 37.

<sup>10</sup> Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma*, 143.

descriptive scenes. I have read again Mrs. Frankfort's stimulating book *Arrest and Movement* and have considered the chalices in the light which she sheds on Egyptian art and have not found them conforming to her canons. (The numbers which follow refer to the pages of her book.) These men had not lost the vitality which ebbed in the post-<sup>c</sup>Amarna period (112). The marsh scenes, presumably, were still magical as they always had been, with their claim that the ephemeral life does matter for the dead (30); but on the best of them there is not the real *horror vacui*, the mere repetition of pattern, the aversion to rendering the void which both divides and binds (39). Here are coherent events in a spatial setting (37), genre incidents such as a few gifted painters had put in Theban tombs (91). Here is not the typical and the timeless but the transitory and dramatic (33), gestures are emotional and not merely explanatory (40), the animals have texture, and the men and women have no baffling contradictions, not the liveliness and the monotony, the realism and the haunting unreality, the solemn and the trivial air (36) of pre-<sup>c</sup>Amarna or of Ramesside tombs.<sup>1</sup> Real men and women are doing real things. Here, too, on the circular cup is the circular horizon so lacking in Egypt (27). For a moment the Egyptian allowed himself on his pottery the descriptive scenes of men in action which played so tremendous a role in Greek art,<sup>2</sup> and in that moment he anticipated the Greek by some 200 years. The Greek potters of the Early Orientalizing period may have been stirred to paint scenes of action as much by the epic narratives which were brought across the Aegean in their day as by the ivory and metal objects traded to them by the Phoenicians. Two hundred years earlier Shoshenq's potters had been stirred to use the marsh scenes which their forbears had loved, and the reasons for their exuberance may have been the pageantry of the Hermopolis Festivals and a quickened interest in the ivory craftsman's skill. But it was momentary, and the conventional figures of dogma soon replaced the lively men in their punts. Not by mere chance are these chalices so rare.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, 61.

<sup>2</sup> Kantor, *AJA* 61 (1957), 51.

<sup>3</sup> A brief discussion of the chalices was published in *Apollo*, September 1963.

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## THE ORIGIN OF THE SPEAR. I

By E. A. E. REYMOND

AN episode of adoration which was believed to have taken place in a primitive sacred domain, the 'Djeba in Wetjeset-Neter', is depicted in one of the reliefs decorating the inner face of the Enclosure Wall of the Edfu Temple.<sup>1</sup> The same scene is repeated on the outer wall of the Naos of this temple.<sup>2</sup> In the last volume of this *Journal* we published a study of these two scenes together with an attempt to explain the meaning of the sacred name 'Djeba' as well as the significance of this mythical domain and its connexion with the history of the Temple of Horus at Edfu.<sup>3</sup> These two scenes form an important document illustrating the history of the early cult-places in Egypt and are rich in allusions to mythical situations hitherto unknown. The present paper, however, has a limited purpose, for we intend to examine only one of the characteristic features of these two scenes: the sacred spear of the Falcon. In both of the reliefs mentioned the spear showing the falcon's head is fixed in a support resembling a chest and is placed in front of the primeval resting-place of the Falcon, the *djeba*-perch. The description of the spear in the scene on the wall of the Enclosure is very brief and gives only its names: *the Falcon-Mighty-of-Countenance* (Bik-shm-ḥr),<sup>4</sup> *the august Sgmḥ that came forth from the Nun*.<sup>5</sup> The second scene, on the outer wall of the Naos, is in a way self-explanatory and indicates that the sacred spear was placed in front of the god's seat not only as a symbol of protection but also to receive its adoration. The sacred spear described in this instance as *Shm-ḥr Pꜣ-sgmḥ* and bearing an additional name *ḥd-wr*, the 'Great White', seems to have been worshipped at the same time as the Falcon resting on his 'Perch'. The ritual text of this adoration (*ḥkn*) was translated and commented upon in our already published paper on the *Primeval Djeba*.<sup>6</sup>

It is known that the part played by the sacred spear in the life of early cult-places was of no little importance and interest, and no difficulty will arise in determining its general function. The spear was the symbol of protection, the chief magical means that ensured the safety of the sacred place and all its divine occupiers. From this point of view the two Edfu reliefs mentioned above are nothing more than additional evidence to support the general theory; the spear is defined in the Edfu text as the *ndty*-protector of the god in his primeval 'Great Seat'.<sup>7</sup> The Edfu evidence therefore illustrates in a very interesting manner the Egyptian idea of a primitive sacred domain (*nīwt*) at the stage at which the spear was all that protected the god. Moreover, as far as the cult of the Falcon is concerned, these reliefs make it clear that

<sup>1</sup> *E.* (i.e. Chassinat, *Edfou*) VI, 181, 6-10; 185, 3-186, 10 = XIV, pl. dlxi.

<sup>2</sup> *E.* IV, 357, 15-358, 1-7; 359, 4-6 = X, pl. 105.

<sup>3</sup> Three readings of this name are possible and are discussed below, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> *E.* VI, 185, 15-16.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *JEA* 48 (1962), 81-82.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *JEA* 48 (1962), 81 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *E.* IV, 358, 4-5.

the spear was regarded as being closely connected with and was the prominent feature of his sacred places from an early stage of their history. Textual evidence confirming this statement is not lacking. The Edfu inscriptions prove that these two reliefs were represented on the wall according to a record of remote date—evidence which preserves a detailed description of the appearance of the primitive sacred places of the Falcon.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, the manner in which these two reliefs are depicted on the walls of the temple seems to reveal beliefs and traditions hitherto unknown concerning the sacred spear in ancient Egypt. It has been noticed that only one spear is represented in the scene though several names are given in the text. The name *hd-wr* does not occur in the first scene; in the second, however, *hd-wr* is described as being equal to the *Shm-hr* and *P3-sgmh*. Surprisingly, the usual name of the spear of Horus, the *Htr-hr*,<sup>2</sup> is not mentioned at all in this connexion. In contrast the Edfu text seems to make it clear that *Shm-hr* and *P3-sgmh* were the original names of the Falcon's sacred spear, and that the spear which bore these names was believed to be the essential weapon that safeguarded the Falcon in his primeval resting-place erected in an open field, and finally, that the spear bearing these names was believed to have emerged from the primeval water.

If we admit this interpretation the question arises why the spear bears two names, and why the *Htr-hr* is not represented in the scene, because it is known that it, too, was connected with the early chapter of the history of the Falcon's sacred domains.<sup>3</sup> Can we admit that originally there were two or more spears employed in the primitive sacred domains of the Falcon, each of them bearing a different name, and that only later on were all the original spears regarded as one symbol of protection?

We find on several occasions in the Edfu texts that the two sacred names *Bik-shm-hr* and *P3-sgmh* are associated in the descriptions of one divine being.<sup>4</sup> The name of the *Htr-Hr*, however, does not occur in any of these instances. It seems likely that there were originally two traditions concerning the sacred spear of the Falcon; according to the one the spear seems to have been named *Htr-Hr*, and according to the other it bore two names, *Bik-shm-hr*, *P3-sgmh*. We know from the main Edfu cosmogonical records that the *Htr-Hr* was the name of a sacred image in which an ancestor-god was believed to have resided in his mysterious life, and this image as the material likeness of the ancestor-god protected the Falcon in his first sacred domain that was created in the island of creation and also in the sacred domains of the *pāy*-lands. The narrative does not give any detailed description of this image nor does it explain the manner in which the *Htr-Hr* would enter into the image. It is evident that this symbol was regarded as the original means of protection of the Falcon since the image of the *Htr-Hr* is described as being associated with the Perch of the Falcon from the very moment of its creation, and, moreover, the image of the *Htr-Hr* was *in situ* before the Perch was created and in fact protected the place in which the Perch was to be planted.<sup>5</sup>

Since the copy of the original narrative refers neither to the *Bik-shm-hr*, nor to

<sup>1</sup> This question is studied in great detail in our forthcoming work, *The Mythical Origin of the Egyptian Temple*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Wb.* III, 202, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the projected work quoted in n. 1 above.

<sup>4</sup> *E.* I, 14, 6; 302, 12; III, 122, 2; IV, 78, 7; 358, 2, 4; 379, 13; V, 245, 1-2; VI, 183, 7. 8; 185, 15-16.

<sup>5</sup> This tradition is studied in detail in our forthcoming book.

*P3-sgmḥ* in this respect, it is highly probable that originally there was no relationship between the *Htr-Hr* and the other protecting symbols. But in the Edfu reliefs only the *Shm-hr*, *P3-sgmḥ* is depicted as a substitute of the *Htr-Hr*, and this may suggest that only the Edfu tradition equated this spear with the original symbol in which the ancestor-god was believed to have resided.

What or who was this *Bik-shm-hr*, *P3-sgmḥ*? There is at Edfu much evidence that makes it possible to study this question. A starting-point may be found in two ritual scenes of *wnp nhs*, 'Piercing the *nhs*-animal', which are engraved on the outer wall of the Naos.<sup>1</sup> The study of the text of these two ritual scenes indicates that they are derived from a tradition other than that of the story of the primeval 'Djeba' and are strongly affected by the 'Myth of Horus'. Nevertheless, they appear to furnish interesting evidence for the subject of our study in the names and titles by which the chief deity of this ritual act was invoked. This deity is represented on the wall of the temple as the Falcon Horus, here qualified by the names of the spear as they are known from the scenes mentioned at the beginning of this paper. The description of the Falcon Horus reads *Har-sekhem-Her, the Sgmḥ of Behdet who overthrows the enemy and safeguards the god, the Great White (ḥd-wr) of Rēc, pre-eminent in Wetjeset who slays the confederates in the Necropolis. The Great White, pre-eminent in the Horizon-of-Eternity has shone like the Har-sekhem-her while smiting his enemies, piercing the rebels, and casting afar the Nehaḥer together with the evil.*<sup>2</sup>

The parallel scene on the west wall of the Naos tells us of the *Har-sekhem-her, great god, pre-eminent in Behdet, the protection of Rēc in the Island of Fury, who was led forth with the 𓆎, the s3-Falcon, from the Nun to Šns to take his position in the Great Seat.*

*The Great White is mighty in Pe of Mesen like the Aggressive Soul in the Mansion-of-the-Falcon, strong in killing evil and protecting Horus of Horus-gods, casting afar the evil-doer from the Wetjeset.*<sup>3</sup>

The connexion with the 'Myth of Horus' is apparent from the general significance of these two scenes. On the other hand, however, we think that the Edfu redactor, in writing these spells, found inspiration also in the myth about the 'Island of Fury' (*iw nšni*).<sup>4</sup> We know from the Edfu texts that this myth had originally no connexion with the former myth; it was the result of a tradition entirely different from that of the 'Myth of Horus'. When we refer to the copy of the original version of the myth about the 'Island of Fury' which is in part preserved at Edfu, we do not meet there a divine being called '*Har-sekhem-her, the Segemeh*'.<sup>5</sup> The primeval Falcon plays an important part in this myth, and is described as the protector of the sun-god in the fight against the snake. In this episode, however, the Falcon bears the name 'Pre-eminent of the Mansion in Victory' (*ḥnty ḥwt kni*). It is evident that we have here two traditions concerning the Falcon-warrior. We imagine that the Falcon, described as 'Pre-eminent of the Mansion in Victory', might have been equated with another form of the fighting Falcon, and was conceived as *Hr-shm-hr* because of his deeds in the fight against the enemy of the sun-god. The tradition of a later date, perhaps

<sup>1</sup> E. IV, 77, 14-78, 9; 234, 7-235, 4.



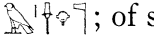
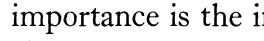

<sup>2</sup> E. IV, 78, 6-78, 9.

<sup>3</sup> E. IV, 235, 1-3.

<sup>4</sup> E. VI, 176, 9-11; 328, 7-330, 9.

<sup>5</sup> E. VI, 330, 9.

the Edfu tradition, might have associated this form of the Falcon-warrior with the 'Myth of Horus'. Finally, the Edfu tradition might have added to this belief, regarding him as a deity special to the Temple of Edfu, since we find in the text translated above that this form of the Falcon was described as the 'Segemeḥ of Beḥdet'. It is certain that in this form of Falcon we have an artificial divine being. The *Hr-shm-hr* and the *Sgmḥ* are here treated as a single divine being who was regarded as an equal of the 'Great White'. Moreover, this 'Great White' does not seem to appear here as a mere mace. We incline to the opinion that he was also regarded as a divine being.

The manner in which the name *Hr-shm-hr* is written in these two short texts is worthy of note. It has been seen that in the text of the scene on the Naos representing the episode of adoration in the primeval 'Djeba' none of the names of the spear show the sign of god as their determinative.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, we can see in the text which we are discussing that the sacred names were understood as names of a god. In addition to the pictorial evidence which makes it evident that the falcon-like god bearing the names of the spear was the worshipped being, the writing of his first name included the sign  and the sign  as the determinative of the name; in *E. IV, 78, 9* we read ; of special importance is the instance in *E. IV, 235, 8* . These two examples confirm that the sign  was not used as a determinative of the divine name but, on the contrary, formed a part of the name. Three readings, however, can be suggested for its interpretation: (a) *Hr*, 'Horus', a reading which may reflect the Edfu tradition; (b) *bik*, 'the Falcon'; (c) *ntr*, 'the god'. Since the writing shows a stroke over the bird we incline to the opinion that *ntr* might have been the original reading,<sup>2</sup> and we suggest as an interpretation of this divine name—'the God-Mighty-of-Countenance'.

If this interpretation be accepted it follows that these two ritual scenes, which seem from the first to refer to the worship of the spear, are in fact acts of adoration of a special form of a deity whose characteristic feature is expressed in the name *Mighty-of-Countenance*. If we remember the role of the Falcon in the fight against the enemies of the sun-god, it is easy to understand this eventual qualification of the Falcon. As far as the Edfu tradition is concerned we are of the opinion that these two ritual scenes refer to the adoration of the Falcon-warrior, and that they show how the Egyptians looked upon this special form of the Falcon later on.

On the other hand, however, if we refer to the myth about the primeval 'Djeba' another interpretation may be suggested. We think that these two episodes may introduce us to the original divine being from the myth about the 'Djeba' who was believed to reside in the spear and in this way, perhaps, was believed to have protected the Falcon in his primeval domain. It is inherently possible that the protector-god of the Falcon was imagined to be a falcon-like deity. This suggestion seems to be admissible if we recall the belief that all the ancestor-gods who were believed to have safeguarded the Falcon in the original domain, the Wetjeset-Neter of the island of creation, were

<sup>1</sup> *E. IV, 358, 2. 17.*

<sup>2</sup> For the reading *ntr* see *JEA* 48 (1962), 87.

conceived as being the *drty*-falcons.<sup>1</sup> Another argument in support of this hypothesis may be seen in that the 'God-Mighty-of-Countenance' is said to have been led forth from the Nun to *Šns* to take his position in the Great Seat.<sup>2</sup> This brings to mind the epithet of the spear in the two reliefs mentioned above,<sup>3</sup> and, moreover, the picture of yet another divine being who was associated with the early stage of the history of the Falcon's cult and who was believed to have protected him in his primeval seat. At Edfu this deity is represented as a *si*-Falcon and is described as the *God-of-the-Temple pre-eminent in Wetjeset-Neter who was led forth from the Nun to the Great Seat, the likeness of the Radiant One with face like unto the Heter-Ĥer who uplifts the lance to overthrow the enemies, the si-Falcon who looks backwards*.<sup>4</sup> The name 'Likeness of the Radiant One' is also the name of the *Ntr-šm-ḥr Pꜣ-sgmḥ* as we learn from the text of a scene of adoration of the spear in the Pronaos of the Edfu Temple.<sup>5</sup> This scene shows again the 'God-Mighty-of-Countenance', the 'Segemeḥ' in Beḥdet, conceived as a falcon-like deity who was believed to protect the god in the Island of Fury.<sup>6</sup> In this particular instance the protector-god is described as *the God who came into existence at the Beginning who protects Rē in Wetjeset-Neter, the image of Tanen who created the reverence (šfyṯ), the valorous one who safeguards his son, the likeness of the Radiant One like unto the Heter-Ĥer*.<sup>7</sup> Finally, we find that at Edfu this 'God-Mighty-of-Countenance' the 'image of Tanen' was associated with the *šmw*, 'Powers', who, in the Edfu tradition, were regarded as the Ancestors protecting the Temple of Horus.<sup>8</sup>

In view of all the textual evidence from the Edfu inscriptions it is highly probable that the Egyptians regarded the sacred spear of the Falcon as a divine being equal in its nature to the *šmw*, 'Powers'; this name is very often used in describing the deities who were believed to have lived in the primeval age before the *ntrw*-gods appeared on the scene.<sup>9</sup> They were their Ancestors who protected them in the mythical age. As they were believed to protect them in their original dwelling-places they were present also in the historical temple and safeguarded it. Considering the fact that the spear was regarded as one of these primeval 'Powers', it follows that the spear was conceived as an animate divine being. To support this idea we can cite evidence from a text referring to the life of the historical temple. The Morning Hymns which were recited at Edfu at the opening of the daily ritual<sup>10</sup> describe the sacred spear of Horus as a divine being. The spear was introduced to its daily life in the same manner as Horus the Beḥdetite and all the other divine inhabitants of Edfu.<sup>11</sup> The spear was, therefore, a god who had his resting place in the Temple, in one of the side chapels of the original nucleus, the Chapel of Rē.<sup>12</sup> We imagine that for the Egyptians the spear was a physical form in which a divine power of the primeval age was believed to reside. It was an intangible deity who emerged from the Nun<sup>13</sup> to protect other gods, and after having emerged

<sup>1</sup> See p. 141, n. 1 above.      <sup>2</sup> E. IV, 235, 2.      <sup>3</sup> E. IV, 358, 2; VI, 185, 15.      <sup>4</sup> E. VI, 186, 3-5.

<sup>5</sup> E. III, 121, 12.

<sup>6</sup> E. III, 122, 1-3; all the names are identical with those occurring in E. IV, 78, 7-9; 235, 1-3.

<sup>7</sup> E. III, 121, 10-12.

<sup>8</sup> E. IV, 379, 13-14.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *CdE* (with printer).

<sup>10</sup> E. I, 14-18; for the translation and commentary see Blackman-Fairman, *Misc. Greg.*, 1940, 401 ff.

<sup>11</sup> E. I, 14, 6 and Blackman-Fairman, *op. cit.*, p. 413, n. 33.

<sup>12</sup> E. I, 302, 12.

<sup>13</sup> E. I, 14, 6; 302, 12; IV, 235, 1-2; 358, 2; VI, 185, 15.



this power had assumed a physical appearance. At this moment we have seen that this original protecting power was, on the one hand, pictured as a god resembling the Falcon, and, on the other hand, described as the spear. It is known that the Egyptians believed that their original deities who lived in the island of creation, took up another physical form after they spent a certain period of time on the earth.<sup>1</sup> They underwent a metamorphosis which altered basically their original appearance; they were believed to have 'entered into a body' which was conceived as being of more substantial nature than their original form. It may be surmised that the protecting power that was believed to have emerged from the Nun at the beginning of the world, assumed the form of the Falcon at first.<sup>2</sup> This Falcon might have passed through another metamorphosis and might have been believed to have entered into a specific physical form which was imagined as being the spear. Consequently the spear was believed to be the physical form that enshrined the magical power of the original protector-god described in our myth as the Falcon; he was believed to dwell in the spear, and as a spear he ensured everlasting protection to the god in his temple. The top part of the spear might have intimated who was the god embodied in it. We know that the sacred spear of Horus carried a falcon's head. This decoration of the spear might have been made with regard to the god whose attribute the spear was. We think, however, that the spear was surmounted by a falcon's head because the god who dwelt in it was conceived as being originally a falcon.

We have seen that the Edfu texts studied in this paper give evidence of two traditions concerning the protecting power which appear to have been derived from a common background. It seems that the protecting power was believed to have existed in the form of the Falcon, and his name seems to have varied with differing local traditions. We have thus the 'Heter-her' parallel to the 'God-Mighty-of-Countenance'. This tradition was certainly of another origin and originated in a place other than that concerning the 'Heter-Her'. That at Edfu the 'God-Mighty-of-Countenance' was associated with the myth about the primeval 'Djeba' is due, in part at least, to late Edfu propaganda. Different light can be thrown on this problem from the 'Legend of the Fight of Horus against Seth'. This myth seems to express the idea that originally there was one protecting deity who was the 'Segemeh' who appeared at the commencement of the world as a snake; the text reads *As to the Segemeh, Khopri is he, and he came into being within the earth,*<sup>3</sup> *he was with Rer [as?] the overlord of the Nun. The God-Mighty-of-Countenance is his name.*<sup>4</sup> It seems to follow that the deity described in our Edfu instances as the *Ntr-shm-hr* was regarded as the prototype of the divine protector. He seems to have been an intangible deity. Other divine beings, however, were believed to be able to assume his properties to effect the protection of the gods.

Our attempt to trace the traditions attached to the spear is in no way intended to be a general study of the sacred spear in Ancient Egypt. We have drawn attention to the textual and pictorial evidence preserved in the temple at Edfu. On a close examina-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 141, n. 1 above.

<sup>2</sup> This belief is known from the myth about the Sages, cf. *E.* I, 296, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Two interpretations of the expression  $\overline{\text{E}}_{\Delta} \overline{\text{E}}_{\text{oo}}$  are possible:  $\overline{\text{E}}_{\Delta}$  is for *m-hnw*, 'within', or for *m-hnt* 'at the beginning'.

<sup>4</sup> *E.* VI, 134, 12.

tion of the texts referring to the history of this temple we notice that there is a good deal of evidence that permits us to sketch the way in which the Egyptians seem to have looked upon the sacred spear of Horus and interpreted its nature. The spear was regarded as a cult-object in which a god was believed to dwell who was in his original nature a falcon who lived in the 'primeval age'. This study seems to indicate that underlying these Edfu scenes are traditions and beliefs of a remote date which we hope to discuss in the next issue of this *Journal*.

## A COLLECTION OF GEMS FROM EGYPT IN PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

By ABD EL-MOHSEN EL-KHACHAB

*To the memory of my friend Dr. J. R. B. Stewart  
Professor of Middle Eastern Archaeology at the University of Sydney*

ANCIENT seal-stones bear divine figures and symbols of those deities especially sacred to the people who wore them. Similarly, ancient coins bear the figures or symbols of the public gods of the states who minted them. Hence, gems were decorated with genii or gods with whom their owners had very intimate spiritual relations and to whom they were greatly devoted; just as today some people carry small figures or pictures of saints, e.g. the oval green jasper gem (0.015 m. × 0.011 m.) on which St. George is represented on horseback, facing left, spearing the dragon with his lance (pl. XXV, 1).<sup>1</sup>

In general the representations on gems are drawn from the repertory of mythology, picturing the public gods and the most familiar local deities. Archaeologically it is possible therefore to date these gems by comparing the representations with similar examples on other monuments which can be precisely dated, in particular coins which regularly bear the characteristic deities of their countries.

Excavation in Egypt has yielded enormous quantities of semi-precious engraved stones, mostly of the Graeco-Roman period, decorated with special local Egypto-classical subjects or types. As a group they form a magnificent *tableau* of the typically Egyptian art of the period, that is, the art of Alexandria, which was quite different from contemporary classical art elsewhere. It was a local art of very characteristic type. The gems representative of this art can be dated approximately from the coins minted in Alexandria by the Roman emperors during the first three centuries A.D. From these gems, coins, and the contemporary terracottas much can be learned about the creeds and social life of the period.

The Egyptian Museum in Cairo has few such gems in its collection, but there are many in the possession of private individuals in Egypt.<sup>2</sup> In this article some of the pieces in private hands are described.

### I 3

1. Oval carnelian gem (0.013 m. × 0.011 m.) with a representation of Athena, helmeted and seated, facing right, holding a figure of Nike who presents a wreath to her; beside the throne, a shield (pl. XXV, 2).

<sup>1</sup> This gem belongs to Miss Diradour.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. el-Khachab, 'Une petite collection de pierres gravées', *Ann. Serv.* 50 (1950), 469 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Most of the pieces in this section belong to Mr. Asaad Abd el-Motagly, an amateur who possesses a good collection of Egyptian antiquities; for some of his gold coins see el-Khachab, *Ann. Serv.* 53 (1955), 258 ff.

Athena, being identified with the Egyptian goddess Neith, became in the Graeco-Roman period the goddess of the Saite nome in which the town of Naucratis was situated. The common device of that town therefore was a figure of Athena, helmeted and standing with an owl in one extended hand and a sceptre in the other; as such the goddess was called Athena Archegetis ('founder' of the colony).<sup>1</sup> The subject on this gem is of Greek origin and is found on coins minted in Alexandria, e.g. on the reverse of a coin in billon of year 14 of the Emperor Gallienus (mid-third century A.D.) (pl. XXV, 2 *a*). The people of Alexandria had a particular devotion to the goddess of wisdom as a symbol of the triumph of good over evil.

2. Oval chalcedony gem (0.020 m. × 0.016 m.) engraved with a beautiful representation of Dikaiosyne (Justice), standing, facing right and holding a balance and cornucopia (pl. XXV, 3).

This type of representation of Dikaiosyne, the personification of Justice, was common in Graeco-Roman Egypt and is often found on Alexandrian coins, e.g. on the reverse of a billon coin minted in year 2 of Alexander Severus (early third century) (pl. XXV, 3 *a*).

3. Oval carnelian gem (0.016 m. × 0.011 m.) with a figure of Elpis (Hope), crowned with laurel, advancing to the right, holding with one hand the skirt of her chiton and in the other a flower (pl. XXV, 4).

This common representation of Elpis is of an Egyptian type, based on a Roman archaic original. As Elpis of Alexandria she is shown turreted. The normal form of representation was commonly used when she was shown in company with Harpocrates of Mendes.<sup>2</sup> The reverse of a bronze coin of year 14 of Hadrian (mid-second century A.D.) bears a figure of Elpis similar to that found on this gem (pl. XXV, 4 *a*). The reverse of a coin in billon of year 11 of Alexander Severus (early third century A.D.) shows a figure of Elpis turreted (pl. XXV, 4 *b*).

4. Oval carnelian gem (0.014 m. × 0.011 m.) with a fine representation of Harpocrates, naked and crowned with the double crown, facing right, with the finger of one hand to his mouth, the other hand holding a cornucopia (pl. XXV, 5).

'Nul dieu n'a été plus cher qu'Harpocrates à la piété populaire de l'Égypte gréco-romaine', says Perdrizet.<sup>3</sup> Representations of him were very common at this period: '[elles] se comptent par myriades dans les terres-cuites votives.'<sup>4</sup> Many variant types of representations of this god are found on the coins of Alexandria.<sup>5</sup>

5. Oval carnelian gem (0.015 m. × 0.010 m.) with an interesting scene of Heracles struggling with the Nemean lion (pl. XXVI, 1).

This mythical episode formed one of the twelve 'labours' by which the hero-god chose the path of virtue and became the symbol of beneficence for the world;<sup>6</sup> for which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Schol. Aristophanes, Av.* v, 515: τῆς Ἀρχηγέτιδος Ἀθηνῶς τὸ ἀγάλμα γλαυκὰ εἰ χεν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ, quoted in *B.M. Cat. of Coins of Alexandria and the Nomes*, p. xlv. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. lii.

<sup>3</sup> *Terres-cuites grecques d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet*, 1, 27.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, also P. Graindor, *Terres-cuites de l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, 90, and n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. el-Khachab, *Ann. Serv.* 50, 421, nos. 2, 3, and pl. 1, nos. 1 *a* and *b*; 476, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> For the symbolism of the labours cf. Rose, *Handbook of Greek Mythology*, 210: 'Of course the ancient mythologists who made Heracles into a solar hero, saw in it a reference to the twelve signs of the Zodiac';

reason Alexander the Great, a ruler who worked for the welfare of his subjects, was identified with Heracles (pl. XXVI, 2).<sup>1</sup> The struggle with the Nemean lion was a common theme of art and story from early Greek times to late Roman times—in vase-painting (e.g. on a black-figure vase of the sixth century B.C., pl. XXVI, 3),<sup>2</sup> in statuary and reliefs,<sup>3</sup> and on classical Greek and Roman coins (e.g. pl. XXVI, 4).<sup>4</sup>

According to Herodotus<sup>5</sup> the worship of Heracles was known in Egypt in pharaonic times, but archaeological evidence for such worship does not occur before the Graeco-Roman period. Then episodes from the mythology of Heracles were familiar as types in Egyptian coinage: thus the struggle with the Nemean lion on the reverse of an Alexandrian bronze coin issued by Antoninus Pius (mid-second century B.C.) (pl. XXVI, 5). They are also found on gems (pl. XXVI, 6) and as terracotta and bronze statuettes.<sup>6</sup> In the field behind the figure of Heracles on the coin mentioned above, is a bow and quiver, whereas on the gem here discussed there is a club. Otherwise the two representations are very similar and it is probable therefore that the gem is to be dated to the second century A.D.

No doubt the possession of a gem with a figure of Heracles carried the hope expressed by the man who wrote over his door:

ὁ τοῦ Διὸς καλλίνικος Ἡρακλῆς  
ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ. μηδὲν εἰσίτω κακόν.

‘Heracles, son of Zeus, gloriously victorious, dwells here: let no evil enter.’<sup>7</sup>

6. Round carnelian gem (0.010 m. in diameter) engraved with a head of Hermes wearing the winged helmet, facing left (pl. XXV, 6).

This representation is of a Roman type not very well known in Egypt.

7. Oval carnelian gem (0.009 m. × 0.012 m.) engraved with a very beautiful representation of Nike in a two-horsed chariot (*biga*), going left, holding in her hands the reins and an olive-branch (pl. XXV, 7).

Roscher, p. 2204, for Heracles/Helios and his representations ‘im Sonnenbecher durch Okeanos’. The number 12 was first used for Heracles apparently by the poet Peisander, who took the idea from the struggles of Melkart, the Phoenician god, with the hostile beasts of the Zodiac, Seyffart, *Dict. of Class. Ant.* 280. P. Grimal, *Dict. de la myth. gr. et rom.* 190 (s.v. ‘Heracles’) explains the twelve labours as ‘l’épreuve de l’âme qui se libère progressivement de la servitude du corps et des passions jusqu’à l’apothéose finale’. See also F. Brommer, *Herakles. Die zwölf Taten des Helden in antiker Kunst und Literatur* (1953).

<sup>1</sup> A. Savill, *Alexander the Great and his Time*, 79; Roscher, p. 2168.

<sup>2</sup> A. Fairbanks, *Greek Gods and Heroes*, 55, fig. 56; F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griech. Heldensage* (1956), 69.

<sup>3</sup> S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire gr. et rom.* I, 114, no. 213 A; 463, pl. 785, no. 1977; 467, pl. 792, no. 1977 A; II, pt. 1, 236. 237. A very interesting relief showing this labour was found recently (1959) in a Heracleian sanctuary at Άνω Λίμνη Ζοφρά, cf. G. Daux, *BCH* 84 (1960), 655. 656, fig. 2.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. J. Ward, *Greek Cities and their Parents*, 8, no. 44 and pl. 1, a silver stater of Heracleia in Lucania of 380–300 B.C.; on the obverse a head of Athena, helmeted, facing right. Also Gardner, *The Types of Greek Coins*, pl. 5, no. 32 (Heracleia in Lucania, 371–335 B.C.); *B.M. Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, 14, Period III C, no. 12 and pl. 25 (also Heracleia in Lucania).

<sup>5</sup> II, 43. B. C. Brundage, *JNES* 17 (1958), 225. For other Greek gods of Egyptian origin, cf. Hesiod, II, 91; W. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods*, 238; Erman, *Religion der Ägypter*, 335.

<sup>6</sup> Two similar representations on carnelian gems in S. Reinach, *Pierres gravées* (Bibl. des figures gr. et rom.), 25, pl. 18, no. 369; 80, pl. 79 ii, no. 38; Furtwängler, *Antiken Gemmen*, pl. 6, no. 42; pl. 9, no. 48. For the bronze coin, cf. Dattari, *Numi Aug. Alexandrini*, no. 2592 and pl. 15.

<sup>7</sup> Guthrie, *op. cit.* 240, n. 1 (Diogenes Laertius).

Such scenes were common in the art of the classical period, and the type found here may be traced to Greek sources.

8. Oval carnelian gem (0·012 m. × 0·010 m.). A similar representation to the last, but purely Roman in style, with Victory holding a wreath (pl. XXV, 8).

Scenes such as these last two are frequently found on Alexandrian coins, e.g. on the reverse of a coin in billon dated in year 13 of Trajan (early second century A.D.), where Victory holds a branch and a wreath (pl. XXV, 8 *a*, shown larger than actual size). From very ancient times chariot-racing was a popular sport, and victory in the Olympic Games was often commemorated on monuments. Commemoration on coins always indicated an imperial victory.

9. Oval chalcedony gem (0·019 m. × 0·014 m.) bearing a figure of Poseidon (Neptune), naked, turning to the right with one foot on a dolphin, holding a sword and the trident (pl. XXV, 9).

Poseidon was worshipped by the Greeks in Alexandria; he was not apparently identified with any Egyptian god.<sup>1</sup> A precisely similar representation is found on the reverse of a coin in billon of year 2 of Claudius II (late third century A.D.) (pl. XXV, 9 *a*).

10. Oval red jasper gem (0·013 m. × 0·016 m.) set in a modern gold ring, with a representation of the head of Roma (Minerva), helmeted, facing left (pl. XXV, 10).

11. Oval carnelian gem (0·014 m. × 0·011 m.) engraved with a representation of Roma similar to the last, but by a less accomplished hand.

The personifications of the principal cities of antiquity, such as Rome, Athens, Constantinople, and Alexandria, were frequently shown on Greek and Roman coins. An Alexandrian coin in billon of year 13 of Nero (mid-first century A.D.) bears a representation of Roma (pl. XXV, 10 *a*). Sometimes the genii of two different cities might be represented together on coins. In the late Empire, Constantinople and Rome were depicted together on gold coins. In the time of the Roman Republic, Roma, the divine personification of the city, was the symbol of the Roman State. During the Empire she became the goddess of the official cult and was identified with Alexandria, Athena, and Tyche (*dea Roma et Roma aeterna*).<sup>2</sup> The practice of worshipping the genius of a city was used politically for the extension of the domination of that city over others.

12. Oval carnelian gem (0·015 m. × 0·012 m.) with a representation of Zeus, father of the gods, seated on a throne, facing right, crowned with laurels and holding a sceptre and patera; in front at his feet, an eagle standing, facing left (pl. XXV, 11).

The form of representation of Zeus with eagle, Greek in origin, is very important, and is found on Alexandrian coins of nearly all the Roman emperors of the first three centuries A.D. It occurs regularly on coins of billon or bronze, minted in support of the official cult of the Great God and rendering homage thereby to him, e.g. on the reverse of a coin in billon struck in year 3 of Gallienus (mid-third century A.D.) (pl. XXV, 11 *a*); on the obverse is a bust of Gallienus' wife, Cornelia Salonina. Gems so engraved were, no doubt, carried by faithful believers in Zeus.

<sup>1</sup> *B.M. Cat. of Coins of Alexandria and the Nomes*, p. xli.

<sup>2</sup> Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. 'Roma'.

13. Oval carnelian gem (0.012 m. × 0.010 m.) engraved with a figure of an eagle, standing, looking right, with closed wings, and with a wreath in its beak (pl. XXV, 12).

The eagle was commonly represented on Alexandrian and Roman coins. In the Ptolemaic Period it was shown standing on a thunderbolt, the symbol of Zeus, father of the gods. In Roman times the same representation occurred, but its primary meaning was lost; the eagle was now a military symbol, the legionary *aquila*.<sup>1</sup> This interpretation of the eagle on this gem is confirmed by the wreath it is shown holding in its beak.

14. Oval chalcedony gem (0.017 m. × 0.010 m.) with the representation of two elegant horses, prancing to the left (pl. XXV, 13).<sup>2</sup>

15. Oval carnelian gem (0.016 m. × 0.011 m.) with a scene showing three dogs, running left; possibly a hunting scene (pl. XXV, 14).<sup>3</sup>

#### II<sup>4</sup>

16. Oval yellow agate gem (0.009 m. × 0.011 m.) with a very beautiful representation of Isis suckling Harpocrates. The goddess is shown seated, facing right, wearing her characteristic head-dress; she holds her breast to her son who is seated on her lap. He wears a diminutive double-crown head-dress (pl. XXV, 15).

This divine group is very commonly found in Graeco-Roman Egypt, modelled in terracotta and bronze, and often used as a monetary type on the reverses of Alexandrian coins, e.g. on a piece in billon of Antoninus Pius (mid-second century A.D.), minted in year 23 (pl. XXV, 15 *a*). Isis, the goddess of a myriad names, occurs in this representation as the symbol of motherhood, the mother nourishing and giving life to her son whom she protects.<sup>5</sup>

17. Oval carnelian gem (0.015 m. × 0.010 m.) with another fine and interesting representation of Isis—Isis Hygieia—standing, facing left, wearing a modius (the corn-measure symbol of fertility), in one hand an erect serpent, in the other a globe; in front, a flaming altar (pl. XXV, 16 and 16*b*).<sup>6</sup>

Isis Hygieia occurs on the reverse of a bronze Alexandrian coin of year 8 of Antoninus Pius: Isis, standing and facing right, wears the modius above the characteristic vulture-head-dress; in one hand she holds a serpent and in the other a sceptre; behind her stands an Apis bull, facing right. On the obverse is a head of Antoninus Pius, wearing a laurel-wreath and facing right (pl. XXV, 16 *a*).<sup>7</sup>

This gem shows Isis in her interesting role of healer (*sospitatrix*—deliverer, or *restitutrix*—restorer) with the special attributes of the serpent (uraeus) and the altar. As

<sup>1</sup> *B.M. Cat. of Coins of Alexandria and the Nomes*, p. lxxxv.

<sup>2</sup> For galloping horses, cf. R. Lefort des Ylouses, 'Les Images du galop "ramassé" dans l'antiquité', *Rev. arch.* 6<sup>e</sup> série, 14 (1939), 47.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W. Deonna. 'Êtres monstrueux à organes communs', *Rev. arch.* 5<sup>e</sup> série, 31 (1930), 28 ff., who refers to this 'thème de la chasse au lièvre, du lièvre poursuivi par un chien' (p. 33), which persisted as a motif on vases and reliefs from archaic Greek times until the Roman Period.

<sup>4</sup> Most of the items in this part belong to Mr. Abd el-Wahab Mostafa, a discriminating amateur student and collector of gems, cf. nos. 16, 19, 28, 29, and 30.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. D. Magie, 'Egyptian Deities in Asia Minor in Inscriptions and on Coins', *AJA* 57 (1953), 163 ff.; el-Khachab, 'Money and Coins in Egypt', *Egypt Travel Magazine* 49 (Sept. 1958), 21 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The property of Mr. Gamal Salem, a keeper in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

<sup>7</sup> Zoëga, *Numi aegyptii imperatorii in Museo Borgiano*, no. 215, p. 188 and pl. 21.

Hygieia she was associated with Serapis (hence the modius) and with Asclepius (hence the serpent and the altar).<sup>1</sup> According to Perdrizet, 'L'uraeus que les statues du culte d'Isis tenaient généralement en main, était sensé remuer la bête à chaque transgression de prescriptions de la déesse'.<sup>2</sup> From Graeco-Roman times many representations of the goddess survive in which she is shown holding serpents in one or both hands (pl. XXV, 16 a-c).<sup>3</sup> Like all healing deities she was considered by Orientals as a mistress of the world and hence she is sometimes shown holding a globe, as on this gem. She was certainly a restorer of health, but also a protector of the healthy; her image was held therefore to be very efficient against all evil.<sup>4</sup>

18. Oval carnelian gem (0.012 m. × 0.008 m.) inserted in a modern gold ring, with a representation of Salus, naked, seen from the back, seated to the left, holding a serpent which she feeds from a patera in her other hand (pl. XXV, 17).<sup>5</sup>

Salus, the Roman genius of health, is frequently found on bronze coins minted outside Egypt, e.g. the reverse of a coin of Septimius Severus (late second century A.D.) where she is again represented feeding a serpent from a patera (pl. XXV, 17 a).<sup>6</sup> It is instructive to compare the two types of the Egyptian Isis Hygieia and of the Roman Salus. Not only is there a marked difference between the gem-representations of the two goddesses, but also between the type of Isis shown on Alexandrian coins and the type of Salus shown on coins minted outside Egypt. The difference consists not only in artistic presentation but also in the underlying ideas and beliefs of the two cults—the oriental and the occidental. It is the difference between a goddess who is *cosmocrateira*, and a mere genius—a difference which was soon to lead to the preponderance of oriental ideas and religious beliefs (particularly Alexandrian or Egyptian) in the Roman world.<sup>7</sup>

19. Oval carnelian gem (0.015 m. × 0.011 m.) engraved with the bust of Serapis, facing right, crowned with the modius (pl. XXV, 18).

Serapis formed with Isis and Harpocrates the Alexandrian divine triad. His worship goes back to the time of Ptolemy I who needed, for political reasons, a cult by which his subjects, Greek and Egyptian, could be united. Serapis, or Osiris-Apis, was Osiris for the Egyptians and Zeus for the Greeks; as such he became the eponymous god of Alexandria. The Alexandrian triad<sup>8</sup> achieved universal importance during the Roman

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. 'Isis'; Maspero, *Hist. de l'Orient*, 1, 33; Milne, 'Lead Tokens from Memphis', *Ancient Egypt*, 1915, 110, on the association of Asclepius and Apis says: 'this is quite possible at Memphis, where Asklepios was worshipped by the Greeks as identified with Imhotep'; cf. *ibid.* 109. Unfortunately the modius on the goddess's head was broken by the goldsmith. It is illustrated on pl. XXV, 16 b in an unbroken state.

<sup>2</sup> Perdrizet, *Terres-cuites grecques d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet*, 1, 71 ff.; also Dean, *The Work of the Serpent*, 149, who quotes Juvenal, *Sat.* 6, 538, *et movisse caput visa est argentea serpens*. A gem in the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, shows a cosmic goddess holding a serpent in each hand, cf. Pesce Gennaro, 'Divinità orientali di epoca romana', *Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alex.*, n.s. 10 (1939), 254, fig. 13.

<sup>3</sup> For a representation of Isis with a serpent, cf. Steindorff, *Cat. of Eg. Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, nos. 416, 417, pp. 110-11, and pl. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. 'Isis'; D. Magie, *AJA* 57 (1953), 163 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The property of Mr. Mohammed Foad.

<sup>6</sup> Mattingly, *Cat. of Coins of the Roman Empire in B.M.* v, 357, no. 7, pl. 53, 4.

<sup>7</sup> El-Khachab, *JE* 47 (1961), 125.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 126; cf. above, p. 151, n. 5.



Empire, especially in the third century A.D. under the Antonines. Many Egyptian gods were worshipped throughout the Roman Empire, but none was more popular than Serapis. Like Isis he was held to be *unicus*, having assimilated to himself all other gods. His cult was especially fostered by emperors with despotic intentions, such as Caracalla, who claimed consubstantiality with the god.<sup>1</sup> The modius with which he is usually shown crowned was a symbol of fertility, Serapis being a god of fertility. Figures of the god have been found in very large numbers, many in Egypt, such as the small steatite bust illustrated in fig. 1.<sup>2</sup> He is also often figured on Alexandrian coins, e.g. on the reverse of a bronze coin of year 10 of Hadrian (pl. XXV, 18 a).



FIG. 1

20. Oval garnet gem (0.027 m. × 0.017 m.) with another Roman-style representation of Pax seated, facing right, holding in one hand a sceptre transversely across her body, and in the other an olive-branch (?), her seat decorated with horizontal bands (pl. XXV, 19).<sup>3</sup>

This gem is probably Renaissance in date; the manner of representing Pax is not Romano-Egyptian, such as is found on Alexandrian coins, but is like that found on Roman coins minted outside Egypt, e.g. on the reverse of a bronze coin of Trajan (early second century A.D.) (pl. XXV, 19 a).<sup>4</sup>

21. Oval haematite gem (0.012 m. × 0.016 m.) with a scene of the punishment of Eros (Cupid) who is shown standing, facing left, his hands chained behind his back to a column surmounted by a griffin (γρύψ), facing left with one foot on the wheel of Nemesis; in the field, left, in front of Eros, ΔΙΚΑΙΩΣ (justly) (pl. XXV, 20).<sup>5</sup>

Eros or Cupid, the apparently charming god, was in fact, *invictus*,<sup>6</sup> the most dreadful of the gods (δεινότατον θεών)<sup>7</sup> whose work involved the joys and pains of love. The punishment he suffered at the hands of his mother Aphrodite, or of Psyche, formed a popular subject of classical art, in painting, as in the houses called 'casa dell'amore punito' at Pompeii, and on gems.<sup>8</sup> On the gem here discussed the punishment is being

<sup>1</sup> El-Khachab, loc. cit.; also Lafaye, *Culte des divinités d'Alexandrie*, 61; L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture*, 82.

<sup>2</sup> In the Department of Coins, Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

<sup>3</sup> The property of Mr. Mamdouh Riad.

<sup>4</sup> Mattingly, op. cit. III, 156, no. 745, pl. 26, 3.

<sup>5</sup> The property of Mr. G. Michailides.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Sophocles, *Antig.* 781.

<sup>7</sup> Lobel and Page, *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, Alc. no. 327, p. 265 (= Alcée, frag. 13, ed. Reinach).

<sup>8</sup> Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. 'Cupido'.

meted out by Nemesis, the goddess of revenge and punishment, in her form as a griffin.<sup>1</sup> The theme was also sometimes reproduced in terracotta, as in the small figure shown in fig. 2. On the gem the inscription *δικαίως* expresses the goddess's cry of revenge. According to Perdrizet, the weaker sex, being naturally more revengeful, frequently appeals to Nemesis.<sup>2</sup> Girls, always jealous of each other, often invoke this rancorous deity by writing letters, examples of which can be found among Alciphron's letters.<sup>3</sup> Thus Myrrha threatened her lover with the wrath of Nemesis because he had forsaken her.<sup>4</sup> This letter, says Perdrizet, 'pourrait être scellée d'une de ces entailles'<sup>5</sup>—such as the scene of Eros' punishment represented on this gem. Again according to Perdrizet the gem should

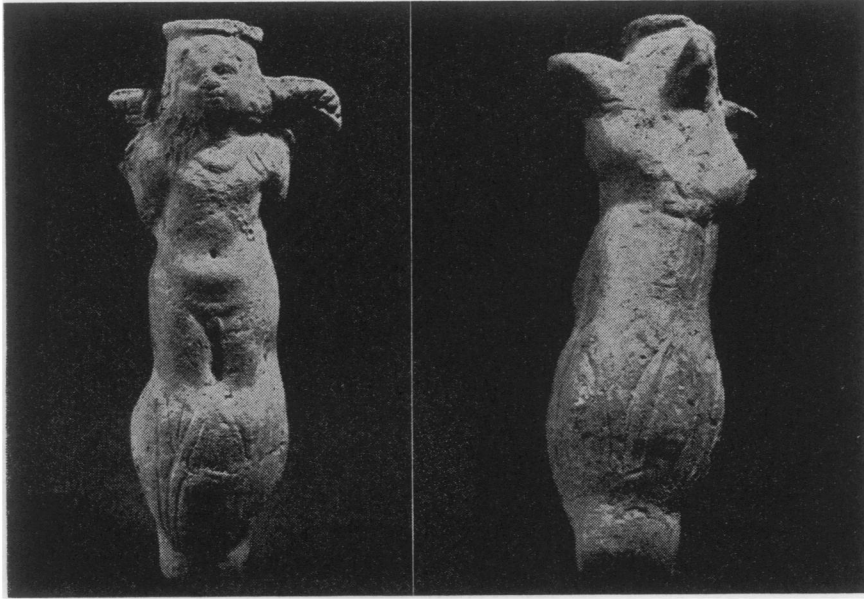


FIG. 2

probably be dated to the Roman Period: 'en général les monuments de la période romaine figurent à côté de Némésis le Griffon (*γρύψ*) posant la patte sur la roue'.<sup>6</sup>

22. Oval carnelian gem (0.020 m. × 0.015 m.) with a representation of Helios in a quadriga, facing front, with rays around head, holding reins and whip in one hand and raising the other in the gesture of a cosmocrator (pl. XXV, 21).<sup>7</sup>

Sun-worship became particularly important in the Roman Empire in the first and second centuries A.D. with the spread of the worship of Mithras. The creed was fostered by emperors for political reasons: the sun was the royal planet *par excellence*, "Ἥλιος ἀνίκητος or *sol invictus*, the cosmocrator or pantocrator, represented on many Roman coins of the period but in a manner different from that of Helios Serapis or Zeus Serapis

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Perdrizet, 'Némésis', *BCH* 36 (1912), 248 ff.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. *Epist.* IV, 6: 'The courtesan Thaïs will torment her colleagues not with language but with Nemesis.'

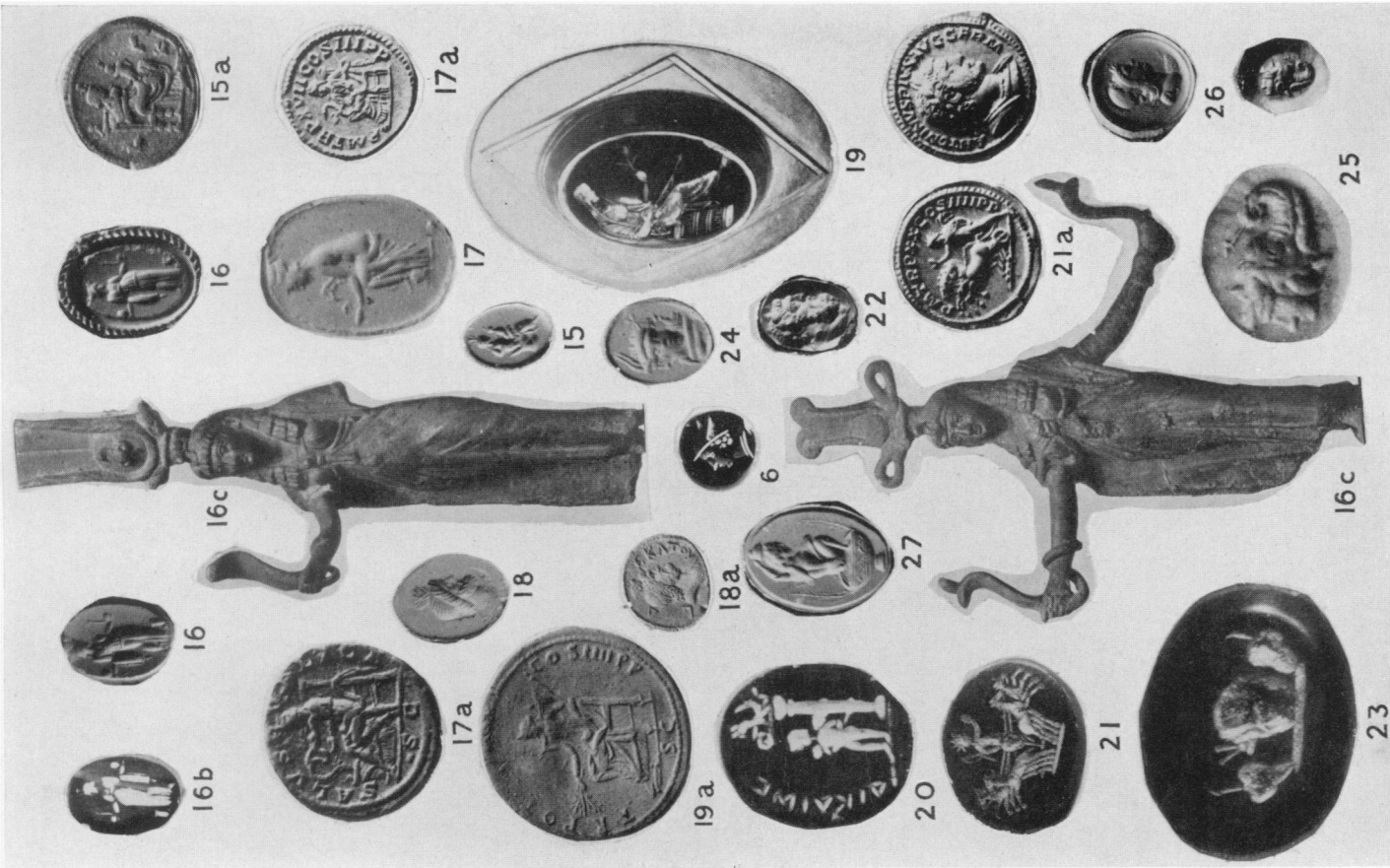
<sup>4</sup> *Epist.* IV, 10, 4.

<sup>5</sup> 'Némésis', *BCH* 36 (1912), 249.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 249.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 261.

<sup>7</sup> The property of Mr. Saad Abd el-Hadi from Mallawi.





GEMS FROM EGYPT WITH COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

frequently found on the coins of Alexandria.<sup>1</sup> The Roman monetary type was similar to that found on this gem and was used specially under the Antonines and by Caracalla (pl. XXV, 21 a) who was particularly devoted to the cult of *sol invictus*.<sup>2</sup> The four horses of the quadriga represented fire, water, earth, and air, the four elements of the universe which were governed by the Sun-god, the cosmocrator.

23. Oval green diorite gem (0.012 m. × 0.008 m.) of Graeco-Roman type, depicting a marvellous head of Dionysus, bearded and facing right, crowned with two vine leaves (pl. XXV, 22).<sup>3</sup>

24. Oval lapis-lazuli gem (0.017 m. × 0.010 m.) engraved with a beautiful representation of the bust of a Roman empress, crowned and facing left (pl. XXVI, 7).<sup>4</sup>

25. Square carnelian gem (0.012 m. square) with a very interesting representation of Harpocrates, standing, holding a short sword and adoring his mother Isis, as Tyche, who stands in front of him holding a cornucopia (pl. XXVI, 8).

This type of scene is Romano-Egyptian of the third century A.D.

26. Round carnelian gem (0.015 m. in diameter) with a head of Athena with three masks, one on the front of the helmet, the second behind it and the third on the goddess's shoulder (pl. XXV, 26).

This gem is probably of Renaissance date.

27. Oval jasper gem (0.020 m. × 0.014 m.) representing Aphrodite naked; seen from the back, with head turned right, bathing in a basket-shaped vessel, her hair hanging down her back. In her hand she holds a bowl with which she pours water over herself (pl. XXV, 27).

This gem, like the last, is probably to be dated to the Renaissance.

28. Oval agate gem (0.010 m. × 0.009 m.) in a modern gold ring, engraved with a very interesting representation of a snail coming out of its shell, moving left, with its two horns erect; on each side a leaf (pl. XXV, 23).

This gem, to be dated to the late Roman or Byzantine Period (which in Egypt was the Coptic Period), bears an amuletic or talismanic device. At this time the mythological subjects of the classical period were replaced by magical or Gnostic motives. The basic meaning of the scene on this gem is 'life', with the snail representing the womb in which the child is conceived. In earlier times Plautus had used the word *concha* for the female organ, and later the snail was considered a symbol of pleasure.<sup>5</sup> According to Pliny the snail was used as a remedy for female illnesses and functional troubles; it was also used to hasten birth.<sup>6</sup> It is still used today for the same purpose in Egypt.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Mattingly, *op. cit.* v, 465, no. 195, pl. 73, 2:

*Obverse*: Bust of the emperor wearing laurel crown, facing right; inscr. ANTONINVS PIVS AUG GERM.

*Reverse*: Sol standing in quadriga, facing left, with rays round head, one hand raised, the other holding rein and whip; inscr. P• M• TR• P• XX COS IIII P• P•.

<sup>2</sup> Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, 1, 291; see also the discussion of gem no. 19 above, with notes.

<sup>3</sup> This gem, and nos. 26, 27, are the property of Dr. Ali Askar.

<sup>4</sup> This gem and the next belong to Mrs. Malak Sharawi.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, s.v. Schneke; Plautus, *Rud.* 704, (Venus) *ex concha natam esse*; also W. Deonna, 'Le murex et la médisance', *Rev. arch.* 1960, tome 2, 142 and n. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Pliny, *NH* xxx, 3-4.

<sup>7</sup> Debono, 'Une utilisation médicinale de l'escargot au Sinai', *Cah. d'hist. ég.* 9 (1957), 44 ff. speaks of a bedouin recipe used medicinally: 'les bédouins en font une pâte avec du sucre, qui séchée au soleil sera administrée aux femmes en couche.' Also cf. Cabrol, *Dict. ant. chrét.*, s.v. 'Coquillage': 'Les chrétiens prennent l'escargot comme un symbole de tombe.'

29. Oval carnelian gem (0.014 m. × 0.011 m.) engraved with a full face of Dionysus flanked on each side by a satyr's mask, the left mask having two goat's horns (representing Pan) (pl. XXV, 24).

This type of combination of masks and of human and animal faces in a pleasant and eccentric way is called a *gryllus*. Their intention, like that of the talismanic gems, was to keep away the evil eye.<sup>1</sup>

30. Oval agate gem (0.012 m. × 0.008 m.) bearing a representation of an elephant's head, trunk raised and holding a javelin; the head is backed by an arrangement of three human masks (pl. XXV, 25).<sup>2</sup>

The date of this gem is Graeco-Roman period; elephants are not commonly shown on gems. Furtwängler mentions only one other stone with an elephant's head.<sup>3</sup> The representation on the gem here discussed is another example of a *gryllus*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. D. M. Robinson, 'The Robinson Coll. of Greek Gems', *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII (1949), 321 and n. 126; G. Richter, *Cat. of Engraved Gems*, pp. lvii-lviii. For the apotropaic purpose of these *grylloi* and of other representations on mosaics, cf. el-Khachab, 'Les Hammams du Kôm Trougah', *Ann. Serv.* 54, esp. p. 120, n. 1; 122.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Abd el Wahab-Mostafa is the owner of this gem and nos. 28 and 29. Cf. p. 151, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Antiken Gemmen*, II, 223, no. 35; pl. 46, 35: an elephant emerges from a shell. The same representation is found in M. Chabouillet, *Cat. gén. et rais. des camées et pierres gravées de la Bibl. Impér.*

## PAPYRUS LONDINIENSIS 98 (THE OLD COPTIC HOROSCOPE) AND PAPYRUS BODMER VI

By R. KASSER

HAVING published P. Bodmer VI,<sup>1</sup> I thought it useful to take up again a few points of P. Lond. 98<sup>2</sup> for which it seems possible to suggest a new interpretation.<sup>3</sup>

It is extremely difficult to compare two texts as different as P. Bodmer VI (called P hereafter) and the Old Coptic Horoscope (called H hereafter); at first sight everything seems opposed to such comparison: P is a *literary* text, fairly *long*, in a dialect which can already be called *Coptic*, contained in a manuscript of the *fourth-fifth century*, in a *good state of preservation*, written in very legible *uncials*; the oddities which it presents can mostly be elucidated by comparison with parallel texts. H is a *non-literary* text, very *short*,<sup>4</sup> in *Old Coptic*, of the *first-second century*, rather *badly preserved*, written in *cursive*. Nevertheless, the originality of P is such that it would be very useful not only for Coptic dialectology, but also for the history of the Sa'îdic version of the Old Testament, to attempt to find out, beyond P itself, something about its model, and to see if this model could ultimately be linked up temporally with a text like H, dated with a fairly high degree of precision by means of internal criteria independent of the palaeography.<sup>5</sup> It is obvious that the stake is of some importance.

I have already pointed out elsewhere<sup>6</sup> that our two manuscripts possess several striking graphic analogies: the use of supplementary letters originating in Demotic, letters which are found only in true 'Old Coptic' texts, to express Demotic *n* and *h*; note also the regular presence of *š*. Otherwise both present a dialectal form approaching in varying degrees Sa'îdic and Akhmîmic. This aspect of the question I have especially tried to study here by applying a few statistics.<sup>7</sup>

As can be expected, the vocabulary of H is far from coinciding regularly with that of P: only 72 per cent. of the words of H are also found in P, and this quantity represents only 10 per cent. of the total vocabulary of P. This 72 per cent. can be analysed

<sup>1</sup> R. Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer VI, Livre des Proverbes*, CSCO 194/copt. 27, and 195/copt. 28 (Louvain, 1960).

<sup>2</sup> J. Černý, the late P. E. Kahle, and R. A. Parker, 'The Old Coptic Horoscope', in *JEA* 43 (1957), 86-100.

<sup>3</sup> I had the pleasure of meeting Prof. Černý himself in Oxford in Feb. 1962 and we were able to discuss together these main points on which we found ourselves in complete agreement.

<sup>4</sup> H represents about 10 per cent. of P, or even 6-7 per cent. if one does not include passages which remain unintelligible.

<sup>5</sup> 'The date of the horoscope itself is in all probability A.D. 95, April 13. Unfortunately the decisive lines in the first column which give the position of the moon have been covered by brown paper in the present mounting and the date cannot be given with certainty. The papyrus was presumably written some years after the date of the horoscope and is therefore second century', J. Černý, etc., op. cit. 86.

<sup>6</sup> R. Kasser, op. cit., pp. xx-xxii.

<sup>7</sup> I am well aware how often the indications given by statistics are contestable, but I think that they can nevertheless give a first impression, albeit general, of the facts.

thus: identity 31 per cent., partial identity 13 per cent., divergence 28 per cent. The examples of identity are seldom spectacular, mostly concerning words like  $\pi\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\rho\omega\alpha\epsilon$ ,  $\omicron\gamma\beta\epsilon$  which are found in these very forms in four or five dialects, especially in S, A, and A<sub>2</sub>. One should perhaps also draw attention to the pronominal form of the preposition  $\alpha$ - (S:  $\epsilon$ -),  $\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$  in P and once in H (6 examples of  $\alpha\rho\alpha\varsigma$ , 2 of which are doubtful), the demonstrative article  $\pi\iota$ -, the preposition  $\bar{\pi}\epsilon\epsilon$ -.<sup>1</sup> In  $\rho\iota\iota$  of P, and  $\rho\epsilon$ —(?),  $\rho\iota\iota\varsigma$  or  $\rho\iota\varsigma$  of H, the identity is not absolute.

The examples of divergence exhibit almost all the combinations and relationships possible between P and H with one or other or a group of known dialects. It should perhaps strictly be noted that P has a certain preference for S while H has a similar preference for F and O, but not too much importance should be attached to the last fact, because our statistics have been compiled with the help of Crum's *Dictionary* and because in this work a large number of forms classified as O come precisely from H.

An evaluation of all the affinities of P and H<sup>2</sup> for one or other of the Coptic dialects mentioned in Crum's *Dictionary*<sup>3</sup> gives the following results: S with P 26 per cent., with H 22 per cent., A with P 20 per cent., with H 20 per cent., A<sub>2</sub> with P 19 per cent., with H 17 per cent., B with P 12 per cent., with H 10 per cent., F with P 11 per cent., with H 15 per cent., O with P 12 per cent., with H 16 per cent.<sup>4</sup> The differences in proportions are not considerable so that this method of comparing the languages of the two documents reveals only nuances. One wonders therefore why, in spite of all this, 28 per cent. of the vocabulary of H, or more precisely 39 per cent. of the vocabulary shared by H and P<sup>5</sup> should show absolute divergence. It is because in reality the influences of S, of A, etc. (if in fact they are truly influences<sup>6</sup>) do not show themselves in the same way in H and in P. Thus the Old Coptic Horoscope tends to Akhmîmic for  $\alpha\iota$  (S:  $\omicron\iota$ ) but to Sa'îdic for  $\alpha\alpha\iota\iota\tau\epsilon$ ; in P. Bodmer, on the contrary, we find  $\omicron\iota$  and  $\epsilon\alpha\iota\iota\tau\epsilon$ . For these two texts therefore we cannot speak of identity nor yet of linguistic parentage. The most we can admit is that this mixture of dialects probably indicates in P as in H a linguistic stage still little developed.

It is necessary therefore to come back to something which links P and H more certainly than dialect, namely the use of 'Old Coptic' graphic signs.<sup>7</sup> They both use — for  $\kappa$  (in certain cases for  $\alpha\alpha$ ) in a fairly irregular manner. In H this sign seems to appear only at the beginning of words<sup>8</sup> and it is used more frequently than in P. In

<sup>1</sup> I do not mention here those examples, the originality of which depends entirely on the use of  $\mathfrak{S}$  or of  $\mathfrak{Q}$  ( $\mathfrak{Q}$  in H).

<sup>2</sup> Cases of total or partial identity and of divergence.

<sup>3</sup> For convenience sake I classify, as Crum has done, O as 'one' dialect, though this does not at all correspond with the heterogeneity of the texts classified under this heading.

<sup>4</sup> See the preceding paragraph.

<sup>5</sup> See above: 39 per cent. = 28 per cent. of 72 per cent. (because another 28 per cent. of the words of H do not occur in P).

<sup>6</sup> See Postscript at the end of this article.

<sup>7</sup> The other characteristics of the Old Coptic texts being the use of  $\mathfrak{S}$  and the absence of  $\mathfrak{C}$  (of which I shall speak farther on, while dealing with the letter  $\kappa$ ).

<sup>8</sup> There would be an exception in  $\rho\epsilon$ — (S:  $\rho\alpha\iota$ ) which, however, is doubtful. Long slanting bars at the end of several words and often after  $\kappa$  seem to have another significance (punctuation?). On the other hand I wondered at one time whether — $\mathfrak{H}\alpha\iota$  (H, l. 122) did not correspond to  $\bar{\alpha}\mathfrak{H}\omicron\iota$  (Crum, *Dict.* 161a), P:  $\epsilon\mathfrak{H}\alpha\iota$ , but the context makes this interpretation little probable.



P, however, I noticed that the sign gradually disappears during the copying; thus, if the scribe of P, knowing the value of —, took the liberty of replacing it in most cases by κ, we may perhaps conclude that his model was nearer to H in the use of —. On the other hand P uses — in the middle of words also and it is even possible that the superlinear stroke of ⲛ (S: negation ⲁⲛ) has the same meaning. Finally, numerous examples show that P has confused — and ⲛ with which we shall deal farther on.

ϩ in P corresponds to Ϯ in H, to certain cases of ϣ of S A<sub>2</sub> B F; ϩ of A and to ϣ surmounted by a cross and two dots in the Akhmîmic copy of the Ascension of Isaiah published by Lacau. In several places H confuses this letter with ϩ, P confuses it once with ϩ, once with ϩ, several times with ϣ (and also ϩ with ϩ several times).<sup>1</sup>

H employs a few signs (or 'compendia') unknown to P—archaic survivals: the sign used to represent the sound ⲁⲛ might be interpreted as the equivalent of a hypothetical ⲟ ⲛ (to use the characters of P); it even seems possible that this 'compendium' may have been used in the model of P where the copyist has interpreted it as a ⲁ (he writes the Sa'idic negative particle ⲁⲛ usually as ⲁ, less frequently as ⲛ or ⲁⲁ). Other signs appear only once (H, ll. 127, 143, 159), and the irregularity of the writing of this text (which was written apparently in some haste in a cursive script) makes their interpretation in most cases rather difficult. Finally it is necessary to point out that for the signs we transcribe as ϣ, ϩ and ϩ, H uses extremely archaic characters which belong much more to Demotic than to Coptic proper.

P, on the other hand, is alone in making use of ⲛ corresponding often to *aleph* and sometimes being confused with — (for κ or *aleph*). On the contrary it regularly adopts the Demotic sign Ϯ for κ (except in words of 'Greek' origin), reserving κ to replace σ which is totally absent from this manuscript;<sup>2</sup> (this has resulted in some confusion when κ has been written for Ϯ, often next to a normal κ). In this case, however, I believe that the same usage can be found in H. The editors of this text have given us three words in which they interpret a sign closely resembling Ϯ as a ζ (for normal Coptic ε): ζⲁ- 'to drink', ζωϩ 'counsel', ζⲁⲗⲡⲛ 'to decide'. The contexts, however, allow the words κⲁ- 'to put', κωϩ 'to be jealous', κⲁⲗⲡⲛ 'to unveil',<sup>3</sup> to be equally possible. The three passages may then be translated: l. 149, 'he will be jealous of a woman and [perhaps she] will be jealous of him. . .', l. 153, ' . . . before it had been revealed for his good. . .', l. 175, 'and he will put his. . .'. It will also be noted that H often uses κ for σ (less regularly than P) in κω, —κϵ, ϩⲁⲣⲏⲛ. But in most cases it has reserved κ for κ; (this confusion can be observed sporadically in P).

There are two other cases where the divergences between P and H are perhaps more apparent than real. Is it quite certain that the verbal form ⲁϥⲁ-, etc., of H is a Third Future and not a Second Future?<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, we are not absolutely certain that the form ⲁϥⲁ-, etc., of P is a Second Future (it almost always follows ϩϵ

<sup>1</sup> I do not speak here of the S ϩⲏ, H ϩϵ always written ϩⲏ (!) by P (in very numerous instances).

<sup>2</sup> It uses also a ligature (ϣ) for the Sa'idic σϵ or σⲓ (or κⲁⲓ in the words of Greek origin).

<sup>3</sup> From σωⲗⲡ S A A<sub>2</sub> F or κωⲗⲡ S F . . . σⲁⲗⲡ = A<sub>2</sub>? More probably than from κωⲗⲡ 'steal' B only (but substantive κωⲗⲡ S B) which does not seem likely in the context.

<sup>4</sup> H has neither ϩϵ nor ϩϵⲁⲁϩ.

or  $\alpha\epsilon\zeta\alpha\alpha\alpha\epsilon$ ). There is also the case of the preposition  $\text{ϩ}\eta\omicron\gamma$ - (H, ll. 120, 122, 124, 129, 169) once written  $\text{ϩ}\eta$ - (l. 141). Is it out of the question to interpret it as  $\text{ϩ}\bar{\eta}$ - followed by the indefinite article? Except in l. 122, where it is perhaps a *lapsus*, this interpretation seems possible to me.<sup>1</sup>

To conclude: H and P are far from resembling one another, but they nevertheless present several very interesting points in common, and we may justifiably wonder whether the model copied carelessly and perhaps partly 'modernized' in P<sup>2</sup> did not represent a stage in the evolution of Coptic writing fairly near that of H. This possibility is by no means sufficient to prove that H and the model of P were contemporary; but could we not consider the possibility of placing the origin of the text preserved in P as early as the second century A.D.? If it ever were possible to confirm this suggestion with more certainty than I have been able to do, it would have a quite unexpected bearing on the history of the Coptic versions of the Bible, at least as far as the Sa'îdic translation of the Old Testament is concerned.

<sup>1</sup> Would it really be so strange to find the indefinite article  $\omicron\gamma$  only after  $\text{ϩ}\bar{\eta}$  in a text so short where the style varies but little because of the very subject treated (predictions)?

<sup>2</sup> This model might have had the same  $\eta$  and  $\zeta$  as H, letters which having specific equivalents in classical Coptic were immediately modernized by the copyist. Would this be the source of the confusions between  $\zeta$ (H  $\eta$ ) and  $\eta$ ?

#### Postscript (see p. 158, n. 6)

There are good reasons for thinking that P is the sole surviving representative of a dialect, hitherto unknown, which disappeared early from the linguistic field of Coptic. The 'irregularities' found in this manuscript should not force us to see in it a product, mixed artificially, and made up of borrowings from other forms of classical Coptic; these 'irregularities' are in fact not more numerous than those found in many of the manuscripts of the same period in all dialects, even Sa'îdic (practically all the non-Sa'îdic manuscripts of the fourth-fifth centuries differ from each other, each one representing a more or less isolated dialectal nuance). The special character of the dialects is marked less by pronunciation (which is unknown to us) than by orthography or even by the system of writing by means of which they are expressed. Each dialect had its own orthographic conventions of which we no longer know the exact phonetic equivalents. Whereas the consonantal and vowel structures of P seem to fall between S and A, its alphabet possesses undeniable originality, and in itself is sufficient to characterize it—for want of a geographically more precise term—as the 'dialect P'.

A CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTION IN GREEK FROM  
ARMENNA IN NUBIA  
(PENNSYLVANIA–YALE EXCAVATIONS)

By JOHN F. OATES

THIS stela was found during the 1962 season of the Pennsylvania–Yale Archaeological Expedition to Nubia under the direction of Prof. William K. Simpson of Yale University. The expedition was conducted on behalf of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and the Peabody Museum of Yale University with funds provided by the Eckley B. Coxe, Jr., Endowment of the University Museum, the Bollingen Foundation of New York, and the Department of State of the United States under a programme designed to aid the salvage of Nubian archaeological sites. The text was discovered lying in a disturbed mass of rubble on top of the bench surrounding the small church north of the monastery at Armenna West, a site some 14 miles north of Abû Simbel. At Prof. Simpson's request I have undertaken the study of this inscription.<sup>1</sup>

The sandstone funerary stela is 45 cm. high, 35 cm. wide, and 6.5–7 cm. thick; the inscribed surface is 35 cm. high and 25 cm. wide and is surrounded on all four sides by a raised band *c.* 5 cm. wide. The letters are *c.* 1 cm. in height. The stone has a criss-cross design inscribed on the raised margin at right and left. Also on the margin at the top are the cross, the alpha, the omega, and the fish that precede the text. The stone has the expedition inventory no. 119 and in the division of finds was assigned to the Egyptian Museum (*Journal d'entrée*, no. 89739). I have worked solely from the excellent photograph reproduced here and from information provided by Prof. Simpson. A field copy of the text was made by Mr. Nicholas B. Millet. I profited a great deal from discussion of the text with Prof. C. Bradford Welles, and Prof. Alan E. Samuel helped me on several matters of chronology.

This inscription contains the prayer for the dead taken from the liturgy of the Byzantine church and which can still be found in the missal of the Orthodox Church, *Τὸ Εὐχολόγιον Μέγα*. This same text has been found on a number of other inscriptions, the first of which was published in 1826.<sup>2</sup> Around 1900 there was a certain flurry of interest in the texts when six of these inscriptions were known, and the most important commentary on them was W. Weissbrodt, 'Ein aegyptischer christlicher

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bruce Graham Trigger has undertaken the publication of this area of the expedition's work. Preliminary reports by Prof. Simpson have appeared in *The Illustrated London News* for June 24, 1961, and July 15, 1961, and in *Expedition*, IV, 4 (1962), 36–46 with a photograph of the inscription published here on p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Vidua, *Inscriptiones antiquae a comite Carolo Vidua in Turcico itinere collectae* (Paris, 1826), pl. xx, no. 1 (no. 11 in the list below).

Grabstein aus der gr. Liturgie im kön. Lyceum Hosianum zu Braunsberg u. ähnliche Denkmäler in auswärtigen Museen', *Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen am Kön. Lyceum Hosianum zu Braunsberg*, 1905–6 (1905) and part II (1909), which was unavailable to me.<sup>1</sup> These six were all published by Lefebvre in his *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte* (Cairo, 1907). The following list includes these six, the eleven discovered or published since 1907,<sup>2</sup> and the inscription published here, making a total of eighteen. The arrangement is chronological.<sup>3</sup>

1. C. Michalowski, 'Polish excavations at Faras, 1961', *Kush* 10 (1962), 220 ff., pl. lxxviii (photo. only); id., 'New discoveries at Faras in Nubia', *Archaeology* 15 (1962), 117, fig. 5 (photo. only); id., *Faras. Fouilles polonaises 1961* (Warsaw, 1962), 111 and fig. 46 (p. 110).  
Found at Faras.  
Date: year of the martyrs 722 (A.D. 1006).
2. Lefebvre, 665; provenance unknown. The stone was destroyed in 1882, but a squeeze is or was owned by the Bishop of Limerick (see Lefebvre's introduction to the text).<sup>4</sup>  
Date: year of the martyrs 723 (A.D. 1007).
3. The inscription published below.  
Found at Armenna West and now in Cairo (*Journal d'entrée*, no. 89739).  
Date: year of the martyrs 748 (A.D. 1032).
4. J. W. Crowfoot, *JEA* 13 (1927), 230, no. 5 (photo. only), pl. 47; *SB* IV (1931), 7432; Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia Medioevale*, I (1935), 218.  
From Meinarti, now in Museum at Khartûm, no. 16.  
Date: year of the martyrs 800 (A.D. 1084).
5. Lefebvre, 564; acquired at Aswân and now in Cairo.  
Date: year of the martyrs 873 (A.D. 1157).
6. H. Kortenbeutel, 'Ein griechischer Grabstein aus Nubien', *Zeit. für neutest. Wissenschaft* 37 (1938), 61 ff.; *SB* V, 2 (1955), 8763; acquired at Luxor, now in Berlin Museum, Inv. no. 19780.  
Date: year of the martyrs 873 (A.D. 1157).
7. Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia Medioevale*, I (1935), 218–19.  
Found at Meinarti, now at Wadi Halfa, H. 184.  
Date: year of the martyrs 878 (A.D. 1162).
8. K. Michalowski, *Kush* 10 (1962), 220 ff., pl. lxxviii (photo. only); id., *Archaeology* 15 (1962), 117, fig. 2 (photo. only); id., *Faras. Fouilles pol. 1961*, 116 and fig. 49 on p. 115.  
Found at Faras.  
Date: year of the martyrs 885 (A.D. 1169).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Other bibliography earlier or later than Weissbrodt can be found in H. Junker, 'Die christlichen Grabsteine Nubiens', *ZÄS* 60 (1925), 111–48, which is the most recent and most important discussion of all Christian inscriptions from Nubia.

<sup>2</sup> Two of these inscriptions (nos. 1 and 8) were found at Faras in 1961 by the Polish expedition there; the Director of the excavations, Prof. Kazimierz Michalowski, kindly sent me excellent photographs which I was able to study in advance of the publication in *Faras. Fouilles pol. 1961* (Warsaw, 1962).

<sup>3</sup> The following short titles are used in the list: Lefebvre: G. Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte* (Cairo, 1907). Kaufmann: C. M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1917). *SB*: *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*. *SEG*: *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*.

<sup>4</sup> In all cases I have given the most recently published statement of location; these statements range in date from 1907 to 1938. I have not attempted to reproduce publications or bibliography before Lefebvre's article.

<sup>5</sup> Date based on an unpublished text found at Faras in 1962, kindly communicated by Michalowski.

9. Lefebvre, 666; *SB* I (1915), 5716; provenance unknown, now at Braunsberg, Lyceum Hosianum.  
Date: year of the martyrs 889 (A.D. 1173).
10. Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia Medioevale*, I (1935), 196.  
Found at Faras in the Church of the River Gate.  
Date: year of the martyrs 897 (A.D. 1181).
11. S. de Ricci, *CRAIBL* (1909), 153 ff. (facsimile p. 155); *SB* III (1926), 6035; *SB* V 2 (1955), 8765; acquired at Luxor, present location unknown.  
Date: year of the martyrs 898 (A.D. 1181).
12. Lefebvre, 636; Kaufmann, 148; *SB* V, 2 (1955), 8728.  
Found at Colasucia, now at Turin.  
Date: in doubt, see below.
13. Lefebvre, 664; Aigrain, *Manuel d'épigr. chr.* II, *Inscriptions grecques* (1913), no. 51; Kaufmann, 146-7; L. Robert, *Inscr. grecques de la Coll. Froehner* (Paris, 1936), 81, pl. 41. Provenance unknown; now at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.  
Date: in dispute, see below.
14. Lefebvre, 667; provenance unknown, now in British Museum no. 939.  
Date: lost.
15. Blackman, *The Temple of Dendûr* (Cairo, 1911), 60, pl. 93 (this publication unavailable to me); *SB* I (1915), 4949; Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia Medioevale*, IV (1957), pl. 133 (photo. only).  
Found at Dendûr; I have no information as to its present location.  
Date: in doubt, see below.
16. J. W. Crowfoot, *JEA* 13 (1927), 228, no. 2; *SB* IV (1931), 7429; *SEG* VIII (1937), 872. Found at Sheikh 'Arab Hag, now in Museum at Khartûm, no. 29.  
Date: apparently omitted.
17. J. W. Crowfoot, *JEA* 13 (1927), 229, no. 3, pl. 46, fig. 1 (photo. only); *SB* IV (1931), 7430; Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia Medioevale*, I (1935), 245.  
Found at Khalêwa, now in Museum at Khartûm, no. 17.  
Date: lost.
18. H. B. Nicholson, *Sudan Notes and Records*, XVI (1933), 83 and pl. 9; *SB* V, 1 (1934), 8235; *SEG* VIII (1937), 875.  
Found at El Arak 20 miles north of Meroë, no information available to me of its present location.  
Date: lost.

These inscriptions as a group provide important evidence for the history of Christianity in Nubia. They were studied from this point of view along with all the other Christian epitaphs from Nubia by H. Junker, in his article 'Die christlichen Grabsteine Nubiens', *ZÄS* 60 (1925), 111-48.<sup>1</sup> Junker knew of the texts numbered 2, 5, 9, 11, 12, 13, and 14 in the list above (seven texts in all) and calls this 'das wichtigste Gebet' of the prayers that appear on Greek inscriptions. The direct connexion of Nubian Greek texts with the Byzantine liturgy, furthermore, led Junker to conclude that Nubian Christianity had direct connexions with Constantinople and was relatively uninfluenced by the Coptic Christianity of Egypt directly to the north.

These texts are, however, not free from a great deal of minor variation in wording, both variants from the liturgical texts and differences among themselves (see the liturgical

<sup>1</sup> No one has studied these inscriptions as a group since this time, and Junker provides a bibliography of earlier work. The most useful from a theological point of view is the discussion of H. Leclercq, *Dict. d'archéologie chrétienne*, I (Paris, 1907), s.v. 'âme', coll. 1528-36.

text below). Some of the variants in both categories are textual and these are discussed in the commentary below. Most are spelling variations, omissions, and lapses. None the less, the quality of Greek in all these stones is very high and that of nos. 1, 5, 16, and 17 would do justice to the standards of the best periods of Greek epigraphy. Even our inscription, the most misspelled of this whole group, compares favourably with stones of the same period found in Asia Minor, Syria, Greece, or Egypt. Furthermore, the so-called mistakes upon examination and analysis can be found to fall for the most part into three or four categories. The greatest number in our inscription arise from confusion of *o*-sounds: *o* and *ω*. Thus *το* for *τῶ*, *τωπο* for *τόπω*, *φοτινον* for *φωτινῶ*, and many others. Iotacism accounts for many others, and *η*, *ι*, *οι*, *υ* are all confused: thus *καταργισας* for *καταργήσας*, *κολπις* for *κόλποις*, *δηανια* for *διανοία*, *νειν* for *νῦν*, *συ* for *σοι*, *ις* for *εἰς*. The third large group is caused by the confusion, addition, or omission of the final letters *ν* and *ς*; thus *αδη* for *ἄδην*, *κοσμων* for *κόσμω*, *χαρισαμενον* for *χαρισάμενος*, *ψυχη* for *ψυχῆν*, *φοτινον* for *φωτινῶ*, *χλοη* for *χλόης*, *τοπος* for *τόπω*, *λογον* for *λόγω*, *σαρκο* for *σαρκός*. This evidence strongly suggests that final *ν* and final *ς* were not pronounced at the end of words, perhaps a development analogous to the loss of final sounds in some words in modern Greek. Also *τανατον*, *εντ'*, and *αλητια* suggest that in Nubia *θ* (used only in *ἀγαθός* here) remained an aspirate; confusion between *τ* and *θ* is also evident in the other inscriptions of this group and Sturtevant, *Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, 85, points out that in the standard pronunciation of Greek *θ* was an aspirate until the ninth century A.D. in spite of the fact that beginning in the first century the spirant pronunciation had begun and gradually spread. The relatively far-off area of Nubia might well be expected to be conservative in matters of pronunciation.

Omissions account for other variations: the *ει* of *εἰς* in l. 13, *αιων* of *αιωνον* (read *αἰώνων*) in l. 19, *ἀναμλπομεν* for *ἀναμέλπομεν* in l. 17. *Καταπατήσας* has apparently been left out in the phrase *τὸν ἄδην καταπατήσας* which should occur in l. 3, and there should be a *καὶ* between *Ἄβραάμ* and *Εἰσάκ* in l. 6.

The mistakes in this inscription, then, are nearly all the result of the spoken pronunciation of Greek and themselves testify to the extensive knowledge of Greek in Nubia. The variations in this text from the other inscriptions and its relationship to these other texts is discussed more fully in the commentary on the individual lines and words.

In spite of its general similarity to other inscriptions of the same type, our epitaph can help the interpretation of the whole group of texts on two points. First, it was found in Nubia and this helps to strengthen the already highly probable assumption that all stones with this prayer inscribed on them came originally from Nubia. No one had actually doubted this, but of the eighteen texts this is only the eleventh actually found in Nubia, although there is none that could not have been from there and none has ever been found elsewhere. Second, the date of this inscription makes stronger the possibility that all of these inscriptions fall between *c.* A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1200. On four inscriptions the date is missing, nos. 14, 16, 17, and 18 in the above list. Eleven of the other fourteen are firmly dated, the earliest is A.D. 1006 and the latest A.D. 1182. The



A GREEK INSCRIPTION FROM ARMENNA  
(Cairo J. d'E. 89739)

date on no. 12 has been variously read, but de Ricci's suggestion<sup>1</sup> to read  $\psi\theta$  instead of  $\nu\theta$  (*upsilon* and *psi* are made in the same way in these inscriptions; *psi* merely has its hasta extending up between the two oblique strokes) would date the inscription to A.D. 993, reasonable in the light of the others. On no. 13 L. Robert in his edition of the stone did not venture a guess as to the correct reading and it certainly resembles nothing else known as a numeral in Greek inscriptions. Kaufmann<sup>2</sup> read ( $\xi$ τους) ξ, i.e. A.D. 344, but apart from the other inscriptions and their dating, such a date places the inscription before Nubia itself was christianized, which event took place in the middle of the sixth century A.D.<sup>3</sup> It might be plausible to accept Weissbrodt's suggestion<sup>4</sup> that the peculiar sign is a double *κορρα* and read the date as year 960, that is, A.D. 1244, reasonably close to that of the other inscriptions. In no. 15 the last line has been read thus: [. . . μαρτύρων Διοκλητια]γο(ϑ): ρθ: ϛ. But there is no parallel in these inscriptions for Διοκλητιανου; only ἀπὸ μαρτύρων is used. This inscription too must remain a puzzle, although from the very small photograph in Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia Medioevale*, IV, pl. 133, either *vos* or *ψος* could be the correct reading.

Thus this examination shows that all the clear positive evidence is in favour of dating all of these inscriptions between c. A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1200; and, furthermore, there is no clear evidence which would contradict this statement.

#### Text

(Cross)    A    Ω    (Fish)

Ο θς των πνετον ζ πασας σαρκο  
 ο τον τανατον καταργισας ζ τον  
 αδη ζ ζωην το κοσμων χαρισα  
 μενον ανλναυσον τη ψυχη την  
 5 δουλου σου Μαριηω εν κολπις Αβραμ  
 ου Εισακ ζ Ιακοβ εν τωπο φωτινον  
 εν τοπο χλοη εν τοπος αναψυξε  
 ος εν ταπεδρα οδηγε ζ αναπαυσε  
 ος στεναγμων παν αμαρτημα  
 10 παραχτοντα λογον εν εργον η κ  
 ατα δηανια παρα αυτον ος μο  
 νον αγαθον ζ φυλαων σινχορι  
 σιν δικαιος ζ δικαιοινηη σου ϛ τον  
 αιονα ο λογον αλητια συ χα  
 15 ρι αναπαυσον την ψυχη τυ  
 δουλου σου<sub>μα</sub> την αναστασις ζ  
 συ τυ δοξα αναμλπομεν τω

<sup>1</sup> *CRAIBL*, 1909, 160-1.

<sup>2</sup> *Handbuch der altchr. Epigraphik*, 146.

<sup>3</sup> See U. Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia cristiana (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 118, Rome, 1938)*, 60.

<sup>4</sup> Reported in Kaufmann, *Handbuch der altchr. Epigraphik*, 146, n. 1.



πρι ζ του υυ ζ του αγιου πνε νειν  
 ζ αει ζ ις τους αιωνας τον ον αμιν

20

*Nubian*

*Nubian* παηνη ιζ απο μαρτηρο  
 να ψμη κς ειρηνης αμην

The following text is that of this same prayer as it appears in the Byzantine missal, *Τὸ Εὐχολόγιον Μέγα*, in this case taken from the still standard edition by J. Goar, *Euchologion sive rituale Graecum* (Venice, 1730, photographic reprint Graz, 1960); this provides a standard printed version which can serve in some respects as a commentary on our inscription. The text is clearly not the same in all particulars and the Nubian inscriptions, as we shall see in the commentary below, also differ from it in details as a group. None the less, it is useful to have this text before us, offering as it does an explanation of many points in the inscription with a printed text easier to translate than that of the inscription.

Ὁ θεὸς τῶν Πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὁ τὸν θάνατον καταπατήσας, τὸν δὲ διάβολον καταργήσας, καὶ ζωὴν τῷ κόσμῳ σου δωρησάμενος, αὐτὸς Κύριε ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ κεκοιμημένου δούλου σου, τοῦδε, ἐν τόπῳ χλοερῶ, ἐν τόπῳ ἀναψύξεως, ἔνθα ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη, λύπη καὶ στεναγμός. πᾶν ἁμάρτημα τὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ πραχθέν, ἐν λόγῳ, ἢ ἔργῳ, ἢ διανοίᾳ, ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος Θεὸς συγχώρησον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος ὃς ζήσεται καὶ οὐχ ἁμαρτήσῃ. Σὺ γὰρ μόνος ἐκτὸς ἁμαρτίας, ἡ δικαιοσύνη σου δικαιοσύνη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ ὁ λόγος σου ἀλήθεια. ὅτι σὺ εἶ ἡ ἀνάστασις ἢ ζωὴ καὶ ἡ ἀνάπαυσις τοῦ κεκοιμημένου δούλου σου, τοῦδε, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν. Καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν, σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ σου Πατρί, καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου Πνεύματι· νῦν καὶ αἰεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. (From J. Goar, *Euchologion*, p. 424.)

**Translation**

God of spirits and all flesh, You who have trod under death and have rendered ineffectual the devil, and have given life to Your world, rest the soul of Your departed servant (NAME) in a place of verdure, in a place of refreshment; therein grief, pain, and mourning have fled. Pardon every sin done by him in word, or deed, or thought, since You are a good God and love mankind, because there is no man who will live and will not sin. For You alone are outside sin, Your justice is justice for ever, and Your word is truth, because You are the resurrection, the life, and the repose of Your departed servant (NAME), Christ our God, and to You we send up glory with Your everlasting Father and the all-holy and good and life-giving Spirit, now and always and for ever. Amen.

**Commentary**

The purpose of this commentary is mainly to elucidate our inscription by comparing its text with that in the other extant copies, nos. 1, 2 and 4–17 in the list above (no. 18 has been omitted throughout, for the photograph is too small to read and the printed text not in suitable format; further, less than half of it is preserved). This comparative analysis, besides making clearer this inscription, shows that knowledge of Greek was

widespread in Nubia and that there are a variety of valid textual variations to be found in the inscriptions.

Minor variations in spelling are not specifically noted here as they have been mentioned above or are easily made clear by referring to Goar's text of the prayer.

1. Read  $\pi\nu\epsilon(\nu\mu\acute{\alpha})\tau\omega\nu$  and  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta\varsigma \sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\kappa}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ . All the inscriptions begin  $\sigma \overline{\theta\varsigma}$ , the standard abbreviation for  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ . There is wider variation in the abbreviation of  $\pi\nu\epsilon\nu\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ . The standard (see most recently for instance A. H. R. E. Paap, *Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the first five centuries A.D.*, *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava*, VIII, Leiden, 1959) apparently was  $\pi\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$  and inscriptions nos. 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, and 17 have this; but 5 has  $\pi\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$ ; 6  $\pi\nu\acute{\alpha}$ ; 10  $\pi\nu\tau\omega\nu$ ; 13  $\pi\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\nu$ . There is no line visible above either abbreviation in our inscription, but in the photograph these lines could be obscured by the raised margin. All the other inscriptions have  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta\varsigma \sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\kappa}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  except no. 4 which reads  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  [ $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\kappa}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ].  $\text{Καί}$  with one exception in this inscription is represented by  $\varsigma$ . Nos. 9, 11, and 13 introduce this prayer with  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha\tau\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon \pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\varsigma} \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon \upsilon\iota\acute{\omicron}\upsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\upsilon \pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ .
2. All the other inscriptions have  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$  and  $\eta$  in  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\gamma\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  although 4 and 6 write  $\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\gamma\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ . All the other inscriptions have  $\kappa\alpha\iota \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\nu \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  (10 and 15 lacuna). Variants of these spellings are recorded:  $\tau\omega\nu \alpha\delta\eta\nu$  in 12;  $\tau\omicron\nu \alpha\delta\eta\nu$  in 13;  $\tau\omicron \alpha\delta\eta\nu$  in 6 and 7.  $\text{Καταπατήσας}$  is used in 1, 4, 8, 9, 11, 13, 16, and 17;  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  in 5 and 6;  $\pi\alpha\theta\alpha\sigma\eta\varsigma$  in 12;  $\pi\alpha\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  in 2;  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\pi\alpha\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  in 14;  $\gamma\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  in 7. It seems likely that  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  was omitted accidentally from this inscription. Quite clearly in Nubia  $\kappa\alpha\iota \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\nu$  was the accepted text against the  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon} \delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu$  of Goar's *Euchologion*. Also Goar's text uses  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  with  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ . The Nubian texts consistently reverse the order of the two words  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\gamma\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  and  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ .
3.  $\text{Καί ζῶν τῷ κόσμῳ χαρισάμενος}$  occurs with small variations in all these inscriptions contrasting with the  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\omega \kappa\acute{\omicron}\sigma\mu\omega \sigma\omicron\nu \delta\omega\rho\eta\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  of Goar's text.  $\text{Του κοσμου}$  occurs in 6 and 12;  $\tau\omega \kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\nu$  in 4;  $\text{Κοσμον}$  in 10; variations in o-sounds and endings similar to those in our inscription.  $\text{Χαρισάμενος}$  is found everywhere except here and in no. 2:  $\text{χαριζάμενος}$  and 10:  $\text{χαρασαμανος}$ .
4. Stone has  $\alpha\nu\lambda\nu\alpha\upsilon\sigma\omicron\nu$  but  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\omicron\nu$  is clearly meant. In no. 8  $\nu\alpha\pi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\omicron\nu$  occurs, otherwise  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\omicron\nu$ .

It is possible to interpret the  $\tau\eta\nu$  in this line in the sense, 'the soul, the one of your servant', but  $\tau\eta\nu$  is unexpected. Phraseology varies here;  $\tau\eta\nu \psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}\nu$  occurs in 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, and 17 (also  $\tau\eta\nu \psi$  in 5,  $\tau\eta\nu \psi\upsilon\chi\eta$  in 16), but nos. 1, 7, 9, 11, and 14 omit any form of this word and make  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$  depend on  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\omicron\nu$ . Nos. 2, 6, 10, 13, and 17 and our inscription add a form of  $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  after  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}\nu$  and then give the name of the deceased. Nos. 5, 8, 12, and 16 follow  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}\nu$  with the name of the deceased. No. 15 has a lacuna here and no. 4 has left out the name of the deceased. The  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \text{Κύριε}$  and the word  $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\omicron\iota\mu\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon$  of Goar's text never appear in the Nubian inscriptions.

5. The name *Μαρινω* I cannot find attested elsewhere, not in Nubia, nor in any index of names to collections of papyri or inscriptions, nor in Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance to the Septuagint*. *Κόλποισ* occurs in all these inscriptions except here and no. 12: *κολποσι*. The words are omitted in nos. 14 and 16, in no. 14 perhaps by oversight, but no. 16 omits the whole phrase including the patriarchs and probably represents a variant text.
7. The following phrase beginning  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\acute{\omicron}\pi\omega$  shows a great deal of spelling variation at every point, but there is also a seeming textual variation here. Nos. 5 and 8 entirely omit this phrase and nos. 4, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17 have only the first and third elements, leaving nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 11, and 12 and our inscription with all three elements. Nos. 4 and 14 read  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  for  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\psi\acute{\upsilon}\xi\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ , but this may be an easy confusion rather than a true variant. The second element

when included was apparently the noun *χλόη* rather than the adjective *χλοερός* which is in Goar's text. There are many variant spellings.

The letter ξ has a peculiar Nubian form, a form which was used in Old Nubian in loan words from Greek for the ξ sound and which is carried over into the actual writing of Greek. See Zyhlarz, *Grundzüge der nubischen Grammatik im christlichen Frühmittelalter*, Leipzig, 1928 (*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 18, 1), 6.

8. The next phrase too has a great many minor spelling variations. Nos. 4, 7, and 12 agree with our inscription; the rest write *ἐνθ' ἀπέδρα* or *ἐνθα ἀπέδρα*. With an incredible number of variant spellings all the inscriptions but ours agree in having the three elements *ὀδύνη*, *λύπη*, and *στεναγμός*. The variant in this inscription is probably the result of some confusion, but it can be construed if *ἀναπαυσεος* is taken with *ἐν τόπω*.
9. In the next phrase again, apart from spelling variants there are certain textual variations. In general *πᾶν ἀμάρτημα παρ' αὐτοῦ παραθέν* is the phrase, but nos. 5, 6, 8, and 16 have only *παραθέν*. The *παραχτοντα* here may partially arise from confusion with *παρὰ αὐτοῦ* and perhaps the stone-cutter realized he had omitted these words and included them at the end after *δηανια*, but considering his consistency in substituting τ for θ we can easily see *παραχθέντα* here; *παραχθ[ε]ντα* occurs in no. 10 and other variants elsewhere: *πρακθο'* in 4; *παρχθον* in 7; *προχθον* in 13; *πραχθη* in 14. All the inscriptions agree, over and above spelling variation, in reading *λόγω ἢ ἔργω ἢ κατὰ διανοίαν* opposed to Goar's text with *διανοία*. *Ἐν* occurs only here and in no. 2: *ἐν λόγῳ ἢ ἐν ἔργῳ*. The ἦ is omitted between *λόγῳ* and *ἔργῳ* in nos. 12, 13, 14, and 15. Nos. 5, 6, 8, and 12 add the phrase *ἄνες ἄφες*, 'pardon, condone', not found in Goar's text nor in the other inscriptions.
11. It is difficult to tell if *ὄς* is intended or *ὡς* since either makes perfectly good sense. Actually most of the inscriptions have *ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος συγχώρησον*. *Ὅς* is also read in no. 12. Nos. 1 and 2 also have *μόνος* which occurs nowhere else. Goar's text includes the word *θεός* which occurs in none of the inscriptions. The accusative endings in our inscription may come from the confusion of endings in general or these words may be taken as the object of *συχωρισιν* referring to the dead man, which would make sense even if it does not follow the pattern of the prayer.
13. After the word *συγχώρησον* all the other inscriptions add with a variety of spellings the phrase *ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ζήσεται καὶ οὐχ ἀμαρτήσεται. σὺ γὰρ ὁ μόνος θεὸς πάσης ἀμαρτίας ἐκτὸς ὑπάρχεις*. There are obvious textual variations, however: nos. 2, 4, 16 write *σὺ γὰρ εἶ μόνος*; nos. 4, 7, 9, 11, 16, and 17 omit *θεός*. And while nos. 2, 12, 13, 15, 16, and 17 have the text given above, nos. 4, 7, 9, 11, and 14 omit *πάσης* and nos. 5 and 8 have simply *ἐκτὸς ἀμαρτίας* without *ὑπάρχεις* and no. 6 reads *εἰ ἀμαρτίας*. None of these texts is exactly the same as that of Goar. The next phrase (*δίκαιος*, etc.) seems to have puzzled the stone-cutter and well it might as it is awkward at best and the repetition of sounds could easily cause confusion. In making *δίκαιος* an adjective agreeing with *ὄς* the stone-cutter may be trying to make sense of the passage and might, therefore, be giving evidence for his knowledge of Greek. For, having turned *μόνον ἀγαθὸν καὶ φιλόανθρωπον* into an accusative modifying the deceased, he now refers *δίκαιος* to God; *καί* then begins a new idea. The change of ι to σ in our inscription would result in a correct phonetic spelling. There are three distinct textual variations in this phrase; one goes *καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη σου δικαιοσύνη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* (nos. 2, 7, 9, 14, 16, and 17); another *δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* (nos. 5, 6 and 8); and another *ἡ δικαιοσύνη δικαιοσύνη* (nos. 4, 11, 12, 13, and 15). The last two variants do not really make much sense and our inscription may have struggled with this problem. Goar's text agrees with the first variation. After *αἰῶνα* most of the inscriptions have *κε*, i.e. *κύριε*. Nos. 9, 11, and 14 have *κ* only; no. 7 *καί*; no. 12 omits. Goar's text does not have it.

14. 'Ο λόγος σου ἀλήθεια occurs in all the inscriptions with only spelling variations except in no. 12 where it is omitted. Nos. 5, 6, and 8 add διαμένη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα after ἀλήθεια. Nos. 4, 13, 15, and 16 have ἡ ἀλήθεια.

14-15. σν χα|ρι. The *iota* is cut close to the *rho* and followed by a space. It appears most likely that this is correct and intended to be a form of χάρις, 'grace', and it is certainly possible to translate 'You with grace rest the soul of your servant'. Undoubtedly in some way the text of the prayer is confused; but as usual the stone is correct on its own terms.

σὺ γὰρ εἶ (or οἱ or ἡ or ι) occurs in all the other inscriptions. No. 17 alone has σὺ γὰρ εἶ ἡ ἀνάπαυσις. There are textual variations in the rest of the phrase. Discounting minor variations, we find one type as ἀνάπαυσις καὶ ἀνάστασις τοῦ δούλου σου *Name* (nos. 1, 2, 14, and 17); another has the words reversed ἀνάστασις καὶ ἀνάπαυσις τοῦ δούλου σου *Name* (nos. 5, 6, and 8); another has ἡ ἀνάπαυσις τοῦ δούλου σου *Name* καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις (nos. 4, 12, 13, 15, and probably our inscription is based on this text); and another merely ἡ ἀνάπαυσις τοῦ δούλου σου *Name* (nos. 7, 9, 11, and 16). Goar's text is another variation.

τν or πν is clearly the reading at the end of the line.

16. After σου the letters μα are crowded in between ll. 16 and 17 and are probably an attempt quickly abandoned to squeeze in the omitted name Μαριηω. The η of την has been partially effaced on the stone.

17. τν is clearly the reading. There is a small line above these letters which may indicate that the stone-cutter knew he had omitted the vowel.

The doxology is entirely omitted in nos. 6 and 14; no. 2 has only καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν and no. 15 καὶ σοὶ τῆς [...] ἀναπελπο. Nos. 2, 6, 14, and 15 along with 4, 7, 9, 11, and 13 also omit the νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ κτλ. Ἀμήν occurs in nos. 1, 3, 5, 8, 10, and 13; υἱθ equals ἀμήν in nos. 9 and 11.

It might be possible to see the change in case from πατρί to υἱοῦ as a confusion of o-sounds, but it may also be a confusion of textual variants. Nos. 5, 8, 10, 12, and 16 are consistent in using the dative, while nos. 4, 7, 9, and 11 are equally consistent in using the genitive. Only 3 and 13 use τῷ πατρί and then switch to the genitive. Most of the inscriptions show a certain difficulty with ἀναμέλπομεν. Ἀναμέλπωμεν is used in nos. 5, 8, and 13; ἀναμέλπομεν in 11; ἀναμλομεν here in 3; ἀναμεπομεν in 12; ἀνεμπομεν in 16; no. 1, however, has ἀναπέμπωμεν; no. 17 [...]πεμπωμεν; no. 4 ἀναπελ[...]; no. 10 ἀναπε[.]πωμεν; no. 14 ἀναπελπο; no. 7 ἀναπελπομεν; no. 9 ἀναπελπομεν. There may well have been textual variants here; ἀναμέλπομεν is perfectly understandable, and Goar's text has ἀναπέμπωμεν. But these do not explain the forms with -πελ-. In fact it seems necessary to postulate a meaningless ἀναπέλομεν to account for all the variations in the inscriptions.

20. This line and the first four letters of the following line are in Old Nubian. The uncertainty of some letters and the lack of word division have defeated any attempt on my part to interpret it in spite of Zyhlarz's excellent *Grundzüge der nubischen Grammatik im christlichen Frühmittelalter* (Leipzig, 1928) (*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 18, 1). The following is what appears to my eye on the stone:

Υ . . ΠΕΚΟΥΕΞ̄ΝΔΟΥ . . ΝΔΟΥΜΥ  
Γ ΑΛΟ

No. 6 and possibly no. 16 are the only other inscriptions which contain Nubian in this place. The letters of no. 6 bear some superficial resemblance to those here and for them Kortenbeutel offers a translation by Zyhlarz, 'Des Gelebthabens Tage aber (betragen) 73, d. h. die Lebenszeit aber beträgt 73 (Jahre)'.

21. The inscriptions vary widely in dating although all date the year by the year of the martyrs.

Most give the age of the deceased at death (nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, and 12); the only ones that certainly do not are nos. 10 and 13. (Our inscription probably includes the information in the line of Nubian.) Most of the inscriptions also have the date by the day of the moon. Nos. 2, 5, 6, and 12 are the only ones where this is certainly missing. It seems likely that the *εἰρημῖς* in our inscription is meant for *σελήνης*. Unfortunately, we lack the necessary evidence to prove that the 17th of Payni in 1032 was the 26th day of the moon. If the Egyptian month names used in these inscriptions are evidence that the Nubians used the traditional Egyptian calendar, then Payni 17 ought to be June 10. However, the last previous new moon was on May 12 (reckoned according to the tables of Schoch, *The Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga*, and those of P. V. Neugebauer, *Tafeln zur astronomischen Chronologie II, Sonne, Planeten und Mond*) and the next following on June 11. Equivalent divergencies are found in all the other inscriptions where this dating is found. While small errors are always possible in the tables, there is no possibility here of correcting the error if Payni 17 should equal June 10 and if this really is the 26th day of the moon. Nor is there any hope of solving the problem on the data provided by the inscriptions alone.

The close analysis of the text of this prayer as it is found in these inscriptions shows that a variety of valid textual traditions was followed in Nubia. Because of the relatively small number of texts compared with the sweep of time and geography (where, indeed, we know the provenance) it is difficult to establish any consistent textual traditions and relationships. That is, in the case of any individual variant the texts do not always fall into the same groups. None the less, it is clear that nos. 5 and 8 (and 6 most of the time) stand apart in a clearly distinct textual tradition. These inscriptions have many unique features: they omit *τοῦ δούλου* after *ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν* and the phrase *ἐν τόπῳ φωτιῶ κτλ.* as well as the words *πᾶν ἀμάρτημα παρ' αὐτοῦ*. They add the phrases *ἄνες ἄφες* and *διαμένη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*. They have wording different from all the other inscriptions in the phrases *δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη, σὺ γὰρ μόνος ἐκτὸς ἀμαρτίας* and *σὺ γὰρ εἰ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἀνάπαυσις*. Nos. 7 and 9 also have the same textual variations, but none of their features is peculiar to them alone. Thus they write *ἀνάπαυσον τὸν δούλον σου* along with nos. 1, 11, and 14, *ἡ δικαιοσύνη σου δικαιοσύνη* along with nos. 2, 14, 16, and 17, and *σὺ γὰρ εἰ ἀνάπαυσις τοῦ δούλου σου* along with nos. 11 and 16. There are other cases with other groupings. Nos. 2, 13, and 15 also frequently fall together, but not in all cases.

The existence of these textual variants taken together with the analysis of variant spelling given above can lead to specific conclusions about the knowledge of Greek in our inscription and in Nubia generally. We have already seen that the spelling in this inscription is consistent, following certain patterns undoubtedly established by the spoken pronunciation of Greek during this time in Nubia. Furthermore, we have already noticed how at many points in this inscription, the text makes sense even when it does not follow the pattern of the liturgical formulas. In view of the many different textual traditions and the fact that the text can be construed, it would be wrong to class variations here as mistakes. But whether the variants here represent a textual tradition or merely are one man's peculiar interpretation of one of the traditions evidenced in the other inscriptions makes no difference in our assessment of the

knowledge of Greek displayed here, for, in either case, the inscription attests the living use of Greek in Nubia.

Likewise, in Nubia generally the frequent occurrence of spellings which can only be based on the pronunciation of the language shows that Greek was known and was used in Nubia extensively in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. This conclusion is strongly confirmed by the existence of variant texts which could only occur in an area where the use of Greek was alive and widespread. This is an important historical fact and one as unexpected as it is incontrovertible. It needs, however, to be defined and studied before it can be applied to the history of Nubia, and one can hope that among other things the present activity in Nubia will produce the evidence in the form of more Greek inscriptions which will make this possible.

## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS


*Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian: Corrigenda*

It is regretted that the following slips of the pen have been noted by me in the above work:

p. 98: *fht* 'wig', for *CT* I, 40 read *CT* I, 140.

p. 208: *sz* 'knife' should be deleted; the correct reading is *nsz*, cf. p. 139.

p. 248, last article: for *šstz* read *sštz*.

Dr. J. R. Harris's book *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* came into my hands too late to be utilized in my *Dictionary*, but three important matters raised by him cannot pass without mention here. For *bi* 'bronze' (p. 80) he makes out a very good case for 'iron' (*Minerals*, 50 ff.), thus supporting the conclusions of some earlier scholars, while for *bi* 'a mineral' Harris suggests ores or other minerals having an appearance somewhat resembling iron, op. cit. 166. In the case of the word  (p. 209), given on Sethe's authority as *szy* 'gold two-thirds fine', Harris, op. cit. 38, disputes both the reading and the meaning; while for *dcmw* 'fine gold' (p. 320) he reverts to the old translation 'electrum', op. cit. 44 ff. Here I confine myself to recording Harris's conclusions; discussions of them must fall to those better versed in ancient metallurgy than myself.

R. O. FAULKNER

**The vizier Weḥaꜣu in Papyrus Lythgoe and Ostr. Moscow 4478**

IN editing the papyrus with a most interesting literary fragment of the Middle Kingdom in *JEA* 46 (1960), 65–70, I drew attention to the phrase 'the field of the vizier Weḥaꜣu'. I envisaged the name either as an allegorical appellation, 'the Vizier Fisherman', as a fictitious character, or as an historical person. Attention was drawn to a New Kingdom instance of the name, known to me then only through Ranke's citation in *Pers.* II, 275, 5. Subsequent reference to the publication itself shows it to be a list of officials beginning with the *imy-r niwt*, *tꜣty Wḥꜣw*. Not only is the name the same but also the title.<sup>1</sup>

Matthieu and Lurie tend to regard the list as a school exercise, since the arrangement of the titles does not correspond to a rank list or lexical list such as represented in the onomastica, and since the officials are not otherwise attested. Helck in a recent publication concurs: 'da es sich hier klärlich um Phantasiennamen handelt. Keiner der anderen genannten Beamten ist zu belegen.'<sup>2</sup>

If Matthieu, Lurie, and Helck are correct in regarding the list as a group of fictitious names, one at least has a possible inspiration for the name of the vizier in the tale represented by the literary fragment of the Middle Kingdom. The Ramesside scribe might well have begun his list with an indirect allusion to a then well-known tale, thereby in fact characterizing his list as fictitious.<sup>3</sup> A real vizier of this name may, of course, lie at the basis of the P. Lythgoe occurrence.

WILLIAM KELLY SIMPSON

<sup>1</sup> *Publications de la Société égyptologique à l'Université d'État de Leningrad*, 2 (1929), 28.

<sup>2</sup> Wolfgang Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des mittleren und neuen Reichs*, 377, n. 4, 378.

<sup>3</sup> For such allusions see my communication, 'Allusions to *The Shipwrecked Sailor* and *The Eloquent Peasant* in a Ramesside text', *JAOs* 78 (1958), 50–51, with n. 11 thereto; Gardiner in *JEA* 9 (1923), 25; id. in *JEA* 21 (1935), 220, n. 3, allusion to Sinuhe in the Pꜣankhy stela; Alt in *ZÄS* 58 (1923), 48–50, on a possible reflection

### The Egyptian word for 'comb'

MANY years ago Gunn commented on the inadequacy of our lexicographical knowledge of ancient Egyptian and quoted a number of ordinary words for which no Egyptian equivalent seemed attested.<sup>1</sup> Among them he mentioned 'comb', a word which must have been common in view of the number of combs found in Egypt dating back as far as the prehistoric period.<sup>2</sup>

In one of the memoranda written on the recto of the sheet of papyrus containing reports about strikes in the 29th year of Ramesses III is a list of the belongings of a certain woman named *Mnct-nht* in the possession of a certain *Wsr-hwt*.<sup>3</sup> As such we find three objects made of *hnmt*, red jasper,<sup>4</sup> described as *šbb* 'beads',<sup>5</sup> *šrd* 'piece',<sup>6</sup> and *šhr*, uncertain. Between those things made of red jasper and the last item of the list, a pair of sandals, an object made of ivory (𓏏𓏑𓏑𓏑) is mentioned, the name of which is 𓏏𓏑𓏑𓏑. The determinative 𓏑 points to carving. As for the root *nš*, it is well attested in different applications all connected with hairdressing (*Wb.* II, 337, 3-6). In view of this situation it is very tempting to take *nši* as the Egyptian word for 'comb'.

HANS GOEDICKE

### A possible Egyptian word for 'astronomer'

TETI'ONKH, the owner of the Eighteenth Dynasty stela no. 6371 at Florence, was ♂𓏏𓏑𓏑𓏑𓏑𓏑 *sbꜣy hr tp-hwt ch*.<sup>7</sup> *Tp-hwt*, of course, is the well-known expression for 'roof' and for *sbꜣy* *Wb.* IV, 85, 9 suggests a rather vague 'Art Lehrer'. A teacher on the roof of the palace is not unthinkable, but would not 'star-gazer on the roof of the palace' be a more likely meaning? The roof indeed has always been a favourite place of astronomers for obvious reasons. *Sbꜣy* would then be a regular nisbe of *sbꜣ* 'star'. It would entail too much speculation to try to derive from it the Coptic ⲥⲁⲃⲉ 'wise'.

J. ČERNÝ

### Does the model *iwꜣ hr sdm* of the Late-Egyptian Praesens II refer to future?

ACCORDING to Erman the Praesens II is often used to express future.<sup>8</sup> In corroboration he quotes a series of examples (d'Orbiney II, 1, 13, 6; *Wenamun* 2, 33; 2, 59; 2, 70; Anastasi IV, 4, 1; Bologna 1094, 6, 3; 10, 3; Ostr. Berlin III, 3, 8; d'Orbiney 14, 5). Apart from the last four instances in which of the Sinuhe story in the biography of Udjahorresne; Gardiner in *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 494-5, on Sinuhe reflected in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, pls. 20, 21.

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, *Ram. Adm. Doc.* 48, 3 ff. = Pleyte-Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, pl. XXXIX; cf. Edgerton, *JNES* 10 (1951), 142 f.

<sup>4</sup> The identification follows Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals*, 123 f.

<sup>5</sup> The word is undoubtedly identical with the late word quoted *Wb.* IV, 440, 1 as 'körnige Substanz bei der Bereitung des Rauschtrankes'; it is further connected with *wšbît* (*Wb.* I, 373, 8) denoting small beads, which occurs also in the form 𓏏𓏑𓏑𓏑 in *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, rt. I, 1 = *Hieratische Papyrus aus Berlin*, III, pl. 17; cf. *JEA* 38 (1952), 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Šrd*, lit. 'cut' is identical with the word occurring in Pap.Harris I, 15 b 9; 34 a 6; 53 b 2 in connexion with faience but which *Wb.* IV, 422, 18 considers 'bes. Art der Fajence'. Since *ḥn šrd* is measured in *hin* a rendering 'faience pieces' seems more appropriate than the assumption of a special kind of faience.

<sup>7</sup> Schiaparelli, *Museo archeologico di Firenze, Antichità egizie*, 491, no. 1776. The title has been verified on Alinari photograph no. 43838.

<sup>8</sup> Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.*, § 494.



the preposition *hr* stands before the infinitive, the preposition is omitted. As the meaning of all of them is future we may consider them as models of Futurum III with the preposition *r* omitted.

If there may be some doubt about exactly what preposition is omitted before the infinitive—*hr* or *r*—the example of d'Orbiney 8, 3 *nn iw-i hr m st* is undoubtedly a Futurum III, since Praesens II can be negated only by the verb *tm* before the infinitive, and the Futurum III only by *nn* (or *bn*) before *iw*. The arguments of Erman in favour of his opinion are not persuasive: he points out that the phrase *iw-i mwt-k (wi)* in the *Doomed Prince*, 6, 15 expresses future. This statement is absolutely correct, but it is not the model *iw-f hr sdm*, and what is valid for *iw-f*+old perfect is not necessarily valid for *iw-f hr sdm*. Further, he points out that ⲉⲓⲉⲓⲉⲓⲁⲓ is a descendant of the Late-Egyptian *iw-f r sdm*, and that this Coptic tense could not originate from the Late-Egyptian *iw-f (r) sdm* with the omitted preposition *r* since the second ε in ⲉⲓⲉⲓⲉⲓⲁⲓ corresponds to the Egyptian *r*. But Erman himself (*Neuäg. Gramm.* § 609) points out that the preposition *r* has lost its consonantal value and become a vowel. This statement is certainly correct.<sup>1</sup> It is quite consequent and natural that the Late-Egyptian consonantal script omitted vowels and that they were regularly written in the vocalized Coptic script.

Thus neither the examples nor the arguments of Erman prove the use of *iw-f hr sdm* for expression of future time.

Mattha<sup>2</sup> also supports the opinion that *iw-f hr sdm* can express future time: 'this [i.e. future or prospective meaning] is, as a matter of fact, the outstanding characteristic of the so called Praesens II.' Quite recently in an admirable paper Wentze produced a series of examples of the model *iw-f hr sdm* with a future meaning (Westcar 5, 3–7; d'Orbiney 6, 9; Sallier I, 4, 2; 9, 4; Anast. IV, 4–5; Anast. V, 22, 1–2; Bologna 1094, 6, 3; *LRL*, p. 21, l. 8; p. 39, l. 6; p. 71, l. 4; *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. lxxv, 1, 16–18 verso; pl. cvii, 1, rt. 9 vs. 1; Möller, *Hierat. Lesestücke*, p. 8, no. 3, l. 7).<sup>3</sup> These are quite certain. He quotes also *Blinding of Truth*, II, 1–2; *Doomed Prince*, 6, 2 and *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. xlv, 1, 3 verso. In the first of these three examples the text is too damaged to draw from it any certain conclusions; as to the third I am not sure that *iw-k hr in n-i p:y:f hnk* refers to future. Now *Doomed Prince*, 6, 2 which Wentze understands as apodosis of a conditional clause following Wolf<sup>4</sup> and Till,<sup>5</sup> might be not an apodosis ('Oh! would my feet not ache, I came to jump together with you'). He quotes also Berlin 11239, 1, 6–7; Pleyte-Rossi, P.Turin 16, 3; P.Mallet 6, 8; Deir el-Medina ostr. 114, vs. 1–2; ostr. 118, vs. 3–4; ostr. 314, vs. 6–7, and an unpublished ostrakon from the Collection Michaelides. None of these have I checked.

In all the certain cases the model *iw-f hr sdm* in the *context* clearly points to future.

How then to reconcile these facts with the following explicit statements of Stricker and Černý? 'A présent on connaît au temps *iw-f hr sdm* en néo-égyptien trois fonctions: le passé historique, le circonstanciel du présent et le présent synchronique.'<sup>6</sup> '*iw-f hr sdm* therefore does not have a future or prospective meaning. . . . The normal Late Egyptian method of expressing the future is by *iw-f r sdm*.'<sup>7</sup>

Both of these statements are perfectly correct. None of the elements of the models *iw-f hr sdm* and *iw-f r sdm* refers to any definite time, but as a whole each of these models has capacity to express certain times. Though it may seem highly paradoxical, the prepositions *hr* and *r* impart to the corresponding models the notion of definite times. The literal meaning of *iw-f hr sdm* is 'be on

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, 'Second Thoughts . . .', *JEA* 32 (1946), 101.

<sup>2</sup> Mattha, 'The Egyptian Conjunctive', *BIFAO* 45 (1947), 43–55.

<sup>3</sup> Wentze, '*iw-f sdm* in Late-Egyptian', *JNES* 20 (1961), 122, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> W. Wolf, 'Zu P.Harris 500, v. vi. 2', *ZÄS* 68 (1932), 71.

<sup>5</sup> W. Till, 'Der Irrealis im Neuägyptischen', *ZÄS* 69 (1933), no. 13.

<sup>6</sup> B. Stricker, 'Études de grammaire égyptienne', *Acta Orientalia*, 16 (1938), 82.

<sup>7</sup> J. Černý, 'On the Origin of the Egyptian Conjunctive', *JEA* 35 (1949), 29.

hearing', i.e. it is a description of a fact. But a fact that can be described can take place only in the past or the present but not in the future since the future is not yet a fact. Therefore *iw·f hr sdm* by itself cannot express future. On the other hand, *iw·f r sdm* literally means 'be towards hearing', i.e. is a statement of expectation or intention of hearing, but not the description of the act of hearing. Therefore *iw·f r sdm* expresses only the future. Since the language has created both these constructions for expressing definite times it seems very improbable that *iw·f hr sdm* could be used besides *iw·f r sdm* to express future time.

Now  $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\omega\tau\bar{\alpha}$  is used in circumstantial clauses and expresses relative present time, i.e. a time simultaneous with the time of the main clause.<sup>1</sup> Another trait of  $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\omega\tau\bar{\alpha}$  is that it is used to continue the verb of the preceding clause.<sup>2</sup> In the light of this we have to examine the examples produced by Wentz.

In Westcar 5, 3-7, after the clause *ib n hm·k r kbb* 'the heart of your majesty shall be refreshed', follow two clauses introduced by *iw·f hr sdm* where this construction expresses the relative present time, i.e. actions simultaneous with the time of the phrase *ib n hm·k r kbb* which is future. In Möller, *Hierat. Lesestücke*, Heft III, S. 8, no. 3, l. 7 the verb *is sdm·f* with future meaning is followed by *iw·f hr sdm* (relative present). In all other cases the verb in the form *wnn·f hr sdm* which is an explicit form to express future<sup>3</sup> is followed with a remarkable regularity by *iw·f hr sdm* expressing relative present tense. Doubtless in texts cases are met where *iw·f hr sdm* has a future meaning even when it is not preceded by a verb expressing future. Such are the cases of d'Orbiney as 14, 5 *pti iw·i hr hpr* (also *ibid.* 14, 7; 14, 8; 19, 9). These are certainly to be considered as errors of the scribe since *iw·f hr sdm* cannot express future by itself.<sup>4</sup>

M. KOROSTOVTSSEV

[See also the remarks on this construction on pp. 33 f. and 37. Ed.]

### Abimilki's news of the Danuna

ABIMILKI of Tyre had been instructed by the Pharaoh, 'What thou hearest of Kinahna that write to me.' This he did, and apart from the destruction of Ugarit and the absence of the Hittite army the only thing he found worth reporting was that 'The King of Danuna is dead and his brother has become king after him, and his land is peaceful.'<sup>5</sup> Why should the affairs of the Danuna be of such international concern? The answer is supplied by the Sunassura Treaty.

There is plenty of evidence that the Danuna-Dainiuna-Denyen or Dene lived in eastern Cilicia<sup>6</sup> and that they had been there at least since the time of Telepinus, 1525-1500 B.C.<sup>7</sup> They are equated with the well-known city of that country, Adana, a place he mentions as *A-da-ni-ia* (Adaniya),<sup>8</sup> and very much later the Dananiyīm still controlled the plain of Adana in the eighth century B.C. Eastern Cilicia and Cataonia are the land that the Hittites called Kizzuwatna.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. Till, *Koptische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1955), § 329, S. 169; A. Mallon, *Grammaire copte* (Beyrouth, 1956), § 238, pp. 110-11.      <sup>2</sup> W. Till, *Kopt. Gr.*, § 331.      <sup>3</sup> A. Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*, § 118, 2; § 326.

<sup>4</sup> Erroneous writings of the preposition *hr* in the conjunctive, before the old perfect and so on are too well known to be discussed here.

<sup>5</sup> Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln*, Letter 151, ll. 52-56.

<sup>6</sup> Wainwright in *JEA* 47 (1961), 81. See also Laroche, 'Adana et les Danouniens', in *Syria*, 35 (1958), 263-75, who goes into the subject in the fullest detail.

<sup>7</sup> For the date see O. Gurney, *The Hittites* (2nd edn.), 216.

<sup>8</sup> A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, 57; Garstang and Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, 61.

<sup>9</sup> Garstang and Gurney, *op. cit.* 50 ff.

In his treaty with Sunassura the Hittite emperor, Suppiluliumas,<sup>1</sup> gives a résumé of the recent history of Kizzuwatna, and, as he was reigning 1380–1340 B.C.,<sup>2</sup> he was a contemporary of Abimilki. He says:<sup>3</sup> ‘Previously in the days of my grandfather, the country Kizzuwatna had become (part) of the Ḫatti country. But afterward the country Kizzuwatna seceded from the Ḫatti country and shifted (allegiance) to the Ḫurri country.’ Then, after dealing with other matters between himself and the Hurrians, Suppiluliumas goes on (ll. 30–37): ‘Now the (people of the) country Kizzuwatna are Hittite cattle (and) chose their stable. From the Ḫurrian they separated (and) shifted (allegiance) to the Sun. The Ḫurrian sinned against the Ḫatti country, but against the country Kizzuwatna he sinned particularly. The country Kizzuwatna rejoices very much indeed over its liberation. Now the Ḫatti country and the country Kizzuwatna are free from their obligations. Now I, the Sun, have restituted the country Kizzuwatna to its independence.’

Thus, Kizzuwatna, eastern Cilicia where the Danuna lived, was a border country between the Hittites in the north-west and the Hurrians in the east. Hence, the upshot of Suppiluliumas’ statements is that it was a bone of contention between the two powers, adhering sometimes to the one side and sometimes to the other.<sup>4</sup> It is evident that in Abimilki’s time Suppiluliumas had just ‘liberated’ Kizzuwatna from the Hurrians and had attached it to himself. Indeed, Abimilki refers to activities of the Hittite army in connexion with affairs in Ugarit which lay on beyond Kizzuwatna from Ḫatti. Hence, his information was of extreme importance, for naturally it was most necessary for the Pharaoh to keep abreast of the latest permutations of the political situation on the unstable borderland between the Hittites and the Hurrians of Hanigalbat-Mitanni.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT

### Valley Tomb no. 56 at Thebes

It was Maspero<sup>5</sup> who first suggested that the hoard of jewellery and other objects discovered in January 1908 by Theodore M. Davis in a pit-tomb (no. 56) in the Bibân el-Molûk was part of the funerary outfit of Queen Twosre, and that it had been collected by a robber or guardian and hidden away when her main sepulchre, Tomb 14, was usurped by Setnakhte. This opinion has been generally followed ever since, and was for instance accepted as recently as 1958 by no less an authority than Sir Alan Gardiner.<sup>6</sup>

The hoard includes a gold circlet, two large ear-pendants, several rings, and a pair of silver bracelets all evidently made for a woman and inscribed with the name of Twosre, or that of her first husband Sethos II, or with the names of them both. Moreover, while some of the trinkets have a flimsy appearance consorting with their funerary purpose, there is every reason to believe that other pieces, the ear-pendants and rings for instance, could actually have been worn by Queen Twosre in life. While, therefore, at a first view there seems no reason to question Maspero’s interpretations, a closer study of the perfunctory accounts of the finding and excavation of Tomb 56 leads to a different conclusion.

It is clear from his report<sup>7</sup> that what Ayrton found in 1908 was a deposit covered with water-laid

<sup>1</sup> That it was he who made the treaty see Goetze, *op. cit.* 40.

<sup>2</sup> Gurney, *op. cit.* 216.

<sup>3</sup> Goetze, *op. cit.* 37, 39, ll. 5–7. Some of this passage is given by Gurney, *op. cit.* 78.

<sup>4</sup> This, of course, was a very usual state of affairs among the small principalities in northern Syria and its neighbourhood. Thus, for example, a preamble to a treaty says that the king of the land of Aleppo had turned away from the Hittite emperor, Tudhaliyas II (1460–1440 B.C.) and had joined himself to Hanigalbat (Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien*, 83, ll. 16. 17). Hanigalbat was one of the Hurrian states.

<sup>5</sup> Davis, *T. of Siptah*, p. xxviii.

<sup>6</sup> *JEA* 44, 20.

<sup>7</sup> Davis, *op. cit.* 31–32; also 2–4.

mud and debris, similar to the mud-filled jewellery-niche in the tomb of Sit-Hathor-Yunet at Lâhûn;<sup>1</sup> but excavating with far less skill and much more haste than Guy Brunton, he doubtless cut with his 'carving knife' through layers of decayed wood and other organic materials without realizing what he was doing. Judging by Brunton's experiences most of this perishable stuff would have been reduced to little more than a mere stain in the surrounding mud and would be barely perceptible even in a good light.<sup>2</sup> Thus Ayrton's 'stratum about a half inch thick of broken gold leaf and stucco covering an area of some four square feet, and the numerous scattered small curls in blue glazed composition and some large plaques of the same material with modelled undulating lines' was most probably all that remained of a coffin rotted and flattened by the weight of mud and water washed into the tomb. I am also of the opinion that the pair of silver 'gloves'<sup>3</sup> from which Davis retrieved 'eight unique gold finger rings' by soaking out the mud filling, contained a pair of decayed hands wearing the rings. It is a strange coincidence that these gloves should have held only finger rings if they had merely been improvised as containers for the smaller pieces of jewellery. It is worth pointing out that each of these gloves appears to have been formed by tooling one half of a sheet of silver into the semblance of fingers and folding this around the hand it was designed to cover, the untooled half forming the palm. The edges were crimped together with generous selvedges that would have remained hidden by the mummy bandages. The gloves could not have been withdrawn from the hands without opening the seams and causing much more distortion than is apparent in Davis' illustration where the narrower contour of the wrist is clearly visible. All the evidence therefore is that when Ayrton found these gloves, the hands were still inside them though reduced to mud.

Ayrton's rough sketch-plan does not allow us to make a full reconstruction as Winlock has been able to do for the Lâhûn hoard as a result of Brunton's diagrams and notes,<sup>4</sup> but nevertheless the course of events must have been similar.<sup>5</sup> The sealing of the shaft of Tomb 56 must have been penetrated by thieves who entered the chamber and removed some of the valuables, including a silver sandal, unless this latter was overlooked by Ayrton and thrown out with the carved-up mud. Something must have happened to prevent the complete plundering of the tomb, though the thieves' tunnel must have remained open since it was through this that water and debris penetrated the burial chamber. There must have been times when the buoyant objects were afloat in the tomb or washed from one position to another by each new influx of mud and storm-water until the shaft had choked up completely and the infrequent torrents could pass harmlessly overhead. It would, therefore, be rash to insist that every object was found where the plunderers had left it, but the position of the jewellery near the area of gilded gesso suggests that it was a substantial part of the trappings of a mummy contained within the coffin. There are, for instance, certain objects such as the silver gloves, the sandal, and carnelian serpent-head which are of exclusively funerary use and could only have belonged to a mummy. It may also be that the 'plaque from the handle of a mirror' (no. 30) has been improperly identified, and together with the carnelian inset (no. 37) may have formed a plate for covering an embalming wound. It is difficult to see how an electrum mirror guard-plate could have survived if the rest of the mirror had either decayed or been stolen. Much of the flimsier jewellery and the amulets, too, look as if they were designed for funerary use.<sup>6</sup>

But if we are right in reconstructing this deposit as a rifled burial and not a mere cache, it is obvious that the person who was buried in all this finery could not have been Queen Twosre. In the first place, nothing in the tomb, including the alabaster vessels, was later than the reign of Sethos II, judging by the cartouches which appeared on so much of the equipment. There was

<sup>1</sup> Brunton, *Lahun I*, 17-18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 23, 24-25.

<sup>3</sup> Davis, *op. cit.* 4.

<sup>4</sup> Brunton, *op. cit.*, pl. xii; Winlock, *Treas. Lahun*, fig. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Winlock, *op. cit.* 6-10.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Davis, *op. cit.*, nos. 7, 8, 29, 33, 35. To these must be added two carnelian winged scarabs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. nos. 26.7.1350, 1352.

nothing dated to the reign of Siptah nor to that of Twosre herself as Pharaoh, and surely this deficiency is far too fortuitous if the deposit is but a random sampling of Twosre's funerary equipment. Secondly, none of it, apart perhaps from some of the finger-rings and the ear-pendants, suggests the parure of a chief consort. The circlet carries no uraeus, and even the celebrated silver bracelets are somewhat flimsy. Thirdly, it is clear that the person buried in this finery was not an adult. There are a number of finger rings and bracelets (e.g. nos. 18, 19, 27) which are too small to fit anyone except an infant. Moreover, the silver gloves are described by Daressy as formed into the shape of a child's hands.<sup>1</sup> If, as seems certain, they were designed to go over the hands of a mummy like the gold finger-stalls used in some other royal burials,<sup>2</sup> allowance has to be made for the bandaging of the fingers in estimating their exact size. More decisive, however, than the gloves is the silver sandal (no. 32) which is of such a material and design that it can only have been used on an actual mummy, the pointed toe-piece being folded back exactly like the gold sandals on the mummy of Tutankhamūn,<sup>3</sup> yet it is only 5 inches long and may well have been much larger than the bandaged foot. Lastly, the area of gold leaf and gesso is given by Ayrton as about 4 square feet and this suggests a coffin of such a size as to take only the body of a child.

In the light of the foregoing discussion, it will now be seen that Tomb 56 was originally the burial place of a young girl not more than four years old and probably less than half that age. She can only have been a member of the royal family, and it is safe to assume that her parents were Sethos II and Twosre who provided her funerary equipment, including a handsome, gilded coffin with an elaborately curled faience wig in the contemporary style.<sup>4</sup> Since she was too young to have acquired much finery of her own, special jewellery may have been made for her, supplemented with pieces from her mother's trinket boxes. A few family heirlooms were also included, such as a ring and alabaster jar of her great ancestor Ramesses II. We do not know what her name was. It may have been inscribed in ink on the 'plain rudely cut alabaster ushabti' and removed by storm water and decay. On the other hand, she may have been too young ever to have received a name, like the children of Tutankhamūn. She did not remain at rest for long. The inevitable thieves burrowed a way into her tomb and removed some of the more portable of her possessions. Although they were probably rounded up before they could completely plunder her grave, their tunnel remained undiscovered and acted as a drain during every rainstorm that scoured the valley foot. When eventually the shaft was clogged up with debris and no more water could enter, her burial rotted away in the slowly drying and contracting mud, her infantile bones being reduced to powder. Only the objects in metal and stone remained as any clues to her former existence.

CYRIL ALDRED

### Zur Herkunft und Datierung des Papyrus 8699 verso des Museo egizio di Firenze

AUF den Seiten 192/193 des Bandes 25, 3-4 der *Acta Orientalia* (Festschrift für Prof. Erichsen) hat Prof. Botti das Fragment einer demotischen Namenliste von 12 Personen veröffentlicht (Pap. Nr. 8699 verso des Museo egizio di Firenze), als deren Herkunftsort er Theben vermutete und die er an den Anfang der 2. ptolemäischen Epoche datierte. Nun bietet sich für die örtliche und zeitliche Einordnung dieser Namenliste ein Schlüssel in dem Papyrus des Britischen Museums Nr. 10075, den Frau Dr. Jelínková in dieser Zeitschrift Band 43 (1957), S. 45 ff. und Band 45 (1959),

<sup>1</sup> Davis, op. cit. 43, no. 31.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Carter, *Tutankhamen*, II, 151, pl. xxv; Winlock, *Treas. Three Princesses*, pl. xxvii.

<sup>3</sup> Carter, *ibid.*; cf. Winlock, op. cit., pl. xxvi.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. B.M. 48001; M.M.A. 86.1.5 A-C.



Although both Lepsius<sup>1</sup> and Brugsch<sup>2</sup> rendered the figures correctly, presumably arriving at the values by calculation, neither commented upon these unfamiliar uses of the two signs or hazarded a guess as to their origin. The solution in fact is simple. If one compares the hieratic forms of □ (Möller, *Paläographie*, III, 388) and  $\begin{smallmatrix} \circ & \circ & \circ \\ \circ & \circ & \circ \end{smallmatrix}$  (ibid. 628), and of  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{||||} \\ \text{||||} \end{smallmatrix}$  (ibid. 368) and  $\begin{smallmatrix} \circ & \circ & \circ & \circ \\ \circ & \circ & \circ & \circ \end{smallmatrix}$  (ibid. 630), there can be no doubt that □ and  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{||||} \\ \text{||||} \end{smallmatrix}$  were used to denote the numerals 60 and 80 respectively under the influence of hieratic.

H. W. FAIRMAN

**Additions and corrections to documentary papyri in *Ox. Pap.*  
Vol. XXVII**

AFTER *Ox. Pap.* XXVII had been printed I noticed in the 1961 fascicule of the *Sammelbuch* two documents recording payments of 4 drachmae ὑπ(έρ) ἐρμηγίας, SB 9355, 1 and 2, first edited by E. J. Knudtzon, *Vermischte Texte aus der Papyrussammlung der Universitätsbibliothek in Lund* VI, no. 5, in Kungliga Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundets i Lund. Årsberättelse, 1951-2. These might be taken to confirm my suggestion that some entries in P.Oxy. 2472 that I could not read were direct money payments collected by the ἐπιτηρηταὶ τέλους ἐρμηγίας. Also in connexion with P.Oxy. 2472 I notice that the village of Σκινεπῶϊς (1. 8) has made an unrecognized appearance in P.Lond. 982, 20 (vol. III, p. 243; pl. III, no. 75) where instead of ἀποσκινεμωεως read ἀπὸ Σκινεπῶεως. The π has been corrected out of μ or ν and the left hasta retains a serif that is characteristic of those two letters, but the new cross stroke and the right hasta can be picked out easily once the intention is recognized.

Two new readings for P.Oxy. 2476 have been supplied by an unpublished Oxyrhynchus papyrus recently studied by Mr. Edward Hussey, under the direction of Dr. J. W. Barns. In l. 10 restore [Διόνυσ]ον θρησκίαις (P.Oxy. ined. l. 4 θρησκί[ ]) and in l. 12, instead of διε]σ[α]φηγάμην, restore [πολλακίς ἀ]π[ε]φηγάμην (P.Oxy. ined. l. 8). The half bracket shows the extent of the new fragment.

Note also that my calculation of the date in P.Oxy. 2476, 50 is wrong by one year; the date should be A.D. 288.

These papyri are now in the custody of the British Museum under the care of Mr. Skeat, who has kindly sent me his new readings of P.Oxy. 2477 and suggested an interpretation of it. Below is the text conjecturally restored to make the interpretation plain.

- τῆ κρατίστη βουλῇ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξ[υρυγχ(ειτῶν)] πόλ(εως) διὰ  
ἀξιολογωτάτου Ἀβρηλίου Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἀχιλλίων[ος γενομένου ὑπο-  
μνημ(ατογράφου) γυμνασιάρχου βουλευτοῦ ἐνάρχου πρυτ[άνεως τῆς αὐτῆς  
πόλεως
- 5 παρὰ Ἀβρηλίου Ἄμμωνος Ἄμμωνος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλ[εως] (? e.g. ξυστάρχου) διὰ  
βίου ἱεροδικῶν· ἀσκήσας τὸ τῶν πανκρατιαστ[ῶν] ἀγώνισμα καὶ  
κοσμήσας τὴν θρεψαμένην ὡς οὐδὲ ὑμῖν ἠγνόη[ται] ἐπεθύμησα  
καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἕξω τόπους γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸ κάκει ν[ικῆσαι] τοὺς ἀγῶ-  
νας [τ] οὓς ἐὰν ἢ τῶν' θεῶν πρόνοια συναυρομένης [καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς
- 10 ὑμετέρας τύχης παρασχε (l. -ῆ) κοσμήσαι· προσφ[έρω] οὖν ὑμῖν  
τηντε (l. τήνδε) τὴν δέησιν ἀξιῶν συμψήφο[υ]ς [ὑμᾶς γενομέ-  
νους ἐκδόσθαι μοι τὰ περὶ τούτου συνήθ[η] γράμματα·  
διευτυχεῖται (l. -εἶτε)  
(ἔτους) ε' Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου Ἀβρη[λίου] Οὐαλερίου

<sup>1</sup> Lepsius, *op. cit.* 74-76.

<sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Thes.* 538-9.

- 15 Διοκλητιανῶ καὶ (ἔτους) δ' Αὐτοκράτορος Κ[αίσαρος Μάρκου  
 Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Γερμαν[ικῶν Μεγίστων  
 Εὐσεβῶν, Εὐτυχῶν, Σεβαστῶν. Φαρμουῖθι  
 (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Ἄμμων ἐπιδέδωκα·

Translation, ll. 6–12:

*Having practised the skill of the pancratiast and ornamented my homeland, as is not unknown to you, I now wish to visit also places outside it, in order there too to win victories in whatever games the providence of the gods with the help of your own genius may allow me to adorn. Therefore I submit this petition asking you to consent and issue to me the certificate customary in these circumstances.*

8. πρὸς τὸ κάκειω: T. C. S.
9. [τ]: τ struck through by an upright (T. C. S.), more likely than χ struck through by a horizontal, since article for relative is a common vulgarism in the papyri.  
 συναιρομένης: αι over ε, T.C.S.
10. ὑμετέρας: The apparent pattern of dots mentioned in the published commentary is caused by a larger υ being written over the original small υ, T. C. S.  
 προσφ[έρω: Extremely doubtful; cf. P.Gen. 16, 10.
11. τηντε: read τήνδε, T. C. S.
12. γράμματα: T. C. S., supported by P.Lips. 33 ii 17 ἀξιῶ ἐκδοθῆναι μοι τὴν συνήθη ὑποσημίωσιν. ἐκδίδωμι commonly means 'to issue a document', v. Preisigke *WB*, s.v. § 12. Mr. Skeat pointed out that for a money payment or an exemption from taxes he would have to show in more detail how he was eligible.
14. (ἔτους) ε': T. C. S.; i.e. the date is correct, 5th and 4th year of Diocletian and Maximian, A.D. 289, nearly a year later than P.Oxy. 2476, to which it was attached.
- Professor Naphtali Lewis has drawn my attention to his article in *AJP* 60 (1939), 414–21, which shows that the inconsistency between the regnal and consular years of Maurice which appears in P.Oxy. 2478 and in other documents is normal and due to scribes who equated the beginnings of the regnal and consular years to avoid irregularities in the formula for the same regnal year. The date of P.Oxy. 2478 is thus certainly A.D. 595.
- While compiling the index to the subsidiary account (ll. 127–309) in P.Oxy. 2480, edited by Dr. Pomar, I noticed that two of the personal names appeared also in a fragment published in the introduction to P.Oxy. 2244 (*Ox. Pap.* XIX, 137 Φιλόξενος Παλιλίου l. 4 = Φ. Πελαλίου 2480, 167; *Εὐφημία Κολλούθου* fr. l. 6 and 2480, 196). Now that I have been able to compare the two I find that, though the fragment does not appear to belong to 2480 because of slight differences in the hands and in the qualities of the papyrus on which they are written, the similarity of writing and layout and the occurrence of the same names suggest that they were both written in the same office at about the same time, say within a few years of one another. This might be significant for the date of 2244, i.e. the sixth indiction of 2244 might be that immediately before the fourteenth indiction (A.D. 565–6) of 2480, that is A.D. 557–8 or 572–3, but in the absence of any certain information about the connexion of the fragment with 2244 nothing can be made of this possibility.

JOHN REA



## REVIEWS

*The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. VII. By A. DE BUCK. University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, vol. LXXXVII. Pp. xvii+521; 15 plans. University of Chicago Press, 1962. Price £6.

In this volume is completed the monumental task of publishing the *Egyptian Coffin Texts* so admirably carried out by Professor A. de Buck, and we can only regret that he did not live to see this coping-stone added to the structure so laboriously built up by him during many years. The first volume appeared in 1935, while de Buck's introduction to the work, then as assistant to Sir Alan Gardiner, took place in the winter of 1924-5, though for much the greater part of the time which has elapsed since then he was the sole editor. When we consider the mere physical effort of copying and checking nearly 3,000 pages of hieroglyphic text, not to mention the immense labour of transcribing and collating such a mass of material, it seems incredible that the scholarship and industry, for the greater part, of one man alone should have succeeded in achieving so much. In vol. VII, apart from over 500 pages of hieroglyphic text, we are given fifteen plans of the designs on the bottoms (in one case the back) of certain coffins; these plans form a key to the arrangement of the texts included in them (Spells 1027-1185), which are peculiar to the bottoms of the coffins; where exceptionally other spells than these are substituted, a key to such spells will be found on p. xvii.

Our congratulations are extended to the Oriental Institute of Chicago University, which by supporting this enterprise over so many years has put scholars interested in Egyptian religion and philology immensely in their debt. We understand that the task of producing an English translation of the Coffin Texts is in the hands of an erstwhile pupil of de Buck, namely Dr. T. Bruinsma of Leyden, who has access to all the material left by de Buck, and we wish him all success in his heavy task. May we hope that the publication of his final results will not be too long delayed?

R. O. FAULKNER

*A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. By RAYMOND O. FAULKNER. Octavo. Pp. xvi+327. Griffith Institute, Oxford, 1962. Price 30s.

Hitherto the student of Middle Egyptian has been liberally supplied with grammars but ill supplied with dictionaries. Once he grew out of the limited vocabularies of these grammars he had no working dictionary at all. It is true that very recently Erman and Grapow's *Ägyptisches Handwörterbuch* had again become available, but only in a reprint of the original edition of 1921, the definitions of which were of the briefest and without references. The dictionary that Dr. Faulkner has now produced is admirable. It answers the student's every need: it is reliable, it is adequate, it is portable, it is cheap.

This dictionary is produced in autograph, but all who are familiar with the author's beautiful hand as displayed in Gardiner's *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* will know that this is no detraction. In fact the pages are clear and neat so that the eye scans them without difficulty, which is most important in a book in which individual items must constantly be sought.

The title contains the word 'concise' but 'compact' would seem to me almost a better description, for in a little over 300 pages there are more than 5,000 entries. Each entry begins with the word in question written out in hieroglyphs, followed by a transliteration, then the meaning, and finally a reference or references. In many cases several meanings are given as well as variant spellings; indeed, the treatment of the words is gratifyingly detailed and, with references everywhere added, one has in one's hands quite a compendium of Egyptian lexicography. The verb *hpr*, for instance, covers three-quarters of a page and exhibits thirteen main meanings, not to mention idiomatic uses, and is provided with fifty-five references. Even

a rare word like *nftft* has two, one referring to the actual text in which the word occurs, the other to a commentary in which the word is discussed. There are many references of this latter type, which in effect greatly expand the dictionary, for they lead directly to a whole wealth of further information on a word. Mathematical and medical terms which do not occur in general texts, being easily found in specialist works, are for the most part omitted, as are also words of unknown meaning. These omissions do not materially reduce the value of the dictionary and provide the space which enables more important words to receive a fuller treatment than would otherwise be possible.

The author refers in his preface to his dictionary being used by 'a third-year undergraduate or an epigraphist in the field', but beyond a doubt it will serve the practising Egyptologist year in year out. Since the day of its appearance I have made constant use of it and have found it a most reliable tool, even when working on *Coffin Texts*.

In a book of this nature there are bound to be points here and there which strike one. I have found a few, not as the result of ordered search, but haphazardly while working:

P. 68 *wḥdw* 'pain'. This word is the subject of a pamphlet by R. O. Steuer entitled *Aetiological Principle of Pyaemia in Ancient Egyptian Medicine* and is also discussed in *Ancient Egyptian and Cnidian Medicine* by R. O. Steuer and J. B. de C. M. Saunders.

P. 99 *fdw* 'four'. Another reference for the full writing is *CT* II, 399a.

P. 103 *mṯt* 'mandrake'. This word is rendered 'parsley' or 'celery' by Lefebvre. (See von Deines und Grapow, *Drogennamen*, pp. 216 f.)

P. 103 *mṯryt* 'female mourners'. The reference is to Caminos, *Lit. Frag.* An addition to Caminos's examples is *CT* II, 401a.

P. 128 *nbwt* 'the isles of the Aegean'. To the references must be added the recent important discussion in Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique*, pp. 15-32.

P. 131 *nḥ* 'blow out of nose'. A better reference is *CT* I, 354b where there is a determinative actually showing matter being blown from the nose.

P. 214 *sb* 'saw out(?) timbers of ship'. This word occurs with the meaning 'circumcize' in Dows Dunham, *Naga ed-Dér Stelae*, pl. XXXII, stela 84, l. 4.

P. 266 *šf-tbt(?)* 'the sixth month'. There is no reference to Černý's article in *Ann. Serv.* XLIII (1943), 173-81.

P. 327 *nḥi* "'reed" measure of 2 cubits'. There is no reference to the discussion of this word to be found in W. C. Hayes, *Ostraca and Namestones from the Tomb of Sen-mūt (No. 71) at Thebes*, 36-37.

This dictionary will certainly become one of the first purchases the aspiring Egyptologist makes, and no matter whether his primary interest be philological or archaeological, it will remain his constant companion ever after.

C. H. S. SPAULL

*L'Égypte*. By É. DRIOTON and J. VANDIER. Fourth, enlarged edition. Pp. xl and 726. Paris, 1962. Price N.F. 28.

The appearance of a fourth edition of this thoroughly useful book will be welcomed by all Egyptologists even if they already possess one or more of the first three editions. Such is the assiduity and comprehensiveness of Monsieur Vandier in seeking out and making clear the historical studies of others that one uses this book with confidence, knowing that nothing of consequence has been overlooked. Apart from the two chapters on Prehistory and Religion, which were the work of the much-lamented Canon Drioton (and which are here given additional bibliography, but otherwise left unchanged), the book represents the work of Vandier alone.

In its basic text this edition differs in no respect from the third edition, published in 1952, which itself was a complete revision and rewriting of the second edition. Now Vandier has added after the unrevised basic text of the third edition a *Supplément* of 59 pages in which he reviews the historical work of the last

ten years, modifying the conclusions of the last edition where necessary. Perhaps we may look forward now to a fifth edition which again will be a rewriting of the whole.

From the discussions included in the *Supplément*, the student can easily find what have been the important historical discoveries either by research or by fieldwork in the past ten years, and also the problems most exercising the historians of ancient Egypt. The two outstanding discoveries of the period were the unfinished pyramid of Sekhemkhet at Saqqara and the stela of Kamose at Karnak, both of which have added notably to historical knowledge, and in several respects led historians to modify the accepted accounts for the periods concerned. Of subjects which have been much debated in the past decade, mention may be made of the problem of the Followers of Horus, the Hyksos, the 'Amarna period, dynastic successions in several periods (especially the Second Intermediate Period, the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty and the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasties), and the character of the Kingship (important studies by Goedicke and Posener). In summarizing the debates on these problems Vandier is scrupulously fair and lucid, even when his own opinions differ radically from those he reports. His exposition of the tangle of debate aroused by the problems of the 'Amarna Period is particularly good. What especially strikes a reader whose interests may be specialized rather than wide, is the extent to which the history of the Late Period is now studied. Since the war many scholars have devoted themselves to the problems of the time from the end of the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period. The documentary evidence for this period is vast and to a great extent unexploited. Already many changes have been wrought in the old, standard account which offered a generally dismal picture of steady decline, briefly lightened by the revival in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The substantial part of Vandier's *Supplément* devoted to this period reveals clearly what good results have already been achieved by the close examination of the evidence, much of which was freely available formerly, but unexploited. The great value of Vandier's work here, as for earlier periods, is to draw attention to studies not easily available, e.g. Yoyotte's essay on Necho II in the *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Suppl.* VI—clearly a model of careful research—and to make their matter known. In keeping his History well revised and up to date, Vandier performs a signal service to Egyptology. May he prepare many more editions!

T. G. H. JAMES

*The Heḳanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents.* By T. G. H. JAMES. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, vol. xix. Folio. Pp. xiv+146, pls. 30 collotype (texts) + 30 lithographic (transcriptions) + 17 lithographic (palaeography). New York, 1962. Price \$30.

The texts published in this finely produced book are divided into four groups: the Heḳanakhte papers, the Ḥarḥotpe documents, the Meketrē<sup>c</sup> documents, and other early Middle Kingdom documents. All date from the Eleventh Dynasty or thereabouts and comprise, almost without exception, letters and accounts. No effort has been spared to make the publication as comprehensive as possible, and the material provided forms a notable addition to our knowledge of the language, palaeography, and life in general of the period.

Each text appears in a collotype facsimile, accompanied by an hieroglyphic transcription in a clear bold hand. In addition there is a printed translation, discussion of contents, and detailed commentary, which form the main body of the book. Every difficulty is dealt with in detail, every interesting point is gone over in full. It would not be possible to wish for a more painstaking and thorough publication of a set of new texts. A series of appendixes deal exhaustively with a number of matters taken collectively. These cover special points of grammar and syntax, certain individual words, a most important essay on epistolary formulas, geographical and personal names, and finally palaeography, including a set of plates on which are set out the forms of the hieratic signs that are found.

Heḳanakhte was a *ka*-servant to Ipi, vizier of Mentḥotpe I,<sup>1</sup> and the collection of documents belonging to him found by H. E. Winlock at Deir el-Baḥri in 1921–2 probably dates from the period between May and October in the 8th year of Mentḥotpe II<sup>1</sup> (c. 2002 B.C.). These documents, four letters and three accounts,

<sup>1</sup> Here and elsewhere in this review I have used Mentḥotpe I and Mentḥotpe II where James has used Mentḥotpe II and III. In this I follow the numeration of the Mentḥotpes given by Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 438. The numeration used by James is that followed by Hayes in the new *Cambridge Ancient History* who regards the Mentḥotpe who founded the Eleventh Dynasty as the first of that name, cf. his chapter, 'The Middle Kingdom in Egypt', 15.

have long been eagerly awaited. They are the highlight of this book: especially the first three letters, two from Ḥeḡanakhte to his household at Nebesēyet and one to the Overseer of the Delta, Ḥrunufe.

Ḥeḡanakhte's letters serve to lift, momentarily, a curtain allowing us a glimpse of day-to-day life in the Theban vicinity in 2000 B.C. Ḥeḡanakhte himself appears to be writing from somewhere south of Thebes to his home. A messenger, called Siḡaḡor, is evidently travelling back and forth carrying not only letters but also food-grain and bread. Ḥeḡanakhte is directing the affairs of his household in Nebesēyet. There the various members, men, women, even families, are busily engaged in the work of running the estate, cultivating the land, quarrelling, and having difficulties. It is quite clear that times are bad, food is short, and Ḥeḡanakhte protests that whatever they may say his family is eating better than most. He even utters the final threat, saying that anyone who does not like the rations had better come to live where he is staying to see how he likes it. Indulgence is shown to a certain Snofru, who seems a spoilt young man who, although obviously being troublesome, is yet to be allowed to do what he likes. Anupu is another favourite. There is trouble over the various women; a handmaid called Senen is to be thrown out; there is to be no more interference with Ḥetepet's companions. Ḥeḡanakhte delivers an obscure lecture with regard to his concubine and how she should be treated. The business of renting land, buying and selling, making and calling-in of loans is also going forward.

The two letters to the household at Nebesēyet are very hard indeed to translate. The result is worthy of the highest praise. Even where one feels doubt one soon finds that to offer any better suggestion is almost if not quite impossible. Both these letters are very familiar, even curt, in tone, and to the point in a way which is not common in Ancient Egypt.

Ḥeḡanakhte, on occasion, makes use of remarkably telling phrases in his letters, as for instance:

'See! this is a year for a man to work for his master.'

'See! you are that one who ate until he was sated and hungered until his eyes were sunken.'<sup>1</sup>

'Half life is better than death outright.'

The second of the above examples reminds one of the fable of the grasshopper and the ant.

The notation used in the Ḥeḡanakhte papers for the area of land is a cause of difficulty. Some of this notation is unique and has to depend for its elucidation on internal evidence. The basic element of the land-notation is the sign  $\dagger$ . This is known also from the *Book of the Dead* and from the *Coffin Texts*. Unfortunately, neither of these sources is of any assistance in explaining it. James has deduced that this  $\dagger$  is equivalent to an area of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  arouras. This solution works very well and is probably correct.

A type of land mentioned is called *ḡt kbt*, lit. 'cold land'. James suggests a translation 'unworked land', but I cannot help wondering if this idea cannot be carried a little farther, and from the fact that *kbt* can mean 'refreshed', translate 'fallow land'. If this idea should be correct then it follows that the Egyptians of this time followed the practice of allowing land to be 'fallow'.

*Min* 'here, hither' is a startling word to find in an early M. K. document. It is, in fact, only one of a number of unexpectedly early examples of words otherwise only known from much later times, which are found not only in the Ḥeḡanakhte papers but in other sets of documents published in this book.

I, 13: '10 arouras of land *equal*(?) ( $\text{—} \text{⌋} \text{⌋} \text{—}$ ) 100 *khar* of barley.'

I, vs. 3: 'in order to *keep together* ( $\text{—} \text{⌋} \text{—} \text{⌋} \text{—}$ ) that new barley.'

I would suggest that one has here a word, the literal meaning of which is 'to heap up with a pitchfork', the determinative in the second example being a pitchfork. Faulkner gives *icb* (*Dict.*, p. 11) 'heap up corn with a pitchfork'. This is *Wb.* I, 40 (8) where reference is made to *Wb.* I, 176 (16), which is *cbwt* 'two- (later three-) pronged fork'. Further, the verb occurs in *CT* I, 393c with spellings that include  $\text{—} \text{⌋} \text{—}$ ,  $\text{—} \text{⌋} \text{—}$ .

II, 39  $\text{—} \text{⌋} \text{—}$ . This word, translated 'domestic servant(?)', is surely the same as the  $\text{—} \text{⌋} \text{—}$  'people (or sim.) of a god' quoted by *Wb.* I, 531 (5) from examples of the Greek period at Edfu. The meaning would seem, therefore, to be something like 'attendants'.

The fact that in Ḥeḡanakhte's third letter Nakhte and Sinebnut, coming to collect outstanding debts of barley and emmer, are bringing their own corn-measure is interesting. It probably indicates the variability

<sup>1</sup> This translation varies slightly from that given by James (p. 32).

of the units of measure in different districts rather than a precaution against fraud. Incidentally, I do not think that the translation of *ḥsr* as 'sack', on which some doubt is thrown, can be bettered in view of the labelled picture in the tomb of Rekhmirēc.<sup>1</sup>

It is noteworthy that those who did not wish to pay in grain were to be allowed to pay in oil at the rate: 1 *hebnet*-jar of oil = 2 sacks of barley = 3 sacks of emmer. It is thus seen that barley was more valuable than emmer. This may have been due to a shortage of that grain (cf. p. 47, top), especially as the existence of the phrase 'barley-as-barley' to indicate real barley as opposed to barley used as a mere measure of value, would seem to indicate that barley was normally the commonest grain.

The *ššrt*-, *bḥsw*-, and *tr-sst*-loaves of v, 30-33 must have been of the nature of hard-tack for them to have been able to be sent by Merisu to Ḥeḳanakhte at some distance.

Three documents found in a small tomb in the vicinity of that of Ḥarḥotpe have been named after that individual but that is probably their only connexion with him. They comprise an account of rations issued to soldiers; an account concerning the 'serfs of the *aroura*(?)' with a religious text, probably a hymn to Seth, on the back; and a potsherd on which is written a short model letter. Even these fragments contain points of special interest. The ration-document has the earliest mention yet found of the names of the epagomenal days. The items issued call for remark in that *swt* 'wheat' appears, and in that 'beer' is absent but *bš*-grain occurs. This latter fact tends to strengthen the possibility that *bš* is 'brewing-grain' if not actually 'malt'. The account concerning the 'serfs of the *aroura*(?)' is strange because this designation itself is otherwise unknown and because pairs of persons are linked by means of an unknown and undecipherable hieratic sign.

Two papyri and an ostrakon make up the Meketṛēc-group of documents. They come from the vicinity of Meketṛēc's tomb. The papyri comprise a letter concerning the dispatch of some birds, probably a practice piece, and a rather mutilated account listing quantities of beer, bulls, and other items the names of which are lost. The ostrakon contains a mere note of the issue of *fk*-loaves to a number of tomb-workers. The intrinsic value of these documents is small, yet again each offers interesting points. For instance the word *tt* 'people', hitherto unknown before Ptolemaic times, and the designations of the classes of tomb-workers.

The book concludes with an assortment of texts: one an ostrakon, three papyri, and two writing-boards. This material comes from Cairo, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the British Museum. The ostrakon contains a list of men who are to receive *ḥnkw*, and was found on the site of the mortuary temple of Mentḥotpe II.<sup>2</sup> This finding-place, along with the occurrence of the word *ḥnkw* in a *Coffin Text* shabti-spell (*CT* VI, 1), would seem to point definitely to the issue of 'carrying-baskets (*ḥnkw*)' to the labourers. James, however, does not feel able to be quite so specific. The three papyri contain letters about the sending of rations, the weaving of cloth and the sale of a house, and lastly a wholly obscure communication. Of the two writing-boards, one is only a fragment, but the other contains a letter about the sending of some gear for a ship. James translates 'a mast(?) of pine-wood, a rudder of juniper-wood, and a bolt(?) of ebony to be the tackle(?) of the sea-going ship'. I would suggest that while, of course, *ḥmw* is the 'steering-oar', *ḥrtkt* is the 'handle' by which it is moved, *ḥt* is the 'post' to which it is attached, and *gyt* is the 'steering-platform' or 'poop'. If these suggestions are accepted then the translation becomes 'a post of pine-wood, a steering-oar of juniper-wood, and a handle of ebony for the steering-platform of the sea-going ship'.

The indexes provided cover the Egyptian words used, titles, divine names, Coptic words, and general matters.

It has, of course, only been possible to indicate in a general way the riches of this excellent book. A close study of it is most rewarding and serves over and over again to enhance one's sense of the skill, penetration, and erudition with which a most difficult task has been handled.

C. H. S. SPAULL

*Museo archeologico di Firenze. Le stele egiziane dall'antico al nuovo regno.* By SERGIO BOSTICCO. Cataloghi dei musei e gallerie d'Italia. Octavo. Pp. 73, pls. 63. Rome, 1959. Price not given.

Sixty-three stelae, extending in time from the end of the Old Kingdom to the Second Intermediate

<sup>1</sup> Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-rēc at Thebes*, pl. 30.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 184, n. 1.

Period, are the subject of this catalogue. Each stela is shown in photograph on a separate collotype plate. These photographs are so well lit that every detail on the stone stands out clearly, and it is consequently quite easy to read the texts and study the figures. For the sake of the plates alone this book is well worth possessing.

The accompanying text is in Italian. It contains for each stela statements giving the size, form, date, and provenance, which are followed by a description of the scenes that appear and a translation of all the inscriptions. Finally, there are short notes drawing attention to philological points, giving technical details with regard to the workmanship and supplying a full bibliography. The bibliographies are, in fact, unusually complete: they even quote the *Wörterbuch* Belegstellen that happen to refer to individual words on the stelae. The book is equipped with indexes of personal names, titles, and gods.

Amongst these stelae is one (pl. 18) containing some biographical details. This is the stela of *Sj-mntw-wsr* who claims to have provided his city with a drinking-water supply. Four stelae (pls. 24, 30*b*, 32, 38) contain appeals to the persons who may happen to pass by; in most cases listing the types of people appealed to, such as scribes and various classes of priests. The stela of *Snbi* (pl. 36) extends the usual phrase 'consisting of every good and clean thing on which a god lives' by the words, 'which the sky gives, which the earth produces and which the Nile brings'. Pls. 29*a* and 29*b* give two fragments of a stela from Buhen containing a historical inscription dated to the 18th year of Sesostris I. Pl. 37 shows a finely carved stela detailing a family genealogy extending over six generations.

C. H. S. SPAULL

*Semna Kumma*. (Second Cataract Forts, vol. I.) By DOWS DUNHAM and J. M. A. JANSSEN. Pp. xxviii and 188, 2 text-figs., 68 figs. at end, 130 pls., 32 maps and plans in pocket at end. Boston, 1960. Price \$35.00.

The task of publishing Reisner's excavations seems endless. After the Royal Cemeteries of Kush come the Second Cataract Forts, and in this volume, the first of two, the forts at Semna West and Semna East (Kumma) are dealt with. The sites were excavated concurrently from 1924 to 1928, Reisner not always being present owing to failing health and the need for him to be at Giza. From the material published in this volume, and the detailed manner in which it is presented, it is evident that these excavations were carried out in the true Reisner tradition. That means careful excavation, acute observation, and minute recording. Neither of the joint authors was present on the excavations, but with the help of the expedition diary, the object registers, the photographs taken in the field, and by examining the objects now in Boston, they have been able to produce a report which is comprehensive and confident in its detail. It would probably be true to say that if the report had been prepared by Reisner, the sections dealing with the excavations themselves might have been fuller and more informative. Nevertheless, in the history of excavation in Egypt there have been few excavators whose unpublished work has been so well organized and sufficiently documented that others were able to publish it satisfactorily. How many important excavations remain unpublished because the records are inadequate! A debt of gratitude is owed to Reisner for leaving adequate records. An even greater debt is owed to Mr. Dunham and other members of the staff of the Boston Museum, for so unselfishly dedicating themselves to the task of publishing these records. The publication of Reisner's excavations is a triumph for all concerned, but it should also serve as a cautionary tale for excavators and an encouragement for those left with a legacy of unpublished work.

Mr. Dunham in his preface explains that while he is largely responsible for the final appearance of the volume, much of the work of preparation (which included the laborious task of sifting the records) was done by Dr. Janssen. The volume is ostensibly devoted to the two forts at Semna and Kumma, but it contains much more besides. Within the forts are temples, and especially noteworthy are the temple of Tuthmosis III at Semna and the temple of Amenophis II at Kumma. These temples are small but virtually intact, and they contain fine reliefs. Here they are briefly described, the full publication of Lepsius being regarded as sufficiently reliable for consultation. Happily, however, an almost complete photographic record provided from the Breasted photographs in the possession of the Oriental Institute, Chicago, is included. The current intensive campaign in Nubia in connexion with the new High Dam has stimulated

interest in these temples and a full publication is expected from Dr. Caminos in the near future. Nevertheless, as the temples are scheduled for removal and may suffer damage in the process, the photographic record presented here will always be of great value.

In addition there are cemeteries on both banks of the Nile, and these were examined and planned by the expedition. They include tombs of the Middle Kingdom, New Kingdom, Twenty-fifth Dynasty (there was a small mud-brick temple of Taharqa in the fort at Semna West), Meroitic Period, and of the X-group people. Many of the tombs were used in more than one period and most had been plundered.

No dramatic discoveries were made either in the forts or in the cemeteries, but many interesting small objects were found, including several inscriptions of senior officials. The catalogues of objects form by far the most important parts of this book. Every item is carefully described and especial attention is given to the numerous fragments of inscriptions. From a perusal of the catalogue entries it may be possible to obtain some idea of the character of life in a remote station of the Egyptian Empire. No attempt is made here to go beyond the simple publication of material, but that in itself is much to be thankful for. Objects are not, however, always given dates.

The third section of the book deals with the rock inscriptions on both sides of the Nile at Semna. Many of these inscriptions were recorded by Lepsius, but many more were found by Reisner's expedition. Here are recorded 24 at Semna West, and 130 at Kumma. They consist for the most part of records of inundation levels during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, and private inscriptions. Hand copies are given in the body of the work; useful comments are added and, in some cases, translations *in extenso*. Photographs of many are included on the plates.

Line drawings of objects are not given in the body of the text but collected together on 68 pages at the end (after the full and useful indexes). These drawings reveal the barrenness of the site from the point of view of objects. The 130 plates include good views of the site, photographs of the two temples already mentioned, of most of the inscribed material, and of selected groups of objects. Useful plans and sections are arranged on seven folded sheets contained within a stout pocket on the inside of the back cover.

The plans and sections provided by Mr. Dunham will provide the student of Egyptian military architecture with much information on the general scheme of building used at Semna and Kumma, but they are not supported in the text by details of construction revealed by excavation. From the publication in *Kush IX* (1961) of Noel F. Wheeler's diary of the excavation of Mirgissa Fort it is clear that in the excavation of a similar site by the Reisner expedition a mass of detailed information on constructional and related matters was noted daily in the course of the excavation. It may be assumed that the diary of the excavations of the two forts at Semna similarly is full of information not reproduced in this report. It would be unfair to suggest that Dunham and Janssen have done less than they ought in preparing this publication. It remains possible, however, that the records preserved at Boston may yet contain important information which will be of use to scholars working on the architecture of the Nubian forts.

T. G. H. JAMES

*Rites égyptiens. I. Le Sacrifice de l'oryx.* By PHILIPPE DERCHAIN. Pp. 69+ 3 pls. Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Brussels, 1962. Price 90 francs belges.

Published as the first of a series on Egyptian rites, the present study is divided into two parts the first of which discusses the history and significance of the rite, while the second presents translations of the relevant texts together with transcripts of the Egyptian originals in cases where these are as yet unpublished. Dr. Derchain does not provide a plan or prospectus of his projected series, and he would appear to be plunging somewhat *in medias res* by tackling the sacrifice of the oryx without providing first a general introduction. One wonders, for instance, whether the series is to be concerned mainly with sacrificial rites. It will be remembered, however, that in *Chronique d'Égypte*, 60 (1955), 225–87, the author published a valuable study of the rite of presenting the 'crown of justification'. He informs us that this will possibly be integrated into the present series—an indication that its scope will not be limited to sacrificial ceremonies.

The merit of the method here adopted is that the book is at once readably concise and equipped with detailed documentation. Students of religion who are not Egyptologists will profit from the first part without being encumbered by linguistic matters. Texts from the temples of the Graeco-Roman era are used as the basic material, and, in this case at any rate, the choice is fully justified. References to earlier texts are made *en passant*. On pp. 37 f. Derchain sets out his main conclusions, which can be summarized as follows. The rite was probably very ancient, and from the time of the Pyramid Texts the practice of antelope-hunting had given rise to a liturgy connected with the preparation of certain sacred barks which were adorned with the head of an antelope. But the sacrifice was a rite which signified also a 'technique of consummation'; the important act involved was not the capture of the animal, but its killing and bleeding, its cutting up, and the utilization of the hide. Since the 16th Upper Egyptian nome, which had an oryx as its emblem, preserved traditions that are best explained by the conditions of the rite, one is inclined to believe that this rite, in the late form known to us, could have originated in Ḥebenu. A symbolical interpretation was given to it in astral liturgies, obscuring its original significance. Finally, the antelope seems to have been sacred to Sokaris, a fact which explains the form of the sacred bark of this god.

Of these conclusions the only one which invites disagreement is that pertaining to cult-topography. Derchain points out (p. 15) that until the end of the Ethiopian period the oryx in its association with the 16th Upper Egyptian nome shows no trace of a Sethian interpretation such as that seen in the rite. On the other hand, no taboo of the antelope is attested for the nome; a taboo which does appear to be mentioned (though the evidence is not beyond question) is that of 'the head and blood'. In the texts of the rite the blood of the slain animal is said to fall to the ground; sometimes gods are said to swallow it, but only gods, so that Derchain thinks that the taboo is observed. At the same time he is troubled by the fact that the head is cut off, according to the rite, and is kept for use on the prow of a sacred bark, a practice which is considered contrary also to the evidence of Herodotus, 2, 39 and Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 31, who refer to the custom of getting rid of the heads of sacrificed animals. Plutarch, however, is talking of red oxen and Herodotus of Apis bulls, although Herodotus proceeds to claim (in what is probably an inaccurate generalization) that the heads of all sacrificed beasts were thus treated. Further, the word 'head' (perhaps *ḥb*, properly 'neck') is doubtful in one of the sources quoted. A fact which must be borne in mind is that the oryx is the nome-sign; this implies veneration, and a reasonable inference is that Ḥebenu would have been one of the last places to practise the Sethian sacrifice of the animal.

It remains to add that Derchain has for the most part presented and discussed his data carefully and perceptively and that the forthcoming studies in his series will be eagerly awaited.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

*De la divinité du Pharaon.* By GEORGES POSENER. (Cahiers de la Société Asiatique, 15.) Pp. 106. Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1960. No price given.

Much has been written in recent years about the religious significance of kingship in the ancient world, and in the introduction to this book Professor Posener notes that whereas Egyptology tends to preserve, in many respects, a tradition of isolationism, it has been markedly and refreshingly open to external influences in the matter of the interpretation of kingship. Concurrently, the alleged situation in Egypt has been widely disseminated through such symposia as *Myth, Ritual and Kingship* (ed. S. H. Hooke, Oxford, 1958) and *La Regalità sacra* (Leiden, 1959), and Posener complains of a progressive tendency to represent the Pharaoh's divinity in extreme and unlimited terms. He maintains that Moret and Baillet, especially the former, had made very proper reservations, but that more recent writers fail to do so, including Jacobsohn, Frankfort ('The community had freed itself from fear and uncertainty by considering its ruler a god'), Bleeker ('In all respects he is the prototype of a sacral king'), Wainwright ('Nothing is more certain than that the Pharaoh was divine'), Fairman, and Wilson. Opinions which dissent in some degree from this norm have been expressed by Brunner, Goedicke, and Bonnet, and Posener suggests that these minority views are more cautious and discriminating. For himself, he professes here to take up the task of showing that the accepted view of the Pharaoh is in certain ways excessive and that it is not the only view provided by the sources.



In a discussion of these sources it is suggested that historians of religion have concentrated their attention on religious texts at the expense of the literature which might emphasize the king's human qualities; and that even in the treatment of sources which are thus restricted, they have stressed the elements that are obviously favourable to the fashionable interpretation—the titulary, theogamy, coronation, the *ḥb-sd* festival. What is unfortunate, suggests Posener, is the implication that these titles, functions, and festivals provide a complete picture of what the Egyptians thought of the kingship. Further, when non-religious sources are touched on, *parti pris* is manifest again, he argues, in the very selective use of the evidence; only that which heightens the divinity of the Pharaoh is utilized. W. S. Smith's remarks on Frankfort's *Kingship and the Gods* are approvingly cited: in order to accentuate the divergence between the Egyptian and Mesopotamian conceptions of kingship, Frankfort selected the Egyptian evidence which favoured such a view and he neglected the human aspect of the Pharaoh. Another charge is that misleading interpretations are occasionally deployed. Posener rightly castigates the explanation of the formula *dī cnḥ* as 'giver of life', where Frankfort uncritically follows van der Leeuw in claiming that this meaning can coexist on a par with 'endowed with life';<sup>1</sup> and he reminds us that the phrase *ḥm-f*, confidently explained as referring to embodiment or incarnation of a god,<sup>2</sup> has been more hesitantly treated by Gardiner in *JEA* 29 (1943), 79 (where, indeed, the very different suggestion was made that the original meaning may have been 'servant'). Posener is on more debatable ground when he argues for a metaphorical nuance in the designation of the king as *Rē* or as Horus (p. 9). Is the meaning 'a Horus' really possible here? The firm theological dogma which saw the king as Horus would seem to exclude mere metaphor in this instance.

A comparison is suggested between the status of certain of the sacred animals and that of the king. Some of these animals may have been originally autonomous divinities, but in time they lose their independence and become associated in varying degrees with the more permanent gods, so that one could maintain, in a broad sense, that Apis enters into the orbit of Ptah, Mnevis into that of *Rē*, and so on. The power of these animal gods is therefore a delegated one; the bull is a 'living image' or 'soul' of the god. In the same way, argues Posener, the authority of the king does not reside in a divinity which he enjoys in virtue of his own person; rather does it lie with the gods of whom he is the 'living image' or the son or the substitute. If so, it can be said of both the sacred animals and of the kings, that they occupy a lower level of the supernatural. Here (p. 22) Posener seems to be talking of sacred animals in general, and it may be objected that many of them consistently preserved their independent divinity and, indeed, enhanced it as time went on. Apart from this, the comparison breaks down even on the basis of the author's analysis, for although monarchy is said to have derived its divine character, according to mythology, from its role as heir to a rule of gods, yet it is emphasized (p. 19) that an extension of the living king's cult took place in the New Kingdom. There are valuable remarks, nevertheless, on the distinction maintained between a god and his cult image. The king is sometimes spoken of in a manner which recalls the language used of a statue, and this suggests that he represents merely the receptacle of the divine.

Posener tries to face up to the basic fact that the Pharaoh was very commonly called a god—*ntr* or *ntr nfr* or *ḥm n ntr pn*. But he argues that it is wrong to conclude from this that the Egyptians considered their king to be a god on a par with other gods. Men in the ancient world, we are reminded, did not use the precision of terminology to which modern man is accustomed, and the Egyptians did not always use the word *ntr* to mean exactly the same thing, especially since, in the king's case, there was a natural tendency to speak in exalting terms. It may be objected, at this point, that the Sumerians, Akkadians, and Assyrians also belonged to the ancient world and that they were exposed to the same natural tendency. Their terminology shows a marked contrast which can hardly be explained—nor does Posener try to do so—by suggesting that the Egyptians were more addicted to flattery. It can with reason, then, be maintained that the divergence which Frankfort elaborates in his *Kingship and the Gods*, 231 ff., is based on an objective comparison of terms; cf. C. J. Gadd, *Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East*, 34 ff.

According to Posener's analysis the application of the term *ntr* to the king was not merely one big sycophantic lie, but there was a big element of exaggeration in the suggested equation with gods in general. A divinity was genuinely ascribed to the king, but it emerges, in this analysis, as one of distinctly inferior

<sup>1</sup> But for an instance of the application of this phrase to a deity (Isis) see Derchain, *Le Sacrifice de l'oryx*, 57 (= Philae, Photo Berlin, 397).

<sup>2</sup> Van der Leeuw, *La Religion dans son essence et ses manifestations*, 107; Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 45.

grade. A significant sign is seen in the dependence of the king on the gods. People pray to them on his behalf, and he himself prays to them. The king is depicted before them in attitudes of prostration or adoration. Again, when associated with the gods, the king is in the inferior position of son; he is the son of Rē above all, but also sometimes the son of Month, Amūn, Neith, Osiris, and others. The glaring exception to this role of filiation is the identification of the king with Horus. Posener pays scant attention to this central motive in the Egyptian doctrine of the king's divinity. It has recently been shown that the idea sometimes manifested itself even in sculptural representations of the monarch, who is shown as human in front but with a falcon's feathers on the back of his head or body: see H. Brunner, *ZAS* 83 (1958), 74 f. and 87 (1962), 76 ff.; and P. Posener-Krieger, *Rev. d'Égyptol.* 12 (1960), 37 ff.

Rather different from this dominating dogma are the instances of the king's being assimilated to the role of the creator-gods Rē, Khepri, and Atum, which Posener describes in his fourth chapter. Afterwards he seeks to show that in practice the king's supernatural powers were, none the less, severely limited. The Pharaoh is not himself a rain-maker or a bringer of inundation, but is the mere intermediary who invokes divine intervention; his thaumaturgic and therapeutic powers are denied, and so is his omniscience; his contacts with the divine world in the crises of war, in oracular communication, and in oneiromancy are found to be intermittent and not radically different from those enjoyed by ordinary mortals. In his last chapter Posener examines popular tales such as those in P. Westcar and P. d'Orbiney and concludes that folk-lore did not hesitate to describe the misadventures and deficiencies of kings; gone is the mythological pomp, and there is now only 'l'image prosaïque d'un potentat oriental' (p. 100). In seeking an explanation of the widely differing views attested in the texts, a distinction is observed between the monarchy and its holder, the former only being permanent and divinely equipped; if this distinction is valid, the popular imagination, it is suggested, was engrossed by the human qualities of the holder. But such a distinction, if generalized, could lead to an arbitrary division, and Posener prefers to recognize diverging conceptions of the kingship itself, veering at times towards the divine and at others towards the human. This differs somewhat from his earlier formulation of an inferior status of divinity.

A good deal of the argument in this study consists of ingenious exegesis of well-known material which in the past has been interpreted rather differently, although writers on religion may often have ignored the secular literary sources. It may be doubted whether the attack on the accepted position has succeeded. The popular tales reflect, for all their amusing 'low-down' on the Pharaoh's foibles and fortunes, a clear image of his divinity. The P. Westcar, for instance, as Posener emphasizes (p. 92), in telling of the solar origin of three princes of the Fifth Dynasty, implies that this new development upsets what had been the normal succession hitherto, and so it contradicts Moret's principle of the 'theogamy before the birth of every king' instead of supporting it. When such a negative point has been conceded, one must not avoid the main point of the story: it was in the Fifth Dynasty that the doctrine of the king's being the son of Rē was introduced, and it remained a vital belief for a long time. Its superimposition on the idea of the king as Horus may reflect, if Morenz<sup>1</sup> and Stock are right, a contemporary upsurge of influence on the part of the northern cosmic gods. With regard to the king's miraculous influence over disease and the workings of nature, Posener has every right to stress that the king is usually the instrument through which divine power works. He calls attention (p. 66) to Brunner's observation that the Pharaoh is never depicted in the act of presenting the sign of life to a man.<sup>2</sup> Even so the royal role remains one of superhuman significance.

Short as it is, Posener's book should prove a valuable stimulus. He shows the importance of the literary sources, and it is clear that studies of kingship in the various eras of Pharaonic rule are called for, studies such as that which Goedicke has undertaken for the Old Kingdom. On the whole, however, the literary sources would seem to confirm rather than weaken the impression of the king's godhead. That this is in a special category which sometimes reveals dependence on the other gods is well pointed in the present work. It was inevitable that the Egyptians should betray an ambivalence in their attitude to their divine king, for unlike the other gods, he was seen to move among them in the manner of a mortal; and doubtless the knowledge that he was a mortal could not always be ignored. But this embarrassing condition had

<sup>1</sup> *Ägyptische Religion*, 37.

<sup>2</sup> Kate Bosse-Griffiths, in a verbal communication, would go farther: the king is never shown, as far as she knows, with the *ꜥnh*-sign in his hand.

another side to it. Since he was often a *praesens numen* in a special sense, the Pharaoh was in one way the most influential of the gods. Nor were his weaknesses necessarily incompatible with the Egyptian idea of divinity. Posener is careful to point out (pp. 76 and 98) that the gods are by no means uniformly depicted as all-powerful and omniscient. But more should be said on this matter. A text like P.Chester Beatty 1, 1, 1-16, 8 exposes several of the gods to ridicule; a number of the myths reveal the gods in sad or embarrassing situations, witness the prostrate Osiris, the persecuted Horus-child, and the inebriated Hāthor; and in the magical papyri the gods are often threatened, whereas protection against the harmful actions of gods is promised; on the last point cf. Edwards, *Hieratic Papyri in the B.M.*, 4th series, vol. 1, p. xxi. Such facts suggest that while the Pharaoh as a god is certainly not *primus inter pares*, he is at any rate *inter pares*.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

*A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum.* By RICHARD A. PARKER. Brown Egyptological Studies iv. Pp. xiv and 60, pls. 19. Brown University Press, Providence, 1962. Price \$15.

In this volume are published two documents, P.Brooklyn 47.218.3, from which the book takes its title, and P.Brooklyn 16.205. The former, which in its present state measures 5.62 m. in length, contains the statement of a happening in the temple of Amen-Rē on the fifth day of the first month of *šmw* in the 14th year of Psammetichus I (October 4, 651 B.C.), and fifty statements by witnesses in corroboration. In the course of a procession, Pemou, son of Harsiese, petitioned the god on his father's behalf and received an affirmative answer by oracular movement. The significance of the petition—that Harsiese should serve Monthu-Rē-Harakhti—is not apparent, but its importance at the time of utterance is made clear by the fifty testimonies written by important officials, some of whom are known from other documents and monuments to have been among the most powerful people in Thebes at the time. They included the Fourth Prophet of Amen-Rē, Mentuemhēt, and the vizier, Nespekashuty.

At the very beginning of the document there is a fine vignette, now unfortunately much damaged, illustrating the procession of the shrine of Amen-Rē which is carried by ten pairs of *wrb*-priests. From the inscription on the shrine it can be identified as that of Taharqa, and it is unusual in being carried not in a bark but directly on carrying poles. Eight people are shown facing the shrine, of whom the following can be identified: Mentuemhēt himself, his son Nesptah, the First Prophet of Amūn in Karnak, Harkhebe, and the Chief Lector-priest Pediamūn-*neb-nesut-tawy*.

The statement of the event and the fifty testimonies occupy fifteen columns of text. Amenemhēt, the scribe of the oracles of the House of Amūn, was responsible for the composition of the document, and his testimony is included in the statement of the event, which is written in normal hieratic. Each of the witness-texts is written in a different hand, 17 in normal hieratic, 27 in abnormal hieratic, and 6 in a mixture of the two scripts. The testimonies include a few phrases from the introductory oracle-text together with the names and titles of the witnesses and the date. Professor Parker believes that the entries were written by the witnesses themselves. It may be, however, that they were written by attendant scribes on behalf of the witnesses. The former is the more attractive alternative, but the latter seems possibly the more realistic in view of the high status of some of the witnesses.

This unusual text is of very considerable interest for several reasons. In the first place, the circumstance recorded and the manner of its witnessing are of intrinsic interest because they reveal a procedure in achieving what may be a political end, nowhere else so clearly demonstrated as here. The matter at issue is obscure, but the use of fifty witnesses suggests that it was of vital importance. In the second place, the document is of great prosopographical importance, the witness-texts affording valuable genealogical information about fifty important officials at Thebes in the first reign of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Professor Parker devotes a long section of this useful publication to a detailed study of the witnesses. In the third place, the palaeographical value of the document is without parallel. This is a well-dated text written by fifty different hands; it could be in itself a textbook for hieratic and abnormal hieratic of the early Saite Period. Parker fully appreciates this important aspect of the text, but in his short appendix on palaeography and transcription he disappoints the student by touching on the subject in only a very cursory manner. The addition of a palaeography of normal and abnormal hieratic forms would have greatly increased the value of the volume.

P. Brooklyn 16.205, the second document published by Parker, contains four short texts concerning land-deals effected by a man named Iqeni. The document can be dated with some certainty to the reign of Pemy (c. 772–767 B.C.) of the Twenty-second Dynasty. Of the four texts, the first is badly damaged, but was clearly of the same character as the second and third texts—records of complaints submitted to deities (Hemen and Khonsu) for oracular settlement; the fourth text lists payments made by Iqeni for plots of land. The translations are furnished with admirably concise commentaries.

Both documents, edited and translated here for the first time, contain texts dealing with oracles, and the editor has taken the opportunity of including in his publication an important essay on Egyptian oracles, written by Professor Černý and based on a lecture given in Chicago in 1955. Oracles of all kinds are discussed—public and private, religious and judicial. High affairs of State might be settled by oracular pronouncement; humble inquiries of simple men might equally be answered; matters relating to the dead as well as to the living could be arranged in the same way. Černý surveys the field in all its aspects, and in discussing the oracular approaches of simple people he offers much evidence drawn from the necropolis-workers' village at Deir el-Medīna. These workmen appealed mostly to the deified Amenophis I in one of his many forms. The manner by which gods were approached and the ways in which they indicated their answers are also discussed. Černý is of the opinion that movement forward represented an affirmative response, and movement backwards a negative response.

Splendid photographic plates of the two documents with neat and clear transcriptions of the texts occupying 19 pairs of plates, complete this interesting volume.

T. G. H. JAMES

*Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries.* By A. LUCAS. Fourth edition, revised and enlarged by J. R. Harris. Pp. xvi and 523. London, 1962. Price £7.

The third edition of this classic work, the last prepared by the author himself, was published in 1948 and cost 25s. Owners of this edition may well question whether they should pay more than five times this price for a new edition prepared by an Egyptologist who is not a chemist. On the question of the value of this revision let it be said at once that the tried and trusted tool, which has served not only Egyptologists but many other students of ancient cultures for so long, has been given a new and sharper edge by Dr. Harris. A complaint may, however, be legitimately made about the price. It is true that the format is bigger, the paper better, and the printed text greatly increased (although there are in fact fewer pages than in the third edition), but the book is an established work, with an assured sale (the third edition has been reprinted). The publishers are scarcely taking a risk; but they have turned a book which ought to be on every archaeologist's shelf, and which formerly could be bought by a student without crippling his finances, into one which only libraries will be able to afford. This is lamentable.

In the preface Dr. Harris explains the nature of his revision. He has ransacked Egyptological, archaeological, and technological literature systematically to bring the bibliography of the work up to date. In so doing he has unearthed many discussions unknown to or neglected by Lucas, and in this respect has rendered the book virtually complete. Whatever he has missed can scarcely be of very great importance. While his gleanings have made little difference to some chapters of the work, 'certain sections, notably those dealing with leather, cosmetics, fibres, woven fabrics, glass, alloys, niello, bitumen, painting materials, wood and wood working, have required more extensive revision'. The range of subjects included in this list is impressive, and an examination of the text has revealed that the extensive revision in some cases amounts to complete rewriting. Further, much new technological information is included—a particularly important augmentation—and the whole volume has been transformed from the philological point of view. Dr. Harris speaks with real authority on the lexicography of ancient Egyptian materials. In general, however, he does not include here discussions of particular ancient terms.

To a large extent the value of this revision depends on Dr. Harris's judgement in dealing with technical reports of many kinds. He favours original studies, and neglects derivative accounts, and he seems in general

most successful in maintaining the authoritative character of Lucas's third edition. He rightly suspects statements made about techniques and the identification of materials by excavators without the help of technical specialists, but it may be doubted whether he is wise to omit such statements and identification. Excavation reports are, for many scholars, the raw material of their own studies, or at least they provide information on new material on which studies may be based. If an excavator has made a surprising identification, he may be wrong; but he may also be right, and his identification will certainly be used by others writing at second-hand. The inclusion of such an identification in 'Lucas' accompanied by a *caveat* would serve a useful purpose; it would throw healthy doubt on the identification, while at the same time drawing attention to it without endowing it with authority.

One of the most valuable characteristics of the earlier editions of the work was the inclusion of the results of much new original work carried out by the author himself. The new edition lacks this characteristic, but the loss is not as great as might have been expected. Lucas was a pioneer in archaeological chemistry, and when he wrote he had few colleagues in the field. Now, however, laboratories are found in many museums and archaeological institutes; many chemists work in archaeological research and their published results form an impressive body of new information which can be incorporated into the framework of Lucas's old work. The task of assimilation and incorporation has been cleverly accomplished by Dr. Harris.

Chemical analyses were included in an appendix by Lucas, and this section has been greatly increased in the new edition. It is probable that many further analyses exist in the records of archaeological laboratories; such, while perhaps not meriting individual publication in journals, might find a place in future editions of 'Lucas'. It is easy to think of other ways in which the work might be enlarged or 'improved'—Dr. Harris himself lists some possibilities, and it might be further suggested that references to scenes of technical activities in tombs be added where none are now given—but it may be argued that the book is already big enough and that an increase in size would mean an increase in price.

Finally, a word should be said about the subtly tactful way in which the book has been revised. The additions and changes have been made so cleverly that it reads throughout as if written by one hand. There is no loss of clarity, and devotees of the third edition should have no fears in making use of this new and admirable fourth edition.

T. G. H. JAMES

*Il Sale della terra, materia pittorica dell'antichità.* By ELENA SCHIAVI. Pp. 181 and 12 plates. Milan, 1961. No price given.

Ancient painters have left us no treatises describing their craft; we possess only the writings of literary men like the elder Pliny in Book XXXV of his *Natural History*. The material remains are of their nature subject to destruction by the passage of time and are not always readily susceptible of laboratory analysis. Here, therefore, more than in any other category of ancient art, the experience of the modern practitioner in media employed in antiquity is of particular value for the understanding of the ancient achievement. Madame Schiavi is well known in Italy and on the continent for her use of wax as a paint medium (encaustic), and two of her compositions are illustrated in the present volume; a third is reproduced in colour on the book jacket.

The authoress's method has been to mix pigments in water with a soft wax emulsion formed by warming wax with pure sodium carbonate, the process being one which she would equate with Pliny's formula for 'punic wax'. She now describes in detail further experiments and the conclusions which she reaches, following the promptings of her aesthetic, and at times almost mystical, feeling for colour. On the practical side she is concerned with the effect of substituting for the pure product naturally occurring forms of sodium carbonate available to and used by the ancients. By using natron she found that there was a notable improvement in the adhesive property of the paint as well as a distinctive effect upon the coloration. She suggests that already in the Eighteenth Dynasty the Egyptians used natron in the mixing of paints, first without a wax base but later with it, in wall-paintings in the tombs of Thebes.

The preparation of pigments with natron revealed the presence of a greasy component, soluble in water,

the formation of which was not due to the sodium carbonate but to impurities present in the specimens of natron. Further investigation suggested parallels with the results of analyses by Dr. Zaki Iskander of the contents of some jars of the Late Period found at Saqqara (*Ann. Serv.* 53 (1955), 167 ff.). Synthetic natron prepared in the light of these analyses, ground and mixed with pigment added to water, resulted in good adhesiveness, improved still further by the addition of wax. Other experiments were made to allow for traces of organic material, the presence of which was explained by Iskander as due to the contact of the material analysed (embalming refuse) with a body in the process of mummification. In spite of the circumstances in which these jars were discovered and similar finds of embalming refuse elsewhere, the authoress would see in these jars and their contents the equipment of a painter's workshop and she relates them to the remarks of Pliny concerning the use of *medicamenta* in painting.

In the light of her practical experience Madame Schiavi attempts to redefine with a precision doubtless alien to Pliny himself and his ancient readers, some of the technical terms used in the *Natural History*. A distinction is drawn, for instance, between *color* (plural *colores*) meaning *colore*, and *colos* (plural *colores*) meaning *collante*. Ingenious though the suggestion is, such rationalization of Pliny's account may be considered very speculative. In his remarks on ancient painting, as also in his description of papyrus-making, the work of Pliny leaves much to be desired as a practical manual.

A. F. SHORE

*Aegypten. Studienreiseführer mit Landeskunde.* By EMMA BRUNNER-TRAUT and VERA HELL. Pp. 626, with 150 text figs., 27 maps and plans, 2 loose maps. Stuttgart, 1962. Price DM 42.50.

This new guide to Egypt will surely be compared with the old Baedeker guide, the value of the last edition of which may be measured by the jealousy with which discerning owners cling to their copies and by the rare-book prices fetched by occasional copies when they appear on the market. Baedeker's *Aegypten* was, however, written for tourism in a more leisured period when a visitor might spend a whole winter in Egypt. Today the pattern of tourism is altered and the three weeks available to most travellers to Egypt is barely sufficient to allow visits to more than the principal sites in the country. Something a little more practical was needed and this book goes far to providing it. It aims at being both a guide to Egypt and a handbook for the culture of the land from the most ancient times up to the present day. The emphasis is quite naturally placed on the Pharaonic Period.

Two hundred pages are devoted to the cultural survey, which includes accounts of most topics needed to supply the background required by an intelligent and questioning visitor to Egypt: geography, natural history, modern life, history, the religion, art, and culture of Pharaonic Egypt, the language, scripts, and literature of ancient Egypt, and Coptic Egypt, the religion of Coptic and Islamic Egypt, and the art of Islam as found in Egypt. The information contained in this first part of the book is reliable and up to date; it is necessarily brief, and should be regarded as an introduction only. A good bibliography, specially compiled for German readers, suggests further reading.

The remainder of the guide is devoted to the monuments of Egypt. Here the authors have been severely practical and concentrated on those sites most visited by modern tourists. Very full descriptions are included of Alexandria, Cairo with Memphis and the Memphite necropolis, the Theban area, and Aswan. Other sites like Tanis, Abydos, Dendera, and the Nubian temples are briefly described, and useful short sections are devoted to early Christian antiquities such as the monasteries of the Wâdi Natrûn and at Sohag. For the rest, most other sites are just mentioned in the itineraries which link the descriptions of the principal sites. The visitor who takes this book to Buto or Beni Hasan or Gebel es-Silsila will find little to help him. In this respect the old Baedeker remains supreme. There will always be a place for a comprehensive guide-book which will help the traveller especially when he leaves the well-trodden tourist path and visits the less popular monuments.

It is easy to criticize this book for what it does not pretend to be. Happily it is also easy to praise it for what it does offer. The descriptions of the principal ancient sites in Egypt are thorough and accurate. Very helpful plans, uncluttered by unnecessary detail, greatly aid the use of the text in the field; the plans of the

pyramid complexes at Giza and Saqqara, of the town-site of Memphis, of the Faiyum, and of the Theban area, are particularly useful. Two larger folded maps of the Delta and of Nubia are so bound into the book that they will not survive intact much use. Separate maps of Egypt and of Cairo, insecurely fastened on the insides of the covers, are liable to become detached.

The volume also contains useful practical information for tourists, a chronological table, and a full, accurate index. Its format ( $5\frac{1}{2}$  by  $7\frac{1}{2}$  by  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches) is a trifle too large for real convenience, but the print is bold, the figures clear, and the binding strong. A useful guide-book, but not for the adventurous.

T. G. H. JAMES

*Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretalogien.* By DIETER MÜLLER. (Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Bd. 53, Heft 1.) Pp. 96. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1961. Price DM 15.50.

This study of the Egyptian background and possible Egyptian linguistic origins of the Greek aretalogies of Isis was undertaken at Leipzig under the guidance of Professor Morenz. Dr. Dieter Müller, who is now at Göttingen, examines some of the questions raised by Richard Harder in his justly esteemed *Karpokrates von Chalkis und die memphitische Isispropaganda* (Berlin, 1944). He is especially interested in Harder's thesis that the Isis-Aretalogy, whose various versions were correlated convincingly by Harder himself and shown to derive from a Memphite text, was based on an original written in Egyptian. Although Harder's thesis had been vigorously rebutted by two eminent scholars—A.-J. Festugière and the late lamented A. D. Nock—Müller was obviously equipped, as an Egyptologist, to test it more searchingly. His aim, at the same time, concerns wider matters. He examines the question of by whom and for whom the texts were written, and what elements in the conception of Isis in the Graeco-Roman world may be derived from Egypt and what aspects were contributed by the Greeks. Further, he is anxious to show how the Greek and Egyptian approach differed in its formulation of similar facts or experiences.

After discussing the relation of the texts to one another, Müller considers the '*I-am* formula' which characterizes the aretalogies. Such a formula occurs very commonly in Egyptian texts, but not in the manner of an address by gods to the world at large, as Nock pointed out, except in the case of kings. When Isis, for example, boasts of an extraordinary achievement in P.Louvre 3079 (= Spiegelberg, *ZAS* 53 (1917), 94 f.), she begins, 'I am thy sister Isis. There is no other god or goddess who has done what I have done.' She is addressing Osiris. Perhaps too much has been made, however, of the question of the audience addressed. A self-predication in a dramatic or ritual context could easily be adapted for use in compositions such as aretalogies, and these, after all, were available only to those who could read them in particular places. Müller rightly gives prominence to the self-predications in which the Pharaohs tell of their deeds, and if we recall that the Pharaohs were divine in status, the parallel is close enough. On the other hand, the framework of the aretalogies appears to follow the pattern of Greek hymns, as Festugière maintained, dealing with the deity's *φύσις*, *δύναμις*, and *ἔργα καὶ εὐρήματα*. Some Egyptian hymns, admittedly, could be similarly subdivided, notably the long hymn of Amen-mose to Osiris. Müller accepts a dualistic make-up in form, the one aspect being Egyptian (or 'orientalisch-ägyptisch' as he more cautiously terms it), the other Greek.

In what follows, Müller discusses each statement of the Greek text, providing what amounts to an Egyptological commentary. At the end of each comment he makes the fascinating experiment of trying to translate the Greek sentence into Egyptian; he uses mainly the idiom of Middle Egyptian because this form continued to be used in official documents as late as the Roman era. The experiment is conducted carefully and the conclusions follow a meticulous weighing of possibilities. Mere translatability does not prove much in the case of very general statements, as Müller is quick to realize. The first sentence, 'I am Isis, mistress of every land', goes pat into Egyptian since the term *τύραννος* does not seem to have here the specialized meaning which it may have in M 25 ('I overthrew the governments of tyrants'), where the Greek political hatred of tyrants is perhaps expressed. Harder, to be sure, maintained that this view involved a contradiction of the usage in the opening sentence and that, further, a condemnation of political tyranny was no longer a lively Greek sentiment. He would derive the statement from the Egyptian situation, referring it to the

particularism of the system of nome-rulers, in which case Müller can, of course, provide an Egyptian translation (*fh·n·i hkrwt nwt bstw*, where the last word denotes 'rebels' or the like). He decides, perhaps wisely, in favour of a Greek origin and interpretation; and this statement exemplifies the difficulties which can arise.

Fortunately, other parts of the text permit of firmer decisions. When Isis claims to have discovered seamanship (M 15), to have ended, with her brother's aid, the practice of cannibalism (M 21), and to have shown initiations to men (M 22), Greek ideas are unmistakable; but when she claims to rise in the dog-star (M 9), to have separated earth from heaven (M 12), to have made justice strong (M 16), and to have distributed languages to Greeks and barbarians (M 31), the basic concepts are Egyptian, although a Greek formulation has entered into the last saying. On pp. 87 f. and on p. 91 a complete survey is given in summary. The control of the goddess over fate (*τὸ εἰμαρμένον*) in M 55-56 is explained, after a most illuminating discussion, as an instance of the fusion of Greek and Egyptian ideas, *š'i* being the key word in Egyptian.

A composite picture therefore emerges. Müller does not believe that a translation from an Egyptian original is involved, but suggests that the Egyptian elements can be otherwise explained, bearing in mind that a degree of bilingualism must have prevailed among the population of Egypt in the Hellenistic era. Three possibilities occur to him: the author may have been a Greek, commissioned and helped by Egyptian priests; or he may have been an Egyptian versed in Greek culture; or again—and Müller leans most to this—the text may be the work of a Greek priest of Isis who had access to the linguistic documents of Egyptian religion through the help of an Egyptian colleague or through his own knowledge of the language. To illustrate the difference in tenor and form between products of the two traditions Müller adds a pair of Egyptian hymns (in hieroglyphs and translation) from the temple of Isis in Aswân. These derive from the Ptolemaic era and refer to several of the attributes of Isis mentioned in the Greek aretalogies. Yet it is surprising to find Müller on p. 8 agreeing with Vandebek that the most important traits of the Hellenistic image of Isis are of Greek origin and that Egypt supplied little more than the name and some motives. His own admirable research shows how the aretalogies introduce a number of Greek ideas, while they also reformulate several of those derived from Egypt. On the whole, however, one is struck by the persistence of many of the original attributes of the goddess, some of which are preserved in a form linguistically close to the Egyptian style.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

*Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, serie A, vols. I and II. By A. ADRIANI. Pp. 45+71, pls. 1-104. Fondazione 'Ignazio Mormino' del Banco di Sicilia. Date and price not stated.

The charter of such corporations as the Banco di Sicilia ordains that profits be devoted to the public benefit, hence the magnificent scale of the undertaking introduced by these two volumes; some thirteen more are due to follow. For Dr. Adriani has abandoned the long-projected catalogue of the Alexandria Museum and substituted a far more useful scheme, to publish a generously representative selection of the purely classical or mixed classical and Egyptian antiquities found in Egypt, together with some notable pieces which he attributes for other reasons to artists of that country. There will be four series of volumes, upon sculpture, painting, architecture, and the minor arts respectively. The result should be to establish, as clearly as the ravages of time allow, the character of Hellenism in Egypt throughout the six centuries of its existence, and he is particularly concerned to demonstrate its continuity.

Perhaps, in order to emphasize that the so-called Graeco-Roman art of Egypt is due solely to the Greeks, the first volume begins with a two-page introduction to the sarcophagi carved under the Roman Empire, pointing out their connexion with Asia Minor. Comparable surveys of Hellenistic development in the various fields will presumably appear in succeeding volumes, but Adriani's interpretation of trends in the mythological sculpture and the portraiture may already be seen piecemeal. He has included, so far, nearly 200 examples of such work, treating them after the manner of a scholarly catalogue, with full descriptions and whatever comment is individually feasible. Tabulated lists facilitate reference to the objects in the several



museums. A Palermo printing house has set the text excellently, but the collotype reproductions tend to be blurred, probably owing to climatic troubles; the illustrations would otherwise be perfectly adequate. It is to be hoped that their quality will be improved in subsequent volumes, especially those devoted to the other arts; the lack of precision does not always matter for Alexandrian sculpture, because much of it was executed in an impressionist technique, without exactitude or detail, even when fine-grained marble was used.

This habitual slurring of the surface implies, to my mind, that the sculptors were trained on the local stone, which will not take delicate carving, and can scarcely be made to convey differences of texture. Since the cosmopolitan style of the age exploited those qualities, the Alexandrians must, at best, have been out of step with Hellenistic artists elsewhere. Because, however, we have no grounds for supposing that sculpture flourished in the other multi-racial cities, there is, surely, at least equal likelihood that it lost vitality at Alexandria as the Greek proportion of the population diminished, and that it soon lapsed into a craft rather than an art.

Adriani aims at refuting that hypothesis, which was first expressed in a juvenile article of mine (published in this *Journal* in 1925). So far, at any rate, I see no reason to change my opinion. He does convincingly identify several marble statues of the late second or first century B.C. But they are datable only because, unlike most of the sculptures, they conform with the styles of the Aegean area, from which, I suggest, they or the artists who made them may have come; they stand out among the marble carvings found in Egypt by their aesthetic merit and technical accomplishment, while the styles they represent do not seem to have affected work in Egyptian stone. Two stucco heads, ascribed to the early or mid second century, must be local products, but could belong to the Roman period, to judge from the photographs; I have not seen the originals.

A sounder basis for speculation of this sort will be given when the other volumes on sculpture appear, and still more when the terracotta figurines are published; in their case Adriani should have a better chance of determining how long Alexandria maintained its output at a standard competitive with the Aegean centres.

A. W. LAWRENCE

#### Other books received

- (1) *Ancient Egypt as Represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*. By WILLIAM STEVENSON SMITH. 4th ed., fully revised. Medium octavo. Pp. 215 with 133 illustrations (4 in colour). Boston, 1960.
- (2) *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt*, II. By ELISE J. BAUMGARTEL. Crown folio. Pp. 164, pls. 13, figs. in text 21. Griffith Institute, Oxford, 1960.
- (3) *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom. The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties*. By KLAUS BAER. Royal octavo. Pp. x+310. Chicago, 1960. Price \$7.50.
- (4) *Ancient Egypt, a Cultural Topography*. By HERMANN KEES. Edited by T. G. H. James. Medium octavo. Pp. 392, pls. 25, maps 11. London, 1961. Price 42s.
- (5) *Abriss der mittelägyptischen Grammatik. Zum Gebrauch in akademischen Vorlesungen*. By HELLMUT BRUNNER. Octavo. Pp. 112. Graz, 1961.
- (6) *Aspects de l'Égypte antique*. By JEAN SAINTE FARE GARNOT. Publications de l'institut français d'archéologie. Collection Eôs sous la direction de François Daumas. Octavo. Pp. xix+235. Cairo, 1959.
- (7) *Archaic Egypt*. By W. B. EMERY. Crown octavo. Pp. 269, pls. 48, figs. in text 150. Pelican Book A462. 1961. Price 6s.
- (8) *A Dictionary of Egyptian Civilisation*. By GEORGES POSENER with the assistance of SERGE SAUNERON and JEAN YOYOTTE. Demy octavo. Pp. 324; illustrations in colour 145, illustrations in black and white 170. Chronological table from prehistoric times to the Arab conquest. London, 1962. Price 48s.

- (9) *Tutankhamun's Painted Box. Reproduced in colour from the original in the Cairo Museum.* By NINA M. DAVIES and with an explanatory text by ALAN H. GARDINER. 5 plates in frame (24½ by 16½ inches) + 22 pages of printed text. Griffith Institute, Oxford, 1961. Price £6. 6s.
- (10) *High Dam over Nubia.* By LESLIE GREENER. Demy octavo. Pp. xi + 198, 28 pages of illustrations + 2 maps. London, 1962.
- (11) *Aperçus de Paléographie Homérique. A propos des papyrus de l'Iliade et de l'Odyssée des collections de Gand, de Bruxelles et de Louvain.* By WILLIAM LAMEERE. Octavo. Pp. xx + 269. Paris-Bruxelles, Anvers-Amsterdam, 1960.
- (12) *Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Billou.* By FINLEY A. HOOPER. The University of Michigan. Kelsey Museum of Archaeology Studies 1. Octavo. Pp. 165, pls. 16. Ann Arbor, 1961.
- (13) *Papyri della università degli studi di Milano (P.Mil. Vogliano), vol. II.* Crown folio. Pp. xvi + 237, pls. 11. Milan, 1961.
- (14) *De sacerdotibus sacerdotiisque Alexandri Magni et Lagidarum eponymis.* By J. IJSEWIJN. Octavo. Pp. 178. Brussels, 1961.
- (15) *Plutarco, Diatriba Isiaca e Dialoghi Delfici.* A cura di Vincenzo Cilento Sansoni. Crown octavo. Pp. xxxv + 486. One plate. Florence, 1962.
- (16) *Chronologie des préfets d'Égypte de 284 à 395.* By CLAUDE VANDERSLEYEN. Collection Latomus, vol. LV. Octavo. Pp. 202. Brussels, 1962.
- (17) *A Sixth Century Account of Hay (P.Iand. Inv. 653).* By TONY REEKMANS. Octavo. Pp. 86, pls. 4. Brussels, 1962.
- (18) *The Abbinaeus Archive. Papers of a Roman Officer in the Reign of Constantius II.* Collected and re-edited by H. I. BELL, V. MARTIN, E. G. TURNER, and D. VAN BERCHEM. Octavo. Pp. xiv + 191. Oxford, 1962. Price 63s.
- (19) *Papyrus Bodmer XVI. Exode I-XV, 21 en sahidique.* Edited by RODOLPHE KASSER. Octavo. Pp. 198, pls. 43. Geneva, 1961.
- (20) *Papyrus Bodmer XVIII. Deutéronome I-X, 7 en sahidique.* Edited by RODOLPHE KASSER. Octavo. Pp. 229, pls. 49. Geneva, 1962.
- (21) *Papyrus Bodmer XXI. Josué VI 16, 25; VII, 6-XI, 23; XXII, 1-2, 19-XXIII, 7, 15-XXIV, 23 en sahidique.* Edited by RODOLPHE KASSER. Octavo. Pp. 137. Pls. 77. Geneva, 1963.
- (22) *Sabagūra (1960).* By S. DONADONI, A. STENICO, E. BRESCIANI, M. TORELLI, and A. M. ROVERI. Extract from *Oriens Antiquus*, 1, 1 (1962), pp. 53-128, with 8 figures and 30 plates. Octavo.
- (23) *The Gospel of John in Fayumic Coptic (P.Mich. Inv. 3521).* Edited by ELINOR M. HUSSELMAN. The University of Michigan, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology Studies 2. Octavo. Pp. xii + 95, pls. 6. Ann Arbor, 1962. Price \$3.25.
- (24) *Coptic Tattoo Designs.* By JOHN CARSWELL. Crown folio. Pp. 340 with 187 wood-block illustrations and 7 photographic plates. Beirut, 1958. Price £5. 10s.

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